
by F. Hinkel

As a result of the building of the High Dam at Aswan, a number of monuments in Sudanese Nubia are in danger of being submerged. It is not practicable, nor is it intended, to remove many of the historical buildings in this area owing to the nature of the materials from which they have been constructed. Indeed only the following four temples, built in sandstone, were considered suitable for removal.

1. The Temple of Ramesses II at Aksha.
2. The Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen.
3. The Temple of Khnum at Semna East (Kumma).
4. The Temple of Dedwen and Sesoustris III at Semna West.

In the spring of 1962 the Sudan Antiquities Service approached the German Academy of Sciences at Berlin and requested that I might be permitted to propose a solution of the technical and architectural problems involved in the removal of these monuments and prepare the necessary estimates. It had been decided that all these monuments should be re-erected at the New Museum in Khartoum; the temples of Buhen, Semna and Kumma were to be located as an out-door exhibit in the garden, and the temple of Aksha was to be rebuilt in the exhibition hall. Accordingly I also prepared the necessary landscape plan. Fig. 1 shows the lay-out of the three temples on the west side of the garden surrounding an artificial strip of water symbolic of the Nile. The temples are arranged here with the same orientation as that of their original sites in Nubia. Walking in this part of the garden, visitors will always have a view of at least one of the temples on the other side of the water. Transparent structures will enclose each temple so as to give protection against unfavourable weather conditions. After examining my proposals, the Sudan Government again requested the German Academy of Sciences to loan them my services as an architect to help in the execution of the task.

The four temples were situated at different levels and accordingly it was necessary to start from the north with the temples of Aksha and Buhen, which, being the lowest lying, would be endangered first. In addition to these temples we had also to remove the paintings and inscribed lintels from the tomb of Djehuty-hotep at Debeira East.
DISMANTLING AND REMOVAL OF ENDANGERED MONUMENTS

In view of the heavy commitment which would fall upon Sudan Railways when the time came for the resettlement of the population of the area, it was necessary for us to complete our work and transport all the blocks from these three monuments to Khartoum during the winter 1962/63.

Preparations

I arrived in Khartoum on 25 October 1962 and immediately began to assemble all the equipment and materials I would need. Throughout, I was given every facility by the Commissioner for Archaeology, and it was only through the help and co-operation I received that I was able to bring my arduous task to a successful conclusion.

All the preparatory work had been completed by the end of November and, as soon as the first loads of materials and equipment had arrived in Nubia, we were able to begin the work in the field. I was assisted by Osman Effendi El Hassan and Khalid Effendi Ahmed of the Antiquities Service.

Before the sandstone blocks could be removed, however, it was necessary for them to be consolidated by chemical means. Dr H. J. Plenderleith, Director of the International Centre for the Conservation of Cultural Property in Rome, had promised to undertake this chemical consolidation and the preservation of the painted reliefs in the Temple of Buhen. He started his work over Christmas, with the assistance of Dr Mora and Dr Torraca, and it was finished in fourteen days. During this time I gained some experience of this type of treatment and so we were able to begin similar preservation work at Aksha and Debeira East.

Dismantling and Removal

1. The Tomb of Djehuty-hotep

Since it was necessary to leave the temples of Aksha and Buhen until the consolidation of the stones had been completed, we started work at Debeira East in December. The tomb had been excavated in 1955\(^1\) and the inscriptions and paintings were published in this journal in 1960.\(^2\) In collaboration, therefore, with Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, and Professor Säve-Söderbergh of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, we decided how and where the cuttings should be made through the paintings.

In order to protect the paintings from damage, we covered them with wooden screens. Then we began to break down the natural rock which formed the roof of the main chamber. All the resultant debris was used to make a filling a metre deep. Trenches to a maximum of 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) m. deep, 1 m. wide and 11 m. long were cut into the rock in front of the entrance and behind the north-east face of

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\(^1\) Thabit Hassan Thabit, Kush v, pp. 81–6.
\(^2\) Säve-Söderbergh, Kush viii, pp. 25–44.
the main chamber, so as to enable us to cut the painted wall into blocks 80 cm. thick (FIG. 2). Altogether we removed 45 m³ of rock in this way.

At the beginning of January we successfully treated all the painted and inscribed rock with chemicals. As a result of this treatment, both here and at Aksha and Buhen, the sandstone was greatly strengthened and the coloured paintings were securely fixed. Moreover, the colour both of the sandstone itself and of the paintings was a little darker and stronger in tone. After this, work was suspended here and then resumed after we had completed the work at Aksha and Buhen.

All the blocks cut from the rock and the free standing stones were lifted by means of a movable frame crane, pulley block and lewis and lowered onto specially constructed wooden sleds covered with cotton wool (PLATE XXXII, a). The tops of the stones were then covered with more cotton wool and another specially prepared wooden construction which was firmly secured to the sled by means of nuts and bolts \(\frac{3}{8}\) in. in diameter (FIG. 3). Before packing, the height and level of each stone had been recorded and all the stones were numbered and registered.

On 20 April the work came to an end when fourteen blocks or cases weighing 21 tons altogether were loaded onto railway waggons for the journey to Khartoum. They arrived safely and were put into temporary storage in the new museum for protection during the rainy season.

2. Aksha Temple

This temple was excavated in 1961 by the Franco-Argentine Expedition, but, for practical reasons, provision was only made for part of it to be removed. Only the relief blocks from the west wall of the pillared forecourt and the adjoining 2 m. of the north wall could be salvaged. These reliefs make up the well-known list of the Northern and Southern Countries, and the extraordinarily poor condition of the sandstone necessitated special precautions (FIG. 4).

After chemical consolidation, each surface of every stone was covered with cotton voile; then all the joints between the stones were sawn through (PLATE XXXII, b). Two steel plates were slipped into the joint below the stone and the upper plate with the stone on it was pulled away from the wall onto a prepared sled (PLATE XXXIII, a). The sled was then built up with timber so as to make a complete case for the stone and all the spaces inside were tightly packed with cotton wool (PLATE XXXIII, b).

Between 5 and 31 January 41 stones from the temple and 13 other inscribed stones, all of which had been numbered, photographed, measured and registered, were dismantled and packed. Their total weight was 20 tons. On 24 March they were transported across the Nile in a rented barge and two days later they left in two railway waggons for Khartoum, where they were stored in the exhibition hall of the unfinished New Museum against the ravages of the weather.

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a. DEBEIRA EAST: LIFTING ONE OF THE STONES CUT FROM THE WEST WALL

b. AKSHA: SAWING THROUGH A HORIZONTAL JOINT
a. AKSHA: STONE ON A PREPARED SLED WITH ITS STEEL SHEET IN PLACE

b. AKSHA: PACKED CASES ON THE PLANK CAUSEWAY
a. BUHEN: STONE BEING CARRIED TO ITS SLED BY THE MOVABLE FRAME CRANE

b. BUHEN: COVERING A STONE WITH COTTON WOOL AND HARDWOOD CONSTRUCTION
a. BUHEN: PACKED COLUMN DRUMS AND PILLARS ON THE RAMP LEADING TO THE RIVER

b. BUHEN: PACKED STONE BEING LIFTED FROM THE BARGE BY THE FLOATING CRANE
TOMB OF DJEHUTY-HOTEP
SHOWING METHOD OF DISMANTLING

- ROCK TO BE REMOVED
- ROCK REMAINING IN SITU
- PAINTED AND INSCRIBED BLOCKS TO BE REMOVED

SECTION

PLATE

TRENCH

MAIN CHAMBER

FIG. 2

II5
VIEW OF RELIEF SIDE WITHOUT PROTECTIVE BOARDS.

SIDE VIEW

HARDWOOD 6"x 4"
PLANKS 2"
ρ 5/8"
COTTON WOOL
HARDWOOD 4"x 6"

PROTECTIVE BOARDS

RELIEF BLOCK ON PREPARED HARDWOOD SLED

Fig. 3

PILLARED FORECOURT OF AKSHA TEMPLE

REMOVED RELIEF STONES

Fig. 4
3. *Buhen Temple*

This was the largest monument, both as regards area and number of stones, and it kept us occupied for most of the season, since we had to dismantle all the sandstone blocks down to the foundations. Altogether there were 282 stones, with an average weight of 2 tons, to be removed and packed from the walls, columns and pillars of the temple, in addition to 60 smaller stones comprising architectural features and reliefs.

As mentioned above, Dr Plenderleith was engaged in the consolidation and preservation of the sandstone and paintings up to the beginning of January. Fortunately, the quality of the stones proved to be much better than had been expected and we were able to lift them vertically. The Egypt Exploration Society kindly gave us considerable assistance, as a result of which we were able to finish the task much sooner than had been expected.

The actual dismantling was conducted in two stages. 600 m². of the temple area was filled up with sand to a height of 1 m. and from this level the upper part of the walls was removed. The sand was then taken out and the lower part of the walls was dismantled. In this way there was no danger of damaging the lower courses while working on the upper part of the walls.

The work started on 20 January and, as at Debeira, the stones were lifted with a movable frame crane, with pulley block and lewis. After holes had been made so that the lewis could be fixed over its centre of gravity, each stone was lifted, carried by the crane for a distance of about 1½ m. and lowered onto a prepared hardwood sled covered with cotton wool (*Plate XXXIV, a*). More cotton was then placed on top of it and the whole was covered with another hardwood construction which was secured with nuts and bolts (*Plates XXXIV, b ; XXXV, a*).

The packed blocks, all of which had been numbered, measured and registered, were transported to the river bank, a distance of some 40 m., over a plank causeway constructed on a sand-filled ramp, which had been prepared by Professor Emery in December 1962.

As we gained experience and improved our working methods, output was gradually increased from two stones a day in the first weeks to about eight stones daily at the end. The work was completed in 59 working days and we were lucky enough to finish in good time before the Nile level dropped. We used a floating crane belonging to Sudan Railways to load some of the boats and for all the off-loading (*Plate XXXV, b*). Altogether it took twelve journeys with the pontoon stationed in Wadi Halfa and three by rented barge to transport the stones across the river.

We had prepared a temporary store on the East Bank between the river and Wadi Halfa station, close to a siding, which greatly facilitated the loading of 28 railway waggons with the help of a crane loaned by Sudan Railways. All the 282 blocks and 59 cases—a total weight of 600 tons—arrived undamaged in Khartoum and were stored in the New Museum pending their re-erection in the Autumn of 1963.
KUSH

CONCLUSION

The total cost of all the dismantling and transportation reported above, up to May 1963, amounted to £S.25,150, which was made up as follows:

1. Djehuty-hotep's tomb .......... £S. 1,350
2. Aksha Temple ................. £S. 2,300
3. Buhen Temple ................. £S.21,500

£S.25,150

This gives an average cost of £S.40 per dismantled and transported ton and from this the sum of £S.21 per ton was paid to Sudan Railways for transportation from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum alone. Since I first made my estimates, conditions had changed somewhat, resulting in a considerable saving over the original estimate. In the event, however, working costs proved to be a further 25 per cent lower than the revised figure following the new specifications.
A Sandstone Statue of an Aulettes from Meroë

by D. M. Dixon and K. P. Wachsmann

In the course of his excavations on the town site at Meroë in 1914, Garstang discovered a number of fragments of Greek auloi, comprising perhaps five or more instruments of varying size. Unfortunately, the lack of care with which the excavations were conducted and the absence of adequate records render it impossible to say anything of the instruments' exact provenance. Garstang himself does not even mention them in his 'Interim Reports' and they were published by Southgate. A few years later, in 1921, Reisner, excavating in the North Cemetery at Meroë, found many more fragments of auloi in the filling of the stairway of the tomb of Queen Amanishakhete. These have been very fully discussed by Bodley.

In a generic sense, the term 'auloi' included reed instruments and also flutes of various kinds. The aulos found by both Garstang and Reisner, however, were of a specific type: a cylindrical bore ivory tube, covered by a bronze exterior, with a small bell and finger-holes, played by a reed mouthpiece (σύρινξ, syrinx) inserted into a socket (ὅλμος, holmos) which fitted on to a bulb (ὑφολμίων, hypholmion). The instrument with fixed holes stopped by the fingers may be regarded as the simple or basic type. Other auloi, however, including some of those found by Garstang and Reisner, had rotary sleeves which permitted a given finger-hole to be either partially or completely shut off according to the player's requirements. Each rotary sleeve had a small pyramidal-shaped knob or protuberance (κέπας). These auloi, and that with a long lever, are regarded as 'auloi with mechanism'. The condition of the various parts of the instruments was such that no complete restoration of even one was possible, but the surviving pieces found by Reisner suggested that there were at least nine auloi, and possibly as many as sixteen, belonging to both the simple type and those with mechanism. Among the fragments from the tomb of Amanishakhete were two bulbs, both very well-preserved, and the remnants of another larger one. Though no trace of a holmos was found, the construction of the bulbs is such that another piece fitted onto them. Possibly the holmoi were of wood and had perished.

2 D. Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, p. 109, pl. 59.
7 Id., op. cit., p. 224.
KUSH

The date and length of Queen Amanishakhete's reign are still unsettled; 26–20 B.C., according to Dunham,⁸ 41–12 B.C. (Hintze),⁹ 12–2 B.C. (Arkell).¹⁰ Judging by the size of her pyramid, however, her reign seems to have been a time of prosperity for Meroë; it was in her tomb that Ferlini in 1834 found the famous treasure.¹¹ It was also a period of intensive contact with Egypt, and many imported Hellenistic bronzes have been found in tombs of Amanishakhete's reign and that of her son-in-law and successor, Natakamani.¹² Both Southgate¹³ and Bodley¹⁴ consider that the auloi found at Meroë were imported from, or via, Egypt, and Southgate¹⁵ envisages visiting Greek performers travelling up the Nile to the Kushite metropolis bringing with them their own favourite instruments. The best and most artistic auloi were produced at Corinth, but 'Alexandria ran it close for fame... (and)... there are many records of the high esteem in which these Greek productions were held, and of the enormous prices paid for them'.¹⁶ The notes of the aulos may thus have been fairly familiar music in and around Meroë.

Amongst the material found by Garstang in his third season at Meroë (1911–12) was the statue published here, which is now in the Egyptian department of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London, where it bears the number EG.1.63 [A400,036].¹⁷ It is made of friable Nubian sandstone, and is doubtless of local manufacture. The player has been painted pink or flesh-colour, and his instrument yellow. The statue is at present in three fragments which were held together to enable the photographs to be taken, but it is hoped to effect a permanent restoration at a later date. The details are clear enough in the photographs (PLATES XXXVI–XXXVII) and reconstruction (FIGS. 1–2, which were made under our direction by Miss M. O. Miller of the British Museum), but attention may be drawn to the hair-style and pig-tail. The statue was one of several found in the 'Royal Baths'; they included two other figures of musicians, described as a 'harpist' and a 'flute player'.¹⁸ The present location of these is unknown to us (2Khartoum).¹⁹ The Baths are a crude imitation of Roman baths; our statue may perhaps be assigned to the period 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.

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⁸ Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal, p. 7.
¹⁰ History of the Sudan,² p. 158.
¹⁶ Southgate, ibid.
¹⁷ The number 'M.3.49' visible above the figure's left knee (PLATE XXXVI, a) was placed there after its arrival in the Museum and indicates that it is No. 49 in the list of items received from the third season's work at Meroë.
¹⁹ Both the 'harpist' and the 'flute player' are still in the Royal Baths at Meroë—(EDITOR).
PLATE XXXVI

SANDSTONE STATUE OF AULETES FROM MERØE

facing p. 120
PLATE XXXVII

SANDSTONE STATUE OF AULETES FROM MEROÉ
A SANDSTONE STATUE OF AN AULETES FROM MEROË

That the pipes in the figure’s hands represent a musical instrument is hardly open to question. Unfortunately, however, the upper sections of the two pipes and the lips of the player are missing. Owing to the break at the neck, there is also some doubt regarding the exact angle of the head in relation to the pipes. The player’s cheeks are blown out in a manner often shown in pictures of aulos-players on Greek vases, and the stance of the figure too reminds one of these illustrations. There seems no reason to doubt, therefore, that the statue represents an aulettes playing a pair of auloi, of equal length, held in a V-shaped position.

The distance between the pipes decreases towards the mouth-pieces at the rate of 1 in 16. The angle of divergence between them is thus noticeably narrow compared with that of some painted representations. The wider angle in the latter may be due to the fact that the artists frequently depicted the auletai in profile, and in such cases it may have been thought that the two instruments would look less convincing if drawn in perspective with only a very narrow angle of divergence. However, pairs of auloi with a very narrow angle, or none at all, are not infrequently shown, and Miss Schlesinger, who illustrates both positions, offers explanations for them in terms of musical playing techniques. Of course, it may be, in the case of our statue, that the sculptor’s choice of position was limited by the friable nature of his material which obliged him to carve the tubes of the auloi close together. Whatever the reason for the position chosen, the reconstruction on Fig. 1 is based on the assumption that the two pipes were intended to meet between the player’s lips.

As far as one can judge from the present condition of the statue, the sculptor does not seem to have paid much attention to detail. Consider the thickness of the pipes: the statue is approximately \( \frac{3}{4} \) life-size, hence if the player and pipes are in proportion, the original pipes would have had an outer diameter of approximately 40 mm., i.e. two or three times as large as that of actual instruments recovered from ancient sites! Thus the auloi from the tomb of Queen Amanishakhete had outside diameters ranging from 14 mm. to 16.5 mm., which is very slim in comparison. The stone gives no indication what the bore of the instruments could have been, but it is interesting to note how narrow it was in the case of the Amanishakhete auloi, viz. 7 mm., 9 mm., and 10 mm. Presumably, therefore, no musical significance is to be seen in the remarkable thickness of our statue’s pipes.

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21 Compare, for example, Hirmer and Arias, op. cit., pls. 161, 165.
23 Cf. e.g. Hirmer and Arias, op. cit., pls. 161, 165, 210.
24 Schlesinger, The Greek Aulos, pls. 4-8.
Fig. 1. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AULETES STATUE FROM MEREOE
Scale: Approx. ¼
Similarly, little importance need be attached to the fact that the pipes are
carved with a slight taper starting from an actual diameter of 29 mm. at the
‘bell’ end of the auloi and decreasing to 23 mm. where they are broken off just
above the musician’s hands. MacGillivray gives an interesting account of
the difference in acoustic behaviour between the conical and the cylindrical bore,
but mentions no sources for ancient conical auloi, which, according to him,
‘appeared in the 3rd century A.D.’, and gives no dimensions for these unusual
instruments. (The finds listed by Bodley comprise cylindrical specimens only.)
The pipes of the statue bear no sign that the position of finger-holes had
ever been marked. The hands grip the auloi with fingers packed closely together
on the upper surface and thumbs underneath, one hand to each pipe, exactly
opposite each other and nearer to the mouth-pieces than is usual in painted
representations. Here again it is possible that the degree of accuracy attainable
was limited by the friability of the stone. This, no doubt, is the reason for the
heavy filling or buttressing, visible from either side, which supports the pipes
against the player’s torso.
If the position of the hands be interpreted at all in musical terms, it would
suggest that the pipes were tuned and played in unison, or, possibly, that one
of them was used as a drone. According to Baines, pipes played in pairs
simultaneously ‘render unaccompanied piping more vibrant, interesting and
self-supporting’. The reconstruction (Fig. 1) allows for the possibility that the
sculptor may have rendered the upper portions of the instruments realistically
and that the auloi he had in mind were like those found by Reisner. In Bodley’s
discussion of the latter, the pipes were shown to have been equipped with at
least one bulb, hypholmion, which determined the mode of the tuning, and a
socket, holmos, for the reed. No speculation whatever is offered here regarding
the pitch and mode. The sole purpose of the dotted lines inside the player’s lips
(Fig. 1), which indicate the reeds, is to show what their approximate position
would have been.
Baines states that it was easy to blow a pair of reeds together and that
‘to play on two reed pipes was the general rule, not only throughout antiquity
but well into the Middle Ages’. He thought in terms of double reeds, but
Miss Schlesinger experimented with both the double-reed mouth-piece and the
beating-reed mouth-piece, and MacGillivray argues that the nature of the reed
was of less importance for the acoustic characteristics of the instruments than
their bore. He also experimented with ‘a cast copy of an instrument from an

29 *AJA*, vol. 50, pl. 7.  
33 MacGillivray, op. cit., p. 218.
ancient Egyptian tomb. He found that its note was of clarinet pitch, and it did not have a 'screaming tone' as he remarks with emphasis. Baines is worth quoting here again: 'The two kinds of reeds, as they were then known, both produce basically the same kind of tone-quality in the pipe; it ranges from a deep droning in a long pipe to a plaintive screaming in a short pipe'. If the length of the instrument which served as the sculptor's model, or which he had in mind, be estimated at not less than 54 cm.—here again we assume the proportion of the instrument to the player has been correctly retained—it might possibly have produced the 'deep droning' of which Baines wrote.

In view of the contacts between Egypt and the Kingdom of Kush, it is not surprising to find auloi at Meroë, and, as already remarked, the notes of the aulos may have been quite familiar in and around Meroë. What is rather surprising, however, is that having penetrated so deeply into Africa, the aulos should have disappeared without a trace in these southern border-lands. For there are several other types of musical instruments once known in Greece and Egypt which in the 20th century are part of a living tradition in the Interlacustrine area and along the edge of the forest belt above the Equator. Only the East African

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34 MacGillivray, op. cit., p. 218.  
35 Baines, op. cit., p. 199.
A SANDSTONE STATUE OF AN AULETES FROM MEROĒ

cost became acquainted with the reed instrument—of pronounced conical bore, equipped with pirouette, and known by the Persian term *sumarra*. It is unlikely, however, that this instrument arrived there through the agency of the Kingdom of Kush; most probably it was the result of much later contacts across the Indian Ocean, reaching as far as China.⁴⁶

POSTCRIPTUM

Page 123, para. 2: The sculptor's failure to indicate the position of finger-holes on the auloi may be of little importance, for 'Aristoxenos emphasizes the inaccuracy of manufacture and intonation for which the aulos was notorious' (Isobel Henderson, 'Ancient Greek Music', *New Oxford History of Music*, 1 (ed. E. Wellesz), London 1957, p. 350).

An Introductory Classification of Meroitic Pottery

by William Y. Adams

This study is intended as a companion to the 'Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery' published in a previous number of KUSH.¹ Like its predecessor, it is based upon the continuing, detailed analysis of all Nubian pottery which is being undertaken in conjunction with the Sudan Antiquities Service archaeological programme in Nubia.² The long-range objective of the study is not to publish aesthetically accurate and comprehensive pottery descriptions, but to develop workable typologies which will aid in the identification and dating of archaeological sites in the future.

Meroitic pottery is probably the most widely known culture product of ancient Nubia, and is justly famed for its fine workmanship and distinctive decoration. Several expeditions have been devoted largely to its collection, and a number of extensive corpora³ have long since been published. Rudimentary and ad hoc classifications have been formulated by Reisner,⁴ Woolley,⁵ and others.

Unfortunately, there are significant lacunae in all the published collections owing to the fact that they have been recovered almost exclusively from cemeteries. Recent excavations in Meroitic houses⁶ have turned up pottery forms and wares which rarely if ever served as mortuary offerings, and hence do not appear in the existing corpora. There is, therefore, a need for a fresh examination of Meroitic pottery in general; not only to make room for the newly discovered forms and wares but also to reduce the profusion of earlier studies to a series of intelligible common denominators.

The present classification, like the earlier study of Christian pottery,⁷ has been developed entirely from material collected by the Sudan Antiquities Service in Nubia, plus additional material from earlier excavations which is now in the museums in Wadi Halfa and Khartoum. As these collections are not large, the typology is necessarily somewhat incomplete, especially with regard to forms. A few additions and amendments have been made on the basis of published descriptions of other collections, but for the most part such descriptions are not sufficiently rigorous to be of value for an analysis of this kind.

¹ Kush x, pp. 245–88. ² Ibid., p. 245.
³ Notably (2), I, pp. 509–14; II, pls. 30–1, 37–9; (5), pp. 39–43; pls. xli–liii; (6), pp. 147–52; pls. xv–xxxiii, xli–lii; (8), p. 36; pls. 23–31; (II), pp. 41–6; (I2), pp. 51–8; pls. 41–106. (Numbers in brackets refer to numbered entries in Bibliography.)
⁴ (II), pp. 41–6. ⁵ (I2), pp. 52–3; pls. 103–6.
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

In order to serve its intended purpose effectively, the classification must necessarily cover all of the pottery which is normally found in Meroitic sites, including imported as well as domestic wares. Hence it includes a group of wares (Ware Group IV) which are ‘Meroitic’ only by association and not by origin. On the other hand, the classification is perforce confined to the later Meroitic period by the fact that the whole Meroitic occupation of Lower Nubia was itself confined to that period (see Chronology, below). To be strictly accurate, therefore, the title of the study should read: ‘An Introductory Classification of Pottery Found in Later Meroitic Sites of Lower Nubia’. The author feels that his avoidance of such a cumbersome designation needs no apology.

METHODOLOGY

The basic principles of pottery analysis and classification have been discussed in the study of Christian Nubian pottery, and need not be re-stated at length here. As in the earlier study, the total complex of variability exhibited by Meroitic pottery has been analysed in terms of five categories: fabric, form, decorative style, surface colour(s), and surface treatment. Since variability in each of these categories is independent of all the other categories, each must be analysed and classified separately. In the cases of fabric, form, and style, variability is sufficiently complex and sufficiently regular to allow of formal, comprehensive classification. Combinations of surface colours (i.e. slip and decorative colours, if any), as well as surface texture and configuration, are not sufficiently varied to require rigorous analysis, but they nevertheless figure importantly in the definition of Wares.

The classifications of fabric, form, and style comprise only the first, or analytic, phase of pottery typology. The second, or synthetic, phase involves the recognition of recurring combinations of fabric, form, style, colours, and surface treatment. Such combinations are designated as Wares, and may be said to represent the end product of the process of classification. An individual ware is defined as a regularly occurring combination of:

one fabric
one slip colour, which may be accompanied by one or two additional decorative colours
one predominant decorative style
one predominant type of surface treatment
a specific, limited group of forms.

8 Ibid., pp. 246–8.
9 It has been the usual practice of students of Nubian pottery to classify their material independently with respect to form and ‘ware’. However, these two categories do not satisfactorily encompass the independent variables found in pottery, and ‘ware’ is seldom consistently defined. Moreover, no effort has been made to correlate recurring ‘wares’ and forms.
10 Disregarding accidental shadings due to uneven firing.
KUSH

Such an involved complex of traits, recurring with any frequency, could only be dictated by a combination of cultural traditions and available raw materials. In short, pottery wares have both ethnic and geographic determinants, and therein lies the secret of their importance to archaeologists. Any one ware can nearly always be interpreted as the product of a group of people sharing a common cultural tradition and a common environment. Moreover, since pottery styles are especially sensitive to fluctuations of fashion, pottery wares also have temporal referants. A decorated ware, in particular, can generally be regarded as the product of a single century or less.

In the classification of Meroitic pottery, the twenty-five individual wares have been grouped into five larger categories, called Ware Groups. Each ware group unites a number of wares which are clearly related by technology and stylistic tradition. All wares in any one ware group have the same fabric, the same usual surface treatment, and in many cases the same group of forms. In other words, the principal variability within a ware group is in style and colour. In some cases the member wares are ‘companion wares’ (e.g. a red-slipped ware and a white-slipped ware in the same style) which were made at the same time; in other cases they may be wares in the same colours but in different styles, which succeeded one another in time. Hence a ware group has the same ethnic and geographic referants as each of its member wares, but its temporal referants are less restricted. A ware group may be interpreted as the product of a people of common culture and environment over an indeterminate period of time, which may in some cases by as great as five centuries.

It is necessary to reiterate that ‘form’, ‘style’, ‘ware’, and the other heuristic devices employed here are not to be equated with genera and species or with any other rigid system of mutually exclusive categories. They are statistical abstractions, or norms, noted by the student of Meroitic pottery, which may or may not have existed as conscious norms in the minds of its makers. They represent not all, but only a few of the most frequently occurring constellations of traits in the vast and infinitely varied universe of Meroitic pottery. Since they are defined only in terms of ‘central tendencies’, there is no way of indicating or even of knowing the absolute limits of variability for any form, style, or ware. Hence they are not necessarily either comprehensive or mutually exclusive. Certain individual pottery specimens will fit equally well into two or more styles or wares; others cannot be conveniently placed in any. It is hoped, however, that the classification will satisfactorily differentiate and describe

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11 These latter serve to determine chiefly fabric and colour; also to some extent surface texture.
12 Undecorated wares often persist unchanged for much longer periods.
13 This classificatory device was not employed in the original analysis of Christian Nubian pottery (KUSH x, pp. 245-88), but has subsequently been introduced in the revised and expanded Field Manual of Christian Nubian Pottery Wares (ms.).
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

perhaps three-quarters of all Meroitic pottery—that part of the total corpus of material which most consistently conforms to recognizable traditions.

TYPOLOGY

The total classificatory system which has been developed for Meroitic pottery comprises four formal typologies, covering respectively five fabrics, ninety-four forms, twelve styles, and twenty-five wares grouped in five ware groups. There are in addition non-rigorous analyses of variability in colour and in surface treatment. Form and style can be defined largely by illustration, whereas the other categories require more extended verbal description. In order to save space a few abbreviations have been employed in the descriptions: (+) indicates a usual or normal occurrence, (—) a rare occurrence, and (?) uncertain occurrence. Documentary references are given by numbers in brackets, corresponding to numbered entries in the Bibliography at the end of the article.

Fabric

The term fabric embraces all the internal, structural properties of pottery which are not usually visible on the surface. Included are the colour, texture, and consistency of the clay, the quality and quantity of the material used as grits or temper, and the levigation if any. Five regularly occurring fabric types have been observed in Meroitic pottery.

I. Meroitic Fine. Very fine, smooth, dense paste; adheres to temper particles. Colour always light; cream, tan, buff, grey, or pink. Temper abundant very fine black and white particles and ground red sherds; sand rare; mica not conspicuous. No levigation. Generally very hard, with fine 'ring' and shattering fracture, but softer and flaky when underfired, notably in Ware IC. This is the fabric of all the celebrated Meroitic cups and other fine decorated wares. The variability in colour of paste and temper suggest several different centres of manufacture. Examples from the Wadi Halfa area appear to intergrade with Fabric II. References: (8) Ware (d); (11) Wares F.Db, R.S.Db, Db; (12) Ware (g).

II. Meroitic Red-Brown Utility. Nile mud, medium fine and slightly porous. Colour tan to warm red-brown. Temper chiefly abundant quartz sand; occasional ground sherds; mica conspicuous. Fairly sparse chopped straw levigation in all larger vessels. Generally medium hard, with snapping fracture. Used in all the common wheel-made Meroitic household wares except those which are burnished (see Fabric III). At its finest, in small cups and bowls, it approaches Fabric I. References: (3) Wares B, G, H; (8) Wares (b), (f); (11) Wares S.C.W. R-B.W, F.R.W. (part); (12) Wares (c), (f).

III. Meroitic Dark Utility. This fabric is found in the burnished wheel-made Meroitic utility wares. It differs from Fabric II only in being generally darker in colour—normally dark brown to dull black—and in being more porous as a result of the inclusion of large quantities of fine chopped straw. The darker colour is an accidental by-product of the more compacted surfaces produced by burnishing (see Surface Treatment, below), but the greater abundance of levigation seems to be deliberate and fairly consistent. Nevertheless there is no hard-and-fast distinction between Fabric II

129
and Fabric III, and many vessels could as well be assigned to either. References: (8) Wares (c), (e); (11) Wares S.C.W (part), R-B.W (part); (12) Wares (d), (e).

IV. Graeco-Roman Pink. Fairly fine, slightly gritty clay. Colour generally dull pink; occasionally buff. Temper very abundant minute particles of various materials, including opaque black and white fragments, red sherds, and clear sand. Mica not conspicuous. No levigation. Generally hard, with dull 'ring' and shattering fracture. This fabric is characteristic of all the imported wares from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt which are found abundantly in later Meroitic sites in Lower Nubia. References: (3) Ware E; (12) Wares (h), (i), (j).

V. Meroitic Domestic. Porous Nile mud with conspicuous mica; colour tan to very dark brown. Temper sparse, rather large sand grains. Very abundant coarse chopped straw and grass levigation. Generally soft, with crumbling fracture. This fabric distinguishes the group of women's hand-made domestic wares, which were generally fired at a very low temperature. References: (3) Ware A; (8) Ware (a); (11) Ware Blk.J.W; (12) Ware (a).

There is, of course, considerable variability within every fabric type, and undoubtedly some intergradation between Fabrics I, II and III. In all fabrics larger vessels have larger temper particles and more levigation than do smaller vessels; polished or burnished vessels generally have harder walls than do those which are not polished; and white wares have generally lighter fabric colour than do red wares.

Form (Figs. 1–8)

Form comprises vessel size and shape—factors which are determined partly by functional necessity and partly by stylistic preference. Ninety-four common Meroitic (and imported Graeco-Roman) pottery forms are illustrated in Figs. 1–8. These by no means exhaust the limits of Meroitic form variability, as an examination of previously published corpora\(^4\) will quickly show. The present classification does include most if not all of the most common forms which occur in houses as well as graves. Lamps and pot covers are omitted, as our collections of these forms are inadequate for classificatory purposes.

The ninety-four vessel forms have been grouped for descriptive convenience into ten form classes, designated by the letters A–K. In most though not all cases there is an obvious functional relationship among the vessels in the same class, but they should not necessarily be regarded as interchangeable.

Vessels are illustrated in what is believed to be average size,\(^5\) but absolute limits of variability cannot be indicated. Most Meroitic vessel forms are remarkably uniform in size; however, the same is not true either of hand-made vessels (Ware Group V) or of imported Graeco-Roman wares (Ware Group IV).

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\(^4\) Esp. (2), II, pls. 37–9; (6), pls. xv–xxxiii; (12), pls. 103–6.

\(^5\) Note that the scale reduction in Figs. 1–8 is not uniform. Fig. 1 is at approximately 1:5, Figs. 2–7 at 3:20, and Fig. 8 at 1:10.
Typical exterior\textsuperscript{16} decoration is shown where appropriate; such illustration does not imply that the vessel form is always decorated, or is most frequently decorated exactly as shown.

\textbf{A. Cups (FIG. 1).} Very common both in houses and graves, chiefly in Ware IA. (1) is by far the most common form. The angular profile (1–4) is distinctively Meroitic. Rounded profiles (5–8) are less common and are generally a later development.\textsuperscript{17} Footed cups (9–16) are far less common than plain cups, and are mostly either imported specimens (Ware Group IV) or local copies of them.

\textbf{B. Beakers (FIG. 1).} Wheel-made forms (1–2) are very rare; (1) is an imported form and (2) a local copy of an imported form. ‘Feeder cups’ (3–4) are found abundantly in infant graves\textsuperscript{18} and in houses, always in hand-made wares (Group V). They are extremely variable in size.

\textbf{C. Bowls. (FIG. 2).} This category includes a wide variety of vessel shapes and sizes. (1–4) are comparatively uncommon. On the other hand (5–8) and to a lesser extent (9–11) are found in enormous quantities in all Meroitic houses, and clearly represent the common eating vessel of Meroitic times. The large forms (12–13) are also common and are probably serving bowls. They are found only in hand-made wares, chiefly Ware VB. Footed bowls (14–20) are either Graeco-Roman imports or copies of them, and only appear in numbers at the close of the Meroitic period. However (14) is one of the most common forms occurring in very late Meroitic sites.

\textbf{D. ‘Basins’ (FIG. 3).} Very large, heavy, deep bowls and tumblers. The great majority are hand-made specimens in Ware VB. They are common in Meroitic houses but are very rarely found in graves.

\textbf{E. Lekythoi and Small Bottles (FIG. 4).} The abundance and variety of these distinctive vessels is a notable feature of most Meroitic sites, both graves and houses. They occur in a seemingly infinite range of forms and sizes, in both domestic and imported wares. Most of the lekythoi (6–16) are footed and have a single handle. The arýballos (5, 12) is a late, imported form.\textsuperscript{19} Very large vessels (14–16) occur only in imported wares (Group IV).

\textbf{F. Pitchers (FIG. 5).} These vessels are distinguished from the large lekythoi by their relatively shorter necks and wider mouths. They are quite uncommon and appear only at the end of the Meroitic period, when they probably took the place of the large lekythoi. They coincide in time with the small, footed amphorae (G1–2) of the late Meroitic and X-Group periods.

\textbf{G. Amphorae (FIG. 5).} (4) is the typical Graeco-Roman form which was imported into Nubia throughout the later Meroitic period, and is found in enormous quantities in all house sites. The pointed base with its reinforcing ring is distinctive and easily recognized. The other three amphora types are also Graeco-Roman either by origin or inspiration. They are all of late and uncommon occurrence.

\textsuperscript{16} Interior decoration is very rare in Meroitic pottery, and is found only in vessel Form C1. For examples see (6), pl. li, 5–9; and (12), pls. 93, 98.

\textsuperscript{17} Evolutionary developments in Meroitic pottery are discussed in later pages, under the heading Chronology.

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Griffith, \textit{LAAA}, xii, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{19} See (3), i, p. 393, Type 57.
H. Bottles (FIG. 6). The decorated specimens (1–7) are more often found in graves than in houses. The pilgrim bottle (1) is little changed from Pharaonic times. (6) is the typical Meroitic bottle, such as is encountered in nearly every Meroitic grave. (7) is an aberrant form occurring only in Ware IIIF. (8–9) are found only in hand-made wares VA and VB, and are abundant in house sites but not in graves.

J. Pots and Jars (FIG. 7). (1–2) and (6–7) are imported forms of rare occurrence. (4) and (5) are hand-made vessels similar to H8 and H9, and like them are found abundantly in houses. The typical Meroitic qadus (8) is considerably smaller than its successor in X-Group and Christian times, and has a more flattened base knob than the X-Group qadus.20 Fragments of these vessels are quite common in house sites despite the fact that they were designed for use elsewhere.

K. Large Storage Jars (FIG. 8). These vessels are distinguished from Classes H and J chiefly by their larger size.21 They are fairly often encountered both in houses and in graves. (1–2) are unusual forms found chiefly in Ware IIIF. (3–4) are the typical local forms. (4) often reaches enormous size, over twice as large as illustrated, in Ware IIIID. These vessels were probably designed as water jars (sirs), but they are most often encountered on house floors, broken in half, the top half inverted, and both sections employed as cooking stoves. (5–6) are imported types in Wares IVA and IVD. Suspension handles such as these vessels exhibit are very uncommon in native Meroitic pottery.

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20 See Kush x, p. 262, fig. 9.
21 Note that the scale of FIG. 8 is smaller than that of the preceding figures.
Fig. 1. FORM CLASSES A-B
C. Bowls

Fig. 2. FORM CLASS C
D. "Basins"

Fig. 3. FORM CLASS D
E. Lekythoi & Small Bottles

Fig. 4. FORM CLASS E

136
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

**F. Pitchers**

1. [Diagram of Pitcher 1]

2. [Diagram of Pitcher 2]

3. [Diagram of Pitcher 3]

**G. Amphorae**

1. [Diagram of Amphora 1]

2. [Diagram of Amphora 2]

3. [Diagram of Amphora 3]

4. [Diagram of Amphora 4]

**Fig. 5. Form Classes F-G**

137
FIG. 6. FORM CLASS H

138
Fig. 7. FORM CLASS J
K. Large Storage Jars

Fig. 8. FORM CLASS K
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

Style (Figs. 9–15)

Style comprises surface decoration for purely aesthetic purposes, and has no utilitarian significance. Meroitic pottery decoration normally consists of a slip and painted designs; however, a few wares are regularly decorated with incised or stamped patterns. These latter will be treated in subsequent paragraphs, under the heading Relief Decoration.

The classification of Meroitic decorative styles presents special difficulties, perhaps because of the diversity of historical influences involved. So widely distributed are many of the common motifs that it is quite impossible to differentiate individual styles on the basis of component motifs alone. Yet it is readily observable that not all Meroitic pottery is decorated in the same style; on the contrary, many wares and in some cases even individual forms seem to follow decorative traditions all their own.

In these circumstances it has been necessary to distinguish styles to some extent on the basis of external, distributional evidence; that is, by association with other significant traits. Thus any design or motif which is the only decoration found on a certain ware or group of wares is designated as a separate style, even though it may also occur in combination with other motifs in other wares, and hence also form a component of another style. An example is Style d (Fig. 9, 5–8), consisting exclusively of simple stripe patterns which also occur as components of Style g (Figs. 10–12). However, Style d demonstrably persisted until a later date than did Style g, and it is the only known decoration in Ware IIIB. Hence this particular group of stripe patterns is worth separate recognition simply because its distribution in time and space is not the same as that of the other motifs in Style g. It follows, however, that style alone is not a sufficient criterion for the identification of ware when its own identification depends upon external evidence. It is also obvious that the differences between the various styles recognized here are not always of the same order of magnitude. Their differentiation is based on a unique distribution in time and space rather than on any internal criterion of uniqueness.

Virtually all Meroitic wheel-made pottery is slipped.22 In addition, perhaps 50 per cent of all vessels have a painted design in one or two contrasting colours. The frequency and variety of painted decoration in Meroitic pottery exceeds that of any other pottery made in Nubia at any time in history.

Except for a few small bowls of Form CI,23 (Fig. 2), Meroitic pottery decoration is confined to vessel exteriors, and consists of one or more continuous, concentrically arranged decorative bands.24 These bands may be classified as rim stripes, body stripes, and design friezes.25

22 Ware IIIB is the only consistent exception.
23 Not illustrated; see (6), pl. li, 5–9 and (12), pls. 93, 98.
24 A very rare exception is illustrated in Fig. 8, Form K2. This hand-made vessel has a zoned decoration at the shoulder.
25 For a fuller explanation of design nomenclature see KUSH x, p. 263, fig. 10.
KUSH

*Rim stripes* are plain encircling stripes, or combinations of stripes, applied upon and immediately adjacent to the vessel rim. On many vessels, and especially small ones, they are the only decorative element. In other cases they may be accompanied by body stripes, design friezes, or both.

*Body stripes* are individual encircling stripes, or more often clusters of stripes, located anywhere below the vessel rim. On Meroitic pots they rarely occur singly; they are either accompanied by rim stripes or else repeated at rather widely spaced intervals over the upper portion of the vessel. Sometimes they serve as framing bands for design friezes.

*Design friezes* are rather broad bands, normally framed by double lines, which contain either a continuous band of design or else a repetition or alternation of design elements. The designs may be either linear or *solid* (i.e. drawn in outline); in the latter case they are frequently filled in with a second decorative colour. Larger Meroitic pots and jars often have two, and occasionally even three, different design friezes, but the same frieze never appears more than once on the same vessel. Where two or more friezes occur, they may either run tangentially or be separated by plain body stripes, but they are never separated by undecorated spaces.

A final, rather aberrant category of Meroitic pottery decoration is rim ticking (fig. 9, 1-4). This normally consists of isolated groups of spots or *ticks* placed at regular intervals (usually quarters or thirds) around the vessel rim. Occasional specimens have continuous ticking all around the rim. This type of decoration appears only at the very end of the Meroitic period, foreshadowing the X-Group style, and is confined to vessels which are not otherwise decorated. It is also confined to forms with fairly wide rims.

To recapitulate briefly, Meroitic pottery decoration consists very largely of continuous, concentric design bands, occurring either singly or in combination. The number and variety of combinations is seemingly endless; in fact, it is quite rare to find two vessels with exactly the same decorative combination. On the other hand, the number of basic motifs employed is surprisingly limited. Hence the only feasible way to deal with the total complex of Meroitic pottery decoration is to reduce it to its recurring components, and to discuss and illustrate these in the isolate. This system of analysis is followed in succeeding paragraphs and in the style illustrations (figs. 9-15). Each basic motif is shown in a few representative variations. Since all design bands consist of continuous, repeating, or alternating elements, the complete band can in most cases be represented by a fairly short section. 'Live' examples of designs, in the combinations in which they actually occur on specific pots, may be seen in the form illustrations (figs. 1-8) and in many of the published corpora of Meroitic pottery.26

26 Esp. (6), pls. xli–lii and (72), pls. 41–102. The coloured plates (pls. 41–52) in the latter volume are especially valuable.
a. **White Slipped.** No painted decoration except occasional rim ticking (FIG. 9, 1) or, very rarely, a solid red rim band. This type of decoration is not common until near the end of the Meroitic period, when it is characteristic of the degenerate Ware IIB (see Wares, below). It is largely confined to small vessels. Examples of this style may be seen in Form illustrations B2, C16, E4, F3, and G2 herein.

b. **Red Slipped.** No painted decoration except occasional rim ticking (FIG. 9, 2–4) or, very rarely, a plain white rim stripe. This is the normal style for large wheel-made bottles and jars, and is also found in some finer vessels. All the Meroitic ware groups include one or more wares which are regularly decorated in this style. Examples may be seen in a very large number of the accompanying Form illustrations (all vessels which are shown entirely shaded in grey).

c. **Red-and-White.** Vessels with a red slipped exterior and a white slipped interior; no painted decoration except occasional rim ticking (FIG. 9, 2–4). The red exterior slip usually extends a short distance below the rim on the interior as well. This decorative style is unique to later Meroitic times and is common in Wares IID and IIIB. Forms C5 and C7 are nearly always decorated in Style ab.

d. **Smudged.** A variant of Style b in which the slip turns dark brown or dull black as a result of heavy carbonization in firing. It is found only in hand-made domestic wares, notably VB and VD, and is always accompanied by burnishing.

e. **Fine Striped** (FIG. 9, 5–8). Painted decoration is confined to body bands consisting of one, two, or three fine black stripes; very rarely there is also a black rim stripe. In some small vessels the painted stripes are interspersed with bands of stamped decoration (FIG. 9, 29–36). Style d represents the final decay of the Classic Meroitic tradition (cf. Style g), in which the friezes have disappeared and only the framing lines remain. It is found in very late specimens of Ware IA, and is characteristic of Ware IIB. **References:** (6), pls. xxvii, lxviii(e), xlv: 1, xlvi: 8, li: 10, 11, 13; (12), pls. 88: 8683, 89: 8687, 93: 8726; form illustrations A3, A6, A10, A16, C1, and E8 herein.

f. **Special Striped** (FIG. 9, 9–12). Bold black stripes in combination with much finer white stripes, on a red slip. Decoration normally consists of two or more widely spaced body bands, of which one always encircles the vessel neck. There is no rim stripe. The designation of this style as 'special' derives from the fact that it is associated only with Ware IIF, which is aberrant in other respects as well (see Wares, below). **References:** (6), pls. xvi, iii(d), ii(e), xvii, iv(a), xx, xvii(e), xxi, xxiv, xxvii, lxviii(f), xlvi: 6, 7; form illustrations H7 and K1 herein.

f. **Bold Striped** (FIG. 9, 13–20). This style is commonly found on white slipped wares (IA and IIA), and comprises combinations of very wide red stripes and narrower but still bold black stripes. On red slipped wares (IIE and IIIG) the positions of red and white are reversed. The first example shown (FIG. 9, 13) is the nearly invariable rim band in this style, and is often the only decorative element. In other cases it is accompanied by body stripes which may be in any of the other patterns shown (FIG. 9, 14–20), but are never the same as the rim stripe. (17) is the most common body stripe. On some small vessels there are stamped bands (FIG. 9, 29–36) in place of the painted body stripes, or the painted stripes alternate with stamped bands (e.g. 34). Style f is both a companion and a successor to the Classic Meroitic Style g; it seems to have gradually

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27 See Colour, below, for a discussion of the actual variations in shade which are encompassed under the general designations 'white', 'red', and 'black'.

