The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet

by Torgny Säve-Söderbergh

I. The Excavation

The site of Sidi Oweis el Qurani or, as it is called locally, el Qurnein, is situated some 20 km. north of Wadi Halfa and was located by Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit in 1956 during the survey of the west bank of the Nile in connexion with the Nubian project. A trial excavation was executed for the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1960 by Mr Jan Verwers (then in the service of UNESCO) who cleared parts of the lower courtyard and some of the walls on top of the hill.

At the beginning of 1961 the Scandinavian Joint Expedition were kindly asked by the Commissioner for Archaeology, Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, whether we were interested in taking over the site—an offer which we were glad to accept. The excavations started on 8 January 1962 with clearing away the dumps of the previous trial digging, but the true nature of the site was not clear until we could empty the rock chamber, the two entrances of which were visible at the beginning of our work and which had been strengthened with stone walls by the Sudan Antiquities Service. Only then, after about a fortnight of work, could it be proved that Sidi Oweis el Qurani is the site of a New Kingdom tomb. The excavation of the site was finished on 11 March.

The tomb is cut from a rocky eminence which lies about 300 m. back from the river on the west bank of the Nile. The hill is about 10 m. high and its summit forms the roof of the tomb chapel and the base of the superstructure (Plate xxxviii, b and Fig. 1). In front of the chapel is a courtyard, cut in the rock which is much fissured sandstone of rather poor quality. Attempts have been made to fill a number of the larger fissures both in the side walls and the pavement. This latter consists partly of the living rock and partly of cut slabs which, curiously enough, rest directly on loose sand. Because of this feature it was first assumed that there would be a wall constructed to contain this sand, but excavations showed that this was not so. The slabs must have been supported only by a slope of sand from the plain below up to the outer edge of the pavement of the courtyard. It is probable that a staircase of slabs simply laid out on the sand, as is the case, e.g., at the fortress of Shalfak, led up to the entrance of the courtyard, but no traces are now left, nor can the outer limitation of the courtyard, whether consisting of a wall or of the outer edge of the pavement only, be made out with certainty. It is, however, certain that the eastern part of the
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courtyard was originally on a higher level than it is now. This is noticeable by reason of a cutting in the north face; moreover, the existing slabs and the rock pavement are well-dressed here and bear signs of mortar on their surface indicating that at least one more layer has existed, or perhaps a wall. At right angles to the lower end of an adobe wall running towards the summit of the hill is a groove cut in the stone slabs of the outer part of the pavement, which reappears at intervals all along the east side of the courtyard. The slabs here have been properly dressed mainly to the east of this line, a fact which could indicate the presence of a wall forming the outer limit of the courtyard.
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In the south-eastern, outer corner of the courtyard there is a square foundation consisting of an outer framework of stones bound with mud mortar and with its interior packed with sandstone fragments. It is impossible to say what kind of construction this foundation supported, but it could perhaps be the lowest part of a staircase or a ramp leading up to the pyramid. The same method of construction, i.e. cut stones bound with mud mortar, has also been used to build the southern wall of the courtyard. To the west, at the point where it abuts the façade, the rock has been cut vertically to form the angle of the wall and the façade. At a short distance to the south a second wall, presumably earlier, has been constructed at right angles to the façade. This wall is screened by the wall mentioned above and only its top is now visible.

The façade which is cut in the rock has two entrances, the northern being considerably smaller (PLATE XXXVIII, b). This latter entrance seems to have been walled up at some time with mud bricks of which some remain in situ. The southern and central faces are well dressed but that to the north has been left unfinished. A vertical groove has been cut at the outer northern corner of the bricked-up entrance to indicate to the stone-mason the depth to which the rock should be dressed. The roof was originally part of the hill but by virtue of its weight and the bad quality of the rock it has split into two immense slabs, the northern one of which has subsided and was found to be resting on the sand filling the chamber. Therefore, before the chamber could be cleared it was necessary to insert wooden and iron props to support the weight. There is a stratum of very poor quality rock immediately below the roof, most of which had disintegrated leaving a horizontal gap on the outside. This had been packed with stones by the Antiquities Service to prevent further subsidence. The lower half of the façade is of a good quality rock, nevertheless the inside face had been repaired in ancient times by the insertion of a well-cut slab.

Immediately opposite the large south entrance is a niche, 163 cm. wide and 155 cm. deep. The roof of the niche is a continuation of that of the chamber, whereas the floor is raised about 15 cm. above the floor of the chamber. On the floor of the chamber in front of the niche stood a rough basin of stone filled to the brim with ashes, and leaning against the north wall of the niche and in a secondary position there was an extremely well preserved stela of grey granite bearing the names of 'the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet', 'his wife Hatsheps(ut)', and his parents 'the Prince of Teh-khet Rewet' and 'the lady of the house Rewj' (PLATE XXXIX, b). When we cleared out the niche, we found four life-size seated statues cut in the rock in the back wall (PLATE XXXIX, a). They are all unfinished, yet it is possible to discern that the two central figures represent bearded men, flanked by women with long perruques. The arm of each statue is laid across the shoulder of its neighbour.

From this find it is perfectly clear that the tomb at Sidi Oweis el Qurani was constructed by the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet, and that he, just as his brother Djehuty-hetep had done in his tomb on the other shore of the Nile, had
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had his tomb decorated with the statues of himself, his wife, and his parents.¹ The connexion between the tombs of the two brothers is also apparent from the fact that the statues of Amenemhet and his family are looking directly at the tomb of Djehuty-hetep which is clearly visible on the east shore. A line drawn at right angles to the façade of the statue chapel of Amenemhet points towards the small hill containing the tomb of Djehuty-hetep with an error of 2° only (cf. below, p. 172).

Opposite the northern entrance of the chapel another small niche was found. The stone blocks with which it had once been walled up were lying in disorder in front of the niche, which was empty.

The interior of the tomb-chapel was entirely cleared, but apart from the stela and the stone basin mentioned above the only objects found were fragments of New Kingdom ceramic and a scarab of the same date.

Here and there the walls had been prepared with stucco to receive a painted decoration which had never been executed.

The upper part of the north end wall is constructed from slabs bound with white mortar, and the whole of the south wall is also made of well-cut slabs erected in the form of a double wall with a packing of stones in between. This south wall is not continued to the back of the chamber, but stops short of it by 65 cm., its inner edge being clean cut and finished exactly vertically. It has clearly been inserted later, presumably to support the roof which needed strengthening owing to the bad quality of the rock, but it may nevertheless belong to the first period of the building.

Behind this wall was a small side-chamber which measures 1.40×3 m. In order to excavate it we had to remove the roof, parts of which had already fallen.

The floor was more or less covered with ceramic vases, many of which were crushed. There was a great variety of ordinary New Kingdom types, but I have the impression that they were all of the kind used in connexion with offerings before a stela. As a rule the stelae are placed against the end walls of the ‘broad chamber,’ and thus I think it plausible to assume that the beautiful stela of Prince Amenemhet was originally erected here. Possibly it had been taken out from the small and dark side chamber either when this room was used for secondary burials or when the agents of Akhenaten hacked out the names of Amon.

Higher up in the debris covering the floor and the vases, we found three burials, 40–50 cm. above the level of the floor. One coffin had been placed near, and parallel to, the entrance wall. It was badly eaten by white ants, but it was still possible to see that it once had been painted black with hieroglyphic texts in yellow. These texts were too fragmentary to yield any coherent sense.

¹ Cf. Kush v, p. 85; viii, pp. 29 ff.
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On the left hand of the dead there was a seal with the name of Amenophis III (PLATE XLI), and on his face were traces of a stucco mask.

Between this coffin and the wall a skeleton had been squeezed in, with the head in the east just like the other burial. Oriented in the opposite direction and parallel to the south wall was a third burial in a very damaged coffin. The deceased, presumably a wife, had four ear-rings of white stone.

The fourth burial, on a still higher level, 70 cm. above the floor, was again in a wooden coffin, and as was also the case in the other coffins, the deceased was placed flat on his back. Here, too, we found a seal in the form of a frog on the left hand, and under the head, which had been crushed by stones falling from the roof, there was a very nice collection of fayence and bronze rings with seal stones of different forms together with large beads and a magnificent menyt of fayence (PLATE XLI). One of the seals (Q 225) bears the name of Tuthmosis III (Mn-hpr-r²), but to judge from the stratigraphy, this burial must have been placed here at a later date than the coffin mentioned above and dated by a seal with the name of Amenophis III. There is, however, a possibility that the coffin has been removed from some other place in the tomb and then been placed in the side chamber. If so, the collection of adornments and seals must not necessarily be dated later than the burial with the seal of Amenophis III, and in any case they may have been re-used. It is impossible to decide whether this burial has anything to do with the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet, who lived under Tuthmosis III, and it is not entirely excluded that, either for the sake of plunder or to erase the hated name of Amon, the Prince himself and his coffin had been brought out from his original burial place just as his stela had been placed in a secondary position. Then the coffin could have been put away in the side chamber instead of being lowered again to the sarcophagus chamber under the pyramid.

The last burial in the side-chamber was a little child placed on its stomach in a crouching position near the entrance and some 80 cm. above the level of the floor.

To the south of the courtyard is a mudbrick wall running towards the summit of the hill. Its lower end terminates about 160 cm. from the outer edge of the courtyard pavement, and it abuts on a brick structure on top of the hill above and behind the rock-cut chapel. The plan of this structure is square and it consists essentially of an outer wall of which the stone foundation is still preserved on the south. Inside this outer wall, at a distance of 175 cm., are two parallel inner walls and the space between these latter walls, about 154 cm., is packed with stone rubble. The existence of some of these walls had been shown during the trial digging made by Mr Verwers in 1960, but the details of the plan did not appear until we had removed a stone wall (see PLATE XXXVIII, b) which had been erected to enclose the holy place, sacred according to local tradition to the memory of Sidi Oweis el Qurani or perhaps rather el Qurnein. In this walled-in area and oriented 'north' and 'south' were two small oblong
enclosures picked out in stone fragments. The easternmost had a rough headstone (in fact part of one of the large stone slabs used to close the earlier tomb-shaft underneath) and on this stone was a short Arabic text. Near the foot of these small enclosures was a collection of modern pottery, and in addition there were a large number of small slabs inscribed with Arabic dedications.

It was necessary to remove all these modern constructions of rough stones in order to proceed with the clearance of the mudbrick walls and the space enclosed by them.

A comparison of these earlier foundations with the tombs in Aniba and e.g. in Deir el Medinah of approximately the same date (early New Kingdom) makes it clear that there has been a brick pyramid here surrounded by an outer wall and with an entrance on the east side, the lower part of which can still be ascertained (Plate XXXVIII, a, and Fig. 2). The north-east corner of the foundations has been eroded down to the very bottom of the lowermost bricks but enough remained to make the outline certain. The bricks of the building measure $8 \times 15 \times 34$ cm. Foundation deposits of chalk-stained dishes were found under the north-west corner and near the south-east corner.

In tombs of this type the burial shaft is as a rule found either in the courtyard or immediately in front of the pyramid. Here, however, it was cut in the floor of the central chamber of the pyramid. This floor had once consisted of very well cut and big stone slabs, which had been broken and turned upside down, leaving the shaft open for some time as is shown both by the presence of wasps’ nests and by the find of a beautiful A-Group vase at a depth of 1.3 m. and thrown down into the clean sand filling the shaft. Sherds picked up some 100 m. to the north of the tomb of Amenemhet reveal the existence of a plundered A-Group necropolis in the neighbourhood which is probably the origin of this bowl.

According to local sources an illegal attempt was made a few years ago to clear the shaft, but the authorities stepped in before it had proceeded very far.

Fragments of human bones in the debris filling the shaft soon made it clear to us that the burial had been plundered. There were also some New Kingdom vases, a bronze ring, a pair of fragmentary tweezers, a scarab with the text ‘Amon-Re’, a face mask of yellow painted sandstone, rather badly corroded, and a fragment of a scribe’s palette of schist with the text ‘... the scribe Pjt-itsj’, i.e. the other name of Amenemhet’s brother Djehuty-hetep (Fig. 4, a).³

The bottom of the shaft was reached at a depth of 6.7 m. A door in its west wall leads to a corridor which bends twice and finally ends in a sarcophagus chamber near the entrance of the subterranean rooms (Fig. 3). The thin wall between this chamber and the corridor near the entrance from the shaft had collapsed, leaving a hole through which it is possible to enter the chamber directly without passing through the long corridor.

Fig. 2. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PYRAMID
FIG. 3. THE SUBTERRANEAN ROOMS. PLAN AND SECTION
a. THE STATUES CUT IN THE ROCK

b. THE STELA OF PRINCE AMENEMHET IN SITU
PLATE XL

THE STELA OF PRINCE AMENEMHET
MENYT, BEADS, RINGS AND SEALS FROM BURIALS IN THE SIDE-CHAMBER
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The sarcophagus chamber was emptied first but yielded only some vases in a secondary position, a small carnelian bead wrapped in gold leaf and other fragments of gold leaf. In the floor is a shallow shaft for the sarcophagus, which seems to have rested on flat stone slabs, one of which was still in situ. Several small niches are cut in the walls, probably to insert stelae. One such little stela decorated with an incised picture of the goddess Nut was found in the corridor leading to the sarcophagus chamber.

This corridor was partly filled with withered, still wet sandstone which had discoloured the vast quantity of New Kingdom vases found here. In some parts of the corridor the floor was entirely covered with pots of all shapes. They all rested on a layer of debris, 10–30 cm. thick, which shows that they have been placed in the position we found them some time after the construction of the corridor, presumably rather by tomb robbers than in connexion with the burial rites.

Of special interest was the find of a second scribe’s palette belonging to ‘[the Prince of] Teh-khet P3-itsj ’ (FIG. 4, b), and his name was also written on two wide-rimmed globular jars and probably on some fragments of the canopic jars. Strangely enough, the name of Amenemhet did not occur at all, whereas that of his brother was found at least four times—on two scribe’s palettes and two vases. These objects are presumably either gifts or inheritance from the elder brother (cf. below, p. 172), as we know that Djehuty-hetep, called P3-itsj, had made himself a tomb on the east shore and was in all probability buried there. Otherwise it would have been a natural conclusion to assume that

FIG. 4. THE SCRIBE’S PALETTERS OF P3-ITSJ, AMENEMHET'S BROTHER

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Amenemhet was buried in the part of the tomb next to the courtyard where his stela was found, and that Djeuty-hetep had found his final rest in the subterranean chamber under the pyramid, which has an orientation differing from that of the courtyard. However, the occurrence of his names on some objects here does not, in my opinion, sufficiently support such a theory instead of the more natural assumption that Djeuty-hetep was buried on the east shore and Amenemhet on the west shore.

II. The Stela

The stela of Amenemhet measures $107 \times 68 \times 14$ cm. and is made of grey granite or possibly greywacke (PLATE XL and FIG. 5). No petrographical analysis has been made so far, and it is therefore impossible to give an exact term for the stone or to make certain whether it comes from the region of the Second Cataract, which would be the most probable provenience.

The front surface is well polished, the other sides more roughly cut. The decoration is exceedingly well preserved. All the figures and the hieroglyphs are painted yellow, and in the shaft of the tomb we found a piece of this yellow colouring matter. There are also remains of the red sketch-lines, both the straight lines indicating the upper and lower limits of the hieroglyphic text, and the first draught of the text.

The upper part of the stela is decorated with a relief showing, to the left, Prince Amenemhet offering a libation to his parents 'the Prince of Teh-khet' $^4$ Rdw, true of voice' and 'his wife, the lady of the house Rwn3'. Here, as in the other places where the name of Amon occurs on the stela, it has been carefully erased.

To the right 'the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet, repeating life', and 'his wife, the lady of the house Hatsheps(ut)' receive a drink from a lady called again 'his wife the lady of the house Hatsheps(ut)' (cf. below, p. 172).

Beneath this relief is the main text:

' [1] A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris Khentamentiu, (to) Anubis, Lord of Ro-setaw, (and of) the Two Shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to the gods of the western district, who are near [2] the majesty of the Lord of the Universe, who know heaven and open up (explore) the netherworld, that they may give:
	a lifetime without sickness,

to follow his wish in accordance with [3] their praise (=being in their favour),

what rejoices the hearts in the suite (of the King) on earth,

a good name among the courtiers,

\[4\] The scribe has left out the $h$, probably misled by the town-sign of the determinative.
to enter and to go out from the house of the King, L.P.H., without any opposition [4] from the surrounding (?) to receive what is good and to rejoice over it during a good life as one wants it, that the mouth may speak and the ears hear, (his) attention being steady on [5] his duties, as he used to do when being on earth, and that the end (shall be) in the necropolis (?), a funeral procession among the noblemen of the King, through the favour of [6] Horus, Lord of the Palace, a staff for the coffin being bequeathed after honoured years, that (his) soul may go out, when the voice calls, that (his) heart be satisfied [7] with an offering (consisting of) thousands of bread and beer, thousands of oxen and fowl, thousands of alabaster (vessels) and clothing, thousands of incense and ointment, of all kind of vegetables, thousands of all things good and pure [8] every day and the extra offerings at the New Moon Festival (psdjntjw), New Crescent Day (the Festival of the second day of the month, 3bd), the Festival of the sixth day of the month (smnt), the Half-month Festival (smdt), the Festival of the Great Going-forth, the Festival of the Going-forth of Sothis, the Wag-festival, the Djehutyt-festival, [9] the Great Fire, the Small Fire, the Festival of the First Evening Meal (msjt tpt), the Birth of Osiris, the Evening Meal (ibt-h3w), the Receiving of the River, and every festival of heaven and earth, for the ka of the uniquely excellent, whom his lord loves, whose attention is vigilant, who concentrates himself against crime, the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet, true of voice.

III. PRINCE AMENEMHET AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF TEH-KHET

The principality or district of Teh-khet—it would be too much to call it a kingdom—has till now hardly been known except through the monuments of

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5 I have not been able to find any exact parallel to this expression; cf. Clère, BIFAO, vol. 30, pp. 432 f.; Gardiner, Festschr. Grapow, p. 3.
6 Read smjt (?) or m htp (m) smjt (?); cf. Urk., iv, p. 430.
7 Cf. Wb., ii, p. 178.4.
8 The first text drawn in red ink had the reading nis.f.
9 Cf. Urk., iv, pp. 469, 482; Säve-Söderbergh, Four Private Tombs, pl. lx; Parker, Calendar, pp. 11 ff.
10 Imn has possibly been restored after erasure.
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Prince Djehuty-hetep and his brother Amenemhet, which have all been published or re-published in this journal.\textsuperscript{11}

The two brothers are also mentioned and depicted in the tomb of Senmose at Assuan\textsuperscript{12} (FIG. 6). On one of the pillars there is a picture of two persons seated one behind the other. The man in front is, according to the accompanying text, ‘his brother, the Prince of Teh-khet P3-itsj, begotten of the Prince Rwt\textsuperscript{w}, born of the lady of the house R\textsuperscript{wnj}’, and the man behind him ‘his brother, the scribe Amenemhet’.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} With the exception of the Moscow stela No. 4089; cf. Kush \textit{viii}, pp. 25 ff. with references.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{PM}, v, pp. 237 f. This fact was pointed out to me by my friend Labib Habachi when we met last winter in Ser\textsuperscript{t}a and Debeira.

\textsuperscript{13} de Morgan, \textit{Catalogue}, i, p. 178; Scheil, \textit{RT}, vol. 14, p. 95. Both copies are inexact. During a visit to Assuan in January 1963 I had the opportunity to photograph the scene. Fig. 6 is based on colour photographs taken on this occasion.
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Senmose’s parents are also mentioned in his tomb; his father is called \( D_{3w} \), and his mother \( I\text{h}-h\text{tp} \).\(^{13a}\) The two men from Teh-khet were thus not the real brothers of Senmose, but the word ‘brother’ is here used in a metaphorical sense.\(^{14}\)

It is not possible to ascertain why they occur in this tomb at Assuan, but either Senmose had something to do with Nubian administration and the affairs of Teh-khet, or they had all three been educated together at the Egyptian court—in which latter case one would have expected to find the title \( hrd n \text{kh} \) or some other indication of the fact.\(^{15}\)

The evidence from the tomb of Senmose corroborates what can with some plausibility be deduced from other circumstances, namely that Djehuty-hetep \( P_{3}\)-\( itsj \) was the elder brother.

In the tomb of Senmose this is indicated by the fact that he is depicted seated in front of his brother and that Amenemhet has only the title ‘scribe’ whereas Djehuty-hetep is called ‘Prince of Teh-khet’. This is also the case on the Buhen statue of Amenemhet, which would also date from a time when Amenemhet had not yet succeeded his brother as Prince.

Moreover, the tomb of Amenemhet is oriented towards that of his brother on the opposite shore (cf. above, p. 162) and there is hence little doubt that the tomb of Djehuty-hetep was constructed first. This latter tomb is cut in a small hill with a gently sloping jebel to the north and a wadi to the south and this place is, in fact, the only convenient one in the neighbourhood for the construction of such a tomb. Thus the place for this tomb cannot have been chosen to fit the orientation of the tomb of Amenemhet on the west shore.

In the shaft and the subterranean rooms of the tomb on the west shore quite a few objects were found with the names of Djehuty-hetep (cf. above, p. 167) which also indicates that Amenemhet is the younger brother who took over or inherited some objects from his elder brother and predecessor as Prince.

Finally, from the strange fact that the wife of Amenemhet is depicted on the stela offering a drink to herself and to Amenemhet in a scene where one would expect a daughter, it is tempting to conclude that Amenemhet died without any surviving children.

If this explanation is correct, Amenemhet was possibly the last of his family. In fact, we have no evidence of any immediate successor as Prince of Teh-khet, but in view of the general scarcity of evidence concerning the Nubian princes and kinglets it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions.\(^{18}\)

\(^{13a}\) Text near entrance: \[\begin{array}{l}
\end{array}\]

\(^{14}\) \( Wb.\), iv, p. 150\(^{11}\).

\(^{15}\) Cf. my \( A\text{gypten und Nubien} \), pp. 185 f. with references.

\(^{16}\) We had, e.g., no further evidence of the Prince of Miam Heqanefer than a graffito and a picture of him in the tomb of the Viceroy Huy until Simpson found his tomb at Toshka.

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The documentation on the chieftains of Teh-khet was amplified also by some other finds of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition this season:
(a) A small fragment was found on a refuse heap at some distance from the tomb of Djehuty-hetep in the neighbourhood of our headquarters (Fig. 7). It shows a picture of ' [the Prince of] Teh-khet [Rw]w', and comes either from the tomb of his son Djehuty-hetep or from his own tomb. We have no indication of the location of this latter tomb, but quite a number of more or less plundered rock-cut tombs of the early New Kingdom have been examined in the neighbourhood, and one of these anonymous tombs may have belonged to the father of the brothers.

(b) More interesting is another fragment, found as ballast in a ship (Fig. 8). The skipper told us that he found the stone at Serra, but he was rather vague about the place. This text is tantalizing, badly damaged and difficult to read, but what can be deciphered shows the existence of a Prince of Teh-khet during the reign of Ramses II. The fragment may tentatively be translated as follows:

'C [1] . . . [2] . . . beloved like Amon under the guidance (supervision) of this my lord (?) 1w j (?). The Prince of Teh-khet, which was given to him (?) before he was born (prop. in the egg) (?), 20 I-pi-j 21 [4] . . . seven

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17 See Kush viii, pp. 53 ff.; x, pp. 96 ff.; xi, pp. 58 ff.
18 The reading nb.i is uncertain and may instead be wr or sr. The name is Egyptian and not uncommon in the New Kingdom; PN, p. 1615.
19 Here again is a form of ë like an open, unfilled circle, which has caused some uncertainty regarding the reading of the name; cf. Kush viii, p. 26, n. 9.
20 The word [x]wht 'egg' is rather certain, and perhaps also rdjt. I think of rdjt n.f m swht 'given to him already in the egg', referring to the country Teh-khet, or something similar.
21 Cf. PN, p. 23².
trees (?)\textsuperscript{22} which makes (?) five . . . being what the King's Son of Kush Heqanakht\textsuperscript{23} gave to him'.

Thanks to the new finds the localization of Teh-khet can perhaps become somewhat better defined. The tomb of Djehuty-hetep in the Debeira district shows that this district belonged to Teh-khet. Two fragments with the name of the same Prince were found, according to Griffith, in the village of Serra (a somewhat ambiguous term, as there are several villages in the Serra district), and this is perhaps also the case with the Ramesside fragment. Thus Teh-khet may have included the Serra district, too. I would not be surprised if parts of Ashkeit down to the natural boundary at the mountain of Bintibirra, or perhaps Jebel Sahaba also belonged to Teh-khet. From the presence of the tomb of Amenemhet on the west shore it would seem that this old district or principality included the territories on both shores of the Nile as do Serra, Debeira and most of the other modern Nubian districts today.

\textsuperscript{22} Or some other objects of wood. What follows is uncertain, but the words \textit{tr n} seem plausible as well as the number 'five'; between these words is a word which apparently ends on -\textit{tj} (\textit{ntj} gives no sense).

\textsuperscript{23} The reading \textit{Hk3-nht} is clear despite the bad state of the surface of the stone. I have little doubt that it is the name of the viceroy and not an epithet and that it refers to the well-known viceroy Heqanakht of Ramses II (see Reisner, \textit{JEA}, vol. 28, pp. 40 ff.; Gauthier, \textit{RT}, vol. 39, pp. 207 f.).

by M. Almagro, F. Presedo and M. Pellicer

The work of the Spanish Mission was carried out at Argin, on the left bank of the Nile about 7 km. north of Wadi Halfa; at Kasr-ico island in the Second Cataract, and at Abkanarti island, also in the Second Cataract.

I. THE ARGIN AREA

(a) The C-Group Cemetery at Argin South-west (Sac)

This cemetery is situated in the south-western part of our concession, about 300 m. west of the houses at Argin (vide Fig. 1). It was recorded previous to our work at Argin. One tumulus had been excavated in 1956 by Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, and another by Mr. Hans A. Nordström in 1961.

Excavation. First of all we located the burials, and once the 23 graves that make up the cemetery had been found, we proceeded to draw plans at a scale of 1:100. The tumuli were cleared of the sand that covered them. First the outside of each grave was cleared, so as to locate the pottery and animals offered there and placed outside the stone ring, and afterwards inside so as to locate the cist.

Numbers 4, 19 and 22 were found to have been completely robbed of their contents; numbers 17 and 18 had been excavated by Thabit and Nordström; numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 21 and 23 had been disturbed to a greater or lesser extent by natural agents or by animals; numbers 6, 13, 15, 16 and 20 were intact, or with the body and materials in situ.

General characteristics of the cemetery. The tumuli extend from south-east to north-west over an area of 50 x 20 m., except for two of them (numbers 10 and 23) which are to be found slightly separated towards the north-east. They are irregularly distributed, some at an average distance of 2 m. apart, and others contiguous. Burials numbers 19 and 4 are two cists inside a common regular stone ring.

The burials are arranged thus: a simple ring of stones with walls varying in thickness between 0.20 m. and 1.00 m., quite circular in shape with a diameter varying between 7.50 m. and 2.50 m., constructed from blocks of black sandy stone, extracted from the secondary stratum which emerges amongst the sand. These irregular blocks with an average dimension of 40 cm. are built in one, two or three rows. The cist, which is placed more or less in the centre, is oval in shape and built with similar stones. The larger diameter is often more than 1 m.
KUSH

NORTH ZONE ARGIN
SPANISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION

Fig. 1.
The stones in the cist have fallen. Before excavation the middle part of the tumulus is lower than the stone ring.

Disposition of the body and of the grave goods. The burials are individual, that is one body in each tomb, placed in a crouched position with the legs very bent, and with the arms stretched along the body and towards the knees, leaning on the right side (except in tomb number 20, in which it was on the left side) and with the head pointing towards the north-east—in number 15 towards the north-west. Frequently we could observe how the bones had been coloured with ochre which formed a compact layer. We found children's corpses (three), male adults (nine), female adults (four), and old people (two).

Fauna are frequent, with gazelles predominating. Sometimes gazelle horns appear outside the stone ring (16) or near it and lined up inside, in the northern part of the tumulus. Near the head of the deceased, and just in front of it, a small ruminant is usually found. There are remains of burned bones near the vases. In other cases charcoal remains may be observed outside the tumuli on the eastern side.

Grave goods. The grave goods found may be reduced to ceramics, ornaments (beads, scarabs, bracelets and trinkets), bivalve shells, a bronze razor—roughly trapezoid in shape with a pin for a handle (t. 10), bone punchers (t. 11, 13, 15), coloured materials, and a small pestle.

Pottery. The pottery is of great interest. The vases are both hand-made and wheel-made. With regard to the hand-made pottery, we may mention the vessels, crudely made and very much fragmented, which were found both inside and outside the stone circles. More characteristic are the small hand-made vases, generally bowl-shaped, with deeply incised decorations, and sometimes with geometrical figures impressed upon them. These vases are light brown or dark in colour, with a smooth and sometimes a polished surface. A very common vase is semi-spherical, red polished outside and black polished inside and on the rim (black topped pottery). This is the so-called Kerma ware of the Nubian cultures.

Amongst the wheel-made pottery are the oviform vessels with a small opening and projecting rim, of light friable ware with a strong cream coloured slip, which always appear in front of the face of the dead. Other wheel-made vases are bowls and paterae. Also among the pottery we must mention hexagonal stands and ceramic rings. Although the pottery appears mostly in the cist, it is also normal to find vases outside close to the stone ring.

Ornaments. The most common are the beads which present a certain variety both in shape and composition. They include perforated sandy pebbles, snails, shells, fish vertebrae, discoid and tubular bone beads (very frequent), drop-shaped granite and cornelian beads; globular, discoid, hexagonal and cylindrical beads made from green, blue and violet paste. This last type appears on the necks and wrists of the corpses.
Of great interest for dating this cemetery was the discovery of 11 scarabs, for the most part with purely ornamental designs.

The bracelets are all made of beads, except for one from tomb number 8 which is of highly polished ivory. The trinkets are made from shell.

Conclusion. The cemetery has all the characteristics of the initial phase of the C-Group culture and it should be placed with the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. The scarabs, however, have forced us to lower its chronology to the time of the Hyksos (17th to early 16th centuries B.C.).

(b) The C-Group Cemetery at Argin South (anx)

This is situated in the south of the Spanish area at Argin, between the previously excavated X-Group cemetery and one of the modern village cemeteries, in a zone with a great deal of sand filling which slopes towards the east.

The cemetery has an area of 150 m. from north to south, and about 60 m. from east to west, with approximately 100 interments.

The first 21 burials excavated are designated by letters (A to U) and are situated in the southern part. Burials B, F, K, L, M, N and R were intact; A, C, E, G, O and S were disturbed; and D, H, I, J, P and Q were completely robbed. Beyond tomb U the graves are designated by numbers.

In this cemetery there are two types of burial which are entirely different, and from a different cultural horizon. The first type has a great tumulus, defined by a high circular ring built of five or six rows of stones which reach a height of up to 1 m., and a diameter that varies between 1.30 m. and 5.20 m. (t. 30). The burial pit opens inside the ring and is orientated in its larger axis (1.60 m.) towards the north, with a rectangular plan and section and a depth of approximately 1.50 m. They are individual burials in which the body lies crouched with the head pointing towards the north-east. Grave goods are plentiful and are placed thus: the pottery is placed outside the ring towards the north, and the fauna, such as gazelle and bull horns, towards the south. In the interior of the pit, beside the body, the fauna and pottery are repeated. These burials, so easily discovered from the outside, are generally robbed.

Pottery is plentiful. The constant type is the so-called Kerma pottery of Nubia, the bowl being the most common. There are also ovoid shapes with a straight or a projecting rim. Decorations with series of triangles stamped in the black top, incised geometrical designs, etc., are frequent. The hand-made bowls of darkish or blackish clay, with a great amount of decoration in fine geometrical incisions, are of great beauty. There are other pieces of extraordinary beauty such as cups and bowls of blackish polished clay, with incised, stamped and polychrome ornamentation. Amongst the wheel-made pottery big ovoid jars with a small neck, in yellowish clay are common.

Beads are varied, with the cylindrical, globular and discoid ones of blue, green and purple vitreous paste predominating. Other beads are of cornelian and bone.
The second type of burial, which is located in the southern part of the
cemetery, consists simply of a rectangular pit, with a major axis of approximately
1.70 m. running from east to west, a minor axis of approximately 0.70 m., and a
depth of approximately 1.20 m. In the bottom of the pit four circular cavities
in which to place the vases usually appear in the four corners. The body lies
crouched, with the legs very much bent and commonly leaning on the right side
(burials B, F, K and R) and in certain cases on the left side (A). The grave
goods are plentiful and virtually encircle the corpse.

Pertaining to the pottery, we have the Kerma type, the wheel-made shiny
red vases, bellied vases, elongated ovoid vases with a rim that projects slightly,
paterae and alabaster vases (Aryballos, unguentaries). Other objects found in
tombs of this second type are punchers, fish-hooks, rings, scarabs and beads.

To this second type of burial belong tombs A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K,
O, P, Q, R and S. Burial L consists of a simple rectangular pit, pointing to the
north, with the body in a decupitus supinus position and with the hands tied with
a leather strap; it is possibly of early Middle Christian date. As regards its
structure and orientation, burial M is characteristic of either the Meroitic or
X-Group. The rest of the cemetery belongs to the final phase of the C-Group.

Differences between burials of Type I and Type II

A. Structure: Type I. Big tumulus with stone circle.
   Type II. Absence of ring and tumulus. Simple pit with
cavities in the corners.

B. Dimensions: Type I. Major pit axis—1.60 m. approx.
   Minor pit axis—1 m. approx.
   Depth—1.50 m. approx.
   Type II. Major pit axis—1.70 m. approx.
   Minor pit axis—0.70 m. approx.
   Depth—1.20 m.

C. Orientation: Type I. South-west to north-east.
   Type II. North-west to south-east.

D. Pottery: Type I. Kerma type (bowls and other various shapes with
   stamped and incised decorations). Hand-made
   bowls with plenty of incised, stamped and poly-
   chrome decoration. Big ovoid jars made on a
   wheel.
   Type II. Kerma type (simple bowls). Shiny red wheel-
   made vases. Elongated ovoid vases with a slightly

E. Fauna: Type I. Horns placed as offerings, characteristic of the
   C-Group.
   Type II. No horns found.
Conclusions. The tumular type with a high stone ring is closely connected with the C-Group and implies an evolution due to the disappearance of the cist, the place of which is taken by a similar ring but of smaller diameter. Later in this evolution, in Type II, the ring also disappears. With regard to the shape and dimensions, the plan in Type II becomes more elongated and the depth diminishes. Due to its orientation (apparently towards the north or north-east) Type I is related to C-Group, while Type II, orientated towards the south-east, is near the southward orientation found in the Meroitic and X-Group.

The Kerma pottery, characteristic of the C-Group, is more plentiful and varied in Type I than in Type II where it appears only as a survival. Handmade pottery with deeply incised decoration, so typical of the C-Group and the burials of our Type I, is absent in the Type II burials.

Wheel-made vases, shiny red paterae and alabaster vases, wholly Egyptian in shape, only seem to be found in Type II burials.

The presence of gazelle and bull horns tend to approximate Type I to C-Group.

From this data we must place the Type I burials in the final phase of the C-Group, towards the end of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, whilst the Type II burials must be dated later, to the Egyptian New Kingdom.

(c) X-Group Cemetery at Mirmad (Argin South) (SAX)

The X-Group cemetery at Mirmad was well-known owing to the huge size of some of its tumuli and was finally defined by the Antiquities Service Survey. It was the first concession granted to the Spanish Archaeological Mission in the Sudan and the site was first excavated during the 1961 campaign, when 15 burials in the north-west sector were studied.

It is located in the southern limit of the Spanish zone at Argin, between the desert and the Nile.

During the second campaign 103 burials were excavated. Although 118 burials have been totally cleared, the study has not been exhaustively completed because these burials extend to the south, penetrating right into the houses at Argin.

During the excavation the burials were located and numbered. The plan of the cemetery was drawn at a scale of 1 : 500 and we proceeded to excavate each tomb, making a sketch of its plan and section as well as taking photographs. All the material found, including the human remains, was numbered with ink, designated SAX (South Argin, X-Group) and given two numbers as denominators—the first indicates the number of the burial and the second the number of the object in the inventory.

Unfortunately, 90 per cent of the burials had been robbed by means of tunnels that reached the vault with surprising precision.

Characteristics of the cemetery. This huge cemetery is not absolutely homogeneous. The tomb structure, the dimensions, the grave goods and even
the human remains point to a long period of use and a great racial variety among the people, which justifies the group being called ‘X’, meaning unknown.

The excavated zone occupies an area, trapezoid in shape, some 220 m. from north to south by 140 m. from east to west, between the houses of the village.

The tomb structures could be divided into four defined types.

*Type 1* is the classic type with a big round tumulus of earth and sand covering a pit which is more or less centred and rectangular, with its major axis directed from north to south. The diameter of the tumulus varies between 7 m. and 15 m.; and the length of the pit that communicates with the burial chamber between 1.50 m. and 5 m. This pit gets to reach depths of almost 4 m. (t. 38). In the bottom of the pit the funeral chamber opens towards the west. This chamber is the same length as the pit and approximately half its length in width. The funeral chamber is separated from the pit by a mud-brick wall. This type of burial is to be found in the north-west half of the cemetery.

*Type 2* shows no indication of any tumulus. It has smaller dimensions (2 m. in depth), but otherwise has the same characteristics, and is to be found in the eastern part of the cemetery.

*Type 3* has a tumulus and is characterized by a ramp in the upper part of the pit, the east wall of which is stepped. This type is to be found in the south-western part of the cemetery.

