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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL

<i>AJSLL</i>	-	-	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
<i>AR</i>	-	-	Ancient Records.
<i>ArOr</i>	-	-	Archiv Orientalni.
<i>ASAE</i>	-	-	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Egypte.
<i>BIFAO</i>	-	-	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
<i>BiOr</i>	-	-	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
<i>CdE</i>	-	-	Chronique d'Egypte
<i>C.G.C.</i>	-	-	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
<i>CT</i>	-	-	Coffin Texts.
<i>CRAIBL</i>	-	-	Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
<i>G.d.A.</i>	-	-	Meyer : Geschichte des Altertums.
<i>G.L.r.</i>	-	-	Gauthier : Livre des Rois.
<i>HAS</i>	-	-	Harvard African Studies.
<i>JAOS</i>	-	-	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JEA</i>	-	-	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
<i>JNES</i>	-	-	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
<i>JRAI</i>	-	-	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
<i>LD</i>	-	-	Lepsius : Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopen.
<i>Lesest.</i>	-	-	Sethe : Aegyptische Lesestücke.
<i>MDIAK</i>	-	-	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.
<i>MMA</i>	-	-	Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York.
<i>PSBA</i>	-	-	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>Rev.d'Ég.</i>	-	-	Revue d'Égyptologie.
<i>RT</i>	-	-	Recueil de Travaux.
<i>SNR</i>	-	-	Sudan Notes and Records.
<i>SASOP</i>	-	-	Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers.
<i>Unt.</i>	-	-	Sethe : Untersuchungen zur Geschichte u. Altertumskunde Ägyptens.
<i>Urk.</i>	-	-	Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums.
<i>Wb.</i>	-	-	Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.
<i>ZAS</i>	-	-	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.

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

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Editorial Notes

AS was stressed in the Editorial Notes of the first issue of KUSH: 'The Sudan, by its intermediate position between the Near East and Central Africa has a peculiarly important position in archaeology'. Unfortunately for too long the importance of this position was not adequately appreciated by scholars, and the archaeology and ancient history of the Sudan was considered but a poor relation of Egyptian history.

The time has now come, I feel, to try and sift some of our crystallized ideas on the ancient history of Africa, and especially of the Sudan. A good deal of new material has been collected since 1920, and a lot more is awaiting excavation. It is the responsibility of the Sudan to see that excavations are encouraged and extended throughout the country, so that we can get more historical and archaeological material to enable us to write a real ancient history of this country.

In the next number of KUSH will appear (a) a list of the Archaeological sites the Sudan Antiquities Service intends to excavate itself, and (b) a list of the sites which could be excavated by foreign missions, under the provisions of the Sudan Antiquities Ordinance, which is very liberal and provides for a fair division of the finds between the excavator and the Sudan Antiquities Service. In 1957-1958 already, three archaeological expeditions have started work in the Sudan. The Michela Schiff-Giorgini Mission, sponsored by the Pisa University (Italy) excavated at Sulb (Soleb). The Egypt Exploration Society worked at Buhen under the Directorship of Prof. W. B. Emery. Finally, the Humboldt University of Berlin made an archaeological survey of the Butana Desert in the vicinity of the important Meroitic sites of Mussawarat es-Sofra and Naga. The expedition was under the leadership of Professor Fritz Hintze. Under the terms of the Licences granted by the Sudan Antiquities Service, preliminary reports of any archaeological work undertaken in the Sudan must first appear in KUSH, and, accordingly, one of these reports appears in the present number. It is hoped that in the future more and more foreign missions will help us in 'digging the past' of the Sudan.

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But archaeological excavations are not sufficient in themselves to unveil the mysteries of the Sudanese past. They must be supplemented by research work on the ancient languages once spoken or written in the country, which yield valuable historical information. Only a few specialists in the world are able to decipher and understand these writings, some of them are English-speaking, others, German, French, Italian or Russian-speaking. It is the duty of the Sudan Antiquities Service to see that their unselfish work, which in the long run will profit Sudanese historical research, is not lost, and this is why KUSH will publish more and more in foreign languages, articles related to the history of the Sudan. A time will come, very soon, I hope, when Sudanese researchers will take over from the foreign scholars. They will then have, in the first numbers of KUSH, a mine of information which will enable them to progress more rapidly in their own work.

* * *

It is with great regret that we record the death of Dr O. G. S. Crawford, who was one of our first contributors. The note published in this volume must have been written very near the time of his death, as we did not receive it until some weeks afterwards.

J.V.

The Countries of the Ethiopian* Empire of Kash (Kush) and Egyptian Old Ethiopia in the New Kingdom

by ERNEST ZYHLARZ

Hamburg

Translated by M. Jackson

INTRODUCTION

UP to date a historico-geographical picture of the ancient Nilotic Sudan remains one of the desiderata of world history. In the specialist circles of Egyptian archaeology the misleading prejudice of long ago still persists—that the Sudan countries only represented a territory of minor importance adjoining Ancient Egypt. Generally, and not entirely wrongly, the first attempt of H. Brugsch, to a large extent misleading, is still used for reference. He, at a time when Egyptology was still not consolidated, already undertook to give to the world an ethnological map from the Egyptian point of view, in concordance with Old Testament traditions. The great collection of country lists of Tuthmosis III served him as a basis for this.¹ Since at that time he was unable to read the correct phonetic renderings of most of the country names, this attempt led him far astray, and as a result the prospect for similar attempts appeared to be definitely small.

As nowadays there is little hope that Egyptian Archaeology may still yield up, somewhere, a map of the nations of the geography of the ancient Sudan, there is nothing left but to investigate the reasons for the errors mentioned above, and to take up the question anew. Meanwhile there has been an increase in the material available; more philological and archaeological aids from the region of the Nilotic Sudan itself have come our way—more than one could even have dreamt of in the time of Brugsch.

However, this versatile pioneer of early Egyptian research did observe correctly, in the materials of ancient Egyptian country enumerations, that the

* *Editorial Note.* 'Ethiopian' and 'Ethiopia' in the Author's mind refer to the region between the First Cataract in the north, and 15° parallel in the south, that is most of the northern half of the present Republic of the Sudan. The word 'Ethiopia', which was actually used in Antiquity to refer to the present Sudan, is ambiguous since it is used nowadays for 'Abyssinia', accordingly we should be grateful to future contributors of KUSH, to avoid it as far as possible.

¹ Heinrich Brugsch, 'Die altägyptische Völkertafel'. *Berliner Orientalisten-Kongress*, 1886, *Abhandlungen, Afrikanische Section* III, pp. 25-79.

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Ancient Egyptians used to arrange the order of the enumerations from the most distant to the nearest point. Up to the time of the Ptolemies the strict order from south to north is maintained in the enumeration of the ancient countries of the Sudan. Brugsch entertained hopes of finding from this some kind of key, if not *the* key, to the geographical arrangement of the country catalogues of Tuthmosis III's empire.²

Brugsch was also correct in his observation of the clear division of the country names from Karnak list into two groups: the Asiatic countries and the African countries. But he was wrong in assuming that the Ancient Egyptians had adapted themselves, in the Asiatic group, to the Semitic-Assyrian orientation, as the presumed Akkadian direction-terminus did not at all agree with the linguistic facts.

Also significant is Brugsch's recognition that, within the toponymy of the otherwise unintelligible lists of Africa, there occurred again and again cartouches with the southern country names already known from the older geographical literature. This gave Brugsch the impression that these might be some kind of subdividing headings. He knew of similar things from the hieratic papyrus lists, where the red headings differed sharply from the black ink of the lists themselves. However, whether in Tuthmosis's lists those cartouches, which apparently headed a special sub-group, were also distinguished by special colouring cannot now be checked, as all the coloured faience fillings of the cartouches and hieroglyphs have since been completely lost.³

What nowadays enables us to take such a different point of view from that of Brugsch's 'Map of Peoples', in the first place lies in the fact that we have the collected material of the African main group clearly distinguished orthographically before us. The material of the Asiatic country names is orthographically uniform throughout.⁴ Tuthmosis's dominion is clearly stressed.

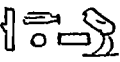
This fact should have warned Brugsch against regarding all the geographical material brought together by Tuthmosis as uniform, and to attribute to him, so to speak, *ex uno centro*, an ethnographical and geographical world picture in a scientific sense.


² Sources for the statements under discussion are the country lists of Tuthmosis III, according to the publication of Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der XVIII Dynastie*, Leipzig 1907, IV abteilung, Heft I. Abbreviation: *Urk.* IV.

³ It can still be checked that Tuthmosis in his Annals Inscriptions (*Urk.* IV, pts. I-VIII) is quite familiar with the geographical divisions of countries of his time, while such systematic arrangement is quite absent from his two Asiatic lists. The case of his two African lists is different.

⁴ The unity lies in the exclusive use of the so-called 'Barbaric writing' of the New Kingdom for the reproduction of non-Egyptian names and foreign terms; in this not only are vowel indications made by the addition of so-called *matres lectionis* (' , w, j), but Egyptian short words are made to serve to mark whole closed syllables. Cf., e.g. II, 313 *Uruma* as compared with II, 333 *Urima* where the script operates directly to give the detail. Only the consequence is missing.

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In truth the lists from Karnak are not really names of peoples⁵ but only names of localities such as towns, villages, fortified places, and districts. In the Asiatic main group, the order of these was clearly according to personal recollection, especially since the main part of Hither Asia had first been conquered for Egypt by Tuthmosis himself. And so the nearer part of Hither Asia apparently carries as its own heading  **Kadēš-u*, as this confederation




from the beginning to the end of Tuthmosis's campaigns formed the main bastion of all the Anti-Egyptian countries of Hither Asia. As heading for the farther territories of Hither Asia we find  **Peratt-āa*, 'Euphrates

Countries' (II Nr. 120). It is clearly seen that when drawing up the Asiatic lists, he had no intention of hiding the light of his most successful campaigns under the bushel of an objective ethnographic summary. On the contrary, he was trying to put in the right light for all time *his* chief contribution to the creation of *his* great Egyptian empire. Nobody before him had ever been able to do this, and everyone coming after him should take his work as an example.⁶

However, the case of the African main group was different. Tuthmosis had not needed to undertake any real campaigns into the countries of the Nilotic Sudan. His personal expeditions led only north of the Egyptian-Ethiopian frontier to **Eme'ūm* (Elleisiya), **Bohōn* (opposite Wadi Halfa), and Semna, the old south point of **Tōsete* (Oasis Country). Everywhere he took care that the knowledge of his superior military power should be spread throughout all the Sudan countries. In the first instance this applied to the Ethiopian empire

⁵ As an exception, we here find in the Asiatic list II no. 282, the tribal name *Mš'w* (**Mās.āwe*) which belonged to a pre-Libyan Tymhi tribe of North Africa. Since it is dealing with a tribe which was accustomed to serve as mercenaries in foreign armies, this name in Tuthmosis's list thus means, not a town but probably the garrison of a permanent post. These mercenaries served at the time in the army of Mittani.

⁶ It would not have been difficult for Tuthmosis to enumerate the places of the nearer middle East in the order of his contemporary world-picture :

1. Upper and Lower  *Rtnw* (probably to be read **Rāt-ān-u*, from Akkadian *rāt-u*, 'water-pipe', to describe a region where the fields were irrigated by conduit-pipes ; a contrast to Egypt).
2.  *Dhy* (The reading is probably Semitic **Zahy*, as description of the Dry Country coast).
3.  *Hlw*, sand region of the Beduins north of the Sinai Region. (**halw-u* Hebr. *hōl*).

An enumeration systematically arranged in this way would not have satisfied Tuthmosis's desire for a subjective presentation, as then his own military and biographical memorials would have remained hidden behind the objective geography. We can therefore assume that the drafting of these lists originated with Tuthmosis personally, and could hardly have been left in the hands of the priests and the temple scholars.

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Kash in the middle Nilotic Sudan (up to the fourth cataract), which had never enjoyed becoming an Egyptian colony. That is why this region is always mentioned by Tuthmosis with the inevitable epithet *ho'se* ('the wretched, despicable') appended to it. Automatically the news of the Egyptian Empire and the name of Tuthmosis penetrated into the Sudan countries of the Upper Nile as far as the Troglodyte country. Because of this situation, the African countries enumerated in the Karnak lists, as far as they appear written in 'barbaric' writing, all carry the general heading *Kash-ho'se*.

With the above-mentioned considerations in mind, we can now turn to the task before us, to undertake a special examination of the Sudan countries in the time of the New Kingdom, without having to return again and again to the out-moded details of Brugsch's early hypothesis. For every examination of this kind the Karnak material remains the most important source.

I. THE ANCIENT SUDAN UNDER TUTHMOSIS III

The Egyptian dominion over Lower Ethiopia which had been lost in the time of the xvth dynasty was, as is well known, regained by Tuthmosis I (1528 B.C.) for the xviiith dynasty and extended to the Third Cataract.⁷ The newly-conquered territory was now divided administratively into two distinct colonies: the part north of the earlier Sudan frontier of Semna-Kumma retained its old name of Wawat, as in the Middle Kingdom; while that part that lay to the south, which was already therefore a district of Kash, was now included under this name in the Egyptian Administration as a southern province on its own.

During the 36-year-long, peaceful reign of Queen Hatshepsut (1520-1484) there was no change in the condition of Ethiopia. It was the time for extension, in agreement with the rulers of southern Arabia of the time,⁸ of the Egyptian trade connections over the old coastal routes from Pyene⁹ to the northern countries of the Horn of Africa. The Queen's second consort and co-ruler, Tuthmosis III, had as good as no influence. (1501-1484).

When Tuthmosis III came to rule by himself, the military power of Egypt was directed entirely to the conquest of Hither Asia, while the Sudan province of Kash remained under the administration of its governor Nehi, who had already served under Hatshepsut.¹⁰ Although we are unable to learn any exact details,

⁷ Border demarcation on the rock opposite the island of Tombos, below Kerma.

⁸ Amun speaks explicitly to Queen Hatshepsut: '*The Puanlans, who do not know Egypt, and the Habasites of the country of the gods (Arabia), I have determined them friendly for your wish*'. (*Urk.* IV, p. 345, line 14). This proves that those 'god-like bearded' inhabitants of South Arabia were interested in those times in the African coast opposite them, and also it proves that the Egyptian fleet had appeared there with peaceful intentions.


⁹ To Πυήνη Pwanet, cf. 'Pyene (Punt) und die Seefahrten der Ägypter' by F. W. v. Bissing and Meinhof-Zyhlarz, *ZES*, Hamburg-Berlin, xxxii, pp. 300-12.

¹⁰ The time of office of the person named as governor of Kash lasted from 1500-1453 B.C., that is during the ruling epoch of Hatshepsut—Tuthmosis III, during which time Nehi had therefore to serve both (antagonistic) rulers.

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we can conclude that after Tuthmosis's seven-year war against the coalition of Kadesh, under the impression which his over-powering victory made, the situation was also changed in middle and lower Ethiopia.

In the 32nd year of his reign Tuthmosis received, in Thebes, a delegation from Pyene to congratulate him. From then on increasing tributes from Kash follow. Two years later an expedition went to Pyene to collect the usual products, incense and gold, while Tuthmosis was fully occupied with his eighth and ninth campaigns in Hither Asia. However, at the end of his ninth campaign, together with the tribute which was due from Kash (1467) came the surprising

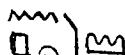
delivery of four chiefs' sons from  (*'Aromi or suchlike), one of the Upper Ethiopian countries lying to the south-east. At about the time of the arrival of the above-mentioned expedition from Pyene there must also have been, in the meantime, an expedition from Kash in the direction of the Eritreans, and that in the absence of the king himself. On this occasion the southern border of Kash was crossed beyond the Fourth Cataract.

The fact remains that Tuthmosis III, in the 47th year of his reign (1454) established the Fourth Cataract as the border of the Egyptian administered province of Kash, and this border was to remain valid for centuries.¹¹ This was possibly only the definitive declaration of an already existing *fait accompli*.

With the final fixation of the southern boundary at the Fourth Cataract, the sphere of influence of Egypt, sharply outlined administratively and from the point of view of foreign politics, was clearly defined, as was at the same time its position *vis-à-vis* the Upper Ethiopian countries of the Sudan.

Consideration of the circumstances discussed above explains some things which were, until now, strange about the order of the countries in the Karnak list.

That is, if the king had himself settled the affairs of Kash in the same way as he had done in the Near East, by large scale conquest achieved through many battles, one would expect, with reason, that the heading of Kash would be

followed directly by some such toponym as  *Nape. In the Near

East, the main heading Kadesh is followed directly by the name of the much fought for capital and fortified city Megiddo, and after that by the summary of the town and country names in a purely subjective order. The editorship of the king himself can be seen unmistakably in the Asiatic lists, while the editing of the African country enumerations appears to be the work of another hand. Perhaps in this we may recognize the initiative and instructions of the Governor Nehi, who unlike Tuthmosis had personally-earned and longer experience of the state of affairs in the land of Ethiopia.¹²

¹¹ Cf. G. Reisner, 'Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal', *ZAS*, LXIX (1933), pp. 24 ff.

¹² A governor who understood how to gain the confidence of two rival rulers can be without hesitation credited with political smartness. He probably knew his province better than both the rulers together.

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1. *The Country List of Kash*

This list is distinguished from all the other lists of the African series by its 'orthography' in the so-called 'barbaric script', and so stands out as a contemporary record of the epoch of Tuthmosis III.

In addition to this, there appears a linguistic fact which up to now has been completely ignored. By comparison with later abstracts from the list of Tuthmosis (Seti I, Rameses II and III) and Nastasen (*Nistisana) it can be recognized that certain names of countries in Tuthmosis's list have a final *-k* appended, which is missing in the later reproductions, and so was not an essential part of the names. It is now recognized that this final *-k* was a Kashite collective suffix, by which the collective state was characterized. In the instances under discussion the collective form of the areas named was expressed.

This fact shows that the vocalization of the enumeration had been made from the standpoint of the Kashite language. It was also arrived at in an Ethiopian chancellery and not in the royal chancery of Thebes or a similar place, where Ethiopianisms would surely not have remained unnoticed.

The enumeration begins with the districts of the land of Pwanet, which had already been partly recorded by Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el Bahri in a slightly anomalous order. It was the same as the region 'where the Egyptians are unknown' (*Urk.* IV, p.345, lines 14-16)—that means that it was situated in the southernmost part of the Erythraia, away from the route of the earlier travellers to Pwanet. The following regions are dealt with :

- (a) '*tr*' (today *Adal* : '*Atāl*)
- (b) '*tr-m'w*' (Kosmas Indic. Z. 12 'Αταλμώ)
- (c) '*M'w*' (second name of (b))

These first three names already give us the region of the present-day Danakil tribes, obviously enumerated in a north-westerly direction, along the coast.

- (d) '*rk'rk'*', in Hatshepsut : '*k'rk'*' (today Arkiko behind Massawa).

The name continues the north-westerly direction.

- (e) '*Bwk'-k*', in Seti I: *Bwk'* (probably old Βούγα the name refers to the whole region of the Βουγαίται)

- (f) '*Srny-k*', in Seti I: *Srny* (probably identical with the Aksumite *Šaranē* nom. gent. Aksum, Nr. 10)

The course is now directed sharply to the west-north-west.

- (g) '*Brbrt'*', in Hatshepsut follows after *Bwk'-k* (if this name carries the Kashite locality suffix *-t*, the present region of Berber above the Fifth Cataract may be the place in question).


The toponyms up to now indicate a direction which evidently appears to run along the heights parallel to the Red Sea Coast, and finally west-north-west. We probably have to think here of a road running in the direction indicated, which ran from the direction of the Fifth Cataract through the Mareb Valley to the coastal region, about where Zula is found today.

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- (h) *Tkew* follows, in Hatshepsut, directly after Arkiko, and so belonged probably to a branch line. Most probably in this name we must think of the present-day Tigré region. If this is so, the road branching off at Arkiko must have run due west.
- (i) *'rmy* belongs to the region of the Erythraï, opposite to Axum, which was later held longest, and whose possession the Kashite kings of Meroë particularly emphasized.¹³ We are probably dealing with the district of the present-day province of Kassala.

From the orientation suggested here the geographical situation becomes much clearer. The road which branched off towards the west appears to have run at approximately the level of the 15th parallel of northern latitude in the direction of the Atbara and the Nile. This route still exists today.¹⁴

- (j) *G(w)rss* is, in part, to be looked for in the region of the right bank of the *Astaboras* (Atbara, where the road Kassala-Goz Rejeb-Abu Deleiq runs towards the Nile, and then, on the right bank, to the north) and thus outside the so-called Island of Meroë.

- (k) *'r-k*. This name, in which we may recognize the locality written in Nastasen (lines 16 and 24) as  *Alô* (Greek 'Αλω-ς) indicates with the Kashite suffix -k the great region of **Alô-ka* (otherwise Alowa) and thereby the ancient Island of Meroë itself.¹⁵

The fact that we meet with this toponym at this point shows that the direction of the country enumerations as presumed at first must generally be correct. Up to now we have been dealing, therefore, with the old Eritrean sphere of interest of Kash, from out of which certain roads to the Red Sea led. The control of these was, at all events, not only the political aim of the Ethiopians but also that of the Egyptians, who ruled there in the New Kingdom. The country names which now follow should, according to the facts shown, lead to the 'nearest point' of the author who enumerated the list of Kash, that is they should belong to the districts of the Colonial Province Kash in its strict sense.

- (l) *Twrwr-k* in Seti I written as *Swrwr-k*. It is perhaps to be found on the left bank of the Nile near the Sixth Cataract.


¹³ Cf. *Akimiḏad* Stele (Griffith, *JEA*, 1917, pl. xxxi, line 2-3):

: 𓂏 3 9 13 : 𓂏 4 3 𓂏 9 2 : 9 < 𓂏 𓂏

**ḥarp.ḥe 'Aromi-t Qaš. i-tō*, that is *Governor of the Aromi belonging to Kash*.

In the times of Tuthmosis III, the above-mentioned country was still a militarily 'free hunting ground' of the Egyptian province of Kash.

¹⁴ Cf. J. W. Crowfoot, 'Old Sites in the Butana', *SNR*, III, pp. 85 f.

¹⁵ Clear proof for this is the (Egyptian drafted) name of the 21st Ethiopian king of the Reisner list, which reads: *Amun is above the towns of*  (This name still emphasizes the supremacy of Napata over south Ethiopia).

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(m) *Gwrwbw*. Brugsch seems (exceptionally) to have related this name correctly to the *Κολοβοί* of Strabo, cp. 771-3. a hunting region of the hinterland between the Nile and the Red Sea.

(n) '*nkenn*' gives the impression of a Sudano-Egyptian word, and further a compound with the *stat. constr.* of Egyptian '*n(.t)*', 'valley, wadi'.¹⁶

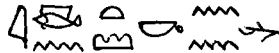
That a Wadi denotation is meant to indicate at this place is clear to see. We now find ourselves in the Atbara-Nile region, the so-called Island of Meroë, the heart of the later Ethiopian empire. As it is well known, a protected highway led through what today is called the Wadi el Fera', which, running north-west, ended opposite Napata.¹⁷ We are now dealing with the very region at the eastern edge of the Bayuda steppe, which was most important for Ethiopia, and are on the way to the region of Kash itself.

(o) *Bgšg'* looks as if it were an Egyptian-written expression of Kashitic origin, as it apparently contains the adjective 4C3 *šayī* 'small'.¹⁸ A denotation *Bg-šg'* would mean 'small Bega' and probably fits the Bayuda Steppe, that is the political district.


With this toponym we have now arrived close to the realm of Kash in a narrower sense, that is, we have arrived at the Nile Bend, where the river bends from the Fourth Cataract down towards the west and from there northwards. This bend encloses, principally on its right bank, the whole area of the province of Kash of the New Kingdom. To this region, therefore, the following toponyms logically belong.

(p) *Tmkr'*. The writing of this name of a country in 'barbaric script' permits the assumption that a prefix T- may be present here as it is in Sudano-Egyptian toponyms.¹⁹ We must then reckon with a main component *Mkr*. Considering the whole position, then, the name of the later territory of *Μακρορία Makorra* comes to be considered. This lies on both banks of the river, in the south west corner of the Nile bend, north of the Bayuda steppe.

¹⁶ This toponym could be understood as phonetic New Egyptian written

*  *'*n(.t)*-*knn*', i.e. 'Kyphiwood-Valley'. (Wadi countries supplied the majority of aromatic materials in antiquity).

¹⁷ The route of the ancient Wadi Fera is exactly marked in Nastasen. (Cf. H. Schäfer, *Die Aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig 1901, line 7-8. He started opposite Meroë with the town *Astalis* (Kashite: 'Daughter of the (White) Nile') and ended opposite Napata with the town *Ta-Dewe* ('the dawnlike', i.e. the Nuri of today; names which were unknown before then.

¹⁸ New Egyptian  as well as *g* it could also express *γ* as Semitic Gaza; **γazz.at-u*; Hebrew '*azzā*' (*Urk.* IV, p. 648, line 11).

¹⁹ As for example Kashite: **T(a)-Wawi*, 'Wawat country', **T(a)-mīt* < **t'-mhy.ty*, 'Northland', **T(a)-rés*, 'Southland', etc.

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- (q) *Mrkr*. Whoever is acquainted with the Kashite phonetic change *m* : *b*²⁰ will here think at once of the name Gebel Barkal, so important in the history of Ethiopia. The name of an ancient province of **Markale* still appears to cling to the name of the ' Holy Mountain . ' The zone of this mountain was, as is known, the centre of origin of the tribal family of Kash, from whence, later on, the great Ethiopian Empire began.
- (r) *Trw*'. A confederation allied with Kash against Egypt.²¹ Correct position still uncertain, but doubtless somewhere north of Jebel Barkal.
- (s) *Qd'*. For phonetical reasons, one must consider the Sudano-Egyptian articulation of a local toponym.²²
- (t) *Mtwrt*. Districts not otherwise mentioned.
- (u) *Trtr*. More precisely, on the right bank of the Nile up to the ancient Semna-Kumma frontier.²³

From what one still can gather today from the toponyms of the Kash-Lists of Tuthmosis III, it is not difficult to recognize the direction of the enumeration. There is obviously a system to it and therein lies the great difference from the Hither Asiatic lists of the king, where a purely subjectively orientated confusion of countries and localities, towns, villages and garrisoned places appears, only distinguished, and probably also ' classified ', according to the time of the campaign to which the enumeration belonged.

The Kash-list however goes according to the Egyptian rule from the ' far point ' progressively to the ' near point ', always along a guiding route (coast, road, riverbank) to the position of the author of the list. The placing of this position is not difficult ; the enumerator was in any case stationed in the office of the fortress of Semna, where also probably the geographical documents from the central administration of the Sudan countries during the Middle Kingdom were to be found. From there it was easily possible for the editor of the African lists to sketch out for Tuthmosis III a generally satisfying outline of Ethiopia as ruled by him, without lessening the merit of the former (now disowned) Queen

²⁰ Probably the best known case of this is the change of the name Merowe : Berowe.

²¹ Cf. reproductions of the two tribal kings in Medinet Habu, east wall of *Bāb 'alī*, time of Rameses III.

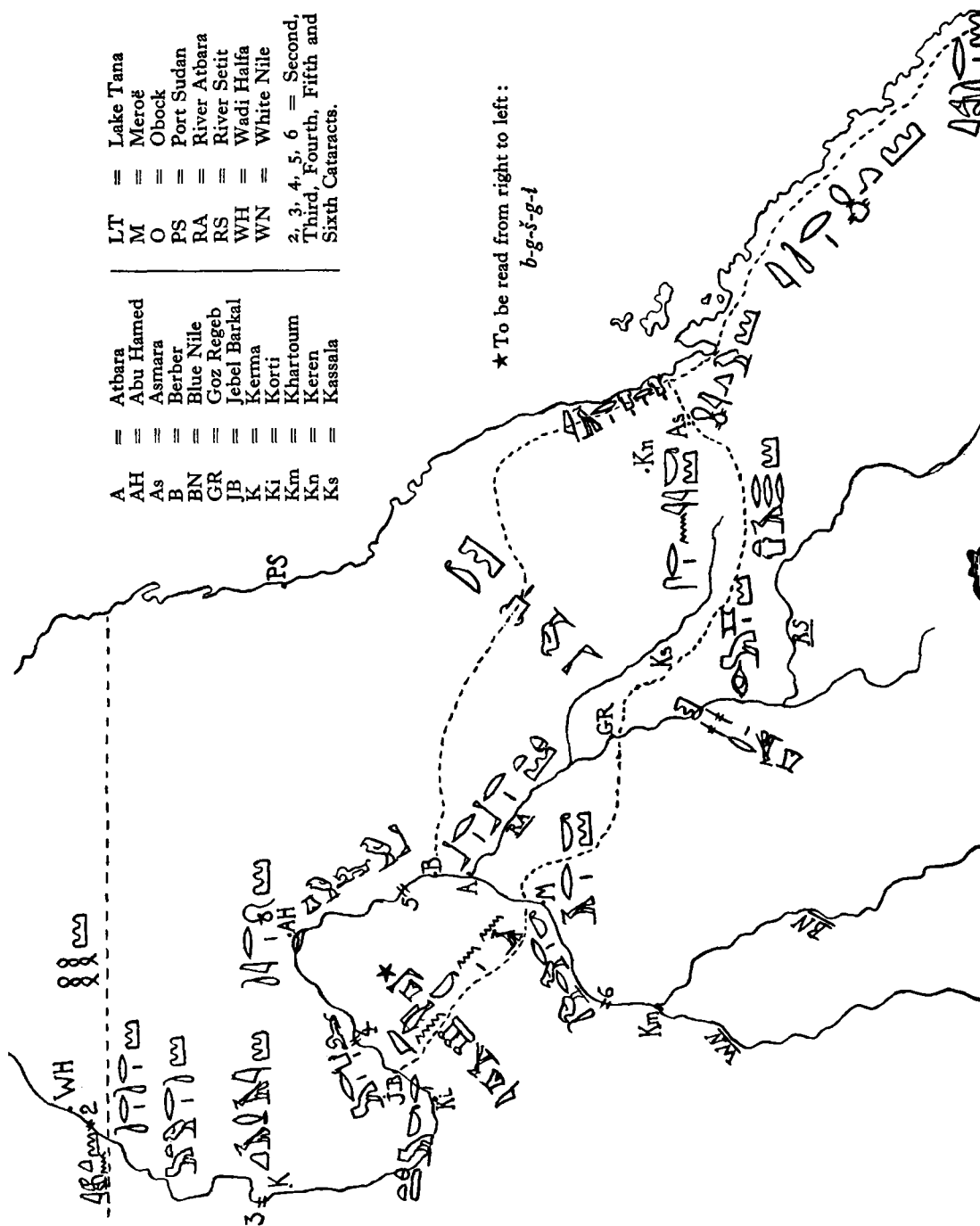
²² From the fact that the Egyptian  *d*, was, for example in Semitic word roots, used to indicate the sounds *z* and *z*, as can already be seen in Tuthmosis's Near East country lists, it can be concluded that this name could be a New Egyptian vocalization of the tribal name  so written at the time of Senusret I (Wadi Halfa). In this case we must, in analogy to the south to north running enumeration itself, place this tribe geographically above the Island of Sai.

²³ It is possible that there is attached, in this last name *Trtr*, the District name to the still existing place Dal (Island).

LT = Lake Tana
M = Meroë
O = Obock
PS = Port Sudan
RA = River Atbara
RS = River Setit
WH = Wadi Halfa
WN = White Nile
2, 3, 4, 5, 6 = Second,
Third, Fourth, Fifth and
Sixth Cataracts.

A Atbara
AH Abu Hamed
As Asmara
B Berber
BN Blue Nile
GR Goz Regeb
JB Jebel Barkal
K Kerma
Ki Korti
Km Khartoum
Kn Keren
Ks Kassala

★ To be read from right to left :
b-g-s-g-l



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Hatshepsut in doing this. Already from this, one can see that, as mentioned, Nehi may be considered as editor of this list; he had served his Queen just as devotedly as later he did his King. (See above notes 10 and 12).

The most distant point had been from the beginning, of course, the landing place of the Egyptian fleet in Southern Pyene, which is nowhere named. For the region itself, however, a short orientating record of countries had already been sketched by Hatshepsut. This was limited to the road running along the Eritrean coast and the country—that is the tribal districts—through which this road led, up to the crossing point, at Arkiko (approximately 20 km. south of the Massawa of today). Up to there the route went through the Adal districts, as the later official list shows, and also through the whole territory of the 'Afar tribes of to-day. The landing place of the fleet should be sought somewhere in the region of Djibuti, as one had always assumed. Apart from this the bay offered further harbours.²⁴

Beyond Arkiko, the road pointed to the north-west, into the highland of Troglodytica, with a branch to the west-north-west, north of the Mareb line towards Berber-Dangel above the Fifth Cataract of the Nile. We do not learn any details from the short list of the first expedition. Against this, the mention of *Tkrw* (Tigré), directly after Arkiko, suggests that from here a route must also have led west, and probably north of Tacazze. The oldest list of countries would already have led to this assumption. Tuthmosis's list however leaves no doubt that the roads to the Erythraeis must have been, from the beginning, the arteries of the tribes allied with Kash, and also of the so-called D-Group culture and its trade interests (South East orientation of the D-Group).

The sketch-map opposite should demonstrate the situation discussed here more exactly.

2. The Country Lists of Wawat

Following the contemporarily drafted list of Kash, there now comes, in Tuthmosis's enumeration of countries and districts, the province of Wawat. (*Urk.* IV, 218, nos. 24-37 and 38-47). The latter list, as can be seen from the writing was not drafted contemporarily, but certainly belongs from its orthography to the Middle Kingdom. We are dealing with a historical construction, that is a compilation from already existing records. Such country and district

²⁴ On purely geographical considerations, one could perhaps be satisfied with Arkiko as the landing-place of the Egyptian fleet under Hatshepsut. This supposition is, however, contradicted by the recollection of the God Amun (*Urk.* IV, p. 344, line 10): 'gave you Pyene as a whole up to the countries of God and (also) the God's country the entrance of which is forbidden, i.e. the Incense Terraces which are unknown to the Egyptians. Therefore it is quite clear that the goal of those expeditions must have been placed very near to South Arabia. From there then under the cloak of being god's embassy they palavered' with the owners of the 'forbidden country' which eventually resulted in permission to visit the Incense Terraces. From this it seems unnecessary, today, still to be sceptical and to worry about whether these expeditions really went so far south as to reach the proximity of Bab el Mandeb. It is logical that they must have reached there.

















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
























lists of the Sudan regions which had been ruled by Egypt were, at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, certainly still sufficiently recorded in the royal archives.

Up to the present it appears that nobody has recognized that we have before us, in the above-mentioned compilation, authentic lists of the countries of the Wawat Province, which was only constituted in the New Kingdom, a genuine scholarly work. In this the enumeration in the list of Tuthmosis from Karnak gives only orthographical variations, either to meet the needs of the stonemasons' work, or caused by contemporary misreading of the documentary evidence in hieratic writing.²⁵

The old list itself of the Wawat countries lying on the Nile bank represents no. 25 to no. 30. It begins with no. 25 left, northward of the Second Cataract, with the name '*Intum*'²⁶ which in any case belonged to a forgotten native language. The name of no. 27 *Bhuma*²⁷ appears (according to Bion) as a landing place north of the first named. Thus the enumeration runs from south to north, that is downstream. The series up to no. 30 probably ends in the present-day district of Ed Derr; and after that the toponymy of Tuthmosis III, as well as that of Ramesses II and III in Abu Simbel, appears to have been copied. The district named has always belonged to the permanent number of the older Egyptian possessions in the Sudan. The only merit of the list of Tuthmosis was the conservation of the authentic data from the Middle Kingdom, in so far as this lay on the left bank of the Nile.

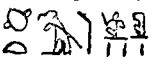
In the continuation (nos. 31-7), the enumeration does not run along the bank of the Nile any more, but quite clearly runs through the Oasis region to the

²⁵ Here should only be pointed out a few graphical discrepancies. Beside the usual graphical variations of the New Egyptian such as  :  (z : s);  :  (all standing for a sounding t);  :  (r : l) and the like, there occur within the country list, when reproducing strange names, or because of the misreading of such names in the hieratic records, exchanges which are phonetically impossible, as for example  :  (w : m, No. 72);  :  (w : b, no. 39a);  :  (w : ', no. 57a, b);  :  (r : t, no. 102 a, b);  :  (n : d, no. 29 : 277). Genuine misreadings and thoughtless re-writing we find in nos. 38, 87, 96, 107.

²⁶                             

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west of the Nile. The district names concerned are, as it were, transcriptions of toponymics of the oldest times written in Old Egyptian writing, which, in the later Middle Kingdom, were generally no longer capable of being read.²⁸ The expeditions of the Old Kingdom into the Wawat countries did not, as is well known, take place along the water-way, but from Elephantine southwards along the high ground of the west bank (vith Dynasty). It was definitely the stages of these caravan and expedition routes which the editor of the Wawat list of Tuthmosis III had found transcribed in this way, and which he used as historical evidence for the completion of the list. So this region, which was nowhere mentioned in the geographical literature of Egypt, was brought to the knowledge

²⁸ In this way the name of no. 31 *Wtjw* shows a phonetical transcription of the well known Egyptian expression  'Oasis people'. Also when examined more closely the following toponyms can be recognized as reproductions of Egyptian prototypes, where all determinatives have been omitted. As for example :

No. 32 : **f'j-mw - sn-nw.t*
'Impregnated with heavenly fragrance'. (Name of an oasis, where the plant *sn-nw.t* grew in abundance.)

No. 33 : **ph.tj.w nwnw*
'Lion-spouter of the primeval waters'. (Name of an oasis region with abundant and good well-water.)

No. 35 : **dt w-Mn*
'Pious gift of the Min-District'. (Name of a well which irrigated this stretch of land and was founded by Koptos.)

No. 36 : **n. (t) n mw-.w*
'Valley of Vulture Waters'. (Name of Wadi Region where there was a well which was characterized by the figures of vultures.)

No. 37 : **n. (t) n bd*
"Valley of the *bd*-Natrons'.

Phonetic transcription, that is to say copying was a characteristic of the writers of the Middle Kingdom, in contrast to the Old Kingdom where the determinatives and a strict defective writing ruled. One can feel that there is already a need for more accurate reproduction. During the New Kingdom, however, this custom, good in itself, was often made worse by improvements through the random exchange of symbols which had become phonetically the same. Both principles of graphical reproduction characterize many country names of Tuthmosis's Africa lists.

Since such country names became known they have always been considered to be 'savage' native names. This, however, does not seem correct, because the ancient Egyptians would not have bothered with such things for long. Such nomenclature as shown above, which had been handed down through the Middle Kingdom had probably originated entirely in the language of caravan leaders and members of expeditions, who knew the country and were practically experienced. So their terms belonged from the beginning to the 'slang' words of a down to earth professional class.

In the New Kingdom, when Egypt had to live in the closest contact with the great world, the traditions of the chancery documents of old times and middle ages with country lists only remained as the work of priestly educated editors, a circumstance which explains certain strange trends in such materials especially in the lists from the XVIIIth Dynasty.

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of the readers of Tuthmosis's list in a so to speak, round-about way, and thus also to our times.²⁹

To summarize, we can say that the real Wawat list of Karnak had been enumerated from the most distant southern point below the Second Cataract to its 'nearest point' on the hills adjoining the river at Elephantine. Such an orientation, however, probably exactly corresponds to the traffic and security conditions of the Old Kingdom; as far as the New Kingdom is concerned, however, this orientation represents a historical conservation of the oldest documents from the royal archives of Egypt, which demonstrated to every scholar of the New Kingdom Egypt's claim to the administration of the countries of lower Ethiopia.

One thing was still lacking. The region bearing the name of Wawat in the Middle Kingdom was not territorially identical with the colonial province of the same name of the New Kingdom. This extended southwards up to the present day Dar el Mahas.

This southern extension of Wawat Province (*Urk.* IV, 218, nos. 38-47) had already been taken by Brugsch for his 'Table of Peoples' as a separate list of the Ethiopian Empire of *Oma*.³⁰

Apart from the heading (no. 38), which was obviously no longer clearly recognized, against the correct orthography of the Old Kingdom, it can be observed that where no. 39 was concerned the opinions of the compilers (*a*, *b* and *c*) did not agree. In the same way it can be seen that no. 41 is incorrectly transcribed when compared with the Old Kingdom.³¹ No. 45 also seems to be

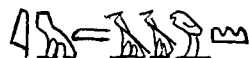
²⁹ In the Old Kingdom the normal way to the Sudan countries was by the old caravan road, which was called *w'.t 'bw*, i.e. 'Road of Elephantine'. This road led over the heights of the right Nile bank towards the south, up to the Second Cataract, cutting off the bends of the river. This way in many places ran parallel to the great caravan road *w'.t wh'.t*, i.e. 'Oasis road', which was the traffic road of the western oasis countries for the southern inland trade.

From both roads there led cross connections in the direction of the settlements on the banks of the Nile, to which one 'climbed down' in this case, as the term for this was called. (Cf. for this K. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 26, lines 5-11).

The 'Road of Elephantine' mentioned before at that time not only served Egypt in the interest of trade with the nearer Sudan but also for military security. This well-known defile of all the Ethiopian river bank made it possible even for small battle formations of the Egyptians to overpower at any time individual tribes of the bank regions, who were often having feuds among themselves. Ethiopian 'states' or statelike unions were in those early times of antiquity of the Nilotic Sudan still non-existent.

³⁰ For the phonetics of this Ethiopian country one may compare E. Zyhlarz, 'Die Lautverschiebungen des Nubischen' (Introduction), *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*, XXXV, 1949, 2/3.

³¹ The country district of **Öma*, no. 41, called correctly



**m-.w* 'Banks of Ruins' (?) we know by chance from the Old Kingdom, where King *Neferke-Rē* (Pepy II) mentions its name in his letter to the county notable *Harkhuf*. (K. Sethe, *Urk.* I, 26 D line 12). The territory belonged to an Ethiopian Hathor Goddess. But of all this drafters of the Karnak lists no. 38-47 had surely no idea, as the faulty orthography suggests clearly. (Cf. no. 41).

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shortened.³² No. 47 appears to be completely impossible and is in version *b* even replaced by the name of Semna from the Oasis lists (no. 94).³³

From all the circumstances mentioned, it becomes clear that the bureaucratic fixing of the individual countries of the Wawat Province of the New Kingdom had not been realized without certain discrepancies of opinion among the compilers. The living tradition of leaders of caravans and expeditions of the Old Kingdom had, with the decline of the Middle Kingdom, become disrupted, and the compilers of the XVIIIth Dynasty had been dependent on partly unintelligible office material.


However, we can still recognize to-day this much, that the Empire of Oma, which had been such a dominant feature in the Old Kingdom, was registered in New Kingdom times only as an extension of the new Wawat Province; that is, it had been annexed. The enumeration of the countries and districts belonging to it goes in Tuthmosis's lists from south to north, that is from Tombos to Semna, and entirely on the left bank of the Nile. The region on the right bank belonged (probably from the time of the Middle Kingdom) to the confederated empire of Kash, so that the two Sudan provinces of the New Kingdom, as far as the border of the Third Cataract overlapped. In any case Semna was regarded at this time as the 'nearest point'.


3. *The Coastal Districts of Pyene*

The old idea, that the country catalogues of Tuthmosis III had to be considered as always running somewhere along the Nile, in analogy to Bion, Juba and Ptolemaeus, has hindered the recognition of the system on which Tuthmosis's map of Africa was made.

The lists obtained of the Nile voyages for the traffic of those ancient times, with their recorded landing places, as they have been transmitted by these experts, were not intended to give a horizontal picture of the Sudano-Egyptian world. They gave the point of view of the European traveller on the Nile, who only recorded those points which, on his travels, he had either seen or otherwise

³² By omitting all determinatives this could be taken phonetically as an old country name **ḏ-m(w)t*, 'Desert Border of Death'. This would indicate a wretched barren country region and could be distinguished from Karnak no. 142.

³³ Instead of  one would expect definitely a different bird sign; which, however, remains unclear. Against this the exchange of the name of this region with no. 94

 is remarkable. The name **t'-smj* is definitely Egyptian and means 'Land of the Thick Milk'. It would be, therefore, the name of a district rich in good cattle-breeding. After no. 94 this district represents the most southern territory of **t'.w - z.tj.w* 'the Oasis Countries' that is in the time of the Old Kingdom when the Ethiopian countries known to the Egyptians had the mythological collective name of *Knz.t*. (Karnak, nos. 86-117).

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come in touch with. The country lists of Tuthmosis, however, should, as can be clearly seen, show for the first time the outlines of all the great regions of the Sudan Empire as it was governed, or alternatively claimed, by Egypt ; but later they should also show us the filling in of the areas of this region. In this we have before us the point of view of world-ruling politicians of the time of the New Kingdom, and not that of the curious lover of travel.

Whoever realizes that the whole long drawn out Nile system, as seen from the strategic point of view, represents nothing but a single defile lying open to attack from any fortuitously stronger opponent from the west, and especially, the east, will at once note the absence of any trace of security measures, especially to the east. If the situation had been otherwise, it would have been possible to be satisfied with merely the regions of Kash and Wawat as enumerated so far : as it is, we have now arrived with *Urk.* IV, 218, no. 37 in the hinterland of Upper Egypt after having set out from the furthest south of the Erythraeis. In spite of this the list continues.

Added to this there is now a fourth list with the heading (already recognized by Brugsch), Pwanet (Pyene), *Urk.* IV, 218, nos. 48-71. The orthography of this list is old. The contents of this list seem to show discrepancies, since Seti I did not take his extract from this list at all on trust from Tuthmosis, but had corrections made.³⁴

The locality in which the enumeration is begun is revealed by no. 51 *mns.j.w* i.e. 'that of *Mns*' (today Mensa, highland east of Bogos, as Brugsch already has it). Thus we find ourselves on the coast at the level of the southern *Troglodytica* (Erythraeis). According to its orthography this list originated in the Middle Kingdom.

The two preceding districts cannot have been situated far to the south. Their names, the spelling of which at Karnak is phonetically impossible, were probably, like so many other expressions in the Pyene list, contemporarily colloquial Egyptian territorial designations coined by travellers to Pyene.³⁵

The region which preceded no. 51, of the name **m ms-sw* although it has etymologically nothing to do with present-day Massawa, may have been situated

³⁴ Seti, list b, nos. 44-8 (Rest destroyed).

³⁵ In the time of the Old Kingdom the seafarers of the Red Sea called the districts of the Pyene coast in their (Egyptian) language the same as we find them in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* in the Greek language. The most evident landmarks have local names such as mountains, islands lying in front of the coast, etc. In most cases, however, the landing places have been named after the traveller's own point of view, as the Island of Magon, Dioscures Harbour, Deep Harbour, Alias Mountain, Zeitos Mountain, etc.

The Pyene map is probably originally based on a sailor's map with notes concerning the landing places and landmarks following each other. As with the above-mentioned country names of the caravan leaders (note 28), all these map memoranda were later copied as country names in the chancery lists, after all the determinatives had been omitted.

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approximately in that region. It must have been hot enough for this appellation even in those times.³⁶

As the most distant point of this list we have to put no. 49, with the name *Nh'w* as corrected by Seti I. (Seti, list *b*, no. 45), which signified a place of refuge. We can hardly go wrong if in this, the final terminus of the ancient travellers to Pyene, we recognize the Zula Bay of today.

From here the enumeration runs in the direction from south to north, along the Troglodyte Coast, with its poverty-stricken countries of hunting and fishing tribes of a low state of culture, who were later on known to the Greek geographers only as 'eaters' of this or that type of food provided by nature. The expressions of the ancient Egyptian travellers to Pyene which can be still understood, as mentioned above, also show clearly that there one did not exactly find oneself in a 'beled-'aish'.

The toponomastic country terminology of the ancient travellers to Pyene ends with no. 63, and gives way now to better-known Red Sea districts, starting with *Wdn. t*, here in Karnak written *Wtn. t* (no. 64). Here we are dealing with a country which we know of as an enemy of the later empire of Meroë-Napata which had to be taken seriously.³⁷ It lay at and about the ancient Wadi el Gasus (Νεχσσία). Further, with no. 66, the district of *Ms.t*, Greek Μῦς 'mouse'

³⁶ In the present note there can be no question of discussing in detail all the toponyms of the Karnak list nos. 49-71. It must be enough to limit the discussion to several essential orientation points.

So the Karnak list starts with a toponym which as corrected by Seti should read not 'h'w, but *Nh'w*. (The succession of the sounds in the first case are impossible in Egyptian.) Paleographically it is easy to mistake the signs for ' and *n* in the hieratic context. (The whole thing is evidence that the Pyene map of Tuthmosis still was in existence in the time of Seti I and had been taken by him as a model.) The toponym no. 49 therefore apparently had been formed from the Egyptian verb *nh*, 'to protect', 'to seek refuge', and marked a place which offered asylum.

No. 50 shows a place name, formed analogically to that of the Egyptian town *Ramesses* (Tanis), i.e. 'Resired him' (the place), and so we have in no. 50 **m-ms-sz* that is '*m sired him*'. The progenitor is not, in this case, *Re*, but '*m*', 'the flame', 'the fire-demon'. This toponym therefore names a place which sarcastically someone had characterized as 'sired by the Fire-Demon'. The place, therefore, must have been exceedingly hot.

No. 54 is obviously a toponym which marks a place as a spot where ships could be repaired. No. 56 is a region where there had been gold-washing. No. 57 was a landing place, where one at one time could complement the crew. No. 58 was apparently a place where *bs*-fruits were loaded. Nos. 59 and 60 mark the place as a conspicuous landmark by mountain names which one can still ascertain today. Nos. 61-2 disclose apparently the lack of certain necessities of life. That should be sufficient here.

³⁷ Cf. Nastasen, Ethiopian Kings inscription (Schäfer, loc. cit., line 39) where the abolition of the princes of *Wdn.t* is described. The expression **bs-Wdn.t*, 'Sovereign of W.' in the Sudan Egyptian hieroglyphic report of the King of Ethiopia (328-308 B.C.) had, as is known, tempted Schäfer to see here a reference to the Persian King Kambyzes (campaign of 528 B.C.) which, of course, for purely chronological reasons, would have been impossible.

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is named ; hence the ancient name Myos Hormos. With this harbour town we already find ourselves far to the north on the Red Sea.

After the enumeration of four regions, which obviously belonged to the Wadi country of the Galala plateau of the Arabian desert, the Pyene list of Tuthmosis ends with no. 71 *Msh. t*, the old name of the later *T'-msh. t*, ' Crocodile Land ', called *Timsah* today.³⁸

With this we have reached the ' nearest point ' of the Pyene lists of Tuthmósis III, so that we probably have to place the standpoint of the enumerator at Memphis. The only thing that can be said with certainty from perusal of this list, is that in no case can it be a New Kingdom conception. The orthography on which it is grounded already gives that much away. The country enumeration probably existed already in the Old Kingdom in this form, and has continued throughout the centuries as a basis for the geographical knowledge of the Erythraeis. Editing this for reproduction at Karnak only brought about doubtful progress, in that the ' modernization ' of the orthography through graphical exchange of symbols which had become homonymic, so popular in the New Kingdom, made the old balance of the text ambiguous and uncertain. Only the different spellings of the country names in one or the other version (*a*, *b*, *c*) allow us to realize that in one or another case exchanges have been made.

The Pyene list of Tuthmosis has preserved for us topographically important details of the Eritrean coastal districts at the time of the Old Kingdom, and has also made it clear that Egypt, at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, wished to demarcate the eastern borders of the two Sudan provinces Wawat and Kash along this coastline.

Large scale expeditions took place along this line only sporadically ; smaller scale journeys, however, sometimes belong to the everyday occurrences of Egyptian trade of later times.

4. The North Sudan Countries on the Right Bank of the Nile

North of the borderline between the province of Kash and Egyptian Ethiopia we must imagine the last two of the Ancient Ethiopian country-groups enumerated in Tuthmosis's list, Karnak nos. 72-85. Both fill in the as yet unmentioned gap on the right bank of the Nile.

The first group, nos. 72-77, carries as heading the country name *K''w*, well known from the Old Kingdom (here written *K''m*), which is already mentioned in the Weni Inscription (*Urk.* I, p.101, line 15-16) in pre-Kashite times as the

³⁸ It has often been asked why the old brackish water lake had been called ' Timsah Lake ' by the Egyptians, who were quite used to crocodiles in the Nile. This country district, however, had its name not from the number of crocodiles to be found there, but from the two northern gulfs of the Red Sea. These gulfs, which embrace the Peninsula of Sinai when seen on a schematically sketched map as existed at that time remind one of a wide open mouth of a crocodile, into which the long extended ' body ' of the Red Sea runs out to the north. On top of this the determinative of Karnak no. 71 shows still more clearly the two pronged ' fork ' in which the Red Sea ends in this place.

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name of that part of Ethiopia which was a tributary to Egypt of the vith Dynasty. Neither now nor later do we learn any more details.³⁹ As noted just now, the region concerned might have been the montane district of Hah situated between *the Nile and the Red Sea, which by the Middle Kingdom had already been closed off against Kash.* (Cf. note 36 above to Karnak no. 56).

The second group, nos. 78–85, bears the heading of the well known ancient Ethiopian country *Md'*. This country was separated from Egypt by the region of the old Nehesiya with its wide wadi districts, and at one time belonged to the most fertile countries on the banks of the Ethiopian Nile below the Second Cataract.

We could have formed a relatively sufficient general idea of this Ethiopian country, as there has been handed down to us by the informant of King Juba,⁴⁰

³⁹ From the old determinative of this country name in Weni (*ph.t* head + *mr* sign) it could perhaps be concluded because of the mineralogical expression *k''*, which shows the same *ph.t* determinative in the Old Kingdom, that the country with the name *K''w* could have been a region of montanistic exploitation of this mineral. Such mineral occurrences one would have sought more in the region of the right Nile bank. This would be to the east of the southern end of the Wawat province, as the enumeration of Weni may suggest (in the Middle Kingdom, this would compare with about the region of *Hah*).