28 All of the vessels decorated in this style are long-necked jars of rather unusual design. See Ware IIF, below.
replaced the more elaborate Classic style in late Meroitic times. References: (4), pl. 24a: 2, 3, 11, 13; (6), pl. xviii, ix(c), xxix, lxix(a), lxix(f), lxxii(c), lxxiii(c), xxx, lxxvi(b), li: 9, 12; (12), pl. 73: 8296, 84: 8631, 86: 8652, 8660, 87: 8661, 89: 8864, 895; form illustrations A5, A11, C2, C17, and H2 herein.

g. Classic Meroitic (Figs. 10–12). This is the famous and much-illustrated Meroitic style. Its basic components are elaborate design friezes of stylized floral and faunal patterns, as well as a wide variety of rectilinear and curvilinear geometric motifs. Designs are commonly outlined in black, and have alternating or balanced ‘filling’ in black and red (or in black and white in the case of red slipped wares). Friezes are nearly always framed by double lines. Where two or more friezes occur on the same vessel they are never in the same pattern.

Lotus flowers (Fig. 10, 1–6) may be said to epitomize the Classic Meroitic style. They are usually executed in very elaborate patterns, nearly always trichrome, and occur in a seemingly endless number of mutations. The sa, or Egyptian tie, often accompanies the lotus flower (4, 6). It also occurs in association with other motifs and as an independent motif. Trefoils (7–12), although markedly similar to the lotus flower, are said to be Greek rather than Egyptian in origin. Other, probably related floral patterns consist of simple leaves (13–15) and blossoms (16). The ankh figure (18–21) is very common, especially in conjunction with floral patterns. Vine wreath designs (Fig. 11, 22–27) are clearly of Graeco-Roman origin, although they are more highly developed in native Meroitic pottery than in the contemporary wares of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (i.e., in Style h). Crescents (28–30) and other festoon patterns (31–36) occur in numerous variants. (37) is a very common shoulder band on Meroitic bottles, and is usually found in clusters of two or three tangent bands. (38–42) are variations on the same theme. Geometric designs (Fig. 12, 43–54) very commonly involve diagonal cross-hatching in one form or another (e.g., 44–51). Small spots superimposed upon the intersections of the lines (43–46, 48–51) are a very characteristic feature, as is the filling of triangular and rectangular spaces in the same or alternate colours (49–52). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs (55–62) are probably the most celebrated feature of Meroitic pottery decoration, but they are in fact not very common. The ostrich (57) and the crocodile (58) are the most common zoomorphs. Among the human forms the facial scarification seen in (61) is of considerable ethnological interest. Style g also includes a few floral and spoked designs (not illustrated) which are found on the interiors of small bowls of Form G1. One unusual specimen depicts an amphora with its mud seal in place. Examples of interior decoration in Style g may be seen in (6), pl. li: 5–9 and (12), pl. 98.

Style g undoubtedly represents the climax of Meroitic pottery development, and is associated with most of the finest and best-finished wares. It is characteristic especially of Ware IA, and to a lesser extent of Wares IIA, IIE, IIIA, and IIG. References: (2), pl. 30–31; (4), pl. 24a: 4; (5), pl. xlvii–li; (6), pl. xlvi: 3, 5, 7–9, xlvi: 2–7, 9, 11–13, xlviii: 1–4, xlvii, xlix: 19–22, 1, li: 1–9, lii: (6), pl. 24, 26–30; (11), figs. 12, 15: 36–38; (12), pl. 41–89, 91–98; form illustrations A1, C3, D8, E1, E13, H3, H4, H6, K3, and K4 herein.

fg. Striped Classic. This style combines the design friezes of Style g with the rim stripe and body stripes of Style f. In practice, any vessel in Style g could be converted to Style fg merely by adding a broad red stripe to the rim and by filling with red the spaces within the parallel lines which frame the design frieze on either side. However, Styles g and fg do not have exactly the same distribution in time, and are therefore worth distinguishing in spite of the relatively trivial difference between them. Style fg may

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well have originated as early as Style g, but it did not become the decorative norm until the whole tradition of Meroitic pottery decoration was on the decline. Hence it commonly employs only the simpler and more stylized friezes of Style g, and especially the rectilinear geometric patterns (Fig. 12, 49–54). It is uncommon in Ware IA, but highly developed in Ware IIA and especially in Form C8—almost the last Meroitic vessel form which continued to be elaborately decorated. Style fg represents, of course, the transitional step from Classic Style g to the highly simplified Style f. References: (4), pls. 24a: 3, 11, 13; (6), pls. xxv, lii(o), xxvii, lx, xxix, lxxi(e), lxxiii(a), xxx, lxxv(e), xl: 2, 4,6–13, pls. xli: 10, 14, li: 15; (8), pls. 25–6; (72), pls. 42: 8174, 46: 8254, 49: 8168, 8209, 50: 8436, 8453, 51: 8468, 58: 8195, 8198, 62: 8219; form illustrations A12, A13, C8, G3, H1, and H5 herein.

h. Graeco-Roman (Fig. 13). This style belongs to Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, and is found in Nubia only in the imported Wares IVD and IVE, which became common at the end of the Meroitic period. It is essentially bichrome, consisting of simple bands executed in dull black on a pink or light red slip. Very rarely white filling occurs within the designs. The only decorative elements are plain stripes (Fig. 13, 1–3) and variations on the vine-wreath theme (4–10), most of which are far more casual and stylized than the vine-wreath of contemporary Meroitic pottery (Fig. 11, 22–27). (4) shows the design at its fullest development, while (5–10) illustrate successive stages of atrophy. In this process it is possible to see clearly the genesis of the subsequent X-Group ‘blob’ style. References: (4), pl. 24a: 15, 16; (6), pls. xvii, iv(e–g), y(d), xviii, viii(a–c), viii(e), viii(g), viii(i), ix(a), x(a–c), xx, xx(c–d), xxi, xxxiii(a–c), xxi, xli(a), xxii, xliii(e), xxv, li(c), li(e–j), li(m–n), li(p–q), li(s), xxvi, lii(a), liii(a), xxvii, lixiv(g), lixiv(i), xxx, lixiv(b), xlv: 1; (8), pl. 31; (72), pls. 48: 8313, 52:8897, 54: 8167, 57: 8187, 67: 8248, 75, 90: 8698–8702; form illustrations A14, E15, G1, K5, and K6 herein.

j. Domestic (Fig. 14). Decoration found only on coarse hand-made domestic pottery of Ware VE. It consists of simple linear patterns in black or brown superimposed on a broad white background stripe, and is found both on red slipped and on unslipped vessels. Most pots have only a single design band located adjacent to the rim or immediately below it. Occasional specimens also have isolated decorative elements on the body e.g. K2, Fig. 8). Style j is clearly derived from Style g, but is very much simplified. It is also consistently cruder in execution as a result of being painted without the aid of the wheel.22 Painted designs on women’s hand-made pottery do not appear until the very end of the Meroitic period; perhaps, as in late Christian times, they are to be associated with a corresponding decline in the production of decorated wheel-made pottery by men. Reference: form illustration K2 herein.

x. Unslipped. This is not, of course, a ‘style’ in any positive sense. Nevertheless it is one of the recurrent norms of surface appearance in Meroitic pottery. Wares which are consistently unslipped, and therefore exhibit the native colour of the fabric on the surface, are IIH and VA. Wares IVC and VC may also be unslipped in some cases, and Wares IVA and VE often have unslipped areas.

Relief Decoration (Fig. 15). The decoration of pottery by manipulation of the surface contour is a much older tradition than painting. It is generally found in hand-made pottery, and tends to give way to painted decoration when the potter’s wheel is introduced. Hence it is not a highly developed feature of Meroitic pottery, and is

31 See Kush x, p. 252, Style d.
32 Hence the brush rather than the vessel must be moved in applying horizontal painted lines.
found chiefly in the hand-made wares of Group V. However, some wheel-made wares are also regularly decorated in relief.

Stamped design bands, comprising rows of repeated impressions made by a small stamp, are found occasionally in Wares IA and IIA (Fig. 9, 29–36). They are nearly always accompanied by painted stripes, and have been considered as aspects of Styles d and f in preceding pages. The uraeus figure (Fig. 9, 34–35), which is not a common painted motif, occurs in many variants as a stamp. 34

Imported Ware IVC is decorated with rather casual incised designs which are usually oriented vertically on the vessel body (Fig. 15, 1–4 and Form illustrations E10 and E14). Hand-made Ware VGC is also decorated with incised designs, generally very crudely executed and forming a single band around the vessel rim or neck (Fig. 15, 5–16 and Form illustration D7). Many hand-made pots and jars in Ware Group V also have incised rim ticking (cf. Form illustrations C12, H8, and J4).

Ware VD is the only Meroitic pottery ware in which a really well developed tradition of relief decoration is found (Fig. 15, 17–24). Decoration consists of both vertical and horizontal elements. Designs are executed by incising or very fine comb pricking, or often a combination of both. They are generally quite carefully executed and are filled with white pigment, thus producing a negative design against a burnished black background. The technique is clearly a survival from pre-Pharaonic days, 35 although the decorative elements are often typically Meroitic, and related to Style g. Examples of this technique may be seen in (6), pls. xli–xliv and (12), pls. 101–102.

A special class of relief decoration is seen in the imitation barbotine ware, IVB. Here the relief decoration is positive rather than negative, and consists of small lumps and ridges of pigment applied to the vessel exterior in various patterns. True barbotine ware was a product of Roman Europe, 36 but the specimens imported into Nubia are nearly all rather inferior Egyptian copies. An example is shown in Form illustration E2; numerous others may be seen in (6), pl. xlix and (12), pls. 90 and 100.

33 Cf. (8), p. 37.
34 For other illustrations of stamped decoration see (5), pls. xlviii, xlix; (6), pl. li, 10–13; (8), pl. 29, 3; (12), pls. 87–90.
35 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, x, p. 102.
36 See (2), 1, p. 513.
Fig. 9. MISCELLANEOUS STRIPED STYLES
Fig. 11. STYLE q (cont.)
Fig. 12. STYLE 8 (cont.)
Fig. 13. STYLE h

Fig. 14. STYLE j

151
Fig. 75. MISCELLANEOUS RELIEF DECORATION

152
Colour

The surface colour or colours found in Meroitic pottery are not determined by the fabric, except in the small handful of wares which are unslipped. Neither are they determined by decorative style, for the same decoration may occur in quite different combinations of colours in different wares. On the contrary, colour must in most cases be treated as an independently variable pottery characteristic—one which is deliberately though not fully controlled by the maker of the vessel. Surface colour is, in fact, the least perfectly regulated of pottery traits, for it is strongly influenced by the chemical properties of the clays and pigments employed, as well as by the conditions of firing. As a result groups of pots and even individual vessels may exhibit irregularities of colour which were quite unintended by the maker. On the same pot the slip may shade from dead white to light orange, and the decorative colour correspondingly from red-brown to black. Hence the study of colour in pottery must begin with the recognition of variations which appear to be regular and significant, as opposed to variations which appear to be random and accidental.

The most essential fact which is manifest in Meroitic painted pottery is that the makers, like X-Group and Christian potters, had only three chemically distinct pigments at their command, which were used to produce varying shades of black, red, and white. The actual range of hues in each of the basic ‘colours’ is considerable, depending upon the density of the pigment and the firing temperature and atmosphere. These conditions could be controlled to some extent by the Meroitic potters to produce variations in colour as between one pottery ware and another, but they could not be controlled to produce variations in the same colour on a single vessel, or in a batch of vessels fired at the same time. Hence no individual Meroitic pot ever exhibits more than three decorative colours, and none ever exhibits more than one shade of the same colour except as a result of firing accidents.

The effective result of these limiting conditions is that all Meroitic painted pottery can be analysed in terms of combinations of black and/or red and/or white. (Red is represented by grey in the accompanying Form and Style illustrations.) This system of notation is logically sufficient even though it is not accurate aesthetically. The actual hues involved may vary from dead white to light orange in the case of ‘white’, from red-orange to dark rust-colour in the case of ‘red’, and from medium brown to light purple in the case of ‘black’.

Colour variability in Meroitic wheel-made pottery is further limited by the fact that the three basic colours exhibit a fixed, complementary relationship. Where a single colour is employed, it is always either a red or a white slip. Where two colours occur, they are either a red or a white slip plus a black painted

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37 See Kush x, pp. 251-2.
38 These pigments have not been analysed chemically, but they are very probably manganese oxide, haematite, and kaolin respectively.
design, or else a red and a white slip together (Style ab). Where all three colours occur in combination, the slip is either red or white, the primary decoration is in black, and the third colour (red or white) is a subsidiary decorative colour employed either as ‘filling’ within the design or else as a background band upon which the design is superimposed.

In sum, all Meroitic painted wheel-made pottery can be classified in terms of seven regular colour combinations:

B+R/W. Black primary decoration, red subsidiary decoration on a white slip. Styles d(±), g(±), fg(±); Wares IA(+), IIA(+), IIIA(+).

B/W. Black decoration on a white slip. Styles d(±), g(±), h(—); Wares IA(+), IIA(—), IIB, IIC(+), IVD(—).

W. White slip without decoration. Style a(±); Wares IA(—), IC(+), IIA(—), IIB(+), IID(—), IVA(—), VB.

R+W. Red exterior slip, white interior slip, no decoration. Style ab(+); Wares IID(+), IIIB(+).

R. Red slip without decoration. Style b(±); Wares IB(+), IID(+), IIG(+), IIIB(+), IID(—), IVA(+), IVC(+), VB(+), VC(+).

B/R. Black decoration on a red slip. Styles g(—), h(+); Wares IIE, IIIC, IID(—), IVD(+), IVE(+).

B+W/R. Black primary decoration, white subsidiary decoration, on a red slip. Styles e(+), f(—), g, fg, h(—), j(±); Wares IIE(+), IIF(+), IIC(+), IVD(—), IVE(—), VE.

The hand-made wares in Group V fit partly but not entirely into the above seven categories. Some have smudged (i.e. black or brown) surfaces, and others are wholly or partly unslipted. Consequently it is necessary to introduce four additional categories to cover the colour combinations found in Ware Group V:

W/B. White decoration on smudged surface (actually white pigment filling in relief designs). Ware VD(+).

B. Smudged surfaces without painted decoration. Style c(+); Wares VB, VC.

B+W/x. Black primary decoration, white subsidiary decoration, on unslipted brown surface. Style j(+); Ware VE(+).

x. Unslipped, undecorated surfaces, usually light brown or red-brown. Style x(+); Wares IIH(+), VA(+), VC.

It will be noted that since decoration is not consistent in some pottery wares, these wares are listed under more than one colour combination.

Surface Treatment

Both the surface texture and the surface contour of pottery vessels are subject to a wide range of variations which do not affect the over-all shape, colour, or design. Such variations result in part from the inherent properties of the raw materials employed, in part from the conditions of manufacture, and in
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

part from a number of deliberate techniques of surface treatment which may be applied either for functional or for aesthetic purposes. The whole complex of variables is too diverse to be susceptible to rigorous classification, but the most common surface conditions encountered in Meroitic pottery may be briefly enumerated here.

An initial distinction must be made between variations in surface texture and variations in surface contour. The textures commonly found in Meroitic pottery may be classified as burnished, polished, matte, gritty, and rough.

Burnished, or pebble polished, surfaces result from vigorous rubbing of the vessel with a small stone before firing. Burnishing compacts both the slip and the paste, increasing hardness and water resistance. The process leaves quite conspicuous striation marks which are the distinguishing feature of burnished pottery. On wheel-made vessels the marks are always horizontal or concentric, but on many hand-made wares, especially in deep vessel forms, they are often vertical.

Burnishing is a peculiarity of Meroitic pottery which is not found in contemporary imported wares or in any later Nubian wares until the end of the Christian period. It is the regular characteristic which distinguishes all the wares of Group III from those of Group II, and it is also common to all of the slipped hand-made wares of Group V.

Polished surfaces are usually rubbed with a cloth or other soft material to produce a uniform gloss over the whole vessel. This technique, unlike burnishing, does not noticeably compact the vessel walls and does not leave striation marks. It is found chiefly in fairly small vessels. For the most part, polishing does not appear to be a significant variable in Meroitic pottery; most of the slipped wares which are not burnished may be either polished or matte.\(^{39}\) An exception is Ware IIF, which is nearly always well polished but is never burnished.

Matte surfaces are the normal condition encountered in slipped pottery which is neither burnished nor polished. In Meroitic pottery they seem to alternate quite freely with polished surfaces.

Gritty or slightly abrasive surfaces occur in vessels of fairly fine paste when the native texture of the paste is tangible on the surface. This condition obtains in unslipped pottery and also in wares with a very thin slip or wash, like most of those in Group IV. Gritty surfaces are not characteristic of any of the native Meroitic slipped wares, but they are occasionally encountered in individual vessels.

Rough surfaces are found only in unslipped vessels of very coarse paste. In Meroitic pottery they are characteristic of the hand-made wares in Group V.

The varieties of surface contour which are common in Meroitic pottery may be described as level, faceted, ribbed, scored, and bumpy. (This classification of course omits relief decoration, which has been dealt with previously as an aspect of Style.)

Level surfaces are surfaces with no visible irregularity of contour. They are the normal condition in well finished wheel-made pottery.

\(^{39}\) The presence or absence of polish is often difficult to ascertain, since it is quite readily destroyed by prolonged weathering or soaking.
Faceted surfaces are an incidental effect of mass production, and result from casual scraping of the under surface of the vessel. Instead of being uniformly rounded, the surface is divided into a series of concentric, tangent planes separated by slight angles. This condition is encountered only in small vessels, and is particularly characteristic of Ware IVA.

Ribbed surfaces exhibit a regular alternation of concentric ridges and hollows, usually closely and uniformly spaced. They may result either from vessel walls of fluctuating thickness, or from undulating walls of uniform thickness. In either case they are a structural feature imparted in the process of forming the vessel on the wheel, and are intended to strengthen the walls. In Meroitic pottery they seem to be a rather late innovation, appearing in the larger utility vessels in Wares IIB, IIG, and IIH, and in the imported Wares IVA and IVC. Ribbing in Meroitic pottery is always very fine and gently rounded; it lacks the bold profile and high relief which developed in some X-Group and Early Christian wares.40

Scored surfaces have fine, incised corrugation applied with a sharp pointed instrument. Scoring, unlike ribbing, is applied after vessel shaping is complete, and has no structural importance. In Meroitic pottery it is found only in imported wares of Group IV. In lekythoi of Ware IVC (Forms E10 and E14) it was used to obliterate the ‘seam’ which resulted when separately turned halves of the vessel were joined. In handled pitchers and amphorae (Forms F3, G1, and G2), scored lines coincide with the lower attachment of the handles, and may have served to assist the potter in placing the handles symmetrically.

Bumpy surfaces are an unintentional characteristic of coarse hand-made pottery. They are common in Ware VA and in unslipped and unburnished vessels of Wares VC and VE.

Wares

Preceding paragraphs have dealt independently with fabric, form, style, colour, and surface. It is necessary now to consider these properties collectively, in the regular combinations in which they occur in Meroitic pottery. Such combinations are designated as wares, and constitute the ultimate units of pottery classification.

Twenty-five wares have been definitely or tentatively identified from the study of existing collections of Meroitic pottery. These have been divided on the basis of fabric into five classes or ware groups: three groups of native41 wheel-made wares, one group of imported Egyptian wheel-made wares, and one group of native hand-made wares. Each ware group includes from three to eight wares, which may be either contemporaneous, ‘companion’ wares or wares which were successive in time.42

The definitive characteristics of each ware are tabulated in FIG. 16. A few words of additional description will suffice here.

40 See Kush x, pp. 245 and 275, Wares 21–24. 41 i.e. genuinely Meroitic.
42 The order of enumeration of the wares may appear somewhat illogical, since, unlike the style descriptions, it proceeds from more elaborately to less elaborately decorated wares. This procedure has been followed because it approximates the actual course of chronological development, and to that extent simplifies the discussion of historical relationships.
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

GROUP I. MEROITIC FINE WARES

The very fine, hard wares of Fabric I which occur only in small vessels with very thin walls, notably cups and lekythoi. The surfaces are generally level and matte or polished, not burnished.

IA. Fine Decorated. Slip white to pale yellow, buff, tan, or pink; normally decorated in black with or without red filling, chiefly in Style g. Occasional stamped bands. This is the ware of the celebrated Meroitic decorated cups. References: (2), Types W.XXVIIb, XXX, XXXIIb–c, XXXV; pls. 30, 31c, 31d, 31h–l; (4), pl. 24a: 7; (5), pp. 43–4; pls. lxi–lii; (6), Types LXIXa, LXXI (part); LXXIIIa, LXXIVc, LXXVb; pls. lxlvi: 4, 5, 8–13, lxxv: 20–21, li: 1–16; (7), pl. lxxxiv; c; (8), Ware (d) (part); pls. 24, 25, 27; (11), Types F.F.Db, Db(?); fig. 12; (12), Ware (g) (part); pls. 43: 8310, 8451; 50–2; 71: 8278; 72: 8291; 78: 8457, 8479; 80–9; 91–5; form illustrations A1, A6, A10–13, A16, C1, C3, E1, E3–4, E7, E9, E13, and H3 herein.

IB. Fine Red. An uncommon, probably late mutation of Ware IA which has a blood-red slip without painted decoration, except for a very rare white rim band. The slip is often sufficiently thin so that the light fabric colour shows through, and brush strokes are conspicuous. Occasionally interiors are slipped white. The only known examples are cups (Forms A1, A2, A9), footed bowls (C14), and lamps (not illustrated) References: (4), pl. 24a: 17; (6), Type LXXI (part); (11), Type R.S.Db; fig. 13, 8–9; (12), Ware (g) (part); pl. 85: 8646, 8647; form illustrations A2 and A9 herein.

IC. Pale Pink. A late, degenerate mutation of Ware IA; apparently an imitation of imported Ware IVA. The slip is a pale pink, achieved in part by underfiring. The fabric, although fine, is soft and flaky. There is no painted decoration. This ware is very uncommon and probably has no general significance. References: (2), Types W.XXVIb(?), XXXIIId; form illustration B2 herein.

GROUP II. MEROITIC UTILITY WARES

The common wheel-made household wares of Meroitic times, having Fabric II. The group includes vessels of all sizes and colours, generally with fairly thick walls. Surfaces are normally matte, occasionally gritty or polished, but not burnished. Group II is in part a companion and in part a successor to Ware Group I.

IIA. Decorated White. Slip normally cream, occasionally buff, tan, or pale orange. Decoration usually black with red filling; Styles f and g. Occasional stamped bands. Forms mostly larger cups (A5), bowls (C8), bottles (H6), and jars (K4)—larger counterparts of vessels in Ware IA. References: (4), pl. lxvi, e; (2), Type W.XXXIId; pls. 31b; (4), pl. 24a: 3–4, 11, 13, 17–19; (5), pl. 45; pls. li; (6), Types XIVm, XXXVIII, LIX, LXXIb, LXXIc (part), LXXIIIb, LXXVc, LXXVI; pls. lxlvi, 1, lxxvii: 2–3, lxxviii: 1–5; (7), pl. lxxxiv(e); (8), Ware (f); pls. 23: 1, 5, 16, 24: 10–11; 26; 30; (11), Type F.R.W; figs. 13: 10; 15: 36–8; (12), Type (f); pls. 42: 8174, 8202; 43: 8193, 8287; 44: 8165, 8173, 8249; 45: 8221; 46–7; 49, etc.; form illustrations A5, A11, C2, C6, C17, G3, H1–2, and H4–6 herein.

IIB. Soft White. A degenerate successor to Ware IIA which is found in X-Group as well as Meroitic sites. The paste is generally soft and the vessels poorly finished. Surfaces in larger vessels are nearly always finely ribbed. Cups sometimes have a fine scored line below the rim. The slip is cream coloured, rather thin, and sometimes does not cover the base of the vessel. Decoration is uncommon and is confined to simple black stripes, Style d. Ware IIB is used chiefly for rather heavy pitchers (F3), bottles (H6), and small amphorae (G2); also some cups and lekythoi. Like other pottery of the very late Meroitic period (cf. Wares IVA, IVC), these vessels are often characterized by exaggerated ring bases. The closest affinities of Ware IIB are with Ware IIH, from which it is distinguished only by its thin and casually
applied white slip. References: (1), pls. xlvi, d; (2), Type W.XLIIB-c; pl. 31, m; (3), Ware B, Ware H (part); (4), pls. 24a: 1–2, 24b: 8; (6), Types LIIB-c; pl. xlvi: 8; (8), pl. 23: 2, 12, 15, 17; (12), pls. 88: 8683; 89: 8687; 93: 8726; form illustrations A3, E8, F3, and G2 herein.

IIG. Heavy Decorated Orange. A very uncommon ware of uncertain distribution and significance. The only known specimens are pitchers and jars of essentially triangular profile (e.g. Form F1) and with extremely heavy walls. The slip is a pale medium orange, decorated in dull black. The decorative style is recognizably Meroitic, but does not correspond exactly to any of those described here (see Form illustration F1). It is casual and sometimes rather amorphous, suggesting Style J more nearly than any style found on wheel-made pottery. In view of its scarcity and aberrant characteristics this ware may well be an import, although the fabric is not noticeably distinct from other wares in Group II. References: (2), Type W.XVIIIb; (6), Types XLIIE-f; form illustration F1 herein.

IID. Red-and-White. A plain ware which has either an all red slip, a red exterior and a white interior, or, rather uncommonly, an all white slip. Decoration is confined to occasional rim ticking or rim stripes. Forms are mostly bowls, especially C5–7 and C14–20. These forms became abundant at the end of the Meroitic period, and perhaps largely replaced the decorated cups of Ware IA. Although Ware IID is a native Meroitic product, its inspiration undoubtedly came from imported Ware IV. It represents an intermediate step in the transition from the Classic Meroitic to the Classic X-Group tradition. References: (2), Types W.XXIV, XLIIf; (4), pls. 24a: 21; 24b: 11; (6), Types LXI (part), LXIII (part), LXXI (part), LXXIII; (8), pl. 23: 7, 10; (12), Types F.R.W. (part), R-W.W. (part); figs. 13: 13; 14: 17–29; 15: 39; 16: 40–4; form illustrations C5–6, C10–11, C14, C16, and C18–20 herein.

IIE. Decorated Red. Slip dark red or red-brown, normally decorated in dull black or black and white, Styles f, g(+), and fg. Some specimens are undecorated. Used mostly for fairly large bottles and jars (H2, H6, K3). This ware is rather uncommon, as the majority of large Meroitic vessels are burnished and hence fall into Ware Group III. References: (6), Types VIIIf, f; h; (8), Ware (b); (12), pls. 41: 8153, 8183, 8192, 8257; 42: 8293; 44: 8172; 45: 8156, 8157, etc.; form illustration K3 herein.

IIF. Special Striped Red. A rather uncommon ware which exhibits several unique features. The fabric is generally similar to that of the other wares in Group II, but is consistently fine and hard. The surfaces are nearly always highly polished but not burnished. The slip is medium to dark red, always decorated with black and white stripes in a pattern (Style e) unique to this ware. The only known forms are long-necked bottle and jars (H7, K1, K2) which are likewise not found in other wheel-made43 wares. In all technological respects Ware IIF is notably superior to the norms of Ware Group II, and suggests the specialized product of a single centre of manufacture. References: (2), Types W.XXc, XXIf; (6), Types IIb, IIIc, IVb, XIf; pl. xlvi: 6–7; form illustrations H7 and K1 herein.

IIG. Red-Orange. A plain ware of good quality, distinguished by hard, rather thick vessel walls and polished, gently ribbed surfaces. The slip is medium to dark red-orange; painted decoration is confined to black and white rim ticking. Examples of this ware have been found among Meroitic collections in the Wadi Halfa and Khartoum Museums, but the identification seems highly questionable. Typologically Ware IIG appears intermediate between the X-Group and Early Christian traditions rather than between the Meroitic and X-Group. References: (3) Ware I(?); form illustrations C4 and F2 herein.

43 Form K2 (fig. 8) is normally found only in Ware IIF, but the specimen illustrated is a hand-made copy in Ware VE.

158
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

IIIH. Unslipped utility. A coarse wheel-made ware used chiefly for *quadus* (J8) and a few other utility vessels. The unslipped surfaces are light brown to red-brown, and are always finely ribbed.\(^4^4\) Ware IID is a white-slipped variant. References: (3), Ware G; (4), pl. 24a: 11; (6), Types Ia–c, VIa–d, XXVa; (12), Ware (c); form illustrations D4, J3, and J8 herein.

GROUP III. MEROITIC BURNISHED UTILITY WARES

The wares in this group are consistently differentiated from those in Ware Group II only by their burnished surfaces, darker and more porous fabric, and somewhat thinner walls. These differences are all associated with the burnishing technique, which was probably applied or not applied in many cases as a matter of individual preference. There is not, however, a one-to-one correspondence between the wares in Group III and those in Group II. Several wares in Group II were never burnished, and hence have no counterparts in Group III, while one ware (IID) in Group III was always burnished and has no un-burnished counterpart.

The burnishing technique markedly declined and finally disappeared at the end of the Meroitic period, so that there is a chronological as well as a technological basis for differentiating Ware Groups II and III. Group III would appear to represent the earlier norm, which was gradually but perhaps not entirely supplanted by Group II. Hence burnishing is found regularly in conjunction with the Classic Meroitic Style g, much less often with Style fg, and very rarely with late Styles f and d. It should also be noted that burnishing was applied most regularly to large vessels, and consequently nearly all the forms found in Ware Group III are large bottles, pots, and jars.

IIIA. Burnished Decorated White. Counterpart of Ware IIA, decorated in Styles g and fg(–). Much less common than Ware IIA. Principal vessel forms H4, H6, and K4. References: (2), Type W.XXI; (6), Type XXIa; pl. xlvi: 15; (8), Ware (c); pl. 23: 3; (12), pl. 41: 8166; 44: 8262; 48: 8231; 55: 8178, 8180; 57: 8188; 58: 8197; 59: 8199; 62: 8219, etc.; form illustration K4 herein.

IIIB. Burnished Red-and-White. Differentiated from Ware IID only by burnishing. However, this ware also includes a very large number of plain red bottles (Form H6) which do not occur in Ware IID. All other forms are rather uncommon. References: (2), Types W.XXb, XXe (part); (6), Types VIIa–c, e, g, XIVb, e–l, LXI (part), LXIII (part), LXXI (part); (8), Ware (e) (part); pl. 23: 4; (12), Types F.R.W (part), R.B.W (part); figs. 13: 11–12, 14–15; 15: 39; 16: 40–4; (12), Ware (e) (part); pl. 85: 8649; form illustration C7 herein.

IIIC. Burnished Decorated Red. Burnished counterpart of Ware IIE, identical in all other respects but somewhat more common. References: (2), Types W.XXb, XXe (part); (6), Types VIIId, f, XIVe, j; pl. xliv: 7, xlvi: 2, 13–14; (8), Ware (e) (part); pl. 28; (12), Ware (e) (part); pl. 42: 8171, 8177; 43: 8150; 53: 8152; 54: 8163; 56: 8185, etc.

IID. Heavy Red Jars. A ware which is confined to enormous red jars of Form K4. The paste is very porous and medium brown to grey in colour. Like many thick-walled, abundantly levigated wares it is apt to have an uneven, ‘jigsaw’ fracture. The slip is very dark red, decorated with simple, broad black bands just below the base of the neck (FIG. 9, 21–24). These vessels are very common in Meroitic houses, where they are usually found broken in half and used as stoves. They have not been previously described or illustrated.

\(^4^4\) This ware is the same as X-Group Brown Utility Ware 21 (Kush x, p. 275).
GROUP IV. IMPORTED GRAECO-ROMAN WARES

These wares are unmistakably distinct from native Meroitic pottery in most respects. They are characterized by a very hard pink fabric (Fabric IV), gritty surfaces, angular vessel profiles, thin walls, and very sparse decoration. Beginning in late Meroitic times, they and their successors were imported into Nubia continuously for some 500 years, and profoundly influenced the development of the local wares. They are the prototypes of nearly all X-Group pottery and much Early Christian pottery. The wares in Group IV are themselves for the most part rather inferior Egyptian copies of pottery made in Roman and Byzantine Europe.

IVA. Plain Pink. A plain ware with a very thin wash, normally pink to medium red, occasionally very pale yellow or cream in late specimens. In small bowls and cups the wash sometimes covers only the upper portion of the vessel exterior—perhaps a survival of the New Kingdom decorative tradition. In amphorae and other large vessels the walls may be gently ribbed. Small vessels are commonly faceted. By far the most common single form in this ware is the ring-base amphora G4, which is found abundantly in all Meroitic habitation sites. A wide variety of other forms, most notably footed cups (A13–16), footed bowls (C14–16), lekythoi (E5–7, E10–16), and pots (J1–2, J6–7) seem to be generally late introductions into Nubia. References: (2), Types W.Xb–d, XXVIII, XXIX, XLI; (4), pp. 35–7; pls. 23a (amphorae), 244: 6, 12, 14–16; 248: 1–3, 6–7, 9–10; (6), Types XL VIII–c, La–b, LVI, LXIVa–f, h–k, LXXVIII, LXXXIIIa; (10), p. 344, fig. 327: 7–16, 21, 22, 28, 29; (12), Ware (j); form illustrations A8, A15, B1, C15, E5–6, E11–12, E16, G4, J1–2, and J6–7 herein.

IVB. Imitation Barbotine. A few specimens of true barbotine ware were probably imported into Nubia, but the majority of vessels in this technique (see Relief Decoration, above) are clearly Egyptian imitations of indifferent quality. They are small cups, bowls, and bottles, generally similar to Ware IVA but decorated in raised relief with lumps and ridges of pink or white pigment arranged in various patterns. Ware IVB is very rare in Nubia. References: (2), Type W.XXXXIII; (6), pls. lxxxix: 1–18; (12), Ware (i); pls. 90: 8703–5; 100: 9019; form illustration E2 herein.

IVC. Incised Pink. A degenerate variant of Ware IVA which is often found in X-Group as well as late Meroitic graves. The paste is generally flaky and brittle. The slip is very thin and varies from pale pink or orange to brick red. Vessels are mostly lekythoi and small bottles, consistently poorly made and carelessly finished. As in Ware IIB, they often have exaggeratedly thin, protruding ring bases. Vessel walls are commonly finely ribbed, and lekythoi are scored at the shoulder as well. Most, but not all, vessels have casual incised decoration (FIG. 15, 1–4). References: form illustrations E10 and E14 herein.

IVD. Decorated Pink. Same as Ware IVA, but with painted decoration in Style h. The slip is generally light to medium red or red-orange, occasionally pale yellow or cream in late specimens. Decoration is always in dull black, with very rare, sparing use of white filling. All the vessels in this ware are characterized by rather barrel-shaped bodies; they are either footed cups (A14), lekythoi (E15), amphorae (G1, G4), or large jars (K5–6). References: (2), Type Va; (3), Ware E (part); (4), pp. 35–7; (6), Types VIIa–c, XXXIIb–c, LVIIa, LXIVg, LXXIVb; (8), pl. 31; (12), Ware (j) (part); pls. 48: 8313; 52: 8897; 54: 8167; 57: 8187; 67: 8248; 75: 90: 8698–8702; form illustrations A14, E15, G1, and K5–6 herein.

IVE. Polished Red. A rare variant of Ware IVD which has a much thicker, darker red slip and polished surfaces. This is the only ware in Group IV which does not have noticeably gritty surface texture. It is commonly though not always decorated in Style J. Its distribution and significance have not been determined. References: (2), Types W.Xa, e–f, XIa–c, XII(i)–e, XXVIIa–e, XXIX; (3), Ware E (part?); (6), Types XXXIIb–c, e.

160
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

GROUP V. MEROITIC DOMESTIC WARES

These are the coarse, hand-made utility wares of Fabric V, produced by Meroitic women. They fall readily into two major groups: narrow-mouthed vessels with thin walls and rough, unslipped surfaces, and wide-mouthed vessels with thick walls and slipped, burnished surfaces. When undecorated, these two variants are designated as Wares VA and VB respectively. Painted vessels (Ware VE) and incised vessels (Ware VC) may be of either type. Collectively, the hand-made wares of Group V belong to a tradition which has persisted in Nubia from Neolithic times to the present.

VA. Domestic Plain. Unslipped, thin-walled utility vessels with rough surfaces, tan to dark brown in colour. Rims commonly have fine incised ticking. Forms are nearly all bag-shaped bottles and jars (H8–9, J4–5, K2). These vessels are found in enormous quantities in all Meroitic house sites. References: (i), fig. 134, XIV; (2), Types W.XXIIb, XXI; (3), Ware A (part); (5), p. 37; pls. xli, xlili-xliv; (6), Types IIIa, XIIa; (12), Type S.C.W (part); fig. 17–18; (12), Ware (a) (part); form illustrations B3, D1, H8–9, and J4–5 herein.

VB. Domestic Burnished. Burnished, thick-walled utility ware with a red, brown, smudged, or (very rarely) dirty cream-coloured slip. Burnishing marks are often vertical, especially on deep vessels. Rims occasionally have incised ticking. The ware occurs in a variety of rather heavy wide-mouthed forms, notably feeder cups (B3–4), bowls (C10, C12–13), and basins (D1–7). It is not common in pots and jars. Ware VB is essentially complementary to VA, and is likewise found abundantly in Meroitic habitation sites. References: (5), p. 38; (6), Types LXXd, LXXVC; (12), Type S.C.W (part); figs. 17–18; (12), Ware (a) (part); form illustrations A7, B4, C9, C12–13, D2–3, D5–6 herein.

VC. Domestic Incised. A variant of either Ware VA or VB which has coarse incised decoration as shown in FIG. 15, 5–16. It is found only in fairly large pots and basins. References: (5), p. 37; pl. xlii: 2, 4–5; (12), Ware (a) (part); form illustration D7 herein.

VD. Burnished Black Incised. A highly specialized hand-made ware which clearly represents a survival of the C-Group and Kerma pottery traditions. It has rather thin vessel walls and glossy black surfaces which are finely decorated with incised and comb-pricked designs (FIG. 15, 17–24). These relief designs are filled with white pigment, as in C-Group pottery. Vessels are mostly small cups (Form A4) and jars (H8–9). Ware VB belongs to Napatan and especially early Meroitic times; it is very rare in late Meroitic sites. References: (1), fig. 134, Type XIV; (2), Types W.XXd, XXXIIa; pl. 30: 0–p; (5), p. 38, pl. xlii: 3, xlv; (6), pls. xli-xliv; (7), pl. lxxiv(d); (8), Ware (a) (part); (9), pl. 69; (11), Type Blk.J.W; fig. 16: 45–6; (12), Ware (b) ?; pls. 101–2; form illustration A4 herein.

VE. Domestic Painted. A variant of either Ware VA or VB, distinguished by a painted design in black or reddish brown on a cream-coloured background stripe situated at or near the vessel rim. Decoration is in Style j. Forms are mostly jars (J4–5) and jar covers (not illustrated), but occasionally also footed bowls (C19–20). This ware is quite uncommon and appears at the very close of the Meroitic period. Its development was perhaps a response to the general decline of wheel-made decorated pottery. References: (5), p. 38; (7), pl. lxxiv(f); (8), Ware (a) (part); (12), Type S.C.W (part?); form illustration K2 herein.

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45 Cf. Griffith, LAAA, x, p. 102.
46 Fig. 8, Form K2 shows a specimen with aberrant decoration.
47 See (7), pl. lxxiv, f.
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<th>FORM</th>
<th>DECORATION</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIB</td>
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**Fabric:**
- (n) generally hard
- (s) soft, flaky

**Frequency:**
- (rt) rim ticking only

**Painted Styles:**
- + usual
- - rare

**Explanatory Note:**
- (see text) for further details.
# An Introductory Classification of Meroitic Pottery

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<tr>
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<td>X</td>
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**Notes**

- Colours: black (red) = white (x) = unslipted (rt) = rim ticking only
- * = with or without
- + = and/or
- - = or

MEROITIC POTTERY WARES

163
KUSH

CHRONOLOGY

Chronological analysis of the Meroitic culture is surprisingly difficult. The Meroitic texts have yet to be deciphered, and there is a baffling lack of evolutionary suggestion in the archaeological remains. Although chronological schemes were proposed by Garstang and Dunham, they are based on archaeological evidence which remains largely unpublished. Griffith's chronological ordering of the Meroitic graves at Faras presents a number of difficulties, not the least of which is the fact that all of the grave types except the purely X-Group Type D yielded the same pottery wares. Even the stratification which is so commonly encountered in Meroitic house sites is of little help in the study of culture history, since there is generally little change to be detected between one occupation level and the next. In short, we are left without any sound archaeological or historical foundation for a study of Meroitic pottery development.

On the basis of typology alone, it seems certain that we have, in the Meroitic wares of Lower Nubia, only the later chapters in the full history of Meroitic pottery. We find the tradition at its highest point of development at the very outset of Meroitic occupation in this area, and we can trace quite clearly its subsequent decline and final disappearance. On the other hand, we have no inklng of the earlier steps by which it developed. The situation in regard to Meroitic pottery is thus precisely the reverse of that which obtained until recently in the study of Christian pottery in Lower Nubia, where we could follow clearly the development of the Classic tradition but not its decline.

In the study of Meroitic pottery, however, we have nothing approaching the solid stratigraphic evidence which supported the Christian chronology. In the absence of such evidence we are forced to fall back upon the rather dubious method of typological seriation, or arranging the pottery in what appears to be a logical evolutionary sequence on the basis of internal evidence. The resulting chronological scheme can in a few cases be reinforced by external evidence of association, with Napatan wares on the one hand and with X-Group wares on the other.

Typologically, then, it seems possible to distinguish three phases in the 'decline and fall' of the Meroitic pottery tradition in Lower Nubia, which may conveniently be termed the Classic, Late, and Terminal phases. The salient characteristics of each will be briefly indicated.

Classic. Maximum development of the fine Meroitic decorated wares, notably IA, IIA, IIIA, and IIIC. Most vessels decorated in Style g, commonly in three colours.

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48 LAAA, v, pp. 82–3; LAAA, vi, pp. 7–8; LAAA, vii, pp. 8–10.
49 SNR, xxviii, pp. 9–10. 60 (6), pp. 144–5.
50 There is more than a suggestion that the different Meroitic grave types may reflect differences in socio-economic status rather than historical changes. See (22), pp. 81–4 and KUSH xi, p. 29.
53 See esp. KUSH xi, p. 24; also Crawford and Addison, Abu Geili, p. 10 and pls. x–xi.
55 See KUSH x, pp. 276–86.
56 These designations are intended to apply to Meroitic pottery only, and should not be equated with the cultural periods proposed by Garstang (op. cit.) and Dunham (op. cit.)
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

Footed vessel forms very rare. Burning of surfaces usual in larger vessels. Virtually no imported pottery except amphorae (Form G4) in Ware IVA. Handmade domestic wares common, generally coarse and unpainted. Fancy incised Ware VD present in small quantities.

Late. Beginnings of decline in the native Meroitic tradition, and first influences from imported Graeco-Roman wares in Group IV. Fine wares gradually decline in frequency, replaced by utility wares in Group II. Decoration continues elaborate, but less consistently present than in preceding period. Styles f and fg more common than Classic Style g. Intricate life forms gradually give way to simpler, linear geometric forms. Undecorated red-and-white Style ab appears, along with footed cup and bowl forms with which it is commonly associated. Burning becomes less common; faceting becomes common in small vessels. Various imported wares in Group IV appear, but are not abundant. Local domestic wares continue abundant, occasionally with painted decoration. Ware VD disappears, or is replaced by Ware VC.

Terminal. Rapid decay and disappearance of Meroitic tradition, and increasingly strong influence of imported Graeco-Roman imports (Ware Group IV). Much pottery of this period shows evidence of rapid mass-production: underfiring, poor finish, uneven slipping, and very casual decoration. Fine wares (Group I) largely disappear, replaced by coarse vessels chiefly in Wares IIA, IIB, and IID. Painted decoration becomes increasingly rare, and trichrome decoration virtually disappears. Designs in locally made wares confined to simple stripes, Styles d and f. Footed vessels increasingly common, including pitchers, amphorae, pots and jars as well as cups and bowls. Many are characterized by very thin, hypertrophied ring base. Ribbing of vessel walls common; burning largely disappears from wheel-made wares. Imported Graeco-Roman wares and local imitations of them make up increasingly high percentage of wheel-made pottery. Hand-made wares, especially of the heavy, burnished variety (principally Ware VB) rise to peak of abundance, and are sometimes found with painted decoration (Ware VE).

These three chronological phases, if they are legitimate, reveal an accelerating process of decline in the Meroitic pottery tradition, and a rising influence from Graeco-Roman Egypt. The culmination of this process is seen in the ensuing X-Group period, in which the Meroitic tradition as such has vanished entirely, and the whole corpus of wheel-made pottery consists of Roman Egyptian wares and local derivatives of them. By this time the ubiquitous Graeco-Roman vine wreath motif has itself deteriorated into the familiar X-Group 'blob' pattern.

In addition to the foregoing synthesis of historical development, it may be worthwhile to consider independently the changes which occurred in each of the main characteristics of Meroitic pottery.

Fabric. Among local wheel-made wares (Ware Groups I-III) the use of fine, especially selected clays and temper was confined to Group I. These wares were most common in the Classic period, and became increasingly rare later. By the Terminal period nearly all vessels were made of red-brown Nile mud and tempered chiefly with sand (Fabrics II and III). Abundance of straw levigation declined along with burning. The fabric in some of the late mud wares is soft and flaky as a result of underfiring. Most of these late characteristics persist into X-Group pottery.

