

# SUDAN & NUBIA

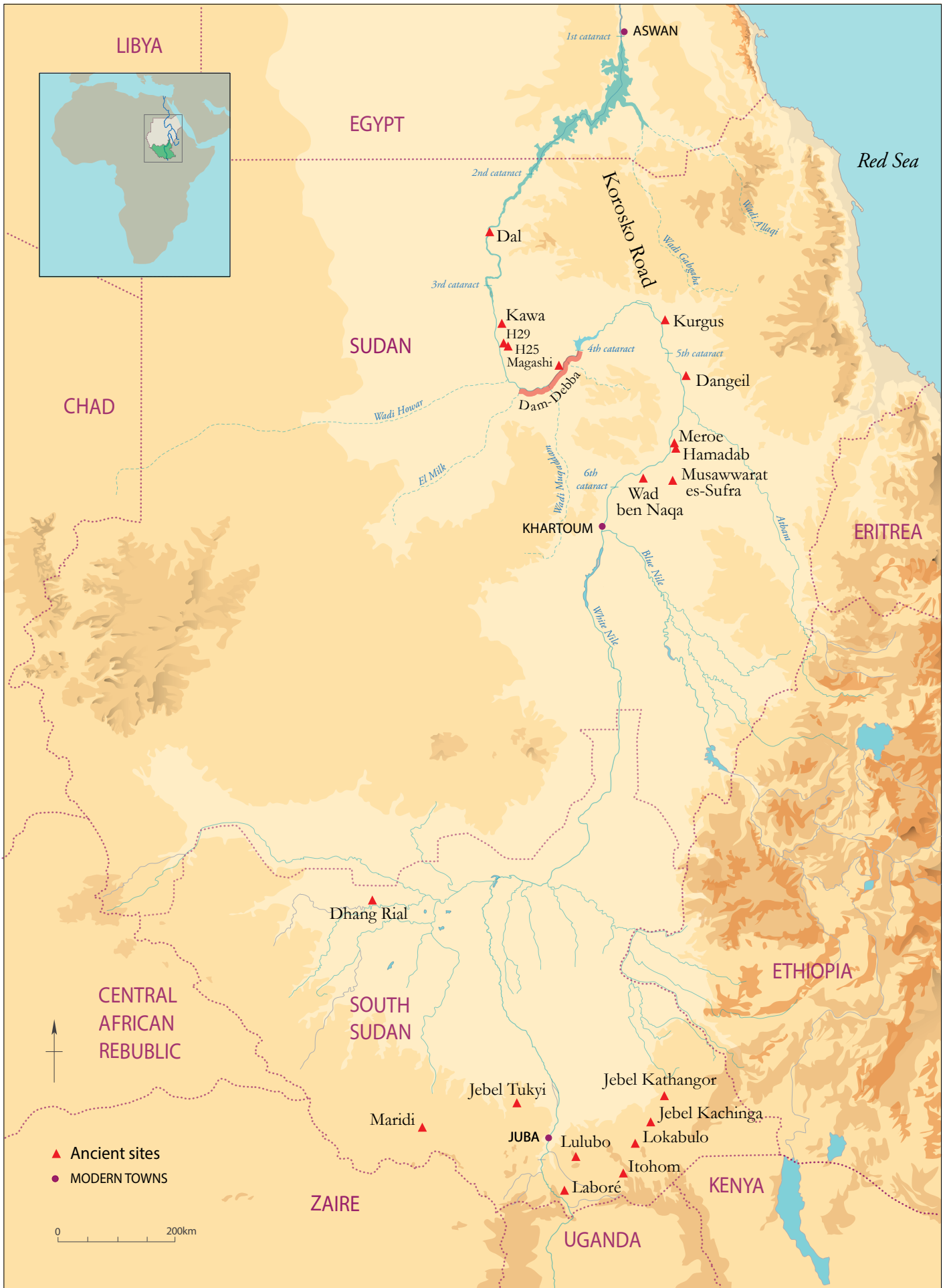
The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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2014





# SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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Contents

## Kirwan Memorial Lecture

- From Halfa to Kareima: F. W. Green in Sudan 2  
*W. Vivian Davies*

## Reports

- Animal Deposits at H29, a *Kerma Ancien* cemetery in the Northern Dongola Reach 20  
*Pernille Bangsgaard*
- Kerma in Napata: a new discovery of Kerma graves in the Napatan region (Magashi village) 26  
*Murtada Bushara Mohamed, Gamal Gaffar Abbass Elbassan, Mohammed Fath Elrahman Ahmed and Alrashed Mohammed Ibrahim Ahmed*
- The Korosko Road Project
- Recording Egyptian inscriptions in the Eastern Desert and elsewhere 30  
*W. Vivian Davies*
- Preliminary report on some New Kingdom amphorae from the Korosko Road 44  
*Philippe Ruffieux and Mahmoud Suliman Bashir*
- The Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project in the Northern Dongola Reach
- Introduction 47  
*Derek A. Welsby and Ross I. Thomas*
- Excavations within the Kushite town and cemetery at Kawa 2013-14 48  
*Derek A. Welsby*
- El-Eided Mohamadein (H25): a Kerma, New Kingdom and Napatan settlement on the Alfreda Nile 58  
*Ross I. Thomas*
- Dangeil 2013-14: porches, ovens and a glimpse underground 69  
*Julie R. Anderson, Mahmoud Suliman Bashir and Salah Mohamed Ahmed*
- The Kushite cemetery of Dangeil (WTC): preliminary analyses of the human remains 78  
*Anna Pieri*
- Wad ben Naga: a history of the site 83  
*Pavel Onderka*
- The graffiti of Musawwarat es-Sufra: current research on historic inscriptions, images and markings at the Great Enclosure 93  
*Cornelia Kleinitz*
- Meroitic Hamadab – a century after its discovery 104  
*Pavel Wolf, Ulrike Nowotnick and Florian Wöfl*
- Post-Meroitic Iron Production: initial results and interpretations 121  
*Jane Humphris*
- Kurgus 2012: report on the survey 130  
*Isabella Welsby Sjöström*
- The 2014 season of excavations at Kurgus
- Excavations in the cemetery, site KRG3 138  
*Scott D. Haddow*
- Excavations in the fort, site KRG2 148  
*Matthew Nicholas*
- QSAP Dam-Debba Archaeological Survey Project (DDASP). Preliminary report on the NCAM mission's first season, 2013-2014 156  
*Mahmoud Suliman Bashir*
- Archaeology in South Sudan past and present: Gordon's fort at Laboré and other sites of interest 165  
*Matthew Davies*
- 
- Miscellaneous** 177
- 
- Front cover:* Examining the pharaonic inscriptions at Khashm el-Bab on the Korosko Road, November 2013 (photo: D. A. Welsby).
- Sudan & Nubia* is a peer-reviewed journal



# Kirwan Memorial Lecture

## From Halfa to Kareima: F. W. Green in Sudan

*W. Vivian Davies*

Frederick William Green (1869-1949) was a highly accomplished Egyptologist, who did much work in the field in the 1890s and the first quarter of the 1900s (Green 1998; Bierbrier 2012, 223-224). He is especially well known for his work in Elkab, Hierakonpolis and the Eastern Desert (Plate 1). Among other achievements, he created in 1896 the first ac-



*Plate 1. F. W. Green and assistants in the Eastern Desert (possibly 1896).*

curate map of Elkab (Clarke 1922, 16, pl. iv), which is still of great value today, and at Hierakonpolis in 1899 he uncovered and recorded the remarkable painted tomb of the predynastic period (Quibell and Green 1902, 20-21, pls LXXV-LXXIX; Adams and Friedman 1999). Quietly adventurous, curious and resourceful, Green had an engaging personality and impressive all-round skills. Surveyor, archaeologist, artist and epigrapher, he was much in demand, working at various times with Petrie, Reisner, Quibell, Clarke and others; from 1908 until his death in 1949, he was Honorary Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

By comparison with his work in Egypt, it is little known that Green twice participated in expeditions to the northern Sudan. In 1906, for six weeks or so (18<sup>th</sup> March–29<sup>th</sup> April),

he assisted the geologist W. F. Hume in surveying and mapping areas of the Nile Reach, particularly on the west bank, between Semna and Dal. In 1909-10, for two months (5<sup>th</sup> December–5<sup>th</sup> February), he accompanied the architect Somers Clarke and the Assyriologist A. H. Sayce, documenting Christian remains in the Nile Valley between Wadi Halfa and Kareima and then at Soba (results in Clarke 1912). During both journeys, he made a private record of pharaonic and other antiquities encountered along the way, occasionally also sketching features in the landscape and various objects of interest. He never found time to publish this information, but fortunately much of it is contained in two of his personal diaries (each covering one of the expeditions), which were donated, with others, to the British Museum in 1998 by Green's youngest son, the late John Green.<sup>1</sup>

An excellent introduction to the content of the diaries and the itineraries followed has already been published by Isabella Welsby Sjöström (1999) (Figure 1). I concentrate here on the second, longer expedition, which was the most productive archaeologically. The team's mode of travel from Wadi Halfa was for the most part by camel with camps established at suitable spots for the night, occasionally for longer. They travelled along the west bank, crossing temporarily to the other side or to an island, as the programme required. On reaching Dongola, the party boarded a steamer which transported them to Kareima, stopping at sites on the way. At Kareima, by invitation of the Governor, Jackson Pasha, they stayed on the steamer 'Kirbekan', which they used as a base for exploration of the region.<sup>2</sup>

Limitations of space preclude a detailed step-by-step description of what was recorded. Rather, I present here a selection of some of the more interesting monuments, several long lost from view, up-dating the information, revisiting the context where possible, identifying their present location, and taking the opportunity to publish them in photograph, the majority for the first time.<sup>3</sup> They are listed

<sup>1</sup> A further archive relating to Green is held by the University of Cambridge. It is hoped that an integrated study of the materials may be carried out in the near future.

<sup>2</sup> Green and Clarke stayed at Kareima for 12 days (9<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> January 1910) before taking the train southwards via Abu Hamed to Khartoum, in due course returning, separately, by rail to Wadi Halfa. Sayce left Kareima on 13<sup>th</sup> January to join Garstang's excavations at Meroe.

