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Introduction

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Members will note that this second issue of Sudan & Nubia is already considerably larger than the first, a clear signal, I am pleased to say, both of our Society's commitment to fieldwork and of the growing interest in Middle Nile archaeology in general. With the four-year programme of survey in the Northern Dongola Reach completed, we began last season a significant new project at Kawa (see Derek Welsby below), a major Pharaonic and Kushite cult-centre and one of the most important archaeological sites in the Sudanese Nile Valley, now threatened by modern development. At the same time our interest in the hydrological research on the Nile palaeochannels in the Dongola Reach continues (Mark Macklin and Jamie Woodward), and we have also supported archaeological survey both in the Bayuda desert in advance of the building of a new road (Michael Mallinson, Laurence Smith and Dorian Fuller) and at the site of Kurgus, the point where the Egyptians appear to have marked the southern boundary of their empire in the New Kingdom (Vivian Davies and Isabella Welsby Sjöström).

Among our guest contributors, two of our Sudanese colleagues report on valuable rescue projects, one on a site affected by the building of the Shendi-Atbara road (Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed), the other in the area of the Fourth Cataract, where a new dam is being planned (Mahmoud el-Tayeb). Also under threat is the site of Soniyat in the Debba Bend, now very plausibly identified by a Polish expedition as the 'Tergedum' mentioned in Book II of Pliny's Natural History (Bogdan Zuraslawski). Rescue is also very much the theme of the Egypt Exploration Society's latest excavations at Qasr Ibrim, the last remaining site in Egyptian Nubia, where an unexpected rise in the level of Lake Nasser/Lake Nubia is damaging strata previously thought to be safe, necessitating urgent work on those areas (Pamela Rose and David Edwards). Fortunately there is no such threat to the Wadi Howar, a long dried-up tributary of the Nile, evocatively known as 'the Yellow Nile', where a German research project is producing fascinating new data on changes in environment and shifts in settlement patterns (Birgit Keding). A different kind of research, on the records of an important early traveller, is represented in our final paper (John Ruffle). Lord Prudhoe, its main subject, will be familiar to many of our readers for his association with the two great lion sculptures from Gebel Barkal, which now grace the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery of the British Museum.
New Fieldwork at Kurgus

The Pharaonic Inscriptions

Vivian Davies

In February 1998, a small archaeological expedition, organised under the joint auspices of the Society and the British Museum, visited the site of Kurgus in the Northern Sudan. The team consisted of Vivian Davies (BM), Derek Welsby (BM), Isabella Welsby Sjöström (SARS) and El-Tahir El-Nour, representing the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums of the Sudan. The aims were to make a preliminary survey of the site and to assess its current state and future potential. We worked for a total of twelve days. We are most grateful to the inhabitants of the modern village of Kurgus, who treated us with great hospitality during our stay, kindly making a house available to us and providing various other kinds of practical help.

Kurgus is located between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts of the Nile, on the east bank of the river, about 520 km north of Khartoum and 40 km south of Abu Hamed (See Map, inside front cover). It contains three major archaeological features (Fig. 1): the remains of a fortified settlement (KRG 2); a cemetery of tumulus-tombs (KRG 3); and a petroglyph station (KRG 1), called in Arabic Hagr el-Merwa, ‘rock of quartz’, well known for bearing the two boundary stelae of Kings Thutmose I and III of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and other Egyptian inscriptions. It has generally been assumed that all three features are associated, though this has yet to be demonstrated archaeologically. The results of the survey of the settlement and cemetery are described below by Isabella Welsby Sjöström. Here, I report briefly on the epigraphic survey of the Hagr el-Merwa, which I carried out with the able assistance of El-Tahir El-Nour.

Situated at the edge of the desert, some 1200m from the fortress, the Hagr el-Merwa consists of a substantial quartz outcrop (Colour Plate XII and Back Cover), with a maximum height of 23.6m, length of 40m and thickness of

![Kurgus Location Plan]

Figure 1. Kurgus: Plan showing location of the three main archaeological features.
Figure 2. Plan of the Hagr el-Merwa, showing location of the inscriptions.