Surfaces. Vessel surfaces were most often polished or burnished in the Classic period; less frequently so later. Burnished surfaces largely disappeared from wheel-made pottery in the Terminal period, although continuing in abundance in hand-made pottery. Gritty surfaces were always associated with Ware Group IV, which became
common in the Late period and even more so in the Terminal period. Both faceting and
ribbing are also probably to be associated with the imported Graeco-Roman tradition,
although they are also found in some locally made vessels in the Terminal period.

Forms. Classic Meroitic pottery is characterized by consistently small vessel
mouths; plain, thin rims; barrel-shaped bodies, sometimes with rather angular profiles;
and plain bases. On smaller vessels the normal base is a small round spot, either flat or
slightly hollowed out. The development of sharply angular everted rims and ring bases
was due to the influence of Graeco-Roman imports, first in the Late period and more
prominently in the Terminal period. A peculiarity of some of the very late vessel forms,
also found in X-Group times, is the very thin, highly protruding ring base. Other
evolutionary developments of the later periods, which are probably attributable to the
influence of imported wares, are the gradual rounding of cup, bowl, and lekythos forms,
and the development of footed pitchers, amphorae, and pots which probably replaced
some of the earlier round-bottomed forms. Many vessels of the Terminal period are
very poorly formed and carelessly finished.

Colours. The same colours were employed in the decoration of Meroitic pottery
throughout the Classic, Late, and Terminal periods. However, the number and fre-
quency of combinations declined markedly. In the Classic period trichrome decoration
seems to have been the rule in both red and white wares. In the Late period the white
wares were still very commonly decorated in black and red, but the red wares were less
regularly decorated, and often in black only. By the Terminal period nearly all red
vessels were undecorated, and white vessels were generally decorated only in black, if at
all. On the other hand the use of a red exterior and a white interior slip (Style ab) is
characteristic chiefly of the Late and Terminal periods. In the Terminal period both
domestic and imported vessels often exhibit a very thin, watery slip or wash which does
not uniformly cover the vessel.

Styles. Painted decoration shows a uniform decline both in complexity and in
frequency during the later Meroitic periods. Generally it progresses from elaborate
friezes to a combination of simpler friezes and stripes, then to stripes alone, and finally to
rim ticking and no decoration at all. During the same period the Graeco-Roman vine
wreath of imported Ware Group IV, never elaborate to begin with, degenerated into the
common X-Group blob. The percentage of all wheel-made pottery which was decorated
diminished from more than 75 per cent in the Classic period to perhaps 25 per cent at the
end of the Terminal period. This decline was somewhat offset by a temporary increase
in the use of slipping and decoration in the hand-made wares—a phenomenon which was
to be repeated at the close of the Christian period.55

Wares. The basic ware groups of the Classic Meroitic pottery complex were I,
III, and V: the very fine decorated wares, the burnished and normally decorated utility
wares, and the handmade domestic wares. The painted utility wares of Group II were
less common than the burnished wares of Group III, and there were hardly any imported
wares except amphorae in Ware IVA. In the Late period the fine wares declined in
importance, and the burnished wares gradually gave place to the matte wares of Group II.
Graeco-Roman wares of Group IV began to be imported in quantity, and hand-made
domestic wares remained abundant. In the Terminal period the fine wares virtually
disappeared, and the burnished wares became uncommon. The matte utility wares
became increasingly abundant, as did the imported Graeco-Roman wares. Several
very degenerate wares, both domestic and imported, made their appearance at this time.
The hand-made domestic wares became more abundant and varied than at any previous
time, perhaps stimulated by the decline in the wheel-made wares.

Hypothetical chronologies of Meroitic wares and of Meroitic styles are
given in Figs. 17 and 18.

55 See p. 233 in this volume.
## AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

<table>
<thead>
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<th>DEVELOPMENTAL</th>
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**Fig. 17. HYPOTHETICAL CHRONOLOGY OF MEROITIC WARES**
Fig. 18. HYPOTHETICAL CHRONOLOGY OF MEROITIC STYLES
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MERITIC POTTERY

HISTORICAL CONNEXIONS

After half a century of study, the Meroitic culture still presents a whole series of riddles to the student of culture history. In Lower Nubia it appears almost as if in a vacuum, without visible antecedents or procedents. It arrives abruptly, full-blown, after a long hiatus of occupation, and is effaced almost as abruptly a few centuries later by an alien tradition, under circumstances which are still obscure. Yet it has cultural affinities reaching far into the past as well as into the future—affinities which are quite easy to discern, but almost impossible to trace historically.

The problems encountered in the study of the Meroitic culture as a whole are perfectly epitomized by the enigma of Meroitic pottery. Both technologically and aesthetically it represents one of the highest cultural attainments in Nubian history, yet its origins are largely obscure. It is not clearly prefigured in the pottery either of Napata or of late Pharaonic Egypt, and it certainly owes comparatively little to the contemporary Graeco-Roman ceramic industry. In turn, Classic Meroitic pottery had very little influence upon the succeeding X-Group tradition. At the same time is shows remarkable, detailed resemblances to pottery of the C-Group period, on the one hand, and of the Classic Christian period on the other—traditions which preceded and followed it by many centuries. These affinities lie far outside the realm of coincidence, and they raise questions whose cultural significance goes beyond the study of pottery.

For some 4,000 years there have existed side by side in Nubia two separate and distinct pottery traditions: that of the wheel-made wares produced by men, and that of the hand-made wares produced by women. The former tradition, introduced in Pharaonic times, is essentially Mediterranean and European. Throughout most of post-Pharaonic Nubian history it was elaborately and abundantly developed, and it was extremely sensitive to prevailing stylistic canons at all times. By contrast, the hand-made wares have undergone less change in the last 5,000 years than have the wheel-made wares in a matter of generations. They are essentially African in derivation, and have been manufactured continuously since Neolithic times. They are the only ceramic product still made abundantly in modern Nubia.

The two pottery traditions symbolize the two threads—Mediterranean and African—which are continually blended in Nubian culture history. The one has always been unstable and changeable, the other essentially static. In Meroitic pottery they are represented respectively by the native wheel-made Ware Groups I-III and by the hand-made Ware Group V. The historical connexions of each with earlier and later cultural traditions will now be briefly considered.

56 Cf. (2), pp. 21-4; (6), pp. 115-17. 57 See (12), p. 52.
58 (8), p. 14: Reisner, Kerma, iv, p. 324. Plentiful examples of this pottery may be seen in all Nubian cemeteries in the Wadi Halfa area.

169
KUSH

C-Group Connexions. All C-Group pottery is hand-made. The best of its has a black burnished surface with incised or comb-pricked designs filled with white pigment. Not only the technique but even some of the individual vessel forms and designs are virtually identical with Meroitic Ware VD. In particular the vessels designated by Steindorff as ‘Nubische Krug’ are, as a class, indistinguishable from Meroitic pottery. These resemblances are far too specific and detailed to be accidental, and must surely indicate a continuity of tradition. In a general way, all of the hand-made wares of Meroitic and later times, with their bag-shaped vessel forms and common incised decoration of diagonal lines, are descendants of the pottery of pre-Pharaonic Nubia. The fact that we cannot trace the continuity of the tradition during the periods of Pharaonic occupation only serves to indicate how little we know of the native culture of Nubia at that time.

Pharaonic Connexions. Meroitic pottery decoration, with its recurring lotus flowers, ankh figures, and animal forms, gives a first impression of overwhelming Egyptian influence. Yet specific resemblances between Meroitic pottery and Egyptian pottery are few indeed. The Meroitic product at its best is technologically superior to anything made in Egypt, and the elaborate painted decoration is not even remotely approached in Pharaonic pottery. Its stylistic antecedents are perhaps to be found in the faience vessels of the New Kingdom, although the historical connexion is difficult to trace across the intervening centuries. It is equally possible that the artistic stimulus for Meroitic pottery decoration came by way of Egyptian temple decoration, which was experiencing a marked renaissance under the Ptolemies at just about the time that the Meroitic style developed (see below).

A few vessel forms such as the pilgrim bottle (Form H1) are clearly of Pharaonic origin. Lekythoi also hark back to Pharaonic times, but the forms encountered in Meroitic pottery are much more directly derived from Graeco-Roman models.

Napatan Connexions. Napatan wheel-made pottery is hardly different from that of contemporary Egypt, and gives almost no hint of the subsequent elaborate development of form and decoration in Meroitic times. The antecedents of the Meroitic tradition are not, in fact, to be found anywhere within Nubia. At Meroe itself the earlier tombs and structures yielded chiefly

59 Aniba, i, pls. 54–6.
60 Compare Aniba, i, pls. 54–5 with (6), pls. xlii–xliv, (9), pls. 69, and (12), pls. 101–2.
63 See, e.g. (9), pl. 53; Dunham and Janssen, Semna Kumma, pl. 119; Griffith, LAAA, viii, pl. xx. 64 See, e.g. (4), pl. 48; Steindorff, Aniba, ii, pl. 85.
65 The Meroitic style is, however, prefigured in certain Napatan faience vessels, presumably imported, which are identical to those of the New Kingdom. See Dunham, RCK, ii, pl. lxxxviii, d; Griffith, LAAA, x, pls. xxi–xxii.
hand-made pottery of Ware Group V; the painted Meroitic wares appear abruptly and already fully developed only in the late tombs and in the town site.  

This situation points to the unmistakable fact that we do not have a satisfactory continuum of archaeological material linking the Napatan and Meroitic cultures either in time or, to a large extent, in space. The mere reconstruction of the royal succession at Ba-kal and Meroe sheds little light on the concurrent cultural developments which were taking place. In actual fact, we have a significant hiatus of occupation between the Napatan and Meroitic levels in every site where remains of both periods are present. In addition, the Meroitic colonization of Lower Nubia gives the Meroitic culture as a whole a quite different 'centre of gravity' from that of the Napatan culture. Our Napatan archaeological material comes entirely from the region between the Third and Sixth Cataracts, and chiefly from royal tombs and temples, while the bulk of our Meroitic material comes from Lower Nubia, where there are neither temples nor royal tombs. 

In Napatan as versus Meroitic wheel-made pottery, we are almost certainly dealing not only with two largely unrelated stylistic traditions, but also with two geographically distinct centres of development. The Classic Meroitic wares are so abundant in Lower Nubia, and so much less so in the south, as to suggest that their origin belongs to the northern area even though we are as yet unable to trace it there. Their ultimate inspiration is perhaps to be found in the efflorescence of temple building and decoration which took place in upper Egypt under the earlier Ptolemies. The first Meroitic potters may well have brought home their novel decorative ideas from a pilgrimage to Philae.

It is only in the hand-made wares of Group V that we find any close parallel between Napatan and Meroitic pottery. Here there is an unbroken continuum of tradition, and, in fact, very little change.

**Graeco-Roman Connexions.** The Classic Meroitic pottery wares show certain influences from the contemporary pottery of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, most notably in the vine wreath motif and in certain vessel forms such as the lekythos. However the best Meroitic pottery is superior in quality and far more elaborately decorated than anything made in Egypt. It is one of the many examples of a uniquely Nubian development and elaboration of an external stimulus. On the other hand we have already noted the rapid decline in late Meroitic pottery, and the increase in Graeco-Roman influence until it became entirely predominant in the X-Group period.

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66 See (r), Chart III and (5), p. 46.  
67 See esp. (r), pp. 2-9.  
68 An extended discussion of this problem will be found in Adams, *JEA*, vol. 51 (in press).  
69 See, e.g. (2), pp. 21-4 and (6), pp. 115-23.  
71 See (5), pls. xli-xlvi; Griffith, *LA*, x, pls. xxxiii-xxxiv.  
X-Group Connexions. If the X-Group people were in fact intruders who displaced the indigenous Meroitic population of Lower Nubia, the fact is not reflected in their pottery. Technologically, X-Group pottery developed directly out of Meroitic pottery without any break in tradition which might suggest the work of a new group of makers. The fabric, the pigments, and the unslipped utility wares (IIH and VA) remain basically unchanged. On the other hand the stylistic differentiation of the two traditions is almost total, and reflects the complete triumph of Roman and Byzantine canons in Nubia. The X-Group decorative style, such as it is, is derived exclusively from the vine wreath, and the forms from Egyptian-made prototypes in Ware Group IV. Exceptions may perhaps be made in the case of the common X-Group cup and bottle, both of which bear some resemblance to their Meroitic predecessors. On the whole, however, Meroitic stylistic influence in X-Group pottery is remarkably slight.

Christian Connexions. The evolution from X-Group to Early Christian pottery was gradual and direct, reflecting a persistence of Roman and Byzantine influence. In the 8th or 9th century, however, there occurred a stylistic revolution in Christian Nubian pottery which amounted almost to a revival of the Classic Meroitic style. So similar are the two traditions that they have quite frequently been confused, and several authors are unequivocal in deriving the one from the other. Among the characteristics common to Classic Meroitic and Classic Christian pottery, and not found in the intervening X-Group and Early Christian wares, are: design friezes framed by double lines, and consisting of continuous, repeating, or alternating elements; designs executed in outline and filled with a second decorative colour; elaborate floral and faunal designs, including the vine wreath; a wide variety of geometric forms, including connected 'suns' and arrangements of paired diagonal lines with superimposed spots at the intersections; and the use of multiple design friezes on the same vessel.

The stylistic correspondences between Classic Meroitic and Classic Christian pottery clearly cannot be ascribed to chance. Yet the fact remains that the two traditions are, in Lower Nubia, separated by a hiatus of at least five centuries during which nothing even remotely similar was produced. Perhaps

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73 See, e.g. (3), i, pp. 18–24; Arkell, History of the Sudan, pp. 178–9; Kirwan, Firka, pp. 35–8.
74 Cf. (3), i, p. 388.
75 See KUSH x, pp. 252–3, Style g; Shinnie and Chittick, Ghazali, pp. 29–30.
76 E.g., Monneret de Villard, La Nubia Mediaevale, iv, pls. cxxv–cxcvi, illustrates several Meroitic sherds (nos. 89, 91, 97, 98) in a Christian corpus, while Michalowski, Faras 1961, offers several photographs of 'Meroitic' sherds (figs. 24–6) most of which are actually Christian.
77 E.g., Crowfoot, JEAA, xiii, p. 145; Griffith, LAAA, xiv, p. 65; Shinnie, Medieval Nubia, p. 13.
78 It should be said that there is comparatively little similarity in form between Classic Meroitic and Classic Christian pottery.
AN INTRODUCTORY CLASSIFICATION OF MEROITIC POTTERY

the revival of the erstwhile Meroitic style was a deliberate archaizing tendency of Christian Nubia, reflecting its increasing cultural and political independence of Egypt. More probably the two styles were diffused at different times from some common and persisting reservoir of cultural tradition, perhaps in the Near East, Arabia, or India. Whatever the explanation, Classic Meroitic and Classic Christian pottery represent aesthetic attainments of a very high order, and Nubia’s most outstanding contributions to the history of art.

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(2) EMERY and KIRWAN, Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan, 1929–1931. (Meroitic pottery types, i, pp. 509–14; ii, pls. 30–1, 37–9.)

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Gezira Dabarosa: Report of the University of Colorado Nubian Expedition, 1962–63 Season

by Gordon W. Hewes

The University of Colorado Nubian Expedition, supported by the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. National Science Foundation (Grant GS-7), conducted excavations and site surveys in a concession west of the Nile opposite Wadi Halfa, between 24 September 1962 and 30 January 1963. The staff for the first season included the writer as administrative director, Dr. Joe Ben Wheat, Curator of Anthropology at the University of Colorado Museum, Dr. Peter Robinson, Curator of Geology and Palaeontology of the same museum, and as research assistants, Mr. Eugene B. McCluney, Mr. Duane Quiatt, and Mr. Minor Van Arsdale. Expedition headquarters were in Wadi Halfa and expedition members crossed the Nile to the concession by boat.

Plans for our work were submitted to Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology, Sudan Antiquities Service, and also were discussed with Dr. W. Y. Adams in Colorado during his home leave from the UNESCO Archaeological Mission in Sudanese Nubia. We are deeply grateful to Commissioner Thabit and other members of the Antiquities Service, both in Khartoum and Wadi Halfa, to Dr. W. Y. Adams and Mr. Hans-Åke Nordström, of the UNESCO Mission, and to staff members of several of the foreign expeditions taking part in the international campaign to save the archaeological remains of Nubia, both for practical assistance and many kindnesses during the period of our work.

The Colorado Concession (Map, Fig. 1) is triangular, 6 km. from north to south on the west, 3.8 km. from east to west on the north, with the Nile forming the hypotenuse on the east. The southern tip of our concession is 3.25 km. north-east of the Temple of Buhen. The 14 square km. area contains thirty-eight sites designated by numbers in the files of the Antiquities Service, and eighty additional small surface concentrations of flint or ironstone implements not considered significant enough to merit official site numbers. Fig. 1 shows the location of all known sites in the Colorado Concession as of 30 January 1963. In age the sites range from presumably Middle Palaeolithic times through Late Palaeolithic or Mesolithic, A-Group, C-Group, Pharaonic Egyptian unspecified as to period, New Kingdom, Meroitic, X-Group, through Christian Nubian. The cultivated alluvial zone which has a maximum width of 500 m. is bordered on the west by a strip of sand 130 to 140 m. wide, generally lacking vegetation except for a few deep-rooted trees, in which most of the modern Nubian dwellings are concentrated. This narrow strip also contains habitation and some cemetery
sites of earlier periods. Rising west of this strip is the first terrace, 10 to 15 m. in height, forming a gentle slope in the vicinity of Argin, but an abrupt cliff farther to the south. The terrace is sandstone, capped in places with ferricrete (ironstone). Beyond this terrace the desert proper extends westward, partly consisting of sand dunes, partly scoured by the wind, which has exposed ancient silt surfaces, now lying 18 m. above the present flood-plain, rough patches of
KUSH

ferricrete, and rolling pebbled hills. The relict silt is strewn in places with kankar fragments; here and there are remnants of tree-root systems preserved by concretion. Molluscan shells, chiefly the univalve Cleopatra bulimoides, and the bivalves Corbicula and Unio, are fairly common on the lower terraces. Two more terraces can be recognized on our concession. Taking the Nile at the arbitrary elevation of 120 m. above sea level, the present flood-plain lies at about 121 m., the scarp of the first terrace at 130 m., the second terrace at 145 m., and the third at 150 m. The ancient silt of the '100-foot' level mentioned by Sandford and W. J. Arkell, actually lies at 70 ft. above the flood-plain, or 142 m. above sea-level; this discrepancy may be explained by the absence of detailed maps of the area in 1929–30.¹ The higher terraces are thickly mantled with pebbles and chunks of quartz, and lack the molluscan shells. The maximum elevation within our concession is 176 m.

Three khors, one perhaps broad enough to be called a wadi, extend across the concession; at the mouth of the largest and southernmost is a prehistoric campsite, 6–G–27, which probably was occupied when the now fossil watercourse was still an intermittent stream.

Previous Work

K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell visited the area of our concession in the course of their Palaeolithic survey in 1929 for the Oriental Institute, though their main surface collections were made farther north, at Debeira West. However, they illustrate a Mousterian flake from somewhere in our concession.² The principal previous work was that of the Sudan Antiquities Service, in connexion with site surveys along the West Bank from Faras to Gezira Dabarosa, in 1960–61, reported by Adams, Verwers, and Nordström.³ Thanks to their investigations, we could proceed directly to excavation of two major habitation sites which they recommended for more thorough exploration, 6–G–9 and 6–G–6. A third large habitation site, 6–B–8, also tested by the Antiquities Service, is to be excavated in 1963–64, during our second season.

6–G–9, An Early Meroitic Habitation Site

Our digging at 6–G–9 began 6 October and ended 1 November 1962. Comparison of our plan of the site (fig. 2) with Nordström’s plan, shows the additional rooms cleared by us, locations of pots in situ, and other features.⁴ This small house-cluster shows no superimposed walls, and no complex history of additions or renovations. Aside from some possibly earlier (Napatan?)

² Ibid., p. 78 and pl. xl, fig. 41.
³ Kush x (1962), pp. 10–75.
⁴ H. A. Nordström (1962), pp. 49–50, fig. 4 and pl. 13b.
Fig. 2. PLAN OF 6-G-9, A MEROITIC HABITATION SITE
sherds, mentioned below, 6–G–9 seems to have been occupied by people of a single cultural phase, and for a relatively short time. On the basis of three Carbon–14 dates⁵ and the pottery, which has few resemblances to Late Meroitic wares either in the literature or in the Antiquities Service collections at Wadi Halfa, 6–G–9 was occupied from about 150 to 50 B.C. The C₁⁴ dating samples came from charcoal beneath the stone wall of the central structure, charcoal from roof-poles which had fallen to the floor of Room 1, and carbonized wheat grains from the floor of Room 15. These yielded dates of 2100 ± 220, 1845 ± 190, and 2250 ± 175 years B.P. (before present, i.e. 1963), or 102 ± 195 B.C. as an average.

As shown in Fig. 2, 6–G–9 consists of a stone-walled main building, 29 m. from north to south, averaging 11.5 m. wide. At each end of this elongated portion, mud-brick walled rooms had been added, making the over-all north-south dimension 56 m. Although the central stone section had been built first, the similarity of materials from all the rooms and the absence of marked differences in floor level suggest that only a few years or at most, a few decades, elapsed between the initial stone structure and its annexes. We cleared a total area of 880 m², to an average depth of 1 m. Test-trenches beyond the cleared area failed to reveal further evidence of walls or rooms pertaining to 6–G–9.

All of the main rooms of 6–G–9 were backed on the west by a single, unbroken stone wall, extended north and south by mud-brick. The outside doorways faced the river. The rooms were mostly narrow rectangles, 5.25 to 6 m. from east to west, and about 3.5 m. wide. Of the rooms sufficiently intact to measure, the average floor area was 14.3 m². Modern Nubian houses, though far larger as a rule, have the same riverain orientation, with solid walls toward the desert. Inasmuch as it is from the north-west that most of the sand is blown, the lack of openings in western walls is quite practical. Roofs were probably flat, as indicated by fallen roof material in the form of carbonized beams and pole sections, along with chunks of burnt clay; no trace of brick vaulting was observed. All but one of the rooms were used for food-storage, food preparation, and cooking, to judge from the mud bins, mud and stone hearth features, masses of ash, charcoal, and fire-blackened sherds. Room 16 seems to have been reserved for other purposes. In most rooms there were whole or nearly whole pots, in situ, usually buried to their rims in the sand floor, along the base of a wall; a few vessels were found inverted, with broken bases, or telescoped one above another.⁶ Including pots found by Nordström, 6–G–9 yielded seventy-five essentially intact or restorable vessels, the majority plain, handmade, cylindrical, with rounded bases and unconstricted mouths, and simple rims. Of wheel-made vessels, seven conformed to a distinct type with a typically Meroitic banded decoration but of a shape so far unreported from other

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⁶ Information on 6–G–9 pottery supplied by Mr Duane Quiatt.
Meroitic sites; all seven lacked bottoms, and were found in an inverted position. As with the pots in situ, the bulk of the sherds (60 per cent by rough estimate) were plain, handmade ware, ranging from light brown to dark brown and reddish brown, with a paste of medium coarse silt with abundant fibre temper. The remainder of the pottery was distinguished primarily by the complete absence of any of the fine decorated ware associated with the Meroitic. Heavy utility vessels predominated, with decoration limited mostly to simple banding and filling, commonly black on red or black and red on white slip, with occasional lotus designs. The pottery from 6–G–9 is still being analysed. Given the $\text{C}_{14}$ date of 100 B.C., and the fact that 6–G–9 is a habitation site rather than a cemetery, it is probably to be expected that the ceramics recovered should deviate markedly from published examples of Meroitic pottery. How significant such differences may be remains to be seen.\(^7\)

East of Room 20, in a vague strip of charcoal and ash, a few sherds were found at a deeper level, which may be of Napatan date. A similar age is suggested for a few highly aberrant sherds with blue-painted rectangular decoration, 52 cm. beneath the floor of Room 13. A charcoal sample taken from this trace, east of Room 20, has a $\text{C}_{14}$ date of 2750 ± 170 B.P., or 787 ± 170 B.C.\(^8\)

In addition to pottery, there were fragments of faience ware, including an Udjat-eye amulet, some very rusted fragments of iron tools or weapons, vaguely recognizable as knife-blades and spikes, a small bronze bell,\(^9\) stone querns and millers, carbonized wheat kernels, date-seeds, and bones of domestic animals and fish. The livestock included sheep or goats, and cattle, but no fowl or swine. Fish bones were abundant, probably mostly Nile perch, indicating that fishing was a major subsistence activity. Altogether, apart from the pottery, surprisingly little of the domestic equipment of the ancient people of 6–G–9 survived. As in the case of many other Nubian sites, it may be assumed that when the houses were abandoned, the last occupants carried away most of their usable utensils, but did not find it convenient to dig up their storage pots from the floors or to transport them.

In conclusion, 6–G–9 seems to have been a small and probably quite humble peasant community, built and abandoned within the space of a century or so, starting perhaps in 150 B.C. The people grew wheat, had some date palms, raised sheep, goats, and a few cattle, but had no swine or domestic fowl, fished in the Nile, and presumably buried their dead nearby, though we were not able to locate their cemetery. The community was too small to have its own temple or shrine; there may have been a Meroitic religious structure in Argin (see below),

\(^7\) Cf. W. Y. Adams, unpublished ms. on classification of Meroitic pottery.
\(^8\) Isotopes, Inc., Laboratory No. I–867.
\(^9\) Dows Dunham, 'The Royal Cemeteries of Kush,' BMFA, iv (1957), illustrates small bronze bells in pls. liv and lv.
and Woolley refers to a small Meroitic temple at Wadi Halfa. It is entertaining to speculate that when the Roman punitive expedition under Gaius Petronius passed through the Wadi Halfa area in 23 B.C., the little huddle of stone and mud-walled dwellings at 6-G-9 may have been already deserted.

6-G-6, an X-Group and Christian Nubian Site

Site 6-G-6, along with the small Christian church ruin which surmounts it, designated as 6-G-7, was partly excavated in January 1961 by G. J. Verwers for the Antiquities Service. 6-G-6 is a mound of considerable size, and our digging was confined to the northern fifth of it during the 1962-63 season, from early November through mid-January. We cleared two distinct room-clusters, the north-eastern one belonging to the X-Group Period, and the north-western to the Christian Nubian Period, datable roughly from A.D. 350 to 550, and from A.D. 550 to the 13th century. The site was probably not occupied continuously, and the portion cleared by us did not reveal a gradual transformation of X-Group into Christian Nubian culture, but a rather sharp discontinuity.

Including rooms partly cleared by Verwers, the exposed northern end of the site is 48 m. east to west, and 30 m. north to south, with an area of 1,200 sq. m. actually excavated, resulting in the removal of about 1,800 cu. m. of sand fill. Forty rooms or room-like enclosures, some probably open courtyards, were uncovered (cf. Fig. 3). Between the X-Group and Christian Nubian structures we dug to a depth of 3 m., to layers of archaeologically sterile sand. In general there was no stratification of walls and floors, though both main building clusters show fairly complicated additions and modifications. As this site is scheduled for further excavation in 1963-64, our first season’s findings will be summarized very briefly. Both X-Group and Christian rooms yielded large quantities of potsherds, and many intact or nearly intact vessels. In both periods, ceramic standards were high, and the wares are mostly wheel-made, of finely textured paste, thin-walled, smoothly slipped, and well fired. They exhibit a very wide variety of shapes. The Christian wares have much fine painting, most or all of which can be closely matched in the style typology published by W. Y. Adams. Shallow dishes, bowls, goblets, spouted vessels, pilgrim bottles, pot-rests, lamps, amphorae, and globular utility pots are represented. Some green glazed sherds were found in the Christian rooms, along with fragments of glass vessels similar to those found at Soba by P. L. Shinnie. Glass beads, fragments of both iron and bronze objects, including a chest-handle, numerous querns and millers, and

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11 Kush x, pp. 30-3, figs. 4 and 5, pl. vii, a, b. The pottery kiln at 6-G-6 is described by W. Y. Adams, ibid., p. 65.
GEZIRA DABAROSA: REPORT OF THE 1962–63 SEASON

a whole and some fragmentary figurines of terra cotta were also discovered. The painted figurine, found in the X-Group area, is almost identical to a specimen exhibited in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, No. 7564, whose Director kindly supplied information on its provenience (the Fayum), and on finds of several similar figurines from Alexandria, Kom Ishgau, Thebes, and Elephantine, dated by various authorities to about A.D. 600, though

P. Pedrizet believed this is too late a date for a terra cotta more in keeping with the period of Graeco-Egyptian pagan decadence.14

In the X-Group room area, the doorway to Room 22, which was outstanding for its well finished walls, had a well-dressed threshold of sandstone, and

14 P. Pedrizet, Les terres cuites gréques d’Égypte de la collection Fouquet (Strasbourg).
apparently stone jambs and lintels as well. The threshold had been laid with a dedication rite involving the placement around it of five small, fine redware goblets. Some of the X-Group walls were of herringbone construction—that is, alternate courses of obliquely-laid stones set in mud; other walls were of ordinary mud brick, usually smoothly plastered over. Close study of Fig. 3 will show that the initial structure was the small house consisting of Rooms 22 and 23, around which the rest of the building came to be added at different times, judging from the joints where the later walls met the earlier ones. The houses of this period cleared at Karanâg were larger and different in ground-plan.15

In the Christian portion of 6-G-6, the rooms had thicker walls and the herringbone style of stone and mud construction was absent. Details of partitions, mud-bins, cooking and food-preparation features were also somewhat different. Several wall-niches were present. Room 13 was reached at a late stage of its occupancy by a short stairway, probably because drifting sand and later construction had converted it into a kind of cellar. The roofs of the Christian rooms were of mud-brick vaulting, at least where the walls still stood high enough to show the beginning of the vault. Such vaulted mud-brick roofs can still be seen in parts of modern Nubia.

Christian influences, aside from occasional Greek or Coptic graffiti on pottery, and stamped crosses on some sherds, were apparent in the find of a large rectangular sandstone stela in Room 19, which may have fitted into a niche of the same dimensions in the south wall, bearing a central cross, flanked by monograms and trigrams—ㅕ, ⲍ, ⲍ, ⲍ, ⲍ. A crudely made sandstone pendant bore the word EΣAKΟΣ in Greek or Coptic letters; it had a large perforation near the top. The object could have been worn as a penitential badge, but could also have been a kind of collar tag for an ox or donkey. Incorporated into the wall of a modern Nubian house, which had to be demolished before we could carry out our excavations, was a sandstone lintel with three Coptic crosses carved on its surface. This stone almost certainly had been over one of the doors of the small Christian church cleared by Verwers, and designated as Site 6-G-7.16 A burial of a juvenile, probably female, was found in a hollowed section of the south wall of Room 17, doubtless dating from a time when the dwelling had been abandoned. Infant burials were found in a wide-mouthed jar in Room 19 and in an amphora set in a low niche in Room 20. The maxilla of an adult human was found in the fill of the same room.

North of Room 21, but at a lower level, was a roughly circular mud-walled feature, with an inner, lower mud enclosure, some stonework, and an inverted pot. Into this enclosure descended a terra cotta pipe, in two sections, 15 cm. in diameter. The entire cistern-like feature had a diameter of 5 m. Inasmuch

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16 Kush x, pp. 32 and 33, pl. vii.
as the soluble mud walls could not have withstood prolonged soaking, and the walls were too well made to have served to enclose a stock-watering tank, this structure may be interpreted as an enclosure around a shade tree, which was artificially irrigated through the pipe. One can see similar walls built around the base of trees in modern Nubian villages; water-cooling jars (zeers) are often set in the shade, and the wall may serve to keep out domestic animals.

Bones of livestock were found in the rooms and outside the walls. They included sheep or goats, cattle, and especially, the remains of many pigs, confined to the Christian section of the site. Pork-eating seems to have been a cultural concomitant of Christianity, since no remains of swine were found in the X-Group area, nor at the nearby Meroitic site, 6–G–9. Fish bones were relatively scarce.

CEMETERIES

Several cemeteries, most of them already mapped and sampled by the Antiquities Service, were briefly investigated by Mr Van Arsdale. Our work suggested the need for more systematic work on the physical anthropology of the human remains in these graves, and it is planned to have a team devoted to this study in the 1963–64 season. The majority of the graves had been robbed in ancient times, but a few yielded whole pots, leather and textile clothing fragments, and leather sandals. The cemeteries belong to various periods, from Meroitic times onward for the most part. At Site 6–B–16 Mr Van Arsdale discovered four stelae with short Meroitic inscriptions, and at 6–B–34, a crudely fashioned offering table. At 6–B–8 he found the modern villagers using a sandstone slab as a pot-stand, which, when turned over, proved to have a low relief carving of three figures similar to the God Bes, in his usual frontal, crouching stance. This specimen may have been part of a frieze on a Meroitic temple somewhere in the vicinity of Argin, possibly beneath the mound of 6–B–8. There is no inscription.

PREHISTORIC SITES

In early November Mr Eugene B. McCluney discovered the first of several prehistoric sites on the desert, concentrated within a 1 sq. km. area 800 m. north of Site 6–G–6 and 1 km. west of the Nile. Seven major sites were located, in addition to eighty spots where at least a few recognizably man-made flint tools or flakes were picked up from the surface. The seven main sites were remarkable for their large concentrations of worked flints, fragments of fossilized animal

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20 Fig. 4.
bone, and, in the case of six of them, also for hearths or fire-areas containing charcoal, ash, and some burned bone. Several different Stone Age traditions seem to be represented, and if the eighty surface find-spots are included, the material may range from Middle Palaeolithic ('Levalloiso-Mousterian') through Upper Palaeolithic to Mesolithic times. No handaxes were found, although they occur on high terraces in the Wadi Halfa region. No potsherds were found on any of these sites, and no biface implements. The seven major lithic sites could belong, on typological grounds, to two or possibly three occupation phases of the Upper Palaeolithic or Early Mesolithic. Until recently it might have been sufficient to lump the entire assemblage into E. Vignard’s Sebilian sequence originally recognized at Kom Ombo, but the real situation in the Nile Valley during late Palaeolithic/Mesolithic times was almost certainly more complicated. The writer examined some of Vignard’s Sebilian collection exhibited

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21 Both bifacially flaked tools and pottery were found in some layers of Abka. Cf. Arturo Palma di Cesnola, *Kush* VIII (1960), and O. H. Myers, ibid.

22 The writer thanks Dr Joe Ben Wheat, Curator of Anthropology at the University of Colorado Museum, who joined our expedition in December 1962, for most of the information which follows.

in the Musée de l’Homme, Paris, but did not have an opportunity to make
detailed comparisons. Five of the sites: 6-B-27, 6-B-28, 6-B-29, 6-B-32,
and 6-G-26 were camps occupied repeatedly for long periods. On 6-B-27,
where there is an exposed cut-bank, there is a soil profile in which fossil bones,
charcoal, and flint extend to a depth of 1.8 m. from the surface. Similar ancient
soil layers exist on the other sites. The fossil mammals are mostly large extinct
bovids, according to both Dr Peter Robinson, of our expedition, and Dr Dexter
Perkins, a palaeontologist with the Museum of New Mexico expedition. A few
of the small bones belong to gazelle; one fossil mandible was that of a hare or
rabbit. Many of the bones were well anchored in the soil, and, as mentioned,
some protrude from hearth-areas, and have been burned. There was a most
impressive litter of flint chips, cores—both discoidal, notably on Site 6-G-26,
and double-ended (à deux talons), retouched blades, some burins, and retouched
flakes of microlithic dimensions, along with yellow-white quartz, mostly
unworked, but some showing signs of use as hammerstones.

The soils consist in part of erosional remnants of laminated silts, deposited
by the Nile when it flowed at a level about 20 m. above its present surface; these
soils overlie a series of clayified sands. The soil on the sites themselves is
extremely hard, but it breaks down readily when water is applied; when the
rock-hard soil is thoroughly dissolved, it is seen to contain a large quantity of
tiny flint flakes, charcoal fragments, and slivers of fossil bone.

Drs Wheat and Robinson, assisted by Mr McCluney, made test-excavations
to determine soil stratigraphy, collected charcoal samples for C14 tests, and made
systematic surface collections of lithic specimens, and in anticipation of further
work in the 1963–64 season, prepared detailed contour maps of the main sites.
The lithic specimens, after some preliminary typological sorting, were shipped
to the University of Colorado Museum for detailed analysis. Altogether, one
34 ton of lithic specimens was collected. Eventually, a type-collection will be
prepared for the Khartoum museum of the Sudan Antiquities Service.

Mr McCluney and Dr Perkins (Museum of New Mexico Expedition) were
both present at Site 6-B-28 when a fossilized human mandible, in two parts, was
found on the surface in close association with flint tools and fossil animal bones.
In view of the small number of fossil human finds in the Nile Valley, this
specimen has been very carefully studied by Mr George Armelagos, at the
Laboratory of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado,
and a paper, utilizing all available comparative materials, has been submitted by
Mr Armelagos for publication. Vignard found some skeletal fragments in a
fossilized condition at Kau el-Kabir south of Asyût, without associated artifacts,
and other skeletal remains at Kom Ombo. A fossilized human skeleton in
fragmentary condition, also without artifact associations, was found in 1961–62

34 K. S. Sandford, OIP, xviii (1934), pp. 85–6.
KUSH

by the Columbia University Expedition on the east bank near Wadi Halfa, and ancient skeletal remains have been found much farther to the south, at Khartoum, Esh Shaheinab, and at Singa on the Blue Nile. The human mandible from 6-B-28 is unique in that it comes from a site with abundant flint implements, animal bones, hearths, and the possibility of C₁₄ dating. The specimen is to be returned to the Antiquities Service for the museum in Khartoum.

Dr Wheat’s two charcoal samples from Site 6-B-27 were tested by Isotopes, Inc., with contradictory results. Our sample A-6-B-27, Isotopes, Inc. Laboratory No. I-863, yielded a date of \(18105 \pm 1200\) B.P., or \(16142 \pm 1200\) B.C., a plausible antiquity for such a site, and indeed a few thousand years older than we had guessed. However, sample B-6-B-27 (Isotopes, Inc. Laboratory No. I-864) yielded a date of only \(6150 \pm 300\) B.P., or \(4187 \pm 300\) B.C., an antiquity no greater than the C₁₄ dates from the Fayum A Neolithic, which had both pottery and agriculture, and hardly much older than the Khartoum Neolithic, also with pottery and domestic animals. The lowest level at Abka has been dated by C₁₄ at \(7600-7100\) B.C.\(^{25}\) Obviously we must collect more charcoal samples, and eliminate this discrepancy.

REFERENCES


——, n.d. ‘Meroitic Pottery Classification’. ms.


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\(^{25}\) O. H. Myers, KUSH viii (1960), pp. 178–81. The Columbia University Expedition in Sudanese Nubia in 1961–62 is reported to have obtained a C₁₄ date from surface molluscan shells in the Wadi Halfa area of about 9000 B.C.
GEZIRA DABAROSA: REPORT OF THE 1962–63 SEASON


Inscriptions written in Meroitic, the official language of the first civilization to arise in Africa south of the Sahara are of considerable historical and linguistic interest. Nevertheless, although the approximate sound values of the symbols are known and in that sense the inscriptions can be read, no one is able to translate their meaning, and the language in which they are written has not yet been demonstrated to belong to any known language grouping. These inscriptions, which are found between Aswan in southern Egypt and Soba, near Khartoum, in the Sudan date between the middle of the 3rd century B.C. and the 4th century A.D. They are written in a twenty-three letter alphabet which has both a 'cursive' and 'hieroglyphic' form. By comparing inscriptions in which certain proper names were written in both Egyptian and Meroitic, F. Ll. Griffith succeeded by 1911 in establishing the sound values of these letters, and had recognized the Meroitic transliterations of some Egyptian names and titles. He was also able to learn a little about the grammar of the language and to work out the meaning of a few native words. The momentum of these early breakthroughs was not maintained, however, and since then little progress has been made in interpreting these inscriptions.

There are several reasons for this. So far, no significant bilingual inscriptions have been found, which, like the Rosetta Stone, could provide an exact knowledge of some of the basic vocabulary and grammar of the language. But since the sound values of the script are known, it is also possible that comparisons with a related known language might provide a sound basis for further progress. It is true that the established facts concerning the grammar and vocabulary of Meroitic are probably insufficient for a certain or very specific identification of the linguistic affinities of Meroitic at this time. Nevertheless in the light of recent advances in African linguistic classification, we felt that it would be profitable to see if a genetic relationship could be discovered between Meroitic and some known African language or group of languages.

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1 I am indebted to Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury for the suggestions which he offered in our discussions of the thesis of this paper. I wish also to thank Professor Joseph H. Greenberg for the information which he has very generously supplied me concerning the Nubian languages. 2 Griffith (1909; 1911).
MEROITIC AND EASTERN SUDANIC

Two major hypotheses have been advanced concerning the linguistic affinities of Meroitic, both of which were originally suggested as possibilities by Richard Lepsius in the last century. According to the first, Meroitic was a language ancestral to or closely related to Nile Nubian. Nile Nubian is one of four branches of the Nubian language group, which in turn is a member of Greenberg’s Eastern Sudanic linguistic family. Two forms of Nile Nubian, Mahas-Fadidja and Dongola-Kenuzi, are presently spoken in the region between Aswan and the Fourth Cataract. An earlier form of the language, called Old Nubian, is known from medieval documents and seems to be ancestral to Mahas-Fadidja. During this period Nile Nubian was also spoken in the Khartoum region, in the kingdom of Aloa. A second hypothesis is that Meroitic belongs to the Cushitic branch of the Hamito-Semitic family, which Greenberg has also called the Afroasiatic, and Murdock the Hamitic family. These languages are presently spoken in the region lying between Nubia and the Red Sea and throughout the Horn of East Africa. Special attention has been given to the relationship between Meroitic and the northern languages belonging to this group.

The first of these hypotheses was investigated by Griffith, who also studied Old Nubian. In 1911 he noted:

‘Without being at all decisive, the analogies to Nubian both in structure and vocabulary are sufficiently striking to be worth mention. The language appears to be agglutinative, without gender, the place of inflexions taken by post-positions and suffixes.’

Among the few Meroitic words for which Griffith was able to establish a meaning, and which had not been derived from Egyptian (many of these latter were titles, also šēr, meaning ‘book’) were a number which seemed to be identifiable with Nubian ones. Among these Griffith found:

wayeki (also wygy, wyngy) ‘star’
qaban ‘star’
demi ‘year’
mash ‘sun’
kdí ‘woman’
atè ‘water’
trèt (appellation of a divinity)

winji (ON); wissi (DK); winji (MF)
gumenki (D)
gem (ON); gem (MF)
masil (DK); maza (MF)
kissi ‘vulva’ (MF)
ou, otte (Kordofan Nubian)
terti (DK) ‘master’
-l (ON)

To this list might be added têńke ‘west’ which resembles DK tîngar and MF tinne.

Despite these identifications, Griffith concluded that a knowledge of

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3 The history of Meroitic studies is reviewed in Hintze (1955), pp. 355–8.
5 Hereafter Old Nubian will be abbreviated ON; Dongola-Kenuzi DK; Mahas-Fadidja MF. 6 Murdock (1959), p. 14. 7 Griffith (1911), p. 22.
8 Ibid., pp. 34, 82, 83; (1912), p. 73; (1916), p. 123. The Nubian forms are checked against Reinische (1879).
Nile Nubian was not sufficient to make headway in the translation of Meroitic, and by 1916 stated that 'borrowing of individual words may have gone on freely (between Nubian and Meroitic), but so far the language of the Meroitic inscriptions does not appear to have been the ancestor of the Nubian dialect'.

Thus the Meroitic-Nubian hypothesis was abandoned. In 1920 Carl Meinhof took up Lepsius' alternative hypothesis that Meroitic was a Hamitic language. In 1930 Zyhrarz developed this argument by attempting to demonstrate that Meroitic and the Cushitic languages had many features in common including grammatical gender, a causative prefix, and similar systems of verbal prefixes and personal pronouns. In 1956 Zyhrarz published another article reiterating the same points and urging a broad comparative approach limited to the 'pre-Semitic' features of the 'Northern Cushitic group of languages such as Bedauye, Saho, Afar, etc'. This article gave no indication that Zyhrarz's work in the intervening twenty-six years had in any significant way advanced the understanding of Meroitic. In 1955 Fritz Hintze published a critique of Zyhrarz's work and demonstrated that most of the latter's conclusions did not rest on a sound basis. The Cushitic characteristics which Zyhrarz saw in the Meroitic language were either not present or very questionable, often being nothing more than unproved assumptions regarding unintelligible passages. Hintze found, on the contrary, that many features of Meroitic which were much more reliably established were not Hamito-Semitic. He concluded that Meroitic was not a 'Hamitic language'.

Thus two conclusions have emerged from the work to date: (1) that Meroitic is not an old form of Nile Nubian (2) that it is not a Cushitic language and not a member of Greenberg's larger Hamito-Semitic family. Approaches based on both hypotheses have failed to lay a foundation for substantial and cumulative results. In 1958 Werner Vycichl proposed that Meroitic was probably a 'negro language' but he did not carry his investigation any further. Hintze's critique of Zyhrarz has demonstrated how little is known about Meroitic and can be used for studying its linguistic affiliations. Nevertheless, the hope that even a tentative identification of such affiliations would be a positive step toward the eventual understanding of the language prompted the following research.

We began by investigating the words which Nubian and Meroitic have or are claimed to have in common. Two seem clearly to be loan words, as Griffith believed. The word šēr, meaning 'book' and which is ultimately derived from ancient Egyptian, is found in both languages and seems to have passed through Meroitic to Old Nubian. The Nubian maza meaning 'sun' is not found in other Eastern Sudanic languages, but is derived from the Meroitic mash. The process of borrowing between Nubian and Meroitic is therefore attested.

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9 Griffith (1916), p. 129. 
10 Meinhof (1920). 
11 Zyhrarz (1930). 
12 Zyhrarz (1956). 
13 Hintze (1955). 
Two of the other words, however, seem to require a different interpretation. *wayeki* 'star' is believed to be a cognate of the Old Nubian *winji*. But Greenberg\(^{15}\) lists *winji* as a cognate of Barea *wini* and Kadero *u:n-du*, both also meaning 'star'. The Kadero are Kordofan Nubians, but their language is not particularly close to Nile Nubian.\(^{16}\) Barea belongs to a distinct branch of the Eastern Sudanic family. The second word, *até*, meaning 'water', seems to be present in Kordofan Nubian and Meroitic, but not in Nile Nubian. If derived from Meroitic, it would not seem to have been derived through Nile Nubian. Such evidence, while tenuous, is at least suggestive that, while Nile Nubian is not a descendant of Meroitic or even a particularly closely related language, the two may belong to a common larger linguistic unit.

