The Belgian Photogrammetric Mission to the Temple of Buhen

by A. Bellens and P. Vermeir

The Belgian Photogrammetric Mission to the Temple of Buhen was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and subsidized by the Belgian Government as a contribution to the international campaign launched by Unesco to preserve the historical monuments of Nubia, which are soon to be submerged by the High Dam at Aswan. By agreement between the Ministries of Education and Public Works, the mission was entrusted to Mr P. Vermeir, civil engineer, and Mr A. Bellens, surveyor-photogrammetrist at the Ministry of Public Works (Service de Topographie et de Photogrammétrie).

They arrived in Wadi Halfa on 1 February 1961, where they met Sayed Thabit Hassan, Commissioner for Archaeology, and at his request the work was postponed for one week, during which time they visited Mr Vercouter and his team at Aksha. They also went to Semna and Kumna to study on the spot the conditions under which a photogrammetric recording of these monuments could be made, and met Mr de Wit and Mr Mertens, the Belgian epigraphists who were recording the inscriptions in the temples there. They then made a general reconnaissance of the Temple of Buhen where their photogrammetric work began on 8 February and was completed on 21 February.

The Temple of Buhen, dedicated to the local god Horus, and built by Queen Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, is situated on the left bank of the Nile below the Second Cataract in the immediate vicinity of Wadi Halfa. It is rectangular and surrounded by truncated columns. The forecourt of the temple is laid out with square and circular columns, all of them decorated with hieroglyphs and bas-reliefs. The whole is surrounded by a modern protecting wall of mud bricks. From the temple proper, only a few courses of stones still subsist unaltered except for the colours, which have faded. The following measurements give an idea of the magnitude and importance of the temple: length of the outside wall, 15.52 m; width of the outside wall, 9.86 m; thickness of the wall, 1.06 m; diameter of the columns, 0.92 m.

The arrangement of the temple with its pillars and columns is such as to preclude the normal methods of photogrammetric survey, and accordingly special techniques had to be applied, which will be developed in the future. The following remarks indicate the problems to be solved.

1. A great number of dead angles, caused by the massive pillars, made viewing difficult; for this reason we made most of the pictures with a vertical stereo base and calculated the position of the cameras combined with the angle of view, so that the continuity of the image was ensured.
BUHEN, THE TEMPLE OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT (Pillars and columns south no. o86)
2. The limited distance between the camera and the object resulting from (1) above made it impossible to apply the auto-registering system for measuring the focal length of position of the lens. This difficulty was solved by putting position marks on the body of the camera. These marks could be measured afterwards in the laboratory by classical methods.

3. The small dimensions of the interior of the temple and in particular its narrowness would have multiplied unnecessarily the number of stereo-pairs, as a result of the limited range. At the same time the stereo plotting machines would have been immobilized for a long period without any gain of metric importance. For these reasons it was necessary to use two different techniques:

(a) Part of the temple (principally the outside walls) would be recorded by stereo-pairs;

(b) The remainder (inside walls) would be photographed by single-plate shots, since the problem of representing the wall surfaces is only one of rectifying technique and mosaic assembly.

In addition to the general coverage, we also made a complete record in pictures of all the pillars and columns surrounding the temple and of those in the forecourt.

At the request of Mr Caminos, of Brown University, we photographed a number of details to enable him to study certain inscriptions of archaeological importance.

Before photographing the stereo-pairs, we brought the walls of the temple into a system of co-ordinates and determined the parameter of the slope of the wall. In order to get a perfect junction from one pair to another, a plane of reference was chosen which was determined by the base line on which the hieroglyphic figures were standing. In each stereo-pair a measuring rod was photographed to provide a direct standard to determine the scale. In addition, the distances between the vertical joints were measured in order to obtain in that way sufficient geometrical basis to allow for scale reduction in photo assembly. For the interior of the temple the same methods were applied. In that way we obtained an accurate ground plan and also plans of the wall faces.

The numbering of plates and films followed that of the Pennsylvania Expedition of 1911. A total of nineteen stereo-pairs covered the outside of the temple—north, south and east façades. One sample pair was also made from pillars 13 and 14 in the forecourt. In view of the points made above, stereo-pairs of the interior were limited to the most interesting parts and comprised only two for the sanctuary, and one each for the opisthodomos and pronaos. Twenty-two single plates were taken of the outside of the temple, seventy-three of the interior; seventy-five of the pillars and columns; and twenty-nine additional photographs were taken for the use of Mr Caminos.

From the results obtained, a ground plan of the temple and plans of the various walls have been submitted to the Commissioner for Archaeology, together with two complete sets of photographs.
Soleb
Campagna 1960–1

di MICHELA SCHIFF GIORGINI

Scavi patrocinati dall’Università di Pisa.

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La nostra quarta campagna di scavo a Soleb si è svolta dal 16 Ottobre 1960 al 17 Marzo 1961 nell’area del tempio e nel settore delle necropoli.

TEMPIO

Durante le campagne precedenti gli scavi furono condotti nel settore Est, comprendente le rovine del pilone di cinta e della grande banchina antistante, nel settore I, sala d’accesso al tempio, e nel II, gran pilone e prima corte (FIG. 3). Questi studi, intorno alle vestigia ancora in alzato e nel sottosuolo, hanno rivelato non soltanto la struttura finale del tempio, ma anche il modo in cui fu progressivamente eretto e le costruzioni più antiche su cui fu fondato.

Del primo monumento di Soleb (FIG. 1) avevamo tra l’altro rinvenuto le vestigia del lato Est della muraglia che lo circondava e le fondamenta di due porte di questa cinta, rimaste poi sepoltne nel sottosuolo del settore II. I recenti scavi hanno portato alla luce, a Nord-Ovest del tempio, le fondamenta di una terza porta di uguali dimensioni, orientata Est-Ovest, senza dubbio appartenente alla stessa muraglia della quale indica il limite Ovest. La struttura di tali mura, fornite di vari passaggi, permette di supporre che le scene menzionate la consacrazione delle porte, scolpite in seguito sul gran pilone, possano riferirsi appunto alla cinta del primo monumento di Soleb. Quanto all’edificio stesso, cui potevamo solo attribuire alcune pietre reimpiegate nel primo pilone di Amenofi III, sappiamo ora che una parte di esso, modificata, fu conservata nel grande tempio, e che vari blocchi del suo santuario della barca vennero riutilizzati, sul posto, nelle fondamenta di colonne erette nella sala principale del settore V

1 Per le precedenti campagne di scavo, vedi rapporti pubblicati in KUSH VI, VII, IX.
2 Il Dr Jozef M. A. Janssen non potendo più, con rammario della missione, assentarsi per lungo tempo dall’Università di Amsterdam, il lavoro epigrafico è stato assunto dal Prof. Jean Leclant, Direttore dell’Istituto di Egittoologia dell’Università di Strasburgo.
3 Nelle prima corte del tempio, tra vari blocchi crollati, si è ritrovato un complemento dei rilievi relativi alle porte della cinta. Sul blocco è scolpita la porta consacrata tre volte.
Fig. 1. SCHEMA DEL PRIMO MONUMENTO DI SOLEB
Fig. 2. SCHEMA DEL TEMPIO RACCHIUSO NELLA CINTA MINORE
Fig. 3. SCHEMA DEL TEMPIO ALLA FINE DELLA SUA COSTRUZIONE
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(cfr. infra, p. 159). La decorazione di questi blocchi, in bassorilievo, conserva ancora in vari punti i suoi colori smaglianti. Il numero delle pietre ritrovate non permette di ricostituire l’ambiente, ma è certo che il santuario era decorato internamente e esternamente: le sue pareti erano ornate di scene al centro delle quali era raffigurata la barca di Amone e comportavano una serie di rilievi con rappresentazioni di Amenofi III e di Amone (TAV. XLII).

Quanto al canale che collegava la banchina di questo primo monumento con il Nilo, se ne sono individuate le pareti laterali: davanti all’imbarcadero, il canale formava un bacino di m. 25 di larghezza per m. 50 di lunghezza; il braccio che univa il bacino al Nilo era largo circa 20 metri.

Passiamo ora al grande tempio (FIG. 2 e 3); contemporaneamente alla ricerca del tracciato delle sue mura di cinta si è iniziato lo studio dei settori III, IV, V, comprendenti la seconda corte, la sala ipostila e la parte intima del monumento.

Come già esponemmo precedentemente, il crollo del tempio fu causato soprattutto dall’impeto delle acque di una grande pioggia, caduta nel deserto in un periodo anteriore alla consolidazione meriotica del monumento. Il settore III ed il V, i più colpiti, furono letteralmente abbatte e rasi al suolo; la sala ipostila, situata tra i due, riuscì invece a resistere alla gigantesca piena: se lembi di muri e qualche colonna laterale precipitarono verso l’esterno, il centro della sala rimase in piedi, a picco sul dirupo scavato dalle acque. Ma il suo crollo era ormai inevitabile; dovette avvenire a più riprese, accelerato dai buchi che gli indigeni fecero qua e là, quando abitarono il monumento nei primi secoli della nostra èra, e dall’estrazione di bianca arenaria che i cercatori di pietre sfruttarono, lasciando su vari blocchi i segni dei loro utensili.

Del settore III non restano che poche vestigia, tra cui non si è trovato finora alcun frammento di architrave. L’esame delle rovine ha dato modo soltanto di comprendere che la corte, di m. 24 per 30, era ornata di portici, a colonnata semplice ad Est, a doppia colonnata sugli altri lati. Le sue 36 colonne erano papiriformi come quelle del cortile antistante.

Da questo settore si accedeva alla ipostila (FIG. 4) che, prima degli scavi, era un cumulo di blocchi crollati su cui erergevano una sola colonna intera, ancora miracolosamente in piedi, e fusti mozzi di qualche altra colonna centrale (TAV. XLIII). Originariamente il soffitto della sala era sorretto da 24 colonne, a capitello palmiforme, disposte in tre file trasversali; attorno alla parte inferiore dei fusti erano scolpiti figure e nomi di popoli stranieri, d’Asia al Nord della navata centrale, d’Africa al Sud (TAV. XLIV). Per quanto è dato dedurre dalle strutture conservate, l’ipostila era larga 30 m., profonda 12 m. 50.

Gli scavi, per ora effettuati soprattutto nella metà Nord della sala, hanno permesso di appurare che il pavimento era coperto di lastre d’arenaria, oggi quasi tutte scomparse. Ogni colonna aveva un unico piano di fondamenta (FIG. 5), quadrato, composto di quattro blocchi. Le basi delle colonne, circolari,
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Fig. 4. SETTORE IV: LA SALA IPOSTILA

Fig. 5. SETTORE IV: SCHEMA DI UNA COLONNA
si posavano solo parzialmente su queste fondamenta; in linea di massima comportavano sei elementi, due dei quali formanti una specie di quadrilatero centrale ai cui lati si legavano, con code di rondine, le altre quattro pietre tagliate a forma di segmenti di cerchio. Il soffitto, di cui si è ritrovato solo qualche frammento in arenaria, non decorato, posava su 32 architravi, disposti in due file longitudinali ai lati della navata centrale, in tre file trasversali e simmetriche nelle sezioni Nord e Sud dell’ipòstila.

Nella seconda navata trasversale, a destra e a sinistra dell’asse della sala, sono stati portati alla luce due zoccoli di arenaria che dovevano, un tempo, sostenere due statue.

Vari dati permettono di affermare che due muri legavano le colonne N 10 e S 10 alla parete di fondo, dividendo così la navata trasversale Ovest in tre scompartimenti, comunicanti con le ultime sale per mezzo di tre porte, una centrale e due laterali. L’idea di passaggio dalla navata centrale alla terza navata trasversale, da dove si accedeva alle porte laterali, è indicata dall’orientamento delle figure ed iscrizioni sulle colonne fiancheggianti questo percorso.

Anche l’ipòstila, come il resto del tempio, subì varie modificazioni, tra le quali alcune concernenti la decorazione delle colonne. È infatti certo che i tamburi inferiori, lasciati in un primo tempo disadorni, furono in seguito decorati con un insieme di righe parallele verticali, sormontate da una serie di righe parallele orizzontali; su queste linee furono poi scolpite, in bassorilievo, le liste dei popoli stranieri ed il testo sovrastante, di Amenofi III.

I lavori di sgombero hanno portato al ritrovamento di tutti i tamburi inferiori del colonnato Nord e di alcuni del colonnato Sud, menzionanti i popoli stranieri. Malgrado il cattivo stato di conservazione dei blocchi, e la perdita di molti pezzi della loro decorazione, finora si sono potuti collazionare 36 nomi di popoli d’Asia e d’Africa, oltre ai 71 che erano già stati visti dal Davies, membro della spedizione Breasted.

Prima di parlare del settore V, che segue la sala descritta, segnaliamo che i resti del muro di separazione tra i due settori (Fig. 3-4) presentano, per tutta la loro lunghezza, una parte più antica connessa con le ultime sale del tempio; la parete Ovest dell’ipòstila fu addossata alla facciata, non decorata, di questo muro anteriore.

Il settore V è oggi distrutto fin sotto all’ livello delle fondamenta, tuttavia lo studio degli elementi rimasti, e della loro posizione di caduta, ha permesso di determinare la sua superficie, di m. 27 per 30, come anche il numero e la disposizione delle sale che lo componevano: era costituito da un vasto ambiente adiacente all’ipòstila, circondato sugli altri tre lati da varie piccole sale. Il vano principale era ornato sui quattro lati da 16 colonne poligonali e, al centro, da 8 colonne papiriformi; tra queste si elevava il ‘naos’ contenente la statua in arenaria di Amenofi III,4 e probabilmente anche quella di Amone.

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4 Della statua del faraone abbiamo ritrovato i piedi, calzati di sandali.
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L’addossamento del muro Ovest del settore IV contro il muro Est del settore V prova indiscutibilmente che quest’ultimo esisteva già, prima della costruzione dell’ipostila; faceva parte del primo monumento di Soleb (FIG. 1), racchiuso nell’antica muraglia dalle varie porte. A quell’epoca, al centro del vano principale, doveva sorgere un santuario contenente la barca portatile del dio, come sembrano dimostrare vari blocchi adorni di rilievi, provenienti da un santuario di barca (cfr. sopra, pp. 152, 156) e riutilizzati verosimilmente sul posto, nelle fondamenta delle colonne papiriformi.

Della cinta che racchiudeva l’area sacra del tempio, sono state riportate alla luce alcune vestigia, molti erose, ma che tuttavia hanno permesso di conoscere il tracciato, la struttura delle mura e l’innesto di una cinta maggiore con una prima cinta minore. La prima (FIG. 2), che contornava il monumento partendo dalle due porte laterali del gran pilone, formava un quadrato di circa 135 metri di lato. Era costituita da un corridoio andante di circa 3 m. 50 di larghezza, leggermente incassato nel suolo e fiancheggiato da due muri paralleli di mattoni crudi. Nei tratti meglio conservati, il piano del corridoio si trova a 40 cm. di profondità, ma il pavimento doveva essere irregolare perché i suoi resti si elevano sensibilmente verso gli angoli. La grossezza dei muri ed il loro aspetto esteriore non possono essere determinati con precisione a causa dell’erosione del suolo; tuttavia, le vestigia di mattoni crudi ritrovate su parte del contorno non si presentano su una stessa linea, indicando che, in alcuni punti, la cerchia di mura aveva uno spessore maggiore di quello del pilone con cui era collegata. Sembra dunque evidente che le facce esterne della cinta erano regolarmente intervallate da salienti. Sappiamo con certezza che i muri furono posati sul terreno superficiale; solo le pareti interne, perfettamente rettilinee, scendevano fino al livello del corridoio posandosi su rozzze fondazioni in pietre schistose. Suolo e pareti del corridoio erano imbiancati.

Nel passaggio Nord di questa cinta, presso l’angolo Nord-Ovest, si sono rinvenute le fondamenta di una porta più antica, parzialmente incastrate alla base dei muri; la porta, appartenente alla muraglia del primo monumento di Soleb (cfr. sopra, p. 152), era stata conservata all’interno del corridoio. Un grande masso di schisto, emergente dal suolo, fu analogamente conservato nel passaggio Sud, presso l’angolo Sud-Ovest. Inoltre, negli angoli Nord-Ovest e Sud-Ovest, in mezzo al corridoio, è stato trovato un vaso di terracotta dal fondo reciso, conficcato in un buco cilindrico di 13 cm. di diametro, 15 cm. di profondità.

All’Est di questa cinta, un ‘dromos’ di arieti in granito collegava il gran pilone con una banchina il cui bacino, come lo hanno dimostrato i recenti scavi, aveva almeno 100 metri di larghezza. Il ritrovamento delle fondazioni di una porta, situata tra 45 e 50 m. dall’asse longitudinale del settore I e orientata Nord-Sud, sembra indicare che il viale di arieti era fiancheggiato da muri, ergentisi tra la cinta ed il bacino.

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Quando al tempio si aggiunsero la sala di accesso ed un altro pilone, situato all’estremità dell’antico ‘dromos’, l’area sacra venne circondata da una cerchia muraria più vasta (FIG. 3), nella quale furono incorporati i lati Nord ed Ovest della cinta minore. Le nuove mura, costruite in tutto e per tutto come le precedenti, partivano dagli angoli Nord-Est e Sud-Ovest della prima cinta, prolungandone i corridoi Nord e Ovest con cui si fondevano; si richiudevano poi fino alle porte laterali del nuovo pilone formando un quadrato di circa 205 metri di lato. L’insieme delle mura di Soleb seguiva dunque un tracciato paragonabile ai perimetri di due quadrilateri, l’uno interno all’altro, aventi l’angolo Nord-Ovest in comune.

Gli scavi del tempio sono quasi ultimati, rimane solo da completarsi lo studio dei settori IV e V. Segnaliamo che il terreno di riporto con cui vennero anticamente colmati i bacini del primo e del secondo imbarcadero non è stato interamente verificato; i sondaggi effettuati mostrano che il primo bacino fu riempito soprattutto con pietrame, il secondo invece con un ammasso di terra e frammenti di vasellame.

Anche l’esplorazione dell’area dominata dal tempio è praticamente compiuta. Ad Ovest del monumento, non lontano dalle vestigia della cinta, si sono recentemente individuati quattro gruppi di grandi buche riempite di pietrame, di pezzi di mattoni crudi e di cocci. In una buca che abbiamo sterrata si sono trovati vari frantumi di pietre decorate, alcuni ancora con resti di colorazione, e frammenti di vasellame esclusivamente del Regno Nuovo; nel fondo, sono state riportati alla luce focolari e residui di cenere. È molto probabile che anche queste buche, simili a quelle scoperte l’anno scorso nel sottosuolo del settore II, facciano parte dell’abitato primitivo che fu colmato e sotterrato durante la costruzione del tempio.

A 40 metri al Nord del settore II sono state rinvenute le vestigia di una abitazione verosimilmente copta (FIG. 6), costruita con frammenti di blocchi d’arenaria provenienti dalle rovine del tempio; all’interno della casa, un giaciglio fatto di terra battuta era addossato alla parete Sud.
BLOCCHI RIUTILIZZATI NEL SETTORE V

facing p. 160
TAV. XLIV

IL TEMPIO, VISTO DAL SETTORE IV
a. SARCOFAGO DI ARENARIA ESTERNAMENTE ISTORIATO—5 T 2

b. SARCOFAGO DI ARENARIA A COPERCHIO ANTROPOMORFO—5 T 1
TAV. XLVI

a. 4 T 17 (Lunghezza, 7,45 cm.)

b. 4 T 10 (Lunghezza, 9 cm.)

GRANDI SCARABEI
a. SHAWABTI DI SCHISTO—5 T 12 (Altezza, 19,5 cm.)
b. SIMULACRO DI SARCOFAGO IN TERRACOTTA—28 T 5 (Lunghezza, 26 cm.)
c. VASO DI ALABASTRO—8 T 1 (Altezza 20 cm.)
d. ORCIO DI TERRACOTTA—18 T 5 (Altezza, 39 cm.)
Contemporaneamente agli scavi del tempio, fin dalla nostra prima campagna abbiamo eseguito lavori di riordinamento, consolidazione e ripristino delle rovine. Numerosi frammenti di architravi e colonne, che ingombravano i vari settori, sono stati disposti all’esterno del tempio, lungo i suoi lati Nord e Sud, secondo la provenienza dei blocchi rispetto all’asse longitudinale del monumento. Quest’anno, nel settore IV, l’area primitivamente occupata dalla metà Nord dell’ipostila è stata delimitata con muri di sostegno e colmata fino al livello dell’antico lastricato. Abbiamo iniziato poi il rifacimento di varie basi su cui verranno collocati, secondo la loro posizione originaria, i tamburi inferiori delle colonne che portano le liste dei popoli stranieri. Un fusto di colonna quasi completo (Sett. IV), ancora in piedi ma pericolosamente pendente, è stato raddrizzato.

Prima di terminare questo rapporto sui lavori eseguiti al tempio, desideriamo segnalare che le volpi del deserto continuano a scavare sotterra, tra le rovine, buchi e gallerie che rappresentano un costante pericolo per le vestigia del monumento.

Necropoli

L’esplorazione della prominenza rocciosa in cui si stabilirono la necropoli primitiva e quella del Regno Nuovo ha permesso di scoprire un gran numero di fosse più o meno ovali, disposte lungo una linea curva, di circa 130 metri, che attraversa dal Nord al Sud la necropoli del Regno Nuovo, sopravanzandola al Nord (FIG. 7). Le fosse, all’eccezione di una, furono vuotate del loro contenuto in un’epoca molto lontana, per quanto si può dedurre dalla compattezza della terra che in seguito le riempì e che i nostri manovali riuscivano a stento a smuovere, perfino con il piccone. L’unica fossa trovata intatta è quella situata nel punto di incontro degli assi di due tombe tra le più importanti della 18a Dinastia—14 T, 15 T—; conteneva uno scheletro umano rannicchiato, con il cranio ad ovest, il viso verso Est. Tre fosse conservavano ancora residui di carbone di legno, in un’altra si è raccolto qualche chicco di graminacea. Sul terreno circostante abbiamo rinvenuto alcuni frammenti di vasi d’impasto bruno con decorazione a incisioni, di tipo neolitico. Questo insieme risale ad un’epoca anteriore a quella del cimitero primitivo, scoperto due anni fa, contenente anche esso scheletri in posizione embrionale, ma con crani ad Est e interamente coperti d’ocra rossa.

Le sporgenze schistose, elevantisi sulla depressione che circonda l’area delle necropoli (FIG. 7), costituivano luoghi di sepoltura. Tre di questi ammassi contenevano elementi di scheletri. In una delle sepolture si è potuto constatare che il defunto, coperto d’ocra rossa, era stato inumato in posizione rannicchiata, con la testa ad Est. Nella fossa sono state raccolte varie perle discoidèe, in guscio di uova di struzzo. Queste tombe sembrano contempuranee di quelle del cimitero primitivo.
La necropoli del Regno Nuovo (FIG. 7) iniziata sotto la 18a Dinastia all'epoca di Thutmose III, era ancora in uso sotto i Ramesse. Quasi tutte le tombe, come già ho esposto nei rapporti precedenti, furono riaperte in uno stesso momento e subirono identiche manomissioni—demolizione delle soprastrutture, sgombero delle camere sepolcrali chiuse poi con muretti a secco, accumulazione dei defunti esumati sul suolo delle cappelle o nei pozzi, insieme a gran parte del loro corredo—, manomissioni che per il momento è impossibile interpretare e datare. Sembra probable che lo sconvolgimento delle tombe abbia
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avuto luogo poco tempo dopo gli ultimi seppellimenti; è comunque certo che qualche tomba fu in seguito rioccupata nel periodo meroticco, negli ultimi secoli prima della nostra èra.

La ricerca sistematica e l’esame meticolooso di ogni tomba hanno fornito molti dati interessanti per lo studio dell’antica Soleb.

La necropoli comprendeva 45 tombe, 6 del 7 delle quali sono soltanto pozzi, da 1 m. 60 a 4 m. 40 di profondità, alcuni sormontati da una piccola piramide. Nelle 38 tombe rimanenti i pozzi danno accesso, ad Ovest e spesso anche ad Est, ad una o più camere scavate nella roccia e non decorate. Alcune camere avevano porte can battenti di legno, una di queste veniva chiusa con una specie di saracinesca che scorreva in giù fra le due scanalature verticali degli stipiti; ma in

Fig. 8. TRIPLICE PUNTA DI PIRAMIDE

genere il vano della porta tra il pozzo e la tomba sotterranea era ostruito da un lastrone di schisto, che lasciava alla parte superiore un vuoto per il passaggio dell’aria. Gli orli dei pozzi erano coperti da lastroni trasversali, in schisto o in arenaria. Quanto alle suprastrutture, già descritte nei rapporti precedenti, ricordiamo solo che comprendevano cappelle di mattoni crudi, imbiancate e decorate, e piccole piramidi, anche di mattoni crudi, oppure di blocchi di schisto montati a secco. Si sono trovate varie punte di piramidi, complete o in frammenti, una delle quali di un tipo particolare: la pietra, d’arenaria, è sormontata da tre punte; sulla faccia anteriore è scolpita una piccola nicchia, la faccia posteriore comporta una decorazione con due immagini del defunto Amenemopet, inginocchiato davanti a una colonna di testo (FIG. 8). Gli scavi hanno inoltre

6 Le tombe sono state numerate secondo il procedere delle scoperte e dei lavori. Segnaliamo che l’ultima individuata porta il numero 48 T e che i numeri 29 e 41 corrispondono a due fosse della necropoli più antica, mentre il numero 42 si riferisce solo ad una incavatura del terreno, forse scavo di una tomba, iniziato e non completato.

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portato al ritrovamento di vari frammenti di sopramogli provenienti dalle porte delle cappelle; la decorazione dei sopramogli presentava, al centro, un altare solare e, ai lati, l'immagine del proprietario della tomba, inginocchiato o in piedi, in gesto di adorazione.

Tutte queste sepolture erano familiari, all'eccezione di tre tombe a pozzo e di due camere sepolcrali, contenenti ognuna un solo scheletro.

La necropoli del Regno Nuovo fu anche il luogo di sepolitura di un cavallo, deposto nel fondo di un pozzo di cui occupava tutta l'area—28 Tp—; ad un livello appena superiore a quello del cavallo fu seppellito un defunto umano steso supino con testa ad Ovest. Quanto all'animale, esso era stato inumato con grande cura, coricato sul lato destro in un letto di sabbia, la testa ad Est, il posteriore presso la porta della camera sotterranea, nella quale erano stati sepolti sei defunti. Con la scoperta di questo scheletro, lo studio del cavallo nell'antichità faraonica si arricchisce di un nuovo documento di grande importanza.

Per quanto concerne gli ornamenti e le supplieletili dei defunti, l'umidità del terreno e l'opera delle termiti hanno coadiuvato alla polverizzazione ed alla distruzione delle materie più peritute. Tuttavia, vari resti di benderelle permettono di dire che molte salme erano state fasciate, forse mumificata. Un anello ancora circondato di bende, proveniente da una tomba dell'epoca di Amenofis III—36 T—, dimostra che le dita del defunto erano state fasciate, uno ad uno. In un pozzo, contenente almeno 54 scheletri verosimilmente ramessidi, esumati e carbonizzati—32 Tp—, si sono raccolti importanti resti di benderelle bruciate, rimaste attaccate alle ossa e sovrapposte fino a 9 spessori. In linea generale, le salme venivano avvolte avendo una mano, o le due, sul sesso, i piedi stesi l'uno accanto all'altro, o spesso le gambe incrociate, la sinistra sopra la destra.

I sarcofagi erano di vari tipi, litici, fittili, lignei. Recentemente abbiamo riportato alla luce un sarcofago di arenaria—5 T 2—, esternamente istoriato (TAV. XLV, a). Un altro sarcofago di arenaria—5 T 1—, anepigrafo e a coperchio antropomorfo, fu trovato durante la nostra prima campagna di scavo in un'altra camera della stessa tomba (TAV. XLV, b). In un pozzo, parzialmente vuotato—26 Tp—, restavano frammenti di un sarcofago in terracotta. Molti defunti erano stati inumati in casse di legno; di queste si sono trovati soltanto frammenti, sparsi nei pozzi tra gli scheletri esumati, oppure rimasti in sito nelle tombe intatte; resti miracolosamente sfuggiti alle termiti o, in alcuni casi, non più vestigia ma solo traccia del legno lasciata dal lavoro degli insetti. I frammenti raccolti hanno tuttavia permesso di vedere che le casse avevano coperchi antropomorfi, col viso dipinto di rosso, occhi e sopraccigli di schisto incastonati nel legno e sigillati con gesso. Le casse erano esternamente stuccate, e ornate con decorazione gialla su fondo nero. I resti trovati fanno supporre che i coperchi fossero internamente dipinti di nero.
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I defunti meno privilegiati avevano per sarcofago un telaio in rami di palme che veniva arrotolato attorno alla salma. Questi involucri, ritrovati a Soleb in gran numero ed in uno stato di conservazione tale da permetterne un esame approfondito, erano a volte esternamente stuccati, in forma di maschera al viso, e dipinti; abbiamo raccolto pezzi di gesso con resti di colorazione rossa, gialla, nera. In molti casi il telaio, dopo essere stato arrotolato, veniva fermato al di là della testa ed era lasciato aperto ai piedi, formando una specie di nassa conica, affusolata da capo. Queste nasse erano in uso fin dai primi seppellimenti nella necropoli del Regno Nuovo; se ne sono infatti ritrovati i resti presso scheletri di defunti inumati in una delle tombe a pozzo più antiche, la 46 Tp, ricoperta da schegge di schisto provenienti dal taglio di due tombe circostanti che risalgono all'epoca di Amenofi III.

Segnaliamo il curioso seppellimento di un bambino, avvolto in un insieme di rami di palme e riparato da una sorta di coperchio in argilla, a sezione ovoidale—46 Tp—, come anche l'inumazione di tre feti, posti tra la cenere nel fondo di tre orci (Alt. orci cm. 50; diam. orificio cm. 11)—39 Tp—.

I defunti erano seppelliti quasi sempre con la testa ad Ovest, il viso sovente rivolto verso Sud. Alcuni avevano sulla faccia una maschera dipinta, in gesso. Erano ornati di collane—perle in osso, guscio di uova di struzzo, conchiglie, ceramica, vetro colorato, corniola, diaspro ed altre pietre varie, oro—di braccialetti in avorio a sezione triangolare, di orecchini anulari, di pendagli talismanici a forma di cuore, di nodo d'Iside, oppure a effige di Amone-Min, Horo, Ptah, Ptah-Pateco, Bes e Toeri. Avevano anelli di ceramica, di bronzo o d'argento, scarabei a sigillo, grandi scarabei detti 'del cuore' con le loro usuali iscrizioni (Tav. XLVI, a). Tra gli oggetti trovati menzioniamo uno scarabeo commemorativo—4 T 10—con i nomi di Amenofi III e della regina Teje, relativo alla cattura di 102 leoni (Tav. XLVI, b). Presso i defunti furono depositi vari 'shawabtis', rinvenuti nelle tombe intatte ai piedi, lungo un femore, sotto un omero, vicino alle mani degli scheletri, oppure nell'ammasso di ossa dei pozzi, sovente spezzati all'altezza delle gambe. Le statuine ritrovate sono in argilla, terracotta, ceramica, arenaria, calcare e schisto (Tav. XLVII, a), spesso iscritte. Il corredo funebre comprendeva anche oggetti lignei, di cui si sono rinvenuti residui attaccati dalle termiti, o a volte solamente la forma, rimasta impressa nel fango penetrato nelle tombe durante le piogge. La sagoma di uno 'shawabi' in legno—36 T 8—è stata individuata appunto così: sul fango, oltre all'impronta della figurina, era rimasto attaccato il colore azzurro dell'iscrizione di questo oggetto che non esisteva più.

Varie suppellettili—un cucchiaio da belletto a forma di anatra, uno specchio di bronzo, un pomo di flabello in avorio ed altre sono già state precedentemente menzionate. Aggiungiamo ora un simulacro di sarcofago fittile, a coperchio antropomorfo, contenente una figurina d'argilla; lavoro rozzo ma non scevro di grazia (Tav. XLVII, b). Il vasellame comprendeva terrecotte grezze di forme varie,
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dai vasi e coppe miniatura agli orci, e piccoli recipienti di ceramica dipinta o d'alabastro. I recenti scavi hanno portato alla luce un vaso di alabastro a corpo sferico, biancato, di finissima fattura (TAV. XLVII, c).

A giudicare dalle sepolture trovate intatte e dall'accumulazione di scheletri esumati nei pozzi, si può dire che le tombe familiari erano letteralmente riempite di defunti. Le tombe con almeno due camere sepolcrali contenevano in media: nella prima camera, dai dieci ai trenta defunti, stesi l'uno accanto all'altro e l'uno sull'altro, sovrapposti su due, tre, o quattro piani; nella camera di fondo, più piccola, era in genere seppellita una sola salma. Tra i pozzi in cui vennero esumati numerosi cadaveri, uno conteneva gli elementi di almeno 45 scheletri—25 Tp—, un altro un minimo di 56 scheletri—19 Tp—, un altro ancora—12 Tp—, 75 scheletri. Si è potuto constatare che circa il 45% dei defunti era costituito da bambini, molti dei quali neonati. Tutte le ossa sono state meticolosamente esaminate; non si sono riscontrate tracce di ferite o perforazioni, si sono solamente osservati casi di fratture mal saldate. Abbiamo notato che l'osso frontale di due scheletri di adulti era ancora separato in due dalla 'sutura metopica' e che gli omeri di altri tre scheletri di adulti avevano la 'perforazione olecranica'.

Dallo scavo delle tombe e dagli oggetti trovati si deduce che la necropoli fu occupata da alti dignitari della gerarchia faraonica, con titoli tanto clericali quanto civili. Oltre ai nomi di defunti già menzionati nei rapporti precedenti, tra cui figurano il messaggero reale Iuuen Amon, il profeta Aakheperka, il delegato a Soleb Nebansu, lo scriba Khnumhotep, il delegato di Kush Amenemopet, si sono ritrovati i nomi di:

Mer-mes, profeta — shawabti tomba 4
Uabset — sarcofago tomba 5
Hor-nefer, capo dei lavoratori — soprassoglio tomba 10
Amon-mes, profeta — shawabti tomba 22
Khaemuaset — shawabti tomba 32
Bak — soprassoglio tomba 38

Vari scarabei ed anelli portano i nomi dei faraoni Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Amenofi III, Ramses II.

All'epoca dell'esumazione dei defunti e del loro arredo funebre, l'accesso alle camere sotterranee, parzialmente o interamente vuotate, fu sbarrato con rozzi muretti a secco; questi furono spesso eretti sopra il lastrone primitivo di chiusura, ribaltato sul suolo del pozzo, oppure sulle lastre che originariamente muravano i 'serdab' superiori—12 T, 15 T— o anche su una tavola d'offerte rovesciata—11 T—. Due camere e due pozzi furono incendiati, le une ancora piene delle spoglie dei defunti inumati—18 T—, i pozzi riempiti invece di salme esumate e con le porte delle camere già chiuse dai rozzi muretti suddetti—6 Tp, 32 Tp—.

alcune tombe, almeno due con certezza—9 T, 18 T—furono rioccupate più tardi, in epoca meroitica. Nella tomba 9 T, le nuove salme furono inumate

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nella camera sepolcrane e nel pozzo, su un letto di sabbia steso sopra un miscuglio
di ossa umane e di terrecotte in frammenti, risalenti al periodo in cui la tomba
fu vuotata. Nessun corredo funebre accompagnava i nuovi defunti. Nove di
essi furono seppelliti nel pozzo, tra sabbia finissima, con le teste verso l’uno
o l’altro dei quattro punti cardinali. Cinque furono inumati nella camera,
 quasi tutti con la testa ad Est; due di queste salme, un adulto ed un bambino,
erano state poste in sorte di casse munite di coperchi, ricavate in tronchi d’albero.
La pessima conservazione dei resti del legno, quasi ridotti in polvere, non ha
permesso di individuare il tipo d’albero impiegato. Le casse, di una lunghezza
interna di circa 1 m. 86 la grande e di 1 m. la piccola, avevano pareti dello
spessore di circa 5 cm. Il bambino aveva una collanina di perle di ceramica
verdi, a sezione romboidale. Attorno allo scheletro di un altro bambino si sono
 trovati residui della pelle d’animale in cui il piccino era stato avvolto.

Nella tomba sotterranea 18 T comprendente due camere Ovest, il defunto
meroitico fu inumato nella piccolissima camera di fondo, sopra lo strato di
terra sabbiosa che copriva resti carbonizzati di defunti del Regno Nuovo e dei
loro sarcofagi lignei. Fu coricato supino, con la testa ad Est protesa nella
prima camera, i piedi incrociati ad Ovest. Del rozzo tessuto a larga trama che
l’avvolgeva, e della cassa di legno in cui era stato deposto, si sono ritrovati
soldo pochi residui sfuggiti alle termiti, anche qui non sufficienti per deter-
minare il genere di stoffa e di legno adoperati. Nella prima camera, non luni
dalla testa del defunto, due grandi orci erano stati posati sulla sabbia, sparsa
sopra il fango indurito che circondava gli scheletri bruciati ed il corredo funebre
dei defunti anteriori. I due orci, senz’altro databili al periodo della riutilizzazione
della tomba, sono d’impasto bruno, globulari, decorati alla spalla (TAV. XLVII, d).

Non vi è possibilità di dubbio che questi pochi rioccupanti furono sepolti
quando già l’acqua di grandi piogge, colata nei pozzi, si era infiltrata nelle camere
sepolcrane invadendo i resti di defunti esumati e le ossa carbonizzate rimaste in
sito. È anche certo che le camere, già manomesse, non furono completamente
sgombrate al momento della loro rioccupazione.

Lo scavo delle tombe è terminato; resta ora il loro studio ed eventuali
ricerche per ragguagli complementari durante la preparazione della pubblicazione
definitiva.

Segnaliamo che tutti gli elementi di scheletri trovati durante i lavori sono
stati sia ricollocati nelle tombe da cui provenivano, sia riuniti nel pozzo della
tomba 15 T. Tutti i frammenti di vasellame senza interesse particolare sono
stati raggruppati nel pozzo 13 Tp. Quanto agli oggetti di scavo, una parte di
questi si trova al Museo di Khartoum, una parte nella collezione Schiff Giorgini
a Montignoso (Italia), gli altri sono rimasti a Soleb, in un apposito magazzino
costuito dalla missione sull’area delle necropoli.

Soleb, 31 Marzo 1961

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SOLEB, 1960-1 CAMPAIGN

(English Summary)

The excavations continued both in the Temple and in the Cemeteries.

THE TEMPLE

A detailed study was made of Sectors IV and V (FIG. 3) and of the area surrounding the Temple.

It was established that the rear chambers were erected before the hypostyle hall and that they formed part of the earliest Temple of Soleb (FIG. 1). They contained a boat sanctuary, several blocks (PLATE XLII) from which bearing the name of Amenophis III had been used again in the same Sector V.

The pools associated with the first and second quays were located and their extent ascertained. The first pool (FIG. 1) measured $25 \times 50$ m. and the second one was at least 100 m. wide.

The foundations of three mudbrick enclosure walls were located. The one which surrounded the earliest structure (FIG. 1) contained several gateways and is probably that referred to in the reliefs of the 'circuit of the wall' which were inscribed on the pylon at a later date. A square enclosure was built round the enlarged temple and its walls were double having a narrow passage between them (FIG. 2). Two sides of this square were subsequently prolonged to make two of the sides of a much larger square enclosure, also with double walls (FIG. 3).

A block, engraved with the 'striking of the third gate', which had originated among the reliefs on the pylon illustrating the royal jubilee, was found in the first peristyle court.

One hundred and five names of countries in Asia and Africa have been collated from the inscriptions in the hypostyle hall.

THE CEMETERIES

Several oval shaped pits were found (FIG. 7). They had all been emptied in antiquity, except for one which contained a skeleton in a crouching position with its head to the west. Fragments of pottery with incised decoration of neolithic type were found near the pits. These individual burials are older than the earliest cemetery discovered two years ago, which also contained skeletons in a crouching position, but with their heads to the east and entirely covered in red ochre.

The New Kingdom cemetery (FIG. 7) is comprised of forty-five family tombs and contains burials from the times of Tuthmosis III until those of Ramesses. It was the resting place of high officials with both civil and religious titles.
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Finds included a large inscribed sandstone coffin (Plate XLV, a) heart scarabs, and one historical scarab in the name of Amenophis III and Teye (Plate XLVI, b).

Many of the dead had been buried in wooden coffins, some of which were in the shape of a mummy.

In one tomb the skeleton of a horse was found. The animal had been buried with the deceased. Some of the New Kingdom tombs had been used again in Meroitic times.
THE ruins of Musawwarat es Sufra are situated roughly 125 km. north-east of Khartoum and 30 km. south of Shendi (33° 22' E, 16° 25' N) at an altitude of approximately 430 m. above sea level. As the crow flies the distance from the Nile is roughly 30 km. The Wadi es Sufra, the course of which from El Akeira onwards runs in a north-westerly to west-north-westerly direction, turns in the Musawwarat district towards the west-south-west. This course continues over a distance of 2.5 km., whilst the Wadi widens to some 3 km. Below Musawwarat the Wadi becomes narrow again and runs in a west and north-westerly direction until it enters the Wadi Awateb, south of Gebel Kereik. Thus the ruins of Musawwarat are situated within a roughly circular, basin-shaped valley with a diameter of 2 to 3 km., apparently surrounded by mountain ranges on all sides.

The first Europeans who visited and described Musawwarat were Linant de Bellefonds and Frederic Caillaud. Since then Musawwarat has been visited frequently and described more or less thoroughly. The most accurate survey and publication is by Richard Lepsius, based on his visit to Musawwarat.

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1 Translated from the German by Dr H. P. T. Hyde (Berlin). I am very much indebted to Mrs Margaret Irwin for checking the English text.
2 Sheet 45–O of the map 'Africa, 1 : 250 000 ', Survey Office, Khartoum.
3 Linant de Bellefonds was at Musawwarat from 20 to 24 February 1822. His diary was only published in 1958 by Margaret Shinnie: Linant de Bellefonds, 'Journal d’un voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822', SASOP, No. 4 (Khartoum, 1958), pp. 114–21, pls. xviii–xxiv.
4 Caillaud arrived at Musawwarat a few weeks after Linant and remained there from 26 March to 1 April 1822: Frédéric Caillaud, Voyage à Méroé . . . , III (Paris, 1826), pp. 140–58 ; i, pls. xxii–xxxvi.
5 Vide PM, vii, p. 264, to which should be added: Pueckler-Muskau, Aus Mehemed Alis Reich, III (Stuttgart, 1844), pp. 175–89. Pueckler-Muskau was at Musawwarat in 1834 (later than Prudhoe, Burton and Hoskins).
which took place in 1844. Among the antiquities of Musawwarat the so-called 'Great Enclosure' was of paramount interest, a complex of ruins of considerable extent, unequalled even in Egypt in its appearance, and an object of considerable speculation as far as its purpose and age are concerned. Objects of marked interest also were a temple south-east of the 'Great Enclosure' (the South-East Temple), where columns, penetrating through the rubble, exhibited 'riders mounted on elephants and lions, likewise other barbarian subjects', and finally the huge water storage basin (Hafir).

The assumed importance of this locality, which had already been visited by us during the Butana Expedition of 1958, seemed to justify systematic excavation. The permit to carry out such excavations was obligingly granted by the Sudan Antiquities Service. Indeed, in this respect, I am greatly indebted to the former Commissioner for Archaeology, Professor J. Vercoutter, and his successor, Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit. To enable such excavations to be carried out the Staatssekretariat fuer das Hochund Fachschulwesen of the German Democratic Republic gave the Institute of Egyptology, Humboldt University, Berlin, the funds needed for five excavation campaigns.

The object of this preliminary report is to give an account of the first and second campaigns which took place under my direction, in collaboration with Professor Dr Karl Heinz Otto (Director of the Institut fuer Ur- und Fruehgeschichte, Humboldt University) from 19 January to 4 April 1960 and from 28 December 1960 to 24 March 1961. The other members of both campaigns were as follows: Dr Giesela Buschendorff Otto (Museum fuer Deutsche Geschichte, Abteilung Ur- und Fruehgeschichte), Dr Ursula Hintze (Institut fuer Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin), Architect Friedrich Hinkel (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin). Additional members of the first campaign were Karlheinz Priese (Assistant at the Institut fuer Aegyptologie) and Dr Guenter Viete (of the Freiberg School of Mines, as geological adviser). Dr Wolfhart Westendorf (Institut fuer Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften) took part in the second campaign. The workers employed in the excavations (sixty for the first and 130 for the second campaign) belonged to the nomadic tribes, known as Hassaniya, Shaiqiya and Ababde, at that time residing at Musawwarat. Their ability was outstanding and some of them became skilful leading hands after a short period of instruction.

\[^6\] LD, i, pp. 139-42; v, pp. 71-5; Text, v, pp. 343-5; Lepsius, Briefe aus Aegypten ... (1852), pp. 152-4 (2 February 1844).
\[^7\] Lepsius, Briefe ... , p. 153.
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We have subdivided the district of Musawwarat into three sections (FIG. 1):

(I) The district west of the Wadi, the ‘Great Enclosure’ and its vicinity.

(II) The district east of the Wadi, the Great Hafir and its vicinity.

(III) The district near Gebel Maafer, roughly 800 to 1,000 m. south of the Great Hafir.

The main effort of the first two seasons was directed upon the region of Section II. In Section I, the excavation of the mound of ruins I B (close to the ‘Great Enclosure’ and to the south of it) was started. In Section III the temple III A was excavated and the examination of the area was started.

The walls we have uncovered have mainly been constructed in one of three ways, in accordance with the various building materials used.

1. Block Construction: Where square hewn stones have been used, the wall consists of two parallel layers, viz. blocks which are smooth on the outside and irregular on the inside. There is no evidence of binders, the interstices having
been filled with rubble and earthy mortar. At the Lion Temple only the highest layer is joined in a swallow-tail manner. As far as the large blocks are concerned, the lateral faces are parallel; in small blocks they converge slightly towards the end.