Related to *Type 3*, but differentiated because it lacks a tumulus and is markedly smaller, we have *Type 4*, which is to be found in the south-east.

In the few burials found intact, the body could be observed lying on its left side, with the legs slightly bent, the head towards the south, covered with woollen cloths—sometimes well-preserved—yellow and brown in colour with polychrome decorations. The dead show extraordinarily varied anthropological characteristics, but with well-built types predominating.

*Pottery*. The vases, both hand- and wheel-made, appear near the head (in the south) and near the legs (north). The hand-made pottery is called ‘A’ type and consists of necked globular vessels corresponding to Kirwan’s shapes 17, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27, sometimes with slip and small decorative motifs stamped or incised. Among the wheel-made pottery we frequently found ovoid necked vases corresponding to shapes 19, 20 and 21, necked globular vessels, pots of shape 22 and the ‘Kadush’ type of shape 14. Other vases are typical amphorae, jars, oinochoes, small jars, aryballos, bowls, etc. clearly derived from classical greco-roman shapes. Certain ceramics appear painted with vegetable and geometrical shapes. A sort of light terra sigillata is also present. Two painted Meroitic vases and pharaonic grave goods (xixth Dynasty?) differ from the main cultural ensemble.

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¹ The *Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustal*, by W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan. Mr Kirwan’s study of Pottery.
KUSH

*Other objects* are reduced to cloths, ornaments (scarabs and beads), the so-called ‘archers' looses’, metallic objects (arms, nails, trinkets, iron and copper) and leather objects (scabbards, belts, shoes ...).

The scarabs show a marked deterioration in their style. More than 150 different types of beads (vitreous paste, bone, metal and other materials) represent the ornaments.

From all this archaeological data, the cemetery shows a period of use of more than 500 years. The south-eastern part is indubitably more primitive. There the pharaonic burials were found, number 75 being apparently of the xixth Dynasty and number 54 was similar. Among the Type 4 burials located towards the south-east, numbers 58 and 78A would belong to the late Meroitic, and the rest would belong to the beginning of the X-Group. Those of Type 3, located towards the south-west would be from the early X-Group. Those of Types 2 and 3, located respectively in the north-east and north-west, would correspond to the middle period of the X-Group and its final phase. This cemetery ceased to be used with the conversion of Nubia to Christianity.

(d) **MEROITIC CEMETERY OF NAG SHAYEG (MAN)**

It is situated at Argin in the Nag Shayeg district and on the desert border (Figs. 1 and 2). Two hundred and twenty tombs were excavated which correspond to the groups named by Griffith: *2* (1) 'cave graves'; (2) 'lateral niche graves'; (3) 'foot niche graves' and (4) 'rectangular graves', and are orientated from east to west. Brick mastabas were noted as superstructures on two graves (Fig. 3).

Many tombs were found undisturbed and from these one can study the position of the, generally well-mummified, corpses which were orientated towards the west, and other details.

Among the grave goods there were globular ceramic vases with neck (bottles) generally decorated with plant and animal subjects, cylindrical vases and others showing Hellenic influence such as lekitos, ointment jars, amphorae, jugs, etc. (Fig. 4, PLATE XLII, a).

There was also black hand-made ceramic with incised geometrical designs of the archaic type. Although not frequent vases of bronze, silver and silver gilt, fayence and clay and glass lamps were found.

The Ba-statuettes, representatives of the spirits of the dead, are interesting. Other materials are iron and bronze anklets found on the ankles of the corpses, (PLATE XLII, b), many necklaces, earrings, coffins, sticks, kohl cases, sandals and other objects of daily use.

From the structure of the tombs and from the archaeological material found in them, it seems that this cemetery lasted from the Ptolemaic epoch until the 3rd century A.D.

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During the month of April 1962 Dr Pellicer assisted by Mrs Lucas de Viñas and by Mr Viñas explored the whole Spanish concession of Argin, an area of 12 km.² (FIG. 1).

(e) CEMETERY OF NAG EL ARAB (NAX)

This cemetery was already known and defined as X-Group. There are a large number of tombs in an area 650 m. from north to south and 100 m. from east to west. It is situated at the Northern border of our concession and only 24 graves were excavated, all of them revealing characteristic material (FIGS. 1 and 5).
Fig. 3. TYPES OF GRAVES FROM THE MEROITIC CEMETERY (MAN)
Fig. 4. POTTERY FROM THE MEROITIC CEMETERY (MAN)
Fig. 5. GRAVE TYPES AND LAMPS FROM THE CEMETERIES (NAX AND PA-5)
It was observed that this cemetery is not uniform. The west zone consists of the early X-Group with Meroitic influences. The east and south parts belong to the whole X-Group, while the central part consists of many Christian graves.

There were many very interesting finds since this was a cemetery which lasted for a long time, complex and not plundered very much.

(f) Christian Cemetery of Nag Hileiwe (PA-5)

This was located in the survey and partly excavated. The cemetery consists of some 30 box graves with a rectangular top of stones or mud as in the superstructure for tombs of the 'cave graves' type or 'lateral niche graves' (FIG. 5).

The only finds were some lamps of the usual Christian types, dating from the 7th century a.d. (FIGS. 5, nos. 4 and 6).

The corpses were lying stretched out and orientated towards the west. This Christian cemetery extends between the tombs of the X-Group which run from north to south in Argin. Many of the graves were excavated.

(g) Cemetery of Skuwasherki

This cemetery was located during the survey and excavated by Dr Pellicer assisted by Mrs Lucas de Viñas. It is situated next to the mosque in the centre of Argin and consists of 18 pit-graves, orientated from east to west, several of which were undisturbed. The corpses were lying stretched out and orientated towards the west.

There were found as household furniture typical pharaonic vases of red polished ceramic and some of clear substance, with painted designs of geometrical and circular subjects, many and varied necklaces and two scarabs.

(h) The Desert Survey

During the desert survey carried out in the area behind Nag Skuh, Hillet Mirmid and Hillet Salades at Argin a series of cists were located, which are built of big stones; they are extraordinarily irregular. These graves are badly destroyed and the small finds were all fragmentary.

We can state that they are tombs of the Pharaonic period, probably contemporary with the C-Group.

The material found can be reduced to hand-made earthenware bowls of polished red ware, ceramic painted with reddish circular subjects, a little fayence statuette representing Hathor suckling Horus, etc. (FIG. 6).

During the desert survey we found sporadically many prehistoric lithic materials which are all very much alike. It is a microlithic blade industry. The blades show the percussion bulb clearly. They are irregular and generally retouched on the edges or on the reverse to form scrapers.
Fig. 6. OBJECTS FROM THE DESERT SURVEY
II. EXCAVATIONS IN KASR-ICO ISLAND

Kasr-ico is a small island located in the second Cataract of the Nile about 16 km. south of Wadi-Halfa, towards the eastern bank, and is one of the islands formed by the branches of the Nile. It is more or less triangular in shape and measures about 370 m. from north to south and 61,200 m.² in area. Geologically it is formed with a basement of primary basalts and granites. Thus the island appears as a rock of black, shiny stones, with deposits of mud and sand laid down by the river. Vegetation is scarce, but there is some cultivation by the inhabitants of the neighbouring bank.

We visited it in March 1961 and found some Christian antiquities which were totally unknown in the medieval Nubian bibliography. Not even Monneret de Villard mentions them in his great work *La Nubia Medioevale*. The Spanish Archaeological Mission asked the Antiquities Service for permission, which was granted, to excavate and study the Christian remains of Kasr-ico island.

Two small Christian churches, a group of houses and the remains of a water-wheel are of archaeological interest, but no cemetery has been located.

The work began with the excavation of the north-east Church. Of this building a small chamber in the south-east corner, part of the arches, the cupola dome and two thirds of the main façade are in ruins. Previously the church had been used as a stable. During the excavations it was completely cleared of debris and a trench a metre and a half wide was dug around it going down to the base of the foundations.

The south-west Church is in an even worse state. All that is left standing is the central aisle, part of the cupola, the south-west corner and the walls to a height of 20 cm. It was filled with mud-brick and stone blocks that had collapsed. This church was completely cleared in the same way as that mentioned above. The section, façades and plan were drawn at a scale of 1:20 and a perspective was drawn of each church (FIGS. 7 and 8). The paintings were copied at natural size.

Afterwards we proceeded to examine the houses, which we had located and excavated six of them, which are called A, B, C, D, E, F. Plans and photographs were made of each as well as of the group as a whole.

The water-wheel was not excavated.

Although a special search was made, it was impossible to find the cemetery. Finally a plan of the island was made, indicating the location of the sites at a scale of 1:1000.
Fig. 7. KASR-ICO: THE NORTH-EAST CHURCH

Fig. 8. KASR-ICO: THE SOUTH-WEST CHURCH
(a) ARGIN: POTTERY FROM CEMETERY MAN

(b) ARGIN: MEROITIC ANKLETS FROM CEMETERY (MAN)

facing p. 190
(a) ABKANARTI: THE LARGE BUILDINGS

(b) ABKANARTI: LARGE BUILDING FROM THE SOUTH
(a) ABKANARTI: POTTERY KILN

(b) ABKANARTI THE ASHES OF THE KILN WITH THE CITADEL IN THE BACKGROUND
The North-east Church. It is almost square (FIG. 7 and PLATE XLIII, a), the main façade measuring 5.90 m. and its sides 6.50 m. It is built of mud bricks tempered with straw, each brick measuring $40 \times 18 \times 7$ cm. and held together with mortar of clay sand. For certain elements, such as door lintels, windows and paving, granite is used. A sort of chalk mortar was used to cover the paving, and as stucco to cover walls and inner arches upon which there were traces of paintings. There are three vaulted naves which are supported by the side walls and four central pillars which also hold up the dome. At the front the two lateral vaults end in two corner cubicles, each covered by its own small vault.

There are two lateral entrances, each with an arch at the back of the side walls. There are also small windows with arches or with architraves single or double. The dome which can be seen from the outside, has a window in each of its four sides and was covered by a semi-spheric cupola, now destroyed.

Inside little remains of the mural paintings portraying images of Christ with a nimbus, saints and a group of horsemen, all of which have badly deteriorated.

The excavation yielded very poor pottery, which has no interest, but can be dated to classical Christian times.

The South-west Church. This church is slightly the larger of the two (FIG. 8 and PLATE XLIII, b), with axis measuring $7.60 \times 7.50$ m. and it is much the more complex. The construction materials resemble those used in the north-east Church, and it has three naves. The central one ends in the cupola, but the two lateral ones are prolonged beyond it. All three are vaulted. The presbyterium and the sides of the apse are also vaulted, but crosswise. The cupola rises in the middle of it all, right in front of the presbyterium and supported by it and two pillars.

There is only one small side door to the south. The front façade is entirely enclosed by a wall. In the south-west corner there is a loft where a pottery fragment was found, with a painted inscription in Greek (†EVONOMA TI/TOY ΠΙΡΟΥΣΥΑΟΓΟΥ) together with bivalve shells which had been used to prepare and mix paints and marl. Otherwise the finds were insignificant and of little interest. The remains of painting can still be seen but they are totally destroyed.

About 100 m. north of the churches, six houses are located, all of them of similar plan. They are built with mud bricks and each rectangle measures $7 \times 5$ m. They have a main entrance room, with the remains of a fireplace, a silo or a loft, and a passage. They usually have an annexe for cattle. The houses do not form a regular unit, but are placed according to the topography, with a distance between them of some 8 or 9 m. The finds were small, just kitchen refuse and some common painted pottery fragments.
KUSH

III. EXCAVATIONS IN ABKANARTI ISLAND

This island is located at the beginning of the Second Cataract, 20 km. south of Wadi Halfa, and is joined to the east bank by an isthmus, just in front of the village of Abka.

This area is only known in the archaeological literature from Mr Myers' exploration in search of prehistoric engravings. This scholar studied and copied most of the rock engravings located in Abkanarti island.

We got the concession for these excavations in the month of February 1962 and thus at the end of the season. We worked there for only one month. This season only the first part of the exploration was undertaken. The study of all the antiquities will require a long campaign, at least during all the coming year, due to the extent and the abundance of archaeological remains that cover it.

The most interesting ancient remains of the island are:

The prehistoric rock-engravings on the basalt slopes in the eastern part of the island, mentioned above.

The walled town in the western part, just near the branch of the Nile, and above the modern village. There is a citadel or stronghold, about 10 m. higher than the lowest part of the town, in the upper part of the enclosure, overlooking the river, with a narrow passage between the citadel and the wall. This citadel is built, as are the houses of the town, from mud-brick. Only the wall is constructed in stone (FIG. 9).

Foundations and sherds scattered all over the island.

We began by excavating the two large buildings marked as churches in the existing reports. However, excavation shows that they were not churches, but big vaulted houses of later date than the fortification of the village (PLATE XLIV, a, b).

About ten houses abutting the rocks in the northern part of the town were excavated. Apparently they are of Christian date and vaulted in the Nubian manner. A lot of pottery from middle and late Christian times was retrieved (FIGS. 10 and 11).

In the middle of the village, a complex of three kilns was located and excavated, and yielded ash stratigraphy. In these kilns coarse pottery, plentiful throughout the village, and some painted pottery was fired (PLATE XLV, a, b).
Fig. 9. ABKANARTI: PLAN OF THE SITE
KUSH

Fig. 10. ABKANARTI: MISCELLANEOUS POTTERY
SPANISH EXCAVATIONS IN THE SUDAN, 1961–62

In the last days we proceeded to clear the citadel so as to make a plan of it (PLATE XLV, b).

Also an exploration was carried out in the lower part of the island, the result of which was the location of a village evidently from an earlier period, and the Christian cemetery in which two tombs were excavated but yielded no grave goods.

FIG. II. POTTERY FROM ABKANARTI
Meroitic Problems
And a Comprehensive Meroitic Bibliography

by FAWZI F. GADALLAH

As is evident from both classical literature and the modern archaeological discoveries the Meroitic kingdom constitutes an important and colourful part of the long history of the Sudan, when a new civilization flourished, after a period of fermentation, and combined elements coming from almost all directions.

Information about the Sudan is always included in Egyptian records except at times when the relations between the two lands were broken off, especially when Egypt was in a period of decline or ruled by a hostile government. After the expulsion of the Napatans from Egypt by the Assyrians the Egyptian monuments are silent as regards the south except for certain inscriptions and graffiti in the reign of Psammetik II, and it is not before the Roman times that the Sudan is mentioned again. Here our authorities are the classical writers upon whom scholars had to rely for their picture of Meroë and the Meroitic Kingdom until the recent archaeological discoveries from the Sudan itself have revealed new chapters in the history of the country. The classical authors were not always as critical as they should have been and much of what was recorded was merely hearsay. They are in conflict on many points and it is significant to find one of them—Diodorus Siculus—advising the reader not to trust their accounts of Ethiopia too implicitly because most of them seemed to him either too credulous, or else purveyors of fantasies invented as a diversion. Nevertheless, these early accounts of the Sudanese history—although far from following the modern 'historic method'—relate much which is based on a good knowledge of the country, and a number of points appear to be true in certain accounts of them. Such points would include: the description of the country in general, peoples in the Sudan in Meroitic times and their domains, Psammetik II's campaign, Cambyses' expedition, certain kings and queens of Meroë, the

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1 e.g. in the Second Intermediate and Saitic times.
3 There is slight reference in the Ptolemaic period (see Diodorus, III, 6) while the Roman invasion of Kush in 23 B.C. is the subject of much literature in classical writers (see Bibliography, A).
4 Diodorus, III, 11.
5 The description of the country and the people is furnished by all classical writers who wrote on the Sudan. 6 Herodotus, II, 161. 7 Herodotus, III, 17–24.
8 Ergamenes (Diodorus, III, 6); Kandake (Strabo, xvii, 54; Pliny, vi, 35; Dion Cassius, liv, 5).
MEROITIC PROBLEMS

position of priests, Petronius' campaign, Nero's activities in Ethiopia, a hazy picture of foreign relations, Meroitic religion, and some other matters of minor importance.

Since the beginning of the last century Ethiopia of the classical writers, the land of gods and marvellous people with incredible customs, has held a strong fascination for different generations of travellers and explorers from Europe whose lively curiosity has fathered what can be called Sudanology today. Indeed we should give the classical writers the credit for having stimulated the interest of these travellers to see the capital city of Meroë and the Meroitic remains. The works of these forerunners in the field proved to be of irreplaceable value to the archaeology and history of the Meroitic Kingdom. Their description, plans, drawings and squeezes are the only record of much that has been destroyed or has now disappeared entirely, and in many cases modern excavators have to proceed in the light of their descriptions and plans.

Since the beginning of this century there have been the earnest efforts of numerous digging expeditions to disclose the hidden records of the past. Since the 'Archaeological Survey of Nubia', the 'Archaeological Survey of Egypt', the 'Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition (University of Pennsylvania)', the 'Wellcome Excavations', the 'Harvard–Boston Expedition', the 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', 'The Liverpool University Institute of Archaeology Expedition'—all in the first third of our century—Sudanese archaeology has shown to how great an extent the documents discovered can clarify and add to the history of the country. And the last three decades have witnessed many discoveries which have revealed new chapters that rendered others obsolete. But before going any further it should be pointed out that there is still much missing and many gaps still to be filled, and it is partly the purpose of this article to provide a general survey of the salient problems of Meroitic history.

9 Diodorus, III, 6; Strabo, xvii, 2, 1–3.
10 See Bibliography, A.
11 See ibid.
12 E.g. Psammetik II's campaign (n. 6 above); Cambyses' expedition (n. 7 above); The relations with the Ptolemies in the time of Ergamenes (Diodorus, III, 6); The invasion of Upper Egypt by the Meroites and the subsequent expedition of Petronius in 23 B.C. (see Bibliography, A); Nero's mission (see ibid.).
13 E.g. Herodotus, II, 29; Diodorus, III, 9; Strabo, xvii, 2–3.
14 See Bibliography, B.
15 The squeezes, sketches and drawings of Lepsius, for example, have been of the utmost value to modern Sudanese archaeology. The drawings sometimes complete each other as the drawings of the various missions were made at different times. Thus certain drawings in Lepsius' Denkmäler could be restored from the Bankes MSS which were drawn twenty years earlier. See Dunham and Chapman, RCK, iii, p. i f.; Macadam, 'Gleanings from the Bankes MSS', JEA, xxxii, p. 57 ff.; Linant de Bellefond, Journal. . . ., p. xii.
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In the light of the material now available a possible outline of the history of the Meroitic Kingdom might run as follows:

1. Kush prior to the transfer of the capital when Meroë was a provincial city.
2. The transfer of the capital from Napata to Meroë: conditions that led to the transfer and the possible date of the rise of Meroë as the royal residence and the seat of government.
3. History of Meroë under the different Dynasties as far as the available data can allow a reconstruction of chronological order and relationships as well as the material culture of the kingdom. The position of Napata in the different Meroitic periods.
4. Meroitic foreign relations with: the successive rules in Egypt (the Saites, the Achaemenians, the Ptolemies and the Romans); the African marauders (e.g., the Rehrehs, the Medja); Axum; and India.
5. The decline and fall of Meroë: the Noba; the Blemmyes; the Nobatae; the Axumites.
6. Meroitic language and scripts and the present state of Meroitic studies.
7. Meroitic civilization: trade and trade routes, Meroitic art and influences from abroad.
8. Meroitic religion.

Inside this framework, constructed within the limits of the material at present available, a number of historical problems emerge. The most important of them will be sketched below, but it should be noted that no fully critical discussion will be attempted here.

To start with, we do not know the earlier history of the city of Meroë before it became the administrative capital. Unlike Napata, whose history can be traced back to the Egyptian New Kingdom, Meroë is first mentioned when it seems to have already become the seat of power. Before this its history is shrouded in mystery except that it had been a southern resort of the royal family from the time of Piankh. There is no clue in the literary evidence of the Napatan period to its previous development as a provincial city or of its economic, commercial and political advantages which may have stimulated its growth.

In view of this, the conditions that led to the rise of Meroë have had to be interpreted from the Meroitic scene itself. Thus, from the economic point of view, the extensive Island of Meroë lies within an area of geographical conditions

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16 The earliest known literary reference to Meroë is in the Great Inscription of King Aman-Nete-Yerike, 431–405 B.C. (according to Hintze, Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie).

17 Reisner found in the South and West Cemeteries of Meroë tombs corresponding to those of the Napatan series as early as Piankh, SNR, v, p. 18, and JEA, ix, pp. 36–7. See also Dunham, SNR, xxviii, pp. 3–4; Macadam, Kawa, i, p. 54 and Kawa, ii, p. 17; n. Cf. Dunham, AJA, i, p. 386.
more favourable for agriculture and grazing. Moreover, this area is economically self-supporting, unlike that of Napata, which could hardly survive if it were to lose its political and military control over the trade with Egypt and the roads to the gold-mines. More important was the large iron-smelting industry of Meroë supported by a plentiful supply of timber as fuel which was lacking in the arid Napatan region. From the commercial point of view, although Napata was more advantageously situated as far as the Egyptian trade is concerned, Meroë was in a better position for communication in almost all other directions. Beside the river as a moving road to the north and south, there are established routes from Meroë to the Atbara and to the Red Sea, and Meroë also commands the shortest routes to the sources of wealth in central and southern Sudan. Politically, the southern position of Meroë was more remote from Egyptian military power. It may well have been an Egyptian invasion which brought about the removal of the capital from Napata and the final choice of Meroë. This raises the difficult question of the date of this transfer.

In his 'Chronological Outline' Reisner assumes a correlation between the rise of Meroë as a capital and the shift of royal burials to the South Cemetery at Bagrawiyah after their cessation at the royal cemetery at Nuri in 308 B.C. However, Reisner himself states in the same place that the exhaustion of the pyramid sites at Nuri was the reason for this shift of burials. Reisner's view has been discredited by both literary and archaeological evidence. Herodotus about the middle of the 5th century B.C. states that Meroë was the capital of Ethiopia and Aman-Nete-Yerike (431-405 B.C.) mentions Meroë as his royal residence, while Hersiyotef (404-396 B.C.) records that the royal palace at Napata was so much sanded up that ingress was no longer possible. Dunham does not agree with Reisner that the transfer marks a shift in power from Napata to Meroë. He claims that the ruling class was divided into two clans or families, one at Napata and the other at Meroë and that the change in the relative importance of each of them was gradual until eventually Meroë became officially the capital in 538, after the death of King Malenaqen. His evidence is the clear decrease in the average number of queens buried at Napata (El Kurru and Nuri) after Malenaqen's death. In his view this is because the rest of the queens were buried at Meroë. He explains this change by the assumption that Meroë had by this time become the political capital, and that the kings therefore had now to take queens from Meroë as well as from Napata.

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18 JEA, IX, p. 34. This date is 337 B.C. according to Dunham, RCK, IV, and 315 B.C. according to Hintze, Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie.
19 Herodotus, II, 29.
21 Harsiyotef Stela, see Bibliography 2.
22 Should be now 542 B.C. according to Dunham himself, RCK, IV; also Hintze, Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie.
23 Dunham, AJA, I, pp. 386-7; SNR, XXVIII, pp. 5-9.
Wainwright cites evidence from classical literature in support of Dunham’s theory and points out that in the time of Cambyses’ campaign against Kush the capital was at Meroë.²⁴

In an interesting article Smith²⁵ refutes all these views as they depend on inconclusive evidence. He does not give a fixed date for the transfer, for lack of evidence, but he postulates that it might have taken place between 550 B.C. (the end of Napata’s most flourishing period according to Griffith)²⁶ and c. 450 B.C., the time when Herodotus wrote his account.

Macadam in his recent publication Kawa II restores ... rew ... the residence of the Kushite king in the Tanis account of Psammetik II’s invasion of Kush, to Meroë,²⁷ and is inclined to maintain that King Aspelta (c. 598–593 B.C.) lived at Meroë as, indeed, his name is found there.²⁸ Macadam suggests that the site reached by Psammetik’s mercenaries at Kerkis is to be identified with Kurgus, about 50 miles south of Abu Hamad. This site would be much more easily explicable if Aspelta’s army was based upon Meroë rather than Napata.²⁹

Arkell, although he states that the residence of the Kushite King at the time of the campaign might already have been Meroë, also asserts in the same place that Psammetik’s expedition ‘must have caused the transfer which took place in the time of Aspelta’.³⁰

Thus opinion concerning the date when Meroë arose as a political capital differs among the scholars. It seems however likely that, although the shift was certainly gradual, it must have taken place at the earliest possible date after the loss of Egypt. It is difficult to imagine Napata remaining for long the seat of power after having been deprived of its main source of power and prosperity, with its poor land badly affected by serious overgrazing,³¹ and its vulnerability to the military menace from Egypt. Nevertheless, this problem of dating is perhaps the most difficult in the whole story as will soon be clear from the problem of Meroitic chronology which we will now deal with.

Between 1916 and 1926 Reisner excavated the royal cemeteries of Kush both in Napata and Meroë in his own remarkable way and with the most distinguished results. In 1918, on the evidence he had obtained, Reisner began to work out a chronology of the royal house,³² and in 1923 he published his ‘Chronological Outline’ in which he fully discussed his evidence and gave a list

²⁶ On the evidence from Sanam, *LAAA*, ix, p. 76.
³² Reisner discussed the chronology of the Napatan Kingdom in *HAS*, ii, pp. 1–64; *MFAB*, nos. 97 and 112. In 1922 he gave a chronological sketch for the Meroitic Kingdom in *SNR*, v, pp. 180–96.
of the kings of Meroë in chronological order with the length of their reigns.\textsuperscript{33} As for the chronological relation between the pyramids of Barkal and Bagrawiyah, Reisner believes that the two groups of pyramids at Barkal represented two independent kingdoms at Napata in Meroitic times, which he calls the First and the Second Meroitic Dynasties of Napata. He notes that immediately after Nastasen’s reign Kush split into two kingdoms to be reunited by Ergamenes, which were later to be separated again on the death of the last great king of Meroë (Beg. N. 13) and were ultimately reunited under Amanishahkte or Natakamani as a result of the ravaging of the Northern Kingdom by Petronius in 23 b.c.\textsuperscript{34} Dunham, Reisner’s collaborator, in his earlier publications follows this view and finds in it a support of his two-family or rival-clan theory alluded to above.\textsuperscript{35}

From the evidence he found at Kawa and elsewhere Macadam casts doubt upon Reisner’s two Meroitic Kingdoms of Napata. He showed that during the First Kingdom of Napata there were kings buried at Meroë (e.g. Amanislo and Kalkai) who exerted influence in both Meroë and Napata at a time when according to Reisner a rival dynasty was ruling at Napata.\textsuperscript{36} Macadam conceives it as possible that the Barkal Cemetery was a new Napatan Cemetery begun after the exhaustion of all available space at Nuri, and that at this Barkal Cemetery kings who still ruled as before from Meroë were being buried, as had been the custom in much earlier times at Nuri ‘for the idea that rulers should be buried at Meroë was a new one and the process was probably gradual’.\textsuperscript{37} Macadam admits that this view may raise chronological difficulties, as a larger number of reigns would have to be fitted into the time available; but he draws attention to the fact that there are no positive chronological ‘fixes’ between Tanwetamani (c. 663 b.c.) and Ergamenes (c. 225 b.c.).\textsuperscript{38} As for the Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata, there are a number of important reigns (e.g., Tanyidamani, Teriteqas, Amanirenas and Akinidad) which were not included by Reisner in his chronology of the Meroitic Kingdom of this period. But since these Kings left us their names in both Meroë and Napata, they too cannot belong to this second independent Kingdom and it is unlikely that they have been buried in the small uninscribed pyramids which are the only possible site for their graves at Barkal. According to Reisner the Roman invasion of Kush by Petronius in 23 b.c. falls in this period. As he was convinced that there were two kingdoms, a northern and a southern, he considers the queen at the time of the invasion to have been a northern one and assigns to her one of the smallest and poorest pyramids at Barkal (Bar. 10).\textsuperscript{39} He accounts for this inadequacy by the damage presumably

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{JEA}, ix, pp. 33–77, and additional note, ibid., pp. 157–60.\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., pp. 66–7. \textsuperscript{36} Kawa, i, pp. 74–5; Kawa, ii, pp. 19–20. Kalkai Kaltaly of Beg. S. X is Griffith’s Barthe (\textit{JEA}, iii, p. 114). In Dunham’s and Hintze’s lists the name Barthe is retained. \textsuperscript{35} Idem. \textsuperscript{37} Kawa, ii, p. 20. \textsuperscript{38} Idem. \textsuperscript{39} \textit{JEA}, ix, pp. 73–4.
inflicted by Petronius during the raid. Reisner states that the Meroitic Queen contemporary with this Napatan Queen was Amanishakhete of Meroë Beg. N. 6. On the other hand Macadam, following Griffith, takes Queen Amanirenas (who is accompanied in her earlier inscriptions by her husband Teriteqas and in all cases by her son Akinidad) as the queen at the time of the Roman invasion. Macadam gives evidence from Kawa that Amanirenas, or at least her son Akinidad was a contemporary of Queen Amanishakhete. Also on palaeographical evidence a King Tanyidamani whose name was found at both Meroë and Napata, seems to belong to this period. As mentioned above Reisner was unable to place Tanyidamani, Teriteqas, Amanirenas and Akinidad in his chronological scheme because he did not identify their tombs. Macadam sees in the monuments of these rulers enough evidence for placing them immediately before Amanishakhete in the list and suggests that this evidence raises the suspicion that the reconstructed chronology of this Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata (as was the case with the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata) may have to be reconsidered.

In his recent publication RCK, iv, it seems as if Dunham responded to Macadam’s suggestion. In his discussion of ‘Chronology,’ he appears to support Macadam’s view, to some extent at least. He takes Aspetla as being alive at the time of Psammetik’s invasion of Kush in 591 B.C. and revises Reisner’s ‘fixes’ of Ergamenes and Teqerideamani, placing the former at c. 248-220 B.C. and the latter at A.D. 246-266. He partly follows Macadam in doubting the existence of Reisner’s rival Kingdoms of Napata. He finds it more reasonable that the old tradition of royal burial at Napata dwindled only gradually, that the practice of royal burial after the last one at Nuri was shifted to Barkal for one generation (King Arnekhamani: Bar. 11), that there was then a split, as Reisner believed, into a Napatan and Meroitic Kingdom represented by two contemporary groups for four reigns, and that thereafter a single line of rulers controlled the whole country, burying for the most part in the North Cemetery at Meroë, but with occasional burial at Barkal in the period between Beg. N. 21 and Natakamani. Thus Dunham accepts the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata (of the first Barkal group of pyramids) but rejects the Second one and embodies in Reisner’s main sequence at Meroë the five reigns of the second Barkal group of pyramids representing Reisner’s rulers of his Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata. In his sequence Dunham inserts the names of the important reigns suggested by Macadam of Tanyidamani, Amanirenas, Akinidad, etc. But he does not use Macadam’s evidence from Kawa which would make Amanirenas the queen at the time of the Roman invasion. On

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the contrary he places her and her son at an earlier date (99–68 B.C.) \(^{51}\) and considers Amanishakhte as the queen at the time of the invasion, perhaps because this latter queen has a specific pyramid (the second largest one) at Meroë. \(^{52}\)

In 1959 Hintze wrote his *Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie* \(^{53}\) in which he examines carefully the subject once more and discusses the results achieved by Macadam and Dunham. He divides his chronological scheme into three periods: (1) From Aspelta to Ergamenes; (2) From Tabirqa to Tequerideamani, and (3) From Tequerideamani to the end of the Meroitic Kingdom. His landmarks are Dunham’s fixes (Aspelta, Ergamenes and Tequerideamani) for whom he retains Dunham’s dates. For the first period Hintze draws attention to the fact that the relationship between Napata (Barkal) and Meroë has been very little clarified. \(^{54}\) Hintze, like Dunham, believes that the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata did in fact exist. The existence of Amanislo’s (Beg. S. 5) inscription at Barkal does not in his view justify a denial of the partition nor does it indicate a break in the succession of the rulers of the First Kingdom of Napata, as the relation between the two capitals was neither hostile nor rival in any sense. \(^{55}\) Hintze assigns five names found at Kawa (not four as Dunham does, see above) to the five Barkal pyramids of this period. \(^{56}\) Beginning with Arnekhamani and adopting a different order from Dunham, he gives a list of Kings of the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata (Barkal) with their dates and reign-lengths. \(^{57}\) He then gives a modified chronological reign list of the Meroitic Kingdom for the kings between Aspelta (10) and Ergamenes (33). \(^{58}\)

Hintze disagrees with Dunham’s refusal to recognize the Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata and he disapproves of Dunham’s addition of these rulers of this Napatan Kingdom to the main sequence of Meroë. Hintze asserts that just as during the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata here also in the Second Kingdom there were friendly relations between Napata and Meroë. They were not rivals, there was mutual recognition of titles and rights of sovereigns between the two, and the partition perhaps took place for purely dynastic reasons. \(^{59}\) Dunham, on evidence which seems insufficient denies that Amanirenas was queen at the time of the Roman invasion and suggests for this date Queen Amanishakhte, as already noted. Dunham goes further and places Amanirenas and her son Akinidad within the range 99–56 B.C. But Hintze is quite convinced that Amanirenas was the ruling queen of the Kingdom of Meroë at the time of the Roman invasion, and bases this view on the studies of Griffith, Monneret de Villard and Vogliano. \(^{60}\) As Macadam called attention to the fact that Amanirenas cannot have preceded Amanishakhte by a very long time, Hintze

\(^{51}\) Nos. 41, 42 in his list, p. 7.
\(^{52}\) Dunham, ibid., p. 4; Reisner, *JEA*, ix, p. 74.
\(^{53}\) Hintze, *Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie*.
\(^{54}\) Ibid., p. 22. \(^{55}\) Ibid., p. 23. \(^{56}\) Idem.
\(^{57}\) Idem.
\(^{58}\) Ibid., pp. 23–4. \(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 24. \(^{60}\) Ibid., p. 25.
asserts that Amanishakhte of Meroë was the contemporary of Amanirenas of Napata and refers to evidence suggesting that Amanishakhte had some connexion with the Roman campaign. Hintze then reconstructs events at the time of the campaign in which his main characters are: Teriteqas, Amanirenas, Akinidad and Amanishakhte. Teriteqas, Amanirenas and Akinidad went to Dakkah to prepare for the struggle. King Teriteqas died and Akinidad led the campaign. Amanirenas died and Akinidad reigned a little longer and built together with Amanishakhte in temple T at Kawa. Peaceful relations with the Romans were then resumed. Hintze then gives his chronological list of the Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata (the second Barkal group of pyramids) beginning with Queen Naldamak (Bar. 6, the only pyramid with well preserved inscriptions) whom Dunham inserts much later in his Meroitic list. Queen Naldamak is followed by Teriteqas, Amanirenas, Akinidad and another queen. From the evidence available Hintze takes it as certain that relations with the Romans continued during the whole period of the Meroitic Kingdom. He takes the Latin inscription from Musawwarat es-Sufrā as authentic. He considers that its 'Domina Regina' is certainly a queen of Meroë and that it possibly records a Meroitic embassy to Augustus. Hintze also mentions the last recorded embassy to the Romans in the reign of Teqerideamani. In the final period (after Teqerideamani, the last 'fix', A.D. 246–266), Hintze mentions the Meroitic mission under the command of Lakhidamani mother of King Maleqerebar, which took gifts to Isis and Osiris of Philae and Bigge, and places it, on palaeographical grounds, after A.D. 200. He fills in the gaps in this final period as best he can with such names as are found in the late Meroitic inscriptions. From the evidence of 'Ezana's Inscription and also of the fragmentary Greek inscription found at Meroë, he follows Monneret de Villard in maintaining that the Kingdom of Meroë was overthrown at the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century A.D. by an Axumite expedition earlier than that of 'Ezana. Hintze takes A.D. 320, all in all, as an acceptable date for the end of Meroë and accordingly he makes the last king reign from A.D. 308–320, unlike Dunham who places the last reign between A.D. 326 and A.D. 339.

One further most significant point remains. After having carefully and critically studied the problem in his Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie Hintze had in less than two years to reconsider a whole section of his Meroitic chronology. On further evidence from his very recent excavation at Musawwarat

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63 Reisner, JEA, ix, pp. 62. 64 Hintze, op. cit., p. 27.
65 Ibid., p. 29. Shinnicr, however, casts doubt on the Roman origin of this inscription, Kush ix, pp. 284–6.
66 Hintze, op. cit., p. 29. 67 Ibid., p. 32. 68 Idem.
69 Ibid., pp. 30–1.
70 Ibid., see his list of the Meroitic Kingdom from Tabirqa to the end of the Kingdom on p. 33.
71 Dunham, RCK, iv, p. 7.
es-Sufra he had to make important changes and modifications in the order and
dates of the kings from the twenty-fourth to the thirty-seventh reign in his
list. 72  He found that the Lion Temple at Musawwarat was built by King
Arnekhamani whose reign he considers in his Studien (differing from Dunham)
to be the first reign in the First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata from 395–295 B.C.
But since Arnekhamani undertook building at Musawwarat he could never have
been a king of that independent Northern Kingdom.  On palaeographical and
philological grounds he moves Arnekhamani eighty years later and makes his
date 235–218 B.C. and includes him among the Meroitic Kings contemporary
with the early Ptolemaic period. 73  Hintze notes in the same place that his
detailed discussion of chronological problems, and his arguments in support of
his new dates are dealt with in another work (as yet unpublished). 74  It appears
that Meroitic chronology will remain for a long time subject to changes and
modifications whenever new evidence appears.