Figure 3. The royal inscriptions on the north-east face, after Arkell 1950, 37, fig. 4.
9m, 'a conspicuous object for many miles round as it glints in the sunlight' (Jackson 1926, 23). It is decorated with inscriptions along the length of its north-east face and on a small section of its south-west face (Fig. 2, A, B and C), the majority of them lightly hammered in the intractable rock, some inscribed in red paint. We were able to identify over fifty individual inscriptions, substantially more than had previously been documented (Jackson 1926, 22-3; Arkell 1940, 7; Arkell 1950, 36–9; Porter and Moss 1952, 233; Crawford 1953a, 6–7; Macadam 1955, 238–40; Vercoutter 1956, 67–70). Some proved to be very difficult to spot and it is possible that further examples await discovery. Few are clearly legible throughout; most are eroded and now incomplete. To achieve a satisfactory record will require a second, extended visit to the site and a great deal more research. I present here a selection of the material in photograph together with some initial observations.

The royal inscriptions

The most important decoration, including the royal stelae, occurs at the southern end of the north-east face of the rock (Fig. 2, A; Colour Plate XIII and Back Cover [top]). Arkell’s rough drawing of this material is inaccurate in detail but does at least establish the nature and general content of the major components and is reproduced here for convenience (Fig. 3). Occupying the prime spot, with the best surface, several metres above the ground, is a tableau showing a seated figure of the Nubian Amen-Ra, ram-headed, facing a serekh containing the Horus-name of King Thutmose I; the scene surmounts four horizontal lines of inscription, the hieroglyphs reading from right to left, consisting of a threat-formula warning of dire consequences for ‘any Nubian who shall transgress this stela’ (Colour Plate XIV). A near-duplicate of this tableau, inscribed with the Horus-name of Thutmose III, is located at a slightly lower level to its left on a much less suitable surface (Colour Plate XV), where much of the detail of the god’s figure, virtually invisible except at very close range, has been rendered simply in red paint.

Among the most significant results of our survey has been the production of a more complete and accurate text of the royal stelae. Vercoutter’s publication of the Thutmose I stela (1956, 70, no. 7), while it improves on Arkell’s version, turns out to contain a number of errors. The most serious of these concerns the signs at the end of the fourth line (see Fig. 4), which he interpreted as representing a date: ‘he will not have any successor. The first day(.).’ He comments: ‘The date at the end of the inscription is difficult to read being nearly obliterated. It is possible that the sign $h3t$ (Gardiner, Sign-list, M, 4) escaped me when I collated the text. From my copy, there is obviously enough space for it between $tw\text{w}f$ and either $brw$ or $sp$. In this case we ought to read: $b3t-sp$ 1 (or possibly 2) ... $ty$ “year 1 (or 2), the first...” The inscription continued obviously under the fourth line, but I am unable to read further. It seems most probable that the inscription refers to the well-known campaign of the second year of Thutmose the First.’ This speculative year-date, which has been much quoted in the literature (e.g., Zibelius 1972, 31; Redford 1979, 277 and 285, n. 116; Bradbury 1985, 4; Berg 1987, 1; Bradbury 1992, 57; Vandersleyen 1995, 256) is, in fact, illusory. There is no $b3t$-sign present at the appropriate point nor any gap there to accommodate it (see Colour Plate XVI). The inscription does not continue underneath but finishes at the end of the fourth line, as it does also in the duplicate Thutmose III version. The sign following $tw\text{w}f$ is not $brw$ or $sp$ but almost certainly $tp$ (Gardiner D, 1) and the last sign is not $ty$ (Gardiner T, 8) but the short ‘stroke’ determinative (Gardiner Z, 1). Pending further study, I tentatively suggest that the group be read simply as the phrase $tp t3$, ‘upon earth’, with the fourth line then reading ‘there shall be no successor (or ‘heir’) of his upon earth.’