2. Tabular Construction: Slabs of sandstone (mainly very resistant, black ferricrete sandstone) of various sizes and shapes are used, and built in with earthy mortar. The corners are generally constructed of square stones.

3. Brick Construction: Where brickwork has been used the walls generally have the thickness of one stone, headers and stretchers alternating. The lowest layer is frequently formed of bricks lying on their narrow sides. Three different kinds of bricks should be distinguished: (a) unburnt bricks of mud, greyish-green and fine grained; (b) unburnt bricks of earth, reddish-brown and coarse grained; (c) burnt bricks, red. Burnt bricks were found frequently, but their use for the construction of walls at Musawwarat has so far not been proved. In the ‘Small Enclosure’ (I B) a combination of slabs and bricks for constructional purposes has been found on several occasions. Whilst walls constructed of slabs and brickwork were invariably finished off, plaster could only be found on walls made of blocks where the latter were small, and in particular where they originated from the rubble of other buildings.

I. The Lion Temple (II C)

The ruin of this edifice has hitherto been known as the South-East Temple, since Lepsius surveyed and published the pieces of sculpture in relief originating from the North-East Wall, and columns found partly protruding from the rubble. In view of the style of this relief-work, the temple was considered by Lepsius and others as belonging to the final period of the Meroitic realm.

As a result of the trial digging we carried out in 1958 we had merely counted on being able to excavate the lower parts of the relief work in a comparatively good state of preservation. To our greatest surprise we found that, due to some unusually good fortune, the reliefs and inscriptions of the outer walls were practically all intact. It would appear that this edifice did not deteriorate and disintegrate gradually but that the upper part of the outer face of walls constructed in the ‘hollow wall’ manner had fallen suddenly in an outward direction and on all three sides at the same time. Thus most of the

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9 This concerns a mode of building which is also quite common in Egypt and which Engelbach calls ‘hollow wall’: Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, Ancient Egyptian Masonry (1930), p. 113, figs. 126, 127.
10 Lepsius, Briefe . . ., pp. 73–5.
11 LD, Text, v, p. 344: ‘Everything is of later age than even [the sculptures of] Naga’.
blocks remained coherent, having fallen into the sand with the side bearing reliefs underneath, and were covered up by the rubble which followed (vide plate xlix). The remaining shell of the outer walls stands to a height ranging from 0.80 to 2.20 m. (the original height having been assumed as 4.80 m.). Thus we were able to salvage more than 600 blocks of relief work, generally in a good state of preservation and, on account of this fact, the representations of the outer walls can be reconstructed to a very great extent. But within the central portion of the North-East Wall roughly thirty blocks are missing, which had already been removed in olden times and presumably used for other building purposes. These facts also explain the marked depression in the rubble in front of the North-East Wall, from which various parts of the relief work had been unearthed, so enabling Lepsius to publish them.

It is evident that the interior portion of the walls, and probably the pylon, remained standing for some time after the collapse of the outer face, then deteriorated and broke down gradually. This would explain why we only found roughly forty blocks of relief-work from the inside in a fair state of preservation. The height of this interior face at present varies from 2.00 m. to 2.20 m. At the time the outer layer collapsed, the accumulation of blown sand at the South-West Wall was little more than 5 cm. Inside the temple however there was already a layer of blown sand 20 cm. thick, covering the floor, at the time the roof collapsed (fig. 2). The layer above, amounting to roughly 60 cm. consists of fragments of the roof and additional blown sand. It is only on top of all this, about 80 cm. above the floor, that the layer of rubble, originating from the weathered blocks of the interior layer begins.

The temple consists of one single chamber, the interior dimensions of which are 12 by 6.20 m. (fig. 3). The front entrance is through a pylon. The entrance is situated in the south-east (the axis being orientated in a direction of 135°). The outer dimensions are 15 by 9.15 m. and the width of the pylon is 12.40 m. Inside this chamber two rows of columns with three columns in each (diameter 70 cm.) have been placed on either side of the axis, the distances between them varying to some extent. In front of the back wall there is a throne made of stone (a) and next to it, in the western corner, an altar block (b). Around the throne there is a square marked by two parallel rows of small stones, which have been let into the floor (plate li, b). Probably this was the site of a wooden Naos and the throne was where the image of the deity was seated. On both sides of the entrance are statues made of sandstone, representing seated lions (plate li, a). The pedestals for four additional lion statues (c) were found in the approach to the temple, approximately symmetrical to the axis of the temple.

The temple with one single chamber and an entrance pylon would appear to signify a characteristic Meroitic development. Another temple with six columns
Fig. 2. STRATIFICATION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE LION TEMPLE
Section at right angles to the South-West Wall close to column 3

Fig. 3. GROUND-PLAN OF LION TEMPLE
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is the Lion Temple at Basa\textsuperscript{13} which, both as regards its measurements and its orientation (130°), is practically identical with the Lion Temple of Musawwarat. As far as proportions are concerned the temple of Murabba (Gebel Geheid)\textsuperscript{14} is also comparable, though the number of its columns is not known. The same type, although with four columns, is represented at Musawwarat by the temple ‘C’ in the ‘Great Enclosure’, at Naqa by the Lion Temple (Temple ‘A’, orientation south-east 120°), and the Temple ‘F’, the latter however with an additional anterior construction.

The walls of the temple were decorated on the outside with bas relief, and in the interior with raised relief. Towards the top the outer relief-work has been finished off with a frieze of star-like flowers with six petals, above this is the torus and a cornice with the customary ornaments of palm leaves. At each side there were two water spouts (lions). The columns are undecorated up to a height of nearly 1.50 m. and above that the high relief-work commences in three registers. As we encountered a great quantity of gold-leaf in the interior of the temple and close to the floor, one may assume that the lower portions of the columns were covered with gold-leaf.

Even before its final collapse, the temple had already been damaged considerably, also probably due to collapse, i.e. the pylon, the adjoining part of the South-West Wall and the North-West Wall. But these portions were then rebuilt, though the damaged representations were only partially restored. On the upper portion of the figure of Isis and at the head and shoulder of the king, represented on the South-West Wall, the outlines have been indicated but the work was never completed (vide Fig. 4). A block which does not belong there (shoulder of an animal-headed god) has been fitted in error into the garment of Isis; this block might well originate from the pylon, of which however so few blocks with relief-work were found as to render any reconstruction of the figurative representations practically impossible. One block, originating from the southern pylon, shows the curly head-dress of a lion with proportions which considerably exceed those of the corresponding relief-work of the side walls. Thus here at least a large representation of the lion-god was to be seen. On the lowest layer of blocks belonging to the northern pylon (the only one which was found still in situ at this locality) a crocodile is represented, upon which a large figure of the god had probably been standing. Here, too, an unworked block was fitted into the tail of the crocodile during the process of repair. On the other hand, blocks with specific architectural features, such as torus, cornice, and the winged sundisk from the entrance, have been preserved in considerable quantities. During the process of rebuilding the North-West Wall some blocks were not fitted into their proper place or else were built in the wrong way round


\textsuperscript{14} Crowfoot, loc. cit., pp. 27–8, pl. v.
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(with the representation to the inside or upside down). Then a start was made to chisel out the representations of this wall beginning from the right, probably with the intention of renewing them later. But this restoration never took place, only one inscription on the left portion of this wall might belong to the restoration period.

The relief-work of the outer walls, in very good style and technically well-executed, shows the king and his son praying in front of several gods, among whom the Meroitic lion-god Apedemak is the most important (FIGS. 5, 6). The temple was built in honour of him and his cult. The inscriptions are written in the Egyptian language of the early Ptolemaic period.

The significance of the Lion Temple of Musawwarat, as an addition to our present knowledge, can only be indicated here. I merely wish to draw attention to a few points.

The inscriptions of the temple are such as to make one reconsider a whole section of Meroitic chronology. The temple was built by King Arnekhamani, whose name had only previously been known from a bronze head which Griffith found in Temple A at Kawa. In my publication, *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie*, I assumed that Arnekhamani reigned as a ruler of the 'First Meroitic Dynasty of Napata' from 315 to 295 B.C. But the mere fact that Arnekhamani built a temple in Musawwarat is strong evidence against his having belonged to the Meroitic Dynasty of Napata. In addition, the dates of his reign have to be reconsidered. The additional phrases incorporated by Arnekhamani in *his cartouche* indicate this. In the inscriptions on the North-East and South-West Walls such additions read: *nh ḫt mrj Inn*, however in one

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18 All the blocks which are not indicated in FIG. 6 actually exist but the relief-work has been completely defaced.
16 The reliefs of the interior walls, preserved merely in their lower portions, have not yet been fully surveyed by us. They have not even been completely uncovered yet, as at column 3 a pillar of earth was left standing which is to facilitate the removal of the endangered column-drums. The relief-work shows the king and his son in several separate scenes, in front of a standing or seated god, probably each time Apedemak. On the longitudinal walls the reproduction ends in a frieze showing cattle. On the rear wall elephants and lions are represented.
17 As the detailed publication of the results of the excavations will naturally take some time and, in any case, will only be possible when all excavation work has come to an end, I have at least made an effort to make the inscriptions accessible at an early date. My contribution with the title, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra* is in the press and will be published as a treatise of the German Academy of Science ('Abhandlung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Sprach, Literatur und Kunst').
inscription on the North-West Wall ‘nh dt mjr Is.t is to be found (vide plate lii, c). This is a form of nomenclature used for the first time by Ptolemy IV (and again later by Ptolemy X). In addition, the character of the remaining inscriptions indicates an early Ptolemaic period. Thus it becomes necessary to accept the following new dates for the 24th to the 37th rulers.

(24) K. Ku.1 369–350 [19]
(26) Nastases Nu.15 335–310 [25]
(30) Barte (?). Beg.S.10 260–250 [10]
(32) Arnekhamani mjr Imn; ‘nh dt mjr Imn; ‘nh dt mjr Is.t Beg.N.35 235–218 [17]
(33) Arqamani (Ergamenes) Beg.N.7 218–200 [18]
(34) Tabirqa (?) Adikhalamani ‘nh dt mjr Is.t Beg.N.9 200–185 [15]
(35) . . Iwal (??) Beg.N.8 185–170 [15]
(36) Shanakdakhete Beg.N.11 170–160 [10]

One may thus assume with some probability that the Lion Temple was built between 235 and 221 B.C. and that the restoration work on the North-West Wall was started between 221 and 218 B.C. but was not completed because Arnekhamani died in 218 B.C.

The significance of this temple from the point of view of the history of religion is of equal importance. On the exterior of the South-West Wall the king and his son, with Isis behind them, are shown in the process of praying in front of a procession of gods, Apedemak, Amon, Sbwjmkr (plate liii, a), Arensnuphis (plate liii, b),21 Horus, Thot(?). Apedemak, with bow and quiver in

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20 As regards the detailed discussion of chronological problems and reasoning in support of new dates, I wish to refer to my publication mentioned in n. 17 above. The pyramid Beg. No. 35, which I now wish to ascribe to Arnekhamani, is actually a ‘three-chambered pyramid’ and therefore that of a king and not of a queen.

21 Arensnuphis, in contrast to the other gods, is here seen wearing a long garment. He is in the process of grasping a gazelle by its hind legs with his left hand which holds the wsjs-sceptre. In his right hand, as well as the ‘nh’-symbol, he is also holding a bunch of flowers. Probably the gazelle indicates the relationship between Arensnuphis and the hunting-god Onuris (cp. H. Bonnet, Realexikon der aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), pp. 54, 545).
FIG. 5. LION TEMPLE: SKETCH OF RECONSTRUCTED RELIEF-WORK ON THE OUTER WALLS
(above SOUTH-WEST WALL; below NORTH-EAST WALL)
his hands, is leading a prisoner towards the king (Plate LII, b). On the North-East Wall the king and his son are standing in front of a procession of pairs of gods, Apedemak and a goddess with a cloak-like garment (head and inscription are destroyed), god (animal-headed) and goddess (inscription destroyed, Amon and Satis, Horus and Isis (Fig. 5). On the North-West Wall there were two corresponding representations, separated by 2+2 vertical rows of inscriptions. To the left the king is standing in reverence before Shewmker who is hand him a standard. The representation on the right is mostly cut away. The representation showed the king in front of Apedemak standing on two war elephants (Fig. 6).

![LION TEMPLE: SKETCH OF RECONSTRUCTED RELIEF-WORK OF THE OUTER NORTH-WEST WALL](image)

The name of the god Apedemak had so far only been known to us from Meroitic inscriptions. He may well be regarded as the principal god of the Meroitic people. His attributes and some of his epithets signify him as a god of war. But here for the first time we have the opportunity of obtaining direct evidence of his nature, as his hymn, in spite of some gaps, is, generally speaking, comprehensible. In its conception it may be regarded as Meroitic, a translation

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22 *Mer.* 5, 7-10; *Inscr.* 6, 18, 21. Many of the Meroitic graffiti in the ‘Great Enclosure’ are invocations to Apedemak (cf. *Kush* vii, p. 181). Also on the South-West Wall of the Lion Temple three Meroitic graffiti with invocations to Apedemak are to be found. On the Egyptian inscriptions of our temple his name is spelt Iprmk, with the normal representation of the Meroitic d by r, cp. Griffith, *JEA*, vol. 15 (1929), p. 71.

23 Monneret de Villard believed that Apedemak was, among other things, the Meroitic god of war: ‘Il culto del sole a Meroe,’ *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, ii (1942), p. 130 (‘... ha sempre le caratteristiche di un dio militare’).
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into Egyptian, so to speak. Wherever, in Egyptian texts, parallelisms with certain phrases do occur, it is significant that they are nearly always epithets for lion-gods, the southern origin of whom (Nubia) is frequently stressed.24 I give here both text and translation of the hymn (FIGS. 7, 8): 'Greetings to you, Apedemak, Lord of Ttwlkt; great God, Lord of Ipbr-tnh; illustrious God, in

command of Nubia (T3-Stj.). Strong-armed, lion of the South. Great God who comes to those who call him. Carrier (?) of the secret, obscure by (his) nature, he who is invisible to any common eye. He who is a companion (?) for men and women, without being hindered (?) either in heaven or on earth. He who procures food for all human beings, in this, his name, "awakening without violation" (rsj wd3). He who blasts his fiery breath against his enemies, in this,

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his name, “rich in power” (ḥ3 pḥti). He who kills his enemies with [. . . ]. He who [punishes (?)] every outrage committed against him. He who prepares the seats for [all those devoted to him (?)]. [He who bestows (?) victory] on everyone who appeals to him. Master of life, great in prestige [. . . ] in Nubia (Kns.t). He who is strong and powerful when [shooting his arrows (?)]. To you the rulers (?) come [. . . ].

FIG. 8. HYMN TO APEDEMAK, NORTH-WEST WALL

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The god Shwjmkr (also spelled Shjwmkr) was hitherto completely unknown. According to his inscription on the South-West Wall, he is a kind of creator-god: 'I give you all emanating (prj) at night time, all that originates (hpr) during the day. I give you the years of the sun (Re), the months of the moon (Joh) with pleasure.' The lower part of his representation on the back wall of the temple is finished off with a frieze showing the symbols of life which correspond to Apedemak's war elephants bringing prisoners. As the inscription to this representation, an Osiris hymn has been chosen which, as far as I can see, is only known twice from Egypt: from the 'pedestal of a statue of the late period' to be found in Vienna and from the southern chapel of Anchesnesneferibre at Karnak.

The inscriptions are also important as far as topography is concerned. Through them we find the confirmation of the ancient name of Naqa which is here spelled Twjlt and fully corresponds with Télkite to be found in the Meroitic texts at Naqa. As here in Musawwara Apedemak is called 'Lord of Twjlt, Great God, Lord of Ipbr-üh' one is probably justified in regarding Naqa as the main centre of the cult of the lion-god. The god Shwjmkr is called 'Great God, Lord of Ipbr-üh' and the prince is called 'Son of the King, priest of Isis of Ipbr-üh and Irhjklb (with the name of) Irkj.' Thus Ipbr-üh is the old name for Musawwara. The third name indicating a locality, Irhjklb, is presumably that of a place in the vicinity of Musawwara and Naqa, possibly the name of the present Wad Ban Naqa, a site where a temple dedicated to Isis is known to have existed.

The temple is also of considerable importance with reference to the history of art. Due to the pleasing composition of the relief-work and the good quality of the sculpture, it must be rated as an object of considerable artistic value. Yet, it is not a matter of merely copying an Egyptian model, although the conception of the individual figures is typically Egyptian. But some details, as for instance the garment, ornaments and insignia of the king (barring the crown) are typically Meroitic (Plate LIV, Fig. 4) but by no means as overdone and grotesque as the images of Natakamani. Here we are certainly dealing with the earliest phase of Meroitic relief-work.

I also wish to draw attention to some of the representations from the point of view of cultural history. Of particular interest are the war elephants, decorated with carpets and rugs, on the North-West Wall (Plate LII, a) which tend to show that the Meroitic people practised the art of elephant training. Furthermore one of the elephants shown on the inner back wall is being led on a rope

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27 Copy Sethe 21, 70/i.
28 Inscr., 3, 4, 27, 34.
29 PM, vii, p. 263; Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions, i, p. 68.
(PLATE LV, a). This is evidence for Arrian’s assertion that elephants were first used by the Indian and Ethiopian armies, and then later by the Ptolemies and Carthagenians.\textsuperscript{29} In any case Ptolemy II and III fetched their elephants also from the Meroitic region to have them trained in Egypt, according to the inscription of Ptolemy III from Adulis which states: ‘The paramount king Ptolemaios . . . went to war with Asia accompanied by Troglydytic and Ethiopian elephants which his father and he himself, as the first ones, have captured from these countries. . . .’\textsuperscript{30}

Noteworthy also is the frieze depicting cattle which brings the representations on the inner side walls to a close towards the bottom. Among others, a herd of cattle is led by a man blowing a trumpet or tuba (PLATE LVI, a). The cattle have large bells attached to broad collars round their necks, features which, as far as I know, are not found in Egypt in this form.\textsuperscript{31}

Inside the temple no finds were made which can be related with certainty to the cult. On top of the pounded floor, made of sandstone-chips, there was everywhere a thin layer of fine, bright red sand. Next to the altar there was a vessel decorated with a one-toothed stamp (grey-brown, FIG. 9) [SO/30]. Within

\textsuperscript{29} Arrian (ed. Hercher, 1885), Tactica, 2, 2; 19, 6. The representation of an elephant with a cover serving as a throne has been found in Pyramid Bar. 2, RCK, iv, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{30} CIG, 5127; Dittenberger, OGIS, 1, p. 285.

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. Hickman, ‘Zur Geschichte der altaegyptischen Glocken’, Musik und Kirche, vol. 2 (1951), pp. 15–16 (of the separate) who points out the representation from Meroe, showing a horse, adorned with a bell: Pyr. N. 32, S. E. Chapman, RCK, iii, pl. 23, a. The representation of cattle with bells was also found in Temple II A (vide below p. 189). In Meroe, Garstang found among the relief-work of Shrine 70 ‘a herd of cows who wear cow-bells attached to their necks’, Garstang, ‘Second Interim Report . . .’, LAAA, iv, pp. 51–2.
a. THE LION TEMPLE AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EXCAVATION

b. THE LION TEMPLE AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST BEFORE EXCAVATION WORK COMMENCED
a. LION TEMPLE, EASTERN CORNER OF PYLON, FALLEN BLOCKS STILL IN COHESION

b. LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL, FALLEN LAYERS OF BLOCKS, STILL IN COHESION AND PARTLY EXCAVATED
a. LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL AFTER EXCAVATION

b. LION TEMPLE: NORTH-EAST WALL AFTER EXCAVATION
a. LION TEMPLE: PYLON AFTER EXCAVATION

b. LION TEMPLE: THRONE IN FRONT OF REAR WALL
a. LION TEMPLE: PART OF THE NORTH-WEST WALL

b. LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL, THE PRISONER LED BY THE LION GOD TOWARDS THE KING

c. LION TEMPLE: BLOCK OF THE NORTH-WEST WALL WITH PART OF THE CARTOUCHE OF ARNEKHAMANI
a. LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL, THE GOD Shuimhr

b. LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL, ARENSNUPHIS
LION TEMPLE: SOUTH-WEST WALL, KING ARNEKHAMANI
a. LION TEMPLE: PORTION OF THE INTERIOR NORTH-WEST WALL

b. LION TEMPLE: VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN FRONT OF THE ENTRANCE
PLATE LVI

a. LION TEMPLE: INTERIOR, PART OF THE FRIEZE OF CATTLE

b. TEMPLE II A: SOUTH-WEST WALL, REPRESENTATION OF CATTLE
PLATE LVIII

a. THE BUILDING II C-II

b. THE BUILDING II C-III
a. TEMPLE II A: ENTRANCE, WITH REUSED BLOCKS

b. TEMPLE II A: INTERIOR, NORTH CORNER

c. TEMPLE II A: RELIEF-WORK IN THE NORTH-EAST WALL
a. THE 'PYRAMID' OF BUILDING II A-I

b. TEMPLE II D: CERAMICS FROM THE SECOND LAYER
a. TEMPLE II D: FROM THE WEST, PARTIALLY EXCAVATED

b. TEMPLE II D: SANCTUARY

c. TEMPLE II D: SMALL BRONZE STATUE
(Photograph originating from Staatl. Museen, Berlin)

d. TEMPLE II D: SMALL BRONZE STATUE
(Photograph originating from Staatl. Museen, Berlin)
a. TEMPLE III A AS SEEN FROM THE WEST

b. TEMPLE III A: DECORATED BURNT BRICK

c. SUPERSTRUCTURE OF TOMB S1, PLACE OF SACRIFICE
a. FEEDER SYSTEM TRENCH WITH STONE COVERS EXPOSED

b. FEEDER SYSTEM TRENCH, BEGINNING OF THE OPEN PORTION

c. PART OF THE WORKSHOP
a. BUILDING I B: VIEW FROM THE NORTH-EAST

b. BUILDING I B: ROW OF LARGE POTS IN FRONT OF THE WESTERN WALL

c. BUILDING I B: LARGE POT OF THE FIRST PERIOD BELOW THE FOUNDATION OF A WALL CONSTRUCTED AT A LATER DATE
the blown sand small fragments of gold-leaf could be found everywhere close to
the floor. In the higher layers sherds were found, in one place iron fittings for
boxes and nails [II c/6] (FIG. 10) and, close by, the point of a spear made of
iron [II c/3] (FIG. 11) (probably originating from the box), a cowri-shell and
many small black and white balls [II c/5].

Outside the temple, at various places, column drums have been let into the
ground (d), many of which have been hollowed out (e). Together with the
column drums, roughly 6 m. from the entrance, the following objects were found:
remnants of a slab of faience with a lion couchant, a small lion made of sandstone,
also couchant [II c/19], thirty-five stone balls made of granite [II c/14], a stone
axe [II c/14a], a fragment of a mace head [II c/13] (FIG. 12), very many ferricrete
sandstone nodules,32 in addition to fragments of a stone symbol, ḫnh (PLATE
LV, b). All these items should probably be regarded as votive offerings.

The most interesting finds are two three-headed animal
sculptures. The first [II c/23] was found in front of the entrance
under the pylon blocks which had collapsed (marked ‘ 1 ’ on the
plan). It was found lying face upwards. The second [II c/28]
was found lying face downwards inside the temple, next to the altar
by the South-West Wall (marked ‘ 2 ’ on the plan). Both pieces
were found on a level which corresponds with that of the floor.
Both pieces are practically identical. Three animal heads are
carved from a sandstone slab, 80 cm. wide and 60 cm. high : a
ram, and to the right and left of it a lion. The lion’s paws were
set into rectangular grooves, while the knees of the ram were
worked out of the slab.33 The three animals’ heads are adorned
with crowns; the ram with the double-feathered crown and sun-disk
towards which two uraei rise, the uraei having cows’ horns and
sun-disk. The lions have a three fold Atef-crown and that on the
right hand side (as seen by the observer) a horizontal crescent (PLATE LVII, a, b).34
The theme is certainly Egyptian: Amon Re with the pair of lions Shu and Tefnut.
Tefnut being indicated by the crescent. But the mode of representation itself—
three animal heads looking out from a wall—I have not encountered in Egypt.

32 Similar stone nodules were also found in front of Temple II A. Cf. RCK, 1, pl.
lxxii, c ’ odd shaped natural pebbles ’ (p. 30) from the burial-chamber of the pyramid
Ku 4.

33 The paws and at [II C/23] also the knees of the ram are broken off but they do
exist.

34 But compare Berlin 2247 (Ausfuhrliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertuemer
From Begerauie ’.
KUSH

It is certain that these sculptures do not belong to the Lion Temple, as from both the angle of theme and architecture, they are out of place. The reverse sides of the slabs are unworked, thus one must assume that they were originally placed in niches in the wall of some temple of Amon, or a temple dedicated to the triad Amon Re, Shu, Tefnut. The reason why they were brought into or in front of the Lion Temple is obscure. Probably this occurred at a time when the outer layers of the walls had already collapsed but the pylon was still standing. The one lying in front of the pylon had been covered so deeply by blown sand that the heavy pylon blocks falling down from above only caused slight damage.

II. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE LION TEMPLE

1. In front of the South-West Wall there is a small rectangular building, constructed of small blocks in the ‘hollow wall’ manner (II C–I). It served as a kitchen. Both inside and on the outside, in front of the North-West Wall, there were many fireplaces, large quantities of ash, bones and numerous sherds, originating from pots. Sherds from the rims of approximately 120 different pots were encountered. Fig. 12 [SO/8], shows a well-preserved pot (colour: grey-brown). The carved blocks of the South-West Wall fell right on to the fireplaces, thus causing ash and charcoal to be pressed into the relief-work. At some places it was quite clear that large pots had been crushed by blocks which had fallen down.

2. Roughly along the axis, some 16 m. from the entrance of the temple, there is a building with an unusual ground-plan (II C–II). A circular building has been added to a construction of rectangular walls. At present the walls consist of a row of blocks, in which the latter have been built in with their trimmed side facing outwards. The western corner still has a height of two blocks (Plate LVIII, a). The interior of the building was filled with sand and no finds were made. In the rubble above the building, a considerable amount of burnt brick was found. In the vicinity were numerous potsherds, and also one large pot in situ. The purpose this building served is obscure, yet it would appear that some relationship existed with the temple cult.  

*35 Buildings are also to be found in front of the entrances of Temple II A and II C (vide below, p. 189), the object of which is not quite clear. Yet they are bound to have some connection with the cult. According to the way they are placed, they would more or less represent the kiosks in front of the Amon-Temple in Naqa (LD, i, p. 145) and Meroe (Garstang, Meroe, pls. iii, iv).*
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3. At a distance of 28 m. a circular building with a diameter of 5.50 m. (II C–III) is to be found in front of the temple entrance. It consists of a double row of stones, only one layer thick and blocks could be found with the smooth side downwards, apparently forming a sort of loose pavement; in the centre of this circle the concentrated blocks form a square layer of stones (0.80 × 0.80 m.) with a larger stone on the top. But after removal of these stones, inside the circle, at a depth of 0.40 m., a shallow trough became visible. Situated centrally and consisting of a grey-green clayish material it has a diameter of 2.00 m. A shallow channel, coming from a conduit more or less to the north of the circle of stones, leads to this trough. It is shallow and laid out with sherds. The conduit is covered on top, in front of it on the inside is a spoutlike plate. Even outside the circle remnants of this channel could be found but they were much disturbed (PLATE LVIII, b). Thus we are dealing with a font or receptacle for water, in a circular enclosure, which might have been used by the priests for ritual purification purposes before entering the temple.

Roughly in the centre between buildings 2 and 3 there is a basin-shaped column drum, the cavity in which was closed with a stone lid.

4. With the aid of twenty-four sections the course of a low wall was traced over a distance of 580 m., surrounding the Lion Temple in a large oval (II E, FIG. 14). Close to the Hafir the wall has been buried to a considerable depth
by gravel washed down from the Hafir walls; there the upper edge of the wall is to be found down to 1.20 m. below the present surface. At these places the wall is still preserved in its original state (Plate LX, a, b). It is built rather carelessly of irregular, untrimmed stones; the section roughly resembles the shape of a bee-hive. The height of the wall varies between 0.50 and 0.80 m. The date relationship between the Lion Temple and this surrounding wall is still unknown. The old level, that on which the wall has been built, rose in the direction of the Hafir by +0.90 m. and sank towards the Wadi by −0.05 m. (level of the Lion Temple roughly +0.40 m.). From this evidence one may conclude that the Hafir already existed when the wall was built. The small temple II A also has a similar, oval-shaped, crudely built wall which certainly lies at a level higher than that of the temple (vide below p. 190). Ring-shaped enclosure walls for temples are unknown to me elsewhere; besides which Meroitic temples are normally surrounded by a well-built wall of rectangular ground-plan.\textsuperscript{36}

III. The Temple II A

This building, already noted by Cailliaud,\textsuperscript{37} proved to be a small temple with one chamber and entrance pylon, orientated south-east (125\degree). It has the following dimensions: interior 5.15 m. long, 2.70 m. wide; outside: 6.10 m. long, 4.60 m. wide; pylon frontage 5.65 m. wide (Fig. 15).\textsuperscript{38} Only five or six of the lower layers have been preserved, though a certain number of architectural blocks could be salvaged from the rubble. The construction was not carried out with great care and a few carved blocks originating from another temple have been built into it (Plates LX, c; LX, a). The interior chamber had been filled with sand, so raising its floor level by 70 cm. At the level of the floor irregular blocks protrude into the interior (Plate LX, b). The floor itself was not paved. The interior walls are decorated with high relief, of which however only two or three layers of stone have been preserved. From these it is obvious that the temple was built in honour of a male deity. The style of the relief-work resembles that of the interior of the Lion Temple. The finds did not give any definite indication as to date. Two representations strike me as noteworthy. On the northern wall a goddess is seated on a throne, in front of her, on the step of the throne, stands the king turning towards the goddess; behind the throne, between the legs of the goddess and the king, and also behind the king

\textsuperscript{36} For instance Meroe, Sun-Temple (Garstang, Meroe, pl. xxviii), Basa, Lion Temple (Crowfoot, Island of Meroe, pl. v), Gebel Hardan (Addison, SNR, vol. 9, pl. xviii), Gebel Matruka (KUSH VII, p. 183).

\textsuperscript{37} Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé, III, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{38} Meroitic temples of the same kind are: Gebel Matruka, Gebel Hardan, the small building in front of Temple F at Naqa and (with a colonnade), Temple G at Naqa.
can be seen strange tongue-like objects, the interpretation of which is not clear to me. They could be leaves or flames (?) (Plate LX, c). On the southern side wall one finds the representation of a cow with a collar and bell, closely resembling the cattle of the Lion Temple (Plate LVI, b). In front of the back wall there is an altar block with a double cornice; in front of it on the floor a broken libation tray was found [K/1]. Beyond this no finds belonging to the cult were made inside the temple. The altar block was covered with blown sand to a depth of 15 cm. above the top edge. Above this there was a layer of ash, 3 cm. thick, and, above this, rubble.

Fig. 15. GROUND-PLAN OF TEMPLE II A AND OF WORK-SHOP

In front of the entrance, at a distance of 4.20 cm. a hollowed-out column drum had been let into the ground. Next to it were found half a libation tray [K II], nodules of ferricrete sandstone, a piece of silicified wood, a large grindstone, and a fragment of a stone ring [II A 3]. In addition, there was a small sandstone slab with a badly damaged statue of a seated man. He was facing the temple.

7.20 m. from the entrance, there is a square construction (II A–I). A square has been built with one layer of stone, the outline of which measures 2.10 m.; the square was laid out with broken stones and to a depth of 40 cm. with sandstone rubble. In between the broken stones some burnt bricks could be found. On the side nearest the temple a rectangular construction had been added. Its dimensions are 1.00×1.10 m. Here two layers of stone were lying one above the other with gently slanting sides, resembling the lower part of a
KUSH

pyramid. In front, was found a slab of stone, 80 × 45 cm. in size (PLATE LXI, a). The area of the temple is surrounded by a small circular wall, two courses high and irregularly built, which could be traced easily on the Hafir side. It belongs to a later period.

IV. The Temple II D

This temple, where we had already undertaken trial diggings in 1958, is orientated east-south-east (117°). It consisted originally of two chambers,

![Diagram of temple](image)

![Diagram of temple](image)

**Fig. 16. GROUND-PLAN OF TEMPLE D**

the sanctuary (1.70 × 3.10 m.) and a vestibule terminating with a pylon (3.70 × 3.10 m.). The outer dimensions of this part are 8.30 × 4.80 m., the pylon frontage is 6.60 m. wide. In front of this a small entrance hall was built at a later date (3.20 × 3.15 m.). The total length of the building is 12.25 m. (PLATE LXII, a, FIG. 16).

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39 Kush vii, p. 180 (2), PLATE XLVII, b.
REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT MUSAWWARAT

The walls are constructed of sandstone slabs, and the corners of trimmed sandstone blocks. The walls of the vestibule and the side walls of the sanctuary show a lining of earth-made bricks. The separation wall between vestibule and sanctuary is constructed of earth bricks. In the vestibule the lining of bricks starts only 35 cm. above the floor. Probably the whole wall was lined with plaster. The floor of the sanctuary and of the vestibule lies on top of a sand filling 40 cm. deep. In the ante-room it rises gradually, in a ramp-like manner, up to this level.

It is obvious that the temple was used during two separate periods. Certainly the altar block belongs to the first period (PLATE LXII, b). At its four corners there were four cubes of sandstone [II d/11] (those in front show measurements of $18 \times 15 \times 9.5$ cm., those in the rear $17 \times 17 \times 10$ cm.) colourfully painted on all four sides with the ‘Sa-Amulet’ (ochre, red, green)\textsuperscript{40} (PLATE LXIII, a). On the threshold of the sanctuary two clay libation trays were found [St/1] (PLATE LXIII, c, d).\textsuperscript{41} On a level with the lower edge of the altar block, between it and the western wall, there was a small bronze statue [II d/1] which represented a god walking. On the human body there are two falcon heads, wearing high feather crowns, each with a sun-disk and two uraei. On the reverse-side a loop has been attached at the level where the feathers commence. The feet have broken off. Its present height is 10.5 cm. (PLATE LXII, c, d).\textsuperscript{42}

On the north side of the altar an iron trumpet was found lying at floor level [II d/5]. The sheet of iron has been joined by folding it over upon itself. The length is 36.0 cm., the diameter of the mouth-piece 1.2 cm., and the diameter of the bell 7 cm. (FIG. 17).

\textsuperscript{40} This symbol resembling an amulet is used on serval occasions as an ornament on gold bracelets: \textit{RCK}, iv, p. 84 (Pyramid Beg. N. 21); in Meroe it also occurs as a decoration on painted sherds: Garstang, \textit{Meroe}, pl. 1 (1 and 2 row on the right). In Kawa a ‘sandstone window grille’ of this form has been found; Macadam, \textit{Kawa}, ii, pl. lviii, d.

\textsuperscript{41} A libation tray of this kind was found, again lying in front of the altar, in the Amon Temple at Meroe: Garstang, \textit{Meroe}, p. 13. In the chapels of the pyramids Beg. N. 25, 26, 36 such libation trays were also found.

\textsuperscript{42} Bronze figures of this kind, as known from Egypt (altogether 7, 4 of which resemble our specimen with the exception of the position of the arms) are treated by Roeder, \textit{Aegyptische Bronzefiguren (Staatt. Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen Aegypt. Sammlung, vi, Berlin, 1956)}, § 125. Roeder assumes that these figures represent the god Month of Hermonthis.
KUSH

In the sanctuary, next to the altar, on top of a layer of blown sand 15 to 25 cm. thick, a broken goblet-shaped vessel of clay was found [St/3]. Next to the altar there was a female statue without a pedestal and in front of the altar the capital of a pillar. A male statue was found in an upright position, the base of which roughly corresponds with the level of the old floor; but it could not be ascertained whether it had been buried to such a depth that the upper edge of its
pedestal corresponded with the new level. In the vestibule, on the second level, a pot with a handle was found, likewise a goblet-like vessel with a small cup, a square base and four feet (probably a lamp-stand) [St/4. 1, 2] (PLATE LXI, b and FIG. 18) and in the entrance hall a very attractive small box of faience with ornamentation [St/6] (PLATE LXIII, b and FIG. 19). The two levels of the interior of the temple are shown in the longitudinal section, FIG. 20.

Exact dating is difficult and even the many sherds found at all layers inside and outside the temple do not give a more accurate indication of dating than the 'Meroitic' age. Nor can it be stated for which god this temple was built.

Some 15 to 20 m. from the entrance an accumulation of stones was encountered, the original structure of which could no longer be ascertained with accuracy. At the south-east side of it a few stones were found forming a segment of a circle. Probably we are dealing with a construction similar to that in front of the entrance to the Lion Temple. In this connection, comparison may also be drawn from the building in front of Temple II A.

V. THE BUILDING II B

We are dealing here with a building consisting of one chamber only, the entrance to which is situated in the centre of the narrow eastern wall (orientation 114°). The dimensions of the interior are 3.40 × 5.00 m. The walls, 85 to 90 cm. thick, have been constructed of square stones in the 'hollow wall' manner.

The building was only in use during one period during which a layer of 15 cm. of blown sand was deposited. A cooking site was found at floor level, together with sherds of twenty different clay pots, all of coarse ware. One sherd only from a thin clay pot is decorated with a pattern made with a five-toothed stamp [N/2]. When the building had deteriorated or else had been pulled down, most of the blocks were carried off and probably used elsewhere for building purposes.

Twenty-nine of the blocks found by us show relief-work. They are reused blocks and originate from buildings elsewhere which can be taken together with some reused blocks from the 'Small Enclosure' (I B), to reconstruct parts of the figures of a god and a goddess (FIG. 21). The style of this relief-work, originating from the outer decoration of a temple which has since disappeared, seems to be older than that of the relief-work found in the Lion Temple.

VI. THE TEMPLE III A (SOUTH TEMPLE)

The ruins of Temple III A could be recognized as an accumulation of rubble, interspersed with sand. The essential parts of the ground-plan could

Fig. 21. FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF-WORK RECONSTRUCTED FROM BLOCKS WHICH HAD BEEN REUSED IN THE BUILDINGS II B AND I B

Fig. 22. GROUND-PLAN OF TEMPLE III A
be verified superficially. We are dealing with a temple consisting of a sanctuary with a collateral room on each side and a vestibule with two columns in front. The main entrance lies in the west, the orientation being 268° (Fig. 22 and Plate LXIV, a). Comparatively little pottery was found. In the rubble mainly large sherds of a thick ware, in the vestibule, near the floor, sherds from finer, partly decorated pots. In the sanctuary, close to the entrance, an almost perfect clay drum [S/1] (Fig. 23) decorated with incised lines, was found lying on the floor. In this building blocks with relief-work have also been reused; some uraei-friezes and the head of a goddess with a palm branch are to be found. One block exhibits an illegible, probably Old Nubian, inscription; another shows the graffito MIXAH. Many flat slabs of burnt brick (39×21×5 cm. up to 42×22×6 cm.) were found in the rubble, some of which were decorated with incised designs, for instance with fish, a man on horse-back [S/7] et alia (Plate LXIV, b). These bricks originate undoubtedly from the Christian period. One fragment of brick contains an Old Nubian inscription, barely legible, unfortunately. The circumstances in which they were revealed by excavation and the uncommon shape of these bricks leads one to believe that they served as roofing material. Thus one might assume that Temple III A was built in late Meroitic times, but that it was still in use during the Christian era and that it had then been covered with a new roof.

VII. The Tomb S 1

Roughly 7 m. from the back wall (East Wall) of Temple III A there are a few tombs, of which one was opened. The superstructure consists of a rectangular stone enclosure made of trimmed blocks (1×2.85 m.). The interior was filled in with rubble which probably consisted of discarded building material. In front of the narrow western side two erect burnt bricks formed the boundary of a small offering place paved with stone fragments (0.40×0.80 m., Plate LXIV, c). No tombstone was found. Below this superstructure, at a depth of 50 to 60 cm. two groups of comparatively large stones were found lying roughly 1.70 m. apart. At a depth of 85 to 90 cm. fragments of bricks were found which marked off a rectangle, 2.40×0.60 m. At a depth of 1.15 m. the actual burial pit became recognizable (2.00×0.40×0.30 m.) (vide Fig. 24). It contained a skeleton which was lying outstretched on its right side, head in the west, looking towards the south, hands joined above the os pubis, obviously folded. The corpse was wrapped in a cloth, some remnants of which could be salvaged. On

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the chest of the deceased an iron pendant with a loop was found. It consisted of a monogram in Greek letters, showing the name of Saint Michael (FIG. 25). Thus this grave dates back to the Christian era.

VIII. THE HAFIR (II H)

The great Hafir of Musawwarat, measured from one crest of the wall to the other, varies between 240 and 250 m. in diameter. Thus it has the same dimensions as the Hafirs of Awlib,\textsuperscript{46} Basa,\textsuperscript{46} and Umm Usuda,\textsuperscript{47} but it differs

\textsuperscript{45} KUSH VII, p. 176. \textsuperscript{46} Crowfoot, Island of Meroe, pl. iv.
\textsuperscript{47} Crowfoot, loc. cit., pl. xiii.
from these in the height of its walls, which even today, at some places still stand to 7 m. But the height of the walls is not the same everywhere. Quite apart from the intake in the south-east, there are four places, roughly opposite each other, where the height of the walls decreases considerably. Thus the question arose as to whether such depressions were due to erosion or whether they were intended at the time of building. To investigate this problem we started by laying out a number of trenches which were to give us information on technical points regarding the construction of the wall and indications as to the age of the whole structure.

However, we were unable to solve this whole complex of problems during the first two campaigns. The wall has been built up in alternating layers of blocks of stone, gravel and sand. At one point blocks lined with plaster were found among the layers of stone. Considerable quantities of gravel have been washed down from the wall both inwards and outwards and the original level close to the wall inside the Hafir was already 1.50 to 2.00 m. lower. It transpired with certainty that right from the beginning the walls were not equally high everywhere and that the depressions had been intended from the start. The high walls thus did not serve as a storage place for rainwater. Quite possibly they were some kind of fortification and we may, perhaps, be dealing with a refuge with water storage facilities.

On the west side a covered passage leads from the interior of the Hafir underneath its wall to the Wadi. This passage is built of two to three layers of square stones, the smooth surfaces of which face the inside of the passage. It is covered with large, elongated stone slabs and paved with smooth stones (PLATE LIX, a). In the open space, immediately in front of the Hafir the cover comes to an end and a double row of stones extends right into the Wadi (PLATE LIX, b). The total length of this construction is 300 m. (FIG. 26). Undoubtedly we are dealing with a 'feeder system', the object of which was to conduct water from the Hafir, through its wall, to the fields. The starting point of the feeder inside the Hafir is still unexcavated.

IX. The 'Workshop' (II G)

Between Temple II A and the Hafir the old surface lies 1.00 to 1.50 m. below the present level. Here we started with the excavation of an extensive area which, according to our ideas, was used for the manufacture of plaster (FIG. 15). At the western edge of the surface there is a shallow basin (a) with a diameter of 1.30 m. and filled with a mortar-like material to a depth of 0.35 m.; close to this basin there is a layer, roughly 5 cm. thick, consisting of ground-up burnt bricks. The size of the grains varies but diminishes to that of sand. At a distance of 2 m. from this basin there is a similar hollow with a diameter of barely 1 m. (b). 1 m. from the larger hollow there is a square pit in the ground (2.00×2.00 m.), the walls of which are lined with plaster. The depth of this
pit is 1.50 m. The lower part of the western wall has been worked into a bench, jutting out 0.40 m. at a depth of 1 m. The upper edge of this pit consists of a walled in layer of flat stones. Whether this whole construction was ever covered and in what way can no longer be determined. Inside the pit, at a depth of 40 cm. a red-brown pot was found, decorated with engravings (FIG. 27). Nearer the Hafir five rows, each of five circular pits, were found within a continuous plaster floor, the edges of which were usually walled in with a double row of bricks in a circle. The walls of these pits were covered with a crust of a plaster-like substance. The diameter of the opening on the average amounts to 30 cm.; the pits converge towards the bottom and the depth varies from 20 to 30 cm. The distance between any two pits is irregular and varies between 1.50 and 2.50 m. This whole area covers roughly 120 square m. (PLATES LXV, c; LXVI, a). In between these holes burnt bricks and brick detritus are found lying about, just as if they had been dropped at random. The limits of this area were marked off with the aid of some kind of low wall, at least on one side. The full extent of this workshop has so far not been fully established.

Probably this location was used for the manufacture of plaster. The place where the primary material was worked has not yet been discovered. The holes were probably used for slaking, washing and kneading after the primary material had been prepared. In the flat basins the material was mixed with gravel and ground-up bricks. The plaster was generally laid on in three layers, as we found from several blocks covered with plaster which were found in the accumulation at the Hafir and also at other Meroitic workings where plaster had been used. The first layer is of plaster mixed with coarse gravel and ground bricks. This layer was worked into a rough surface by scratching over it with a pointed instrument. Then the second layer was put on, using a plaster which had been thinned by mixing it with finer gravel and ground bricks. Finally a thin layer of pure plaster was put on and smoothed over.\(^{48}\)

X. THE BUILDING I B ('SMALL ENCLOSURE')

To the south-west of the 'Great Enclosure' there was a small mound of rubble, inside which a few outlines of walls were recognizable and which Cailliaud\(^{49}\) and Lepsius\(^{50}\) marked on their maps.

\(^{48}\) The analysis of the plaster samples and the assumed primary material has so far not been carried out.

\(^{49}\) Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, pl. xxii, fig. 3.

\(^{50}\) *LD*, i, p. 140.
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The excavation of this site has progressed to such a degree that the ground-plan for the last period of use could be clarified (FIG. 28). But the investigation of problems relating to the constructional history, which is extremely complicated here, has so far not been concluded.