⁴⁰ Among the place names along the right bank of the Nile (north-south) as they were handed down to us by Pliny, there exists as is known, extensive confusion. The relatively short series of enumerations after Bion is in part very contradictory to the much longer chain of toponyms as they were recorded by the informant of King Juba of Mauretania. It has been customary to attribute the reason for this contract to the confusion caused by the people who copied these lists. This, however, appears to be incorrect, and the deviations go back to the differences in the survey.

As far as one can see Bion has begun to enumerate with **Tarene* (opposite Dakke), that is with the old district of  *Tr*, which according to *Sabny* (Elephantine, line 4) still belonged to the district of **Me''a.t* (Meae). The enumeration runs to the south to Bagas (Magas) below the Third Cataract, and it is—except for the embellishments—reliable.

Things are different with the enumeration transmitted by Juba's author. To cut things short, it may be sufficient just to give the circumstances. The informant had not, as might be thought, come up from Syene by ship, but had travelled on the western oasis road. From there, that is from the village **Krau* (Craucome), began the Nile journey. Before he embarked on this he was shown, by an Egyptian-Ethiopian interpreter, the land from a prominent point. The explanations started with 'Our eyes are directed towards the . . .' (here follow the names of the chief places of the old country *Madja* up to the Second Cataract) belonging to Modata. The informant wrote down, in Greek letters, what he heard, and divided it up later himself. So he got the enumeration no. 1–no. 8 (Zoton), only that no. 1 was not the name of a locality. Further he made notes of the landing places which he saw on his journey upstream from Craucome, from Elleysiya (Emeum), through Cystale (Qostol), Magadale (Khor Magdul) to Small Primis (Amara), etc., thus from no. 9 of the list to no. 23. Finally he confused something else again: the interpreter had given him as the last station **τα-δε-ε τ-ἡ-να-πά-τα* i.e. 'Nuri, opposite Napata'. Out of this the informant made three towns, Cadeuma, Athena, Batta (nos. 24–6). In this way Juba's list of the towns of the right bank of the Nile came into being.

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a double list of regions and landing places, which, however, up to the present appears to be confused. The country list of Tuthmosis therefore appears more valuable, in concordance with what was still known in Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, V.f) about the Nile countries.

The *Md'* list, Karnak 79–85, is obviously enumerated from North to South. It begins with *Btbt* (No. 79), a name which in Juba adheres to the landing place *Pidibot-as*, situated south of Ellesiya (Emeum, nearly opposite Karanog).

No. 80 follows upstream along the Nile, called *Mn(w)t* and written with the determinative as though it had been the word 'swallows' (*mn.w.t*) in Egyptian. The introductory region list of Juba's informant notes this toponym as *Maniad*.

No. 81, *T'st* was called in Juba's time *Tessatta*. Otherwise the country is not known in the literature.

Nos. 82–84, *Dwh*, *Bpstj* and '*wš*' are otherwise unmentioned districts of *Md'*.

No. 85, *Z'tw*, called in Juba *Zoton*, we know of from the Old Kingdom from Harkhuf, according to whose statement this petty kingdom was situated to the right of and below **Orôta(.t)*, the Kidintu of today. *Zoton*, later a district, therefore formed at that period, in the Old Kingdom, the country on the right bank of the river north of the debouchement of the Second Cataract, and located diagonally opposite to the present day Batn el Hajjar.⁴¹

With this country district, the *Md'* list, in Tuthmosis, ends; according to its orthography, it can scarcely have been much more recent than the edition of the Wawat list.

5. The Hinterland Districts away from the Nile

Temporarily placed at the same level, the geographical material of Tuthmosis III (*Urk.* IV, 219, nos. 118–261) must be mentioned here, which, so to speak, represents the filling in of the outline formed by the districts of Old and New Ethiopia classified so far. Because of extensive destruction, this unique and detailed representation of the outside border districts of the political administration in the Ethiopian Colonial Empire of Ancient Egypt has been preserved only fragmentarily.

The long list of Karnak, Pylon VII, North-east, in its contents, connects in some places with one or the other of the country lists of the Ethiopian regions discussed up to now. The enumeration itself, however, goes in quite a different way. That much one can guess in spite of the numerous gaps.

At the same time one can distinctly recognize individual toponymics as headings of separate sub-groups. These are:

No. 141, *dbn Hr H'*, i.e. 'Circumference of the Horus of Ha'. The territories united under this title thus belonged administratively to the temple district of Abu Simbel.

No. 153, *h'.tjw Thn*, 'Sea countries of the Western Region' (Marmarica and southwards). The name is old, the orthography is partly later and unreliable.

⁴¹ Cf. *Urk.* Harkhuf C, line 3.

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No. 167, *[h's.] *tjw Nhs*, 'Desert countries of Nahas'. From the remains of the names one sees that the territory mentioned was situated in the region between North Pyene and the lower Nile. (Cf. Note 46).

No. 176, **b(w) nb 'tn*. All places of 'tn, a collective title of geographically uncertain toponymy. Lacking comparison the collective country name is phonetically unreliable. The position of the enumerated localities, however, was apparently also on the right of the Nile and towards the Red Sea, as one could conclude from Nos. 183 and 184, if these still belong to this group.

No. 194 ff., the heading of which is destroyed. They were situated to the south of the group, just mentioned, in the hinterland at the average level of the Pyene line, as the two already known mountain landmarks, nos. 194 and 195, betray. Of interest for this zone is the unquestionably Egyptian toponym no. 198, **n hwy gs-pr.w*, 'not flow any cattle-breeding produce'. This former map-note characterizes this region as a comfortless natural wilderness, hopeless for any tax collections. One can conclude from this from what source the archive documents of our lists originate.⁴²

No. 210, *tb 'n.tjw*. 'Circular plateau of the wadi-inhabitants' this Old Ethiopian hinterland zone was called, which (Cf. no. 207) again is to be found on the west side of the Nile, that is in the region between the Second and Third Cataracts. From here the direction of the lists appears to lead along the Wawat countries towards the north, as one can conclude from nos. 223-7. At this point also the pragmatical documentary basis of the political geography of the Middle Kingdom apparently ended.

Starting from no. 228, the remaining toponyms show clearly a strongly archaic cast in their orthography. One will have to reckon in this final chapter with at least two sub-lists on more or less mythological foundations. In this we are apparently dealing with Early Egyptian acquisitions in the West Oasis countries. In more modern times only the most economical use of the determinative appears in these lists and also occasional obvious misreadings can be noted.

From all the detailed observations mentioned here, it can be concluded that *Urk.* IV, 219 represents a purely historical selection of older and extremely old chancellery-lists of Egypt, which, however, was sufficient to give a general view over the Old Ethiopian countries of the most distant zones, which were administered in the time of the Middle Kingdom from Egypt. Just such materials were especially suitable to satisfy the intention of Tuthmosis III, to give a picture of the most intimate dominion of Egypt in Ethiopian Africa, which was clear, without at the same time publicizing monumentally the 'mysteries of Egypt'.

⁴² The whole of the hinterland districts appears to consist of excerpts from the old tax lists, etc. of the Middle Kingdom. Tuthmosis III could undoubtedly have ordered an enumeration more according to the ideas of his time, but he very wisely avoided this since it was not the task of the Karnak lists to reveal the 'mysteries of Egypt' to the whole world.

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6. Egypt's Mythical Rule over the Sudan in Pre-Kashite Times

Tuthmosis III has preserved for us, as evidence of the antiquity of the claim Egypt pretended to have to dominate the countries of Ethiopia, a country catalogue, which, at the same time, can serve as a key to the early dynastic and mythological geography of Egypt and its neighbour countries. This catalogue is the systematically advanced final list *Urk.* IV, 218, nos. 86-116, bearing the heading *Knzt*.⁴³

In the early times of the Old Kingdom, that is many years before the first appearance of the Kashite D-Group culture, the conception of the Egyptians of this epoch of the wealth of the upper Nile countries had become concentrated round the half-mythical and faraway commercial town between the Second and the Third Cataract, the name of which had still lived on in Antiquity as **Kensoi*. It was the southern end station of the great oasis road which, to the west of Egypt, provided the connection of the upper Ethiopian countries with the eastern Mediterranean zone. (The political idea of extending the Egyptian hegemony to these countries of Ethiopia, with their mythical wealth, then was the cause for the Sudan-policies of the viith Dynasty.) From these early times of the Old Kingdom there still dated the evidence which served Tuthmosis III for publication by inscription of the above-named, systematically arranged, defective list of Karnak. The archaic orthography of the individual country names is sufficient evidence for this.

Following now are three closed sub-groups, each with its own heading which formed the geographical material for the drawing up of the *Knzt*-List.

No. 87, *t'w Z.tjw*, 'the countries of the Western Oasis country'⁴⁴. The Egyptian districts along the great oasis road are enumerated from north to south (Karnak, nos. 88-94). Certain parts of oases were also territorially included in

⁴³ The very controversial *Kenzet*, as it is traditionally read, apparently goes back to archaic orthography. There is no reason why one should not see in it a locality, which (analogical to the later epithet *k'-n-Km.t* 'Breadwinner of Egypt') carried the name **k'-n-zmj.t* 'Breadwinner of the desert edge'. (The word *zmj.t* appears nearly always written *zt*.) A locality with a name fitting this is also shown in the list of Bion (no. 12) in the toponym *Censoe* (Γενσοί or Γενσωέ), the sound form of which would be completely suitable historically. This locality lies above *Sylop (today Sulb) and below Agugo (today Argo), and so quite near to the later Kerma. The memories of a wealthy trading place in this region in the time of Egyptian early history are symbolically attached to this name, with the intention to represent the wealth of the Ethiopian South. Karnak, Pylon VII North-east face, shows the heading *Knzt* as conclusion (no. 117) of the whole series nos. 87-117.

⁴⁴ Karnak no. 87 was no longer intelligible to the compiler of Tuthmosis III's list. (The text was in any case not hieratic, but had been carelessly drawn in hieroglyphs.) What looked there like the character for *s*, or reminded of this, was definitely a carelessly written *z.t* 'archaic bow', with which normally one wrote the toponym *Zt.j*. The character following after then was not the picture of the 'whiteheaded vulture' but the so-called *tjw* bird, which in our Karnak lists again and again is confused with this hieroglyph. We, therefore, have not to read *t' w s'* but *t'-w Z.tjw* 'the countries of the west oasis country'.

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this. The order of the series is shown approximately in the following territories : Marmarica-Fayum, Farafra, Dākhlā, Khārga, Kurkur, Dunkul, and Semna district.

No. 95, *h's.t*, ' (eastern) Desert '. This general toponym is followed by four special desert districts, nos. 97–100 with the title : *t'.w h's.tjw*, ' The countries of the desert dwellers '.⁴⁵ In the region of the eastern desert district a kind of former autonomous empire of early Egyptian history formed between North Pyene and the Nile, the region of the so-called *Nhs.jw*, whom we know as the older and pre-Egyptian sovereigns of the lower Nile Sudan-countries.⁴⁶ The Karnak list enumerates their region with the heading :

No. 101, *Nhs(j).t*, ' The region of the Nahasites '. This first and only historical country-list under the name ' Nahasia ' was a surprising document of Egyptian historical tradition. The region enumerated therein does not, as one might believe in the New Kingdom, include the whole region of Lower Ethiopia and so on, but a rather small range of countries in the south-east of early Egypt.

The enumeration of the list obviously runs from south to north and includes on the east bank of the Nile, firstly the region of the two ' counties ' of Antiquity, *Meae* and *Bocchis* (Karnak nos. 102–8), and then it continues to the north-east to the three harbours at the coast of northern Pyene (nos. 110–12), with their connecting roads to the Nile bank in Egypt (nos. 113–16).

It would be a mistake to assume that this ' Nahasia ' of the Old Kingdom, here so narrowly outlined, was meant to represent an objective geographical picture of the whole Nahasian Lower Ethiopia. We are dealing, without doubt, only with those districts of Great Nahasia which were at that time politically claimed by Egypt, and this Greater Nahasia had extended its rule towards the south up to the Second Cataract. So the above list in any case only included the area of the so-called *Nhs.jw htpw*, i.e. that of the ' Pacified Ethiopians ' as they had been called in the Old Kingdom.⁴⁷

The historically highly valuable *Knzt*-List of Tuthmosis III bears its name on the reproduction of the north wall of Pylon VII of Karnak, not as a translated title of three sub-lists (as in the reproduction of Pylon VI and the one on the west wall of Pylon VII) but as the conclusion of the enumeration (Mariette 117). This is not necessarily an accidental addition caused by the forgetfulness of the drafter, but may be a hint that Egypt's claim to rule Nahasian Lower Ethiopia in the Old Kingdom was urgently directed towards the possession of the main trading place of that time **Kensoi*. Because only the subjection of the Nahasians

⁴⁵ Karnak no. 96 was also no longer understood correctly in the New Kingdom. As Pylon VII, South-west face (= Mariette no. 23) shows, here the character for ' mountain desert ' *h's.t* had stood in combination with the *tjw* bird in the original text, and just as in no. 87 it had been reproduced without understanding as *t'.w-* instead of *t'.w h's.tjw*, as surely from the context it must be named.

⁴⁶ The *Nhs.jw* had their name from the district *Nhs* in the mountain desertland eastward of the Ethiopian Nile. (Otherwise compare below ' Ethnological Survey '.)

⁴⁷ ' Pacified Nahasians ' already served with the Egyptians in the Old Kingdom as policemen and tomb guards.

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allowed Egypt the desired 'Opening of the Wawat countries' which before had lain in the hands of the Nahasian competitor.

II. EGYPT'S POLITICAL VIEWPOINT ON THE KASHITE NILOTIC SUDAN

The geographical arrangement, on a purely military basis, of the previously discussed African country regions as shown in Tuthmosis III's records, is obviously based on the historic foundation of Egypt's claims, in the Old Kingdom, to the right of ruling, as opposed to the national territorial development of the southern neighbouring peoples lying upstream along the Nile. (Lower Ethiopia). Continuation of these tendencies in the Middle Kingdom finally brought the whole of Lower Ethiopia, up to above the Second Cataract, under the indisputable rule of Egypt. The greater part of the country lists of Tuthmosis III clearly reflects the extent of the Egyptian possessions, which, since the XIIIth Dynasty, had from below the southern boundary from Semna-Kumna up to the coast of Pyene, remained as firm possessions in the hands of the lord of the 'Two Countries'. Suddenly in the time of Tuthmosis III, to this block of chronologically old colonial possessions is added the recent and very recent colonial acquisitions of the XVIIth Dynasty, these included all the territories of Ethiopia up to the Sixth Cataract on one side as well as the south-eastern fore-lands up to the Pyene coast. This giant complex of newly-claimed colonial land in Upper Ethiopia bore, under Tuthmosis, the designation 'Vile Kash' as though this Ethiopian country had stolen the regions mentioned from Egypt. An inborn animosity of the Egyptians towards Kash can be seen unmistakably here.

Historical consideration of the African country list of Tuthmosis III leads us, as regards its deepest jurisdictional basis (Nahasia), to a competitor known of old and an enemy of the earliest Egyptian expansion to the south. We already know of the Nahasites in mythology, as the constant allies of the predynastic kingdom of Ombos against all the desires for unification and annexation of the Osirian kingdom, and the kingdom of the 'Servants of Horus' to the North. Of those whose names have reached us, they were the earliest rulers and usufructuaries of all the sedentary dwellers along the lower Ethiopian Nile up to the region of the Second Cataract, while they themselves remained the aristocratic and conservative rulers of the eastern desert lands. In a conservative Amratian culture, ground rents and protective and transit taxes kept predynastic and early dynastic lower Ethiopia in a steady state of commercial barter, as had been enough for the bow-armed lords of the desert country since the beginning. The area, however, lying north of the First Cataract up to Jebel Silsile fell, at the end of the Heliopolitan Kingdom, under the subjugation of the nationally orientated coercion of a developed Gerzean culture, the same as oppressed the lower nomes of Upper Egypt.

It is not known to us what knowledge Tuthmosis III and his contemporaries had of these prehistoric and early historic conditions in Lower Ethiopia in the Old Kingdom. But the jurisdictional reference to this epoch, when the trade and traffic of Lower Ethiopia were still the source of sustenance of the desert

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country, permits us to assume that in general people must have been quite well in the picture. The vth and vith Dynasties of Egypt had understood how to continue their supremacy over Lower Ethiopia, as they had already entered into conflict with the first Thinite kings. Only one thing must be mentioned here : the Kashites had nothing to do with this. They were, politically speaking, as though not yet in the world. Also the reason that the vith Dynasty had to end its Sudan policies, and that Egypt became subject to anarchy, lay in the inner circumstances of Egypt itself, and had nothing to do with the as yet distant Kash.

It was a fact that with the collapse of the vith Dynasty Lower Ethiopia was freed from all occupation as far as Egypt was concerned. However, even during the interregnum (2263-40 B.C.) the inherited claim on the Ethiopian commercial traffic was not forgotten in Egypt. We have direct testimony for this from the very period (about 2230 B.C.) when a statesman of unknown name invited the pretender to the throne of Koptos, *Djedkeria* 'shemma' (called 'the Nomad shepherd') to restore Egypt and establish once more its protective rule over Lower Ethiopia.⁴⁸ The passage in question runs :

'As far as the Nahasians are concerned, we intend to protect you by increasing the war force for defence against the archers.

Where the Tymhians are concerned, we intend to return. The people of Madja are friendly towards Egypt : and how could anyone begin to kill his brother?' (*Admonitions*, 14, line 13-14).

Here the whole picture of Lower Ethiopia at the time of the Old Kingdom is exhibited : the chief enemy are the Nahasians : the region of the Oasis of Selima—at that time called *Tmh* (approximate pronunciation *Tymh)—has been evacuated by the Egyptians : of the Madja, however, we hear that the Egyptians think of them as brothers, i.e. as their own kindred. These are all details for which we would otherwise have sought in vain.

Of a tribe Kash or something similar, there is no mention in this historical source : for the Egyptians of that time the region of the Fourth Cataract was still completely out of view.

In the course of the next two centuries the political situation in Lower Ethiopia changed considerably, and in a direction adverse to Egypt. The 'Western Oasis country' (*z.tjw*) had become independent from Egypt (-1961 B.C.). From Selima upwards, the region of the west bank of the Nile fell into the hands of the bearers of the so-called C-Group culture, apparently without any fight worth mentioning for its occupation. With this, the lucrative influence of Egypt in the region of the great oasis road was lost, and with it also all access to the trade region of **K' n zmj. t* (*Knzt*) was for the first time completely blocked. Also, with these incidents, Old Ethiopian history came to an end, from the Egyptian point of view.

There is hardly any reason to doubt that these developments, so adverse to Egypt, could not have run their course against the will of the Nahasian ruling tribes in the region of the east bank zone.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig 1909.

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To the south of the Second Cataract another and more lasting change had occurred at the same time. In the region of the east bank of the Nile, between the Third and Fourth Cataract a coalition of eight tribes from the southern Erythraïs had settled and founded a commercial empire. These were the bearers of the D-Group culture. As far as the standard of living of this feudal, matriarchal empire of the Middle Sudan was concerned, it was enormously different—apart from the primary basis of pasturage and cattle-breeding—from that of all the other people living along the Nile, including the region of lower Ethiopia formerly ruled by Egypt. The reason for this was the systematic winning and manufacture of gold. In analogy to other Montan-Cultures, one can here almost speak of a Gold-Culture (Reisner).

The leadership of this tribal coalition was, as we later learn, in the hands of the tribe of Kash at the foot of Jebel Barkal.

One look at the map shows us that a country richly endowed with gold situated in this place must, lying completely unprotected from the east, have been a direct provocation to attack by desert bandits, in so far as the security on that side was not complete. The strategic understanding of the most primitive basis of defence tells us this much. We can therefore assume with certainty, that the founding of this same empire could never have happened against the will of the Nahasians, the lords of the eastern deserts, as did, for example the annexation of Ombos by Egypt. It is as good as certain that the Nahasian tribes of this zone must have made common cause with the founders of the D-Group empire. What we are able to learn later on from ethnology about these peoples confirms this assumption.

As is known, however, the re-unification of Egypt came about under King Mentuhotep I of the xith Dynasty (2060–10 B.C.) and the next step was the re-occupation of lower Ethiopia. The coalition of Lower Ethiopia, opposed to Egypt, made however the 'opening of the Wawat countries' much more difficult than in the earlier times of the Old Kingdom.

Eventually the kings of the xiiith Dynasty succeeded, after repeated setbacks, in penetrating past Korosko up to Buhen and in making the Wawat countries a province of Egypt (Senusret I. 1958 B.C.). To supervise the south Hepzefa, Nomarch of Siut, was appointed governor; he had already been appointed by Amenemhat I to control the commercial town of Kerma acquired by concession. (Northpoint of Kash.)

What Egypt was mostly interested in there was not so much the trade turnover, but rather more the knowledge of where Kash received its enormous resources of gold from; these might in the long run serve to paralyze Egypt's trade competition in the Sudan. Not less than five gold expeditions were sent from Egypt in friendly exchange to Kash, to spy out this secret, until at last Sihathor under Amenemhat discovered the region of *Hah* (headwaters of Wadi Alaki) as the district where the gold was found. From then on Egypt started systematic preparations for war against Kash with the aim of conquering these gold territories.

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Now the well known fortification of the Wawat province under Senusret II began, continued by the excavation of a channel near Sehel whereby Senusret III managed to direct the Egyptian fleet right up to the Second Cataract. An uprising starting rather belatedly (1871 B.C.) south of the Second Cataract set off Egypt's attack against Kash and ended with the occupation of Akinya as well as the whole district of Hah. The block-houses of Semna-Kumna (with the chain of posts up to the Red Sea) sealed off until approximately 1630 the empire of Kash from its goldmines, as well as its trade interests in the Wawat countries. A violation of this borderline, 1862 B.C., ended with a destructive punitive expedition.⁴⁹

The loss of the gold basis for the trade of the Kash Empire forced its economy to change to a new trade currency. This was the sale of black natives in the upper Nile region as well as the playing off against each other of tribes which might be useful on a treaty basis in the affairs of Kashite domestic politics. Otherwise everything remained the same; a readjustment of military matters, as we can observe with the Egyptians, was impossible with the Kashites because of their obstinately conservative family feudalism and their mistrust of anything new. The basis of the army remained the already approved system of *légion étrangère*, which the Ethiopians of the Old Kingdom had been used to, and the main weapon of the fighting troops remained the high Ethiopian bows (up to Roman times). The leadership, however, was arranged mostly according to the point of view of the traditional order of nobility. Since with this system the Kashites also remained sufficiently superior to the primitive tribes of the Sudan countries, there was no reason to change the accustomed methods.

Senusret III recognized the weakness of this army organization of Kash. When a Kashite army was not at once successful when fighting an enemy they panicked, and the formations ran away, because they thought that obviously the god of the enemy was stronger than their own. That way the Egyptians got the idea of the cowardice of this army. (Inscription of Semna, 2nd decree.) The Ethiopians, however, worshipped the conquerors like gods right up to the times of late antiquity.

This religious loyalty of the Ethiopian empire of Kash shown towards Egypt is not only proved by the fact that from the time of Senusret III, we do not hear any more of military actions against Egyptian Ethiopia, but also, and mainly, by the fact that this neutral attitude still lasted after the collapse of the

⁴⁹ The control system of *Hah* is revealed to us in a fragment of an official 'journal' for the border administration of that time. Cf. P. C. Smither, 'The Semnah Despatches', *JEA*, xxxi, 1945, pp. 3ff.

At this point it must be mentioned that *Hah* was the name of a whole district, that reached to the Red Sea and was controlled from the fortress of Semna, named *ḥn* (Kashite 𐤏𐤋𐤏 Latin, *Acina*). In late Egyptian times the Red Sea was still called $\Phi\text{-}\text{io}\mu\text{-}\text{h}\text{-}\text{g}\text{-}\text{g}$ i.e. 'The Sea of Hah'. Cf. E. Zyhlarz, 'Die Namen des Roten Meeres', *Archiv für Ägyptische Archäologie*, Vienna 1938, pp. 111-14.

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Middle Kingdom, through the whole of the xvth Dynasty. (Hyksos I, c. 1735-1627). Only the sixth ruler of this Dynasty, *Si-Ri' Khyana*, had, as evidence shows, reason to visit Ethiopia personally. What the reason concerned was, we do not learn.

This same ruler (Turin Papyrus X, 122-3) apparently ended with the outbreak of an anarchistic interregnum of the empire lasting several years. (Manetho: ἀρχ[ῆ] λησ[τείας])⁵⁰. During that time there was a temporary restoration in Egypt under a national Egyptian usurper. (Turin Papyrus X, 112). This revolt was quelled.

Following this national reaction came the xvth Dynasty, the Apophis Dynasty, the rulers of which all carried the *Si-Ri'a* name *Apopi* and were usually called after the (Egypt.) *Ensebia* name. So the first ruler of this Egyptianizing Asiatic Dynasty was called: *Ensebia 'a'-Seteh Si-Ri'a 'Apôpi*. (Manetho: Ἀσση.) We know at least five kings of this group, who resided in *Hat-wa're. t* (Tanis) while in Thebes the isolated so-called xviii Dynasty administered Upper Egypt until approximately 1580 as a vassal government to Hyksos II. The rule over the two Ethiopias was lost and the Thebans were in the north obedient to the Asians and in the south to the Ethiopians.⁵¹

Now we can also understand what the rulers of Tanis (Hyksos I and II) had wanted in their time in Ethiopia: the task was to take away from the Thebans the support they found in the Old Ethiopian colonial empire. They succeeded in this, and for the first time the region dominated by Kash reached to the First Cataract. The famous border of *Hah* retained only a historical meaning. In the meantime Kash had become independent of its old gold resources, since it could exploit two new gold regions in the south and south-east. (*'mw* and *Nm'jw*.) Neither were they dependent on their trade with Egypt, because the way was open to the southern Erythraïs and through that to South Arabia.

How far the Thebans were informed about these circumstances is not related by history. The fact is only that the last Theban government of the xviii Dynasty, the brothers Kamose and Ahmose, undertook, before their revolt against Tanis, an action to reoccupy Lower Ethiopia, which, however, only took them to Toshke. The battles which followed against the northern ruler of Egypt left of course no more time for such undertakings. But Lower Ethiopia and the Sudan world had certainly not been forgotten.

Ahmes I had hardly obtained the administrative powers over Egypt by the conquest of Tanis and Sharuhen, when he hurried to re-occupy Lower Ethiopia, which had become the refuge of the Hyksos refugees and conspirators, and to

⁵⁰ The arrangement of the xvth (Apophis) Dynasty here assumed is based on the collation given in an (unpublished) manuscript of Edward Meyer on the fragments of the Turin Royal Papyrus with the Hyksos names of Africanus and Eusebius amended according to this.

⁵¹ Cf. A. H. Gardiner, 'The defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose', *JEA*, III, 1916, pp. 95 ff.

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drive the rebels away from there. His son Amenhotep I (from 1557) continued the occupation, to widen Egypt's borders; there was, however, still enough resistance, and only Tuthmosis I succeeded in reaching the old Wawat border and in extending the same to the Third Cataract. Kerma once again became the main Egyptian trading place in the Sudan. In this state the countries of Egyptian Ethiopia passed into the hands of Tuthmosis III, who, however, during the period of 1501-1484 had no right to make decisions about them. (Peace politics of Queen Hatshepsut.)

It does not need much effort of the imagination to see why the Sudan country lists of Tuthmosis III seem to be so very different from his Asiatic enumerations. Here what was meant to be shown was not enumerations of regions recently conquered by purely military means, but the whole enumeration was arranged in accordance with the patriotic point of view of the Egyptians, and in this way to justify, so to speak, a historical claim. Every foreigner, whether Asiatic or Ethiopian, was meant by this to recognize the historical rights of Egypt to rule over Ethiopia and all the Nilotic Sudan countries. To this geographical grouping the historical facts stood, unspoken, in the background, as did the spite against the Ethiopian competitor, Kash, who was thought to be unworthy.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL RETROSPECT

Brugsch's 'Map of the Peoples' has led Egyptologists permanently astray, in so far as they had become used to the assumption that the country lists of Karnak, and also of course all those of the later New Kingdom imitators, had to be regarded as contemporary ethnographic records. Such a thing, however, must have been far from the mind of Tuthmosis III as well as all the epigones. This kind of thought is modern European, but not Egyptian.

Already, within the frame of this orientation study lying before us, there is sufficient eclectic material to cause modern men to consider that this plenitude of country names, which is given in the Karnak list, only deals with geographical regional facts on a large scale. Even then a fixed ethnicon is occasionally used, here and there, as a regional term, which according to its morphological structure was really meant to signify a certain type of population, as, for example, *'n. tjw* 'wadi-dwellers', *h's.tjw* '(eastern) desert people', *Z.tjw* 'Elephantine people', (People of the Western Oases), etc. It is not necessary to philosophize, but only to keep to the words of the heading (Pylon VI, west) of Karnak, where it is written 'this is the list of the southern countries and (that of) the Elephantine bow people of the well regulated south'. The region concerned is, therefore, that of the old world of the first Egyptian occupation zone in Lower Ethiopia, set, however, in the frame of the far-reaching claims of the XVIIIth Dynasty. There is never any mention of a catalogue of peoples.

To Brugsch, every territorial name which appeared to be either phonetically, or from its meaning, unintelligible, was simply the name of a 'negro' tribe. Because texts from the Old Kingdom, which he found difficult to understand, repeatedly mentioned so-called *nhs.jw* in Lower Ethiopia, and he knew of a

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(Semitic) verb with the root **lḥs* 'to lisp, to whisper, to entreat' he combined the Egyptian verbal root *nḥs* with the Coptic Λϣⲏϥ 'to pant, to snort' to give a basic meaning 'negro', as though a negro was, to the Egyptians, a person with a lisping or snorting articulation. Even in the early times of Egyptology such a half childish etymology was eventually regarded as a negligible quantity, and not to be taken seriously.

It would appear, however, less childish if an early hypothesis on such a misleading basis continued to hold out obstinately against all historical knowledge gained in the meantime.⁵² Against this, the fact may be sufficient that the Old Egyptian language had formed no ethnicon at all for 'negro', and thus this question becomes superfluous.

A **enḥās.ej* was, from the beginning, a person belonging to the country of *Nḥs*, within the region of the desert country in the south-east of Egypt. This country was a cultural and historical *remise*, of which the great period, if it can so be called, came to an end with prehistoric times. Since that time the people were known as a rapacious warlike tribe, hostile to Egypt, whose sphere of action extended far to the south between the Erythraïs and the right bank of the Nile. Phenotypically they scarcely differed from the people of Upper Egypt. Only the old hair style of black locks, and the narrow plaited beard on the chin, were characteristic. Their loin-cloths were about a span longer than those of the Egyptians. So far the phenotype is somewhat reminiscent of an Egyptian of old-fashioned tastes. These people are, therefore, representatives of an Old Middle Land complex, as we know it from the Neolithic of eastern North Africa.

In the course of history, since the Old Kingdom, the original ethnical terms *nḥs.j.w* and *Nḥs.j.t* were devalued to purely geographical direction words, just as we are accustomed to talk of 'Ethiopia' and the 'Ethiopians'. These names, however, still recalled for the Egyptians certain archetypal memories of the historical antagonism of these regions against the Egyptian penetration of the Ethiopian lands. Thus the expression 'Nahasian' came rather to have the meaning of 'the hostile southerner'. Only the active trade in *black* slaves from Ethiopia, that became popular with the Egyptians during the xixth Dynasty caused the name **nḥōs* 'Ethiope' to come into use, half jokingly and half insultingly, for the black slaves of Ethiopia. Similarly the Romans later liked to use the expression 'stipes Aethiops'.⁵³

Also, in a purely geographical sense, the Karnak records use an archaic precise ethnicon for the widely extending region on the left bank of the Nile in Lower Ethiopia. This is '*wn.tjw Z.tjw*. 'the archers of *Z.t*' (e.g. Elephantine),

⁵² On the relatively late entrance of the negroid peoples into the field of vision of the Egyptians of olden times, cf. H. Junker, 'The First Appearance of the Negroes in History', *JEA*, vii, 1920, pp. 121 ff. Junker's attempt to prevent the *Wb* from retaining senseless definition '*Nḥs.j*=Negro' which had been accepted until then was unsuccessful owing to the steady belief in Brugsch of the editors.

⁵³ So used by Cicero. Geographically, however, under Ethiopia the region from Syene to Aromata was quite correctly understood.

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and it is used for the whole 'West Oasis Country' of the most ancient times. Ethnologically here, too, tribes of the type of *Homo mediterraneus* of the eastern complex are to be understood: their typical hunting and fighting weapon was the so-called *iwn-t* bow.⁵⁴ There is, of course, no suggestion here of the Troglodytica of Artemidorus, as Brugsch tried so obstinately to prove.

The Karnak lists do not make the slightest suggestion of the anthropological character of the tribes of Kash, or their ethnographical culture. Against this we know that the people concerned here were representatives of the southerly complex of Mediterranean man, of 'Erythrean' type. The members of the Kashite tribe differed from the Nahasians, who had a somewhat reddish-tinged, light brown colour, by their dark, earth-coloured skins, as well as in the fact that they used to wear shorter locks and 'Titus-head'. About this time also the Egyptian fashion of wigs became fashionable among the upper classes, although with the retention on both sides of the traditional feather ornament, as a sign of the dignity of the chieftain (pointed feather or ostrich feather).⁵⁵

In conclusion, even this short excursion into the realms of ethnology shows us that the Karnak lists are of no importance as a 'Tribal Map'. It would also be difficult for anyone to maintain that Tuthmosis III wished to represent himself to the visitors of the temples of Karnak as a great geographer. Nevertheless this publication of the old and new country lists of the royal archives was

⁵⁴ From the beginning, the *iwn. tjw Nhs* are to be distinguished from the 'Elephantine Archers'; the former were the 'Nahasian Archers' whose protective god was Min of Koptos. Brugsch surmised that the latter were the Egyptian prototype of the culturally poor tribal remnants of the so-called (by the Greeks) Troglodytes southwards along the coast of Pyene. These disparate tribal relicts of pre-history (hunters, fishermen and herders of small stock) who had their home in the hottest zones of the earth did not suit the picture at all which fitted Tuthmosis III's World Empire. As ruler of the Troglodytes and conqueror of wretched outcasts, Tuthmosis would have represented only a lamentable figure to his times.

⁵⁵ Pointed feathers as head ornament, in oldest times already characterize the people of the 'Land of Gods' (Arabia) while the ostrich feathers formed the recognition mark of the Ethiopians (*nhs. jw*), the same as of the representatives of the West Oasis country. Referring to this, individual tribes maintained firm traditions.

In the time of the 'Negro-Politics' of Kash—(since Amarna)—we see both recognition signs on the heads of representatives of negroid tribes also. (Cf. *Kurnet Muray*).

As far as the political accretion of negroid tribes in the province of Kash is concerned we probably have to determine the period from the beginning of the 14th century B.C. At the time of Tuthmosis IV only the Erythraian 'Galla' types *('Atal, *Aromi), etc. appear to be characterized as racial types of the furthestmost south. (See the Chariot of Tuthmosis IV). From about 1354 B.C., however, the increase of the negroids begins on the left bank of the Nile, downstream, and extends during the 19th Dynasty over Abu Simbel down to Beit el Wali. To explain this occurrence purely as a result of the slave trade would surely be an over simplification. In face of the several campaigns of the 19th Dynasty against negroid tribes in the west bank districts, it must be assumed that the results of the hostile tendencies of the 'Princes of Kash' must have been involved in this. These politically useful tribes were 'free' as long as Egypt was incapable of attending to the affairs of the Ethiopian Sudan.

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something original in the history of Egypt. Now only the question of the real meaning and intention of the whole representation remains.

The answer to this question undoubtedly lies in the plane of religious tendencies.

We know from experience that Egyptian antiquity used to relate all objective material to the realm of the life of the people, whether it was a lively scene from the homeland, or a recollection of strange countries, to be eternally restored to life before the eyes of the departed in the Temple of the Dead and in the Mastabas. Lifelike reproductions of scenes of war, inscriptions of victories, etc., had their place before the eyes of the local deity concerned. But Tuthmosis III's catalogues of countries were found in the principal temple of the god of the empire, *Amon-Re*, of Karnak. Before him and before his eyes they should stand, for ever and eternally ; and Egypt's possessions of subject lands, whether obtained by conquest or by inheritance, were thereby guaranteed in the eyes of devout Egyptians an eternal and imperishable duration.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Through this precise cult action Amun is declared the guarantor of the now established *status quo*. This alone was the aim and meaning of the whole display of the collected territories of Egyptian Greater Ethiopia. Historical or linguistic speculations of any kind are altogether remote from this monument.

Pour une localisation du pays Koush au Moyen Empire

par GEORGES POSENER

DE tous les toponymes étrangers employés par les Égyptiens et propagés par eux dans le monde oriental, le nom du pays Koush est celui qui a connu la fortune la plus remarquable. Au Nouvel Empire, il sert à désigner la grande vice-royauté qui comprend toutes les possessions pharaoniques situées au Sud de l'Égypte et qui mord sur l'Égypte elle-même en englobant ses nomes les plus méridionaux. Le terme passe en accadien sous la XVIII^e dynastie et se popularise en Asie à partir du VIII^e siècle avant notre ère quand la Nubie devient une grande puissance qui s'annexe l'État des pharaons et intervient dans les affaires de Palestine. Les conquérants assyriens sont bien informés au sujet de Koush et mieux encore les Achéménides qui adoptent ce nom pour désigner leur province nubienne. Enfin la Bible, où il est à différentes reprises question de Koush, sauvera le toponyme de l'oubli et le transmettra jusqu'aux temps modernes avec sa traduction en grec et en latin.

HISTORIQUE DE LA QUESTION

Champollion identifie Koush dans les textes avec aisance ; il en réunit les principales graphies et rend le nom par 'l'Éthiopie',¹ suivant en cela la version des Septante. Cette traduction correspond à l'acception large du terme qu'il a dans toutes les sources orientales et dans la majeure partie des exemples égyptiens. Mais déjà au milieu du siècle passé les savants s'aperçoivent que Koush peut exprimer une notion géographique mieux définie que l'ensemble des pays méridionaux. En essayant de localiser le toponyme, on le promènera depuis la 1^{re} Cataracte jusqu'à l'Équateur et même en Arabie.

Ainsi Brugsch écrit-il (1858) que Koush désigne le territoire habité par les *Nhsj.w* qui, selon lui, sont des peuplades nègres ; certains enfants de Koush énumérés dans Genèse 10, 7 représentent, à son avis, les noirs de Pount, contrée qu'il place dans la péninsule arabique.² D'autres, comme Wiedemann (1884), estiment, au contraire, que les Koushites sont d'abord les Nubiens apparentés aux Égyptiens et que le nom a été étendu par la suite vers le Sud et a fini par englober les nègres.³ Pour Maspero (1895), Koush a toujours recouvert un territoire immense : commençant au delà de Semneh, il comprenait les plaines

¹ Champollion, *Grammaire égyptienne*, pp. 150 et 151 ; id., *Notices Descriptives*, I, p. 35.

² Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altäg. Denkmäler*, II, *Das Ausland : Die Geographie der Nachbarländer Ägyptens*, pp. 4-5.

³ Wiedemann, *Äg. Geschichte*, p. 23.

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du Nil, le Kordofan et le Darfour, il confinait aux monts d'Abyssinie.⁴ Plus réservé dans ses estimations, W. Max Müller (1904) suppose que, pour commencer, le toponyme désignait seulement la région située au Sud de la 11^e Cataracte.⁵ Breasted (1905) inclut dans Koush toute la zone qui va de cette Cataracte à la 16^e, mais, après avoir parcouru le terrain, il arrive à la conviction que la fertile province du Dongola constituait la partie essentielle de ce pays (1908).⁷ Weigall (1907) lui attribue la même frontière septentrionale que W. Max Müller,⁸ alors que Budge (1907) la situe plus au Nord, un peu en amont de Korosko, et étend la Koush du Moyen Empire jusqu'au confluent des deux Nil.⁹ Ed. Meyer (1913) limite à la Moyenne Nubie le territoire¹⁰ qui est reporté plus au Sud par Schiaparelli (1916); celui-ci, reprenant à son compte la thèse de Brugsch, estime qu'au sens propre le terme est avant tout anthropologique et qu'il correspond à l'aire habitée par les tribus nègres depuis la région de Khartoum jusqu'aux approches de l'Équateur.¹¹

En 1920, la question est reprise sur des bases nouvelles par H. Junker qui a l'idée de confronter les données des textes avec les résultats de l'exploration archéologique de la Nubie, dans un travail qui marque une date dans les études koushites.¹² La monographie traite du Groupe C dont l'arrivée, au Moyen Empire, entraîne la renaissance de la civilisation nubienne. Le domaine que ce peuple occupe se trouve, selon le témoignage des fouilles, dans la zone qui va d'El-Koubanieh, situé à quelque 15 kms. au Nord d'Assouan, jusqu'à Ermenneh, à 25 kms. environ au Nord d'Abou-Simbel¹³; on peut dire que ce domaine correspond en gros au secteur compris entre la 1^e et la 11^e Cataractes.¹⁴ Les tribus qui s'installent dans cette région appartiennent à la race hamite, elles viennent du Sud, poussées sans doute par les populations noires,¹⁵ dont le contact a marqué le type physique des nouveaux venus.¹⁶ On ne relève chez ces derniers presque aucune trace de concentration du pouvoir ni de différenciation sociale, sans

⁴ Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, I, p. 488.

⁵ W. Max Müller, *Athiopien* [*Der alte Orient*, 6, 2], p. 9, n. 3.

⁶ Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 136-7.

⁷ Breasted, *AJSLL*, 25, p. 48.

⁸ Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 4.

⁹ Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*, I, p. 536.

¹⁰ Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2³, § 287 a.

¹¹ Schiaparelli, *La geografia dell'Africa orientale secondo le indicazioni dei monumenti egiziani*, pp. 21-2, 124, 276-81.

¹² Junker, *Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanieh-Nord* [*Denkschr. Wien*, 64, 3], pp. 2-37.

¹³ Op. cit., pp. 2-4. Depuis le travail de Junker, des sites du Groupe C ont été trouvés au Sud d'Abou-Simbel, cf. *infra*, p. 63.

¹⁴ Op. cit., pp. 30 et 33.

¹⁵ Op. cit., pp. 12 et 35.

¹⁶ Op. cit., pp. 4-12. Le rameau Sud du même peuple est connu par les fouilles de Reisner à Kerma, op. cit., pp. 18-30; les hommes des *pan-graves* seraient apparentés au Groupe de Kerma, op. cit., pp. 30-5.

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doute parce qu'ils ont été vite soumis par les Égyptiens qui n'ont pas toléré l'existence de principautés indigènes.¹⁷ Comme leurs prédécesseurs du Groupe B qu'ils ont absorbés, ces Hamites négroïdes sont appelés par les Égyptiens les *Nhšj.w* ; ce nom n'est pas réservé aux noirs, il désigne, d'une façon plus large, les habitants des contrées situées au Sud de l'Égypte¹⁸ ainsi que W. Max Müller l'avait déjà soutenu.¹⁹ Le nom qui est en relation directe avec le Groupe C est celui du pays Koush. Ce nom désigne la Basse Nubie au Moyen Empire dans des textes qui ont trait aux guerres menées, entre la 1^{re} et la 11^{re} Cataractes, par les pharaons de la XII^e dynastie contre leurs voisins immédiats du Sud qui, à l'époque, appartiennent au Groupe C. Le peuple et le toponyme font une apparition simultanée et ils ont la même localisation d'où il s'ensuit que Koush est le nom du pays occupé par la nouvelle race. Le Nord de la Basse Nubie doit être compris sous ce terme et si on trouve Ouauat mentionnée parfois dans les textes de la XII^e dynastie, il s'agit d'une survivance d'une désignation ancienne à côté du nom récent. Quand, au Nouvel Empire, la Basse Nubie sera entièrement égyptisée, il faudra lui réserver un traitement à part et, pour ce faire, on la détachera de Koush dont la frontière Nord sera reculée. En même temps, sa limite méridionale se déplacera de plus en plus loin vers le Sud avec la progression des armées égyptiennes.²⁰ Enfin, comme la XII^e dynastie trouve le Groupe C déjà établi entre la 1^{re} et la 11^{re} Cataractes, l'arrivée du nouveau peuple doit remonter avant le Moyen Empire et s'être produit au cours de la Première Période Intermédiaire.²¹

Tels sont les points essentiels de la thèse de Junker sur Koush et sa coïncidence avec le Groupe C, thèse qui reçoit l'adhésion des spécialistes des questions nubienues tels que Steindorff (1932-5)²² et Säve-Söderbergh (1941).²³ D'autres savants ne prennent pas en considération l'étude de Junker à moins qu'elle ne leur échappe. Reisner (1923) s'en tient au sens large de Koush qui recouvre toutes les contrées au Sud de l'Égypte.²⁴ Selon Farina (1925), le nom désigne au Moyen Empire une tribu vivant près de Napata et s'étend progressivement vers l'Atbara au Nouvel Empire.²⁵ Pour Hommel (1926), Koush est la Nubie supérieure, le toponyme aurait été introduit par un peuple

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁸ Op. cit., pp. 12-17.

¹⁹ W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 112-13 ; id., *Egyptological Researches*, II, p. 57. En réalité, les *Nhšj.w*, au sens étroit du terme, étaient un groupe humain mieux défini, cf. *ZAS*, 83, pp. 44-8.

²⁰ Junker, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

²¹ Op. cit., pp. 35-7.

²² *Studies Griffith*, p. 361 ; Steindorff, *Amiba* [Mission archéologique de Nubie, 1929-34], I, p. 6.

²³ *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 63 ; voir aussi Kees, *Ägypten* [Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, I], pp. 341 et 345.

²⁴ Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, IV-v [HAS, 6], pp. 536-7.

²⁵ Farina, *Aegyptus*, 6, pp. 42-3 et 53.

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venu peut-être de l'Arabie du Sud.²⁶ Gauthier (1928) parle encore d'une région de Nubie peuplée de nègres et ne touchant pas à l'Égypte.²⁷ Dans un livre récent, Arkell (1955) écrit que la localisation initiale de Koush était probablement à Kerma.²⁸ Enfin, plus récemment encore, Zyhlarz (1956) place la Koush originale dans la région de Barkal²⁹ comme Farina et, revenant aux idées de Brugsch et de Hommel, fait venir ses habitants de l'Arabie méridionale.³⁰

KOUSH DANS LES TEXTES D'ENVOÛTEMENT

Cependant, en 1926, paraissait un premier texte qui rendait nécessaire de reconsidérer le problème de Koush au Moyen Empire. Il s'agissait du répertoire d'envoûtement transcrit par Sethe d'après les inscriptions sur vases du musée de Berlin.³¹ Dans ces listes, Koush figurait à deux reprises avec un sens visiblement étroit.³² Au lieu de confronter ces exemples avec les matériaux déjà connus et de vérifier les hypothèses existantes, on s'est contenté d'adapter les faits nouveaux à ce qu'on croyait établi³³ quand on n'a pas ignoré leur existence. D'autres exemples, de nature semblable aux précédents, sont publiés en 1940 et subissent le même sort : ce sont les listes relevées sur des statuettes en terre crue qui proviennent de Saqqara.³⁴ Enfin le musée du Caire possède des figurines en albâtre qui portent un troisième texte d'envoûtement, encore inédit³⁵ ; il apporte des renseignements supplémentaires sur la Nubie au Moyen Empire. Il existe ainsi un ensemble homogène de sources intéressant la géographie koushite, ensemble peu ou point exploité encore. Ces textes sont à la base de la présente étude et il convient d'abord de donner quelques éclaircissements à leur sujet, ce qu'on fera en suivant l'ordre chronologique.

²⁶ Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, II, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* [W. Otto, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III. Abt., I. Teil, I. Band], p. 744. L'hypothèse de l'origine sud-arabe repose sur Genèse 10, 7 déjà utilisée par Brugsch.

²⁷ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, v, pp. 193-4.

²⁸ Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*, p. 72 ; voir aussi les cartes des p. 57 et 81 sur lesquelles Koush occupe la boucle du Nil entre l'île de Saï et la IV^e Cataracte.

²⁹ Zyhlarz, *KUSH* IV, p. 23.

³⁰ Op cit., p. 29. Les arguments de Zyhlarz sont d'ordre linguistique. Les archéologues penchent maintenant vers l'origine libyenne des Nubiens du Moyen Empire, cf. par exemple Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter* [*Äg. Forsch.*, 4], pp. 54-8, qui apporte son adhésion à cette thèse qui a été avancée par Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 245-52.

³¹ Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* [Abh. Berlin, 1926, 5].

³² Op cit., pp. 33 et 38.

³³ Op cit., p. 33 ; Steindorff, loc. cit., Säve-Söderbergh, loc. cit.

³⁴ Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie ; textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire suivis de remarques paléographiques sur les textes similaires de Berlin* par B. van de Walle.

³⁵ Pour une analyse sommaire de ce texte, voir Posener dans *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, I, pp. 313-16.

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Figurines en albâtre. La paléographie, l'orthographe, le formulaire concourent à dater ces documents, avec certitude, de la première moitié de la XII^e dynastie. Des considérations qu'on ne saurait exposer ici permettent de préciser cette date et de placer les objets, avec une certaine vraisemblance, aux environs de la deuxième moitié du 20^e siècle avant notre ère, c'est-à-dire entre le milieu du règne de Sésostri I^{er} et les dernières années d'Amménémès II. Le texte débute par une énumération de princes nubiens qui sont au nombre de onze et comptent parmi eux une princesse ; le souverain de Koush occupe la première place, son nom est mal conservé et ses parents ne sont pas nommés. La deuxième mention de Koush figure dans une partie différente du répertoire, relative aux pays habités par les Nubiens ; on y lit : ' Tous les *Nḥs(j).w* de Ouauat, Koush, Shaât (*Šṣ't*), Béquès (? *Bḳs* ?) ',^{35a}

Vases de Berlin. Leur date a varié au gré des auteurs qui l'ont d'abord fixée à la fin de la XI^e dynastie³⁶ pour la rabaisser ensuite jusqu'à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire.³⁷ La paléographie s'oppose formellement à ces datations extrêmes ; l'écriture des textes est postérieure à l'hieratique ancien qui survit encore sous les deux premiers règnes de la XII^e dynastie³⁸ et elle est antérieure à l'hieratique fleuri, dit 'hyksôs', qui se propage à partir du milieu de la XIII^e dynastie.³⁹ Ensuite, l'orthographe, la composition générale du répertoire et le détail du formulaire⁴⁰ montrent que les vases de Berlin sont plus récents que les figurines en albâtre et plus anciens que les statuettes de Saqqara, qu'ils sont plus près de celles-ci que de celles-là. Il n'est même pas impossible que l'écart entre les vases de Berlin et les statuettes de Saqqara puisse être fixé à une génération.⁴¹ Si on veut proposer une date absolue, on ne se trompera pas beaucoup sans doute en attribuant les textes publiés par Sethe aux environs du règne de Sésostri III (1878-1843).⁴² Dans ce répertoire, le prince de Koush vient à nouveau en tête des rois nubiens qui sont ici au nombre de cinq ou de six⁴³ ; le nom de ce prince est *ṣwṣw*, sa mère s'appelle *Kwn* (?) *j* et, du nom du

^{35a} Cf. ZAS, 83, p. 44.

³⁶ Sethe, op. cit., pp. 18 et 21-3.

³⁷ Edgerton, JAOS, 60, p. 492, n. 44 ; cet auteur donne comme dates extrêmes, possibles sinon vraisemblables, le règne de Sésostri III et celui de Thoutmosis III (!).

³⁸ Ce fait n'était pas connu de Möller qui donne une idée inexacte de l'évolution de l'écriture cursive au Moyen Empire en écrivant qu'elle avait subi une transformation radicale à la fin de la XI^e dynastie et au début de la XII^e, cf. sa *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, p. 3. W. K. Simpson, abordera sans doute la question dans son article des *Mélanges Junker* [MDIAK, 16].

³⁹ Voir maintenant Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, p. 15.

⁴⁰ J'entends par là notamment les §§ c, d, g, h, k, l, n de l'édition de Sethe.

⁴¹ Posener, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

⁴² Albright, JAOS, 74, p. 223, n. 2, propose la date de c. 1925-c. 1875 ce qui correspond aux règnes d'Amménémès II et de Sésostri II.

⁴³ Le texte contient six entrées, mais les deux dernières, a 5 et a 6, semblent se rapporter au même prince, cf. Posener, op. cit., p. 53.

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père, il subsiste le dernier signe qui est ṣ .⁴⁴ La liste des pays contient vingt deux toponymes et débute par : 'Tous les *Nḥs(j).w* de Koush, de Mouger (*Mwgr*), de Shaât (*Šṣ't*),' etc.⁴⁵ ; il existe une version abrégée qui ne donne que cinq noms : pour les trois premiers, elle est identique à la liste complète.⁴⁶

Statuettes de Saqqara. Pour fixer leur date, on dispose de la paléographie et de l'onomastique égyptienne qui contient des noms formés avec les préfixes de certains rois de la XII^e dynastie. En tenant compte de ces deux facteurs, on arrive à la conclusion que ces figurines se placent entre la fin du règne de Sésostri III et le début de la XIII^e dynastie, autrement dit entre c. 1840 et c. 1780 avant notre ère.⁴⁷ Ici encore, le roi de Koush tient la première place dans la liste de cinq princes nubiens ; la lecture de son nom, *Wttrss*, n'est pas assurée ; sa mère s'appelle *Ttj* et son père *ṣwṣ*.⁴⁸ La table des pays du Sud comprend vingt neuf contrées et débute par les mêmes toponymes que celle des vases de Berlin.⁴⁹ Trois statuettes fournissent les éléments d'une liste de princes différente de celle des autres manuscrits ; cette version inédite⁵⁰ contient huit ou neuf noms au lieu de cinq ; la première désignation, où on s'attend à trouver le roi de Koush, est incomplète et le toponyme est perdu dans une lacune.

