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were originally mortal men. These gods are Isis, Pan, Hercules and Jupiter ; some believe there are no gods. The Ethiopians and Africans are always fighting for the possession of the best lands. Herds of elephants come down to the rich lands and swamps for food. Some say that in the deserts there are serpents large enough to kill elephants. This is all that need be said about Western Ethiopia [*i.e.* the region on the west bank of the Nile from Egypt to Lado].

We will now speak of the country east of the Nile, between the Nile and the Red Sea. Here there is a place full of rich gold mines. The mines are worked by criminals, prisoners of war, and men who have incurred the king's wrath ; their families are sent with them. The miners are bound in fetters and work day and night, and escape is impossible. Savage and barbarian soldiers are the gangers, who wield their whips incessantly. The rock containing the metal is heated and the quartz is worked out by hand and crushed with hammers. Men that are strong are set to work with picks, and they follow the lie of the quartzite formation. In the underground passages the miners carry lamps attached to their foreheads. Boys follow the hewers and bring the lumps of ore to the surface, where it is brayed in mortars and then ground into dust in mills worked by women. The miners are naked, and they are made to work, whether sick, or lame, incessantly ; neither age nor infirmity of either man or woman is considered. Beaten with sticks or whips and exhausted with unremitting toil they often drop down dead. The powdered ore is washed on a sloping board, with the result that the useless matter is separated from the gold which remains behind. The gold dust is washed several times and is then put into earthen jars sealed with mud, which are placed in a furnace for five days and nights. When cooled the jars are opened and are found to contain lumps of pure gold. The following are the peoples who live in Troglodyta along the coast of the Red Sea.

The **Ichthyophages**, who live on the sea-coasts. They live like the beasts, go naked and have no perception of good or evil. They trap fish among the rocks, spear them with horns of goats and kill them by beating them with stones. They expose the fish in pots to the sun, separate the flesh from the bones and boil it with the seed of *Paliurus* until it becomes like a paste which is laid out on

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stones and dried; after this each person eats as much as he thinks fit. Sometimes they catch large shell-fish, some weighing as much as four minas, and having smashed the shells with stones they eat the fish inside, which much resemble oysters. When the fish-paste and shell-fish cannot be had, they collect fish bones, break them in pieces and bruise them with stones and eat them. They fish for four days at a time, eating, drinking and companying with their wives, and on the fifth day they retreat to the springs at the foot of the hills and drink water immoderately. Ptolemy III sent his friend Simia to visit these people, and Agatharcides of Cnidus says that they are emotionless. They cannot talk to strangers and remain unmoved at the sight of them. Even if struck with swords, or wounded or hurt in any way they show no resentment. They show neither anger nor pity when their wives and children are killed before their eyes. Though they dwell on or near the sea shore they have no knowledge of ships. Some of the fish-eaters live in shelters formed by the interlaced branches of trees, and some in natural caves in the most difficult and inaccessible mountains.

The **Chelonophages** live on the islands and take the sea-tortoises, as they lie asleep in the sun; some of these creatures are as large as a small fishing boat, and the natives use the shells as boats and as coverings for their houses.

The **Cetivores**, who feed upon the whales cast up by the sea.

The **Rizophages**, or Root-eaters, who live on the roots of reeds pounded and dried in the sun; they suffer much from the attacks of lions.

The **Hylophages** climb trees and feed upon the buds and tender branches. They are of slender build and spring from tree to tree, and if they fall they suffer no injury. They go naked and have their wives in common. They are armed with clubs with which they beat their enemies to a pulp. Many go blind and die of starvation because they cannot see to climb the trees and so obtain food.

The **Spermatophages** live upon fruits, and a sweet herb which has a stalk like a turnip.

The **Hylogones**, who sleep in trees, and hide in thickets and kill the wild beasts when they come down to the pools to drink;

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their arms are clubs, stones and darts. Their boys are taught to practise the casting of darts, and if they fail to hit the target they are kept without food.

In the west of Ethiopia live the **Elephantophages** who live in forests and hamstring elephants and eat them.

The **Simoos**, who attack the Struthophages.

The **Struthophages**, or Ostrich-eaters, who arm themselves with the horns of oryxes.

The **Aeridophages**, who live on the borders of the deserts. They are small, lean and meagre, and are quite black. They live upon locusts which they kill by smoke, and then salt and store for food. They are short lived, and they die of a disease caused by lice breeding in their bodies.

The **Cynomones** or **Cynomolges**, who wear long beards, and live upon the flesh of the animals which their fierce hunting dogs kill for them. "The nations that lie farthest south live the lives of beasts under the shapes of men."

