Kor
Report on the Excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Kor, 1965
by H. S. Smith

The fortified town and cemeteries of Kor (Buhen South) on the west bank of the Nile opposite Halfa Degheim were included in the area of the concession to excavate granted by the Sudan Government Antiquities Service to the Egypt Exploration Society, London, in 1957. Work upon them was postponed because the Society's main objective was the great Egyptian fortress of Buhen 4½ km. to the north.¹ The emergency created by the building of the new High Dam at Shellal made it necessary to clear the site of Buhen completely, and this task was not completed until April 1964. The recording of the rock inscriptions within the concession and the archaeological re-examination of Kor remained the Society's responsibility. To accomplish this an expedition was mounted in January 1965 under the overall direction of Professor W. B. Emery, the Society's Field Director. Unfortunately Professor Emery was unable to come to the Sudan himself owing to heavy commitments elsewhere, and the field party consisted of Mr and Mrs H. S. Smith. They arrived at Buhen on 24 January 1965, and after two weeks spent in recording rock inscriptions,² excavations at Kor were begun on 7 February with a party of thirty men. The excavations were closed on 4 March, and camp was struck on 15 March.

The completion of the first stage of the High Dam has flooded the town of Wadi Halfa; the major part of the population has been evacuated and transport and other services curtailed. The Society has even greater cause than in the past to be grateful to Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, the Commissioner for Archaeology, to Sayed Nigm ed-Din Mohammed Sherif, the Senior Inspector of Antiquities at Wadi Halfa, and to their respective staffs for their unfailing efficiency, courtesy and co-operation in most difficult administrative circumstances. I also wish to thank Professor J. Vercoultter for his kindly and helpful advice, and Professor W. B. Emery for his guidance throughout. To my wife, who undertook an equal share of the work of excavation and recording, I owe a special debt.

¹ Estimates of this distance given in the publications cited below vary between 1½ and 3 miles. The distance between the site of the Hatshepsut Temple at Buhen and the centre of Kor town is 4½ km. almost exactly.
² Reported elsewhere in this journal, pp. 330-34.
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PREVIOUS WORK AT KOR

The site was first noticed by Somers Clarke in January 1899 during his pioneer investigation of the Second Cataract forts. He cleared considerable portions of the two visible lines of fortifications, and traced at least eighteen bastions with semi-circular heads projecting from the outer line and at least thirteen from the inner one (see the air photograph, PLATE XXVII). Within the latter he found remains of a building of some importance. A scale plan of the fortifications, drawn by Somers Clarke’s companion Douglas Wells, was published with the report; though it is remarkably good considering the difficult circumstances under which the two men worked, it is not accurate in detail.3

While excavating at Buhen for the University of Pennsylvania in 1909-10, Randall-MacIver and Woolley visited Kor and identified the foundations of a large building in which the bases of columns were visible to the north of the fortifications.4 A. J. Arkell also visited the site in 1947, during his term as Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan. He recalled attention to the foundations seen by Randall-MacIver, and also noted ‘a cut in the neck of sandstone that juts into the river below the town which is probably artificial, intended to make a harbour for boats’, and ‘immediately west of the walled town, a cemetery of dynastic date, which has been considerably disturbed’.5 He re-stated a hypothesis, originally proposed by Reisner6 and later provisionally adopted by Säve-Söderbergh,7 that Kor might be the site of the ‘Ikh mentioned in the Semna boundary stela of Sesostris III8 and in the list of fortresses contained in a Ramesseum papyrus of Second Intermediate period date.9 These observations attracted the Mission archéologique française au Soudan to undertake a season of excavations on the site from December 1953 to February 1954, under the leadership of Professor J. Vercoutter. In view of the great area of the site (956 m. N-S by 203 m. E-W),10 Vercoutter concentrated his work on the following points:

(i) an examination of the southern junction of the two fortification lines partially cleared by Somers Clarke, which showed that the outer (Fortification III

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3 Somers Clarke, ‘Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses,’ JEA, III (1916), p. 163 with pl. xxvii. Reference to Somers Clarke’s papers, preserved in the records of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, has provided no information not included in his article. I thank Miss Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute for this information.
7 T. Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien (Lund, 1941), p. 93.
8 Berlin No. 14753 : L. Borchardt, Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, i, pp. 255 ff. and K. Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, p. 84.
10 Throughout this report all compass directions refer to local north, i.e. the direction of the Nile at this point. This is indicated on all plans by the arrow marked LN.
on the plan, FIG. 1) was later than the inner (Fortification II on FIG. 1), and revealed the existence of a twin-bastioned ‘postern’ gate in the latter (South Gate on FIG. 1);

(ii) the clearance down to bedrock of a rectangular area (200 m. E–W by 110 m. N–S) in the centre of the town stretching from the river bank to the outer line of fortifications, resulting in the discovery of four large mud-brick buildings (Administrative Buildings 1–4 on FIG. 1) of which No. 1 was that discovered by Somers Clarke; also of an inner line of fortifications not noted by Somers Clarke (Fortification I on FIG. 1);

(iii) the clearance of the building outside the north walls of the town noted by Randall-MacIver and by Arkell (North Building on FIG. 1);

(iv) the testing of three cemeteries: that noted by Arkell (Dynastic Cemetery on FIG. 1): a tumulus cemetery 300 m. south of the southern defences of the town (visible on PLATE XXVII): and a cemetery west of the North Building (Late Cemetery on FIG. 1).

The town areas and cemeteries alike proved to have been systematically turned over and looted by illicit diggers (between 1920 and 1927 according to local report), rendering stratification and the context of finds meaningless in most cases. Vercoutter’s definitive publication of these excavations has yet to appear, but he has published a full Preliminary Report setting out his conclusions concerning the site.\(^ {11}\) In it he produced a detailed plan of his central excavations,\(^ {12}\) but none of the North Building or the cemeteries. His general plan of the site\(^ {13}\) is an adaptation of Wells’s old plan with his own work superposed upon it. The terminology used by Vercoutter for the various features of the site has been retained here in translated form in order not to cause confusion.

**THE SOCIETY’S WORK**

When the Egypt Exploration Society started work in January 1965, the rise in the river level caused by the High Dam had flooded the site to the easternmost walls of Administrative Building 4 in the central area of the site; in 1954 these were about 60 m. west of the river bank. So any further work on the ‘harbour’ described by Vercoutter or the eastern parts of the town was out of the question. It was quite clear from surface observation that all those portions

\(^{11}\) J. Vercoutter, ‘Kor est-il Iken?’ Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles françaises de Kor (Bouhen Sud), Sudan, en 1954’, *Kush III* (1955), pp. 4–19 with pls. i–vi.

\(^{12}\) *Kush III*, Plan E, p. 13. As these buildings were partly sanded up and partly denuded in 1965, this plan has been followed in FIG. 1.

\(^{13}\) *Kush III*, Plan D, facing p. 10. Discrepancies between this plan and my plan in FIG. 1, which is based on a new survey of the whole site with the exception of Vercoutter’s central excavation, are due to inaccuracies in Plan D mostly derived from Wells’s plan. The details of the North Building have not been shown on FIG. 1, as the scale of Vercoutter’s Plan D is rather too small for them to be accurately reproduced, and we did not re-clear the building.
of the town site which had not been utterly denuded by wind had been pillaged in the same manner as the areas dug by Vercoultter. Large scale clearances would therefore yield at the most plans of buildings without associated stratification or significant groupings of pottery and objects, and as the depth of deposit is rarely as much as 50 cm. owing to denudation, these plans might be expected to be mainly at foundation level. It seemed pointless to repeat Vercoultter’s work in this respect, and it was decided that in the circumstances of the emergency, trenching would be an adequate method of sampling the town débris in those areas not excavated by Vercoultter. On the other hand, it was clear that the published plans of the fortifications were incomplete and in some respects inaccurate, and lacked sections. It was also unclear from Vercoultter’s Preliminary Report how many graves he had opened in the cemeteries, and although surface observations amply confirmed the disturbance noted by Arkell and Vercoultter, it seemed a wise precaution to test them further.

The Society therefore began by clearing twenty-five graves in the Dynastic Cemetery. Work was then moved to the extreme northern end of the town, where the fortifications were cleared and planned, and a trench dug across the town débris. Next the fortifications of the central part of the town were re-cleared as far as was necessary for planning purposes, and trial trenches dug in the town débris. The results attained made a re-clearance of the South Gate and adjacent areas desirable, and while this was in progress some graves were dug in the southern tumulus cemetery and the area of the Late Cemetery. Thus the work was spread over widely scattered areas of a large site, and, though its progress had its own logic, the results will be best described by dealing severally with the main features investigated. They are taken in the following order:—Fortification II, Fortification III, the North and South Gates, the Town Trenches and Fortification I, the Cemeteries. In a final section, the Building History and Chronology of Kor Town, a synthesis of the results is attempted.

Fortification II

Somers Clarke’s description of this fortification showed it to comprise two elements: a main wall 2.40 m. wide, and to the west a lesser wall, 0.90 m. wide, from which projected bastions with semi-circular heads at intervals of approximately 30 m. These features are clearly shown in Wells’s plan towards the northern end of this fortification. Vercoultter, however, omitted the lesser wall in his plan, and with it the bastions shown by Wells. But at the extreme southern end of the fortification he showed four bastions with rounded heads projecting directly from the main wall. Clearly there was a discrepancy. When our clearance of the denuded northern end of Fortification II had shown that Wells’s plan was substantially correct, we decided to re-examine the better preserved southern end by cutting a trench across it at the point where Bastion 29 is marked on fig. 1. This excavation showed that there had been two stages in
this fortification's history; the design shown by Wells was the original, that shown by Vercoutter a reconstruction (FIG. 2).

In the original design the main wall was 3.10 m. wide at the base. It was constructed of roughly hewn sandstone blocks, neither squared nor dressed, laid in horizontal courses in a mortar of Nile mud. No bricks appear to have been used in its construction. Only two courses, and in most places one, of this wall were preserved, and these insufficiently well to show if it had a batter. Though Wells and Vercoutter show openings in this main wall, it was originally continuous, for its foundation course was preserved beneath the plaster pavement of the opening north of Bastion 29 (FIG. 2, Section C–D and PLATE XXVIII, a at I). This foundation course is built directly on the old desert surface, which at this point consists of denuded sandstone terraces sloping away eastwards towards the river. To the west of the main wall is a rampart or walkway, 2.80 m. wide. It was paved with a course of mud bricks (average size 0.32 × 0.15 × 0.08 m.), covered by a coat of mud plaster 0.6 cm. thick (FIG. 2). This rampart was closed on the west by the lesser or rampart wall, which was 90 cm. wide at base and exhibited a batter of approximately 1 in 10. Out of this wall there opened to the west Bastion 29, which was straight-sided with a semi-circular head. It had an external width of 3.90 m. and an external length of 4.50 m.; its internal measurements were 2.30 × 3.80 m. Its pavement was a continuation of that of the ramparts. The rampart and bastion walls were of the same masonry as the main wall, and were likewise founded on bedrock. To the west of these walls just above foundation level was a mud plaster pavement laid directly on the rock. There was no ditch. This original design (Level I in FIG. 2) was at some time destroyed or dismantled, the main wall down to an average height of 40 cm., the bastion wall down to 70 cm.

When it was decided to reconstruct this fortification, a rough coat of mud plaster was first laid over what remained of the masonry of the original main wall. On this base a new wall was constructed of undressed sandstone masonry (FIG. 2, Level II), the materials from the original wall presumably being re-used. It was only 2.40 m. wide at base, so that while on the west side its face coincided with that of the original main wall, it did not do so on the east (FIG. 2, plan). It exhibited a pronounced batter of approximately 1 in 5. This suggests that the intention was to run up some sort of defensive work as hurriedly as possible without great expenditure of labour, and the slipshod way in which the courses are laid supports this contention.

An opening through this wall, 1.60 m. wide, with mud-plastered jambs and pavement, gave directly on to a newly-constructed bastion (numbered 29A on the plans, FIGS. 1 and 2). The foundations and mud-plaster pavement of this bastion were 30 cm. above the rampart pavement of the original design, being founded on accumulated drift sand mixed with stone rubble (FIG. 2, Section C–D). Though the bastion had a rounded head, it was of much more pointed form than Bastion 29, and its sides were curved, not straight. Only its foundation course
a. SECTION OF OPENING IN FORTIFICATION II OPPOSITE BASTION 29A FROM EAST

b. SECTION BELOW FORTIFICATION I BASTION 12 FROM SOUTH

c. SECTION OF TRENCH Y, CENTRAL TOWN FROM SOUTH-EAST

d. DYNASTIC CEMETERY, GRAVE 9 FROM EAST
was preserved. Its construction is shown in FIG. 2; an internal course of mud bricks laid end to end was flanked by an external course laid at right angles to them radiating outwards, the interstices being filled with wedges of mud mortar. The bastion walls abutted directly on the main wall. The dimensions of the bastion were:—width: external 4.20 m., internal 3.50 m.; length: external 3.50 m., internal 3.15 m. Thus its head was precisely above the rampart wall of the original design, which was at this point preserved to a sufficient height to be used as a foundation. The centre line of this new Bastion 29A is 1.20 m. to the north of the centre line of the old Bastion 29 (FIG. 2); so no regard was paid in the reconstruction to the placing of the original bastions. In fact, a new plaster pavement was laid over the whole of the original ramparts, including the rampart wall and Bastion 29, at the level of the pavement of Bastion 29A and the base of the new wall (FIG. 2, Section C–D, Level II).

Evidence was recovered in this trench that the reconstructed Fortification II had in its turn been destroyed. Some 70 cm. above the Level II pavement at the extreme western end of the trench was a mud-plaster pavement 15 cm. thick, associated with traces of a roughly rectilinear stone building (FIG. 2, Level III). Being at the modern surface level, this building had been terribly damaged by wind denudation and modern disturbance, and no meaningful plan could be obtained. A little to the west of the head of Bastion 29A this Level III pavement sloped steeply downwards at an angle of over $30^\circ$ to the horizontal, and then flattened out above the ramparts, being laid almost directly on the Level II pavement at the face of the main wall (FIG. 2, Section C–D). Above the ramparts were the foundations of two small buildings associated with the Level III pavement. The more northerly was a small semi-circular structure of mud bricks of small size and irregular dimensions, the purpose of which could not be divined. Partially over this and to the south was built a rough stone hut of quadrangular shape, which may originally have abutted on the reconstructed main wall. The west wall of this hut crossed the foundations of the north wall of Bastion 29A (FIG. 2, Section E–F). This shows incontestably that Bastion 29A had been destroyed when the Level III structures were built. Further evidence to this effect was obtained to the east, for though the Level III pavement had been dug or denuded away, a fragment of stone walling belonging to this level was discovered running obliquely across the reconstructed main wall and the accumulated débris in the opening through it (FIG. 2, Section G–H). In PLATE II, a, a view taken from the east through the opening in the reconstructed main wall, a single stone of this Level III wall may be seen at 3; at 2a is the Level II wall, at 2 the Level II pavement in the opening, at 1 the remains of the Level I wall, and at 0 the old desert surface.

Finds in this trench were meagre and consisted entirely of potsherds, from which only four vessels could be reconstructed (see FIG. 20 and Pottery Register, pp. 239–42 where details and parallels are given). A jar mouth of rather undistinguished character (II.29.1.2) was found on the Level I pavement of Bastion 29. Around
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a small pisé hearth lined with mud bricks, which was set in the Level II pavement east of the main wall (Fig. 2), were found a number of sherds of coarse domestic ware of Middle Kingdom type, among which was the bottom of a 'bodega' (II.29.2.4; this name is used to describe a coarse pottery cylinder of a type found in thousands in the Middle Kingdom levels on Nubian fortress sites, which is believed to have been used for preparing the bread used in brewing beer of the merissa type). On the pavement of Bastion 29A was discovered a small hemispherical bowl with red-slipped rim (II.29.2.3) of a type which is most typical of the xith Dynasty, though it continued in use in the Second Intermediate period. In the vicinity of the Level III stone hut above the ramparts was found a miniature bellied pottery kohl-pot which has Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period parallels; unfortunately its association with Level III was not certain. This evidence suggests a Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate period date for Levels I and II, Level III being uncertain.

Now that the history of Fortification II has been elucidated at its best preserved point, we may consider its more denuded portions. It is clear that the whole circuit of the main wall (Fig. 1) belongs to the original design, firstly because it is founded on the ancient desert surface, secondly because its base course is throughout 3.10 m. wide. This circuit consists of a central portion running for 615 m. approximately parallel to the old river bank at an average distance of 140 m. from it, with return walls running eastwards down to the river bank at its northern and southern extremities.¹⁴ The trapezoidal area so confined is henceforward referred to as the Central Town, and measured approximately 86,100 sq. m. In its present state, the north–south portion of this circuit shows openings, 1.60 m. wide on average, at somewhat irregular intervals approximately every 25 m. The situation at Bastion 29A showed that there the opening was certainly secondary. That they were so along the whole circuit is demonstrated by two facts: (i) in certain cases the plaster pavement of the openings could be shown to be continuous with the secondary paving of the ramparts, as at Bastion 29A (see Fig. 3, Level II); (ii) the openings do not coincide in position with the bastions of the original design, as they certainly would have done had they been contemporary, except by chance in one or two cases (Fig. 1). It is true that traces of secondary bastions north of Bastion 27A (Fig. 1) could not be certainly identified and are therefore not shown on the plan, but this is not at all surprising in the state of denudation prevailing. It must certainly be concluded that the main wall of Fortification II in its original design was continuous throughout its length except for main gateways. Where these were it is not possible to state with certainty. The only gateway preserved is the South Gate discovered by Vercoutter, but as will be shown below it is virtually certain that this is not part of the original design of Fortification II. There may

¹⁴ This northern return wall, shown by Somers Clarke, was omitted by Vercoutter from his plan.
FIG. 3. Above: PLAN AND SECTIONS OF FORTIFICATION II, Bastions 13-14, SHOWING ORIGINAL DESIGN
Below: PLAN AND SECTIONS OF FORTIFICATION II, Bastions 1-2, SHOWING RAMPART WALL IN NORTH TOWN
nevertheless have been gates in the north and south return walls, as sections of these are denuded away to bedrock, and parts of their original courses are now under water. There is also a denuded section of 60 m. in the centre of the north¬south portion of the wall, where there may originally have been a great west gate. Some 20 m. to the south of this gap, the main wall bends slightly eastwards, so that it is out of line with the wall north of the gap (FIG. 1). This curious feature may conceivably have had to do with some form of indirect entry system at this point, but the denudation made it impossible to ascertain anything.\textsuperscript{15}

The rampart wall followed the course of the main wall throughout its central north-south section. It maintains a width of 90 cm. at base with a batter of 1 in 10, and a distance of 2.8o m. from the main wall. The bastions are spaced fairly regularly an average of 23 m. apart, the least distance being 18.80 m. and the greatest 25.30 m. The bastions themselves are regular in their shape and dimensions. At no point were they preserved high enough for it to be known whether they were originally provided with loopholes like the inner fortifications at Buhen, though this seems probable from the angle of batter. Outside the bastions there could be traced in some instances a mud-plaster pavement which followed approximately the curve of the Bastion, as can be seen from the plan given in FIG. 3, top.

At the northern and southern corners of the Central Town, the rampart wall surprisingly did not follow the main wall eastwards to the river. At the southern end, its course could not be traced; perhaps it came to an end. At the northern end it bent approximately 8° eastwards at a point 16 m. north of the corner, and then continued northwards for over 250 m. Admittedly it could not be traced the whole of this distance on account of disturbance by the pillagers, but a section of it 60 m. long at the extreme north end including Bastions 1 and 2 was laid bare (FIG. 3, bottom). Though this section was denuded down to the bottom course of masonry, the following facts put its identity beyond doubt: (i) it lay directly in line by compass bearing with the rampart wall of Fortification II; (ii) it agreed in width (90 cm.); (iii) the dimensions and spacing of the bastions corresponded. The foundations of Bastion 1 proved to lie partly under the north return wall of Fortification III, thus demonstrating that this portion of the rampart wall of Fortification II was destroyed before Fortification III was erected. A feature recovered intact was the mud-plaster pavements surrounding the outside of Bastions 1 and 2 (FIG. 3, bottom). They were laid directly on the desert surface, and commencing from points 1.50 m. either side of the bastions, skirted within 10 cm. of their heads. They can have served no practical military purpose, but may have made it easier to keep the bastions swept clear of

\textsuperscript{15} In this gap the north-west corner of administrative building 1, excavated by Vercouetter, projects westwards across the apparent line of Fortification II, which may mean that building 1 is later. But as the true line of Fortification II at this point is quite uncertain, this is no more than a speculation.
Fig. 4. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF NORTH RETURN WALL OF FORTIFICATION III AND NORTH GATE, WITH RAMPART WALL OF FORTIFICATION II
sand accumulations. A very curious feature of this section of the rampart wall was the remains, 16 m. north of Bastion 1, of what appeared to be just such a pavement, but facing eastwards not westwards (FIG. 1, marked X). Unfortunately no certain remains of a bastion wall could be identified, and the remains were so badly broken as to be equivocal in the extreme. Eastwards facing bastions at this point would not be a priori impossible, since there was no main wall to the east, but their presence would be very surprising and appear to make no military sense. Most probably appearances were deceptive.

Why was this light rampart wall with its bastions carried so far to the north of the main fortification? Had there been town or camp buildings to protect at this point it is difficult to see why the main wall should not have been continued to include them. In any case evidence from Trench X discussed below indicates that the original building level in this area was contemporary with Fortification III. Moreover, the rampart wall of Fortification II continues northward beyond the north return wall of Fortification III, where there was never any habitation. Unfortunately at this point the ground rises, and the rampart wall was completely denuded away. Much the most likely explanation of its existence, however, seems to be that it was an outwork connecting the Central Town with the North Building, for this is only 45 m. from the point where the rampart wall is lost. A very slight change in the direction of the latter would allow it to connect with the outer walls of the North Building. Efforts were made to control this hypothesis, but the terrain round the North Building was so denuded as to defeat them. There would be a sound military reason for such an outwork—namely, to give temporary protection in case of surprise attack to those working or living in the North Building while they were withdrawing to the greater security of the Central Town. This hypothesis would of course imply that the North Building (or a predecessor) was contemporary with the original foundation of Fortification II. Vercoutter found xixth Dynasty hieratic ostraca inside it, and therefore dated it to the New Kingdom. But this discovery gives only a terminus ante quem, and, at least until Vercoutter publishes his full results, there seems nothing definite against assuming the earlier existence of the North Building.

Thus the original design of Fortification II comprised a main wall and lower ramparts defending the Central Town on three sides, with a protected way running northwards probably to the North Building. Whether the Central Town was defended on the river side must remain uncertain. After its first destruction, how much of this fortification was reconstructed? The excavation of Bastion 29 showed that the reconstruction comprised, in addition to the secondary bastions, openings 1.60 m. wide through the main wall and a secondary pavement 30 cm. above the original ramparts. As both these features can be traced

16 Kush III, p. 15 and pl. vi, a. Randall-MacIver also considered this building likely to be of New Kingdom date.
at intervals along the whole of the north–south section of the circuit (FIG. 3, above, Level II), it is virtually certain that this 615 m. length of wall was reconstructed to the same pattern. There was no evidence that the northern return wall had been reconstructed, but as only a single course of masonry was preserved, this negative evidence is quite indecisive. The history of the southern return wall and the South Gate is treated below.

On the upper pavement of the ramparts (Level II) in the vicinity of Bastions 9–13 there were many traces of squatter occupation. Fires had been made on the pavement, round which were fragmented sherds of coarse domestic pots, of which only the Middle Kingdom ‘bodegas’ were identifiable. Stones and bricks from the fortifications had been re-used as hearth stones and hobs, and occasionally perhaps for wind-breaks. Rubbish and storage pits had been cut through the rampart pavements. These structures were at surface level and too heavily denuded and disturbed for an intelligible plan to be made of them. They confirm the evidence obtained from Bastion 29 that the reconstructed Fortification II was itself destroyed in antiquity. Though there is no scientific means of dating this squatter occupation, it may be remarked that its remains are very reminiscent of the occupation of the inner fortress at Buhen by the Kerma people during the Second Intermediate period. The presence of the ‘bodegas’ tends to support such a date.

FORTIFICATION III

The southern junction of Fortification III with Fortification II was dug by Vercoutter, who showed that Fortification III was the later. From that point it progresses 52 m. north-west then turns gradually northwards to run 630 m. on a course parallel to the north–south section of Fortification II, at an average distance of 55 m. from it (FIG. 1). At a point roughly in line with the north return wall of Fortification II, it turns eastwards, enclosing an area of approximately 34,650 sq. m., which is henceforward referred to as the Outer Town. Fortification III does not, however, join Fortification II at its southern end. It bends away to the north (as shown by Wells but not by Vercoutter) in such a manner as to avoid Bastion 9 at the north-west corner of Fortification II. This shows that the earlier defences of the Central Town were still standing and probably of some military value when Fortification III was constructed. From this point the latter stretches northwards for 225 m., finally curving away to the northeast towards the river, so enclosing an area of approximately 31,500 sq. m., which is referred to in what follows as the North Town. At the north-west corner of this area in the north return wall is a twin-bastioned gate, called the North Gate.

The line of Fortification III in the Outer Town had for the most part been adequately cleared by Somers Clarke. Bastion 36 and the adjoining section of the southern return wall, which were heavily denuded, were cleared by the Society (FIG. 5, below), and the existence of Bastion 35, shown by Wells but not
Fig. 5. Above: PLAN AND SECTION OF FORTIFICATION III, BASTION 5
Below: PLAN AND SECTION OF FORTIFICATION III, BASTION 36
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by Vercoutter, verified. The central section, denuded as in the case of the central part of Fortification II by the action of strong west winds through a gap in the hills,\textsuperscript{17} was examined to see if a gate was present. The traces were few; but parts of the foundation courses of Bastions 25, 26, and 27 were located with certainty, and sufficient traces of the wall between them to show that there cannot have been here any twin-bastioned gate of the type of the North and South Gates. Some other form of opening cannot be excluded as a possibility, but the distances between these bastions, and between them and their neighbours,

![Plan and Section of Fortification III, Corner Bastion 14]

FIG. 6. PLAN AND SECTION OF FORTIFICATION III, CORNER BASTION 14

correspond tolerably well with the rather irregular pattern of intervals on this fortification, so the balance of probability is against a west gate. Bastion 15, not shown by Somers Clarke and Vercoutter, was also located. The northwest corner bastion, No. 14, was cleared down to foundation level (FIG. 6) in order to establish the true line of the north wall of the Outer Town. Vercoutter shows this making an obtuse angle of approximately 93° with the west wall, while Wells had shown it making an obtuse angle of about 104°. Excavation proved that the wall in fact turned at an acute angle of about 85°. The reason for the

\textsuperscript{17} Referred to by Vercoutter as the 'Thalweg' and shown in his Plan B (Kush III, P. 7).
disagreement is clear; the original wall at this point had at some time been
destroyed down to its foundations, and the materials from it re-used later to form
a rough wall or banking inside it (Fig. 7). As there is yet another long mound of
débris outside the line of the original wall, Somers Clarke and Vercoultet, relying
on surface indications, probably took these different features as marking the
original line of the wall. This section is so destroyed that it is not possible to be
certain that there was not another bastion between Bastions 13 and 14. The
distance is 31.30 m., which is greater than any other interval between bastions on
Fortification III; but the next greatest interval, 26.50 m. occurs on the other
side of the corner between Bastions 14 and 15. If the presence of a bastion is
assumed, the intervals would be only 13.70 m., which is 4.50 m. less than the
smallest elsewhere (18.20 m. between Bastions 25 and 26). As the southern
return wall of the Outer Town exhibits an unbroken stretch of 37.80 m. of wall
between the junction with Fortification II and Bastion 36, the probabilities are
against the existence of a bastion between 13 and 14.

The section of Fortification III enclosing the North Town was completely
cleared by the Society. This presented difficulties, as the material of the wall
itself had entirely disappeared, and its line could be traced only by following the
edges of the plaster pavements adjoining the walls.\(^{18}\) However, this was
successfully accomplished, and there are no uncertainties in the plan shown
(Fig. 1). As remarked above, Fortification III crosses the ruined foundations
of the extended rampart wall of Fortification II between the North Gate and
Bastion 4 (Fig. 4).

The general form and mode of construction of Fortification III do not vary
throughout its length, though individual measurements differ considerably.
The wall is constructed of masonry of rough hewn sandstone blocks, unsquared
and undressed, laid in a coarse mortar of Nile mud. Mud bricks (average size
\(0.35 \times 0.18 \times 0.08\) m.) are used sporadically as fillers, and at places to delineate
the sides of the wall, especially in the lowest course. The masonry is thus of
the same type as that used in the original Fortification II with the use of brick added.
The breadth of the wall at base averages 2.60 m., varying in places between 2.55
and 2.65 m. The sides of the walls may originally have been faced with a mud

\(^{18}\) It is curious that in the prevailing conditions of wind denudation the plaster pave-
ments should have survived where the stone wall has not. It seems possible that the
stone has been quarried away by human agency. Dr W. Y. Adams has suggested to me
that this might have been done by the inhabitants of the Christian settlement on Meinarti
to obtain building stone. This seems to me quite probable, though it leaves unexplained
the question why they should have attacked the north end of the site more thoroughly
than the south end which is nearest to the Meinarti settlement. For the skilled work of
tracing these fortifications I was fortunate in having the aid of an exceptionally able
Qufit reis, whose services were kindly lent to me by the Sudan Government Antiquities
Service Archaeological Survey. For this favour the Society is much indebted to Dr
Adams and Mr A. J. Mills.

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plaster about 10 cm. thick, but the traces may equally be interpreted as mud mortar carelessly slopped over the sides of the wall. There is no extant trace of lime or gypsum plaster. The wall is nowhere preserved high enough for its batter to be accurately measured. Though each section of the wall is built straight, there are a number of minor changes of direction of between 2° and 10° (FIG. 1), which do not seem to be due to the terrain. Bastions open directly out
of the wall westwards at intervals which vary considerably but give an overall average of 22 m. The bastions, with the exception of the corner bastion 14, are straight-sided with semi-circular heads, but differ in proportion from those of the original Fortification II, as on average they are 20 cm. narrower and project from the wall 70 cm. more. Their external widths vary between 3.25 m. (Bastion 12) and 4.20 m. (Bastions 31 and 32), average 3.70 m.; their internal widths between 2.20 m. (Bastion 12) and 2.70 m. (Bastion 30). Their maximum lengths, measured from the internal face of the wall, vary between 6.70 m. (Bastion 12) and 7.25 m. (Bastion 36), with an overall average of 6.90 m. The bastions at the extreme south end of the Fortification are notably broader than the average. Their construction is uniform. The lowest course was laid out in mud brick in the same manner as that of Bastion 29A of the reconstructed Fortification II and those of the North and South Gates (cf. FIGS. 2, 5 and 8); an inner course of bricks laid end to end was flanked by an outer course laid at right-angles to them, splaying radially so as to form the semi-circular head of the bastion. The second and higher courses were of the usual type of rough sandstone masonry, the stones of the main wall usually covering the brick foundation course of the bastion (FIG. 5, bottom, showing Bastion 36 at the level of the third course, contrasted with FIG. 5, top, showing Bastion 5 at foundation level). Internally the bastions showed a plaster pavement at the level of the top of the foundation course. This pavement was regularly quite thick, c. 15 cm., and contained whole brickbats; it was continuous with the town pavement within the wall. There was also a plaster pavement at the same level outside the fortification wall, which swept round the heads of the bastions in much the same manner as in the original design of Fortification II. In most places it was hopelessly denuded and broken. At Bastion 36 it consisted simply of a narrow plaster pavement 10 cm. thick and 40 cm. wide sloping away from the foot of the bastion to the desert surface at an angle of about 25° (FIG. 5, bottom). But at Bastion 5 it swept round the bastion in a wide parabola, showing a flat area immediately outside the bastion, then a gentle slope down to the desert surface, which itself was plaster-paved for 2 m. (FIG. 5, top). At the corner Bastion 4 it was rather similar (FIG. 1). The arrangement appears to simulate a glacis but cannot have been of any military value. A test pit, cut through this pavement outside Bastion 5, showed that this arrangement was original and that there had never been a rampart or ditch. The north-west corner bastion, no. 14, differed from all others in that its sides were canted outwards in horseshoe fashion because of its relatively narrow entrance in the angle formed at the internal corner of the wall (FIG. 6); no 'glacis' could be identified here.

Fortification III was thus an integrally planned line of defence, clearly laid out at a single date, but showing some latitude and variation in detail. There are no signs of alterations to it or any work of reconstruction at any point. The evidence proves that it is later than the original design of Fortification II, from which its design differs materially although its construction is not dissimilar.
Unfortunately no objects or drawable pottery were found during the clearance of Fortification III. There is, however, other evidence which helps to date it. In the north-west corner of the Outer Town parallel with the north wall of Fortification III between Bastions 13 and 14 we found denuded remains of a serpentine mud-brick wall (FIG. 7). A length of 15.50 m. was preserved to a height of 25 cm., having been protected from the north wind which has denuded the rest of the Outer Town by the later banking mentioned above (FIG. 7). The wall was constructed of a single thickness of brickwork laid in a mortar of Nile mud, the bricks averaging $0.35 \times 0.18 \times 0.08$ m. in size. This wall is founded at the same level as Fortification III (FIG. 7, Section), and there can be no doubt that it is contemporaneous with it. Serpentine walls of this character are of common occurrence on Middle Kingdom sites (xiith–xiiith Dynasties) in both Egypt and Nubia, but to the best of my knowledge are not recorded from any other period. They are regularly used as enclosure walls, the serpentine plan being the most economical means of obtaining a stable wall with the minimum of brickwork. They are of frequent occurrence in the Middle Kingdom levels on Nubian fortress sites. Recently Vercouter has found and partly excavated a large settlement (M.1) on the plain north of Mirgissa fort within the outermost line of defence. It consists of an agglomeration of units comprising a central mud-brick building enclosed by a serpentine mud-brick wall, against which numerous rough stone huts have been built.¹⁹ Doubtless the site is that of an Egyptian military encampment, each agglomeration providing quarters for a single platoon, the officers’ quarters within the serpentine wall, the men’s in the huts. It seems possible that the Outer Town at Kor was occupied by an encampment consisting of buildings of rather similar type, of which this fragment of serpentine wall is the sole surviving evidence; but the denudation down to bedrock of the whole area to the south denied any chance of confirming this. Against the north side of the easternmost surviving bay of the wall was discovered a hearth, set round with stone and mud-brick hobs in the fashion shown in FIG. 7. The fire-hole contained grey wood-ash and much fine carbon, and had evidently been used for domestic purposes, but it was not possible to be certain whether it was contemporary with the serpentine wall. However this may be, the existence of the serpentine wall on the same building level as Fortification III is strong evidence for the Middle Kingdom date of the occupation of the Outer Town and of the construction of Fortification III.²⁰

¹⁹ Vercouter in Kush XII, pp. 57–8 with pl. xvii. Professor Vercouter very kindly took me round this site.

²⁰ Vercouter labels this area on his Plan D ‘Rares traces d’occupation (Basse Époque)’. As he did not dig in this area, his judgment was presumably based on surface traces. We found no sherds in this area, either on the surface or in excavating, that suggested a late occupation.
KUSH

THE NORTH AND SOUTH GATES

At the north-west corner of the North Town is a twin-bastioned gate forming part of Fortification III (Fig. 4). It was denuded down to the brick foundation courses of the bastions, which were laid in the same manner as in other bastions of Fortification III (Fig. 5). The gate bastions may also have been similar to them in having upper courses of sandstone masonry, but the possibility that they were completely constructed of brickwork cannot be ruled out. Their shape is normal for Fortification III, but exhibits greater length (7.40 m. against 6.90 m.). The bastion walls are 60 cm. wide, broadening a little at the apex, but the bastions are not of equal width, Bastion 2 having an external measurement of 3.80 m. and Bastion 3 of 3.30 m. There seems to be no feature of the terrain to explain this discrepancy. It may well be that Bastion 2 contained a stairway giving access to the top of the fortification wall, as in Bastion 37;21 no traces of one were found, however. The bastions are paved with the normal Nile-mud plaster, approximately 10 cm. thick. Between them is the gateway, 2.20 m. wide, broad enough to admit three men abreast or a donkey loaded with panniers. It had a pavement of stamped Nile mud, c. 12 cm. thick, which extended for at least 2 m. outside the gateway, but could be traced no further because of denudation. The interval between Bastions 1 and 2 was 15 m., that between Bastions 3 and 4 17 m.; these intervals are less than the average, presumably so as to secure better enfilade fire to cover the gate.

This gate was clearly similar in general plan to the South Gate discovered by Vercouetter, which occupies a corresponding position at the south-western corner of the Central Town. Of this he did not publish a detailed plan in his report, but he stated that it was ‘ remaniée à deux époques et défendue semble-t-il par deux bastions semi-circulaires ’.22 As the North Gate was certainly constructed as part of Fortification III, whereas Vercouetter attributed the South Gate to Fortification II, it seemed wise to re-clear the South Gate to determine in the light of our new knowledge to which phases its original construction and subsequent repair belonged.

The situation revealed is shown in Fig. 9. At the lowest level (Level I) is a wall of undressed sandstone masonry set in Nile-mud mortar, 3.10 m. wide, founded directly upon the ancient desert surface. Both the width of this wall and its level demonstrate conclusively that it formed part of the southern return wall of the original design of Fortification II. The twin-bastioned gate cannot, however, have belonged to this design, since the west wall of the western gate bastion (No. 38) is built across the surviving base course of the 3.10 m. wall (Fig. 9, Plan and Section C–D, Level II). This shows clearly that the original

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21 See Vercouetter’s photograph (KUSH III, pl. iv, a), and below, p. 210. The unusual width of certain other bastions on Fortification III might be explained in the same way.

22 KUSH III, p. 10.
wall had been cut down at the time when the twin-bastioned gate was built. What is not so clear is whether the original design comprised a gate of some other form at this point. The original 3.10 m. wall continues eastward for 1.10 m. under the pavement of Bastion 38, and then resumes its course east of Bastion 39. There is an interval of 6.70 m. between these points in which no trace of the 3.10 m. wall could be identified. This may be merely because, although originally continuous, its materials were removed for re-use when the twin-bastioned gate was built, but it may be because the original design included a gate or opening at this point. If so, nothing remains of it.

The twin-bastioned gate in its first form is preserved on the west to a height of seven courses (60 cm.) of mud-brick masonry (Fig. 9, Section A–B, Level II). The preservation of mud-brick masonry to such a height suggests that the whole structure may have been of mud brick, but this is uncertain. The brickwork is laid out in precisely the same fashion as that of the North Gate and of the foundation courses of the bastions of Fortification III (Fig. 8). The bastions are also of same narrow straight-sided, round-headed form as those of the North Gate and of Fortification III, and are paved with mud plaster 10 cm. thick. The detailed dimensions of the two gates differ somewhat:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South Gate</th>
<th>North Gate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total length of gate bastions</td>
<td>9.00 m.</td>
<td>7.40 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External breadth of gate bastions</td>
<td>3.50 m.</td>
<td>3.80, 3.30 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal breadth of gate bastions</td>
<td>2.30 m.</td>
<td>2.60, 2.10 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth of gateway</td>
<td>c.1.60 m.</td>
<td>2.20 m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite these differences of detail, the construction and general aspect of the North and South Gates is so similar (Fig. 8) that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they belong to the same design, that is to say Fortification III, of which the North Gate was an integral part. A detail confirms this conclusion. Adjoining the western bastion of the South Gate (No. 38), the main wall has been narrowed at the level of the gate foundations from 3.10 m. to 2.60 m., and the bastion walls end flush with its new internal face (Fig. 9, Plan).

23 It would appear from Vercoult’s photograph of Bastion 37 (KUSH III, pl. iv, a) that nine or ten courses of mud-brick masonry were preserved intact in the head of that bastion, which strongly suggests that it was constructed wholly of brickwork. As Bastion 37 is almost certainly contemporary with the first design of the South Gate (see below), that structure, and by analogy the North Gate, may well have been all brick.