We now proceed to one further important problem. When did the King-
dom fall and what elements of decline paved the way for this eventual fall? Since ‘Ezana’s inscription was first published by Littmann in 1913 75  it was held
that the fall took place about the middle of the 4th century A.D. until Monneret de
Villard put forward the idea that the fall must have been at a rather earlier date. 76
Shinnie, 77 following Monneret de Villard, makes a study of the evidence available:
a small fragmentary Greek inscription found at Meroë; the famous ‘Ezana’s
Stela from Axum; the archaeological evidence from the excavations of Garstang
and Reisner at Meroë; and the excavations of the Sudan Antiquities Service at
Tanqasi and Ushara. This evidence shows that there had been an earlier
Axumite raid on Meroë, that ‘Ezana had been King of Kasu (Kush), and that
‘Ezana before his invasion had put down a revolt by the Black Noba who had
oppressed the Meroites and were in possession of the Island of Meroë. From
his study of the archaeological evidence of Garstang’s excavations Shinnie
could not determine any approximate date for the fall of Meroë. He concludes
that at some time between about A.D. 250 (about the date of the last Meroitic
embassy to the Romans) and A.D. 350 Meroë was decaying and the black Noba
were infiltrating until its final destruction in A.D. 350. 78  Shinnie relates the
black Noba to the Noba of his excavations at Tanqasi and assumes that both
were the precursors of the X-Group. 79

KUSH x, pp. 177–8. 73 Idem.
74 Die Inschriften des Loewentempels von Musawwarat es-Sufra, ‘Abhandlungen der
Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Sprach, Literatur und Kunst’.
75 Littman, Deutsche–Aksum Expedition, 4 vols., Berlin, 1913 (the text here is in
vol. 4, no. 11). A recent translation is found in Littmann’s Äthiopische Inschriften,
see Bibliography, 3. 76 Storia della Nubia Cristiana, p. 37.
77 Kush iii, pp. 82–5. 78 Ibid., pp. 84–5. 79 Ibid., p. 85; Kush ii, p. 85.
Kirwan makes a clear distinction between the Noba and the X-Group or the Nobadac. In his view, though probably at different times, were the successors of the Meroitic Kingdom in its northern and southern provinces. Due to the Axumite invasion, the Black Noba might have migrated northwards and ravaged and set fire to the temples of Kawa. There is some evidence that the 3rd or 4th century A.D. saw the end of many of the once-populous Meroitic sites in the north and this could have been caused by the displacement of the Black Noba due to the onset of the Axumites. Kirwan accepts Hintze's date for the last King of Meroë, A.D. 308–320 (see above) and puts the arrival of 'Ezana at A.D. 325.

Now it is evident that the end came as a result of the coming of the Black Noba who achieved control over the Kingdom, and the subjection of the Black Noba by the Axumites in a series of raids culminating in 'Ezana's invasion. But it seems that these two decisive events were no more than two final blows that caused the collapse of a weak and impoverished kingdom; and certainly these two final blows had had their forerunners which helped to make them decisive. History is full of instances where the infiltration of a less civilized people causes the eventual downfall of a prosperous and flourishing civilization and no doubt this was the part played by the primitive Black Noba. Also, as regards the Axumites, there is some evidence that the Butana had witnessed their raids since the 1st century A.D. But beside these two obvious factors for the decline and fall of the Kingdom there are other underlying elements that can be inferred from the general position of the Kingdom in its last centuries. Roman Egypt was quite distracted with economic decline and military unrest which resulted in a serious decline in the importance of the Nile Valley as a trade route, and it is hardly likely that the Meroites could find a satisfactory alternative in the eastern trade, via the Red Sea. In A.D. 297, due to constant rebellions in the south and the raids of the Blemmyes on the southern Roman frontier, Diocletian withdrew the Roman frontier from Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqah) to the 1st Cataract. This certainly implied a damaging isolation of the Meroitic Kingdom from its manifold interests in the north. Moreover the northern Meroitic territory was doubtless exposed thereby to the penetration of the Blemmyes and other nomadic marauders who were no longer checked by the Roman power to the north. Also, we should not ignore the climatic element; there are indications that the water supply was becoming an increasing problem.

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80 KUSH v, pp. 37–41. 81 Ibid., p. 41.
82 Kirwan, Kawa, ii, pp. 235–6. Arkell, however, in his review of Kawa, ii (JEA, xli (1956), p. 127 ff) does not agree with Kirwan that the fire was caused by the Black Noba displaced north by the invading Axumites and speculates whether religious fanaticism was the cause (p. 128).
83 Kirwan, ibid., p. 235. 84 KUSH viii, p. 172.
85 Kirwan, ibid., p. 171.
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as the annual rainfall became less reliable.\textsuperscript{87} Quite possibly too, as was the case with the Napatan Kingdom earlier, Meroitic territory may have suffered from serious overgrazing by the large flocks and herds of earlier and more prosperous times.\textsuperscript{88}

A number of other Meroitic problems remain to be solved or clarified, not least among them are those of the Meroitic language and of the origins and development of Meroitic religion and art. Although many rich details and factual data have been furnished by the works of brilliant excavators, these are still insufficient for a clear and satisfactory reconstruction of the complete history of a Kingdom renowned since the classical ages. However, much is anticipated from the excavations now in progress in the Sudan today.

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Musawwarat es Sufra


by Fritz Hintze

The third season of excavations at Musawwarat es Sufra was carried out from 16 December 1961 to 19 February 1962. Cand. Phil. Walter F. Reineke acted as an assistant, but apart from this the personnel of the expedition was the same as that for the two previous seasons. One hundred and forty labourers were employed during the excavations.

The aim of the third season’s work was to bring the excavations on the eastern side of the Wadi (Districts II and III) to a close and, as far as possible, to establish the stratigraphical connexion between the respective structures in District II.

I. Lion Temple (II C)

The construction of the foundations was examined with the aid of several test pits. The foundation trench is comparatively shallow (depth roughly 20 cm.) and the size of the foundation blocks, which also form the first course of the standing wall, is not particularly large. The portion of the blocks lying within the trench is untrimmed (Fig. 1). No foundation deposits were found.

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1 Translated into English by Dr H. P. T. Hyde (Berlin).
3 Following this we started our work in Nubia (rock pictures and inscriptions) from 27 February to 29 March 1962, vide the report pp. 93–5 above.
4 Compare the topographic sketch in Kush x, p. 172, fig. 1; WZHU, xi, p. 442, Abb. 1.
5 For reasons of safety, however, it was not possible to excavate immediately below the walls.
KUSH

The upper parts of the column drums (i.e. those with reliefs) were lifted off and deposited outside the temple. This proved to be necessary because the lower parts of the column drums, at the level of the blown sand, had disintegrated considerably, due to the amount of moisture in the soil. The earth block⁶ round column 3 could then be removed. In the course of its removal a faience statuette of a small lion couchant was found, unfortunately in a highly disintegrated state. The photographic recording of the inside reliefs has been completed⁷ and I now wish to draw attention to a few scenes of particular interest among them.

Fig. 1. LION TEMPLE; FOUNDATIONS (NORTH PYLON)

The representation on the inside of the southern pylon [Scene (1)] is incomplete as new blocks were used here during restoration work and the reliefs were never finished.⁸ It is worth noting the representation of three prisoners being handed over(?) to the king by a god who is standing on top of an elephant. In the central prisoner, the Beja type is again depicted in a typical manner (PLATE XLVI, a).⁹ On the southern wall three [(2), (3), (4)], and on the northern wall four scenes [(10), (11), (12), (13)] are represented which show the king alone [(3), (4), (10), (12), (13)], or accompanied [(2), (11)] in front of various gods and goddesses.¹⁰ In two scenes Apedemak is certainly shown: in scene (2) standing

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⁶ Vide Kush x, p. 177, n. 16; WZHU, xi, p. 444, n. 15.
⁸ Compare with this Kush x, p. 176; Inschriften, pp. 9–10; WZHU, xi, p. 446.
⁹ Compare Inschriften, p. 12, taf. x.
¹⁰ They were published by Lepsius, in as far as they were visible at that time: LD, v, 73a, 73b.
with a bow and arrow in his hand, leading a lion on a leash; in scene (11) seated on a throne, below which a lion is crouching, Apedemak is seen holding a bow and quiver in his hand. In contrast to the representations on the outside of the walls, in these scenes the king is not accompanied by the prince alone. In scene (2) five people are standing in front of Apedemak: 1. a man without sandals; 2. a smaller man without sandals on a higher level (the prince); 3. the king with sandals and sceptre; 4. and 5. two women with anklets and sandals. It remains doubtful whether the first figure represents a further member of the royal family or a priest. In scene (11) the prince is standing in front of the king, on a higher level, and behind the king there is a very small male figure, on an even higher level (another of the king’s sons?).

The representations of cattle on the friezes of the side walls\[11\] are very vivid and naturalistic. One scene merits special notice (14.8). A cow is covered with a large cloth, held by two men in such a way as to show only the head, feet and back. Behind the cloth, there is a third man who is helping to hold the cloth and in front of the hind legs of the cow, which are tied together, there appears to be a bent foot (or a knee) protruding from below the cloth. In front of the cow stands a man blowing a trumpet (plate xlvi, b). We may possibly have here the representation of some action (drinking from the udder of the cow?) which is hidden from onlookers by the cloth.

A trench was dug from the Lion Temple to the Hafir (Trench A) and another (Trench B) from the Lion Temple to the region of Temple II A (fig. 2)\[12\] and from the evidence so obtained, it transpired, among other things, that the enclosure wall of the Lion Temple is of a later date than the Hafir. This is most clearly visible in Trench A (fig. 3).\[13\] Behind the bank, piled up during the construction of the Hafir, a dune of sand had been deposited which, in this area, is mixed with layers of gravel washed down by rain. It was upon this dune of sand that the enclosure wall had been constructed. Behind the wall, at a later date, yet another dune was formed. After the space between the bank of the Hafir and the wall had been completely filled in, the gravel was washed over the wall (or what was left of it) and the dune behind it. The relationship between the temple and the enclosure wall could not be clarified stratigraphically as the layers of blown sand and gravel run out towards the temple. Yet taking

\[11\] The friezes are 48 cm. high. Thirteen cows and two bulls are represented on each wall. Only the cows have bells.—A Coptic painting on pottery from Hermopolis shows a bull wearing a bell: G. Roeder, ‘Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition 1935’, MDAIK, vol. 7, 1937, 49, Abb. 9.

\[12\] Throughout the trenches were 2 m. wide and, on principle, they were carried down to the virgin soil. At times it was difficult to obtain clear-cut sides, due to the loose gravel in the upper stratum.

\[13\] The drawing in fig. 3 has been simplified and schematized to show the essential features of the stratification between the bank of the Hafir and the enclosure wall of the Lion Temple.
MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA

everything into consideration, including the levels of the wall,\textsuperscript{14} it would appear that the temple and enclosure wall are contemporaneous.

The stratification of Trench B did not reveal any conclusive evidence as regards the relationship between the Lion Temple and Temple II A as the trench intersects the offshoots of the Hafir bank tangentially, whilst here the strata have developed radially. But in Trench B also the foundation of the enclosure wall was found to be lying on top of a sand dune. However, the rubble from the crumbled wall, which in this area was found to be lying on the side nearest the Hafir, rests directly on top of the basic layer (and so lower than the foot of the wall). The explanation for this, however, is that here, where the bank of the Hafir runs at an oblique angle to the wall, a torrent has at some time during the rainy seasons washed away the strata in front of the wall.

II. THE TOMB (S 2)

Another Christian tomb (S 2)\textsuperscript{15} was opened behind Temple III A. The state of preservation of the superstructure was not so good as that of S 1, but it is of the same type. The burial pit (2.00 × 0.50 m.) became apparent at a depth of 1 m. and was 0.50 m. deep; the body was found lying at a depth of 1.50 m., orientated west–east, with the head in the west, looking towards the south, hands laid together over the pubic bone, upper thighs crossed. There were no objects.

III. THE HAFIR (II H)

For the purpose of examining the Hafir two large trenches were laid out: A (Hafir—Lion Temple) and C (Hafir—Temple II A). To these must be added Trench H at the start of the water channel. During this season it was still not possible to solve all the problems associated with the construction of the Hafir, principally on account of the time lost digging in the extremely hard mud deposits inside the Hafir. So far the following picture emerges: the Hafir has been dug into an original plain which was covered by a thin stratum of blown sand. The banks have been built up from the material excavated, but were, in addition, strengthened with layers of stone, generally on top of the final surface. The stones originate from the mountains in the vicinity and may possibly consist of waste material from quarries. For the construction of the ‘hill adjoining the channel’,\textsuperscript{16} demolition material from previous buildings was used, viz. large blocks of stone covered with layers of plaster. Right from the beginning, the bank varied in height and also in its width at the bottom. In Trench A the

\textsuperscript{14} Vide Kush x, p. 188; WZHU, xi, p. 453.

\textsuperscript{15} Nearby, the very poorly preserved grave of a child (S3) was located close to the surface (0.20 m. below a small group of stones).

\textsuperscript{16} By this we mean the high section of the bank of the Hafir which is close to the water channel on the southern side. It consists almost entirely of piled up stones and rubble.
width at the base of the bank amounts to 64 m., in Trench C it is 33 m. The
gradient of the talus of the banks varies between 23° and 33°. The angle of
excavation is 10° in Trench A, 16° in Trench C, and 22° in Trench H. So far as
it has been exposed to date, the slope was re-enforced by stones, and this stone
slope has been cleared down to 4 m. in Trench H. At a distance of 36 m. from
the berm (Trench A) the depth is 6.30 m. (equivalent to 7.20 m. below the
present surface).17 Close to the water channel, inside the Hafir and some 3.25 m.
from the side, we found a seated lion, 1.60 m. high. The place where it stands
is 0.91 m. below the berm of the Hafir (or 1.95 m. below the present surface).
The area surrounding the lion has not so far been fully cleared (PLATE XLVII, a).

So far as can be ascertained to date, no platform had been constructed inside
the Hafir, a fact which weighs against our original assumption that the Hafir was
a place of refuge.18 Inside the Hafir, at a distance of roughly 12.50 m. (in
Trench C), and 25 m. (in Trench A) respectively from the berm and 0.25 m.
below it, there is a broad platform of stones. This is situated 1.25 m. below the
present surface and may be interpreted as an embankment of a later date, when
the Hafir was filled with mud deposits up to 0.25 m. below the berm.

IV. THE WATER CHANNEL (II F)

An examination of the water channel outside the Hafir (Trenches W 1 to W 4)
led to the following conclusions: two parallel banks (in a direction radial to the
Hafir) extend from the west bank of the Hafir,19 leading into the Wadi. Their
length could not be established with certainty, but amounts to at least 50 m.
In Trench W 1, the banks are 1.70 m. high. The distance from the crest of
one bank to the other amounts to 15 m. Apparently the height of the banks was
subsequently increased by another 70 cm. These banks obviously form the
sides of a water ditch which served the purpose of conducting water from the
Hafir to the fields at the edge of the Wadi. This ditch was regularly cleaned
out by getting rid of the mud by throwing it out sideways beyond the banks.
In these deposits accumulated lumps of mud can still clearly be distinguished.
The platforms which were formed in this manner on both sides of the ditch are
15 m. wide in the north and 25 m. wide in the south.

This ditch subsequently remained unused for a considerable time during
which it became completely silted up. Only at that stage when the surface level
was but a few centimetres below the present one, was the covered water conduit,
which we discovered during the second season, constructed20 (FIG. 4 and

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17 Assuming a constant angle of excavation, averaging 10°, the approximate depth
in the centre of the Hafir would amount to 15 m. This would roughly correspond with
170,000 m³ of soil and gravel having been excavated. We took soil samples of the mud
deposits from all strata inside the Hafir to a depth of 7.20 m., and these are to be examined
by pollen analysis.  

18 KUSH x, p. 197; WZHU, xi, p. 459.

19 Connexion with the bank of the Hafir itself has not been investigated yet. This
will, however, be of considerable importance in the final assessment of the Hafir and the
relative chronology.  

20 KUSH x, p. 197; WZHU, xi, p. 459 f.
a. LION TEMPLE, INTERIOR SCENE (1), SOUTH PYLON

b. LION TEMPLE, INTERIOR SCENE (14,8) NORTH WALL

facing p. 222
PLATE XLVII

a. HAFIR, TRENCHES A, C, AND H (FROM THE NORTH)

b. SECTION OF WATER DITCH AND WATER CHANNEL (TRENCH W-3, WEST SIDE)
KUSH

PLATE XLVII, b). It followed roughly the course of the southern bank and led right through into the interior of the Hafir. To this period of renewed use, it seems that the late embankment inside the Hafir belongs (see above).

V. PRELIMINARY CHRONOLOGY

Based on the results of the first three seasons, but without detailed investigation of the many individual discoveries, the following conclusions may be drawn as regards the relative chronology.

The Workshop and Hafir are probably contemporaneous. The bricks used at the workshop invariably show traces of old mortar and thus originate from demolished buildings. At the 'Hill adjoining the water channel' large blocks of sandstone were found, which were covered with plaster made from high grade material; these too must originate from demolished buildings. This leads to the assumption that buildings made of sandstone blocks and burnt bricks existed before the construction of the Hafir and Workshop.

The Hafir is older than the enclosure wall of the Lion Temple and is thus probably older than the temple itself. As regards the construction of the Lion Temple the date of A.D. 220 can be assumed with comparative certainty.21 The Temple of Isis which did exist, according to the titles of the prince22 and which belonged to the same period, or even earlier, may possibly be sought among the remnants of a temple in the Wadi (I D).

Temple II A is of later date than the Lion Temple and certainly much later than the Hafir and Workshop. The building II B and parts of the 'Small Enclosure' (I B) are contemporaneous, as blocks from the same demolished temple were used23 in their construction. So far it is not possible to classify the various building periods of the 'Small Enclosure'. This can only be accomplished once the finds of pottery, which are particularly abundant in this area, have been tackled. But it appears to fit well into the Meroitic period. Temple III A belongs to the final stage of the Meroitic epoch24 or the Christian period.

It is evident that with the end of the Meroitic realm building activity temporarily came to a halt. But it appears that the district of Musawwarat was populated even during this period and the coarse type of pottery found in

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21 Built between 235 and 221 and restored between 221 and 218, vide Kush x, p. 178; WZHU, xi, p. 447; Inschriften, p. 17.
22 Compare Inschriften, p. 25.
23 Kush x, p. 194, fig. 21; WZHU, xi, p. 457, Abb. 20.
24 Anyhow the ground plan is that of a Meroitic temple (compare Temple E at Naqa, LD, 1, 145e). Might one assume that a Christian church or chapel was built on this ground plan? (At any rate the orientation of the building would be suitable for this purpose.) The finds and graffiti are all of the Christian period. The rather poor construction of the building should be taken into consideration, for it would seem highly questionable whether renovation and a new roof would have been worth while after a period of at least 300 years.
considerable quantities in the upper layers of rubble in all the buildings, frequently in connexion with fireplaces and hearths, belongs to a post-Meroitic period, and indicates the use of these buildings as dwellings.

During the Christian era Temple III A was used again (or else newly built?). Bricks from the roof and the pottery certainly point to the Christian period. At this stage the water channel was also built, and the tombs close to Temple III A and the ancient Nubian graffiti of the 'Great Enclosure' are also associated with this period.

Though much still remains problematic in detail and the absolute chronology is a matter of mere speculation, I nevertheless wish to suggest a preliminary chronological classification as follows:

1. Period 350–300 B.C.: constructions made of burnt bricks and blocks lined with plaster, demolished at a later stage.
5. Period A.D. 0–320: Building II B, extension of the 'Small Enclosure', Temple III A(?).
7. Period A.D. 600–1500: Temple III A in use again (or constructed?), Christian cemetery, water channel.

25 The fragment found by us and called 'clay-drum' ([S/1], Kush x, p. 195, fig. 23, WZHU, xi, p. 457, Abb. 22) and a similar fragment ([S/4,]) fully resemble another which was found by Shinnie at Soba. (He refers to it as 'mouth of storage jar', Shinnie, 'Excavations at Soba', SASOP, no. 3, Khartoum, 1955, p. 45, fig. 21 (4).

26 Apart from the dating of the Lion Temple, the figures indicating the years are based on approximate estimates only.

27 In any case it is interesting that here the burnt bricks belong to the earliest period. This corresponds with the observation in the first preliminary report (Kush x, p. 173; WZHU, xi, p. 443) that we never found standing walls of burnt brick, but all over the site there were many bricks originating from waste material. The question of when burnt bricks were first used in Egypt and in the Meroitic region in general, has so far been accorded very different answers. E.g. since the Roman period (Helck-Otto, Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie, 1956, 413; 'Alleged occurrence during the Ramesside period' is also mentioned; similarly Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials, 1948, p. 63 ff.); since Necho (600) in Karnak (Sauneron in Lexikon der ägyptischen Kultur, 1959, p. 309; Leclant, cf. Kush i, pl. xix, p. 49, n. 17); since Middle Meroitic times (150–1), (Garstang, LAAA, vii, p. 9); Middle Kingdom in Kawa (Kirwan in Macadam, Kawa, ii, p. 227, fig. 81, p. 231), in Kerma (Reisner, Excavations in Kerma, i, p. 29), in Shalfak and Mirgissa (Arkell, History of the Sudan, p. 65; Wheeler, Kush ix, p. 128). Somers Clarke and Engelbach, Ancient Egyptian Masonry, 1930, p. 207 ff. mention unburnt bricks only.
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Naturally this arrangement is bound to be considerably improved upon after completion of the excavations and a final examination of all the resultant material. Important information can mainly be anticipated in connexion with the excavation of the 'Great Enclosure'.—According to our scheme two further seasons are to be carried out at Musawwarat during which the following areas are to be examined: in addition to the 'Great Enclosure', the remains of temples in the Wadi, two occupation sites in the Wadi and the graves at Qoz Barmilo. As preference must be given to work in Nubia, further excavation at Musawwarat will have to be postponed at least for one season, but we hope that we shall be able to continue during the winter of 1963–64.
A Meroitic Cemetery at Sennar (Makwar)

by D. M. Dixon

In 1919 work on the dam at Makwar, subsequently renamed Sennar, was recommenced after the delay occasioned by the First World War. In that year a contract, on a percentage basis, was entrusted to the Sudan Construction Company (Messrs Alessandrini and Perry). This firm constructed a part of the western end of the dam, built a village for employees, erected a cement factory, dug a number of canals, opened quarries, laid railways, cut sleepers and firewood, built barges, and carried out a great deal of preliminary work. In the spring of 1922, however, the arrangement with this company was concluded, it having been seen that the cost would be greatly exceeded owing to the great increase in world prices, and work was temporarily stopped owing to a shortage of funds. In October 1922 a contract for the completion of the dam was signed between the Sudan Government and Messrs S. Pearson and Son (Contracting Dept.) of London.

The Meroitic Cemetery at Makwar (Sennar) came to light during the excavation of one of several cuttings dug on the east bank by the Sudan Construction Co. for a proposed railway track. The discovery first came to the attention of the Antiquities Service in November 1921 when the Inspector of Irrigation sent to the Museum in Khartoum two bronze bowls and a quantity of beads which had been found. In February 1922 a Mr Pizzagalli sent other bronze objects which were clearly of the same period as those previously received, and it became evident that an ancient site of some extent had been disturbed. Accordingly, F. Addison, at that time acting Conservator of Antiquities, visited Makwar in March 1922. By the time he arrived, a fairly large number of objects had been recovered from disturbed graves by Mr E. A. U. Coxen of the Irrigation Service and Mr T. E. Lewis of the Sudan Construction Company. These were handed for examination to Addison. Not all the objects, however, were presented to the Khartoum Museum, for Messrs Coxen and Lewis were permitted to keep those which the Museum did not require or which they did not wish to present to it.

Judging from a Report, dated 14 March 1923, sent to Mr Henry Wellcome by his Sudan representative, Major Uribe, it would seem that Mr Wellcome had very early raised with the Antiquities Service the question of the ownership of the objects from this cemetery, which he claimed lay within the area of his concession; for in his Report Major Uribe wrote: 'If Mr Lewis and others took things away with them, they were authorized. . . . On Feb. 17th and 19th 1922 Mr Addison wrote (i.e. to Uribe) "I should like to make it clear that this service does not desire to retain or confiscate all antiquities if the sender does not wish to present them to the Museum".'
In a letter to Wellcome, dated 11 August 1922, J. W. Crowfoot, the Director of Education and chairman of the Editorial Committee of Sudan Notes and Records, explained that “it was to encourage others to follow their [i.e. Coxen’s and Lewis’s] example [in reporting antiquities found] that we let them keep what we did not want—on the same principle as we give excavators half their finds. . . . Coxen . . . only brought home a large bowl and some beads. . . . Lewis brought considerably more: I enclose a letter from him on the subject”.

Those objects which had been retained by the Khartoum Museum were surrendered to Major Uribe for Mr Wellcome, at whose request (contained in a letter to Crowfoot dated 15 September 1922) a report on the discovery which Addison had prepared for publication in Sudan Notes and Records was suppressed.

After protracted negotiations the material obtained by Mr Lewis (which he had brought to England) was acquired by Wellcome in 1925 for his Historical Medical Museum. There is no indication, however, in the extant correspondence that he ever succeeded in acquiring the bowl, etc. which Coxen brought home.

The only other reference in the Makwar File to the finds from here is Major Uribe’s report of the 14 March 1923, already mentioned. In this he gave an account of the site as it then appeared and enclosed a rough plan and section made in February 1923. He gives the further information that items from the graves were also recovered by Mr A. C. Girdwood, who gave him three bronze vessels. Two of these were plain bowls 10.4 cm. in diameter and 7.6 cm. in depth; the third is described as being ‘like a truncated cone, 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. [in diameter] by 3 in. deep (14.6 \times 7.6 cm.), bottom at narrow end missing’. A fourth vessel was given by Mr Girdwood to his superior, Mr J. M. Edwards, who brought it to England and later (1952) presented it to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

Major Uribe was also able to interview the European foreman who with Egyptian labourers had excavated the cutting where the graves were disturbed, but ‘according to this man, the work was done at such speed that they had no time to observe anything’. During the excavation of Cutting X [see the Plan, FIG. 1] some pots were found and stored in a wooden shelter, marked A on the Plan, but by the time Major Uribe arrived, the contents of this shelter had been moved to the Power Station and the pots had disappeared, presumably taken by labourers for their own use. Finally, Major Uribe says that he understood a collection of teeth was made by Captain Midwinter, but judged it tactful not to raise the subject with him.

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1 This letter, dated 9 August 1922, is not in the File.
2 There is in the Makwar Section of the Wellcome File a copy of this report sent by Crowfoot.
3 Re-drawn this appears as FIG. 1.
4 An Italian (?) named Amadeo Bracale.
A MEROITIC CEMETERY AT SENNAR (MAKWAR)

On Mr Wellcome's instructions Major Uribe undertook further investigations in the cemetery, but by then it had been so churned up that only a few faience ball- and cylinder-beads, some pendants, and fragments of bronze vessels were recovered.

After some years at Jebel Moya, the objects which had been handed over by the Antiquities Service, together with those given to Major Uribe by Mr Girdwood, were despatched to England. Unhappily they never arrived, for they were lost when the s.s. Maidan sank in the Red Sea on 10 June 1932. The few items which Major Uribe himself recovered, however, were sent or brought to London on another occasion, for they reached their destination safely.

Now in preparing his original report (i.e. the one that was suppressed) it is clear that Addison saw all or most of the material found by Coxen and Lewis, for he there expresses ‘the fullest acknowledgments’ to both these gentlemen: ‘It was they who in their leisure time collected from the partially exposed graves, or rescued from the hands of natives, the objects to be described, and I am also indebted to them for such information regarding the graves as is available’. Lewis, however, took his share of the finds to England before they could be photographed. Thus Addison states that the actual photograph of a bronze jug, is that of a similar vessel found by Garstang at Meroë: ‘the vessel from Makwar... was taken to England by Mr Lewis before being photographed’. Describing a small red ware jug, he says: ‘the photograph is of a jug found at Buhen’. ‘There was also a small bronze ring which was not photographed’.

In 1935 the Editorial Committee of Sudan Notes and Records finally ventured to publish Addison’s report in modified and abbreviated form. In this version only Coxen’s name is mentioned, no reference being made to Lewis, presumably because the objects acquired by him had by this time long been in Wellcome’s possession. In a later article, which appeared in 1950, 14 years after Wellcome’s death, Addison again discussed the Makwar discoveries and included in addition an account of the objects recovered in Major Uribe’s work (see above). He still made no reference, however, to the objects acquired from Lewis and was clearly unaware that they still survived.

While working in the Museum stores recently I came across some of this material, together with the bronze bowl given by Mr Girdwood to Mr Edwards. Despite the time that has elapsed since the cemetery was uncovered and the unsatisfactory circumstances surrounding the discovery, it seems desirable, in view of the importance of the site, to publish every scrap of material that has survived.

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THE SITE AND THE GRAVES

The spot where the graves were uncovered lay on the east bank of the Blue Nile, a short distance from the river and a little downstream of the line of the dam (FIG. 1). The ground here consisted of red conglomerate on top of which alluvium had been deposited to a depth of about 1 m. Examination of the level of the cemetery showed that, while normally above high water mark, it would be covered by exceptionally high floods, and successive inundations of this kind had levelled any superstructures which may have existed and obliterated all surface traces of the cemetery. By the time Addison arrived, most of the graves in the area of operations had been completely destroyed and there remained for examination only a few broken burial chambers visible in the sides of the cutting at the top. These chambers, which were not very large, had been dug in the alluvium and did not penetrate into the conglomerate. They appeared to have been oval in form, but they had been so badly damaged that their exact shape could not be determined. No bones remained in the exposed graves, but Addison was informed by Messrs Coxen and Lewis that there did not appear to be any regular position or orientation of the bodies when found. Little reliance, however, can be placed on this information, for the excavators had neither the knowledge nor the time necessary for proper observation. As Major Uribe later reported, they ‘made circular holes or anyhow big enough to have elbow room and thus no shape is discernible. . . . Mr Girdwood, who, spade and shovel in hand, dug graves by himself, cannot say . . . in what position or direction the bodies were’. Each grave generally contained more than one interment and in one the remains of what appeared to be six bodies were found. A few rough sandstone slabs found may have been used for closing the burial chambers. There were also many fragments of local stone, perhaps the covering of mounds marking the graves.

The spoil from the cutting had been dumped on its eastern side, and on the west were sheds, stacks of bricks and other materials, which rendered further examination of the cemetery impossible. Its extent, therefore, could not be determined, nor was it possible to say how many graves had been destroyed. At the time of Major Uribe’s inspection, the depth of Cutting Y was 4 m., while Cutting X was 5 m. at the dotted stretch, where there was 0.50 m. of stagnant water which was increased after rain. Under the conglomerate, at the point marked D on the Plan, were visible outcrops of the alluvium which had originally formed the top layer. Mingled with this alluvium were fragments of human bones, ‘all in a powdery condition’. Reference has already been made to the teeth collected by Captain Midwinter. Where the surface railway line (gauge 1.50 m.) intersects Cutting X the ground had not been disturbed.

THE OBJECTS

In February 1952 Mr J. M. Edwards of Pangbourne, Berks., presented to the Egyptian Section of the Museum the carinated bronze bowl (No. R9/1952)
THE MEROITIC CEMETERY
AT SENNAR.

REFERENCE
Wooden Shelter .................. A
Stone and Rubble ring ....... B
Brick Stack ..................... C
Bones visible under spoil ...... D
Cutting .......................... E
Disturbed Graves ............... F
N.B. 17 Graves are indicated,
but there is no indication whether
this is an arbitrary number or not.

PLAN

To Abu Geili

Section Looking West Thro' Cutting X

Cutting X

Lime Noduli
Conglomerate
Alluvial Soil

Fig. 1  

facing p. 230
A MEROITIC CEMETERY AT SENNAR (MAKWAR)

illustrated on PLATE XLVIII, a. Mr Edwards informs\(^8\) me that he understood from Mr Girdwood that it was found by some of his men 'a few feet under the surface whilst digging a pit for an anchorage on the East bank of the river'. The vessel, 11.3 cm. high and 17.8 cm. wide, is identical with one recovered by Major Uribe and published by Addison,\(^9\) but is uninscribed.

The bronze vessels illustrated on PLATES XLVIII, b–c and XLIX have unfortunately not yet come to light despite prolonged and intensive search in the Museum storeroom. Presumably they still survive somewhere, unless they have perished in the course of the vicissitudes through which the collections have passed. Possibly they may be mixed in with quantities of Greek and Roman bronzes still to be examined. Should they be found, it will be interesting to see, after cleaning, whether any are inscribed. In the meantime, I am obliged to publish them from rather poor photographs, taken shortly after their arrival in the Museum in 1925, and the Accession Cards.

A21633a [PLATE XLVIII, b]. Shallow bowl on pedestal. Height, 8.9 cm.; diam. 13.3 cm.
A21633b [PLATE XLVIII, b]. Carinated bowl. Cracked, hole in the bottom. Height, 13.0 cm.; diam., 19.7 cm.
A21633c [PLATE XLVIII, b]. Carinated bowl. Height, 9.3 cm.; diam., 14.2 cm.
A21635a [PLATE XLVIII, c]. Hemispherical bowl. Hgt. 9.9 cm.; diam., 16.0 cm.
A21635b [PLATE XLVIII, c].
A21635c [PLATE XLVIII, c].
A21636a [PLATE XLIX, a].
A21636b [PLATE XLIX, a].
A21636c [PLATE XLIX, a].
A21636d [PLATE XLIX, b].
A21636e [PLATE XLIX, b].

On these vessels there is nothing to add to Addison's comments; they are typical Meroitic shapes. The bowls have been reported from nearly every Meroitic site excavated, and examples of the carinated vessels are known from Meroë (Western Cemetery), Barkal,\(^10\) and Faras.\(^11\)

A21637 [PLATE XLIX, b]. Jug, cracked and with large hole in one side. Height, 16.0 cm.; diam., 13.0 cm. Cf. O. Bates and D. Dunham, 'Excavations at Gammai', HAS, VIII (1927), pls. 31, 3A; 66, fig. 2.

A21638. Fragments of a large handled bowl on pedestal of the type illustrated in SNR, vol. 18, pl. 5, 7. Diam. c. 35.5 cm. Stand separate, in two pieces.

\(^8\) Letter dated 16/9/1961.  
\(^10\) D. Dunham, Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal, Boston (1957), p. 61, fig. 33, 16-4-80; pl. 52D.  
\(^11\) F. Ll. Griffith, LAAA, xi, pls. 49, 6, 7; 54, 1, 2.
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A21639a–b [Plate XLIX, c & d]. Two handles belonging to vessels of this type. According to Addison,\textsuperscript{12} these bowls are 'unique in the Sudan, for I am unaware that any others have been found elsewhere, in that country'. A similar bowl, on a lower pedestal but with handles almost identical with those on the Makwar specimen published by him, was found by Oric Bates at Gammal\textsuperscript{13} (FIG. 2, top).

Fig 2

The remaining objects discussed have all been found and are now in the Egyptian Section.

A21640 [Plate L, a]. Brown ware pot, fire-blackened in places; neck pierced by four small holes; the incised decoration consists of three bands, the top two of criss-cross lines, the lowermost of vertical lines interrupted in three places by three inverted triangles filled with vertical lines. Adjoining the apex of the centre triangle is a lozenge from the lower point of which a number of lines spread out fanwise. Height, 10.3 cm.; diam., 12.6 cm. Cf. for example, LAAA, xi, pl. 44, 3 (from the rubbish of a grave at Faras tentatively assigned by Griffith to his 'B' period, A.D. 1st–2nd century).

\textsuperscript{12} Antiquity, vol. 24, p. 16. \textsuperscript{13} HAS, viii, pls. 31, 4, 5; 55, fig. 13.
A MEROITIC CEMETERY AT SENNAR (MAKWAR)

A21641 [PLATE L, a]. Wheel-made red ware juglet. Height, 9.0 cm.; diam., 7.0 cm. Cf. SNR, vol. 18, p. 291 and pl. 6, 21 (from Buhen); LAAA, xi, pl. 22, xxxivd (Faras, grave 705A). To the right of this juglet is a small incised fragment of brown ware.

A21642 [PLATE L, b]. Blue faience inlay. Ram’s head bearing the sun-disk with ornamental band and two uraei. Length, 8.5 cm. Cf. SNR, vol. 18, pp. 291–2: ‘a faience figure of the Amon Ram with sun disc 8½ cm. long’; LAAA, xi, p. 172 and pls. 61, 45 (Faras, grave 2990: ‘blue glaze head of Ammon ram with disk, two uraei and ornamental band at base of disk’); LAAA, vi, pl. 4, 3 (Meroë); Macadam, Temples of Kawa, II, pl. 96, e and g; Dunham, Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal, p. 168, fig. 109 (21–3–533b); p. 170 and pl. 68 G. [Cf. also PLATE LIII, b, faience rams’ heads and clay mould from Meroë (Garstang’s excavations), Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, left to right: A400,030a–c].

A21643a–c [PLATE LI, a]. Three flat oval-shaped grinders:

a. Schist, length, 8.5 cm., width, 6.7 cm.
b. " " " 6.0 " " 3.9 

c. Limestone, " 5.0 " " 2.8 

A21644 [PLATE LI, b]. Top row: Ring bezels, three of bronze bearing a male bust, one of silver with a uraeus [this last unfortunately photographed upside down].

2nd row: Six bronze rings.

3rd row: Fragments of bronze rings.

Bottom: Bronze object of unknown use.

NB.—All these objects are reproduced at full size.