![Diagram of Building 1B](image)

**FIG. 28. GROUND-PLAN OF BUILDING 1 B**

The whole construction in its last stage consisted of thirty-four rooms, a large court-yard and two corner buildings at the entrances inside the surrounding wall. A further entrance in the south-west is accessible by means of a ramp. The building is constructed partly of square stones (PLATE LXVII, a), partly of brick, and partly of slabs; some walls show a combination of slabs and bricks. Rooms XXIII, XXIV, XXXIII and XXXIV proved to be the oldest part of the building. The first extensions to this nucleus, situated to the north-west, were built upon at a later date, so that the ground-plan was changed and the level gradually rose (PLATE LXVII, c). Prior to the penultimate period of use a considerable rise in the level was caused by an accumulation of rubble, 50 to 70 cm. thick. The floor of the last period in the area of rooms XXVIII and XXIX lies roughly 1 m. above the floor of the first period. It would appear that there were
essentially four main periods of use (FIG. 29). The building is undoubtedly a residency which, for the time being, we may call a ‘governor’s palace’.

At the lowest level, outside the western corner, there was a collection of twenty-four large pots in a thick layer of ash (PLATE LXVII, b). Even some of the pots were filled with ash. More than fifty pots of the same kind were found in rooms III to VIII. Undoubtedly these were kitchens and store-rooms.

In all the layers pots and potsherds of the most dissimilar kinds were found (PLATE LXVI, c). The rim pieces originate from more than 2,000 different pots. In addition, roughly 200 ‘plates’, varying in diameter from 12 to 15 cm., were found (PLATE LXVI, b). Highly decorated Meroitic ware (‘biscuit ware’), stamped or painted, was found at all levels, but, taken all round, was remarkably rare. FIG. 30 shows a pot decorated with incised patterns [KA/82]. It was found in shaft 26 at the level of the lower edge of the foundations. It is a surprising fact that—apart from these ceramics—practically no utensils were found, such as implements.
or arms, ornaments, pearls or amulets. This is difficult to explain. It is very unlikely that this building should have been completely looted on four successive occasions; besides, there are no indications of wilful destruction, though in Room XXII a comparatively small and unimportant layer of ash was found. Perhaps an explanation for this bias of finds might lie in the fact that this *governor’s palace* only served habitually as a residency for a certain time of the year, viz. after the rainy season for as long as there was water in the Hafir, and that, when leaving the building, all objects of value were taken along, but the cheap pottery, which was also difficult to transport, remained on the spot.

For the construction of the walls consisting of blocks, old material from other buildings has been used to some extent. Some of the carved blocks could be pieced together with reused blocks in the building II B (*vide* above, p. 193).

In the court-yard, close to the South-East Wall, a rectangular construction, consisting of small sandstone slabs, has been built into the floor. The interior is 30 cm. deep, and ends in a basin-like floor coated with plaster. The interior measurements of this construction are 1.90 × 0.95 m. (Plate Lxvi, b). The whole construction was filled to the top with yellow, coarse-grained sand, which could clearly be distinguished from the surrounding rubble and sandy material. I believe that this basin-like hollow was the storage place for the carefully chosen sand, which, presumably, had been passed through a sieve, and which was used to strew the floors of the interior apartments of this building.51

In Room XXIV a secondary grave was found. The superstructure, an oval packing of stones, 40 cm. high and 2.70 × 1.50 m., was encountered at a level only a few centimetres below the present surface. Two large stones, roughly 1 m. apart, were found lying at a depth of 60 cm. in the direction of the grave pit, below the grave mound. At a depth of 85 cm. a row of stones was found following the direction of the grave pit. These stones were found to lie right on top of the skeleton. The pit measured 2.00 × 0.40 m. The skeleton was lying in an outstretched position, on the left side, orientation south-east to north-west, the head in the north-west, looking towards the north-east. The left arm was stretched out at an oblique angle, the hand on the left side of the hip. The feet were crossed. The skeleton is 1.56 m. long. No grave goods were found.

The excavation will be continued during the winter season 1961–2.

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51 To give an example: such sand accumulates within the Khors. A similar walled basin has been found in front of the pylon of Temple T at Kawa: Macadam, *Kawa*, 11, p. 225, pl. 6, cviii, h. Kirwan (*vide* Macadam, loc. cit.) calls this arrangement ‘pond’ or ‘trough’.
Deux monuments au nom de la reine Keňsa

par JEAN LECLANT

I

Le Musée du Louvre\(^1\) possède\(^2\) une jolie statuette en schiste vert,\(^3\) haute de
om,244,\(^4\) représentant, sur un socle très peu épais, une déesse léontocéphale
debout, appuyée, à un pilier dorsal (PLATE LXVIII, a–c). Le travail est
d’une grande qualité, l’état de conservation remarquable.\(^5\)

Le corps de la déesse, dont les deux jambes sont figurées côté à côté, est
moulé dans un long fourreau qui accuse l’ampleur du bassin; la taille en revanche
est étroite et haute; le vêtement laisse à découvert les seins, très haut placés. Les
deux bras sont collés\(^6\) le long du corps; la main gauche repose à plat; celle de
droite tient une croix ansée (PLATE LXVIII, b).

\(^1\) Louvre E 3915—Je dois à M. J. Vandier, Conservateur en chef du département
eygptien du Musée du Louvre, l’autorisation de faire connaître cette statuette, pour
l’étude de laquelle M. Paul Barguet a bien voulu m’offrir son aide amicale; je leur adresse
mes profonds remerciements. Ce monument n’a jamais été à proprement parler publié.
On en trouve cependant diverses mentions: E. de Rougé, Mélanges d’archéologie, 1, 3
(1873), p. 88; P. Pierret, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue de la Salle historique de la galerie
eygptienne (1873), p. 17, no. 28 et p. 196; id., Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Musée
du Louvre, 1 (1874), pp. 44–5; W. Budge, A History of Egypt, vi (1902), pp. 115–16;
id., The Egyptian Sudan, ii (1907), p. 2 et p. 3; id., The Book of the Kings of Egypt, ii
(1908), p. 66, n. 3; J. R. Buttlès, The Queens of Egypt (1908), p. 204; H. Gauthier, Livre
des Rois, iv (1916), p. 4, s.v. Piankh, no. vii et Kenans, no. viii; G. Roeder, Aegyptische
Bronzewerke (1937), p. 294, §675, c, 1; M. F. L. Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, i, The
Inscriptions (1949), pp. 120 et 131; J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, BIFAO, li (1952), p. 35, n. 5;
C. de Wit, Le rôle et le sens du lion (1951), p. 295 et n. 27; J. Leclant, Mélanges Mariette
(Bibliothèque d’Études, I.F.A.O., t. xxii (1961)), p. 276, n. 3.

\(^2\) Le Livre d’Entrées du Musée du Louvre, 1, p. 86 indique que la statuette faisait
partie d’un lot d’antiquités égyptiennes acquis le 21 Novembre 1864 de M. Delaporte,
ancien consul de France au Caire, alors consul à Bagdad.

\(^3\) La nature de la roche mériterait d’être précisée; ‘schiste gris verdâtre’ indique
le Journal d’Entrées, 1, p. 86; en tout cas ce n’est pas du ‘granit’ (comme l’indique à tort
P. Pierret, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue (1873), p. 17), encore moins du bronze comme
il est généralement mentionné (J. R. Buttlès; H. Gauthier; G. Roeder).

\(^4\) Les hauteurs signalées précédemment étaient: om,242 (Journal d’Entrées, 1,
p. 86); om,25 (P. Pierret, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue (1873)).

\(^5\) À l’arrière, une cassure est visible à la partie inférieure de la jambe droite; un
autre éclat a été arraché à la fesse droite.

\(^6\) À la hauteur du creux du coude, le bras gauche est détaché de la hanche par une
sorte de petit trou. Le bras droit est en revanche totalement attaché au corps.
KUSH

La déesse est coiffée d’une ample perruque lisse, dont les deux pans retombent en avant au-dessus des seins (PLATE LXIX, a). La tête de félin, avec deux grosses oreilles, s’inscrit dans une coiffure striée; à la partie inférieure de celle-ci se détache, en relief, une sorte de petite boule. Le mufle est dominé par deux bourrelets divergents, légèrement sinuex, qui évoquent la forme de deux cornes hathoriques. Les yeux, bordés d’un étroit listel, étaient incrustés d’une matière rapportée qui ne subsiste totalement que du côté droit.

Deux inscriptions, l’une sur le dessus du socle, l’autre sur le pilier dorsal, indiquent la divinité à qui la statuette a été dédiée, le nom de l’épouse royale et celui du roi sous qui a été faite la consécration.

(A) Sur la partie supérieure du socle (PLATE LXIX, b), on lit d’abord, de chaque côté des pieds de la déesse, en una colonne 'Oubastet' des Deux-Terres'.

Devant les pieds sont disposées deux lignes de texte (→).

N.B.—On remarquera qu’aux endroits où il est employé dans cette inscription, le sign n est rendu par la forme cursive d’un simple trait; cet emploi est courant sur les monuments.

7 L’absence de toute trace de tenon au sommet de la tête empêche de supposer que celle-ci ait jamais été surmontée d’un ornement adventice. Pareille absence est très rare dans les statuettes en bronze de la déesse léontocéphale (G. Roeder, Aegyptische Bronzefiguren (Berlin, 1956), p. 272, §334, b).

8 Cette matière est de couleur blanchâtre, tirant un peu sur le jaune.


12 La direction de la flèche indique l’orientation réelle des signes, et non pas le sens de la lecture.
DEUX MONUMENTS AU NOM DE LA REINE KEÑSA


La formule hsy mry sert à introduire la dédicace, en particulier à l'époque éthiopienne. Elle marque habituellement la relation entre le personnage royal (Pharaon ou Divine Adoratrice) dont le nom figure sur le monument dédié et le dignitaire qui a effectué la dédicace. Mais le cas présent semble assez particulier : alors que d'ordinaire figurent le nom et les titres du dignitaire et que le personnage royal est seulement rappelé, après la formule hsy mry, par un pronom-suffixe, on trouve ici le cartouche de la princesse et sa titulature, à l'exclusion de toute autre indication. On notera le n qui suit hsy mry et qui doit marquer le génitif, d'habitude exprimé directement par le pronom-suffixe. La reine semble donc ainsi apparaître ici elle-même comme la dédicante.

Cette reine est "la noble et grande favorite, l'épouse royale Keença; puisse-t-elle vivre".

(B) En une colonne ( ), le pilier dorsal indique le nom du roi sous le règne duquel a été faite la dédicace (PLATE LXVIII, c):

(a) Le signe nfr ne porte qu'une barre horizontale.
(b) Le signe du disque solaire est constitué par un cercle non ponctué.
(c) Pour la forme de ce signe, cf. supra.

18 Ou parfois sous une forme plus développée hsy mry im3 ; cf. les références citées à la note suivante.
16 Le nom de la reine a été transcrit Kennesat par E. de Rougé (Mélanges d'archéologie, (1873), p. 88), Kenensat plus généralement (e.g. Gauthier, L.R., iv, pp. 4 et 5). Nous adoptons la transcription de M. F. L. Macadam, Kawa (1951), p. 120. Dans l'écriture 'égypto-éthiopienne', sert à noter le n méroïtique auprès de (Macadam, Kawa (1951), p. 120, n. 5 ainsi que Fr. Hintze, Studien zur merotischen Chronologie (1959), p. 18); mais dans le hérogliphyque méroïtique proprement dit, ce groupe de signes correspond à n (F. J. Griffith, Karanog (1911), p. 9). Les échanges semblent d'ailleurs possibles entre n et n. Le t final se rencontre dans un certain nombre de graphies de noms de princesses éthiopiennes ; il indique tout au plus que la voyelle finale se prononçait comme dans un mot de désinence féminine (cf. J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, Kést, x (1949), p. 34). Les noms des souverains de la xxvème dynastie sont évidemment déjà des témoins du méroïtique (Fr. Hintze, ibid., p. 67, n. 2); mais J. Yoyotte a signalé dans le toponyme Napata un témoin linguistique de cette langue remontant à 1300 av J. C. (Comptes rendus du Groupe de Linguistique Chamito-Sémétique, vii (1954-7), pp. 106-8). Faudrait-il songer à rapprocher le nom de la reine de celui du pays kns(t) (Gauthier, D.G., v, pp. 205-6)?
18 C'est à tort que Gauthier (L.R., iv, p. 4, n. 2) indique que cette inscription est tracée 'sur la base de la statue'.

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‘Le dieu parfait, le maître des Deux-Terres, le maître des rites du culte, le roi de Haute et Basse-Egypte, Ousirmaatré, le fils du soleil Piankhry (a), aimé d’Oubastet Ouadjet des Deux-Terres (b). Puise-t-il être doué de vie comme Rê à jamais.’

(b) Cf. supra, p. 204.

Les inscriptions de la statuette Louvre E 3915 sont bien évidemment à l’origine de celles qu’on lit sur une statuette en métal représentant un cynocéphale conservée au Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 23.6.3—et qui est un faux (PLATE LXXI, a). Entre les pattes du cynocéphale—où elle n’a que faire—, on lit une inscription sur deux colonnes (→). Tout autour de la base est disposée, en colonne (!), une inscription exactement copiée sur celle de la statuette Louvre E 3915, à ce détail près que le second cartouche est précédé fautivement des signes (sit) disposés à 90° par rapport au reste de l’inscription.

Si l’on fait enquête sur la dévotion de la famille royal koushite envers la déesse Oubastet, on constate que Piankhry, qualifié sur notre statuette du Louvre E 3915 d’‘aimé d’Oubastet’, a parfois inséré dans son cartouche l’épithète ‘fils d’Oubastet’ (ṣṣ-Wb*jstt). Est-ce là un témoignage supplémentaire de l’intérêt marqué envers Memphis par Piankhry—suivi en cela par l’ensemble des rois de la xxvème dynastie. Remarquons cependant que dans le pays de


19 Par un courrier du 25.vii.1960, le Dr E. Young m’a signalé qu’un examen minutieux ne laissait aucun doute sur le fait que non seulement l’inscription, mais l’objet lui-même est un faux ; avec le concours de M. Murray Pease, il a pu s’en convaincre en considérant en particulier ‘the nature of the cutting of the inscription, the carving of the figure, the patination and the unusual black waxy substance which fills most of the incisions’ ; il insiste aussi sur la très mauvaise qualité de la technique de fonte.


21 Cf. l’inscription d’une abaque de la salle F du temple L du Gebel Barkal (Gauthier, *L.R.*, iv, p. 3 ; E. de Rougé, *Mélanges d’archéologie*, i (1873), p. 88 ; W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii (1907), pp. 2–3) ; ainsi s’exprime la tradition des souverains boubastites, tandis que l’épithète ṣṣ jst est caractéristique des derniers Sheshonqides de Haute Egypte.

DEUX MONUMENTS AU NOM DE LA REINE KEŇSA

Koush lui-même Oubastet n'est pas inconnu\textsuperscript{22bis} : elle est adorée dans la ville koushite de \textsuperscript{23}; le nom de la déesse entre dans la composition de noms de particuliers : \textit{Wb3stt-ir-di.s} \textsuperscript{23bis}, \textit{P3-ir-Wb3stt} \textsuperscript{24}, \textit{P3-šdnw (?)-Wb3stt} \textsuperscript{24bis}, \textit{Pf-t3wi-Wb3stt} \textsuperscript{25}; elle est assez souvent représentée parmi les amulettes.\textsuperscript{26}

II

Dans une des collections privées du Caire les plus riches—et des plus généreusement ouvertes à l'étude—se trouve un second objet au nom de la reine Keňsa. C'est un étui à kohol, en terre émaillée verte, composé de 5 tubes : 3 tubes de plus grande taille alternent avec 2 autres de même diamètre, mais plus courts; ils reposent sur une sorte de socle et sont réunis à la partie supérieure par une bande plate (PLATE LXX, a et b). La hauteur totale de l'étui est de 8 cm., 5, la largeur de 5 cm., 7.

Sur le tube du milieu, on lit une inscription assez sommairement peinte en noir (\textsuperscript{27}):

\begin{center}
'L'épouse royale Keňsa;\textsuperscript{27} puisse-t-elle vivre.'
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{22bis} On trouve plusieurs scènes d'adoration de la déesse Oubastet, de l'époque ramesiside, au temple Sud de Buhén (Porter-Moss, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, vii, p. 134). La déesse, associée à Amon-Rê et à des formes koushites d'Horus (de Buhén, de Miam), figure sur plusieurs documents de Ramsès II et Ramsès III au temple d'Amarra (Porter-Moss, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, vii, pp. 159 et 162).


\textsuperscript{23bis} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen}, i, p. 90, n°. 7 et Porter-Moss, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, vii, p. 151 (Senneh-Ouest).

\textsuperscript{24} J. Monnet, \textit{R.d'Ég.}, vol. 9 (1952), p. 98.


\textsuperscript{25} M. F. L. Macadam, \textit{Kawa, I, The Inscriptions} (1949), Text, p. 87 et pl. 36, no. xxxi.

\textsuperscript{26} Attribuée par Macadam à la xx\textdegree Vème dynastie, cette stèle pourrait éventuellement être un des rares témoignages nubiens de l'époque shéhonqide (J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, \textit{BIFAO}, lli (1952) p. 6).


\textsuperscript{27} Pour la transcription du nom de la reine, cf. \textit{supra}, p. 205, n. 15.
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De tels étuis à kohol, en 'flûte de Pan', sont bien connus.

A l'exemplaire classique du Musée du Caire no. 398028 nous ajouteron seulement, grâce à l'obligeance des conservateurs du Metropolitan Museum de New York, les fragments de deux exemplaires recueillis dans les fouilles de Lisht, Pyramide Nord, malheureusement hors de tout contexte datable (M.M.A. 15.3.89029 et M.M.A. 22.1.115330).

* * *

Qui est l'épouse royale Keñsa? La statuette du Louvre E 3915 la met bien évidemment en rapport avec Piankhy,31 dans le harem32 duquel elle vient rejoindre à titre d'épouse33 Peksater, Abalé,34 Tabiry, Neferoukekashta(?).35 Notre 𓎆𓏺𓅖 36 (avec des variantes) sur divers documents37 de la tombe 4 de Kurru?38 S'il en était ainsi, les deux objets que nous venons de publier nous livrerait
DEUX MONUMENTS AU NOM DE LA REINE KEÑSA

une graphie du nom en quelque sorte plus égyptienne que celles de la tombe de Napata; ils attesterait que parfois les épouses des rois Éthiopiens, bien que le plus souvent reléguées dans les harems du Pays de Koush, ont pu être présentes et jouer quelque rôle en Égypte même.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

TWO MONUMENTS IN THE NAME OF QUEEN KEÑSA

I

In the Louvre (no. E 3915) there is a green schist statuette (of good workmanship and well-preserved, height 0.244 m.) of a lion-headed goddess standing on quite a thin base and supported by a dorsal pillar (PLATE LXVIII, a–c).

The goddess is standing with her legs together, and is depicted wearing a long tight-fitting dress which emphasizes the fullness of her hips, in contrast to her waist which is high and narrow. Her breast is uncovered and both arms are close to her sides; the left hand is open, while in her right hand she holds an ankh (PLATE LXVIII, b). On her head she wears a full, smooth wig, the two side pieces of which fall in front over her breasts (PLATE LXIX, a). The feline head, with two large ears, is enclosed in a fluted wimple, from the lower edge of which

39 On a déjà proposé de reconnaître un doublet graphique dans les deux noms Pbatma et Piebtemery qui s’appliquent à une seule princesse dont le nom aurait été quelque chose comme Pabtoméi (J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, BIFAO, L1 (1952), p. 36).


41 Une autre épouse de Piankh, Peksater, est bien connue par des fragments architecturaux retrouvés à Abydos.—Notons encore la mention de Tabekenamon, fille de Piankh et peut-être femme de Taharqa, sur la statue du prince Harmakhis découverte à Karnak (Caire J.E. 49157 ; Dunham et Macadam, JEA, vol. 35 (1949), no. 71, p. 147 et pl. xvi); une autre statue de Karnak donnait une princesse, dont le nom a été martelé, comme mère de Neschoutefnout, le fils de Taharqa (Caire C.G. 42203 ; G. Legrain, C.G.C. Statues, III, pp. 11–12 et pl. vi).—Pour le voyage de la reine Abalé de Nubie jusqu’à Tanis, voir le texte de l’an VI de Taharqa, stèle V de Kawa, l.16 sq. et stèle de Tanis, B, l.11 sq. (M. F. L. Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, The Inscriptions (1949), pls. 9, 10 et pp. 26, 28 ; J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, Kêmi, x (1949), pl. iii et pp. 32, 37 ; cf. également J. Leclant et J. Yoyotte, BIFAO, L1 (1952), p. 22).
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depends a small ball. Above the face are two bulges, slightly curved and reminiscent of the horns of Hathor. The eyes were once inlaid with some whitish substance, which remains only on the right side, and edged with a narrow rim.

There are two inscriptions, one on the base and the other on the dorsal pillar, which give the name of the deity to whom the statuette was dedicated and those of the royal wife and the king in whose reign it was consecrated. On the upper part of the base (Plate LXX, b) on either side of the feet, may be read the inscription Bastet Wadjet of the Two Lands. Two lines of text in front of the feet offer a somewhat unusual wording, which seems to indicate that the queen herself must have dedicated the statuette; after the formula ḫsy mry follows the titulary: The noble, the great favourite, the royal wife Keñsa, may she live. The inscription on the dorsal pillar (Plate LXXVIII, c) reads: The perfect god, the lord of the Two Lands, the master of the rites of the cult, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre, the son of the sun, Piankhhy, beloved of Bastet Wadjet of the Two Lands, may he be given life like Re for ever.

The inscriptions on this statuette are evidently the original from which those on a metal statuette of a baboon in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no. 23.6.3) (Plate LXXI, a)—a forgery—were copied.

Piankhhy is described here as ‘beloved of Bastet’, and sometimes ‘son of Bastet’ is to be found in his cartouches. One wonders, therefore, if this is additional evidence of the favour shown by him and his successors to Memphis. It should be noted, however, that Bastet was not unknown in the land of Kush; she was particularly revered in one Kushite town and her name is found as an element in personal names and on amulets.

II

A second object in the name of Queen Keñsa is to be found in a private collection in Cairo. It is a kohl pot of green-enamelled clay, consisting of five tubes, three longer ones alternating with two shorter ones of the same diameter. They rest on a sort of stand and are joined together at the top by a flat band (Plate LXX, a and b). The total height of the pot is 8.5 cm. and its width 5.7 cm. On the central tube is a brief text painted in black: The royal wife Keñsa, may she live. Kohl pots of this type—shaped like Pan-pipes—are well known.

Who was the royal wife Keñsa? The statuette, Louvre E 3915, links her with Piankhhy in whose harem she comes to join Peksater, Abalé, Tabiry, Neferoukekashta(?). Is she the same as Kheñsa, whose name appears (with variations) on a number of objects in Tomb 4 at Kurru? If so, the two objects published here give a reading which is more Egyptian in form than those found in the Napatan tomb, and bear witness to the fact that the wives of Ethiopian kings, although most often relegated to the harems of the Land of Kush, could upon occasion be present and play some part even in Egypt.
Spanish Archaeological Mission to Argin
First Preliminary Report
by R. Blanco y Caro and F. Presedo Velo

In answer to the appeal from Unesco for the civilized world as a whole to try and save the archaeological wealth threatened with irretrievable destruction by the works at Sad el Aali, Spain appointed a Commission under the presidency of H. E. Sr. D. Alberto Martin-Artajo, ex-Minister of Asuntos Exteriores (Foreign Affairs).

This Commission selected me to start out at once to visit the area and study the prospects for scientific aid from Spain. On my return, I put forward for consideration a number of schemes. One of my proposals, which was unanimously accepted, was that Spanish co-operation should not be restricted to the Egyptian area, but should be extended also to include Sudanese Nubia.

During the month of August 1960, I was in constant communication with Dr J. Vercouetter, ex-Commissioner for Archaeology, who was then in Paris, and I now express my gratitude for his wise advice and cordial co-operation. We both agreed in choosing for the Spanish Mission, the area, designated 24-V-1 and 6-B-1 by the Antiquities Service, which is situated at Argin on the west bank of the Nile opposite Wadi Halfa and some 12 km. away. A concession was granted for two years.

After overcoming many natural difficulties, since it was the first time that a Spanish Mission had excavated in the Orient, an executive team was formed as follows:

Director of the Nubian Expedition—Dr Martin Almagro Basch.
Field Director of the Excavation at Argin—Prof. R. Blanco y Caro.
Assistant—Dr F. J. Presedo Velo.
Architect—Sr. de Navascues y de Palacio.

During the first days of February 1961 the three last-mentioned members of the Spanish Mission arrived in Wadi Halfa and made contact with Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan, and with the Senior Inspector of Antiquities, Sayed Nigm el Din Mohammed Sheriff, to whom, once again, I repeat my thanks as well as the gratitude of the whole Spanish Commission. Very valuable help and expert information were also received from Mr L. P. Kirwan and Dr W. Y. Adams, to whom we express our best thanks.

On 4 February 1961, we started a preliminary reconnaissance of the areas ascribed to Spain and began the task of settling ourselves into a rented house
in Argin. We had to provide ourselves with sifting baskets, sieves, etc. and to engage workers, and especially a Reis. We appointed the expert Hassan Mohamed Musa for this task and engaged four Quftis.

On 8 February we began work in the area 6–B–1, which was named Argin South.

Method

An excavation always raises problems of method and, as our expedition was in the nature of a 'Pilot Expedition', we had to adapt our methods to the conditions of the terrain, the experience of our men, the archaeological character of the area, and many matters which were unfamiliar to us. So it was prudent and logical to make a slow beginning.

We found that the terrain itself did not present any great difficulty. We had only to extract the sand carefully, and excavate with great attention to the tombs and tumuli, as the site was a necropolis.

I had my four specialists (Quftis) working in the inside of the tombs, under the vigilance of Reis Hassan, while some member of the Mission, often myself, was present at all times. The local workers were employed in removing the sand. Sometimes it was necessary to set a watch at night on tombs that were unfinished.

There was no stratigraphical problem, because the ground was level and the site had been disturbed by robbers at different times.

As a consequence of the experience and the results obtained, the Spanish Mission is preparing for the next campaign with a greater number of workers and an increased speed of operation, which we believe is quite possible and economically advisable.

Besides the work of excavation, we carried out a careful survey of our area, as far as the desert, in order to study the lithic remains in the neighbourhood, and we have agreed with the authorities in the Sudan that we shall offer any finds of this type to the Spanish prehistorians with a view to obtaining the co-operation of our experts.

Sites excavated (see Plan, FIG. 1)

T/1. Tumulus number 1 is perceptibly ovoid in shape; orientated north to south; 18.80 × 9.20 m. in size and 0.40 m. in height. The excavation yielded some fragments of red pottery, well polished and black on the inside, of A-Group(?) type. In the natural ground and under the tumulus, as is common in this kind of grave, there were some holes, which are marked on the Plan. A few of them have an interior revetment of pebbles and mud. These secondary burials did not offer any finds. The actual tomb consisted of a rectangular pit, situated in the centre of a more or less circular tumulus of piled up earth. There is always a small burial chamber at the western end of the pit, in which the body is placed
Excavaciones de la Mision Arqueológica Española en Argin Sur
FEBRERO-MARZO 1962

POZO

TUMULO EXCAVADO
TUMULO NO EXCAVADO
TUMBA

ESCALA GRÁFICA

(PLANO PROVISIONAL)

Fig. 1

facing p. 212
lying north to south and accompanied by grave goods. The chamber is separated from the pit by a little wall of uncarved stone, built without mortar. In some cases—which will be noted—this small wall was made of mud brick.

The size of the pit in question is $3.0 \times 1.90$ m. and $1.80$ m. in depth, down to the rock. This burial, like all the others we have found, had been plundered long ago. The robbers had made a hole at the west end, leading straight to the chamber. Our excavation of the 'robbers' hole' produced, near its beginning, a fragment of red-black pottery, which had evidently fallen in from the outside when it was still open after the robbery. The inner part of the 'robbers' hole' had been filled up with sand, and it yielded nothing at all.

The robbers had moved the pottery and it was found in disorder near the entrance. The chamber, which was in the utmost disorder, produced a large vessel, some human bones scattered here and there, some fragments of leather—probably part of a scabbard—and some beads.

T/2. The same type as the first, but perfectly circular; $14$ m. in diameter; orientated north to south; height of the tumulus $1.40$ m. We extracted several fragments, which we can reconstruct, of a small vessel in the red-black pottery noted in T/1. The pit is $3 \times 1.50$ m. in size and $2.53$ m. in depth, with a step in the north-west corner. A characteristic which is repeated in other interments. The little wall separating the pit from the chamber is made of mud bricks, laid carelessly in three rows. Two kinds of mud bricks were used: one was $28 \times 17 \times 12$ cm. in size, and the other $31 \times 17 \times 11$ cm. Like T/1, the chamber had been plundered, but more thoroughly. The robbers had left some bone, and a single bead, found after conscientious sifting of as much earth and sand as could have been in contact with the body.

Digging in the ground that had been under the tumulus (of sand) we found five small tombs, without tumuli, and very shallow. They had been plundered like all the others. We gave numbers to four of them. The other is marked with an asterisk in the plan because although it was ready for a burial it had never been used.

T/3. This is a tomb dug into the natural ground. Size $2.10 \times 0.90$ m. and $0.45$ m. in depth. It held a human skeleton and a small ceramic jar. Its structure is like that of the bigger ones. It has a small lateral chamber $0.65$ m. wide. Sifting of the earth yielded twenty-one beads. We also found some small and shapeless bits of leather and cloth.

T/4. Small tomb. Size $1.80 \times 0.90$ m. and $0.85$ m. in depth. It contained some bones from a child's skeleton and three fragments of pottery.

T/5. Approximately round in shape; size $1.60$ m. on the major axis, and $1.45$ m. on the minor one; $0.35$ m. in depth. It produced fragments from a skeleton which had been buried in a very contracted position. In spite of the extreme care with which the earth was sifted, nothing at all was found. We did not observe any peculiarity except the position of the body which was due to the restricted space.
SECTION A

PIT

CHAMBER

ROBBERS' TUNNEL

STONE WALL

HUMAN REMAINS

EARTH MOUND

COMPACTED EARTH

ROBBERS' HOLE

PLAN

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 POTS

Fig. 2. TUMULUS No. 1, ARGIN

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T/6. Like T/3. Size 1.40×0.60 m. and 1 m. in depth. The lateral chamber is scarcely 0.30 in width. Some fragments of a skeleton in a very poor state were found, and also some fragments of coarse pottery.

T/7. Tumulus resembling T/2. It had almost disappeared, for its height was only 0.15 m. Nothing was found among the sand of the tumulus. The diameter is 11.75 m. Over the surface, and on a level with the opening of the pit, we could see a slot, 3 m. long, 0.40 m. wide, and 0.40 m. deep, of which we cannot imagine the use or purpose (see Plan).

The burial, plundered like all the others, showed the 'robbers' tunnel' at the entrance and yielded fragments—twenty-one in all—of a reddish earthenware bowl, which has been reconstructed. The wall separating the chamber from the pit was made of uncarved stone. We found some fragments of a sword—pieces of the blade and some bits of the hilt—and a few beads. Like the others it was orientated north to south. The pit also has a step in the corner and its size is 1.35×2.50 and 2.80 m. in depth.

T/8. The same type and orientation as the preceding one. Size 1.40×0.70 m. in diameter and 1.48 m. in depth. Pit 2.72×1.35 m. and 2.15 m. in depth. Among the sand of the tumulus some fragments of pottery were found. The small wall separating the chamber from the pit was made of stones which lay in disorder. We found, also in great disorder, and two of them intentionally upside down, nine vessels, some fragments of metal, several arrow-heads and a lot of beads. A metal ring was found in the 'robbers' tunnel'.

T/9. Tomb with tumulus. Only 1.15 m. in height and a diameter of 16 m. The refill is perfectly homogeneous, but in the south-west quadrant we found some fragments as if from small bones, difficult to recognize, with some beads adhering to them. The small bones, in spite of the extreme care with which they were handled, crumbled to dust. Two of the beads are blue-green and roundish, like those of pharaonic type, and one is a sort of reddish globe. This burial had also been plundered, but in a different manner. We found the usual tunnel from the west, but it continued for only 70 cm. There the robbers changed their minds and began opening a new one from the top. They therefore destroyed a part of the tumulus. It is clear that while in those tombs which were plundered by entering along the 'tunnel' the body was dragged by the head, so that sometimes we found it in the tunnel, in this case it had been dragged by the feet, and pulled partly out of the chamber, breaking down part of the wall in the process. This tomb proved particularly fruitful, for we found an amphora, three jars, nine small pots, fifty arrow-heands and more than a hundred beads. The bones were, of course, dispersed.

T/10. This tomb is peculiar in that it is unfinished. When it was being made the workers struck rock which prevented the excavation of a lateral chamber, so they did not continue. We found it refilled with sand. Orientation north to south; size 1.60×2.70 m. and 1.60 m. in depth.
T/11. Circular tumulus. Diameter 6.50 m.; height of tumulus 0.13 m.; size of pit $3.50 \times 2.30$ m. and 2.60 m. in depth. Wall of irregular stone. Plundered by entering from the top. Only a skull and a big broken vessel were found. Orientation north to south.

T/12. Ovoid. Height of tumulus 0.15 m.; major axis 10 m.; minor axis 8.70 m.; size of the pit $2.20 \times 3.20$ m., and 2.30 m. in depth. Found: fragments of wood, fragments of pottery, two small jars and several beads.

T/13. No tumulus. Size $2.35 \times 1.28$ m. and 1.75 m. in depth. Orientation east to west. The head to the west. It seems that four coarse vessels had been placed in each of the corners. We found some fragments.

T/14. No tumulus. Orientation east to west, like T/13. Size $2.35 \times 0.80$ m. which gives a queer sensation of narrowness. 1.75 m. in depth. Just the same as the preceding one. The human remains were in a poor state, and there were traces of the four ritual vessels having been in the corners of the rectangular tomb.

T/15. Although its appearance does not suggest it, for it looks like a tumulus, there is a burial almost at the surface, right in the centre, orientated like T/13 and T/14. Size $2.0 \times 0.85$ m. and 1.60 m. in depth. After studying this tomb and a hole next to it carefully, we believe it to be a burial typical of this necropolis. This could be the chamber, and the hole next to it the pit. Its original form had been destroyed by the robbers. There is, however, a difficulty to accepting this idea in the position of the corpse: it is not orientated north to south but east to west.

The finds

Pottery. All the tombs we explored at Argin had been plundered. But we have found enough pottery to classify the necropolis as belonging to the X-Group. In general, we can say that we have found at Argin the types listed by Emery in *Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, both of which are located in Egyptian Nubia near the Sudanese frontier. We refer readers of this report to Mr Emery’s work, as well as to that of Mr Kirwan, regarding the influences shown in these types of pottery.

The types are: (a) funerary bowls in the shape of cups, painted, or not, round the rim and with three vertical stripes. These bowls are of a clear reddish colour; (b) large rounded jars with painted mouth and neck. Coarse pottery containing a lot of mica, of ancient Nubian tradition—very common in this culture; (c) evenly fired globular jars; (d) a single amphora, in a good state of preservation was found in T/9. Greco-Roman influence is clear in this type; (e) round earthenware jars with two handles; (g) a single small plate.

We believe it is of considerable interest to repeat that we have observed the sporadic presence of fragments of pottery probably from the A-Group. This proves that the site had been used previously. Even if there were no other
a. ARGIN—EXCAVATING FOR THE QUADRANT OF A TUMULUS

b. ARGIN—THE EXCAVATION OF A PIT
SPANISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION TO ARGIN

traces—and, in fact, there are—those already mentioned would be enough to show a direct contact between this area and the pharaonic culture.

Iron. There were not many iron objects: only a few fragments of a sword and a great number of arrow-heads of various types.

Fig. 3. X-GROUP POTTERY

Leather. Some fragments from the sheath or scabbard of a sword, decorated with lozenges, and some fragments which are difficult to identify.

Wood. Some fragments of the hilt of a sword or dagger.

Beads. We have collected more than a thousand beads of different type, material and shape, mostly small, round and made of faience. There are also
SPANISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION TO ARGIN

a lot of short cylindrical type, made of bone and uncoloured. A few are of polished stone, almond shaped—perhaps river pebbles, and a few of cornelian. We have also found here and there some blue-green rounded beads in the purest pharaonic tradition. They will certainly be duly studied when the final report is written on the completion of the excavation of this necropolis.

Conclusion

The tombs excavated during this first part of the campaign in the area 6-B-1 of Argin, must be classified, without any doubt, to the X-Group, remains of which are to be found from Egyptian Nubia at least as far as the Third Cataract, but we suspect—and we shall try to establish, or else exclude the fact—that there was an earlier necropolis on the very site we are exploring.

The archaeological and historical importance of the X-Group culture increases every day as we come to know more of the archaeology of the Sudan. Some experts (Kirwan) think these are the tombs of the Nobatae warriors who established themselves near the Roman frontier along the left bank of the Nile as far as the neighbourhood of Asswan (Ibrim, Kalabsha, etc.) at the fall of the Kingdom of Meroe. It has been supposed that these people were an important factor in the organization of Medieval Nubia, which was later converted to Christianity through the influence of Byzantium. In their culture, in so far as we can see it through their tombs and the objects found therein, we can trace two formative influences: one the Meroitic inheritance, the other a Hellenistic-Romano-Byzantine influence which gave this people their individual characteristics, half warrior and half shepherd.

RESUMEN

La Misión Arqueológica española excavó desde el 8 de febrero al 14 de marzo de 1961, una parte de la zona arqueológica 6-B-1 correspondiente a una necrópolis del Grupo-X situada en Argin (Sudán), a unos doce kilómetros de Wadi-Halfa a su norte y en la orilla izquierda del Nilo.

Las tumbas exploradas, quince en total, solamente siete conservaban mas o menos desmochado su túmulo y la totalidad del cementerio se calcula en unos setenta y tantos enterramientos.

Sin excepción todos los hasta ahora estudiados han sido violados de antiguo. Sospechamos que en este mismo lugar hubo inhumaciones anteriores a las del Grupo-X por que han aparecido restos de cerámica anteriores. Trataremos de confirmar plenamente esta hipótesis o de eliminarla a la vista de lo que aún queda por indagar. Lo que si está perfectamente probado y sin lugar a duda es que hay un sector en que los cadáveres aparecen enterrados en posición oeste-este y otro en colocación norte-sur refiriéndonos a la cabeza.

La estructura de las tumbas así como el utilaje o ajuar recolectado no ofrece diferencia alguna con la conocida tipología G-X. Aunque no podemos ofrecer, hasta ahora novedad alguna, al menos los arqueólogos españoles han tenido ocasión de estudiar sobre el terreno este interesante grupo cultural y pueden aportar a las colecciones arqueológicas de España piezas desconocidas en nuestros museos.

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Polish Excavations at Faras, 1961

by Kazimierz Michałowski

The first season of Polish (Warsaw University and National Museum) excavations in Faras lasted from 2 February to 6 March 1961. The members of the expedition were:

Mr Kazimierz Michałowski: Director of Excavations
Mr Wiesław Koziński: Architect
Mr Marek Marciniak: Egyptologist and Epigraphist
Mr Antoni Ostrasz: Architect
Miss Barbara Ruszczy: Archaeologist
Mr Tadeusz Biniewski: Photographer
Mr Władysław Kubiak: Arabic scholar and Secretary of the Polish Centre of Archaeology, Cairo, took part in the first week’s work
Mrs Janina Bielska: Architect, joined the team later, completing its numbers.

About ninety workmen were engaged.

Supervision was, for the most part, the responsibility of Miss Ruszczy and Mr Marciniak. The latter is responsible for the inventory of inscriptions, and the former for the registers of objects found and of photographs, as well as for the camp in general. Messrs Ostrasz and Koziński, with Mrs Bielska, traced the plans, profiles, and sketches of architectural detail. All photographs were taken by Mr Biniewski. Mr Marciniak assisted in drawing up this report.

We wish to thank Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan, and Sayed N. M. Sherif, Senior Inspector of Antiquities, who from Wadi Halfa granted us every facility enabling us to carry out these excavations. Messrs J. Vercouther, L. P. Kirwan and W. Adams\(^1\) made important suggestions to us, especially regarding their own researches in the area.

INTRODUCTION

Western Faras, granted as a concession for archaeological research by the Sudan Antiquities Service to the Polish Expedition, lies within the following

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\(^1\) Mr Adams kindly put at our disposal a complete list of the archaeological sites discovered in our concession, as well as the bibliographical references to them.
limits as shown on the Sara quadrangle (sheet 22° 07' 30"/31° 20' in the Egypt–
New Series 1:25,000 maps published by the U.S. Ordnance Department,
1953): southern limit, line 946,000; western limit, line 661,000; northern limit,
the Egyptian frontier; eastern limit, the west bank of the Nile. This terrain
covers some 7 square km. and comprises the thirty-four archaeological sites
discovered during former excavations by Mileham (1909) and by the Oxford
Archaeological Expedition led by F. Ll. Griffith (1910–12).

No detailed plan of the Kom was available to show the various levels. It
was therefore necessary, before beginning to excavate, to draw a plan showing
the stratification inside the Meroitic enclosure which had been partially excavated
by Griffith.

The Kom rises to a height of approximately 16 m. above the level of the
Nile in February 1961. All the remains on the slopes and summit of the Kom
which seemed likely objects for study were marked on Plan 1 and, as the ruins
emerged from the surrounding sands, it was possible to make east-west, north-
south sections of the Citadel, including the Byzantine Church (see Plan 1).

Definitive publication of the Kom will not be possible until the excavations
are completed, but already the first season allows clear recognition of the remains
of four periods corresponding to the four groups of ruins mentioned by Griffith
as a result of his work at Faras, namely:

A. New Kingdom
B. Meroitic
C. Christian
D. Arab

To avoid delaying this report, and with a view to presenting the results of
this season’s excavations as soon as possible so as to encourage special studies
on the basis of these findings, bibliography has been limited to the most essential
references. Readers are directed to the pages of Griffith’s reports where all
necessary references are to be found. The short bibliography of Faras West,
including manuscripts in the archives of the Sudan Antiquities Service, may
also be considered to supplement this report.

A. New Kingdom

The most important find from the New Kingdom period consists of 165
pinkish and yellowish grey sandstone blocks from the Temple of Thothmes III
(Plate LXXIV, a). Counting the forty blocks already mentioned by Griffith and
evacuated last year by Vercoultier and Adams, the total number of inscribed and

3 It should be noted that nine of the blocks mentioned by Griffith are missing. We
cannot, therefore, ascribe them to any of the above-mentioned groups.
decorated blocks is 294. The face of some of these is badly damaged owing to the action of chemical salts, but generally speaking they have been well preserved, thanks to the dry sand in which they were buried. They can be separated into seven distinct groups:

1. blocks adorned with incised hieroglyphs about 30 cm. high and with traces of yellow colouring;
2. hieroglyphic inscriptions in relief, some of which still show traces of red, yellow and blue;
3. fragments of scenes of ritual dancing, offerings, etc.;
4. blocks decorated with hakeron motifs. These are all in very deep relief. On some blocks colours can still be distinguished: green, black, yellow, red;
5. fragments of the cornice, decorated with blue and white leaves;
6. cylindrical cornice;
7. slabs from the ceiling. These bear yellow stars on a blue ground.

Not a single block from the Temple of Thotmes III has been found intact. They are all split into at least two pieces, broken, and in some cases bear traces of hammering. Evidently they had been reconditioned for use in later buildings. Most of these blocks were found in one area, south of the Meroitic ruins below the south-west point of the Kom (level – 1 m., see Plan 1). They were interspersed with 200 uninscribed blocks, also probably removed from the temple walls. Many of them show marks made by the workmen’s tools. All these stones seem to have been gathered together in preparation for building activities which never took place. It is also possible that, having already been used twice, they were intended to be used a third time. They were found beneath the sand, scattered over an area some 300 m. square. Digging somewhat above them, fragments of Christian pottery were found mixed with the sand. The alluvium, which may have been the old tilled soil, showed under 30-40 cm. of this sand.

None of these stones were taken from the foundation of houses which we believe to be Meroitic. Some, however, came from the interior of these houses, where they were deeply buried in sand. Griffith seems to have believed that they

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4 Griffith only published drawings, but no photographs. The description of the blocks excavated in 1960 has not yet been published, but we will be able, thanks to the kindness of Messrs Vercouutter and Adams to include it in our detailed report, which is to be published in French.

5 A sandstone slab, one of the first found in this collection, bears an Arabic inscription worded thus: ‘Sa‘id Mohammed Nur, 19.VII.1935’.
were excavated by 19th-century sebakh-seekers who dug beneath them to get what they wanted. However, it does not seem very likely that these heavy stones would have been moved simply for the sake of sebakh.

What archaeological data concerning the temple to which they originally belonged can we get from studying the conditions of this find? First, a very important fact: the majority of these stones come from the upper parts of the temple—architraves, cornice and ceiling. There are probably not more than two blocks in all, representing fragments from the ritual dance scene, which were part of the lower courses of the wall. The temple itself must have been of considerable size judging from the hieroglyphs. In their upper part, the walls must have measured at least 0.70 m. in width.

These measurements have been preserved by two blocks inscribed with hieroglyphs on two sides (inv. no. A6/61, A48/61). It would be difficult to state very definitely which side of the wall either series belongs to, but it appears to be an outside inscription. Most of the hieroglyphic reliefs are damaged, which leads us to believe that they decorated the outside of the temple; however, the colours are so well preserved in the block bearing the cartouche of Thotmes II (inv. no. A52/61) that this may not be the case.