Associated with the T.I scene are two large animal figures: on the lower right a lion, initially outlined in red, identified as ‘the good god Aakheperka’ (the prenomen of Thutmose I), and on the lower left a bull (Colour Plate XVII; cf. Crawford 1953a, 7, pl. iv), identified as ‘Aum-Ra’, which here has a dual function, serving both as a representation of the god and as an enlarged hieroglyph, $k3$, the first sign in the writing of his epithet, $k3 mw\text{n}f$, ‘bull of his mother’ – a fine example of the hieroglyphic script’s capacity for productive ambiguity. The figures have been repeated for Thutmose III, again on much less congenial surfaces, the bull, similarly labelled, immediately to the left of the T.III stela, and the lion higher up on the rock, to the right of the T.I tableau. This lion is much less weathered than its earlier exemplar, with a great deal of its internal detail, all done in red paint, very well preserved. The head in particular is a striking work of art (Colour Plate XVIII). In front of the lion are a title and cartouche reading ‘the good god Menkheperret’ (the prenomen of Thutmose III) and two columns of historical inscription. These are very eroded and difficult to read but the phrase ‘from Naharin to Kush’ occurs in the left column and in the right column is the statement that ‘my majesty [travelled] to the boundary of the north (and) of the south.’
The remains of two lines of another historical inscription, missed by Arkell but noted by Vercoutter (1956, 68-9, no. 4), are located just below the T.I I lion. Arranged horizontally, it begins with a year-date, read tentatively as year 35 by Vercoutter, and ends with an illegible cartouche, which he was inclined to attribute to Thutmose III rather than Amenhotep III. I believe the numerals may perhaps be better read as 44, which would leave Thutmose III as the sole Eighteenth Dynasty candidate, though Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty should also be included in the reckoning. Note that immediately below the main T.I I tableau are two cartouches, now very faint, which Arkell assumed contained the names of Thutmose I. In fact, they bear the names of Ramesses II, the prenomen, Usermaatmesetepenra, though damaged, being quite clear under the right lighting conditions. This is the first definite Ramesside attestation at Kurgus and extends the New Kingdom history of the site by 150 years or so; it is also the first concrete evidence for a Ramesside presence this far up-river.

To the right of the T.I I lion is another interesting inscription, previously unnoted, which names the ‘King’s son, Amenemhat’ (Colour Plate XIX) – belonging either to a hitherto unattested king’s son of Kush or to a royal prince of that name (possibly a son of Thutmose III or Thutmose IV [Schmitz 1976, 292 and 294; Vandersleyen 1995, 318 and 350]).

The private inscriptions on the north-east face

Non-royal inscriptions are to be found sporadically along the entire length of the rock’s north-east face, a few even intruding into the royal area, though the majority are located towards the northern end (Fig. 2, B). All are written in the hieroglyphic script, usually in vertical columns, reading from right to left. They consist largely of names and titles – of officials and priests – though some are longer and give a certain amount of biographical information. Those that can be certainly dated are Thutmoseide; others may be later. Further research is required on this point. For the most part, the inscriptions are located at head-height or below, though a few are placed slightly higher. Among the clearest are the following, listed roughly in order of location from south to north:

Colour Plate XX. Title and name, done in red paint: ‘Steward of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horiu ...’
(Vercoutter, 1956, 69, no. 5).

Colour Plate XXI. Title and name, in red paint: ‘Wab-priest (or scribe) Amenemhat’ (Vercoutter 1956, 69, no. 6).

Colour Plate XXII. Four columns of biographical inscription, lightly hammered, title(s) and name illegible. The owner speaks of following in the footsteps of Thutmose III from Naharin to [Khenthenuefer ?] and of being a ‘champion of his majesty, his face towards the front’ and of being ‘in his praises.’

Colour Plate XXIII. Title and name, in red paint: ‘Wab-priest of Amun-Ra, Senhotep’ (Arkell 1950, 38; Vercoutter 1956, 69).

Colour Plate XXIV. Titles and name, hammered, in large hieroglyphs, in two horizontal lines: ‘Wab-priest of Amun, herald, Iry.’ Slightly above and to the left are two columns of much smaller hieroglyphs, very neatly done, each containing the titles ‘King’s son, overseer of the [southern] foreign countries...’, the name unfortunately lost in each case. To the right are the remains of a single column ending with a now incomplete title and the name ‘Djehuty’.

Colour Plate XXV. Below the previous, two columns of biographical inscription, lightly hammered, of a man who was a ‘praised one of the king, follower of his lord at his footsteps upon every foreign country which is loyal to him.’ Immediately below are three columns containing a similar inscription, partly illegible, in which the name ‘Amenhotep’ can be read.