A21645a–g [PLATE LIII]. Pendants. From top to bottom:—

a. greenish-blue faience
b. crystal
c. carnelian
d. three quartz, one obsidian(?)
e. ‘Lydian stone’ (?)
f. quartz
g. carnelian

Cf. Antiquity, xxiv, plate facing p. 20; LAAA, xi, pls. 62, 63, 70 [Faras]; O. G. S. Crawford and F. Addison, ‘Abu Geili’, Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan, iii, pl. 50A; Dunham, Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal, pls. 65, 66.

A21645h–j [PLATE LIII, a]. h. 23 biconical glass beads

i. From left to right: 3 glass beads; green glass, probably much later than the Meroitic period; pendant of black stone.

j. 3 glass ball-beads.

NB.—The pendants and beads on PLATES LII–LIII are not in their original order.
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While these objects, like those previously published, are of no particular interest in themselves, they do afford further evidence of the richness of some at least of the burials, and it is indeed regrettable that the discovery was made in circumstances which precluded a detailed scientific examination of the area. It is obvious, as Addison concluded, that ‘there must have existed on the east bank of the Blue Nile a town which for a time was comparable in importance with Faras in the north and with Meroë itself. . . . Quite possibly it was the administrative centre of the southern provinces of the kingdom, the seat of a governor who may even have been a scion of the royal house itself. While it existed there was, on the evidence of the finds, freedom of communication not only from Sennar to Faras but from Sennar to the Mediterranean, and this connotes good administration and settled conditions in the Nile Valley which were not to recur for two thousand years’.

It seems unlikely, however, that a town of such importance lay right on the southern frontier and it is probable therefore that the domain of the ruler of Meroë stretched considerably further south. It has not yet been possible to define this southern limit, but scattered finds suggest that in Napatan times, the influence, if not the authority, of the Kingdom of Kush may have extended as far as Kosti, on the White Nile. It seems reasonable to suppose that the kingdom was at least maintained at this limit, if not extended, during the heyday of the Meroitic Empire. It may well have stretched as far as the Sudd in the vicinity of the mouth of the Sobat. Doubtless the careful excavation of some of the large mounds on the banks of the White Nile south of Jebelein (e.g. at El Ais (Kawa), Er Renk and Kaka) and along the Sobat and Bahr el-Ghazal would throw some light on this question. On the Blue Nile Arkell reports sites of the Meroitic period, marked by sherds, as far upstream as Roseires.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance received in the course of the preparation of this paper from the following gentlemen: P. H. East, Esq., M.B.E., Assistant Resident Engineer, Sennar Dam, 1917-22; J. M. Edwards, Esq., Pangbourne; Major J. S. Uribe; and Sayed Sadik el Nur, Curator, Khartoum Museum.

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16 Cf. Idem, History of the Sudan, 2nd ed., London (1961), p. 137. Two fragments of a small alabaster cup(?) were found at Doleib Hill, near the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile about 400 miles south of Khartoum (Arkell, JEA, vol. 36, p. 40; idem, Hist. and Archaeol. in Africa, p. 71), but it is impossible to date the object or determine when and how it reached Doleib.
18 Hist. and Archaeol. in Africa, p. 71.
Polish Excavations at Faras—Second Season
1961-62

by Kazimierz Michałowski

The Second season of excavations lasted from 22 November 1961 to
19 February 1962.
The mission was made up as follows:
Prof. Dr Kazimierz Michałowski—Director of Excavations.
Mr Marek Marciniak—Egyptologist, assisting the Director.
Mr Antoni Ostrasz—Chief Architect.
Miss Kamila Kołodziejczyk—Archaeologist.
Mr Stefan Jakobielski—Coptic Specialist.
Mr Stanisław Jasiewicz—Head of Laboratory, National Museum, Warsaw.
Mr Tadeusz Biniewski—Photographer.

During the absence of Professor Michałowski, the work was directed by
Mr Marciniak.

About 90 workmen were employed.
The inventory of Egyptian inscriptions was made by Mr Marciniak; that
of Christian inscriptions by Mr Jakobielski, who also made the inventory of
photographs. Mr Marciniak and Miss Kołodziejczyk were responsible for the
inventory of objects.

Mr Ostrasz, assisted by Mr Tomasz Mrówka—architect of the Polish
Archaeological Centre in Cairo, who was with the Mission during the later part
of the season—and Miss Kołodziejczyk drew all the plans, sections and repro-
ductions of architectural details. All the photographs were taken by Mr
Biniewski.

We wish to thank Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archae-
ology in the Sudan, as well as Sayed Nigm ed Din Mohammed Sherif, Senior
Inspector of Antiquities at Wadi Halfa, who have always given us the best of
help and in every way facilitated the carrying out of our task at Faras.

Messrs W. Y. Adams, J. Leclant, P. L. Shinnie and A. Vila made several
suggestions during the course of our work, for which we thank them.

The schedule of work during the second season of excavations was dictated
by the most important of last year’s finds: the discovery, at the end of the
season, of two memorial chapels and four funerary stelae, published in our first
report.¹


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Thus, after resuming work on the site in November 1961, two sectors had to be cleared:

1. The cupolaed building which appeared to mark the grave of Bishop Joannes, who died in the year of the Martyrs 722 (i.e. 1006 of our era) at the age of 82;

2. The great building, the sandstone and fired-brick walls of which suggested it might be a late Meroitic palace, a church or a monastery of the early Christian period, and which certainly antedated the chapels built against its east wall.

First of all, a large quantity of sand (about 8000 m³) forming the east, south and west slopes of the Kom had to be cleared away and the walls of the Arab Citadel on its top had to be dismantled.² So, by the end of this season, the main façades of the Church under the Citadel had been almost completely freed, except for the north and south sides where two mud-brick vaulted passages, dating from the second Christian period, are built against its walls. Although the inside of the building has not yet been completely cleared, the ground-plan is quite visible and gives us more than a mere idea of the position of the five aisles. The best finds of the season are the remarkably well-preserved mural paintings inside this church. Their thorough cleaning has been left over for next year.

While the Citadel walls were being dismantled, several inscribed and decorated blocks from Pharaonic and Meroitic buildings, as well as stones from earlier Christian churches (the Great Church and the Rivergate Church)³ were found, re-utilized in these walls.

Pharaonic Period

So far, we have counted eighty-four decorated and inscribed Pharaonic blocks. Apart from which, we noticed many more that are still part of the walls of the Church under the Citadel. This is most striking on the west side of the church. Out of the 32 Pharaonic blocks visible to date in these walls, 21⁴ are on the west side. Contrary to what we found during the first season (165 blocks from the temple of Thotmes III) and to the finds of our predecessors Griffith, Vercoutter and Adams who, jointly, uncovered 128 blocks from the same temple, the proportion between the Thotmes III and Ramses II blocks found during this present season seems rather to favour the latter.

³ Ibid., p. 178.
⁴ The fact that more blocks were re-utilized in this wall than in the others might prove that at this spot, at the foot of the Kom, we and our predecessors have stumbled on a ‘quarry’ of Pharaonic blocks meant for re-utilization.
Our inventory of Pharaonic inscriptions has been in the main drawn up according to the same principles as that in *Faras I*. However, due to the fact that this year we have found smaller blocks with less well preserved surfaces, it has been difficult to adopt the typological classification according to hieroglyphic signs, which was feasible last year when we were dealing with better preserved and larger material.

As far as the Thotmes III blocks found this year are concerned, it is probable that they mostly come from the inside walls of the temple. One important find was three blocks in the west wall of the church bearing the cartouche of Thotmes II, father of Thotmes III.

As to the Ramesside blocks, as none have so far been found here of a size approaching that of the Thotmes III blocks, we are led to think that maybe there was merely a shrine for Ramses II at Faras, his Great Temple in the region being about 10 km. away to the south, at Aksha.

**Meroitic Period**

Meroitic material gathered during this season is less varied than that of last. However, a few stones—which form the entire inventory of Meroitic objects, along with two fragments of inscriptions (Inv. No. FA 47/61–2 and F 100/61–2)—are remarkable for their artistic value. What deserves most particular attention is a cornice re-utilized over the south entrance to the Church under the Citadel. It is not often that in Nubia, in a Christian church, one comes across a Meroitic element used in its original form and for its original purpose.

The cornice (**PLATE LIV, a**), is of grey sandstone (*h. 0.53 m.; l. 2 m.; t. 0.42 m.*) and is characterized by a frieze of two alternating pairs of uraei carved in deep relief. One pair—wearing on their heads the horned disc of Hathor—are marked on the body with the sign *Htm*; the other—smooth bodied—bear a plain disc. This piece of sculpture is remarkably well-preserved, with traces of red colouring still to be found on the serpents’ heads. Their eyes are very large and prominent. The lower part of the cornice is decorated in the typical style: a very prominent winged sun-disc with two serpents, below which appear the thin bands of a simple fillet with arched loops. The serpent on the left wears the double crown, that of Lower Egypt being fluted. The one on the right wears the *jf crown* capped by a small sun-disc. A plain red moulding underlines the whole length of the cornice.

The other Meroitic stone worth noting is a little grey sandstone offering table (Inv. No. F 15/61–2) distinguished by its shape and unusual decoration.

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7 For the time being left *in situ*.
8 The broken Meroitic cornice we found last year was split into four pieces, all embedded in the walls of the Arab Citadel. Cf. Michałowski, *Faras*, i, p. 178, fig. 132.
Although hammered on one side, it is clearly rectangular with a triangular section \((l. 28.5 \text{ cm.}, w. 21 \text{ cm.}, th. 8 \text{ cm.})\) (Plate LIV, b).

A prominence bearing a palm-leaf design is slightly scooped out to form an outlet gutter. In the table top itself are two basins shaped like baseless cartouches with \(Kh\) vessels on their stands on either side and two rows of three loaves.

Only one serpent (on the left) remains on a fragment of a Meroitic stele. This, made of grey sandstone (Inv. No. FA 71/61–2), was arched in its lower part and decorated with the winged disc shaped as a rosette. Beneath the serpent, in the centre of the stele, an amphora is portrayed on its stand with \(B\) figures with discs on either side of it. The entire surface is very worn. The right side of the stele and the lower part are missing. Above the tympanum only the first line remains of an inscription in Greek, engraved at the time of re-utilization.

We can end this list of Meroitic objects with two fragments of inscriptions, Inv. No. FA 47/61–2 and Inv. No. F 100/61–2 (Plate LV, a).\(^9\)

**Christian Period**

The Christian remains uncovered this year fall into two distinct groups, namely:

1. The chapels and the tomb of Bishop Joannes, built against the west wall and in the axis of the church;
2. The Church under the Citadel, built of stone and fired-brick.

Also, we might add the tomb of the three bishops Kolouthos, Stephanos and Aaron below their three funerary stelae which are inserted in the sandstone west wall of the church.

With the exception of the tomb of Joannes which has been completely cleared this year, these constructions have so far only been partly excavated. This means that a number of questions can only be touched upon without as yet being answered. Nevertheless, we believe it useful to present our discoveries at once without waiting for them to be thoroughly explained.

*The Tomb of Joannes*

As mentioned above, the only monument completely uncovered this season was the tomb of Joannes (Plate LVII, a). It follows the central axis of the church, about 1.90 m. from the west wall to which it is joined by the two mud-brick chapels we found last year.\(^{10}\) The construction itself is a rectangular underground crypt of mud-brick \((h. 1.50 \text{ m.}; w. 2 \text{ m.}; l. 2.70 \text{ m.}; \text{east-west wall } 2.70 \text{ m.; north-south wall } 2 \text{ m.})\) topped by a similar fired-brick edifice with a

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\(^9\) The transcription of these two documents will be published in the second volume of *Faras* (Polish Excavations).

a. MEROITIC CORNICE. SOUTH ENTRANCE, CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL

b. SMALL OFFERING-TABLE. MEROITIC (Inv. No. 15/61-2)
EARTHEWARE VESSELS FOUND IN THE TOMB OF JOANNES
a. EAST WALL, CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL AND TOMB OF JOANNES

b. WEST WALL, CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL
a. Ornate wooden beam. Lintel of the window in the south wall of the church under the citadel.

b. Sandstone block with Coptic alphabet exercise. Re-utilized in the south wall of the church under the citadel.
MURAL OF ARCHANGEL MICHAEL LEFT OF SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL
a. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL ON THE EAST WALL OF THE NARTHEx

b. NATIVITY MURAL
cupola (h. 1.90 m. Cupola h. 1.40 m.; diam. 1.20 m.). The entrance is in the west side, that is from inside the chapel of the Madonna. It is a rectangular shaft (w. 0.87 m.; l. 0.81 m.) of mud-bricks faced with clay. A very narrow flight of three steps (l. 1.03 m.; w. 0.45–0.35 m.) leads down to the grave itself, which was closed by a massive rectangular slab (84 × 46 × 12 cm.). This was sealed all round with clay. Above it four crosses were marked in the clay filling. The stele of Joannes was affixed to the wall just above the entrance to the tomb.

Within, the grave was a vaulted crypt (l. 2 m.; w. 1.20 m.; h. 1.20 m.). Both the sides and the vault were faced with clay. At the time of discovery, the crypt was filled with damp, greenish sand which covered five skeletons lying east-west with their heads to the west. Most likely the texture and colour of the sand were due to the decay of the corpses. By each head was a porous earthenware water jar, two of which are of yellow clay painted on the neck and handles, and two of red clay, only one of which was decorated (PLATE LVI).

Close beside the water jars, lying in the sand, were three little blackened plate-shaped lamps. The one belonging to the skeleton nearest the north wall has a spout pierced with two little holes. Near the head of the last skeleton in the north-west corner, was a large jar decorated with the carved symbol of a font(?)11 In the north-east corner, another large jar (Inv. No. F5, 14/61-2) sealed with clay (imprint: band of foliage) still contained some grain. Alongside this skeleton lay a long bishop’s staff (only a few traces of charred wood visible), ending in a bronze cross (Inv. No. F5, 10/61-2) fixed to the staff by a bronze band (Inv. No. F5, 11/61-2), both covered with a nice green patina. Near to the cross, a small round clay disc (Inv. No. F5, 12/61-2), pierced through the centre, lay in the sand. A few seconds after the grave was cleared, before even the sand on the floor of the crypt could be swept up, half the vault crashed down.

We made an opening into the cupolaed structure to see what was inside. It contained nothing but sand, fragments of potsherds and charred wood, bits of leather and rubble. There was no entrance to this, and it was only a funerary monument erected over the tomb. When the sides were built, stone blocks had been fitted into the inside corners, and the cupola rested on these. When the building was finished, the outside had been covered with a layer of white facing. Thus, the whole forms a mausoleum, reminiscent of the mausoleum tombs of Qasr Ibrim.12

Knowing the contents of the tomb, and also the fact that the oldest stele—that of Joannes—was fixed above the entrance in a niche, with the stele of Petros to its right, without any niche, we can come to some conclusions. There

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11 Cf. Monneret de Villard, La Nubia Medioevale, iv, pl. clxxxii, fig. 21; Griffith, LAAA, xiii, pl. xli, p. 90.
12 Cf. Monneret de Villard, La Nubia Medioevale, i, p. 113, fig. 25.
KUSH

is no doubt that the skeleton lying along the north wall in the crypt is that of Joannes. It is the only one to have had a bishop’s cross, a more elaborate lamp, and two large jars. The four other skeletons could be those of deacons who assisted the bishop in the church of Pachoras. Once the grave was fully occupied, the five crosses were stamped above the slab which closed it, showing that five bodies were buried there.\(^{13}\) In order that the stele of Joannes could be placed where we found it, the Madonna’s chapel at least must have been built, as the upper part of the stele—like that of Petros—is higher than the wall of the cupolaed funerary monument. Besides, the east wall of the Church under the Citadel was used as the west walls of the chapels at the time when they were built (FIG. 1).

For the time being, we do not wish to broach the question of the final chronology of the above-mentioned monument. However, it is quite certain that the chapel of the Madonna was already in existence when the stele was affixed. The succession of events must have been fairly rapid: Joannes, the old bishop who died at the age of 82, must have been a most venerable figure whom it was appropriate to honour with an imposing mausoleum, a chapel, and a stele.\(^{14}\)

The figure of Saint Michael, Archangel, is painted in front of the entrance to the church,\(^{15}\) standing on the left and on horseback on the right. His monumental image decorates the wall of the narthex—west wall, to the right of the entrance—showing that he was the saint most venerated there, the true guardian of the portals. It is thus easy to understand why the first chapel, that with the fresco of the Archangel Michael, should have been added to that of the Madonna to form together the entrance to a holy place.

A mud-brick wall (\(l. \ 2 \text{ m.} \); \(h. \ 1.20 \text{ m.}\)) forms an extension prolonging the east wall of the chapel of the Madonna towards the north. A mud-brick pillar

\(^{13}\) The study of bones made recently by Professor Dzierżykayed-Rogalski in Warsaw has proved that one of the interments was of an old man of at least 80. He was a hunch-backed cripple. Was this Joannes who died at the age of 82? Another skeleton was also that of an old crippled person. The fifth skeleton was found without its skull.

\(^{14}\) On 21 November 1962, during the third season of excavation at Faras, a list of 27 bishops was found written on the south-east inner wall of the Church under the Citadel. There were three Bishops Johannes cited. The third of them, who died on the 24th of the month of Thot, A.D. 1066 was the twenty-second on the list and was recognized as the one we have mentioned before.

The confusion of dates is due to an erroneous reading of the letter † as T, which by the way, was accepted by many scholars (cf. Faras, I, p. 112). The sign † must be read as Ψ. This had already been considered by us, but the conditions of the discovery of the tomb suggested the first interpretation (cf. Faras, II, in the press). The same reading of the letter † must be applied to the stele of Bishop Petros who was twenty-fourth on the list. He died on the 27th of the month of Pachons, A.D. 1062 and not A.D. 562.

In view of this discovery, a new chronology for the wall paintings in the chapels, i.e. of Archangel Michael and the Virgin must also be established.

\(^{15}\) Cf. below, p. 249.
erected against the church wall at the point where this extension begins forms with it a sort of little yard affording protection against the wind and the sand which must have threatened the chapel on the north. Inside this yard, the remains of whitewashed facing can be discerned, similar to that lining the chapel of St. Michael.

Another period is clearly marked here by the second row of stelae; that of Bishop Georgios (Inv. No. F 221/61–2) who died in 1097, and that of Bishop Iesou (Inv. F 222/61–2) which bears the date 1169. Later the chapels were buried in sand to the height of the protecting yard to the north. Above it, on a bed of sand, a mud-brick vault was then erected (w. 1.50 m.) 20 cm. lower than that over the chapel of the Madonna. The entrance to this, from the new vault, was blocked up later with bricks laid upon the sand which had already risen 1.60 m. above the ground level. In this vaulted room, backed against the north side of the chapel, we found three skeletons last year, each with an earthenware water jar. One of them had a key shaped like a bishop’s cross and remnants of clothing.\(^\text{16}\) The door to this grave, in the east wall, had been sealed from the outside. At the time of discovery, we had wrongly assumed this to be a niche.\(^\text{17}\)

The chapel of the Madonna ceased to be a place of worship and was also used as a grave. During our first season of excavations, we came across a skeleton buried there, across the opening between it and the chapel of St. Michael. At the time of excavation, that opening was also walled up with mud-bricks laid upon the sand at approximately the same height as mentioned above. At that time, the chapel of St. Michael was also half filled with sand.\(^\text{18}\)

*The Church under the Citadel* (Preliminary Survey)

The sandstone wall with a stone-grilled window, partly preserved, against which are built the chapels appertaining to the tomb of Joannes, was the first section of the church to be cleared during last season.\(^\text{19}\) The sand which covered it was methodically removed as the walls of the Arab Citadel topping the Kom were dismantled. Following this, a rectangular construction emerged.

By the end of this season, we had barely managed to free the west and east faces of the building. The later structures against the north and south sides of the church have, so far, prevented us from clearing these walls down to the foundations.

Although we have hardly begun clearing the interior, the finds are so momentous that we feel it necessary to communicate this year’s archaeological

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\(^{16}\) Cf. K. Michałowski, *Faras*, 1, p. 122.

\(^{17}\) Our previous reading of the date on the Bishop Joannes stele as A.D. 606, cf. *Kush* x, p. 231, and note 14 above, led to the erroneous supposition that this grave might be that of Bishop Georgios who died in 1097, or even the later Iesou. In the light of recent discoveries made during our third season in Faras, 1962–63, it seems to be rather difficult to accept this.

\(^{18}\) Cf. *Faras*, 1, p. 122.

\(^{19}\) Cf. K. Michałowski, *Kush* x, p. 236.
data without delay. We fully realize, however, that until the whole of the church is cleared, no final conclusions can be reached.

The Church under the Citadel is a rectangular building (l. 24.80 m.; w. 22.75 m.). The outside walls are of sandstone blocks, amongst which can be recognized those re-utilized from Pharaonic and from earlier Christian monuments. We only know of one other instance of a Nubian church with analogous walls including re-utilized blocks, and that is the basilica of the Southern Monastery in the Citadel of Qasr Ibrim. 20

The walls are regular. The number of courses varies from 15 in the east wall to 18 in the north, according to the size of the blocks. The east wall is of sandstone laid directly on the black soil, without foundations. Here it rises to about 4 m. 21 The three other faces have an extra course. Soundings in the north-west corner have proved that there the wall rests on a foundation of three courses of undressed blocks. As on this side the Kom is much steeper than on the east, 22 that would explain the necessity for foundations. Under the church three ground levels have been noted:

1. 4.07 m. in the north-west corner. 23
2. 4 m. in the east wall—4.35 m. south of the north-east corner.
3. 6 m. in the east wall—4.30 m. north of the south-east corner.

This shows that the ground here fell away slightly to the north-west. Above the sandstone wall, the upper part of the church was built of fired-bricks. Loam was used as mortar. The fired-brick wall 24 is in a better state of preservation on the east face (PLATE LVII, a) than elsewhere and it is here that the window with the stone grille was found. 25

The total height of the outer walls cannot be determined until the interior is fully cleared; that will give indications relative to the height of domes and vaults. For the time being, we can only note that the east wall had four windows which must have undergone certain modifications since they differ in size. The best preserved of these is the one uncovered last year, measuring 1.78 × 0.74 m. It was topped by a wooden lintel. Although the tops of the others are missing, the first to the north has a re-utilized stone lintel and we can safely state that once they all boasted wooden lintels. The number of the windows is determined by

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21 Measured from the threshold of the west gate of the Meroitic enclosure excavated by Griffith, cf. K. Michałowski, Faras, I, p. 20, n. 3.
23 On the south side a passage against this wall allowed us to excavate it to a depth of 1.50 m. Another passage along the north side also partly covers the wall of the church. For the west side, see below.
24 The size of bricks as well as the length of the wall are given in Faras, I, p. 123

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the interior arrangement of the church. The ground-plan shows that it was divided into five aisles, the middle one ending in an apse, the rounded interior of which must have been decorated with paintings, which would explain the absence of any window in the middle of the east wall. The four existing windows each correspond to one of the lateral aisles.

The west wall is shorter than the east wall, for at the south-west corner is an inset into which were built the steps leading to the south lateral entrance. This was altered later. Two mud-brick walls (60 cm. thick) were built so as to mask this irregularity of shape. Previously, the west wall had been 18.70 m. long and contained another great doorway (h. 2.60 m.; w. 1.20 m.). The upper part of the wall, i.e. the fired-brick, contains seven windows, measured as follows, beginning from the south: I: w. 0.70 m., II: w. 0.69 m., III: w. 0.64 m., IV: w. 0.68 m., V: w. 0.69 m.; VI: w. 0.70 m., VII: w. 0.68 m.

The one above the main entrance still has a brick arch on the inside—possibly they all had—and a wooden lintel on the outside. Five of these windows were found stopped up with saqqiya jars (Plate LVII, b), but for the one near the north-west corner mud-bricks were used.

When it was cleared, we found the main entrance had been closed with stones of the same type as those used for the walls, i.e. carefully wrought sandstone blocks, partly coming from older buildings. A platform made of earth mixed with rubble (w. 2.15 m.; l. 21.50 m.) supported by a mud-brick wall (w. 0.50 m.) ran the whole length of the church, like a terrace. In the centre rose a fired-brick construction, a sort of ‘mastaba’, faced with cement (l. 3.40 m.; h. 0.74 m.; w. 2.12 m.). This was connected to the lower platform which came to cover the stone steps that used to lead to the main entrance of the church. These steps were also made from re-utilized blocks, amongst which can be seen the red granite shaft of a column.

There is no shadow of doubt that this is some funerary structure erected over the church steps. Close study of the cement shows that here are two graves, one built against the other. The one to the right would be the oldest, a layer of cement showing on its north side against which the other was later built; a fresh coat of cement then covered the whole enlarged construction. This alteration, transforming the main entrance into a burial place, explains the presence of the three funerary stelae affixed to the sandstone wall on this side of the church. In the middle of what had been the door was the white marble stele of Bishop Kolouthos (Plate LV, b) who died in the year of Diocletian 639, i.e. A.D. 923. The pink sandstone stele of Bishop Aaron (Plate LVIII, a), who died in 689 D. (A.D. 973) is on its right; and to its left, outside the blocked up doorway, is the little yellowish-white marble stele of Bishop Stephanos (Plate LVIII, b) who

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26 Cf., for the shape of that construction, the Christian tombs found by Griffith in Faras western cemeteries. LAAA, xiv, pl. lvii, 3 and 7.
Fig. 2. PLAN OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL
Fig. 3. EAST-WEST SECTION OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL.

Fig. 4. EAST SIDE OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL.
FIG. 5. WEST SIDE OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE CITADEL.
died in 642 D. (A.D. 926). The positions of the stelae correspond to those of the tombs. The oldest, that of Kolouthos, is just above the first grave. Bishop Stephanos, his successor, also had his stele above his own grave, next to it, but Aaron's stele sets a problem. However, it is the only one so far found in Faras to mention Pachoras as the metropolis. Possibly it was placed here beside that of Kolouthos as a memorial, similar to those of Bishops Petros and Iesou found in the chapel of the Madonna alongside those of Joannes and Georgios.²⁷ On the other hand, it is not impossible that Aaron, having been deacon to Kolouthos, might have been buried in the same grave.

The south wall had six windows of which the second from the west was blocked with re-utilized stones. One of these bears an anagram of the name Michael. It is here that a charred wooden beam, serving as lintel to the third window from the east, is still in place. It is segmented and decorated with rosettes, alternately a smooth petalled one and one with grooved petals. In the course of later alterations this beam came to be partly covered by brickwork (Plate LIX, a). At the end of the corridor, under the third window from the east, a large (h. 18 cm.; l. 1.33 m.) pinkish sandstone block bearing a Maltese cross has been re-utilized (Plate LIX, b). On it, in black ink, are three columns of the Coptic alphabet. This appears to be a schoolboy’s exercise, copying out twice the first column which is traced in a better and surer hand—probably the master’s model. In one row are vowels only. Two other rows are illegible. The position of the stone, in the upper course of the sandstone wall, shows that it once formed part of the south wall of the church. It was situated 4.30 m. above the ground and school exercises clearly could not have been written on it in this position. The writing must have been done either when it occupied another position or at a late date when the vaulted corridor was built against the south wall and the floor level was concurrently raised.

A study of the east and west walls shows the original design of the church to have been rectangular consisting of three central aisles. About 4 m. from the north and south corners, in both east and west walls, the vertical line of the original corners can be seen in the first four or five courses of stone. However, in the west wall this is only visible on the north side. To the south, the original design was retained, even after the plan had been changed.

It is likely that the entrance on the south side, arranged inside this angle with a Merotic lintel²⁸ over the doorway, was first planned as the only entrance to the church. This arrangement would agree with that of most Nubian churches where the entrance was to the south, well protected from north winds. The original plan was never carried out, however, as, while the building was in progress and the walls had already risen to about 1.70 m., it was decided to add

two more aisles on the north and south, thus enlarging the church and giving it more grandiose proportions.\textsuperscript{29}

The main west entrance was opened in the sandstone wall much later, perhaps at the time when the angle in the south-west corner was covered by the mud-brick wall which restored the regular shape of the church, making it almost square. It is worth noting that the sandstone blocks at the back clearly show the outline of a door 1.20 m. wide and 2.60 m. high. Such an arrangement can only be explained as the result of remodelling, the courses being perfectly symmetrical on either side and slightly disarranged only at this point.

Once the main door had been walled up (which happened before 922 as can be seen from the stela of Kolouthos), the church again had only the south entrance, which was then altered considerably. This season, the south-west corner of the church has only been partly cleared. However, the following is obvious: the space enclosed within the mud-brick walls was subsequently divided by a mud-brick partition into two rectangular portions, north and south. In this partition, there was a little door, later hastily blocked with mud bricks. The south part (w. 0.98 m.; l. 3.08 m.) served as a staircase. Below it, a niche faced towards the south door of the church. The inside of this niche was whitewashed and had two little cavities in its north and south walls to take oil lamps.

The two sandstone walls facing the door with the Meroitic cornice, i.e. the south and west walls of the inset, were found to be decorated with huge mural paintings representing the Archangel Michael, standing to the left of the door and on horseback to the right. These two paintings antedate the brick walls which concealed the irregular shape of the building. The right wing of the standing archangel was partially covered with brickwork when the west wall of the church was extended.

The top part of the painting comes onto a thick facing made up as follows: the first coating, laid on the fired-bricks and the first courses of stone, consists of 1 cm. of loam, over which is a second layer of Nile mud mixed with lime, also approximately 1 cm. thick. Next, another thin layer like the first, and over that the lime facing which is the background of the painting. In the lower part, this thick mortar merely served to fill in the cracks between the stones and to smooth down the rough surface of the wall. Thus, in some parts, the film of whitewash upon which the mural is painted is directly laid onto the stone.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{29} Five-aisle churches are rare in Nubian sacred architecture. However, on the opposite bank of the Nile, a few miles north of Faras, at Adindan, the ruins of a five-aisle church are to be seen, cf. Mileham, \textit{Churches in Lower Nubia}, pp. 38–9; Somers Clarke, \textit{Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley}, p. 70, pl. xvii; Monneret de Villard, op. cit., I, pp. 185 ff, pls. 79–80, fig. 170. It is most likely that the arrangement of Adindan church was influenced by the Church under the Citadel at Faras.

\textsuperscript{30} This painting, as well as the one to the right of the door, has been consolidated and removed from the wall by Mr Jasiewicz.
The saint (Plate lx) is shown standing, wearing a long white tunic with brown bands. A long greenish cloak with a wide collar and checked with dark brown lines is gathered on his right shoulder with a round brooch. Peeping out from under the tunic are reddish-brown pantofles. The huge wings, traced with scales, form the background. The right hand just shows below the sleeve, gripping a sword in its scabbard which is supported from below by the fingers of the left hand. On the crown are three black, red and white crosses, resting on square plaques. Above, there is an inscription in black which reads: "ΑΡΧΑΝΕΛΟΣ." Behind is a yellow halo circled by two bands, one red and one white. The mass of black hair framing the oval face covers the ears. The wrinkles on the forehead, the eyebrows, and the nose are almost a geometrical design in red and black. The small mouth is red and shaped like the letter ρ as is the chin.

This figure is more elongated (w. circa 1.10 m.; h. circa 1.80 m.) than the one found in the chapel of Joannes. The difference between the two paintings is marked, especially as regards facial composition. As opposed to the classical, tranquil lineaments of the archangel in the chapel, here we have the severe, almost threatening features of a warrior. In contrast to the serene almond-shaped eyes of the first fresco, here is a piercing, penetrating look stressed by the semi-circular lines above and below the eyelids. This difference is not only due to the disparity of subject matter: the archangel in the chapel being cast in the part of a soul-guiding saint, whereas here he is very much a warrior-saint, guarding the entrance to the church. The question of style should also be taken into consideration. This is discernible in the vastly different conception of the two representations. If the widespread wings are characteristic in the chapel fresco, the church painting is entirely elongated—although not in the exaggeratedly deformed Coptic style of the painting of the Apostles in the church north of Faras Citadel; and although different from the soft-eyed expression of the chapel fresco, the piercing look of St. Michael is as yet but a prefiguration of the expression found in the wide open eyes of Coptic paintings.

If, because of the stelae of Joannes and Petros found in the chapels, we can ascribe those paintings to the first half of the 11th century, for the church fresco we have nothing to go on but purely archaeological data. The mud-brick wall, built to lengthen the west wall of the church partially covers the archangel's wing, which must therefore have been painted prior to the architectural alteration.

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31 The crown had fallen off, but we found it and pieced the fragments together.
32 The lettering resembles that of the inscriptions above the murals of the Archangel Michael and of the Madonna found in the chapels of Joannes. Cf. K. Michałowski, Faras, i, pp. 102, 105, figs. 37, 41.
33 Cf. K. Michałowski, Faras, i, p. 99, fig. 37; Kush x, pp. 228-9, pl. lxxv.
34 Cf. Réaux, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, p. 44.
35 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, xiii, pl. xxxiv.
We tentatively suggest that this was done at the time the great west entrance was opened. We cannot assign any definite date, but the stele of Kolouthos (923) affixed to the wall which later came to block this door gives us a date ante quem. It is improbable that the great western entrance, after demanding such drastic remodelling of the façade, should have been in use for only a short time. So it seems likely that late 8th or early 9th century would be a guess close to the truth. We hope that further clearing of the interior may bring to light new clues permitting us to date the painting more accurately.

To the right of the entrance, the sandstone wall facing west inside the inset is decorated with a large mural of St. Michael on horseback. Here, he is shown as High Constable of the Heavenly Host, commanding the fray against the rebel angels whom he thrusts into the abyss. This painting (w. 2.20 m.) is badly damaged. The torso and head of the saint are missing and the remaining surface is very worn.\(^36\)

The archangel is shown on a galloping horse. His left hand holds the bridle and his right the light brown, black tipped lance with which he is striking a small falling figure, whose white tunic, striped with black and with traces of red can barely be distinguished. It is, no doubt, one of the rebel angels. Behind the rider a fragment of cloak flies out stiffly in large folds. This is light brown, adorned with a reddish brown criss-cross design enclosing red and green beads. The bay horse has both forelegs raised, hindlegs bent. The fetlocks are painted white, the hooves and waving tail—the tip of which is drawn on the entrance pillar—black. The horse is richly caparisoned in cloth with criss-cross embroidery, bordered with braid and studded with round stones, alternately red and green. From the crupper dangles a row of tassels fixed to a braided band. A yellow bell hangs on the horse’s breast.

This composition belongs to the series of Cavalier Saints, such as St. Mercourios in the church of Abdel Gadir.\(^37\) Unfortunately, the poor condition of the painting precludes all analysis of style. It would, however, seem likely that the murals on both sides of the door were painted at the same time. The galloping horse is a bold composition, showing great competence and mastery by the artist craftsman.

The doorway to the church is crowned with the Meroitic cornice mentioned above. Several graffiti have been noted on the greyish-white facing of the entrance wall; among them the names of presbyter Iesou and deacon Mary(\(?)\). The right side of the entrance bears a graffito with the date 601(\(?)\) of the Martyrs, i.e. A.D. 884.\(^38\) At some later date this wall was covered with a fresh film of

\(^{36}\) As the clearing proceeded it proved necessary to consolidate this painting immediately. That is why there is no photograph of it in situ. It has been removed by Mr Jasiewicz and we hope to present in the next volume a photograph taken in the Museum.


\(^{38}\) The Coptic letters allow two possibilities for reading this date: ΧΑ or ΧΘ, i.e. 601 of the Martyrs, or 671. That is to say A.D. 884 or 954.
plaster. Inside, the entrance is vaulted; but all along the cornice a wooden beam (l. 1.46 m.; w. 22 cm.; h. 14 cm.) serves as a lintel. A round hole (diam. circa 12 cm.) was bored into the right side of this beam, evidently serving as a socket to pivot the door. In the left side of the entrance there is a cavity\textsuperscript{38} to house the bolt of the door.

The doorway afforded access to a long passage (w. 2.42 m.; l. 16.90 m.)—the narthex. Although only partially cleared, this has provided us with two large murals, one on the west wall and one on the east. The western one, to the left of the door (2.90 × 2.50 m.) has been cleared to a depth of 2.50 m. and represents the Three Young Hebrews in the Furnace (Plate LXI).

This painting is exceptionally well preserved. The colours are bright and the surface shows hardly a scratch. After being photographed, it has been covered again with sand for protection until next season, when it will be wholly cleared, removed from the wall and taken to the Museum.

The main part of the composition takes up the space between the first and second windows to the south; but it extends on either side beneath these apertures. On the brick-red background, the flames of the furnace are outlined in black. The centre is taken up by the monumental figure of the Archangel Michael dressed in a long sleeved white robe with a green collar with brownish bands. Over this a cloak of like colour and ornament is belted with a black-bordered white girdle. On his feet are brown pantofles. A gold crown with a double border of pearls and studded with green stones lies upon the mass of black hair of which two little curls show on the forehead under the crown. The crown is topped by three small crosses in rhomboidal settings affixed to rectangular bases, bordered with pearls. Behind, the yellow halo is slightly elongated and circled with black and white lines and a wide elliptical band. The features are strongly marked by black lines. The slightly arched brows and long, open eyes are stressed with green lines. The small nose is somewhat curved; the mouth rendered by an arched line. Traces of red are still to be seen in the lips. The chin is in the shape of a letter π. The two yellow wings are decorated with brown peacock feathers with green eyes, and their lower edge is scalloped out in the form of large scales, navy blue like the outer contour. The left hand clasps to the waist a round fluted paten. On that hand rests the long staff held in the other.

The staff, ending in a light brown cross and circled with metal bands, is held obliquely, cross down, black point up. The cross is studded with green stones. The position of this long staff stresses the protective attitude of the Archangel towards the Three Youths in the Furnace. At his right, two figures are covered by his horizontal right wing and the staff, the cross of which reaches below their waists. The one on his left is under the outstretched left wing.