24 It must be admitted that the same narrowing did not take place east of Bastion 39, but it would seem that this was because the original wall was preserved to a greater height there.
Fig. 9. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE SOUTH GATE AND ADJOINING WALL
is the width of Fortification III throughout its length, this should indicate an adaptation of the original wall to the design of Fortification III. We must assume then that when it was decided to extend the town westwards and northwards by building the new perimeter, Fortification III, there was no desire to extend southwards, which is intelligible in view of the steeply sloping terrain there. Consequently the line of the southern return wall of the original Fortification II was retained, and Fortification III begun from a convenient point of abutment where Fortification II turned north. But the retained portion, which was to form part of the new outer perimeter of the town, was remodelled to match the design of Fortification III. This remodelling included the narrowing of the main wall, the insertion of a twin-bastioned gate to match that designed for the north end of the town, and most probably the insertion of bastions of the Fortification III type. Bastion 37 was presumably so inserted, for it is in the portion of the wall which would have required remodelling, it opens directly out of the wall (unlike the bastions of the original design of Fortification II, but like those of Fortification III), and is of the long narrow straight-sided type (6.50 × 3.50 m.) typical of Fortification III. The hypothetical Bastion 40 would be another instance.

The first design of the South Gate was at some time destroyed, presumably by enemy action, and crudely, perhaps hurriedly, restored in rough stone masonry bedded in mud mortar (Fig. 9, Level III). There was no attempt to produce an even ground surface by levelling or plastering, or even to build regularly. The masonry has either been piled up against the remains of surviving walls on a foundation of drift sand and rubble, or has been clumsily built up on the ruins of the old walls. These procedures account for the eccentric plan of the reconstruction, and the irregularity of the levels shown in the sections (Fig. 9). The external walls of the bastions are preserved to an average height of 50 cm., but the internal ones are much ruined. However, they followed approximately the lines of their predecessors, and the width of the entrance will have remained very much the same. The bastions were paved with a layer of Nile mud varying from 20 to 30 cm. thick laid directly on the old bastion pavements. In the gateway itself, however, a course of mud bricks, most probably re-used, was laid on top of 10 cm. of rubble covering the original pavement, and a layer of mud plaster,

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25 Even within the south end of the Central Town there are few signs of occupation, presumably because of this awkward slope.

26 If this deduction is correct, the height inferred by Vercoutter from the internal stairway in this bastion for the top of the fortification walls (KUSH III, p. 17, note 55 and pl. iv, a), namely 2.50 m., will apply to Fortification III and not to Fortification II. Such a height seems much more appropriate to the narrower wall.

27 Through the Level III pavement of Bastion 38, 0.60 m. south of the entrance to the bastion on its longitudinal axis, was sunk a post-hole 35 cm. deep descending through the Level II pavement. Its counterpart was not found in Bastion 39, and its purpose remains obscure.
10 cm. thick, on top of that (Figs. 9, Sections A-B, G-H). The internal walls of the reconstructed bastions terminate at a point 1.50 m. within the outer face of the great wall, and are joined at foundation level by a brick wall, two courses wide and two courses high, over which the pavement continued (Figs. 9, Section G-H). In excavating this foundation wall five mud jar-sealings, three of hemispherical and two of cylindrical form, were found but unfortunately all were uninscribed. Otherwise no pottery or objects were found in the South Gate, the area having been cleared by Vercoutter.

The question arises when this reconstruction of the South Gate took place. This cannot be answered with certainty, but the study of the main wall between Bastions 37 and 38 is instructive. We have stated above that when the South Gate was originally built this wall was reduced in width from 3.10 to 2.60 m. When the gate was reconstructed the facing of this wall was also repaired in a somewhat clumsy manner, by placing rough sandstone slabs set at an angle in mud mortar against the sides of the wall, their greatest length being in the vertical plane (Figs. 9, Section J-K). The heavy batter resulting from this procedure was of the order of 1 in 5, which corresponds with the angle of batter given to the main wall in the reconstruction of Fortification II. This can hardly be fortuitous. When it is considered that the reconstruction of Fortification II, like that of the South Gate, seems to have been a hurried and careless piece of work, using the ruined remains of pre-existing buildings as a foundation without levelling, it seems likely that the two are contemporary.

THE TOWN TRENCHES AND FORTIFICATION I

The surface of those areas of the North Town which had not been flooded showed abundant signs of ancient occupation, consisting of very large quantities of very badly broken sherd material, brick and stone rubble, and fragments of carbon. Vercoutter assigned this occupation on his plan to the 'Basse Époque'. To test this and to clarify the relationship of the fortifications with the North Town, Trench X was cut across the middle of the town from the present river bank on the east to Fortification III on the west (see Fig. 1 for position).

The plan and section of the trench, which was 2.65 m. wide and 45 m. long, are shown in Fig. 10. For convenience of recording, its length was divided into 2-m. sections numbered consecutively 1–23 from the east. The trench was carefully stripped in layers of 20 cm. at a time, to ascertain whether any stratification had survived the activities of the plunderers. There were four of these artificial 20 cm. levels, lettered a–d from top to bottom, by which all pottery and objects found were recorded.38 These levels have not been retained in the

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28 See Figs. 16–18, 21, and pottery and object registers, pp. 233–39. A number of the character X.10.a.1 denotes that the sherd in question was found in Trench X in the tenth 2-m. rectangle from the east in the top level a, the final figure being a serial number. Any more detailed method of recording provenances was manifestly unrealistic and misleading in this much-disturbed soft debris.
section (FIG. 10), for it was soon evident that down to pavement level the fill had been thoroughly disturbed throughout the length of the trench, and that no meaningful stratification of débris had survived. The fill consisted mainly of wind-blown sand, with stone chips, brick-bats, fragments of charcoal, and large quantities of weathered sherds interspersed in it, and was consistent in character down to pavement level.

The ancient desert surface is represented in the North Town not be bare rock as at the southern end of the site, but by a deposit of Nile-laid silt, which has been shielded from wind denudation by a low hill to the north-west. The basic pavement of the North Town, a layer of mud plaster on average 6 cm. thick, has been laid directly upon this. But in order to neutralize slopes in the terrain in sections 11, 15 and 20, this pavement had been terraced.29 In sections 1, 2, 3, and 5 it had been cut away by pits, almost certainly made by the plunderers in search of buried wealth. For the remainder of the length of the trench it could be traced together with certain contemporary installations (FIG. 10). In section 6 was a circular hearth of pisé 50 cm. in diameter and 8 cm. high, which yielded grey wood-ash and carbon. In sections 8–9 there was a square bin sunk 50 cm. deep in the alluvium; it was built of a single thickness of mud-brick masonry laid in mud mortar, the bricks being of small but irregular size, with a mud-brick pavement. It may have been a grain-bin, but naturally no cereal had survived the disturbance. In section 10, there was a semi-circular pisé hearth, 1.05 m. east–west by 0.50 m. north–south by 0.15 m. high which again yielded wood-ash and fragments of carbon, while on its west side there was a substantial fire-hole 80 cm. in diameter and 15 cm. deep, filled with wood-ash and carbon. Before the hearth was an emplacement prepared in the mud pavement for a small semi-circular bowl, but no pot survived. To the west in section 11 three domestic pots were found in direct contact with the floor, broken but clearly in position (see FIG. 17, X.II.d.3, X.II.d.4 and FIG. 18, X.II.d.16; Pottery Register, pp. 236–9). In section 12 was a further small hearth constructed of three bricks and a fire-hole, containing wood ash and carbon fragments. In the débris above the pavement of sections 8–12 were discovered the remains of at least 302 ‘bodegas’ (FIG. 16 X.I.a.13), of which the bulk, 181 were found in section 9. With them were many sherds of other vessels of coarse domestic ware, including baking vessels of the type of the modern Nubian dokka (FIG. 17, X.10.d.6). That the whole area was used for baking and brewing hardly admits of doubt; as there were no traces of walls this was probably done in the open.

Apart from large fire-holes which were sunk through the pavement in sections 14 and 17, exhibiting as usual carbon and grey wood ash the western end of the trench did not exhibit any structures. We had hoped to find traces of the

29 Similar terracing was used in the inner town at Buhen to deal with shelving terrain; there each terrace was bounded and retained by a mud-brick wall, as it had to uphold a great weight of masonry.
Fig. 10. PLAN AND SECTION OF TRENCH X, NORTH TOWN
rampart wall of Fortification II on its course towards the North Building. However, even where traces of this rampart wall could be identified they consisted of no more than a single course of masonry, and it is hardly surprising that no trace of it was discovered in a trench only 2.65 m. wide. Evidence that it had once existed was, however, present in sections 17–19, where a mud plaster pavement, 8 cm. thick (FIG. 10, Level I), was found 10 cm. below the town pavement (FIG. 10, Level II). This situation corresponds exactly with that found further north inside the rampart wall of Fortification II between Bastions 1 and 2 (FIG. 3, bottom, Levels I and II), where the lower pavement is contemporary with Fortification II and the upper corresponds with the town pavement. There can then be little doubt that the Level I pavement in Trench X is that belonging to the rampart wall of Fortification II. Despite careful testing it could not be traced at any point east of the fire-hole in section 17. It is therefore probable that it formed no more than a narrow walkway behind the rampart wall, connecting the North Building to the Central Town. Certainly it was anterior in time to the main occupation of the North Town. For the upper pavement in sections 17–19 (FIG. 10, Level II) certainly corresponds with the pavement laid direct on the old desert surface throughout the rest of the trench. Owing to the presence of one of the aforementioned terraces in section 19, this pavement is not physically continuous with that laid level with the base course of Fortification III in section 21, but careful observation left no reasonable doubt that it belonged to the same building level. This means that, as one might expect, the first occupation of the North Town and the construction of its defensive perimeter were contemporary.

It has been shown above that Fortification III was almost certainly built at some time in the Middle Kingdom. The pottery found in Trench X (FIGS. 16–18) amply confirms this date for the foundation of the North Town. Fragments of no fewer than 454 ‘bodegas’ of the typical Middle Kingdom type (FIG. 16, X.1.a.13) were recovered from the débris. Five sherds were discovered which showed incised pot-marks of known xiii th-Dynasty forms (FIG. 16, X.9.a.9; FIG. 17, X.9.c.1, X.11.c.3; FIG. 18, X.12.d.13 and a duplicate of this). Of the restricted range of pot types which could be reconstructed, the great majority are attested for the Middle Kingdom, while there are few if any that can be shown to be confined to New Kingdom times. This is easier to assert than to prove. The reason is that although much xiii th and xiv iii Dynasty pottery from graves has been published, relatively little has been published from Middle Kingdom settlement sites, the town of Sesosiris II at ‘Kahun’ and the Nubian fortresses of Kaban, Aniba, Semna and Kumma being the only major sources as yet available. The ‘Kahun’ material is relatively scanty, and in the case of Semna and Kumma it is unfortunately not possible from the publication to disassociate the Middle from the New Kingdom pot types. Experience in the excavation of Buhen fort has shown that there is a wide range of Middle Kingdom settlement pottery, and that it includes a high proportion of types, some of them of very
frequent occurrence, which are not attested from graves. It may be stated here that most of the types from Trench X can be paralleled from the Buhen Middle Kingdom corpus, and no doubt from other Second Cataract forts. But as this material is still being prepared for publication, it has seemed best to give selected published parallels for the more distinctive types with an estimate of their date-range where feasible in the Pottery Register (pp. 233–39). Even on this partial evidence, the conclusion stated above appears substantiated, and the same is true of the surface sherds collected from other parts of the North Town (FIG. 20). Virtually all the sherds were of Egyptian manufacture or Egyptian types; only two sherds of distinctive Nubian wares were recovered (FIG. 17, X.I.d.1; FIG. 20, NT. S.6 from surface). Both these are of Kerma type, and may be significant for the occupation of the site during the Second Intermediate period. There was no pottery found in the North Town to support Vercoutter’s attribution of the settlement in this area to the ‘Basse Époque’.

The most important discovery in Trench X concerned Fortification I. This is the innermost line of defence first identified by Vercoutter in the Central Town. It can be traced from the southern limit of his excavations, beyond which it is completely denuded away, to a point 75 m. within the north wall of the North Town, where it turns eastwards towards the river. Its total surviving length is approximately 495 m. It consists of a single wall, 90–100 cm. wide, roughly constructed of undressed, unsquared blocks of local sandstone, laid in a Nile-mud mortar, with no traces of the use of mud brick that we could observe. This wall opens on the west on to bastions with curved sides and rounded heads of markedly pointed form, which are most like those of the reconstructed Fortification II. Bastion 2 in the North Town had an external width of 3.60 m., an internal width of 2.60 m., and a maximum length of 3.10 m. Bastion 12 in the Central Town was 4.20 m. wide externally, but only 2.20 internally; its maximum length was 4.00 m. These are extreme figures, the other surviving bastions lying somewhere between them; the discrepancies are certainly due to hurried planning and execution rather than deliberate intention, for the general aspect of the bastions remains the same. In width, Fortification I is comparable with the rampart wall of the original Fortification II rather than with any of the main defence walls, but examination confirmed that there was no main wall to the east of it. Clearly Fortification I is a hurriedly constructed light barricade, not a major defence work, and both in design and construction has its closest parallel in the reconstruction of Fortification II.

The foundations of Fortification I were laid bare in section 4 of Trench X, and proved to rest on wind-blown drift sand 30 cm. above the basic town pavement (FIG. 10, Level III). To the east and west of the wall were traces of a contemporary pavement of mud plaster 8 cm. thick. Unfortunately, owing to the pits cut by plunderers it was not possible to follow this pavement, but what must be a fragment of it survived in Trench X, section 9. It was also traced inside Bastion 2 of Fortification I (FIG. 11, Level II), again 30 cm. above the
basic pavement of the North Town (FIG. 11, Level I). (There were also remains of a secondary pavement within Bastion 2, laid on 30 cm. of accumulated débris (FIG. 11, Level III), so Fortification I had remained in use some little time.) These facts showed that Fortification I was certainly later in date than the foundation of the North Town, and by implication later than Fortification III. This result was surprising, for Vercoctter stated that in the Central Town Fortification I was covered (recouverte) by the great brick buildings of the Central Town, and was therefore earlier than them.30 From this he naturally inferred that Fortification I was the earliest defensive work on the site. As

![Plan and Section of Fortification I, Bastion 2]

there appeared to be no feature which might explain this contradiction between the sequence in the North Town and that in the Central Town, we decided to re-examine the latter.

First Bastion 12 and a length of Fortification I to the south of it were re-cleared. Here two broad mud-brick walls (‘A’ and ‘B’ on FIG. 12) forming a corner of the great court of Administrative Building 1 make contact at oblique angles with Fortification I. The foundations of both these brick walls proved to descend 30 cm. below the foundation level of Fortification I (FIG. 12, Sections). The tops of the walls were in each case reduced to the level of the top of the base course of Fortification I (FIG. 12, Sections C–D, E–F). On the north side of Wall ‘B’ a course of re-used mud bricks had been laid at the level of the top remaining course of the wall (FIG. 12, Section E–F). This course of bricks also continued the line of Wall ‘B’ through to the west side of Fortification I to its

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30 KUSH III, p. 12.
Fig. 12. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF FORTIFICATION I, BASTION 12
intersection with Bastion 12, Wall 'B' itself being broken down. In plate II, b, taken from the south, part of the stone masonry of Bastion 12 may be seen at 3, with this course of bricks immediately below it at 2; under it was 20 cm. of drift sand, beneath which is visible the brick foundation course of Wall 'B' at 1, this alone being preserved. This section (fig. 12, section G–II) proves conclusively that the administrative buildings had been destroyed before the time of the construction of Fortification I. It is true that at the points where Fortification I actually crossed walls 'A' and 'B' and other parallel walls of the administrative buildings its masonry has been removed at some later time (see below on Trench Y). This fact understandably may have led Vercoutter to believe that these walls interrupted the line of Fortification I, and were therefore later. The confusing presence of the upper course of brickwork continuing the line of the wall may well have served to confirm this impression.  

Whether this was a pavement or simply a means of securing a firm foundation above the drift sand for the structures to be built above is difficult to say, but that it was contemporary with Fortification I can admit of little doubt. At all events, the discovery of the foundation course of Wall 'B' beneath 20 cm. of drift sand directly below this pavement and Bastion 12 is decisive for the priority in time of the administrative buildings.

This stratification was confirmed in a short east–west trench, labelled 'Y', dug within Fortification I between Bastions 12 and 13 (fig. 1). Originally 10 m. long and 2.6 m. wide, it was extended southwards so that the line of a 2.40 m. wide mud-brick wall ('A' on fig. 13), running north-east–south-west parallel to those of Administrative Buildings 1–4, might be followed up to Fortification I. Wall 'A' proved to be founded at a level 30 cm. lower than Fortification I, which rested on an accumulation of drift sand (fig. 13, section and plate II, c). Wall 'A' had been cut down to the level of the base course of Fortification I, but at its western end was completely destroyed. Here, as may be seen in plate II, d, a brick pavement had been constructed continuing its line at the level of its top course and of the base course of Fortification I. The situation then is the same as that found in the vicinity of Bastion 12, and leaves no doubt that in the Central Town, as in the North Town, Fortification I is a relatively late structure, founded after the destruction of the principal town buildings.

31 A photograph of Vercoutter's shows a distant view of Bastion 12 from the south (Kush III, pl. iii, a). On the right may be seen the south side of Wall 'B' in deep shadow. In the foreground is Fortification I. On the left are the foundations of Bastion 12, but no clearance beneath it had been made at the time the photograph was taken. Vercoutter may therefore not have had the assistance of this section.

32 It had been intended to drive a section right through the Central Town from Fortification II to the present river bank, but surface observation and trial pits showed that there was no point outside the area excavated by Vercoutter at which a complete section could be obtained, because of denudation of most of the area between Fortifications I and II by wind.
Trench Y also provided some interesting but tantalizingly incomplete evidence concerning the later history of the Central Town. The ground here as elsewhere sloped away towards the river, and a mud-plaster pavement, 8 cm. thick, contemporary with Fortification I, could be traced from near the base of that wall sloping down at an angle of about 5° from the horizontal towards the river. Unfortunately the plunderers had been at work, and only portions of this pavement could be traced, but it abutted on Wall 'A' about 30 cm. above its foundations (FIG. 13, Level II). Forty cm. above this pavement at a point 1.50 m. east of Fortification I in the northern half of the trench, there were found remains of a later sloping mud-plaster pavement 10 cm. thick (FIG. 13, Level III). To the east it is broken but its continuation may be recognized in a steeply
sloping pavement of re-used mud bricks further to the east, which apparently led down to the level of the upper surface of Wall 'A', which is preserved to a height of 50 cm. Lying loose on this upper pavement and on the surface of Wall 'A' were many rough undressed blocks of local sandstone, which though to a great extent disturbed from their original positions, had apparently formed part of some fairly large stone building. Evidently these remains are later than both the original town buildings and Fortification I. Owing to disturbance and denudation, there was no pottery which could be safely associated with them, and no other evidence to be obtained concerning them. It is tempting to compare them with the rough stone buildings found at a high level above Fortification II, Bastion 29 (Fig. 2, Level III). The reasons which might be advanced are (i) the level at which they are built; (ii) their slovenly construction; (iii) the presence in both cases of unusually steep pavements at points where there was a heavy accumulation of earlier débris. But this association is speculative and cannot be demonstrated.

The pottery from the surface of Trench Y and from the late pavement was so terribly fragmentated that none of it could be drawn. Below this also the ground was so disturbed that there could be no certainty that any sherd was in situ; often portions of the same vessel were separated vertically by 50 cm. of sand and débris. No distinction of levels is therefore made in the record of this pottery (Fig. 19 and Pottery Register, pp. 238–9). The small number of types drawn reflects not a sparsity of material, but the shattered condition in which it was found. It will be seen that, though all Egyptian domestic ware of a common character, it differs from the material discovered in Trench X; it consists mainly of cups, bowls and platters of brown, buff, and pink ware, suitable for table or messing purposes, the coarse cooking vessels and 'bodegas' found in Trench X being scarce. This serves to point the distinction between the official nature of the buildings in the Central Town, evident from Vercoutter's work, and the domestic uses to which the North Town was put, no doubt by the inferior ranks and the soldiery. Most of the pottery types can be paralleled from the Buhen corpus for the Middle Kingdom, and it is possible to give published xith-Dynasty parallels for some. Being common, undistinctive types, the possible range for most of them extends into the New Kingdom; but it is significant that none of the new types typical of the late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom in Egypt occur, and the weight of the pottery evidence from Trench Y must certainly be taken to mean that the Central Town was originally occupied in the xith Dynasty. This, it is true, conflicts with Vercoutter's findings, for he says:—‘Tous les bâtiments fouillés appartiennent à la seconde époque du site, à la période d'expansion. Les nombreux tessons qui jonchent le terrain sont tous du Nouvel Empire: on peut donc faire remonter à cette époque l'établissement à la fois des bâtiments 1-4 et du troisième mur.
d'enceinte'. As Vercoutter has not yet published this pottery, it is too soon to judge whether he was right in assigning it all to a New Kingdom date. A misjudgment in the difficult matter of distinguishing Middle and New Kingdom settlement pottery when in such poor condition would have been very pardonable, and, as his account shows, Vercoutter was strongly influenced by his belief that Administrative Buildings 1–4 post-dated Fortification I. He himself discovered a mud seal-impression (not yet published), which he considered to be of xiiith-Dynasty date, within Fortification I; he does not state whether it came from the interior of any of the Administrative Buildings 1–4 or not. Its evidence shows, as Vercoutter allowed, that the original occupation of the Central Town can have been no later than the Middle Kingdom, some time in the xiiith Dynasty being the terminus ante quem. The balance of the available evidence, at least until Vercoutter's final report appears, seems squarely in favour of a Middle Kingdom date for the earliest building level in the Central Town, which as we have shown is represented by the mud-brick administrative buildings.

The Dynastic Cemetery

This cemetery first noted by Arkell occupies the east slope of a hill immediately to the west of the fortifications of the Outer Town at their northern end. Vercoutter said of it: 'elle a été systématiquement pillée et ne comportait ni tombes à puits ni semble-t-il de tombeaux construits'. The cemetery occupies a trapezoid area approximately 60 m. north-south by 40 m. east-west, and originally contained between fifty and seventy graves. Of these we dug twenty-five, every one of which had been thoroughly ransacked in modern times. Two broken pots and a few very small and undistinctive sherds were the sole finds, and these were out of context. Every skeleton had been broken up and scattered hither and yon. The graves were of two varieties: simple shallow pits scraped out of the alluvium, and rectangular, corbel-vaulted, mud-brick tombs sunk in rectangular pits. With the exception of Grave 11, which was straight-sided with semi-circular ends, 85 cm. deep, and orientated east-west, the outlines of the simple pit graves had been destroyed by the plunderers in every instance, and they are therefore not marked on the plan (FIG. 1). They were all completely empty. Twelve of the corbel-vaulted type were dug, all of

34 The available material for comparison has now been much increased by the excavation of Second Cataract forts.
35 In 1962–63, Mr B. Kemp and Mr R. S. Merrillees, while working with the Egypt Exploration Society as students at Buhen, made surface collections of pottery from Kor town, and came to the conclusion on comparing it with the Buhen corpus that the bulk of the material was of Middle Kingdom date. I thank them for this welcome confirmatory opinion.
36 KUSH III, p. 15.
Fig. 14. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF DYNASTIC CEMETERY, GRAVE 10

Fig. 15. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF DYNASTIC CEMETERY, GRAVE 12
them orientated east–west. Their construction is shown in Figs. 14 and 15. The corbel-vaults were formed in the normal Egyptian fashion, by resting consecutive arches of brickwork built up from the lateral walls at an angle one against another, the thrust being taken by the end wall, in this cemetery always the west wall. The east end was generally closed by a single wall of rectangular profile (e.g. Grave 10, Fig. 14), but in certain larger graves by a double wall (e.g. Grave 12, Fig. 15). Otherwise, apart from details of brick-bonding, the vaulted graves differed little from one another except in size, which ranged between \(3.55 \times 1.70 \times 1.25\) m. deep (Grave 12) and \(1.10 \times 0.75 \times 0.90\) m. deep in the case of an infant’s grave (No. 9, shown in Plate XXVIII, d). The bricks used were not consistent in size, irregularities being common even in the structure of a single grave, but the commonest type was that used also in the fortifications and in the administrative buildings of the Central Town, averaging \(0.35 \times 0.18 \times 0.08\) m. This suggests a Middle Kingdom date for the cemetery, which the grave type tends to corroborate. In Graves 2 and 11 sufficient remnants of the leg bones remained in situ to show that the heads were orientated local west; no doubt the rest were also in accordance with standard Dynastic practice. From the débris of Grave 5 came fragments of Qena ware jars of indeterminable shape, and portions of two wheelmade plain-rimmed bowls of drab ware with cream slip showing external corrugation (Fig. 21, bottom). Grave 11 contained a sherd of pink ware of coarse fabric showing a black section. While undistinctive, these sherds do not conflict with a Middle Kingdom date.

**The North-Western Cemetery**

This was a small group of graves dug in a patch of flat alluvial desert on the western side of the hill which rises to the west of the North Building (Fig. 1). They were mostly mud-brick, corbel-vaulted graves, orientated east–west, of precisely the same type as those in the Dynastic cemetery, with a few plain pit graves among them. Six graves were dug out, and, having been pillaged, yielded only a few poor scraps of bone and a single sherd from the débris of Grave 1 (Fig. 19, NW.1.1). This had belonged to a large wheel-made shouldered jar of coarse pink ware which is certainly Egyptian Dynastic, but is difficult to date with confidence. The probability seems to be that this little cemetery served the North Town and the Dynastic Cemetery served the Central and Outer Towns. It is clear from the restricted size of these two cemeteries that few Egyptians were buried at Kor, and the absence of shaft graves shows that these were of humble rank. This is not in my view any argument for a short occupation of the site. As a normal rule the sick would be shipped home to Egypt to die, as every Egyptian always wished, in their native places. Only those who had the misfortune to die at Kor would be buried there; and if a high official was mortally stricken there, he would doubtless have been carried at least to Buhen to receive dignified burial among his peers in one of the rock-cut tombs of Gebel Turob.
The Southern Tumulus Cemetery

This cemetery covers a considerable area, its nucleus consisting of a group of about fifty stone tumuli half-way between the southern wall of Kor town and the modern village of Abd-el-Qadir (visible on Plate XXVII), but outlying graves of the same type as far north as the town wall and as far west as Gebel Sheikh Suliman. As Vercoutter spent six days investigating these graves in 1954 with almost entirely negative results, we examined only four more graves, one in the nucleus and three outliers. They were utterly pillaged, and no single object or drawable sherd was discovered; however, we confirmed Vercoutter’s observation that the skeletons were buried in a contracted position in leather clothing with heads orientated to the east. These details, taken with the form of the stone tumuli, serve practically to confine the possibilities to the C-Group or Kerma cultures; unfortunately no distinctive pottery was found. The size of four of the tumuli in the nucleus of the cemetery (average diameter 6 m.) is larger than is normal in the C-Group, and suggests Kerma ownership. It may be recalled that two Kerma sherds but none of the common C-Group wares were found in the town.

The Late Cemetery

This cemetery, which lies immediately to the west of the North Building, was discovered and dug by Vercoutter, who dated it ‘de très basse époque, sans doute romaine’. We were unable to locate with certainty any further graves belonging to this group, though we dug certain empty pits in the area. The cemetery must have been very small.

The Building History and Chronology of Kor Town

It must be admitted outright that, even when considered in conjunction with Vercoutter’s major results, the above investigations still leave much unknown that would ideally be requisite for the interpretation of the history of Kor, and that the evidence is frailer than could be wished. But this is due to two factors beyond our control, wind denudation and the woeful plundering that the site has undergone. In the following attempted synthesis of results, I try to distinguish carefully between what is ascertained and what is reconstruction or conjecture.

The following conclusions may be classed as fact:—

1. Fortification II in its original form was destroyed, and later reconstructed to a new design.
2. The construction of Fortification III post-dated that of the original design of Fortification II.
3. The fortifications of the North Town including the North Gate were an integral part of Fortification III.

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4. The South Gate (whichever Fortification it originally belonged to) was destroyed and later clumsily reconstructed.

5. Fortification I was constructed later than the destruction of the original building levels, both in the North and in the Central Town.

6. At the south end of the Outer Town there existed a building level which post-dated the reconstructed design of Fortification II; in the Central Town there existed a building level which post-dated both the original town buildings and Fortification I.

The following conclusions, while not formally demonstrable as fact, impose themselves as very firm deductions from the evidence:—

7. The construction of Fortification III was contemporary with that of the original building levels in the areas enclosed by it, the North and Outer Towns.

8. As a necessary corollary of 5, 7, and 2, Fortification I was constructed later than Fortification III and the original design of Fortification II.

9. The South Gate in its original design and Bastion 37 were introduced into the southern return wall of the original design of Fortification II at the time of the construction of Fortification III.

While there is evidence to support the following suggestions, they cannot be regarded as firm deductions. They are given in order of probability:—

10. The construction of the original design of Fortification II was contemporary with the original building level of the area enclosed within it, the Central Town.  

11. The reconstruction of the South Gate and the reconstruction of Fortification II may have been contemporary.

12. The original foundation of the North Building may have been contemporary with the construction of the original Fortification II.

13. The construction of Fortification I and the reconstruction of Fortification II may have been approximately contemporary in view of similarities in design.

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39 Fortification II (original design) and the administrative buildings in the Central Town are alike founded on the old desert surface; the former is the earliest defensive work on the site, the latter are the earliest town buildings—and the former protects the latter. It seems unlikely that the town buildings would have been built in this exposed spot without a line of defence, and equally improbable that the line of defence would have been built at a time when there was nothing to defend. Such observation as could be made of the relative levels of Fortification II (original design) and the nearby buildings dug by Vercoutter did not reveal anything to contradict their contemporaneity. It is true that a corner of Administrative Building 1 appears to cross the apparent line of the original Fortification II, but owing to denudation we do not know its true course at this point, and nothing positive can be inferred. Vercoutter's final publication may of course contain evidence relevant to this matter that will demand a change of view.
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14. The late levels in the Outer and Central Towns (see 6) may have been contemporary.

15. The Dynastic and north-west cemeteries may be conjecturally attributed to the Egyptian population of the town in the Middle Kingdom, the South Tumulus Cemetery to the Kerma people of the Second Intermediate Period.

From these conclusions, the following building history of Kor town can be directly inferred.

Stage I Foundation of the Central Town (represented by Administrative Buildings 1–4), of its defences (Fortification II, original design), and perhaps of the North Building.

Stage II The extension of the site by the construction of the Outer and North Towns and their perimeter (Fortification III), together with the adaptation of the south return wall of the original Fortification II by the insertion of the South Gate and bastions (e.g. No. 37) of the Fortification III type.

Stage III The destruction of the enlarged town. For this the evidence is (a) the cutting down of the original design of Fortification II to an average height of 40 cm. (b) the cutting down of the original design of the South Gate to a height of 40 cm. (c) the cutting down of the brick walls of the administrative buildings of the Central Town to a height of 50 cm. (d) the destruction of the original building level in the North Town, and the destruction of Fortification III (datable only by analogy).

Stage IV (a) The building of Fortification I and re-occupation.
(b) The reconstruction of Fortification II and of the South Gate. There is no means of deciding whether this preceded or followed IV(a).

Stage V The destruction of the new defences and the occupation associated with them. For this the evidence is (a) the cutting down of Fortification I, shown inferentially by the existence of a higher building level in Trench Y; (b) the cutting down of the reconstructed Fortification II, shown by the existence of a higher building level directly above Bastion 29A. To the period after this destruction are perhaps to be assigned the remains left by squatters on the upper pavement of the ramparts of Fortification II.

Stage VI The re-building of part at least of the town in stone on top of the accumulated sand and débris, apparently without regard for the position of the old fortifications. This is represented by the high levels above Fortification II, Bastion 29 and in Trench Y.

Stage VII The abandonment of the site.
It remains to determine the probable dates of these stages. It must not be held that they were necessarily of equal or comparable duration; for they are defined merely by fixed points in the building record. Unfortunately the dating evidence from the site itself is of the slimmest. It will be summarized and then interpreted in the light of known history.

Stage I is dated by pottery evidence from Trench Y and Fortification II, Bastion 29 to the Middle Kingdom, a *terminus ante quem* being provided by the xiiith-Dynasty seal impression found in the Central Town by Vercoutter. Stage II is also datable to the Middle Kingdom on pottery evidence from Trench X, and almost certainly to the xiiiith Dynasty by the serpentine brick wall in the Outer Town. Stage III is not directly datable, nor is IV(a). Stage IV(b) may be assigned on the basis of the meagre pottery evidence from Level II in the trench across Fortification II, Bastion 29 to a time prior to the New Kingdom, most probably to the late Middle Kingdom-early Second Intermediate period. Stage V is not directly dated, but the squatter occupation on the ramparts of Fortification II, if properly compared with the Kerma occupation at Buhen, may belong to the late Second Intermediate period. If so, the destruction may have taken place in the middle of that period. For the date of Stage VI there is unfortunately no direct evidence. Ostraca of Ramesside date were discovered in the North Building, while Vercoutter attributed sherd material from the Central Town to the New Kingdom. It is tempting therefore to assign a New Kingdom date to Stage VI. Vercoutter on his plan attributed the remains of habitation in the North and Outer Towns to the ‘Basse Époque’, associating them probably with the burials in the Late Cemetery, which he characterized as ‘sans doute romaine’.

But no pottery of this date was found by us during excavation of the town, and surface collection yielded only two ‘late’ fragments, both from ribbed amphorae which were certainly post-3rd century A.D. They may have been strays from the Christian settlement on Meinarti or that at Abd-el-Qadir. At all events, evidence for a ‘late’ occupation of the site is very tenuous.

Comparison of the details of the various Kor fortifications with those at other Nubian fortress sites where the evidence is better preserved will doubtless eventually allow more precise dating. At present, while Mirgissa is still in the course of excavation and so much information from other Second Cataract forts awaits publication, detailed discussion would be out of place. The original design of Fortification II, with its broad main wall and narrow rampart wall featuring bastions with semi-circular heads, is closely parallel in design to the system used for the inner forts at Kuban, Aniba and Buhen. It differs from them (i) in its less formidable size; (ii) in the absence of a ditch; (iii) in the use

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40 *Kush III*, p. 15 and pl. vi, a.
41 *Kush III*, p. 14. See, however, the remarks above, p. 221.
42 *Kush III*, p. 15.
of stone rather than brick as the main building material. Important as these differences are, they may all be due to the subordinate and ancillary function of Kor, which would make the Egyptians unwilling to spend too much time, labour and material on its defences. For whereas mud brick is a most satisfactory material for massive walls, being very durable and difficult to undermine or break down by battering owing to its tendency to compact, the case is otherwise with lighter walls, which stone construction would render harder to breach. If this is so, the similarities of the original design of Fortification II to those of the forts mentioned are probably more significant for date than its differences from them. The inner forts at Kuban and Buhen were almost certainly built at the time of Sesostris I's conquest of Nubia as inscriptions of his reign were found within them, while Aniba I must date to some time before the sixth year of Sesostris II, the date inscribed on the blocks of the quay of the reconstructed Aniba II. It is reasonable then to ascribe the original design of Fortification II to the early reigns of the XIIth Dynasty, and most probably to that of Sesostris I.

For the defensive system with semi-circular-headed bastions opening directly from the main defence wall exhibited by Fortifications I and III and the reconstructed Fortification II, there is an apparent parallel in the inner fortress at Ikkur, which must also date from the early part of the XIIth Dynasty, but there are reasons for doubting whether it is directly relevant. W. B. Emery has discovered beneath the outer fortifications at Buhen a defensive system comprising a single mud-brick main wall with round-headed bastions, widely spaced, opening out of it, which he dates to the Middle Kingdom; but the bastions are very much larger than those at Kor and of a different shape. The comparative evidence clearly does not as yet suffice to date these fortifications at Kor, but suggests that they are not later than the Middle Kingdom.

In summary, I suggest the following history of Kor, with all the reserve required by the frail nature of the evidence. The Central Town with its

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46 C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1908–9* (Cairo, 1912), pp. 22–5; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 30–3. At Ikkur the wall from which the bastions open is of mud brick and quite narrow, and is defended by a ditch and counterscarp; the bastions are widely spaced and of a broad rounded form. Thus it lacks only the main wall to be precisely like the inner forts at Kuban, Aniba and Buhen, and it is possible that in the denuded conditions prevailing Firth missed the traces of this. As Säve-Söderbergh has said it is almost certainly of the same date as the inner fort at Kuban.
defences (Fortification II, original design) was built, like Kuban, Aniba and its neighbour Buhen, at the time of the Nubian conquests of Sesostris I. The North Building was perhaps also built at this time and connected to the Central Town by a defended walkway. Later in the xiiith Dynasty, most probably at the time of Sesostris III's conquests when Semna, Krumma and Uronarti were built and Buhen greatly extended, Kor was doubled in area by the addition of the Outer and North Towns with their defences (Fortification III). At this time, Fortification II (with the exception of the defended walkway to the North Building, which was no longer necessary) was probably still standing, and was utilized as an inner line of defence, except its southern wall which was remodelled to form part of the outer perimeter. Access to the town was by twin-bastioned gates at its northern and southern extremities. Late in the xiiith or early in the xiiith Dynasty, Kor was attacked, captured, and its fortifications and official quarters razed almost to the ground. This was presumably the work of the enemies referred to by Sesostris III under the general term Nhdy.w, whose bravery he impugned with such scorn, but whose movements he found it so necessary to regulate, against whom he built the forts at Semna, Krumma and Uronarti. They are in all probability to be identified with the peoples under the suzerainty of the native chieftains buried at Kerma. This successful attack on Kor, a relatively open and ill-defended site, may have been made at a time when there were still Egyptian garrisons in other Second Cataract forts, for there is evidence from most of these that they were still occupied in the xiiith Dynasty. Probably it was the troops of one or more of these Egyptian garrisons which recaptured Kor, or at least re-occupied it after the departure of the marauding bands, and re-fortified it in hurried fashion. Their work is represented by Fortification I and the reconstruction of Fortification II. It may be that Fortification I was thrown up as a temporary barricade while the bigger job of restoring Fortification II was undertaken, or it may be that there were successive native attacks on the place and that it was twice re-occupied. This period of Egyptian re-occupation cannot have lasted more than a century, perhaps only for a few decades, for at a time about the end of the xiiith Dynasty, the fortresses of the Second Cataract area were sacked and set fire to. To this phase I would attribute the destruction of Fortification I and the reconstructed Fortification II. These disasters mark the end of the Middle Kingdom occupation of Nubia, and the beginning of that independent kingdom of Kush of which we now have evidence from the second stela of Kamose at Karnak. This kingdom seems likely to have its centre at Kerma and to have been ruled by the chieftains buried there. At all events there is evidence for the occupation of the Egyptian forts after the sack by people using Kerma pottery, at least at Kuban, Buhen and Mirgissa, and probably at Semna as well. To this phase we attribute the squatter occupation on the ramparts of Fortification II, which seems to have extended over parts at least of the Outer and Central Towns, and the tumulus graves of the South Cemetery. When the Pharaohs Kamose, Ahmose,
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Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I undertook the re-occupation of Nubia, they so thoroughly overwhelmed and chastised the Kingdom of Kush and drove its people so far south, that there was no longer real danger to Egyptian settlements north of the Dongola bend. The Central and Outer Towns and the North Building were probably re-occupied by the Egyptians at this time as an open settlement without serious restoration of the fortifications.\textsuperscript{48} The North Building continued to be inhabited until some time in the \textit{xixth} Dynasty at least; perhaps, like Buhen, Kor remained in use by the Egyptians until near the end of the \textit{xxth} Dynasty. Thereafter Lower Nubia was deserted by Egyptians and Nubians alike. Most probably Kor was never re-settled; if it was, it was ephemerally, at a time after the fall of Meroë.\textsuperscript{49}

The Egypt Exploration Society excavations have not, owing to the condition of the site, advanced our knowledge of the purposes for which the Egyptians utilized Kor. What little is to be added to the conclusions reached by Vercoutter derives from other excavations. Vercoutter’s own important discovery at Mirgissa of a stela showing a Nubian standing before a seated Hathor, described as ‘Mistress of \textit{Iwknj}’, makes it almost certain that Mirgissa is the site of \textit{Ikn}.\textsuperscript{50} Adams’s exhaustive work for the Sudan Government at Meinarti has proved that there are no Pharaonic remains on the island.\textsuperscript{51} Vercoutter’s tentative hypothesis that the name \textit{Ikn} might have comprehended at once a Middle Kingdom fortress on Meinarti and the town at Kor must therefore now be discarded. On the other hand, recent work on the Nubian fortresses has notably reinforced his observation that Kor is not a fortress of the normal heavily defended type, but a township probably used for commercial, administrative and shipping purposes. As \textit{Bwn} ‘Buhen’ follows \textit{Ikn ‘Mirigissa’} directly on the Ramesseum list of forts, that list did not give a name for Kor. Nor did it for Ikkur, which, as both Somers Clarke and Vercoutter pointed out, resembled Kor in certain respects. Ikkur, opposite the great fortress of Kuban, must have been comprised in the place name \textit{Bjkt}; probably the name \textit{Bwn} included Kor. The functions of Kor were no doubt mainly ancillary to those of Buhen. Recent excavation has shown that there were two stone jetties at Buhen projecting far into the river, to which relatively large ships could tie up, while terraced wharves lined the river bank for approximately half a mile.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{48} Conceivably the rough piling of stones from the destroyed north wall of the Outer Town (FIG. 7) may date to this period. The North Town was apparently not re-settled, though denudation may have destroyed the evidence.