The lack of Meroitic words of determined meaning, other than loan words from Egyptian, restricts the scope of our investigation, but of approximately thirty such words for which Zyhlarz and others appear to have established meanings,\(^{17}\) the following appear to have cognates in Nile Nubian and/or the separate branch of Eastern Sudanic, Barea. It is unfortunate that Zyhlarz often does not indicate on what basis these meanings were ascertained, although for some of them this evidence can be found elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meroitic</th>
<th>Barea(^{18})</th>
<th>Nubian(^{19})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apa</em> 'father'</td>
<td><em>waben, aben</em></td>
<td><em>abo</em> (MF); <em>ambab</em> (DK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ende</em> 'mother'</td>
<td><em>anen</em></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>abr</em> 'man'</td>
<td><em>abuko</em></td>
<td><em>(id)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ayi</em> 'soul'</td>
<td><em>(ga)</em></td>
<td><em>(ai)</em> (DK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ab</em> 'mouth'</td>
<td><em>aulo</em></td>
<td><em>(ak, agil)</em> (FM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iy</em> 'hand'</td>
<td><em>ad</em></td>
<td><em>(i)</em> (DK); <em>(eddi)</em> (FM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ad</em> 'land'</td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
<td><em>(da)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>at</em> 'food'</td>
<td><em>tes</em></td>
<td><em>(ka)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sah</em> 'cow' (?)</td>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td><em>(su)</em> (MF); <em>(iđ)</em> (DK) 'milk'(^{20})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) Greenberg (1955), p. 79.
\(^{16}\) Greenberg, personal communication, September 1962. The Kordofan Nubians are commonly held to be groups which moved westward from the Nile Valley, sometime after A.D. 500 (Herzog, 1957). Murdock (1959, p. 160) sees this as happening after the fall of Aloa in 1504. The presence of Christian terms in Hill Nubian is held to support such interpretations. The discovery of Christian churches as far south as Ain Farah in Darfur (Arkell, 1959) shows that such terms could have been adopted by a local but different Nubian language. The bulk of the linguistic evidence suggests a much longer separation of Nile and Kordofan Nubian than Herzog’s interpretation would allow.

\(^{17}\) Zyhlarz (1956), pp. 25, 26.

\(^{18}\) Reinisch (1874). Bracketed words are ones which do not seem to be cognates.

\(^{19}\) Reinisch (1879).

\(^{20}\) *sah* is no doubt regarded by Zyhlarz as a cognate of the Cushitic *śa* 'ox, cow'. Barea *sa* and MF *su* both mean 'milk' and have cognates in other Eastern Sudanic languages such as Dinka, Shilluk, Nandi, Birgid, and Merarit (Greenberg, 1955, p. 78). If there is not good evidence that *sah* means 'cow' as opposed to something having to do with cows (e.g. 'milk'), it may well be an Eastern Sudanic cognate.
KUSH

The word *terikeléwi*, ‘begotten of’ disappointed Griffith\(^{21}\) since it bore no resemblance to the modern Nubian word *unne*, which means both ‘to bear’ and ‘to beget’. There does exist in modern Nubian, however, the word *téri*, meaning ‘semen’ which may well have a cognatic relationship to this Meroitic word.

There also appear to be further similarities between Meroitic and Eastern Sudanic:

(1) There are two Meroitic postfixes which seem to mean ‘from’, -dík and -ke.\(^{22}\) These are paralleled by -dege and -ge in Barea and by -do in Nubian. In the modern languages, however, these words are used to express both ‘to’ and ‘from’.\(^{23}\)

(2) The locative postfix -te is cognate with the Nubian *do*; Dinka -t; Masai *t*-; Didinga -to, -ti; Barea -t, -ta, -ti; Tabi -te; Merarit -ta; Dagu -ti representing all seven branches of Eastern Sudanic.\(^{24}\)

(3) -*ki* or *kdi*-, which is a characteristic element in the names of women and in their epithets, is similar to the Masai *g*- and Bari *ki*- which are prefixes commonly used before feminine nouns. Greenberg comments that ‘... this element occurs in other Eastern Sudanic languages, Nubian has a *k*- prefix in related words and it is found in Dagu in the pair *arei* “father-in-law”, *karei* “mother-in-law”. It may very well occur in other instances in Dagu since our knowledge of this language is very limited. In Nubian there is no direct proof that it is a feminine since the language lacks grammatical gender’.\(^{25}\)

*kdi*, used by itself seems to stand for ‘woman’. Griffith suggested that this form might be related to the MF *kissi*, meaning ‘vulva’, which has as cognate forms the Kordofan Nubian *kuttu* and Barea *kantus*.\(^{26}\)

(4) A possible demonstrative pronoun\(^{27}\) resembles the third person demonstrative *te-r* in Nubian; *ti* in Barea; and *te* in Merarit.\(^{28}\) The Nubian genitive construction consisting of a *nomen rectum* and relating particle followed by the *nomen regens*\(^{29}\) seems paralleled in certain Meroitic forms.\(^{30}\) Like Nubian and Barea, Meroitic appears to have an extensive system of affixes in connexion with the verb. Plurals are formed by affixes, although the common Meroitic one, *b*, is not found in these languages.

The scanty data presently available suggest that Meroitic is a member of Greenberg’s Eastern Sudanic family. Membership in this grouping would

\(^{21}\) Griffith (1911), p. 22.  
\(^{22}\) Griffith (1912), pp. 29–31.  
\(^{23}\) Reinisch (1874), pp. 180, 181; ibid (1879), pp. 233, 237.  
\(^{24}\) Griffith (1911), p. 23; Greenberg (1955), p. 75.  
\(^{25}\) Greenberg (1955), p. 64.  
\(^{26}\) Griffith (1916), p. 123.  
\(^{27}\) Zyhlarz (1956), p. 27.  
\(^{28}\) Greenberg (1955), p. 73.  
\(^{29}\) Reinisch (1879), p. 24.  
\(^{30}\) See Griffith (1911), p. 24.
account for the various similarities between Meroitic and Nile Nubian that cannot be explained as being the result of direct borrowing, as well as the similarities between Meroitic and the other Eastern Sudanic languages. We are not yet able, however, to determine the position of Meroitic within this grouping. According to Greenberg, Eastern Sudanic is made up of seven branches. Five of the seven—Nubian, Barea, Tabi, Merarita, and Dagu—are found in the northern and central portions of the eastern Sudan. A Southern branch embraces such languages as Dinka and Nuer in the southern Sudan and Luo, Turkana, Masai and other languages in the African Great Lakes region. Beir-Didinga is spoken in the southern Sudan.

Except in the north, where Arabic has intruded within the past millennium, the Eastern Sudanic languages have a fairly contiguous distribution. The absence of isolated members in other parts of Africa suggests that these languages have occupied the same area for a long time. Classical accounts indicate that the Nile Nubians originally lived to the south-west and that they did not begin to migrate into the Nile Valley until after A.D. 250. Three of the four principal divisions of the Nubian language group are today found in the region from which these accounts indicate they came.31 Professor Greenberg has found that a lexical comparison of Dongola-Kenuzi and Mahas-Fadidja indicates that these two languages began to split about a.d. 860, plus or minus 200 years. Allowing for a period of more restricted geographical occupation and therefore the maintenance of linguistic unity, Greenberg believes that Nile Nubian may have been introduced to the central portions of the Nile Valley as a single language a few centuries earlier.32 Prior to this it would seem likely that Meroitic was spoken there. At that time Meroitic was probably the northernmost of the Eastern Sudanic languages, and thus may have its closest affinities with the northern branches of the family.

Meroitic was almost certainly the spoken language of the Napatan Kingdom and was probably a distinct language by at least 1000 B.C. Thus, unless one of these languages turns out to be a survival of Meroitic, there is a temporal separation of at least 3000 years between Meroitic and the present-day Eastern Sudanic languages. Nevertheless, if the hypothesis we have presented is correct, a comparison of Meroitic with the known languages of this family should result in an improved understanding of the basic vocabulary and grammar of the language.

31 Hillelson (1930).
32 Greenberg, personal communication, October 1962. In a recent article W. MacGaffey (1961) rejects Kordofan and Darfur as the original home of the Nubian languages. He posits a Nubian migration into the Nile Valley from the far south about A.D. 300. From here, Nubian was carried to the south-west at a later time. If the linguistic relations we have outlined are correct, the basis for much of MacGaffey’s reconstruction is vitiated.

193


Polish Excavations at Faras, 1962-63

by KAZIMIERZ Michałowski

THE third season of Polish excavations (Warsaw University and National Museum) in Faras lasted from 23 October 1962 to 10 April 1963. The members of the expedition were:

Mr Kazimierz Michalowski—Director of Excavations.
Mr Antoni Ostrasz—Chief Architect and Deputy Director.
Mr Stefan Jakobielski—Epigraphist.
Miss Kamila Kołodziejczyk—Archaeologist.
Mr Józef Gazy—Chief Restorer.
Mr Mieczysław Niepokólczycki—Photogrammetrist, Architect and Photographer.

Mr Władysław Kubiak, Secretary of the Polish Centre of Archaeology, Cairo, was in charge of the organization of the camp. Mr A. F. Shore of the British Museum helped us for two months with the transcription and interpretation of Greek and Coptic texts. At the end of the season Mr Tadeusz Dzierżyk-ray-Rogalski was responsible for the uncovering of the bishops’ tombs and for the anthropological study of the skeletons. Mrs Marta Kubiak assisted Mr Józef Gazy in removing the mural paintings. Mrs Krystyna Michalowska made the drawings of the graffiti, of some architectural details and of some pottery. Mrs Jadwiga Lipinska helped in preparing the inventory of objects. Mr Marek Marciniak assisted in drawing up this report. Mr Kazimierz Łątka took part in preparing the photographic documentation at the beginning of the season. About 120 labourers were engaged with rais Mahmud Mohammed Ali as foreman.

We wish to thank Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan, and Sayed Nagm ed-Din M. Sherif, Senior Inspector of Antiquities, for every facility they granted us. Messrs W. Y. Adams, L. P. Kirwan and P. L. Shinnie made important suggestions to us, especially regarding their own researches in the area.

This season of excavations lasted for five and a half months, which enabled us to uncover the interior of the Church under the Citadel and also other important buildings hidden in the sand under the Arab Citadel. The discovery of over one hundred murals in this church is certainly the most important find of the season. But the excavations of other monuments in the southern slope of the Kom, such as the pillar which probably supported the cross; the ruins of an edifice built of sandstone and burnt bricks, which we think is the remains of a monastery; the remnants of another church constructed from the same materials,
as well as the southern necropolis of the bishops and the cloister, all have a
decisive value in dating this archaeological complex.

To the north of the Cathedral, that is the Church under the Citadel which
was partly excavated during the previous season,¹ and at the same level, we
discovered two mud-brick buildings with monumental staircases, on the walls of
which there are still some traces of paintings. These were probably parts of a
bishop’s palace, or perhaps the residence of the Eparch (Plate XXXVIII, a). They
were partly covered by the North Monastery on top of the Kom,² most of which
was dismantled this season after the documentation had been completed. The
ruins of two houses were also discovered under the eastern part of the Monastery.
(Fig. 1 shows the location and measurements of every building brought to light
this season.)

Over 300 items are included in the season’s inventory. Special attention
should be paid to the beautiful chalice of dark red glass, with a laurel branch
engraved on its stem (Plate XXXIX, a), which was found in a hiding place (cachette)
under the altar in the Cathedral. Another find was a sandstone niche with
carved intertwined branches and two fishes—perhaps this was the font. A sheet
of parchment and fragments of others are probably fragments of a Greek
Psalmody. Over 200 inscriptions in ink on the walls of the Cathedral, hundreds
of graffiti, three new bishops’ stelae (those of Mathaeus, obit A.D. 765; Ignatios,
ob. 802; and Petros, ob. 999) represented historical material of the greatest
importance. But the most outstanding discovery of this nature was the list
of twenty-seven bishops of Pachoras which gives the names of the bishops and
partially preserves the dates of their deaths (only days and months being shown).
This list was inscribed in a niche situated in the south-east room of the Cathedral,
which also contains portraits of some of the bishops. Accordingly we named it
‘the Bishops’ Room.’

The numerous archaeological and epigraphical documents found during the
third season enabled us to try and collate certain facts regarding the stages of
construction of the various buildings on the Big Kom of Faras during the
Christian period. First there are the two late Meroitic elements, found in situ,
incorporated in architecture of the Christian period. These are the eastern door
of the Southern Palace and the courses of older walls which form the base of the
three aisles of the Cathedral under the Citadel (Plate XXXVIII, b). Had it been a
late Meroitic temple or the enclosure surrounding a Naos from which we found
several small cornices?³ For the moment we cannot give any opinion on this
matter. The same applies to the eastern door of the Southern Palace. One
fact, however, is indisputable. At the time when it was decided to utilize these
late Meroitic walls for the construction of the Cathedral under the Citadel they

¹ Cf. Faras, II (in print).
were in ruins. The Christian architect completed and enlarged them with a
course of blocks which were less carefully wrought, originating from ancient
pharaonic buildings, from the same Meroitic ruins and from earlier Christian
buildings which were already in ruins.

What was the probable date of this new construction? We now have some
data to enable us to risk a hypothesis. Two stones bearing, in Coptic and Greek,
a dedication by Bishop Paulos (PLATE XXXIX, b) are inserted into the north-west
corner of the building which we believe to have been a monastery and they give
the year A.D. 707 as the date of its construction or consecration. But this
edifice is on another axis from that of the Cathedral under the Citadel. Why did
the architect of this ancient monastery decide to construct it aslant the axis of the
Cathedral and not parallel to it as was the case with all the other buildings under
the Kom of Faras, such as the Bishops’ Palace and the North Monastery? At
present we can see but one explanation: the Cathedral under the Citadel was
not yet in existence when the construction of the monastery was started. There
were only the ruins of a late Meroitic temple and the Christian architect had no
reason to take its orientation into consideration. There was, however, an older
Christian monument which dictated the location of the new building. It was
the wooden cross set up either by the first Christian missionaries or by the same
Bishop Paulos when he decided to build a monastery there. We are inclined to
accept the first of these two explanations. It is well known that it was a Byzantine
custom to set up a cross at the place where a monastery was to be built.4

The pillar supporting the cross was constructed quite differently from the
stonework of the monastery. The sandstone blocks are of small dimensions
(about 0.18–0.26 × 0.34–0.42 m.) and are set in regular horizontal rows joined
by very thin layers of mud. The same building technique; resembling that of
the Meroitic walls, was also to be seen in the Rivergate Church excavated by
Griffith.5

In our first study of the chronology of Christian architecture at Faras we
accepted the earliest date for that building as the 7th century.6 If later it fell
into ruins, this would explain the finding, reutilized in the outside walls of the
Cathedral, of several decorated blocks which had originated from the Rivergate

5 Cf. LAAA, xiii, pp. 66 ff.
6 Cf. Faras, i, pp. 151 ff. The Rivergate Church was probably reconstructed in part
somewhat later since the grave stele of Parthenios dated 897 A.M. = A.D. 1181 (LAAA,
xiii, p. 85, pl. lxii, 3 ; lxiii) was found in the Haikal. Griffith supposed that the name
Bartholomeus—deacon of the Virgin—added at the end of the inscription might be the
dedication of this church. It could, however, have been only the date of its restoration.
The church was probably completely buried in sand and abandoned at the end of the
12th century or at the beginning of the 13th (see below, p. 198). It is quite possible that
the Rivergate Church was made still smaller and used during the last Christian period
before the Church of the North Monastery called ‘ of the Citadel’ was constructed.
KUSH

Church and from the so-called 'Great Church', the remains of which were mentioned in Griffith's report. These latter edifices were probably the first churches in Pachoras. Their voluted capitals and floral ornamentation are reminiscent of the traditions of classic art which infiltrated into Nubia from Roman Egypt during the Meroitic period. The fact that these two monuments had fallen into ruins—due to an earthquake, or to a high Nile flood (both were situated at a very low level), or, perhaps, to the first Arab raids—was probably the reason for the new project to construct a basilica on higher ground in the middle of the enclosure where formerly a Meroitic temple had stood.

Anyhow the clear analogy between the construction of the pillar supporting the cross and that of the walls of the Rivergate Church, and its difference from the walls of the monastery erected in 707 by Bishop Paulos (which are analogous to those of the Cathedral under the Citadel) compels us to consider the pillar of the cross as the most ancient Christian architectural feature on the south-west slope of the Kom. This would explain why Paulos considered it necessary when siting the monastery to follow the orientation of the pillar and it is quite understandable why this place was, to the Christians of that time a holy one, as is stated in Paulos's dedication. It also seems probable that Paulos, who was the metropolitan of Pachoras mentioned in the list of bishops, conceived at the same time the plan to transform the ancient ruined Meroitic temple into a new basilica to replace the two ruined churches—the Great Church and the Rivergate Church. The Greek stele of Paulos states as much, if the expression ἀναστήσει is to be taken in its exact sense and not as a mere repetition in typical Byzantine style. This being so, we have one more argument for considering Paulos responsible both for the foundation of the monastery and for the transformation

7 LAAA, xiv, pp. 57 ff.
of the ancient Meroitic ruins into a Christian church. Anyhow the method of building the walls of the two edifices shows such a clear analogy that there is no doubt as to the relatively close dates of their construction.

The Meroitic walls were re-utilized in the new church since they were well preserved to a considerable height near the South door, which was surmounted by the cornice decorated with winged discs and a frieze of snakes. This is probably one reason why the walls are of stone up to a height of 4 m. in 16–18 horizontal courses, and above that of burnt bricks with the windows situated in the superstructure. The sandstone walls of the South Monastery (contemporaneous with the new church) have only six horizontal rows of stones, the rest being of burnt brick except for the corners which are reinforced with sandstone blocks.

We propose to accept the end of the 7th or perhaps the beginning of the 8th century as the probable date for the foundation and construction of this church. Because of the discovery there of the list of bishops and beautiful murals, we think that it was the episcopal or metropolitan church and we feel justified in naming it 'the Cathedral under the Citadel'. Paulos's dedication mentions the reign of King Mercurios, who is known from an inscription in a small church at Tafeh (dated 18 Khiak, 9 indiction, year 427 of Diocletian, equivalent to 14 December 710). The inscription describes the good work that had been accomplished in the consecration of that place, making an allusion to the transformation of the pagan temple there into a church. In the life of the Patriarchs of Alexandria Mercurios was referred to as the King of Dongola, and was called the New Constantine. It is quite probable, therefore, that his

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9 In our first studies of the results of the two excavations seasons (cf. Bulletin du Muséé National de Varsovie, III (1962), no. 1, pp. 3 ff. and no. 4, pp. 97 ff.; Archaeology, vol. 15 (1962), pp. 113–19; Kush x (1962), p. 232) on the basis of an erroneous reading of Bishop Joannes' stele, we proposed the beginning of the 7th century as the probable date of this construction. Accepting an earlier date for the death of Bishop Joannes it seemed probable that he might be the founder of this church in view of the situation of his tomb. This date was also accepted at first by other scholars. Only after the discovery of the list of bishops it became possible to clear up the confusion in the reading of the letter—cross as tau or psi in the date of Bishop Joannes' death, thus making it 1006. We were able to correct this date in a supplementary note in the first volume of Faras (cf. Faras, 1, p. 112) but unfortunately it was impossible to change the conclusions giving the historical interpretation of the two murals which were found in the funerary chapels of Joannes and which we dated erroneously to the 7th century instead of the 11th. Their style is similar to that of the frescoes excavated this season in the Cathedral which originate from the penultimate period of the decoration of this edifice.
10 Cairo Museum, No. 45317, ASAE, x (1909), p. 17.
12 There is no doubt that he was the king who united the two kingdoms. Cf. Monneret de Villard, op. cit. pp. 81–3.
reign represented the rebirth of the political and cultural power of Christian Nubia and that the adaptation of the Egyptian temple at Tafeh into a Christian church was similar to the architectural activity taking place in Faras at the same time. Perhaps it might even give some indication as to the date of the transformation of our Meroitic edifice into a Christian cathedral.

At first the walls of the Cathedral were faced with whitewash. Traces of it are still visible under the first layer of plaster on which the earliest murals were painted. It is difficult to believe that such an important church could have had its interior unadorned for more than a few years since the Orthodox rite required the representations of the Holy Virgin and of the Saints for purposes of worship. So the murals preserved on the first layer of plaster were probably painted shortly after the building was completed. At first the church was a basilica consisting of three aisles and adjoining rooms which were covered with a wooden roof supported by granite columns. Violet is the predominant colour in every composition painted on the first layer of plaster. The two Archangels in the Narthex on either side of the main west entrance were painted during the 'violet period' (PLATE XL, a and FIG. 3, nos. 1-2). Ignatios, Archbishop of Antioch is painted in the same colour on the west wall of the north aisle (PLATE XLI, a and FIG. 3, no. 7). This painting was probably executed in honour of Bishop Ignatios of Pachoras, the only one in the list to bear the name. He was in charge of the metropolis of Pachoras from 766 to 802. A graffito, bearing the date A.D. 885 and situated in the Narthex to the right of the south entrance is also scratched in the earliest layer of plaster.

It was just about that time, the end of the 9th century, that the partial repainting of the Cathedral began. On the list of bishops which is inscribed in the niche in the 'Bishops' Room', the first fifteen names are written by the same hand. Undoubtedly this list was copied from another which had been covered by a new layer of plaster. The figure of Christ Emmanuel painted in the same niche and on the same layer of plaster shows quite different values of colour and style from the frescoes of the 'violet period' (PLATE XL, b and FIG. 3, no. 32). The existence of this painting was taken into consideration by the scribe in setting up the list of bishops, which means that the mural was painted before 903, before the death of Bishop Andreas whose name was the first to be inscribed by another hand.14 The Christ is clad in a dark brown robe decorated with rosettes of white pearls. This composition introduces a new style of decoration which became characteristic of the church after its transformation into a basilica with cupolas. In the same room the portrait of Bishop Petros (973–999) (PLATE XLI, b and FIG. 3, no. 40) had evidently been painted before the vaulting was added to the room since part of the inscription appertaining to it was covered by the vault. To the right of the bishop there is a portrait of King

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14 The other names which follow on the list were added after the death of each bishop.
a. THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND THE RESIDENCE OF THE EPARCH

b. SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE CATHEDRAL WITH THE MEROITIC CORNICE

facing p. 200
a. TWO ARCHANGELS IN VIOLET, FRAMING THE NICHE WITH THE VIRGIN

b. CHRIST EMMANUEL WITH THE LIST OF BISHOPS, FLANKED BY TWO ARCHANGELS
THE BIG MURAL OF THE NATIVITY
Georgios who reigned from 969 to 1002\(^{15}\) (FIG. 3, no. 41). This painting is also partly covered by the vault. (The chapel to the west of this room, which has retained its cupola gives some indication as to the reconstruction and the addition of the domed roof.) Two layers of paintings are visible on the west wall, one of them in violet (no. 30) and the other in red (the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, no. 30). On the east wall, there is a composition representing the Holy Virgin

\(^{15}\) Cf. Monneret de Villard, op. cit., p. 223.
and Child protecting the spiritual son of Joannes, Bishop Marianos, who died probably in 1039. Part of this mural was painted on the cupola (Plate xlili, a and Fig. 3, no. 57). Thus, in this part of the church at least we have fairly close dates for the renovation which must have taken place after 1002/6, the probable date of the death of King Georgios and before 1039 when Marianos died.

It should be noted that the dates arrived at from the list of bishops coincide with those which result from an analysis of the different layers of paintings. After the name of Joannes, who died in 1006, there is an empty space sufficient for the name of a bishop to be inserted. The list then starts again with the name of Bishop Mercurios, the [spiritual] son of Joannes (1039–1058). This gap in the list is perfectly in accord with the period when the Bishops’ Room and the South Chapel were vaulted.

The question arises whether the dates fixed for the renovation of this part of the church can be accepted for the whole of the building. This is not easy to answer. Certain facts seem to indicate that the reconstruction of the church began earlier, with the blocking up of the door in the centre of the west wall and the insertion of the grave stelae of Bishop Kolouthos (obiit 923) and Bishop Aaron (ob. 973). It is improbable that the stelae were placed there much later than the dates of the bishops’ deaths. Therefore, we may accept the fact that the west door was blocked before 923. This alteration was followed by the construction of the niche in the side of the Narthex and the addition of a new layer of plaster which covered the ancient paintings, violet like the two Archangels on either side of the door. The Narthex was then decorated with new paintings. One of the first of this series was the Holy Virgin in the niche (Fig. 3, no. 33). At the same time arches were added over the inside of the windows in the Narthex and the old roof was replaced by a vault. Such a renovation of the Narthex might be the first step in the execution of a big plan for the restoration of the whole church, which undertaking required considerable organization.

While we were excavating the church we only noted three big columns and the base of a fourth which were built into the pillars supporting the arches of the cupolas. The remaining pillars and the small columns which probably came from the galleries were found with their capitals placed against the walls of the aisles as benches, or re-utilized in the dividing walls which were built when the church was again altered at a later date. A number of these granite blocks were

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16 The name of Bishop Marianos is not included in the list of bishops. But it is written to the left of the figure of Christ, painted to the left of the portrait. His name is also mentioned in a graffito in the south aisle. It would be possible, however, to interpret this portrait as that of the Bishop Mercurios, [spiritual] son of Bishop Joannes. Mercurios was the metropolitan of Pachoras from 1039 to 1058. There is an empty space on the list between his name and Joannes and it could well have been intended for the name of Marianos. Both were probably spiritual sons of Joannes and succeeded him as bishops, first Marianos and then, after his death, Mercurios.

17 Cf. List of Nubian Kings, Monneret de Villard, op. cit., p. 223.

collected together in the north part of the Narthex. We must assume, therefore, that the restoration of the church took a considerable time and that the vault of the Bishops’ Room and the cupola of the south chapel represent the last stage of the work.

There is another detail which seems to confirm this hypothesis. To the east of the monastery founded by Bishop Paulos in 707 and following the same axis, there was a church which we named ‘the Church on the South Slope of the Kom’. It was founded by Iesou Eparch of Nobadia in 930, in the tenth year of the reign of King Zacharias, son of Georgios.¹⁹ This church was quite small and was situated very near to the Cathedral under the Citadel. Perhaps it was founded when the Cathedral was for a time inaccessible after the roof and columns had collapsed. No traces of the vaulting or of pillars were found in the ruins of the Church on the South Slope of the Kom, but three red granite columns were lying in the sand. They were the northern row of columns from the nave and had probably supported a wooden roof. In view of the fact that this church was much smaller than the Cathedral under the Citadel, it is very probable that the wood from the roof of the Cathedral was re-used here. This material was of great value and is sure to have been used again.

After it had been restored the Cathedral under the Citadel was decorated with fresh murals. A long series of new compositions was painted on the layer of plaster which covered the violet paintings, and on all the pillars. These continue the use of dark colours mentioned in the description of Christ Emmanuel, namely dark brown, brownish violet, dark red and a whole range of vivid colours such as yellow, ochre, red, green and blue. The new style is best represented by two big murals in the north aisle, the Nativity (PLATE XLIII and FIG. 3, NO. 47) and the composition with the Queen Mother Martha in the centre (PLATE XLII, b and FIG. 3, NO. 49). Thus most of the paintings decorating the interior of the domed Cathedral date from the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. The most important painting in the Narthex—the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (FIG. 3, NO. 37)²⁰ is probably from the last quarter of the 10th century. There is a Theotokos Madonna (PLATE XLIV, a and FIG. 3, NO. 64) sitting on a throne, the back of which is painted in horizontal rows of pink, roughly hewn stones. The style is similar to that of the Madonna painted in a tondo in the commemorative chapel of Bishop Joannes, which is probably of the same period.²¹ The state of preservation of the paintings in the Apse does not

¹⁹ This is the first time the name of King Zacharias has appeared in an inscription. He was Zacharias III, son of Georgios. His reign was known only from Arabic texts and up to now it has been very difficult to ascertain his exact dates, cf. Monneret de Villard, op. cit., pp. 112–14 and 223.
²¹ Cf. Faras, I, pp. 118 ff., and the supplementary note added by the author on p. 112. Cf. also Kush x, pl. lxxvi.
allow us to draw any conclusions regarding the different stages of renovation of that part of the church. Two elements, however, give us a certain indication: the figure of an Eparch and that of a king (to the right of the composition in which the Holy Virgin is portrayed protecting the founder of the church(?) are painted over the figures of Apostles which were undoubtedly the original decoration in the Apse. It is quite probable that these two figures were added after its re-opening, when the building had finally been transformed into a domed cathedral.

The interior of the Cathedral was again to be altered, but for this second renovation we have only a date ante quem, which is the death in 1169 of Iesou, the last bishop of Pachoras mentioned in the list, whose stele was found in the commemorative chapel of Joannes during the first season of excavations.\footnote{Cf. Faras, 1, p. 116, fig. 49; Kush x (1962), pp. 227 ff., pl. lxxviii, a.} In the spaces between the pillars separating the nave from the aisles were built walls or screens of mud bricks set on foundations made of stones re-used from other parts of the Cathedral, such as capitals, bases and fragments of the shafts of red granite columns, which have hidden the paintings on the pillars. These additions were not arranged symmetrically. Thus, for example, to the right of the entrance to the nave, the space between the pillars was blocked right up to the arch, while to the left it was considered sufficient to build a screen about 2 m. high. In the screen, as in the south wall, narrow entrances were provided to give access from the nave to the aisles. The same principle was followed in the Haikal. On the north side the screens were about 2 m. high; at the base they were the same width as the pillars, while at the top they were only thin walls of mud brick. On the south side the space between the Tribune and the fourth pillar was completely walled up. An arched door, with a small window above it, gave access from the Haikal to the vestibule leading to the Baptistry and a low screen separated the south chapel from the aisle. The remnants of the paintings preserved on these additional structures represent the last stage of development of the mural paintings at Faras. It is quite probable that the vaulted corridor on the north side of the church is also of this period since its floor is 0.10 m. higher than the floor of the church.

It is possible that the break in the list of bishops coincided with the partial destruction of the Cathedral—the collapse of the vaulting in the nave. It is a striking fact that while uncovering the church we did not find any rubble from the vaults or cupolas of the Apse or of the Haikal. It may be supposed, therefore, that these remnants of the roofing were cleared away soon after the catastrophe. If that was so, we must assume that the final alteration of the church (the separation of the two aisles from the nave by walls and screens built in between the pillars) took place at the time when the nave lost its cupolas. This would explain firstly why the state of preservation of the paintings in the nave is much worse than those in the aisles; and secondly why only screens were constructed in the north aisle of the nave, while walls reaching right up to the
vaults were built in the south aisle. The south aisle was much more exposed to the sun than the north aisle, where the sun shone only in the afternoon and the screens let in enough light without exposing it to the heat.

The partial collapse of the nave was perhaps the result of a raid by the Arab garrison of Qasr-Ibrim. The chief of this garrison, Ibrahim el-Qurdi, was defeated in 1173 or 1175 near Adendan, several kilometres to the north of Faras. (This date coincided with the end of the episcopate of Iesou.) After this victory for the Christians, a new period of relative prosperity started in Faras. There were not the means for a complete reconstruction of the cathedral which was partly buried in the sand, but the cleaning of the nave in order to preserve the two lateral aisles and the adjoining rooms permitted the church to be used. In this last period the two lateral aisles of the cathedral and the other rooms were rather dark, for the windows were covered and the sunlight could only penetrate above the top of the screens at the side of the nave.

Under every painting there was a lamp which smoked and blackened the lower part of the murals and the yellow crosses painted under each of them. On a level with these crosses we have found holes in which hooks had been fixed whereon to hang the lamps. The Cathedral was still accessible after it had ceased to be used for baptism, for we found the vaulted sepulchre of a bishop in the Baptistry. There were three lamps, two water jugs, and a beautiful wooden cross (plate xliv, b) around his skeleton. We may suppose that this is the sepulchre of one of the latest Bishops of Pachoras, who died after Iesou the last on the list.

We should mention here another bishop’s tomb of a late date which we found in the northern part of the commemorative chapel of Joannes. The vault of this tomb, which contained two skeletons (one with a beautiful bronze bishop’s cross) and that of the Holy Virgin’s chapel were covered by a construction of burnt bricks built up against the exterior wall of the Apse at the level of the windows. When we brought this constructive to light during the second season of our excavations we could not understand its purpose. Now, however, that we have uncovered Petros’s tomb, the arched superstructure of which is of burnt bricks built up against the outside of the north wall of the Church on the South Slope of the Kom and topped by a cupola, we have no doubt that the former construction was an analogous sepulchral structure. The tomb is

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probably of the same period as the south corridor of the Cathedral\textsuperscript{29} and the stairs which led to the north corridor. If Tamer was the bishop buried in the Baptistry, then the sepulchre above Joannes' tomb contained the bodies of one or more later bishops whose names are as yet unknown.

The North Monastery could not have been built before the end of the 12th century. At that time both the palaces and the houses on the east slope of the Kom were completely buried in the sand. The walls of these buildings were partly re-utilized to construct the foundations of the North Monastery which was built in four stages, and the small church\textsuperscript{30} on the first floor was added later when the monastery was enlarged. This small church replaced for worship the Cathedral under the Citadel, which at that time was partly covered with sand. The small dimensions of the church in the North Monastery are the best proof of the decline of the community at Faras in the late Christian period.

* * *

To summarize: The most prosperous period at Faras seems to have begun with the reign of Mercurios at the beginning of the 8th century. It was then that the edifice dedicated by Paulos and situated to the south of the Cathedral under the Citadel was built. During the 8th century the Cathedral was decorated for the first time with murals in violet. Pachoras, which was mentioned even in the 10th-century inscriptions (e.g. Aaron's stele of 973) as the metropolis, had remained the capital of Northern Nubia after its union with Central Nubia at the beginning of the 8th century under King Mercurios.\textsuperscript{31}

The 10th century brought the development of the church into a basilica with cupolas, which replaced the earlier wooden roof and the best bishops' portraits were painted at this time. The list of twenty-seven bishops which we discovered is an extremely important historical document. These bishops known from the dedications as founders or builders of various edifices become real historical persons thanks to their portraits painted on the walls of the church. Anthropological analyses of the skeletons discovered in the tombs to the south of the church have yielded valuable data for the study of the features of the persons portrayed. Thus, for instance, Bishop Marianos is shown with a face of light olive colour surrounded by a black beard, while the head of Petros is painted in dark brown and instead of a beard he had but a few black tufts under his lower lip. His actual skull shows typically negroid features which seems to explain the nearly black colour of the head in the portrait.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32} According to the anthropological examination of the skull made by T. Dzierzykraw-Rogalski.
POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT FARAS, 1962–63

While the church was under reconstruction, another was founded to the south by the Eparch Iesou during the episcopate of Elias in the tenth year of the reign of King Zacharias III, 930. The largest series of murals was painted after the restoration of the church, at the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, while another period of paintings is to be noted in the decoration of the walls added between the pillars, probably at the end of the 12th century. Thus we have in the Church under the Citadel a series of Christian paintings executed over a long period. The first phase dates from the 8th century, and the second from the 9th. The third and longest phase may be dated to the end of the 10th and the 11th century, while the final manifestation of this art appears to be of the 12th century. By the beginning of the 13th century the Cathedral and the buildings on the south slope of the Kom were already partly buried in the sand.

This was the end of the Christian architecture in the enclosure at Faras. The use of sandstone blocks, burnt bricks and wooden beams was characteristic of the sacred architecture. Mud bricks were used only for building arches, vaults and cupolas during the later reconstruction of the church. During this period mud bricks were also used for domestic buildings, houses and even bishops' palaces. In the last stage of Christian architecture at Faras, however, mud bricks were the medium for the Monastery and the North Church of the Citadel.33

The University of Ghana Excavation
at Debeira West 1963

by P. L. Shinnie

The second campaign of excavations by the University of Ghana at Debeira West\(^1\) took place from 5 January to 21 March 1963. The party consisted of myself as Director, my wife, Dr J. Alexander of Cambridge University, Miss V. Wills (who did all the architectural survey), Mr J. Myles of the Ghana Museum, and Mr T. Bonner (who took the photographs).

Work was carried on to complete the excavation of site R.8, the greater part of which had been excavated the previous season, and to clear sites R.44, R.59, and R.60. The locations of these sites can be seen in the sketch map of the area (FIG. 1).

In site R.8, the biggest site in the concession, work was continued to elucidate the stratigraphy of the northern edge of the town, the only part where a complete stratigraphical sequence could be obtained. This had been realized at the end of the previous season when in the area of Rooms 59 and 60 it was seen that there was superposition of strata and buildings—unlike most of the rest of the town where the buildings had been filled with wind-blown sand from top to bottom, and where, if there had been accumulation of living debris during the centuries of occupation, it must have been cleared out in later times. On the north side, however, the situation was different, and quantities of rubbish from the earliest occupation had been allowed to accumulate against the northern edge of the town. On parts of this debris accumulation later buildings had been erected. To make the stratification of this area clear and to obtain a section, a trench 20 m. wide was dug from the north side up to the area that had been cleared the previous year.

Examination of this section (FIG. 2) showed that there had been two main periods of occupation in the area. The first connected with level 5 buildings as shown in the previous year’s plan,\(^2\) which, from the pottery, is shown to date from the 7th century A.D.,\(^3\) and very probably from the first half of that century.

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1 For report on the first (1961–62) season see Kush xi, pp. 257–63. The area is known as Faraduwy—'the old tree' in Nubian. 2 Kush xi, p. 259, fig. 2.

3 Detailed publication of the pottery must await the final report. Here let it just be said that there was a predominance of the early wares, particularly brown amphorae (U.4), pink amphorae (U.2), and the various fine red wares of early date (R.3, 4, 5, 6). The numbers refer to Dr Adams's classification in his as yet unpublished 'Field Manual of Christian Nubian Pottery Wares'. The classification given in this manual differs in some important respects from that given in his paper in Kush x.
There was then a period during which at least this part of the site was abandoned, as is shown by a thick layer of wind-blow sand in the section (strata 3–6). It was reoccupied some time in the late 8th or early 9th centuries. It must be realized that these absolute dates are extremely tentative and are based on the, in many cases, guessed dates that Adams gives for pottery. But nothing that we have found invalidates the general chronology that he has suggested and
there can be no question but that his relative chronology is right, and his absolute chronology cannot be far out.

Trench I showed that the northern part of the site had only been occupied in the earliest period and except for the area of Rooms 90 and 60 where the two

![Fig. 2. SECTION OF TRENCH 1, WEST FACE](image)

levels referred to above occur, the only buildings found were the badly built and tenuous ones of the earliest level shown on the plan (FIG. 3) as rooms 94 and 98–107. These would seem to have been the kitchens and store rooms of the earliest period (that shown as level 5 on last year’s plan) and now known to be of the 7th century.

Further work was carried out to the West of Room 90 and the earliest level was shown to extend a short distance this way, again apparently as a number of unimportant domestic buildings with lightly built walls. The later buildings were built over them after the same period of non-occupation as was observed further east. West again of this area are a number of well constructed buildings of apparently later date. The chronology of this area cannot be deduced stratigraphically as here all buildings are founded directly on the natural rock and there are no earlier or later building levels. As was observed last year the main development of the town was outwards through the centuries rather than, except in a few places, superposition of the later on the earlier. The relative chronology of the various components of the site can therefore in many cases only be arrived at from comparison of the very slight variations in architectural style and from a study of the pottery. Such pottery study is, however, liable to misunderstanding in areas where there is no stratification and where the rooms are filled only with wind-blown sand, as is the case in the greater part of the site. In these cases the pottery found in them indicates only the different periods at which the room was occupied and does not give any indication of the date of buildings. But the presence of pottery of the 9th and later centuries and the complete absence of the characteristic wares of the earlier periods is reasonable
evidence that the area of squares B₃, B₄, C₂, C₃, C₄, was only built on at that date and that the town ended further east in earlier times.

In this area the room of greatest interest is that numbered 109a (Plate xlvi, a, b). This room was approached down steps cut into the rock and approached through a doorway, later blocked, from room 120 which was an open courtyard. These steps also led upwards to a small latrine, 121a. The whole of this room, 109a, was built below ground level in a pit cut in the rock. It was extremely carefully finished with mud plaster, with well made niches in the walls on three sides, and painted representation of these niches on the fourth (north) wall. In the East and West walls were set pierced stone knobs as though for hanging something from—perhaps a curtain.

It is extremely difficult to determine the function of this single room building—it was certainly not built for ordinary domestic purposes, though traces of burning both on the floor and up the sides of the walls show that at some time fires had been lit in it, and it seems most likely that it was used for some ceremonial or official purpose. Crosses painted on the walls suggest that the purpose may have been religious.

Excavation was also carried out to the south of the main central block and the town was found to extend to the southern end of the mound (Fig. 4). In this area also there was no overlaying of earlier levels by later ones and there is only one main building period represented. Again, as in all other cases, the nearer the edge of the mound the later in date, and the pottery found here with its higher proportion of wares U.6 and U.8, the ‘sandpaper’ wares characteristic of the domestic pottery of the later period, and imported Islamic glazes is certainly late. Until more study has been made of the pottery no precise date can be given, but on present evidence an 11th- or even 12th-century date for this part of the town is not impossible.

One building in this area calls for special comment—that is the one represented by rooms 134 etc. (Plate xlvii, a). This house, stone built, and unique in this, is smaller and more compact than any other house in the town. It consisted of two rooms, both very small, with brick vaulted roofs, a stairway up to the roof with an emplacement for a water pot at its foot, an open courtyard, and just outside the front door, a kitchen and a latrine. The pottery suggests that this building is very late in the occupation of the town, and with its distinct and neat plan is a very good example of a better type house of middle to late Christian times.

To the west of site R.8 and close to the cemetery, in which sample excavation had been carried out by the Survey party in 1960 was a small mound known

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4 For a brief preliminary note on these wares see Antiquity, vol. 37, pp. 61–3. This note was written before Dr Adams’s typescript ‘Manual’ was available and is in some ways out-dated by his further study. The dating proposed in the note is certainly wrong.
a. SITE R.8, VIEW FROM NORTH SHOWING ON RIGHT THE STRATIFIED DEPOSIT THAT OVERLAY THIS AREA

b. SITE R.8, VIEW OF THE SAME AREA FROM EAST
a. SITE R.8, SOUTHERN PART OF THE TOWN SHOWING ROOM 138

b. SITE R.44, CHURCH AND CEMETERY FROM NORTH
a. SITE R.60, TOWER AND OUTER WALL FROM NORTH

b. SITE R.60, SEMI-CIRCULAR ROOM
from a trial excavation by Vercouter in 1956. This mound was found to contain a small mud brick church of the usual Nubian basilican pattern but with the tower in the north-west corner, instead of, as is usual, in the south-west, and all the usual features of later alteration which are now familiar; the building of a mud brick screen, of additional mud brick supports against the pillars of the nave arcade, and the insertion of a Tribune in the apse. The pottery found in the church indicates that it must have been in use in 8th/9th century times, and that it was perhaps used for domestic purposes at a late date. There is some evidence that its religious use continued after there had been a good deal of silting up inside. And the buildings to the south of it, purely domestic in style and use, were built after there had been a considerable deposit of occupation debris outside the south wall of the church. The pottery from these buildings suggests an 11th-century date. To the north of the church a number of graves were found cut into the rock, some are of the normal shaft type whilst others have niches leading off, either laterally, or as in one case in line with, the main shaft (PLATE XLVII, b). Some have multiple burials.

North of the large church, R.2, was another small mound, R.59, apparently associated with the church. Excavation here showed it to have consisted of two periods of domestic building and occupation. The lower level, a single building of many rooms appears to have been of 7th-century date, and the upper smaller one to have been perhaps two centuries later. The early building is built on precisely the same alignment as the church and there can be little doubt that the church, or another on the same site was built at this time. Since we know that the church was in use in A.D. 1029 when Peter the Deacon was buried there, and from the building of the Tribune over the grave that it must have been in use for some time afterwards, this gives us a period of at least 400 years for a church at this spot. The buildings of R.59 call for no special comment at this stage, they were of the usual mud brick style, and the lay-out of the house, except for its greater size, and greater number of rooms, is no different from that of other medieval Nubian houses. A curious feature not found elsewhere was the burial of two bodies beneath the floor of the upper level building. In several places the skeletons of very young babies were found in pots, and this feature was found in R.8 as well.

Site R.60 further north, was found to consist of a single, elaborate complex with a number of peculiar features. It was not possible to excavate it fully, but the greater part was cleared and sufficient found to give an idea of the general lay-out, even though the purpose of the complex remains obscure.

The buildings of this site form a close knit group differing in many ways from the other sites of the area. It is not a rambling group of buildings developing

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6 During which he ascertained that it was a church, found traces of painted plaster, and a part of an alabaster dish which is now in the Wadi Halfa Museum. We found another fragment of the same dish, or tray, lying on the surface about 200 m. south of the site.  
6 Kush xi, p. 258.
by accretion in a haphazard way over the centuries as do those of R.8, nor is it a single building like R.59. It appears to be a single unit with a boundary wall at least on the north, south and west sides; the east (river) side has been so badly eroded that details of the plan cannot be fully made out. But the buildings that remain on that side are of extremely feeble construction, were clearly kitchens and other domestic structures, and may represent a later development after the original close knit plan had been abandoned.

The main features of the site are a massive tower at the north-east corner, part of which, at least, from the evidence of pottery found must date back to the very earliest Christian times or even slightly earlier. This tower and the rooms associated with it form a unit of their own within the complex and are strikingly similar in construction to the earliest rooms of R.8, which may well go back to the 7th century. The large, long room xcv, and the, perhaps, slightly later ones which are parallel to it must have served a purpose other than a purely domestic one, and it is tempting to see in this whole group a monastery. The walls of this part which must certainly have been built before the rest of the complex are far more massive than most walls of the period and it may well have been that they were intended for defensive purposes. A defended monastery is certainly not an impossibility for this part of Nubia during the 7th century when the first attempts at Arab penetration were being made.

Another remarkable feature of this group of buildings is to be seen in the south-east corner where there was another tower built beside a curious semi-circular room (Plate IV, b). The purpose of this room remains obscure—to my knowledge there is nothing similar in other buildings of the period.

by William Y. Adams

Since 1960 the Sudan Antiquities Service has taken an active part in the programme of archaeological excavations and survey in Nubia, anticipating the inundation of this region when the High Dam is completed at Aswan. Three full seasons, from January 1960 to May 1962, were devoted to an intensive survey of the west bank of the Nile southward from the Egyptian frontier. At the close of the third season the survey had been completed as far south as the village of Gemai, above the Second Cataract, and covered all of that part of Sudanese Nubia which is most immediately threatened with destruction. Preliminary reports of this work have appeared in previous numbers of KUSH.¹

The campaign of 1962–63 marked a new phase in the Antiquities Service field programme. No further survey was carried out during this year, and the whole of the season was devoted to extensive excavations in three major sites. This change of strategy was dictated by the need to complete, as soon as possible, the excavation of all important sites in the northernmost part of the Sudan, which is scheduled for inundation in 1964. Thus although an enormous area south of Gemai remains to be surveyed, a higher priority was necessarily assigned to the completion of all unfinished work in the northern area.

