

K U S H

JOURNAL OF THE SUDAN ANTIQUITIES SERVICE

IV

	Page
EDITORIAL NOTES	3
SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA <i>By F. Addison</i>	4
DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER <i>By Ernest Zyhlarz</i>	19
THE SUDANESE CAMEL GIRTH <i>By G. M. Crowfoot</i>	34
VARIA GRAMMATICA <i>By Werner Vycichl</i>	39
LAND TENURE IN THE TIME OF THE FUNG <i>By Sadik el Nur</i>	48
THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD <i>By T. Säve-Söderbergh</i>	54
SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NEAR EAST <i>By Oliver H. Myers</i>	62
NEW EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUDAN <i>By J. Vercoutter</i>	66
NOTES	
The Making of Mail in Omdurman. <i>By A. J. Arkell</i>	83
Some Notes on the Sudanese Neolithic. <i>By A. J. Arkell</i>	84
'Spade' Sherds. <i>By Oliver H. Myers</i>	86
Two Meroitic Pottery Coffins from Argin in Halfa District. <i>By Sadik el Nur</i>	86
REVIEWS	
Nuri. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, vol. II. <i>By Dows Dunham</i>	88
Kultureinfluss Meroes und Napatas auf Negerafrika. <i>By Walter Hirschberg</i>	90
Of Fung and Shilluk. <i>By Mohammed Riad</i>	90
ERRATUM	90

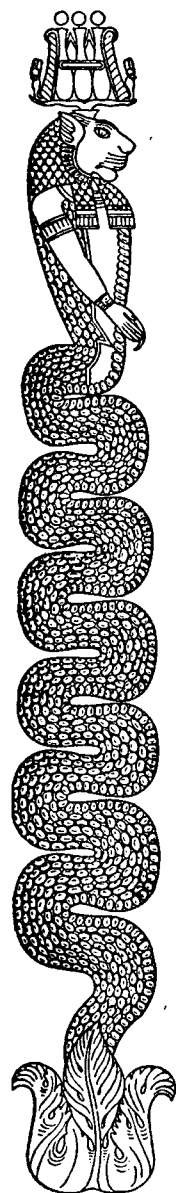
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL

<i>Ann. du Serv.</i>	-	-	-	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
<i>BIFAO</i>	-	-	-	Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
<i>BMFAB</i>	-	-	-	Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
<i>JEA</i>	-	-	-	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
<i>LAAA</i>	-	-	-	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.
<i>PPS</i>	-	-	-	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
<i>Rev. d'Eg.</i>	-	-	-	Revue d'Égyptologie.
<i>SASOP</i>	-	-	-	Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers.
<i>SNR</i>	-	-	-	Sudan Notes and Records.
<i>ZAS</i>	-	-	-	Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache.
<i>ZDMG</i>	-	-	-	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

N.B. The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed
by contributors

Contributions to this Journal are welcomed and should be sent to :—
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K U S H

No. IV

1956

Editorial Notes

SINCE the publication of KUSH III, the Sudan Antiquities Service has undergone considerable changes. Mr P. L. Shinnie left as a result of the judgment of the 'Sudanisation Committee' that his post, Commissioner for Archaeology, was one of political influence, and Sadik Eff. Nur has succeeded Mr H. N. Chittick as Curator of Museums.

At the time of writing, important modifications are also taking place in the activities of the Service, as a result of the danger to Sudanese archaeology caused by the Sudd-el-Aaly scheme, which threatens to submerge more than seventy-five sites in that part of the country which is richest in antiquities.

Thanks to the strength with which it has been endowed by Dr A. J. Arkell and Mr P. L. Shinnie, the Antiquities Service has been able to overcome the two-fold crisis which it has had to face. The publication of KUSH IV is in itself evidence that the Service is alive and active, and enables me, in the name of the Antiquities Service as a whole to thank Mr Shinnie, who was the initiator of KUSH and its inspiration. The best way we can show him our gratitude is to carry on his work, and this we hope to do, with the help of all those scholars who take an interest in the archaeology of the Sudan, which is so complex and as yet so little known.

We very much regret to record the death, since going to press, of Mrs G. M. Crowfoot, one of the contributors to this issue.

J. VERCOUTTER.

Second Thoughts on Jebel Moya

by F. ADDISON

DURING the period 1910–1914 the late Sir Henry Wellcome (or Mr H. S. Wellcome as he then was) carried out extensive excavations at Jebel Moya and certain other sites in the Sudan. These excavations were interrupted—and as it turned out, ended—by the outbreak of World War I and remained unpublished at the time of Sir Henry's death in 1936. In 1937 I was invited by Sir Henry's trustees to undertake publication of his excavations and my report on those at Jebel Moya, delayed by the outbreak of World War II, finally appeared in 1949¹. Since then Dr A. J. Arkell has criticised my findings in various journals, and in 1955 the belated report on the human remains from Jebel Moya was published². The time seems opportune, therefore, for some reconsideration of the views I originally expressed.

I may recall that the site of the excavation lay in a basin or valley high above the plain in the north-east corner of the Jebel Moya massif. On the floor of this basin there had accumulated over the centuries a layer of deposit, between two and three metres thick, which consisted mainly of debris of occupation. The excavation covered about ten acres, roughly two-fifths of the area of the floor of the basin, and yielded an embarrassingly large quantity of miscellaneous material. There were several tons of potsherds, most of which seemed to be of Meroitic date; many thousands of locally made lipstuds, beads and other ornaments; hundreds of stone implements such as polished celts, rings, mace-heads, grinders, and flaked implements of all kinds including arrow heads. There were also a few imported beads and amulets of Napatan date, an assortment of scarabs, and a number of objects of iron and copper. In addition some 2792 graves, which had originally been dug from various levels in the deposit, were excavated. The skeletons in these graves showed little evidence of regular burial customs; they were orientated to every point of the compass and displayed a wide variety of burial attitude. About half the graves contained only human remains and no other objects of any kind whatever. In most of the others the occupants had been buried with only the few personal ornaments they had worn during life—beads of ostrich egg shell or zeolite, nacre ornaments, lipstuds, ivory bracelets and the like. In a few graves, however, beads and amulets of obviously Napatan date were found, also copper hair ornaments and an occasional copper or iron bracelet.

These Napatan objects, both from the graves and from the general debris of occupation, were almost the only ones which could be dated with any approach to accuracy, yet they create considerable difficulties in the dating of the settlement as a whole. They were found in the same strata, and were, therefore, apparently contemporary with, the incomparably greater bulk of other material, especially pottery, which seemed to be of very much later date. In my report I wrote [p. 251]:—

‘The evidence for dating the site is conflicting. We have on the one hand the mass of pottery which on the face of it might be of comparatively late date, and, on the other hand, the beads, amulets and scarabs which are unquestionably of

¹ *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan*, vols. I and II, ‘Jebel Moya’, by Frank Addison.

² *The Ancient Inhabitants of Jebel Moya*, by R. Mukherjee, C. R. Rao and J. C. Trevor.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

Napatan date. These Napatan objects are distributed throughout the B stratum, the lower part of the A stratum, and the upper part of the C stratum, and, as these strata cannot have been deposited at a date anterior to that of the objects enclosed in them, it is clear that the site cannot be "prehistoric" in the sense which Sir Henry Wellcome at first supposed. If the beads and amulets be assumed to have reached Jebel Moya at, or soon after, the time they were made, they fix the date of the upper levels of the site without further argument. But if objects of this kind had not been present on the site at all, and the pottery formed the sole criterion of date, it is to be doubted if anyone familiar with the results of other excavations in the Sudan would have ventured to date the Jebel Moya pottery as early as 500 B.C. It would with some justification have been assigned to the Meroitic period and not very early Meroitic at that; and the occupation of the site would be considered to have extended well into the early centuries A.D. So strong, indeed, is the impression of lateness conveyed by the pottery that there is a temptation to dismiss the beads and amulets out of hand as the loot of a later age. In this way the discrepancy between the apparent date of the pottery and that of the Napatan objects could easily and simply be resolved. The beads and amulets are not, however, to be so lightly disposed of. It is a question for argument as to whether they are likely to have reached Jebel Moya actually during the Napatan period or were taken to the site at a later time'.

I went on to review the evidence and came to the conclusion at that time that the Napatan objects probably *were* contemporary trade goods and that most of the debris of occupation had accumulated during the Napatan period. It followed that there could have been no occupation in middle or late Meroitic times and that the settlement must have been abandoned soon after 400 B.C. The apparent Meroitic date for the pottery could be accounted for by supposing that this type of ware must have been made in the Jebel Moya area long before it appeared on sites further north. The date of the beginning of the occupation could not be determined by archaeological evidence alone because there was nothing in the lowest occupational stratum which could be dated. But by means of a graphical construction based on the rate of deposition of the debris I worked out that the site could not have been occupied before about 1000 B.C.

The vertical distribution of the human remains (see FIG. 1) shows without any doubt that the occupation must have been continuous with a gradually increasing but not necessarily homogeneous population. Certain types of objects, such as stone implements continued to be made without any change or modification during the whole of the period of occupation; they were distributed throughout the debris from top to bottom. But there were many types of pottery, not found in the lowest strata, which seemed to have been introduced into the settlement at different times. Also there were variations in such customs as the wearing of lipstuds, the removal of teeth, etc. It therefore seemed possible that the population of the settlement might have included more than one ethnic type. It also seemed possible, when I wrote my report, that the physical anthropologists might be able to distinguish these types. Had they not, I thought then, the skeletal remains of several hundred individuals to work on? I may add that the anthropometrical records made at the time of the excavations showed a considerable preponderance of female over male burials, and this suggested that the male inhabitants of Jebel Moya were polygamous and may have raided the surrounding tribes for women.

So much, then, for my original conclusions and suggestions; now for the publications I mentioned at the beginning of this article.

KUSH

The report on the human remains makes melancholy reading. It shows that, owing to the long period which had elapsed between the excavation and the final examination of the skeletal remains, and to the number of times these remains had perforce been moved from one storehouse or repository or another, very few crania remained in a condition for accurate measurement. It was, in consequence, impossible to distinguish any differentiated ethnic groups in the settlement itself. The report showed, moreover, that, while the anthropometrical records made during the 1911-1912 season by Dr Derry could be depended upon, the very large number made during the last two seasons were quite unreliable. Many of the bodies, according to the authors of the report, had originally been wrongly sexed, and there was, in fact, no such preponderance of females

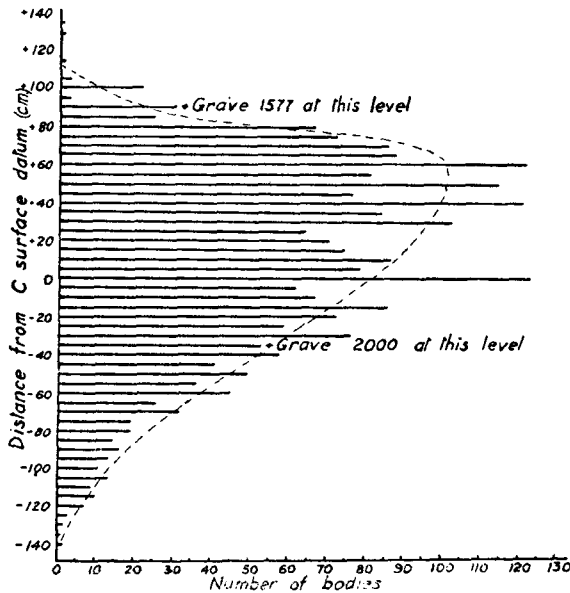


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM SHOWING NUMBER OF BODIES
RECORDED AT ALL LEVELS

in the population of the settlement as the records at my disposal had indicated. It follows, of course, that any of my tentative conclusions based on this supposed preponderance are no longer tenable.

One of the Appendices to the report, written by Mr Mukherjee, is entitled 'A Quantitative Analysis of Some Cultural Traits of the Jebel Moyans'. In this he suggests that the differences noted between the different strata in such matters as burial attitudes and the wearing of lipstuds and beads may be explained by 'an influx of an immigrant population' and a later 'complete assimilation of the immigrants by the autochthonous population'. The fact that he postulates immigration supports my own conclusion that the introduction of distinctive types of pottery was due to this cause, though I had thought that the immigration was perhaps stimulated by the polygamous males. The words 'influx' and 'immigration' refer, of course, to comparatively small numbers of people and not to mass movements.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

I turn now to Dr Arkell's criticisms. Those which I have seen are to be found in three reviews, the first in *The Listener* of 13 October 1949; the second in *The Archaeological News-Letter* for January, 1950; and the third and longest, somewhat belatedly, in *The Journal of the Prehistoric Society* for 1954. In general he disagrees with my dating and with my view that no reliable conclusion could be drawn from the orientation of the burials. On the evidence he 'is prepared to accept' Reisner's opinion that the occupation of the site had come to an end in the time of Aspelta (592-568 B.C.); yet he considers there is evidence of trade from Meroë to Jebel Moya in the Meroitic period, and draws attention (as indeed I had done myself) to the Meroitic character of many of the finds. He regards Jebel Moya as a 'multi-period site' and considers it 'improbable either that there was only one continuous period of occupation or that many of the burials did not post-date the latest occupation'. It is a curious fact, to which I drew attention, that a number of the few whole pots recovered during the excavation were devoid of ornament while a high proportion of the mass of loose potsherds were decorated in some way. Dr Arkell considers that this fact 'presumably indicates that most of the graves were not contemporary with the occupation'. As to that I would merely observe that *less than one per cent* of the graves contained a whole pot and that not all these pots were plain. I may as well dispose of this matter at once by saying that there is no real evidence that any of the graves post-dated the occupation. However, if there were such graves they must have been the latest on the site and must have been dug from the highest level in the deposit. Manifestly, some of the latest burials on the site are those at the highest levels in FIG. 1, and amongst these graves is No. 1577 which is one of those singled out by Dr Arkell as 'certainly Napatan'!

Although I think Dr Arkell is right in insisting that many of the objects are of Meroitic date, it seems to me that some of his other views are based on a fundamentally false assumption. Certain passages in his longest review make it clear that he has too readily, and erroneously, assumed that Jebel Moya was a site similar to those which he himself had excavated in the neighbourhood of Khartoum, and that what happened on those sites must also have happened at Jebel Moya. He has, in consequence, considered the problems of Jebel Moya not in the light of the recorded evidence from that site, which he has entirely ignored, but in the light of his own experience of sites completely different. He has studiously avoided any reference to the stratification of the site although it is of fundamental importance in any discussion of the dating; and he has either evaded, or failed to see, the main point of my argument, namely, that the archaeological evidence for a Meroitic date and that for a Napatan date are mutually exclusive. The acceptance of the one automatically entails the rejection of the other. He has, moreover, both misunderstood and misrepresented the 'mathematical' method I used to determine the limits of the occupation. Nevertheless, in view of his criticisms I have re-examined the record after a lapse of years with a mind comparatively fresh and I will re-state the evidence here in terms which, I hope, cannot possibly be misinterpreted. Passages within quotation marks are from my original report and references in square brackets are to the text figures or plates which accompany that report.

The argument is earth-bound throughout; it is concerned almost exclusively with the stratification of the site and archaeological considerations are only remotely involved.

The deposit which had accumulated to a considerable depth on the floor of the basin at Jebel Moya was seen to consist of four main layers differing somewhat in colour and texture. They were denoted by the letters A, B, C, and D, in that order from top to bottom and they formed the basis of all the recording during most of the excavation. Below the lowest or D stratum was a layer of disintegrating granite passing down into solid rock.

KUSH

In the opinion of the geologists who either worked on, or later reported on, the site, the D stratum was deposited before human occupation began ; it contained no objects but was penetrated by a number of graves. The surface of this stratum was the floor of the valley when the first settlers appeared, and the C, B, and A strata were all formed during the occupation. The late Dr G. A. Reisner who visited the site during the excavations

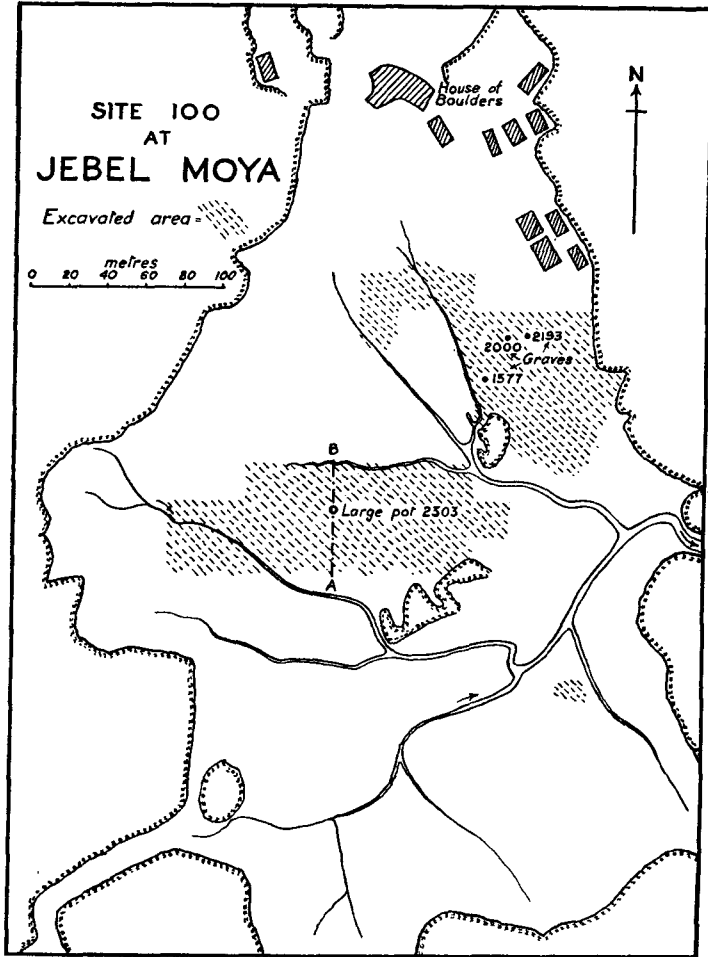


FIG. 2

subsequently wrote [p. 30] : ' The whole deposit of debris in all parts of the excavation consisted of very thin layers. This thinly laminated deposit showed all the characteristics of "debris of occupation" and was obviously a growing village floor laid down for centuries and reaching in places a depth of 3 metres '. I may here observe that the accumulation of deposit was continuous though not necessarily uniform in rate. There is no evidence—and nobody connected with the excavation ever suggested—that the accumulation was interrupted by periods of erosion or non-occupation. It is, of course,

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

obvious that whenever graves were dug they must have been dug from the level on which people were living at the time ; and since, owing to the accumulation of debris, the living floor continued slowly to rise, the graves must have been dug from progressively higher levels. Also, after they had been filled in, the graves were covered by an ever-deepening layer of debris. This is not mere probability, it was an observed fact. To quote Reisner again : ' The level on which the grave was dug would be discovered by uncovering the floor in which it was dug by gradual excavation from above ' and further [p. 35] ' I proceeded to ascertain the level of the graves in one quarter of the area under examination. Here I had the workmen clear out about a centimetre at a time, sweeping up and looking out for grave outlines on the swept surface. At about one metre down they exposed three graves all opening on the same floor '.

Now although the main excavation was notoriously not carried out with this meticulous care it was nevertheless done in roughly horizontal layers, and the records show that graves were constantly encountered at every level. They were numbered progressively as soon as their outlines were seen and hence, in any of the squares into which the excavation was divided, the graves dug from the highest levels were allotted

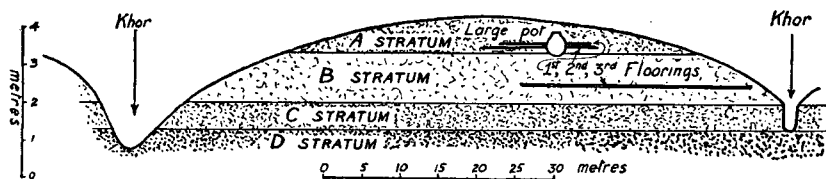


FIG. 3. SECTION ALONG LINE A-B IN FIG. 2

smaller or earlier numbers than those lower down. The outlines of a number of graves low down in the debris had been traced, and the graves numbered but not excavated, when work was suspended. They are shown dotted in the grave plan and account for the blank spaces in the Register of Graves. The point of all this is that a grave dug during a late period of the occupation must have been dug from a higher level than one dug during an early period, and that graves of different dates cannot possibly have been dug from the same surface. It may seem to be labouring the obvious to state this, but it is a fact of crucial importance on which the entire argument hinges. It is a fact, moreover, which Dr Arkell has either failed to appreciate or has chosen to ignore.

Although no erosion of the site took place during the period of occupation, considerable denudation of the strata has occurred since the settlement was abandoned. There is a gap in the eastern wall of the basin through which at the present day the summer storm water drains away into the plain below, but while the site was occupied this gap was blocked up in some way at present unexplained. Since the blockage was removed the storm water has worn out a series of *khors* as shown in the plan, FIG. 2, and between any two adjacent *khors* the ground now forms a convex ridge as shown in the section, FIG. 3 [see also plate xxii]. It will be seen that, on either side of these *khors* one or more of the original strata have disappeared, and it is probable that many human remains which may have been buried in these strata have been swept away during the erosion. The graves are noticeably fewer in the vicinity of the *khors*.

Owing to this post-occupational erosion the present ground surface is useless as a reference datum, so to overcome this difficulty I adopted, as fully explained in my report, the surface of the c stratum (' c surface ') as a reference datum. Since the strata were

KUSH

built up from the bottom, levels at the same distance from this datum must be roughly contemporary in date.

That the erosion took place after, and not during, the occupation is shown by the position of the large pot O.C.2303, FIG. 4 [see also plate cxi]. A pot of this size could never have been buried in a grave and it was, in fact, found *in situ* 'embedded up to its middle in the highest "paving" in square M.5, N.6 with the top collapsed and fallen inside'. It must, then, belong to a late period of the occupation. Its position is shown in the section, FIG. 3, and it is obvious that a good deal of the A stratum had accumulated above it before any erosion took place. It follows, of course, that the date of the end of the occupation and that of the beginning of the erosion are both later than the date of the pot. Dr Arkell has pronounced the pot to be of Meroitic date, and he may well be right; but in that case the occupation must have continued at least into the late Meroitic

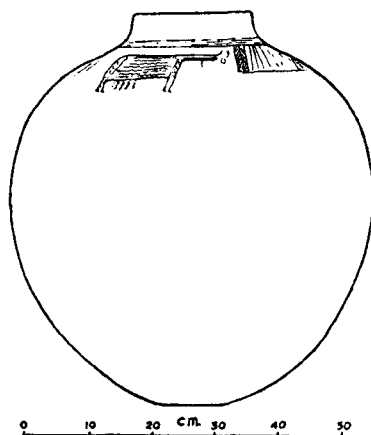


FIG. 4. LARGE POT O.C. 2303

period and the erosion must be post-Meroitic. And here it is pertinent to note that Mr G. W. Grabham, the geologist, in his report on the Jebel Moya strata wrote: 'The subsequent erosion may be a matter of 500 years—since the Arabs came'. It will be observed that Dr Arkell's acceptance of the view (see above) that the occupation ended in the Napatan period is entirely incompatible with his acceptance of a Meroitic date for the pot.

Now that the important question of the stratification has been, I trust, adequately explained, I can deal with the conflict between the Napatan and Meroitic evidence which is the main theme of this article. My original arguments were based on the vertical distribution of various objects throughout the strata, but Dr Arkell takes the view that on an occupation site so much disturbance of the ground is caused by the daily activities of the inhabitants (and on any site by the post-occupational activities of burrowing animals) that no reliance can be based on the stratification of small objects. There is some substance in this view though I think he exaggerates the amount of disturbance. If the debris of Jebel Moya were continually being churned up to the extent Dr Arkell would like to make out, how have the hundreds of fine laminations noted by every observer, including Dr Reisner and myself, managed to remain unbroken? It is not for me to answer this question and I will not pursue the matter; I propose instead to confine

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

my argument to objects which cannot possibly have been disturbed since they were buried, namely, to objects in graves. It will make no difference to the conclusion.

I would draw attention to two graves, Nos. 1577 and 2000 which lay not far apart in the same part of the site; they are marked on the plan, FIG. 2. That they were in the same part of the site rules out, for a start, any idea that they may have belonged to separate 'cemeteries' of different periods. Suspended from the neck of the body in grave 1577 was a plaque of early Napatan (xxvth Dynasty) date, and the grave, as already noted, was amongst those selected by Dr Arkell as 'certainly Napatan'. In front of the face of the body in grave 2000 was a decorated pot, FIG. 5, R.3 [plate cxi] of a kind dated elsewhere in the Sudan to the period Meroitic B (100 B.C.—A.D. 100). This, surely, is a Meroitic grave. Now since the accepted definition of the Napatan period is 750–538 B.C. (unless it has recently been modified) there is a difference in the apparent date of these two graves of about 600 years—six centuries during which the living floor of the settlement was slowly rising. Yet the 'Napatan' body in grave 1577 was found only 10 centimetres below the modern surface (or 90 centimetres *above* c surface) while

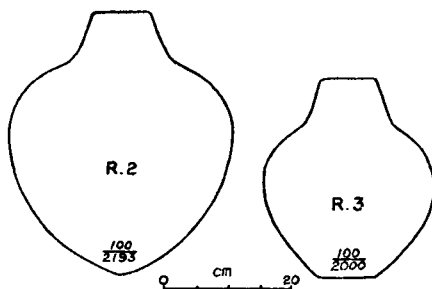


FIG. 5. OUTLINES OF POTS FROM GRAVES

the 'Meroitic' body in grave 2000 lay 175 centimetres below the modern surface (or 35 centimetres *below* c surface. Grave 2000, to judge from the photograph [plate xxxiv, 4, 5] was a shallow oval grave dug from a level low down in the B stratum. Grave 1577—600 years earlier in date?—was dug from a level in the A stratum, a level so high that at the time of the excavation it had been eroded away although the ground in its vicinity had not been extensively denuded. The relative positions of the two bodies may be seen in FIG. 1 which shows the number of bodies recorded at different levels. (During the earlier part of the excavation this level was measured to the nearest 5 centimetres and during the latter part to the nearest 10 centimetres which accounts for the preponderance of bodies at 10 centimetre intervals.) It will be seen that grave 1577 must have been one of the latest burials on the site while grave 2000 was probably one of the earlier ones.

Now my long dissertation on the stratification of the site has, I hope, shown that it is physically impossible for an early, or Napatan, grave to have been dug from a higher level than (or even from the same level as) a late, or Meroitic one, and here we face that direct conflict of evidence to which I have already referred. If grave 1577 is Napatan then grave 2000 cannot be Meroitic and *vice versa*; there is no possibility of reconciling the apparent dates of these graves. Let us examine this grave 2000 a little more closely. The body in it was in a crouched position, a rare 'pre-dynastic' attitude associated with the earliest levels at Jebel Moya; only twelve bodies out of nearly three thousand were found in this burial attitude. To quote Mr Mukherjee again (*loc. cit. supra*), 'the

extended type of burial grew more common in the later part of the settlement and the other forms, particularly the contracted or crouched, became obsolete'. This is a statistical finding and gives grounds for accepting grave 2000 as one of the early graves of the occupation. But suppose, in our anxiety to escape from the dilemma, we accept a Napatan date for grave 1577 and regard grave 2000, against all the previous evidence, as a deep, intrusive, post-occupational grave. There is no escape along that line. Had 2000 been a post-occupational grave it must have been dug from a level on or above the modern surface, and in that case its outline would have been detected at an early stage of the excavation of the square (I.9, J.10) in which it was situated. Yet of the 257 graves actually excavated in this square, 163 were given numbers less than 2000. This indicates a strong probability that the grave to which this number was allotted must have been dug from a fairly low level. Further, if this grave had been dug from the modern surface it would have been at least 175 centimetres deep. There would be nothing remarkable about this except for the fact that the greatest depth of grave recorded at Jebel Moya, i.e., the depth from the surface in which the grave was dug, was only 140 centimetres, and this was exceptional. It is true that the depth of only about 10% of the graves was recorded, nevertheless the figures are against the probability of very deep graves at Jebel Moya whatever may have happened elsewhere. All the evidence, from different sources, points to the fact that grave 2000 was one of the earlier graves of the settlement and that it must have been an older grave than 1577. There is a further point: grave 1577 must have been dug from a level very much the same as that of the 'paving' in which the large pot already referred to was embedded, and hence the grave and the pot cannot differ widely in date. A Meroitic date for the pot precludes a Napatan date for the grave. The inescapable conclusion is that the 'archaeological' evidence for the date either of grave 1577 or grave 2000 is misleading and must in one case or the other be rejected.

I have focused attention on these two typical graves because they illustrate the conflict of the evidence for dating the site in a manner which cannot be circumvented. The issue must be squarely faced. It cannot this time be evaded by unfounded accusations that I have 'relied on artificial data' or on 'arbitrary assumptions'. I have merely drawn attention to certain facts which are on record and which are published in my report for all to read. As I have already noted, this conflict extends throughout the A and B strata of the site and occurs in individual graves. What, for instance, is the date of a grave in which were found iron (? Meroitic) bracelets and Napatan beads? And the pot in grave 2000 was not the only one of its period found on the site. There was a similar one, FIG. 5, R.2, in grave 2193 at a slightly higher level than 2000, and another was found at some unknown level in the B stratum [plate cxiii, 4, 5]. There were also, of course, graves containing Napatan objects at much lower levels than that of 1577; some of them were at levels even lower than that of 2000, but the difference in level was not such as to account for the 600 years difference in date.

In my original report I set out what seemed to me at the time to be valid reasons for accepting the Napatan objects found at Jebel Moya as evidence for an occupation of the site in the Napatan period. This, as it happens, was also Reisner's view in 1914³, though it should be noted that, when Reisner visited the site, graves 2000 and 2193 had not been excavated and he had not seen the pots they contained. There is, however, no actual proof (nor as far as I can see is there any possibility of proof) that the objects in question really did reach Jebel Moya during the Napatan period. All I did was to argue that the balance of evidence was in favour of their having done so, and, faced with a

³ *SNR*, vol. II, p. 65.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

choice, to accept the result. My argument has nowhere been challenged, although it is wide open to challenge. If the conclusion I reached has solved some difficulties it has created others, and in particular it has involved assigning a Napatan date to a good deal of characteristically Meroitic pottery as well as to iron and other objects. There is a case to be made out for accepting the Meroitic evidence and rejecting the Napatan, and since nobody else has put it forward I propose to do so myself. This does not mean that the actual date of the Napatan objects is in question; it simply means that they are to be regarded as 'the loot of a later age', i.e., they reached Jebel Moya at a date very much later than 500 B.C. They are no longer to be regarded as evidence for an occupation during the Napatan period itself but simply as evidence of a connection with Napata at some indeterminate time. They are no more use for dating than were the scarabs found on the site, regarding which I wrote [p. 119] 'the collection as a whole has the appearance of casual loot'. I may recall that amongst these was one of Sheshonq I (945 B.C.) which was found in the A stratum at the same level as, and quite close to, the large pot (FIG. 4)!

Now that the Napatan evidence for dating has been rejected there remains only the Meroitic. The stone implements are, in a sense, neutral, for they do not help to date the site at all. However old they may typologically appear to be (and Dr Arkell says that the trapezoidal chisel-type arrow heads occurred in the Capsian of North Africa) they were in fact made on the site and most of the flaked implements were found in the A and B strata. They are, therefore, of the same date as the other objects found in those strata whether these are taken to be Napatan or Meroitic.

I ought, perhaps, to say at this point that the rejection of the Napatan evidence involves no disrespect for Reisner's view. As it happens I wrote to him in 1938 soon after Mr Kirwan and I had started work on the material from Jebel Moya and when the Meroitic (or later?) date of much of the pottery had become apparent. In his reply he advised me to take no notice of anything he may have written in 1914 and to be guided by my own judgment.

To return to the question of dating, I observed in my report that the vertical distribution of the Meroitic and metal objects was the same as that of the Napatan ones. In fact, all the imported objects, whatever their apparent dates, can be considered together as evidence of trade, or at least of human intercourse, between Jebel Moya and sites further north. This seems to have begun when the living floor of the settlement was a few centimetres below C surface, and the most likely period for its inception was during the first century B.C. Jebel Moya is not the only southern site on which pots such as those in FIG. 5 have been found. They were found not far away across the Blue Nile in a cemetery accidentally discovered (and, incidentally, destroyed) during the building of the Sennar Dam and which I have already published elsewhere⁴. Also in this cemetery were found bronze bowls (some bigger than any found elsewhere in the Sudan) which must have been imported from Egypt, and pottery and beads which could be exactly duplicated in the Meroitic cemeteries at Faras and the 'Romano-Nubian' cemetery at Buhen in the extreme north of the Sudan, as well as at Meroë itself. The cemetery is dated to the period 100 B.C.-A.D. 100 and the presence of the objects so far south is an indication of the freedom of communications which must have obtained during that period. It does not, then, seem improbable that the imported objects, whether via Napata or via Meroë, first reached Jebel Moya about this time.

⁴ *SNR*, vol. XVIII, p. 288 and *Antiquity*, vol. XXIV, p. 12.

KUSH

Another link, this time with Abu Geili (not far from the cemetery just described but having no connection with it) is provided by the 'dry scratched' ware which occurred so abundantly at Jebel Moya and which I have called 'typical' Jebel Moya pottery. Many fragments of this were found on the floors of the rooms in the village site at Abu Geili. Indeed, the only complete pot of this ware was found at Abu Geili and not at Jebel Moya at all, a fact of which I was unaware when I wrote my Jebel Moya report. In the account of Abu Geili I have given reasons for supposing that this ware did not originate on either of these sites but reached them independently from a common source. The village site at Abu Geili is dated to the early centuries A.D. (from just before the beginning of our era to anything from A.D. 200 to 600) and the dry scratched ware at

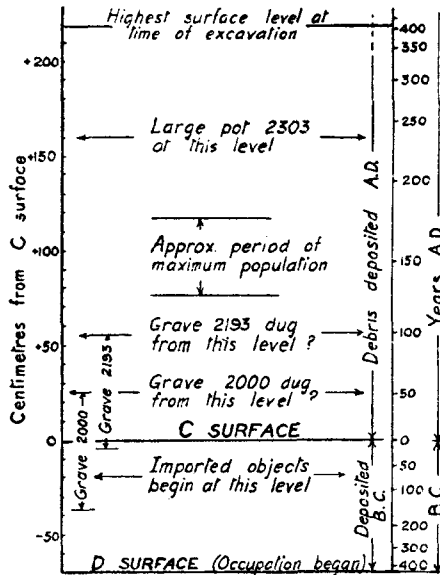


FIG. 6. DIAGRAM SHOWING APPROXIMATE
DATES OF DIFFERENT LEVELS IN
THE DEPOSIT

Jebel Moya started at a few centimetres below c surface and occurred most abundantly at the highest levels. On the evidence of this pottery the B and A strata at Jebel Moya could be of much the same date as the Abu Geili site, namely, the first three or four centuries A.D.

This dating is confirmed by a consideration of the iron objects. These again started at a level about 20 centimetres below c surface and continued through the B stratum into the A stratum. Ornaments such as bracelets and rings appear to have reached the site earlier than arrow heads and implements, for these latter were confined to the highest levels. As I observed at the time, it was difficult to fit these iron objects into a Napatan context, and now that this constraint is removed they can be assigned the Meroitic date which seems more reasonable in view of the evidence of extensive iron working at Meroë. The early centuries A.D. is also the period to which Mr Kirwan and I, on our preliminary inspection of the material from Jebel Moya, were inclined to assign the mass

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

of potsherds recovered during the excavation. They do not fit very happily into a Napatan frame.

If the B and A strata of the site were formed during the early centuries A.D. it would be reasonable to date C surface to the beginning of the period ; i.e., the surface of the C stratum was the living floor of the settlement about that date. It must, then, follow that the C stratum was deposited during the last centuries B.C. ; and as the living floor when the first settlers appeared was the surface of the D stratum (or the bottom of the C stratum) the number of years taken for the C stratum to accumulate is manifestly the same as the number of years B.C. for the foundation of the settlement. The thickness of the C stratum is only about 70 centimetres so this date cannot be very remote. The A and B strata together have a total depth at their deepest point even to-day of 220 centimetres, and this depth (plus whatever has since been eroded away) must have been deposited between the beginning of the period A.D. and the end of the occupation. How long would be required for the formation of a mere 70 centimetres in the years B.C. ? I have observed elsewhere [p. 33] that the rate at which deposit is accumulated at any time is probably roughly proportional to the number of inhabitants at that time, and using this principle I have worked out the time scale shown on the right of FIG. 6. This shows the approximate date of any level of the deposit and it seems to fulfil most requirements reasonably well. It allows grave 2000 to have been dug before A.D. 100 ; it permits the beginning of imports from the north during the last half century B.C. ; and it gives a date of about A.D. 250 for the large pot, FIG. 4, a date which is probably correct to within a century or so. It shows that the occupation probably extended into the fifth century A.D. and it allows a period of 500 years for the accumulation of the C stratum, which is, perhaps, too much. But even this generous allowance means that the occupation of the site cannot have begun before 500 B.C. at the earliest. These dates are, of course, only rough, but they are both possible and credible.

It will be seen that the solution to the problem of dating the site varies according to the view taken of the Napatan objects. For myself, after reviewing the evidence again (including that from Abu Geili which I had not examined when I wrote my Jebel Moya report) I think the more acceptable solution is the one I have just propounded. I think I should have saved a good deal of time and trouble if I had followed my first impulse and rejected the Napatan objects for dating purposes at the very beginning. After all, the date of an assemblage of miscellaneous objects is the date of the latest object in that assemblage, and that date at Jebel Moya appeared to be Meroitic. However, I have at least shown both sides of the argument and nobody can say that the subject has not been fully discussed.

My position now is that I think it probable that the occupation of Jebel Moya covered roughly the whole of the Meroitic period, early, middle and late, and that it did not begin until after the Napatan period had ended. There was, that is, no occupation at all in the Napatan period. The matter is open to argument, but it is one which can only finally be decided by laboratory experiments using one or other of the new techniques ; it cannot be settled by purely typological considerations. One thing at least should by now be clear, namely, that the Meroitic and Napatan dates are mutually exclusive throughout. Accept the Napatan objects as evidence of date and there can logically be nothing Meroitic on the site : reject these objects and there is no evidence for a Napatan occupation. It does not seem to me to be possible to construct a chronology for Jebel Moya which will allow an occupation in Napatan times extending into the Meroitic, and if there are objects of this latter period on the site they must be evidence of occupation during that period. Dr Arkell's attempt to evade the issue by

KUSH

accepting a Napatan occupation, and postulating post-occupational graves to account for the Meroitic objects, breaks down (apart from its intrinsic improbability and lack of evidence) on the question of the pottery. There was, as I have said, an enormous quantity of potsherds; 'every basketful of the thousands of tons of debris removed during the excavation contained some fragments of pottery' [p. 199], and this pottery was in every sense of the term 'debris of occupation'. It cannot be accounted for in any other way. It must be of the same date as the occupation levels from which it came; if they were Napatan then the pottery must be Napatan. Dr Arkell has pronounced some of the selected sherds of this pottery to be Meroitic and I think he is right; but, if so, they must indicate an occupation in Meroitic times. He has also said, again rightly, that the large pot, FIG. 4, is Meroitic, and no theory of mourners bringing their dead for burial on a deserted site can possibly account for that pot; it obviously must belong to a period of occupation.

It will have been observed that such matters as the burial attitudes of the bodies and the orientations of the graves are quite irrelevant to this question of dating. Nevertheless, as Dr Arkell has dealt with the question of orientations at some length, it would be well for me to refer to it here. In the table below I give the recorded orientations for all the graves and also of one or two selected groups. It might have been interesting to compare the orientations of males and females separately, but since the sexing of the bodies is unreliable this has not been possible.

Type or Group	Orientations							
	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW
All bodies	251	224	264	229	253	355	585	568
Bodies with lipstuds <i>in situ</i>	42	23	23	23	28	77	72	115
Graves with Napatan beads or objects	11	5	10	7	1	2	16	8
'Cow's foot' burials	1	8	5	2	4	2	5	4
Result of spinning marked disc ..	4	1	5	1	8	3	6	3

These figures show that there was a preponderance of westerly orientations in the graves as a whole, which may be partly explained by the even more marked preponderance amongst the group of graves with lipstuds *in situ*. The proportions between these orientations did not vary much at different levels showing that there was no correlation between orientation and date.

The small group of graves containing Napatan objects gives completely indeterminate results, which is what might have been expected. Dr Arkell's 'reasonable preliminary hypothesis that an easterly orientation may have been introduced in Napatan times' seems to me to rest on some extremely questionable assumptions. The first of these is that, because graves in Napata had an easterly orientation, therefore graves in far away Jebel Moya with an easterly orientation must be Napatan. The second is that burial customs are exportable with trade goods. There is nothing to show that the people of Jebel Moya were at any time affected by Napatan or Meroitic influences; on the contrary, all the evidence is that they retained their own primitive culture until the end of the occupation. The presence of a few imported beads at Jebel Moya is no

SECOND THOUGHTS ON JEBEL MOYA

indication that the inhabitants had adopted Napatan or Meroitic burial customs. In any Central African village in the middle of the nineteenth century there could be found beads and wire of European manufacture, yet the inhabitants had adopted neither European culture nor Christian burial customs. The third assumption, reasonable but not established, is that there was an occupation of Jebel Moya in Napatan times at all.

One of the few signs of burial ritual observed at Jebel Moya was to be seen in the 'cow's foot' burials [p. 59], where one or more feet of a cow (ox, calf) were found in the grave, indicating that the body had probably been covered with, or wrapped in, the skin of an animal. There were 36 of these graves distributed widely over the site and at many different levels. If the orientation of the grave were considered to be an essential part of the ritual to be followed at these distinctive burials it might have been expected to display some uniformity. The figures given in the table (the orientation was not recorded in five cases) show that the orientations were, in fact, completely random. To check this I spun a disc, marked with the various compass points, the requisite number of times, noting where it came to rest. The result is also given in the table and it shows that the figures for the 'cow's foot' burials are completely without significance.

It is, of course, possible to select and tabulate the orientations of the graves of many other selected groups, e.g., those of a particular burial attitude; those with ivory bracelets; those with shell pendants, etc., but I do not know what the value of such an exercise would be. It is the sort of investigation Mr Mukherjee might have undertaken, but he has not done so, possibly because he thought it would be unrewarding, as I do myself.

I do not share Dr Arkell's optimistic belief that further excavation would help to solve the problems of Jebel Moya. He himself speaks with two voices on the matter. One of these stresses the value of a careful excavation with knife and brush, the object of which, surely, is to establish the exact vertical distribution of any objects buried in the ground. Yet the other voice denies that such a distribution has any value as evidence owing to the disturbance caused by 'the activities of mice and men' (*sic*). Further excavation, he says, will enable us to 'ascertain which objects are true grave goods and which come from occupation debris'. Here again are some unwarrantable assumptions. The first is that the objects (when there were any) found in the graves already excavated were in some way not 'true'; that, in fact, the excavators were incompetent. The second is that the objects (again if any) to be found in a new excavation will be different from those already found—or why trouble to find them? The third and most doubtful assumption is that such objects will be datable. The uncertainty in the dating of the site is due to the lack of two vital pieces of information, (1) the precise levels from which the graves were dug, and (2) the date when the Napatan objects reached Jebel Moya. This lack could not possibly be made good by any excavation, and further digging would, in my view, be a complete waste of time; it would only produce more material of the kind we already have in super-abundance and which we cannot with complete certainty evaluate.

Dr Arkell expresses an important truth when he writes: 'In conservative Africa cultural traits may persist for a thousand years or more'. This means that such expressions of a culture as stone implements, pottery and the like cannot in themselves be dated to within a thousand years or so. Hence it is no use attempting to date either the beginning or the ending of the occupation of the Jebel Moya site by reference to implements or objects made on the site itself.

KUSH

My conclusion that the occupation of Jebel Moya was entirely Meroitic may or may not be correct, but it cannot be invalidated simply by asserting that such and such a type of implement could not have been made in the third century A.D. or, alternatively that it must have been made before 500 B.C. The arguments on which the conclusion is based must be examined and proved wrong using the same basic facts of the stratification from which I started. No reference to other sites is necessary and no archaeological expertise is required other than the knowledge of the meaning of the terms 'Napatan' and 'Meroitic'.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Wellcome Trustees for permission to make such extracts from the text and figures of my original report as I have found necessary.

Die Fiktion der 'Kuschitischen' Völker

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SEIT den Achtziger-Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts, also seit der Zeit der ersten ernstlichen Sprachuntersuchungen im Raume der erythräischen und hochländischen Völkerstämme von Nordost-Afrika, hat sich nicht nur bei Philologen und Linguisten, sondern auch bei Ethnologen, Historikern, Geographen und Politikern die Vorstellung festgesetzt, 'als ob' man auf diesem weiten und differenzierten Gebiete mit einem fundamentalen historischen Völkertyp 'Kuschiten' zu rechnen berechtigt sei.

Diese anfangs heuristische Fiktion basierte auf den historischen Mythen- und Spekulationen der Alt-Ägyptologen *Lepsius* und *Reinisch* über den Heros eponymos *Kûš* in der (meist irreführenden) Völkertafel der Genesis (x, 6-8)¹. Durch den Namen des äthiopischen Reiches von 'Kûš' auf den Denkmälern Ägyptens lag ja nunmehr die historische Existenz des obgenannten Heros eponymos in der Völkertafel eindeutig fest, und so konnte man nun in Konsequenz zur orientalischen Gepflogenheit alle Völker und Stämme des Äthiopienreiches südlich von Syene bis hinauf zum oberen Nil einfach als 'Söhne des Kusch' bezeichnen. Über die tatsächliche Ausdehnung des äthiopischen Herrschaftsbereiches jener Zeit allerdings war man sich noch ganz unklar.

Unklar blieb es auch lange, wie man sich zu den Sprachverhältnissen der Länder des Nil-Sudan zu stellen habe. Am bequemsten schien es, das neuzeitliche Bild der Vermischung mehr oder minder diskrepanter Sprachen, wie es sich den ersten Erforschern bot, unbekümmert um zwei und dreiviertel Jahrtausende ins Altertum rückzuprojizieren; waren doch, wie man dachte, die Vorfahren all jener Völker des Nil-Sudan sicher irgendwie 'Söhne des Kusch' gewesen. Und damit bot sich jenen ersten Experten der europäischen Sprachforschung im Nil-Sudan sozusagen unwillkürlich der Terminus Sprachen der Kuschiten dar. Gleichzeitig ergab sich bei solcher Zusammenfassung auch ein gemeinsamer 'Vater' für die 'Söhne der Kuschiten' nämlich der Noahite *Hām*, welcher ja auch Ägypten, Libyen ('wpw.t-t') und Kana'an gezeugt hatte. Auf diesem Wege gelangten also die Sprachen der 'Kuschiten' nebenbei auch zur speziellen Charakterisierung als 'hamitische' Sprachen. (Die Methode solchen Gedankenganges unterscheidet sich nur wenig von der Rückführung der neu-libyschen Berber auf einen 'Sohn des Qibt ibn Hām', wie sie *Omar ibn Abd el-Berr* vornahm. vgl. *Khaldūn* pag. 114-15). Derartige Spekulationen hatten und haben allerdings mit der Geschichte von Völkern und Sprachen nicht mehr als illusionistischen Kontakt.

Im Verlaufe der archäologischen Verarbeitung ägyptischer und ägyptisierender Denkmäler Äthiopiens durch *Lepsius* stellte sich dann, wie bekannt, heraus, dass es in dem sudanesischen Grossreich neben Ägyptisch auch eine damals noch unverständliche, heimische Sprache gegeben hatte. Ihre Entzifferung schien anfangs mangels jeder

¹ Die Genesis kennt drei 'Kûš' genannte Länder, resp. Völker. Das eine weist auf ein Land Südarabien (Gen. II, 11); das andere (Gen. x, 8 ff.) bezieht sich auf das Land des Assyriekönigs *Multi-Ninurta I* (Nimrod) 1243-1207 v. Chr.; das dritte Land dieses Namens aber war Äthiopien, das Reich des Königs **Te-arkô* von 671 v. Chr. (2 Kön. XIX, 9; *Jesias* XX, 3-5, etc.) welches die Genesis (x, 6) als Bruder Ägyptens ansah. Die letztere geogr. Richtung bildete dann in der Folge die Dominante für die antike Länderkunde von Afrika.

KUSH

Bilinguis ziemlich aussichtslos. Gleichwohl erblickte man in dieser Unbekannten den Schlüssel zum philologischen Verständnis der 'kuschitischen' Sprachen, ohne sich aber noch klar zu sein, welche der heute noch im Sudan gesprochenen Sprachen als Nachkommen jener rätselhaften Schriftsprache des Äthiopienstaates in Frage kommen könnten. Lepsius riet auf Grund der Meinung des 'Kitāb el-Fihrist', dass nur die Beğä-Sprache als Grundlage in Betracht käme; Reinisch dagegen (und später noch H. Schäfer) hielten Nubisch für die Sprache der antiken Äthiopienkönige. Solange man die damals 'Meroitisch' genannte Sprache aber nicht lesen konnte, war solcher Widerstreit keineswegs verwunderlich.

Die ganze Sachlage änderte sich sofort, als *F. Ll. Griffith* die 'meroitische' Schrift auf Grund von Namensgleichungen mit der ihm eigenen Akribie der sicheren Entzifferung zuzuführen vermochte. Ihm als Ägyptologen und Spezialisten für Demotische Litteratur standen zudem die Materialien demotisch-ägyptischer Äthiopien-Inschriften und Graffiti Unter-Äthiopiens zugebote, so dass neben ihm kaum Jemand Aussicht gehabt hätte, die Aufgabe der Entzifferung in derart befriedigender Weise durchzuführen. Auf Grund der so gewonnenen Einsicht konnte dann 1911 die erste *sprachliche Skizze* (Karanög, vol. VI) zur Einführung in die Textpublikationen aus den beiden äthiopischen Nekropolen Karanög und Shablül zustande kommen.

Das ziemlich gleichförmige Schema äthiopischer Epitaphe hatte nun zwar für das Erfassen des Textsinnes viel Vergleichsmaterial an die Hand gegeben, doch blieb das so gewonnene Bild der Sprache dadurch immerhin noch fühlbar einseitig. Es fehlte alles Lebendige darin; aber dafür waren es ja auch Toten-Inschriften. Das Wenige, was dabei an Wörtern und Formen erfassbar wurde, genügte jedoch durchaus, die obgenannte Streitfrage nach der sprachlichen Natur des Schrift-Idioms Alt-Äthiopiens dezidiert ad acta zu legen. Es war nunmehr klar, dass es sich *weder um Beḍaūye, noch auch um Nubisch* handelte. Je mehr an Texten zur Publikation kam, desto deutlicher wurde diese für Manche überraschend gekommene Tatsache.

Wer sich unter den Sprachwissenschaftlern die Hoffnung gemacht hatte, die neu entdeckte 'meroitische' Sprache würde das sprachgeschichtliche Bindeglied für die sogenannten 'kuschitischen' Sprachen sein, der musste angesichts der völlig andersartigen Wortstämme und Formen jenes Idioms gründlich enttäuscht bleiben. Nicht nur Beḍaūye und Nubisch fehlte jeder innere Kontakt mit der Morphologie des 'Meroitischen', sondern es gab überhaupt keine sogenannte 'Kuschiten'-Sprache, bei welcher sich ein irgendwie plausibler Zusammenhang mit der Inschriften-Sprache von Alt-Äthiopien hätte herstellen lassen. Eher fand sich so manches innere Band ursprünglicher Sprachverwandtschaft zwischen einzelnen *Gruppen* auf dem *heutigen* Sprachfelde der erythräisch-nilsudanischen Völkerstämme, als auch nur die Spur eines solchen Bandes mit dem nun greifbarer gewordenen Idiom des vermuteten Stammvaters Kusch. Soviel war damit klar sichtbar, dass die Bezeichnung 'kuschitisch' sozusagen nur ein philologischer *Verlegenheits-Ausdruck* geworden war, der verschleiern sollte, was man eben nicht wusste. Man hatte einfach keinen Anlass mehr, Sprachen dadurch zu charakterisieren, dass man sie 'kuschitisch' nannte.

Bei näherem Zusehen erweist sich zudem, dass das Bild einer gewissen 'Verwandtschaft' dieser z.T. morphologisch heterogen wirkenden Idiome der Gegenwart überwiegend durch Lehngut ganz bestimmter Art *vorgetäuscht* wird. Die als breites Superstrat, lokal entsprechend massiert, das heutige Sprachfeld der Nil-Sudan-Völker durchsetzenden Sprachen sind neben Sudan-Arabisch hauptsächlich Tigré und Amharisch. Weil diese Fremdsprachen gegenüber den Einheimischen nun selber genetisch zusammenhängen, borgen sie also ihren sprachlich Hörigen den Anschein von

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

Verwandtschaft der Sprachen, welche solches Lehnwort **en masse** nostrifiziert haben. Der geschilderte Zustand erwuchs aber sichtlich fortschreitend aus dem sudanischen *Mittelalter* her bis heute, und hat also mit der antiken Sprache des alt-äthiopischen Reiches nicht das Mindeste zu tun. Eine Rückprojektion der neuzeitlichen Sprachlagerung in die Antike wäre sowohl unhistorisch als auch entwicklungsgeschichtlich unmethodisch. Für die ältere Zeit also bleibt dann nichts Anderes übrig, als sich doch lieber mit dem annoch rätselhaften Inschriften-Idiom Alt-Äthiopiens bekannter zu machen.

Zuvor jedoch muss man sich erst informieren, wie weit sich jenes Alt-Äthiopien der Geschichte überhaupt auf dem Felde der heutigen Sprachen 'kuschitischer' Völker ausgedehnt hat, um sich klar zu werden, welches Gebiet des heutigen Sudan als antike Einflusszone eigentlich in Frage kommt, der geographische Heimatboden gegenwärtiger Eingeborenen-Sprachen gewesen zu sein.

Für die Zeit von 150 v. Chr. bis 361 n. Chr., also für die Epoche der Äthiopienkönige von Meroë, weisen uns die Vorkommen nationaler Inschriften ziemlich eindeutig auf den damaligen territorialen Umfang dieses Reiches. Es reichte von der Insel Philae am ersten und eigentlichen *Nil*-Katarakt südlich bis über den 6. Katarakt, stromaufwärts zum Grenzfluss ***A-śda Sōba-s** (heute Bahr el-azraq). Die äthiopischen Städte und Siedelungen lagen in ungleicher Dichte meist unmittelbar im Bereich des Schiffsverkehrs an den Nilufern, zahlreich nur im Norden (1.-2. Katarakt), dann abnehmend gegen Süden, um im Raume des mittleren Nils, ab Alt-Dongola, wieder in beträchtlicher Dichte dazuliegen bis hinan zum 4. Katarakt. Geschlossenes Territorium mit Städten und Binnen-Bewässerung gab es nur zwischen den Flüssen ***A-śda Bōra-s** (Atbara) und ***A-śda Sōba-s**, also der heutigen Gezīra. Dieser dreifachen Massierung von städtischen Siedelungen entsprach auch die politische Grosseinteilung des Äthiopien-Reiches. Der nördlichste Teil hiess ***Tmit** (äg.-äth. 'Nordland') mit der Verwaltung in der Stadt ***Pa-khora-s** (Pachoras, äth. 'Herr des Nordens'); der mittlere Teil Äthiopiens hiess ***Kaś** mit der alten Hauptstadt ***Napate**; das südliche Äthiopien aber hatte den Namen ***Alō** mit der jungen Residenzstadt ***Be-dewé**, (äg. ***Berwé** griech. Meroë, äth. 'Reicher Ort'), gegründet als Verwaltungszentrale schon unter König ***Pa-anḥe** (744-12 v. Chr.) Hierzu kommt in der Zeit der meroitischen Äthiopienkönige noch ein Überrest des alten erythräischen Besitzes der Könige von ***Kaś**, nämlich ***Aromi**, ostwärts von ***Alō**. Als Gesamtname des Äthiopienreiches galt noch in jener Endperiode desselben die Bezeichnung ***Nās** (d.i. äg. **Nhs**).

In dieser Weise lässt sich die geographische Lage des Äthiopienstaates noch an Hand der einheimischen Quellen rekonstruieren. Dieser Staat war es, den die Antike seit der homerischen Zeit als 'Äthiopien' gekannt hatte und der bei den Ägyptern '**K'ash**', äthiop.-äg. '***eK'ōshi**', bei den Babyloniern '**mat Kashi**', bei den Assyriern '**mat *Kōsi**' und zuletzt bei den Aksumiten '***Kās**' sowie bei den Alt-Nubiern '***Kas**' geheissen hat. All diese Bezeichnungen im Ausland stammen noch aus der Zeit vor den Meroiten-Königen, als die Residenzstadt der Äthiopien noch *Napata* im Lande '***Kaś**' gewesen war². Statt also immer gedankenlos von 'Kuschiten' zu sprechen, werden wir besser den geographisch, politisch und national genaueren Terminus 'Kaschiten' gebrauchen und damit das bezeichnen, was es historisch besagt: die Bevölkerung des

² Der scheinbare Lautwechsel äg. **k'**: äth. **k** in dem Namen von 'Kasch' verrät eine charakteristische Eigenart für die Sprache. Bekanntlich artikulieren heute noch alle südarabischen Erythräer das emphatische **k** des Semitischen als stimmlosen Dorsal **k** mit unmittelbar nachfolgendem Stimmeinsatz. Von den Ägyptern war dieser Stimmeinsatz aber als *Radikal* aufgefasst worden und so forderte die ägyptische Aussprache einen Vorschlagsvokal.

alten Äthiopienstaates im Nil-Sudan, welche die Träger der Herrschaft daselbst gewesen waren³.

Diese Träger der gross-äthiopischen Herrschaft sehen wir im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nach Ausweis der Länderliste Nr. I des Königs von Ägypten Thutmose III (B, nr. 1-23) als Inhaber eines nicht weniger grossen Sudanreiches, von den Ägyptern als '***K'ash khose**' d.i. 'das schuftige K'ash' offiziell bezeichnet. Es reichte von Kerma südwärts bis hinauf zum 6. Katarakt und von da ostwärts bis zu den erythräischen Ländern ***Atal**, ***Atal-mō** etc. bis ***Aromi**, die wir seit Königin ***Hat-shepsō** (1501-1481) als Länder des südlichsten *Pyene* (äg. ***Pwāne.t**) kennen. Wenn diese Herrschaft von '***K'ash**' in diesem Raume wohl kaum mehr als theoretischen Charakter gehabt haben mag, so gehörten die 'Aromaten-Länder', wie sie bei den Griechen später hiessen, doch sicher zur kaschitischen Interessensphäre. Äthiopien selber stand zu dieser Zeit unter Kolonial-Herrschaft Ägyptens bis zum 4. Katarakt⁴.

Angesichts dieser erheblichen räumlichen Ausdehnung des kaschitischen Äthiopienreiches zwischen Nil und der Küste des roten Meeres könnte die Frage auftauchen, ob es sich bei jenen Kaschiten etwa um ein Volk gehandelt habe, dessen Massen die Träger der Macht im Sudan des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. gewesen sein mochten. In solchem Falle könnte man doch noch an die Existenz eines 'kuschitischen' Sprachstammes für jene Zeit denken, von dem aus die heutigen Sprachen 'kuschitischer' Völker sich in so seltsamer Diskrepanz von einander abgespalten hätten⁵.

Die Antwort auf solche gewichtige Frage für Völker- und Sprachgeschichte erteilt uns die um 500 Jahre ältere Liste der von Ägypten besiegten Länder Äthiopiens in der Inschrift von *Wadi Halfa*, woselbst König ***Zanwosret I.** (1975-33) acht Länder Äthiopiens als die von ihm besiegte Feind-Koalition aufzählt. Die ersten Fünf sind noch lesbar, die drei Letzten jedoch zerstört. Als erstes, und damit räumlich *entferntestes* Land⁶ wird hier das Land '**K's**' genannt, ein Name, in welchem wir heute auf lautgeschichtlicher Basis mit Recht eine phonetische *Erstaufnahme* des Landnamens erkennen können, welchen man in der Folge dann immer '**K'sh**' schrieb. Die Schwankung in der Wiedergabe des **s**-Lautes entsprach den Lautverhältnissen der betreffenden Sprache gegenüber Ägyptisch.⁷

Das Bemerkenswerte an dieser Aufzählung ist nun, dass besagtes Land '**K's**', respektive '**K'sh**' lediglich als *einer* der vereinten Feinde Ägyptens erscheint, nicht aber

³ Cf. hierzu A. J. Arkell, 'An old Nubian inscription from Kordofan'. *AJA* 1951, Notes and Discussions, pp. 353-4.

⁴ Zur Identität von griech. *Pyene* mit ägyptisch ***Pwāne.t** (Pwnt) vergleiche man F. W. von Bissing, 'Pyene (Punt) und die Seefahrten der Ägypter'. *Die Welt des Orients*, 1949, pp. 146-57 sowie E. Zyhlarz, 'Das Land **Pwn.t**'. *Zeitschrift f. Eingeborenen-Sprachen* xxxii, pp. 303-12.

⁵ Wohl das bedeutsamste Charakter-Merkmal 'kuschitischer' Sprachen liegt bekanntlich im 'umgekehrten' Genetiv *Rektum-Regens*, den wir im Altertum erstmalig als Normal-Konstruktion bei den Blemmyern kennen lernten. Cf. Zyhlarz 'Die Sprache der Blemmyer' *Zeitschr. f. Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, xxxi, p. 12. Diesem Syntax-Aspekt verfiel sogar das semitische Amharisch.

⁶ Beim Aufzählen von beherrschten Fremdländern bestand in Ägypten die Regel, vom *Fernpunkt* beginnend bis heran zum *Nahpunkt* des Aufzählenden anzuordnen.

⁷ Noch die jung-kaschitischen (meroïtischen) Texte verraten, dass ihre Sprache kein eigentliches, dem Ägyptischen entsprechendes **sh** besass. Man unterscheidet dort zwei **s**-Laute: der eine lag etwa zwischen **s** und **sh**, der andere mag etwa die Aussprache des spanischen **z** gehabt haben. Der oben aufgefallene Wechsel in der ägyptischen Schreibung kann als erstes Argument für die historische Konstanz dieses Zustandes im Kaschitischen dienen.

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

noch als *der* Feind, wie in der Zeit des Neuen Reiches. Man wird also dieses Land höchstens als den *Primus inter pares* einer Koalition autonomer Stammländer anzusehen haben, aus welcher sich erst im Laufe der XII. Dynastie nachträglich das Feindland 'K'sh' konstituiert hatte. Hiernach wäre dann zur Zeit des beginnenden mittleren Reiches 'K's' noch ein territorial eng begrenztes Stammland auf dem Gebiete der sogenannten D-Gruppen-Kultur gewesen. Geographisch entspricht diesem von Anfang her autonomen Stammland die nachmalige Provinz 'Barkal', die wir somit als historischen Ausgangspunkt des späteren Kaschitenreiches anzusehen hätten. Von einer raumfüllenden Masse kaschitischer Bevölkerung ist also sicher keine Rede gewesen, sondern es muss das spätere Grossreich auf *politischem* Wege erwachsen sein, getragen von einer Minderheit sozial privilegierter, weil kulturell überlegener Stammadelsträger. Als solche treten uns auch die spätesten Äthiopen der Meroiten-Zeit immer wieder deutlich entgegen. Was diese Dinge aber mit dem vorderasiatischen Richtungswort 'Kūsh' für die heutige Linguistik als Stammvater einer bestimmt sehr heterogenen Zwangsverbindung von 'kuschitischen' Völkern und Sprachen zu tun haben soll, bleibt nach wie vor unverständlich, ins solange man nicht weiss, welche Art von Sprache jenen Kaschiten evolutionsgerecht zukam⁸.

Mit der kaschitischen Sprache hatte es aber, wie schon erwähnt, etwas auf sich. Die meroitische Schrift repräsentiert nämlich auf den ersten Blick bereits ein sogenanntes 'halb-defektives' Alphabet von 20 – (ursprünglich 21) – Konsonatenzeichen und zu diesen drei Hilfselemente zu gelegentlicher Vokalandeutung. Aus den wenigen und zufälligen Vergleichs-Namen bei der ersten Entzifferung entsprang nun die Vorstellung, dass die äthiopische Schrift nur die drei Vokale *ē, e, i*, unterschied, während *a* graphisch unausgedrückt blieb. Von der Existenz eines *o* und *u* und entsprechender Länge aber zeigte jene Schrift nicht die geringste Spur. In Ermangelung weiterer Schlussmöglichkeiten über diese seltsame Erscheinung blieb nichts Anderes übrig, als sich ein akademisches Lese-System zurechtzulegen, 'als ob' jene Sprache nur *a, ē, e, i* als Vokale gekannt hätte, und dementsprechend zu transkribieren. Für Aussenstehende allerdings, welche die Vorstellung von der wirklichen Sprache brauchten, musste solche akademische Abstraktion höchst befremdlich wirken. Der Anblick von Namen wie z.B: **Mala-tekeli, Kaziqē, Kelqeli, Makeshakhe, Mapētawe**, etc. etc., konnte ja unwillkürlich die Vorstellung aufkommen lassen, die alten Äthiopen seien vielleicht irgendwelche urzeitlich nach Afrika verschlagene Indianer oder dgl. gewesen. Von dieser Sprache führte sichtlich kein leitender Faden zu den Sprachen des heutigen Sudan.

Bei all dem musste jedoch Jedem klar werden, dass das kaschitische Schriftsystem bestimmt einen anderen Zweck gehabt haben musste, als den, Vokal-Färbungen graphisch festzuhalten. Nach der akademischen Lesung hätte ja der Gott *Usire* bei den Äthiopen **Ashēri** geheissen; *Rom* müsste dort **Arēme** genannt worden sein; auch das einzige damals bekannte Äthiopenwort **ettō** 'Wasser' erschien in der Schrift konsequent als **atē**; der Name der Göttin **Marāk** (Mutter des Gottes ***Manḏū-l**) – zeigt das Schriftbild **Mrēk**, u. dgl. Somit verbirgt sich hinter dem graphischen *ē* fallweise auch die Reihe der Vokale *ī, ō* und *ū*. Damit erweist sich von selbst, dass jenes Schriftsystem sich gar nicht um Vokalfärbungen gekümmert hatte, sondern höchstens um Andeutung

⁸ Nachdem es sich bei den 'Kuschiten-Sprachen' um eine ganz besonders typische syntaktische Struktur handelt, welcher, wie erwähnt, nicht nur Amharisch, sondern auch Nubisch erlegen war, so müsste man bei Kaschitisch erwarten, dass eben hier die Wurzel jener Erscheinung zu suchen sei. Darum ist die Erkenntnis dieser Sprache von Hauptinteresse für vorliegendes Thema.

der Vokal-*länge* bemüht war, im Gegensatz zu den Kurzvokal-Andeutungen der beiden andern Zeichen⁹. Auf jeden Fall aber erschien es gewiss, dass derart überliefertes schriftliches Sprachgut von jeder Sprachvergleichen ausscheiden musste. Transkribiertes Kaschitisch gab es nicht und damit schien die Griffith'sche Entzifferung praktisch für die Sprachwissenschaft wertlos.

Eine der phänomenalsten Entdeckungen für die Weiterentwicklung an der Materialien Griffith's war nun, wie wir heute ermessen können, die von G. A. Reisner beobachtete Erscheinung, dass innerhalb der hieroglyphisch wiedergegebenen Namen der alten Äthiopienkönige von Napata, die natürlich vielfach *einheimisch* waren, gewisse Wörter mit ägyptischem Sinn-Determinativ versehen worden sind. So erkannte Reisner alsbald, dass da die ägyptisch geschriebene Lautgestalt eines Wortes, welches das ägyptische Determinativ *nfr* 'gut' nach sich hatte, lautlich zu einem schon von Griffith mit dieser Sinnbedeutung erschlossenen, häufigen Epithet der meroitisch geschriebenen Texte passte¹⁰.

Untersuchung weiterer Äthiopiennamen auf solche Schriebgewohnheit förderte dann noch drei Nomina und zwei verbale Ausdrücke zu Tage, welche durch ihr ägyptisches Determinativ sinngemäss zu erfassen waren. Es waren das die Wörter für 'Kopf', 'Sohn' und 'Nachkommenschaft', sowie die Ausdrücke für 'bleibend, dauernd' und 'liebend'. Ihre Lautgestalt lag ägyptisch geschrieben fest. Da die so gewonnenen Vokabeln auch in meroitisch geschriebenen Personennamen lautlich aufschienen und dort sinngehend wirkten, so war durch die Reisner'sche Entdeckung erwiesen, dass die Sprache der älteren Äthiopien *identisch* war mit der der Meroiten-Zeit.

Da sich die Königs- und Adels-Namen beider Perioden als vielfach theophoren Charakters und syntaktisch meist als kurze Nominal- oder Verbal-Sätze erwiesen, kam die Natur der Sprache und ihrer Elementarstruktur lautlich mehr und mehr ins Gesichtsfeld, so dass sich eine gewisse *Copia verborum* ansammelte. Mit diesen versehen wurde es einerseits möglich, die grossen zusammenhängenden Texte epigraphischen Inhalts anzugehen, andererseits aber dem sprachlichen Zusammenhang der gewonnenen Einzelwörter mit dem lok. Sprachgut von heute nachzuspüren. Mehr und mehr stellte sich auch heraus, dass das *Altnubische* zahlreiche Ausdrücke der Verwaltung und des staatlichen Lebens als *Lehngut* von Äthiopien aufgenommen hatte, was bis dahin unbekannt war. All diese Dinge wirkten zusammen, um schliesslich inhaltlich mehr und mehr Verständnis textlicher Zusammenhänge zu gewinnen, so dass es bald möglich wurde, den Grundriss der Grammatik des Kaschitischen zu erhalten¹¹. So ist es heute bereits so weit, in vielen Fällen schon rein sprachlich zu beurteilen, was am Kaschitischen 'Kuschitisch' ist, und was nicht.

⁹ Die ersten tastenden Versuche zur Feststellung des Sprachlichen cf. Zyhlarz, 'Das meroitische Sprachproblem'. *Anthropos*, Revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique, xxv, 1930.

¹⁰ G. A. Reisner, 'Preliminary report on the Harvard-Boston excavations at Nûri', *HAS*, II, p. 41. [The African Department of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918.]

¹¹ Die Versuche, dem Sprachcharakter des Kaschitischen näher zu kommen, mit erstmaliger Probe-Interpretation eines zusammenhängenden Textes liegen in obenerwähnter Studie E. Zyhlarz, 'Das meroitische Sprachproblem', l.c. vor. Seit 1953 liegt eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der kasch. Grammatik zum Druck mit Texten, Kommentar und Glossar (fertig Teil I-II), betitelt: 'Die Kaschitische Sprache von Napata-Meroë'. Der hierfür nötige Typendruck und die sonst verbundenen Kosten, etc., verbieten im Augenblick, die Bearbeitung eines den Interessen deutscher Benützer so fern abliegenden archäologischen Gebietes fortzusetzen.

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

Im Nachfolgenden soll nun eine kursorische Skizze der Hauptmerkmale dieser bisher ungreifbaren Sprache Altäthiopiens vorgeführt werden u. zw. mit Rücksicht auf den aussenstehenden allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaftler in *approximativ* erschliessbarer Lautgestalt.

(a) LAUTLICHES

Nachdem das vermittelnde Schrift-Instrument der Meroitenzeit aus der *demotischen* Schrift Ägyptens entwickelt worden war, gab es da keine Möglichkeit, stimmhafte Dentale und Dorsale graphisch zu unterscheiden von stimmlosen Lauten entsprechender Art, weil die Ägypter selbst nur Stimmlose kannten. Gelegentliche Transskriptionen, etc., verraten aber, dass das Kaschitische Stimmhafte gar wohl besessen hat. Da ferner die ägyptische Schrift kein Mittel besass, Konsonantenlänge (d.i. Doppelkonsonanz gleicher Art) graphisch zu markieren, so musste auch die Meroitenschrift auf solche Markierung verzichten. Die wirkliche Sprache jedoch besass auch gelängte Konsonanten. Wir müssen uns also damit abfinden, dass die Schrift uns bloss 17 einfache Konsonanten zeigt, vermehrt durch Markierung von Vokalstellen, wo es die Fixierung des Wortbildes erfordert hatte; ansonst gilt, wie schon erwähnt, das Prinzip defektiver, d.h. vokalloser Wortschreibung.