\textsuperscript{49} I have deliberately omitted references in this conjectural sketch of the history of Kor, for, while the evidence used may be found in the standard histories or in recent numbers of this Journal, the interpretation is my own, and an excavation report is no place to argue it in detail.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Orientalia}, vol. 34, Fasc. 2 (1965), p. 212.


\textsuperscript{52} W. B. Emery in \textit{Kush} ix, pp. 85–6.
At Mirgissa there is a fluvial port, and a slipway has been discovered enabling ships to be dragged up on the shore in order, presumably, that they might be carried round the worst stretch of the cataract. Evidently then it was Buhen and Mirgissa which provided anchorage for the large heavily manned river boats which must have been used for the precious traffic from the south. The 'harbour' formed by the channel round the island at Kor can never have been large enough for such boats, even granted that the water level was 5 m. higher in the Middle Kingdom, for it would not have taken even a modern ghyassa. But it would have served well for small sailing vessels of the size of the average felucca, which were doubtless constantly needed for official communication and day to day traffic across the river and to the island forts.

In the heavily populated and built-up inner fortress at Buhen there was certainly no room for animal lines, and even in the outer fortress there may not have been much. Yet pack-asses for carrying the valuable cargoes of the southern trade round the Second Cataract must have been at a premium, as must any livestock kept for food. In the prevailing desert conditions they would require both constant attention and constant protection from marauders; it seems possible that the unoccupied areas of the large fortified enclosures at Kor may have met this need. Likewise there were doubtless problems of human accommodation. A considerable portion of the area of the inner fortress at Buhen is occupied by the temple and its adjuncts, the governor's palace, the 'officers' mess', and the houses of military, civil and temple officials, and though, owing to denudation down to foundation level, it is less easy to characterize the rest of the area, it seems largely to have been occupied by houses and magazines. No extensive camp area, like that probably represented by site M.1 at Mirgissa, has been found at Buhen. It seems quite probable that a proportion of the large labour force required at Buhen as craftsmen, porters, sailors, warehousemen and servants may have been lodged at Kor. More particularly when a large shipment or caravan came in with its convoy, there may often have been surplus troops who had to be billeted out at Kor. It must be remembered, too, that during the xiith Dynasty the Pharaohs themselves came to Nubia on campaign. When the royal cavalcade arrived, no doubt all the local garrison and officialdom had to make room; a supplementary establishment like Kor would be invaluable on such occasions. It may even have been used as a staging post on the ancient road that can be traced southwards from Buhen on the caravan route to Mirgissa, though it seems rather close to Buhen to have been very useful in this capacity.

In view of the fact that Kor is not 'Ikn, whither private Nubian traders or persons with official business to transact are known from the Semna stela to have been directed, the rôle of Kor as a centre of Egyptian commerce with the local

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population should not be over-stressed. It is probably significant that no characteristic C-Group sherds were found by us either in excavation or surface sherd collection. But the existence of the large ‘administrative’ blocks found by Vercoutter in the Central Town and of the North Building, which would seem to have been some sort of official residence, make it clear that a considerable staff of government officials resided permanently at Kor. The uses of the site suggested above would probably warrant this, and there will doubtless have been other functions about which we can only speculate. But it is notable that at each of the main hubs of the Nubian traffic in the Middle Kingdom—at Semna, where the precious goods from the south were dispatched on the perilous journey round the Second Cataract; in the Mirgissa–Buhlen reach, where they were re-shipped for Egypt; at Kuban, where the yield of the Wadi el-Allaqi gold mines was stored and dispatched—we find in addition to one or two great fortresses a large town area, defended indeed, but in a relatively perfunctory manner. It does not follow that the function of all three was the same, and their design was certainly not so; yet there may be a relation between them. Ikkur long ago disappeared beneath the Nile waters. Kor, having yielded what evidence its plunderers left behind them, will do so within two years. The excavation of the virtually unexplored site of Semna south before it too is inundated for ever is an urgent task, for it alone can now supply further evidence on the nature and function of these fortified ancillary townships.

Pottery Register

The sherd material from Kor is recorded in this register under find spots, and is drawn out in the same order in Figs. 16–21. Only one complete vessel (Y–2–1, FIG. 19) was recovered. The registration numbers comprise one or two symbols indicating the location, one giving the level where appropriate, and a serial number. Where published parallels and a date range are given following the description, these are neither exhaustive nor definitive; they are intended simply to illustrate the general statement made on pp. 214–5, that the bulk of the pottery is at home in the Middle Kingdom, though its range cannot be limited to it. The abbreviation MK is used to connote a range from the xiiith Dynasty to some point in the Second Intermediate period. The abbreviations of titles of publications are explained on p. 243.

All the Kor pottery is domestic ware. Description of such vessels by surface colour and appearance alone is unsatisfactory, as these may vary through factors which the ancient potters did not trouble to control in the case of coarse wares, such as impurities in the clay, kiln temperature and firing conditions. On the other hand, detailed fabric analysis, even had it been practical on such a mass of badly fragmented sherd material, would have yielded only variation in the quantity and type of filler used, as the brown clay used is basically the same throughout (the few sherds of Qena ware found were not recordable). Fabrics have therefore been divided into three grades, as follows:—

A Poorly sorted brown clay, filled with large quantities of coarsely chopped straw; yields brown, pink or red surface with black internal section; mainly used for ‘bodegas’ and cooking vessels.
KOR: EXCAVATIONS OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY, 1965

B Brown clay with a considerable, certainly deliberate, admixture of sand, often including quite large grains of quartz and other minerals, and some chopped straw; yields a brown to pink ware, rarely exhibiting a thin black internal section; mainly used for large storage jars.

C Better sorted and kneaded brown clay, with a light admixture of chaff, finely chopped straw or other vegetable matter, and perhaps some fine sand, but no large mineral grits; mostly yields a pink or buff ware of consistent smooth texture and uniform section; used for hemispherical bowls, necked jars and other table ware.

Though artificial, these grades conform to broadly observable distinctions, and their use for different types of vessel shows that they correspond broadly with the potters' intentions.

**TRENCH X**

**Level A**

| X.10.a.1 | Hemispherical bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, pink. Eight or more specimens in X.10, one with red-slipped rim; one in X.1 and one in X.6 with red-slipped rims. Cf. Kuban Type XXIII; Semna-Kumma, fig. 9, top row; Kahun, pl. xii, 2; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, Type 7.0 | MK |
| X.10.a.2 | Mouth of jar, fabric C, wheelmade, pink |
| X.10.a.3 | Heavy dish, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, heavily blackened by smoke. Cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 9, 28–2–336 |
| X.8.a.4 | Rim of dish, fabric C, wheelmade, pink |
| X.1.a.5 | Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pink. Cf. Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 2. f.3 XII–XVIII |
| X.1.a.6 | Rim of jar, fabric C, wheelmade, pink |
| X.9.a.7 | Flaring vessel, fabric B, handmade, pink, with impressed decoration of horizontal lines of diagonal prickmarks. Perhaps rather like Semna-Kumma, fig. 11, 28–1–201 |
| X.8.a.8 | Low pot-stand, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, slipped red |
| X.9.a.9 | Sherd, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, with pot-mark incised before firing. XII |
| X.9.a.10 | Deep bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, desurfaced, but with traces of slip of indeterminate colour. Cf. Kuban Type XXI; Semna-Kumma, fig. 14, 28–11–13; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 12.8 |
| X.9.a.11 | Large bowl, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, with impressed decoration of horizontal line of diagonal prick-marks. Probably like Semna-Kumma, fig. 12, 28–1–226: Labyrinth, pl. xxxiii, 2; Harageh, pl. xlii, 5.p XII–XVIII |
| X.7.a.12 | Sherd, fabric B, wheelmade(?), pink, with impressed decoration of horizontal lines of diagonal prickmarks |
| X.1.a.13 | ‘Bodega’, fabric A, handmade, brown-pink, sometimes with closed base, but mostly with small hole in base; usually exhibit burning down one side; about 159 in this level. Cf. Kuban Type XVI |

**Level B**

| X.9.b.1 | Small carinated pot, fabric C, wheelmade, buff. Cf. Kuban Type XIV; Semna-Kumma, fig. 48, 24–3–104; Harageh, pl. xxxvii, 44.f: Riqqeh, pl. xxx, 44.0; Qurneh, pl. xxii, 20 XII–XVII |
| X.9.b.2 | Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink. Cf. Riqqeh, pl. xxviii, 33.f.3 XII |
| X.9.b.3 | Hemispherical bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pink, rim slipped red; at least five examples from this level. Cf. X.10.a.1 above MK |

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Fig. 16. POTTERY: TRENCH X, LEVELS a–b
Fig. 17. POTTERY: TRENCH X, LEVELS b–d
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X.1.b.4 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, slipped white, decorated with three gougéd vertical lines 10 cm. below rim. Cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 19, 28–1–187; Harageh, pl. xxxv, 36

X.15.b.5 Potstand, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, rim slipped red internally and externally

X.16.b.6 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, slipped white; two specimens. Cf. Kuban Type II; Semna-Kumma, fig. 19, 28–1–585; Harageh, pl. xxxv, 37.x; Kahun, pl. xiv, 16, 17

X.16.b.7 Storage jar, fabric B with prominent mineral and chalky inclusions, wheelmade, pink, slipped white or cream; cf. Harageh, pl. xxxv, 36

X.1.b.8 ‘Bodega’, fabric A, handmade, brown-pink; about 106 examples in this level. Cf. Kuban Type XVI

Level C

X.9.c.1 Rim of jar, fabric C, wheelmade, pink. Part of incised potmark surviving inside rim

X.9.c.2 Shallow dish, fabric C, wheelmade, buff. Cf. Lahun II, pl. lvi, 2.g.3

X.11.c.3 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink; two specimens, one with incised potmark inside rim. Cf. X.16.b.6

X.9.c.4 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pink. Cf. Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 7.s, Kahun, pl. xiii, 55

X.9.c.5 Hemispherical bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pink; six specimens, two with red-slipped rim. Cf. X.10.a.1

X.1.c.6 ‘Bodega’, fabric A, handmade, brown-pink, thirty-eight specimens; cf. Kuban Type XVI

Level D

X.1.d.1 Large jar, fabric A, handmade, dark brown with black smoke blotches, black section, lightly burnished; impressed design of diagonal lines on rim formed by series of adjacent prickmarks. Cf. Kerma Type XIX/I, Harvard African Studies, vi, p. 365, from graves subsidiary to Tumuli IV and X and from Tumulus XVI, room C; also A.S.N. 1910–11, pl. 25.f and p. 63, fig. at top, from Cemetery 110, grave 23, found with Kerma ware beaker

Kerma Nubian, 2nd Inter.

X.1.d.2 Shouldered bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pinky buff

X.11.d.3 Large bowl, fabric A, handmade, pink with black section; impressed pattern of two horizontal lines of diagonal prickmarks

X.11.d.4 Bottom of large jar, fabric A, handmade, pink with black section; impressed decoration of two or more horizontal lines of diagonal prickmarks; cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 47, 24–2–714; fig. 53, 24–3–122; fig. 68, 24–4–171; Harageh, pl. xxxv, 36.h

X.1.d.5 Low shouldered bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, red-brown with black internal section, red-orange slip.

X.10.d.6 Flat baking dish (dokka), fabric A, handmade, dark brown with black section, poorly fired, smoke blackened; four identifiable, but certainly many more

X.12.d.7 Bowl, hemispherical or with slightly pointed base, fabric C, wheelmade, pink, one plain, four with red-slipped rim; cf. X.10.a.1.
FIG. 18. POTTERY TRENCH X, LEVEL d
Fig. 19. POTTERY: TRENCH Y AND NORTH-WEST CEMETERY

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X.11.d.8 Large bowl, fabric A, handmade, pink, traces of carelessly-applied pink-red slip on rim and in band 4 mm. below rim, three horizontal lines of impressed decoration of diagonal prickmarks; cf. Lahun II, pl. lvi, 7B (undecorated) MK
X.12.d.9 Portion of potstand, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, red slip, burnished
X.8.d.10 Large bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, external rim, band below rim and interior red-slipped; at least three specimens; cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 46, 24–2–640 XIII–XVIII
X.11.d.11 Deep bowl, fabric A, handmade(?), brown; cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 9, 28–I–211; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 3.b XII–XVIII
X.11.d.12 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink XII
X.12.d.13 Sherd, fabric C, wheelmade, buff, pink slip, incised potmark on exterior; cf. Riqqeh, pl. xxii, 19, 21 XII
X.11.d.14 Rim sherd, fabric A, wheelmade(?), brown, pink slip
X.11.d.15 Dish, fabric A, unfired, brown
X.11.d.16 ‘Bodega’, fabric A, handmade, brown-pink; 118 specimens; cf. Kuban Type XVI

TRENCH Y FIG. 19

Y.2.1 Hemispherical bowl, intact, fabric C, wheelmade, pink; five plain, five with rims slipped red; one contained red ochre; cf. X.10.a.1 MK
Y.2.2 Low bowl, fabric A, wheelmade(?), brown, pink slip; cf. Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 2.e XII
Y.2.3 Bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, pink slip
Y.2.4 Low bowl or dish, fabric A, brown, pink slip; three specimens, largest 54 cm. in diameter
Y.2.5 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, pink slip; four specimens; cf. Kahun, pl. xiii, 98; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 2.f.2–3 MK
Y.2.6 Potstand, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, red slip
Y.2.7 Potstand, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, pink slip with red-slipped lines on both rims MK
Y.2.8 Deep bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, pink slip; cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 10, 28–1–598.b; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 3.b; Riqqeh, pl. xxxiv, 4.8 XII–XVIII
Y.2.9 Large bowl, fabric A, wheelmade, brown, pink slip.
Y.2.10 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, pink slip
Y.2.11 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, buff slip; five specimens.
Y.2.12 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, buff-brown slip; two specimens; cf. El-Kab, pl. xv, 20; Harageh, pl. xxxiv, 2.f.2 MK

NORTH-WEST CEMETERY FIG. 19

NW.1.1 Large shouldered jar, fabric A, wheelmade, pink, with high neck and indented rim; from Grave 1, débris

FORTIFICATION II, BASTION 29 FIG. 20

II.29.3.1 Miniature pot, fabric C, wheelmade, lightly fired, brown, desurfaced but perhaps showing traces of self-coloured slip; interior caked with black dust, perhaps ‘kohl’. From ramparts above Level II pavement near Level III stone hut. Cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 26, 28–2–80; Harageh, pl. xxxix, 57.e; Kahun, pl. xiii, 71; Labyrinth, pl. xxxiii, 47 XII–XVII
POTTERY: FORTIFICATION II, BASTION 29 AND NORTH TOWN, SURFACE FINDS
OBJECTS: NORTH TOWN, SURFACE FINDS
Fig. 21. OBJECTS: TRENCH X AND CENTRAL TOWN, SURFACE FINDS
POTTERY: DYNASTIC CEMETERY, GRAVE 5

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II.29.1.2 Mouth of jar, fabric C, wheelmade, brown, pink slip; from Bastion 29, Level I pavement. Cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 25, 24-1-85 XII-XVIII

II.29.2.3 Hemispherical bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, pink-brown, rim slipped red, exhibits signs of burning on interior; from Bastion 29A, Level II pavement; cf. X.10.a.1 MK

II.29.2.4 'Bodega', fabric A, handmade, lightly fired, brown; from Level II hearth east of main wall. Cf. Kuban Type XVI MK

NORTH TOWN SURFACE FINDS FIG. 20

NT.S.1 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, red-brown, white slip; cf. X.16.b.6 XII
NT.S.2 Bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, red-brown, traces of white slip(?) MK
NT.S.3 Jar, fabric B, wheelmade, red-brown, pink slip(?), cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 25, 28-1-195 NK(?)
NT.S.4 Storage jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, white slip; cf. Semna-Kumma, fig. 47, 24-2-682 MK
NT.S.5 Jar, fabric B, wheelmade, pink, white slip; cf. Kuban Type VI; El-Kab, pl. xvi, 47: Harageh, pl. xxxv, 36.r XII
NT.S.6 Sherd, fabric A, handmade, brown with black section and black smoke blotches on external surface; decorated with two horizontal bands of pricked vertical zig-zags Kerma Nubian, 2nd Inter.

DYNASTIC CEMETERY FIG. 21

D.5.1 Deep bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, drab, cream slip, notched rim, slightly corrugated external surface; from Grave 5, débris MK(?)
D.5.2 Deep bowl, fabric C, wheelmade, drab, cream slip, plain rim, slightly corrugated external surface; from Grave 5, débris MK(?)

OBJECT REGISTER FIGS. 20-21

Kor 1 Corroded copper pin, 5.6 x 0.3 cm.; from surface of plaster pavement east of rampart wall of Fortification II, between Bastions 1 and 2
Kor 2 Pottery scraper of pink ware, fabric B, with single suspension hole bored through its shoulder, 9.2 x 3.0 cm.; found with Kor 1
Kor 3 Flint flake tool, probably scraper, 5.7 x 2.5 cm., with some retouching on one edge; from surface débris above Bastion 2 of Fortification I
Kor 4 Flint flake tool, broken at tip, 4.6 x 4.1 cm. exhibiting some retouching along top edge; found on pavement east of rampart wall of Fortification II, south of Bastion 2, at surface
Kor 5 Flint flake knife, 5.8 x 1.3 cm., retouched only at point; from Trench X, section 3, Level a at surface
Kor 6 Unbaked mud jar-stopper, 5.7 cm. in diameter, 2.0 cm. max. ht., uninscribed; from Trench X, section 11, Level d
Kor 7 Rough sandstone loom-weight with two vertical grooves, 6.1 x 2.1 x 3.5 cm.; from Trench X, section 20, Level a.
Kor 8 Flint flake borer, 4.9 x 1.3 cm.; from surface débris above Fortification I, south of Bastion 13.
Kor 9 Curved flint flake knife, 6.8 x 2.6 cm.; from surface of Level II pavement of ramparts of Fortification II, near Bastion 14.

(These objects, together with the intact pot Y.2.1, are now in the Museum of Antiquities, Khartoum).
ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF WORKS QUOTED IN POTTERY REGISTER


APPENDIX

WORK SITE NORTH OF GEBEL SHEIKH SULIMAN

During surveys of the Buhen concession to ensure that no ancient sites should be left unrecorded, prehistoric stone artifacts were found upon the surface of a low mound of riverlaid silt 400 m. north of the northern slope of Gebel Sheikh Suliman (marked W on the air photograph, plate xxvii). I reported the existence of this site to Dr J. L. Shiner, Field Director of the combined prehistoric mission of the Universities of Dallas, New Mexico and Columbia, U.S.A., who on hearing my description of it, assured me that an adequate statistical sample of surface sites of its character had been excavated by his expert team, and that no more were to be examined in the Halfa area. Scientific investigation being rendered superfluous, I decided that in view of the imminent flooding, a sample collection of artifacts from the site should be made. This was undertaken by Mrs Smith, who very carefully cleared a 2 sq. m. area of the surface, recording 160 cores and microlithic artifacts of quartz, flint, and fossilized wood on a grid. The alluvium below this artifact layer was then examined to a depth of 15 cm. It proved to be pure river laid silt with no traces of occupation débris other than a few minute fragments of charcoal and half a dozen scraps of flint or quartz which had clearly worked their way down from the surface. Random collections were then made over the rest of the area of the site (c.18 m. E–W by c.25 m. N–S), which showed the recorded sample to be representative of the whole.

These microlithic artifacts, which I am not myself competent to publish, would appear to belong to the Pre-pottery Neolithic of the Halfa area, and to be of minimal interest. They have been divided between the Museum of Antiquities, Khartoum and the Egypt Exploration Society, whose share is lodged in the Petrie Collection, University College, London, where they are available to prehistorians for study.
Les fouilles de cette saison ont eu lieu du 7 au 22 Novembre 1964, avec un groupe d'environ 80 ouvriers. Les relevés du secteur étudié, les copies et les dessins des textes découverts lors de la fouille, ainsi que les photographies des objets retrouvés, ont été exécutés pendant les autres mois de cette campagne—consacrée également à l'étude de Soleb.

Au temple de la reine Tiy, nous avons procédé à la consolidation du chapiteau de l'unique colonne encore debout. Ce travail a été long et délicat, en raison du très mauvais état de conservation des blocs composant le chapiteau, qui ne tenaient plus que par miracle. Dans cette restauration nous avons essayé, autant que faire se peut, de respecter l'aspect romantique de la ruine.

1 Cf. 'Première Campagne de Fouilles à Sedeinga', in Kush XIII.
SEDEINGA, 1964-1965

Quant aux fouilles, elles ont été concentrées sur le secteur des ‘ tombes de l’Ouest ’ (fig. 1), où nous avions précédemment\(^2\) mis au jour une tombe, W T 1, de forme pyramidale, au nom du Pharaon Taharqa et repéré les restes de quelques autres tombeaux. Cette année, ce secteur a été presque entièrement déblayé en surface.\(^3\)

Le groupe de pyramides établies à proximité de celle de Taharqa semble se limiter à huit tombes, composées de substructions et de superstructures, orientées Est-Ouest. Sur ces huit tombes, deux seulement, situées plus à l'Ouest, ne comportaient chacune qu'une unique pyramide, entourée d'un mur de pourtour — W T 4, en pierres noires grossières ; W T 5, en briques crues. Les six autres, toutes en briques crues, comprenaient chacune deux pyramides couplées, érigées à deux périodes différentes ; la première pyramide se trouvait au-dessus du caveau ; la seconde, plus petite, à l'Est de la précédente, recouvrait le départ de la descente au caveau.

**TOMBES À PYRAMIDES COUPLÉES**

**(SECTEUR OUEST)**

Les six tombes à pyramides couplées—W T 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 (fig. 1)—sont sans doute toutes d'époque méroïtique. Leurs pyramides étaient de plusieurs types, dont l'étude détaillée sera faite au fur et à mesure de la finition des travaux, mais nous pouvons déjà dire qu'elles étaient 'creuses' et extérieurement peintes en rouge. Les pyramides situées au-dessus des caveaux mesuraient de 6 m.20 à 9 m. de côté.

La fouille en surface, ainsi que l'étude d'un caveau—W T 3—, confirment que ce groupe exigu de tombeaux a été entièrement saccagé. Les voleurs ont pénétré dans les sépultures par les descenderies, se frayant un passage entre les deux pyramides couplées d'une tombe, ou bien par des brèches ouvertes dans les superstructures mêmes.

Sur ce terrain littéralement bouleversé, se trouvaient encore quelques blocs décorés ou inscrits, en grande partie fragmentaires, dispersés dans les décombres. Il s'agit, pour la plupart, de tables d'offrandes, de stèles et de linteaux\(^3\) méroïtiques, en grès, avec des textes gravés et primitivement peints en rouge. L'emplacement originel de ces divers éléments reste encore indéterminé.

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\(^2\) Signalons que les quelques sépultures primitives, découvertes l’année passée dans ce même secteur, n’ont pas encore été l’objet d’une fouille systématique. C’est pourquoi nous n’en parlerons pas dans le présent rapport.

\(^3\) Par ‘linteau’, nous entendons ‘entablement’, c’est-à-dire l’ensemble de l’architrave, de la frise et de la corniche. Ces linteaux inscrits, avec frises à gorge, sont d'un type classique à Sedeinga et semblent être, en fait, des 'faux' linteaux, à en juger par les éléments les plus complets que nous avons retrouvés. Ils devaient être encastrés dans des maçonneries, étant donné leur faible épaisseur, et n’étaient donc pas fonctionnels, mais purement décoratifs. Signalons que, dans les dessins que nous donnons ci-après, la décoration des frises à gorge est toujours en développement.
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Parmi les blocs recueillis, dont la description sera donnée ci-après, mentionnons trois éléments concernant un même défunt : un linteau, W 3, décoré en relief du disque solaire ailé et gravé de sept longues lignes de texte ; une stèle à sommet arrondi, W 2, décorée également du disque solaire ailé et gravée de quinze lignes de texte ; un petit seuil, W 7, avec une inscription de sept lignes. Mentionnons également une table d’offrandes, W 13, décorée en relief et anépigraphe, ainsi qu’un fragment très ouvragé d’une statue-ba, W 18 ; cette dernière devait avoir près d’un mètre de hauteur ; le poignet gauche de la statue est orné de deux cartouches anépigraphes.

A la surface du terrain ont été recueillis des éclats de verrièr blanche, verdâtre, transparente ou opaque —, quelques tessons provenant de bols en faïence bleue, et de nombreux fragments de poterie en terre cuite, souvent avec décor peint ou incisé. Plusieurs fragments en terre cuite proviennent de grandes amphores de forme élancée, noircies intérieurement par un liquide foncé, dont il ne reste qu’un sédiment solide et noirâtre ; ces amphores étaient primitive-ment fermées par des bouchons de plâtre ou d’argile.

Parmi les tombes à pyramides couplées, le seul caveau que nous ayons fouillé est celui de la tombe W T 3, située au Sud immédiat de celle de Taharqa.

TOMBE W T 3

La superstructure de cette tombe a été déjà décrite dans notre rapport précédent (in KUSH xiii), ainsi que la descente conduisant au caveau. Rappelons que la superstructure comportait deux pyramides creuses, enduites d’ocre rouge et bâties à deux périodes différentes. La première, de 9 m. de côté, était placée au-dessus du caveau ; la seconde, de 5 m. de côté, avait été érigée à 70 cm. à l’Est de la précédente, à cheval au-dessus du départ d’un escalier grossier, large en moyenne de 1 m. et long d’environ 5 m. 20, taillé dans le sol et menant au caveau. Rappelons aussi que, parmi les restes des deux pyramides, nous avions retrouvé les vestiges de deux stèles en grès, W 8 et W 10, appartenant à deux

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*Fig. 2. FRAGMENT D’UN PENDENTIF EN PIERRE DURE VERNISSÉE (W T 3 s1)*

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4 Cf. *in fine*, ' blocs décorés et inscriptions méroïtiques ' et PL. XXX–XXXIV.

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périodes distinctes de l'époque méroïtique, et un montant d'encadrement en grès, W 9, décoré d'une divinité à figure de singe. Parmi les déblais de surface de cette tombe, on avait également recueilli un fragment d'un pendentif en pierre, W T 3 s1 (fig. 2), sur lequel se voit une partie d'un cartouche, dont les hiéroglyphes évoquent le nom de Menkheperê ; cf. infra, § IV, pendentifs.

La tombe souterraine a été trouvée pillée, mais les restes de son contenu ont permis une étude assez complète de la sépulture.

I. Escalier

C'est dans le remblai de l'escalier que les voleurs s'étaient d'abord frayé un chemin, jusqu'à la porte du caveau. Après avoir essayé, en vain, de basculer la lourde dalle de fermeture de la porte, ils ont pénétré dans la sépulture en ouvrant une brèche dans la voûte du caveau. En bas de l'escalier, à l'avant de la dalle de fermeture mentionnée, nous avons trouvé un groupe de poteries, dont certaines intactes, comprenant deux bols en faïence bleue et des terres cuites : trois bols, un vase sphéroïdal, deux jarres, les fragments de deux ou trois amphores. Seule une amphore semblait encore in situ, couchée sur le sol, au pied de la dalle de fermeture de la porte ; sur ses parois internes se trouvait un sédiment noirâtre, solidifié. Parmi ces poteries, ont été également recueillis les vestiges d'une canne en bois et des restes de cuir découpé, pouvant provenir d'une paire de sandales.

II. Caveau (fig. 3)

La tombe souterraine est un ensemble maçonné, de deux pièces, en briques crues, aménagé dans la couche d'alluvion et posé sur le bed-rock, au bas de l'escalier, à 2 m. 20 de profondeur. On y accède par une ouverture, large de 0 m. 66, haute de 1 m. 40, surmontée d'un linteau de grès ; cette porte avait été fermée une première fois avec un muret en briques crues, remplacé plus tard, lors d'une deuxième fermeture de la tombe, par une grande dalle noire. Le caveau comprend une chambre sépulcrale (1 m. 85 x 2 m. 45), suivie, à l'Ouest, d'une deuxième pièce (2 m. 95 x 1 m. 15) ; leurs murs Nord sont dans un même alignement. Les voûtes sont en berceau. Les parois intérieures et le sol avaient été recouverts d'un enduit en terre et blanchis. La porte de communication entre les deux chambres, large de 0 m. 66 et haute de 1 m. 12, est munie d'un linteau de schiste.

L'étude des éléments retrouvés dans le caveau montre qu'il y a eu là deux inhumations, faites à deux périodes différentes. Ceci est confirmé, entre autres, par l'existence de deux fermetures de la porte d'accès : une première en

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5 Cette couche, qui s'étend sous le sable jusqu'au bed-rock, est un conglomérat composé de roche morte et surtout de graviers.

6 La deuxième pyramide, construite après le dernier enterrement, doit donc se rapporter au deuxième défunt.

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briques crues, dont il nous reste les briques de base—conservées lors du deuxième enterrement—, et une deuxième fermeture avec une haute dalle de schiste, adossée au côté Est de la porte.

Le premier défunt, une femme âgée et de grande taille, avait été enterré, la tête à l'Ouest, dans un cercueil en bois placé au centre de la première chambre. Autour du cercueil devaient se trouver divers objets. La seconde chambre semble avoir été réservée à la majeure partie du mobilier funéraire, comprenant certainement des poteries, de la verrerie, etc. . . . Le deuxième défunt était un homme, de taille plus petite que celle de la femme. Lors de son enterrement, les éléments déjà décomposés de la première inhumation et la terre apportée par les eaux d'infiltration furent répartis en une couche à peu près uniforme. C'est au-dessus de cette couche que fut déposé le nouveau cercueil (tête du défunt à l'Ouest). Autour du cercueil avait été dressé une sorte de baldaquin, dont les piliers étaient des pièces d'èbène sculptées. Comme pour le défunt précédent, des objets et des coffrets avaient dû être placés autour du cercueil.
PLATE XXIX

c31  c30  c25  c24
c32  c21  c22  c23

c33

a. bagues ayant appartenu au premier défunt

b. bagues ayant appartenu au deuxième défunt

SEDEINGA, EMPREINTES DES BAGUES-CACHETS DE LA TOMBE W T 3

facing p. 248
SEDEINGA, BLOCS DÉCORÉS:
linteau avec frise à gorge W 3, tables d’offrandes W 13 et 16, fragment d’une statue-ša W 18 (tombes de l'Ouest);
fragment d’une statue-ša II T s5 (grande nécropole)
SEDINGA: BLOCS PROVENANT DES TOMBES DE L'OUEST
SEDEINGA : BLOCS PROVENANT DES TOMBES DE L'OUEST
SEDEINGA : BLOCS W 13, 14 ET MONTANT D'ÉBRÈNE W T 3 d1 (TOMBES DE L'OUEST) ; BLOCS II T 1-2-3, 4, 14, 16 ET 16 (GRANDE NÉCROPOLE)

SOLEB : GRAFFITE GRAVÉ SUR UNE COLONNE (IV S5) DE LA SALLE HYPOSTYLE DU TEMPLE
SEDEINGA, 1964–1965

Les voleurs, qui ont vidé entièrement la deuxième pièce, ont fouillé en plusieurs points la chambre sépulcrale. Il est certain que, lors de leur passage, le squelette du dernier défunt n’était pas encore entièrement décomposé.

A) Première chambre (fig. 4)

L’accès entrebâillé du caveau et la brèche ouverte dans la voûte de la première chambre ont été trouvés bouchés par une masse de terre sablonneuse, amenée par les vents. Des nids de guêpes, collés sous le linteau de la porte, montraient que la tombe était restée ouverte assez longtemps, après le passage des voleurs.

La terre sablonneuse qui avait pénétré dans la chambre recouvrait des couches de boue durcie. À la partie supérieure de ces couches, se trouvaient les os brouillés d’un squelette (fig. 4, a), groupés pour la plupart dans les restes d’un cercueil en bois.7 Malgré leur désordre, ces ossements étaient encore réunis par paquets, permettant de comprendre que le défunt avait été déposé les pieds vers l’Est. La tête du squelette, les os de l’avant-bras et de la main gauches, les tibias, les péronés et les éléments du pied gauche ont été retrouvés dans la terre, à côté du cercueil, certains au-dessous du niveau de ce dernier ; ce qui prouve que les voleurs avaient préalablement fouillé dans les couches de boue durcie, qui déjà recouvraient le sol au moment de leur passage.

Les vestiges du cercueil reposaient encore sur un madrier, placé en travers et au milieu de la chambre, au-dessus d’un amas de terre. La caisse avait été calée, du côté des pieds, avec deux briques crues. Près de cet ensemble, nous avons mis au jour trois montants d’ébène sculptés, en forme de nœud composite8 (cf. pl. xxxiv, W T 3 c.1) ; ils avaient servi, avec un quatrième, à supporter un cadre, sur lequel se posait un voile recouvrant le cercueil. Le cadre de cette sorte de baldaquin était maintenu par des cornières en fer, dont il en subsiste trois, très oxydées ; des résidus du voile sont restés fixés dans leur magma. Le voile était sans doute orné de figurines. En effet, près des restes du cercueil, nous avons trouvé trois plaques de cuivre découpée et repoussé, évoquant un visage avec couronne osiriaque ; l’une d’elles garde encore les fils qui ont servi à la coudre à une étoffe. Un bouquet funéraire avait été déposé sur le cercueil, au-dessous du voile, comme le montrent des empreintes de végétaux, visibles sur l’oxydation des cornières en fer du baldaquin.

A l’intérieur des vestiges du cercueil, nous avons recueilli une intaille ovale, T W 3 c3, agate sertie de bronze et gravée d’un buste de Sérapis.9 Au petit doigt de la main gauche du défunt, trouvée non loin de là à l’extérieur du

7 Ce cercueil était long de 1 m. 80 et large d’environ 0 m. 50.
8 Ce nœud composite se rapproche davantage du tilt que du sa de protection ; il évoque, de plus, le signe ankh et, éventuellement, le dt et le djed.
9 Pour cette intaille, ainsi que pour les cachets des bagues retrouvés dans la tombe, cf. infra, § IV et pl. xxix.
cercueil, il y avait encore deux bagues en fer, avec des cachets rapportés : l'un, W T 3 c26, en argent, montre un personnage momiforme tenant les emblèmes royaux ; l'autre, W T 3 c27, en bronze, présente l'image d'un Harpocrate.

Les vestiges d'objets pouvant être attribués à ce défunt étaient ceux de trois coffrets en bois, trouvés le long de la paroi Nord de la chambre. À l'emplacement de l'un de ces coffrets, nous avons recueilli trois bagues en bronze, assez grossières (l'une avec un chaton en fer entièrement rouillé, les deux autres, W T 3 c13–14, avec des cachets représentant, respectivement, l'image d'une vache et celle d'une tête humaine barbue), une vingtaine de bagues en fer complètement oxydées, une vingtaine de boulettes en argile, des morceaux d'un minerai (plomb ou étain ?) et une petite palette-broyeur en pierre. Du deuxième coffret, il n'y avait plus que le bois désagrégé et ses quatre cornières en fer, sur lesquelles se voient encore les clous de fixation. Du troisième coffret, il subsistait des restes du bois et des cornières en fer, ainsi que des vestiges de son contenu : des harpons et des pointes de lance en fer.

C'est au-dessous de cet ensemble, dans une couche de boue durcie d'environ 20 cm. d'épaisseur, qu'ont été mis au jour les restes du premier défunt inhumé dans cette tombe (FIG. 4, b). Ses ossements ont été retrouvés au complet, mais
disséminés dans la chambre ; ils ne se suivaient plus dans l’ordre naturel, à l’exception des phalanges d’un doigt de la main droite portant encore trois bagues. De nombreux restes de bois, ainsi que plusieurs os des pieds, groupés du côté Est de la chambre, montrent que le défunt avait été inhumé dans un cercueil, la tête vers l’Ouest. Il s’agissait, sans aucun doute, d’une femme, d’après la forme du bassin du squelette et d’après certains objets lui ayant appartenu.

La défunte portait à ses doigts une bague en or et huit bagues en argent. Trois de celles-ci, W T 3 c30–32, ont été trouvées sur un doigt de la main droite ;10 une quatrième, W T 3 c33, était à côté des précédentes, près d’autres éléments de la même main. Les cinq autres bagues, W T 3 c21–25, dont celle en or, ont été recueillies plus loin, près de quelques phalanges de doigts de la main gauche. Il s’agit de bagues-cachets,11 toutes finement ciselées ; l’une porte l’image d’une déesse ou mère, quatre présentent une tête humaine barbue, les quatre dernières montrent l’image d’une vache.

Des objets remontant à cette première inhumation, il restait encore, entre autres : quelques perles de divers types et matières, en pierre noire, en quartz, en cornaline, en nacre, en pâte de verre ; un vase à kohol en ivoire, cylindrique, décoré de bandes et cercles gravés ; un bâtonnet à kohol en ébène, dont une extrémité a la forme d’une main droite fermée ; les restes de trente-deux plaques carrées, en ivoire, et d’une plaque en ébène, ayant sans doute fait partie d’un damier ;12 les vestiges de vingt-quatre pions, en ivoire et en ébène, en forme de calotte sphérique ; trois dés en ivoire, avec leurs faces marquées de 1 à 6 par de petits cercles gravés ; enfin, plusieurs fragments d’un bol en terre cuite, décoré sur le bord externe d’une bande peinte en marron foncé et gravée de croix.

Les fragments d’une lampe à pied et quelques autres tessons de poterie en terre cuite ont été également recueillis dans cette chambre, mais il n’est pas possible de dire avec certitude à quelle inhumation ils appartenaient.

Notons que la plupart des objets du premier défunt sont d’une haute qualité. En revanche, les objets remontant à la deuxième inhumation sont d’un travail parfois assez grossier.

B) Deuxième chambre

Le sol était recouvert d’une faible couche de terre dans laquelle nous n’avons trouvé que quelques éclats de verrerie, un petit fragment de bronze, un

10 Ordre dans lequel ces bagues avaient été mises et position des sujets ciselés sur leur chaton : c32, bas du sujet vers la base de la main ; c31, bas du sujet vers le petit doigt ; c30, bas du sujet vers le pouce.
11 Cf. infra, § IV, B et pl. xxix.
12 Une seule de ces plaques, en ivoire, présente sur une face une ornementation gravée, composée de sept cercles.
residu de fer oxyde et deux minuscules debris de bois. Il n'y avait pas le moindre reste d'ossements. Il est certain que cette deuxieme chambre, reserves sans aucun doute au mobilier funerai, n'a jamais contenu de depotille mortelle.

III. Remarques

Les os du squelette du premier defunt — la femme — sont plus grands que ceux du deuxieme defunt ; de plus, ils presentent, pour la plupart, des excroissances osseuses. Ceci a permis de reconnaître avec certitude les elements appartenant a chacun des squelettes, et de repérer clairement les deux bouleversements survenus dans le caveau, a deux reprises differentes — lors du dernier enterrement et lors du passage des voleurs. Rappelons que les os du squelette de la femme, eparpillés au moment de la deuxieme inhumation, ne se suivaient plus dans l'ordre naturel, a l'exception de trois phalanges d'un doigt de la main droite. En revanche, les elements du squelette de l'homme, bouleverses par les voleurs, ont ete trouves en paquets ; certains — tels que le crane et le maxillaire inferieur, presque tous les os de la main gauche, ainsi que ceux de la jambe et du pied gauches — se suivaient encore, bien que loin de leur emplacement primitif. Tout ceci confirme qu'il s'est ecoule plus de temps entre les deux inhumations qu'entre le dernier enterrement et l'arrivee des voleurs.

Le fait que les deux defunts aient ete inhumes dans la meme chambre sepuclrale et la similitude des sujets traites sur leurs bagues montrent qu'il s'agissait bien de membres d'une meme famille. L'observation des ossements, le grand laps de temps qui s'est ecoule entre les deux inhumations, les restes des deux stèles meiroitiques, W 8 et 10, mentionnees plus haut et d'autres donnees indiquent que le lien de parente des deux defunts ne pouvait être celui d'une femme et de son mari, mais plutot celui d'une ancetre, decedee a un age avance, et d'un de ses descendants.