Pris ensemble, les trois répertoires couvrent la majeure partie de la XII^e dynastie et le premier, celui des figurines en albâtre, contient les mentions de Koush qui comptent parmi les plus anciennes qu'on possède actuellement de cette contrée.

DATE DE L'APPARITION DU TOPONYME ET SES GRAPHIES

Au début de ce siècle, on croyait avoir trouvé une mention de Koush qui remontait à la fin de l'Ancien Empire ; cet exemple, obtenu au moyen d'une correction textuelle, dans une inscription d'une tombe située en face d'Éléphantine,⁵¹ fut vite abandonné après que Gardiner eut contrôlé la lecture sur l'original.⁵² Plus tard, on pensa que le toponyme était déjà connu à la fin de la

⁴⁴ Sethe, op. cit., p. 33.

⁴⁵ Op. cit., pp. 38-40 ; plusieurs lectures ont été corrigées par van de Walle dans Posener, op. cit., pp. 103-7.

⁴⁶ Sethe, op. cit., p. 38.

⁴⁷ Posener, op. cit., pp. 31-5. Albright, loc. cit., propose sensiblement la même date : deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle.

⁴⁸ Posener, op. cit., pp. 48-9. Dans le nom du père, ṣṣ doit vraisemblablement être compris comme un duel et se lire ṣwṣ ; on obtient ainsi ṣwṣwṣ qui est à rapprocher de ṣwṣw , nom du prince de Koush sur les vases de Berlin. A la fin de l'Ancien Empire, dans des textes d'envoûtement inédits, certains noms propres présentent six ṣ consécutifs qui expriment le même complexe au moyen de deux pluriels : $\text{ṣṣṣ ṣṣṣ} = \text{ṣ.w ṣ.w}$. Dans ces textes, on raconte aussi le groupe simple $\text{ṣṣṣ} = \text{ṣ.w}$ qui reparaît sous la XVIII^e dynastie, dans les listes des pays nubiens, *Urk.* IV, 797 (36), 798 (41).

⁴⁹ Posener, op. cit., pp. 54-62.

⁵⁰ Op. cit., pp. 13 et 22-3.




⁵¹ Cf. *Urk.* I¹, 140, 17 ; lecture adoptée notamment par Breasted, *AR.*, I, § 361 ; Roeder, *Klio*, 12, p. 64 ; Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 10.

⁵² Cf. Sethe, *ZAS*, 45, p. 10.

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xii^e dynastie puisqu'on attribuait à cette époque les vases de Berlin avec leurs répertoires.⁵³ Là encore il a fallu déchanter et on est revenu, après ces tentatives infructueuses de vieillir Koush, à considérer la stèle de Bouhen conservée à Florence⁵⁴ comme étant, de tous les textes qui nommaient ce pays, le plus ancien.

Cette inscription,⁵⁵ datée de l'an 18 de Sésostris I^{er}, relate une campagne victorieuse de l'armée égyptienne contre les contrées du Sud ; les pays vaincus sont énumérés dans une liste en partie conservée qui débute par le nom de Koush. Au même règne appartiennent la mention du toponyme qui se trouve dans la tombe de Sirenput I^{er} près d'Éléphantine⁵⁶ et celles qu'on lit dans l'inscription biographique d'Aménay à Béni-Hassan, texte daté de l'an 43 de Sésostris I^{er}.⁵⁷ Les deux personnages parlent d'une campagne menée par le roi contre 'la misérable Koush' et il est possible qu'il s'agisse de l'expédition de l'an 18 qui fut une des plus importantes que la xii^e dynastie ait entreprises en Nubie. Que le rapprochement entre les trois documents soit juste ou non, on peut dire que, selon les sources connues à l'heure actuelle, Koush fait son apparition dans les textes égyptiens à l'époque où commence la grande expansion pharaonique vers le Sud.

Sur la stèle de Bouhen, le toponyme est écrit  K3s et dans la tombe de Sirenput I^{er} il est rendu par  K3s. A l'époque, les deux s ne sont plus distingués et la différence entre les deux formes est purement graphique ; elle tient vraisemblablement à la disposition différente des textes, verticale sur la stèle,⁵⁸ horizontale sur la paroi de la tombe.⁵⁹ L'identité de ce pays K3s avec Koush (K3š), acceptée sans discussion par la plupart des savants, peut être prouvée maintenant d'une façon formelle : sur les vases de Berlin et sur les statuettes de Saqqara, la liste des princes débute par le souverain de K3š, alors que les figurines en albâtre, qui sont plus anciennes, portent au même endroit  K3š.⁶⁰

K3s est ainsi la première graphie attestée pour le toponyme ; les Égyptiens ont commencé par rendre celui-ci avec un s final. Pas plus que sous la forme K3š, le

⁵³ Cf. *supra*, p. 43 ; Sethe, *Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten*, p. 33 ; Steindorff dans *Studies Griffith*, p. 361 ; Kees, *Ägypten*, pp. 341, n. 4, et 345, n. 3.

⁵⁴ No. 1542 [2540].

⁵⁵ Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 130-1 ; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 69-70.

⁵⁶ *Urk.* VII, 5, 17 ; le deuxième exemple qui figure dans la même tombe, op. cit., I, 20, est douteux, cf. *infra*, p. 47, n. 75.

⁵⁷ Op. cit., I, 14 et 19.



⁵⁸ La graphie adoptée convient particulièrement à une légende inscrite dans un ovale placé debout comme c'est le cas, cf. par exemple Capart, *L'art égyptien*, pl. 45, pour une photographie de la stèle.

⁵⁹ Pour la disposition des signes, cf. Gardiner, *ZAS*, 45, pl. 8A.

⁶⁰ Même graphie dans la deuxième mention du toponyme qui se trouve dans la liste des pays.

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nom ne se rattache à aucune racine égyptienne et doit être considéré comme un emprunt au parler autochtone. S'il est permis d'appliquer au nubien les règles en vigueur au Moyen Empire pour la transcription du sémitique en égyptien, la consonne médiane de *Ks* est *l/r*.⁶¹ Une autre possibilité est offerte par l'alternance des signes *z* et *n* qu'on rencontre dans le vocabulaire égyptien par exemple dans *idz.t/idn.t*, sorte de pain,⁶² *fgz/fgn* 'aller à la selle',⁶³ *zur/nur* 'trembler'.⁶⁴ Cela pose la question des rapports éventuels entre *Ks* et *Kns.t* (*Knz.t*), région connue depuis le temps des Textes des Pyramides et d'habitude localisée au Sud ou au Sud-Est de l'Égypte quand elle n'appartient pas à l'autre monde.⁶⁵ Sans vouloir faire coïncider les deux pays dans l'espace, on peut se demander si une racine employée dans la toponomastique nubienne n'aurait pas pénétré dans l'égyptien sous la forme *knz* à l'Ancien Empire,⁶⁶ puis sous la forme *kzs* au Moyen Empire. On n'insistera pas sur cette conjecture discutable⁶⁷ dont le principal intérêt serait de vieillir le vocable et on se gardera aussi des rapprochements faciles qui ont été faits entre *Kns.t* et Konosso, Korosko,⁶⁸ les Candeï de Pline,⁶⁹ etc.,⁷⁰ et qu'on pourrait être tenté d'appliquer à *Ks*.

La forme *Ks* sort rapidement de l'usage et  *Ks* qu'on trouve sous Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari⁷¹ est un archaïsme maladroit car il manque à cette graphie le *z* médian.⁷²  *Kz* apparaît déjà en l'an 43 de Sésotris I^{er} dans l'inscription d'Aménay à Béné-Hassan dont on a signalé plus haut les exemples. La substitution de la chuintante à la sifflante montre, peut-on penser, les difficultés qu'éprouvaient les Égyptiens à rendre dans leur écriture un son

⁶¹ Sur *z* servant à rendre *resh* et *lamed*, voir Albright, *The Vocalization of the Eg. Syllabic Orthography*, p. 8, avec les références dans la n. 19.

⁶² *Wb.* I, 152 (17); cf. les exemples de Griffith, *Kahun Pap.*, Plates, 19, 13 et 20, 14 (*id.t*) qui confirment le sens indiqué. Sans doute le même pain sous une graphie particulière dans *Onom. Ramesséum*, no. 231.

⁶³ *Wb.* I, 580 (6-7); Grapow, *ZAS*, 49, pp. 44-5; pour le sens, cf. Lefebvre dans Firchow, *Ag. Studien* [VIO, 29], p. 206.

⁶⁴ *Wb.* I, 5 (17) et II, 222 (9-13). Voir encore les exemples cités par Grapow, loc. cit., ainsi que l'équivalence *hzw/hmw* 'voisins' qui ressort des variantes de Ptahhotep, 165.

⁶⁵ *Wb.* v, 133 (16)-134 (6); Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, v, pp. 205-6 où on trouvera la bibliographie; voir encore Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, v, pp. 130-3; Roeder, *Klio*, 12, p. 62; Farina, *Aegyptus*, 6, pp. 48-9 et 53; Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, II, pp. 743-4.

⁶⁶ *Knz.t* et ses dérivés sont isolés dans le vocabulaire égyptien comme l'est *Kzs/Kz*.

⁶⁷ En fait, le seul élément commun aux deux toponymes est la consonne initiale. Voir aussi l'explication que propose Zyhlarz, *KUSH* IV, p. 21, n. 2, pour *z* de *Kzs*.

⁶⁸ Hommel, loc. cit.

⁶⁹ Farina, loc. cit.

⁷⁰ Voir Gauthier, loc. cit.

⁷¹ *Urk.* IV, 334, 8.

⁷² Le contexte et l'épithète *hs.t* 'misérable' qui suit *Ks* prouvent que ce toponyme représente Koush. *Ks.t* qu'on trouve dans les Textes des Sarcophages et que Budge, *Eg. Hierogl. Dict.*, 1048, et Gauthier, op. cit., v, p. 193, ont rapproché de *Ks* correspond en réalité à *Kns.t*, comme le montrent les variantes du passage, *CT*, III, 14 b.

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que leur langue ne possédait pas.⁷³ *K3š* se maintient au cours de la XII^e dynastie pour céder ensuite la place à *Kšī*,⁷⁴ puis à *Kš* qui est la forme courante au Nouvel Empire.⁷⁵ Le changement qu'on observe ici, la chute de *3*, correspond à un phénomène interne de la langue égyptienne ; il indique que le toponyme est entré dans le vocabulaire usuel, ce qui n'étonne pas quand on observe la fréquence avec laquelle Koush revient dans les textes.

SUPERFICIE INITIALE DE KOUSH

Cette fréquence tient à ce que, de bonne heure, le toponyme a été employé pour désigner une vaste région. Les deux textes du Nouvel Empire dont on avait fait état⁷⁶ pour montrer que Koush pouvait désigner encore à cette époque un territoire limité n'emportent pas la conviction. Le plus intéressant de ces textes est l'inscription de l'an 1 de Thoutmosis II qui relate comment le roi a écrasé un soulèvement qui avait éclaté dans 'la misérable Koush'.⁷⁷ La rébellion était conduite par un roi et deux princes indigènes qui, semble-t-il, ont partagé 'ce pays' entre eux.⁷⁸ Le libellé du passage n'est pas clair⁷⁹ ; si 'ce pays' représente la totalité du territoire de Koush, on peut conclure que celui-ci n'avait pas une très grande extension puisque trois chefs suffisaient à le gouverner. Cette interprétation du récit n'est pas absolument assurée : elle laisserait à Koush une superficie encore considérable.

Le deuxième texte est la liste des contrées méridionales gravée dans le temple de Ramsès II en Abydos⁸⁰ ; l'énumération comprend neuf noms, celui de Koush venant en tête. On se demande pourquoi ce relevé sommaire a été choisi pour démontrer que Koush gardait, à l'occasion, un sens restreint à côté de son acception large : de grandes listes géographiques comme celles de Thoutmosis III offrent de meilleures garanties et elles débute par le même nom.⁸¹ C'est dans cette position initiale que réside la difficulté car Koush peut être comprise, dans ces documents, comme étant une désignation générale, une sorte de titre pour la série de noms suivants.

⁷³ Cf. Zyhlarz, op. cit., p. 22, n. 7.

⁷⁴ Forme transitoire *K3šj* sous la XIII^e dynastie, Le Caire 20.086 b, 3.

⁷⁵ Voir Gunn, *ASAE*, 29, p. 9, et Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, p. 52, sur l'évolution des graphies. Dans un passage fruste des inscriptions de Sirenpout I^{er}, on a cru trouver la forme *Kš*, cf. *Urk.* VII, 1, 20 ; cette lecture paraît suspecte et demande à être contrôlée ; elle ne s'accorde pas avec le texte parallèle, cf. Gardiner, *ZAS*, 45, p. 127, *h*, et elle a aussi contre elle le fait que la même tombe contient un exemple sûr de la graphie *K3s*, cf. *supra*. Certains auteurs ont cru que *Kšw* de Sinouhé B, 220 désignait Koush ; il s'agit en réalité d'un pays asiatique, écrit *Kwšw* dans les textes d'envoûtement ; sur sa localisation, voir Maisler, *Rev. hist. juive en Égypte*, 1, pp. 37-8.

⁷⁶ Junker, *El-Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 18 ; Sethe, *Achtung feindlicher Fürsten*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Urk.* IV, 137-41.

⁷⁸ Op cit., 139, 2-7 ; sur ce passage, cf. *Rev. d'Ég.*, 10, pp. 92-4.

⁷⁹ Voir le commentaire de Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 151.

⁸⁰ Porter-Moss, VI, 35 (16) ; cf. Schiaparelli, *La geografia dell'Africa Orientale*, pp. 159-60.

⁸¹ *Urk.* IV, 796 (1).

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Pour illustrer le procédé, prenons la liste des pays du Sud que porte le socle d'un colosse d'Aménophis III.⁸² 'La misérable Koush' figure ici à trois reprises, en tête des subdivisions du texte⁸³ ; dans un cas,⁸⁴ son nom est suivi de 'Iwn.wt Stj, désignation traditionnelle de l'ensemble des populations de la vallée nubienne du Nil.⁸⁵ Il est évident que dans cette liste Koush a un sens très large et que son nom sert de rubrique à l'énumération qui suit.⁸⁶ La même interprétation est possible dans d'autres listes du Nouvel Empire⁸⁷ ; leur témoignage est ambigu et le petit texte d'Abydos indique peut-être le contraire de ce qu'on avait pensé.

Le doute rejaillit sur les listes géographiques du Moyen Empire qui commencent par Koush et les soupçons augmentent lorsqu'on observe que c'est le cas pour les tables les plus importantes de cette époque. Koush tient la première place, on l'a vu, sur la stèle de Bouhen qui énumère dix toponymes nubiens,⁸⁸ elle vient en tête du répertoire des pays du Sud sur les vases de Berlin (vingt deux toponymes) et sur les statuettes de Saqqara (vingt neuf toponymes). On se demande si, déjà dans ces listes, Koush n'est pas prise dans son acception large et ne tient pas lieu de titre.

Pour vérifier cette possibilité, on se reportera d'abord aux sections asiatiques des textes d'envoûtement. Ils offrent un nombre relativement élevé de toponymes localisables et on voit aussitôt que leurs listes de pays ne contiennent pas, ni au début ni dans le corps du texte, de désignations générales, mais donnent seulement des noms de régions limitées et bien définies, qui ne se recouvrent pas. Dans ces sections, le seul terme ayant un sens large est mis en appendice au paragraphe des pays et il revêt une forme particulière : c'est *Mnꜥw m St.t* 'les *Mnꜥw* en Asie'⁸⁹ à quoi répond l'expression 'Iwn.wt m Stj 'les 'Iwn.wt en Nubie' qui occupe la même place à la fin de la liste des contrées africaines.⁹⁰ Les deux sections, l'asiatique et la nubienne, sont construites sur le même modèle et l'exemple de la liste géographique syro-palestinienne empêche de voir dans Koush un terme général.

L'argument analogique est bon, mais il n'est pas irrécusable. On peut lui opposer l'exemple des listes géographiques de Thoutmosis III qui débutent

⁸² Varille, *BIFAO*, 35, pp. 161-71 et pl. 1-5.

⁸³ Op cit., pp. 165-6 et pl. 3-4.

⁸⁴ Op. cit., p. 166 et pl. 3.

⁸⁵ Cf. Steindorff dans *Studies Griffith*, pp. 364-8.

⁸⁶ Cf. Varille, op. cit., p. 166, n. 1.

⁸⁷ Beaucoup d'auteurs les ont interprétées ainsi, cf. Schiaparelli, op. cit., p. 120.

⁸⁸ Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur le nombre, voir notamment Farina, *Sphinx*, 21, pp. 25-7, qui croit qu'il y avait onze noms ; comme Champollion, *Mon.* 1, 1, le dessin de Banks, MSS. XII, C. 6, exécuté *in situ*, en donne dix. Je connais ce précieux document déposé à l'Ashmolean Museum grâce à l'obligeance de Mlle B. Sewell.

⁸⁹ Sethe, op. cit., p. 58 (g 5) ; Posener, *Princes et Pays*, p. 96 (F 7).

⁹⁰ Op. cit., p. 62 (B 31) et pp. 106-7 où on trouvera les observations de B. van de Walle au sujet du texte des vases de Berlin.

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avec Qadesh pour l'Asie⁹¹ et 'la misérable Koush' pour la Nubie.⁹² Si on veut être conséquent, on doit réduire celle-ci à l'échelle de celle-là, ce qui est impossible ; il faut, pour le moins, concevoir ici Koush comme un pays limité, ce qu'on hésite à faire quand on voit dans les mêmes listes africaines des termes aussi larges ou mal définis que *Knst*,⁹³ *Tḥnw*,⁹⁴ *Bḏs*⁹⁵ et même un nom commun, *ḥꜣt* 'pays étranger.'⁹⁶ Les listes des contrées asiatiques ne présentent rien de semblable et ont une toute autre rigueur ; bien que le Nord et le Sud soient mis en parallèle, on ne saurait les assimiler et juger une partie d'après l'autre. L'exemple conduit à se méfier de l'analogie entre les deux sections des textes d'envoûtement.

On répondra sans doute que les rédacteurs des listes africaines de Thoutmosis III les ont grossies en y introduisant des toponymes fictifs pour qu'elles ne soient pas démesurément plus courtes que les listes asiatiques qui leur font pendant. Ce besoin d'équilibre, qui a des raisons décoratives, n'existe pas pour les tables du Moyen Empire. Elles ne contiennent pas de termes vagues ou généraux, le cas suspect de Koush mis à part. Aucun fait interne ne s'oppose à ce qu'on établisse une comparaison étroite entre les listes géographiques de Nubie et d'Asie que donnent les répertoires d'envoûtement.

Il reste que ces listes de pays ne permettent pas d'établir sans réplique que la Koush initiale ait été peu étendue ; si on ne disposait que d'elles, un certain doute ne manquerait pas de subsister. On possède heureusement les listes des princes nubiens sur les figurines en albâtre, sur les vases de Berlin et les statuettes de Saqqara. Le roi de Koush figure en tête du paragraphe dans les trois répertoires et on pourrait arguer de cette position pour soutenir qu'il est le souverain d'un grand pays dont les seigneurs, énumérés après lui, administrent les provinces. Mais, s'il en était ainsi, il y aurait eu une différence dans la désignation du chef et de ses subordonnés. Or, les textes ne distinguent en aucune façon le prince de Koush de ceux des autres pays ; tous sont uniformément appelés *ḥꜣt* et présentés suivant un schéma identique ; tous sont traités sur le même pied. Tout au plus, pourrait-on considérer le roi de Koush, compte tenu de sa place, comme le premier parmi ses pairs.^{96a} Mais il est exclu que leurs États aient pu être compris dans le sien. L'examen des listes de princes apporte ainsi la certitude que, dans les répertoires d'envoûtement, le toponyme Koush ne sert pas à désigner un ensemble de pays mais un État particulier.

Sur les vases de Berlin et sur les statuettes de Saqqara (texte publié), les princes sont peu nombreux, cinq semble-t-il, ce qui permet d'envisager des

⁹¹ *Urk.* IV, 781 (1).

⁹² *Op. cit.*, 796 (1).

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, 799 (86).

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 800 (88).

⁹⁵ *Loc. cit.* (92).

⁹⁶ *Loc. cit.* (95).

^{96a} Cf. Zyhlarz, *KUSH* IV, p. 23, et *infra*, pp. 59 et 62.

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États assez grands⁹⁷ ; mais les figurines en albâtre enregistrent onze princes, ce qui réduit notablement l'étendue de leurs possessions respectives.⁹⁸ Les listes des pays, qui cessent maintenant d'être suspectes, conduisent à ramener Koush à une superficie moindre encore. Son roi gouvernait peut-être des terres situées en dehors des frontières géographiques de la contrée, la politique débordant ainsi la toponymie ; toujours est-il que Koush figure, on l'a vu, au nombre de vingt deux et même de vingt neuf pays. Si on tient compte du fait que le vaste territoire de Ouaoat⁹⁹ n'était pas compris dans ces catalogues, si en même temps on prend en considération les connaissances limitées que les Égyptiens du Moyen Empire avaient des régions du Sud,¹⁰⁰ on doit convenir que, dans les répertoires d'envoûtement, Koush désigne une zone bien moins étendue que ne le laissaient supposer les autres sources, même si on lui accorde un territoire plus grand que celui des autres pays nommés.

Ce point acquis, on doit se demander dans quelle partie de la Nubie il convient de placer la petite Koush du Moyen Empire. Pour le faire, on approchera d'abord son territoire en partant du Nord, puis, l'abordant sous l'angle opposé, on essayera de la définir au Sud.

LA LIMITE NORD DE KOUSH ET LE PAYS OUAOUAT

Le moment est venu d'introduire dans la discussion la liste géographique des figurines en albâtre et de rappeler qu'elle porte Ouaoat à la première place et Koush, à la deuxième. La présence des deux noms dans la même énumération montre qu'ils désignaient, à l'époque, des pays différents ; contrairement à ce qu'on a pu penser, Koush n'a pas englobé Ouaoat au Moyen Empire.¹⁰¹ Ce n'est pas pour des raisons de style qu'on parle de Ouaoat dans les récits de guerre sous le règne d'Amménémès I^{er}¹⁰² et de Koush, au temps de son successeur Sésostri I^{er}¹⁰³ ; le changement de vocabulaire exprime une réalité, il correspond à la progression vers le Sud des troupes égyptiennes, qui pacifient Ouaoat et envahissent ensuite le territoire de Koush. Les deux pays ont une existence distincte et, même si on ne disposait pas d'autres témoignages à cet égard, l'histoire militaire suffirait à fixer leur position relative et à placer Ouaoat

⁹⁷ Noter cependant que les deux répertoires nomment deux princes pour le pays *Wb1.t-šp.t*, cf. Sethe, op. cit., pp. 34-5 ; Posener, op. cit., 50-2 ; sur la lecture de ce toponyme, voir B. van de Walle dans Posener, op. cit., pp. 101-3. La liste inédite des princes nubiens qui se lit sur quelques statuettes de Saqqara, cf. *supra*, p. 44, est plus longue que la liste publiée surtout parce qu'elle nomme deux à trois rois pour certains pays au nombre desquels Koush ne figure pas.

⁹⁸ Dans cette liste, chaque prince gouverne un pays différent si on juge d'après les neuf noms d'États encore lisibles.

⁹⁹ Sur l'extension de Ouaoat au Moyen Empire, voir les pages qui suivent.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *infra*, pp. 55-6.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 41.

¹⁰² Voir l'inscription de Korosko, Porter-Moss, VII, p. 84, et l'Enseignement d'Amménémès I^{er}, pap. Millingen, 3, 2 ; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 65.

¹⁰³ Cf. *supra*, p. 45.

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en aval de Koush. Il s'ensuit qu'il faut essayer de situer sur la carte Ouaouat afin de voir au delà de quelle région il convient de chercher la limite septentrionale de Koush.

Pour le sujet traité, Ouaouat n'a qu'un intérêt secondaire et il n'y a pas lieu de faire l'historique de ses localisations¹⁰⁴ ni d'examiner le problème de sa superficie et de son emplacement premiers.¹⁰⁵ Au Moyen Empire, époque qui nous occupe, ce pays avait une grande étendue puisque les Égyptiens éprouvent alors le besoin de distinguer sa partie supérieure de sa partie inférieure.^{105a} Ouaouat commençait au voisinage de la 1^{re} Cataracte comme il résulte clairement des lignes 8-10 du Conte du Naufragé où on lit : ' Nous avons atteint l'extrémité de Ouaouat et nous avons passé Senmet (île de Biggeh) '.¹⁰⁶ Cette position de la frontière Nord de Ouaouat ressort aussi des textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire. Ainsi Ânkhthfi raconte dans ses inscriptions de Moalla que, pendant la grande famine, il envoya du blé pour secourir le nome d'Éléphantine et qu'il étendit son aide au pays Ouaouat ;¹⁰⁷ Djémi écrit sur sa stèle qu'il a rendu tributaires les habitants de ce pays.¹⁰⁸ Ces exemples suffisent à montrer que Ouaouat était alors limitrophe de l'Égypte.

On ne peut pas fixer avec la même précision la frontière méridionale de Ouaouat qui concerne directement le problème de Koush. Le seul renseignement positif qu'on possède sur l'extension de Ouaouat vers le Sud provient d'un texte, copié jadis près de Korosko, et où on lit, après la date de l'an 29 d'Amménémès I^{er} : ' Nous sommes venus pour renverser Ouaouat '.¹⁰⁹ On en déduit avec raison que la région de Korosko appartenait alors au territoire de ce pays¹¹⁰ ; il ne s'ensuit pas toutefois qu'elle marquait sa limite, celle-ci pouvant se situer plus haut en remontant le Nil.

Une indication dans ce sens est fournie, semble-t-il, par une inscription gravée dans les parages de la 1^{re} Cataracte, sous la corégence d'Amménémès II et de Sésostri II ; il y est question d'une ' inspection dans les forteresses de Ouaouat '¹¹¹ et l'argument repose sur l'emploi du pluriel ' forteresses '.¹¹² On

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, I, pp. 173-4.

¹⁰⁵ On consultera sur Ouaouat à l'Ancien Empire Farina, *Aegyptus*, 6, pp. 49 et 53 ; Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 15-16 ; Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onom.*, I, pp. 74*-78* ; II, pp. 269*-272* ; Edel dans Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien* (VIO, 29), pp. 59-62.

^{105a} Sur un bloc inédit provenant du temple funéraire de Sésostri I^{er}, Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, p. 190, figure la mention de ' la Ouaouat supérieure ' ce qui suppose l'existence de l'expression ' la Ouaouat inférieure ' ; comparer ' le Réténou supérieur ' et ' le Réténou inférieur '.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., I, p. 74* ; II, p. 270*.

¹⁰⁷ Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pp. 220-1.

¹⁰⁸ Allen, *AJSLL*, 38, pp. 55-62 ; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 50, n. 102.

¹¹⁰ Voir par exemple Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 16 et 64-5 ; Gardiner, op. cit., I, p. 74*.

¹¹¹ Porter-Moss, v, p. 247 ; cf. Gardiner, op. cit., II, p. 271*.

¹¹² Cf. Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 11.

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connaît l'organisation défensive de la Basse Nubie au Moyen Empire grâce à l'exploration archéologique, d'une part, grâce à l'Onomasticon du Ramesséum, de l'autre.¹¹³ Au Sud d'Éléphantine, la première forteresse, celle de Biggeh, se trouvait encore, il semble bien, en territoire égyptien¹¹⁴ et, pour cette raison, n'entrerait pas en ligne de compte ; les deux suivantes, Kouban et Ikkour, formaient, pense-t-on, un ensemble et l'Onomasticon ne mentionne pas Ikkour¹¹⁵ ; plus en amont, il faut aller jusqu'à Aniba et Faras pour trouver des ouvrages de la XII^e dynastie. Pour obtenir le pluriel, il serait donc nécessaire de compter Aniba et peut-être Faras au nombre des 'forteresses de Ouaoat' ce qui reporterait la limite méridionale de ce pays bien au delà de Korosko.

Le raisonnement vaut ce qu'il vaut. Son résultat serait de rapprocher la situation du Moyen Empire de celle qui existait au Nouvel Empire quand Ouaoat, devenue province septentrionale de la vice-royauté de Koush, s'étendait de la 1^{re} Cataracte jusqu'aux alentours de la 11^e où commençait la province de Koush proprement dite.¹¹⁶ Cette délimitation est attestée plus de deux siècles après l'époque qui nous occupe et, dans l'intervalle, des changements ont pu se produire. On conçoit que, lorsqu'il s'est agi d'organiser la vice-royauté, la limite Sud de Ouaoat ait été reculée jusqu'à la 11^e Cataracte pour faire coïncider la ligne de démarcation administrative avec une frontière naturelle.

Cependant une stèle trouvée à Bouhen et datant de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire suggère que Ouaoat avait, à cette époque, le territoire qu'elle aura au Nouvel Empire. Le texte nomme, après Horus seigneur de Bouhen et Sésostri III divinisé, 'les dieux qui sont dans Ouaoat'.^{116a} Il est douteux que ces derniers aient pu être mentionnés si Bouhen n'avait pas dépendu de Ouaoat.

Ensuite, les linéaments de la future vice-royauté se dessinent déjà au Moyen Empire. En l'an 33 d'Amménémès III, des travaux sont effectués au mur *snb.t*,¹¹⁷ dans la factorerie égyptienne de Kerma,¹¹⁸ et onze ans plus tard, en l'an 44 du même roi, des travaux identiques ont lieu à El-Kâb¹¹⁹ ; on entrevoit un

¹¹³ Pour une étude d'ensemble, voir Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 80-98.

¹¹⁴ Gardiner, op. cit., II, p. 2*.

¹¹⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 88.

¹¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 182 ; Gauthier, *RT*, 39, p. 229. Pour la position de la frontière entre les deux provinces, noter que le point le plus méridional où on trouve un monument d'un fonctionnaire de Ouaoat est Ouâdi-Halfa, cf. Le Caire 20.775, l.8, alors que les 'lieutenants' de la circonscription de Koush (*tdnw n K5*) sont mentionnés à partir d'Amara, voir Fairman, *JEA*, 34, pp. 9-11, qui croit pouvoir conclure de ses fouilles sur ce site que les 'lieutenants' avaient leur siège à cet endroit au moins sous la XX^e dynastie. Comme il paraît peu logique que la capitale de la province soit située à ses confins, on est conduit à placer la frontière de la circonscription de Koush aussi loin que possible au Nord d'Amara, c'est-à-dire à la 11^e Cataracte.

^{116a} Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, p. 54.

¹¹⁷ *Wb.* III, 458 (7) ; *CT*, v, 2 c.

¹¹⁸ Stèle d'Antef, Porter-Moss, VII, p. 176 ; Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

¹¹⁹ Porter-Moss, v, p. 190.

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plan d'ensemble qui inclut El-Kâb dans le complexe nubien¹²⁰ comme ce sera le cas plus tard.¹²¹ Il n'est pas impossible que Ouauat elle aussi ait été conçue sous la XII^e dynastie comme elle le sera sous la XVIII^e.

On se demande même si cet état des choses ne remonte pas à la XI^e dynastie. Les Mentouhotep ont entamé, on le sait, une politique d'expansion en Nubie¹²² et, si les sources actuellement connues sont muettes, à cette époque, au sujet de Koush, elles mentionnent Ouauat et disent que ce pays a été 'annexé à la Haute Égypte'.¹²³ Il serait donc instructif de voir jusqu'où se sont alors avancés les Égyptiens car la région atteinte peut raisonnablement être incluse dans le territoire de Ouauat.

Jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas trouvé en Nubie de textes officiels des Mentouhotep¹²⁴; on connaît cependant, à Abou-Simbel¹²⁵ et dans la zone de Ouâdi-Halfa,¹²⁶ des graffiti dont un certain nombre daterait de la XI^e dynastie. Les Égyptiens auraient donc pénétré, à cette époque, jusqu'au secteur de Bouhen qui borde au Nord la II^e Cataracte.¹²⁷ On a un recoupement possible dans un graffiti d'Abisko¹²⁸ qui rapporte que Mentouhotep *Nb-hp.t-R'* a remonté le Nil jusqu'à *Bn*.¹²⁹ Ce toponyme n'est pas attesté par d'autres textes et Reisner¹³⁰ a proposé d'y reconnaître Bouhen. Le rapprochement a pour lui la disposition des signes : *b* se trouve en fin de ligne et *n* avec le déterminatif sont reportés au début de la ligne suivante de sorte qu'on pourrait penser que le scribe a

¹²⁰ Noter qu'un vase en albâtre d'un gouverneur d'El-Kâb a été trouvé à Kerma, cf. Reisner, *Kerma*, IV-V [HAS, 6], pp. 523-4 (46).

¹²¹ Sur l'inclusion d'El-Kâb dans la vice-royauté de Nubie au Nouvel Empire, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 177-80. On serait tenté d'établir une relation entre la conception même des 'fils royaux' de Koush et les idées développées par Sésostri III dans ses stèles frontières de l'an 16, Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 143 et 151, sur le devoir qui incombe à ses fils de maintenir l'intégrité des possessions royales en Nubie. Comparer *Urk.* VII, 15, 3-7, l'expédition conduite sous le règne de Sésostri I^{er} par le 'fils aîné du roi' Amény, le futur Amménémès II. On remonterait finalement à la division du pouvoir instaurée par Amménémès I^{er} qui a confié à son fils et corégent Sésostri I^{er} la conduite des opérations étrangères, cf. Sinouhé B, 50-1, parmi lesquelles l'expansion en Nubie tient la première place.

¹²² Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 54-61. Il est intéressant d'observer, à cette époque, la présence de Nubiennes et de négresses à la cour de Thèbes, cf. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, pp. 219-20.

¹²³ Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones* [Univ. of California Publ., Eg. Archaeology, 4], pl. 34, no. 66, l. x+12.

¹²⁴ Voir Porter-Moss, VII, qui date de 1951 et les compléments signalés en 1957 par Yoyotte, *BiOr*, 14, pp. 28-9.

¹²⁵ Porter-Moss, VII, p. 117.

¹²⁶ Op. cit., p. 140.

¹²⁷ Sur la foi de ces indices, Arkell, *JEA*, 36, p. 31, n'hésite pas à conclure que la XI^e dynastie a occupé toute la Basse Nubie jusqu'à la II^e Cataracte.

¹²⁸ Porter-Moss, VII, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. 19, 8; Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, pl. 107, 1; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 58-60; *ArOr*, 20, pp. 163-6.

¹³⁰ *Kerma*, IV-V [HAS, 6], p. 542.

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sauté le *h* en passant d'une ligne à l'autre.¹³¹ Si on était sûr que le roi était venu à Bouhen et qu'il ne connaissait pas Koush, la cause serait jugée et sans hésitation on placerait plus au Sud le pays qu'il n'avait pas atteint.

Pour reporter Koush bien au delà de Bouhen, on pourrait utiliser l'inscription de l'an 19 de Sésostri III, gravée près du quai, dans l'île d'Ouronarti¹³²; le texte rapporte que le pharaon 'a descendu le courant après avoir renversé la misérable Koush' et parle ensuite des difficultés de la navigation, ce qui a trait, en gros, au tronçon du fleuve compris entre Semneh et Ouâdi-Halfa comme le montre l'endroit où se trouve l'inscription. Pris à la lettre, ce texte donne à penser que le pays de Koush était situé au Sud de l'île d'Ouronarti. Mais on peut soutenir aussi, avec vraisemblance, qu'au temps de Sésostri III 'renverser la misérable Koush' était devenu une expression consacrée pour décrire toute campagne au Sud de la 11^e Cataracte quel que fût son objectif précis.¹³³ Compris ainsi, le texte cesse de contribuer à la localisation de Koush.

Les faits suivants seraient peut-être plus significatifs. Sésostri III a élevé, on le sait, trois stèles frontières, la plus ancienne en l'an 8, à Semneh,¹³⁴ les deux suivantes en l'an 16, l'une au même endroit¹³⁵ et l'autre dans l'île d'Ouronarti.¹³⁶ Le premier de ces documents interdit expressément aux Nubiens de pénétrer, par voie d'eau ou par voie de terre, au Nord de *Hh* (Semneh)¹³⁷ et ne prévoit d'exception que pour les voyages de commerce à 'Ikn (sans doute Kor et Meinarti jumelés)¹³⁸ et pour les déplacements officiels, sous réserve que les bateaux nubiens ne soient pas utilisés.¹³⁹ Ce texte comme ceux de l'an 16 disent clairement que Semneh devient la frontière méridionale du royaume d'Égypte et cela ressort aussi de l'inscription du général Mentouemhat trouvée dans le temple que Sésostri III avait construit à Semneh Ouest.¹⁴⁰ La correspondance échangée entre les forteresses, notamment celle de Semneh,

¹³¹ Il n'est pas totalement exclu que l'omission soit imputable aux copistes modernes qui n'auraient pas vu, sous *b*, un *h* à moitié effacé. Il n'existe pas de reproduction photographique du texte et les dessins au trait publiés par Weigall et Roeder portent une petite lacune au-dessous de *b*.

¹³² Porter-Moss, VII, p. 144; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 78-9.

¹³³ *Shr K3s hs.t* 'renverser la misérable Koush' et variantes se rencontre fréquemment depuis le règne de Sésostri I^{er}, par exemple *Urk.* VII, 5, 17; 14, 19; *Sethe, Lesestücke*, 85 (24); stèle 169 [852] du British Museum; stèle D 50 de Genève; Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (340).

¹³⁴ Porter-Moss, VII, p. 151.

¹³⁵ Loc. cit.

¹³⁶ Op. cit., VII, p. 143; Janssen, *JNES*, 12, pp. 51-5.

¹³⁷ Le texte des stèles frontières assure cette identification.

¹³⁸ Sur cette localisation, cf. Vercoutter, KUSH III, pp. 4-19.

¹³⁹ Voir le commentaire de Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 76.

¹⁴⁰ Janssen, *ArOr*, 20, pp. 442-5. Noter l'expression *r3 '3 hr Km.t* (l. 5) 'porte d'accès donnant sur l'Égypte'; sur *r3 '3* se rapportant à la frontière située à la 1^e Cataracte, cf. Kees, *ZAS*, 70, pp. 83-6; Montet, *Kémi*, 6, pp. 88-9; *Revue de Philologie*, 21 (73), pp. 117-21.

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montre que les consignes fixées par Sésostriis III étaient observées avec rigueur après sa mort.¹⁴¹

Or les statuettes de Saqqara sont plus récentes que la fixation de cette frontière et elles mentionnent un prince de Koush. On se demande dès lors si le régime que Sésostriis III avait instauré en Basse Nubie était compatible avec l'existence de principautés indigènes. Au cas où la réponse serait négative, on serait amené à situer au Sud de Semneh le domaine de tous les princes nommés dans le répertoire, en commençant par l'État de Koush. Sans doute, la vice-royauté du Nouvel Empire admettait-elle, dans une certaine mesure, une vie politique autochtone et les mentions de roitelets nubiens ne manquent-elles pas à cette époque¹⁴² ; par analogie, on pourrait penser que le Moyen Empire tolérât lui aussi leur existence en deçà de ses frontières. Cette supposition a contre elle l'absence de concentration politique notée par Junker dans la zone occupée par le Groupe C.¹⁴³ En admettant même qu'il y ait eu quelques petites dynasties indigènes, il n'est pas sûr qu'il ait été utile de nommer, dans les répertoires d'envoûtement, des princes qui régnaient à l'ombre des forteresses égyptiennes. Au Nouvel Empire, on connaît plusieurs roitelets dans le pays Ouauat¹⁴⁴ alors que, pour le Moyen Empire, ces répertoires n'en signalent pas ; s'il y en avait, leur assujettissement était tel qu'on ne jugeait sans doute pas nécessaire de se prémunir par des moyens magiques contre leurs agissements. Aussi, quand on voit le prince de Koush nommé sur les statuettes de Saqqara, peut-on penser qu'il échappait plus ou moins au contrôle égyptien et la meilleure solution consisterait à placer son État hors des frontières pharaoniques, c'est-à-dire au Sud de Semneh.

On aimerait avoir des arguments plus péremptoirs pour allonger Ouauat et repousser Koush vers le Sud. Actuellement le seul fait indiscutable est que, pendant le Moyen Empire, le premier de ces pays s'étendait des parages de Biggeh au moins jusqu'à Korosko et que le territoire du deuxième commençait plus en amont. À quelle distance, on ne saurait le dire avec certitude et on retiendra seulement que différentes considérations concourent pour suggérer que la Koush initiale ne devait se trouver ni au Nord de la II^e Cataracte ni même peut-être au Nord de Semneh.

LA LIMITE SUD DE KOUSH ET LE PAYS SHAÂT

Si on se reporte au Sud et qu'on cherche à déterminer le point extrême au delà duquel Koush ne pouvait pas se trouver, il va de soi qu'on a d'abord la limite même des terres fréquentées par les Égyptiens au Moyen Empire. Kerma, au Sud de la III^e Cataracte, est actuellement le site le plus méridional où leur

¹⁴¹ Smither-Gunn, *JEA*, 31, pp. 3-10 et pl. 2-7 ; cf. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri*, p. 17 et pl. 62.

¹⁴² Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 184-6.

¹⁴³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 40-1.

¹⁴⁴ Säve-Söderbergh, loc. cit.

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présence, sous la XII^e dynastie, soit certaine¹⁴⁵ et cette constatation rend douteuses les tentatives de placer Koush plus haut en remontant le Nil.

Les fouilles de Kerma ont montré que les Égyptiens installés, au Moyen Empire dans cette région, entretenaient des relations amicales avec les indigènes ; la factorerie pharaonique, dépourvue de défenses militaires sérieuses, voisinait avec la résidence de puissants chefs soudanais ; le trafic commercial était intense et profitait aux deux partis.¹⁴⁶ A la même époque, les textes présentent Koush comme l'ennemi de l'Égypte par excellence, comme le symbole de l'opposition autochtone que les pharaons s'acharnent à détruire. Le contraste qui est flagrant défend de placer Koush dans les parages de Kerma et, puisqu'il est préférable de ne pas dépasser cette zone vers le Sud, on est conduit à chercher Koush en aval.

La même conclusion résulte des textes qui disent que les Égyptiens allaient au delà de Koush ; ce pays n'était pas pour eux le bout du monde connu. Amény de Béni-Hassan, qui a servi sous Sésostri I^{er}, raconte : ' J'ai passé Koush en remontant le Nil, j'ai atteint les confins de la terre '.¹⁴⁷ Une stèle d'Edfou, attribuable à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire, parle d'un voyage au ' Sud de Koush ' et l'auteur précise que le trajet a pris treize jours.¹⁴⁸ On avait cru que l'endroit en question était Kerma, mais les calculs de Reisner, pourtant favorable à cette hypothèse, montrent qu'il était impossible de relier Kerma à Edfou en aussi peu de temps.¹⁴⁹ Le ' Sud de Koush ' se trouvait au Nord de Kerma et ceci encore à une époque où Koush débordait déjà son territoire initial.^{149a}

Vercoutter a récemment produit un autre argument dans le même sens. Un graffito qu'il a relevé à Sabou, situé un peu au Nord de Nauri, mentionne un certain ' Ouserhat du (pays) 'm'.¹⁵⁰ On peut penser que le toponyme désigne la région où se trouve le texte ; or, dans le temple de Louxor, la ' liste des mines ' nomme successivement *Ns.wt-tj.wj* (Napata), 'mw, Koush ; cette énumération est faite du Sud au Nord et Koush se place en aval de 'mw.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 175-80. Au Sud de Kerma, les objets égyptiens attribuables au Moyen Empire sont rares et on ne peut savoir s'ils sont à leur place originale ou s'ils ont été apportés du Nord à une date plus récente, cf. op. cit., pp. 180 (île d'Argo), 183, 184 et 191 (Kawa), 198 (?) et 216 (région du Gêbel Barkal).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 103-16.

¹⁴⁷ *Urk.* VII, 14, 14-15.

¹⁴⁸ Gunn, *ASAE*, 29, pp. 5-14 ; Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, pp. 57-8.

¹⁴⁹ Reisner cité par Gunn, op. cit., pp. 9-11. Le mot à mot du texte n'est pas clair ; ou le voyageur se rend seul d'Edfou au Sud de Koush et remonte ainsi le courant, ce qui réduit sensiblement la vitesse ; ou il accomplit le parcours en sens inverse avec femme, enfants et biens ce qui ralentit aussi la progression. Reisner n'a pas tenu compte de ces faits et a supposé les conditions de déplacement les plus favorables, sans obtenir un résultat convaincant.—Comparer Préaux, *CdE*, 64, 295-7.

^{149a} A l'époque hyksôs, le royaume indépendant de Koush s'étendait au Nord jusqu'à la 1^{re} Cataracte, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, pp. 50-8 ; id., *KUSH* IV, pp. 54-61.

¹⁵⁰ Sur cette construction qui n'est pas fréquente, cf. Grapow, *ZAS*, 73, pp. 50-3.

¹⁵¹ Vercoutter, *KUSH* IV, pp. 70-1.

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On arrive ainsi à une situation bien en deçà de la III^e Cataracte et on peut essayer de la préciser davantage. Pour le faire, il faut d'abord placer sur la carte le pays Shaât, nommé dans les listes d'envoûtement au voisinage de Koush, ensuite examiner la position relative de ces deux contrées.

On a appris l'existence du pays Shaât (Š;’t) par les dédicaces de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II dans le temple de Khnoum à Koummeh (Semneh Est)¹⁵² ; il y est dit qu'une partie de ce monument a été bâtie en 'belle pierre blanche de Shaât'.¹⁵³ L'expression 'belle pierre blanche' a désigné d'abord le calcaire et a été étendue au grès nubien de Haute Égypte et des régions situées au Sud de la I^{re} Cataracte, sens qu'il convient d'adopter dans le cas présent¹⁵⁴ car le temple de Koummeh est construit en grès.¹⁵⁵ On n'a pas cherché à déterminer de quelles carrières provenaient les matériaux de construction ; on a simplement conclu des dédicaces que Shaât était proche de Koummeh,¹⁵⁶ sans penser, d'une part, que le temple se trouve dans une région essentiellement granitique, d'autre part, que la qualité de la pierre et les facilités d'extraction et du transport fluvial étaient des facteurs plus importants que la distance et qu'ils pouvaient inciter les bâtisseurs à amener les matériaux de loin.

On sait maintenant qu'il en fut bien ainsi. Dans l'île de Saï, parmi les vestiges du temple, se trouve un pilier qui porte un texte de fondation daté de l'an 25 de Thoutmosis III¹⁵⁷ ; le travail, oeuvre du vice-roi Néhy, a consisté à 'bâtir un temple . . . m mn(n)w n Š;’t dans la forteresse de Shaât'.¹⁵⁸ Il s'agit naturellement du fort de Saï¹⁵⁹ dans l'enceinte duquel le pilier a été découvert. Une deuxième mention de Shaât, sur un fragment recueilli dans l'île,¹⁶⁰ confirme la localisation et les dédicaces de Koummeh ne la contredisent pas car Vercoutter signale des carrières à Saï,¹⁶¹ dont une située au bord du Nil.¹⁶² Il était ainsi facile d'embarquer le matériau destiné au temple de Khnoum.¹⁶³

¹⁵² Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 152-4.

¹⁵³ *Urk.* IV, p. 212, 1 ; *LD*, III, 67 b.

¹⁵⁴ Sethe, *Bau- und Denkmalsteine* (*Sitzber. Berlin*, 1933, 22), pp. 7, 13 et 15.

¹⁵⁵ *LD*, Text, v, p. 217.

¹⁵⁶ Voir par exemple Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, I, p. 490, n. 3 ; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁷ Porter-Moss, VII, p. 165 ; le texte a été publié par Vercoutter, op. cit., p. 74. Il y a quelques années, H. W. Fairman a eu la grande obligeance de me communiquer sa copie de l'inscription.

¹⁵⁸ L. 2-3 de l'inscription.

¹⁵⁹ Sur cet ouvrage, actuellement en ruines, cf. Porter-Moss, VII, p. 164, et Vercoutter, *CRAIBL*, 1956, pp. 269-70, où on trouvera les premiers renseignements sur les fouilles qu'il a entreprises dans la forteresse (cf. aussi ci-dessous, pp. 152-64).

¹⁶⁰ Vercoutter, *KUSH* IV, p. 73.

¹⁶¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁶² Lettre de J. Vercoutter du 17 II 1954 ; voir dans le présent volume de *KUSH*, le rapport préliminaire de Vercoutter sur ses fouilles de Saï, pp. 147-8 et note 24.

¹⁶³ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 986, 6, où il est question du transport par voie d'eau de la pierre destinée à la reconstruction du temple de Dédoun à Semneh Ouest ; le texte est mal conservé et Sethe a restitué, avec hardiesse, 'Shaât' comme lieu d'origine du matériau. Cette restitution devient maintenant plausible.

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Il reste la question de savoir si Shaât désignait seulement l'île ou si le toponyme avait un sens plus large et s'appliquait aussi au territoire situé sur la terre ferme, de part et d'autre du fleuve. On observera à ce propos que l'expression *mn(n)w n Šj't* 'forteresse de Shaât' a des parallèles dans *mn(n)w n Bwhn* 'forteresse de Bouhen', *mn(n)w n Mj'm* 'forteresse d'Aniba', *mn(n)w n Snmt* 'forteresse de Biggeh', *mn(n)w n žbw* 'forteresse d'Éléphantine', etc.,¹⁶⁴ où l'élément variable, déterminé comme Shaât par le signe des pays étrangers, désigne de petits districts, des localités ou des îles, jamais des contrées étendues.¹⁶⁵ On peut citer aussi, en faveur d'un sens restreint, le titre *h3.tj - n Šj't* 'gouverneur de Shaât' que portait, sous la XVIII^e dynastie, un certain Ahmès, connu par deux statues¹⁶⁶ et par un ostracon,¹⁶⁷ car *h3.tj* - 'gouverneur' est normalement suivi d'un nom de ville.¹⁶⁸ En Nubie, à la même époque, on connaît par exemple un *h3.tj - n H'-m-Mj't* 'gouverneur de Soleb', un *h3.tj - n Šhtp-ntr.w* 'gouverneur de Faras',¹⁶⁹ un *h3.tj - n Bhnj* 'gouverneur de Bouhen',¹⁷⁰ un *h3.tj - n Mj'm* 'gouverneur d'Aniba'¹⁷¹; ces parallèles sont éloquents. Quelque temps après Ahmès, on trouve un *h3.tj - n H.t - Šj't* 'gouverneur du Château de Shaât' appelé Khérouef.¹⁷² Si, comme le pensait Brugsch,¹⁷³ il s'agit de la même Shaât, la forme du toponyme, avec 'château' et déterminatif de la ville,¹⁷⁴ indiquerait que le titre se rapportait à la bourgade tenue dans l'île par les Égyptiens.

Les *h3.tjw* - 'gouverneurs' administraient, littéralement parlant, des villes, mais leur autorité était en fait plus étendue¹⁷⁵ et la création d'une préfecture de Saï, attestée sous la XVIII^e dynastie par le titre d'Ahmès, aurait pu avoir pour effet un élargissement du sens de Shaât.¹⁷⁶ Aux temps plus anciens de l'indépendance nubienne, la même chose aurait pu se produire à la faveur du règne heureux d'un prince de Shaat, un de ceux, par exemple, que nomment les répertoires d'envoûtement, qui, de son île, aurait dominé le pays environnant.

¹⁶⁴ Voir notamment Onom. Ramesséum, 170 A-184.

¹⁶⁵ Sur les localisations, cf. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onom.*, I, pp. 10-11; II, p. 266*; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 81-98.

¹⁶⁶ Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers* [C.G.C.], no. 42.047 (provenance : Karnak); id., *ASAE*, 8, pp. 53-4.

¹⁶⁷ MMA, no. 23001.56 (provenance : Deir el-Bahari); inédit.

¹⁶⁸ Gardiner, op. cit., I, p. 31*.

¹⁶⁹ Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, pl. 14.

¹⁷⁰ Brit. Mus., *Hierogl. Texts from Eg. Stelae*, VIII, pl. 4, no. 1022.

¹⁷¹ Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. 64, 7.

¹⁷² Stèle C 103 du Louvre, Pierret, *Rec. inscr. inédites*, II, p. 41.

¹⁷³ *Dict. géogr.*, p. 1332.

¹⁷⁴ Ce déterminatif et celui des pays étrangers sont souvent interchangeables, cf. les graphies de *Bjki* (Kouban), de Bouhen, de *Mj'm* (Aniba), etc.

¹⁷⁵ On peut en juger, par exemple, d'après les livraisons des 'gouverneurs' qui sont représentées dans le tombeau de Rekhmirê, *Urk.* IV, 1123, 1126, 1130-2, 1134.

¹⁷⁶ Comparer les noms des nomes nubiens, à l'époque ptolémaïque, qui sont pour la plupart des noms de villes, *Urk.* II, 120.

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Ces extensions temporaires, si elles ont eu lieu, n'ont pas altéré le sens premier du toponyme, ainsi que le montre le nom actuel de l'île qui dérive de l'appellation ancienne, en passant par les formes méroïtique¹⁷⁷ et copte.¹⁷⁸ On peut suivre ainsi le toponyme depuis le début du II^e millénaire jusqu'à nos jours et voir que son acception n'a pas varié.¹⁷⁹

Comment cette localisation de Shaât, qui n'est pas nouvelle¹⁸⁰ et qu'on peut maintenant considérer comme sûre, affecte-t-elle le problème de Koush ? Entre les limites extrêmes qu'on a fixées à ce pays (Korosko au Nord et III^e Cataracte au Sud), Saï occupe une position intermédiaire, c'est un repère qui permettrait de réduire singulièrement la zone de localisation si on savait où situer Koush par rapport à l'île, en aval ou en amont. L'option dépend du sens qu'on donne à l'ordre des toponymes dans les listes géographiques du Moyen Empire et, plus spécialement, de l'explication qu'on propose de la première place tenue par Koush dans presque tous ces documents.