Was den Vokalismus selbst betrifft, so sind wir nach Ausweis einzelner Transskriptionen imstande festzustellen, dass das Schema des Schriftbildes mit dem gesprochenen Lautbilde, was Vokalposition und Quantität betrifft, konkordiert. Da es sich aber, wie man deutlich merkt, um eine Sprache mit *labiler* Vokalbehandlung – (also ähnlich wie Ägyptisch, Semitisch, etc.) – dreht, mit Stammvokalwechsel, Enttonung u. dgl., so ergeben sich naturgemäss auch leichte Abweichungen von dem, was das starr scheinende Schriftbild vermuten lassen würde. Zudem genügte in bestimmten Fällen nicht, den Ort des Vokals zu wissen, sondern man benötigte noch einen zweiten, u. zw. syntaktischen Vokal-Index, den man graphisch durch das Zeichen der Interjektion '**i!*' andeutete, um Missverständnisse der Lesung zu vermeiden. Zu einem einigermaßen klaren Sinnausdruck des Kontextes gehörten in der Sprache fünf unterschiedliche *i*-Suffixe, welche dem syntaktischen Zusammenhang erst verständlichen Ausdruck gaben. Diese Fälle sind:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (1) Vokativischer Anruf. | (4) Possessivsuffix der 1. Pers. sing. |
| (2) Subjekts-Index im Nominalsatz. | (5) Adjektivische Ableitung (Nisbe). |
| (3) Indirektes Objekt. | |

Ohne solche Markierung wäre Vieles dem Leser syntaktisch zwei- oder mehr-deutig geblieben, da diese vokalischen Suffixe zum Verständnis unerlässlich waren.

(b) NOMINA

Eine Auswahl bereits greifbarer Nominal-Bezeichnungen kann gleichzeitig als Unterlage für Nachweis der Sprachverwandtschaft dienen:

* apa 'Vater'	* abar 'Mann'
* ende 'Mutter'	* kandi 'Weib'
* taḏōḥa 'Gattin'	* ayi 'Seele'
* terik.ke 'Gatte'	* hamō 'Kopf'
* taḏōḥa-li 'Mutterkind'	* biti 'Gesicht'
* terik.ke.li 'Vaterkind'	* bel 'Auge'
* mate 'Sohn'	* ab 'Mund'
* mate-kandi 'Tochter'	* uluk 'Ohr'
* wil 'Bruder'	* iy 'Hand'
* wik-kandi 'Schwester'	* tak 'Fuss'

KUSH

*śaḥ 'Kuh'
 *le 'Schaf'
 *ḥa 'Milch'
 *śar 'Korn'
 *lōt 'Gemüse'
 *ata 'Brot' (äg.)
 *erpe.ke 'Wein'

*mak 'Gott'
 *mak-kaṇḍi 'Göttin'
 *paḥi 'Tempel'
 *bak-ḳō 'Sakralgut'
 *onnet 'Priester' (äg.)
 *śaśō.r 'Tempelschreiber'
 *toḥo.nde 'Opferalter'
 *etpō 'Opfergaben' (äg.)
 *ḳar 'Gebetsformel'

*aḍ 'Land'
 *aḍ-bali 'Wüste'
 *wa 'Territorium, Boden'
 *tal 'Stadt'
 *yer 'Wasser'
 *(y)ettō 'Flusswasser'
 *andē 'Katarakt'

*ḳēre 'König v. Meroë' ('Rufer')
 *nis 'König von Kash' (äg.)
 *psintī 'Nachkomme d. Prinzen von Kash' (äg.-äth.)
 *akrūrī 'kgl. Amtsträger'
 *agende 'Prokurator'
 *urō 'Basiliskos' (äg.)
 *ponn.ena 'Gouverneur' (äg.-äth.)
 *mete 'Phylarch'
 *te.ide 'Anordnung, Gesetz'

Adjektivische Ausdrücke jeglicher Bildung treten unmittelbar *hinter* das näher zu bestimmende Nomen. Es heisst also *ettō mlū 'gutes Wasser', *mak kende 'fürsorgender Gott', *Pi.laḳ ḳō 'das heilige Philae', *Aritinyi Tergi-li 'der zu Tergis gehörende Gott A'.

Das Kaschitische zeigt gewöhnlich nur die *Genus*-Bezeichnung des sogenannten *natürlichen* Geschlechts durch Nachsetzung des (adjektivischen) Nisbe-Nomens *kaṇḍ.i 'weiblich, Weib,' eine Ausdrucksweise, welche dem Ägyptischen nur spät und ganz vereinzelt zugewachsen ist. Reste eines *grammatischen* Geschlechts lassen eine alte Feminin-Endung -ī jedoch auch im Kaschitischen noch vermuten.

Determiniert wird das kaschitische Nomen durch ein (ursprünglich demonstratives) Suffix -l: *maša 'Sonne', det. Maša-l 'der Sonnengott', *(y)ettō-l 'der Nil', *aḍ-bali-l 'das Wüstenland'. Beim adjektivisch bestimmten Nomen tritt dieser 'Artikel' hinter das Adjektiv, wie *pawide mlū-l 'der gute Herrscher', *Wise ḳō-l 'die lehre Isis', *Ōr awide-l 'der ältere Hor' (Haroeris).

Plural-Bildung erfolgt an Menschen und grossen Dingen durch ein nachgestelltes Pronomen *abe 'sie', welches *enklitisch* an das Nomen (determiniert und nicht-determiniert), herantritt: *kēr-ābe 'Könige', *aḍ-ābe 'Länder', *bak.ḳō-be 'Sakralgüter', det. *mak-l.eb 'die Götter', *kaṇḍi-l.eb 'die Frauen', *ḳar-l.eb 'die Aussprüche', etc.¹². Bei Einzeldingen dient der Singular als kollektivtypischer Plural.

Rektion in der Genetivverbindung besteht einzig nach der Folge Regens—Rectum. Das Rectum ist syntaktisch ein adjektivisch stehender Ausdruck mit dem (rückweisenden) Relativ-Suffix -s (-sa), welcher an sich selbst als Nomen gebraucht werden kann. Im Falle der genetivische Rektion steht dieses relat. Suffix enklitisch reduziert, z.B. *mas ḳēri-s 'Offizier des Königs', *mantar wa-s 'Grenzort des Landes', *mate anḳ-ābe-s 'ein Sohn von Adeligen'.

(c) PRONOMINA

Personal-Pronomina treten absolut, als Subjekt von Nominalsätzen etc., in nachstehender Form auf: 1. Pers. sing. *wi, 2. Pers. sing. *kay, 3. Pers. sing. masc. *śu, fem. *śi; 1. Pers. plur. *anū (anō?), 2. Pers. plur. -(unbelegt) -, 3. Pers. plur. *abe.

¹² Überrest dieses kaschitischen Plurals dürfte die heute noch bei Bedja und Nubiern gebräuchliche Endung -āb als Bezeichnung des Stammkollektivs sein, wie: Ḥannik-āb, Mitkin-āb, Gezn-āb, Bodjw-āb etc. etc.

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

Bemerkenswert hieran ist ausser der sehr archaischen Form (verglichen mit den ältesten ägyptischen Typen), die Unterscheidung des *grammatischen Geschlechts*¹³.

Bei possessivem Gebrauch trat das Personalpronomen (wie im Ägyptischen) enklitisch hinter das zugehörige Nomen unter entsprechender lautlicher Verkürzung; Beispiele: ***mak-i** 'mein Gott', ***taka-k** 'dein Leben', ***ayi-ś** 'seine Seele' u.s.w. (2. plur. einmal *-**kana** oder *-**kna** belegt).

Demonstrativ-Pronomina kennen wir bisher nur singularisch u.zw. **p** 'dieser' und **t** 'diese' (fem.), vermutlich ***po** und ***to** vokalisiert.

Relativ-Pronomen zeigt sich im Kaschitischen in der Gestalt eines neutrischen Suffix-Elementes *-**wi**, z.B. ***mete-lō-wi** 'welcher Phylarch ist'. Sein Gebrauch ist sehr häufig und formt auch relative Verbalnomina.

Ein *indefinites* Pronomen ***ye** fungiert häufig als Kopula in Nominalsätzen, wie z.B. ***Wise Mikhe ye** 'Isis ist Mikhe' (d.i. Göttin des Reichtums); ***Ḥara Mandū ye** 'Ḥara ist Mandū' (d.h. identisch mit ***Mandū-l**). Es dient also sichtlich zum Ausdruck der *Identität*.

Hierher gehört auch die häufige Kopula ***lō**, zur Feststellung einer *Tatsache*, wie z.B. ***mlū-lō** 'er ist gut', ***a-kra-lō** 'es ist, ich habe rezitiert'. (Diese kaschitische Partikel ist auch in den, wie wir heute sehen können, stark kaschitisierten Litteratur-Dialekt des Alt-Nubischen eingedrungen.)

(d) KONJUGATION

Das Grundsystem des verbalen Ausdrucks im Kaschitischen basiert auf der Präfigierung eigener Verbalpronomina vor die Verbalwurzel. Dieselben sind:

Singular		Plural	
3.m.	y- . . .	3.m.	y- . . . -b
3.f.	t- . . .	3.f.	(unbelegt)
2.c.	t- . . .	2.c.	(unbelegt)
1.	'- . . .	1.	n- . . .

Hieraus wird ersichtlich, dass wir im Kaschitischen mit dem selben System der Konjugation zu rechnen haben, wie wir es längst auf dem Boden des Semitischen, des Libyschen sowie am 'starken' Verbum des Bedaue und Saho kennen. Es ist nur ein sichtlich eigener Typ der gleichen Sprachentwicklung.

Unter der Decke des defektiven Schriftsystems bleibt, bis auf vereinzelte Sonderfälle, verborgen, dass es sich dabei nicht um ein einziges Thema der Konjugation handelt, sondern dass wir es zumindest mit *drei* modalen Themen bei *labiler* Vokalisation zu tun haben. Eines dieser Themata, u.zw. mit optativisch-jussivem Sinn, war durch ein betontes -**ō** am Schlusse des Verbalstammes gekennzeichnet; zum Verbum ***take** 'leben' lautete die 3.p.m. des Singulars ***yi-tkō** 'er soll leben'; desgleichen im Passiv – (sogar in der Schrift gekennzeichnet!) – ***yi-ni,tkō** 'er soll belebt sein'. In den beiden andern Themen werden wir wohl nur die Formen des (vokalisch unterschiedenen) perfektischen und imperfektischen Ausdrucks zu sehen haben.

Wie im Semitischen erscheinen auch im Kaschitischen die verbalen Grundstämme durch bestimmte Präfixe erweitert, so *Kausativ* durch ***śi-**, *Passiv* durch ***ni-** und *Reflexiv* durch ***t-**. Diese Stammerweiterungen sind schon seit 25 Jahren bekannt. (Meinhof).

¹³ Zu bemerken ist hier, dass bei den Kaschiten *Götter* und *Tote* ohne Unterschied des Geschlechts als *Maskuline* behandelt werden. (Letztere, weil Jeder, Mann oder Frau, nach dem Tode *Osiris* geworden ist!)

Das Kaschitische besass noch eine spezielle Form für den Ausdruck der Dauer (Permansivum) durch Konstruktion des Nomen actionis mit den possessiven Personal-suffixen als Prädikat von Aussage-Sätzen, z.B. ***oröse.li taka-k** 'ruhmreich (ist) dein Leben', ***ḏimme-ś aḥide** 'sein Zufriedensein (ist) vorteilbringend' u. ä., wo wir eher sagen würden: 'ruhmvoll hast Du gelebt' resp. 'Ist er zufrieden, so ist es gut' (scil., für die Umwelt).

Eine besondere Situation am Kaschitenverbum zeigt sich aber darin, dass nirgends eine Spur von verbalem 'Trikonsonantismus' vorhanden ist. Die Sprache hat lauter einsilbige (ein- und zweiradikalige) Verbalstämme, abgesehen natürlich von ägyptischem Sprachgut. Dafür besitzt die kaschitische Sprache die Möglichkeit, durch eine Reihe von Suffix-Erweiterungen Nominal- und Verbalstämme begrifflich zu modifizieren und den so radikal vermehrten Stamm von drei, vier und mehr Konsonanten nunmehr durchzukonjugieren. Durch solche erweiternde Suffixe wie ***-s(a)**, ***-ke**, ***-te**, ***-ḏe**, ***-nyi**, ***-we**, ***-le** u. a. m. an einem ein- oder zweiradikaligem Wortstamm erwuchs damit die Basis für drei- und mehrradikalige Verba. An sich bestand ja ohnehin die Möglichkeit, ein nominales Kompositum einfach durch das entsprechende Verbalpräfix zu verbifizieren, wie z.B. ***Aman napate . . . *ye-tak.ide-sa-lō** 'Amun von Napata . . . es ist, er hat Belebung' d.h. Amuns Sache ist es, Belebung zu gewähren. (Meroë 7, lin. 13-14). Das zweiradikalige Verbum ***take** 'leben' hat sich auf diesem Wege zu einem nominal erweiterten Verbalstamm ***√tk.d-** ausgewachsen. Diese Erscheinung bildet ein Charakteristikon kaschitischer Verbalphrase.

Am besten zeigt sich der Gegensatz zum streng gebundenen Verbalstamm des Semitischen darin, dass z.B. das Objekts-Pronomen der 1. Person sing. ***-ni** 'mir, mich' im Kaschitischen noch durch solche syntaktische Elemente von der eigentlichen Verbalform *getrennt* auftreten kann, wie z.B. ***yi-baḥe-sa-ni** 'er hat mir darzubringen' (Meroë 9. lin. 12 und bei pluralem Subjekt ***yi-baḥe.b-sa-ni** 'sie haben mir darzubringen' (Meroë 8 a, b, lin. 4-5).

Derartige Merkmale verraten, dass das Kaschitische noch aus einer *vorsemitischen* Entwicklungsstufe gestammt hat, in welcher der starre Trikonsonantismus noch nicht fixiert gewesen war. Wir haben es also mit einem ansonst historisch nicht mehr greifbaren *Frühstadium* semitischer Sprachentwicklung zu tun.

Um ein *ungefähres* Bild vom eigentlich Sprachlichen im Kontext vor Augen zu führen, sollen hier noch zwei einfache, strukturell durchsichtige Sätze zur Anschauung kommen:

***šad.atTmīt Wise tew-webbi-te-l lō.** (Griffith, Inscr. 75-9-10).
'(Steuer-) Herrin des Nordlandes ist die Isis vom heiligen Berg'.

***twist-i Pakhōpe a-šo**

yindī Arendote Tebwe-te-l-le a-kra lō. (Ibid. Inscr. 125).

'Dieses Proskynema, das ich P. geschrieben, habe ich heute vor Harendotes von Bigga rezitiert'.

Schon der äusserliche Habitus der kaschitischen Sprache verrät auf den ersten Blick, dass diese Art Sprache heute weder im Gebiete des Nil-Sudan, noch auch im Raume der nordabessinischen Hochländer existiert. Sie kann daher in keiner Weise als historisches Bindeglied für die 'Kuschitisch' sprechenden Völkerstämme gelten. Fehlen ihr ja doch nahezu alle Kriterien, welche den Typ der seit Reinisch immer als

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

'hamitisch' angesehenen Agau-Sprachen sowie der Kafa-Gonga-Gruppe bilden, ganz zu schweigen von den südöstlichen 'Osthorn-Sprachen', wo selbst jeder Rand-Kontakt mit dem altäthiopischen Reiche von Kasch ausser Frage liegt.

Neben dieser rein negativen Erkenntnis aber gewinnt man doch *einen* nunmehr unabweislichen Sprachkontakt der historischen Kaschiten-Sprache mit einer eng umrissenen Gruppe von Sprachen, welche man immer als 'nieder-kuschitisch' zu bezeichnen pflegte, und deren Verbalbau mit zwei pronominalen Präfix-Themen immer stark an Semitisch erinnert hat, ohne dass es darin noch ein für Stufe II charakteristisches Suffix-Perfektum gibt. Es sind das die beiden Sprachen *Bedauye* und *Sahō* mit seinen Varianten im Raume der Völkerstämme zwischen Nil und der Küste des roten Meeres. Eben hierhin weisen auch die bereits erkennbaren vokabularischen Elemente des Kaschitischen, ohne dass die Sprache sonst dem Syntaktisch-morphologischen jener beiden Idiome adäquat wäre. Hier fehlte es eben an geschichtlichem Einblick.

Mit der Entdeckung des kaschitischen Sprachtyps gewinnen wir nun für den erythräischen Raum des Nil-Sudan eine Reihe von Aspekten bezüglich Sprach- und Völkergeschichte daselbst.

I. *Alt-Epoche* (ca. 3000-2270 v. Chr.)

Das der Halbinsel Arabien gegenüberliegende afrikanische Küstengebiet, besonders aber die Landschaften des rechten Nilufers, wies dazumal sicher eine relativ dichte Bevölkerung von Jägerstämmen, etc., unterschiedlicher Art auf. Ihre, uns heute nicht mehr greifbare Sprache resp. ihre. Sprachen hinterliessen in den Idiomen späterer Neuankömmlinge den bisher rätselhaften 'Erythräischen Komplex' (Voranstehendes Adjektiv—Genetiv: Rektum-Regens—Postpositionen—Starres Nominalverbum mit Modal-Suffixen) Ähnlich lagen die Dinge auch im Raume der südlichen Hochländer.

II. *Kaschiten-Epoche a* (ca. 2270-1970 v. Chr.)

Altstämme Südarabiens für deren Viehzucht die Länder Erythräis geradezu ideale Bedingungen boten, hatten sich zwischen 4. und 3. Katarakt sesshaft gemacht, unter ihnen die Stämme *Khasa* und *K'as*. Ihre mitgebrachte und ausgebaute Kultur (Elemente: Sippen-Gehöfte, Angareb, Handelsverkehr, Schmiedehandwerk, Massen-Beisetzung im Häuptlingsgrab) ist bekannt als sogenannte D-Gruppe. Die Sprache dieser Stämme ist litterarisch nicht erfassbar, doch zeigt die nachmalige Sprache der Kaschiten, dass jene Neuankömmlinge am mittleren Nil wohl alle aus dem damals noch nicht zum Volltyp semitischer Sprachentwicklung gelangten Altgebiet Südarabiens gekommen waren. Der starke Handel mit reinen Jagdprodukten (Elfenbein, Leopardenfelle, Straussfedern, etc.) sowie der Export von Oasenprodukten und Sklaven verrät die politische Herrenstellung jener protosemitischen Altsudan-Stämme.

III. *Kaschiten-Epoche b* (ca. 2000-1085 v. Chr.)

Das Kaschitenreich von Napata gerät unter koloniale Oberherrschaft Ägyptens. Als Handels- und Verkehrssprache entwickelt sich bis zum 4. Katarakt ein eigenes Sudan-Ägyptisch. Während dieser Zeit waren im nord-erythräischen Wüstenland weitere, zahlenmässig nicht sehr starke Südaraber-Stämme heimisch geworden und dominierten unter Vermischung über die dortigen Bodenstämme. Ihr mitgebrachtes semitisches Idiom stand bereits auf der Stufe I der semitischen Sprachentwicklung (voll-trikonsonantisch; zwei Präfixthemata, fehlendes Perfektum). Die Syntax

KUSH

wich jedoch dem Denksystem der eingeborenen 'Erythräer'. Ihre Nachkommen wurden die nachmaligen *Buga* und heutigen Bedja einerseits, sowie die heutigen Sahō-Stämme andererseits. Erwerbszweig blieb Viehzucht; zur 'Kultur'-Entwicklung war kein Raum gegeben.

Während der 2. Hyksosdynastie (Ende 17. Jhdt. v. Chr. -1557) war der Kaschitenstaat von Ägypten frei, und scheint eine grosse Expansion nach dem Süden der *Erythräis* vorgenommen zu haben. Daher die erythräischen Länder des 'schuftigen' Kasch in der Liste Thutmosis III (s.o.). Jene Samhar-Länder mussten, nach Ausweis der Struktur der 'hochkuschitischen' Sprachen, ein alter Aufmarschraum von südarabischen Stämmen mit Dialekten der Stufe I des Semitischen gewesen sein, deren Assimilation an die alt 'erythräische' Urbevölkerung ungleich stärker gewesen sein mochte, als im Raume der 'Niederkuschiten'. Daher ist bei ihnen die semitische Präfix-Konjugation nur noch *rudimentär* in den Hilfsverben erhalten und der Typ des 'starken' Verbums ansonst gänzlich geschwunden. So war der Sprachtyp der 'Agau'-Sprachen im abessinischen Hochland entstanden. Dieser sonst historisch nicht näher zu beleuchtende Ablauf hatte sich aber stets *ausserhalb* des kaschitischen Äthiopienreiches abgespielt. (Illustriert durch die doppelte Volkstypen Darstellung der Leute von *Pyene*, Dêr el-Bahari: Häuptlings-Typ mit Strähnen-Frisur und 'Götterbart', Untertanen-Typ mit abgestuftem 'Titus'-Kopf und bartlos.)

IV. Kaschiten-Epoche c (ca. 1085 v. Chr.-361 n. Chr.)

Nationaler Aufstieg des unabhängigen Kaschitenstaates—Herrschaft über Ägypten (715-663 v. Chr.)—Rückschlag und Stagnation als alleinige Grossmacht im Sudan von Philae bis Meroë und die Erythräis. Konkurrenz der Dynastielinien von Napata und Meroë; zeitweise Doppelreich (-23. v. Chr.). Von ausserkaschitischen Völkern im Sudan erfahren wir nur, dass im Laufe des 1. Jhdts. v. Chr. die *Nubier* des linksseitigen 'Tewawi' (Unteräthiopien) die Gottessteuer an die Isis 'im heiligen Berg' zu entrichten hätten. [Eratosthenes kannte sie im 2. Jhdt. noch als unabhängig von Äthiopien.] (Griffith, Inscr. Nr. 75.) Die Zerstörung des ägyptisch-äthiopischen Zentralheiligtums des 'Amün im heil. Berg' durch die Römer verlagerte das theokratische Zentrum des Reiches für immer nach Meroë. Amün-Tempel in Meroë, erbaut durch König Nr. 44-46, ca. 15-20 n. Chr.) Kaschitisch ward nunmehr alleinige Reichssprache des äthiopischen Sudan. Ägyptisch blieb auf den Tempeldienst beschränkt.

Ende des 1. Jhdts. v. Chr. setzten sich die *Sabäer* in Aksûm (Landschaft Tigré) fest, in Aggression gegen die Kaschiten von Meroë. Rückschlag durch den Sieg des älteren Kronprinzen ***Erik.en-harûr** am Gebel Qeili. (König Nr. 44). Ein weiterer Rückschlag für die sabäische Invasion in der Erythräis wurde die Vernichtung der sabäischen Flotte und die Zerstörung des zugehörigen Hafens von Adana durch den arabischen Feldzug von Kaiser Tiberius. (24. n. Chr.) Aksûm blieb damit selbstständig gegenüber dem arabischen Stamm- und gleichzeitig Invasionsgebiet semitischer Sprache der Stufe II in den Hochlandgebieten, solange bis die anfängliche Kolonie gegenüber dem sabäischen Südarabien zum Oberherren angewachsen war. (Mitte des 3. Jhdts. n. Chr.) Nur das theokratische Ansehen des Kāsû-Reiches von Meroë überwog noch bei den altansässigen Stämmen der Erythräis gegenüber dem aksumitischen Neu-Reiche. Endlich aber kam es zur ernstlichen Auseinandersetzung mit Meroë in einem fünfjährigen Feldzug Aksûms (320-25), welcher Meroë zwar seine Herrschaft im Nil-Sudan belies, aber jede

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

Aksûm feindliche Koalition verbot¹⁴. Nicht lange vorher war ja der Blemmyerfürst *Hara-Mandû-ye durch den König von Meroë als Hüter der Flussenge Bâb el-Kal'a-Bšē und zum Prokurator des Nordlandes im Raume von Primis—Tergis—Selele eingesetzt worden, so dass Äthiopien nun von Römisch-Ägypten isoliert und gesichert war. (Griffith, Inscr. Nr. 94.) Solche Manöver wünschte sich Aksûm nicht. Als dann aber die bekannte Nubier-Politik des letzten Königs von Meroë einsetzte, kam es zum Feldzug Aizāna's von Aksûm gegen Meroë (360–61), welcher dem kaschitischen Sudanreich ein schnelles und nachhaltiges Ende machte¹⁵.

Schon dieser noch sehr lückenhafte Überblick über die Geschichte des alt-äthiopischen Nil-Sudans verrät uns, dass das kaschitische Reich und seine Sprache ganz und gar keinen Schlüssel für die Konstruktion eines einheitlichen Ursprungs der 'Kuschitisch' sprechenden Völker zu liefern imstande ist. Dieses ehrwürdige Grossreich bildete sogar durch die Zeit seines Bestandes hindurch ein politisches *Hindernis* dafür, dass der 'kuschitische' Sprachtyp, wie er sich am Rand und auswärts des Äthiopienreichs vielfach herausgebildet hatte, zum herrschenden Typ im Raum der Nil-Sudan-Länder geworden ist. Wie stark der geistige Druck des 'kuschitischen' Komplexes gewesen war, das erkennt man noch daraus, dass das ganz andersstämmige Nubisch zur Zeit des Altnubischen *noch* die Genetivstellung Regens—Rectum besessen hatte, dieselbe aber alsbald zugunsten der Position Rectum—Regens aufgegeben hat.

Es steht also zu erwarten, dass bei hoffentlich mehr und mehr steigendem Interesse für die Erforschung des Kaschitischen zwei sprachgeschichtlich-ethnologische Probleme einer endlichen Erkenntnis und Klärung zugeführt werden können: Das eine Problem ist die Verarbeitung der litterarischen Denkmäler des Kaschitenreiches zur Klärung der historischen Stellung dieser Sprache zum Semitischen. Das zweite Problem aber ist die Konkordanz-Untersuchung jener 'Kuschiten'-Sprachen, welche noch deutliche Spuren eines tragenden oder weichenden Substrats alter Semiten-Invasoren mit Semitisch der Stufe I zeigen. Was dann bei dieser Sonderung übrigbleibt, kann hernach als Basis für die eigentlich afrikanistische Frage nach dem historischen Träger des hier sogenannten 'erythräischen Komplexes' verwendet werden.

SUMMARY

In accordance with Reinisch and Lepsius, Africanists are accustomed to use the term 'Kushitic' to designate the indigenous languages of some north-eastern tribes inhabiting the countries along the Red Sea coast and some northern districts in the highlands of Abyssinia.

The use of that term seems at first to suggest a well-founded connection with the ancient land-name 'Kūsh'—called 'Ethiopia' by the Greeks—according to our biblical and historical tradition. The biblical 'Kūsh' was a 'son of Ham' and therefore it seemed to be convenient to suppose that all languages, hitherto called 'Hamitic', southwards from Egypt may have been of 'Kushitic' origin.

¹⁴ Conti Rossini, *Storia di Etiopia* I, Milano, 1928, pp. 130–31.

¹⁵ Die Träger des gross-äthiopischen Staates mit ihrem rein *familiar* ausgebautem Ständesystem waren wieder bis auf ihr altes Stammland Barkal zusammengeschrumpft, und führten nach 361 nur mehr ein Schattendasein als verarmte ehemalige Herrenleute gegenüber ihren vormaligen nubischen Prätorianern. Sogar der Titel 'König von Äthiopien' wurde von da an durch den König von Aksum in Anspruch genommen und weiter vererbt.

KUSH

In the time of Lepsius, a number of remarkable inscriptions were found in the area of ancient Ethiopia, which seemed to be written in the still unknown idiom of 'Kush'. According to Lepsius these new materials could perhaps have represented a kind of Old Beja language. In opposition to this hypothesis, Reinisch preferred to see in those fragments of literature remnants of an early Nubian dialect. Both opinions remained at that time without any certain philological support.

In spite of the uncertainty in the points mentioned above, the terms 'Kush' and 'Kushitic' have been willingly accepted by most scholars who were not conversant with the true problem.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, new data have been made available from the ancient Ethiopian inscriptions excavated in Meroë, Karanog, Shablul, Philae, etc., which were then ingeniously deciphered by the famous Egyptologist F. Ll. Griffith (1911-12).

Both the problem of the writing and the problem concerning the contested nature of the language spoken in the ancient 'Kush' were then solved, though with quite a negative result: neither Old Nubian appeared there in the Ethiopian inscriptions, nor Old Bedaue. What one could learn from it was merely a theoretical skeleton of a new and still entirely unknown language, enriched by Egyptian expressions, but unfortunately written in what seems to be a semi-defective alphabet.

Of momentous interest was the impression given by the newly discovered inscriptions that the unknown language could have possessed only the vowels *a*, *e*, *ē* and *i*, as Griffith had supposed. Comparison of the personal and divine names, newly found, with their equivalent in Meroitic letters, brought out the evidence that in the spoken language of Ethiopia vowels like *o*, *ō*, and *ū* must also have existed although they were not indicated in the written language. ('Das meroitische Sprachproblem': *Anthropos* 1930, by the author of the present essay.)

Proof was given too in the same essay, mentioned above, that the special and local stem-name of Ethiopia had evidently been *Ḳś* (egypt. *K'š*). Therefore we should not wonder at the fact that Aksumitic kings were calling the Ethiopians of Meroë by the name *Kās-ū*; nor should we be surprised at the substitution of the Aksumitic *ā* for the vowel *ū* in the Canaanite land-name 'Kūsh', which shows the well-known change of *ā* to *ū*, a development which normally took place in Egyptian pronunciation, especially at the end of the New Kingdom. Indeed the historical root-vowel in the national stem-name of Ethiopia must, according to that observation, have been an *a*. The pronunciation *Kash* seems, therefore, more suitable than the foreign Asiatic form *Kūsh*.

The third and most promising attempt in the above-mentioned essay was to try to find out at least the theoretical tenor of a longer, and apparently narrative, offering text from Philae. Attention was paid first of all to the verbal expressions used in this text, which showed some well-known Semitic characteristics (though the general context of the inscription could hardly reflect a real Semitic language), as they are so far known to historical Semitists today.

In addition to this view, it must be stressed here that one could see from the very syntax in the above-mentioned text from Philae, that the language used in it was not a 'Kushitic' one. Thus it offered no grounds for the general belief that the native idiom of ancient Ethiopia could have been the ancestor of the so-called 'Kushitic' languages.

By reason of these facts, and in order to avoid a further confusion with the fictive term 'Kushitic' languages, it seems to be better to avoid henceforth the term 'Kushitic' altogether and to prefer instead the more correct term 'Kashitic' and to distinguish in this way the native language of Kash from that quite different linguistic group.

DIE FIKTION DER 'KUSCHITISCHEN' VÖLKER

The points discussed in the first part of the essay are continued by a brief grammatical sketch, selected from the results of twenty years' special research on the longer Ethiopian texts, as far as it could be tested by the author of the present essay*. This sketch is to inform the reader of the most important characteristics shown by the Kashitic language. These characteristics are rendered with theoretical vocalization as much as possible.

Our increased knowledge of such matters arose from a continually growing stock of words gathered from the examination of Ethiopian proper names, the foundation of which was the important discovery of G. A. Reisner that some names of early Ethiopian kings were written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, showing the use of common Egyptian determinatives behind some components of these theophoric names. ('Excavations at Nuri VII, *H.A.S.*, 1918). Further comparison of such names to the numerous proper names of the Meroitic epoch proved clearly the fact that the idiom of both was identical. This was due to the fact that such components appeared in the Meroitic names as, for instance, the early determined expressions for 'son', 'head', 'good', 'loving', etc. A number of Kashitic nouns, adjectives, etc. were in this manner ascertained from their syntactical position in nominal sentences. The result of this investigation was the unexpected evidence that the literal dialect of Old Nubian had been largely enriched by Ethiopian terms, especially concerning political life, administration, theology, etc. Such foreign expressions used by writers of Old Nubian literature let us see really vocalized forms of Ethiopian origin.

We hope that this newly gathered Kashitic material may encourage the student to look now for other signs of connections between the recently emerged language of Kash and, for instance, the so-called 'Northern Kushitic' group of languages such as Bedaaye, Saho, Afar, etc. However, with regard to the latter group, one must be careful not to rely on single specimens of their vocabulary as the final test of affinity, especially if one considers the very different grammatical features which separate each member of that group from Kashitic grammar. If there was really a kind of former relation, it must remain limited to the Pre-Semitic features of both philological types, concerning which very little is so far known.

What we do know is that the area of the so-called 'Kushitic' tribes lies right outside the area belonging to the excavated sites of ancient Kush.

What we further know is the fact that the Kashitic territories had always lived in continual defence against the greedy dwellers of the deserts. (See, for instance, the official function, in Meroitic times of the 'pelmiš aḏ-bali-to'—'Commander (strategos) of the deserts'.)

Thirdly, we can conclude that since the roads connecting the deserts along the whole Red Sea coast and the countries of the Middle Nile passed through the kingdom of Kash, its ancient history must be inseparably bound up with that of the Red Sea districts and their tribes, of which we have only little documentary evidence.

In view of these points, there is appended to the present essay a brief historical summary of the main periods of ancient Sudan history, from the first Kashites (*ca.* 2270 B.C.) up to the total destruction of their kingdom (360–61 B.C.).

* *Die Kaschitische Sprache von Napata-Meroe.* Attention of the German Academy of Sciences has been drawn to these matters by the recommendation of the excellent Egyptologist Herm. Junker, to promote if possible publication of the work done. (1952). Lack of sufficient means has delayed for the present completion of the task, which will prove very expensive.

The Sudanese Camel Girth

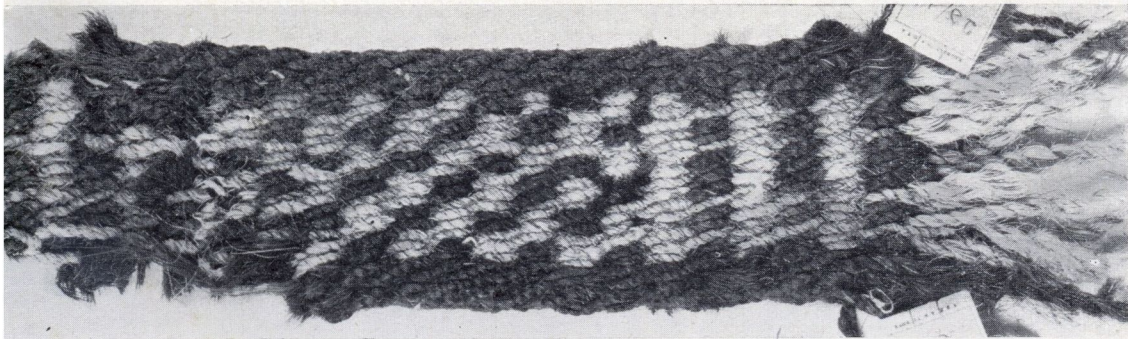
by G. M. CROWFOOT

IN *Sudan Notes and Records* for June, 1951, I gave an account of the making of a double weave camel girth in Khartoum by Sitt Zeinab, a weaver from the Butana, and expressed my surprise at the discovery that so complicated a weave was actually carried out on the simplest of looms with only the aid of one rod heddle, a shed rod, a pair of camel ribs, and a pointed wooden pin. Here I should like to carry the enquiry further and show how the weave compares with other instances of double weaves made on primitive looms, in the past and at the present day. On PLATE II I show a photograph of the Sudanese weaver and a diagram of the way the rib beaters are placed to hold the front and back sheds, which, with the weaving directions on p. 37, should make the character of the weave clear. The warp is set up in pairs, one of each colour, and the pattern appears in reverse on the back of the weave. There is only one weft.

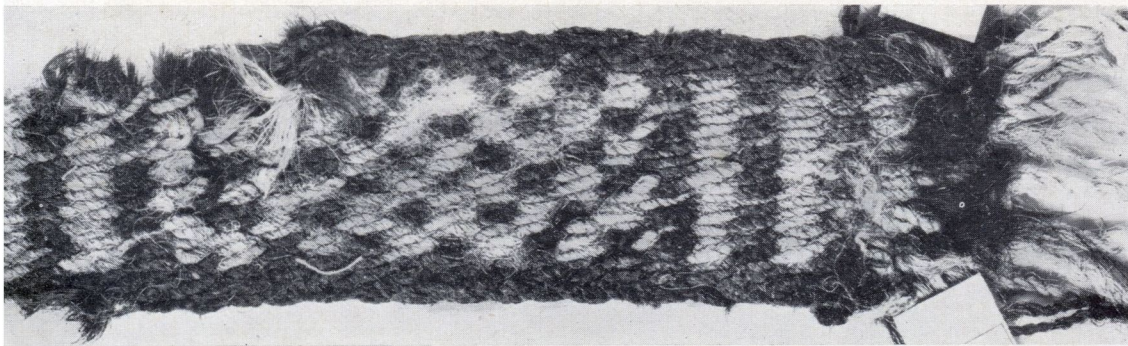
The closest early parallel to the Sudanese weave that I know of is the piece of a girth shown on PLATE I. 1, 2, from The University of Michigan Excavations at Karanis (Kom Aushim) in Egypt, an ancient site on the East bank of Birket Karun, the Lake Moeris of the Greeks. This piece was published with other textiles from Karanis in 1933¹ as 'a band of dark brown and yellow hair with a few threads of red (dyed) woven in bars and checks'. The weave was not described and seems to have been something of a puzzle as the suggestion is made that it might have been 'an ornament, probably for a caparison or hanging'. Struck with the resemblance between the illustration and Beduin weaves, I wrote to the late Dr Orma F. Butler of the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Michigan to ask if the band had a pattern on the back and if so, if it could be a double weave. I received the excellent photograph shown here which leaves no doubt as to the character of the weave. It is rather coarser than the Sudanese example shown with it PLATE I. 3, 4), but the resemblance of the weave is exact and so is part of the pattern, the bars and checks. In the Karanis piece variety is given to the pattern by the four red threads in the warp mentioned above; these cannot be distinguished in the photograph, but are shown in the drawing, FIG. 1. The warp, as in the Sudanese piece, is S-spun, Z-plyed, but the weft is a thick S-twist of two Z-plyed threads.

The textiles of Karanis are not from robes treasured in the coffers of the tombs of ancient kings or from the burial clothes of Coptic Christians, but from the rubbish heaps in the corners of rooms, just pieces of rag, gathered up with care and studied since. Their value is that they have revealed what was being made and worn in that part of the town dated to the late third and early fourth centuries A.D. At this time wool had become more popular than linen; 3450 woollen pieces are recorded, 350 of linen and 100 of hair. There were some of the well-known linens with tapestry borders and roundels in purple or in colours, dark blue, red, green and shades of 'rose, lavender or amethyst'. In addition there were examples in twill, and patterned pieces, listed as drawloom weaves, but which Mr Thomas Midgeley of Bolton, who also examined them,

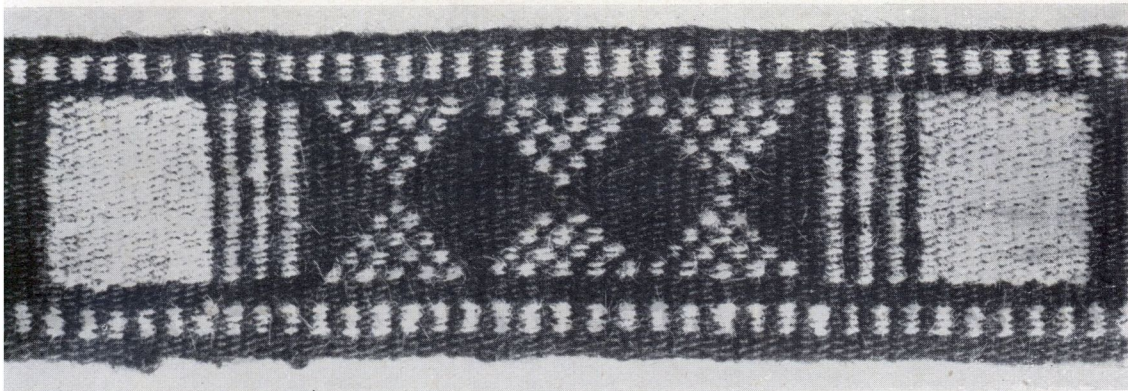
¹ L. M. Wilson, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt*. University of Michigan Studies, pl. x. 121, p. 47.



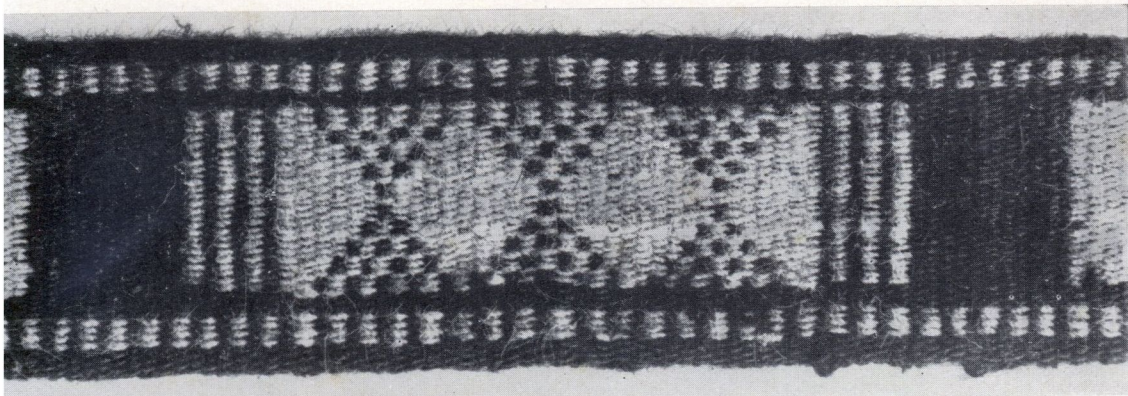
1



2



3



4

1, 2. PIECE OF A GIRTH FROM KARANIS, FRONT AND BACK. 2:3

3, 4. CAMEL GIRTH, NORTHERN SUDAN, FRONT AND BACK. 2:3

By courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan

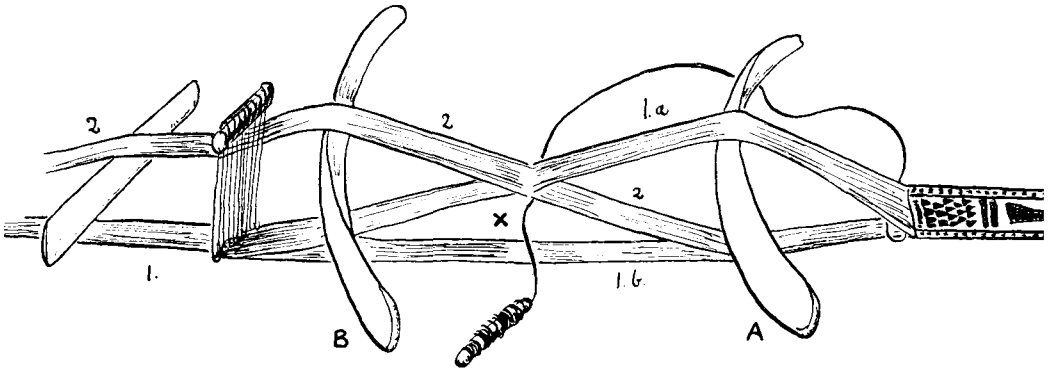
PLATE II



1. SITT ZEINAB WEAVING A CAMEL GIRTH

SUDAN DOUBLE WEAVE

THE CAMEL RIB BEATERS ARE TURNED ON EDGE CAUSING THE LOWER THREADS TO FALL AND MAKE THE BACK SHED.



1. WHOLE OF HEDDLE THREADS. 2. WHOLE OF SHED ROD THREAD
1.a. HALF HEDDLE THREADS 1.b. HALF HEDDLE THREADS.

2. DIAGRAM TO SHOW FRONT AND BACK SHEDS

KUSH

When there is no exchange of threads for pattern, the weave will be hollow, joined only along the edges ; and even when there is exchange of threads, some portions of the pattern may be hollow, while some are tightly interlocked.

The Sudanese camel girth is in Class B b, for the warp alone is visible and it has exchange of threads to make a pattern. It may seem strange that the most famous double weave of antiquity, the Girdle of Rameses⁵, in fine linen of several colours, also falls into this category, though it is a much more complex weave. Although in parts it has four warp threads to form the two layers of the weave, in others it has five, and by means of the extra thread the pattern is enriched, and instead of being in reverse at the back as in the camel girth is identical with that on the front.

We have to go to those master weavers, the people of ancient Peru, to find anything to touch this unique piece. There the first double weaves appeared in the early centuries A.D. among the amazing textiles and embroideries laid with the dead in the Paracas Cavernas. They are of all classes but mainly that in which double warp and double weft make the pattern ; later, as well as double, triple and quadruple cloths were made. Attractive in their variety of designs, they were prized in museums and much discussed long before the method of their making was understood. In 1937, Kurt Hentschel published his study of Peruvian double weaves with examples of his own making⁶. He describes how when he saw these textiles in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde he could not imagine how they had been woven. He could have produced them himself on a Jacquard, but as he remarks, that loom was not invented till 1805. But on a visit to Scandinavia he found that double cloth had been made there in olden days, and country-women in Sweden and Finland still knew the art. They used four heddles on their treadle loom, together with the aid of three wooden rods, one, the ' plocka ' to pick up pattern threads, another, flat, to hold the shed open, and the third, round, to divide off groups of threads. On his return to Berlin, he looked at the textiles there with new eyes. Among them was a modern Huichol loom from Mexico set up for double weave and he realized that of the outfit in place, three rod heddles and a shed rod were the equivalent of the Scandinavian four heddles, and a pointed and a flat stick of the ' plocka ' and the shed opener. He then set up model looms and wove many pieces in imitation of the ancient ones, illustrations of which are in his study together with practical directions for working.

A yet simpler method appears to have been in use among the Mayas. There is a small loom in the British Museum of the Chimu period⁷, with a double weave in brown and white cotton showing an amusing design of cats and scrolls. The loom has two rod heddles and a shed rod and no doubt other rods were used as well. I tried to weave a piece in imitation of this but found it very difficult to manage a pattern that was in both warp and weft instead of only in the warp as in the camel girth.

Designs as complicated as this are still woven in parts of Mexico on the back-strap loom, in which one end of the warp is fastened to a post and the other to the belt of the weaver, and many examples are to be seen in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. In an

⁵ *LAAA*, vol. v, nos. 1 and 2, Thorold D. Lee, ' The Linen Girdle of Rameses III ' ; *LAAA*, vol. x, nos. 1 and 2, G. M. Crowfoot and H. Ling Roth, ' Were the Ancient Egyptians conversant with tablet-weaving ? '

⁶ Kurt Hentschel, *Herstellung der Peruvianischen und Mexikanischen 2- und 3-schichtigen Hohlgewebe*. Baessler Archiv., Band xx, 1937, pp. 98-111.

⁷ T. A. Joyce, ' Note on a Peruvian loom of the Chimu period ', *Man*, vol. xxii, 1. Jan. 1922. This period is before the coming of the Spaniards.

THE SUDANESE CAMEL GIRTH

occasional paper on the collection there⁸ Laura Start gives photographs and descriptions by Elsie McDougall of the warping and weaving of double cloth by women at Zinapan, Hidalgo, Mexico, in 1936. The loom has three rod heddles and a shed rod as well as two other rods, one pointed, the other flat. The author comments on the ability of the women to make these complicated patterns in reverse without any aids and says that they 'seem readily to visualize figures in either of two positions,' which makes me blush to think how often I had to look at the backs of my Peruvian cats to see if they were in the right place.

It is now apparent in what ways the Sudanese camel girth weave differs from the others cited, and in what its special interest lies. To get the four warps needed for the double web the Scandinavians used four heddles, the Huichol Indians and those of Zinapan three rod heddles and a shed rod, the Maya only two heddles, and all had extra rods to pick up threads and open sheds as required. Probably for more complicated weaves the workers had more rod heddles, the Ancient Egyptians five or four and a shed rod, the later Peruvians six or more. The Sudanese method is then the most simple and no doubt the most primitive as the fingers play so important a part, reminding us that there was once a day when all the weaving was done by fingers alone without the help of any heddle.

Although the weave is so simple it yet can give patterns that are very attractive and can be varied at the pleasure of the weaver within the compass of the breadth of the material, and be made in any colour desired. All the patterns of the Western Desert and Trans-Jordan tent weaves can be carried out, for they also are set up with a double warp on one rod heddle and a shed rod and chosen out in the same way with the fingers, only that the unwanted threads fall to the back. Once when a Sudanese friend saw an Amria rug in my room at Khartoum and we were examining it together she took one look at the floating threads at the back and said: 'Poor things, they only know half the pattern!' Of course, double weave is limited in its uses, it is chiefly good for belts and bags, and girths or any such article subject to hard wear. I wondered if it was still practised in the Sudan and asked Mr Basil Waterfield, during his time there, to make enquiries for me. He brought me back a fine girth to see, presented to him by Sheikh el Taib el Sillihabi of the Jaalin, it was procured near Kassala but was believed to have been made in the Butana. My weaver friend, Sitt Zeinab, also came from Abu Deleig in the Butana. She was of the Batahin, and it would be interesting to know if other tribes also have this craft.

At the end of my study I feel as Kurt Hentschel did the desire that the beautiful old handicraft should not cease, but continue to be useful and to give pleasure to the workers, that they should have, as he says: 'ein Stückchen Freude mehr im Leben'.

APPENDIX

Weaving Directions

The warp is set up double in two colours. Two threads, one of each colour, go through each loop of the rod heddle, and two over the shed rod. To get the pattern the threads are chosen by eye, lifted in the fingers, and held by a beater. The following gives the order of the weaving:—

1. *First Throw. Front Shed. Shed rod flat.*

The heddle threads are raised and held by beater B. Half these threads are chosen, beater A inserted, beater B removed, a throw of weft made and beaten up and beater A left in position in the shed.

⁸ Laura E. Start, *The McDougall Collection of Indian textiles from Guatemala and Mexico*, Pitt Rivers Museum, 1948.

KUSH

2. *Second Throw. Back Shed. Shed rod raised.* (See PLATE II, 2).

(a) The shed rod threads are raised and beater B inserted. Both beaters are turned on edge. Result, rejected half of heddle threads fall and make shed at X.

(b) Beater A is removed, inserted at X, a throw made and beaten up, beater A is then removed and beater B left in position.

3. *Third Throw. Front Shed. Shed rod raised.*

Half the shed-rod threads are chosen, beater A inserted, beater B removed, a throw made and beater A left in position.

4. *Fourth Throw. Back Shed. Shed rod flat.*

(a) The heddle threads are raised, beater B inserted. Both beaters are turned on edge. Result, the rejected half of shed-rod threads fall and make shed at X.

(b) Beater A is removed, inserted at X, throw made and beaten up. Beater B is left holding heddle threads in preparation for 1.

Varia Grammatica

par WERNER VYCICHL

(Paris)

I. LA FORMATION DU PLURIEL NOMINAL EN VIEUX NUBIEN

Le problème

P ARMI les problèmes que pose encore la grammaire du vieux Nubien figure la formation du pluriel nominal du nom déterminé. Zyhlarz cite dans sa grammaire (Grundzüge, § 79, b et § 80, a, b) trois formes différentes selon la position des éléments de la détermination (-l, -il) et du nombre (-gou) :

1. des pluriels de noms déterminés en -(i)l-gou (§ 79, b),
2. des pluriels déterminés de noms indéterminés en -i-gou-l (§ 80, a) et
3. des pluriels déterminés de noms déterminés en -(i)l-gou-l (§ 80, b).

Nous nous trouvons donc en présence de trois formes dont la signification ne doit pas être la même. Il s'agit précisément des cas suivants :

1. *pañ-il-gou*, 'les affamés' (Stauros XXIV, 9-10).
odd-il-gou, 'les malades' (Stauros XX, 3).
dio-l-gou, 'les morts' (Stauros XIX, 4).
2. *oukr-i-gou-l*, 'les jours' (Ménas XV, 4).
ouran-i-gou-l, 'les scribes' (Matthieu II, 4).
meddjn-i-gou-l, 'les esclaves' (Ménas XV, 15).
ta-ei-gou-l, 'les jeunes filles' (Ménas II, 8 et XIV, 9).
3. *añ-il-gou-l*, 'les vivants' (Stauros IV, 1).
psall-il-gou-l, 'ceux qui chantent' (Canons XXIX, 9-10).
dio-l-gou-l, 'les morts' (Stauros IV, 1).
pisteuo-l-gou-l, 'les croyants' (Stauros XII, 6).

L'interprétation des formes

La distinction subtile que fait le vieux Nubien entre noms et désinences déterminés et indéterminés est un fait unique qui ne se retrouve dans aucune autre langue connue.

Mais ce n'est pas à cause de cette singularité que je me permets d'émettre des doutes sur l'interprétation donnée de ces formes, mais :

- parce que le sens des passages ne la justifie pas, et
- parce qu'il semble que chaque mot cité ne puisse former qu'un seul pluriel déterminé (jamais des types 2 et 3).

En effet, nous trouvons *ta-ei-gou-l* à deux reprises, de même deux fois *oukr-i-gou-l* (Griffiths, p. 112), mais jamais deux pluriels déterminés différents du même nom.

On peut même aller plus loin. Dans la liturgie de la Croix (Stauros, voir Griffiths, p. 44-6), voisinent les pluriels du type (1) avec des pluriels indéterminés *dans les mêmes conditions grammaticales*. En effet, cette liturgie comporte 47 phrases de la même construction grammaticale p. ex. :

- (a) *istauros-il kaue-il-gou-na kitt-a-lo*, 'la Croix est le vêtement des nus (en grec : *stauros gymnōn skepē*) no. 27 (zz).
- (b) *istauros-il pokod-i-gou-na soud-d-a-lo*, 'la Croix est le bâton des paralysés' (en grec : *stauros khōlōn baktēria*) no. 5 (g ?).

KUSH

Si le génitif de la phrase (b) est indéterminé, il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'il soit déterminé dans la phrase (a) qui présente la même structure grammaticale. Il est certain, qu'il faut dire, en français, 'la Croix est le vêtement des nus' et 'la Croix est le bâton des paralysés' mais, à mon sens, dans ce cas le texte Nubien a été calqué sur le modèle grec, où les génitifs sont indéterminés (*angelos-ri-gou*, *pokod-i-gou*).

Parallèles grecs et nubiens

La liturgie de la Croix contient, en dehors des deux exemples précités, encore plusieurs cas de noms du type (1) :

- istauros-il di-o-l-gou-na naierr-a-lo*, 'la Croix est la résurrection des morts' (grec : *stauros nekrōn anástasis*). 2 : b.
- istauros-il teu-o-l-gou-na dau-a-lo*, 'la Croix est le chemin des errants' (grec : *stauros peplanēmōnōn hodós*). 3 : c.
- istauros-il odd-il-gou-na iatorōs-a-lo*, 'la Croix est le médecin des malades' (grec : *nōsountōn iatrós*). 8 : uu.
- istauros-il diñar-o-l-gou-na sauatan-a-lo*, 'la Croix est le rempart des combattants' (grec : *stauros polemoumēnōn teikhos*). 12 : r.
- istauros-il pañ-il-gou-na parou-a-lo* 'la Croix est le pain des affamés' (grec : *peinōntōn ártos*) 31 : xx.
- istauros-il oei-tak-o-l-gou-na esoggider-a-lo*, 'la Croix est la consolation des opprimés' (grec : *stauros thlibomenōn ánesis*). 42 : w, etc.

La traduction française ne tient pas compte de l'indétermination des noms nubiens et grecs. Je pense, qu'il s'agit effectivement, dans tous ces cas, de noms indéterminés ou plutôt de participes indéterminés :

(a) participes actifs :

- (1) *oddi-l*, 'malade' du verbe *oddi*, 'être malade' (nubien moderne, j'ai souvent entendu *oddi-bū-l* comme participe duratif).
pañ-il, 'affamé' littéralement 'ayant faim' (moderne *fañ*).
- (2) *di-o-l*, 'mort' (participe passé).
teu-o-l, 'errant' littéralement 'ayant perdu le chemin.'
diñar-o-l, 'ayant combattu.'

(b) participes passifs :

- (1) participes passifs du présent : néant.
- (2) participes passés : *toshki-tak-o-l*, 'assoiffé' ou 'desséché' (*toshki*).
oei-tak-o-l, 'opprimé' [d'après le grec].

Les mots du type (1) ne sont donc pas des pluriels de noms déterminés, mais des pluriels indéterminés de participes.

Oukr-i-gou-l, 'les jours'

Les formations du type (2) sont, par contre, des pluriels déterminés : *man eit-il-lon ta-n kok-kane-n oukr-i-gou-l kir-i-n-ou-an-ni*, *niss-ou Mēna-Kisse-lō djor-a ki-s-na Mareōthē-ō* 'mais cette femme, quant les jours de son accouchement furent passés, se rendit à l'église du Saint Ménas (située) dans la Maréotis' ((Ménas xv, 4).

Dans ce cas, il s'agit bien des jours (déterminés) de l'accouchement.

Añ-il-gou-l 'les vivants'

Les exemples de ce type (3) sont des participes simplement déterminés. Un exemple convaincant se trouve dans la légende de St. Ménas : *di-o-l-gou-l-de añ-il-gou-l-de kel-ka*, ' (qu'il allait juger) aussi bien les morts que les vivants'.

VARIA GRAMMATICA

La forme *psall-il-gou-l-dal*, 'avec ceux qui chantent, cum cantantibus' se trouve dans un passage dont le sens se laisse reconstituer approximativement comme suit : 'si quelqu'un ne chante pas (*psall-e-men-en*) avec ceux qui chantent Allilouia . . . ' (Canons XXIX, 9-10).

Pisteu-o-l-gou-l se trouve dans un passage que Griffith traduit comme suit (p. 48) : *and all who have believed in the Cross with their whole heart, shall dwell under it.*

Conclusion

Il ressort, de ce qui précède, que le nom nubien forme le pluriel à l'aide de la particule *-gou*. Le pluriel déterminé ajoute encore l'article *-l* p. ex. *ouran-i-gou-l* 'les scribes'.

Par contre, les prétendues formes du nom déterminé (en *-il*, *-l*) et suivies de *gou* ou *-gou-l* n'existent pas ; il s'agit, dans ces cas, de participes (voir Lepsius, p. 499 et Reinisch, p. 95, § 280).

La présente étude ne concerne que les rôles des éléments *-l* (participes), *-gou* (formatif du pluriel) et *-il* ou *-l* la détermination. Toutefois, il semble que l'étude des autres éléments intervenant dans la formation des différentes expressions (*-a*, *-i*, *-n*, *-ni*, *-ri*, *-ou*) doive également être reprise.

Note :—*Les formes nubiennes ont été translittérées (lettre par lettre) et non transcrites phonétiquement.*

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II. VIEUX-NUBIEN *orpē* : ÉGYPTIEN *ērēp* 'VIN' (Étude sur la forme nominale *nēfēr*)

Introduction

Malgré les éclaircissements que nous apportent le copte et les transcriptions (cunéiformes et autres) de mots égyptiens, il reste dans ce domaine encore bien des problèmes à résoudre. Le preuve en est qu'on n'a jamais essayé de reconstituer un texte égyptien vocalisé ou d'écrire une grammaire au moins partiellement vocalisée. C'est la raison pour laquelle toute indication concernant la phonétique égyptienne nous est précieuse, non seulement parce qu'elle sert à éclaircir l'histoire d'un mot isolé, mais surtout parce qu'elle permet de reconstruire toute une gamme de formes nominales (ou verbales) et d'établir des relations grammaticales et sémasiologiques qui nous ont jusqu'à présent échappé.

Les formes nubiennes

Le mot vieux-nubien désignant le 'vin' se trouve à 4 reprises dans les textes (F.Ll. Griffith : *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*. Abh.Kgl.Preuss.Ak.d.Wiss. 1913, Phil.-hist.Kl. N° 8, Berlin, 1913) :

—*artos-a djolam orp-a djolam-a*, 'it is simply (?) bread (grec : artos), and simply (?) wine' (p. 16, K 19, 11),

—*orp-a en-kan eille en-kan*, 'whether it be wine (or) whether it be wheat' (p. 16, K 19, 17 et K 21, 8),

—*artos-i ouer-oui orpē sarpē ouer-a lo*, 'one loaf (artos), one finger (?) of wine' (p. 18, K 31, 12).

La forme du nom est simplement *orp* (parallélisme *artos-a:orp-a*). Par contre *artos-i ouer* et *orpē sarpē ouer* ne constituent pas un parallélisme parfait et il serait hasardeux d'attribuer à la forme *orpē* une signification déterminée. En effet, la terminaison -ē (*orpē*) peut :—

—faire partie du mot (et être tombé devant *a* dans *artos-a, orp-a*),

—représenter une terminaison nominale, *ou*

—constituer le résultat de la contraction d'une voyelle radicale et d'une désinence vocalique.

Toutefois, c'est la voyelle *o* des formes *orpē* et *orp-a* qui présente un intérêt particulier.

L'origine égyptienne des formes

C'est déjà Griffith qui a reconnu l'origine égyptienne de ces formes (p. 70 et p. 110) qu'il compare à l'égyptien *y-r-p* et au copte *ērēp*.

J'avais déjà supposé, indépendamment de Griffith, que la voyelle *ē* du mot *ērēp* remontait à une ancienne voyelle *u* (= *ou* français) en raison de l'absorption de l'y initial ('Ägyptische Ortsnamen in der Bibel', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 1940, p. 87).

En effet, nous savons que les voyelles écrites *ē* et *ī* du copte peuvent remonter à une ancienne voyelle *u* : *abot* 'mois, pl. *abēt* (B) ; *apot* 'vase à boire', pl. *aphēt* (B) ; *mēt* 'dix' : cunéiforme *mutu* ; *ke* (*ket*) 'autre', pl. *kowwe* ; *hyē* 'chemin', pl. *hyowwe* ; *ušē* 'nuit', pl. *ušowwe* ; *tebnē* 'animal de charge', pl. *tebnowwe* ; *remyē* 'larme', pl. *remyowwe*, *kīahk* 'le mois Choiak' : égyptien *k'-hr-k'* et cunéiforme *ku-ih-ku* ; *trīr* 'four', comp. arabe *tannūr*, etc.

Dans ces cas on a certainement prononcé *abōt*, *aphōt*, *mōt*, *kōt*, *hyō*, *ušō*, *tēbnō*, *remyō*, *kūahk* et *trūr*. Les formes du mot désignant la femme, *hīme*, pl. *hyome* s'expliquent par **hyūme*, pl. *hyóm(w)e*.

La forme nominale nēfēr

Il y a, en égyptien, une série de noms formés d'après le type **nēfēr* :—

—*ērēp* 'vin' (*yrp*),

—*hēke* 'pauvre' (*hqr*), copte *hko* 'avoir faim' (*hokēr*, f. *hkayt*),

—*mērēš* 'rouge-orange' (*mrš*),

—*mēēše* 'peuple, foule' (*mšc*),

—*pēre* 'caille', aussi *pēra* (*prc*),

—*wēēb* 'prêtre' (*wcb*), copte *wop* 'être pur' (*waab*),

—*šēre* 'fils' (*šry de šrr*), verbe *šrr* 'être petit.'

La forme *mēēšē* est régulière (comme *pōōne* 'verser' de *pn^c*). La forme *pēra* à côté de *pēre* correspond à *sōneh*, *sōnah* 'lier'. *Wēēb* 'prêtre' à voyelle (graphiquement) redoublée correspond à *šōōt* 'couper' de *š^cd*. 4 parmi ces 7 formes désignent des qualités (pauvre, rouge-orange, prêtre et fils comme 'petit'). Aussi les formes *kēm* 'noir' (*Arpkhémis* 'Horus le noir' **Har p-Kēm*), f. *Kēme* 'Egypte' et *wēr* 'grand', f. *wēre* (*Esouēris* 'Isis la Grande': **Es-Wēre*) appartiennent probablement au même type nominal (copte *kmom* 'être noir', égyptien *wrr* 'être grand'); or, il semble que *Kēme* 'Egypte, la (terre) noire' soit issue d'une forme **Kummat* ou sim. dont la voyelle brève s'est rallongée à une certaine date pour compenser la simplification du groupe *mm*.

La simplification des géminées peut être étudiée facilement aux formes *qattāl* (p. ex. *hakó* 'sorcier' de *hakká*, plus anciennement *hakkā*, etc.). *Aegyptus*, 1954, p. 85.

La qualité de la voyelle u du type *nēfēr*

Chacune des 3 voyelles primitives *a*, *i*, *u* apparaît en copte sous deux formes longues :

- | | |
|--|--|
| A—la voyelle <i>ā</i> | |
| (a) <i>hūn</i> 'intérieur' (<i>hnw</i>) | (b) <i>čōm</i> 'vigne' (<i>k'm</i>) |
| B—la voyelle <i>ī</i> | |
| (a) <i>htēf</i> 'son coeur' (<i>h'.ty-f</i>) | (b) <i>sīfe</i> 'poix' (* <i>zft</i>) |
| C—la voyelle <i>ū</i> | |
| (a) <i>hīme</i> 'femme' (<i>hym.t</i>) | (b) <i>Kēme</i> 'Egypte' (<i>Km.t</i>) |

Remarques : les exemples précités ne tiennent pas compte des influences exercées par des consonnes sur la qualité des voyelles, p.ex. : *mūn* 'rester', *nūte* 'dieu' pour **mōn*, **nōte*.

ad A (b) : arabe *karm*, ad B (a) : *ī* de l'adjectif nisbé, ad B (b) : arabe *zift*; toutefois la forme *zft* n'existe pas, à ma connaissance, écrite en égyptien, ad C (a) **hyūme*, pl. *hyom(w)e*, ad C (b) *kmom* 'noircir', d'où *Kēme* de **Kumme*, **Kōmme*.

Parmi les 6 formes types ci-devant, il y en a 3 dont on peut déterminer la quantité primitive à l'aide d'étymologies. Dans un autre cas, pour *Kēme*, on peut rétablir la voyelle brève d'après la forme nominale. On peut donc déduire que la voyelle *ū* (A, a) correspondait primitivement à un **ā* long et *ī* (C, a) à un **ū* long.

Les formes du type *nēfēr* (*ērēp*, *hēkē*, etc.) avaient donc primitivement une voyelle **u* (brève) à la première syllabe et la prononciation réelle était probablement **ōrēp*, **hōke* à l'époque copte.

Formes nominales et verbales

Comme il a été exposé au chapitre précédent, les formes du types *nēfēr* se trouvent associées, dans la morphologie égyptienne, au verbes du type *hko(r)*, *kmom*, *wop* (c'est à dire **w^cob*).

La vocalisation du pseudoparticipe de *hqr* peut être rétablie à l'aide des deux formes survivantes qui représentent (a) la 3-ième personne m. sg. et (b) f. sg. ; la forme *hokēr* peut être ramenée à un **haqrēy* tandis que *hkait* pose des problèmes. Dans ce cas il faut tout d'abord compter avec le passage de *r* à Aleph (*qr.t* 'main', *q'.t-f* 'sa main' comme en copte *tōre*, *tootef*) etc, ensuite avec le passage du groupe *ir*, en passant pas *ē*, à la diphthongue *ai* (*hqirtēy*, *hqi'tey*, *hqēte*, *hqait*).

Le deuxième phénomène décrit s'est produit également dans *fai* 'porter' (B) pour *fi'yēt*, *pai* 'celui' pour *pi'*, *udjai* 'être en bonne santé' pour *wđi* (formes intermédiaires *fēye*, *pē*, *udjē*).

KUSH

La forme **nēfēr* a servi primitivement, comme il semble, à l'expression d'une qualité (pauvre, rouge-orange, pur, petit, grand, noir), probablement en opposition avec une autre forme d'adjectif (ou de participe) du type **nōfēr* comme *bōōn* 'mauvais' (*byn*), *nūtēm* 'doux' (*nḏm*), *nūfe* (*nfr*) 'bon', *wōbēš* 'blanc' (*wbh*), etc. Cette dernière forme semble correspondre à la forme du participe sémitique (*qātīl*).

Résumé

Le nom *orp* ou *orpē* 'vin' ne dérive pas des dialectes coptes connus, mais présente une forme plus ancienne. D'après d'autres noms appartenant à la même classe nominale, il s'agit probablement d'une expression d'une qualité. La forme copte *ērēp* ne doit pas être ramenée à une plus ancienne forme **yīrēp*, mais à une forme (y)*ērēp* qui repose, de son côté à une forme nominale *yurēp* (ou sim.).

La forme *orpi* cité par Zyhlarz (*Grundzüge*, p. 180) et par Till (*Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1955, § 62) n'est pas attestée.

III. SUR DEUX PLURIELS NUBIENS

Les noms nubiens terminés par une consonne prennent au pluriel la terminaison -*ī* : *kitāb* 'livre', pl. *kitāb-ī* (dialecte des Kenouz). Il y a cependant deux mots qui font exception à cette règle et prennent une terminaison -*li* : *kam* 'chameau', pl. *kamli*, *kub* 'bateau', pl. *kubli*.

Dans le cas de la désignation du chameau il ne peut s'agir d'un mot d'origine nubienne car nous savons parfaitement que le chameau arrive, à l'époque historique, tardivement dans la vallée du Nil. La nombreuse littérature à ce sujet est réunie chez R. Walz : 'Zum Problem der Domestikation der altweltlichen Cameliden (*ZDMG*, 1951, p. 38, Note 1).

Afin de déterminer la provenance de la désignation *kam*, je groupe ci-dessous les différents noms du chameau en usage au Nord-Est africain :

- copte *čamūl* (du démotique *gml* d'origine sémitique),
- nubien *kam*, bedja *kām*, pl. *kam*,
- arabe *ğamal*,
- geez *gamal*, tigré *gamal*, bilin *gimilā*, qwara *gamal*, khamir *gimil*,
- saho *gala*, afar *gala*, galla *galā*, somali *gel*.

Il est évident que les formes du nubien et du bedja appartiennent au même groupe. Ce qui les distingue des trois groupes suivants est l'insonorisation de la consonne initiale (*g:k*) et l'amputation de la fin du mot qui peut être due à différentes causes.

Or, il est parfaitement établi où cette insonorisation s'est produit en égyptien (Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien*, 1945, p. 29). Quant à la chute de la voyelle *u*, il ne semble pas qu'elle se soit produite en copte ou en nubien. Probablement elle est imputable à une tierce langue, peut-être au méroïtique.

On peut se demander si le deuxième mot formant son pluriel en -*li* n'est pas aussi un emprunt. En égyptien, il y a le mot *Kbn.t*, plus tard aussi *Kpnyy.t* 'bateau, bateau d'expédition' (lit. 'bateau de Byblos') qui a dû être prononcé **Kubli(t)*, **Kupli(t)*. Bien que nous n'ayons pas la certitude, d'après les textes, que le terme *Kbn.t*, *Kpnyy.t* ait jamais été utilisé à désigner les bateaux du Nil, nos connaissances dans cette matière sont trop restreintes pour pouvoir prononcer un jugement définitif à ce sujet.

VARIA GRAMMATICA

IV. UN VERBE PERFECTIF EN ÉGYPTIEN ET EN BEDJA

L'égyptien connaît un verbe *pꜣ* qui sert à l'expression d'une action terminée (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 484 : *have done in the past*). Ce verbe accompagne un infinitif : *n zp pꜣ tw yr.t s.t dr hꜣw N-sw.t By.t-y Snfrw mꜣꜣ -hrw* 'ceci n'a jamais été fait depuis le temps du roi Snofrou le justifié' (Sinouhe 139, 10-11).

Erman a vu dans ce mot l'expression *pꜣ* 'voler, fliegen' (*Ägyptische Grammatik*, IV. Auflage, § 361).

Le nom verbal de *pꜣ* est *pꜣ.t* 'antiquité (primeval times, Urzeit), d'où *pꜣw.t-y* 'dieu primaire' (comme *dp.t* 'bateau', cum suff. *dpw.t-f*, etc.).

L'existence d'un verbe perfectif est connu dans beaucoup de langues. Je ne cite que *sudah* (malay), *liao* (chinois) et le formatif du passé swahili *me* qui remonte à une forme bantoue *mala* (avec -i).

Dans les langues sémitiques, il ne semble pas qu'un tel verbe existe. Par contre, on trouve une parallèle en bedja (parlé entre la vallée du Nil et la Mer Rouge). Il s'agit de l'auxiliaire *beꜣ*, *bꜣa* 'terminer, to finish, complete, end' (E. M. Roper : *Tu Bedawie*, Hertford, 1928, p. 84-5, § 271) :—

—*ō-šꜣa harid-ti bꜣanyēk gīgane* 'when I have finished slaughtering the cow, I am going'.