IV. Pendentsf et bagues-cachets de la tombe W T 3

A) Trouve en surface, sur les vestiges des deux pyramides :

**s1** (FIG. 2) — Fragment d'un pendentif en pierre dure vernissée, percé d'un canal axial ; 18 x 31 x 16 mm. Sur la face bombée se trouvait un double uraeus en relief, enserrant un cartouche dans lequel on lit, gravé en creux, le signe mn, completré, il semble, par deux n de graphies differentes et par le signe hpr. Ceci evoque evidemment le nom de Mn-hpr-Rc. Cet ensemble est pose sur une decoration de croisillons et de traits qui pourraient reprenter le corps et la queue d'un crocodile(?). Au plat, qui est entoure d'une bordure ouvragée, elements de legende gravée en creux :

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13 Les deux themes, de la tete humaine barbue et de la vache, repetes sur huit bagues en metaux precieux, finement ciselées, que la defunte portait a ses doigts, se retrouvent sur deux bagues en bronze, grossières, que le second defunt avait dans un coffret.

14 Nous decrivons ici l'empreinte meme des cachets et non la matrice.
sous ce qui semble être les pattes d’un oiseau et peut-être deux signes \( t \), suite des signes \( mn, n, hpr \) et \( R^c \), disposée verticalement, le long du contour en creux d’un cartouche(?).

B) Trouvés dans le caveau et ayant appartenu au premier défunt (PL. XXIX):

\( c33 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 12 \times 14 \text{ mm.} \) 5, finement ciselé. Figure féminine—déesse ou reine—tournée vers la droite, assise sur un trône, coiffée de la dépouille de vautour et portant une couronne hathorique. Elle tient, de sa main droite, une grande palme qui se termine, à la partie inférieure, par ce qui semble être un tétard ; dans le champ, devant le personnage, cinq croix de vie horizontales.

\( c30 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 10 \times 13 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Tête humaine barbue et joufflue, avec bandeau sur le front, cornes et petites oreilles animales.

\( c31 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 12 \times 14 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Tête humaine barbue, avec moustaches, cornes, et oreilles animales.

\( c24 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 10 \times 11 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Même sujet que le précédent \( c31 \).

\( c25 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 9 \times 11 \text{ mm.} \) 5, finement ciselé. Même sujet que les précédents \( c31, 24 \).

\( c23 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 12 \times 15 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Vache avec clochette, tournée vers la gauche et surmontée d’un disque solaire avec bandeau, flanqué d’uraei.

\( c22 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 11 \times 13 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Vache avec clochette, tournée vers la droite et surmontée du disque solaire flanqué d’uraei.

\( c32 \) — Bague en argent; chaton ovale de \( 10 \times 13 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Vache tournée vers la droite et surmontée du disque solaire flanqué d’uraei.

\( c21 \) — Bague en or; chaton ovale de \( 9 \text{ mm.} \) \( 5 \times 12 \text{ mm.} \), finement ciselé. Vache tournée vers la droite et surmontée du disque solaire flanqué d’uraei.

C) Trouvés dans le caveau et ayant appartenu au deuxième défunt (PL. XXIX):

\( c26 \) — Plaque en argent, enchâssée primitivement dans le chaton d’une bague en fer; ovale, de \( 10 \times 11 \text{ mm.} \). Au centre, image de momie trapue tenant le sceptre et le fouet. La tête, qui est très usée, est surmontée d’un disque solaire. Dans le champ: en haut et à gauche, une croix de vie (ou une étoile); en bas, de part et d’autre, ce qui semble être une petite tête de bélier.

\( c27 \) — Plaque en bronze, enchâssée primitivement dans le chaton d’une bague en fer; rectangulaire, de \( 8 \times 12 \text{ mm.} \), moulée et très oxydée. Le petit Harpocrate de profil, tourné vers la droite, assis sur une fleur et surmonté d’un disque solaire; le dieu porte la main gauche à sa bouche et, de la main droite, il tient un emblème.

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c3 — Pendentif en agate ; intaille ovale, sertie de bronze ; 12 mm. 5 × 16 mm. Buste de Sérapis tourné vers la droite et coiffé du modius ; dans le champ, sept étoiles.

c14 — Bague en bronze ; chaton ovale de 11 × 15 mm., grossièrement ciselé. Tête humaine barbue, avec cornes et oreilles animales.

c13 — Bague en bronze, moulée ; chaton ovale de 12 mm. 5 × 15 mm. Vache avec clochette, tournée vers la droite et surmontée du disque solaire avec uraei (seuls quelques traits du dessin sont repris au ciselet).

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Le secteur des tombes de l'Ouest semble constituer un ensemble bien distinct de la grande nécropole de Sedeinga. La fouille n'étant qu'à ses débuts, il serait prématuré de présenter des conclusions hâtives. Mais nous pouvons déjà dire que ce groupe exigui de tombeaux comprend des sépultures qui remontent à des périodes nettement différentes.

L'étude de la tombe W T 3 a fait connaître deux inhumations distinctes, que la nature du matériel retrouvé conduit à attribuer à deux époques bien séparées ; la similitude de certains thèmes ainsi que d'autres indices indiquent cependant des liens de parenté entre les deux défunts. Un doublet comparable pourrait se retrouver dans les autres tombes à pyramides couplées de ce secteur. Quant aux inscriptions recueillies près de ces tombes, notons qu'elles révèlent également, en raison de leur graphie et de leur langue, deux périodes différentes de l'histoire méroïtique.

Il est d'autant plus remarquable de trouver cet ensemble groupé autour d'une tombe au nom de Taharqa. Ce témoignage de la xxvème dynastie reste unique, jusqu'à présent, dans le secteur des tombes de l'Ouest ; mais il atteste évidemment le rôle éminent qu'a joué Sedeinga aux origines du Royaume Soudanais. Ceci pourrait expliquer éventuellement des retours postérieurs vers cette nécropole, de la part de personnages de très haut rang. Mais qui étaient exactement ces défunts, d'une position que leur mobilier et leurs parures paraissent désigner comme exceptionnelle ?

BLOCS DÉCORÉS ET INSCRIPTIONS MÉROÏTIQUES (pl. xxx–xxxiv)

Nous donnons ici une liste des blocs décorés les plus caractéristiques et de tous les textes méroïtiques retrouvés au cours de nos deux campagnes de fouilles dans les nécropoles de Sedeinga. Afin de fournir, sans plus tarder, un matériel d'étude, nous donnons également les fac-similé de ces inscriptions. La fouille du site ne faisant que commencer, il n'est évidemment pas possible de présenter, dès maintenant, une étude définitive des blocs et fragments sur

16 Pour les blocs provenant de la tombe W T 1, de Taharqa, voir notre rapport précédent, in KUSH XIII.
18 Pour la stèle W 8, voir notre rapport précédent, in KUSH XIII.
SEDEINGA, 1964–1965

lesquels elles sont gravées ni de préciser, en particulier, les ensembles dont ceux-ci proviennent.

Etant donné le caractère nettement archaïque de certains de ces textes et compte tenu du voisinage de Soleb et Sedeinga, nous donnons, en appendice, une copie du graffe meroïtique gravé sur une colonne de la salle hypostyle du temple de Soleb.

I. Blocs de grès,17 trouvés à la surface du secteur des ‘tombes de l’Ouest’

W 1 (PL. XXXIII) — Fragment (9 × 18 cm.; ép. 15 cm.) de la corniche d’un linteau, avec restes d’une ligne d’inscription. Recueilli entre les tombes W T 1 et W T 8.

W 2 (PL. XXXIII) — Stèle (60 × 36 cm.; ép. 10 cm.), à corps trapézoïdal et sommet arrondi. Décorée au cintre, en relief, d’un disque solaire ailé avec uraei. Gravée de quinze lignes de texte. Retrouvée au Nord de la tombe W T 2, face à terre, réduite en de très nombreux fragments. Cette stèle, le linteau W 3 et le petit seuil W 7 faisaient partie d’un même ensemble ; cf. infra, W 7.

W 3 (PL. XXX et XXXII) — Linteau avec frise à gorge (0 m. 40 × 1 m. 10; ép. 15 cm.), d’un type qui semble classique à Sedeinga. La frise est décorée, en relief, d’un disque solaire ailé avec uraei, sur un fond orné de godrons. La corniche est gravée de cinq lignes d’un texte, qui se poursuit en deux lignes sur l’architrave. Trouvé près de l’angle N–E de la première pyramide de la tombe W T 2. Ce linteau, la stèle W 2 et le petit seuil W 7 faisaient partie d’un même ensemble ; cf. infra, W 7.

W 4 — Deux fragments jointifs (15 × 13 cm.; ép. 8 cm.) d’une statue-ba(?). Restes de décor et élément de la coiffure(?). Recueillis non loin de la tombe W T 2. Ils peuvent appartenir à la même statue dont provient fragment W 18; cf. infra.

W 6 (PL. XXXI) — Partie droite (43 × 66 cm.; ép. 15 cm.) d’un linteau avec frise à gorge. La frise était décorée, par simple incision, d’un disque solaire ailé avec uraei sur un fond de bandes verticales évoquant des godrons. La corniche était gravée de trois lignes de texte ; la fin d’une autre ligne, au-dessus du disque ailé de la frise, correspond à un nom propre. La gravure du texte suit les irrégularités originelles du bloc. Fragment trouvé au Nord de la tombe W T 2.

W 7 (PL. XXXII) — Seuil18 (14 × 64 × 28 cm.), dans lequel devaient s’encastrer les deux jambages d’une petite baie. La face supérieure est gravée de sept lignes de texte. La face antérieure, verticale, présente des traits incisés. Recueilli au Nord de la tombe W T 2, entre les blocs W 1 et W 2.

17 Des restes de peinture rouge subsistent dans le fond des signes de presque toutes ces inscriptions.
18 Ce bloc est sans doute un élément décoratif et non fonctionnel.
Les textes de la stèle W 2, du linteau W 3 et de ce bloc W 7, faisaient partie d’un même ensemble, concernant le même personnage et la même sépulture.


W 8—Deux fragments, jointifs (52 x 32 cm. ; ép. 8 cm.), d’une stèle. Sonnet cintré, taillé en chaperon sur la face et laissé sans gravure. La partie inscrite présente les cinq premières lignes de texte, ainsi que le départ des sept lignes suivantes. Fragments retrouvés, l’un à l’avant des vestiges de la seconde pyramide de la tombe W T 3, l’autre entre les deux pyramides de cette même tombe.

W 9—Montant gauche (93 x 22 cm. ; ép. 15 cm.) d’encadrement, brisé en deux fragments. Découpé, par simple incision, d’une divinité à tête de singe, couronnée d’un disque avec croissant et tournée vers la droite. Recueilli entre les vestiges des deux pyramides de la tombe W T 3.

W 10 (pl. xxxiii) — Deux fragments, complémentaires (18 x 12 cm. ; ép. 6 cm. 5), d’une stèle, avec le départ de quatre lignes de texte—sans doute les dernières—, dont l’une est double. Trouvés à l’avant des restes de la première pyramide de la tombe W T 3.

W 11 (pl. xxxiii) — Trois éclats, jointifs (6 x 6 cm. ; ép. 3 cm.), de la corniche d’un linteau, avec quelques signes de texte, subsistant sur trois lignes. Recueillis à l’avant des restes de la seconde pyramide de la tombe W T 3.

W 12 (pl. xxxiii) — Stèle rectangulaire (41 x 29 cm. ; ép. 8 cm.), très érodée. Gravée sans doute de dix-huit lignes de texte, dont on ne voit plus que quelques signes. Retrouvée près du côté Sud de la tombe W T 5.

W 13 (pl. xxx et xxxiv) — Table d’offrandes (56 x 38 et, au bec, 50 cm. ; ép. 10 cm.), décorée en relief, anépigraphe. Dans le champ, vase de

19 Pour l’inscription de ce bloc, cf. notre fac-similé in KUSH XIII.
20 Cette stèle était primitivement encastrée dans l’une des faces d’une pyramide (sans doute la seconde pyramide W T 3), comme le montre une différenciation de ravalement, très nette, sur le côté gauche de la stèle.
21 Cf. photo de ce bloc, in KUSH XIII.
22 Nous nous plaçons ici du point de vue du spectateur, et non pas du point de vue du montant lui-même.
23 Cette stèle était vraisemblablement encastrée dans l’une des faces d’une pyramide (sans doute la première pyramide W T 3), comme le montrerait un tracé oblique marqué sur le côté gauche de la partie subsidente de la stèle.

W 14 (pl. xxxiv) — Table d’offrandes, incomplète (57 × 39 cm.; le bec manque ; ép. 10 cm.), avec décor en relief et canal de pourtour ; anépigraphe. Dans le champ, vase évoquant le vase *hes*, mais trapu ; le liquide s’écoule de son orifice, tourné vers le bec de la table ; de chaque côté du vase, quatre pains ronds encadrent un pain long. Trouvée près de l’angle S-E de la première pyramide de la tombe W T 6.

W 16 (pl. xxx–xxxi) — Table d’offrandes (45 × 36 et, au bec, 47 cm.; ép. 12 cm.), grossièrement équarrie. Le champ, en léger creux, est gravé d’une scène montrant deux divinités, dont l’une à tête de canidé ; elles font une libation sur quatre pains, posés sur un autel qui émerge d’un calice floral. Le pourtour présente une ligne de texte, gravé en suivant les irrégularités de la pierre. Retrouvée entre les tombes W T 7 et W T 8, face à terre, dans un très mauvais état de conservation.

W 18 (pl. xxx) — Fragment (13 × 20 cm.; ép. 7 cm.), très ouvragé, d’une statue- *ba* : partie gauche et centrale de la statue, à la hauteur de la poitrine et du départ de l’aile. Sur la partie humaine du corps, à la base de la poitrine, pectoral en forme de *naos* avec frise d’*uraei* sur une corniche. Le bras gauche, qui sort à la limite de l’aile et de la coiffure, était ramené horizontalement vers l’avant ; en grande partie cassé, il en subsiste le poignet, orné de deux cartouches anépigraphes. A l’arrière, on voit un décor de ce qui pourrait être l’extrémité d’une peau animale, ainsi que la base de la coiffure, formée de traits verticaux et retombant sur la peau mentionnée. La statue devait avoir près d’un mètre de hauteur. Le fragment a été recueilli sur les vestiges de la seconde pyramide de la tombe W T 8. Il peut appartenir à la même statue dont proviennent les fragments W 4 ; cf. *supra*.

W 20 (pl. xxxiii) — Fragment (8 × 5 cm.; ép. 2 cm. 5) du bec d’une table d’offrandes. Simple gravure au trait sur surface plane : sur la bordure gauche du bec, départ de l’inscription ; sur la zone centrale, vestiges de deux lignes de texte. Trouvé près de la tombe W T 7.

W 21 (pl. xxxiii) — Fragment (6 × 17 cm.; ép. 4 cm. 5) de linteau, correspondant à l’extrémité gauche de la corniche et du sommet de la frise à gorge. Sur la frise, décorée par simple incision, se voit l’extrémité de l’aile gauche d’un disque solaire ailé, sur un fond de godrons ; sur la corniche est gravé le départ de l’inscription. Recueilli près de la tombe W T 9.
II. *Blocs de grès, trouvés à la surface du secteur II*²⁴ de la grande nécropole (II T)

s1²⁵ — Montant droit²⁶ (env. 76 × 25 cm ; ép. 16 cm.) d’encadrement, décoré en relief d’une divinité à tête de canidé, tournée vers la gauche et faisant la libation. Vagues restes de couleurs : rouge sur le personnage, jaune sur le fond.

s2–3 (PL. XXXIV) — Quatre fragments d’un linteau, correspondant à la partie gauche de la corniche et du sommet de la frise à gorge. Trois fragments sont jointifs (12 × 25 cm ; ép. 7 cm.) ; le quatrième (14 × 8 cm ; ép. 7 cm.) se place à quelques centimètres des précédents. Sur la corniche se voient les restes de cinq lignes de texte. Sur la frise, décorée par simple incision, on devine l’extrémité de l’aile gauche d’un disque solaire ailé, sur un fond de godrons.

s4 (PL. XXXIV) — Fragment (11 × 14 cm ; ép. 3 cm.) d’un linteau, correspondant à l’extrémité droite de la corniche et du sommet de la frise à gorge. Restes de cinq lignes de texte : trois sur la corniche, deux sur la gorge. Ce fragment pourrait appartenir au même linteau dont provient le fragment II T s15 ; cf. infra.

s5 (PL. XXX) — Fragment (48 × 22 cm ; ép. 36 cm.) d’une statue-ša sur son socle. La partie humaine est à double buste, avec seulement deux pieds. Le haut du fragment montre le départ de deux cœurs et la base de deux coiffures.

s14 (PL. XXXIV) — Fragment (12 × 10 cm ; ép. 8 cm.) du bec d’une table d’offrandes, avec deux canaux d’écoulement, séparés par un épis isiaque. Sur la bordure sont conservés les bribes d’une ligne de texte, avec départ de celui-ci sur le côté gauche du bec.

s15 (PL. XXXIV) — Fragment (6 × 13 cm ; ép. 1 cm. 5) de la corniche d’un linteau, avec restes de deux lignes de texte. Pourrait provenir du même linteau auquel appartient le fragment II T s4 ; cf. supra.

s16 (PL. XXXIV) — Fragment (9 × 15 cm ; ép. 9 cm.) d’une stèle,²⁷ avec vagues vestiges de la fin de deux lignes de texte.

III. *Appendice*

Soleb,²⁸ graffite (PL. XXXIV) — Graffite méroïtique, gravé sur une colonne Sud — IV S5 — de la salle hypostyle du temple de Soleb.

—²⁴ Secteur central, séparé du reste de la nécropole par deux ouadi.
—²⁵ Cf. photo de ce bloc, in KUSH XIII.
—²⁶ Nous nous plaçons ici du point de vue du spectateur, et non du point de vue du montant lui-même.
—²⁷ Cette stèle était probablement encastrée dans une paroi en briques crues, comme le montrerait une différence de ravalement visible sur le côté gauche de la partie subsistante.
SEDEINGA, 1964–1965

Gebel Gorgod

Une reconnaissance a été effectuée à Gebel Gorgod, à environ 45 km. au Sud de Soleb. De part et d’autre d’un oued, sur une longueur de plus d’un kilomètre, nous avons découvert des centaines de gravures rupestres, sur des plaques rocheuses pour la plupart subhorizontales. On y voit, entre autres, des représentations d’éléphants, de girafes, d’autruches, de capridés et de bovidés, de chiens attaquant le gibier, de quelques cavaliers et chameliers, d’autres personnages divers; enfin, deux représentations de bateaux (pl. xxxv–xxxvi). La mission a déjà inscrit à son programme de travail l’éventuelle publication de cet ensemble.

Soleb, 16 Avril 1965.

SEDEINGA
1964–1965

ENGLISH SUMMARY

At the temple of Tiy, we restored the capital of the only column still standing. Excavation work was concentrated on the 'western cemetery' (fig. 1), where a tomb had previously been discovered having a pyramidal superstructure and bearing the name of Taharqa (WT 1), and where the remains of some other graves had been located. During the season, almost the entire surface of this area was cleared.

The group of pyramids situated near the tomb of Taharqa comprises probably not more than eight tombs, placed east–west. Two of them were topped by a single pyramid with an enclosure wall, namely, WT 4 built of irregular-shaped black blocks, and WT 5 built of mud bricks. The other six tombs had coupled-pyramids, in mud bricks, each pyramid built in two different periods; the first pyramid was situated above the burial place and the second, a smaller one, was placed to the east of the first one and covering the entrance to the stairway.

TOMBS WITH COUPLED-PYRAMIDS (WESTERN CEMETERY)

These six tombs would appear to date from Meroitic times. Examination of the surface remains, together with the excavation of one tomb (WT 3), confirms that these graves have been plundered at some time. On the disturbed ground we found some decorated or inscribed sandstone blocks, most of them in fragments, scattered among the ruins; they were mainly offering-tables, stelae and Meroitic lintels, inscribed with texts originally painted in red. Up till now, it has not been possible to determine where these blocks stood originally. As far as the lintels are concerned, they appear to be 'false lintels', a type which was common at Sedeinga. In view of their thinness they were probably fitted into the structure and were therefore purely ornamental and not structural.
KUSH

Tomb W T 3

This tomb lies to the south of the one of Taharqa. Its superstructure and stairway have already been described in our last report (see KUSH xiii).

The tomb itself (FIG. 3) consists of a mud-brick structure built in the hard mud deposit and resting on the bed-rock at the bottom of the stairway to a depth of 2 m. 20. It comprises one burial chamber (1 m. 85 × 2 m. 45) and to the west of it a second room (2 m. 95 × 1 m. 15). These rooms have been plundered, but the remains found in the burial chamber give enough data for a general appraisal of the tomb.

Examination of the remains show that there had been two burials (FIG. 4) which had taken place at two separate periods. This is confirmed, inter alia, by the fact that the entrance to the burial chamber had been closed twice, in two different ways. The second pyramid, built over the entrance to the stairway, is obviously related to the second burial.

In the burial chamber, we found the complete skeleton of the first body, but its bones had been disturbed during the second interment and were loose and scattered all over the place. It can nevertheless be stated that this body, that of a tall old woman, had been laid, with her head to the west, in a wooden coffin in the centre of the chamber and that she wore on her hands one gold ring and eight silver ones. They are signet-rings, all very beautifully engraved. One of them bears the figure of a queen or deity, four of them the bearded face of a man and the last four the picture of a cow. Several objects had been placed round the coffin, some of which were found.

The second body was that of a man, smaller than that of the woman. His coffin was placed in the same chamber with the head to the west, on a plank and upon a layer of earth in which were mixed up the decomposed fragments of the first burial. A baldachin had been built over the coffin, the posts being sculptured pieces of ebony (see pl. xxxiv, W T 3 c1). The bones of the man's skeleton had been mostly scattered by the plunderers but some still lay together in their normal sequence. Amongst the remains of the coffin, we found an oval-shaped intaglio of agate inserted in bronze and showing the head of Serapis. The deceased wore two iron rings with thin flat signets on the little finger of his left hand—one made of silver showing a mummy-shaped figure holding the royal emblems and the other, of bronze, representing the figure of the little Harpocrates. Objects and caskets were placed around the coffin. Only the remains were found, among which two bronze signet-rings showing respectively the bearded head of a man and a cow (the same subjects as those finely engraved on some of the woman's rings but cut in quite a rough way).

The second chamber was completely emptied of its contents, but it seems certain that this room had only been used for the furniture of the tomb and that it had never contained any mortal remains.
SEDEINGA, 1964–1965

The data left by the two intrusions (at the time of the second burial and the visit of the plunderers) show that a greater length of time elapsed between the two burials than between the second burial and the visit of the plunderers.

The fact that the two bodies were buried in the same chamber, together with the similarity of the subjects represented on some of their rings (pl. XXIX), prove that the occupants of the tombs belonged to the same family. But examination of the two skeletons and the state in which they were found, the interval between the two burials, the remains of two stelae belonging to this tomb and dating from two periods of Meroitic history, as well as other information, exclude that the two deceased could have been husband and wife. They were probably an ancestor and one of her descendants.

* * * *

The ‘western cemetery’ appears to have had quite a different layout from that of the large cemetery at Sedeinga. As we have only just begun excavations we cannot make any definite report. But we can state that this small group of graves comprises burials dating from different periods of Meroitic times. The finding of a tomb of Taharqa in this cemetery makes it all the more interesting. This evidence of the xxvth Dynasty—the only one so far discovered in the ‘western cemetery’—confirms the great importance of Sedeinga in the earliest times of the Sudanese Kingdom. This might explain the fact that, at a later date, some high-ranking persons were buried in this cemetery. But who these people were, whose furniture and ornaments seem to mark them as out of the ordinary, is still a matter for conjecture.

DECORATED BLOCKS AND MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS

The report includes a list of the most characteristic decorated blocks and all the Meroitic texts discovered during the two excavation campaigns in the cemeteries of Sedeinga.

Also included are the facsimiles (pl. XXXI–XXXIV) of these inscriptions.

In view of the clearly archaic character of some of these texts and because of the proximity of Soleb to Sedeinga, we also include, as an appendix, a copy (pl. XXXIV) of the Meroitic graffito scratched on a column of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Soleb.

GEBEL GORGOD

A survey was made of Gebel Gorgod, lying about 45 km. south of Soleb, on both sides of a wadi. Along approximately 1 km. we found hundreds of rock pictures. Some of these petroglyphs depict human figures, cattle, elephants, giraffes, ostriches, dogs chasing game, riders—some on camels—and boats (pl. XXXV–XXXVI).
The Vintage of Nubia

by WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

AMONG the many interesting remains of the past which have come to light in Nubia are elaborate arrangements of rectangular basins, usually cut into the native rock. No fewer than twelve such structures are now known in Lower Nubia, between Ikhmindi in the north and Meinarti in the south (see map, FIG. 1). Although widely scattered, they are so uniform in size and design as to suggest a common origin and purpose. Their main features and specifications are enumerated in Table 1.¹

The basins at Meinarti, illustrated in FIG. 2 and PLATE XXXVII, are representative in nearly all respects. Although somewhat smaller than the average (cf. Table 1), they are otherwise identical in details of layout and decoration. The full complex in each case consists of three basins arranged in a descending series. The upper basin measures about 2 × 3 m. horizontally, the long dimension corresponding to the alignment of the group as a whole. The depth varies from about 40 cm. at the sides to 60 cm. in the middle, where there is a sloping channel or gutter (PLATE XXXVII, b). At its lower end is an orifice in the basin wall, 8–10 cm. in diameter, which ends in a spout overhanging the middle basin. In every recorded case, this spout is carved in the form of a lion’s head (PLATE XXXVII, c).

From the lion spout there is a drop of 40–75 cm. to the bottom of the middle basin. This latter is always small and nearly square; its horizontal dimensions vary between about 50 and 60 cm. The depth is usually somewhat less. The outlet is in the form of a narrow channel, opposite the intake spout, leading from the rim of the basin to the adjoining point on the rim of the lower basin.

The lower basin is by far the most capacious of the three; its depth always exceeds 1 m., and is usually about 1.5 m. The horizontal dimensions are approximately 150 × 175 cm., with the long axis again in line with the orientation of the complex as a whole. The lower basin has no outlet; merely a small

¹ The principal published sources of information are: Ikhmindi, Firth, ASN Bulletin, vol. 7, pp. 12–13; Seyala, Firth, ASN (1910–11), p. 213 and pl. 16, e–f; Wadi el Arab, Emery and Kirwan, Excavations and Survey, pp. 108–13 and pls. 15–16; Tomas, Emery and Kirwan, Excavations and Survey, pp. 108–9, fig. 84, and pl. 15; Tungala, Emery and Kirwan, Excavations and Survey, pp. 108–9, 210; Arminna, Simpson, ILN, 15 July 1961, p. 95 and fig. 8, 11; Faras East No. 2, Vercoutter, Kush vii, pp. 120–2 and pls. xxix–xxx; Faras East No. 1, Vercoutter, Kush vii, pp. 120–2, fig. 1, and pl. xxxi, a; Faras East No. 3, Säve-Söderbergh, Kush x, p. 103; Meinarti, Adams, Kush xiii, pp. 163–4, fig. 1c and pl. xxxiv.b. For additional information on the basins at Arminna and at Faras East I am indebted to personal communications from W. K. Simpson, T. Säve-Söderbergh, and T. H. Thabit.
Fig. 1. MAP SHOWING BASIN SITES OF LOWER NUBIA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE I. NUBIAN BASIN SITES</th>
<th>FROM NORTH TO SOUTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arminna No. 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor</td>
<td>Outdoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arminna No. 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
<td>Outdoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lining</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arminna No. 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>Outdoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colour of lining</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faras No. 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink or reddish</td>
<td>Outdoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Upper basin</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faras No. 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length, cm.</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width, cm.</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth, cm.</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–60</td>
<td>Rock-cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spout</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faras No. 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion head</td>
<td>Mud and gravel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drop to middle basin, cm.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle basin</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance to lower basin, cm.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower basin</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth, cm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capy., hl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steps, no.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steps, loc.¹</td>
<td>Lower right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sump</strong></td>
<td>Lower right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gutter</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recess in gutter</strong></td>
<td>(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Water conduit</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>'Ethiopian'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Viewed from lower end of basin, looking toward upper end.

* Means feature present.

() Means information presumed on basis of incomplete description, indistinct photo or plan, etc.
no entry means no information.

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round depression or sump in the middle of the floor. The same feature is commonly found in the middle basin also.

In nearly every instance there are two small steps in one corner of the lower basin, to facilitate climbing in and out (plate xxxvii, d). They are always of about the same size and are always located in the same corner (the near right-hand corner as one faces from the lower toward the upper end of the apparatus). The lower basin in several cases is surrounded by a small channel or gutter, with an extension ending in a small depression at the side opposite the intake. These features can be seen in plate xxxvii, d.

Of the twelve Nubian basin groups, ten were cut into the native sandstone. These structures apparently stood in the open, at a considerable distance from habitations. At Wadi el Arab and at Meinarti, however, the basins were located within the confines of villages, and in each of these cases they were enclosed within a long, narrow room with a flagstone floor (cf. fig. 2 and plate xxxvii a). The basins at Wadi el Arab were not cut into rock, but were made from large slabs of dressed sandstone set into a matrix of mud and gravel. Those at Meinarti (plate xxxvii) were formed of mud and gravel alone (not bricks); no stone was employed except for the lion-head spout. Regardless of their construction and location, all of the basins had a heavy lining of opus signinum cement, 1-2 cm. in thickness. The cement at Meinarti had been patched and repaired in several places, and in the upper basin had been entirely renewed twice. The lining of the basins in several cases was painted red or maroon (cf. table 1).

All of the basin sites were located fairly close to the Nile. In three instances, at Ikhmindi, Seyala, and Meinarti, there were traces of a water channel leading to the basins, probably from a nearby saqia or shaduf. At Meinarti the saqia well itself was discovered, some 12 m. away.

Notwithstanding the number of basin groups which have now come to light, both the age and the function of these structures remain in question. When first discovered, at Ikhmindi and Seyala, they were believed to be water cisterns. After the discovery of the Wadi el Arab specimens, Emery and Kirwan suggested that they were wine presses, pointing to their obvious similarity to known wine presses in Lower Egypt. Still more recently, in discussing the basins at Faras East, Verrouter has suggested that they were of Pharaonic

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4 Adams, Kush XIII, pp. 163-4 and fig. 1, C.
5 See Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, III, p. 2093 (musivum).
7 Id., ASN (1910-11), p. 213.
9 Ibid., fig. 1, D.
12 Ibid., p. 109.
FIG. 2. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE MEINARTI BASINS
KUSH

origin, and were designed for sluicing gold ore. Finally, after unearthing the basins at Meinarti in 1964, I suggested that they might have been some form of public bath.

Before discussing the merits of these various interpretations, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that the basin groups are so nearly uniform in size and design as to indicate, almost to a certainty, that they are of approximately the same age and were constructed for the same purpose. Their standardization encompasses not only the size and arrangement of the three basins, but also such non-essential details as the lion-head spout, the red plaster, and even the two descending steps in the lower basin, always in the same corner. Under these circumstances it seems a safe assumption that whatever conclusions can be drawn with regard to one group of basins can reasonably be applied to all the others.

As to the date of these structures there can really be little doubt. The basins both at Wadi el Arab and at Meinarti were situated within well-developed settlements, and can be dated on associational and stratigraphic evidence to the last years of the Meroitic era. The basins at Arminna were also located close to a Meroitic town, although not actually within its confines. The same sort of direct evidence is not available for the other basin groups. However, as Simpson has pointed out, the style of the lion-head spouts—a feature of all the basins—is distinctly Graeco-Roman, and this alone would limit their occurrence in time to the Meroitic or X-Group periods. On the whole, it seems fair to believe that all of the basins date from the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

Of the four theories regarding their function, the cistern hypothesis seems the least likely. There was no reason to store water in large tanks immediately upon the banks of the Nile, particularly after the introduction of the saqia made water available in quantity at any season of the year, regardless of the level of the river. Moreover, the cistern theory fails entirely to account for the special complexities of the basin groups.

Vercoutter has suggested that the Nubian basins are relics of the extensive gold-mining industry of Pharaonic times. He draws a parallel between the sloping upper basin and a gold-sluicing apparatus described by Diodorus, and with another presumed sluice illustrated by Linant de Bellefonds. His

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13 KUSH vii, pp. 120–6. 14 KUSH xiii, p. 164.
15 Although Emery and Kirwan (Excavations and Survey, p. 108) designated the town at Wadi el Arab as ‘late Roman’, the houses, pottery, ostraca, and tombstones are in fact purely and distinctively Meroitic, of a very late epoch. For the dating of the basins at Meinarti see Adams, KUSH xiii, pp. 163–4.
17 Ibid. It was possibly the same consideration which led Firth to identify the basins at Seyala as belonging to the ‘Ethiopian period’. See ASN (1910–11), pl. 16c.
20 Diodorus, iii, 14.1–3. 21 L’Etbaye, p. 28.
article proceeds to a general discussion of Pharaonic gold production which is of great value; however, the specific interpretation of the Nubian basins loses a good deal of its relevance with the near-certainty that they are in fact of much later date. We know little or nothing of Meroitic gold-mining activity, but as the whole of Lower Nubia had only very recently been re-colonized at this time,\textsuperscript{22} it seems unlikely that production had been revived on any substantial scale.

There are, moreover, technological objections to the gold-washing theory. In the apparatus described by Linant,\textsuperscript{23} it was in effect the ‘upper basin’ which was a deep reservoir, from which water was drawn by means of a shaduf and allowed to run down a long, gently inclined ramp (‘middle basin’), and finally out onto a shallow, flat table, corresponding to the lower basin. From here the water was returned to the reservoir by means of an underground conduit. These arrangements are entirely consistent with gold sluicing practice, which requires above all a long, gentle slope with a slightly rough or corrugated surface to catch the particles of gold which are settled out in the process of washing. The special reservoir and re-circulating provisions were no doubt made necessary by the desert location, where water was scarce and precious.

The resemblances between Linant’s gold sluice and the Nubian basins are thus more apparent than real. On the banks of the Nile there was no need for a storage reservoir—certainly not at the lower end of the apparatus. The slope of the upper basin appears to be both too short (approximately 1 m. from the side of the basin to the central gutter) and too steep (about 20% gradient) to be effective in settling out gold particles, whereas the design of the remaining basins would entirely defeat this purpose. Any material which escaped into the central gutter of the upper basin would immediately be carried away and precipitated (by a plunge of 50 cm. or more) into the bottom of the middle basin, whence the job of separating metal from ore would be more difficult than ever.

Finally, the location of the Meinarti basins is against the gold-washing hypothesis. This site occupies a purely alluvial island in the middle of the Nile, far from any known gold deposit.\textsuperscript{24} It is neither the terminus of a trade route nor a transshipment point for river cargoes, being located immediately at the foot of the Second Cataract of the Nile. By any reckoning, it would have required a great deal of superfluous effort to bring native ore to this point for processing.

The idea that the basins were some sort of public bath\textsuperscript{25} was, of course, suggested primarily by the lion-head spouts and ornamental plaster, both

\textsuperscript{23} *L’Ethaye*, p. 28. See also Vercoutter, *KUSH VII*, p. 124, fig. 4.
\textsuperscript{24} See Adams, *KUSH XII*, p. 224.
\textsuperscript{25} Adams, *KUSH XIII*, p. 164.
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reminiscent of the baths at Meroë and suggesting a ritual or recreational rather than an industrial function. However, it must be confessed that the Nubian basins do not bear a detailed resemblance either to the Meroë baths or to the fairly numerous Ptolemaic and Roman baths of Egypt. These vary a good deal in design and construction, but all of them were apparently equipped, in the approved Classical fashion, with pipes and water-heating apparatus. Even a tiny bath found in a Meroitic site at Faras West a few years ago seems to have had intake and outlet pipes and perhaps also hot water.

![Fig. 3. Egyptian Wine Press of the XVIIIth Dynasty](wall painting from the Tomb of Neferhotep). After Wilkinson

At the ‘City of Menas’, in the desert of Meroë, there were both baths and a wine press in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. Neither is identical in detail to the Nubian basins, but the functional similarity is much greater in the case of the wine press than in that of the baths.

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26 See Garstang, *LAAA*, v, pp. 78–9; *LAAA*, vi, pp. 17–19.
27 See esp. el-Khashab, *Ptolemaic and Roman Baths of Kom el Ahmar*. This work includes a list and bibliography of other known bath sites in Egypt (p. 57).
28 Ibid., pp. 35–45.
29 Verwers, *Kush* x, pp. 19–21 and pls. i, a, ii.
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On the whole, and in spite of obvious objections, the wine press theory remains the most reasonable interpretation of the Nubian basins. The foot-press was known in Egypt at least since the New Kingdom, and is frequently pictured in tomb reliefs. The size and arrangement of both the upper and middle basins appears about the same as in the Nubian structures (cf. FIG. 3). A press with a lion-head spout is shown quite clearly in the reliefs from the Tomb of Petosiris, c. 300 B.C. (FIG. 4), and a mosaic from a Roman temple shows a wine press with no fewer than three lion spouts. In the Ptolemaic Temple of Pnepheros at Theadelphia there was an apparatus generally similar to the Nubian basins, and also possessing a lion-head spout, which bore unmistakable evidence of use as a wine press. In addition, there are numerous

![FIG. 4. PTOLEMAIC WINE PRESS WITH LION-HEAD SPOUT, c. 300 B.C. (wall relief from the Tomb of Petosiris). After Lefebvre.]

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33 Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, iii, pl. xii; see also Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Romana*, fig. 49.
34 Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i, p. 386, fig. 162.
35 Lefebvre, *ASAE*, x, pp. 169–70. The author’s belief that the lion-head spout was not originally designed for the wine press, but was reclaimed from some other installation, deserves reconsideration in the light of the Nubian presses, in which the lion spout is a constant and original feature. Likewise there seems to be no basis for Vercoutter’s suggestion (*Kush* vii, p. 124) that the Theadelphia structure was built for some other purpose, and that its use as a wine press was secondary and fortuitous.
well-authenticated wine presses in Palestine (cf. FIG. 5) which are similar in design to the Nubian structures. Similar rock-cut structures, also with lion-head spouts, have been found near Axum in Ethiopia. The description of ancient viticulture given by Lutz is based in large part on the rock-cut Palestine presses, and is probably generally applicable to Nubia also.

At the same time, the Nubian basins are by no means identical with any of the presses just considered. If they were in fact wine presses, they would appear to represent a special, perhaps local design. Their most distinctive feature is obviously the lower basin. No such structure appears in any of the Egyptian tomb reliefs; instead, newly-pressed juice is drawn off directly from

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38 *Viticulture and Brewing*, pp. 66–7.
a. Overall view from lower end

b. View from above

c. Lion spout and middle basin

d. Lower basin

THE MEINARTI BASINS
WINE VESSELS OF NUBIA
(Scale in all photos—50 cm.)
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the small catch-basin (equivalent to the middle basin) into amphorae, in which fermentation took place (FIGS. 3, 4). By contrast, the later wine presses at Theadelphia and at the Menasstadt had a large lower basin but no middle basin.  

Emery and Kirwan, who made the original identification of the Nubian basins as wine presses, described their operation in this manner:

‘The sloping sides of the [upper] tank floor meet in a channel down which the grape juice could run to the lion-headed spout. . . . At the base [of the middle basin] a circular depression had been cut, no doubt for receiving a pottery jar. It may be conjectured that the grape juice would run into this through the lion-headed spout and would then be left to settle until all the extraneous matter had sunk to the bottom. The liquid would then be poured into the [lower basin] and the matter left in the jar emptied into the sink . . . which was connected to the outside of the wine press by a drain. . . .

In the northeast corner of the [lower basin] there were two steps . . . no doubt to make easier the drawing off of the wine in amphorae when the level became low. On the eastern edge of the basin there was a small “hoof” shaped recess formed by a raised moulding of plaster in which a round-bottomed wine jar could rest on being handed up by the drawer’.

This explanation is clearly incorrect in one or two details. The suggestion that the depression in the bottom of the middle basin was intended as a rest for a pottery vessel ignores the fact that there is, in most cases, a similar depression in the floor of the lower basin, and that there is a channel connecting the two basins (cf. FIG. 2 and PLATE XXXVII, b). Obviously the middle basin was itself designed to serve as a receptacle, as were the upper and lower basins. Also, the ‘hoof-shaped recess’ on the rim of the lower tank could not have been a rest for a filled vessel, for it is not in line with the two steps in the corner. A person standing on the floor of the tank could hardly hand up a filled amphora to the rim, for the depth (170 cm.) is almost equal to the height of an average man.