The **Troglodytes** or **Nomades**, are a number of shepherd tribes who live under the rule of a king; they have their wives in common. They live on their cattle, and blood and milk boiled together, and drink a decoction of the plant *Paliurus*. They wear skins about their loins, and are circumcised like the Egyptians; deformed persons are mutilated in their infancy. Those of them who are called Megabareans carry round ox-hide shields, and are armed with iron-bound clubs and bows and arrows. They tie twigs round the necks and feet of their dead and carry them up to the top of a hill, where they cast stones upon them until they are covered over; on the top of each heap they set up the horn of a goat. When a man becomes too old to follow the herds, he either commits suicide or is strangled by a friend; all maimed or diseased persons are put to death. In the country of the Troglodytes the sun is so hot at midday that two men standing side by side cannot see each other because of the thickness of the air. And if meat and water be put into a brass pot and set in the sun, the meat is straightway cooked by the heat of the sun.

The animals in Ethiopia are: the Rhinoceros, a hard-skinned animal, with a flat horn growing out a little above his nostrils. He kills elephants by goring them, when they bleed to death. The

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Sphinx, which is a docile animal, and can be trained by man. The Cynocephalus, or dog-headed ape, is like an ugly-faced man. The Cepus, which has the face of a lion, but otherwise resembles a panther. He is as fierce as a wild bull, and feeds upon flesh: he is as swift as a horse, has a very wide mouth, and is red in colour. He can move his horns as he moves his ears, and his hair stands on end; his skin is impenetrable, and no one has ever succeeded in killing him. The Croent, a beast part dog and part wolf. Serpents of very large size exist in the country, and one, thirty cubits in length, was captured by hunters in a net and brought to Alexandria and presented by them to Ptolemy II.

Pliny's account of Ethiopia (VI. 35) may be thus summarized: Leaving Syene we find on the Arabian side the Catadupi, the Syenitae, and the towns of Tacompsos (Thatice), Aramasos, Sesamos, Sanduma, Masindomacam, Arabeta and Boggia, Leupitorga, Tantarene, Mecindata, Noa, Gloploa, Gystate, Megada, Lea, Renni, Nups, Direa, Patiga, Bacata, Dumana, Rhadata, where a gold cat was worshipped, Boron in the interior, and Mallos, near Meroë; this is the account given by Bion. But Juba says that there is a city on Mount Megatichos, which lies between Egypt and Ethiopia, by the Arabians known as Myrson, after which come Tacompsos, Aramus, Sesamos, Pide, Mamuda, Orambis, situate near a stream of bitumen, Amodita, Prosda, Parenta, Mama, Tesatta, Gallas, Zoton, Graucome, Emeus, the Pidibotae, the Hebdamecontacometae, Nomades, who dwell in tents, Cyste, Macadagale, Proaprimis, Nups, Detrelis, Patis, the Gambreves, the Magasnei, Segasmala, Crandala, Denna, Cadeuma, Thena, Batta, Alana, Mascoa, the Scamni, Hora, situate on an island, and then Abala, Androgalis, Sesecre, the Malli and Agole.

On the African side there are Tacompsos, and after it Maggore, Saea, Edos, Plenariae, Pinnis, Magassa, Buma, Linthuma, Spintum, Sydop, the Censi, Pindictora, Acug, Orsum, Sansa, Maumarum, Urbim, the town of Molum, by the Greeks called Hypaton, Pagoarca, Zmanes, at which points elephants begin to be found, the Mambli, Berressa, and Acetuma; there was formerly a town also called Epis, over against Meroë, which had, however, been destroyed before Bion wrote. These are the names of places given as far as Meroë; but hardly any of them now exist. At all events, the praetorian

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troops that were sent by the Emperor Nero, under the command of a tribune, for the purposes of enquiry, when, among his other wars, he was contemplating an expedition against Ethiopia, brought back word that they had met with nothing but deserts on their route. The Roman arms penetrated into these regions in the time of the late Emperor Augustus, under the command of P. (or Caius?) Petronius, a man of Equestrian rank and Prefect of Egypt. That general took the following cities, the only ones we now find mentioned there, in the following order: Pselcis, Primis, Abuncis, Phthuris, Cambusis, Atteva, and Stadasis, where the river Nile, as it thunders down the precipices, has quite deprived the inhabitants of the power of hearing; he also sacked the town of Napata. The extreme distance to which he penetrated beyond Syene was 970 miles; it was not the Roman arms that rendered these regions a desert. Ethiopia, gaining in its turn the mastery, and then again reduced to servitude, was at last worn out by its continual wars with Egypt, having been a famous and powerful country even at the time of the Trojan war, when Memnon was its king. It is evident from the fabulous stories about Andromeda, that it ruled over Syria in the time of King Cepheus, and that its sway extended as far as the shore of our sea.