The inscriptions on the south-west face

These are confined to a relatively small section of rock at the southern end of the south-west face (Fig. 2, C). They consist of a mixture of royal and private inscriptions, written in hieroglyphs, again mostly titles and names, arranged in horizontal lines reading from right to left. Some are located well above head-height. There is very little left that can be clearly read:

Colour Plate XXVI. Royal title and name in cartouche of the chief wife of Thutmose I, in red paint, finely done but now faded: ‘Great royal wife, Ahmose, may she live’ (Arkell 1950, 39; Vercoutter 1956, 68, no. 2). A short distance below is a private inscription, in red paint, finely done, perhaps by the same hand as the last: ‘Child of the inner palace, who follows the king at his footsteps, Iry’ (Arkell 1950, 39; Vercoutter 1956, 68, no. 3). Above and to the north of the last two (not in the photograph) are the remains of at least two lines, lightly hammered, the first of which again contains the title, name and epithet ‘Great royal wife, Ahmose, may she live.’

Colour Plate XXVII. To the left of the previous, a similar inscription for the ‘King’s daughter, [name in cartouche unclear], may she live.’

Conclusion

Our new epigraphic survey of the Hagar-el-Merwa has proved to be a worthwhile exercise, allowing errors to be eliminated from the existing record and adding substantially to the corpus of inscriptions and to the history of the site. A full assessment of the material will have to wait on further documentation and study, which ideally should go hand-in-hand with excavation of the near-by fortress and cemetery. We can already confirm, however, that the Hagr
el-Merwa was no simple graffiti-station casually patronised by passing traders or desert travellers. The inscriptions mention the highest in the land, members of their entourage, and a host of priests and other functionaries. This striking landmark, situated between desert and cultivation, was a place of great political and sacred import, marking the southern boundary of Egypt’s empire and of the ordered world, as delimited by the king of the gods.

Acknowledgements

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The cemetery and the fort

Isabella Welsby Sjöström

The Cemetery (KRG 3)

The cemetery (Fig. 5) lies some 200m to the north of Hagr el-Merwa (see Davies above, Fig. 1 and Colour Plate XII), on the far side of a shallow khor (seasonal stream). It stretches over 1400 by 500m, although it does not by any means have precise boundaries, and it may simply have expanded through the joining of various smaller concentrations of tumuli. To the east the tumuli extend into the gravel plain, themselves covered in gravel and thus rendered virtually invisible at a distance. Other groups of tumuli, not recorded during the current campaign, are visible from this cemetery, lying on the ridges between the khor, to the north, east and south.

Although Arkell apparently found some potsherds in the cemetery dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty and possibly earlier (Arkell 1950, 39), none were found during the present campaign. Thus all we have to go on for dating purposes is the actual style of the graves. These come in a range of shapes and sizes but, apart from the box graves which are almost certainly Christian, it is only possible to guess at the relative dating of the others.

The location of the graves does not offer any help in this respect, as the box graves are found in the very centre of the cemetery, and some of the potentially much older tumuli, such as the type with stones laid to indicate the 'dromos', are found on the periphery.

Very few of the interments appear to have been disturbed, which in part explains the absence of pottery but, as we cannot be certain of the date of the graves, it is possible that these did not contain grave-goods. It is true that there were no bone fragments in evidence on the surface either, as might be expected amongst plundered graves.

The majority of the graves fall into a small number of types:

1. Tumuli with a black stone surround and white quartzite pebbles/rocks in a central depression.
2. Small tumuli, very shallow, in most cases to the point of being flush with present ground level.
3. Tumuli of large diameter with a gently rounded profile.
4. Flat-topped tumuli, with vertical sides built up with larger stones.
5. Box graves, which are thought to be of Christian date. Among these are a couple of examples of more irregular box graves, otherwise describable as high, sub-rectangular cairns. The alignment of these does not exactly correspond to that of the Christian graves nor to the direction of Mecca.
Figure 5. Plan of the cemetery.
Some of the tumuli are arranged in apparent sequences, with up to three tumuli laid out on the same alignment, or adjoining tumuli of different sizes (Colour Plate XXVIII), possibly belonging to members of the same family, whether as blood relations or family retainers.