A further objection to the Emery-Kirwan interpretation, and perhaps to the wine-pressing theory in general, may be raised: where are the amphorae? In handling pottery on a commercial scale it is impossible to avoid a good deal of breakage, and amphora fragments are in fact the most conspicuous and frequently the most numerous ceramic remains in Nubian sites of the 1st millennium A.D. In long-occupied sites such as the Monastery of St Simeon at Aswan (where  

40 Kaufmann, Die Menasstadt, figs. 7–8; Lefebvre, ASAE, x, p. 169.
41 I am informed by the authors that the wine press interpretation actually originated with Mr Kirwan, who also wrote the description of the Wadi el Arab press and its function (Excavations and Survey, pp. 112–13). The wine press theory was accepted and given wide currency by Monneret de Villard (La Nubia Romana, pp. 40–2).
wine was undoubtedly produced)\textsuperscript{43} the ground seems to be paved with them for hundreds of metres from the buildings. On the other hand the absence of amphora fragments was a notable feature both of the Meinarti basins and of the village of Wadi el Arab.\textsuperscript{44}

It seems clear, in fact, that there were no amphorae at Meinarti and Wadi el Arab, and this is a critical point in explaining the special peculiarities of the Nubian basins. The Meroitic pottery industry, for all its artistic virtuosity, never produced an amphora of commercial standards;\textsuperscript{45} it was not until the middle of the Christian period (8th century A.D.) that amphorae were successfully manufactured in Nubia. The tens of thousands of amphorae found in Nubian sites of earlier date were all demonstrably foreign products,\textsuperscript{46} made in Egypt and imported full of Egyptian wine. So long as this trade flourished, there would probably have been little occasion for the development of a local Nubian viticulture.

The whole point of the Nubian presses, and the explanation for their special character, seems to be that they were designed for use without the conjunction of amphorae or any other special container. The basins themselves were the vessels in which pressing and settling, and possibly also fermentation, were carried out. Obviously, pressing was done in the upper basin, presumably by treading.\textsuperscript{47} Vercoutter\textsuperscript{48} has suggested that a deep receptacle is needed for this purpose, but in fact none of the Egyptian tomb scenes shows a deep pressing vat.

The function of the middle basin is made clear by the differing arrangement of its intake and outlet. Liquid from the upper basin always plunged into the middle basin from a height of at least 40 cm.—sufficient to help precipitate any solid matter to the bottom (cf. Table 1). In contrast, the contents of the middle basin flowed through a channel from the rim into the lower basin. There was

\textsuperscript{43} See Monneret de Villard, Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Fasc. XI–XV, 1926.

\textsuperscript{44} Emery and Kirwan, Excavations and Survey, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{45} Occasional decorated amphorae were produced, e.g. Adams, Kush XII, p. 137, Form G3; Griffith, LAAA, xi, pl. xxv. These were mostly rather small vessels designed for home use rather than for commerce.

\textsuperscript{46} Egyptian-made pottery can be distinguished at once from indigenous Nubian pottery by the very different character of the clays and temper employed. See esp. Adams, Kush x, p. 249, Fabric IV, and id., Kush XII, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{47} Apparently the foot press and the twist press (\textit{torcular}) were used in conjunction during Classical times. As much juice as possible was obtained by treading, after which the residual mash was wrung out by twisting (Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, iii, p. 110; Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials, 4th ed., p. 17). This procedure may have been followed in Nubia, but there is no trace in the Nubian presses of sockets for the heavy upright beams from which the pressing bag was usually suspended, as shown in various tomb paintings (see n. 32, above).

\textsuperscript{48} Kush VII, p. 121.
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thus a continuous process of settling and skimming as the juice passed from the press to the collecting tank. Probably at some point, either entering or leaving the middle basin, it was also strained through a cloth.\textsuperscript{49}

The lower basin, then, served as a collecting tank. It could probably not, if left open, have served as a fermentation vat, or the juice would have turned to vinegar. However, this would be avoided if the tank were equipped with a closely-fitting wooden cover. There is indirect evidence that such a feature may actually have been present both at Wadi el Arab and at Meinarti. In each instance the rim of the lower basin was surrounded by a recess or gutter, into which a lid could have fitted snugly (see FIG. 2 and PLATE XXXVII, d). In this case the ‘ hoof-shaped recess ’ (PLATE XXXVII, d), which is preserved also in two other Nubian basins,\textsuperscript{50} probably served in part as a vent for the escaping carbon dioxide from fermentation, and in part as a hand-hold for lifting the cover when the process was complete.

Fermentation was apparently carried out in sunken vats (lacus) elsewhere in the ancient world,\textsuperscript{51} although how acetous fermentation (which results in vinegar) was avoided is not clear.\textsuperscript{52} According to Forbes,\textsuperscript{53} wine with a high initial sugar content was successfully fermented in the open air in Italy.

Eventually, whether before or after fermentation, the liquid must have been drawn off from the tank into skins or pottery vessels. Probably skins were the principal containers, for the heavier Meroitic pottery wares were much too porous to retain liquid for any long period. The use of skins for fermentation was not uncommon in Classical times.\textsuperscript{54}

Wine was probably drawn from the lower basin in a pail or pot, which could have been lowered on a cord as the level dropped. It seems clear that the corner steps were intended simply to facilitate entry to the tank for cleaning, for in the largest tank (at Wadi el Arab) the top of the upper step is still about 1.25 m. below the rim—too far to reach without jumping. It could not, therefore, have been designed for very frequent use, and would have been of doubtful assistance to a man burdened with a full wineskin or jar. Probably it was intended chiefly to forestall damage to the cement lining by persons jumping in from the rim. The small round depressions or sumps in the middle and lower basins were surely to assist in collecting and scooping out the last dregs when the tanks were cleaned. The water channel leading to the basins, at Meinarti and two other sites, must also have been to assist in cleaning,\textsuperscript{55} unless the Nubian

\textsuperscript{49} Cf. Lutz, Viticulture and Brewing, p. 67. \textsuperscript{50} Arminna and Meinarti; see Table I.

\textsuperscript{51} Darenberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, III, p. 905 (lacus).


\textsuperscript{53} Studies in Ancient Technology, III, p. 117.

\textsuperscript{54} Cf. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, III, pp. 112, 119; Lutz, Viticulture and Brewing, p. 67.

\textsuperscript{55} Lutz (Viticulture and Brewing, p. 66) emphasizes the importance of a thorough cleaning of the apparatus before pressing was begun.
vintage itself was watered. This latter is not an impossible supposition, as the vineyards were undoubtedly small and the yield limited.\(^{56}\)

The wine-coloured plaster with which several of the presses were adorned (cf. Table 1) may be cited as a final argument in favour of the wine press theory. This was not, of course, discoloration from the juice, but may have been intended to harmonize with it.

From a technological standpoint, then, it seems more likely that the Nubian basins were wine presses than that they were cisterns, gold sluices, or baths. However, two more general questions remain to be considered: how, and why, was viticulture practised in Nubia at this time?

Vercoutter\(^{57}\) has noted that the climate of Nubia is not really conducive to vine cultivation. This cannot be gainsaid, and in fact it probably accounts for the short duration of the Meroitic wine industry. On the other hand, we also know that this was neither the first nor the last time that viticulture was tried in Nubia (see below), so that the actual possibility cannot be questioned.

The presses themselves give a clue to the location and extent of the vineyards. All of them save those at Wadi el Arab and Meinarti were located away from settlements, and probably, like other ancient wine presses, in or close to the fields.\(^{58}\) It seems probable that in the cases of Wadi el Arab and Meinarti the cultivations were so close to town as to make the transport of the raw grapes practicable. The presses at Ikhmindi,\(^{59}\) Seyala,\(^{60}\) Tomas,\(^{61}\) and Tunqala\(^{62}\) were all located at or close to the mouths of wadis, and it seems not unlikely that the vineyards were located in the bottoms of these ephemeral watercourses, to take advantage of whatever residual moisture they offered.

The three wine presses so close together at Faras East (they are separated by less than 1 km. altogether) call for special explanation. A very large wadi opens into the Nile a short distance further south, but it is also notable that this is one of the few places in Nubia where the Nile floodplain is flanked not by bare rock or dunes but by an extensive alluvial terrace, a relic of an older floodplain. This level or gently sloping upland has an average width of about 1 km., and extends along the Nile for a distance of nearly 4 km.\(^{63}\) It may be noted inter alia that the spacing of the Faras basin groups, separated from each other in each case by about 500 m., tends to support the idea that they were wine presses,


\(^{57}\) *KUSH* VII, p. 127.

\(^{58}\) Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*, p. 66.

\(^{59}\) Vercoutter, *KUSH* VII, p. 125.

\(^{60}\) Ibid.


\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) Anyone who has taken the overland route from Wadi Halfa to Faras or Abu Simbel will probably recall crossing this flat for several kilometres before arriving at the Faras police post. Its lower portion can be seen in the aerial photograph of the 'gold-washing stations' published by Vercoutter (*KUSH* VII, pl. xxviii).
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located as close as possible to the vineyards. Had they been designed for the processing of gold ore brought overland from the interior,\textsuperscript{64} there is no reason why they should not have been located side by side.

At Meinarti, the vineyards could only have been situated directly on the floodplain, for there is no elevated land on the island. This may have been the case elsewhere as well, although it seems probable that the low-lying alluvium would have been avoided wherever possible.

It has been calculated that the mean output of an ancient vineyard was 208 hectolitres of wine per hectare (about 1,850 gallons per acre).\textsuperscript{65} Probably in the dry, hot climate of Nubia the yield would have been no more than half as much—perhaps 100 hectolitres per hectare. However, as Vercoult\textsuperscript{66} has pointed out, the average capacity of the Nubian lower basins is only about 45 hectolitres,\textsuperscript{67} so that at any one time they could have contained the produce only of about half a hectare, or a little more than one acre. Of course, if the filling of skins and jars was going on continuously with pressing, this limitation would not apply. However, the soil resources of the wadis were meagre, and there is every reason to believe that the vine cultivations were in fact small. The limited number of presses which have come to light suggest that they were also far between. Hence, the Meroitic experiment in viticulture would seem to have been carried out on a rather small scale.

Why was it tried at all? Nubia's wine traditionally came from Egypt, and its mass importation began almost from the moment when Lower Nubia was re-occupied in later Meroitic times, as is attested by the thousands of imported amphora fragments which are to be found in nearly all of the Meroitic sites.\textsuperscript{68} It is possible, of course, that the Nubians hoped by developing a native industry to augment the foreign supply, or even to redress the chronically unfavourable balance of trade with Egypt.\textsuperscript{69} A much more likely explanation, however, is that there was an interruption in the imported supply.

The wine presses both at Wadi el Arab and at Meinarti can be dated quite confidently to the last years of the Meroitic era,\textsuperscript{70} which is to say about the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Under the circumstances it seems entirely reasonable to associate the Nubian experiment in viticulture with the Roman

\textsuperscript{64} Cf. Vercoult, \textit{Kush VII}, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{65} Darenberg and Saglio, \textit{Dictionnaire des Antiquités}, v, p. 923 (vinum).
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Kush VII}, pp. 124–5.
\textsuperscript{67} It varies between extremes of about 22 hectolitres (Meinarti) and 56 hectolitres (Wadi el Arab). See Table I.
\textsuperscript{68} See Adams, \textit{Kush XII}, pp. 160, 165.
\textsuperscript{69} Forbes (\textit{Studies in Ancient Technology}, III, pp. 114–15) observes that in the Hellenistic period there was a widespread extension of viticulture throughout the Graeco-Roman world, causing economic dislocation and hardship in some of the older wine-growing districts which had relied heavily on the export trade.
\textsuperscript{70} See n. 15, above.
abandonment of the Dodekaschoinos around A.D. 297.\textsuperscript{71} This event, which left a temporary gap of some 100 km. between the Meroitic settlements and the Roman frontier, might well have dislocated the trade between the two groups and persuaded the Meroites to try wine growing on their own.

Whatever its origins, the Meroitic wine industry was undoubtedly short-lived. Both at Wadi el Arab and at Meinarti the presses were disused, and filled with rubbish, even before the beginning of the X-Group period.\textsuperscript{72} It seems doubtful that their productive life exceeded fifty years.

In sum, Meroitic viticulture would seem to have been a failure. Considering the exigencies of the Nubian climate, this is not to be wondered at. Moreover, the rising level of the Nile, which resulted in periodic inundations of the floodplain from the end of the Meroitic period onward,\textsuperscript{73} may have taken its toll of the vineyards. This must necessarily have been the case at Meinarti, where the whole island was inundated, and the settlement largely destroyed, at the close of the Meroitic era.\textsuperscript{74}

An equally compelling reason for giving up wine production, however, might have been the resumption of the Egyptian trade. That this was again in full flower in the later 4th century is attested by the abundance of amphorae in all X-Group sites, both houses and tombs. At Meinarti, the renewal of the trade was signalled by the building of a storage magazine for wine directly upon the ruins of the Meroitic press.\textsuperscript{75}

From the testimony of the amphorae, as well as from texts and reliefs, we can learn a good deal about the history of wine in Nubia. Evidently it was a staple of the Nubian diet throughout much of the historic period, and was one of the cornerstones of the trade with Egypt.\textsuperscript{76} The first Egyptian colonists of the New Kingdom probably brought both the habit and the wine with them from Egypt, and imparted the taste to the native population. In the xixth Dynasty we already have evidence both of wine importation from Egypt and of local Nubian production.\textsuperscript{77} Neither probably lasted very long, for Lower Nubia was largely abandoned by both Egyptians and natives in the later New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{78}

In the 6th century B.C. Taharqa evidently tried to revive the Nubian wine industry.\textsuperscript{79} This is recorded at a time (c. 680 B.C.) when he was still in effective control of Upper and Lower Egypt, so that there should have been no difficulty as regards the imported supply. However, the long overland journey via Wadi

\textsuperscript{71} Procopius, \textit{History of the Wars}, I, 19.27 ff.
\textsuperscript{74} Adams, \textit{Kush} XIII, p. 151. \textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p. 153 and fig. 2, B.
\textsuperscript{79} Macadam, \textit{Temples of Kawa}, I, p. 36 and pl. xii.

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Allaqi or Wadi Korosko—the normal trade route at this time—was difficult in the extreme, and can hardly have improved the flavour of the vintage.

After Taharqa we know no more of wine in Nubia until the Meroitic re-occupation of the northern district, which probably occurred no earlier than the 1st century A.D. As we have already observed, the wine trade was resumed almost at once, on the evidence of the amphorae. Over 95 per cent of these are of a single distinctive form (PLATE XXXVIII, a, 1) and of a hard, pink ware, which continued to be imported into Nubia for several centuries. Over the years the form of the amphora was gradually modified (PLATE XXXVIII, a), but the ware remains recognizably the same from beginning to end, and was very probably the product of a single centre. This pink ware is never found in Lower Egypt; even as far south as the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes only a single example was encountered among scores of amphorae. On the other hand, both the Island of Elephantine and the plateau adjoining the Monastery of St. Simeon at Aswan are virtually paved with it. It seems a fair assumption, therefore, that Aswan was the centre of manufacture for the pink amphorae, and that their original content was the ‘Wine of Syene’, first mentioned in the xith Dynasty. For greater convenience we may here designate it as the Aswan vintage. In later centuries it may have been produced primarily for the Nubian trade, for the pink amphorae are far more common in Nubia than in Egypt proper.

Another form of imported amphora turns up sporadically in Meroitic sites: a very large, brown vessel with an elongated neck and cylindrical base. Like all the amphorae of this period it has flat, not ribbed, sides. No absolutely similar vessels are known from Egypt, but on the basis of both ware and form it seems probable that this is the archetype of the later ‘Theban’ amphora (PLATE XXXVIII, b). A series of vessels found at the Bucheum seem to represent the transitional steps between the form found in Meroitic sites and the later Theban form.

As we have already surmised, there may have been an interruption in the Egyptian wine trade at the close of the Meroitic period, leading to the temporary development of Nubian viticulture. However, the trade was soon resumed, and thereafter continued unabated until well after the Moslem conquest of Egypt.

The pink (Aswan) amphorae again predominate in the X-Group period. Their form is slightly more bulbous than in Meroitic times (PLATE XXXVIII, a, 2),

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80 Adams, KUSH XII, p. 137, Form G4; Emery and Kirwan, Excavations and Survey, pl. 38, Type X.1c; Griffith, LAAA, xi, pl. xxiii, Forms XLVIII, c-d). These vessels were occasionally footed; cf. Griffith, LAAA, xi, pl. xxiv, Forms XLIX, a-c.
81 Adams, KUSH XII, p. 160, Ware IVA.
82 Winlock and Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius, i, p. 78 and pl. xxviii, 10.
83 Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, iii, p. 30.
84 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, xi, pl. xxiii, Forms XLVIII, a-b; Woolley and MacIver, Karanog Cemetery, pl. 104, Form Fxv. Apparently the form of the handles varied a good deal.
85 Mond and Myers, The Bucheum, iii, pls. cxlvi–cl.
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but the ware is indistinguishable. When first introduced these vessels sometimes had a painted decoration,\(^\text{86}\) but the fashion soon died out. One of the principal innovations of X-Group times was the short loop handle, replacing the earlier strap handle (cf. plate xxxviii a, 1 and 2). This soon became standard in all amphorae, both Egyptian and Nubian. Evidently the potters had discovered the principle, familiar to carnival strong-men, that it is possible to lift as great a weight with one finger as with the whole hand.

Two new Egyptian vintages were introduced in the X-Group period. One was imported in rather small, squat amphorae, cream or light grey in colour, and usually adorned with Greek graffiti on the shoulder.\(^\text{87}\) These vessels were abundant in the tombs at Ballana and Qustul\(^\text{88}\) as well as in many X-Group village sites. Their centre of manufacture must have been in Lower Egypt, for they were the typical wine jar at the Monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara,\(^\text{89}\) and they were also traded into Palestine.\(^\text{90}\) On the other hand they were not found at Thebes,\(^\text{91}\) and in Nubia they are less common than the pink amphorae.

For convenience we may refer to the content of the cream amphorae as the Saqqara vintage.\(^\text{92}\) We know little of its history, but the vessels themselves were manufactured only for a very short period, probably in the late 5th or early 6th century.\(^\text{93}\) In Nubia they are found only in X-Group sites. Whether they gave way to another form of amphora, or whether this particular vintage went out of production, can only be conjectured.

The third vintage which appeared in Nubia during the X-Group period was imported in heavy, brown vessels of a distinctive form (plate xxxviii, b). Unlike

\(^{86}\) Cf. Emery, *Royal Tombs*, pl. 111, Type 7a; Griffith, *LAAA*, xi, pl. xxiii, Form XLVIII, e.

\(^{87}\) Emery, *Royal Tombs*, p. 387, Ware D, pp. 388–9, Type 6, and pl. 111, Type 6; Griffith, *LAAA*, xiv, pl. lxviii, 3; Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, pl. xxii, 4; Adams, *KUSH*, x, p. 275, Ware 23, and p. 261, Form P3.


\(^{91}\) Kirwan’s statement (in Emery, *Royal Tombs*, p. 389) that the cream ware amphorae were found at the Monastery of Epiphanius is based on a mis-identification of certain vessels (Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, i, p. 82, fig. 35B). According to the textual description these were large amphorae of Ballas ware, which has quite a different paste and temper from the Saqqara amphorae, although the surface colour is similar. The Ballas amphorae are occasionally found in Nubia also; see n. 99, below.

\(^{92}\) Actually, several different wines were probably involved, for the graffiti on the Saqqara amphorae (which normally identified the vintage) vary considerably (see Emery, *Royal Tombs*, pls. 117–18). The Delta and the Fayyum were by far the largest wine growing districts of Egypt, and produced at least half a dozen different vintages. See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (tr. Tirard), pp. 196–7; Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 4th ed., pp. 20–1.

THE VINTAGE OF NUBIA

the cream (Saqqara) and pink (Aswan) amphorae, the brown vessels were made from Nile silt and not from special clay deposits, so that they cannot so readily be ascribed to a localized source. They are found in both Roman and Coptic sites in many parts of Middle and Upper Egypt,\(^{94}\) beginning apparently in the 4th century A.D.\(^ {95}\) In Nubia, however, their importation does not seem to antedate the 6th century;\(^ {96}\) in fact, their time span hardly overlaps that of the Saqqara amphorae. Since there is reason to associate both the brown amphorae and the commercial production of wine with the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes,\(^ {97}\) we may speak of the content of these vessels as the Theban vintage.\(^ {98}\) It was imported into Nubia for two centuries or more, though never in quantities comparable to the Aswan vintage.\(^ {99}\)

The heyday of the Nubian-Egyptian wine trade was undoubtedly the Early Christian period, from about A.D. 550 to 750.\(^ {100}\) It was at this time that the trade was given official sanction in the baqt treaty (A.D. 641), by whose terms the king and officials of Dongola were to receive, among other commodities, 1300 kanyr of wine annually in exchange for 400 slaves.\(^ {101}\) We know also of two Early Christian taverns in the Second Cataract region: one at Abd el Qadiri\(^ {102}\) and one below Mirsissa Fortress.\(^ {103}\) These were substantial buildings, much more imposing than the rude dwellings which surrounded them. Almost their sole contents were fragments of amphorae and drinking cups, which were found

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\(^{94}\) Michalowski et al., Tell Edfou, 1938, pl. xxvii, 2; Mond and Myers, The Boucheum, iii, pls. cxlviii-cl; Petrie, Ehnasya, p. 31 and pl. xxxiv; Quibell, Monastery of Apa Jeremia, pl. xlvi, 1; Roeder, Hermopolis, 1929-30, pl. xxvii; Winlock and Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius, i, pp. 78-9, and pl. xxviii.

\(^{95}\) Petrie, Ehnasya, p. 31.

\(^{96}\) Cf. Kirwan, in Emery, Royal Tombs, p. 390, Types 11–12; also Adams, Kush x, p. 275, Ware 24.

\(^{97}\) Winlock and Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius, i, pp. 78-9, 161-2.

\(^{98}\) Some of the wine made in the Thebaid was particularly light, especially about Coptos, and so wholesome... that invalids might take it without inconvenience, even during a fever'. (Athenaeus I. 33, quoted in Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, i, p. 389.)

\(^{99}\) A fourth type of Egyptian amphora was occasionally encountered in the tombs at Ballana and Qustul (Emery, Royal Tombs, p. 388, Types 1/5). It was made of Ballas ware (brick red with a drab wash) and was larger than any other form of amphora found in Nubia. Kirwan does not believe that these vessels were used for wine storage (cf. Emery, Royal Tombs, p. 388), although the hole in the neck of one of the illustrated specimens (ibid., pl. 111, 1) indicates that this was its original function. See n. 108, below.

\(^{100}\) See Adams, Kush xii, pp. 243–4.

\(^{101}\) Ibn Selim el Aswani, translated in Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, p. 512. The volume of a kanyr is not known; cf. ibid., p. 528, n. 64.

\(^{102}\) Adams and Nordstrom, Kush xi, p. 39 and p. 37, fig. 6b.

\(^{103}\) Vercouetter, Kush xii, p. 60, Site M.VI. Identification of the building as a tavern is based on my own examination of the pottery.
by the thousands. As always, the Aswan pink amphora was heavily pre-
dominant; by now it had achieved a graceful, very slender form (Plate xxxviii,
a, 3). Amphorae of the Theban type (Plate xxxviii, b) made up no more than
15 per cent of the total at the tavern sites. Manufacture and importation of
the Saqqara amphorae had already ceased by the beginning of the Christian period.

Around A.D. 750 there was an abrupt cessation of the trade, not only in
amphorae but in all forms of pottery, between Egypt and Nubia. As I have
argued elsewhere, there is reason to associate this development with the
Abbasid persecutions and the destruction of the monasteries in Egypt. What-
ever the reason, the reaction of the Nubians was prompt and characteristic.
The pottery factory at Faras, hitherto devoted to the small-scale manufacture of
household wares, embarked suddenly on the mass-production of amphorae.
At the same time amphorae were also manufactured at the Serra kilns, a few
kilometres further south. It is noteworthy that these were the first commercial
amphorae (as distinguished from small decorated vessels) ever produced in
Nubia, although wine had been in daily use for some hundreds of years.

There is a strong supposition, then, that an interruption in the supply of
Egyptian wine once again resulted in the development of local Nubian viticulture.
It is true that from this time onward we have no evidence save the amphorae
themselves; no Christian Nubian wine press has ever been found, and we
remain in ignorance as to how and where the vintage was produced. However,
some later Nubian amphorae have a small hole drilled in the side of the neck—
a certain indication that these vessels were actually used for fermentation.

By comparison to Egyptian amphorae, the vessels made at Faras and Serra
were heavy and bulbous, and in fact their original form probably owed as much
to local water jars as to Egyptian prototypes. (Plate xxxviii, c, 1, is a partially
restored example.) Like most imported amphorae, however, they were system-
atically resinated on the interior, and there can be little doubt as to their
function. We are told that pitched amphorae were also used in antiquity for
the storage of oils and honey, but the commercial production of these
commodities in Nubia seems even less likely than does viticulture.

Amphora production at Faras and Serra ceased after a century or two, as
both factories shut down. In the later Christian period we can learn
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comparatively little about wine in Nubia. Large scale importation of Egyptian pottery was resumed in the middle of the 11th century, and for a time it largely replaced the local product, but amphorae were not among the common forms represented. 112 Probably many of the vineyards of Egypt had been destroyed during the centuries of Islamic domination, and those which survived were only sufficient to supply the needs of the native Coptic population. If any surplus wine found its way to Nubia, it must have been contained in rather small, keg-like vessels of Ballas ware (Plate xxxviii, d) which are found fairly commonly in Late Christian sites. These are clearly of Egyptian manufacture, and are usually, though not always, pitched on the inside. Locally made amphorae do not appear to be abundant in later Christian sites; however, the fragments (except for the neck and handles) are difficult to recognize, as they are in no way different from many other indigenous vessels.

Toward the close of the Christian period there is once again definite evidence of Nubian viticulture. The Monastery of Meinarti yielded a considerable number of locally made, pitched amphorae which can be dated to the 13th century. 113 Their form (Plate xxxviii, c, 2) is generally reminiscent of the earlier Faras amphorae, but is even more globular and awkward, with a very small neck and mouth. These vessels, which had remarkably thin walls, would have been suitable for fermentation and storage, but hardly for transport and rough handling. They were, therefore, probably intended primarily for local use. That fermentation was actually carried out in them is attested by the holes in the necks of several specimens. 114 Where pressing took place is not known, but the vessels were stoppered, and therefore presumably also filled, in a chamber adjoining the refectory of the monastery. 115 This room contained great numbers both of jar seals and of raw lumps of mud, and its walls, originally decorated with pink plaster, were also liberally smeared with mud.

This is the last definite evidence of viticulture in Nubia. Probably it had ceased before the end of the Christian period, for there are no recognizable amphora fragments in the uppermost levels at Meinarti or in the very late Christian sites in the batn el hajar. For centuries after the Christian downfall much of Lower Nubia lay uninhabited, 116 and since its re-occupation Egyptian and Aegean wines have once again reclaimed their ancient market. However, it may be noted that grapes are grown today in a few places in the Dongola Reach. They are small, hard, and not particularly sweet—qualities which they probably share with the Nubian grapes of antiquity—but quite possibly capable of producing some sort of vintage if pressed.

115 Adams, Kush XII, p. 227, fig. 3. The room marked 'A', incorrectly identified as a chapel, was found to be the refectory. Sealing of jars was done in the long, narrow chamber immediately to the south-east of it.
Dentition and the Biological Relationships of some Meroitic, X-Group, and Christian Populations from Wadi Halfa, Sudan

by David L. Greene

Some archaeologists have indicated that the cultural changes evident from the Meroitic cultural levels to the X-Group and Christian levels may be associated with different biological strains of Homo sapiens (Arkell, 1961, pp. 184–5). At one time it was thought that the people associated with the X-Group Culture were more negroid than those associated with the Meroitic Culture (Batravi, 1929–34, pp. 175–7). Consequently, it is of interest to examine the osteological remains of individuals from Meroitic, X-Group and Christian cemeteries looking for evidence of biological relationships since such evidence might be of value to any archaeological interpretation of the history of Nubia.

During the 1962–63 field season, physical anthropologists associated with the University of Colorado Nubian Expedition gathered detailed morphological and metrical data from within the Colorado concession and from skeletal material contributed by other expeditions (Armelagos, Ewing, Greene and Greene, 1965, pp. 24–7. Data were drawn from cemeteries covering a long time span: Mesolithic, C-Group, Meroitic, X-Group and Christian periods. This paper concerns itself only with the last three periods and specifically with an analysis of dental variation in the populations associated with these periods.

If cemetery samples are representative of the base population or populations under consideration, then one can use a numerical taxonomic approach such as that presented by the biological systemists Erlich and Holm (1964, pp. 153–79) to assess the affinity of populations. In essence this approach is based upon the following principle. If two populations share many independent features of known inheritance then they are probably closely related. If they disagree with regard to many features then they are not closely related (for a much fuller discussion of this approach applied to populations within the species Homo sapiens see Greene, 1965, pp. 1–20).

Variation in dental morphology is ideal material to use in such a study since it is under close genetic control and is little affected by environmental factors (see for example, Krogman’s review article, 1960, pp. 17–41 or Greene, 1965, 284
DENTITION AND THE BIOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

pp. 1–121). The following sixteen dental traits were systematically analysed in a series of populations from the Wadi Halfa area:

1. Maxillary first molar pattern.
2. Carabelli trait on Maxillary first molar.
3. Maxillary second molar pattern.
4. Maxillary third molar pattern.
5. Mandibular first molar fissure pattern.
6. Mandibular first molar cusp number.
7. Mandibular second molar fissure pattern.
8. Mandibular second molar cusp number.
9. Mandibular third molar fissure pattern.
10. Mandibular third molar cusp number.
11. Mandibular third molar agenesis.
12. Maxillary third molar agenesis.
14. Maxillary first and second molar root fusion pattern.
15. Maxillary third molar root fusion.
16. Maxillary anterior and posterior premolar root fusion pattern.

A statistical analysis of the joint occurrence of these traits indicates that they are all genetically independent (Greene, 1965, p. 248) and consequently excellent traits to use in evaluating the biological affinity of groups. If they were not independent but the result of a common genetic factor or factors then a numerical taxonomic approach would not give a reliable estimate of affinity. The greater the number of independent traits considered, the more reliable the final result.

The following cemeteries were compared:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Cultural Level</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No. of Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6–B–16</td>
<td>Meroitic</td>
<td>South Argin</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24–I–3</td>
<td>X-Group</td>
<td>Serra West</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAX</td>
<td>X-Group</td>
<td>North Argin</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–G–8</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Dabarosa West</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–B–13</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>South Argin</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–K–3</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Meinarti</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all of the individuals from each cemetery had the dental traits under examination, consequently the size of the sample varies from trait to trait due to loss of teeth, wear, or lack of preservation. Counts were based upon presence or absence of traits on the left side of the jaws, but since the traits under consideration show significant associations between the left and right sides of the jaws (Greene, 1965, p. 175) where a left tooth was missing or when the trait could not be observed due to other factors the right tooth was used in the sample.
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This maximized the information available. Also both male and female frequencies were lumped since analysis demonstrated no significant sexual differences in the occurrences of the various manifestations of the traits (Greene, 1965, p. 207).

All of the morphological variation under question was treated as if it were discrete, qualitative data, even though this is probably only an approximation to what is in reality quantitative variation. Fortunately this discrete approach does distinguish between populations that are known not to be closely related (Greene, 1965, pp. 77–120). The frequencies of occurrence for each morphological variation were compared between the populations taking into account variation in sample size by using the Pearson-Hartley charts for confidence limits ($\alpha = .05$) in binomial sampling (Peatman, 1963, p. 220; Clopper and Pearson, 1934, pp. 404–13). If the range of the proportion at the $\alpha = .05$ level does not overlap with the range in another population, then ninety-five times out of one hundred the proportions have been drawn from different populations. In all cases of non-overlap or very slight overlap, confidence limits were checked again and where these were possibly off due to extrapolation from the Pearson-Hartley charts a chi-square test or Fisher Exact Test was used to check for homogeneity between the samples.

The largest samples in this study came from the cemeteries NAX (X-Group), 6-B-16 (Merotic), and 6-K-3 (Christian). Since, in general, the larger a sample is, the more reliable will be estimates of proportions made upon it, the basic conclusions about relationships will be restricted to these populations.

The following traits distinguished these populations:

1. Maxillary Third Molar Agensis
   Cemetery 6-B-16 is significantly different from NAX, but overlaps well with 6-K-3. Cemetery 6-K-3 overlaps both 6-B-16 and NAX.

2. Maxillary Premolar Root Fusions
   Cemetery 6-K-3 is distinguished from NAX but not from 6-B-16. Cemetery 6-B-16 is not distinguished from NAX.

3. Maxillary Second Molar Cusp Pattern
   Cemetery 6-K-3 is distinguished from NAX but not from 6-B-16. NAX and 6-B-16 are not distinguished.

4. Maxillary First Molar Cusp Pattern
   NAX is distinguished from 6-B-16 but both are not distinguished from 6-K-3.

5. Maxillary Incisor Shovelling
   Cemetery 6-B-16 is distinguished from 6-K-3 but 6-K-3 is not distinguished from NAX. NAX and 6-B-16 are not distinguished.

6. Mandibular First Molar Fissure Pattern
   Cemetery 6-K-3 is distinguished from both NAX and 6-B-16. NAX and 6-B-16 are not distinguished.
DENTITION AND THE BIOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The above data can be summarized in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Populations Compared</th>
<th>Traits Shared</th>
<th>Traits Not Shared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-B-16/6-K-3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAX/6-B-16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAX/6-K-3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three populations, NAX (X-Group), 6-K-3 (Christian) and 6-B-16 (Meroitic) are almost equal distances apart. This means either that they are in fact three separate populations or they are all members of one population.

Since they all share so many traits, they probably belong to the same general population. If the samples were drawn from widely divergent base populations, one would expect many more significant differences since world-wide distributions of dental characteristics show significant differences between unrelated populations (Greene, 1965, pp. 77-120) with regard to most of the traits under consideration.

Another way of deciding whether or not these cemeteries are from the same base population is to ask the question, can the number of traits which are not shared in any cemetery pair be accounted for on the basis of sampling error? If sampling were perfect and the cemeteries were from the base population they should be homogeneous for all sixteen traits. Comparing this theoretical distribution with the two observed ones (14 and 2; 13 and 3) gives two probabilities, $P_{14,2} = 0.242$ and $P_{13,3} = 0.113$ by the Fisher Exact Test. It is probable that these discrepancies are due to chance factors alone. This affirms the view that NAX, 6-B-16 and 6-K-3 are all biologically the same. An examination of distributions in the other populations supports this conclusion.

This result agrees generally with the result arrived at by Mukherjee (1955, pp. 85-6) applying Mahalanobis' $D^2$ statistic, which gives the most reliable estimate of biological distance using many quantitative variables (Rao, 1952, p. 357), to lumped samples from the Meroitic, X-Group and Christian levels obtained in the Archaeological Surveys of Nubia. Mukherjee concludes that all of the Nubian populations cluster closely at the middle of the spectrum between northern Egyptians and natives from central Africa, indicating that these Nubian groups are homogeneous when compared to two groups known to be biologically divergent.
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Conclusions

If the cemeteries 6-B-16, NAX and 6-K-3 are representative of the biological populations associated with the cultures Meroitic, X-Group and Christian, then this analysis demonstrates that there are no significant biological differences between these populations. If the term ‘race’ is equated with breeding population, then the people associated with these three cultural levels all belong to the same ‘race’.

Finally, the question will be inevitably asked, What racial stock do these people belong to? The consensus in American physical anthropology is that one cannot characterize the major groups of man using so-called non-adaptive racial markers. Population groupings have been created by natural selection (Livingstone, 1964, pp. 46–60; Washburn, 1964, p. 171) within specific environments. Consequently, one cannot be sure that whenever one finds third molar agenesis, for example, at a high frequency one is dealing with people closely related to European Whites for which this standard was reached. Within the species Homo sapiens there is every reason to believe that convergent evolution can occur. If a population has traits which are found in Negro Africa it is not necessarily Negroid. It could have obtained them through selection, not through migration. The ‘Negro Race’ is not a homogeneous biological group, but is a unit abstracted by scholars on the basis of a combination of historical, cultural and biological relationships. Whether or not the Nubians are Caucasoid or Negroid can only be answered by referring to historical, cultural and biological data.

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Polish Excavations at Old Dongola: First Season, November–December 1964
by Kazimierz Michałowski

INTRODUCTION

The three-year campaign of Polish excavations at Faras in 1961–64, which embraced four seasons of field work had, like all recent excavations in Nubia, the character of salvage work. The results of our research were: discovery of a large number of murals dated from the 8th to the 13th centuries, hundreds of inscriptions, monumental architectural remains, the Cathedral, the Bishops’ Palace, and the monasteries, as well as a great number of small objects all of which created an important source for further study of the history of the former capital of the Kingdom of Nobadia and the episcopal see at Pachoras.

As is known, at the beginning of the 8th century, King Mercurios had unified the two Christian kingdoms of Northern and Middle Nubia, namely Nobadia and Makuria, into one state, and chose for the capital of the united kingdom Old Dongola, situated between the Third and Fourth Cataracts of the Nile.

This site had never before been systematically excavated. Only one church, which in 1317 was transformed into a mosque, was superficially investigated by some scholars. It does not seem strange, therefore, that the Department of

Antiquities had confided the task of systematic excavations at Old Dongola to the archaeological mission which in recent years had gathered most material concerning one of the capitals of Christian Nubia.

Dongola (Dunqulah) is mentioned by nearly all the Arabic writers dealing with Nubia as the capital of Makuria, which under the ancient name of Tmkr appears already in the tribute list of Tuthmosis III for the year 1450 B.C. As it is generally understood this Kingdom was converted to Greek Orthodox Christianity in A.D. 569.

Only systematic excavations could create a true image of the town about which so much controversial information exists in Arabic sources. For instance, Masūd, ambassador of Saladin’s brother Turan-shah, sent to Dongola after 1173, reported to his master that the country was poor, growing only a little millet and a few dates. The King had ridden bareback on a horse out of his palace, the only building of Dongola not made of grass. He did not understand Arabic and had merely laughed when addressed in it. However, Abu Saleh, travelling in Nubia at about the same time, describes Dongola as a large town, with many churches, big houses and wide streets. When he speaks about the King’s palace he says that it was covered with numerous domes of red brick which reminded him of structures in Iraq. According to him, this type of vault had been introduced into Nubia by King Raphael in A.D. 1002.

As we know, Dongola had survived as a capital of the independent Kingdom of Nubia till the beginning of the 14th century.

**The Site**

The beginning of field work at Old Dongola had been preceded by a survey, aimed at establishing the limits of the area of concession proper which was done in November 1964 by the Director of the Polish Mission, Mr Kazimierz Michałowski, together with the Senior Inspector of Antiquities, Mr Nigm ed-Din Sherif.

Along the eastern bank of the Nile there is a deserted area some 2.5 km. long and 1.2 km. wide (cf. Plan I) with ruins here and there emerging from the sand

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(PLATE XXXIX). This area on the north is bordered by a village El-Gaddar, and extends to another village Bukibul, 6 km. away. On the west the area is bounded by the Nile (PLATE XL, a).

From the archaeological point of view the area could be divided into three main parts:\textsuperscript{11}

I. The first part consists of a sandy plain about 1.5 km. long and over 1 km. wide extending southward from the village of El-Gaddar. It contains fragments of red brick and sherds of Christian pottery on the surface. The east end of this part is occupied by the ruins of a church(?) (PLATE XL, b) and a vaulted tomb.

II. The second part, 1 km. long and 0.4 km. wide, borders the first to the south. It consists of three low koms, A, B, and C (cf. Plan II) which form a ridged hill where the greatest number of architectural remnants survived, including mud brick, burnt brick, and a few granite columns. To the south, this part reveals the ruins of an abandoned Arabic settlement.

III. Some 0.5 km. away to the east of the second part lies an Arabic cemetery 1.2 km. long and 0.2 to 0.25 km. wide (PLATE XLII, a) which comprises two groups of domed tombs of sheikhs, characteristic of Dongola.

The Polish concession covers an area of 120 hectares described above as parts I and II. It excludes the Arabic Cemeteries (part III) and a narrow belt of cultivated fields along the Nile.

From 1 to 17 December 1964 the first field work at Old Dongola was organized by the Polish Expedition led by Mr Antoni Ostrasz, Chief Architect of the Mission, and Mr Zbigniew Borkowski, Archaeologist and Epigraphist.

The work included:

1. Preparation of a position plan (scale 1 : 5000) of the whole area and the topographic plan of its main part (scale 1 : 2000).

2. Analysis of several sectors of the area and execution of a series of shallow trial pits on the surface, in order to establish the approximate limits of the ruins of ancient constructions.