Intensive excavation of most of the larger sites in Sudanese Nubia has been undertaken by the various foreign missions which are co-operating in the Nubian Monuments Campaign. Smaller sites were generally excavated as fully as seemed justifiable in the regular course of the Antiquities Service survey. Nevertheless there remained, at the end of the third season’s field work, a few sites whose excavation had neither been completed by the Antiquities Service nor undertaken by any other archaeological mission. These sites were the subject for the investigations of the 1962–63 campaign.

Locations of the sites excavated in the 1962–63 season are shown in FIG. 1. In the order investigated they were:

6–G–18, an A-Group and C-Group cemetery north of Buhen.
5–X–32 and 5–X–60, a large Christian settlement with underlying Meroitic remains,² situated on the island of Kasanarti, just above the Second Cataract.
6–K–3, the well-known Christian village and monastery on the island of Meinarti, at the foot of the Second Cataract.

¹ Kush IX, pp. 7–43; Kush X, pp. 10–75; Kush XI, pp. 10–46.
² The site numbers 5–X–32 and 5–X–60 were assigned to the Christian and Meroitic remains respectively.
SUDAN ANTIQUITIES SERVICE EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

As in previous seasons, fieldwork was under the direction of Dr William Y. Adams and Mr Hans-Åke Nordström—both archaeologists supplied to the Sudan through the courtesy of UNESCO. Labour, equipment, transport, and all logistic support were furnished by the Sudan Antiquities Service. Excavations were carried on from 10 November to 16 December at 6-G-18, from 18 December to 8 February at 5-X-32 and 5-X-60, and from 10 February to 2 May at 6-K-3. The work at this latter site was only well begun during the campaign of 1962-63, and was to be continued throughout the following season as well. Reis Youssef Mohammed Youssef and a small crew of Quftis comprised the skilled labour force. The number of local labourers varied according to the job, from about 35 at 6-G-18 to 200 at Meinarti.

The excavations at 6-G-18, under the direction of Mr Nordström, were a continuation of the work carried out at this site in 1961, as reported in a previous number of KUSH. The excavations at Kasanarti and Meinarti were conducted by the present writer, and are reported below. As their Nubian names suggest, these two sites are situated on islands in the Nile, some 15 km. apart. Kasanarti is located a short distance above the Second Cataract, and Meinarti immediately at the foot of it (see Fig. 1). Both islands exhibit extensive village remains of

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Fig. 1. WADI HALFA DISTRICT SHOWING SITES EXCAVATED IN 1962-63 CAMPAIGN

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3 KUSH x, pp. 45-7.
the later Christian period, c. a.d. 1000 to 1250. The two sites have many points of similarity, although Meinarti is considerably the larger. Together, their excavation has shed important new light on the complex cultural and historical problems of the later Christian period in the Wadi Halfa region.4

**Kasanarti (5-X-32 and 5-X-60)**

Kasanarti is a tiny, rocky islet situated opposite the village of Abka, some 25 km. south of Wadi Halfa. At the low Nile it is joined to two other islands to the north and south, the three together forming a narrow splinter of land perhaps 1 km. long and not over 200 m. wide.5 The three islands are located in the exact middle of the river, and are separated from both banks by a broad channel at all times. Kasanarti, the middle island, lies in a direct line between two other important Late Christian sites: Gendal Irki (5-X-1)6 on the west bank, and Qasrantawu East (5-X-2)7 on the east.

Almost the entire surface of Kasanarti, above the high Nile level, is occupied by stone and mud brick remains of a Late Christian village. By contrast, the adjoining islands to the north and south are largely devoid of archaeological remains. It seems probable that these islands, which are somewhat lower and less rocky than Kasanarti, served as farm land and pasturage for the inhabitants of the village.

As it appeared before excavation, the site of Kasanarti8 comprised a contiguous cluster of over 100 rooms, built partly of coarse stone masonry and partly of mud brick. The state of preservation was highly variable in different parts of the site, but was generally far better than is usual in the rather ramshackle Late Christian village sites of the Second Cataract.9 Many walls remained standing to a height of 1 m. or more, and vaulted roofs were found intact in several places. Parts of a two-storey building were preserved at the south end of the site. Overburden consisted chiefly of wind-blown sand, underlain by fine waterborne silt in the lowest rooms.

About 75 per cent of the total site of Kasanarti was excavated, in most cases down to bedrock. Although much of the village was built directly on rock, and the deposit underlying the uppermost structures nowhere amounted to as much as 2 m., the settlement proved to have a complex and revealing history. The tightly clustered Late Christian village (Fig. 2 and Plate XLIX, a), which at first glance suggested a monastery or some such integrated community, resolved itself into a series of individual family or ‘unit’ dwellings, each roughly square, with from four to eight small rooms, and having in most cases only a single

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4 See Kush XI, pp. 42-4.
5 Incorrectly labelled as 'Artinassi Islands' on the Abka quadrangle of the Egypt—New Series 1: 25,000 maps.
6 See Kush XI, p. 40.
8 First discovered during the survey of 1961-2; see Kush XI, p. 40.
9 See Kush XI, pp. 42-4.
entrance from the outside. Deeper excavation revealed that the earliest of these 'unit houses' had been fairly widely scattered, but the village grew by accretion until the houses formed a single contiguous mass. However, in nearly every case they remained structurally independent of one another: wherever two houses adjoined a double wall was encountered.

At the highest part of the site, near the centre of the island, scattered remains of earlier Christian settlement were found beneath the Late Christian houses. They had clearly been destroyed by a flood, and little remained except potsherds and a single stone retaining wall. At a still lower level, very denuded remains of a Meroitic and X-Group village were found over most of the site. These were give a separate site designation, 5-X-60, to distinguish them from the overlying Christian site. In most cases these pre-Christian remains rested directly on bedrock.

The occupation history of Kasanarti, as reconstructed from excavation, may be summed up as follows:

1. The earliest apparent remains are those of a straggling Meroitic settlement of very irregular plan. The structures had already been largely destroyed by flooding before the Christian settlement was superimposed, but enough remains to suggest that they were markedly different from Meroitic houses previously excavated at Gaminarti and Meili Island. The Kasanarti village seemingly comprised a continuous ring of small, irregularly shaped rooms surrounding a rocky outcrop which is the high point on the island. The rooms were mostly built directly on bedrock, generally sloping and uneven, which probably accounts for the irregular plan of the structures. The walls which remain are nearly all of very rude stone masonry, rarely over one course high. It is quite probable that these were merely foundations, and were originally surmounted by mud brick. Two rooms had conventional, straight mud brick walls, and several others employed mud brick for floor partitions.

As in other Meroitic villages, large numbers of cooking and storage pots were buried in the room floors, and numerous smaller vessels had been abandoned on the floors. Quantities of ceramic refuse were found within the structures and also beneath the floors. The pottery differs in no way from that found in other Meroitic village sites in the area, and probably dates from the very end of the Meroitic era, perhaps in the 3rd century A.D. 2.

2. Floor levels associated with purely X-Group pottery and occupation refuse were found in several rooms in the Meroitic village. These were generally 10 to 25 cm. above the Meroitic floors. No new construction or reconstruction

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10 Kush xi, pp. 24–8; see also Keating, Nubian Twilight, p. 93.
11 Kush xi, p. 28.
12 A preliminary classification of later Meroitic pottery, based on collections from Gaminarti and elsewhere, is presented in pp. 126-73 of this volume.
could be attributed definitely to this occupation. The remains could be interpreted either as evidence of a 'squatter' occupation by X-Group troglodytes, or as evidence of continued Meroitic occupation after Meroitic pottery had been generally supplanted by X-Group wares.

3. Small quantities of Early Christian pottery,\textsuperscript{13} including several whole cooking vessels, were found above the denuded Meroitic remains in one area on the highest part of the island. Some occupation surfaces with charcoal and bone were associated with this pottery, but no structures could be identified. Either the Early Christian occupation was entirely confined to the uppermost part of the island, or else all trace of it has been removed from the lower areas by later flooding.

4. Some time in the Classic\textsuperscript{14} Christian period, probably following the great floods which disrupted Nubian life in the 10th century,\textsuperscript{15} a group of perhaps half a dozen detached 'unit houses' was built on top of the Meroitic ruins at Kasanarti. These buildings, although originally separated from one another, were confined to the higher part of the island, suggesting that the level of the Nile remained high.

The first 'unit houses' were generally similar to family houses of the Early Christian period.\textsuperscript{16} They were built entirely of coarse stone masonry, roughly square in plan, with one or two large and several smaller interior rooms. The size and shape of the rooms makes it apparent that the roofs were flat, supported by heavy horizontal timbers and perhaps also interior posts.

5. At the beginning of the Late Christian period, perhaps around A.D. 1100, stone construction at Kasanarti gave way largely or entirely to mud brick. The original stone 'unit houses' were all converted, either by having their stone walls raised with additional courses of mud brick, or else by being filled entirely with refuse and having new mud brick houses built on top. At the same time flat roofs were supplanted by vaulted brick roofs. As many of the nearly square rooms in the older structures were not adaptable to this type of roofing, they were divided into smaller, narrower rooms by new interior partitions of mud brick.

 Concurrently with the conversion of the older 'unit houses', several new brick houses were built adjacent to them, making a tight cluster of buildings at the top of the island.

6. As time went on, more and more houses were added to the settlement, first filling up the spaces between the earlier dwellings and later growing outward.

\textsuperscript{13} See Kush x, pp. 276–85.

\textsuperscript{14} The chronological division of the Christian Nubian period into Early, Classic, and Late phases, each distinguished by its special pottery wares and styles, has been employed as a classificatory device throughout the archaeological surveys of the Sudan Antiquities Service. A fuller explanation of the chronological scheme is given in The Seven Ages of Christian Nubia, below.

\textsuperscript{15} See General Conclusions, below.

\textsuperscript{16} e.g. sites 24–E–30 (Kush ix, p. 129 and pl. iii, b) and 5–O–15 (Kush xi, p. 39).
KUSH

from this nucleus in all directions. Since the earliest structures at Kasanarti had pre-empted the highest ground, later additions had necessarily to be built on successively lower slopes. This downward growth pattern, which continued throughout Late Christian times, suggests a falling level of the Nile. At its maximum extent, near the end of the Christian period, the village of Kasanarti counted at least 25 ‘unit houses’ and perhaps 150 individual rooms. FIG. 2 gives the plan of the village at this stage of development.

7. One of the last structures built at Kasanarti was a square building somewhat larger than its neighbours, and supporting a second storey over the whole house (FIG. 2, G). This structure was remarkable for the fact that several of the ground-floor rooms had no doorways, and were entered only through small square hatchways in the roofs (see PLATE XLIX, b). These were originally closed by heavy stone slabs. The building may have served as a combination granary and watchtower for the whole village, as did a similar edifice at Meinarti (see below). Individual rooms without lateral entry, or entered only via labyrinthine passages, were also found in several of the smaller houses.

A surprising feature of the Kasanarti village, considering its extent, was the absence of any semblance of a church. The only suggestion of a monumental or public building anywhere on the island is the two-storey structure previously alluded to. A single room in one of the late ‘unit houses’ (FIG. 2, W) was decorated with white plaster, and bore the inscription ραβαα in black paint over the door, but otherwise exhibited no ecclesiastical features. During the earlier history of the village it is probable that the inhabitants of Kasanarti attended the churches at Gendal Irki, immediately opposite the island on the west bank of the Nile. However, these churches appear to have been abandoned earlier than the island village, and there is no indication as to where the Kasanarti people worshipped in their last years.

No objects of outstanding interest were found at Kasanarti, either in the Meroitic or Christian levels. The site provided for the first time a good stratigraphic record of Late Christian pottery development, which was subsequently augmented at Meinarti. However, the chief interest of Kasanarti undoubtedly lay in its architectural peculiarities. The ‘unit houses’ with their deliberately labyrinthine plan and difficult access; the conversion from flat to vaulted roofs; the development of rooms without lateral entrances; and the building of what seems to be a communal storehouse and watchtower, comprise a unique combination of developments which bespeak special conditions during the closing centuries of the Christian Nubian era. As will be seen, these developments were paralleled to a remarkable degree at the site of Meinarti, 15 km. to the north.

MEINARTI (6-K-3)

The island of Meinarti, with its imposing kom, is one of the best known and most impressive Christian sites in Nubia. It is almost certainly to be identified

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17 See Kush, xi, pp. 35-6.
a. KASANARTI. LATE PERIOD HOUSE REMAINS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE VILLAGE

b. KASANARTI. THE GRANARY AND WATCHTOWER, SHOWING GROUND-FLOOR ROOMS WITHOUT LATERAL ENTRANCES
a. Meinarti. The Kom Before Excavation. The level platform at the top served as the British gun emplacement of Period 1

b. Meinarti. The Blockhouse of Period 3, After Excavation. Walls visible in the foreground belong to earlier structures which partly underlie the blockhouse
a. MEINARTI. A PORTION OF THE MONASTERY OF PERIOD 5

b. MEINARTI. A ROOM FULL OF POTS IN THE MONASTERY OF PERIOD 5
a. MEINARTI. A 'UNIT HOUSE' OF PERIOD 4

with the 'Island of Michael',\textsuperscript{18} at the foot of the Second Cataract, which figures prominently in Medieval Arabic accounts of Nubia, including the 14th-century geography of Maqrizi.\textsuperscript{19} Abu Salih\textsuperscript{20} (c. A.D. 1200) mentions a vast monastery dedicated to SS. Michael and Kosma on the Island of Michael, and both he and a later historian\textsuperscript{21} associate the place with a commandant or governor, who is identified as the oft-mentioned 'Lord of the Mountain'.\textsuperscript{22} Mufazzal's history of the Mamelukes\textsuperscript{23} lists Geziret Mikail, together with Faras and Serra, among towns under the control of Sultan Bybars, A.D. 1260–77.

In modern times the site of Meinartu was seen by Burckhardt\textsuperscript{24} and Cailliou\textsuperscript{25} on their respective journeys in the early 19th century, and has since been visited and described by a host of visitors, most notably Somers Clarke\textsuperscript{26} and Monneret de Villard.\textsuperscript{27} Tombstone texts, purportedly from Meinartu, have been published by Lefebvre,\textsuperscript{28} Crowfoot,\textsuperscript{29} Monneret de Villard,\textsuperscript{30} and Barns.\textsuperscript{31} Curiously enough, no excavation seems to have been undertaken prior to 1955, when several test trenches were made by the Sudan Antiquities Service.\textsuperscript{32} Subsequently Meinartu was included in the Buhen concession of the Egypt Exploration Society, but was relinquished in the winter of 1963. Large-scale excavation was thereupon begun immediately by the Sudan Antiquities Service, and continued until the end of the season.

\textsuperscript{18} However, the derivation of the name Meinartu from ΜΗΝΗΜ, as suggested by Mileham (Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 5) and Griffith (LAAA, xiv, p. 103), is by no means self-evident. Both of these authorities, as well as Monneret de Villard (La Nubia Medievale, 1, p. 217), render the modern name as 'Meinarti', but in fact no 'I' sound can be heard in the word as pronounced by the present-day inhabitants of the island. Moreover, the first syllable is pronounced as English 'may', not 'my'. Hence the transcription 'Mayanarti' employed by Somers Clarke in 1916 (JEA, iii, p. 164) is considerably more accurate than those of his contemporaries. The spelling 'Meinarti' is retained here because it has become more or less standardized in recent usage. \textsuperscript{19} El Khitat, ed. Wiet, pp. 253, 294.

\textsuperscript{20} See Quatremeré, Mémoires, ii, pp. 31–2.

\textsuperscript{21} History of Qalaun, Bibliothèque National de Paris, Fondes Arabes, no. 1704, pp. 291–2. See also Quatremeré, Mémoires, ii, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{22} See Arkell, History of the Sudan, p. 198; Shinnie, Medieval Nubia, p. 5; etc.

\textsuperscript{23} Ed. Blochet, p. 282.

\textsuperscript{24} Travels in Nubia, p. 42. The identity of the site is not absolutely certain, as no name is given. \textsuperscript{25} Voyage à Meroë, i, p. 324. \textsuperscript{26} JEA, iii, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{27} La Nubia Medievale, i, pp. 217–21; ii, pl. xciv.

\textsuperscript{28} Recueil des Inscriptions, nos. 664–7. The source of these texts is given simply as 'Nubia'. They are ascribed to Meinartu by Monneret de Villard (La Nubia Medievale, i, pp. 220–1), but no supporting evidence is given. \textsuperscript{29} JEA, xiii, pp. 230–1.

\textsuperscript{30} Op. cit., pp. 218–20. Of the three texts published by Monneret de Villard, the first (Khartoum no. 16) is the same as that previously translated by Crowfoot (op. cit.), and the second (Khartoum no. 3726) was inadvertently re-published by Barns (see following note). A complete list of published tombstone texts ascribed to Meinartu will be found in the Appendix. \textsuperscript{31} Kush ii, pp. 26–7. See preceding note.

KUSH

The island of Meinarti is situated 10 km. south of Wadi Halfa, just opposite the little village of Sheikh Abdel Qadir (see Fig. 1). Its southern extremity commands a panoramic view over the lower end of the Second Cataract as well as both banks of the Nile, and has clearly been of considerable strategic importance in ancient as well as modern times (see below). Like Kasanarti, Meinarti is situated nearly in the middle of the Nile, separated by a wide channel from both banks.

Meinarti island is a little less than 1 km. long, and approximately half as wide. Except for the kom, the entire island is periodically inundated by exceptionally high Niles. Much of the land has been cultivated in the past, but today it is used chiefly for dairy pasturage. A tiny settlement of some half dozen houses is located just at the north end of the kom.

The site of Meinarti occupies approximately the southern, or upstream, quarter of the island. It is a vast mound of ruined buildings, having maximum dimensions of about 200 m. north-south by 80 m. east-west. Before excavation the highest elevation on the site, near the south end, was 11.20 m. above the surrounding alluvium. The entire surface of the mound exhibited standing or fallen remains of mud brick, most of which clearly belong to the last centuries of the Christian epoch. However, the highest and most conspicuous structure on the site, prior to excavation, was a small fortification and gun emplacement (Plate I, a) built by the Anglo-Egyptian garrison of Wadi Halfa in the days of the Dervish wars.

Excavations at Meinarti during the campaign of 1962–63 were confined to the southern half of the site. Because of the obviously complex stratification, the procedure was necessarily one of peeling or stripping rather than trenching. In this manner between 2 and 5 m. of deposit were removed from the whole southern part of the mound, revealing in succession no fewer than seven occupation levels. After mapping and photography, each level in turn was dismantled and the next level revealed. By the conclusion of the campaign the upper five levels had been removed entirely, and the sixth in part. At Level 7 only the tops of the walls were uncovered after removal of the overlying remains. This level, which was continuous over the whole site, was left for excavation in the following season.

The stratification encountered at Meinarti was extraordinarily well defined. Unlike most Christian settlements, the site, or at least the part of it which was excavated, had clearly been abandoned and re-occupied periodically. During each interval of abandonment the most recent structures were partially if not entirely filled with sand. Upon re-occupation, the still-standing structures were either restored to use or else were dismantled to make way for new buildings, frequently incorporating some of the old bricks and roof timbers. Thus at each level of occupation the floors and lower parts of the walls were generally well

33 An aerial view of the site of Meinarti may be seen in SNR, xxxviii, pl. 10.
34 The structures seen in Monneret de Villard’s photograph (op. cit. II, pl. xciv) are nearly all of British origin.
preserved under clean sand, while the upper walls and roofs were often entirely missing. Except at the surface there was a remarkable absence of fallen brick throughout the site; the deposit consisted either of accumulated occupation refuse or of sterile sand.

Stratigraphic interpretation was further facilitated by the finding of numerous coats of coloured plaster which were uniformly applied over large parts of the village of Meinarti from time to time. This was in most cases gypsum plaster of a very high quality, and remains exceedingly well preserved. The preferred colour was a pale salmon pink, such as is used for interior decoration in many modern Nubian houses, but white, brown, red, and plain mud plaster were also employed. Since even the pink plaster varied considerably in shade from one coat to the next, the finding of plaster of the exact same hue in different parts of the village often helped to establish contemporaneity in the absence of other evidence.

In stratigraphic order (i.e. reverse chronological order) the seven occupation levels encountered in the first season’s excavations at Meinarti, and their approximate ages, are as follows:

1. British fortification, c. 1890.
2. ‘Squatter’ occupation in the last Christian building, after A.D. 1250.
4. Late Christian village and monastery, c. A.D. 1150–1200.
5. Late Christian village and monastery, c. A.D. 1100–1150.

Disregarding the two uppermost levels, both of which were of very limited significance, it appears that the whole complex of remains excavated at Meinarti in the first season belongs to the last three centuries of the Christian Nubian epoch. These remains clearly indicate a continuity of occupation tradition, though not continuous occupation. The island was evacuated periodically in the face of floods or raids or both, but until the end of the Christian period it was just as regularly resettled, presumably by the same inhabitants. Thus the general aspect of the village remained relatively unchanged during the five periods of Christian occupation, although no single building remained in use throughout.

During much of the later Christian era there was a well-marked functional division between the buildings in the central part of the village and those at its

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35 The estimated dates are, of course, largely speculative. For Periods 7 and 6 they are based on previously known pottery wares, and for Periods 5–3 chiefly on the Christian and Arabic tombstones which can be associated with these periods (see Appendix). A fuller discussion of Christian Nubian culture chronology will be found in subsequent pages.
southern end. In the middle of the village were individual ‘unit houses’ closely similar to those found at Kasanarti. At Meinarti, as at Kasanarti, their numbers had gradually increased with the passage of time, so that they became more and more crowded together. By contrast, the southern third of the Meinarti mound was occupied, from Period 7 until the end of Period 4, by a single straggling building of very irregular plan, comprising more than fifty rooms clustered tightly around a central chapel or refectory, and a courtyard. The architectural differences between the two portions of the site are clearly discernible in the plan, FIG. 3.

Because of its apparently communal character, and the presence of a good deal of religious decoration, it seems natural to identify the southern building at Meinarti with the historically documented monastery of SS. Michael and Kosma. On the other hand, the building conspicuously lacks the suggestions of integration which are usual in monastic structures. The rooms seem to be clustered aimlessly and without any preconceived plan (cf. FIG. 3), and the outer limits of the building were never well defined. In fact, they seem to have been in a state of constant fluctuation. There is no hint here of the formally ordered, narrowly circumscribed regimen of monastery life. Nevertheless the southern building was certainly a communal dwelling of some sort, clearly distinct from the secular family houses to the north of it, and until a better claimant appears it has been tentatively designated as the Monastery of Meinarti.

Architectural History

The later occupation history of Meinarti, as revealed through the first season’s excavations, may now be briefly reviewed. In this reconstruction the numbered stratigraphic levels are equated with specific periods of occupation, and are so designated.

Period 7. The remains at this level were not investigated during the 1962-63 season, but the tops of the walls and some of the original roofs became apparent after dismantling the structures at Level 6. They appear to form a single contiguous block of rooms which covers the whole southern half of the Meinarti mound, extending downward from its summit nearly to the edge of the alluvium on all sides. Construction was entirely in mud brick, the walls in most cases being only 20 cm. thick and comprised at each course of a single row of stretchers only. Rooms were frequently fairly large, and tended toward a square plan. Most had plain mud plaster, although traces of thin white plaster are visible in one or two rooms.

36 Quatremère, op. cit., pp. 31–2.
37 Cf. SASOP, 5, fig. 2; Somers Clarke, Christian Antiquities, pls. viii, x, xxix, xxx, xxxix; Winlock and Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius, i, pl. iii; Monneret de Villard, op. cit. i, figs. 122–4, 205; iii, pp. 61–2. It is notable that Meinarti is not included in Monneret de Villard’s list of known monasteries in Nubia (op. cit., iii, pp. 61–2), probably for the reason suggested here.
Nearly all the roofs in the Period 7 village were flat, consisting of closely spaced light timbers overlain with thatch and mud. Parts of several roofs were found intact in the central part of the village, the rooms having been filled to the ceilings with drifted sand before the overlying structures of Period 6 were built. In larger rooms the small roof timbers were supported upon one or two heavy master beams. Numerous buttresses served both to reinforce the very thin walls and to support the master roof beams.

East of the main community dwelling of Period 7, near the base of the mound, stood an elaborately decorated church (fig. 3, H). Its eastern half has been largely destroyed by floods, but the walls in the narthex stand nearly to their original height. This building was not excavated during the 1962–63 campaign, as no facilities were at hand for the conservation of its frescoes and inscriptions. Insofar as these were revealed by preliminary testing, they will be briefly described in later paragraphs. Parts of two elaborately carved palm-leaf capitals, which were found loose in the fill of the Period 6 monastery, may well have come from this same church.

The abandonment of the Period 7 village was almost certainly brought about by a flood, or perhaps a series of floods, which damaged or destroyed most of the lower rooms of the community house as well as the eastern part of the church. That this calamity occurred between the occupations of Period 7 and Period 6, and not at any subsequent time, is demonstrated by the heavy and continuous deposit of mud and sand intervening between the remains of the two periods on all the lower slopes of the mound. The hiatus must have been fairly prolonged, for the upper rooms of the Period 7 community house, which were spared by the flood, were literally filled to the rooftops with drifted sand. The original tops of the walls and even many of the roof timbers were found intact beneath the floors and foundations at Level 6. The buried community house of Period 7 thus formed the platform upon which the settlement and monastery of Meinartti were rebuilt.

Period 6. Another community house, generally similar to its predecessor, occupied the southern part of the Meinartti mound. In many cases the new walls utilized the tops of the earlier ones as foundations. However, the building of Period 6 was confined to the high part of the mound, and did not extend down its slopes—perhaps bespeaking a new respect for the destructive powers of the Nile.

Construction, as in the preceding period, was entirely in mud brick, with thin, buttressed walls, generally large rooms, and flat roofs. Near the centre of the new community house, on what was then the highest point on the island, was a very large room which probably served as a chapel or a refectory (fig. 3, A). This and a number of adjoining rooms had plaster of a light peach colour, but the majority of the building seemingly had plain mud plaster. The character of the community house of Period 6, as well as its decoration, suggest that this was the monastery.
In addition to the community house or monastery of Period 6, there were at least three ‘unit houses’ in the central part of the site. They were remarkably similar to the earliest ‘unit houses’ at Kasanarti, save that they were built of brick rather than of stone. The walls, unlike those in the neighbouring community house, were uniformly 40 cm. thick, without buttresses. The houses were essentially square in plan, with a single exterior door and four or five rooms. As in the monastery, the roofs were flat and timbered.

Period 5 is distinguished from its predecessor by various specific architectural changes and additions, the most conspicuous of which is a uniform coat of light pink plaster applied over nearly the whole of the village. This feature has led to the designation of the monastery of Period 5 as the ‘Pink Palace’, after a well-known building in Khartoum. Although Level 5 is stratigraphically distinct from Level 6 in most parts of the site, no significant hiatus in occupation appears to be involved.

The central chapel or refectory in the monastery (FIG. 3, A) remained in use, although considerably altered by interior partitions. It was plastered white and adorned with a number of Greek inscriptions. Most of the southern rooms in the monastery remained in use. Those at the extreme south end were strongly reinforced as a result of peripheral damage, caused probably by a flood. Reinforcement generally took the form of doubling or trebling the thickness of the walls. There are indications that a watchtower (FIG. 3, D) was built at the south-west corner of the building at this time. It is the first hint of the presence of enemy peoples, who were to plague the later Christian periods at Meinarti.

North of the chapel, most of the monastery rooms of Period 6 were replaced by new structures built on top of their remains. A group of these rooms is shown in PLATE LI, a. Gradually the monastery grew outward and downward with the addition of new rooms, until, like the community house of Period 7, it extended nearly to the base of the mound on all sides. The new structures of Period 5 are distinguished from those of earlier periods by their generally much smaller rooms, very hard-packed floors, abundant mastabas, fireplaces, and other built-in floor features, and uniform pink plaster. FIG. 3 shows the plan of the monastery and neighbouring ‘unit houses’ at Period 5.

A new decorated building (FIG. 3, C) was added to the east side of the monastery during Period 5. Unlike all its neighbours it had conventional 40-cm. walls and vaulted roofs—perhaps the only such roofs to be found in the whole of the village at this time. Its walls were covered with very fine, hard white plaster and were elaborately decorated with frescoes, in which the prevailing colours were green, red, and purple. Unfortunately nothing remains of the building except parts of its westernmost walls, which nowhere stand to a

38 There is no building stone available on the island of Meinarti.
KUSH

height greater than 140 cm. Both the floor plan and the fact that the structure was adapted to a pronounced slope suggest that it was not a church, although the frescoes would seem to indicate a special religious function of some sort.

The monastery of Period 5 was considerably reduced from its earlier extent, and occupied only the southern third or quarter of the Meinarti mound. To the north of it, several new ‘unit houses’ were added to the original cluster (FIG. 3, G). Interestingly enough, these were never built directly adjoining the older houses, as at Kasanarti; they were always separated from their neighbours by a small gap, which in some cases did not exceed 25 cm.

There is conclusive evidence that the whole village of Meinarti was abandoned at the close of Period 5. The circumstances surrounding this event, and the subsequent re-occupation of the site, offer an intriguing puzzle. It is clear that the inhabitants were not forced to flee without warning, nor did they anticipate a long absence, for they left many of their most valued possessions, including pots, baskets, glass vessels, jewellery, blankets, and articles of clothing neatly stacked on the floors throughout the village (cf. PLATE LI, b). Neither flood nor raid followed the exodus, and the abandoned valuables were left entirely unmolested as they were slowly buried in drifted sand. When the village was eventually re-occupied many of the older rooms were restored to use, yet no effort was made to recover the buried treasures. They were found by the archaeologist in some cases only a few cm. below the floors of Period 4.

**Period 4.** We see in this period the first clear indications of strife with invading peoples, heralding the long decline and eventual disappearance of Christian Nubian culture.

Most of the southern part of the Period 5 monastery was re-occupied in Period 4, including both the elaborately decorated building at its south-east corner and the central chapel(?). The latter was once again given a coat of white plaster, and was decorated with a few very primitive paintings in red and yellow. The southernmost line of rooms, which were always especially vulnerable to damage from the Nile, were further reinforced. Most notably the watchtower at the south-west corner of the monastery (FIG. 3, D), which may have been built in the preceding period, was strengthened and heightened. Two massive staircases, one from inside the building and one outside, were built to give access to it.

North of the chapel only a few rooms of the earlier monastery were re-occupied. Most of this part of the site was used either as an outdoor cooking area or as a refuse dump. However, several of the restored rooms were the very ones in which the departing inhabitants of Period 5 had left their valuables; the floors of Period 4 were made on top of the sand in which they were buried. There were apparently no wholly new additions to the monastery at this time, although some walls were reinforced or partially restored and a few interior partitions were built.
Interesting modifications were made in the ‘unit houses’ in the central part of the village during Period 4. Without exception, the earlier flat roofs were dismantled and replaced by vaulted brick roofs. The process of conversion frequently necessitated other architectural changes, such as the re-location of exterior doorways and the building of interior partitions. Moreover, since the original walls were not sturdy enough to be ‘notched’ for vaulting, new ‘skin walls’ had to be built from the floor up to support the vaults. Hence the re-modelled ‘unit houses’ ended by having walls 60 or 80 cm. thick along their long axes, while retaining their 40-cm. end walls. After conversion, two of the ‘unit houses’ also included rooms which were entered only from the roof. The whole complex of modifications is nearly identical to that found previously at Kasanarti, although at Meinarti there was no transition from stone to brick masonry. PLATE LIII, a, shows one of the Meinarti ‘unit houses’ after its conversion in Period 4.

At least one entirely new ‘unit house’ was built during Period 4. Unlike its neighbours it was designed from the outset with vaulted roofs, arched doorways, and walls of uniform thickness, and was not converted from an earlier plan. At some time in Period 4, or shortly after the end of it, Meinarti was raided by Moslem peoples who defaced the crude frescoes in the chapel. This event definitely took place during or at the end of Period 4, and before Period 3, for the site of the chapel was subsequently occupied by the great ‘blockhouse’ of Period 3—the last major Christian edifice on the island of Meinarti.

It may have been the Moslem raid which caused the abandonment of Meinarti once again at the end of Period 4, and incidentally delivered the coup de grâce to the monastery as a viable institution. Obviously it had already suffered a considerable decline since its heyday in Periods 6 and 5. After Period 4 the chapel and most of the rest of the building were abandoned for the last time, and slowly drifted full of sand. In this fashion they became the platform upon which the main edifice of Period 3 was built. Only a few rooms in the north-east corner of the monastery remained in use during Period 3, and one of these had apparently been converted into a latrine.

Period 3 almost certainly represents the last Christian occupation of Meinarti. Its one important relic was a massive square building (FIG. 4 and PLATE L, b), nearly 4 m. high, at the extreme south end of the site. Because of its shape and obviously defensive character it has been termed the Blockhouse. Similar in many ways to the two-storey building at Kasanarti (see above), but far larger in size, it also probably served as a combination community granary and watchtower. As such it took the place of the earlier watchtower at the south-west corner of the monastery, which was partially dismantled to make way for the new building. The lower portion of the old tower, like the adjoining parts of the monastery, had already drifted full of sand, and became part of the foundation platform for the Blockhouse.
The Blockhouse bore no functional resemblance to the monastery which it literally superseded; in plan and construction it suggests rather a hypertrophied version of the 'unit house' (see Fig. 4). With a single exception the walls were roughly plastered with plain mud, and the floors were generally featureless. Indeed, the building bore remarkably few evidences of habitation during the Christian period. However, one wall in the south-east corner room (Fig. 4, D) was plastered white and bore a painted inscription which apparently consisted of the three names μιχαήλ ῥαφαήλ ῥαβριήλ in endless repetition. Were it not for this inscription and a few scattered potsherds, it would be impossible to ascribe the Blockhouse to the Christian period with any certainty.

Everything about the building points to a defensive function. The outer walls were uniformly a metre or more in thickness. The arrangement of the fifteen or so rooms was deliberately labyrinthine, with doorways often barely large enough to admit a man on his hands and knees. At least three rooms at the south-west corner (Fig. 4, C) were entered only through hatchways in the roof. Access to the roof was gained through a narrow, chimney-like slot in the heart of
the building (Fig. 4, B), which presumably contained a ladder, and this in turn could only be reached from below by crawling through a succession of tiny doorways barely 50 cm. high. Within the bowels of the building also were two small rooms (Fig. 4, A) which were divided by interior vaults into upper and lower levels. The two rooms were connected end-to-end at both levels, but the upper level was entered only from an adjoining room to the west, while the lower level was entered only from the east.

It seems probable that the great Blockhouse served primarily as a community storehouse rather than as a dwelling. If so, the last Christian inhabitants of Meinarti must have lived elsewhere on the site. Denuded foundations of several very late mud brick buildings were found in the neighbourhood of the Blockhouse, but not enough remained of any of them to ascertain their character or extent. They had been largely dismantled in the process of building the British fortification and barracks of the 19th century. It is certain, however, that a small group of rooms at the north-east corner of the earlier monastery was restored to use during Period 3, and probably some of the ‘unit houses’ also continued to be occupied.

Period 2 represents a ‘squatter’ occupation in the ruins of Meinarti some time during the long twilight of the later Middle Ages. It is marked chiefly by the re-occupation of the Blockhouse, where several new doorways were crudely hacked through the old walls in order to render the inner rooms more accessible. At least one of the old ‘unit houses’ was also re-occupied. It appears that the buildings were already considerably dilapidated when the re-occupation took place, but no restoration or new construction was undertaken.

The most abundant and characteristic remains of Period 2 are vessels of a distinctive painted hand-made pottery ware, of a type found in the uppermost levels of many Christian sites, and some surprisingly modern-looking iron tools. In most of the rooms of the Blockhouse, the accumulation of sherds of the painted hand-made pottery far exceeds wheel-made ceramic refuse from the preceding Christian period. It may be assumed, therefore, that the occupation during Period 2 amounted to more than intermittent camping.

Evidence in regard to the antiquity of Period 2 is ambiguous. On the one hand, the Period 2 floors in the Blockhouse are in some cases only 25 cm. above those of Period 3, suggesting a very short interval between the two occupations. On the other hand, the iron turveys, sickles, and other implements found on these floors are hardly different from those in use today, and are very little corroded. There are not, however, any other modern products or any items of European manufacture associated with Period 2.

The pottery of Period 2 is especially enigmatic, for it resembles equally the polished hand-made wares of the last Christian period and the offering vessels found in modern Nubian cemeteries. The hand-made ceramic product of Nubian women has followed a remarkably cyclic process of development ever since A-Group times, and the same traditions have re-appeared again and again.
KUSH

**Period 1** is represented by a small fortification built by Anglo-Egyptian troops in the 1890's, recalling the fact that Wadi Halfa was the guardian of Egypt's southern frontier in the days of the Dervish empire. It is probable that the gun emplacement and lookout at Meinartti, together with a somewhat larger establishment directly opposite on the east bank, was the southernmost Anglo-Egyptian position on the Nile with the exception of the outpost at Saras.

The installation at Meinartti consisted chiefly of a high raised platform at the southern extremity of the mound, commanding the lower end of the Second Cataract exactly as had a succession of preceding structures centuries earlier. It was, in fact, nothing more than the great Blockhouse of Period 3, reinforced and filled to the roof with earth (see PLATE L, a). Excavation revealed that the building had been quite well preserved and largely filled with sand prior to the coming of the British garrison. In order to form the lookout and gun emplacement, they had only to build up the partially destroyed east and west walls, and to fill the whole interior with rubble to a height some 50 cm. above the original roof of the building. The platform thus created was approached by a wide staircase on its eastern side.39 Prior to excavation it was by far the most conspicuous feature on the site of Meinartti, and was remarked by many visitors.40

Adjoining the gun emplacement to the north were between eight and twelve rooms which presumably served as quarters and magazines. They were built from bricks dismantled from earlier structures, probably chiefly of Period 3. Very little Anglo-Egyptian occupation refuse was found on the site, and it seems likely that the post was not manned for very long. Probably the garrison was quartered primarily on the neighbouring mainland, where a ruined barracks may still be seen. Finds from Period 1 include about 40 bullets, part of a bullet-mould, and a button from an Anglo-Egyptian officer's uniform.

**Ornamental Stonework**

The site of Meinartti was conspicuous for the absence of monumental architecture, by comparison with other known monasteries. This circumstance may be due to the lack of building stone on the island. The only building revealed by the first season's excavations which may truly be termed monumental was the decorated church (FIG. 3, 11).

Eight fragments of ornamental carved sandstone were encountered during the season—none of them in original *situ*. Two specimens are fragments of palm-leaf capitals which probably came from the decorated church, as did an ornamental cornice. Somewhat more enigmatic are two apparently Meroitic specimens, a fragment of a lintel decorated with uraeus figures and a fragment of a decorated jamb. These may be relics of a Meroitic temple which still lies

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39 See Monneret de Villard, op. cit., II, pl. xciv.

234
buried within the mound, or they may simply have been carried in from a neighbouring site on the mainland.

Frescoes and Inscriptions

As preceding pages have suggested, the first season's excavations at Meinarti revealed a rich harvest of frescoes and inscriptions, suggesting that the island was indeed a place of major religious importance. Foremost among the discoveries is certainly the decorated church which stood to the east of the monastery (Fig. 3, H). The eastern half of the building has been largely destroyed, but the narthex and adjoining corner rooms, as well as the western end of the nave, are fairly well preserved. Trial excavations have shown that every wall in these rooms was elaborately decorated, and that many of the frescoes are accompanied by long inscriptions. One of these was identified by Prof. F. Hintze as the Old Nubian text of the Miracle of St. Mena.41 The church was completely re-buried after a brief sondage, in order to protect the frescoes and inscriptions until proper conservation can be undertaken.

Only slightly less impressive must have been the decorated building of uncertain function which adjoined the east side of the monastery during Period 5 (Fig. 3, C). Unfortunately, little remains except parts of its four western rooms. All of these were adorned with monumental figures similar in both style and colour arrangement to the frescoes of the last and most elaborate decorative period at Faras West.42 Nothing remains of the Meinarti figures now except the lower parts of the robes.

Within the monastery, the central room (Fig. 3, A), believed to be a chapel, was decorated during Period 4 with a few curiously primitive frescoes done in red and yellow on a white background. One of these appears to be 'stick figure' of Christ, with single lines for the trunk, arms, and legs. Other unusual figures in the group are a flying bird and what appears to be a bishop's staff, surmounted by a cross within a crescent—a common symbol of authority.

In marked contrast to the simple and seemingly degenerate paintings in the chapel are fragments of much more elaborate frescoes found in several neighbouring rooms. All of these rooms had been largely destroyed, and the frescoes were identified only form small fragments found among the debris of the fallen walls. The subjects could not be reconstructed, but it was clear that the style was quite ornate, and the colours employed included green, blue, purple, brown and black in addition to red and yellow. On the basis of stratigraphy it is impossible to ascribe these paintings to any time except Period 4, and yet their technique is so far superior to those in the chapel as to suggest an earlier and more developed stylistic period.

42 I am indebted for this information to Prof. K. Michalowski, who kindly examined the frescoes at Meinarti in April, 1963.
KUSH

The most important inscriptions so far seen at Meinarti are undoubtedly those in the ruined church, which remain to be studied. Next in importance are perhaps a group of painted inscriptions in the central chapel. These adorned an early coat of plaster, dating from Period 5, which was covered by the later plaster and primitive frescoes of Period 4. In this room also was a long scratched graffito in Old Nubian, which was partially reconstructed from fragments found in the room fill. Additional painted inscriptions or names were found in three other rooms of the monastery, and there was an inscribed frieze in one room of the Blockhouse of Period 3. All of this material remains to be studied.

In a special category must be mentioned the Arabic inscriptions found at Meinarti—among the most unexpected and intriguing discoveries of the season. Outstanding among them were one complete tombstone (Plate LIII) and fragments of two others (Plate LIV). They were found at widely scattered places in the monastery, all unmistakably associated with Periods 4 and 5. One of the specimens had been re-used as a door socket, and the other two were found lying on room floors. The complete tombstone bears a conventional Moslem mortuary invocation in behalf of Fatima, daughter of Abraham, grand-daughter of Isaac, and great-grand-daughter of Jesus. It is dated in the year 453 A.H. = A.D. 1061, which accords well enough with its stratigraphic position in the monastery if allowance is made for a certain lapse of time between the original placing of the stone and its removal to Meinarti.

The Arabic inscriptions from Meinarti are published by my colleague, N. M. Sherif, in a separate annex to this report. It is sufficient here to call attention to the highly suggestive sequence of personal names and to the combination of a Coptic month with what can only be interpreted as a Moslem year in the date—both presumably evidence of a very recent conversion to Islam. The Meinarti tombstone may take its place alongside the previously known Arabic tombstones from Taifā (A.D. 832), Kalabsha (A.D. 929), Qertassi (A.D. 933), and Derr (A.D. 1027) as evidence of the gradual advance of Islam up the Nile.43 The peculiar system of dating recalls the double dating occasionally encountered in Christian tombstones of the same period.44

Artifacts

The excavations at Meinarti yielded 332 catalogued artifacts, of which 226, or nearly 70 per cent, were found on the floors of the monastery at Level 5. The circumstances which led to the abandonment of so much treasure must have

44 Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia Cristiana, p. 119.
been truly remarkable, for the finding of quantities of undamaged property in
Christian sites of any sort is unprecedented. The Meinarti finds almost certainly
comprise the finest collection of Christian Nubian arts and crafts in existence.

The finds at Level 5 were heavily concentrated in a few rooms which were
specifically devoted to storage. The floor of one room (FIG. 3, F) was entirely
covered with pots, stacked two and three deep in some cases (cf. PLATE LI, b).
The total contents of the room included fifty-three pottery vessels, four glass
vessels, four fragments of woven cotton fabric, assorted leather objects, a carved
wooden comb, a decorated gourd shell, two plain gourd shells, three shell spoons,
and a polishing pebble. Two other connecting rooms (FIG. 3, E) yielded a total
of thirty-seven pots and a comparable assortment of other objects. In all of
these cases the pots were carefully stacked—sometimes nested—and the smaller
objects placed inside them.

No other room yielded the same quantities of material as did the three above
mentioned, but a very high proportion of the rooms at Level 5 contained from
one to half a dozen pots each, plus a wide variety of other objects. The finds
provide a valuable inventory of the common household property of Late Christian
times. Many of the objects show considerable use, and some of the pots had
been cracked and mended in antiquity. The remarkable preservation encoun-
tered throughout the site (over 80 per cent of the pots at Level 5 were found fully
intact) reflects the unusual circumstance that the monastery drifted full of sand
before the timbered roofs collapsed or were removed.

The pottery from Meinarti, as well as that from Kasanarti, belongs to a
distinctive complex of Late Christian wares which has not yet been systematically
described. A majority of the vessels are amphorae and large storage jars, but
there are also considerable numbers of finer decorated pieces. They belong to
a 'family' of closely related wares, all of which are normally decorated in the
characteristic Late Christian style—a somewhat simplified and formalized
variant of the florid Classic Christian style. The preferred vessel forms were
footed bowls and vases similar to those found in the Classic wares, plus an
assortment of gullas and pilgrim bottles which are characteristic chiefly of the
Late period.45

Imported pottery during the Late Christian period was largely confined
to undecorated utility wares. One such ware, with a hard pinkish fabric and a
thin cream-coloured wash, was used for the manufacture of small, keg-like
vessels which are among the most numerous and distinctive finds from Meinarti.46
There were also a considerable number and variety of glazed wares, some of
which are recognizable as products of the Fatimid period in Egypt.

45 The best published illustrations of Late Christian pottery are in Crowfoot, JEA,
xiii, pl. xxxiv : 2 and pl. xxxv ; and Monneret de Villard, La Nubia Medioevale, iv,
pls. ccii and cciii.
46 Two of these vessels may be seen in PLATE LI, b: one close to the nearest corner
of the room and one along the wall to the right.
KUSH

Although most of the whole pottery was found at Level 5, there were of course enormous quantities of potsherds at every level, and these reveal a well-defined process of stylistic and technological evolution in later Christian pottery. Level 7 is apparently characterized by the well-known Classic Christian complex of decorated wares,\textsuperscript{47} plus a group of decorated wares imported from Egypt. At Level 6 the Classic wares have given way to a ‘family’ of wares decorated in a style intermediate between Classic and Late, and the imported decorated wares are still abundant. Levels 5, 4 and 3 are all characterized by the Late Christian wares, the styles and execution degenerating markedly at Level 3. Imported pottery is confined to utility wares and glazes.\textsuperscript{48} At Level 2 all the pottery is heavy, handmade, and about equally divided between decorated and undecorated specimens.