<sup>3</sup> The photographs are mostly the work of James Rossiter with additional images by Derek Welsby. The copies of inscriptions, made by the present writer, have been inked in by Will Schenck and Claire Thorne. Renée Friedman has assisted in preparing the material for publication. Susanne Woodhouse has provided bibliographic help.

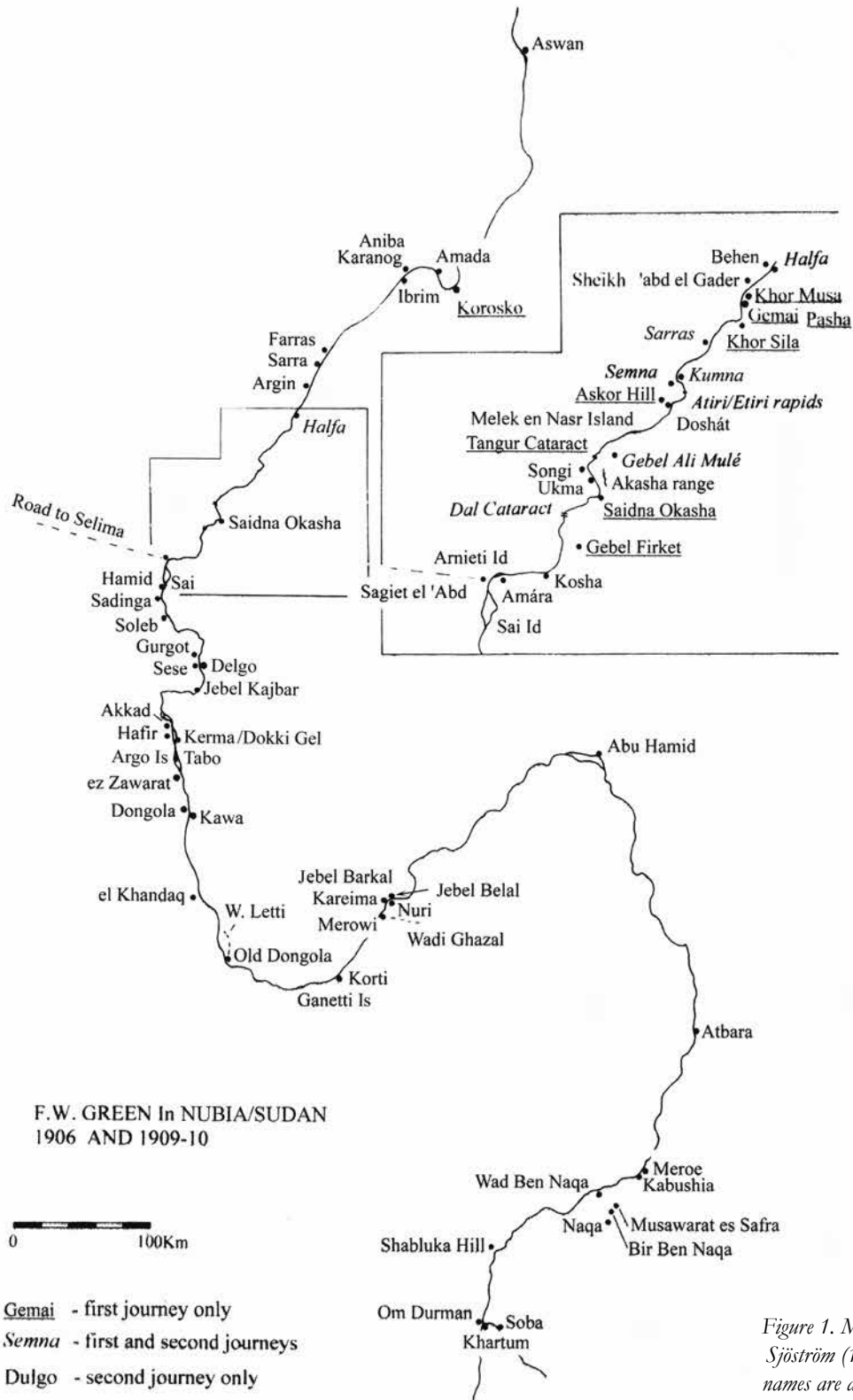


Figure 1. Map, after Welsby Sjöström (1999). The place names are as spelt by Green.

below, largely as encountered, in geographical order, proceeding upstream. Ranging in date from the Middle Kingdom to the Meroitic period, they comprise nine main items: a statue, an animal sculpture, a stela, two offering-tables, a barquestand, two rock-inscriptions, and a temple-inscription. At least five were wholly new to knowledge at the time of recording, while, as a result of the expedition's intervention, several were

rescued from neglect or reuse and found their way in due course to the Wadi Halfa Museum or the Merowe Museum (both now long defunct). Apart from the inscriptions still *in situ*, all are today safely located either in the Sudan National Museum (SNM) in Khartoum or in the Jebel Barkal Museum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For co-operation and permission to study and publish the monuments, I am grateful to Abdelrahman Ali, Director-General of NCAM, Ghalia





**Camps 8–9, 13. 12. 09: Songi–Ukma  
(Diary 1909-1910, 26-29)**

*Royal statue*

One of Green’s most important discoveries was not made in an archaeological site, but in an isolated spot in the Batn el-Hajar, between the villages of Songi (Sonqi) and Ukma (Figure 1). It was a royal statue of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. While travelling south on the left bank, the party happened upon ‘a much damaged diorite statue ... of Amenophis III and his wife ... a long inscription on the back ... a line round the base... on each side of the throne the usual sma sign ... we had the statue set upright so as to copy the inscription on the back. It is very much damaged, the beginning lines completely broken off. ... This is my copy [see Figure 2].

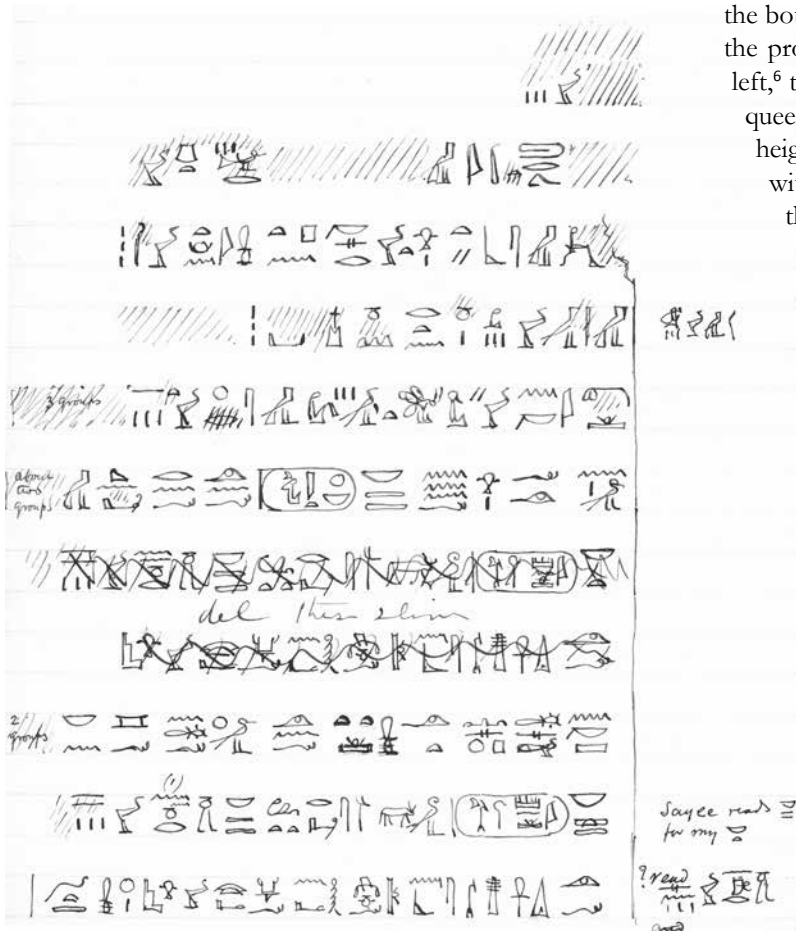


Figure 2. Amenhotep III dyad, inscription on back, Green hand-copy.

After copying the inscriptions we made for the tents which we could see gleaming white among the bushes about 2 kil off. We reached them at nightfall and found tea ready, a most grateful beverage under the circumstances.’ Green’s copy of the statue’s inscriptions, first noted when the British Museum acquired the diaries, has led to its positive identification with a ‘double statue’ of Amenhotep III described briefly by Arkell

(1950, 32) and at greater length by Vercoutter (1956, 79-80, no. 27; cf. *Urk.* iv, 1958-1959, no. 738), both of whom were unaware of its modern find-spot. By the time of Arkell’s report, the statue had reached the Wadi Halfa Museum, via the District Commissioner’s office in the Police Post at Abri, where according to Arkell it had lived for some years. It is now in the Sudan National Museum (SNM 34977).<sup>5</sup> We have recently been able to make a complete record of the piece (Plates 2-4, including a new copy of the inscription on the back (Figure 3), a copy with which Green’s version (Figure 2), made quickly under challenging physical conditions, compares well. The statue has since been published in full elsewhere (Davies 2014). An abbreviated treatment, with limited bibliography, is given here.

The statue (Plate 2), made of grano-diorite, consists of the bottom half of a seated dyad, representing the king on the proper right and queen (or queen as goddess) on the left,<sup>6</sup> the king shown wearing a jubilee or *heb-sed* cloak, the queen a tight-fitting sheath dress. Its maximum surviving height is 660mm. It was finely decorated, in sunk relief, with the *sma-tawy* or ‘union of the two lands’ motif on the sides of the throne (Plate 3) and with hieroglyphic inscriptions around the sides of the base and on the back (Plate 4). The inscriptions along the base, quite well preserved on the right, declare all people to be at the king’s feet as decreed by the god Amenre, a state of affairs given expression in the statue itself, which shows on the pedestal the king’s feet superimposed on the symbolic ‘Nine Bows’.

