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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

NINETEENTH MEMOIR

THE ISLAND OF MEROË

By J. W. CROWFOOT

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CAIRO :
FORMERLY ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION AND
ACTING CONSERVATOR OF ANTIQUITIES, SUDAN GOVERNMENT, 1903-1908

AND

MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS

PART I.—SÔBA TO DANGÊL

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

READER IN EGYPTOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITH THIRTY-FIVE PLATES

LONDON

SOLD AT

THE OFFICES OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.
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THE ISLAND OF MEROË.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE PIONEERS OF RESEARCH.

JAMES BRUCE, the discoverer of the Abyssinian sources of the Nile, was the first of modern travellers to recognize the true limits and position of the Island of Meroe, a region roughly equal in area to Ireland, enclosed by the Atbara, the Nile, the Blue Nile and its tributaries. He was returning from Abyssinia by way of the Nile valley in the autumn of 1772, when by chance he stumbled upon the remains of the ancient capital. "On the 20th of October," he writes,¹ "in the evening we left Shendy, and rested two miles from the town and about a mile from the river; the next day, the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog; some pieces of obelisk, likewise with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive; and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient city Meroe."

Bruce was a traveller of the gentleman-

adventurer type and an amateur diplomatist, far more interested in the natives and in the writing of an amusing and witty story of strange things than in antiquarian research. A few days previously he had passed by Wad Ban Naga where ancient temples were prominent features of the landscape some decades later; but he saw nothing of them, and dates from Wad Ban Naga a disquisition on the virtues of the native breed of horses. His account of the site of Meroe is characteristic. He considerably under-estimates the distance between Shendi and Meroe; he apparently did not trouble to visit the Pyramids which must have been visible; and though hazarding the guess that this site was really Meroe, he devotes some pages elsewhere to proving that Meroe was farther south.

Burckhardt, the next great European traveller to visit this region, was a man of very different temper, one whose sole object was the most exact observation and record of things past and present. He travelled from Damer to Shendi in April 1814 in the disguise of an Egyptian merchant. On April 17th² he noted "between Djebail and Dawa" some low mounds of rubbish and red burnt bricks and "foundations of buildings of moderate size constructed of hewn stones." "A close examination," he adds, "might, perhaps, have led to some interesting discoveries, but I was in the company of the caravan, and had the wonders of Thebes been placed on the road, I should not have been able to examine them." On his return

¹ *Travels*, ed. 1813, vol. vi., p. 453.

² *Travels in Nubia*, 1819, p. 275.

from Shendi he saw on May 18th,¹ near a village called Hassa, remains of ancient buildings close to the river, stone foundations of houses, and some brick walls. "I saw no remains of any town wall nor of anything like a large edifice; the whole of what I observed seemed to have belonged to a small open city." At Kabushia Burckhardt left the river and so missed for the second time the chance of seeing the Pyramids of Meroe. Burckhardt was a student of infinite patience and unrivalled accuracy, but it may be questioned whether with the small opportunities of research that lay open to him he would have found much that escaped the eyes of the third pioneer—Frédéric Cailliaud.

Cailliaud, who must be considered the true father of archaeological enquiry in the Sudan, was born at Nantes in 1787. After studying geology and mineralogy in Paris, he found his way to Egypt in 1815 and entered the service of Mohammed Ali, who sent him on various journeys to the Red Sea and the Oases in the western desert. In 1820 he obtained the Pasha's leave to accompany the expedition led by Ismail into the Sudan, and his discoveries were made in the train of the victorious Egyptian army. After the war was over he returned to France, published his *Voyage à Méroé* in 1826, and settled in his native town as Keeper of the Museum; there he died at a good old age in 1869, his end being a curious contrast to the tragical deaths of his two predecessors.

Cailliaud reached the province of Berber with the army in April 1821, and, having heard here of the existence of pyramids to the south, begged leave of the Pasha to be allowed to explore the country, but for some time in vain. At last it was only by representing that they were in the latitude where precious stones were to be found, and that his search for ancient ruins would be combined with a close examination of the nature

of the rocks and soil which might conceal diamonds or gold, that he obtained permission to start forth, accompanied by a young Frenchman named Letorzec, who assisted him in taking astronomical observations. He played upon the natives' greed for buried gold with the same adroitness that he had played upon the Pasha's greed for jewels, and so well did he use the opportunities won by his astuteness and pertinacity that for more than eighty years exploration in the Island of Meroe was confined to the sites which he first discovered. He spent over a fortnight at Meroe itself, planning the town site and measuring and drawing the pyramids. Thence he went south with the army, which he rejoined at Shendi: he visited Soba, where he found the ram which is now in Khartoum, and, after noting two other ancient sites, spent the following winter in the upper reaches of the Blue Nile. On his homeward journey he visited and recorded the ruins at Wad Ben Naga in March 1822, and then started alone into the desert from Shendi,² leaving Letorzec behind. At Nagaa he found and drew the ruins of several temples, and climbed to the quarries on the hills above them: next he discovered the beautiful ruins of Musawwarat, a great palace lying in the basin-like valley; and lastly, on the way back to Shendi, a small temple in the Wadi el Banat. North of Shendi he came upon the site at Hassa already seen by Burckhardt, and found here the remains of a ram. Furthermore, he obtained reports of other ruins in the interior to which we shall return later; and, finally, he wrote a narrative describing his journey and discoveries which is both sane and entertaining: the town site near the pyramids he identified with ancient Meroe because it was obviously the greatest city in the whole region, and its position agreed with the distances in the best of the classical writers, and neither for these ruins nor for the others which he found does he advance

¹ *Travels in Nubia*, 1819, p. 362.

² Linant had visited these sites just before him.

any claims to a fabulous antiquity. Surely such a record entitles Cailliaud to a permanent place among the very greatest pioneers of archaeological research.

The country was now in the hands of the Egyptian Government, and during the next twenty years these sites were revisited by several travellers. One of these, Hoskins, published drawings and descriptions of Meroe and Musawwarat, but could not persuade his party to advance to Nagaa because there were lions thereabouts. Another, Ferlini,¹ had begun the destruction of ancient monuments in the search for loot; and Heeren had published his great work on *The African Nations* with wondrous theories of the remote antiquity of civilization in these parts, theories for which Cailliaud's judicious reservations offer no justification whatsoever. The next scientific mission therefore arrived none too soon.

Richard Lepsius, the leader of the expedition, was a learned German who had devoted himself to the infant science of Egyptology, and was appointed director of a mission to Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sinai, equipped and maintained for more than three years by King Frederick William IV. of Prussia. The sites which Cailliaud had discovered, sketched, and planned single-handed, Lepsius revisited in 1844 with an engineer, three draughtsmen and painters, a moulder, and a Counsellor of Legation. Naturally his plans and drawings, though neither exhaustive nor according to modern criterions sufficiently faithful, are far more complete and accurate than those of Cailliaud; but the expedition did not discover a single new site in the Island of Meroe, or even verify the sites reported but not visited by Cailliaud. Lepsius, in fact, was a learned man and a sound critic, but not a

great discoverer as far as field-work goes. In the pioneer stage discoveries can only be made in a country like the Sudan with the help of the natives: shepherds who have grazed their flocks there, year in year out, have a rare knowledge of the face of the desert, but it is almost subconscious and hard to extract even when they are neither shy nor suspicious. Lepsius carried as his only credentials the recommendations or orders of a Government which was not popular, against which in fact rebellions were rising in several parts of the country, and although a great philologist, he was not well found in the vernacular; otherwise the people would have shown him at least one of the sites which I shall describe, and told him more of their traditions.

Lepsius published his Plates in the middle of the last century, and his *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai* appeared in 1852 and were translated into English in the following year; the text which should have accompanied the Plates was never written, but the illustrations proved, as he noted in the *Letters*,² that these southern monuments were "not previous to the first century before the birth of Christ." "It will," he continues, "in future be a fruitless task to endeavour to support the favourite supposition of an ancient, brilliant, and renowned Meroe, whose inhabitants were at one time the predecessors and the instructors of the Egyptians in civilization, by the demonstration of monumental remains from that old period." This statement has often been ignored, but it has never been disproved, and with the expedition of Lepsius the history of antiquarian research in the Sudan during the last century closes. At the time of the reconquest of the Sudan our knowledge of the ancient civilization of Meroe was no wider than it had been in the days of Cailliaud and Lepsius.

¹ See BUDGE, *The Egyptian Sudan*, London, 1907, vol. i., pp. 285 foll.

² English edition, London, 1853, p. 152.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION.¹SECT. 1. MEROE AND THE RIVERLANDS.²

THE most impressive ruins of ancient Meroe lie between two hamlets belonging to the village of Begarawia. The hamlets are now called Kageik (الكجيك) and Daragab (الدرقاب),³ but the remains of a great wall upon the river front has won for this site the name of El Sur, from which comes the name Assour or even Hachour (!) in our authorities from Cailliaud downwards. This wall is only the centre of a very wide field of ruins; immediately behind it are traces of one or two temple buildings, one of which was originally approached by an avenue of rams, but though there are some carved stone slabs still visible, most of the ancient buildings seem to have been made of red brick. Many old bricks have been carried off to build the adjoining hamlets, but there is a vast quantity still left lying in profusion everywhere. In its present condition the site exercises a curious charm: from the main ruin heaps we pass to a hamlet of huts built of grass or of old bricks, set in the spacious way of the Sudan round about wells which are never quite deserted, and thence to other mounds, and from these to a glade of

bright green acacia trees with fragrant yellow ball blossoms, where we see red bricks again scattered between the trees. Some of the highest mounds are near another hamlet called Hamadab, and were cut through when the railway line was made, but nothing of interest was found, and the old plans of the early discoverers show much more of the disposition of the ancient buildings than can be seen in a superficial visit to-day.

The feature of the site which strikes one first is its enormous size: Meroe was evidently one of those prodigious cities which African culture has always favoured, although at Meroe as at Memphis the whole ruin-area may never have been occupied at a single period. Two miles away to the east are the famous groups of Pyramids clustering round an outlying tongue of the hills, but the whole plain between the city and the ridge is covered with relics of ancient burials. Away to the north again towards Gebel Omali is an old site which may be regarded as a suburb of the capital, and to the south is the line of an old canal and traces of other suburbs. But until excavations have been made it would be rash to enter into further detail: it seems to me premature, for example, to declare that the great wall is the girdle wall of the Temple of Ammon, and not a wall of defence protecting the royal palace as well as the chief temples and other buildings.

We can, however, speak with more confidence about a topic of no less importance, the reason, namely, which led to the choice of this site above all others as the centre of the ancient realm of Meroe. In medieval days the country round Kabushia (the railway station just south of Meroe) was known as the Dar el Abwab, the

¹ Most of the localities mentioned in this chapter are shown in the map on Plate I.

² This section was written almost in its present form several months before any excavations had been made at Meroe. As I have had no opportunity of revisiting the site since or seeing the objects newly found there, I have thought it better to leave my text unchanged: readers must therefore remember that it is a description of Meroe as it appeared between the years 1903 and 1908, and not of Meroe as it is now.

³ Daragab is the name of the tribe to which the "eponymous hero" of Abu Deleig belonged.

Land of Doors, and the name is still heard sometimes in the Baiuda desert. Whatever be the origin of the name,¹ no one can question the appropriateness of its application to a great meeting-point of many roads, for beside the river ways to the north and south there are three great routes radiating from Meroe. On the west bank there is a road leading west to Napata, passing half-way the old fort in the Wadi el Furaa, and running between the two routes used most commonly nowadays, which start respectively from Berber and Shendi. On the east bank of the river there is an old caravan route, which starts from Kabushia and, leaving the Pyramid hills on the left, runs a little north of east to the Atbara and so on to the Red Sea ports: this was the road taken by the caravan which Burckhardt accompanied in 1814. A third road, which we shall describe in part hereafter, leads somewhat east of south to the rich cultivations in Basa and the Hawad, and thence to Abu Deleig, Gebel Geili, and the south; in fact, Kabushia, and not Shendi, is still the natural river port for many of the Arabs who live about Abu Deleig in the centre of the Island of Meroe. The third of these roads was, in my opinion, the most important in its bearing upon the site of the capital; from other places to the north, Berber or Damer for example, communications could have been established as easily with Napata and the Red Sea ports, but no spot combines these advantages with the command of the greatest artery of the interior as does the site of Meroe. The two other roads which I have named are rather the corollaries of this: indeed the existence of the caravan route from Kabushia to the Atbara down to the last century can only be described as a striking instance of the survival of the magnetic power in an extinct capital, and the third road by the Wadi el Furaa is little used to-day. In other words, political

and commercial considerations required a site in easy access of the civilized states lower down the Nile valley and on the Red Sea, but these were not the primary considerations which led to the choice of the site of the capital. Traffic in slaves and ivory and ebony and gold and gums and feathers brought added wealth to the rulers of Meroe; but the true basis of their prosperity was agricultural and pastoral, and therefore they chose for their capital, not a site like Berber or Atbara in command of the shortest routes to the principal markets of the world, but a place itself situated on a spot of great fertility and leading directly to the fat valleys of the interior.

Meroe is not to be regarded merely as a huge emporium for the exchange of goods between three continents, but first and foremost as the capital of a rich agricultural state, and one only, though the greatest, of a number of towns which rose upon the banks of the middle reaches of the Nile.

Changes in the bed of the river have obliterated all trace of many of these, but enough remains to show that there was once an unbroken chain of villages and towns. Nowadays the people live in mud houses or round grass huts; in old times they used to build their houses of red bricks, and the outward sign of an old site, as the villagers well know, is a group of low mounds covered with broken bricks and potsherds and generally marked by modern tombs and older tumuli. The different fabrics of pottery found in these places suggest that they do not all belong to the same period; red bricks and wheel-made pots may have been used far down into the Middle Ages, but even when the surface indications point to a Christian population it would be presumptuous to say that the Christian dwellers were not living on the site of an earlier occupation. The lines of old canals which some travellers have mentioned are less easy to trace and impossible to date, but canals must have existed.

The greatest of these southern sites known to

¹ One learned native told me it was derived from a king called Abwab!

me and not already described by others is situated near the rich Hassa lands about nine miles north of Berber;¹ it is called Dungeil, a local word meaning red bricks, and consequently commonly applied to old sites,² and the pundits of the district say that it is the Mother of Berber and was founded by King Botlus (Ptolemy). During the time of the old Government one of the Egyptian officers at Berber dug over the site in search of spoil, and small scarabs are frequently found there; and I heard that in the Dervish time a man found a piece of gazelle hide covered with strange letters, which, alas, in fear of the Khalifa he threw into the river: it was, no doubt, a document like those sometimes found in Lower Nubia.³ On the east side of this site there are the remains of a great oblong camp with the usual mounds and pottery and plaster; and in the village itself I have seen under the present ground-level a column and bases of sandstone; but the only find of importance was a granite block bearing a cursive inscription, which was being used by the women to beat their clothes on at the time of my visit: I removed it to Khartoum.⁴

Between this and the Atbara there is a site at Mikhailab, the name of which is interesting as the sole example known (to me) of a Christian name combined with the local suffix, and another at Darmali, and a third at Atbara itself, which is probably the "town of masonry" referred to on the inscription of Aizana.

About midway between Meroe and Atbara there is another curious name-survival in the village of Kabushab, to which my attention was

first drawn by Mr. Neville; one of the hamlets in this village is still known as Hillet Gandeis (قنديس), and the learned ones of the village told us that Gandeis was a name of a former king of the Anag, and that on the right bank of the river was a hamlet named Elleis, presumably a corruption of Elias, after another king.

Again, a little north of Khartoum is an ancient site first reported to me by Colonel Asser, near the station of Kadaru; this is of special interest because "Kedrou" or Kadaru is the name of the seat of one of the thirteen princes of the Sudan to whom embassies were sent from Egypt at the close of the thirteenth century, when the great southern kingdom of Aloa had apparently fallen to pieces.⁵ Another of these principalities was the Dar el Abwab, a third was the Anag, and others which can be identified were Kersah or the southern Gezira, and Taka or Kasala.

But traces of ancient occupation have been found far south of this; for example, on the White Nile at Geteina by Captain McEwan, on the Blue Nile at Rodos by Cailliaud, at Alti, Kasemba (near Kamlin), Bronko, and Hassa Hissa by myself, at Goz Bakhit by Mr. Currie, at Rufaa by Mr. Sayce, and at Wad Haddad by Mr. Sharp.

The rains are much heavier in these southern regions than farther north, and ancient sites are therefore likely to have suffered much more, and in places to have been washed away altogether; but it seems probable that the region was at one time as thickly occupied as the province of Dongola, where old sites are almost as common as modern villages. Special considerations, however, determined me to devote such leisure as I could obtain from my other duties to the further exploration of the "desert." I had neither the time nor the means to make regular excavations, and very limited space in which to store such objects as might be found, as the development

¹ See CAILLIAUD, vol. iii., p. 179.

² The word Marug, sometimes Mahrug, is similarly a local term for the Egyptian Sebak, and is also, to the great confusion of fanciful etymologists, applied to old ruins; for example, CAILLIAUD, vol. ii., p. 150; LEPSIUS, *Letters*, p. 209.

³ See KRALL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier*, 1898, p. 2.

⁴ [See *Meroitic Inscriptions*, No. 74.]

⁵ QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris, 1811, vol. ii., p. 101.

of the country entailed many calls upon the Treasury far more urgent than the provision of a Museum. On the other hand, I was obliged to be continually travelling about the country, and my official work brought me into friendly relations with all the most intelligent natives, so that I was able to use good sources of information, and also ready at any time to follow up likely clues. It seemed to me, therefore, that I should be better serving the interests both of the Sudan Government and research, if I turned my attention specially to the interior, and left the excavation of the river sites to those more competent and leisured than myself.

SECT. 2. THE INNER LANDS.

There is no great difference between the Nile-lands of Meroe and the Nile-lands of Egypt. It is not until one leaves the river and turns inland that the change of latitude begins to be felt. In Egypt the desert has ever been regarded as a negative element, hostile and refractory to culture; it was visited only for mines and quarries, and a few remote oases did but throw into stronger relief the inhospitable barrenness of the rest. In the south it is quite different; the desert is no longer a region to be swiftly crossed, a place for the tracing of the straightest routes, and where ancient buildings must mark frontiers or stations upon roads. It is an area with a real economic value hardly less precious to the people than the valley of the Nile.

This difference is most palpable in the southernmost "Gezira," the "Island" between the Blue and the White Niles. A glance at any recent map shows an inland region as thickly dotted with villages as the river-banks, and a sight of the villages proves that we have reached the latitude of the summer rains. These villages are formed of grass huts with pointed roofs to carry off the rain, and they stand on wide plains of black alluvial soil covered by green crops

during the autumn, and strewn for the rest of the year with wisps of straw from the wide-planted roots of the last sowing. This was the fertile region where medieval Arabs, accustomed to the laborious irrigation of Egypt, believed that the crops were sown and watered and gathered by the hands of Ginn.¹

In the Island of Meroe, on the right (northern) bank of the Blue Nile, the conditions are more variable; we are only upon the outskirts of the tropical monsoons, the rain falls more capriciously, and the soil upon which it falls is not of one kind or origin. According to the people, the country is divided into *butana* and *keraba*. The *butana* is the land of the *sagia* or watering, the mouse-coloured cotton soil which drinks in enough of the summer rains to bring to the ripening a yearly crop of grain; the *keraba* is the stony or gravelly country off which the water flows either to the *butana* or to the rivers. Both are found side by side, but in the north-west the stony land predominates, and in the south and east the land is more like the southern Gezira. On the western half of the Island the Nile is bordered by a sandstone belt, and it is in this belt, where easily worked stone was close to hand, that most of the antiquities are found. Behind this belt a great plateau begins ascending slowly towards the Abyssinian highlands, a monotonous expanse of undulating prairie, covered during most of the year with yellow grass. The commonest trees are round thorny *kittr* bushes, and these are found only in valleys, which often are hardly perceptible depressions. In the north the grasses, which are of many kinds, rarely rise more than a foot or two in height, but in the south they are taller than a camel. The outline of the plain is broken only by a few scattered bergs and ridges (*galaat*) of crystalline rock which the ancient sculptors did not care to work.

The landscape of the western sandstone belt

¹ QUATREMÈRE, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

is much more varied and pleasing. The predominant note is a greyish green given by the minute multiplex leaves of the camel thorn and other stunted trees, but it is modulated from month to month. The one constant feature is the black shingle which overlies the sandstone watersheds; elsewhere the colours are continually changing. After the summer rains all the trees put on a fresher green, and convolvulus-like flowerets cover the spaces between the tussocks of grass. As the year grows older the flowerets die and the smaller grasses turn to the colour of the palest yellow silk; the freshness goes away from the trees and their long white thorns become more apparent; the bright emerald greens last only where colocynths and *semmekka* and a few other low-growing plants are found. The landscape at Musawwarat, for example, in the winter months reminds one of an old water-colour which has been exposed to the sun until the blues and the greens have faded into neutral tints. Nothing here recalls the full-bodied colours of the Egyptian landscape or of the farther south, still less the misty distances of an English scene, and yet the final impression is very pleasing; the fawn-coloured gazelles and the grey-coated wild asses are the fitting inhabitants of this region, though one sees little of them when the people are sowing and harvesting.

Perennial streams there are none; in fact, the Atbara and the Rahad, which bound the Island on two sides, both sink into a chain of pools before the descent of the summer flood, and even the Blue Nile is for months unnavigable by large craft. For water the people depend on wells and reservoirs. In the granite hills there are frequently natural clefts in the rock called *gulut* (sing. *galta*), which store water for a long time; at Gebel Dimiat on the road to Kasala I found water as late as April (in 1908) in a *galta* which had been slightly built up. But the commonest type of reservoir is a pond (Arabic, *hafir*) dug out in some natural drainage

basin.¹ Tanks of this kind are still dug both in the southern Gezira and in the Island of Meroe; but the modern works are very feeble by comparison with the ancient ones, and they rarely retain water for more than a month or two. Wells, therefore, form the sole source over most of the Island for the greater part of the year. These are few and generally very deep, some measure over 300 feet in depth, and the drawers of water hold wads of frayed cord in their hands as they lower the buckets, to keep their palms from being cut and burned by the swiftly slipping ropes; as it is, their hands grow almost as horny and knotted as their feet. A well which is less than 150 feet deep is quite exceptional. During the rainy season, when the people from the river-banks are looking after the cultivation of the interior, they cover the wells and drink only from the reservoirs, which both saves themselves trouble and protects the wells from being silted up.

At the time of the reconquest there were no permanent villages in the northern half of the country, but the conditions were abnormal, and even alongside the rivers villages were few. There is always grazing, however, and consequently throughout the year a considerable nomad population of "Arab" herdsmen, while during the autumn months, unless the rains have failed altogether, the interior is actually more populous than the riverside. Before the rains the villagers from the Nile and the Blue Nile go out, where necessary, to repair the little banks (*turus*) which train the waters, and after the rains they live in temporary huts upon their basins and sow and reap before they return to the river. The value of these rain crops, gained with so little trouble, can hardly be exaggerated.² The grain thus garnered is threshed on the spot

¹ A combined *hafir* and *galta* is shown in Plate II. fig. 2.

² In 1907, in the Berber province only, which does not contain more than a third of the ancient Island, tithes were paid on about 150,000 ardebs of *dura*, valued at about £60,000, grown on the desert valleys.

and stored in pits (*matmura, matamir*), which are usually near a village; in these pits it keeps good for years and remains edible though sour long after it is useless for sowing. These simple granaries therefore enable the people to tide over a succession of lean years.

Such, then, is in brief the manner of life of the few thousands who now live in the Island of Meroe. For four or five months they are scattered far and wide; the total area cultivable is so immense and they so few, that they can afford to select only the best portions. For the rest of the year the nomads gather with their flocks near the wells, and the others return to their villages by the rivers. And such, I submit, must have been also the manner of life in ancient days, for it is clearly prescribed by the laws of land and latitude, and proved, as the sequel will show, by the actual relics of the past. The dispensation of this country is, it seems to me, like that described by the Psalmist, who, after singing of "the river of God which is full of water," and the cultivation beside it, describes in this wise the other blessings of a year crowned with goodness when the clouds drop fatness: "They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness; and the little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks, the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing."¹ In northern lands we are accustomed to see the corn growing upon the uplands, and water meadows below used for pasturage; in the rainlands of Meroe, as in the country of the Psalmist, the conditions are exactly reversed.

To give a portrait of a typical figure of these inner lands I will in conclusion venture to translate the story told me by my guide Ibrahim of the richest man he knew: whether it be true or not in every detail matters very little. I have spoken of the agricultural wealth of the country; this man's portrait may serve as a pendant to

illustrate the pastoral wealth. Hasib Rabu is his name, and he lives at Gebel Rera, and is reckoned the first of his tribe in riches and generosity. He has a thousand she-camels of the purest breed, any one of which will give enough milk to fill a waterskin. His flocks of sheep are so numerous that they must be kept round many distant wells, and he has fifteen horses which have never drunk water, but live only on the milk of camels. His hospitality is famous, and once when Ibrahim went to sell him a camel of great price, Hasib Rabu set apart eleven sheep of the fattest, and bade Ibrahim and one or two other strangers who had arrived with him, kill and eat as they had need. So well did Ibrahim fare, that the business of selling the camel kept him there for more than seven days. A man of noble lineage and great ancestral wealth, do you think? Not at all, he began life as the steward of a rich Arab named Wad Baashum, who died leaving as heirs two sons of tender age. It was not difficult for the steward to transfer to his own name the best of the herds in his charge; and a little later, being a "clever man with many thoughts," he wished to marry his two daughters to the sons of his old master. But they, being good men, hated the proposal, and, having other flocks in the keeping of more honest stewards, went to another place. Since then, Hasib Rabu has turned to the service of religion. Every year he sends two camels and 180 lbs. of *semm* (ghi) to the Head of his Religious Order, and when this man's envoy demanded special offerings of forty camels apiece from the Shukria and the Zebedia, Hasib Rabu took from his own herds twenty-four of the best, and left sixteen only for the remainder of his tribe to collect.

SECT. 3. BASA.

All the villagers who live about Meroe know at least by report of the ruins of Basa, and I first heard mention of them from the Sheikh of

¹ Psalm lxxv. 12, 13.

Begarawia in December 1904. Like most ancient remains in this part of the country, they are connected in the popular fancy with the medieval Anag. The Sheikh told me that there was here a great enclosure and also a palace with an entrance and large black stones earved to represent horses or lions or rams. The site of these ruins lay midway between two hills called Giren Basa and Giren Laot, and marked an ancient racecourse of the Anag. Every month, said the Sheikh, two of the Anag used to run from hill to hill and cross each other by the ruins, and he who failed to accomplish the distance in an hour was fined by the judges. I was unable to verify the existence of these ruins until March 1906, but have since revisited them three or four times by various routes.

There is one road with many tracks running north and south which skirts the lower slopes of the ridge on which the Pyramids stand: this road leads to Abu Deleig right through the great valley of the Hawad, and anyone staying at Meroe or by the Pyramids will find this the straightest way to Basa. Before it reaches the valley the road runs for four or five miles over broken uplands; in the grassy hollows the tracks are clearly defined, on the gravelly patches between the course is marked by heaps of stones and occasional graves. To the eye these last look like the tombs of good Muslims who have died by the wayside; but, after some hesitation, my guide assured me that here (as in some graves seen by Lepsius,¹) no one is really buried, but they were not made out of hatred, like those mentioned by Lepsius. When a donkey stumbles and the rider knows that it is the work of a devil, it is the rider's duty to trace out a grave as a warning to others that the place is haunted; they are danger-signals, in fact, to all who ride donkeys, for camel-riders are out of reach of the devils, which lie close to the earth. If my guide was speaking the truth at all, the origin of the

grave, I should suggest, is to be found in the wish to exorcise the evil spirits or provide them with a permanent abode. The valley of the Hawad, where this road joins it, is full of trees and grass, and the grazing belongs to the Fadnia tribe.

The road to Basa from Kabushia runs south of this and does not strike the Hawad proper so soon. The most interesting route goes over stony soil to the "Hosh el Kafer," about a mile and a half from the railway station. This name, "The Infidel's Courtyard," refers to a group of ruins on the north bank of Khor Aulib, the valley which receives the summer waters of the Hawad tributaries. There is a huge reservoir here, some 260 paces in diameter; the banks have been strengthened in places with regular masonry, though they are chiefly formed of the gravel dug out from the interior, and there are traces of a small building on the east side. Nearly a quarter of a mile to the north is a big mound on which the lines of walls can be clearly traced, and round it are the smaller mounds of five or six subsidiary buildings with remains of several columns and earved blocks decorated in the same style of workmanship as the Pyramids of Meroe.² Upon another mound, once occupied by buildings of uncut stone, some fragments of very delicate pottery were found of the same fabric as fragments found at Musawwarat and elsewhere. The remains look like the ruins of a small palace similar to that at the last-named site; the great reservoir, even when deepened, can hardly have held water for more than a few months, and was probably used only for watering cattle, the river being close enough to supply the wants of the inhabitants of the palace or temple. This site, as is usually the case, has been used as a burial-place at some recent period, and in still more modern days Arabs have dug pits for storing grain here. On the opposite bank of the same valley is a small site

¹ LEPSIUS, *Letters*, p. 216 (English edition).

² Pl. III. fig. 5.

covered with red brick belonging perhaps to a later period.

The road to Basa crosses the bed of Khor Aulib and makes for a break in a range of sandstone hills, called Wad Fahal after a mighty king of the Jaalin who reigned in the 18th century. His power was so great, said my guide, that in his day even the wild beasts did not dare to prey upon the flocks; he is probably the man whose mother Bruce visited at Shendi,¹ he being at the time of Bruce's visit absent in the Hawad, the very region we are approaching. The hills are about three miles from Hosh el Kafer, and the road passes a small basin called Umm Basal, which is sometimes cultivated, and close to the hills a group of tumuli built of black sandstone, one of them surrounded with a circle.

After passing the col we cross two broad valleys, both of which drain into the Hawad, and, after travelling some five miles, come to a reddish ridge covered with flints and tumuli. The ridge is called El Galaa el Homra, and the tombs were said by the guide to be the memorial of an unusually bloody raid made before the time of Wad Fahal, which had otherwise, like most of the frays between Arabs, been long forgotten. The Kawahla, a nomad tribe who still own wells in the region, descended upon the Jaalin villages by the river when the men were away, and drove off the beasts which worked the waterwheels. When the men returned, they pursued the raiders and caught them resting at this spot; in the fight fifty of the raiders and thirty of the Jaalin were killed, and these are their tombs. From this spot a good view can be obtained of Giren Laot, a conical hill on the west of the Hawad, and Giren Basa, a larger hill of the same shape far away to the east. The word Giren means a little horn, and is appropriately given to these two conical protuberances

which shoot up just like the young horns of calves or gazelles pressing through the hair above the mask. This point is reckoned two-thirds of the distance to the ruins of Basa; and the road here quits the ridge, leaving some cultivation near Giren Laot on the right, and descends into the valley, joining the other road from Meroe at a spot near some stones called the Prophet's Footprints (Khatwat el Nebi).

The valley of the Hawad is very broad and full of grey-green trees and tussocks of grass here as in its lower reaches.² In the autumn, when there is a perpetual coming and going of people on their way to the cultivation in the upper parts of the Hawad, at Basa and elsewhere, and when there is water in the reservoirs and water-holes sunk in the river-bed, the valley is always full of flocks and herds, and the huts of their owners are found scattered about, and there is little or no game; in the spring most of the water-holes are dry, only the flocks and cattle of the Fadnia remain, and gazelle and ariel return from the inner parts.

Basa lies on the far side (east bank) of the Hawad in a water-system of its own, separated from the larger valley by a low gravelly ridge four or five miles from El Galaa el Homra.³ The trees are continuous, and the ruins are not like those at Nagaa and Musawwarat a prominent landmark for miles around. There are no high buildings here, and it would be quite possible to pass very close to the ruins without seeing anything.⁴ They lie on more or less level ground between the tombs of two local saints, called Fikih Bafadni and Fikih Awadullah. Nothing is known of these worthies, but the name of the former would indicate the eponymous hero of the Fadnia tribe; their tombs are mere mounds,

² Cf. Pl. II. figs. 3, 4.

³ The exact position of Basa Reservoir has been fixed by Mr. Carson of the Sudan Survey Department as Lat. 16° 42' N., Long. 33° 53' E., 28 kilometres from Kabushia Station.

⁴ See Pl. III.

¹ BRUCE, ed. 1813, vol. vi., p. 447. The date of Bruce's visit was the 12th October (1772), just the season when the people would naturally be in the inland districts.

resting doubtless on the debris of older tombs or dwellings, and they are now used as sanctuaries. Arabs deposit with perfect confidence the panels of donkey-saddles, camel-saddles, tent-poles, old pots and pans and other miscellaneous properties of the desert, on the mound, in the keeping of the departed saint. The water-holes lie close to the tomb of Fikih Bafadni, and the cultivation is some way farther to the east of the other tomb, in an enormous basin called Moiat Basa. Here Mr. Drummond and I saw, in the middle of November in 1907, a sheet of water still standing, which we estimated to be about two miles long; as the water dried, the people planted nearer and nearer to the centre of the basin, and the lake was consequently fringed by green dura gradually rising higher and higher the farther it was from the standing water. This great basin gives as clear an explanation for the existence of the ruins as does the valley of Auateb for the ruins of Nagaa.¹

I visited the ruins, first, alone in March 1906, riding on a swift camel in two hours and a half from Kabushia, a distance of twenty-eight kilometres, over which baggage-camels take six or seven hours. On my return the same evening I was able to report to Professor Steindorff, who had been visiting Meroe and the Pyramids with me, that the story of the villagers was well founded, that there was an ancient reservoir with five carved lions round it, and the remains of a temple with a portal guarded by more lions, and two or three other mounds. I spent another day there in the autumn, on my way to other sites in the Hawad with Mr. McLean, who made a sketch-plan of the reservoir. A third visit was made in the spring with Mr. Drummond, on our way to the remains at Umm Sôda, and in the autumn of 1907 Mr. Drummond and I spent three or four days here, excavating the temple mound.

The reservoir lies to the east of the other

remains (see plan), but north-west of the tomb of Fikih Awadullah and of the main cultivation. Like most of these tanks, it is irregular in shape, but larger and consequently shallower than the majority, and measures about 250 metres in diameter. The banks are bound by a single course of uncut stones about a metre wide, but hardly rise above the level of the interior, so much has it silted up. There are vestiges of two protected intakes on the north and east sides respectively, where the principal flood would naturally pour down, and the ground outside the tank between these is higher than the rest, being formed of the gravel thrown up from the original excavation. The interior is now filled with soil which must have accumulated to a depth of five or six feet, as we proved in our last visit, and is covered with trees and grass. Arabs often build their temporary huts in the middle of the tank, and the water therefore does not stand there at all.

At the time of my first visit there were the remains of five large lions in hard grey stone on and round the banks of the reservoir: one of these lay on the north-east side, midway between the two intakes, another lay in the middle of the south side, the other three were all on the west in the direction of the temple and other buildings, and there is every reason to suppose that they are all approximately in their original positions. Viewed in relation to the rest of the site, they present an intelligible scheme of decoration. They are all similar in type (sitting on their haunches), with minor differences, but they are not all complete, and two of them were only roughly blocked out. The most perfect we found lying on its side, half buried just inside the west bank, unbroken and elaborately finished.² It is carved from a single block of stone, and measures in height m. 1·60, and stands on a base m. 1·10 by 50 cm., carved from the same block, which rested on two courses of bricks

¹ LEPSIUS, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.*, p. 154.

² Pl. VI. figs. 9, 10, 12.

covered with plaster and supported on no other foundation. The lion wears a conventional mane-fringe, and beneath it on a flat board-like chest two hieroglyphic cartouches,¹ under which is a pectoral of seven rows of pendants. The lion's mane terminates in a curious knot like an inverted fleur-de-lys, and between this knot and the ears the sculptor has carved a large scarab beetle resting on triple wings. The two lions immediately north and south of this have been more broken²; both have the same mane-knot behind, one has lost the cartouches with the fore-legs, but retained the hawk and vulture crests surmounting the cartouches, on the other the cartouches with their crests remain complete in outline, but the signs have been effaced. The two remaining lions on the north-east and the south sides of the tank were never completed, and have suffered much more grievously from the weather.

These five lions were the only objects of interest near the reservoir at the time of my first visit, but an Arab who built himself a hut there in the summer of 1906, came upon another carved stone while he was digging out a place for a hearth. Curiosity drove him to uncover it, and he saw what he thought was a representation of a monkey, and buried it again at once out of fear. I heard of it in the meanwhile, and when we were digging there in the autumn of 1907, spent some hours looking for it in vain, as the Arab in question was away at some distant cultivation, and those with me did not know the exact spot; a camel-man whom I sent in search of him fortunately met his son at the end of a day's journey, and under his guidance we set to work again on the last day of our stay. The stone proved to be a colossal frog,³ measuring from top to toe 72 centimetres, and resting on a solid base 80 cm. long by 40 cm. wide,

and at least 30 cm. high. As soon as they recognized it, the Arabs remarked on the fittingness of its position in the middle of a water tank, and we can hardly be wrong in regarding it as a charm to ensure a plentiful rainfall by the natural working of sympathetic magic. Small frogs in silver and clay are almost as common as scarabs, and were the symbol of one of the minor Egyptian deities; but a frog of this size and in this attitude is, so far as I know, unique.⁴ Both in position and size it may be compared with the colossal scarab found by the sacred lake at Karnak. As a piece of sculpture, though rough, it is far superior in naturalness and life to the conventional lions hard by, and it is a matter of great regret to me that I could not completely clear it in the time at my disposal. The depth of the base beneath the present surface of the ground shows that at least five or six feet of soil have accumulated on the original floor of the tank, and the tank deepened to this extent would doubtless in a year of normal rainfall have served the needs of numerous men and beasts for three or four months.