—*ane kitib-ti bambꜣe yaki kāade* 'until I have finished writing (lit. I not having finished writing) I will not get up'.

Le deuxième exemple correspond à la construction égyptienne *bw yr.t-f sdm* qui a abouti, en copte, au temporalis negativus (W. Till : *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1955, p. 161). En bedja, l'emploi de ce verbe est encore plus étendu qu'en égyptien. On l'ajoute souvent à une forme conjuguée pour marquer l'action terminée : *aktib beꜣan* 'j'ai écrit' (lit. 'j'ai écrit j'ai terminé')

L'existence d'un verbe perfectif dans deux langues voisines pourrait bien être le produit d'un hasard. Toutefois les rapports peu nombreux, mais indéniables qui existent entre ces deux langues (p. ex. l'article défini, l'emploi de la tournure *h'-u-f*, *hōōf*, *biyē-s* 'ses membres' pour 'lui-même,' etc.) font penser qu'il s'agit d'un trait commun remontant à une haute antiquité.

Quant à l'interprétation proposée par Erman qui l'identifie avec un autre verbe, *pꜣ* 'voler, fliegen', je ne pense pas qu'elle soit à retenir. Il n'y a, à ma connaissance, dans aucune autre langue un cas analogue où un verbe 'voler' ait abouti à une signification 'terminer'. De plus, il se pourrait que *pꜣ* corresponde étymologiquement à *be'a*, tandis que *pꜣ* 'voler' ait des rapports avec *bir*, *fir*, et avec le sémitique (hébreu *pārā*).

V. NOTE SUR LA TRANSCRIPTION DE L'ARABE

Il y a actuellement deux systèmes-types servant à la transcription de l'arabe : celui de la Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft adopté presque intégralement par la Normalisation Française (FD Z 46-002) et le système de l'Association Phonétique Internationale employé par A. Worsley (*Sudanese Grammar*) et J. Spencer Trimingham (*Sudan Colloquial Arabic*).

Ces deux systèmes correspondent parfaitement aux besoins des arabisants et des phonéticiens et il ne peut être question de les remplacer. Le seul inconvénient qu'ils présentent, à mon avis, est le nombre de caractères surchargés de signes diacritiques (D.M.G.) ou spéciaux (A.Ph.I.) qui ne se trouvent que dans des imprimeries spécialisées. Or, il arrive assez souvent que des articles de valeur sont imprimés dans des imprimeries moins bien équipées et présentent, par conséquent, les noms et mots arabes de façon

KUSH

défectueuse ; la même transcription peut rendre deux mots différents : haram (*ḥarām*) 'crime' et (*ḥáram*) 'pyramide.'

Ce n'est que pour ce dernier cas que le système exposé ci-après est destiné. D'ailleurs, la plupart des consonnes ne posent pas de problème. Les consonnes emphatiques peuvent être écrites à l'aide de l'apostrophe (*d'*, *t'*, *z'*, *s'*, *r'*, *l'*, mais *q* à la place de *k'*). Quatre consonnes sont transcrites par des combinaisons de deux lettres : *dj*, *gh*, *kh* (ou : *x*), *sh*. Alif initial n'est pas noté. Au milieu du mot, on écrit 3 (*qara3a*). Le son de l'*ain* est noté, au début du mot, par un apostrophe (*'amal*) tandis qu'il est noté par le chiffre 6 au milieu et à la fin du mot (*fa6al*, *mana6*). Les sons *dh* (anglais *that*) et *th* (anglais *think*) ne se trouvent pas dans tous les dialectes.

Les voyelles sont notées *a*, *i*, *u* (brèves) et *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *oo*, *uu* (longues). La transcription à l'aide d'un accent circonflexe est facultative (*bâb*=*baab*).

Textes

Le texte suivant en arabe soudanais a été extrait de *Sudan Colloquial Arabic* de J. Spencer Trimingham (Oxford-London, 1946), p. 153, et donne une idée de l'application pratique du nouveau système.

I

Ahlan wa sahlân Sitt Nafîsa, izayyik? Itfadd'ali, aftakir alkursi da aryah' leeki. Alwileedaat keef h'aalum, inshall'a yabgu t'ayyibiin. Izayyik yaa umm H'asan, inshall'a waga6 al h'alig yikuun raah'? Inti shadiida hassa6, ma 'indik 'awaga, alh'amdu lillaah.

Shilli leeki h'ittat keek. Az'unnik itghaddeeti mit3axxira. Samih', shiili ss'agháyyira di! Gutti gineenti 'agbatik, agganaayin tagba samh'a daayman mitl akwakit da. -Yaa Ah'mad, giib mooya h'aarra! -S'ah'iih', hu shaat'ir wa amiin wa xafif fisshughul. Leehu arba6a siniin 'indana.

Le même système peut s'appliquer également à d'autres langues et dialectes. Le texte suivant en *too bed'awiye* est la transcription des phrases, pp. 105-6 de *Tu Bedawie* par E. M. Roper (Hertford, 1928). Transcriptions accessoires : *gw*, *kw*, *e* (bref, *e* muet), *d'* (palatal).

2

Ya uhad3aay, ane eetbaay 3iibaab andieek, daay maalhi idarab ikteen tesuuraawa, khe haatnia?

Imaalhiwa tamint kamwa daay-g3iib ba arideewa baafooriwa haam3aahieb leheeyt baakaayt fadjil.

Ane himeniit yak andeey, zaawiitaki eekam shibiba andeey, daay door kissee haam3aa, baa dileelia emb3i walla nhadeey.

Idjammal thawaatee biishiishalikna, ixaddamaan ee yam djaabiriibaay, t3iibaabtuun male terigayyaai.

Un uu kaam uun male tergaayeet 3iibaab adgiriini? hare kúkeey, kaam weer hanyiis-kaab haam3aa!

*

*

*

Bien que cette transcription ne présente pas tous les avantages des systèmes dits scientifiques, elle rend parfaitement les sons de l'arabe (classique ou moderne) ainsi que du bedja. Son indéniable avantage pratique est la possibilité d'être imprimée dans toute imprimerie non spécialisée. En outre, elle peut être employée avec toute machine à écrire, sans adjonction de signes diacritiques.

VARIA GRAMMATICA

SUMMARY

Two Nubian Plurals

Nubian nouns ending in a consonant take the plural ending *-i*, e.g. *kitāb* 'book', pl. *kitāb-i*. There are but two exceptions: *kam* 'camel' has pl. *kamli* and *kub* 'ship' has pl. *kubli*. All these examples are taken from the *Kenūz* dialect (Northern Nubia).

Nubian *kam* as well as Beja *kām*, pl. *kam* cannot be derived from Arabic *djamaḥ*, Ge'ez *gamaḥ*, Bilin *gimila*, Saho *gala* and Somali *gel*. They probably go back to a pre-Coptic *kamul*, the Coptic form being *čamul*. The loss of *-ul* or *-u-* may be due to the influence of Meroitic. In any case, *l* in the plural belongs to the stem (*kaml-i*).

Kub 'ship' is a loan word from Egyptian *k-b-n.t* 'ship of Byblos (*Gubla*)', vocalized **kublī.t* as a *nisbe* form. In the singular *-l* has been lost.

A Perfective Verb in Egyptian and in Beja

There is a perfective verb in Egyptian, *p'* 'to have done in the past' (Gardiner, *Grammar* § 484). Erman explains it by *p'* 'to fly'. It is interesting to see that Beja too has a perfective verb *be'*, *be'a* 'to finish, complete, end' (E. M. Roper, *Tu-Bedawie*, § 271). *O-š'a harid-ti b'anyēk gigane* 'when I have finished slaughtering the cow I am going'. Perfective verbs are well known in many languages such as Chinese, Malay, etc., but they are unknown in Semitic. Egyptian *p'* and Beja *be'a* seem to be one of the features common to both these languages. There may be an etymological relation too. *P'* 'to fly' belongs to Hebrew *pārāh* (*p-r-y*) and Berber *yefru* 'he flew' (Nefūsi dialect, Tripolitania), stem *f-r-y*, and has nothing to do with Beja *be'a*.

Note on the Transliteration of Arabic

There are two main types of transliteration systems of Arabic, that of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, almost identical with that adopted by the French Normalization and that of the International Phonetic Association. Both use special phonetic signs available only in some specialized printing houses. The following recommendations will help to write Arabic words and sentences correctly without diacritic signs:

- emphatic sounds are marked with an apostrophe (*d'*, *t'*, *z'*, *s'*, even *l'* and *r'* when necessary, but *q* instead of *k'*),
- letter groups are used for *djim*, *ghain*, *shin*, but *kha* is written *x* (*xabar*, *shayx*, *t'abbaax*), the strong *h* is *h'* (*Ah'mad*),
- 'ain* is written *'* at the beginning and *6* (six) in other cases, e.g. *'amal*, *fa6al*, *mana6*, *alif* is 3 (three): *qur3aan*,
- long vowel may be written *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *oo*, *uu* or *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*.

Dh (as in English *that*) and *th* (as in English *think*) occur in classical forms (*dhaalika*, *thalaatha*). This system may be used for other languages too, e.g. for Beja, in any printing house and with any typewriter.

Old Nubian Plural Forms

According to Zyhlarz (*Grundzüge*) there are determinate plurals of indeterminate nouns and determinate plurals of determinate nouns in Old Nubian. As a matter of fact, there are only indeterminate plurals (*odd-il-gou* 'the sick ones') and determinate plurals (*oukr-i-gou-l* 'the days'). Forms like *pisteu-o-l-gou-l* 'who have believed' are not determinate plurals of determinate nouns but determinate plurals of participles (e.g. *pisteu-o-l* 'one who has believed'). The participles ending in *-l* (*odd-il* 'being sick') are frequently found in modern Nubian dialects (*Kenūz*, *Fadičča*, *Dongolāwi*). The use of determinate and indeterminate form follows the Greek original (e.g. *istauros-il di-o-l-gou-na naierr-a-lo* 'the Cross is the resurrection of the dead', Greek: *stauros nekrōn anastasis*).

Land Tenure during the Time of the Fung

by SADIK NUR

IN *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. xvi, 1933, Part I, as appendix to an article on 'Fung Origins,' Mr (now Dr) A. J. Arkell published two documents granting land to a certain religious chief, Ya'qub Wad Mohammed Zein, of the Ya'qubab tribe.

Since 1933, more documents have come to light, having been produced by owners before Land Settlement Officers as proof of ownership of a specific stretch of land.

The significance of these, and any other such documents which may be discovered at a later date, lies in the fact that they form not only the first recorded evidence of land tenure in Fung times, but the oldest known in the history of the Sudan, as, in the absence of written records, nothing is yet known for certain of land policy in the periods that preceded the Fung.

A common feature of all the five documents, which are the subject of this article, is the thick undergrowth of titles and words of praise, which varies only slightly in each instance, and which it is difficult to put into English. An attempt will, however, be made to give the nearest meaning.

Three of the documents in question deal with land donated by the King to two different persons, one a tribal chief and the other a religious chief. The remaining two documents are merely records of judgments given in land disputes and they, therefore, show a different aspect of the matter. Documents in the former category will be considered first, as they all emanated from the King's office and bear the Royal seal, whereas those in the second category were drawn up by some sort of viceroy or representative and bear no seal.

Document I. Headed: In Thy name O Generous—in the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Thanks be to God who has inspired the Apostle whose message we believe.

SEAL

A Sultanic Title Deed and Royal Document written in the city of Sennar, the well-guarded and protected, may God make it honoured in the eyes of its ruler, the Sultan of the Muslims and the Caliph of our Lord, who looks after temporal and spiritual affairs, who protects the interests of the muslims and is the supporter of Mohammedan Law, the promulgator of justice and kindness among the human race, through whom the Almighty made peace between the people, and shed light on the universe. It is he who repressed the infidel, the cunning, the stubborn, the iniquitous, and the corrupt—God's mercy be upon the living and those who have passed away, and the one who has a covenant with the Almighty, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the Victorious (with the Grace of God) Sultan Badi, son of the late Dekin, son of Sultan Badi, may God make him victorious through the Koran and the Prophet, Amen Amen, O Lord.

To all who ascertain the contents of this document and understand the facts contained therein; whereas the Sultan, the protected, the righteous, the victorious one,—Sultan Badi has completed the gift to Sheikh Awad el Kerim Abu Sin bin Ali bin Abu Ali bin Mohammed el Ideighim, Chief of the Shukria Tribe, of rain and river land on

LAND TENURE DURING THE TIME OF THE FUNG

the East bank of Bahr (river ?) El Adeik and to the East of the river Rahad. It is a wide stretch of land with the following boundaries :—

On the South	Ein El Luweiga
On the East	River Atbara to Sherif Hassaballa
On the North	The land of the pious Sheikh Ali Alu and of the pious Sheikh Deleig, Hassan Wad Hisouna
On the West	The east bank of the Adeik and Rahad rivers.

The land in question is to be lived on and utilized by the Shukria tribe and any other people chosen by Sheikh Awad el Karim who is hereby given the usufruct of the land bounded as above, excluding the land of the Abdallab Tribe. Sheikh Awad el Kerim's sons, grandsons, and great grandsons will enjoy the same privilege to the day of Resurrection. Let no one claim this land or show resistance to him, and whoever obstructs him after this my document will render himself liable to severe punishment. A strict warning is hereby given against failure to comply with this order, and he who disobeys will have only himself to blame.

This document has been drawn up in the presence of, and witnessed by :—

The Vizier Sheikh Nasir son of Sheikh Mohammed Abu Likeilik
 El Amin El Sheikh Haroun Walad Younis
 The soldier Ali Walad Shawwal, the market guard
 Sheikh Diab Walad Abdel Raziq, Lord Chamberlain to the King's maternal uncle
 Sheikh Badi son of Musmar, Sheikh of Gerri
 Sheikh Omer Gur son of Hamad El Zeer, Sheikh of Taka (Kassala)
 Sheikh Agit son of Hakit, Sheikh of Atbara
 Sheikh Ibrahim son of Abdel Ati, Sheikh of Beila
 Sheikh Subahi son of Adlan, Sheikh of El Bahr
 Sheikh Ali son of El Nur, Sheikh of Kordofan
 Sheikh Gasim son of Idris son of Nail, Muqaddam (chief) of El Sawakra
 Sultan Abdalla son of Sultan Badi, Sultan of the Fur Musabbaat
 King Ahmed son of Adlan, King of Birsag, groom of the carpet (=chief of religious sect)
 Sheikh Medani son of Shanbul, Sheikh of Arbagi
 Sheikh Ali son of Mahmoud, Sheikh of El Gawaria
 The Muazin (announcer of the hours of prayer) Osman son of Billi
 The Qadi (judge) Sherif Omer
 The Khateeb (preacher) Nuwar son of Ammar
 and The scribe, the slave of God, Khidr Ibrahim Yaqub Hemeira.

GOD IS THE BEST WITNESS

Written at noon on Monday, the 13th of Rabie El Awal 1206 A.H. (October, A.D. 1791)

Document II. Headed: In Thy name O Generous. In the Name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. Thanks be to God who has inspired the Apostle whose message we believe.

SEAL

A Sultanic Title Deed and Royal Document from the presence of him who is victorious with the support of the Almighty, and who is eminent and protected ; he who gives shelter to the poor ; the one who is happy in the world and who, with the Grace of God, will die a martyr ; the one who is honest and true, our lord the Sultan, son of the Sultan, Sultan Badi son of Sultan Nol ; may God the Compassionate, the Merciful, make him victorious through the Koran and the Prophet, Amen, Amen, O Lord.

KUSH

To all chiefs, sheikhs and sub-sheikhs within the boundaries of my kingdom, who see this document and understand the facts contained therein, especially Sheikh Badi son of Sireir and whoever succeeds him, whereas the Sultan, the protected, the righteous, the victorious one, has approved the continued ownership of land by Fiki Mohamed son of Sheikh Abu . . . , such land as is known by the name of Daggagat, all the cultivation belonging to his family, and also the piece of land purchased by Fiki Hamad from Ahmed son of Hamad, the boundaries of which are well defined : on the east Wad Habib, on the west El Zein, on the north Hamid, on the south Hileiw. This land has now become the property of Fiki Hamad, his sons, grandsons and great grandsons, etc., until the day of Resurrection. The land is free from charge, and nobody should come near it or touch it. All are hereby warned against disobeying this order, and he who fails to comply will have only himself to blame.

Written in the presence of and witnessed by :—

Sheikh Yunis

The soldier, Mohammed

Sheikh Ismail,

Sheikh Diab Sheikh of

. Shatir Sheikh of Alies

Sheikh Badi son of Hakit

Sheikh Awad, sheikh of El Taka,

Sheikh Mohamed Geili, sheikh of Beila

Sheikh Osman, Sheikh of El Garbein,

Sheikh Abdalla, sheikh of El Sawakra

Khamis Sultan of Fur

Arbab Eido grandfather of the king

Sheikh Rajab, head groom

Sheikh Nail groom of the trappings and saddles

Sheikh Badi, sheikh of the river

Sheikh Mahmoud, sheikh of the Gawaria

Sheikh Shalanky, groom of the carpet

King Mohamed of Birsag

Judge Abdel Hameed

Preacher Abdel Hafeez son of Nono

El Arbab Mohamed Bakoma

El Arbab Dafaalla son of El Ghannami

Fiki Imad bin Fiki Abu El Naqa

Fiki Yaqub Himeira

and the scribe Mohamed son of Abdel Ghani.

GOD IS THE BEST WITNESS

Written this month of Rajab 1191 A.H. (August, A.D. 1777)

Document No. III. Headed : Thanks be to God, and prayers and peace upon the Prophet.

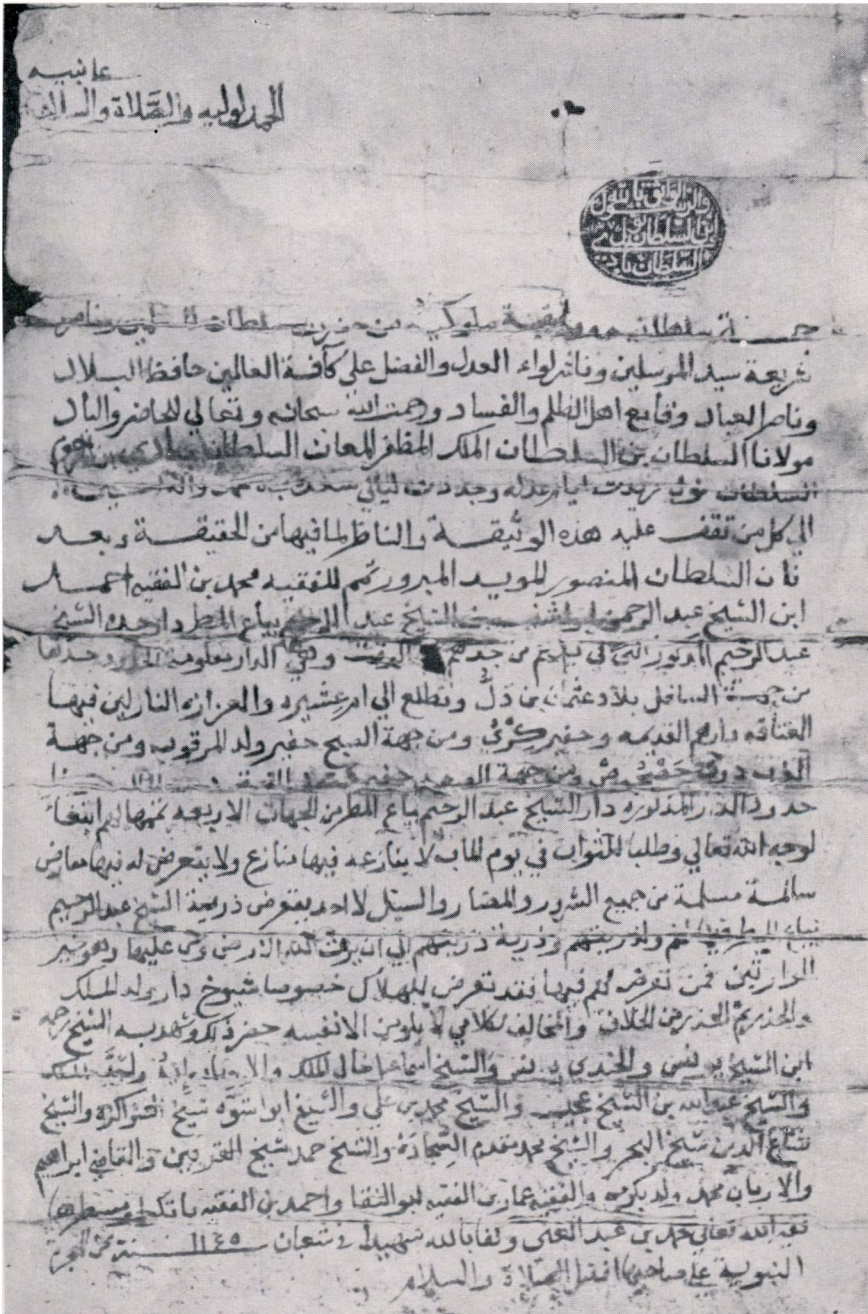
SEAL OF SULTAN BADI SON OF NOL

A Sultanic Title Deed and Royal Document from the Sultan of the Muslims, the supporter of Mohammedan Law, and the promulgator of justice and kindness among the human race ; it is he who protects the country and helps the people ; the one who repressed the iniquitous, and the corrupt. God's mercy be upon the living and those who have passed away, our lord the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the victorious one, Sultan

باسمك يا كريم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي بلغ السؤل ونحن انما يا بقول



حجة سلطانية وثيقة ملكية من حضرة من ايد الله بالنصر والتمكين
والرفعة والتعظيم وحفظه خلا غلبا ياوي اليه كل سكين الذي هو في الدنيا عبيد
الملك والسيادة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة
الصادق في قوله الامين في فعله الذي اذا قال صدق واذا تكلم بالحق نطق مولانا
السلطان بن السلطان السلطان بادي بن السلطان نول نصره الله الرحمن الرحيم
بإله القادر العظيم والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة والسياسة
هذه الوثيقة والناتجة من الحقيقة من المقادير والشيخ والراي الذي من
تحتهم في حكمي خصوصاً الشيخ بادي ولد سير والذي يأتي من بعده وبورخان
السلطان البرور الويد المسمى ثم ملكية دار الفقيه حجة الشيخ بادي
دار الدقات وجميع زراعتهم التي في ملكهم وايضا تم ملكية الدار الذي اشترها
الفقيه حمد من احمد ولد حمد ملوكة للحدود من جمعة الصبح ولد حبيب ومن جمعة
الغرب الزون ومن جمعة السافل حمد ومن جمعة الصعيد حليو فصارت هذه الدار
ملك الفقيه حمد وذريته وذريته الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهو
خبر الوارث في جاه الله ورسوله سال تسليمة من جميع الشهود والسبل والمضام
لا احد يقربها ولا يدينها الخدم والخدم والخالق لا يوم الا نفسه حجة الاول
بشأن الشيخ بادي ولد ملكية والشيخ بادي ولد ملكية والشيخ بادي ولد ملكية
بيله والشيخ عثمان شيخ القريب والشيخ عوض شيخ القاه والشيخ محمد قاي
والارباب ايد احمد والشيخ رجب مقدم الخزانة والشيخ نائل مقدم العدة والشيخ
بادي شيخ البحر والشيخ محمود شيخ القوارية والشيخ شلكر شيخ السجادة والملك محمد كرك
والقاضي عبد الحميد والشيخ عبد الحميد ولد نون والارباب محمد ملوكة والارباب فع الله ولا
الشيخ والشيخ بادي الفقيه ابو الفقا والفقيه يعقوب حمد واسطر الخروف محمد
عبد الفقيه وكذا في شيخ محمد في شهر رجب المبارك سنة الف الف



LAND TENURE DURING THE TIME OF THE FUNG

Badi son of the late Sultan Nol, may God increase the days of his justice and prolong the nights of his happiness, through our prophet and his companions, Amen.

To all who see this document and who understand its contents, whereas the Sultan, the protected, the righteous, the victorious one, Sultan Badi, has completed the gift to Fiki Mohamed son of Fiki Ahmed, son of Sheikh Abdel Rahim Bayaa el Matar (seller or donor of rain) of the land that belonged to his grandfather the aforesaid Sheikh Abdel Rahim, such land as has been in the family since the days of their grandfather, the boundaries of which are well defined and known : on the north the land of Osman son of Dol to Um Esheira and the Azaza where the liberated slaves are camping and hafir Kirai, on the east hafir Wad el Marqoub, on the west the gravel, and on the south hafir Such are the boundaries of the land that belonged to Sheikh Abdel Rahim Bayaa el Matar, which the Sultan has given to the family for God's sake and in the hope of salvation on the day of resurrection. Let no one approach this land, or oppose or resist them. It is free of all claims and complaints. Whoever quarrels with them over this land will render himself liable to severe punishment, especially the Sheikhs of Wad el Malik estate. All are warned against disobedience, and he who disobeys my order will have only himself to blame.

This document has been drawn up in the presence of and witnessed by :—

Sheikh Rahma, son of Sheikh Younis

The soldier Younis

Sheikh Ismail, the King's maternal uncle

El Arbab

Sheikh Abdalla, son of Sheikh Ageeb

Sheikh Mohamed, son of Ali

Sheikh Abu Shawa, sheikh El Sawakra

Sheikh Sha'el Din, Sheikh el Bahr (river)

Sheikh Mohamed, groom of the carpet

Sheikh Hamad, sheikh el Garbein

Judge Ibrahim

El Arbab Mohamed Wad Bakoma

Fiki Ammar, son of Fiki Abu el Naga

Ahmed, son of Fiki Babikr

and the scribe, the slave of God, Mohamed, son of Abdel Ghani.

GOD IS THE BEST WITNESS

Written in Shaaban, 1145 A.H. (January, A.D. 1733)

Documents IV and V. These are in a fragmentary state, and the writing is partly destroyed. No. IV probably emanated from the office of a vizier, whose name is illegible, but his father was the well-known Mohamed Abu Likeilik. Both documents bear no seal at all, and deal with land disputes.

Document IV. Headed : In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Mercifu . Thanks be to God, and blessings and peace be upon our lord the Apostle.

A Sultanic title deed, and royal document, drawn up at Timeid town, the well-protected and guarded, may God the Almighty, make it honoured in the eyes of its ruler, who has a strong hold over every single inch of it, and who knows its past and present ; it is he Sheikh . . . (name not clear) son of the late Sheikh Mohamed Abu Likeilik, may God make him victorious. Amen.

Whereas it has been found necessary to write a proclamation on account of a dispute between Hag Hamid son of Awonda and Obeid son of Idris over the land known as Dar

KUSH

Kabokni and Seif El Din. El Hag says that the land belongs to the Halawin (a tribe), but Obeid maintains that Dar Kabokni and Seif El Din is his own property and has produced witnesses who have corroborated his statement . . . (the rest of the document is obliterated.)

Document V. Headed: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Here is a regent's title deed, drawn up for fear of guile and quarrel. Whereas El Hag Hamid and Obeid, son of Idris, have had a dispute over a piece of river and forest land before Gasim son of Mohamed, Sheikh of the Halawin, Obeid claiming that he was originally a partner and as such should not be denied the right to cut wood from the forest or to use the crossing place on the river. El Hag holds that both his father and grandfather had some title to the land in question and . . . (words not clear). Obeid has sold his share to El Hag in the presence of Sheikh Gasim. This has taken place in the presence of and been witnessed by several people, among whom were:—

El Arbab¹ Zein El Abdin, son of Fiki El Sayed Doleib

El Arbab Hamad, son of Ahmed, son of Abu Zig

El Arbab Mohamed, son of Said, son of Abu Fru

Arbab Mohamed son of Likeil

Mohamed

Fiki El Mardi

El Daw son of Fiki Mohamed son of Fiki Qorashi

Abdel Samad, son of Fiki Midian

Mohamed son of El Maqal

Mankorokuna² Idris, son of Isa

Mankorokuna Mohamed, son of Aqab El Agag

and myself, the scribe, the slave of God, Ali son of Fiki Qorashi . . .

GOD IS THE BEST WITNESS

Written in the year 1204 A.H. (A.D. 1789)

It may be concluded from these documents that all land must have belonged to the state and that the king had the sole right to dispose of it.

Wide stretches of land were given to tribal chiefs who were allowed only the usufruct. Not only is this fact borne out by document No. I, but by similar documents now in the possession of the Abdallab tribe and others. The political significance of the system lies in the fact that the tribe was kept within the boundaries of its land, as far as possible, thus avoiding disputes with neighbouring tribes over cultivation and grazing rights, and rendering possible the collection of taxes through the sheikhs. This is probably the reason why so many tribal sheikhs act as witnesses, and it appears that they formed some sort of commission and dealt with the distribution of land. The boundaries of these stretches seem to be clearly demarcated, as in the majority of cases they are natural or artificial landmarks—rivers and hafirs (water storage reservoirs with earth banks). Furthermore the system acted as a security measure, discouraging the encroachment of neighbouring tribes.

Turning to the two documents concerning land donated to religious chiefs, it is clear that they were allowed to retain land which their forefathers had acquired, perhaps by way of a gift from a previous king or through purchase from another chief. The piece

¹ Arbab=Prince, or a descendant of the royal family.

² Mankorokuna is probably a title.

LAND TENURE DURING THE TIME OF THE FUNG

of land involved was usually small and its utilization was left entirely to the Sheikh or Fiki who relied on his followers to cultivate it and harvest the crop for him. Despite the wording of the deeds, which gives the impression that such land was only given as a symbol of respect to the Sheikh and for 'God's sake,' it is beyond doubt that there was a political idea behind it. These chiefs had a wide following and were very influential among their subjects. To ensure their loyalty to the ruling king, and to win their confidence, they were given land, obviously freehold, and this appears to have been successful.

There are more documents of this nature in the family of Sheikh Abdel Bagi of Tayiba in the Gezira, which the writer had the opportunity of examining, but was not allowed to take away as they are looked upon as an heirloom. The wording of them is almost identical with that of documents II and III.

The last two documents, Nos. IV and V, deal with land disputes, and the only salient fact is that oral evidence, as opposed to documentary, played an important rôle in deciding the ownership of land. One document, No. IV, having no date (this was probably contained in the missing part of the script) and the other being difficult to read and understand, there is an element of doubt as to their authenticity.

An interesting fact, to be noted in passing, is that on the advent of the late Condominium Government, the owners of the five documents in question were able, on the strength of these, to establish a claim to more land than any of their own people.

The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period

by T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

ONE of the most important recent discoveries in Egypt is without doubt the second stela of Kamose, found in the first court of the temple of Karnak where it had been re-used in the foundation of a statue of Ramses II¹.

The text starts without the usual introductory formulae and is thus probably a direct continuation of the famous first stela of which Chevrier found some fragments in the third pylon and the beginning of which is known to us also from the so-called Carnarvon tablet². This first stela had already thrown some light on the contemporaneous history of Nubia, clearly showing that the territory which earlier had been united under one government was now divided into three independent kingdoms: northern Egypt under the Hyksos king, Upper Egypt between Cusæ and Elephantine under Kamose, and Kush under a Nubian ruler³.

It could also be deduced from this earlier text in combination with some contemporary stelae from Buhen, that in all probability one single ruler dominated the whole of Lower Nubia, that one of them had the name *Ndh* and that he had Egyptians in his service, which is perhaps the explanation of the rapid Egyptianization of the Nubian C-group⁴.

The second Kamose stela gives us some more valuable information on this Nubian kingdom of the late Second Intermediate Period, and clearly demonstrates that these earlier conclusions were correct.

The difficulty in this new text is to make a distinction between past and future tenses and thus between what describes the real acts of Kamose and what he only threatens to do. I shall not here enter upon this problem in detail but only give some outlines of the context in which the passage referring to Nubia occurs.

After some introductory phrases characterizing the general situation and the defeat of the Hyksos king⁵ there follows a narrative section describing the attack of Kamose's fleet on the territory of the Hyksos ruler Apophis. Kamose seems to have made a raid

¹ Labib Habachi, *Ann. du Serv.*, 53, 1955, 195 ff., with a photograph and a summary of the contents. Hammad, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 30, 1955, 198 ff., also published a copy, a photograph, and a preliminary translation. I am very much indebted to my friend Habachi for his kindness in putting at my disposal an excellent photograph and an accurate hand copy, which he authorized me to use for this article, and I remember with gratitude the long and interesting discussions we had in Uppsala on this extraordinary text and its many problems.

² cf. *JEA*, 3, 95 ff.; 5, 45 ff.; *Ann. du Serv.*, 39, 245 ff.

³ cf. *JEA*, 35, 56 f. with references.

⁴ *JEA*, 35, 50 ff.; *Kush*, 11, 19 ff.

⁵ I suggest the following interpretation: 'It will be a bad report in your town when you are driven back at the side of your army, your authority being too restricted to make me a vassal, yourself being the ruler, or (even) to ask for which slaughtering place you shall fall to (*hrt.k* prospective relative form). Your wretched back will be seen, when my army will be behind you, and the women of Avaris will not conceive (*nn iwr*, that is *nn sdm.f* which practically always refers to future events; Gardiner, *Eg. Grammar* § 457), their hearts not open in their bodies, when the (battle) cry of my army is heard'.

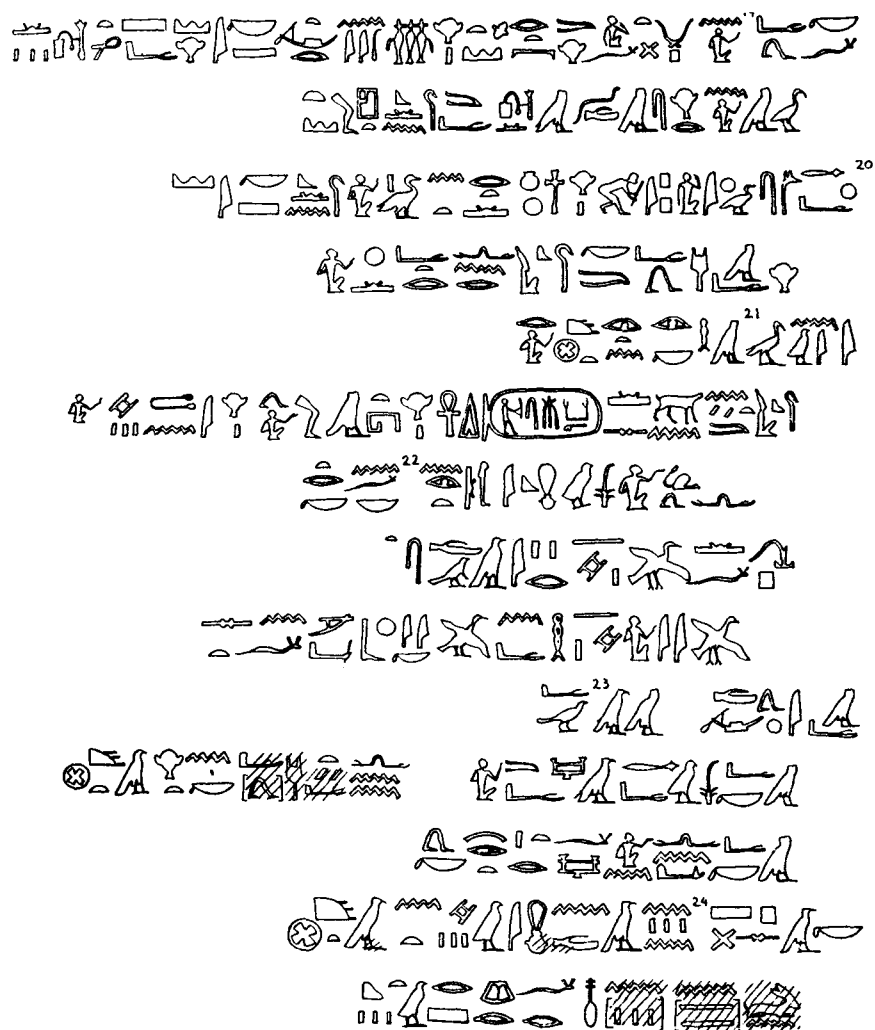


FIG. 1

KUSH

up to the Hyksos capital Avaris, as his ships are said to have 'uprooted the field of Avaris (*d't Ht-w'rt*)', and in a speech he addresses the women who were 'on the top of his (Apophis's) palace, looking out through the windows towards the harbour'. He says that he will destroy the dwelling of Apophis, cut down his trees, and 'your women shall be dragged to me to the ships' holds and I shall seize the chariotry (*ti-nt-htry*)'⁶.

Kamose then enumerates the booty taken during this raid, presumably near Avaris, as this section ends with the words: 'I did not leave anything of Avaris, it being empty', and speaks of the wretched Asiatic who had said: 'I am a lord without equal from Hermopolis to *Pr-Hathor* . . . and to Avaris with the two rivers'. Kamose tells us that he left this territory destroyed and empty of people. 'I hacked up their towns and set fire to their dwellings', so that they were made into red tells eternally, because of the damage they had done in Egypt, when they gave themselves to serve the Asiatics forsaking Egypt, their mistress'. This passage is a valuable support for my view that the opponents of Kamose were not only the Hyksos, but also Egyptians who had sided with the foreigners⁸.


Then we read⁹ (see FIG. 1 above, p. 55):

'I captured his message on the upland Oasis route (cf. Urk. I, 105) proceeding southward to Kush in a written letter. I found in it as follows in writing from the ruler of Avaris:

"Awoserrē, the son of Rē' Apophis greets my son the ruler of Kush (or, the son of the ruler of Kush)¹⁰. Why have you risen as king without letting we know?"

This introduction is a complaint that the Nubian king had not acted according to diplomatic courtesy and informed his colleague of his enthronement, a habit which is well-known from the El Amarna letters¹¹. It is interesting to see this kind of diplomacy at so early a date in Africa and in the correspondence between the Egyptianized Hyksos and the kinglet of Lower Nubia. It is possible that this is due to an Asiatic influence, and that the Hyksos king (who was called 'chieftain of Retenu' by Kamose; I. 4) had learnt those courtesy rules in his diplomatic correspondence with his colleagues in the Near East. However, the fact that Apophis could ever have expected the Nubian to act according to these rules, throws in itself an interesting light also on this Nubian kingdom, which was so well established as to survive more than one ruler.

⁶ Again we have a series of sentences with *nn sdm.f* referring to the future, just as the construction *mk swr.i m trp* etc. 'I shall drink of the wine of your vineyard'. (Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 234); and *grm n.i hmwt.k* is in my opinion the passive *sdm.f* of future events (Gardiner, op. cit. § 422, 2); the hitherto unknown word *grm* is perhaps to be combined with Arabic جلب 'drag' (cf. Vergote, *Phonétique*, p. 135, for the phonetical possibility).

⁷ The word may be a wrong restoration of an original .

⁸ *JEA*, 37, 69 f.

⁹ Fig. 1: cf. Habachi's translation, *Ann. du Serv.*, 53, 201.

¹⁰ The first rendering implies that Apophis, being the elder ruler, addressed his younger colleague as 'my son' instead of the usual 'my brother' (and the writing rather supports this view); if we translate 'the son of the ruler of Kush', Apophis would have stressed that the new ruler was a legitimate successor of his father.

¹¹ cf. Bilabel, *Gesch. Vorderas. u. Äg.*, S. 89; e.g. *EA*, 29, 61 ff. (from Tušratta of Mitanni): '[But when Na]p[h]uri[a], the great son of Nimmuria by Tiy his wife . . . [wrote to me: "I] will enter upon my reign", I said: "Nimmuria is not dead." Now Naphuria, his great son by Tiy, his great wife [has placed himself] in his stead. . . . Now I say [in] my [heart]: "Naphuria is my brother. We love one another in our hearts"']; *EA*, 33, 9 ff. (from the king of Alasia: 'I have heard that you have placed yourself on the throne of your father's house').

THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

But if the diplomatic rules were the same as those of later times, Apophis himself had not acted as he should either. When a new king had been enthroned, his colleagues were expected to send him gifts of congratulation¹², and this Apophis had not done. It is perhaps some kind of an excuse when he continues :

'Do(n't) you see what Egypt has done against me ? The ruler there, Kamose, given life, is attacking me (*thm* prop. "butting" like a wild-ox) on my ground. (And yet) I had not attacked him in the same way as everything he had done against you. He chooses these two lands to harass them, my land and yours, he has destroyed them'.

This passage shows that Kamose had waged war against the Nubians, too, an event of which there was no certain evidence so far. The fact that Egyptians served under the Nubian king, the sudden Egyptianization of the C-group in contrast to its anti-Egyptian attitude during the earlier Egyptian occupation, the peaceful immigration into Upper Egypt of the Nubian pan-grave people, the use made of them by Kamose as mercenaries under the name of *Mdꜥꜣw*, all this has been interpreted as signs of peaceful conditions between Egypt and Nubia at the beginning of the 'war of liberation'¹³ and the first Kamose text gives the same impression. There the grandees try to calm down Kamose's irritation over the fact that he has to share his power in 'this Egypt' with an Asiatic and a Nubian, by pointing out to him that 'Elephantine is strong'. We have reason to believe that there was a movement of people going on northwards from Kerma in the south into Lower Nubia at this time (some pure Kerma graves occur in Lower Nubia, and Kerma ware is found in the late C-group), and the pan-graves show that this movement did not stop at the Egyptian frontier, where the immigration was, however, in all probability under Egyptian control. If Kamose, as is said by Apophis, had attacked Nubia, it was perhaps just a raid to make his control over this Nubian northward movement more effective. In all probability this happened before his third regnal year, when, according to his first stela, the war against the Hyksos started. To judge from the words of the grandees just quoted, it did not lead to any great results, and the frontier of the Nubian territory remained at the first cataract.

Near Toshke in Lower Nubia the royal names of Kamose occur in a rock inscription, which it is tempting to connect with his raid, if we are to believe Apophis. But immediately below them are the names of his brother and successor Ahmose, the king who conquered Lower Nubia, and it is doubtful, whether the text was written before Kamose's death, despite the fact that Kamose is called 'given life', an epitheton which as a rule is applied to living rulers. It is, however, not impossible that Kamose's names were incised there during his raid and that the names of Ahmose were written under those of his brother when the Egyptian army returned to the place during the later conquest, just as Thutmose III tells us that he put up his stela on the Euphrates next to that of his predecessor Thutmose I¹⁴.

¹² cf. Bilabel, loc. cit., especially the letter from Hattušil to Ramses II (*ZDMG* 72, 1918, 44 f.) : 'I have seized the reign, [but] you have not sent any messenger; and, whereas it is the custom among kings, [when somebody seizes the] reign that the kings send their colleagues beautiful gifts, royal dresses and fragrant [oil] of anointment, you have not done so this day'.

¹³ cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 129 ff., 141 ff. ; *JEA*, 35, 56 f.

¹⁴ cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 141 f. ; Weigall, *Report*, pl. 65, 4, had made a rapid copy only, and the text should be re-examined. Labib Habachi has told me, that he is trying to do so. It is still more doubtful, if some scarabs with the name *Wꜥd-hꜣr-R* found at Faras (*LAAA*, 8, pl. xviii) should be connected with the raid of Kamose.

KUSH

Apophis then comes to the main purpose of his message :

‘ Come, journey downstream! Don’t be afraid !¹⁵ Lo, he is here with me and there is nobody who will stand up against (?)¹⁶ you here in Egypt and, behold, I shall not give him (free) road until you arrive. Then we shall divide the towns of Egypt (between us), and our [two lands] shall thrive¹⁷ in joy ! ’

This offer to join forces and attack Kamose from two sides shows undoubtedly that the Nubian kingdom was strong enough to be a political factor to be taken into consideration, and the fact that Kamose used the Nubian *Mdꜣꜣꜣw* in his army, where Apophis had experienced their military capacity, may also have inspired him to try to induce other Nubians to side with him. This help was badly needed, despite the fact that the Hyksos had now imported from Asia and used against the Thebans improvements in military technique such as horse-drawn chariots¹⁸, bronze weapons¹⁹ and new types of daggers, swords and bows.

From the next section of the text, which starts with some more general phrases in praise of Kamose, it seems as if this message had been sent before Kamose had reached the neighbourhood of Avaris.

‘ He became afraid of me, when I proceeded northward, before we had fought (with one another), before I had reached him. When he saw my fire, he sent as far as Kush to seek somebody to save him. But I seized it (the message) on the road, and did not allow it to arrive. And I had it brought back to him, putting it on the eastern *gebel* towards Atfih ’.

A terror seized Apophis, Kamose tells us, when he heard of what Kamose had done in the territory of the Cynopolite nome, and then we hear about Kamose’s last exploit before returning to Assiut, the starting point of the campaign according to the first stela. ‘ I sent a strong troop overland to destroy the Bahria Oasis, when I was in Sako (El Keis) in order to prevent rebels from being behind me ’.

It is not clear whether this implies that he had moved his frontier to the north of the Cynopolite nome, the part of the Nile valley which is opposite the Bahria Oasis, possibly up to Atfih near the entrance to the Fayum, or even to the neighbourhood of Avaris (which is less probable), or whether the purpose of the raid was simply to cut off every possible communication between the Hyksos and the Nubian king.

The text of the new Kamose stela ends with a description of the triumphal return to Thebes and a command that the stela should be placed in Karnak.

I cannot here enter upon all the problems connected with this extraordinary text and shall restrict myself to a few points.

First the Nubian king. In an earlier article (*JEA*, 35, 57) I suggested that the ruler of Kush *Ndꜣh*, known from the Khartoum stela No. 18, is possibly the one alluded to in the first Kamose stela. If, as is plausible, the second stela describes the continuation of the war, the beginning of which is the subject of the first text, this same *Ndꜣh* should also have been the addressee of Apophis’s letter. On the basis of a stela belonging to the same group as Khartoum No. 18 and Philadelphia Nos. 10983 and 10984 I later drew

¹⁵ , ‘ is a new word ; cf. “y *Wb.* I 169, ‘ von angsterfüllten Menschen ’ ?

¹⁶ *nn nty* ‘h’ *n.k* for *r.k* ; then, properly, ‘ in this Egypt ’.

¹⁷ read *wnn* [*tꜣwy*].*n nfr*.

¹⁸ The word *tꜣ-nt-ḥtr* occurs for the first time in the new Kamose stela ; cf. (p. 56, n. 6, (above) and *JEA*, 37, 59 ff.

¹⁹ Among the booty taken during the raid against Avaris were also, according to the new stela, ‘ axes of bronze without number ’.

THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

the further conclusion, however, that the Nubian kingdom lasted more than one generation²⁰. The new Kamose stela also supports this view, but the fact that we have at least two Nubian kings during the period of freedom from Egypt lessens of course the probability that *Ndh* was the one to whom Apophis wrote his letter. He can quite as well have been the father of the latter, and this is perhaps more plausible, as it was the grandfather of Iah-woser who served under *Ndh* and this Iah-woser almost certainly put up the stela before the Egyptian conquest under Ahmose. However, no certain conclusions can be drawn from the evidence now available²¹.

The most extraordinary new fact which we learn from the second Kamose stela is the name of Kamose's Hyksos opponent, 'Awoserrē', the son of Rē' Apophis'. According to practically all scholars who have tried to reconstruct the history of the Hyksos this ruler, with the exception of Khian, was practically the only one who could not possibly be dated to Kamose's time. According to Stock's reconstruction²², based on the literary sources and on an analysis of the stylistical development of the scarabs, 'Awoserrē' Apophis belonged to the 'great Hyksos' of the xvth Dynasty, which was followed by the xvth Dynasty of Hyksos rulers in Lower Egypt contemporaneous with the xvth Dynasty in Upper Egypt. I cannot here enter upon all the consequences of the new fact that 'Awoserrē' Apophis was one of the last Hyksos rulers or the possible solutions of the problem²³. I shall here restrict myself to some aspects linked up with Nubian history.

The best starting point for the reconstruction of the history of Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period is the trade factory of Kerma. There it is possible to follow an uninterrupted development of the native civilization, which was under a strong Egyptian influence, from, perhaps, the end of the xiiith Dynasty down to the New Kingdom. The latest phase is as yet unpublished, but, as I have tried to show elsewhere²⁴, the richest native tumuli with their many imported Egyptian objects, are probably to be dated to the period after the xiiith Dynasty, presumably the xiiiith Dynasty and the beginning of the Hyksos period. This is shown not only by the scarabs but also by the occurrence of the widely spread Tell el Yehudieh ware, which indicates a vivid trade between Kerma and Egypt, and between Egypt and Syria-Palestine during the period after the xiiith Dynasty²⁵. The so-called Deffûfa of Kerma was without doubt the Egyptian trade factory through which the natives received the foreign goods deposited in their tombs, and in a room in its western part a large number of seal impressions were found by Reisner²⁶, all accumulated there during a rather short period, datable through names (Jacob-her, Mā'etibrē' and Sheshi) and ornamental designs to the Hyksos period. A

²⁰ In Barns, 'Four Khartoum Stelæ', *Kush*, II, p. 21.

²¹ Whether the Ahmose-Intef, mentioned on a scaraboid found in Ermenne, is one of these Nubian rulers also remains doubtful; cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 131.

²² *Ägyptol. Forsch.* 12; I accepted it in its general outlines in my article on the Hyksos rule (*JEA*, 37, 53 ff.; cf. also *Bi. Or.* 6, 87 ff.), which by many was regarded as too sceptical—but at least regarding this problem, the chronological order of the Hyksos, it was not sceptical enough.

²³ Stock tells me that he will soon publish a revision of his earlier reconstruction; he now wants to date the first rulers to about 1675. The 'small Hyksos' (his xvth Dynasty) are contemporary with the 'great Hyksos', and those with Semitic names (such as Jaqob-el), whose scarabs have not as yet the characteristics of the later period, would be the first forerunners.

²⁴ *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 110 ff.

²⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 125 f.

²⁶ *Kerma* III-IV, pp. 75 f., 81, 558.

KUSH

little later the Kerma factory was set on fire—according to Reisner it was taken by storm and the Egyptian garrison put to the sword. As there is no sign of any interruption of the trade before this date, but indications of isolation from Egypt in the later tumuli, and as we have every reason to believe that the trade was to the benefit of the natives, we thought we were justified in assuming that the interruption of the trade was due to developments in Lower Nubia, where the native population had been oppressed by a hated Egyptian occupation²⁷ and used the first opportunity to set themselves free. As the Kerma trade could hardly be upheld by an Egyptian government which did not rule Lower Nubia, it seemed reasonable to correlate the interruption of the Kerma trade and the liberation of Lower Nubia, and the latter event was thus dated to the period immediately after that of the Hyksos kings whose names occur on the seal impressions found in the Kerma factory.

This reconstruction which I first published in my *Ägypten und Nubien*, seems logical enough, but may have to be revised in the light of the new evidence.

The assumption that the occurrence in the trade factory of seal impressions with names of Hyksos rulers implied that the trade was in the hands of these kings is no longer necessarily correct, as we learn from the new Kamose stela that letters were sent from the Hyksos to the Nubians. The seal impressions are perhaps simply those with which such letters were sealed, and hence do not indicate a political domination or even influence. Moreover, the fact that the free rulers in Lower Nubia were highly Egyptianized for perhaps two generations, and had Egyptians in their service, is in favour of the possibility that trade with Egyptian goods, passing through the hands of Egyptians or Nubians in Lower Nubia, could be upheld in Kerma even if Lower Nubia was no longer under the rule of the Egyptian government, whether this had been taken over by the Hyksos or not. Thus the date of the Lower Nubian liberation is no longer necessarily dependent on the interruption of the Kerma trade which may, after all, be due to unknown local circumstances. The dating of these Hyksos rulers occurring in Kerma is therefore, from the Nubian point of view, no longer of such fundamental importance, and we cannot know for certain if the trade in Kerma was, during its last stage, in Egyptian hands or in the hands of some Egyptianized natives, like the rulers in Lower Nubia.

The assumption that 'Awoserrē' Apophis had upheld the Kerma trade and dominated Lower Nubia, was based on the date assigned to him, earlier than the rulers mentioned in Kerma, but we now know that this date cannot be correct, and his restricted political power during the later part of his reign rather makes it improbable that he could control the trade in the Sudan.

However, this Apophis reigned for at least 33 years²⁸ and, even if the Nubian evidence regarding the geographical extension of the territory under his control is now of less value, there are some indications that conditions were different before Kamose's third regnal year, when Upper Egypt down to Hermopolis was independent, a fact which is clearly acknowledged also by Apophis in his letter to Kush²⁹. The names of 'Awoserrē' Apophis and of Khian occur on some blocks from a monument at Gebelein south of Thebes, and we have no reason to believe that they have been brought there secondarily³⁰. This find is an indication of political influence also in Upper Egypt, and the

²⁷ To judge both from the official texts, the geographical distribution of fortresses in the neighbourhood of C-group settlements, and the archaeological evidence of the C-group.

²⁸ The mathematical Papyrus Rhind is dated to his 33rd regnal year.

²⁹ This is implied by his words 'Kamose is attacking me on my ground', without any protest against Kamose's rule of Upper Egypt.

³⁰ cf. *JEA*, 37, 63; Stock, op. cit., p. 65.

THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

famous tale of Pap. Sallier on the Hyksos Apophis and the Theban king Seḫnenrē³¹ supports it. This Seḫnenrē is certainly identical with Kamose's father Seḫnenrē 'Ta'o II³². When we now know that Kamose's opponent was 'Awoserrē' Apophis, who had a very long reign, and much of this reign can hardly fall after Kamose, who in all probability was rather soon succeeded by his brother Ahmose, who expelled the Hyksos, it is reasonable to conclude that the ruler in the Hyksos capital Apophis of Pap. Sallier should be 'Awoserrē'. According to the tale the entire land was tributary to him which is in perfect agreement with the evidence of the Gebelein blocks. Thus this detail of the tale may be correct, implying that the predecessors of Kamose were more or less vassals of the Hyksos, despite the fact that the main trend of the tale, the Hyksos contempt for the Egyptian god Rē, is hardly historical³³, a conclusion now borne out also by the new stela, where Kamose, when quoting the Nubian letter, adds the determinative of the slain foe to the name of Apophis, but without reaction writes out his title 'son of Rē'.

Consequently, if 'Awoserrē' Apophis was perhaps the acknowledged ruler of the whole of Egypt at the beginning of his reign, the possibility remains that Lower Nubia had also acknowledged his suzerainty. When Apophis reproaches the Nubian kinglet that he had not been notified of his accession to the throne, this may be something more than just a complaint of lacking diplomatic courtesy. Even if Nubia was now free and the communications with the Hyksos were difficult owing to the rise of Kamose, the Hyksos king could so much the more have expected the Nubian king to notify him of the changes in Nubian politics if Apophis had at an earlier date been the suzerain of Nubia, and so much more natural would his demand for Nubian help be, if they had had a close political collaboration before.

But all this remains pure conjecture, as well as the possibility that the Kerma trade was perhaps at some time in the hands of Apophis, of which there is no longer any positive evidence.

Few texts have to such an extent revolutionized our preconceived ideas as the new Kamose stela, and among the many problems connected with it I have here only wanted to stress its great importance for the reconstruction of the history of Nubia during a period which is still very imperfectly known, but which is from many points of view the most fascinating.

³¹ For an interpretation of the main theme see my article in *Horæ Sæderblomianæ*, III.

³² cf. Winlock, *JEA*, 10, 248 ff.

³³ cf. *JEA*, 37, 64 f.

Scientific Archaeology in the Near East

by OLIVER H. MYERS

THERE are moments in the development of a discipline when all advances steadily, when there is no introspection and no need for introspection: such was, perhaps, the state of Near Eastern Archaeology in the years between the two World Wars. It is my contention that we have now reached a period when we should do some stocktaking.

Science has been and is being more and more applied to archaeology with immense benefit; people are beginning to use statistics, though not nearly enough; there has been some fusion of techniques developed in different areas and under different circumstances, though this fusion is admittedly inadequate. Nevertheless, one can say that technique is improving steadily; but it will not reach its full capacity till some university has the courage to open a chair of scientific archaeology in its faculty of Science—but this is something that will probably come of its own account before long.

It is something more fundamental that needs examination, the strategy of archaeology, and I hope to suggest that with a new strategy the major difficulty of to-day, finance, may perhaps be overcome.

Firstly, I assume that we are all agreed that the object of excavations is to provide the raw material of history—directly, where everything except inscriptions are concerned, and at second hand through the philologist when we find texts. (Of course an inscribed object has two aspects, its position as an archaeological find and the contents of the inscription, and the two are complementary.)

So far so good, but if we leave politics and finance aside for the moment, where should we dig first? What problem would you first set out to solve, or, since personal preferences may well guide the answer, what problems would you send teams to solve if you were Director of a United Nations Fund for Archaeological Excavations?

The answer is not easy, for the instantaneous answers are not necessarily the correct ones. Seldom have I been so moved by an account of an excavation as when I read that they had found the palaces of Nestor and Maenaleus; Nestor's bath, where he doubtless chanted some ancient half-forgotten war-song as he scrubbed himself, has been exposed; you may step in the echoing portico of Maenaleus where Telemachus and Peisistratus slept; you can examine household accounts of Nestor or even lie in the very bedroom where Helen slept. But many readers, not brought up on Homer, may well pass such news almost unnoticed, whereas to see the terrace of Tao Tse, or of Confucius, the pleasure garden of the young Siddhartha, or again the site where the Prophet pitched a tent would move them profoundly. In part a regional division solves this problem and clearly all problems except that of earliest man are regional in nature, though the regions will vary with each age and with each problem. But, more than this, we may, perhaps, question the emotion of the finder or his readers and listeners as a criterion of importance. We may well argue that some subject, which will arouse few to enthusiasm and none to tears of emotion, such as the origin of plant domestication, of the wheel or pot, or of iron smelting, is more important to history than our sites of literary or theological association.

SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NEAR EAST

It is, perhaps, worth carrying the matter *ad absurdum* and asking what we would stop to look at if we had H. G. Wells' Time Machine at our disposal. It is surely clear that there is much we would not need or wish to stop and question, activities which we know must have taken place at all times everywhere, eating and sleeping, drinking, love-making, and quarrelling. True, if we were trained anthropologists, there might be some details of all these activities which we might wish to study, but we would only want to witness the act once for all the period of time and for all the people who complied with the form observed.

In fact the total possible knowledge of the past may, perhaps, be described schematically as four-dimensional, by regarding the surface of the earth and the people on it as two-dimensional, their activities as the third, and time as the fourth (this will not muster in the philosophic world but will do for our purpose). Since we could hardly observe at a speed greater than four times that of nature we could, at best, each of us in his working life of thirty years observe the complete activities of a small village for about 150 years and, even allowing for the large numbers of people interested to-day and the small population of ancient times, we should not get far without the most rigorous selection. As a reaction against the King-and-Battle-Date school of thought, we have, perhaps, been inclined lately to over estimate the value of the Pot and Pan. No-one wants to spend more than a few months observing the material culture of a primitive village and, except at a few sites, this is all that archaeological remains can show us (robbed of the *dramatis personae*) till about 6000 years ago, i.e. for the first million years (or is it half-a-million?) of human history. In fact, however moving it might be to a man with imagination to watch his ancestors of that period—his great, great, $\times 10^4$ grandfather, eating and hunting, fighting for life or pursuing the mate of his choice, there can be little doubt that the scenario would be of only slightly more interest than that provided by a troop of cynocephali. I fear that most of us, after the first few days, would welcome the sight of Lollabrigida on the silver screen for a change. However that may be, time and destruction have saved us from the 'acres' of boredom such a spectacle calls forth. Nevertheless, there are clearly periods and places which it would be fascinating and instructive to visit. Would you not like to see whether the Trojans were really asses enough to pull in the wooden horse? What about the movements of the Hamitic cultures in the Sahara? Lunch with the queens of Meroë? Many such things are tempting and some of great value to the historian, and, since archaeological material must be used by historians, and since histories must be read to be of any value, there will always be some place in each region for what we may, perhaps, call 'associative' digs. Khartoumis may well say to their archaeological sons, 'We are of Khartoum, tell us about the mounds of Soba across the river, what kind of people lived there? What rulers had they? Why did they disappear and their capital fall?' They may even be prepared to put forward money for this though that is—alas, always—another matter.

But, leaving aside politics, which are always detestable until they have been eroded by the sands of time for at least 500 to 1000 years, what great drama has been played through history in the Near East and is still being played to-day? There can be only one answer, the growth and recession of deserts and man's part in it. To-day, science is taking a hand and many an august body, seated in Rome, New York or Paris, casts from time to time a Jovian glance towards our deserts, semi-deserts and steppes, a glance that even becomes jovial as the northern climate degenerates in mid-winter. Seldom, however, do plans include archaeologists and pre-historians in their purview, although practically all knowledge of the past of these deserts springs in the first place from the work of archaeologists, even though the present state of the knowledge has been moulded by

KUSH

people of other disciplines. I believe this to be because we have not ordered our studies in a scientific manner. Partly this has been due to exigencies outside our control—a road must be built through an old fort or palace, a railway through a cemetery, and quickly, like lightning, without costing any one more than a penny, or anyway not much more, the archaeologist must drop what he is doing and save such remnants of history as are to be found there.

We may hope that, in the future, this sort of task will be 'looked after' by some sort of flying squad, which should also serve as a splendid training ground for young archaeologists, with new problems and new periods cropping up all the time, but the major effort should be elsewhere. It is not entirely the fault of destruction or constructional development that work has been so unco-ordinated. It has to some extent been the reverse of the medal of the golden age of Near-Eastern archaeology between the wars when money flowed from interested private individuals and exciting finds were being made in all sorts of fields everywhere. This work was then, and the tradition continues to-day, entirely quantitative. What kind of people lived here? What kind of instruments did they use? What kind of jewellery did they wear? etc. etc. This was exciting and interesting to do, and not very difficult either; but the value of the results was strictly limited; it had the value of a poem or a sonata, a *per se* value which could and can be maintained but only as long as people are prepared to pay for it—either in time or money.

The Near East is full of interesting sites, it is indeed littered with them, and though there is doubtless exaggeration in the statement that there are 10,000 *tells* in Syria alone, this is no more than justifiable hyperbole. Some way must be found of saving this archaeological treasure from destruction, for there is much destruction by local digging, especially when *tells* are still occupied. Then a selection may be made with some end in view that will gain the widest possible support, while other sites remain inviolate. (Education is probably the only answer to the need for conservation.) It is suggested that the work should be quantitative and ecological so that we may learn from future excavations about ancient populations and their economy, and about the ecology of the area at that time. To some extent techniques have been developed to enable climatic judgments to be made, such as by conchology—a good example being Arkell's work on Old Khartoum; but these can be much further developed if statistical methods be employed. It is necessary that complete sites be cleared so that all the evidence from them is available. I may well be wrong, but I do not believe that a single town of the scores that have been excavated in the Near East has been completely cleared! We have little idea of how old towns were laid out and hardly any of their populations. Take for example the magnificent discoveries at Jericho where Miss Kenyon has found a city older than the discovery of pottery with a stone revetted defence wall! Surely here is a site crying out for complete excavation, the ancestor and perhaps the prototype of all cities. Probably if every city in the world were to give £10 this site could be cleared, but the present financing admits only of trenches and *sondages*.

Such sites require international co-operation so that we can squeeze the orange dry. When we finish we should be able to say that at x years B.C., when the rainfall in the area was y , the city supported $n \pm n'$ people, who mostly made their living by such-and-such an occupation. The area was wooded with trees of this-and-that species. All this apart, of course, from the usual details of pottery, implements, furnishings, burial customs, to which we would add town planning and lay-out, and, with luck, the sociology of the population, at least in its more material aspects.

Returning then to our pipe-dream of the Director of a U.N.F.F.A. and benevolently regarding the Near East with a view to helping its archaeology we can, perhaps, now say

SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NEAR EAST

in what projects he should be prepared to participate financially and with technical assistance.

(We are not concerned here with the very urgent problems of restoration and repair which need treating separately, but we may mention in passing that whereas no-one in the world can find enough money to preserve with glass fronts the incomparable wealth of the tomb walls of Egypt, this would not require more glass than is to be found in one skyscraper.) We should give technical assistance and some financial aid to :—

- (i) A project for instructing children in schools at every level from the kindergarten upwards in the necessity of preserving the country's and region's cultural heritage and its monuments.
- (ii) To any university prepared to set up a full chair in scientific and statistical archaeology.
- (iii) To any excavations or series of excavations designed to shed light on the problems of the formation of deserts and semi-deserts and on their utilization, and replanting.
- (iv) To an excavation or series of excavations designed to solve a historic problem of more than local significance.

It will be noticed that whereas we here leave the local problems to the locals to solve themselves, there is a sufficient degree of latitude in subsection (iv) to allow the Director latitude to help with the resolution of an associative problem as light relief. And since most of us have to enjoy our archaeology by proxy, let us enjoy a little in fantasy form. What, reader, is your major serious project for which, when he is appointed, the Director of the U.N.F.F.A. will grant several thousand pounds, and what your minor associative one? I shall not give away my major one in case some heartless reader steal it, but my minor one (at the northern end of the arid zones) I will confide in you: in a favourable light I noticed two years ago that the 'misty cavern half way up the crag, facing the West . . . the home of Scylla, the creature with the dreadful bark' is still to be seen, walled up it is true, perhaps for safety. (It is more than half way up but we cannot expect mathematical accuracy in a Bronze Age document.) I will unwall it and look for the remains of those twelve horrid feet and those 'six long necks each ending in a grisly head with the triple rows of teeth, set thick and close and darkly menacing . . .'—or for what gave rise to the story. And the great fig-tree overhanging Charybdis? Yes, I shall look for a piece of that for radio-carbon dating. You may think that the gigantic pylon which now stands there will have destroyed its last traces, but I think not, for if indeed it did overhang Charybdis then it must itself have been larger than the Eiffel Tower.

Finally, lest the Editor, who so kindly asked me to contribute, or a reader may accuse me of levity I would like to recall G. K. Chesterton's reply to an accusation that he was not serious about religion because he made so many jokes about it. G.K. said that this attack confused two things, seriousness and solemnity. He (G.K.) could afford to laugh about religion because he was serious; leader writers, politicians and company directors were all solemn—and he hoped no-one would suggest that they were serious.

New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan

by DR J. VERCOUTTER

WHEN Lepsius came to the Sudan in 1843, he recorded nearly all the inscriptions he could see along the banks of the Nile. Those are now part of his large and admirable *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. This publication is all the more important inasmuch as a certain number of texts have deteriorated, or even have been destroyed, since Lepsius' visit to the Sudan. But, however precious Lepsius' readings may be they need now to be published again: our knowledge of Egyptian philology and epigraphy has much improved since 1843 and the *Denkmäler* are no longer up to the standard of a modern publication of texts and, furthermore, since this date a lot of archaeological work has been achieved in the Sudan leading to the discovery of new inscriptions which have not always been fully published. It is the hope of the Sudan

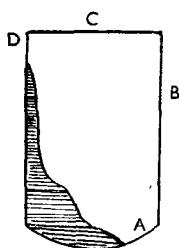


FIG. 1

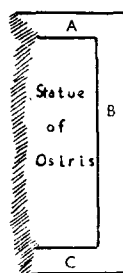


FIG. 2

Antiquities Service to undertake as soon as possible the publication of a 'Corpus' collecting all inscriptions found in the Sudan: Egyptian and Meroitic as well as Greek, Coptic, old Nubian and Arabic.

This projected 'Corpus', for want of money, will, I am afraid, take a long time to be converted into fact and in the meantime I do think it could be useful to give in KUSH, from time to time, all the epigraphical material which comes to light during our daily work in the Antiquities Service; accordingly this is the first of these papers to be devoted to Sudanese epigraphy.

Since the only link between the texts I am publishing here, is to be found in the Sudan, I will follow the geographical order from south to north. References are to the 1/250,000 maps of the Sudan Survey.

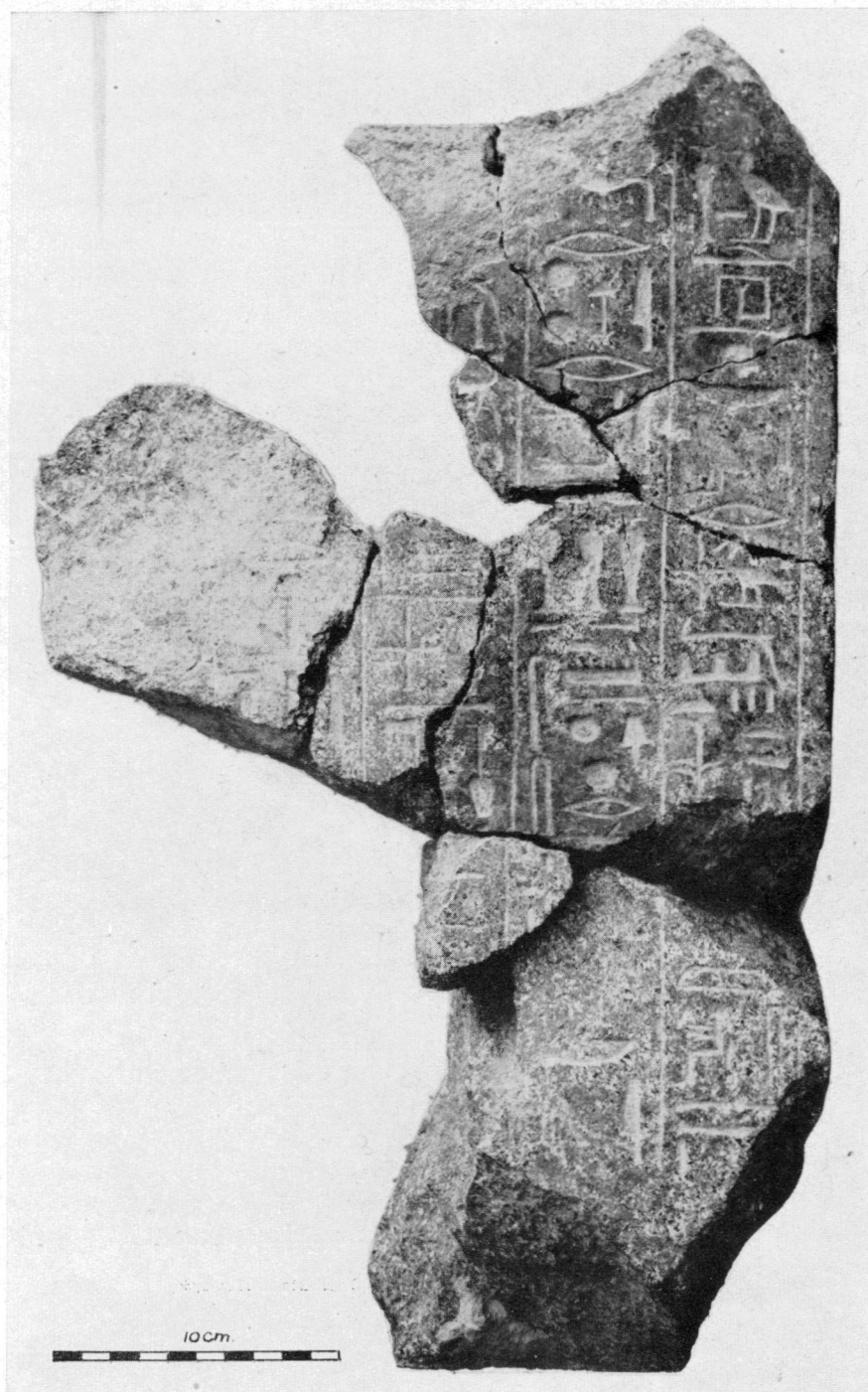
Khartoum. While working in the store-room of the Sudan Museum I noticed part of a basalt kneeling statuette¹ of a man holding a figure of Osiris within a shrine. As far as I know this statuette is still unpublished. I will deal here only with the texts which cover: I, the base; II, the border of the shrine of Osiris; III, the dorsal pillar.

¹ Khartoum Museum, no. 2782, height 37 cm., breadth 12.5 cm., length 25.5 cm. The card index gives the following indications: 'found abandoned in upper room of a house in Sirdar Avenue, Khartoum, that had once been a hotel. Place of discovery unknown. Presented by Messrs Lorenzato Bros'.