The inscription on the back (Plate 4, Figure 3), its top half and much of its left side missing, has interesting historical content. Ending with a eulogy to Amenre and Amenhotep III, the central text celebrates the building of a great fortified temple in Kush,<sup>7</sup> its workshop staffed by Asiatic prisoners (cf. Davies 2014, 403-405; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 183-184). It reads: ‘(x + 2) ... surrounded with great fortifications carved with the [great?] name [of his majesty] (x + 3) and built with a rampart reaching to the sky like great obelisks, [its workshop filled] (x + 4) with Asiatics of Retenu belonging to the booty of his majesty, [the like] (of which) had not been done [prev] (x + 5) iously by other kings, through

<sup>5</sup> Thanks are due to Julie Anderson for help in tracking the piece down.

<sup>6</sup> On the iconography of the royal couple, King Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye, as represented in scenes in the temple of Soleb and elsewhere, see now Sourouzian 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Budge 2007, I, 462 (cf. PM vii, 165) reports finding on Sai Island a round-topped granite stela, inscribed with a similar text. The stela (together with other objects) was earmarked for later transport by river to Halfa, but has not been seen since. It is possible that Budge might have seen the Green statue at some point (not necessarily on Sai), later misremembering it as a stela. Budge is notoriously unreliable with regard to the provenance and identity of antiquities which he purports to have encountered (see, for example, his account of Soleb, Budge 2007, I, 445-450, and the critique by Schiff-Giorgini 1965, 124-129, Doc. 27). However, there is no certainty here, and the stela may yet emerge.

Garelnabi Abdelrahman, Director of the SNM, Murtada Bushara Mohamed, Director of the Jebel Barkal Museum and Ikhlass Abdellatief, Senior curator in the SNM.



Plate 2. Batn el-Hajar Amenhotep III dyad, front (photo: J. Rossiter, 2010).

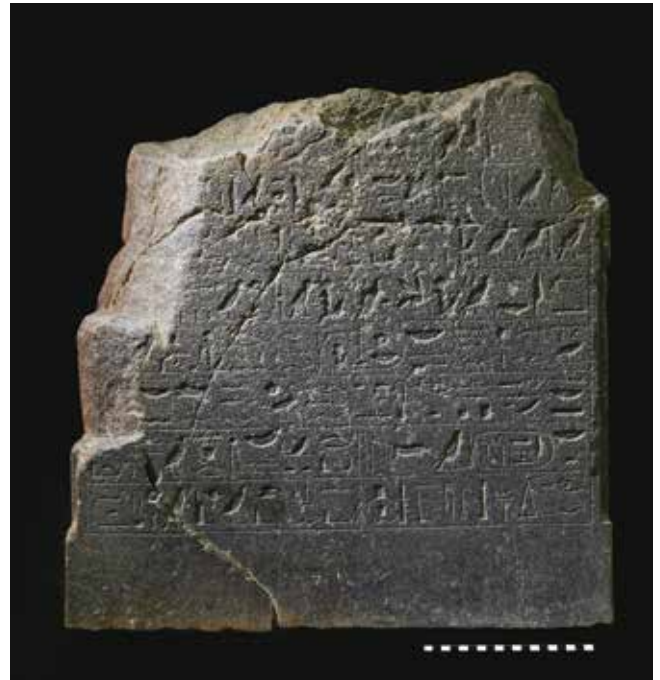


Plate 4. Amenhotep III dyad, back (photo: J. Rossiter).



Plate 3. Amenhotep III dyad, right side (photo: J. Rossiter).

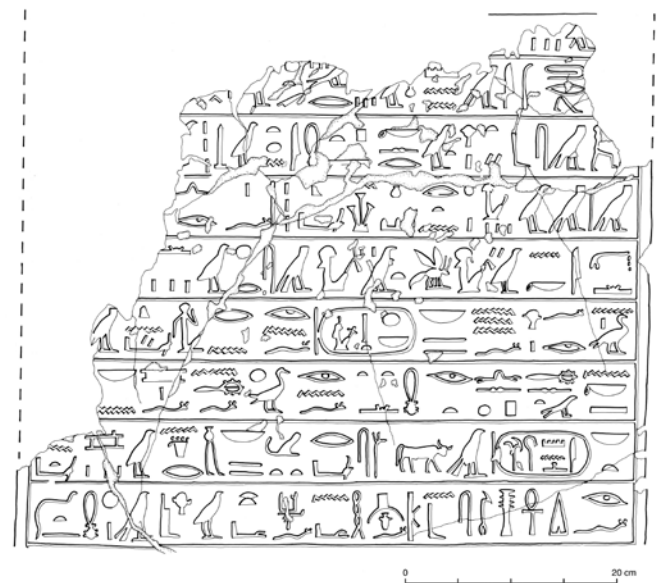


Figure 3. Amenhotep III dyad, inscription on back, new copy.

the determination [of his father Amenre] (x + 6) for his son who is upon his water (= 'loyal to him'), lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, he having established a mighty name in [the land] (x + 7) of vile Kush, the like (of which) had not been done. He begat the son of Re of his body, beloved of him, lord of [foreign land] (x + 8) every, Amenhotep-prince-of-Thebes, the Horus, bull great of strength, who reaches the limits of might, (x + 9) that he might achieve given live, stability, do-

minion, health, joy of his heart together with his ka, arisen upon the throne of Horus, like Re eternally'.

Comparative texts (cf. *Urk.* iv, 1750-1752; Davies 2014, 405) and the nature and scale of the structures, as described, suggest that the building in question here is probably the king's impressive jubilee temple at Soleb,<sup>8</sup> in which the dyad might originally have been set up, though perhaps later removed to Jebel Barkal like so many of the Soleb sculptures. How it ended up in the Batn el-Hajar, to be documented one day by Green, is unknown. It might simply have been aban-

<sup>8</sup> To the bibliography on the temple cited in Davies 2014, 405, with nn. 35-37, add now Beaux and Grimal (eds) 2013; Cavillier 2014.



done there, while being taken northwards by governmental or private agents.<sup>9</sup>

Whatever the case may be, the statue – a rare example showing Amenhotep III in jubilee garb, with an interesting text almost certainly referring to the jubilee temple – represents, even in its broken state, a significant addition to the repertoire of the king’s sculptures and to knowledge of his activities in Kush.

**Camp 11, 18. 12. 09: Opposite Amara  
(Diary 1909-1910, 36-38)**

*Meroitic stela*

Visiting the site of the Meroitic temple at Amara East (PM vii, 157; Vila 1977, 10, 21-23, 34-42), Green and his colleagues were disappointed: ‘We expected great things... When we reached the spot where the temple was said to stand all we could find was the granite base of a column, a mass of fragments of burnt brick and some pieces of pottery. The whole temple had vanished!’ However, there was some consolation in the acquisition from a local inhabitant of ‘a tombstone inscribed in Meroitic Demotic’ (Figure 4). This round-topped stela was decorated in sunk relief with a winged sun-disc surmounting ten horizontal lines of text written in the cursive Meroitic script, of which Green, unable to read the script, made what he called a ‘blind copy’. The stela was shortly afterwards included in F. L. Griffith’s *Meroitic Inscriptions II* (1912), 13-14, pl. vii, no. 85 (Figure 5; cf. PM vii,

brought to us. It proved to be a  
tombstone inscribed in Meroitic  
Demotic. The stone was about  
40cm high + 20cm wide rather  
smaller at the top which is  
rounded. There is no scene  
but there is a winged disc  
flanked by two asps and  
having dependent wings. The whole much like  
bad Roman work. The inscription is in  
alphabetic character, or look as if it were  
the characters are roughly cut but moderate



Figure 4. Amara East, Meroitic stela, Green diary-entry.

164; REM I, 186-187, 0085; REM III, 1978, 0085), with the comment, ‘Mr. F. W. Green, of Cambridge, kindly sent me a sketch of a remarkable funerary stela... which he found in the possession of an old woman at Amara in December, 1909. This has since been taken to Halfa for the Sudan Govern-

<sup>9</sup> The use of agents to transport antiquities previously earmarked for collection had long been a common practice (see n. 7 above and Davies 2014, 405, n. 40).

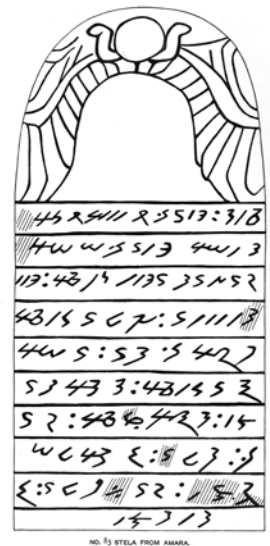
ment collection ... The present copy is from squeezes taken by Mr. Blackman ... compared with Mr. Green’s useful sketch.’ Griffith (1912, 14) identified the owner as ‘Azemeqê, born of Qêqaye, begotten of Amani-tame, *sashimete* of Ammon’. Now in the collection of the Sudan National Museum (SNM 3983), the stela, made of sandstone and very well preserved, is 480mm high, 235mm wide, and about 120mm thick (Plate 5). I am grateful to Claude Rilly for the following comment (pers. comm., May, 2014):

‘This stela is very similar to the funerary material we are

Plate 5. Amara East  
Meroitic stela  
(photo: J. Rossiter,  
2013).



Figure 5. Amara East,  
Meroitic stela, after  
Griffith (1912).



dealing with in Sedeinga. This is hardly a surprise as the two sites are so close to each other. I would suggest a date between the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century AD, as much from palaeography as from the spellings of verbal forms. The deceased was actually called Ademeqoli and bears a title connected to the cult of Amun. His mother’s name was Qomoye. His father’s name was Amanitame, one of the rare non-royal names including ‘Amun’. It is of course



significant that the only Meroitic text known from Amara is connected twice with Amun, for whom a temple had been built in this place by King Natakamani and Queen Amanitore.’