The temple mound lies about three hundred and fifty metres to the west of the reservoir, and was enclosed by a wall built of undressed stone plastered on the inner face. The entrance was on the south-east, and guarded by two lions which have not yet fallen to the ground⁵; the lion on the right is mauling a captive, who kneels between its hindlegs with arms bound behind his back⁶; that on the left is of the ordinary seated type. Facing the entrance, about fifty yards away, is a third lion of the same type; from the position in which it has fallen it is evident that originally this lion was

¹ [See *Meroitic Inscriptions*, no. 46.]

² Pl. VI. figs. 12, 13.

³ Pl. VII. figs. 14, 15.

⁴ I have since seen in the Auvergne, on the summit of Le Puy de Dôme, near the temple of Mercurius Dumias, a rude figure of a frog as large, but in the usual attitude of the "scarab frogs."

⁵ Pl. VII. figs. 16, 17.

⁶ Pl. VIII. fig. 18.

looking directly towards the temple gate; and yet another hundred yards away was a fourth lion of the same type, and also originally facing the temple gate. Both these lions had fallen, and about six inches of soil had accumulated round them.¹

The threshold of the entrance was buried beneath a foot of soil, and the enclosure walls on each side ended in returning jambs of soft dressed sandstone. Column drums of the same material were lying round the mound, which rose in the centre of the enclosure to a height of five feet. The few days which it was possible to devote to the excavation of this mound enabled us to recover the plan of the temple, which is closely akin in type to two of the temples at Nagaa, the temples lettered A and G on Lepsius's plan.

The temple of Basa was a small rectangular building with walls faced with red bricks round a solid core of mud and stones, and the bricks at the four corners of the pylon and at the two corners of the temple behind were cut to form the little engaged columns which the Ethiopians adopted from Egypt.

The columns surrounding the temple and forming the forecourt were of very soft sandstone, which had been heavily plastered and doubtless painted, resembling in both these features buildings at Meroe, Gebel Barkal, and elsewhere. The extreme softness of the material has caused the total disappearance of the greater part of the shafts, and probably in some cases of the bases, though it is difficult to say how many should be added. The columns in the forecourt were round, with the usual square base and broad circular cushion immediately above it. The only capital found in this part of the temple belonged to one of the curious corner pillars, and its strange shape is due to the heart-shaped pillar which it crowned.² The elongated scallop and rosette which fill the

interval between its five ribs can hardly be much earlier than the third century of our era, a date which would, I think, fit the parallel temples at Nagaa.

In the forecourt immediately in front of the pylon were the remains of two more lions, in the common sitting attitude, of very soft sandstone covered with a thick coat of brightly painted plaster. Only the bases, the feet, and the rumps of these lions remain, but we picked up one fragment belonging originally to the chest, painted yellow with vermilion curls, similar in form to the curls on some of the outer lions. Bright red and blue fragments of painted plaster from the pylon walls were also found at the lowest depth, and with brightly painted columns and paint on the enclosure walls the original appearance of the temple must have been most brilliant. These painted fragments enable us furthermore to reconstruct more faithfully in imagination the original appearance of other Ethiopian sites like Nagaa and Musawwarat.

The other discoveries made upon the temple site raise more problems than we can solve. Inside the temple were six columns with cushion capitals, which had once divided the sanctuary into three aisles, and in the centre of the far wall was a broken altar. These internal columns stand upon a sort of stylobate of red bricks; and the division of the sanctuary which they make is a feature alien to Egyptian traditions, but a development as it were of the internal arrangement of the late temple at Nagaa lettered A by Lepsius, who represents also a stylobate, and not unlike others there and at Musawwarat, in all of which four internal columns occur. Is it unreasonable to see here the influence of the Roman basilica form, which was to be the prototype of so many Christian churches? Immediately in front of the altar an interesting find was made, consisting of five small lions of sandstone and seven stone rings with the fragment of an eighth, which have all been placed in the Khartum Museum. The lions were clearly

¹ Pl. VIII. figs. 19, 20.

² Pl. IX. figs. 23, 24.

modelled on the larger lions outside; one of them was mauling a captive, like the lion at the outer gate, the others in different degrees were copies of the sitting type, even down to minute details such as the ornaments on the chest and the mane-knot.¹ Some of the stone rings were of sandstone and round in section, others of felsite, diorite, or porphyrite, were flat or bevelled, and one of the latter was chipped as though from use as a mace-head.² Beside them were two rude offering-tables also made of sandstone. The presence of these little lions close to the altar, combined with the remains of eleven larger lions on other parts of the site, shows that we are confronted with a cult very different from anything Egypt can show. We must turn again to Nagaa temple A to find the lion holding a similar position.

Just outside the sanctuary, close to the painted lions, a marble sundial,³ now in Khartum, was discovered, and a great quantity of minute fragments of gold leaf and more or less vitrified paste which had probably been used to inlay some chest, also an eye of white rock crystal with ball of pebble (?), and a fragment of stone elaborately engraved and painted green, red and yellow, which may represent part of the jewellery of a statue. All these objects occurred close to the ground-level, and about a foot above this were masses of charred *dom* and *heglük* logs, which threw light on a later chapter in the history of the building. After the temple had fallen into ruin and an accumulation of ten or twelve inches had gathered on the floor, the space between the pylon and the columns of the

forecourt nearest to it had been filled with the drums of other columns, and a rude shelter thus made. The two lions were at the same time broken down to the new level, which was no difficult matter, seeing the rottenness of the sandstone, and the whole space was roofed with the logs whose charred remains we found. Nothing of interest was to be seen in the three or four feet above the charred wood, and this second occupation belonged to a period of evident poverty.

The dial⁴ is carved out of a block of sub-crystalline limestone, so similar in character to the stone found south of Abu Hamid that it is practically certain that the block comes from that district: in any case the material cannot have been imported from Egypt. In form, on the other hand, the dial from Basa is obviously related to two Egyptian dials of the Roman period, one found near Mariut, and now in the courtyard of the Museum at Alexandria; the other found at Alexandria, and now in the British Museum. Our dial was, like them, intended to register the time of a twelve-hour day by means of hour lines cut on a conoidal surface in the upper part of the block. The Basa dial is unfortunately broken, and no traces of the missing portion were found: this portion measured about one-fifth of the whole block and fully one-third of the actual dial bowl, the hour divisions which have disappeared being the whole of the first and second, part of the third and tenth, and the whole of the eleventh and twelfth. As in the two Egyptian examples, there is a curved line engraved round the lower edge of the bowl in which the hour lines terminate, and the portion of a line parallel

¹ Pl. IX. fig. 25; Pl. XII. figs. 26, 27. ² Pl. XI.

³ See Mr. Drummond's drawing on Pl. X. May we regard this as a proof of the solar nature of the lion-god? On an inscription of the Roman period from Lystra, in Asia Minor, a dial is mentioned as an offering to the Sun-god: the god at Gebel Geili (see below) is clearly solar. The Oases were famous a little later than this, it may be noted, for the manufacture of dials: see Olympiodorus apud Photium, 192 R.

⁴ Through the kindness of Mr. Drummond, I have been able to submit the dial to Dr. W. F. Hume and to Mr. J. I. Craig of the Egyptian Survey Department. To the former I owe the geological description of the stone, to the latter I am deeply indebted for many suggestions in the account above given; see an account by him in a forthcoming number of the *Cairo Scientific Journal*.

with this is just visible at the point where the dial is fractured: the lower line probably marks the line traced by the shadow east from the point of the gnomon at the summer solstice, but whether the second represents the shadow cast at the equinoxes or the winter solstice can only be determined after further calculations have been made: on one of the Egyptian examples there are three parallel lines, and on the other four. The workmanship of the Basa dial cannot claim mathematical accuracy; but the mere facts that there were craftsmen in Meroe capable of carving dials, and that a demand existed for dials even in the inner lands, show how extensively the people of Meroe had appropriated the achievements of Romano-Egyptian culture.

Though many questions must be left for others to discuss, a few general conclusions may be safely advanced. In the first place, the paint on the fragments of plaster was so bright that it can hardly have been long exposed to the elements; the prosperity of Basa was therefore probably short-lived, and ruin fell on the temple a few decades after its completion.

Secondly, although the period of the construction of Basa was evidently a period of some wealth and culture, when, as is shown by the presence of a dial, the exact computation of time was a matter of interest, there is a strange absence of writing; hieroglyphs occur only on the cartouches of the lion by the reservoir. In this respect Basa does not stand alone; at Musawwarat there are no hieroglyphs and only a single line in the cursive Meroitic script: at the later pyramids of Meroe, as on temple A at Nagaa, several of the spaces prepared for hieroglyphs are left blank. On the latest temple at Nagaa (temple B) there is no inscription at all; at Umm Soda, which is clearly akin, as we shall see, to Basa, the official script is no longer hieroglyphic but cursive. At Basa we may reasonably conjecture that the official inscriptions, which can hardly have been wholly

absent, were painted in Meroitic script on plaster which has since perished. All these considerations show how far removed we are from those Ptolemaic days of which Diodorus¹ wrote, that among the Ethiopians at that time the knowledge of the hieroglyphic script was universal, and not, as in Egypt, confined to the priestly scribes.

The interdependence of all these sites will be made more evident in the sequel. Meanwhile we may enforce our conclusions as to the brevity of the age which gave them birth by one further consideration. Until we know more of the contents of the other mounds at Basa it will be premature to dogmatize on the present plan of the site; we can only conjecture that the second mound between the temple and the reservoir conceals a palace or another shrine, and that some pottery and building fragments which are littered over the ground north of the temple enclosure belonged to the lodgings of the temple servants; but the alignment of the two lions outside the temple enclosure, and the disposition of the other lions round the reservoir, which, by their concentration on the west side, evidently point towards the temple as the chief centre of attraction, give an indication that the whole site was laid out on one definite plan. The grouping of buildings and sculptures, in other words, was not the haphazard result of a long succession of builders, but the organized creation of a single mind. And though the buildings are modest enough in comparison with the colossal works of ancient Egypt, and the sculpture rude in execution, this plan was not wanting in a certain spaciousness, and the appearance of the whole on the sides of the well-wooded valley must have been bright and charming.

SECT. 4. THE HAWAD.

The buildings at Basa served the needs of those who cultivated the rich lands of Moiat Basa, but

¹ Bk. iii. c. 3.

a much wider area of grain-land lies only a few hours to the south in the valley of the Hawad, which is quite separated from this water-system by a ridge of gravel. Down this valley the waters pour in a real torrent when the rains have been heavy in any part of its wide water-shed, which reaches almost to Abu Deleig; in the space of a few minutes a spate (Arabic, *seil*) some feet in height will form and rush down to the great peril of the flocks that may be wandering there. In a valley south of this two thousand sheep and goats were found drowned a few summers ago, when an unusually heavy storm had burst; and most Arabs will tell you of hair-breadth escapes, when the water has risen up to the neck of their camels and they themselves have taken refuge in trees. Where depressions occur in the bed of the river the water, with the soil which it has scoured from the hills, settles and stands, and in these depressions the people sow their crops, but the trees which flourish everywhere else along the valley-sides, and the water-holes which are sunk in the gravelly parts of the bed, show how much water remains elsewhere. No rain-gauges or flood-meters have been set up in this valley, and no figures can be given at present, but the reports of the people living in Kabushia and the neighbouring villages by the Nile are unanimous in asserting that the flow rarely fails altogether.

The main road from these villages to Abu Deleig runs along the west bank of the valley; but travelling from Basa one marches more directly on the opposite side, and this was my route on a short journey of reconnaissance which I made in the autumn of 1906. For the first few miles the valley was well wooded, we passed several water-holes, some of them disused, others still supplying the numerous flocks which graze here. Umm Hatab (Mother of Wood) is the name of the first district one passes, and here in the midst of thick trees are the ruins of the school of a learned man of the Fadnia tribe who has left his mark on the district, the Fikih Ibrahim Wad

Abu Nigma. An hour and a half after leaving Basa (on trotting camels) we saw a group of *heglik* trees which mark the boundary between Umm Hatab and El Rera, a place where a thick undergrowth of trees and shrubs alternates with gravelly islands; in forty minutes more we enter Soreiba, so named from a plant which grows here, and at this point the valley seems to ascend, and the trees become thinner and give way to grass-land, and cultivation is reported to exist, but lay out of our ken.

Three hours after leaving Basa, we reached Umm Hashima (Mother of Grass), coming here upon the first traces of cultivation, and from this point we rode all day beside a waving belt of yellow dura, though but a portion of what might have been sown had been used by the people. North of this the country belongs to the Fadnia tribe, who graze their flocks upon it; that to the south consists for a whole day's march and more of well-nigh continuous grain-land, and it is divided for the most part among different branches of the Jaalin, who have villages on the river-side and come here only during and after the rains. Thus Umm Hashima belongs to Zeidab; the next district, Abu Snitat (= Abu Suntat, Father of Sunt trees), belongs to Aliab; Hegeina, which comes next, to Kabushab; and Himiriba, after this, to Umarab, villages on the Nile, some of them more than eighty miles away. These village names are hybrid words formed of an Arabic proper name with a local termination drawn from the present desert-dwellers' language (To-Bedaui); and the Arab villagers, if Arabs they may be called, doubtless derived their title both to the riverlands and to these inland valleys from intermarriage with earlier occupants, following upon partial conquest, as we know to have been the case in the mining districts of the Northern Sudan. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the system of land division we find to-day corresponds in its broad outlines with the system which prevailed in ancient Ethiopian days, and that the present landmarks

(*miruns*) between the different districts, which consist of rocks or heaps of stones or clumps of trees and bear separate names, may actually mark the ancient boundaries of the estates of different townships.

At Himireba we left the valley and turned into some rough uncultivated country to the south-east in search of an ancient well, near which I hoped to find the traces of an old settlement. This district is called Geheid (القييد) and belongs, like the lower reaches of the Hawad, to the Fadnia; the well, which I reckoned to be thirty miles from Basa, is called Well of the Infidel (Bir el Kafer). Fikih Wad Abu Nigma, it is said, once had a vision in which he was told that he would find water if he dug in this spot, where it was probably obvious, even to those whose eyes had not been opened by a vision, that there had been a well which had fallen in. However, the Fikih came here with three hundred pupils, and they re-opened the well and equipped it with appliances for drawing the water. We found that the well, which is more than 250 feet deep, had an enormous mouth, measuring in diameter over seven metres; the sides have been built up with rough sandstone blocks for some 15 feet, but, though still full of water, it is no longer used, and the perilous condition of the edge prevented us from examining it further. In the time of the Fikih the water was drawn by bulls, which dragged the ropes over rows of forked stakes which still remain, and the death of the bulls was the only reason given to me for the disuse of the well. A well of this size and depth cut in the rock is not the work of Arabs, and must date back to ancient days; but I could find no traces of ancient occupation in the neighbourhood, though some most probably exist. We left the well and turned back towards the valley of the Hawad, which we crossed higher up, and, after passing one or two tanks, came to the main road on the west side of the valley which leads to Abu Deleig. From this point we made for a well called Ambasa, on the road between

Shendi and Abu Deleig, where the existence of an Arabic inscription was reported to me. About thirteen miles west of Bir el Kafer we found the well, with shady trees close beside it and three bullock-walks radiating from the mouth like those at the former well. When we arrived there, we found the well still covered up, it was November 21st, and there was still water in the neighbouring reservoirs, but of the Arabic inscription we could see nothing; it may have fallen down the well or been built into the sides of it face inwards. An old man, who told me that he had seen it, said that it ran, somewhat inelegantly, "The well is the possession of Abd el Mahmud, and Daro is my reservoir and Koko is my slave; you may water ninety-nine head of cattle." From this point on till our arrival in Shendi, a day and a half's march, we saw neither cultivation nor ancient remains.

SECT. 5. UMM SODA.

In August 1906 the rains had, as is not unusual in the summer, washed away several miles of the railway, and I was in consequence held up for three days in the dreary, sun-scorched town of Abu Hamid. A new minaret happened to be in building at the mosque, and here I met and fell into talk with the imam. In his youth this sheikh had been a pupil of the famous Fikih Ibrahim Wad Abu Nigma; he had moved with his master from the ruined school in the Hawad to other quarters near wells named Umm Shedida, and had a rare knowledge of this central district of the Island of Meroe. We found that we had many friends in common, and he discoursed freely of the things which interested him, such as the seven heavens and the science of the stars, and imparted to me much information about more sublunary matters which interested me. He was fond of describing places as being in the direction of the rising of certain stars at some given season, a mode of description which at the time I thought tiresome and pedantic, but

which the event fully justified, for, when desert-travel is at issue, the Arab, like the Greek's Nature, does "nothing in vain." This man confirmed a report which I had heard vaguely from others, of ruins at a place called Umm Soda (the Mother of Black); there were here, he said, reservoirs like that at Basa, and round one of them carved stones of the same kind; of other ruins not already known to me he knew nothing.

Not until the last week in the following April (1907) could I verify the story of the sheikh, and the time was ill-chosen, for it was the beginning of the summer and the heat was intense. Mr. Drummond and I started from Kabushia with Ibrahim, the guide who had accompanied us before, and retraced our old road as far as Basa. We then turned back into the Hawad, to water at some water-holes two miles south of Basa, as those by the tomb of Fikih Bafadni were dry, and then, leaving the valley on our right, we crossed a long, sandy ridge covered with tussocks of coarse grass and *mirekh* bushes. These hills (*gizan*, plural of *goz*) are part of the water-shed which divides the waters of Basa from the Hawad, and they are called Umm Samu (the Mother of Gum), because in old time gum was gathered from the acacia trees (*sellim* and *saiyal*) which grow upon the lower slopes. Thence we passed to Umm Rimta (Mother of Rimit Grass), and El Obeid, which Ibrahim declared to be full of the houses of the Fadnia; it may have contained a dozen huts at distant intervals from one another. The same kinds of trees grew here as in the lower reaches of the Hawad, but about fifteen miles from Basa the country changed and the grass-land began; the only trees we saw grew in clumps in lower-lying parts of the plain; elsewhere there was nothing but thin blanched grass and black gritty shingle. There was no defined track, no striking landmark of any kind, and for guidance we seemed to depend wholly on Ibrahim's sense of direction. At last, a little after sunset, we passed the alternate gravel and grass, and came to the

beginning of black cotton soil which stretched over a plain as flat as the flattest parts of the southern Gezira. A little later Ibrahim said that we were within two or three hours of Umm Soda, and was anxious to march on at once; but as we had already since leaving Basa made a long day's journey, I decided that it would be pleasanter to send on the baggage camels and ride in ourselves the next morning, to find breakfast waiting us. Accordingly we spread our beds, and the servants departed on their way.

On the morrow we found to our annoyance that the servants had left no food in our saddlebags and very little water, but we comforted ourselves with the thought of breakfast awaiting us, and started just before sunrise. Meanwhile the wind had risen, and as the sun mounted higher we saw all round us mirages quivering on a very near horizon. For three hours we marched on, crossing several strips which had been sown the last autumn, some bands of trees, and a few tracks leading to the left to Umm Shedida. After crossing one of the belts of cultivation, my camel tried to bolt to the right, and described two great circles before it could be forced to follow in the lead of Ibrahim, who was now evidently growing nervous as the wind had blown away the traces of our baggage camels. At last he declared that we must have missed the way, our goal was a clump of trees, and there were clumps of trees dancing on the horizon at every point of the compass; he therefore proposed taking my camel (which was the best of the three) and riding round to see which were the right trees. We watched him disappear from sight, and sat gloomily on the lee-side of the two remaining camels, hungry and thirsty, in the middle of the dusty plain. Fortunately we had not really gone far astray, my camel would have carried us there direct if I had given him his head, and in less than an hour Ibrahim returned with a skinful of water which he had got in the camp, but, as he said, if we had only gone by night, we should have

marched by the stars and come as straight as the baggage camels; thus was the Sheikh of Abu Hamid with his quaint directions justified in our eyes.

Umm Soda, which I reckoned roughly to be about thirty-five miles from Basa, is an island of sandstone (?) cropping out of the middle of the cotton soil. There is no upstanding rock or hill, but the ground for some two miles is covered with black shingle, and there are several large stones lying about on the surface, some hard and grey in colour, others of soft pale sandstone. There are many traces of long-continued occupation; at the west end are straggling groups of tumuli and rows of small graves marked by stones of varying sizes, which are unlike modern tombs, but probably do not belong to any very remote period; in the centre are three small tanks which are still fairly deep, although they have not been cleaned out for years and trees grow in the middle of them, and a large tank with ancient sculptures round it lies to the east; the origin of all these goes back to the Meroitic age.

Umm Soda, like Basa, lies close to wide grainlands; on our way we had passed several strips of cultivation, but the greater part lay off our road in Khor Gangal. In old days, said Ibrahim, this belonged to the Aliab, but in the time of the old Government, before the days of Gordon, the Fadnia coveted it and fell upon the Aliab. The Aliab resisted and slew twenty-five of their assailants, losing only six themselves, whereupon the Fadnia complained to the Government, which flung most of the Aliab into prison and left the defeated Fadnia in possession. Ibrahim told this story briefly, with the complete detachment characteristic of the Arab, who accepts facts drily, unstirred by moral indignation. A shrug of the shoulders and "The Bedawi is a Bedawi," was the only comment made on a story of the treacherous murder of Munzinger, which violated even the sacred canons of hospitality.

Nowadays three tribes (the Fadnia, the Kawhla, and the Aliab) use the tanks at Umm Soda

to water their flocks during the rainy season; but when these are dry, there is no water nearer than the wells of Umm Shedida, which are about two hours distant. "But," added Ibrahim, "there is a youth called Mohammed, the grandson of Fikih Wad Abu Nigma, who declares that if a well were dug here, abundant water would be found. And there is a blessing on all he says, so we believe the word, though no one has tested it. The youth," he continued, "is witless, he can neither read nor write, and never sleeps in any tent; he lives always in the open with gazelle and ariel, and when he wants food he runs after a gazelle and milks it into a bowl and swears that the milk of wild beasts is sweeter than honey. He never allows dogs to come near the herds of antelope, because he is gentle and loves them, and therefore they come willingly to him, but if they are shy, he is so fleet of foot that he can catch them." In the hope of coming to a talk with one who might prove strangely attractive, I asked, "Where is he now?" "God knows," was the reply, "for he runs up and down and never stays in any place, but he has truly a wonderful blessing."

To return to the antiquities, the tanks in the centre of the site showed the usual signs of ancient engineering in the strengthening with masonry of the wings thrown out to guide the water, but the most interesting work is at the east end; this is a large reservoir in the shape of a horseshoe, measuring about 220 metres from toe to heel and about 200 metres across in the broadest part.¹ The reservoir has two intakes at the south and south-west corners, and the line of a guiding wall can be traced by a single course of masonry for over 200 metres outside the latter of these. Inside the tank is still deep, and I counted half a dozen different kinds of trees growing there;² on the banks are eleven carved blocks of pale and friable sandstone, five large ones and six smaller.

¹ See Mr. Drummond's plan on Pl. XIII.

² *Tundub, saigal, sunt, semra, sellim, sider.*

The place of honour is held by a block on the north-east bank which now measures a metre and three quarters in length, and consisted of a square base surmounted by a square pillar tapering slightly, and carved with an inscription in cursive Meroitic characters.¹ Apparently the inscription was carved on all four sides of the pillar, but the surface of the three exposed sides has crumbled away, and letters could only be read on the buried face; here there are nine and a half lines, most of which ought to be legible when the script has been deciphered, though there are gaps even in this fragment of the original inscription. When the riddle of the script has been read, these lines may give us the name of the builder of the tank and the story of his other achievements.

The inscribed stele lies on the top of the bank, and after photographing it and taking an impression, we buried the lettered face again, and turned to the other blocks. On the inner slopes behind the stele are the remains of four lions couchant, cut from the same soft sandstone, and so badly weathered that it is only from their paws that they can be recognized; the bases measure m. 1·05 by m. ·45. Opposite to these, on the top of the bank between the two intakes, is a large ram couchant, again so badly weathered as to be recognizable only from its feet, and on the outer side of the same bank below it there is a lion of the sitting Basa type. Equidistant from these on the eastern and western banks of the reservoir are two other large lions of the same type; the western lion has been split in comparatively recent days, the eastern one is slightly better preserved and measures m. 1·50 from head to paw. Lastly, on the inner side of the north bank, between the western lion and the inscribed pillar, are the remains of two small editions of the ram couchant. In all, therefore, there are, besides the stele, the relics of seven lions and three rams.

¹ Pl. XII. fig. 29.

The material in which these works are executed is so poor, and they have suffered so much from exposure to the weather, that our first feelings were of disappointment; but none the less the site has a real significance, and its weather-worn monuments add a precious link to the chain of evidence which binds together the scattered relics of one moment of the past. At Umm Soda the ram of Ammon is found side by side with the lion, and its presence alone is sufficient to knit this place with three other sites where rams of the latest period of pre-Christian art have been found, Meroe, Soba, and Nagaa (temple C). The lion, as we have seen, relates this site with Basa in the first place; at Nagaa, besides the late temples A and B where this beast holds the most prominent place, there is a lion of precisely similar type on the level ground west of the town which has not been hitherto published; at Musawwarat there is the fragment of a colossal lion among the stones lying round the central temple; at Soba a lion was discovered and removed to Cairo by Khurshid Pasha before the time of Lepsius;² lastly, in type and style these sitting lions (rare in Egypt) are clearly of one origin with the two lions before the great pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae, which owed so many adornments to the pious kings of Ethiopia, and perhaps with the sitting "dogs" which Bruce reported in Abyssinia.³ The style of all these monuments,

² LEPSIUS, *Letters*, p. 163.

³ BRUCE, ed. 1813, vol. vi., p. 453. HEEREN, I find since writing the above, has already suggested that BRUCE'S "mutilated figures of dogs" were "intended for sphinxes or even Egyptian lions," and quotes ALVAREZ to prove the existence in Abyssinia of "similar statues of the lions, which in his time served as fountains" (*African Nations*, Oxford, 1838, vol. i., p. 457). RÜPPEL, quoted by HEEREN, *l.c.*, p. 389, mentions "a lion's head in black granite; evidently a sitting sphinx" at Meroe. CAILLIAUD'S reference to an avenue of lions at Meroe (*Voyage à Méroé*, ii., p. 148) is probably a mistake, he meant rams. May we trace any connection between this predilection for figures of lions and the honours associated with the "Lion of the House of Judah" in modern Abyssinia?

except the last series, which is uncertain, justifies us in saying that there was a period when in art and cult these sites formed one homogeneous group, and the special value of the discovery of Umm Soda lies in the extension which it gives to this group; we see the circle of Ethiopian civilization widening out, and need not hesitate to claim for it the whole region west of the Atbara, if we shrink for the present from joining it in a single system with the culture of Axum, with which it certainly had commercial dealings. Proximity to the rainlands of Khor Gangal emphasises again the agricultural basis of the wealth of Meroe.

SECT. 6. GEBEL GEILI.

The ancient sites which have been just described were unknown even by name to Europeans before the time of our visits; the site with which we have next to deal has long been marked on maps, for example, Cailliaud¹ reports a rumour of antiquities here, and since the reconquest many English officials have seen the rock-carving, the *zol musawwar* ("pictured man"), for which it was famous. Colonel Talbot described it in *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, and Major Gwynne, C.M.G., gave me a sketch which showed that it was akin to the later temples at Nagaa. The position of the carving and its flatness had, however, baffled all attempts to photograph it, and no trace of buildings which might explain its presence so far from the other Meroitic sites had been discovered. I was very glad, therefore, that before I left the Sudan a journey to Kasala in March 1908 gave me a chance of seeing it with my own eyes.

Gebel Geili² lies on the direct road from Khar-

toum to Kasala, just ninety miles due east of the former town. It is a great granite berg which rises boldly out of the plain, shaped like a donkey's back, some twenty miles beyond the east limit of the sandstone; and the name, which is a Nubian word meaning "red"—though Nubian is no longer spoken nearer than Old Dongola—faithfully describes the rusty colour to which the granite weathers. Water is found only ninety feet below the surface, and the place has naturally, therefore, long been a centre frequented by Arabs. There is now a rest-house here, a small post of the Department for the Repression of Slavery, and one or two families of the Shukria tribe; but the majority of Arabs who use the wells live, as is their custom, in unobtrusive huts at a little distance off, so that they may not be overburdened by the duties of hospitality to every thirsty wayfarer.

I reached Gebel Geili fifty hours after leaving Khartoum, and arranged to spend the next day and a half there, in order that I might have time to explore the neighbourhood and also to photograph the rock-carving whenever the sun's rays illumined it best. Sheikh Khalid Abu Sinn of the Shukria, the chief man of the district, guided me to the carving as soon as the sun rose, and it was clear at once that in whatever way the light fell, the carving was so flat that my camera would give only the faintest indication of its presence, the figures being cut in outline only, and not in relief. Consequently I told the sheikh to make me a ladder out of some rough pieces of wood that were lying about, and, mounted on this, I chalked round the outline so as to obtain sufficient contrast for my purpose.

The figures are carved upon the north face of a boulder which has fallen from the southern end of the hill just opposite to three of the crude graffiti of animals which are not uncommon in the northern Sudan. The rock is called by the natives Umm Daium, and the carving, which begins over two metres above the ground-level,

¹ *Voyage à Méroé*, iii., p. 138.

² Pl. XIV.

represents two principal figures. On the left is an Ethiopian king in a conventional attitude, wearing the uraeus on his head, and shod with sandals like those worn by the figures sculptured on the Nagaa temple A; above his head are two cartouches no longer decipherable. A quiver is slung across his shoulders, and his right hand grasps a bow and a spear, the left is extended towards the figure on the right. This figure is the manifestation as in a disk of a god; only the god's face crowned with a radiated nimbus and two arms reached forth towards the king's are visible; in his right hand the god holds a flower or fruit of some kind, possibly the spathe of a date palm or a head of dura, and in his left a sevenfold cord attached to captives kneeling, like those upon the pylon at Nagaa. The divinity, evidently a sun-god, seems to be conceived as issuing from the heavens to receive the spoils of war and to assure the fruits of the earth; where in a less spiritual conception the feet of the god would have stood, and in the space beneath, the artist has lightly sketched the figures of falling foemen. The knowledge of foreshortening shown in these, which contrasts curiously with the stiff attitude of the king, can, like the latter, be compared not unfavourably with similar representations on old Egyptian temples; it shows surely that the man who carved these figures, like the sculptor of the frog at Basa, was a master who, if he followed at times the traditions of hieratic convention, also broke away at times, like his precursors, to express the forms of living reality.

The first question raised by this monument, so different in many respects from the others which we have studied, touches the object of its maker: was this a memorial carved upon the rock to celebrate the successful issue, perhaps the extreme goal, of some ancient raid, or is it a witness to an abiding occupation of this region? A question which only the discovery of ancient habitations could answer.

Concerning these I addressed myself accord-

ingly to Sheikh Khalid Abu Sinn, the local representative of the Shukria tribe, and was led by him to two Muslim tombs of enormous dimensions on the east of the rock, which were the tombs, he said, of Sheikh Sha el Din and Bint el Mek, an heiress of the Hameg, whose marriage with a sheikh of the Shukria first brought this district into the hands of his ancestors. These tombs were obviously in no wise to my purpose, and he led me from them up to the summit of the hill; here he pointed out the remains of old stone huts and coarse pottery, and groups of lines scratched upon the rock,¹ for each of which he had a ready interpretation. These also were palpably later than the carving, and belonged to an unsettled period when men retreated to the fastnesses of the mountains.

While we were clambering over the hill-top, on which there are several natural reservoirs (*galtas*), we were joined by a man of the Batahin, a certain Muhammad Ibrahim, who had been lately released from prison, where he had served a sentence for slave-dealing. His presence was obviously very unwelcome to Sheikh Khalid, and the two men were as different as can be imagined. The Shukria are an eminently respectable tribe, and Khalid, a dark, tall, courteous, dignified man, rather loosely hung and with somewhat heavy eyes, was a good type of the Shukria, a member, too, of a very distinguished family. The Batahin, on the other hand, are the most notorious camel-thieves in the country, and their sufferings at the hands of the Khalifa, who executed sixty-seven of them on a single day, were no more than they deserved according to the common report. Muhammad Ibrahim was true to his stock, in appearance a

¹ Some of these, however, are exactly like the grooves in rocks at Gebel Gule figured by Seligmann in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1910, Plate 23, and were probably, like them, used for grinding stone implements such as the mace-heads actually found on the site.

hard-bitten wiry little Arab, with keen wary eyes and copper-coloured skin drawn taut over a shapely little head, and in manner pushful and pertinacious. Khalid's scowls and snubs had no effect whatever upon the Bathani, who insisted on following us, and when at last I questioned him too, he said that he knew of a place where there were red bricks in abundance, which no governor or inspector had ever seen. To Khalid's disgust, I bade him lead the way.

The Bathani took us down from the top of the hill, across the burial-place we had first visited, over a ridge to the north-east, and there in an open space near some disused wells he pointed out clear traces of walls of burnt brick. And lying about were fragments of the fine chalky pottery which I had previously found on all the old Ethiopian sites, and fragments of stone rings like those unearthed at Basa. Our question was therefore answered; here, as at Nagaa and Basa and Aulib, were the permanent habitations of a settled race, and yet another witness was found to the peaceful civilization which once centred in Meroe.

The Bathani did not carry his triumph with moderation; again and again he shouted exultingly that he had shown me what no governor or inspector had ever seen, and begged me to write his name in my book.¹ Later on, when he had departed to water his camels, Sheikh Khalid excused his own ignorance to me; he was the son of great lords who ruled over wide lands and whose business it was to look after their crops and their animals; they were not, like the Batahin, always nosing along the ground after

¹ He told me also of four other ancient places in the neighbourhood. In two of these, Wadi Nail and Wadi Abu Hadba, Mr. Grabham tells me he has already found stone implements. The others which I transcribe for the help of later explorers are Awag Ras, described as a great non-Muslim cemetery a little west of the road leading to Abu Deleig, and El Siyu, a place with potsherds, round stones and a small *hafir*, on the way to El Daein.

the tracks of other people's camels, and consequently knew nothing of the bricks and potsherds which might lie there. He had his revenge in the rest-house afterwards, for both of them came with their small sons to see me later on. Said Sheikh Khalid to his child, "Now go to the Mudir and say, 'I am a son of the Government,'" which the boy did, and was duly rewarded. When the Bathani pushed his son forth to do likewise, the child shrieked and fled back to its father, who vainly told it "not to be afraid of the Turk."² But to the archaeologist land-lore is more precious than loyalty, and he has more delight in the knowledge of the place of potsherds than in obedience to the word of the Lord. This experience will serve, however, as a caution against concluding the non-existence of remains from the ignorance of one or two inhabitants, for on general grounds no one was more likely than Sheikh Khalid to have an exhaustive knowledge of the immediate region.

Apart from its geographical position, to which we shall return later, the rock-carving at Gebel Geili has one or two special claims on our attention. All the other sculptured remains of the Meroitic age have been found in the sandstone belt; here alone at present have we found the carver attacking a granite surface. To this we may attribute the unfinished appearance of the design, and the fact that the sculptor has been content with a representation in outline only; otherwise in conception and drawing the work is perhaps the most interesting of all Ethiopian reliefs—

L'œuvre sort plus belle
D'une forme au travail
Rebelle,

and we are not sorry to miss the very deep,

² The Sudanese Arabs generally regard the English as Turks, and thereby distinguish them from the "Aulad el Rif," the Egyptian "sons of the soil." The "Government," of course, is a mysterious entity, powerful, inscrutable, dangerous, a conception somewhat like the idea of God conceived by some Evangelical sects.

plump, over-finished traits of the Nagaa workmen. The contrast between the full-face of the god and the profile of the king, which may be compared with the treatment at Nagaa Temple A of those gods who are not directly borrowed from Egyptian prototypes, suggests a relation with other later developments. In Abyssinian art the profile form is almost exclusively reserved for the portraits of devils; the first European design of gold coins for Menelik was cancelled because the King of Kings was hereon represented in profile, and an effigy in full-face was hastily drawn in place of the offensive figure. At Gebel Geili and Nagaa we see the same convention evidently in force, though here the profile is still admissible for the royal worshipper. Inscriptions found both at Axum and Meroe establish connections at least intermittently between the two states; the presence of such conventions as that just noted point to a real underlying unity.

SECT. 7. MURABBAA AND THE QUESTION OF TRADE ROUTES.

When he was at Nagaa, Cailliaud's guides assured him¹ that on a road leading thence to Abyssinia there were ruins as large as those at Nagaa, and covered like them with sculptures at a spot some two days distant. This position, adds Cailliaud, would correspond exactly to that of Mandeyr, the ancient capital of the Shepherd Arabs. A day and a half's march further in the same direction there were, according to the same authority, other ruins of similar character, covering a great area at a place called Kely, from which there was a road leading to Abou-Ahraz.