3. Preparation for the Sudan Antiquities Service of an introductory documentation of the Arabic Cemeteries.

4. Beginning of excavations in the area delimited as Kom ‘B’.

The information presented below is based on a field report prepared by Mr A. Ostrasz after the completion of the work.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} The whole area has an orientation from north-east to south-west. To simplify the description a conventional north-south orientation, in accord with the general direction of the Nile, has been used here.

\textsuperscript{12} All plans and photographs were made by Mr A. Ostrasz.
Survey

I. The area between Kom ‘B’ and the village El-Gaddar rises to a height of 7–10 m. above the level of the Nile in December and is a plain of some 1 km. long. Three sections can be distinguished along the whole area, which differ in character (Plan I). Along the Nile there is a narrow belt of cultivated land, and parallel to it lies a series of sandy dunes overgrown with bush and scanty vegetation, with pieces of burnt brick scattered here and there, and remnants of mud-brick constructions emerging from the sand. Further to the east lies a sandy plain, 0.2 km. wide, bordered on the east by the desert. It yields large quantities of pottery and a few pieces of burnt brick. On the same plain some 0.2 km. south of El-Gaddar village, lies a small column of red granite. Further to the east of the plain about 0.7 km. from El-Gaddar, rises the ruin of a small mud-brick construction with fragments of arches and vaults preserved (cf. PLATE XL, b). The biaxial composition of the plan of construction suggests a church designed on the plan of a Greek Cross, covered at the intersection of the arms by a small dome which no longer exists. On a low hill some 100 m. south-east of the ruin lies a shallow grave covered by a vault, which seems to represent the only Christian grave confirmed so far in Old Dongola. Further in the same direction one reaches a hilly gravel desert bordered on the east by a chain of low mountains.

II. Kom ‘A’, 0.4 km. long and 0.2 km. wide, is the highest point of the area (cf. PLATE XXXIX), rising to 35 m. above the level of the Nile. The limits of the kom are defined by topographical features. On the north-west it is bordered by almost vertical rocks some 10–15 m. high, sloping steeply towards the Nile. On the opposite end a steep sandy slope borders the kom. The north and east sides of the kom are marked by a descent of the terrain (the difference of levels amounts to 4 m.), caused by sand blown upon the constructions of mud brick. The position of the buildings partly preserved there seems to point to an arrangement like a citadel (cf. Plan II). In the middle of the kom there rises to a height of several metres the ruin of an edifice of mud brick. The whole terrain of the kom slopes considerably to the north and east. The difference between the highest points on the south-east and the north of the kom is 13 m. On the east the difference amounts to 15–18 m. The surface of the kom is covered with sand, pieces of burnt brick and sherds of Arabic and Christian pottery. There are also walls of mud brick either on the surface or just underneath, which in some parts run down towards the Nile and on the east reach the rocks. Some metres away from the ruin in the middle of the kom there are two columns of pinkish granite emerging from the sand to a height of 0.5 m.

Kom ‘B’. To the north of Kom ‘A’ there is a smaller kom, ‘B’, 0.3 km. long and 0.2 km. wide. Its terrain slopes down towards the north. The

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13 As a relative ‘O’ level, the level of the Nile in the first days of December 1964 were taken. In relation to the ‘O’ level the datum point between Kom ‘A’ and the Church-Mosque has an elevation of 31 m.
difference of levels between the south and the north is 10 m. There is only one small hill in the middle, 3 m. high, whose highest point lies 18 m. above the level of the Nile. On the west the kom slopes some 6 m. downwards to the Nile and forms a narrow belt of blown sand on the edge of the slope which marks the western limit of the area. On the east the terrain runs gently down and passes into a sandy wadi. There is no evident topographical feature on this side to form a limit to the kom. However, there are other indications which could be considered as a natural border on this side of the kom: in its eastern part there are remnants of mud-brick structures, pieces of burnt brick and pottery which form a contrast with the sandy wadi. Exactly in the middle of the kom emerge the upper parts of a few columns of grey granite. This was the place where our excavations started. Some 60 m. away from the first group of columns, five others made of the same stone protrude to a height of 1 m. above the ground level. In the south-east sector of the kom lies the lower part of a capital of grey granite.

Kom ‘C’ extends to the south and east of Kom ‘A’. It covers an area of 0.5 x 0.3 km. which is almost flat; the difference of levels varies between 3-4 m., with the highest point rising to 32 m. above the level of the Nile. The south of the area is occupied by ruins of an abandoned Arabic village. In the south-east part of the kom, on a rocky point, lies a church which in 1317 had been transformed into a mosque (PLATE XLI, b). Over the whole area emerge fragments of walls of mud brick. Most of them seem to have been plastered several times; they have 4-5 layers of white lime plaster. There is also Christian and Arabic pottery on the surface of the area. The limits of Kom ‘C’ are easy to trace. On the north it is bordered by the gentle slope of Kom ‘A’; on the west the limit consists of a steep rock and sand slope descending towards the Nile. The south and east limits are marked by the difference between the surface of the kom, which is covered with rubble and pottery sherds, and that of the neighbouring area, covered with gravel.

The three koms described above cover an area of some 0.25 km. (25 hectares). It seems most likely that the configuration of the terrain, the ruins emerging on the surface, and the pottery mark the central and most important part of ancient Dongola, which must have been situated within this area.

III. Some 0.5 km. to the east of the koms lies an Arabic necropolis 1.2 km. long and 0.2-0.25 km. wide (cf. Plans I, II and PLATE XLI, a). The necropolis is divided into two parts, northern and southern, by a sandy wadi which begins somewhere on the plain extending along the Nile between El-Gaddar village and the koms, and goes on to the east. Thus the southern cemetery covers an area of some 12 hectares, and the northern one some 6 hectares. Besides these two big cemeteries there are four others, which contain only a few graves, scattered around the whole area. The first is situated some 0.25 km. west of

14 Cf. p. 289, n. 4.
the northern cemetery, two others lie some scores of metres to the west of the southern cemetery, and the fourth, which contains a dozen or so graves, lies some 60 m. from a small wadi which borders Old Dongola on the south.

Four main types can be distinguished among the structures on the Arabic necropolis:
(a) Dug-out graves marked with flat raised platforms some 20–30 cm. high, either covered with fine white gravel or framed with burnt brick. A stone placed on one or both ends indicates the location of the grave. (cf. Plate XLI, a). The two big cemeteries comprise several thousands of these graves.
(b) Vaulted tombs of sheikhs rising to a height of 5–8 m. with a diameter of 6–8 m., made of mud brick (Plate XLII, a; cf. also Plate XLI, a).
(c) Rectangular graves of mud brick covered with a dome (Plate XLIII, b).
(d) Small structures set on a rectangular plan, made of fine flat stones without mortar or of mud brick.

Apart from the types described above, there are remnants of bigger constructions of brick and stone scattered over the area of the two big cemeteries and in the neighbourhood.

It is evident that flat hills were deliberately chosen for the cemeteries. Therefore the limits of these areas are very clear, defined by topographical features and the differences in character of the surface of cemeteries (gravel) and the wadis (sand).

Excavations

A fragment of construction has been unearthed on Kom ‘B’ at a place where eight columns emerge from the sand. The character and arrangement of this discovery suggest a church designed on a central plan (cf. Plan III).

Before the excavations started, the columns in the middle of Kom ‘B’ projected to a height of some scores of cm. above the ground level. After the upper layer of blown sand was removed four more columns were found, three on the south side and one on the south-west side, walled in with burnt and mud brick. The diameters of all the columns ranged from 55–60 cm. The disposition of the twelve columns in situ (Plate XLIII, a) as well as of four missing columns, whose places can easily be established, show that the building had a cruciform plan, with its main axis oriented east and west. This arrangement is based on the intersection of two wide perpendicular naves accompanied by two side aisles, half as big as the naves. This crossing of the aisles results in an arrangement with the central element in the form of a square with four rectangular elements along its sides and four smaller square elements at its angles. Thus, within the area delimited by the disposition of the columns, we have an arrangement set on the plan of a Greek cross. The orientation of the main axis to east

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15 The description of the axis as oriented east and west is conventional. The orientation is in fact 22° south of magnetic east.
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and west is defined by disposition of the columns and the different widths of the two central naves. The nave running east–west is 5.5 m. wide, while the intersecting one (north–south) is only 5 m. wide. The width of the aisles which are parallel to the east–west nave is 2.5 m., while those at right angles are 3 m. in width. Thus, the side aisles elongate the overall plan to east and west, and emphasize the orientation of the building in this direction. The extent of the area excavated this year and the number of architectural elements discovered do not allow the drawing of a more precise plan of the building or a study of its construction. Though the whole space within the limits marked by the columns has been cleared of the upper layer of sand to a depth of 1 m., no traces of an outer wall of the building were found. The mud and burnt brick wall uncovered in the south–west part of the area, in view of the character of its construction and its direction in relation to that of the columns, seems to be a later addition unconnected with the plan of the building. A definite interpretation of the wall and its relation to the building will not be possible until the level of its foundation is examined. To achieve this, a considerable enlargement of the excavations will be required.
a. SANDY SLOPE OF KOM ‘A’ FROM THE NORTHEAST

b. RUINS OF THE CHURCH EAST OF THE SANDY PLAIN
a. Domed Tombs of Sheikhs in the Southern Cemetery, and Dug-Out Graves Marked with Stones

b. Church-Mosque of Old Dongola from the Southwest
a. TOMB NO. 43 IN THE SOUTHERN CEMETERY

b. TOMB NO. 17 IN THE SOUTHERN CEMETERY
a. EXCAVATION IN KOM 'B': COLUMNS OF THE CHURCH EMERGING FROM THE SAND

b. KOM 'B': POSITION OF THE COLUMNS AND PIERS IN THE CHURCH, SEEN FROM THE WEST

c. KOM 'B': NORTHWEST PART OF THE TRIAL PIT
a. CAPITAL FROM OLD DONGOLA

b. CAPITAL FROM THE FARAS CATHEDRAL
   (inv. no. FK 8 63 64)

c. CAPITAL FROM OLD DONGOLA

d. CAPITAL FROM THE FARAS CATHEDRAL
   (inv. no. FK 9 63 64)
POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT OLD DONGOLA: FIRST SEASON

Apart from uncovering the upper parts of the columns, a trial pit $6 \times 4$ m. large and 4.5 m. deep was dug on the sector embracing one span of the north–south nave (cf. Plan III). Three complete columns and a tile floor have been excavated together with the lower parts of brick piers situated between the columns (Plate XLIII, b). A fourth column has been found east of its base, some 1 m. above the floor level. The capital of the column lies near the base. The height of the columns (shaft and base) varies from 4.2 to 4.3 m. They are almost identical in form and character with the columns from the Cathedral at Faras. Not only is the material the same—grey granite of the Third Cataract in Dongola, and red granite of the First Cataract in Faras—but the dimensions are also similar. (The diameter of the Faras columns is 55–60 cm. and the height of the shafts 3.8 m.). The rough execution of the surface of the columns and the irregular (elliptical) shape of the cross sections are also alike. The shape of the bases in the two places is almost identical. A flat plinth $70 \times 70$ cm., and 6–8 cm. high, is cut from one piece of stone, with a cylindrical block tapering towards the top to fit the lower end of the column (cf. Plate XLIII, b). The bases for the central columns are 0.4 m. high; all the other bases seem to be a dozen or so cm. higher.

The capital uncovered in the trial pit is 85 cm. high and repeats the decoration of the Faras capitals (cf. Plate XLIV, a and b). Some 50 m. west of the trial pit, just under the surface of the sand, a second capital was found, which apparently belongs to one of the columns. Its decoration also can be compared with Faras capitals (Plate XLIV, c and d). Two characteristic cavities in the two ends point to its later usage as a handmill. The decoration of this capital is in the form of four trapezoid surfaces in low relief, with monogrammatic inscriptions:

1. $\Delta$
2. $\text{MX} \Gamma$
3. $\text{AQ} \delta \rho$
4. $\text{MX} \Gamma$

The inscriptions on the opposite sides of the capital (2 and 4) are identical (cf. Plate XLIV, c).¹⁷


¹⁷ The reading of the monograms is rather difficult. Most probably they should be read as follows: 3. $\text{A} (\rho χ) κ τ ρ (\alpha τ γ ν ο) τ K (υ ρ iο) υ$ or $\text{(Π ο ρ ω) κ τ ρ (α τ γ ν ο) τ K (υ ρ iο) υ}$. Archistrategos is the epithet of Archangel Michael, thus the letters MX in monograms 2 and 4 seem to be an abbreviation of his name. $\Delta$ in monogram 1 means $\text{Αρ ρ χ χ γ γ ε} ι ος$. There is no satisfactory explanation of the letter $\Gamma$ in monograms 2 and 4. The sequence of characters precludes here a numerical cipher. None of the numerous explanations of similar abbreviation XMG fits here. It is not impossible that the abbreviation MXG is used for the names of two Archangels: $\text{ΜΙ} (\iota) X (\alpha γ λ) \text{ Ι (α β ρ ι γ ι λ)}$ but there is no clear analogy to such an explanation.
Apart from the architectural elements described above, there were discovered in the trial pit the lower parts of four brick piers whose purpose in the spatial arrangement of the building is difficult to establish. Two piers are placed between two columns of the central span, two others between columns of the row at the north (Plate XLIII, b and c). The first two piers have their lower parts in the form of upright rectangles 1.7 x 1 m. large and 0.6 m. high, which seem to form a sort of base for circular pillars 0.98 m. in diameter. A portion of the round eastern pillar is preserved to a height of some 30 cm.; of the other pillar only one course of bricks survives. Of the two other piers only the bases remain, 1 m. long; 1 m. wide and 0.6 m. high. However, there are traces of round pillars on their upper surfaces. All the piers were made of burnt brick. For the construction of the pillars special trapezoidal bricks were used which made it possible to obtain a round shape.

The piers most probably suggest a later alteration of the church, which had essentially changed its original basilica-like spatial arrangement. This happened to many Nubian churches of the same type, as well as the Faras Cathedral\textsuperscript{18} and the church at Ghazali.\textsuperscript{19} In those two churches, however, the columns were walled in with piers and did not play any part in the modified arrangement of the building. In Dongola the columns were used as elements of construction in the new spatial arrangement. If this is true, the construction and the composition of the interior after rebuilding involved a combination of post-piers and columns together. Any further suggestions concerning the arrangement seem premature in view of the fact that the excavated part is a relatively small portion of the whole structure.

As was mentioned before, a floor was found throughout the whole area of the trial pit, some 12 m. above the level of the Nile. It was made of flat terracotta tiles, approximately 40 cm. long and 30 cm. wide, laid in parallel rows (cf. Plate XLIII, b and c). Some worn-out fragments of the pavement in the eastern part of the pit had been repaired with irregular pieces of tiles and with ordinary brick laid in a haphazard manner.

The stratigraphy of the pit is clearly legible. From the surface of the kom down to the depth of some 3.5 m. there is a layer of blown sand with a narrow horizontal band of grey-black colour, made of ashes and dust of dissolved mud bricks. The band points to a temporary occupation of the place. A relatively small quantity of pottery which was found in this layer is exclusively of Arabic origin (hand-wrought pottery). Beneath the layer of blown sand and above the pavement lies a rubble of burnt brick 1 m. thick. It comes from the walls and the vaults of the Church. This layer yielded only a few sherds of Christian

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. p. 297, n. 16 above.

pottery. Both the capital and the column lying in the pit were found upon the layer of rubble, thus clarifying the sequence of destruction of the elements of the building.

Conclusion

In the light of the discoveries at Faras it seems that the date of the structure at Dongola can now be established. The comparison of the dimensions and proportions of the bases and the monolithic granite columns, and the decoration of the capitals, in both edifices (cf. PLATE XLIV, a, b, c and d) prove that we are dealing with the same period of Christian architecture in Nubia. Also the floor of burnt brick appears in both places. The granite columns had been introduced in the Cathedral at Faras in A.D. 707 by Bishop Paulos, who also used the same material to decorate the interior of the so-called Great Church. These two churches had the shape of a basilica. The alteration of the Cathedral into a church with cupola and piers took place in the second half of the 10th century. These alterations could have been connected with the principle advocated by Ibn Sebbia that churches should be vaulted.

It is thus quite clear that our discoveries at Faras have been of great importance to the work and study at Old Dongola, even though systematic excavations have only just begun.

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20 K. Michalowski, Faras—Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstesand, in press.
21 Vansleb, Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie, p. 54; P. L. Shinnie and H. N. Chittick, Ghaizali, p. 16.
Some Zande Texts—PART 5
by E. E. Evans-Pritchard

These Zande texts are a continuation of the series of folk-tales known as Sangba Ture, Ture Tales. Different versions of some of those here recorded will be found in the late Mrs E. C. Gore’s collection, Sangba Ture (1951 edition), which has not been published in an English translation—a task I am at present engaged upon.

How Ture Used His Eye as Fish Bait (R. Mambia)
kumba a du yo na na ba ga ko kombe na kina zende bangiri ko. ga ko mbiro a du kina
There was once a man who used to fish with his eye as bait on the hook. He had his (magic) ash
o ba ko a ta kpi ki fu e fu ko ya wiru ka ndu ka rungo be gбегбере zingo pasio wa
left to him by his father when he was dying lest his son might suffer from lack of meat
u a kpi. ko a ni ndu ka ba atio ko ki ni kpe kina gi ga ko mbiro re ti bangiri ko
after his death. When he went fishing he would rub this ash on his eye
si ya kuru sisi e yo ko ki ni mai he ku nga kombe yo ki ni ta zoga kombe a zoga
and it would come out of its socket, and he would then fix it on his hook and as
soon as he dropped the hook
ku ime yo tio ki ni ima yara ki ni mbiri ga ko kombe ko ki ni gbe ru. a nga tio ka
into water a fish would hurry and swallow the hook and he would then pull it out.
No fish
mere na bangiri ko te mbiko ga ko kere mbiro. fuo rengba ko be atio ko ki ni kpe ga
could escape with his eye because of the power of his medicine. When he had
cought enough fish he would rub his
ko mbiro berewe ti bangiri ko si ki ni ga ku sisi e yo.
ash on to his eye again and it would return to its socket.
ture na mere a tigako ka ndu ka ba kombe. ture ki ni ba ga ko kombe ku di yo na
One day Ture too went fishing. Whenever he dropped his hook into a stream,
asooro ki ni gbe kina pedi ki ni ba ru a ba. ture na a mbu e, ki mbu e, ngbadu ko
using worms as bait, he caught only worthless fish which he threw back. Ture
persisted, but to no purpose; and when he was
ki ta ima ko ki ba asoro ku ime yo ki ta ya u ga, ko ki bi gi kumba re pavuru di
annoyed he threw the worms into the water and was about to return home when
he met this man on the bank.
ko ni kusi gu riko amangani nga agira.
catching very big fish.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 5

ture ki kurun fuo ko ya, ' ako kure mo na manga wai ka gbe gi riko atio re? wa mi Ture went up to him and said, 'my friend, what do you do to catch these big fish? a gbe kina apedi tigimi.' kumba ki tuka ngba ko ya, ' mi na ba nga kombe na I have been catching only little fish myself.' The man answered, 'I don’t use asoro tiimi te, kina zende bangire ni ngia gi pasio kombe.' ture ki gbisi a gbisa worms as bait, my eye is my bait.' Ture then went closer were fuo ko ka sasana ko tipa gi riko tatamana re. ko ki yugu e fu ture, ture ki to him to inquire about this skill. He disclosed it to Ture and Ture kpari ya ko fu bete ga ko mbiro fu ru a. ti ki sa ture ti e wa kina nzanga. ko ki cried out that he should give him a little of the ash also. It made Ture almost mad. He mere pavuru di ki za ka ba atio wa ri ko na gbi. ko ki ni mo bangiri ko ku ba went along the river and began to catch fish as though his head was on fire. He would put his eye a yo ko ta ya u na ga, tio ki ni ya nari ime na sa ru, ture ki ni kpe mbiro back and decide to go, but as soon as a fish struck the water with its tail Ture would rub the ash berewe ti bangiri ko ni kusi e ba a yo ni gbe atio ho a kindi. ga ture mangu ki again on his eye, bring it out, and catch fish on that spot also. When Ture's bag ta hi be atio ko ki mo ka ta ba agu ra ku sayo ni gbe agu ra ku ba ra. was full he was throwing some away and catching others in their place. gi pai re, mbiro na ndu ka nyasa. ko ki ya guari u na ga, boro ba mangani ki aka Meanwhile his ash was diminishing fast. When he had finally decided to return home a very big fish opened ngba ru a aka were ri ime ka si a du nga wa ka ture he ru ya. ko ki ta kio a its mouth wide on the surface of the water at that moment and Ture could not resist the desire to catch it. In great haste kio ki tumba yangada mbiro a tumba ki kpe e ti bangiriko ki gbe yo ba a ku di yo he rubbed all the remainder of the ashes on his eye, brought it out, and threw it into the stream na kombe. gi tio ki ye re mbiro kina bangiri ture ngba kombe yo ki mere na ni, on the hook. This fish came and swallowed only Ture's eye on the hook and went off with it, mbiro mbiro a du nga berewe ka xio bangiri ture ku ngba kombe yo te. ture ki ya because there was no longer any ash to keep his eye on the hook. When Ture kusì kombe ime yo, ngere ba bangiriko vuru. ture ki tadi ti ko a tada pangba ime brought the hook out of the water he looked in vain for his eye. Ture fluttered round and round kirikiri ki ta mbe atio a mbe na mangu. ko ki zuba ni oto ki ta kpari ni dusio on the bank.¹ Leaving the fish and the bag, he ran, wailing, with all speed to

¹ The shock of losing his eye made him run here and there in great agitation.
kureako. ko ki gba fuo gi kumba ku kpuko yo re ki ti sande ni kpari ni kina boro
his friend. He burst in upon this man in his home and fell to the ground weeping
aume tipa bangiriko. gi kumba ki ya sana ko re, ko ki ya, 'ba tio du ni gbe re ku
with tears for his eye. When this man asked him, he said, 'a big fish pulled me
ime yo ti gi mbiro ni xire ti ni be ime.'
into the water, that is why my ash was spoilt in the water.'
gi kumba ki ni mo ka ndu re na ture ko yo tio a mere ni na bangiriko. ki da kpe ga
This man accompanied Ture to where the fish had escaped with his eye. He
rubbed
ko mbiro ti bangiriko ki ya ba a ku di yo gi tio ki ye ki mbiri e re ko ki gbe ru
his ash on his eye and when he dropped in into the water on a hook this fish
came and swallowed it, and he pulled it out
ki sari vuru kusi bangiri ture vuru yo mai he ku ba a yo. ture ki ya fu ko, ko fu
and cut it open and brought out Ture's eye from its belly and put it back in its
socket. Ture then asked him
mbiro berewe fu ru, kumba ki ka a ka. ture ki ni mo ka sisira ko ki ga ku kpuko
to give him some more ash, but the man refused. So Ture abused him and
went home
yo na ga ko atio.
with his fish.
si du i ni ya ti ni ka boro yugu vovo tatamana watadu pai ka mo za nga ka manga
That is why people say that if somebody shows some new skill or device, do not
a a manga ni nguru ya. mo ni mangi e a wa i a yugu pa a fo ro. wa ha ture a banda
use it too much.\(^2\) Use it as you have been taught to do. If Ture had been
more economical
ga ko mbiro, wo ka ko a na ri atio wa kina gu kumba re.
with his ash he would have continued eating fish for a long time, just like that man.

How Ture Killed His Father (R. Mambia)
ture na guari ki ni ndu a ndu kindii ki bi kumba nga bambiro ko na
Ture arose and started wandering and he found a man called Bambiro\(^3\) who
kusi ga ko gbanga ku vurukporo ki sungu pati ni ki ni ya,
had taken out his medicine-horn\(^4\) into his courtyard and sat near it saying,
‘ako mbiro buba, mi ya ngere ko yo re
bakinde ki kuru.’
‘oh my father's ashes, when I look over there
may porridge appear.’

\(^2\) Nguru here has the sense of excess of enthusiasm.
\(^3\) Bambiro means owner of magical paste (made by mixing oil and ash).
\(^4\) This kind of medicine is kept in a horn container.
ko ki ya ngere rengo bakinde ki kuru. ko ki ya berewe we,  
When he looked he saw indeed porridge appearing. He said again,  
‘ ako mbiro buba, mi ya ngere ko yo re  
wene de ki kuru.’  
‘ oh my father’s ashes, when I look over there  
may a beautiful lady appear.’

ko ki ya ngere ki bi bawene de ri ni ye. ko ki ya berewe,  
When he looked he saw a most beautiful lady coming. Then he said again,  
‘ ako mbiro buba, mi ya ngere ko yo re  
buda ki kuru.’  
‘ oh my father’s ashes, when I look over there  
may beer appear.’

ko ki ya ngere ki bi pere buda si ru.  
When he looked he saw a pot of beer standing.  
ngba ture ki zere ti gi pai re. ture ki gbisi fuo ko ki ya, ‘ ako kure  
Ture was speechless with surprise.5 Ture drew near to the man and asked,  
‘ oh my friend  
na triwo mo ! ako so ! da na yugu gi wene tatamana fo ro re ? ako mo  
how clever you are! Who taught you this wonderful thing? Oh you  
yugu nga ha fe re.’ bambiro ki ya fu ture, ‘buba du, mi a senga nga  
show it to me.’ Bambiro said to Ture, ‘it is my father whom I did not insult,  
ko ya, mi a ta nga nina a te. mi a na irisa bubu na nina, si du bubu  
I did not beat my mother, I always honoured my father and mother. So when  
my father  
a ta kpi ti ni ko ki ni ya, ‘ wa mi a kpi wire mo zo re a zo du ki  
was dying he said, ‘when I am dead, my son, burn all my body and  
tiro mbiro re ku gbanga yo, si ni ka manga wene apai fo ro.’  
grind the ash into a horn, it will do many good things for you.’

ture ki ta gia gi pai re ki ni mo ka zuba kina oto, ka mi oto a mi  
When he heard this Ture plunged into a run and ran  
kindi ki gba fuo ba ko. ture ki du rogo randimo ku goko, ki ni ongo  
until he bumped into his father, sweating up to his neck and breathing  
vaavaa. ko ki ya fu ba ko, ‘ako buba, na gbere sino ro! aba agude  
heavily. He said to his father, ‘oh my father, what a bad person you are!  
Other fathers  
a mangi wene apai fu yo du. gini wene pai tiamo mo a mangi nga  
have done many good things for their children. What good thing have you ever done  
fe re?’ ture ki sopo ba ko ni baso ki so ko ku gbanga yo.  
for me?’ So Ture speared his father, burnt him, and ground the ash into a horn.

fuo gure ture ki gba ku kpuku yo ki zina he fu adia ko i zokodi
After that Ture dashed home and incited his wives to burn down

5 Lit. Ture’s mouth went cold.
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abambu na agbam u dunduko. i ki ta saka ha a saka ture ki ba nz inga
all the huts and granaries. When they tried to argue Ture threw a bundle of stalks
ku we yo ki zokodi ahe na ni du. ture ki ya fu adia ko, ‘oni wege
into the fire and set everything on fire with it. Ture then said to his wives,
‘you sweep
vurukporo ramburambu ka bi gu wene ahe mi a ye ka kusa ha fu roni
the courtyard very clean to stand aside and see the good things I am going to bring out for you
awere.’ i ki mangi e a wa ture a pe e.
right now.’ They did as Ture bid them.
ture ki di mbiro ba ko ki rugu e bebere vurukporo ki sungu pati e.
Ture took his father’s ashes (in the horn) and stood them in the middle of the courtyard and sat beside them.
adia ture ki mbedi na ko ka bi gu pai ni ka manga. ture ki ti ku
Ture’s wives drew near to him to see what would happen. ’Ture then
ngba ko yo ki ya,
opened his mouth and said,
‘ako mbiro buba, mi ya ngere ko yo re
bakinde ki kuru.’
‘oh my father’s ashes, when I look over there
may porridge appear.’
ture ki ngere vuru. adia ture ki ngere vuru. i ki ya, ‘ture gu pai
Ture looked and saw nothing. ’Ture’s wives looked and saw nothing. ’They said, ’Ture,
mo ni zokodi ga ani riahe ti ni ani a bi he kina areme. ani a
we want to see today why you burnt all our food. ’We are
ghere bi ga wia.’ ture ki kpai berewe ya,
fed up with your wantonness.’ Ture cried again, saying,
‘ako mbiro buba, mi ya ngere ko yo re
buda ki kuru.’
‘oh my father’s ashes, when I look over there
may beer appear.’
ko ki ya ngere kina baso ki gba ki ni dusio vuko. ture ki ta gu a
When he looked he only saw a spear appear suddenly and begin flying towards
his belly. Ture jumped up
gu sa ki ni mere ni oto. adia ko na awiri ko ki mo ha rungo
and took to his heels. ’His wives and children then suffered greatly from
tipa zingo riahe na bambu. i ki ya, ‘ani a gia nga ga ture wia
lack of food and shelter. ’They said, ’we will never again heed
berewe te.’
’Ture’s foolishness.’
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 5

BACHELOR, AN OLD WOMAN AND TURE (R. Mambia)

_bakuparanga na guari ka ndu ka manga ansengu. fuo da ko rogo ati_
One day Bachelor went out to hunt guineafowl. When he reached a certain
cultivation
_ko ki no nzengu na ga ko siida. gi nzengu ki gu a gu re kindi ki_
he shot a guineafowl with his arrow. This fowl flew until it
da ti fuo gbinza de ku rogo ga ri fute. gi de re ki imi ru na ga_
fell in an old woman's fallow-ground. This woman killed it with
_ri pene kita ki igi ru ku ti gugudo yo._
the handle of her hoe and hid it under a heap of grass.

_bakuparanga ki ni mo ka gbata ga ko nzengu ko ki kuru fuo gbinza_
Bachelor went in search of his guineafowl and came to the old
de ki bi ri ni sopo ga ri bino, ko ki sana ri ya, 'mo bi nga_
woman and found her hoeing her cultivation, and he asked her, 'have you seen
_gi nzengu no? ri ki ya, 'oo, mi a bi nga nzengu te.' bakuparanga_
my guineafowl here?' She replied, 'no, I haven't seen a guineafowl.' Bachelor
_ki ya fu ri, 'ka mo a kusa nga gi nzengu ya mo bi pai kina_
said to her, 'if you don't bring out my fowl you will see something right
areme!' _gbinza de ki ta gunde ki kusi ga ko nzengu tii gugudo yo_
now!' Being afraid, the old woman brought out the guineafowl from under the heap
_ki fu ru fu ko. ono bakuparanga ki fu gi nzengu re fu kina gi_
and gave it to him. But Bachelor gave this guineafowl back to
gbinza de re ki ya, 'mo ndu ka pasa ru, mi a ni sopo ga bino.'
this old woman, saying, 'you go and cook it while I am hoeing your garden.'
_gbinza de ki ni mo ka ga na u. ri ki ta da kporo yo ri ki zo_
The old woman went home with it. When she reached home she roasted
ghanda mbata ki ye na ni fu bakuparanga ko ti he ri ki ni ndu ka manga bakinde.
first some manioc so that he might eat it while she was preparing the meal.
_gbinza de ki da pasi pasio nya, ki pasi nzengu, ki pasi gadia,_
The old woman cooked animal meat, cooked the guineafowl, and cooked manioc
leaves,
_ki gbindi bakinde ki ni mo ka ndu na ni fuo bakuparanga ku ati_
and she prepared porridge and took these things to Bachelor in the cultivation.
yo. _wa ri a da yo ri ki fu e fu ko, ko ki di pasio nya gbiati_
When she got there she gave them to him, and he took for himself the meat and
gadia na bakinde, ono nzengu ko ki fu ru fu gbinza de. _fuo rita_
manioc leaves and the porridge, but the guineafowl he left for the old woman.
When he had finished
_ko bakinde ko ki ya fu ri u na ga. ri ki ya, 'wo du e, ono wa_
his meal he told her that he was going home. She said, 'all right, but when
_mo a ga mo a bi zamba rindi ngua gene, mo ndu kati kina gu umba ha,_
you are on your way home you will see some ripe fruits, pick the small one,
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ki ni ga a ga na ni kindi ki ta da ngbosọ gene mo ki nari vuru he
and continue on your way with it until you reach where the path forks and there
split it
ti sende.'
(by knocking it) on the ground.'
bakuparanghi ndu ki bi zamba rindi ngua gene, ko ki mangi gu
Bachelor went and found the ripe fruits on the way and he did
pai gbinza de a gumba ha fu ko. bakuparanghi ki mere mbatayo ki
what the old woman had told him to do. Bachelor continued on his way
ya ngere fuo ko ko ki bi bawene ngbunghu degude ri ni ye fuo ko.
and when he looked back he saw a very pretty blooming girl following him.
ko ki ya nasi gene fu ri ri ki ya ' mo na nasa gene gbua, kumbami
When he stepped on one side to allow her to pass she said, 'you are leaving the
way to no purpose, you are my husband.
nga mo. nina ni ya ani ga na mo.'
My mother said I should go with you to your home.'

bakuparanghi ki ga a ga na dia ko kindi ki kuru ku ture yo. ture
Bachelor went with his wife and arrived at Ture's home. When Ture
ki ya bi gi bawene de fuo ko re ture ki ya, ' ako wene kure, dia
saw this very pretty girl after him Ture asked him, 'oh my friend, whose wife
da ngba were? wo wo tamere mo ni bi ri were? bakuparanghi ki
is that beautiful girl? wo wo my younger brother where did you find her?' Bachelor
tangara gu pai fu ko ko a ru ti ni ka dia gi wene de re.
related to him how he had acquired this pretty girl.
ture ki ta gia gi pai re ko ki ti ni kina ri ko ku dimo yo ki
When Ture heard this he plunged headlong into his hut and
ndukudi ga ko asiida na mboto ki gba yo. fuo gure ko ki do adia
gathered up his bows and arrows and dashed out. After which he chased away
his wives,
ko, ki ya, ' asi oni gbegbere kuru ade oni guari kpure ere mbiko
saying, 'eh you old women, leave my home here because
mi ne ka yega areme na wene ngbunghu paranghi degude.' ture ki
I am going to bring today a pretty blooming girl.' Ture then
mere ka gbata anzengu wa ri ko na gbi. ture ki no nzengu u ki gu
went in search of guineafowl as if his head was on fire. Ture shot a guineafowl
and it flew
a gu kindi ki da ti rogo ga gbinza de fute. ri ki ye imi ru na
until it fell in the old woman's follow. She came and killed it with
ga ri pene gita ki igi ru ku ti nuvo yo. ture ki mere ka gbata
the handle of her hoe and hid it under some grass. Ture then went in search
ga ko nzengu ki ye kuru fuo gi gbinza de re ki sana ri ya, 'mo
of his guineafowl until he came to the old woman and he asked her, saying,
'have you

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bi nga gimi nzengu? ri ki ya, 'ai mi a bi nga nzengu te.' ture 
seen my guineafowl? ' She replied, 'no, I have not seen a guineafowl.' Ture 
ki ya, 'ka mo a kusa nga gi nzengu ya mo bi pai kina areme.' 
said, 'if you don't bring out my fowl you will see something today.' 
gbinza de ki ni mo ka fu ga ture nzengu. ture ki fu gi nzengu re 
So the old woman gave Ture his guineafowl. Then Ture returned that 
guineafowl 
fu gi gbinza de re ya ri ndu ka gbinda bakinde ku ti ru, u a ni sop tempo ga ri bino. 
to this old woman telling her to go and cook it with porridge while he was hoeing 
his cultivation. 
gbinza de ki ga ta da kporo yo ri ki zo gbanda ye na ni fu ture, 
The old woman went home, roasted some manioc, and brought it to Ture 
ko ta ri he ri ni mangi bakinde. gbinza de ki pasi nzengu na 
so that he could eat it while she was cooking the food. The old woman cooked 
the guineafowl and 
pasio nya gbia ku ti gadia, ki gbindi bakinde ki ye na ni fu 
some animal meat and also leaves of manioc, and prepared porridge, and she 
took these things to 
ture. ture ki di nzengu na pasio nya ki fu kina gadia fu gbinza 
Ture. Ture kept the guineafowl and the meat and gave only the manioc leaves 
to the old 
de. fuo rita ture agi ahe re ko ki ya u na ga. ri ki ya fu ko, 
woman. When Ture had eaten up all these things he said he was about to 
depart. Then she said to him, 
' mo ndu mo da gene mo ki kati kina gu zamba rindi ngua du ni 
you go and on your way you pick the fruit which is 
bakere he. fuo da mo ngbosow gene mo ki nari vuru e sende.' 
big. When you reach where the path forks, break it on the ground.' 
ture ki zubo kina boro oto ki da mangi gi pai re gbarakagbaraka. 
Ture ran with full speed and did as he was told hurriedly. 
ture ki nari vuru zamba rinde ti sende ki ya ngere gi ko yo ki 
Ture smashed the ripe fruit on the ground and when he looked behind him he 
bi kina ba gbegbore gbinza de ri ni dusio ko na ba sape. ture ki 
saw an extremely ugly old woman dashing at him with a big knife. Ture 
wege ni oto da gba ku kumba yo bi ko ko ni se ga ko gaza. ture 
took to his heels and bumped into a man's home and found him carving his 
drum. Ture 
ki kpapi fu ko ko batasi ru be gbinza de. gi kumba ki ya fu ture 
pleaded with the man to save him from the old woman. This man told Ture 
re we, ' mo rimi kina ku dimo yo, mo a bi gimi aboro kina yo.' 
'just enter my hut, you will see my people there.' 
ture ki ya rimi ku dimo yo ki bi kina abau. 
When Ture entered the hut he found only lions.
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gbinza de ki gba na ba sape be ri ki sana he tipa ture. basegaza
The old woman emerged with the big knife in her hand and asked for Ture.
The drum-carver
ki ya, ‘mi a bi nga ture te.’ ri ki ya, ‘ka mo a yugo nga bara
replied, ‘I haven’t seen Ture.’ She said, ‘if you don’t reveal
ture ya mi ne ka imo kina ro.’ ko ki ya fu ri, ‘ture du dimo yo.’
Ture’s whereabouts is it you I shall kill. He said to her, ‘Ture is inside there.’
ri ki ya ti ku dimo yo abau ki zi ri ki imi ri. ture ki ni mo ka
When she plunged into the hut the lions caught her and killed her. Thus Ture
bata be gu gbinza de re.
was saved from that old woman.

TURE AND RED DUKER (R. Mambia)

ture na mere ngaragba ka a ta a wa ko a na manga ga ko apai. ture ki ndu
One day Ture went wandering in the burnt bush as was his custom. Ture went
a ndu kindi ki da gbia kpangbaningbo tigau u ni gbata bete riahe ngaragba.
on and on until he met Red Duiker, also looking for food in the burnt bush.6
ko ki gbisi fuo ru ya, ‘ako badia, mo a mere wari? nda gini pai na
He closed in with him, saying, ‘oh my friend, where have you been? Comrade,
is there anything
manga nga ro? u ki ya fu ko wiri pai a fuda nga ru wa kina sa te. si
amiss with you?’ (How are you ?). The Duiker told him that there was nothing
amiss with him at all (he was quite well). So
du i a mo ti ni ka ta ngaragba.
they continued roaming together in the burnt bush.
gomoro ki ta gbedi yo,7 ture ki tuka ngba ko ki ya, ‘kure wa gomoro a
When they were very hungry, Ture said, ‘my friend, as we are so hungry,
manga rani were, ani a ru wai ka bi riahe? gbebere de dagba gi rago re
what shall we do to obtain food? There is an ugly woman around here
na zo age gi gara ahe ki hiki du. nyamu pasio ni du ti ri gbe. wa du e
who has this year collected8 termites till all her containers are filled. She has a
great desire for meat. As things are like that,
ti e were, mo ye mi vo ro na gire na kpe ka ndu ka baga ro fu ri tipa
come let me tie you up in leaves with cord and barter you with her for
age. ho ri ka ma ro ni ku dimo yo mo ki zaki gire ti ro gamo ki yara
termites. When she puts you down in her hut you will untie the cord and run
fuo re ku tii gu ba nga mo a bi yo re. mi a sungudo ro kina boro ti e nzunzu,’
after me to beneath the big tree you see over there. I shall be waiting right under it.’