**Camp 12, 19. 12. 09: Opposite Sai Island  
(Diary 1909-1910, 41-46)**

*Pharaonic temple-inscription*

Since the ‘regular ferry had the bottom stove in’, the party crossed from the west bank to Sai on ‘a private floating general store trading in dates’. Arriving safely on Sai, they first proceeded to the remains of a church with four granite columns, Green making a sketch, ‘a rough copy’, of one of the capitals (Figure 6) (cf. Clarke 1912, 45-46, figs 10-11, and now Tsakos and Hafsas-Tsakos 2014).

Passing on, they reached the Ottoman fort which stands on an earlier, pharaonic complex. In its interior, among ‘a

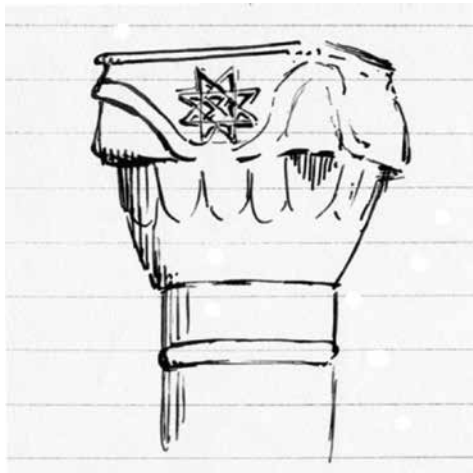


Figure 6. Sai, column capital, Green sketch.

mass of bricks, pottery and sandstone chips’, Green spotted ‘part of an inscription of Thothmes III’, of which he made a hand-copy (Figure 7). This is the Year 25 building inscription of Thutmose III’s viceroy, Nehy, first published in a very small photograph, which omits the bottom, by Kirwan (1939, 29, pl. 6, 1-2; cf. PM vii, 165), and subsequently treated by Vercoutter (1956, 74-5, no. 13; 1973, 18, 33, n. 37).<sup>10</sup> The latter’s copy (Figure 8), recording the remains of eight horizontal lines of inscription, has remained to the present day the main source for study and citation of this important dated text (for example, Helck 1983, 130, no. 136; Grallert 2001, 154, 597, T3/Kb005; Morris 2005, 204-5; Minault-Gout 2005-2006, 276-277; 279, 284, 287, 292, fig. 3,d; Valbelle 2006, 45; Devauchelle and Doyen 2009, 35, no. 8; Azim and Carlotti 2011-2012, 44-46; Gabolde 2011-2012, 136, n. 78; Budka and Doyen 2012-2013, 170-171, with n. 42, 181-182, 201; Müller 2013, 40, 292-293, 2.3.2. no. 2).

<sup>10</sup> The inscription occupies the bottom section of Face B of Pillar S.1, which measures 2.65 x 0.74m (Minault-Gout 2005-2006, 284, 292, fig. 3, d). The inscription’s height, when complete, was at least 350mm.

Unknown to Green at the time, the inscription had already been recorded, nearly three years before, by the Breasted Expedition of 1907 (PM vii, 165), in both a photograph (P. 3263) and a hand-copy (the latter by Norman de Garis Davies), which are shown here (Plate 6; Figure 9).<sup>11</sup> Green’s version usefully supplements these first records, though understandably it does contain mistakes, as does that of Davies. The photograph shows the inscription, heavily damaged on the right side, to have been in a better state of preservation

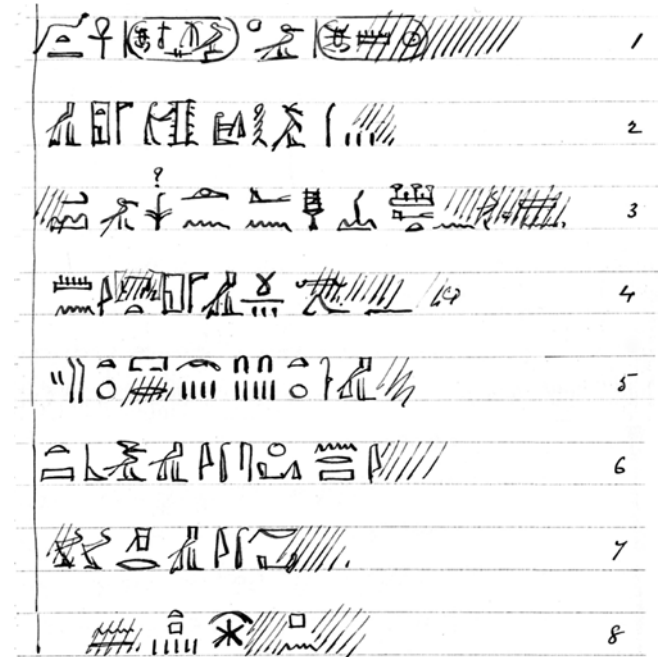


Figure 7. Sai, Nehy inscription, Green hand-copy.

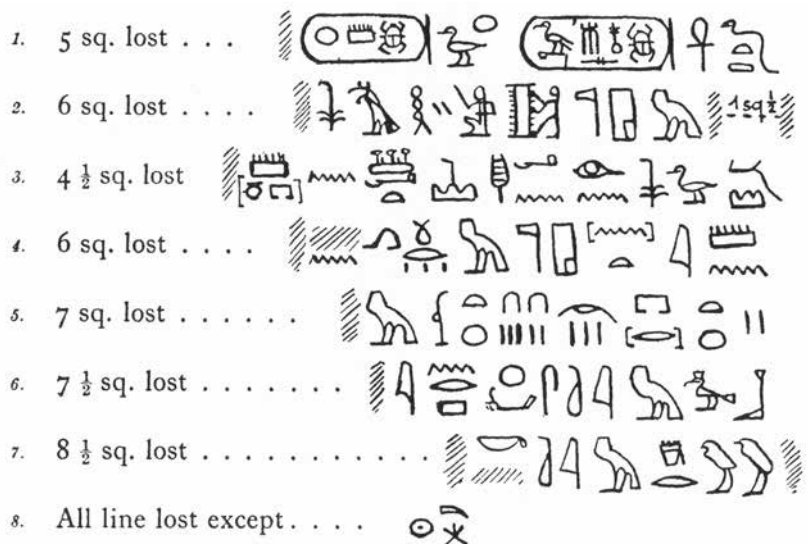


Figure 8. Sai, Nehy inscription, Vercoutter copy (after Vercoutter 1956).

<sup>11</sup> The Breasted photograph (a scan of an original print kindly provided by the Griffith Institute, Oxford) is published here courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; the Davies drawing (Davies MSS. DN, 18, p. 23) is included courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. I am grateful for the co-operation of the staff of both institutions.



Plate 6. Sai, Nehy inscription (Breasted expedition photo. 3263, 1907; courtesy Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

than when later recorded by Vercoutter,<sup>12</sup> with more content visible and with parts of two additional registers present at the bottom,<sup>13</sup> bringing the sum of known lines to ten. It is unclear whether this number represents the total extent of the original inscription. Nevertheless, improved readings and corrections are now possible, the fuller content of line 8 being particularly interesting. The translation and partial restorations offered here are highly provisional:<sup>14</sup>

‘(1) [Year 25 under the majesty of the king of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, son of Re, Djehutymose-perfect-of-forms, may he live eternally. (2)[His majesty ordered the king’s] son, overseer of southern foreign lands,<sup>15</sup> Nehy, to build a temple a[new (?)]<sup>16</sup> (3-4)[out of sandstone (?)]..... ] in the fortress<sup>17</sup> of Shaat (Sai). Then the king’s son, overseer of [southern] foreign lands [Nehy] did [what he had been commanded], stretching the cords<sup>18</sup> in the temple of Amun<sup>19</sup> (5) [in the fortress of Shaat (?)] in year 25, month 4<sup>20</sup> of Peret, day 2<sup>21</sup> [...] (6)[.....constructing in (?)] stone what had been built in brick (7) [its walls (?)] .....] decorated<sup>22</sup> with pigment (8) [.....the temple of Amun in?] this [fortress (?)] in (or ‘for’) 5 months,<sup>23</sup> its [na]me (?)<sup>24</sup> [.....] (9)[.....]

<sup>12</sup> It has since deteriorated even further. Luc Gabolde has kindly provided me with a recent image of the inscription. He will include the monument in a forthcoming publication of Egyptian inscriptions from Sai.

<sup>13</sup> These are not recorded by Green, which suggests that they had already disappeared by the time of his visit.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the language of similar building-texts of Nehy from Faras (originally from Buhen; Karkowski 1981, 272-276, nos. 291-292; Aksamit 1997; Grallert 2001, 163-4, 697, Pr/NR/Bio001) and Semna (*Urk.* iv, 986, 4-16; Caminos 1998, 38-40, pl. 22; Grallert 2001, 156, 597, T3/Kb006). In terms of restoring missing sections of the Sai text, there is added difficulty in that an accurate estimate of where the lines began on the right is still lacking.

<sup>15</sup> The viceroy’s title *imy-r h3swt rswt* is eroded but visible as, before it, is the outline of the *s3* of *s3-nswt*.

<sup>16</sup> Reading perhaps *m* [*m3wt*], the latter, if once present, probably the first word in line 3.

<sup>17</sup> *m mnw*, though damaged, is clear in the photograph, the first sign definitely an *m*.

<sup>18</sup> Reading *hr* (?) *pd šsw*, with *pd* followed by the bow (Γ 9) and legs determinatives.

<sup>19</sup> Or ‘Amenre’, as Davies.

<sup>20</sup> The numeral is ‘4’, as Green and Davies (not ‘3’). The stroke on the left is still just visible in the photograph. The reading is supported by the disposition of the numerals.

<sup>21</sup> The straightforward reading, ‘day 2’, is consistent with what can be seen in the photograph. However, instead of the numeral, Green and Davies both read two finger-signs (D 50), not impossible on the basis of the photograph, but difficult to interpret, as are the remains at the very end of the line.

<sup>22</sup> The incomplete word here is *b3k*. The tip of the tail of the *b3*-bird is preserved, as Davies, together with the forearm-sign (D 40) under the *k*.