\textsuperscript{38} We propose to study the details of the door in the following report, after the area has been completely cleared.
As described in Daniel III, 21, the three men are ‘in their coats, their hosen and their hats’. The coats, fastened at the breast with round brooches, the ‘hosen’ embroidered with a brown and red criss-cross design enclosing green and dark red dots, the hats upon the thick black hair are parti-coloured, red and green and topped by round buttons. There they stand, hands raised in prayer, in their richly ornate garments—for they also wear brown pantoffles and white tunics with brown and green bands, wide borders and round green and red stones. Dalmatics too, embroidered in brown checks with red and green stones and edged with a wide, dark blue border, embroidered with pearls and studded with stones like the tunics. The border on the cloak of the man on the angel’s right is yellow. On their raised wrists are wide bracelets with pearls and stones. Two curls fall out onto the foreheads from under the tiny hats. The heads of the three figures are inclined towards the archangel. The noses are curved, the eyebrows long, the mouths indicated by a red line and the chins by a letter π. The black eyes, shaped like those of the angel, are drawn with green lines and calm, serene expressions. Below the figures appear the following names: first on the left: Ananiah; second on the left: Azaria; on the right: Micaiah; below the angel: Xiul. These names are those of Ananiah, Misael and Azariah frequently distorted. The theme of the Three Youths in the Furnace was very popular in early Christian art. In Nubia, the same subject is found in three other churches, to wit: Abd el Qadir, Tamit and Kalabsha. However, the protective attitude in which the angel is seen here, safeguarding the three figures, two on his right and the third on his left, with his staff and wings, seems to be exceptional.

Also, we can hazard a very special interpretation. The mural is practically over the grave of the three bishops buried against the west wall. The stelae of Kolouthos and Aaron in the bricked-up door, and that of Stephanos to the

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40 They are undoubtedly dressed in late Parthian clothes, so characteristic of Palmyrian sculptures. Cf. K. Michalowski, Palmyre, II (1962), p. 144 and the very important studies on this subject by H. Seyrig, Syrie, xvii (1936), p. 238 sq.; xviii (1937), p. 4 sq.
41 Cf. Daniel, 1, 7 and 111, 21; Kurt Kuhl, Die drei Männer im Frei, 1930.
44 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, xv, p. 73, pl. xxxviii; J. G. Herzog zu Saxen, Steinzuge durch die Kirchen und Kloster Aegypten, p. 63.
45 Professor J. Leclant has drawn my attention to the article written by E. Drioton in the Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte, vi, 1942, pp. 1–8, where he published a Coptic relief of the 7th century representing the same subject, where two youths are on the left of the angel and the third one on his right. The position of the youths is thus the reverse of our fresco. Drioton thinks that there was a common model (illustration of a manuscript) for the compositions on this subject. This composition where the angel inclines his staff in a protective gesture, seems to be typically Egyptian.
KUSH

north of it, correspond in their respective positions exactly to those of the painted figures: two south of the archangel, one north. In the Book of Daniel (III, 25) 'the form of the fourth is like the Son of God', and sometimes the angel sent by God is shown holding a scroll over the heads he is protecting (here his wings). Nowhere is there specific mention that this angel might be Michael; but as guardian and protector of this particular church, he assumes the part. Thus we are confronted with a local interpretation of the story; and this interpretation, together with the position of the painting on the west wall of the narthex, suggests a transparent allusion to the three bishops, one-time servants of the church of Saint Michael, Archangel, protected by their patron after their death.

As to the style of this composition, the following points should be noted. The artist who painted the chapel frescoes (with the tondo of the Madonna and the composition of the archangel following the curved line of the vault)46 fitted his work into the surface at his disposal; whereas here the painter proves to have been quite unconcerned by the fact that two windows pierced the wall. He simply broke the frieze of flames above the heads of the two southern figures and sketchily continued the line of the angel's right wing flat along the window-sill. To the north, the window cut into part of the wing, which the artist bent downwards under the sill. This nonchalance which is almost naive takes us far from the classical tradition, but brings us very close to the general practice in Nubian churches of the second Christian period (i.e. starting from the 10th century). Notwithstanding, this is without doubt a masterpiece of Byzantine art, remarkable both for its execution and for its state of preservation. The fact of its being so well preserved can also be taken into account when we attempt to date it. Probably the latter period of utilization of the church, i.e. the end of the 12th century. Next season may provide further indications, once the lower part of this mural is cleared.

Opposite this mural is another, also representing the Archangel Michael (Plate LXII, a). Here, two layers of painting are discernible. It is difficult to see the subject of the first; but it was painted al fresco, whereas the second is a tempera in the buono fresco technique.

Only the upper right hand portion of the saint has so far been uncovered. The head and the left shoulder are missing. He is standing clad in a long-sleeved white tunic, over which is a vast white dalmatic with double brown bands. Over this is thrown a very elaborate garment: long yellow stoles are wrapped round the body. The material is rich adorned with discs studded with a row of white, red and green stones. The centre part is fastened with red and pale green round buttons. Circular and rhomboidal gems are also embroidered onto the yellow background of this vestment. The border is very wide and embroidered with pearls. The left wing droops against the body. It is yellow, with

46 Cf. K. Michałowski, Faras, 1, p. 109; KUSH x, pp. 230–1, pl. lxxvi.
brown peacock feathers with red eyes. The contours are red, the underside being shaped like big scales picked out in black and white. Close to his body the saint holds a round fluted paten, the bottom of which is decorated with a Coptic cross within a circle of pearls. In his raised right hand, he holds a yellowish staff with decorative ironwork.

This second painting shows the same characteristic details of clothing and wing design as the large mural of the Three Young Men in the Furnace. It is therefore likely that it is a work of the same date, i.e. the end of the 10th–12th centuries.

Among the other murals of the church under the Citadel, in the north aisle, on the eastern face of one of the partitions, we have uncovered the upper part of what appears to be a Nativity (Plate LXII, b). This extends upwards into the vault. The top is circumscribed with a pale blue arch, studded with white and red stars. Three of them are still preserved in the northern part. This arch was bordered by a black and white line and a wide red band. On the white background, white robed angels fly with red rimmed, yellow wings. In the top row, three angels are visible. Below them, four stand with outspread or drooping wings of the same colour. Two of them are blowing old-gold trumpets. One of the lower group of angels has a short pinkish brown cloak. They all have round faces and brown hair gathered off their foreheads by a band of pearls. To the right, the star of Bethlehem is portrayed over a sort of canopy decorated with four crosses, two large and two small, painted old-gold.

This mural is painted onto a very thin facing and the surface is very brittle. It most likely belongs to the latest set of paintings, perhaps 11th century.

In several other parts of the church, traces of mural paintings have been noticed as the upper parts of the walls were cleared. This general clearing of the top was necessary in order to get an idea of the groundplan of the construction. Thus, many fragments were found in the sand in the northern part of the narthex: their characteristic is a predominance of dark purple over other colours.

The whole of the apse was painted. The south wall of the south aisle carries traces of a fresco which ran right along the top of the wall. It is a broad band of interlock-pattern in red and yellow.

A summary of this year’s excavations cannot give a complete description of the Church under the Citadel. However, we believe we can already base a few suppositions upon the data obtained, pending the final synthesis which will only be possible once we are in possession of all the material available.

There can be no doubt that this church was first planned as a three-aisle church and that it was later enlarged in the course of construction by the addition of the south and north aisles. It is in the outer walls of these two additions that we have found several sandstone blocks with Maltese cross or vine-leaf designs

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47 Mr Jasiewicz has consolidated the part which we cleared. It was then covered with sand again.
and, in the north wall, two stones with drawings.\textsuperscript{48} It is therefore obvious that stones were re-utilized here from another Christian building already in ruins at the time when this church was built. Now there is only one church in Faras whose walls could have been used as a ‘quarry’ for a new building in those days: it is the Great Church, south of the Great Kom. Griffith\textsuperscript{49} stressed the condition in which he found its remains: the walls were partly razed to the foundation stones. That is why it proved impossible to trace its plan. However, among the blocks lying about in the sand, a few Greco-Corinthian capitals, granite columns and other decorated stones were found \textit{in situ}. We have already suggested\textsuperscript{50} that the Great Church of Faras may have been the first Christian cathedral in Pachoras; and the dressing of its walls is the same as those of the Church under the Citadel, to wit: the lower part is of stone and the upper of fired-brick.\textsuperscript{51}

The Great Church is the only Nubian church which 19th-century travellers saw as a mound of stones. The others, Rivergate Church for instance, still at that time had the appearance of monumental ruins.\textsuperscript{52} That is why we believe the following to be likely: the Great Church, first cathedral in Pachoras, was built at the latest at the beginning of the second half of the 6th century. That it still belonged to the Greco-Roman tradition is shown by the capitals. Sited between the Meroitic enclosure and an irrigation canal\textsuperscript{53} it collapsed—perhaps owing to floods, perhaps due to some other cataclysm. So the clergy began to build a new church on higher land, i.e. on the artificial hill already at that time 2 m. high, to the north of the Great Church. The original plan was a three-aisle church, built like the Great Church, with sandstone blocks in the lower part. Then the building was enlarged. The next season will most probably give us the exact date of the foundation and enlargements of the church which must be not later than the 8th century.

As for the interior decoration, apart from the large mural glorifying the three bishops Kolouthos, Aaron and Stephanos in the guise of the Three Young Hebrews in the Furnace—for which we suggest the 10th–11th centuries—we beg to reserve our opinion also until the end of next season’s excavations.

\textsuperscript{48} The east and west walls only have re-utilized Pharaonic stones in their lower courses.
\textsuperscript{50} Cf. K. Michałowski, \textit{Faras}, i, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{51} The same building methods have been described by P. L. Shinnie in the church of Ghazali, Cf. \textit{Ghazali—A monastery in the Northern Sudan}, 1961, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{52} Cf. Griffith, \textit{LAAA}, xiii, pp. 66 ff.
\textsuperscript{53} Cf. K. Michałowski, \textit{Faras}, i, pl. i.
The University of Ghana
Excavations at Debeira West

by P. L. SHINNIE

Ghana's contribution to the campaign to save the monuments of Nubia has taken the form of an expedition from the University of Ghana to excavate a concession at Debeira West.

The area of Debeira West\(^1\) lies some 14 miles north of Wadi Halfa and stretches along the Nile for about 2 miles. It contains a number of ancient sites, ranging in date from the Nubian C-Group to late medieval times. Of these sites the most notable are the Church,\(^2\) R.2 in the Antiquities Service numbering, and the large mound, R.8, which lies just to the south of the Church and separated from it by a Wadi. The exact nature of the antiquities of which the mound was composed was not known, and it had received scant attention from previous visitors. From surface pottery it was of Christian date and certainly comprised a number of large buildings. It was presumably associated in some way with the church.

\(^1\) The name is a purely administrative one for the area. There is no village called Debeira on the West bank, though there is a large and important one on the opposite bank. There seems to be no name for the uninhabited tract of country where the antiquities are situated; though most of them lie in the *Omodia* of Argin.

\(^2\) A well known antiquity. It was partially excavated by Mileham in 1908 and published by him in *Churches in Lower Nubia*, pp. 14–21. He calls it 'The Church Near Debereh'.
KUSH

Work started on 21 October 1961, and continued until 15 February 1962 with an average of 80 workmen employed. During this period excavation was carried out at the Church, R.2, the mound R.8, the X-Group cemetery R.11, and a C-Group cemetery R.17, which lay just outside our concession but for the excavation of which special permission was given by Sayed Thabit Hassan, the Commissioner for Archaeology.

The Church, R.2

This building had been partly cleared by Mileham in 1908 but had sanded up in the intervening years. It seemed worth while to re-clear the interior to see if anything had been missed in the earlier work, and also to clean fallen debris from round the outside of the walls to enable a more accurate plan to be made. This external debris had not been cleared by Mileham and particularly along the south side where a great deal of the wall had collapsed removal of the fallen blocks was necessary for the line of the wall to be seen clearly.

The cleaning of the interior revealed several features which had not previously been observed. At the east end of the church and on the north side of the Haikal a rock cut grave was discovered, which it is reasonable to assume was the grave of Peter the Deacon whose grave stone had been found in the Haikal by Mileham, and is published by him. The mud brick tribune partly covered this grave so it is clear that it is not an original feature of the church and must be later than A.D. 1029 the date of Peter’s death as recorded on the stone.

At the west end of the church which Mileham’s Plate 6c suggests he did not clear, removal of rubble at the foot of the tower stairway made access to the stair possible. In a corner here a human skeleton was found. From the attitude in which it was found it seems unlikely that it was a deliberate burial and it is possible that a casual passerby died here. There was nothing to suggest a date and the only objects found were the remains of a loin cloth and of a leather bag.

The Mound, R.8

This mound, on which the season’s main effort was concentrated, was found to consist of a complex of mud brick buildings of Christian times. The sketch (Fig. 2) shows the layout of the area so far excavated. It should be borne in mind that a great deal still remains to be cleared and that the plan only gives a

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3 Our party consisted of myself as Director, Dr Boahen and Mr Carter, both from the University of Ghana, my wife, and Mrs Carter; for a short time we were joined by Sayed Sharaf ed Din Mohammed Bushara, a student of architecture from the University of Khartoum.

The foremen were Reis Ibrahim Mubarak and Reis Hannan Musa both of Qurt. Funds for the work were provided by the Ghana Government, the University of Ghana, and the Gulbenkian Foundation. To all of these I am deeply grateful.

a. EARLIEST BUILDING SEEN FROM THE NORTH. THE STONE ARCHED ENTRANCE TO ROOM 34 IS SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND.

b. ROOM 34 SEEN FROM THE NORTH. THE FLOOR HAS BEEN REMOVED TO SHOW THE NATURAL ROCK

facing p. 258
a. Entrance archway to original building. Room 686 with late doorway in background.

b. View from north showing steps leading up to room 13
a. GROUP OF LATE DOMESTIC BUILDINGS ON SOUTH SIDE OF SITE

b. DRAINAGE SYSTEM AND SOAKAWAY
a. View from north across open space 75, showing holes and trenches cut in the rock

b. Coloured painting of Noah's Ark in room 49
PLATE LXVII

(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
(6)
(7)

SMALL OBJECTS
Scales are cm. No. 1 is enlarged × 1½
partial view of the whole group of buildings which it is hoped to clear more extensively in a subsequent season.

From what has so far been cleared it can be seen that the earliest building (shaded black in the plan) consisted of a regular arrangement of six rooms (Nos. 33a, 33b, 34, 36, 37, 39) all interconnecting (a general view of these rooms can be seen in Plate LXIII, a).5 The way out is to the North where in Room 34 there is a stone archway. This, the only stone construction in the whole complex (Plate LXIII, b) marks this series of rooms as being of exceptional importance. To the north of the archway a passage leads off to the left and the whole entrance area is screened from the north wind by a wall running east–west. At a later date, and at a higher level, a door was knocked through this wall to give access to Room 67.

This passage runs past a tower (68a, 72) which is balanced on the east side by another tower (70, 73), to the original exit through a mud brick archway at the west side of 68. Plate LXIV, a, shows the upper part of the archway before the whole had been excavated, and a later wall, whose bottom course is visible, can be seen built up against it on the right; in the background of this picture can be seen the small room 68b in which a threshold had been inserted in the doorway at this higher level.

As part of the same period of building we have rooms 79, 80 and 82 lying immediately north-east of the group described and connected by the wall which runs along the south of these rooms and joins the tower at 73. This building appears to be a house consisting of two rooms (80, 82) with a stairway, approached through an arch, leading up in 79 to what must have been an upper storey, over the two main rooms whose roof, like nearly all the others on the site, was built of brick in the form familiar as the Nubian arch.6

We have therefore as the first building on the site a symmetrical arrangement of three long rooms, each with a small one to its south, twin towers, and an entrance shielded from the north, and attached to it a house. What can such a structure be? It is clear that the large rooms must be for some public purpose, and from graffiti on the walls of Room 34 as well as from the whole appearance of the building it would seem to have been ecclesiastical in function.

A monastery has been suggested,7 and though it is difficult to see how monks could have lived here no better suggestion presents itself. The small rooms 33b, 36, 39 could have been lived in, and the larger ones could have been used as

5 All the photographs are the work of Mr Carter.
7 The only monastery previously studied, and the only one known for certain to have been such, is that at Ghazali. Its plan bears no relation to that of Debeira. See Shinnie and Chittick, ‘Ghazali—A Monastery in the Northern Sudan’, SASOP, no. 5. The Christian ruins at Meinarti may also prove to be a monastery, but at the date of writing (June 1962) have not yet been excavated.
THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA EXCAVATIONS AT DEBEIRA WEST
dormitories or refectories. The central room (34) with its large open arched entrance, in which there is no evidence of a door, can only have been used for public assembly. A curious feature of these rooms is that holes had been dug in the rock below the floor and a number of coarse pots, of the type usually associated with beer, placed in them.

At some stage the original function of the building was changed. The doors connecting the rooms were blocked and new ones, at a higher level, made in the outside walls so as to form a number of self-contained 'houses' with independent access from the outside. It is presumably from the time of these alterations that the remainder of the buildings commence. They consist of a number of small structures, certainly domestic in use from the evidence of ovens, and hearths, and the presence of large quantities of pottery.

Owing to the lack of stratification over the site as a whole it is not possible to correlate chronologically buildings over the whole site, although in any one group the building history is clear. But it can be seen that the general development was outwards from the original 'monastic' complex, and that the latest buildings lie on the edge of the site.

One group of rooms, on the western side of the area excavated, is of greater complexity. This is the group lying immediately west of Rooms 26 and 30. Here several of the rooms preserve their vaults intact and walls of upper storey rooms are still standing. PLATE LXIV, b, shows these rooms from the north, they lie in the right-hand half of the picture which shows a flight of steps leading up to Room 13 which is directly above Room 61. Later buildings can be seen in the foreground.

To the south of this group and up against the wall which, in several non-bonded sections, runs along the whole of its south side, a number of small and badly built rooms was found. These rooms, certainly later than the wall which bounds them to the north, must have been used as kitchens and for other domestic purposes—a number of ovens was found here and in all the rooms there was a great quantity of ash. Rooms 32a and b in particular contained vast quantities of potsherds. PLATE LXV, a, shows the whole area from the south-east.

An unusual feature was the latrine and drainage system found in rooms 71 and 46. Room 46 a long narrow one without windows, and with access only from the east, was found to contain a great number of potsherds—these sherds covered the lower 30 cm. of the room and were a cause of considerable discussion until clearance of Room 71 showed that it had been a latrine and that a drain ran down from it into Room 46. It is thus clear that the sherds were placed in 46 to make a soak-away. Another drain on the north side of 63 also runs into the same room but the further ramifications of this drainage system have not yet

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8 One of the difficulties in establishing the building history of the site is that non-bonded sections of walls are not necessarily of different date.
been investigated. **Plate lxv, b,** taken from Room 46 looking west shows on the right the small latrine room (71) and also the other drain in 63.

The whole group of buildings was erected on a small sandstone knoll overlooking the river, and in a few places it was possible to clear down to the bedrock. The whole area of 75 was so cleared and except for a few very fragmentary late walls the area had for most of Christian times been an open space. There are indications of earlier occupation in the number of holes (post-holes?) which are found in this area as well as shallow trench like cuttings which may have been for foundation courses of walls. **Plate lxvi, a,** shows part of this area from the north, with a late street (77) to the south of the wall against which the figure stands and small rooms (47, 76, 83) built against the north side of a wall of an earlier room (43).

The walls of the rooms were in the main undecorated though in 34 the name πετρος had been written in white paint together with a cross and other signs. What was unexpected was to find some Arabic—Room 43 had بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم painted in black on the plaster together with the names حوا and أدم the equivalents of Adam and Eve. Room 49 was more surprising; here on the east wall was found a coloured painting (**Plate lxvi, b**) which must represent Noah's Ark. The whole style of the painting together with the occurrence again of the names Adam and Eve in Arabic, show that it must have been done in Islamic and not in Christian times, and is important evidence for a late date for the final occupation of the site.

It is not possible to give any exact dating for the occupation of the site. The lack of vertical development, together with the depredations of maroq diggers obscures any stratigraphical evidence over most of the site. Although there are hints of earlier occupation somewhere in the area, a Meroitic thumb ring, various re-used blocks with Meroitic inscriptions, a few pieces of X-Group pottery—it is certain that our buildings begin in full Christian times—but until the chronology of Christian pottery is more closely established we cannot say more than that it seems likely that the first buildings were put up in the 8th–9th centuries A.D. and that they were still in occupation when the Arabs came and perhaps for some time after; a range of date of the order A.D. 800–1400 would not be inconsistent with the evidence.

No detailed description of the small finds need be given here. As on all such sites the amount of pottery was vast, apart from 152 complete, or completely restorable pots, we handled something of the order of a quarter of a million sherds. This pottery covers most of the known wares of Christian Nubia, and also provided one previously unknown. A note on this new ware has been published elsewhere.⁹ A number of ostraka were also found whose texts have

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not yet been studied, one is of special interest since though the main inscription is in Coptic it appears to have one line in Old Nubian.

A selection of small objects is shown in Plate LXVII.

1. A copper stamp or seal showing two ostriches with crosses.
2. A stone bowl. Perhaps originally a font or holy water stoup, but subsequently used as a mortar and worn at the bottom by rubbing.
4. Copper cross with one arm broken off in antiquity.
5. Impressed pottery medallion from centre of a bowl.
6 and 7. Painted gazelles on potsherds.

In addition to the work on the Christian sites, 27 graves were excavated in the C-Group cemetery R.17. These call for no special comment in a preliminary report. They were of the normal stone cairn type with pots placed around the outside. The grave contents were poor consisting only of beads.

In the X-Group cemeteries R.11 and R.12 three graves were excavated.\(^{10}\) Of these R.11/1 had been robbed and produced only four pots and some beads, R.12/1 contained no grave goods. R.12/2 was intact and contained baskets in a good state of preservation, parts of the shroud, an iron pin with a dom nut used as the head, as well as pots and beads.

\(^{10}\) Some graves in this cemetery had been excavated in the previous season by the Sudan Antiquities Service.
The Last Christian Stronghold in the Sudan

by H. N. Chittick

The story of the conversion to Christianity of the riverain peoples of what is now the Republic of the Sudan begins, we are told by John of Ephesus, with the dispatch by Justinian and Theodora of rival missions, one of the orthodox Melkite party, the other Monophysite, these representing the respective persuasions of their patrons. This occurred in about 540. The Monophysites, according to John’s account, were the more successful, and by the early 580’s all that part of the country on which the earlier civilizations had made a mark had been converted to the faith. In the north, the two original Christian Kingdoms were soon amalgamated into one, Makuria or al-Maqurra, with its capital at (Old) Dongola. In the south was the kingdom of Alodia, as it was known in Greek, or ‘Alwa in Arabic, having its capital at Soba, which lies on the Blue Nile a little to the south of modern Khartoum. The frontier between the two Kingdoms was in the region known as al-Abwab, ‘the doors’. This is probably to be placed at the Sixth Cataract, or, according to A. J. Arkell, represents the rocky stretch of the Nile between Kareima and Abu Hamed.

These little-known kingdoms survived for many centuries, cut off by the Muslims in Egypt from their fellow-Christians in the north, and having, it seems, very little contact with their co-religionists in Ethiopia. Alodia outlived Makuria, which was overrun by forces from Egypt in the first half of the 14th century, by more than a hundred years, though by this time the country was evidently in a state of grave decline, if not anarchy. About A.D. 1500 it was invaded by an army of negroid Muslims, whose home has been variously placed in Abyssinia, in Shilluk-land and in Bornu. Their leader, Amara Dunkas, was the first of the Funj dynasty of ‘Black Sultans’ which was soon to rule most of the central and northern Sudan. He established his capital at Sennar in 1504, and at about the same time Soba, perhaps no longer the seat of the Kings of Alodia, fell.

Dealing with these events, the Funj Chronicle tells us:

‘(v)... the people collected round him and ceased not to visit him when he lay at Gebel Moya, which is east of Sennar; and finally there came to him ‘Abdulla

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1 History of the Sudan to 1821, 2nd edition, p. 194.
2 The only attempt to recount at length the history of the Christian period is U. Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia Christiana, Rome, 1938.
4 Jebel Moya is in fact about 20 miles west of Sennar.
THE LAST CHRISTIAN STRONGHOLD IN THE SUDAN

Gema’a of the Kawasma Arabs, the father of Sheikh Agib el Kafuta, and ancestor of the Awlad Agib; and they determined to make war upon the Anag the kings of Soba and el Kerri.
(vi) So Amara and ‘Abdulla Gema’a with their men went and made war on the Kings of Soba and el Kerri and defeated them and slew them’.

These events are recorded in greater detail in the first paragraph of a record of the historical traditions of the ‘Abdullab tribe published by A. E. D. Penn, and apparently dictated to him by a member thereof. This tells us: ‘The first ‘Abdullab king of whom we know anything was Sheikh ‘Abdullah Ğamma, the son of Mohammed el Bagir, who was named Ğamma because he gathered together under his rule various Arab tribes. He was of an ancient and honourable lineage, the descendant of chieftains of his own clan, and was of such high prowess and ability that he was able to weld the tribes together and rescue them from the harsh domination of the Anąq kings. The Arabs swore fealty to him after he had reduced their clans, one by one, but he considered it expedient to make a treaty of alliance with Amara Dunkas, king of the Fung country, who lived in the mountains towards Walool. They agreed together that the Fung king should supply provisions and fighting men from Negroland and, together with these and his Arab allies, Sheikh ‘Abdullah Ğamma advanced towards the Anąq king. He overcame him in many battles which it would be tedious to describe and penetrated northwards into the Anąq country as far as its capital Soba. This city he reduced, and slew the Anąq king, but Hassaballah, their general, succeeded in escaping to Gerri with a remnant of his forces. Now Gerri was encircled by a great wall and on this wall he built strong towers of defence, of which the traces can be seen at this day, but ‘Abdullah Ğamma pursued him and besieged the town so closely that he was compelled to surrender’.

‘El Kerri’ and ‘Gerri’ in these passages both refer to a place on the eastern bank of the Nile about 40 miles north of Khartoum (FIG. 1); the name is more accurately written Qarri, following the usual scheme of transliteration. It is now a poor village of modest size, but was formerly of great importance chiefly by virtue of its position at the eastern end of the caravan route across the Bayuda ‘Desert’ from Korti and ultimately from Egypt. It was the ‘Abdullab Sheikhs who, owing allegiance to the Funj Sultans in Sennar, ruled the northern part of the Kingdom on their behalf; of these ‘Abdullah Jamma was the first. The site of their town is close to the modern village, and is described by O. G. S. Crawford.  

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5 The ‘Abdullab Arabs had previously been defeated by the army of Amara Dunkas at Arbagi in the Gezira.
6 Anag, or Anaj, is the name that has come to be imputed to the pre-Muslim inhabitants of Northern and Central Sudan.
7 SNR, xvii, 1934, part I, pp. 59–83; only a translation is published.
8 Fung Kingdom of Sennar, pp. 66–7; at pp. 221–4 is given an account of Krump’s four-month stay at the place in 1701.

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There is now little to be seen at this place other than an expanse of ground pitted with holes and the ruins of one stone building. South of the site is the grave of Ajib, son of ‘Abdullah Jamma’: on higher stony ground to the north are extensive cemeteries mainly laid out with borders of blocks of rhyolite, strewn with white quartz pebbles; fragments of pots, many with ‘dimpled’ bases, lie about. Some distance east of the village is the Qubba of one Sheikh Jamil, built, like many others of holy men of the 16th to 18th centuries, of large flat bricks typical of the Christian period, and probably robbed from an earlier church (Plate LXVIII).

There is no trace of an encircling wall or other defensive works at the site of the old town; Crawford carried out an aerial search for the fort referred to in the ‘Abdullah chronicle but could see nothing in the area of the village or in the hills to the north now to be described. He somewhat discounts the story of the great wall, probably partly on this account.

Opposite Qarri village the Nile divides, passing either side of a flat-topped hill, Jebel Rauwiyan. The two streams again united, the river bears eastward, and improbably cuts through the length of the Qarri Hills, a great outcrop of rhyolite left projecting through the eroded sandstone plain. Downstream where the Nile issues from the hills, there are rapids, rather grandiloquently known as ‘The Sixth Cataract’. The gorge sliced through this mountainous tract, with white sails on the river, patches of green along the water’s edge, and bare, red, broken hills on either side, has more natural charm than can be found for many hundreds of miles.

Towards the western end of these hills are the ruins of a settlement, not hitherto remarked, which would seem to be the stronghold referred to in the ‘Abdullah chronicle.

The stronghold is essentially a hill defended by a wall running round part of its circumference, not far from its base (map, Fig. 2). The hill, named Jebel Irau, slopes steeply to the river on its northern side; it is precipitous to the east, but is less abrupt on its southern and eastern sides. The top of the hill is, rather surprisingly, fairly level, and extends for some 30 acres. Dotted about are the remains of houses, enclosures, and terraces, among which, at the time of the writer’s visit during the Kurban Bairam holiday of 1953, donkeys were pasturing on unexpected grasses.

The buildings are mostly rectangular constructions of no great pretensions, built of roughly-coursed random rubble, and sited for preference on the highest ground (Plate LXXIX, a). The majority are single rooms, but in several cases two or more have been built against each other. Towards the east of the hilltop, on the largest level expanse, is a comparatively complex group of buildings, part of which forms a rough square, each side being about 30 m. in length. Certain minor structures, very ruined, appear to have been oval or circular. In some

9 Ibid., p. 65.
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cases a number of individual buildings, variously rectangular and circular, have been built adjacent to each other to form an oval complex. One or two buildings seem to be associated with irregular enclosure walls, perhaps corrals for domestic animals. One possible site of a cistern was remarked, but most of the water was no doubt brought up from the river some hundreds of feet below.

The defensive wall in general follows the contours of the hill, making use of natural defences where convenient; at the north-west corner, however, it drops down to the point where the wadi below it debouches into the Nile. There is no wall on the east and south-east sides, where the hillside was evidently judged to be sufficiently precipitous for other defences to be superfluous; traces of a spur-wall running from the north-east corner of the hill to the river bank can, however, be observed. Much of the defensive wall is quite ruined; where it survives intact it varies between 1½ and 3 m. in height, the average being about 2 m., and the width similar. It was built with facings of larger blocks of rock than were employed for the houses, but was also of dry stone construction, roughly coursed, with a filling of smaller rubble (PLATE LXIX, b). In some sections of the wall the slabs were arranged herring-bone fashion.

In addition to the main wall, various auxiliary defences can be discerned. The remains of comparatively flimsy walls form an outwork on the western side of the hill at a point where the slope is slight (PLATE LXX, a). Other walls, now quite ruined but formerly massive, block the approaches up two wadis 400 m. west of the main defences, and in this area a second spur wall from the river to the foothills blocked the approach along the very narrow flood plain from this direction.

At the eastern edge of Jebel Irau, on the edge of the settlement and overlooking the river is a large smooth slab of natural rock, on which are numbers of engravings, some pecked, probably with a stone, and some incised, probably with a metal instrument. These engravings are likely to have been made when the settlement was occupied, and, though they are not objects of beauty, are of interest since we have more than usually precise indications of their date. The patina on the engravings is almost as dark as that of the natural rock surface; this can be explained by the fact that they are completely exposed to the elements. In style they can be compared with those known to be of Islamic date in south Egypt.10 The commonest animal is the camel (PLATE LXX, b, and FIG. 3), in one case with a rider (FIG. 4). One engraving depicts a dog (?) (FIG. 5), and another, partly in pecked and partly incised technique, a sailing ship (PLATE LXX b). The subjects of two engravings (FIGS. 6 and 7) are unidentified. An incised drawing apparently depicts a pair of sandals (FIG. 8). No Christian symbols were seen, nor inscriptions of any sort.

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10 Cf. Winkler, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, 1, E.E.S. 1938, p. 15. The author, however, makes no mention of drawings of boats.
PLATE LXVIII

THE QUBBA OF SHEIKH JAMIL AT QARRI

facing p. 270
a. JEBEL IRAU: A BUILDING AT THE NORTHERN END OF THE SITE, WITH THE NILE BELOW

b. A SECTION OF THE MAIN WALL AT JEBEL IRAU
a. OUTWORK ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF JEBEL IRAU

b. JEBEL IRAU—ROCK ENGRAVINGS.
The subjects have been chalked in, except (bottom left) a grid-like object
THE LAST CHRISTIAN STRONGHOLD IN THE SUDAN

No excavation was undertaken, and very few objects were found in the ruins of the settlement. Part of a burnt brick of Christian type, similar to those of which the Qubba mentioned above was built, was observed. The only datable sherd of pottery found was a fragment of the type of Islamic monochrome glazed ware which was common in the second half of the 15th, and in the 16th century.

Both these finds are consistent with a date around A.D. 1500. There is, however, no sign of the towers of defence to which Mr Penn’s informant refers as having been added by Hassaballah,\textsuperscript{11} the Christian general. Perhaps this passage is just embroidery; or possibly ‘towers’ (as translated) refers to the outer defences. In any case, it seems very probable that this is indeed the stronghold to which the ‘Abdullab tradition refers. There are now no Christians native to the Sudan, except those converted in recent times, nor indeed anywhere in tropical Africa outside Ethiopia and her peculiar church. Jebel Irau, it seems, is the last relic of Justinian’s great missionary enterprises.

There are, to the writer’s knowledge, no comparable fortified settlements in the Nile valley. In Darfur, however, there are numerous sites in the region of Turra (the northern part of Jebel Marra) and the Furnung Hills\textsuperscript{12} with stone built remains which in many respects bear a remarkable resemblance to those of Jebel Irau. These settlements are invariably on hills, often with a defensive wall of irregular plan making use of natural features where available (e.g. Jebel Uri).\textsuperscript{13} Walls are also used to block approaches (Jebel Uri and Jebel Forei).\textsuperscript{14} The mode of construction is identical to that at Jebel Irau—the so-called Tora work of dry stone masonry with well-built facing and rubble fill, the walls usually being very wide. Huts vary in shape from round to square with rounded corners. The Darfur sites each have a central complex, clearly the ‘palace’ of the ruler, a compact arrangement of enclosure walls with buildings within; these may be compared with the complex towards the eastern side of Jebel Irau. The Darfur examples are, however, provided with an audience platform, and with large stone lined pits (for grain storage?), which are peculiar to them; though the depression of Jebel Irau taken to be a cistern might be comparable.

The most significant site, however, is ‘Ain Farah.\textsuperscript{15} Basing his argument on some distinctive potsherds picked up over 30 years ago in what had been supposed to be a mosque at that place, and which have only recently come to light, Arkell now convincingly maintains that the ruins there, built of stone and burnt brick, are of a Christian church and monastery. This revolutionary view suggests, as

\textsuperscript{11} Incidentally, this seems a rather unlikely name for a Christian.
\textsuperscript{13} SNR, xxvii, plan opposite p. 186.
\textsuperscript{14} SNR, xx, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{15} Arkell in SNR, xix; plan in H. G. Balfour-Paul, History and Antiquities of Darfur, p. 12 (Sudan Antiquities Service, 1955).
he points out, that the ruins between ‘Ain Farah and Nubia where burnt brick was employed (e.g. Abu Sofyan and Zankor) are likely to be of Christian origin; it is also possible, one may add, that some of the stone buildings in Darfur, themselves close in style to those of ‘Ain Farah, have to do with the Christians. Arkell considers that ‘Ain Farah probably dates from before A.D. 1240, on the grounds that the Moslem kingdom Kanem, further west, claimed to control the route from there to Sai at about that date, and indeed the pottery and glass found make a later date unlikely. Precise dating of the Darfur remains is difficult, but it is certain that many are later than those of ‘Ain Farah. It is also possible that Jebel Irau was originally occupied long before 1500.

None of the sites we are dealing with have been examined more than cursorily and one of the more important archaeological tasks is to investigate these in detail, and to put the hypotheses which are proposed to the test. At the moment, all that one can say is that it is likely that these settlements in Darfur are in some way related to that at which the Christians made their last stand on the Nile.

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Note: Since this article was first written three pertinent papers have appeared. P. M. Holt, ‘Funj origins: a critique and new evidence’, *Journal of African History*, iv, 1 (1963), pp. 39–55, includes relevant material; more important is the same author’s paper ‘A Sudanese Historical Legend: the Funj Conquest of Sūba’ in *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxiii, part i (1960), pp. 1–12. In this he maintains that the historical sources, owing to misunderstandings by the chroniclers, conceal the fact that it was the ‘Abdullab who first overthrew Soba, at an uncertain date before the arrival of the Funj at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at which latter time the ‘Abdullab would in turn have submitted to the Funj. If this view is correct—and the case Holt makes is weighty—then the fortified settlement at Jebel Irau would be (unless the ‘Abdullab tradition is aetiological, to account for the existence of the ruins) that to which the Christians retired after their defeat by the ‘Abdullab some time before the foundation of Sennar, c. A.D. 1504.

Some Zande Texts—PART 2

by E. E. Evans-Pritchard

These texts are voices from the dead. They are about what people said and did in past circumstances which for the most part no longer obtain and have not for over half a century obtained; and they were spoken about the words and deeds of people long since dead by others, almost all of whom are now also dead. Their value lies very largely in that fact. They relate in the words of Azande themselves an African way of life before Europeans—in the case of the Azande, Belgians, French and British—changed it, here more than there, and most conspicuously with regard to political institutions, which many of the texts directly or indirectly describe. There are few parts of Africa where similar historical material could now be collected; and the evidences are trustworthy, having been taken down from honest informants who were either witnesses of the events recorded or heard of them from witnesses. This is why I am placing them on record.