La position initiale occupée par ce pays peut avoir pour raison sa notoriété, son importance. Ainsi, sur les vases de Berlin, la liste des contrées asiatiques débute-t-elle par Byblos¹⁸¹ qui fut, pour les Égyptiens, la cité la plus célèbre de toute la Syro-Palestine ; ainsi a-t-on expliqué la préséance accordée à Qadesh, dans les tables géographiques de Thoutmosis III,¹⁸² par le rôle que cette ville a joué à la tête de la coalition syrienne.¹⁸³ Si un motif semblable a déterminé le choix de Koush pour la première place, le classement est sans utilité pour la localisation de ce pays.

Une autre explication est suggérée par la section asiatique des statuettes de Saqqara où l'énumération des princes et des contrées part du pays *H̄štm*.¹⁸⁴ Ici la raison serait à chercher dans la position de ce pays, s'il est exact qu'il s'agit de Hormah, située près du Négeb et peu éloignée en somme de la frontière de l'Égypte.¹⁸⁵ Le classement géographique était tout indiqué pour les provinces et les villes échelonnées le long du Nil. Les listes des lieux appartenant à la partie égyptienne de la vallée les énumèrent en descendant le cours du fleuve¹⁸⁶ et, quand ces tables comprennent des sites nubiens, ceux-ci sont rangés dans le

¹⁷⁷ *Shaye*, cf. Griffith, *Meroitic Inscr.*, II, pp. 37-8.

¹⁷⁸ Relevée par Steindorff, *ZAS*, 44, p. 73.

¹⁷⁹ Cet excellent exemple de permanence autorise à chercher des noms anciens dans la toponomastique de la Nubie moderne ; mais l'entreprise est périlleuse, cf. *supra*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁰ Voir notamment Griffith, loc. cit., qui a fait tous les rapprochements nécessaires.

¹⁸¹ Sethe, *Achtung feindlicher Fürsten*, p. 55 (f 2).

¹⁸² *Urk.* IV, 781 (1).

¹⁸³ Cf. Simons, *Eg. Topographical Lists*, pp. 35-6.

¹⁸⁴ Posener, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, pp. 64 (E 1) et 95.

¹⁸⁵ Sur cette identification de *H̄štm*, cf. Maisler, *Rev. hist. juive en Égypte*, I, pp. 42-4.

¹⁸⁶ Ce classement ne tient pas autant à la direction du courant qu'à l'orientation traditionnelle des Égyptiens face au Sud ; pour l'observateur ainsi placé, le Sud représente 'l'avant' et le Nord 'l'arrière', cf. par exemple les expressions *tp ršj* 'tête du Sud' et *phw* 'arrière-pays' du delta.

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même ordre pour ne pas rompre l'agencement de l'ensemble. Ainsi l'Onomasticon du Ramesséum nomme-t-il, en allant du Sud au Nord, les forteresses de Nubie et passe-t-il sans heurt aux villes d'Égypte. Mais quand il s'agit uniquement de pays étrangers, il paraît normal d'entreprendre l'énumération en partant de la frontière ; même transformés en nomes sous les Ptolémées, les districts nubiens sont classés du Nord au Sud ou, pour être plus exact, en remontant le courant.¹⁸⁷

La même disposition semble avoir été adoptée, dans les répertoires d'envoûtement, pour les pays nubiens qui bordent le Nil. C'est du moins ce que suggère la petite liste des figurines en albâtre où on trouve, dans l'ordre : Ouauat, Koush, Shaât. Cette table est la seule, au Moyen Empire, qui mentionne Ouauat au nombre des contrées du Sud ; elle est seule aussi à ne pas nommer Koush en tête de liste : ce pays rétrograde pour céder la première place à la région limitrophe de l'Égypte. Le classement paraît donc s'inspirer de la géographie et non des considérations politiques, et l'ordre Nord-Sud ressort de la position respective de Ouauat et de Shaât.

On observe, semble-t-il, un ordre identique pour les deux seuls toponymes localisables de la stèle de Bouhen.¹⁸⁸ Sur ce monument, la scène du registre supérieur représente le dieu Montou amenant à Sésostris I^{er} trois¹⁸⁹ pays vaincus, figurés par des ovales crénelés qui contiennent leur nom et que surmontent des bustes de captifs ; la première 'forteresse', la seule qui subsiste maintenant, appartient à Koush (*Kꜣs*).¹⁹⁰ Sous la scène, l'énumération continue par une rangée de sept prisonniers-ovales semblables aux précédents et les quatre premiers sont, dans l'ordre : *Šmjk*, *Hsꜣt*, *Šꜣ't*, *'Ihrkꜣn* ; pour la suite, la lecture des noms, qui repose sur de vieilles copies, est incertaine. Nous connaissons *Šꜣ't* – Saï et *Šmjk* est vraisemblablement identique à *'Išmwk* du graffito d'Ouonarti dont il a été question plus haut¹⁹¹ et qui mentionne cet endroit à propos de la navigation difficile en aval de Semneh. Si on en juge d'après cette localisation approximative et celle, précise, de Shaât, la stèle de Bouhen paraît énumérer les toponymes en allant du Nord au Sud comme la liste des figurines en albâtre.

Autant que ces exemples permettent de juger, la place que tient Koush dans les listes du Moyen Empire s'expliquerait par sa situation géographique ; ce pays serait plus proche de l'Égypte que les autres contrées de la vallée nubienne du Nil, Ouauat excepté, et il se trouverait au Nord de l'île de Saï.

SENS PREMIER DU TOPONYME ET SON EXTENSION

Koush précède directement Shaât dans les listes de princes que donnent les trois répertoires d'envoûtement et dans la petite liste de pays qu'on lit sur les figurines en albâtre. Mais les deux contrées n'étaient pas contiguës car les

¹⁸⁷ *Urk.* II, 120.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 45.

¹⁸⁹ Quatre, selon certains auteurs, cf. *supra*, p. 48, n. 88.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 45.

¹⁹¹ *Supra*, p. 54 ; le rapprochement entre les deux toponymes est de Sève-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 78.

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tables les plus détaillées, la liste des pays fournie par les vases de Berlin et celle des statuettes de Saqqara, intercalent *Mwgr* entre Koush et Shaât.¹⁹² L'écart augmente si on prend en considération la stèle de Bouhen sur laquelle, on vient de le voir, Koush tient la première place et Shaât, la sixième. En outre, ce document nomme, en quatrième position, *Šmjk* qu'on a proposé de placer en aval de Semneh et Koush se trouve ainsi repoussée en direction de la 11^e Cataracte. Or, en étudiant l'extension de Ouauat et la frontière de l'Égypte telle que Sésostri III l'avait fixée, on a envisagé de reporter Koush en amont de Semneh.¹⁹³ Les deux données sont inconciliables et il y a évidemment erreur dans l'interprétation des faits. D'une part, les arguments mis en avant pour situer Koush à l'extérieur de la frontière de Semneh n'étaient pas décisifs; d'autre part, sur la stèle de Bouhen, la liste des pays vaincus est répartie entre deux registres et il n'est pas exclu que l'auteur ait choisi pour figurer dans la scène du haut les contrées les plus importantes, dont Koush, et relégué les conquêtes secondaires, entre autres Shaât et *Šmjk*, dans la rangée inférieure; celle-ci ne servirait plus, dans ce cas, à situer Koush. Quelle que soit l'explication qu'on adopte, il est prudent de ne pas faire état de localisations qui se contredisent. Ce serait déjà un résultat appréciable si on pouvait faire admettre sans réticence que le territoire réduit de Koush, au sens propre du toponyme, débutait assez loin au Sud de Korosko, sans doute au Sud de la 11^e Cataracte, et s'arrêtait à une distance indéterminée au Nord de l'île de Saï.^{193a}

L'extension du sens a été très rapide; on l'observe déjà au temps de Sésostri I^{er}, par exemple dans les inscriptions biographiques d'Amén^y de Béné-Hassan. Le récit qu'on y lit de la campagne nubienne du roi débute par les mots: 'Il a remonté le Nil pour renverser ses ennemis qui étaient quatre peuples étrangers'; la relation se termine par la phrase: 'Il a renversé ses ennemis dans la misérable Koush'.¹⁹⁴

A peine connu, le toponyme a reçu une acception large et il est devenu familier aux sujets des pharaons. Autant que nous puissions juger, ils ont appris à le connaître à la suite de la grande expédition de l'an 18 de Sésostri I^{er}¹⁹⁵ quand l'armée égyptienne, ayant franchi la 11^e Cataracte, a traversé la zone du Batn el-Hagar, hérissée d'obstacles naturels, et s'est avancée jusqu'à l'île de Saï et sans doute bien au delà. Le propre des guerres est de rendre du jour au lendemain célèbres des lieux ignorés auparavant, de propager, par les communiqués et les récits de campagnes, des noms que connaissaient jusque là quelques rares voyageurs. Koush passe d'emblée dans le domaine public et comme elle désigne non seulement une région géographique, mais aussi un État indigène, on

¹⁹² Cf. *supra*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁹³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 54-5.

^{193a} 'Il y aurait peut-être lieu de mentionner l'existence, dans la toponymie moderne, de Kosha et Akasha (ancien Ukasha) qui contiennent tous deux l'élément *Kš* et qui se situent dans la région attribuable à la Koush primitive. Kosha est à 89 km. au Sud de Semneh et à 20 km. au Nord de Saï; Akasha est à 54 km. au Sud de Semneh et à 55 km. au Nord de Saï'. La remarque est de J. Vercoutter, lettre du 27 XI 57.

¹⁹⁴ *Urk.* VII, 14, 10 et 19.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 45.

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peut attribuer la popularité du nom à la résistance que les Égyptiens ont rencontrée dans ce pays et qu'ils ont brisée ; il n'est pas exclu non plus que le prince de Koush ait joué un rôle important dans la coalition qui se serait formée pour faire front aux envahisseurs.

Cela expliquerait l'élargissement de l'emploi du toponyme, le sens donné à l'expression 'renverser la misérable Koush'.¹⁹⁶ En même temps, s'il est exact comme nous l'avons envisagé, que Koush a été le premier pays de quelque importance que les Égyptiens aient trouvé sur leur chemin en avançant vers le Sud au temps de Sésostriis I^{er}, l'extension du sens aurait tenu aussi à un phénomène bien connu en toponymie et qui pourrait en être la vraie raison. Il consiste à étendre le nom d'une contrée aux régions situées dans ses arrières ; selon la formule de Dauzat, 'un peuple est désigné souvent par la fraction la plus voisine'¹⁹⁷ et, pour illustrer cette tendance, il suffit de rappeler l'origine des noms comme Allemagne, Inde ou Afrique. Autant la frontière qui sépare un pays de son voisin représente pour celui-ci une réalité tangible, autant la frontière ultérieure est, à ses yeux, imprécise et indifférente. Gébel Silsileh a toujours marqué pour les Égyptiens la limite Nord de *T3-Stj*, nom archaïque des territoires méridionaux, mais vers le Sud *T3-Stj* n'avait pas de confins définis et il a été étendu aussi loin que les Égyptiens ont avancé.¹⁹⁸ Après l'Ancien Empire, Ouauat a été étirée vers la 11^e Cataracte qu'elle a fini par atteindre, recouvrant de petits pays dont les noms tombent dans l'oubli.¹⁹⁹ Le toponyme Koush suivra la même évolution quand il s'étalera en remontant le cours du Nil.^{199a} Ce processus sera d'autant plus facile qu'il répondra au besoin de disposer d'un nom d'ensemble pour les terres qui brusquement sont entrées dans le rayon visuel du public égyptien.

Tout en employant le nom d'une façon large, les Égyptiens ont continué à s'en servir au sens propre et restreint ; on en a la certitude pour la durée du Moyen Empire grâce aux répertoires d'envoûtement. Le double usage d'un toponyme, particulier et général, est aussi un fait bien attesté. Libye désigne en grec cette contrée et tout le continent africain ; plus près de nous, il y a les cas de l'Angleterre et de la Hollande, à la fois partie et ensemble ; plus près de Koush, on peut citer de nouveau l'exemple de *T3-Stj*, simultanément 1^{er} nome de Haute Égypte et Nubie. Koush elle-même représente un vaste ensemble

¹⁹⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 54.

¹⁹⁷ Dauzat, *Les noms de famille en France*, p. 161, où on trouvera de nombreux exemples tirés de l'anthroponymie française.

¹⁹⁸ Gardiner, *ZAS*, 45, p. 139, n. 1 ; Janssen, *BiOr*, 8, p. 214.

¹⁹⁹ Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onom.*, I, p. 76*. *Št.t* 'Asie' fournirait un autre exemple de l'extension du sens d'un toponyme vers l'extérieur, cf. Černý, *ASAE*, 44, p. 298 ; pour *H3w-nb.wt*, il faut admettre extension et déplacement, cf. Vercoutter, *BIFAO*, 46, pp. 125-58 ; 48, pp. 107-209 ; id., *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, pp. 15-32 ; voir encore les différentes acceptions du nom commun *phw*, *Wb.* I, 538 (12) — 539 (4) ; Janssen, loc. cit.

^{199a} Après la XII^e dynastie, le toponyme sera étendu aussi vers le Nord.

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géographique dans le titre du vice-roi de Koush et la partie méridionale de ce territoire dans le titre de son subordonné, le ' lieutenant de Koush ' ; également au Nouvel Empire, il y a des cas où la superficie est plus réduite encore.²⁰⁰ Seul le contexte permet de décider et il faut notamment prêter attention à la présence ou à l'absence de l'épithète *hs.t* ' misérable ' qui paraît souvent conférer un caractère général au terme.

Le succès et l'évolution du toponyme Koush ainsi que les sens différents qu'il prend dans les textes n'ont rien d'anormal comme on le voit. Les circonstances historiques sont à l'origine de ces phénomènes connexes qui s'expliquent aisément et qui ne manquent pas de parallèles.

KOUSH ET LES CIVILISATIONS NUBIENNES

Depuis l'étude de Junker, résumée au début de cet article, les fouilles ont apporté quelques faits complémentaires touchant la Groupe C, sans modifier d'une façon notable les idées qu'on avait en 1920. Les trouvailles de Steindorff sur le site d'Aniba suggèrent que la nouvelle civilisation serait apparue en Nubie déjà vers la fin de la VI^e dynastie.²⁰¹ Les objets attribuables à cette époque sont rares et les installations qui dateraient de la Première Période Intermédiaire demeurent peu nombreuses. Il faut attendre les temps de la XI^e et de la XII^e dynasties pour avoir des témoignages abondants du Groupe C qui connaît vers la fin du Moyen Empire son heure d'épanouissement.

Les recherches menées sur le terrain, au cours des dernières décennies, ont permis aussi de préciser l'étendue du domaine occupé par le Groupe C. Si, au Nord, El-Koubanieh reste le point extrême où on a constaté la présence de ce peuple,²⁰² vers le Sud Ermennéh a été largement dépassée et les trouvailles faites à Faras²⁰³ ont élargi les limites du territoire. En même temps, la civilisation de Kerma, qu'on ne connaissait que dans la province de Dongola, a été découverte bien plus au Nord, jusqu'à Saï²⁰⁴ et Amara.²⁰⁵ Il apparaît ainsi que la zone de contact entre les deux cultures se situait à peu près dans le Batn

²⁰⁰ Cf. *supra*, pp. 47 et 56.

²⁰¹ Steindorff, *Aniba*, I, pp. 7-8 et 22 ; Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 39, formule des réserves au sujet de cette date.

²⁰² Les *pan-graves* qu'on trouve en Haute Égypte jusqu'à la région d'Assiout appartiennent à un peuple différent du Groupe C ; voir sur la question Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 135-40.

²⁰³ Griffith, *LAAA*, 8, pp. 67 et 72-9 ; Arkell, *JEA*, 36, p. 24 ; Vercoutter, *Report on the Antiquities Service and Museums*, 1955-56, pp. 4 et 6.

²⁰⁴ Arkell, op. cit., p. 33 ; J. Vercoutter a entrepris la fouille des tumuli du type Kerma, cf. *CRAIBL*, 1956, p. 269.

²⁰⁵ Arkell, op. cit., p. 32. L'attribution des tombes nubienues de Firka, localité située au Nord d'Amara, demande à être précisée, cf. Kirwan, *The Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, p. 27.

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el-Hagar et il se confirme que le Groupe C a habité le secteur compris, en gros, entre la 1^{re} et la 11^{re} Cataractes.^{205a}

Confrontons les données de l'archéologie avec les résultats les mieux assurés de l'enquête qu'on vient de mener dans les textes. On voit d'abord que l'habitat du Groupe C était beaucoup plus étendu que la superficie du pays de Koush proprement dit. On observe ensuite que le Groupe C a occupé le tronçon de la vallée du Nil qui, au Moyen Empire, coïncide, pour une bonne part sinon entièrement, avec le territoire de Ouaoouat. Enfin les premières mentions que nous ayons de Koush sont de deux siècles au moins postérieures à l'apparition du Groupe C. Il faut se rendre à l'évidence : la théorie qui faisait de Koush le nom du domaine habité par le Groupe C doit être abandonnée.

Il ne servirait à rien de tenter un repêchage partiel de l'hypothèse en l'adaptant aux faits et en imaginant que, pour commencer, le toponyme a désigné seulement le foyer du Groupe C, son centre que les Égyptiens n'auraient connu qu'au moment où ils l'ont atteint dans leur avance vers le Sud.²⁰⁶ L'incertitude qui subsiste quant à la localisation initiale de Koush permettrait sans doute d'entretenir cette hypothèse car, on l'a vu, on ne peut exclure la possibilité de situer le pays dans la partie méridionale du territoire occupé par le Groupe C. Le bénéfice du doute disparaît devant la constatation suivante : les Égyptiens n'ont pas senti Koush comme étant le point essentiel et caractéristique de ce peuplement ; si en effet ils avaient associé les deux, ils auraient étendu l'emploi du toponyme vers le Nord où ils trouvaient le même peuplement, au lieu d'étirer Koush vers le Sud, comme ils l'ont fait, et d'appliquer son nom au domaine de la civilisation de Kerma.

Ce domaine correspond le mieux au territoire de Koush prise au sens large, avant qu'elle n'ait absorbé Ouaoouat. C'est avec la civilisation de Kerma que le rapprochement devrait se faire²⁰⁷ si on tient à maintenir coûte que coûte l'équivalence entre Koush et une culture déterminée, à l'identifier avec une famille humaine définie, en fait à considérer le toponyme comme un ethnique car c'est bien de cela qu'il s'agit dans l'esprit de certains savants.²⁰⁸

Au Moyen Empire, la Koush proprement dite participait, il va de soi, de l'une des civilisations nubiennes de l'époque ; ses habitants avaient, peut-on penser, une certaine unité linguistique et même raciale ; il est possible aussi que son nom ait été introduit par une des tribus apparentées qui ont pris possession de la vallée au Sud de la 1^{re} Cataracte entre la fin de l'Ancien et le début du Moyen Empire. Des caractéristiques semblables existent pour une infinité de noms de lieu, on les admettra volontiers pour la plupart des toponymes nubiens, sans y voir pour autant des ethniques comme on a voulu le faire pour Koush qui

^{205a} Après la XII^e dynastie, la civilisation de Kerma étend son influence au Nord de la 11^{re} Cataracte, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 129.

²⁰⁶ Telle semble être la pensée de Sethe, *Achtung feindlicher Fürsten*, p. 33.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Zyhlarz, *KUSH* IV, pp. 23 et 29.

²⁰⁸ Ainsi Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 341, adopte la théorie de Junker et parle du ' Stammes-name Kusch ' ; voir aussi Zyhlarz, loc. cit.

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pourtant n'en a jamais été un.²⁰⁹ Les spéculations dont Koush a été l'objet reposent sur l'acception secondaire et large du toponyme et leur point faible est d'ignorer que cette acception n'était pas autochtone. Pour les indigènes, Koush a désigné, au Moyen Empire, un territoire limité et la principauté qui s'y était créée. L'élargissement du sens n'a pas résulté des progrès de la puissance koushite puisqu'il s'est produit pendant que la XII^e dynastie infligeait à ce pays des défaites successives. L'extension de l'emploi a été le fait des Égyptiens qui ont donné au nom une valeur plus large, suivant le processus que nous avons indiqué, et qui n'ont cessé de l'étendre par la suite. Ils ont propagé le toponyme ainsi transformé dans le Proche Orient, qui nous l'a transmis par la voie de la Bible ; ils ont introduit la signification nouvelle dans la Nubie elle-même. Ce pays a été colonisé par l'État pharaonique, il a subi pendant de longs siècles l'ascendant de la civilisation égyptienne ; les mœurs, la langue, les croyances, les institutions, tout le cours de l'histoire de la Nubie portent l'empreinte de sa voisine du Nord. On comprend aisément que les Nubiens, à force d'entendre les Égyptiens appeler Koush l'ensemble de leur pays, aient fini par en faire autant²¹⁰ ; un ' rendu ' de ce genre est plus naturel que, par exemple, l'adoption, par les Slaves, du nom qu'ils portent, ou par les Abyssins, du nom Éthiopie pour désigner leur empire.

Il n'y a aucun inconvénient à continuer de faire usage des termes ' Koush ' et ' koushite ' au sens qu'on leur donne dans la science. Il faut simplement se rappeler qu'ils nous sont parvenus modifiés par l'Égypte et éviter de transformer un fait de sémantique en une réalité intéressant l'histoire de la Nubie aux hautes époques.

²⁰⁹ Noter que les dérivés *Kšj*, *'Ikš*, qui désignent les habitants de Koush, entrent très lentement dans l'usage. Au Moyen Empire, on relève le nom propre féminin *'Ikš*, Ranke, *Ag. Personenamen*, I, p. 48 (24) ; Grapow, *ZAS*, 73, p. 45. Ces dérivés ne deviennent fréquents qu'à une époque récente, notamment en démotique et en copte, et ont alors le sens large de ' Nubien, Éthiopien ', cf. Ranke, op. cit., I, pp. 48 (23) ; 102 (4) ; 371 (7) ; II, pp. 352 et 397 ; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, I, pp. 112, 113 et 217 ; IV, p. 211 ; V, p. 194.

²¹⁰ Il est fort probable que déjà au temps des Hyksôs les rois nubiens qui gouvernaient alors un grand État indépendant s'appelaient eux-mêmes ' princes de Koush ', titre que leur donnent les textes égyptiens, cf. *supra*, p. 56, n. 149a.

The Location of the Land of Kush during the Middle Kingdom

by G. POSENER

SUMMARY

Of all the names given by the Ancient Egyptians to foreign countries, Kush is the most widely known. From Egypt it passed to Palestine, Syria, Assyria, and Persia. It is referred to in the Bible whence it has come down to us with its Greek and Latin translations.

History of the Problem

Since Champollion, who translated 'Kush' by 'Ethiopia', a number of scholars have tried to define more precisely the meaning of the word. Breasted was convinced that Kush was Dongola, and Budge thought that the country extended as far as the junction of the two Niles. In 1920 Junker equated Kush with the country occupied by the C-Group people, known from the newly completed Archaeological Survey of Nubia—that is the country between El Koubanieh (15 km. north of Aswan) and Ermenne (25 km. north of Abu Simbel). The arrival of the C-Group in this part of the country was, according to Junker, to be dated during the First Intermediate Period. Steindorff and Säve-Söderbergh, both specialists in Nubian studies, agreed with Junker's view. Arkell, however, thought that originally Kush was Kerma and Zyhlarz (in 1956) places it in the Jebel Barkal area.

Kush in the Proscription Lists

Egyptian texts discovered since 1920 oblige scholars to reconsider the problem of Kush during the Middle Kingdom. These texts were written in ink on pottery vases, on mud statuettes, and lastly on alabaster statuettes. These documents are the basis of the present article. The *Alabaster Statuettes* date from the first half of the XIIth Dynasty. They give the names of eleven Nubian princes, including one princess and the Prince of Kush is the first named. Four countries inhabited by the Nubians are given as Wawat, Kush, Shaât, and Beqes. The *Pottery Vases*, in the Berlin Museum, are later than the alabaster statuettes. They must belong to about the time of Sesostri III (1878–43 B.C.). In the text the Prince of Kush is named first of the five or six Nubian princes. Twenty-two place names are mentioned, beginning with Kush. The *Mud Statuettes* of Saqqara date from the end of Sesostri III's reign and the beginning of the XIIIth Dynasty (i.e. from c. 1840 to c. 1780 B.C.). The Prince of Kush is still the first named of the five Nubian princes. The lists give 29 place names and begin with the same toponym as the Berlin vases.

Taken together the three kinds of documents cover most of the XIIth Dynasty.

THE LOCATION OF KUSH DURING THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Date of the Appearance of the name Kush

The first certain mention of Kush is on the Buhen stela, now in the Florence Museum, and dates from the 18th year of Sesostri I. Kush is the first named among the Southern countries conquered during the campaign. Two other texts of the same king mention Kush. On the Buhen stela the name is written *Kas*, but the proscription texts, which use first *Kas* and then *Kash*, prove that it was Kush which was meant. Under the New Kingdom the median *a* disappeared and the word was written *Ksh*.

Earliest Extent of Kush

During the New Kingdom the name Kush was used by the Egyptians to refer to an extensive southern country, but in the Middle Kingdom texts, it designates a much smaller country. It is only one of the 22 or 29 countries mentioned in the proscription texts. Which country was it? To try to establish this point an attempt will be made to fix the limits of the territory first in the north and then in the south.

Northern Limits of Kush and Wawat

On the alabaster statuettes the geographical list of the countries south of Egypt begins with Wawat. Kush is the second name. It follows that Kush must be located south of Wawat. From various sources, it seems that the southern boundary of Wawat must have been not very far from the Second Cataract. During the New Kingdom Wawat extended definitely from the First to the Second Cataract, and it appears that during the Middle Kingdom Wawat had about the same limits.

Since the Egyptian boundary was fixed by Sesostri III at Semna and the later proscription texts mention Kush as the first country south of Egypt, it is not impossible that Kush began immediately south of Semna.

Southern Limit of Kush and the Land of Shaât

From various sources it appears that Kush should be located somewhere north of the Third Cataract, since we have Egyptian texts referring to travels south of Kush, and those travellers do not seem to have got much farther south than the Third Cataract area and Kerma.

The proscription lists place the land of Shaât in the vicinity of Kush. If Shaât could be located with precision it would give a good approximation for the location of Kush itself. Now, from Egyptian texts found in Semna and from sources collected in the Island of Sai, we know that Shaât was either the Island of Sai itself, or a larger part of the country including the island. From various indications it results that the name Shaât designated the island itself. If it were possible to determine the position of Kush in relation to Shaât the problem would be solved.

The proscription lists mention Shaât after Kush, and it seems therefore that Kush was situated to the north of Shaât, since the lists mention the countries in order from north to south.

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Earliest Meaning of the Term Kush and its Extent

In the proscription lists, the names of the princes are given first and then the names of the countries follow. The Prince of Shaât in the first part is mentioned just after the Prince of Kush, but in the list of countries, and on the Buhen stela, one or several countries are interpolated between Kush and Shaât. So that Kush ought to be located a little north and not in direct contact with Shaât. Since its northern boundary is somewhere between the Second Cataract and Semna, it can be seen in what region Kush was situated in the Middle Kingdom.

The name Kush soon received a much wider meaning, and was extended to other countries south of it, but even at the time when they gave it a wider meaning, the Egyptians continued to use it also in its limited sense for definite purposes such as the proscription lists. This practice can be compared with the Greek name 'Libya', which was applied, at the same time, by the Greeks, to the limited country still known as Libya and to the whole African Continent as it was known at that time.

Kush and the Nubian Cultures

Since Junker's work on the C-Group people, more information has been collected on this Nubian culture. It seems that these people did not settle in numbers in the country before the Middle Kingdom, but their settlement increased considerably at the end of this period. Evidence of its extension south of Ermenne has been given. A C-Group settlement has been excavated at Faras, a little north of Wadi Halfa. At the same time centres of the Kerma culture, previously limited to the Kerma reach proper, have been discovered further north in Sai and at Amara. So that it appears now that the boundary between the C-Group culture and the Kerma culture was situated somewhere in the Second Cataract area.

If the archaeological and epigraphical data are compared, it will be seen that it is impossible to equate the name Kush with the C-Group people who settled between the First and the Second Cataract, in fact in the country known from the texts as Wawat. Accordingly the theory which established Kush as the name of the country inhabited by the C-Group people must be abandoned. On the other hand, it seems that the name Kush is much more applicable to the Kerma culture, and if one wishes to equate the name Kush with a definite culture, it is with the Kerma culture that the comparison must be made. But one must bear in mind that originally Kush designated only a limited territory and that the extension of its meaning was entirely due to the Egyptians, who applied it to the whole country south of Egypt. Accordingly, we must not regard as a historical fact a development which is in fact semantic.

Comments on the Origins and History of the Nobatae of Procopius

by L. P. KIRWAN

THE passage on Procopius' History of the Wars which refers¹ to a people called the Nobatae raises an interesting problem of Nubian history. Procopius, writing of Lower Nubia in his own day, namely in the first half of the 6th century A.D., relates how the country between Axum and the southern frontier of Egypt was then occupied chiefly by two peoples, the Blemmyes and the Nobatae, the former being in the central part of this region, the latter dwelling along the Nile. This, however, he continues, was not the position in the time of Diocletian (A.D. 245-313). At that time the frontier was seven days' journey beyond the southern confines of Egypt—it was, in fact, at Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqah)—the country in between being occupied by Roman garrisons. This stretch of the Nile valley, however, was so barren, the tribute so small, and the cost of maintaining garrisons there so costly that Diocletian withdrew the Roman garrisons to the First Cataract. As happened elsewhere on the imperial frontiers, the Emperor invited in their place *foederati*, in this case 'the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the City of Oasis . . . (and) . . . used to plunder the whole region'. Diocletian thought that, attracted by this offer of cities and of land so much more prosperous than their present territories, the Nobatae would not only be persuaded to fill the place of the Roman troops but would also 'no longer harass the country about Oasis at least'.

These Nobatae whom Procopius describes as occupying Lower Nubia along the Nile as far north as the Egyptian frontier are evidently identical with the Nobadae (Nābādōs) of the historian John of Ephesus (writing in Syriac at the time of Justinian) and with the Nobadae of the 5th or possibly 6th century inscription of Silko at Kalabsha. These are the people (as I have shown elsewhere)² of the great mound tombs at Ballaḥa and Qostol covering the period from the fourth to the middle of the 6th century A.D. The Blemmyes, whom Procopius describes as then living east of the Nile are, as generally acknowledged, the Beja peoples, the term being a comprehensive one to cover a conglomeration of the nomad tribes of the Eastern Desert.

The early history of the Nobatae of Procopius, however, is a good deal more obscure. Monneret de Villard³ in the introductory chapters to his now standard history of Christian Nubia ascribed to them a Berber origin⁴ and explained their

¹ I, xix, pp. 24-35. Loeb edition, trans. H. B. Dewing, 1914.

² L. P. Kirwan, 'The Ballaḥa Civilization'. *Bulletin de la société roy. de géog. d'Égypte*, xxv, pp. 103-10. March 1953.

³ U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, p. 27. Rome 1938. Kirwan, *LAAA*, xxiv, 1937.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 39 and 89-91.

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presence in the region of Kharga and Dakhla at the time of Diocletian as the result of a combination of two factors, Roman military policy in North Africa at the time and the diffusion of the camel as a means of transport. He cites also a passage from Pliny and the Peutinger Table in support of his general arguments. Monneret de Villard put forward these views twenty years ago. Nevertheless, his hypothesis that these tribes from Kharga who came to settle in Lower Nubia in late Roman times were of Berber origin is sufficiently novel to deserve even a belated examination in the light of the rival proposals made largely on linguistic grounds by Zyhlarz⁵ and others that the Nobatae of Procopius migrated to Kharga from Kordofan by way of the Darb al-Arbain.

Monneret de Villard refutes the arguments of Zyhlarz by pointing out that no evidence of Nubian influence, either linguistic, anthropological or archaeological, has ever been found in Kharga; he refused to believe, moreover, that it would have been physically possible for a whole group or tribe of this kind to have travelled from Kordofan over a route so long and arduous as the so-called Darb al-Arbain. Monneret de Villard's negative arguments are by no means convincing. The Nobatae are described by Procopius as plunderers of the Roman settlement at Kharga. It can be assumed, therefore, that they dwelt outside it. It seems evident, moreover, that they were in a nomadic state and that on their raids they roamed far and wide over the desert. Nor is his objection to the use of the Darb al-Arbain a valid one. Roman troops with their Saharan allies in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., travelled (probably by camel) from the North African coast as far south as Tibesti, Lake Chad and possibly Darfur⁶. And in modern times, Cailliaud (in 1817) observed the arrival in Assiut of a large caravan of 16,000 persons from Darfur who had travelled (many on foot) by way of the Darb al-Arbain, which was for centuries one of the main routes linking Egypt with the Sudan⁷.

Monneret de Villard's principal argument in favour of a Berber origin for those Nobatae 'who used to plunder the whole region' about Kharga in Diocletian's time is that Roman military policy in the first and 2nd century A.D. dictated that control of the nomad desert tribes and the protection of trade routes to Central Africa should be by means of long range desert expeditions from the coastal cities into the interior and that such forward thrusts, culminating under the Emperor Septimius Severus, had the effect of displacing the desert tribes towards the south and east, the latter direction having the added attraction of the prospects of rich plunder in Egypt⁸. He cites in illustration of this thesis the great expeditions of Septimius Flaccus and Julius Maternus which must have

⁵ E. Zyhlarz, 'Zur Stellung des Darfur-Nubischen', in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxv. S. Hillelson, 'Nubian Origins', in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xiii (1930), pp. 137-48.

⁶ L. P. Kirwan, 'Rome beyond the Southern Egyptian frontier', in *Geog. Journal*, cxxiii (March 1957), pp. 1-19.

⁷ H. J. L. Beadnell, *An Egyptian Oasis*, p. 34. London 1909.

⁸ U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, loc. cit.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE NOBATAE OF PROCOPIUS

taken place between A.D. 79 and about A.D. 150⁹. Recent evidence from the *Limes Tripolitanus*¹⁰, however, suggests that this argument could apply only if (as Procopius does not suggest) these alleged Berber migrations towards the Oases took place before the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 146-211). Septimius Severus, born at Lepcis Magna, was the probable founder of this new defensive system, composed of a zone or series of zones, stretching from within modern Tunisia to the borders of Cyrenaica, the establishment of which marked an end to the former policy of control by means of deep thrusts into the interior from the coast. The system from then on was a purely defensive one, maintained with care during the 2nd and 3rd centuries against continued pressure from the nomad tribes. The military basis of the new system, a territorial force of soldier-farmers—*limitanei*—whose principal regular military support, III Augusta, was disbanded in 238, is certainly not in accordance with a forward policy of the kind postulated by Monneret de Villard.

Finally there are the authorities cited, Pliny in the *Natural History*¹¹, and the Peutinger Table¹², a version of Roman itineraries concocted in mediaeval times. Monneret de Villard states that both refer to Nababes, or Nabades. But this perhaps is stretching the point. Pliny refers to a tribe called Nababes (Gens Nababes) living in Mauritania (confused on occasions with Nubia by classical and mediaeval geographers). The Table also refers to the Nababes (or possibly Hababes) living south of Mons Ferratus, that is to say in Morocco or north-west Algeria, somewhere south of the Atlas Mountains. This seems a far cry to Kharga Oasis, even if one accepts these sources as sufficiently secure.

The case against this theory of a Berber origin for the Nobatae of Procopius is, of course, by no means conclusive. But this brief examination of the evidence at least suggests that, despite the great authority of Monneret de Villard as a historian of Nubia, his arguments in this context must be accepted with reserve. Possibly, investigations in the neighbourhood of Kharga may yet yield evidence in support of his thesis. Meanwhile, Zylharz, of the two, still seems to offer a more acceptable explanation of the presence of the Nobatae in the neighbourhood of Kharga. This, it will be remembered, he based on the remarkably close relationship which appears to exist between certain of the Nuba dialects and those of the Barabra peoples. From this Zylharz argued that the original home of the Nubians was Kordofan and that from Kordofan they migrated in two main groups, the first and largest towards the Island of Meroe where they emerge as the Black Nōbā of the Axumite inscription of 'Ezana (the basic element in the culture of the mediaeval kingdom of 'Alwah) ; the second travelled due north to Kharga along the Darb al-Arbain.

⁹ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers*, p. 129. Penguin edition. 1955.

¹⁰ R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The *Limes Tripolitanus* in the light of recent discoveries', in *JRS* xxxix (1949), pp. 81-95.

¹¹ *Natural History*, v, 1, 21.

¹² Ed. Conrad Miller, 1887. Miller gives 'Nababes' as the preferred reading in his *Itineraria Romana*, p. 949. Stuttgart 1916.

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Procopius is an ancient historian of unusual reliability and his position as secretary to Belisarius from A.D. 527 gave him special opportunities of access to the imperial archives. In the course of his description of Lower Nubia at the time of Diocletian he reveals that Blemmyes and other 'barbarians' had already managed to obtain a foothold on the Roman territory of the Dodekaschoinus despite the presence there of Roman garrisons. Roman inability to prevent such incursions—no doubt, an important factor in Diocletian's decision to withdraw to the First Cataract *c.* A.D. 297—is paralleled south of the Roman frontier by evidence that in the northern Meroitic Kingdom, in the neighbourhood of Kalabsha, the Blemmyes-Beja of the eastern desert had also managed to establish themselves; at a date later than A.D. 250 and before the time of Silko, to judge by the position of a Meroitic inscription¹³ on a column of the Kalabsha temple. This suggests that already in the 3rd or 4th century there was some enfeeblement of the northern Meroitic kingdom. By 421, at all events, when the Egyptian historian Olympiodorus journeyed through Lower Nubia as far south as Primis (Kasr Ibrim),¹⁴ the Blemmyes were in control of the whole of this stretch of the Nile valley from Ibrim to Shellal. Of Nobatae Olympiodorus makes no mention. They must by then have established themselves further south, for Silko—"Βασιλίσκος Νουβάδων" he calls himself—describes in his inscription how in a series of campaigns he conquered Blemmye territory from Ibrim to Shellal and drove them finally from the Nile valley. The date of the Silko inscription,¹⁵ the work of an Egyptian Christian scribe, is unlikely—in view of the passage from Olympiodorus—to be earlier than 421. Krall and Wilcken¹⁶ assigned to it a 5th-century date, Letronne and Monneret de Villard a date not earlier than the 6th. The civilization characteristic of Nubia south of Ibrim which falls for the most part within these chronological limits is that represented by the cemeteries at Ballaña and Qostol, which are furthermore the northernmost mound tombs of this type in Lower Nubia. One of the tombs¹⁷ at Qostol (No. 14) may be as early as the time of Valens (364-78). These early tombs at Qostol, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere,¹⁸ represent the earliest establishment of the Nobatae south of the Dodekaschoinus. By the time of Justinian (A.D. 527-65), the Nobatae were, as Procopius and John of Ephesus relate, in control of the whole of Lower Nubia.

Those who read Monneret de Villard's admirable 'Historia della Nubia cristiana' should not fail also to read his review of the published final reports on the excavations at Ballaña and Qostol.¹⁹ In this, he brings up to date his views

¹³ U. Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁴ For the text preserved by Photius, see L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firkā*, p. 40. OUP 1937.

¹⁵ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, I, p. 114.

¹⁶ For references, see W. B. Emery, *Royal Tombs of Ballaña*, I, p. 15. Cairo 1938.

¹⁷ Emery, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Kirwan, 'The Ballaña Civilization', in *Bull. de la soc. roy. de géog. d'Égypte*, xxv.

¹⁹ 'Le necropoli di Ballaña e di Qostol', in *Orientalia*, IX (1940), pp. 61-75.

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on the Nobatae or Nobades in relation to the later history of Nubia and in particular abandons his earlier thesis that the Ballaña-Qostol tombs were those of the Makurites. 'The cemeteries of Ballaña and Qostol', he writes, 'contain the tombs of the Nobades up to the time of Christianity. The analogous tombs found at Qasr Ibrim and further north represent the traces of the advance of the Nobades towards the first cataract, under Silko; an advance culminating in the expulsion of the Blemmyes from the valley of the Nile'.²⁰

Nevertheless, Monneret de Villard adhered in this later study to his original idea that the rulers of Lower Nubia from the 4th to the 6th century were of North African origin, descendants of peoples who had emigrated from Algeria and Tunisia, by way of the Kharga Oasis; a foreign aristocratic warrior class who came to rule over the people of this part of the Nile valley. The substratum of population, he argues, were largely of Nōbā stock, the result of a blending of those Nōbā who had migrated northwards down the Nile, as Zyhlarz postulated, with the indigenous Meroitic population. De Villard then proceeds to consider what traces of North African or other foreign influence there are in the Ballaña and Qostol tombs and in their contents. Of the objects, certainly the most curious, the most characteristic, and the most foreign to the Nile valley are the horse bits of silver and iron. Such bits, according to Monneret de Villard, were in use in the Maghreb in modern times.²¹ He also refers to one of similar type in the Musée de Trocadéro in Paris.²² This specimen, ascribed to the Bedouin of the Syrian desert, certainly (as I have confirmed) bears some resemblance to the Nubian bits. These, however, are matters for future research into the origins and affinities of the Nobatae or Nobades, the Ballaña-Qostol people. It is an intractable problem made no easier by the state of the human remains. None of the skeletons of those obviously kings or queens were sufficiently well preserved for proper anthropological investigation and apart from an impression of pronounced prognathism and, in the case of males, of considerable stature,²³ nothing can be said about them which would help to solve the problem of the origins of the Nobatae.

²⁰ 'Le necropoli di Ballaña e di Qostol', in *Orientalia*, ix (1940), p. 69.

²¹ Monneret de Villard refers to Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, i, 2, p. 617 for a description of a similar bit.

²² No. 33. 84. 45.

²³ For example, the royal skeleton in tomb No. B.80 at Ballaña. The writer was a member of the expedition and examined the skeleton in question.

The Present State of Meroitic Studies

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Paris

INTRODUCTION

THE Meroitic language is known from a great number of inscriptions and ostraca found in the Nile Valley between Aswan and Khartoum, and even farther, from the reign of King Ergamenes about 225–200 B.C., till about A.D. 350. There were two types of writing, hieroglyphic and cursive. This latter type suggests the existence of Meroitic books and documents though no papyri have yet been found.

The main work of decipherment and text interpretation has been done by F. Ll. Griffith and his publications are still our main source of information. Griffith has fixed the transcription and his studies on Meroitic grammar and language can be resumed as follows :

The peculiar Semitic consonants do not occur in Meroitic.

Meroitic has no grammatical gender, and

the language belongs to the agglutinative type,

see Karanòg, chapter III, pp. 22–6. These three statements are in my opinion true and exclude any relationship of Meroitic with the Hamitic languages.

MEROITIC PHONETICS

According to Griffith there are 23 Meroitic letters as indicated in the Introduction to the Karanòg memoir and repeated for reference at the beginning of each volume in the Egypt Exploration Fund on Meroitic Inscriptions.

There were four vowels transcribed as *a* or *initial aleph* (Arabic *alif*), *e*, *i*, *ê*. In my opinion, *ê* represents an *o* or *u* sound and I therefore transcribe *o* (see p. xxx). The values attributed to the consonants appear to be well established by equations and there are but a few remarks to make.

Initial aleph is not always written e.g. *amni*=*mni* god Amon. *mnp* is Amenophis, Egyptian *Amanhatp* and the lion-god is called *pezemk* or *apezemki* 'Apezemak' (Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 63). Vowels are not always written, e.g. *ktke-l* nom.pr.f., Greek *Kandake*. In any case, the spellings *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* are but approximate.

It is difficult to establish a coherent phonological system of the consonants. There is but one voiced stop (*b*), while *d* and *g* are lacking, e.g. *Ktke-l* (Kandake) *Arqamn* (Ergamenes).

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Most probably voiced and voiceless stops were represented by the same sign (*b* and *p* by *b*, *g* and *k* by *k*, *d* and *t* by *t*) as the Meroitic alphabet was created after the model of the Egyptian series of one-consonant signs where there were *no voiced stops* (Vergote, *Phonétique Historique de l'Égyptien*, Louvain, 1945, p. 31 : *dans les deux langues (en arabe et hébreu) les occlusives sonores ont été conservées. En égyptien celles-ci se sont au contraire assourdies*). Egyptian *b* was a *voiced fricative sound* as in Spanish *hablar* and this fact (Vergote, p. 15) may explain the existence of a particular sign for *b*. Nevertheless, it is also possible that only in the case of the labials a distinction was made (*b* : *p*) while in the other cases (*d* : *t*, *g* : *k*) one sign served for both the voiced and voiceless sound.

The nature of the sound transcribed *ñ* is difficult to establish. It may have been *ñ mouillé* as in French (*champagne*) or Italian (*agnello*) and, as a matter of fact, this sound is common in African Negro languages. In Demotic, the Meroitic title *qoreñ* is transcribed as *qrny* (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 72) but this rendering proves nothing as there was no particular sign for *n mouillé* in Demotic. However, the frequent change between *n* and *ni* speaks rather in favour of a group writing (*ni*, like *te* and *to*), cf. *amñ*, *amni* 'god Amon' or *wumanith*, *wumanth* for **wu-mani-s-lh* (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 66), perhaps 'great priest of Amon'.

Another difficult problem is the assimilation of *s* plus *l* to *t*, or as I suggest, to **tt*. *Apote lh Aromelitowe* 'chief envoy of Rome' in Demotic *wptwy co n Hrwme* (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 55) stands for **Aromelis-lowe*. Most probably *s* was originally *ts* or a similar sound and the group *ts-l* (occlusion + opening + occlusion) was simplified to *one long occlusion*. However, it must be noted that this law is not always respected. The name . . . *naslei* (perhaps **Amanaslei*) may be of Meroitic origin (Junker, 'Die griechischen Denksteine Nubiens', *ZAS*, LX, p. 144). On the other hand, *l* may go back to an old **d* or **t*.

Many equations show that *s* and *š* are 'hopelessly intermingled' (Griffith, 'Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, III, 1916, p. 117).

Q is not an emphatic sound as in Semitic languages, in spite of the transcription. We here but follow Demotic spellings.

A MEROITIC WORD-LIST

The meaning of a few words has been established by F. Ll. Griffith, by careful comparison with similar Egyptian texts or by the interpretation of mere Meroitic texts. These indications are scattered in his publications and I think it useful to publish them here anew. Some cases have been intentionally omitted.

abr 'man'.

ant 'priest', Coptic *hont*.

apote 'envoy' or similar. Egyptian *wptwy*, Cuneiform *uputi*.

Aretate 'Harendotes', Egyptian *Hr nd yt-f*, probably **Arendate*.

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Ašor, Ašore 'Osiris', Coptic *Usire*. The *o* is unexplained.
at 'bread'.

ato 'water', corresponds to Demotic *mw*.

Bedewi 'Meroe' nom. loc., Greek *Meroe*, Arabic *Marawi* a place in the centre of the ruins of Napata.

hlbe 'month'.

hare 'North' (perhaps Egyptian *hry* 'down' and 'downstreams'.)

ktke 'Kandake' (probably *Kandake*).

kzi 'woman'.

lh 'great' often found with *apote*, *ant*, *qore* and other titles.

mhe 'much'.

mk 'god', f. *mkzi*, i.e. *mk-kzi* 'god-woman' or 'god-wife'.

mlo 'good' or similar.

Npte 'Napata' nom. loc.

Pilqe or *Pelqe* 'Philae' nom. loc., Coptic *Pilaqēh*.

qore 'king'.

qoreñ or *qoreni* a title.

pqr and *pešate*, *pešto*, *pšto*, *pešti*, *pešeto* are titles (Greek *psentes*).

pelemoš et varr. 'strategos, commander', Coptic *p-le-ōōše*.

tewisti 'worship', Coptic *t-wašte*.

Woš 'Isis' and *Woši*, but this form cannot correspond to Coptic *Ēse*.

wayeki 'star' is not certain, nor *qbñ*, see p. xxx.

yereke 'South' and *yerewake* 'East'.

semi 'year'.

GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

The ending *-l* is considered as the definite article: *ktk-l* 'the Kandake' (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 55), *pelmoš-l* 'the commander' (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, no. 123, 1).

There is no indication of grammatical gender but in some cases *kzi* 'woman' is added to a noun: *mkzi* 'goddess' (i.e. **mk-kzi*) and probably *apotekze* a f. proper noun, from *apote* 'envoy'.

The genitive is marked by a suffix *-s*: *šoni mni-s* 'the *šoni* (probably a title) of Amon' (Karanòg, No. 67), *perite Woš-t qoreñ Woš-t* corresponds in Demotic to *p qrny n Ise p rd n Ise* 'the perite of Isis, the *qoreni* of Isis' (*Meroitic Inscriptions* II, p. 51).

The plural ending is *-b*: *br-leb keze-bh kzi-leb mror-leb šš-leb* ('Meroitic Studies', IV, *JEA* IV, p. 165) is translated 'men, youths (?), women, maidens (?), children'.

Adjectives follow the noun: *apote lh* 'great envoy', *ato mhe* 'much water', *qoreñ lh* 'the great *qoreni*' ('Meroitic Inscriptions', *JEA*, II, p. 55).

The verb is most complicated. There are numerous suffixes and prefixes. The indirect object ('to him' or sim.) is expressed in early texts by *h* or nothing,

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in the plural by *-bh* ('to them'), see Hintze, p. 371. Later texts have pl. *-b* or *-bh-*.

Meroitic has post-positions, e.g. *-te* 'in' (Pilqe-te 'in Philae').

MEROITIC AND NUBIAN

Griffith mentions some analogies between Meroitic and Nubian : agglutinative structure, without gender, the place of inflections taken by post-positions and suffixes (Karanòg, p. 28-26). Moreover, he proposes to identify several Meroitic words with Nubian forms 'Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, II, p. 123) :

até 'water' (I read *ato*), Kordofan Nubian *otu*, *ote*, *otto*, see Zyhlarz, p. 430.

wayeki 'star' as a part of the name *Wayekiye* who was 'a prophet of Sothis in reckoning the course of the moon, priest of the five stars (i.e. planets) who reckons the time when the sun and moon rise' ('Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, I, p. 25). This name is written *wygy* in Demotic and there is also a form with *n*, viz., *Wyngy* in another graffito ('Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, I, p. 27) and 'this suggests that the Nubian word for "star" in Old Nubian *winji*, in Mahass *winji* was furnished with the common ending *ye* to make a name in this astronomical family'.

qabañ 'star' is compared with Dongola Nubian *gumenki* pl. 'stars' ('Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, I, p. 28).

zemi 'year' is connected with Old Nubian *jem*, now *gem* ('Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, II, p. 30).

šér 'book' (I read *šor*) is Old Nubian *šo*, modern Mahass *šor* ('Meroitic Studies', *JEA*, II, p. 28). Both derive from Demotic *šc* 'book', probably **šo^c*, Egyptian *šc.t* 'despatch, letter'.

The case of *wayeki* : *winji* is doubtful, *šor* : *šor* proves nothing for it is a loan-word, but the three remnant examples may be true. Besides, there is a definite article both Meroitic and Old Nubian as *-l* and the frequent verbal prefix *p-* may be explained as a durative prefix, like Mahass *fa-* and Kunuzi *bi-*.

ZYHLARZ : THE MEROITIC LANGUAGE PROBLEM (1930)

In Zyhlarz' opinion, there is no doubt that Meroitic belongs to the Hamitic languages like Old Egyptian, the Berber languages of North Africa and the Sahara (Siwa, Jebel Nefusa, Shawi, Kabyle, Rifi, Mzabi Shilha, Tuareg, etc.) and the East African Hamitic languages (Beja, Saho, Bilin, Galla, Somali, etc.)

A short grammatical sketch at the end of his paper covers almost all chapters of the grammar (pp. 458-63). Some analogies with African languages are striking, e.g. the formation of the female forms. There is a Meroitic suffix *-ye* (Zyhlarz transcribes *-y'*) found with some male names (*Nhšnye*, Karanòg, 34, *Wyeteye*, Karanòg, 68, *Tbihemni*, Karanòg, 114, etc.). A male name is *Temey-ye* and the corresponding female one is *Temey-kzi-ye* (Karanòg, 4, 18, 32, 59).

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This ending *-ye* is particularly frequent with female names, e.g. *Šweyibye* ('Meroitic Inscriptions', *JEA*, II, p. 58), *Mete-ye* (Karanòg, 2), etc. *Šweyibye* is explained as the female form of *Šweyibr* (Karanòg, 59), as an assimilation for **Šweyibr-ye*. The female name *Tqoroye* ('Meroitic Inscriptions', *JEA*, I, p. 85) is interpreted as 'Queen' as *qoro* or sim. is known as 'king'. Zyhlarz concludes that there were three formations of the female gender in Meroitic :

- (1) a suffix *kzi* 'woman' denoting the natural gender,
- (2) a suffix *-ye*, and
- (3) a prefix *t* in the case of *T-qoro-ye*.

A striking analogy is offered by Bilin, a Hamitic language spoken in Ethiopia :

- (1) the natural gender is expressed by *oghina* 'woman'.
- (2) a suffix *-i* forms female nouns, e.g. *šani* 'sister', and
- (3) a prefix *t* is found in *t-enšin-i* 'mother in law' (*anšin* 'father in law').

In some cases, Zyhlarz gives etymologies of non-Hamitic languages :

- (a) the plural ending *-b* is compared with *-be* in Ful (West Africa), p. 431, note 35.
- (b) the plural ending *-l-eb* (article plus *-b*) corresponds to Old Nubian *-l-gou*, while *-b-l* (plural ending with article) corresponds to Old Nubian *-gou-l*, p. 431, note 36.
- (c) *kzi*, 'woman' transcribed *kdi*, is compared with Swahili *-kazi* and Sotho *-xali* (p. 437, note 46). Swahili is spoken in East Africa, Sotho in South Africa.