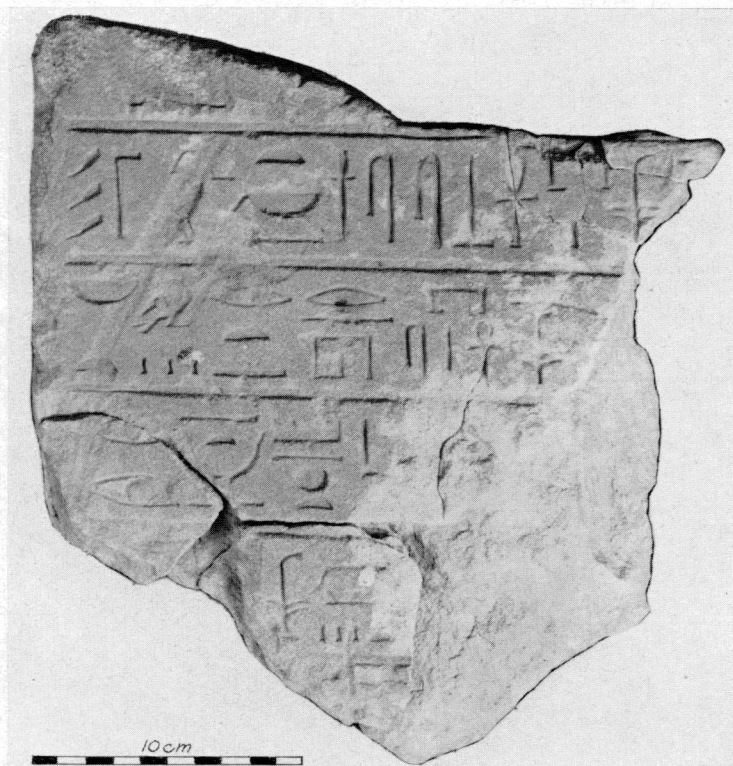


STATUE OF PATEFEMAOUYNE (Khartoum Mus. 2782)

Ph. J. Morhange



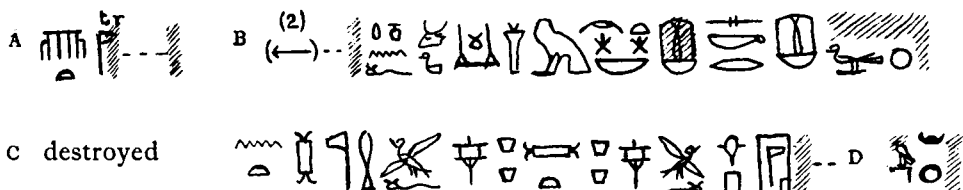
FRAGMENT OF STATUE, SAI (Inscr. 9)



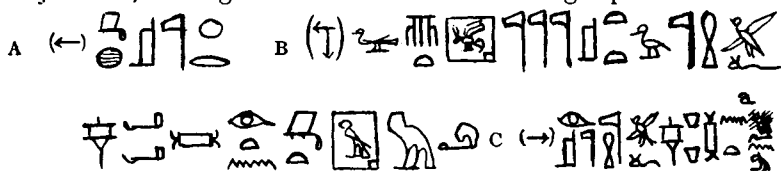
FRAGMENT OF STELA, JEBEL ABRI (Inscr. 29)

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

1. I. *The socle* : the base is rounded at the front (see FIG. 1, for the position of the texts on the socle) ; the right part of base is destroyed :



II. *The shrine* (cf. FIG. 2). In the middle of the shrine Osiris is standing wearing the *atef* crown, the flagellum and the hook. The right part of the border is destroyed.



N.B.—a. The last three signs may belong to the destroyed part of the border (see FIG. 2).

III. *The dorsal pillar* (see PLATE VII). Only the lower part of two columns are left :



The priest of Osiris, Isis and Neit *Patefemaouyne* is the son of Hathoremhat who is known to us by an Apis stela in the Louvre Museum. It can be seen from the text and the titles that the statuette comes from Northern Egypt ; how did it reach Khartoum ? Since this small monument is of very late date, xxvth Dynasty or even later, it is improbable that it could have come from an Egyptian site within the Sudan. Alternatively it could be like the Augustus head found in Meroë part of an ancient pilferage from Egypt, or a more or less recent import in the Sudan.

Hagar-el-Merwa. (Map 45 C.) In May 1956, I had the opportunity to pay a quick visit to Hagar-el-Merwa where Egyptian inscriptions were found some years ago³ which were partly published by A. J. Arkell⁴. The inscriptions are difficult to read : the rock, a kind of white quartz with blackish veins is very hard and the hieroglyphic signs have only been slightly hammered. To publish them comprehensively will need a special expedition with scaffoldings and the use of artificial light. One must be grateful to

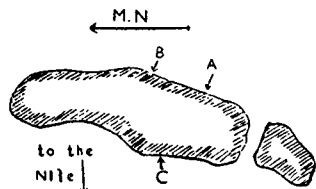


FIG. 3

A. J. Arkell for what he has done with such difficult material.

² (←) means that on the original the text is disposed in horizontal lines, hieroglyphic signs to be read from left to right (→) = horizontal lines, signs to be read from right to left ; (↖) is for column to be read from left to right, and (↗) for column, signs to be read from right to left.

³ SNR, 9, 22.

⁴ JEA, 36, 1950, pp. 36-9.

KUSH

The inscriptions occur on a small peak of quartz (see FIG. 3), the main group, including the royal stela, are on the south-eastern part of the rock at *A*; a second group is at *B*, a little north of *A*. A third one, mainly defaced, is at *C*, on the south-western face of the rock. I have numbered more than twenty different inscriptions, mostly of the XVIIIth Dynasty, some of them possibly Ramesside. In group *C* the very good inscriptions seen by Arkell⁵, painted in red, must be read:

2. 

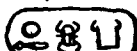
The great (?) royal wife Amosis, may she live


some twenty centimetres lower is another inscription in red ink:

3. 

The Harem's Child (or Servant)⁷, who follows the King wherever he goes, Iry.

The two inscriptions seem to have been painted by the same scribe and at the same time; however, they are separate as is shown by the big space between them. Their main interest is to show that Tuthmosis the First went as far as the 4th Cataract. The qualificative '*nh.ti* affixed to the name of Tuthmosis' wife, daughter of Amenophis I and mother of Hatshepsut,⁸ manifests that she was still living, if not actually in the Sudan, at the time of the expedition which must have occurred at the beginning of the reign, most probably in the second year (see inscription 7 under). Moreover, the presence of a *hrdw n kwp*, and the mention that he was following the king, seems to point to the fact that the campaign was headed by Pharaoh himself and not by one of his generals.

In group *A* the reading  in front of one of the lions is certain. I think that under the right hind leg of this lion is a small and much defaced inscription which runs:

4. 

The thirty-five (?) year under the Majesty of . . .

The cartouche is illegible, only the *w3st* is certain, this added to the fact that we are dealing with a date of over thirty years, rules out the possibility of a campaign by Tuthmosis I, as one would have expected from the position of the text under the lion referring to Tuthmosis I. The campaign referred to, on the inscription, must then refer to a king (*a*) using *w3st* in his cartouche, and (*b*) who reigned for over thirty years.

These two tests taken together rule out Ahmosis, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis IV, Amenophis II and leave us two possibilities only, Tuthmosis III himself and Amenophis III. Although the qualification *hq3 w3st* is


⁵ Arkell, *l.c.*, p. 39.


⁶ The *Hr* instead of *wr* is certain.

⁷ Gauthier, *BIFAO*, 15, 1918, p. 197; foreigners could be 'Harem's Children'.


⁸ See Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, 2, p. 306 sq.

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

much more frequent in the cartouches of Amenophis III (nearly always ) ,
than in those of Tuthmosis III, nevertheless the same epithet does occur in the two 'cartouches' of Tuthmosis III⁹, and especially on the Gebel Barkal Stela of this pharaoh¹⁰


where we find:  . Taking into consideration the fact that it was Tuthmosis III who erected one of the boundary stela in Hagar-el-Merwa itself¹¹, I should be inclined to attribute inscription 4 to this king.

A little to the north of inscription number 4, there is a small graffito in red paint and good handwriting :

5. 

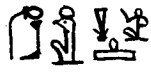

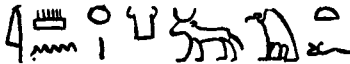
The Overseer of the southern and northern Palace (?) Horiu¹².

The 'title' is unusual, it is not mentioned either in the Titles Indices of the *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nor in Sir Alan Gardiner's *Onomastica*.

The nearest title known to me is the usual  *Superintendent of works of Upper and Lower Egypt*¹³.

Among the group *B* I noticed one inscription :

6. 
The Priest of Amon . . . Amenemhet.

The excellent painted inscription read  'The *ouab*-priest of Re, Senhotep' by Arkell¹⁴, belongs too to the group *B*. I am not altogether sure that it is *R'* which is to be read. I wonder if it is not  'Imn-*R'*'. All other inscriptions refer to Amon's worship, see for instance the bull figurations in the group *A*, which must be understood  'Amon-Re, the Bull of his mother', where the word *k1* is represented by a full sized bull and it seems that the rock of Hagar-el-Merwa was specially devoted to the Theban god Amon-Re (see too inscription 7 below,

⁹ Id., *ibid.*, p. 239, VIII ; 241, XVI ; 260, XXVII.

¹⁰ See Helck, *Urk. 18 Dyn.*, heft 17, pp. 1227 and 1228.

¹¹ See Arkell, *l.c.*, p. 36 and fig. 4.

¹² On this name see Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 245, no. 21, who translates 'Horus ist gekommen'.

¹³ See for instance Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 134, *s.v.* *imy-r k3t t3 šm'* etc.

¹⁴ Arkell, *JEA*, 36, 1950, p. 38.

KUSH

line 2 of text). As soon as possible we will try to spend more time in this important place. As far as I could see in natural light the main inscription (group *A*) reads :



As for any Nubian . . .¹⁵ who shall trespass the stela¹⁶ which my father Amon has given to me, [his head (?)] will be cut he will . . . for me. The . . . (?) and his cattle will not . . . (?) for him ; he will not have any successor. The first day (?) . . .

The date at the end of the inscription is difficult to read being nearly obliterated. It is possible that the sign *hjt* (Gardiner, Sign-list, M, 4) escaped me when I collated the text. From my copy, there is obviously enough space for it between *iw'w.f* and either *hrw* or *sp*. In this case we ought to read : *hjt-sp* 1 (or possibly 2) . . . *tpy* '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 Tuthmosis the First¹⁷.

Sabu (Map 45 H). When on my way from Dongola to Wadi Halfa, I stayed a few minutes in Sabu, a little north of Nauri, where Arkell noticed a number of rock engravings and inscriptions both Coptic and hieroglyphic¹⁸, I observed a graffito :



For the Ka of Userhat from the country of Am.

The chief interest of this small inscription is the name of Am, which, as far as I know appears here for the first time *in situ*, south of the Second Cataract ; the translation is not altogether sure. We have two possibilities : we read either, as I propose, *Wsr-hjt*

¹⁵ Space for another name or, alternatively, for determinatives of the collective *Nhsyw*.

¹⁶ Or, possibly 'who shall transgress the decree'; for *wḏw* meaning 'decree' see Zaba, *Archiv. Orientalni*, 24, 1956, p. 272, but the word may simply refer to the rock itself (see *Wb*, 1, p. 398, 17).

¹⁷ On the campaign of the second year of Tuthmosis I, cf. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 146-51, lastly. J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3ème édition, pp. 392 and 441.

¹⁸ *JEA*, 36, 1950, p. 35.

¹⁹ The hieroglyphs are in cursive.

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

n 'm, Userhat being a frequent proper name²⁰, or alternatively *Wsr hꜣt n 'm*. In the first case we have the name of the country following the proper name—which is a current feature in New-Egyptian²¹; in the second case we have the proper name *User*, frequent too, followed by a title *hꜣt n 'm* 'commander (?) of Am'. In Egyptian, usually, the titles precede the name but there are cases where the title follows the name²². Another difficulty for the second interpretation is that *hꜣt* is not a usual title—if it is a title at all; *hꜣty-* 'mayor'²³ is well known and from the Nauri Decree we are sure that there were *hꜣtyw-* in the Sudan²⁴ but neither the *Onomastica* nor the *Wörterbuch* mention such a title as *hꜣt* so written. However we know the title *hꜣwtꜣy*²⁵, a military function and there were *hꜣwtꜣw n tꜣ-sti*²⁶; I wonder if *hꜣt* could not be a defective writing of *hꜣwtꜣy* and anyway the title or qualification *hꜣt* written in the same manner as in the inscription 8 exists at the XXIInd Dynasty²⁷ so that the alternative translation 'For the Ka of User, Commander (or possibly "the First one") of Am' cannot be ruled out. However owing to the difficulties (a) of the rare title, (b) of the fact that the title follows and does not precede the name, I prefer the translation 'For the Ka of User-Hat of Am'.

The mention of Am is, of course, in favour of the localisation in Northern Sudan of this country rich in gold²⁸. If we follow the 'List of Mines' engraved in the Luxor Temple²⁹, we have from South to North: *Nswt-Tꜣwy* (Gebel Barkal), Am and Kush. Am, according to inscription 8 being in the 3rd Cataract area, Kush in the 'List of Mines' ought to refer to the gold mines situated between the 2nd and the 3rd Cataract.

Sai. (Map 35 J.) The island of Sai, where a French Archaeological Mission has been working since 1954, has recently yielded a certain number of inscriptions. In 1948, A. J. Arkell, during an inspection tour found, not far from the modern Muslim cemetery, south of the fort, a cache filled with fragments of broken statues³⁰. Those fragments are now stored in the Khartoum Museum. They are mostly of granite which has been burnt and are in very bad condition. However, if it is impossible to restore the statues themselves, part of the inscriptions at least can be interpreted.

On the back of a kneeling statue can be seen what is left of four columns of finely engraved text (cf. PLATE VIII):

²⁰ See Ranke, *Personennamen*, s.v., *Wsr-hꜣt*.

²¹ See Erman *Neuägyptische Gramm.*, § 190, p. 84.

²² See Id., *ibid.*, p. 84, where Erman mentions 'Pathay the Trumpeter', but one must remark that this quotation is pointed out by Erman as *anm* (irregular).

²³ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 15*, A. 101.

²⁴ *JEA*, 13, 1927, p. 200, n. 6.

²⁵ See *Wb*, 3, 29, 9 and Gauthier, *RT*, 39, 1921, p. 237.

²⁶ MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, p. 25, pl. 11, and Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypt. u. Nubien*, 242 and note 3.

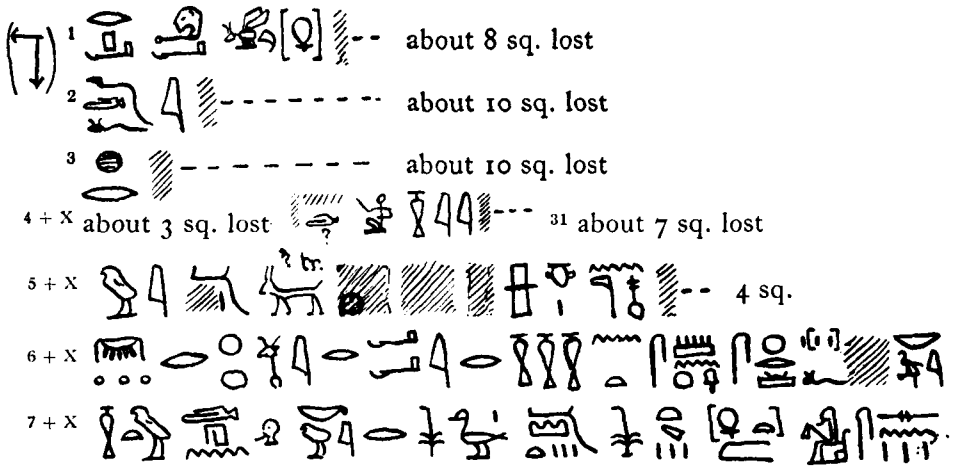
²⁷ See *RT*, xxxi, p. 6 and *Wb*, III, 20, ex. 21.

²⁸ Gauthier, *Dict. Noms. Géogr.*, I, p. 143, and Säve-Söderbergh, *l.c.*, p. 212.

²⁹ Daressy, *RT*, 16, 51 and Max Müller, *RT*, 32, p. 68.

³⁰ Arkell, *JEA*, 36, 1950, pp. 33-4.

9.



This inscription is too fragmentary to be worth a comprehensive translation. It is obviously a biographical text referring to a Royal Son of Kush: see line 6+x the mention: '*I was appointed as King's Son and Overseer of Southern Lands*'. From the wording of the inscription and the use of 4 for the pronoun first person singular it can be seen that the text dates from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. During the course of the forthcoming excavations it is hoped that the missing parts of the inscription will be recovered.

A similar kneeling statue, but smaller, was found in the same cache. Only part of the inscription is left. It reads:



. . . of Horus, the Bull Lord of Nubia, for the altar . . . in presence of the Lord of the Two Lands (Egypt) when on earth . . . the . . . of the King of Upper Egypt in the length of every day, for the Ka of the King's Son, Usersatet.

The style of the hieroglyphs is not as good as in the preceding inscription, and it seems to be of later date. The King's Son (of Kush), Usersatet, who was Viceroy under Amenophis II, is well known from monuments from Amara³², Semna, Buhen and generally from lower Nubia³³. It is the first time that his presence is mentioned at Sai.

³¹ We give here the text assuming that . . . *d.i hsy* belongs to the column immediately after the one beginning with *hr*. But, of course, it is possible that one or more columns existed between those signs and this is why we add + X to the other figures.

³² Cf. Fairman, *JEA*, 25, 1939, p. 142.

³³ See Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, p. 443, s.v. Usersatet.


NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN


A granite fragment of the same provenance bears the inscription :

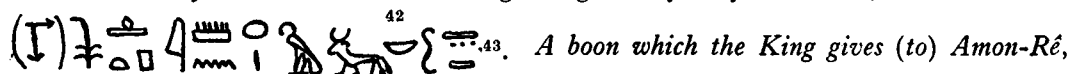
11.

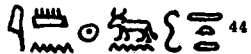


. Shât Horus, the Bull (Lord of Nubia).

This fragment is important because of the mention of . This name which appears in another inscription of Sai (see below under 13), is well known by a text of Semna Temple dating from the time of Tuthmosis III which runs : ' *I built this temple anew with fine white stones of Shât* '35. It was supposed, from the Semna text, that Shât was in the vicinity of Semna36, but the Sai inscriptions seem to show that Shât was none other than Sai itself. This is all the more important since Shât appears in the ' Execration Texts ' of the Middle Kingdom where it is mentioned among Egypt's enemies37, it appears too among the Nubian captives in the Wadi-Halfa inscription of Mentuhotep who lived under Sesostri I38. Moreover the island is full of sandstone quarries and this fact is in favour of the location of Shât in Sai itself, since the Semna Temple, which according to the Tuthmosis text was built of ' stones of Shât ' is actually of sandstone in a granite district.

The mention of ' Horus the Bull Lord of Nubia ' in inscriptions 10 and 11 is interesting since it seems that it was one of the gods specially worshipped in Sai39. In Ellesiyah grotto this god is represented as a hieracocephalic deity with the legend  *Horus, the Bull Lord of Nubia who resides in Thebes* '40. The oldest name of the god seems to have been Horus alone but very quickly there appears to have been an identification between this Horus and Amon-Rê, and so, in Semna on a fragment of sandstone door-jamb ' later than the beginning of Dynasty XVIII '41, one can read :



A boon which the King gives (to) Amon-Rê, Horus the Bull Lord of Nubia, where the name of Horus seems to be in apposition with the name of Amon. During the Napatan period we find a god  which could be the old ' Horus of Nubia '.

³⁴ Only the lower part of the *st* is visible, but the restoration is certain.

³⁵ Cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 57 a=Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 212, 1.

³⁶ See for instance Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.*, 5, p. 98, cf. Breasted, *AR*, I, p. 248.

³⁷ Sethe, *Achtungstexte, Abhandl., Berlin*, 1926, no. 5, p. 33, a 2, and p. 38, b 5; G. Posener, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, p. 49, A. 2, and p. 55, B. 4.

³⁸ Cf. Breasted, *PSBA*, 23, pp. 230-5, and Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 130-1.

³⁹ See below under 23, p. 78.

⁴⁰ *Tempore* Tuthmosis III, cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 46 b=Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, p. 91 (10)

⁴¹ Diary of Reisner (Manuscript) for the 25 January 1928, page 2 (Archives of the Antiquities Service, Khartoum).

⁴² Read  by mistake by Reisner, *ibid.*

⁴³ *Id.*, *ibid.* ⁴⁴ Dows Dunham, *Nuri*, II, p. 97.

KUSH

During two excavation campaigns in the fortress of Sai the French Archaeological Mission found some inscribed stones of which I give here the most important.

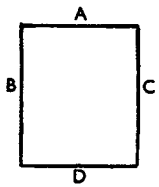
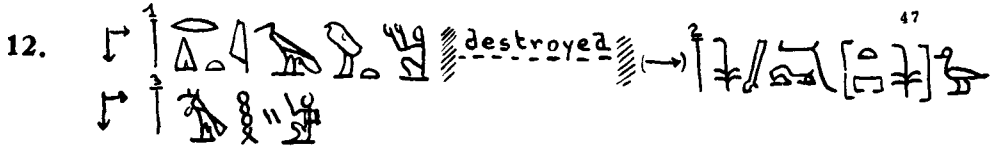


FIG. 4

*Pillar of sandstone*⁴⁵. The pillar is inscribed on its four faces. On one of them Amenophis III (FIG. 4, A) is represented standing in front of a goddess now destroyed⁴⁶; on the second one to the right of Amenophis III (cf. FIG. 4, B), one can see Tuthmosis III in front of Amon; the third one (FIG. 4, C), represents again Tuthmosis III in front of a deity much defaced. Under this representation and accompanying a kneeling figure of a scribe with arms uplifted, one can still read :



'Give adoration to (Amon-Rê)⁴⁸ . . . (by) the King's Herald the Overseer of the Granary, the King's son, Nehy'.

On the fourth face of the pillar (FIG. 4, D), under the figuration of Tuthmosis III in front of a goddess, are the remains of an important text⁴⁹ :

- 13.
1. 5 sq. lost . . .
 2. 6 sq. lost
 3. 4 ½ sq. lost
 4. 6 sq. lost
 5. 7 sq. lost
 6. 7 ½ sq. lost
 7. 8 ½ sq. lost
 8. All line lost except . . .

⁴⁵ Excavation no. S. 1.

⁴⁶ Breasted, photograph no. 3264.

⁴⁷ Restored from Steindorf, *Anibe*, II, pl. 18, lintel no. 1.

⁴⁸ Owing to the fact that all the figurations on the pillar represent Amon, I restore here the name of this god.

⁴⁹ Seen and photographed in 1905 by Breasted Expedition (Photogr. no. 3263), and in 1939 by Kirwan, *Oxford Univ. Excav. at Firka*, p. 29 and pl. VI, 1-2, see Porter-Moss, VII, p. 165. It is by mistake that this text and the Amenophis III representation are mentioned in Porter-Moss under different headings, they belong to one and the same monument.

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

. . . *Menkheperre, son of Ré, Djehutymes-Nefer-Kheperu* (Tuthmosis III), *May he live for ever* ⁵⁰. (*King's Son* ?) *Nehy to build a temple in . . . the fortress* ⁵¹ *of Shât. Thereupon the King's Son, Overseer of Southern lands (Nehy) did . . . the 'sheseru' to the Temple of Amon . . . In the year 25, the third month of winter, the second day . . .* ⁵² *(in) stone (what) was built in brick . . . (adorned)* ⁵³ *of paintings . . .* ⁵⁴.

This text seems to show : (a) that a *new* temple was built in the *fortress* (?) of Shât (line 2-3) ; (b) that another temple of bricks was restored in stone at the same place ⁵⁵ (line 6) ; (c) that the new temple was to be dedicated to Amon (line 3) ; (d) that Nehy, the well-known King's Son of Kush who worked in nearly every place in Nubia ⁵⁶, was put in charge of the work and that he did it in the 25th year of Tuthmosis III, that is to say at the beginning of the personal reign of this Pharaoh (lines 2 and 5 of text).

That Tuthmosis III was not, by a long way, the first Pharaoh to build a temple in Sai is shown by a number of monuments found on the spot. For instance a much defaced stela ⁵⁷ in quartzite was found inside the fort :



(N.B. Under the vertical text was a long horizontal one which is entirely defaced. It seems that at the beginning there was a date.)

Horus, 'the Bull who put in chains the (foreign) lands' ; the Good God, Nebty 'Great of Fear' ; the Golden Horus 'Enduring of Years like Ré' ; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The Lord of the two lands 'Djeser-Ka-Ré', May he live for ever !

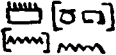
We have here the complete 'titulary' of Amenophis I, second king of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

A fragment of door-jamb, in sandstone, gives us the well engraved text ⁵⁸ :



Nebti : 'Enduring of Kingship like Ré ; the Golden Horus : 'Sacred of weapons'.

⁵⁰ One must restore here the beginning of the orders given to Nehy by Tuthmosis III.

⁵¹ We restore here  which is in accordance with the traces subsisting.

⁵² Understand doubtless : ' (Moreover) he reconstructed in stone '.

⁵³ Read [bî]k.tî or perhaps [sh]k[r].tî, for *shkr m drww*, see *Belegst.*, v, 601, 6 ; some of the stones from the temple are actually painted (see below, p. 76, no. 17).

⁵⁴ At the end was probably a list of festivals.

⁵⁵ Same fact at Semna, cf. Breasted, *AR*, II, § 167, p. 69.

⁵⁶ Cf. Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, Private Name Index, pp. 440-1, s.v. Nehy.

⁵⁷ Excavation no. S. 3 ; seen by Blackman in 1937 (dimensions 1.53 m. × 0.86 m. × 0.24 m.).

⁵⁸ Excavation no. S. 12 (0.53 m. × 0.43 m. × 0.64 m.).

KUSH

It is the same titulary which figures too on a big sandstone architrave⁵⁹ :



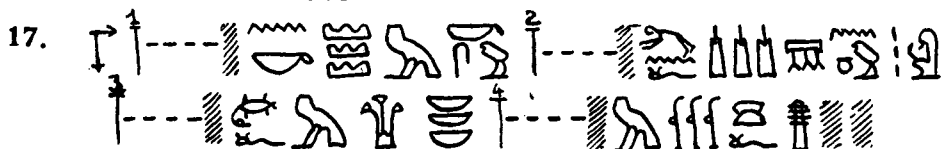
N.B.—a. The name Waset has been erased then engraved again later.

A : Nebti : 'Enduring of Kingship like Ré in the sky', the (golden) Horus . . .

B : (Horus) : 'the Bull who rises in Thebes' ; Nebti 'Enduring of Kingship' ; the Golden Horus : 'Sacred of weapons' ; the good god . . .

This titulary belongs to Tuthmosis III⁶⁰.

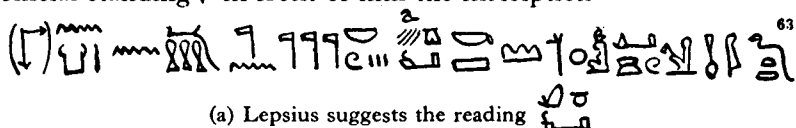
The temple in Sai was of a good workmanship as is shown by parts of a wall with painted reliefs and hieroglyphs, such as⁶¹ :



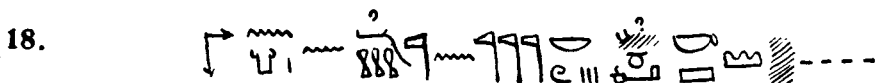
Foreign countries (come) to thee bowing down . . . he has (overthrown) the Iunu . . . his terror is among the Hau-nebut . . . (enduring) of years (when) he appears, stability. . . .

A similar text, set out in the same manner can be seen in the Buhen Temple⁶².

When Lepsius visited Sai in 1843 he saw 'in the middle of the fort' two door-jambs still standing, with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III. On the inside they had the figuration of an official standing ; in front of him the inscription



In 1954 was found a fragment of a door-jamb⁶⁴ with the following text :



For the Ka of the Overseer of priests of all the Gods, the deputy⁶⁵ of Kush . . .

⁵⁹ Excavation no. S.2.


⁶⁰ Cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, 2, p. 254 ff.

⁶¹ Excavation no. S.4 ; sandstone, the hieroglyphs are sculpted and painted (0.53 m. × 0.57 m. × 0.48 m.).

⁶² Randall-MacIver, *Buhen*, pl. 21 and pp. 57-8.

⁶³ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Text, v, p. 226.

⁶⁴ Excavation no. S. 11 (0.60 m. × 0.20 m. × 0.40 m.).


⁶⁵ Our reading *mw* confirms the interpretation *ldnw* of Lepsius. An anonymous fragment gives  with again the title 'Deputy of Kush', on this official

see Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypt. u. Nubien*, p. 182.

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

We suspect this fragment to be either part of the same door-jamb which Lepsius saw still erected, or another door-jamb dedicated by the same official. In either case we ought to complete the newly discovered text : '*the Deputy of Kush, User-mâat-Re-di-khau*'. This inscription gives us the proof that the temple was still in use during the Ramesside period⁶⁶.

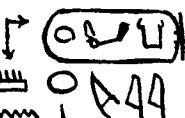
Nevertheless it is evident that the temple reached its acme during the XVIIIth Dynasty as is shown by the numerous stones with the cartouches of kings of this period, such as :

19.  ⁶⁷

*The great (Royal Wife), who joins the Nefret (the crown of Upper Egypt),
Amosis-Nefertiry, May she live*


Amosis-Nefertiry was the wife of Amosis I. Since her name is followed by the wish '*nh.ti*', which shows that the queen was still living at the time when the temple was dedicated, it is probable that the first temple in Sai was erected by Amosis I himself (see also below under 24).

Two small stelae were found in 1954 :

20.⁶⁸ In front of the king wearing the khepesh crown :  The King
stands before Amon, between the two figures :

Djeser-Ka-Rê, beloved of Amon-Rê.

The other stela⁶⁹ gives :

21. At the top under the sun-winged disk →  = *Behedety, the Great God.*


In the middle the King stands in front of the Goddess Nut with the inscription



The good god Djeser-Ka-Rê, given life, beloved of Nut.

Djeser-Ka-Rê is the name of Amenophis I who erected in Sai an important stela (see above under 14) and a seated statue (see below under 25).

A small fragment of a wall gives the cartouche⁷⁰ :

22.  *The son of Rê, Aa-kheper . . . Rê.*

⁶⁶ Other fragments found in Sai showing distinct XIX-XXth Dynasty style confirms this point.

⁶⁷ Excavation no. S.64, sandstone block (0.77 m. × 0.44 m. × 0.40 m.). In front of the text a female figure is standing.

⁶⁸ Excavation no. S.52. Broken in five pieces ; sandstone (0.38 m. × 0.25 m. × 0.09 m.).

⁶⁹ Excavation no. S.50, sandstone ; broken in two pieces (0.40 m. × 0.27 m. × 0.08 m.).

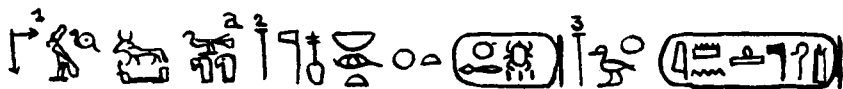
⁷⁰ Excavation no. S.48, sandstone (0.44 m. × 0.31 m. × 0.22 m.).

KUSH

The name 'Aa-kheper . . . Rê' could be, alternatively: '*ʿ-ḥpr-kī-R*'. Tuthmosis I, or '*ʿ-ḥprw-R*', Amenophis II. Both kings⁷¹ have left inscriptions in Sai Temple; Amenophis II, for instance, seems to have built a temple to the north of the fortress. During the 1955-1956 excavations we found broken in many pieces the upper part of a pillar or door-jamb⁷²:

23. At the right: A 

Facing A : B, at the top remains of a vulture grasping a *šnw* and



N.B.—a. This part of the name is enclosed in the 'serekh'.

A: *Horus the Bull Lord of Nubia who resides in . . .*

B: Horus, 'the Bull, great of strength' the good god master of rites, Aa-kheperu-Ré, the son of Ré Amenhotep, the god ruler of Heliopolis (Amenophis II).

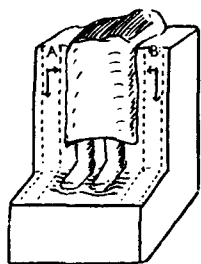


FIG. 5

Besides the inscriptions just mentioned, three statues or parts of statues found in Sai are now in the Wadi Halfa Museum, they belong too to the XVIIIth Dynasty. The more ancient one was found in 1937 by the late Professor Blackman and Prof. Fairman⁷³. The head is in Khartoum Museum; only the lower part is in Halfa. On each side of the throne on which the king is seated, his feet placed on the Nine Bows, runs the same inscription (see FIG. 5).

24. 

The good god, Lord of the two lands (Egypt), Nebpehetet ; the real son of Ré (lit. (the son) of his body), Amosis, beloved of Amon-Ré the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (the Karnak Temple).

Three years ago when surveying Sai Island prior to the French excavations, the Senior Inspector of Antiquities, Thabit Eff. Hassan, found a seated statue and a head of the same rough style as the Amosis statue :

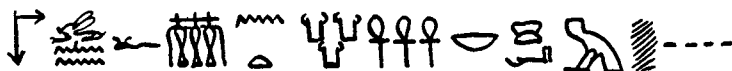
⁷¹ In February 1955, we found in Sai a big granite stela with the name of Tuthmosis I (Excavation no. S.58, 1.20 m. × 0.70 m. × 0.30 m.); unhappily it is much defaced and I am afraid that it will prove impossible to decipher it.

⁷² Excavation no. (provisional) S.1000. The monument was found in seven pieces re-used in the Turkish wall from 28th November to 17th December, 1956, we still hope to complete it in the course of the forthcoming excavations.

⁷³ Cf. *JEA*, 25, 1939, p. 142, n. 1.

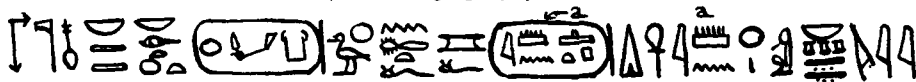
NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

25. I : on the back of the head



He is the head of the Kas of all the livings, rising in . . .

II : on each side of the statue (see FIG. 5, p. 78), two columns :



N.B.—a-a. The word 'Imn has been erased, then clumsily re-engraved.

The good god, Lord of the Two Lands (Egypt), Master of the Rites, Djeser-Ka-Rê, the real son of Ré, Amenhotep, given life, beloved of Amon-Rê, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

Same text from the beginning up to the second cartouche included, then :

var. column B : (Amenhotep, given life) *beloved of Dedun, Head of Ta-Seti (Nubia).*

A small fragment of a statue in black granite kept in the same Museum, bears the inscription :

26.



Horus, the Bull of Ta (-Seti) (=Nubia), for the Ka of the Prince, Count . . .

This fragment could belong to one of the statues of the Sai cache. It confirms the importance of the God Horus ' The Bull, Lord of Nubia ' in Sai Island.

I come now to the lower part of a double statue, in black granite, of a king and a goddess seated on a square chair. According to A. J. Arkell, followed by Porter-Moss⁷⁴, this statue comes from Sedeinga. I very much doubt this provenance. For one thing the statue was found in Abri which is much nearer to Sai than Sedeinga ; for another a Wilkinson drawing of a statue which he saw in Sai⁷⁵, refers most probably to our statue. Except that the left hand corner of the socle is now destroyed, it is the same as the statue which was sketched by Wilkinson (see FIG. 6).



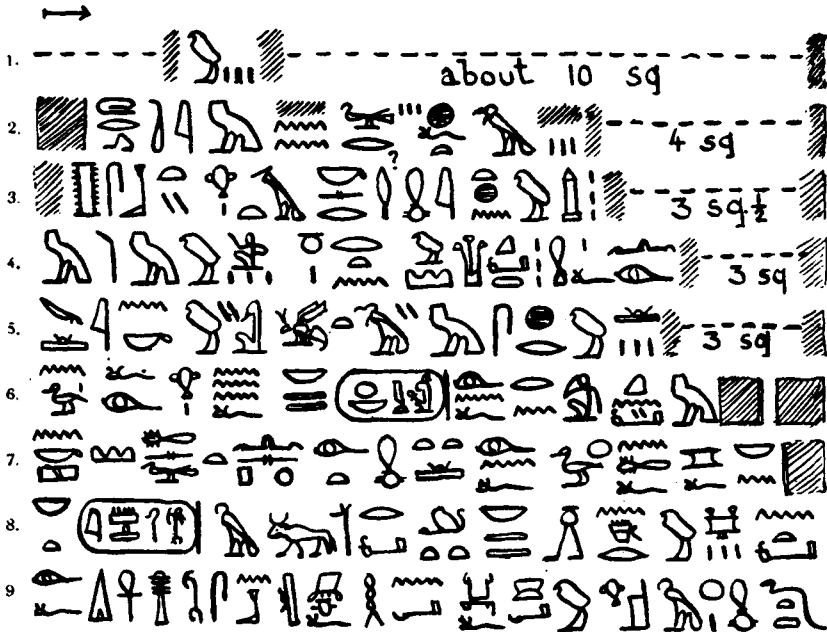
FIG. 6

At the back of the seat are the remains of a rather long inscription which runs :

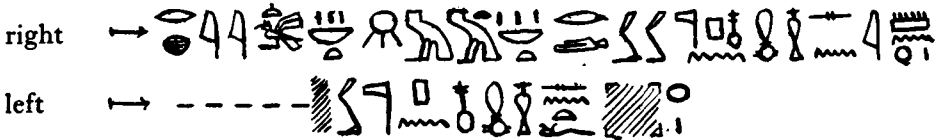
⁷⁴ Cf. Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, p. 166.

⁷⁵ From Wilkinson MSS XI, 81 bottom. This sketch was copied for me from the Wilkinson MSS through the Griffith's Institute, which I should like to thank.

27.



on the side of the seat :



. . . [the fear of him] circulates in the waters (?)⁷⁶ of the chiefs of the enemies . . . building as a wall on the . . . like the obelisks . . . among the Aamou of the Retenou, prisoners of his Majesty. One had never done [the like] . . . I conducted the lower Egypt Kingship according to the projects . . . for his son who is faithful to him (lit. who is on his water), the Lord of the Two Lands (Egypt), Nebmaatrê, who has made (his ?) name famous among . . . of the vile Kush. The same was never done [before]. This is what has done the Son of Ré (the son) of his body, his beloved the Lord of . . . every . . . Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, Horus 'Bull mighty of strength', the Lord of the Two Lands who reaches the Confines (of earth) by the victories he accomplishes. May he be granted of life, stability, durability, health, his heart being joyful with his Ka (when) he rises on the throne of Horus like Ré, eternally.

on the side of the seat ; right : All the Rekhyt, all the Henememet are at the feet of this good god, the praised one of Amon-Ré.

left : [all the . . . are] at the feet of this good god, as the praised one of his father Amon-Ré.

In connection with the attribution of this statue to the site at Sai, it can be said that Amenophis III was one of the principal builders in Sai, as is shown not only by the

⁷⁶ One would expect here 'in the hearts of' instead of 'waters'. See, for instance, Bologna No. 1870 <31>, quoted in *Wb. Belegst.* 1, 546*, 10.

NEW EGYPTIAN TEXTS FROM THE SUDAN

scene on the pillar (see above p. 74 and 13) but also by a fragment from a wall found in 1955 in Sai which runs :

28. 

The fifth (or sixth) year, the second month of Akhet, the twenty-fourth (or twenty-fifth) day, under [the Majesty] . . . The Golden Horus, 'Great of Khepesh who strikes the Asiatics', the King of Upper [and Lower Egypt] Neb-maât-Rê (Amenophis III). Lo ! His Majesty was in⁷⁷ . . . the enemies from Ta-Seti (Kush) . . . The soldiers (?)⁷⁸ of his Army. . . .

Gebel Abri (Map 35 J). Some two kilometres from the river and on the east bank of the Nile, stands Gebel Abri, due east of the Island of Sai. At the foot of the Gebel, on a big fallen rock, A. J. Arkell found a rough engraving of a king, without text, which he ascribes to the Meroitic Period⁷⁹ (see FIG. 7, a).

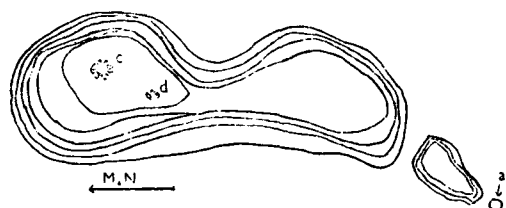
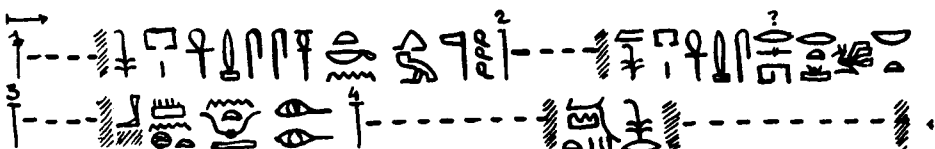


FIG. 7

The top of the gebel dominates the sandy desert plain at over 200 m. and its slopes are sometimes nearly vertical, making access to the summit all the more

difficult. During a short excursion I found fragments of at least two Egyptian stelae nearby two small cairns (FIG. 7, c and d) which stand on the highest point of the small plateau at the top of the gebel. I intend to publish these fragments more thoroughly, but for the time being I give here the main one (PLATE IX) :

29. 

[of the] King's Palace, may he live, prosper and be healthy, who approaches the God's body (i.e. Pharaoh) . . . in the King's Palace, l.p.h., causing all the Rekhyt to be satisfied . . .⁸⁰ . . . excellent of the Horns of the earth, eyes [of the King] . . . Overseer of the southern countries.

⁷⁷ Restore probably 'in his Palace'.

⁷⁸ Read possibly 'nhw nt ms' hr dd.

⁷⁹ A. J. Arkell, *JEA*, 36, 1950, p. 32.

⁸⁰ Restore here the name of a material, presumably a stone.

KUSH

The rounded top of the stela, much defaced, still bears the name of Menkheperre. Accordingly the stela of Gebel Abri was dedicated (see line 4) by one of the viceroys of Kush living at the time of Tuthmosis III. On stylistic grounds I think that this viceroy was none other than Nehy himself.

Aksha (Serra west) (Map 35 I). During an archaeological survey of the west bank of the Nile between Wadi Halfa and Faras in June 1956 I had the opportunity to spend some hours in the Temple of Aksha (Serrah of ancient writers). At the base of the remaining wall are two well known geographical lists, one relating to the south (on the west wall, south wing, see FIG. 8, A); the other to the peoples of the north (west wall, north wing, FIG. 8, B). Those lists were published a long time ago by Max Müller⁸¹. To check the state of the walls I cleared the north part of them to the north of B (FIG. 8) and was surprised to find that the

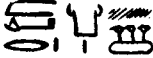

list of the northern countries continued on the other side of the small door and on the north wall (FIG. 8, C). Unhappily there has been a kind of chemical reaction in the sandstone at the level of the list so that the lower parts of the name-rings are destroyed. This is what can now be seen :



FIG. 8



N.B.—An eleventh name is destroyed after Mw-ked.

Part of these names can easily be restored from other sources. At first sight it seems evident that this list has much in common with the lists of Sulb and Amara⁸², our no. 9 for instance is the no. 5 of the Sulb list. Our no. 3 could be the no. 21 of Amara  ; our no. 5 confirms the reading  (Amara, no. 28) and so on. On the south wall (FIG. 8, D), the list of the southern countries extended similarly, but the building has deteriorated badly here and only a few signs are left.

⁸¹ Max Müller, *RT.*, 19, p. 74.

⁸² Fairman, *JEA*, 36, p. 66.

Notes

THE MAKING OF MAIL AT OMDURMAN

When I was Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology in the Sudan, Sir James Mann, the distinguished Curator of the Wallace Collection, suggested to me in 1939 that I should try to find out the origin of the suits of mail used in the Sudan, of which a number had been brought to England as trophies from the battlefield of Omdurman.

I soon discovered that *the* expert on Sudanese mail was Hamid Idris, then a venerable figure of well over seventy, but with all his wits about him. He had worked for the Mahdi and his successor Khalifa Abdullahi as silversmith and craftsman, and, unless my memory deceives me, he told me that he had first made mail as a young man under the Egyptian Government before the Mahdia. In February 1940 I went with him to the Khalifa's House Museum in Omdurman and examined all the suits of mail there. These are all made up of individually riveted rings, and for that reason Hamid Idris pronounced them as all having been made outside the Sudan and imported into it 'from the north', i.e. via Egypt before 1885—some of them possibly many years before 1885. He had no idea where they were made. He told me that in the time of the old Egyptian Government there were very many of these suits of mail in the Sudan, every important tribal chief or *melik* having 200 to 300 of them.

Although mail had been made in Omdurman during the Mahdia and before, none in the Sudan knows how to rivet rings, and Hamid thought that they never had had that knowledge. Sudanese craftsmen had usually used butted rings, which were imported and which they bought by weight from the merchants Kyriazi and Sirkis. About 10 kilogrammes of rings were needed to make one suit, and a good suit of that kind sold for £E25 in Omdurman, and more in the provinces. Suits of riveted mail fetched no higher price—which shows clearly that by that time mail was worn merely for show and not for serious defence. There was also a third kind of mail called 'Huksawi' after the ill-fated General Hicks who fell at Sheikan early in the Mahdia. This was made out of imported split rings.

Of the suits of armour in the Khalifa's House Museum, Hamid Idris said that K 99 is of good quality, K 100B of very fair quality and K 100A of poor quality. Suit K 100B has a seal (maker's mark ?) attached, of which the design is an upward-looking crescent supported by a vertical line, on either side of which is another vertical line.

A few days later, having agreed that Hamid Idris should make me a good suit of mail as made for emirs in the Mahdia, I visited his house, where he demonstrated the various stages in making mail. He has taught his eldest son all the secrets of the art. He needs about half-a-dozen assistants, and these include several of his sons, who, though merchants of some standing, closed their shops and came to work for him at his summons. The men were well practised in the work. In 1940 they were still making and selling a few suits of mail for Arabs, particularly the Baggara of Kordofan and Darfur. They were also making small pieces of mail like cavalry shoulder-guards for merchants who sold them to tribes like the Ingessana and Nuba. They made my suit in twelve days, probably not working all day, and I paid them £E15 for it as agreed. It is shown in PLATE XII, a. They also made a suit for the Ethnological Collection in the Khartoum Museum. Their tools are shown in PLATE X, a.

KUSH

The various stages in the making of a suit are as follows :—

- (1) The wire is drawn down to the size selected by the customer through a draw plate of European manufacture. The drawing tongs and chain are also probably European. Only the draw bench has been made locally (PLATE x, b.)
- (2) The wire is now wound round an iron core or rod giving the desired diameter of ring. This rod is thrust through two blocks of wood fixed vertically to a plank on which the winder stands (PLATE XI, a.) The iron core rod has a ring forged at its end through which passes another rod, probably an alternative size of core. The wire is being wound on to the underside of the core. As it passes on to the core, it rests on a small shelf fixed outside the pipe which lines the hole in the blocks of wood. This keeps the coil tight and the winder does not have to drag backwards on the wire with his left hand. In this way he produces a right-handed coil. In this case the direction of the coil is not important, but in riveted mail the rings have almost always been cut from right-handed coils*.
- (3) A large pair of top cutters is then used to cut the coil into rings (PLATE XII, b.)
- (4) Three men then work together, squatting round a small table. The first man, using two pairs of pliers, closes the gap in many of the wire rings. He first brings the ends of the wire together, and then gives the ring a slight squeeze to restore it to a circular shape. (Another man widens the gap in a smaller number of rings.)
- (5) The second man fastens the rings together in groups of five, by clipping an open ring through four closed ones (PLATE XI, b.)
- (6) The third man (the master) clips the groups of five rings together by passing an open ring through a pair of closed rings from each of two groups, and then closing it (PLATE XI, b.) It is in this way that the suit is built up.

Subsequently, I made a number of enquiries aimed at ascertaining whether the riveted mail which had been imported into the Sudan 'from the north' had been made in Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis or elsewhere in North Africa; but everywhere I drew a blank, and am now of opinion that it was not made anywhere in Africa (or in Europe, where it would have been too expensive for the Sudanese market). I am, therefore, inclined to think that it may have come from India, for I am told by Sir James Mann that Lawrence of Arabia failed to trace its source anywhere in Syria or Arabia, although he sought hard for it. I hope that this article may encourage someone else to track this riveted mail down to its source.

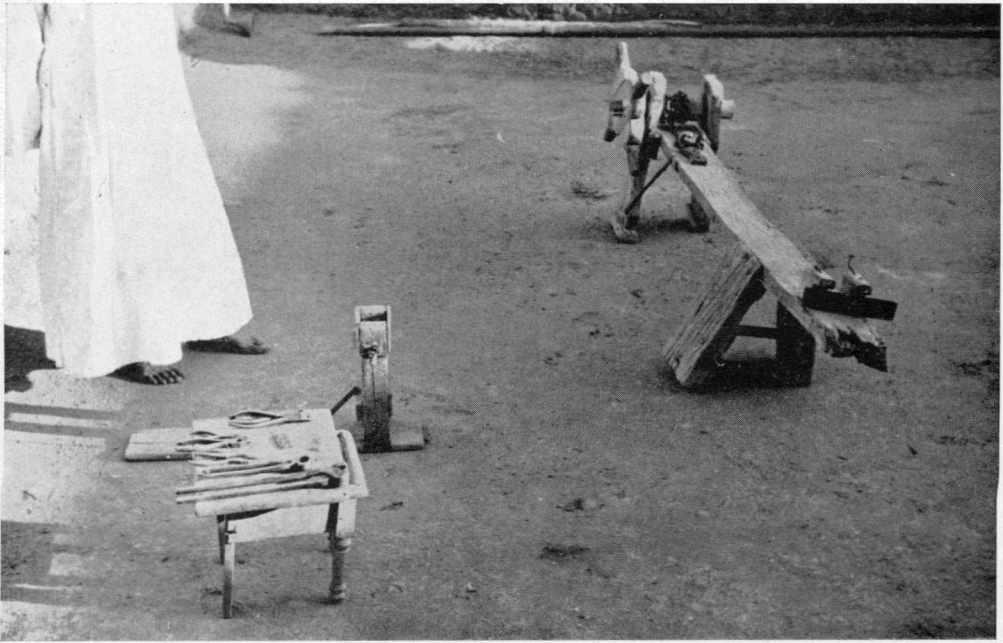
A. J. ARKELL.

SOME NOTES ON THE SUDANESE NEOLITHIC

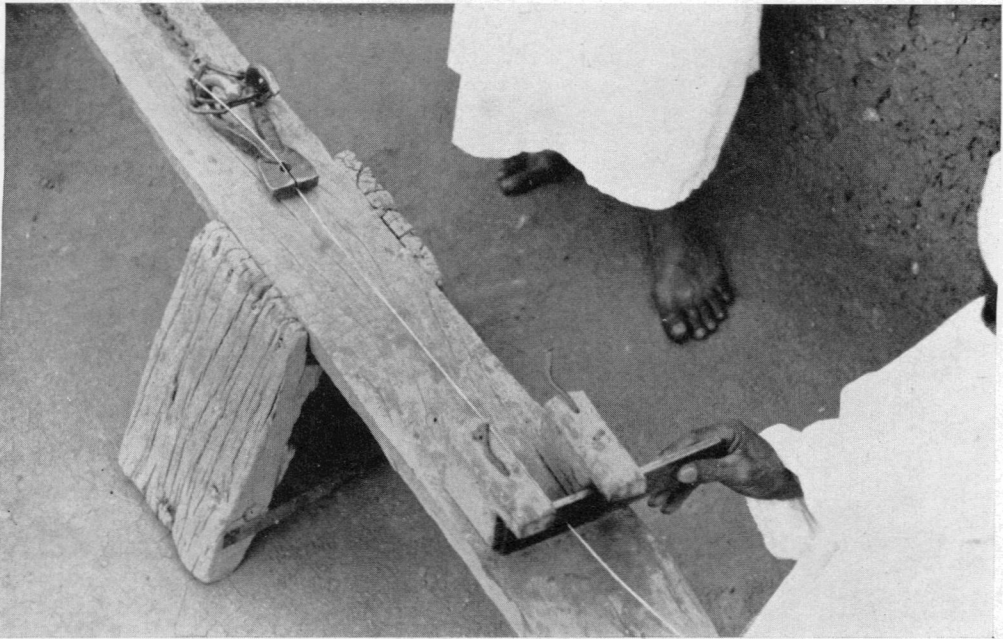
Under the above heading Dr O. G. S. Crawford makes on pp. 88–90 of KUSH II some 'exploratory remarks', some of which, if not corrected will, I fear, make what must appear to many people a confusing subject only worse confounded. It is a pity that he has neither mastered the pottery typical of Early Khartoum or Esh Shaheinab, or the chapters on pottery in the publications of those sites. I have already pointed out in KUSH II, p. 91, that he is wrong in attributing the site at El Damer to Shaheinab. There is no doubt that it is an Early Khartoum site, or as I prefer to call it, Khartoum Mesolithic. Shigla (? Shiqila) which he also mentions as being allied to Shaheinab, is, judging from the sherds which he collected there, and which are now catalogued under No. 9575 in the Antiquities Collection in Khartoum Museum, typical neither of Early

* Martin Burgess: 'The mail-maker's technique'. *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxiii (1953), pp. 48–55.

PLATE X



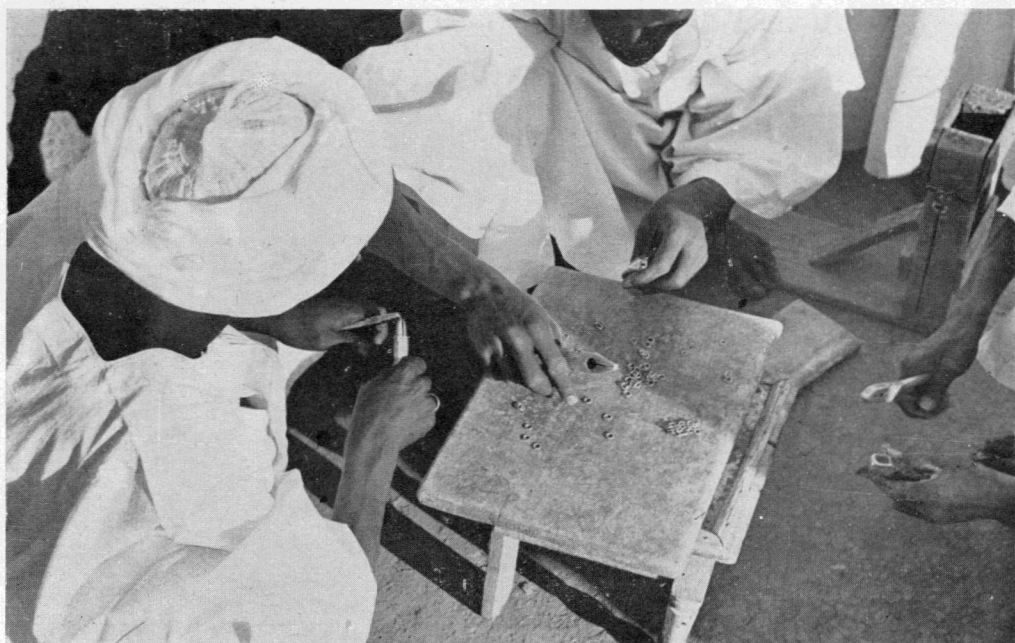
a. THE TOOLS USED IN MAKING MAIL AT OMDURMAN



b. THE DRAW BENCH, WITH EUROPEAN TYPE DRAW PLATE AND TONGS



a. COILING THE WIRE

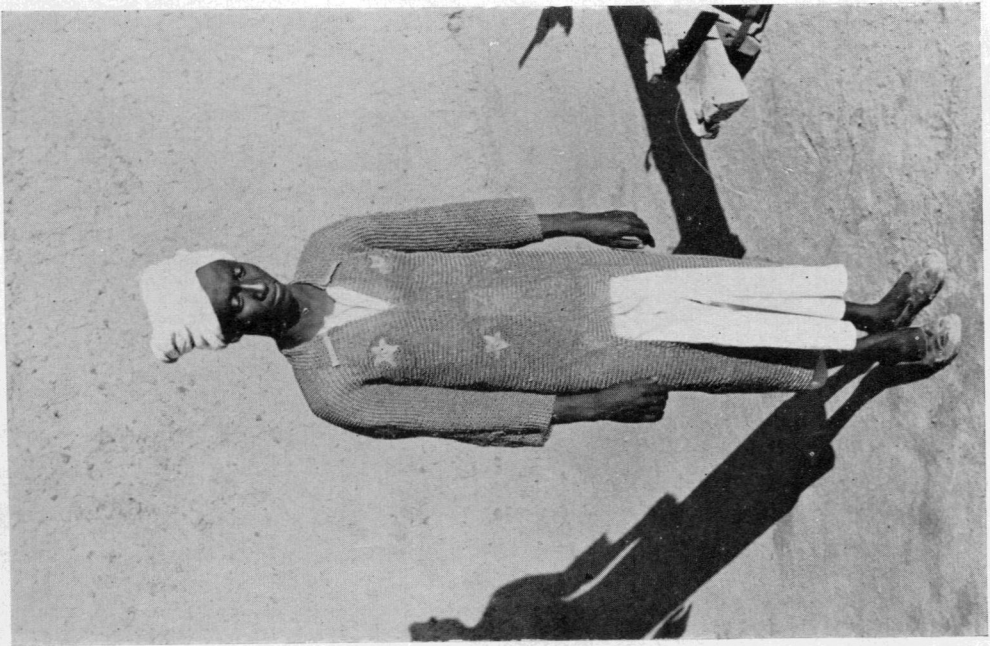


b. TWO MEN MAKING GROUPS OF FIVE RINGS, WHILE THE MASTER (R) JOINS THE GROUPS TOGETHER

PLATE XII

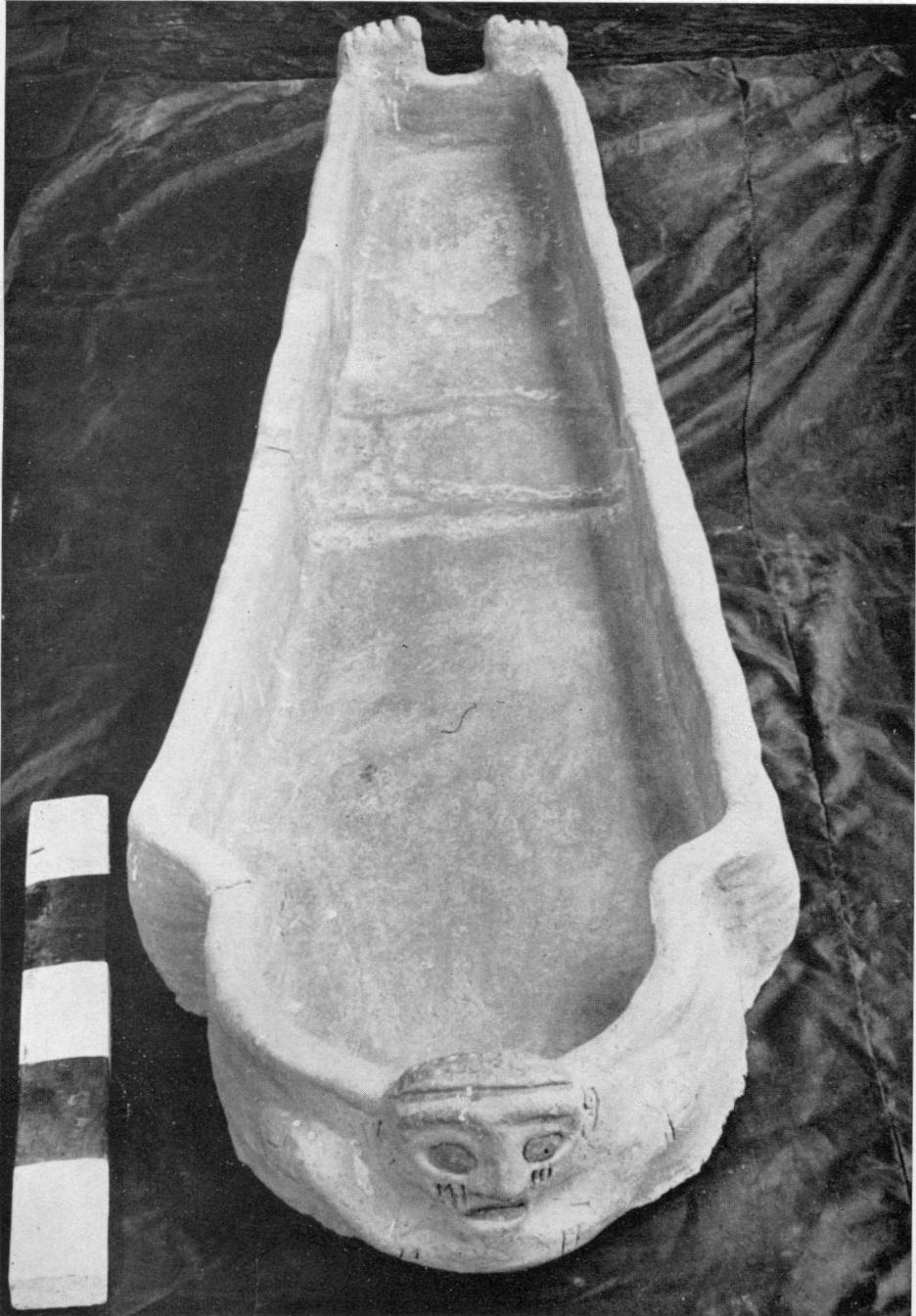


b. CUTTING THE COILED WIRE INTO RINGS

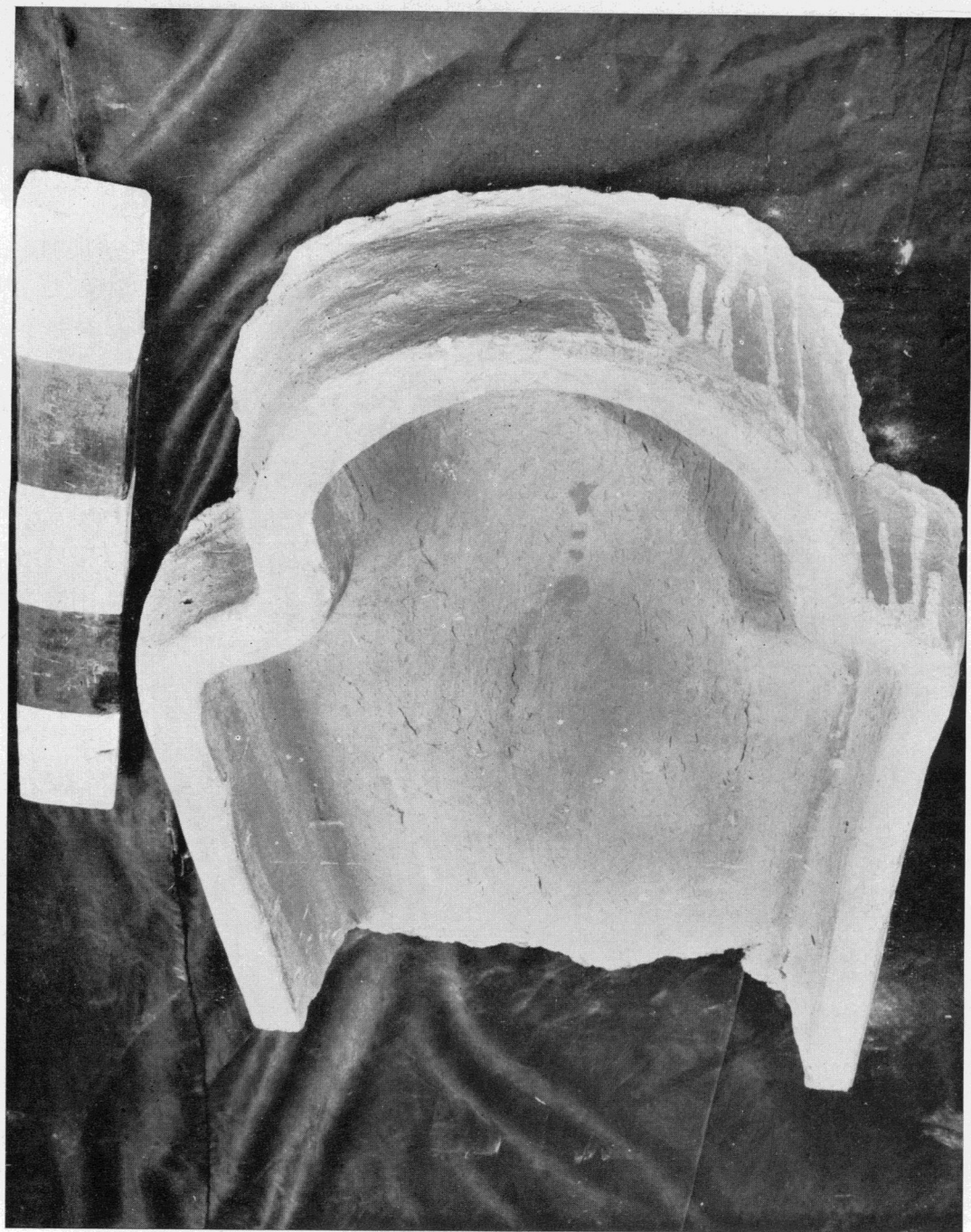


a. THE FINISHED SHIRT

PLATE XIII



FRONT VIEW OF MEROITIC POTTERY COFFIN FROM ARGIN



FRAGMENT OF MEROITIC POTTERY COFFIN FROM ARGIN

NOTES

rounded off, so that no lid could fit in securely, on the other. The hair is done in a pure Sudanese fashion, in the same way as that of the female sandstone statue from Meroë No. 538 (published in *Guide to the XIth Annual Exhibition*, pl. ix).

It is suggested that they are of Meroitic date, but no stress can be laid on this as we have seen no parallel. It is a pity there was no trained archaeologist on the spot when the discovery was made. However, in view of the absence of grave goods, the size of the coffins (the maximum internal depth being only 10.5 cm.) and the fact that no bones were found in them, and that the red burnishing is in perfect condition, it is thought that their purpose was merely ritual.

SADIK NUR.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

I should like to add a few notes concerning the interesting remarks of Sadik Eff. Nur about the pottery coffins of Argin. Professor L. Keimer recently published a small pottery head of a Sudanese woman wearing facial scars (see L. Keimer, 'Une petite tête romaine en terre cuite représentant une Soudanaise à cicatrices faciales' in *Bulletin Société Archéol. d'Alexandrie*, no. 40, 1953, pp. 1-3 and plate). Professor Keimer ascribes the head at least to the Roman period, if not earlier (*op. cit.*, p. 3) and quite reasonably uses it as proof of the existence in the Sudan in ancient times of facial scars (sa'ikh, plur. selukh 'incisions') which consist on the Roman head, as well as on the Argin coffin, of three vertical strokes.

During the archaeological survey of the Northern Province in June this year, I was able to visit the spot where the coffins were found. There are obviously other graves in the vicinity, but we were unable to excavate them, owing to the fact that a modern cemetery has been established in the same place. Not very far from there is a cemetery of shaft-graves, where definite Meroitic sherds have been collected. This supports the date ascribed to the coffins by Sadik Eff. Nur, if, as I suppose, all the graves belong to one and the same cemetery. But one must keep an open mind and a slightly earlier date is not to be rejected, not only on the basis of the small Roman head published by Keimer, but also because pottery coffins with human figures, of which the Argin coffins are only an interesting variation, are well known in the Nile Valley from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. (See, for instance, Jéquier, *Ann. du Serv.*, 29, pp. 160-1; *ibid.* 30, pp. 111-12 and pl. iv; Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, I, *Report* 1907-1908, pp. 76, 178, 200, 201, 203, 205, 207, and plates 11, 12 and 14.)

J. VERCOUTTER.

Reviews

NURI. THE ROYAL CEMETERIES OF KUSH, Vol. II. By DOWS DUNHAM.
Published by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1955. One volume, 4to—Pp. xxvii + 300, 216 figures, 141 plates, 3 charts and 1 map.

The second volume of the *Royal Cemeteries of Kush* concerning the Nuri pyramids appears after volume III of the series, but the importance of the new volume is in itself an explanation of the delay. Archaeologists will be most grateful to Dows Dunham, who has unselfishly undertaken—and completed—one of the most arduous and thankless tasks in archaeology, namely that of publishing archaeological material from excavations supervised by a scholar who is now dead, and collected from files which he did not entirely compile himself.

The excavations here recorded were carried out between 1916 and 1918: the final survey and revision were done in 1920—thirty-six years ago. Moreover, since that time the finds have been mainly divided between the Boston Museum and the Khartoum Museum, while minor presentations have been made to various museums: the Cairo Museum, the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, etc.: this did not help the editor. Furthermore, the pyramids themselves were in a far country and much of the material had been left *in situ*. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Dows Dunham has produced an excellent book and thanks to him the significant material is now available for study.

For a description of the site and for the history of the excavation he refers to the first volume of the series, and the Nuri volume deals only with a description of the tombs (pp. 7–253) preceded by a few but most important pages which treat of the chronology, with a chronological list of the Tombs at Nuri (pp. 2–3) and the 'plundering of the Nuri cemetery' (p. 4). This is of special interest since it explains convincingly 'the finding in one tomb of objects inscribed with the name of the owner of a different one', and demonstrates that some of the plundering took place while the cemetery was still in use, while most of it took place in Coptic times.

All the descriptions of tombs follow the same pattern: description of the superstructure, enclosure, chapel, foundation deposit, substructure, and burial. A list of the finds is given together with illustrations of the most important objects. There are also plans and sections of each tomb.

At the end of the volume there are descriptions of the surface finds (pp. 253–4), a graphic study of the types and inscriptions of Shawabtis for each reign (figs. 197–208 and pp. 255–64), and, finally, excellent facsimiles of the stelae found during the excavation. Most of the information concerning the actual building of the pyramids (superstructure, enclosure, etc.), as well as the composition of the foundation deposits is summarized in three charts which enable us to follow the evolution of burial customs throughout the period. An index showing the present location of objects found at Nuri—so far as this is known (Location Index)—and a General Index complete the volume, which is illustrated by 141 photographic plates.

The Nuri volume will prove, I am sure, invaluable to archaeologists, who have now a mine of archaeological information on this little known period of history.

When checking some of the material which is in the Sudan Museum, I noted some minor points which I give here, not as criticism but as a token of admiration for the achievements of the book:—

KUSH

(cf. for instance, Daressy : *Textes et Dessins Magiques*, no. 9444, pl. XIII and p. 51) and, if I am not mistaken, among the Decan gods.

These are very minor remarks indeed, and we owe a great deal to Dows Dunham, not only for collecting and publishing Reisner's material, but also for providing such a good tool for the study of Napatan archaeology.

J. VERCOUTTER.

KULTUREINFLUSS MEROES UND NAPATAS AUF NEGERAFRIKA. By WALTER HIRSCHBERG. *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen III*, Vienna, 1955, pp. 94-9.

In the first millennium B.C. the kingdom of Napata and the metropolis of Meroë can be looked upon as bridging the gap between Egypt and Negro Africa. A number of similar cultural institutions such as the ritual killing of the king, brother-sister marriage, the position of Queen-mother, matrilineal inheritance, etc., are also found among modern sudanic tribes. After the destruction of Meroë, A.D. 350, meroitic culture seems to have flowed into the South (Sennar) and the South-west (Kordofan and Darfur) with immigrations of meroitic refugees. It may be assumed that the first impulses for the foundation of states emanated then. They may have lead also to the foundation of the kingdoms of Kafa, Monomotapa and Kuba (between Kassai and Sankuru).

W. VYCICHL.

OF FUNG AND SHILLUK. By MOHAMMED RIAD. *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen III*, 1955, pp. 138-66.

This very interesting article deals with the question of king killing in the Sudan. We know of king Ergamenes who cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story of Frobenius about the custom of king killing in Kordofan and how one king was able to avoid his fate. This custom is in practice, or now in a dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and other tribes and even the Nasrallâb Arabs as the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North are said to have practised it. The Dar Fung tribes and the Nuba of Southern Kordofan represent an older stratum of the Sudan, which is due to their isolation and the poverty of their present lands. On the contrary, the Shilluk are a relatively young tribe.

W. VYCICHL.

ERRATUM

KUSH III, p. 71, line 5 : for 'VI (1920), pp. 77-98' read 'V (1918), pp. 79-98'.