The Fort (KRG 2)

The fort (Fig. 6 and Back Cover [Bottom]) lies approximately 50m from the present river bank and about 1.2km from the Hagar el-Merwa. While we might expect there to have been a Pharaonic fort near the boundary stelae, especially as this is also a possible point from where one would leave the Nile to head for the gold mines some 100km to the east, we do not have any definite evidence to prove that the fort dates to this period. On the contrary, the site is covered in medieval pottery sherds, and we may suppose that the red brick fragments scattered over the site date to the same period.

The north side of the fort is the best preserved or at least is the part where the ground plan is the most easily discernible. The south and east sides are the most damaged; unfortunately the height of the north-west range makes it a popular place to park tractors with untrustworthy starter motors.

Originally the fort was roughly square, measuring approximately 72m along each side, with round, boldly projecting corner towers at the north-east and north-west corners (to the south-east and south-west the ground plan is not visible to the same extent) and rectangular interval towers, which we can make out on the west, north and east sides. There was possibly an entrance to the east, and, while there definitely does not seem to have been an entrance in the north curtain wall, it is impossible to say for certain about the other two sides. The curtain wall is made of solid mud-brick courses and is 5m thick, the brick sizes averaging 400 x 210 x 7mm.

There are no visible indications near the Kurgus fort of any outlying settlement; approximately midway between the fort and the Hagar there is a scatter of unidentified pottery over a large area.

In a later period a stone wall and mud-brick annex were added to the north-west corner tower (Colour Plate XXIX), with a gap between the two, i.e. they clearly were not of the same build. Along the west side a long stretch of
this roughly coursed stone wall also survives, although it has largely been reduced to rubble. It runs approximately 10m further out than the original fort wall (which was of mud-brick). Arkell suggested that it was part of the original build, intended to protect the mud-brick against river floods but, as seen in the case of the north-west tower, they are not contemporary. There is further evidence of stone used in the building in a stone scatter to the east, but no structures are visible here.

Straddling the western mud-brick wall are the remains of another stone structure, but its plan is unclear and it is certainly a late addition. Around the north-west tower annexe, the highest point on the site, standing 5.4m above the plain to the east (best preserved because of the stone revetment), there is a scatter of stone and red brick fragments which turns the corner to the west. This is presumably what Arkell referred to as a glacis, but there seems to be no reason to suppose it to be anything other than rubble resulting from the collapse of the tower walls. The stone used in the fort is the same dark grey ferruginous sandstone that is also used in the cemetery cairns. There are uncertain traces of an outer wall of mud-brick to the north and to the east, but there is no evidence for the presence of a ditch, although this could possibly be hidden under the sand.

It is often assumed that red or fired brick denotes the presence of a church in medieval contexts, but it was not possible to make out, among the red brick scatters within the fort, the plan of any buildings in the course of the underground survey to confirm this possibility. The presence of the red brick along the fort walls suggests that it was not used solely in religious structures, and is, therefore, in this case not a reliable indicator of ecclesiastical architecture. Furthermore, the overall occurrence of red brick fragments suggests a possible general overhaul and rebuilding of the fort in the medieval period. The red brick is in all instances too fragmentary to obtain an idea of the size of the individual bricks used. Apart from the red brick ‘mound’ inside the fort, there is no indication of the use of the structures inside the fort walls.

Possible parallels for the fort

A brief study of other forts in Nubia from various periods ranging from the Middle Kingdom to the Islamic does not reveal a close enough parallel in terms of building materials and plan to date the fort at Kurgus with conviction. What is clear is that Egyptian fortifications are made predominantly of mud-brick and Christian ones of a combination of mud-brick and stone; however, the fort at Kurgus is built entirely of mud-brick in its earlier phase, and it is only later that stonework was added. The size of the mud-bricks used in the curtain wall at Kurgus would support a possible Egyptian date for the fort (Spencer 1979, passim), although the apparent absence of timber lacing, present in other forts of the Middle and New Kingdoms in the Second Cataract area, is a discordant note. The fort is also more than three times smaller than the New Kingdom fortified towns, such as those of Sesebi, Aniba or Amara West. Sesebi measures 200 x 270m, while Aniba was enlarged in the New Kingdom to 200 x 400m. At Buhen, originally built in the Middle Kingdom and refurbished in the New Kingdom, there is an outer wall that might offer a parallel to the outer wall at Kurgus, although the remains of the latter are too faint to be certain of its form and to indicate whether it was contemporary with the construction of the fort. At Sesebi, the town wall shows some (superficial) similarity with that at Kurgus. In the Third Cataract area, near the granite quarries of Tumbus, there is epigraphic evidence for a fort dating to the reign of Thutmose I, but if the fort that has been seen at Gezira Dabaki and recorded by D. N. Edwards and Ali Osman does indeed date to this period, it is built of a combination of stone and mud-brick and its plan does not appear to bear a great resemblance to that at Kurgus (Edwards and Osman 1992, 28).