Ful *-be* is not the plural ending but merely the plural ending of the person class (*jim-o*, 'comrade' pl. *yim-'be*). Other classes have other plural endings (e.g. *-de*, *-di*, *kon*).

The parallel between *-l-eb* : *l-gou* and *-b-l* : *-gou-l* is non-existent, as the Old Nubian forms in *-l-gou* are *participles*, see KUSH IV (1956), pp. 39-47. *Kazi* is but difficult to connect with Meroitic *kzi*. There are no Bantu languages spoken in the Eastern Sudan and it seems most unlikely to admit a Bantu origin for the word for 'woman' in a Hamitic language. Moreover, there is no trace of other Bantu features in Meroitic.

For the verb, Zyhlarz reconstructs three forms of the prefix conjugation (*a-* 'I', *y-* 'he' and *t-* 'she') as well as the derived stems (prefix *ši-* causative, *t-* reflexive and *ni-* passive), p. 461, but these indications merely result from a somewhat bold interpretation of unintelligible passages. So, Zyhlarz states *ši-hr*, *ši-ple*, *ši-hol* and *ši-zñh* to be causative verbs but he is not able to translate them. It goes without saying that this method is all but convincing.

HINTZE : THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF MEROITIC (1955)

After a careful examination of all the interpretations proposed by Zyhlarz, Hintze comes to the conclusion that Meroitic *cannot be a Hamitic language*.

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Hintze has a thorough knowledge of the different aspects of the problem and his main arguments are the following ones :—

(1) The Grammatical Gender (p. 358–61) :

Zyhlarz' female ending *-ye* is found frequently with male nouns (e.g. *Temey-ye*). The prefixes *p-* and *t-* considered by Zyhlarz as male and female (as the Coptic article) occur promiscuously and have nothing to do with gender.

(2) The Expression of the Verbal Subject (pp. 362–8) :—

Hintze shows the different combinations of verbal prefixes (*a-*, *bš-*, *p-*, *pš-*, *pitoši-*, *y-*, etc.) with 18 verbal stems as they occur in the final formula of the funerary texts. Zyhlarz' interpretation of the prefixes e.g. *a-*, *y-* and *t-* as well as *p-* as an 'indication of a nominal subject' is merely guesswork. Besides, *y-* and *t-* change without any apparent difference of meaning (*t-zhe*, *y-zhe* and *t-arike*, *y-arike*).

(3) The Derived Forms of the Verb (p. 368) :

The interpretation of *š-*, *t-* and *ni-* is arbitrary and causative meaning is even improbable for the forms with *p-š-*.

(4) Fiens and Factum (i.e. Imperfect and Perfect) (p. 369) :

Zyhlarz translates *ye-l* as a present form ('he gives') and *yi-šē* as a perfect ('he has done'), but the change of *e* and *i* is common, e.g. *Pilqo*, *Pileqe* 'Philae' (Zyhlarz, p. 422).

(5) The Pronoun of the First Person Singular (pp. 369–70) :

A sign group *škoskinli* is translated 'the noble *Škinli*' and *anoškinliqo* as 'I (am) the noble *Škinli*' (rock inscriptions near Dakke, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 23). Griffith reads *Shaqēshakin* 'apparently a proper name'. Zyhlarz' translation is more than doubtful.

Besides, there are some grammatical features that contradict the appurtenance of Meroitic to the Hamitic tongues, e.g. *dkrtri lh-l* 'the great (*lh*) *dkrtri*' (p. 370), or the lack of the grammatical gender.

CONCLUSION

As far as we see from Hintze's article, very little progress has been made in the domain of Meroitic since Griffith. This fact may be due to the amount of published texts. Every scholar is well aware that there are many texts still unpublished and hesitates spending his time on a limited and insufficient material. I am sure that the interpretation of Meroitic will start anew with the publication of new material.

Griffith and Hintze have come to the conclusion that Meroitic *was not a Hamitic language*. There are some more arguments that may be added in favour of this statement.

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First of all, Meroitic kings, queens, and dignitaries are depicted, more or less clearly, as negroes. The land was called *Kush* and *kišya* is the word for 'negro' in Beja. The Ḥalab in Egypt call a negro *kuši* or *kuš* with the plural *kawaš*, as I have heard myself in Luxor and in other places.

It has not been possible to establish the linguistic relationship of Meroitic by comparison. I think, however, some progress can be made by *elimination*. We know that Meroitic is not a Hamitic language. This negative statement can be converted into a positive one: Meroitic is a negro language. Obviously, it was not a class language like Ful, the Nubian class languages or Bantu as the systematic repetition of the class indicators (Swahili *m-thu m-kubwa* 'the big man', pl. *wa-thu wa-kubwa*) is not found in the texts.

The existence of a cursive form of writing tends to prove that Meroitic was actually used in daily life. This fact proves that Meroitic could actually be written with the rather neglectful indication of vowels. It would be impossible to do so in many Sudanese languages with short word stems (mainly *consonant plus vowel*), e.g. in Ewhe, and even in the Nilotic languages (Nuer: *muun* earth, *nyaau* 'domestic cat', *lep* 'tongue', mostly monosyllabic) where vowel tints, lengths, and musical tones are decisive.

Meroitic appears to belong to a group where the words had a somewhat more complex structure: there were often two or three consonants and several vowels and the different words separated by dots could be recognized.

The Meroitic genitive construction is well known:

pelmoš ato-l-is 'the strategos of the water' (i.e. Nile),
perite Woš-t 'the *perite* (a title) of Isis (**Wos-š-l*),
ant Mš-s 'the priest of *Mš*'.

The ending *-l* is considered as a definite article or a similar element and the formula of the plain construction is N G-s (N=nomen regens, G=genitive and s the genitive element). It is not established if the complex G-s were considered as a genitive or adjective, but it is clear that it stands for the nomen regens (N), i.e. for *G-N 'water-strategos'. This (earlier) construction is confirmed by the fact that Meroitic operates with post-positions instead of prepositions, e.g. *-te* 'in' (*Pileqe-te* 'in Philae.') originally 'belly' or sim. The contrary development can be observed in Amharic where: *ya-berat sāten* 'an iron box' literally means 'of-iron box'. In this case the Semitic genitive formula N G has survived in the first expression *ya-berat* (= **da-birat*) but the whole formula *ya G N* is but an attempt to imitate the aboriginal construction G N (e.g. *Kafā Amān qētō* 'Aman's house', *Kafā rājō* 'the Kafa-Land'). After prepositions *ya* is omitted: *ta berat sāten* 'in an iron box'.

The Meroitic genitive formula N G-s can be considered as an attempt to substitute the original construction (G N) by a new one (N G), probably under the influence of a language with this latter formula. It is not my intention to discuss all Meroitic constructions hitherto mentioned as I prefer to limit this study as far as possible to safe ground. As a conclusion, some new features

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can be added to those stated by Griffith (p. 91): a more complex word structure, a sound change $\varepsilon : r$ (Bedewi: Meroe), composition of verb stems (*verba conjuncta*) and a primitive genitive formula G N. These characteristics exclude most regions of Africa where other language types prevail (class languages, languages with monosyllabic roots, genitive formula N G, etc.) as well as the territories occupied by the Hamites.

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Soleb

by MICELA SCHIFF GIORGINI

Scavi eseguiti sotto l'alto patronato dell'Università di Pisa.

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SOLEB è situato nel deserto occidentale della provincia di Halfa, sulla riva sinistra del Nilo, di fronte alla località detta Wawa a 222 km. al sud di Wadi Halfa.

Soleb è il nome della montagna che si scorge all'orizzonte, a nord-ovest del villaggio e della zona antica, e che all'aurora si colora di rosso.

Soleb è il paesello di 300 abitanti, fatto di poche case di mota tra il deserto e l'esile striscia verde della riva del Nilo.

Soleb è anzitutto l'insieme di rovine imponenti che si ergono nel deserto fra sabbia e rocce, a sud e sud-ovest dell'abitato, resti di una fondazione di Amenofi III chiamata Mnnw Ḥꜥ m mꜥꜣt. Questi ruderi sono situati in una valle che scende in leggero declivio verso il Nilo e nella quale si riversa periodicamente il torrente formato dalle grandi piogge del deserto (TAV. III).

Il tempio, attualmente al limite dei campi, è di areanaria bianca ed orientato est-ovest (TAV. I e II). Costruito su di una terrazza di origine alluvionale ed appoggiato direttamente sulla terra, il monumento non ha potuto resistere all'impeto ed all'erosione delle acque torrenziali, causa essenziale della sua rovina. La stabilità del pilone, in parte conservato, è dovuta al fatto che la sua base è protetta ad ovest dal sottosuolo delle sale e delle corti costruite ad un livello più elevato; ma il limite delle ultime sale è mal definito, il maggior numero delle colonne è crollato e le altre pendono come la torre di Pisa; del pilone del muro di cinta non resta che la base, il muro non esiste più ed il dromos che dava accesso al tempio è sparito sotto i terreni coltivati.

A circa 200 metri a sud e sud-ovest del tempio, si trovano i resti delle antiche abitazioni di mattoni crudi, costruite su di una sporgenza rocciosa e ormai rase al suolo.

A 800 metri ad ovest si stende la necropoli scavata nella roccia, perpendicolare ad una linea che prolunga l'asse del tempio. La formazione di schisto affiora obliqua in massi e creste nere, mentre all'orizzonte colline coniche, in vasto anfiteatro, danno alla valle un aspetto craterico e lunare.

CAMPAGNA 1957-58

Nel gennaio del 1821 l'esploratore francese Frédéric Cailliaud visitò Soleb accompagnato da P. C. Latorzec, il cui nome é inciso su una delle colonne della seconda corte del tempio. Cailliaud preparò vari disegni, una pianta ed

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una descrizione sommaria del tempio, ma non fu il primo a far conoscere in Europa il sito antico di Soleb. Gli inglesi B. Hanbury e G. Waddington, incrociatisi con Cailliaud nei pressi di Moshi, arrivarono a Soleb poco tempo dopo il passaggio dei francesi e, nel 1822, pubblicarono la relazione del loro viaggio, precedendo di alcuni anni l'apparizione dell'opera di Cailliaud.¹ Una pianta del tempio fu disegnata dalla spedizione prussiana (1842-45) diretta da Lepsius; i ragguagli dati sul monumento sono sistematici ma sommari. I risultati delle missioni di Budge (1905) e di Breasted (1907) non han dato luogo a delle pubblicazioni esaurienti. In definitiva sembra che i soli scavi eseguiti a Soleb consistano in un sondaggio fatto da Budge nel settore che precede il pilone.

La nostra missione, arrivata a Soleb il 5 novembre 1957, ha iniziato i lavori di scavo il giorno 16 dello stesso mese, con circa 200 operai ingaggiati unicamente sul posto e nei villaggi circostanti.

Lo stato nel quale abbiamo trovato il tempio è identico a quello di un secolo fa come lo provano: un disegno eseguito nel 1832 dal viaggiatore inglese Hoskins² e le copie fatte da Lepsius. Le iscrizioni che erano leggibili all'epoca della spedizione di Berlino lo sono ancora oggi e quei geroglifici che ci causano qualche difficoltà di lettura erano già appena visibili nel secolo scorso. Nell'insieme il numero delle iscrizioni è lo stesso; notiamo solo la scomparsa di due pietre piatte applicate (pilone faccia esterna. Fregio No. 2) e di un frammento di blocco pilone faccia interna. Fregio No. 10); quest'ultimo mancava già quando Breasted fotografò la parete.

Nuovi numeri, che non corrispondono a quelli dati da Lepsius e da Porter e Moss, sono stati apposti ai testi e bassorilievi del tempio che ammontano a 41 (TAV. IV). I numeri partono in ogni settore da nord a sud e dal basso in alto; i fregi sono stati separati secondo la rappresentazione del cielo al di sopra delle scene. Quanto alla decorazione delle colonne, i numeri seguono l'asse del tempio partendo dall'entrata e dividendosi, in ogni sala e corte, in due gruppi distinti: nord e sud. Ci siamo astenuti dal numerare le colonne del settore III perché la pianta della sala non potrà essere definita se non dopo i lavori di sterro di quest'area. Notiamo che le due piante del tempio eseguite da Cailliaud e da Lepsius non corrispondono tra loro: nel settore I Cailliaud non rilevò le colonne addove Lepsius ne vide sei ed ambedue delimitarono la sala al di là della sua lunghezza reale. Del settore III poi Cailliaud fece un ipostilo con 6 colonne in direzione est-ovest a differenza della corte, con ai lati 7 colonne, di Lepsius. La visione attuale, prima di qualsiasi sondaggio, ci fa supporre si tratti di una corte con doppio portico laterale e, sicuramente, con 6 colonne da est ad ovest.

La maggior parte delle iscrizioni del tempio è stata copiata su schede, ma alcuni testi e scene appena visibili dovranno essere ripresi con l'aiuto di luce

¹ Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments*, 1, London, 1907 (pp. 37-41, 445-50, 608-21) e la *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. VII, Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt* di B. Porter e R. L. B. Moss, Oxford, 1951 (pp. 161-72).

² Travels, TAV. 42 = Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, TAV. tra le pp. 60-1.

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artificiale rasente; molto dipende infatti dall'illuminazione delle pareti e si comprende come una scena (No. 36) che contiene rappresentazioni di piante, e che si sarebbe tentati di paragonare al 'giardino botanico' del tempio di Amone a Karnak, sia rimasta inosservata fino ad oggi.

Le scene più notevoli si trovano sul molo nord del pilone, faccia ovest (fregi No. 10-15), e sulla parete nord della porta tra i settori II e III (No. 22-30); si riferiscono alla celebrazione del giubileo di Amenofi III e Breasted ne ha già fatto un'analisi sommaria che è inutile ripetere.

Un'altra serie di testi importanti è quella scolpita intorno alla parte inferiore delle colonne della sala IV (particolarmente No. Nord 1-5-9-10 e Sud 1-5-6-11); si tratta dei nomi di paesi stranieri incisi in un ovale sormontato da un busto di personaggio che caratterizza il paese o la città menzionata. Sulla superficie su cui sono scolpite queste scene erano state primitivamente tracciate delle linee verticali parallele. Questo materiale deve essere confrontato con altre liste dello stesso genere, il suo studio non può quindi essere realizzato unicamente sul posto e farà l'oggetto dei rapporti seguenti.

SCAVI DEL TEMPIO

Il lavoro è stató iniziato con gli scavi del settore I che si presentava come un cumulo di macerie accostato al pilone. Questo ha una lunghezza totale di 51 metri ed uno spessore di circa 12 metri ai lati ed 8 metri alla porta; nella sua facciata si aprono le quattro scanalature destinate a ricevere i pali per le banderuole; sul davanti, al di là delle scanalature, abbiamo trovato quattro zoccoli di arenaria, due per parte, dai quali dovevano elevarsi quattro statue colossali. Essendo le sale e corti del tempio costruite ad un livello superiore a quello del suolo su cui poggia il pilone, la base di questo rimane scoperta solamente ad est, eccezione fatta per la parte centrale dove si apre il portale e davanti al quale sabbia e macerie coprivano una sala a quattro colonne di 14 metri di facciata su 13 metri di lato (TAV. V). Questa sala addossata al pilone è costruita interamente in arenaria; le lastre del pavimento sono in uno stato di disgregazione molto avanzato ed alcune quasi ridotte in polvere. Ad ovest, la sala comunica con il resto del tempio per mezzo del grande portale nel cui vano abbiamo trovato un muricciolo in pietre nere che chiudeva l'accesso alla prima corte. L'immensa porta del pilone era ad un battente, a differenza di quella d'entrata a due battenti. I resti delle colonne e dei muri si elevano solo a circa 2 metri da terra (TAV. VII), ma possiamo farci un'idea esatta della loro altezza primitiva grazie alla cavità, tuttora visibile, nella quale si bloccava l'architrave e grazie alle pietre che un tempo facevano parte della parete nord della sala e che ancora oggi sporgono dalla facciata del pilone. Da questa partivano infatti i due muri laterali della sala, incastrandosi parzialmente nelle scanalature adibite ai pennoni ed elevandosi fin sopra il livello del cornicione della porta, a 13,45 metri di altezza, al di sotto del soffitto. Le colonne, di un diametro di 2,60 metri, si elevavano a 11,60 metri dal suolo, base e capitello compresi; il diametro delle basi è di 4 metri; la parte inferiore delle colonne è ornata da

una fascia di grosse pastiglie in spiccato rilievo. I vari frammenti trovati rivelano che le colonne erano decorate e che i capitelli erano palmiformi. Tra i numerosi blocchi crollati per terra vi era un enorme pezzo di architrave con l'iscrizione *ḫꜣ šꜣwty, nšw bꜣt* . . . , ed un frammento dell'architrave della porta sul quale sono rappresentate due divinità sedute spalla contro spalla, separate da un'iscrizione verticale. Della parete ovest della sala, costituita dalla parte centrale della facciata del pilone, non rimane che una metà, quella contenuta tra il vano della porta ed il muro nord e che è decorata in rilievo appena pronunciato. Sul lato della porta vi sono quattro fregi: il n. 4, il primo in basso, è quasi completamente distrutto; il n. 5 rappresenta il re Amenofi III in presenza del dio Amone; il numero 6 ed il numero 7 Amenofi III davanti al dio lunare; nel fregio 7 le gambe del re sono rimaste incompiute. Sul resto della parete la decorazione si divide in tre grandi fasce ed è molto deteriorata. Queste rappresentazioni sono opera di Amenofi III, Amenofi IV si limitò ad incidervi il suo nome. Su un frammento di pietra trovato durante gli scavi della sala, e probabilmente appartenente alla porta, è ancora visibile il nome di Amenofi III (*nb-mꜣꜥ, t-rꜥ*) al quale fu sovrapposto quello di Amenofi IV (*nfr-ḥpr. w-rꜥ, wꜥ-n-rꜥ*).

Oltre alla sovrapposizione dei cartelli, questo settore subì varie modificazioni: l'entrata fu ridotta per mezzo di blocchi di arenaria posti ai lati del vano della porta e la base delle colonne fu parzialmente rifatta con pietre di piccole dimensioni. Lo studio dei differenti livelli del suolo della sala ha rivelato che il lastricato di arenaria, già restaurato con gesso contemporaneamente alla base dei muri e delle colonne, fu ricoperto da un suolo di terra battuta che si estendeva fin sulla soglia della porta del pilone; questa veniva allora sostituita da una porta a due battenti più bassa della precedente e di cui restano: sul lato, l'incavo destinato alla trave di coronamento e, sulla soglia, il foro laterale sul quale si imperniava la porta ed il buco centrale quadrato che permetteva il blocco dei battenti. Nello stesso tempo l'intonaco veniva ripassato in vari punti della sala. Il suolo fu in seguito nuovamente rialzato da un fondo di terra leggera mentre si procedeva, con un'altra mano di gesso, ad un terzo restauro delle pietre più rovinate; il bordo inferiore di alcuni strati di intonaco era appoggiato su questa terra di cui seguiva la linea ondulata. Contemporaneamente due muri di mattoni crudi venivano eretti tra i moli del pilone, ai lati del vano della porta, riducendo le dimensioni di questa; i muri dovevano salire fino all'altezza dell'architrave coprendo le iscrizioni di Amenofi III (fregio No. 9). È senza dubbio alla stessa epoca che le colonne venivano circondate da un rivestimento di mattoni i cui resti lasciano ancora oggi la parte inferiore delle due colonne nord. Per terra, vicino alla parete nord, si è trovato un pezzo di gesso staccatosi dal muro e sul quale vi sono due righe di iscrizione meroitica (57.s2), lunghezza 15 cm. (TAV. V, XXII); ciò fa pensare che la sala era ancora in piedi negli ultimi secoli prima della nostra era. Facciamo presente che su una colonna della sala IV (sud 5) si trova un altro testo meroitico conosciuto da tempo. Sul suolo di terra leggera, davanti alla porta del pilone, vi era un sottile strato di carbone di legno proveniente sicuramente dall'incendio del portale, incendio

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che deve essere avvenuto poco prima del crollo della sala poiché i resti di carbone si trovavano al disotto, e a contatto, del grande pezzo di architrave caduto per terra.

La sala I è preceduta da una spianata fondata su vari strati di pietre (TAV. VI) sulla quale potevano poggiare gli obelischi di cui parla la stele del Cairo 34025. Davanti a questa piattaforma sono rovesciati per terra due Horo in granito appena abbozzati; uno è già conosciuto e menzionato, l'altro è in frantumi.

Tra questa spianata ed il pilone del muro di cinta doveva passare il viale di arieti, due dei quali sono al British Museum. Del viale non rimane traccia e degli animali colossali che lo fiancheggiavano non restano qui che frammenti completamente invasi dal salnitro.

La trincea che abbiamo scavata davanti alla piattaforma e perpendicolare all'asse del tempio ci ha permesso di constatare che il suolo fu già scavato anticamente, indi colmato di terra mista a mattoni cotti, pezzi di arenaria, frammenti di vasellame e perfino due grossi tubi di terracotta. Gli strati di terra di alluvione che, al limite nord della trincea, si sovrappongono l'uno all'altro in pendio verso il Nilo, dimostrano che il tempio fu costruito in pieno ' wadi '.

All'ovest della porta del muro di cinta vi sono due basi rettangolari che potrebbero essere quelle dei famosi leoni di Soleb, attualmente al British Museum.

Tra i rottami accumulatisi ad ovest del pilone del tempio, abbiamo trovato un frammento di lista geografica con la rappresentazione di un'insegna del nomo di Horo e tre piccoli frammenti di statue in granito ed in pietra nera. I vari blocchi iscritti o decorati trovati durante gli scavi sono stati riuniti in un magazzino a cielo aperto nell'angolo sud-est del settore I. Con lo sterro abbiamo elevato delle barriere intorno al tempio per impedire alle acque torrenziali provenienti dal deserto di invadere nuovamente la terra su cui poggia il monumento. Nel vano della porta del pilone abbiamo costruito due muri provvisori di sostenimento ed abbiamo inoltre cementato gli interstizi delle pareti più colpite. Per alleggerire le rovine, soprattutto il pilone, abbiamo smontato i muri eterogenei eretti qua e là nel tempio e che rischiavano di crollare; questi muri erano composti di pietre nere e di pezzi di arenaria fra i quali abbiamo trovato alcuni frammenti di decorazione dell'epoca di Amenofi III. La tradizione locale parla di un certo ' sultano Thomas ' che ' costruì ' il tempio prima dell'invasione araba. La storia è poco chiara, ma questo nebuloso personaggio si fece forse costruire all'interno del monumento una sua abitazione ai cui resti potremmo attribuire i muri rozzamente composti di cui sopra e le pietre nere trovate sparpagliate nelle sale e nelle corti del tempio.

SCAVI DELLA NECROPOLI

La superficie, sollevata qua e là da lievi sporgenze, era coperta di sabbia, ciottoli e scaglie di schisto, frammenti di vasellame ed ossa umane. Tutto lasciava supporre che la necropoli fosse stata saccheggiata.

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Gli scavi di questo settore sono stati intrapresi il 10 dicembre 1957. Abbiamo cominciato ad esplorare 17 tombe che sono state numerate secondo la progressione dei lavori (TAV. VIII). La tomba No. 13, unica nel suo genere, comporta una fossa alla quale si accede, ad est, attraverso un piccolo pozzo. La fossa era coperta da una volta costruita al disotto del livello del suolo. Le altre 16 tombe sono di un tipo differente e più complesso; la loro superstruttura è rasa al suolo, eccezion fatta per le No. 14 e 15 di cui parleremo appresso, ma il suo studio potrà essere realizzato grazie ai resti di mattoni crudi e di pietre nere che permettono di intravedere le basi di piccole piramidi all'ovest di cappelle nelle quali si aprivano i pozzi. Questi sono fosse rettangolari coi lati lunghi in direzione est-ovest; sui blocchi di schisto o di arenaria, che ne incorniciano ancora in parte gli orli, sono appoggiate trasversalmente alcune lastre nere, resti dell'antica copertura che al tempo stesso costituiva il suolo delle cappelle superiori. Siamo scesi in 12 pozzi, alcuni già visibili all'inizio dei lavori, altri coperti invece dal terreno superficiale o da cumuli di pietre. I pozzi, profondi circa cinque metri, erano riempiti nella maggior parte dei casi di sabbia, terra di alluvione, pietre nere, pezzi di arenaria, frammenti di vasi ed ossa umane. Dal fondo del pozzo, generalmente solo ad ovest, si accede ad una o più camere sepolcrali, vere e proprie grotte scavate nella parete di schisto. Menzioniamo in modo particolare la tomba 17 il cui pozzo si presentava già come un fossato a metà riempito di sabbia. Allorché siamo penetrati nelle tre camere sotterranee abbiamo avuto l'impressione che fosse avvenuto un cataclisma: la terra che primitivamente copriva il suolo, mista ai pezzi di roccia crollati dal soffitto, era stata scavata in modo tutt'altro che regolare. Vari buchi apparivano al centro delle camere e mucchi di terra e pietre lungo le pareti; alcuni vasi in frantumi erano stati abbandonati sul terreno così sconvolto. Ma la tomba 17 è la sola nella quale abbiamo potuto riconoscere le tracce lasciate da una visita recente; nelle altre nessuno è penetrato se non nell'epoca antica, il che non vuol dire che le abbiamo trovate intatte. Al contrario, le camere erano state quasi tutte vuotate del loro arredo funebre, alcuni oggetti erano stati rotti, in particolar modo gli shawabti trovati in quattro casi spezzati all'altezza delle gambe; il coperchio a figura umana di un sarcofago (5 T 1, TAV. XXIII), l'unico rimasto sul posto ed ormai vuoto, era stato rotto in due pezzi anch'esso all'altezza delle gambe; i corpi erano stati spostati e, in molti casi, tirati fuori dalla loro sepoltura e questo all'epoca in cui le carni rivestivano ancora lo scheletro, come lo provano le ossa di alcune mani e piedi che, trovate alla superficie dei pozzi, erano ancora disposte nel loro ordine naturale, rispettivamente a seguito dei cubiti e delle tibie. Ma le porte dei pozzi, molte delle quali non davano più accesso che a camere vuote, erano state murate; i muri erano ancora intatti allorché siamo scesi nei pozzi. Se violazione c'è stata, si tratta senza dubbio di una 'violazione pacifica', come la chiama il nostro epigrafista Janssen.

Le tre tombe che ora descriveremo sono le numero 11, 14 e 15. La prima è la sola che conteneva ancora vari scheletri ed oggetti; le altre due sono quelle all'estremo nord della necropoli, e certo le più importanti.

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Tomba No. II. (TAV. IX-XI; XXIV-XXVII)

Della superstruttura di questa tomba non rimangono che pochi mattoni rasi. Durante gli scavi del pozzo, oltre a vari pezzi di vasellame, si è trovato un frammento di schawabti di calcare, anepigrafo, rotto all'altezza delle spalle e delle gambe. Uno dei due pezzi complementari, i piedi, era posto nel fondo del pozzo presso il muretto di pietre che bloccava il vano della porta. Questo muro a secco era stato eretto sopra una tavola di offerte a forma di *htp*, stesa a rovescio su alcuni frammenti di piccole coppe ed ossa. Il bordo della faccia superiore della tavola, là dove avrebbe dovuto trovarsi l'iscrizione, era stato fatto saltare con un arnese di ferro. Le pareti delle due camere sotterranee, situate l'una dietro l'altra all'ovest del pozzo (TAV. IX), portano i segni dei colpi di arnese che le ha tagliate, identici alle tracce lasciate sulla tavola *htp*. Nella prima camera il suolo era coperto da una ventina di centimetri di pezzi di roccia crollati dal soffitto sotto i quali si stendeva uno strato di limo che, più alto all'entrata, diminuiva avanzando verso la seconda camera nella quale non superava i 7 cm. di spessore. La terra era estremamente umida. Nella prima camera si sono trovati sette scheletri e due ossa lunghe che non è stato possibile identificare né attribuire ad uno degli scheletri. Le ossa erano in uno stato di disintegrazione totale e si riducevano in polvere non appena toccate. Tra gli scheletri vi era quello di una donna incinta (sch. I), la mascella del feto munita di fini denti aguzzi e di molari, e quello dello scriba Khnumhotep (sch. V), l'unico che è stato possibile identificare grazie all'iscrizione di tre piccoli vasi e di uno shawabti contro il quale poggiavano le ossa dei piedi, talloni all'indietro, dello scheletro; la figurina funeraria portava il nome dello scriba con la formula comune agli shawabtis (TAV. X). Un secondo shawabti è stato trovato ai piedi di un altro scheletro (sch. VII), ed un terzo era posto nel vano della porta tra le due camere in tal modo che non è possibile dire a quale di queste appartenesse. La prima camera conteneva orci e vasi di differenti dimensioni (TAV. XI); all'entrata si sono trovate alcune piccole coppe, simili a quelle lasciate sotto la tavola *htp*. Delle sottili lamine d'oro, che anticamente rivestivano un braccialetto, ed un pendente in pietra trovati vicino ad uno scheletro (sch. VII) fan presumere si trattasse di un'altra donna. I corpi erano stati distesi con i piedi in direzione verso l'est, le mani sopra o sotto il bacino, un braccio steso e l'altro leggermente flesso, le gambe ad un livello più elevato ed i piedi in genere appoggiati su grandi vasi. Malgrado questo ripetersi della posizione di alcune ossa, i corpi, stesi l'uno vicino all'altro e, in due casi, l'uno sopra l'altro, dovevano essere stati spostati a più riprese; uno scheletro aveva infatti le vertebre lombari e dorsali poste in direzione quasi perpendicolare ai femori ed al cranio (sch. III), un altro appariva come ripiegato su sé stesso (sch. VII), il cranio rotto in tre pezzi trovati l'uno lontano dall'altro; un terzo scheletro (sch. VI) era stato addirittura smontato e distribuito lungo una parete e in un angolo, i due femori incrociati in un gruppo di vasi. Si ha la netta impressione che i corpi venivano scostati secondo il bisogno ad ogni nuovo seppellimento e si direbbe che la decomposizione delle carni doveva aver luogo in un tempo relativamente breve.

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La seconda camera era quasi vuota; sopra lo strato di terra umida che ricopriva il suolo vi erano un cranio ed una piccola maschera di gesso. Il cranio, primitivamente poggiato sulla sua mascella superiore di cui si sono trovati i resti, doveva essere stato rovesciato contro la parete dalle acque di infiltrazione. Quanto alla mascherina, questa doveva essere rimasta a lungo su di un terreno bagnato a giudicare dalla profonda erosione verificatasi nella parte che era a contatto con la terra. Il viso, rivolto verso l'alto, era invaso dal salnitro cristallizzato. Notiamo che gli occhi erano stati tappati con gesso che ha in parte cancellato il disegno, i tratti neri che marcavano gli occhi sono rimasti attaccati alla faccia interna dei due pezzetti di gesso; un frammento complementare della maschera, trovato presso la parete di fondo e non usato dall'acqua, ce ne dà lo spessore primitivo. Nella camera vi era un'altra mascherina ormai rosa e quasi informe. Nella terra di alluvione, su di una linea mediana che attraversa la camera in tutta la lunghezza, si sono trovate alcune minuscole lamine d'oro che certo non rivestivano un sarcofago di legno visto che non restava traccia di legno marcito. Pochi frammenti di vasi e, del personaggio al quale avrebbe dovuto appartenere il cranio, non restavano che due tibie incrociate con i peroni spostati, il sinistro capovolto, e tre o quattro ossa sparpagliate.

Constatiamo che, mentre nella prima camera corpi ed oggetti erano stati ammucchiati in uno spazio ridotto al punto da non lasciar neppure un passaggio libero per accedere alla seconda camera, quest'ultima era invece quasi vuota. Ripetiamo che la porta di entrata era murata allorché siamo penetrati nelle camere e che la tomba non è stata visitata dall'epoca in cui fu eretto il muricciolo di chiusura. I numerosi pezzi di vasi ed i frammenti di shawabti trovati durante gli scavi del pozzo costituivano forse una parte dell'arredo funebre della seconda camera.

Tomba No. 15. (TAV. XII-XVIII; XXVIII-XXXI)

Prima degli scavi la tomba 15 si presentava come un ammasso di pietre nere disposte a ferro di cavallo aperto ad est. Queste pietre coprivano e costituivano i resti della superstruttura che, elevandosi ancora a più di un metro dal suolo, ha permesso lo studio della costruzione della tomba e dei suoi diversi stadi (TAV. XV).

fase :

Una piattaforma costituita da due strati sovrapposti di pietre nere ed appoggiata su un fondo di ghiaia servi di base alla piccola piramide primitiva in mattoni crudi. La piramide era preceduta ad est da una cappella, anch'essa costruita in mattoni, sulla ghiaia. La cappella era un ambiente rettangolare al quale si accedeva dall'est e sul cui suolo si apriva il pozzo. I suoi muri laterali, più grossi di quelli di facciata, dovevano inclinarsi e sopportare una volta. Dal suo muro di fondo sporgeva esternamente un andito in corrispondenza del ridotto (*serdab*) situato nella piramide. Le costruzioni facenti parte della tomba primitiva non erano orientate sullo stesso asse, quello della piramide e del *serdab* deviando leggermente verso sud rispetto all'asse della cappella e dell'andito.

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II fase :

Sulla base dei muri laterali e del muro ovest della cappella, e precisamente su due strati sovrapposti di mattoni, furono eretti i muri di una nuova cappella. La caratteristica di questa costruzione è che il lato sinistro, benché in partenza segua la traccia del muro primitivo, subisce ad ovest una leggera deviazione, tanto quanto basta per mutare l'asse della stanza. Questa cappella fu fatta precedere da una corte della quale resta la base dei muri laterali e, in parte, la traccia della facciata. La nuova costruzione era di mattoni e si trovava lateralmente incassata in un cumulo di terra e scaglie di schisto. I muri della cappella sono conservati su un metro e venticinque di altezza ; l'inclinazione di quelli laterali dimostra che la stanza era coperta da una volta. La base delle pareti interne conserva qualche traccia dell'originaria colorazione bianca e per terra si è trovato un pezzetto di intonaco azzurro. Il suolo in terra battuta si stendeva sui lastroni di copertura del pozzo. L'entrata della cappella aveva una soglia di arenaria di cui rimane una metà ; un frammento era in situ mentre la grande pietra che vi si accorda è stata trovata sollevata ed appoggiata al lato del vano ; questa comporta ancora lo spazio su cui si posava lo stipite ed è incastonata di un piccolo blocco di granito rosso nel quale si imperniava la porta. Ad ovest la cappella dava ancora accesso all'antico *serdab*. In seguito, si sopprime la piramide conservandone solo la piattaforma costituita dallo zoccolo e dai due primi strati di mattoni. La base esterna del muro ovest della cappella veniva bordata da una fila di pietre nere sulla quale poggiarono i nuovi muri di mattoni, dal piano superiore inclinato, che circondarono cappella e corte. La volta della cappella era stata probabilmente abolita ed il *serdab*, ad ovest, era ormai ridotto allo spazio del vano della porta.

III fase :

L'ultimo stadio della costruzione vide sorgere una nuova piramide al posto della precedente ; si trattava di una piramide a gradini, orientata su un nuovo asse e costruita tutta in pietre nere (TAV. XIV). Contemporaneamente i lati e la faccia occidentale della cappella venivano coperti da blocchi di schisto che ancora si posano sui muri dal piano superiore inclinato e, ad ovest, sullo zoccolo della piramide. All'entrata, le pietre nere si erigevano in una facciata, larga come la corte ed orientata sull'asse della nuova piramide. L'accesso era ormai chiuso e la corte soppressa.

Nel fondo di ghiaia sul quale fu costruita la superstruttura della tomba 15 vi sono alcune tombe più antiche che non abbiamo ancora esplorato. E' forse da queste tombe che provengono i frammenti di vasellame nero o a bordo nero trovati intorno ai resti della prima piramide di mattoni.

Passiamo ora alla descrizione degli scavi della cappella, del pozzo e delle camere sotterranee.

All'entrata della cappella, al di sotto della soglia, abbiamo trovato delle ossa umane deposte in una cavità in parte circolare e profonda circa mezzo metro. Ricordiamo che un frammento della soglia era stato trovato in situ, sotto una delle pietre nere del muro di chiusura. Essendo impossibile fotografare l'insieme, vi

abbiamo concentrato tutta la nostra attenzione studiando la posizione delle ossa, numerandole una ad una e disegnandole fedelmente così come sono state trovate. La fossa era stata scavata nella ghiaia fino al bed rock; all'interno erano state ammassate le ossa di uno scheletro. Nel fondo vi era uno spazio a forma di mezzaluna praticamente vuoto ma che doveva aver contenuto una materia ridottasi col tempo. Tra le ossa, che in alcuni punti sono tinte di rosso, non si è trovato alcun frammento di vasellame o di altri oggetti all'eccezione di una perlina e di vari pezzi di materia rossa, stratificata. Nella mezzaluna c'erano solo poche bucce di datteri all'interno delle quali un pizzico di polverina bianca rappresentava tutto quel che restava del nocciolo. Quanto ai frammenti di materia rossa, si tratta di pezzi d'ocra che sono rimasti marcati esternamente da piccole strisce e internamente da pieghe della pelle, il che dimostra che il corpo era stato spalmato d'ocra e subito dopo fasciato. Nel fondo della cavità erano dunque stati disposti dei datteri, in modo da formare una mezzaluna, e nell'arco tracciato dai frutti era stato disteso il tronco smembrato di uno scheletro mentre il resto delle ossa veniva raggruppato sui datteri e sul tronco. Infine gli strati d'ocra staccatisi erano stati sparsi sul mucchio ed il tutto era stato ricoperto con la terra proveniente dallo scavo della fossa. Il cranio ed una vertebra dello scheletro mancavano; il tronco era in direzione est-ovest, inversa a quella degli scheletri della tomba 11, e contorto in modo che il bacino posava a piatto mentre l'osso della spalla destra era di profilo; le ossa dei piedi si seguivano nel loro ordine naturale mostrando ancora che queste estremità erano state poste in direzione sud-nord, una pianta per terra e l'altra rivolta verso l'alto. La perfetta disposizione di queste piccole ossa e di quelle del tronco dimostra che lo scheletro era stato sotterrato qui quando le ossa erano ancora tenute tra loro dai legamenti del tessuto fibroso; eppure tutti gli arti erano stati staccati e distesi orizzontalmente o conficcati nel gruppo, le ossa doppie delle gambe erano state separate ed i peroni addirittura spezzati. L'insieme è inenarrabile e preferiamo lasciarne la descrizione ai disegni che illustrano la posizione in cui le ossa sono state trovate e lo scheletro da noi ricostituito con i pezzi riuniti (TAV. XVI, XVII). Non dimentichiamo la presenza, nella fossa, di un unico dente.

Nella cappella, sul suolo di terra battuta, abbiamo trovato due coppe di terracotta quasi intatte (15 Ts 3, TAV. XXX), vari pezzi di vasellame, un frammento di pietra con iscrizione ormai indecifrabile ed un'infinità di ossa ammassate alla rinfusa soprattutto presso la parete nord. Vi erano numerosi crani; le ossa di alcune gambe e piedi apparivano al completo e nel loro ordine naturale. Il fondo di terra si stendeva sopra le lastre di schisto che coprivano il pozzo; ad eccezione della prima che è solo parzialmente sollevata e che si appoggia per metà sulla seconda, le grandi pietre piatte sono ancora a posto, posate trasversalmente sui blocchi di arenaria che incorniciano l'orlo del pozzo (TAV. XIV). Queste lastre costituivano una chiusura ermetica poiché alcune piccole pietre erano state incastrate nelle fessure dei vari punti di giuntura. Il pozzo, che nella parte alta conteneva soltanto sabbia, era colmato per due terzi di terra, pietre, pezzi di

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vasellame ed ossa umane. Gli strati di questo insieme eterogeneo scendevano verso la porta del pozzo dove venivano a bloccarsi le pietre più grosse (TAV. XVIII). Nell'angolo sud-ovest, all'altezza della porta, si è trovato uno shawabti in calcare (15 Tp 1, TAV. XXVIII) rotto all'altezza delle gambe, disteso sul dorso e con la testa presso la parete sud. Lo shawabti è invaso dal salnitro, in ispecie il viso completamente devastato, ed è annerito nella parte inferiore dal fuoco; la statuetta è iscritta ma è in tali pessime condizioni che il nome del defunto è illeggibile. Il frammento complementare delle gambe e piedi è stato in seguito trovato vicino al lato est del pozzo. Nell'angolo nord-est e presso la parete nord vi erano due mucchi di vasellame ed ossa umane ammassate nella terra e tra le pietre. L'oggetto più notevole trovato su uno di questi gruppi è un piccolo vaso a figura di cinocefalo e di uno stile molto bello (TAV. XXXI); era steso bocconi, collo del vaso in direzione nord-est. Menzioniamo anche un vasetto rotto di alabastro detto 'di pellegrinaggio' (15 Tp 25, TAV. XXIX), ed i frammenti quasi al completo di una coppa di bronzo. Il resto era costituito da vasi in terracotta di varie dimensioni quasi tutti frantumati. Su un pezzo di orcio, al di sotto dell'ansa, sono incisi uno scarabeo e, a sinistra di questo, una curva a mezzaluna e due punti; su un altro frammento di orcio vi è il segno *rwḏ* (un orcio dello stesso tipo trovato nella tomba 4 ed in frammenti portava il nome mr-ms). Nel fondo del pozzo vi era una grossa lastra di arenaria rotta in due pezzi, posta trasversalmente davanti alla porta ed in pendio verso l'apertura (TAV. XVIII). Questa lunga pietra piatta, di 10 cm. di spessore, ha due fori cilindrici e doveva murare anticamente il *serdab* superiore; è spezzata all'altezza dei due buchi. Sotto la pietra abbiamo trovato frammenti di vasellame ed ossa. Al di là della porta d'entrata vi era un cumulo di terra mista a qualche piccola pietra e ad alcuni pezzi di vasi ed ossa; dato il suo volume, che corrisponde a quello occupato dalla sabbia che riempiva la parte superiore del pozzo, e data la sua composizione, questo ammasso non può essersi formato che per infiltrazione della terra e rottami che riempivano il pozzo. Il cumulo scendeva verso il centro della camera appoggiandosi ad un muretto isolato fatto di quattro blocchi di arenaria sovrapposti e simili a quelli che incorniciano l'orlo del pozzo. L'inclinazione degli strati successivi di terreno che dall'entrata scendono ai piedi del muretto e la proporzione di questo, che corrisponde a quella del vano della porta, dimostrano che i blocchi di arenaria avevano un tempo tappato l'entrata ed erano stati poco a poco spinti nel centro della camera dalla pressione delle macerie del pozzo (TAV. XVIII). Numerosi secoli devono essere trascorsi per aver permesso al muro di indietreggiare millimetro per millimetro su un suolo roccioso perfettamente orizzontale, e questo senza crollare. Notiamo che il muretto non avrebbe potuto scivolare se il suolo fosse stato coperto da oggetti e grandi vasi come nella tomba 11. Nel terreno accumulato tra la porta ed il muretto si sono potuti differenziare gli strati di 26 grandi alluvioni. Nel resto della camera non si è trovato nulla all'eccezione di cinque piccoli frammenti di vasellame. A nord-ovest si accede ad una seconda camera (TAV. XVIII) attraverso un'apertura presso la quale resta in situ una metà della grossa lastra che la tappava; il pezzo complementare

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era stato trovato alla superficie, sul terreno a sud della cappella. Sul suolo della seconda camera vi erano vari blocchi di arenaria che per le loro dimensioni formano, normalmente riuniti, stipiti ed architrave della porta del pozzo. La camera era vuota. E la tomba numero 15 resta anonima.

Tomba No. 14 (TAV. XIX-XXII).

A sud della tomba 15 ed a circa 8 metri di distanza vi è la tomba 14. Anche questa si presentava all'inizio come un ammasso di pietre nere disposte a ferro di cavallo. I resti della sua superstruttura consistono in una piattaforma di blocchi di schisto che costituiva la parte inferiore di una piramide a gradini e che è ormai distrutta nel suo asse est-ovest. I gradini sono visibili sulla superficie della base dove si presentano in strisce laterali alternate: alcune formate da pietre poste a piatto, altre da pietre erette. La piramide era stata costruita sulla spianata limitata da una fila di pietre messe di taglio. Su questa spianata, davanti alla piramide, resta la base dei muri laterali della cappella ad est dei quali, a 3 metri di distanza, si apre il pozzo, molto più piccolo di quello della tomba precedente (TAV. XIX, XX). Durante gli scavi della superstruttura si sono trovati quattro frammenti di pietra facenti parte di una stele funeraria: su uno dei frammenti è menzionata la necropoli e su di un altro, dall'orlo curvo, si legge il nome (*nb- mꜣc.t -rc*) di Amenofi III. Si sono inoltre trovati due testi meroitici incisi su cocci (14 Ts 4 e 5, TAV. XXII) ed un pezzo di vaso sul quale sono stati disegnati in nero due quadrati di differenti dimensioni con la loro diagonale ed asse. Il pozzo era colmato di terra sabbiosa, pietre nere, ossa umane e frammenti di vasellame. Vicino all'angolo sud-est era posata una lastra nera dietro la quale abbiamo trovato uno shawabt in posizione eretta e volto verso il sud; nella sua parte superiore sono visibili i segni lasciati da un arnese tagliente, la testa infatti è recisa e così pure i piedi. I due pezzi complementari non sono ancora stati trovati. Un'altra lastra nera che occupa quasi tutta la superficie del pozzo è stesa ed inclinata verso la porta. Questa ha ancora i suoi stipiti di arenaria dà accesso ad una camera sepolcrale tagliata in direzione sud-ovest, in sbieco rispetto alla piramide. La grotta è piena di terra sabbiosa coperta da pezzi di occhia crollati dal soffitto. Gli scavi della tomba non sono terminati.

Per finire, osserviamo la superstruttura delle tombe 14 e 15, la loro posizione ed il loro rispettivo orientamento (TAV. XXI). Osserviamo nello stesso tempo il disegno tracciato sul frammento di vaso trovato durante gli scavi della tomba 14 (14 Ts 6, TAV. XXI). Sembra certo che il disegno si riferisce alle due piramidi, alle loro diagonali ed assi. Il quadrato più grande rappresenterebbe la tomba 14 sulla spianata, il più piccolo invece corrisponderebbe alla piramide di mattoni No. 15; il disegno sarebbe dunque stato tracciato prima che questa fosse sostituita dalla piramide a gradini. In tal caso la costruzione della tomba 15 precederebbe e seguirebbe la costruzione della tomba 14 che è dell'epoca di Amenofi III.

Il cantiere è stato chiuso il 5 gennaio 1958. Con l'aiuto di pochi operai si è seguito sistematicamente il settore scavato, mentre si procedeva alla esecuzione di

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piante e rilievi del tempio e della necropoli. Gli scheletri trovati all'interno delle tombe sono stati lasciati nelle grotte in cui erano stati deposti e nelle quali abbiamo anche raggruppato le ossa trovate durante gli scavi dei rispettivi pozzi. Abbiamo murato le porte di questi e circondato di un muretto a secco il settore che comprende le 17 tombe da noi esplorate. Alcuni oggetti e vasi sono stati imballati per essere in seguito trasportati a Khartoum e consegnati al Servizio delle Antichità del Sudan; gli altri, in gran parte in frammenti, sono stati riposti in canestri chiusi e lasciati a Soleb in attesa dei prossimi lavori durante i quali potremmo trovare pezzi che li completano.

Abbiamo lasciato Soleb il 1° febbraio 1958 mettendo fine a questa prima campagna di scavi.

Tengo ad esprimere la mia profonda riconoscenza a tutti coloro che ci hanno sinceramente aiutati in questa impresa ed in special modo a S.E. Bashir El Bakri, Ambasciatore della Repubblica del Sudan a Parigi; S.E. Alberto Rossilonghi, Ambasciatore d'Italia a Parigi; S.E. Martino Moreno, allora Ministro d'Italia a Khartoum, ed i suoi collaborati; Dottor Jean Vercoutter, Direttore del Servizio delle Antichità del Sudan; Professor Evaristo Breccia dell'Università di Pisa e i nostri amici Paul Barguet e Jean Yoyotte. Sono infinitamente grata a Abdel Samie Ghandour, District Commissioner di Wadi Halfa ed a Saad El Din Abd El Ghany che ci hanno aiutati fin dal nostro arrivo nel Sudan. Tengo inoltre a ringraziare l'Omdeh e lo Scêch di Soleb che ci hanno prestato il loro prezioso concorso, ed infine gli abitanti di Soleb e dei villaggi circostanti che, tolti dalla loro esile striscia di terra e muniti improvvisamente di zappe, cesti, coltelli, scope e soffietti, hanno praticato con ardore il complesso mestiere dell'operaio di un cantiere archeologico.

ELENCO DEGLI OGGETTI PRINCIPALI TROVATI A SOLEB E PRESENTATI AL SERVIZIO DELLE ANTICHITÀ DEL SUDAN PER LA DIVISIONE 1957-58

Tempio 57-s2 iscrizione meroitica su gesso. Lunghezza 15 cm. (TAV. XXII). Museo di Khartoum.

Tomba No. 5.

5 Ts 1 piccolo sarcofago di terracotta, figura umana, contenente alcune treccine di capelli. Lunghezza 30 cm. (TAV. XXIII). Museo di Khartoum.

Tomba No. 11.

Oggetti vari :

11 T 1 mascherina in gesso. Altezza 12,7 cm. (TAV. XXIV). Museo di Khartoum.

11 T 1a Frammento di maschera in gesso (TAV. XXIV). Museo di Khartoum.

11 T 3 Lamine d'oro. Montignoso.

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- 1 T 3b Lamine d'oro che rivestivano primitivamente un braccialetto. Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 4 } Due amuleti in corniola a forma di mummia. Altezza 2,5 cm.
 1 T 4a } (TAV. XXIV). Museo di Khartoum e Montignoso.
- 1 T 6 Due perle lunghe di terra smaltata. Lunghezza 4,2 cm. (TAV. XXIV). Museo di Khartoum e Montignoso.
- 1 T 20 Cucchiaino da belletto in pietra a forma di anatra. Lunghezza 9,4 cm. (TAV. XXIV). Montignoso.
- 1 T 47 Pendente in pietra. Lunghezza 6,9 cm. (TAV. XXIV). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 14 Shawabti di terra smaltata, fondo verde, disegno nero. Altezza 15 cm. (TAV. XXV). Montignoso.
- 1 T 29 Shawabti di terra smaltata, fondo verde, iscrizione dipinta in nero. Altezza 15,5 cm. (TAV. XXV). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 51 Shawabti in pietra. Altezza 19,5 cm. (TAV. XXV). Montignoso.
- Vasellame di terra smaltata :
- 1 T 22 Coppa decorata con fiori di loto. Altezza 7,6 cm. (TAV. XXVI). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 37 Vaso con iscrizione in nero su fondo verde. Altezza 7,7 cm. (TAV. XXVI). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 38 Vaso con iscrizione in nero su fondo verde. Altezza 7,7 cm. (TAV. XXVI). Montignoso.
- 1 T 9 Vaso con iscrizione in nero su fondo verde. Altezza 5,1 cm. (TAV. XXVI). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 34 Vaso. Altezza 4,5 cm. (TAV. XXVI). Montignoso.
- 1 T 41 Vaso. Altezza 5,1 cm. (Id. 11 T 34). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 49 Vaso. Altezza 5,4 cm. (Id. 11 T 34). Montignoso.
- 1 T 52 Vaso. Altezza 5 cm. (Id. 11 T 34). Museo di Khartoum.
- Vasellame di terracotta :
- 1 Tp 2 Piccola coppa. Diametro 8 cm. (TAV. XXVII). Montignoso.
- 1 T 7 Piccola coppa. Diametro 12 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Montignoso.
- 1 T 17 Piccola coppa. Diametro 11 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Montignoso.
- 1 T 21 Piccola coppa. Diametro 7,8 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 21a Piccola coppa. Diametro 10,9 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 23 Piccola coppa. Diametro 10,4 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 25 Piccola coppa. Diametro 11,5 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Montignoso.
- 1 T 27 Piccola coppa. Diametro 10,6 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Montignoso.
- 1 T 40 Piccola coppa. Diametro 7,2 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Museo di Khartoum.
- 1 T 60 Piccola coppa. Diametro 11 cm. (Id. 11 Tp 2). Museo di Khartoum.

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- 11 T 16 Coppa. Diametro 24,5 cm. (TAV. XXVII). Museo di Khartoum.
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- 11 T 44 Vaso. Altezza 18,1 cm. (TAV. XXVII). Montignoso.
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- 11 T 56 Vaso. Altezza 17,9 cm. (Id. 11 T 44). Museo di Khartoum.
- 11 T 57 Vaso. Altezza 19,5 cm. (Id. 11 T 44). Museo di Khartoum.
- 11 T 58 Vaso. Altezza 18,5 cm. (Id. 11 T 44). Montignoso.
- 11 T 59 Vaso. Altezza 17,4 cm. (Id. 11 T 44). Montignoso.
- 11 T 26 Vaso dal fondo piatto forato. Altezza 11 cm. (TAV. XXVII) Montignoso.
- 11 T 30a Vaso dal fondo piatto forato. Altezza 10,5 cm. (Id. 11 T 26). Museo di Khartoum.
- 11 T 28 Vaso. Altezza 25,3 cm. (TAV. XXVII). Museo di Khartoum.
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- 14 Ts 5 Iscrizione meroitica¹ su frammento di vaso. Larghezza 27 cm. (TAV. XXII). Montignoso.
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- 15 Tp 18 Vaso a un'ansa. Altezza 4 cm. (TAV. XXIX). Montignoso.
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¹ Le copie delle iscrizioni meroitiche sono state verificate da Jean Yoyotte.