<sup>23</sup> Reading *m*(?) *3bd* 5. The *m* is read by Davies and suits the space, though it is barely visible, if at all, in the photograph. The *d* of *3bd*, immediately to the left of the moon-sign, is clear in the photograph, though slightly obscured by a line of damage. The numeral looks like ‘5’ as Green. Davies reads ‘6’, but the extra stroke is not visible in the photograph.

<sup>24</sup> There is damage in this area but the *n* surmounting an *s* as read by

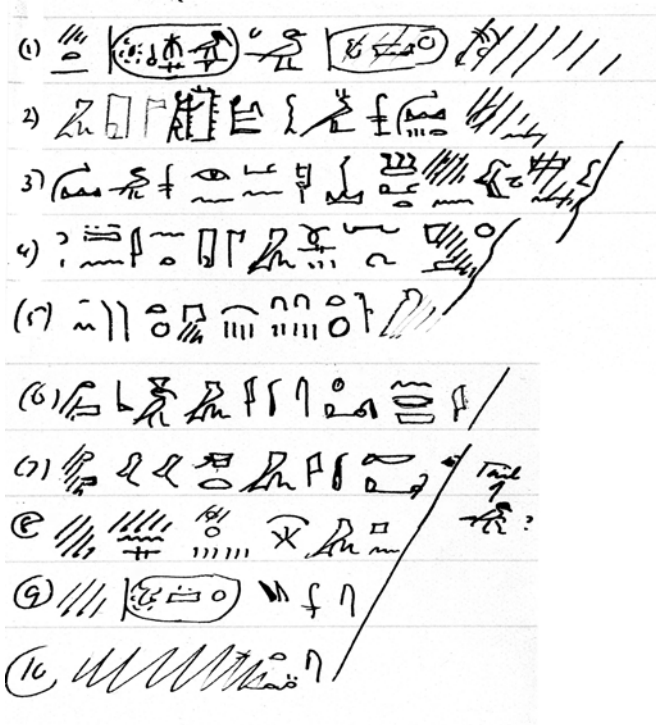


Figure 9. Sai, Nehy inscription, Davies hand-copy (Copyright: Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, may he live (?)<sup>25</sup>... (10) [.....] his (?)<sup>26</sup>[.....].

Taken at face value, the better preserved version confirms that Thutmose III's viceroy Nehy was ordered by the king to build, within an (already standing?) fortress of Sai, a new temple of the god Amun, made of stone and finely decorated, replacing an older temple of inferior structure. Since Nehy is described as 'stretching the cords in the temple of Amun', ie, planning the new foundations within the existing complex, it is likely that the old temple was removed. It appears to be stated that the work was begun in Year 25, during the last month of the third season of the year. If the month-data in line 8 refer somehow to the duration of the work (by no means certain), the temple was completed within 5 or 6 months, a relatively short time for the construction and decoration of a new stone temple but consistent with the modest dimensions of the temple in question ('Temple A'; Azim and Carlotti 2011-2012, 45, 65; Budka and Doyen 2012-2013, 170).

### Camp 17, 26. 12. 09: Jebel Noh (Diary 1909-1910, 61-62)

#### *Cartouche of King Ahmose*

Jebel Noh, 'a sandstone hill about 1½ kil from the river', is situated on the west bank near to Jebel Kajbar and almost directly opposite Jebel Wahaba. Since Green's visit, it has been included in a survey of the Third Cataract area undertaken by the University of Khartoum (Edwards 2006, 58-9, pl. 4; Osman and Edwards 2011, 73-4, 257-258, KJB005, with figs 8.6.2 and figs 8.6.3-8.6.9). Among the numerous rock-drawings discovered by Green on the top of the hill, he identified two as worthy of special attention, one 'a good representation of an elephant' and the other 'a badly executed by hammering cartouche of Ahmes' (Figures 10 and 11). Encouragingly, both are more or less still in the same condition as when Green first found them (Plates 7 and 8; Figure 12;<sup>27</sup> cf. Edwards 2006, 59, pl. 4; Osman and Edwards 2011, 258, figs 8.6.3 and 8.6.7).

The cartouche (Plate 8; Figure 12) is large, measuring about 400 x 240mm in maximum height and width. The inscription inside, damaged in parts and not copied in full

both Green and Davies can be justified from the photograph. The sign once placed above the *n* is gone. An *r* would fit the available space and give suitable sense, *m.s.*, 'its name', with the putative feminine antecedent being [*hwt-ntr nt Imn m mnnw*] *pn*, '[the temple of Amun in] this [fortress]'. Dependent clauses, referencing the name of a temple or temple-component, are common in building texts; cf., for example, *Urk.* iv, 1650, 5; 1668, 10. However, there is no certainty over the reading.<sup>25</sup> The cartouche is eroded but clear. The king's title is partially preserved as Davies, who reads an *s* in front of it. From the photograph, the cartouche appears to be followed by an *nh*-sign.

<sup>26</sup> A group of three signs, *s*, *t* and *f*, is preserved, their relationship and meaning open to interpretation.

<sup>27</sup> The images and copy date from 2005, when Derek Welsby and I first visited the site together with Murtada Bushara. We last visited in 2012.

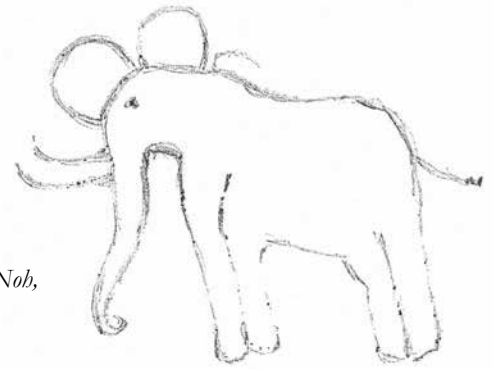


Figure 10. Jebel Noh, elephant, Green drawing.



Plate 7. Jebel Noh, elephant (photo: D. A. Welsby, 2005).

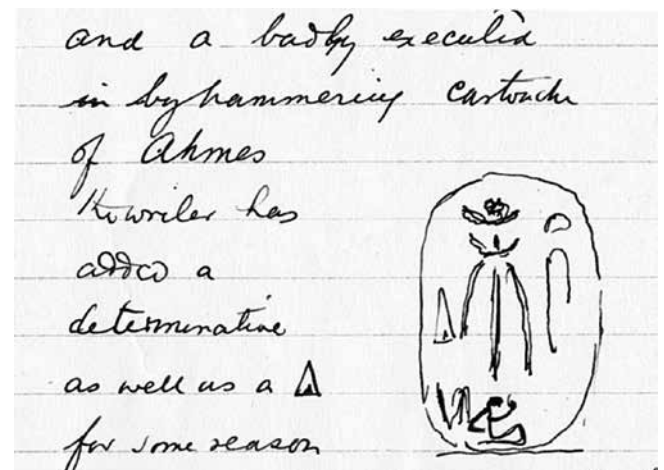


Figure 11. Jebel Noh, cartouche, Green diary-entry.

by Green, reads downwards and right to left, *S3 R<sup>c</sup> T<sup>h</sup>-ms*, 'Son of Re, Ahmose', referring no doubt to King Nebpehtyre Ahmose.<sup>28</sup> The name is followed by a seated man determinative orientated in the opposite direction. There is also a partially eroded group of three signs behind and to the upper left of the seated man, the remnants of an epithet (perhaps

<sup>28</sup> In theory, on the basis of the name alone, the cartouche could belong to one of Ahmose's predecessors, Senakhtenre Ahmose of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Biston-Moulin 2012, 66), but this is highly unlikely to be the case here.





Plate 8. *Jebel Noh, cartouche*  
(photo: D. A. Welsby, 2005).

garbled), reading ‘given life (?)...’.<sup>29</sup>

This cartouche on Jebel Noh, though a little roughly done, is of historical importance. It provides direct *in-situ* evidence of an Egyptian presence far south at the Third Cataract during the reign of the first king of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>30</sup> Since the inscription is currently an isolated case, caution is required in drawing any firm conclusions at this point as to the nature of this presence (Edwards 2006, 59; Török 2009, 158-9; Budka 2011, 31-2; Gabolde 2011-2012, 117; Osman and Edwards 2012, 73-74). Its broader significance will become clearer, as archaeological work progresses on sites in Upper Nubia, such as Sai and Sesebi, work which is currently producing evidence suggestive of a relatively settled Egyptian presence and coexistence with the native population already in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Budka 2011, 29, 31-32; 2013, 79-80, 82; Budka and Doyen 2012-2013, 182, 201; Spence *et al.* 2011, 34, 37; Doyen 2014, 371, 373; Mielle 2014, 386; Spence and Rose 2014, 410-411).

### Camp 21, 1. 1. 1910: Argo Island (Diary 1909-1910, 75-80)

#### *Statue of baboons*

Crossing to Argo Island from a camp on the west bank, Green and party visited the temple remains at Tabo, closely

<sup>29</sup> The last sign looks like a *b* (D 58), though the appearance may be deceptive.

<sup>30</sup> The form of the first sign, the moon-sign *Tʿh*, in the king’s name here is of a type (Vandersleyen 1971, 205ff., Type 2), which on present evidence was not used after Year 22 of the king’s reign (Davies 2010, 237, n. 79).



Figure 12. *Jebel Noh, cartouche, new copy.*

inspecting the two famous Meroitic colossi (SNM 23982 and 23983; PM vii, 180; Rondot 2011; Bonnet 2011, 288-289, fig. 5) and the statue of Sobekhotep IV (SNM 5228; PM vii, 180; Macadam 1949, xv; Davies 1981, 26, no. 27; Connor 2009, 59; Valbelle 2011, 15, fig. 4). While there, he was informed of another statue known by the local inhabitants to have been reburied somewhere on site. A search ensued: ‘Seeing a depression I stuck a stick in the sand and as it struck something... set to work to get it clear. It turned out to be a group of 4 cynocephalous apes’. This was a sculpture which had previously been noted in passing by Lepsius, Budge and others (PM vii, 180; cf. Macadam 1949, xv). Now in the Jebel Barkal Museum (SNM 5159), the monument, characterised by Green as ‘the most hideous I have ever seen’, was probably, when complete, quite a fine animal sculpture.