The extent of the country has been the subject of conflicting accounts; first by Dalion, who travelled a considerable distance beyond Meroë, and after him by Aristocreon and Basilis, as well as the younger Simonides, who made a stay of five years at Meroë, when he wrote his account of Ethiopia. Timosthenes, admiral of the fleets of Philadelphus, says that Meroë is 60 days' journey from Syene; while Eratosthenes states that the distance is 625 miles, and Artemidorus says it is 600. Sebosus says that from the extreme point of Egypt, the distance to Meroë is 1675 miles, while the other writers last mentioned make it 1250 miles. The envoys sent by Nero reported that the distance from Syene to Meroë was 871 miles, the following being the items: From Syene to Hiera Sycaminos 54 miles; from thence to Tama 72 miles; to the country of the Evonymitæ, the first region of Ethiopia, 120 miles; to Acina 54 miles; to Pittara 25 miles; and to Tergedus 106 miles. They stated also that the island of Gagaudes is half-way between Syene and Meroë; here the bird called "parrot" was first seen; at

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the island of Artacula the animal called "sphingium" [a kind of ape] was first discovered by them, and after passing Tergedus the dog-headed ape. The distance from thence to Napata is 80 miles; this little town is the only one of all that now survives. From thence to the island of Meroë is 360 miles. The grass near Meroë is greener and fresher, and there are rudimentary forests, and traces of the rhinoceros and elephant. Meroë is 70 miles from the entrance to the Island of Meroë, and close to it is another island called Tadu, which forms a harbour facing those who enter the right-hand channel of the river. The buildings in the city, the envoys reported, were few, and the district was ruled by a woman called "Candace"; queen after queen for many years had borne this name. There was a temple of Jupiter Hammon there, which was greatly venerated, and there were smaller shrines of this god throughout the country. The Island of Meroë was famous in the days of the Ethiopian dominion, and it had a standing army of 200,000 armed men, and 4000 artisans dwelt in it. There are 45 kings in Ethiopia. The names of the country have been Aetheria, Atlantia, and Ethiopia, from Ethiops, the son of Vulcan. Owing to the great heat of the country, men and animals assume monstrous forms, and it is said that in the eastern part of the interior there is a people who have no noses, the whole face presenting a flat surface; others have no upper lip, others have no tongues, and others have only one nostril. In others the mouth has grown together, and they breathe through one nostril, and absorb their drink through the hollow stalk of the oat. Some nations use movements of the head and limbs in the place of speech. Others were unacquainted with the use of fire until the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus. The Pygmies live in the marshes in which the Nile takes its rise. On the coast of Ethiopia is a range of mountains, of red colour, and they seem to be always burning.

After passing Meroë the country is bounded by the Troglodytae and the Red Sea, which is a journey of three days from Napata to that sea; here rain-water is stored, and in the district there is much gold. In the parts beyond dwell the Adabuli, an Ethiopian people. Over against Meroë are the Megabari (Adiabari); some dwell in the city of Apollo, and some are Nomades, living on the flesh of elephants. Opposite, on the African side, are the Macrobiei, and

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beyond the Megabarri are the Memnonnes and the Dabeli, and 20 days further on are the Critensi. Beyond these are the Dochi, and then the Gymnetes, who always go naked; then come the Andetae, the Mothitae, the Mesaches, and the Ipsodoraë, who are black in colour and stain their bodies with red ochre. On the African side are the Medimni, and a nation of Nomades, who live on the milk of the dog-headed ape, and the Aladi and the Syrbotae, who are said to be eight cubits high in stature.