K U S H

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL

<i>AJA</i>	-	-	-	American Journal of Archaeology.
<i>ASAE</i>	-	-	-	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte.
<i>AR</i>	-	-	-	Ancient Records (Breasted).
<i>BIFAO</i>	-	-	-	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>Bi. Or.</i>	-	-	-	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
<i>BMFAB</i>	-	-	-	Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts Boston.
<i>BMMA</i>	-	-	-	Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York.
<i>EA</i>	-	-	-	Tell-el-Amarna Letters.
<i>HAS</i>	-	-	-	Harvard African Studies.
<i>JEA</i>	-	-	-	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
<i>LAA</i>	-	-	-	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.
<i>LD</i>	-	-	-	Lepsius : Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien.
<i>PPS</i>	-	-	-	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
<i>PSBA</i>	-	-	-	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>Rev. d'Eg.</i>	-	-	-	Revue d'Egyptologie.
<i>RT</i>	-	-	-	Recueil de Travaux.
<i>SASOP</i>	-	-	-	Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers.
<i>SNR</i>	-	-	-	Sudan Notes and Records
<i>Urk.</i>	-	-	-	Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums.
<i>Wb.</i>	-	-	-	Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.
<i>ZAS</i>	-	-	-	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.
<i>ZDMG</i>	-	-	-	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed by contributors.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL NOTES : HATSHEPSUT, TUTHMOSIS III OR AMENOPHIS II ?	5
KHARTOUM'S PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEOLITHIC <i>By A. J. Arkell</i>	8
THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH IN THE REGION OF ASWAN <i>By Labib Habachi</i>	13
TANQASI AND THE NOBA <i>By L. P. Kirwan</i>	37
ANTIQUITIES OF THE BATN EL HAJJAR <i>By H. N. Chittick</i>	42
L'ÉTHIOPIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE AUX III ET IV SIÈCLES A.D., D'APRÈS LES DÉCOUVERTES RÉCENTES <i>By J. Doresse. (English Summary)</i>	49
UPPER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM NUBIA <i>By J. Vercoutter</i>	61
NOTES ON THE STORY OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR <i>By W. Vycichl</i>	70
NOTES	
A new type of Mound grave. <i>By H. N. Chittick</i>	73
A Quartz industry at Soba. <i>By O. H. Myers</i>	77
Tomb of Djehuty-Hetep (Tehuti Hetep), Prince of Serra. <i>By Thabit Hassan Thabit</i>	81
Stand for a sacred bark or altar? <i>By J. Vercoutter</i>	87
Chinese porcelain fragments from Aidhab, and some Bashpa inscriptions. <i>By R. L. Hobson</i>	90
REVIEWS	
A. J. Arkell. History of the Sudan. <i>Reviewed by J. Leclant</i>	93
Annales d'Éthiopie, Volume I. <i>Reviewed by W. Vycichl</i>	102
OBITUARY	
Lady Petrie. <i>By O. H. Myers</i>	105

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		<i>facing page</i>
I.	Khartoum Museum Statue No. 30	5
II.	Khartoum No. 30 and Wad Ban Naga kneeling statues ..	6
III.	Khartoum No. 30 and Cairo Museum statue of Tuthmosis III	6
IV.	Khartoum No. 30 ; Tuthmosis III (Turin Museum) and Amenophis II (Cairo Museum)	6
V.	Viceroy of Kush at Aswan	24
VI.	Viceroy of Kush at Aswan	24
VII.	Viceroy of Kush at Aswan	24
VIII.	Viceroy of Kush at Aswan	24
IX.	The church at Ukma East	44
X.	The fort on Susinarti	44
XI.	Remains at Doshat	44
XII.	Stela Khartoum Museum 11778 and base of statue Khartoum Museum 5516	64
XIII.	Stela Khartoum Museum No. 372A	64
XIV.	Stela Khartoum Museum No. 2647	64
XV.	Mound graves at Hobagi	76
XVI.	Quartz flakes and knapped pebbles from Soba	76
XVII.	Paintings from Djehuty-Hetep's Tomb	84
XVIII.	Head-rest from Djehuty-Hetep's Tomb and inscriptions on coffin	84
XIX.	Coffins from Djehuty-Hetep's Tomb at Serra	84
XX.	Coffins from Djehuty-Hetep's Tomb at Serra	84
XXI.	Gebel Barkal Stand	88
XXII.	Chinese porcelain fragments from Aidhab	92
XXIII.	Stoneware wine jar of Tz Chou type	92
XXIV.	Chinese porcelain bowl of xvth century type	92
	Map of Northern Sudan ivth-vith centuries A.D.	<i>page 38</i>
	Map of Ethiopia, Nubia and Southern Arabia	<i>facing page 54</i>

PLATE I



KHARTOUM MUSEUM STATUE No. 30

K U S H

No. V

1957

Editorial Notes

Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II?

(Khartoum Museum statue no. 30)

ONE of the best objects among the Sudan Museum collections is certainly the small statue of a kneeling king of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty, in red sandstone¹ (cf. PLATE I). This exquisite work of art was found, probably in 1906, by the workmen engaged in the clearing of the Semna East Temple (Kumma), for Prof. J. H. Breasted during his expedition to the Sudan in 1905-6. Subsequently it was brought to the Governor at Wadi Halfa and sent to J. W. Crowfoot then Acting Conservator of Antiquities.²

An unusual feature for a royal statue is that it bears no name either on the belt of the loin-cloth or on the dorsal pillar. Although there is no evidence whatever that such a name ever existed and was erased, it was, if I am not mistaken, this absence of name which induced my predecessors to attribute it tentatively to Hatshepsut, or possibly to Tuthmosis III, as it is pointed out on the label attached to the statue. It is, or course, nearly impossible to reach finality when discussing an uninscribed statue, but I wonder, if on stylistic grounds and others it is not possible to attain at least a fair possibility.

The attitude of the king himself, kneeling and holding two small round libation vases, originated in the Old Kingdom³, but was most frequent at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty.⁴ Its material too a red quartzite or silicified sandstone,⁵ was popular in Egypt at the same time⁶; it came generally from

¹ Height 36 cm. 9 ; Base 19×11 cm.

² Information from Dr Crowfoot written on the back of the Entry Card, Antiquities Museum archives.

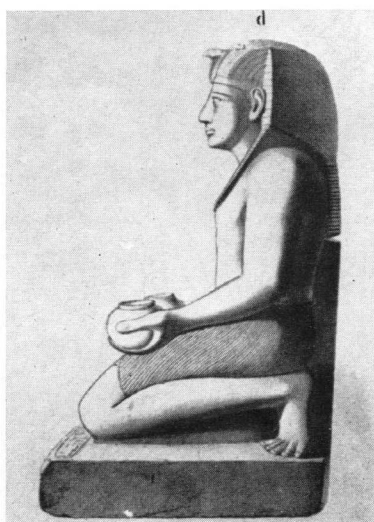
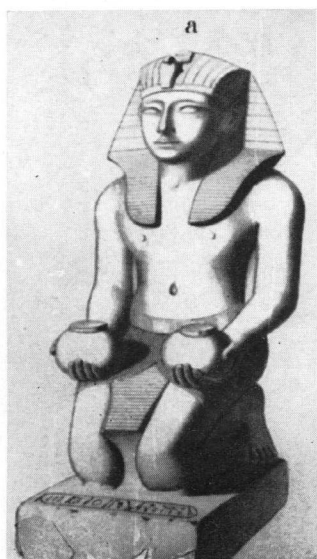
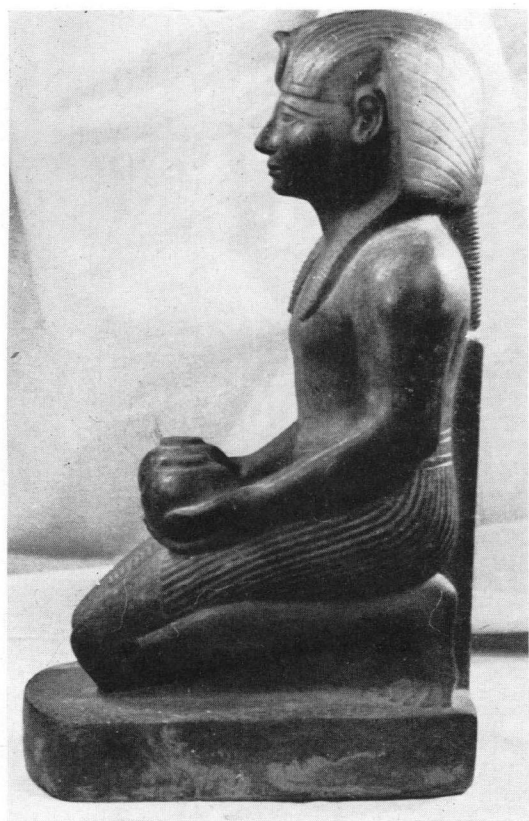
³ Cf. C. Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Egypt*, London, 1949, pls. 60-61 and p. 38.

⁴ See, for instance, Id., *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1951, pls. 12, 20, 36, 51.

⁵ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3rd edit., p. 79.

⁶ Id., *ibid.*, p. 80, who quotes sarcophagi and statues of Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis IV.

PLATE II



Top: KHARTOUM STATUE; below: WAD BAN NAGA STATUE
a and d after Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 70

PLATE III



a



c



b



d

a and c TUTANKHAMUN, Cairo Museum (from Lange-Hirmer, *Egypt*, pls. 134-135); b and d KHARTOUM STATUE

PLATE IV



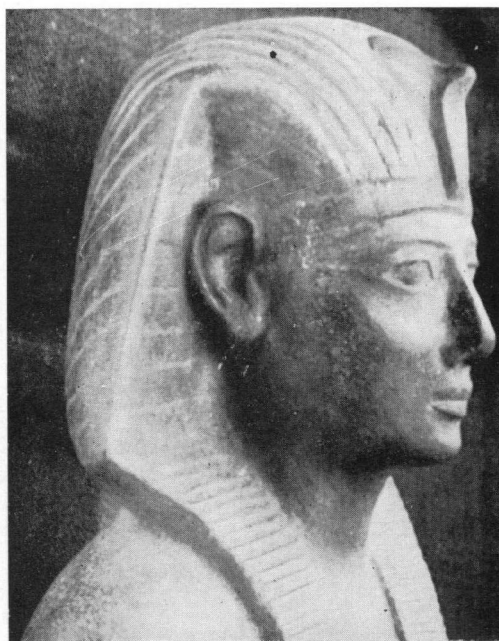
a



b



c



d

a. TUTHMOSIS III, Turin Museum (from Aldred *New Kingdom Art*, pl. 39)
c. AMENOPHIS II, Cairo Museum (from Lange-Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 145); b and d. KHARTOUM STATUE

EDITORIAL NOTES

even under Amenhotep II, resulting in a lack of vitality in sculpture in the round.¹³ Or, as it has been pointed out about the Turin kneeling statue of Amenhotep II¹⁴: '*A comparison between this kneeling figure of a king making a libation and similar earlier specimens from the reign of Hatshepsut . . . will show that a softer more naturalistic conception has replaced an architectural stylisation, with some loss of vigour in the process*'.¹⁵ As a matter of fact, Khartoum statue, *mutatis mutandis*, much resembles the Cairo kneeling statue of Amenhotep II which has been dated as early in the reign of this king¹⁶ (compare PLATE IV, c, Cairo statue with IV, d, Khartoum statue).

A more conventional, less vigorous style, than under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, is, in my opinion, one of the characteristics of the Khartoum statue when one compares it with other statues of the earlier XVIIIth Dynasty as I have tried to do on PLATES III and IV. For instance one of the chief features of the Khartoum statuette is the seriousness, one could even say the sadness, of expression of the royal face. This is in contrast with the usually frankly smiling face of Hatshepsut and chiefly of Tuthmosis III (see PLATE III, a-d), but is in accordance with the features of other Amenophis II statues (see for instance PLATE IV, c). I should like to add, tentatively, that the absence of name on the Khartoum statue could be explained if this statue was part of a group of three or more statues, perhaps one to each of the divinities specially worshipped in Kumma¹⁷ the name being written in full on two, it was less useful to put it again on the others.

In conclusion I should think that if we take into consideration: (a) that the Amenophis II Wad Ban Naga statues which came from Semna, are much the same as the Khartoum one and that they possibly formed a group all together,¹⁸ and (b) that the style of the Khartoum statue is comparable to the Amenophis II style, we could well presume that the Khartoum statue belongs to this king and not to Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III.

J. VERCOUTTER.

¹³ Cf. B. V. Bothmer, *BMFA, Boston*, 47, 1949, p. 43.

¹⁴ Cf. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art* . . . , pl. 51.

¹⁵ Id., *ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁶ Id., *ibid.*, pl. 50 and p. 57.

¹⁷ From the representations in the temple those divinities are Khnum himself; deified Sesostriis III (see Porter-Moss, VII, 153); and either Dedwen (see for instance *LD*, III, 64, b, where Dedwen is side by side with Khnum); or Anukis (see *LD*, Text, V, p. 214).

¹⁸ We know from Deir-el-Bahari, that such groups did exist. See Winlock, *Excavations at Deir-el-Bahari, 1911-31*, New York, 1942, pl. 53 and p. 77, where Winlock states: 'there were certainly at least ten of them—all were alike, showing Hatshepsut kneeling and offering.' Like the Khartoum Museum statuettes, these statues had no inscriptions.

Khartoum's Part in the Development of the Neolithic

by A. J. ARKELL

PROFESSOR ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, the well-known American prehistorian, has recently published in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, pp. 22-31, a paper entitled 'Reflections on the origin of the village-farming community', which he describes as 'a schematic assembly of his own hunches concerning what lay immediately behind the early available village materials of the Near East'. In it, after mentioning on p. 24 the sites of Early Khartoum and Shaheinab, he states (p. 26): 'A. J. Arkell quite clearly implies that the Khartoum materials stimulated the Fayum "neolithic", and, by further implication, that food production entered Egypt from the south'. I must however protest that both these statements are misrepresentations of fact. I did not state, or even suggest, that Khartoum stimulated the Fayum; though I have suggested (*A History of the Sudan*, p. 35) that Shaheinab probably influenced the Badarian civilization of middle Egypt—quite a different matter. I did, on the contrary, state (in *Shaheinab*, pp. 104-5) that the facts so far known suggest that both the Khartoum area and the Fayum received stimuli from a common dispersal area somewhere west of the Nile, and one which probably included Tibesti and the Wonyanga lake area. Nor have I ever thought that food production entered Egypt from the south, unless by 'food production' Braidwood merely means the meat and milk of the domesticated dwarf goat. On the contrary, I have been teaching at University College London for more than eight years now that the domestication of wheat and barley probably did take place in Asia, and that the reason why the people of the Fayum Neolithic were cultivating those cereals, while their distant connections the Khartoum Neolithic people did not cultivate, was that the Fayum people learned the cultivation of wheat and barley after their arrival on the shores of Lake Moeris from neighbours in the Delta who had got it from Asia. Indeed I stated this clearly on p. 107 of *Shaheinab*: 'The Fayum Neolithic people, who no doubt adopted the practice of agriculture and domestic cattle and perhaps other animals from Asiatic sources'.

After having incorrectly represented me as implying that food production entered Egypt from the south, Professor Braidwood goes on (pp. 26-7) to ask whether there was only one nuclear area in the Near East, or several. By 'nuclear area' he means 'a definable geographical-ecological area in which a constellation of events occurred. . . . Namely, where did the plants and animals of the characteristic old world pattern become effectively domesticated? And, in consequence of this or attending it, where did the village-farming

KHARTOUM'S PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEOLITHIC

community make its appearance? We identify the village-farming community archaeologically by means of the traces of a variety of crafts, and we need to ask ourselves whether these were invented once or several times in the area of our concern. The effective domestication of the plants and animals probably came about by a process which was more complicated than simple invention'. He says that he himself inclines to one nuclear area in the Near East, which includes the hilly flanks of the Fertile Crescent. He specifically excludes from it the Nile Valley, as well as the high plateau of Anatolia and Iran, suggesting that they were stimulated later from the nuclear area. But he agrees that this will need much more in-the-field checking before it becomes fact, if it ever does; and (pp. 28-9) he suggests that an end-Stone-Age food-gathering era, which may have concentrated on seeds, was probably followed by 'an era of incipient agriculture and animal domestication', which itself preceded the era of the primary village-farming community, in which he appears to include Khartoum along with Jarmo and Jericho. He claims that 'the era of the primary village-farming community is relatively easy to distinguish', though I argue later in this paper that Shaheinab, in spite of having some domesticated goats, was hardly a village-farming community, still less Early Khartoum. He does admit that he cannot yet demonstrate that there is incipient agriculture or animal domestication in his area in the era which precedes that of the primary village-farming community.

In what follows I want to suggest that Professor Braidwood is tackling his problem the wrong way. It is impossibly optimistic—or worse—to devise a scheme of interpretation and then to look for facts to fit it. He had better content himself with collecting facts, as he has done so admirably at Jarmo and elsewhere, and carefully digest the facts disclosed by others, as a preliminary to devising a scheme that will fit all known facts. Anything else, especially coming from so well-known a prehistorian as Professor Braidwood, will only mislead many people.

It seems to me that Professor Braidwood is on the wrong tack in expecting 'a constellation of events' in any one area, and even in speaking of the domestication of plants and animals in one breath. They are two very different things, and did not necessarily originate together, or even at the same time or in the same place. Domestication of plants must take place where they are native—we know, for example, that the potato was domesticated in America. We will confine ourselves to wheat and barley, which the botanists tell us are native to Asia. There is no reason to think that these cereals were domesticated more than once, or that each of them has not been diffused all over the world from the place where it was first cultivated. Everything points to that having been in Asia. But the domestication of animals is a very different matter. It is very easy to domesticate a wild animal if it is hungry; and a young wild animal separated from its mother is soon in that condition. The same conditions occur on a large scale when the rains fail—as they do periodically in the Sudan,

KUSH

for example. In my own lifetime I have tamed a number of wild animals. In addition to gazelles, which are easy, I have domesticated both a grass snake in England and a jackal in the Sudan ; while I know of a wild duck which joined a neighbour's domestic ducks during a hard frost in England, and showed no fear of the neighbour as long as he was the only source of food. But the most impressive experience I had was when camping on the River Atbara some ten years or so ago, at a time when the rains had failed for the second year in succession. My tent was at one end of a large *tundub* bush, and my cook settled at the other end. For the whole of my visit of several days, the cook was pestered by a female of that timid animal the wart-hog, which had a young one with it. They had found some potato peel that the cook had thrown away, and were so hungry that after that they would not leave us. By continuing to feed them, it would have been easy to start a drove of tame wart-hog. Thus hungry wild animals must have sold themselves over and over again into slavery to man in return for a supply of food, and there must have been numberless places where the domestication of animals has so originated. (I cannot help wondering whether it is significant that one of the earliest, if not the earliest of animals domesticated apparently in both Asia and Africa, was that enterprising animal the goat. Hunger makes it particularly fearless, and in that famine year when we were up the River Atbara and all sheep and cattle had ceased to be able to cope and so had been taken away, a number of goats were still hanging on, and those that were strong enough were climbing 20 ft. and more up *sunt* trees in search of their small leaves. Hungry goats may thus have attached themselves to man more readily than other animals.)

It seems to me that the wonderful paintings in the cave at Lascaux in France, which date back to the Old Stone Age, depict a state of affairs in which the men to whom the artists belonged were very much interested in, and perhaps becoming parasitic on, herds of cattle and horses, which they may have confined in winter in one or more of the valleys leading up to the central *massif*, and made dependent on them by supplying them with food in the shape of dried grass in winter. There is no suggestion that they were milking any of the animals, but they may well have been killing individual animals when they required meat.

In the central Sudan to-day, we have men following two very different modes of life. The movements of the nomads with their large herds, which in the Sudan consist chiefly of camels or cattle—both usually with the addition of sheep—are dependent solely on finding conditions suitable for their animals, where grazing is plentiful and biting flies are absent. They are still following the kind of life that we seem to see foreshadowed at Lascaux, but developed until the large herds provide all that man requires. Such a life is a gentleman's life ; but the numbers who can follow it are limited by factors like the supply of grazing.

Side by side with the herd-owning nomads in the central Sudan is a more numerous population who follow an entirely different mode of life. They live in settled villages and are dependent primarily on the crops they grow. They

KHARTOUM'S PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEOLITHIC

may vary their diet with a little meat or milk, but without their agriculture they could not exist. Theirs is a much more laborious mode of life than that of the nomad, who despises the man who has to earn his living with the sweat of his brow. There is too a season when the cultivator's crops are green and luscious and the whole of his year's labours may be undone in a night by an incursion of the nomad's herds; while the nomad's animals are apt to be killed and eaten if they stray anywhere near a village. There is thus liable to be considerable enmity between the nomad and the peasant, and their modes of life are apt to be kept separate and distinct. Miss Caton-Thompson recognized this in her interpretation of her finds at Kharga as a probably contemporary Bedouin Microlithic and Peasant Neolithic. Professor Braidwood should bear this in mind, and not expect to find the domestication of plants and animals either originating together or in the first place necessarily occurring together.

Pottery, too, as far as the evidence goes at present, far from being a unit in a constellation of events, apparently has nothing in origin to do with the domestication of animals or of plants. It would be no use to nomads, some of whom in the Sudan still do not use it at all, but retain the use of close-woven baskets as containers for liquids; but there is, on the other hand nothing so far to suggest that it was an invention of the cultivator. At Jericho, where man was cultivating and had even reached a form of urban civilization, he had not yet come across the art of making pots. If he had, we may be sure that he would have adopted it. This supports the reasonable view that pottery was only invented once, whenever that may have been—probably by some lucky accident in which a clay-lined basket or baskets became accidentally burned; after which clay receptacles of basket shape were purposely fired. This probably accounts for the fact that the earliest known pots are incised to represent baskets and made by the coil method commonly employed in basket-making. Where this centre was is as yet uncertain, but I see no reason at present to think that it was in Asia. Indeed, the existence of pre-pottery Jericho makes it seem likely that it was not in Asia, and at present I do not see why it should not have been in Africa. I still think that the pottery of Early Khartoum is probably the earliest that has yet been recognized. Professor Braidwood places it just before 3000 B.C., relying on the C 14 dating of *c.* 3300 B.C. for Shaheinab—without taking into account the depth of deposit at Early Khartoum, the fact that *Celtis* seeds from that site were so fully fossilized that they would not burn, and the even more important fact that the Nile was then at least 4 m. and probably 10 m. higher than it is to-day. This is recognized by some as indicating that Early Khartoum may well date back to the Makalian wet period, *c.* 7000 B.C.* Nor was any account taken by Professor Braidwood of the fact that the neolithic settlement

* See R. Pittioni, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Keramikums in Afrika und im Nahen Osten,' *Prehistorische Forschungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*. Vienna, 1950.

KUSH

of Shaheinab was already a deserted mound used as a cemetery by people with a rippled ware pottery and pre-dynastic type beads, who probably date close to 3300 B.C. themselves; nor does he seem to realize how easy it is for objects found close to the surface in loose gravel to become contaminated with recent carbon. Dr Leakey too has found a few sherds of pottery associated with his Upper Kenya Capsian to support the suggestion of an African origin for pottery. It is to be noted too that the earliest sherds from Mersin in Asia are incised with the same motifs as the earliest known African sherds. At Early Khartoum, pottery was being used by a community of hunters, fishers and gatherers, the reason for whose more or less permanent settlement on the bank of the Nile cannot have been any kind of farming activity, but rather the convenience of fishing. Early Khartoum may only have been a low river camp; Shaheinab seems to have been a permanent settlement, but even there its *raison d'être* must have been fishing. There is no need for a permanent settlement for hunting, in fact rather the contrary; and the possession of a few goats, at least towards the end of the occupation, only meant that the inhabitants were improving their food supply—which mostly came from hunting and fishing—by breeding goats, which could easily have moved around with a nomads' camp. It is not yet certain what need in such a settlement was first met by pots—they may have been used as water containers, once fishing led to permanency of settlement. In a warm climate, the fact that they cool the water by evaporation would have been an additional attraction. Besides being useful for boiling meat—and cooking seems to have been more prevalent at Shaheinab than at Early Khartoum—they may also have been found useful for killing and cooking the molluscs on which the human population became more dependent at the end of the Stone Age, since the wild animal population had been reduced by hunting—particularly after the introduction of the bow and arrow.

Ochre grinding, which we know occurred in the Old Stone Age, may have become more important with the need to improve the colour of pottery. As I have suggested, it may have led to the development of ground or polished stone tools, not apparently on the Nile, but still why not in Africa and possibly in the Tibesti area, where its present known diffusion suggests that the partly polished hollow-cut stone-adze (named 'gouge' by Miss Caton-Thompson) may have originated? The same process of ochre grinding seems to have led to the invention of the disk-shaped macehead in the Nile Valley.

What is needed is more evidence—more facts. When we have them, the picture will become clearer. There is a possibility that I may be able to accompany an expedition which is going to the Tibesti-Ennedi area this autumn primarily to study the migration of birds. If I am able to search the confines of the lakes near Wonyanga, I hope to bring back some important new evidence from an area that may well have been, before desiccation set in (as Miss Caton-Thompson and I have already suggested) an important centre in which some of the traits of early civilization in the Nile Valley originated.

The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan

by LABIB HABACHI

ASWAN has always been the link between Egypt and the Sudan and people going to and coming from the South have customarily stopped there before and after passing through the relatively unpopulated land of Nubia. It was natural then that the viceroys of Kush should stop there when going to assume their functions and when returning to their country. The district under their control varied from time to time,¹ but in all periods in which viceroys supervised Nubia, the region of Aswan was among the most important parts of the district, if not the most important of all. This may be the reason why, in contrast to the situation during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the nome of Aswan during the New Kingdom had no governors of its own.² Viceroys came usually from far-away places such as Thebes and Bubastis, and there they provided their burials.³

The viceroys of Kush are likely to have stayed in Aswan in most cases longer than anywhere else in the district. In their capacity as representatives of the king, they had to supervise all work done anywhere in their domain and to assure the delivery of tribute. Buildings, whether civil, military or religious, were erected under their supervision. In one of the graffiti on Sehel, the viceroy is followed by the chief of works who is shown on smaller scale.⁴ It is known that Setau built the temple of Gerf Husein, and it is quite probable that he supervised personally that of Es-Sebua.⁵ We shall show in a subsequent work that Pesiur II was responsible for building the Great Temple of Re-Harakhti at Abu Simbel.

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *Aegypten und Nubien*, pp. 177 ff., also Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte*, 3rd ed., p. 464.

² In Qubbet El-Hawa, where the nobles of Aswan were buried, most of the tombs date back to the Old Kingdom, four belong to the Middle Kingdom and only one (the so-called Lady Cecil Tomb) is to be attributed to the New Kingdom. But this latter tomb is that of a chief priest. The rock inscriptions of Aswan mention sometimes nomarchs of Elephantine (cf. De Morgan, *Cat. des mon. et inscr.* 1, 88, 62), but they had no great power and must have been subordinate to the viceroys. Sometimes the power of the viceroy extended to Hieraconpolis, but Aswan must always have been included in the district controlled by the viceroy.

³ The tombs of Hori I and Hori II are in Bubastis; Mermose, Setau, Amenhotep-Huy, and most probably Nehi and Sen were buried in Thebes, while Panehesi's tomb is at Aniba.

⁴ See below graffito no. 10 (for their work, see Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff. and Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 466 ff.)

⁵ For the work of Setau in Gerf Husein, see Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 33. The same viceroy left many inscriptions in Es-Sebua Temple and officials dedicated stelae near to him, thus showing that he was much concerned with this temple, *ibid.* pp. 55, 57 and 63.

KUSH

Military operations were directed at least with the approval of the viceroys, since they are sometimes shown in the presence of the king smiting his enemies (nos. 20–23 below), and they sometimes bore military titles.⁶ Hence they probably stayed in Aswan for considerable periods to supervise the work of strategic, civil and religious importance required in that region.

On their visits to Aswan some of the viceroys desired to leave some memorial of themselves and the surface of the granite cliffs all about the area made easy the realization of their desires. It is not strange then that we find in the region more of their inscriptions than can be found anywhere else, and we find them in the places where most of the rock inscriptions of Aswan are found, namely on Sehel, opposite Elephantine, and on the road leading from Aswan to Konosso. There must have been reasons governing the choice of one place rather than another. For example, when the road between Aswan and Konosso was chosen, it was probably because the viceroys passed along that road, most likely when going south with an army. Along this road, unlike other areas with rock inscriptions, we find many scenes concerned with battles.⁷ On the other hand the men who carved their inscriptions opposite Elephantine did so mostly because they took part in building one or another of the temples on the Island. The same may be said of Sehel, where the viceroys passed by the shrine of Anukis and sometimes added to it. But most of the inscriptions were placed there in the intervals which the viceroys had to spend waiting for a favourable time in which to pass through the turbulent waters of the First Cataract.

Whether they are on Sehel, opposite Elephantine, or on the road from Aswan to Philae, we find that these graffiti usually exhibit only the figure of the viceroy, but in a few cases he is accompanied by one of his officials and has a few lines of text in front of him. From the time of Amenophis III onwards usually the cartouches of the reigning king and sometimes his figure are shown opposite the viceroy. Rarely are any divinities pictured as they commonly are in the inscriptions of other functionaries. Only in two instances do we find a viceroy in the presence of local divinities (nos. 19 and 30 below). In a third case the deity of the home town of the viceroy is shown (no. 37 below) and that was for a particular reason, which we shall try to trace below. In two of these three cases do we find the viceroy accompanied by a member of his family (nos. 30 and 37 below)⁸. The viceregal visits to the region were considered strictly official.

Many of the inscriptions of these viceroys have already been published by travellers and scholars of the first half of the last century. Most of them were

⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁷ About midway between Aswan and the modern Dam colony, there is a group of large stelae carved on the rocks. These tell of wars waged in the South by Tuthmosis II, Amenophis III and Ramesses II, see Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, v, 245. In Konosso, which seems to mark the end of this road, there are more rock inscriptions of this nature. These latter show Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, see *ibid.*, p. 254.

⁸ In two cases the viceroy is shown with an official (nos. 11, 19) in another with his son (no. 37) and in a fourth (no. 30) with his wife.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

reproduced by Petrie in his book, *A Season in Egypt* (1887), and almost all were published by De Morgan and his assistants in their *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions*, vol. I (1894). The first study of the viceroys of Kush was made by Reisner in an article entitled 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia' in *JEA*, VI, pp. 28 ff. and 73 ff. In this article he gave a list of the viceroys with their titles as they occur in their inscriptions at various places. He also studied the development of their titles and their dress and gave a list of the employees who helped them in their domain. Gauthier later published a long article called 'Les vice-rois d'Ethiopie' in *RT*, xxxix, pp. 182 ff., in which he commented on what Reisner had said and added some more inscriptions. Viceroys have not been treated as a whole elsewhere except by Säve-Söderbergh in his interesting work, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 175 ff.⁹ Here the list of the viceroys of Kush was brought up to date, but the main interest of the study lies in the fact that rights and duties of these high officials and those under their power are discussed.

During my work in Aswan I had the opportunity to examine the graffiti of the viceroys in the region. I noticed then that some were not properly published, a few of these had not been attributed to the proper authors and others had not been correctly dated. Two other graffiti proved not to have been published at all; one of them was covered by the waters of the Nile for a part of the year (no. 16 below), while the other was hidden under earth (no. 33). It must be remembered that the graffiti at Aswan are not always easy to read, for they are for the most part faintly carved on the rather rough surface of the cliffs.

In KUSH, the most recently initiated periodical dealing with archaeology, we shall pass in review very briefly all the graffiti of the viceroys of Kush in the Aswan district (references to these are to be found in Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, v, 245 ff.), treating in detail those inadequately published and those as yet unpublished. In doing so, we shall try to show, somewhat briefly, the work done by these officials in the region. Throughout this article we shall refer when necessary to the above-mentioned books of Petrie, De Morgan, Reisner, Gauthier, Säve-Söderbergh and Porter-Moss by the name of the author and the page number.

Thure, perhaps the first man to be appointed viceroy of Kush, served Tuthmosis I and left in the Aswan district two rock inscriptions, both on Sehel Island. The first (PLATE V, facing p. 24=no. 1=Reisner 1e; De Morgan, 85, 19; *Urk*, IV, 89: (34) B; Porter-Moss, 250), speaks of:

1. *The third year, first month of Shemu day 22, navigation of His Majesty on this Canal, in power and strength, upon his return from overthrowing the vile Kush. Underneath is; The viceroy, Thure.*

⁹ In Amara there were found important inscriptions of some viceroys, but these have not yet been published, although photographs of some of them and references to others are given by Fairman in *JEA*, 25, p. 143 and pls. xv, 2; xvi, 1.

KUSH

2. The second inscription (no. 2=Reisner, 29, 1e; De Morgan 85, 13; *Urk.*, iv, 89-90 (34)c; Porter-Moss, 250), speaks also of the clearance of the above-mentioned canal.

That these inscriptions and others mentioning canals are carved on the eastern side of Sehel shows that these canals were dug nearby. Thure, in his capacity of viceroy, must have supervised in the reign of Tuthmosis I the clearance of a canal and perhaps have arranged for the campaign mentioned in the two graffiti.

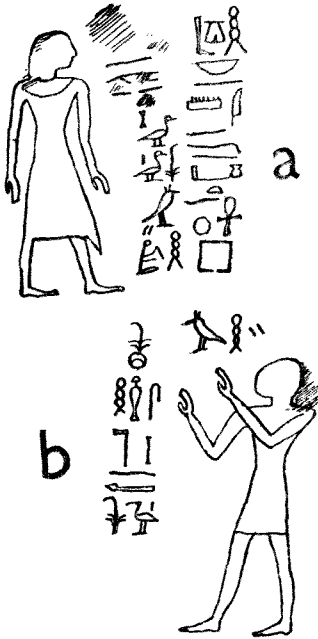


FIG. 1. Inscr. 3

The next viceroy we meet in the region is Nehi, who lived under Tuthmosis III. He left in the district one single inscription, which has not been properly published. It is on Sehel (PLATE V and FIG. 1, here given no. 3=De Morgan, 89, 65; Reisner, 31, 3k; Porter-Moss, 251) and shows the figures of two men one above the other. The upper man (3a) has his arms at his side. In front of him is an inscription of two vertical lines reading :

3a. *The lector-priest of Amun in (The Temple of) 'Gifted-with-life', Nakht-[amen], son of the viceroy, Nehi.*¹⁰

The lower figure wears a short kilt, and has the arms lifted in adoration. In front of it there is an inscription formed of a vertical line continued in a horizontal one which reads :

3b. *The king's acquaintance, the praised of the great (?) god, the viceroy, Nehi.*

The only reproduction of this graffito is to be found in De Morgan, 89, 65. The upper inscription

is copied there in hieroglyphs as :

Hry-hb n 'Imn m dwt 'nh nbt pr... nht sz nsw Nḥi'
while the lower one is rendered as :

Rḥ-nsw ḥs ntr. t sw Nḥi.

Reisner, *op. cit.*, depending on this copy says about it : ' Nearly illegible inscriptions beginning "lector of Amūn" and ending "king's son".' He continues ' Below is a smaller figure with "Nehi" above it, but I am unable to make out the connection'. But it is clear that the lower figure is that of the viceroy Nehi and the upper one that of his son Nakht [amen]. It is only strange that the former viceroy should be shown on a lower level and lifting his arms in adoration. Perhaps this was due merely to the fact that the surface of the stone was not

¹⁰ It is to be noted that among the titles borne by Nehi, that of lector-priest of Amun also appears (Gauthier, 191).

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

quite suitable for engraving his figure opposite that of his son and that he was shown with uplifted arms because he was facing the chapel of Anukis.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it gives us for the first time the name of a son of the viceroy. This son is shown here to have been attached to the Funerary Temple of Tuthmosis III. Ricke studied this temple and gave a list of the officials and priests attached to it.¹¹ It seems that he, Nakht[amen] and not his father, was responsible for engraving this graffito; perhaps he was supervising the extraction of granite from this island for the temple in which he officiated.

Nehi was most probably followed by Usersatet, who is believed to have served during the whole reign of Amenophis II and a part of the reign of Tuthmosis IV. One graffito only has previously been attributed to him in the whole region of Aswan,¹² but we can now add seven more, which have already been published, but so inaccurately that they have never been recognized as Usersatet's. The only hitherto known inscription of this viceroy (PLATE V, here given no. 4=LD, Text IV, 126 (23); De Morgan, 86, 28; Reisner, 32, 4b; Gauthier, 192) is carved on the highest boulder on the western side of Bibitagoug on Sehel. From the photograph it can be seen how the figure of the viceroy together with the accompanying inscription have been partly erased.

The viceroy is shown standing with his arms at his sides and clad in a skirt shown by a thin line, and which reaches midway between the knees and the ankles. An attempt was made to erase the face of the figure and the inscription in front of it, but this was done in such a way as to leave them still visible. The inscription, in a single vertical line, reads:

4. *The viceroy, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet.*

Helck is the latest scholar to have dealt with the inscriptions and objects left by this viceroy, when he published the stela found in 1924 by the Harvard Expedition in Semneh (now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, No. 25632). Helck pointed out that the man had been the object of persecution, although he could not determine why or when in his career the persecution occurred.¹³ When we began to study the graffiti of the Aswan district, some ten years ago, we were aware of this fact, although we also failed to discover why and when Usersatet fell into such disgrace that his name, titles and figure were everywhere totally or partially erased. Fortunately in many cases sufficient traces were left to make the reading of them certain or highly probable.

¹¹ *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 3, opposite p. 38. For Nakhtamen and his inscription on Sehel, which we pointed out to the author, see Addendum to p. 38.

¹² Gauthier asks if the graffito copied by Mariette (*Mon. divers.* pl. 71, 25) is different from the hitherto known one published under no. 5, but it seems that it is the same.

¹³ *JNES*, xiv, pp. 22 ff.; for his monuments see p. 29.

KUSH

On the same side of the cliffs of Sehel on which the only hitherto known inscription of the viceroy is engraved, five other graffiti were carved by the viceroy or one of his subordinates.

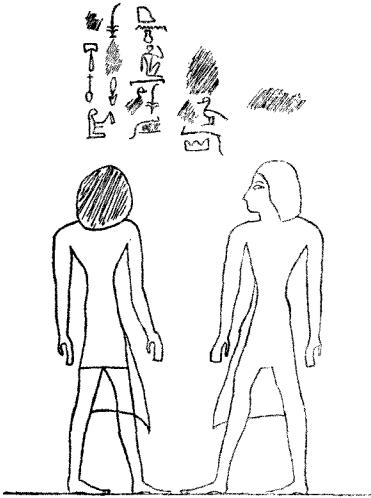


FIG. 2. Inscr. 5

'Idnw n . . . Snnfr

but sufficient traces still can be seen of the following words :

5. 'Idnw n s3 nsw imy-r h3swt rsy Wsrstt, Snnfr,
The deputy of the viceroy, and the overseer of the Southern Lands Usersatet,
Sennufer.

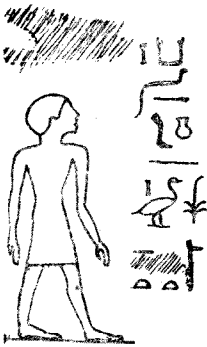


FIG. 3. Inscr. 6

Thus the figure to the left stands for a deputy of Usersatet called Sennufer, and the one to the right could also be that of another subordinate of the viceroy, since he is shown on the same scale and since the accompanying inscription seems also to have room showing the relation of the man to the viceroy as in the opposite one.

A second graffito nearby (here given No. 6= De Morgan, 92, 112 ; Gauthier, 232) shows a standing man facing left (FIG. 3) with his arms at his sides and with a knee-length kilt. In front of him is an inscription in a vertical line continued in a horizontal line which once gave the author's name, but which was totally erased. It reads :

6. Kdnw n s3 nsw, Wsr(s)tt, . . .
The charioteer of the viceroy, User(sa)tet, . . .

Reisner (86, 14), depending on the copy of De Morgan, who omitted the name of the viceroy, could not attribute the charioteer to the viceroyalty of Usersatet.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

A third graffito (here FIG. 4, given no. 7=De Morgan, 91, 100) shows a man dressed in a similar kilt bearing a stick in his left hand. In front of him an inscription of two vertical lines running retrograde reads :

7. *May the King give offerings (to) Anukis, mistress of Sehel, (namely) to the ka of [the king's son], the brave [of the king] . . . [User] satet.*¹⁴

Sufficient traces of the name and one of the epithets of the viceroy still remain to make our identification certain.

A fourth graffito (no. 8=De Morgan, 92, 116) shows a standing man in the same attitude and dress as in graffiti nos. 4, 5 and 6 ; of an inscription of two lines, only the following signs are visible :

8. . . . *K3.sn . . . imy-r h3swt rsy . . .*
 . . . *their 'kas' . . . , the overseer of the Southern Lands, . . .*

Nothing is left of the other titles or the name of the author, but the facts that these were erased and that the accompanying figure resembles that in the other graffiti of Usersatet, show that it was he who was also responsible for carving this graffito.

The same may be said about a fifth graffito nearby (PLATE V, given no. 9 here=De Morgan, 91, 103). Here we find the figure of a man with uplifted arms, but with a kilt somewhat similar to the one in which Usersatet is usually shown. Opposite him is a cartouche with two feathers above it, a bow and the *nb*-sign underneath. The cartouche reads : *Okheper(w)re*, the prenomen of Amenophis II. Between the figure and the cartouche there is a vertical line reading :

9. *The one concerned with the booty, the brave in the vile Kush . . .*

These two epithets of the author are known to have been borne by Usersatet. Though his name is totally erased, the facts that the man is shown in front of the cartouche of the king whom Usersatet served, bears the epithets usually attributed to Usersatet and wears the dress in which Usersatet is customarily shown make it almost certain that it was indeed Usersatet who also had this graffito carved.

Thus on the western side of Bibitagoug, Usersatet carved six graffiti. There must have been some reason for his carving in this place. Opposite it is the site where ruins of the chapel of Anukis were discovered. The few fragments left



FIG. 4. Inscr. 7

¹⁴ Almost all of the second line is unclear in De Morgan's copy.

KUSH

of this chapel proved that it was Amenophis II who built it.¹⁵ In his capacity of viceroy of this king, Usersatet must have supervised the work on the chapel, and that would explain the presence of such a large number of his graffiti in this particular spot.



FIG. 5. Inscr. 10

But the attention which Amenophis II gave to the cult of Anukis was not limited to the erection of the chapel ; he also offered to her chapel many objects used in the cult of the goddess and added a fourth day to her previous three day festival.¹⁶ Usersatet carved a seventh graffito, this time on the island to the South of Sehel called Ras Sehel (PLATE VI and FIG 5, here given no. 10=De Morgan, 75 ; Sayce in *RT*, xvi, p. 73 and the present writer in *JEA*, 39, p. 58) in which he referred to this festival, showing that he, like his sovereign, was interested in the worship of the goddess of the Island. In this graffito we have the figure of a standing man with uplifted arms¹⁷ and an inscription of six vertical lines. This reads :

10. *Giving adoration to Amun, doing obeisance to Re-Harakhti by the viceroy, the overseer of the (Southern) Lands, User(sate)t after coming to see the beauties of Anukis in her beautiful festival of proceeding to Sehel. He*

¹⁵ The present writer in *JEA*, 39, p. 57, and note 5.

¹⁶ For references to this stela see Porter-Moss, *op. cit.*, 229.

¹⁷ The man wears a garment like the one he is shown with in other graffiti.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

*made accordingly five canals (?) with workmen¹⁸ scorched in their limbs (?);
this (?) being done anew.¹⁹*

Here the reading of the text is much improved, though the end is difficult to follow. But it is clear from the inscription that Usersatet was charged with the digging of five canals, which task he perhaps carried out for his sovereign during the scorching months of summer. This reminds us of the five canals dug in the First Cataract by Uni some ten centuries before.²⁰ Here again, as in most of the inscriptions of Usersatet, his figure, titles and name are partly erased, but sufficient traces remain to show that it was carved by him.

Apart from the graffiti of Usersatet on Sehel and Ras Sehel, there exists one more in the region of Aswan. This is engraved on the so-called Gebel Tingar on the west bank opposite Aswan, not far from St. Simeon's Monastery (PLATE VI, FIG. 6; here given no. 11 = De Morgan 128, 5). This graffito made for Usersatet is the only one in the place which contains the name of a viceroy. Here we have two figures, the one in front on a larger scale than the other figure and a considerable part of the accompanying inscription has been intentionally erased, but sufficient traces remain to give the exact reading of it. The larger figure has uplifted arms and wears a garment which reaches a little below the knees. A vertical line of inscription in front of him reads :

11. *Giving adoration to Khnum by the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet.*

Above the second smaller figure is another inscription of two vertical lines which reads :

The deputy of the viceroy Usersatet, Meh.

The copy by De Morgan, which is the only copy hitherto available, contains many misreadings.

Here we have the mention of Khnum, as we do in most of the graffiti of this particular place (De Morgan, 126-8). It is not improbable that during the



FIG. 6. Inscr. 11

¹⁸ It is known that *ḡ*, 'pool', interchanges with *mr* 'canal', see Gardiner, *Gram.*, Sign-list, N. 37. *K3(w)t* here may stand for *K3wt3w* 'workmen' as suggested to me by Prof. Edel.

¹⁹ For *snwh*, see *Wb.*, 4, 157, 16. The words at the end are not quite sure.

²⁰ Breasted, *AR*, 1, § 324.

KUSH

reign of Amenophis II a chapel was built here as there was on Sehel. But there is no doubt that Amenophis II erected a chapel or a temple on Elephantine, this time for Satis, the chief goddess of the Island. In the ruins of the late temples we came across parts of granite door-jambs bearing the name of the king.²¹ Two small obelisks of granite were found some time ago on the Island. One of these is now in the Cairo Museum and the other is in Alnwick Castle in England (Porter-Moss, 244). In one of the houses which used to stand on Philae, a column originally from Elephantine was found re-used.²² It is probable, therefore, that Usersatet engraved his graffito opposite Elephantine to commemorate his activity and his sovereign's activity on the Island itself.

Thus Usersatet left 8 graffiti in the region of Aswan. He seems to have given great attention to the district, and we may ask ourselves if he was not originally from there, especially since the name of the goddess Satis is an element of his name. Helck guessed that he was buried in Gurnet Murai as were the viceroys Huy and Mermose. But Huy and Mermose seem to have been originally from Thebes, for each of them bore certain titles relating them to Amun, the chief god of the capital. It would seem that the tomb of Usersatet is to be sought rather in Qubbet El-Hawa among the tombs of the nobles of Aswan.

The inscriptions of Usersatet have given us information about two important officials who were his deputies as viceroy. These are Sennufer who was previously known, although the period in which he lived was unknown, and Meh whom we identify here for the first time. Another graffito was made by a charioteer of Usersatet, but his name is still unknown. He seems to have been persecuted, thus sharing the fate of his master.

Usersatet may have survived Amenophis II and served Tuthmosis IV, but it seems that Amenhotep, who left an inscription on Sehel (no. 12 here=Reisner, 32, 5a; LD, Text IV, 125, 5a; De Morgan, 92, 108; Gauthier, 192-4) served as viceroy for some time at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV and the beginning of that of Amenophis III. His inscription reads:—

12. *Overseer of the cattle of Amun, director of the works of the South and the North, head of the stable of his Majesty, the viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, the brave of the king and the praised of the good god, the royal scribe, Amenhotep.*²³

Mermose is known to have lived under Amenophis III and to have left three graffiti in the region of Aswan. One of these (no. 13=Reisner, 33, 6f;

²¹ Not yet published.

²² Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VI, 256.

²³ Lately Zaba has shown that Amenhotep was director of works for Upper and Lower Egypt and overseer of the cattle of Amun in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, while Usersatet was still viceroy. When Amenhotep succeeded Usersatet, he was the first to bear the full title of 'Viceroy of Kush', see *ASAE*, I, p. 513. It is quite possible that this Amenhotep, of whom we have only this inscription, is the same as Amenhotep-Huy of the reign of Tutankhamen.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

LD, Text, IV, 125, 12; De Morgan, 91, 96) is on Sehel and shows this viceroy holding a fan and a crook in front of the prenomen of Amenophis III, underneath which is the inscription :

13. *The viceroy Mermose.*

The second inscription lies opposite Elephantine (no. 14=Reisner 33, '6d; LD, Text IV, 117; De Morgan, 39, 177) and also shows him with a fan opposite the prenomen of Amenophis III and describes him as :

14. *Giving adoration to the Lord of the Two Lands by the king's son of Kush, Mermose.*

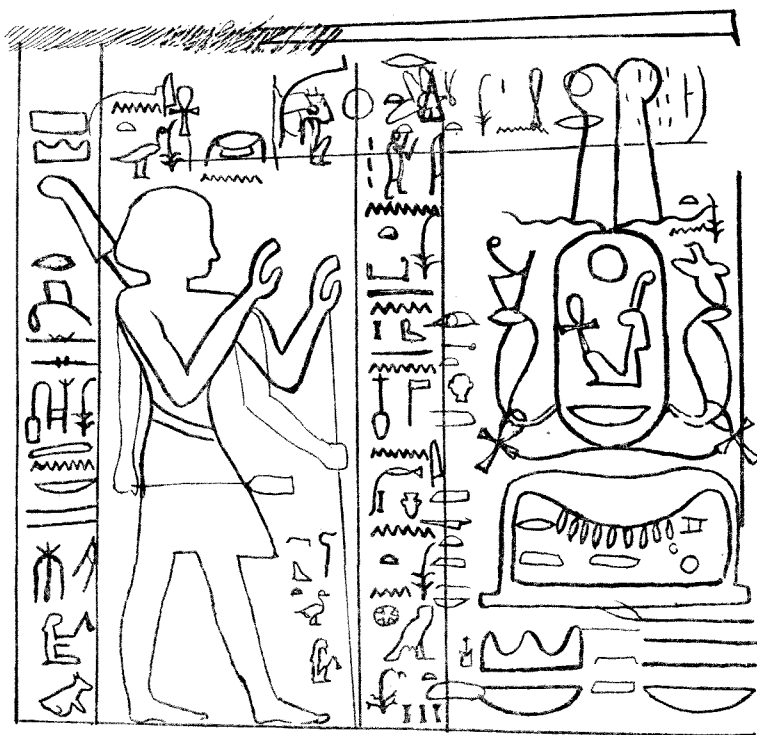


FIG. 7. Inscr. 15

This inscription has been added to another, inscribed by Mermose when he was a steward and a royal scribe. The third graffito (PLATE VI and FIG. 7, no. 15=Reisner 33, 6e; De Morgan, 27, 204 and Petrie, pl. x, 274) is engraved along the Shellal Road over an earlier one; hence it is difficult to determine its contents. We here give a new rendering, showing that the earlier inscription may have been one dated to year 28 (?) of the reign of Sesostri I (?). What interests us most is the inscription of Mermose himself. Here we find him with a fan slung on his back lifting his hands in adoration towards the prenomen of

KUSH

Amenophis III. The cartouche is surmounted by two horns with feathers and flanked by two uraei. It stands on the *nb*-sign, underneath which are the words :

15. *All the flat Lands and all the foreign Lands.*²⁴

In front of, above and behind Mermose there is the inscription :

Giving adoration to the victorious king, doing obeisance to the good god by the confidant of the king in the Southern Cities²⁵, the overseer of works, the overseer of the Golden (Lands of Amun), the viceroy of Kush to its length, the real royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands,²⁶ Mermose the blessed (?).

We can now add to these three graffiti a fourth one (PLATE VII, FIG. 8, no. 16) which we found on Hassawanarti Island opposite the Aswan Museum. A part of this inscription is always under water. It shows Mermose carrying a fan. In front of him are the prenomen and name of Amenophis III, the name having been erased by Akhenaten.

A vertical line of inscription continued by two horizontal ones reads :

16. *Giving adoration to Khnum and doing obeisance to the Lord of the Cataract region (by) the viceroy of Kush, the fan-bearer on the right of the king, Mermose.*

Behind him is a man shown on a smaller scale but accompanied by a longer inscription of which nothing but a few signs could be traced. This man must have been one of the officials working under Mermose.

Mermose thus left four inscriptions in the region of Aswan. One of these was engraved on the rocks of Sehel, perhaps on an occasion when he passed once through the waters of the Cataract. The second and the fourth are carved opposite Elephantine where Amenophis III built a chapel which was still standing until about A.D. 1822.²⁷ The third inscription was engraved on a boulder along the Shellal Road. As we have already suggested, this road was used for

²⁴ Meaning undoubtedly that these lands are under his control.

²⁵ Reisner, op. cit., takes the plural strokes as belonging to *Šm' w*, but they ought to go with *nwt šm' w* (Gauthier, *Dic. géogr.* III, 73), the main towns of Upper Egypt, and should refer here to Edfu and Kom-Ombo controlled by Mermose. It may be interesting to point out that Mermose was the only viceroy who used the epithet 'Confidant of the king in the Southern Cities.' It is known that Nehi's territory extended from Nekheb to the frontier at Karay, but in the 28th year of Tuthmosis III, Rekhmara was appointed as vizier supervising Upper Egypt including the area north of Aswan. There is no evidence that Usersatet or Amenhotep controlled the latter district, while there is more than one proof that Mermose governed that district. He may be the first viceroy to regain the rights of the viceroy, since it has been taken by Rekhmara, thence the use of the epithet and title referred to him Säve-Söderbergh; pp. 178-80.

²⁶ For the titles of Mermose, see Zaba, op. cit., p. 512, and Varille, *ASAE*, XLV, p. 15. Those borne by Mermose in this graffito were rendered by Reisner according to the copies then known as: *Favourite of the king in the southern city*. . . (3 groups lost ending with mountain-sign) *to its length (?)*, *king's scribe* (op. cit.)

²⁷ *JEA*, 32, p. 59 and note 1.

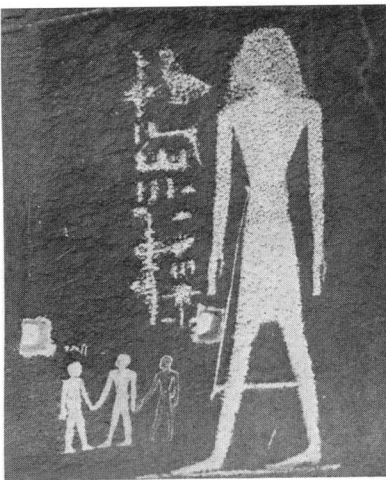
PLATE V



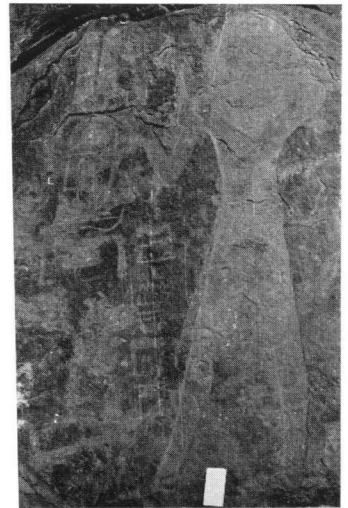
Inscr. 1



Inscr. 3



Inscr. 4



Inscr. 9

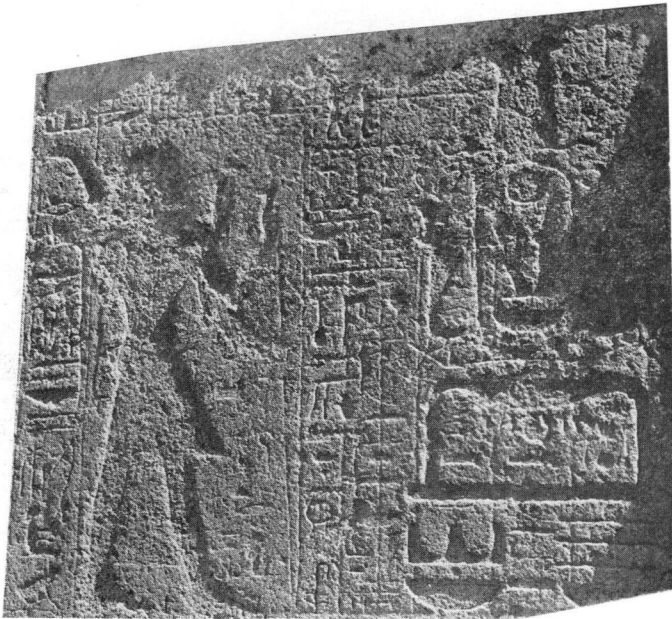
PLATE VI



Inscr. 10



Inscr. 11



Inscr. 15

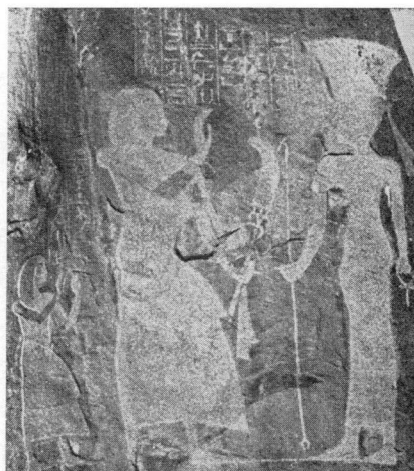
PLATE VII



Inscr. 16



Inscr. 37



Inscr. 19

PLATE VIII



Inscr. 26



Inscr. 35



Inscr. 27

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

armies going to the South. Mermose is mentioned on a stela from Semneh (now in the British Museum), which is dated in the 5th year of Amenophis III

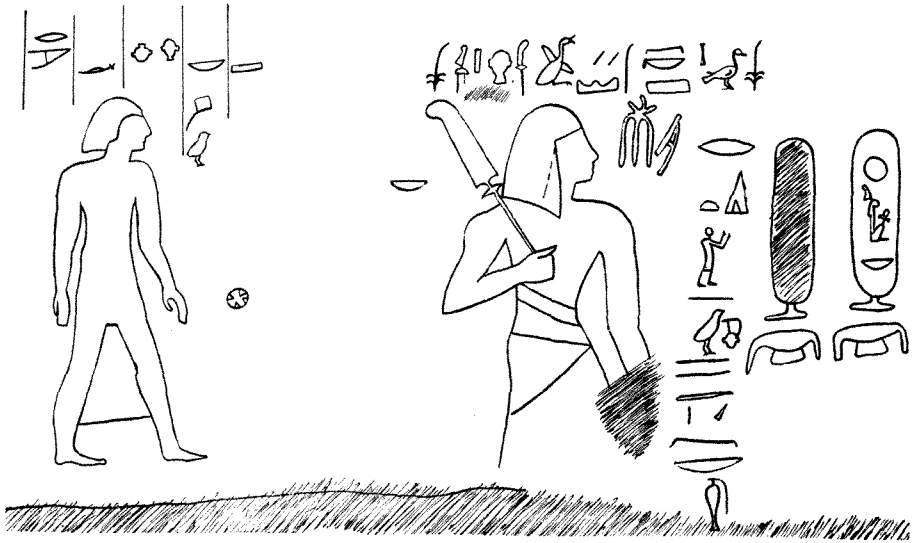


FIG. 8. Inscr. 16

and speaks of a revolt in the Land of Ibhet (Gauthier, 194 and Sève-Söderbergh, 159 and 181). This would indicate that he took part in dealing with this revolt.

The next viceroy was Thutmose who served under Amenophis IV-Akhenaten. He left two rock inscriptions on Sehel. The first (no. 17 = Reisner, 34, 7b ; De Morgan, 90, 84 ; *LD*, Text IV, 125, II), showing the viceroy in front of the prenomen of the king with the following words underneath :

17. *The viceroy Thutmose.*

The second graffito (FIG. 9, given no. 18 = Reisner, 34, 7d and De Morgan, 86, 35) may be more important. It consists of two horizontal lines of inscription reading :—



FIG. 9. Inscr. 18

18. *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Gold (Lands) of Amun, overseer of the Southern Lands and overseer of the masons,²⁸ Thutmose.*

²⁸ This is rendered by Reisner as : *King's son of Kush (overseer of the Gold Lands) of Amun . . . , overseer of the masons (?)* (op. cit., 34, 7d) but it is clear from the original that we have the title before the last.

KUSH

Thutmose seems to have been on his way to Kush when he had these two graffiti carved, perhaps he was proceeding to Sesebi to supervise the work on the temple erected there by Amenophis IV for the Theban triad.²⁹

Under Tutankhamen lived the viceroy Amenhotep-Huy known to us by his tomb (No. 40 in the Theban Necropolis) and by other monuments. It has been assumed that he left three rock inscriptions in the region of Aswan, but we shall see below that these, together with two more, are to be attributed to his namesake who lived under Ramesses II. It seems that Huy who lived under Tutankhamen did not leave any rock inscriptions in the Aswan district.³⁰

Amenhotep-Huy was followed by Paser who was the last viceroy in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Paser left only one graffito in the region and that on the Island of Sehel (PLATE VII given no. 19 = Reisner, 37, 9c; *LD*, text, iv, 126, 20; De Morgan, 86, 31 and Gauthier 199). It is one of the few graffiti of the viceroys in which a local deity appears. Anukis is shown in front of Paser with the words:

19. *Utterance of Anukis* (wrongly copied as Satis by De Morgan),
mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of gods.

Paser is described as:

The prince and governor, the noble in front of mankind, praised of his lord Amun, the viceroy of Kush, Paser.

Behind him is a figure on a smaller scale, above which is an inscription of two vertical lines reading:

Made by the chief of the works Panpamudja (?)

This chief of works seems to have been responsible for carving the graffito, and that was perhaps the reason why the inscription was not considered quite official (see above p. 13). Here again, the chief of works probably came to Sehel to extract granite blocks wanted somewhere in Nubia or Kush.

Amenemopet, Paser's son, followed his father as viceroy and served Seti I. He left four graffiti in the region, all of which were carved along the Shellal Road. Mariette spoke of a fifth graffito (Reisner, 39, 10e) which he saw in Sehel, but nobody since has been able to find it and it is quite likely that he referred to one of the graffiti on the road. The first of these graffiti (no. 20 = Reisner, 38, 10a; *LD*, Text iv, 121, 18; Petrie, pl. v, 110; De Morgan, 20, 123) shows Seti who has stepped down from his war chariot, and is holding an enemy by the hair, while the viceroy Amenemopet kneels and lifts his hands in adoration. The latter is described as:

20. *The first charioteer of his Majesty, the viceroy Amenemopet, son of the viceroy Paser.*

²⁹ Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, vii, 172 ff.

³⁰ He did, however, leave a graffito in Biga Island (Porter-Moss, 256, 18B) but we are not dealing here with the inscriptions on that island. For an inscription in the district which may have been carved by him, see footnote 23.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

The second graffito (no. 21=Reisner, 38, 10b ; Petrie, pl. v, 109 ; De Morgan, 20, 124) consists of two registers. In the upper one Seti I is about to smite an enemy, while in the lower register the viceroy stands with uplifted arms and is described as :

21. *The first charioteer of his Majesty,³¹ the viceroy of Kush, Amenemopet.*

The third graffito (no. 22=Reisner 38, 10c ; LD, III, 141h, Text, IV, 120, 9 ; Petrie, pl. vi, 130 ; De Morgan, 28, 5) also shows Seti I smiting an enemy, while the viceroy kneels opposite and raises his hands in adoration. The viceroy is styled as :

22. *The fan-bearer on the right of the king, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy Amenemopet, the blessed.*

Of the last rock inscription of Amenemopet (no. 23=Reisner, 38, 10d ; De Morgan, 29, 12) only part of the original representation survives. It apparently showed the king again smiting an enemy in front of Amenemopet, but only the lower part of the king survives. Underneath him is the inscription :

23. . . . *the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy, Amenem[opet].*

In the four inscriptions carved for Amenemopet on the Shellal Road, the king is shown smiting or about to smite a prisoner. We have pointed out before that on this road graffiti commemorating the victories of kings over their enemies are met with. For this reason we stated that viceroys chose this road along which to carve their graffiti, when they took part in campaigns to the South. Was there a war waged against the South in the time of Seti I ? Sève-Söderbergh has rejected the idea of any battles during that reign. He prefers to see in references to victories over the South simply the conventional phrases, especially because in the famous scenes of the wars of Seti on the exterior of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak there is no mention of a war in the South (p. 168). But according to a stela found in Buhen, Seti I is said to have gone to Buhen in the second year of his father's reign, and there he placed male and female slaves whom he captured. Soon after his visit Seti I ascended the throne and thereupon inserted his name within a cartouche on the stela. It is quite probable, therefore, that Amenemopet, who was then the viceroy of Kush and perhaps took an actual part in the battle as the first charioteer of his Majesty, carved these graffiti on the Shellal Road, where he depicted his sovereign smiting the enemy.

During the long reign of Ramesses II six or perhaps seven men assumed the office of viceroy, but of these we have the names of only two recorded on the cliffs of Aswan region. It has been stated that Hekanakht left a graffito or two on the Shellal Road and perhaps a third on Sehel.

24. One of his inscriptions on the road (no. 24=Reisner, 41, 12g ; De Morgan, 27, 207 bis) is very difficult to decipher. The author is shown carrying the fan and saluting the cartouches of Ramesses II, but nothing can now be seen

³¹ Rendered by Reisner as *Charioteer of His Majesty* (op. cit., 38, 10b).

KUSH

of the name and titles. The second graffito, also on the road (given no. 25, FIG 10.= Reisner 41, 12; Petrie, pl. x, 275; De Morgan, 27, 205) is carved on a somewhat rough surface; thence the difficulty in making a reliable copy of the text which it bears. The viceroy is seen lifting his hands in adoration before the prenomen of Ramesses II, having a sun disk between two feathers above and the *sm3-t3wy*-sign underneath it. The inscription, which begins with two vertical lines and ends in a horizontal one, reads :



FIG. 10. Inscr. 25

25. *Made by the chief of the Stable-of-the-Residence of the Hall of Audience of Ramessu-Meramen, the king's messenger to every land, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands the fan-bearer on the right (of the king), the king's scribe, Huy (the blessed).*

This inscription was attributed by Reisner to Hekanakht on the basis of the belief that he was the only viceroy of Ramesses II who bore the title 'Messenger.'³² But since this title was dropped on the other monuments of Hekanakht and is only found on a statuette of him, it may also have been dropped on the other known monuments of Huy.³³ Huy, who has been hitherto unknown, left four more inscriptions in the region of Aswan, one of which was also

³² This is translated by Reisner as : . . . of the house of the palace-of-Ramesses II, the messenger to every land, king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, fan-bearer on the king's right. . . .

³³ Säve-Söderbergh, p. 176, and notes 11-13, shows the possibility of a viceroy of that name during the reign of Ramesses II, although he depends for evidence upon a stela in the Berlin Museum, which is to be attributed rather to the other Huy.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

attributed to Hekanakht, while the three others were supposed to have been carved by Amenhotep-Huy who lived under Tutankhamen.

We shall attempt here to show that these inscriptions can be safely attributed to the viceroy Huy, who lived under Ramesses II. The four inscriptions are all on Sehel Island. The first (PLATE VIII, given no. 26=Reisner 35, 8c; De Morgan, 84, 8) has one figure of the viceroy to the right and another to the left of the two cartouches of Ramesses II. In front of the right figure and behind the left are vertical lines, each reading :

26. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy.*

The cartouches of the king in the middle are followed by words which describe him as :

Beloved of Khnum, Satis and Anukis.

Under the whole scene are the words :

The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the fan-bearer on the king's right, Huy.

No trace of change or addition can be detected in this graffito and the manner in which the cartouches are carved is the same as that in the rest of the graffito. It is strange, then, that Reisner refers to this graffito as 'undated (Tutankhamūn erased and replaced by Ramesses II)', and says further about it 'Apparently three different graffiti, cartouches of Ramesses II' (p. 35 8c). Gauthier (pp. 197-8), on the other hand, says: 'Je n'ai rien à ajouter à la liste de ces monuments telle qu'elle a été dressée par M. Reisner,—j'admets avec lui la restauration des noms de Ramsès II dans les cartouches des graffiti de Séhel par-dessus les noms du roi Tutānkhamon préalablement martelés sous Aï ou sous Harmehabi (c et d de M. Reisner, p. 35)'. But it is clear that the whole graffito was engraved during the reign of Ramesses II (compare also Säve-Söderbergh, 176).

The same can be said about the second graffito of the same man on Sehel (PLATE VIII, given no. 27=Reisner 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 153). This one has two registers; in the upper register (a) Ramesses II offering two vases of wine to the triad of the Cataract region and is described in three vertical lines as :

27a. *The good god 'Usermare Setpenre' the son of Re'. 'Ramessu-Meramen', given life.*

An inscription below the extended arms says :

Giving wine to his father.

Before the first member of the triad are the words:

Utterance of Khnum, lord of the Cataract region.

The second member bears no label, while the third is referred to in an inscription behind her, reading :

Anukis, mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of all gods.

KUSH

In the lower register (b) is the representation of Huy with uplifted arms and with the fan slung on his back. Facing him appears the prenomen of Ramesses II under the sun-disk and feathers. An inscription in front of Huy reads :

27b. *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the royal scribe, Huy.*

Here we find that the style used in carving the inscriptions and that followed in engraving the cartouches is the same as that of the previous graffito. It is to be noted also that in both graffiti parts inside the figures are shown uncarved; thus showing that they were both carved at the same time. We have, therefore, to reject the remarks made by both Reisner and Gauthier about this graffito also.



FIG. 11. Inscr. 28

The third graffito (FIG. 11, given no. 28=Reisner, 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 161) has the viceroy lifting one hand in adoration and holding the fan in the other. He is styled :

28. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy.*

Facing him is the king above whom is the sun-disk with pendant uraei. In front of the king is the inscription :

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands and master of ceremonies 'Usermare-setpenre', 'Ramessu-meramen'.

This again has been attributed to the reign of Tutankhamen, but undoubtedly it should be assigned to that of Ramesses II. The fourth inscription (FIG. 12, given no. 29= Reisner, 41, 12f; De Morgan, 99, 198) shows the viceroy with both hands lifted in adoration and the fan slung on his back. Before him are

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

the cartouches of Ramesses II, each under the two feathers, followed by the words :



FIG. 12 Inscr. 29

29. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy*

This also was taken to have been carved by Hekanakht rather than Setau (Reisner, op. cit.), but it is clear that it too belongs to Huy.

Huy, therefore, left in the region of Aswan five graffiti, one on the road leading from Aswan to Konosso, and the rest on Sehel. Ramesses II waged war in the South (Säve-Söderbergh, 170 ff.) and that is perhaps the reason why Huy carved his graffiti on the road. That he should have four inscriptions on Sehel is a sign of his great interest in this island. Whether this was due to the fact that he perhaps built a chapel to Anukis there or that he also carved these in the Island when he was on his way to the South, it is quite impossible to say.

The second viceroy in the reign of Ramesses II who left graffiti in the Aswan region was Setau. He left three graffiti in all ; one on Sehel and two on the road. The former (no. 30=Reisner, 43, 14u ; De Morgan, 97, 174) seems to have been unofficial since he and his wife are kneeling before Anukis, the chief goddess of the Island. The cartouches of the king appear behind the goddess who is herself referred to as :

30. *Anukis, mistress of Sehel.*

Above the viceroy are the words :

The viceroy of Kush, Setau,

while behind his wife is the label :

The chantress of Amun, Nofretmut.

KUSH

Setau seems to have payed an unofficial visit with his wife to the chapel of Anukis, and so he showed the local goddess and not the reigning king.

The second graffito of Setau is one on the road leading to Konosso (no. 31 = Reisner, 43, 14tA; De Morgan, 28, 3). This has the cartouches of the king, followed by the words :

31. *Made by the viceroy of Kush, Setau.*

The third graffito (no. 32 = Reisner, 43, 14tB; De Morgan, 28, 4) has the pre-nomen of the king followed by the words :

32. *Made by the viceroy, Setau.*

Setau thus left three graffiti, one in Sehel which commemorated a personal visit which he made with his wife to the Island. As for the two inscriptions which he left on the road, they must have commemorated a campaign to the South which Setau in the capacity of viceroy probably supervised.



FIG. 13. Inscr. 33

To these three graffiti, we can now add a new one. This one lies opposite Elephantine in the public garden close to the Cataract Hotel (FIG. 13, no. 33 in our serial number). It shows the seated king above whom hovers a falcon. The king holds the *heka*-sceptre in his left hand and extends the other towards the viceroy. Behind that king are the words :

33. *(all) life, (protection) . . . (behind him).*

The viceroy is shown leaning forward slightly towards the sovereign, extending his right hand and raising the fan with the other before the cartouches of the

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

king. There seems to have been a speech addressed to the viceroy, of which the following words survive

. . . *Horus 'Beloved-of-Ma 'et', the treasury is filled for my Majesty with silver and gold.*³⁴

Above the viceroy is an inscription in three vertical lines which reads :

. . . *the fan-bearer on the right of the king, (the viceroy of) Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands. Setau.*

Many a monument inscribed with the names of Ramesses II has been found on the Island of Elephantine. Ramesses II, therefore, may have built in this island a temple or a chapel, the erection of which Setau supervised as viceroy; under Ramesses II's successor, Messuy was viceroy. He left but one graffito and that was on the road (no. 34=Reisner, 47, 15a; De Morgan, 18, 87; *LD*, III, pl. 200f.; Petrie, pl. II, 70). In it he is shown holding out the fan with both hands toward the king who is in his war chariot and looking backwards, the viceroy is described in an inscription above him as :

34. *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of (the Southern Lands), the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy, the blessed.*

Below the whole scene is a horizontal line reading :

The viceroy of Kush, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy the blessed.