About 700mm in height and made of a green granitic stone, it shows four male sun-worshipping baboons in identical pose, each facing in a slightly different direction (Plate 9). They stand next to each other on their hind-legs, their arms raised, hands underneath the chin, palms facing outwards with thumbs touching; the side-views show the body and tail carved half in the round; there is a tall, wide rear support. Three of the figures are badly damaged. One is relatively well preserved, its head intact, revealing finely carved features (Plate 10). The pedestal and the feet of the figures are almost entirely lost. The monument, though based



Plate 9. *Argo baboons* (photo: J. Rossiter, 2013).





Plate 10. Argo baboons, detail (photo: W. V. Davies, 2013).

on pharaonic models,<sup>31</sup> is probably Kushite (25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) in date and was located originally somewhere in the Temple of Taharqa at Tabo.<sup>32</sup>

*Offering-table of Senwosret I*

During the same visit to Argo, an impressive offering-table, not specifically mentioned by Green but certainly one of the expedition's findings, was discovered built into a local house, from which it was duly recovered. A brief report by Green's colleague A. H. Sayce (1909), containing his version of the monument's inscriptions (Figure 13), has remained

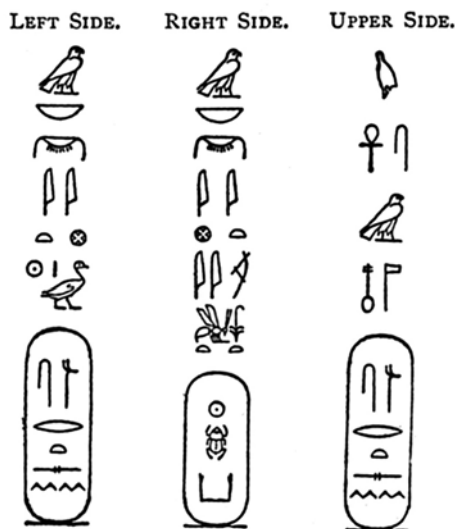


Figure 13. Argo, Senwosret I offering-table inscription, after Sayce (1909).

<sup>31</sup> Cf., for example, Barbotin 2007, 194-5, no. 125, pls 356-359 (Louvre D.31); PM vii, 99, (20) and (21); Ernst 2000, 55-56, 58, 65, pl. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the baboon-figures from Kawa (Welsby 2004, 151, no. 127). On the site and temple of Tabo, see Bonnet 2011.

the only publication of the piece and is much cited (PM vii, 180; Griffith 1955, 9; and, more recently, Valbelle 1990, 109; Vandersleyen 1995, 62, n.1; Obsomer 1995, 342, 688-689, no. 146; 2007, 74, n. 67; Gundlach 2008, 157-158, Beleg CXLV; Lorand 2011, 322; Valbelle 2014, 106). Sayce lacked Green's knowledge and epigraphic skills, and his record has turned out to contain a number of serious errors and omissions (see new copy, Figure 14).

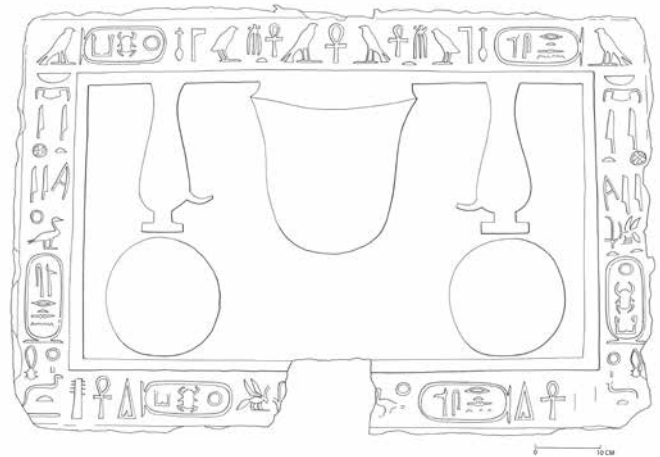


Figure 14. Argo, Senwosret I offering-table inscription, new copy.

The offering-table (SNM 5211) is now on display in the Jebel Barkal Museum (Plate 11). Made of red granite, it is rectangular in shape and about 800mm wide. It once contained a spout in the middle of one of the long sides, which has been hacked away. The central area of the main surface is decorated in raised relief with representations of loaves and libation-vessels, the surrounding rim with lines of hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief, very finely done, though now eroded and damaged in parts. There is also damage to the table's edges.

There are four lines of inscription, organised in balanced orientation to right and left (Figure 14).<sup>33</sup> The main inscrip-



Plate 11. Argo Senwosret I offering-table (photo: J. Rossiter, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> The copy of the inscriptions published here was made by the present writer on the basis of photographs, taken by J. Rossiter, and direct examination of the monument carried out during a brief visit to the Jebel Barkal Museum in December 2013. I have no doubt that, with more time at the monument, the copy could be improved palaeographically.



tions, occupying the top register and most of the side columns, begin with a central *ankh*-sign. They include the Horus-name, *prenomen* and *nomen* of Senwosret I, second king of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>34</sup> and a dedication to the god Horus of Nebyt (Kom Ombo).<sup>35</sup> The line to the left reads ‘live the Horus Live of Births, perfect god Kheperkare, beloved of Horus of Nebyt, son of Re Senwosret’. The one to the right reads ‘live the Horus Live of Births, perfect god Senwosret, beloved of Horus of Nebyt, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare’. At the bottom, the inscription to the left of the spout, which also occupies the end of the left column, reads ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, given life and stability like Re eternally’; the one to the right, a number of the signs eroded, reads ‘son of Re Senwosret, given life, [stability and dominion]<sup>36</sup> like Re eter[nally]’.

The offering-table’s original provenance was probably a temple in Egypt (perhaps Kom Ombo, as the dedication suggests, though there can be no absolute certainty).<sup>37</sup> From there it might have been brought to Upper Nubia, as one of the many trophies secured during the period of expansion and ascendancy of the Kingdom of Kush (the *Kerma Classic/Second Intermediate Period*) when at least one large incursion into Upper Egypt, led by Kush, is documented as having taken place (Davies 2003a; 2003b; 2005, 49-50; Török 2009, 109-110; Valbelle 2006; Bonnet and Valbelle 2010, 361; Valbelle 2011, 15; 2014, 107).<sup>38</sup> The presence on Argo Island of the statue of Sobekhotep IV (mentioned above) might also ultimately be explained by such a process.<sup>39</sup>

### S. Kirbeka, 17. 1. 10: Old Merowe (Merowi) (Diary 1909-1910, 120-122)

#### ‘Altar’ of *Pi(ankh)*y

Old Merowe or East Merowe (Marawi esh-Sheriq), situated on the right bank of the Nile about 13km south of Kareima (Plate 12), is the site of ‘a large medieval fort’, now known to have been an early Makurian citadel of the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century

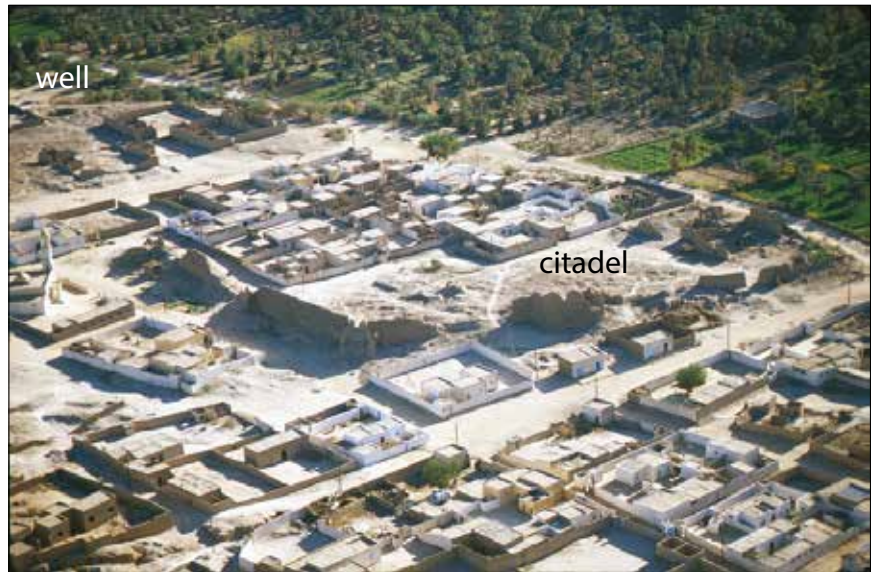


Plate 12. Old Merowe, site of citadel and well (photo: D. A. Welsby, 2003).

AD, ‘made from fragments of older buildings’, among them pieces with figural decoration and inscriptions (including cartouches of Taharqo), noted by Lepsius and others (PM vii, 198; cf. Griffith 1922, 76-7; Vincentelli Liverani 1997, 163, pls 1-2; for the site as a whole see now Godlewski 2008; 2014, 156-160, fig 5, MSh 1-3). Green managed to rescue from ‘the middle of the rubbish within the fort ... a much damaged diorite altar of P’nh’y’, now in the Jebel Barkal Museum (SNM 5220), its inscription less complete than when copied by Lepsius (1849-56, V, pl. 14, l; Figure 15), as

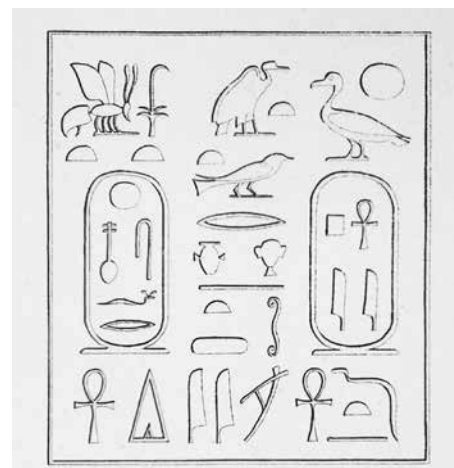


Figure 15. Old Merowe, *Pi(ankh)*y stand inscription, after Lepsius (1849-1856).