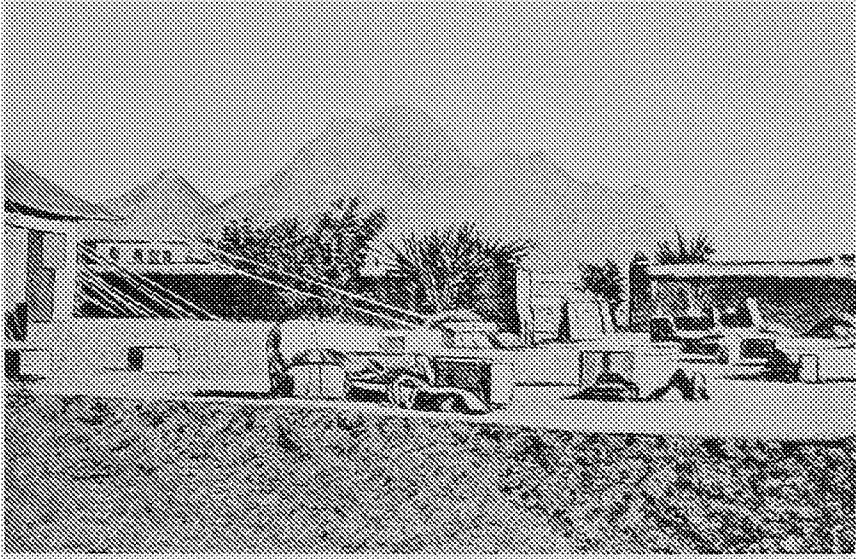
Aristocreon says that 5 days' journey from Meroë, on the Libyan side, is the town of Tolles; 12 days' journey further on is Esar, a town founded by the Egyptians who fled from Psammetichus; they dwelt there for 300 years. Opposite on the Arabian side is a town of theirs called "Daron." Esar is called by Bion "Sape," and he says the name means "strangers"; their capital, situated on an island, is Sembolitis, and a third place of theirs is Sinat in Arabia. Between the mountains and the Nile are the Simbarri and the Palugges; and on the mountains are the numerous tribes of the Asachae; they are five days from the sea, and live on the flesh of the elephants which they hunt. An island in the Nile, belonging to the Semberritae, is ruled by a queen. Eight days further on are the Ethiopian Nubei; their town Tenupsis is on the Nile. Among the Sesambri, none of the quadrupeds, including the elephants, have ears. On the African side are the Tonobari, and the Ptoenphae, who have a dog for their king, and they divine his commands from his movements, the Auruspi, whose town is far from the Nile, and then come the Archisarmi, the Phaliges, the Marigerri, and the Casmari. From Sembolitis to Meroë is a journey of 20 days. Other islands with towns are: Asara, Darde, Medoë, with its town Asel, Garodes, with a town of the same name. Along the banks of the Nile are: Navi, Modunda, Andatis, Secundum, Colligat, Secande, Navectabe, Cumi, Agrospi, Aegipa, Candrogari, Araba and Summara. Beyond, at Sirbitum, the mountains end; some say that the maritime Ethiopians, the Nisacaethae, and the Nisyti, *i.e.* "men with three or four eyes," dwelt here; they are thus called because of their unerring aim when shooting arrows. Southwards along the Nile, beyond the Greater Quicksands, are the Cisori, who use rain-water only. The other nations are the Longompori, five days from the Oecalices, the

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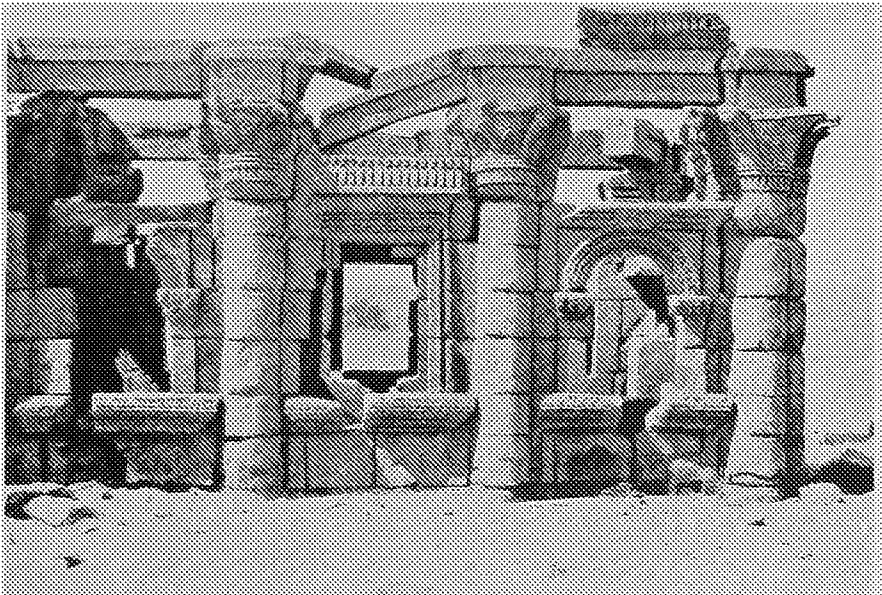
Usibalci, the Isbeli, the Perusii, the Ballii, the Cisprii; all the rest of the country is desert inhabited by fabulous people only. To the west are the Nigroae, whose king has only one eye, and that in the forehead, the Agriophagi, who live chiefly on the flesh of panthers and lions, the Pamphagi, who will eat anything, the Anthropophagi, who live on human flesh, the Cynamolgi, a people with the heads of dogs, the Artabatitae, who have four feet, and wander about after the manner of wild beasts; and after them the Hesperiae and the Perorsi, who dwell on the confines of Mauretania. Some Ethiopian tribes live on nothing but locusts salted and dried, but these people do not live beyond their fortieth year.