In this passage Cailliaud, with an exactitude which cannot be too highly commended, distinguishes carefully between what the Arabs told him and what he himself conjectured. The name Mandeyr was an addition of his own and,

as it has proved, a most unfortunate addition; for it led to the identification of this ruin site with a Gebel Mandera which is far away to the east, and which Lepsius thought of visiting, but abandoned owing to the discouraging reports which he received from Linant and others.² The story of the Arabs, so far as it concerned Gebel Geili, we have already seen to be well founded, though the account is exaggerated; proofs of the truth of the first part of their story have been finally given by a discovery made in 1906 by Colonel E. A. Dickinson, then and still Governor of the Blue Nile Province. Colonel Dickinson found the remains of an ancient temple at a place called Murabbaa, the Square Chamber, which he judges to be about 25 miles N.W. of Gebel Geili and about 4 miles N.E. of Gebel Giheid, which is not to be confounded with the district of the same name mentioned in the section dealing with the Hawad. Murabbaa thus lies almost on the direct line between Nagaa and Gebel Geili, and its distance from the two places respectively corresponds closely enough with the estimates quoted by Cailliaud.

There is no prominent natural feature, Colonel Dickinson writes to me, near the site, but the building stands on a slight mound some 150 yards N.N.W. of a tank. From the ground-plan made by Colonel Dickinson,³ the building appears to have been a small temple, in plan and size very much like that of Basa, and orientated like Basa a little south of east. It was entered through a pylon the outer corners of which, like the corners of the back wall of the temple, terminated, again as at Basa, in small engaged columns. It was built of sandstone, but as only one course is now visible in position, and Colonel Dickinson had no tools with which to dig down to the ground-level, it is uncertain whether there were any internal columns or pavement. The stones were carefully faced and

¹ Vol. iii., p. 138.

² LEPSIUS, *Letters*, p. 130.

³ Pl. V.

squared, and on those at the corner Colonel Dickinson noted guiding lines for the masons; the building betrays clearly the hands of the same expert builders who worked at Nagaa and Musawwarat.

The whole region round Murabbaa, reaching towards Abu Deleig and the Hawad on the north-east and towards Soba in the west, is honey-combed with reservoirs. Immediately round about Murabbaa, Colonel Dickinson tells me, there are patches of cultivation belonging to the Hassunab, whose principal village, Wad Hassuna, is not far away, and a good deal of *sennemekka* is collected in these parts; but at the present day the wealth of the district is pastoral rather than agricultural, and in so far Cailliaud may have had some justification for calling it the ancient capital of the Shepherd Arabs.

This site completes the tale of works of masonry found in the interior of the Island of Meroe. A little east of Wad Hassuna we leave the sandstone belt and enter a region where the only stones are of hard crystalline formation; and it is to this fact alone that I attribute our failure to find other sites on the way to Abyssinia, for other evidence of ancient times has been already found in two places east of Gebel Geili. In 1907 Mr. Grabham and Mr. Bird found some rude stone implements similar to those from Gebel Geili and Basa at Sofeya el Wata, which is 35 kilometres east of Gebel Geili, and at Gebel Sabaat, which is 170 kilometres in the same direction. At both these sites—the former alone is known to me personally—and elsewhere there are reservoirs like those at Nagaa and Musawwarat. Lastly, about 40 kilometres east of Goz Regeb, on the road to Kasala, I noticed in 1906 a great quantity of potsherds pointing to an early occupation, which unfortunately I could not date; at Goz Regeb itself I could find no trace of the building which Burckhardt¹ imagined that he saw. Sufficient, however, is forthcoming

to justify us in bringing the whole of the Island of Meroe within the sphere of the rulers of the western half.

We are now in a position to return to a question which was mooted in an earlier section of this chapter. Are the buildings which have been found stations on great trade routes, or were they raised because a more or less settled population had gathered for some purpose or another round these particular spots? The question is not very difficult to solve: some of these sites do lie on old trade routes, but the coincidence is accidental, the buildings upon the sites are not in themselves adapted to answer the purpose of rest-houses, they are not, like all stations on other great trade routes, at regular distances from one another, and they depended for their water supply on reservoirs which were dry for half the year.

Geographically, the sites fall into two broad groups: Meroe is the river-port of the first group, which includes Khor Aulib, Basa and Umm Soda; the southern group—consisting of Wadi el Banat, Musawwarat, Nagaa and Murabbaa—looks towards Shendi or Wad Ban Naga on the river; Gebel Geili is roughly equidistant from all three ports.

With regard to the first group, the main trade route from Meroe to the south would lead through the Hawad, and thence run due south to Gebel Geili, passing near Abu Deleig. Khor Aulib is obviously too close to the river to be of any importance on this route, but travellers might find it convenient to halt at Basa, though Basa is a very short day's journey from Meroe, and the fertility of the land gives another manifest reason why this site should have been built upon. Between Basa and Gebel Geili no vestige of ancient building has been found, though the Well of the Infidel in Geheid probably dates from this period, and would be of real utility to travellers. The position of Umm Soda is clearly motivated rather by the proximity of rich rain-lands than by the needs of merchants travelling eastwards, who might conceivably have chosen a

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

route which is not used now, and on which no other ancient works have been found.

In the second group the coincidence of the sites and the route is more striking. Once in 1905 we were surprised one night, when camping at Nagaa, to find strangers sitting outside the tent waiting to give us "the Peace"; they proved to be pedlars on the way from Rufaa to Shendi, who had passed by Gebel Geili and somewhere near Murabbaa; on the following day they would pass near Musawwarat and Wadi el Banat. All these places, therefore, do actually lie on a route which is still used, and it is doubtless for this reason that they were the first sites made known by the Arabs to European inquirers. But the existence of each can be explained quite naturally on its own merits, without reference to the needs of commercial enterprise. Wadi el Banat¹ may be dismissed, like Khor Aulib in the former group, as being too close to the river. Musawwarat is a palace, its presence is due to the whim of a king who saw that the valley was a very pleasant one; the well which is near it was dug only in the time of the Egyptian Government. Nagaa is near rich grain-lands, and the buildings are far too extensive for those of a mere station; the well here, again, is new, dug at the orders of Sir Reginald Wingate, after a visit which he made there in 1904.

In all these works, therefore, I prefer to see, not the monumental records of a single raid, nor

¹ I was told by an Arab once that the place is so called because the girls in the river villages come to dance here after the rains. The temple here deserves further study, though it is much broken. I have only seen it once, in 1904, and could then make out with difficulty on the outside face of the west wall two figures clothed in skins, with heavy rings upon their feet, carrying what appeared to be a net; the figure published by LEPSIUS of a similar type on the external face of the south wall is rather better preserved. On the inside walls are the usual religious subjects.

stations upon ancient trade routes, but the work of a settled people living upon and cultivating the inner valleys as well as the banks of the Nile, a conclusion which is, I submit, of the gravest moment to those who wish to estimate the real significance of Meroitic culture.

The commercial importance of ancient Meroe as a centre of distribution between Central Africa and Egypt, Arabia and the Farther East has been exaggerated. The land-spaces which separate Meroe from the markets of the world seem too great for trade ever to have been the chief prop of its ancient wealth, although the merchandise were carried by slaves themselves destined for the market. Even with a railway to the sea, Sudan merchants find it difficult to compete in Red Sea ports against Arabian dates and sea-borne Indian grain. It is, therefore, necessary to insist upon another side of Meroitic culture that has been too long ignored. With the solitary exception of Musawwarat, which was merely a palace, all the remains of ancient work lie near rich regions, and all, with the exception of Gebel Geili, depended on tanks for their water-supply. Meroe at the height of its prosperity was established on as broad an economic basis as Egypt or Mesopotamia. The people could and did grow their own grain on lands richer and wider than the whole of Egypt; they could pasture their herds on limitless plains. Their country was not like Egypt, the gift of a single river; they could gather a harvest from rainlands with so little trouble that later generations, as we have seen, attributed their wealth to supernatural assistants. Precious stones and metals they had in abundance, but the rulers never found it necessary to issue coins of their own, and but few foreign coins have been discovered in the Island; commercially, therefore, Meroe remained in the same stage as Pharaonic Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

BEFORE discussing the date to which these monuments are to be assigned, let us take a brief glance at the civilization to which they point. A long chain of towns and villages fringed the river's edge; at Meroe and Soba and Dungeil there were cities of no mean size, and in these and in many other places the houses were built of burnt brick, the people used finely painted pottery, and their princes went abroad in magnificent robes and jewellery. From the river we have seen this culture reaching back into the valleys of the interior; the once impenetrable forest had been cleared, and the wild beasts driven farther inland, so that shepherds might pasture their flocks in security, and peasants plant the richer lands. The regions which are to this day the most fruitful were those cultivated in the past, and near them enormous reservoirs were dug to store water during the months when alone cultivation was possible. At no less than seven sites far from the river are visible traces of the same civilization that flourished on the banks of the Nile; here, as by the river, there were little temples and houses built of brick and stone, decorated with florid carving and gaudily painted. The moment which gave birth to this culture was evidently a moment of great peace and well-being; at Meroe and Dungeil there are signs of fortification, but the other sites are open and undefended, their dwellers therefore feared no foe. Yet the internal evidence shows that they had intercourse with other civilized powers both to the north and east.

Some of the buildings in question belong, as we have seen, to the later Roman period; can we find any earlier age which presents all the

conditions demanded by the picture we have sketched?

SECT. 1. HISTORY OF MEROE BEFORE 70 A.D.

Concerning the history of the Island of Meroc in the days before Alexander the Great our positive knowledge is almost confined to the sentence in which Herodotus (ii. 29) tells us that it was a great city and metropolis boasting an oracle of Zeus. Doubtless a site so favoured by nature had been occupied for long ages, but the character of the settlement and even the race of its inhabitants are alike matters of conjecture. Raiders from Egypt descended upon the Sudan again and again from the time of the Old Empire onwards, but we are so far from being able to identify the points which they reached, that names which some scholars locate south of Khartoum, others place north of Halfa. The most reasonable conclusion that we can draw from such raids, sent in quest of ebony or ivory, or gold, or slaves, is that there was little regular commercial intercourse between the two countries by means of which these articles could have been more simply obtained. And there is no evidence to be found, either in the stories of these raids or, at present, in the remains in the country, that Meroe developed in self-contained isolation a great civilization of its own.¹

The capital of the Ethiopian kings who conquered Egypt in the 8th and 7th centuries before Christ was at Napata near Gebel Barkal, and inscriptions of some of these kings and their

¹ Such, for example, as that displayed in Lower Nubia by Reisner's C group graves (*Bulletins and Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia*).

successors have been found in the province of Dongola; but although something like the name Meroe has been deciphered on the inscription of Nastasen, pointing to connections through the Baiuda desert between Napata and Meroe, which must of necessity have existed, nothing of this date has yet been discovered in the island. Both in style and material the Meroitic monuments differ from those most certainly connected with Piankhi and his successors, whose inscriptions are carved upon hard stone, while all the larger Meroitic remains above described, with the exception of Gebel Geili and one stone from Dungeil, are of soft stone. Moreover, at Gebel Barkal itself the remains upon the surface, temples of soft sandstone once heavily plastered and painted, like those at Basa, belong with one exception clearly to a date long after Piankhi, for beneath them on much lower levels are the foundations of buildings more worthy of the workers in hard stone. The great historical inscriptions found at Gebel Barkal, though discovered in the upper strata, are an exception which can be easily explained. They were found,¹ as an old labourer who took part in the original excavation told Prof. Breasted and myself, standing upright against the left wall of the great pylon in the largest temple on the site; but most of the walls of this temple date from the Roman period,² and the stelai were manifestly placed there, like the rams of Amenophis III., as precious relics of a long departed past. Meroe we know to have been, like Napata, continuously occupied for centuries, and it follows that it is only by accident that we can hope to find vestiges of the earlier epochs on the surface. The stratification, however, seems to be normal; the remains on the surface are like the remains on the surface

at Gebel Barkal and the other remains in the interior of the island, and all belong together to an age long after the time of the Ethiopian dynasties.

Neither writers nor inscriptions nor antiquities avail to throw any clear light on the early history of Meroe. It is not until the Ptolemaic age that we can escape from the realm of speculation, and even then our escape is only partial. The age of the earlier Ptolemies was a time of genuine expansion; explorers, traders, and men of science made their way beyond the borders of Egypt, and memoirs were compiled by several of these travellers for the instruction of learned circles in Alexandria. We hear of one Greek, Dalion, who travelled far south of Meroe, and of another, Simonides the younger, who lived in it for five years;³ and two places in the Sudan, Meroe and Ptolemais epi Theras,⁴ hold a special place in the history of geography as geodetic stations on the first meridians used by Eratosthenes. There should have been no lack of authentic information, and yet perhaps the very number of authorities was no unmixed blessing. The authors were in conflict on many points, accusations of credulity and inaccuracy were freely made,⁵ and the second- or third-hand compilers on whom we depend have left but a confused picture of the country. And surely this result can hardly surprise us when we think of the conditions under which both explorers and compilers worked. The explorers were describing a huge amorphous region of desert, swamp, and jungle, inhabited by countless semi-barbarian tribes; means of communication were few and difficult, means of accurately recording and fixing points reached, except by dead reckoning of days of travel, were not, in spite of Eratosthenes, within the compass of the ordinary traveller; the institutions of the tribes were in the fluid

¹ The "official" version of the discovery is quite different; it is quoted and very pertinently criticized by Budge (i., pp. 149, 150).

² *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxv., 1908, p. 32. "Second preliminary report of the Egyptian Expedition," by Prof. Breasted.

³ PLINY, *H. N.*, vi. c. 35.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 34.

⁵ DIODORUS, iii. c. 11.

state inseparable from an unsettled stage of civilization; untrained observers who attempted to cope with such material to-day would not give us a much better picture than the Alexandrian adventurers. The compilers had yet another difficulty to contend with; not only had they to weigh the conflicting reports of a number of travellers, but they had to reconcile these with the traditional history of the region as it had been handed down by the classical writers. However, great stores of precious material were collected, and long fragments of these collections have been preserved by Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny and others, and this alone makes the brief period of the earlier Ptolemies infinitely more fruitful to the student of Ethiopia than the long centuries covered by the old Egyptian dynasties.¹ The obscurities, the confusions, the contradictions in the resulting picture are proof of the honesty with which our writers set to work.

The Ptolemaic writers² truly observed that Egypt was formed out of the mud carried down from Ethiopia, and inasmuch as Egyptian civilization was older than any other that they knew, they concluded that Ethiopian civilization must be the oldest of all. The Ethiopians were the first men who ever lived, the only truly autochthonous race, the first to institute the worship of gods and rites of sacrifice. Egypt itself was a colony of Ethiopia, and the laws and script in both lands were therefore naturally the same, but the hieroglyphic script was more widely known to the vulgar in Ethiopia than in Egypt. The last statement may have been based on fact, because the Ethiopians, like the modern Dongolawis, being less industrious in the field than the Egyptian fellahin, must have had more leisure to devote to the study of sacred lore; but the other statements we can see were the outcome of a mistaken philosophy. In the fabulous glories of King Memnon and King Cepheus

“whose rule reached over Syria,”³ and in the story of great days when Meroe had an army of 250,000 men and 400,000 artisans, some have recognized a real echo of the conquests of Piankhi and Tirhaka, but it seems more likely that they are reminiscences of the greatness of Southern Arabia. Such were the classical legends which the Alexandrian encyclopedists were forced to reconcile or contrast with the tales brought home by the travellers.

The travellers told a very different story. The country according to them was sunk in utter stagnation;⁴ alongside of the river there were towns built mostly of split branches of palms interwoven together and bricks, but beyond the margin of the river the country was inhabited by nomads known with few exceptions by nicknames, such as the root-eaters, the marshmen, the seed-eaters, the elephant-eaters and so forth. The small strip of land which could be called civilized was ruled by kings who were revered like gods and lived imprisoned in their palaces. The inhabitants above, or of (?), Meroe worshipped Hercules, Pan, and Isis,⁵ besides some other barbaric deity; some tribes threw their dead into the water, others kept them in their houses enclosed in *hyalus* (?),⁶ others buried them round the temples in coffins of baked clay. We hear nothing of trade, not even of barter, and only one personality of southern origin has survived in the records of the Ptolemaic age; he, Ergamenes,⁷ is famous for having abolished, temporarily at least, a barbarous ordinance of the priests which compelled the king of whom they were tired to commit suicide, and he, moreover, has left certain traces of his activity only in the northernmost parts of Nubia between

¹ Compare STRABO, pp. 789, 790.

² See DIODORUS, iii. cc. 2, 3.

³ PLINY, *H. N.*, vi. c. 35.

⁴ STRABO, pp. 819, 821, 822.

⁵ Contrast DIODORUS, iii. c. 9, with STRABO, p. 822, on this point.

⁶ Compare HERODOTUS, iii. c. 24.

⁷ DIODORUS, iii. c. 6. Strabo does not consider his name worth mentioning.

the first two cataracts. The travellers knew better than the antiquaries, and truly depicted as existing beneath and around a narrow fringe of civilization primitive conditions like those still found among the negro tribes of Central Africa, customs which may have lain behind the institutions of Egypt, but at a distance to be measured in millenniums.

When light next breaks upon the scene, one other internal revolution had taken place. Instead of the priest-ridden kings who ruled before and perhaps after Ergamenes, the Roman prefects of the Augustan age found Ethiopia under the suzerainty of a line of queens named Candace, whose capital was at the old city of Napata.¹

The circumstances of the rise of this dynasty are nowhere described, but I suggest that some conclusions may be drawn from two passages in Strabo. On the authority of Eratosthenes we read² that in the third century B.C. the Sembritae occupied an island south of Meroe, which I take to be the Gezira; that they were ruled by a woman, but recognized the suzerainty of "those in Meroe," presumably the priestly corporation mentioned in the story of Ergamenes. More than a century later Artemidorus, writing about 100 B.C., described another district, called Tenessis, which I identify with the district between Kasala and Galabat: this, he says,³ was occupied by another branch of the Sembritae, who were ruled by a queen *to whom Meroe also was subject*. It would seem to follow therefore that between the time of Eratosthenes and Artemidorus one of the vassal tribes of Meroe had overthrown the suzerain power, already weakened by internal dissensions, and had established, according to their native custom, the rule of a line of queens who only moved to the old capitals during the first century B.C.

The rule of queens is no unusual thing in this

part of Africa; the position of the sister-consort in Egypt, the right of the sister's son to succeed his uncle in the Christian kingdom of Dongola, are instances of African "feminism" which can be illustrated more strikingly among less developed tribes. But the little that we know of the dynasty of Candaces does not warrant us in supposing that their dominion was very firmly established; the authority of these queens was probably like that wielded by the Sultans of Sennar in the 17th and 18th centuries. These Sultans claimed sovereign rights from Sennar to Dongola, but the country was really ruled by a number of petty chieftains (Meks or Meleks) who paid tribute only when an exceptionally puissant suzerain gave them no choice, and otherwise did as seemed good in their own eyes. The first Roman prefect treated not with the queen, but with the chiefs of Nubia; the second, Petronius,⁴ overran the country in 24 B.C. and sacked the queen's capital, with an army less than half the size of the very modest force which overthrew the power of the Dervishes,⁵ and the fact that the queen could rally 30,000 men to make a hurried raid on the unwarlike people of Upper Egypt is no evidence of an organized sovereignty. At this time the court of Candace had so few dealings with the civilized world, that the queen could plead with apparent plausibility that none of her retinue knew of the name or seat of Caesar.⁶ Eighty years later the expedition of explorers sent by Nero mention a Candace as ruler only of the district round Meroe, and speak of forty-five kings of Ethiopia,⁷ who had as much right, doubtless, to the kingly title as the Meleks of the 18th century or the Sultans of Blacks in the Bahr el Ghazal to-day.

⁴ PLINY, *H. N.*, vi. c. 35.

⁵ The total force engaged in the Omdurman Campaign was a little over 22,000 men (ROYLE, *The Egyptian Campaign*. London, 1900, p. 560). The army of Petronius numbered less than 10,000 foot and 800 cavalry (STRABO, p. 820).

⁶ STRABO, p. 821.

⁷ PLINY, *H. N.*, vi. c. 35.

¹ STRABO, p. 820.

² *Ib.*, p. 786.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 770, 771.

Nero's explorers reported that the country was sunk in abject misery. Pliny quotes long catalogues of towns on the river-banks from earlier Greek writers, and adds that in his day hardly any of these were in existence. Nero's troops had found nothing but deserts on their route, and the old capital, Napata, was a little town remarkable only because it still continued to exist. In the neighbourhood of Meroe this expedition noted that the grass became greener and fresher, that there was an appearance of forests and traces of rhinoceros and elephant,¹ and that in the city itself the buildings were few in number. No one who visited the country in the years succeeding the rout of the Dervishes, and walked through the deserted ruins of Old Dongola or Berber or Metemma, will have any difficulty in picturing the scene of desolation and misery which met the eyes of Nero's emissaries. In 1900 a thick jungle teeming with game covered the banks of the Atbara and the Dinder, where thirty years earlier Baker had found a long chain of villages and little or nothing to shoot. The tracks of rhinoceros and elephant seen by the Roman soldiers prove a similar retrocession of man from these regions, if man had ever effectually occupied them. Pliny, with the legends of a glorious antiquity ringing in his ears, concluded that continuous warfare with Egypt had reduced Ethiopia to this wretched pass; but for this continuous warfare there is no warrant in history, and it would never have been put forward had it not been for the mythical splendours of the hoary past.

It is difficult, then, to find either in the age of the Ptolemies or in the first century of the Roman Empire any period into which we can fit the conditions postulated by the nature of the ruins under discussion. We admit freely that Meroe was inhabited throughout this time, and numbered Greek immigrants among its popula-

tion at least under the earlier Ptolemies; we admit also that a few decades of anarchy are sufficient to cause such a relapse as Pliny has described, and that some of the pyramids may conceivably have been built during spasmodic intervals of progress; but we claim that the existence of such spasmodic intervals must be first demonstrated, and meanwhile that the evidence for a later date for the majority of remains on the surface in the Island of Meroe is too strong to be lightly overlooked.

SECT. 2. MEROE AND ITS NEIGHBOURS IN THE IMPERIAL AGE.

Since the days of Gibbon it has been a commonplace that prosperity had never previously been so widely diffused throughout the civilized world as in the time of the Antonines, and we might add that civilization had never previously been so ostentatious. The reason for this efflorescence is not far to seek. For centuries craftsmen and cultivators in the Nearer East had enjoyed in some isolation a measure of settled government, when Alexander and his successors broke down ancient barriers and opened new markets and new fields of labour; with the Roman conquest and with the gradual civilization of Gaul and Spain the circle was widened enormously. Years of experiment were necessary before traders and capitalists could find the natural lines of movement; but by the time of Nero the age of experiment was over, the streams of production and distribution had burst through all obstacles and flowed in growing volume over the whole civilized world. The same economic pressure which under the Republic had sent Italian capital to the Nearer East and brought Oriental products and labour to Italy, now drove merchants yet farther afield beyond the frontiers of the Empire. The tentative adventures of the Ptolemies, to which allusion has been already made, left more trace in the libraries of Alexandria than in the new lands

¹ Generally corroborated, so far as the Island of Meroe is concerned, by STRABO, p. 822.

they wished to exploit; the Roman Imperialists, on the other hand, were more fortunate in their ventures than in their chroniclers.

A few scattered references enable us to trace some steps in their progress in the north-east corner of Africa. We know, for example, that in the days of Claudius the commercial rivalry of the Arabs was crushed by the destruction of Aden and the introduction of a protective tariff on goods from Arabian ports; that about the same time it was found possible to sail direct to the coast of Malabar by help of the monsoons, and that thus the Indian trade was revolutionized. The explorers sent into the Sudan by Nero were but some of many pioneers who discovered the great trade routes which commerce was to follow for more than a thousand years.

In the north-east corner of Africa there are four chief powers to be considered at this period, Egypt, which was an Imperial prefecture, and three autonomous native states, the Blemyes, Axum, and Meroe; and a brief consideration of the varying vicissitudes of these powers will be sufficient to enable us to answer the question propounded at the beginning of this chapter.

Egypt is the only one of the four about which we are really well informed, and its share in the general prosperity of the world is proved on many sides. Trade with India and Arabia flourished exceedingly, and naturally tended to fall more and more into Egyptian hands. "With the development of trade," writes Milne in his summary of the Age of the Antonines, "the rate of interest dropped to ten or twelve per cent., and the issue of coinage continued to be steadily plentiful, while the standard was kept up alike in fineness and in weight."¹ New quarries were opened in remote valleys of the eastern desert: the porphyry then cut may still be seen in many museums and churches of Italy, and the capitals and columns of the mosques of Cairo bear even surer evidence than temple

inscriptions to the building activity of this time. In the third century a decline set in, especially in so far as the agricultural interests of the country were concerned, but after the reforms of Diocletian there was a temporary recovery.²

The second of these powers, the Blemyes, appear from demotic inscriptions to have formed an alien element of intruders scattered about in Upper Egypt. Eratosthenes coupled them with the Megabari as a tribe living on the east bank of the river between Egypt and Meroe,³ but to Pliny⁴ they are still mere barbarians. He quotes an absurd description of them as a headless race, with mouth and eyes in their chests. Shortly after we find them controlling the country immediately south of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea, and in the third century these barbarians had become a formidable power in alliance with the rulers of Palmyra. At times their wealth was increased at the expense of Upper Egypt, but much was in all probability got honestly enough by the convoy of trade-goods from Berenice and other Red Sea ports to the Nile. It is certain that in the 5th century or earlier kinglets of the Blemyes used the Greek tongue and aped much of the complicated ceremonial of a Byzantine court.⁵ We should therefore revise the first impressions derived from ancient historians that they were mere marauders whose hand was against every man, and the ethnological theory⁶ which connects them with a race so hostile to culture as the Boga is a mere theory, at present undemonstrated. The rich development of the Oases described by Olympiodorus and substantiated by the extant remains, no less than the

² *Ib.*, p. 94.

³ STRABO, p. 786.

⁴ PLINY, *H. N.*, v. c. 8.

⁵ KRALL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier* (Abhandlung der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1898), p. 6.

⁶ QUATREMÈRE, SCHWEINFURTH.

¹ *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 1898, p. 66.

fine culture revealed by the excavations of MacIver at Aniba, shows that the people who controlled this region were a civilized power with wide commercial relations and some skill in the handicrafts of peace. By virtue of a common script and mutual indebtedness to Egypt they stand in close relation with the rulers of Meroe, and though Meroe had other resources to draw upon, and also other dangers to face, the two powers follow naturally in the same orbit.

At Axum, which is still the sacred city of the Abyssinians, the conditions were different. The rise of Axum coincided, in fact, with the comparative declension of Egypt and of the Nile powers under Egyptian influence. At the end of the first century of our era Axum was an ivory market ruled over by a king called Zoskales, who had, according to the author of the *Periplus*, some knowledge of Greek. The old ports founded by the Ptolemies had long decayed, and the kingly power was not strong enough to establish security for traders in Adulis, the new port which had taken their place. The measures taken by the Romans to secure the monopoly of the Eastern trade to their own merchants doubtless reacted disastrously upon the native states on both sides of the Red Sea. Not until the decline of Roman Egypt did the native states begin to revive, but the revival was all the greater when it came, thanks to the widened horizon which the world owed to Roman enterprise. Thus in the 4th century we find the King of Axum setting up inscriptions in Greek on which he is styled "by the might of the Lord of Heaven king of Axum and Himyar and Raydan and Saba and Salhan and Siyamo and Boga and Kasu, the King of Kings," a ruler whose sway reached over both shores of the Red Sea and far inland in Africa. Colossal stelae, great palaces, and works of engineering remain in Axum and the country round to attest the prosperity of the land, and these strange works, for which fanciful dates have been proposed by their earlier discoverers,

are now recognized to fall somewhere between the years 300-500 A.D.¹

To turn lastly to Meroe. Through its geographical position in the valley of the Nile and its remoteness from other civilized powers, the fortunes of Meroe were linked primarily with the fortunes of Egypt. When Egypt had prospered under the early Ptolemies, Greek adventurers found their way to Meroe, as we have already seen; and when the Ptolemaic dynasty had sunk into decay, Meroe fell into the wretched state portrayed by Nero's explorers. With the recovery of Egypt under the Flavian and Antonine Emperors, a fresh influx of merchants and craftsmen poured down from Egypt into the Island of Meroe. The most unmistakable proofs of their activity are the architecture of the palace at Musawwarat and the Graeco-Roman temple at Nagaa, but we should be wrong in considering these as the only proofs—the pottery, the jewellery, the details of the Egyptianized buildings, all clearly betray the hand of Europe. The writers have told us nothing of this pacific penetration of Meroe, but an inscription found at Axum is convincing evidence of the strides which Meroe made during these centuries. Reminding ourselves once more of the Neronian account preserved by Pliny, let us look at the Axumite record and see how wonderfully the picture has now been transformed.

The inscription in question celebrates a successful raid made by Aizana, King of Axum, about 350 A.D., against the Nuba who had recently conquered the Island of Meroe. It seems that a wave of Negro aggression had lately surged up from the south and overwhelmed the "Red" races established on the Island and even north of it. The Blacks had captured towns of masonry belonging to the Kasu, occupied them and built towns of grass

¹ LITTMANN and KRENCKER, *Vorbericht der Deutschen Aksum-Expedition*, Berlin, 1906 (Abhandl. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften), p. 11.

huts near them, such as the negroes still use ; they had harried their neighbours without a cause, and three times they had broken their word and insulted the envoys of the King of Kings, confident that he would never cross the Atbara. The king recounts how in revenge he had sacked both towns of masonry and towns of grass huts, and sent expeditions up and down the Nile from the point of its junction with the Atbara. He seized their grain and their bronze and their iron and their copper (?), and destroyed the figures in their temples and their implements for cultivating (?) dura and cotton.¹ The moment which had given birth to durable monuments and towns of masonry had therefore already passed away, but its passing was still recent ; the towns were standing, dura and cotton were still being cultivated ; there were figures, pictures or statues in the temples, and iron and copper to loot. All the accessories mentioned in the inscription correspond with the conditions postulated by the nature of the remains and the secular customs of the country. The priests wielded great temporal power as they did in Ptolemaic times, and as their successors, the Fikihs, do still. The camel was used for riding, and large herds of cattle and other stock were kept. But the fact of greatest economic importance preserved in this inscription is the introduction of cotton, the modern Abyssinian word for which is used in the Ethiopian version of this record. From the *Periplus* we know that cotton goods were exported from India to Adulis in the first century of our era, and hitherto it has been generally assumed that the Arabs introduced the plant first into the Sudan either from India or Persia. In Ancient Egypt it does not appear to have been cultivated at all.² Its earlier

introduction into the Sudan is thus a most precious fact, and one that goes far to explain the wealth of Meroe at this time. In this inscription the names of several towns are mentioned, but of Meroe itself there is no trace. May we conclude that it was now called by some other name—perhaps, Aloa ?

Many things are still dark, but the general conclusion is surely clear, and it is based on facts which are as certain as any facts in the ancient history of the world. The Axumite inscription shows that in the 4th century Meroe had once more fallen on evil days. Egypt had again proved a broken reed, and the driving force and initiative which had come from Egypt in the preceding centuries was no longer to be looked for ; but it is equally certain that in the preceding centuries this force had come, and left permanent signs of its coming. The remains that we have described are therefore to be regarded as a by-product of the Imperial prosperity, directly due to the overflow of Romano-Egyptian energy and wealth beyond the Imperial boundaries.

SECT. 3. THE EVIDENCE OF THE MONUMENTS.

Let us now turn again to the monumental remains, and see what we can learn from them in the light of the historical setting we have just outlined. Monuments and records should be mutually complementary unless we have read the records wrong.

The archaeological evidence for the date of the remains corroborates our inference from the writers. Reasons have been already given for assigning the new discoveries to a period not earlier than the 2nd century of our era. The capital at Basa, the lions at Basa and Umm Soda which are so clearly akin to the Roman lions at Philae, the full-faced deity at Gebel Geili, are all definite indications pointing to such a date. There is equally little doubt about the age of the ruins at Musawwarat ; the capitals, bases, and

¹ LITTMANN and KRENCKER, *l.c.*, p. 11.

² STUHLMANN, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte von Ost-Africa*, p. 500, foll., in *Deutsch Ost-Africa*, B. X., Berlin, 1909.

fluting of the columns in front of the central temple have always been recognized as works of the later Roman time. The only inland site containing buildings which have been with some hesitation attributed to an earlier date is Nagaa; at this we must look more closely.

A first glance at this site suggests that the remains are those of an ancient town which was occupied for some centuries at least; the temples which are still standing differ greatly in style, and further differences are visible in the ground-plans of others which have been destroyed. The temple B obviously belongs to the Roman period; it contains no inscriptions, and is almost entirely Western in style, the only Eastern traits being the winged disk over the door, and the couchant lions over the central openings in the side walls. Temple A, which is close beside it, also clearly belongs to the later circle of monuments; the full-faced gods and the predominance of the lion are decisive characteristics, and there is no reason why these two temples should not have been raised in the same decade, one in the Egyptian-Meroitic style and the other in the Western. But the temple C D on the higher slopes appears to be, in parts at least, more ancient in plan and decoration; the ramp, the double avenue of rams and the kiosque (C) might well be as late as the other temples, but the main building behind them (D) is distinctly older in type. Can it be Ptolemaic? There are strong reasons for answering this question in the negative; the name of the king who built this temple—Netekamon—is the same as the name of the king who built temple A. If we assume that they are two different persons, the first must be carried back before the time of Augustus, when we know that the country was under the rule of queens called Candace; but there is no evidence either in the shape of great mounds or in the reworking of old blocks on the later temples, such as we see on the Pyramids at Meroe, to justify us on mature consideration in assuming that the town was occupied for

centuries. In spite of first impressions, therefore, I suggest that Temple D was built under one of the Flavian emperors or their successors, when old Egyptian styles were fashionable in Egypt; that the ramp, the avenue, and the kiosque were added and the other temples built, together with those that we have studied elsewhere, some decades later, after Hadrian's example had led to a great and permanent revival of Hellenism throughout the valley of the Nile.¹ Fashions in building change very rapidly during periods of prosperity; the age we are discussing was a time of wealth and learning, when men had the knowledge and the confidence to make experiments; only at such a time could we find buildings so various raised side by side on a site where the absence of great mounds forbids us to assume that they are the work of a long series of generations.

The chronicles of the kings who lived here cannot be written until the scripts which they used have been deciphered. We find cartouches of the same king and queen at Nagaa, Wad Ban Naga, and Amara,² and conclude from this that the Island of Meroe was for a time under the same suzerain as the country between the Second and Third Cataracts, and as cartouches of other rulers are found both at Meroe and Gebel Barkal,³ that this expansion was not confined to a single ruler. The lions found on so many sites are so clearly related to the lions at Philae that we may reasonably recognize in one of these rulers a benefactor of the Egyptian shrine. The older writers on these monuments noted with joy the representations of a great queen, and eagerly connected them with the rule of Candace; they did not observe that she is accompanied by a king, who precedes her in the procession of adoration and occupies the south side of the pylon where she is most conspicuous (Nagaa A), and that the

¹ See MILNE, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 56.

² See BUDGE, ii., p. 119.

³ *Ib.*, ii., p. 118.

king alone wears the crown on the back wall of the same temple; that of the Pyramids at Meroe three-quarters of those bearing cartouches are in honour primarily of kings or princes, and that the others obviously need not celebrate queens who were sole rulers, while at Gebel Geili the king is represented alone. I conclude that in its ancient form the dynasty of Candace was already ended, that kings now held the first place, and that the honours of equal representation paid to the queen consort are a reflex of the honours paid in Rome to a Sabina or a Faustina, congenial withal to African feminism.

The religion of these rulers is quite obscure. The prominence of the lion-god, who may have been also a sun-god, suggests a cult foreign to the old Egyptian forms of worship, and yet the presence of the lions at Philae in the temple of Isis shows that some accommodation had been reached between the two religious groups. We cannot reconcile, again, the pyramids and the pyramid texts at Meroe with any of the burial rites described by Strabo and Diodorus as practised in these parts during the Ptolemaic age; and the little tapering pyramids are clearly to be compared, not with the venerable structures of Middle Egypt, but with the pretentious tombs of the Roman period found in Syria and Asia Minor.