Green’s sketch indicates (Figure 16) and its present condition confirms (Plates 13 and 14). Despite the damage, in the right lighting conditions the content, as recorded by Lepsius, can still be read. It is arranged in three columns enclosed within a rectangular frame, surmounted by an elongated sky-sign as shown by Green. The left column is orientated towards the right, as is the middle column. The third column is orientated towards the left. They are to be read in the order left-right-

<sup>34</sup> For similar offering-tables of this king, see, for example, Kamal 1909, 1-6, CG 23001, 23003-23005, 8-9, 23009-23010, pls. I, II, III and V; Hözl 2002, 102-103, fig. 18a, 109-110, 188, 207-208.

<sup>35</sup> See Leitz (ed.) 2002, III, 659-660.

<sup>36</sup> Two vertical lines are visible between the *nh* and *dt*, probably belonging to the signs *dd* and *w3s* (for both of which there is room on this side).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. statue New York, MMA 25.6 of Senwosret I with dedication to Horus of Nebyt, said to come from the Fayum region (Arnold 2009, 27, fig. 6, 36, 38; Lorand 2011, 97-99, C 18, 237, 293-4 with n. 489, pl. 13).

<sup>38</sup> See also in this context the fine hieroglyphic inscription in the Eastern Desert recording the name of an indigenous ruler, Davies, this volume, pg. 35.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also Thill 2011-2012, 284, with reference to Egyptian pieces of the MK/SIP on Sai Island.



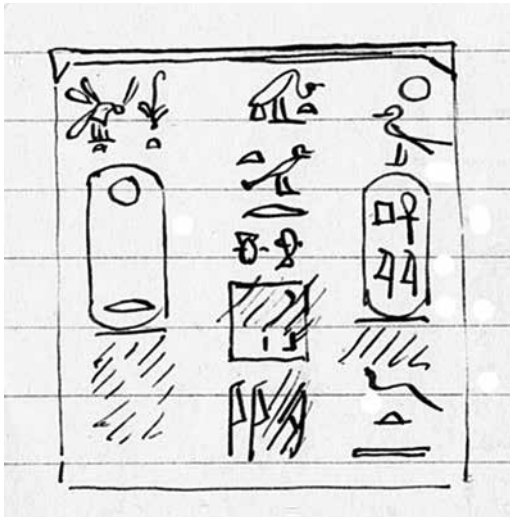


Figure 16. Old Merowe, Pi(ankh)y stand inscription, Green hand-copy.

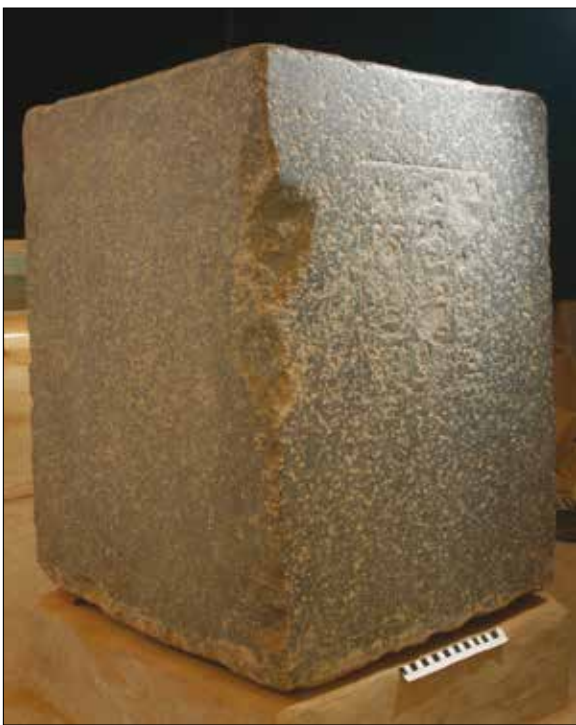


Plate 13. Old Merowe Pi(ankh)y stand (photo: J. Rossiter, 2013).

middle '(1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seneferre, given life, (2) Son of Re Pi(ankh)y, may he live for ever, (3) beloved of Mut, the Great One, who resides in [Ta]-Sety'.

Very likely removed from a temple at Jebel Barkal, the monument, dating to the second half of the king's reign according to the form of the *prenomen* (Török in Eide *et al.* 1994, 51; Török 1997, 200; Kendall 2014, 671-672), probably served originally as a stand for a barque (cf. Aldenhoven 2014, 601). Though smaller and made of grano-diorite, it is similar in form and decoration, for example, to the sandstone 'altar' found *in situ* in the temple of Taharqo at Semna (Budge 1907, 482-485, with plate; PM vii, 149; Dunham and Jansen 1960, 81, unregistered F, pls 36 D, 37 B; identified as a



Plate 14. Pi(ankh)y stand inscription (photo: J. Rossiter).

barque-stand by Caminos 1974, I, 60, n. 3; Grallert 2001, 158, 669, Tah/Wf012; Aldenhoven 2014, 601).<sup>40</sup> The Semna stand is currently displayed in the garden of the Sudan National Museum (SNM 449; Plate 15). Its inscription, sketched by



Plate 15. Semna Tabarqo stand (photo: J. Rossiter, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> On the confusion in the literature between altars and stands, see Ernst 2001.



Green when visiting Semna during his first journey (Figure 17),<sup>41</sup> dedicates the piece to the deified Senwosret III: '(1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt Taharqo, may he live for ever, (2) beloved of the perfect god, Khakaure, (3) he made (this) as a monument for his father'. With regard to function, the monument and inscription are clearly based on earlier exemplars depicted in several scenes in the near-by temple of Thutmose III, where the stand is shown in each case supporting a sacred barque (Caminos 1998, 96, n. 8, pl. 50, 102, pl. 52, 108-9, pl. 55, 117, pls 57-58).<sup>42</sup>



Figure 17. Semna, Tabarqa stand inscription, Green hand-copy.

#### Offering-table of King Malowiebamani

Exploring immediately upstream of the citadel in an area now known to have contained a fortified settlement (Godlewski 2008, 467-468; 2014, 156, 160, fig. 5, MSh 2-3), Green encountered an old well 'with crosses cut on the sides', still clearly visible today (Plates 12, 16 and 17). He found reused in its structure 'a very good gneiss table of offerings ... partly broken but the offerings are quite well preserved. The inscription is difficult to read, as it is badly done. This is a diagram' (Figure 18). He made a hand-copy of what he could see of

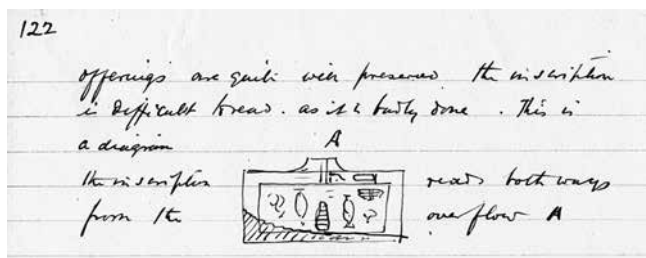


Figure 18. Old Merowe, Malowiebamani offering-table, Green diary-entry.

<sup>41</sup> Green Diary 1906, 22-24.

<sup>42</sup> Taharqo's Semna stand originally had placed on top of it a thick rectangular slab, protruding cornice-like beyond the stand's edges (shown in place in Budge 1907, opposite p. 483, and Dunham and Janssen 1960, pls 36 D, 37 B, but now missing; cf. also Taharqo's stand from Buhen, Caminos 1974, 85, with n. 5, and his composite stand from Kawa, Welsby 2001, 66, pls xlv-xlv; Aldenhoven 2014, 602). The Old Merowe Pi(ankh)y stand might also once have had a separate top.



Plate 16. Old Merowe well, with Murtada Bushara (photo: W. V. Davies, 2013).



Plate 17. Old Merowe well, Christian crosses (photo: W. V. Davies).

the inscriptions and took steps to have the object taken into safe keeping. Green's curiosity had rescued another significant monument, an offering-table belonging, as the inscriptions reveal, to a Kushite king, Malowiebamani, owner of Pyramid-tomb no. 11 at Nuri (perhaps its original provenance), dated to around the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Török in Eide *et al.* 1994, 301-302, no. 55; 1997, 202, no. 19, 346). Moreover, in this case, it proved possible to retrieve the monument's previous location. Many decades before its recovery from the Old Merowe well, it had been seen by Lord Prudhoe and others in the sanctuary of Temple B 800 at Jebel Barkal (PM, vii, 213; Kendall 2014, 665, n. 7; Aldenhoven 2014, 602; on Prudhoe's visit to Barkal in 1829, see Ruffle 1998). It is now in the Jebel Barkal Museum (SNM 5210; Plate 18).

The offering-table, possibly made of grano-diorite, measuring about 1.05m in length and 0.65m in width, is decorated in raised relief with a large central scene depicting offerings – vessels, loaves and other foodstuffs – some placed on mats; the scene is framed by two incised lines of inscription, ar-





Plate 18. Old Merowe Malowiebamani offering-table  
(photo: J. Rossiter, 2013).

ranged in balanced orientation, beginning to the left and right respectively of the central point at the top, a shallow ‘run off’, the spout now gone.<sup>43</sup> A large chunk of the lower left corner has been lost together with substantial sections of the right-hand inscription. The king’s *nomen*, Malowiebamani (cf. Dunham and Macadam 1949, 145, pl. xvi, no. 44; Dunham 1955, 194, fig. 148, 198, fig. 151, 210, fig. 161, 259, fig. 203; Beckerath 1984, 131, 165, 309, no. 20), occurs twice, enclosed in a cartouche: on the left, towards the end of a well-preserved offering formula ‘for the *ka* of king Malowiebamani’ (Plate 19), and on the right, at the beginning of the line, which reads ‘words spoken by the Osiris, King Malowiebamani ...’ (Plate 20). The writings of the name, one vertical, the other horizontal, differ slightly from one another (Plates 21 and



Plate 19. Malowiebamani  
offering-table, left  
(photo: J. Rossiter).

<sup>43</sup> For contemporary parallels, cf. Dunham 1955, pls lxxii-lxxiv. A rubbing of the inscription is contained among the papers of F. Ll. Griffith in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.