The glass vessels from Meinarti are numerous and varied, and should provide valuable clues to the trade relations of the village. Metal objects of all sorts are surprisingly scarce, except for the very modern-looking iron tools found at Level 2. Among perishable goods the most important are the various specimens of multi-coloured cotton fabric from Level 5. The preservation is generally poor, but it is apparent that they were chiefly garments, and were often lined with leather. The patterns are mostly plain, broad stripes in two contrasting colours, most commonly red and green.

Evidence of Earlier Periods

It is hardly necessary to say that the remains investigated during the first season at Meinarti represent only a fraction of the total occupation history of the site. After removing the top six levels, the highest part of the kom is still more than 7 m. above the level of the surrounding alluvium. It is not certain, of course, that the whole mound is composed of man-made remains; at the heart of it there may be a rock outcrop on which the earliest structures were built. Still there is certainly far more remaining to be done than was accomplished in the first season, and at least seven more occupation levels should reasonably be expected. PLATE LII, b, shows the condition of the mound at the conclusion of the first season’s work.

Random finds of Meroitic objects were made during the season, including the two fragments of sculptured sandstone previously mentioned. These cannot be interpreted as certain evidence of major Meroitic remains on the island, for they could conceivably have been brought from the mainland. However,

\textsuperscript{47} See especially Kush x, pp. 272-4, Wares 7 and 15-17.

\textsuperscript{48} A few of the glazed vessels from Meinarti have elaborate incised arabesques which identify them immediately as products of Fatimid Egypt (cf. Bahgat and Massoul, La Ceramique Musulmane de l’Egypte, p. 70 and pl. xxxiii). A considerably larger number have painted decoration in diverse patterns and colours, some recognizably Egyptian and some as yet unidentified.
previous discoveries at the island sites of Gaminarti, Kasanarti, and Meili all lend support to the idea that there are Meroitic remains within the Meinarti mound.

Contrary to the suggestion of Somers Clarke, there are no indications of Pharaonic structures on the island of Meinarti. The bricks seen by Clarke, which he supposed to be of Pharaonic origin, were probably the extra large bricks used in the thin walls of the Christian monastery. However, a tiny fragment of a hieroglyphic tablet was found in the refuse fill of the monastery, and the possibility of Pharaonic remains on the island—presumably deep within the mound—therefore cannot be wholly discounted.

**General Conclusions**

Both Kasanarti and Meinarti were occupied, in all probability, until the disappearance of Christianity from Nubia—far later than any Christian site previously excavated. They have therefore extended our archaeological knowledge of the Christian period by as much as two centuries, and incidentally have filled in the last gaps in the stratigraphic record of Nubian culture history at this time. Since the earliest excavated levels at both Kasanarti and Meinarti coincide in time with a number of previously excavated sites, we now have a sequence of excavated Christian remains spanning the whole of the seven centuries from A.D. 550 to 1250.

At Kasanarti and Meinarti, we have for the first time an archaeological record of the decline and fall of Christian Nubia. Two external forces are clearly visible, each of which profoundly affected the later history of the Christian period: the high Nile, and enemy peoples.

The importance of the high Nile, and its effect upon the settlement of the Second Cataract region, was recognized as a result of earlier surveys. However, the date ascribed to the peak flood or series of floods was considerably too late. The excavations at Kasanarti and Meinarti, supplemented by discoveries at such other sites as Gezira Dabarosa, Debeira West, and Faras West, now indicate clearly that the era of floods began not in the Late period but in the middle of the Classic period, perhaps around A.D. 1050. Very probably this event, and the

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49 *Kush* xi, pp. 24–8. 50 See above. 51 *Kush* xi, p. 28.

32 *YEA*, iii, p. 164. 53 Normally about 40 × 20 × 8 cm.

54 For a chronology of sites covering the earlier half of the Christian period see *Kush* x, p. 277, fig. 20.

55 A.D. 1250 probably marks the close of the Christian period throughout most of Lower Nubia; there are no verified Christian documents of later date. Further south, however, the Christian kingdoms of Dongola and Alwa survived for another century. See Arkell, op. cit., pp. 196–200. 56 See *Kush* xi, pp. 42–4.

57 I am indebted to Professors Gordon Hewes, P. L. Shinnie, and K. Michalowski for information pertaining to the last three sites mentioned.
KUSH

redistribution of alluvial soil which accompanied it, brought about the abandon-
ment of many earlier Christian sites and at the same time led to the general
migration to high ground in the Cataract region. After their first establish-
ment, both the villages of Kasanarti and Meinarti grew downhill during the
Late Christian period, indicating that the average level of the Nile was slowly
dropping. However, the evidence from Meinarti suggests that floods continued
to be an occasional menace in Late Christian times. It is no wonder that the
inhabitants of the island carefully noted the rise and fall of the river on the trunk
of a sycamore tree, as Abu Saleh has recorded.

The increasing incursions of Arab peoples in later Christian Nubia is well
documented historically. Archaeologically it is attested by many subtle
evidences: the reinforcement of the 'unit houses', the building of rooms
without lateral entrances, the development of labyrinthine interior plans, the
replacement of wooden with vaulted roofs (perhaps to make them less vulnerable
to fire), the building of community watchtowers, and most conclusively of all by
the defacement of the Christian frescoes. As noted previously, this happened
at least once at Meinarti long before the end of the Christian occupation there.

Socially and politically, the effects of enemy pressure are undoubtedly to be
seen in the increasing concentration of the Late Christian population in a few
well defended locations. Hence sites like Kasanarti, Meinarti, Serra East, and
Faras West became ever more densely inhabited, while the intervening stretches
of country were largely abandoned. It is a notable fact, for example, that the
fortress of Serra East is the only identified Late Christian settlement on either
bank of the Nile between Faras and the Second Cataract—a distance of some
40 km. The concentration of churches at Serra very probably reflects the
drawing in of a number of previously scattered communities.

The nature of Late Christian defensive preparations requires some comment,
for it has important bearing on the identity of the enemy peoples. If we consider
the architectural developments at Kasanarti and at Meinarti, it is apparent that
the inhabitants of both villages were concerned less for themselves than for their
goods, and especially perhaps their food stores. The labyrinthine passages and
rooms without lateral entries would merely have served to trap any human
defenders. Had the great Blockhouse at Meinarti been designed chiefly with
armed defense in mind, it could certainly have been far more effectively arranged.
On the contrary, however, all evidence seems to suggest that whenever an armed
attack was imminent, the inhabitants of Meinarti simply evacuated the place

58 See KUSH xi, pp. 42-4. 59 See Quatremère, op. cit., pp. 31-2.
60 For brief summaries see Arkell, op. cit., pp. 186-202 and Shinnie, op. cit., pp. 5-7.
62 Faras, Serra, and Meinarti are the only towns in what is now Sudanese Nubia
which are named by Mufazzal in his list of the dominions of Sultan Bybars, A.D. 1260-77.
See Griffith, LAAA, xiv, p. 102.
after making their food stores and other goods as inaccessible as possible. Possibly they counted on their own harassment to limit the duration and thoroughness of an enemy raid.

The watchtowers at Kasanarti and Meinarti, as well as a tower found previously at Abu Sir, are also worthy of special attention. These structures are all so situated as to command a view upstream. There is a strong suggestion, therefore, that the principal enemies whom the Late Christians feared were nomads from the desert and not invaders coming up-river from Egypt. Like nomads everywhere, we may suppose that the principal objective of the raiders was seizure of the food stores of their sedentary neighbours, rather than colonization or wanton destruction. However, the defacement of the frescoes at Meinarti indicates that religious sentiments were also involved.

The Arabic tombstones found at Meinarti present quite another problem. Their association with Levels 4 and 5 in the monastery, well before the building of the last Christian building on the site, is beyond question. Moreover, it seems inconceivable that such commonplace and essentially useless objects would have been carried any distance. Sandstone blocks *per se* were readily available on the west bank of the Nile opposite Meinarti. The only alternative, therefore, is to assume that the Christian inhabitants of Meinarti had Moslem neighbours, either on the nearby mainland or on the island itself, in the 11th century. Whether they were friendly or hostile neighbours, or whether perhaps they took temporary possession of the island during one of its periods of evacuation by its regular inhabitants, will be subjects for investigation during the second season at Meinarti.

**THE SEVEN AGES OF CHRISTIAN NUBIA**

Thanks to the Aswan High Dam Project and the resulting Nubian Monuments Campaign, the Christian period can no longer be regarded as a neglected chapter in Nubian history. A dozen expeditions have been excavating Christian remains in Egypt and the Sudan during the past five seasons, and all of the most important Christian centres in Lower Nubia, from Kasr Ibrim to Meinarti, are concurrently under investigation. As a result of these researches we now have a continuity of excavated remains spanning the whole eight centuries of Christian Nubian history.

While archaeological evidence increases apace, the historical or documentary record of Christian Nubia remains as fragmentary and unenlightening as ever. Even today only about a dozen of the more than 250 known Christian sites in

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63 See Kush xi, pp. 37-9 and pl. vi, b.
64 Ibn Selim mentions groups of Moslem Nubians between the First and Second Cataracts as early as A.D. 985. See Arkell, op. cit., p. 190.
65 See above.
66 Cf. Shinnie, Medieval Nubia, pp. 6-7.
Lower Nubia can be dated on the basis of direct or documentary evidence.\textsuperscript{67} From a practical stand-point the Christian period must therefore be regarded as essentially a ‘prehistoric’, or at least a non-historic, period. Its history must be measured largely in terms of developments and levels of achievement in the material field—that is, developments and achievements which are discernible from the archaeological record—rather than in terms of recorded events.

In the excavations of the Sudan Antiquities Service we have recognized chronological differences in Christian sites since our earliest investigations at Faras West,\textsuperscript{68} and more recently we have followed the regular practice of designating Christian remains as ‘Early’, ‘Classic’, or ‘Late’; principally on the basis of the pottery they contained.\textsuperscript{69} In the past campaign, however, our archaeological data has been augmented to such an extent that it is now possible to recognize no fewer than seven developmental phases in Christian Nubian culture history. Each is identified by its own distinctive complex of pottery styles and wares,\textsuperscript{70} but is also associated with other cultural developments and historical events.

It is my intention here to propose a chronological scheme and nomenclature for the ‘seven ages of Christian Nubia’. The format is that which is conventional in the classification of prehistoric cultures, the best-known example of which is probably the Cretan chronology of Evans.\textsuperscript{71} In Nubia, comparable schemes for the Napatan and Meroitic cultures have long since been proposed by Garstang\textsuperscript{72} and Dunham.\textsuperscript{73} To the best of my knowledge, no formal chronology has previously been suggested for the Christian period despite its duration of some 800 years.

A chronological scheme of this kind serves a twofold purpose: first, to indicate the main outlines of Christian cultural development and change, and second, to aid in the identification and dating of specific Christian sites in the course of field work. In the interest of this latter objective it is worthwhile to recognize and to differentiate even relatively trivial cultural changes, such as differences in pottery style,\textsuperscript{74} so long as they are consistent and easily determined.

\textsuperscript{67} See Monneret de Villard, \textit{La Nubia Medioevale}, i, Appendix II.
\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Kush} ix, pp. 30–43. \textsuperscript{69} See \textit{Kush} xi, pp. 32–46, and above.
\textsuperscript{70} However, it should be noted that the culture periods proposed here are not the same as the ‘pottery periods’ designated in the \textit{Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery} (\textit{Kush} x, pp. 276–85). These pottery periods correspond to the segments of the present chronological scheme as follows: Periods 1–2 = X-Group (i.e. not included in the Christian chronology); Period 3 = Transitional; Periods 4–5 = Early Christian I; Period 6 = Early Christian II; Period 7 = Classic Christian I; Period 8 = all subsequent culture periods.
\textsuperscript{71} Evans, \textit{Palace of Minos}; Pendlebury, \textit{Archaeology of Crete}, etc.
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{LAAA}, viii, pp. 8–10. \textsuperscript{73} \textit{SNR}, xxviii, pp. 9–10.
\textsuperscript{74} The special importance of pottery in the identification and dating of archaeological remains is discussed in \textit{Kush} x, p. 245 and p. 128 above.
It should not, therefore, be assumed that the differences between one culture period and the next are always of the same order of magnitude, or that they involved major cultural changes in all cases.

Space does not permit more than the briefest outline of the main characteristics of each period, under such headings as ‘Settlement’, ‘Houses’, ‘Churches’, ‘Pottery’, etc. In each category the numbers or names of typical archaeological sites are given in brackets, and the supporting data, if published, is cited in footnotes. All of the proposed dates are highly approximate, based on various direct and indirect evidence which has been reviewed elsewhere. A brief discussion of the proposed dating in relation to certain recorded historical events follows the outline chronology.

TRANSITIONAL, c. A.D. 550–600.

Settlement: widely scattered small villages (6–G–6, 5–S–24).
Houses: small, crude houses of mud, stone, or both; ‘herringbone’ architecture common (6–G–6, 5–S–24).
Churches: none known for certain. Probably small, simple, Orthodox Byzantine.
Domestic pottery: Transitional styles and wares (Styles e, j; Ware R2).
Imported pottery: mostly amphorae (Wares U2, U3).
Cultural conditions: a relatively poor period. Strong Byzantine-Egyptian economic and cultural influence accompanying Christianization; reflected in Nubian pottery.

Historical events: first Christian missionaries, A.D. 542. Punitive raid of Aristo-
machus, 580. Christianization completed, 580.

EARLY CHRISTIAN I, c. A.D. 600–750

Domestic pottery: Early Christian style (f) and wares (R3, R5, W2, W9).
Imported pottery: abundant pseudo-Samian fine wares (R4, W3) and amphorae (Wares U2, U4).

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78 Recent archaeological discoveries strongly support the accounts of Eutychius and Maqrizi, to the effect that Nubia was originally converted to the Melkite faith, as against the contradictory report of John of Ephesus that the original conversion was effected by Monophysite missionaries (cf. Griffith, LAAA, xiii, pp. 51–2; Kirwan, Firka, pp. 46–8). For an extended discussion see Adams, JEA, vol. 51 (in press).
79 Pottery ware and style references are to the manuscript Field Manual of Christian Nubian Pottery Wares (Adams, ms.). Most of the earlier wares and styles are also described in Kush x, pp. 249–76.
85 Ibid. 86 See note 78. 87 See pp. 212–14 above. 88 Kush xi, p. 36 and fig. 6c.
89 Kush xi, p. 32 and fig. 5b. 90 Adams, ms.; Kush x, pp. 249–76.
KUSH

Cultural conditions: a fairly poor period. Strong trade relations with Egypt; art and architecture still largely derivative from Egypt.

Historical events: Arab conquest of Egypt, A.D. 640.91 Egyptian raids into Sudan, 642 and 652.91 Nubian intervention on behalf of Egyptian Copts, 745.91 Union of kingdoms of Nobatia and Makuria.91

EARLY CHRISTIAN II, C. A.D. 750–850

Settlement: beginnings of concentration in larger communities (Debeira West,92 6–G–693).


Domestic pottery: essentially as before. Early Christian style (f) somewhat more elaborately developed. First widespread appearance of ‘ledge-rim’ bowls (Form E9). Locally made amphorae become abundant.100

Imported pottery: rare; mostly amphorae (Ware U4100).

Cultural conditions: relative prosperity. Decline of Egyptian trade and cultural dominance; beginnings of Nubian autonomy. First writing of Old Nubian.101

Historical events: Abbasid accession, A.D. 750;102 persecution of Egyptian Copts and interruption of Nubian trade.103 Growing power and independence of Christian Nubian kingdoms.104 Beja raids and warfare, 822–36.104 Nubian treaty with Caliph of Baghdad, 836.104

CLASSIC CHRISTIAN I, C. A.D. 850–950

Settlement: fairly concentrated in a number of centres (Faras West,105 Faras East, Debeira West,106 6–G–6,107 6–K–3108).

Houses: fairly large, with large rooms; both flat-roofed stone construction and vaulted mud brick. Some large monasteries and palaces (24–R–8,108 6–G–6107).

Churches: variable; some large and elaborately decorated (Faras West,109 24–R–2,110 5–X–1111).

Domestic pottery: Classic style (g) and wares (R7, W5, W6a–c, W7). First widespread appearance of decorated vase forms (Class G). Both decorated and utility wares highly abundant.112

Imported pottery: rare.

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95 Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, pp. 27–36. 97 Kush x, p. 33.
99 See note 78. 100 Adams, ms.; Kush x, pp. 249–76.
101 Griffith, op. cit., p. 53. 102 Arkell, History of the Sudan, p. 188.
112 Adams, ms.; Kush x, pp. 249–76.
SUDAN ANTIQUITIES SERVICE EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

Cultural conditions: a prosperous period of marked cultural independence.
Historical events: heyday of the Christian Nubian kingdoms. Continued warfare with Beja.\textsuperscript{113}

CLASSIC CHRISTIAN II, c. A.D. 950–1050

Settlement: widely dispersed. Most earlier settlements abandoned as result of flood or continuing high Nile. New settlements concentrated on higher ground, especially in Second Cataract area (6–K–3 Level 7,\textsuperscript{114} 5–X–1,\textsuperscript{115} 5–X–5,\textsuperscript{116} 5–X–32,\textsuperscript{117} lower level). \textsuperscript{118}
Houses: generally primitive; perhaps hastily built to replace earlier houses destroyed by floods. Mostly coarse stone walls and flat roofs. Little brick construction and few large buildings (6–K–3 Level 7,\textsuperscript{114} 5–X–1,\textsuperscript{115} 5–S–30,\textsuperscript{119} etc.).
Churches: none definitely identified; probably as before.
Domestic pottery: Intermediate style (y) and wares (R20, R22, W20). Pilgrim bottles (Form Q1) and qullas (Form N7) common forms.\textsuperscript{120}
Imported pottery: reappears in abundance; especially Wares R13, W12, and several utility wares (U6, U8, U13). First appearance of glazes in quantity.\textsuperscript{120}
Historical events: continued power of Christian kingdoms.\textsuperscript{121} Nubians in Upper Egypt, a.d. 662.\textsuperscript{121} General peace with Egypt.\textsuperscript{121} Visit and historical account of Ibn Selim.\textsuperscript{122}

LATE CHRISTIAN I, c. A.D. 1050–1150

Settlement: heavily concentrated in a few localities (Faras West,\textsuperscript{123} Serra East,\textsuperscript{124} 5–X–5,\textsuperscript{125} 5–X–32,\textsuperscript{126} 6–K–3).\textsuperscript{128} Some continued scattered settlement in the Cataract area (5–S–30, 5–S–32, 5–T–42,\textsuperscript{127} 5–T–47, etc.).
Houses: fairly large and substantial; both flat-roofed stone and vaulted mud brick (Serra East,\textsuperscript{124} 5–X–5,\textsuperscript{125} 5–X–32,\textsuperscript{126} 6–K–3).\textsuperscript{128} Numerous large community dwellings (Faras West,\textsuperscript{123} Serra East,\textsuperscript{124} 5–X–5,\textsuperscript{125} 6–K–3).\textsuperscript{128} First evidences of fortification (5–S–31, 5–T–1,\textsuperscript{128} 5–T–29, 5–X–5,\textsuperscript{125} 6–K–3).\textsuperscript{128}
Churches: generally smaller and not as well built as in earlier periods (5–T–1,\textsuperscript{129} 5–T–4,\textsuperscript{130} 5–X–44).\textsuperscript{131} However, Faras West\textsuperscript{132} and perhaps some other large churches remained in use.
Domestic pottery: Late Christian fine-line style (m) and wares (R11, R17, W15, W16). All kinds of pottery highly abundant. Hand-made wares (Group H) highly developed for the first time.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{113} Shinnie, op. cit., p. 6. \textsuperscript{114} pp. 226–8 above. \textsuperscript{115} Kush xi, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{116} Almagro, Pressedo and Pellicer, Kush xi, pp. 192–5. \textsuperscript{117} pp. 218–22 above.
\textsuperscript{118} See also Kush xi, p. 42–4. \textsuperscript{119} Kush xi, p. 27, fig. 4c.
\textsuperscript{120} Adams, ms.
\textsuperscript{121} Shinnie, op. cit., pp. 6–7. \textsuperscript{122} Quoted in Arkell, op. cit., pp. 190–2.
\textsuperscript{123} Griffith, op. cit., pp. 50–93; Griffith, LAAA, xiv, pp. 57–97; Monneret de Villard, op. cit., pp. 188–200.
\textsuperscript{125} Almagro, Pressedo and Pellicer, op. cit. \textsuperscript{126} pp. 218–22 above.
\textsuperscript{127} Kush xi, pp. 42–4. \textsuperscript{128} Kush xi, pp. 36–9, fig. 6, d.
\textsuperscript{129} Kush xi, p. 32 and fig. 5, a. \textsuperscript{130} Kush xi, p. 35 and fig. 5, c.
\textsuperscript{131} Kush xi, p. 34 and fig. 5, d. \textsuperscript{132} Michalowski, p. 207 above.
\textsuperscript{133} Adams, ms.
KUSH

Imported pottery: abundant. Several varieties of utility wares (U6, U8, U12, U13) and glazes. First appearance of distinctive 'keg' form (Q2).\textsuperscript{133}

Cultural conditions: a period of renewed prosperity and stability,\textsuperscript{134} with decline setting in toward the end. Great abundance and variety of trade goods, including glass, pottery, bronze, textiles. First indications of serious harassment by enemy peoples.

Historical events: none recorded.

LATE CHRISTIAN II, c. A.D. 1150–1250

Settlement: concentrated in a few defensive localities. Faras West,\textsuperscript{135} Serra East,\textsuperscript{136} 5-X-5, 5-X-32,\textsuperscript{138} and 6-K-3\textsuperscript{138} are only definitely identified settlements of this period in Sudan.\textsuperscript{139}

Houses: stoutly built, vaulted mud brick unit houses with defensive arrangements (5-X-32, 6-K-3\textsuperscript{140}). Some larger buildings, apparently watchtowers and community granaries (5-X-32, 6-K-3\textsuperscript{140}). Monasteries probably abandoned.

Churches: none definitely identified. Probably continued use of some earlier churches. Faras Citadel Church\textsuperscript{141} may date from this period.

Domestic pottery: less common and more crudely made than in preceding periods. Late Christian bold-face style (u) and wares (W14, W17); abundant handmade pottery.\textsuperscript{142}

Imported pottery: utility wares U6 and U8 and a few glazes.\textsuperscript{142}

Cultural conditions: a period of increasing strife, cultural decline, and poverty, ending in the abandonment of most of Lower Nubia by the Christian population.\textsuperscript{143}

Historical events: raid of Turan Shah, A.D. 1173.\textsuperscript{144} Probably end of Christianity in Lower Nubia by middle of 13th century.

It will be noted that the foregoing chronological scheme applies chiefly to Lower Nubia, which was largely if not entirely abandoned by its Christian population before the beginning of the 14th century.\textsuperscript{145} However, we know from historical sources that Christianity persisted for another century or so in the Dongola province, and perhaps longer still in the southern kingdom of Alwa.\textsuperscript{146} We should probably, therefore, add an eighth cultural period embracing the 'last stand' of Christianity in Upper Nubia. This might be designated the Terminal period of Christian Nubian history.

\textsuperscript{133} Adams, ms. \textsuperscript{134} Shinnie, op. cit., pp. 6–7.
\textsuperscript{135} Griffith, LAAA, xiii, pp. 50–93; Griffith, LAAA, xiv, pp. 57–97; Monneret de Villard, op. cit., pp. 188–200.
\textsuperscript{137} Almagro, Presedo and Pellicer, op. cit. \textsuperscript{138} pp. 218–39 above.
\textsuperscript{139} See also Griffith, LAAA, xiv, p. 102. \textsuperscript{140} pp. 218–39 above.
\textsuperscript{141} Griffith, LAAA, xiii, pp. 57–9. \textsuperscript{142} Adams, ms.
\textsuperscript{143} Arkell, op. cit., pp. 195–7; Shinnie, op. cit., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{144} Arkell, op. cit., p. 195; Shinnie, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{145} See Adams, JEA, vol. 51 (in press). \textsuperscript{146} Shinnie, op. cit.
SUDAN ANTIQUITIES SERVICE EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

Since cultural evolution does not proceed by instantaneous leaps from one level of integration to the next, any specific proposed dates demarcating the limits of the different Christian cultural periods must necessarily be arbitrary. Consequently, in the preceding formulation, all the inclusive dates were ‘rounded off’ to the nearest century or half-century. We could, however, as well select certain recorded historical events as marking the turning points in Christian Nubian cultural development. In some cases there was in fact a causal relationship between historical event and cultural change; in other cases the historical event merely serves to symbolize a certain cultural trend or achievement. In the following table the seven ages of Christian Nubia are bracketed by some of the main dated events in Christian Nubian history.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 542.</td>
<td>First Christian missionaries in Nubia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 580.</td>
<td>Conversion of Nubia completed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.D. 836.</td>
<td>Nubian treaty with Caliph of Baghdad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1173.</td>
<td>Egyptian raid under Turan Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1275.</td>
<td>‘Annexation’ of Lower Nubia by Mamelukes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX

**List of Published Tombstone Texts ascribed to Meinarti**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Published by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(destroyed)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1007</td>
<td>(originally whole)</td>
<td>Lefebvre, <em>Recueil</em>, no. 665*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kht. no. 14</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Coptic; last 3 lines Greek</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Monneret de Villard, <em>La Nubia Medioevale</em>, 1, pp. 219-20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-K-3/147</td>
<td>Wadi Halfa</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>p. 249 and PLATE LIII in this vol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kht. no. 16</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Crowfoot, <em>JEA</em>, xiii, pp. 230-1 and pl. lvii; Monneret de Villard, <em>La Nubia Medioevale</em>, 1, p. 218</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kht. no. 3726</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Monneret de Villard, <em>La Nubia Medioevale</em>, 1, pp. 218-19; Barns, <em>Kush</em> II, pp. 26-7 and pl. v, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braunsberg</td>
<td>Pink sandstone</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Lefebvre, <em>Recueil</em>, no. 666*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Whole ?</td>
<td>Lefebvre, <em>Recueil</em>, no. 664*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.M. no. 939</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Lefebvre, <em>Recueil</em>, no. 667*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-K-3/146</td>
<td>Wadi Halfa</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Fragment</td>
<td>pp. 249-50 in this volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-K-3/302</td>
<td>Wadi Halfa</td>
<td>Sandstone</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Fragment</td>
<td>p. 250 in this volume</td>
</tr>
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* Ascribed to Meinarti by Monneret de Villard (*La Nubia Medioevale*, 1, pp. 220-1). Basis not indicated.
The Arabic Inscriptions from Meinarti

by Nigm ed Din Mohammed Sherif

One complete tombstone and fragments of two others, inscribed in Arabic, were submitted to me for examination. These stones are identified as 6-K-3; 6-K-3; 6-K-3 and they read as follows:

6-K-3

147

1 In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2 O God, You have created her, and You have caused her to live,
3 and You have caused her to die, and of her You know better all that is secret
4 and all that is manifest. To intercede we have come to You; forgive her, then, her sins
5 and have mercy upon her. O God, of her recompense dispossess us not,
6 and after her, into error guide us not. O God, bless Mohammed
7 the Prophet and his family; and show mercy to Your slave-girl, who is in need of Your mercy,
8 Fattimah daughter of Ibrahim son of Ishaq son of Iesa
9 ... died on Sunday, first day of
10 Bauna, year three and fifty and four
11 hundred. May God’s mercy be shown to whoever reads it and invokes mercy upon her.

6-K-3

146

1 [In the Name] of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2 [Say: ‘He is Allah,] the One, the Eternal God. None
3 [He begot, and He was] not [begotten. And none is
4 Equal to Him. O God,] bless
5 [Mohammed the Prophet and his family,] and have mercy upon
6 ...............
KUSH

From line 2 to the middle of line 4 the text on this tombstone is certainly Chapter 112 of the Koran which is called ‘Unity’. Hence the missing words can be easily restored. But restoration of the other words as shown in the above reading is suggested in the light of the texts from stele No. 6-K-3 and the one which follows.

6-K-3

1 [In the Name of] Allah, [the Compassionate, the Merciful.]
2 Allah and His angels [bless]
3 the Prophet. Bless Him, then, you who are believers,
4 and [salute Him with a worthy salutation.]
5 O God, bless [Mohammed] the Prophet
6 [and his family], [and] show mercy to Your slave . . .

Here, from line 2 to line 4, we have Verse No. 56 of Chapter 33 of the Holy Koran, known as the Chapter of the ‘Confederate Tribes’. Restoration of the erased words in lines 5 and 6 is from the text on the gravestone No. 6-K-3.
ARABIC TOMBSTONE FROM MEINARTI, NO. 6-K-3/147

facing p. 250
PLATE LIV

a. 6-K-3
146

b. 6-K-3
302
MEINARTI ARABIC TOMBSTONE
Some Zande Texts—PART 3

by E. E. Evans-Pritchard

PART 3 of ‘Some Zande Texts’ contains some Zande folk-tales known to the Azande as sangba ture, Ture (spider) tales. I have given the name of the recorder for each specimen: R. Rikita (1927–30), myself (1927–30), and R. Mambia (1961–62). Where the tales have been previously recorded in print in the vernacular I have given only a translation, but I have added these further versions both because the texts are scarcely obtainable and as illustrations of the sort of variation that takes place in the telling of these tales, individual renderings of a traditional theme. These are taken from Mgr. Lagae’s collection (La Langue des Azande, vol. 1, 1921), which I have translated from Zande, though he has given a correct translation in French, but grammatical analysis was given precedence over narrative effect; and from Canon and Mrs Gore’s collections (E. C. Gore, A Zande Grammar, n.d. (1926); Mrs E. C. Gore, Sangba Ture, revised by Canon G. Riley, 1951) for the latter of which, so far as I am aware, there is no English translation, and which therefore I have had to translate from Zande as best as I have been able to do. I am responsible for the translations of R. Rikita’s recordings. R. Mambia translated his own recordings, but I have slightly altered English words and phrases here and there.

May I say that there are any number of Sudanese folk-tales, both in the Arabic North and in the South, and that I hope very much that those who have the opportunity will record them before they are forgotten? Those recorded here are just a few specimens of Zande folk-tales. I hope that I shall be able to publish many more.

HOW TURE GOT FOOD FROM THE SKY (R. Mambia)

mbata riahe a du nga auru kpotosende te. kumba a du sa na zoro nghangbaturu yo na du na
Once there was no food on the earth. There was only one man who had food, and he had come
riahe be ko. ho aboro a tona ni ka kpi be gomoro i ki ndu fuo gi kumba re ko fu riahe, ono
down from the sky. When people began to die of hunger they went to that man so that he might give them food, but
ko ki do yo a do. si du dungu aboro ki ni tona ka kpi be gomoro. i ki gumba gi pai re fu he chased them away. So, many people died of hunger. They told this affair to ture ni ya we, ‘ kumba gi du here na riahe nga gu ko a zinga a zinga pati e.’ ture ki ya Ture, saying ‘There is a man here with food, beside which he gets very angry.’ Ture said

251
'oni ongo kina kuo, mi ne ka ndu nga fuo gu kumba re.'
'you be silent, I am certainly going after that man.'

"ture ki ndu ku gi kumba yo re ki nangi ko ni ya ' ani gba kure na mo gbia.'
si ki ngba

Ture went to that man's home and deceived him, saying 'let us make
blood-brotherhood master.' It pleased
a ngba ti gi kumba re. i ki ni mo ka gba kure na ture. fuo bete rago ture ki ndu fuo gi
this man very much. He and Ture made blood-brotherhood. Shortly after-
wards Ture went to
kumba re ki ya ' ako bakuremi mo fu nga riahe fe re, awire kpi be gomoro.' bakure
ku ture
this man and said 'oh my blood-brother please give me some food, my children
are dying of hunger'. Ture's blood-brother
ki ni mo ka nugadi ki ya ' bakuremi ture, mo moi ri ro ku dagba ndu re yo.' gi kumba
re ki ni
bent and said 'my blood-brother Ture, put your head between my legs.' Then
this man
mo ka gu na ture ku ngbangbaturu yo. fuo da yo yo gi kumba ki ni ya fu ture re we,
flew with Ture to the sky. When they arrived there this man spoke to Ture thus,
'bakuremi mo rogo moru na gbanda ki ge akandu' bawe na ue ki ye ani ga.' ture
ki mangi gi
'my blood-brother, collect some eleusine and some manioc and dig up twelve
rats, and then come and we will leave.' Ture did
pai re kina ku o. si du gi kumba ki nugadi berewe re, ture ki moi ri ko ku dagba
ndu ko yo,
this completely. So once again this man bent and Ture put his head between
his legs
ko ki zoro na ture ku zegino no.
and he descended with Ture to this world here.

"ture ki ga ku kpuko yo ki fu riahe fu adia ko. i ki ta ri gi riahe re ture ki ni mo ka
Ture returned to his home and gave the food to his wives. As they were
eating this food Ture began to
senga gi kumba re ki ya, ' nga nga gu kumba re mi ni ndu ku kpuko yo te. ko ni ya
mi zogo
insult this man, saying 'the man to whose home I went is bad. He told me to
ri re ku dagba ndu ko yo mbata ko ni ka gu na mi ka dia riahe.' gi kumba re ki ni mo
ka gia
my head between his legs before he could fly with me to get food.' This man
heard

1 Akandu are rats noted for their fat and are considered a great delicacy.
gi pai ture a gumba tipa ko re, si ki gbere a gbera ti ko ni kpio.
what Ture said about him and he was very annoyed by it.

fu o gure, gu riahe ture a yega na ni si ki nyasi, gomoro ki gbedi ture na adia
ko. si

Afterwards, when the food Ture had brought was finished, hunger tightened on Ture and his wives. So
du ti e ture ki ni mo ka ndu ku bakureko yo berewe, ko ki gu na ture ku ngbangbaturu yo.
he went to his blood-brother again and he flew with Ture to the sky.
ture ki ni mo ka roga ngbatunga ariahe dunduko wa du e zegino ku rogo ga ko
bamangu. ono
Ture collected every kind of food there is in the world and put them into his big
bag. But
bakure ku ture a mere pati ko ki zoro ku sende no. mai ki si ture ngbangbaturu yo
ki nadi
Ture's blood-brother went away from him and descended to earth here. Rain
caught Ture in the sky and rained
ko a nada ko ki du dapuya. ture ki ni mo ka gbata gu gene i a ye ngba ha. ture ki bi
wiri
upon him till he was soaked. Ture then began to look for the way by which
they had come. Ture found a very narrow
gine ndiindii na zoro ku sende no. si ture a zoro ti ni ti gi gine re ku zegino. ture ki ndu
path descending to the earth here. So he descended by this path to the earth.
Ture walked for
a ndu kindi ki ta da rogo bamunga ki nari gaza, aboro ki ni mo ka ye rogo zegino du.
ture
some distance and when he arrived at a bare stone-flat he tapped on a drum, and
people came from all over the world. Ture
ki fu ngbatunga ariahe fu yo dunduko ki ni mo ka ga na ga ko a ku kpuko yo. mbiko
ture
distributed every kind of food to them and he returned home with his also.
Because of Ture
aboro a ri he ti ni areme.
people eat today.

HOW TURE GOT FOOD FROM THE SKY (Lagae)
Once upon a time, say Azande in the Ture tales, about all food-plants, that Ture
went and collected the seeds of all food-plants; and then he took a small drum
and held it in his hand. He flew on high with these things (seeds); and he
stood in the midst of the firmament. He sounded the little drum, and these
seeds of food-plants were dispersed everywhere. Thus it was once upon a time
and they speak about it thus in a Ture tale as they sit around on an evening
telling tales. This is a short story; it is finished.
KUSH

HOW TURE GOT FOOD FROM THE SKY (Gore, 1951)

Once upon a time there was no food on the earth. Just one man descended from the sky with food in his hands; and many people began to die of hunger, and they went after this man, and he drove them in anger from the food, and very many people died of hunger.

People told it to Ture, saying to him, there is a man here who has food. Ture told them to say no more. Ture then went to this man and deceived him, saying 'let us make blood-brotherhood.' This man agreed. So they made blood-brotherhood, he and Ture. When Ture went to this man he said to him 'I have come for you to give me food.' The man told Ture to approach. Ture came and stood before him, and the man bent down, saying 'Ture, you place your head before my legs.' Ture did accordingly. Then the man flew with Ture to the sky, and when he got there he put Ture down and said to him 'you collect eleusine and manioc and go and eat those first and then dig up twelve rats.' Ture did accordingly. He told Ture to approach. Ture went to him, and this man bent down towards Ture and Ture put his head between the man's legs and the man began to descend with Ture to the earth.

Ture returned to his home and he gave the food to his wives. As they ate this food Ture began to abuse this man, saying to his wives 'that man to whose home I went to bring back back food is a bad man, I first had to place my head between his legs before he flew with me.' The man heard what he said. Ture and his family ate up all the food which he had brought back, and then Ture became hungry again. He went again to this man. The man seized Ture on account of what he had said about him, and he flew with Ture to the sky. Ture began to collect seeds of every kind (of food-plant) that there is. The man then walked away from Ture. Rain began to fall on Ture and soaked him. He got up with those things he had in his hands and sought the path by which he had come up with this man. As Ture was looking for the path he saw a tiny rope which descended to earth here on to a large stone-flat, and what he had gathered scattered from Ture. Ture then took a small drum and beat it, and people came from all over the world and they gathered up the seeds, and they were dispersed everywhere, so that people were not hungry any more. Ture then went home.

HOW TURE RELEASED THE WATER (R. Rikita)

sosona de ki guari ki ru ga li gbara a ru gbe. gu boro ki ni ye li
An old woman went and planted many yams. When a person came she
ki ra gbara fu ni, ni ki liti e, ono ka ime a du nga ya, ni kpi a
cooked a yam for him and he ate it, but as there was no water he
kpi be gomoro ime.
died of thirst.
si du ture ki bi mo ka ndu a tigako, ki di ga ko wili ime na
So Ture started to go also for his part, and he took his little water
ndukura ki moi mbepe ku vuru e yo ki moi e ku rogo ga ko mangu. were
in a bottle-gourd and put mbepe in it and put it in his bag. Now,
fuon da ko yo du gbinza de ni li ki ra gbara ki fu e fu ture, ture
after he arrived at the home of the old woman she cooked a yam and gave it to
Ture, and Ture
ki li a li du, ki mbiri ga ko ime, ki sungu ni ngere a ngera de ki
ate it all, and drank his water, and waited, watching the woman
ni mo ka ra kura gbara berewe fu ture. ture ki liti gere du, sungu
starting to cook another yam for Ture. Ture ate it all and waited,
in ngere a ngera. de ki ya bi ture ki ta tata ti ko be mbere li ki
watching. When the woman saw Ture swollen with repletion she
ya ti gu ko na kpi; bombiko agu aboro na li ga li gbara, i na kpi a
thought from that that he was going to die; for those people who had
kpi be gomoro ime, li ki ni li yo a li. si du fuo lita ture gbara,
eaten her yams, they died from thirst, and she ate them. So after
ga li wili gine a du kina yo li a kisi li na tu ga li ime ni, mbiko
Ture had eaten the yams, her little path which was there where she had dammed
the water she drew, for
li a kisi ime a kisa ka ime a du nga ya, aboro ki ni mbiri kina ime
there was no water and people drank rainwater only;
mai sa; gi ga li ime re a nga boro sa na bi e te. si du ture ki ni
this her water, no man had ever seen it. So Ture
mo ka ga ki mere kina ngba ga li gine, li ki ya fu ko we, ‘ture gine
began to depart and went to the entrance to her path, and she said to him ‘Ture
there is no
yo te, gine yo te.’ ture ki ni ndu a ndu, li ki ni ya fu ture we,
path there.’ Ture continued on his way, and she said to Ture,
‘ture gini mire du, ka mo ndu nga yo ya.’ ture ki ni ndu a ndu. si du
‘Ture, it is the path of excrements, you must not go there.’ Ture
ko a da ti ni pati gu ime li a kisi. were, ko ki ni mo ka sipa a a
just continued on his way. So he arrived beside that water she had dammed.
Then he broke through it
sipa ki ni ya fu e we, ‘ime mo kparaka a kparaka rogo gi kpotosende.
and said to it ‘water, you divide over the earth
dunduko re.’ were si du ime a kparaka ti ni rogo gi ngbi dunduko ti
everywhere.’ So it came about that the water divided thereby all
ni re.
over this earth.

HOW TURE RELEASED THE WATER (Zakili : E-P)
gbinza de na guali ki ru ga li gbara, gbara ki idi a ida nga gu bakindigi gbara!
gu boro ki
There was an old woman who rose and planted her yams, and the yams flourished
into what big yams! When a certain man
ni ye li ki danga ge e sa ki ye ka ma a ku we yo. si ki upe a upe, li ki kati wene kpe bu came she went and dug up one of them and put it on the fire. When it was thoroughly cooked she cut down a fine banana leaf
ki ye ki ma a fu gi boro re, ka ime a du nga ya. li ki di gi ga li gbara re ki fu e fu and came and placed it before this man; but there was no water. She took this her yam and gave it to
ko. ni ki ni li e a li kindi, gomoro ime ki ye ka zia ni li ki ni kusi ga li ba sape, ni ki him. After eating for some time he became very thirsty and then she brought out her big knife, and as
ye ka kpika ha li ki ni de go ni a de sa, kina kangba ni ki ni ti.
he was choking she cut his throat right away, and it was his corpse which fell.
gu ni ki ni ye berewe. li ki ni danga ge e sa ki ni moi e ku we yo, si ki ni upe a upe, nga
Another man came. She went and dug one up and put it on the fire and it was cooked thoroughly, and
gu ba upeupe gbara! li ki ni da di kpe bu ni ki ni sungu auru e. li ki di gi ga li gbara re what a big thoroughly cooked yam! She went and cut down a banana leaf for him to sit on. She took this her yam
ki ni fu e fu ni. ni ya ka kpi be gomoro ime li ki ni di ga li ba sape ki ni de go ni a de and gave it to him. When he was dying of thirst she took her big knife and cut his throat
na ni sa.
with it right away.
ture ki ni mo ka gia a a gia ko yo. si du ko a sungu a sunga ti ni ki Ture then heard about it where he was. So after waiting a while he
ni guali ka ndu a ndu kindi ki ta bi kpuli, ki ni mere a mera pangba arose and went on his way until he saw her home, when he walked away at the side of
kporo kpuli ka ta a ta ki ndu ka bi ga li ime li akisi e a kisa ni her home to walk about and he went to see her water which she had dammed,
bakumba ha wa ku li bambu yo. ture ki ni di ga ko ndukura ki ni tu e very much water, as high as the crown of a hut. Ture took his bottle-gourd and drew water
a tu ko yo, si ki ta hi e ko ki ni guali ka ndu a ndu kindi ki ni mo there, and when it was filled he arose and he continued on his way and he
ki ni yere mbepe a yera ni ngia mvuo ki ni moi e ku rogo ga ko ime cut the hollow grass mbepe and pushed it into his water
ku ro ga ko bamangu, ki kusi gi mbepe re kina ti gaga ko, ki ni kuru in his big bag, and he brought this hollow grass right under his armpit, and then he appeared
fuo li ku kporo yo ki ni ya fu li we, gu gbara u na gia pande e si u before her in the homestead and said to her, those yams the renown of which he had heard, it is them he
Some Zande Texts—Part 3

ni ye ka li e.
had come to eat.
li ki de kpe bu ki fu e fu ko, li ki danga sa bakiki e ki ni ge e ka
She cut down a banana leaf and gave it to him and then she went to find a real
big one (yam) and dug it up to
ma a ku we yo. si ki upe a upe, nga gu upeupe gbara! li ki di e
put it on the fire. It was thoroughly cooked, and what a fine thoroughly cooked
yam! She took it
ki ye na ni. ture ki sali curu e ki li a li. si ki ta dia ngbadu ko ko
and brought it. Ture cut into it and ate and ate. When it stuck in his chest he
ki zogo ngba ko kina ku ti gaga ko yo ki mbili ga ko ime. li ki ta
put down his mouth to under his armpit and drank his water. She beat
ngbadu li, ki ya, u a manga pa gi kumba re wai. ture ya fu li u li
her chest (in despair), saying (to herself) how could she deal with this man.
TURE said to her, let him eat
gbara, gu gbara u na gia pande e ko no, ti u ni ye ka li e. li ki ndu
yams, those yams the renown of which he had heard here. It is them he had
come to eat. She went
berewe ki ge a ge we, nga gu bakindigi e ki moi e ku we yo. si ki
again and dug up two (yams), such huge ones, and put them on the fire. They
wi, li ki ye a ye na ni ki fu e fu ko. ko ki li a li, si ki ta dia
were cooked and she brought and gave them to him. He ate and ate. When it stuck
ngbadu ko ko ki zogo ngba ko kina ku ti gaga ko ki mbili ga ko ime.
in his chest he put his mouth down to his armpit and drank his water.
li ki ya, he he he! akumba ye ka lita gbara be ru u a manga wai? ture
She said, he he he! Men come to eat up her yams, what should she do? Ture
ki ya fu li we, u ni gu a gu na li gbara ; gu gbara u na gia pande e ku
told her that he had not eaten enough; those yams of which he had heard the
renown
kpuli yo, ti u ni ye ka li e areme. li ki ndu berewe ka ge gu a ge sa
at her home, it was those he had come this day to eat. She went again to dig
one up,
ni bakindigi e ki ni moi e ku we yo. si ki wi li ki di e ki fu e fu
a real big one, and put it on the fire. When it was cooked she took it and gave
it to
ko; ki bidii ga li sape ki ye ru kina ku ba li ko. ko ki li a li ki ni
him; and she sharpened her knife and came and stood behind him. He ate and
ate,
nangii li a nanga ka saka bangili ko a saka. li ki ya ti gu gomoro ime
deceiving her by turning his eyes (as though dying). She thought by that that
it was thirst
KUSH

du, li ki ta tuka ga li ba sape a tuka ka yera a yera na ni sa fuo ko.
and she snatched out her big knife and made straight for him with it.
ture ki ta guali a guali sende sa ka ora a ora sa, mera a mera ku gine
Ture rose from the ground quickly and ran away swiftly, escaping by the path
ga li ime yo. li ki vura ka kpara fu ko 'ture gine yo te, gine
to her water. Although she cried out to him 'Ture there is no way there,
yo te.' ture ki ni ora a ora sa kina yo, ki ndu ka ti ti ngbongbo
there is no way there.' Ture ran straight ahead by it and went and fell on to the
dam
ga li ime ki kiti e a kita. li ki ni gi wora a kina boro kporo yo.
of her water and broke it down. She heard the sound (of rushing water) right
in her home.
ime ni mo ka gbataka ka fu ka peka willi adi a peka sa ka ndu sa. ime ki ni
The water began to spread, to flow to form little streams, and flow on. Water
nye a nye kindi.
remained ever afterwards.