Here again we see a viceroy in the presence of his sovereign who stands in his war chariot. Were there hostilities in the South during the reign of Merenptah? According to Säve-Söderbergh (pp. 172-3), this is not certain, but it would seem strange for Messuy to show himself in the graffito he carved in Aswan, on the road with military scenes before his sovereign in a war chariot without having taken part in a war in the South.

The viceroy Seti who served under Siptah, left two rock inscriptions, one in Sehel and the second on the road. The first (PLATE VIII, no. 35=Reisner, 48, 16d; *LD*, III, pl. 202b; De Morgan, 86, 29) shows the viceroy kneeling before the cartouches of the king, which are followed by the inscription :

35. *Year 3, the first month of Shemu, the 20th day. Giving adoration to your ka, O valiant king, that he may give praises to the ka of the fan-bearer on the king's right, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti.*

Underneath the whole inscription is a horizontal line reading :

The prince and governor, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti, the blessed, possessor of veneration.

³⁴ This is not strange, since Setau bore the title *Overseer of the two Houses of Silver and Gold*, as can be concluded from his statue in the Cairo Mus. (No. 1134), see Säve-Söderbergh, p. 176, and note 8.

KUSH

The second (no. 36 = Reisner, 48, 16e ; *LD*, III, 202c ; De Morgan, 28, 6) shows the sitting king on his throne with the chief chancellor Bay standing behind him and the viceroy in front of him. The latter is described as :

36. *Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Gold Lands of Amun, fan-bearer on the king's right, chief steward of Amenre,³⁵ the king's scribe of the records of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Seti, the blessed.*

The activities of Seti under Siptah are not known to us, although he left inscriptions in Abu Simbel and Buhen. Perhaps he commemorated a visit to Sehel, but whether he was involved in any campaign against the South or not, it is very difficult to say.



FIG. 14. Inscr. 37

Hori I is known to have followed Seti as viceroy. No inscription of his is known in the region of Aswan, but examination of the graffito in Sehel heretofore attributed to his son Hori II reveals that it actually belongs to him. From our facsimile (PLATE VII, FIG. 14, no. 37 = Reisner, 50, 18b ; De Morgan, 84, 3), it can be seen that two men are shown in adoration before a cat-headed goddess, taken by De Morgan to be Sekhmet, who is Bastet, goddess of Bubastis, from which city Hori and his family came. The goddess is referred to with the words :

37. *Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, mistress of heaven and consort of the gods.*

The inscription above the two men says :

Made for the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the

³⁵ Taken by Reisner, op. cit., and by Breasted, *AR*, III, § 647, as *great steward of the king*.

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

*royal scribe, Hori, the blessed. His beloved son, the first charioteer of his Majesty, Webekh[senu].*³⁶

Hori I seems to have been very loyal to his home deity ; hence the representation of her in this and other inscriptions rather than that of the local deity. In passing once by Sehel Webekhsenu, perhaps in the company of his father, engraved this inscription on the Island. It is worth noting that he left in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen a graffito dated in the sixth year of Siptah. There he is again shown in the presence of Bastet.³⁷

Opposite Elephantine near the modern Nilometre, we found yet another inscription (no. 38, see FIG. 15). This is perhaps the one reproduced in De Morgan, 41, 183, where we have just the cartouches of Ramesses III with the representation of a man with upraised arms on each side. But examining the inscription, we find that behind the man on the left, there remains only the name. In front of the man on the right is the inscription :



FIG. 15. Inscr. 38

38. (*the king's son*) of Kush, the royal scribe, Hori.

and underneath :

(*Made by*) the king's son of Kush, the overseer (of the Southern) Lands,
(the fan-bearer) on the king's (right), the royal scribe, Hori.

³⁶ Rendered by Reisner (50, 18b) as : *king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, King's scribe, Hori, His beloved son, Wentawuat?* Gauthier, in speaking about *Un vice-roi d'Éthiopie enseveli à Bubastis* in *ASAE*, 28, pp. 129 ff. refers to this graffito (p. 134) and says that it may show Hori I and his son, though he does not give the name of that son.

³⁷ For references to this graffito, see Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 134, under 13E.

KUSH

It is probable that the author was Hori II and not his father Hori I. Both viceroys seem to have served Ramesses III, but the titles point rather to the son than the father. Regardless of which of the two carved the graffito, it is known that Ramesses III erected some building on Elephantine, opposite which the graffito was engraved.

No viceroy later than Hori II left inscriptions in the Aswan region and so our list ends here. Of that number two are here published for the first time. These are the graffito of Mermose in Hassawanarti (no. 16) and that of Setau opposite Elephantine (no. 33). In addition to these, improvements have been made in the reading of a number of signs in most of the graffiti inscriptions, so as to show their true importance. These are the inscriptions of Nehi and his son (no. 3), of Huy (nos. 28 and 29) and of Hori I (no. 37), all on Sehel, those of Mermose (no. 15) and Huy (no. 25) on the road and that of Hori II (no. 38) opposite Elephantine.

It has also been shown that the five graffiti inscribed with the name of Huy on Sehel (nos. 26-29) and on the road (no. 25) are to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II and not to that of Tutankhamen or his immediate successors. It was another Huy who was viceroy under Ramesses II. Most important are the seven inscriptions previously known but not hitherto attributed to Usersatet (nos. 5-11). The titles and the name are mostly erased in these seven, but sufficient traces remain to make our identification certain. Through these graffiti some of the officials who helped him in his work, such as the deputies Sennufer (no. 5) and Meh (no. 11) are now known. It can be seen also, how he was responsible for digging five canals in the Cataract region.

From the graffiti at Aswan, we have been able also to deduce something about the work of the viceroys in the region. Some of them were concerned with buildings on either Elephantine or Sehel, while others took part in wars in the South. As representatives of the king they were always responsible for any work done in their domain.

Tanqasi and the Noba

by L. P. KIRWAN

THE excavations¹ carried out at Tanqasi by Mr Shinnie for the Sudan Antiquities Service (with the support of the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts) are important for the geographical history of the Sudan in the fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries A.D. But, first, a word about the date of the Tanqasi tumuli, and especially about the date of their most characteristic contents, the coarse mat-impressed and other 'Noba' pottery. Originally, this was called, by Crowfoot, 'Aloa' ware² and was related by him, and has been by others since including Shinnie, to the Nuba wares of Kordofan and to the 'Black Noba' mentioned in the great Ethiopic inscription of 'Ezana³.

The Black Noba were the warrior tribesmen, still living in grass huts (tukls), whom 'Ezana (Aizanas) found in possession of the Island of Meroë when he led his army against them, across the Atbara, about A.D. 350. These Black Noba he describes as the enemies of the 'Kasu,' the indigenous Meroitic peoples, and of the 'Red peoples.' Meroë itself was probably at that time already destroyed—there is no mention of the city in 'Ezana's inscription—not by the Noba but more likely by a preceding King of Axum whose stela (in Greek) was found in Meroë in 1909.⁴ Thus weakened, the southern Meroitic province would have fallen an easy prey to the invading Noba tribesmen coming later from the south-west.

These earlier invasions must have taken place towards the end of the third or in the first half of the fourth century A.D. And it is to this period, mainly, that Shinnie assigns the Tanqasi pottery. He suggests at the same time that for this and other reasons the Noba people were the precursors of the so-called 'X-group' whose remains are found further north. But there is evidence to show that the Noba of Tanqasi and elsewhere were contemporary with, rather than earlier than, the X-group. Some of the X-group tombs at Qostol may, like the Tanqasi tombs, be as early as the fourth century.⁵ The X-group represents a foreign, intrusive strain imposed upon a presumably weakened Meroitic northern province whose culture the invaders, on achieving supremacy, largely

¹ P. L. Shinnie, 'Excavations at Tanqasi 1953'. KUSH II, 1954, pp. 66-85.

² J. W. Crowfoot, 'Nuba pots in the Gordon College', 27. SNR, VII, pp. 18-27.

³ Littmann, Aksum, No. II; translated E. A. W. Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, I, London 1928, p. 255.

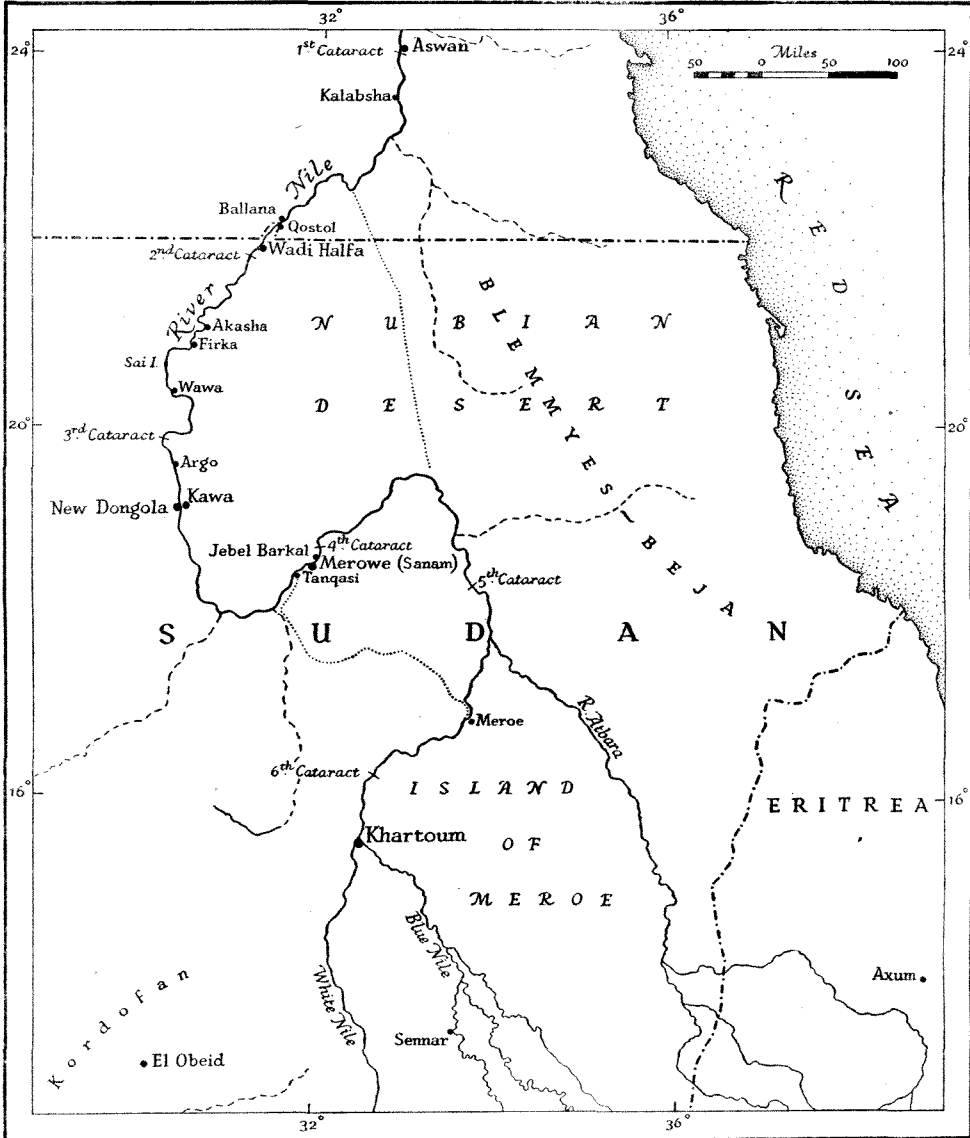
⁴ Sayce in *LAAA*, IV, 1912, pp. 64-5.

U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Rome 1938, p. 37.

⁵ W. B. Emery, *Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qostol*, I, p. 398.

KUSH

adopted and as the inscription of a probable Blemmye chieftain at Kalabsha⁶ seems to show, this province had already by the third century A.D. been sufficiently



NORTHERN SUDAN IVTH-VITH CENTURIES A.D.

weakened to permit other invaders, the Blemmye (Beja) tribesmen from the Eastern Desert, to establish themselves in parts of the Lower Nubian Nile

⁶ U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, p. 25.

TANQASI AND THE NOBA

Valley. For the most part, however, the X-group belongs to the fifth and to the first half of the sixth centuries, namely up to the introduction of rival forms of Christianity into the Sudan by Justinian and Theodora which the prejudiced, contemporary, John of Ephesus described.

That these chronological limits for the X-group—fourth to sixth centuries A.D.—can also be applied to the Noba culture, an examination of the Noba tombs at Meroë may show. The earlier Noba tombs there may well be of the third or fourth century. Grave 300 of the Middle Necropolis, for example, contained⁷ an imported Roman glass toilet-bottle which in Egypt would be c. A.D. 300. It also contained a very characteristic group of Noba pottery. But other tombs are probably much later than this. As I discovered by reference to Garstang's original records and object markings in Liverpool, at least one of the graves of the 'Noba' Cemetery 300 contained⁸ a very well-known type of imported late Roman and Byzantine amphora of the fifth to sixth century A.D. This type, wrongly published as coming from Cemetery 400, is recorded from almost all the X-group tombs at Ballana, and from those (except the earliest) at Qostol. It has also been found at Firka and other X-group sites. In Lower Nubia, these amphorae—usually inscribed in Greek with exporters' names, serial numbers, and Christian formulae—are typical of deposits of the fifth and sixth century, though in Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East they have also been assigned to the early seventh century. The inscriptions at Ballana and Qostol are mostly in hands of c. A.D. 450–550⁹.

The evidence, admittedly, is not considerable. But it provides some basis—extracted from the remnants published of the Meroë excavations of 1909–10—for proposing that the Noba culture is not necessarily the precursor of the X-group, but is, broadly, contemporary with it. It would thus fill the otherwise inexplicable gap created by the absence of the X-group in the south.

But if these two cultures are broadly contemporary, they are also very different and geographically quite separate. The Noba culture, primitive and wholly African, is—in its pottery and in tomb types—different from both Meroitic and X-group. The X-group on the other hand, though it contains some, perhaps inherited, African traits—as in certain traditional types of 'African' pottery—represents a much more developed culture incorporating a great deal from the preceding Meroitic civilization, and having strong links with Egypt and the Roman world.

The differences in the geographical distribution of Noba and X-group sites are equally clearly marked. The X-group sites, centred on Ballana and Qostol, the mound cemeteries of the X-group Kings and Queens, range northwards to the

⁷ L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, p. 42.

⁸ L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, p. 45 'Additional Note'.

⁹ Garstang, *Meroë*, pl. xli, 8; pl. xlv, 34. Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 397 (Type 6) and p. 401. Kirwan, *Firka*, pl. xxii, Type 4.

KUSH

First Cataract,¹⁰ southwards (on present knowledge) as far as Firka. The Noba sites stretch southwards from Tanqasi at least as far as Sennar. Of the gap between Tanqasi, the northernmost known Noba site, and Firka we know little, except that no X-group pottery was found at Kawa, either in the temple area or on the surface of the unexcavated town. Nor were any X-group sherds visible on the surface of the important Meroitic site at Argo.¹¹ Further field work might reveal a 'frontier' between these two cultures, and it would be interesting to know to which of them the mounds at Wawa belong. Such mound tombs have, hitherto, all been assigned loosely to the X-group, but the Tanqasi excavations show that this may be quite wrong.

This idea of a cultural (and political) frontier in the Firka or Sai-Tanqasi region from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. is directly or indirectly mentioned in two geographically important texts, the fourth century Ethiopic inscription of 'Ezana from Axum (already mentioned) and the fifth or sixth century Greek inscription of Silko, King of the Nobades, in the Lower Nubian temple of Kalabsha.¹²

'Ezana in his inscription records (line 37 of Budge's edition) how his soldiers, having pursued the Black Noba down the Nile beyond its junction with the Atbara 'arrived at the frontier of the Red Noba and returned safe and sound.' At the junction of the two rivers, 'Ezana then set up a 'throne'. What was the limit of the Axumite advance and where, in consequence, did this 'frontier' lie? One clue may be the apparently Ethiopic graffito on the exterior wall of Temple T. at Kawa, some of the signs of which resemble very closely Old Abyssinian, while others may be Old Abyssinian or Sabeian. This has been compared with the Ethiopic graffito on Pyramid A.19 at Meroë which Littmann ascribed to one of the soldiers of 'Ezana.¹³ Another may be the clear evidence of the uniform burning of the temples and buildings at Jebel Barkal, Sanam and Kawa, not as Griffith and Reisner thought by Petronius, but in the third or fourth century A.D.¹⁴ With this should be compared the passage in the 'Ezana inscription where he describes the burning of the Meroitic towns ('the towns built of bricks which the Noba had taken') and the destruction of the temples (lines 19-21 and 36-37 of Budge's edition).

The contrast between the two groups or divisions of Noba in 'Ezana's inscription is in somewhat similar terms to those used by Silko, who speaks of two groups of Nobades and describes how, having driven the Blemmyes-Beja

¹⁰ W. B. Emery, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 4. From information kindly provided by M. Vercoutter, it appears that X-group burials occur also at Sai.

¹¹ M. F. Laming Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, II, Oxford 1955, p. 235.

¹² H. Gauthier, *Temple de Kalabchah*, pp. 204-5.

¹³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, Oxford 1949, p. 118. It is certainly not Meroitic.

¹⁴ Macadam, *op. cit.*, II, p. 235. According to Strabo and Pliny, from Lower Nubia Petronius struck out south-eastwards across the desert to Napata. He would then have by-passed Kawa.

TANQASI AND THE NOBA

northwards from the Nile Valley, he turned to the 'upper country' and 'of the other Nobades in the South I ravaged their lands since they contended with me.'¹⁵ The Nobades (of Silko and Procopius), as Junker first suggested, are evidently the X-group peoples.¹⁶ Is there then some equation between these two culturally different but perhaps racially connected groups, the X-group—Nobades—Red Noba on the one hand, and the Black Noba and 'Other Nobades' on the other; both of whom succeeded, though probably at different times, to the northern and southern provinces of the then declining Meroitic Kingdom?

It is worthwhile, very briefly, to compare this picture of political and cultural pre-Christian groupings with the situation, as we know it, in the Sudan in the Christian Nubian period, from the middle of the sixth century. Then, as the late Professor Monneret de Villard has described¹⁷ in his great work on mediaeval Nubia, there were—not two—but three principal Sudanese groupings or kingdoms. In the north there was Nobatia, the Arabic al-Marīṣ, extending from Egypt to the 'Akasha region. In the extreme south, there was Alodia, the Aloa of a sixth century Egyptian papyrus, the 'Alwah of the Arab geographers, whose northern frontiers (according to al-Aswānī) lay between the Fourth Cataract and the junction of the Nile with the Atbara. In this kingdom, the principal racial element was that of the Noba or Nuba. In between was the Kingdom of Makuria, Arabic Muqurrah, stretching over the 'frontier' region between the earlier Noba and X-group cultures. Of the origins of this third and new division Makuria, little is known apart from vague references to peoples of like-sounding name in some of the classical geographers.

¹⁵ 'καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Νουβάδων ἀνωτέρω ἐπόρθησα τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλονικήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ.'

¹⁶ Kirwan, *Firka*, p. 40. Also 'The Ballana Civilization' in *Bull. Soc. Roy. de Geog. d'Égypte*, 25 (1953), p. 106.

For further arguments against the Blemmye theory, see U. Monneret de Villard, 'Le Necropoli di Ballana e di Qostol', in *Orientalia*, ix, 1940, pp. 61-75.

¹⁷ U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, pp. 131-57.

Antiquities of the Baṭn el Hajjar

by H. N. CHITTICK

SOUTH of the Second Cataract of the River Nile lies a barren and forbidding region known as the Baṭn el Hajjar or 'belly of stones'. This extends from the area of Sarras in the north to Akasha in the south; near its northern end lies the earliest Egyptian frontier fortress of Semna. For some eighty miles, the Nile, dotted with islands, flows through a narrow valley, flanked on the east by bare black mountains of granite and schist, and on the west by lower hills mantled with yellow sand. Scenically, it is perhaps the most spectacular stretch of the entire course of the river, but it is difficult of access and little visited. The frequent rapids make navigation very awkward, and the mountains, which in places drop sheer into the river, are a barrier to all wheeled traffic. For this reason, the modern road takes a route through the hills some miles west of the river.

Because of the remoteness of the region, its antiquities have hardly been visited and never recorded. With a view to studying this in part, I made a trip on horseback along the river from Akasha to Semna West during January, 1955. Only two and a half days were available for the seventy or so miles to be covered, and consequently only very short visits could be made to the more accessible sites. Few of the ruins to be seen on the islands were visited, and only one crossing was made to the west bank, on which there appear to be more antiquities than on the east. Such surveying as was done was of the most summary sort, and it is only the reflection that even a sketch is better than nothing that has persuaded me to include plans that can make no pretence to strict accuracy.

The antiquities seen almost all appear to date from the Christian period. The best preserved of these are a church and two forts.

The church is situated in the *Omodia* of Ukma East close to the Khor Kageras, which name was also ascribed by a local inhabitant to the church itself. It is indicated on the map (Sudan 1 : 250,000) at 21° 7' N. 30° 42' E. The church is surrounded by a massive dry stone wall forming a rectangular enclosure measuring about 43 m. (north-south) by 37 m. externally. The east side of this wall is seen in PLATE IX, a, the top of the church being visible above it; the hills in the background are on the west bank of the river. The total height of the wall is about 3 m. A ledge runs round its inner side, the uppermost 80 cm. or so of the wall being less than half the thickness of the lower, thus forming a parapet. At the north-east corner is a solid tower, forming three quarters of a circle, about 3 m. in diameter. The wall would thus seem to have been built for defensive purposes.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE BAṬN EL HAJJAR

The church is not situated in the centre of this enclosure, but rather to the east. Most of the rest of the space is occupied by small, roughly built, dry-stone buildings, some certainly, and most probably, dating from a later period. The church itself is of mud-brick ; the roof is completely destroyed, and only

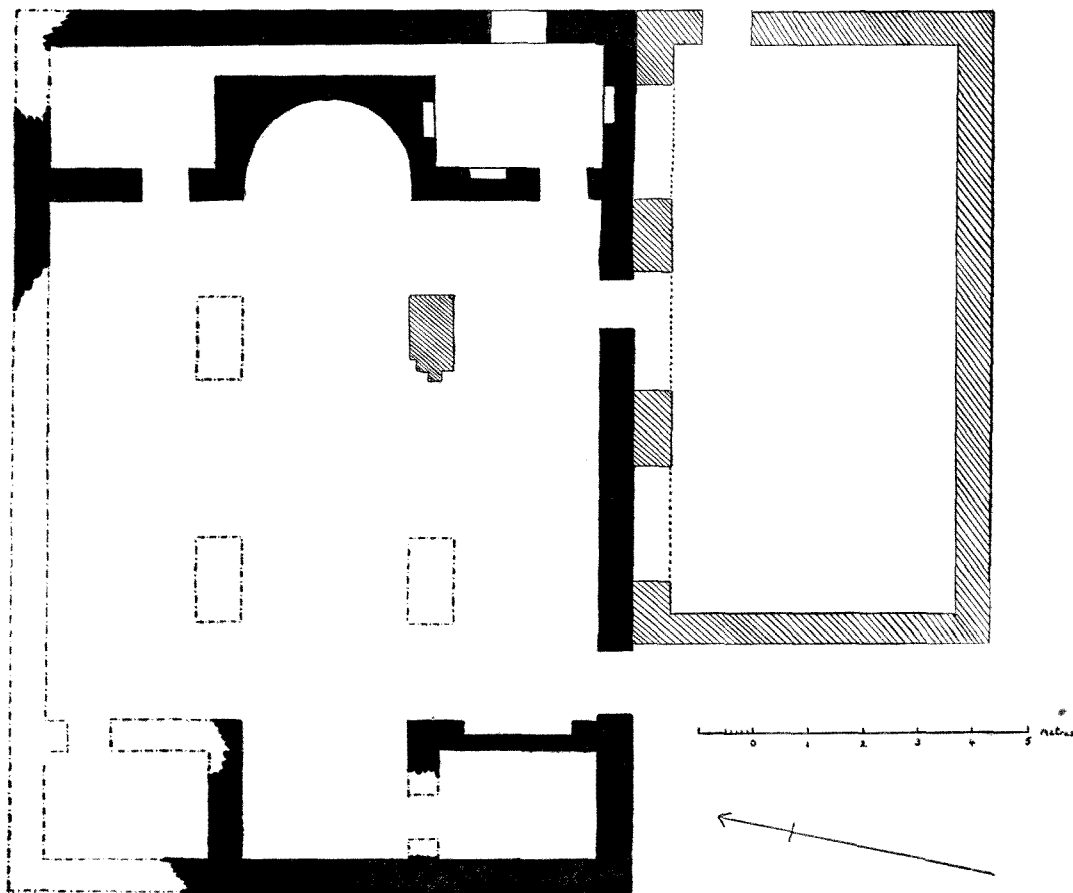


FIG. 1. PLAN OF CHURCH AT UKMA EAST

the southern side of the main building is tolerably well preserved. The north wall is completely lacking, and later stone buildings have been built in its place.

It will be seen from the accompanying plan (FIG. 1) that there are two distinct buildings. The bigger of these is the earlier and is a church of, it would seem, the basilican type. Unfortunately, only one pier of the arcades survives, and it is difficult to be sure about the disposition of the remainder. The surviving pier, which, like the rest of the church, is of mud-brick, may be seen on the right of the photograph in PLATE IX, b. The stepped fashion in which its

KUSH

western side is constructed is a feature to which I know no parallels. It seems that we have here the springing of a high but narrow arch. There is insufficient space for there to have been more than one other pier on this side, which I suggest was placed the same distance from the western wall as the surviving one is from the eastern. The span of the arch between the two would then be double this distance. The springing of a vault on the north side of the existing pier shows that this was the mode in which the eastern end of the nave was roofed, but in view of the position, height, and probable lightness of the arch postulated above it seems unlikely that the vault extended further west.

The rest of the layout, with apse and rooms in the four corners, is typical. The doorway at the west end of the south aisle may have been balanced by another to the north; that leading eastwards from the south-east room (later blocked) is, however, unusual. There are traces of white plaster on the interior of the walls, and the south wall is pierced by narrow windows measuring about 1.25×0.25 m. The axis of the building is not true east but bears 80° .

The smaller building, of which little survives at its eastern end, has few features of note. Its northern wall is built on three arches, of mud brick, resting against the south wall of the church proper, and blocking part (perhaps originally all) of the windows of the latter. A small door towards the eastern end gives access from the church, and there is another door in the eastern wall. Indications of the existence at the east end of a curved wall, its top now flush with the present surface, may denote an apse or tribune beneath. I think it possible, but not certain, that this building was a second church.

Some 300 m. to the east of these buildings is a group of what appear to be graves. Each is marked by a surround of stones, nearly flush with the ground surface, forming a figure intermediate between an oval and a rectangle, the middle part sides being straight and the corners rounded. The enclosed ground is slightly depressed suggesting a collapsed vault below; or possibly robbing. There is a thin scatter of sherds of Christian type.

I know no other instance of a fortified church in Nubia, nor, south of the Egyptian border, of any other case of a building being added to a church. In lower Nubia, however, there are contiguous churches at Medinet Addeh¹ and at Tabit.² At both these places the secondary church is to the south of the chief building, whereas at Ukma it lies to the north. At Sinesra there are living rooms adjacent to the church to north and west.³

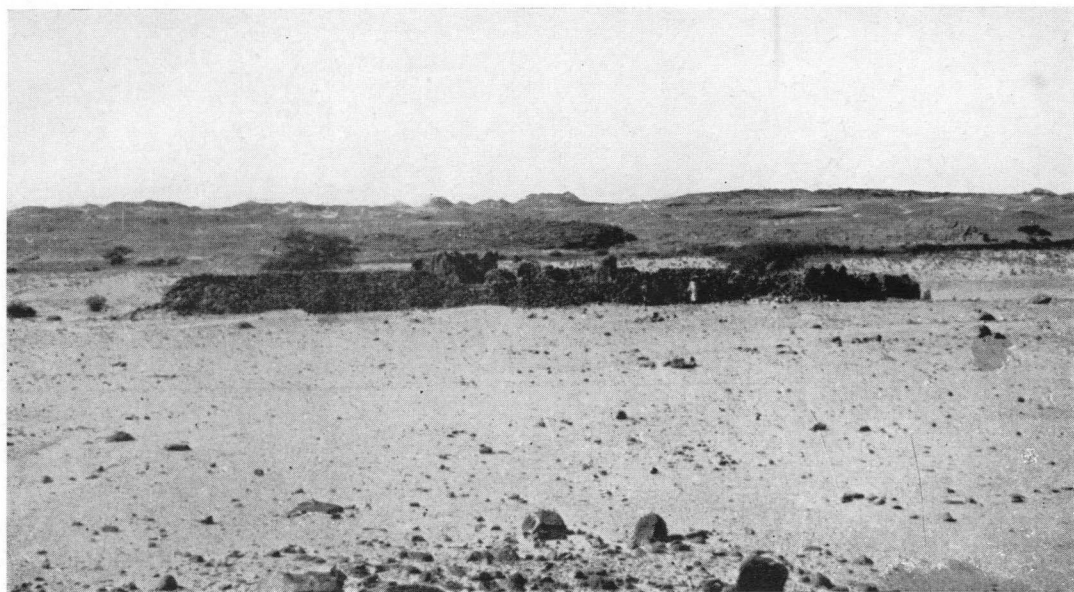
On the island of Ed Diff, a few hundred metres south of Ukma Church, are more ruins which the scanty sherds indicate to be of Christian date. These buildings are mostly of mud-brick; some are roughly built of unhewn stone. Many of the walls of the former stand to their full height, the holes for the roof

¹ See Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, p. 178. Both churches have four-columned aisles.

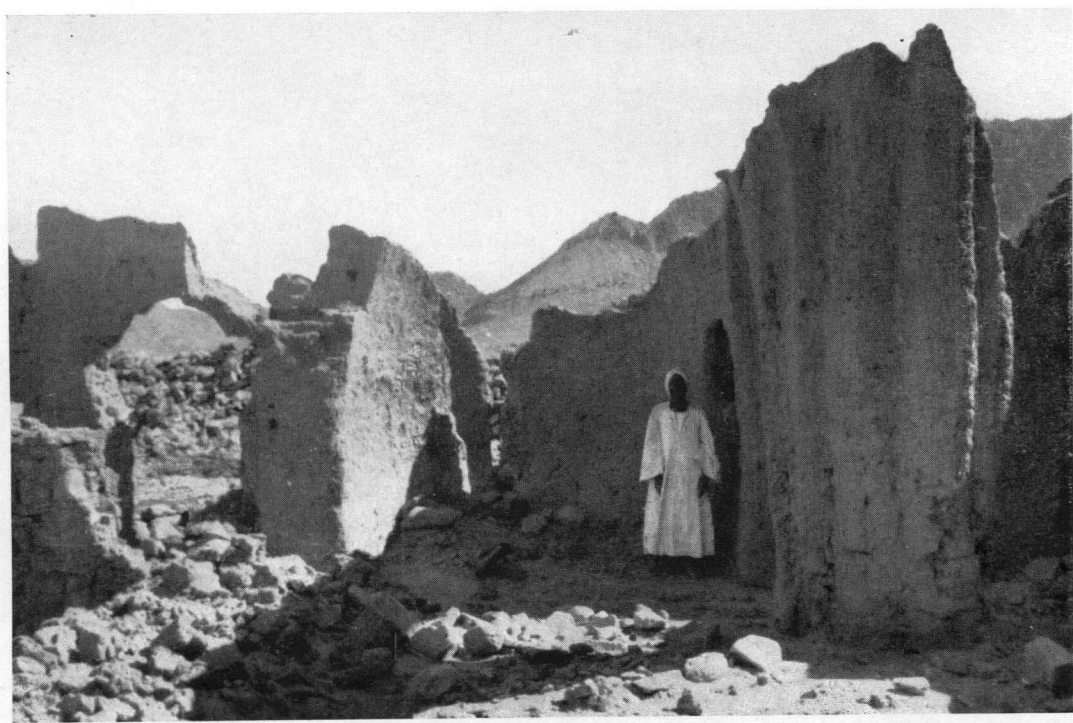
² Ibid., pp. 145-8. The secondary church is very irregular in plan.

³ Ibid., p. 164.

PLATE IX



a. THE CHURCH AT UKMA EAST, FROM THE EAST



b. THE CHURCH AT UKMA EAST, APSE OF MAIN BUILDING

PLATE X



a. NORTH CORNER OF THE FORT ON SUSINARTI, FROM THE SOUTH



b. EAST WALL AND ENTRANCE OF THE FORT ON SUSINARTI

PLATE XI



a. REMAINS OF TABLE FOR WASHING GOLD ORE, AT DOSHAT




b. CUBICAL STONE WITH HEMISPHERICAL DEPRESSIONS, DOSHAT

ANTIQUITIES OF THE BATN EL HAJJAR

rafters being visible. There are no windows to be seen. A rough stone wall, almost completely destroyed, surrounds the whole.

Continuing our journey northwards, numbers of (apparently) graves were passed. About 500 m. north of Ukma church are two mounds, about 2 m. in height, and some smaller; and a few hundred metres further on a group of stone circles resembling 'C-Group' graves. The few sherds round about were, however, doubtfully Christian. In Sonki, close to the track by Khor Kidinkong,

are four similar graves with stone revetment, the profile being thus 

in section, with a diameter of 10–14 m. There are also some smaller graves of the same type, but whose surface is wholly covered with stones. A little further north, at the foot of J. Alimula, is a further group of flat-topped graves.

Along this stretch of the river, on the west bank, are several fort-like buildings. The first of these that it was possible to visit was on Tanjur Island, in the *Omodia* of Melik en Nasir.

Forts dating from the Christian period are of very varied type, their form being chiefly governed, it would seem, by the determination of the builders to take every advantage of the natural features. Situated at about the centre of the west side of Tanjur Island (at $21^{\circ} 15' N$ $30^{\circ} 4' E$) is a small fort of the 'contour' type. It lies on a small hill close to the river, some 1000 m. upstream of a point where the stream is very narrow and flows fast, an obstacle to river craft coming from the north which the fort presumably intended to command. It consists simply of a wall running round the hill at a uniform height, forming a rough oval, with its longer axis at right angles to the river. The wall is of dry-stone construction, the blocks being large, rough, and irregular; its greatest height is about 3 m. but there are traces of a super-structure of mud-brick or *jalūs*. The width on the side towards the river amounts to only 0.90 m., but increases on the landward side to a maximum of 3 m. in the sections adjacent to the entrance. This is a simple gap in the wall, which has a recess on its inner face on one side; both the inside corners are rounded, though the outside is square.

Within the fort, close to the entrance, are the remains of some mud vaults, more or less flush with the ground. These may be graves.

There is a scatter of sherds, within the fort, those that are identifiable being of Christian type.

Further downstream on the small island marked on the map as Susinarti ($21^{\circ} 17' N$, $30^{\circ} 51' E$), but with the inhabitants called Sunnardi, is a fort of different type and greater pretensions. This is situated on the south side of the island on a hill which resembles a tilted triangle, the lowest side of which lies towards the river; the angle opposite this, to the north, is the highest point. The disposition of this hill governs that of the fort, of which a very rough plan, based on a few paced measurements and compass bearings, is shown in FIG. 2. The south wall fronts on the river, the other two running up the shoulders of the

KUSH

hill to the highest point. Here they abut on a large tower, or keep, containing several rooms and commanding a good view of the main stream of the river on the further side of the island (PLATE X, a). There are smaller towers at the other

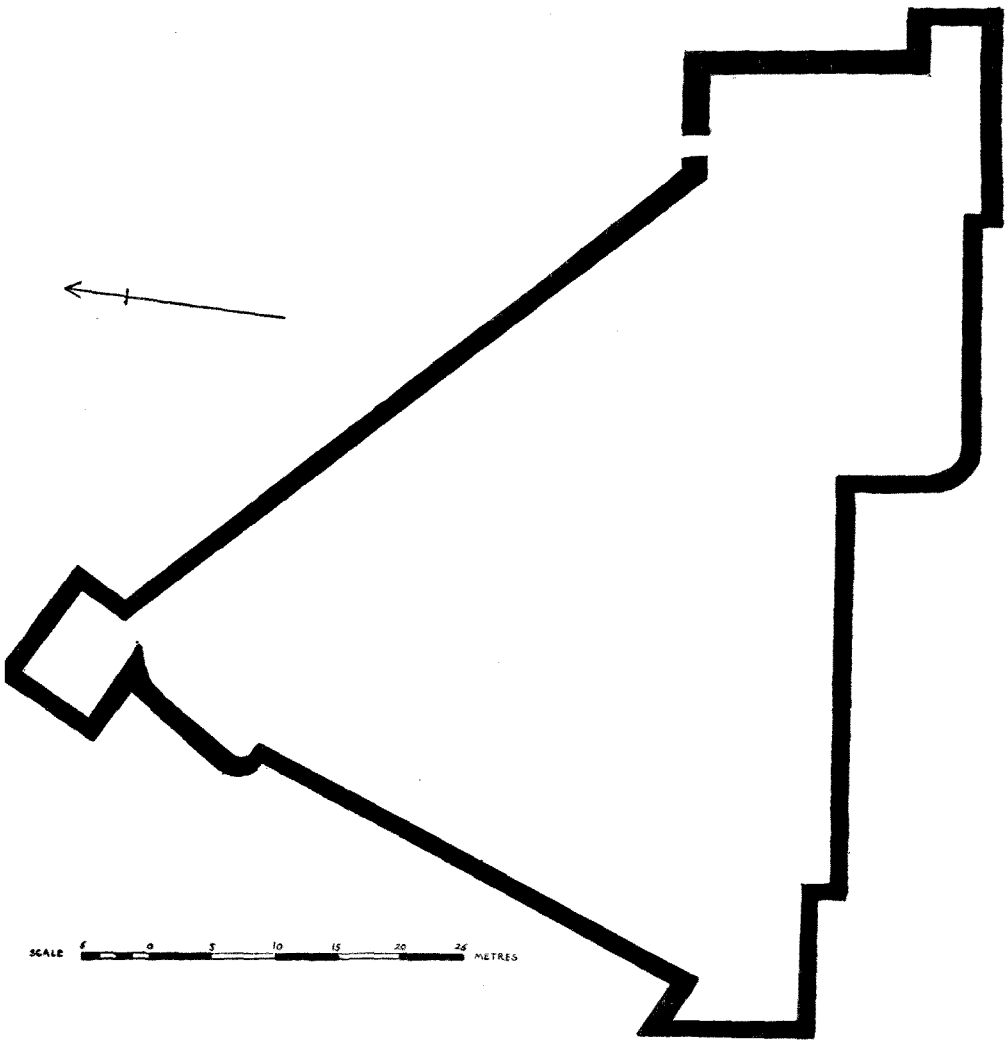


FIG. 2. PLAN OF FORT, SUSINARTI

two corners of the fort. There is only one entrance, on the eastern side, set in an angle of the wall, presumably to give the defenders a better command of the approach. This door (too narrow to be called a gate) is surmounted by an arch in mud-brick, over which runs the masonry of the wall; it may be seen at the left of PLATE X, b.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE BATN EL HAJJAR

This photograph also gives a good idea of the construction of the outer wall, which is built of biggish unhewn blocks, carefully fitted together without mortar. Here, in the part adjacent to the entrance, it reaches its greatest height (5-6 m.), being lower on the western side and lowest of all towards the river, where much of it has been destroyed. The thickness varies between 1.20 m. and 2 m.

Within the fort are remains of rough stone rooms or huts, chiefly in the south-east corner and built against the western wall. Some of those on the west side are visible in PLATE X, a (the mud brick building is, however, modern). There is a scatter of sherds, of typical Christian type, including a few fragments of glass and of imported Islamic glazed ware.

The only other triangular fort in Upper Nubia known to me is also, apparently, unpublished, and lies at Deiga ($18^{\circ} 10' N$, $31^{\circ} 35' E$). This is also built on ground rising from the river (on the right bank) and is associated with Christian pottery. It has, however, some six entrances, and solid elliptical towers round the periphery. There are also remains of a curtain wall on the side fronting the river.

Several miles north of Susinarti is an area, lying mostly within the *Omodia* of Doshat (as it is called on the map, though the local pronunciation sounds more like Duweishat) where there are remains of ancient gold workings. The existence of these has for long been known; an attempt, soon abandoned, was made early in this century to mine the ore again, and recently another company has begun operations on a fairly big scale. Evidence of ancient workings extends from about $21^{\circ} 20' N$, to the region of the modern mine at $21^{\circ} 21' N$, $30^{\circ} 59' E$. Judging by the considerable areas of disturbed and pitted sand which lies in the crevices and gullies in the rock, much of the work would seem to have consisted in washing the gold from the existing alluvial deposits. Here and there may be seen the remains of the tables on which the washing was carried out (PLATE XI, a). There are, however, ancient underground workings in the area of the modern mine (and perhaps elsewhere also; no search was made). One shaft follows an almost vertical seam of the white quartz gold-bearing ore to a depth of about 10 m. The ore, after being broken into small pieces, was evidently pulverized on stone querns prior to washing. Numbers of these (mostly the lower stone) were noted, being similar to the type used for grinding bread; no circular grindstones, such as are found in the Red Sea Hills, were seen. Several stone blocks such as that shown in PLATE XI, b were observed; one would guess that they are connected with the extraction of gold, but their precise purpose is obscure. Each is a roughly cubical boulder, with a ground hemispherical depression in the centre of three to five of the sides of the block.

Scattered through the area are ruins of small stone huts and drystone enclosure walls. Some of the latter extend for considerable distances; the land over which they run being wholly barren it is difficult to see what purpose they could serve. The rather scanty potsherds were all wheel made, but

KUSH

coarse in character ; they include the base of a *gadus*, the type of pot used to raise water on a *Saqia* (water wheel) which does not occur before the Meroitic period. A buff-green ware which occurs resembles the mediaeval ware found at Aidhab (though a very similar coarse green ware was made in Napatan times). An amphora,⁴ stated to come from the area of the mines, is of a type dated to the 8th century A.D ; on its shoulder is incised a small cross.

There are engravings on a rock at 21° 20' 20" N, 30° 56' 30" E, but there is no reason to suggest that they are connected with the gold working. They include pictures of giraffe, bull, and of a boat ; nightfall unfortunately compelled me to hurry on without copying them.

The ruined village on the island lying opposite Attiri, and to which local report gave the name Masanarti, looks well worthy of investigation. A well-preserved but rough defensive wall encloses a mass of ruined mud-brick or *jalūs* buildings, the hill being crowned by what appears to be a church. Though a photograph of this site, taken from a distance, has been published,⁵ it does not ever seem to have been described. Time, however, was too short to muster a boat and cross to the island. Not far away on the mainland, opposite Tila island, is an area with a plentiful strew of Christian potsherds, and another similar site close to the southernmost houses of Semna village. Here, as the two Egyptian forts of the Middle Kingdom and the dramatic narrows of Semna come into view, we enter a more thoroughly explored region.

The only antiquities seen in the course of this journey to be (presumably) dated to before the Christian period are thus the flat-topped and mound graves of the southern part of the region. The Baṭn el Hajjar thus seems to have been more important in the Christian period than before or since ; that importance we may guess, in view of the extreme paucity of agricultural land, to have been due to the value of the deposits of gold, and perhaps also to the fact that the frontiers between the two northern Christian Kingdoms lay in this region.

⁴ Kindly presented by Sgr. Giovanni Nascé to the Sudan Museum (No. 11503). The vessel is similar to that illustrated by Griffith, *LAAA*, XIV, 1927, pl. XLVIII, no. 2.

⁵ See Arkell, *A Short History of the Sudan*, pl. 21 (b) and p. 195.

L'Éthiopie et l'Arabie méridionale, aux III^e et IV^e siècles A.D. d'après les découvertes récentes

JEAN DORESSE

LA découverte d'inscriptions sud-arabiques nouvelles provenant surtout de Marib vient, ces derniers temps, de bouleverser la chronologie des royaumes d'Arabie du sud que l'on concevait jusque là. Par suite de ce bouleversement, des épisodes de l'histoire de Saba peuvent désormais être très précisément mis en rapports avec quelques détails de l'histoire beaucoup plus obscure de l'Éthiopie axoumite. La période sur laquelle portent principalement ces révélations s'étend du milieu du III^e jusqu'aux premières décades du IV^e siècle. Elles concernent donc une époque où l'empire éthiopien, né quelques siècles plus tôt grâce à une civilisation elle-même apportée d'Arabie méridionale, semble atteindre subitement une puissance extraordinaire.

Que savait-on, jusqu'à présent, des commencements de cette grandeur d'Axoum ? Les ruines, les petits monuments, que l'on a retrouvés sur les plateaux du Tigré, sont relativement abondants mais, dans la plupart des cas, restent anonymes ou indatables. Ils n'ont encore aidé à reconstituer nulle histoire précise. Les plus éloquents d'entre eux, ce sont deux inscriptions archaïques d'Abba-Pantalewôn (Axoum), l'une sabéenne, l'autre grecque, relatives à des campagnes lancées outre-mer par les Axoumites. Puis c'est l'inscription grecque de Sembrouthès, 'grand roi des rois des Axoumites', à Decca-Maharé. Ce sont encore les stèles guèzes d'Anza et de Matara ; les dédicaces grecques que des empereurs, dont les noms sont perdus, laissèrent, l'une à Adoulis, l'autre dans les ruines de Méroë.¹ A cela, ajoutons des informations indirectes encore plus pauvres : la meilleure, c'est la mention du roi d'Axoum Zoscalès, avare fieffé mais bon connaisseur des lettres grecques, que nomme le Périple de la Mer Erythrée vers l'année 50.² Ajoutons-y une allusion du Talmud, un peu plus tardive : un docte rabbin dit avoir rencontré, dans le

¹ Cf. J. Doresse, *L'Empire du Prêtre-Jean*, I : *L'Éthiopie antique*, Paris, 1957, chapitres 3 et 4 ; E. Littmann, D. Krencker, Th. von Lupke, *Deutsche Axum Expedition*, Berlin, 1913 (cité, *DAE*) T. I, p. 42-5 (inscription d'Adoulis) ; T. II, p. 142 (stèle de Matara) ; T. IV, p. 1-3 (Abba-Pantalewôn et inscr. de Sembrouthès) et p. 61 (Matara) ; E. Littmann, *L'iscrizione di Anza*, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, XI, 1952, Rome, 1953, p. 5-8 ; E. Ullendorff, *Exploration and study of Abyssinia . . . with an appendix on the obelisk of Matara*, Asmara, 1945 ; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Bergamo, 1928, p. 121 s. (Adoulis) et p. 130-1 (inscription de Méroë).

² C. Conti-Rossini, *Storia*, p. 119.

KUSH

Sud de l'Arabie, un prince à peau sombre, se disant Kouchi, c'est à dire probablement éthiopien.³

Par bonheur, à ces monuments qui permettent seulement d'entrevoir la présence historique d'un empire axoumite qui pourtant dut être prospère, s'ajoutent, après le milieu du III^e siècle, des monnaies frappées par ses souverains. On a pu constater que, parmi ces pièces très variées, les *aurei* suivent fidèlement les variations de poids dont le modèle est donné par les dévaluations des monnaies de l'empire romain. C'est ainsi qu'en pesant ces pièces on a pu établir la succession à peu près certaine des empereurs qu'elles représentent et dont elles donnent les noms. L'évolution du style de ces pièces confirme, d'ailleurs, la séquence dont voici les premiers éléments⁴ :

ENDYBIS BISI-DAKHOU (monnaies inscrites en grec).

APHILAS BISI-DIMELE (inscrites en grec ; sur l'effigie qui orne l'avvers paraît la couronne impériale).

OUSANAS BISI-GHISENE (inscrites en grec ; certaines monnaies de ce souverain pèsent encore 2 gr.56, comme celles des précédents ; d'autres s'allègent à 2 gr.19 que les suivantes ne dépasseront plus).

OUAZEB BISI-ZA-GALAY (exceptionnellement inscrites en guèze non-vocalisé ; grand monogramme guèze dessiné au dessus de la couronne ; la composition décorative de cette pièce est particulièrement majestueuse ; poids : 2 gr.04).

EZANA BISI-HALEN (de nouveau inscrites en grec ; certaines des monnaies sont marquées du croissant et du disque stellaire, symboles païens ; d'autres portent désormais la Croix).

Cette énumération pourrait se poursuivre de façon assez précise, d'après ces monnaies, jusqu'aux alentours du Xe siècle, c'est à dire jusqu'à l'époque où l'empire d'Axoum sombre dans la décadence. Nous la bornons aux époques pour lesquelles les inscriptions d'Arabie méridionale viennent d'apporter leurs plus précieux éclaircissements.

Quelques dates précises peuvent être ajoutées à la suite de noms royaux que nous venons de donner. L'allègement de la monnaie, tel qu'on le constate sous le règne d'Ousanas, répond manifestement à la réforme monétaire opérée par Constantin juste avant 312.⁵ D'autre part, de l'histoire d'Ezana, on connaît un certain nombre de faits. Son avènement se situerait vers 320/325. Des stèles commémorant certaines de ses victoires et inscrites en sabéen, en grec,

³ *Storia*, p. 120.

⁴ Cf. Art. Anzani, *Numismatica axumita*, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, ser. III, III, Milano. 1926 ; *Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia*, ibid, ser. III, v-vi, 1928-9 ; *Monete dei re d'Aksum*, ibid, ser. v, I, 1941, p. 46-73. Cf. également ; C. Conti-Rossini, *Storia*, p. 129-30 et 215-17.

⁵ Cf. *Storia*, pp. 129-30 ; A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien (325-95)*, *Histoire Générale fondée par G. Glotz, Histoire Romaine*, T. IV, 2^e partie). Paris, 1947, pp. 295-6.

L'ÉTHIOPIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE

en guèze archaïque, ont subsisté à Axoum.⁶ L'une d'elles atteste effectivement son abandon du paganisme sud-arabe pour un monothéisme nouveau qui,—ces monnaies l'indiquent en remplaçant le croissant par la croix,—n'est point le judaïsme, qui courait aussi par ces contrées, mais bien le christianisme. Or l'histoire de cette conversion est encore éclairée, par exemple, par Rufin, qui raconte comment le pays fut guidé vers le christianisme par deux jeunes-gens de Tyr que le hasard jeta sur les côtes du pays pendant le règne du père d'Ezana. Ces jeunes-gens assistèrent Ezana pendant son éducation, puis pendant sa minorité. C'est l'un d'eux,—Frumentius,—qui, se rendant ensuite à Alexandrie, fut consacré comme premier évêque d'Axoum et renvoyé en Ethiopie par Athanase entre les années 341 et 346.⁷

A ce sujet, il faut noter que les inscriptions d'Ezana, en même temps qu'elles lui donnent les titres de 'roi d'Axoum, Himyar, Raydân, Habashât (qu'une rédaction grecque de ces textes traduit par Ethiopie), Saba, Salhên, Siyamo, Béga, Kasou, roi des rois . . . qui n'est point vaincu par l'ennemi . . .', le disent 'fils d'Ella-Amida'. Ella-Amida était donc ce monarque à la cour duquel avaient échoué Frumentius et Aedesius. Mais le nom de ce souverain ne figure sur aucune des monnaies jusqu'à présent retrouvées. Il peut s'agir d'un empereur duquel nulle pièce ne nous serait parvenue ; mais il faut convenir que, dans ces conditions, son règne—tassé entre, d'une part, celui de Ouazéb déjà postérieur à cet Ousanas qui gouverna au delà de l'année 312, et d'autre part l'avènement d'Ezana qui se fit au plus tard vers 325—aurait été très éphémère. Il est donc plus probable qu'Ella-Amida aît été un autre titre du roi Ouazéb. Il est, en effet, notable que les souverains axoumites semblent avoir porté une titulature complexe dont les monnaies ou les inscriptions recueillaient des éléments différents et incomplets. Cette titulature aurait comporté ; un véritable nom—par exemple : Endybis, Aphilas, Ezana, Caléb . . . ;—un qualificatif : Ella-Amida, Ella-Asbeha, Ella-Gabaz . . . ;—une indication de tribu d'origine : Bisi-Dakhou, Bisi-Dimélé, Bisi-Ianaaf . . . 'l'homme de Dakhou, . . . de Dimélé, . . . de Ianaaf.'

Mettons en présence de ce schéma historique ce que nous apprennent, pour la même époque, les inscriptions d'Arabie, d'une importance capitale, qui ont été publiées plus particulièrement en 1956 par le Prof. G. Ryckmans. La pièce capitale de ces découvertes, c'est l'inscription que l'on appelle désormais 'Ryckmans 535', du nom de son éminent éditeur et du numéro sous lequel il l'a publiée.⁸

⁶ Cf. DAE, IV, Nos. 6-11 ; et E. Littmann, *Aethiopische Inschriften, Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia. Gesammelte Abhandl. z. Feier des 250 jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akad. d. Wiss, z. Berlin*, II, 2, Berlin, 1950, p. 97-127.

⁷ *Storia*, p. 146 s. Cf. J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford, 1952, p. 39.

⁸ G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes (treizième série)*, *Le Muséon*, LXIX, 1956, p. 139-64 ; cf. J. Pirenne, *L'inscription 'Ryckmans 535' et la chronologie sud-arabe*, ibid., p. 165-82.

KUSH

Cette longue inscription, appartenant au roi sabéen 'Ilsharah Yahdub et à son corégent Ya'zil Bayyin, rapporte plusieurs campagnes lancées par eux contre le souverain arabe 'Imru 'l-Qays et, surtout, contre Shamir Yuhar'ish,—concurrent qui, dans les derniers épisodes, appelle à son secours Ouazéb, roi d'Axoum. Cette inscription a contribué à regrouper vers la fin du III^e et le début du IV^e siècle les événements mentionnés par un certain nombre d'autres inscriptions qui citent elles aussi le nom de cet 'Ilsharah,—événements que l'on avait jusque là situés aux alentours de notre ère ou même jusque vers l'an 115 B.C.

Quel est désormais, vu d'Arabie, le cours des événements dans lequel se reflète, marquée par des allusions, la puissance éthiopienne ? On constate que, pour la maîtrise des royaumes sud-arabes, diverses lignées sont aux prises : là où l'on avait voulu supposer, d'après les titres ambitieux dont ils se parent, de grands rois exerçant un pouvoir réel, il y avait en fait des rivaux assumant plus ou moins vainement des titres identiques. De ces lignées, on peut tracer le tableau suivant :^{8a}

Arabes	Saba et Raydân			Habashat	Axoum
'Imru 'l-Qays † 328	Yarim 'Aymân	Fari' Yanhub		Gadarat	{ ? }
	'Alhân Nahfân		Yasr Yuhan'im		{ Endybis Aphilas Ousanas (sans dates précises) }
	Sha'r Awtar, roi 'de Saba et Raydân'	'Ilsharah Yahdub roi 'de Saba et Raydân' (-prend ensuite pour corégent Ya'zil Bayyin)	Shāmīr Yuhar'ish (nommé auprès de son père dès 270 et j. à 281) (ensuite : roi 'de Saba et Raydân')		Ouazéb (règne dont les limites extrêmes sont entre 312 et 325)
		Nasha'karib Ya'min Yuharhib et : Watarum Yuha'min			Ezana (après 320- 325) ajoute à ses titres ceux de roi 'de Saba, Raydân, Himyar, Salhèn ...

^{8a} Ce tableau, tout en tenant compte des données les plus récentes, s'inspire de celui qui a été établi par J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie Méridionale avant l'Islam (Maïn et Saba)*, Louvain, 1951, p. 337.

L'ÉTHIOPIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE

Voici comment les textes permettent d'étoffer ce schéma.

On voit se dérouler des luttes auxquelles participent tout particulièrement les populations du Hamdân et, plus encore, les Habashân, c'est à dire des peuples établis sur les versants occidentaux du Yémen. Les Habashân présentent l'intérêt d'être des parents ou alliés des Axoumites (ce sont certains d'entre eux qui laisseront à l'Éthiopie le nom d'Abyssinie); ils sont installés depuis le Sahartân et le Haouzân jusqu'au Ma'âfir. Ils tiennent les cités de Zafar et de Sawa (l'actuelle Taïzz) que, deux siècles auparavant, Pline connaissait déjà comme les maîtresses de provinces dont les côtes, par les ports d'Océlis et de Mouza, unissaient l'Arabie aux terres africaines.

Dans la seconde moitié du III^e siècle de notre ère, un prince d'une lignée du Hamdân, 'Alhân Nahfân, supplante le roi de Saba Fari' Yanhub.⁹ Avec son fils Sha'r Awtar, il usurpe le trône et s'établit au palais de Salhên. Dès lors, il s'allie en premier lieu à un puissant souverain du Hadramaut, Yad'ab Ghaylân, —prince auquel semble remonter le développement d'une cité dont les vastes ruines se voient encore peu au Sud de Timna, à Hajar bin-Humâid.¹⁰ Ensuite 'Alhân Nahfân sollicite l'alliance d'un seigneur encore plus puissant, Gadarat, roi des Habashân. Un pacte l'ayant finalement lié à ce roi, avec l'aide duquel il se hâte d'écraser certains adversaires, il commémore ce succès par la somptueuse dédicace de trente statues d'or au dieu Ta'lab de Riyam,—ce qui donne à penser que Gadarat représentait un allié considérable. Aucune de ces statues n'a, bien sûr, subsisté. Mais on a retrouvé, dans les ruines mêmes du temple de Riyam, jusqu'à seize copies de la dédicace qui les accompagnait et qui racontait cette histoire.¹¹ Tandis que 'Alhân Nahfân était,—nous disent-elles,—établi au grand palais sabéen de Salhên, c'est d'un château appelé Zararân que négociait le roi des Habashân. Certains historiens ont cru comprendre qu'un détail de ces textes faisait allusion à une alliance sur terre et sur mer, ce qui leur a fait suggérer que ce prince aurait eu sa résidence en Éthiopie et ce qui leur a fait associer ces épisodes très étroitement (mais à une époque bien trop ancienne) à l'histoire éthiopienne. Ce caractère éthiopien de Gadarat était d'autant plus vraisemblable que le nom de GDR, pratiquement équivalent à GDRT, se retrouve à deux reprises dans les listes éthiopiennes médiévales qui prétendent énumérer les noms des anciens rois d'Axoum.¹² On y voit figurer un GDR parmi les successeurs les plus immédiats de 'Ménélik Ier, fils du roi Salomon et de la reine de Saba,' fondateur, selon les traditions de la nation

⁹ Cf. CIH, 155 (CIH=Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum IV : Inscriptiones Sabaeas et Hymiariticas continens, T. I-III, 1889-1927).

¹⁰ Cf. H. von Wissmann u. M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, (Abhandl. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwissenschaftl. Kl., Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 4, Akademie d. Wiss. und d. Literatur in Mainz) p. 43.

¹¹ CIH, 308.

¹² *Storia*, p. 252. Cf. également : A. Caquot et A. J. Drewes, *Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé (Tigré)*, *Annales d'Éthiopie*, I, 1955, particulièrement, pp. 38-9.

L'ÉTHIOPIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE

Lorsque cette histoire nous apparaît, Shamir vient de se faire enlever par ses rivaux la cité de Marib tandis qu'au nord un adversaire venu de plus loin—le célèbre 'Imru 'l-Qays, roi 'de tous les Arabes'—lui prend Nedjrân. En compensation, Shamir semble assurer son autorité sur l'Ouest du Yémen : c'est ce que suggère une inscription qui décrit une campagne menée par lui contre quatre tribus du Sahartân qu'il poursuit dans la vallée de Damad, qu'il accule au pied des deux volcans éteints Oukwataïn et qu'il jette enfin à la mer.¹⁸ Alors, avec l'aide du Sahartân et du Ma'afir, il tente de résister à 'Ilsharah : en vain. Des inscriptions plus tardives nous apprennent que Shamir, les seigneurs du Sahartân et les maîtres de la cité de Sawa capitale du Ma'afir, ont été contraints, tous ensemble, de demander la paix à leurs rivaux.¹⁹

Et puis, tandis qu' 'Ilsharah prend à son tour Nedjrân à l'arabe 'Imru 'l-Qays, Shamir, allié aux Habashân, au Sahartân et aux tribus d'Himyar, rompt la trêve. De sa nouvelle capitale, Šan'a, 'Ilsharah lance alors cinq campagnes contre les coalisés. Depuis le Hamdân jusqu'au Sud-Est du Raydân c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la bordure méridionale des hauts plateaux, il pille et massacre sans pitié. C'est alors que Shamir, à qui ne suffit plus l'aide de ses alliés d'Arabie, appelle à son secours, d'outre-mer, l'empereur axoumite Ouazéb dont les monnaies éthiopiennes nous ont attesté l'existence entre les années 312-325. Mais, déjà, la guerre avait assez tourné à l'avantage d' 'Ilsharah Yahdub pour que ses généraux puissent dédier au dieu Almaqah, dans le temple de Marib, la remarquable inscription qui vient de nous apprendre la plupart de ces faits.

Quelle fut ensuite la fortune de ce Shamir qui, dans certaines dédicaces, s'est lui aussi paré du protocole ambitieux de roi 'de Saba, Raydân, Hadramaut et Yamanat',²⁰ et qui a également porté le titre plus bref de Shamir dhu-Raydân ? On ignore si Ouazéb vint à son secours. Il semble même—s'il ne s'agit là d'épisodes à situer lors d'une trêve antérieure ?—que Shamir aît fini par se rallier à ses anciens ennemis, et qu'il aît fait campagne aux côtés des princes de Marib lors de guerres où ceux-ci conquièrent le Hadramaut et où la grande cité de Shobwa, avec ses soixante temples, est détruite.²¹

Il semblerait donc que, dans ces années, la lignée de l'ancien roi Fari' Yanhub, jadis éphémèrement écarté par 'Alhân Nahfân, se soit de nouveau assurée la suprématie. De fait, le pouvoir de ces rois est devenu considérable ; car il faut ajouter qu' 'Ilsharah et son frère, depuis qu'ils se sont emparés de Marib, ont ajouté à la résidence traditionnelle de Salhên le nouveau château de Ghoumdân, le plus splendide de ceux qu'aît connus l'Arabie méridionale, édifié dans la cité également neuve de Šan'a. Illustré par l'érection de cette demeure et, aussi d'autres palais de plaisance ornés de marbres aux alentours

¹⁸ *CIH*, 407.

¹⁹ *CIH*, 314.

²⁰ Cf. J. Ryckmans, *Institution monarchique* . . . , p. 304 sq.

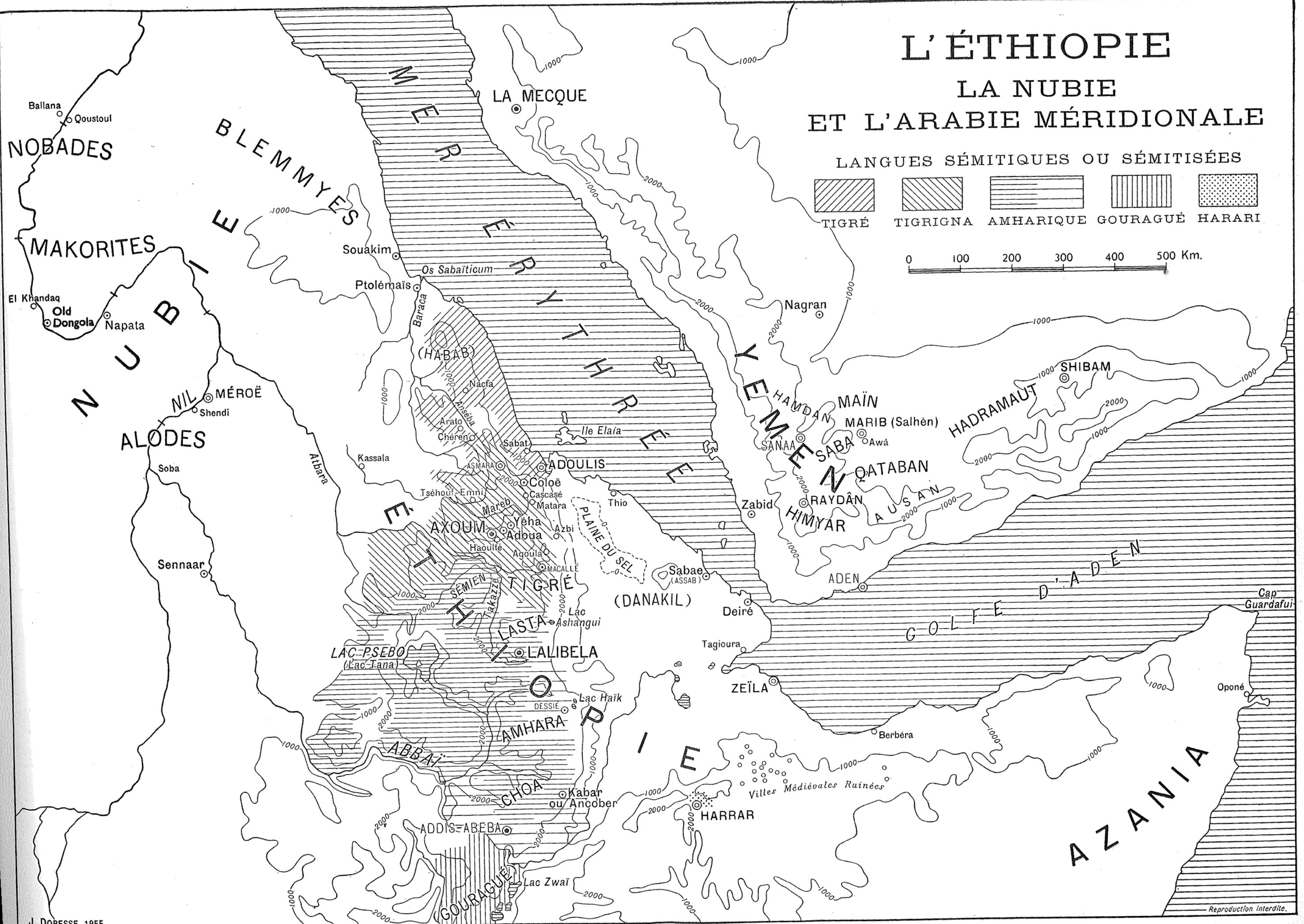
²¹ Cf. H. von Wissmann u. M. Höfner, l.c., p. 115-18 et 133. Cf. *CIH*, 334.

L'ÉTHIOPIE LA NUBIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE

LANGUES SÉMITIQUES OU SÉMITISÉES



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L'ÉTHIOPIE ET L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE

parties d'Adoulis assurent la pacification des Arabes des côtes—les Kinaidocolpites et les Arrhabites—depuis le pays des Sabéens jusqu'à la Nabatène. C'est au retour de ces flottes que le souverain, dans la vingt-septième année de son règne, passe en revue ses troupes et dédie à Arès,—au dieu dynastique Mahrém, substitut d'Almaqah—un trône votif tel que ceux que l'on retrouve dans les ruines d'Axoum. 'Le premier et le seul des rois de ma lignée, j'ai soumis tous ces peuples', s'exclame le vainqueur. De fait, l'empire ainsi créé atteint presque la plus grande étendue que l'Éthiopie connaisse au cours de son histoire, puisqu'il contrôle les routes menant à l'Égypte, le trafic qui va d'Adoulis vers Méroë, les voies maritimes de la Mer Rouge et même,—exception faite des royaumes sabéens qui ne sont pas revendiqués clairement,—la grande route de l'encens de laquelle dépend la prospérité de ceux-ci, depuis sa sortie de Saba jusqu'à la Nabatène.

Quand situer ce grand roi de qui, malgré la longueur particulière de son règne (plus de 27 ans) l'histoire a très injustement oublié le nom ? Le grand historien C. Conti Rossini avait voulu imaginer, dans l'auteur de l'inscription d'Adoulis, quelque roi d'Axoum qui aurait été l'allié de Palmyre au moment où cette puissance fut écrasée par les Romains.²⁷ Il donnait pour argument la présence de captifs axoumites au triomphe de l'empereur Aurélien qui célébra cette victoire à Rome en 274. Mais on a reconnu, depuis, que ces captifs éthiopiens, n'auraient été que des mercenaires capturés en Égypte, et non des soldats officiellement envoyés par leur nation à l'aide de Palmyre. Pourtant, il serait possible de situer cet immense développement de l'empire d'Axoum dans les mêmes années où s'éteignait la puissance de Palmyre. On en possède une preuve étonnante dans le livre des *Chapitres* attribués à l'hérésiarque Mani (216–276), que l'on a retrouvé en copte. Voici ce que dit un passage du *Kephalaion* LXXVII²⁸ : 'L'Apôtre (c'est à dire Mani) parla de nouveau : Il y a quatre grands royaumes dans ce monde. Le premier est celui de Babylone et de la Perse ; le second est le royaume des Romains ; le troisième est celui des Axoumites ; le quatrième est le royaume du Nil'. Ainsi, du point de vue du prophète qui résidait en Babylonie, l'empire d'Axoum ne le cédait qu'à la Perse et à Rome, passait avant l'Égypte, et éclipsait si totalement les royaumes du sud de l'Arabie qu'il n'en est point fait mention.

Est-il dès lors possible de mieux identifier le souverain de l'inscription d'Adoulis ? Notre vainqueur pourrait-il être identifié avec l'un des rois mentionnés par les monnaies ? Disons tout de suite qu'il ne peut s'agir d'Ezana qui, moins de vingt ans après les débuts de son règne, adoptera le christianisme alors que notre prince anonyme, après vingt-sept années de trône, est encore païen.

²⁷ Cf. *Storia*, p. 124 sq.

²⁸ *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatl. Museen Berlin, herausg. . . . unter Leitung von Prof. C. Schmidt : Band I, Kephalaia*, Stuttgart, 1940, p. 188–9. A la p. 189, ligne 4, l'éditeur a lu ΝCΙΛΕΩC, au lieu de ΝεΙΛΕΩC que nous rétablissons !

KUSH

Ce ne peut être non plus Ouazéb dont le règne, cantonné au maximum entre les années 312 et 325, fut beaucoup trop bref. D'ailleurs, le *Kephalaion* que nous avons cité prouve que l'empire axoumite était déjà constitué de façon prestigieuse avant la mort de Mani, donc avant 276. Du coup, il ne peut sans doute pas plus s'agir d'Ousanas, dont le règne dépassera l'année 312! Comme le vainqueur d'Adoulis se proclame même *le premier* qui aît atteint pareille puissance, il ne peut donc être que l'un des deux premiers souverains révélés par les monnaies ou bien même un prince plus ancien. Peut-être pourrons nous un jour mieux reconnaître notre héros, soit dans cet Endybis qui, signe d'une puissance nouvelle, donne à l'Éthiopie ses premières monnaies, soit dans cet Aphilas qui introduit sur ses effigies la couronne impériale, symbole, si grandiose, soit encore dans ce mystérieux GDR que monuments et traditions s'unissent pour célébrer ?

Un des plus grands mystères archéologiques d'Axoum, c'est l'âge, et la signification des innombrables stèles dont les tronçons, le plus souvent abattus mais parfois encore dressés vers le ciel, se groupent en certains secteurs du site antique. Les plus mystérieux de ces monolithes restent, sans doute, ceux que revêt un remarquable décor architectural, colosses dont l'un dépassait 37 mètres de haut. Nous avons eu, en 1954 et 1955, le privilège de conduire les deux premières campagnes de fouilles qui ont commencé de révéler l'ensemble architectural, les terrasses aux murs polis, sur lesquelles s'alignèrent ces aiguilles de pierre. Ce que révèle aujourd'hui l'histoire commune de l'Arabie méridionale et de l'empire d'Axoum, ce que l'on y apprend des souverains qui, au cours du troisième siècle et pendant la première moitié du IV^e, bâtirent une puissance jusqu'ici méconnue, suggère que des monuments aussi prodigieux purent être l'oeuvre de ces mêmes souverains.