The most difficult problem is that of the location of the temple. In his report Griffith placed it approximately on the spot where he found the inscribed blocks. He believed he could trace a street between the north and south gates of the enclosure in such a manner that it would skirt the temple. However, there is no trace of anything there which could be the foundations of the temple. It is true that Griffith seemed to consider the walls of the houses he discovered between the Citadel and the enclosure walls as belonging to these foundations. Nevertheless, that suggestion cannot be accepted owing to the disproportion between the thickness of the temple blocks and that of the walls of the houses. Moreover, the measurements of that housing complex have nothing in common with the measurements estimated in proportion to the two afore-mentioned blocks (inv. no. A6/61, A48/61). The fact that the blocks of the lower courses are missing and that most of those found are from the architraves, cornice and ceiling, seems to indicate that the temple itself was further off. Several scholars have suggested that the remains of the temple could be under the Citadel and the Byzantine church, that is to say at the bottom of the Kom. The answer to that could only be given by entirely excavating the Kom.

In the course of this year's work, a trench was dug into the eastern slope of the Kom. This trench was 33 m. long, 6.50 m. wide and 10 m. deep, extending to approximately a quarter of the way through the Kom at its widest point.

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6 *LAAA*, viii, p. 90.  
7 *LAAA*, xiii, pp. 28 ff.  
8 Ibid., xiii, p. 34, fig. xxv.
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Up to date, no trace has been found of the Temple of Thotmes III. Let us hope that next season may provide an answer to the problem.9

B. MEROITIC PERIOD

The Meroitic period is represented within the enclosure, which itself dates from that time,10 by architectural fragments of sandstone such as cornices decorated with friezes of cobras and winged solar discs, grilles and pieces of sculpture. It is evident that during that period there were a number of small shrines here. The Meroitic blocks (Plate LXXIV, b) have been partly re-utilized in the walls of the Arab fort, from whence specimens of the same type as those found by Griffith were removed,11 namely:

a. four pieces of a large cornice (inv. no. A157/61, A168/61), measuring $0.47 \times 0.96 \times 0.25$ m.

b. one piece from another cornice, smaller, but delicately wrought. (Inv. no. A171/61), dimensions $0.265 \times 0.39 \times 0.15$ m.

c. two fragments of cornices which merit special mention because of the floral design—strip of foliage—in place of the winged disc which was the most characteristic motif in Egyptian art.

We have here a good example of classical influence on Meroitic architecture. This could only have been manifest at Faras during Griffith's B/C period—that is the 1st–2nd century A.D. It was at that time, during the long Meroitic period of prosperity in Lower Nubia, that classical influence must have reached its peak. However, until the Kom is excavated, it will not be possible to pin-point

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9 Probing 50 m. west of the Enclosure, between the west gate and the south-west tower, we uncovered a block from the Temple of Ramses II brought from elsewhere by the inhabitants of Diffi. It reads as follows: and can be considered to complete the list of Ramesside stones published by Griffith (see LAAA, VIII, pl. xxv, 1–6, p. 89). We have found no Ramesside inscriptions on the stones from the Temple of Thotmes III. So Griffith seems to have been right in supposing a Ramesside Temple separate from that of Thotmes III. However, we must point out that during the last days of our excavations, at the bottom of a trench we had dug into the eastern slope of the Kom, at a depth of 2.10 m. we found the remains of a mud brick wall under the ruins of a Meroitic house. This wall is doubtless older than the house, and might well be all that is left of some New Kingdom building. It has only been partly cleared, so that we can only give the size of its bricks: $36–7$ cm. $\times 17–18$ cm. $\times 7–8$ cm. Its direction is east–west.


11 LAAA, pl. xxix, 3–9, 23.
the monuments. No trace whatsoever of the foundations of the Meroitic temple
was found by Griffith in the enclosure.\textsuperscript{12}

One find deserves very special attention.\textsuperscript{13} It is a rectangular sandstone
object (inv. no. 139/61) the surface of which is carved with two rectangles on
either side of a palm leaf, surmounted by unidentified leaves and surrounded
by Meroitic inscriptions. At first sight, one would consider it to be something
pertaining to burial ritual, as the palm leaf and the leaves suggest. Moreover
this object is comparable with another, studied by Griffith\textsuperscript{14} which he interpreted
as a Meroitic symbol of the Isis cult.

In his plan of the enclosure, Griffith\textsuperscript{15} has marked the stone constructions
which he thought to be the foundation walls of the Temple of Thothmes III.
His plan is not very accurate, so we measured everything again and drew up a
new plan, adding other walls of the same type discovered during excavation of
the Thothmes III blocks.\textsuperscript{16} These constructions, in their lower courses, are
made of rough-hewn blocks, laid horizontally. The corners are of wrought
stone, and there is no doubt as to their being above ground courses. Here, of
a certainty, we have rectangular (9×9.50 m.) or square houses with outer walls
about 0.90 m. thick. The general type is of four rooms 3.50×4.50 m. Where
the rooms are smaller, recesses are also found (e.g. no. 19). Between these
houses run alleys of three different widths: 2.20 m., 1.50 m., and 0.90 m.
respectively. On the walls of one house which we partially excavated, a layer
of mud bricks is clearly visible laid over a course of stone. Closer inspection
of these ruins gave results of the first importance for dating. Whereas fragments
of Christian pottery are to be found everywhere in the sand, both around and
inside the houses, fragments of Meroitic pottery (inv. no. 1/61, 6/61, 8/61,
14/61, 23/61, 26/61, 28/61, 30/61, 36/61, 38/61, 42/61, 51/61, 54/61, 57/61,

\textsuperscript{12} We must not forget to mention one last item: a cornice moulded on a sandstone
slab (inv. no. A58/61) of which only the left side remains, and which was found among
the blocks of the Temple of Thothmes III. It is possible that this was part of a naos,
inserted in the mud brick wall. To the same category of finds belong a few fragments
of stone grilles (inv. nos. 41/61, 48/61) and several pieces of terracota grilles similar
to those found by Griffith (\textit{LAAA}, xiii, pl. xxix, 5–7, 9–23).

\textsuperscript{13} While clearing the passage under the Byzantine church, we found a store of objects
from Griffith’s old diggings: five small Meroitic C-period (2nd–3rd centuries) offering
tables (Griffith, \textit{LAAA}, xiii, pl. xxx, i, p. 35). Nos. 2990 and 2989 are probably those
mentioned by Griffith (\textit{LAAA}, xi, p. 171–2990). Apart from articles marked with
Griffith’s inventory numbers, we found at the same spot: (a) an offering table of pink
sandstone, dating from the same period (inv. no. 138/61); (b) a round offering table,
decorated with two rows of four rounded hands, probably belong to group X of finds.
Among these objects was also a fragment from the base of a statue ‘b’ (Griffith, \textit{LAAA},
xi, pl. lxvi, p. 176). All these objects most probably constitute a deposit accruing
from excavations of Meroitic mastabas (Griffith, \textit{LAAA}, xiii, p. 58, note 1).

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{LAAA}, xiii, pp. 49 ff. \textsuperscript{15} \textit{LAAA}, xiii, pl. xxv.

\textsuperscript{16} Plan 1, nos. 18–24.
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64/61, 65/61) were found wedged between the stones under the lower courses. Beneath the south wall of room B in house 19 an ostrakon was found bearing Meroitic or Demotic lettering. The lower courses are at a level almost exactly 0.50 m. higher than that of the threshold of the west gate of the enclosure excavated by Griffith.\(^\text{17}\)

It seems most likely, therefore, that these were Meroitic houses. The type of wall (lower courses of stone and upper ones of mud brick, corners of well-wrought stone) corresponds exactly to that of the Great Enclosure wall. Not a single Thotmes III block has been re-utilized for the building of these houses. We can thus infer that they were erected while the temple was still standing. The fact that a few Ramesside stones, and one with a hakeron motif, were used in the south-west tower of the enclosure wall might give a clue as to the date of the houses inside the enclosure (provided we can be sure this was not a segment restored during the Christian era). If this was erected late in the Meroitic period, as Griffith thought, then the houses inside it would represent the remains of an older architectural complex, i.e. dating from the most prosperous age in Lower Nubia—late 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

C. CHRISTIAN PERIOD

The earliest traces of Christian times we found on the eastern side of the Kom, at the bottom of the long trench cut through the sand to about the centre of the hill. We deliberately chose that site as it was the only one with no superficial mud brick remains and thus offered a chance of getting through to the centre of the Kom without hindrance from later buildings. A trench 33 m. long, 6.50 m. wide and 10 m. deep was dug without encountering traces of any constructions.\(^\text{18}\) From this trench, about 2200 cubic m. of sand were emptied into the Nile. At the west end of the trench it was necessary to dismantle part of the walls of the Arab fort (see below) as well as the mud brick walls of an Arab house behind it. Thirty or 40 cm. below the foundations of the Citadel wall, that is 10.50 m. down, a most important complex of buildings came to light. This consisted of five separate elements:

A. Part of a fired brick edifice with a cupola (Plan 1, section 2).
B. Two chapels built of mud bricks and part of a passage.
C. Adjoining the chapels, a large wall of fine sandstone courses surmounted by a fired brick wall in which is a window with its stone grille partly preserved.
D. Above these chapels, at the 9.10 m. level, another mud brick building showing traces of vaulted openings.
E. Late Christian remains.

\(^{17}\) See *LAAA*, xiii, p. 27, pls. xxiv, xxviii.
\(^{18}\) The first days of digging in the trench yielded fragments of Meroitic walls and a mud brick wall at the opening of the trench.
A. The most easterly element, the building with the cupola, could not be completely cleared this year because of extensive falls of sand. However some features can already be noted. It seems to be a rectangular or square edifice with a south wall of fired brick 3 m. high, roofed with a cupola of the same material. Only the south-west portion of this has, so far, been uncovered. It crowns a flat roof, which was once adorned with a simply moulded cornice, traces of which are still preserved in the south-west corner adjoining the chapel and inside it. This cornice is made of large triangular bricks (side 4.8 cm., thickness 6 cm.). The distance from cupola to edge of roof is approximately 0.50 m. The diameter of the dome can be estimated as roughly 1.20 m. and its height as 0.85 m.

The second chapel adjoins the western wall of this building. The cupola and uppermost 1.80 m. of the walls are, as already mentioned, of fired bricks faced with a thin layer of whitewashed, yellowish stucco. Below that, the walls are of mud brick without facing. This leads us to believe that these lower walls might have been a sort of platform on which the fired brick construction was erected.\(^{19}\) The interior would thus be quite low, the height of the walls not exceeding 2.50 m. In which case it is most likely to be a sepulchre.

B. The most important buildings are two or three mud brick chapels between the fired brick and the sandstone walls, the latter forming their west wall (see above). Part of the east wall of the central chapel is the fired brick wall. The rest of it was completed with headers of mud brick. This building is rectangular and flat-roofed, built on a foundation of stone and a layer of mud bricks. An arched entrance (2.05 m. high and 0.86 m. wide) opens through the south wall (4 m. high by 1.85 m. wide). Measured at the entrance, this wall is 37 cm. thick. Over a brick threshold we enter the first rectangular chapel: height 3.14 x width 1.27 x length 1.61 m. It has barrel-shaped vaulting, a mud brick floor, and walls faced with whitewashed, thin, yellowish stucco. The west (sandstone) wall is faced with a thin layer of clay overlaid with whitewashed stucco. On this is painted a figure of the Archangel Michael (see Plate LXXV), relatively well preserved except for the lower part which is missing. Plate LXXV shows the condition of this painting when it was discovered. The left wing and the right side of the face are damaged; the robe is very scratched, and part of the right wing is missing. Below, about 1.25 m. above the floor, the facing has fallen off the wall, uncovering in the south-west corner of the room two

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\(^{19}\) The height of this foundation could, unfortunately, not be measured during the course of this season. This type of domed grave has been found in Christian Nubia, although as a rule they are cubical brick structures, without outside facing, and roofed by forms shaped like two superposed cupolas. (Cf. U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, iv (Cairo, 1957), pl. cxxi. Qasr Ibrim cupolaed tombs in the North Cemetery, and ibid., pl. cxxii, Medinet Addeh cupolaed mausoleums.)
blocks of stone with a partly hammered out hieroglyphic inscription. These must have been re-utilized at the time the large stone wall was built. On the southernmost the incised sign \( nb \) can still be clearly read, and the remainder, appears on the next block to the north. They are upside down. These two blocks lie in the tenth course of the foundation wall, counting downwards. We shall return to these stones which must have belonged to the Temple of Thotmes III.

The figure of the Archangel Michael, whose name in black ink appears in Greek above and to the left of his head, is preserved to a height of 1 m. The head, from chin to diadem measures 15.50 cm. The figure is depicted standing, and holding in his right hand a long rod terminating in a cross. This rod is brown and circled with metal bands figured by narrow double lines. In the middle of the cross is a second one, shaped like a Maltese cross, the arms of which are prolonged by yellow balls. The angel’s hair is thick and curly, completely covering his ears, and is caught in a net seemingly made of small scales. On the top of this, just over the forehead, is a crown above which the hair bulges like a dome. The crown is a band of gold, studded with precious stones (circular and rhomboidal) and bordered with a row of pearls. Above the nose, and on both sides, rise three little crosses inside diamond-shapes.\(^{20}\) The face is oval, the forehead high, the eyes almond-shaped with black irises, the nose very thin. The mouth was probably small with full lips. Behind the head the halo is yellow, red and dark red.

The angel is clad in an ample white tunic, striped with brown. The right sleeve, which is the only one visible, ends in a yellow band striped with brown. Part of the belt shows, adorned with precious stones and bordered with pearls. Over the tunic a yellowish cloak with a brown edge is fixed on the breast, under the right shoulder, with a cross-shaped brooch. The branches of this cross are rounded, edged with pearls, and in the centre are five rows of round stones. The left hand holds a circular object which looks like a paten, adorned with a double circle of pearls. The widespread wings are painted yellow, with peacock feathers outlined in pinkish brown. The underside of the wings is made of large scales, also pinkish brown. The archangel’s dress, and other iconographic details such as the scaly wings, bear no clear analogy to other Christian paintings previously found by Griffith at Faras and Abdel Gadir\(^{21}\) save for the crown and the net, which are to be seen in a picture of St Mercurios in the Church of Abdel

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\(^{20}\) A similar diadem with three crosses is worn by the ‘Horsemman Saint’ in a fresco at Abdel Gadir (cf. U. Monneret de Villard, op. cit., iv, pl. clxxv).

Gadir. Of course the striped white tunic is conventional in Christian iconography, and is also found on the Apostles in the Citadel Church.

This composition seems much more studied and better proportioned than other Christian paintings previously discovered at Faras. The large, widespread wings give the figure balance and are well adapted to the vaulted chamber, as too are the sweeping lines of the cloak. His great width characterizes this archangel, distinguishing him from the elongated figures typical of Coptic paintings in Nubia and Egypt. Details, such as the peacock feathers and scales on the wings, and the delicate tracery of the face, combine to prove craftsmanship in good studio tradition. We have here, without the slightest doubt, a true masterpiece of late Byzantine brushwork. Griffith had already (quite correctly) noted about the River Gate Church (loc. cit.) that the style of the paintings he found at Faras showed closer kinship to Byzantine art than to the Coptic tradition. The mural of Archangel Michael can only strengthen this view.

When this chapel was opened, a few painted or scratched graffiti were still visible on the other walls. On the north wall: † Ραφηλ. An archway in the north wall led into the second chapel. This entrance is 3 cm. wider and 10 cm. lower than the first.

The second chapel is rectangular (1.94 x 1.30 m.). Its barrel vaulting is 15 cm. lower than that of the first chapel. The whole interior is faced with whitewashed, yellowish stucco. There are other differences to be noticed between the two chapels. First, the east wall of the second chapel is, up to a height of 1.85 m., the west wall of the domed building. Only the part above that is built of mud bricks. On the west wall, that is the sandstone wall, the layer of yellowish stucco is laid directly on the stone, without the intermediate layer of clay. Over it, a thin second layer of the same material bears the whitewash. The undercrust is visible in the lower reaches and shows traces of inscriptions and graffiti. On the whitewashed layer there is a Madonna and Child painted inside a tondo (PLATE LXXXVI).

This painting is not so well preserved as the first. The Mother’s eyes are scratched and the Child’s face is partly deleted. The Virgin’s robe, the lower part of which is missing, is also greatly scratched. Beneath the tondo, in the middle of the wall, traces can still be discerned of a large, brownish yellow cross, decorated with precious stones and a narrow red border. Lower still, the top crust of stucco has dropped off, uncovering part of the first layer on which are

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22 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, xv, pl. xxxv.
23 See above; also LAAA, xiii, pl. xxxiv.
24 Cf. the torso of an Archangel in a rayed tondo, painted in the church of Es-Sebua (U. Monneret de Villard, iv, pl. cxlii).
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three inscriptions in black ink. A few letters are still recognizable. The principal one is five lines long and reads:

1. ꝏ.....﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤
2. ὅιμ.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤
3. ὑα﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤
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5. ﹖﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤.﹤

Above the tondo, on the whitewash, is a very clear inscription in black ink:

† ἀριδ μηρ : τωυ χυ : σηρ του κοσμου and below to the left between the circle and the vault: ]c o χη

The encircling band framing the picture is 7.5 cm. wide. It is brick-red, edged with two rows of white pearls with red spots in the middle. Between these, as ornaments, are set large round stones, joined by tiny rounded links. Inside the frame (diam. 1.65 m.) against a brick-coloured ground is very carefully painted the representation of a stone wall. The blocks of stone simulate rustic laying. Against this background stands out the figure of the Madonna carrying the Infant Jesus. She wears a cloak with a hood drawn over her head. The halo is yellowish, bordered with blue. The hair is not depicted against the grey-blue lining of the hood. The face is very long (15.50 cm. from chin to hood). Traces of the eyebrows, the right eye, and the very thin long nose, similar to that of Michael, can be discerned. The mouth is smaller and narrower than the Archangel’s. The whole body is wrapped in a rich, grey-blue mantle, striped with alternate bands of peacock-blue and greenish brown. These bands are studded with round stones set in red circles and surrounded with pearls. This mantle, bordered in greenish brown, uncovers only Mary’s face and left hand with outspread thumb. The crook of the left arm supports the white clad Infant, whose right hand, raised to the height of the Mother’s cheek, holds a peacock-blue bowl. A similar bowl, painted old gold, is downturned by the lower left hand. The Child’s halo is shaped like a cross, three branches of which are visible, above and on each side of the head. Long hair covers the ears. The face itself, although badly damaged, shows the lineaments of a man, not of a child. This is quite frequent in Byzantine art.

In style this painting shows the same characteristics as that of the Archangel Michael. In contrast to the elongated figures of the Apostles in the murals of the church north of the Citadel, both those of the Madonna and of the Archangel fill a broad space, but are composed with beautiful proportion within their
circular frames. These begin directly under the vault, so that the artist has inscribed his subjects in the most satisfying manner possible within the space at his disposal. There is not a doubt that we have here an example of Greek-Byzantine art, without trace of the typical style which marks Coptic art. The careful drawing, the richness of minute detail, can only be the work of craftsmen trained in a school where the traditions of classical art were cherished.\footnote{Two experts, Mr Stanislaw Jasiewicz, Chief Conservator and Head of the Warsaw National Museum Laboratory and Mr Antoni Ostrasz, Chief Architect of the Warsaw University Archaeological Expedition at Faras, worked from 25 March to 3 April on the protection of the above-mentioned paintings. They have stated that the technique of these paintings was not that of fresco as had formerly been supposed, but was the tempera painting technique mixed eventually with that of buono fresco. The following work has been done: A. Removal of the mural painting (Archangel Michael) from the wall of the first chapel; B. Conservation of the painting after removal. The partially detached clay plaster, frail and brittle, with cracks in all directions, has been consolidated with special canvas and a new support of mortar and a wooden frame has been made. The painting has been transferred from Faras to Wadi Halfa Museum; C. Preservation work to conserve in situ the painting in the second chapel (Madonna), until such time as it can be removed.}

From an historical point of view, the east wall is of greater interest. It once bore five commemorative stelae,\footnote{We reserve the right to publish a description and translation of these stelae in our final report.} arranged in two rows, four of which are still in place\footnote{The fifth was not found in its place, nor in the chapel at all.} (\textit{plates lxxvii}, a, b and \textit{lxxviii}, a, b). In the centre of the lower row, 1.73 m. above the floor, sunk into a niche 7 cm. deep hollowed out of the fired brick wall, is a blue-grey marble stele, cracked in four pieces (height 0.515 m., width 0.40 m.). Upon it, in very elaborate lettering, are fifteen lines of Greek text and, in the right-hand margin, some letters and one word which appear to complete the text. This is one of the oldest Christian inscriptions yet found in the region of Faras, not to say in all Nubia. It is the stele of Bishop Joannes who died in A.D. 606 at the age of 82, and represents a document of unique importance for the chronology of the architecture of this whole region (see below) (\textit{plate lxxvii}, a).

To its right is another stele, that of Bishop Petros. It is of sandstone (measuring: height 0.50 m., width 0.30 m.) and fixed flush with the wall (\textit{plate lxxvii}, b). The lettering is carved with little care and the Coptic text has seventeen slightly crooked lines.

In the upper row the two remaining stelae are similarly flush with the mud brick wall. The left-hand, sandstone, stele of Iesous (\textit{plate lxxviii}, a) (measuring: height 0.41 m., width 0.29 m.) is framed in two slim columns, the capitals and pediments of which have the same shape leaves interlaced with two bands. An arched row of beads rests on the capitals. Within it are signs going from left
to right. The Greek text, interspersed with Coptic, commemorates Bishop Iesou and covers twenty-three lines. These lines are engraved and painted alternately black and red.

On the right of this stele, above that of Joannes, is the stele of Bishop Georgios (Plate lxxviii, b) (height 0.51 m., width 0.33 m.) framed by two little voluted Ionic columns. Above them, narrow architraves comprising half a rosette round a half circle with a dot in the middle may perhaps represent the sun’s rays. On either side of this rosette are two crosses with branches of equal length. Under the architraves, between the columns, there are sixteen lines of Coptic writing.

To return to the stele of Bishop Joannes: it is the only one to be inserted in a niche and is sited exactly opposite the image of the Virgin. Moreover, the fired brick wall in which the stele is set is at the same time the western wall of the domed edifice which has not been excavated, and the stele seems to occupy the centre of this wall. A complete explanation will not be available before the fired brick building is excavated, but we can already offer a suggestion: this being a very low-walled construction (in contrast to the chapel and the other Christian monuments found on the Kom) seems to indicate that it might be a tomb. If this were to prove so, we might well suppose it to be that of Joannes who, dying in 606 at the great age of 82, may have been the first bishop of Pachoras. At any rate his stele occupies the centre of its western wall.

The evangelization of Nubia did not take place earlier than between A.D. 540 and 548, probably under impetus from the Imperial Court of Byzantium. If the stele gives the date of the fired brick edifice, it also gives us an approximate date for the chapel, which cannot be much later than 606, as it would probably have been built over the stele of Joannes, which is obviously commemorative and not sepulchral. At any rate, the chapel must have existed as a place of worship before 662, that is to say before the second stele (that of Bishop Petros) came to join the first. If we suppose the fired brick building to have been a tomb, then it could only be that of both bishops, or else why should it bear the stele of Bishop Petros too, and that so hastily set? If, on the other hand, the chapel were by then already a place of worship, and the stelae merely commemorative, as their short texts—different from those on sepulchres—seem to indicate, that would then provide an explanation for the presence of the other stelae.

We have to admit that the chapels were built approximately at the time when the Joannes stele was set in the wall, and not later than that of Petros. These

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28 For the decoration of the stelae, see U. Monneret de Villard, op. cit., iv, pl. cxxx, Sakiny inscription.
29 The ancient Greek name for Faras.
30 See Griffith, LAAA, xiii, p. 51.
a. BLOCKS FROM THE TEMPLE OF THOTMES III

b. MEROITIC BLOCK

facing p. 232
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stelae can only be understood in that wall if the chapels were considered to be holy places, fit to receive them. In the beginning, the inside of the chapel was simply faced with stucco, on which holy sayings, or graffiti, were written in ink. It does not necessarily follow that along intermediate period separated the first layer from the second. The painting of the Madonna in the second chapel was made at the same time as that of the Archangel Michael in the first. We must bear in mind that, before this was painted, the first chapel had a clay facing covering the west (sandstone) wall only. Both frescoes were certainly made to embellish a hallowed place. Therefore it seems likely that they should be dated closer to the first two dates given by the stelae, i.e. 7th century, rather than to the two others given by the stelae of Bishop Iesous (972) and Bishop Georgios (1097). It is difficult to believe that the two chapels remained undecorated for 300 years, as the stelae seem to indicate that the Christian community wished to honour their most important bishops.

As for the stelae themselves, only four were found; those mentioned above. The position of the fifth is clear: in the second row, on the second chapel wall, just above that of Petros. Seeing that the stelae are chronologically placed, from left to right, we may infer that the missing one, given its place, commemorated a bishop living after Georgios.

Another point which is worthy of note is that the first stele, that of Joannes, is the only one to bear a Greek inscription on a marble slab. This could confirm Byzantine influence—that of Empress Theodora—in the evangelization of Nubia by the Monophysite priest Julianos, whom Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, selected for that mission. The style of the paintings in both the chapels points to the same source of the new faith in Nubia.

To the north, behind the chapel of the Virgin, is another vaulted room (2.50 x 1.50 m.) in which there is a niche 0.60 m. wide in the east wall. That wall seems to be a late partition cutting in two a much larger room, maybe a corridor or antechamber leading to chapels situated to the east. Unfortunately this room has neither facing nor graffiti, and has not yet been completely excavated owing to heavy falls of sand during the last few days of work.

It is necessary at this point to mention the condition in which the rooms adjoining the stone wall were found. The first chapel was buried in sand up to a height of 2 m. While emptying the second, a skeleton was found close to the chapel entrance, along the south wall with its head to the west. In relation to the wall painting, the skeleton was on a level with the legs of the Child Jesus. Near its feet was a perforated, yellow clay water jug (inv. no. 166/61) and two lamps (one whole, and a mere fragment of the other; inv. no. 175/61). The opening between the chapel of the Virgin and the third room had been closed.

32 The stele of Bishop Joannes is dated 606, and that of Bishop Petros, 662.
by a roughly built mud brick wall beginning at a height of 1.50 m. above the floor, on top of the mass of drift sand which had by then accumulated. Inside the third room, two skeletons were found in the same position as the first. Each was provided with a perforated clay water jug and two lamps in the shape of cupulae, blackened and oil-caked (inv. nos. 169/61, 171/61, 173/61). Near the northernmost skeleton were fragments of some woollen material with red and black bands, and a key shaped like a Coptic cross (inv. no. 176/61), Fig. 5. It is likely that towards the end of the Christian period this place was used for the burial of the more important bishops. At that time the chapels were practically buried in sand. The two skeletons in the third room lay about 50 cm. lower than the one in the chapel of the Virgin. The fact that only one skeleton was found here, whereas in the other chapel there were two, and that the opening between the rooms was not blocked, seems to indicate that these were relatively late burials, since there was still space enough to bury at least three more bodies.

The earthenware found in these tombs is also of a late period. The first water jug, with its low, flattened feet, narrow neck and very crude filter, recalls those of the Arab period, and contrasts with the filters found in the third room, which have a very finely wrought, symmetrical, geometrical pattern. We trust that the coming excavation season will completely clear this site and furnish yet more detailed information and documents concerning the history of Pachoras during the Christian era. However, we consider it our duty to point out without delay the results obtained up to date which, thanks to dated inscriptions and paintings, constitute already in themselves important documents for the chronology and history of the Christian monuments at Faras.

C. In the course of describing the domed building and the two chapels, mention has often
been made of the sandstone wall against which these chapels, abut (Plate LXXIX, a). Apart from the enclosure, this wall is so far the only recorded architecture in Faras belonging to the Late Meroitic or perhaps the Early Christian period. The excavated part of it allows certain points to be made concerning its construction even though much of it remains unexcavated. It is made up of two distinct sections, the lower of which is built of rectangular or trapezoidal sandstone blocks, carefully wrought and fitted, reminiscent of Archaic Greek walls. In the upper part of this fired bricks have sometimes been used to stop up cracks between the stones. This part of the wall has been partly uncovered as far down as the fourteenth course, i.e. 4.70 m. Neither the base nor the foundations have yet been reached. Each course is about 0.20–0.25 m. high. The wall is about the same thickness as that of fired bricks (0.65 m.) forming the upper part of the wall. The portion of fired brick wall which rests on the sandstone blocks is preserved—where it has been uncovered—to a height of 2.30 m. The third course is of bricks laid on edge and doubtless represents a decorative feature of the façade.

A rectangular window (height 1.18 m., width 0.74 m.) commences here (Plate LXXIX, b). On the south side the frame comprises a row of bricks laid flat; on the north side a row of bricks laid on edge. Above, a well-preserved wooden lintel (1.20 m. long × 0.15 m. high × 0.20 m. wide) tops the window. Almost half of the stone grille is still in place, giving the window an ornamental aspect. This grille is very elaborate, curved and arched, but the oblong stone bars are crudely wrought. Behind the window can be seen traces of a much later mud brick vault, maybe Arab. This wall, and probably the building behind it, were made into cellars under the central court of the Arab Citadel. It is behind this grille that an Arabic ostrakon was found (inv. no. 161/61). On either side of the lintel a groove forms a sort of ornamental moulding on the wall. This is made to the width of one brick. It is clear that the eastern face of the building must have had a decorative character, as evidenced by these two simple mouldings and the fine proportions of both the wooden lintel and the stone grille. This point should be stressed as it shows the importance of the building and its purpose in Pachoras. The great sandstone wall seems but to support the fired brick construction which was built imposingly high and in a well-chosen place. The window, rising above the enclosure, had a view out over the Nile valley to the east.

The chapels and the place dedicated to the bishops’ stelae being so close, this building could be interpreted in three ways: it may have been a church, a monastery, or the bishop’s palace. The heightening of the wall can mainly be explained by necessities of defence, characteristic of such buildings at that period. As for the date of erection, there are two facts to be taken into consideration:

a. two Thotmes III blocks were re-utilized in the sandstone wall (see above);
b. the chapel with Bishop Joannes’ stele dated 606 gives us a definite ante quem limit.

It is evident that this monument must have been constructed before the chapel abutting its wall. On the other hand, if the building is Christian, it cannot be earlier than the first half of the 6th century, and it would moreover have been one of the first in Pachoras.

However, it is not impossible that these are remains of earlier date, i.e. late Meroitic, more or less contemporaneous with the Enclosure, and that they were merely adapted for use by the new regime after Nubia became Christian.

The excavated wall could, therefore, have been part of the palace of a Meroitic pésaté (a local ruler) who, when the Blemmyes attacked, forsook the former Western Palace (found by Griffith further west in the desert) and had a new one built inside the fortified enclosure. Our sandstone wall is very similar to certain parts of the Meroitic Enclosure wall. At any rate, the inclusion of two Thotmes III blocks therein is proof that it was erected after the destruction of the New Kingdom temple. It also seems possible to make certain inferences from the manner of its construction, as seen from the part so far uncovered. Griffith wrote a short report on the condition in which he found the ruins of a ‘Great Church’ between the Citadel and the south wall of the Enclosure. In the graceful capitals, granite columns and other stones, all in the Greek Corinthian style, he did not hesitate to see the remains of a Christian cathedral. However, he was able to suggest no date for it. He merely points out that it is the only one among the several Faras churches to be distinguished by fired brick walls laid on sandstone courses, with no use whatsoever of mud bricks. That is exactly the method of construction used for the edifice described above, which justifies our belief that the ‘Great Church’, or Pachoras Cathedral, was erected at the same time as our wall, i.e. in the second half of the 6th century. That would explain the classical appearance of its decoration, since we know that in the period which immediately followed the Meroitic this whole region was submitted to strong classical influence.

D. The site which provided so many important archaeological remains—domed construction, chapels, the building with the window—was considerably altered during the following period. Somewhat later, a fired brick addition was built onto the roofs of the chapels (buttressed by a mud brick wall) and partly overlapping onto the west wall of the domed construction and onto part of the cupola itself. This erection is at the level of 9.10 m. and, on the east, adjoins the wall with the window. The remains of what seem to have been large square pillars have been uncovered. The pillared wall is 0.60 m. thick.

33 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, xiii, p. 29. 34 See LAAA, xiii, pp. 59–60.
35 Griffith, loc. cit., pl. xxxvii.
and there are what appear to be traces of arches on either side of the pillars which rise above the cupola. The walls were faced with a thin layer of stucco and lime. The south aperture and the offset of the arch on the east pillar seem to indicate a window rather than a door. In section this structure and, consequently, that of the window openings, show at the same height as the window in the great wall. Before it, the flat chapel roofs form a kind of terrace facing south. It seems likely, therefore, that we have here one of the transformations of the large building previously described.

To the south chapel roof terrace corresponds another eastern platform adjoining the wall. It is made of stones resting on the sebakh and sand which cover the eastern side of the domed building. The fact that it lies 10 cm. higher than the base of construction no. 4 and was built at a time when the domed building was already covered in sand, permits us to consider it a later element, useful however as an additional illustration (see above) confirming our opinion as to the prolonged use of the edifice with the window. In fact, as it rests against the wall of construction 4, the platform proves that this edifice was used when the domed building and the entrance to the chapels were entirely buried in sand. That could only be during the Arab period when the sandy slope of the Kom formed the base of the Citadel.

E. In the course of this season, we excavated part of some mud brick ruins on the north and east slopes of the Kom. These were, most probably, dwellings or store-rooms connected with the more important monuments then standing in the north sector of the Kom—that is to say, the monastery and the church.

We cleared these remains in order to get an idea of their plan and their position. They are all built of mud brick. The outer walls are 0.55 m. thick, the partitions 0.60 m. thick. The house marked no. 3 on the plan is trapezoidal and contains four rooms (2×4.20 m.) and two recesses, more or less like the Meroitic house, 19, at the foot of the west slope. No. 5 complex (see plan) seems less regular. Very likely we have here

1. the remains of two rectangular houses, A and D, built back to back;
2. two houses, B and C, belonging to a single project;
3. two houses, E and F;
4. two rooms, in one of which only part of the walls are now standing.

No. 6 seems to be a mud brick buttress and no. 7 the remains of some small cellars. No. 4 presents a more solid construction, composed of two rectangular rooms (5.70×2.40 m.) erected against the eastern wall of the church. On the plan it is clearly visible that between these dwellings and the church stretched a sort of platform or terrace, closed off by no. 6. This platform cut off, so to speak, the church and the monastery from the dwellings which clustered close to them on the north-west. The entrance was to the south. A few re-utilized
stone blocks from older constructions are still to be seen in this wall. Nos. 9 and 10 constitute the remains of a dwelling complex of the same type as that which surrounded the hill, flanking the sacred buildings on the south-east. No. 12, erected on the smaller kom which is only a south-east spur to the large Citadel-Kom, shows the remains of perhaps a more important edifice belonging to a different category from the other houses(7). It is more solidly built, and part of the vault and the entrance arch are still there. Here, one would be inclined to see a gate, or some sort of chapel, erected on the little hill close by the large ecclesiastical group on the central Kom. Griffith has pointed out ruins of the same type on the little kom between the Citadel and the west gate of the Enclosure. It is easy to see that there were other chapels round the main church on the big Kom for processional and ritual purposes.

The most imposing group of this period, which can be called the second Christian age at Faras, consists of the monastery and church, the latter mainly excavated by Griffith(37). It is a large trapezoidal two-storey building of mud bricks. Its east wall is 20.50 m. long and its north wall 16.80 m. It stood some 3.30 m. high. Griffith was not able to excavate the lower part which consists of a large corridor(38) and some vaulted rooms. He considered them mere substructures to the church and other edifices built at the level of the church. Moreover he thought there was some connection between the elevation of this church and that of another, noted by Somers Clarke(40) in the capital of ancient Dongola.

In the course of this season, the church and part of the monastery were completely cleared—an area large enough to allow us to reach certain conclusions more definite than Griffith’s. The complete understanding and explanation of all the facts will only be possible when the western part of the monastery is cleared. For the time being it still lies under remains of the Arab period. Mr A. Ostrasz is preparing a special study of this group (monastery and church) with a view to formulating a suggestion as to its reconstruction. We have here one of the best preserved groups in Faras from the second Christian period. We shall, therefore, limit the description here to pointing out the more important discoveries made this season, which may already necessitate a change in the views hitherto expressed by archaeologists concerning this building, and might help in the formulation of a provisional hypothesis.

Griffith found in the citadel church the remains of some very important frescoes(41) painted in the apse and the left aisle of the church. Our plan, compared to Griffith’s, shows a few corrections and additions made possible by the

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36 *LAAA*, xiii, p. 61, pl. xxxviii. 37 Ibid., pp. 57 ff., pl. xxxiii.
38 During this season the height of this could not be accurately measured.
41 See loc. cit., pls. xxxiv–xxxv.
new excavations. The whole group appears to be more rectangular than trapezoidal, as Griffith's plan suggested. In the north vestry there is a small niche in the east wall; whereas in the north wall there were twin windows. There was also an entrance from this vestry into the left aisle. The walls, shown in Griffith's plan in front of the apse, are in fact merely pillars. Thus, the nave had quite a different architectural aspect from that which he envisaged. Slightly above the floor, in the south walls of the left aisle and of the south vestry were three low niches, 0.65 m. high and, 1.15, 1.17 and 1.38 m. high, respectively.

The church was paved with thin slabs (about 1.50 cm. thick) of pink sandstone, fitted in an irregular pattern. The west part was partitioned off, and arranged otherwise than Griffith supposed. Practically, it was nothing but a repetition of the general church plan: nave and aisles, with two vestries. In the apse, vestiges can still be seen of a rectangular altar facing the east wall. In room G, which corresponds to the north vestry, traces have been found of a rectangular mud brick stand, maybe a baptismal font. In the south wall of the north-west section of the church is a doorway, 68 cm. wide, in the south-west corner. 45 cm. east of this, in the same wall, is a small recess, the use of which is yet unknown. The finding of this opening in the side wall of the church confirms Mileham's suggestion\(^42\) when he noted the same feature in the monastery church at Wadi Natrun. Monneret de Villard pointed out to Griffith that this division of a church into two almost identical halves, one for the clergy and one for the congregation, is a characteristic feature of Byzantine churches to be found in the monasteries of north-east Italy (Noricum).\(^43\)

The interior of the western part of the church was faced with a thin layer of whitewashed stucco. On the west wall, near the door, the lower part of frescoes, depicting the feet of the Apostles, were found. These feet are painted red on a white ground, apparently repeating the decoration of the central apse. This is another point tending to prove repetition of the essential elements of the main part of the church in the part reserved for the congregation.

To return to the description of the monastery: it is a two-storey building, the main entrance to which, on the south side, was a mud brick archway decorated with a moulding of fired bricks laid flat, tracing the sweep of the arch in red. This entrance opened into a large vaulted corridor.\(^44\) Of the seven eastern rooms which border it, six open into it. The entrance to one, the third from the south, has not yet been found. As the rooms have not yet been completely cleared, it is not possible to describe them in detail. Plan 1 shows them to be

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\(^42\) Griffith, \textit{LAAA}, addenda to xiii and xv, p. 114.
\(^43\) See above-mentioned addendum.
\(^44\) 1.45 m. wide. As to its height, that will only be ascertained after complete excavation.
POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT FARAS, 1961

6.20 m. long, their width varying between 2.18 and 2.35 m. The rooms bordering the corridor on the west have not been excavated. However, they are proved to exist by visible traces of apertures in the corridor wall, as well as by the presence of holes on the surface of the Kom both west of the church and inside the Arab houses. All these rooms are probably dormitories and store-rooms; the church and the more ecclesiastical quarters of the monastery must have risen above them.

The upper floor was reached by a sort of winding staircase, inside the corridor wall and for one flight parallel to it. The staircase started from a recess to the right of the main entrance. Ten steps hewn out of stone are still in place. Two half steps, which led respectively from the head and foot of the staircase westward into the corridors are missing. These stairs led to a rectangular room (2.65 × 4.75 m.) which may well have been an open court for the facing, visible on the lower courses of the wall only, does not give the impression that this was a roofed-in space. From there, a narrow opening in the north corner of the east wall gave onto a platform, transformed many times during the Arab period. It has lost its eastern side, which fell at the same time as the walls of the rooms beneath. One could imagine this platform corresponding in plan to three of the ground floor rooms beneath it; and that here also were three rectangular communicating rooms, with a single entrance to the three from the south. In the third room, i.e. the one built along the south side of the church, a wider entrance through the west wall gave access to a rectangular room (6.65 × 2.60 m.). This chamber occupied the space above the corridor, and rejoined the stairs leading down to the ground floor. It is in that room that a Coptic commemorative stele (inv. no. 106/61) was found lying on the floor, about 1 m. away from the church wall. Contrary to the corridor and the downstairs rooms, which bear no trace of facing, all the upstairs rooms had all their walls faced with a yellowish stucco of the same type as that used in the church. These upstairs rooms, one would therefore be inclined to consider as devoted to ritual purposes, or as being assembly rooms for the monks.

The most interesting feature of the monastery is doubtless its church. When publishing his report on the Citadel’s North Church, Griffith did not venture to suggest a date for its construction. However, now it seems possible, in the light of all the finds from the first Christian period, i.e. late 6th and 7th centuries, to venture a guess at it. The latest date given by the stelae in the chapel of the Virgin is 1097—the death of Bishop Georgios. An inscription found by Griffith in the River Gate Church gives the date 1181, and Griffith proposed to associate it with the laying of the first stone of this church.45 The difference between the murals in the Citadel Church and those in the chapels

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45 Cf. LAAA, xiii, p. 85.
clearly points to the fact that the decoration of the church is later than that of the chapels. The careless draughtsmanship and the elongated figures of the Apostles with their wide-open eyes, are quite different from classical tradition and much closer to the principles which guided eastern Mediterranean art of the Late Roman period, as seen in Coptic art. The style of painting in the River Gate Church is much closer to that of the chapel paintings. The walls too are indicative of a period of good workmanship, akin to that of the Meroitic Enclosure, of the buttress under the window, and of Griffith’s ‘Great Church’ south of the Citadel. We are thus led to believe that the River Gate Church is also a building of the first Christian period in Faras—i.e. late 6th–7th century. The stone Griffith mentions must therefore have been only a funerary stele which happened to be among the church rubble, and had nothing to do with the erection of that edifice.

It is not only the style of painting in the Citadel Church which reminds us of the traditional Coptic buildings of Egypt. We have already mentioned one parallel with the monastery churches of Wadi Natrun (see above). In regard to a false double window in the north façade of this church, Griffith had already noted (loc. cit., p. 59) a similarity to the White and Red Monasteries of Sohag. The two upper stelae in the chapel of the Virgin—one of which is in Coptic and the other in Greek with Coptic interpolations—constitute a further point in favour of this theory. The persecution of Copts in Egypt in 722⁴⁶ may have caused an increase in the Coptic population of Pachoras, as Griffith correctly pointed out in his report (loc. cit., p. 56), stressing that all the inscriptions and graffiti on the western fringe of Faras, whether in churches, cemeteries or anchorite caves, are pure Coptic between the 8th and 10th centuries.

To sum up the chronology of Christian buildings within the Enclosure of Faras, we venture to put forward the following:

1. The large sandstone foundation wall, with the fired brick superstructure and the window: second half of the 6th century.
2. The domed building, the chapels, the ‘Great Church’ and the River Gate Church (the two latter excavated by Griffith): early 7th century.
3. The church and monastery in the north part of the Citadel: somewhere between the 8th and 10th centuries.

D. Arab Period

The Arab period in Faras has not left sufficient accurately dated evidence to allow any theory as yet concerning the chronological order of the architecture on the Kom. It is, however, clear that some buildings of the Christian period

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⁴⁶ Poole, History of Egypt, p. 27.
were partially adapted and re-utilized during the Arab period. We have already mentioned the mud brick vault added to the construction with the window, as too the fact that it is behind the grille of that window—and therefore inside the building—that the Arabic ostrakon (inv. no. 161/61) was found. That alone proves that older constructions were partly used by the Muslim population. The second Arabic inscription found this season was a stone stele taken from the uppermost layer of the great trench east of the Citadel. If we agree that older buildings continued to be used at the beginning of the Muslim period, even those at the low level of the North Citadel Church, then we must also admit that at the time—impossible as yet to define—when the surface of the Kom was levelled, stones were used for the construction of the great Citadel wall, and that these stones were taken from older buildings, both Pharaonic and Christian. This wall, in parts preserved to a height of 3–4 m. crowned the summit of the Kom, encircling within its system of fortifications both the monastery and the church.

The ruins of two rectangular towers (no. 14 on the south-east slope and no. 17 in the west-centre of the Kom) are still standing. The lower courses of the wall are at a depth of 10.50 m. laid on a bed of sebakh, sand and gravel mixed with ashes. At a height of 1 m. from the base of the wall, a line of loop-holes opens, 2–4 m. apart. These were formed by arranging fired bricks so as to make an opening 15 × 15 cm. Upwards from a height of 2.50–3.50 m. the stone walls have mud brick superstructures. The construction of these walls is not uniform, and it is very easy to recognize those parts which are later arrangements from those hasty repairs which, according to Griffith⁴⁷ date from the Mahdi’s days. During the excavation of the east trench numerous fragments of shells were found, certainly souvenirs of Kitchener’s artillery.

Certain parts of the Arab fort, such as the south-east tower, were built with greater care. The lower courses are made of well fitted blocks. Among these are still to be found Pharaonic stones from the Temple of Ramses II. In the stretch of wall it was necessary to dismantle there were three fragments from the Temple of Thotmes III. On the south-west side, the line of the fortified wall could not be exactly traced, as that side of the Kom has been greatly damaged. A door (1.40 m. wide × 2.30 m. high) in the north wall of the south-east tower gave access to the fortress. Here, abutting the inside of the wall two rooms were built of mud bricks and bits of stone, with a very narrow entrance from the court. These were probably stables, later used as dwellings. The roofs would have been straw mats, laid over rafters of tamarisk branches, such as can be seen today on Nubian houses. The southernmost room was most likely a sort of sentry box. A large trapezoidal court linked the two towers and a cluster of houses in the northern sector of the Citadel. These would be Arab dwellings which grew around the core of the monastery. As the needs of the garrison

⁴⁷ Loc. cit., p. 57.
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grew, mud brick rooms were added to those already existing. Here, it is possible to make out three-roomed houses. These rooms, about 14 m. square, were all inhabited until quite recently. While Griffith was excavating, he found inside the church a series of small recesses which were still used for stabling goats. So the earthenware and other articles of everyday use found in these ruins are modern.