HOW TURE RELEASED THE WATER (R. Mambia)
gbinza de na du yo ki ru ga ni gbara a ru gbe. si ki rimi a rimo ki unduku na sende.
aboro
There was an old woman who planted many yams. They yielded (swelled)
abundantly. People
a ni ta ye ni mangi sunge fu ni ri ki ni mo ka ra ha fu yo. ono ri a na fu nga ime fu
aboro
used to come and work for her and she used to cook them for them. But she
never gave water to the people.
te. kina ri sa ime a du be ri nga gu ri a kisi gene he a kisa be aboro. si du ho boro a ni
She alone possessed water, which she dammed from other people. So whenever
a man
ri gbara ni si ki ni zi go ni yo, ni ta ta ti ni be he gi gbinza de re ki ni dusia ni na ga
ate the yams they stuck in his throat, and when he writhed with it this old woman
attacked him with her
ri ba sape ki ni de go ni na ni. gi de re a imi dungu aboro rogo gi pai re.
big knife and cut his throat with it. This woman killed many people in this way.
fuo gure ture ki gi pa gi de re ki guari ka ndu ku kpuri yo ka manga sunge fu ri tipa
gbara.
However, Ture heard about this woman and arose and went to her home to work
for her for yams.
ture a ima ino ho ya ri a na oka ime a oka be aboro. si ture a ndu ti ni mbata ki ta a
ta pa
Ture already knew that she was hiding water from people. So Ture went and
searched all around

258
ku gi de re kindii ki da bi gu ime ri a na ka na ni re. ture ki ngba gi ime re ku rogo ga ko
until he found the water she had been keeping from people. Ture drew some of this water in
ndukuro ki zogo ho ku rogo ga ko mangu. ko ki ndu a ki yere ga ko mbepee ki
zogo ho ku
his bottle-gourd and put it in his bag. Then he went also and cut a hollow grass and put it (one end of it)
rogo ga ko ime.
into his water.
flu manga ture ga gi de sunge re ri ki di ba wari ki ra gbara a ra rogo, si ki hi. ri ki
After Ture had worked for this woman she took a very large pot and filled it with yams and boiled them. She
rogo ho fu ture ki ndu da sungu na ga ri ba sape ka pido ture ko ya kpi gbara ri de
go ko.
put them before Ture and went and sat down with her big knife and watched Ture closely so that when he choked with the yams she might cut his throat.
ture ki ni ri gbara si ta zio go ko yo ko ki ghedi ga ko ime na gu mbepee ka a zogo
ku rogo
Ture then ate the yams and when they stuck in his throat he sucked up his water with that hollow grass he had put into
ga ko ndukuro ime mangu yo. si du ture a riti gbara ti ni zanga si zi go ko yo. gi
ghinza de
his water-gourd in the bag. So Ture ate up all the yams without their sticking in his throat. This old woman
re ki ndu ko yo berewe ki ra kura gbara fu ture nga gu wene upeupe he ki sungu
berewe ka
went again and cooked more yams for Ture, nice mealy\(^2\) ones and sat down again to
pido ture gbara zi go ko yo.
watch Ture closely for the yams to choke him.
ture ki ri gi ga ri gbara a ri re dunduko bombiko si a ni ta zio go ko yo
ko ki ni
Ture ate up all these yams of hers, for whenever they stuck in his throat he
ima mbira ga ko ime. gbinza de ki ndu berewe ki ra gu gbara na upe susi gu na du
mbata.
drank some of his water. The old woman went again and cooked yams even more mealy than the previous ones.

\(^2\) Upeupe is a word applied to boiled or roasted tubers to indicate that a tuber is so thoroughly cooked that there remains no water in it.
KUSH

ture ki ri he toni ki rogo ho a roga ku rogo ga ko mangu dunduko. ture ki di gu sa ka ri he.
Ture ate only a little and put all the rest in his bag. Ture then took one yam to eat it.
fu'o gure ko ki tona ka tinda ngba ko ni zara bangiri ko wa he ni dingi boro. si du gi gbinza
After that he began to open wide his mouth and eyes as when something chokes a person. So this
de ri ki gu a gu ba ri yo na ga ri ba sape ki dusio ture ka de goro ko. ri ki ta mbeda na old woman jumped up from her place with her big knife and attacked Ture to cut his throat. When she was close to
ture ko ki a gu da git' a kina boro yore ki zuba oto ki ni oro kina ngba gene ga ri ime yo.
Ture he sprang up and landed a distance from her and he started off at full speed and fled by the path to her water.
ri ki kp'ari ki ya ' ture gine yo te. ture gine mire. ture gine yo te. ture gine mire.' ture
She cried out, saying 'Ture there is no way there. Ture that is the way to excrement. Ture that is the way to excrement.' Ture
ki ni oro sa, ri ki ta ngba ri fu'o ture vuru. ture ki ni mo ka sira ga ri ime si ki mo ka fu a
continued to run straight ahead and she shouted after him in vain. Ture then broke her dam and the water flowed
fu na rago du. ture ki ru mbiti yo ni ya ' mi du o mi nga ture, mi fu ti ro.' si du ime a everywhere. Ture stood on the other side (of the water) and said 'it is I here, I am Ture, it is I who have dealt with you.' That is why water
renga ti ni na arago du.
is found all over the world.

HOW TURE RELEASED THE WATER (Lagae)

There was once an old woman who planted yams and these took so well that the fame of them spread over the whole country. People all knew about it and said there were yams in her home. When a man heard the fame of the old woman's yams he went to her home after them and arrived at her home and told her that he had come to eat of her yams. She replied 'all right, I have heard, be seated.' He waited a short while, and the old woman went and roasted a yam and scraped it well and brought it and gave it to whoever came to eat her yams. He ate it and finished it all and his throat was parched (cracked) with thirst. He asked her to give him some water to drink as after eating the yam his throat was parched with thirst. She answered 'there is no water.' When the man was near to death she cut his throat with her knife, and that man died.
Another man came and said to her that he had come for her to cook for him one of her yams, the fame of which he had heard, for him to eat. She went and cooked a yam for this man and he ate it. When he had finished it his throat was parched with thirst and he said to her that he was parched with thirst, let her give him water to drink. She answered ‘there is no water.’ When this man was near to death she cut his throat with her knife, and this man died. Thus this woman killed many men with her yams.

Ture heard about this old woman. Ture went and drew water into his bottle-gourd and put it in his bag. He cut an mbepe grass and put it in his bag. He appeared in the home of this woman. Ture told this old woman to cook one of her yams of which he had heard the renown that he might eat it right now. She went and cooked a yam and came and gave it to Ture. So Ture ate the whole of the yam, and he waited a little while until he was thirsty. He then took the mbepe and put it into the gourd and sucked up water through it. When it was finished he belched; and he said to her that he was not replete and that she should roast him another yam to eat. She went away and cooked another yam and came and gave it to Ture. Ture ate it all, and when he became thirsty he took the mbepe and put it into the gourd and sucked up water through it. It was finished and he waited a little while. She said (to herself) ‘what does this mean? Since men did not survive her yams, why does not Ture die?’ She was vexed. She went and entered her hut and took her big knife and came out with it with the intention of slashing Ture with it. Ture jumped up quickly. Ture avoided the (main) paths and fled by the path which led to her water. She cried out, saying to Ture ‘there is no path there, it is the path to (the place of) excrements.’ Ture paid no attention to her speech. Ture continued his flight and broke through (kicked down) the dam and it broke and water spread over the whole world.

Once upon a time there was no water, only the water this old woman hid. Ture went and showed men where it was, and because of this they learnt about water.

How Ture Released the Water (Gore, 1951)

There was once an old woman who planted many yams and people came to work for her on their account. When people worked for her she cooked yams for them in a large pot, and as they ate them they became thirsty and the yams stuck in their throats, and while they were writhing in distress she cut their throats with her big knife. She killed many people in this manner.

Ture heard about this woman. She alone possessed water and she altogether hid it from people. Ture said ‘it is I Ture, I surpass people, that woman who has killed people with thirst, I am going after her.’ He set out to go to her home and he begged work of her, and she gave him a task and Ture went to work and finished his task. Ture already knew beforehand that when a person ate this woman’s yams he was overcome by thirst. So he had already drawn his water and put it in his bag, knowing that as he was going to work for her she would
cook yams for him, and the, when he ate them, he could drink water afterwards. He broke off that grass which is hollow inside and shoved it into this water in the bag so that he might drink it with it. She cooked a yam for him and Ture ate it and waited, and she thought Ture would be in distress with it. Ture waited again and ate it (another yam) and secretly drank his water through this mbepe grass, and he toppled to deceive her, making her think from that that he was about to die, and she stalked him with her big knife to cut his throat with it. Ture asked her ‘why do you stalk me, are you going to cut my throat? It isn’t going to happen!’ She was enraged towards Ture. Ture started off with all speed. Ture avoided all (the main) paths and went by just the narrow path leading to her water, that water she hid from people. She spoke thus to Ture, ‘Ture, don’t go there, there is not good, that path goes to a nasty place, the nice path is here.’ Ture paid no attention to her speech, saying ‘what has it got to do with you? I want to go by that path which leads to a nasty place.’ As she cried aloud she went after Ture, and she was angry with Ture because he was going to see her water, for at that time there was no other water. She feared that Ture was going to disperse her water. Ture fled and kicked down the dam and water was dispersed everywhere, and he said to this water ‘may you go all over the world.’ Once upon a time there was no water, only what this old woman hid. Ture went and disclosed its place to people and thereby they came to know about water.

‘I came here and saw men quarrelling and as I went to calm them one of them made for me at once and hit me hard, and as I cried out he took a bit of meat and put it in my hand, and I brought it and placed it on top of the doorway here; child go and fetch it.’

TURE AND NZUANGBA (R. Mambia)

ture na guari ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki da bi kumba nga nzuangba, ko

Ture started to walk and went on till he found a man called Nzuangba, he
ki ya fu ture ‘bakure mi moi we, i a zo ho gba.’ ture ki ya ‘wene
said to Ture ‘friend, I have a hunting area to be fired,’ it will be fired tomorrow.’
Ture replied ‘that’s fine
pai du bakuremi, mi ne ka sunguda gu we re ka so anya ti ni.’
my friend, I shall await the firing to spear animals in it.’
rago ki ta gira nzuangba ki rogo adia ko na awiri ko gbiakuti
Early next morning Nzuangba took his wives and children and also
ture a i ki ga a ga da dua bambu kina boro bebere gi ugu nvuo yo re.
Ture and they went to build a hut right in the centre of this dry grass.

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3 The final paragraph is the commonest of the conventional closings of a story, to mark its end. It has nothing to do with the story itself. This is a feature of many fairy-tales, e.g. Greek fairy-tales.

4 When the grasses are dry an area is marked out and fired. When the animals in it, terrified and blinded by flame and smoke, try to escape they are speared by men surrounding the area.
nzuangba ki ya fu aboro i zo we a zo kirikiri. we ki mo ha gbi ki ni
Then Nzuangba told the people to set the bush on fire all around. The bush
burnt with
pagadi. ngbatunga anya dunduko ki tona ka ora kina ku bebere we yo
roaring fire. All sorts of animals began to flee to the middle of the bush
mbiko si a gbi a gbi kirikiri. anya ki ta ghada fuo nzuangba ku
because it was burning on all sides. The animals were rushing on Nzuangba
bebere we yo ko ni sopo ra. ko ki imi anya ni dingu ra, ambara, agbe,
in the middle of the bush and he was spearing them. He killed many animals,
elephants, buffaloes,
a na ambaga.
and waterbuck.

gi pai ti e re we ki mbedi a mbeda na ku nzuangba, ture ki tona ha
Meanwhile the fire was approaching Nzuangba’s hut and Ture began
gunde ga ko tu roko ki ni kio. ko ki ya ’ bakuremi wa we na ke rani
to be terrified until the seams of his barkcloth were shaking. He said ‘ my
friend, as we are surrounded by fire
a ke kirikiri ani a ora wari?’ nzuangba ki ya ‘ ture ani a bata a
by which way shall we escape?’ Nzuangba said ‘ Ture we shall be
bata. boro we ki ri nga ru ko yo ki ni ye sa ature na nzuangba.
saved.’ The fire came fiercely, with great violence, towards Ture and Nzuangba.
ture ki ni ngere pati ko no re bi kina we. gi pai ti ere adia
Wherever Ture looked there was nothing but fire. Meanwhile
nzuangba na awiri ko i na mbakada kina anya.
Nzuangba’s wives and children were preparing (skinning and cutting up) the
animals.
ture ki ta ya u ba nga ru ku kpee yo, nzuangba ki di nzeme sere
When Ture was about to start wailing Nzuangba took simsim oil
ki kpe he ti ri awiri ko na adia ko gbia ti ture a. nzuangba ki ru
and smeared it on the heads of his children and wives and of Ture also.
Nzuangba then started
gbere ki ta do ho ni ya,
to dance, singing,

‘ nzuangba o nzuangba nzeme sere
nzuangba o nzuangba nzeme sere
mi zogo ri re ku rogo nzeme sere
we ki bisi pido o.’

‘ Nzuangba o Nzuangba simsim oil
Nzuangba o Nzuangba simsim oil
I put my head into simsim oil
and the fire goes out completely.’

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These chants, so common in folk-tales are, though not this one, often almost
untranslatable. I have, however, attempted in all cases where they occur to give an
English rendering.
KUSH

gu we na mbedi a mbeda si ki bisi. gi pai re si ki nga ti ture.
The fire that was very near was extinguished. This affair pleased Ture.
ture ki ya ' bakuremi mo fu nga bete gu nzeme re fe re.' nzuangba
Ture said 'my friend, please give me a little of that oil.' Nzuangba
ki di nzeme fu e fu ture.
took some of the oil and gave it to Ture.
si du ture a gba ti ni fuso adia ko ki ya ' oni zokodi awande na
So Ture dashed off to his wives and ordered them 'burn all the ground-nuts and
asere dunduko, ani na ka ri kina pasio awere.' adia ture ki zokodi
sesame, from now on we shall be eating only meat.' Ture's wives burnt
asere na awande, ono gu dia ko nga nangbafudo ri a zingi a zinga
their sesame and ground-nuts, except for his wife Nangbafudo, who showed
temper
pati ga ri asere na awande.
about her sesame and ground-nuts.
ture ki kiti baugu nuuo na anya rogo ki ndu ki da dua bambu bebere
Ture marked out a large area of dry bush with plenty of animals in it, and went
and built a hut in the middle
he yo ki ga ko yo na adia ko na awiri ko. ko ki ndu ki da yambu
of it and went there with his wives and children. He then went to invite
bakureko nga nzuangba ya ko ye ami so anya.
his friend Nzuangba to come to spear animals.
rame ki ta du ko yo ye i zo we. ture ki kusi gu nzeme sere
Two days before the bush was to be burnt Ture brought out the oil
nzuangba a fu fu ko ki di e toni nga ba wirinzanga ko yo ki siri e.
which Nzuangba had given him and tasted it at the tip of his finger.
si ki nziri a nzira nga ba ture ko ki ni mo ka mbira gi nzeme
It tasted delicious to Ture, so he drank all the simsim oil
a mbira dunduko re ki guari ka ma kina nzeme awande ki uka ha
and went and prepared ground-nut paste and poured it into the
ku ba ha yo.
place of the other.
rago zo we ki da. ture ki ga ku bebere he yo na adia ko na awiri
The time for burning (the bush) came. Ture went to the centre (of the bush)
with his wives and his children
ko na nzuangba a. i ki zo we pati ature kirikiri. we ki ni do anya
and Nzuangba also. The bush was set fire to all around them. The fire drove
the animals
fuw ture ku bebere he yo, ature na nzuangba ki sopo anya
towards Ture in the middle of the bush, and Ture and Nzuangba speared
animals
kpetykpete. we ki tona ka mbeda. awiri ture ki ba nga yo
without ceasing. The fire began to get close and Ture's children
ku kpe yo, ture ki ya 'asi oni, oni ongo ki ye ko no.' ture ki di
began to wail, and Ture shouted 'hey you, shut up and come here.' Ture took
nzeme awande ki kpe he ti ri yo na adia ko. fuo gure ko ki ru
ground-nut paste and wiped it on their heads and those of his wives. Afterwards
he started
gbere ki ni ya,
to dance, chanting,
 'ture, ture nzeme sere
  ture, ture nzeme sere
  mi zogo ri re ku rogo nzeme sere
  we ki bisi pido o.'
'Ture, Ture simsim oil
 Ture, Ture simsim oil
I put my head into simsim oil
 and the fire goes out completely.'
ai te! we ki ni ye a ye sa ture, ka si a bisa nga ya. ture ki mo
But oh no! The fire was coming nearer Ture and was not put out. Ture began
ka ta ngba ko na gi bia re. ako te! awiri ture ki rengbe na kpe
yelling out this song. Alas no! Ture's children were all crying.
dunduko. si ki ya ngbama ture ko ki zogo be ko nzeme awande yo ki
As the fire was on top of Ture he thrust his hand into the ground-nut paste and
ni mo ka migida ngba anwuo na ni. ako te! we ki ni ye a ye
began to sprinkle the grasses with it. Alas no! The fire was getting nearer
kindi. ture kiti ni kpe ki ni kpai fu nzuangba ko undo ko.
all the time. So Ture wailed and cried out to Nzuangba to help him.
nzuangba ki ni mo ka mbeda ri awiri ture na ga ko nzeme sere ki
Nzuangba then smeared Ture's children with his sesame oil and
bi ga ko bia, we ki bisi.
sang his song, and the fire was extinguished.
nzuangba ki sua ture ki ya ' da na ya fo ro mo riti gu nzeme mi
Nzuangba then mocked Ture, saying 'who told you to eat up the oil I
a fu fo ro?'
gave you?'

TURE AND NZUANGBA (Gore, 1926)

Thus, Ture had arisen and went on and on and saw a man whose name was
Nzuangba, and he said to Ture, 'my friend, I have arranged a fire-drive for
animals, they will burn the area tomorrow.' Then Ture agreed to it. As day
dawned they burned it as arranged. Then Nzuangba took all his sons and his
wives even into the middle of the fire-area. He and Ture and the people then
lit the fire all round and the animals, running from all round, met them in the
middle of the fire. And Nzuangba killed very many of them. Then Ture was
very frightened on account of the fire, as it came near them all round. As it approached very near them Nzuangba called all his sons and put sesame oil on the heads of them all. Then he said thus,

‘Nzuangba, o Nzuangba, sesame oil,
I have put down my head into sesame oil
and the fire went out completely.’

Then his sons brushed it all off their heads and the fire also went out entirely. Then they collected the beasts to eat them. Then Ture’s fears abated and he said thus, ‘my friend, I am going away, and you come soon.’ Then Ture went away and said to his wives thus, ‘arise and roast cleusine that we may go hunting.’ And they roasted it. Then Ture and his sons went and they arrived in the middle of the fire-area. Then Nzuangba came. The people then lit the fire all round, and Ture’s party killed but a few beasts. Then the fire came near them and Ture took just ordinary oil (not sesame) and put it on his head and on those of his sons and wives. And he spoke thus,

‘Ture, o Ture, sesame oil
I have put down my head into sesame oil
and the fire went out completely.’

But the fire did not go out and three of Ture’s sons were burnt. However, Nzuangba was even there with him, and he took just a little of his oil and put it on his head and said,

‘Nzuangba, o Nzuangba, oil of sesame,
I have put down my head into sesame oil
and the fire went out completely.’

At once the fire went out completely and Ture and his wives were saved. Nzuangba then admonished him and said ‘do not do thus again.’ And it corrected Ture for all time because three of his sons had died. Then Ture went and came to some fruit and it was quite ripe. He took a bag and picked the fruit into it and ate some also. But the people did not gather this fruit. And they arose against Ture to beat him hard with what he had eaten, and it broke his bowels and affected him badly and he was as a person who has died, and they thought indeed that he was dead. Then he remained there a very long time. Then he arose and arrived and said to his wife thus, ‘I have seen your brother and his family over there, they said thus, “take a basket for food”; I saw it also.’ And his wife did even so. And she saw only the fruit, and she picked a lot into the basket.

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6 I am not sure about the tenses here, but the sense is clear.
7 I think there may be a misunderstanding here, that the narrator has missed the point, that Ture ordered his wives to burn their eleusine, as in the previous version, not to roast it. ‘Zo’ could have either sense.
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 3

(Gore, 1951, is almost the same text, except that the final paragraph, which seems to have no connexion with the main story, is omitted).

TURE AND NGAIMA (R. Rikita)
kumba na du yo limo ko a ngia ngaima. ko ki moi ga ko bakere we,
There was once a man whose name was Ngaima. He made a great fire
ki yambu aboro a yamba sa ni du ; gi ga ko we re si a ki a kia wa
and summoned all the people to it ; and this his fire was as big as
kina ere wa ku mongala yo, na wa wau yo, ngbatunga anya ki du a du
from here to Mongala or Wau, and every kind of animal was
rogo du. were gi kumba re ko a moi mbiro ku rogo ga ko ghanga,
in the midst of it. Now this man put ashes in his horn
na ga ko nzeme sere. were aboro ki ye a ye na ga yo pio du, i ki
with his sesame oil. Then people all came with their nets and they
le ga yo pio a le kirikiri pati gi we re. fuo nyasa leka pio
put up their nets around this fire. After they had erected their nets
ngaima ki ya fu aboro du i ndu a ndu kirikiri pati gi we re na
Ngaima told all the people to go around this hunting area with
nzinga be yo, ono ngaima ki ndu tigako sungu kina bebere gi we yo
bundles of stubble (torches) in their hands, but Ngaima for his part went and
stayed in the middle of the area.
na ga ko nzeme sere.
with his sesame oil.
were aboro ki tona ika we, ki ni zo we a zo tua, si ki ta gbi
Then the people began to set fire to the bush and shout, and when it caught fire
ngaima ki ni zogo li ko ku rogo nzeme sere yo ni do gbere ni ya,
Ngaima put his head down into the oil and, dancing, said

‘Ngaima, ngaima, nzemu⁹ sere
mi ni zogo li re ku nzemu sere
we ki bisi pido
nzemu sere we ki bisi pido
nzeme sere.’

‘Ngaima, Ngaima, sesame oil
I put my head into sesame oil
The fire is completely extinguished
sesame oil and fire is completely extinguished
sesame oil.’

were ko ki ta zangia (zanzia) li ko we ki ni bisi a bisa ni sa
Now, as he shook his head the fire went out by itself.

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⁸ This is another version of the same tale with Ngaima, the principal character in a different story, substituted for Nzuangba, as can happen in folk-tales.
⁹ In these chants the text has nzemu. The usual pronunciation is nzeme.
were anya ki gbi a gbi ni pai ki piki a pika sande gbua.
So the animals were badly burnt and just lay on the ground.

were wa ture a bi gi kumba re ko na maingi were ko ki ni mo
Now, when Ture saw how this man did thus he said to him,
ka ya fu ko we, ' ako (wili) ando, nina a ya fe re we, mi a bi kumba
'o my mother's brother, my mother told me that should I see a man
nga ngaima mi ki ima ya we kawiru du,' si du ture ki ni mo ka ga
called Ngaima I would know that he was her brother.' So Ture went
na gi kumba re ku kpuko yo ki raki ko yo ngbutuka; ko ki ni mo ka
with this man to his home and stayed there some time; and then he began to
sana gi kumba re tipa ga ko mbiro. were gi kumba na ngia ngaima re.
ask this man about his ashes. Then this man Ngaima
ko ki ni mo ka ara mbiro fu ture ku gbanga yo na nzeme sere, ko ki
scraped out ashes for Ture from the horn together with the sesame oil, and he
togo o fu ko ku rogo wili akoro. ono wa ture a ga ko ki sili mbiro
filtered it for him into a little pot. However, when Ture departed he tasted the ashes
ngba lindi ko si ki nziri a nzira nga ko, were wa ko a bi e ya
on the edge of his teeth and it was sweet to his mouth. So when he found it was
nzinziri e du ko ki ni mo ka li e du.
a sweet thing he began to eat the whole lot of it.
fuog da ko kporo yo ko ki ika we ki yambu aboro ni dungu yo sa ni.
When he got home he proclaimed a fire-hunt and summoned many men to it.
were ture ki ni mo ka ya fu aboro we, i le pio a le kirikiri ki
Then Ture told the people to erect their nets around the hunting area and
guari ti ga ko wa ngaima a moingi ki zo kungbo kengire ku gbanga
for his part he arose just as Ngaima had done and burnt just ordinary charcoal
(and put the ashes) into a horn
yo ki ra sere nzeme e ki kuroro; ko ki ni mo ka ndu ku bebere we yo.
and cooked sesame oil (to go with it) and came forth; and he began to enter into
the middle of the fire-area.
aboro ki ta zo we ni poi ku ali, ni ya, ' hai! hai! hai! hiwii!
As the people put fire (to the bush) they cried out, saying ' hai! hai! hai! hiwii!
hiwii!'
were ture ki ni mo ka bi bia, ni ya we,
Now Ture began to sing a song, saying,
'ture, ture, nzemu sere
mi ni zogo li re ku rogo nzemu sere
we ki bisa pido
nzemu sere.'
'Ture, Ture, sesame oil
I put my head into sesame oil
the fire is completely extinguished
sesame oil.'
were ko ki ta bi gi bia re ni do ti li ko. fuo gure we ki ni ye a
Now, as he sang this song he danced with his head. After that the fire came
ye tua, ka si a bisa nga wa sa ya. ture ki ni mo ka ta ngbaduko ki
violently and was not in any way put out. Ture smote his breast
ni ya, ‘mi a manga nwai wili ba ture?’ were gi kumba nga ngaima
saying, ‘what shall I do son of Ture’s father?’ Now this man Ngaima
re ko ki du kina o, ki ru a ru tigako. si du we ki ta ye tua,
was present and stood up for his part. So as the fire came violently
ngaima ki ni mo ka dia ga ko nzeme sere rogo ga ko bamangu na ga
Ngaima took his ash-paste from his horn in his big bag
ko ghanga ki ni mo ka bi ga ko bia ni ya we,
and began to sing his song, saying,

‘ngaima o! ngaima nzemu sere
mi ni zogo li re ku ro nzemu sere
we ki bisi pido
nzemu sere.’

‘Ngaima o! Ngaima sesame oil
I put my head into sesame oil
the fire is completely extinguished
sesame oil.’

were we ki ni mo ka bisa a bisa dunduko kirikiri pati yo. were
Then the fire began to die down completely all around them. So
ture ki ni mo ka bata mbiko kina ngaima. si du si a du ti ni were.
Ture was saved only by the aid of Ngaima. So it happened like that.
adia ture ki ni mo ka mama ko a mama ti ni ghe ki ni ya ‘ako ture,
’Ture’s wives made much fun of him, saying ‘o Ture
mo a kpi ni gu rago wa mo ni bi ga gu horo pai mo ki dagha sa ni.’
you will die on the day when you see someone’s affair and you butt into it.’
wo si a du re, si ki ni mo ka nyasa.
Thus it happened, and thus it finished.

TURE, HIS MUSHROOMS, AND KPIO (R. Rikita)
ture na guari ki ndu ka dungura ga ko rute. ko ki ndu ki bi e ni
Ture arose and went to collect his mushrooms. He went and found
dungu e ti go. ko mo o a mo, ga ko bamangu mbara ki i be e. ko ki
them in quantities on a termite-mound. He plucked them and his large elephant-
hide bag was filled with them. Then he
ni yega a yego kindi ki kuru ko yo du na ko ni. ko ki yembi na ko
returned home and appeared there where his mother was. He called to his
mother
na bakere bunga ni kiki e. ko ki mai rute ko yo si ki kuru a kura
to bring a large pot, a really big one. He put the mushrooms in it and they
filled it,
ngba a fia. ko ki ya fu li we, li di e ka ndu ka pasa a fu ko. li
bulging right over the top of it. He told her to take it and go and cook them for
him. She
ki zundu e wenengai ki mai e we yo, si ki ni fu a fu kindi. si ki
washed them well and put them on the fire, and they boiled for some time. They
zoro a zora dunduko ki da bebere akoro, bombiko rurungbura e nga
sank in the pot to half-way up it, for they are soft things
a, ka si vura i e a i, i ki mai e we yo, si zoro a zora
and even if they fill a thing, when they put them on the fire they diminish
dunduko ki du ni kina toni e. li ki gbindi bakinde ku pati gi
until they are quite small things. She cooked porridge to go with these
rute re ki ye na ni fu ture. ko ki ya u ngere ku akoro yo ko ki
mushrooms and she brought the meal before Ture. When he looked into the
pot he
bi e kina ku bebere akoro. ko ki ni mo ka pa a pa na na ko ki ya
saw that the mushrooms only half filled it. He began to scold his mother, saying
kina li liti ga u rute, bombiko wa si ni i akoro a i. ko ki ni mo
that it was she who had eaten his mushrooms, for they had completely filled the
pot. He began
ka ta na ko a ta ki do li pati ko.
to beat his mother and drove her from him.
gu rago ki ya da ko ki ndu ku mvuo yo berewe ki isi ga ko mangu
On a certain day he went again to the bush and filled his bag
mbara wa kina gu du mbata. ko ki yega na ni ki fu e fu nanzagbe,
of elephant-hide as he had done before. He returned home with it and gave it
to Nanzagbe (his wife)
li ki sungu kina pati ko ki mai e ku akoro yo, si ki i e. li ki
and she sat right beside him and put the mushrooms in the pot, and they filled it.
Then she
ndu na ni ki mai e ku we yo, si ki ni fu a fu kindi ki zoro a zora
went with it and put it on the fire. They boiled for some time and they sank
down
da kina rumburu akoro yo; li ki gbinde bakinde ku pati e ki ye na ni fu
right to the bottom of the pot; and she cooked porridge to go with them and
brought it to
ko. ko ki ya u ngere ku akoro yo ko ki bi ga ko rute kina ku
him. When he looked into the pot he saw his mushrooms right at
mburu bunga yo. ko ki ni mo koti nanzagbe sa ka ta li a ta kindi
the bottom of the pot. He went straight to Nanzagbe and beat her
ki ni do li a do kpluko ni ba sa.
and chased her at once from his home.
kumba ki ni mo ka gia pa ko nga kpio, ni gi ga ko biriki re. ko ki
A man called Kpio (Death) heard of him and of his tricks. He
ni mo ka guari ki ya ko na kpi nyemu ka ndu ka imo ture. ko ki ni arose, saying that he wanted to go and kill Ture. He ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du ture ni. ko ki ya fu ture we, went on his way and arrived where Ture was. He said to Ture thus, ‘ture, mi na kpi nyemu mo ta boro fe re ni kpinga.’ ture ki bi gu ‘Ture, I want you to beat someone for me with a throwing-knife.’ In vain Ture considered this pai vuru re, ka si a du nga wa ko ta boro rogo kpinga ya. ko ki proposal, it did not seem that he could beat a man with a throwing-knife. He ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du na ko ni, ki gumba gu sangba went to, and arrived at where his mother was and told her the words kpio a gumba a re. na ko ki ya, ‘ gini pai mi ka manga ti gimi, Kpio had spoken. His mother replied, ‘what can I do about it, wa mo a ima do re ku mvwo yo? ono de nga mi, ka mi mangi gine since you have already driven me into the bush? Moreover, I am merely a woman, so what can I do tigimi? ture ki guari pati li, ki ndu ko yo du atali ni, ki yawa for my part? Ture left her and went to the atali (oracles) and he struck li atali yo, ami ki fuko ki ta tida, ki ta tida, ture ki ya fu ra the top of the atali and they popped (as in fire), and when they were settled, when they were settled, Ture said to them we, ‘ako abakuremi, kumba ye ka imo re nga kpio, ko na kpi nyemu thus, ‘oh my blood-brothers, a man came to kill me who is Kpio, he wants mi ta boro ni kpinga. mi gbata gu pai vuru, ka mi mangi ka bata be me to beat a man with a throwing-knife. I have sought in vain for some way to escape from ko.’ atali ki ongo kindi, ki ya fu ture we, ‘mo ndu a ndu kindi him.’ Atali were for long silent and then they said to Ture thus, ‘you go ki rogo akoro ue ni kikindigi e, ki ndu na ni ki fu e fu kpio, mo and take two pots, big ones, and take them and give them to Kpio, and you ki ya fu ko we, i na ta nga boro rogo kpinga yo te, i ni ta boro say to him that one does not beat a man with a throwing-knife, but they beat a man na kina aume. si ngba ka kpio yembu ga ko aboro i ye ka kpara ku with tears. Let Kpio summon his people to come and weep into rogo gi akoro re, ka aume yo i gi akoro du ue re, mo ki ta boro these pots, and if their tears fill these two pots, then you will beat the man rogo kpinga yo.’ ture ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du kpio with a throwing-knife.’ Ture went on his way and appeared at Kpio’s home. ni. ko ki rogo bunga ue ki mai e barangba ko, ki ya fu ko we, Then he took two large pots and placed them before him and said to him thus, ‘gbia, kpio, i ni ta nga boro ni ime te, mi ni ta boro ni kina ‘master, Kpio, one does not beat a man with water, I beat a man
KUSH

aume. si ngba ka mo yembu gu ga mo aboro mo ni ye na yo i ye ka with tears. It were well that you should summon your people to come with you and they can kpata ku rogo gi bunga du ue re, ka aume roni i e na ga mo aboro, weep into these two pots, and if your and your people's tears fill them mi ki ta boro fo ro na ari aume re ni wene kpinga, ka mo a zoga I will beat your man with these tears as a fine throwing-knife, nga a be ro wa sa ya mbiko ngbanya a. ' kpio ki yembu ga ko one so beautiful that you will not be able to put it down.' Kpio then summoned all his aboro dunduko nga yo ko a ye na yo. i ki dua li yo ku akoro yo, ki people, those who came with him. They bowed their heads over the pots and kpari vuru ka aume yo a i nga akoro wa sa ya, ka si a mbeda nga they wept in vain, for their tears did not at all fill the pots and scarcely covered kina ku mburu akoro ya. kpio ki ni mo ka guari na avuko ka ga ku the bottoms of them. Kpio rose with his followers and returned to kpunko yo. bombioko wa ture a gasi ko a gasa. his home, for Ture had got the better of him. kpio a gumba gi pai re fu ture nga ko ta boro ni kpinga fu ko ; ka Kpio had told Ture that he must beat a man with a throwing-knife for him; if ture a manga nga wo ya ko ki imi ture a ima ni ba sa, ono ture ki Ture did not do so he would kill him right away. However, Ture gasi ko rogo biriki yo. got the better of him by trickery.

TURE AND ONE-LEG (R. Mambia)
kumba a du yo na nduko sa. kpunko a du mbembe di na ku ture, ono nvuo There was once a one-legged man whose home was close to Ture's, though there was bush a du dagba yo. gi kumba re, ko a ida nga aboro bi ko te. si du ko a between them. This man did not like that people should see him. Therefore he na kura dimo kpunko yo kina yuru. boro a bi nga ko mbata wa sa te. only went out of his hut at night. Nobody ever saw him once. go a du bebere nvuo yo dagba ature na bandurusa. rago a ni ta There was a termite-mound in the middle of the bush between Ture and One-leg. Whenever bisa bandurusa ki kuru ki ye biti gi go re ki yambu ture ku kupuko yo, it was getting dark One-leg would appear, come, and climb that mound, and call to Ture in his home, ki ya, ' ture oo mo a bi re?' ture ki ya ' oo, oo, mi a bi nga ro saying, 'O Ture, have you ever seen me?' Ture would reply 'Oh no I have never seen you!'
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART 3

te! mo ni du wai o o? mo ni du wai? bandurusa ki ya 'bawene kumba
What do you look like eh? What do you look like? One-leg would say
na ngba a ngba ki susi aboro dunduko.' bandurusa ki ni zoro ri go yo
'a very handsome man, more handsome than anyone else.' One-leg would then
descend from the mound
ki ta do ghere ni ga ku kpuko yo. rago a ngba ti ko mbiko boro a bi
and return home dancing. He was very happy because no one ever saw
nga ko wa sa te. na ayurn dunduko bandurusa a na fuda ture.
him at all. Every night One-leg used to trouble Ture.

yuru sa ture ki ya fu dia ko 'ka bandurusa yambu re areme berewe
One night Ture said to his wife ‘if One-leg summons me tonight
mo ki gumba kina gu pai mi na gumba fu ko na ayuru.' ture ki ya 'mo
again, speak the same words that I speak to him every night.’ Ture said
a ya wai fu ko?' ri ki gumba kina gu pai ture na pe he. si du ture
‘what will you say to him?’ She spoke the very words Ture used to say.
So Ture
ki ndu ki gbu rogo nwuo pati ga bandurusa go.
went and hid in the bush near One-leg's mound.
rago ki ta bira bandurusa ki ye dakpa go ki yambu ture 'ture oo mo
When it was dark One-leg came and climbed up the mound and called Ture
'Ture oo
a bi re?' dia ture ki ya 'oo, oo, mi a bi nga ro te. mo ni du wai
have you ever seen me ?' Ture's wife said, 'oh no I have never seen you. What
do you look like
o o? mo ni du wai?' bandurusa ki ya 'bawene kumba na ngba a ngba
eh? What do you look like?' One-leg said 'a very handsome man,
ki susi aboro dunduko,' ko ki zoro ri go yo ki ta ngi ni ga ku kpuko
more handsome than anyone else.' He then came down from the mound and
returned home rejoicing.

yo. atikawari ti e ture a ima bi ko du. ture ki oro fuo dia ko ku
However, Ture had completely seen him. Ture then ran to his wife at
kporo yo ki ya fu ri 'dawire, gu kumba ni na fuda re ere, kungbo
home and said to her ‘my sister, that man who has been troubling me here,
he is simply
gbeghere e nga ko na ndu ko sa, be ko sa, bangiri ko sa, ho ko sa,
an ugly thing with one leg, one arm, one eye, one nostril,
tu ko sa, mbada ri ko ku bani sa, rindi ko sa ni ba kikii he.'
one ear, only a portion of his head on one side, and only one enormous tooth.’
dia ture ki ti ni mongo ki ni mamu.
Ture's wife burst out laughing and laughed.
rago ki ta bira ni kura uru bandurusa ki ye ki gu ku ri go yo ki
When it was dark the next day One-leg came and jumped on to the top of the
mound and
yambu ture ki ya ' ture oo mo a bi re?' ture ki ya ' ooo mi a
called Ture and said ' Ture oo have you ever seen me? ' Ture said ' ooo
I have
bi ro.' bandurusa ki tuka ha kina kuari ki ni ya ' mi ni du wai o?
seen you.' One-leg hastily asked, saying ' what do I look like?
mi ni du wai?' ture ki ya ' kungbo ghegbere he nga mo, ndu ro sa, be
What do I look like?' Ture said ' you are simply an ugly thing, with your one
leg,
ro sa, tu ro sa, bangiro sa, ho ro sa, mbada ri ro ku bani sa, rindi
your one arm, your one ear, your one eye, your one nostril, only a portion of your
head on one side,
ro sa ni bakere he.'
and your one big tooth.'
ngbadu bandurusa ki imi a ima ko ki zingi a zinga ni ya da ni ya ture
One-leg was pained with anger, and he saw red that someone had allowed Ture
bi ko. si du ko ki gba fuo ture ku kpuko yo. ture ki zuba ni oto be
to see him. So he rushed after Ture to his home. Ture took to his heels from
gi kere kumba re. bandurusa ki ta do ture ni bi bia wa gere,
this dangerous man. As One-leg chased Ture he sang this song,

' adawire a bi re ka ture a bi re,
Ture a bi re wari?
anina a bi re ka ture a bi re,
ture a bi re wari?
abuba a bi re ka ture a bi re,
ture a bi re wari?'

' my sisters have seen me if Ture has seen me,
where has Ture seen me ?
my mothers have seen me if Ture has seen me,
where has Ture seen me ?
my fathers have seen me if Ture has seen me,
where has Ture seen me ?'

bandurusa ki ta bi kina gi bia re ki ni gu fuo ture. ture ki ni
One-leg sang this song as he bounded (hopped) after Ture. Ture
kpari tigako ni ya,
for his part cried, saying,

' roo roo ture o mi a kpi wa ango.
roo roo ture o anya na riti re.
roo roo ture o mi a kpi wa ango.'

' roo roo Ture o I die like a dog.
roo roo Ture o beasts eat me.
roo roo Ture o I die like a dog.'
bandurusa ki do ture ki kusi ko rogo angbi dunduko, agara ki ni saki
One-leg chased Ture all over the world and they spent many years in
yo ku ngba oto.
running.
fwu agara bisue awiri ture ki ya ‘ani pe nga barani.’ i ki taki ga yo
After five years Ture’s children said ‘let us follow our father.’ They forged their
abaso na asape na akepinga ki mo ka do fwo ature na bandurusa.
spears and knives and throwing-knives and began to pursue Ture and One-leg.
awiri ture ki oro a ora kindi ki da sana he i ki ya fu yo ature
Ture’s children ran and ran till they stopped to ask, and they were told that
the two men
a susi ere bakuruyo agara fuo yo bisue. i ki kpe oto a kpe kindii
had passed there a long time ago, five years since. They sped on their way
ki da sana he i ki ya fu yo ature a susi ere bakuruyo, gara fuo yo
and when they asked, they were told that the two men had passed that way a
long time ago, four years
biama. i ki oro gbe tipa dunge adiwi. i ki sana he aboro ki ya fu yo
since. They sped greatly for many months and asked, and they were told
agara susi biata fwo susa ature ere. i ki da sana eh berewe i ki ya
that it was three years since the two men had passed that way. When they
stopped to ask again, they were told
fu yo i a susi ere gu gara. i ki da sana he mbatayo i ki ya fu yo
that the two had passed there last year. When they asked further on they were told
ature a susi ere ni gu diwi kpi re. i ki oro a ora gbe ki da sana he
that the two had passed there last month. They ran and ran and when they asked,
i ki ya ature a susi ere gba. mbatayo berewe i ki ya fu yo ature ni
they were told that the two had passed there the previous day. Further on
they were told that the two
susi ere wiso. i ki oro a ora ki sana he i ki ya fu yo ature na susa
had passed there that morning. They went on running and when they asked,
they were told that the two had just passed
ere awere. boro awiri ture ki ghere a ghera sa oto, i ki ya ngere ki
there. Then Ture’s sons increased their speed and when they looked ahead
bi bandurusa ko ni do ture ki ni bi ga ko bia,
they saw One-leg chasing Ture while singing his song,

‘adawire a bi re ka ture a bi re,
ture a bi re wari?
anina a bi re ka ture a bi re,
ture a bi re wari?’

‘My sisters have seen me if Ture has seen me,
where has Ture seen me?
my mothers have seen me if Ture has seen me,
where has Ture seen me?’
KUSH

ture ki ni kpāri tigako ni ya,
For his part Ture cried, saying,

‘roo roo ture o mi a kpi wa ango.
roo roo ture o anya na riti re.
roo roo ture o mi a kpi wa ango.’
‘roo roo Ture o I die like a dog.
roo roo Ture o beasts eat me.
roo roo Ture o I die like a dog.’

rungo ture ki zi awiri ko i ki dusia bandurusa ki sopo ko ni ga yo
Ture’s sons pitied him and they overtook One-leg and speared him with their
abaso. ture ti ti sende ni viri ugudi ko ki ya ‘ ako awire! oni
spear. Ture then fell down, being emaciated, and said ‘Oh my sons! You
bastasi re be gi kere kumba re. na nga bungu. oni mbakadi ko a
have saved me from that terrible man. How good it is to have children. You
cut him up
mbakada wa nya ki fu ri ko mi aka a, ani ga.’ i ki mangi gi pai re
like an animal and give me his head to carry, and let us return.’ They did this
kina wo.
as he asked.

ture ki guari na awiri ko ka ga ku kpuyo yo. fuo da yo gene i ki bi
Ture started with his sons to return home. On their way they saw
ndavu ku ari yo si na zamu a zama arara. ture ki zogo ri bandurusa
a rubber-vine above, which bore rich red fruit. Ture put down One-leg’s head
ki biti ku ari yo ka ri ndavu. ture kina ku ari yo ri bandurusa ki
and climbed up to eat the fruit. While Ture was up, One-leg’s head
zingi ki sungu ni ngere fuo ture ku ari yo. ko ki ya fu ture ‘ naa
was restored to life and sat down looking up at Ture. He said to Ture ‘hey
ture! mo ba nga ndavu fe re.’ ture ki ya ngere ku sende no ki bi
Ture! Throw me down some rubber-vine fruits.’ As Ture looked down he
saw
kina bandurusa. ture ki kio a kio du, ki ya ‘ mi a manga areme wai
the same One-leg. Ture trembled all over, and said ‘what shall I do now
be gi kumba re?’ bandurusa ki ya ‘ ture mo a zora wari areme?’
to escape from this man?’ One-leg said ‘Ture, how will you now get down?’
ture ki ya fu ko ‘ gu ndavu na ye ka ti yee ndavu du, ono gu ni ka ti
Ture said to him ‘the true rubber-vine fruit will fall slowly but that which will
fall
ni ipo, ndavu te.’ ture ki ba ndavu fu bandurusa. ko ki ta ri e ture
fast is not rubber-vine fruit.’ Ture threw down to One-leg a fruit. While he
was eating it, Ture
ki ni mo ka kutukpa ti ko ku rogo sisi ndavu yo ki ti ku sende no.
squeezed himself into the shell of a rubber-vine fruit and fell to the ground.

276
bandurusa ki ya tuka bangiri ko ko ki bi ture, ko ki zuba ni ba sa
As One-leg lifted up his eyes he saw Ture and at once started to
ka dusia ture. ture ki kpari fu awiri ko ya ' ako awire mi kpi be
rush at him. Ture then appealed to his sons, saying, ' Oh my sons, I am dead from
bandurusa l' awiri ture ki dusia ba yo ki imi bandurusa ki ya fu
One-leg! ' Ture's sons rushed to their father and slew One-leg
ture ' ka mo di nga ri gi kumba re ba ha berewe ya.' ature na awiri
and said to Ture 'don't take this man's head from its place again.'  Ture and
his sons
ko ki ni mo ka ga ku kpuyo yo.
then set off for their home.