We can speak with a little more confidence about the material culture of the land and its connection with other relics from elsewhere. The reliefs on Temple A at Nagaa introduce us to a royal family which displayed a truly African delight in jewels and fine raiment, and in advertising by the length of their nails a superiority to manual toil; the king and queen wear necklaces and pendants, armlets and bracelets, and rings upon their fingers and in their ears, while the princes are arrayed in long tunics flowered with crosses (signs of life?), crescents and other designs. The jewellery discovered by Ferlini proves the accuracy of the representations; the source from which gold-

smiths and jewellers drew their inspiration is palpably the contemporary work in Roman Egypt. The pottery found hitherto is too fragmentary to enable us to form an accurate conception of its merits, but from a technical standpoint the small pieces which I have picked up at Basa and Gebel Geili and Musawwarat seem to me to reach a very high standard; the clay is usually whitish-grey in colour, finely levigated and evenly fired, the walls of the vases were thin and the decorations carefully laid on. Two fragments from Musawwarat are of particular interest, because they are decorated with impressed crescents; the impression of designs is, like the application of ornamental details, characteristic of later Roman pottery, and the crescent we have already seen on the robes of a prince at Nagaa. The blue and green faience found in the Pyramid chapels at Meroe both in colour and decoration belong to the same age. In spite of its general connection with Roman styles, I regard both pottery and faience as of local fabric, and I have not been able to recognize the peculiar traits of the pottery found by MacIver at Aniba anywhere south of Suarda near Solib.¹

Enough has, perhaps, been already said about the different elements to be distinguished in the architecture of the temples at Nagaa and Basa, but hardly any reference has yet been made to the palace of Musawwarat, which is by far the most beautiful and original of all these southern remains. It is a great complex of buildings, laid out on a single plan, and built almost entirely at one time; a few years later some very slight modifications were made, and the plan was completed on the same broad lines, but with stones less perfectly dressed. There is a central hall or temple set upon a raised platform, on which stood two rows of pillars in front of the chamber and a colonnade on the other sides; at two corners

¹ See, however, *Arvika*, by Randall-MacIver and Woolley (Oxford, 1909), p. 41, and Plate 29, where the crescent and cross both reappear.

of the platform were towers, and on the back wall of the cella a single line of inscription in cursive letters. The columns are obviously late, and the deep-cut reliefs which decorated the lower drums of those in front resemble the deep-cut, almost free reliefs on the central slab in the back wall of the chapel of the great pyramid at Meroe (No. 11, Budge), which is now in fragments at Khartoum. This central hall was connected by ramps and narrow passages with outlying temples or rooms, and the surrounding grounds were divided by low walls into courtyards for attendants, slaves, herds or flocks. Along the narrow passages the king and his womenfolk could move unseen between walls from one part of the palace to another: even in the desert the Oriental's love of privacy did not desert him. Elsewhere in the valley which contains this palace there are the usual reservoirs and other temples with interesting reliefs drawn by Lepsius; on the side of the valley farthest from the palace I found the bare foundations of another small chapel which appears not to have been noted before; the stones for all these buildings were quarried from one of the hills in the middle of the valley. But these other remains resemble in a degree the temples we can study elsewhere; the palace is unique, and there is no parallel to it to be found in Egypt. The only buildings, in fact, which I think might possibly be compared with it are certain remains in Axum recently published by Littmann and Krencker;¹ the love of raised platforms approached by flights of steps or ramps, of towers with steps such as may have existed at Musawwarat, and of rooms with internal columns is common to both, but with these the resemblances end. Until excavations have been made at Musawwarat, and further details about the old sites in Abyssinia and Eritrea have been pub-

¹ *Vorbericht der Deutschen Aksum-Expedition*, Berlin, 1906 (Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften), p. 23, foll.

lished, it will be wise to suspend our judgment. I hold that the connection between the architecture of Abyssinia and the Sudan in later days is proved by the exact resemblance of the plan of the upper storey in the Old Dongola church with the plan of Enda Giorgis near Adowa,² and if a similar connection could be proved in earlier days for Musawwarat, I should regard the Axumites as the borrowers. The love of raised buildings with flights of steps leading to the upper storey on the roof is characteristic of several Sudan churches besides Old Dongola, such as Wadi Ghazal near Merawi, and Figirantou near Gemai, and is natural enough in a hot country where the breezes are cool and fairly constant.

The existence of this palace and the other temples in the desert throws an interesting light upon the nature of these rulers of Meroe. The cultivation of desert valleys or "Atmurs" is possibly older, but generations of men have planted and grazed there, and have felt no more need of solid habitations than do their descendants to-day. These palaces and temples answered no necessary end: they cannot have been occupied much longer in the year than is a shooting box in Scotland, and perhaps for the same months; their makers were never buried near them (unless the platform at Musawwarat covers a tomb); they were in fact the superfluous works of a dynasty great in peace and prosperity. They were useful, no doubt, for a short period in the year, and the huge reservoirs served a very practical end, but this practical end was pursued in the manner we have seen only because it was agreeable to certain idiosyncrasies in the blood of the rulers or of the age to which they belonged. Did they inherit from a line of nomad ancestors this love of the pleasant desert valleys far removed from the cities by the river, like the Caliph Walid II. or the Khedive Abbas I.?³ Or

² *Ib.*, p. 35, fig. 44.

³ MORITZ, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea*, 1908, p. 430, in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint Joseph* (Beyrouth), III.

shall we compare them to the Blue Sultans of Sennar, who used to migrate during the summer rains to a high gravelly ridge midway between the Blue and the White Niles where now stand the villages of Mongala? Or were they the outcome of the same spirit of materialistic ostentation which has left so many proofs of its vulgarity in Syria and elsewhere? We cannot answer these questions, because we know nothing certainly of the ethnic connections of the rulers, but this trait seems to distinguish them sharply from the unventuresome river-hugging dwellers by the lower Nile.

This dynasty, as we have seen, passed away before the middle of the 4th century of our era, and the country fell for a time at least under the power of black tribes of lower culture. With this change comes a cessation of all building in the interior, although cultivation may have continued as before. The change came rapidly and without observation; in the quarry on the hill above Nagaa, from which the stones of the temples were cut, are large blocks almost detached from their beds, but left as if the order to cut and lower had been suddenly cancelled. On the river-banks there was no such complete disruption; many characteristics of the delicate

pottery found upon these sites recur on the finer wares to be seen at Christian sites such as Wadi Ghazal and Firgi, which flourished especially between the 8th and 10th centuries of our era. With the Christianization of the country all the gains of indigenous and imported culture were not lost, much persisted, as did many a less pleasing social custom, but the persistence was confined to the valley of the Nile; in the uplands the moment which had created houses and temples of masonry in remote valleys came probably and ended with a single dynasty. Hence it is that upon these sites there are no great mounds, because there were no secondary occupations worthy of the title. Some Christian travellers or anchorites scrawled their names upon one of the temples at Musawwarat, a miserable family built themselves a shelter in the forecourt of the temple at Basa; otherwise for long centuries the ruins have remained exposed to the ravages of rain and wind and sand, and known only to nomad Arabs, who loved to make their own cemeteries near what they imagined to be the work of Anag giants from whom their ancestors had wrested possession of the land.

MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

PART I.—SÔBA TO DANGÊL.

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PREFACE.

THE materials for the present memoir are based largely on LEPSIUS's publication of the Meroitic inscriptions of Naga, Benâga, and Meroe in Abtheilung V. of the *Denkmäler*, checked by the photographs of Professor BREASTED's Chicago expedition to the Sudan of 1907, and in many cases by the originals which I was able to collate in a visit to Nubia and the Sudan on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund in December and January 1909-10. For the editing and decipherment of the inscriptions I have had the great advantage of working concurrently on the other known materials; a large part of these will appear in the next memoir, while about fifty texts from temples and tombs at Meroe have been published in Professor GARSTANG's *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians*, 1909-10, and no less than a hundred and fifty funerary inscriptions, found by Dr. RANDALL-MACIVER and Mr. WOOLLEY at Karanôg and Shablûl in Lower Nubia, are forthcoming in a special publication of the Eckley B. COXE Expedition from Philadelphia. The last-mentioned work, entitled *Meroitic Inscriptions from Shablûl and Karanôg*, will show the grounds on which the decipherment of Meroitic is based, and the inscriptions in it are frequently referred to in this memoir as *Shab.* or *Kar.*, with the distinctive numbers following.

The inscriptions published here are confined to those written in the Meroitic character, whether hieroglyphic or demotic; at the same time the local inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic which contain Ethiopian or Meroitic proper names, or other information that seems useful for the subject, are duly noticed.

For help in the delightful but laborious task of collecting the inscriptions included in this volume my thanks are due to many friends. The Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund in authorising my costly journey to Berlin and the Sudan placed the best original sources within my reach. At Berlin, Professor ERMAN and Professor SCHAEFER put at my disposal for copying and publication the unique collections of originals and squeezes obtained in LEPSIUS's expedition and preserved at the Museum, and gave me every facility for studying them, while Dr. MÖLLER and Dr. RANKE were untiring in removing all the material difficulties of the work. Professor BREASTED had previously given me full permission to study his magnificent collections of photographs deposited with the Berlin Academy, and again in England my wife and I have made much use of them in revising the copies and drawings of Naga and Meroe, as well as in

describing the inscribed shrines of the pyramids. Professor LITTMANN most kindly communicated to me his revised translation of the long Axumite inscription recording how Aeizanes, king of Axum, overran the Meroitic and Nubian kingdoms in the fourth century A.D., and destroyed their cities; it is to be hoped that his exhaustive publication of the Axumite inscriptions will not be long delayed. In the Sudan the Governor-General (Sir F. R. WINGATE) and Mr. CURRIE were most kind in furthering our purpose, and Mr. DRUMMOND acted as our indispensable guide, not only in the Museum at Khartûm, but also on our journeys to Wad Benâga, Naga, and Meroe. In Egypt, Mr. CROWFOOT agreed to publish in this volume the instructive narratives of his explorations within the Island of Meroe and an illuminating essay upon its history, and provided me with photographs and squeezes of inscriptions taken at various times by himself and Mr. DRUMMOND. Mr. John WARD gave me permission to reproduce his two excellent photographs of the inscribed ram brought from Sôba to Khartûm, and Dr. BUDGE has allowed me to publish an inscription upon the wall of a shrine from Meroe which he transported to the British Museum. Finally, Professor Ed. NAVILLE, as the literary executor of LEPSIUS, has authorised the publication of some notes of provenance taken from the precious Tagebücher (preserved at Berlin), in which the great archaeological traveller and philologist recorded his observations from day to day. To all these gentlemen I desire to express my hearty thanks.

INTRODUCTION.

No Meroitic inscriptions have hitherto been found in Egypt north of the First Cataract, nor in the Sudan southwards of Sôba on the Blue Nile. They have nowhere been recorded west of the valley of the Nile, nor far eastward, whether on the shores of the Red Sea or amongst the graffiti of caravans and gold miners in the desert. Their most easterly locality is at present Umm Sôda in the Island of Meroe, about one hundred miles from the Nile. The Meroitic alphabet thus belongs strictly to the Nile valley of Nubia, together with the rich pastures and fields watered by rains and reservoirs between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, which, being enclosed by rivers on three sides, was known as the Island of Meroe. In at least the northern part of this region the Meroitic writing was preceded by the Egyptian in all its varieties, hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic, and at the fall of paganism it was displaced by Greek and by alphabets founded on the Greek. During the period when Meroitic writing flourished, the rulers of Axum on the south-east in Abyssinia were using three alphabets, Greek, South Arabian, and their peculiar Ge'êz, and on the north the Egyptians likewise used their native scripts together with Greek. The rest of the surrounding populations, the negroes of the Upper Nile and the "Hamites" of the eastern and western deserts, were probably all too barbarous or unsettled to employ writing to any considerable extent. At the mines and on the routes of the northern Etbai desert, inscriptions

have been found in Egyptian (hieroglyphic and demotic), Greek and Latin, South Arabian and Nabatæan, but none in Meroitic, which seems thus to have been the monopoly of the agricultural population of the Meroitic kingdoms and of their rulers.

The present volume contains the Meroitic inscriptions of the south-eastern region, the Island of Meroe from the Blue Nile to the Atbara, and thence northward to the Fifth Cataract. This region, centred in Meroe or in Sôba, is separated by deserts and cataracts from the north-west, with its capital at Napata or at Dongola.

CAILLIAUD was the first traveller to notice the Meroitic inscriptions in this region. He published only three, all in the demotic character, from Musauwarat es-Sufra and the pyramids of Meroe. The first to copy the hieroglyphic inscriptions seems to have been Major FELIX, an Italian officer, who accompanied Lord PRUDHOE to the Sudan in 1829. His drawings¹ include most of the royal cartouches, but the copies are unsatisfactory, and preserve little or nothing that LEPSIUS did not see or copy far more accurately in 1843-4. The Prussian expedition under LEPSIUS almost exhausted the visible scenes and inscriptions throughout the region,

¹ MS. 25,651 (of James BURTON) in the British Museum contains several duplicate copies of Meroite cartouches and inscriptions from Naga, the pyramids of Meroe, Gebel Barkal, and Amara, taken from the papers of Major FELIX.

and laid bare much new material by clearances and excavation. Since 1844 new finds have been exceedingly rare, down to Prof. GARSTANG's excavations of 1909-10 on the site of Meroe. The published additions were, in 1894 a copy by DÜMICHEN of the inscribed ram of Sôba, and in 1909 the cartouches of the Ba'sa lion by Prof. SAYCE from Mr. CROWFOOT's materials. Mr. CROWFOOT's explorations, without financial

support, could do little more (from the point of view of inscriptions) than find sites for future excavation. It was high time, however, that a revision of LEPSIUS's copies was undertaken, and the newer acquisitions incorporated with the old. It is to be hoped that henceforth annual excavations will produce an annual harvest of inscriptions.

TABLE OF THE MEROITIC ALPHABETS

	s2	initial aleph or a		s	l
	s	e		v	h (kh)
	/	e		3	h (kh)
	4	i		///	s
	///	y		3	s (sh)
	3	w		3	k
	v	b		D, Δ	q
	Σ	p		D	t
	3	m		□	te
	R	n		←	tē
	2	ñ		N	z
	ω	r	:	:	stop to separate words.

The varieties of the demotic alphabet are described as Archaic (before 25 B.C.?), Transitional (between 25 B.C. and 250 A.D.?), or Late (250 to 400 A.D.?). The dates suggested rest on slender, but not negligible, evidence (see *Meroitic Inscriptions from Shablül and Karanog*, Introduction, Chapter II.). Mr. CROWFOOT's essay was written two years ago, before the recent discoveries; but it may be that the conclusions reached by him above (pp. 37-41), confining the Meroitic monuments to the brief period from the second to the middle of the fourth century A.D., will prove to be nearer the truth.

MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

PART I.

SÔBA.

ON the right or northern bank of the Blue Nile, fourteen miles S.E. of Khartûm, are the ruins of Sôba, capital of the old Christian kingdom of 'Alwa. In May, 1821, they were visited by CAILLIAUD, accompanying the Egyptian expedition which conquered the Sudan; but he found only heaps of rubbish and few remains of stone. Stone is rare in the neighbourhood, and with the force of the heavy rains the ruins of the red tile buildings had lost their shape. At about the middle of the site he observed a ram figure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres in length.¹ In 1844 LEPSIUS saw or obtained at Sôba itself and at Khartûm several antiquities which had been found in the ruins, the most important being a tombstone of Christian period inscribed on both sides in early Nubian, and fragments of a remarkable bronze vessel of openwork with similar lettering; also a large granite figure of Osiris seated and a classical statuette of Venus. Curiously enough he does not mention the existence of the ram. At the time of his visit the site was already being exploited for building materials for Khartûm. In 1848 the architect TRÉMAUX noted "un piédestal surmonté d'un bélier taillé en forme de sphinx" as being the only relic he could find there from the

epoch of paganism, and figures it and other relics.²

In his first account TRÉMAUX does not mention any inscription, but when publishing the narrative of his voyage in 1863 he enumerates the visible antiquities, Christian columns and capitals, and the ram with its pedestal inscribed in hieroglyphic.³ In 1863 J. DÜMICHEN saw most of the objects described by TRÉMAUX still in position (and apparently cleared them), and made drawings of the ram and other things.⁴ The ram was taken by GORDON to Khartûm, apparently with the idea that it was the emblematic Lamb of Christianity. There it was seen by Mr. John WARD in the gardens of the palace.⁵ It is now in the War Office. Except that the head is broken off (though preserved), it appears to be in much the same condition as when TRÉMAUX drew it. Both TRÉMAUX and DÜMICHEN show a shrine-shaped pedestal, on which the ram lay.⁶

² TRÉMAUX, *Parallèle des édifices anciens et modernes du continent Africain*, 1852-8, Pl. 51. I owe this reference to Miss Bertha PORTER.

³ *Voyage en Ethiopie*, ii., pp. 82-3 (cf. i., p. 295).

⁴ *Zur Geographie des alten Aegypten*, Pl. vi. Cf. *Zeit. f. Aeg. Spr.*, i., 53.

⁵ John WARD, *Our Sudan*, pp. 127, 132, 142.

⁶ DÜMICHEN's drawing is evidently modelled on WEIDENBACH's drawing of the rams of Naga (L., D., V. 71 a-c), and is very incorrect.

¹ *Voyage à Méroé*, ii., p. 203.

σοβας, the name of the Blue Nile in Strabo.¹ The pagan 'Alwa of the inscription of the Axumite king Aeizanes, which gave its name to the Christian province, probably lay farther to

the north, and perhaps at Meroë itself. Darô, the *Δαρων* of Ptolemy, is placed by the latter northward of the junction with his *Ασταπους* (Blue Nile); but the ancient geography of this part of the world is uncertain enough to leave it open to identification with Sôba.

¹ DILLMANN, *Anfänge des Axumitischen Reichs*, pp. 183-4.

GEBEL GEILI.

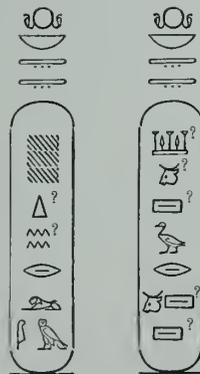
ON Gebel Qêli, an outstanding mass of granite in the desert due east from Khartûm, with traces of an ancient settlement near by,¹ is a remarkable sculpture of a king and the Sun-god, accompanied by two Meroitic cartouches

(2), which unfortunately are hardly legible on the small photograph.²

The signs face to the right in the original. Most are doubtful; if the first cartouche is rightly read, it is the name of the prince at Amara (see Part II., no. 84), but the reading is too uncertain to serve as the basis for any argument.

¹ See above, pp. 24, 25.

² Pl. XIV., fig. 2.



NAGA.

NAGA, properly En-naq', النقع, "the plain," is the name of a place in the desert S.E. of Shendi, marked by a group of temples (El-Musawwarât), with remains of reservoirs. The temples are better preserved here than anywhere else in the Sudan. A large area was filled with houses, ill-constructed of thin slabs of sandstone, for want of clay to make tiles: they have simply collapsed, and are for the most part shapeless heaps of which the plan is seldom traceable without excavation. Here, too, there are signs of larger buildings, from which the stones have been removed. It seems probable that the older temples had been plundered for later constructions; but where stone was so abundant little injury was done to the more massive buildings, which moreover were somewhat outlying. Thus several temples have escaped destruction. When once the Meroitic empire had passed away, the reservoirs were no longer cared for, and the town ceased to be inhabited.

CAILLIAUD was the first to explore and map the site,¹ plan the temples, and draw the sculptures. LEPSIUS's expedition repeated his work² with more exactitude, and in addition copied practically all the inscriptions except the graffiti: they also found a statue of Amen-hotp II. of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which had

probably been brought to the spot by the Meroites.

Naga is the chief storehouse of texts in Meroite hieroglyphic. The copies here published were studied first from LEPSIUS's drawings, and checked by photographs of Prof. BREASTED's expedition. The latter are nearly complete, and are admirable for the sculptures, but in this case require much supplementing for the inscriptions. The results were profitably collated with the originals for the most part in January, 1910. The engraving of the Meroite hieroglyphs and the spacing of the signs are excessively careless, and when the soft sandstone in which they are engraved has decayed or been injured, it is particularly difficult to decide the reading from the fragmentary signs and groups. An acquaintance with the general forms of Meroitic words and comparison of parallel passages only gradually brings out what is probable. The study of the whole mass of known texts, and especially the temple inscriptions of Prof. GARSTANG's finds at Meroë, has thrown much light on the texts of Naga, and now a further collation of the originals might produce some new readings of interest.

Four temples, or portions of temples, are still standing, each of them with inscriptions of some kind.³

THE TEMPLE OF THE LION-GOD (temple *a* of LEPSIUS).

This is the westernmost of the four temples. It faces to the south-east, and consists of a

pylon-shaped façade with a single chamber or court behind it, narrower than the pylon. There appears to have been a small portico in front

¹ CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, i., Pl. xi.

² L., *D.*, I., Bl. 143.

³ See the plan of part of the ruins on Pl. XVI.

of the pylon, and the roof of the court, probably of wood and reeds, was upheld by four columns; but the columns (which may have been of wood) and the portico are both destroyed.

The Pylon.

BREASTED, photo 506 (left half), 507 (right half); CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, i., Pl. xvi.; L., *D.*, V., Bl. 56 (restored).

On each tower is a scene¹ of the slaying of prisoners, on the left, or southern, by the king, on the right, or northern, by the queen, each accompanied by a lion. Over the king flies a hawk with spread wings wearing the *pschent* , and holding a ring or diadem in its talons, over the obese queen a vulture (imperfect) holding a similar ring. Beneath each scene is a row of seven kneeling prisoners with blank shields over their bodies.

In front of and above the head of the king and queen are inscriptions 3, 4, each consisting of three columns in Meroite hieroglyphic.² Two qualities of stone being used and intermingled in the building, one block may be deeply worn and pitted, while the next may have every incision almost as sharp as on the day it was cut. This is the case here. On each tower the inscription begins at the top of a block of bad stone, and is carried down to a better one below. The upper block on the left has more traces of writing than that on the right, in which even the division lines are scarcely recognizable.

The inscriptions on each tower, so far as they have survived, are identical, except the cartouches in the centre. Probably each cartouche was surmounted by an Egyptian royal title. On the rest of the temple the only cartouches are those of King Natakamani, Queen Amanitère, and the prince accompanying them. The first two of these would suit

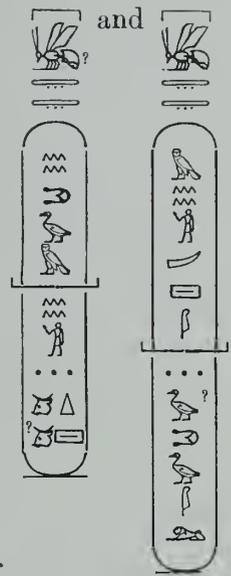
the lacunae admirably, making A careful examination with a good ladder might establish these readings, for which there seems in fact some justification in the photograph of the cartouche on the left.

The king's name was thus followed by his title, $\text{𐎗} \equiv \text{𐎗} \Delta$ *qêre* (or $\beta \equiv \text{𐎗} \Delta$), and the queen's by a title $\text{𐎗} \beta \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗}$? *katakel*—like the king's title Amanitakel in 1 and 94. As the 𐎗 is probably a suffix, this Katake reminds one of *Kandákē*, Candace, which is said by Pliny to have been a constant name of the queens of Meroë.³ In collating the original with a ladder of insufficient height, I was inclined to read 𐎗 for the first 𐎗 , but both the photograph and Lepsius's copy support 𐎗 .

Of the side lines, the first seems to give $\text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \overline{\text{𐎗}} \overline{\text{𐎗}} \text{𐎗} \dots$, all these letters except 𐎗 being visible on either side (the 𐎗 is from my collation, but is not well supported by the photograph). This should mean "in...*mte*," but I do not recognize the locality elsewhere. Possibly Têlakte (of the titles of the ram-headed Ammon, no. 24, etc.) was the name. The third line gives $\overline{\text{𐎗}} \equiv \text{𐎗} \overline{\text{𐎗}} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} (:) \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} [\text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗}]$, as in the inscription of Apezemak, the lion-god (no. 6), and of the hawk-headed god following him (no. 7).

The chief deity of the temple was Apezemak, but it may be doubted whether the first and third lines refer to him or to the bird-gods which hover over the heads of the king and queen.

On each of the outer sides of the pylon, facing north and south, is sculptured a snake, with human arms, lion's head, and the triple crown of Apezemak issuing from a conventional flower (L., *D.*, II., 60 c, BREASTED, photo 518), and on the back of each tower, between the outer corner



¹ Pl. XVII.

² *Ib.*

³ See below, p. 80.

and the side walls of the temple, the shaft of the lion-standard of Apezemak transfixes a bound prisoner (L., *D.*, II., 60 *b*; BREASTED, photo 517).¹

The Walls of the Temple.

The walls behind the pylon are about 3½ metres or 12½ feet high, and have formerly been crowned with a projecting stone cornice, which, with the columns, supported the roof and protected the sculpture and inscriptions. But all the cornice stones except one have fallen, and the shallow inscriptions on the external faces, being near the top, have been particularly exposed to wear and other injury.

On the proper right or south wall gods, and on the north wall goddesses, are figured giving life to the three royalties, and on the back wall a triple-headed lion-god in the centre distributes his favours to the royalties on either side, apparently in male and female character respectively. The figures from the top of the head to the bottom of the feet are 2½ metres or 8 feet high.²

The Royalties.

On the south wall (CAILLIAUD, *Voyage*, i, Pl. xvii.; L., *D.*, V., 61, 62; BREASTED, photos 513-516), the king, facing Apezemak and the other gods, wears the crown of Apezemak, and the uraeus on the diadem has the lion's head and crown, but a figure of the ram-headed Ammon hangs at his waist. On the king's face are signs of short whiskers and beard. The obese queen, with long nails as in all her representations here, wears a simpler diadem with the uraeus of Apezemak. The prince has the appearance of youth, with a simple diadem having the head of Apezemak in front.

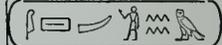
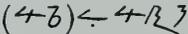
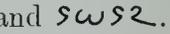
On the north wall (CAILLIAUD, Pl. xvii.; L., *D.*, V., 57, 58; BREASTED, photos 508, 509), facing Isis and the goddesses, the king and queen

respectively wear the atef crown of Osiris and the horns and disk of Isis; each seems to have an Ammon-head pendant on the breast. The headdress of the prince is lost, but it is clear that he did not wear the side lock of the young Horus.

On the back wall (CAILLIAUD, Pl. xviii.; L., *D.*, V., 59, 60 *a*; BREASTED, photos 510-512) the headdresses of the royalties are the same as on the North wall, but the king and queen hold the sceptre which is seen on the South wall.

(On the pylon the queen wears a cap surmounted by a hawk-headed sphinx with double uraeus, crowned with Hathor horns and feathers. The king's cap is much injured.)

Before each figure of the king and queen was engraved a cartouche, and two cartouches on a kind of banner or panel before the prince.³ They are best preserved on the back wall (nos. 17, 20).⁴

The king's name,  Natak-Amani, and the queen's name,  Amani-têre, are very frequently found in association. There seem to be at least two such pairs, an earlier pair who affected Egyptian writing and Egyptian prenomens even in Meroitic writing, the other, as here, in the full development of the Meroitic style. The names of both king and queen are compounded with that of Ammon.   in the king's name occurs in the inscriptions of the goddesses here (nos. 12-16 and 18), and in a woman's name at Karanog, and perhaps is to be seen in the name of Candace.  in the queen's name is not known as a separate word; possibly her name is compounded of  and .

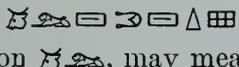
The prince's cartouches are preserved only on the back and south walls. They are widely

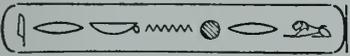
¹ Both devices are shown on Pl. XVII.

² These scenes are given in outline on Pls. XVIII., XX.

³ The inscriptions on the walls are shown in Pls. XIX., XX.

⁴ It is remarkable that, while all the rest of the inscriptions on the temple are incised, nos. 5, 6 and 9 on the South wall have the characters in relief on a sunk ground. Probably the latter method was found to be too laborious, and was abandoned for the simpler method of incising.

spaced apart, but joined by horizontal lines as if they were represented to be on a panel or flag. Both are written in Meroitic. They resemble the three cartouches of the prince from the "Sun temple" at Meroë (*Meroë*, no. 2), where the first contains the name, and the other two the titles; but to judge by the direction of the signs in the present case the title has to be read first. , with the usual termination , may mean "the great (?) paqar," paqar being a high dignity frequently mentioned. I do not know of a parallel instance of  in composition, unless the male title  can be compared, or the epithet .

The second cartouche is Arika-kha-rêr, , with the common honorific (?) termination . The first element is seen in the name of the prince Araka-kha-tani on the temple of Ammon,¹ and the whole name occurs (earlier?) in Egyptian hieroglyphic on the shrine of Pyr. A 16 of Meroë (L., D., V., 43),  Arika-na-kha-rêr, with only the slight difference of an added *n*. Arekazhetê, a name in *Kar.* 61, may also be compared. For the princely ending  see no. 49.

Above the cartouches were titles borrowed from Egyptian, but, except on the back wall (16, 19), they are destroyed. Here  is the title of the king and queen, while the prince is .

The Deities.

On the south wall the three royalties approach a series of gods, and on the North wall (apparently in the assumed characters of Osiris, Isis, and Horus) a series of goddesses. These group themselves thus:—

South wall.	North wall.
1 Lion-god Apezemak ²	} 1 Isis
2 Haroeris or Harmakhis	

3 Ammon	} 2 Muth
4 Khons	
	} 3 Negro-goddess
5 Khnum	5 Satis.

Thus, when we have combined the two series, Apezemak, the equivalent of Show (Sôs) or Arsenuphis, and Isis form a triad with Harmakhis, Apezemak replacing Osiris.³ Ammon, Muth, and Khons, the triad of Thebes, follow, and then two goddesses, and Khnumis with Satis of the Cataract gods.

The gods on the south wall are represented thus:—

6. Apezemak, lion-headed, crowned with triple bundle and feathers on horns. He holds in one hand a standard surmounted by a lion similarly crowned and a bouquet (?),⁴ and in the other .

7. Haroeris, or Harmakhis, hawk-headed, wearing disk and uraeus and pschent, , and holding in one hand  with  issuing from it, and in the other .

8. Ammon, ram-headed, wearing Ammon plumes and disk on horns, and holding the same emblems as 7.

9. Khons, human-headed, as mummy wearing lunar disk, holding before him the same emblems as the others, together with  and .

10. Khnum, ram-headed, wearing a crown of a bundle of reeds between plumes on horns, and holding the same emblems as 7.

The goddesses on the north wall are:—

12. Isis, with vulture headdress, horns, and disk. In one hand she holds a group of prisoners and a palm-branch, and in the other a libation vase with swing handle.

13. Muth, wearing double crown and vulture headdress, and holding in one hand  with  issuing from it, and in the other .

¹ See below, p. 63.

² See *Meroë*, Pl. i. and p. 63.

³ Compare *Meroë*, no. 7, p. 66.

⁴ In *Meroë*, Pl. i., it may be a bunch of cornstalks.

nos. 23, 36, &c.), with the very common addition .  is found in a name in *Kar.* 30.

(10) should be Khnum, corresponding to Satis on the other wall; but the name *Amnbš*, or Amani-bash, can hardly be a rendering of the Greek *Xνουβις*. It seems rather to be analysable as a form of the name Ammon. The identification of Ammon with Khnum and Zeus is found also in Egypt. *bš* is a rare collocation, but  occurs in *Kar.* 78.

(19)  at the end is remarkable.

(18) All doubts about the reading of the middle line are set at rest by the inscriptions from the temple of the Lion-god at Meroë (*Meroë*, nos. 5, 7-10, giving the name Apezemak, and p. 63).

(12) It is unfortunate that the inscription of Isis is destroyed, but her Meroitic name , *Wêsh*, is well known from other sources.

(14) It would be interesting to know more about this negro-goddess. She is probably  :   , but not :    , like the other goddesses. Has she any connection with the goddess Amentet (of the West) at Thebes, with emblem ? Khons, the moon-god, with whom she may have some connection, was important in magic, and this negress may have been a native sorceress deified after death. The sorcery of the negroes is referred to in the second story of Sethon,¹ and in a late book of spells;² and now some forms of divination in Cairo (e.g. fortune-telling by sand) are chiefly worked by negroes.

(15) The spelling of the name Hathor, :   :  , At-(a)ri with affix *qé*, is very curious and interesting. After dropping *h*, Atari as compared to Egyptian Hathôr, *ḫaṯwpr*, is like Amani as compared to Egyptian Amôn (Amûn), *amwprn*.

¹ GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 55 *et seqq.*

² GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, e.g. verso, col. xx.

(16)  may suggest that the Meroites borrowed the name of Satis³ . . . from the Egyptians; but the notes made on the spot do not bear this out, and, moreover, it seems as if a descriptive name, such as "[Consort of] Amani," was resorted to, Amani here standing for Khnum, as in the corresponding inscription 10.

Interior of the Chamber.

The interior faces of the chamber are sculptured with large figures representing the three royalties adoring various divinities. On the South wall these are human-headed and other forms of Apezemak and perhaps Isis. On the North wall similar forms of Ammon and Muth. Some of the figures are in semi-classical style. Above these large figures is a row of smaller ones.

With one exception the cartouches are blank, and there are no other inscriptions. The only scrap of inscription is the first cartouche on the South wall, , showing that we have here to do with the same king as on the outer walls.

For all these see *L., D., V.*, 63-65. The sculptures are in bad condition, and LEPSIUS's draughtsman has misrepresented the figures of Apezemak. They are easily recognized, however, on the excellent photographs of BREASTED, nos. 519-524.

Graffiti.

Of graffiti on the temple I observed only two: the first (21) had been neatly cut, below the arm of the three-headed Apezemak on the right half of the back wall, in Meroite demotic of the later type, and consisted of eleven lines (faintly visible in BREASTED, photo 512). But it was so much injured that, except in the first line,⁴ only a few scattered signs could be recognized. Here we may restore :         "Apezemak

³ Or Sopti, Sothis; cf. ROEDER, *Ä. Z.*, 1909.

⁴ Copy in Pl. XX.

in . . . *ybe*." Perhaps patient study of it with fuller knowledge would give more result than my first attempt.

The second, in Egyptian demotic (no. **5a** faintly visible in BREASTED, photos 515, 516),¹ is the most southerly example known in this script, which is exceedingly rare beyond the Dodecaschoenus. It is cut in front of the prince, and between him and the queen, on the South wall in the scene of the adoration of Apezemak and the other gods. It consists of four lines, now in very bad condition. (1) [t w]šte n qmny . . . (2) š-z.t (3) ty m-bh R-hms-nfr (?) p ntr 'o "The adoration of the *qêreñ* (standeth) for ever here before Arsenuphis (?) the great god." The name Arsenuphis requires verification. The title *qereñ* is frequent in Meroitic inscriptions and Egyptian demotic graffiti at Philae and elsewhere, but its significance is not yet clear.

It thus appears that the temple was dedicated in the names of Natakamani and his queen Amanitêre, together with the prince Arikakharêr. The same royal trio is found at Meroë in the

kiosque of the temple of Ammon ;² there too was found the inscription of a god³ exactly parallel to those on the South wall of their temple at Naga.

The dedication was to the Lion-god Apezemak and Isis with the Meroitic Haroeris or Harmakhis, and in the second place to Ammon, Muth, and Khons, with other gods and goddesses. Apezemak appears from the graffito (**5a**) to have been identified with Arsenuphis. His association with Isis was considered a scandalous Ethiopian heresy by orthodox Egyptians.⁴

On the back of the pylon Apezemak's standard pierces a prisoner, and Isis leads a group of prisoners to the king. The pair thus have the character of war gods. Diodorus Siculus, it may be noted, imagines a warlike expedition of Osiris which began in Ethiopia.⁵ But Apezemak also holds a bunch of flowers or cornstalks and Isis a libation vase. They are therefore the providers of food and water. The guardian lion is placed on the banks of the reservoirs, as well as the ram, and the frog in the water.⁶

THE KIOSQUE (temple *b* of LEPSIUS).

Opposite the entrance of the temple of the Lion-god, and almost in the same axis, is a curious little semi-classical structure (seen in CAILLIAUD, *Voyage*, Pl. xiii. ; L., *D.*, I., 141 *b*), with an entrance at each end and round arches at the side. It is probably a kiosque belonging to the approach to the temple of the Lion-god. Each entrance and a square window at each side are surmounted by the Egyptian winged disk, but otherwise the sculpture is purely architectural, and there are no original inscriptions. Inside, on the north wall, are the signatures PUCKLER-MUSKAU (travelled in 1838), ΠΡΥΔΩ ΦΕΛΙΞ com-

memorative of Lord PRUDHOE and Major FELIX in 1829, and another of 1906 which ought not to be there. Near these is a single Meroitic graffito (**22**) in one line of transitional style and therefore not very late.⁷ There is nothing to show by whom this kiosque was built, but perhaps one may conjecture that it was erected for the same royalties who built the temple, and whose taste for Roman-Hellenistic art is seen in the interior of that temple.

² Meroë, no. 15.

³ *Ib.* no. 16.

⁴ Meroë, p. 66.

⁵ Diod., i. 17, *et seqq.*

⁶ See the plans of the Ba'sa and Umm Sôda reservoirs in Pls. IV., XIII.

⁷ Copy on Pl. XX.

¹ See Pl. XIX.

THE TEMPLE OF AMMON, OR THE GREAT TEMPLE (temples *c*, *d*, of LEPSIUS).

If the temple of the Lion-god is essentially Meroitic and the kiosque essentially Hellenistic, the temple of Ammon is thoroughly Egyptian in style. It faces due west according to the map in *L., D., I.*, 143, and is approached by a broad ramp or flight of steps, at the top of which is an avenue of six rams, a kiosque (temple *c* of Lepsius) and six more rams, all uninscribed. The stone-roofed inner chamber is reached through three doorways, the first in a ruined pylon, behind which was a small court with eight columns, one of them still upright. The sculptures show the figures in fairly good Egyptian style, without barbaric dress or ornament. It is perhaps needless to say that all is on a small scale. See CAILLIAUD, *Voyage*, i., Pl. xv., xix.; *L., D., I.*, Bl. 144, 145.

The inscriptions are on the gateways and the column. Besides LEPSIUS's copies two of the BREASTED photographs are of value for the inscriptions, and I have collated the originals of the most important.

The façade of the first gateway, *L., D., V.*, 60 *a*; BREASTED, photo 532.¹

On the architrave at the top are two scenes: on the left the king and queen (wearing ) and the prince (wearing uraeus fillet), each holding  over shoulder, offer a libation vase to the human-headed Ammon enthroned. Cartouches are before the faces of the royalties, and two short columns of inscription before the god, while behind him is a complete column of inscription, 23, 23a.² A peculiarity of this scene is shown only in the BREASTED photograph, namely a column of small hieroglyphic characters reaching from the hand to the foot of the god, but unfortunately not legible.