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* All Field Notes are available for study at Nubia Operations Office, Wadi Halfa.

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An Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery

by William Y. Adams

One of the continuing, long-range objectives of the Sudan Antiquities Service archaeological survey of Nubia has been to carry out a thorough, detailed analysis of the ancient pottery wares of the region. This undertaking has been impelled not so much by aesthetic interest as by the need to develop some means of identifying and dating sites in the course of archaeological survey. Coins, inscriptions, and other directly datable objects being extremely scarce in Nubian sites, it has been essential to find some more generally applicable method of determining their age and cultural affinities.

In all parts of the world, pottery has been found to be one of the most sensitive and revealing of human culture products. As a highly plastic art with few inherent limitations, it is free to a remarkable degree to express the prevailing cultural aesthetic of its makers. It has the additional advantage, for the archaeologist, of being both prolific and durable, so that there is usually plenty of material for study.

Since the days of the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia, field workers have been accustomed to identify sites as belonging to one or another major culture period, such as C-Group or Meroitic, on the basis of ceramic evidence. However, there is every reason to believe that in many areas and at many periods pottery can be a much more accurate time indicator than this. Decorated wares in particular are so sensitive to stylistic canons that they are rarely made in exactly the same way for more than a few generations. It has been the identification and plotting of minor stylistic changes more than any other factor that has permitted the highly refined ceramic dating now possible in some parts of the world.

In Sudanese Nubia, the fortuitous discovery of the Faras Potteries (site 24E21) during the first season’s work brought to light a mass of clearly stratified ceramic material from the Christian period. This has since been augmented by large collections from several other sites, some of which were also stratified. From the study of the combined collections it has been possible to recognize a continuous sequence of ceramic development spanning five centuries or more, from the classic X-Group to the middle of the Christian era. Twenty-seven

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1 See pp. 10–18, above. 2 See (3), (4), and (12). 3 See Kush IX, pp. 31–3.
different wares have been definitely or provisionally identified, displaying ten decorative styles, eighty-one forms, and five fabric traditions.\(^4\)

Study of the Christian and X-Group pottery is continuing at the present time, and much remains to be learned, particularly in regard to the distribution and historic significance of many of the wares. In the end it may prove that only half of them have any appreciable distribution, while the remainder are strictly local aberrations. As the study progresses a field manual is in preparation, with detailed, formal descriptions of each ware, style, and form. Several additional seasons may be required for the completion of this document, for fresh material and fresh information is coming to light with each day’s excavations. In the meantime so many expeditions are now concerned with Christian remains in Sudanese Nubia that it seems highly desirable to publish an outline classification of Christian Nubian pottery in its present, provisional form.\(^5\)

**Methodology**

Any product combining as many potentially variable traits as does pottery is obviously subject to endless individual mutations, and no descriptive typology could encompass them all without designating each piece a separate type. It is therefore necessary to limit the typology to regularly recurring combinations of traits which may be assumed to be deliberate. A ‘type’, ‘ware’, ‘style’, etc., is thus a statistical abstraction—an ideal norm around which a certain body of material may be expected to cluster. Under these circumstances each classificatory category is defined only by its central tendency, or norm, rather than by any absolute limits of variation. It is emphatically not a pigeonhole into which every piece clearly does or does not fit. On the contrary there may be and sometimes is a continuum of variation between one norm and another. If the classification is statistically sound, however, it is predictable that far more pieces will fall relatively close to one norm or another than will fall half-way between them.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) It will be noted that this typology is considerably more complex than those previously published by Shinnie: (13), pp. 28–50 and (15), pp. 30–69. This is undoubtedly due principally to the fact that a far greater chronological range of material was available for the present study. Moreover, the focal area here (Wadi Halfa region) is removed by several hundred kilometres from those studied by Shinnie (Ghazali and Soba) so that an exact correspondence of types is not to be expected.

\(^5\) Concurrently with the Christian pottery study, and as part of the same overall programme, Mr Nordström has developed a preliminary classification of A-Group pottery. See pp. 51–6, above.

\(^6\) It is important to note that a classification based on this principle constitutes a typology rather than a corpus, in that the individual types illustrated (e.g. FIGS. 1–7 and 11–17, below) are ideal norms abstracted from a number of similar specimens rather than illustrations of the specimens themselves. Thus each norm in the typology takes the place of a group of specimens in a corpus; e.g. Form E\(9\) (see FIG. 2) is the statistical abstraction of Forms A\(1\)–A\(11\) in the Ghazali corpus: (15), fig. 6.
CLASSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY

The first requirement of any descriptive classification is that it must be empirically valid; that is, the individual types or wares must be identifiable purely on the basis of internal evidence. Since they are to be used to date material associated with them, their own identity can not depend on any evidence from their surroundings. In addition, a classification designed as an aid to archaeological survey must give particular weight to traits which are identifiable in sherds. General forms and styles must be analysed in terms of specific diagnostic components, recognizable in small fragments, and special attention must be given to internal features such as paste and temper, which are often ignored in descriptions of whole pottery. These considerations are basic to the present classificatory system.

It cannot be assumed a priori that any regularly occurring trait in a collection of pottery either is or is not significant, and therefore every one must be taken into account to ensure empirical validity. This 'hair splitting' is certain to produce, initially, a rather involved and cumbersome classificatory structure, or taxonomy. It is nevertheless an essential and unavoidable step in the development of a reliable typology. After all of the regular trait combinations, or types, have been empirically established, it is possible to consult external, distributional evidence. The types which do not appear to have any distributional significance can then be eliminated or combined. In the study of Nubian pottery this second or 'lumping' phase is still going on, with the result that the present classification includes many forms and wares whose significance is uncertain.

As an initial step in classification, Christian Nubian pottery has been analysed in terms of three independent groups or 'universes' of variable traits, which are designated by the collective terms fabric, form and style.

Fabric embraces all those internal, structural characteristics such as colour and texture of the paste, and amount and quality of the temper, which are presumed to be purely functional.

Form includes the overall shape and size of the vessel—qualities which are functionally determined within broad limits, but which are also strongly subject to stylistic modification.

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7 In compliance with this principle, all of the pottery collections from five sites in the Wadi Halfa district (24-E-21, 24-N-3, 24-R-23, 24-V-13, and 6-G-7) were mixed together before analysis was begun, after being marked on their undecorated sides with numbers identifying site and level. Classification then proceeded without any reference to provenience. After the completion of this process the identifying numbers were consulted, and tally sheets were compiled showing the distribution of each ware, form, and style by site and level. The chronology of pottery wares from Periods 2 through 7 (see below) is based entirely on distributional evidence obtained in this manner. The method is extremely time-consuming, but has the advantage of partially eliminating the subjective factor—particularly the very common tendency to try to make ceramic sequence agree with architectural or soil stratification as encountered in excavation. From the five sites above mentioned, a total of about 25,000 sherds was studied in this manner.
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Style includes all forms of surface decoration including slip, painted design, and a wide variety of surface modifications such as polishing, tooling, stamping, and the like, all of which are considered to be purely aesthetic and non-functional. Within each of these categories a separate classification has been developed, including a total of five fabrics, eighty-one forms, and ten styles. Recurring combinations of these in turn define ware and type, which represent the synthetic phase of the classification.

Ware may be defined as a regular combination of a single fabric, one predominant style (but not entirely excluding others), and a specific group of forms. Type is the further synthesis of ware and form: a single form occurring in a single ware.

A few additional words of preliminary explanation are required. X-Group pottery has been included in this classification both because it is directly ancestral to early Christian pottery and because the developmental sequence, established through stratigraphy, is continuous from X-Group times onward. Pottery lamps have been omitted because they constitute a highly specialized form and require a study of their own. All of the categorical descriptions, of fabrics, forms, styles, and wares, were based initially on material from five sites in the Wadi Halfa area. Subsequently, material from several other excavations as well as all of the Christian pottery collections in the Sudan Museum in Khartoum were also examined. On the basis of these studies the existing descriptions were enlarged and amended, but no new styles or wares were added. The classification is therefore applicable chiefly to the Christian pottery of the Wadi Halfa region. The full geographical range of many wares and styles remains to be determined. Finally, it should be repeated that all of the descriptions and illustrations represent idealized norms and not real pieces. At the same time a number of real pieces which represent isolated, non-recurring forms have been omitted.

Typology

The classificatory system consists of separate typologies of fabric, form, style, and ware. For the sake of brevity as much information as possible has been relegated to the illustrations and tables, and verbal description will be held to a minimum. The following abbreviations have been used both in tables and text: P, provisional ware or style, based on insufficient data; R, rare occurrence; T, trade ware, not locally made; U, usual occurrence; ?, identification uncertain. Documentary references are given by numbers in brackets, which refer to numbered entries in the bibliography.

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8 See note 7.
9 e.g. the chalice from Faras (Kh. no. 413), which has been illustrated twice, (8), pl. 19a and (9), following p. 124, and might be presumed to represent a common type. It is in fact almost the only specimen of its kind, and is clearly an import.
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Classification of Fabrics

Five different fabric traditions can be quite regularly distinguished in Christian Nubian pottery. There is, of course, considerable variation within each one as a result of differences in locally available materials, as well as varying conditions in the preparation and firing of different wares. In addition, a few rather uncommon wares do not belong clearly to any of the five fabric groups. These will be taken up individually in the ware descriptions.

I. Dark Brown. Fine paste, soft and rather porous, frequently flaky or crumbly. Colour nearly always dark brown. Temper fairly abundant, small fragments of quartz sand and opaque white material (shell?); little mica and no ground sherds. Source and significance of this fabric are uncertain. It appears intermittently in some rather uncommon white wares (Wares 10, 14, 18), none of which is well defined and all of which may be imports. All contemporaneous wares of known local manufacture have Fabric II.

II. Red-Brown. Fine, dense paste, varying from soft to hard. Colour usually warm red-brown, sometimes buff or tan, occasionally overfired nearly black. Temper fairly abundant, very fine opaque black and white particles, and fine mica which is conspicuous on surfaces. Sand grains scarce and small; no ground sherds. This fabric is consistent through all locally made X-Group and early Christian wares.

III. Grey-Pink. Rather coarse and porous, usually hard. Colour varies from grey (U) to pink to brick red, depending on firing atmosphere and temperature. Temper abundant fairly coarse quartz sand and various other materials, including ground red sherds; mica rare. Fabric commonly has the appearance of low-grade concrete. Common to all later Christian wares.

IV. Bright Pink (T). Paste fine, very hard, and so dense that it adheres to temper particles when crushed. Colour nearly always bright pink, sometimes grey, never red. Temper very abundant, fine fragments of a variety of materials, most conspicuously dark red sherds and black rock. Fabric found only in wares imported from Egypt in the early Christian period.

V. Coarse Brown. Paste very coarse, porous, soft and crumbly. Colour tan or buff to medium (U) or dark brown. Temper prominent fine chopped straw, all sizes of sand, small pebbles, and very conspicuous mica. Fabric found only in handmade Ware 27.

A certain consistent variability is found in all fabrics. In general, the larger the vessel the coarser the paste, and the larger the temper particles. In addition, large vessels in all fabrics commonly have some chopped straw levigation, which is especially prominent in the necks of amphorae, water bottles, and storage jars.

The colour of the paste varies, along with the colour of the surface, in accordance with the degree of oxidization in firing. White wares consistently have lighter coloured paste (tan, buff, or grey) than red wares, which are usually red or brown. Carbon streak is very unusual except in Fabric V.

Since polishing of vessel walls has the further effect of compacting the paste, polished vessels in all fabrics are apt to be especially hard.

The chronological relationship of the five fabric types is shown in FIG. 21.
Classification of Forms

Eighty-one regular forms have been identified in X-Group and Christian pottery, and these have been grouped for convenience of description into eighteen form classes, designated by the letters A through T (omitting I and O). These groupings are descriptive only, and do not necessarily imply any functional relationship among the individual forms included.

Space does not permit a separate description of each form here. They are illustrated in average sizes in FIGS. 1–7. Typical exterior decoration is shown where appropriate. In addition, special variable details of Forms P and R are shown in FIGS. 8 and 9. Verbal description will therefore be confined to a few general observations about each form class.

A. Saucers (FIG. 1). Small, shallow bowls with curving or sloping sides. Not found in X-Group pottery; first introduced in early Christian imported Ware 4. Increasingly common in later Christian times.

B. Cups (FIG. 1). Small, deep vessels with straight or steeply sloping sides. Very common in X-Group and early Christian pottery; increasingly rare later. Late specimens generally large.

C. Bowls (FIG. 1). Medium sized, fairly deep vessels with plain, rounded bases. Moderately common at beginning of the Christian period; rare both earlier and later.

D. Goblets, etc. (FIG. 2). Cups with ring bases or stems. X-Group pottery only.

E. Footed Bowls (FIG. 2). Medium sized bowls with ring bases. Moderately common in X-Group pottery; abundant throughout Christian times. Early specimens are generally deep; consistently wider and shallower in later times.

F. Miniature Bowls (FIG. 3). Fine, small ring-base bowls. Largely confined to imported Ware 4 and local imitations, early Christian period.

G. Vases (FIG. 3). Medium sized, tall vessels with ring bases. Found in later Christian wares only.

H. Plates (FIG. 4). Flat vessels with ring bases. Very rare and found only in trade pieces in the Christian period.

J. Dokas (FIG. 4). Very large, crude dishes for baking kisra (native bread). Found in all periods, Ware 27 only.

K. Storage Jars (FIG. 4). Very large, tall vessels with wide mouths, with or without ring base. Presence in X-Group times uncertain; very common later.

L. Neckless Pots (FIG. 5). Common in all periods but largely confined to Ware 27.

10 However, absolute variability of size differs greatly from one form to another. Some forms, e.g. C8 and M2, are highly uniform, while others such as J1–2, K1–2, and N2 are sometimes found in sizes far larger than those shown. A few forms (G3–5, G6–7, and G8–9) are differentiated on the basis of size alone. This is done because the size ranges of the different forms are mutually distinct and do not overlap; moreover, in each case the larger and smaller forms occur in different wares. Note that several different scales are used in the drawings, ranging from about 1:4 in FIGS. 1 and 2 to about 1:12 in FIG. 7.
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M. Necked Pots (FIG. 5). Prevalent in X-Group and especially early Christian pottery.

N. Bottles (FIG. 6). Globular pots with narrow necks and mouths, medium sized to very large. Abundant in X-Group times; increasingly rare later.

P. Amphorae (FIGS. 7, 8). Very large, long vessels with narrow necks and loop handles. Found only in imported wares until late Christian times. Especially valuable for dating because of Egyptian origin. (See FIG. 8 for special details.)

Q. Pilgrim Bottles (FIG. 7). Special vessels having the general form of modern camp canteens; wheel made in two separate sections. Found chiefly in later Christian times; never common.

R. Qadus (FIGS. 7, 9). Large pots with knobs at the base, for use on the saqia (water wheel). Abundant at all times. (See FIG. 9 for special details.)

S. Basins (FIG. 7). Large, heavy vessels with nearly straight sides and flat bottoms. Fairly common at beginning of the Christian period; otherwise rare.

T. Pipe (FIG. 7). Known for certain only in the X-Group period.

Chronological distribution of the most important individual forms in each class is shown in FIG. 22.

Classification of Styles

Ten styles of painted decoration have been recognized, and are designated by the small letters a through h, j, and x. In order to make the classification inclusive it has been necessary to designate the use of a slip but no painted design as one style (a), and the absence of both slip and decoration as another (x). Two styles (h and j) are provisional, based on very scanty material. There are in fact only five major styles (c–g) which involve any appreciable variety of decoration, and these are illustrated in FIGS. 11–17.

Each of the five major styles is comprised of distinct, formal components which may occur either singly or in combination, always concentrically arranged and usually confined to the upper half of the vessel. Components have been variously designated by such terms as rim bands, ledge bands, collar bands, wall friezes, centrepieces, etc., according to their character and placement. FIG. 10 is intended to illustrate the use of most of these terms, and further examples will be found in several of the form illustrations, FIGS. 1–7. FIGS. 11–17 show the most regularly occurring components in each style.

All of the decorative styles of X-Group and Christian Nubia are either bichrome or trichrome; that is, not more than two decorative colours are employed in contrast to the slip. It is therefore possible to analyse all styles by means of only three colour notations, which for the sake of brevity are called black, red, and white. It goes without saying that each ‘colour’ is actually subject to a wide range of variability as between one vessel and the next, so that a very large number of hues may in fact be seen in a typical collection of Christian pottery. Nevertheless, not more than three colours will be seen on any one vessel, and

11 Ignoring, of course, accidental shadings due to uneven firing.
the relationship between the three is constant regardless of the actual hues involved. 'Black' is always darker than 'red', and 'red' is always darker than 'white'. The colour key in fig. 10 gives an idea of the variants of shade which are actually subsumed under these three notations, together with the symbols by which they are depicted in the drawings (Figs. 11–17).

a. Slipped, not painted. A few vessels of this description occur in nearly all of the fine wares (1–20), but the style is prevalent only in a few, chiefly from the Early Christian period. Such vessels are often highly polished.

b. Rim Band only. Decoration confined to a narrow band of contrasting colour along the vessel rim. Found occasionally in most decorated wares of the Christian period, but especially prevalent in the Transitional (i.e. early Christian) wares. The rim band in conjunction with other components is nearly universal at the beginning of the Christian period (Styles e and f). References: (3) pl. 50b: 10; (5) pl. xlvi:19; (6) pl. lxx:10, 14, 19; (17) p. 42; see also form illustrations B4, C1, C9, C10, E2, E4, E5, and M1, Figs. 1–7, above.

c. Paired Lines (fig. 11). Designs are composed of pairs of parallel, heavy black lines, with or without red or white filling between. Arranged in concentric body bands or in patterns of connected arches rising from a waist band. Frequently accompanied by rim band or segmented ledge band. This style is elaborately developed only in Ware 10, but the paired line motif is very persistent and appears occasionally in nearly all Christian styles. In Ware 10 the lines are often bordered by tangent dots. Origin uncertain; perhaps late Meroitic. References: (4), fig. 5: 66; (9), pl. xvi; (17), p. 43; see also form illustrations D4, E8, G10, M3, N1, and Q, Figs. 1–7, above.

d. Classic X-Group (fig. 12). The familiar and distinctive black and white 'blobs', slashes, and festoons, arranged in sparse, symmetrical patterns on a red background. Frequent alternation of black and white elements. The diagnostic style of the X-Group period. References: (2), Type illus. 28–38, 78–86; (3), p. 36, pls. 50a: 6, 50b: 1–5; (4), figs. 4–5; (7), pls. xxiv–xxvi; (12), p. 346, fig. 330, pl. 73b; see also form illustrations D1 and D4, fig. 2, above.

e. Modified X-Group (fig. 13). A late, refined mutation of Style d, distinguished by the universal use of a rim band, finer lines, and more closed-up or continuous designs. Alternation of separate black and white elements not seen. The style is clearly intermediate between Styles d and f and is one of the best horizon markers in Christian Nubia, having been in vogue only briefly at the very beginning of the period. Reference: (17), p. 42.

f. Transitional (fig. 14). Simple, open linear patterns of fairly narrow lines, including simple ledge and collar bands usually framed by single lines. Generally bichrome; a third colour appears only as background or filling in ledge bands. Style f occurs in various colour combinations in a group of related wares found in the early Christian period (see fig. 19). It survives in later times only in the coarse utility Ware 25. References: (6), pl. lxx: 10–14, 19, pl. lx: 10–11; (9), pls. xxiv, xxv(?), xxix–xxx, clxxxii: 6, clxxv: 22, 24, 28, clxxvi: 29, 31, clxxix: 44, cxc: 55, cxc: 61, 64, cxcl: 72, cxciv: 82; see also form illustrations B3, C11, K2, and M5, Figs. 1–7, above.

g. Classic Christian (Figs. 15–17). A very elaborate, fine-line style which consists essentially of curvilinear designs within rectilinear frames. The designs themselves vary widely in freedom of conception, from repeating geometric figures to highly stylized animal and plant forms, but the frames are always rigidly formal. Collar bands and friezes are elaborately developed and are always framed by double lines. Vessels usually have two or more distinct decorative components arranged concentrically and

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separated by undecorated spaces. Primary decoration is always in black, with a second colour used sparingly as a filler in collar and framing bands on vessel exteriors only. Many pieces are decorated in one colour only. Style g is of course the universally recognized and celebrated 'Christian Nubian' style, although Style f also belongs to the Christian era. The antecedents of Style g remain something of a mystery in the Wadi Halfa area it appears in trade vessels (Ware 14) long before it was locally manufactured. References: (5), p. 65, pl. xlv: 2–6, 8–10; (8), pl. 19b–d; (9), pls. xxvii, i, li, lvii, lix, lxiii, lxxix–lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxvi, xcvi, cvi, cxix, cxvii, cxviii, cxxviii; (11), pl. li; (13), pls. x, xi; (14), fig. 8; (15), figs. 22–30; see also form illustrations A3, A5, and G2–9. FIGS. 1–3, above.

h. Random Splash (P). Irregular droplets of red and black paint rather evenly distributed over both surfaces of white vessels. Found only on a few pieces of Wares 16a–b from the later Christian period. Probably a local aberration of no general significance.

j. Dot-on-Line (P). Designs in narrow black lines upon which are superimposed small white dots at regular intervals. Designs are sometimes simple and formal, sometimes tangled masses of looping lines without much overall pattern. The style is extremely rare but has been found in a number of different sites, and is also known from illustrations. May therefore be of general significance when its affinities are known. It certainly belongs in part to the X-Group period, but whether it precedes, accompanies, or follows Style d is not clear. Stratigraphic evidence suggests the first possibility but is based on too little material to be conclusive. References: (7), pl. xxvi: A12–45; (9), pls. clxxxiv: 18, 20, clxxxv: 25.

x. Unslipped and undecorated. A condition normally found only in utility wares (21–27); also in exceptional pieces of Wares 1 and 6.

Relief Decoration (FIG. 18). In addition to painted designs, Christian Nubian pottery incorporates several forms of surface manipulation as decoration. These include the use of straight and wavy incised body grooves, rim grooves, corrugation, ribbing, stuck-on elements, roulette tooling, stamped patterns, centre seals, scratched designs, finger impressions, and fabric impressions. Since these elements are most commonly found on unpainted vessels, they cannot be clearly identified with specific painted styles. Relief decoration is more closely associated with specific vessel forms than with other aspects of style.

Reliefs designs of all kinds are by far the most prevalent in the Transitional wares of the early Christian period. Rim grooves are near universal, while other types of relief appear sparingly. Parallel body grooves are also common in X-Group pottery and are

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12 The latter characteristic holds true only in the Wadi Halfa area, and is one of the features which consistently distinguishes the Christian pottery of this region from that made further south, around Dongola and Ghazali. In the case of the latter, as many as five different band designs may be found marching side by side without any separating space between. See especially (15), pls. 23, 26–8.
13 Another feature peculiar to Wadi Halfa pottery. At Dongola and Ghazali red filling is often found in interior designs.
15 Ribbing differs from corrugation in that it is a structural technique designed to strengthen vessel walls, and is generally visible on both surfaces, whereas corrugation is a purely decorative grooving of part or all of the exterior surface only. See FIG. 18.
16 Surviving, like other features of the Transitional Style (f), in the utility Ware (25) of the later period.
always associated with certain forms (e.g. B1, D1, D3). Roulette tooling (shallow, straight depressions in a radial pattern on the outside or underside of the vessel) is confined to imported 'Samian' Wares (4 and 13) and their local counterparts (Wares 2 and 5).

Stamped designs of the early Christian period usually, though not always, consist of a series of impressions, sometimes from several different stamps. In later Christian times the only form of stamped decoration is a rather elaborate centre seal, usually embellished with paint as well, which probably represents the trade mark of the individual potter. Scratched designs of simple diagonal lines occur only on Ware 27, at all periods. Vessels of this ware commonly also have deep fabric impressions on the base. References: parallel body grooves (5), pl. xliv: 21–2; (6), pl. lx: 8, 9; (7), Types 12, 18, 20–2, 26; (T5), Form M; see also form illustrations B1, B4, D1, D3, and E10, Figs. 1–2, above. Wavy body grooves, (5), pl. xlv: 14, 16, 17; (T5), Rim forms J1, J5, J8; form illustrations C1 and K1, Figs. 3–4, above. Rim grooves, (5), pl. xlv: 9, 10, 16; (T5), forms F3, J; form illustrations B2, C3, C5, E3, E7, G2, and K2, Figs. 1–4, above. Corrugation, (3), pl. 50b: 10; (6), pl. lxx: 19; (T5) form F1; form illustration C8, Fig. 1, above. Ribbing, (1) Types I–X; (2), Types 6–13, 18, 40–1; (4), fig. 4: 10, 42, fig. 5: 2, 6; (6), pls. xlvii: 2, 3, iii: 2; (7), Types 2–5, 17; (10), Types 130–8; (12), pl. xlviii: 1, 2; (12), fig. 73b: 9; (13), Form F1; (16), pl. xxviii; form illustrations C7 and F1–3, above. Stuck-on elements, (17), pp. 43–4. Roulette tooling, (2), Ware J; (6), pl. lix: 16, 17; (16), pp. 84, fig. 37: D, E, V, pl. xxxii. Stamped patterns, (2), Ware J; (8), pp. 20, 53; (9), pl. clxxviii: 7, 12; (T5), fig. 31; (16), pl. xxxiii; (T7), pp. 43–4. Centre seals, (5), pl. xliv: 1–6; (T5), fig. 32. Scratched patterns, (4), fig. 4: 11; (T5), fig. 11–12, 23–4, pl. xviii; (T5), forms S1–2; form illustrations C2, J1–2, and M4, Figs. 1–5, above. Finger marks, (T5), form Q3; form illustrations L2, N2, and S3, Figs. 5–7, above. Fabric impressions, (T5), forms Q1–2.

The most common forms of relief decoration found in the Wadi Halfa area are shown in Fig. 18. A chronology of decorative styles, both painted and relief, is given in Fig. 23.

Classification of Wares

Since wares are defined as recurring combinations of the different fabrics, forms, and styles which have been identified, it is possible to describe them largely by means of a synoptic table (Fig. 19). It will be necessary here only to point out the most distinctive features and probable significance of each. As was noted previously, the study of Christian pottery is far from complete, and the typology remains rather cumbersome as it now stands. Further investigation will probably show that a fair number of the proposed wares have no general significance, and can be discarded or combined with others. On the other hand, of course, further excavations are equally likely to turn up additional wares which must be fitted into the scheme.17

17 It would have been both convenient and tempting to give the various wares distinctive local names such as 'Faras Yellow Ware', 'Serra White Ware', 'Dabarosa Red Ware', etc. However, such designations can prove very misleading in the early phases of study. Until more is known about the actual origin and distribution of the wares it has seemed safer to stick to generalized descriptive terms, relying on numbers for additional identification. At some later date these can and should be replaced by appropriate and distinctive geographical designations.
CLASSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY

A. Saucers

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

B. Cups

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

C. Bowls

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 

FIG. 1. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASSES A-C

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Fig. 2. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASSES D–E
CLASSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY

Fig. 3. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASSES F-G

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Fig. 5. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASSES L–M
Fig. 6. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASS N
Fig. 7. FORM TYPOLOGY: FORM CLASSES P-T

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Amphora Details

Handles (cross-sect.)

Vessel Walls

Bases

Forms P1 P2 P3 P4

Fig. 8. FORM CLASS P: SPECIAL VARIABLE DETAILS

Quadus Details

Rims

Knobs

X-group Early Christian Late Christian

Fig. 9. FORM CLASS R: SPECIAL VARIABLE DETAILS

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Fig. 10. STYLE TYPOLOGY: KEY TO TERMINOLOGY AND COLOURS
Fig. II. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE c

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Fig. 12. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE d

Fig. 13. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE e

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Fig. 14. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE 1

266
Fig. 15. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE g

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Fig. 16. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE g (cont.)
Fig. 17. STYLE TYPOLOGY: STYLE g (cont.)

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Parallel Body Grooves

Wavy Body Grooves

Ribbing

Corrugation

Stuck-on Rosettes

Stamped Collar and Ledge Bands

Stamped Centrepieces

Centre Seals

Fig. 18. STYLE TYPOLOGY: MISCELLANEOUS RELIEF DECORATION

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### Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Slip Colour</th>
<th>Decor. Colour</th>
<th>Usual Styles</th>
<th>Usual Form Groups</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Periods</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Classic X-Group</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>B D E M N</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>A B C E F</td>
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<td>2-4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>a e f</td>
<td>C E K N S</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>A E F</td>
<td>Fairly Common</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Polished Red</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>a f</td>
<td>A E F</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>4-6</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>7-8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>A E</td>
<td>Very Rare</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>a</td>
<td>B C E</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>a b c</td>
<td>E K M</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>1-5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>B E F H</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>3-5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>b f</td>
<td>A B C E F K</td>
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<td>E H</td>
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<td>A E</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Classic Christian Yellow, etc.</td>
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<td>a b g</td>
<td>A B C E G H</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>c g</td>
<td>G Q</td>
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<td>A C E M</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>a g</td>
<td>A C E</td>
<td>Rare?</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>21 X-Group Brown Utility</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>K R T</td>
<td>Common</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>2-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Rare</td>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>a f</td>
<td>K-N P R S</td>
<td>Abundant</td>
<td>4-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>a b</td>
<td>L M S</td>
<td>Rare?</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>27 Coarse Domestic</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>C J L M N</td>
<td>Abundant</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See ware description

** See Chronology below

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Fig. 19. Ware Typology: Synoptic Table

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DECORATED\(^{18}\) RED WARES

1. **Classic X-Group.** The familiar dull red ware decorated in black and white (Style d) or undecorated. Diagnostic ware of the X-Group culture, easily recognized both by unique design style and by goblet forms (D1–4) not found in later wares. **References:** (1), pp. 514–16, pls. 39–40; (2), pp. 386–99, pls. 111–14; (3), Wares ii–iv, pl. 50; (4), figs. 4–5; (5), pls. lix: 18, 21, lx: 7, 8; (7), pls. xxii–xxvi; (12), pp. 345–6, pl. 73b; (17), p. 42.

2. **Modified X-Group.** Late mutation of Ware 1 with heavier, more orange slip, lightly polished surfaces, refined design style (e), and new range of forms. Ware includes several highly distinctive forms (B4, C9, M2) and its own decorative style, and as a result is one of the best and most easily recognized index wares of Christian Nubia. Marks the very beginning of the Christian period. **Reference:** (17), p. 42.

3. **Transitional Red-Orange.** Dark red or red-orange ware sometimes decorated in black or black and white. Slip very often dull black when overfired. Principal utility ware of the early Christian period, sometimes used for rather heavy smaller vessels as well. **Reference:** (15), Class IV, in part.

4. **Samian\(^{19}\) Red (T).** Highly polished plain red ware used for fine, small bowls, notably E6. Slip typically covers only the upper part of the exterior. Easily recognized by hard, bright pink fabric (IV). Imported from Egypt, where it is the characteristic decorated ware at the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, late 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. **References:** (1), pp. 515–16; (2), Ware J, Type 88; (6), pl. lix: 16, 17; (10), pl. xxx: 1–2; (15), Class III, in part; (16), pp. 84–7, fig. 37, pls. xxxi–xxxii.

5. **Polished Red.** Successful local imitation of Ware 4, often distinguishable only by the fabric (II). Generally somewhat softer than Ware 4, used for greater variety of vessels (?) and has slip covering the whole exterior. Very few pieces have painted designs in Style f. **Reference:** (15), Class IV, in part.

6. **Transitional Soft Red.** Similar to Ware 3 but rather coarse, generally soft, and decorated in Style b or f in white only. Sometimes unslipped, with white paint applied directly to natural red-brown surfaces. Rather uncommon; used chiefly for medium sized vessels and cups of form B2. Stylistic overuse of some early forms of Ware 12, of which it might be considered a variant. **Reference:** (15), Class IV, in part, and Class VI, in part.

7. **Classic Christian Red.** Hard, polished red ware decorated in black with white filling, black on a white band, or white only; Styles c and g. Seems to be confined to rather large vessels. The ware is not common; it is known chiefly from sherds picked up on the surface of late Christian sites. However, forms suggest that it is a successor to Ware 3. Chronological position uncertain. **Reference:** (15), Class IIb?

8. **Red Crackled (P).** Known from a few specimens found in early levels at Faras and at a few other sites. Mostly thick, shallow saucers with a very heavy red-orange slip which consistently has a crackled finish and large, light yellow patches (‘clouds’) where it is imperfectly oxidized. Occasional decoration in fine concentric black and white bands. Fabric most resembles III, but is soft and crumbly, with large quantities of very coarse sand as temper. Very crude variant of Ware 2?

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\(^{18}\) Including fine slipped wares with no painted decoration.

\(^{19}\) Use of quotation marks around the name is borrowed from (16), pp. 84–7, to indicate that the ware is actually a late Egyptian imitation of Roman Samian ware.

\(^{20}\) See (16), pp. 98–103.
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9. Micaceous Red (P). Undecorated dull red ware from the early levels at Faras. Paste very fine, soft and powdery, normally light tan or grey in colour. Contains large amounts of fine mica which is conspicuous on the surfaces. Temper chiefly very fine black particles. Surfaces are smooth, with a thick red slip which has a powdery or chalky feel and rubs off easily. Distribution and significance of the ware uncertain.

DECORATED WHITE WARES

10. X-Group White (T ?). Very thick white, cream, or light pink slip with designs in black (occasionally appearing as purple) and red, primarily in Style c. Frequently very soft paste. Origin uncertain; may be very late Meroitic ware. Not directly ancestral to later white wares in the Wadi Halfa region. References: (1), Types III, X; (3), pl. 50b: 10; (4), fig. 5: 66; (9), pl. xvi; (17), p. 43.

11. Orange/White (T ?). Very fine, polished white ware which frequently has one surface a light, bright orange as a result of differential oxidization in firing. Only decoration very rare black rim bands. Probably at least initially a trade ware in the Wadi Halfa area, as it is quite rare and appears long before any other white ware of comparable quality. However, at later periods it is difficult to distinguish from Ware 19.

12. Transitional White. Slip typically cream coloured in small vessels, shading frequently to light yellow or light orange in larger specimens. Decoration nearly always in red, very rarely in black and red, Style f. A very common ware used for a wide variety of vessels, both small and large, including great numbers of cups of form B3. It is the most diagnostic decorated ware of the early Christian period, and is regularly associated with Wares 3, 5, and 6. There is a marked improvement in both quality and elaborateness of design in the course of development. Earliest examples are soft and rather rough, with a very thin white slip; they are identical to some vessels in Ware 6 except for the reversal of the colours. Later the slip is much thicker and smoother, the fabric harder, the use of collar bands is introduced. When more data is at hand it may be possible to draw a formal distinction between the earlier and later forms, but this can not be done on the basis of present evidence. References: (6), pl. lix: 10-14, 19; (9), pls. clxxxiii: 6, cxxi: 61, cxciv: 82; (15), Class IV, in part; (17), p. 42.

13. ‘Samian’9 Cream (T). Same as Ware 4 with the substitution of a cream, pink, or light yellow slip sometimes decorated in black and red, Style f. Transitional style may have been introduced into Nubia via this ware. Comparatively rare and used only for plates (H) and wide, shallow bowls.

14. Early Classic Christian (T). A mysterious trade ware found in lower levels at the Faras Pottery Kilns. The fabric is reminiscent of Ware 10 (Fabric I), but harder. Vessels are very thin-walled, with a thick, polished cream or pink slip which is often cracked. Decoration is in the Classic Christian style (g) in red only, with painted bands usually paralleled by incised bands. Most of the vessels are vases, notably of Form G1 which does not otherwise occur in the Wadi Halfa region. Saucers and cups are also found. This ware marks the appearance of the Classic Christian style long before it was locally adopted, and its origin poses an intriguing problem. Unfortunately nothing more is known of it at the present time.

15. Classic Christian White. Very hard, highly polished ware varying in colour from light grey to cream; very rarely light pink. Common fine-line decoration
in black or reddish brown (U), Style g. Used in the Wadi Halfa area almost entirely for saucers (A1–4) and a few bowls of Form E4. Ware 15, together with Wares 16 and 17, constitutes the generally recognized Christian Nubian pottery ware. References: (5), p. 65, pls. xlv: 1–4, xlv: 1–13, 22–3; (8), pl. 19b–c; (9), pls. lii, lvii, lix, lxxvii–lxxxii, lxxxii, lxxviiix, xcvi, cvi, cx, cxvii, cxviii, cxxviii; (11), pl. li; (13), Class I, in part; (15), Class 1a.

16a. Classic Christian Yellow. Fine ware with a matt slip of cream, yellow, or light orange, decorated in black or dark brown, frequently with red filling. Style g. Counterpart of Ware 15 used for larger vessels with rather thick walls, notably in Form Classes E and G. This ware seems to be confined to the northern region. Further south it is replaced by Ware 15, which is used for vessels of all sizes. References: (8), pl. 19d; (13), Class 1, in part; (15), Class IIa, in part; (17), p. 43.

16b. Classic Christian Pink. Identical with Ware 16a in every detail save that the surface covering consists of a thick underslip of chalky white and a thin overslip of light pink or tan (very rarely lemon yellow), which has a chalky or powdery feel and rubs off easily. The surface is very often finely pitted where the expansion of temper particles just below the surface has forced minute flakes of the slip to jump off. Decorative colours are identical to Ware 16a, and the two are interchangeable in all other respects, but Ware 16b is slightly less common.

16c. Chalky White. Reminiscent of Ware 16b without the overslip. The slip is a thick, powdery white which rubs off easily. The only known decoration is a red rim band (Style b) found on all specimens. Vessel forms are the same as in Wares 16a and b, but 16c is quite rare.

17. Christian Heavy Decorated. Similar to Ware 16a but much coarser, with rough surfaces and coarse paste levedicated with straw. Essentially the same as Ware 25 with a yellow or cream slip and Style g (sometimes also Style c) decoration. Takes the place of Wares 16a–b in very large vessels, notably large vases (G3, G6, G8) and pilgrim bottles (Q). Comparatively rare; apparently most common in very late Christian sites. References: (5), pl. xlv: 2; (9), pls. cci–cciie; (15), Class IIc; JEA, xiii, pp. 141–50.

18. Plain Soft White (P). Fabric I. Slip and decorative pigment similar to Ware 14, but only known decoration is pale red rim band. Forms chiefly A1 and E2, with rim rounded and thicker than any other part of the vessel wall (in marked contrast to Ware 14, which has very thin, squared off rims). Represented by several specimens from middle levels at Faras. Possibly insignificant local mutation of Ware 12.

19. Hard White (P). Very hard vessels with polished, cream-coloured slip. Only known decoration is a red design in Style f, but relief decoration of several kinds is unusually common. Both the fabric and the finish strongly resemble Ware 11, but orange shading does not occur, and the forms are quite distinct: globular vessels with inturned rims, such as B3, C1, C3, C5, and C8. Vessel walls are typically thick, and the weight of the pieces is surprisingly heavy. Identical pieces with red slip occur in Ware 3. Should perhaps be regarded as a mutation of Ware 3, inspired by Ware 11.

20. Hard Yellow (P). A close cousin of Wares 15 and 16. Fabric close to Fabric III, but with conspicuous fine black particles in the temper. Surface colour consistently yellow ochre, usually highly polished. Decoration in jet black only, Style g; many pieces undecorated. Used for medium sized vessels with thick, heavy walls. Probably a local variant of Ware 15 made in some other area and traded to Faras, where a number of specimens were found in the uppermost levels. As similar pieces do not
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appear in pottery collections from further south, the ware is presumed to have been traded from the north.

Coarse Utility Wares

21. X-Group Brown Utility. An unslipped and undecorated ware of Fabric II which has been definitely identified only in qadus, basins, and pipe. Vessel walls are nearly always gently ribbed. Companion utility ware to Ware 1. References: (1), Types VI, VII; (2), Ware G; (3), Ware i.

22. Imported Pink Utility (T). Imported ware of Fabric IV. Usually has light red slip, sometimes adorned with Greek characters in white. Always has gentle, rounded ribbing and characteristic 'button' base (cf. FIG. 8). Identified with certainty only in amphorae of Form P1, but presumably used for other large vessels as well. Amphora interiors are usually resinated. The ware is found in enormous quantities in nearly all late X-Group and early Christian sites, and must be regarded as one of the regular utility wares of these periods. References: (1), Types XIA–b; (2), Wares E–F?, Types 7–8; (6), pls. lviii: 2, liii: 2; (7), Type 3; (15), Class VII; (16), p. 78, pl. xxviii: 10.

23. Imported White Utility (T). A ware found only in imported amphorae of Form P3. The fabric is hard and coarse, containing abundant large fragments of black and white rock as temper. The characteristic colour of both paste and surfaces is light grey, or occasionally light pink. The vessels exhibit a peculiar form of flattened, 'clapboard' ribbing of very irregular width (see FIG. 8). They are neither slipped nor decorated, but often have Greek inscriptions on the shoulder in red ink. These, together with distributional evidence, have permitted Ware 23 to be dated fairly accurately to the late 5th or early 6th centuries.21 It is the best index of absolute age in Christian Nubia. Although the graffiti themselves are rarely found, the ware is readily recognized both by the temper and by the distinctive surface treatment. Unfortunately it is quite rare in Nubia. References: (2), Ware D and Type 6, pp. 401–3; (6), pl. lxviii: 3; (7), Type 4; (17), pl. xlviii: 3.

24. Imported Brown Utility (T). Another ware found only in imported amphorae, Form P2. The fabric is perhaps to be identified with Fabric I; it is fine, rather soft, and contains large quantities of mica. The invariable colour of both surface and paste is a light chocolate brown. Exteriors commonly have exaggerated 'clapboard' ribbing; interiors are resinated. There is no slip and no other decoration. The typical vessel form is quite unmistakable; particularly the solid, conical base (see FIG. 8) which becomes a very conspicuous sherd. This is the typical form of amphora found at the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes,22 dated to the 6th and early 7th centuries, and has also been dated to the same period at Etnasa.23 It occurs in great quantities for a brief period in early Christian Nubia. References: (2), Ware G, in part, Types 11–12; (16), p. 31, pl. xxxiv: 134–7; (17), pl. xlviii: 1; (16), pp. 78–9, pl. xxviii.

25. Christian Red Utility. A very hard, heavy and coarse ware of Fabric III which sometimes has a brick red slip and bold white designs in Style f. Amphorae also occasionally have stray Greek letters. Ware 25 differs from all preceding utility wares in that it is never ribbed. It is used for all manner of large and heavy vessels, notably storage jars, amphorae (Form P4 only), and qadus, as well as occasional coarse bowls of Class E. This is the only significant utility ware of the later Christian period (excluding Ware 27), and replaces all previous utility wares, domestic and imported. References: (5), pl. xlv: 16–22; (13), Class 5; (15), Class IX.

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26. Hard Grey (P). Apparently a late mutation of Ware 25 which is closely similar but lighter in colour, with a characteristic dark yellowish-grey paste and surfaces. It sometimes has a very dark red slip and broad, carelessly applied cream-coloured rim bands. Vessel walls tend to be thinner than in Ware 25 and extremely hard, while rims and necks often exhibit a sharply angular profile as if they had been formed in moulds. Ware 26 has been collected primarily from the surface of late Christian sites, and comparatively little is known of it. A few specimens were found in the top levels at Faras.

27. Coarse Domestic. This ware differs sharply from all other Christian Nubian pottery in a number of important respects: it is hand-made, straw tempered (Fabric V), and used in forms which are not found in other wares (notably J1–2, L1, M4, and N3), and it has remained virtually unchanged from Meroitic to modern times. The explanation is clearly that it is the one form of Nubian pottery which has always been made by women, as in fact it still is. Other peculiarities are a highly polished dark red slip confined to the neck or area adjacent to the rim, crude scratched designs, and common fabric or basketry impressions on the bases of the vessels. References: (1), Type XXV; (2), Ware A; (5), fig. 4: 11, fig. 5: 6; (7), Types 11, 13; (13), Classes 3?, 4?, 7; (15), Class VIII; (17), p. 44.

A comparative chronology of all twenty-seven X-Group and Christian wares is given in FIG. 24.

Chronology

With the aid of stratigraphic evidence, it has been possible to place the various pottery wares of X-Group and Christian Nubia in fairly precise chronological order. In the original excavation of the Potteries at Faras West (Site 24–E–21), six stratigraphic levels were encountered, and the collections from all of them were rigidly segregated. When the material came to be studied it was found that only four pottery horizons were present, and these correspond to Periods 4–7 in the present chronology. Subsequent excavation of three other stratified sites (24–R–23, 24–V–13, and 6–G–7) revealed the same three ceramic levels in each case, of which the uppermost corresponded to the lowest horizon at Faras (Period 4). These investigations therefore added two earlier periods to the chronology: Periods 2 and 3. Another excavation (24–N–3) repeated the sequence of Periods 4 and 5. The exact chronological relationship of the different excavation levels and units in the five sites is shown in FIG. 20.

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26 The determination of ceramic sequences on the basis of stratigraphy involves what is essentially a distribution study, and must be developed statistically. Given the usual conditions of field archaeology in the Nile Valley, it is seldom possible to maintain rigid vertical controls in excavation, and a certain displacement of material must be expected. The result is that one or two sherds of all types are sure to turn up in all levels. When the final sherd tallies are made it is always necessary to disregard these statistically insignificant occurrences unless they appear regularly in a number of sites. Elimination of questionable occurrences is most easily done with the aid of frequency distribution curves for the different wares.
27 See pp. 33, 44 and 66, above. 28 See pp. 70–1, above.
CLASSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY

We have, therefore, a stratigraphically established sequence of six ceramic periods (Periods 2–7), each of which exhibits a unique combination of wares. Two additional periods, 1 and 8, are somewhat more hypothetical in that they are not based on direct stratigraphic evidence. Period 1, the hypothetical Classic X-Group period, has been added on the basis of several published descriptions of X-Group pottery complexes\textsuperscript{29} which do not include Wares 2 and 22,\textsuperscript{30} but list several other wares not found in our excavations. Period 8 has been added to account for highly deviant pottery collections from late Christian sites.