TURE AND ONE-LEG (Gore, 1951)

There was once a man called One-leg (Bandurusa). Nearby Ture's home was a
big mushroom-shaped termite-mound. That man with his single leg, he came
and stood on the top of this mound to ask Ture, ' you there, Ture o, do you see
me?':0 Ture replied to him, saying, ' I don't see you o.' He asked Ture
again, saying, ' you there, Ture, do you see me?' Ture replied, ' I don't see
you o.' One-leg then got off this mound to dance because of what Ture had
said to him: ' I don't see you o.' When he had danced this dance he returned
to his home. His home was near that of Ture, just some bush separated them;
and when he had gone home Ture came to look at that mound on the top of which
he always stood to ask Ture every morning and evening. Ture arose to go
beside this mound and he dug inside it a place like a hut and entered it and he
prepared it to rest in it, it being a place he could sit in. Ture then went home,
and he said to his wife, ' that man, when he asks, you, reply to his speech when
he says "it is I."' Ture said to his wife, ' speak what you would say to him.'
She spake exactly what Ture had spoken. Ture told her that when he came
she was to speak thus. Ture went there. Ture went and entered that mound
which he had prepared it to see him. Ture had dug the mound leaving a
tiny open space by which he might see him. Ture went into it and sat there
quietly. Ture had made ready a little hole in that mound in order to see
that man who kept on bothering him. When it was dark he came. Oneleg
came and jumped on to the top of this mound beneath which Ture was. One-
leg thought Ture was in his home. He mounted to the top of this mound
and said, ' you there, Ture o, do you see me? ' It was Ture's wife, Nanzagbe,
who replied from the homestead, saying, ' I have not seen you before.' He
asked again, saying, ' do you see me? ' She replied ' I don't see you o.' While
Ture was under this mound, through that little hole Ture had bored to see him

10 I am not certain about the tenses in parts of this translation, but the sense is clear.
by it, Ture saw him and observed his appearance completely. One-leg thought that it was Ture who replied from the homestead. ‘There was bush between them thus, and he came and stood behind it to question Ture. Ture hid there to watch him, since Ture had not seen him before. He got down from the top of this mound and danced back to his home, he danced on account of what she had said, ‘I don’t see you,’ that is why he danced, because he did not want people to see him. He went off to his home. Ture then came out from this mound to return home also. When he got back Ture said to that wife of his, ‘that man who keeps on asking me whether I see him, he is not a real thing, he has one ear, one arm, one leg, one eye, one nostril, and one great big tooth, and only half a head.’ He described him fully to his wife.

One-leg stayed at his home, and when it was dark he came again and he said to Ture thus, ‘you there! Ture do you see me?’ Ture replied thus, ‘yes, yes o, I see you!’ He said to Ture thus, ‘you describe me o, since you say you see me, what am I like o?’ Ture replied, ‘you have one leg, one ear, one eye, one arm, one nostril, and only part of one side of your head.’ One-leg was angry and very sulky, and he said to Ture, ‘since you say you see me, you will see me for sure tomorrow morning. I am going home, and right early tomorrow morning you will see me.’ As it became dark and One-leg departed he did not dance any more, he went home in a sulk. When he had slept, right early in the morning One-leg went after Ture and said to him ‘since you said you have seen me, you come out to see me.’ Ture trembled in his hut. Ture said ‘how shall I deal with this man?’ Ture then dashed outside. One-leg chased Ture with all speed and went with him all over the earth, and as he chased Ture he sang this song, saying,

‘Ture you see me, my fathers have seen me if you have seen me.
Ture you see me, my younger brothers have seen me if you have seen me.
Ture you see me, my sisters have seen me if you have seen me.
Ture you see me, my grandparents have seen me if you have seen me.’

Ture for his part said,

‘rao rao oo Ture o, I die like a dog,
rao rao oo Ture o, beasts eat me,
rao rao oo Ture o.’

That man then chased Ture all over the earth.

TURE AND CIVET CAT (R. Rikita)

*tia na sungu a sungo kindi, mamu age ki ni mo ka na ni bakere e.*
Civet cat waited till there fell the big rain which makes the termites rise.
*aboro ki ndu tipa age Dunduko, na ture a. ono tia tigako ka ko a*
Everybody went to collect termites, and Ture also. But for his part civet cat did not
ndu nga sa age ya, bombiko wa go ra a du nga be ko ya. aboro ki ta
go after the termites because he did not own one of their mounds. When the
people
yega na ga yo age, ture ki nduku ga ko ra ni bakere ra. tia ki ni guari ka keda
returned with their termites Ture gathered up his also in great numbers. Civet
cat rose to send
sunge ko yo du ture ni, ko yembu wili ko, ki ya fu ko we, ‘mo ndu
a messenger to Ture’s home ; he summoned his son and said to him ‘ go
a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du ture ni, ki ya fu ko we, ko fu age fe
to Ture’s home and ask him to give me some termites,
re, bombiko mi a zanga a zanga, ka me a tuka nga age wa sa ya. ono
for I have not caught any termites at all. But
gude wa mo a ndu ka gumba gi sangba re re fu ture mo ki rugu ti ro
child, when you go to repeat my words to Ture, pay attention
na kina gu fugo ko ko ka pe mbata, mo ki ye ka gumba a fe re.’
to what he first says and come and tell it to me.’

   gude ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du ture ni, ko ki ya
   The lad went and arrived at Ture’s home, and he said
fu ko ‘ buba ni ya we, mo fu age fu ko, bombiko wa ko a zanga ra a
to him, ‘ my father said, you give him termites, because he lacks
zanga.’ ture ki gumba kina gu pai nga, ‘ ako gu wana re, atika ko
them altogether.’ Ture then spake thus, ‘ Oh that somebody! Though
ini nga age a nga ko na ni ku due ra yo.’ ko ki tuka fugo bereewe
he knows how nice termites are he excretes into their holes.’

   Then he quickly
turned his speech
ki ya ‘ lengo du, gude mo sungu kina o ka ndu na ami fu ko.’ ono gude
and said ‘ all right child, you wait a little to take them to him.’ However, the
child
ki ima gia kina gu mbata sangba ture ko a gumba a fu tia, ya ko na
had already heard what Ture had first said about civet cat, that he
ni ku due age yo. ture ki ni mo ka roga age fu ko ni bakere ra. gude
excreted into termite-holes. Ture then gathered termites for him in large
quantity. The lad
ki ni ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru ko yo du ha ko ni, nga tia. ko ki fu
went home to his father, civet cat. He gave
age fu ko, ono tia ki sana e mbata tipa kina bambata sangba ture.
him the termites, but civet cat first asked about Ture’s first words.
gude ki ya fu ko we, ‘ mi ni ndu ko yo du ture ni, mi ki gumba a fu
The lad said to him thus, ‘ I went and arrived at Ture’s home and I gave him

11 A hole is made in front of the mounds where the termites are expected to emerge. When they swarm they fly towards a lighted torch and singe their wings and fall to the ground and, when crawling around, into the hole.
ko wa mo ni kedi re. ono gu bambata sangba ko ko a pe, si nga, ‘ ako
the message you sent me with. But the first words he spake were ‘ oh
gu wana re! atika ko ini nzili age a nzila ko na ni ku due ra yo.’
that somebody! He knows how tasty termites are so he goes and excretes into
their holes.’
gu bambata sangba ko ko ni gumba si nga kina gere.’ tia ki ni ongo
These were his first words.’ Civet cat was for a time silent, and
a onga kindi, ki ya ‘ lengo du, wa ko ni gumba a wo nga mi na ni ku
then he said ‘ all right, since he says thus, that I excrete into
due age yo, pai ti ni te, ani na kina ko.’
the holes of termites, no matter, I will get even with him.’
gu rago ki ni ya da mamu age ki ni mo ka sia sende, aboro ki ndu a
When a certain day came the termites-rain fell upon the earth, and everybody
went
ndu sa age dunduko. tia ki guari tigako ki ndu a ndu kindi ki kuru
after termites. For his part civet cat arose and went and arrived
ku kpakpu ga ture age yo, ka ko a bi nga ture wa sa ya, ko ki ni mo
in front of Ture’s termite-mound and, not seeing Ture anywhere around, he
proceeded
ka ni a ni ko due ga ture age yo dunduko, a wa ami a du ni dingu
to excrete into all Ture’s termite-holes, for there were many of
ra ; ko ki ni mo ka ga ku kpuko yo.
them ; and then he returned to his home.
ture ki ni ye a ye kindi ki kuru ku kpakpu ga ko age ; ami ki ni gu
Ture came and arrived in front of his termite-mound ; and the termites rose in
flight
a gu ni bakere ra. ture ki ni ya u nduku age ko ki ni zogo be ko
in great numbers. As Ture began to gather them up he put his hand
kina ku rogo miri tia yo, wa ami a du a du dunduko kina miri tia ki
into civet cat’s dung, for wherever the termites were the holes were
lengbe a lengba na due ra dunduko. ko ki ni mo ka zanga age a zanga
full of civet cat’s dung. So he lacked termites
wa kina tia a. si du ture ki ni mo ka ga ku kporo yo ; si ki ni
just as civet cat did. So Ture returned home ; and that is the end
nyasi ku o.
of the story.
si du boro ni gamu e ti ni fu kura ni, bombiko ka ni du nga ira
So a man gives of a thing freely to another, for if he is a poor
rungo ni ki sana gu ni tipa a. aboro na gama ae fu akura yo, mbiko
man he asks him for it. People give things to others, for
ngba nga ka na e be boro te. mo ini wari mo a rungo ti zinga gu e
it is not good to refuse a man a thing. How do you know that when you are in
sore need of something
SOME ZANDE TEXTS—PART III

mo ki o e be ni ni fu a fo ro? ono ka mo mangi ni a manga na ni
and you ask him for it he will give it to you? However, if you don’t oblige him
mo vura sana ni tipa a ka ni a fu nga fo ro wa sa ya, mbiko wa mo
you will ask in vain for the same and he will not give it to you, because you
a mangi ni mbata na ga mo. azande ni gumba pai rogo sanza yo ki
first did the same to him with your things. Azande say in their round-about way,
ya, ‘i ni suka age ku akoro akuara yo.’ si wa ka i ya we, boro
‘they crush termites into the pots of others.’ This is as though one were to say
that a man
ni ini pai fu kina gu boro na ina pai fu ni. bombiko ka boro a
is generous to a man who has been generous to him. For if a man
ina nga pai fo ro ya, ka mo a ina nga pai fu ni ya. si nga ‘i ni
is not generous to you, you are also not generous to him. That is ‘they
suka age ku akoro akuara yo’ rogo sanza yo.
crush termites into the pots of others’ in a proverbial manner of speech.

by A. and W. Kronenberg

Anthropological field-work has been carried out by the Antiquities Service for two seasons1 between Faras and Jebel Farka in Sudanese Nubia, with the aim of collecting material for an extensive report on the society and culture of the population of this area prior to resettlement, since a change of social structure and culture will probably take place in their new habitat.

During this second season, stress was laid upon (1) an ethnographic survey of the whole area in order to establish an interrelation between ethnographic data and cultural history; and (2) the continuation of the community study in Serra West, and further case studies in Argin, Faras and Debeira in order to determine variations and the correlation between institutions and cultural data which are socially significant. In order to avoid undue repetition, we refer to the report on the first season (1961–62) in Kush xi, where the methods and main objectives of our work are set out.

Migrations and acculturation

It would be beyond the scope of a preliminary report to publish descriptive material, but it seems to us appropriate here to discuss briefly some general aspects of cultural change in Nubia and to show the interrelation of local institutions and customs in perspective to the historical process of acculturation.

The ethnographic survey deals with the entire population, including Nubians, Arabs, Kenzi and Halabi. Genealogies and traditions of migrations and of historical events were collected for the whole area, so that a general picture of family movements was obtained and, later, detailed study of the results may add to our knowledge of the history of this area. Modern migration

1 i.e. from 8 November 1961 until 12 May 1962 (see Kush xi, pp. 302–11) and from 13 November 1962 until 20 March 1963. From 16 May 1962 until 1 July 1962 research was done among Nubians from this area living in Khartoum.

Most of the inhabitants of the villages where we worked were willing informants allowing us to take part in social events and other activities. Mohamed Effendi Salah and Sayed Tahir Abd el Aziz were most reliable and efficient permanent informants. Among the many persons to whom we feel particularly indebted we should like to mention here Sitt Hujla Khalil, Sitt Asha Dawud and Sheikh Salah Mohamed Hassan el Barsi from Serra West, Sheikh Soliman Razzaq from Serra East, Sayed Hassan Osman Taha from Faras East, Salah Eff. Mahmud and Sayed Salah Osman from Argin, and Sayed Ahmed Isa from Debeira.
throws light on the process of migration and acculturation in earlier periods, as
may be shown by the following example. The Hassunab branch of the Kerrarish
Arabs from Silém settled three generations ago in Wahya (Faras West). They
trade in the off-shoots of date palms, transporting them from Sukkot and Ard el
Hagar to the region north of Halfa. There are two main reasons for this trade:
in Sukkot and Ard el Hagar the cultivable strip of the Nile bank is so narrow that
there is over-production and only some of the off-shoots can be planted, while to
the north of Wadi Halfa the cultivable strip of land is so wide that there are
insufficient off-shoots produced locally to extend the cultivations. Moreover
off-shoots are not sold locally and can usually be obtained only against a third
share of the annual harvest (haq el shetl) from a date palm. To overcome this
shortage, people buy off-shoots from Arab traders. It was necessary for one of
these traders to spend several months each year in Faras West and, at the end of
the last century, one of his wives settled there permanently with her children.
There was no intermarriage with the local population until two generations later,
when one of the Arabs married a local girl because their fathers had been friends
for many years. Before this marriage the Arabs had no land rights there, but the
offspring of this marriage were entitled to cultivate, and closer relations and
in-law ties developed between the Arab and Nubian communities. The first
marriage abolished the barrier of endogamic marriage between them and with
each generation the Hassunab will get access to more and more cultivable land.
They will gradually become assimilated by the local population until finally only
the family name will survive to indicate their origin, as is already the case with
other completely Nubianized families of Arab origin.

The assimilation of foreign elements in earlier times followed similar lines
in Nubia and it is possible to distinguish three types of Arab immigrants: those
who today are assimilated to the Nubians and no longer speak Arabic unless they
have learned it at school or in working outside Nubia; those who are Nubianized
linguistically and to some extent culturally, but still retain some Arabic customs
and still keep some camels although they are of little economic value; the latest
Arab immigrants in Ambicol and other parts of Nubia, who still maintain their
linguistic, cultural, and economic distinctiveness and practically never inter-
marry with the local population.

Acculturation of the different ‘Turkish’ waves of immigrants was even
quicker and more complete. The Turks were of high status and usually came
to Nubia as soldiers or administrators without their womenfolk, so that inter-
marrriage with the local people took place quite soon.

Although there is a tendency to assimilate immigrants linguistically and
culturally, there is also a tendency to ‘Turkicise’ or ‘Arabicise’ the descent of
the local population. For example, a man whose mother was of Turkish and

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2 Shortage of space does not permit discussion here of the Kenzi, Bosnians, Halabis,
Basawlas, Sa’idis and Elegat living in Nubia today.
his father of local origin will be inclined to associate himself with his mother’s relatives, by going with them to marriages and mournings, etc. Should his son again marry a ‘Turkish’ wife, then his children too will usually identify themselves with the Turkish family, and after some time the agnic line of descent will be fictitiously replaced by uterine descent. For this reason, if true agnic descent is taken into account, the actual proportion of Turkish and Arab population is much lower than is pretended. The process of acculturation in Nubia is two-fold; the local population have become to some extent formally affiliated, by fictitious agnic descent, to Arabs and Turks, and at the same time the Turks, Arabs and other immigrants have become culturally and linguistically Nubianized. While keeping their formal identities—family names, genealogies, etc.—the immigrants lose their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. This process is more obvious in areas like Ard el Hagar where the density of population is relatively low, and less so in the more densely populated area north of Wadi Halfa. Nubianization can be partially explained by the traditional force of ‘women’s culture’. It begins with intermarriage between the newcomers and local women and the resultant access to land rights. In Nubia the women are the traditional force resistant to foreign influences; they maintain the integrity of village life, forming the link between the home village and the men working abroad for wages.

In the area north of Halfa a man is known to his agnates by his father’s name, i.e. Salah Mohammed, and—contrary to Arab custom—to his uterines by his mother’s name, i.e. Salah Saliba. Although in theory the agnic kin are dominant, it depends upon the person and specific circumstances whether he chooses to identify himself socially with his agnates or his uterines by joining them on certain occasions such as marriages or mourning. Agnic and uterine descent are to some extent interchangeable in Nubia. In regard to status and economic conditions (e.g. rights of inheritance) uterine descent occasionally becomes more important than agnic and is then explained in terms of agnic descent. We think there is a historical as well as a functional explanation for this: before the coming of the Muslim Arabs, the Nubians had a matrilineal system of descent. ‘The infiltration and settlement of Arab tribes who inter-married with the Nubians secured the succession of their sons through the matrilineal system’, and we think that the situation today represents a stage in the conflict between these two systems of reckoning descent which enabled the Christian Nubian and Muslim Arab communities to unite, since children from mixed marriages could inherit status and wealth through both lines. Religion has a status value and can often be a formal distinctive feature very much in the same way as a family name. We have seen that in Nubia the formal distinctive features of immigrants are very easily accepted by the local population as long as

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they bring a rise in status, and, at the time of the conflict between Christianity and Islam, the victorious Muslims were of higher status. So Islam was easily accepted by the local population, but, on the other hand, the immigrants lost their linguistic distinction and adopted many local institutions and customs through the process described above.

The position regarding the Copts and Muslims in Egypt was altogether different because both communities reckon descent through the paternal line and the laws of marriage and inheritance have made the Coptic speaking Christian community and the Arabic speaking Muslim community mutually exclusive. Through close contact, they have become linguistically assimilated, but have retained their formal distinctive features of religion and descent. These considerations give a clue to the interesting cultural historical problem as to why the Nubians preserved their language and lost their religion when confronted by the Arabs, while the Copts in Egypt lost their language and preserved their religion.

Survivals

In the 14th century, the Nubian kingdoms were converted to Islam, but even today several Christian and pre-Christian traditions survived. These survivals from older periods have a historical significance as well as a pragmatic function. For instance, in Serra when there is a quarrel about usufruct rights in a date palm, it is finally settled if one of the parties takes a leaf from the tree in question and says: 'Oh wood of Mary, see if I am right'. This invocation of the Virgin Mary is a survival from the Christian period, and, since nobody in Serra would ever dare to make a wrongful claim in this way, it has a pragmatic function. The Virgin Mary is also called upon in other situations and other Christian notions or symbols are used. Such survivals lead us to a chronological approach to Nubian culture, for there is correlation between some of these elements and datable periods—the following examples may be illustrative.

Some days after a child is born in Serra West, a complicated ceremony (mashan kiteto) is held, during which invocation is made to the sun and the child is scratched so as to make it bleed. This is probably a survival from pre-Christian times, possibly some form of sun-worship.

There must have been cultural connexions, at least indirectly, between Europe and Nubia, probably in pre-Christian times, because Nubian women's tales show a close affinity in theme with old European tales. For example the long and complicated tale of Nab.to.ton Fude.to.ton (nab=gold, fude=black beetle, to=diminutive) is similar to the German tale Goldmarie und Pechmarie (Gold Mary and Pitch Mary). We also collected many other tales with the themes of Mother Holly, Hansel and Gretel, Cinderella, etc. That these tales did not reach Nubia by recent diffusion is proved by the fact that they are only told in the Nubian language by women who know practically no Arabic.

Architectural elements such as are known from old Nubian settlements, i.e. vaulted roofs, niches, windows, ovens, doors and stone shelves built into walls,
KUSH

have survived in Mattokiya, a Kenzi colony. This is the only village in the Sudan where they still build vaulted roofs which can easily be compared to old Nubian settlements. The same applies to pottery: we acquired a modern bowl from Mattokiya which is practically identical in shape, colour and decoration to early Christian pottery from Nubia.

In Faras there are strong traditions of the Christian Nubian kings (Kikelan, Geridon) and family names of unknown origin occur. We hope very much that archaeological discoveries will provide an explanation for them so that the archaeological and anthropological data will be complementary.

From a functional point of view, these survivals from earlier periods are important because they add to the distinctiveness of a group which is tied to one locality, and to share common customs increases the feeling of cohesion among the people.

Locality and kinship

For most Nubians the important social ties are those of locality and kinship. Most activities are valued in these terms, no matter whether they are performed inside the village or by Nubians working for wages outside the home country. Therefore we must examine briefly the locality and kinship ties as they operate in practice.4

The largest locality based social unit whose members have obligations to each other and share a feeling of cohesion is the irki5 or balad. The obligations which exist among the members of a balad were described in our first report. Similar obligations exist between neighbouring balads. A balad has a segmented structure: it consists of a number of hamlets each occupying a well-defined part of the area. The inhabitants of a hamlet may be members of one or more lineages6 which are also to be found in other hamlets within the balad as well as in other balads.

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4 In anthropological literature locality ties are often misunderstood and described in terms of kinship ties.
5 irki (=land) has different levels of meaning. It can refer to Nubia as a whole, to a part of Nubia like Ard el Hagar, to a village like Serra West, or even to a hamlet like Ambaray. This wide range of meaning is not confusing in everyday use, because the speakers and the subject they are discussing are in (or refer to) a specific situation. Since there is no such situation for the writers and readers of this article we prefer to use the Arabic term balad for village community, because in certain instances such as the registration of births, etc. it is so used without ambiguity.
6 Ego feels affiliation with his four grandparents. But as regards earlier generations this cohesion increases with the agnates and decreases with the uterines. If there is trouble between Ego’s agnates and uterines, Ego will not interfere or will try to reconcile the parties. With the increasing depth of generations Ego becomes more and more partisan regarding his genuine or fictitious agnates.
ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELD-WORK IN SUDANESE NUBIA

A lineage is a local branch of a clan dispersed over several balads. It is segmented into sublineages of different degrees. The lower the degree of a sublineage, the stronger the internal cohesion and the competition with members of adjacent sublineages of the same order (quarrels over rights of inheritance, etc.).

All the inhabitants of a hamlet irrespective of lineage work together as a unit in inter-balad activities, but they may become opponents if a dispute arises between two persons belonging to different lineages, and in that event these two lineages will become involved in a quarrel throughout the balad. However, if a dispute arises between balads, then all the inhabitants of one balad will unite against those of the others.

A balad forms the balance between the centrifugal force of kinship ties with people in other localities and the centripetal force of a common interest in one locality. But this balance can easily be upset and inter-balad relationships are constantly changing. For example, during the last thirty years the population of Aksha, formerly a hamlet of Serra West, has steadily increased and the inhabitants lost interest in collaborating with the other parts of Serra West by contributing money to the central pump-scheme, assisting the poor, and financing a mosque and dispensary there since they found that they contributed too much and gained too little from these facilities. Also the most southerly parts of Serra West are too far away from Aksha for the people to fulfill their communal duties easily. Bitter feelings arose on both sides when a pregnant woman from Aksha had a miscarriage while on her communal visit there. Also the food which Aksha people had to contribute to communal meals in distant parts of Serra was hardly eatable by the time it arrived. Now Aksha is becoming a separate balad, the inter-hamlet relationship which existed between it and Serra West is being replaced by an inter-balad relationship, and locality obligations by kinship obligations.

In such circumstances, it is usual for the new balad to establish its own mosque and graveyard and for the government to appoint at least one sheikh in order to distinguish the emerging administrative unit, since a balad usually coincides with one or more sheikhdoms or an omodia. If the population of a balad increases quickly and readjustment cannot keep pace, it leads to a weakening of locality ties and a strengthening of kinship ties because people just cannot fulfill all their obligations. Consequently they start to neglect their obligations to unrelated people or distant relatives living further away.

Migration for wages

Nubians working abroad unite in associations having a common interest in their place of origin. These associations are a means of transferring the social ties which operate in the balad to the place of wage earning and provide immigrants in search of labour with the necessary social security. They also contribute to the economic and social stability of the balad and have a tendency to speed up progress and economic development in the home community through the
collection of money for cooperative projects such as mills, hospitals, schools and pump-schemes. Thus modern development increases to a certain degree the importance of locality ties, and, although less obviously, the importance of survivals as distinctive features in each locality. The feeling of being an individual group sharing the same customs increases in foreign surroundings, and so does the cohesion of people from the same locality.

Although balad divisions are the basis of Nubian associations in the places of wage-earning, there is an inter-relationship between the ecological situation in the balad, the density of its population and the associations: if there are not enough people from one balad, men from two or more balads will unite into one association. Ard el Hagar is a large geographical area with a small population. The balads north of Wadi Halfa are relatively densely populated and occupy a relatively small area. Therefore nearly every balad north of Halfa has an association of its own in the places of wage-earning, whereas Ard el Hagar has just one association in Khartoum, but it is so organized that there is closer collaboration among members from neighbouring balads than among those from more distant ones.

The readjustment of the boundaries of a balad has its repercussions in the associations abroad. When Aksha split away from Serra West the men from Aksha working in Alexandria and Cairo left the Serra West association and founded one of their own, and both associations entered into competition, each trying to contribute more money to its balad than the other. The Serra West association speeded up the collection of money for a pump-scheme in order to prove that they did not depend on the contributions of the men from Aksha. Before the split, £S.300 was collected in three years, while after the split £S.500 was collected in only two months and a further £S.300 in another three months. This was enough to buy a mill as well as a pump.

The associations can also be affected, and even split, if the competition between lineages in the balad is stronger than the common interest of the home community. In 1954 a Kashef from Faras East was killed in a road accident in Cairo. The association held a mourning party after the funeral and money was collected to be sent home to the relatives of the deceased. When the head of the Nuriya lineage wanted to contribute his share, a Kashef offended him by saying that the Kushaf ought not to accept money from a ‘Takruri’.7 The Nuriya decided to prove their Arab origin and found a separate association of the Nuriya all over the world. They produced a genealogy proving that they are descendants of the Arab, el Ula, and with a lot of publicity (newspaper advertisements, loudspeaker cars in Cairo) this new association, el Gamaiya el Wahda el Arabiya, was founded. Thus, this association is exclusively based on kinship. The Nuriya also contributed money to start a pump-scheme in their home community which is exclusively owned by this lineage. However they still remained

7 Takruri = Fellati.
members of the balad association of Faras East. On the other hand, the Kushaf left the balad association and founded their own association on a purely kinship basis.

The desire of wage-earners to form associations with a common interest in the home community is weakened if locality ties in the balad disintegrate. This was the case with Argin, where the readjustment of the organization of the balad was slower than the increase of population. Common interest in the home community has been further diminished because a relatively large number of Argin people live permanently in Khartoum and many foreign tenants have settled in the balad. Argin has an association in Cairo and in Alexandria but not in Khartoum, because in Khartoum kinship ties can operate satisfactorily to provide social security; instead of a locality based mutual assistance association, Argin people have formed several loose kinship assistance groups. These last examples illustrate the close interrelationship between the structure of the balad and the associations of wage-earners.

We have tried to investigate the economic and social background to migration for wages. Factors other than economic ones, like kinship obligations for instance, have a considerable influence which we have simplified for reasons of space, and here we only wish to point out some of the related economic factors.

Two kinds of wage-earners can easily be distinguished: those who travel a short distance to work; and those who migrate for wages. Many people from the nearby villages work in Wadi Halfa. Thus the wage-earner can go to the place of his work and return home on the same day. He can continue to live cheaply in the traditional surroundings of his village and earn a higher income in the town. The farm work is left to unskilled foreign labourers to whom work in the town is of little interest. They prefer to earn a lower income as a tenant in a village rather than the higher salary and still higher expenses of town life, since their standard of living in town would be considerably lower than in the village. So we find in the villages near Halfa a new class of native landlords and foreign tenants or farm hands. Thus it is not only inadequacy of resources under existing techniques of land usage that cause a proportion of the male population from the nearby villages to work in Wadi Halfa, but also, to an even greater extent, the possibility of combining the income from the lease of land and the higher wages in Wadi Halfa with the cheap and easy life in the home community. The standard of living in the nearby villages is therefore much higher than in the more distant ones where there are no such advantages.

Those who migrate for wages go to work in urban centres, mainly Khartoum, Cairo and Alexandria. The percentage of men who migrate to these places is higher from villages which are far away from Wadi Halfa than from those nearby, and the remoter villages are more conservative than those close to Halfa. For

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example, most men in Serra West would regard it as wrong to lease their land to foreign tenants and they have only the choice of staying in the village and cultivating their land themselves or of migrating for a long period to work for wages. If they migrate their land will either remain uncultivated or will be cultivated at least partially by relatives. The migration situation varies for men with low, higher and very high resources of land or income. Men with low land resources will spend a greater part of their working life in urban centres working for wages than men with higher land resources. The situation is altogether different for men with a very high per capita income. These are persons like omdas, mazuns or merchants who have large holdings of land in addition to a cash income from their profession. Usually these people do not migrate for wages because their status and income is tied to the locality. But if this is not so, as may be the case with merchants, there is a tendency for them to migrate for good taking their families with them, invest their money in a business in an urban centre, build a house there, and become acculturated to their new surroundings. The high income from their land and other activities gives them a starting point and also financial security. They seek a better education for their children who will obtain good posts and come to depend completely on living in an urban centre.

Summary

Descriptive and analytical material on society and culture in Nubia was collected. Attention was given to the historical process of acculturation of the different waves of immigrants into Nubia and the cultural changes in terms of local institutions, customs, and the ecological situation. An attempt was made to establish the historical correlation as well as the pragmatic role of survivals from older periods. This point is stressed because in few areas in the world is an anthropologist likely to find such a wide archaeological and historical perspective as in Nubia.
Notes

A PREHISTORIC SITE AT SALVADOR, NEAR TUMMO, BETWEEN HOGGAR AND TIBESTI

This note is written to draw attention to an interesting collection of surface finds (mostly stone artifacts and sherds) made by G. Popov in 1960, when engaged on international locust prevention in the Niger Territory, mostly in a rough line from the Wadi Azouak in the west to Bilma in the east, thence northwards to Salvador (whence came the subject of this note).

A fossil human cranium and mandible found between the Achegour scarp, north-west of Bilma, and L'Arbre du Ténéré, are in the Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History), registered under the numbers EM.604 and EM.605; and the archaeological finds, including those on the subject of this note, have recently been transferred from the Department of Egyptology, University College London, to the Antiquities Department of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Salvador is apparently just west of Tummo on the Niger side of the Libyan frontier, about 14°E, 22°40' N. All the stone artifacts collected there are of silcrete sandstone. Figs. 1–7 illustrated overleaf are the best of a number of blade tools. Figs. 6–7 are particularly interesting, with the semi-circular notch more carefully worked than the illustrations indicate. They drew my attention as suggestive of the Upper Palaeolithic of Europe and, being found on the route by which the elk-like Megaceroides must have reached northern Tibesti from the Atlas,¹ perhaps indicating that some people influenced by the Upper Palaeolithic of Europe may have come during the Wurm Ice Age by the same route as Megaceroides.

If this were the case, then the two 'gouges' in Figs. 7 and 8, and a windworn sherd of pottery impressed with Dotted Wavy Line decoration (see my Shaheinab, pl. 29, 1) must come from a later occupation. These 'gouges' are windworn, but appear not to have been ground on the back of the cutting edge, as are those from Shaheinab (op. cit. pl. 14, 1, 2) and the Fayum Neolithic. Thus, by being typologically earlier, they are possibly indicative of the route by which this specialized tool must have reached Khartoum and the Fayum.

¹ Actes du IV Congrès Panafricain de Préhistoire, Section III, pp. 391–4, and my Wanyanga (in the press).
DREI MEROEITISCHE OPFERTAFELN AUS QUSTUL


I.—Q. T. 3. 34

Weisser Sandstein; 23 × 19,5 × 6 cm.—Ein Libationsgefäß in Amphora-Form, vier Brote in den vier Ecken. Am Rande kursive Inschrift, Beschriftung Typ R; Schrift ‘transitional’ (t), (Abb. 1, TAFEL LV, a).

I  Wēši : Šēreyi
II (A) Adhiyeqēwī
IV A atē mḥē : pšē-
hekete :
B at mḥē pšihrkete

Der Textaufbau zeigt nur die Abschnitte I, II (A) und IV A, B. Es fehlen also die Abschnitte II (B, C) [die Namen der Eltern] und die Deskription (III). Dieser Textaufbau ist archaisch, ebenso wie der Beschriftungstyp R; die Form der Buchstaben zeigt aber einen ‘transitionalen’ Typ.

1 Sehr zu Dank verpflichtet bin ich Herrn Farid für seine liebenswürdige Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung der drei Opfertafeln. Mein Dank gilt ferner Herrn Sami für die guten Fotografien.


3 Vgl. Hintze, Studien . . ., p. 11.
5 Vgl. Hintze, Studien . . ., pp. 11, 12.
KUSH

Der Name des (oder der) Toten, Adḥiye, ist sonst nicht belegt. Vielleicht ist er von der Wurzel ḏḥe 'gebären' gebildet?

2.—Q. T. 3. 35

Weisser Sandstein; 20,3 × 17,7 × 6,7 cm.—Ein Libationsgefäß, vier Brote auf der Standlinie. Am Rand kursive Inschrift, Beschriftungstyp L; Schrift 'archaisch' bis 'transitional' (a/t), (Abb. 2, TAFEL LV, b).

I  Wēši Šērey[i]
II (A) qē Kdiyeqēwi
     (B) Ameteye tedhelēwi

Der Textaufbau ist I, II (A, B). Es fehlt auffälligerweise Abschnitt IV, obwohl dafür auf dem Rande der Opertafel noch Platz vorhanden ist. Sie ist daher vielleicht unvollendet.

Der Name der Toten ist mit qē eingeleitet, das Griffith mit 'the honorable' übersetzt. Der Name Kdiye besteht aus kdi 'Frau' und dem namenbildenden Suffix -ye; es ist ein Frauenname, der in Faras 118 und Karanog 36 und 190 vorkommt. Der Name der Mutter, Ametel (Far. 4), Am[e]telis (Kar. 112) und den Namen Meteye (Kar. 2), bei dem der Anlaut a- weggelassen sein könnte.9

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8 Vgl. Hintze, Studien . . ., p. 15.
NOTES

3. — Q. T. 3. 37

Weisser Sandstein.—27,2×26,2×8,2 cm. Zwei Libationsgefäße, vier Brote, in der Mitte eine ovale Vertiefung (Wasserbecken). Am Rand und zwischen den Libationsgefäßen kursive Inschrift；Beschriftung Typ L；Form der Buchstaben：‘spät’ (s). ³⁰ (Abb. 3, TAFEL LV, c).

I Ṣēši Šēreyi  

II (A) qē : Pyyeqēwi :  
(B) Arbrye : tedhelēwi :  
(C) Ap[ēte]ye : yerikelēwi :  

IV A atē mhe : pšihekete :  
B at mhe : pšhrkete :  

III ššimete : Mrqēl : štelē : šlegel : d[.].mlē

Der Aufbau des Textes ist I, II (A, B, C), IV A, B, III. Die Deskription (Abschnitt III) scheint erst nachträglich zwischen den Libationsgefäßen zugefügt zu sein. Die Buchstaben sind oft flüchtig ausgeführt und daher teilweise undeutlich. Die Lesung des Mutternamens (B) ist unsicher, dagegen scheint die Ergänzung beim Vaternamen (C) sicher zu sein. Der Name Apēteye kommt noch in Kar. 21 vor；er ist von dem Wort apēte ‘Gesandter’ (< äg. wpwtj) mit dem Namenbildenden Suffix -ye abgeleitet.

Aus der Deskription ist ersichtlich, dass Pyye hier ein Frauenname ist, da štē für das Mutterverhältnis gebraucht wird. ³¹ Ihr Sohn trägt den Priestertitel (?) ³² ššimete；sein Name ist entweder Mrqēl ³³ oder Mreqēl zu lesen. Im zweiten Deskriptionssatz ist šlegel die determinierte Form des zivilen Titels ³⁰

³⁰ Vgl. Hintze, Studien ... , p. 61, Opfertafel Nr. 17.  
³² Griffith, Karanôg, p. 119.  
³³ So Hintze, MIO, ix, 20 [248].
KUSH

Die Lesung des Verbalen Ausdrucks ist ganz unsicher; Hintze\textsuperscript{16} las \textit{dēltē}, der erste Buchstabe sieht fast wie ein \textit{r} aus, aber bekanntlich gibt es im Meroitischen keine mit \textit{r} anlautenden Wörter.

MOHAMMED BAKR

ENGLISH SUMMARY

Dr Bakr studies the form and texts of three Meroitic offering tables which were discovered in Tumulus 3 at Qustul during excavations by the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1958.

THE LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA

In KUSH IX P. L. Shinnie dealt with the Latin inscription from Musawwarat es Sufra.\textsuperscript{1} He showed the great differences between the diverse copies of this inscription which were made by Linant de Bellefonds,\textsuperscript{2} Cailliaud,\textsuperscript{3} and Lepsius;\textsuperscript{4} and after discussing the authenticity and the probable date of the inscription,\textsuperscript{5} he ended his paper with a warning: ‘Until the original can be found and studied, the existing accepted text of Lepsius may be allowed to stand, subject to the warning that many of the readings are most uncertain.’

Stimulated by this criticism I tried to find the inscription in the Berlin Museum—and I did so with some trepidation, because I had used it without any hesitation as evidence for relations between Meroe and Rome in my paper about the Meroitic chronology.\textsuperscript{6} Unfortunately this inscription was destroyed during the last war, but Lepsius’ paper squeeze is preserved in the archives of the Berlin Wörterbuch and this squeeze is in very good condition and may be a fair substitute for the lost original. So I am able to publish here a photo of the squeeze (PLATE LVI) and a facsimile of the inscription (FIG. I).\textsuperscript{7}

Although Latin epigraphy is not within my competence, a few remarks may be allowed. Some letters in line 1 are not entirely clear, especially the letters \textit{T} and \textit{V} in the second word, but the reading FORTVNA is quite possible and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Griffith, \textit{Karanòg}, p. 119; Hintze, \textit{MIO}, IX, 7 [12].
\item \textsuperscript{15} MIO, IX, 16 [176].
\item \textsuperscript{1} P. L. Shinnie, ‘A Late Latin Inscription’, KUSH IX (1961), pp. 284–6.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Linant de Bellefonds, ‘Journal d’un voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822’, \textit{SASOP}, 4 (1958), pl. xxiv; reproduced again in KUSH IX, pl. xxxv.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Cailliaud, \textit{Voyage à Méroé} (1826), III, p. 375.
\item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{LD}, VI, Lat. 56.—Max Weidenbach, \textit{Kleines Notizbuch}, p. 97 (unpublished); Lepsius, \textit{Notizbuch}, IV (4'), pp. 57, 60 (unpublished). After \textit{LD}, VI, 101, the inscription was published in \textit{CIL}, III, no. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{5} ... inscribed ... by someone with a scanty knowledge of Latin ... not earlier than about A.D. 600 ...?, Shinnie, \textit{i.c.}, p. 286.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Hintze, ‘Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie ...’, \textit{ADAW} (1959), 2, p. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{7} The drawing is made by K. H. Priese. The dimensions of the inscription are 28 cm. × 20 cm.
\end{itemize}
makes good sense. The following lines are clear, except line 5 which is the most difficult. Some of the traces after XV belong to the stone mason’s mark, which is, as often in Musawwarat, only faintly incised. Between T and A (near the end of the line) there seems to be a word dividing point, but this is not sure. Also the last letter of this line is not clear; besides the I there may perhaps be a V; could the name be ACVTVS? As to the letters before the supposed name I have no idea. The reading VIDI is certainly impossible, but it cannot be FECIT or SCRIPSIT, which would otherwise fit well.

The beginning of the inscription is surely to be understood as: Bona fortuna. Dominae reginae in multos annos feliciter! Venit e urbe mense Apr. die XV. . . .—Most probably bona fortuna corresponds to ḫwȝ ṯwḫȝ, and

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8 In Weidenbach’s copy, made in Musawwarat, the first line is BONAROCINA-DOMINAE (Notizbuch, p. 97). But Lepsius copied the inscription a second time in his camp and reads without any remark BONA FORTVNA DOMINAE (Notizbuch, p. 60).
10 Unfortunately I did not take into consideration the note in CIL to line 5: ‘litterae VID valde incertae’ in my Studien zur merotischen Chronologie, p. 29; cf. Shinnie, l.c., pp. 284, 285.
11 In Lepsius’ handcopy (Notizbuch, iv, p. 60) the reading is DIE . XV///III . TACITVTS, which Lepsius understood as die XVII . Tacitus, with a questionmark to Ta.

297
feliciter to εὗτοι ἀγαθοὶ in similar Greek inscriptions. Likewise it seems to be obvious that domina regina corresponds to κυβίξ βασίλεισσα in the inscriptions from Dakka and also refers to a queen of Meroe. I see no reason why the date of our inscription may not be any time from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D. But the method of dating (MENSE APR. DIE XV) is un-Roman, as Shinnie rightly remarked, and so it seems as if Mommsen’s judgment—that not a Roman subject but a delegate of a Meroitic queen to Rome made this inscription—can be considered as most probably right.

It is to be hoped that perhaps some specialist will deal again with this interesting inscription.

Fritz Hintze

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14 See my Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie, p. 29.
15 Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, 510 (1927), 595 (note): ‘... die merkwürdige Inschrift der regina (CIL, III, 83), bei Messauerat südlich von Schendi ... gefunden, die südlichste aller bekannten lateinischen Inschriften, hat nicht ein römischer Untertan gesetzt, sondern vermutlich ein aus Rom zurückgekehrter Abgesandter einer africanischen Königin, der lateinisch redet, vielleicht nur um zu zeigen, dass er in Rom gewesen sei.’
Review


Fr. Santandrea is well known for his studies of the languages of the smaller tribal groups of the Bahr el Ghazal. He has already given us some information about the Ndogo-Sere languages in articles published in Sudan Notes and Records: 'The Belanda, Ndogo, Bai and Sere in the Bahr-el-Ghazal' (vol. xvi, part 2 (1933), pp. 161-79; see esp. p. 171 ff.) and 'Little-known Tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal Basin' (vol. xxix, part 1 (1948), pp. 78-106; see esp. pp. 88-92), and has written one volume on the comparative linguistics of the area in the same series as the present work; Museum Combonianum No. 4, Comparative Linguistics: Indri-Togoyo-Ndogo-Feroge-Mangaya-Mondu (Verona, 1950). His publications have contributed greatly towards the classification of these little-known languages.

Following the publication of the small work of Fr. P. Ribero: Elementi di lingua Ndogo (Verona, 1922), Fr. Santandrea wrote a comparative grammar of Ndogo, Sere, Bai and Bviri which was duplicated at Lalyo, Equatoria, in 1934. He has used this as the basis of the present work, but has re-arranged the whole of the material and also added Tagbu, thus providing additional linguistic information and in more readily available form.

Ndogo and its neighbours treated here have been classified by Tucker and Bryan (Handbook of African Languages, Part III: 'The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa' (London, 1956); see esp. pp. 20 ff.) as part of a 'larger unit' termed the Sere-Mundu languages. These languages extend through the northern Congo nearly as far as Bangi in the Central African Republic. They have affinities with Banda, Zande, etc. and are included by Greenberg with these as the Eastern branch of his 'Niger-Congo' family.

The grammatical material, presented on traditional lines in Fr. Santandrea's rather conversational style, is set out clearly in good type and the subdivisions make it easy to consult. The Africa orthography has been used. There is tone-marking throughout, and a useful preliminary section on lexical and grammatical tone. The possessive is dealt with in carefully written sections. The usage of adjectives, a particularly knotty subject in these languages, receives special attention. There is a short comparative vocabulary at the end, similar in scope to that of Moru-Madi in Tucker's The Eastern Sudanic Languages, 1 (London, 1940), but there is some awkwardness in the paging of vocabulary and footnotes. It might perhaps have been an advantage to have included a special section or summary on the use of particles.

Fr. Santandrea states his aims as (a) giving a brief comparative study of the five languages, 'enough to get an idea of their mutual relationship,' and (b) a guide to a more specific knowledge, particularly of Ndogo and Bviri. We can acknowledge, gratefully, that these aims have been achieved.

R. C. STEVENSON
Correspondence

The Editor of Kush

Sir,

Hearty congratulations on the size and contents of Vol. X. It is indeed excellent to see you reach double figures in such a flourishing condition.

In case you would welcome a few comments from an old friend, here they are:

p. 8.

I wonder why you support the contention that the early chapters of the history of the Sudan will have to be re-written in the light of the discovery of the Old Kingdom town at Buhen, when the inscription there of King Jer of the 1st Dynasty shows clearly that he occupied that area centuries before (see my History of the Sudan, p. 39, fig. 5). This is confirmed by the discovery of many Egyptian imports dating from his and subsequent graves in A Group graves at Faras and neighbourhood, of which you report further examples in Vol. X. For example, pl. xii, b: a fine set of twelve carnelian and one chalcedony scorpion amulets, NOT ‘fish-shaped pendants’ . . . ‘shape reminiscent of a dolphin’ as stated by Mr Nordström on p. 57 from Gezira Dabarosa. Similar amulets were found by Petrie at Tarkhan, e.g. middle of group from tomb 1528 (SD.80) in Tarkhan, ii, pl. i and xlii, and from tomb 1438 (SD.79), the latter at University College London (UC 17123). Also on p. 57, the collar-necked black ware vase, a surface find at Gezira Dabarosa, illustrated in pl. xii, a (not b), strongly suggests an O.K. date between A and C group in age; for its shape recalls those of the collar neck vases in alabaster dated to Dyn. V–VI and perhaps VIII (cp. Brunton, Qau & Badari, i, pl. xxviii, pp. 116, 117).

p. 12.

The map of archaeological sites (opposite this page) between Faras W. and Gezira Dabarosa might have included at least one more Palaeolithic site, the one where you and I some years ago found three Late Acheulean type handaxes of ferricrete sandstone on the Aksha side of Faras. They should be in the Antiquities Service collection. (SASOP, i, p. 45).

pp. 161, 168. I hope you will soon publish a picture of some of the neolithic type pottery from Soleb.

pp. 203, 210. Professor Leclant asks who is Queen Keïsa. Can it be that her name has anything to do with that of the Kenuz people of Lower Nubia (singular Kanzi)?

p. 235.

May it not be that the iron object with a cross at the top illustrated in fig. 5 is possibly not a key, but a church officer’s wand?

pp. 245–288.

May I congratulate you and W. Y. Adams most heartily on his badly needed Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery?


It is sad that there is no reference in Mr Kronenberg’s interesting note on Longarim Thumb-Rings to my Early Khartoum, pp. 121–4 and plates 104–5, where the Meroitic thumb-ring, which you publish in pl. lxxxiii, a, was originally published.

University College, London.

February 1963

Yours etc.,

A. J. Arkell