It should, however, be pointed out that though what is said to have happened is true in essentials, many of the details can only be virtually true, especially when speech is recorded. We have to allow for failure of memory, embellishment, and the histrionic. It is evident that it is most unlikely that words someone is said to have spoken were exactly what he said, especially if the narrator was only reporting what another told him. We have to accept that this was the gist of what he said, or perhaps rather this was what everyone would have agreed that a man would have said at the time and in the circumstances. We cannot expect more than this.

Ongosi Wounded by an Elephant (Ongosi)¹

Ambara na mo ka sira ku rogo ga basongoda lingara. Basongoda ki ni mo ka yemba avuru ko
Elephants broke into Basongoda’s territory.² Basongoda then summoned all his subjects
dunduko, i ye ka zo ra na mewo. Ono mewo a uga nga dunduko te, mbiko banduru na ngia gu
to come and burn them in the grass. But the grass had not entirely dried, for it was in the month of banduru (the first month of the dry season).

¹ This account of his misadventure is told by Ongosi himself. This important elder was at the time living in the territory of Prince Basongoda.
² Basongoda was the eldest son of King Gbudwe.
We went to burn these elephants in the grass in which they were. But they were not in the least bit burnt, for the grass was green. They burst through the fire, and quite extinguished it, for it had been lit in a circle around them. We followed after them kindi, ki ya ngere ku bangili di yo, ami ki ni kuru a kura ku mbiti yo na dungu awira fuo and when we came to a stream they appeared on the far bank with many calves after them. ra. ami ki ndu a ndu kindi ki ta mbeda na ami, kumba ki so wiru na baso, aboro ki sopo We continued after them, and when we approached them a man speared one of the calves, and then many others speared it, ru a sopa ni dungu yo, ono ka u a ti nga ku sande wa sa ya, u ki oro a ora ki gbia na ra, but it did not fall to the ground; it ran away and joined the others, ami ki limi ku bile yo. ami ki ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ku pati gi bile re, kina mi ki limi and they entered into a wood. We followed after them into this wood, and it was I who entered ku bile yo, ki yere para ki se e wenengai. mi ki pita ru a pita kindi ki so ru na into the wood, and I cut a shaft and sharpened it to a point. I stalked it for a while and then speared it gimi para, u ki zubo ato ki oro ku mbata yo fuo bara. gu bara na ru mbata yo u ki ni sari with my shaft, and it dashed away and ran ahead after the adult males. That male which was standing ahead charged me straight. a sara yo sa kina re nsunzu. agu aboro na du fuo re, i ki gbandaka a gbandaka dunduko ki Those men who were behind me, they all dispersed and gbuku; u ki ni kpasaka kina re sa ki do re a do kindi, mi ki ti sande. u ki ru mbosore took cover; and it worried me alone and chased me, and I fell to the ground. Then it pierced my thigh ni lindi ru, si ki kuru bani. u ki ru re berewe ti gare ndu re, lindi ru ki kuru bani. u with its tusk, and it came out at the other side. Then it pierced me again, in my left leg, and its tusk came out at the other side. Then it ki ni mo ka e re ni sa ru ka ora. mi ki sungu a sungo ki migidi ko ti ngua, ki yembu e left me of its own accord and ran off. I sat supported by a tree and called for help,

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3 I suppose that he had thrown his spears at the calf and had none left.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 2

ka boro a karaga nga pai wa sa ya, mbiko i a gunde a gunde. kumba ki ni mo ka ye ka
but no one answered, because they were afraid. Then a man came and
tumba re ku kporo yo. basongoda ki ya gi e si ki gbere a gbera ti ko ni lengo. mi ki ta
carried me home. When Basongoda heard about it he was most upset. When
my wounds were
ye ka wi dunduko basongoda ki ni mo ka ya fe re we, ka mi ndu nga ka manga anya
berewe ya,
entirely healed Basongoda told me that I was not again to go hunting
u ka ndu ka imo re. gu kpio mi a bati be e si du re.
lest a beast kill me. That is the death which I escaped.

ONGOSI ACCUSED OF SORCERY (Ongosi)4

agbio re na guari ki fu baga ugu buda biama. ani ki ye na ni ki ta da kpure yo, rago ki
My in-laws gave (to Gbudwe) four baskets of dried beer (malt). We brought it
to my home and
ni mo ka biro, ani ki ni mo ka ra kina o. rago ki ta gira wiso, ani ki ni mo ka ndu
na ni
as it was getting dark we slept there. In the early morning we took it
ku ngbanga yo du gbudue ni. gbudue ki ta kura, mi ki ni mo ka ndu na gi buda re ku
to court, where Gbudwe was. When Gbudwe appeared in court I took this beer
barangha ko. ko ki ya fe re, ‘ongosi, gi buda re, mo ni soroka ko ti gi buda re mbata,
before him. He said to me, ‘Ongosi, this beer, have you already consulted the
oracle about this beer,
mbiko wa nyemu buda a manga re gbe?’ mi ki ya fu ko ‘oo gbia, mi a soroka nga ko
li ni
for I am longing for a drink of beer?’ I replied to him, ‘no master, I have not consulted
mbata wa sa te, mbiko si ra ku kpure yo sa gbua.’ gbudue ki ya, ‘lengo du.’ ko ki ga ku
the oracle about it at all, for it rested only one night in my home.’5 Gbudwe
replied ‘that is true.’ He returned
kporo yo. rago ki ta gira kumba ki ni mo ka ye na sue kondi, ki ya fu gbudue we,
‘gbia, ka
to his home. Next morning a man came with a fowl’s wing 6 and said to Gbudwe,
‘master, do
mo mbiri nga gu buda re ya, mbiko si wa ngua rogo yo. ya benge fe re gu kumba na ta
Gi
not drink that beer, for it appears that there is medicine in it. The poison oracle
told me that that man who prepared this

4 A slightly different version appears in my book Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic
among the Azande, 1937, pp. 400–1.
5 He would not have had sufficient time to have consulted the oracle.
6 The bearing of a fowl’s wing is a sign that the fowl has died to a man’s name when a
question concerning him was put to the poison oracle.
toma re, ko a mai ngua ko yo.’ gbudue ki ni mo ka zinga bakere, ko ki kusi gu buda re malt, he put medicine in it.’ Gbudwe became very angry and sent the beer ku ngbanga yo. aboro ki gbata ngua rogo toma yo wa sa ya. gbudue ki fu gu toma re fu out into the court. The men there found no trace of medicine in the malt. Gbudwe then gave that malt to kina abakumba, i ki kparaka a dagba yo. the elders and they divided it among themselves. gu rago ki ni ya u da, bazilikpi, na ni ngia ga gbudue bakumba, ko ki soroka ko ti gu. Then on another day, Bazilikpi, who was one of Gbudwe’s elders, consulted the oracle in kumba na ta toma vuru, sa ko ki ngba a ngba. i ki ni mo ka ya kina mi du nga ongosi, mi vain about the man who had prepared the beer; he was proved innocent. So they began to say that it was I, Ongosi, it was I na mai ngua fu gbudue ku rogo buda yo. si ki mo ka iliwo ti re ni lengo, mi ki ni sungudi who had put medicine to harm Gbudwe in the beer. Truly it was a nightmare to me, and I just awaited kina kpio sa. gbudue ki ni mo ka kura ku ngbanga yo. mi ki kuru ku barangba gbudue, ki ya death. Gbudwe then came into court and I presented myself before Gbudwe and said fu ko, ‘ako gbia, mi kpi.’ gbudue ki ya fe re ‘tipagine mo a kpi ti ni?’ mi ki ya to him, ‘alas master, I am dead.’ Gbudwe asked me, ‘why should you be dead?’ I replied to fu ko we, ‘gbia, kina gu toma na du, si ya bazilikpi we, mi a mai ngua ku rogo gu buda re, him thus, ‘master, it is about that malt, for Bazilikpi says I put medicine in the beer, si du i a ye ka imo re ti ni.’ gbudue ki ni mo ka ya fe re we, si ngba ka mi fu ngbu fu that is why they are going to kill me.’ Gbudwe told me that I had better give a test to rikita. mi ki ni fu ngbu fu rikita, ko ki ndu ki soroka ko ti re, sa re ki ngba a ngba. Rikita.7 So I gave a test to Rikita and he went and consulted the oracle about me, and I was proved innocent. gbudue ki ta ye ka kura ku ngbanga yo, rikita ki kuru ku barangba gbudue, ki ya fu ko. When Gbudwe came into court Rikita presented himself before Gbudwe and spoke to him we, ‘gbia, mi soroka ko ti ongosi, sa ko ngba a ngba, si du mi a gumba a ti ni fo ro.’ thus, ‘master, I consulted the oracle about Ongosi and he is innocent, and so I report it to you.’

7 To ask Rikita to put the matter on his behalf before the oracle. Rikita was one of King Gbudwe’s more important sons and provincial governors.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 2

gbudue ki ya fu ko 'lengo du, gini pai du tine berewe, wa sa ko na ngba?' mi ki kuru ku
Gbudwe said to him 'very well, what more is there to it, since he is proved innocent?' I presented myself
barangba gbudue ki wege sende wenengai barangba gbudwe. rikita ki ni mo ka ya fe re we, mi
before Gbudwe and swept the ground well in front of Gbudwe (thanked him very much). Rikita then said that I
fu kina bakere roko fu ru. mi ki ni mo ka ga ku kpure yo, ki rungu roko ni bakere e, ki di
could give him a long stretch of barkcloth. I returned home and sewed a long stretch of barkcloth, and I took
asuo na tokporo, mi ki ni mo ka ndu na ni fu ko. si ki ni mo ka nyasa, mi ki ni bati be
asuo termites (edible) in a funnel of leaves, and I brought them to him. It finished with that, and I was saved from
kpio dagba gu dungi bangili aboro re. kina gimi mbari na ya rikita ye ku gbudue yo ka
death in the sight of those many people. It was my good fortune that Rikita was visiting Gbudwe
batasa re be gu bakere pai na ya u na i ka manga re. mi ki ni mo ka yemba gu limo re nga
and saved me from that dreadful fate which threatened me. So I took that name of mine
mbikorikita.
which is Mbikorikita (on account of Rikita).

BOY WIVES (Kuagbiaru)

aboro a na wi kina akumbagude mbata wa adia yo. boro ki ni tumo a tuma fu kura ni tipa wi
In the past men used to have sexual relations with boys as they did with wives. A man paid compensation to another if he had relations

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8 This was generous of Rikita; spears were the usual gift on such occasions to persons of Rikita's distinction; but it was also from his own point of view a suitable gift because barkcloth was a scarce commodity in the most northern province of Gbudwe's kingdom where Rikita ruled and was relatively plentiful further to the south where Ongosi lived.

9 Literally this means 'it was my mbari who said that Rikita was to come to Gbudwe to save me', mbari or mbori or mboli being a word which Europeans translate by 'God'; but I think that in its present context it has no more than the sense I have given it.

10 In the past it was a common practice for the young warriors at court, who had no women there to look after them, to marry boys, who served them as wives.
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kumbagude. i na ndu ka sanango kumbagude na baso sa, a wa i ni ndu ka sanango de be abali.

with his boy. People asked for the hand of a boy with a spear, just as they asked for the hand of a maiden of her parents.

agu aparanga du ngbanga yo dunduko i na kina ga yo akumbagude du. gu ga aparanga abombu

All those young warriors who were at court, all had their boys. Those huts of the young

du pati ngbanga kirikiri, abadia yo kina ti gu bombu nga a du. i na dua ga yo bombu ni men which were around the court, all their boy-loves were in those huts. They built their huts

gbanga bakere bombu, na dungu aparanga ti e ni ba sa sa, na ga yo bairaparanga. ga yo

large and long, and there were many youths to each hut, each in his own place, together with their captain. Their

abadia ngbanga kina ti e yo du. yuru na da, i ki giginda we barangba ga akumba yo ba boy-loves also slept in the huts. When night fell, they all kindled fires in front of their husbands’ beds,

dunduko, gu ni ki ni ginda we kina barangba ga badia ni pambara. gomoro na za ka manga

each kindled a fire in front of his lover’s bed. When the young warriors began to be very

aparanga gbe, i ki kekedi kina abadia yo ku aba yo yo, i ndu ka ye na aliae fu yo. abadia

hungry at court they sent their boy-loves to their (the boys’) parents, to fetch food for them. Their boy-loves

yo ki ndu ki yega na wene abakinde na pasipasi akondo na buda.
went and returned with fine lots of porridge and cooked fowls and beer.

agume akumbagude na gasa ni a gasa ku abadia yo wa i na gasa degude ku kumba li yo na

The relatives of a boy escorted him to his lover’s home in the same way as they escorted a bride to her husband, with

dungu wene liae.
much good food.

ono akumbagude a gbibinda nga bakinde fu abadia yo te; i na raka kina agbanda na abangbe

However, the boys did not cook porridge for their lovers; they cooked manioc and sweet

11 A man asking a girl’s parents for her hand in marriage gave them a spear or two as first instalment of bridewealth. He thereby established a legal claim to her which remained valid so long as the spears were not returned to him. In the case of boys the acceptance of a spear likewise constituted a legal marriage.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 2

fu abadia yo. kina ana yo na manga bakhinde kpuyo yo, ki papasi wene apasio; agu yo ni
potatoes for their lovers. It was their mothers (the boys’) who cooked porridge in their homes, and nice meats; some of them
papasi akondo. agi bakhinde dunduko re, i ki dungura a dunduko kina ko yo du
cooked fowls. All these lots of porridge, they collected them together where
akumba yo ni
their husbands
du. agu aparanga du na abadia yo dunduko, bangili yo a go nga ti fu bakhinde fu
were. All these youths and their loves, there was no forgetfulness on the boy’s
abadia yo
part about giving porridge to the lovers.
ya. ono kina gi bakhinde i ni fu fu yo re, i ki kukuadi kina a berewe na pasio
But that porridge which they gave them, they broke off part of it together with
ka ti ga o
part of the meats to hide it
fu akumba yo, mbiko i a du wa kina ade.
for their husbands, for they were like wives.\(^{12}\)
abadia yo a ida nga i momu ku ali wa akumba te, i na kpi nyemu i fu ga yo fugo
Their lovers did not approve of their laughing loud like men, they desired them
zezeredi,
to speak
wa fugo ade.
softly, as women speak.
gu aparanga ni ndu dunduko ka sopa ga gbia bino, i ki ndu na kina abadia yo
When all the young warriors went to hoe the prince’s cultivations, each took his
dunduko. i ki
love with him.
ta da ati yo ki dua bombu sa ni bakere e fu ga yo barumbatayo, ki dua wene ndugu
When they reached the cultivations they built a big hut for their captain, and
ko ti
they set up a palisade around it.
ni. rogo gi ndugu re, akumbagude ki i a a i, kina bairaparanga ki du yo sa. aparanga ki
In this enclosure, filled with boys, was the captain alone. Then the youths
tona ga yo rukutu wili abombu ti kina ga bairaparanga, si ki ni gita a gito
began to build their little shelters adjacent to the hut of the captain, and they
yukuma, ni
stretched far,
siki wili adi. ono ga yo akumbagude dunduko kina rogo gi bakere ndugu i ni dua fu
crossing streams. But all their boys were in the enclosure they had erected for

\(^{12}\) In preparing a meal for guests a Zande wife often kept part of it back before serving
it so that her husband could have a second meal secretly when the guests had departed.
bairaparanga re. rago na na bira a bira akumbagude ki gbondaka a gbondaka na ga abadia yo

the captain. When it was dusk the boys scattered, each to the hut of his lover, wili abombu ni ba sa sa dunduko ka ginda we rogo fu abadia yo. gu ni ki ni ndu ginda we
to kindle a fire there for his lover. Each went to kindle a fire in the hut of his
kina ti ga badia ni bombu yo. rago ki ta gira wiso i ni dungura ti yo kina ku rogo ga
own lover. Next morning they gathered together in the enclosure of
bairaparanga ndugu yo. ka paranga ndu nga ko yo ni li ni wa sa te. bairaparanga
na fu
the captain. No youth could enter there without permission. The captain gave
bakinde fu yo kina ku gii ndugu yo. kina bairaparanga ki nga ni ti ni ka yemba gu
them their porridge behind the enclosure. Only if the captain felt well disposed
towards him might he summon one
kuru paranga ku ndugu yo ni ndu ka li liae na ni. gi dengu yo re dunduko, i a da nga
vuru
of the senior youths into the enclosure to share his meal with him. All the rest
of them
ndugu yo wa sa te; i na bi abadia yo kina yuru. aparangaa na sopa bino a sopa kina ku
never entered the enclosure; they saw their loves at night. The youths hoed
the cultivations till
nyemu, i ki ni mo ka yega ku ba rame yo. abadia yo ki ima mbakada ba akumba yo
evening and then they returned to their sleeping places. Their loves had already
made their husbands’ beds
dunduko, ki giginda we fu yo dunduko dimo yo.
and kindled fires for them in their huts.

Dynastic Wars (Game)\textsuperscript{13}

bazingbi ni ya u kpi ngima ki du ni umvuru, ezo ki ngbe fuo ngima. bazingbi ki ya u
kpi
When Bazingbi\textsuperscript{14} died Ngima was the eldest son, and Ezo came next after him.
Bazingbi having
ezo ki kuru ti e mbata ku kumbo. ngima ki ni ya u za yo ka ye, ezo ki ni ya i zi ngima
died, Ezo was the first to arrive in his domain.\textsuperscript{15} When Ngima showed intention
to come there also, Ezo gave orders for Ngima to be seized

\textsuperscript{13} Game or Gami, a prominent figure among King Gbudwe’s subjects was a son of
Zaniwe (or Nzaniwe), mentioned in the text, who was a commoner governor of King
Bazingbi, Gbudwe’s father.

\textsuperscript{14} Bazingbi was a son of King Yakpati who led the Azande in their conquest of the
river Sueh region in the Sudan.

\textsuperscript{15} By this is meant the country Bazingbi himself governed directly as distinct from
the provinces administered by his sons.
ka kama ko roko yo, i ki zi ngima ki kama ko roko yo. ko ki ni mo ka ora ku kporo yo ka
and his genitals twisted, and they seized him and twisted his genitals. Then he (Ngima) fled home
yemba avuru ko sa vura. ngima ki ni oro kindi, ki ta kura kporo yo ko ki ya fu wili ko
to summon his followers to war. Ngima fled, and when he arrived home he told
his son
nga limbasa ko guari na ga ko aboro na ngia abangburo, i ki ni mo ka ye sa ezo ki ni
imi
Limbasa to rise with his people, the Abangburo people, and they came against
Ezo and slew
ko. kumba ki ni mo ka yera nzeme ezo, ki ni mo ka ora na ni fu ngima.
him. A man then cut off Ezo’s genitals and brought them in haste to Ngima.

ataka gbudue ima ye ku zaniwe, ko ki oko ko, awili bazingbi ka imo ko, bombiko
gbudue
In the meantime Gbudwe had already come to the home of Zaniwe, who
hid him lest the sons of Bazingbi kill him, for Gbudwe
a ya nga u na ye ka ndu ku kumbo bazingbi yo; ono kina vuru bako ki ni mo ka oka ko, nga
had said that it was he who would take the inheritance of Bazingbi; however, a
subject of his father, namely
zaniwe. ngima ki ta imo ezo gbudue ki ni mo ka sunga ku kumba na ngia bandukpo ti
vuro
Zaniwe, hid him. When Ngima had killed Ezo, Gbudwe went and waited at
the home of a man called Bandukpo on the river
dunde ni di. gbudue ki ni ru kina o, ki ni sari vura sa ngima ti gu di nga manguoko.
Dunde. From there Gbudwe launched an attack on Ngima on the river
Manguoko.

gbudue ki ni mo ka dia be ngima; ko ki ni mo ka ora ku kumbo malingindo yo. ono
awili
Gbudwe overcame Ngima; and he (Ngima) fled to the kingdom of Malingindo.16
But the sons of
malingindo ki imi ko. gbudue ki ni mo ka dia kumbo bazingbi ti e ka sungo na
ni. kina
Malingindo put him to death.17 So Gbudwe took the heritage of Bazingbi and
kept it. It was
gi vura gbudue a so na ngima re, avuru ngima ki imi fuoro ni wili bazingbi; i ki
so kura
in this war which Gbudwe fought with Ngima that the followers of Ngima killed
Fuoro (Funa), son of Bazingbi; and they speared his companion,

16 Another of Bazingbi’s sons. He ruled a province in the south-west of the kingdom.
17 Another account says that he was killed by subjects of Ndoruma son of Ezo.
KUSH

ko limo ko angia gongosi ni kina wili bazingbi a. fuoro na vungu kanimara. gongosi na whose name was Gongosi, also a son of Bazingbi. It was Fuoro (Funa) who begat Kanimara. It was Gongosi who vungu kurugbia. ono wa i a so ko ni baso ko a bati a bata.
begat Kurugbia. However, although they speared him, he recovered.
gbudue ki ta sungo kumbo ba ko ko ki ni mo ka ndu ka ti na ngangi ni wili mudubo, bombiko

After Gbudwe had been for a time in his father's stead he went up against Ngangi son of Muduba, because kumbo yakpati ko a sungu rogo nga mudubo.\(^{18}\) si du gbudue a ya tini we si nga ba ka u ndu ka

Muduba had taken part of the kingdom of Yakpati. So Gbudwe said that it were well that he manga ngangi ka do ko ku sa yo. gbudue ki ni kuru vura ku ngboso sue na yubo. should make war against Ngangi to drive him out of the country. Gbudwe arrived near the confluence of the Sueh and the Yubo rivers.

ko ki ni mo berewe ki si menze ku mbiti yo ki sungu ti maida. ki guari berewe o ki ndu

He continued and crossed to the other side of the Menze and halted at the Maida. He arose

sungu ti kpaazi ti di nga rasi. ko ki ni ru ti e o wiso ka ndu ka so o ti baambu. gbudue again there and halted at Kpaazi on the river Rasi. He remained there in the morning and went to fight at the Baambu river. Gbudwe

ki di avuru ngangi kina mbiti baambu no ko di yo a do ko si na yo ku mbiti yo, ki ni ndu

overcame the followers of Ngangi on this side of the Baambu and pursued them to the other side and left off

ka e yo ti mburu barangba ni mbia. gbudue ki guari barangba yo ki gbisi ku mbata yo ki

pursuing them at the foot of Mt. Barangba. Gbudwe arose at Mt. Barangba and went ahead and

sungu ku kumba nga banzere. gbudue ki ni do ngangi kina ku mbiti yuba yo, ko ki ta ora.

stayed at the homestead of a man called Banzere. Gbudwe then pursued Ngangi across the Yubo river, and when he was in headlong flight

gbudue ki ni mo ka karaga ti ko ka sungo ku sangumaru. ki ta guari yo ki ni mo ka sungo

Gbudwe began to stay at the homestead of Sangumaru. When he arose from there he went to

\(^{18}\) Muduba (Mudubo) was a son of Yakpati and thus Bazingbi's brother and Gbudwe's uncle. His kingdom lay to the east of Gbudwe's domains. An account of this war is given in my paper, ' A History of the Kingdom of Gbudwe ', Zaïre, 1956, pp. 675-82.
ku ga gbudue bakumba na ngia nguasu. ko ki ni ru o ka yega ku dio no.
stay at the home of one of his elders, Nguasu. He remained there till he returned
to the west.

Installation of Gangura and Mutilation of a Noble (Kuagbiaru)

mbitiyo ni gbia, gangura a gbundo ko. wili badiya na ngia ko ni kina gbia a. ko ki ye
ra
Mbitiyo, a noble, Gangura mutilated him. He was the son of Badiya and also
a noble. He came
ko ti gbia nga ndukpo. si ndukpo a ta kpi ti ni i ki ni gangura ki ni fu ko,
ko ye ka
to live as a follower of Prince Ndukpo. When Ndukpo died they took Gangura
and put him in his
zoga kumbo ndukpo. mbitiyo ki du ku dagba yo.
place to rule Nduko’s province. Mbitiyo was among them.
si du moatadi ni di ko ye na ko ku kumbo ndukpo. si ni ongo ti ni, ki ya, ‘avuru
ndukpo,
It was thus that Moatadi took Gangura and came with him to Ndukpo’s heritage.
He called for silence and said ‘subjects of Ndukpo,
oni ye ka gia sangba gbudue ku pati gangura. gbudue ni fu ko ko ye ka zoga roni, ka
sungo
come and hear Gbudwe’s orders about Gangura. Gbudwe has sent him to rule
over you, to
na oni; were oni ye du. ko sungu re ku kumba nga bazilikpi ni ga gbudue bakumba.’
si du i
reside among you; therefore all of you come. He has taken up residence here at
the home of that man Bazilikpi, Gbudwe’s elder.’ So they
ni taki gugu ti ni, tatangba ki pai, aboro ki gi e dunduko; agu agbia ki gi
e a nga
beat the gong, a ceremonial cry went up, and everybody heard it; and those
nobles heard it
mbitiyo na ndinda. i ki ye sungu ti vura dingbili ku padiyo. gangura ki sungu tigako ku
also, namely Mbitiyo and Ndinda. They came to wait at the side of the stream
Dingbili on the west bank. For his part Gangura stayed
bazilikpi ni ga gbudue bairabakumba du ti li mbamu.
at the home of Bazilikpi, the leader of one of Gbudwe’s senior companies, at the
source of the Mbamu.

20 A son of King Gbudwe (Gbudue) who ruled a province of his realm between the
rivers Uze and Yubo. 21 Gangura’s elder brother by the same mother.
KUSH

uru ki ta da ku nyemu, rago na zere, i ki ni mo ka gbefa li vura nga avuru ndukpo ka ye
When evening came and it was cool Ndukpo’s subjects drew up in company formation to come
ka gia sangba gbudue nga moatadi, na ye na gangura, ko ye ka zoga avuru ndukpo.
i ki ye ki
and hear Gbudwe’s orders at the mouth of Moatadi, who had brought Gangura to rule over the subjects of Ndukpo. They came, and when they
ta bi gangura ko sungu auru kurusi i ki gbefe ga yo li vura, si ki ru a ru ti kina gene e
saw Gangura sitting on a stool\(^{22}\) they drew up in company formation which stretched in single
sa ki soro ku bani. i ki ya fu moatadi ‘mo gumba sangba gbudue fu rani.’ moatadi
file to out of view. They said to Moatadi ‘you tell us Gbudwe’s orders.’
Moatadi stood up
ali ki ya fu yo we ‘gbudue ni ya gangura re were mi ye na ko, ye fu ko fu roni, ya
fu roni
and spoke to them thus, ‘Gbudwe said of Gangura here that I should bring him,
bring him to present him to you and say to you
we, “were, gu pai ko ka manga ti roni ni gbehbere e ka oni ga nga ku avungara ya.
avuru nga
thus, “now, if he should do you ill do not go away to other rulers. You are my
subjects.
oni. ko guari ka ye ka nyakasa roni ti gi ngbapia du re. ko ta manga roni gbehbere,
Let him depart and come to strengthen you on this frontier (watershed). Should
he do you
bakumba aboro kina dagba roni no ka ye ki kuru ko yo du u ni, ki ya ko na manga roni
ill, elders among you here should come and appear before me and tell me that he
has ill-treated you,
gbehbere, nga gu ka ko a manga roni gbehbere.’ were ghia du nga ko; gu pai du ti
roni ni
what ill he has done you.” So, he is a prince; if there is anything you, his subjects,
avuru ko, oni ki gumba a fere mi ye ka pe e fu ko.’
wish to say, you tell it to me and I will speak it to him.’
si kumba ni guari ti ni nga buoza ni boro li gbu, ko ki ya ‘lengo du, gu pai gumba
So a man arose at this point, Buoza, a prince’s deputy, and he said ‘that is true, what
gbudue re ru e a ru. ko na za ka manga rani ni gbibita pai ani a ga nga a ga ku
Gbudwe has spoken is right. If he begins to do us wrong we will not go to
avungara yo te, ani a zunga ti kina gene ki ndu ko yo du gbudue ni, ki ya fu ko gu pai
other rulers, we will go in a body and tell Gbudwe what ill he has done to us.

\(^{22}\) kurusi is the Arabic kursi. Nevertheless a stool, and not a chair, is meant.
ko a manga rani na ni si du re. ndukpo ni du no, ko na dia nga dere vuru ko nga ngba li
When Ndukpo was here he did not take his subjects’ wives, demanding that the
prettiest of
a ngba i fu li fu ko te. ani a ni wari gani buda ki fu e na akoro ni wene e fu ndukpo,
them be given him. When we brewed our beer and gave it to Ndukpo in our
best pots,
ko a na dia nga pere te, ko a ni gasi gani pere buda a gasa. si nga gani ghegbere pai
he did not keep the pots, he always returned the pots. With us it is a bad thing
nga dia gani pere ka ka na ni. adia ndukpo a na sa nga gani ae wa sa te. wa ko a ye
nga
to take our pots and keep them. Ndukpo’s wives never plundered our things.
Now that
gangura, ko na ye ka mera lingara ki ni sa ga adia rani ae, moatadi, ani di ko ti e; ka
Gangura has come, if he wanders over the countryside and plunders the goods
of our wives
ko a manga rani na ghegbere pai, kina ga ko pai.’
we will take it up with him;23 if he does us ill, that is his own affair.’24
ko ki ta guari ku sa yo nga buoza, bandapai ki kuru tigako, gumba kina a, ki ya
‘ Moatadi,
When Buozo had stepped back, Bandapai came forward on his part and spoke
likewise, saying, ‘ Moatadi,
leno du, gu pai buoza ni gumba kina gani pai du dunduko, mbiko ndukpo a manga
nga rani
it is so, what Buozo has said is what we all say, for Ndukpo did not treat us
ni wia te, ko a na sa nga gani ae a te. gu pai gbudue ni gumba si nga kina ku leno du;
wantonly, and also he did not plunder our possessions. What Gbudwe has
said is all very true;
ko na ta tona gu pai nga ndu sa dere avuru ko ani ki dungura ti rani ki ndu kina ko
yo du
should he begin to go after the wives of his subjects we will collect together and
go to
gbudue ni ka peka gu pai ko a manga rani na ni ni ghegbere e. moatadi, fugo rani du
Gbudwe and relate to him what bad things he has done to us. Moatadi, that is
what we all
dunduko; kina leno pe ko nga buoza. mi nga bandapai.’
say; rightly has Buozo spoken. I am Bandapai (who say the same).’

23 It is not suggested here so much that Gangura himself would be likely to wander
about seizing people’s possessions as that his retainers, taking advantage of their privi-
leged position, might do so. ani di ko ti e is a difficult phrase to translate.
24 kina ga ko pai is also a difficult phrase to render correctly. I think that the sense
here of ‘ that is his own affair ’ is that if he wants to ruin his domain and lose his subjects
that will be the best way to go about it.
ko ki ta ba ga ko ku o, kpayaku ki kuru, ki ya 'lengo du, wa du mi ere mi du ti ngbanda
When he had concluded his speech, Kpayaku came forward and said 'It is so, as I stand here, I reside on the boundary
kporo na bafuka. ka si du wa gangura na manga re ni gbegbere pai mi ki ga sa kina bafuka.
of Bafuka's province. If Gangura treats me ill I will go to live in Bafuka's country.25
ka ko a manga re ni gbegbere pai mi ki ga sa gu kura gbia herewe. ka si du wa ko na manga
If he (Bafuka) does me ill I will go and live in the country of yet another prince. If he
re ni wene pai mi ki sungu na kina ko. mbiko ndukpo a na manga re na kina wene apai. mi
(Gangura) treats me well I will stay with him. For Ndukpo showed me many
favours. When I
a ni nga ba gi mi buda mi fu e fu ndukpo na gi mi pere, ka ko a ka nga na gi mi pere wa sa
used to decant my beer and presented it to Ndukpo in my pots, he would never keep the pots,
ya, ko ki gasi e as gasa fe re. ko ye ka ndu ku gbudue yo ka ra kpure yo ka adia ko a dia
but he always returned them to me. When he used to go and visit Gbudwe and
stayed at my home on the way his wives would never take
nga gi mi e wa sa ya. ko ki tumba ti ko a e gi mi ae na kina ba a ni ga. mbiko ani a one of my things. When he departed he left all my things where they were at
his departure.
inga nga iliso te; gbia na ta kura ani ki zi kina kondo wa ta du mara a ki pai ko ti gbia
For we did not omit courtesy; as soon as the prince appeared we caught a fowl
or took some metal object to salute him with it,
na ni, ki ya "gbia, mo ye te ba?", si du ni iliso. boro a ra nga gbia fu kura ni te, boro
saying, "Master, have you not come sir?" That is in courtesy. A man does
not stay with a prince for the sake of others, a man
na ra gbia fu kina ni. ka ko nga ba na kina agu aboro ku bani, ka ko a nga ba nga na mi ya,
stays with a prince for his own sake. If he (Gangura) is well disposed towards
the rest and is not well disposed towards me
si nga ba nga ti re te. mbiko wa ndukpo a du ere ko a ni nga ba na aboro ki nga ba na mi ku
it is not welcome to me. For when Ndukpo was here he was always pleasant
with everybody and pleasant with me

25 Another son of Gbudwe. He ruled a province to the west of the river Yubo.
dagba yo a. pai ngba re te. i ni ini ba wo ra zo ru.'
also among them. I have no more to say. One knows a male snake when they
roast it.'\textsuperscript{26}

Ndinda ki kuru ni gbia, ki ya fu ko we 'moatadi, gu pai gbudue ni ya, mo ye na ko,
mi a
Ndinda, a noble, now rose, and he said to him, 'Moatadi, what Gbudwe said,
that you bring
manga nga dulukpo na pai te. gu pai avuru ndukpo a gumba re, anga si nga zile
nga a te.
him, I will not argue about that. What the subjects of Ndukpo have said, there
is no untruth in it.
wa ndukpo ni du ere ko na sa nga ga avuru ko ae te. mbiko gine, moatadi, wa mi
ni za ka
When Ndukpo was here he did not plunder his subjects' possessions. For what,
Moatadi, since
ta na ndukpo gbe ko a fu gi mi kpоро fe re, ko ki fu gi mi ade ue, ki ya i ni
mangi e fu
I for long accompanied Ndukpo, did he give me an administrative post and give
me two women, saying that they could prepare food for
agu aboro re? were, mo nga moatadi; ka mi a mangi gbibita pai no ti ko ka ko a fu
nga
the people in my charge? Now, you Moatadi, if I had done wrong here to him
he would not
kporo fe re wa sa te. sangba manga mi wene pai na du si ko a mangi gi pai ti ni re fe
re.
certainly have given me a position. It is evidence that I did well that he treated me in
gu lengo gbudue ni gumba, ya ka gangura za ka manga rani ni gbehere pai ka ani
a ga nga
this manner. Gbudwe spoke the truth when he said that should Gangura do us
ill we must not
sa kura gbia ya, ani ki yega sa kina ru, gure si idi ani ni lengo. mbiko boro
a ra nga
go to another ruler, but we must go to him himself, we all agree to that entirely.
But a
gbia fu kura ni te. gangura nga na agbia, ko ki nga na mi a ku dagba yo. mbiko gu
pai
man does not stay with a prince for the sake of others. Gangura is pleasant with
nobles and he is pleasant with me among them. However, what

\textsuperscript{26} A much spoken proverb. One cannot tell a male from a female snake when they
are alive, but when roasted the male member protrudes. Hence, one will know a thing
when one sees it, or when the time comes: we will know what Gangura is like when we
have seen how he acts.
KUSH

kpayaku ni gumba mbata re, kina lengo nga a dunduko; mbiko ka ndukpo a kpi be vura ka