Figs. 21–4 show the chronological occurrence of fabrics, forms, styles, and wares through the eight periods, on the basis of present evidence. It will be readily noted that the differences between some periods, e.g. 2/3 and 4/5, are relatively slight, based on the appearance or disappearance of one or two wares.

\textsuperscript{29} e.g. (2), pp. 386–96; (3), pp. 35–6; (7), pls. xxii–xxvi.

\textsuperscript{30} The late position of Ware 2 in relation to Ware 1 seems to be confirmed stratigraphically at Karanog Town. See (17), p. 42, last line.
The justification for differentiation in such cases is that the wares in question are of special historical or distributional importance, whose presence or absence it is essential to note. Further investigation may nevertheless reveal that the time periods involved are slight (e.g. because Ware 2 appeared only a few years before Wares 3, 11 and 12), and that only three or four major historical periods are involved. So long as the chronological evidence is largely stratigraphic, there can be no suggestion that the different periods are necessarily of equal length or significance.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the chronology as it stands is purely a relative one, and there is a distressing scarcity of datable material to which it can be tied. A handful of dated wares, mostly from the beginning of the Christian era; a few possibly associated inscriptions from this or that site; and certain inferences which may be drawn in regard to prevailing economic and political conditions: these are the evidences upon which the dating of Christian pottery, and ultimately of Christian sites, must be based. From them it is possible only to frame a highly speculative reconstruction of Christian ceramic development in relationship to recorded history. The evidence, such as it is, may be briefly reviewed here.

**Period 1.** The lower limit of Period 1, at the beginning of the evolutionary scale, is a matter of the purest conjecture. The entry of the X-Group people into Nubia has been tentatively placed sometime after A.D. 300,\textsuperscript{31} but there is nothing to indicate that they began immediately to make pottery of Ware 1. On the contrary, the distinctive forms in this ware look much more as if they had come from the Mediterranean than from the Upper Nile, and their introduction into Nubia at the time of X-Group ascendancy was probably quite fortuitous. Since no stratigraphic or developmental sequence has been observed in classic X-Group pottery,\textsuperscript{32} there is no certain way of following it back to its origin. This circumstance in itself might tend to suggest that the whole of ceramic Period 1 (not necessarily equivalent to the whole period of X-Group dominion in Nubia) occupied a relatively brief span of time immediately prior to the introduction of Christianity,\textsuperscript{33} for ceramic evolution apparently moved quite rapidly at later times. Such a hypothesis would also account for the dilution and disappearance of classic Meroitic wares which had apparently already taken place before Ware 1 became prevalent.

**Period 2.** By contrast to its predecessor, this is the only segment of the chronological scale which can be dated with much accuracy, thanks to the presence of Ware 23. This ware has been dated in Egypt fairly closely to the late 5th or early 6th centuries,\textsuperscript{34} i.e. within the limits A.D. 450–550. As an *ante quem* date

\textsuperscript{31} See (4), pp. 40–1; (7), p. 35.  
\textsuperscript{32} See (2), p. 386; (4), p. 41.  
\textsuperscript{33} Kirwan has suggested both for Ballana-Qustul and for Firka that the majority of the X-Group material probably belongs to the 5th and 6th centuries. See (2), p. 399; (7), p. 35.  
\textsuperscript{34} See (2), pp. 401–3.
## Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM CLASSES</th>
<th>PERIODS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AD 400?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Saucers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Cups</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Bowls</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Goblets, etc.</td>
<td>1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Footed Bowls</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Miniature Bowls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Vases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Plates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Dokos</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Storage Jars</td>
<td>1?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Neckless Pots</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Necked Pots</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Bottles</td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Amphorae</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Pilgrim Bottles</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Qadus (cf. FIG. 9)</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Basins</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Pipe</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 22. CHRONOLOGY OF FORMS**

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this is quite satisfactory, although it cannot be used to determine the actual duration of the period, for Ware 23 apparently occurs in Period 1 also. The complete estimated time span of Ware 23 does not exceed a century, and includes part of Period 1 as well as Period 2, suggesting that the latter was of quite brief duration. It is interesting to note that the conclusion of the period corresponds very closely with the introduction of Christianity into Nubia.  

**Period 3** is marked by the appearance of the Transitional (i.e. early Christian) pottery Wares 3 and 12, both of which apparently developed out of Ware 2. There is no internal evidence to date this period, but as it falls between the *ante quem* date of Period 2 and the presumed beginning of Period 4 (see below), it may be fairly confidently assigned to the later 6th century. Period 3 would also seem to have been of brief duration, for Period 4 may also have begun within the 6th century.

**Periods 4-5.** The basis for differentiating these two is fairly slight, based on the final disappearance of Ware 2 and the appearance of two Wares, 14 and 18, of uncertain chronological significance. The two periods together are distinguished by the presence of two very important trade Wares: 4 and 24. These were the typical fine and utility wares, respectively, of the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, which is dated in the late 6th and first half of the 7th centuries, and the same dates have been proposed for Ware 24 at Ehnasaya. These dates do not, of course, fix the limits of Periods 4 and 5, but they do indicate that they probably fell partly within the time span A.D. 700-750.

Periods 4 and 5 represent the heyday of trade wares, from Egypt and perhaps other regions as well. No fewer than six imported wares have been identified for the two periods. This circumstance accords well enough with known historical events, for it is a matter of record that the continuance of the Nubian trade was guaranteed by treaty following the Arab conquest of Egypt in A.D. 640. It seems unlikely that any such formal agreement would have been necessary had not the volume of the trade been fairly substantial.

**Period 6** is marked at the outset by the disappearance of all trade wares from Egypt (Wares 4, 13, 23, 24, and possibly also 10 and 11), pointing beyond doubt to a suspension of the trade between Egypt and Nubia. As there is no corresponding change in the local ceramic industry, it is a safe supposition that this circumstance was brought about by conditions in Egypt and not by any sudden efflorescence of Nubian pottery manufacture which eliminated the market for imported wares.

Directly or indirectly, the interruption of the trade between Moslem Egypt and Christian Nubia may probably be traced to the overthrow of the Omayyad

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35 See, e.g. (14), pp. 2-4.  
36 (16), p. 78.  
37 (2), p. 390, Type 12.

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caliphate, A.D. 750. This was a time of widespread unrest and particularly of religious strife throughout the Arab world,\textsuperscript{39} and there are several recorded instances of the breach of the Nubian trade treaty at about the same time.\textsuperscript{40} In Egypt, the Abbasid accession seems to have been the signal for a renewed persecution of the Copts, for the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara was sacked in the same year (A.D. 750) and never fully recovered, and a number of other Egyptian monasteries were abandoned during the following century.\textsuperscript{41} As the monasteries of Egypt may themselves have been the source of much of the pottery imported into Nubia,\textsuperscript{42} their destruction alone would be sufficient to account for the disappearance of trade wares.

Additional circumstantial evidence of a sort may be adduced from the Potteries at Faras West (Site 24–E–21). The fourth and fifth ceramic horizons at this site correspond to Period 6 in the present chronology (cf. FIG. 20). The fourth horizon was inaugurated by a general overhaul of the whole building, which had previously perhaps been a monastery,\textsuperscript{43} and by the building of the first of the great circular kilns. This event clearly presages the beginning of large-scale pottery manufacture at Faras, and the conversion of the site into a purely secular institution devoted to this purpose.\textsuperscript{44} The first vessels to be mass-produced, constituting about 90 per cent of the pottery found in horizon 4, were amphorae of Form P\textsubscript{4} (Ware 25), the first locally made amphorae in Nubia. Their development is surely to be associated with the termination of the trade in imported amphorae from Egypt.

Associated with level 4 or level 5,\textsuperscript{45} in one room, was a curious painted inscription: a Latin palindrome rendered in a blundered Coptic form.\textsuperscript{46} The same inscription in the same form and colours appears in the nearby Anchorite’s

\textsuperscript{39} See Arkell, loc. cit., p. 188; Lewis, \textit{The Arabs in History}, pp. 78–82.
\textsuperscript{40} Arkell, loc. cit., pp. 188–9; (r4), pp. 5–6. \textsuperscript{41} (r1), pp. vi–vii.
\textsuperscript{42} The evidence for associating monasteries with the Nubian pottery trade is fragmentary but highly suggestive: 1, the great majority of imported vessels in Nubia are wine (i.e. resinated) amphorae, and trade in wine was clearly a very important aspect of life at the Monastery of Epiphanius; see (r6), pp. 161–2. After the Moslem conquest of Egypt it may well have become a Coptic specialty. 2, there is textual evidence to associate pottery manufacture as a commercial enterprise with the monks at Epiphanius; see (r6), p. 159. 3, after the termination of the Egyptian trade, and probably because of it, it was apparently a monastery at Faras which took up the large-scale manufacture of pottery; see (5), p. 64 and KUSH IX, pp. 32–3. 4, the Coptic monastery near Luxor today engages in the manufacture of utility pottery which is traded all over Egypt.
\textsuperscript{43} See (5), p. 64. \textsuperscript{44} KUSH IX, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{45} The original excavator (Woolley) considered that the inscription dated from the earliest occupation of the site; see (5), p. 64. However, later investigation showed that it was painted on top of a late coat of plaster associated with the remodelling of the site. The plaster itself contained sherds of Wares 3, 4, and 12, and the inscription was interrupted, with no corresponding lacuna, by a doorway which was not cut through the wall until the beginning of Period 6 (level 4).
\textsuperscript{46} See (5), p. 64.
Grotto (Site 24–E–22), where it is quite clearly dated at A.D. 739. Given the unusual nature of the text, as well as the recurrence of several specific mistakes, there is a strong supposition that the two inscriptions are roughly contemporaneous. Also in the Potteries, at the same level and in the same room as the inscription, a small Coptic tombstone had been re-utilized as a hinge pivot. Professor R. Plumley of Cambridge University kindly translated the text, and identifies the style as belonging to the 8th or 9th century. This furnishes a very rough post quem date for Period 6.

Taking all the evidence together, it seems logical to place the beginning of Period 6 fairly close to the year A.D. 750, or contemporaneous with the accession of the Abbasids in Baghdad. The duration of the period is of course another matter. If the date from the North Church at Faras can be accepted (see below), it could not have lasted much more than a century.

**Period 7** is the most culturally important and interesting of all the chronological phases, as it marks the zenith of the Christian pottery industry; the time when the Classic Wares (15, 16, and 17; Style g) were in full flower throughout Nubia. Unhappily it is also the least datable of the stratigraphic periods, for it seems to represent a time when Nubia was fully autonomous both politically and economically, so that there is a conspicuous lack of trade objects which might furnish a date. The period is identified by the disappearance of the Transitional Wares (3, 5, 6, and 12) and Style (f),48 and their replacement by the Classic Christian wares and style. The actual process of transformation is far from clear, for it involves a fundamental change not only in decorative style (f to g), but also in fabric (II to III) and characteristic forms (notably the elaborate development of Form Classes A and G). For the most part the connecting links are quite conspicuously absent; Style g seems to spring into full flower overnight, obliterating its predecessor. There is in any case substantial evidence that Style g was not a native innovation, as it appears in a trade Ware (14) long before it was locally manufactured. Even so its introduction should have been more gradual than the evidence suggests. The probable explanation is that a ‘page’ is missing from the stratigraphic record. It will be recalled that the sequence of all the later stratigraphic periods is based on a single site (24–E–21), and the occupation here may have been interrupted at some point.

A single date may be adduced for Period 7. At Faras West, the North Church yielded an inscription dated A.D. 881.49 In the same building and its southern neighbour were also found pottery vessels belonging unmistakably to Wares 15 and 16, Style g.50 The inscription does not, of course, date the

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47 (6), p. 83. 48 Except as it survived in Ware 25. 49 (8), p. 29. 50 (8), pl. 19b–d. The writer has examined the specimens themselves, and confirmed the identification of the wares as well as the style. The vessel illustrated in pl. 19d is exactly duplicated by fragments found in the uppermost level at Faras.
### Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery

**FIG. 23. CHRONOLOGY OF STYLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Styles</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. Rim Band</td>
<td>1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Paired Lines</td>
<td>1 - 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Class. X-Gp.</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Mod. X-Gp.</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Transitional</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Class. Chr.</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Splash</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par. Grooves</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wavy Grooves</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim Grooves</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrugation</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribbing</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuck-on</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roulette</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamped</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre Seals</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG. 24. CHRONOLOGY OF WARES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wares</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Trans. R.-O.</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 'Samian'</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pol. Red</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Soft Red</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Chr. Red</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Red Crack.</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. X-Gp. Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Or./Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Trans. Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. 'Samian'</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Early C.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Chr. Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Class. Chr.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Heavy Dec.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Plain Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Hard Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pol. Yellow</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Imp. Pink</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Imp. Wh.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Imp. Br.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Chr. Util.</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Hard Grey</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Domestic</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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pottery, as the churches may have been in use for a considerable time. It does suggest the possibility that the manufacture of Classic Christian pottery (co-extensive with Period 7 in the Wadi Halfa area) may have begun as early as the late 9th century.

It is impossible to estimate the duration of Period 7, partly because its termination is not clearly marked. The Faras Potteries (24–E–21), upon which the later ceramic sequence is entirely based, were clearly abandoned while the manufacture of Classic Christian pottery was still flourishing, for a great number of unfinished pieces of the finest quality were found in the top levels of the site. Period 7 is therefore presumed to have continued for an undetermined period after the abandonment of the Potteries. A later Period, 8, is postulated because of significant differences in the pottery found on the surface of late Christian sites.

Period 7 clearly marks the zenith of Nubian pottery manufacture in regard to both quantity and quality. In a number of respects it seems logical to associate this phenomenon with the zenith of Medieval Nubian political power, which is said to have occurred in the 10th and 11th centuries. At this time the whole of Nubia north of the Fourth Cataract was united in a single kingdom which was strong enough for a time to dominate Upper Egypt. The prevailing cultural autonomy seems to be reflected in such conditions as the general absence of trade material from Egypt, and the contemporaneous use of the Nubian language in religious texts. The suggested dates for Period 7 seem to receive further confirmation from Ghazali, an important centre for the manufacture of Classic Christian pottery which was probably occupied during the 10th and 11th centuries, and perhaps later. If Period 7 is accepted as coinciding with the manufacture of Wares 15 and 16, therefore, it must have lasted far longer than any preceding period.

Period 8. This is a catchall designation for the later Christian era, based on surface collections from fortified sites in the Second Cataract and Batn el Hagar which are considered to be refuge sites. The principal decorated pottery found here comprises Ware 7, Ware 17, and Medieval Arab glazes which have not yet been studied. The locally-made pieces are heavy, coarse, and rather carelessly decorated, suggesting a hypertrophy of the Classic Christian style and forms which seems to be anticipated in some pieces (notably Forms G3, G6, and G8) from Faras. Ware 25 apparently continued in use for 26, and is accompanied by a related utility ware of better quality, Ware 26. However,

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56 This assumption of course defines Period 7 on a quite different basis from any of its predecessors, using a single style (g) as the index. It is notable that most of the preceding styles actually lasted through several periods. If a stratified site spanning Period 8 were to be excavated it might well reveal four or five additional periods based on the same sort of definition as Periods 3–6. 57 Cf. (r3), Class 8.
58 Cf. (9), pls. cci–ccii; Crowfoot, JEA, xiii, pp. 141–50, pls. xxxiv–xxxv.
far and away the most prevalent of all wares is Ware 27, suggesting that in the end the manufacture of pottery may have reverted more and more to women, as the last Christian men found their time largely occupied in defending their homes and fields against Arab invasion.\textsuperscript{59}

The various tentative dates which have been proposed above are entered where appropriate in the chronological charts (FIGS. 20–24) to mark the division between ceramic periods.

**SYNTHESIS**

Notwithstanding the inadequate documentary evidence, the main outlines of early Christian ceramic development are fairly clear. What is most immediately apparent and unexpected is that the entire evolutionary process from Classic X-Group to Classic Christian ran its course in a matter of some four centuries, from A.D. 450 to A.D. 850, or thereabouts. This would allow for the individual periods involved (end of Period 1 to the beginning of Period 7) an average duration of less than a century. How this demonstrably rapid and continual stylistic change may reflect upon the presumed ceramic stability of earlier cultures, and particularly the Meroitic, is a matter for interested speculation.

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**FIG. 25. MAJOR TRADITIONS IN CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY**

While there is ample room to dispute the validity of the eight specific developmental periods which have been proposed, there can be no question that X-Group and Christian Nubian pottery exhibits three quite distinct and successive traditions, which for convenience may be termed X-Group, Transitional, and Christian. Each has its own specific fabric, its own decorative style or styles and its own complex of wares including red ware, white ware, utility ware, and sometimes trade ware. These persistent trait combinations are unmistakable and can be regarded with absolute confidence as diagnostic of the X-Group, early Christian, and middle Christian periods when found in archaeological sites. The principal components and features of each tradition are summarized in FIG. 25.

\textsuperscript{59} Cf. (14), pp. 6–7.
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The overall trends in pottery development from Classic X-Group to Classic Christian may be briefly reviewed as follows:

1. In fabric, a shift from softer and finer to harder and coarser paste and larger temper particles.

2. In form, a persistent and continuing trend from predominantly tall, slender vessels to predominantly short, broad vessels. This tendency is equally evident in vessels of all sizes, and is marked by the replacement of goblets (D) by successively shorter and wider ring-base bowls (E); the virtual disappearance of cups (B) and the elaborate development of saucers (A); and the near disappearance of long-necked and narrow-mouthed decorated vessels.

3. In slipped vessels, a shift from an overwhelming preponderance of red wares to an overwhelming preponderance of white wares. This trend, however, appears to be reversed in the late Christian era (Period 8).

4. In painted decoration, a gradual shift away from genuinely trichrome designs, using balanced or alternating decorative elements of two different colours, toward essentially bichrome designs in which a third colour is used only for filling or to provide a background contrasting with the slip colour.

5. In design, evolution from very sparse, discontinuous patterns to simple connected linear patterns of a single component, and finally to very elaborate linear patterns involving several different components. The process is marked throughout by the use of successively finer lines.

6. In relief decoration, development from a general use of parallel body bands in the X-Group tradition to a considerable elaboration of all kinds of relief decoration in the Transitional tradition, followed by its virtual disappearance in the Christian tradition.

The whole of the foregoing discussion may be regarded as an interim report on the continuing study of Christian Nubian pottery. Before any part of it may be considered as definitive a number of fundamental problems will have to be solved:

1. Identification of the materials employed as paste, temper, and pigments.
2. Reconstruction of the conditions and temperatures of firing.
3. Determination of the geographical range of styles and wares.
4. Definition of regional variations in each classificatory category.
5. Discovery of the origin of introduced forms and styles.
6. Identification of the developmental stages in the late Christian period.
7. Accurate dating of the chronological periods.

To conclude the present report, FIG. 26 presents a hypothetical family tree of Christian Nubian pottery.

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Fig. 26. HYPOTHETICAL FAMILY TREE OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN POTTERY WARES
(Ware numbers in circles)
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(4) Firth, *ASN*, 1910–1911. (X-Group pottery, figs. 4–5, facing p. 125.)


(7) Kirwan, *The Oxford University Excavations at Firka*. (Corpus of pottery types pls. xxii–xxvi.)

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(13) Shinnie, *SASOP*, vol. 3. (Pottery classification, pp. 28–50.)

(14) Shinnie, *SAS Museum Pamphlet 2*.

(15) Shinnie and Chittick, *SASOP*, vol. 5. (Pottery classification, pp. 30–5.)


(17) Woolley, *Karanog; The Town*. (Pottery types, pl. 14.)

(18) Woolley and MacIver, *Karanog; The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*. (Pottery types, pls. 103–6.)
OVER thirty years ago Mr Reuben Rikita and I began to take down a considerable number of texts referring to the history and social life of the Azande people of the Southern Sudan, a people famous in the literature about Central Africa. These texts relate past events and very largely a past way of life which can never be recorded again. In them some of the past is saved from oblivion. A few have already been published \textit{(SNR (1955, 1956, 1957); Africa (1956))}; and I am grateful to the Editor of \textit{Kush} for the opportunity of publishing some more, for I am convinced that they will one day come to be regarded as important documents. They will be in three parts, of which this is the first.

The texts have been selected for their historical and ethnographical value. I shall not here discuss their linguistic interest. I will only say that if I have taken some liberties with grammar, especially with regard to tenses, it has only been for the sake of clarity; meaning, rather than word for word accuracy, having been the chief consideration. Azande grammar, especially with regard to verbal forms is complex and sometimes difficult to render in translation. Nor do I here discuss orthographical problems; alphabet, word-division, phonetic pointings and punctuation.

What is required by way of explanation is provided in footnotes to the texts. In these notes I have used the past tense because my comments are based on what I observed in Zandeland between thirty and thirty-five years ago. Much had already then changed, and doubtless much more has changed since; and even if it has not, what I saw and heard is past and not present. This makes for some awkwardness when the text is in the present tense and the commentary is in the past tense, but it cannot well be avoided. The choice between the ethnographic present and the historical past is not an easy one to make, but, clearly, what can be written in the ethnographic present has soon to be referred to in the historical past.

The names of the persons who related the texts, where they have been recorded, are given in brackets after the titles. All the texts in this part were written by Mr Reuben Rikita and have been translated by me.

\textbf{small Sons of Princes (Reuben)}

\textit{agu wili agbia nga rukutu yo, i nga aira nzanga na aira wingba. wa i ni du nghostimo yo}

Those children of princes who are small are foolish and naughty. Since they are in the private quarters

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i na sungo a sungo kindi, ka i bi liae si ni ndu ko yo du bayo ni, i ki gumba a gumba
they wait until they see food being taken to their father, when they say
ngoro yo dunduko, ki ya ka boro ta nga ya, ni ka ndu ka zanga bakinde, gbia ki li e a li
among themselves that no one should go away or he might miss his porridge.
The prince has his meal,
kindi ki ta mbu e, ko ki ya fu gu de ni ye na ni li ma kpe wenengai ni dungu e, ki
ma gu
and when he is satisfied he tells the wife who brought the food to spread many
leaves on the ground, and one is to be
ni kiki e sa. li ki mangi kina wo, ki kukuo kpuro bakinde ko yo ni kina ba sa sa
a big one. She does as she is bid and she breaks off portions of porridge on to
them, a portion to each leaf,
dunduko, ki kuo kpuro o biata na biama ku rogo gu kpe du ni kiki e. mbiko lika yo
biata:\nand she breaks off three or four portions on to the big leaf. For there are three
sorts of princelings :
agu yo nga abazogo kporo na agu yo gbia a kusa yo ngbanga yo. agi yo re i du
ngbanga yo
(First) there are those who have homes of their own and those whom the prince
has expelled into the court. These are in the court
tigayo na sungudo kina bakinde ngbanga. agu yo du gene yo, du fuo kikindigi yo, i
gbia
and wait for the porridge served there. Then (secondly) there are those on the
path, who come after the grown-up sons, those whom the prince
na yeyemba yo ki ni kekedi yo. agu yo tie nga rukutu agude na ra kina ngbadimo
yo du
is constantly calling and sending on errands. Then (thirdly) there are the little
boys who sleep in the private quarters
ana yo ni. gi rukutu yo re, i na rogo gu bakinde du na kpuro o ni ba sa sa. agu yo du
where their mothers are. Each of these little ones takes one of the single
helpings of porridge. Those on
gene yo, gbia na yemba yo, ga yo ki du sa ni kiki e, kpuro bakinde biata na biama a.
path, those whom the prince summons, theirs is the big portion of four or five
helpings.

1 A prince's court consisted of three parts: an outer court, an inner court to which
entry was restricted to persons of importance, and the household or private quarters
where he lived with his wives. The older sons who resided at court, or who were
visiting their father, occupied huts around the outer court. Little boys lived in the
household with their mothers. On the path leading from the inner court to the household
were some huts occupied by the prince's pages, some of them sons of commoners and
others his own children. These pages, unlike the older sons, could be summoned into
the household. When they were older they were told to go and live by the outer court.
fuon yasa kuadikuadi e ku kpe yo dunduko gbia ki yembu gu ni sa ni ki ye ki di ga
agu yo
After the breaking of it up on to leaves is finished, the prince calls one of them and
he comes and takes the share of those
du gene yo ki ndu na ni fu yo. fuo gure gbia ki yembu kina gu ni nga umvuru ni ki
ye ki
on the path and carries it to them. After that the prince calls the eldest of the
little ones, and he comes forward and
di ga ni, i ki rogo o ti kina aumvuru dunduko ki da ti tame. gu yangara a ni nye,
takes his portion, and when all the older ones have taken their portions the
younger ones take theirs. What is left over,
 gbia ki yembu kina umvuru ni ye ka dia a. ono ka gbia ongo a onga gbua i ki de e a de
the prince calls the eldest to come and take it. For if the prince is just silent the
boys would struggle for the porridge
dunduko, ka gu ni ngara gebe ni ki di e. ka gu ni liti ga ni dunduko ni ki tuka ga
kura ni
and whoever was the strongest would get it. When one finished his portion he
would seize that of another
a tuka ki oro na ni ki liti e dunduko. sino rukutu wili agbia nga i a li nga e sezeredi
and run away with it and eat it all up. It is not the habit of little sons of princes
to eat quietly,
te, i na, kpi nyemu ka de ga yo liae dedede; ka gu ni du dagba yo ni i ra mungo, ni ki
nye
they always want to snatch their food; and if one of them is slow-witted he may
remain
a nye gbua, ka ni a li nga e wa sa ya. agu yo nga sosono yo du gene yo, gbia na
kekeda yo,
without any food at all, without anything to eat. The older boys on the path,
those whom the prince sends on errands,
agu yo re i a ra nga ngbadimo yo wa sa te, i na raka kina ti ga yo abombu gene yo.
ono
they may not sleep in the private quarters, they sleep in their huts on the path.
However,
kina uru gbia ki ni yembu yo ku ngbadimo yo ka kekeda yo ku o ko a kpi nyemu ko
o ni
in the daytime the prince summons them to the private quarters to send them on
errands to wherever he may wish.
kina yo na tinda bakinde ku barondo yo fu abakumba.
It is they who carry meals to the inner court for the elders.
ru kutu wili agbia nga rungorungo aboro be aumvura yo, mbiko aumvura yo na
manga yo wa
The small sons of princes have a miserable time at the hands of their elder
brothers, for their elder brothers treat them just like
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kina akanga, i na kpi nyemu atame yo mangi ngbatunga asunge fu yo dunduko, wa gu sunge nga slaves. They want their younger brothers to perform every kind of service for them, such work as kuo nyake, kata kpe mvuo yo, tuda ime dio, wega kuke dimo yo na awiso dunduko. agi collecting firewood, gathering leaves in the bush (for toilet purposes), drawing water at streams, and sweeping ashes out of the huts every morning. These asunge dunduko re, i na kpi nyemu agude mangi e nzunzu, ka gu ni a manga nga gi sunge re tasks must all, the older brothers insist, be carried out to their satisfaction, and if a boy neglects a task ya, ka ni a da nga ngbanga yo berewe wa sa ya; da kina o bangili ni ni go a go ni, ka ni he takes care not to go into court again; until one day he is forgetful and he is no a gunde nga wa sa ya, ni ki ta ye ka kura ku ngbanga yo, akura ni ki ni zi ni ka ta ni longer frightened, and then he appears in to the court, and the others seize him and give him a good beating, a ta kindi, ki ni mo ka mbu ni. agude ki gunde a gunde dunduko ki ni mangi ga yo sunge and then they let him go. After that the boys are all afraid and they perform their tasks nyanyaki. well.

gu sunge i a manga fu ba yo, si nga kina ndu ka wa anya rogo gbaria. agu yo ni du gene The work they do for their father is to go and scare animals into hunting nets. Those who are on the path, yo, gbia na yemba yo, ga yo pai nga tinda pio ku gene anya yo; rukutu yo ki ni tindi those whom the prince summons, their job is to carry the nets to the hunting-ground; and the smaller boys carry ga yo nga saba. saba nga gu rukutu rukuruku wili angua i ni dewe e tipa songa pio ku ali. the stakes. Saba are those small straight stakes which are cut to support the nets.

i na lingbis a be agude ni ba bisue, ka agude nge ghe agu yo nga wili ngangara yo i ki Each boy carries some five of them, and if there are many boys the stronger ones tindi gu rukutu pio nga nzekete, mbiko si du ni ahakpura a. i ki ta re pio si lengbe carry those smaller nets called nzekete, for they are light. When the nets are all set up and ready dunduko gu sosono wili gbia ki rogo rukutu agude dunduko ki tona ruga yo ti kina li pio, one of the prince’s grown-up sons takes all the little boys and places them from the end of the line of nets,
ki rugu yo a ruga kindi ki da ti kina li pio bani, i ki ru a ru pati gbarea kirikiri, da and he goes on placing them till they reach the other end of the line and encircle the hunting-ground, 
_kina o i ye ka tona wa e ni dunduko._
and then they shout to scare the game.²

*rukutu wili agbia a manga nga bakere sunge fu ba yo wa sa te, da kina o i ni sosono ni ka*
The small sons of a prince do not do much work for their father until they grow up to

*du wa agu yo gbia na keked yo. mbiko agu yo re, ga yo sunge nga de ngua ku rogo ga gbia*
the age of those whom the prince sends on errands. For these latter have the work of cutting the brushwood in the prince’s

*bino, nga gu ni a sopa ni sa ni na kina adia ni. ka i mangi sunge wenengai gbia ki fu cultivations, that is, those he hoes himself with his wives.³*
If they work well the prince gives

*wene liae fu yo na buda. yangada ga yo sunge nga kina gere sa nga gu i a manga fu ba yo.*

them a nice meal and beer. Their work is just that only, that is, the work they do for their father.

*i a manga nga sunge na yo wa sa te; kina agu yo dagba yo nga ngangara yo i na ndu ka*
They do not do any work for their mothers at all; only the stronger of them may go

*undo na yo na ga li bino ni gu rago sa, ono ga yo bakere sunge nga kina sungudo ngbay a to help their mothers with their cultivations for one day. But their big task is to watch the maize

*fu ba yo ti azile da kina o si ni ugu ni dunduko i ki siri e.*
against birds until it is ripe and they pluck it.

*rukutu wili agbia na sona a sona kina ku ngbadimo yo kindi da kina o i ni du wa akumba,*
The small sons of princes grow up in the household until they reach puberty;

*gbia ki ya fu yo we, si ngba ka i kuru ku ngbanga yo, mbiko i nga kikindigi akumba awere.*
and then a prince tells them that they had better get out to the court since they are now men.

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² A section of bush was selected and a clearing made round its square or rectangle so it could be observed by spoor marks if an animal had entered it. Nets were erected along one of the sides of the area, and while one or two men sought to drive the beast towards the nets, children shouted on the open sides to scare it from attempting to break through on them.
³ This does not mean that the prince himself hoed. A distinction is being made between the cultivations for which the prince’s household were responsible and those worked for him by his subjects.
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ono awere i ni sono a sona kindi ki ta da ti kumba kina ni ki kuru ni sa ni ku ngbanga yo.
However, nowadays when they grow up and reach puberty they go out to court of their own accord.
agu yo du ngbanga yo, i na wia agu yo a wia ni vura sona ka ni a kura nga ku ngbanga yo
Those in the court mock those who, although they have grown up, have not gone out to
ya. gu ni re, akura ni ki ni wi ni a wia, ki ya vuru ade nga ni, mbiko wa ni a kpi nyemu
court. His companions mock such a one, calling him servant to women, because he wants
ka sungo na kina ade ngbadimo yo.
to remain with the women in the household.
rukutu wili agbia nga kina aboro nzanga dunduko. i nga aira tuka ae a, mbiko ka
vuru gbia
The small sons of princes are all crazy. They are snatchers too, for if one of the prince's subjects
ru e wa ngbaya, na ugu pasio na baga, gere agude na ndu na ni ku ngbadimo yo, i
ki rogo
makes him a gift such as maize or a basket of dried meat, when those boys take it into the household they remove
gi e a roga re, si ki nye ni kina toni e gbua. ka gbia bi e wa gure ni ki ka na kina liae
this thing so that only a little of it remains. If the prince sees it like this he
refuses to give any of them any food
be yo dunduko, i ki ni li ga yo liae kina be ana yo da kina o ngbadu ni ka zera ni ni
gu kura
and they have to get their food from their mothers until such time as he ceases to
be angry on some other
rago akia. agu aboro na ru e, i ki ya u i ka ina pa yo, i ki ye na ga yo e fu gbia ki ru
day. Those men who often make a prince gifts have learnt the tricks of his
sons, so when they bring their gifts for the prince they stay
kina pati ni kindi da kina o kina gbia ka ye ni ka bi ni gene yo. gbia ki ta ru kina
gene
by the gift until the prince himself comes to see them on the path, and when the prince stands on the path
yo i ki ndu na gu e re ku kporo yo, mbiko i na gunde ti sosono yo gene yo na gbia. ka
the boys take the gift into the household, for they are frightened of their elder
brothers who are with the prince on the path. Should
gbia du ni sa ni na kina zande gbua i ki ta da kina gene yo i ki ton a oka gu ku pangba
the prince be by himself with just a Zande,4 when they have reached the path
to the household they hide the gift at the side

4 'Zande' has here the sense of commoner or subject.
gene. gu e ni bati be yo sa, si nga furusuru e wa sere; ono gu nga awande, i ki koro ra of the path. The only things which escape them are bound-up things like sesame; though in the case of groundnuts they scrape a hole kina mburu baga yo ki ni rogo ra kina yo. agu yo na manga agi apai re dedede, ngbadu in the bottom of the basket and get them through it. Those who keep on acting in this way, ba yo ki imi vuru, ka ko a zinga nga berewe wa sa ya; ono ka ko bi yo ni bangili ko i ni their father gets annoyed with them to no purpose, so he does not lose his temper any more; though if he sees them with his own eyes when they mangi gu pai re, ko ki gedi kina agu yo ti limo yo, ki ya fu agu ngangara aumvura yo du act in this wise he counts them to their names and then he tells their big elder brothers who ngbanga yo ka i bi agi agude re berewe ngbanga yo i ki ta yo a ta gbe, ka i a ngi nga are in the court that next time they see these boys in the court they are to give them a good hiding, and let there be no joke mbaro na yo wa sa ya. mbiko agu sosono yo du ngbanga yo i nga mama ku rukutu yo du about it. For those older ones in court are like leopards to the little ones who are ngbadimo yo. ka i mangi gbegebere pai yo du gbia ni gbia ki gumba a fu kina aguyo du in the household, and if they behave badly in the prince’s presence and the prince tells it to those ngbanga yo i zi yo ka ta yo ti gu pai i ni mangi gbegebere. in court, they seize them and beat them about whatever it is they have done wrong. agu agbia du ni kikindigi yo, i a kpi nga nyemu ka taka awili yo dedede te; i a kpi nga Big princes do not care to beat their sons often; and they do not care also nyemu ka ruga agude ko ti sunge a te, mbiko dengu ade du be ni na manga ga ni sunge to admonish their children about work, for they have any number of wives to perform all dunduko, na dengu avuru ni a na manga sunge fu ni wenengai. si du i a kpi nga nyemu ka their work and any number of subjects to labour well for them. So they do not want to fuda awili yo sa sunge wa sa te. worry their sons about service at all. mi ke kina gu mi a na bi wa mi a du ni toni gude ngbadimo ku buba yo, ki ini pai tipa I have written of what I used to see when I was a little boy in the household of my father and knew about ga ni sino nga rukutu wili agbia. the habits of little sons of princes.

6 Mr Reuben Rikita’s father was one of the older, and best known, sons of King Gbudwe.
A MAN ASKS A PRINCE FOR A GIFT (Kisanga)

When a man wants to go to a prince to solicit spears from him he first of all consults the poison oracle, saying, ‘as I am about to visit that prince shall I die there from sickness, or from sorcery, or will a carnivorous beast seize and kill me? Shall I not return again to my home here?’

If the oracle says to him that should he go nothing would happen to him, he takes another chicken and puts the question ‘as I am about to go to visit that prince, will he give me spears, will I thank him in my happiness?’ If the oracle says to him that the prince will give him plenty of spears, he rises and prepares his bread for his journey. As soon as it is light, right early in the morning, he rises and calls that son of his who is to travel with him, and this boy hangs on his shoulder the bag containing all their food, and he attaches to his waist a gourd for water. They begin their journey right early

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6 Azande reckoned wealth in spears, and it was by payment of spears that a man married. Mara is any piece of metal, mostly iron, but since payments for marriage, fines, and in exchange, were usually in spears, the word is here translated ‘spears’.

7 No Zande going on a long journey, a nungunungi boro, would have been likely to have done so without first obtaining a statement from the oracle that he would not meet with misfortune on it. Poison was administered to fowls and their death or survival gave the answers to the questions put.

8 Literally ‘I will sweep the ground (with my hands) before him’, this being the Zande way of expressing thanks to a prince.

9 The word kpakuta does not necessarily refer to bread or mash, but here it does, to vodivodi bakinde gbanda, a mash of manioc wrapped in leaves.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

wiso ki ndu a ndu kindi. ka gu rago turu a turo re ni ki ra ku gene sa, ki da ngbang yo
in the morning and proceed on their way. If the place is far off they sleep one
night on the way and reach the court
ni gu kura gira rago.
at dawn on the following morning.
ni ki sungu a sungo kindi, ka gbia vura ka kura nga ni gu rago re vuru ya, ni ki ra a ra
They wait a long time, and to no purpose, for the prince does not appear that
day; and they sleep
kina ngbang yo. rago ki ta gira i ki ye kina ku ngbanga berewe ka sungudo ngbanga.
gbia
in the court. Early next morning they enter the court again to await proceedings.
As soon as the prince
ki ta kura ku gene yo, ni ki pai koti gbia wenengai, ki lingbisi pa lingara gu gbia ni
appears on the path this man salutes him politely and then tells him all the news
of the country of the prince
a ye rogo fu gbia dunduko. gbia ki sungu a sungo kindi, ki ta guari ka ga, gu bakumba ki
from which he has come. The prince sits in court for a long time, and when
he rises to depart this man
dusio ni ku gene re ni ipo ki kuku barangba ni, ki ya fu ni ' gbia a nga si nga limo we
with all speed overtakes him on the path and kneels before him and says to him
' prince, it is not that I want to be your subject 10
yaga mi a yaga sa ro te. zingo du ta manga re gbe. agbio re ki ka a ka na bangisa de re, ki
that I have come to you. It is because of poverty. My in-laws refuse to let
me have my only wife and
ya mi a ye na kina baso mbata wa bisue ami ni ka gasa li ku kpure yo. si du bi mi e
they tell me to bring spears first, some five, and then they will bring her to my
home. So I considered the matter
a bi tini kindi, mi ki ya a! bi e a bi na ngba nga te, gba a gba sa ni ni ngba.
and I said to myself that just thinking about it is no good, it is better to do some-
ing about it.
mi na dusio kina ro nga baira re mo batasi re be gi pai na manga re re. kina gi pai re si
I have come to meet yourself who are my master that you may save me in this
matter which troubles me. It is about this matter that
mi ni ye tini ka bi ro gbia.' gbia ki ya fu ni ' lengo du, mi a bi ro gizo.' ni ki ra a ra
I have come to visit you prince.' The prince says to him ' all right, I will see
you later.' He spends

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10 He does not actually say this but that is what he says implies. Sa ro te implies
ra fu ro te, not be your subject.
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ku ngbanga diwi ki du sa na bebere ru. gu rago ki ta da gbia ki ni mo ka asia ni na baso
six weeks at court. Then on a certain day the prince gives him leave to depart
wa bisue na bawe a, mbiko wa ni na di diwi sa ku vurukporo ngbanga. ono ka mo ra
ku
with spears, some five or may be ten, for he has spent a month at court. But if
ngbanga wa bisue gbia ki ni mo ka asia ro na baso wa biama na bisue, gu ni re,
spend only about five days at court and the prince then gives you leave to depart
and four or five spears, that is a
sengia ga ni wene nunguro du, mbiko ndu ka bi gbia tipa mara nga kere pai. wa rago
na
man's very good journey, for going to visit a prince to get spears from him is a
very arduous business. Each morning afresh
gira kina wo mo a mbu bi sungo; mo ki ni sana gbia tipa gate, ni ki ni kido ro kina ku
you are wearied with waiting; you ask the prince about your departure and he
puts you off
gba; mo ki ta ya gba mo a ye ka ga, ni ki kido ro kina koti kura rame berewe. mo
ki ni
till the morrow; and then when you think you are going to depart on the morrow
he puts you off till yet another day. You
mbu a mbu ku be gi pai re ni lengo. mbiko bakumba na ra a ra ngbanga kindi, ngbanga
ki
in truth tire yourself out with this affair. For a man spends day after day at
court
kpasira ti ni. ni ki ni tingidi pa awili ni ku kporo yo dedede na adia ni a. gbia ki ta
until he is utterly bored with it; and he thinks all the time of his children at home,
and of his wives also. When the prince
ye ka soga be ti ni ni ki ni mo ka ga na ngba rago. ono kina kumukokumuko aghia
na asia
releases him he departs joyfully. However, wealthy princes give people leave
to depart
aboro tipa toni rame gbua, ka ni a zada nga gbanga rame ku ngbanga wa sa ya. ono
kina agu yo si na
after only a few days, they do not have to be patient for a long time at court.
But those
du nga be yo barambeda ya, i ni dika boro ku ngbanga yo tipa dungu rame, mbiko
ni na
who have nothing ready at hand, they keep a man at court for many days, for they
are
ghata a a ghata be kura aboro, ka si lengbe bangili ni ni ki asia ro.
searching for spears from other people, and only when they think they have got
enough do they let you go.

298
A Man Changes His Allegiance (Kisanga)

The reasons why Azande change allegiance from one prince to another are that they are threatened by misfortune and that people are hostile towards them. A Zande

asks the poison oracle about the country of that prince to whom he bears allegiance, and if the fowl dies he takes another one

and if the oracle consents to this, he returns to his home. He

waits some ten days, and then he calls all his wives and they come and sit round the fire; that is, if he has

many wives. Azande marry many wives. He says to them 'now there is something I wish

to say to you about this home which I share with you; this our home is not good,

for I went today to consult the oracle and I asked it, saying 'oracle,

if I go on being subject to this prince for the rest of my days misfortune will fall

on me and on my wives

awire dunduko, mo ti na kondo.' ka si a ima ku ngba re ya, u ki kpi, si du mi ni bi e ti

and my children? If so, kill the fowl. I had not addressed the oracle for long when the fowl died. So I considered the matter

and then I said to the oracle again that if I were to transfer myself to the territory of that other prince I would rest there and

and so the fowl did not die, thus foretelling my good fortune. So I said to myself that I would tell you about it

Azande used from time to time to ask the poison oracle about their future health and fortune, and if told by it that their pa, their condition, was bad in their present homes they contemplated moving elsewhere.
KUSH

roni, oni rugu ti roni na ni, mbiko ka boro ta bi nga kpio a bi ni ndu sa ni te. mi na so that you would be aware of the circumstances, for a man does not see his death ahead and go towards it. I am ye ka ga ku gu gbia kondo re ni ngba ku kpuko yo, mi ka ndu ka kpi lingara gi gbia re gbua.

going to live in the country of that prince to which my fowl was favourable, for otherwise I shall just die in the country of this prince.' ni ki ta ongo, gu de nga ga ni nairakporo ni ki karaga pai, ki ya, 'i lengo When he has finished speaking, his senior wife answers him, saying, 'yes, very du ba, na ka de moi kporo ni sa ni, a kina kumba na ma kporo fu de. kina kumba na soroka

good sir, a woman does not make a home by herself, it is a man who makes a home for a woman. It is for a man to consult the oracle pa de; o a nga ba kumba ni ya ni ki guari o ki gbiisi ku mbata yo. ani idi kina gu about his wife; and when the home of a man is not favourable for him he leaves there and moves on. We accept what pai mo a gumba re, mbiko ka ani sogo o ti gani ani ndu ka manga wai, wa du ade nga ani

you say, for even if we, on our side, were to dislike it what could we do anyway, since we are only women gbua a du nga fuo ti rani ya?' and have no strength?
i ki ra a ra, rago ki ta gira wiso, ko ki ya fu adia ko we, ' mi na ndu ka ta toni, mi a They sleep, and when morning comes he says to his wives, 'I am going for a little walk, I yega gba.' ko ki ndu a ndu kindi sa kina gu gbia kondo ko a nga ba ku kpuni yo. ko ki ndu will return tomorrow.' He goes on his way to that prince to whose country his fowl had been favourable. He goes ki sungu gene yo ki fo kora wenengai gbe ku ali. gbia ki gi pa ni ki kedi sunge ki ya and takes up a position on the path to the prince’s private quarters and coughs loud and strong. The prince hears him and sends someone to tell him ni sungu toni. ka si ngia kina boro wiso gbia ki sungu a sungo kindi, uru ki fa wenengai to wait a little. If it is early in the morning the prince waits a long time, and when the sun is high in the heavens ko ki fu bakinde ku ngbanga yo. gbia ki ya agude gumba a fu gu vuru gbia du ngbanga yo

he sends out a meal to the court. The prince tells one of his pages to tell that prince's subject who is in the court ko ye ko gene. agude ki gumba a fu ko, ko ki ndu ka sungu gene yo. gbia ki fu bakinde fu
to come to the path. The boy tells him, and he goes to wait on the path. The prince sends out porridge to
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

ko, ko ki ta li bakinde, gbia ki kuru fuo ko ku gene yo. ko ki kuru ku barangba gbia ki him, and when he has finished his meal the prince appears before him on the path. He advances before the prince and

_ya fu ko we_, 'gbia a nga si nga kura pai du mi a gumba ni gbanga a fro te. akondo re says to him, 'prince, it is not some matter about which I need speak to you at length. My fowls
du ta kpi a kpi, ki ya ka mi sungu kina ku gu gbia du mi lingara ko mi a li nga vovo all died, saying that if I remain with that prince in whose territory I am now in I will not eat of the new

_maru ni gi gara te re. si du ya me tini we, wa pa re nga kina kono du mo ni, mi na yego harvest of eleusine this year; so I said to myself that since my prospects are good here where you are, I would come

_sa kina ro, mbiko wa du oni sa nga avungara.' gbia ki ya 'lengo du, ka mi sogo o ti e to reside in your territory, for you are all one, you nobles.' The prince says 'all right, why should I be against it

tipagine wa du gimi wene pai du nga dungu aboro ni yega sa re? ko ki wege rago barangba when it is my good fortune that many people come to me?' The man thanks the prince effusively.

gbia dunduko. kura aboro ki ta ye ni dungu yo, ko guari barangba gbia. ko ki ndu kindi

Many other men now having come forward, he gets up from before the prince. He journeys

_ki kuru ku kpuko yo. rago ki ta gira, ko ki ya fu adia ko we, i mbakadi ba ga yo ae back to his home. Early next morning he tells his wives to pack up all their possessions

_kina areme dunduko. rago ki ta gira ko ki ni guari ka ndu ka ra ramu kporo na ga ni vovo on that day. At daybreak he rises and goes to make his home with his new gbia. aboro ki gi kina pa ni, ya ni ga sa gu kura gbia re. gu vovo gbia re, ka ko nga prince. People then hear about him, that he has gone to another prince. This new prince, if he favours

_na gu vovo wuru ko yega awere re susi agu yo ni du o mbata, abakumba ki ni gbarasi limo this new subject of his who has just come more than those who were there before, then the elders will speak ill of him.12

_ko a gbarasa. i ki ni sogo ko a soga, ni kpi nyemu ka do ko a do ni mangu yo. ono ka ko They will hate him and wish to drive him away with their witchcraft. However, if he

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12 There was competition among princes to attract a following. A new subject (_vovo zogo_) was welcome and was likely to be shown favours to encourage others to become subjects too.
ngara ti e gbe ko ki ndu na ngbanga kina kubarangba gbia, kina gbia ki zingi fu is stalwart about it he will make a case before the prince, and the prince himself
will be cross with
abadkumba pati ni, i ki ni mo ka gunde toni. ono i na gunde ti kina bangili gbia. ka i
the elders on his behalf, and they will be a little more careful. But they are
afraid only in the prince's presence. When they
dungura ti yo ku rogo ba sa i ki ni gumba kina limo gi kumba re. azande na soga
akura yo
collect together in some place they speak spitefully about this man. Azande are
jealous of their fellows
tipa gu de gbia ni fu li fu gu ni; i ki ya a ya we, iramangu nga gi kumba re, mbiko
ko na
on account of a woman the prince gives to one of them; they say that that man
is a witch, because he
kisa gene akura ko a kisa be gbia ni mangu ko, gbia ni gamu ae fu kina ko sa.
airaskote
blocks the way to the prince for others with his witchcraft, so that the prince
makes gifts to him alone. Malicious people
nga abakumba.
are elders.