M. Agrippa thought that the total length of Ethiopia, including the Red Sea, was 2170 miles, and that its breadth, including Upper Egypt, was 1297 miles. Some authors divide its length thus: from Meroë to Sirbitum, 11 days' sail; from Sirbitum to the Dabelli 15 days; and from them to the Ethiopian Ocean, 6 days' journey. It is generally agreed that the distance from the ocean to Meroë is 625 miles, and from Meroë to Syene, what we have already stated. Ethiopia lies from south-east to south-west. Forests of ebony trees are to be seen in it, and in the midst of it is a mountain, of immense height, which overhangs the sea and emits a perpetual flame. The Greeks call it "Theon Ochema," *i.e.* "chariot of the gods," and at a distance of four days' sail from it is the promontory of Hesperu Ceras, upon the confines of Africa, and close to the Hesperiae, an Ethiopian nation. Some assert that there are in this region hills of a moderate height, which afford a pleasant shade from the groves with which they are clad, and are the haunts of Aegipans and Satyrs.

Turning from the vague and oft-times misleading remarks of the ancient writers quoted above, we may refer briefly to the writings of modern travellers in the Island of Meroë, and their descriptions of it. James Bruce towards the close of the 18th century was the first to estimate truly the extent of the Island, which he found to be a region having about the same area as Ireland, bounded by the Atbarā, the Nile, the Blue Nile and its tributaries. In October 1772 travelling northwards from Shendi he came to the beginning of the Island of Kurgos, and close to the mountain called Gabbainy, he lighted upon the ruins of a large town. He found broken



THE FORTRESS OF KASALA



THE SMALLER EGYPTO-ROMANO TEMPLE AT NAGAA. THE OUTSIDE OF
THE WEST END

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pedestals of statues, parts of an obelisk with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and the Arabs told him of the existence of statues of men in black stone. He found it impossible not to guess that the remains before him were the ruins of the ancient city of Meroë (see his *Travels*, London and Edinburgh (7 vols.), 1813, vol. VI. p. 453). In the neighbourhood of Shendi, J. L. Burckhardt (1784–1817) saw the ruins of houses, etc., but he tells us nothing about Meroë (see his *Travels in Nubia*, London, 1818). The identification of the ruins at Kabushīyah with Meroë is due to Cailliaud (1787–1869), who went to Egypt in 1813 and entered the service of Muḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā, who sent him to various sites on the Red Sea and to the Oases in the Western Desert to collect information for him. He was permitted to accompany Isma‘īl’s expedition to the Sūdān, and whilst there he succeeded in making a number of valuable discoveries. He made a plan of the town of Meroë, and measured the pyramids, and at Sōba on the Blue Nile he discovered the famous stone ram which was in the grounds of the palace at Khartūm. He made plans of the temples at Nagaa, and he visited and described the ruins at Wād Ba Nagaa. He discovered the ruins at Maṣawwarāt, and the temple of Wādī-al-Banāt. He published a full account of his researches in 1819–22 in his *Voyage à Meroë*, Paris, 1826–28. G. A. Hoskins visited Meroë and Maṣawwarāt, and published drawings and descriptions of the monuments and pyramids (*Travels in Ethiopia*, London, 1835), but was unable to go to Nagaa. G. Ferlini opened some of the pyramids of Meroë and obtained some wonderful Meroitic jewellery (see Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, London, 1907, vol. I. p. 285 ff.), but his sole object in excavating was to obtain buried treasure (see his *Relation historique des Fouilles opérées dans la Nubie*, Rome, 1838). In 1844 R. Lepsius visited Meroë, and he and his assistants made plans of the pyramid fields, and copies of the incriptions, etc. on the walls of the chapels of the pyramids. He contented himself with describing the rites which Cailliaud had discovered, and copying the inscriptions on the monuments found there. His descriptions are published in his *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopen und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, Berlin, 1852 (English translation by Horner, London, 1853), and the inscriptions in the *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849. In 1903–8 Mr J. W. Crowfoot explored