Looking at later periods, at Old Dongola the walls of the fortification on the rocky outcrop overlooking the river are built of both stone and mud-brick and date to the post-Meroitic period. At Bakheit, Istabel and Kiliselkal, for example, are other fortifications from the Christian-Islamic period, but neither the building techniques nor the plans provide a parallel for KRG 2. It must be noted, however, that the use of either mud-brick or roughly hewn stone cannot be taken as a reliable criterion for the date of a structure, as the local availability of material will have played a key role in determining what was used in any given structure, except where danger from flooding will have made the use of stone of paramount importance.

The best parallels for the fort at Kurgus come from three forts at Jebel Nakharu (west bank, north of Berber), at Jebel Umm Marrahi (west bank, north of Omdurman) and at Abu Nafisa (2 km north of Umm Marrahi). All are built of stone, but their plans and dimensions are very similar to those of KRG 2. Jebel Nakharu is approximately 73m square (Crawford 1953b, 17–19) and the fort at Jebel Umm Marrahi, according to Crawford, measures roughly 82m square (ibid., 39), not too much larger than Kurgus. Jebel Nakharu is probably of post-Meroitic or early medieval date1 and the other two sites date to the same period. A similar date for the fort at Kurgus would fit with the Christian sherds found on the surface at the site.

To conclude, it is clear that both the fort and the cemetery at Kurgus were in use in the medieval period, but it is only by excavation that we will be able to establish the date of the foundation of the fort and of the various types of tumuli.

1. Shards of post-Meroitic pottery and one sherd of Soba Ware, a fine ware produced at Soba East in the early medieval period, were noted during a brief inspection of the fort in 1995.
Bibliography


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Plate XII. Kurgus. View of the Hagy el-Merwa from the desert to the north, with a tumulus-tomb in the foreground.

Plate XIII. Kurgus. Recording the stela of Thutmose III on the north-east face of the Hagy el-Merwa.
Plate XIV. Kurgus. Representation of the god Amun-Ra, seated on a throne, surrounding the stela of King Thutmose I.

Plate XV. Kurgus. The stele of King Thutmose III.

Plate XVI. Kurgus. Detail of the stele of Thutmose I, showing the hieroglyphs at the end of the fourth line previously read as a year-date.

Plate XVII. Kurgus. Representation of a bull, identified as Amun-Ra.
Plate XVIII. Kurgus. The head of the lion of Thutmose III, recorded on transparent film.

Plate XIX. Kurgus. Inscription of the 'King's son, Amenemhat'.

Plate XX. Kurgus. Inscription, in red, now damaged, of the 'Seward of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horiu...'.

Plate XXI. Kurgus. Inscription, in red, much faded, of the 'Wab-priest (or 'scribe') Amenemhat'.
Plate XXII. Kurgus. Biographical inscription of a man who 'followed in the footsteps' of King Thutmose III.

Plate XXIII. Kurgus. Inscription, in red, of the 'Wab-priest of Amon-Ra, Senhotep'.

Plate XXIV. Kurgus. Group of private inscriptions, one in large hieroglyphs mentioning the 'Wab-priest of Amon, herald, Iry'.

Plate XXV. Kurgus. Biographical inscriptions of various followers of the King.

Plate XXVI. Kurgus. Two single-line inscriptions, in red, now faded, the upper mentioning the 'Great royal wife, Ahmoset', the lower the 'Child of the inner palace... Iry'.

Plate XXVII. Kurgus. Inscription including the cartouche of a 'King's daughter'.

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Plate XXVIII. Kurgus. General view of the cemetery with tumuli 113, 114 and 300 in the foreground.

Plate XXIX. Kurgus. The fort, showing the north-west mud-brick bastion and stone addition.