THE ATTEMPTED SLAYING OF MONGBI (Gatanga)
kumba a du yo limo ko a ngia mongbi ni ga gbudue bakumba, ko ki di wili gbia
limo li
There was a man called Mongbi, who was one of Gbudwe's elders, and he
married the daughter of a noble, and her name
ngia namaigie. agbia ki zi gu pai kotki ko nga ko a imi wili gbia; gi pai re i ki ni peko
was Namaigie. Some nobles accused him of having killed a son of the
nobility; and they continued to taunt
e fu ko tipa dungu arame, ono ko ki ni fuku ngbu e fu agbia ni dungu yo, ko ki fu
ngbu
him about it for many days. However, he gave tests to several nobles, including
fu rikita, sa ko ki ngba a ngba. ko ki fu ngbu wa biata, ka kond a kpi nga ko ti ko
wa sa
Rikita, and the oracle declared him innocent. He gave tests to some three of
the nobles and never a fowl died to his name.
ya. gu rago ki ni ya da, aboro ki ye ku ngba yo ni bakumba aboro, agbia ki du ni
Then there came a certain day, and a great many men were assembled at court, including

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13 This is a significant part of the story, for a commoner who married into the
nobility tended to be regarded with disfavour by them as one acting above his station.
dungu yo a. gbudue ki ya fu gude we, ko ndu ka ngera ti avungara ku barondo yo. gude
many nobles. Gbudwe\textsuperscript{14} told a boy to summon the nobles to the inner court. The boy
ki da nga ki ngere ti yo, i ki ye ti bakere baromai na ni du barondo ku gbudue yo. ko
ki fu
went and summoned them, and they came to the great hut which always stood in Gbudwe’s inner court. He (Gbudwe) sent out
awande na bakere duku fu avungara, i ki ta li ra, wili mai ki zi sende toni. Ngbitimo
ki
groundnuts in a great pot for the nobles; and when they had eaten them a little
rain fell. Then Ngbitimo
guari pati yo ki e gako baso kina bako o, ko ki ndu ku ngbanga yo ku ti gu bombu
yo na
rose from among them and, leaving his spear in his place, went into the outer
court and entered the hut which
ngia ga abaigo. ko ki ya u ngere, ko ki bi mongbi ku sungu; ko ki ya fu ko we,
‘nda mongbi,
belonged to the Abaigo company (of warriors). When he looked around he
saw Mongbi seated, and he said to him, ‘You there, Mongbi,
mo a imi gbia mbata, boro hape nga mo.’ ko ki zadi e koti mongbi kindi. fuo gure ko ki
in the past you killed a noble, you are a murderer.’ He continued to accuse
Mongbi. After that he
zina e ki ya abaigo zi ko. i ki xi ko ki uru ga ko roko ti ko dunduko, ki wigi
ko na
incited the Abaigo to seize him. They seized him and tore off all his barkcloth,
and they dressed him in
kina kpoto gbodi. ngbitimo ki ta e ko na gile, ko ki oro ku barondo yo ka dia ga ko
baso
a bushbuck skin. Ngbitimo left him bound with cord and ran to the inner
court to fetch his spear
ko a e kina yo. akura ko ki sana ko, ki ya fu ko, ‘gini pai du ngbitimo mo a dia
baso ti
which he had left there. His companions asked him, ‘Why, Ngbitimo, do you
take up your spear?’
ni?’ ko ki ya fu yo we, ‘kina gu boro hape nga mongbi, ko i ni zi ko.’ i ki sana ko, ki
He answered them, ‘It is that murderer Mongbi, it is him they have seized.’
They asked him,

\textsuperscript{14} I have always spelt the name of this famous Zande king in the Belgian manner
(Gbudwe). Mr Reuben Rikita used the British spelling (Gbudue).
KUSH

ya fu ko we, 'gbudue ni gi e mbata?' ko ki ya fu yo we, 'enda! a nga boro bape nga ko saying, 'has Gbudwe heard about it first?' He protested, 'what! Is he not a murderer?'
te? ko ki gba a gba ngbadimo ni ba sa ki oro kina ko yo herewe. mongbi ki ni kpari
He rushed out of the hut immediately and ran again to where Mongbi was. Mongbi cried
kina aliyo fu gbudue, gu kpe ko a kpara na ni ti limo gbudue si nga gere, 'ako
loudly for Gbudwe, and what he cried to the name of Gbudwe was this, 'oh
Gbudwe
gbia, mi na kpi o o. mi a ima fuka ngbu fu agbia dunduko sa re ki ni nga a nga, mi a
my master, I am dying o o. I have already given tests to many princes and their
oracles have declared me innocent. I
imo nga gbia ni be re wa sa te, mi a ya nga fu boro ni gi nga re we, ni imi wili gbia
never killed a noble with my own hand, nor did I ever tell another with this my
mouth to kill the son of a noble.
wa sa te. ako gbudue gbia, i na imo re gbua. mi a manga nga pai wa sa te.'
Oh Gbudwe my master, they are killing me without cause. 'I have done no
wrong.'

ko ki ta kpara gbe, gbudue ki gi e kpuke yo. ko ki zina e ko yo na ga ko vura,
When he had cried much, Gbudwe heard him in his home. He roared
for his shield,
ki ya i ye na ga ko vura ko no ni ipo. ko ki di ga ko baso ki gbe be ko na ni ku ngbadu
that it should be brought to him with all speed. He took his spear and brandished
it behind the centre of
ga ko vura. ko ki ye a ye kindi, ki ta e barondo yo agbia a sungu ni, ko ki kuru nga
his shield. He came right on, and when he had passed by the inner court where
the nobles were sitting, he appeared by
gu kura gine akia ku ngbanga yo, ko ki ye ki ru, aboro ki ye a ye dunduko ku pati ko.
another path in the outer court, and there he stood while all his men gathered
about him.
ko ki ya 'da na kpara wa kina mongbi?' i ki ya fu ko we, 'gbia, mongbi du.' ko ki ya,
He asked, 'who is that crying out first like Mongbi?' They replied to him
'master, it is Mongbi.' He asked,
'gini gbegbere pai ko ni mangi? i ki ya fu ko,' gbia, kina gu gbia nga ngbitimo, ko ni
'what wrong has he done?' They replied, 'master, that noble Ngbitimo, he
ya we, ko a imi wili gbia mbata, boro bape nga ko; si du i ni mo ka zio ko ti ni ka vo
said that he killed the son of a noble in the past, that he is a murderer; that is why
they seized and bound him.'
ko.' gbudue ki zina e ki ya i ndu ka ye na ko ko no, i ki oro fuo mongbi ki ye na ko ku
Gbudwe ordered them vehemently to go and bring him to him, and they ran to
Mongbi and brought him

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SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

barangba gbudue. gbudue ki sana ko, ki ya fu ko we, ‘mongbi ga mo roko wari?’ mongbi ki
before Gbudwe. Gbudwe asked him, ‘Mongbi, where is your barkcloth?’ Mongbi replied
ya fu ko we, ‘baira re, mi a ina nga o si ni mere ni te, bombiko kpi o na manga re,
to him, ‘my lord, I do not know where it has got to, for when death was threatening me
ka si a du nga wa ka mi bi gu boro ni di gimi roko ya.’ gbudue ki zina e ki ya, gu boro
it was not as though I could notice who it was who took my barkcloth.’ Gbudwe
got excited and said, ‘that man
ni di gu roko du re ni ndu ka dia a ni ipo.’ i ki oro ki di gi roko re ki ye na ni ki fu
who took this barkcloth, let him go at once and bring it.’ They ran and took
this barkcloth and brought it and gave it
e fu mongbi, ko ki wi e dimo yo, ki uru kpoto gbodi.
to Mongbi, and he put it on in a hut and took off the bushbuck hide.

fu o gu ti e gbudue ki ni mo ka pa a pa fu aqbia ni lengo tipa mongbi. ko ki ya
After all this Gbudwe spoke most strongly to the nobles about Mongbi.
He said
fu yo, kina gu boro ko ni ya fu yo ka i mangi nga ni ya, kina ni i ni mangi; ono gu ni
to them that when he told them not to harm a man, it was precisely that man
whom they harmed; whereas such a man
ni gumba gbebere pai bara ko gbebere, gi ni re, ka i a imo nga ni wa sa ya. ako na
as spoke very ill of him, this man, they took care not to kill him. Oh what
gbere yo. ko ki ya fu mongbi we, ko ndu ku barondo yo; gu boro ni ka zada kpoto ko
bereve
false men they were. He told Mongbi to go into the inner court; and he said
that if anyone were to take hold of him again
f ki imi ni a imo ku sende yo. gbudue ki ni mo ka ga ku kpuku yo, ki kedi bakinde
ku ko
he would be killed outright. Then Gbudwe retired to his private quarters, and
he sent out porridge to him
ku barondo yo. mongbi ki ni mo ka bata be aboro mbiko gbudue, bombiko gbudue a
kpi nyemu
to the inner court. So Mongbi was saved from the people because of Gbudwe,
for Gbudwe was very fond
ko ni lengo.
of him indeed.
raro ki ta gira kina boro ngbawiso gbudue ki kuru ngbanga yo fuo aboro, ka ko a fu nga
Very early next morning Gbudwe came into court to the men there, before he
had sent out
liae fu yo mbata ya. ko ki ni kama fu yo kina tipa gu pai i a mangi mongbi. ko ki ni ya
food to them. He strongly reproached them for what they had done to Mongbi.
He asked them
KUSH

fu yo we, tipagine pai ni du ti ni wa gure ka i a gumba nga mbata fu kina ko ya. apai why in a matter of this kind they had not told him first. In all matters dunduko, i ni gi e kina nga ba ko mbata i ni ka manga a. bombiko ka i imi boro kina limo they must get his instructions before acting. For if they killed someone it would be gbudue ki ni wo na ni, ki ya gbudue imi boro; ka si a nga ba nga wa sa ya. ko ki ni guari carried abroad to the name of Gbudwe,16 people saying that Gbudwe had killed him; and that would not be good. Then he rose ka ga ku kpuko yo ka fu liae. to return to his quarters to send out food.

THE MUTILATION OF MALIGADIA (Kuagbiaru)

gangura na ndu ka no anya, ka ko a imo nga ru wa sa ya. ko ki ta yega ki ni kuru gene

Gangura16 had gone to shoot beasts, but he had not killed a single one. When he was returning home and had reached his path ime yo were nga ga ko ko ki ni gi fuo buda, ki ta gia fuo buda, ko ki ni ya fe re mi to water (Maligadia’s) he smelt beer, and when he smelt beer he told me17 kpara nga ore, gine na fu wa buda. mi ki ni ya u kpara were ki ni bi buda kina gi kumba to turn off there to find out what smelt like beer. As I did so I saw beer which this man a ye na ni nga maligadia re. si ki du ni vagadivagadi e na kiyaga. gangura ki ya mi e kina Maligadia had brought. It was in a pot covered with a flat basket. Gangura told me to leave it alone o, mbiko ba ku maligadia na du. ani ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ku kpuko yo; ko ki ta because it was on the way to Maligadia’s home. We continued on our way and arrived at his home; and when he bi rani ki uru ga ko sape na du padimo ko ki mai e barangba gangura. ani ki ta ga, ka saw us he detached the knife he wore at his waist and laid it before Gangura. When we left

16 Gbudwe has been accused of crimes and cruelties, though not, in my experience, by Azande who were aware of the facts. Certainly some of the executions he is credited with took place, as this one might have done, without his knowledge, for if a man was killed at court, though not on his instructions, it was reported that Gbudwe had killed him.

17 Gangura was a son of King Gbudwe. He died only recently at an advanced age. I lived for many months in his province, and we were blood-brothers. He may appear from the incident related in this text to have been a cruel man; but Azande regarded his mutilation of Maligadia as harsh rather than cruel and though fearsome, justifiable and even to be admired as the action of a strong man.

17 Kuagbiaru, his at that time close personal attendant, speaks.
ko a fu nga buda fu gangura wa sa ya. ani ki ta ndu gene gangura ki ni mo ka ya, ‘ na he had not offered any beer to Gangura. As we went on our way Gangura said, ‘ what a gbangbati gi kumba re, ani ki bi buda a bi, ka ko a fu nga fu rani ya.’ mi ki ya fu ko, stingy fellow is this man; we saw beer and he did not offer us any of it.’ I said to him, ‘ ako na gbangbati gu kumba re, ka tu nga kina tutu e ti e fu gbia.’ gangura ki ya gau ‘ Oh how stingy is that man, not to draw a draught for a prince.’ Gangura said that he kina o u ka manga ko na ni. ani ki ni ga a ga kindi ki da ngbanga yo, ki ni sungu a sungu would get his own back on him. We continued on our way and reached the court, where we rested. kindi. gangura ki ni ya fe re we, mi ndu ka yemba bamvuru. ko ki ta ye ka kura, gangura ki
Then Gangura told me to go and summon Bamvuru. When he arrived Gangura ya fu ko, ‘ bamvuru, ani ndu na kuagbiaru ka manga anya, ani ki ta yega gomoro ime ki ni said to him, ‘ Bamvuru, I went hunting with Kuagbiaru, and when we were returning we were thirsty.
zi rani. ani ki ni kuru ku pati ga kumba ime nga maligadia, si du ani mbiri ime ti ni ki
We came to the water supply of the man Maligadia, so we quenched our thirst, and then ni sadi kina gene kpuko ku be rani, ani ki ye a ye kindi ki ta da gene, mi ki gi fuo we made for the path to his home at our side. We continued on our way, and as we reached the path I smelt buda. si du mi ni ya fu kuagbiaru ko kpara nga ka bi nga gu e na fu. si ko ni ndu a ndu beer. So I told Kuagbiaru to separate from me to see what thing it was that smelt. So he went off tini kindi ki bi buda mvuo yo na akoro. mi ki ni ya fu ko ko e kina o, ki ya ani ndu fuo and saw a pot of beer in the bush. I told him to leave it alone, saying that we would go ira a ku kporo yo. ani ki ta ye ka kura, ko ki sa be re na kina sape, mi ki ta ya ti gu after its owner to his home. When we arrived there he greeted me with a knife, and I thought by that ko a fu buda fe re; ka ko a fu nga wa sa ya. ani ki ni mo ka yega. si du ya mi tini we, that he would offer me beer; but he gave us no beer. So we returned home. So I said to
gu kumba re, ko a kpi nga nyemu mi du ni unga re kumbo gbudue wa sa te, ko na kpi nyemu
myself that this man does not want me to stay alive in Gbudwe's kingdom,\(^{18}\) he wants me to
mi kpi a kpi, mi na kpi nyemu ro bamvuru mo ndu ka zio ko ki gbundo ko a gbunda, mbiko
die. I want you Bamvuru to go and seize him and mutilate him, for then
aboro gunde ti lingi wa a nga nga lingi wa sa te.'
people will be scared of meanness, for meanness is bad.'
bamvuru ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ku gi kumba yo re nyemu. ko ki ni zio ko a zio sa, ki
Bamvuru went on his way and arrived at this man's home in the evening. He
seized him at once and
ni vo ko ni gile, ki ni mo ka li ga ko ae a li gbamu yo dunduko. rago ki ta gira wiso ko
bound him with cord, and he then proceeded to eat up all his things in his
granary.\(^{19}\) When morning broke he
ki ni mo ka gbundo ko, i ki te ko ni gbundogbundo ko ki ni mo ka ga ki ni gumba a fu
set to to mutilate him, and then they left him mutilated and they returned and
told it to
gangura.\(^{20}\)
Gangura.
gangura ki ni kuru ku ngbanga yo, ki ni ya fu avuru ko we, 'ako avuru re, mi mbedi ka
Gangura then appeared in court, and he said to his subjects, 'oh my subjects,
Maligadia
kpi be maligadia, nga buda du ko ki ni mo ka manga re na ni. ono pai ti ni te, mbiko wa
nearly killed me, that is to say, he refused me beer. However, no matter, seeing that
mi na gbundo ko. ako avuru re, ka oni gbangbati nga dagba roni wa sa ya; oni bi boro ti
I have mutilated him. Oh my subjects do not be selfish among yourselves; if
you see a man away
gene, liae du be roni, oni ki fu e a fu fu ni ti za gu gomoro na manga ni, mbiko wa
from home and you have food you should give it to him to satisfy his hunger, for when

\(^{18}\) The expression 'kumbo gbudue', 'the kingdom which was once Gbudwes' implies that the incident occurred after Gbudwe's death and when the British were in occupation. This is possible, for in the early days of the occupation there was little administration and those responsible for it clearly had little knowledge of what was going on. If the narrator has put an anachronism into Gangura's speech and the incident took place before Gbudwe's death in 1905, it could not have taken place before about 1898, when Gangura was appointed to rule his province.

\(^{19}\) He feasted on whatever food was stored in Maligadia's granary, dried meat, groundnuts and other savoury foods. These were perquisites of a man sent on such an errand.

\(^{20}\) The punishment was usually cutting off the genitalia, both wrists, both ears, and sometimes also the upper lip. It is surprising how many men survived this terrible punishment.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

boro ni mere ku mvuo yo ni na ndu nga na liae wa sa te. ono gu kumba re ko a ye ka sa be

a man is wandering in the bush he takes no food with him. But that man saluted me with a
re na sape; sape ka mi a li? wa du buda ka ko a fu fe re mi ki bati bombiko o. gbegbere
knife; could I eat a knife? If he had given me beer I would have recovered.
Bad
boro na ngia ko ni lengo.'
man indeed he was.'
ti gu gara re aboro ki gunde a gunde dunduko be gu pai re.
Right till now people have been afraid on account of this affair.

WAR : RAIDS

lika vura uwe, gu nga basapu, kura a nga sungusungu vura. mbata gbia a ni mo ka ndu sa gu

There are two kinds of war, the one is a raid, the other is a campaign. In the past, when a prince carried out
vura nga basapu ni ki soroka ni benge, ki ya, ' wa mi a ye ka ndu sa gu gbia re ni basapu,

a raid he first consulted the poison oracle, saying, ' as I am about to make a raid on a certain prince,
mi a dia be ko, ki rogo ga ko ae ni dungu e, benge kusi kondo.' ka benge ya fu ni we, ni
if I shall be victorious and take much plunder, oracle spare the fowl.' If the oracle said to him that
a dia a dia be gu vura re, gbia ki ni mo ka keda kumba sa ko ndu ka bi gu rago du yo ki
the raid would be successful, the prince sent one man to have a look at the terrain of
ye ka pe pa a. bomoi ki ndu ni sa ni ki kuru ko yo. ka si du wa rago gbere du,
bomoi ki
the intended raid and report on it. The spy went by himself and arrived there.
If there was a dance on, the spy
kuru kina ku kporo gbere; ko ki bi rago dunduko, ki sasana e tipa agu abakumba du pati
entered the homestead at which it was being held; and he had a good look round,
and he asked questions about the senior men
gbia o dunduko. bomoi ki ta ina rago dunduko, ko ki ni mo ka ga ko yo du baira ko ni,
ko
of the prince of the area. The spy, when he had thoroughly acquainted himself
with the terrain then returned to his master, and he
ki lingbisi pa a fu gbia dunduko.
gave a full account of it to the prince.
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i ki ni mo ka ndu kina nyemu ka ndu ka ra a ra gene. rago ki ta gira kina boro ngbatutu i ki
They went forth in the evening to sleep on the way. At crack of dawn they
ndu a ndu kindi ki ta mbeda na gu kporo i a kpi nyemu ka so vura na ni, i ki kparaka
went ahead until they approached the homestead they intended to attack, when
they divided
li vura biata, gu ki ta ndu ni kumba be, gu ni ndu ni gare be, gu ki ni ndu bebere rago.
into three parties, one to advance on the right wing, another on the left wing,
and the third in the centre.
gu du bebere rago si nga vura ngbanga, nga gu ni ka tona vura mbata. i ki ndu a ndu
The one in the centre was the main party, the one which began the attack. They
resumed the advance
kindi, ki gbadi kina ku vuru gbere yo; vura ki ni mo ka tona a tona kindi. gu li vura
and then they burst into the middle of the dance; and the fighting began. One
company
ki ta ye bani, gu ni ye bani, ka aboro a bi nga gene ka ora ngba a ya. gu yangara yo
approached on one side and another on the other side, so the attacked saw no
way of escape. Only a few of them
ki ni mo ka sira a siro bebere aboro ki ni mo ka bata. gu vura nga basapu si nga
gbegbere
managed to break through the attackers and survive. Raids were a brutal kind
of warfare,
vura, mbiko i na pido aboro kina ku kporo gbere. ka i e nga boro wa sa ya, mbiko wa
for they stalked people who were dancing.21 They spared no one, because
aboro ni d fundraising tiyo dunduko ku pati gbere, akumba na ade ki kpiki du. i ki ni zi
dungu
people were all mixed up in the dancing, so that men and women died alike.
They captured many
ade.
women.

21 A big dance was often chosen as the occasion of a border raid between one Zande
kingdom and another. It was easy for a spy to discover the time of a dance because this
was announced in advance. To have attacked a homestead on some other occasion
would have been largely ineffective because Zande homesteads were widely dispersed
and when one had been attacked the alarm would have been given and the occupants
of neighbouring homesteads would have taken to the bush. To have attacked several
homesteads at the same time would have necessitated the breaking up of the attacking
companies and lessening their striking power, and also adding to the risk of a successful
counter attack. Besides being concentrated, the dancers were not only unprepared, but
also had no arms in their hands, and they were probably drunk also. The opportunity
also presented itself of obtaining a number of women captives, which was one of the
purposes of a raid.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

War: Campaigns

gu gbia na soga kura ni tipa kporo, ni ki soroka ni kina benge mbata, ka benge ya fu ni
That king who was hostile to another, being jealous of his realm, first consulted
the poison oracle, and only if the oracle said that he
wee, ni a dia a dia be ni, ni ki kedi sunge fuo ga ni abakumba dunduko ki gumba
would be victorious did he send messengers to all his elders and told them of his
pat fu
yo dunduko tipa vura. i ki taki gugu, aboro ki ye ni dungu yo ku nghanga yo. gbia ki
intention to make war. Then they sounded the gong, and men came in great
kuru
numbers to court. Then the king appeared
ku nghanga yo ki selekpo vura fu yo, ki ya, ‘gu gbia re, ka ani e nga ko wa sa ya.’
aboro
in court and made a war oration, saying, ‘that king, we will not spare him in any
kura
circumstances.’ The men
ki kama a kama kina tipa a dunduko.
all swarmed around about it.
rago ki ta gira gbia ki lingbisi li vura dunduko, si ki ta lengba, i ki ni mo ka ndu sa
Early next morning the king drew up his companies in formation, and when all
was ready they set forth to war.
ni. gu gbia i a ndu sa ni, i ki kedi sunge ki ya fu ni vura na ye sa ni, ni ki ni
They sent a message to that king whom they were going to fight to tell him that
lingbisi gani aboro i ti gani. i ki ndu a ndu kindi. ka benge ya fu gbia we,
an army was approaching to attack him, and he
ko sungu
in his turn organized his men also. They continued to advance. If the oracle
told the king to wait near
mbembedi na kporo ko ki mangi kina wo, ka si ya fu ko ko sungu mbiti wili di yo ko ki
a homestead he did so, and if it told him to wait on the other side of a stream he
mangi kina wo, i ki ra, rago ki ta gira wiso, gbia ki lingbisi li vura dunduko. i ki tai
did so. They slept. Early next day the king drew up his companies. They
extended
gu vura ni gbanga a, aboro ki ru a ru ti gbanga gene yo, gene yo ki ndu a ndu
the army in a long line, the warriors standing in a long line, their line stretching so
kindo
ki susi gu gu gbia i a so vura na ni. gu kura gbia ki lingbisi ga ni vura a dunduko, ono
as to extend beyond that of that king they were fighting. The other king also
drew up his army, but

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22 In raids surprise was essential. Campaigns were on such a scale that concealment
of intention was impossible. Also, a king wanted his opponent to muster his full forces
so that the engagement might be decisive.
ka ni a ina nga ya vura ndu pati ni kirikiri ya. i ki ni mo ka so vura, i ki ta ya ti
he did not know that he was being encircled.\textsuperscript{23} The fighting began, and when
they noticed
gu we yangada aboro nga kina agu yo du bebere rago sa, kura vura ki ni kuru a kura
gi yo
that the warriors left in the centre were threatened by a force appearing in their
rear,
yo berewe, abakumba ki ya fu gbia we, ‘ ako gbia, ru nga pa gi vura te re, si ngba ka
ani
the older men said to the king, ‘ alas, master, this fight is not going well, we had
better
karaga ti rani ku sayo toni ka ruga pa ti rani.’ ka abakumba ta gumba a were
fu gbia,
retreat a little to reform.’ If the senior men spoke to the king in this vein,
singia i na kpi nyemu ka ora be vura. i ki ta ye ka sa gi yo fu akura yo, i ki ni mo ka
it was that they wanted to flee from the fight. When they turned their backs on
the enemy the enemy
danda yo kina ku ngbang a yo, ki ka na kina ngbang a ki sungu kina o da kina o baira
chased them right back to the court and occupied it until such time as the owner of the
ngbang a ye ka tura ni. gbia ki ni ka e kina wili ko o sa na gu li vura sa ka banda ko be
court was distant.\textsuperscript{24} The king left one of his sons in charge, together with a
company of warriors to protect him.
aboro. gu rago re, si ki ni mo ka du ni kina ga ni na agu aboro du pati e kirikiri. si ki
That place became his possession, as well as all the people around it. The
campaign
ni mo ka nyasa dagba yo ni ba sa.
between them thereupon ended.
mbata gbia a ni kpi nyemu ka dia kporo be kura ni, ni ki ndu ka so vura na ni. ka
ni
In the past a king liked to conquer the realm of his neighbour and went to war
with him. If he
ngara gbe ka i a dia nga a be ni wa sa ya; ono ka ni du ni gbe gbe ere iramungo
ni ki
was very courageous they would not take it from him; but if he was a poltroon he

\textsuperscript{23} The tactics in these wars were to work round the enemy’s flanks and then attack
his centre from the rear, throwing it into disarray.

\textsuperscript{24} Seizure of a king’s court was the objective, and the sign of victory. It then
remained to be seen whether the defeated king could organize a counter-attack or accepted
defeat and fled for protection to the court of a friendly monarch. His court was in the
centre of his realm and if he lost it his chances of recovery were small, for his subjects
would be likely in these circumstances to switch their allegiance to the victor.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART I

oro a ora tuturu sa gu kura gbia berewe ka sungo na ni. gbia ki ju kina wili ko ku rogo flee to some distant place to some other king to live with him. The king then placed one of his sons in the territory

gu rago re, ni zogo o ni ga ni. aghia na ngia airasokote mbata pati kporo, mbiko i a na to rule over it as his own. In the past, kings were full of enmity about their possessions, for they could not
ida nga na gu kura ni du pati ni mbembedi ya.
abide another being near them.

THE ORIGINAL AZANDE AND FOREIGNERS

ambamu na ya ti auro we, wasiwasi aboro nga yo. i a ina nga pai wa tingedi ambamu wa sa
The Ambomu \textsuperscript{25} said about foreigners that they were shameless people. They lacked the savoir faire of the true Ambomu.
te. ka auo mo ka mbira buda na wili ambamu, i ki mbili e a mbila ta da ambamu ki ni gbere
When foreigners were drinking beer with some Ambomu they drank till they found the presence of the Ambomu irksome,
a gbera ti yo, i ki ni mo ka tona wili pai toni, i ki ni subo kpata, ki sika buda a sika,
when they started some argument and began to quarrel, so that the beer was upset
si ki kpi a kpi. ambamu ki ta gbandaka dunduko, auro ki ni mo ka kusa kura ga yo akoro
and lost.\textsuperscript{26} When the Ambomu dispersed the foreigners brought out their other pots
buda ka dungura ti yo ka mbira ga yo buda berewe. si du i ni ya ti ni we, auro nga yo,
of beer to gather together to drink their beer again. That is why people said of them that they were uncouth,\textsuperscript{27}
mbiko wa i a ina nga manga ruru pai ya. ambamu na yugo ruru pai fu wili auro awere, i ki
for they did not know how to do things correctly. The Ambomu have now taught polite behaviour to the foreigners so that they

\textsuperscript{25} The Azande of the present day are an amalgam of many different peoples who were conquered and assimilated by the Ambomu under their ruling family, the Avongara. The Avongara-Ambomu, what might be called the original Azande, regarded the conquered foreigners, the Auro, as rude peoples as compared with themselves. However, as those of foreign descent adopted the Mbomu tongue and ways of life the distinction between Ambomu and Auro ceased to be emphasized. Mr Reuben Rikita wrote ‘Ambamu’. I prefer the spelling ‘Ambomu’.

\textsuperscript{26} They made a scene so that the Ambomu would withdraw in disgust.

\textsuperscript{27} Auro, foreigners, has here the sense of ‘uncouth’. In this derived sense one may say of an Mbomu who displays bad manners that he is a wili auro, a foreigner in the sense that his conduct falls below the standard of polite society.
ni du wa kina wili ambamu. auro na wirika ilisa kina be wili ambamu. wili ambamu na manga ga
are like the Ambomu. The foreigners have learnt a sense of honour from the Ambomu. The Ambomu do everything
yo pai ni kina ilisa dunduko. auro na li ga yo ae ni kina dii; ka i imi ga yo pasio,
in an honourable manner. Foreigners ate their food in secret; and if they killed a beast
i ki ndu na ni kina ku dimo yo, ka akura yo a ina nga a wa sa ya. ono wili ambamu ti ga
they took it into their hut so that their fellows should not know about it. But the Ambomu, for their part,
yo, i a oka nga ae wa sa te. i nga aboro gama e ti wili auro. ono wili auro na wirika
hide nothing. They are generous in giving to foreigners. However, the foreigners have learnt
ilisa kina be wili ambamu. i nga kina wili ambamu awere, mbiko i na sunga na kina wili
polite behaviour from the Ambomu. They are now themselves Ambomu, for they have long dwelt among
ambamu dedede.
the Ambomu.
Loma: An Aspect of the Supernatural among the Bongo

by A. and W. Kronenberg

I

BEFORE we describe and try to analyse some aspects of the Bongo conception of the supernatural, some general remarks may first be made in order to establish a certain perspective and dimension within the bigger framework of Bongo thinking.

‘Supernatural’ in terms of Bongo culture and language may be either loma (anima), kaga (litt. wood used for good or bad medicine), tobo (witchcraft), kulu kunya (bad heart), and cini (ghostly vengeance). There are other mystical notions, but as they are classified under one of these categories, they may be neglected in this short essay.

We must stress that for a Bongo who conforms to his society these things are not abstract ideas; on the contrary, he lives by them and experiences them. The Bongo are not much interested in the theory of these ideas nor in their logical systematization or consistency. Their conception of the supernatural is not formulated in clear dogmatic notions, but each Bongo has a wide range of variations in as far as application and interpretation of rite, cult or prayer is concerned. There may, for example, be no doubt about the existence of a certain loma, but his abode may be doubtful. In cases where such differences of opinion are of vital importance, an oracle or a ritual expert is consulted in order to standardize opinion.

There is little interest in solving such a mystical problem in the abstract, but there is usually a social and pragmatic reason, why such a mystical question is of importance. For example, the sickness of a near relative leads to a series of reflections and measures. In such a case a Bongo asks himself if the sickness has not a natural cause; maybe his relative has eaten too much the day before. But if such a natural explanation cannot be found, suspicion arises that the sickness may be caused by mystical agents. Series of measures enable the relatives to intervene actively and optimistically. But if the sick man should die after all, the position he had in Bongo culture and society is assured for him

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1 The Bongo are a small negroid tribe (600 TP) living in the southern part of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province. Their language is classified by Tucker (1956, p. 10) as one group within the larger unit of the Bongo-Bagirim languages. During our anthropological field work 1958–9 for the Sudan Antiquities Service we worked among them for five months.

We are very grateful to Dr Ian Cunnison who kindly read through the manuscript and gave us some useful comments.
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in the after life. Social life, religion, magic and empiric knowledge interact in ritual, in cult, in social status, rank and economic activities. By this pragmatic orientation of special situations in the social life of the individual, those religious notions, which affect daily life, are the ones which are most elaborated. The formation of refractions is characteristic in this respect. The more significant a refraction is, the clearer, more personal and with more attributes it is conceived.

If we speak here of the interaction of religion and society, this should not imply that we are attempting to interpret religious notions in terms of social conditions—on the contrary, we are trying to elaborate the common features in two different orders.

II

Bongo ideas of the supernatural have been described by two earlier travellers, Schweinfurth and Heuglin in an illogical fashion, the accounts being internally inconsistent. Schweinfurth (1874, I, pp. 304-5) writes on this matter: 'The Bongo have not the remotest conception of immortality, they have no more idea of the transmigrations of souls, or any doctrine of this kind, than they have of the existence of an ocean. Beyond the term loma, which denotes equally luck and ill luck, they have nothing in their language to signify any deity or spiritual being. Loma is likewise the term that they use for the supreme Being whom they hear invoked "Allah"..., and some of them make use of the expression Lomagobo, i.e. the superior, to denote the god of the "Turks"... If anyone is ill, his illness is attributed to loma, but in the event of anybody losing a wager or a game or returning from a hunting adventure without game, or coming back from war without booty, he is said to have had "no loma" (Loma nya) in the sense of having no luck!'

Also Heuglin (1869, pp. 195-6) says 'Religiöse Begriffe scheinen die Dor eigentlich nicht zu haben, sie glauben aber an Geister, an Behexung und Verwünschungen. Trifft jemanden ein unerwarteter Tod, so glaubt man allgemein, dass irgendein geheimer Feind die Ursache davon sei, der die Macht besitze, auch auf weite Entfernungen anderen Schaden zuzufügen. Es gibt Hexen, welche vorgeben, diese Menschen zu kennen, ihr Tun und Treiben zu verraten, und das Übel, das sie verursachen, zu beschwören.'

But, to quote Evans-Pritchard (1929 a, p. 45) 'Schweinfurth and Heuglin may well be forgiven vagueness on this subject. During my few days amongst the Bongo I found it quite impossible to discover what is the correct meaning of the word loma in terms of native belief and culture. . . . I think, however, that we may regard the conception of loma as equivalent to those Supreme Beings, whom Seligman calls "strictly otiose", and who figure largely in the ethnology of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. For "spirits" I was sometimes given the word loma gubu...'
LOMA: SUPERNATURAL AMONG THE BONGO

III

The world and men were created by loma and his feminine aspect, ma. loma (ma is a feminine prefix), and in all creation loma is still inherent: loma can therefore be conceived as the spiritual or supernatural aspect of anything. It expresses the unity of creation and represents an element which all phenomena have in common. As loma is present in every object and creature and manifests itself through them, it is intelligible if a Bongo prays: loma help me with loma, i.e. that the loma of his body may help him with the general loma. In this situation loma refers to a one-sided relationship: the general loma is truly the loma of my body but not vice versa. So loma is an idea which solves in a one-sided manner the problem of the one and the many. To formulate it according to our conceptions it could be said that God is everywhere, but the objects and creatures by whom He reveals Himself are not God.

From this one-sidedness originate the refractions of loma. The more important an object or a creature is to an individual, the greater the attention he gives its loma in his thoughts, prayers and ideas. This special loma becomes more and more concrete and personal to him, until it becomes a refraction. There are a great many separate refractions of loma such as loma of the forest, of pythons, of the night, of ochre, etc. The most important of them is loma gubu, the Lord of the Forest, which, in view of the great economic, and social importance of hunting, is obvious.

In ancient times people lived in close proximity to loma. This union came to an end when one of his orders was disobeyed: ‘Loma instructed people to take just one grain of millet for preparing food—this one grain will multiply, so that everybody will be satisfied. Once a man married a girl from another village. She brought a gourd full of millet. She took two grains to prepare food, but it did not multiply as usual. Loma became angry. “I told you to take just one grain of millet, but you did not obey me; from now on food will not multiply any longer.” So loma retired from the people into his village in the east and since then people do not approach loma directly. Only a few people, the bi. loma, the “owners” of loma are mediators between loma and men.’

Loma did not only create the world and men but also independent spiritual beings, also called loma. They live in the village of the creator-loma in the east and from there they roam all over the world. They hunt in the west, where many of them are killed by animals or die of disease. The dead loma are taken by their brothers to their father’s village. The creator-loma brings them to life again by means of life-medicine (kaga buru).

Through this belief a colourful and picturesque world of spirits comes into being which has little relationship with men. Humans come in touch with them occasionally and only for a short time, as may be seen in the following tales.
‘Once the hare was hunting in the forest. He met loma carrying their dead brother and singing: “Where are we carrying this corpse to? We are carrying it to the east!”

‘The hare cried: “Wait, wait, I want to help you.” The loma stopped and one of them said: “You can’t help us, because you are not strong enough. We must carry our dead brother to the east without stopping, for if he should touch the earth, he could not wake any more.” But the hare begged so insistently that finally the loma agreed. They went on and on, and the hare became very tired. He groaned and groaned but the loma did not stop. Finally he dropped the corpse and escaped. Then he visited his friend, the hyena, and enticed him to come into the forest by saying that he had killed a buffalo and that they might collect the meat. Again they met loma carrying a corpse, and again the hare begged: “Wait, wait, where are you carrying your dead brother?” The loma answered: “We go to the east.” Again the hare importuned so strongly that the loma let the hare and the hyena carry the corpse. They went on and on and became very tired. So they dropped the corpse and escaped.’

Another tale relates how such an encounter with the loma brought elephantiasis of the scrotum upon men because of their unreliability, and another one tells how man learnt to use fire.

‘Once, when hunting, the hare met loma. They were dancing with yendje, elephantiasis of the scrotum, in a river. The hare cried “You are dancing very nicely, give me a yendje too, I would like to dance like you!” The loma answered: “We can lend you the yendje now, you might enjoy it here.” So the hare danced and sang with them. After some time the loma were about to leave and wanted the yendje back, but the hare insisted that he wanted to continue his dance. So, after the loma left, the hare danced, until he became tired and fell asleep. In the morning the loma returned, took back the yendje and danced as the day before. The hare came with his friend, the hyena, to the river and each of them was given a yendje by the loma. When the loma were about to go, the hare returned his yendje but the hyena insisted that he wanted to continue the dance. But the next morning the loma did not return, and the hyena had to keep the yendje, and that is why some people have it to this day.’

‘In the old days people had no fire. They just warmed their food in the sun, until once a dog came into a settlement of the loma. In order to chase it away, the loma, who were sitting around the fire-place, threw burning sticks at it. The dog rolled his tail around one of these embers and ran back to the people. On the way some bushes and grasses caught fire, especially the bul,

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2 Animals occurring in Bongo tales are ambivalent being animals and human beings at the same time. When a Bongo wants to tell of an event that has happened to somebody, he does not mention the person’s name, but, to avoid a quarrel, often an animal is chosen with a character similar to that of the person concerned.

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foro, ngasyimudi, kwoy and tinge trees, whose wood is best fit for kindling fire, because they still contain some of this first fire.

As is shown by the above examples, these loma are conceived as having human attributes. Bongo usually represent abstract ideas concretely. But loma have superhuman attributes too—the most important being the power to live again after death—because they have never lost their union with the creator-loma. It is only after death that men can re-establish this ancient connection, for then the soul (also called loma) of an individual goes to the village of the creator-loma and is given a place there. This place can be nearer or further away from loma. The degree of proximity to or distance from the creator-loma is a functional expression of the individual's conduct during life. The higher the social rank of the deceased, the more important his deeds and feasts of merit, and the more elaborate the grave-side ceremony performed for him, the nearer his soul will be placed to loma. Grave-monuments are erected during this ceremony (Kronenberg, 1960) by the relatives of the deceased in order to determine his final status, thus projecting it into the other world. Later in this paper we will come back to this question of the re-ligio of a human with his creator as well as to the moral side of this idea.

IV

The creator-loma created the world, men, and in addition to the above mentioned loma, still other loma which are his refractions—one of them, the Lord of the Forest (loma gubu), plays the most important role in the every-day life of the Bongo. He created the mountains, the rivers, the trees and the animals of the forest. Because men are always interfering destructively with his domain, the Lord of the Forest considers them mischief-makers and intruders in his creation and is therefore hostile to them.

The Bongo are preoccupied with hunting and this preoccupation affects their thoughts and feelings. Success in hunting largely determines a man's social rank. Loma gubu decides about the outcome of a hunting party, and the hunting ritual is addressed to him, in order to appease his anger, to make the hunt successful and to prevent an accident. A good hunter has a shrine for the Lord of the Forest in his compound (ru loma gubu—house for the Lord of the Forest). If he kills a small animal, he puts a piece of meat under the shrine and hangs the horns or the tail of the beast on a trophy-post (för) nearby saying the following prayer: 'Lord of the Forest, today I have killed a small animal, please help me to kill big beasts.' If a big, dangerous animal is killed, such as a buffalo, elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, leopard, crocodile or giraffe, a special rite must be performed.

But, because the animals belong to the Lord of the Forest who punishes anyone destroying his property, every hunter lives in permanent fear of his revenge. People who kill or maltreat animals die prematurely because of him.
One of the aims of the hunting ritual is to avert this threat. If a sick person becomes unconscious, the Bongo say that his soul is taken to the court of the Lord of the Forest, who decides whether he should die. Animals appear as witnesses at this court. The first is the dog who gives evidence about how his master treated him. So one after the other all the animals relate their experience of the person concerned. If the Lord of the Forest finds him guilty, the soul does not return to the body but appears at the court of the creator- loma. In other words, the person dies. If the sick person’s attitude to animals was humane, the soul returns to the body and the illness is quickly over. In a concrete, figurative way the following myth deals with these beliefs:

‘Once a buffalo was grazing in a field. A man speared it, but it escaped into a cave. The spear was lost, because it stuck in the buffalo’s back. Alas, the spear did not belong to the hunter, and its owner insisted on having it back. The hunter explained how the buffalo escaped into the cave and how the spear was lost, but its owner did not listen. Finally the hunter went into the cave to look for the spear.

‘The cave was very big and he roamed about for a long time until he came to the village of the Lord of the Forest. There were many houses and buffaloes were grazing like cattle. First the hunter hid himself nearby, but finally he entered the village. He was asked: “What do you want here, do you know somebody in here?” He answered: “I want to have back the spear which I have thrown at a buffalo.” The loma asked him to have a rest, and the hunter was given food and drink. After one day’s rest a loma took him into a big house where spears were stored. He said: “If you see your spear, you may take it.” Finally the hunter found the spear and said: “Here it is.”

‘The buffalo which was speared by the hunter was still sick. The Lord of the Forest gave the hunter permission to return home until the beast recovered. Then a messenger would come to take the hunter to his court.

‘One month later (another version: three months) the buffalo had recovered and the Lord of the Forest sent a messenger for the hunter. When the messenger arrived, the hunter died. In loma gubu’s village the court met to discuss the case. Loma gubu asked: “Why did you spear the buffalo? Had it done you any harm?” The hunter answered: “I speared your cow because it entered my field and grazed there.” The Lord of the Forest said: “You may go home, because the cow grazed in your garden.”

‘In the meantime the hunter’s relatives were about to bury his body, when he suddenly came to life again and related his adventures.