On the right is a precisely corresponding scene,

except that the king and queen wear , and the god is ram-headed. Inscriptions 24, 24a.

On the left jamb, on the upper half, the human-headed Ammon embraces the king, the names and titles being written between; on the lower half two Nile figures face towards the entrance, each holding two libation vessels over the shoulders, and with a complete column of inscription between them. On the right the scenes correspond, but the god is ram-headed and embraces the queen. Inscriptions 25-28.

In the passage-way³ on the left-hand side Ammon applies three  with his fingers to the face of the king, and below are figures of the Nile, with a column of inscription between (*L., D., V.*, 66 *c*). On the right is the same scene for the queen (*ib. b*), and Niles are below as before (*ib. d*). Inscriptions 29-32.

In the court behind the first gateway on the right stands a large column of six drums, with massive cubic abacus still on the top though displaced. The shaft measures about 3½ metres or 12½ feet to the abacus. The latter is sculptured on each face with the cartouches of the three royalties, and the column is covered with sculptures and inscriptions.⁴ This column was originally the second of those flanking the passage-way on the right; remains of other columns are lying around.

The façade of the second gateway is sculptured with scenes and some inscriptions roughly finished. The architrave has the same scenes as on the first gateway, only here the ram-headed deity is on the left, and the human-headed on the right. Inscriptions 35, 36, like 24, 23, *vide L., D., V.*, 67 *b* (seen in BREASTED, photo 533). The passage-way is sculptured but not inscribed: *L., D., V.*, 67 *c, d*.

¹ See Pl. XXI.

² See Pl. XXII.

³ Also on Pl. XXI.

⁴ See Pl. XXIII.

Buto (to right), on the north and south faces between  figures.¹

34. The shaft of the column (L., D., and BREASTED, as the last)² is divided vertically by four lines of inscription running from top to bottom; each of the intervening spaces is sculptured with four scenes, a row of stars at the top dividing them from each other. The lowest row consists of Nile figures in pairs (two towards the passage facing each other, the other two perhaps facing outwards) pouring water from a vase over each shoulder.

Whereas in the rest of the temple there is scarcely any divine figure beyond the two forms of Ammon and the Nile figures, in the three upper rows of scenes on the column a great variety of gods is shown, as on the columns of Amara (no. 84).

Beginning at the top, these scenes are, between ll. 4 and 1: (a) king offering to human-headed Ammon; (b) king to ram-headed Ammon; (c) prince to human-headed Ammon.

Between ll. 1 and 2: (a) king offering to hawk-headed Re; (b) king to Muth; (c) prince to Khons (?).

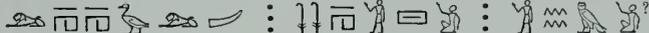
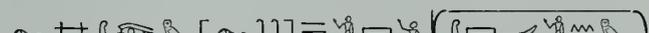
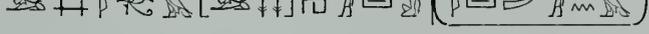
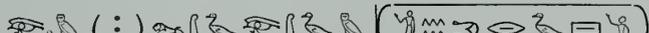
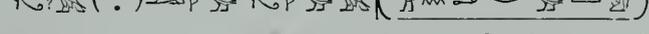
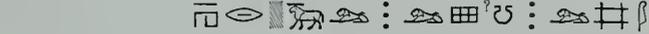
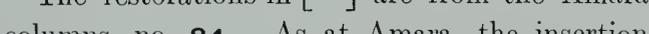
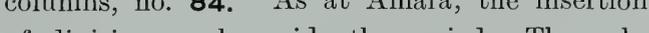
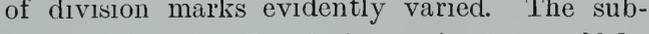
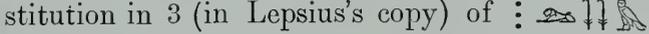
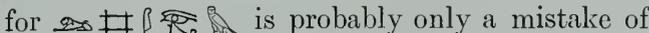
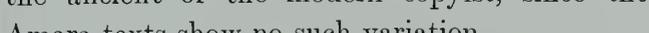
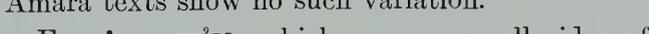
Between ll. 2 and 3: (a) prince (?) offering to ithyphallic Ammon or Min; (b) prince to a god; (c) prince to Khnum (?).

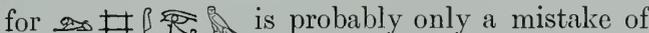
Between ll. 3 and 4: (a) queen offering to Apezemak; (b) queen to a goddess like the negress of the lion temple (no. 14 above); (c) queen offering to a god with human head crowned by a disk. All the scenes are unfortunately without inscriptions.

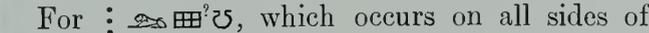
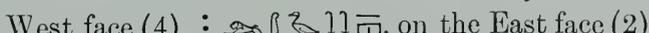
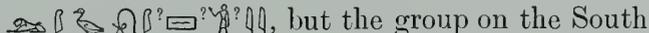
The arrangement is quite intelligible. In the most conspicuous place to the visitor approaching the shrine (4-1) the king and prince offer to the different forms of the presiding deity, Ammon; in the most conspicuous to a person leaving it (1-2) the royal trio offer respectively to Re and the members of Ammon's triad; on a less

conspicuous side (3-4) the queen offers to Apezemak and other deities; and in the most obscure of all (2-3) the prince offers to Min and other gods. If the rest of the columns had been preserved, it could be seen how far such an arrangement was followed throughout. From the analogy of those of Amara it is certain that other gods would have been represented. In the rest of this temple, besides Ammon and the Nile figures, we have only Isis, Horus, Thoth, and two anthropomorphic gods crowning or blessing the royalties on the jambs and in the passageway of the second door (L., D., V., b, c, d).

The four vertical lines of inscription, so far as they are preserved and legible, repeat the same text, the only difference being in the third group from the end. The inscription on the north side (l. 1), completed from the parallels, gives

 :  : 
 []  ()
 []  ()
 (:)  ()
 :  : 

The restorations in [] are from the Amara columns, no. 84. As at Amara, the insertion of division marks evidently varied. The substitution in 3 (in Lepsius's copy) of :  for  is probably only a mistake of the ancient or the modern copyist, since the Amara texts show no such variation.

For : , which occurs on all sides of some of the Amara columns, there are here the same variations as on Amara a, namely, on the West face (4) : , on the East face (2) , but the group on the South face (3) is almost if not quite illegible.

The first three words are the titles of the ram-headed Ammon (above, p. 63), which is thus apparently the leading form in the temple, with  added to the last word. The rest of the inscription, except the name of the prince, is exactly like no. 84 at Amara, q.v. (in Part II.).

¹ See Pl. XXIII. for the scenes and inscriptions of the column.

² The remains of the fallen columns need excavation and have not been examined.

TEMPLE *f*.

Temple *f* is the designation given by Lepsius to a small temple, facing to the south on the slope of a steep hill, at the back of the city, where the stone was quarried for the buildings. It consisted of a portico and chamber with four columns, and an annex on the west side. At the back of the chamber is a niche containing an altar. There are traces of sculptured figures in the portico. Plan, CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xv., fig. 7; L., *D.*, I., 145; view, CAILLIAUD, *ib.*, Pl. xxi.; BREASTED, photo 538.

39. In the back wall of the chamber is sunk a niche, containing an altar against the wall, and on either side of the altar, on the

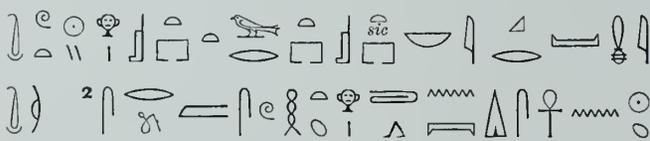
back wall of the niche, is the end (?) of a line of Egyptian hieroglyphic with cartouche in Meroitic, published L., *D.*, V., 68 *d.*¹

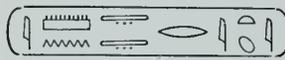
It is possible that the inscription is complete,  being for □ the definite article, and the whole reading "The royal cleansing (?) of the Son of Re, Lord of the Two Lands, Shanakazakhete, to whom life is granted for ever." No one familiar with the inscriptions of the Meroites will fail to be struck by the comparative correctness of the inscription. It must be of about the same age as the Ammon temple, perhaps a little earlier.



¹ Shown on Pl. XXIII.

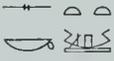
On the opposite (east) side, the queen with similar headdress, obese and with pendent breasts, clothed in a long garment to her ankles, similarly supports the sky. Her Egyptian prenomens is over her left shoulder, "The Queen of Upper Egypt, Lady of the two lands, Mer-ke-re"; over the right shoulder her Meroitic name, "Daughter of the Sun, Lady of diadems, Amanitêre."

The two Egyptian columns read:—


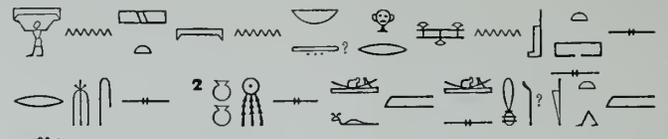
, "Established art thou upon thy great place, O Isis, Lady of the Underworld, like as the moon is established firm in the egg, circling round heaven: may she give life to the daughter of the Sun, Amanitêre."

On the south side is the figure of an Egyptian goddess, with firm breasts, but without emblems, supporting the starry sky. Over her shoulders are the Egyptian words , "South," and , Ahe, her name. The inscription in the two columns reads:—



, "I have uplifted the sky for Isis, giver of life, I have separated (?) her place from her (?) Creator, that she may shine therein in her bark like the Aton in the sun-boat."

On the north side is a similar goddess with the legend , "North," and , Twe, her name. The inscriptions here are:—



, "I have uplifted the sky-depths for the Mistress of Earth, I have separated her place from her mother (?), that she may shine in it in her bark like the Creator voyaging in his bark."

These representations of the north and south supports of the sky may be compared with those in MARIETTE, *Denderah*, ii., 55 a, where there are inscriptions of a similar character with the goddesses of each quarter.

The king and queen are the same as those in the temple of Ammon at Naga, but the prince is not named. Their names are written in Meroitic characters above them and in Egyptian in the side columns. The discovery of these tiny bilingual keys gave LEPSIUS the hope of speedy decipherment of Meroitic writing, and has furnished the starting-point of all subsequent investigation into the hieroglyphic writing of the Meroites.

The spelling of the Egyptian titles attached to the Meroitic cartouches is that which became common in Egyptian temples from the beginning of the first century B.C. (Ptolemy XI.-XII.) and continued through the Roman period, though it might be traced back as far as the end of the third century B.C.

From the inscriptions on no. 41 it appears that the eastern temple at Wad Benâgâ was dedicated to Isis. The western temple, with the Bes columns, was therefore the Birth-house of the Isis temple. The title of Isis, , "Mistress of the Underworld," is not usual on Egyptian monuments, but her other title, , "giver of life," is common at Philae.

MUSAUWARÂT ES-SUFRA.

MUSAUWARÂT ES-SUFRA is the name of a great field of stone ruins in the desert, fourteen miles north of Naga. Some of the columns of the temples have remarkable sculptures, but nowhere are there hieroglyphic or other monumental inscriptions. CAILLIAUD found here an inscription in Latin upon the wall of a staircase. It was afterwards taken by LEPSIUS to Berlin, and LEPSIUS copied several Nubian graffiti of Christian period. I was not able to visit the site. For plans, etc., see CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xxii.-xxx., Texte, vol. iii., ch. xlvi. ; Hoskins, *Ethiopia*, pp. 99 *et seqq.*; L., *D.*, I., 139-142.

42. Copied by CAILLIAUD "sur un mur d'enceinte," *Voyage*, Texte iii., Pl. 5, no. 3, and LEPSIUS, L., *D.*, VI., Pl. 10, no. 50.¹ Archaic.

134414 III² N² Z² R² S² B² 43² W² S² 2

¹ This and the two following inscriptions are on Pl. XXVI.

4R might be read for 4Z. III N Z R occurs in 129/3, and /3 is an ending seen in many graffiti of Philae. The meaning is perhaps "made by Arkiwal (?) from Nakazy."

43. Graffito (?), published L., *D.*, VI., no. 54. Archaic.

The signs may be read N 4Z P² S², a name Tabakize.

44. Inscription copied by Mr. P. DRUMMOND, who kindly gave me his copy to publish. It is on the west or innermost wall of the cella of the peripteral hall or temple. Late style. Cf. Mr. CROWFOOT's account above, p. 40.

15 : 1 W Z III² S² N² : S W S S Z : S S 4 R S / B

The first word is a man's title at Philae and Karanog. A name probably follows, with a descriptive phrase ending in /5 : as in 65 below.

No inscriptions are recorded from Wadi el-Benât, where there are ruins of a temple showing Meroitic sculpture. L., *D.*, V., 68, e, f.

U M M S Ô D A.

U M M S Ô D A, a reservoir in the eastern desert, about forty miles S.E. of Ba'sa, discovered by Mr. CROWFOOT in 1907.¹ About the reservoir lay several figures of lions and rams, much worn, and on the N.E. bank, close to several rams, a prostrate stela of sandstone with inscription.

45. The stela stood on a large and tall base

(in the same block), the upper part of which seems to be to some extent smoothed, while the greater part is roughly chiselled, presumably to be sunk in the ground. The stela itself is four-sided and slightly tapering. The face which lay on the ground shows ten short lines of inscription engraved between rules and another below the ruling. The first two lines are almost destroyed, the top of the stela having been

¹ See above, p. 23.

M E R O Æ.

CAILLIAUD was the first traveller to visit the ruins of the ancient capital of the Meroites. The existence of pyramids to the north of Shendi was reported to him in Berber on his way south in 1821. April 25 of that year was the day on which to his great joy he reached the pyramids. The same evening he explored the ruins of the city, which he recognized to have been

none other than Meroë itself (*Voyage à Méroé*, Texte ii., 142). CAILLIAUD remained fourteen days planning and sketching, and a year later, on his return northward, spent part of another day at the pyramids to complete some drawings. In 1833 HOSKINS spent two days at Meroë, and LEPSIUS's expedition made a long stay devoted principally to the examination of the pyramids.¹

THE CITY RUINS.

The ruins of the city lie on the east bank of the Nile, and are more than a mile in length from north to south. The railway now cuts through the eastern edge about three miles north from Kabushia station. The mounds show that the more solid buildings were constructed of burnt tiles, or in rare cases, of stone. Although temples are marked in the plans of CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS, no sculpture was visible except the rams of the temple of Ammon. Two fragments of Meroitic writing were picked up by LEPSIUS's expedition, and a very important fragment of a

Greek inscription set up by a king of Axum was discovered in 1909 by Prof. SAYCE, and placed in the Khartûm Museum (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxi., 189, and Pl. xxiv.). The excavations of Prof. GARSTANG (on behalf of the University of Liverpool) last winter, in the town and the adjacent cemeteries, have disclosed the ruins of portions of the temple of Ammon and smaller temples of the Lion-god (*k* of LEPSIUS) and of Isis (*a* of LEPSIUS), with another temple in the cemetery region eastward of the city (see *L., D.*, I., Bl. 133) which it has been proposed to identify with the Altar of the

¹ It has lately been argued by a well-known and deservedly popular writer (in GARSTANG's *Meroë*, pp. 6, 7) that LEPSIUS and the other early travellers did not realize that the city remains, since explored by Prof. GARSTANG, belonged to Meroë. If this curious view requires refutation (and it seems that it does, owing to the high position of its promulgator and the authoritative work in which it appears), this is most easily given by pointing to LEPSIUS's *Denkmäler*, Abth. I., Bl. 132, 133, labelled "Situationsplan von den ruinen der stadt Meroë nebst den dazu gehörigen Pyramidenfeldern Blatt 1, 2," i.e. "general plan of the ruins of the city of Meroë, together with the pyramid-fields belonging to it." The two plates give a plan of the whole of the ruins of the city as then visible, stretching from the river-bank as far as the group of pyramids in the plain (group C); it is easy to recognize on it the temple of Ammon and palace ruins, the temple of Isis (*a*), of the Lion-god (*k*), and the "Sun-temple." A third plate (in Bl. 134) comprises the more distant groups of pyramids A

and B, the intervening space of nearly two kilometres not being mapped, as there were scarcely any ancient remains in it. CAILLIAUD, in Pl. xxxi. of his *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. i., gives a plan of the whole site from the distant pyramids to the river on a much smaller scale than LEPSIUS. In his description of the plate he says, "l'emplacement de l'ancienne ville est marqué par les restes de plusieurs temples, des buttes de décombres et des restes de constructions (etc., etc.); cet emplacement convient à la position que les anciens assignaient à la ville de Méroé, capitale de l'île du même nom," and continues with a description of the groups of pyramids on the east of the city. Both travellers were doubtless disappointed by the poverty of the remains of the city and their small extent, but both CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS had had enough experience in archaeology to recognize at a glance that these ruins of "Assour," "Begerawia," or whatever modern name be given to them, represented the city to which the pyramids belonged, and probably no one who has traversed the site has ever doubted it.

wall of another shrine, *ib.*, no. 685; scene of a deceased king enthroned with Isis behind him, facing Osiris and Isis, from the back wall of the shrine in Pyr. 25, L., *D.*, V., Bl. 54 *f*; and portions of the shrine of Pyr. 15 (see the following). LEPSIUS's numbering, beginning at the south east, is here adopted.

49. From Pyr. C 15 of LEPSIUS, *b* on CAILLIAUD's plan, no. 4 on CAILLIAUD's pl. xxxiv., with shrine on the east face and an enclosing wall. The back wall of the shrine is sculptured architecturally as a doorway with disks and uraei, and in the middle was placed the stela. This is figured in position, L., *D.*, V., Bl. 54 *e*; the door after the removal of the stela by LEPSIUS, BREASTED, photo 682.

The stela is of hard granular sandstone, round topped, incised with a scene of a man adoring Osiris and Isis beneath the winged disk: six lines of demotic inscription below. H. 47 cm., w. 33 cm. Original in Berlin Museum, *Inv.* no. 2253. Two squeezes of Lepsius. Published L., *D.*, VI., 10, no. 45.¹

Isis, wearing the disk and horns and holding β in her left hand, stands on a low base behind the enthroned Osiris, protecting him with her wings. The man faces them on the left, wearing plain fillet on his head, collar, and close-fitting double garment; his left hand is raised, and the right hand holds a palm-branch and lotus-flower. In spite of the obstinate material the surface is well smoothed and the scene is satisfactorily designed and incised in Egyptian style.

The lettering of the inscription is archaic.

: 113 4R 3N 43' 33' : 4III SW 1392 : 4318
 : 1593 WS : W/W 31N
 : 15C NS : 45C NS : III SW 14 4R 392
 : 5/5392^{sic} : 14 3W C 92^{sic} : 153392
 : 14 3513
 4III SW 1392 : 4392^{sic}

¹ See Pl. XXVII. and a copy of the inscription on Pl. XXVIII.

“O Isis! O Osiris! behold me (?), the honoured (?) Taktizamani, begotten of Zêkarêr, born of Amanitares. All food be unto me (?). All things be given me (?). O Isis! O Osiris!”

The inscription follows the usual forms of the funerary texts as seen in *Kar.*, with curious variations of words and spelling, some of which belong to the archaic style and are now illustrated further by the early texts from the cemetery published in *Meroë*, while others seem due to errors. From the beginning of the terminal formulae or benedictions (formulae B, C) the scribe has commenced almost every word with 92, producing the unparalleled forms 5/5392 for 5/53C and 4392 for 4318. In the name of the deceased the third letter 3 is unfinished, and the triangle of the 3 which ought to join the / is omitted.

The deceased, who in the scene wears a plain fillet like that of the princes who accompany the kings and queens, bears a name closely like that of the deceased on the altar of pyramid A 28, of later date: the only difference is in the insertion of 43'. The father's name is the known woman's name 93/N (*Meroë* and *Kar.*) with W/W(92') added, the latter being a very frequent termination of the names of princes, and perhaps confined to them.² The mother's name may be but a slight variation of the queens' name, Amanitêre.

This stela is particularly interesting as being the only one which illustrates the address to Isis and Osiris (universal in tomb inscriptions) by a scene of the deceased praying to these two divinities.

50. Spout broken from a table of offerings of dark sandstone, with sunk channel, inscribed

² Prince Ashêraka-rêr at Amara (84), Arikakha-rêr at Naga (5, 17); with the high nobles or princes Litakha-rêr and Khawita-rêr in *Kar.* 47. Cf. the male epithet 48/5W/W3, “the Akrêr,” of great nobles or princes 98, 129, and *Kar.*; :V 55W/W3 94/20; and the name Πλωχαρορ at Kalabsha, WILCKEN, *Archiv.* i., 417.

with four lines of demotic inscription from the beginning and end of a funerary text. Width 17 cm., from back to front 15 cm.¹

Original in Berlin Museum, *Inv.* no. 2266. Published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 10, no. 48, as "aus den ruinen von Meroe," but 48 is a misprint for 46 (see no. 47, above). Lepsius's squeeze is marked "von den pyramiden der Ebene in

Meroe," like one of the squeezes of no. 49. In the Tagebuch 4to, IV., 46, it is stated to have been picked up at the third group of pyramids.

Late style of writing.

The remains of the inscription contain part of the initial names of Isis and Osiris, and of the royal (?) terminal formulae L, C (see no. 60, below).

THE PYRAMIDS ON THE HILLS (Groups A, B).

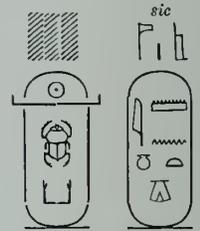
The other pyramids of Meroë are on the nearest hills of the low eastern range, about 2½ kilometres N.E. of the city ruins. They form two groups, A and B, on the northern and southern sides of the small Wady c̄-Ṭarâbil, clustering upon the two ridges and reaching down the slopes into the Wady itself. The walls of the shrines, so far as they subsist, are sculptured with scenes of offerings to the deceased royalties, with Egyptian religious figures, and in a few cases scenes directly from the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The inscriptions are in debased Egyptian; in a few cases the cartouches are written in Meroitic hieroglyphs, and demotic inscriptions are sometimes attached to subordinate figures. Altars of sandstone or glazed pottery have also been found in the shrines, inscribed in Meroitic or debased Egyptian. Graffiti occur on the shrines or the pyramids themselves in Meroitic and in the Greek character of the Christian Nubians; and there is one graffito in the old Ge'ez character of the Axumite kingdom. The Arabic graffiti appear to be of recent date.

Plans of the two groups are given by CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xxxv.; HOSKINS, *Ethiopia*, Pl. v.; and LEPSIUS, *D.*, I., 134.

In the following pages the Egyptian inscriptions of the pyramids are noted so far as they provide Meroitic names. The numbering of the pyramids is that of LEPSIUS.

In the southern or A group the pyramids 1-3 are widely spaced on the heights in a line at right angles to the closely ranged 8-15, which occupy the top of a ridge; 16-20 turn a corner at the end of the hill nearest to Meroë and are smaller, but are conspicuous from their position. The rest are, with few exceptions, on a lower level and less imposing.

Pyramid A 1 (CAILLIAUD, *x*; BUDGE,² 22) is very interesting as being for (apparently) the Natakamani who built the temple of Ammon at Naga, and is found also at Wâd Benâgâ, Meroë, Napata, and Amara. The pyramid is of quite



moderate size, with a base of about thirty feet, the shrine oriented more to the southward than any of the others, about S.E. On the back wall the king is figured (with the above cartouches) as Osiris enthroned, with Isis (i.e., the queen?) behind him, while a royal prince offers incense. On the side walls were scenes of offering to the king in human form with the winged Isis behind; troops of men and horses or asses are seen, but most is destroyed. (L., *D.*, V., 25 *a, b*; BREASTED, photos 645, 645A, 646.)

Pyr. A 6 (CAILLIAUD, P; BUDGE, no. 15). A small pyramid, measuring twenty feet at the base, with a step in it, matching that of Candace, no. 20, at the other end of the hill. It was

¹ Pl. XXVIII.

² See BUDGE, *Egyptian Sudan*, vol. i., ch. x.

demolished in 1903 by Dr. BUDGE, who found fragments of a table of offerings of green glazed red pottery on the site of the shrine (BUDGE, *Sudan*, i., 348); cf. no. 73, below. A sculpture of a camel was copied here by LEPSIUS (*D.*, V., 28 a).

Pyrs. A 8-10 are of the largest size, with a base of over sixty feet square. The sculptures of the shrine of A 9 (*L.*, *D.*, V., 26, 27; complete in BREASTED, photos 636-640) are well preserved, and show a king and queen, together with offerings and long rows of attendants, in the Meroite style; but unfortunately there are no inscriptions.

Pyrs. A 10 (CAILLIAUD, L; BUDGE, no. 11). The shrine was approached through a pylon and two courts. The south tower of the pylon stands sculptured with a colossal figure of Horus accompanied by a hound, but apparently without inscription, even when more perfect in CAILLIAUD'S time. A cornice block with the head of Osiris between the kneeling Isis and Nephthys winged, as an extraordinary substitute for the winged disk, is probably from the doorway. There are some remains of sculpture in the first court, and the walls of the second were covered with rows of bound slaves, cattle, domestic fowls and ducks, led by men and gods. The elaborate sculptures of the four walls of the shrine are nearly complete, but the north wall has been removed to Khartûm, and the south wall to the British Museum. For all these sculptures see *L.*, *D.*, V., 28 b to 34; CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xlvi., fig. 5; BREASTED, photos 624 to 635. In 1905 Dr. BUDGE and Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT cleared the shrine, and found fragments of a green-glazed altar (BUDGE, *Sudan*, i., 388); cf. no. 73, below. LEPSIUS published a short graffito in Christian Nubian from this pyramid (*L.*, *D.*, VI., Pl. ii., no. 56).

The sculptures of the shrine consist chiefly of innumerable small figures of men and deities,

singly or in groups and processions, in the Meroitic style, but including numerous Egyptian divinities, and a representation of the weighing of the soul before Osiris on each side wall. There are no large figures in the usual place on the back wall, but on each side wall a king and a prince are enthroned under a canopy, with the winged Isis standing behind them, and a queen often appears among the smaller figures in the scenes before them. On the front wall is one large figure of a Sethon priest to the left of the door. The cartouches are blank, and there are only a few grossly blundered Egyptian hieroglyphic words attached to the figures of gods, , Thoth, and , Isis, being intelligible; also the following legends in Meroite demotic of archaic style.¹

51. On the North wall (*L.*, *D.*, V., 30, 31; removed to Khartûm in 1905 and re-erected behind the War Office), behind the psychostasia, there is a row of women at the bottom.

(a) In front of the fourth of these women, the eleventh from the right-hand end, five lines (see below).

(b) In front of the next, in two lines,  (with looped *l*), apparently erased. 

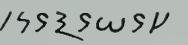
52. On the South wall (*L.*, *D.*, V., 32, 33), now in the British Museum, no. 719.

(a) In front of the prince, holding the ropes of four oxen, almost illegible, .

(b) In front of the third figure in the lowest row but one of the women behind the psychostasia, the tenth figure from the left-hand end, three lines.

51 a and 52 b are duplicates, and give the text



This seems to describe the woman as "Bake, wife of a *yere-bereke*."  occurs in 121.

Neither 51 nor 52 is given by LEPSIUS, but he publishes four others as from this pyramid

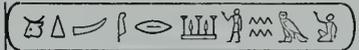
¹ Pl. XXIX.

The style of the sculpture points rather to a Ptolemaic than a Roman date, but the absence of a prenomen makes it hazardous to identify the king with the Ergamenes who built at Dakka and Philae in the early Ptolemaic age,¹ or with the Ergamenes whom Diodorus makes contemporary with Philadelphus.

Pyr. A 15 (CAILLIAUD, F; BUDGE, no. 6). The pyramid, about seventy feet at the base, was one of the largest, and was in good preservation when CAILLIAUD saw it (see *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xliii. 7-12). HOSKINS, too, must have seen it in this state; but a year later, in 1834, FERLINI destroyed it to the level of the roof of the shrine in search of a chamber, and found in the upper part the treasure of jewellery and bronze vases which is now at Berlin and Munich.² Dr. BUDGE in 1903 cleared out the core to the ground level, and appears to have found a fragment of a glazed pottery altar here (see below, no. 73).

The shrine is remarkable for its barrel roof. The upper part of the pylon towers, each of which had a window, was evidently removed by FERLINI. Over the door was sculptured a figure like that of the winged disk, but in place of the disk stood a figure of Isis, with wings to her arms and legs in addition to the great horizontal wings. This has now disappeared. On each tower is a colossal figure of a queen slaying prisoners (see CAILLIAUD, *Voyage*, i., Pl. xlvi., fig. 1; L., *D.*, V., Bl. 40; BREASTED, photos 602-604).

55. On the right-hand (northern) tower the queen, very obese, with necklaces, a hawk spreading its wings over her head and a diadem having a crowned ram's head in front, holds four standing prisoners by a cord in her left hand, while the right pierces the neck of one with a javelin. In front is a bare cartouche in Meroitic,

() containing the name Amani-shakhetê, with the common suffix 𐎗𐎎 . CAILLIAUD's sketch, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xlvi., shows that there were no signs above the cartouche. The cartouche itself (in red sandstone) was taken by LEPSIUS to Berlin, where it is numbered 2,245. Published L., *D.*, V., Bl. 40; SCHÄFER, *Goldschmiedearbeite*, p. 98; compared with the original.

56. On the southern tower the queen wears a tall headdress of disk and plumes, bundles, and ram's horns, with fillet and double uraeus round her head, and Ammon horns round her ears. She holds seven prisoners of various nations, together with a bow and arrows, by a rope in one hand, and pierces one with a javelin. In front of her headdress is the lower part of three columns of inscription in Meroitic. CAILLIAUD's sketch (see above) shows that no more is missing than is sufficient to complete the cartouche in the middle, Amani-shakhetê, without any titles above. Unfortunately the top signs in the right-hand column are very uncertain. Published L., *D.*, V., Bl. 40; BREASTED, photo 603; original compared.

It is perhaps not too fanciful to restore the inscription thus:—

For the first column compare nos. 3, 4 over a similar scene. In the third one might

imagine 𐎗𐎎 in place of 𐎗𐎎 ;

and the whole might perhaps be rendered "Victory to the arm of Amani-shakhetê, O Osiris, living."



The altar, see no. 73 a, is inscribed in the later style of writing. The royal inscriptions on the pylon being entirely in Meroitic also points to a late age—that represented by the second Natakamani of the Lion-temple at Naga.

Inside the shrine, on the north and south walls, are sculptures of the queen enthroned under a canopy, crowned and holding a sceptre, a prince

¹ See Part II., *ad loc.*

² See H. SCHÄFER, *Aegyptische Goldschmiedearbeite*, p. 93 *et seqq.*, p. 211 *et seqq.*

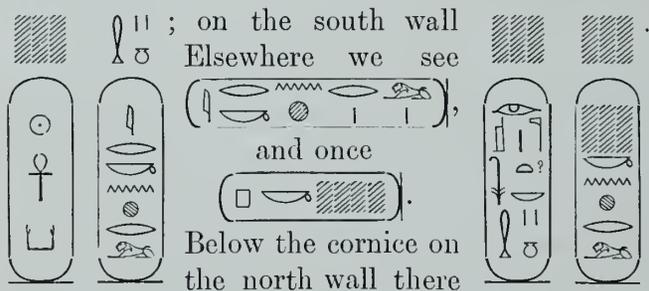
(consort?) seated behind her, and two princes and a princess attendant on her. Behind these are long rows of small figures of servants, &c., and at the top some remarkable groups of royalties, deities, wheeled vehicles, &c., but no inscriptions.

The jewellery found by FERLINI is very remarkable, and comprises representations of many divinities, but no inscriptions of importance for our purpose.¹ The treasure appears to belong to the first century A.D.²

A graffito in old Nubian from this pyramid is published by LEPSIUS, *D.*, VI., Bl. 11, no. 55.

Pyr. A 16 (CAILLIAUD, E; BUDGE, no. 5). Small, the base about thirty feet square, but well built. The shrine contains markedly the Egyptian type of representations—the solar bark over the entrance door, the weighing of the soul on a large scale on the south wall, and the pylons of the CXLVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead on the north wall, with many Egyptian inscriptions (*L., D.*, V., 43-45 a; BREASTED, photos 595-601).

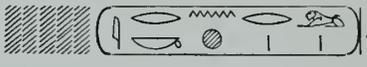
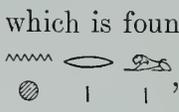
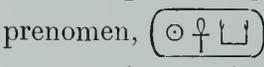
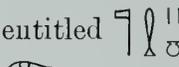
The deceased is represented as a prince with fillet round his head, having one or more uraei in front; and Sethon priests, &c., perform ceremonies before him. The ritual and all other inscriptions are in Egyptian. On the north wall the cartouches over the large figure of the deceased are



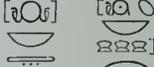
below this, in a prayer,

¹ See *L., D.*, V., Bl. 42; SCHÄFER, *Goldschmiedarbeiten*, p. 101 *et seqq.*, and Pls. 21-36.

² SCHÄFER, *ib.*, p. 99.

The names of the king or prince are therefore , Pakartar, which is found at Barkal (nos. 77, 78), and , Arianakharêr, differing only by the addition of  from that of the prince who accompanies Natakamani and Amanitêre in the Lion-temple at Naga (nos. 5, 17).³ His Egyptian prenomen, , on the other hand, is the same as that of Arakakhatani, who accompanies the royalties of the same names on the temple of Ammon at Naga.⁴ The deceased here is also entitled , "second prophet"; and probably , which generally precedes and is included in the cartouche, is to be taken with this, making "second prophet of Osiris," the god being prominent in the scenes. Otherwise it would merely be the appellation of the prince as one deceased.

The style of the sculptures recalls that of *Pyr.* no. 14, and the pyramid is undoubtedly of an early period.

Pyr. A 17 (CAILLIAUD, D; BUDGE, no. 4). The shrine is now destroyed, but LEPSIUS copied a slab there showing a prince enthroned, the uraeus on his forehead, and Isis on a pedestal behind him (*L., D.*, V., 45 b). His titles and cartouches may have been  CAILLIAUD says that it was of good style, and the disposition of the figures points to an early date in the Meroitic period. The sign  given by LEPSIUS is probably to be read *t* (see the note on *Pyr.* 20).

Dr. BUDGE (*Sudan*, i., p. 353) mentions the discovery of fragments of green-glazed objects on the site of the shrine in 1903. Probably they may include one or more of the inscribed pieces published under no. 73.

³ Above, p. 57.

⁴ P. 63.

The Candaces known in literature are two or three.

(1) The generals of Candace attacked Upper Egypt in 24 B.C., captured Syene and Philae with the Roman garrisons of three cohorts, and were in turn captured in 23 B.C. at Pselchis by an expedition under Petronius, which also took Premna (Ibrîm) and destroyed even Napata, where the queen's son was, the queen herself being not far off (? at Meroë). A second invasion by the queen, who is described as a one-eyed virago, was checked at Premna. An Ethiopian embassy, however, was well received by the emperor at Samos, and the obnoxious taxes (probably levied on the Dodecaschoenus) were removed.

(2) Before the conversion of Paul, i.e. between about 30 and 35 A.D., a "eunuch of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, who was over all her treasure," met with Philip the evangelist (Acts viii. 27).

(3) Pliny (vi. 35) says that the explorers sent out by Nero (about 60 A.D.) found Candace reigning at Meroë, "which name had been handed down from queen to queen for many years."

Possibly this dynasty of Candaces is identical with the Natakamani-Amanitêre series of royalties.

The remainder of the pyramids in group A are lower down on the east side of the hill, or at the edge of the valley. They were of small size, and except 31, 38, 39, and the peculiar 37 (CAILLIAUD, Q; BUDGE, no. 16; BREASTED, photo 655) were entirely ruined in the days of CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS. One may perhaps conjecture that some of them were tumuli covered with stones at the top rather than pyramids, like many of the smaller tombs in group C. The shrines, built of stones, have often survived.

Pyr. A 26. LEPSIUS's squeezes of two demotic inscriptions from the shrine are preserved at Berlin, but the inscriptions are too much worn

to be copied. The writing is of similar type to that in A 27.

Pyr. A 27. On the north side of the shrine a king or prince is enthroned (the head destroyed), holding sceptre and flail over his shoulder, and protected by Isis. His cartouches are blank. Three large figures face him, a man offering incense and two women holding palm-branches, and behind are women in two rows (L., *D.*, V., 48 a).

57. An inscription in demotic of late transition style is over each of the three large figures offering.¹

(a) Four lines over the leading figure, a young (?) man. Published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 33. LEPSIUS's squeeze.

(b) Two lines over the second figure, a woman. Published *ib.*, no. 34. LEPSIUS's squeeze.

(c) One line over the third figure, a woman. Shown in L., *D.*, V., 48 a. LEPSIUS's squeeze (illegible).

553//9ω//β, "consort of a king (?)," occurs in *Kar*. The isolated < written below the > may be a correction of that letter.

On the south side the king (?) is similarly enthroned; his headdress is imperfect. A man faces him, offering incense, and behind are men in three rows. Published L., *D.*, V., 48 b.

58. (a) The cartouches are incomplete at the top, and are now more injured than when Lepsius saw them.² The left-hand cartouche is an Egyptian prenomén, , the same as that of the earlier Natakamani,  and copied from that of Sesostris I. or  of Nektnebef. The second is the Meroitic  name of the king (see 59).

(b) Six lines on a tablet over the figure offering. Published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 35.