Ethiopia and Southern Arabia during the III and IV centuries A.D. according to recent discoveries

by J. DORESSE

(English Summary)

PROFESSOR G. RYCKMAN'S publication of new Sabean inscriptions chiefly from Marib, of which the most important is 'Ryckman's 535' has given us the opportunity to establish now a coherent history of the kingdoms of southern Arabia during the second half of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th. At this time East Africa and southern Arabia, already linked together for a number of centuries, display still closer links. We must then compare the newly discovered facts with what we already knew of the history of Ethiopia from very scanty inscriptions and chiefly from original coins found in excavations.

One can verify in Sabean country the rivalry of noble families, struggling for the cities of Marib, Nedjran, and chiefly for the complete possession of the title : *King of Saba and of Raydan*. While one of these families really controls the very heart of the Sabean country another one takes as an ally the Western inhabitants of Yemen among whom are the powerful Habashan, a branch of which will give to Ethiopia the name of Abyssinia.

At first, one sees Alhan Nahfan join forces with Gadarat, Prince of the Habashan. Until now the historians, who had guessed that this Gadarat was a genuine sovereign of Ethiopia, have dated this event about two or three centuries too early.

Then a violent rivalry broke out, interrupted by truces, between Shamir Yuhar'ish and 'Ilsharah Yahdub who quickly gained considerable power and established the palace of Ghoumdan and the city of San'a. Shamir Yuhar'ish who joined forces in his turn with the Habashan, was to make a call for help from the King of Axum, Ouazeb, who reigned between the limit dates 312-325.

After all these events, the history of southern Arabia becomes dark again. However, one can ascertain that the great Axumic Emperor 'Ezana, the same one who was to embrace Christianity towards the middle of the 4th century, claimed, as one can see from the very formulary of his Axumic inscriptions, the suzerainty not only over Saba and Raydan but also over Himyar, Habashat and Salhen. We have no proof of the reality of this possible suzerainty.

Is it possible in relation with those events to place the extraordinary conquests of the anonymous Ethiopian emperor who dedicated the Greek inscription of Adulis—which is the real birth-certificate of the Axumic Empire ? Without

KUSH

doubt it must be placed during a period prior to the events we alluded to above, since he states himself to be ' The first and only one ' of his lineage who accomplished such conquests. Moreover, a passage of the *Kephalaia* of the heresiarch Mani (A.D. 276), preserved in a Coptic version, mentions the Empire of Axum as being the third great world power of his time, immediately after Persia and Rome. This is a proof that the imperial achievements described by the stela of Adulis were already completed at the time—prior to A.D. 276—when this chapter of Mani's work was written.

These few facts suggest what were the true inter-relations between the Axumic Emperors and Arabia. Moreover, the few references we have about the uncommon power of Ethiopia from the 3rd century onward lead us to suggest that the wonderful and colossal Stela of Axum could be ascribed to the great sovereigns of this period.

Upper Egyptian Settlers in Middle Kingdom Nubia

(Stelae Khartoum Mus. 11778, 372A and 2647,
Statue Khartoum Mus. 5516)

by JEAN VERCOUTTER

DURING an inspection visit to Buhen Temple I noticed a small stela of brownish sandstone,¹ which I brought back to the Khartoum Museum, where it now is under number 11778 (cf. PLATE XII, a and FIG. 1).

The reading of this stela does not present great difficulty if one excepts the qualification ascribed to the god Sobk, which is nearly defaced (see PLATE XII) : it runs (cf. FIG. 1) :



FIG. 1. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 11778

'A boon which the king gives (to) Sobk Lord of Sumenu (a), (to) Horus Lord of Buhen (and to) Horus, Lord of foreign lands (b), that they may give invocation-offerings (consisting of) bread and beer, to the overseer of interpreters (c) Dedusobk, son of (lit. who was made by), Dedusobk repeating life (d), (and) born of Neket, venerable (lit. possessor of veneration)'.

¹ Dimensions 0.45 × 0.30 × 0.10 m.

KUSH

Notes

(a) For the writing *swmnw* 𓂏𓂏𓂏 see, for example, Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III, pl. XIV, 2; Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, v, p. 63; and Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 28, p. 149.

(b) For this qualification of Horus see Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, 1949, p. 51 (C); Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, p. 29.

(c) For the title 'w ' Interpreter ' and *Imy-r* 'w ' Overseer of Interpreters', see A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA*, 37, 1915, pp. 117-26; *ibid.*, 39, 1917, pp. 133-4; Peet, *PSBA*, 37, 1915, pp. 246-52; and Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, pp. 14, 17. It was one of the titles of the Elephantine officials who undertook journeys to Nubia during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. See Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 10, 27, 45, 50, 67 ff. For the form of the sign, see Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, *l.c.*, inscr. 71, pl. XXI, where it is given as 𓂏 (temp. Amenemhat II).

(d) This qualification added to the name of deceased (see *Wb*, I, 341 (4) and (5)), is frequent on the stelae from Buhen, see, for example, Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, pp. 110, 113, 114, 180, 183, 184.

Khartoum Mus. 11778 is similar to another Buhen stela kept in the British

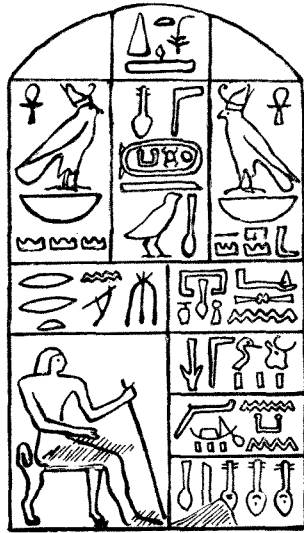


FIG. 2. STELA BRITISH MUSEUM 139-(489)

Museum (see FIG. 2 for comparison).² Same disposition of the text, same figures of Horus on each side of the second register, same representations of the deceased in the right hand corner of the monument. The two stelae, if not actually engraved by the same craftsman, are certainly of the same date (see p. 68).

² *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, part IV, pl. 4.

UPPER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM NUBIA

The father and mother of our 'overseer of interpreters' are known from another stela, also from Buhen, Khartoum Mus. 372 A,³ inadequately published by Randall-MacIver and Woolley (see PLATE XIII and FIG. 3). The text runs :—

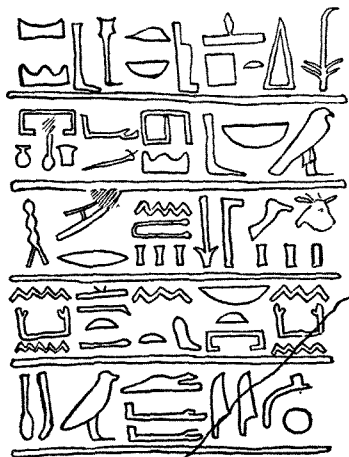
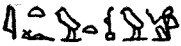




FIG. 3. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 372A.

A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris and Horus Lord of Buhen that he (sic) may give an invocation-offering (consisting) of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, incense and oil, for the spirit (Ka) of the Lady of the House Neket, justified (and) for the spirit of the honoured one Dedusobk, justified.

The name Dedusobk appears again on still another stela from Buhen, wrongly attributed to the New Kingdom,⁴ but which, from the title *w'rtw-n-hkz* 'overseer of the Prince's Table', must be of the Middle Kingdom.⁵ On this stela, one Dedusobk is mentioned as the son of a certain  (?) and of  (?) and accordingly differs from the Dedusobk of Khartoum Mus. 11778, but could be of the same family, either the grandfather or the grandson of Dedusobk, the husband of Neket (Khartoum Mus. 372 A, see fig. 3). Before leaving this inscription, it should be noted that one of the daughters of the deceased, a sister of Dedusobk, is called  Sobk-wer.

³ Brownish sandstone, 0.50 × 0.35 × 0.07 m. Comes from grave K.26, see Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, p. 208.

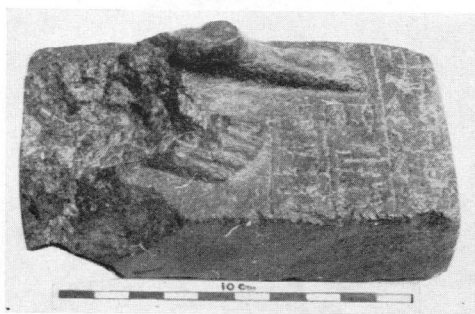
⁴ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *ibid.*, p. 184. The authors state 'Stela of which the grave number has been lost in transit', but they classify it among the stelae from the New Kingdom Cemetery.

⁵ See *Wb*, I, 288, 13, which ascribes the title to the Middle Kingdom.

PLATE XII



a. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 11778



b. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 5516

PLATE XIII



KHARTOUM MUSEUM 372A



UPPER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM NUBIA

Satis, Lady of Abu (Elephantine) (and) Anukis, who is in front of Ta-Seti (Nubia), that they may give an invocation-offering consisting of thousands of bread and beer, oxen (and) fowls, clothing (and) [all things] which the sky gives (and) the

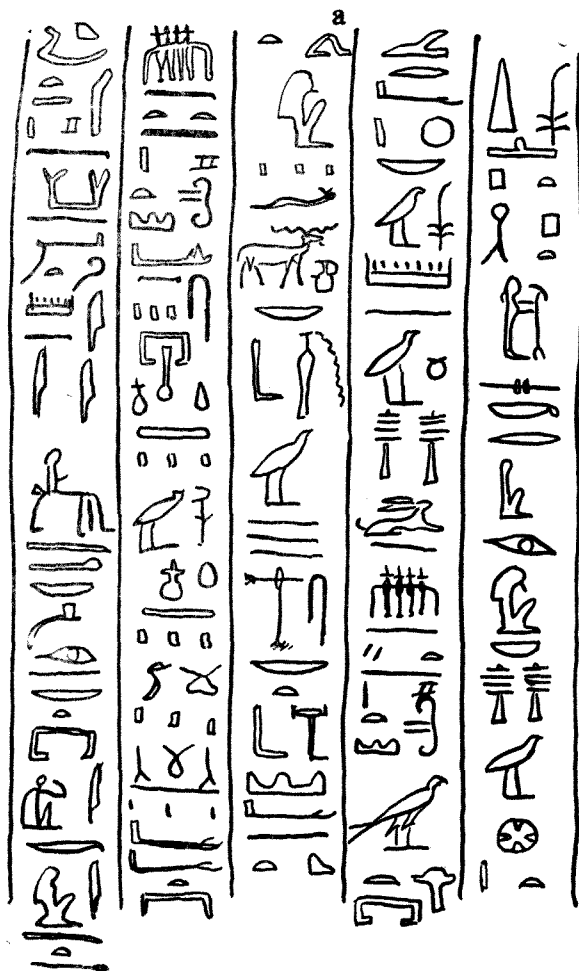



FIG. 5. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 2647

^a Read , see note 9, p. 64 above

earth produces, for the spirit (*Ka*) of the centurion (?) (lit. overseer of one-hundred) (?)¹⁰. *Imeny*, justified (and) venerable (lit. possessor of veneration), son of (lit. who was made by) the Lady of the House, *Ikai*, justified.

¹⁰ See Coptic *lashane*, *Wb*, 4, pp. 496 and 498. In Nubia, the *imy-r šnt* seems to have been a military man—see Smither, *JEA*, 31, 1945, p. 7, where the *lashane Sobk-wer* was in command at Iken, hence our tentative translation 'centurion'.

UPPER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM NUBIA

If we consider the first difficulty—the main one—we should be tempted to lower the date of Khartoum Stela 11778 to the XIIIth Dynasty, considering the mention of Sesostri I on the British Museum stela as a local archaism, due to the fact that Sesostri I was in all probability the founder of Buhen.³¹ However, it would be unsafe to lower the date too much, because by their epigraphy Khartoum stelae 11778 and 372 A are quite different from the stelae of the Second Intermediate Period (XIII–XVIIIth Dynasties) found in Buhen or elsewhere.³² They are much more in the style of the XIIIth Dynasty. So that everything being taken into account, and, more particularly, the possibility of an early spelling of Sumenu with the mace *mnw*,³³ we should ascribe the stela 11778 tentatively to the second half of the XIIIth Dynasty, between Amenemhat II, end of the reign, and Amenemhat IV (i.e. between 1920 and 1785 B.C.). If such is the case, the first settlement of worshippers of Sobk of Sumenu in Buhen could go back to the reign of Amenemhat II and is certainly not later than the reign of Amenemhat III, since the Dedusobk of Khartoum Stela 11778 belonged to the *second* generation of Egyptian settlers in Buhen.

If our inferences are correct, Upper Egyptians from Sumenu/Rizeiqat settled in Buhen or in its vicinity just after the conquest of Sesostri I, or after Sesostri III's campaigns. We have no idea as to who brought them to Nubia, and whether or not they came of their own free will, but I suspect that they were not the only Upper Egyptians to settle in the newly built fortresses. The frequency of personal names with Montu, Montuhotep and Intef as components³⁴ suggests that the main bulk of the Middle Kingdom settlers came from the Theban region, of which Sumenu/Rizeiqat is but a part. It may be worth while to note here that the links between Upper Egyptians and Nubia probably go back to the First Intermediate Period; since—if it is not pure boasting—Ankhtifi, nomarch of Edfu and Hierakonpolis, claims to have sent corn to the Nubians of Wawat during a famine.³⁵ Mo'alla, the home town of Ankhtifi, was scarcely 11 km. south from Sumenu/Rizeiqat.

³¹ In all probability Sesostri I was the first king to erect a chapel in Buhen, see Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, p. 129, see, too, note 26 above.

³² See the Buhen stela published by Barns, *KUSH* II, pp. 19–20, and Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, 1949, pp. 50 and 54; see, too, Gunn, *ASAE*, 29, 1929, p. 7.

³³ This possibility cannot be ruled out since Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 28, 1929, p. 149, quotes at least three instances of it, dated: no. 10, p. 127 of Amenemhat II (same spelling as on Khartoum stela); nos. 30 and 31, p. 136 of Middle Kingdom without specific reign.

³⁴ See, for instance, from Buhen itself, or its vicinity: Deduantef and Mentuhotep (*temp.* Sesostri I)=Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, pp. 130 and 139; Mentuy and Antefi, *ibid.*, p. 140; Mentuhotep (*temp.* Amenemhat IV)=*JEA*, 31, 1945, p. 9; Simontu=*ibid.*, p. 10; Mentuhotepyn=*KUSH* III, p. 14, n. 40.

³⁵ Cf. J. Vandier, *Mo'alla*, Le Caire, 1950, p. 220 ff.

Notes on the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor

by WERNER VYCICHL

Paris

I. INTRODUCTION

THIS story preserved in a Middle Kingdom papyrus (about 2000 B.C.) nowadays in Leningrad has been translated and edited for the first time by Golénischeff (*Le conte du naufragé*, Le Caire, 1912). As generally admitted, it but constitutes a fragment of a more important cycle of adventures, as its beginning refers to another expedition beyond the land of Wawat in the Sudan. Similar stories, e.g., the adventures of Sinuhe (Dyn. XII) and of Wenamon (Dyn. XX) show the deep interest the stay-at-home Egyptians took at all times in dangerous journeys and far, marvellous countries.

The present notes deal with two questions : (a) the marvellous serpent as a guardian of precious drugs ; (b) the probable meaning of the hapax legomenon **yawdanub*. In order to facilitate the investigation, I am starting with a condensed description of the contents of the papyrus.

The hero of the story, the Shipwrecked Sailor, as he is called by modern Egyptologists, was the leader of an expedition starting from a mine of His Majesty on the Red Sea with a ship, 120 cubits long and 40 cubits broad manned by a crew of 120 sailors. The ship perished in a terrible storm with the crew and the hero himself was cast as the only survivor onto an island where he stayed alone for three days ' only with his heart as his companion '. The island abounded in figs, grapes and other fruit, vegetables, as well as birds and fishes. He satisfied his hunger and made a fire-drill in order to make an offering to the gods.

At that moment he heard a thunder-like roll like a wave of the sea. The trees were shattered and the earth quaked. When he took his hands off his face, he saw a gigantic serpent, 30 cubits long with a beard of more than 2 cubits, its body gilded and its eye-brows of genuine lapis lazuli who moved forward crawling. The serpent opened its mouth while it lay flat on its belly and spoke to him :—' Who has brought thee here ? If thou doest not tell me who has brought thee to this island, I shall show thee that thou art ash ! ' The Shipwrecked Sailor told it his story and the serpent calmed him : ' Don't be afraid. Lo, the god has kept thee alive and brought thee to this island that is full of all good things. Thou wilt spend four months on this island. Then a ship will come from the residence with sailors that thou knowest. Thou wilt go with them to the residence and thou shalt die in thy town '.

NOTES ON THE STORY OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR

Then the serpent told him his own story. He had lived on this island together with his brothers and children, altogether 75 serpents. Then a star fell down on them and burned them all, leaving the serpent alone with a heap of dead bodies.

When the serpent promised him that he would return home, embrace his children and kiss his wife, the Shipwrecked Sailor promised him to speak of him to the king. He would send him ibi, hekenu-oil, yawdanub and khesait, and temple-incense to rejoice the heart of every god. Offerings of bulls and geese would be made to him and ships would be sent to him from Egypt loaded with all precious things. The serpent laughed over what the Shipwrecked Sailor had said and answered: 'Thou hast not much myrrh, thou hast only some incense. But I am the ruler of Punt and the myrrh belongs to me as well as that hekenu-oil of which thou said that it would be brought to me, as it is the main product of this island. Furthermore, if thou shalt leave this island, thou shalt never see it again, as it will disappear in the flood'. The serpent wished him a good return home and gave him a shipload of myrrh, hekenu-oil, yawdanub, khesait, tishepes-wood, shaas, eye-paint, giraffe-tails, a big piece (?) of incense, elephant-tusks, greyhounds, baboons, monkeys and many beautiful and precious things.

II. THE MARVELLOUS SERPENT

The marvellous serpent-island formerly identified with Soqotra in the Indian Ocean does not correspond, in my opinion, to any existing island. This is clearly indicated in the papyrus itself (*n zp m3-k yw pn, hpr nwy m mw* 'never thou shalt see this island again for it will become water'.) However it must have been situated, in the mind of the Egyptians, somewhere between South Arabia and Somaliland. This localization is based on the following considerations:—

- the expedition of the Shipwrecked Sailor had started from a mine of the King on the Sea, i.e. necessarily from a point on the Red Sea coast;
- the marvellous serpent calls himself 'ruler of Punt' i.e. Somaliland,
- nearly all the products of the serpent-island are known as products of Punt or the Sudan;
- the rôle of the serpent as a possessor of precious drugs has its parallel in Herodotus' report on the winged serpents in Arabia as guardians of the incense-trees.

As a matter of fact, Herodotus (about 450 B.C.) relates that the Arabs gather the incense only when burning styrax, as the incense-trees were watched by numerous small winged serpents (III, 107). It was not possible to get rid of them otherwise than by burning styrax the odour of which they disliked.

Winged serpents are well known in Egyptian mythology, e.g. the dragon Apophis (for the nominal form see *Museon* 1952, 1-4). The serpent in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor is not described as winged, but there is, in my

KUSH

opinion, little doubt that there is a relation between the island-serpent as a possessor of myrrh ('*ntyw*') and the winged serpents as guardians of myrrh in Herodotus' report.

III. YAUDANUB

This word only occurs twice in Egyptian (Shipwrecked Sailor). The consonants are *y-w-d-n-b*, the vowels are unknown. This product is mentioned in our text together with *myrrh*, *hekenu-oil*, then *khesait*, *tishepes-wood*, *shaas*, *incense*, *eye-paint*, etc. In Herodotus' report (III, 107) we have *incense*, *myrrh*, *cassia*, *kinnamonon* and *lēdanon* as the products of Southern Arabia.

It seems to be tempting to compare *y-w-d-n-b* with *lēdanon*. As a matter of fact, *lēdanon* goes back to *lādanon*, equally attested in Greek and corresponds to Latin *lādanum* or *laudanum*. The South-Arabic form can be reconstructed as **lādan-um* (nom., with the article *-m*), perhaps also **laudan-um* (late Latin *laudanum*). This latter form strangely corresponds to the Egyptian form that can be reconstructed as **yawdanub*. In this case, arabic *l* has been rendered by *y* as there is no hieroglyph for *l* in hieroglyphic writing at that time. Change between *m* and *b* is most frequent, specially in presence of *m*, *n*, e.g. Egyptian *wnb* 'to eat' (Pyr.) for *wnm*, Coptic *bēne* 'swallow' for old *mn.t*; Tigré *jahannab* 'hell' (M. Campero, *Manuale pratico della lingua Tigré*, Milano 1936, 89) from Arabic *jahannam*; Arabic *busmār* 'nail' and *barham* 'balsam' for the good forms *mismār*, *marham* (heard by myself, Luxor).

Laudanum is attested twice in Kawa (M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I, 1949, III, 6 and VI, 13-14) as *rdnw*, i.e. *lādan* (or sim.). But this form is a new loan-word and does not derive from *yaudanub* (or sim.).

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding study can be resumed as follows :—

- (a)—The Serpent-Island was thought to be situated somewhere near South Arabia or Somaliland.
 - It is merely fictive and does not correspond to Soqotra nor to any other existing island.
 - There is certainly a common background for the serpent as a possessor of myrrhs and the myrrh watching serpents in Herodotus' report.
- (b)—The drug *y-w-d-n-b* was most probably pronounced **yaudanub* 'laudanum', from an old form *lādan* or *laudan* (plus *-um*).

On *laudanum* and *styrax*, see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 2nd edition, London 1934, 96-7.

Notes

A NEW TYPE OF MOUND GRAVE

Mound graves are to be found over very extensive areas of the central and northern Sudan, but they are nowhere so plentiful as on the east bank of the Nile in the Khartoum region, and northwards at least as far as El Metemma. They mostly lie, in groups of varying size, just away from the cultivated land, on the first rise of the gravel desert. Great and small (some are barely perceptible hummocks) their total number must run into many thousands. The surface of the mounds is usually of gravel, presenting much the same appearance as the land round about ; but where stone is available close by they are often covered with small boulders. Chronologically, they are usually assigned to that period, of which so little is known, immediately following the disappearance of the Meroitic kingdom. The graves would thus be contemporary with the 'X-group' culture further north ; they have been guessed to have been made by the 'Noba' referred to by 'Ezana of Axum as being in possession of the area when his forces passed through.¹

In the area of the village of Hobagi ($16^{\circ} 36' \text{ N}$, $33^{\circ} 10' \text{ E}$), some 23 km. upstream from El Metemma, are a number of mounds provided with enclosing walls (now ruined) which distinguish them from their fellows. I have found five such mounds, but have not seen either on the ground elsewhere or described in the books any similar examples.

These mounds are considerably bigger than the normal type, varying between 2 and 3.5 m. in height, and 30 and 40 m. in diameter in their present eroded state. Two have large depressions in their centres, presumably dug by robbers. The walls encircling them have all completely collapsed ; they were built of rough slabs of ferricrete sandstone of various sizes. In plan they form an ellipse orientated roughly north and south. The mound is in all cases situated at the southern end of the enclosure and in the narrower focus of the ellipse. In one case (FIG. 1, a)² there is a cairn on the slope of the mound, and a small circle of stones (diameter 2.5 m.), possibly not contemporary with the mound, on the summit. In another (FIG. 1, b) there is a cairn on the flat ground within the enclosure, which unlike the other four examples, has its longer axis running east and west. In no case could any entrance through the enclosure

¹ See Shinnie, *KUSH* II (1954), pp. 66 et seq., in particular 83-5. The excavations at Tanqasi, with which that article deals, disclosed close resemblances between the burials there and that excavated at 'Ushara, near Khartoum (Marshall & Adam in *KUSH* I (1953) pp. 40-6). For a new translation of the 'Ezana inscription, see Littmann in *Misc. Acad. Berlinensia* II, Part 2, pp. 115-19.

² This and the following plans are based on paced measurements.

KUSH

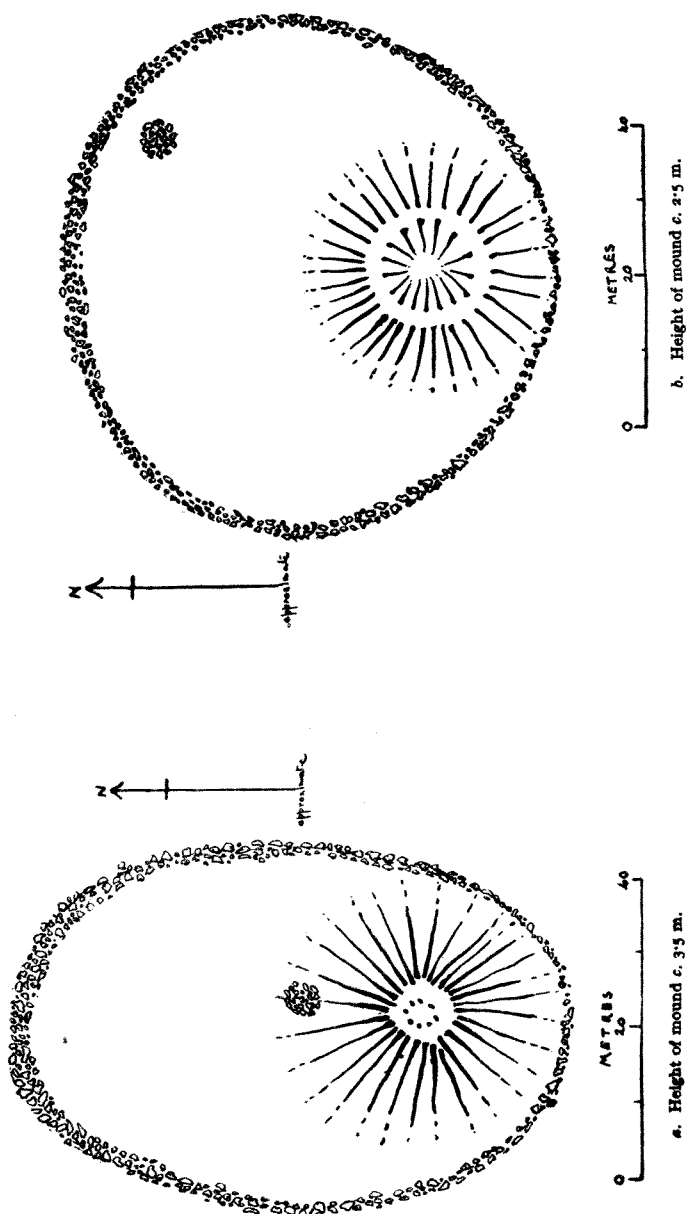


FIG. 1. PLANS OF ENCLOSED MOUNDS SOUTH OF HOBAGI

NOTES

be observed. PLATE XV, a shows a view from the north-west of a mound situated rather to the north of Hobagi ; its flat-topped appearance is due to a depression in the centre. PLATE XV, b depicts the area north of the same mound, with the ruins of the wall enclosing it.

In one instance the two mounds seem to be associated with each other, and with two small oval mounds, each about 10 m. in length and 0.5 m. in height, lying between them. This group lies east of Hobagi village, close to the cultivated land ; a plan is shown in FIG. 2. PLATE XV, c is a photograph taken from the top of the more westerly of the mounds ; in the space between this and its fellow can be seen one of the two oval graves.

With the exception of the two described in the previous paragraph, the enclosed mounds are dispersed over a fairly big area, it being more than 1 km. from the southernmost to the northernmost. There are also some plain mound-graves in the area, including a group of about forty a little to the south of the pair of enclosed mounds ; but there is no evidence of the two types of grave being associated. The two or three sherds found on the surface of one (only) of the enclosed mounds were of the same type of post-Meroitic ' beer jar ' as is frequently found on the plain mounds, and as was found in the grave at 'Ushara'.³

No excavation having been attempted, it is hazardous to draw conclusions about these graves. The open space to the north of the mounds, enclosed by the wall must surely have some religious significance ; one may guess that this was ground sanctified for the performance of some commemorative ritual. Such indications as these suggest an early Napatan, or, I think more probably, a post-Meroitic date.

A tomb at Kurru (Tumulus VI) of a royal personage ancestral to the kings of the xxvth Dynasty and dated to a little before the time of Kashta⁴ shows certain resemblances to those at Hobagi. This consisted of a small mound (diameter 8.5 m.) with an enclosing wall shaped like an elongated horseshoe. Two short returns of the wall form an entrance. This, however, and the open space between it and the mound lie to the south-east of the latter, and not to the north. There is, however, no sign of any remains of such an early date in the Hobagi region, though there is nothing improbable in the influence or hegemony of Kurru having extended so far, particularly in view of the ease of travel between the two areas.

The few sherds found, however, suggest a post-Meroitic date, and it is tempting to guess that these are rather the tombs of the chiefs, or *meks*, of the people to whom the simple, unenclosed mound graves belong. This is the conclusion drawn about the biggest mounds at Tanqasi⁵ where, however, mounds

³ Marshall & Adam, *KUSH II* (1954), fig. 3, no. 1.

⁴ See Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush, II, El Kurru*.

⁵ Shinnie, *ibid.*, p. 68 and fig. 2.

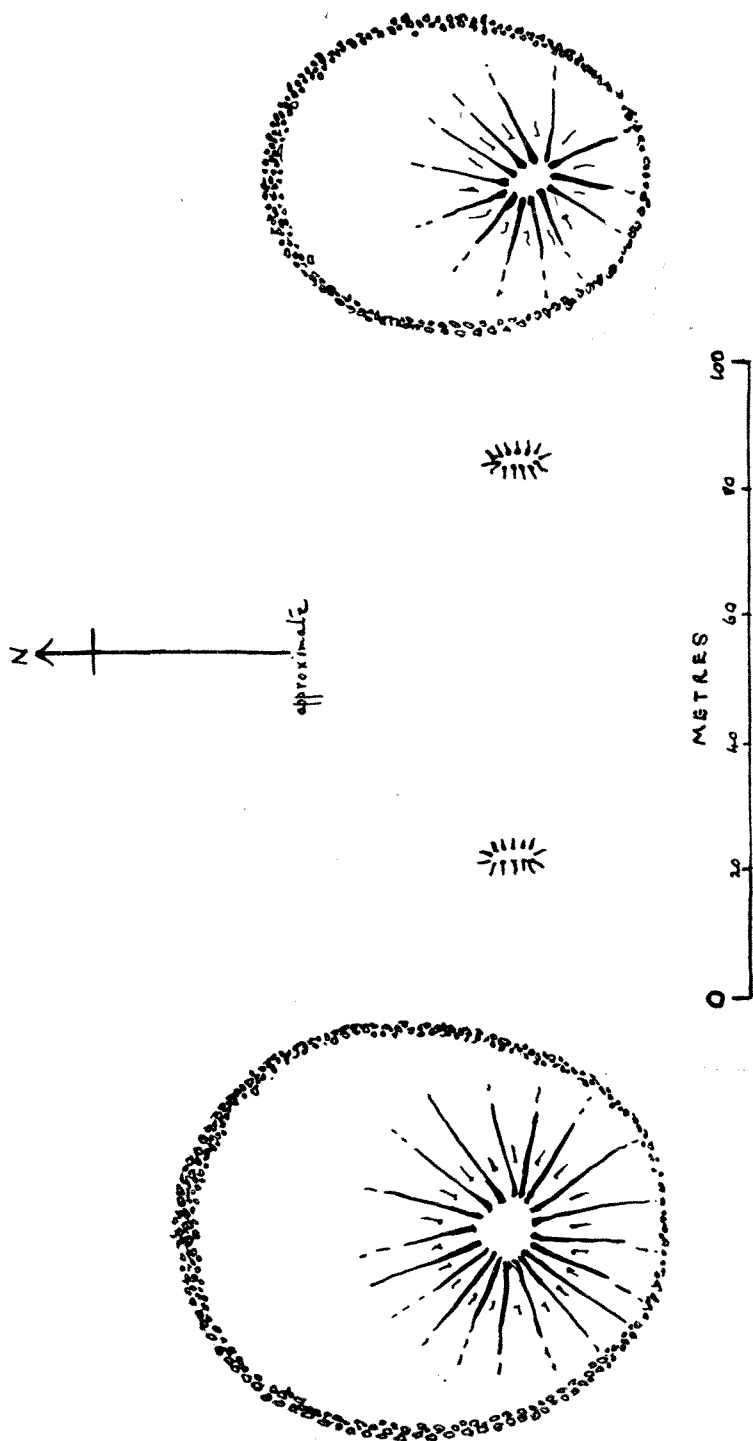
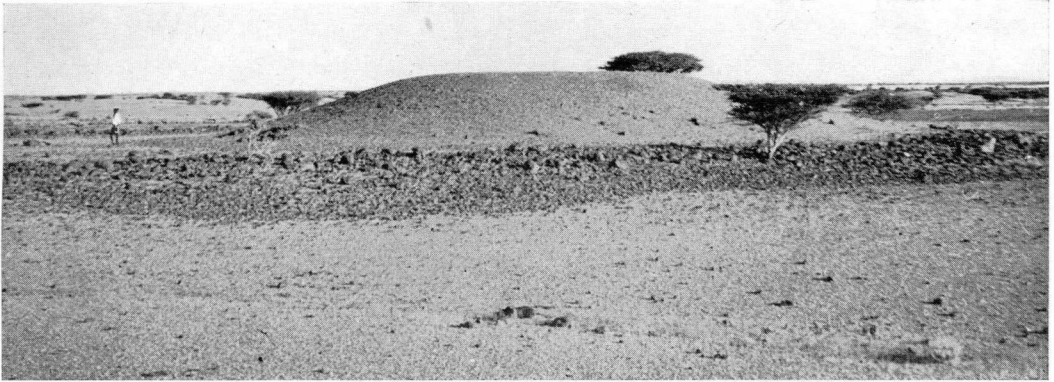
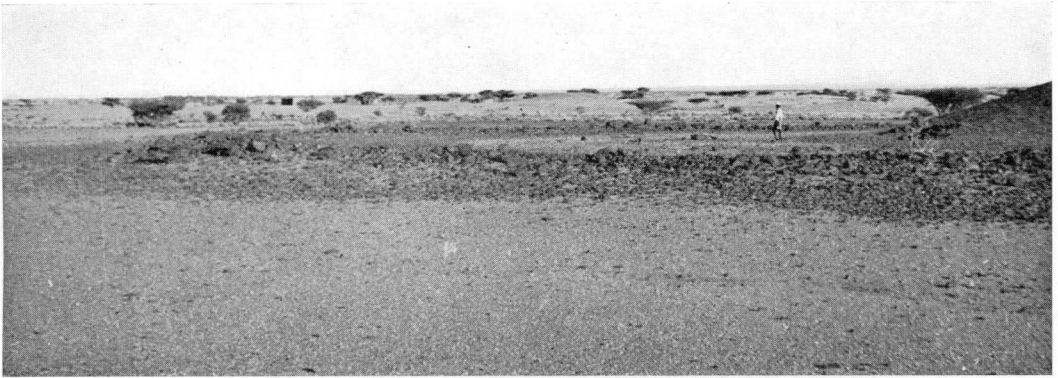


FIG. 2. PLAN OF GROUP OF MOUNDS EAST OF HOBAGI
The mound to the west is c. 3.5 m. high, and that to the east, 2 m.

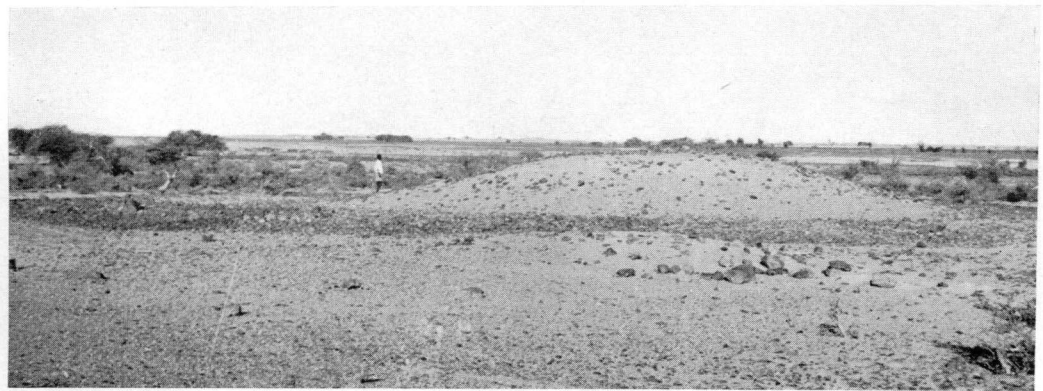
PLATE XV



a. ENCLOSED MOUND NORTH OF HOBAGI

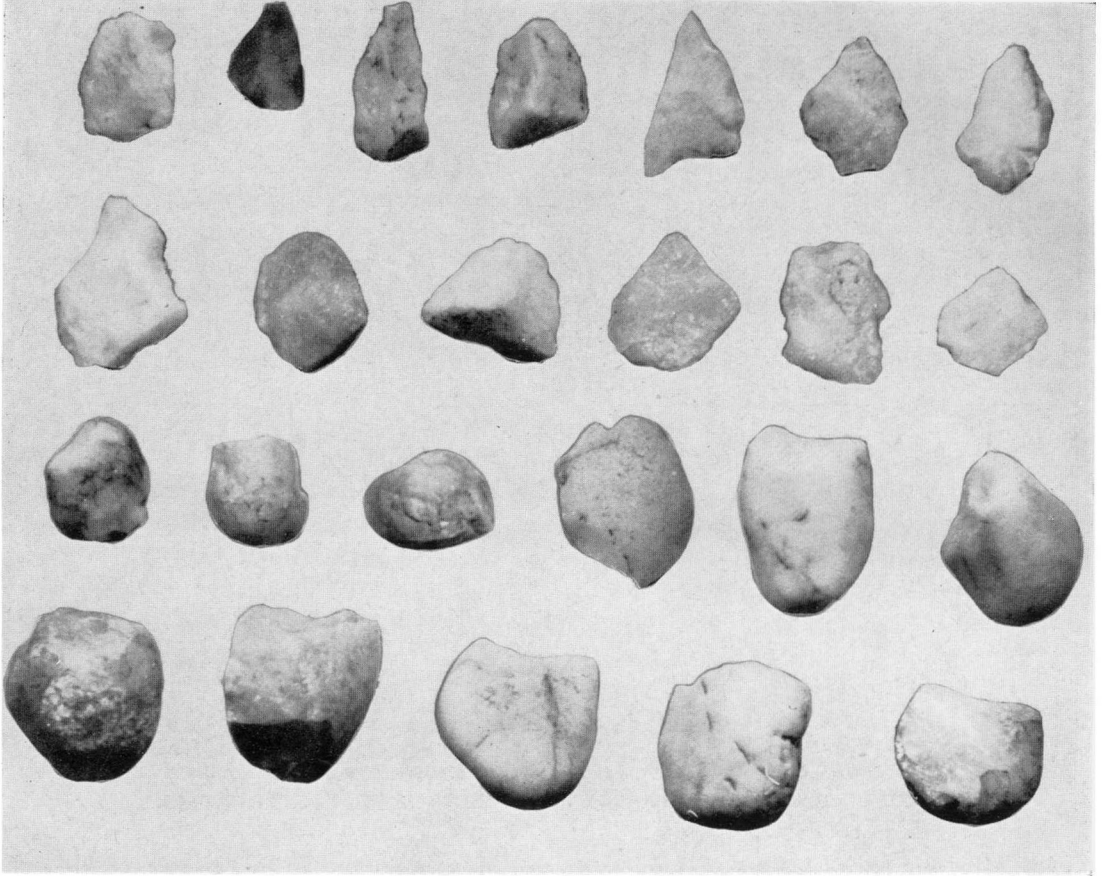


b. THE ENCLOSURE WALL AND AREA TO THE NORTH OF THE MOUND SHOWN IN *a.*



c. GROUP OF MOUNDS EAST OF HOBAGI

PLATE XVI



QUARTZ FLAKES AND KNAPPED PEBBLES FROM SOBA

NOTES

of all sizes are intermingled, and there is no trace of enclosing walls round any of them. Though both Hobagi and Tanqasi were presumably localities of importance, no trace of any settlement of the period has been found at either.⁶ It is interesting to note that both sites lie close to places that were of great importance in the preceding periods, Tanqasi being close to the Napatan sites (where religious importance continued into the Meroitic era⁷ and Hobagi near the chief monuments of the kingdom of Meroë.⁸

H. N. CHITTICK.

A QUARTZ INDUSTRY AT SOBA

Revisiting Soba recently I was surprised by the number of quartz flakes and chipped pebbles (pebble cores) to be seen on the mound on which I was sitting. My first thought was that the mound might be of earlier date than the others, but the surface sherds and some brick fragments indicated that this was not so; moreover, I soon found fragments on other mounds of obviously Christian date. Friends helped in a further search and fragments were found on and about seven mounds, including Shinnie's mounds A and B and the Church mound. Fragments were found occasionally between mounds, but far more rarely than on and at the edges of mounds.

There are four reasonable hypotheses about this industry: (1) It could have been earlier than the site and the fragments could have been brought up on to the mounds by animal and human agency. However, they appear to be altogether too common for this hypothesis to hold, especially when their infrequency between mounds be considered. (2) It could have been an earlier industry sited where the Sobans made their bricks and the fragments would in that case be washed out from the bricks. I examined all exposed walls that I could find, mainly in Mounds A and B but did not discover a brick with a quartz fragment in it. Moreover, some of the pebbles are rather large to have been included in the pudge in brickmaking. (3) The industry could be contemporary with the site, and (4) It could belong to a later phase and belong to nomads who inhabited the site but left no other remains.

The last hypothesis lacks probability, for there would almost certainly be other remains, but it is not impossible if we postulate nomads using skins and gourds and no pottery. It is also necessary to assume that these later peoples favoured the tops of mounds to inhabit and this further reduces the probability.

Some people will be surprised at the suggestion of a stone industry as late as mediæval times but there are examples in the Near East. Suliman Huzayyin

⁶ Nor indeed anywhere else. It has usually been assumed that the people associated with this culture were mostly, or wholly, nomadic, though this does not accord very well with their making large pots.

⁷ El Kurru is opposite Tanqasi, Jebel Barkal and Nuri a short distance upstream.

⁸ Wad Ban Naga lies opposite Hobagi and Mussawarat es Safra and Naga' a few miles into the desert thence. Meroë itself is no great distance downstream.

KUSH

and Myers have shown in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, London, 1940, that stone implements of crude forms remained in use until Roman times at least in Upper Egypt.

I was informed by the inhabitants of the Beer Sheba region that until World War I, the points fixed into the base of a beam for chaff cutting were of flint. I have also heard, though I cannot cite the authority, that at the same period flint sickles were found in use in remote parts of Albania.

Unless large-scale excavations be undertaken it may be difficult to select from these hypotheses by standard archaeological method. If the industry is contemporary with the site then further excavations may reveal a store of flakes or a knapper's débris, but this would need a fairly high degree of chance, in a small scale excavation. The presence of flakes in the débris or even scattered on the floors would not be conclusive of the date of their horizon. In fact it may well be impossible, short of large scale excavations, to give absolute proof of the date of the culture.

However, if we can show that the industry is invariably associated with the mounds we can eliminate on probability grounds hypotheses (1) and (4) and greatly weaken (2). The second hypothesis would be weakened because the likelihood that all the bricks from which Soba was built came from a field with remains of an early culture spread throughout it is low indeed.

An adaptation of the method for relating cultures on surface sites set out by Myers in *Some Applications of Statistics to Archaeology*, Cairo, 1948, would be useful, but the size of the site forbids it, for it needs a grid to be flung over the whole site and Soba is about a mile square.

The problem is then a statistical one, as long as we realize that in making use of statistics we are calling for probabilities rather than "certainties" (if such things exist indeed), and that the statistics answer a question about figures not about things. It depends on the archaeologist to see that the figures submitted represent accurately the objects.

Mr K. J. Krotki of the Statistics Department of the Ministry for Social Affairs kindly agreed to provide the necessary method and formulæ which are as follows :—

It will be first necessary to obtain a plan of Soba showing all the mounds. The plan need not be very accurate but should be of a scale not less than 1 : 200¹. Then mark out on the plan, again no great accuracy is required, belts 1 metre wide between the tops of neighbouring mounds joining them together. Belts should not be made that pass over or close to a third mound. Then all the belts drawn in this way should be numbered and, say, 10 of the total drawn out of a

¹ Such a plan is most necessary for other reasons. The site is a most curious one with its relatively widely separated mounds and (from the ground) no apparent plan. The first step to discovering the meaning is a clear plan. Afterwards excavation is needed, not only of the mounds, but in between to see what separated the big buildings.

NOTES

hat. It is not possible to say exactly how many of these belts are required because in the absence of a plan we do not know their length. Furthermore, and what is more important, we know nothing of the variability of our material. In fact, the position is statistically speaking even more curious because as will become apparent later, we do not know whether we are drawing one sample or more.

The belts drawn and selected must then be plotted on the ground and every third square metre starting always from the north or east should be carefully marked out and all the quartz artefacts collected and counted. In counting out the third square counting should not always start from the first square but from one of the first three squares, numbers again being drawn from a hat. Should any of the squares overlap belonging as it were to different belts, this should be ignored and the square metres considered rigidly and separately as if they did not overlap. It will be seen that to meet this requirement special precautions will have to be taken when counting and collecting the artefacts in the selected squares.

When the results of the counting are complete there will be, say, 10 series of figures of various length according to the distances between the mounds of the selected belts. According to expectation, on the positive hypothesis that the quartz industry is associated with the mounds, these figures should be close to zero in the middle of each run and reach maxima at either end. On a purely superficial estimate from memory of the site these maxima should be in the neighbourhood of 10-30 for each metre square, counting each flake and each core as one object. The results if plotted should look something like this :

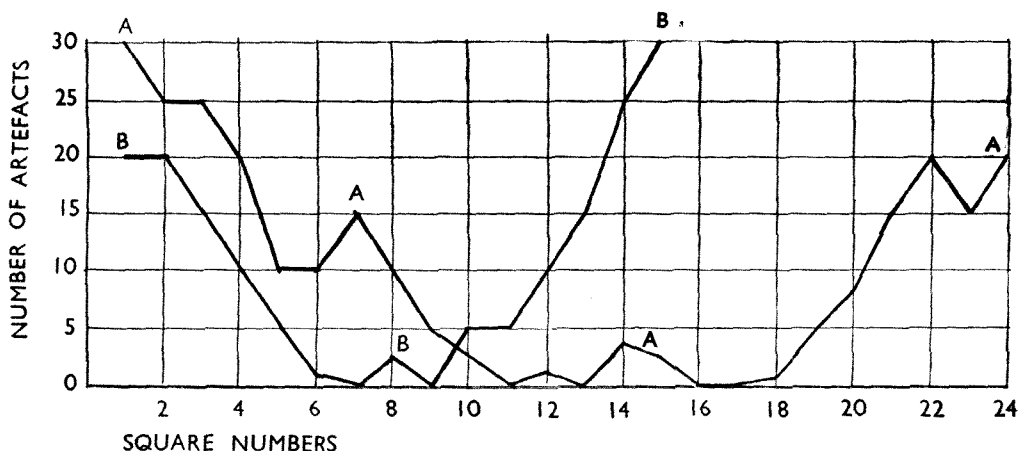


FIG. 1

Should the actual results when plotted be really anything like the above diagram, it will be obvious visually that the mounds are different from the dales between them. In actual fact the graphs when plotted may show a situation

KUSH

less obvious and more complicated than the above diagram. In any case, whether an easy visual conclusion can or cannot be drawn, it would be re-assuring to be able to rely on the evidence (not proof!) of a statistical test rather than visual impression.

In order to test whether the actual results do in fact indicate a close correlation between mounds and artefacts and to assess the significance of this association a number of tests is available, the suitability of each depending to some extent on the nature of the figures when collected. It is difficult to say with confidence what tests would be the most appropriate one without knowing what the actual material will be like, but two tentative suggestions can be made which will probably meet the requirements of the case.

The first solution would assume that in fact two different samples have been drawn : one on the mounds and one in the dales. Let them be $M_1, M_2, \dots M_{n_1}$ for the mounds, and $D_1, D_2, \dots D_{n_2}$ for the dales. We can then compute the two averages :

$$\bar{M} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n_1} M_i}{n_1} \quad \text{and} \quad \bar{D} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n_2} D_i}{n_2}$$

We want to test that \bar{M} and \bar{D} are significantly different from each other to furnish evidence that they come from different populations of pebbles, i.e. that the differences between them cannot be explained by the chance of random sampling. A condensed formula may be used :

$$t = \frac{\bar{M} - \bar{D}}{\sqrt{\frac{n_1 n_2 (n_1 + n_2 - 2)}{(n_1 + n_2) S_x^2}}}$$

where $\bar{x} = \bar{M} - \bar{D}$, and

where $S_x^2 = M_1^2 + M_2^2 + \dots + M_{n_1}^2 + D_1^2 + D_2^2 + \dots + D_{n_2}^2$.

Having obtained the value of t from the above formulæ we then look it up against the table of t values, the number of degrees of freedom in this case being $n_1 + n_2 - 2$. We locate the value of t in the body of the table and the df (degrees of freedom) on one of the axes. We can then read off the P or Probability on the other axes. If $P < 0.05$ our hypothesis need not be rejected.

It may however be that the subjective element in dividing our one sample into two samples will be too great, i.e. that in fact we cannot honestly claim that the collected figures make obviously two samples. In such a case we could apply the chi-square test, which will give us the probability of getting a random sample more divergent than the one in hand. The general formula to compute χ^2 is :

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(E - O)^2}{E}$$

NOTES

where O = the observed number of artefacts in each size class.

E = the expected number of artefacts in each size class computed on the probably true assumption that the population of pebbles, when half a belt is taken on each side of the mound, follows one of the distributions used in statistics like normal, bi-nomial, Poisson.

The above suggestions assume a rather simplified position. In fact it may very well be that the variability between the belts or more probably between the halves of belts is so great that each half belt has to be thought of as a separate sample (Statisticians will excuse my simplification). It is also possible that only some of the mounds are associated with the quartz industry, in which case the arrangements into samples would have to be reconsidered. It may also be a good precaution while drawing the samples to let a few belts run into the desert, starting from the external or boundary mounds roughly perpendicular to the boundaries of the whole site. These belts should probably be slightly longer than half of the longest belts between the mounds. We could then see how far the dales between the mounds have or have not been contaminated by the neighbourhood of the mounds in comparison with the more distant desert.

O. H. MYERS

TOMB OF DJEHUTY-HETEP (TEHUTI HETEP), PRINCE OF SERRA

The site which is the subject of our report is situated on a hill, one mile east of the Nile and at the village of Debeira East, some 20 kilometres north of Wadi Halfa town.

This site was known to the Antiquities Service since 1938, but it was largely filled up with sand which made the determination of its plan very difficult and nobody could tell then whether it was really a tomb or a tomb-chapel. The occurrence of sherds of pottery and fragments of mud bricks outside the structure led to the conclusion that the place was robbed. A recent robbery which occurred in November 1955 attracted my attention and made the total clearance of the site rather essential. The Commissioner for Archaeology entrusted the excavation to me.

The work, with the help of two trained Egyptian workers and ten local labourers, started on 1 December 1955 and finished on the 14th of the same month. The result of the excavation was very gratifying in spite of the fact that the place was robbed more than once. The result is gratifying in the way that the robbing was not complete and the site whether in its structure, its paintings or its finds has proved to be the only one of its kind which has been found so far in the Sudan and hence it is unique.

The site is a tomb hewn in the rock and of an intricate nature, the entrance faces the west looking towards the river and is approached by a ramp cut in the rock. It leads into a hall 6 metres long and 4 metres wide more or less. The excavation revealed a mud brick structure immediately after the entrance and occupied approximately half the area of the hall (for dimensions and plan, see

KUSH

FIG. 1). Facing the entrance, on the eastern side, there is a small door 86 cm. wide leading into a small shrine containing four seated figures carved in the rock. The excavation also revealed a small door in the southern wall which led

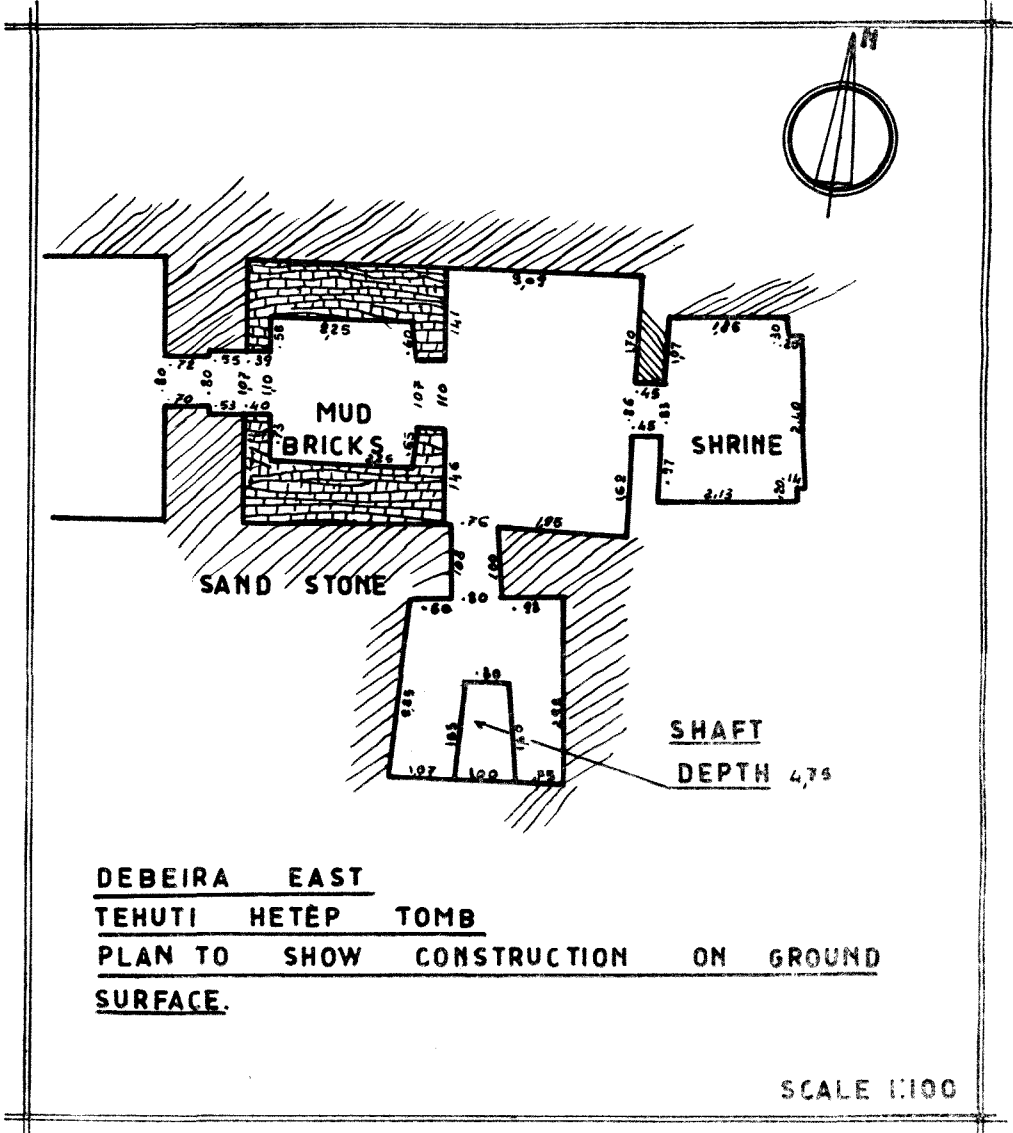


FIG. 1

to a little chamber which was not known to have existed before. This had in its middle a rectangular shaft 4.75 metres deep leading to a burial chamber which contained all the coffins. This will be referred to as the Coffins Chamber.

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On the south-east corner of this chamber there is a very small doorway leading into a very small chamber which will be referred to as the children's tomb. In the north side of the Coffins Chamber, there is a rectangular shaft about 3

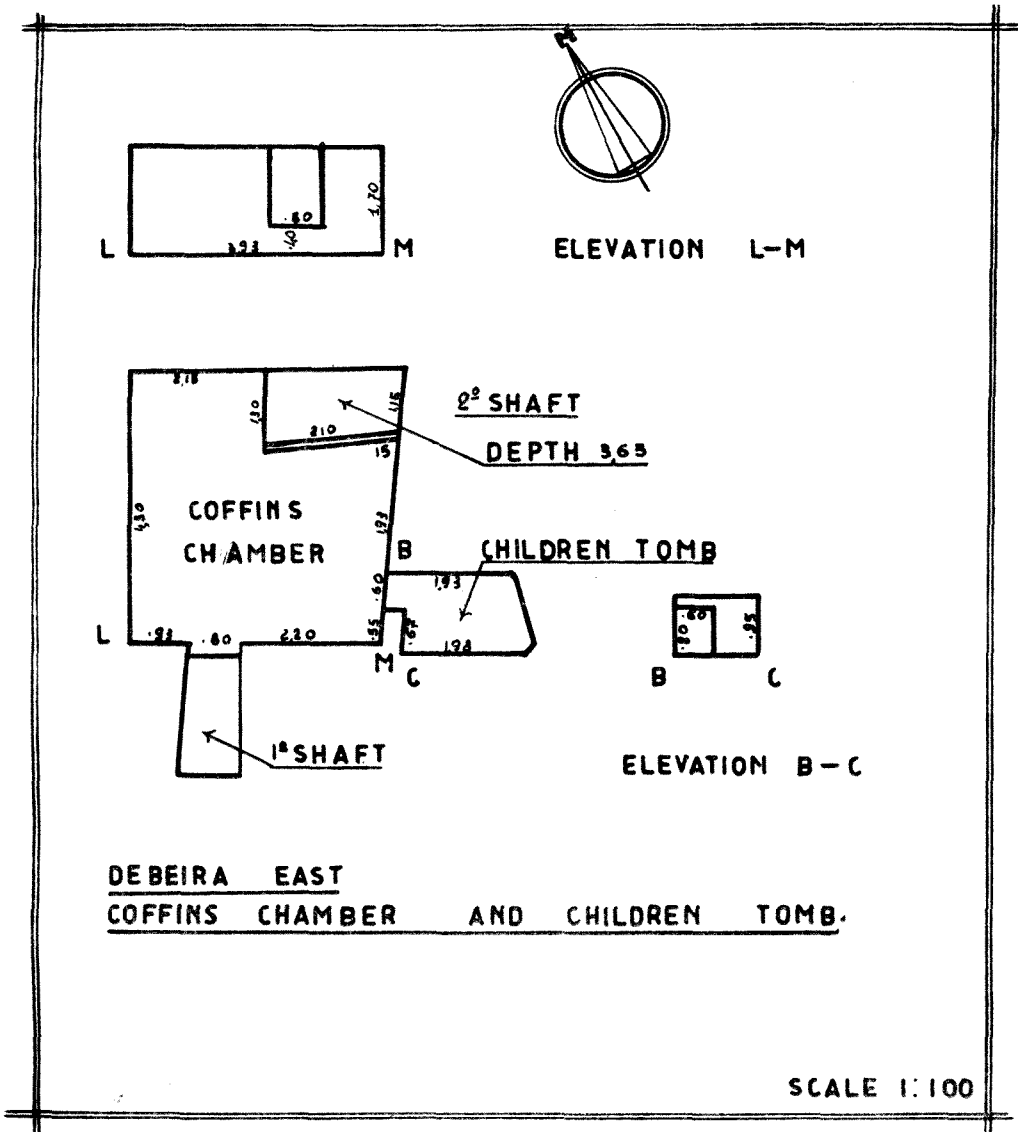


FIG. 2

metres deep leading down to a small chamber which will be referred to as the main burial chamber (see FIGS. 2 and 3).

The purpose of the mud brick structure (see FIG. 1) which is rectangular in

KUSH

shape, vaulted and had its walls erected against the sides of the hall covering a great part of the paintings on these walls, is rather obscure. It is definitely an intrusion which belonged to a very late period. Judging by the style of the

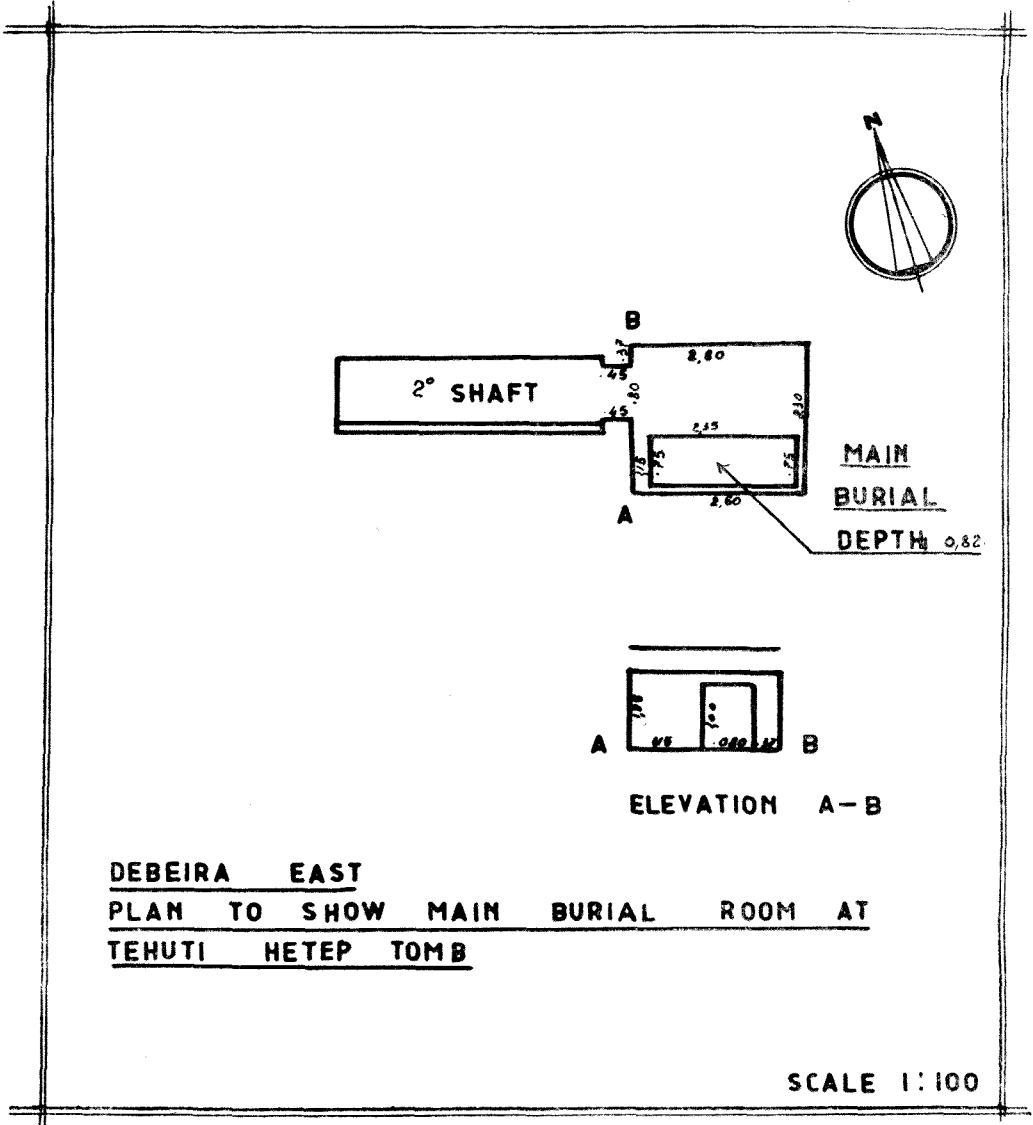


Fig. 3

architecture, I would say that it belonged to the period when the Christians converted the ancient Egyptian buildings in the neighbourhood like the M.K. Fort at Serra into vaulted churches and hermitages and our structure could have also been used as a hermitage.

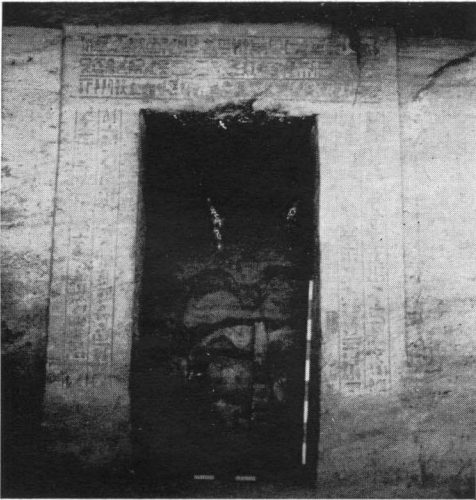
PLATE XVII



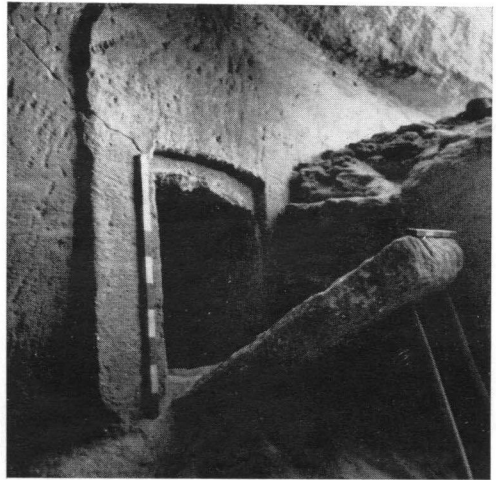
1



2



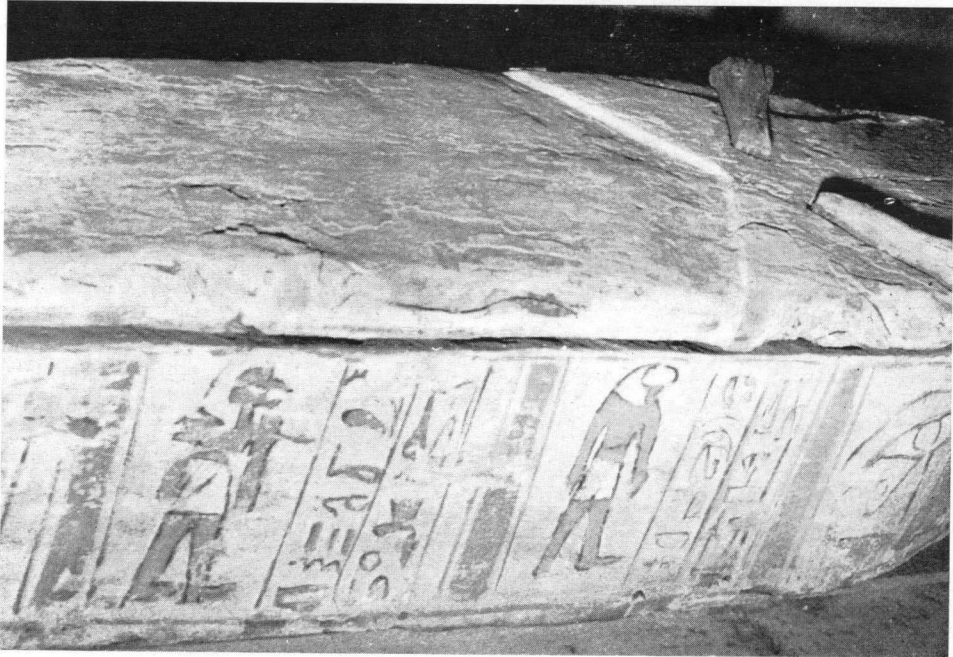
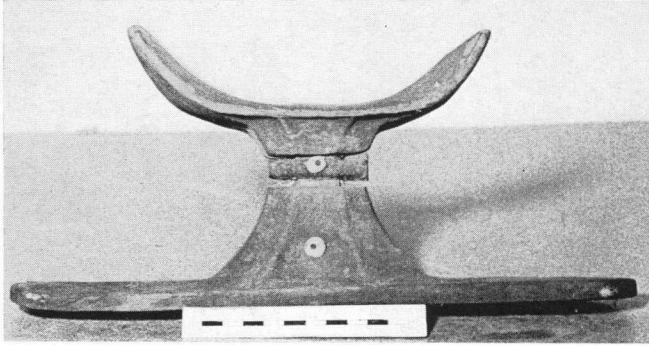
3



4

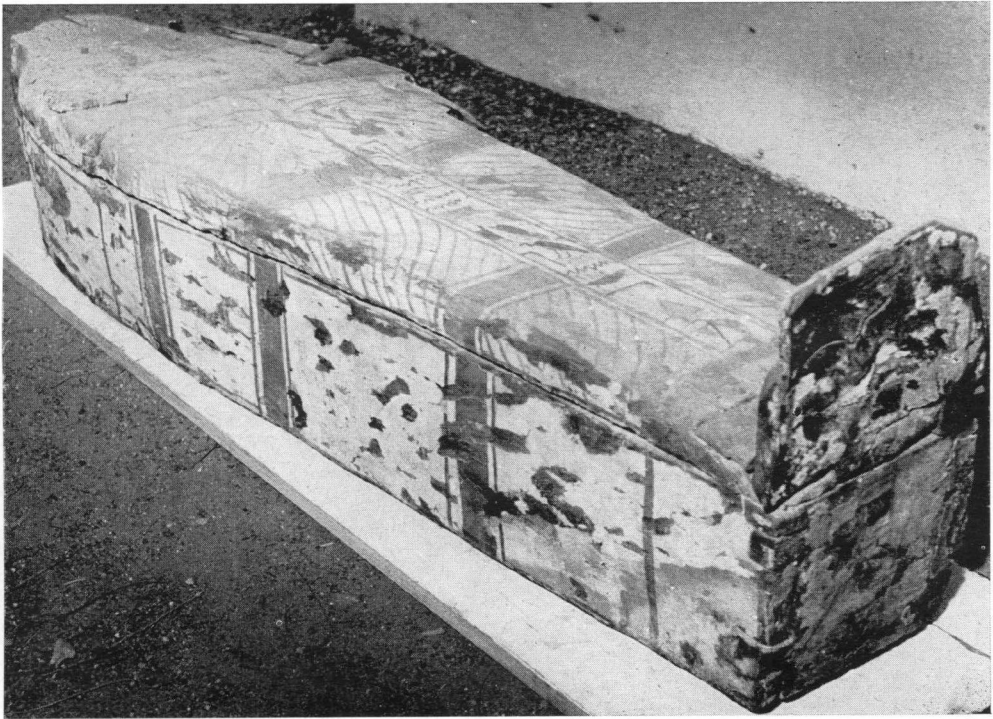
PAININGS FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB

PLATE XVIII



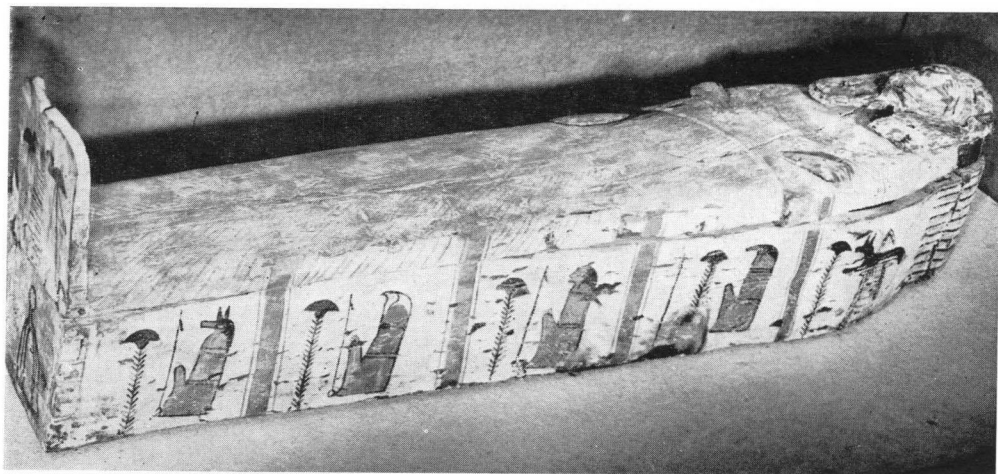
HEAD-REST FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB AND INSCRIPTIONS ON COFFIN

PLATE XIX



COFFINS FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB AT SERRA

PLATE XX



COFFINS FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB AT SERRA

NOTES

On removing the mud brick structure, the original shape of the hall was restored and the paintings on the walls were complete. The north wall was covered with painted scenes. To the extreme east of it, the deceased and his wife were depicted sitting on chairs, in the middle there is a scene of musicians and dancers (see PLATE XVII, 2), and to the extreme west and continued on the west wall, there is a very important scene. This reveals what sort of trees the Sudan used to have in that remote time, and place. The scene depicts the deceased holding a long club and watching the labourers watering plants and gathering fruits in his estate (see PLATE XVII, 1). The importance of the scene lies in the abundance of trees, four different species of which could at least be distinguished. Dom, date and sunt trees could be clearly identified. Monkeys could be seen playing in the trees. Some of the workers were painted red and some black. The latter are obviously slaves. A war scene was depicted on the southern side of the west wall but very much defaced. At least the deceased riding in a chariot preceded by running soldiers could be discerned. There is a trace of colour on the western side of the south wall but the scenes themselves must have disappeared with the erection of the mud brick wall. There is a stela cut in the rock on the southern side of the east wall but it has never been used.