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6 They were searching in it for honey and small burnt animals and reptiles.
7 Gomoro ki ta gbedi yo, Lit. hunger held them tight.
8 Zo age, to burn termites, is an expression denoting the whole process of collecting
them; mostly used in reference to other people.
kpangbaningbo ki idi e kina ku o. ture ki tapa ru na gire ki zogo ru
Duiker agreed at once to the plan. Ture bound him, dropped him
ku rogo ga ko ba mangu mbara ki kuru fuo naira age. `ako ninä gomoro
into his big elephant-hide bag, and appeared before the owner of the termites.
` oh mother, I am
na manga re gbe. pasio du re mi a baga tipa ugu age wa ka mi ya ri ra
extremely hungry. Here is some meat I am bartering for dried termites so that
I may eat them
mi ki mbiri ime fuo ra.' ri ki ya, `gi pa pasio rago ki ngba ti ri,
and drink water after them.' She replied that she was very happy to hear
mbiko ngba ri yo a gbere be age.9 ri ki tumba age fu ture na kina ba
about meat because her mouth was bad with termites. She offered Ture a
kurugbo akoro ki ima ipiso ti ri ki moi ga ri pasio ku dimo yo boro ka
big old pot full of termites and then hurried to hide her meat in her hut lest
someone
ndu ka ye ka bi e. ri ki tumba kpangbaningbo da moi ru gbogho yo ki
might suddenly arrive and see it. She lifted the Duiker and put him on her
shelf (for drying meat) and
kuru mbakadi ti ri sungu.

came out and sat down as if nothing had happened.10
ture ki uka ga ko age ku rogo ga ko mangu yo kpuwee, ami ki ru na mangu.11
Ture poured his termites into his (big) bag until it was heavy with them.
ko ki poi kuti ri ki mere. ture ki ta mbu gu ngua ko a yugu fu
He bade her good-bye and wandered off. Ture left the tree he had pointed out to
kpangbaningbo, ko ki zadi kura gene kia ki ndu a ndu kindi da
Duiker, taking another path until he
gbia kumba ko ni sopo ga ko bino. ture ki ya fu ko, `bakure, mo fu nga
met a man hoeing his cultivations. Ture said to him, `friend, pass me
gi gita ko no re. mi ta sopa ga bino mo ki ndu na gimi age du na mangu
that hoe. While I am hoeing in your cultivation you take my termites which
are in this bag
re fu dia ro ri suka ra fe re.'
to your wife to pound for me.'
kumba ki ndu na ga ture age fu dia ko ri ki sa ra ami ki du na bakere
The man took Ture’s termites to his wife. She ground them into a big pot.
bungr. kumba ki ta dia kina ndu ko12 ture ki ba gita sende sungu ni ngere
As soon as the man left Ture threw down the hoe and sat watching

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9 Tumba age, to give in abundance. Cp. `iradi tumba gimi awande,' `a thief has
stolen all my groundnuts.'
10 Mbakadi ti ri sungu, just sat down as though nothing had happened.
11 Ki ru na mangu, stood with the bag: filled the bag with.
12 Ki ta dia kina ndu ko, as soon as he took away his leg: as soon as he went off.
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kina ku gene yo. kumba ki ta ye ture ki mo ka birika ya u na dia kiwe
the path (the man had taken to his home). When the man was returning Ture pretended to be taking a thorn
ndu ru yo. rimo gi kumba re na ngia yambu. yambu ki ye na kura kita. ture
from his foot. This man’s name was Yambu. Yambu brought another hoe. Ture
ki ya fu ko, ‘ako kure, kiwe yere a yera’ ku ndu re yo ono mi ima dia
said to him, ‘oh my friend, a big thorn broke into my foot but I have taken
ha. ani ndu ka ru bino.’
it out. Let us go to start cultivating a new piece of ground.’
i ki ta sopa bino, dia yambu ki ye na ga ture sukasuka age ye zogo ra
While they were hoeing the cultivation Yambu’s wife brought Ture’s termite-
paste and put it
ku rogo ga ko mangu na du ni asiasi e ti ri ati yo. ka ture a ino nga
into his bag which was hanging at the end of the cultivation. Ture did not know
ti e ya ri ye na ga ko age ya mbiko ri a moi ra ko yo ki ima karaga ti
that she had brought his termites for as soon as she put the paste (into the bag)
she returned
ri sa ga ri surge ku kporo yo.
to do the work of her home.
gu de na bagi age ki sungu fuo ture toni, ri ki ya fu toni wiri nga de,
That woman who had bartered the termites waited a short time after Ture had
gone and then told her little daughter,
‘asimo gude, mo ndu ku dimo yo ki ye na gu gi dugure du ghogbo yo.’
‘you, child, go to the hut and bring that my bundle which is on the shelf.’
gude ki ya rimi da bi kpangbaningbo u ni zaki gire ti ru gbarakagbaraka.
When the child entered she found the Duiker untying the cord that bound it in
a great hurry.
ri ki kpari ya, ‘nina, gi nya re, u na zaka gire ti ru!’ na ri ki ya
She cried out, ‘mother, this animal is loosening itself from the cord!’ Her
mother said
‘ako gu ira mangu nga mo re, gine mo a ta ngba ro ti ni na pa gi pasio
‘oh you witch, why are you shouting about my meat
aboro gi e du. wa ba mo na imo ga ko anya ere nga ko na tinda ra fu
so that everybody hears about it? When your father kills animals here does he
not carry them to
kina agu adia ko mere ko fuo yo ku kpuyo yo te re? areme ti gu mi a
those wives of his whom he runs after to their huts? Today I am going
ye ka ri nga gi pasio he ko ko yo!’ gude ki ya ‘wo du, mi pe e gbe.
to enjoy my meat in his absence!’ The child said, ‘so be it, I have given you
enough warning.’

13 The verb yere indicates that the wound was a serious one.
na ri ki ya u na ndu ka bi nga gu pai na manga re. ri ki ya ye
Her mother decided to go and see what was happening. When she
ri ri ngbadimo kpangbaningbo ki gba a gba ri ki ya ne, u ki ndu tigu.
put in her head Duiker rushed out and when she stepped aside he disappeared.
de ki uka be ri kina ri ri yo gbua ka a ngera fuo ru. ba fugo ki ka.
The woman just clasped her hands on her head looking after him. She was
speechless.

u ki oro gba kuti gu ngua ture a ringbisi pai ka wiri fuo ture a du nga
He ran up to the tree Ture had spoken of but there was not a trace of
yo ya. kpangbaningbo ki ni mere ni oto sa ka a gbata ture. ko ki kati
him there. Duiker ran looking for Ture. He caught Ture's
fuo ture ki oro a ora sa ki ya ngere ku ati yo ki bi ature na yambu i
scent and ran very fast and suddenly he looked into the cultivation and saw
Ture and Yambu

ni sopo kina bino. u ki mo ki pita a pita ki kati gene kporo ki oro ku
hoeing there. He tiptoed till he got to the path leading to the homestead and ran to
kporo da sana naira kporo ri ki ya, ' mi ni ima suka ga ture age ki da
the homestead and asked the mistress of the home, who said, 'I have already
pounded Ture's termites and
moi ra ku rogo ga ko mangu na pere.' kpangbaningbo ki mbiri ime ki mo
and put the paste in a pot into his bag. Duiker drank some water and
ka pita ku ati yo. ko ki da pati mangu, ature ni sopo bino kindi. si u
then began to steal upon the cultivation. He reached the bag while Ture and
Yambu were still hoeing. He

a biti ti ni ku mangu yo ki mo sa ga ture sukasuka age ki ni ri ra tua.
therefore climbed into the bag and went after Ture's paste and was eating it up
as fast as he could.

dimo ture ki ta ima be bino ko ki tai ti ko ya, ' bakure, dia ro
When Ture's back was aching with the hoeing he stretched himself, saying,
'friend, has your wife
a ta suka nga gimi age te?' yambu ki ya, ' mi na ndu nga ko yo du ri
not pounded my termites yet?' Yambu said, 'I am going to her
ni berewe.' ko ki yega yo ya fu ture, 'ture ga mo kina mangu yo.' ture
again.' He returned, saying, ' Ture, your paste is in the bag.' Ture
ki ya, ' ani ba gi bino ani ru e re.' ture ki ya tumba ri ko berewe ki
said, ' let us finish the piece of grass we started on.' When Ture raised his head
again he

bi ga ko mangu wo be kpangbaningbo. ture ki ya, ' gu gbegbere wiri ghiro
saw his bag shaking. He said, ' you ugly creature over there
na wo ti gi mangu re. ka mo ri gimi age mi riti ro fuo ra na andu ro
shaking my bag. If you eat my termites I shall eat you after them with all your feet!'
du!' ko ki dua ri ko berewe sa bino. gi ti e re kpangbaningbo ki ni ri
He bent his head again to hoe. Meanwhile Duiker was eating
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age wa ri ru na gbi. ture ki ya bi ga ko mangu si ni wo berewe, ko ki
the termites as if his head were on fire. When Ture saw his bag shaking again he
ya, ‘nda ni na ndu ka do gu gara re ti gimi age.’ ko ki ta mbeda,
said, ‘friend, I am going to chase away that lizard shaking my bag.’ When he
was near,
kpangbaningo ki gu a gu mangu yo gita wa kina boro yo re. ngbadu ture
Duiker jumped out of the bag and landed far off. Ture’s heart
ki kiti. ture ki ya, ‘bakure, wa mi ni sungudi ro ti e vuru, gine mo
gave a throb. Ture said, ‘my friend, I waited for you in vain, what
na manga?’ kpangbaningo ki ya u na zaka gire ti ru kindi. ture ki
were you doing?’ Duiker replied that he was still trying to untie the cord
which bound him. Ture
sana ru ya, ‘mo bi gimi age mangu yo?’ u ki ya ami kina yo. ture ki
asked him, ‘have you seen my termites in the bag?’ He assured him that they
were still there. When Ture
ya ngere ku mangu yo ki bi ga ko bunga si ki du na kina age mbirimbiri.
looked into the bag he saw his pot full of termite (-paste).
aticawari kpangbaningo a ara age ku vuru mangu toni, fuo gu re ko ki
But Duiker had set aside some paste in the bag, after which he
riti yangara ra ki ni mo gheresa rogo ku rogo pere age ki di gu wiri
ate the rest. He then filled the pot with his dung and covered it with the little
yangada age na du ki gbaragi ra auru gau mire. u ki ya fu ture, ‘mo
paste he had set aside. He said to Ture, ‘you
ara nga gi ga mo age re ke ka ri nga ra wa ka mo ara fe re a tigimi.’
take some of your paste to eat and give me some myself.’
ture ki ya ara age ka kpe ra ngba ko kina fuo miri kpangbaningo ki gba
When Ture took some and tasted it the smell of Duiker’s dung passed
ri ko yo. ture ki mo ka dusia kpangbaningo na gita u ki ima wega ga
through his head. Ture made for Duiker with his hoe but he fled
u ya a ya gbua we, ‘mi fu ti ro ture oo, gine mo ni nangi re ti ni?’
shouting back, ‘I have cheated you Ture oo, why did you deceive me before?’

TURE’S HUNTING PARTY (R. Mambia)

gbinza kumba na za ka raka a raka kindii, kpio ki zi ko. ko ki ta ino
An old man lived for a long time, and then death took hold of him. When he knew
ga ko nyasi rogo gi zegino re ko ki yambu bambata wiriko ki fu maku fu
that he had finished with this world he summoned his eldest son and blest
ko na sure. ko ki ya, ‘ako wire, wa mi a kpi na wa ghere azande pati
him with spittle.14 He said, ‘O my son, as I am dying and as the Azande are
very mean about

14 A father blesses his son by spitting at him.
pasio gbe mi a ida nga mo ni rungo tipa pasio te. mbata fu da aboro
meat I don’t want you to suffer lack of meat. Before people arrive
pati kangba re mo kati ba wiri ndure nga gare e ki da kpisidi e nga
near my corpse cut off my big toe, the left one, and bury it on the
gine kpuro. mo ni yambu aboro sa tua i ki ni kuru du kina ngba gu gene
path to your home. When you summon people to hunt let them all leave your
home by that path
mo ki ni tiwa kpio anya.’
while you chant the death of animals.’
bakoakpi ki kpisidi gbinza ba ko diwi ki ta susa ue ko ki yambu tua.
Bakoakpi¹⁵ buried his old father and two months later he summoned a hunting
party.
gu tua nga gu i na wa nga na aango ya, gu kina aboro ni ndu ka nduko
It was a hunt where dogs were not used but only people enter the bush
o ka waa ku vuru pio yo. aboro ki kuru ga bakoakpi tua wa i ni kuru
and chase out the animals to the nets. People came to Bakoakpi’s hunting as
they would attend
pumbo. uru ki ta da ari ore akumba ki tindi ga yo apio na ga yo ba
a feast. When the sun was high in the heavens the men shouldered their nets
and their big
abaso ki mo ka ndu sa tua, i ki ta kura ngba gine ku bakoakpi ni koto
spears and left for the hunt. While they were leaving Bakoakpi’s home they
stumbled
ti ba wiri ndu ba ko, ko ni ya tigako,
over his father’s toe, while he chanted,
   ‘ kina anya kpi,
   ka boro kpi nga ya.’
   ‘ Let only animals die,
   Let no man die.’

akumba ki ndu da oro na pio pati ba bire ki re e mbegumbegu.¹⁶ si ki ta
The men went and ran with their nets round a big stretch of bush and spread
them properly. When they were
rengba bakoakpi ki oro gi bire yo na aparanga na ade ki mo ka wa anya
ready Bakoakpi ran along the other side of the bush with the youths and women
to scare the animals
sa pio. anya ki ye ki vodi na pio akumba ki sopo anya ime ra ki fu ku
into the nets. The animals ran and fell into the nets and were speared till their
blood (water) flowed

¹⁵ Bakoakpi means ba, father, ko, his, a kpi, is dead.
¹⁶ Mbegumbegu indicates how well and complete the nets were spread and supported.
Cp. ri ki mbakadi ba mbegumbegu, she made the bed faultlessly.
dio yo. pasio ki du na rago kungbukungbu.
into the river. There was an abundance of meat.\(^{17}\)
aboro ki ddua ba agbogbo ki za ka mbakada anya kuti we pasio ki du na
The people erected huge drying-platforms and cut up the meat to smoke it and
the platforms
we nyokonyoko. ka si a du nga wa ka boro di ndu ni ka ga ku kporo yo
creaked under the weight of meat.\(^{18}\) It was not possible for anyone to go home.
ya. aboro ki mo ki ta so kina pasio ki ni ri e. rago ki ta bira aboro
The people roasted and ate meat. When it was dusk people
ki mbambakadi aba yo ki ti ni rame, nga boro ramu pasio
prepared sleeping places and fell into a deep sleep, the sleep of those glutted with
meat.
wiri gude a du fuo yo sa na ngia wirinyaure. aboro ki ka a ka na ga yo
There was a little boy with them who was an orphan. People refused to give
him any of their
pasio be ko. ko ki dungura kina kurugbo re anya gbua tigako ki vo wiri
meat. He gathered up just some left-over intestines of the animals and erected
gbegbere gbogbo sa ni pangba rago yo gindo we ti e ki pi di ga ko
a little clumsy platform for them at the edge of the camp and made a fire under
it and lay down, easing his
kundi ni kpari rungo ko rogo ru.
misery by playing on his harp.
bebere yuru aboro na ra du ba xire na na mbifa aboro ki mo kaa yo ka
At midnight when everybody was asleep a big bird which used to swallow
people arrived.\(^{19}\)
ye. ba yuge ki ye mbata ki susi. fuo gure u ki gu yo dapudapu ye sungu ki ya,
First came a great wind and passed. After that it flew heavily\(^{20}\) and perched,
singing,

\[\text{‘hiki, mi ni na mbira aboro,}\]
\[\text{hiki, mi a mbira roni areme, hikii.’}\]
\[\text{‘hiki,’}^{21}\] I swallow people,
\[\text{I will swallow you today, hikii.’}\]
gi gude re ki gi pa ru. kina ko na du ni unga ko. agu aboro dunduko
This boy heard it. He was the only one awake. All the others

\(^{17}\) Heaps of meat. Any other vast quantities of anything may be referred to in the
same way.
\(^{18}\) Nyokonyoko, an abundance of fresh meat spread to smoke dry. Rarely used for
other things.
\(^{19}\) It started from its place to come. This has a sort of threatening sense: the
coming of the bird spelt some trouble.
\(^{20}\) The heavy way a big bird flies is thus expressed.
\(^{21}\) The threatening noise the bird made in its throat.
 SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 5

a du na kina ramu pasio. ko ki ya, ‘buba a ya fe re mi a ra ti nthga were in the deep sleep of meat. He said, ‘my father told me that if ever I spent
the night in the forest
pia ka mi a gumba nya ti ni rame ya.’ ko ki di ga ko kundu ta ta ru ni
I should not fall asleep quickly.’ He took his harp and while playing on it
bi bia ni ya,
he sang thus,
 ‘sangba agbia, sangba ripopo,
sangba agbia, sangba ripopo,
mi ni ta ngia ra pio yo, mi ni nga ngere ugue
mi ni ta ngia ra pio, mi ni nga ra di yo,
mi ni bi ba zire, mi no ru ni gi guanza! ’
‘princes’ talk, talk of ripopo,22
princes’ talk, talk of ripopo,
I am a land-dweller, I am a vigilant one,
I am a land-dweller, I am also a river-dweller,
I see a big bird, I shoot it with my arrow!’
ba zire ki ta gia ga wirinyaure bia u ki gbisi kusayo ki bi ga u bia
When the big bird heard the orphan’s song it moved back and sung its song
berewe, ko ki bi kina ga ko a. si du gunde ki zi ru mbiko u a na mbisa
again, and he sang his too. So it was afraid for it did not swallow
nga aboro i ni ngere kindi te. si du u a gu ti ni dapudapu ki ga ku ba
people when they were awake. It therefore flew back to its place
ru yo gi dungu aboro re ki bati kina mbiko wirinyaure.
and these many people were saved because of this orphan.
rogo ki ya giri wirinyaure pe gi pai fu yo re, i ki zingi a zinga kuti
In the morning, when he said what had happened they were angry with
ko ya, ‘kungbo rungorungo he wa mo were, gini boro ka mo bata ni?’
him, saying, ‘Whom can a poor thing like you save?
mo ongo mo!’ i ki zi ko ti ko kpe ko na sende ko ki du kpau i ki
You shut up, you!’ They seized him and beat him and rubbed him on the
ground till he was white with dust, and then they
ba ko ku pangbarago yo.
threw him down at the edge of the camp.
gu uru re, ka ga yo pasio a uga nga nga wa ka yo tindi e ku kporo yo
That day, their meat was not dry enough for them to carry it home.
yo. si du i a ra ti ni berewe kina rogo gu bataya yo re. bebere yuru
So they spent the following night in the same camp. At midnight
bayuge ki ye susi, fuo gure gu ba zire re ki ima da wa mbata gbia kina
a great storm came and passed, and after that the big bird arrived as before and
found only

22 Ripopo does not seem to have any meaning.

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KUSH

wirinyaure ni unga ko. u ki ya bi ga u bia ko ki ta ta ga ko kundi
the orphan awake. When it sang its usual song he played his harp
rungo ni bi gu ga ko bia na du mbata. u ki ta gu kusayo toni ko ki
of sorrow while singing the song he had sung before. When it backed a little he
zangi aboro ni kina ipo ya, ‘oni guari nga ti e ka bi nga gu ba zire
woke the people quickly, saying ‘get up and see the big bird
mi ni ta pe pa ru areme oni ta re a ta!’
I was talking about today, and you beat me!’
i ki ya guari ka bi gi ba zire re i ki ni kio rokoroko be gunde. i ki
When they got up and saw the big bird they were all shivering in great fear. They
rikito na bakere ta nga na woro ahe ki ni wa gi ba zire re tua. u ki
shouted and beat things to frighten away this big bird. It
gu dapu ki mere. rago ki ta gira wiso i ki di wirinyaure ki zundu ko
flew heavily away. In the morning they took the orphan and washed him
du ki fu ugu pasio fu ko kina zingo tindi e ki ni mangi ko! aboro ki
clean and gave him so much dried meat that he did not know how to carry it!
Everybody
vodi ga yo pasio du ki mo ka ga ku kpuyo yo gbiati wirinyaure a.
tied up their meat and went home, including the orphan.
 pa gi tua na gi bakere pasio re ki ta a ta ti ku tu ture yo. ture ki
The news of this big hunt and the great quantity of meat went round and came
to the ears of Ture. Ture
ngbura ga ko baso gba fuo ba ko ki sopo ko imi ko yere bawirindu ko
seized his spears and burst in upon his father, speared him to death, and cut off
his big toe
ga na ni da kpisidi e gine kpuko. rago ki ta gira a gira ko ki yambu ba
which he took home and buried on the path to his home. Early the following
day he summoned
tua. azande ki kuru ga ture tua wa nvuo. i ki gbese pio ku goyo yo ki
a big hunting party. Azande came for the hunt as numerous as grass. They
shouldered the nets and
ta ndu sa tua ni kota ti wiri ndu ba ture, ko ni ya tigako,
went off to the hunt while each of them stumbled over the toe of Ture’s father
and he chanted,

‘ka anya kpi nga ya,
kina aboro kpi!’
‘let animals not die,
let only people die.’
ti gi tua yo re, agbe ki gbadi nvuo yo ki za ka dewa aboro a dewe
During this hunt buffaloes rushed out of the bush and began to toss people
ki imi dangu yo. agbe ki kpi gbu a biata. aboro ki vo gbo bo sa gi pasio
and killed many of them. Only three buffaloes were killed. Some people made
stretcher for this meat
re, agu yo ki ni ga na kangba agume yo.
while others carried their dead relatives home.
rago ki ta bira ture ki di kundi da pi na u pangba bataya yo ka
At dusk Ture took his harp and lay down with it at the edge of the camp to
sungudo gu ba zire na na mbifa aboro. ba yuge ki ye a wa mbata. si ki
await the big bird that used to swallow people. A big storm blew as before.
When it
ta susa ba zire ki da. gi ti e re, ture ki ni yukuro be rame wa kpio.
had passed the big bird arrived. Meanwhile Ture was falling into a deep slumber.
u ki ya bi ga u bia, ture ki bi ga wirinyaure bia u ki gbisi kusayo. u
When it sang its song and Ture sang the orphan’s song it backed away.
ki ya bi gau bia berewe, rame ki di be ture. u ki bi e berewe, siti.
When it sang again sleep had overcome Ture. It sang again but there was no
response.
u ki bi e berewe, ako te ! ture ki ni ya u aka ngba ru rame ki ni
It sang again, oh no! Whenever Ture tried to open his mouth sleep
ya fu ko, ' boro gu ngba ro re mo aka a areme!'
seemed to say, 'will you open that mouth of yours today!'
ba zire ki ni mo sa aboro ka mbifa yo a mbifa ni rengo. gu yangara yo
The big bird swallowed very many of the people. The rest of them
ki zingi ki gbandaka pati pasio be gunde. ture ki zingi a ki ima gheda ga ko
awoke and fled in fear, leaving the meat. Ture too awoke and in haste
ku kpuko yo.
made off to his home.
si du boro ni ta gu ti ni sa vovo pai aboro ki ru mbata ka bi tii ndu
This is why when a person jumps at a new thing (or idea) people first stand aside
to see how
ni na ni mbiko i ni ya, ' wo ture a mangi re ki zogo ndu aboro ku wio.'
he gets on, for they say, 'that is how Ture put people’s feet in fire.'

TORTOISE AND Ngbia’s24 CHILDREN (R. Mambia)

momu age na ya na, ture ki di gu dia ko ngia nanzagbe ki mere ka wega age. i ki da
There had been a heavy rain for termites, so Ture and that wife of his, Nanzagbe,
went to clear around their termite mounds. They would arrive
bi agu age ture ki ni ya a ya gira na wiso nga gbe te re. ature na ta na dia ko ki
at one termite mound, but Ture would say that those termites did not usually
swarm in great numbers. Ture and his wife
ndu a ndu ti age du da ho i a bi go age ni ture a ya ami ni wisi gbe. i ki wege ra.
wandered until they had visited almost all the mounds and they found a mound
which Ture said had plenty of termites. They cleaned around it.

23 Lit. 'to see their legs with it ': wait and see whether they will be successful or not.
24 Ngbia is the wagtail.
rago ki ya biri, ka aqi age a ro nga re ya. atikawari kungbo go ture a wege e. When it was dark these termites did not perforate (the mound).\textsuperscript{25} It was an empty mound Ture had cleaned around.

kina ture ki ya u na ka tiga ra. ko ki ndu ko ngere ti ro ra vuru. ko ki ni ye ya Ture said he would be the one to inspect the termites by torch-light. He went and looked in vain for their runs. He returned and told fu nanzagbe ami na na kparia. age ri rikito ki ni gu fu aboro tua. dia ture ki ya fu Nanzagbe that they were about to come out. Termites started flying everywhere. Ture’s wife said to

ko, ‘ e ture, ga ani ra a gu ti e ni gini rago kumba?’ ture ki ya, ‘ ami ne ka him, ‘ when will ours swarm man?’ He replied, ‘ they will start zinga a zinga awere.’ ature na sungu e, ki sungu e, dia ko ki ya ndu ka tiga ra swarming right now.’ Ture and his wife waited and waited, and when his wife went to inspect the mound by torch-light

wa ka ri bi nga ro ge kina sa! ri ki ta pa a pa i ni ga.

she saw not a single termite-run. She nagged at Ture all the way home.

boro ngbia na awiri ko ki zo age ni gu yuru re abaga na aakoro ki hiki du. rago That night Ngbia and his children collected termites till their baskets and pots were all full. In the

ki ta gira i ki ndu na ami ku rogo ba munga ki su ra kpai. awiri ngbia ki gbu morning they went to dry them on a granitic outcrop\textsuperscript{26} over a large area.\textsuperscript{27} Ngbia’s
pangba munga ka pido ra. ture mo ki mere ka a ta ka bi agu aboro na zo age. ko ki sons hid themselves on the edge of the outcrop to guard the termites. Ture went round to see who had collected lots of termites. He

ye kuru ku pati ga ngbia age ko ki ngere pati age tipa boro vuru. ture ki nduku ra reached Ngbia’s termites and he looked around to see if there was anybody present, and there was nobody. Ture gathered up some of them

uka ra ngba ko, ami ki ya nziri ngba ko yo, ko ki ni ya u na sungo pati ra ka ri ra. and poured them into his mouth and as they were delicious in his mouth he decided to sit down and eat them.

ko na kina gere, awiri ngbi ki ghadi fuo ko ki mo ka kukuya ko na ngbangbaki While he was doing so Ngbia’s sons sprang up and began lashing at him with

switches

 tua. ture ki su ni oto.

vigorously. Ture fled with all speed.

ture ki oro a oro ki ta mbeda ku kporo yo ko ki mbu oto. kpoto ture ki ni pai Ture continued running until he was near home, when he stopped running. Ture’s body was smarting

\begin{footnotes}
\item[25] They did not make runs along which to emerge and swarm because the mound was a deserted one.
\item[26] A munga is a granitic outcrop and suitable for drying things.
\item[27] Kpai seems here to indicate the area over which the termites were spread.
\end{footnotes}
tua be ngbangbaki. ture ki yambu nanzagbe kina boro ari yo, 'mo ye na gi mangu de from the switches. Ture called Nanzagbe loudly,\(^{28}\) 'bring my bag woman ki di gu ga ani bakere dogo ni du. bakureami nga ngbia ima fu age fe re. wa mo a pa and take that big basket of ours. My friend Ngbia has given me termites. You were quarrelling

\textit{ti e na mi gba, ati mo na ka gbera awere be age?}’

with me yesterday, now aren’t you going to be spoilt with termites?’

\textit{ture ki gito mbata yo na ga ko mangu mbara tii gaga ko, dia ko ki ngbe fuo ko na ga} Ture led the way with his elephant-hide bag slung across his shoulder, and his wife followed him

\textit{ri ba doko ri ri. kungba ima i ki kuru ku munga yo pati ga ngbia age. ture ki ya fu} carrying her big basket on her head. Soon they arrived at the stone flat where Ngbia’s termites were. Ture told

\textit{ri ga u age du re ngbia ni gamu ra, kumba ima gbera be age.} her that those were his termites, given by Ngbia. The man was sick of termites.

\textit{ture ki sa ngba ga ko mangu mbara ku ari ki si age ti ni. dia ko ti ga ri, ri ki ni} Ture turned up his bag and pressed termites into it. As for his wife, she

\textit{kpari kina kura dogo berewe.} was crying out for another big basket.

\textit{i ki ta ya ami na tinda ra ka ga, awiri ngbia ki gbadi a ghada fuo yo ki rikito sa} When they lifted their loads to go home the sons of Ngbia rushed out and attacked

\textit{yo na ngbangbaki ki sa ka ta yo wa pumbo. ture ki gbedi ni oto pati dia ko. dia ture} them with switches and began lashing them like a feast.\(^{29}\) Ture’s wife

\textit{ki ni ya u na ba age ka ora, myamu ra ki du wa si imi ri. awiri ngbia ki mbu ta ri} tried to throw away the termites to run away, but her desire for them was too much for her. Ngbia’s sons stopped whipping her

\textit{ki rogo age fu ri ri ga na ami. ri ki ta sera ture ki ni ga. ri ki da kporo yo,} and gave her some termites to take home. On her way home she was threatening Ture. She arrived home,

\textit{ngere ba ture vuru ko na ima mera ga ko.} and looked in vain for Ture, he had disappeared.

\textit{ngbia ki susuka ga ko age, ami ki rengbe na apere na ainga kpete. ngbia ki yambu} Ngbia pounded his termites and they filled every pot and gourd.\(^{30}\) Ngbia invited

\textit{aboro i ye ka ri age kpoko ni sino bakumba. boro gu ga ko age na ngia agura boro} people to come and eat termites in his home as was expected of an elder. But the main part of the termites, that which a person

\textit{ni igi ra tipa ri ra rago na ugu fuo age a du gbanu yo.} stores to eat when the termite season is over, was in the granary.

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\(^{28}\) \textit{Boro ari yo}, lit. Very high.

\(^{29}\) They beat them like millet being threshed for a feast.

\(^{30}\) \textit{Kpete} indicates a great quantity.
KUSH

aboro ki ta gbe ti yo na age tita ngbia ni paranga ki gba ki ya fu ngbia we, ba
When people were feasting on the termites Ngbia's young grandson arrived and
told Ngbia that his father (Ngbia's)
ngbia kpi. aboro ki mo ki ni kpài ku ti ngbia ture ni ta kina ba wiri nduko
was dead. People were comforting Ngbia while Ture was tapping his big toe
sende. ngbia ki guari na awiri ko du ka ndu ku kpôro kpio ba ko yo. ngbia ki ya,
on the ground.31 Ngbia and his children all went to the funeral of his father.
Ngbia asked,
‘da ni ka banda gimi age du na ghamu re?’ ture ki kpâri ya kina ru. i ki ya ture
‘who will guard my termites which are in the granary?’ Ture cried out that he
would do so. They asked Ture
biti nga ku ghamu yo. ture ki ima dakpa ku ghamu yo ki zoro ni ipo. i ki sana
to climb into the granary. Ture quickly climbed into the granary and came down.
They asked
dakada u biti, u ki ni ya biti, ti a ti. u ki ya ‘ mi na bita nga ghamu tigimi te ba.’
Tortoise to climb, but when he tried to climb he fell down. He said, ‘I never
climb granaries myself, sir.’
ngbia ki ya kina dakada ne ka banda gau age. rago ki gbere ti ture ko ki za ka bira
Ngbia said that Tortoise was to guard his termites. Ture was very sad and blamed
ti ko ti gu pai ko a ima ora ti ni tangatanga ti ku ghamu: ‘ako wiri ba ture
himself for having run up the ladder and dropped into the granary so easily:
‘oh son of Ture's father,
atika ngbia na biriko re a birika!’
so I was being tricked by Ngbia!’
aboro ki gbandaka he dakada tii ghamu. ngbia ki ta dia kina nduko na a wiri ko,
The people dispersed leaving Tortoise under the granary. No sooner had
Ngbia and his children set forth
dakada ki gbe songoro ki songo ghamu, gu wia u a manga mbata  ka u a manga nga
than Tortoise dragged out the prop of the granary roof and lifted it up. He did
not repeat the trick he had played before.
berewe ya. u ki ima bita karakara ti ku ghamu yo sa ga ngbia sukasuka age ki
He easily climbed up and dropped into the granary32 after Ngbia's pounded
termite
sunga sa ra ka ri ra. ka dakada a zoro nga berewe ghamu yo ya da kina o u a riti
and settled down cosily to eat them. Tortoise didn't come down from the
granary till he had eaten up
age ni du. dakada ki ni ri age yuru na uru. ko ki ni nyasi li ra rogo gu u ra ki ni
all the termites. Tortoise was eating the termites day and night. He emptied
each container and

31 A sign of delightful expectation.
32 Karakara indicates that he climbed both fast and skillfully.
SA A Ku SA Yo Ni BA GA Ko Gbeggere Regbo. Ko Ki Ta Rita Ga Ngbia Age Ko Ki Zoro Ga
set it aside for his excretions. When he had eaten all Ngbia’s termites he came
down and went
Ku Dio Da A Gbu Ime Yo.
to a stream where he hid in the water.
Ngbia Ki Kpisidi Ba Ko Dua Bambu Ku Ri Mura Ko Ki Guari Na Awiri Ko Ka Karaga Ti
Ngbia buried his father and built a hut over the grave. He then left with his
children to return
Ko Ku Kpuko Yo Ka Ta Pumbo Ku Ri Mura Ba Ko. Ngbia Ki Ta Mbeda Na Kporo Ki Bi Ga Ko
home to prepare a feast for raising a memorial on his father’s grave. ³³ When
Ngbia was near his home he saw his
Gbamu Si Na Aka Ngbia Ru Ku Ari Yo Wa Dakada A Mbu E Kuo. Ko Ki Ya Yari Ku Ti Ngbia
granary open ³⁴ as Tortoise had left it. When he stepped to the mouth
Gbamu Kina Miri Dakada Ki Ni Fu Na Gbamu Gbada, Ngbia Ki Gito I Ki Mere Na Awiri
of the granary only Tortoise’s dung was smelling nastily ³⁵ in the granary.
Ngbia jumped down and he and his children went around
Ko Ka Sasana E Tipa Dakada.
asking about Tortoise.
Ture Ki Ya Fu Yo, ‘Oni Di E Ke. A Oni A Ya Kina Dakada Nga Bakure Roni. Ka Boro
Ture said to them, ‘you have got it. You said only Tortoise was your friend.
Let nobody
Fudi Nga Re Ti Gimi Ya! Mi A Ino Nga Bara Dakada Te.’ Kina Dia Ture Ki Ya, ‘Anga
bother me for my part! I don’t know Tortoise’s whereabouts.’ It was Ture’s
wife who said, ‘is it not
Mi Na Bi Dakada Kina Pangba Ime Yo Ko Ni Su Ti Ko Te? Boro Ni Ta Ye Kina Ri Ni Ko
Tortoise whom I often see on the river bank basking? Whenever a person
shows his head he
Ki Ti Ga Ko Ku Ime Yo.’
plunges into the water.’
Ngbia Ki Ndu Gba Kure Na Bakiki Ya, ‘Bakureami Bakiki, Gbeggere Wiri Uro Nga
Ngbia went and made blood-brotherhood with Kite and said, ‘my friend Kite,
that ugly little savage ³⁶ called
dakada na mangi bakere pai ti re nga ha rita gimi age he re ku kporo kpio buba yo,
Tortoise has done me a great injury by eating all my termites while I was at my
father’s funeral

³³ A feast is given and a mound of stones is erected on the grave.
³⁴ The movable roof of the granary was partly raised, leaving a space between the
roof and the wall of the granary. This gap is referred to as its Ngbia, mouth.
³⁵ Gbada, an adverb which indicates that the smell was horrible. It is used with fu,
to smell.
³⁶ Uro means ‘foreigner’ but as Azande look down on foreigners with scorn the
word ‘savage’ is perhaps permissible here.
ka mo berewe ka nika a nika ku rogo gi ghamu na gi mi apere na ainga ki ni ga ku di and on top of that he excreted into my granary and my pots and gourds and has now fled to the river.
yo. mo ndu ka pido ko fe re wa ka ko ya kuru mo ki tuka ko gu a gu na ko, mo bi mbia You go and wait for him for me and if he attempts to come out snatch him and fly away with him, and when you find a rock mo ki zogo be ro ti ko ko mere nga ti ko ri e. ka ko a sapa nga ya singia mo ti e du let him go and smash himself on it. If he is not shattered, then you are nga nakiki te !’
not Kite !’
bakiki ki ni pidi dakada a pida kindi. dakada ki ya kuru berewe ka su ti ru, bakiki Kite waited for Tortoise and when he next came out to bask Kite ki ya a ya u tuka ru dakada ga ku sisi ru yo. bakiki ki ti ku sende fuo ru ka nanga attempted to snatch him but Tortoise withdrew into his shell. Kite dropped down beside him to deceive
ru ya bakure nga u. ‘ bakure mi ki ta ye ti e fuo ro ani fu mo ni ga a ga ku sisi ro him, saying that he was his friend. ‘ Friend I am coming to you for conversation but you are withdrawing into your shell.

yo. kina wo gamo ni du tigamo ?’ dakada a ima ina ga u biriki, si du u a ya ti ni Is that how you treat your friends ?’ Tortoise already knew his plot, and that is why he said
fu ru we, ‘ mi na za ka fu tigimi, kina gu boro ka mi zaraga rumbu re ni ki moi to him, ‘ I talk only when I open my bottom, and the person who puts

ndu ni ko yo, ni ka ani fu na ni wenengai.’ ka bakiki a ino boro gu pai tigu ka u his foot into it, he is the one with whom I converse well.’ Kite could not see why he a gunde ti ni be rumburu dakada ya. si du dakada a ya zara rumburu ti ni, u ki mai should be afraid of Tortoise’s bottom. So when Tortoise opened his anus he put

ndu ru ko yo. ami ki mo ti e ka saka gaami apai. ami ki fu ki ta da dakada ki gbedi his foot into it. They conversed. They talked for a while and then Tortoise closed

rumburu a gbida sa fuo ndu bakiki ku rogo sisi ru ki gbedi ni oto ku ime yo. bakiki his anus tightly on Kite’s foot in his shell and ran into the water. Although Kite

ki vuru ni ta ti ru ni kpári, dakada ki ni rindo a rindo sa na u ku ime yo. si du was fluttering and crying, Tortoise dived with him into the water. So

bakiki a kpi ti ni be ime, dakada ki nye gau ka raka pangba ime.
Kite was drowned, and Tortoise remained living near the water.

si du aboro ni ya ti ni we, ka mo kpasaha gu boro gbe bape, mo a dia we a dia fuo ni So people say if you interfere with somebody who has committed some offence you will suffer at his hand.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 5

yo mbiko boro bape, bangiri ni na go nga te. ni ni du a du gbaigbai na wo du for an offender never forgets.\(^{37}\) He is always insecure and continually tatumana be ni tipa avura ni.
schemes against his enemies.

TURE AND BAKUMEME\(^{38}\) (R. Rikita)

\textit{ture na ndu a ndu kindi ka ge ga ko akandu. ko ki ni ndu a ndu}
Ture went off to dig for rats. He went
\textit{ki kuru fuo kumba ti ga ko wili kpata bombu. gi kumba re limo ko}
and arrived at a man’s home in a little battered old hut. This man’s name
\textit{nga bakumeme. ture ki bi ko, ko ki bi kina kungbo meme gbua, si}
was Bakumeme. Ture looked at him and saw just an ordinary bone
\textit{ki pi sande, ka ture a ina nga ya boro du ya. ko ki di sende ki ya}
lying on the ground, for Ture could not know that it was a man. He picked up
some earth and when
\textit{u zumu ko na ni gu meme re si ki guari sande. ture ki ta ina nga}
he threw it at him, this bone arose from the ground. When Ture realized
\textit{boro du ko ya fu gi kumba re we, ’ ako bagbio re mo na ye}
that it was a person he said to this man, ‘ oh my father-in-law, where do you come
\textit{wari?’ gi kumba re, ka ko a karaga nga pai fu ture wa sa ya.}
from?’ But this man replied not a word to Ture.