(c) Three lines in front of the second (?) figure on the top row. Published *ib.*, no. 36.

In the progress of decipherment these inscriptions will probably repay careful study with the

¹ Pl. XXIX.

² See Pl. XXX.

60. Square altar with spout, of coarse sandstone, sculptured on the top with a scene of Nephthys(?) on the right and Anubis on the left of a pylon-shaped table of offerings (cf. no. 59), pouring a stream of liquid into a cartouche-shaped basin in front of the table. Hieroglyphic inscription round border, ending in four lines in the spout.¹ Width 45 cm., height 45 cm., with spout 61 cm.

Original in Berlin Museum (LEPSIUS), Inv. no. 2255; new squeezes. Referred to by ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 1897, 159; *Ausführ. Verz.*, p. 406; MACIVER, *Areika*, p. 48; the inscription published *Ä. Z.*, xlviii. (1911), p. 67.

The material is coarse, hard sandstone of very variable quality. The execution is similar to that of A 27, but coarser. Where the stone is of finer grain the tool-marks are distinct on the sunk field; elsewhere the tool has left no marks, but has simply cleared away the grains of quartz, &c., irregularly. The vulture's head in the goddess's headdress has been rudely engraved in the sunk field, and her profile is doubly cut. The inscription is in general fairly clear on the border, but in the channel becomes very obscure, especially at the right-hand end of the last line but one, where three characters are cut in a deep and irregular hole, and in the last line, which is partly cut on the vertical edge of the channel.

The goddess may be Nephthys, with a corrupt form of ? on her head (cf. L., *D.*, V., 50 a, b, d). The symbol is hardly β, as in L., *D.*, V., 24 (which may represent , the symbol of Amenti of Thebes, L., *D.*, V., 26, 43); it may, however, be a version of , as on no. 59. The two streams of liquid appear to unite, and pour in front of the altar into the basin, as often in altar scenes without the figures;² the vessels from which they issue are not traceable in the rough sculpture.

¹ See Pls. XXXI., XXXII.

² Cf. *Kar.* 40, 49, 62, 77, 98.

The inscription reads:—

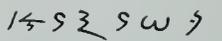
“Isis, Osiris, the honoured(?) Takizemane, born of Napata-zakhetê, begotten of Azeqetali,” followed by three terminal formulae, K, L, C.

The name of the deceased, , is of the same form as that in 58, and a closely similar name is on the stela 49. Each of these names is a compound of the name of Ammon with a word having the ending *sn*.

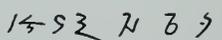
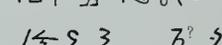
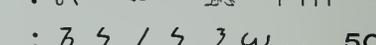
As to the mother's name, since  can be dropped before , a very close parallel is afforded by the man's name : *ωcn* in no. 80. Can the name mean “Belonging to the Mother of Napata”? The last four letters are exactly paralleled in the name *←scn : ωsws* in *Kar.* 60.

The final formulae on the royal altars from Meroë are widely different from those found elsewhere, but fortunately resemble each other closely, enabling us to fix the reading almost throughout in spite of bad engraving. In 60 the reading was only obtained after endless examinations to distinguish cutting from faults in the stone.

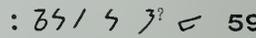
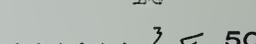
K.

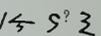
1c  :  59
 :  60
 50

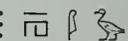
L.

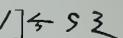
1c  :  59
 :  60
1c  :  50

C.

s /  :  59
 :  60
s /  :  50

1c 

: 

[/] 

The fragment 50 is valuable in giving clearer

definition of the 𐀓 and 𐀔 than can be obtained from 59. The signs on the latter, especially in the first line of the spout, are very shapeless. All three formulae have the typical termination /𐀓𐀔. The ending 𐀓𐀔 (= 𐀔𐀓) for the second word in K and L is not found in other cases of the terminal formulae except in the C formula of 129. It seems as if these formulae are especially royal.

K begins with 𐀓𐀔𐀓𐀔, a not uncommon variant of : 𐀓𐀔𐀓 : 𐀓𐀔, the initial groups in B. 𐀓𐀔𐀓 seems to follow on this to emphasize it and then 𐀔𐀓. The last word, like the last in L, begins with 𐀓 in the cursive, corresponding to the fuller 𐀔𐀓 of the hieroglyphic.

L corresponds closely to K, and the first word is compounded with 𐀓𐀔 and /𐀓𐀔 which often corresponds to 𐀓𐀔𐀓.

C in the demotic texts has precisely the same form as in no. 129, and differs from the type only in the termination of the first group 𐀔𐀓 instead of 𐀓. In 59 𐀔𐀓/𐀓𐀔 seems to have been first written (compare the Nile inscriptions nos. 26, 30), and then the 𐀓 altered to 𐀔 and 𐀔 added. The hieroglyphic version of 60 was longer, but the four signs marked with ? are the most uncertain in the whole text, and probably cannot be identified until an exact parallel is found. One would expect : 𐀓𐀔 at the end of the second group, but 𐀔, according to my notes, is certainly nowhere to be found in this part, and 𐀓 can hardly be read. The 𐀔 is very probable, especially as the common variant /𐀔𐀔 for /𐀔 is to be expected in a text which uses 𐀔 so freely. 𐀔𐀔𐀔 : 𐀔𐀔𐀔𐀔𐀔 may be an emphasizing of the ordinary 𐀓/𐀓𐀔𐀔 = 𐀔𐀔𐀔𐀔𐀔, and may consist of two parallel genitive forms ending in 𐀔, though it is difficult to see on what they depend. The uncertainties of reading now seem almost confined to the signs between the second 𐀔 and the 𐀔. : for : is fairly clear; instead of 𐀔𐀔, marked by little more than an angulated line and points, I have thought of reading 𐀔𐀔 from the original; perhaps

a fresh examination would show : 𐀓𐀔𐀔𐀔 to be a possible reading after all.

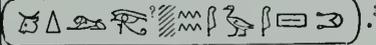
61. Fragment of a large plaque of green glazed ware with whitish body, having ornament in relief, evidently from a table of offerings like those grouped below under the number 73. The remains of the design can be explained as the stems of a bouquet consisting of a lotus flower between two buds curving over an altar, as often depicted on tables of offerings.¹ One original edge remains, and on a narrow raised band parallel to it are six characters of an inscription incised before the firing. 10.50 cm. × 9 cm. Original in Berlin (LEPSIUS), *Inv.* no. 2138. Published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 37.²

The characters are [/ 𐀔𐀔 / 𐀔 : 𐀔𐀔], of archaic form. They may be from the terminal formula C in the form : 𐀔𐀔 [𐀓/𐀓𐀔𐀔] [/ 𐀔𐀔 / 𐀔.

The fragment is of great importance as evidence for dating the hieroglyphic altar. Its early style is perhaps surprising.

Pyr. A 31. This standing pyramid (CAILLIAUD, T) is particularly interesting as being the only one in which the window or niche still remains. The pylon also stands, but the walls of the shrine have been ruined since Lepsius copied them. Before the pylon were traces of a portico with four columns.

On each tower of the pylon is a scene of a negro king, wearing diadem with ram-headed uraeus and ribbons, his garment ornamented with numerous figures, grasping a group of prisoners in one hand together with bow and arrows, while the other hand uplifts a battle-axe. His cartouche is before him, much worn.

62, 63. The cartouches appear now to give .³ The middle part was filled by  in LEPSIUS's copy of the southern cartouche, but in each there seem

¹ E.g., *Kar.* 76.

² Pls. XXXI., XXXII.

³ Pl. XXXII.

to be traces of . The reading was therefore probably with , giving the name as Tarekenizal.

Published L., *D.*, V., 49, original collated; BREASTED, photos 651, 652.

Inside the shrine on the inner(?) wall is a scene of Osiris—full-faced—enthroned between Isis and Nephthys (BREASTED, photo 653); and on the south wall, the king enthroned, holding spear, bow and arrows, and protected by Isis (with the false legend  Nephthys), while Anubis and Nephthys pour a libation from a swinging vase on to an altar of the usual Meroite form. Behind them is figured a stout man, and then men in two rows.

LEPSIUS, *Tagebuch*, 4to, III. 268, IV. 30, notes that this and A 39, standing nearly behind it, are the only pyramids which have been completely smoothed; in the side of each, to the left of the roof of the shrine, was an inscribed slab, which he removed. The holes where they stood are still clearly visible.

64. Slab of friable red sandstone, in two fragments fitting together, inscribed with three short horizontal lines of large cursive Meroitic characters. Width 50 cm., height 28.5 cm.; length of inscription 46 cm., height 15 cm. The numerals at the end of line 1 are 4 cm. in height. Original in Berlin (LEPSIUS), *Inv.* no. 2251; two squeezes of LEPSIUS. Published CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, Texte, tome iii., Pl. 5, no. 1; L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 38.¹

The characters (transitional) have been clearly cut, but the surface of the stone about the two upper lines is streaked with horizontal grooves and pits, from which the particles have loosened and fallen. One of LEPSIUS's squeezes was taken while the slab was in position, the other after it had been removed; the former shows the straight ends of the slab, with the crack across the middle, the edges of which are now widely separated.

¹ Pls. XXXII., XXXIII.

The inscription is identical with that of A 39 (no. 70), except for the differences here noted.

: 3553(.) |||| (—) 5342 || 4250 : 11314 332
: 1505332 2513

The first word is evidently the name of the person commemorated, Zamakte. 4250 occurs at Kalabsha (no. 94), and perhaps means some kind of official. 5342 occurs again at Gebel Barkal (no. 76); both CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS read 2, but 3 would be possible, the loop having a sharp edge on the right different from the 2 in line 1; it is difficult to get any reading here from 70, but the Barkal word seems to decide the reading.

The peculiar sign before the numeral |||| is omitted in 70, as well as the following · spot; perhaps it is a variant of the / in 76.

513 is clear in 70, but resembles an impossible 513 here, with two vowel-signs in succession. 2513 is a known collocation. Both 533 and 533 occur, but the latter is preferable here.

Pyrr. A 32. A heap with shrine, on the south side of the last.

LEPSIUS gives a scene from the north wall of the shrine. A queen is enthroned wearing the head-dress of Isis and holding sceptre and flail. Isis stands behind, while Nephthys pours a libation, with one heel raised and knee bent in an attitude peculiar to this period. Behind is a youth and three women, the latter accompanied by cursive inscriptions, and in the upper row a man holding a caparisoned ass (L., *D.*, V., 50 b).

LEPSIUS's squeezes of the cursive inscriptions in the shrine (north wall), shown in L., *D.*, V., 50 b, are preserved at Berlin, but the inscriptions are too faint to be utilized at present.

Pyrr. A 36. This is "a mass of ruins with the false door only standing," BUDGE, *Sudan*, p. 414.

65. Slab of friable, coarse red sandstone, sculptured with figures from the lowest row of a scene of offering. In front is the foot of a large figure with raised heel, as of a goddess pouring

liquid; following are two small figures of obese women with pendent breasts and garments hanging from the waist to the feet, the left arms raised in worship. In front of the first is an inscription.

The surface is well smoothed, the outlines and details incised with some rounding of the surface of the arms and breasts, etc. Height of inscription 12 cm., breadth of top line 8.5 cm.

Original in Berlin Museum, *Inv.* no. 2250; LEPSIUS's squeeze. Published L., *D.*, VI., 8, no. 39, from the Pyr. A 36; cf. LEPSIUS, *Tagebuch*, 4to, IV. 61.¹

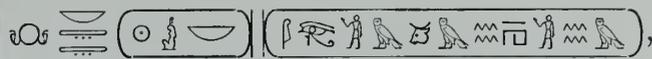
The writing is of the later type.

: 14 s' p s s z' n : 35 : s z' w 35' w 43 : 113
: 113 s' w 113 s' : 15

The inscription is complete. : 113 is a common introduction for names, perhaps honorific, and 35 is appended to names and titles. 14 s' p s s z' n seems possible; s s z' is a known group. 15 : is evidently for 43 15 : , which is separated from its word also in *Kar.* 63; perhaps s p s s z' n is a place-name. The name of the woman is evidently the last word Taqêrêye.

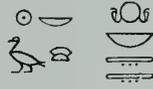
Pyr. A 38. The pyramid still stands. On the back wall of the shrine a negroid king, holding a sceptre in one hand and crook and whip in the other, is enthroned with Isis behind him and Anubis and Nephthys pouring libations on to a spouted altar before him; the cartouches defaced (L., *D.*, V., 50 *d*). On the north wall the king, holding sceptres and followed by men in two rows and oxen, offers to Osiris seated before an altar with four bulls above. On the south wall the king is enthroned, protected by Isis, a man before him offering incense, etc., and men in three rows (L., *D.*, V., 51 *a, b*; von BISSING-BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler Aegyptischer Sculptur*, Bl. 123).

66, 67. The cartouches on the south wall are now in Berlin (LEPSIUS), *Inv.* no. 2269.² The cartouches are alike on the north and south walls:



“The King of the Upper and Lower country, Lord of the two lands, Nibmare Amani-temêmize.” The prenomen is copied from that of Amenhotp III., whose monuments are numerous in Nubia. The personal name alone is written in Meroitic. It may contain the element *tn* found in older Ethiopian names (SCHÄFER, *Ä. Z.*, 33/113).

Pyr. A 39 (CAILLIAUD S). A standing pyramid near A 31 and immediately behind A 32. Like A 31 it has been smoothed, and a portico, in this case with six columns, stood before its pylon; see CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, i., Pl. xiv., 7, 8; L., *D.*, I., Bl. 134. An inscribed slab was taken from the same position in the side as the corresponding inscription of A 31, *q.v.*, *Tagebuch*, 4to., III. 268, IV. 35.

On the north (?) wall of the shrine is a scene of offering to a king, shown in CAILLIAUD, *Voyage*, Pl. xlvi., fig. 3. On the south wall a priest offers to a king, enthroned, holding mirror (?), sceptre, scourge, etc., and protected by Isis,  L., *D.*, V., 51 *c*.

68. North wall, *a*, inscription over a small head: LEPSIUS's squeeze. Published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 41.³

b. Another fragmentary inscription amongst lines of sculpture is in LEPSIUS's squeezes.

69. South wall, shown in L., *D.*, V., 51 *c*. LEPSIUS's squeeze, published L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 42.⁴

70. Two slabs of friable red sandstone fitting together side by side, inscribed with three short horizontal lines of Meroite demotic. Width 81 cm., height 27 cm.; length of inscription 49 cm., height 15 cm. The numerals at the end of the first line are 4 cm. high.⁵

Original in Berlin Museum, no. 2252 (LEPSIUS): two squeezes of LEPSIUS. Published CAILLIAUD,

¹ Pls. XXXI., XXXIV.

² Pl. XXXIV.

³ Pl. XXXIV.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ Pls. XXXII., XXXIV.

Voyage à Méroé, Texte, tom. iii., Pl. 5, no. 2; L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 40.

The inscription resembles **64** in style and condition. The best squeeze, evidently taken while the blocks were *in situ*, shows the straight edges of the blocks 0.50 cm. apart, with slight injuries, and a larger hole injuring the first two characters in line 3.

Line 1. \mathcal{N} (CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS) might have been \mathcal{A} in the squeeze, but the original confirms \mathcal{N} . \mathcal{N} , not in either copy, can be fitted into traces on the squeeze and original amongst a chaos of pits and grooves.

Line 2. The initial letters cannot be identified; but the reading \mathcal{N} of the parallel seems hardly admissible, unless the shape of \mathcal{N} is different from that in line 1. CAILLIAUD, however, indicates the loop of \mathcal{N} , which seems impossible; L., *D.*, gives nothing. \mathcal{N} however seems likely, crossing the join. \mathcal{N} seems right. The last sign is not quite like \mathcal{N} in this text, and according to the parallel should be \mathcal{N} .

Line 3. For \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{N} might perhaps be read in the squeeze, which also shows the top of \mathcal{N} ; in CAILLIAUD \mathcal{N} is complete.

It is important to note that the inscription **70** on the outside of the pyramid is much earlier in style than **68**, **69** in the shrine.

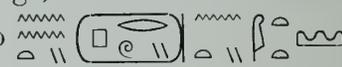
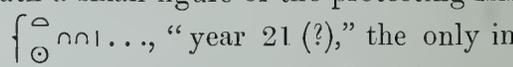
Pyr. A 41. This is one of the group of four small graves (A 40-43) which lay in front of the pyramids A 9-11, and were excavated and removed by Dr. BUDGE in 1903 (*Sudan*, i., pp. 342-3).

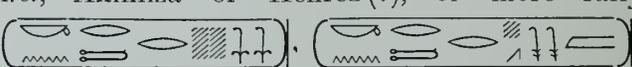
71. LEPSIUS's squeeze of the inscription published in L., *D.*, VI., Bl. 8, no. 43, shows that it was engraved in the space between two figures, evidently in the shrine. The upper lines are indistinct, but there may have been 10 or 11 lines originally. Height about 16.50 cm., width about 8 cm. (Pl. XXXIV.)

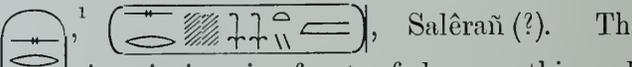
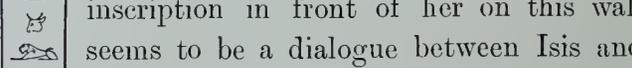
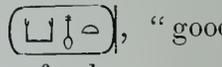
Another squeeze from A 41 shows an inscription in two lines of larger characters, the stone worn out in parallel grooves. Possibly it is a graffito on some level external surface.

In the B group of pyramids, only eight or nine on the ridge of the hill retain their pyramidal shape, and none are so large as the large ones in the northern group. The shrines that are preserved are all sculptured in Egyptian style and inscribed in debased Egyptian hieroglyphs, and no Meroitic hieroglyphs are to be seen. They should therefore be early. The pattern of the scenes is closely the same in all; on the back wall the adoration of the solar bark above a false door, on the side walls presentation of offerings to the deceased by men and gods in rows.

Pyr. B 4 is small, but not much smaller than that of Natakamani (A 1). The shrine is fully sculptured and inscribed. Part of the back wall is preserved with a king (?) adoring the bark of Re. An inscription of eight columns below begins , etc.

"The mother of Pharaoh, let there be made for her linen" and other benefits. For this designation of the queen compare no. **103** below. On the north wall the queen is enthroned holding lotus flowers and scourge, while men and deities provide offerings as to , "one that is king in the underworld." Behind, and beneath a small figure of the protecting Isis, we have , "year 21 (?)," the only instance known to me of a date on a Meroitic monument.

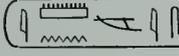
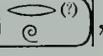
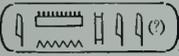
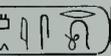
On the south wall the queen is likewise receiving offerings. She is named , i.e., Akinliza or Kenrez (?), or more fully , Akinliza-laqañ (?), and has a second name,

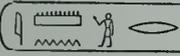
, ¹ , Salêrañ (?). The inscription in front of her on this wall seems to be a dialogue between Isis and Osiris concerning the , "good (royal) *ko*," or ghost of the queen.

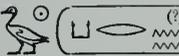
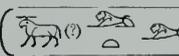
¹ My own reading of the original cartouche, but not closely verified.

“Osiris saith to Isis, ‘Give unto her the cloth of the Holy Grave (?), , give to her the linen of Ataia,  (i.e., Sedeinga ?) . . . , give to her the . . . of Psmry,   (?), give to her the bands of , give to her the image of Mester . . . , .

The inscriptions of this shrine, if complete, would have been unusually interesting. L., *D.*, V., 52, 53a; HOSKINS, *Ethiopia*, Pl. 10; BREASTED, photos 664-666.

Pyr. B 5 is a large one by the side of 4, and its shrine has scenes and inscriptions of a similar character. A king is here the chief figure,    , var. . The reading of the name cartouche is by no means clear; but the lions from Gebel Barkal in the British Museum bear the names    (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, Pl. 13), and seem to show that Asalaw or Amani-Asarwa was intended (see L., *D.*, V., Pl. 53 b, c; BREASTED, photos 667-670.)

Pyr. B 6 is another large one, touching the corner of 5. The shrine was sculptured with similar scenes for a king,  ,  , Amani-lekak (?), partly shown in L., *D.*, V., 54 a, b; BREASTED, photos 674, 675. The chapel was cleared in 1906 by BREASTED, who found a table of offerings in it inscribed in extraordinarily corrupt Egyptian hieroglyphic (BREASTED, *Monuments of Sudanese Nubia*, pp. 13, 14; SAYCE, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxi., Pl. xxv.). The second cartouche is here written , or according to my own copy from the original at Khartûm the last letter may be .

Pyr. B 10 is of medium size, the walls of the shrine sculptured like the others for a king (?) named , Qarq (?), who perhaps possessed two other cartouches, , “Son of the Sun Kaln . . .,” and  , “Son of the Sun Bertra.” As in the other pyramids of this group the names are written very badly.

72. The only inscription from group B that has been supposed to be in Meroitic is that published in L., *D.*, VI., Pl. 8, no. 32, as from *Pyr. A 10*. The squeeze, however, is distinctly marked X^(sic) Gr. B (not 10 Gr. A), and as the inscription is in a peculiar style (perhaps early Meroitic, perhaps some other script), it seems best to attribute it to B 10.

In the Khartûm Museum are a number of fragments from five glazed terracotta plaques¹ or tables of offerings found in Dr. BUDGE's excavations at the pyramids of Meroë; compare the fragment found by LEPSIUS, above, no. 61. Such finds are referred to as made in the chapel of A 6 (1903), BUDGE, *Sudan*, i., p. 348 (cf. BREASTED, *Monuments of the Egyptian Sudan*, p. 13?), in that of A 10 (1905), *ib.*, p. 388, in that of A 17 (1903), *ib.*, p. 353, while the label on another connects it with A 15. If we had known precisely to which pyramid each belonged the style of writing would have been of some assistance in fixing their relative dates. I have assigned each to the pyramid that seemed most probable from the date, etc., of the excavation. In 1903 it could hardly have been realized that the fragments were worth preserving unless inscribed; in 1905 more care would have been exercised in this direction.

73. a. Several fragments of an altar in blue-glazed ware with red body; rim raised and inscribed, design of figures, presumably Anubis

¹ The inscriptions are shown on Pl. XXXV.

and goddess, with vase, etc. Thickness, 4.50 cm. in the raised parts. Late style.

Marked, "from pyramid of great queen, Jan. 1905." The account of the clearance here, *Sudan*, i., p. 373, does not mention the find, but there is no reason to question that they came from A 15.

The two fragments of inscription . . . 𐎗𐎏𐎎 : and . . . $\text{𐎏𐎎} : \text{𐎏𐎎} / \text{𐎏}$. . . evidently give the title of king (here applied to the queen?), with portions probably of the names of her father and mother, Ar . . . and Khaweta . . . For the last name, cf. above, no. 32, and several at *Kar*.

b. Two corners of an altar in pale green-glazed ware, somewhat earlier style (?); probably from A 6, the discovery of an inscribed corner-piece being specially mentioned in the account of the excavation.

The inscriptions . . . $\text{𐎎} / \text{𐎏} / \text{𐎎}$ and $\text{𐎏} / \text{𐎏} / \text{𐎎}$ may contain parts of a name or description of a person, and of formula B.

c. Series of fragments of an altar, which must have measured about 27 × 35 cm. (apart from the spout), showing remains of figures of Anubis and goddess on a sunk field with flowers on an altar between them. There are very obscure remains of a hieroglyphic inscription on the raised rim. To the right of the figure of Anubis,



Perhaps from A 10.

d. Fragments with a vine pattern bordering the sunk field, pale green-glazed paste throughout. Parts of names (?).

e. Similar fragment, and perhaps from another part of the same. Name of Osiris.

d, e may thus be from A 17.

DANGÊL.

Nothing is recorded from the Island of Meroë north of Meroë itself. Beyond the Atbara, five miles north of Berber, and within twenty-five miles of the Fifth Cataract, is the site of a large town with the usual red brick ruins, named Dangêl. Here Mr. CROWFOOT found an inscribed stele.¹

74. Stela of red granite, the top edge lost, the upper part smoothed and inscribed in Meroite demotic on one face, the back rounded, lower half rough. Height 54 cm., width 46 cm. The inscribed surface is 40 cm. wide, bounded on either side by double vertical rules, the surface ground only, not polished. Ten lines remain between rules. The upper part is lost, the surface is injured and worn, and the top left-hand corner of the remaining portion is broken away.

The writing is of the earlier or transition style.

: 55 4 5 2 : 5/5 ..² ω : ε : 2 ...¹
 : 4 3 III 5 1 3 : 1 5 3 5 ε ξ : 4 5 .³ 4 3 3 4 5 5 ξ

¹ Above, p. 8.

1 5 4 5 . ν : 4 5 4 5 3 : 2 3 : 6 . 5 3 ω⁴ ... ε ξ 5
 5 2 1 3 4 2 : 5 4 .. 5 2 : 6 5 5 5 ν . ω : ν⁵ . III
 : 6 5 7 [.] 3 : 6 5 5 5 3 : ω ... : .. 5 2 . 5 3⁶ .. //
 ? : ... : ..⁸ 5 4 3 / III 2 ν : 5 5 1 3 4 ... : . 4 ε 2 . 3
 5 2⁹ 2 6 5 ν : 5 5 2 4 3 1 5 ... : :
 : 4 5 6 2¹⁰ ω 2 4 5 ν 5 5 3 ω 5 . 5 1 3
 : 2 3 5

Line 1. Possibly the title 2 5 ε ξ ω ε.
 Line 2. 5 III 4 5 5 2 occurs as a name at Kar. Can the next be an old version of 3 1 3 5 5 ξ, "the strategus" ?
 Line 3. 4 3 III 5 1 3 occurs in Meroë, no. 6 (cf. *ib.*, 50). 5 ε 5 looks like a word in Kar. 78.
 Line 6. 6 5 4 3 occurs at Umm Sôda (no. 45).
 The first two lines may be rendered (with great diffidence), "Apile, *kharpkheñ* in : strategus (?) in (?)." If this be fairly correct it is not probable that more than one line of the inscription (if any) has been lost at the top, but presumably a representation of some sort has been broken away.

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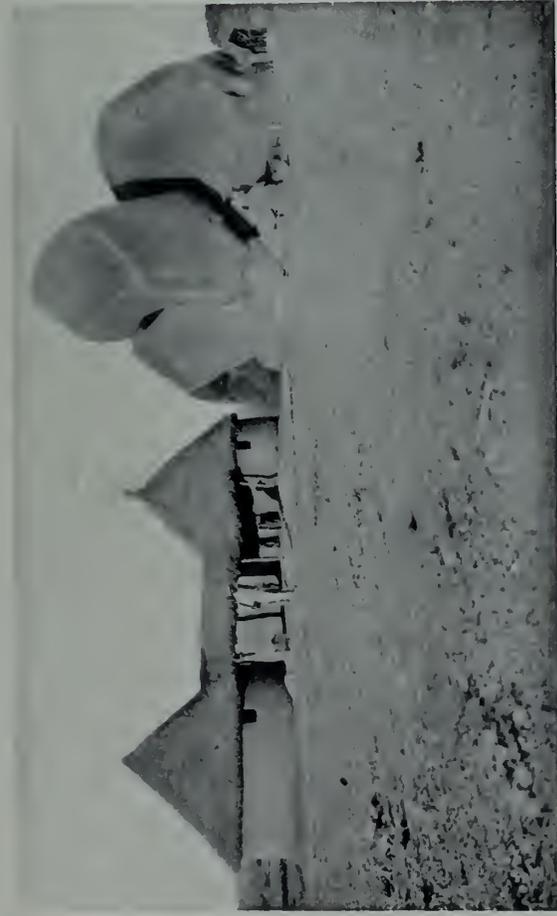
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- Naga (En-Naq'), 4, 5, 14, 38, 39, 54-66.
 Napata, 7, 30, 33, 34, 82.
 Natakamani (Netekamon), king, 38, 55, 56, 59, 61, 63, 67,
 74, 78-80.
 Negro-goddess, 57-60.
 Nekhtnebf, king, 63, 80.
- Nephtys, goddess, 72, 75, 82, 84.
 Nero, 33-35, 80.
 Nile-god, 64.
 Nuba, tribe, 36.
- Olympiodorus, 35.
 Osiris, god, 72-75.
- Petronius, 33.
 Philip the Evangelist, 80.
 Philae lions, 37, 38.
 Pliny, 32, 55.
 Prudhoe, Lord, 47, 61.
 Ptolemies, 31, 32, 38, 63, 70.
 Puckler-Muskau, Prince, 61.
- Rodos, 8.
 Rufaa, 8.
 Rüppel, 23.
- Sagia*, 9.
 Satis, goddess, 57-60.
 Sayce, Prof., 8, 48, 71.
 Schaefer, Prof. H., 45.
Seil, 19.
 Seligmann, Dr., 25.
 Sembritae, 33.
 Sesostris I., 63, 80.
 Shanakazakhete, king, 66.
 Sharp, Mr., 8.
 Simonides, 31.
 Sôbâ, 4, 23, 51-53.
 Steindorff, Prof., 14.
 Strabo, 32, 33.
- Taka, 8.
 Tarekenizal, king, 84.
 Télakte, 55, 63, 64.
 Tenessis, 33.
 Trémaux, 51.
- Umm Sôda, 20-24, 37, 69.
- Wad Benâgâ (Wad Ben Naga), 4, 67, 68.
 Wad Haddad, 8.
 Wadi el-Banât, 4, 69.
 Ward, Mr. John, 51.
 Woolley, Mr. C. E., 45.

PLATES.



MAP SHOWING S.E. DISTRICT OF THE MEROITE REGION.



1. ROCKS AND RESTHOUSE AT GEBEL DIMIAT.



2. HAFIR AND GALTA COMBINED CALLED BALAKO, NEAR ABU DELEIK.



3. TEMPORARY HUT IN HAWAD.



4. OCCUPANT OF HUT.



5.



6.



7.

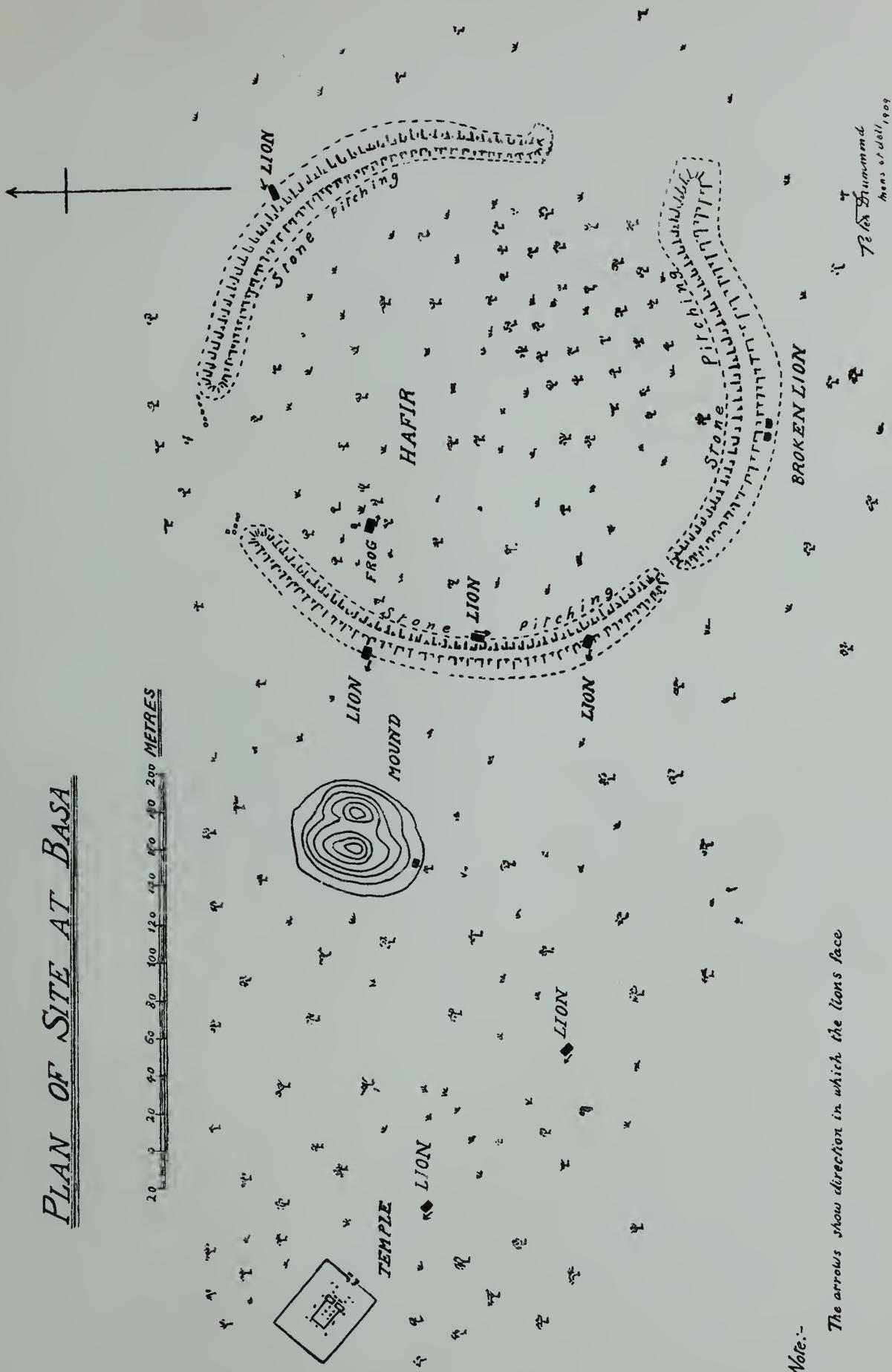


8.

5. CARVED STONES AT KHOR AULIB RESERVOIR.

6--8. VIEWS AT BASA.

PLAN OF SITE AT BASA

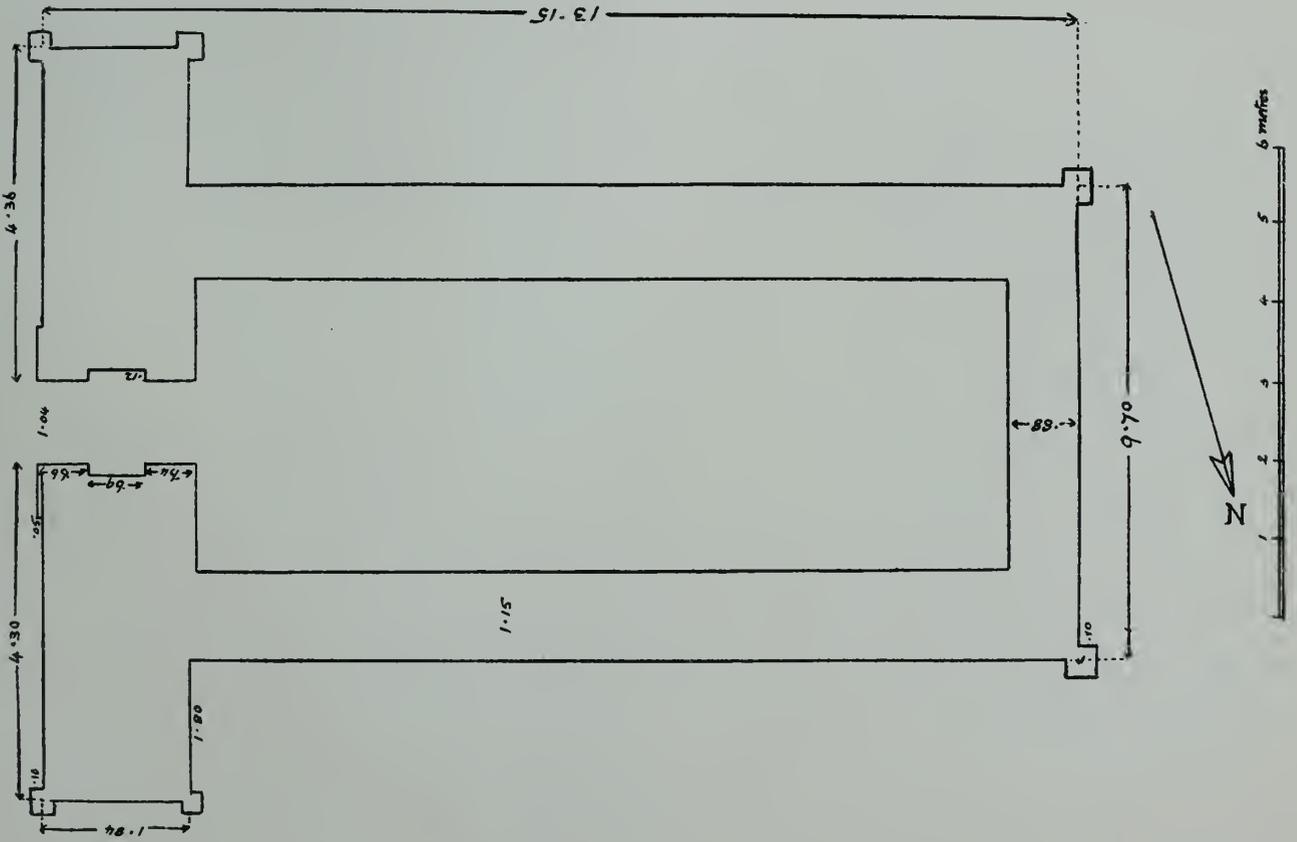


Note:-

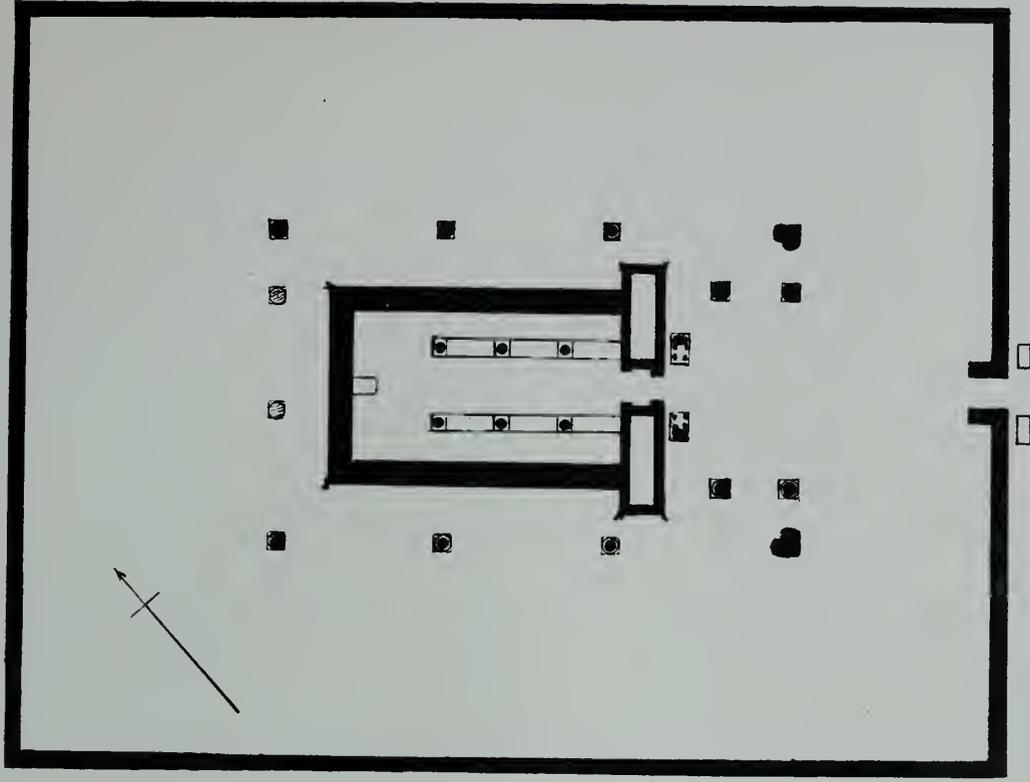
The arrows show direction in which the lions face

T. B. Drummond
1909

TEMPLE AT MURABBA^c



TEMPLE AT BASA.