The lintel and jambs of the door-way leading to the shrine containing the seated figures is covered with very well-cut hieroglyphs painted yellow. The inscriptions (see PLATE XVII, 3) are the usual funerary prayers in addition to the names and titles of the deceased and his wife.

The shrine is a rectangular room 2.10×2.90 metres and 2 metres high. The four seated figures which are more than life size are facing the entrance looking west. They were carved out of the rock and show traces of having been plastered and painted. Their heads were very badly smashed. Above them, are their respective names inscribed in hieroglyphs. These are (from left to right) *Tentnub*, wife of the deceased; *Djehuty-hetep*, the deceased; *Ruiu*, his father and *Runa*, his mother (see PLATE XVII, 3). On the northern wall, in a niche and carved out of the rock, there is a little figure perhaps of Osiris to the west of which there is another recess in the wall, but empty.

The doorway on the southern wall of the hall, which had a stone door which was found partly open (see PLATE XVII, 4), leads to a small rectangular room 2.40×2.78 metres and 1.80 metres high. At its centre, there is a rectangular shaft 1.90×87 metres running north and south and covered with a slab of stone which was broken in the middle by the robbers. This shaft which is 4.75 metres deep ended in a doorway on its northern side leading into a more or less square chamber (see FIG. 2) which was found crammed with coffins and pottery. Seven complete painted wooden coffins were found in addition to two small broken ones for children and two big covers whose coffins were most probably smashed by plunderers. Two scarabs were also found. The coffins were piled on each other, the pottery scattered all over the place and ropes,

KUSH

petrol tins and even modern coins which were left behind by the robbers, were found.

The small room on the eastern side of the coffins chamber was found empty but most probably it used to contain the two children's coffins before they were pulled out by the intruders.

The main burial chamber which was referred to before and is situated below another shaft was also completely emptied by the robbers. It was big enough to hold one coffin only, traces of which were found and that must have been of Djehuty-hetep himself.

The contents of the coffins were terribly disturbed. They only contained wrappings and broken bones. Other finds are a number of bowls and jars of buff colour and rough workmanship. Some of them are typical XVIIIth Dynasty ware. A wooden head rest was also found (see PLATE XVIII). Three small scarabs two of which are definitely XVIIIth Dynasty. The third is of doubtful date but possibly is also XVIIIth Dynasty.

The coffins (see PLATES XVIII, XIX and XX), which were all painted, showing deities and funerary texts provided a great problem. Their rough paintings and especially their inferior hieroglyphs were an obvious contrast to the very well-cut hieroglyphs on the lintel and jambs of the shrine and hence they point to a much later period. They look like the coffins found in the Roman burials in Egypt. If this is true, then the tomb must have been re-used at a much later date. On the other hand, it could be argued that the fact that these coffins were found together with XVIIIth Dynasty pottery and scarabs and that the small burial chamber exactly fitted the two small children's coffins, which are typical of the rest, is an indication that the coffins in question are the original ones. Their bad workmanship and inferior hieroglyphs could be attributed to less clever craftsmen and scribes than those who did the shrine lintel and jambs. Anyhow these coffins are the subject of a further detailed study which might enable us to say the last word about them.

A study of the inscription on the lintel and jambs of the shrine and above the seated statues has informed us that the owner of the tomb is called Djehuty-hetep which is a typical Egyptian name but he was also called Paitsi which might have been his local name. We also understand from the inscriptions that Djehuty-hetep and his father Ruiu before him were both princes of Tehnut, i.e. Serra.

The pottery and the scarabs enable us to say that Djehuty-hetep was the chief of his area during the XVIIIth Dynasty but the inscriptions which were studied by Professor Fairman, Mr Iversen and Miss Moss show that the style strongly suggests the reign of Hatshepsut. Again a statuette of a scribe, Amenenhat, with the same parents as Djehuty-hetep and presumably his brother was found during the excavations of Buhen. We can therefore safely say that Djehuty-hetep or Paitsi was contemporary with Hatshepsut.

THABIT HASSAN THABIT.

NOTES

STAND FOR A SACRED BARK OR ALTAR? (*The Altar of Taharqa in the Great Temple of Amon at Gebel Barkal.*)

Many years ago, Schäfer¹ suggested that the grey granite altar,²(see PLATE XXI), which still stands in the outer vestibule of the Great Temple of Amon at Gebel Barkal (B.500)³ might have been the stand on the top of which the shrine and statue of the god had stood. More recently, M. F. Laming Macadam pointed out that, according to the *Bankes Manuscript* the same stand or altar was represented in a relief on the wall of the chamber in which it stood.⁴ He called attention to the fact that 'the relief does not actually afford confirmation of Schäfer's suggestion, for there is no shrine or statue on the stand.'⁵

I am not sure that from the absence of any representation over the stand in the Bankes drawing we can be satisfied that there was nothing on the original. Bankes's drawing is but a sketch, and if the upper part of the scene had been destroyed or was in a bad state when he saw it, Bankes would probably not have taken the trouble to show it in his drawing. The succession of gods which was seen by Bankes and Linant in the same room, suggests some kind of a processional ritual and we immediately think of the well-known formal 'coming-out' of Amon in Karnak and Thebes.⁶

For this coming-out, the statue of the god was usually put inside a golden bark and it was the bark which was processionally carried out by the priests⁷. From representations in Egyptian temples, we know what the stand, on which the sacred bark was laid, looked like, both in its special sanctuary at Karnak, and, temporarily, in the various repositories along the route of the procession. All these representations show a striking resemblance to the so-called 'altar' of Gebel Barkal. It is unnecessary to reproduce here all the representations⁸ and I will confine myself to the bark stand of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, which has been recently published.⁹ Not only is the shape the same—compare for instance (M. Hamad's paper, plate viii) the Karnak stand (FIG. 1), with the

¹ *ZAS*, 35, pp. 98 ff.

² Dimensions 1 m. 50 × 1 m. 50 × 1 m. 50.

³ Cf. Porter-Moss, VII, p. 220 (40-43).

⁴ M. F. Laming Macadam, 'Gleanings from the Bankes MSS.', *JEA*, 32, 1946, pp. 61-2 = Bankes MSS. pl. xv, A.32.

⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 62.

⁶ One of the most important occasions for this 'Coming-out' was during the 'Ipet feast', for which see S. Schott, 'Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale', *Abhandl. d. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Wiesbaden, 1952.

⁷ On the number of carriers, and how they managed what must have been a very heavy burden, see G. Legrain, 'Le logement et transport des barques sacrées . . .', *BIFAO*, 13, 1917, pp. 38-46.

⁸ See for instance, at Karnak, *BIFAO*, 13, 1917, pl. iv; *ibid.*, 24, 1924, pl. x; and at Luxor, *ibid.*, pl. xviii.

⁹ Cf. M. Hamad, 'Bericht über die Restaurierung der Barkensockels Ramses III im Chonstempel in Karnak', *ASAE*, 54, 1956, pp. 47-9 (with 8 plates).

KUSH

Gebel Barkal one (PLATE XXI); but the representations also are much the same. We find depicted on both monuments the rite of tying together the plants of the

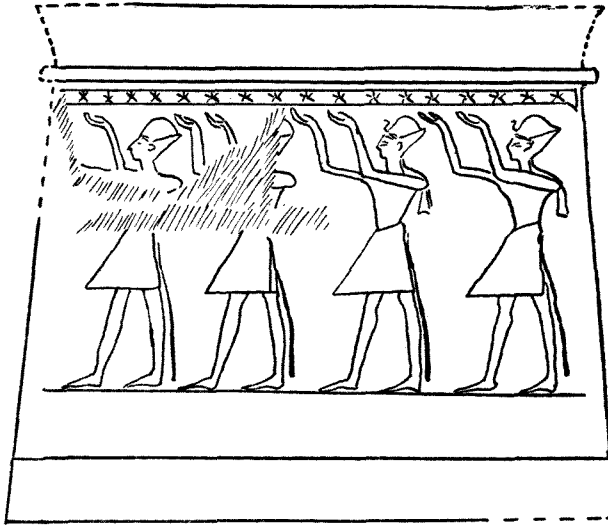


FIG. 1. THE KARNAK STAND

North and of the South,¹⁰ and, what is more convincing still, the same representation of the king, four times repeated, the arms uplifted to sustain

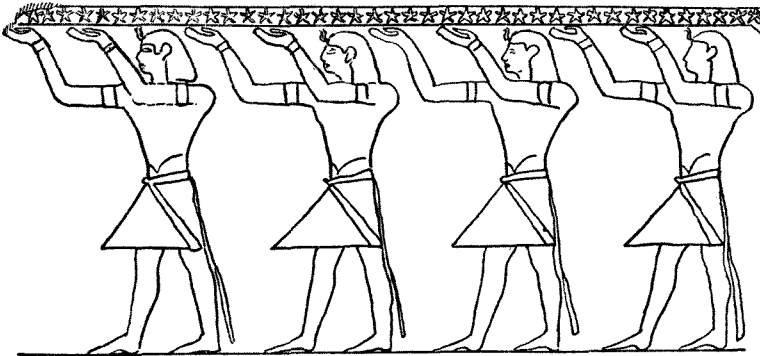


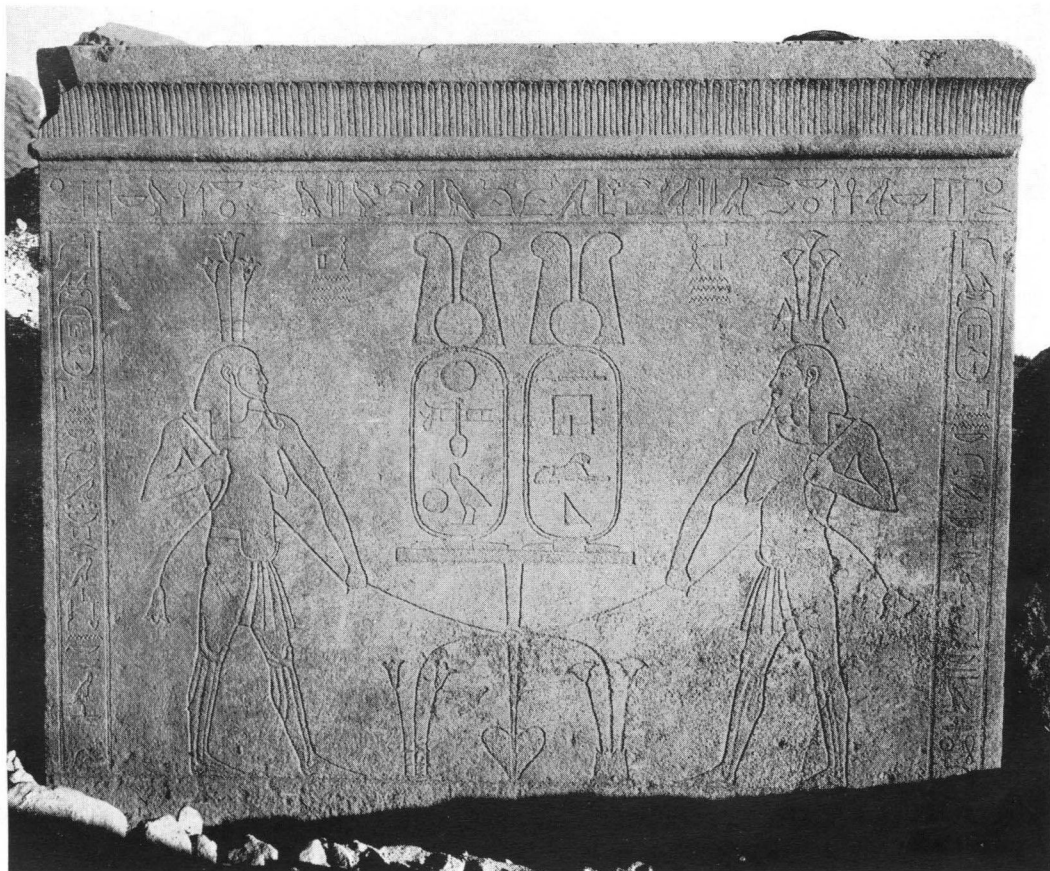
FIG. 2. GEBEL BARKAL STAND

the sky (FIG. 2). I think that the comparison of the two monuments is in itself convincing, but if we needed further proof, we could point out that the text inscribed on the Gebel Barkal stand reads :



¹⁰ Compare pl. XXI with M. Hammad, *ibid.*, pl. VII.

PLATE XXI




GEBEL BARKAL STAND

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

NOTES

[He (Taharqa) made] as a monument for his father Amon-Re the Lord of Ipet-swt, the Great God, who resides in Ta-Seti (Nubia) a stand of granite so that he can rest¹¹ on it in his temple. Never had the like been done. . . .

The word  is definitely 'stand'¹², and cannot be an altar.¹³ Finally, I should like to point out that the actual position of the stand in the *outer* vestibule¹⁴ is similar to that of the Bark Sanctuary in Karnak Temple, in relation to the central sanctuary.

If we admit, as I think we ought to, that the Gebel Barkal monument is a stand for the sacred bark of Amon, it follows that the same 'coming-out' of the God was performed in Napata as in Thebes. We know from a relief that such a rite was actually performed in the Amon Temple of Sulb, since the sacred bark of Amon is represented ready for the 'coming-out' (see FIG. 3), on a stand much similar to the Gebel Barkal one.¹⁵

We do not know if it was the same sacred bark which during the great 'coming-out', went from Gebel Barkal to Sulb, or *vice-versa*, but one thing at least is sure, during the procession Amon of Gebel Barkal crossed the Nile in his bark since Griffith found in Sanam Temple, on the bank opposite Gebel Barkal, a relief picturing the actual procession¹⁶, with the Bark of Amon on the shoulders of the carriers (see FIG. 4), he even found the granite stand similar to the Gebel

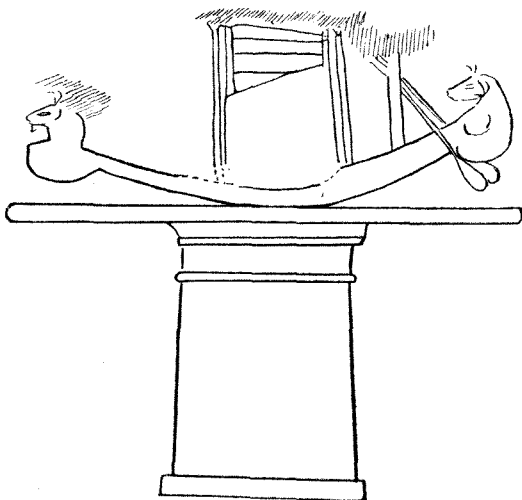


FIG. 3. SULB STAND

¹¹ For the meaning of *htp* 'to rest' 'to repose' see *Wb.* 3, 190 D. In the temple of Ramses II at Gournah, it is written that Amon sails in his own bark *r htp m-hnw ht.f* 'to rest himself inside his temple' (cf. *BIFAO*, 24, 1924, p. 38). Furthermore the buildings where the God stopped during the procession were called *htp* 'repository' (*ibid.*, p. 100).

¹² Cf. *Wb.* 1, 489, which quotes *Urk.*, IV, 834, concerning a stand of stone.

¹³ Cf. Jéquier, *BIFAO*, 19, 1922, p. 249 and *Wb.*, 6, p. 5, s.v. 'Altar.'

¹⁴ See Porter-Moss, VII, p. 210.

¹⁵ Cf. Breasted, Oriental Institute, Chicago, photo 3192, unpublished elsewhere. For the position of the relief see Porter-Moss, *ibid.*, p. 170 (5-6).

¹⁶ Cf., Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', in *LAAA*, IX, p. 96 and pl. XXVII.

KUSH

Barkal one but uninscribed,¹⁷ on which the God took his 'rest' while in Sanam Temple.



FIG. 4. SANAM PROCESSION

We can then safely assume that the same processions which were performed in the great temple of Amon at Thebes were done too in the Gebel Barkal area.

J. VERCOUTTER.

CHINESE PORCELAIN FRAGMENTS FROM AIDHAB, AND SOME BASHPA INSCRIPTIONS (This note first appeared in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1926-27, London, 1928, pp. 19-21 and is reprinted by courtesy of the Oriental Ceramic Society.)

Any information bearing on the question of early Chinese blue-and-white is particularly welcome in these days when so many specimens claiming to be Sung or Yüan are arriving from China. A few years ago to suggest such a thing as pre-Ming blue-and-white would have been regarded as a mild form of insanity, in spite of the fact that there are passages in the works of old Chinese writers which point clearly to its existence. To-day our minds are better prepared for such shocks. The use of on-glaze enamel decoration in the 13th century has been proved; and once we have adjusted our ideas to this startling fact, the appearance of Sung blue-and-white becomes a perfectly logical occurrence. If there is still some hesitation in accepting many of the blue-and-white specimens offered as Sung, it is because they have decorations which we have grown accustomed to regard as Ming, or because they have the rather coarse appearance which we associate with later provincial wares. These objections, however, are as easily answered as made. Painted decoration of any kind on pottery was regarded as poor taste in the Sung Dynasty when monochromes were all the rage, and one would therefore expect the Sung blue-and-white to belong to the coarser brands of porcelain. As for the designs, we know

¹⁷ Cf., Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', in *LAAA*, ix, pl. x and p. 86. It must be noted that the dimensions of the Sanam stand (1.30 m. × 1.20 m.), are comparable to those of the Gebel Barkal one (1.50 m. × 1.50 m.); however, a trifle smaller, the Sanam stand could have been used for the same purpose as the Gebel Barkal one.

NOTES

that the bulk of the Ming motives are ultimately Sung in origin, and we need feel no surprise at the appearance of apparently Ming decoration on pre-Ming wares.

The fragments illustrated on PLATE XXII, give a still more substantial support to those who have boldly accepted the Sung and Yüan blue-and-white. They are a few of many pieces of Chinese porcelain which were found by Mr G. W. Murray near old Suakin, in the ruins of what was once a flourishing port on the Red Sea, named Aidhab or Zibid in medieval times. Records exist of the place from the 11th century to 1426, the year of its destruction ; and it is mentioned in the writings of Ibn Batutah and Ibn Jubayr, who both visited it. According to the *Dictionary of Islam*, Aidhab was at the height of its prosperity between 1058 and 1368, and doubtless it then enjoyed a share in the Far Eastern trade of which Chinese porcelain was an important item. It is practically certain, then, that the porcelain found by Mr Murray reached Aidhab before the year 1426 at the latest.

PLATE XXII, c is the bottom of a bowl of thick strong porcelain, which is of fine grain and white, although the unglazed surfaces have acquired a light reddish brown coloration. This reddish brown 'biscuit' is a common feature of the pre-Ming blue-and-white wares ; and it may in some cases be due to traces of iron in the body material ; but, that this browning was equally well produced by weathering or by burial, is proved by the fact that it covers the old fractures of our specimens, whereas the recent fractures show a pure white surface. The glaze is decidedly thick and of a slightly bluish white colour ; and the decoration—a lotus flower and foliage—is painted in greyish blue mottled here and there with darker touches. PLATE XXII, d shows the reverse of a similar piece which is decorated with chrysanthemum scrolls. There is a striking similarity in make and decoration between these Aidhab fragments and the pieces of blue-and-white porcelain found by Sir Aurel Stein in Kharakhoto, in Southern Mongolia, a city which flourished between the 12th and the 14th, or at latest the early 15th centuries. It would seem indeed that this was a typical export ware of the Yüan or late Sung periods. PLATE XXII, a is a piece of much finer quality, broken from the lip of a small bowl. It is thin and neatly potted, and it is painted with floral scrolls in a dark blue of slightly violet tone. Without its history it would probably have been classed as Ch'êng Hua : under the circumstances of the find it cannot well be later than Yung Lo.

PLATE XXII, b is part of a beautiful celadon bowl with the grey-green, *kinuta* type of glaze, fluted on the exterior and ornamented inside with a fish (one of a pair) in relief, evidently a late Sung specimen. A piece of the ordinary sea-green celadon found at Aidhab has an incised character of an unusual kind. It belongs to the Bashpa, or Phags-pa, script which was invented in the 13th century by the Lama Phags-pa, to represent Chinese sounds in Thibetan characters. Apparently this script was adopted by the Chinese Court in the early years of the Yüan Dynasty, but came into general use for a few years only.

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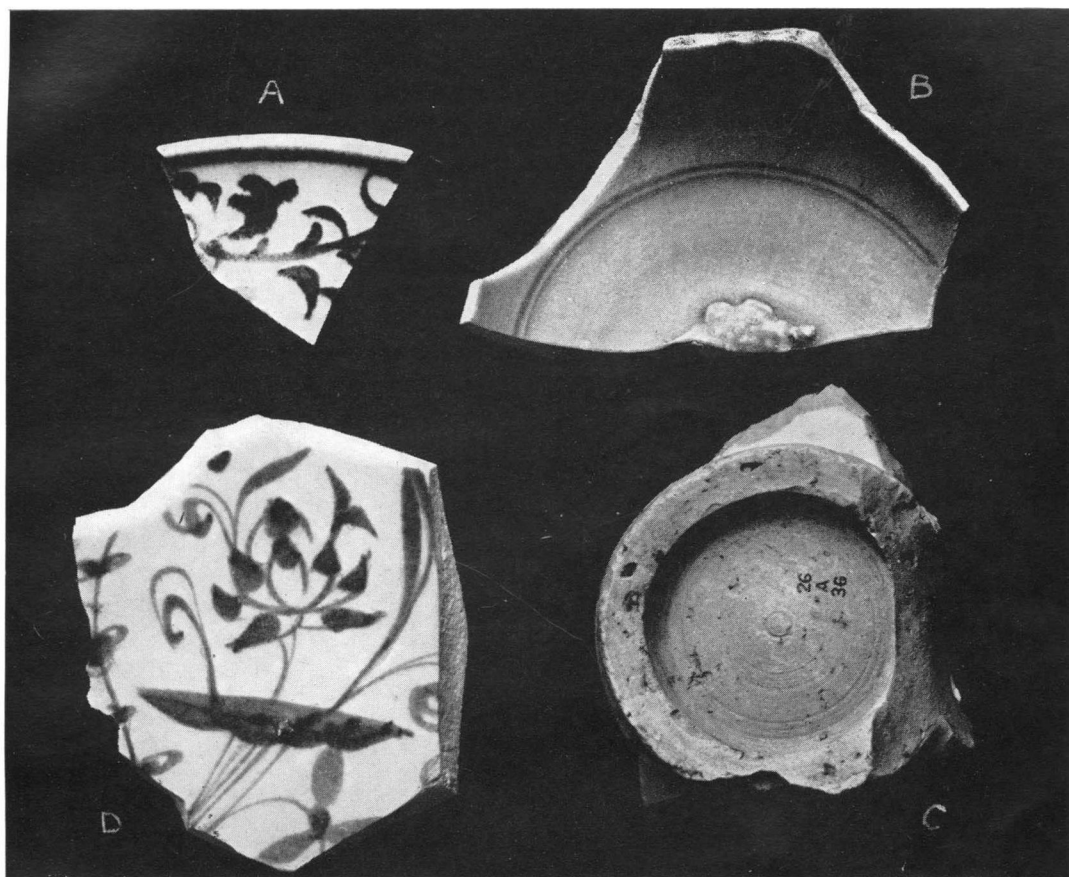
Here then is a fragment of Yuan celadon, but it has no features which a photographic reproduction could bring out.

It may be of interest to show here two other specimens with Bashpa characters. PLATE XXIII is a stoneware wine-jar of Tz'ü Chou type and perhaps of Shantung make, with buff body coated with white slip on the upper half and with brown slip below and covered with a transparent cream glaze. Across the shoulder are painted in cursive Bashpa the Mongol words *Sayi darasun* (good wine). Prof. Pelliot, to whom I am indebted for this reading, adds that it is unlikely that an inscription of this kind on an object of everyday use would have been written in Bashpa after the end of the 13th century. Parti-coloured jars of the same kind of ware with the same leaf-shaped loops round the neck are well-known, but it is interesting to have their dating confirmed.

PLATE XXIV is a porcelain bowl of 16th-century type, with dragon designs incised beneath the glaze on the interior but outlined in threads of clay and filled in with green glaze in a yellow ground on the exterior. In this scheme of decoration the green dragons are usually carved in the paste; and our bowl is unusual both in this respect and in the mark which is written in four Bashpa characters. The writing is of a late and debased kind and the reading of the first two characters is uncertain. The eminent French authorities, Prof. Pelliot and M. Blochet, have examined the inscriptions, but only agree that the last two characters are *nien chih* (made in the period) and that the mark is a *nien hao*. Prof. Pelliot suggests *chéng* for the second character making the reign Ch'ung Chêng (1628-44). On the other hand Mr J. Allan, who also examined the mark, by taking the pardonable liberty of reversing the first character reads the *nien hao* as that of Chia Ching (1522-66). In the 16th-century Bashpa would be no more than a literary curiosity, and it is not surprising that it should be inaccurately written on late Ming porcelain. What is surprising is that it should have been written at all at such a late period; and we can only suggest that the bowl was made for presentation to a Thibetan Lama, to whom a Bashpa inscription would appeal as a subtle compliment.

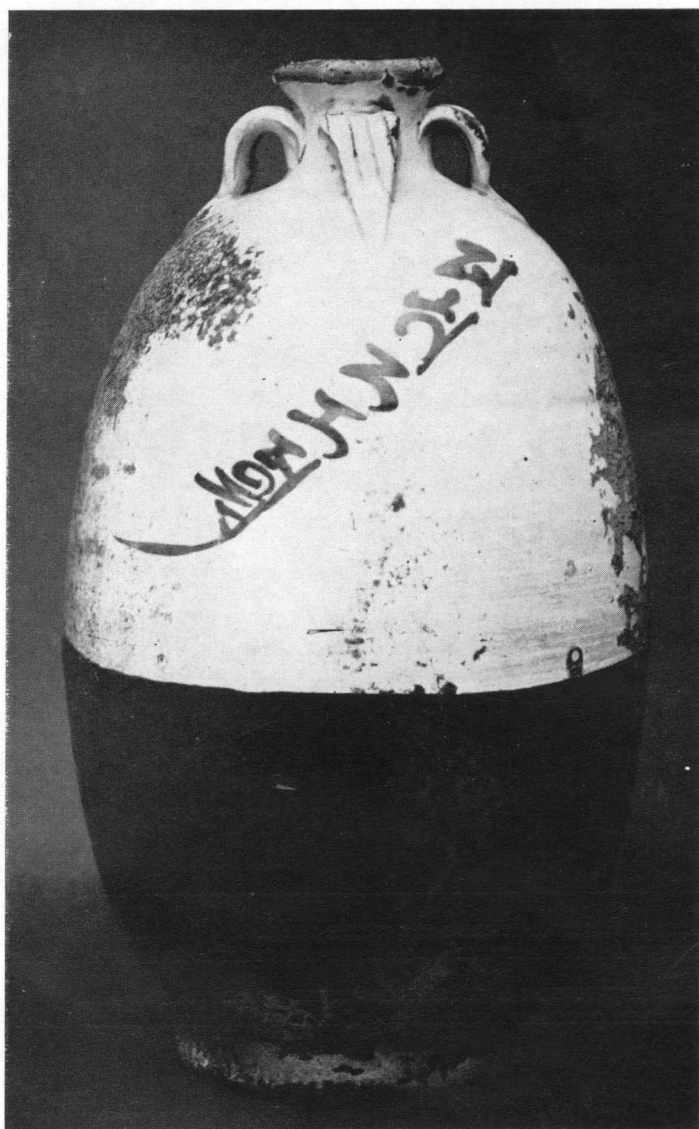
R. L. HOBSON.

PLATE XXII



- a.* FRAGMENT FROM THE SIDE OF A BLUE-AND-WHITE BOWL. (Length 1·8 ins.)
b. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A CELADON BOWL WITH FISH IN RELIEF, AND FLUTED EXTERIOR.
 (Length 3·3 ins.)
d. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A BLUE-AND-WHITE BOWL. (Length 2·9 ins.)
c. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A SIMILAR BOWL, SHOWING UNGLAZED BASE. (Length 3 ins.)

PLATE XXIII



WINE BOTTLE WITH BASHPA INSCRIPTION
(Height 10·6 ins.)

PLATE XXIV



BOWL WITH NIEN HAO IN BASHPA SCRIPT
(Diameter 8.9 ins.)

Reviews

A HISTORY OF THE SUDAN TO A.D. 1821. By A. J. ARKELL. *Londres*, 1955, xviii+249 pages, 27 figs., 11 cartes, 24 pl. photographiques.

L'ouvrage que le Dr A. J. Arkell vient de consacrer à l'histoire du Soudan depuis les origines jusqu'à la conquête égyptienne de 1821, sera salué avec bienvenue de nombreux côtés. C'est d'abord la première synthèse sur ce sujet ; claire, alerte, bien équilibrée, elle sera sur la table de tous ceux qui s'intéressent au pays,—des Soudanais d'abord à qui le volume est dédié ; écrit par un ami et un connaisseur du Soudan, ce livre sera un manuel pour les étudiants et les administrateurs. Il sera aussi l'objet de multiples confrontations de la part des africanistes ; d'ailleurs, le Dr Arkell lui-même n'a pas ménagé les comparaisons et les références aux autres domaines de l'Afrique, chaque fois qu'il a pu le faire. Pour les égyptologues qui, jusqu'à présent, ont étudié surtout les connexions de l'Égypte avec l'Asie et les civilisations du Proche-Orient, il pose, sans qu'on puisse l'esquiver, le problème fondamental des rapports de la basse vallée du Nil et du reste de l'Afrique ; sur ce thème il leur offre un matériel bien classé et amassé de première main.

Car l'un des grands mérites de la synthèse du Dr Arkell est d'être l'oeuvre d'un spécialiste qui a longtemps vécu dans le pays et qui a lui-même étudié directement bien des questions parmi celles qu'il résume. Les premiers chapitres en particulier, qui traitent des plus hautes époques, n'auraient pu être écrits avant les récentes et brillantes recherches de pré- et de protohistoire menées au Soudan par l'auteur. L'importance de cet apport pour la connaissance générale de la préhistoire africaine est considérable ; on la mesurera par exemple dans les exposés de R. Vaufrey ('L'âge de la pierre en Afrique'. Exposé systématique, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxiii, 1953, p. 103-38), Sonia Cole (*The Prehistory of East Africa*, Penguin Books, 1954), et H. Alimen (*Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1955).

Après une présentation d'Harold MacMichael, qui souligne, en connaisseur, les mérites de l'ouvrage (p. v-vii), et une préface de l'auteur (p. ix-xii), le volume s'ouvre par une introduction substantielle (ch. 1 : pp. 1-21). Celle-ci précise d'abord les limites du pays, longtemps désigné comme Soudan anglo-égyptien : c'est le Soudan Oriental, coupé de la Méditerranée par les barrières successives des cataractes du Nil et séparé de la partie vive du Soudan Occidental par des distances considérables que traversent seulement quelques rares pistes ; pour la partie méridionale (au Sud du 10° lat. Nord), toute histoire, même sommaire, reste impossible ; seules quelques traditions tribales éclairent le passé des Azande, des Shilluk et Dinka, des Beni Shangul et Kaffa. La présentation géographique s'appuie sur l'utile travail de J. D. Thotill, *Agriculture in the Sudan* (1948) ; peut-être pourrait-on signaler l'importance du Delta du

KUSH

Gash, près de Kassala, 'paradis des animaux sauvages', où les Egyptiens ont pu connaître plusieurs des espèces animales qui tinrent un grand rôle dans leur civilisation (L. Keimer, cf. *Orientalia*, 24, 1955, p. 163).

Puis l'auteur offre des vues générales sur la préhistoire. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre de la part d'un des maîtres de cette science, il y a là un panorama sobre—mais décisif—qui replace les cultures les plus anciennes du Soudan par comparaison avec celles d'Europe et offre quelques réflexions de méthodologie générale, en particulier sur l'importance de la poterie et sur le rôle des 'ensembles connectés'. Estimant que son livre doit comporter éventuellement des enseignements pratiques, l'auteur insiste avec raison sur les changements climatiques (pp. x, 6-7 ; cf. p. 44, 49, 167-8) ; les deux dernières glaciations entraînèrent en effet au Sahara des périodes pluviales ; les déserts qui actuellement encadrent avec tant de rigueur le Nil ont été alors habitables (cf. aussi G. W. Murray, 'The Egyptian Climate, an historical outline', *The Geographical Journal*, 117, Déc. 1951, p. 442-3 ; ill.). Au témoignage des gravures rupestres retrouvées entre les Ière et IIIème cataractes, qui font apparaître des éléphants et des girafes en ces régions aujourd'hui désertes, on pourrait ajouter que bien plus au Nord encore, à Silouah, en Haute-Egypte, une gravure rupestre présente l'éléphant et le rhinocéros africain bicolore (L. Keimer, *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, Le Caire, 1954, pp. 130, 153 ; pl. II et dessin, p. 154) ; pour les stations rupestres du Soudan, on notera la liste dressée par P. Huard, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, XXIII, 1953, pp. 72-4 et fig. 4 ; lors de l'expédition des centurions de Néron, il y a encore des forêts, *silvarum aliquid* (Pline, H. N., VI, 29 [35]).

Dans la présente synthèse, qui, destinée au grand public, doit offrir seulement des faits assurés, le Dr Arkell ne donne du Paléolithique qu'un aperçu rapide ; selon l'indication de la p. 8, n. 1, on se reportera naturellement à son exposé classique de 1949, 'The Old Stone Age in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' (*SASOP*, No. 1) ; on y trouvera les indications sur l' 'acheuléen se développant en toubien' de Khor Abu Anga, et sur le crâne découvert à Singa (à 300 kms. au Sud de Khartoum, sur le Nil Bleu), du paléolithique moyen, apparenté aux crânes protoboshimans d'Afrique du Sud. Le souci d'éviter des discussions trop techniques et surtout, sans doute, le désir de ne présenter que des résultats certains, ont fait laisser de côté les trouvailles de Jebel Moya (la publication de F. Addison, *Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan*, vol. 1, 1949, est citée à la bibliographie, p. 226 ; cf. R. Mukherjee, R. Rao et J. C. Trevor, *The ancient inhabitants of Gebel Moya*, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge).

Dans son chapitre II, le Dr Arkell donne des aperçus beaucoup plus amples sur les résultats atteints par lui ces dernières années et présentés dans les splendides publications de *Early Khartoum* (1949) et de *Shaheinab* (1953), ainsi que plusieurs articles importants parus dans *JEA* et KUSH. Pour A. J. Arkell, *Early Khartoum* correspond au mésolithique, avec un climat nettement humide

REVIEWS

(présence de *Celtis integrifolia*, du rat des roseaux); la poterie est décorée d'incisions en forme de vagues. P. L. Shinnie (*Bi. Or.*, XII, 1955, p. 128) a contesté la qualification de mésolithique pour une culture déjà assez évoluée; ce serait pour lui une variété du néolithique. N'importe comment, la stratigraphie comparée des couches archéologiques est assurée par la fouille du site subsidiaire d'El Qoz. Shaheinab est incontestablement postérieur; lors de cette culture caractérisée par l'utilisation de 'gouges', le climat est devenu plus sec. Les similitudes sont considérables avec le Néolithique du Fayoum, la plus ancienne des cultures égyptiennes, plus évoluée cependant que Shaheinab, puisqu'on y connaît déjà un début d'agriculture et d'élevage des bovidés. Dans la comparaison de ces diverses cultures, on rencontre cependant encore des difficultés: la méthode du radiocarbone attribue au néolithique du Fayoum les alentours de 4000 avant J.-C., alors que pour Shaheinab on obtient, selon des méthodes différentes, -3490 ± 380 et -3110 ± 450 , ce qui le rapprocherait davantage d'El Omari. Diverses objections ont pu être présentées contre certaines datations ou interprétations (H. Kantor, *AJA*, 55, 1951, p. 413-15; Gordon Childe, *New Light on the most Ancient East*, 1953, p. 47). En tout cas, on ne saurait trop souligner l'importance des enquêtes de pré- et protohistoire soudanaise pour l'étude du passé le plus ancien de l'Egypte (cf. déjà A. J. Arkell, *Bi. Or.*, XI, 1954, p. 48; avec raison, E. Massoulard n'a pas négligé cet aspect dans son traité, 'Préhistoire et Protohistoire d'Egypte', *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, LIII, 1949, p. 352-85).

A. J. Arkell (pp. 34-5) dénonce le 'hiatus' du IV^e millénaire au Soudan, alors que se développent au contraire en Egypte les cultures, relativement bien connues, du prédynastique: Badarien et les deux Nagada. Il ne prend nullement en considération, même pour le discuter, le schéma présenté par H. Frankfort, *The African foundation of Ancient Egyptian civilization*, Atti del I^o Congresso internazionale di preistoria e protostoria Mediterranea, Florence, Naples, Rome, 1950, p. 115-17, repris dans *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, 3e éd., 1954, p. 42-3): selon celui-ci, à partir du badarien commun au Soudan et à l'Egypte, et représentant la civilisation des Hamites par excellence, la civilisation égyptienne se serait constituée en se diversifiant de son substrat africain primitif.

L'auteur montre en revanche qu'il y a continuité depuis la poterie des deux civilisations mésolithique et néolithique du Soudan jusqu'à la poterie de la culture dite du groupe A. Celle-ci subsiste jusqu'à la I^{ère} dynastie égyptienne; sa fin reste obscure, même après les récentes recherches (p. 40). Dès alors, les Egyptiens seraient parvenus jusqu'en Nubie; selon une découverte du Dr Arkell, on devrait lire le nom du roi Djer sur un graffito du Jebel Cheikh Soliman à proximité de la seconde cataracte. Cependant, le signe *stj* sur la tablette du roi Hor-Aha peut désigner tout aussi bien que la Nubie ce qui sera plus tard le I^{er} nome de Haute-Egypte, au Nord de la I^{ère} cataracte.

KUSH

Pour l'étude du Soudan aux époques contemporaines des grandes phases de l'histoire égyptienne : Ancien, Moyen, Nouvel-Empire, soit aux III^e et II^e millénaires av. J.-C. (ch. III, IV, V), A. J. Arkell s'appuie avec raison sur la brillante contribution de T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Aegypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941). Sous l'Ancien Empire, les essais de pénétration des Egyptiens vers le Sud restent très fragmentaires et on ne saurait parler d'une politique systématique de colonisation. Ne soyons pas étonnés, si l'auteur ne mentionne même pas le nom de Djoser ; en fait, aucun document de cette époque n'atteste d'expédition vers le Sud ; l'interprétation récente et quelque peu révolutionnaire de P. Barguet réduit la fameuse 'stèle de la famine' à un décret de Ptolémée V Epiphane, de 187 av. J.-C., 'mentionnant, sous une forme imagée, le retour à la couronne des provinces méridionales de l'Egypte'. A partir de Snéfrou (début de la IV^e dynastie) en revanche, les relations entre l'Egypte et les pays les plus proches d'elle vers le Sud deviennent plus actives : raids guerriers, exploitation des carrières de diorite, expéditions commerciales, au long des pistes du désert qui évitent les obstacles de la vallée ; pour l'expédition de Hirkhouf, on tiendra compte désormais des travaux de J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 52 (1953), p. 173-8 et E. Edel, *Aegyptologische Studien H. Grapow*, Berlin, 1955, p. 51-75. Sans doute, à la VI^e dynastie, le rôle de Pépi I^{er} fut-il assez important, si on utilise le témoignage de l'inscription de Qar. Mais la frontière de l'Egypte demeure à la I^{ère} cataracte ; aucune 'marche', aucun territoire d'exploitation ne sont systématiquement organisés au Sud de celle-ci. Dans leurs plus lointaines poussées, les Egyptiens ne sont pas encore entrés en contact avec des Nègres ; ils sont en rapport avec des Hamites. Le Soudan ne connaît alors qu'une culture médiocre, celle dite du groupe B, qui dure de l'époque thinite à la fin de l'Ancien Empire.

Avec la première période intermédiaire qui désorganise l'Egypte, s'épanouit au contraire au Soudan la culture dite du groupe C. Sur son origine, A. J. Arkell propose une hypothèse (p. 46 sq.) : un groupe nomade du Sahara aurait été poussé, par le dessèchement progressif du désert, à se replier vers la vallée du Nil. Au début, les tombes sont très simples ; des connexions seraient possibles avec les tumuli de Lemqader en Mauritanie. Nombre de gravures rupestres de Nubie seraient attribuables au groupe C dont un rameau se serait replié vers l'Est, dans la vallée du Baraka, où A. J. Arkell a étudié un site près d'Agordat, en Erythrée (cf. KUSH II (1954), pp. 33-62, 27 fig., pls. VI-XII). Faut-il admettre sans aucune réserve l'hypothèse de C. M. Firth (*The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1909-10*, Le Caire, 1915), selon qui les stèles dressées près des tombes et gravées de figures de bovidés, étaient destinées à procurer du lait au défunt ? Avouons que les indices sont très faibles. Pour Arkell comme pour Säve-Söderbergh, le groupe C n'aurait pas été pacifique (p. 53-4 et p. 59). Comment la résistance opposée par lui entraîna-t-il l'occupation effective par les Egyptiens ? Pour les étapes de la pénétration, à l'inscription de Djami s'ajoute désormais le témoignage d'une inscription de la tombe

REVIEWS

d'Ankhitifi publiée par M. J. Vandier (' Mo'alla ', *Bibl. d'Etude*, t. XVIII, IFAO, Le Caire, 1950, p. 220 sq.) : le chef des nomes d'Edfou et Hiéraconpolis aurait envoyé du blé aux Nubiens de Ouauat, éprouvés par la famine.

A partir de la XIème dynastie, peu avant le début du IIème millénaire, les pays du Sud sont intégrés étroitement à l'histoire de l'Egypte. Il suffit ici d'indiquer comment A. J. Arkell utilise avec science et art la riche documentation hiéroglyphique ; on lit avec aisance le résumé très clair et dense des grandes étapes de la conquête et de l'affermissement du pouvoir égyptien. De façon générale, l'auteur montre une tendance marquée à remonter les dates, ce qui n'ira pas sans quelque opposition : selon lui, il y a eu occupation permanente jusqu'à la Seconde Cataracte dès la XIème dynastie (p. 58) ; les conquêtes attribuées à Sésostris III devraient être reportées à Sésostris Ier (p. 60 et 64). Il n'hésite pas à pousser vers le Sud la limite de l'influence égyptienne : selon lui (p. 132, n. 1), l'établissement de Kawa aurait pu être fondé dès l'époque de Kerma ; mais la présence sur ce site de statues du Moyen-Empire ne nous semble pas une ' évidence ' suffisante, car elles peuvent avoir été apportées postérieurement ; il est aussi tenté de reporter à l'aval du Dongola une fondation d'Amenemhat II mentionnée sur un fragment remployé à Merawe-Est (p. 73) ; mais il nous paraît difficile de tirer un argument certain de pierres ' déplacées '. De même, pour l'aube du Nouvel-Empire, on trouve bien une statue d'Ahmès à l'île de Sai ; elle semblerait en place pour Arkell (p. 82, n. 2), mais n'a-t-elle pas été apportée là postérieurement ? Pour l'auteur (p. 83-4), il n'y a pas de doute que l'inscription de Hagar el Merwa ou Kurgus (à 50 milles au Sud d'Abu Hamed) date de Thoutmosis Ier ; il a publié lui-même cet important document (*JEA*, 36 (1950), p. 36-9 et fig. 4) ; si l'on accepte son interprétation, Thoutmosis Ier aurait évité la grande boucle du Nil et coupé, par le désert, pour gagner directement la zone de la steppe ; la route vers le Sud, le vrai pays des Nègres, aurait donc été atteinte dès le début de la XVIIIème dynastie ; quelques hésitations pourtant peuvent subsister sur la lecture des très difficiles inscriptions de Kurgus. Quant aux objets de la XVIIIe Dynastie trouvés à Méroë, ils ne constituent pas un témoignage incontestable, n'ayant pas été trouvés en place.

A l'arrière-plan, la vie profonde du pays reste une des préoccupations du Dr Arkell, qui consacre plusieurs pages à la fin de la culture C, au comptoir de Kerma et à sa ' culture de contact ', à l'étude de l'égyptianisation de la Nubie au cours de la Seconde Période Intermédiaire. Ce dernier problème est d'ailleurs fort délicat : l'auteur (p. 79) s'en tient à l'interprétation proposée en 1941 par T. Säve-Söderbergh : les mercenaires, tels qu'ils sont connus par les *pan-graves* en Egypte, auraient propagé le goût pour l'Egypte en rentrant chez eux ; cependant, des arguments contre cette thèse ont été présentés ensuite par T. Säve-Söderbergh lui-même ; l'engouement pour la culture égyptienne serait le fait des chefs nubiens, qui avaient des Egyptiens à leur service (*JEA*, 35, 1949, p. 50 sq. ; *KUSH* II, 1954, p. 20-21 ; cf. déjà la

KUSH

visite de princes nubiens à Thèbes mentionnée sur des papyrus de la XII^{ème} dynastie, A. Scharff, *ZAS* 57 (1922), p. 61). L'interprétation nouvelle que l'on est amené à donner de l'égyptianisation des pays du Sud durant la Seconde Période Intermédiaire reçoit une confirmation dans la nouvelle stèle de Kamose récemment découverte à Karnak et étudiée par Labib Habachi ; elle met en évidence l'existence d'un pouvoir indépendant et organisé à Kouch, à la veille de l'essor thébain. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette question, pour le Nouvel Empire lui-même, le Dr Arkell a raison de s'interroger (p. 100 sq.) sur le degré réel de pénétration, en profondeur, des influences égyptiennes : il y eut alors un certain afflux de soldats, de fonctionnaires, de prêtres égyptiens, mais ceux-ci restèrent cantonnés dans les centres égyptiens de colonisation ; le fond de la population resta nubien, avec ses usages locaux (Junker, *Ermenne*, p. 37 ; Stiendorff, *Aniba*, II, p. 39).

C'est précisément à des ' natives of Cush (Dongola) ', égyptianisés par leur contact étroit avec les prêtres d'Amon du Gebel Barkal, que le Dr Arkell rapporte l'origine de la lignée d'Alara, Kachta, Piankhy et la XXV^{ème} dynastie d'Égypte, dite ' éthiopienne ' ¹ (p. 115, 121, 136). Avec raison, il rejette l'hypothèse de l'origine libyenne formulée par Reisner : comme on peut le voir sur la stèle de Khartoum no. 1901 (D. Dunham, *El Kurru* (1950), p. 90, fig. 29 f), la reine Tabiry est qualifiée de ' grande des Barbares ' et non pas ' the great Chieftainess of the Temehuw (the southern Libyans) ' (cf. J. Yoyotte, *Bull. Soc. Franç. d'Égyptologie*, 6 avril 1951, p. 9, n. 1). Dans l'ample résumé d'un millénaire d'histoire du royaume de Kush (ch. VI-VII, p. 110-73), le Dr Arkell met en place les dynasties de Napata et de Méroë (pour ces dernières, quelques modifications sont apportées aux listes de Reisner, en accord avec M. F. Laming Macadam, p. 157-8 et 169) et il caractérise les faits saillants ; on ne peut qu'admirer la richesse de son information, la précision de son exposé. Dans des domaines où beaucoup d'incertitudes subsistent, ces pages marquent bien les points assurés ; c'est par référence à l'Histoire d'Arkell qu'on pourra désormais préciser tel ou tel détail. L'auteur (p. 130-2) insiste sur l'importance des constructions de Taharqa à Napata ; mais il ne faut pas négliger son activité à Thèbes, comme le montre l'inventaire systématique que nous y avons entrepris : la grande colonnade-propylée de l'Ouest n'est que la plus célèbre des colonnades dont il

¹ Comme Dows Dunham et J. Janssen, A. J. Arkell (p. 113 ; cf. déjà *JEA*, 37, 1951, p. 115), s'élève contre l'appellation d' ' Ethiopiens ' appliquée à ces Pharaons venus du Sud et aux ' royaumes kouchites ' du Soudan. Il peut en effet y avoir confusion, le nom d'Éthiopie s'appliquant actuellement à l'Empire du Roi des Rois, pour lequel le nom d'Abyssinie se trouve désormais délaissé. Cette désignation cependant est traditionnelle : comme l'auteur le rappelle lui-même, le souverain de Méroë est désigné comme ' roi des Ethiopiens ' dans un texte en grec du III^e siècle de notre ère. Sur le sens exact d'Aethiops, ' le visage brûlé ', chez les auteurs classiques, cf. F. M. Snowden, Jr., *L'Antiquité Classique* xxv, 1956, p. 112, n. 2 (cf. du même auteur, ' The Negro in Classical Italy ', *American Journal of Philology*, 68, 1947, p. 266-92 ; ' The Negro in Ancient Greece ', *American Anthropologist*, 50, 1948, p. 31-44).

REVIEWS

dota Karnak, aux quatre points cardinaux. A propos des Perses (p. 150), on tiendra compte des remarques de G. A. Wainwright, *JEA*, 38, 1952, p. 75-7 ; Hérodote, VII, 69, dans son catalogue des contingents de l'armée de Xerxès, offre un tableau si vivant des troupes 'éthiopiennes' qu'on aurait aimé le voir mentionné. Sur l'histoire de Méroë, dont Arkell est tenté de remonter l'origine à haute date (p. 85-6), cf. désormais H. F. C. Smith, *KUSH* III, 1955, p. 20-5. S'il demeure difficile de préciser la limite du royaume kouchite vers le Sud (cf. p. 136-7)—et cette lacune de notre connaissance affecte très lourdement l'examen des rapports entre l'Égypte et le reste de l'Afrique—, l'histoire des confins Nord peut recevoir sans doute quelques compléments, encore que des incertitudes subsistent : au IV^e siècle avant notre ère, il existe en Nubie des roitelets assez forts pour oser, l'un tenter une révolte contre Harsiotef : c'est Cambasauden en qui l'on avait à tort essayé de retrouver Cambyse—et l'autre réussir la conquête de l'Égypte : c'est Khababash (cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Der Papyrus Libbey*, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strasburg, 1907, suivi par Fr. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jhd* (1953), p. 188-9). Pour la Basse-Nubie à l'époque ptolémaïque, on doit tenir compte aussi des articles de M. Alliot, *La Thébaidé en lutte contre les rois d'Alexandrie sous Philopator et Epiphane* (216-184), *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XXIX, 1951, p. 421-43 ; P. Barguet, *La Stèle de la famine*, 1953, p. 34-6. Le thème de la 'menace du Sud' dans les textes des temples ptolémaïques mériterait d'être étudié, cf. e.g. *Edfou*, v, 134, 7. Dans un rite d'exécration des ennemis, on mentionne les 'cadavres de Napata' ; la rédaction du passage (une glose intercalée dans un manuscrit plus ancien) semble être contemporaine de la gravure, soit du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. (M. Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou* II (1954), p. 525, n. 2 ; cf. H. Kees, *Oriens*, VIII, 1955, p. 345) ; *Edfou* VI, *Mythe d'Horus* et *Texte dramatique d'Edfou* : Koush est un repaire Séthien (cf. en particulier *Edfou* VI, 86, 11, et 128 ; S. Sauneron et J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, L, 1952, p. 178 et 194). De son côté, le Dr Arkell (p. 159) attribue au dossier de la politique ptolémaïque en ces régions les graffites des Grecs de Cyrène à Buhen (des précisions sur la méthode de datation seraient nécessaires). Il insiste aussi avec raison sur l'importance de l'archéologie des royaumes soudanais pour une appréciation exacte de la civilisation hellénistique : p. 162 et pl. 17 b, magnifique buste en bronze d'Auguste conservé au British Museum ; p. 168, les bains de Méroë fouillés par Garstang, en 1911-12, et dont on attend encore la publication (cf. Cl. Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53, 1952, p. 280, n. 3) ; p. 170, bronzes hellénistiques de la tombe de Natakamani (autour de l'ère chrétienne) ; l'absence de tels objets dans les tombes plus tardives indique une coupure des influences extérieures qui peut expliquer la décadence du royaume méroïtique. L'isolement d'ailleurs demeure relatif, puisque c'est le Dr Arkell lui-même qui a signalé des rapports possibles avec l'Inde (p. 166 ; résumant un mémoire de 1951 dans les *Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford*) ; cette question mériterait discussion, car on peut contester par exemple l'influence

de l'Inde sur l'architecture axoumite ; mais on sera tenté d'interpréter dans cette perspective le motif du temple de Naga qui orne la couverture de la présente revue : un serpent à tête de lion surgissant d'une fleur (cf. S. Morenz et J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, Ascona, 1954) ; sur de curieuses coïncidences techniques avec l'Extrême-Orient, cf. A. H. Sayce, 'The biscuit or egg-shell ware of the Sudan and China', *Ancient Egypt*, 1, 1914, p. 145-7.

Une ère nouvelle s'ouvre avec la chute de Méroë ; cf. désormais aussi P. L. Shinnie, KUSH III (1955), p. 82-5 ; pour l'inscription d'Ezana (Aksum-Expedition no. 11), on consultera l'édition récente de E. Littmann, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II, 2, 1950, p. 114-29 ; en particulier la traduction des ll. 9-10 : 'und die Schwar(zen) das rote (V)olk bekriegten und zum zweiten und dritten Male ihren Schwur brachen'. Il appartiendrait à de plus qualifiés que moi de présenter les derniers chapitres (VIII : de 350 à 600 ap. J.-C. ; IX : la montée de l'Islam, 600 à 1500 ; X : 1500-1700 ; XI : le déclin des monarchies : 1700-1821). On notera que pour le Dr Arkell (p. 181), comme pour H. Junker et L. P. Kirwan, les civilisations des cimetières de Ballana et Qostol sont le fait des Nobades—et non pas des Blemmyes (*contra* W. B. Emery, cf. *Orientalia*, 24, 1955, p. 161). Sur les progrès de christianisme, la résistance de certains milieux attachés au paganisme, les incursions des Blemmyes, la politique de Byzance—et enfin l'invasion arabe, les recherches poursuivies par R. Rémondon apportent des éléments nouveaux (*Papyrus grecs d'Apollónos Anó*, Le Caire, 1953, en particulier p. 41-6 ; 'Problèmes militaires en Egypte et dans l'Empire à la fin du IV^e siècle, *Revue Historique*, 79, 1955, p. 21-38). L'histoire des royaumes chrétiens du Soudan a été l'objet d'une précieuse monographie de J. Kraus, 'Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien', *Veröffentlichungen des Internationalen Instituts für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen* (Mödling bei Wien, 1931). Comme l'indique Arkell (p. 217 et 220), les héritiers de l'empire kouchite ont été non seulement les royaumes chrétiens du Soudan, mais ensuite, à des titres divers comme le montrent certaines ressemblances d'institutions ou de pratiques, le royaume Fung de Sennar et l'empire salomonien d'Abyssinie. Dans les rapports du Soudan avec l'Ethiopie du Négus, on tiendra compte de l'établissement de la capitale à Gondar (cf. *Annales d'Ethiopie*, 1, 1955, p. 159). Sur la question des Fung, on notera la position du Dr Arkell qui leur attribue désormais (p. 208) pour habitat primitif l'Ouest du Soudan ; au classique ouvrage de O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar* (Gloucester, 1951), on ajoutera la référence à J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (Oxford, 1949). On peut attribuer à l'imprudence la mort de Jacques Le Noir, dit du Roule, envoyé comme ambassadeur de France en Ethiopie en 1704, mais les conditions de son assassinat à Sennar ne justifient peut-être pas totalement l' 'Oraison funèbre' de la p. 219, n. 2.

REVIEWS

Les nombreuses remarques de détail dont j'ai été entraîné à grossir le présent compte-rendu², sont la preuve évidente du grand intérêt que ne peut manquer de susciter l'ouvrage du Dr Arkell. Peut-être n'ai-je pas suffisamment souligné combien la reconstitution du passé à partir de documents soigneusement analysés et interprétés se trouve vivifiée par une connaissance exceptionnellement directe du milieu et des faits : le livre profite de la double expérience d'un administrateur et d'un archéologue qui a parcouru les pistes et fouillé les sites ; il rappelle au besoin que le voisinage étroit des vivants et des morts se retrouve aujourd'hui encore au Soudan (p. 27, n. 1) ; l'importance du régime des vents pour la navigation sur le Nil est justement soulignée (p. 67). Peut-être n'accordera-t-on pas crédit à toutes les étymologies que propose l'auteur, ni à tous les rapprochements qu'il établit entre toponymes anciens et modernes ; il n'en reste pas moins qu'il faudra tenir compte de ses remarques³ dans une enquête générale de toponymie africaine désormais nécessaire.⁴

L'*History of the Sudan* est enfin enrichie par un précieux index (p. 235-49), par 11 cartes très lisibles (peut-être, à la carte 7, p. 139, un carton à échelle réduite serait-il utile pour localiser de façon plus précise les nombreux sites de Napata-Merawe) et par une belle illustration photographique groupée sur 24 planches en fin de volume : clichés de Chicago, Boston, du British Museum ou des archives personnelles de l'auteur.⁵

D'emblée manuel classique pour l'histoire du Soudan, le livre du Dr A. J. Arkell marque aussi une étape pour la connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique centrale et pour celle des pays de la Mer Rouge, elle-même en plein essor. Il prend donc une place de choix dans l'historiographie de l'Afrique.

JEAN LECLANT, Strasbourg.

² Un compte-rendu critique ne saurait remplir son rôle s'il ne relève les quelques lapsus inévitables que doit corriger une nouvelle édition; celle-ci, dans le cas présent, nous la souhaitons rapide, à la mesure de succès mérité par l'ouvrage de A. J. Arkell.—P. 56 : le prince Antef de la stèle de Drah Abul Nagga (Caire J.E. 20009) se qualifie de 'grand pilier qui vivifie ses Deux-Terres' (et non pas *beloved*). Si l'on admet l'existence de cinq rois Montouhotep, comme le fait A. p. 56, il faut désigner comme Montouhotep II le souverain du bloc de Gébélein, Horus Neterihedjet Nebhepetrê ; cf. Drioton-Vandier, *Egypte*, Clio 3, p. 276-79.—P. 56-59 : il est plus que douteux qu'Amenemhat Ier ait été le fils d'une Nubienne (cf. G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (1949), p. 104, n. 61 ; G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^{ème} dynastie* (1956), p. 47-8.)—P. 90 : le Naharina correspond essentiellement à la boucle de l'Euphrate (Gardiner, *Onomastica I*, p. 171-80).—P. 90 : La représentation du sphinx royal piétinant les ennemis se trouve sur la paroi intérieure de la caisse du char de Thoutmosis IV.—P. 91 : l'ensemble de Louxor est de grès, comme les autres temples thébains.—P. 121 et 134 : les Chepenoupet et Aménirdis sont des 'Divines Adoratrices d'Amon', non pas des 'grandes prêtresses'.—P. 127 : Montouemhat n'est pas d'origine soudanaise ; il descend d'une famille thébaine ralliée aux Kouchites, avant de collaborer lui-même avec les Assyriens, puis les Saïtes ; en revanche, sa dernière épouse Oudjarenès appartenait à la famille royale éthiopienne (cf. la table d'offrandes retrouvée dans la tombe no. 34 de l'Assassif, *ASAE*, LI, 1951, p. 493-4 et pl. II). L'inscription du temple de Mout ne peut selon nous (*contra*, p. 129) se rapporter à une restauration, au nom de Taharqa, des

continued on p. 102

KUSH

continued from p. 101

temples thébains endommagés par les Assyriens.—P. 128 : on connaît deux grands-prêtres (ou 'premiers prophètes') sous la XXVème dynastie, Harmakhis fils de Chabaka, et Horkheb.—P. 227, lire : Cailliaud, p. 230 : Kelley.—Il existe une 3ème édition (1952), révisée et considérablement modifiée de Drioton-Vandier, *Egypte*, Coll. Clio.

³ Le nom d'Armi (Darfour) correspondrait au hiéroglyphique 'Irm (p. 90, 106-107 ; rappelons la forme *Arame* connue par des textes en méroïtique de Kawa) ; celui d'Ashmeik (à l'aval de la IIIème cataracte) à *šmyk* (p. 60) ; la dérivation de Bedja à partir de *Mdzw* est classique (passim) ; les Hamaj, sujets du royaume Fung, sont rapprochés par Arkell (p. 209) du berbère amghi (pl. imghad), 'serf' ; le hiéroglyphique *hw't* survivrait dans Hawawit (VIème cataracte ; p. 91, cf. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, p. 65) ; Kareima dériverait de *kzry* (p. 83, 97), mais il nous semble que l'équivalent actuel de ce dernier terme pourrait être plutôt cherché dans El-Kurru ; il est vrai que ce lieu d'une nécropole 'royale' pourrait provenir plus directement encore de *qér*, *qêrê* (à vocaliser peut-être en *qūrê*, *qūrû*) qui est la désignation normale du roi en méroïtique (S. Sauneron-J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, L, 1952, p. 186, n. 1 et 2 ; compléments de A. J. Arkell lui-même dans *KUSH* III, 1955, p. 94) ; de *qêrê* dériveraient aussi Keira (Darfour, p. 213) et Kirati (Tungur Kirati, p. 201) ; le nom de Kordofan est rapproché du nubien *kurta*, 'hommes' (?) ; Kreish (Darfour) correspondrait au hiéroglyphique *Gwrss* ; le nom de Kush survivrait dans celui de plusieurs tribus du Kordofan et du Darfour : Kagiddi, Kaja, Kajjar (p. 174) ; la peuplade de Mahas, au Dongola, conserverait la désignation hiéroglyphique de *Nhsy* (p. 41-5) ; les Mazices sont rapprochés du touareg Imoshagh (p. 179) ; le nom du royaume chrétien de Mukurra est comparé au berbère *mgr*, 'chef' (p. 185 ; cf. U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 1938, p. 92) tout comme Tumagera (famille royale de Tibesti, p. 200), d'où procéderait Tuar (Nord Darfour) ; Nyima Nuba (Sud Kordofan) correspondrait à *Nmjw* (p. 106) ; le nom fameux de *Tmhw*, les 'Libyens', serait conservé dans Tama (Nord-Est du Ouadai, p. 44, 45, 49) ; Turuj, au Darfour, serait le hiéroglyphique *Trk* (p. 90, 107) ; Urti (Nord Darfour) 'Irtt' (p. 44). Evidemment il y a là matière à nombreuses discussions et contestations.

⁴ E. Possoz, *L'onomastique en Afrique Noire*, *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique*, 2, 1950, p. 299-302 ; cf. R. Mauny, *Où en est la toponymie Ouest-africaine*, *ibid.*, 3, 1951, p. 156-9.

⁵ Aux pl. 11 a et b, on notera les statues généralement peu connues de Taharqa et Aspalta, conservées au Musée de Merawe. La pl. 8 a représente un détail d'une procession (et non pas le tribut nubien) de Ramsès II, à l'angle Sud-Ouest de la première cour du temple de Louxor ; le 'boeuf gras' porte une tête postiche de Nègre entre ses cornes terminées par des mains (cf. *La mascarade des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte*, *Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Arch. Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 14, 1956, p. 133-4).

ANNALES D'ETHIOPIE. 'Ya Ityopyā ya 'amatāwi Tārik Maṣḥēt.'

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This archaeological, philological and historical Review is published by the Archaeological Section of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia. The editor is Ato Kébbédé Mikail, General Director at the Ministry of Public Education, Addis Ababa, assisted by two French experts, Mr A. Caquot, Directeur d'Études, École des Hautes Études, Paris and Mr J. Leclant, Maître de conférences, Strasbourg University.

REVIEWS

The first number of this Review has been published on the occasion of the Jubilee of His Majesty Hailé Selassié (1930-55), who is himself deeply interested in archaeological research. Most of the articles are written in French with an Amharic translation or résumé. Well illustrated and carefully printed, the *Annales d'Ethiopie* consist of four parts: I, Excavations and archaeological reports; II, Texts (mostly in Ge'ez, with translation); III, Studies (history, palaeography, art, popular traditions, etc.), and IV, a Review of books, printed both in Amharic and European languages. All the correspondence concerning publications, review of books and periodicals, exchanges, etc. will be addressed to the Director of the Archaeological Section, National Library of Ethiopia, P.O.B. 717, Addis Ababa.

LA SECTION D'ARCHÉOLOGIE (1952-55), by Kébbédé Mikail and J. Leclant (1-8): installation and equipment, archaeological researches, note on the first archaeological objects.

Part I: Fouilles et reconnaissances (Reports and studies on the monuments) Admassou Shiféraou: Rapport sur la découverte d'antiquités trouvées dans les locaux du Gouvernement Général de Maqallé (discovery of old Ethiopian antiquities), p. 11-15. A. Caquot and A. J. Drewes: Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé (Tigré): a lime-stone statue in almost Mesopotamian style with a south-Arabic inscription, fragments of a lime altar of south-Arabian type, with inscription, a votive object made of bronze with inscription, an animal statue broken into two pieces, two small alabaster altars and four metal cups showing Egyptian or Meroitic influence (p. 18-41). Gezaou Hailémaryam: Objects found in the neighbourhood of Axum (alabaster statue of a bull, small stone slab with inscription, fragments of two round altars, pottery: two pieces), p. 43-51. J. Leclant: Deux têtes de pierres dressés du Sidamo (phallic symbols decorated as human heads, found also elsewhere in Ethiopia), p. 53-8.

Part II: Texts. Three studies by A. Caquot: L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (the homily *Dersāna Ura'ēl*, its signification, text and translation), pp. 61-88, Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Tēfut* de Gechen Amba (the arrival of a piece of the Holy Cross in Ethiopia under King *Dāwit*, about A.D. 1400 and the vision of King *Zar'a Yā'qob*; translation of some important parts, e.g. the genealogy of the kings of Axum, history of *Sayfa Are'ed*, of *Dāwit II*, of *Zar'a Yā'qob*), pp. 88-108. Note sur le Berber Maryam (an Abyssinian convent, description, inventory of the treasures and the library, Ethiopic text and translation), pp. 109-16.

Part III: Studies. A. Caquot and J. Leclant: Arabie du Sud et Afrique (C. Rathjens, 'Kulturelle Einflüsse in Südwest-Arabien', in *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* 1951, thinks that south-Arabic merchants had been at times in contact with Jewish or Punic ones in North Africa by a caravan-road Adulis-Axum-Meroë. This theory is difficult to maintain), pp. 119-20. A. J. Drewes: Problèmes de Paléographie Éthiopienne (development of the Ethiopian script, indication of vowels, form of signs in ancient inscriptions),

KUSH

pp. 121-6. J. Leroy : Objectifs des recherches sur la peinture religieuse éthiopienne (European influence in Ethiopian painting is older than A.D. 1550, Greek, Italian and Spanish influences), pp. 127-36. A. Caquot : La Reine de Saba et le bois de la Croix (the Queen of Sheba and the wood of the Holy Cross, an Ethiopian tradition), pp. 137-47.

Part IV. Comptes rendus bibliographiques (pp. 151-60) : (a) Amharic publications (two school books ; the development of the Amharic language ; a technical book on electricity ; *Telleq Eskender* or *Alexander the Great*, by Ato Kébbédé Mikail ; *The History and the Work of the Philosophers*, by Aklila Berhān Walda Qirqos, led by a German book, describes uncertain number of ancient philosophers from Thales to Galileo Galilei ; *Five Years of unluck*, or *the Fascists in Ethiopia*, by Masallen Anellay ; a choice of fables (Aesop), *Ya dam zamān* or *The Time of Blood*, by H. E. the Bitwaddad Makwannen Endalkacaw, a historical novel ; *The Unforeseen Vengeance*, by Ato Mogas Kefle (a village dweller kills his neighbour and takes his wife, he is punished by Providence). *Do not Deny Me!* by Ato Dassalan Hara Mikail (a moral story, followed by practical advices and a dialogue between Virtue and Sin) ; *The Last Judgement*, by Ato Menase Yasegat, religious philosophy ; *Liberty, my Honour*, by Ato Yashawa Warq Haylu, is a national theatre piece celebrating the heroic attitude of the Abyssinians, during the occupation ; *The Mirror of the World*, by Ato Ahadu Saburé is a 'digest', a collection of various articles. (b) Publications in European languages : A. Vööbus : *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes* (an older Ethiopian text of the Gospels), Stockholm, 1951 (supposes an ancient Syriac translation as a base). Wolf Leslau : *The Influence of Sidamo on the Ethiopic Languages of Gurage* (A. C.). A. Dillmann : *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae*, new edition, New York, 1955 (A.C.). S. Grébaut : *Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae* de A. Dillmann (additions). (A. C.), P. Gabriele da Maggiora : *Vocabolario etiopico-latino ad uso dei principanti*. (A. C.) S. Strelcyn : *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (Collection Griaule), tome IV (A. C.). 'University of Addis Ababa, *Ethnological Society, Bulletin* Nos. 1-3 : the Ethiopic kitchen ; popular traditions and fables ; wedding and funeral ; the sanctuaries of Shoa (A. C. and J. L.). O. G. S. Crawford : *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester, 1951 (J. Leclant). M. Cohen : *Cinquante années de recherches linguistiques, sociologiques, critiques et pédagogiques*, 1955 (J. Leclant).

WERNER VYICHL, Paris.

Obituary

LADY PETRIE

Perhaps for every 500 people who are aware of the valuable general library which has been built up at Khartoum University round the nucleus of the Newbold Library there is one who is aware of the splendid specialized archaeological library built round the solid core of the Petrie Library in the Sudan Antiquities Service, so that there were fewer to mourn the death last year of Lady Petrie, through whose kindness the collection came to Khartoum.

Hilda Mary Isabel Umlin mixed as a girl in pre-Raphaelite circles and was painted as one of Beatrice's companions in Holiday's picture of Dante, but more important was the fact that she was herself a draughtswoman and able to help her husband capably in this side of his work. However, this particular talent of hers was over-shadowed by her ability to raise money for the work and to supervise with economy the expenditure in camp. She was absolutely tireless in raising money and year after year Petrie's excavations went on, each excavation matched by its appropriate publication. It has been rightly said that Petrie found more objects for less money than any five of his colleagues rolled together, and it might be added that he wrote more history from his finds than any ten of them. Some money there had to be, much of it collected in half-crowns and shillings by As-Sitt Hilda—as she was known to all the excavating staff. This task became something of a mania with her and there were certainly some young men with healthy appetites in Petrie's camps who resented the rigorously economic régime, but, apart from the justification of the amazing results, it can be said that none of them came to any harm from it, and some, such as Howard Carter—who is said to have had a hole from his room into that of the foreman through which supplementary meals were passed—came to fame as a result of their training with the Petries.

Lady Petrie hardly ever missed an excavation season except at the time when she was bearing her husband a son and a daughter, John and Anne. She shared all the roughness and the occasional dangers of the campaigns with her husband. If she expected an economic standard of others, she applied it to herself. Her first season's work in Egypt comprised a trip down the Nile on a *merkub* carrying coal with her husband and his assistant J. B. Quibell. She described this in an article curiously entitled 'My Romantic Honeymoon. Three on a Coal Barge' which, if it did not show a sense for the most felicitous wording, showed that enthusiasm which is absolutely necessary in archaeologists and their wives, and is not always apparent in the younger generation.

Among other qualities she had that of realism and quiet irony, combined with a friendliness for those in trouble or in need. During World War II I attended an archaeological congress at Jerusalem at which Lady Petrie was also

KUSH

present. After a preliminary meeting which she had not attended I found my driver by the car. 'Coo, sir', he said, 'I just bin 'aving a cup of tea with a real Lady, proper kind she is too, Petrie or some such!' At the end of the meeting she said to me 'That was a very sensible series of resolutions we passed, they sound as if they should improve archaeology a lot. I remember a congress at Istanbul in 1897 when we passed just about the same series!'

The loss of Lady Petrie breaks one of the very few remaining links with the grand days of Egyptology when at one time there were 6 or 7 international expeditions working at Luxor alone and great discoveries came thick and fast. We are more scientific than the Petries were in the sense that we have erected many pavilions on the wide solid foundations that they built, but the like of those days led by Flinders and Hilda will not recur till another civilization nears its end and the archaeologists set to work to dig up the remains of ours.

O. H. MYERS.