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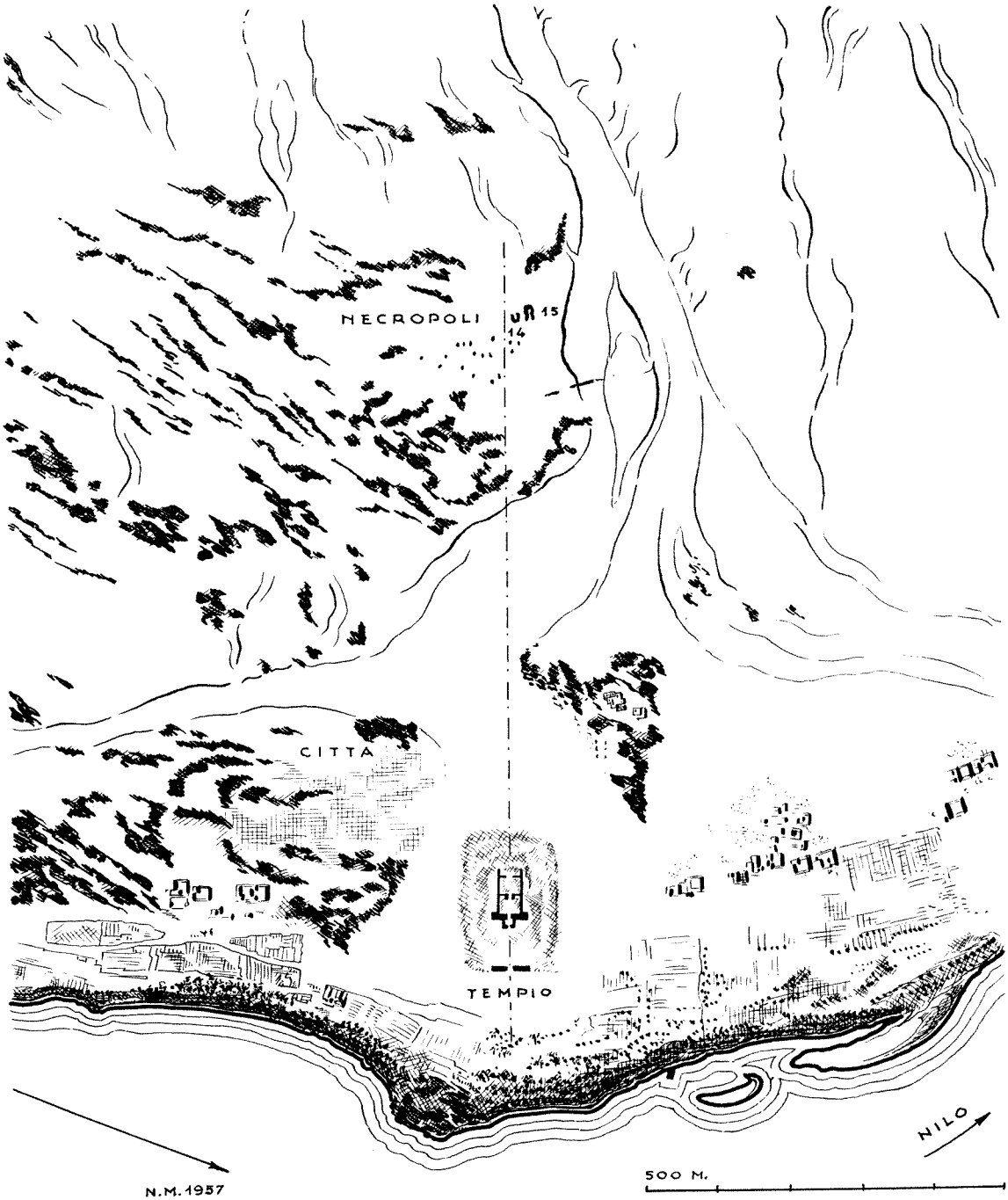


TEMPIO: SETTORE III, SETTORE II E PILONE VISTI DALL'OVEST



TEMPIO: SETTORI III E IV VISTI DALL'EST

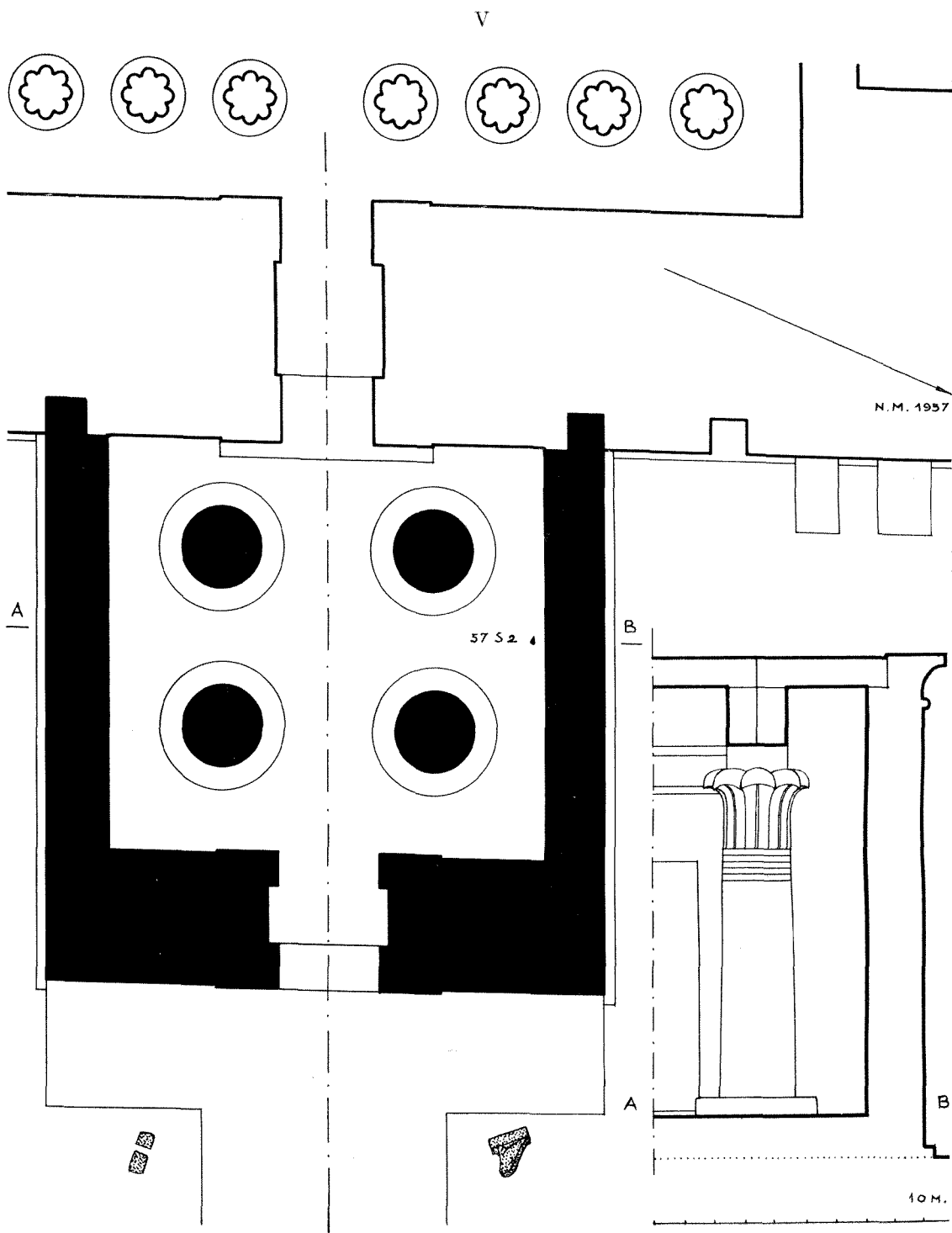
III



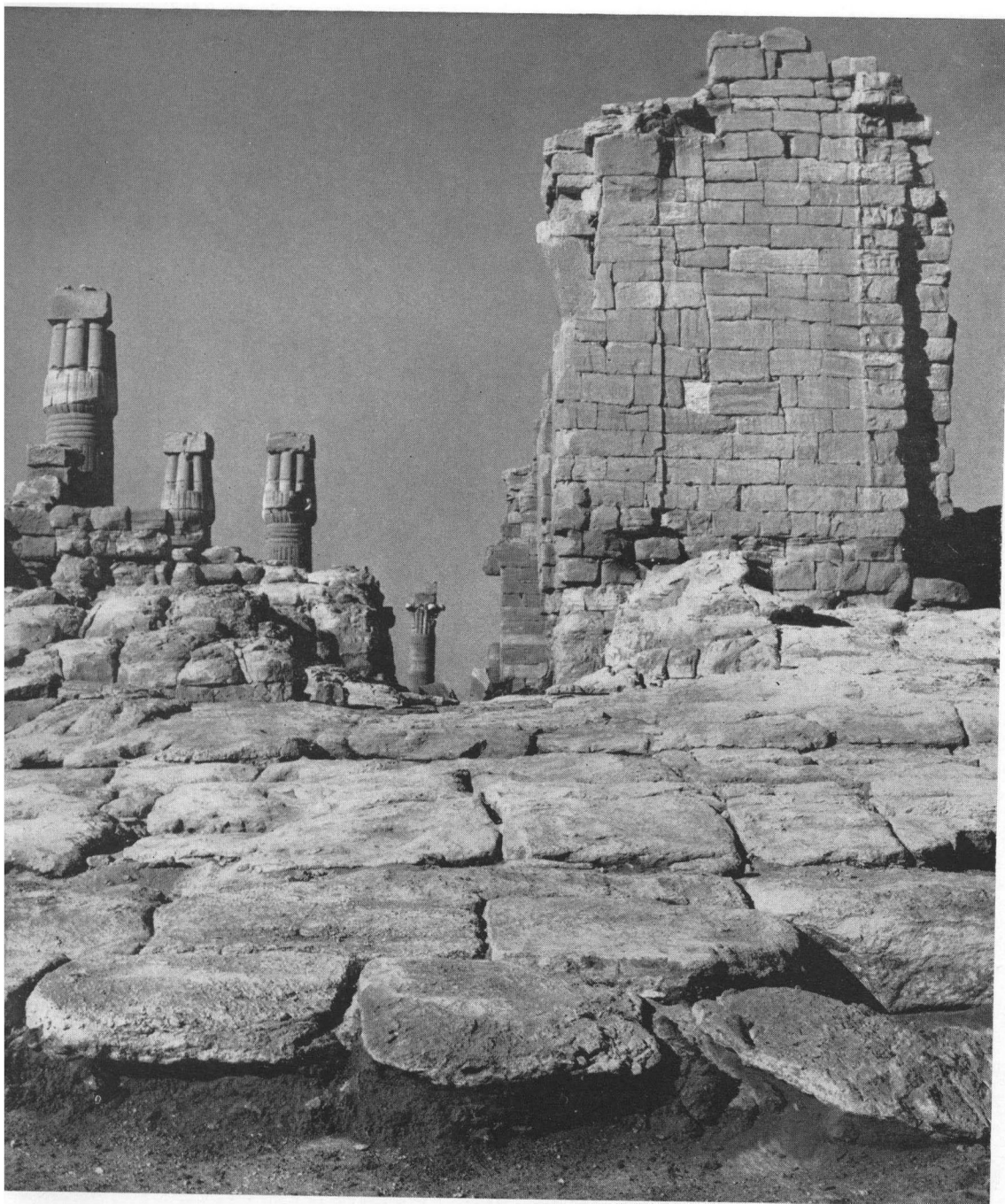
PIANTA DI SITUAZIONE : TEMPIO, CITTA', NECROPOLI

The floor plan illustrates the Temple of Astarte at Ras Shamra, featuring three main rooms labeled IV, III, and II, and a central courtyard. Room IV at the top contains a grid of 24 numbered circles (1-12 on each side) and is labeled 'IV'. Room III in the middle contains a grid of 24 circles (12 on each side) and is labeled 'III'. Room II at the bottom contains a grid of 24 circles (12 on each side) and is labeled 'II'. The central courtyard is labeled 'I' and contains four numbered circles (1 and 2 on each side). The plan includes a scale bar at the bottom right indicating 10 M. and a north arrow at the bottom left pointing towards N.M. 1957.

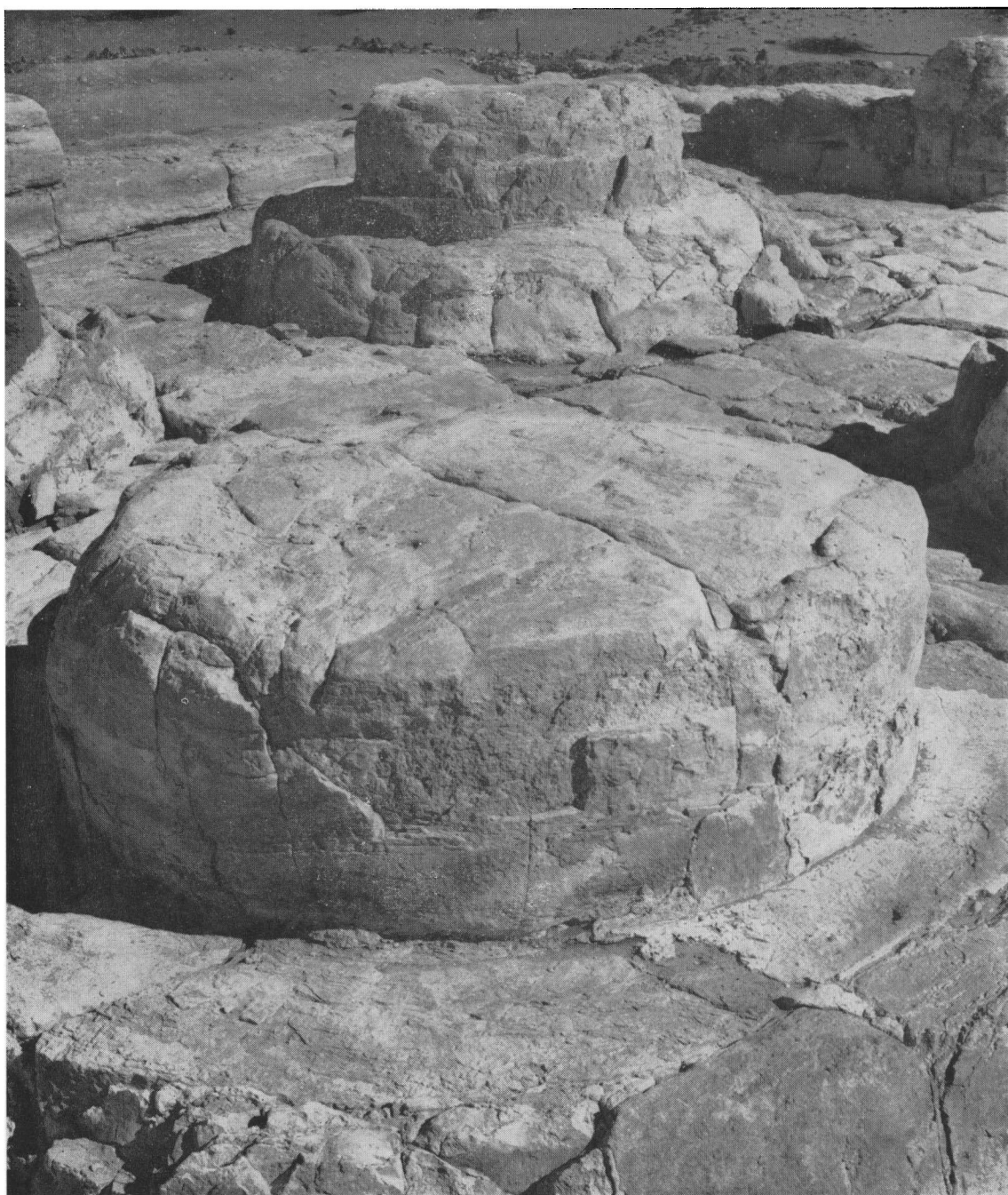
SCHEMA DEL TEMPIO: NUMERI DEI SETTORI E DELLE SCENE



TEMPIO : PIANTA DEL SETTORE I

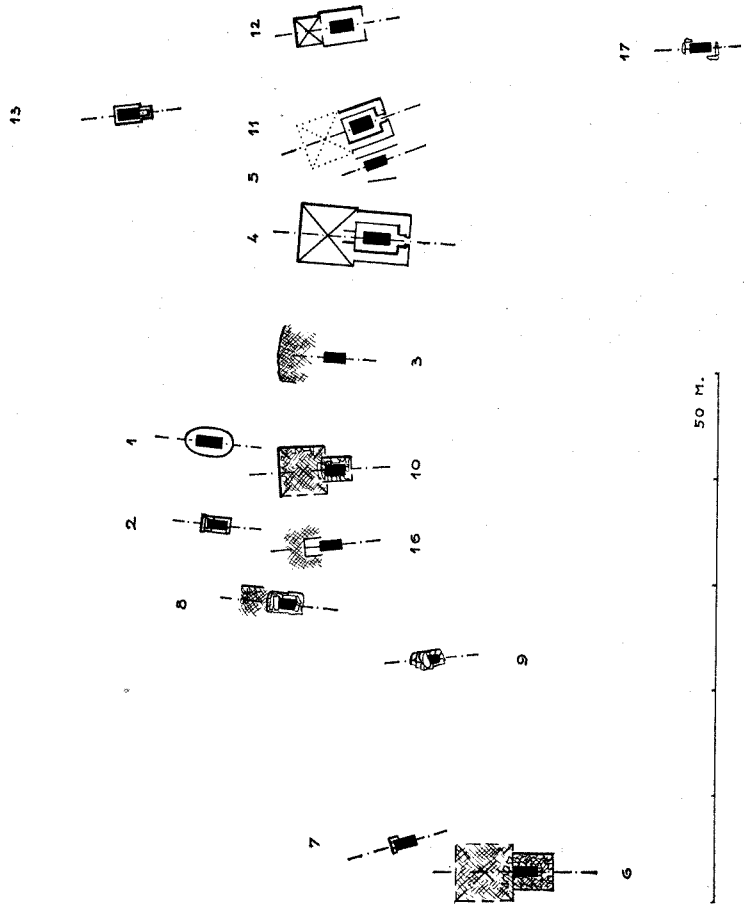
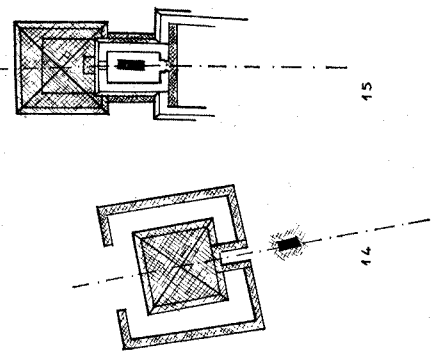


TEMPIO: SETTORE I E PIATTAFORMA DI ACCESSO VISTI DALL'EST

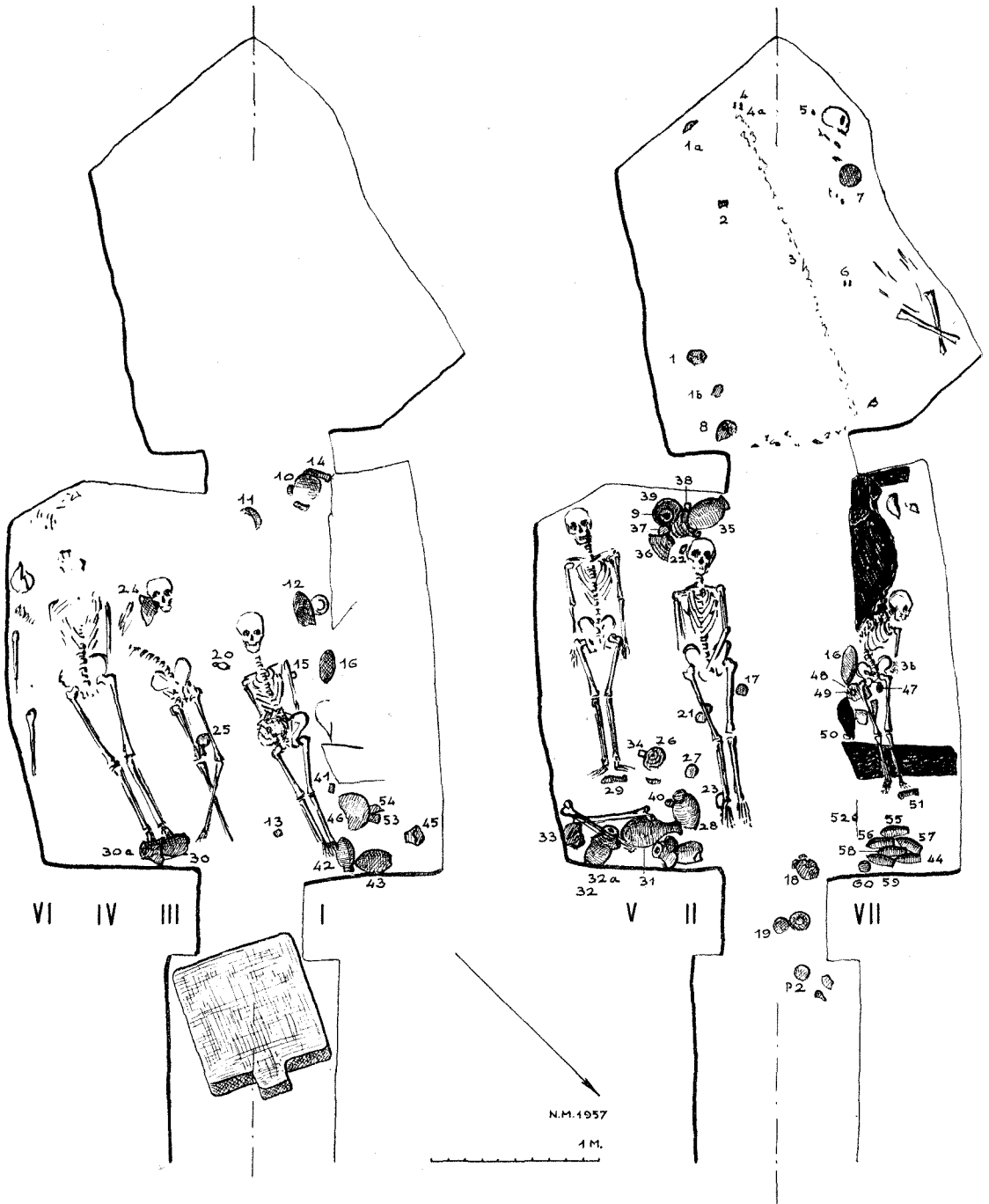


TEMPIO: SETTORE I VISTO DAL SUD-OVEST

VIII



NECROPOLI: LE TOMBE ESPLORATE



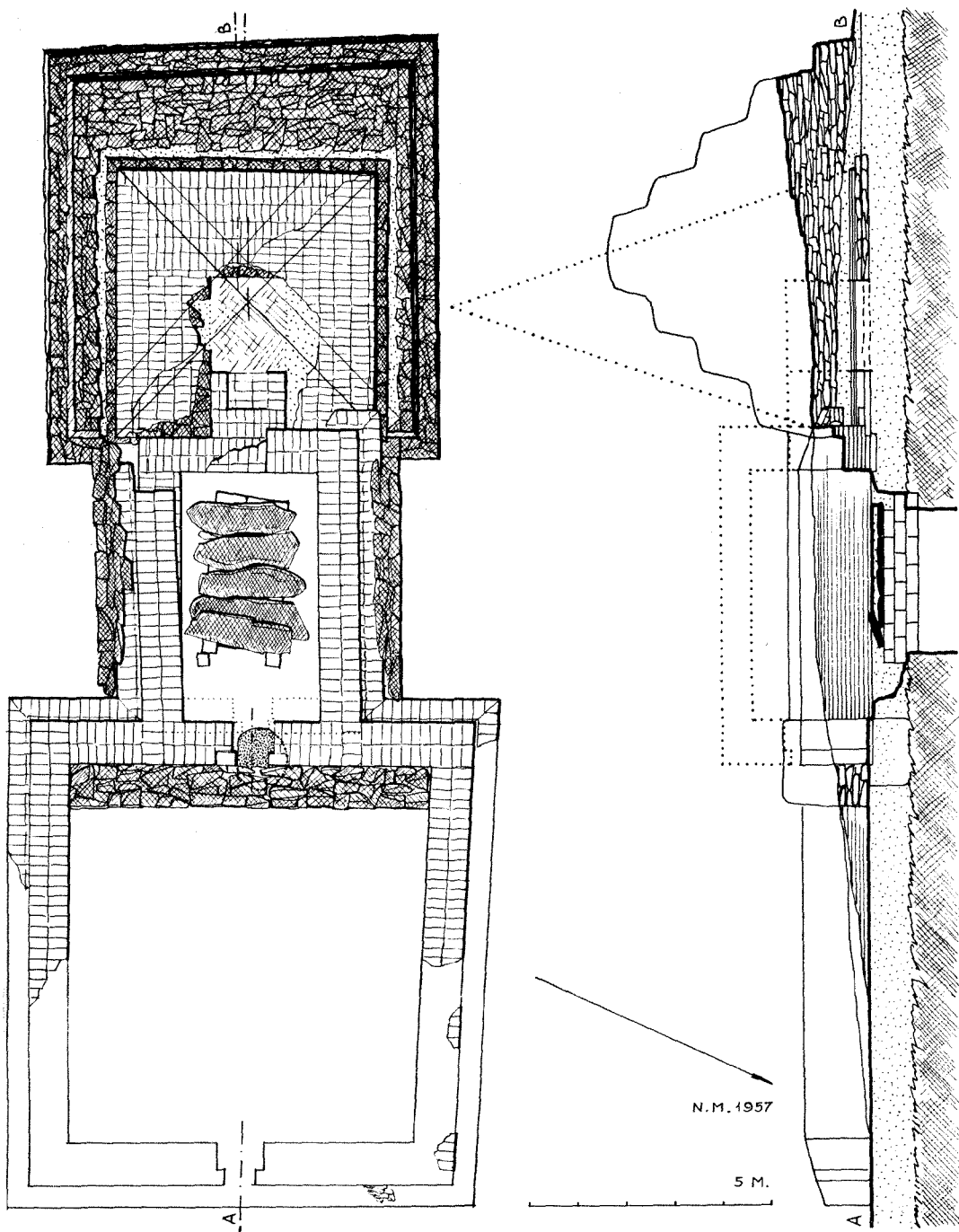
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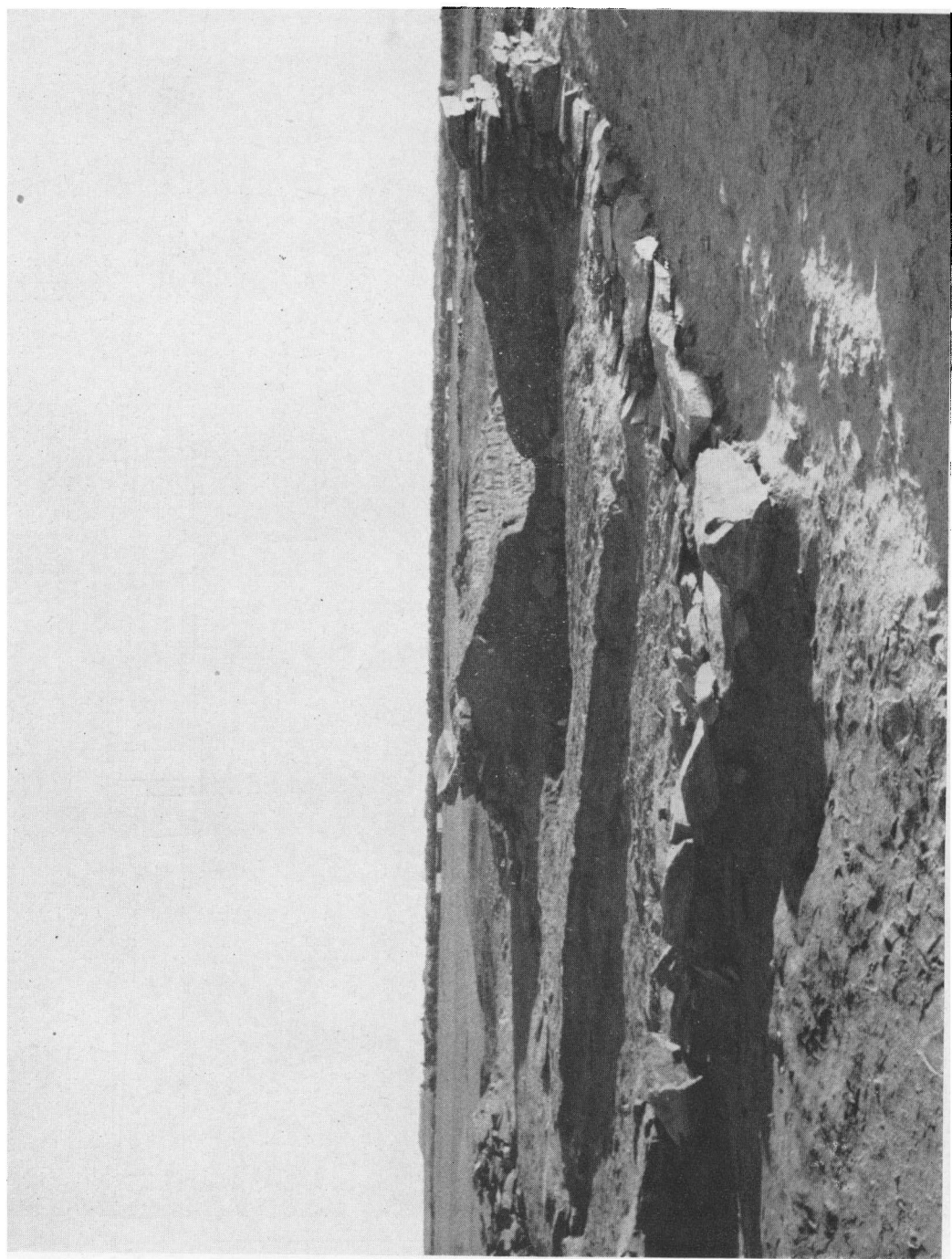


TOMBA NO. 11: DETTAGLIO



TOMBA NO. 11: DETTAGLI

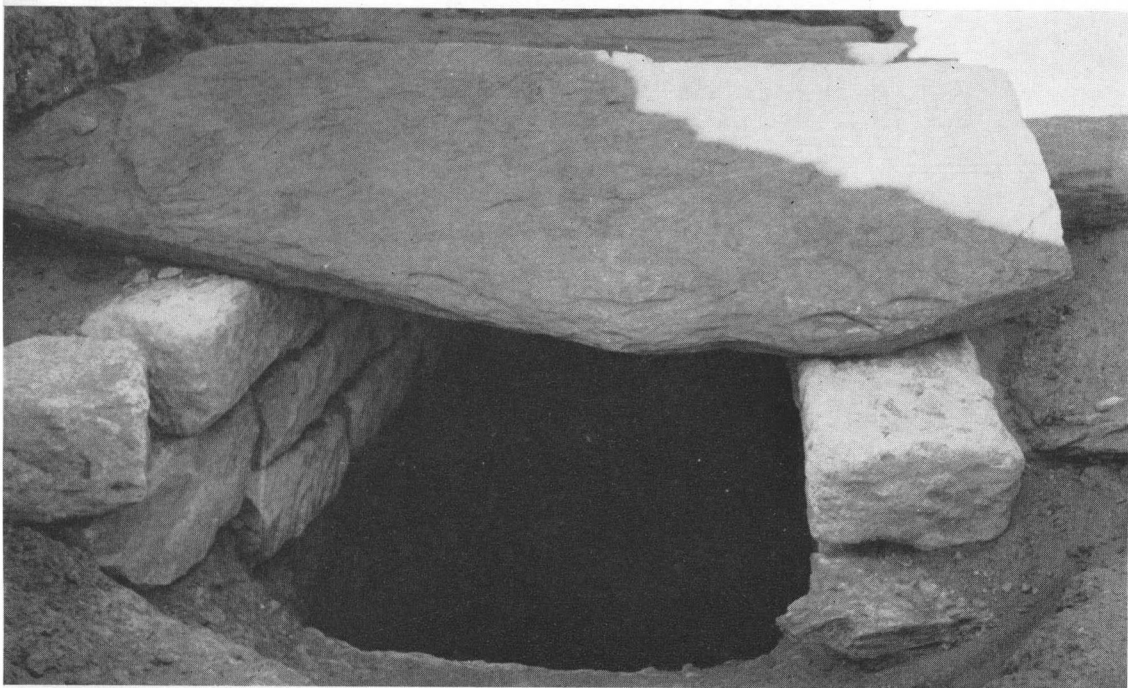




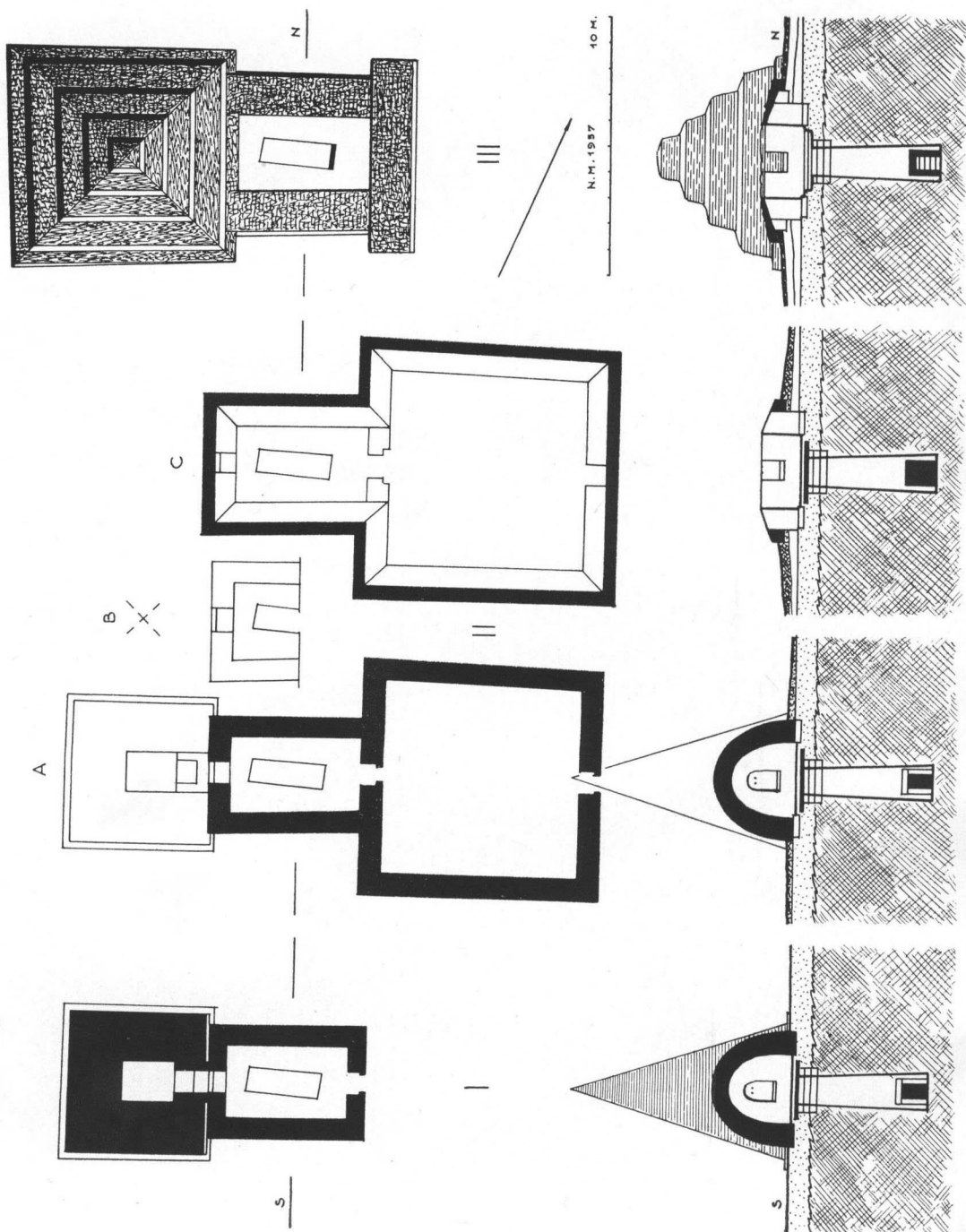
LE DUE PIRAMIDI DELLA TOMBA NO. 15

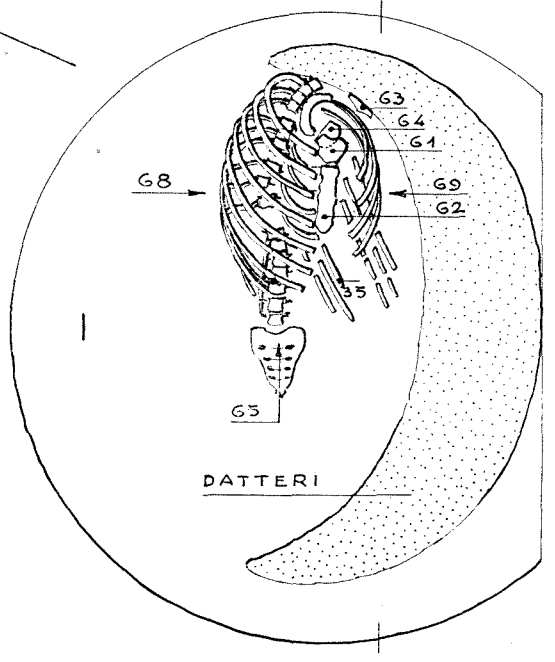
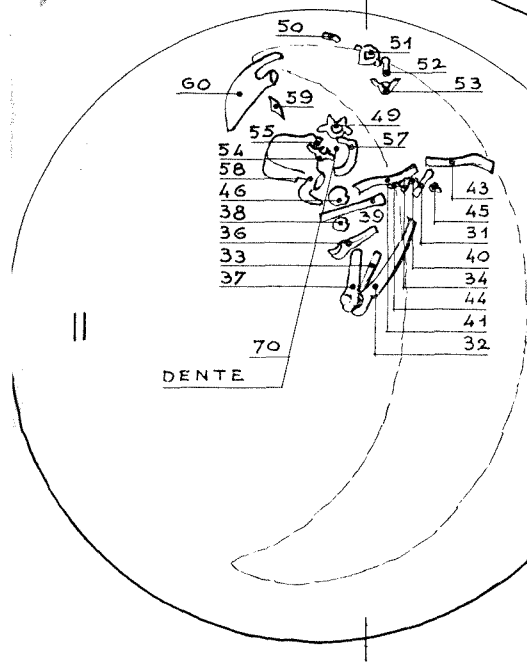
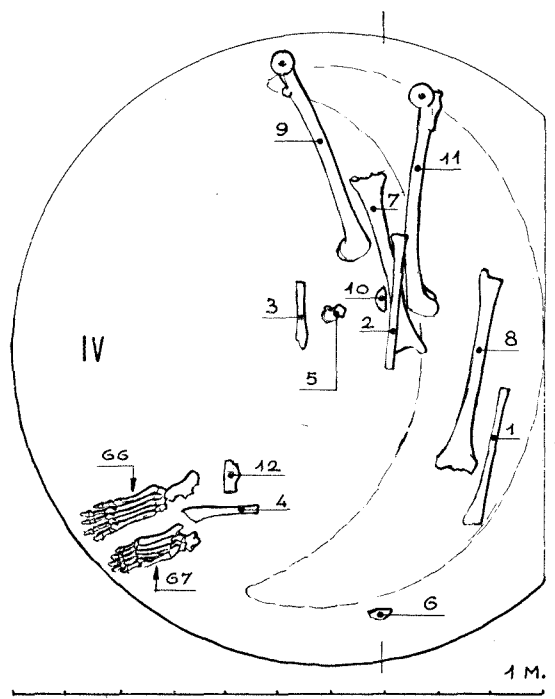
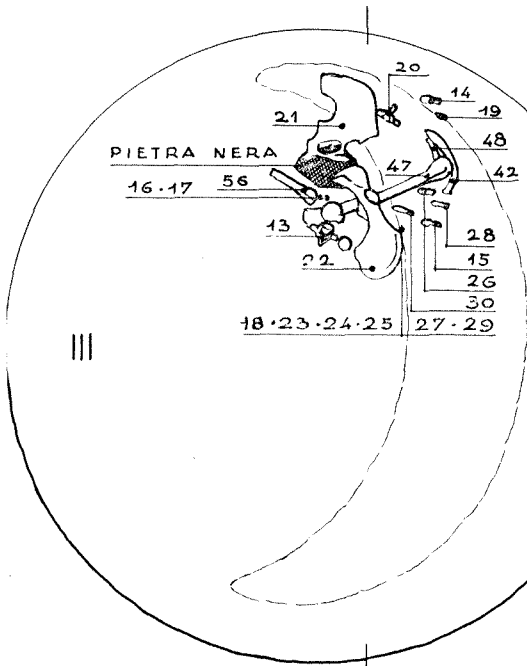


TOMBA NO. 15 : ANGOLO NORD-EST DELLA SECONDA PIRAMIDE

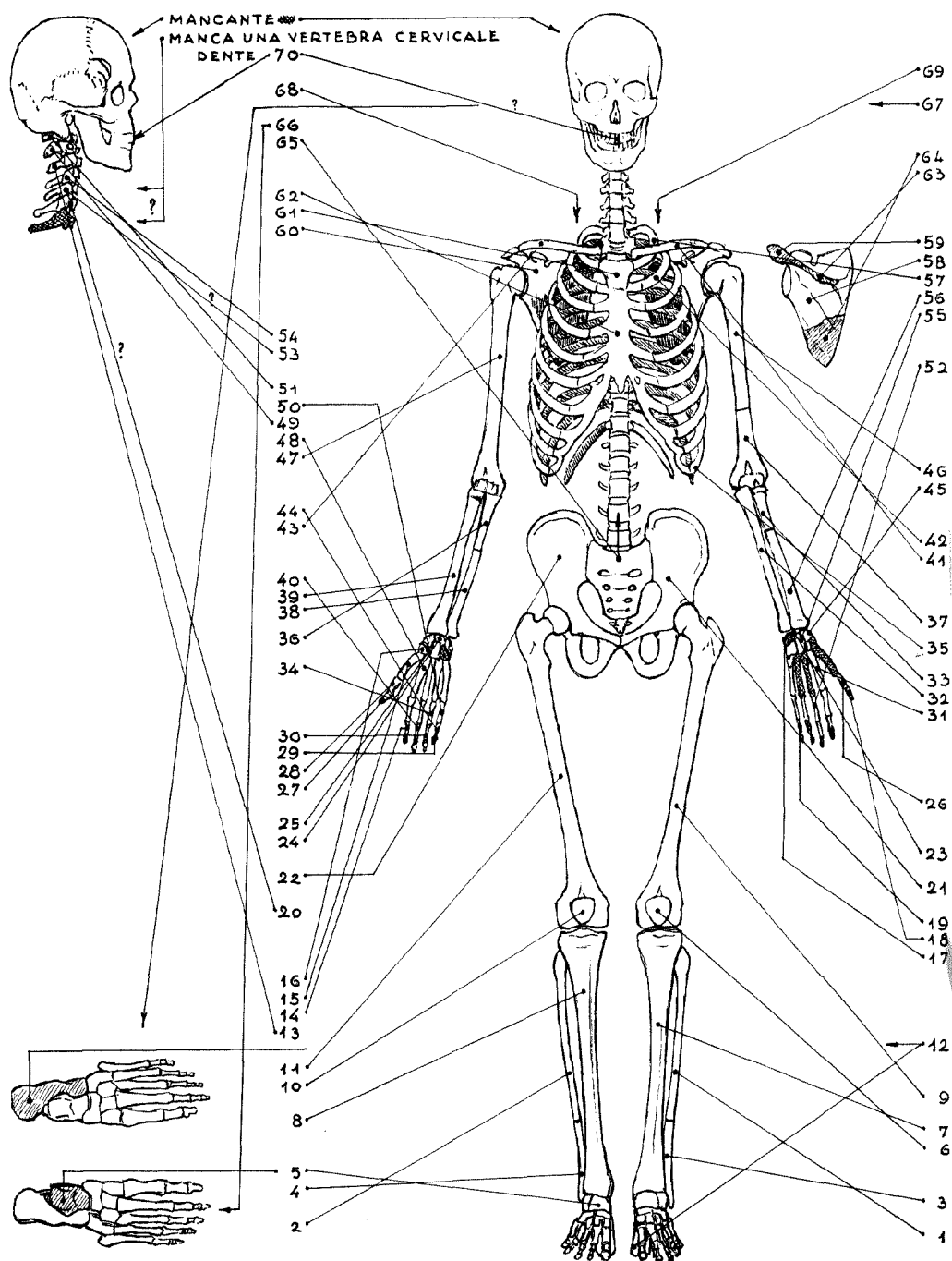


TOMBA NO. 15 : LASTRONI CHE COPRONO IL POZZO

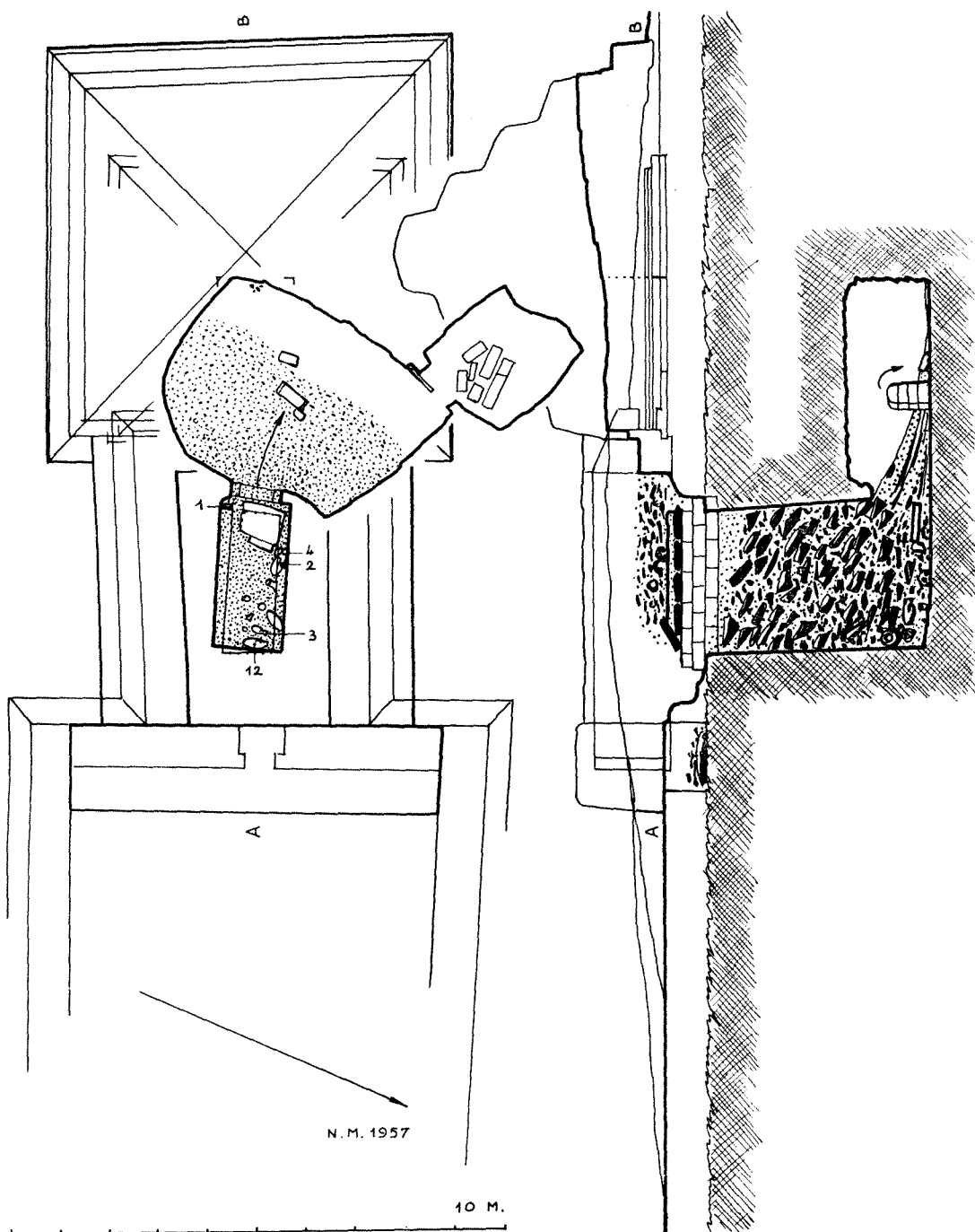


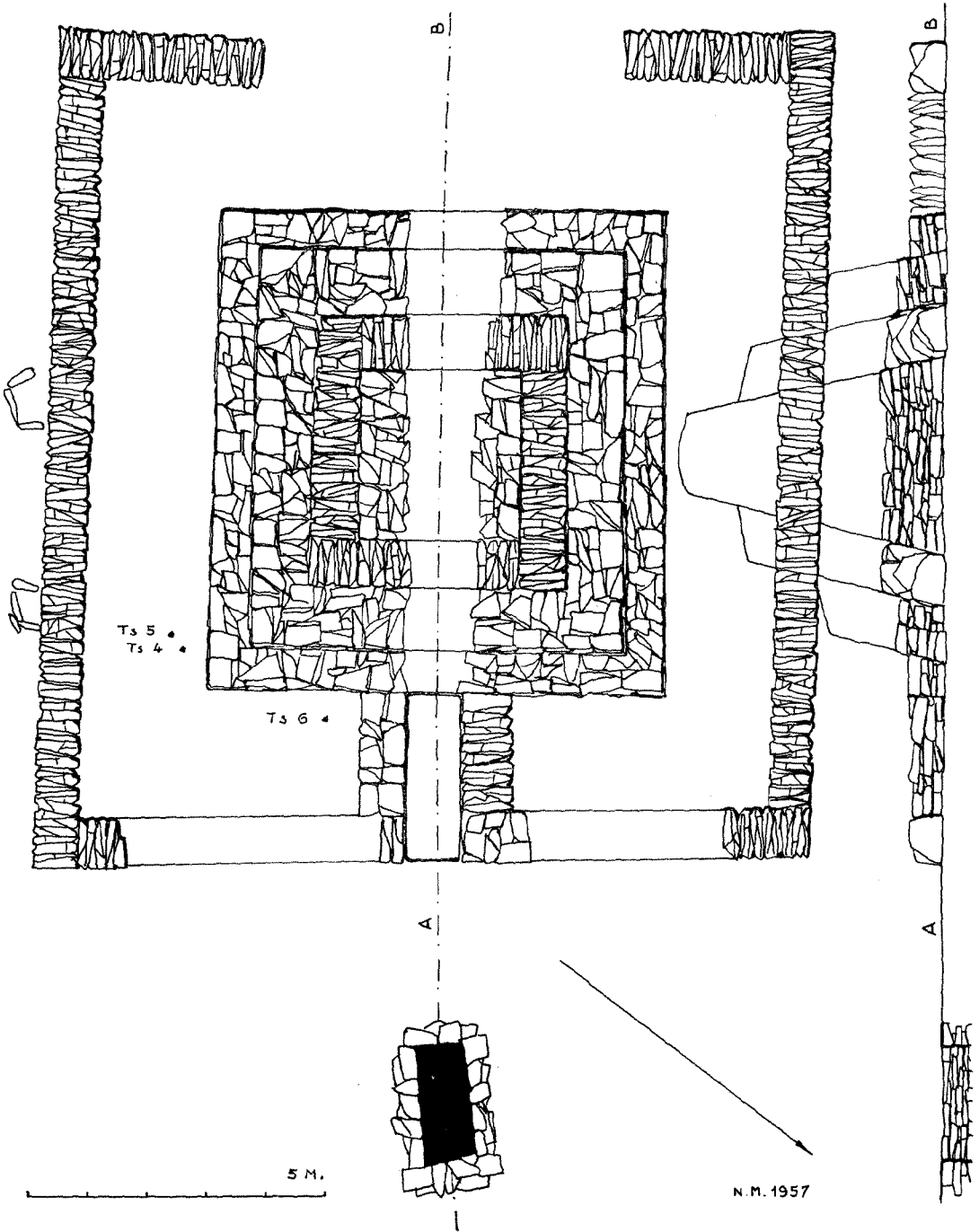


TOMBA NO. 15: OSSA UMANE DEPOSITE SOTTO LA SOGLIA DELLA PORTA DELLA CAPPELLA

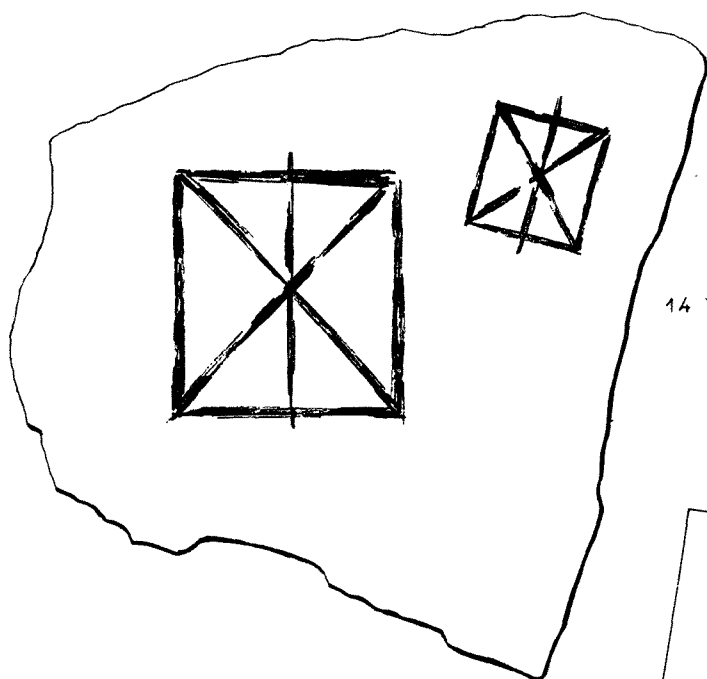


TOMBA NO. 15: RICOSTITUZIONE DELLO SCHELETRO DEPOSITO SOTTO LA SOGLIA DELLA PORTA DELLA CAPPELLA



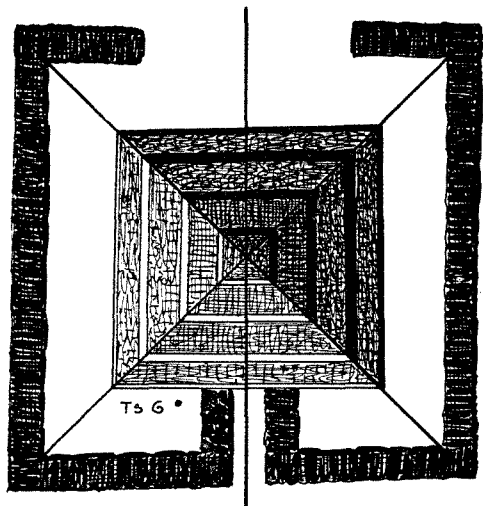






14 Ts 6

0.03 M.



Ts 6 °

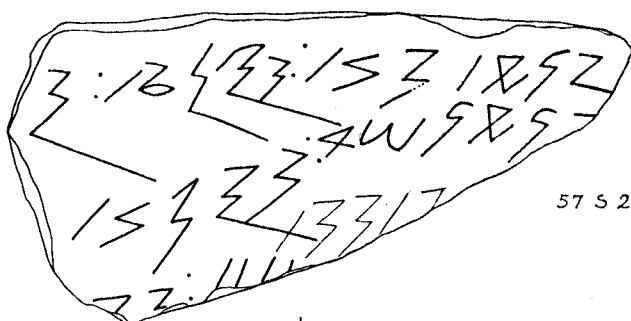
14

15

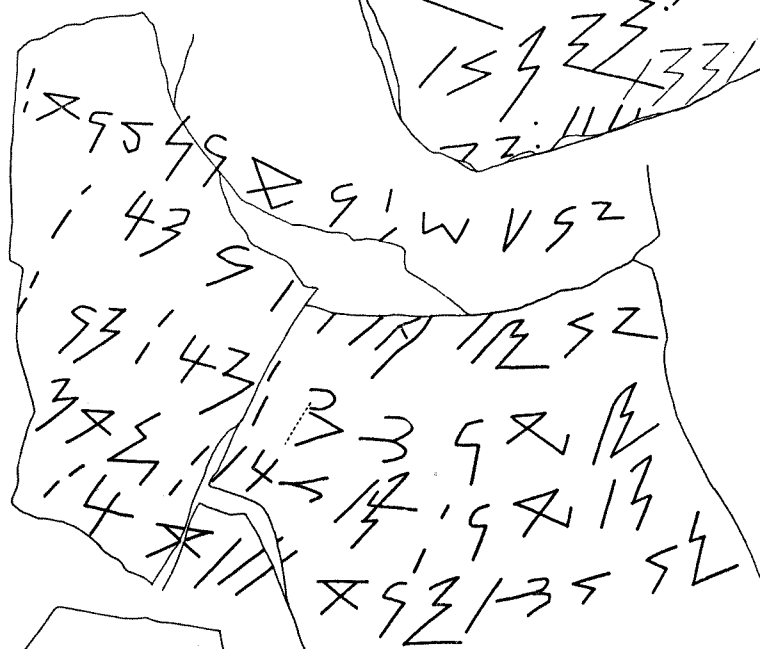
10 M.