9.



10.



11.



12.



13.

9, 10, 12 MIDDLE LION WITH CARTOUCHES.

11, 13 OTHER LIONS OF WEST BANK.



14.



15.



16.



17.

14, 15 THE FROG, 16, 17 LIONS BY TEMPLE GATE.



18.



19.



21.



20.



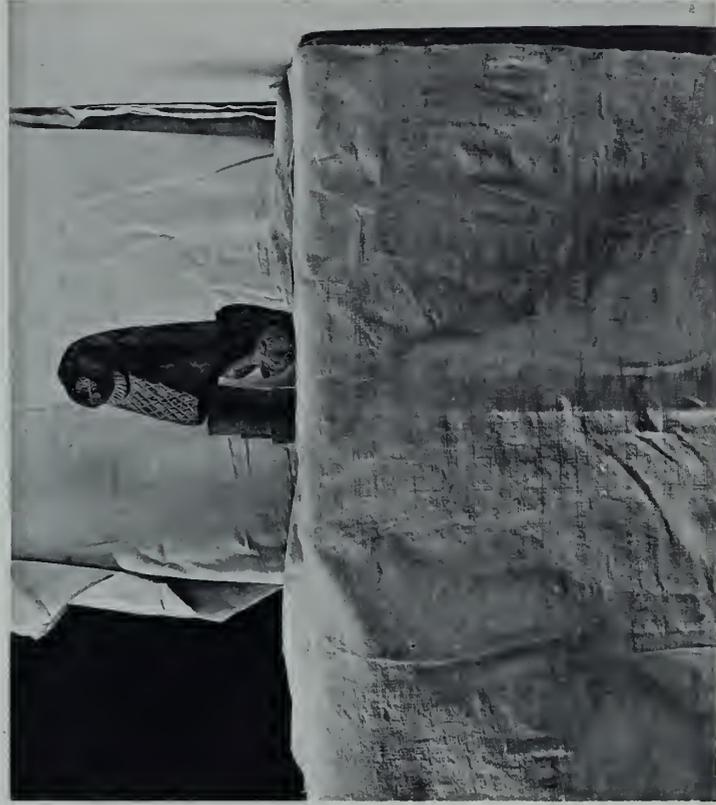
22.



23.



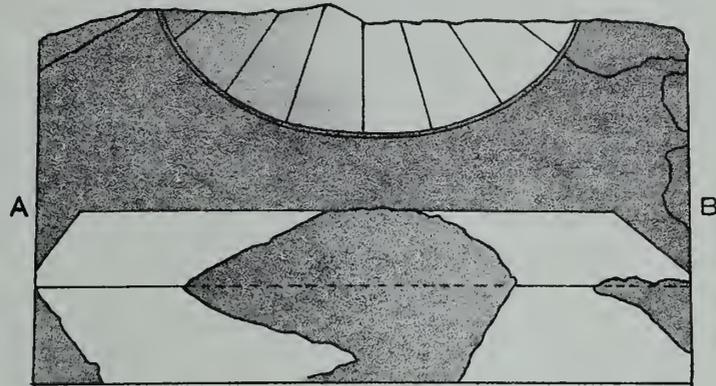
24.



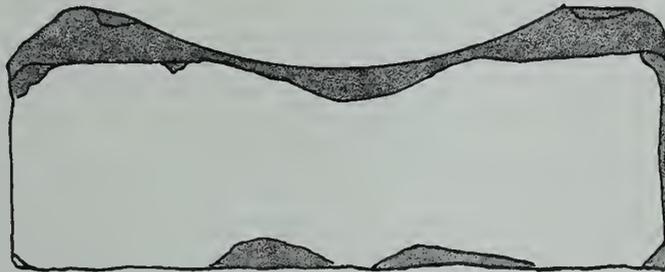
25.

22 FRONT OF PYLON, 23, 24 CAPITAL, 25 FIGURE OF LION.

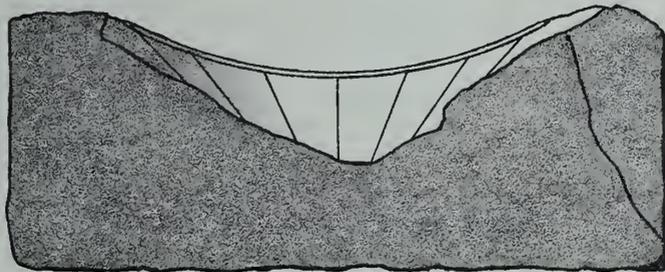
FRAGMENT OF SUNDIAL.



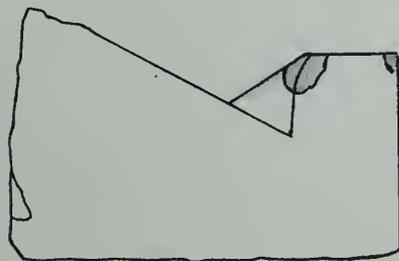
PLAN.



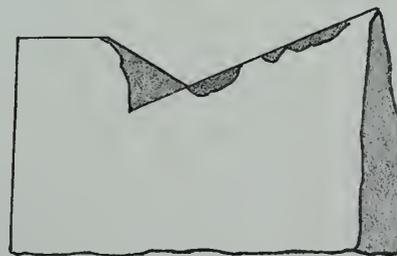
BACK ELEVATION.



FRONT ELEVATION.



ELEVATION SIDE A.

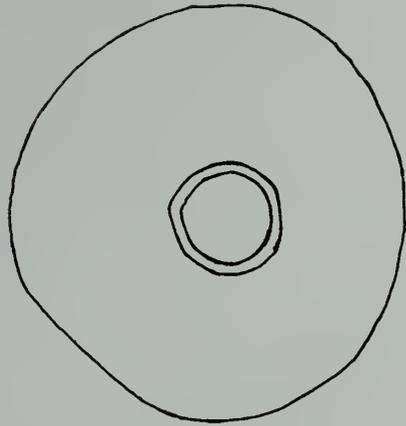
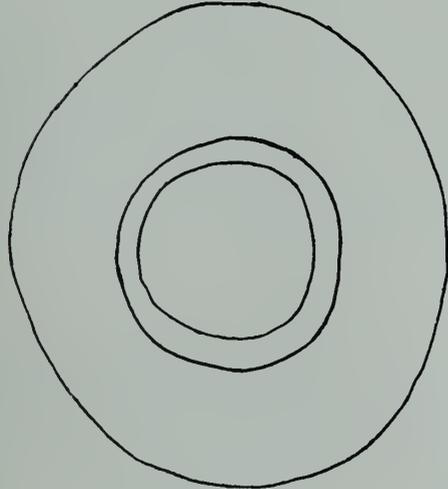
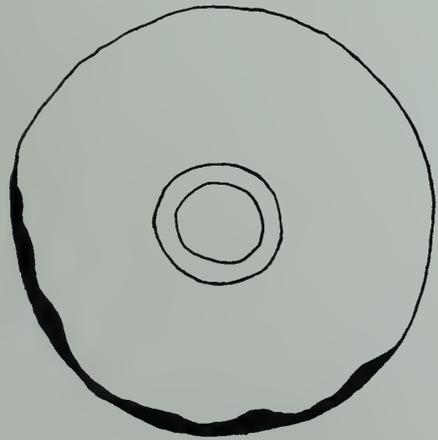


ELEVATION SIDE B.



P. L. ...
1907

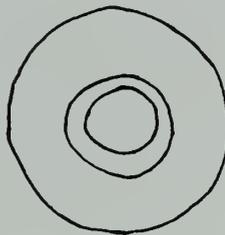
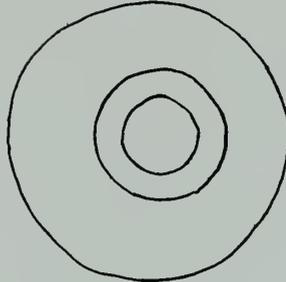
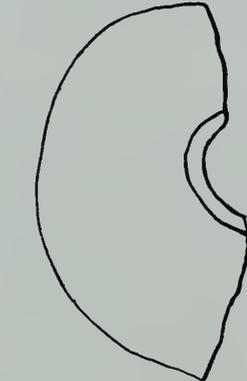
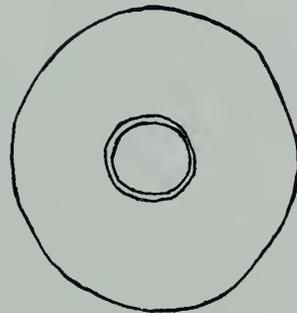
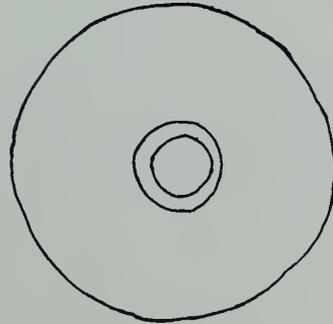
STONE RINGS FROM BASA TEMPLE



DIORITE

SANDSTONE

FELSITE



DIORITE

COARSE PORPHYRITE

FINE GRAINED GREEN PORPHYRITE

MEDIUM

GRAINED PORPHYRITE

SANDSTONE

HORNBLENDIC GNEISS



*To the Trustees and
found at 24th, 1909*

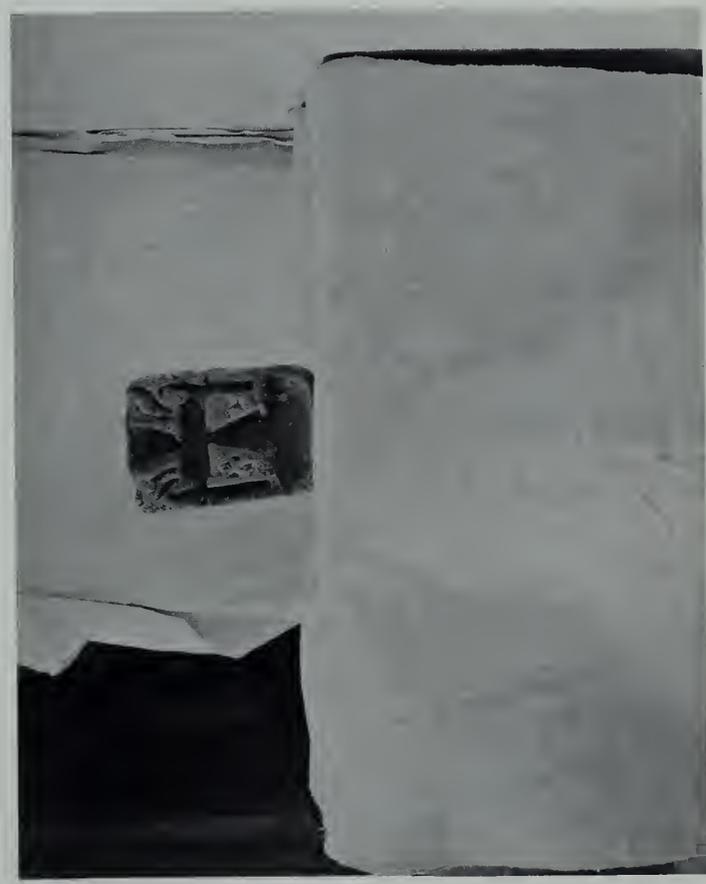
MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS I.



26.



27.



28.



29.

26—28. SMALL OBJECTS FROM TEMPLE OF BASA. 29. STELA, UMM SODA.

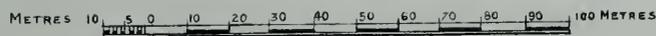


PROBABLE INTAKE.

UMM SODA RESERVOIR.

PROBABLE INTAKE.

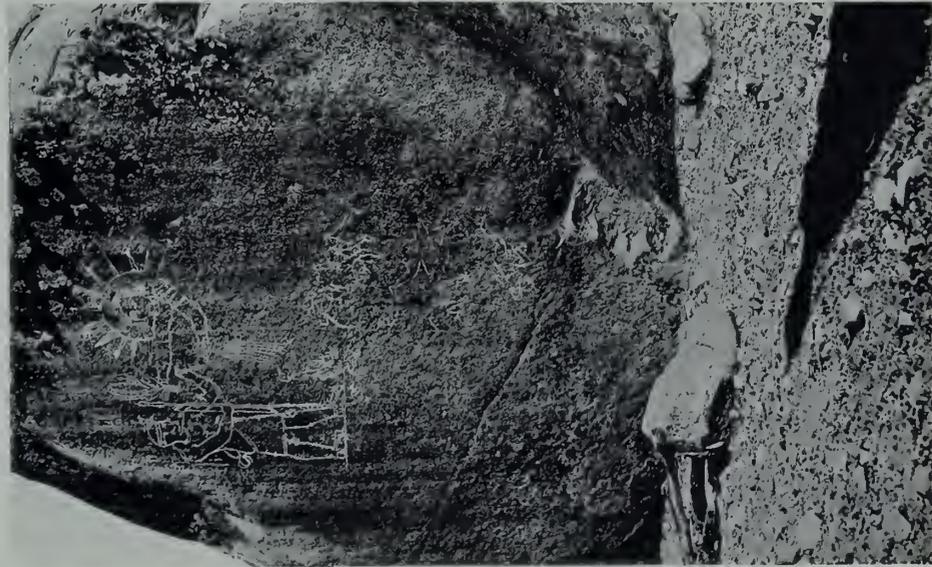
- L.S. LION SEATED.
- L.C. LION COUCHANT.
- R.C. RAM COUCHANT.
- S. STELE.



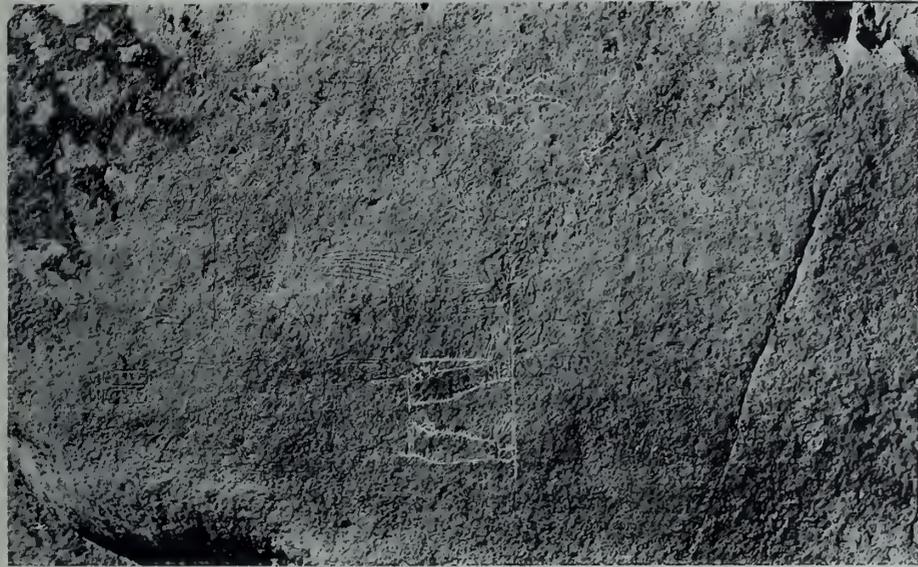
Peffer Drummond
27-11-07



30. GEBEL GEILI AND RESTHOUSE.



32. ROCK CARVING CHALKED



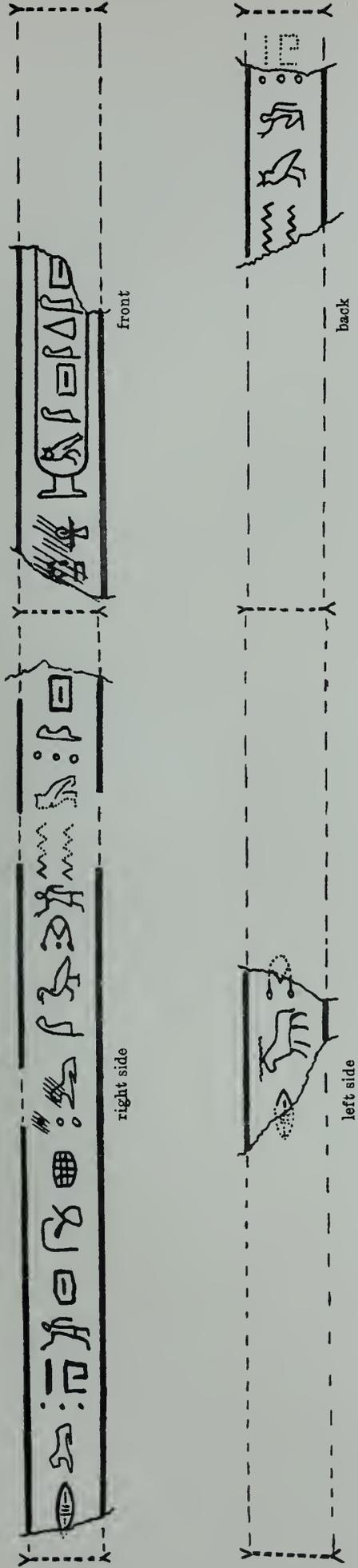
31. ROCK CARVING PARTLY CHALKED.



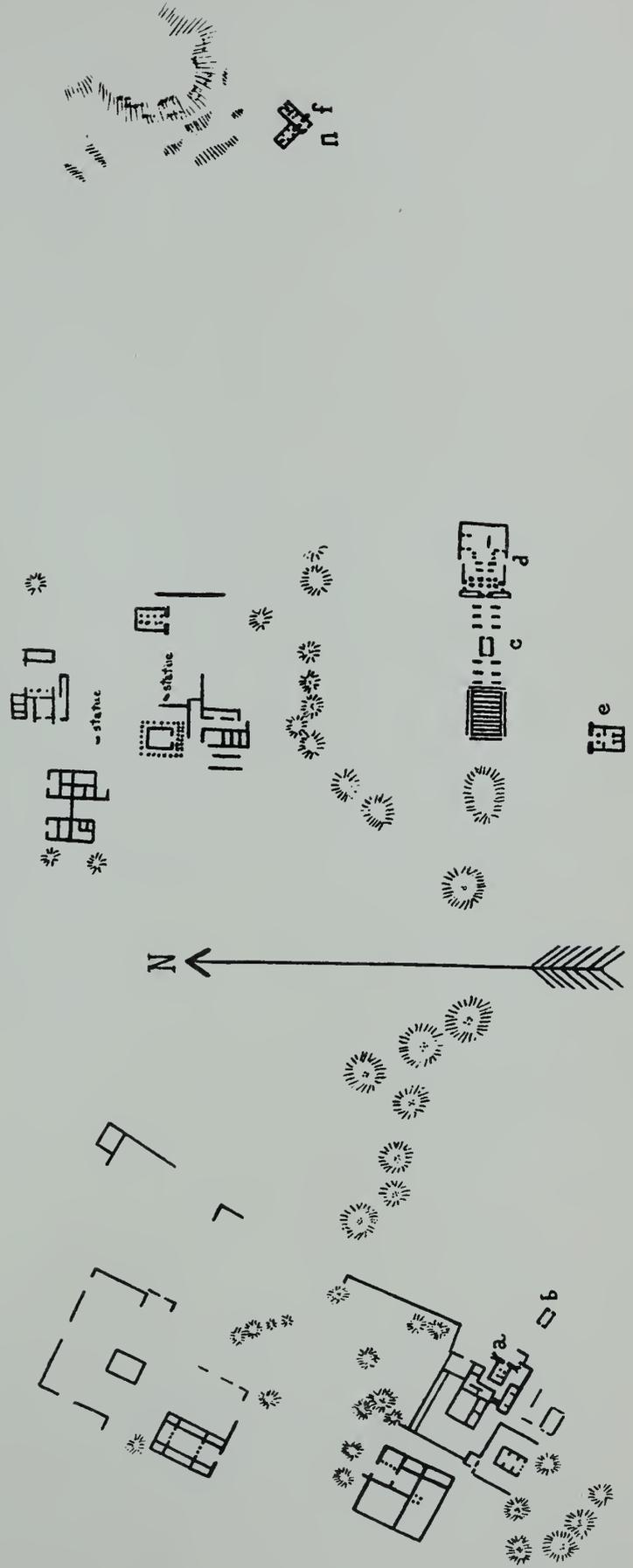
33. GROUP OF NATIVES.



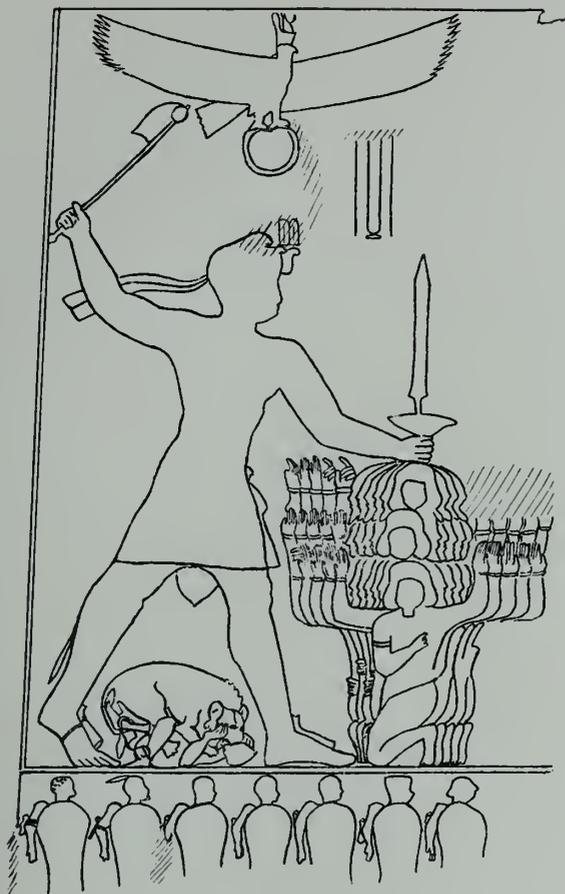
NO. I. THE RAM FROM SOBA.



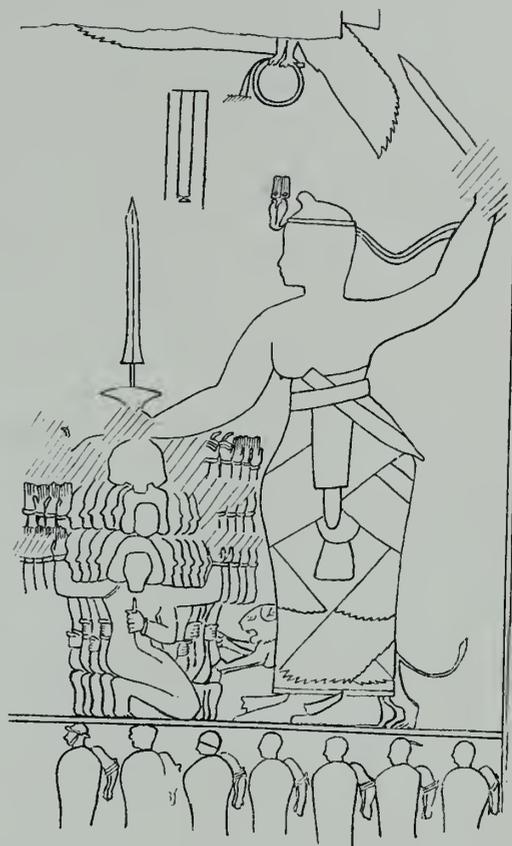
NO. I. INSCRIPTION ON THE RAM FROM SOBA.



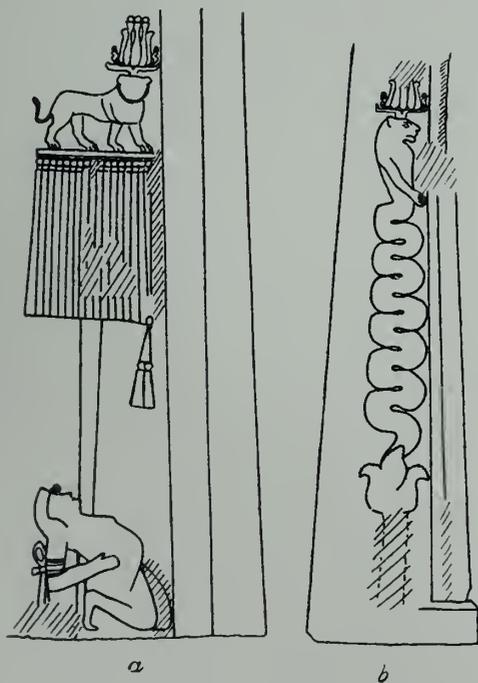
PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF TEMPLES AT NAGA, (FROM LEPSIUS' DENKMÄLER I. 143).



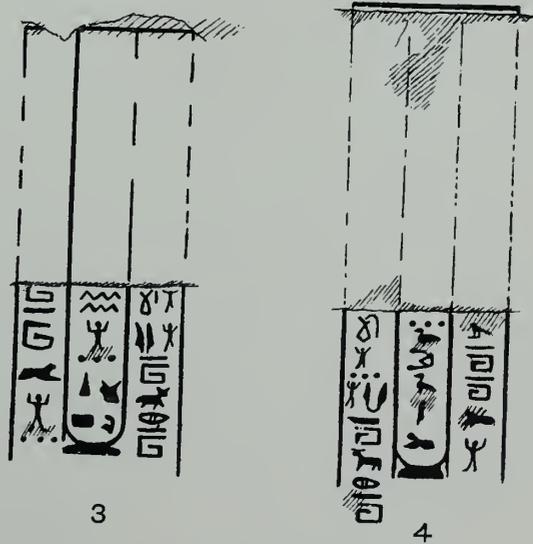
DOORWAY.



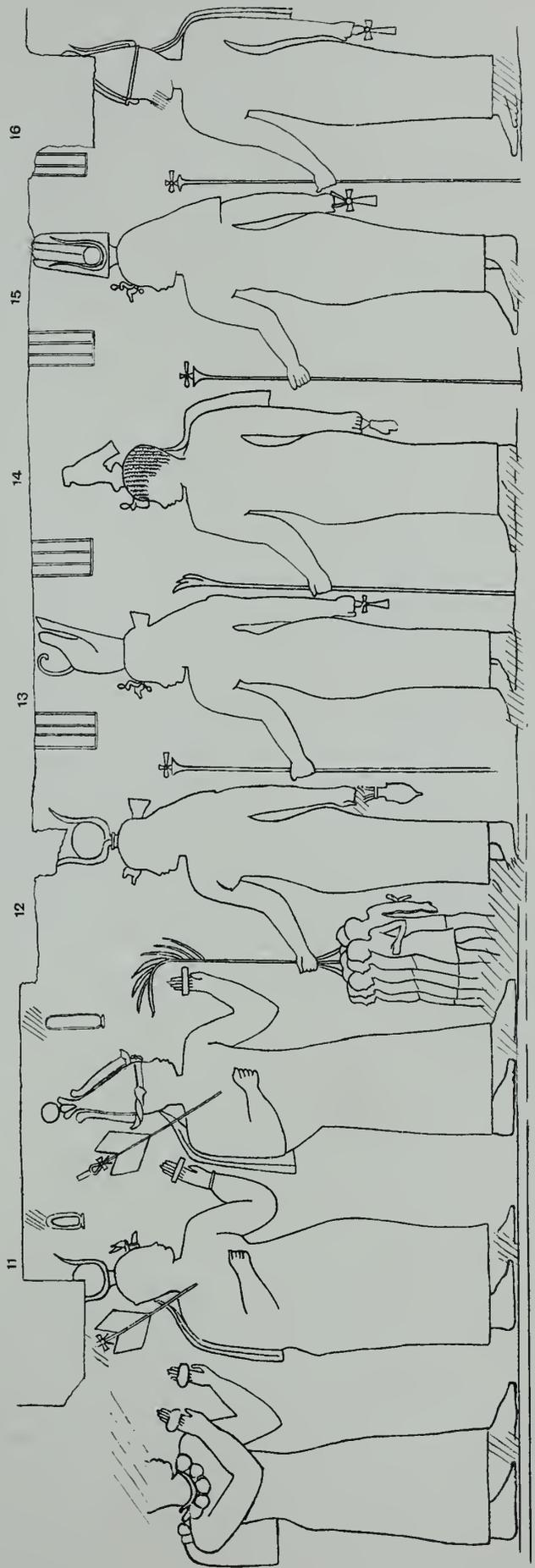
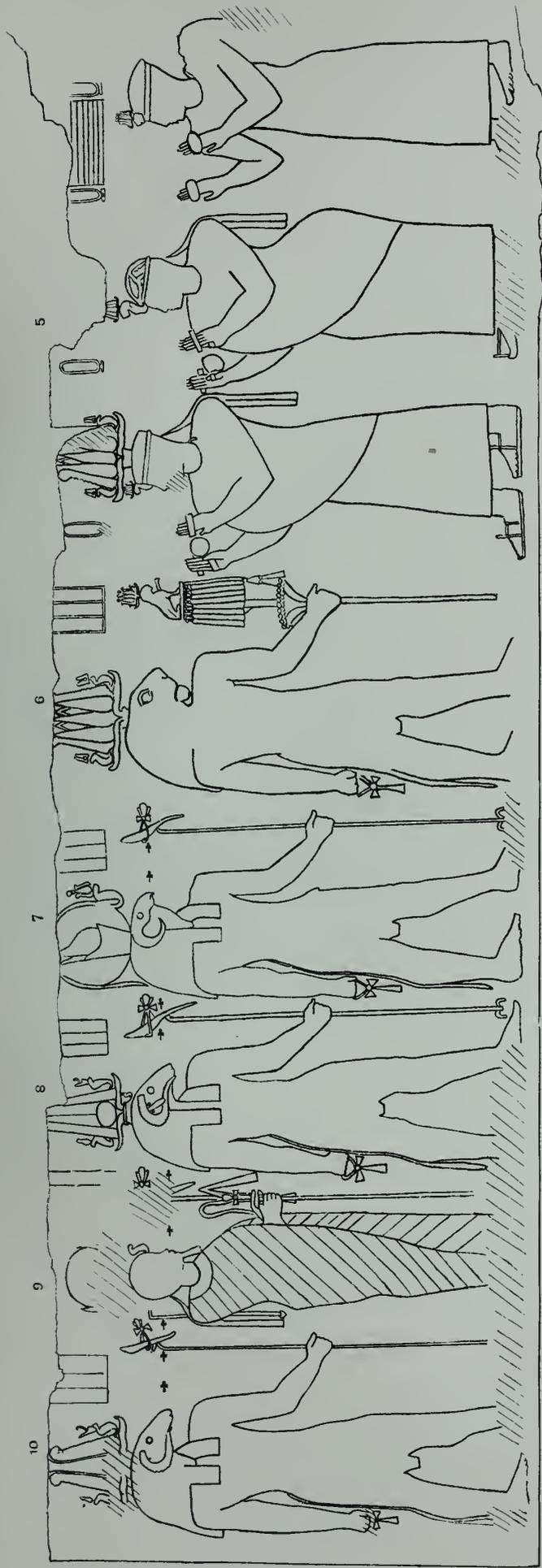
SCENES OF PYLON.



SCULPTURES *a* ON EDGE AND *b* ON RETURN WALL OF PYLON.



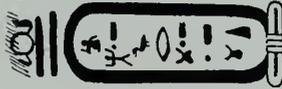
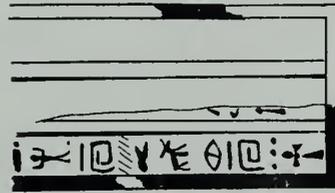
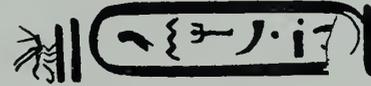
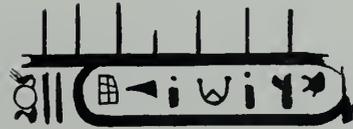
INSCRIPTIONS ON PYLON.



SIDE WALLS, EXTERIOR.



SCENE ON BACK WALL, EXTERIOR.



20

18

19

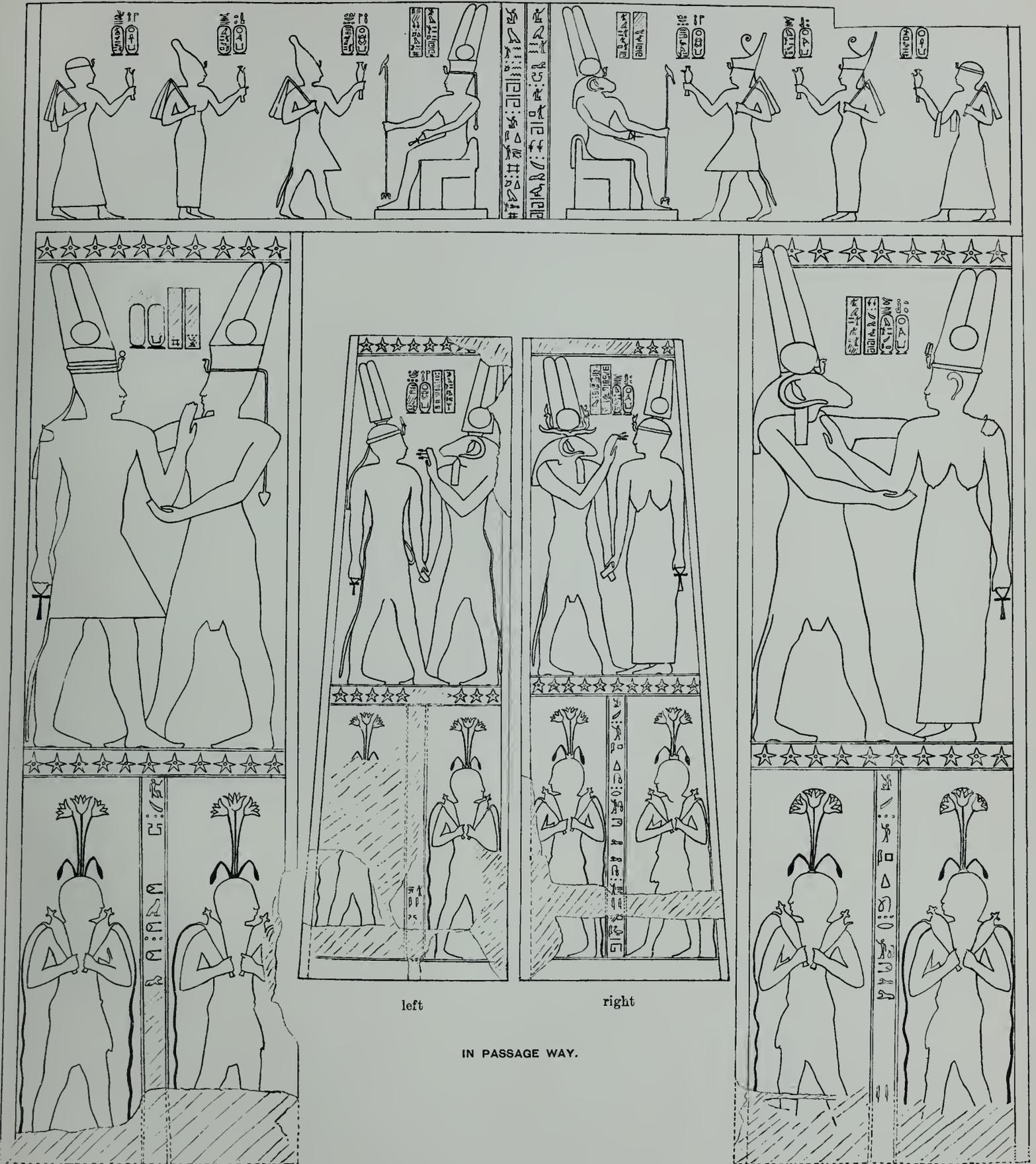
17

: 43 14 5 11

: 115311919-8.3

21

22

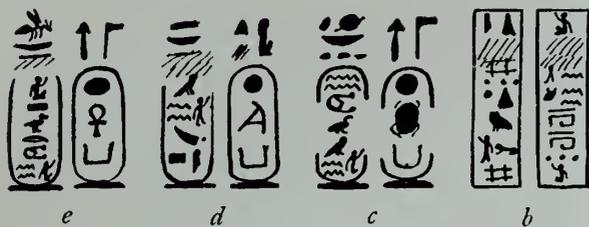


left

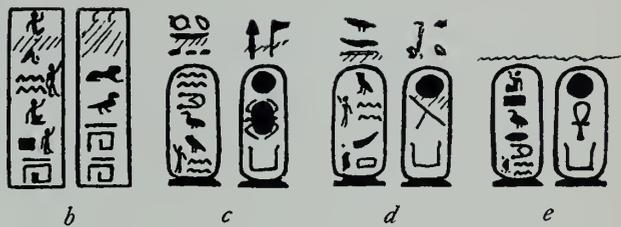
right

IN PASSAGE WAY.