‘Then the hunter returned the spear to its owner, and afterwards opened his carrying-bag and took out ten cowrie-shells. A son of the owner of the spear was standing nearby and swallowed one of them. Then the hunter said to the boy’s father: “Your son swallowed my cowrie-shell, I want it back.” “He is just a child,” the father answered. But the hunter continued to insist on having his cowrie-shell back until the father cut open the boy’s stomach and returned the shell.

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'Since then the Bongo who formerly all lived together, have scattered. They went to Karkiti, to Tonj, to Lam and Bisselia.'

A premature death, if not caused by an act of witchcraft or black magic or natural causes, is thus brought about by a resolution of the Lord of the Forest, but he cannot influence the fate of the soul any further.

V

Next the soul appears in the village of the creator-loma and shows the tribal mark of the Bongo—a certain kind of tattooing on the chest and stomach. Without this tribal mark the soul would not be allowed to enter the place. Thus the village of the creator-loma is reserved for Bongo only. Here the soul is judged by loma's court, by an examination of the behaviour of the deceased to other humans. A special stress is laid on the question whether he practised witchcraft and black magic and if he committed adultery with the wives of his neighbours. It is also decided whether he killed animals for food only and whether he was a 'good' person. If the court decides in the affirmative, the soul is allowed to stay in loma's village.

The grave-side ceremony (falla ro nga) which is performed about a year after burial, determines the kind of house that a soul will get in loma's village; the more respected a Bongo was and the higher his social rank (hunting title), the bigger is this ceremony and the more people will attend it. The way in which this ceremony is performed is thus a diagnostic for the rank of the dead, and also shows how far people thought that he was a 'good' man. After this grave-side ceremony loma gives the soul its final abode in his village: the more important and the 'better' the deceased was, the nearer the soul will be placed to loma's house.

VI

Thus good people establish re-ligio with loma and thereby they are rewarded for the observance of social and moral values which are at the same time sanctioned and perpetuated. In this context the ethnocentrism is striking: only Bongo (lit. humans) can return to loma and the after-life contains only the values of Bongo culture. This is obvious, because only for a Bongo do these institutions and values which are intimately associated with the other world have a sense; they are insignificant for non-Bongos.

The analysis of Bongo morals shows two principles of evaluation: the Lord of the Forest examines the behaviour of a person towards animals and then decides on life or death. The creator-loma checks the acts of the deceased towards others and what esteem and respect they had for him, and he further decides on the fate of the soul.

As success in hunting largely determines the status of a Bongo, this double, and sometimes conflicting, evaluation means that whatever a man does, he will
be punished anyhow. If he is a good hunter and therefore highly respected by his neighbours, he will get a ‘good’ place in the village of loma, but he will die prematurely. If he stops hunting, he will live longer, but people will not respect him and his place in loma’s village will be a bad one. This contradictory principle reflects on the one hand the imperatives of Bongo culture and on the other hand the fact that sooner or later a hunter will become the victim of a hunting accident.

We stated above that the Bongo are preoccupied with hunting: it is the leitmotif of their rituals, cults and beliefs and was until recently a very important economic activity. We hope to publish an essay on the social role of hunting among the Bongo. Because of the dominant role of hunting, this conflict between practical knowledge of the fate of a hunter and cultural values is necessary and important, even if it results in a latent ‘bad conscience’; and many Bongo constantly suffer from fear of a supernatural threat. This fear can be overcome by means of magic acts and techniques and for some people promotion to a higher rank and thus the assurance of a better place in the village of loma may compensate for it. Thus religion and magic offer here an escape from an apparently hopeless situation.

The deeds of merit do not consist in successful hunting only, but also in bearing this supernatural menace. Only fully conformist and integrated men who succeed in all spheres of social life can achieve the higher hunting titles; for there is a belief that the behaviour of a hunter’s wife is connected with the behaviour of game.\(^3\) Also only a good farmer gathers enough millet to perform a feast of merit.

VII

The abundant and, at first, apparently incoherent material relating to the idea of loma makes its analysis difficult. E.g., an informant points to a tree and says that it is the abode of loma gubu and then shows a shrine where loma gubu is present, so the question arises whether loma gubu is one or many individuals. The informant knows no answer to this question. We will explain this later.

There are an indefinite number of loma, the most important of which are listed below:

- loma kodo—loma of the river
- loma mehi—loma of the animals
- loma gubu—loma of the forest
- loma hendo—loma of the night
- loma kuluy—python-loma
- loma falla—ochre-loma
- loma min—water-loma

\(^3\) This implies that only a successful husband and father is a good hunter.
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loma kaga—loma of the wood (medicines)
loma bodu—wild boar-loma
loma gokiyal—coughing-loma
loma muku—loma of abandoned fields
loma kaga cin—loma of the medicine of ghostly vengeance
loma makekondjo }—loma of a deceased person for whom the grave-side
loma k’wok’won } ceremony has not yet been performed.
loma kaga ber—loma of the medicine of the Bellanda tribe
loma mitu—loma of the Mitu tribe
loma matyang aguk }—loma of two Dinka spirits which were incorporated
loma manyel } into Bongo beliefs.
e.tc.

Everything has loma—each object and even abstract or imaginary notions. As loma is the spiritual aspect of all phenomena, therefore theoretically the number of loma is infinite. Loma created the world and is omnipresent. So loma is one, even if it manifests itself in innumerable forms. If the Bongo should one day forget the idea of a personally conceived creator-loma, their religion would become purely animistic or animatistic.

As we said above, the relation between the creator-loma and his innumerable manifestations is one-sided. Some of these manifestations are individualized and personified if they are of special importance to men. These refractions like the loma of the forest, of ocher, of pythons etc. are aspects rendered independent of the omnipresent and indefinite plurality of the creator-loma. These refractions control single categories of nature, which are of peculiar importance to the Bongo. A refraction too is not to be understood merely as an individual but also as an ‘indefinite plurality’ which is one. E.g. the Lord of the Forest (loma gubu) splits into the Lord of the animals (loma mehi) and the Lord of the rivers (loma kodo). The Bongo conceive all three of them as one kind of loma controlling one aspect of nature which can hardly be delimited from within. The more important to humans is the aspect of nature that a loma controls, the more precise and clear are its attributes.

Caves and very big trees are considered as abodes of the Lord of the Forest. Such a tree dies if he leaves it for good. If a person should cut its wood, break a branch, or collect the honey from bees living in it, he would soon die.

At dead of night loma gubu roams through the forests. If somebody goes very early in the morning to a river, he can see loma kodo sitting there. The father of one of our informants thus saw a loma kodo on the bank of a river. He was sitting on a stool cleaning a gourd. The informant’s father greeted him, but the loma disappeared into the river when he noticed the man, who then fell sick and died. Therefore it is dangerous to wander at night in the bush or to go to rivers at dawn, and we met no Bongo who would willingly do so.

Loma gubu, but sometimes also loma kodo, loma mehi or loma kendo are heroes of many tales and narratives which relate the adventures of somebody
who met them. There are myths, such as the one related on p. 320; another myth tells how people learnt to prepare meals.

'In ancient times people did not know what meals were, and they just ate raw the fruits of the forest. Once, while a man was passing the forest, he saw many meals (dum—porridge, heta—sauce, ledji—millet-beer, etc.) dancing on a rock, because they were very happy that nobody ate them. The man tried to catch them, but they escaped into a cave. He followed them, but found the cave entrance shut. The next day the man took his son with him. When they reached the cave, the man posted his son near its entrance, in order that the boy should catch the meals, which he would drive towards him. The meals again escaped when they saw the man. The boy followed them into the cave, and the entrance closed behind him.'

'Bewailing the loss of his son the man returned to his village. There he blew his signalling horn (metutu), and when all his neighbours gathered, he spoke to them: 'I am crying for my son. Yesterday I found many meals in the forest, but they ran away. Then I took my son with me to help me catch them, but he disappeared into the cave together with the meals. Let us go and dig there.'

'So the people went to the cave. They struck the rock closing the entrance, but it resisted. They became very tired. A small man then came and said that he would break the rock. The people said: 'How can this small man do it?' But he insisted on having his way and hit the rock three times. It broke at the last blow. In the cave the people found the boy, the meals and loma gubu cooking millet-beer. That is how the Bongo learnt to prepare meals. But loma gubu was angry that the people had forced their way into his abode and taken the meals. Therefore he made sickness, which had not existed before.'

Loma gubu also gave witchcraft (tobo) to the Jur Beli tribe, to enable them to kill the Bongo. But the Bongo learnt witchcraft too, and when the Jur Beli tried to apply tobo against them, they could defend themselves.

VIII

The difficulty in interpreting the Bongo notion of loma in an analytic-abstract way originates in the fact that it can be conceived only within the wider scheme of Bongo thinking.

The Bongo are mainly interested in the relationship between men and loma and the practical consequences resulting from this relationship, and not in the theory behind it nor in its rigidity. Thus some of the Bongo statements seem to be illogical or contradictory, but they have a pragmatic function nevertheless.

One example may explain it: if a Bongo cutting wood in a forest sees a very big tree, and his traditions teach him that such trees are the abode of loma gubu, he wants to know how he should act. Should he cut some branches which he badly needs? But if this tree is the abode of loma gubu such action could
lead to his death. If other people are nearby he will discuss this question with them. Maybe one of them will remember whether this tree is respected or not or if it is known that somebody cut its wood and then experienced bad luck or sickness. These questions are asked not in order to satisfy a theoretical, abstract desire for knowledge, but to answer the very practical consideration of whether the cutting off of a branch which is needed to build a house will have evil consequences. How many loma gubu are living in one tree; or whether loma gubu who is in tree A is identical with loma gubu in tree B, would be theoretical considerations without any immediate relevance and accordingly these questions are not asked. Therefore such questions as how many loma there are and to what extent they are identical make little sense to a Bongo, and there is no answer to them so long as there is no immediate personal situation in which they become of vital importance to determine further action.

A simple statement that loma gubu inhabits a tree without any further concealed implications would also make little sense to a Bongo. To make such a statement significant to a Bongo, it should contain the implication that because somebody wants to sleep under this tree or wants to cut its wood, he wonders whether he can do so without running any risk. In every-day life, conversation with such explicit statements is rarely made, because to a Bongo they are self-evident. To give an example: If a father goes with his son through a forest and tells him that loma gubu lives in a certain tree, this implies to a Bongo the request to avoid certain actions in relation to this special tree in order to avoid trouble.

This thinking in reference to ego and an immediate situation is of course not specifically confined to the Bongo. The degree of application of pragmatic and systematic thinking varies in different societies—the Bongo have little interest in the systematic aspect.

IX

For a Bongo nothing is caused by good or bad luck. Every effect has its cause either in a social order, skill, experience, etc. or negligence, stupidity, etc., or in a supernatural reason such as a benevolent or malevolent loma, ghostly vengeance, the 'bad heart' of somebody, witchcraft or sorcery. As in the four last instances the application of supernatural forces is performed by men, this kind of causality fits pragmatic thinking on a social level. Thus Bongo pragmatism includes a system of social values, but before discussing this, one example may be given:

If a skilful and experienced hunter goes hunting, sees game and stalks it, having a favourable wind and bush or rocks offering good protection, but the beasts escape or wound or kill him, then the Bongo will explain this by saying that a loma was angry or that a jealous or ill-wishing neighbour had used bad medicine against him. If the hunter was successful then this would be attributed
to his ‘good’ loma or to his powerful hunting medicine. In other words, there
are two series of happenings, one involving the hunter and the other involving
the beast. By means of a loma or of a medicine applied by a person they come
together with a positive or negative effect on one of the two parties. In order
to discover what is responsible for an accident or a misfortune, oracles are con-
sulted. Their verdicts disclose what measures are to be taken in order to re-establish favourable circumstances.

If a certain loma is disclosed as causing a sickness or misfortune, an ‘owner’
of this special loma, e.g. bi loma falla, bi loma mehi etc. is asked for help. Such
a bi loma knows what medicine (kaga) and what spells are to be used, or if this
is not possible, he will implore his loma to abandon his client or try to appease
its anger.

Loma thus interferes in human fate—the bi loma knows certain medicines,
spells and prayers to soothe it, but loma cannot be forced.

It is different with sorcery (kaga). Each medicine has its antidote which
is always effective if the cause is rightly disclosed by the oracle and the proper
techniques are observed. The medicines work automatically and their effects
are known in advance. But why it is so: how a certain piece of wood makes a
person fall sick or cures him: this is ‘magic’. This is a supernatural automatic
force that can be used by men as a tool for their egoistic purposes as soon as a
medicine and how to handle it are known to someone. That is why kaga and
tobo are social ideas. Social relations, behaviour, and the evaluation of some-
boby’s behaviour are largely determined by these beliefs. The most important
axiom of Bongo morals is therefore not to harm anybody, so reducing the
possibility of being bewitched. But even the most sociable person can arouse
his neighbours’ jealousy and so become the target of their sorcery. When
‘magic’ is used as an antidote to combat an enemy’s medicine, then it is socially
approved.

Witchcraft (tobo) is always fatal and there are no antidotes for it. Contrary
to the Azande, the Bongo conceive the application of tobo as an intentional and
teleological action and we can fully confirm Evans-Pritchard’s supposition
(1929 a, pp. 46–7) that the Bongo do not conceive witchcraft as the function of
a physical organ, though in more recent times this belief came to them—so they
say—by intermarriage with Azande women. This kind of witchcraft is called
makadu, a deformation of Azande mangu. Because this makadu comes through
Azande women together with the belief, that as ‘an inherited biological trait it
is transmitted along the lines of sex’ (Evans-Pritchard, 1929 b, p. 165), Bongo
think that among them only women have makadu. Tobo is purely asocial and
negative, conceived as a kind of poison, and formerly death by a poison oracle
was the punishment for a bi-tobo, the ‘owner of tobo’.

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4 As we hope soon to publish a paper on Bongo sorcery, witchcraft, oracles and
magic, we only refer to them briefly in this essay.
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Kaga (wood=good or bad medicine) is also always intentionally applied against someone or something. It is black magic when applied against somebody out of socially disapproved motivations; it is 'good medicine' if it is used as an antidote against such a bad medicine or when applied for a certain purpose in order to assure the success of an undertaking, e.g. kaga mehi (medicine for animals) ensures success in hunting, kaga ndjendje, success in singing.

Theft, slander or any other harm done to somebody is avenged by the 'bad heart' (kulu kunya) of the victim, even if the evil-doer is unknown—it is an automatically effective supernatural force. If the victim dies, ghostly vengeance (cini) (Evans-Pritchard, 1956, p. 173) continues the punishment. Both ideas reduce social conflicts, and many crimes are not committed out of fear of these considerations. The notion of the 'bad heart' protects members of the same society against each other, ghostly vengeance protects the rights of the dead, so that a proper grave-side ceremony must be performed for them and their last wishes and instructions obeyed. In this regard cini is one of the beliefs preserving tradition. Nowadays the Bongo apply medicines against the 'bad heart' or ghostly vengeance. There are signs that this may be a result of the disintegration of their culture: formerly the Bongo used to protect themselves against these two forces not by applying medicines against them, but by giving more satisfaction to the living and the dead.

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Notes

ROCK ENGRAVINGS AT SABU

Sabu lies some 60 miles to the north of Dongola on the right bank of the Nile. At this point the river flows very close to a hill of sandstone; the track along the river bank, which has evidently been in use for millennia, passes along the foot of this outcrop, and the cliff above it has attracted wayfarers of artistic inclinations since prehistoric times. A. J. Arkell published an interesting Christian inscription and drawing from this site some years ago.¹ In 1954 the writer passed this way, and in the course of a hurried halt, plagued by nimitti, sketched and photographed certain other engravings which seem worthy of note.

The drawings can be divided into three groups: first, pictures of cattle, second, boats of predynastic type, and third, various engravings of the Christian period. Of these, the first will not be considered here, save to note that the one figure photographed shows resemblances to pictures thought by Arkell² to be possibly contemporary with the ‘C-Group’ of the late 3rd millennium B.C.

The pictures of boats are all executed by bruising the rock with a stone, and are heavily patinated. The various drawings measure between about 30 and 70 cm. in length. All those observed are of the type termed by Winkler ‘sickle-boats’, which he ascribes to ‘Early Nile-valley Dwellers’ of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period.³ Figs. 1, 2 and 3 depict three of the largest of these boats; the presence on each of a cabin and of a steering-oar with tiller attached should be noted. The wedge-like form of the bow and stern of the boat in Fig. 1 is not paralleled in any examples known to the writer, and the number of oars is exceptional. Those depicted in Figs. 1 and 2 both have what appears to be a ‘standard’ or emblem on the top of the cabin, which may be compared to one illustrated by Winkler;⁴ the significance of the amorphous mass at the bow of this boat is uncertain. Fig. 4 depicts a boat of rather different type, having a more massive hull and a mast, with fore- and back-stay.⁵ This engraving may well be of a period later than that of these previously described.

The pictures of the Christian period are in a different style, being executed for the most part in narrow pecked lines, the body of the object being left unfilled; incised lines also occur. The drawing published by Arkell is the only one observed which is accompanied by an inscription.

² See his History of the Sudan to 1821, 1st edition, p. 53 and pl. i, b.
⁴ Ibid., pl. xxxiv, no. 20; cf. also Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, ii, pl. lxxv.
⁵ It is possible, but unlikely, that this represents a sail.

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The boat depicted in FIG. 5 is probably of this period; it shows some points of resemblance to one ascribed to the Graeco-Roman period by Winkler.⁶

FIG. 6 depicts the façade of a Christian building, apparently roofed by a conical dome, and having, it would seem, three columns in the porch. The prominence given to crosses suggests that this is a church or monumental tomb. The building does not, however, resemble any of the ancient churches known in the Sudan. Similarly, no monumental tombs of such a type are recorded, but the structure depicted does seem to have some of the characteristics of certain Moslem qubbas (tombs of holy men) still to be seen along the Nile. The significance of the two poles (?) protruding from either side of the roof of the building, is obscure. Another picture was observed similar to that illustrated, and also provided with the mysterious poles.

A figure of a man holding a shield,⁷ with torso filled by pecking of the rock, is also probably to be ascribed to this period.

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⁶ Ibid., pl. viii.
⁷ Not unlike that illustrated by Winkler, ibid., pl. v, except that the body is rounder in shape and no features are shown.

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Fig. 2. BOAT OF PREDYNASTIC TYPE, length c. 60 cm.

Fig. 3. BOAT OF PREDYNASTIC TYPE
Fig. 4. BOAT. Period uncertain

Fig. 5. SAILING BOAT. Probably Christian period
NOTES

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE GEBELEIN STELAE

Some inaccuracies appear in my rather perfunctory comments on the name Kd.š, Kush IX, p. 47. The example of this name in Sotheby Catalogue, 11 July 1939, no. 14, is the case under discussion (as mentioned in footnote 1, p. 44). Junker (Giza, XII, pp. 109 ff.) admits the possibility that the related name Kd.nš may be relative šdmw.n.f, as Rankes proposes in PN, II, p. 26, but still favours his earlier interpretation of such names as ny-sw+active participle. I myself prefer Rankes's alternative, and would similarly interpret the form Kd.š as relative šdm.f with perfective meaning: see Clère, 'Une nouvelle forme verbale relative', Actes du XXIe Congrès des Or., pp. 64–6. A comparable pair of relative forms might be recognized in the names Ššb.f, Ššb.š (PN, i, 299.19; II, 314.10) and Ššb.n.f, Ššb.n.š (PN, i, 299.14–15). For the fem. suffix ending in personal names one may also compare 'nh-itdw.š (PN, i, 63.13; II, 346; Edel Altäg. Gramm. § 642) and 'nh-iry.š (PN, i, 63.2), as well as Nht-sj.š (FNES), vol. 16, (1957), p. 226 and no. 17.

The list of the more characteristic inscriptions belonging to the area embraced by Moalla, Gebelein and Rizaqat (Kush IX, pp. 44–5, 79–80) is now to be augmented by the stela of Mrr, Cracow MNK–XI–999, published by Černý in JEA, vol. 47, pp. 5–9. The chief historical interest of the new inscription lies in the owner's title imy-r sft.w nsw Pr-Hw w mi ḫd.f 'overseer of the slaughterers of the House of Hw w in its entirety'. From the contemporary inscription of 'nhfy.fy of Moalla (1 ḫ2–3; Vandier, Mo'alla, p. 163), it is certain that Pr-Hw w is the second province of Upper Egypt, the nome of Edfu, and it clearly has some connection with the Intermediate Period nomarch Hw w (Alliot, Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932), fig. 1), as Černý tentatively suggests. Two other Gebelein stelae speak of giving aid to 'nhfy.fy's nome (U.E. 3: BM 1671) and city (Hefat: Cairo Cat. 20001), and the Cracow stela indicates a still closer rapprochement. Since 'nhfy.fy, who was primarily the governor of nome 3, eventually obtained control of Pr-Hw w and became nomarch of nome 2 as well, it is entirely possible that he was one of the thirteen chiefs whom Mrr claimed to have served. And it is even possible that Mrr was a native of Hefat and that his stela comes from Moalla, although I believe its provenance is much more probably Gebelein or Rizaqat, both of which apparently belonged to nome 4. However this may be, Mrr's statement that he was 'a pure one to slaughter and to offer in two temples' would seem to refer to the local cult of his own town and that of Edfu, and the implied division of his duties between two places would explain the unusual number of his superiors.

The excellent translation and commentary of Černý can be corrected at a few points in the light of the connection with other inscriptions from the vicinity of Gebelein.

(Line 5) The word  is perhaps to be read hny.w rather than hnw and Černý's alternative suggestion that it means 'household' is much more
likely than his 'inhabitants of the Residence'. Cf. the phrase m ḫnw it.(i) in Berlin 24032, 4-5, which I have translated 'in the house of my father' (KUSH IX, 51(i)); to judge from Černý's example, this might be m ḫny it.(i) 'as one of the household of my father', but the meaning is much the same in either case.

(Line 6) The last word in the phrase  can hardly be 'father', which is written  at Gebelein and Moalla. And the sign  cannot represent  in this inscription and in the others belonging to the same group; this is ̄w, as in BM 1671 and Cairo Cat. 20001 ( with the sign reversed as in the present case) and in Moalla III, 5 ( showing the more usual orientation). The word in question is therefore 'feather' or 'shadow'. While the choice between these two alternatives is by no means clear from the context, I suggest that the meaning is 'my forehead and feather nodded assent', referring to use of the warrior's feather as a token of peaceful intentions; this idea is discussed by Clère in MDIK, vol. 16 (1958), pp. 41-2.

(Line 10) It might be considered whether the phrase htm.n.(i) ̄h.wt.sn 'I sealed their fields' has any connection with the contemporary use of htm ̄h.t in the sense 'obtain title to a field' (KUSH IX, p. 49), but I think Černý is probably right in interpreting his occurrence of htm more figuratively as 'close off'. Note that in the last of my examples (Clère-Vandier, Textes, no. 7) it seems preferable to translate ... and "sealed" a large field', assuming the omission of the formative element n in htm.(n.i) rather than the fem. ending of the noun htm.(t).

(Line 12) The first word of  is apparently to be read mhr 'granary' rather than ħc 'heap'. The same sign clearly shows a granary window in Berlin 24032 (KUSH IX, 49(e)), and there the phrase iw iri.n.(i) mhr.wt m it-šm 'I acquired granaries of U.E. barley' is paralleled by  I acquired 20 granaries' in Petrie, Qurneh, pl. 31 (10).

Besides the Cracow stela there are two other additions to be made to the list of Gebelein inscriptions. One is the stela of ḫkr-š, Leningrad 5633, which was brought to my attention by a pair of photographs kindly supplied by Bernard Bothmer. The other is the stela of ḫw, Florence 7588, which I formerly hesitated to include. The latter shows few of the most characteristic palaeographic features of the group, but the iconography and general style are unmistakable. While a detailed comparison cannot be given here, it may be noted that all three stelae show a tendency to permit elements (especially offerings) to be overlapped by the owner's staff or bow, or even by a dividing line, and the same feature is found in Turin Suppl. 1270, BM 1671 and Cairo Cat. 1654.
NOTES

THE DIONYSUS FROM MEROE

In publishing the bronze head of Dionysus found at Meroe (Khartoum Museum No. 1948) (KUSH viii, pp. 77 ff.), I concluded that this head and the twin piece in the Boston Museum must have served as ornamental additions to a piece of furniture such as a bed. The arguments which led me to this theory were these:

i. The presence, in the inside rim of the head, of a little hole ‘clearly made by a nail’ and of a notch corresponding apparently to the position of ‘another nail’ (KUSH viii, p. 84).

ii. The form of the right-angled joint at the lower opening of the head seemed to me unsuitable for fitting on to the neck of a bronze statue.

But these two arguments are in fact invalid for the following reasons.

1. The two ‘nail marks’ were not made in antiquity. They were caused at the time of cleaning by the removal of specimens in the laboratory of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, as Mme. Thomas-Goorieckx was kind enough to point out in a letter addressed to the Commissioner for Archaeology in Khartoum, a copy of which he kindly sent me.

2. Since the publication of my article, I have had an opportunity of examining examples which are unquestionably bronze statuettes of the Roman period, where the head is mounted on the body with a right-angled joint exactly like that of the head from Meroe. In particular this is the case with the celebrated Enfant à l’aiglon from Lambaesis which I was recently able to study in the Algiers Museum (cf. P. Wuilleumier, Catal. Mus. Alger. Supplément, pp. 68 ff., pl. x; Ch. Picard, RA, 1 (1947), pp. 215 ff.). It is made of bronze, the cutting of which is comparable with that of the Dionysus from Meroe. One might also compare the Head of a Child from Berrouagha in the same museum. L. Lerat has also drawn my attention to the Head of a Goddess wearing a Diadem found at Alesia (Musée d’Alise-St-Reine) where the lower cutting is also analogous. There is no doubt, therefore, that the head from Meroe (and the twin piece in Boston) belonged to a bronze statuette.

In conclusion, I no longer interpret these two heads as ornamental fulcra, but, in accordance with the opinion already expressed by Dows Dunham, as the heads of bronze statuettes. The suggestion that they might be lamp-bearers, which I put forward in my article (p. 84), would account for the two examples being almost identical.

François Chamoux


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1 See p. 344, below.
NOTES

THE THUMB-RING: A MODERN PARALLEL TO A MEROITIC OBJECT

The aim of this note is to draw the attention of archaeologists to the thumb-rings which are fashioned and worn today by the Longarim.¹ These thumb-rings seem to be a close parallel to Meroitic ones and to those found in Kordofan and Darfur.

Longarim men decorate the top of the thumb of one or both hands for special occasions such as dances (PLATES LXXXIII, b; LXXXIV) or marriage ceremonies with an ivory ball called napohodya. There are two types of these thumb-rings, a small one and a bigger one (PLATE LXXXII, a, b), but there is no difference of terminology or use between them. Thumb-rings have been found in great quantities in Meroitic sites (PLATE LXXXI, a, b, bottom left, shows a Meroitic thumb-ring made of glass) as well as in Kordofan and Darfur.² Evidence that in ancient times these rings were worn on the thumb is given by a skeleton hand found in a Meroitic grave, with such a ring, on the right thumb. It is now on exhibition in the Sudan Museum, Meroitic room (show-case 5F).

¹ During the anthropological field work 1959–60 for the Sudan Antiquities Service my wife and I spent one month among the Longarim (Boya), a small tribe of 923 tax-payers inhabiting the Boya Hills in the Eastern District of Equatoria Province. The Longarim, whose language is classified by Tucker (A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, Handbook of African Languages, Part III, OUP (1956), pp. 87–8) as belonging to the isolated Didinga-Murle language group, are much acculturated to their neighbours, the Nilo-Hamitic Toposa. We collected some Longarim thumb-rings, which are now in the collection of the Sudan Museum.

² H. A. Mac Michael, The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan, CUP (1929), writes on p. 88 ‘Popularly connected in some very vague way with the Anag is a race called Abu Kona’án. I am told that in Sennar and at Gebel Ginis are a people who call themselves Anag and Abu Kona’án indifferently: thus too there are to be found at El Haráza, Um Durag, and Abu Hadíd, but not at Kága nor Katul, numerous rings of stone (granite, felsite and sandstone) and hollow conical ornaments (or implements—no one could tell me the use of them) which have been found on the sites of old settlements and hung up as curios or amulets in the huts, and which are called “Haggar Abu Kona’án” or Anag relics indiscriminately. Similar stones have, I believe, been found in the “Island of Meroe.”

As these stones are not found at Kága and Katul they are presumably the work of a people who settled at El Haráza, Abu Hadíd, and Um Durag, but not at Kága and Katul; and this settlement would be prior to the coming of the Bukkera, Shabergo, Matara, etc. . . . because these tribes are distributed more or less evenly over all the five hills mentioned, and, in addition, know nothing of the origin of the stones. The shape and workmanship of these stones . . . suggest northern and Egyptian rather than southern and negroid influence. In fact it is not unlikely that they represent somewhat crude attempts to imitate, so far as circumstances permitted, the bead ornaments that were in fashion among the more civilised people of the north until mediaeval times.'
From the Sudan Museum file:

(a) ANCIENT THUMB-RINGS (profile)

(top left) Slightly tapered stone ring of granite collected by H. A. Mac Michael, 1912, from J. Haraza (map-sheet 55 A), Museum No. 3510/2; H.: 8.8 cm.; Diam. top: 3.4 cm.; Diam. bottom: 2.4 cm.; Bore-hole diam. top: 2.3 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 2.2 cm.

(middle left) Rough white serpentine ring (or large bead) showing signs of tapering drill inside hole. From Abu Sayfan (map-sheet 1939), Museum No. 3073/2. Presented by Sheikh Mohammed Said El Abbassi. Said to have been found by Kababish at End Abu Sayfan near the rock pictures (masawwar). H.: 3.8 cm.

(bottom left) Large glass thumb ring from Meras tomb W 106, excavation Reissner (see Beg. diary 1921-2, p. 68), Museum No. 1927; H.: 2.5 cm.; Diam. top: 3 cm.; Diam. bottom: 2.4 cm.; Diam. of hole: 2.3 cm.

(top right) Thumb-ring of sandstone marked III, 6, N. Kordofan. Published in H. A. Mac Michael, Tribes of N. & C. Kordofan, 1929, pl. ii, 7. Museum No. 5467; H.: 4.9 cm.; Diam.: 4 cm.; Bore-hole diam.: 2 cm.

(middle right) Stone finger-ring (Meroitic type) tapered externally of white streaked with plum coloured silicious breccia. Found by native on old (?) Daju site on J. Omari with a neolithic cult. Presented by A. J. Arkoll, Museum No. 3976; H.: 3.2 cm.; Diam. top: 4.2 cm.; Diam. bottom: 5.5 cm.; Bore-hole diam. top: 2.2 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 2.4 cm.

(bottom right) Roughly circular stone ring of striped mudstone collected by H. A. Mac Michael, 1908, at J. Haraza (map-sheet 55 A), Museum No. 3510/4; H.: 5.2 cm.; Diam.: 4.6 cm.; Bore-hole diam.: 2.4 cm.

(b) ANCIENT THUMB-RINGS (same as a) seen from above
a. TWO PAIRS OF LONGARIM IVORY THUMB-RINGS (profile)

(top left) Museum No. II 2871/a;
H.: 2.7 cm.; Diam.: 4.9 cm.; Bore-hole diam. top: 2.3 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 2.6 cm.

(top right) Museum No. II 2871/b;
H.: 3.4 cm.; Diam.: 4.2 cm.; Bore-hole diam. top: 2.1 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 2.5 cm.

(bottom left) Museum No. II 2872/a;
H.: 6.6 cm.; Diam.: 6.6 cm. (oval); Bore-hole diam. top: 1.1 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 2.2 cm.

(bottom right) Museum No. II 2872/b;
H.: 6.6 cm.; Diam.: 6.1 cm. (oval); Bore-hole diam. top: 1.9 cm.; Bore-hole diam. bottom: 3 cm.

b. TWO PAIRS OF LONGARIM IVORY THUMB-RINGS (same as a) seen from above
a. MEROITIC SKELETON-HAND WITH THUMB-RING
Sudan-Museum label description: Thumb-rings or archer’s looses were worn on the thumb (as appears on the hand on exhibition here) and used to give extra power in pulling the string of a bow. Similar ones are used today in Mongolia.

b. AGE-GRADE DANCE OF LONGARIM
Thumb-rings are worn as decoration by some men on the thumb of one or both hands.
AGE-GRADE DANCE OF LONGARIM

Thumb-rings are worn as decoration by some men on the thumb of one or both hands.
KUSH

By comparison with similar thumb-rings used today in Mongolia, Arkell (Museum label) explains them as archers’ looses used to give extra power in pulling the string of a bow. The Longarim have no bows and arrows at all (apart from those used for bleeding cattle) and use the thumb-rings for purely decorative purposes. Whether these thumb-rings were originally archers’ looses which have lost that function among modern Longarim, or whether they were already used in Meroitic times as a thumb ornament is a question which we cannot yet answer.

From an historical point of view these thumb-rings could be explained as Meroitic survivals in the Southern Sudan. Arkell’s statement about Shilluk pottery is illuminating in this regard and covers what could by analogy be said about Longarim thumb-rings. ‘The similarity between modern Shilluk pottery and pots found at Zankor in western Kordofan suggests that it is of western origin, but whether it dates from the rise of the Fung or from the Kingdom of Meroe is a problem which still awaits solution by archaeology.’

A. KRONENBERG

A JAPANESE CUIRASS FROM THE SUDAN

The battle of Omdurman has been written about, talked and argued over, but generally from the viewpoint of the British staff officers, and although the equipment, numbers, and disposition of the Anglo-Egyptian armies have been extremely well documented by such able writers as Sir Winston Churchill, comparatively little research has been carried out by Western scholars on the arms, equipment, and organization of the Dervish forces.

All accounts of the battle mention the distinctive swords, spears, and daggers wielded by the Dervish host as they attacked the British lines. But little attention has been paid to the protective clothing, chain mail, and armour worn by the Emirs, and it is with one hitherto unremarked metal cuirass that this paper is specifically concerned.

Within a month after the battle, a number of trophies taken from the field were exhibited and photographed in Cairo; these trophies included the standard of the Khalifa and a peculiar metal cuirass. When the photograph was published in The Navy and Army Illustrated, the editor of that journal had this to say concerning the cuirass ‘... Especially interesting is the armour worn by the Emirs ... an iron breastplate which is somewhat similar to, but certainly has never been burnished like, those which can be seen any day encasing the mounted sentries outside the Horse Guards.’

KUSH

The editor did not realize that what he termed an 'iron breastplate' of implied Sudanese workmanship, was in fact a Japanese cuirass!

With Japanese armour, the breast and back plates were generally hinged or laced together at the sides, while corresponding to the 'tassets' or thigh protectors of European armour, the Japanese used a number of folding aprons, called kusadzuri. These aprons hung down both in front and to the rear of the cuirass or dō and can be distinctly seen in the accompanying illustration which shows the back plate of the armour.

To give some estimate of the age of such an armour is difficult, because the Japanese armourers frequently copied suits of other and earlier periods. But in view of the fact that it was made of iron plates set in horizontal rows it probably dates from the Edo Period (1600–1867) of Japanese history.

Regarding the way in which such a piece could have reached the Sudan, a number of possibilities are worthy of mention.

1. Through the Moslem merchants of Indonesia.

It is a well-known fact that Arab merchants from Sumatra travelled widely in the seas of South-east Asia, visiting Siam and Cambodia, and that in both these countries there were large numbers of Japanese. In Siam especially, there was an important settlement, composed mainly of retired 'samurai' (knights) who had fled from their native land after the civil war which resulted in the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1601.

Such a piece of armour could quite conceivably have been procured by some Arab merchant trading with these Japanese settlements, and later the armour could have been traded into Africa via Arabia or through the Moslem emporia on the coast of East Africa. Also the importance of the Ḥaddīj in Moslem trade relations should be borne in mind, as a possible medium through which such a valuable object could have reached Africa, after its owner had sold it in Mecca to help defray the cost of his return journey. Another possible way in which the cuirass could have been obtained by an Arab merchant is through the Japanese mercenaries who were employed with the Dutch forces in the subjection of the East Indian Archipelago.

2. Through the medium of Portuguese traders.

The Portuguese had established themselves in the 16th century on the coast of East Africa, in the East Indian Islands and, by the 17th century, were trading with Japan. Thus such a suit of armour could have reached East Africa by a more direct sea route and subsequently been traded northwards into the Sudan, for it is known that the Sudan had commercial relations with Mogadisho and Zanzibar during the 17th century.

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1 The pilgrimage to Mecca.
A JAPANESE CUIRASS FROM THE SUDAN

Encircled in white is the cuirass which is the subject of this paper. Of interest is the shoulder guard (Sate) covering the arm-hole, for this has been renovated so as to form what is apparently a hinged plate defence, instead of the curtain-like defence so typical of Japanese armour.
3. Through the 'Fertile Crescent'.

This theory presupposes an almost exclusively overland trade route from either Siam or Cambodia across the Indian subcontinent and eventually, through the Levant, into Arabia or Africa. Such a theory has much that can be said in its favour, but there are two factors that would mitigate against it.

(a) In the course of such a long overland journey the armour would pass through innumerable middlemen, and it does not seem possible that such a valuable object would have survived the acquisitiveness of the intervening peoples.

(b) If the cuirass had reached Africa by the overland trade route, surely it would not have arrived in the comparatively good condition that it appears in the photograph. The silk lacings attaching the tassets or *kusadzuri* would in all probability have suffered from the dampness of the tropical climate in those lands of South-east Asia through which it would have passed.

The above theories are attempts to show that trade relations in the 17th century between Africa and South-east Asia could account for the occurrence of a genuine Japanese cuirass of that date in the Sudan.

An alternative theory is that the armour could have been taken to the Sudan in the period 1868–82 by some European who had previously visited Japan or South-east Asia, and there obtained it as a souvenir. According to this theory the cuirass could then have formed part of the loot of the Mahdi’s forces in the period 1882–5. But exhaustive research has revealed no European resident living in the area of operations of the opposing armies in the above-mentioned period who had travelled in any of the countries where such a suit of armour could have been obtained. Certainly General Gordon had served in the Far East during the 1850’s, but it is known that he had very few personal effects with him in the Sudan, and certainly no cuirass such as the one illustrated. Another factor mitigating against this theory is that though Japanese armour is comparatively light, it is awkward to transport and thus it seems improbable that any traveller would include such a piece among his souvenirs. Also the fact that no one identified the suit as being of non-Sudanese workmanship at the time when the photograph was taken shows that those present among the soldiery could not have had any knowledge of Japan. Suits of armour from that country were sometimes assumed to be Chinese, but no such assumption was made in this case. Therefore, the fact that this cuirass was accepted as being of Sudanese workmanship, and that the photograph accompanying this paper was taken within two months of the battle of Omdurman, by a photographer on the spot, and the context in which the cuirass appears, all point to the following conclusion.

A Japanese cuirass was in the possession of one of the Khalifa’s Emirs, who wore it in action at the battle of Omdurman in 1898, and this cuirass had been traded into the Sudan at some time between the 17th and late 19th centuries.
KUSH

Note on the Illustration. Reproduced here through the courtesy of George Newnes Publishers, this photograph was taken by the photographic firm of G. Lekegian & Company, and was subsequently published in The Navy and Army Illustrated, vii (1898), p. 165. This photograph, hitherto unremarked by students of Islamic military history, is not to be confused with the photograph taken in 1910 by W. Griggs & Son, which appears in the publication Oriental Armour at Sandringham House.


C. Halls
Reviews

NGERIAN PERSPECTIVES. By THOMAS HODGKIN, West African History Series, Oxford University Press (1960), 30s.

The author tells us that the main purpose of his work is ‘to present the points of view of those who have observed or recorded Nigerian history’. It is intended as an anthology rather than a source-book. The fifty-two-page introduction gives a very brief and rather sketchy history of the major areas of what is now known as Nigeria. The rest of the book is made up of brief quotations from already published sources. Since there are over one hundred of these it is not possible here to list them. The sources fall into three main categories; those of Arab, indigenous and European writers. Almost half are from the works of early Arab travellers and Nigerian authors. The period covered ranges from the 9th to the 19th century. In the reviewer’s opinion it would have been a better book if fewer quotations had been made and larger sections of the more important works had been given. To take only one example Mary Kingsley’s ‘Mrs S. and her Crates’ might have been omitted with no loss to the reader, and there are a number of others which fall into this category.

Nevertheless the book will be of value to those embarking on the study of Nigerian history not only in giving them a general background but also by pointing out the relative wealth of available source material. But the book is also of importance to those interested in the history of other African areas. It should act as a stimulus to scholars in showing what can be done in the collection of documentary material relating to the early periods of history of many parts of the African continent. It should stimulate us here in the Sudan to begin in earnest the collection of manuscripts and other documents dealing with the history of this country. Nigerian Perspectives shows how useful and important this material can be. We in the Sudan are not in the fortunate position to be able to produce such an anthology since the ground work has not yet been accomplished. The reviewer hopes that this book will stimulate scholars here to emulate some of the work already accomplished in Nigeria.

F. REHFISCH
University of Khartoum


The Dinka-speaking people number over 1,100,000 all told. They form the second largest language group in the Sudan, second only to Arab speakers.
They live in Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Kordofan Provinces. Their principal subsistence activities are cattle-keeping, agriculture and fishing.

Dr Lienhardt spent two years carrying out the field work on which this book is based. He begins with a very sketchy outline of Dinka social structure. The reader will be well advised to supplement this brief account by consulting a paper by the same author called ‘The Western Dinka’. Next we have a section on the role of cattle in Dinka experience, followed by chapters on myths explaining the separation of man and the divinities, various types of divinities, the relationship between divinity and experience, spear masters, invocation and prayer and symbolic actions. The book closes with a chapter called ‘Burial Alive’ which sums up the available information on the inhumation of spear-masters.

The bald listing of chapter headings gives no idea of the richness and sophistication of the author’s analysis of his data. He not only provides us with a list of Dinka beliefs and practices but also attempts to show the relation between them and the people’s experience of life and death. For example he relates the myth explaining the coming of the first master of the fishing spear. He then shows that the tale is not merely the product of a fortuitous association of disparate events, but rather is deeply rooted in the central experience of the people concerned. This myth, as is the case with others dealt with, represents a particular range and interpretation of Dinka experience. Rituals are treated in a similar way in this book.

Elsewhere the author has written, ‘The problem of describing to others how members of a remote tribe think then begins to appear largely as one of translation, of making the coherence primitive thought has in the language it really lives in, as clear as possible in our own.’ The author has not failed in this task but neither has he achieved an unqualified success. The reviewer feels that had he provided more data on Dinka supernatural beliefs both before proceeding with his analysis and during the analysis itself his efforts would have been more convincing.

The book would also have been improved had a concise summary of the more important Dinka supernatural beliefs been given and an attempt made to integrate these into a whole. On laying down the book, the reader feels that he has gained a satisfactory understanding of certain restricted aspects of Dinka belief, but can hardly be convinced that other equally important ones have not been omitted. Also due to the lack of sufficient integration of the material itself one can hardly see the relationship between many of the various beliefs, if such do exist.

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1 Middleton and Tait (editors), Tribes without Rulers, pp. 97-135.
REVIEWS

In closing I should like to congratulate Dr Lienhardt for having provided us with a very thought-provoking book and one which begins the exploration of yet another technique for the study of so called 'primitive religions'. Secondly the Sudan Government is to be congratulated for having financed this, yet another excellent piece of field research. It is well known to all anthropologists that the Sudan Government has long been generous in financing field work and the result is that a number of classics have dealt with Sudanese tribes. One hopes that this tradition will not only be maintained but perhaps even more will be done to stimulate the type of first-class field work that has been associated with the Sudan in the past.

F. REHFISCH
University of Khartoum
The Editor of *Kush*

Sir,

In his very interesting description of the paintings in the tomb at Deberia (Kush VIII, p. 25), T. Säve-Söderbergh has, I think, identified the dom-palm without any reasonable doubt, but his identifications of the other trees are open to query. The trees with the ‘light trunk’ are unlikely to be the acacia at present called sunt in the Sudan, as this has a dark, almost black, bark. On the other hand it seems possible that the taller trees identified as carobs are in fact sunt (*Acacia nilotica*). Admittedly the colour of the trunk and branches are described as ‘the same red-brown colour as the ordinary skin colour’, which is not quite dark enough, but the fruits are very like those of the sunt which are moniliform and often described as being like a string of beads; they are also black in colour, as in the description.

The carob is a typically Mediterranean tree, and recent attempts to grow it in the Sudan have not been successful, apart from odd trees established at relatively high altitudes such as at Suni on Jebel Marra and, I believe, at Erkowit. I think it is rather unlikely that it was grown in the Sudan. Strabo’s references may well refer to some other species of tree; compare the use in Sudan Arabic of the word ‘kharūb’, which is standard Arabic for the carob tree, for the indigenous species *Piliostigma reticulata*. This tree has fruits resembling those of the carob to some extent, but is, of course, quite different from it.

Thus I consider that Säve-Söderbergh’s ‘carob’ is most likely to be sunt. What his ‘sunt’ is is impossible to decide on the data available. The combination of date-palms, dom-palms and sunt would not be very unusual in a modern plantation on the Nile.

c/o Director of Forests,

Khartoum

Yours, etc.

J. K. Jackson

The Editor of *Kush*

Sir,

I have read with great interest Professor Chamoux’s most searching article.¹ It seems to me necessary, however, to comment upon his attempts to explain the presence of ‘a small hole behind the right ear (which) has clearly been made by a nail, and a notch on the internal rim behind the left ear’. The removal of the fragments required for metallographic examination would explain a notch in that position, whilst filings for spectrography were taken with a fine drill which was driven into the thickness of the metal at the lower opening. I cannot define their location exactly, but may these not be the places from which we took our specimens?

Yours, etc.,

D. Thomas-Goorieckx

ERRATUM

In KUSH IX, p. 284, 'A Late Latin Inscription,' the first two words of the Latin text have been duplicated. The words *Bona Fortuna* in line 10 of this note should be deleted.