N.M. 1957

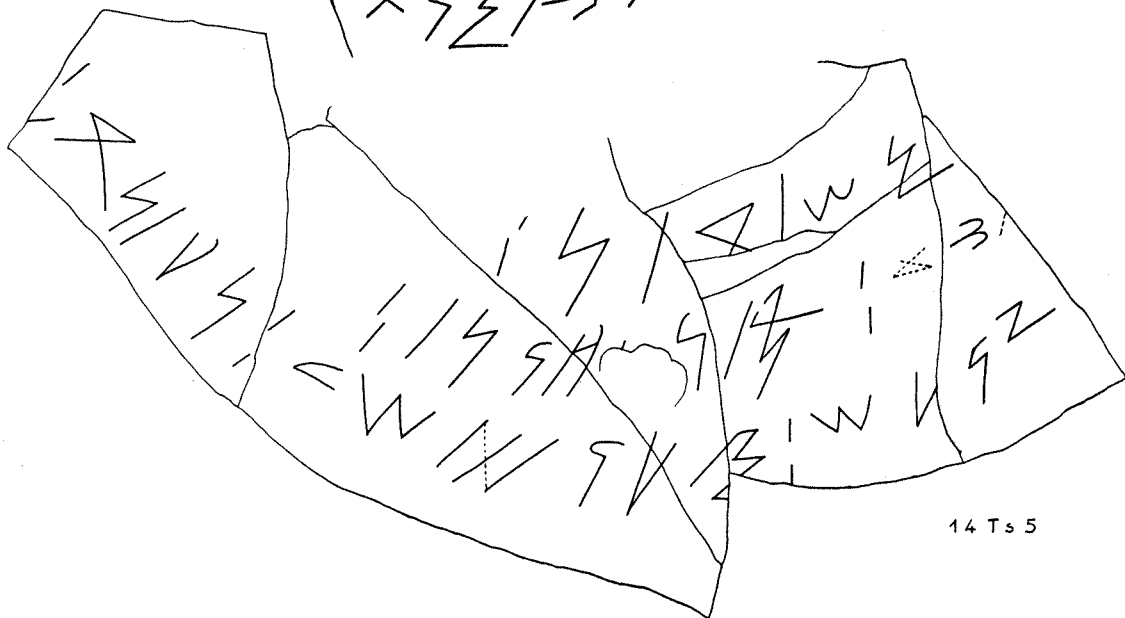
PIANTA DI SITUAZIONE DELLE PIRAMIDI 14 E 15
14 Ts 6: DISEGNO SU FRAMMENTO DI VASO



57 S 2



14 Ts 4

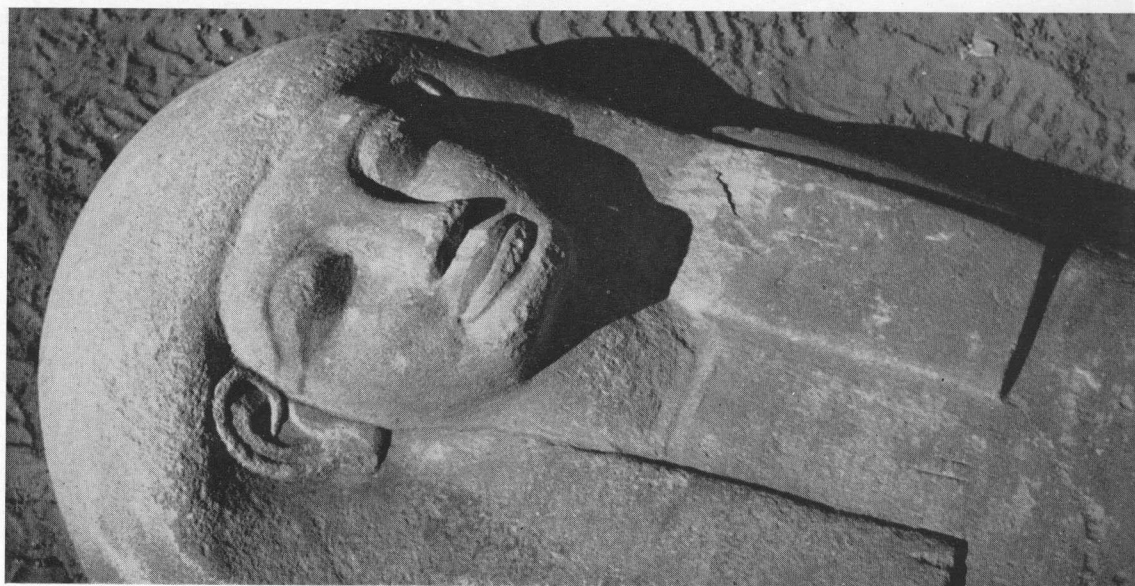
 0.05 M.


14 Ts 5



5 Ts I

TOMBA NO. 5: PICCOLO SARCOFAGO DI TERRACOTTA



5 T I

TOMBA NO. 5: COPERCHIO DI SARCOFAGO DI ARENARIA



II T 1



II T 1a



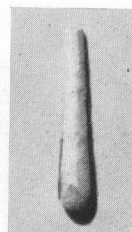
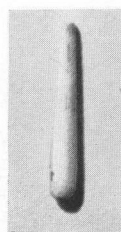
II T 4



II T 4a



II T 20



II T 6



II T 47



II T 29



II T 29



II T 29



II T 14



II Tp I

TOMBA NO. 11 : SHAWABTIS



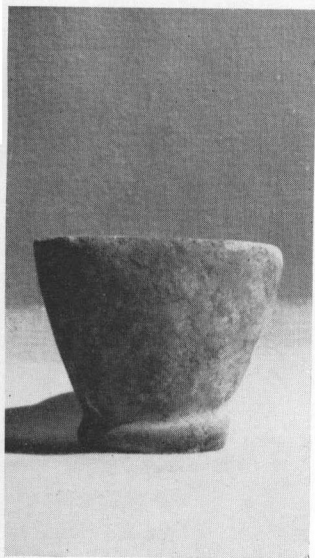
II T 51



II T 22



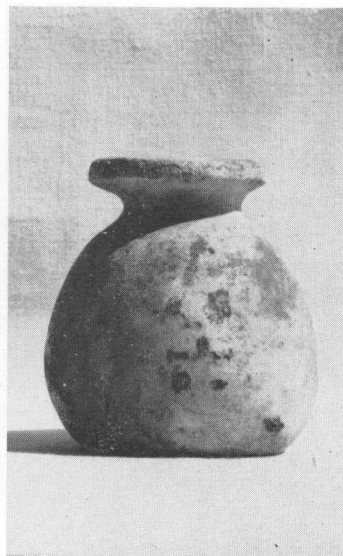
II T 9



II T 34



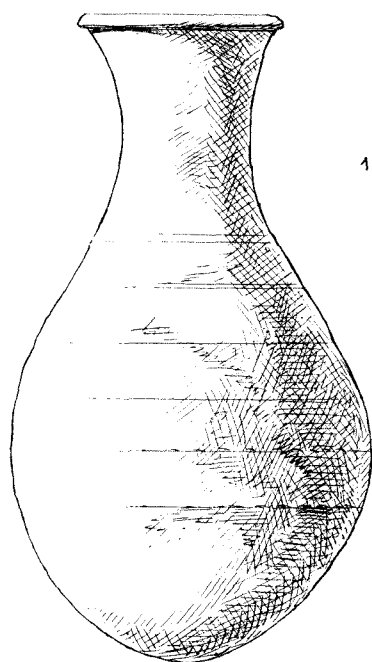
II T 38



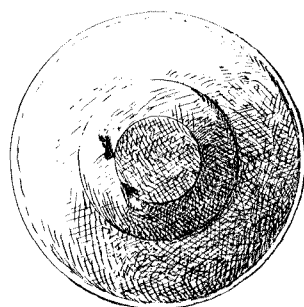
II T 37

TOMBA NO. II: VASELLAME DI TERRA SMALTATA

XXVII



11 T 31



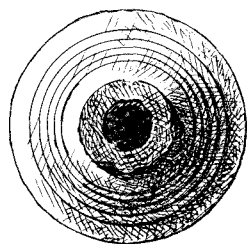
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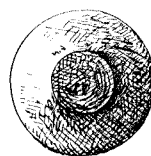
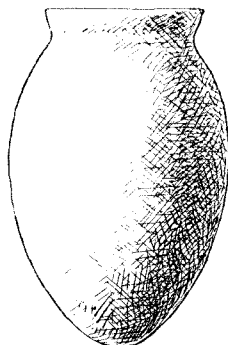
11 T 44



11 T 28



11 T 26



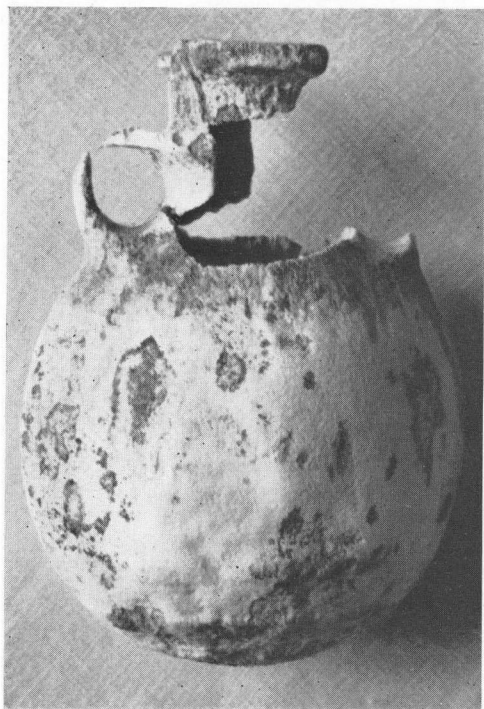
11 TP2



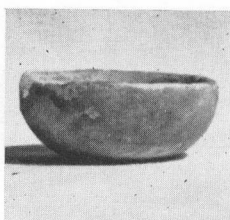


15 Tp I

TOMBA NO. 15: SHAWABTI DI CALCARE



15 Tp 25



15 Tp 27



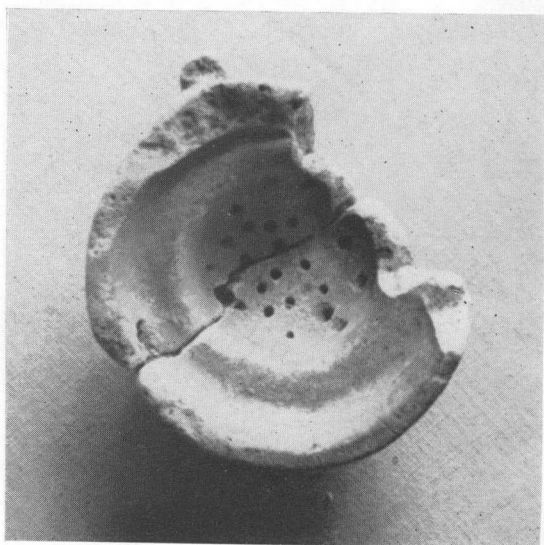
15 Tp 26



15 Tp 17



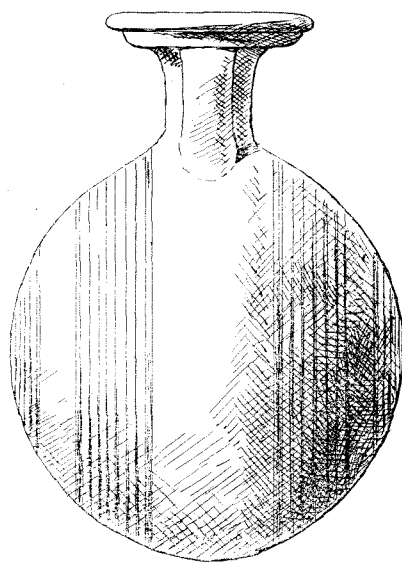
15 Tp 18



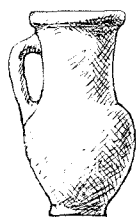
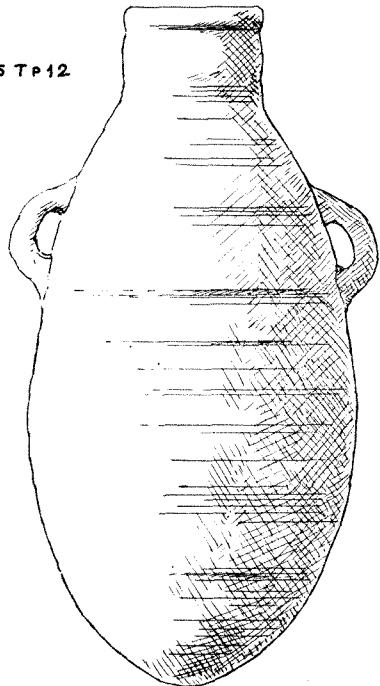
15 Tp 29



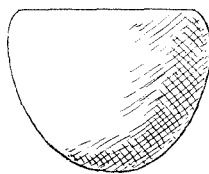
15 Tp 13



5 Tp 12

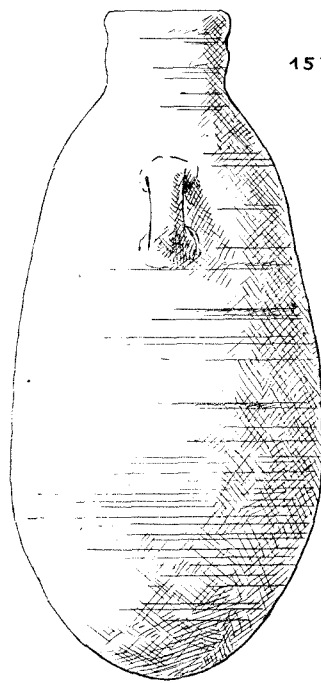


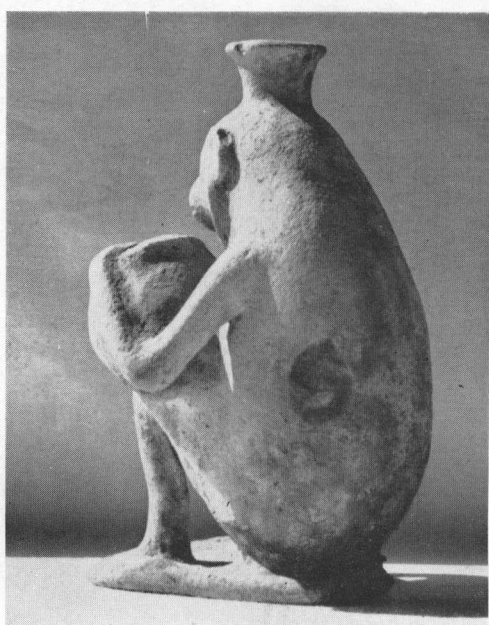
15 Tp 20



15 Ts 3

15 Tp 4





15 Tp 2

TOMBA NO. 15: VASO A FORMA DI CINOCEFALO

SOLEB

- 15 Tp 21 Vaso simile al precedente. Altezza 14 cm. Museo di Khartoum.
15 Tp 13 Vaso detto di 'pellegrinaggio', decorazione viola su fondo chiaro.
Altezza 24,5 cm. (TAV. xxx). Museo di Khartoum.
15 Tp 4 Orcio. Altezza 55,4 cm. (TAV. xxx). Museo di Khartoum.
15 Tp 12 Orcio. Altezza 56,4 cm. (TAV. xxx). Montignoso.

Tomba No. 17

- 17 T 1 Vaso di terracotta detto di 'pellegrinaggio'. Altezza 23 cm.
(Id. 15 Tp 13). Montignoso.

SOLEB EXCAVATIONS, 1957-58

ENGLISH SUMMARY

The Soleb Excavations were undertaken by the Mission Michela Schiff Giorgini under the patronage of the University of Pisa (Italy).

Head of the Mission : MRS SCHIFF GIORGINI
Field Director ; CLEMENT ROBICHON
Epigraphist : DR JOZEF JANSSEN

Soleb lies on the west bank of the Nile 222 km. south of Wadi Halfa. The main ruins of Soleb are a temple, a town and a cemetery—the remains of an ancient establishment of Amenophis III. The first campaign started on 16 November 1957 and finished on 5 January 1958.

The Temple

The area excavated is the part of the temple to the east of the pylon. A hall with four columns has been cleared ; in front of it is a parvis. This hall of sandstone, like the rest of the temple, was built by Amenophis III. It has undergone a number of modifications and restorations, amongst which the name of Amenophis IV has been superimposed upon that of Amenophis III and a Meroitic inscription has been made on restored plastering.

This square hall of 13 × 14 m. had columns with palm-shaped capitals. They reached the cornice of the main gateway in the pylon. It is supposed that on the access platform (parvis) in front of the hall stood the obelisks which are mentioned in Cairo Stela no. 34025. At least this is what can be inferred from the stone foundations in this place.

The Cemetery

The cemetery lies 800 m. west of the temple. Excavation of 17 graves has been started. They have revealed the bases of small pyramids, some in brick and some in stone. To the east of the pyramids stand small chapels from which opened the burial pits giving access to the underground rooms. These pyramids are, so far as we know, the most ancient found in the Sudan*. Twelve pits and

* *Editorial Note.* Small pyramids are known in lower Nubia at Aniba for instance ; they are Egyptian New Kingdom, cf. Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, pls. 19, 20-30.

KUSH

underground rooms were cleared, most of them empty. The following facts were noted :

- (i) The entrances to the underground chambers had been closed after they had been altered and emptied.
- (ii) In the pits and chapels there was an accumulation of human bones and broken pots.
- (iii) Shawabtis (small figurines) had been deliberately placed and broken.
- (iv) Chapel no. 15, the only one still standing to a height of 1.50 m., shows that its door had also been walled up. This corresponds with the transformation of the pyramid from a mud-brick building into a stone one with steps.
- (v) Under the threshold of this chapel, no. 15, there was a headless human skeleton. This skeleton, originally covered with red ochre, had been dismembered.
- (vi) In tomb no. 11, the second room had been practically emptied of all its contents. Of the corpse, only the skull and two tibias were left. On the other hand, the first room, which was untouched, showed the original disposition of the bodies and objects at the time of the various burials. It should be noted that all the bodies had the feet toward the east and usually on top of a group of vases. One of the skeletons had the bones of his feet touching the frontal part of his shawabti. The skeleton of the baby of a woman who had died in childbirth had a jawbone complete with molars and incisors, inordinately long and sharp like thorns.

The major objects found are :

XVIIIth Dynasty :

pottery jars, vases and cups ; a few shawabtis—some of them of faience ; small vases and cups in faience ; a large sized stone coffin, in the shape of a mummy ; a small pottery coffin, in the shape of a mummy, containing plaited hairs ; a small vase in the shape of a monkey.

Meroitic :

three inscriptions, one on plaster, two on potsherds.

Zu den Wanderungen der sog. Kuschiten

HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER

BEI diesem Thema handelt es sich um sehr weitgreifende Völkerbewegungen, die vor allem den Anstoss zu einer grossangelegten Völkerumschichtung in ganz Afrika gaben.

Diese Wanderungen sind streng zu unterscheiden vom Eindringen der Händler und in der Folge der Kolonisatoren in ein fremdes Land. Der Händler ist der Vorbote des Kolonisators und einer dadurch bedingten politischen Machtergreifung in dem von ihm begangenen Lande, wie wir es in der Geschichte der heutigen Völker Äthiopiens mehrfach finden, oder aber er kann auch der Vorbote einer religiösen Machtergreifung sein, wie sie der Islam in weiten Gebieten von Neger-Afrika tätigte. Der Händler ist – so kann man wohl sagen – der Steuerer einer Geschichtsentwicklung solcher Länder und kann in der Folge auch die Zuwanderung eigener und die Abwanderung einheimischer Volksschichten veranlassen. Ein solches Beispiel ist wieder das heutige Äthiopien.

Ausführung.

Die Beschaffenheit der Wanderungswege vor Jahrtausenden kann mit derjenigen von heute nicht verglichen werden. Die Frage der grossen Wüsten, ihrer Entstehung, ihrer Ausdehnung und ihres beschleunigten Fortschreitens ist heute ein ganz anderes Problem als es vor Jahrtausenden war. Und es sind weit geringere Zeiträume vergangen, seit Südarabien ein blühendes Gartenland mit einer geordneten Wasserwirtschaft war, und als dort noch blühende Städte lebten, wo heute tote Wüste liegt.

Ähnliche Verhältnisse lassen sich auch für die Arabien gegenüberliegende Küste errahnen, doch war hier wie dort das bewohnbare Land immer durch mehr oder minder ausgedehnte Wüstengebiete unterbrochen. Die heute so unheimlich fortschreitende Austrocknung Afrikas hat ihre Jahrtausende alte Geschichte. Neben von uns nicht beeinflussbaren klimatischen Ereignissen ist eine sehr wichtige Ursache dazu der Raubbau am Waldbestande, der, ehemals reichlich vorhanden, Jahrhundert um Jahrhundert geschlagen, verbrannt, verbaut und verarbeitet wurde, ohne dass je jemand an seine Erneuerung gedacht hätte. Dieses Vorgehen hält bis in unsere Tage an.

Man kann also als eine Tatsache ansehen, dass die wandernden Völker vor Jahrtausenden geringere klimatische und sonstige natürliche Widerstände fanden, als es heute der Fall wäre. Aber wir müssen auch da noch eine Unterscheidung treffen zwischen den dichtbewachsenen, ausgesprochenen Bergländern und den lichter bewachsenen Steppen und schliesslich den baumlosen, echten Wüstenstrecken. Am wenigsten eignet sich das dichtbewachsene Bergland zur Wanderung, Mensch und Herde bleiben darin stecken, und die schweren Regen dieses Geländes sind leicht der Untergang der Herden. Nur Steppenland und

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Wüstenland lässt grössere Herden durch, sie geben ihnen die Möglichkeit freier Bewegung und, wo nötig, Ausweichmöglichkeiten, zudem ist das unvergleichlich trockenere Klima den Herden und ihren Besitzern nur bei extremem Wassermangel gefährlich. Der Mensch, der sich in das Gebirge verirrt, ist bald gezwungen, sich sesshaft zu machen.

Auch die politischen Verhältnisse waren den wandernden Völkern ehemals weit günstiger. Da war zunächst der Umstand einer offenbaren Zersplitterung in kleine und kleinste Reiche, die den wandernden Gruppen gegenüber meist schutzlos waren, dann aber der andere Umstand, dass die mächtigen Herren grosser Reiche das nominell beherrschte Land de facto nicht bis an seine eigentlich immer labilen Grenzen fest in der Hand hatten, und dass es ihnen so nicht immer möglich war, sich in die Wirren und die Unruhen ihrer entfernten Gebiete als Herrn und Richter einzuschalten. All das gab dem historischen Geschehen solcher Gebiete und weiter Bezirke die Freiheit einer eigenen Geschichtsgestaltung. Und hierbei war wandernden Völkern auch ein reichlicher Spielraum gegeben. Die vielen Unannehmlichkeiten, Störungen und schweren Gefahren, denen eine oft schutzlose einheimische Siedlerbevölkerung ausgesetzt war, führten zudem zur Entstehung manchen Niemandeslandes auch grössern Ausmasses, das schliesslich zu einem traditionellen Durchgangs- oder Niederlassungsland verschiedener Nomadenvölker, respektive heimatsuchender Wandervölker wurde, in dem sie unbehindert kamen und gingen, und wo sie die eigentlichen Herren waren.

Die Kämpfe, die beim Zusammenstoss verschiedener Völker den einen Part zum Sieger machten, brachten den nicht fest ansässigen Gegner häufig in Bewegung, und diese Bewegung pflanzte sich weiter im Kreise fort und zwang andere Sippen, Stämme und auch Völker zur Wanderung auf neue Heimatsuche. Im Norden Äthiopiens und in Eritrea ist folgende Tradition in Erinnerung. Als die Galla aus dem Süden nach dem Norden gewandert kamen, verjagten sie 4 in den Steppen von Lastā lebende Agaustämme respektive – Sippen, die sich unter ihrem Führer Ṭarkē auf die Wanderung nach dem Norden begaben. Sie machten im heutigen Bilēn halt. Dort fanden sie 4 Stämme von sogenannten 'Nōba' – Völkern vor, die Bélau, die Kélau, die Bigádday und die Šésákšim, mit denen sie sich teils verbanden, und zwar je ein Stamm der Agau mit je einem der 'Nōba'. Von jedem der letztern aber wanderte ein Grossteil nach dem Norden weiter ab und auch dort veranlassten sie eine starke Wanderung, die sich nach dem Sudan weithin verpflanzte. Von den im Sudan lebenden Stämmen oder Völkern werden die Mána'a und die Hášberrē als verschwunden gemeldet. Infolge dieser um sich greifenden Massenbewegung entstand hier und da ein Vakuum, wie z.B. dasjenige, in das die Beni 'Amer aus dem Sudan zuwanderten, sie leben heute noch da. Die ganze Bewegung aber wurde am Ende des 16. Jhdts. ausgelöst und dauerte einige Jahrzehnte lang und entfernter wohl länger. Der Anstoss zu allen diesen Ereignissen kam tief aus dem Süden, aus dem heutigen Kenya und Bāli, wo sich ungeheure Scharen der Galla in Bewegung gesetzt hatten und alles überfluteten.

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Eine zweite anders gehende Wanderungsgeschichte aus der gleichen Gegend im Norden kennen wir von den Irob, einem kleinen Völkchen, das aus 4 Grossippen besteht. Sie selbst nennen sich traditionsgemäss die Nachkommen der Hellenen von Adulis. Sie erzählen von einer Verfolgung durch die Völker des aksumitischen Reiches und von einer so bedingten weiten Wanderung, die sie bis nach Funf brachte. Auch dort den Schikanen und weitem Verfolgungen ausgesetzt, flohen sie und zogen sich in die Gegend ihres Ausgangspunktes zurück, wo sie sich unter dem Schutze der mächtigen Šaho endlich niederliessen. Trotz geänderter somatischer Struktur sind sie in ihren Gastvölkern nicht untergegangen, sondern haben sich als Volk mit eigener Herkunft und eigener Tradition gehalten.

Eine für die Beurteilung der Wanderungen wichtige Frage ist die nach der Zusammensetzung der Herden, denn bei diesen Wanderungen, die ein endgültiges Verlassen der eigenen Heimat bedeuteten, wurde ja der ganze grosse Viehbesitz mitgetrieben. Auch wenn man die damaligen, den heutigen gegenüber weit günstigeren Bedingungen für Wanderungen in Betracht zieht, ist doch der Bestand und die Zusammensetzung der Herden sehr wichtig, oft sogar ausschlaggebend. Wahrscheinlich bestanden diese Herden in der Hauptsache aus Schafen und Ziegen, es waren wohl auch als Lasttiere Esel und auch Pferde dabei. Die Pferdezucht erwähnen die 'Kuschiten' z.B immer wieder als eine ihnen besonders zukommende Beschäftigung. Die Mitführung von Rindern aber scheint auf gewissen Strecken kaum möglich gewesen zu sein. Das Rind ist weit anspruchsvoller und allen Unbilden einer weiten und anstrengenden Wanderung gegenüber viel anfälliger, als Schaf, Ziege und sogar das Pferd. Ein Wandern mit Rindern auf teils gebirgigen oder sonst auch unwirtlichen Strecken ist nicht denkbar, sie sind keine Kletterer, ihr langsamer Gang und ihr rasches Ermüden sind für die Wandernden in jeder Hinsicht ein Hindernis am Vorwärtkommen. Namentlich, wenn in gras- und wasserarmen Gegenden oft lange Tagemärsche bewältigt werden müssen, sind sie eine Gefahr für Menschen und Tiere, ganz abgesehen von der eigenen Unfähigkeit, in allen Unbilden durchzuhalten. Das gilt nicht für Gegenden, wo infolge der Nähe reichlichen Wassers und des dieses umsäumenden Grasgeländes die Länge der Märsche im Belieben der Wandernden und seltener in einer Notwendigkeit der Umstände liegt. So waren die Verhältnisse bei der Wanderung der Boro-Völker am Blauen Nil entlang.

Die Annahme, dass mindestens die östlichsten Wanderungsvölker ihre reichen Rinderherden bei den durch sie vertriebenen Negervölkern zusammengeraubt hätten, hat viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich.

Die Wanderung einzelner Stämme bis ganzer Völker oder Völkergruppen, in die unbekannte und unsichere Fremde geschieht als ein totaler Akt, bei dem alle alten Brücken, alle alten Beziehungen abgebrochen werden. Allein die Tradition der Vergangenheit, das geistig zusammenhaltende Element wird mitgenommen. Einige Völker, deren Wanderung in Ostafrika endete, haben noch diese sehr, sehr alte Tradition von ihrer Herkunft aus einem Lande 'jenseits

eines grossen Wassers'. Bei einigen erfährt man auch, sie wären 'weiss gewesen, wie Ihr' und nur das Land ihrer endgültigen Niederlassung hätte sie dunkel gemacht.

Es ist natürlich eine Spekulation, viele der heute in Ostafrika lebenden Völker aus den Steppen Russlands herkommen zu lassen, wozu alle kulturellen und historischen Hinweise fehlen. *Es erscheint aber naheliegend, anzunehmen, dass sie irgendeinmal noch vor den Jahrtausenden, deren Geschichte uns erschlossen wurde, in den Ländern des westlichen Asien lebten, allerdings können wir nichts über ihre damalige Lebensform aussagen.* Es wäre immerhin denkbar, dass der Anstoss zu ihrer später einsetzenden und jedenfalls sehr spät abgeschlossenen nomadischen Lebensform, – soweit er überhaupt geschehen ist, – durch historische Ereignisse eines grössern Ausmasses gegeben wurde. Diese Ereignisse sind uns unbekannt, wie der Beginn der grossen Wanderungen unbekannt ist, sie können auch jenseits alles historischen Erinnerns liegen.

Dass ein Gutteil der zur Wanderung gezwungenen Völker verschiedener Herkunft auch nach Südarabien verschlagen wurde, erscheint mir verständlich: angesichts sprachlicher Indizien und auch der später zu Tage getretenen Beziehungen. Immer zugegeben, dass diese Dinge einer noch sehr genauen Prüfung unterzogen werden müssen. (Es gibt ja mehrere Wege zur Deutung der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse.) Auf ihrem Wege nach dem Norden zurück hätten diese Wandernden dann auch weite Strecken am Ufer des Roten Meeres kennengelernt, ferner den Weg zwischen ihm und den Bitterseen an der nördlichen Landenge. Aber auch die Völker, die zwischen dem Mittelmeer und den Bitterseen gewandert sind, hatten natürlich das gleiche Erlebnis. Darauf könnte etwa die Tradition von der Herkunft 'jenseits eines grossen Wassers' zurückgehen.

Aber die Deutung dieser Tradition als einer Einwanderung ganzer Völker nach Afrika über die Strasse von Bab-el-Mandab ist bestimmt abwegig. Weder kann es die Transportmittel in den Ausmassen, wie sie ein solches Massenunternehmen fordert, gegeben haben – man denke an die grossen Viehherden, von denen sich ein Besitzer nie freiwillig trennt – noch waren die geistigen Voraussetzungen dafür gegeben. Abgesehen von einer Bevölkerung auf dem jenseitigen Ufer, die natürlich bereit war, sich gegen die Eindringlinge mit aller Macht zu verteidigen.

Anders aber steht es mit dem sehr späten Eindringen südarabischer Stämme nach dem Osthorn in einer Zeit, als bereits alle Voraussetzungen für ein solches Unternehmen seit Jahrhunderten gegeben waren. Hier kann es sich aber nicht um viehzüchtende Elemente gehandelt haben. Die Stämme, um die es sich hier handelt, bildeten die arabische Komponente der Somäl. Man kann dieses Unternehmen nicht in die Reihe der echten Wanderungen stellen, es erscheint vielmehr als ein zweckbewusstes, gezieltes Unternehmen, dem gewisse ältere völkische Kontakte seine Richtung gaben.

Ich gehe also von dem Standpunkt aus, dass die Meerenge von Bab-el-Mandab für die grossen echten Wanderungen heimatsuchender Völker ausscheidet.

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Auf den grossen durchwanderten Strecken begegneten sich Völker der verschiedensten Herkunft, sie näherten sich einander in verschiedenen Verhältnissen und Beziehungen freundlicher und feindlicher Art. Sie haben einander vertrieben und ausgerottet, sie haben sich verbunden, haben sich umgebildet, haben ihre Sprache gegen eine fremde eingetauscht, und alles das hat sich durch Jahrtausende fortgesetzt, wie man aus mancher Tradition erfahren kann.

Die über die nördliche Landenge eingewanderten Völker, teils von Beginn heterogener Herkunft, haben in den Weiten Nordostafrikas in vielfachen Überkreuzungen oder im Parallellauf ihrer Wege zueinander gefunden. Und das kann sich im Laufe der Jahrtausende immer wiederholt haben. Ich erinnere an die mit Bestimmtheit sehr starken Kontakte dieser Völker mit den in Ägypten lebenden hebräischen Stämmen, als deren Folge z.B. heute noch die Falāšā in Äthiopien existieren. Ich erinnere an die Indizien einer sprachlichen Begegnung zwischen 'Kuschiten' und Hebräern, die einer genauen Registrierung wert sind. Und ich weise auf den Monotheismus der 'kuschitischen' Steppen- und Wüstenwanderer hin, der von ihnen so mit jeder Faser verteidigt wird, und der auch die Elohim der Hebräer besiegt haben könnte. Aber darin bin ich nicht kompetent, ich erwähne es nur als eine eventuelle Anregung.

Es waren schon nahezu weltweit zu nennende Beziehungen, die auf den Wanderungswegen aus Asien bis in den Westen und Süden Afrikas getrieben wurden, – wenn wir leider auch da nur Schlüsse ziehen können, ohne dazu echte konkrete Unterlagen zu besitzen. Mit Sicherheit aber können wir behaupten, dass das auf diese Weise im Leben aller dadurch betroffenen und daran beteiligten Völker Vorsichgegangene, ihre ganze Geschichte, ihre ganze kulturelle und ihre sprachliche Entwicklung weit über alles hinausgeht, was wir auch nur errahnen oder auch mit unserem Masstab messen können.

Viele dieser Wanderungen haben mit einer Niederlassung der Masse der Völker nicht ihr Ende gefunden, sie hatten ihr Nachspiel. Das besetzte Land, das nun die neue Heimat war, wird zu eng für die Menschen, die sich stark vermehren, und vor allem für die gehegten und geschonten Viehherden, die auch dann nicht hungern sollen, wenn der Mensch, ihr Besitzer selbst hungern muss. Sippenweise zusammengeschlossen wandern also Teile der Bevölkerung ab aus der neuen Heimat, und wiederum so weit, als es ihnen die neu vorgefundenen Verhältnisse gestatten. Die Tradition dieser Völker ist voll von den Erzählungen über solche Nachwanderungen einzelner Sippen mit ihrer langen Dauer, ihren vielen Fehlschlägen und vielen Rückschlägen. Wir haben Beispiele, wo eine eingeborene Bevölkerung den Zugewanderten wich, andere, in denen sie unter der Herrschaft dieser Fremden blieb, Fälle, in denen sich eine kleine Gruppe behaupten konnte, weil sie sich gegen ihre Umwelt abschloss, wiederum andere, in denen sich kleinere, aber auch grössere Gruppen in der neuen Umgebung auflösten und ihre völkische Eigenständigkeit verloren, und es gibt auch Fälle, wo durch eine Zuwanderung der Grundstein zur Bildung eines neuen Volkes gelegt wurde, dessen Komponenten sich auf der Basis der Gleichheit vertrugen.

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Immer aber ergaben solche Nachwanderungen eine Zersplitterung grösserer Völker mit allen Folgen.

Die Wanderungen führten also zu zahlreichen Begegnungen, die mehr oder weniger in Bindungen eines verschiedenen Grades der Intensität übergingen. Solche Bindungen haben in vielen Fällen zur Änderung der völkischen Struktur geführt, in andern nur zu einer Änderung des somatischen Habitus, natürlich aber in allen Fällen zu einer gegenseitigen Einflussnahme auf dem sprachlichen Gebiet, zuweilen sogar auf die sprachliche Struktur. Auf solche Weise erscheint es uns erklärlich, dass z.B. zwei Sprachen die Elemente aus zwei verschiedenen Sprachgruppen vereinigen konnten und die gleichen Elemente je nach der völkischen Prävalenz auch verschieden verarbeiteten. Das führte zu grundlegenden Verschiedenheiten zwischen Sprachen, die die gleichen Elemente aufweisen, und so auf den ersten Blick in die gleiche Klasse zu gehören scheinen. Als ein konkretes Beispiel ist das Bedaue und das Šaho-Afar zu nennen. Aber es kann zu einer weiteren Abwandlung des Resultates kommen, wenn etwa durch einen völkischen 'Entmischungsprozess' oder infolge neuer Begegnungen und völkischer Bindungen die zu Beginn unterlegene völkische Komponente prävalent wird, — dann ändert sich auch das Sprachbild. Ein solcher Prozess, dessen Zeitdauer nicht limitiert ist, und der immer wieder unterbrochen werden kann, kann auch das ältere Sprach- und Wanderungsbild abändern und ältere Spuren verwischen. Er kann natürlich auch uralte Angaben der historischen Tradition einfach unverständlich machen.

Weitere Folgen, zu denen eine lange Wanderung führte, lagen auf religiösem Gebiet. Namentlich, wo Völker mit grundverschiedenen Religionssystemen einander begegneten und in ein Verhältnis zueinander traten, war eine religiöse Beeinflussung, eventuell ein religiöser Kompromiss nicht zu vermeiden. Dabei konnte die Prädominanz des Stärkern dem Unterlegenen seine Religion aufzwingen, und das konnte ohne weitere bedeutsame Folgen geschehen. Der Überlegene konnte aber auch auf eine Resistenz stossen. In einem solchen Falle konnte der Schwächere die fremden Gottheiten wohl annehmen, doch nicht im Sinne einer vollkommenen Unterwerfung unter sie. Er schloss also einen Kompromiss, indem er diese fremden Gottheiten seinem eigenen Religionssystem eingliederte, ohne dieses oder die Rechte seiner Gottheit oder seiner Gottheiten anzutasten. Fremde Götter wurden so zu Dämonen, die man der eigenen Gottheit untertan machte. Sie wurden zu guten oder zu bösen Geistern, je nach dem Verhältnisse, in dem man zu deren Anhängern stand. Es kam auch der Fall vor, dass man die Religion des Herrn ganz übernahm, aber sein eigenes System in sie einbaute. Natürlich gibt es bei solchen Prozessen unendlich viele Varianten und unendlich viele Schattierungen.

Was in frühern Jahrtausenden eine bittere Notwendigkeit war, das ist diesen Völkern nahezu allgemein eine Lebensgewohnheit geworden von der sie nicht lassen mögen. Heute hat Klima und Politik Wanderungen des frühern Ausmasses verboten, den meisten ist ihre Heimat zugewiesen, von der es ein Abwandern nicht mehr gibt. Der Mensch aus den alten Wandervölkern hat

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aber die Möglichkeit einer 'kleinen Wanderung' innerhalb eines grössern Territoriums, das er saisonweise durchwandert, um seinem Vieh jederzeit die nötige Weide geben zu können. Diese Lebensform aber ist nur dort möglich, wo die Sippe Herr ist, die in ihrem Rahmen Ordnung hält und jedem seinen Platz anweist. Es ist ihnen nicht viel geblieben, aber doch immerhin etwas.

On the Migrations of the so-called Kushites

SUMMARY

It is certainly a fact, that thousands of years before our time migrating peoples did not meet all the difficulties that they would to-day. Usually migration of a large group was followed by migration of other peoples or groups. By this fact we notice a change in the stratification of the population—and sometimes to a large extent—and many such events are found to be confirmed by the historical tradition of these peoples. For instance the migration of the numerous Galla-people, coming from the very south, forced other peoples to leave their own country, and so migration went on as far as the Sudan. And at the same time and by these events tribes and peoples disappeared, being wiped out or absorbed by others.

Considering the very long time involved and the different difficulties met with by migrating peoples, the question of what their herds consisted of is a problem of the greatest importance. (Sheep, goats, asses, horses, etc.)

Some of these old migrating peoples have a historical tradition telling about their coming from 'the other side of a great water'. But it may be the tradition about their last migration, when they crossed the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. It is certain, that this last migration, interrupted by some stops even for a long period, kept them at least for many hundreds of years in motion.

Peoples of a different origin were brought together by their migration and sometimes there was intermarriage. By such contacts not only their somatic structure changed, the languages too were submitted to that foreign influence, which affected the grammatical structure.

The foreign influence extended to religious life too. In several cases peoples followed the religion of the strongest, otherwise they adapted the strange religion to their own, and in this way they succeeded in paralyzing its influence and kept their own tradition.

Partial migrations, caused by a surplus of population, led to a national dispersal, which sometimes was on a large scale and of course weakened some of these peoples in their home-position.

The Tekenu, the Nubians and the Butic Burial

by J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Prefatory Note :

I should like to thank Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss for permission to use, in connection with this paper, the relevant part of her projected Subject-Index to the Theban Tombs, and also for her valuable suggestions on several points. The Index records the Tekenu as appearing in the following thirty-one tombs : nos. 12, 15, 17, 20, 24, 36, 39, 41, 42, 49, 53, 55, 60, 78, 81, 82, 92, 96 B, 100, 104, 120, 122, 125, 127, 172, 224, 260, 276, 284, A. 26, C. 4. Some of the material involved is unpublished and I am grateful to the Griffith Institute for access to photographs taken by Professor Schott, to the *Notebooks* of the late Norman de Garis Davies ('Digest of Contents of Tombs at Thebes'), to photographs made by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and to the Prudhoe MSS. I am also indebted to Miss Moss and to Miss Helen Murray for very kindly facilitating my use of this material.

A STRIKING feature of Egyptian burial scenes is the drawing of the Tekenu in procession. This is a somewhat intriguing figure on a sledge,¹ and some have suggested that it is a vestige of human sacrifice with Sēthian significance.

The representations which have most favoured this view are those from the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef, of the XVIIIth Dynasty (PLATE XXXII). These have been published by Maspero² and N. de G. Davies,³ and the two examples from this tomb show a crouching figure on a sledge, with the inscriptions (Davies, op. cit., VIII) : 'Proceeding in peace to see the dragging of the Tekenu upon [the sledge ?] by . . . Mentuherkhepeshef'; 'Going forth by the Tekenu'; and (in Davies, op. cit., pl. ii), 'Proceeding to see the dragging of the Tekenu'; 'come, drag the Tekenu, that he may go to his city'. There are four persons dragging the Tekenu in the first scene. A fifth person in front of them is carrying something which Maspero made out as a hide.⁴ The text above is very damaged, but *msk*, 'hide' seems to be mentioned. A scene below shows two kneeling men being strangled.⁵ They are Nubians, and two others of them appear to be waiting their turn, swathed and prostrated. (𓂏𓂐𓂑). To the right of them is a pit, in which something is being placed by two persons, or perhaps

¹ It does not appear in a sledge in the tomb of Rekhmirē'.

² *Tombeau de Montouhikhopshouf* in *Mém. Miss. fr.* v, 2 pp. 435-68, esp. pp. 452 ff. (Cairo 1891).

³ *Five Theban Tombs* (London 1913).

⁴ Davies, op. cit., p. 14 remarks on the uncertainty of this, but says that a Berlin photograph (unpublished because it was a failure, see p. 1, op. cit.) 'certainly shows a hanging tail'.

⁵ Davies, op. cit., pl. viii, bottom register.


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they are only pointing out its position to two men who come behind bringing a sledge. The pit contains a sledge and the words 'hacking' (?) and 'bone' (?). Maspero concludes that a real or fictitious sacrifice is represented. If it is fictitious, it must, he claims, have been real at some previous time. He rejects Lefébure's suggestion that human sacrifices were intended to give guardian spirits to buildings, tombs, and temples. Rather were they intended in such a case as this, according to him, to give to the deceased slaves or companions who would serve him in the other world. As for the choice of Nubians, he says it is natural, since most slaves were prisoners of war in origin. The Nubians were considered to be followers of Sēth, since Sēth was said to have fled to them after his defeat by Horus of Edfu. Their sacrifice was therefore parallel with that of beasts which were considered to incorporate Sēth and his followers. While Maspero would not identify the Tekenu with these beings, he thinks that it too was meant for sacrifice; but that, whereas the Nubians were to be strangled and buried whole, the Tekenu was to be slain and cut up. There is apparently evidence for this in the fact that in another scene⁶ a pit contains the word



, with the hair, foreleg, and heart of an ox. Davies remarks of this that it shows 'that the human *tekenu* has been replaced by an animal victim' (p. 16); which rather conflicts with his statement elsewhere (p. 10) that 'the pictures also invite a mild interpretation; for the *tekenu* is being hauled to the grave just in front of the sarcophagus, in the same way and to the same cries, "To the West! to the West! the land of pleasant life" (Paheri, El Kab). In short, this seems no more than another and simpler form of burial, which is retained in semblance alongside the more elaborate and more modern form'. He adds that it may be 'a ceremonial survival of the ancient practice of burial in a crouching position'.⁷ His remark on pl. viii is interesting. 'As if to emphasize the voluntary nature of the performance, we see the actor walking towards the sled. "The *tekenu* enters"'.⁸

The four Nubians in this tomb are all labelled 'Iwntyw Tꜣ-ṯtī, 'Nubians' (lit. 'Nomads of Nubia'). Säve-Söderbergh⁹ thinks that these Nubians have a part in the Tekenu ceremony, but does not venture to describe it. Nor does he feel sure whether a real or imaginary sacrifice is to be understood, being content to note the hostile and scornful attitude towards Nubians which is implied.

Above the two Nubians who are shown as seated and bound are depicted, within the sign of a walled enclosure, the hieroglyphs . Davies¹⁰ rightly suggests that the designation of a captured place may be intended. He

⁶ Maspero, op. cit., p. 457, fig. 8; Davies, op. cit., pl. ix, register 1.

⁷ Davies, op. cit., p. 10.

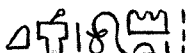
⁸ Davies, op. cit., p. 14.

⁹ *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), p. 235.

¹⁰ *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 15.

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further suggests that the signs 'ordinarily would spell the word "sculptor", and apparently form the name of some Nubian fortress or district whence these men were brought as prisoners, or supposed to be brought'. The word *gnwty*, 'sculptor', is not the only possible reading, however. *Ks* or *Ksyw* is also a possibility: see Gardiner, Sign-list, T 19; and in this case one is tempted to

compare  which Gauthier¹¹ describes as 'région de Haute-Nubie, non identifiée'. Unfortunately there is doubt as to the reading of this name. *Ks* occurs in other place-names, but they are located by Gauthier in Egypt.

It is hard to decide whether the sacrifice of the Nubians was actually carried out or whether it was simulated. Emery¹² has found evidence of the sacrifice of slaves in the 1st Dynasty, but there is a large interval of time. Nor are analogies decisive.

With regard to the human offerings in the Ptolemaic temples, Junker's view is that real victims were used. There are numerous representations of such offerings, but they give no certainty on this point. Junker¹³ would link the representations in the temple of Philae with the statement of Procopius of Caesarea, a writer of the 5th century A.D., that men were sacrificed at Philae in his own time. Other Greek writers¹⁴ speak of Typhonic sacrifices of men in Egypt, but definite evidence on the Egyptian side is lacking. Human sacrifice in any connection is not amply attested.¹⁵ On the other hand, magical substitution was clearly practised on a large scale. The servant figures and shabtis had a potent vicarious purpose. 'Let one bring an image of Sēth made of red wax, on the breast of which his name is inscribed': this is how the instruction for the 'Ritual of overthrowing Sēth and his followers' begins, describing a rite which was to be consummated daily at the Osirian temple of Abydos.¹⁶ An interesting article showing how common was the use of inscribed figurines of 'enemies' has also been published by Posener.¹⁷

The figurines discussed by Posener¹⁸ may be compared with the 'Achtungstexte' of the Berlin Museum. There are twelve more or less complete pieces in the Cairo Museum, described as rough statuettes rudely representing captives in the typical Egyptian attitude. The text is written in black ink, and whereas the 'Achtungstexte' contain mostly names of foreigners, the names here are of Egyptians, with perhaps the word *mwt* in front of them. They are assigned to the

¹¹ *Dict. Géog.*, v, p. 178.

¹² E.g. *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938: Hor-Aha* (Cairo 1939), p. 1.

¹³ *ZAS*, 48, p. 70.

¹⁴ See J. Gwyn Griffiths in *ASAE*, 48, pp. 409 ff.

¹⁵ See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pls. 3, 6 and p. 20; and id., *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt* (London 1924), pp. 35-6, where, however, most of the evidence cited is late.

¹⁶ Schott, *Urk.*, VI, i, p. 5.

¹⁷ G. Posener, *Nouvelles listes de proscription in Chron. d'Ég.* 27 (1939), pp. 39-46.

¹⁸ See also his *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels 1940).

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Middle Kingdom, and the rough clay statuettes discovered by Firth in Saqqāra in 1922 are said to be similar, except that these include names of foreign peoples and princes. The Egyptian names include XIth Dynasty royal names. In a further group from Saqqāra the inscriptions contain references to 'male and female dead', and 'male and female enemies'. Objects found near the maṣṭaba of Senwosretankh at Lisht are shaped with human heads, and they have briefer texts. Others in the Cairo Museum and in Brussels are cited by Posener, together with some discovered by Junker at Giza. Their purpose is clearly magical. Their use may be compared with instructions found in the 'Book of the felling of Apopis':¹⁹

'And when thou hast written these names of all foes, male and female, whom thine heart fears, namely all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive, the names of their fathers, the names of their mothers, and the names of their children, within the box (?), (they) are to be made (?) in wax, put on the fire after the name of 'Apep and burnt . . .'