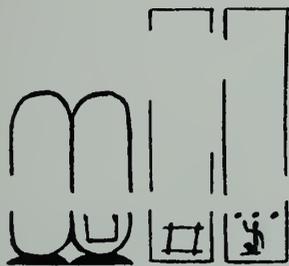
SCENES ON FIRST GATEWAY.



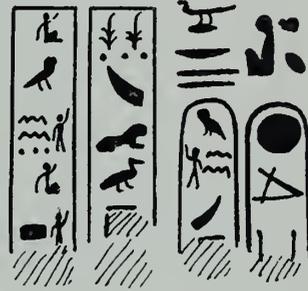
23, 36, 38



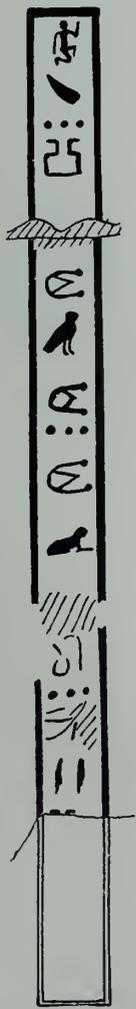
24, 35, 37



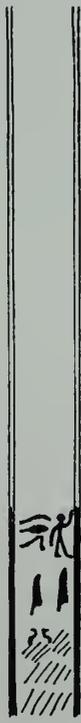
25



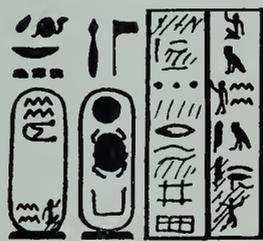
27



26



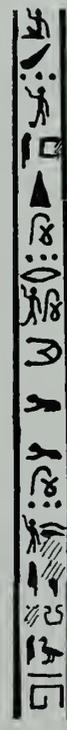
30



29



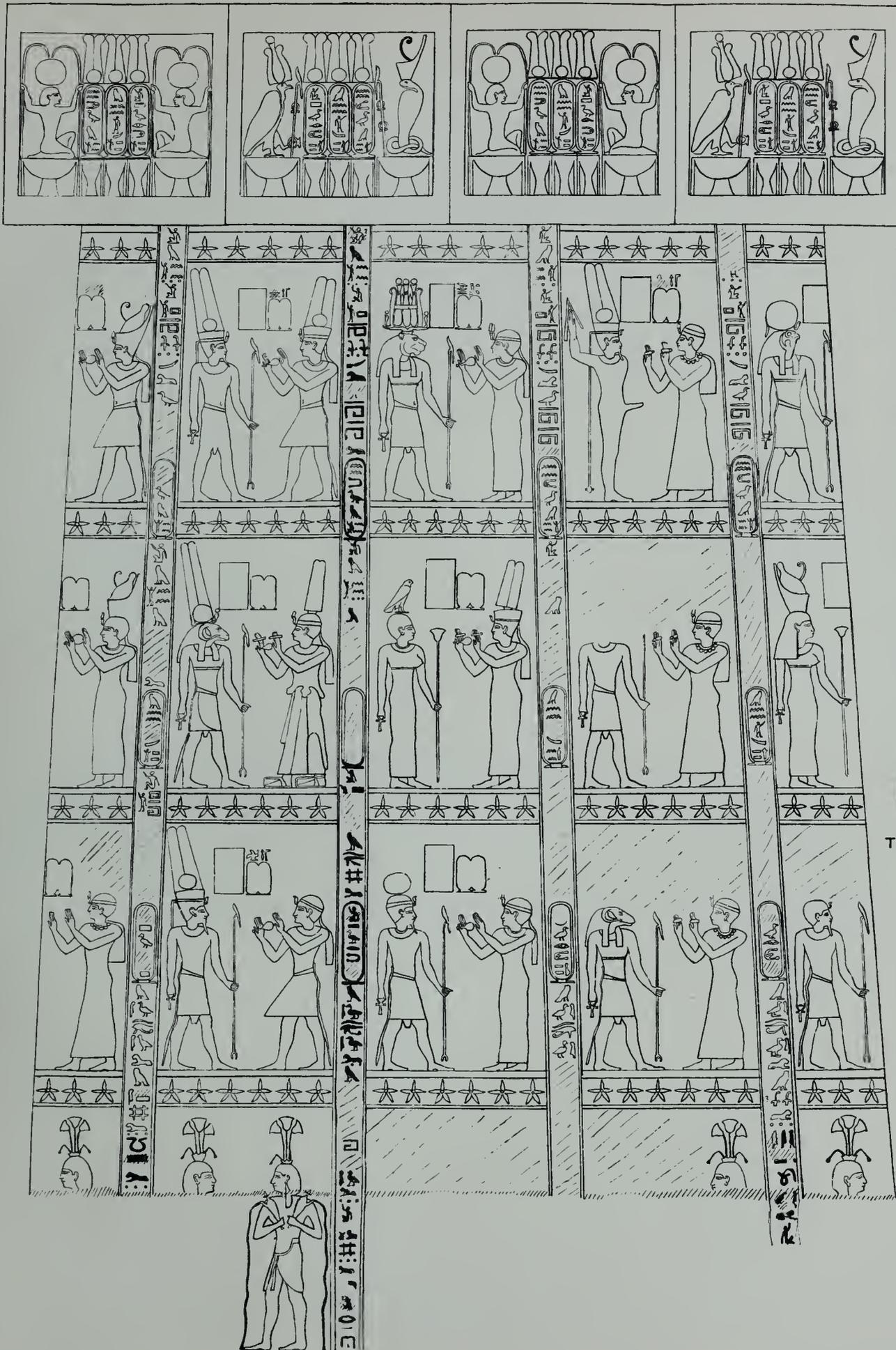
31



32



28



39a

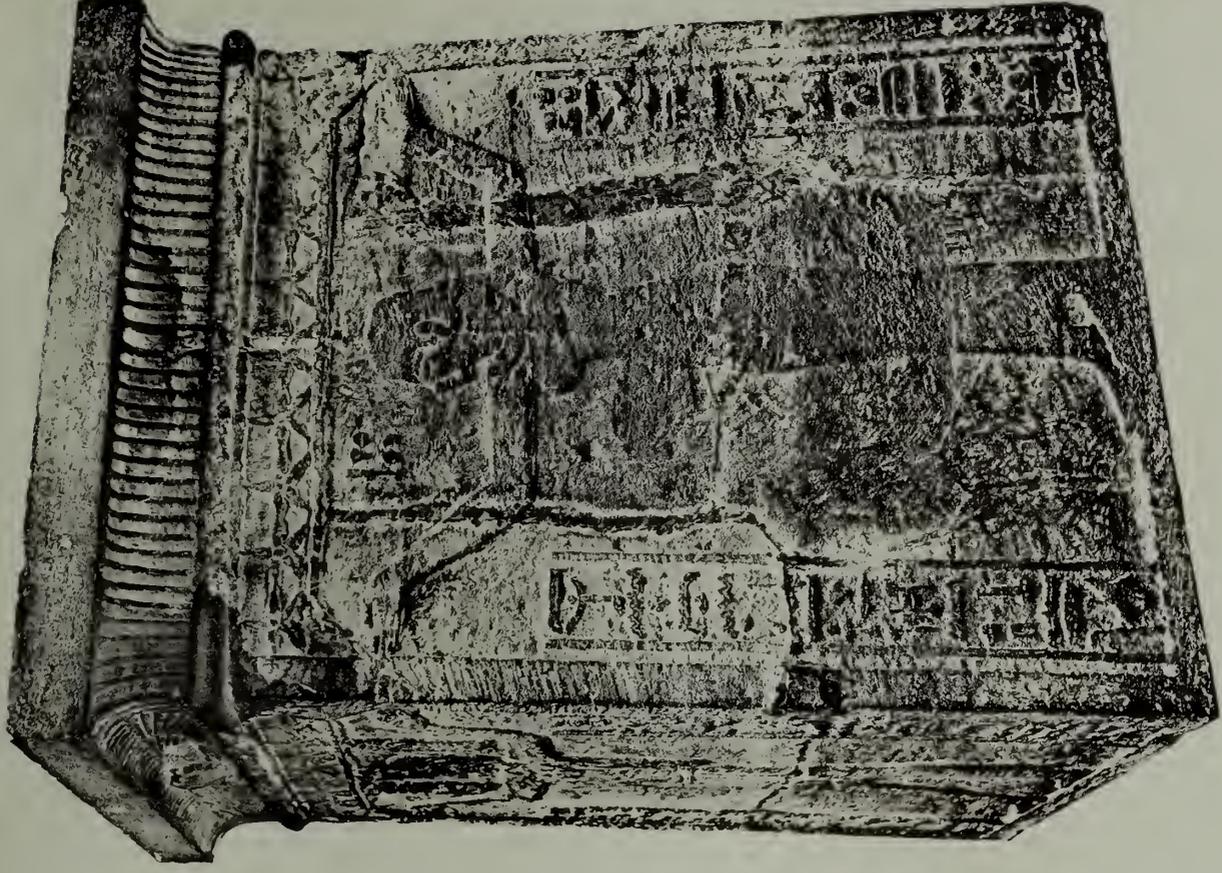
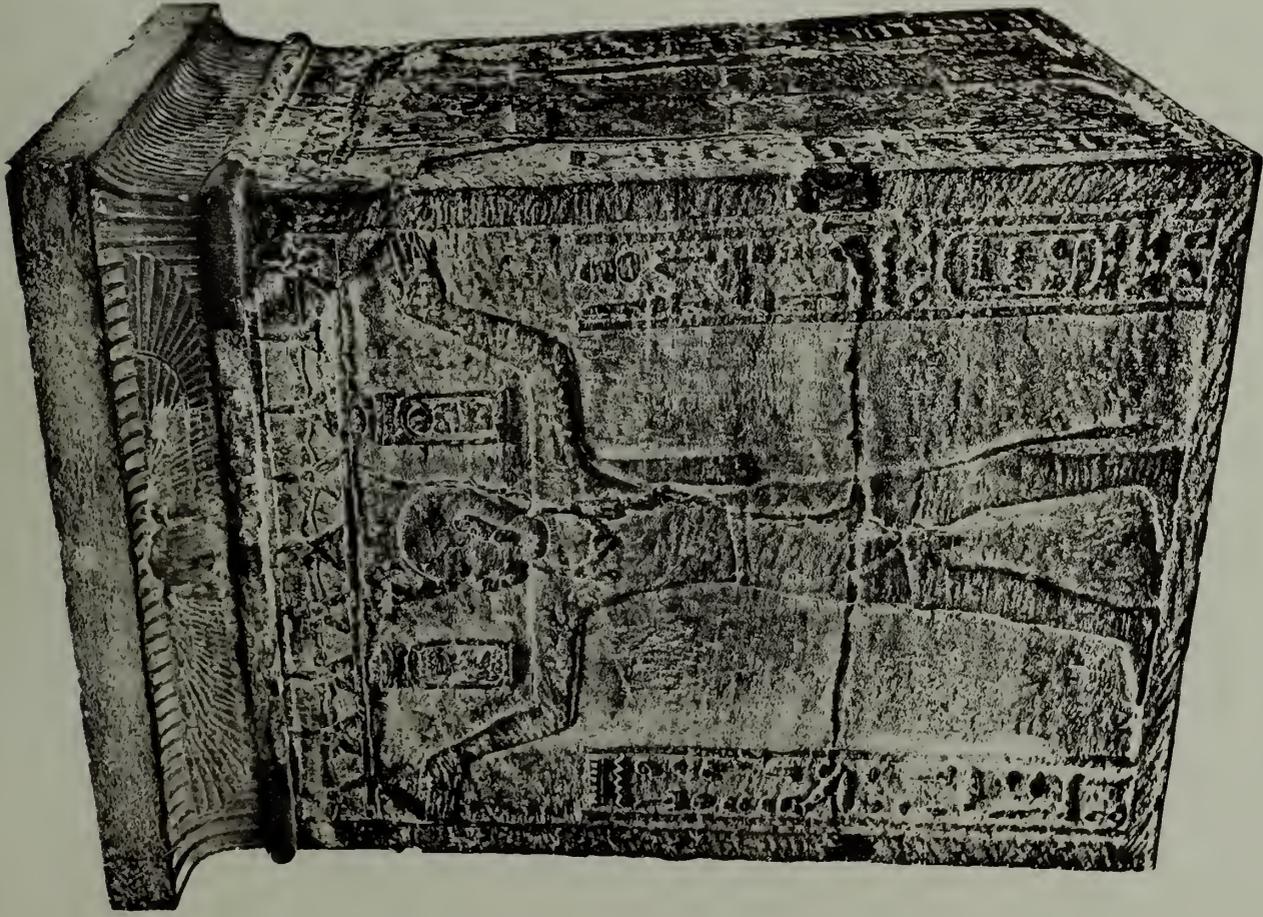
39b

TEMPLE f.

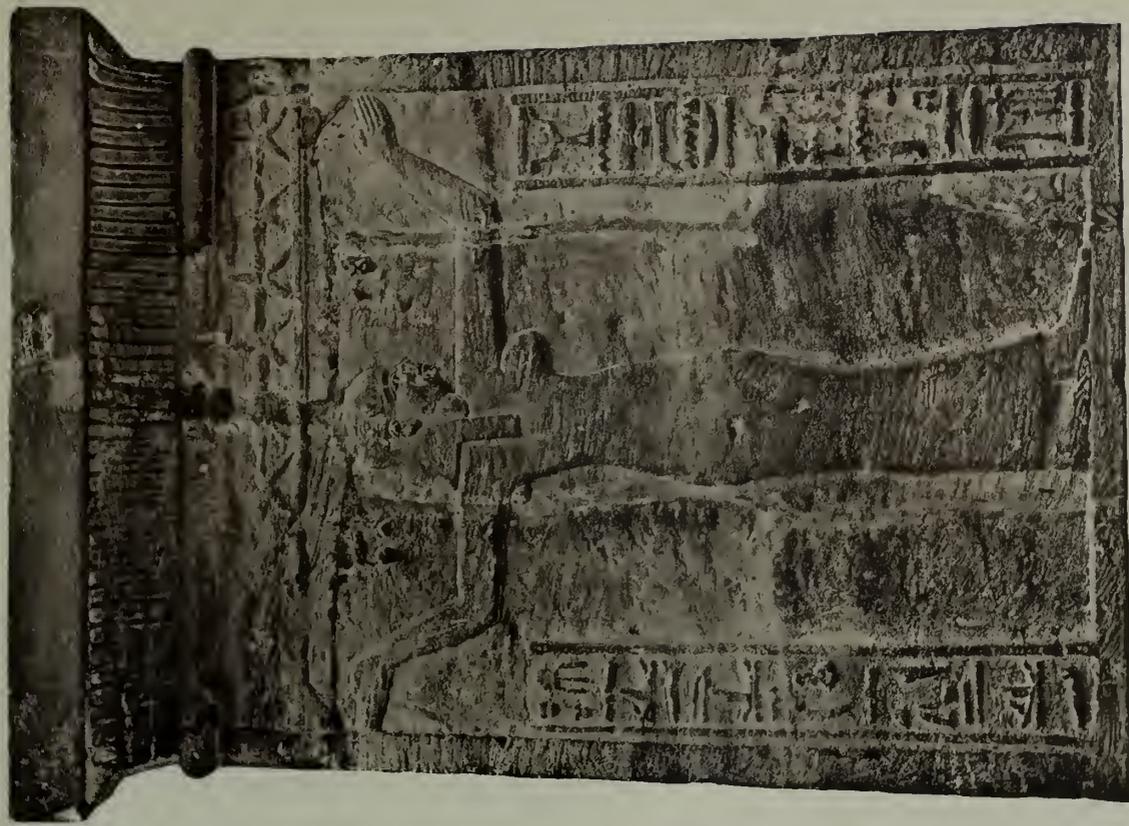
SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS ON COLUMN.

NOS. 33, 34.





NO. 41. STAND WITH BILINGUAL CARTOUCHES (BERLIN MUSEUM).



No. 41. STAND WITH BILINGUAL CARTOUCHES (BERLIN MUSEUM).

1344 ^{VI} M R Z B S 4 42 W 4 2

42

X 4 3 V S

43

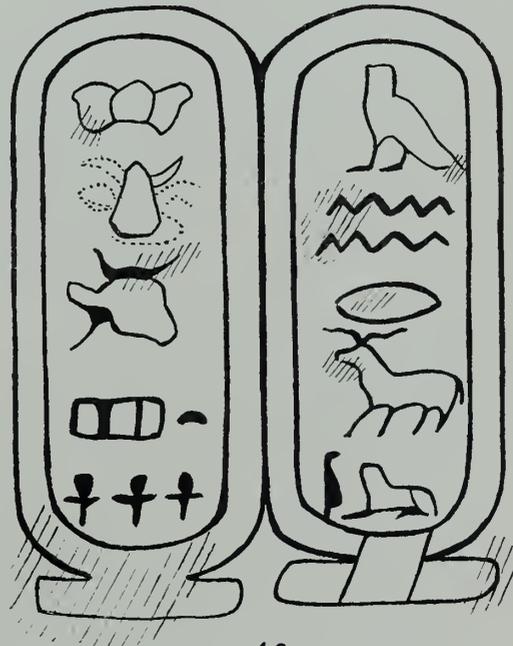
14: 1443 V 1452: 544 S S 3: 354 123 13

44

S R
14 C S
42 P B V 11
14 C 4 14 3
B 4 43 : V 11
14 14 4 R
S : 4 B 14
: V 11 14 S 3 4
4 R : B 4 42 3

S : 4 B 14 14

45



46



46.



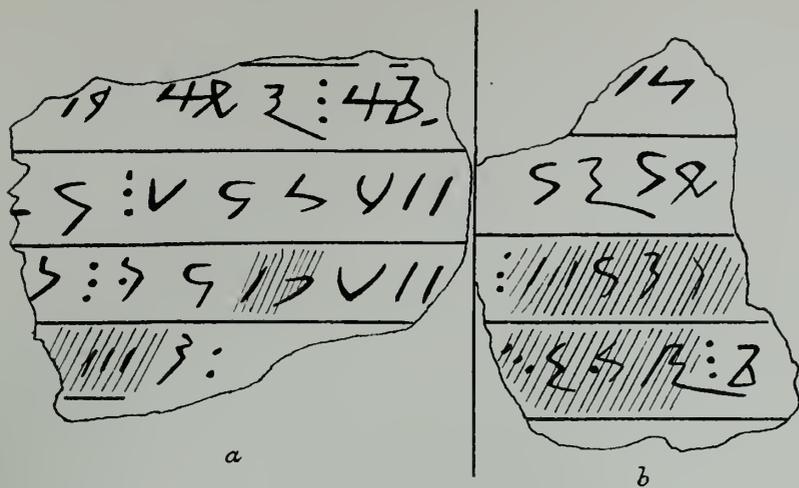
49.



52.

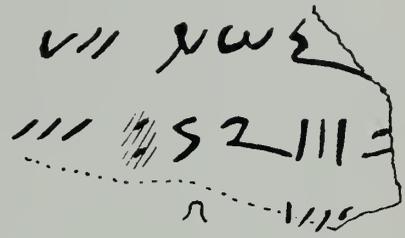


55.



47

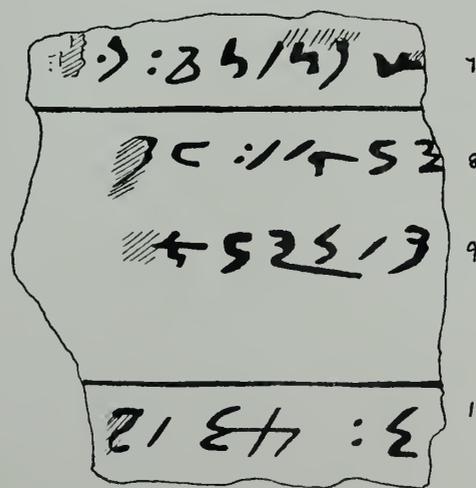
FROM RUINS OF CITY.



48

3 2 4 ^{sic} ^{sic} 3 5: 4 1 1 5 W 1 3 5 2: 4 3 1 6
 1 5 5 2 W 5: W 1 W 2 1 2: 1 1 1 ^{sic} 4 2 ²
 6 2 5: V 1 1 5 W 1 2 4 1 2 3 5 2 ³
 5 2: 1 5 3 5 2: 1 4 6 2 5: 4 5 ⁴
 1 3: 5 1 5 3 5 2: 1 2 3 W 6 ⁵
 4 1 1 5 W 1 3 5 2: 4 3 5 2: 1 3 2 5 ⁶

49



50

15534
 5 5 5
 5 5 5
 4 5 3
 15341

51

15524
 535456789
 43 4115

52

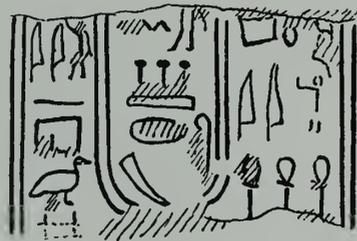
PYRAMID A 10

1598
 43456789

53

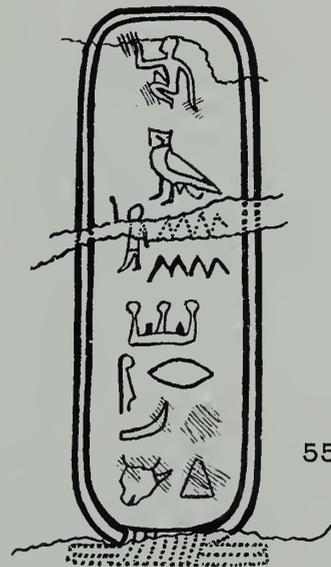
1598
 43456789

54



56

PYRAMID A 15



55

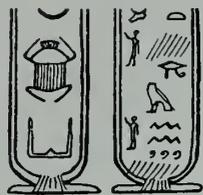
1598
 43456789
 43456789
 end 1 2 17-3 33

57a

43 5 4 18 13
 end 1 3 5 7 11 5 4 11 3 12
 sic

57b

PYRAMID A 27



58a

Handwritten Meroitic script on a fragment, with a small box containing the number 117 in the upper right corner.

58c

Fragment of a Meroitic inscription with several lines of text.

Fragment of a Meroitic inscription with several lines of text.

58b

Fragment of a Meroitic inscription with several lines of text, including superscripted numbers (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12) and the word 'sic'.

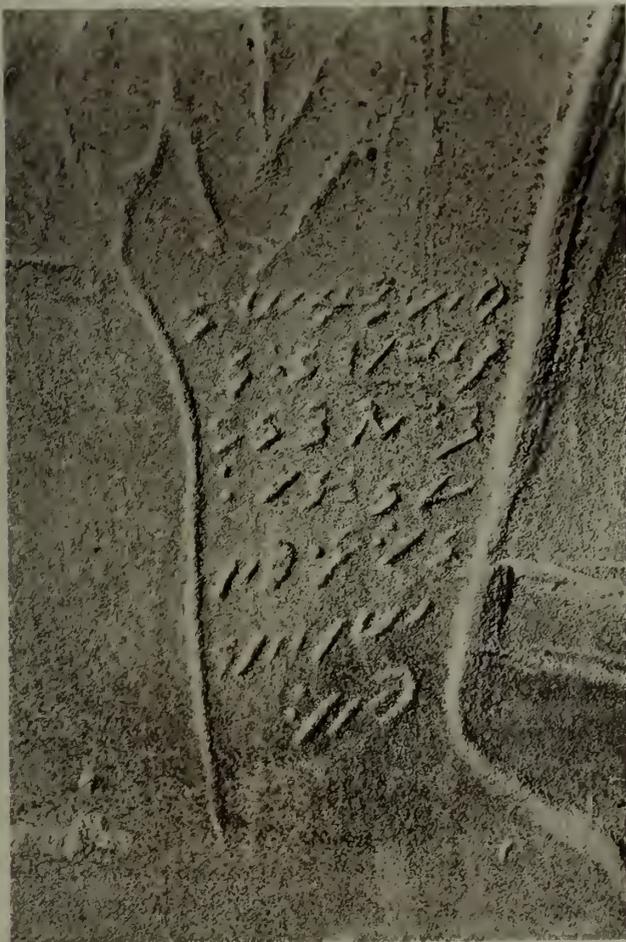
59



59.



60.



65.



61.

: 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎗𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎗 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎗 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎗 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎢 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎗 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠
 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 : 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠

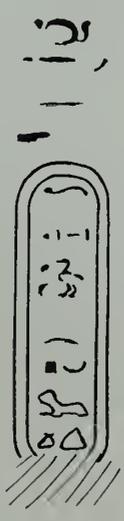
60

𐎗 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠

61



62



63

||| 4455 : 117 14 232
 245 3. ||| 7 53 42
 : 14 5 5 3 3 3 5 13

64



Nos. 64, 70 (BERLIN MUSEUM).

4W43 :117

S :53/47

553N :3

:14954

117.6 :15

5/11/4

end. :117

65

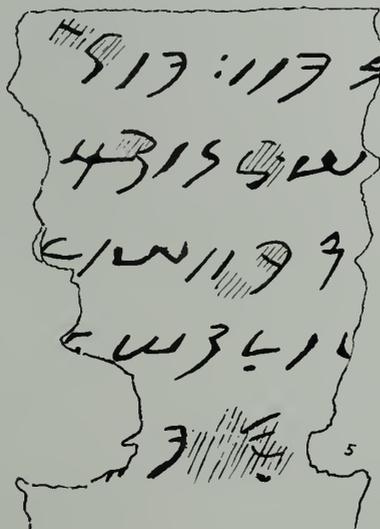


66, 67

////////////////////
 74A C S 3²
 :144.150M 3³

68

////////////////////
 2144
 55
 55 N 517



69

175 // 57'5⁵
 3. 7.62/5
 3 7.5235
 5345.77
 114W.6.52
 71 :15¹⁰

111 444 < :117 // 33
 3A 517.2 45 311157
 114W.6.52

70

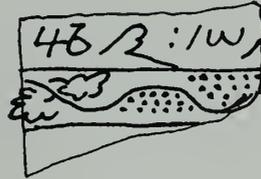
48C: WS2:SW113/ a

73

R|153:52| /52|15318/ b



c



d



e

MEROE PYRAMIDS, FRAGMENTS OF GLAZED ALTARS.

74

W : C : R

48 3 5 5 2 : 5 4 4 2 9 2 : 5 1 5

C 2 5 : 4 8 W 1 1 5 1 9 : 1 4 3 5 C 2 : 4 4

1 1 1 1 1 5 4 5 V : 4 5 3 : 3 3 : B 9 3

1 1 5 4 1 3 4 4 : 4 4 5 2 : B 4 9 4 4 W : V

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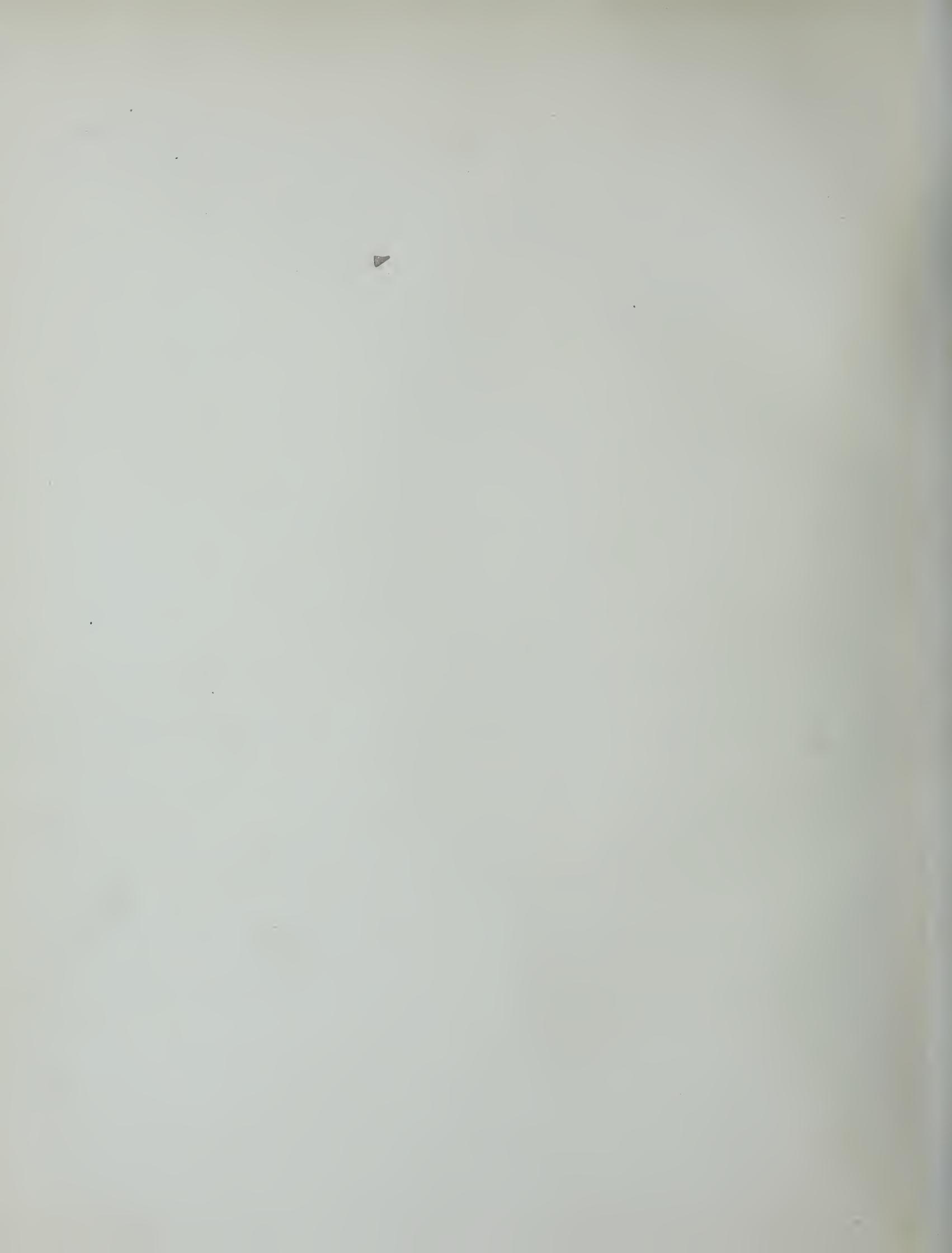
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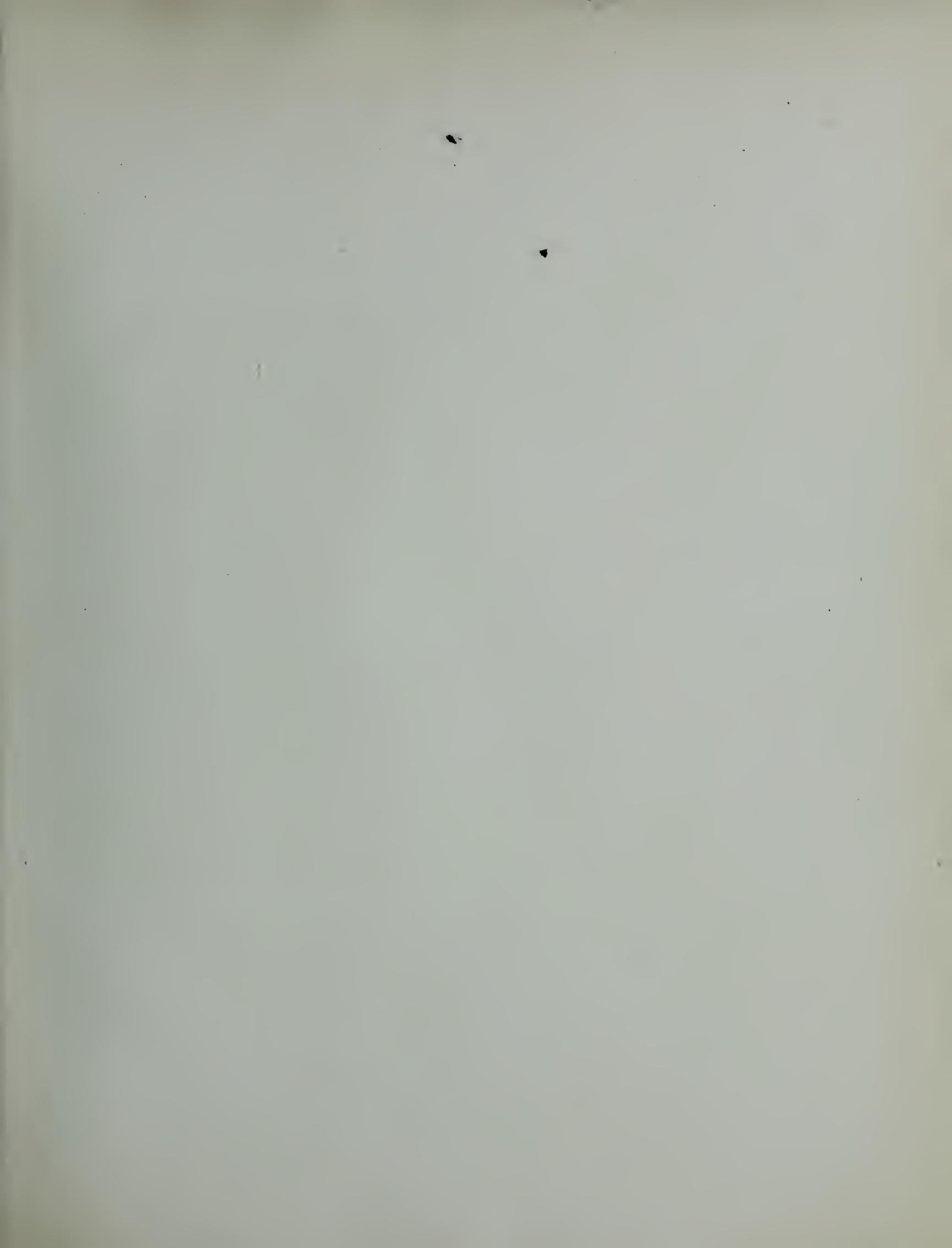
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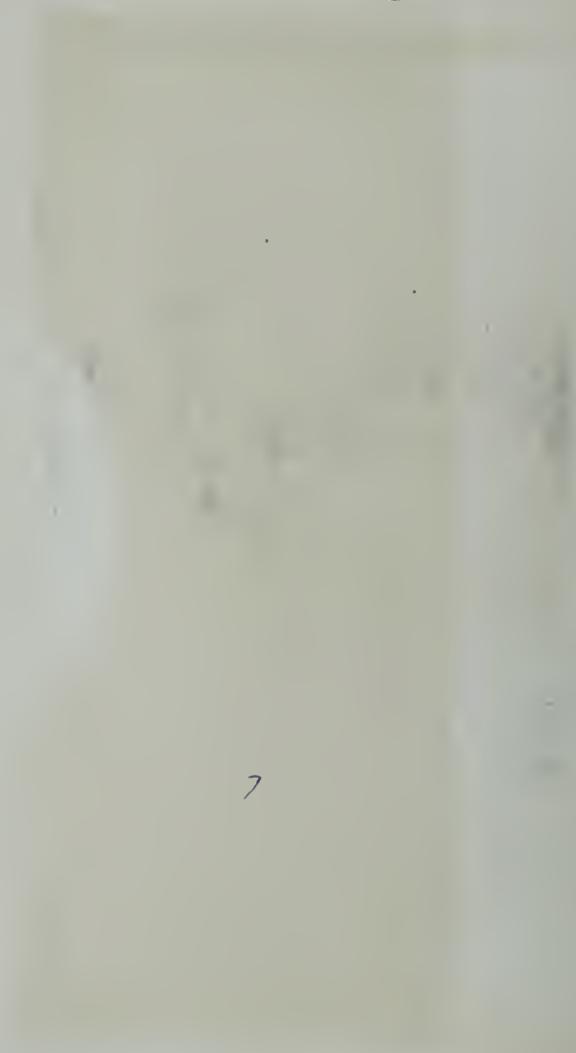
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