Kpayaku has already said, it is all true; for had Ndukpo died in war
gangura ye nga bi re te, ka mi kpi a kpi fuo ko, sangba ko na kpi be kaza abagito, si oni
Gangura would not have come to see me, for I would have died after him, which
shows that he died of abscesses, and that is why you
a bi re ti ni ni unga re areme. si ni pai te, moatadi, gangura na ye zogo rani, kina gu
see me alive today. However that may be, Moatadi, Gangura has come to rule
over us, and
pai ko ka manga rani na ni ani ki bi e a; mbiko mi ra fu ko ni vuru ko. si ngba re berewe
how he will deal with us we will see also; for I submit to him as his subject. I
have no
ni pai te, moatadi. mo ga a ga mo bi gbudue mo ki ya fu ko ani a du no na gangura, gu
more to say, Moatadi. When you depart and see Gbudwe, you tell him that I
am here with
pai ni ka manga ko be azande mi a du kina bara a. si na gu du wo gangura ni ye ka zoga
Gangura, and however the Azande act towards him, I shall be there. If it turns
out that Gangura comes to rule over
rani ko a gu manga re ni gu ghegbere pai, mi ki bi e a, mbiko ndukpo a ngba a ngba
na mi
us and that he treats me ill, I will wait and see, for Ndukpo favoured me
mbata.
in the past.’
mbitiyo ki kuru ki ye ru, ya fu ko we, ‘i ba, moatadi lengo du gumba gbudue.
ono wa
Mbitiyo stepped forward and came and stood, and he said to him ‘yes sir,
Moatadi, Gbudwe spoke the truth. However, as
gumba gbudue wo, lengo gumba ko. wa ka mi a mangi ndukpo no ni pai ka ko a ima
gbundo re
Gbudwe spoke thus, he spoke the truth. Now, if I had wronged Ndukpo here
he would long ago have mutilated me.
mi na manga nga pai ya, si oni a bi be re ti ni re na ba a, mbiko mi a manga nga pai
na
That I did no wrong you can see by my hands here in their place, for I did nothing
that
gbere ti ndukpo te.’ ko ki ta gumba gu pai re ni zanzia be ko fu gangura. ‘were, ndukpo
was bad in Ndukpo’s eyes.’ When he had said this he shook his hands at
Gangura. ‘So, Ndukpo
a ngba na mi a gbe, ko a fu kporo ti ni fe re mi ni so vura na ni. gu fugo kpayaku ni
favoured me much; he gave me a district to administer, to lead its men in war. What
gumba re, ndinda na gumba kina a; ka gangura a manga re ni gbegbere pai, a mi ngbanda
Kpayaku has spoken, the same spake Ndinda; if Gangura treats me ill, as I live on the
aghia, mi ga sa gu ni sa. mbiko wa du mi ere nga mbitiyo, mi na gia pa gangura ku sue yo
frontiers of other princes, I shall go to live in the territory of one of them. For as I
Mbitiyo am here, I have heard much about Gangura in the valley of the Sueh
river,
gbe, i ni ya ko na nga nga te. ani a ni fu buda fu ndukpo na gani akoro, ko ki gasi e a
where they say he is not a good man.\textsuperscript{27} Whenever we gave Ndukpo beer in our
pots he always
gasa fu rani,'
returned them to us.'
abarumbatayo ki mongo ya a ya dunduko, ' moatadi, gini pai ani ka gumba tigani
bereve,
The leaders of companies were then all in accord in saying, ' Moatadi, what is
there more
mbiko abarani ima gumba fugo dunduko? ka si ni du wa ndukpo a manga rani no
gbegbere ka
for us to say for our part since our fathers have said already all that needs to be
said? If it had been the case that Ndukpo had treated us ill
i gumba a fo ro dunduko. gangura na go ka manga rani no na gbegbere pai ka ani a oka
nga
they would have told you all about it. If Gangura starts to treat us ill we will
surely
a ti gbudue wa sa ya.'
not hide it from Gbudwe.'
i ki ta ye ka onga tigayo, gangura ki ni mo ku ali ka gumba fugo ko fu yo. ko ki ya,
When they for their part became silent, Gangura rose and spoke to them. He
said,
' lengo du, moatadi, gu fugo gumba mo re, mo gumba gbe, lengo gumba yo a. ono wa
gumba yo
' all right Moatadi, what you have spoken you have spoken well, and the others
have spoken truth also. Now since they have spoken
o wo, mi tigimi nga gangura mi a ina nga dia ga vuru re e wa sa te, mbiko
vovo re na
thus, I, Gangura, say on my side that I am not capable of taking anything belong-
ing to one of my subjects,

\textsuperscript{27} Gangura had earlier been given a small district to administer by his elder brother
Rikita in his province in the valley of the Sueh river. As the text further relates, Rikita
later expelled him from it.
KUSH

Kpоро areme te; rikita ni fu re na kpоро. wa mi ni zogo yo diare a ndu nga were zi ga for I am not just new to the exercise of authority today; Rikita gave me a district to administer. While I ruled there no wife of mine went in such a way to seize boro kondro te; moyembu a dia nga ga boro e fuo re te. rikita a dia nga re tipa manga avure anybody's fowls; and no page of mine took anybody's thing when in my retinue. Rikita did not deprive me of my district because I wronged my subjects, te, ko a di re rogo kporo tipa limo we, da ni ya mi wi de ni dia ko, ko ki ni mo ka do re, he removed me from office for the reason that a woman said that I had congress with one of his wives, and for that he chased me away mi yega sa gbudue. gbudue ki ni mo ka fu mi ko no. wa mi na zoga kporo vuru re a zia nga to return to Gbudwe. Then Gbudwe sent me here. When I ruled, no subject of mine accused me re tipa pere, ka kina avuru ndukpo zi re tipa pere te. gu i a gumba nga ga gama e re, mi with regard to pots, and no subject of Ndukpo shall do so about pots. What people talked about was my generosity, how I na game e a gama yo, mi ni fu de a fu fu vuru re mi ni zogo ni a zoga, mi ki fu mara a fu.
gave many gifts there, giving wives to my subjects, and giving them spears also. ka boro li e pati re ye na biata mi ki sana ni ti ni, ki ya fu ni, ni na lingi fe re If a man ate things (termites, game, etc.) and left me out several times I asked him about it, asking him why he was mean with me; tipagine; gure, si nga bakere sino re. gu kura gimi gbegbere pai nga bali; nga ka boro that is certainly one of my characteristics. That other thing which I detest is adultery; wi nga dere vuru re ya; mi ni sogo bali gbe. gbibita re ni ngia sa vuru re ni mangu ku no man may have congress with the wives of my subjects; I hate adultery. What is evil to me is attacking my subjects with witchcraft when they are at vura yo, ni kpi. ka mi soroka ni benge, si ki ya fe re gu boro re ni no vuru re ni kpi be war so that they are killed. If I consult the oracle and it tells me that a certain man has bewitched one of my subjects so that he is killed vura, gu ni re, ka mi a nga ni wa sa ya, mi ki imi ni a ima kindi, ni kpi fuo kura ni; in fighting I will certainly not spare that man, I will slay him so that he dies after his fellow; ni ka ima ni ka sungu ba ni, si ni na nga nga ti re ya. mi na mbakada ba re, mi ki ni ru for it has never seemed right to me that a man shall slay another and remain in his place. When I have arranged my home I shall begin to ka sia gu fugo agu aboro ni pe e re, gu ni ka nga mi ki ini e a, fugo gu ni ka du ni sift between what people tell me, I shall know that which is sound, and that which is
ghgere e, mi ki ini gu a. moatadi, mo a gumba a fu gbudue kina were, gu fugo azande i
unsound I shall know also. Moatadi, you shall tell it to Gbudwe just as it has
been, the
ni pe a na gimi, mbiko wa ani a ye ka ra kporo na yo ti nghapia. mbiko gine? i gumba
speeches the Azande made and mine, since I have come to live with them on the
frontier. For what? They have spoken
fugo yo ku tu re yo dunduko, ya ami a na li gami ae ndukpo du kina o. ani na ye ka ra
their words into my ear, saying that they ate well when Ndukpo was alive.
So now I have
kporo ti e na yo. mi a dia nga dere vuru re mbata tipa limo na nga li te. mi ni na bi
come to dwell with them. I have not before taken away the wives of my subjects
just because they were attractive. When I saw
wene ae ku be aboro mi a sara nga vura, i ndu ka dia ga boro nya, ga boro buda, ga
boro
people's nice things, I did not send a war-party to go and take a man's animal,
a man's beer, a man's
liae fe re wa sat te. agu yo ni na susura e ko ti li ndukpo, ka i ngba na mi i sura
e fe re;
food so that I could have it. Those who built shelters (temporary huts) for
Ndukpo, if they are well-disposed towards me, let them build them for me,
an i ra kporo na yo. ka i na ipisa o ka ke gu maru ndukpo ni kpi pati ni, mbiko mai ka
so I may abide among them. Let them do it quickly to harvest the eleusine
Ndukpo left behind when he died, for otherwise rain will
zirisa a.'
spoil it.
azande ki ta gbandaka ni gumba gi pai re ti limo ko, nga, ' ako, gu gbia re, gbudue fu
ko.
The Azande dispersed, saying this about him, 'Oh, this prince, Gbudwe sent
him.
an i bi nga ko kido rani a kido, ya ka boro imi kura ni i ki imi ni a ima a. ako, ko a
imo
Let us note that he threatened us, saying that if a man kills another he also will be
slain. Oh, and he will slay
aboro a.'
people.'
i ki ni ra a ra. rago ki ta gira ko ki ni ya fu moatadi ko ga. ko ki fu baso fu ko bawe,
The people slept. Next morning he (Gangura) said to Moatadi that he should
depart. He gave him ten spears,
ki ya fu ko u mbakadi ba ru ko ki ye ka dia ga ko mara mokedi. moatadi ki ta ga ko
ki ni'
and he told him that when he had settled down he (Moatadi) should come to
receive his messenger's fee. When Moatadi had departed he
mo ka mbakada kporo ta da ko ki ni ya we, i zi mbitiyo. ko ki yembu kuagbiaru, ki ya fu
set about arranging his home till one day he gave orders for Mbitiyo to be seized.
He called Kuagbiaru and told
ko, ko ndu ka ngera ti mbitiyo, ko ye. ko ki gedi akumba ku pati ko nga bamvuru,
ngawe,
him 28 to go and summon Mbitiyo. He detailed off men near him, Bamvuru,
Ngawe,
maabu, mogiparoni, inapawari, ki ya fu yo i sungu kina ngbanga yo ka sunguda ko.
ko ki
Maabu, Mogiparoni and Inapawari to sit in the court to await him. When he
ni kedi kuagbiaru fuo ko, ko ki ndu ki nugadi pati ko. ani ki ni ye a ye kindi,
mi ki ta
sent Kuagbiaru after him he went and bent down beside him. Then we
approached together, and I had
limo tigimi ku ndugu yo, ko ki ta ya we, u na ye ka limo fuo re, ngawe ki ni piti ko ki
just for my part passed through the screen and he was just about to pass through
it after me when Ngawe stalked him and
mere ko ti sende. i ki ya i ye na gile. gangura ki di ga ko bundu ki ya ru gene, ki ya si
threw him to the ground. 29 They called for cord. Meanwhile Gangura took
his rifle and came and stood on the path, thinking that
du wa ko na gasa a gasa i ki ne pati ko u no ko. i ki ni vo ko a vo kindi ki ni ba ko.
should he appear to be getting the better of it they should get out of the way and
he would shoot him. They bound him and threw him down.
gangura ki ni kuru ku ngbanga yo, aboro ki ye ki ru a ru pati ko kirikiri. ko ki ya,
Gangura then came into the court and men stood in a circle around him. He
said,
‘mbitiyo, gu pai mo a zanzia be ro ti ni fe re, si mi a zia ro ti ni,’ ki ya ‘ tipagine? mo
‘ Mbitiyo, it is because you shook your hands at me that I have seized you’.
He said, ‘why?
a mangi ndukpo no wai? mo a wi dia ndukpo a wi, mo a zanzia be ro ti ni, mbiko ya
mo
How did you treat Ndukpo here? You had congress with one of his wives, 30
that is what you were waving your hands about, for you said

28 This Kuagbiaru is the same Kuagbiaru who gave this text.
29 Kuagbiaru was sent to bow to him to invite him to enter the inner court, shut off,
in this instance apparently, from the outer court by a grass screen. Expecting a meal to
be served to him there, he was about to pass into the passage through the screen when
Ngawe fell on him.
30 Adultery with one of a prince’s wives was a stock accusation against a man of
Mbitiyo’s station if the prince had to look for an excuse to be rid of him or to mutilate him.
One can only guess at Gangura’s real motives. It is possible that he wanted to rid
himself of a noble who had been favoured by his brother and had some standing in the
country.

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rogo sanza yo we, “gu ngbando na du ti li dingbili u ti ku due yo.” mo a gumba nga in disguised language “that redbuck which was at the source of the Dingbili river, it has fallen into a hole.” You did not say a gbua te, mo a gumba a ni sanza ko ti ndukpo, ya ko na gu sungu ti li dingbili ko ki ni

this without intention, you said it in innuendo about Ndukpo, that when he moved to live at the source of the Dingbili he mo ka kpi, si mo ni gumba a ti ni ni sanza, ya wa ko a du ti li dingbili, ko ti ku due
died, that is what you were saying by innuendo, that while he was at the source of the Dingbili he fell into a hole,
yo, nga ko kpi. ngawe, mo di ko, mo ndu na ko ka ndu ka gbundo ko. mangi ndukpo, ka
meaning that he died. Ngawe, you take him and go with him to mutilate him. A do-evil-to-Ndukpo,
mi a sungo nga na ni ya. mo danga kiti beko, yere ngba ko, gbundo ko roko yo, ki e tu ko
I could not abide with him. You go and break his wrists (break and then cut off), cut off his (upper) lip, and emasculate him, and let him keep his ears.’
fu ko.’ ngawe ki ni di ko ka ndu ka gbundo ko. azande ki ni mere a mera na ni sa ni Ngawe took him and mutilated him. The Azande dispersed on their ways, spreading it as
pangbbanga: ‘gini panbanga du ku ngbanga yo?’, ‘oo ba, kina mbitiyo, gangura ni zi ko
court gossip: ‘what news is there from the court?’, ‘nothing sir, only about Mbitiyo, that Gangura seized him
ngbanga yo, ki ya ko a gumba pai ni gu rago i a ye na moatadi ni zanzia be ko, tipagine
Gangura seized him at court, accusing him of shaking his hands in innuendo on the day they came with Moatadi, why du ko a mangi e ti ni woh? ‘ ako gu gbia re, boro kere gbia du a, mbiko wa ko na zadi had he done that? ’ ‘ Oh that prince, a real fierce prince is he, for he kept that old gu kuru pai ku bangili ko kindi re.’ aboro ki mere a mera ngba aboro dunduko; agu yo ki ni
affair always in his mind.’ The news spread from mouth to mouth; and some consulted the

31 I have heard a different account (‘Sanza’, JSOAS, 1956, p. 172) of what Mbitiyo is supposed to have said. If one regards a remark as a sanza, a piece of double-talk, clearly one may see in it different meanings according to the interpretation one cares to give it. What Mbitiyo was alleged to have said could have the significance Gangura attached to it.

32 ko roko yo, literally ‘in his barkcloth’, a euphemism for the genetalia covered by the cloth.
soroka pa yo ni benge ko ti gangura, ya ko a ima ru wa u a ye ka ra ko ko ti gbanda rago.
poison oracle about their future with regard to Gangura, fearing that he might slay them
si ki ni mo ka nyasa tipa gbundo mbitiyo. du ko ti ni areme ni kina gbundogbundo ko
after they had served him for a long time. And that is the end of the affair of
the mutilation of Mbitiyo. He is still alive, a mutilated man,
areme. ko awere ko yo nga bakorodi. si a iliwo ti aboro mbata gbe, mbiko wili toni pai na
today.\(^{33}\) Now he lives in Bakorodi’s country.\(^{34}\) It terrified people at the time,
for it was only a small matter,
du, ka i a gbunda nga boro ti ni ya.
and a man should not have been mutilated for it.

**THE AMBOMU\(^{35}\) PEOPLE (Gatanga)**

wa i a kpara auro ti ambamu. ilisa a du nga ku bazingbi wa sa te. ko a ni fu bakinde ku
This is about how they divided the Ambomu from the foreigners. There was no
courtliness at Bazingbi’s court. He used to send out only one bowl
ngbanga yo sa gbua; gude ki zadi e fuo ko, i ki ni ndu ku ngbanga yo. ko ki ni ta da
of porridge into court; a boy carried it after him when they went into the court.
When he
ngbanga yo ko ki sungu, ki li gi bakinde re, ki di yangara a ki fu e fu avuru ko.
gbudue
got to the court he sat down and ate of this porridge, and he took what was left
and gave it to his followers. When Gbudwe
ki ta dia kumbo, ko ki ni mai fofoi ime wiso kina ngbadimo yo, i ki mbakadi nzawa ku
pati
took his inheritance\(^{36}\) he had hot water prepared every morning in his private
quarters
e, ko ki ni kedi e fu aboro ku ngbanga yo, aboro zundu kpakpu yo na ni. ko ki
ni mangi
and had nzawa leaves\(^{37}\) arranged at the side of it, and he sent these out to the
people in the court for them to wash their faces with them. He did this

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\(^{33}\) 1930.

\(^{34}\) One of Gbudwe’s commoner governors in a province between the Sueh and the Yeta. He continued to administer it under the Anglo-Egyptian Administration.

\(^{35}\) The Ambomu (Ambamu) were the original, or true, Azande who, following their Avongara ruling family, in their migrations conquered many foreign peoples who in course of time became politically absorbed and culturally assimilated in the amalgam known as Azande today.

\(^{36}\) That is to say, the area ruled over directly by Bazingbi himself. His senior sons, Wando, Malingindo, etc., remained independent in their own territories.

\(^{37}\) For drying the hands and face after washing in warm water.
gi pai re dedede. tingidi ambamu ki za ko ti gi pai re. gbudue ki ni fu bakinde ku ngbanganga
every day. The true Ambomu dissuaded him from this practice.\textsuperscript{38} When Gbudwe sent porridge into court
yo aparanga ki ni dungura ti yo dunduko kina ku pati e ka li e, agu yo ki ni ta mbu
all the young warriors gathered around it to partake of it, and then some of them,
when bakinde ki ni di kina ga gbudue kpe bakinde ka mbura be yo na ni. si ki ni gbere a gbera
they had left off eating the porridge, took Gbudwe’s leaves which covered the porridge to wipe their hands with them. The true Ambomu objected strongly
to this.\textsuperscript{39}
ti tingidi ambamu gbe. i ki ni ya, si ngba ka ami do auro ku sayo.
Their said that they had better drive the foreigners away.
gu rago ki ni ya u da, aboro ki dungura ti yo a dungura dunduko ku ngbanganga ku
gbudue;
On a certain day, when all the people gathered together at the court of Gbudwe,
abakumba ambamu ki ni guari ku ali, ki ni ya, i yembu nga limo gu di du mbiti yubu
yo, ni
the Ambomu elders rose and said that the people should name that river which is
beyond the
bakere di gbe. i ki tona sasana yo ni ba sa sa. agu yo ki ni ya lingasi; i ki ni di ni ku
Yubo river, a very big river. They began to ask them one after another. Some
of them said the Lingasi, and they took them
sa yo, ki ya mbamu nga ni. gu ni ki ni ya ringasi, i ki ya uro nga gu ni re. i ki ni sia
and led them to one side, saying that such a one was a Mbomu. Such as said
ringasi,\textsuperscript{40} they said he was a foreigner. Thus they sorted out

\textsuperscript{38} It is not clear why they dissuaded him. Perhaps they thought this was, for a king,
going too far in hospitality, especially, as the text might suggest, the royal leaves were
being used by what the Ambomu regarded as dirty foreigners.

\textsuperscript{39} It was a dirty habit since the leaves were soiled with porridge. It was as though
we were to wipe our faces all over with dirty napkins. They should have plucked new
leaves for the purpose.

\textsuperscript{40} This shibboleth is of much ethnological interest. The late Rev. E. C. Gore and
Mrs Gore of the C.M.S. held that a sound lay between our pronunciation of the letter
\( r \) and \( l \) and that therefore \( r \) could represent sounds which approximated to either; and
in this they appear to have been supported by the late Professor D. Westermann. As is
evident from the spelling in this text, written by one of their mission-trained boys, Reuben,
the Azande found it hard to adhere to this rule. The Belgian Dominicans, Mgr. Lagae
and the late V. H. Vanden Plas, used both letters in their dictionary, regarding the sounds
represented by each as quite distinct from the other. The Verona Fathers in the Sudan
use only the \( r \) symbol. I am myself of the opinion that the Belgian Dominicans were
right. It would appear from this story that not only are the Azande aware of the difference,
but also that their fathers observed that the subject peoples were unable to pronounce
correctly the sound we would represent by \( l \).
ambamu a sia dagba auro dunduko; ki ni mo ka danda yo dunduko. ki ni ya, aboro wasiro nga
the Ambomu from among all the foreigners, and they chased all the foreigners away, saying that they were ill-mannered people;
yo; ka i sungu nga ngbanga ku gbudue wa sat te; kina tingidi ambamu ki ni sungu ka
they must not remain at Gbudwe's court at all; only true Ambomu remained to
nyakasa ku gbudue ni pa ilisa. gbudue ki ta roga avili ki ni fu yo, i gbandaka ka zoga
keep courtliness firm at Gbudwe's court. When Gbudwe had grown-up sons
he scattered them to go and rule over
auro ni avuru yo. wo i a sia ambamu re dagba auro, mbiko i a kodi ti yo a koda na
ambamu.
the foreigners as subjects. Thus they sorted out the Ambomu from among the
foreigners, for they had associated themselves with the Ambomu.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{The Abukuru People}\textsuperscript{42} (Tongbali)\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{abukuru nga lika dungu ngbatunga aboro, na fugo yo ni kparakpara a ti ga azande. ga yo}
The Abukuru are one of many sorts of peoples, and their language differs from
that of the Azande. Their
\textit{mangimangi pai a du akia mbata ti ga azande. mbiko ka mo vura bi bakumba bukuru ka sana}
customs were also once different from those of the Azande. For even though
when you see an elderly Bukuru and ask him something
\textit{ni rogo pa zande yo ni na karaga pai fo ro kina rogo pa zande yo, ono ga yo
gumbagumba}
in Zande he will answer you in Zande, nevertheless, their speaking of
\textit{pa zande pavuru e, mbiko wa i a wirika a a wirika. kina agu awili abukuru i a
vunga yo wa}
Zande is not correct, for they are learners of it. However, those children of the
Abukuru whom they have begotten recently

\textsuperscript{41} I do not doubt that something of this kind once happened early in Gbudwe's
reign when the foreign elements were still to a very large extent only partially assimilated.
As they became more so, the distinction between Ambomu and persons of foreign origin
was less clearly marked. 'Foreign' (\textit{auro}) then became a derogatory word used in a
general context rather to condemn ill-manners than to denote ethnic origin.

\textsuperscript{42} The Abukuru or Abuguru, often referred to in travel literature as Babukur, are a
Bantu-speaking people, now completely under Zande domination. They still speak
their own language as well as Zande.

\textsuperscript{43} This text was written by Reuben from information given by an old Bukuru man,
Tongboli, during a visit we paid them in the valley of the Sueh in 1930. The last
paragraph was a separate text which I have joined to what goes before, since it is about the
same people. This will explain a divergence of topics.
du rago re, i nga wili azande, mbiko i na manga kina sino azande dunduko, na i ni pa
are Azande, for they have adopted all Zande customs, and they also know the
Zande language
zande wenengai a. i na sapa bia wa azande a manga a. i na sima benge wa azande
wenengai.
well. They compose their songs just like the Azande do. They address the
poison oracle correctly, just like the Azande.
si du, du yo ti ni na azande sa, mbiko i rogo sino azande dunduko ni ga yo.
So today they are the same as Azande, since they have taken over all Zande
customs as their own.

mbata abukuru a ina nga gu e nga benge wa sa te. ga yo benge na ngia kina
dakpa i
In the past the Abukuru knew nothing about the poison oracle. The oracle
they used
a na bafa. ka gume yo kpi i ki bafu kina ga yo dakpa. ka si yugu bara iramangu i ki
ndu
was the termites-oracle.\[44]\ If one of their kinsmen died they consulted their
termite-oracle, and if it revealed a witch they went
ki zi kina gi iramangu re. i ki mo sa kina vuro gu ngua nga gero, du ni ii e wa kina
benge,
and seized this witch. Then they went to fetch fruits of the gero tree, which are
bitter like the (Zande) oracle poison,
i ki sa sa kina gi sisi gero re ki puta a na ime, si ki i inga. i ki di gi iramangu re ki
and they took the husks of this gero fruit and they infused them in water till they
filled a gourd. Then they took this witch and
ye na ni ki sungusi ni sande. i ki di gi putaputa gero re na inga ki mai e ti ngba ni. ni
brought him and seated him on the ground. Then they took this infusion of
gero in the gourd and put it to his lips. When he
ki ta mbira a, i ni sima a, ka si du wa ni imi boro lengo kina gi gero ki imi ni re ni
had drunk it they addressed it, if in truth he had killed the man then let this gero
slay
ba sa ku sende yo. boro a ni mangi pai mbata dagba abukuru, i ki mai kina fofoi ime
we yo,
him at once to the ground. In the past if a man was accused of some crime
among the Abukuru they put hot water on a fire,
si ki ba a ba puyepuye kindi, i ki ni mo ka tu e we yo ka ukadi be ni na ni. ka gu fofoi
and when it boiled bubblingly (after uttering a spell over it), they drew it from
the fire and poured it over the man’s hand. If this hot

\[44]\ Pieces of wood from two different trees are placed in termite runs, and questions
are answered by the extent to which they are gnawed by the termites. A description
of this oracle is given in my _Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande_, 1937,
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ime mburu be ni re i ki ya ni mangi pai lengo, ka si mbura nga ya i ki ya ni a manga nga
water blistered his hand they said he was guilty. If it did not blister his hand they
pai te. ono awere abukuru na manga kina gu pai azande a manga, nga ka gume yo kpi i ki
said he was innocent. But nowadays the Abukuru do as the Azande do, which is that if one of their relatives dies they
soroka ni kina benge tipa pa kpio ni, wa azande na manga a.
consult the poison oracle about his death, just as the Azande do.
mbata boro a ni kpi dagba abukuru i ki bafu kina ga yo dakpa. ka dakpa ya yo we, gu
In the past when a man died among the Abukuru they consulted their termites-oracle.
boro gili pa kpio re, watadu wili ni a, i ki vo gili pa kpio dimo ni. kina gu kuru bukur
If the oracle told them that a certain man, or maybe his son, must observe the interdiction of mourning they bound a mourning-cord round his waist. Then they
ni na sumo ngua mbata, i ki yembu kina ni. ni ki dungura ga ni ngua, nghimi bang, nghimi
summoned an old Bukuru who had been accustomed to making magic in the past. He gathered his medicines, a parasite of the bang, tree, a parasite of the
zawa, na nghimi bakaikpo, na gu kuru rukutu wili angua berewe fuo ni. ni ki imamu kura kina
zawa tree, and a parasite of the bakaikpo tree, and besides these a number of smaller medicines. He rose at very dawn
boro nghawiso na kina furu nghani; ni ki bi kina o i a sa li boro ku o ni, ni ki bakaya
and without making his ablutions he went to the spot above where the head of the dead man
mura kina o. fuo gure ni ki di gi ngua re ki rugusi e rogo wili ngbadi, ni ki za ka sukadi
lay and scraped the surface of the grave in that place. After that he took these medicines and stood them up on a small potsherid and pressed
pati e ni sende mura. si ki ta nyaka ni ki ni mo ka ga fuo sima ni e dunduko. mbiko gi
the earth of the grave all round it. When it was firm and after he had uttered spells over the medicines he returned home. For these
ngua i ni rugusi e rogo ngbadi yo re, ka i mai e ti kina kungbo sende mura ghua, fuo medicines which they stood up in the potsherid, if they just put them anyhow in
the earth of a grave, after

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45 I understood that a potsherid was left after burial on the top of the grave to mark roughly the spot where the head lay.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 2

gbusuga ngua gi ngbimi bang'a, ngbimi bakaikpo na ngbimi zawa re, si ki linda a linda kina
they stopped the action of the medicines, these parasites of the bang'a, bakaikpo and zawa trees would sink
fu'o kanga boro ku mura yo. si du i ni mai ngbadi ti ni sende yo mbata, i ni ka ma gi
down after the corpse in the grave. That is why they first place a potsherd in the earth
ngua re auru e, ka si ka ndu ka limo ku sende yo fu'o kanga boro. fu'o kpika aboro be gi
so that they may then place the medicine on it, lest it enter into the ground after the corpse.
After people (witches) had died from these
ngua re agume kanga ki mangi buda na akoro wa biata, ki yembu ade na akumba dunduko. i ki
medicines the kinsmen of the dead man brewed some three pots of beer and
summoned all their relatives, both women and men. When they
ta ye ka sungo, agume ki fu buda sa na akoro fu ba mai ngua. i ki ba kina mara pati
came and were seated the kinsmen gave one pot of beer to the maker of the
medicine. Then they threw down gifts beside
adekurugbo. si ki ta nyasa, aboro ki ni sungu zezeredi. i na fu mara ngua fu ba zumu
ngua
the widows. When this was finished the people sat in peace. They gave to the
owner of the
borokirue, i ki fu ga ziga bawe, si ki du wa bororue na kpakpa a bawe. kina wo abukuru a
medicine twenty gifts as payment for the medicine, and they paid him ten gifts
for the antidote to them, so that they made him thirty gifts in all. In this manner
na fu mara ngua mbata re fu gu boro na zumu ga yo muro ni ngua. mbata i a ina nga
the Abukuru used in the past to make payment for medicines to the man who
made magic on the graves of their kin. In the past they had no knowledge of
bagbuduma wa sa te, kina ga yo ngbimi angua i a na zumu ga yo mura na ni. ono awere i na
bagbuduma; it was with their own parasites of trees that they doctored their
graves. But
manga wa kina azande. ka boro kpi awere dagba yo i ki mai kina pumbo wa azande a manga.
today they do the same as the Azande. If today a man dies among them they
make a feast just as the Azande do.

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46 After the medicines had killed the witch, or witches, responsible for the death a
rite was performed in which an antidote was eaten, as the text further mentions, lest the
medicines, finding no further witches to destroy, should turn on the dead man's kin.
47 The Zande magic for avenging people killed by witches.
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abukuru mbu sino yo awere kina ko ti sino azande dunduko. Today the Abukuru have given up all their customs and have taken over those of the Azande.

mbata abukuru na du nga na gbia wa sa te, mbiko agbia a du kina diyo yo dunduko

In the past the Abukuru had no princes at all, for the princes were still all in mbiti guruba yo, na wele yo. abukuru ki tona ga yo kporo kina pavuru di nga hu, ni wilí
the west on the other side of the Guruba and Wele rivers. The Abukuru country began on the banks of the Hu, tributary of the 
sue; i ki mai kpuyo pavuru hu ni dungu yo. amadi ki du ti ga yo yo kina mbiti guruba yo a.
Sueh; they had their homes in great numbers along the Hu river. For their part, the Amadi48 were also on the far side of the Guruba.
ga tombu banyaki, limo ko a ngia welegene, ko ki ni mo ka so vura na yo, ki ni do yo
Tombu’s49 commoner governor, whose name was Welegene, he made war against them and drove
mbiti guruba yo. i ki ni ye dunduko ki ni sikiso kpuyo pavuru hu, ngbanda yo na sue. i ki
them across the Guruba. They then all came and spread out their homes in the valley of the Hu as far as the Sueh. When they had
ta zia pavuru hu a zia ni zi pavuru wili sue nga mazugburu ni ga yo kporo dunduko.
renzi
taken possession of the valley of the Hu they occupied with their homes that tributary of the Sueh which is the Mazugburu. Then Renzi
ki ni mo yo berewe ka ye ka so vura na yo. si du amadi ni ta imo renzi ti ni, ga tombu
moved again to make war on them. So when the Amadi had killed Renzi in it, 
Tombu’s 
banyaki, limo ko a ngia welegene, ko ki ni mo ka ye na vura sa amadi tipa kpio renzi. ko
governor, whose name was Welegene, he came to make war on the Amadi to avenge Renzi’s death. He
ki so vura na yo kindi, ki gbandaka yo ti vura. amadi ki ni bili ti yo sa abukuru ka so
made war against them for a long time and dispersed them in the fighting. Then the Amadi turned themselves against the Abukuru to wage war

48 The Amadi are a Sudanic speaking people, today largely absorbed by the Azande but still independent in the Congo, where they speak their own tongue as well as Zande.
49 Welegene (Welegine), a member of the Agiti clan, was given an area to rule to the east of the Sueh river by Renzi son of Yakpati. This Tombo was either Renzi’s younger brother or his son.
vura na yo; i ki di e be abukuru ki gbandaka yo dunduko, ki gbarasi pia yo ni ba sa. agu
on them; and they overcame the Abukuru and scattered them, and they wasted their country altogether. Some
yo ki ta ora sa amadi, agu yo ni oro sa aghia ni awili renzi; agu yo ki ni oro ku uro yo, of them fled to the Amadi, others fled to those princes who were the sons of Renzi, while yet others fled to the east,
ti li ngenze yo. abukuru ki ni mo ka gbataka na arago dunduko.
to the head of the Ngenze. The Abukuru dispersed all over the country.

by A. and W. Kronenberg

The anthropological field-work undertaken by the Sudan Antiquities Service in the region of Sudanese Nubia which is to be inundated, between Faras and Jebel Farka, began on 8 November 1961 and came to an end on 12 May 1962. From the middle of May until the beginning of July research was done among Nubians living in Khartoum. It is planned that anthropological research will be continued in Nubia in 1962–63.¹

This area is inhabited by two slightly different ethnic groups, the Fedica living between Faras in the north (and further north to Korosko in Egypt) and Khor Musa Pasha in the south, and the Ard el-Hagar people living between Khor Musa Pasha and the Dal Cataract. The Arab and Kenzi settlements in this area were not studied. After a pilot survey, we decided to choose one representative village from each group and carry out a community study there. Kulb was selected as representative of the Ard el-Hagar people² and Serra West as representative of the northern group, the Fedica. The research work in Kulb started on 21 November 1961 and came to an end on 8 February 1962; it started in Serra West on 21 February and came to an end on 6 May.³ The rest of the season was devoted to surveys of other Nubian settlements and to the study of particular problems.

We made a statistical documentation on Jamirka, a hamlet in Kulb, and the whole of Serra West on the following points: the age, sex, lineage and sublineage and mutual relationship of the inhabitants of each household, marriage history, history of residence and work abroad (duration, kind of work, reasons for

¹ We owe a very great debt to Mr F. Rehfisch and Sayed Nigm ed Din Mohammed Sherif who have read the draft of this paper and made many suggestions, some of which we have adopted.
² Kulb is a sheikhdom within the omudia of Ukme, which for administrative purposes is attached to Sukkot.
³ The whole population of Kulb and Serra West collaborated most willingly and, in Serra one might say enthusiastically. Practically all the inhabitants were willing informants allowing us to take part in social events and other activities. Mohamed Salah Effendi and Tahir Abdel Aziz were most reliable and efficient permanent collaborators. Ahmed Sadiq, Secretary of the Serra West Association in Khartoum, and Abd es Salam Fadl, Secretary of the Kulb Association in Khartoum, offered us every help during our study of these associations. We are grateful and indebted to all of them.
departure and return, etc.), ownership of seluka-land\textsuperscript{4} and sagiya-land,\textsuperscript{5} history of membership in water-wheel teams, ownership of date palms and domestic animals, and genealogies of the lineages.

With regard to the associations of men from Kulb and Serra West in Khartoum, we have full documentation for each member on the following points: age, lineage, length of stay in Khartoum, history and kind of employment, salary, monthly amount of money sent to the home village and to whom, marriages (if married to a local wife or a foreign wife), visits of the wife and children to Khartoum, where children are living, leaves and visits to the home village, where living in Khartoum, kind of contacts with other people, membership in sub-associations for special purposes, etc.

We also obtained membership lists of the associations of men from Kulb and Serra West in Cairo and Alexandria. These show whether a man is married or unmarried, the number of local women living with their husbands in Egypt, the number of Egyptian wives, and the kind of employment. Further, there is a list of all the other men from Kulb and Serra West scattered over the world.

Both the traditional ethnographic and the structural-functional approach were used in this study. In the final report the intimate relation between ethnographic facts and their function will be examined as well as their relation to the social structure. Special stress was laid on the study of dynamics in a changing society and the analysis of such factors as the system of social security, mutual assistance, cooperation, property and land tenure and its relationship to kinship, preferential marriage and neighbourhood. The lineage system, division into hamlets and their interrelations; how the need and demand for money is integrated into a subsistence economy, how the men working abroad organize themselves into associations to overcome the insecurity of urban employment and to maintain in an alien community their locality-based social ties as well as intimate links with their home community.\textsuperscript{6} How monetary income brings changes into village life and land tenure, and finally inter-village relationships. Some of these questions arose directly out of the study. They came to the fore from the usual study of social structure, economics, political organization, property, the social life of the individual, and ritual and belief.

As far as ritual and belief is concerned, we attempted to discover the interrelationship between religious and other aspects of social life by studying the status and the role of religious men and the influence of sects on village life.

\textsuperscript{4} Seluka is a digging stick with foot-rest. This term is also applied to land cultivated by the seluka, which is a strip of moist and fertile soil planted hurriedly with a variety of crops as the Nile flood subsides annually. (See J. W. Hewison, 'Northern Province Agriculture', p. 745 in J. D. Tothill, Agriculture in the Sudan, London, 1948, pp. 739–61).

\textsuperscript{5} Sagiya is the Persian water-wheel used to irrigate the sagiya soil type, which occurs near the river bank on the fringe of land which is not subject to flooding at high river. (See J. W. Hewison, op. cit., p. 740).

\textsuperscript{6} W. Watson, Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy, Manchester, 1958, discussed on p. 221 a similar problem.
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We also investigated the part played by the graves of saints and the importance of the descendants of these saints in terms of the lineage system. Further we tried to elucidate the interrelationship between mystic notions and village life by obtaining statistical material giving the reasons why people consult a religious expert (sheikh) in order to obtain amulets and talismans. Thus we were able to discover those needs which cannot be satisfied by ‘normal’ or secular means. This approach shows where the secular system breaks down; that is to say, where an individual feels that he is entitled to have a need satisfied, but existing institutions do not offer satisfaction, or when others do not behave according to one’s accepted expectations. Two examples may illustrate these two remarks. 1. If a man migrates, and after a number of years he does not send money to his family nor visit his village nor care for his relatives, a sheikh is consulted for an amulet in order to make him return. 2. A woman marries into another lineage, has children and then becomes a widow before her deceased husband has inherited claims to land through his father. The children will not inherit land entitled in the lineage if their father has a surviving brother, for he alone can succeed to his father’s estate in accordance with Islamic law. If the widow has an unmarried brother, she is likely to contact a sheikh in order to have him prepare an amulet that will make her brother leave the area, or, failing this, remain unmarried. Should he nevertheless take a wife, it is hoped that she will be from his own lineage. The reason for this is that if the brother has no children, then her offspring will have a better claim to her father’s property. If, however, he has children, hers are likely to be given more help should her brother’s wife be of their father’s lineage than if she were a stranger.