Plate 20. Malowiebamani offering-table, top right (photo: J. Rossiter).



Plate 21. Malowiebamani offering-table, cartouche, left inscription  
(photo: J. Rossiter).



Plate 22. Malowiebamani offering-table, cartouche, right inscription (photo: J. Rossiter).



Plate 23. Malowiebamani offering-table, inscription, right column (photo: J. Rossiter).

22). The right inscription (Plate 23) comprises an invocation to the sycamore-goddess. It is currently under detailed study by S. Petacchi (see Petacchi 2014).

### S. Kirbekan, 12. 1. 10 and 19.1.10: Jebel Belal (Diary 1909-1910, 101-103, 124)

#### Royal stela

Green and Sayce, led by a guide, set out by donkey to hunt for a site with gold workings and ‘a certain boulder said to be “covered with inscriptions”’. The site, located near to the village of Kassinger, several kilometres upstream from Jebel



Barkal, proved to be a big disappointment. The gold workings amounted to ‘a few holes where quartz had been dug out’, while ‘the boulder proved to be a sort of flat rock ... which had served as a shelter to some monk or perhaps to the seekers after gold’. The inscriptions consisted of two lines in Greek with Christian content, ‘not very interesting after all’ (Figure 19). They were subsequently published by Sayce, who commented: ‘they only tell us that the workers for gold believed themselves to be under the patronage of the Apostles Peter and Andrew’ (Sayce 1910, 267-268, pl. xli, no. 12; 1923, 352).



Plate 24. *Jebel Belal, centre left, view from upstream (photo: D. A. Welsby, 2011).*

Green, returning on his own, took a different route back:

*The boulder proved to be a sort of flat rock which together with a few piled up stones, had served as a shelter to some monk or perhaps to the seekers after gold. The inscriptions consist of two lines only containing + ΠΕΤΡΟC ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC + not very interesting after all + ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC +*

Figure 19. *Kassinger, Green diary-entry.*

‘I cut across to a conspicuous hill ... in the hope of finding graffiti’. Climbing this hill, which he later referred to as ‘Gebel Belal’, he made an important discovery: ‘I found a stele cut in the rock facing the river about one metre high but unfortunately so much destroyed by the weather, which cuts this soft sandstone to pieces, that I could only see a hieroglyphic or two but could make out no word...this was most tantalizing as the stele is unknown...I (also) found some primitive drawings of swords or boats, I could not make out which, (and) several cows (Figure 20) ...’ Green returned briefly to the site a week later (19.1.10) but was unable to make further

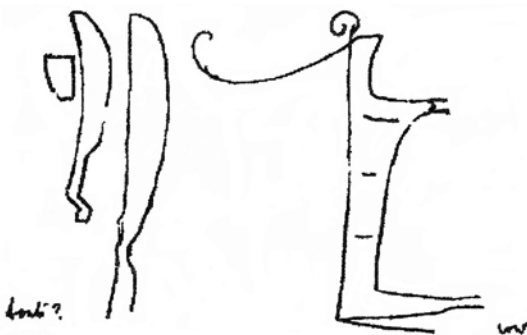


Figure 20. *Jebel Belal, rock-figures, Green drawings.*

headway with the inscription. On the basis of the information in Green’s diary, a team from the British Museum and NCAM recently (2008) sought out and identified the hill in

question (Plate 24),<sup>44</sup> finding the stela and the drawings still preserved (Plates 25 and 26). There is considerably more text surviving in the stela than Green was able to see, but it is not surprising that he had difficulty, since what remains is in poor condition and is clearly visible for only a limited period as the light changes.

The stela (Plate 26) is cut into the side of the hill, located about half way up and facing upstream towards the Fourth Cataract. It is round-topped, with a maximum width of about 1m and a height, when complete, of at least 1.7m. The sandstone is soft and friable and most of the decoration has been lost through weathering, as Green indicated. Only the central sun-disc, deeply incised, survives of the area within the lunette, which once probably contained a scene. Occupying the body of the stela was a long inscription, organized into horizontal registers reading right to left and down, amounting, it may be estimated, to at least 20 lines in total. Of these, the central six survive in whole or part, in a fragile condition (Plate 27). Four contain more-or-less continuous text, though the signs are not always clear as their outlines are eroded. Probably 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in date, the text is historical in content, describing military action against enemies: there



Plate 25. *Jebel Belal, rock-drawings (photo: D. A. Welsby, 2008).*

<sup>44</sup> The team consisted of Vivian Davies, Derek Welsby and Ikhlass Abdellatif. We have returned for brief visits several times since.





Plate 26. Jebel Belal, stela (photo: W. V. Davies, 2012).

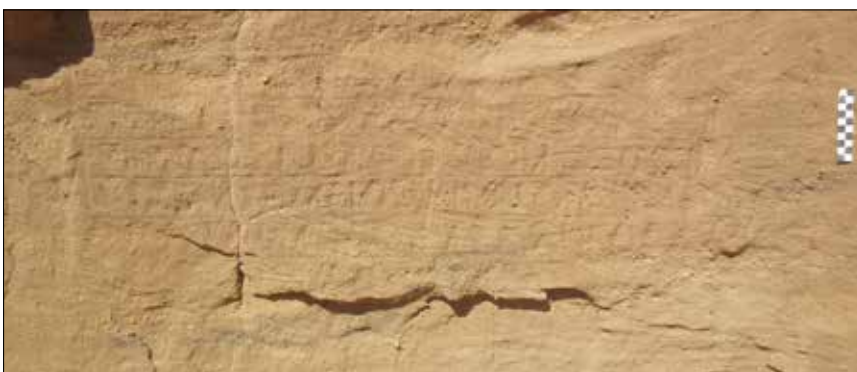


Plate 27. Jebel Belal, stela, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

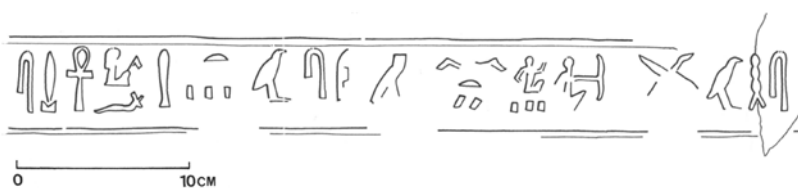


Figure 21. Jebel Belal, stela, detail of inscription, recent copy.

is mention of ‘the journey southwards’, *t3 hnty(t)*, and of ‘mustering the army which is in the following of his majesty, may he live, be prosperous, be healthy’ (Figure 21). Given its content and location, it is probably a victory stela, perhaps marking a southern boundary.

A full edition of what remains of the text is under preparation.

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## Abbreviations

- PM vii = Porter, B., and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney 1952. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, VII. *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford.
- REM I = Leclant, J. et al. 2000. *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique. Corpus des inscriptions publiées. Tome I. REM 0001 à REM 0387*. Paris.
- REM III = Leclant, J. et al. 2000. *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique. Corpus des inscriptions publiées. Tome III. REM 1001 à REM 1278*. Paris.
- Urk. iv = *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Leipzig, 1906-1909, K. Sethe (ed.), and Berlin, 1955-1958, W. Helck (ed.)



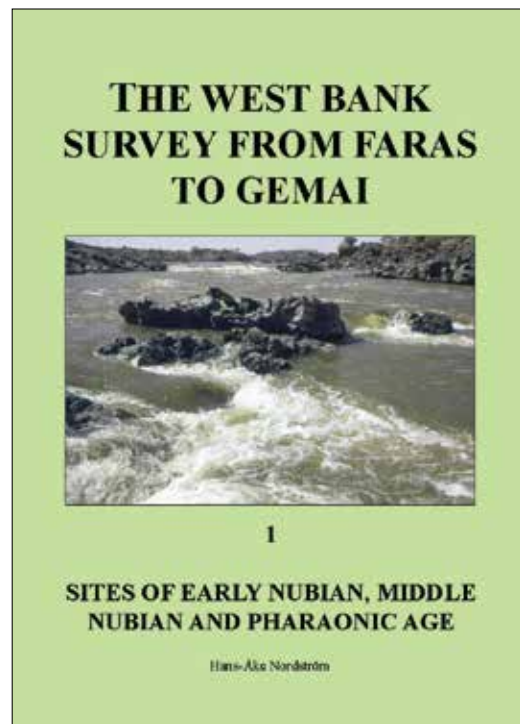
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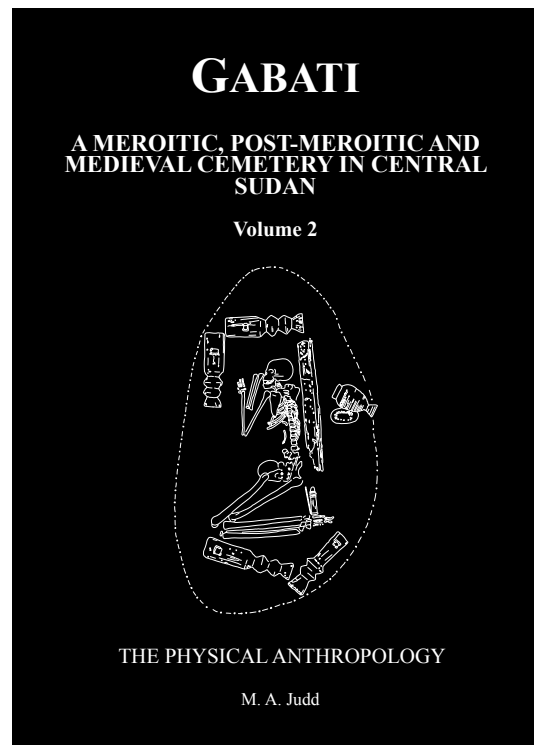
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*View upstream along the Wadi Murrat from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Egyptian fort.  
The pharaonic inscriptions are amongst the trees at the wadi edge in the far centre (photo D. A. Welsby).*



*Horus, Lord of the Desert. A natural rock outcrop along the route from Buben towards Wadi Murrat (photo D. A. Welsby).*