\textit{ture ki sungu sande ki ta be ko ku mangu yo ki kusi akandu}
Ture sat on the ground and put his hand in his bag and drew out two rats.
\textit{ue. gu kumba re ko ki ta bi ra ku be ture ko ki guari ki ye ki}
When that man saw them in Ture’s hand he rose and came and
\textit{ni tuka ra be ture ni kina ipo ki mbiri ra na kina unga ra, ki}
snatched them from Ture quickly and swallowed them whole, and
\textit{ni bi kina ture, asi ki ta yanga pangba ko ko ki ni li ra pangha}
he saw Ture, flies hovering near his cheek, and he ate them near
\textit{ko. ture ki kusi kurra akandu berewe, ko ki tuka ra a tuka be}
his cheek. Ture brought out more rats and he snatched them from
\textit{ture ni kina ipo ki mbiri ra ni kina unga ra. si ki ta ilitwo ti}
Ture quickly and swallowed them whole. This greatly astonished
\textit{ture gbe, ko ki tii ga ko mangu ku ti gaga ko. gu kumba re ko ki}
Ture and he hung his bag over his shoulder. That man, he
\textit{gbsi ku pati ture mbembedi. ture ki ta zubo ni oto, ko ki yere}
moved near to Ture. When Ture darted off he cut off
\textit{rumburu ture ki mbiri e. ture ki ya u gu berewe ko ki yere gu}
Ture’s buttock and swallowed it. As Ture jumped up again he cut

\(^{37}\) \textit{Dia we a dia fuo ni}, lit. Take fire after a person, i.e. to suffer some calamity.
\(^{38}\) \textit{Meme} means ‘bone.’ \textit{Bakumeme} could be rendered into English by some such
name as Barebones.
KUSH

pa ko a yera ku bani. ture ki ni mo ka ora a ora kindi ki kuru ko
off his other buttock. 'Ture continued in flight and arrived at
yo du nanzagbe ni ki ya fu li we, ' ako nanzagbe dawile, mi bi
where Nanzagbe was and he said to her, ' oh Nanzagbe my sister, I saw
kawiro yore ko ki kpapi a kpara tipa ro ni lengo, ko ki ya we, mi
your brother over there and he complained strongly about you and said that
when I
bi ro mi ki ya fo ro we, mo ye na liae fu ko, bombiko gomoro na
saw you I was to tell you that you were to bring him food, for he
manga ko a manga ni lengo.' rago ki ta gira li ki mangi bakinde
was very hungry.' Early next morning she cooked porridge
ki pasi kondo uka nzeme ti ru. li ki wari buda. li ki ndu a ndu
and she cooked a fowl and poured oil over it. She brewed beer. She went on
her way
kindi ki kuru ku pati gu wili kpata bombu re, li ki bi kina
and arrived at that little battered hut and there she saw just
gbazagara meme ki pi dimo yo. gi meme re, si ki guari ku ali ki
a bare bone lying inside it. This bone, it arose and
sungu a sungo. li ki zogo ga li tindiro sande ki uka kina be li
seated itself. She put down her load on the ground and she crossed her hands
go li yo, apai ki nyasi ngba li dunduko, ka li a karaga nga pai wa sa ya.
at the back of her neck (in fright) and speech departed from her altogether, she
did not utter a word.
bakumeme ki guari sande ki ta tuka azi ni li ra, ki ni bi
Bakumeme arose from the ground and snatched at flies and ate them, and then
he looked at
nanzagbe na kina nyemu lita li. li ki kusi bakinde baga yo na
Nanzagbe with desire to eat her up. She took the porridge out of the basket and
pasio o ki moi e sande. wa li a ma a bakumeme ki ima ye a ye ki
the fowl to go with it. As she was putting it on the ground Bakumeme was
already on his way
tumba bakinde kina ku be ko na ba a ki ukuo o kurungbu yo ki
and, lifting up the porridge in his hand in one piece, he turned it over in the bowl and
mbiri e a mbira na ba a ki mangi pasio kina wo a. li ki kusi buda
swallowed it in one piece, and he did the same with the fowl also. She brought
out beer
fu ko, ko ki rundu ngba ndukura a runda ki kati e, buda ki uka ku
for him, and he bit the mouth of the gourd and broke it off, and the beer poured into
ngba ko yo na ba a. ko ki ni bi kina li suuu kindi. si ki ta
his mouth in one stream. Then he looked intently at the woman herself. As this
iliwo ti li gbe li ki ni mo ka zubo ni oto be ko. ko ki gu na li
terrified her she dashed away from him with all speed. He jumped up together
with her

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sa gbua ki yere gu basungo li ku bani sa. ko ki kati gu kura
and cut off her buttock on one side. Then he severed her other
rumbuli ku ngba ko yo ki mbiri e. li ki ni oro a ora kindi ki ta
buttock into his mouth and swallowed it. She continued to flee
da pati kporo mbembedi li ki kiti ga li bakere gbanga ngua ku be li.
and when she was near home she broke off a big stake for her hand.
li kieoro a ora kindi ki ta da kporo yo agude ki ta dusio li ni
She continued to flee, and when she arrived home and her children ran to meet her,
yaw, 'nina are, nina are;' ture ki ni gba a gba ni kina oto.
saying, 'mother is here, mother is here,' Ture got away as quickly as he could.
nanzagbe ki ya u bi ko li ki oro a ora kakaka ki ya u so ko na
When Nanzagbe saw him she ran as hard as she could but when she tried to
spear him with
ngua li ki gusi ko a gusa. ture ki ni oro a ora ki ni bati.
the stake she missed him. Ture went on running and escaped.
Notes

CONFERENCE ON PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE ASWAN DAM AREA; BELLAGIO, ITALY, 24–28 AUGUST 1964.

The salvage programme in prehistoric archaeology in the reservoir area of the new Aswan Dam in the United Arab Republic and the Republic of the Sudan has been in operation for approximately five years. In addition to the research of these countries, field work has been conducted by representatives of UNESCO and a number of European, Asian, African, and American countries. The purposes of the conference were (1) to review the scientific results of the various expeditions; (2) to delineate the important problems of prehistory as perceived in the light of the results attained; (3) to compare the effectiveness of the various research methods which have been employed; and (4) to discuss plans for future research with particular reference to major scientific objectives, improvement of liaison among expeditions and between expeditions and local governments, and problems of logistics.

The conference was sponsored by the Society for American Archaeology under a grant from the National Science Foundation of the United States and by the Rockefeller Foundation, which placed its Villa Serbelloni at the disposal of the conference. Twenty-six participants were present representing the United Arab Republic, the Republic of the Sudan, UNESCO, the National Science Foundation, the Society for American Archaeology, the French Expedition, the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, and the expeditions of the University of Colorado, Yale University, Columbia University-Museum of New Mexico, the University of Ghana, the Sudan Antiquities Service, and the National Museum of Canada. J. O. Brew, Chairman of the UNESCO International Monuments Committee, served as chairman of the conference.

Problems of supply and transportation and the probable schedule for the filling of the reservoir were discussed by Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner of Antiquities for the Republic of the Sudan, and Anwar Mohammed Shukry, Director of the Department of Antiquities for Egypt (United Arab Republic). Ali Vroni, Director of the Service for the Monuments of Nubia, UNESCO, commented on the operation of the programme from the standpoint of UNESCO. Résumés of the scientific results were presented by the directors and research representatives of the various expeditions and were followed by extensive discussions of the questions of interpretation and methodology raised by the work accomplished. Particular attention was given to the Pleistocene geological history of the area. The conference was closed by a session on planning of future research. The major remaining area of research is the upstream part of the reservoir basin in the Republic of the Sudan.
NOTES

The roster of participants was:

William Y. Adams (UNESCO)—Field Director, Sudan Antiquities Service Excavations in Nubia.

George J. Armelagos (University of Colorado)—Research Representative, University of Colorado Nubian Expedition.

J. O. Brew (Harvard University)—Conference Chairman; Chairman, UNESCO International Monuments Committee.

Karl W. Butzer (University of Wisconsin)—Research Representative, Yale University Expedition.

Waldemar Chmielewski (Polish Academy of Sciences)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

Louis-A. Christophe (UNESCO)—Conference Participant.

Jean de Heinzelin (Rijksuniversiteit-Geologisch Instituut, Ghent)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

James J. Hester (Fort Burgwin Research Center, New Mexico)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

Gordon W. Hewes (University of Colorado)—Director, University of Colorado Nubian Expedition.

Henry Irwin (Harvard University)—Research Representative, University of Colorado Nubian Expedition.

Anthony E. Marks (Fort Burgwin Research Center, New Mexico)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

Charles A. Reed (Yale University)—Director, Yale University Expedition.

Rushdi Said (University of Cairo)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

Torgny Säve-Söderbergh (Uppsala Universitets)—Director, Scandinavian Joint Expedition.

Bengt Schönbacq (Central Office and Museum of National Antiquities, Sweden)—Research Representative, Scandinavian Joint Expedition.

Joel L. Shiner (Fort Burgwin Research Center, New Mexico)—Research Representative, Columbia University-New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.

P. L. Shinnie (University of Ghana)—Director, University of Ghana Expedition.

Anwar Mohammed Shukry (Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, Egypt (UAR))—Conference Participant.

Allan H. Smith (National Science Foundation)—Conference Participant.

Philip E. L. Smith (University of Toronto)—Director, National Museum of Canada Expedition.

Albert C. Spaulding (President, Society for American Archaeology)—Conference Participant.
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Thabit Hassan Thabit (Commissioner of Antiquities, Republic of the Sudan)—Conference Participant.
Jean Vercoutter (Université de Lille, France)—Director, French Expedition to Sudan.
Ali Vrioni (Director, Service for the Monuments of Nubia, UNESCO)—Conference Participant.
Fred Wendorf (Fort Burgwin Research Center, New Mexico)—Director, Columbia University—New Mexico Museum Prehistoric Expedition.
Joe Ben Wheat (University of Colorado)—Research Representative, University of Colorado Nubian Expedition.

ALBERT C. SPAULDING

FOSSIL SITE AT SAQQAI

During the past five years a fossil site at Saqqai has, on a number of occasions, been visited by us as well as by members of the Department of Zoology, University of Khartoum and by Professor C. F. A. Pantin F.R.S. University of Cambridge on his visits as External Examiner.

Saqqai (15° 54’N., 32° 35’E.) is situated on the Nile, about 25 miles North of Khartoum. The fossil site is only exposed when the river is low, and consists of a small island of gravel-strewn Nile silt and the southern extremity of a large island nearby. A number of fossil bones, etc. have been collected and a sample of these has been identified by the authorities of the British Museum (Natural History) as follows:

Mollusca
Nile Perch vertebrae
Turtle: part of carapace
Crocodile skull
Panthera: right 2nd metacarpal
Crocuta: fragment of left lower jaw
Elephant: fragments of tusk
2 lamellae of molars
pleate of molar
Equus:
upper cheek-tooth
2 lower cheek-teeth
2nd right lower molar
24 other teeth
distal end of Metapodial
astragalus
Rhinoceros:
top of skull
2 upper pre molars
2 upper molars
carpel (right cuboid)
NOTES

Hippopotamus: incisor fragments
    lower canine and fragments
    3rd left lower molar
    molar and 7 others cheek-teeth
    fragment of lower jaw
    cervical vertebra
    left scaphoid
    distal end of tibia

Suidae: fragment of 3rd molar

Camelus: distal end of metacarpal

Giraffa: 2 podials (left lunar)

Antelope: 4 cheek-teeth
    2 horn cones
    cervical vertebrae
    proximal end of ulna
    distal end of tibia

Bovids: 20 teeth
    2 axis vertebrae
    cervical vertebrae
    fragment of horn cone
    radius
    proximal end of metatarsal
    distal end of metapodial
    astragalus
    ribs, etc.
    indeterminate fragments

Back of skull—not camel, giraffe, buffalo
Astragalus—not camel or giraffe

This material is preserved in the Sudan Natural History Museum.

In addition, the following evidence of human occupation was discovered:

(a) Hippopotamus—tooth harpoon
(b) Flint Scraper
(c) jaw bone possibly used as an axe

An attempt was made to obtain a radio-active carbon dating of the hippo-
tooth harpoon at the National Physical Laboratory, Teddington, England. Un-
fortunately no clear result was obtained owing to contamination of the sample.
The age of a fossil crocodile skull from Singa, however, has been estimated at
17,000 years by radio-active carbon dating. It is by no means improbable that the
age of the site at Saqqai is considerably more than 20,000 years; it may be con-
temporary with the Khartoum Hospital site.

The jaw-bone axe was investigated by Mr Allan Gentry of the British Museum
(Natural History) who made the following comments:

"TRIBE BOVINI. Too small to belong to southern or eastern populations of
Syncerus caffer, but comparable in size to a specimen of bush buffalo (so-called S.
anus). However, (1) the slenderness of the teeth, (2) shallow ramus below the

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premolars, (3) P₄ (still unerupted) with a valley in the anterior part of its medial wall, all suggest that the specimen is probably not referable to or related to Syncerus (or the extinct Homoioerus, Bate). Bos seems more likely to me on characters (1)–(3) above, and just possibly also on the localised outgrowths of the medial walls of both the anterior and posterior lobes of the molars."

Since there was part of a horn cone of Bos amongst the other animal remains, Mr. Gentry's determination is confirmed by more diagnostic material.

J. L. CLOUDSLEY-THOMPSON

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY'S CONCESSION AT BUHEN

One of the objects of the Egypt Exploration Society's final season at Buhen (January–March 1965) was to record the rock inscriptions within the Society's concession. During previous seasons various members of the Society's staff and guests had located and copied certain of these inscriptions,¹ but the exigencies of the excavation work had prevented systematic recording. The main group of inscriptions had been photographed by Prof. J. Vercoutter on a visit to Buhen while he was Commissioner for Archaeology for the Sudan, and shown to Professor G. Posener, but they have kindly ceded their interest in publication to the Society. The Society's expedition, under the overall direction of Professor W. B. Emery, consisted of Mr and Mrs H. S. Smith.

The great majority of the rock inscriptions (39 out of 45) are hieratic and semi-hieratic graffiti of the Middle Kingdom, of the character found throughout the Second Cataract region.² They contain for the most part only names and patronyms, with, on rare occasions, a title added. Their locations are significant. The main group are on Gebel Turob, the isolated round-topped hill immediately to the local south-west of Buhen fortress in which the officials of the place excavated their rock tombs.³ A path has been cleared or worn round the oval top of the hill, 5.5 m. below the summit. On the south and west sides of the hill at the level of this path natural clefts in the rock facing southwards have been utilized as shelters, and it is around these that most of the Middle Kingdom graffiti cluster. The shelters were examined for occupation débris, but unfortunately whatever there may have been there has been excoriated by the wind. That they were occupied is, however, shown by the presence of a smooth-ground

¹ Among these were Professor J. Vercoutter, Professor J. M. Plumley, Professor A. Klasens, D. B. O'Connor and B. Kemp.
circular hole in the floor of the entrance to the larger of them, which may have resulted from the use of a fire-drill; there can of course be no certainty that this is contemporary with the graffito. The second group of these Middle Kingdom graffito is at the south-east corner of a small round hill named ‘Hill A’, which stands isolated in front of a group of hills about 2 km. south-west of Buhen fort at the north-west corner of a great bay of hills stretching southwards to Abdel-Qadir. The site is about a kilometre from the river. A fallen rock has provided shelter to a narrow cleft, facing south and east, about 5 m. below the summit, and the graffito are incised on the faces both of the fallen rock and of the hillside. In their situation then, they correspond with the similar inscriptions on Gebel Sheikh Suliman, behind Kor town and on ‘Hieroglyph Hill’, 6 miles west of Abdel-Qadir village; for these also are associated with rock-clefts and shelters just below the summits of these hills, for the most part facing south and east. From the summit of Gebel Turob it is possible to see the summit of Hill A through a gap in the hills, while Gebel Sheikh Suliman, 4½ km. away, is directly visible. From Gebel Sheikh Suliman there is a clear view of the rock of Abusir, at the foot of which by the river a large collection of Middle Kingdom graffito have been discovered and recorded by the Epigraphic Expedition of the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin. Perhaps the sites discovered by that mission north of Mirmissa (5–S–23, 5–T–23) will prove on publication to be on eminences visible both from the rock of Abusir and from Mirmissa. However this may be, the sum of these facts shows clearly why there are graffito on these hills; they were used as watch posts and signalling stations, strategically positioned so that the presence of enemy or suspicious strangers out on the desert routes could be swiftly communicated to the Egyptian garrisons at Buhen, Kor, Dorgonarti and Mirmissa-Dabenart. The system might be to send a pair of men out to each post for a tour of duty, say 24 hours or perhaps in the case of a distant station like Hieroglyph Hill, 48 hours; they would keep watch and watch, one man on duty, the other resting in the shelter and from time to time lighting a fire and preparing a meal. That this was so is perhaps suggested by the fact that the graffito quite often show two unrelated men’s names grouped together within a single frame (e.g. Gebel Turob Nos. 13 and 15, seen in Plate X Lý, a). The party may of course in some circumstances have been larger. It seems possible that the most imposing graffito recorded by us, Hill A No. 6 (Plate X Lý, b), is an example of a party of six. Here the names of four Egyptians occur with two drawings of different cattle placed immediately after the last hieroglyph. This position is

4 A. J. Arkell, ÆA, vol. 36, pp. 25–6, translated by Professor J. Cerny. This site has now been numbered 5–N–1 by Hintze, Kush XII, p. 40.
5 Hintze, loc. cit., Sites 5–T–10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 64, 65.
6 That the Egyptians kept a most scrupulous watch on these desert routes and made detailed reports is evident from the ‘Semna Dispatches’ (Smithers, ÆA, vol. 31, pp. 3 ff.).
rather suggestive; in view of the probability that the C-Group people were a 'cattle'-people, and the close association of a man’s name with that of his ‘favourite beast’ among some such peoples, it may not be entirely fantastic to see these two beasts as the ‘signatures’ of two unlettered C-Group Nubians. In this case the party in question will have consisted of four Egyptians and two Nubian mercenaries or scouts.

It is of course impossible to be sure what method of signalling was used; either heliograph or some form of semaphore would be possible. In the bright Nubian sunlight a polished sheet of copper would certainly have made an effective reflector, and would have been more readable than semaphore, for which the distances are rather long. The shelters are all sited in favourable positions for catching the sun, but probably little is to be deduced from this, as the men on duty would undoubtedly have chosen the warmest spots for their resting places. By night signalling could only be by lamp or flare.

Preliminary work on the Middle Kingdom inscriptions of Gebel Turob and Hill A yields the following combined totals for the appearances of names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'In</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In-... (?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In-lt-f</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In-lt-f-ikr (?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnțw-wsr</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnțw-m-h3-t</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnțw-h3-t</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnțw-... (?)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsw-Mnțw</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ilti</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bbl</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥtpi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3ty</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Imn-m-h3-t</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Imny</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr-t-sn</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sbk-wsr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sbk-m-h3-t</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥr-... (?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other names 17
(all occurring once only)

If for the sake of argument the names in the left-hand column be taken as typical of the xiith Dynasty and those in the right-hand column (excluding the seventeen other names) as typical of the xiiith Dynasty, the preponderance of xiith Dynasty names is fifty-nine to twenty-two. This proportion accords well with other sites of the same type in the Second Cataract area. Sheikh Suliman yielded three 'In-names, seven Mnțw-names, two Ḥtpis and a Ḥmi against only

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7 See most recently H.-A. Nordström and H. T. B. Hall, Kush x, pp. 34-61, and P. Huard, Kush xii, pp. 63-81.
8 e.g. among the Longarim, see A. Kronenberg, Kush ix, pp. 258 ff.
9 Even at noon on a hot day, the sunless side of these hills, exposed to the north-west wind, can be surprisingly cold.
one 'Imn-name, while Hieroglyph Hill yielded one 'In-it-f and two Mn tw-names against two 'Imnys and two Sbk-names. Hintze gives the figures (rounded out) for the region between Serra and Semna as over forty 'In-it-fs and over twenty Mn tw-htps against over twenty Wsr-t-sns, over ten 'Imnys, and over ten Sbk-htps.

These figures would appear at first sight strongly to confirm the suggestion made by Arkell in 1950 that there was evidence for xith Dynasty occupation of Nubia as far as the Second Cataract.\textsuperscript{10} Caution is, however, necessary, for further excavation at Serra, Buhen, Kor, Dorganarti, Mirgissa, Dabnarti and Askut and the publication of Reisner's work at Semna and Kumma seem to have produced no evidence of xith Dynasty settlement at any of these sites. Three facts should be borne in mind concerning the names in the graffito: (i) that over half of the 'In-it-fs and of the Mn tw-names belonged not to the inscribers but to their fathers or grandfathers;\textsuperscript{11} (ii) that men who were of an age to hold civic or military positions in the reigns of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I will many of them have been born in the reign of Nb·hp·t-r Montuhotep or of one of his ephemeral successors: (iii) that 'In-it-f and the Mn tw-names, though less popular, did continue in use during the xith and xith Dynasties. It is otherwise with the Sbk-names, which are relatively unlikely to occur before the removal of the capital to Lisht in the reign of Amenemmes I, and with the names 'Imn-m-h3·t and 'Imnys which began to be bestowed on children in the reign of that monarch. While therefore one certainly cannot exclude the possibility that a proportion of these names were inscribed on the rocks of the Batn el-Hagar while the xith Dynasty still occupied the throne of Egypt, it is also conceivable that they all belong to the occupying forces of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I. This seems to me to fit better with the available historical inscriptions and the evidence of the settlement of the forts.

On the north side of Gebel Turob, there are three incised groups (1, 2, 4B) showing male figures. In No. 1, the figure, advancing towards the right, with staff in the left hand and right arm upraised behind him poised to throw a spear or lance, is superposed over a Middle Kingdom graffito of the familiar type (platexlv, c). A similar figure in No. 2, drawn with a freedom foreign to Egyptian depictions of human beings other than the captive or the slain, shows the same spear-throwing posture, and in addition what is probably a phallus-sheath. The throwing posture also appears in 4B. On the evidence of style and superposition, I believe these graffiti to date from the independent Nubian kingdom of the Second Intermediate period.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} JEA, vol. 36, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{11} In the Gebel Turob and Hill A inscriptions, the 'In-names occur once as grandfather, six times as father, five times as the inscriber himself; the Mn tw-names occur twice as grandfather, eleven times as father, and eleven times as the inscriber himself.

\textsuperscript{12} See T. Säve-Söderbergh, Kush iv, pp. 54–61. Representations of a similar nature appear on two unpublished Buhen stelae.
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Of the New Kingdom, there were no inscriptions on Hill A, and only two very short hieroglyphic ones on Gebel Turob (Nos. 5 and 6, PLATE XLV, d), of which one gives a bungled version of the title of the god Amen-re’s, Lord of Karnak. There were no Old Kingdom inscriptions in the central or southern portions of the concession, but on the south side of a small sandstone hill west of the Old Kingdom smelting settlement at the north end of the bay of hills surrounding Buhen, there is a short hieroglyphic inscription which may date to the earlier part of the occupation of that site.13

It is hoped that the full publication of these rock inscriptions will appear in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

H. S. Smith

PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN COINS FOUND IN NUBIA

In the course of his work for the Survey of Nubian Place-Names, Mr Herman Bell was shown a quantity of coins, when he was in Umbarakab, just north of the Bab Kalabsha, in the spring of 1964. The Nubian inhabitant of the place in whose possession they all were said that they had all been discovered in the vicinity, and Mr Bell had no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement. He was able to acquire the coins, with the thought in mind that not many such discoveries had been published from Nubia, and that these might throw some light on the X-Group period. Mr Bell generously entrusted me with the task of putting the coins on record. It seems possible that they are to be connected with the ancient city of Taphis, or, less probably, Talmis (Kalabsha), but there is no way of being certain of their exact provenance. What is of special interest is the preponderance of issues that cannot have reached Nubia before the middle of the 4th century. All the coins are of base metal, and all except no. 6 are worn or very worn.

1. Ptolemaic, possibly of Cyrenaica. 3.8 gm.
2. Similar (very worn).
3. Apparently similar (very worn).

NOTES

8. Constantine, as emperor, 308–37, Rome, Soli Invicto Comiti.
11. ——, Fel Temp Reparatio, Alexandria (after 346).
12. ——, Spes Reipublicae, Constantinople. Virtus with globe and spear (355–61).
13. Fel Temp Reparatio (emperor and mint uncertain; 346–61).
14. Similar.
15–18. (Similar). Falling horseman.
20–22. Similar. Valens or Valentinian I?
23. Similar. Valentinian II?
26–30. Late 4th century, unidentifiable.
31. Similar; contemporary copy?
32. 6th century, 12-nummia, Alexandria.
33. 16th century, Misr? (I am indebted to Miss H. W. Mitchell for this suggested attribution).
34–35. Uncertain.

D. M. Metcalf
KUSH

MEROITISCHE INSCHRIFTEN AUS DER UMGEBUNG VON ANIBA


I

Grabstele, Sandstein, 62×55 cm; Sinisra Grab 147, Reg. Nr. 702 (ABB. 1, TAFEL XLVI). Die roh zugehauene Stele von unregelmässigem Umriss ist auf der Oberfläche für die Aufnahme der dreizeiligen Inschrift von ‘transitionalem’ Duktus grob geglättet worden. Die Buchstaben sind sauber eingraviert und rot ausgemalt:

1. Wēši : Šēreyi :
2. Šinesri
3. mreketēwi


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1 Hintze, ‘Struktur der “Deskriptionssätze”’, MIO, IX (1963), S.10 [66].
2 Griffith, Karanog, S.41. 3 Hintze, a.a.O., S.14 [128–132].
STELE, SINISKA GRAB 147, REG. NR. 702
STELE AUS DEM FRIEDHOF SINISRA
OPFERTAFEL; SINISRA GRAB 176; REG. NR. 355
OPFERTAFEL, SINISRA GRAB 172, REG. NR. 705
TAFEL LI

MEROITISCHE AMPHORE, SINISRA GRAB 141
TAFEL LII

MEROITISCHE AMPHORE SINISRA GRAB 141, REG. NR. 274
OFFERTAFEL AUS DEM SCHULGEBÄUDE VON ANIBA
NOTES

Einen ähnlichen Sinn könnte Z. 2 und 3 unserer Inschrift haben, wobei die Voranstellung des Ortsnamens, das an ihm fehlende -te 'in' und das Suffix -ke, das sonst nicht zu dieser Formel gehört, einander bedingen könnten. Die Inschrift hätte dann an Stelle des Namens des Toten nur einen allgemeinen Ausdruck, der sonst in der Reihe der Titel und Prädikate des Toten zu erscheinen pflegt, gesetzt.

4 Einmal ist ein Suffix -ke am nachgestellten Ortsnamen zu belegen (*mle mrs ON-kelewì, Kar. 41) vgl. Hintze, a.a.O., S.14 [133].

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II

Grabstele, Sandstein, 60 x 30 cm, Friedhof von Sinisra (ABB. 2, TAFEL XLVII).
Der Stein von rohem Umriss enthält zwei Zeilen einer Inschrift von 'transitionalem' Duktus:

1 qē Snē
2 sri

Da nichts zu fehlen scheint, dürfte die Inschrift unvollständig sein. Sie ist vielleicht wie bei I als qē Snēsri mrketēwi zu ergänzen, und im gleichen Sinne aufzufassen. Denn Snēsri dürfte eine orthographische Variante für das Sinesri von I sein. Dem allgemeinen Prädikat für einen Toten, wäre im Gegensatz zu I dann nur das ihm zukommende qē 'der Ehrwürdige o.ä.' vorangestellt, während die Invokation fehlt.

5 Zu diesem Schluß kommt man, da die beiden Zeilen der Richtung der Oberkante des Steines folgen.
NOTES

III

Grabstele, rosa Sandstein, 27.5 × 22 cm; wiederverwendet als Deckstein in Grab Sinisra 4, Reg. Nr. 110 (ABB. 3, TAFEL XLVIII). Die Oberfläche des oben abgerundeten Steines ist grob geplättet. Auf ihr 6 sehr flüchtig eingeritzte Zeilen von ‘spätem’ Duktus:

1 qê S ... dé
2 ye qê wi
3 Meykdi
4 Bwerehye
5 pmkśm . p . m
6 s . . .


IV


...... yi ... e : m ......

In dem oberen Vorsprung befinden sich noch die Reste von 3 kurzen Zeilen:

(1) .... r ....... (2) i me m. (3) ë té

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V

Opfertafel, Sandstein, 36 × 31 cm Sinisra Grab 172, Reg. Nr. 705 (ABB. 5, TAFEL 1). Im vertieften Mittelfeld zwei Libationsgefäße und vier Brote. Auf dem Rande die linksläufige, sehr schlecht erhaltene Inschrift von ‘transitionalem’ Duktus. Sie enthält die ‘Invokation’ (I), die ‘Nomination’ (II) mit den

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

Resten von Namen des Toten und seiner Mutter (?) und den Beginn der Benediktion (IV) mit Formel A (?)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Wēši : Šē re yi :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(A)</td>
<td>P ... qē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>K ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV A</td>
<td>atē mē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI

Meroitische Amphore, 42,5 \times 19 \, \text{cm}, Sinisra Grab 141, Reg. Nr. 274 (ABB. 6, TAFEL LI, LII). Auf der Schulter des Gefäßes eine dreizeilige, später abgewichtete Aufschrift in schwarzer Tinte:

1 \quad \text{pnpšē}
2 \quad \text{w ... i}
3 \quad \text{ḥd ... šē}

Darunter die Darstellung eines Vogels.

[Diagram of a bird]

Abb. 6

VII

Meroitische Opfertafel, Sandstein, 35 \times 30 \, \text{cm} (ABB. 7, TAFEL LIII). Die Herkunft des Stückes ist unbekannt. Es befand sich im Schulgebäude von Anibia und wurde dem Expeditionsstab des Service des Antiquités im Frühjahr 1964 von einem der letzten Bewohner des schon evakuierten Ortes gezeigt. Es befindet sich jetzt in Assuan. Die ausserordentlich sauber gearbeitete Opfertafel zeigt im vertieften Mittelfeld zwei Libationsgefäße und zwischen ihnen vier runde Opferbrote, über denen noch je ein halbiertes Brot (?) dargestellt ist. Über den einander zugewandten Ausgüssen der Libationsgefäße ist
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ein länglich-ovales Opferbecken mit zwei Henkeln (?), die an Papyrushalsen erinnern, dargestellt.6 Die auf dem Rand in drei Zeilen angebrachte, links-läufige Inschrift von 'transitionalem' Duktus lautet:

I Wèši : Šerei :
II(A) Yèpñye qëwi :
(B) Blewitke : tedhelëwü
(C) Agelêhr : terikelêw[i]
III [wëmnis :] krèrelëwü :
belêleke : Nptelëwü [:
pqrł : yetmdelëwü :
šmlël : Dektelëwü :
pesël : yetmdelëwü :
mélëwü :
ml[śmr]tëwü :

IV A atè : mhe : pšihte :
B at mhe : pšhrkte :
C ĕmlël : hêlkte :
E nsdëkel : dële : idëtedikte :
Wèši :

Der Textaufbau bietet nichts Auffälliges. Die Form Šerei an Stelle von Šereyi in I findet sich auch sonst.7

Der Name des Toten besteht aus einer Ableitung auf -ñ+Namenssuffix (?) -ye von einem Element yep, das sich in den Namen Yèpëtë (Kar. 40) und Yèpëtë (Mer. 45) wiederfindet. Für das Ble- im Namen der Mutter vgl. man die Namen Bl-ye (Kar. 132); Beli-met-ye (Kar. 89), Beli-lidte (Kar. 89), Beli-libre (Kar. 3). Am nächsten kommt unseren Namen in der Bildung das Blekewiteke (Kar. 90, 122, 125). Der Name des Vaters enthält das auch sonst belegte Element -hr.8

Die dem Toten beigelegten Titel sind alle auch sonst zu belegen. Für wëmnis : krèrelëwü vgl. Hintze, Struktur der Deskriptionssätze, S.9[34]. Ergänzt werden könnte auch qereñ : krèrelëwü.9 Ein belêleke Npte- 'Belêleke in Napata' ist Kar. 77 belegt, belê/iîleke ist ein sehr häufiger Titel. Dass der Tote zu einem pqr 'Prinz' und einem pesël/pesët 'Gouverneur' im mde-Verhältnis steht, ist in den Totentexten aus Karanog ausserordentlich gut belegt.10 Der Tote ist schliesslich noch šmlël Dektelëwü 'šmlël in Dek'. Der Ortsname Dek

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6 Es handelt sich hierbei um das häufiger anzutreffende 'central basin or reservoir in the centre' (Griffith, Karanog, p. 30), das meist die Form einer Kartousche hat; die Form mit 'cartouche - like termination at one or both ends', Griffith, a.a.O., findet sich noch in Kar. 116, 120.

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kommt einmal in Far. 3 vor. Der Titel findet sich als šm in Kar. 124 (2x), vielleicht ist das relativische\textsuperscript{11} lē hier fehlerhaft.

Für mlē- (lēwi) und mlēmrš(-lēwi) vgl. Griffith, Karanog S. 41, und das oben zu I Bemerkte.

\textbf{ABB. 7}

Die alte Schreibweise mit i- für yī in Formel IV E findet sich auch Kar. 125. Vor allem auf Grund der Titel des Toten wird man vermuten, dass die Tafel vom Friedhof in Karanog stammt.

\textsc{Mohammed Bakr, Cairo University}

\textsuperscript{11} Vgl. Hintze a.a.O., S.2.
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ENGLISH SUMMARY

MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS FOUND NEAR ANIBA

The cemetery of Sinisra, about 6 km south of Aniba, has yielded several new Meroitic texts as a result of recent excavations undertaken by Cairo University, under the supervision of Professor Abdel Mon‘em Abu Bakr. Six new stelae (Nos. I–VI), offering tables, and one inscribed amphora were discovered. Later, a very clearly inscribed offering table (No. VII) was found in the building of the Sinisra school.

On Stela I, the name of a place, Sinesri, follows the words of invocation, instead of the usual owner’s name. This is clearly the same name as that of the modern village, close to the cemetery of Sinisra. In other words, we have here an expression which usually appears in the description.

Stela II gives an orthographic variation of the same name: Snēsri> Šinesri. In contrast to Stela I, the usual addition to proper names, qē, appears in front of the word Snēsri, while the invocation is missing.

Stela III, of pink sandstone with a rounded top, was re-used as a covering stone for a grave. The faint inscription does not follow the normal formula for funeral texts. The invocation is missing, and the name of the owner and his (or her) mother is not followed by the expression indicating maternal relationship, tedheléwi, but by another proper name, Bwerehye.

No. IV is a fragment of an offering table. Its remarkable feature is a rectangular projection like Kar. 120, which resembles that of a stela. In addition to the representation of two amphorae and eight loaves, a line of inscriptions runs along the raised edge, but only traces of them are preserved.

Stela V is also an offering table with a very badly preserved text. The invocation and the first letter of both the owner and his (or her) mother can scarcely be traced.

No. VI is inscribed upon a very beautiful amphora of the Meroitic age. On its shoulder is written in black ink: (1) pnpsē (2) w . . . i (3) ḫd . . šē. There is also a representation of a bird.

The very well made offering table, No. VII, gives a clear example of the Meroitic funeral texts inscribed on offering tables. It was found in the school building at Aniba, but from the title of the owner one may assume that it was brought originally from Karanog.

Mohammed Bakr
Review


This comprehensive and scholarly monograph marks a notable advance in the study of Nubian history. It is, in fact, the first important work of anthropological (i.e. cultural) synthesis to come out of Nubia since Reisner first defined the principal indigenous cultural groupings of the region, nearly sixty years ago. As such it is a work of fundamental importance to all students now working in the Nubian field.

The author reviews the whole sweep of Nubian history from the beginning of the Neolithic period, in the 4th millennium B.C., to the end of the Christian period in the 2nd millennium A.D. The events and changes within this 5000-year span of time are viewed, almost for the first time, as a continuum of cultural development and change rather than as a series of disconnected episodes. 'My principal aim', says the author (p. 1), 'will be to review the evidence that is available concerning the size and distribution of the population of Lower Nubia during different periods and to explain the shifts that can be noted in these factors in the course of history. Handling the latter problem will require a fairly broad review of Nubian cultural history'.

The study comprises ten chapters, of which the first four are essentially introductory. Chapter 1 defines and describes the relatively new discipline of 'settlement archaeology'—the study, through archaeological evidence, of man's adaptation to his ever-changing environment. Chapter 2 introduces the Nubian land and people, Chapter 3 discusses some of the variable factors in the Nubian environment (rainfall, Nile fluctuations, wind, etc.) which have affected human settlement, and Chapter 4 reviews the past and present archaeological work in Nubia and evaluates the results which have accrued from it.

Included almost casually in Chapter 4 is one of the author's most important contributions: a long-overdue re-formulation of the cultural terminology applied to the various phases of Nubian history. Trigger designates five major phases and a series of sub-phases, which correspond to the older cultural classification roughly as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trigger designations</th>
<th>Previous designations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neolithic</td>
<td>Neolithic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nubian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nubian Ia</td>
<td>Gerzean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nubian Ib</td>
<td>A-Group (Pre-dynastic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nubian II</td>
<td>A-Group (Early Dynastic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nubian III</td>
<td>B-Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Trigger designations

Middle Nubian
  Middle Nubian I
  Middle Nubian II
  Middle Nubian III
  Middle Nubian IV
New Kingdom
Late Nubian
  Napatan
  Ptolemaic-Roman and Meroitic
  Ballana
  Christian

Previous designations

C-Group (1st Intermediate period)
C-Group (Middle Kingdom)
C-Group (2nd Intermediate period)
C-Group (Early New Kingdom)
New Kingdom

Napatan
Ptolemaic-Roman and Meroitic
X-Group
Christian

While it is possible to quarrel with some of the details of this formulation, the basic conceptual framework, emphasizing the essential continuity of Nubian cultural development (with the New Kingdom colonization as an intrusive interlude) seems entirely sound. At any rate few scholars will deny the need for a new set of terms to take the place of the old alphabetical group designations—particularly since it is becoming apparent that some of the so-called ‘groups’ were merely new groups of cultural traits, and do not indicate the arrival of new population elements in Nubia. One could wish that this aspect of Trigger’s analysis had been more prominently featured in the book; preferably early in the Introduction.

Chapters 5–9 contain the main substance of the monograph. They discuss the principal cultural features, and particularly the patterns of settlement and land use, in each of the five major historical phases, from Neolithic through Late Nubian. The final chapter contains an overall summary and comparative analysis of Nubian settlement patterns at different periods.

Obviously, in a work of this scope there is plenty of room for disagreement. Occasionally the author’s basic data are open to question; particularly where he accepts perhaps too uncritically some of the results and conclusions from the earlier archaeological surveys. Moreover, his book was written before the completion of some of the very important recent investigations in the Neolithic and proto-historic periods. These will necessitate certain revisions in his treatment of the Neolithic and Early Nubian sequences, although in general they support his major conclusions.

The work is perhaps least successful in attaining its specific objective of describing and comparing quantitatively the population and settlement of Nubia at different periods, as the author attempts to do in Chapter 10. Although he has painstakingly compiled all of the available distributional data on sites in Lower Nubia, there still remain, as he himself acknowledges (pp. 47–54) both lacunae in the archaeological record and a number of variables which will always be beyond the control of any scholar. To cite a specific example:

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the combined Ptolemaic-Roman and Meroitic population of Lower Nubia (at any given time) is estimated at 60,000, while the Ballana (X-Group) population is estimated at 44,000 (p. 160). This ratio is not supported by the evidence from Sudanese Nubia, where X-Group sites are both larger and more numerous than are Meroitic sites. In any case, at least four caveats must be applied to the comparison:

1. Meroitic cemeteries are much more difficult to identify than are X-Group cemeteries, since they are commonly located on lower ground, and the surface structures (never numerous to begin with) have very often been swept away by flooding.

2. We assume that the Ballana (X-Group) period lasted about 150 years. However, we do not really know whether the Meroitic occupation of Lower Nubia lasted for 500, or 300, or only 100 years. Consequently, although we have a large number of Meroitic sites, we are unable to say whether they were occupied successively or all concurrently.

3. The Ptolemaic-Roman and Meroitic figure lumps together two distinct populations, one of which (the Ptolemaic-Roman) was essentially colonial, and was undoubtedly supported in part by external resources, so that the validity of a comparison with the purely indigenous Ballana population (which itself did not occupy the whole of Lower Nubia) is open to question.

4. Many Ballana habitation sites undoubtedly lie buried beneath the ruins of Christian villages—a category of remains which, in Egyptian Nubia, have been very incompletely investigated.

These points will suggest some of the difficulties involved in quantitative comparison even in the comparatively well documented post-Pharaonic periods. For the earlier periods, there has been so much subsequent erosion and destruction that we now have no way of knowing whether we have been left with 10%, or 50%, or 90% of the original archaeological record.

While quantitative comparisons are thus of doubtful value, the fact remains that there have been significant qualitative differences in settlement pattern and land utilization at different periods of Nubian history, and these the author has ably identified and described. The value of his work, however, goes well beyond this. He has brought a proper and long-overdue evolutionary perspective to the study of Nubian history, regarding it as a continuing drama of cultural development rather than as a series of unrelated acts by different performing groups. His monograph deserves to be read as a source book by all students of Nubian history.

William Y. Adams