The social life and culture of the groups of Nubians which we studied are basically the same, although details of the general pattern vary for a number of reasons including different degrees of influence by other ethnic groups, changes brought about by modern development, and specific ecological conditions. Thus Nubian culture represents today what could be called one pattern with local variations in the same institutions and rituals. To give some examples: Due to the influence of neighbouring Arabs, the people of Kulb have adopted some dances which occur also among the Arabs, but which are not performed in Serra. Due to more contacts with the outside world, the people of Serra have introduced a pump-scheme and a mill on their own initiative, whereas Kulb has remained traditional in this regard. On the other hand, there are more ‘survivals’ from older periods in Kulb, and the customs in connexion with marriage and child-birth are more elaborate than they are in Serra and still show more Christian elements. For instance, during child-birth women call upon the name of Maryam (the Virgin Mary) for assistance, and angels are called angeles (from the Latin; usually called angeles rin asku, the ‘daughters of the angels’) and they too play a role in the ritual connected with child-birth—in Serra this ritual is similar, but Christian notions are replaced by Islamic ones.
The cultural-historical questions to be asked are how far back the traditions, beliefs and customs can be traced and whether it is possible to date them; what strata of cultural influence can be recognized and what elements are to be attributed to them, so that Herzog's outline of the history of the Nubians can be developed in more detail. Traditions of migrations, themes of stories and forms of ritual are amongst the most important criteria in this regard. There are further questions of general theoretical interest on which we are planning to do further research. These are the role of what is usually called 'survivals', whether there is a Nubian culture as such, or if the Nubians for all practical purposes lost their distinctive features after adopting Islamic culture, and what, today, conditions their solidarity and feeling of distinctiveness in relation to the other ethnic groups of the Northern Sudan.

The material culture of the Nubians is not very different from that of other agriculturalists in the Nile Valley. Therefore only a small number of objects was collected for the Sudan Museum. But a good documentation of ritual, social events, and economic activities was acquired both on photographs and tape-recordings.

It would be beyond the scope of a preliminary report to publish here descriptive material, but it seems to us appropriate to discuss briefly some selected institutions and their interrelations in Serra and Kulb and to point out the major differences between the two communities.

Serra West

Serra West is situated about 30 km. north of Wadi Halfa on the west bank of the Nile, on a flat sandy plateau. Its 295 component houses are built in lines parallel to the river, occupying an area of some 4 km. and are subdivided into 10 hamlets. In the 1960 Census 655 residents and 644 absentee were registered.

A set of clearly defined obligations exists among the inhabitants of Serra. They include the exchange of gifts and collaboration on specific occasions such as births, marriages, deaths and religious feasts. Mutual help and cooperation in economic activities, such as membership in water-wheel teams; common ownership of land and date palms among kin; obligations to assist people in cases of emergency, to support old people or those unable to work, and to marry a certain relative. These mutual obligations are determined on different levels, such as those limited to agnatic kin, cognatic kin, immediate neighbours, fellow inhabitants of a hamlet and inhabitants of one’s village. The degree and kind of contribution, assistance or collaboration varies for each person, and depends on a complicated ramification of relationships between the inhabitants of Serra. Nobody can afford to neglect these personal and communal obligations because this would lead to his disgrace and shame, and he would run the risk of being

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inadequately assisted himself in time of need. Similar obligations exist on an inter-village level. For example, Village A attends all funerals in Village B, but not in Village C. Village B collaborates with Villages A and C, and C with B and D. This is the ideal pattern. In reality, due to historical development, inter-village relations in Nubia are much more complicated.

Two notions, the ‘relationship by nerves’ (Arabic asaba) and the ‘relationship by breasts’ (Arabic laban) express the difference between agnates and cognates. The agnates or ‘relatives by nerves’ are all members of one clan or lineage, whereas ‘relatives by breasts’ are to be found in all clans or lineages with the exception of the father’s clan.

Serra is composed of fifteen patrilineal and virilocal lineages. Most of these are local branches of dispersed clans found in other parts of Nubia. This spreading and subdivision of clans follows a standard pattern. A man migrates and marries a wife in his new settlement, so creating a new local branch of his own clan. Formerly, if the status of the newcomer was high, if he was reputed to be a sheikh or a Turkish officer, he was either given land or he obtained it by force. Today it is different, as the status of a newcomer is usually very low, and when he marries a local wife, the ‘relationship by breasts’ arbitrarily replaces the ‘relationship by nerves’ after some generations. The true line of descent is then forgotten and the grandchildren of the newcomer are incorporated into the grandmother’s lineage by a fictitious patrilineal descent. This is the only means whereby land rights can be obtained for them since land tenure has become ‘frozen’ as will be explained later.

Because membership in the lineage is traced by patrilineal descent, the number of generations recognized in the paternal line is usually greater than it is among cognates (usually nine generations for agnates, and three to four generations for cognates), in recognition of the importance of the agnatic tie. Because marriage is usually preferential and takes place, at least in the first instance, with an agnate (the only exception being if no girl of a suitable age is available, when marriage is acceptable within the wider kin group), thus the in-laws and agnates are often one and the same group of persons. A man’s agnates have a much stronger economic and political influence upon him than his cognates, and the relationships among them are patterned by paternal authority. Relations between cognates are much less rigid and there are fewer economic and social obligations. Collaboration between agnates is binding, between cognates less so. A Nubian therefore feels more at his ease and prefers the company of his mother’s brother, but he is more dependent on his father’s brother.

Each local lineage of a clan is segmented into sub-lineages. A sub-lineage is composed of brothers, father’s brother’s sons and their children. If there is no major increase in a sub-lineage, no bifurcation will take place and the relation between father’s brother’s sons remains constant for generations (aulad amam bi daraga). When one of the brothers has many children, he then becomes the
founder of a new sub-lineage called *nog* (Nubian for 'house'). The sub-lineage is usually given a name after one generation, when the founder's sons and their sons are called after him as the 'people of . . . (the name of the founder)'.

The membership of a lineage or sub-lineage implies collaboration in a water-wheel team, common ownership of *sagiya*-land, and, to a lesser extent, common ownership of *seluka*-land and date-palms. Because of virilocal residence a sub-lineage is composed of the houses of brother's and father's brother's sons (immediate or perpetual) with their wives and children. Although most of the male members of a sub-lineage migrate as wage-earners at some time in their lives, one of the men must remain at home. If necessary he is financially supported by his brothers or father's brother's sons. His role is to look after their wives, children and property, acting as their trustee. He settles quarrels within his sub-lineage, sees to it that the houses are well maintained and kept in a state of repair. He is obliged to take the children to school and sick women to the hospital and if necessary he does the shopping in Wadi Halfa for them. He kills the rams in the houses of the absent members at the *Id el kebir*, and, if necessary, has to support the members of his 'house' with money and food; in the case of death the *fatha* is 'given' to him. This man in charge of the sub-lineage is called *nog in dawu*, the 'big man of the house'. Should his elder brother return, the functions of the *nog in dawu* will usually pass to him. The *nog in dawu* is also, in most cases, the head of the water-wheel team; he decides who will be accepted into the team, and how the work of the team is to be organized; he decides about the time of sowing and harvest, and he supervises the division of the crop, etc.

The *gabila n dawu*, 'the big man of the lineage' has a more symbolic and ritual function. He is asked for formal permission, in order to receive his blessing, if a member of his lineage wants to marry, or to migrate for wage-earning. He concludes marriage contracts on behalf of the girls or women of his lineage, and inter-lineage quarrels are settled by a meeting of the 'big men of the lineages' concerned.

There is a mystic notion *awī*, which expresses and assures the solidarity between relatives and residents of the same village. *Awī* is present in all relatives and, to a lesser extent among all fellow villagers, uniting them mystically into a solidarity group, and removes, at least in theory, disputes and vengeance between them into a transcendental sphere. *Awī* certainly adds to the high degree of social equilibrium and solidarity which is a striking feature of a Nubian village. When Nubians working abroad unite in clubs, there are economic motives involved, but the recognition of the bonds of kinship and locality is the strongest factor, and the concept of *awī* is its mystical expression.

Before the registration of land in 1907, each lineage owned and cultivated as much land as its labour force permitted it to care for and defend against other lineages. Uncultivated land was occupied by people who needed it. Land
tenure therefore followed the demographic movements within the lineages. This ceased once the registration had been completed and security of tenure was established. This stagnation led to the phenomena, whereby if a lineage did not have enough males to work its land the plots remained uncultivated, whereas if a lineage suddenly increased in size it might not have enough land to cultivate. As a result, migration for wage-earning was given a considerable impetus and increased rapidly. Another stimulus which led to intensified migration for wage-earning was the assurance that in Ego’s absence nobody would occupy and cultivate his plot, because it was registered by the government. The distinction between freehold land and government owned leasehold land which was introduced later, had practically no influence in this regard. According to the law, if a plot of leasehold land remains uncultivated for longer than five years, a neighbour may claim the usufruct thereof, but this does not happen in Serra due to a kind of gentlemen’s agreement between the inhabitants who are afraid that should such a practice develop there would be no security of tenure.

Although the law permits inheritance of land by women, it is usually regarded as a ‘shame’ to work on one’s mother’s or wife’s plot, and the use of it is usually left to her brother unless either her husband or son is really dependent upon it and makes a claim for it in court. Brothers and father’s brother’s sons usually cultivate their sagiya-land together and divide the crop among them, but persons having a claim to the land through inheritance in the female line are given a certain share of the harvest. A plot of seluka-land is often divided yearly in a rotating sequence among the heirs living in Serra.

There is a direct relationship between a lineage and a plot of sagiya-land, because this land will usually not be cultivated by outsiders. Others may have a claim to a share of the crop through inheritance, but they have no right to work on it in practice. This relationship between a lineage and a plot has become even closer since registration, because there is virtually no way to acquire land other than by inheritance. Formerly, on certain occasions such as marriage, the return of a student from a religious school, or a man wishing to show friendship or gratitude to a sheikh, etc., plots of land could be given as gifts. But after registration, such a gift, in order to be legally effective, would have to be registered in the cadastre—all the governmental machinery would have to be put in motion, starting with a survey commission coming to the village from Wadi Halfa. Therefore such a gift of land is now considered too complicated and troublesome. In addition, the multiplicity of claimants through inheritance in the last three generations has further complicated the matter. Now such transfers of land have been replaced by gifts of money or movable property. This factor increased the stagnation of land ownership, because first nobody was willing to dispose of land on account of these difficulties, and then it came about that there was no means of acquiring land other than by inheritance. Boundaries became ‘frozen’, because once a plot was disposed of there could be no means of acquiring land for the future generation and this led to an excessive desire to keep a plot of land within the lineage.

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Another factor which considerably changed the economy of Serra West and intensified migration for wages was the second stage of the Aswan Dam in the 1920’s. As a result of this the seluka-land now remains under water for six months instead of three as formerly. Since seluka-land was the most important provider of food for domestic animals, the number of cattle, goats and sheep suddenly diminished as they could no longer be adequately fed. This has had an important effect on the number of water-wheels in use because cattle are required to drive them. Therefore since the 1920’s the number of water-wheels has steadily decreased: 21 were working in 1925, but only three in 1952. Serra became increasingly dependent on financial contributions from outside and when economy reached its lowest ebb the men working abroad intensified their efforts to buy a pump for the village and start a cooperative pump-scheme. When this pump-scheme came into operation in 1954, most of the men working in Egypt returned to Serra, but their hopes of earning enough in the village and being able to stay at home permanently were not realized and after one or two harvests they migrated again, this time mostly to Khartoum.

During the last three years the migration for wage-earning has shifted from Cairo and Alexandria to Khartoum. This migration is changing considerably in character, because the percentage of wives who follow their husbands has increased. More than a third of the men from Serra West now working in Khartoum have their wives with them, whereas the proportion used to be much lower in Egypt. This increase is due to higher incomes and to a greater feeling of security, and also because transport to Khartoum is cheaper and easier than to Cairo or Alexandria. But whether a man can take his wife to Khartoum depends not only on his having sufficient income but also on such factors as whether he has siblings who can look after his parents, house and property.

Women are the traditional force in Nubia to resist foreign influences and maintain the integrity of village life, being the link between the home village and the men working abroad. While Nubian men speak Arabic, the vast majority of women speak only Nubian. They maintain the economy and provide security and a place to which a man can always retire. The degree to which Nubians will become absorbed and lose their language and their links with the home villages depends on how many women accompany their husbands when they work abroad and how long they stay there. The modern trend is for men in the higher income groups to bring their wives to Khartoum, and for the children born there to become disinterested in the village and integrated with the townsfolk. It seems to us that this is the most interesting feature of the present development.

Nubians in centres like Khartoum, Cairo and Alexandria form associations gam’iya, having a common interest in their place of origin. Membership is more or less obligatory. These associations are a means of transferring, with slight modifications, the social ties as they operate in the home village to the place of wage-earning. In frustrating alien surroundings Nubians can find
opportunities for friendship and sympathy\(^8\) at village level. The associations being solidarity groups also give their members economic security such as assistance for the unemployed and sick, help in finding employment, etc., but the form of assistance varies from individual to individual just as it does in the home village (see p. 305 above). The members of an association unite also in assisting the people in their home village by collecting money for funerals, assisting old and poor people, helping to make good damage caused by such accidents as the burning down of a house, giving assistance to a boatman to repair his ferry boat, supplying dishes for communal meals, etc. The associations of Serra West in Cairo and Alexandria have also by coordinated effort established a school, a dispensary, a cooperative pump-scheme and a cooperative mill in their home village and undertaken joint action to avoid the amalgamation of their omudia with the omudia of Faras.

Having discussed some features of Serra West, we will now point out as briefly as possible some of the major differences between this community and Kulb.

Kulb

The sheikhdom of Kulb is situated about 120 km. south of Wadi Halfa on the west bank of the Nile. The land is extremely rocky and the 15 hamlets which go to make up Kulb are scattered between the rocks on the small plateaux where there is enough space to build houses.

Kulb is typical of the Ard el-Hagar communities. The strip of sagiya-land is very narrow and stands high and the water has to be raised by two stages, which makes sagiya farming a very laborious and unproductive enterprise. On the other hand, the seluka-land was not affected by the raising of the Aswan Dam in the 1920’s and is therefore comparatively abundant. As far as land rights are concerned, there are two striking differences between Kulb and Serra: in Kulb no rent is paid to the owners of sagiya-land, whereas in Serra West this accounts for a quarter of the crop. The only advantage of having a certain claim to sagiya-land is that this entitles one to a fraction of the dates grown on it. If rent were collected on sagiya-land, in view of the difficulties of cultivation, it would not be worth while.

In contrast to the difficulties of sagiya farming, the cultivation of seluka-land is easy and the vegetables grown thereon yield a very rich harvest which enables the villagers to feed rather more cattle, goats and sheep than at Serra. Therefore the possession of seluka-land is very important, and people guard their hereditary claims to it in the father’s as well as in the mother’s line, because seluka-land can be subdivided into smaller plots, and it is even worth while for a person to

\(^8\) K. Little, ‘Some Traditionally Based Forms of Mutual Aid in West African Urbanisation’, *Ethnology*, 1, 2, pp. 197–211, discusses similar associations in West Africa.
cultivate a plot only one yard wide, whereas sāgiya-land is tied to a water-wheel and needs a team of farmers to work it. Because of the advantages of seluka-land over sāgiya-land in Kulb, there are different kinds of rights distinguishable in relation to one plot of seluka-land. The owner, the cultivator and the person who supplies the seeds may be three different people, and each of them has a claim to one third of the crop. The situation is different in Serra. Here seluka-land has been practically worthless since the inundation due to the raising of the Aswan Dam in the 1920’s, and if anyone cannot cultivate all his seluka-land he will let it to somebody else without charge.

The social organization is also different from that of Serra. Kulb is inhabited almost entirely by members of one clan which is subdivided into three lineages, each including several sub-lineages.

In Kulb, as in Serra, there is the same tendency to cooperate and to divide risks, but the emigrants, formerly united in clubs in Cairo and Alexandria but now mostly in Khartoum, influence village life to a lesser extent. Apart from payments on such occasions as deaths, or help offered to a poverty stricken family, the most important contribution of the Kulb Associations has been to buy a ferry boat which is run and maintained on a cooperative basis, and to supply pots and copper dishes for communal meals.

Kulb has preserved more survivals from the Christian period than Serra, and, due to its remoteness and poorer economic conditions, takes a more conservative attitude to modern changes.

We wish to stress that this is only a short preliminary report, that our material has not as yet been fully studied or worked up statistically, and that it is impossible to make any final or definitive statement. The research is far from complete. Investigation of the associations of Nubians in Khartoum is still going on, and it is likely that with the additional knowledge of Nubian culture and social life, which we hope to acquire in 1962–63, some of our present ideas on these subjects will be revised.
Notes

UNE MONNAIE ROMAINE A ZEIDAB

En complément aux indications récemment fournies par Fr. Hintze, à l’occasion de son exploration du Butana, sur les vestiges antiques de Zeidab, à peu près à mi-chemin entre Atbara et Méroè, signalons la découverte d’une monnaie en bronze du début du règne de Commode, plus précisément entre 180 et 183 à en juger d’après les traces qui subsistent de la légende au droit.

Cette pièce m’a été signalée par mon collègue et ami le Prof. A. Mordini (Barga, Italie), qui m’a précisé les conditions de la trouvaille : durant l’été 1941, M. Mario Tognarelli, de Barga, l’a découverte, à près de 2 m. de profondeur, lors du creusement d’un grand puits situé près de la direction anglaise du camp de prisonniers de Zeidab.

C’est un appoint intéressant au lot très restreint des monnaies romaines jusqu’ici retrouvées en Nubie et au Soudan : une monnaie de Claude à Méroè, une monnaie de Néron à Karanog, une monnaie d’Alexandre Sévere également à Karanog, une monnaie de Dioclétien loin dans le Kordofan à El Obeid, une de Licinius maintenant au Musée de Khartoum, une monnaie du milieu

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2 17°27-33°54, Map sheet 45-K
3 D’après l’identification qu’a bien voulu me communiquer mon collègue et ami le Prof. J. Schwartz (Université de Strasbourg).
4 J’adresse le témoignage de mon amicale gratitude au Prof. A. Mordini qui m’a généreusement confié ce document.
5 Indiquons sous bénéfice d’inventaire des monnaies ptolémaïques non publiées, à Dongola, Abu Guta et Khartoum, signalées par R. Mauny, Libyca, iv, 1956, p. 254.
7 LAAA, vii, p. 3, 13.
8 Signalé par R. Mauny, Libyca, iv, 1956, p. 254.
9 Ibid.
11 Khartoum, no. 493. D’après les indications de l’inventaire du Musée de Khartoum consulté par Mme. M. Schiff Giorgini, la pièce, en bronze, a été présentée en 1911 par St. Skirmunt, mais son origine n’est pas connue.
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du ivème siècle à Sennar\textsuperscript{12} et une de Valens (364–378) dans un tumulus de Qustul.\textsuperscript{13} Un tel indice est non négligeable pour juger du commerce et des rapports de Rome au-delà de ses frontières du Sud.\textsuperscript{14}

JEAN LECLANT (Strasbourg).

ENGLISH SUMMARY

Following Professor Hintze’s publication of ancient remains at Zeidab (KUSH VII, pp. 172–4), Professor Leclant reports the finding there of a coin of the Emperor Commodus, probably to be dated between A.D. 180 and 183, by Mr Mario Tognarelli of Barga in 1941. This is an interesting addition to the small number of Roman coins previously found in Egyptian Nubia and the Sudan, which are listed here with bibliographical references.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE STELAE AND FRESCOES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT FARAS

Readers of the recent news of the magnificent frescoes of the Christian period at Faras and the Greek and Coptic stelae found in association with them must congratulate Professor Michalowski and the members of the Polish mission on the success of their discoveries and on their painstaking excavations. One must question, however, the excavators’ dating of the stelae, and the frescoes dated on the basis of these stelae, as early as the 7th century. In Archaeology, vol. 15 (1962), pp. 115–17, the Greek stela of Ioannes is dated in year of the martyrs 322= A.D. 606 and the Coptic stela of Petros in martyrs 378= A.D. 662. The sign for the hundreds figure is a cross similar to the Coptic letter \textit{ti} and read by Michalowski as the Greek (and Coptic) letter-numeral \textit{tau} with the value 300. As indicated below, this reading cannot be correct and the stelae in question are to be dated a full 400 years later.

In March 1962 the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition under my direction excavated a site at Arminna in Egyptian Nubia, where a small church of a type represented at er-Rammal and Tamit was planned and excavated. Among the finds were sorry traces of once fine frescoes and two dated stelae, a Coptic stela of martyrs 637= A.D. 921 and a Greek stela of martyrs 748= A.D. 1032. Dr John F. Oates of Yale University (JE A, vol. 49 (1963), in press) has prepared a detailed study of the latter and stelae from Nubia with the same text, and I hope to edit the Coptic stela and fragments of a second Coptic stela. During our

\textsuperscript{12} A. J. Arkell, SNR, XV, 1932, p. 271–2; G. A. Wainwright, SNR, XXVIII, 1947, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{13} W. B. Emery, The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, 1, 1938, p. 398, tombe 14.
work it became evident that the dating of the Faras stelae in the 7th century was implausible on several counts, as Oates was the first to suggest. We traced this difficulty to the simple fact that the letter-figure for hundreds is actually not to be read \( \text{tau} \) (300) but rather \( \text{psi} \) (700) in a form which is quite common. The correct dates are therefore 722 martyrs = A.D. 1006 (not A.D. 606) for the Greek stela of Ioannes; 778 martyrs = A.D. 1062 (not A.D. 662) for the Coptic stela of Petros; and 813 martyrs = A.D. 1097 (thus also Michalowski) for the Coptic stela of Georgios. The date of the stela of Iesou is given by Michalowski as 688 martyrs = A.D. 972, but it cannot be seen in the photograph. All four stelae are illustrated in *Archaeology*, vol. 15 (1962), p. 117.

The corrected reading of the dates proposed here certainly suits the archaeological situation and the dates of the other two stelae, those of Georgios in A.D. 1097 and Iesou in A.D. 972, both Michalowski’s readings. The question can be settled once and for all, however, on the basis of the Coptic texts of the stelae of Georgios and Petros. The Coptic stela of Georgios of martyrs 813 = A.D. 1097 states that he held office for 35 years: ‘the days which he spent upon his throne were 35 years’. Subtracting these 35 years from the date of his death in 1097 we arrive at A.D. 1062 for the beginning of his tenure of office. This is precisely the year in which Petros died, according to our revised date. Hence Petros was immediately followed in office by Georgios. The Coptic text of the two stelae has essentially the same formulae, and the slight differences can be explained on the basis of a 35 year interval rather than the 435 year interval demanded by the earlier reading.

Michalowski states, ‘These chapels were used as places of worship for about four centuries, since the most recent stele belongs to the 11th century’ (op. cit., p. 116). As indicated above, however, the two misdated stelae are also to be assigned to the 11th century. Dr Michalowski kindly informs us that the stela of Iesou is now dated in A.D. 1169 (add KUSH X, 220–44). It is probable then that the associated frescoes belong to the 10th century at the earliest but more likely to the 11th century. For Coptic stelae with similar texts, dated in the 10th century, see those from Toshka (Sakiniya) in U. Monneret de Villard, *Le inscrizioni del cimitero di Sakiniya* (Cairo, 1933), nos. 219, 221, and a stela from Arminna translated in *Expedition*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Summer 1962), p. 46. Dr Oates and I are indebted to Professor Michalowski for his great kindness in sending us photographs of the stelae, which confirm our results. Further work at Faras now in progress may, of course, revise these conclusions as to the date of the frescoes. In any case, the dates in A.D. 606 and 662 must be firmly rejected.

William Kelly Simpson
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In Kush vii, pp. 115–19, I published two sherds of pottery from Christian Nubia that were found at Ain Farah in northern Darfur on a site which till then had been considered an early Moslem palace. Ain Farah is now recognized to have been a monastery with two churches, all built in red brick, which probably flourished before A.D. 1240, when the Moslem kingdom of Kanem established control over the trade route between Kanem and Egypt via Sai Island (between Dongola and the Second Cataract). Judging by a glass window pane found there, this could have been as early as c. A.D. 700.2

In the revised edition of my History of the Sudan, pp. 191–2, I have pointed out that there can now be no doubt that Tungur, the name of the builders of Ain Farah, is derived from Mukurra, the name of the Christian kingdom of Dongola, or rather from its older form Tmkr², which Zyhlarz has shown occurs in the tribute lists of Tuthmosis III.³ The Tungur of Darfur are usually known as Tungur Kirāti, and the fact that the Bornu history of the Imam Ahmed speaks of the Tumagera as of the Kira people makes it probable that Tungur is an arabicized form of Tumagera. Local tradition has it that on its destruction, the ruler of Ain Farah fled to Ennedi, and it is important that there are Bedayat in Ennedi today who acknowledge relationship with the Tungur of Darfur. It seems therefore that the alleged Tungur kingdom of Darfur was a province of the Nubian kingdom of Mukurra, with provincial headquarters probably at Uri, a few miles east of Ain Farah. Thus the legendary Tungur pagan kingdom of Wadai with its capital at Wara may have been but another province of Christian Mukurra, both these provinces becoming lost to Nubia in the 13th century with the advance of Moslem Kanem.

If this explanation of the Tungur of Darfur and Wadai is correct, as I think it must be, it is almost certain that the Tungur of the Lake Chad area (for whom see Carbou, Tchad, I, pp. 82–3; II, pp. 1, 17, 74n., where he describes them as a hybrid Arab-negro tribe who are not good Moslems, being addicted to alcohol, and with a tradition that they once lived on the banks of the Nile)⁴ are descendants of Christian Nubians who once colonized Chad or went to it as missionary monks. And it now looks as if archaeological evidence is beginning to come to light to support this.

A rim sherd of red burnished (black fracture) ware with a decoration drawn on it in black line before firing was sent to me by M. R. Mauny, in charge of the

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3 Kush vi, pp. 14, 16.
Département Archéologie-Préhistoire de l’Institut Français d’Afrique Noire, Dakar. It had been picked up at Koro Toro in Tchad by M. R. Capot-Rey of the Institut de Recherches Sahariennes, Algiers. The decoration on the sherd consists of five parallel horizontal lines just below the rim, then five lines of simple fish-scale pattern, below which is a zigzag line with hatching in short parallel lines on the right-hand side of the zigzag line, horizontal when inside the triangle so formed and parallel to the descending line of the zigzag, assuming the zigzag to have been drawn from left to right. (See FIG. 1). My first impression from the look of the sherd with its fish-scale decoration was that it probably showed Meroitic influence; for the fish-scale motif is not uncommon in the painted ware of Meroe in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.\footnote{See F. Ll. Griffith in LAAA, xi, pls. xxix and xxx, and J. Garstang and others, Meroe, City of the Ethiopians, pl. xlviii.}

Since then, M. Mauny has visited the Koro Toro area himself, and has picked up at Bochianga, 9 km. north-west of Koro Toro, a large part of a painted black topped, red ware beaker of which he has sent me the accompanying drawing (FIG. 2). This at once reminded me of the cup from the Rivergate Church at Faras, near the Second Cataract in Christian Nubia (for which see LAAA, xiii, pl. lxii, 4) which is admittedly of painted cream ware and has a different base; but if the Tungur represent the influence of Christian Nubia stretching through Darfur and Wadai to Tchad, the Bochianga cup is just the sort of variation one would expect so far from Nubia, and where the right clay for cream ware was
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probably unobtainable. Painted red ware did occur in Christian Nubia—see Mileham, *Churches of Lower Nubia*, p. 30, where there is mention of a bowl in 'red slip ware with painted design in black' from the northern church at Faras.

Fig. 2. POTTERY VASE PAINTED BLACK ON RED, BOCHIANGA NEAR KORO TORO (TCHAD)

I had written thus far when I stopped to write to ask M. Mauny for the exact situation of Koro Toro. He sent me the enclosed sketch map (FIG. 3) showing that there is a group of sites on a bend at the northern end of the Bahr el Ghazal, about 16°N, 18°45 E, immediately south of a well called Toungour. The name of this well seemed to establish my supposition as to the date and makers of these two sherds, and the reference given me by M. Mauny to Capt.
FIG. 3. SKETCH MAP OF TUNGUR SITES ON THE CHAD BAHR EL-GHAZAL
Seliquer’s article ‘Elements d’une étude archéologique des Pays bas du Tchad ’, leaves me in no doubt. Seliquer describes the Bahr el Ghazal as ending in the dry bed of a one-time lake which he calls the ‘lake of the Toungour’, and which seemed to him to have been once the most north-easterly extension of the Chad Depression (Pays bas du Tchad). He describes numerous sites (hjökken möddinger) on the edge of this depression, especially north and north-west of Toungour well, and says there must have been nothing in the potter’s art unknown to their inhabitants, with all the different forms and wares. He mentions fine burnished black pottery, and rarer fine red. With the pottery are numerous hippo bones and teeth, and ostrich egg-shell beads. At Koro Toro he found pieces of fine sandstone engraved with what looked like Greek letters. Yet at the present day, there is not enough water for sedentary settlement, let alone hippopotami. He concludes that the settlement dates from the last phase of this lake at the northern end of the Bahr el Ghazal. The local Goraan told Capt. Seliquer of a tradition that the inhabitants of these sites were blacks who lived in ‘le temps de Nassara’, and some few of them told Capt. Seliquer that the Toungour were Nassara; ‘d’autres, mais en petit nombre, confondent les hommes de Toungour et les Nassara’. (Nassara is of course Arabic for ‘Christians.’) I have now no doubt that the few were right, and that there is in the Koro Toro area the remains of a considerable settlement of people who were under the influence of Christian Nubia not more than 1,000 years ago, and that we have here also fresh confirmation of my belief that the desiccation of this area, and indeed of all North Africa, has become much more severe in the last 1,000 years.  

On his sketch map M. Mauny marks the sites round Koro Toro as ‘haddad (= blacksmith) sites’; whereas Capt. Seliquer thought that they were pre-iron, and that they must have used wood, in the absence of iron or stone tools; but he does mention ‘les énormes dépôts de scories qu’on trouve dans la même région’ which he thought were much later than the pottery. But presumably they are really contemporary. He also mentions ‘maisons de briques cuites du Djourab, vestiges que les Goranes attribuent à ces mêmes Nassara que les hommes de Toungour auraient connus’. If the original Tungur of Koro Toro came, as they must have done, from Christian Nubia, they would have brought with them the knowledge of iron-working and burning brick, as well as of painting designs on pottery.

A. J. Arkell

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8 See also R. Capot-Rey, Borkou et Ounianga, Mémoire No. 5, Institut de Recherches Sahariennes, Alger, 1961—received since the above was written.
A PERSIAN GEOGRAPHER THROWS LIGHT ON THE EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN NUBIA IN THE 10TH CENTURY A.D.¹

I am indebted to Dr A. D. H. Bivar for drawing my attention to a passage in the 10th-century Persian geography Hudūd al-ʾAlam, 'The Regions of the World', translated and explained by V. Minorsky,² who suggests, only to dismiss it, the possibility of a reference to Christian monasteries near the Chad region. The passage occurs on the last folio (39), the edge of which is torn slightly mutilating the text, and is part of a short reference to Nubia, following a reference to the country of the Buja (Beja) and preceding the last paragraph, which concerns 'the Sudan and its towns' (here clearly the Western Sudan, in fact Nigeria).

The passage in question comes after a mutilated reference to Kābil and Ramîl al Maḍān (the Sands of the Mines) and is translated thus:—

'Tari (Tahi ?), a small province lying in the desert between the limits (territory) of Nubia and the Sudan; in it lie two remote (?) monasteries belonging to the Christians. . . . It is reported that in them . . . live 12,000 monks . . . and whenever one of them disappears . . . from Nubia, one of the Christians of Upper Egypt (Saʿīd) goes there'.

In an additional note (p. 482) the commentator quotes a passage from Ibn al-Wardi (c. A.D. 1340) derived from Idrisi, referring to a place called by the former Tamri and by the latter Terfy 'a large city on the lake which joins the Nile, and on the edge of which is a large stone idol (sanam) with its arm on its chest, and said to have been a tyrant turned to stone'. Minorsky concludes, probably rightly, that 'This T.ryfy (I. al Wardi: T.rymy—but his Arabic version reads T.rym [A.J.A.])—must be another avatar of our Try'. We will presume then that Tari, found in a much earlier work, the Hudūd al-ʾAlam, written in A.D. 982 is probably more correct.

If it is, it is possibly the same place as the hitherto unidentified TR (Tare), where there was a shrine of the goddess Bastet in the vicinity of the Fourth Cataract that was visited by King Harsiotef c. 404 B.C., on his accession, and again by King Nastasen c. 335 B.C. on his accession.³ It is possible that this shrine of Bastet is the site Umm Ruweim No. 1, on the right bank of the Wadi Abu Dom, 11 km. from Ghazali, which consists of a building surrounded by two enclosure walls.⁴ This would have been on the King's return route overland from Napata to Meroe. In this connection it may be noted that Heinrich

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¹ Read at the Third Conference of African History and Archaeology held in London, July 1961.
² E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series, xi (1937), London (Luzac).
⁴ Chittick, 'An Exploratory Journey in the Bayuda Region', Kush III, pp. 87–90.
Schafer suggested that Tare may have been the same as Pliny’s Radata, which was on the right bank of the Nile, and at which a golden cat and a picture of Bastet were reverenced. The identification of Radata with Umm Ruweim can, however, only stand if Pliny was mistaken in confusing the Wadi Abu Dom with the Nile; for though on the right bank of the Wadi it is of course on the left bank of the Nile. For a site that will suit the Hudūd al-ʿAlam’s Tari we must look to the west of the Nile, and it does seem that it is possible that the small province lying in the desert between the territory of Nubia and the Sudan (Nigeria) in which lay two remote Christian monasteries may have included northern Darfur, where one Christian monastery has recently been identified at Ain Farah, and where the name of the people connected with it, the Tungur, is now seen to be derived from Ṭmkr, the original of the Nubian kingdom of Dongola’s name Mukurra, and known from the tribute lists of Tuthmosis III, c. 1450 B.C.

Christians from Dongola who took this name, later arabicized as Tungur, to northern Darfur, founded the monastery at Ain Farah, and introduced red bricks and the date palm, must also have had settlements, probably monasteries, in the Tungur areas of Wadai and Chad, and the whole of this Tungur area may be intended by the province of Tari between Nubia and Nigeria, which is exactly its situation. Can it be that this name Tari came from their metropolitan see, now known as Ghazali, also on the Wadi Abu Dom, and about half way between Umm Ruweim and the Nile? Ghazali was an unusually large Christian settlement with a monastery and church built of dressed stone blocks. Presumably Ain Farah, the intervening Christian sites of Zankor and Abu Sofyan, and other settlements in Wadai and Chad, may well have been administered at one time from Ghazali, and if Ghazali’s old name was Tari, the whole may have been known as the province (diocese?) of Tari.

If this identification of Ghazali with Tari is right, it would explain the details given by Ibn al-Wardi from Idrisi mentioned above. In August–September, in years when the Nile flood is high and the Wadi Abu Dom is running, the junction of the Nile and the Wadi seen from the top of Jebel Barkal looks just like a lake. The idol (sanam) may have been the best remaining colossal statue of Taharqa carved on the face of Jebel Barkal c. 670 B.C.; or it may have been a statue (no longer existing) near his temple on the other bank which is still known as Sanam Abu Dom.

A. J. Arkell

6 Pliny, vi, 35.
8 Żykal, ‘The Countries of the Ethiopian Empire of Kush’ etc., KUSH vi, pp. 14–16.
11 Arkell, History of the Sudan, p. 131.
Review


This new edition of what has now become the standard book for the history of the Sudan is warmly to be welcomed, and the reviewer takes no little pleasure in being partly responsible for its appearance, since it was he who informed the author that the first edition was out of print.

The original edition has already been the subject of a long and detailed review by Professor Leclant in this journal (Kush v, pp. 93–101) and it is only necessary here to draw attention to some of the new matter now made available.

Substantially the two editions are the same and, fortunately, most of the original pagination is maintained, the new material having been skilfully inserted with the least possible disturbance to the text. Apart from a few small errors which have been corrected the main changes are, in chronological order—a new and further treatment of the C-Group and Pan-grave peoples (pp. 77–9), a description of the invasion and sack of Napata by Psammetichos II in 591 B.C. based on the work of Sauneron and Yoyotte, with the suggestion that the move of the capital of the kingdom of Kush to Meroë had taken place by that date (pp. 144–6); a revision of Meroitic chronology in the light of Hintze’s recent work; and the new view about the buildings at Ain Fara in Darfur as a result of the discovery of Christian potsherds there which the author has already described in this journal (Kush vii, pp. 115–19).

The new material greatly enhances the value of this book, and it is much to be hoped that a third edition will be called for before long, since the many excavations now being carried on in Nubia make the present one already out of date in some respects.

P. L. SHINNIE
University of Ghana
The Editor of Kush

Dear Sir,

It would be of great assistance to the amateur historian if one of your authorities on Nubian language could contribute a brief article on its origins and its distribution in medieval and modern times.

In addition to the spread of Nubian-speaking peoples through Kordofan to the Tumbab Hills of El Odayya and the Dilling area, there is an interesting possibility in the following story related to me by the Melik Muhammad Sayyah of the Meidob.

'When our forefathers left Dongola they travelled up the Wadi el Melik and then westwards along the south edge of the Wadi Howar. Fires were noticed burning on what is now J. Meidob and a party was dispatched to investigate. They found the Taju in occupation of the hills and by the time they had driven them out the main emigrants had passed on to the west and so our fathers settled here.

Long after, when my father was a boy, my grandfather was entertaining a party of westerners who had strayed north of the usual pilgrims' route and one of them suddenly realized that our people were speaking his own language'.

He said that the resemblance of this man's speech was as close as that between Meidobi and the dialect spoken by visiting Danagla today, which the Meidobi have no difficulty in understanding.

According to the Melik the traveller said that he came 'from beyond Kano'.

Yours, etc.

K. D. D. Henderson