Mention should be made of Lefébure's²⁰ attempt to show that the Egyptians practised human sacrifices extensively. He quotes a considerable body of classical evidence. Some of the Egyptian evidence advanced by him does not concern sacrifices in a restricted sense. For example, the *škr* 'Iwnw of the Palermo Stone²¹ probably records a military victory. The line of argument adopted with regard to many of the actual practices attested is somewhat specious: it is assumed that they are attenuations of more rigorous rites which prevailed formerly.²² The Tekenu and the Shabtis are probably substitutions for earlier human victims, according to this view. The *hrw*- of the Horus-myth is a ritual substitution for a sacrifice to which victorious battle is a prelude; wine is used to replace the blood of the victims.²³

One may agree with him that victims often represented enemies, even if the victims were generally animals. He aptly quotes Ovid: 'Hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet'.²⁴

Dr A. M. Bakir draws my attention to a statement on a stela of the Middle Kingdom²⁵ where a steward says of himself that he is one 'who follows his lord in the necropolis'. The words might be taken to imply the sacrificial burial of the servant with his master; but in the absence of archaeological evidence for such burials, it seems better to take the expression as referring to ordinary

¹⁹ P. Bremner-Rhind 28, 17-18, Faulkner's translation (*JEA*, 23, p. 175).

²⁰ E. Lefébure, *Le sacrifice humain d'après les rites de Busiris et d'Abydos* in *Sphinx* 3, fasc. 3, pp. 129 ff.

²¹ See H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 9.

²² 'Mais les atténuations mêmes des sacrifices sont significatives'. (p. 130).

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1. See Fairman, *JEA*, 21, p. 29, n. 1.

²⁴ *Fasti*, I, p. 336. See further, on this subject, M. G. Kyle, *Egyptian Sacrifices* in *RT*, 27 (1905), p. 169. On p. 165 he rejects the view that human sacrifice was 'an usual religious rite among the Egyptians'.

²⁵ Lange-Schäfer, *Grab-u. Denksteine des M.R.*, II, no. 20578.

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funerary services. The only archaeological evidence known to the present writer is that given by Petrie and Emery. Petrie's conclusion concerning burials in a tomb of the 1st Dynasty²⁶ is that 'burials of the domestics must . . . have taken place all at once, immediately the king's tomb was built; and hence they must have been sacrificed at the funeral'. This conclusion rests on the inference that new bricks had been used, causing an early collapse of a wall. Apart from the 1st Dynasty examples, the use of human victims which is supposed to precede the use of servant-figures must be pushed back into prehistoric times; and even here archaeology gives no confirmation.²⁷

Emery²⁸ accepts Petrie's interpretation and puts 62 'subsidiary graves' found in Tomb No. 3504 at Saqqāra in the same category, believing that they are 'humble monuments of lower-class citizens, or perhaps slaves'.²⁹ He suggests that the custom of sacrificing slaves at the burial was originally confined to Upper Egypt. His archaeological account³⁰ of these 'subsidiary graves' does not seem to enter into the question of whether the burials could have been subsequent to the main burial; but we may assume that the latter possibility is ruled out since Emery does not discuss it. In the case of the tomb of the Queen Her-neit, discovered on 1 January 1956, 'no trace of subsidiary graves' was found.³¹

It is strange that the only clear evidence for a period closer to that of the Theban Tombs which we are discussing comes from Nubia. Reisner³² discovered at Kerma, in the tomb of a Middle Kingdom Egyptian dignitary, traces of sacrificial burials amounting to 'well over one hundred'.

Reisner's discovery should prevent us from rejecting out of hand the idea that the sacrifice of the Nubians to whom we are referring was only simulated. In the absence of contemporary evidence from Egypt, it would be wise to leave the matter open. On the other hand, there seems no reason for associating the Nubians with the Tekenu.

It is true that in the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef the Nubian episode occurs in close proximity to that of the Tekenu. There seems also to be a general association in that a sacrifice is also part of the Tekenu ceremony, though not probably of the Tekenu himself. But of an inherent bond between the two

²⁶ Petrie, *RT*, I, p. 14. P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris* (Paris 1941) refers to foundation sacrifices, but suggests semitic influence.

²⁷ Gardiner, *ERE*, v, 480 b, shows that the Egyptians could be very cruel to their enemies in war and to criminals; in *ZAS*, 43, p. 57, n. 1, he agrees with the suggestion that the servant-figures are a later substitution for human victims, noting the widespread nature of the practice and citing Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, I, pp. 468-70, 474-5.

²⁸ *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, II* (London 1954), pp. 1, 13.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

³¹ *Report of Egypt Exploration Society, 1955* (London 1956).

³² *Excavations at Kerma, Parts I-III* (*HAS*, vol. 5, Cambridge, Mass., 1923), pp. 141 ff. Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 11, mentions only some of the classical testimonies.

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episodes there seems to be no trace. W. Max Müller³³ remarks that in the tomb of Yeneny (commonly called 'Anna' or 'Anena': the tomb no. is 81) the swathed Tekenu is black. Actually only a part of it remains, and it suggests a seated upright figure in the form of a statue.³⁴ A number of *Mwv* dancers are shown facing the men who are drawing the sledge. But why is the figure black? Max Müller suggests that it may represent a negro, and in support of this interpretation he compares the Nubian episode in the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef and also a remark by Griffith in *Paheri*, where his reference is to Tylor-Griffith's large edition of 1895, in particular to the description of pl. 8, in which Tylor alludes to a pottery figure of a woman: her legs are shown bent up against her back and her arms are tied in the same bond as her legs. The woman depicted seems to be a negress, but that is the only possible connection. The motive is not necessarily funerary; and there is certainly nothing negroid about the face of the figure from the tomb of Yeneny. But let us now return to the Tekenu.

In a scene from the tomb of Antefoker, the Tekenu is kneeling and is shrouded, and the text is very brief: 'Dragging the Tekenu'.³⁵

Another XIIIth Dynasty tomb, that of Sehetepibrē, does not reveal the object as a human figure; a shrouded object appears, and it is not clear whether the shroud is an ox-hide. The text is longer, but its meaning seems applicable to the whole funeral: '... to the western upland, in peace, in peace, to Osiris, to the places of the lords of eternity...' ³⁶ 'Dragging the Kenu to this necropolis', are the words from the tomb of Renni, accompanying a figure which is crouching on a sledge.³⁷ The object is still more undefinable in the tomb of Amenemhēt. Neither a human figure nor a hide is discernible, and the text is probably corrupt, as well as being fragmentary: 'Dragging the Tekenu by the people of Kēd and the *s3-srkt* priest, going out... and coming in (?) four times... by the northern nomes (?)'.³⁸ Gardiner suggests that the *s3-srkt* may be 'the bearer of the strange, half-human, half scorpion-like creature familiar from the pictures of the *sed*-festival'.³⁹ A similar text is quoted by Gardiner from the tomb of Aḥmose:⁴⁰ 'Dragging the Tekenu by the people of Kēd, the *s3-srkt*'; and from the tomb of Menkheperre'sonb.

Rekhmirē's Tekenu is a crouching figure on a stand with face downwards.⁴¹

³³ *Mitt. der Voderasiat. Gesell.* 1904, Heft 2, p. 4 (116), note.

³⁴ See Boussac in *Mém. Miss. fr.*, 18, the 14th Plate (the Plates are unnumbered).

³⁵ Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, xxii and xxiii A; p. 21.

³⁶ J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, ix, and Spiegelberg's note p. 14.

³⁷ J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Renni*, xiii.

³⁸ N. de G. Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, xii, cf. Gardiner's remarks, pp. 51-2.

³⁹ Op. cit., p. 51, n. 2.

⁴⁰ For the figure see Nina and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmosē, and Another*, pl. 38. What remains of it suggests an upright seated form.

⁴¹ Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. 83, also Burton's photograph on pl. 5 of vol. i.

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The face and hands are discernible, but the rest is a vague oval. The accompanying text is : ' Causing to come to the city a hide with⁴² a Tekenu which lies under it in *Š Hpr* '. The Tekenu in the representation of Nebamūn's tomb (no. 24) is said to look like a crouching statue drawn at the head of the cortège by a person who is preceded by two dancers.⁴³ This, we are told is ' the coming of the Tekenu to the necropolis, coming in peace (by ?) the people of Pe, the people of Dep, the people of *Ht-(wrt)-kꜣw* '. No new contribution comes from the tomb of Puyemrē'. The nature of the shroud which there covers a crouching figure on a sledge is uncertain.⁴⁴ It is possible that it appeared also in a scene from the tomb of Apuki and Nebamūn,⁴⁵ and Davies shows⁴⁶ that it also appears in the contemporary tomb of Ra'mose. He further noted an occurrence in the early xixth Dynasty tomb of Nefer-hotep,⁴⁷ where the Tekenu is a somewhat shapeless object drawn by three men. According to Davies, it appears also in Tomb 41 in the reign of Sethos I ; this is the tomb of Amenemopet or Ipy, and Porter-Moss assign it to ' Ramesses I—Sethos I (?) '. The M.M.A. photographs 1887-8 seem to show a Tekenu here although the original is much defaced.

Chronologically the occurrences may be grouped as follows. (The numbers are of Theban Tombs as given by Porter-Moss).

A. *xiiith Dynasty*

60 ; Sehetep-ib-rē'. (2)

B. *xviiith Dynasty*

12 ; 15 ; 17 ; 20 ; 24 ; 39 ; 42 ; 53 ; 55 ; 78 ; 81 ; 82 ; 92 ; 96 B ; 100 ; 104 ; 120 ; 122 ; 125 ; 127 ; 172 ; 224 ; 260 ; 276 ; Renni ; Paheri. (26)

C. *xixth or xxth Dynasty*

41 ; 49 ; 284 ; A. 26 ; C. 4 (?). (5)

D. *xxvth Dynasty*

36. (1)

It is clear, then, that the xviiith Dynasty was the period when the practice was especially prevalent. But as far as the Old Kingdom is concerned, the comparative absence of funerary evidences from the Delta should be borne in mind ; and it is unlikely, *prima facie*, that the practice originated in the Middle Kingdom.

It seems impossible to trace a chronological sequence of the shapes assumed by the object in view of the shifting variety shown.⁴⁸ From the xixth Dynasty

⁴² For this use of *m* see Paul C. Smither and Battiscombe Gunn, *JEA*, 25, p. 169.

⁴³ U. Bouriant, *Tombeau de Neb-Amon*, in *RT*, 9, pp. 95 ff. For the Tekenu see p. 97.

⁴⁴ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes*, II, pl. 46.

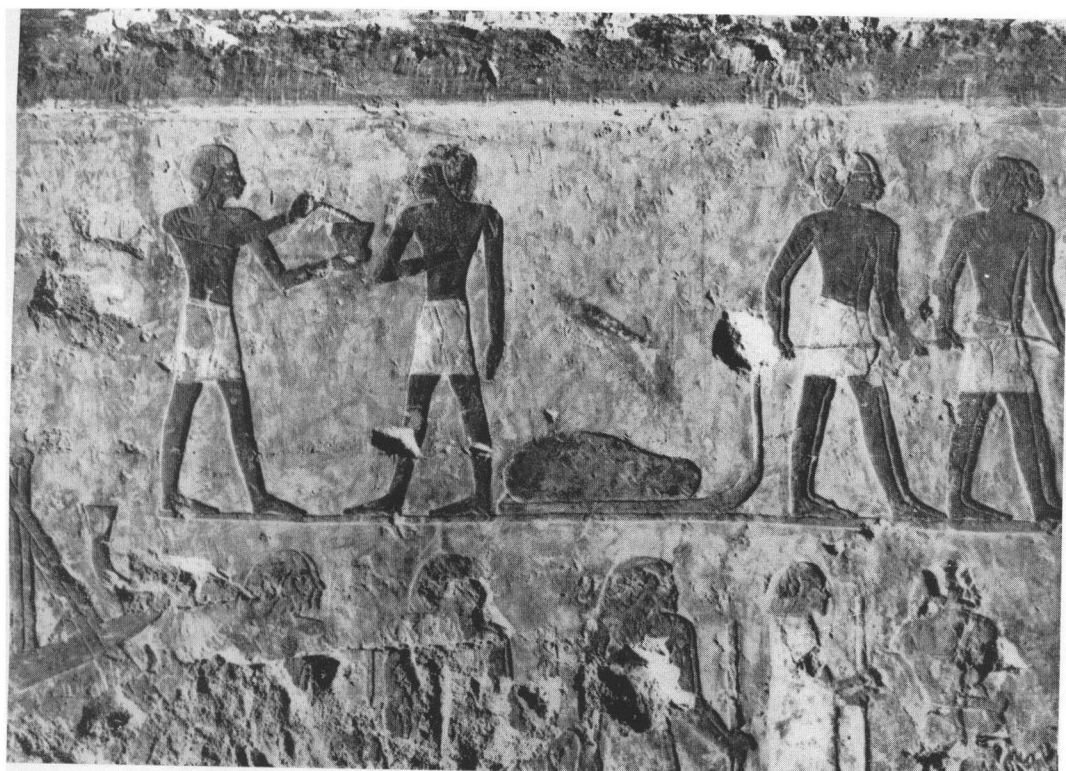
⁴⁵ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. 22 and p. 43.

⁴⁶ Op. cit., p. 43, n. 2. See his *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, I, pl. 20 and p. 42.

⁴⁸ Cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 774.

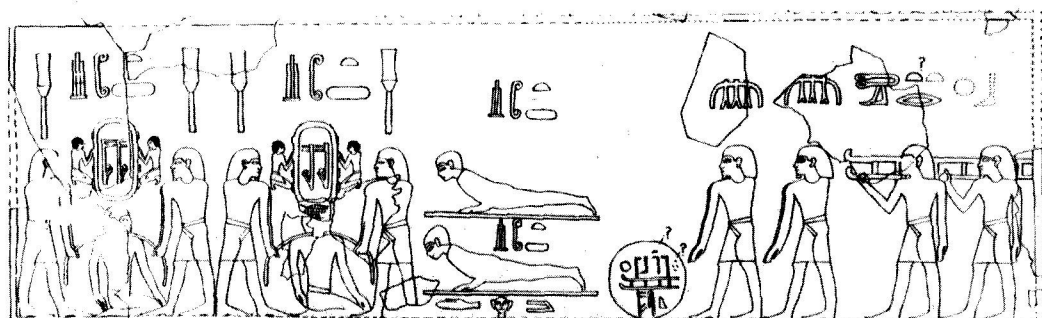
PLATE XXXII



THE TEKENU AS DEPICTED IN THE TOMB OF AMENEMHET (No. 53) ON THE SOUTH WALL
OF THE SECOND CHAMBER. Temp. Tuthmosis III

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Negative No. T 3243)

Ph. Ashmolean Museum



Scale:

SCENE 3.

THE MALTREATMENT OF NUBIANS DEPICTED IN THE TOMB OF MENTUHERKHEPESHEF (No. 20)

Temp. Tuthmosis III (?)

From N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. viii

Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society

Ph. Ashmolean Museum

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onwards the form is pear-shaped, with the exception of that in C.4, the tomb of Meryma'et, which according to the Prudhoe MSS, Atlas A, 19a, is an upright and statuesque seated figure. In this group, however, I was not able to see the instance in A.26, a Ramesside tomb of which the owner's name is unknown and of which the only record appears to be the Hay MSS. The pear-shaped Tekenu of the tomb of Aba (no. 36), which belongs to the time of Psammetichos I, is remarkable as the only occurrence of the object in the late period. Miss Moss makes the convincing suggestion that its reappearance after such a long lapse of time is a mark of the archaizing trends of the xxvth Dynasty.

The statuesque form appears elsewhere : in 15 (Tetiky, see Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pl. 9, scene D) ; in 42 (Amenmose, published by Davies, see above ; and M.M.A. Photo 3442) ; in 81 (Yeneny, see above) ; and in 260 (User, see Davies, *Notebooks*, 2, 59). That these examples are not simply diminutive statues of the deceased is shown by the fact that in all cases they are depicted as shrouded up to the neck.⁴⁹

As we have seen, the xiiith Dynasty instance in the tomb of Sehetep-ib-rē' is on its own in that no part of the human figure is there discernible. The crouching, pear-shaped class includes examples where the head is distinguished (96 B, Sennufer, see Virey in *RT* 21, p. 128, fig. 9) or where both head and hands are discernible (100, Rekhmirē', see above). In spite of the variety of shape revealed Bonnet⁵⁰ is justified in summing up the Tekenu's appearance as being essentially that of a human body contracted in form and covered in a skin.

Vaguely similar are the swathed figures which occur on the Narmer mace from Hierakonpolis⁵¹ and in a portrayal of the *sed*-festival of Neuserre',⁵² as Emery has remarked with reference to kindred depictions from the tomb of Hemaka.⁵³ It is doubtful, however, whether they are really connected with the Tekenu ; nor are they themselves easy to interpret.

Attempts have been made to explain the Tekenu by another translation of the text in Rekhmirē's tomb which I have rendered 'Causing to come to the city a hide with a Tekenu which lies under it in Š *Hpr*'. The translation formerly prevalent was 'Causing to come to the city of the hide . . .' Lefébure⁵⁴ called attention, apropos of the supposed 'city of the hide' (*nīwt msk?*), to the statement in Spell 17 of the Book of the Dead that 'Osiris-N has passed pure through the midst of

⁴⁹ No. 216 (Neferhotep), MMA Photo. 1914 shows a cloaked statue which is considerably larger than the normal Tekenu ; probably it is not a Tekenu but a funerary bust, an opinion which Miss Moss endorses.

⁵⁰ *Reallexikon*, p. 774.



⁵¹ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 26 B.

⁵² Von Bissing, *Da Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 18.

⁵³ Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 35, fig. 8.

⁵⁴ 'Étude sur Abydos' in *PSBA*, 15, pp. 443 ff (1893). For the hides in the temple at Abydos see the stela, München Glyptothek 27=Sethe, *Lesest.* 74. lines 19 ff. and W. E. Crum, in *PSBA*, 16, pp. 131 ff. (1894).


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the  (read ).⁵⁵ He points out that *mskꜣ* is used of a man's skin and that it is often used of Sēth and of the beats representing him. The Ritual of the Embalmment speaks of 'the good burial of the skin of Sēth'.⁵⁶

As for the *mskt*, it is mentioned in the Metternich Stela, 74-6, where Isis says to Horus, 'Thou art my son in the midst of *Mskt*, thou who camest forth from Nu'. Lefébure concludes that it is closely connected with the *mskꜣ*, which was originally a simple shroud or canopy of hide. The *mskt* was the underworld, 'the country of the skin of the typhonian bull, where Gods and spirits were engulfed'.⁵⁷ He accepts the theory that the Tekenu was a human being who was to provide a real or fictitious sacrifice, although he makes him in the later stage to be the bearer of a sacrificial symbol rather than a sacrificial victim in himself.⁵⁸


Much of this must be classified as unwarranted theorizing. One has to reject the alleged relationship between *mskꜣ* and *mskt* which forms the basis of the whole interpretation. There is something to be said, however, in favour of the Sēthian meanings ascribed to the *mskꜣ*. It conforms, at any rate, to the Sēthian symbolism of the bull-sacrifice. One can accept, too, the statement that the Tekenu was the bearer of a sacrificial symbol. This is highly probable. But whether there was previously a real or fictitious sacrifice of a human being is another matter.

Most interpretations of the rite connected with the Tekenu accept its significance as a Sēthian sacrifice. Moret⁵⁹ develops Maspero's ideas, claiming that the sacrifice symbolizes the new life which accrues to the deceased. In accordance with this, he would read *whm 'nh* instead of *ndm 'nh* in the Paheri inscription,⁶⁰ translating '(la terre) qui renouvelle la vie'. He translates

 from the text of Rekhmirē as 'la terre de transformation'.⁶¹

Other sections of his book are even more tendentious and fanciful.

From a review of these discussions it is seen that the two main lines of approach remain those adopted by Davies and Maspero respectively. In favour of the former's theory that the Tekenu is a survival of the ancient mode of burial is the fact that bodies buried in predynastic times were sometimes

⁵⁵ Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, 17, 79-80; cf. 80-1: 'As for him who has passed pure thought the midst of the , he is Anubis...' Lefébure compares also Spell 176.

⁵⁶ Maspero, *Sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 40.

⁵⁷ Lefébure, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

⁵⁸ Id., *La vertu du sacrifice funéraire* in *Sphinx* 8 (1904), p. 18.

⁵⁹ A. Moret, *Mystères Egyptiens*. (Paris 1911). Moret is broadly followed by E. S. Thomas, *The Magic Skin*, in *Anc. Egypt* 1920, pp. 3-8, and 1923, pp. 46-54.

⁶⁰ Tylor-Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri*, pl. v; Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

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wrapped in the skin of an animal.⁶² Further, the Egyptians were fond of keeping the old alongside of the new. This tendency, however, would appear in an extreme form in this connection, since it would involve a duplication of the corpse. The provision even of an inanimate simulacrum as the Tekenu would seem a highly unnatural procedure.

The association of the Tekenu with the prehistoric contracted burial is stressed by G. van der Leeuw⁶³ in an article which is designed to support a certain interpretation of that mode of burial with evidence from the Egyptian rite. It is claimed that the contracted position in burial was an attempt to imitate the shape of the human embryo and thereby to ensure rebirth for the deceased person. Applied to the Tekenu, this view is found to be confirmed through a pretty close adherence to Moret's theory of rebirth by means of an embryo enclosed in an animal skin.⁶⁴

His treatment of the 'Egyptian parallels' is brief, but an interpretation of the word Tekenu is essayed: "Näher kommende" oder vielleicht "der Naha, Vertraute", the part being taken by a representative of the deceased, usually the *sem*-priest. Without discussing the view of the contracted burial which van der Leeuw proposes for this practice generally, it may be objected that the Egyptians did not know of the human embryo as a figure of this shape. The child of Nut in a New Kingdom ostrakon is sitting up in his mother's womb.⁶⁵

There is little evidence, on the other hand, to support Maspero's theory. His idea of the human sacrifice comes merely from the association of the Tekenu in one tomb representation with the sacrifice of Nubians. Actually that representation suggests rather that the Tekenu consisted of the parts of a bull which were placed into a pit. Moreover, a human victim to be killed near the tomb would surely have had to walk in the funeral procession with his hands tied behind him; had he been killed previously, he would be lying and not crouching on the sledge.⁶⁶ A reference to the sacrifice might also have been expected in

⁶² Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 243. British Museum, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections* (1930), p. 231. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (London, 1924), p. 34.

⁶³ *Das sog. Hockerbegräbnis und der ägyptische tjknw.* in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 14 (1938), pp. 151-67.

⁶⁴ He sometimes criticizes Moret for lack of precision (cf. p. 165, n. 1) and rejects his translation of *twn-mwt. f* as 'la peau est sa mère'. But he accepts his main position, and after quoting the strictures of Kees on the theories of Maspero and Moret, says: 'Hier rächt sich die religionsgeschichtliche Unkenntnis der Aegyptologen'. (p. 165). His statement, *ibid.*, that the King is always depicted as a dead person in the *sed-halle* is incorrect.

⁶⁵ See Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, 2-4 (1924), fig. 7 (ed. H. Bonnet). Bonnet gives here a reproduction of Daressy, *Ostraca*, pl. 15. The child's shape reminds one of the hieroglyph for a child. For the Egyptians' ignorance of the embryo cf. Grapow, *Anatomie und Physiologie* (Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter, 1), p. 89.

⁶⁶ This criticism would apply also to Davies' theory. Why should the crouching position of the burial be followed on the sledge in the procession? That would not seem necessary nor very practicable. Further, unlike the corpse in a contracted burial (cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 34), the Tekenu crouches face-downwards.

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the concomitant texts. These, however, as many have remarked, are all of a peaceful kind, and, apart from the references to the people who bear the sledge, are concerned generally with the welfare of the deceased.

There are reasons for believing that in some cases⁶⁷ the person crouching under the hide on the sledge is a priest, and that he is none other than the *sem*-priest who later on in the ceremonies takes such a prominent part. Perhaps the Tekenu is the name given to him to define a special rôle which he assumes in the ceremonies.

It is a striking fact that a scene in the funerary ceremonies subsequent to the arrival of the cortège shows the *sem*-priest sleeping under a skin, and it is to the credit of Moret, although his essay is unreliable in other ways, that he noticed the similarities between this scene and the appearance of the Tekenu. The sleeping of the *sem*-priest is placed by Baly⁶⁸ in the beginning of the rites at the tomb, immediately following the purification of the statue. This position of the incident accords with the leading part assumed by the *sem*-priest in most of the ceremonies, such as the animal sacrifices, the Anagnorisis, and the opening of the mouth. He has to be aroused early from his sleep under the hide, and in the subsequent scenes he appears in a panther-skin.

The similarity between the sleeping *sem*-priest and the crouching Tekenu can hardly be merely fortuitous. Their posture and their covering of hide compel one to connect them. Moreover, it is at the beginning of the ceremonies that the *sem* sleeps, immediately after the arrival of the cortège, which suggests, if the connection can be assumed, that the Tekenu is simply transferred from sledge to couch.

In support of this it may be noted that both *sem*-priest and Tekenu are associated with Horus. The main rôle of the *sem*-priest is that of His Beloved Son. He is Horus who recognizes Osiris in the deceased. It is he, too, who orders the sacrifice of the bull.⁶⁹ The Tekenu is also connected with the slaughter of a bull, for the word is written above the parts of a bull placed in a pit, as we have already seen.⁷⁰ That the word is there not a direct designation of those parts but rather of the person who has had them placed there is suggested by the clear reference of the word elsewhere to a man (e.g. Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*,

⁶⁷ 21 (User); 42 (Amenmose); 69 (Menna); 295 (Dhutmose). Apart from 42 they have not been classified above as containing a Tekenu. They are placed in the Moss Subject-Index as 'Cloaked Priests' with the sub-caption 'sleeping and waking in rites before mummies'. Cf. also Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. 107.

⁶⁸ *JEA*, 16, p. 176, cf. Maspero. *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, (Paris 1907) p. 154, fig. 157, from the tomb of Menna, and id., *Le rituel du sacrifice funéraire*, in *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* (Paris 1893), p. 298; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, (1934 ed.), p. 267.

⁶⁹ Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, pl. iv, 9 ff., Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. 107; Daressy in *ASAE*, 13, p. 264 and Golénischeff, *CGC*, 58036, p. 251; in Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, II, pl. 1, line 1 the order is given by the lector-priest and the *sem*-priest together.

⁷⁰ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 9, reg. 1.

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Pl. 83, quoted above). While there is no mention in the texts of the burial of the parts of a bull nor of the Tekenu in connection with the sacrifice of a bull, it is to be noted that the slaughter of this animal is sometimes represented twice in the same series of rites.⁷¹ Baly⁷² is of the opinion that the second representation is a meaningless reduplication of the first, but it may be that while the first sacrifice was offered to the deceased, the second was placed into a pit. Such a distinction, it must be admitted, is by no means supported by the texts, which are similar for both rites. If the phrase *rdt r t3*, used often in this context, be taken as 'place into the ground' (e.g. Schiaparelli, op. cit., pl. iv, 16-17, 'place the foreleg and the heart into the ground in the presence of Osiris-N'), it would seem that the offered parts in each case found their way eventually to a burial pit. The parts connected with the Tekenu in such a pit include the foreleg and the heart, so that the linking of the matter with the texts describing sacrifices of bulls can hardly be avoided.⁷³ Of these rites Davies⁷⁴ notes as many as four in his numbering of the funerary episodes; his second episode is a 'propitiatory sacrifice of a bullock to Re'; his 21st concerns 'bound and slaughtered oxen'; his 53rd 'an ox sacrificed before the tomb'; and his 68th 'placing a foreleg of meat in the tomb'.

At this point it should be observed that Davies is not prepared to identify the Tekenu and the sleeping *sem*-priest. An example of the latter occurs in the tomb of Rekhmirē, and this is what Davies⁷⁵ has to say about it:

The *sem*-priest in this drama evidently stands for the son. He is more often shown lying on his back on the couch in this episode, but sitting up in the next one. It may be that a variant version thought of him as seeing his father in a dream. If so, the yellow-striped garment he wears is probably a bedgown.

Davies, then, will not recognize a hide in this dress. His interpretation, it must be frankly said, seems rather whimsical. Sleeping and waking, in a funerary context, invites an Osirian explanation, for Osiris is *par excellence* the god who sleeps and wakes, i.e. who dies and lives again.⁷⁶ If the *sem*-priest as Horus simulates this action, he must, as Davies suggests, be directing its purpose to his father, but it seems quite unnecessary to invoke a dream-motif. Although

⁷¹ E.g. Schiaparelli, op. cit., pl. iv, 9 ff. and vi, 4 ff.

⁷² *JEA*, 16, p. 176.

⁷³ Cf. Kees, *Totenglauben* (2nd ed., 1956), p. 251. His view is that the Tekenu was a *simulacrum* of the deceased, buried with the parts of a bull, and intended as a scapegoat which should bear the sufferings of the deceased in death.

⁷⁴ *Rekh-mi-rē*, pp. 71 ff.


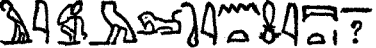

⁷⁵ Op. cit., p. 76.

⁷⁶ In no. 295, above the sitting *sem*-priest, are the words 'The sleeper awakes, the *sem*-priest sits. . .'. Cf. Colin Campbell, *Two Theban Princes*, p. 102 and plate facing. In no. 42 (Amenmose) the 'lying' scene is separated from the 'sitting up' scene—they are in different registers in fact, see MMA Photo 3445, registers 4 and 5. They should nevertheless be regarded as linked. In 295, as in *Rekh-mi-rē*, the dress is striped.

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the Tekenu seems sometimes to be identified with the *sem*-priest in this episode, it must be acknowledged that the evidence for that is limited. Perhaps it was confined to one later phase in the interpretation of the Tekenu ceremonial.

It may now be convenient, at the risk of some repetition, to give a conspectus of the accompanying texts. They may be grouped into seven statements.

- (1) ‘Dragging the Tekenu ’. (60); ‘Dragging the Kenu to this necropolis ’.
 (Renni ; cf. 15.)
- (2) ‘ . . . to the western upland, in peace, in peace, to Osiris, to the places
 of the lords of eternity ’. (*Sḥtēp-īb-rē*’).
- (3) ‘ Dragging the Tekenu by the people of Ḳed and the *sꜣ-srkt*-priest,
 going out . . . and coming in (?) four times . . . by the northern nomes
 (?)’. (82; cf. 224 and ‘people of Keden’ in 39).
- (4) ‘Causing to come to the city a hide with a Tekenu which lies under it in
Š Hpr’. (100).
- (5) ‘Coming of the Tekenu to the necropolis, coming in peace (by ?) the
 people of Pe, the people of Dep, the people of *Ht-(wrt)-kꜣw*’. (24).
- (6) ‘He who stoops () comes’. (15; see G. Legrain in
 Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, p. 17).
- (7) ‘Dragging the Tekenu by the people of Dep to the necropolis, Horus
 (?) being the lion-shaped who is like a man from the city’. (17, where
 W. Max Müller in *Mitt. der Vorderasiat. Gesell.* 1914, 2 (114) reads the
 latter part  and translates ‘(zur
 Unterwelt) des Horus (?) . . . als Löwengestaltiger (?) der (ist) wie (!)
 Himmel und Erde’. The text in 53 (see Davies, *Notebooks*, 7) suggests
 that *nwtwy* may be the last word: ‘Coming of the Tekenu to the
 necropolis, sitting  lion-shaped like a man from the
 city’.

The text of 53 has not received attention, simply because it has not been accessible. But in conjunction with that of 17 it shows that the skin carried by the Tekenu was that of a lion, and that it was the duty of a 'man from the city' to carry it, the idea being that in so doing he was impersonating Horus in his form as a lion. Both are XVIIIth Dynasty texts, and the word *Rwty*, which occurs as a designation of Shu and Tefenet as a lion-pair (*Wb.* III, 403 (10)), is here clearly used of the deity who in 17 is named as Horus, although the writing is somewhat unusual. The *Wörterbuch* (III, 403 (11)) knows *Rwty* also as a designation of the sun-god and quotes from the tomb of Aba (36) a mention of *Rwty* as 'he who came forth from the dusk'; in one case (Lepsius, *Tb.* 165, 4) Amûn is called *Rwty*, no doubt as a variant of Amûn-Rê'. In the Pyramid Texts, however, Horus is twice associated with the lion: 'It has been commanded to him (Horus) that a lion defend thee (the King)' (*Pyr.* 436b); Horus comes 'with a lion head-dress on his head' (*Pyr.* 973a; more precisely, with a

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lion head surmounted by an uraeus serpent). But the exact reference of *Rwty* in these texts is uncertain ; in *Pyr.* 2081*b* he is parallel to Atum ; *Pyr.* 2086*a* mentions the ' house of *Rwty* '.

The connection of the Tekenu with Horus is suggested also by the places mentioned in the texts. A place *Ḳed* is mentioned, and it may be that this is a place referred to in the Book of the Dead, Spell 110, 4 (ed. Naville) : ' Horus has been seized by Sēth, who beholds the Two Eyes in *Ḳed* near Sekhet-Ḳetep '. The form *Keden* in 39 suggests that it may be rather the *Ḳedem* of the Pyramid Texts, the place where Horus, after vanquishing Sēth, pays homage to the eldest daughter of Osiris (*Pyr.* 1008*a*). But neither of these places can be confidently localized. The meaning ' eastern land ' is suggested (*Wb.* iv, 82) for *Ḳedem*, but that does not help much. On the other hand, *Pe* and *Dep* are mentioned in the texts as places from where the haulers of the Tekenu come ; so is *Ḳt-wrt-ḳꜣw*, which seems also to be a town of the Western Delta—it is named in *Pyr.* 189*a* after *Dep* (188*a*) in a series of cultic allusions. Further, a priest called the ' son of Selket ' has once (82) a part in pulling the Tekenu ; this scorpion-goddess is Lower Egyptian in origin, and is paired with Neith of Sais as a protective goddess of the dead, as a counterpart to Isis and Nephthys.⁷⁷

Taken together, the place-names invite association with another funerary rite, namely the dance of the *Mww*. Junker⁷⁸ in his well-known exposition of this rite in its relation to the ancient ' Butic Burial ' shows that the voyage undertaken in this early ceremonial was originally to Sais, Behbet and Heliopolis, and then back to Buto ; the *Mww* themselves he considers to be the dead kings of Buto, the ancestors of the ruler, and he equates them with the ' souls of *Pe* '. The prominence of Buto in the Tekenu ceremony suggests that it also was a part of the ' Butic Burial ' and that it took place originally after the voyagers had returned to Buto for the final ceremonies. Not only do the place-names of the Tekenu texts suggest this link ; its Horian significance suits a Butic reference very well ; and there is moreover the striking fact that in the great majority of instances the Tekenu ceremony is depicted near the dance of the *Mww*. Another rite which often occurs near it is the raising of the obelisks, which Junker also places in the Butic pattern, giving it a Heliopolitan significance. For some reason Junker has not regarded the Tekenu as forming a related episode. Bonnet⁷⁹ has suggested this, giving as evidence the mention of the ' northern nomes ' in 82 and the rôle of the priest of Selket. It will be seen that the sum total of the testimony to a Butic origin of the Tekenu far exceeds these two items.

Both Bonnet and Kees, by the way, retain the old translation ' city of the hide '. Kees⁸⁰ would deny a Butic connection, suggesting that an expression

⁷⁷ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 58.

⁷⁸ *Mitt. Kairo*, 9 (1940), pp. 1-39.

⁷⁹ *Reallexikon*, p. 775.

⁸⁰ *Totenglauben* (2nd ed.), p. 251. The fact that the Tekenu occurs only in private tombs confirms its Butic origin. Cf. Junker, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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like 'the lake of Kheper' has affiliations rather with the mythic afterworld of which Amduat is a part. That may well be. There is no reason why a ceremony originating in very early times should not attract in time various ideological accretions. This is not to say that the original meaning can be boldly announced. If the skin carried by the Tekenu was a lion skin associated with Horus, it is not easy to know whether the association with the god was original. Probably in the first place it is the prehistoric burial in a skin which is at the basis of the rite. When the type of burial changed, the bearer of the skin conducted the sacrifice of a bull with all the beneficent influence involved in such a rite. The name Tekenu throws little light on his rôle. Perhaps it means simply 'he who approaches'.⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS

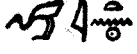
- (1) Although the sacrifice of Nubians is shown in one tomb near the ceremony of dragging the Tekenu, there was no inherent connection between the rites.
- (2) Whether the sacrifice of the Nubians was actually carried out remains an open question.
- (3) It is very unlikely that the ceremony of the Tekenu involved the killing of a human victim; what it did involve was the slaughter of a bull.
- (4) Like the dance of the *Mww* and the raising of the obelisks, the Tekenu ceremony belonged to the ancient Butic Burial, and took place originally when the voyagers had returned to Buto.
- (5) The Tekenu carried the skin of a lion, which at one stage was associated with Horus.

⁸¹ There is probably no connection with the god Tekemy or Tekem or Rekem; cf. Alan Rowe in *ASAE*, 40, pp. 14-15.

Das Jahr des Regierungsantritts König Taharqas

Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie


by G. SCHMIDT

DIE Veröffentlichung der Stelen Taharqas aus Kawa, dem  der Ägypter, durch Macadam¹ hat die Diskussion über die historischen Ereignisse während der Regierungszeit dieses Königs, insbesondere aber über den Zeitpunkt seines Regierungsantrittes, in den letzten Jahren wieder belebt.² Dabei gingen besonders die Meinungen über das Datum des Regierungsantrittes auseinander. Während Macadam an Hand der neugefundenen Stelen eine sechsjährige Koregenz Schabataka – Taharqa annimmt,³ machten Leclant und Yoyotte ernste Gegenargumente geltend, die eine eingehende Untersuchung wohl verdienen.

Im Folgenden soll der Versuch gemacht werden, durch eine nochmalige Durchsicht des vorhandenen Materials vielleicht doch noch einen Schritt weiterzukommen. Sollte das gelingen, so mögen diese Zeilen darin ihre Berechtigung finden.

Auszugehen haben wir, wie das auch in der Vergangenheit bei der Betrachtung der Chronologie der 25. Dynastie geschehen ist,⁴ von der Serapeumstele Louvre Nr. 190⁵. Diese in allen einschlägigen Werken dafür herangezogene Inschrift gibt uns für das 1. Jahr Psammetichs I. ein astronomisch gesichertes Datum⁶. Es wird dort berichtet, dass ein Apis, der im 26. Jahre des Taharqa geboren wurde, im 20. Jahre Psammetichs I. am 20. Tage

¹ M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa (Oxford University Excavations in Nubia)* I *The Inscriptions*; II *History and Archaeology of the site*. London 1949, 1955.—Der

Ortsname ist schon unter Tutanchamun in Kawa in der Form  belegt (Stele des Panacht: *Kawa*, I, pl. 2, 3). Wahrscheinlich erhielt die Stadt den Namen erst unter Echnaton, obwohl die ältesten Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich stammen (Stat. xvIA, xviB, xvII), falls diese nicht dahin verschleppt worden sind (vgl. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* S. 148, Anm. 4).

² J. J. Clère, *BiOr*, 8 (1951) pp. 174–80. J. Leclant-J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 51 (1952) pp. 1–29. Dieslb., *Kémi*, 10 (1949) pp. 28–37; 90. J. Jansen, *Biblica*, 34 (1953) pp. 23–43. Einzelne Bemerkungen auch bei Wilson, *JNES*, XII (1954) p. 64.

³ *a.a.O.*, p. 19.

⁴ Ed. Meyer, *G.d.A.*³ II, 2, S. 56f.; Scharff-Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (München 1950) S. 179; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*³ p. 566f.; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien (ÄFo* 14) S. 13.

⁵ Chassinat, *RT*, 22 (1900) p. 19; übersetzt und kommentiert in *AR*, IV §§ 959 ff.

⁶ Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* (Kairo 1935) S. 66.

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des iv. *šmw* starb und in dessen 21. Jahre am 25. Tage des II. *ḫ.t* begraben wurde, 'das macht 21 Jahre, 2 Monate und 7 Tage'⁷. Daraus ergibt sich als Erstes die Tatsache, dass zur Zeit Psammetichs das Regierungsjahr mit dem Neujahrstage des bürgerlichen Jahres begann, da die Jahreszählung der Stele zwischen dem iv. *šmw* und dem II. *ḫ.t* wechselt.

Nun hat man bisher allgemein angenommen, dass das hier erwähnte 26. Jahr des Taharqa sein letztes gewesen ist. Diese Annahme hält jedoch einer Überprüfung nicht stand. Rechnen wir nämlich vom 20. Tage des iv. *šmw*, dem Todestage des Apis, die 21^a 2^m 7^d seiner Lebenszeit zurück bis ins 26. Jahr des Taharqa, so ergibt diese Rechnung die Notwendigkeit der Einsetzung eines vollen 27. Jahres dieses Königs. Er muss dann in seinem 28. Jahre gestorben sein, das Psammetich als sein 1. rechnete. Die im Folgenden gegebene graphische Darstellung möge das veranschaulichen:

26.T.	27.T.	28.T/1.P.	2.P.	19.P.	20.P.
X. 13.	21 ^a 2 ^m 7 ^d				XII. 20.

Wir sehen also, dass selbst dann ein 27. und 28. Jahr berücksichtigt werden muss, wenn wir die 2 Monate und 7 Tage der Breastedschen Lesung unberücksichtigt lassen. In dieses 27. Jahr gehört dann auch das Einführungsdatum des Apis in Memphis, das als iv. *pr.t*, Tag 9, ohne Jahresnennung, gegeben wird. Daraus erhält man dann folgende Daten:

Geburt:	Taharqa	Jahr 26	[II. <i>šmw</i> Tag 13]	= [X. 13.]
Einführung:	[„ „ 27]	IV. <i>pr.t</i> „ 9	= VIII. 9.	
Tod:	Psammetich I.	„ 20	IV. <i>šmw</i> „ 20	= XII. 20.
Bestattung:	„ „ 21	II. <i>ḫ.t</i> „ 25	= II. 25.	
Alter:	21 ^a 2 ^m 7 ^d .			

Die Zeit zwischen Tod und Bestattung, XII. 20. bis II. 25., beläuft sich auf genau 70 Tage, das ist die Zeit, die aus dem Osirisritual für die Bestattungszereemonien bekannt ist⁸.

Die in Klammern eingesetzten Daten sind aus dem Zusammenhang errechnet, wobei darauf hinzuweisen wäre, dass wir bei der Berechnung des Geburtsdatums des Apis die nicht ganz sicheren 2 Monate und 7 Tage berücksichtigt haben.

Borchardt hat berechnet, dass die Einführung an einem kalendarischen Vollmondtag stattfand und gibt diesen an mit dem 11. September 664 jul.⁹

⁷ Die Angabe der 2 Monate und 7 Tage ist einigermaßen unsicher. Ausser in Breasteds Bearbeitung (s. Anm. 5) wird sie in keiner der Veröffentlichungen gegeben. (Mariettes Erstpublikation: *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, pl. 36 ist mir nicht zugänglich.) Breasted hat sie nach seiner eigenen Kopie der Stele wiedergegeben (*a.a.O.*, Anm. a.).

⁸ Cf. Otto, *Stierkulte* (= *Unters.* 13) S. 22. – Das Bruchstück eines solchen Bestattungsrituals für Apisstiere – allerdings erst aus ptolemäischer Zeit – hat Spiegelberg in *ZAS*, 56 (1920), S. 1ff. veröffentlicht.

⁹ *Mitteil* S. 66.

DAS JAHR DES REGIERUNGSANTRITTS KÖNIG TAHARQAS

Es ergibt sich daraus die Folgerung, dass wir jetzt die bisherige Ansetzung Taharqas – und demzufolge auch die seiner Vorgänger Schabataka und Schabaka – um ein Jahr hinaufsetzen müssen. In Daten der absoluten Chronologie umgesetzt bedeutet dies : Das 1. Jahr Psammetichs I. = 28. Jahr Taharqas ist auf 663/62 festgelegt. Danach müssen wir Taharqas 1. Jahr mit 690/89 statt wie bisher mit 689/88 ansetzen.

Eine andere Frage, die sich schwieriger gestaltet, ist die nach der von Macadam angenommenen sechsjährigen Koregenz Schabataka–Taharqa¹⁰. In der Diskussion dieses Problems geht Macadam aus von der Stele Kawa iv, 11–13 :

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lediglich ein Hinweis dafür, dass Taharqa sich unmittelbar nach seiner Erhebung zum König¹⁴ dem verfallenden Tempel widmete. Dieser ganze Satz (Z. 11–13) wäre dann als Präambel zu der folgenden Proklamation des Tempelbaues (Z. 13ff.) aufzufassen, die mit der Rede des Königs an die Höflinge beginnt. Auf diesen Tempelbau bezieht sich dann die Nennung des 6. Jahres, wohingegen die Vorrede auf das 1. Jahr, das Jahr des Regierungswechsels, Bezug nimmt.

So liessen sich die verschiedenen Ereignisse mühelos in einen inneren Zusammenhang stellen,¹⁵ ohne dass die Notwendigkeit zur Annahme einer sechsjährigen Koregenz bestünde. In der Tat hat diese Auffassung vieles für sich, wie sich auch im Folgenden zeigen wird.

Aus dem bisher Gesagten ist schon zu ersehen, dass der Versuch der Klärung dieser Frage auszugehen hat von einer möglichst genauen und vollständigen Erfassung des Begriffes *ḥj*.

Nach dem Wörterbuch¹⁶ dient er 'meist als Ausdruck für die Thronbesteigung'. Damit ist jedoch noch nichts ausgesagt über die Differenzierung von Regierungsantritt und Krönung, zwischen denen doch eine mehr oder minder weite Zeitspanne liegt. Černý¹⁷ und Borchardt¹⁸ haben diesen Begriff in der Bedeutung 'Krönung' verwendet, wogegen sich, m. E. mit Recht, Schaedel wendet¹⁹, der ihn mit 'erstes offizielles Erscheinen, Regierungsantritt' definiert. Dazu muss bemerkt werden, dass diese beiden Deutungen nicht in allen Fällen zutreffend sind, in denen das Wort *ḥj* in den Texten erscheint. Es hat sich nämlich gezeigt, dass eine allzu enge Anwendung zu Irrtümern Anlass geben kann.²⁰ Um solche Fehldeutungen möglichst zu vermeiden, ist es erforderlich, jede Textstelle sorgsam auf ihren Kontext bzw. auf Parallelstellen hin zu prüfen, um alle Möglichkeiten, die diesem so komplexen Begriff innewohnen, auf den Grad ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit hin zu untersuchen. Das soll hier mit den Texten des Taharqa unternommen werden. Es mag dabei von Anfang an nicht verhehlt werden, dass sich nicht in allen Fällen eine Klarheit erzielen lässt, dass vielmehr die Belege, die m. E. eine eindeutige Festlegung auf die eine oder andere Deutung gestatten, verhältnismässig selten sind.

In den Stelentexten aus Kawa begegnet uns *ḥj* in den Stelen IV, 12 ; 13 ; 15, V, 5 ; 10, VI, 24 und VII, 15. Dabei sind IV und V die bei weitem bedeutendsten und aufschlussreichsten Erwähnungen. VI ist für unsere Betrachtung unwesentlich, während sich VII in zerstörtem Kontext findet.

¹⁴ Da Leclant und Yoyotte eine Koregenz in Zweifel ziehen (*a.a.O.*, p. 21, cf. auch p. 27), ist die Frage nach Regierungsantritt oder Thronbesteigung hier irrelevant.

¹⁵ s. die chronologische Ordnung bei Leclant-Yoyotte *a.a.O.*, p. 21.

¹⁶ *Wb*, III, 239, 15.

¹⁷ *ZAS*, 72, 114.

¹⁸ *ZAS*, 73, 60ff.

¹⁹ *ZAS*, 74, 98.

²⁰ so z.B. Gardiner *JEA*, 31 (1945), p. 25ff. bei Thutmosis II. und Amenophis III. Hier soll *ḥj* lediglich das offizielle Erscheinen des Königs zu einer Audienz bezeichnen (cf. Helck, *Unters. zu Manetho und den äg. Königslisten* = *Unters.*, 18 (1956), S. 66 Anm. 1).

DAS JAHR DES REGIERUNGSANTRITTS KÖNIG TAHARQAS


Am eindeutigsten ist IV, 11f.: ‘*Das Herz S.M. wurde darüber* (über den Verfall des Tempels) *traurig*,




‘bis S.M. als König (von Oberägypten) erschien, gekrönt als König von Ober- und Unterägypten²¹ und die “beiden Herrinnen” (d.h. die Doppelkrone) auf seinem Haupte befestigt wurden²² und sein Name wurde: “Horus, hoch an Diademen”. Hier ist die Deutung *ḥ’j* = ‘krönen’ durch den Zusammenhang an die Hand gegeben, denn das Befestigen der Kronen auf seinem Haupt sowie die Annahme des Horusnamens²³ ist schwerlich anders aufzufassen. Den endgültigen Beweis für die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme liefert ein Relief an der Nordseite des Raumes H im Tempel T in Kawa, das die Krönungszeremonie darstellt.²⁴ Dort steht der König zwischen Thot und Horus, die ihm die Doppelkrone aufsetzen. Die Beischrift hinter Thot lautet²⁵:




‘Ich befestige dir die Doppelkrone²⁸ auf deinem Haupt. Ihr (der Krone) Geliebter ist Taharqa, möge er leben wie Re ewiglich’.

Weniger präzise lässt sich die Stelle IV, 13 fassen: 

(er erinnerte sich an diesen Tempel, den er als Jüngling gesehen hatte,) 'im ersten Jahre seines Erscheinens'. Hier steht *h'f* ohne ein folgendes *m nšw.t* o.ä. Wir müssen sie wohl im Zusammenhang mit IV, 15 sehen, wo ebenfalls von der Sorge um den Tempel die Rede ist: 'Er (Amun) war es, der diesen Tempel bewahrte

 bis es geschah, dass ich als König erschien'. Im

Folgenden ist von Zuwendungen²⁷ an den Tempel die Rede, die nach Ausweis der Stele III vom 2. Jahre des Taharqa an gemacht wurden. Dazu sei festgestellt, dass Taharqa erst von dem Augenblick an für den Tempel sorgen

²¹ Derselbe Ausdruck auch bei Hatschepsut (*Urk.*, iv, 262, 8):  S. dazu

jedoch Gardiner, *a.a.O.*, p. 26 ; Schott, *Nachr. d. Ak. d. Wiss. Gött.* 1955, S. 201ff.

²² *šmn* i.S.v. 'befestigen' der Kronen wird auch in Texten, die die Krönung eines mythischen Herrschers, z.B. Osiris, beschreiben, gebraucht; cf. Schäfer *Unters.*, 4 (1904), S. 26 = Denkstein des Jj-hr-nfr.t, Berlin 1204, Z.20; s. auch Sethe, *Dram. Texte* S. 21.

²³ Vgl. Müller, *Die formale Entw. d. Titulatur d. äg. Könige* (= *ÄgFo*, 7, 1938) S. 8ff.

²⁴ Macadam, *Kawa*, II, pl. xxii, c ; s. auch p. 95f.


²⁵ Ich gebe hier nur diese. Hinter Horus befand sich ebenfalls eine Beischrift, die bis auf geringe Reste zerstört ist. Aus den erhaltenen Resten lässt sich jedoch erkennen, dass sie mit obiger identisch war.


²⁶ *šhm.tj*; der Paralleltext hat *nb.tj*  .

²⁷ *mnw* ; s. dazu Leclant-Yoyotte *a.a.O.* p. 21, n. 1.


konnte, in dem er alleiniger König war, d.h. nachdem eine eventuelle Mitregentschaft mit dem Tode des Schabataka erloschen war. Das könnte eine Erklärung dafür sein, dass die frühesten Zuwendungen in sein 2. Jahr fallen. Wenn er sich nach den genannten Textstellen die Sorge um den Tempel jedoch vom Zeitpunkt seines 'Erscheinens' an angelegen sein liess, so hätten wir in dem Falle an beiden Stellen in *h'j* (*m njšw.t*) ebenfalls einen Hinweis auf die Krönung zu sehen. Da vorher (Z. 11f.) von dieser die Rede war, liegt hier eine solche Annahme wohl auch nicht allzu fern. Jedenfalls fiel sie dann auf einen späteren Zeitpunkt als der Regierungsantritt, von dem an die Denkmäler datieren.


Es zeigt sich dabei, dass beide Ausdrücke, *h'j* und *h'j m njšw.t*, völlig gleichbedeutend für ein und dasselbe Ereignis gebraucht werden.

Dies ist auch der Fall in v, 5 and v, 10. Einem: '*Wunder geschahen zur Zeit S.M.*  *im 6. Jahre seines Erscheinens*' (v. 5) steht dort ein:

'*Mein Vater Amun-Ré, der Herr der Throne beider Länder, hat für mich diese vier schönen Wunder vollbracht* 

in einem einzigen Jahre, im 6. Jahre meines Erscheinens als König (von Oberägypten)' gegenüber. Hier hilft uns die Jahreszahl 6 bei der Interpretation. Da die Stele ins 6. Jahr Taharqas datiert ist (Z. 1), nach dem eben Gesagten aber die Jahreszählung mit dem Jahr der Übernahme der Regierung beginnt, die Krönung jedoch auf ein späteres Datum fiel, ist es wohl erlaubt, dass wir in diesen beiden Aussagen *h'j* als Terminus für den Regierungsantritt annehmen.

In VI, 24 begegnet  in der Rede Alaras an Amun. Ersterer bittet diesen um Schutz für seine Schwester sowie für deren Nachkommen, zu denen auch Taharqa gehört. In diesem Zusammenhang steht auch die Bitte, diese Nachkommen als Könige 'erscheinen' zu lassen. Dass hier die Krönung gemeint ist, könnte möglich sein, doch ist der ganze Passus so unbestimmt, dass sich Näheres aus ihm nicht entnehmen lässt. Ausserdem trägt er zur Förderung der Frage nach dem Regierungsbeginn Taharqas nichts bei, so dass wir ihn ausser Acht lassen können.

Im zerstörten Kontext steht die Phrase: .

'*Erschienen als König von Ober- und Unterägypten auf dem Throne des Horus ewiglich*' am Ende von VII, 15. Da von den vorhergehenden Zeilen jeweils nur ein Drittel erhalten ist, lassen sich keinerlei Schlüsse aus dem Zusammenhang des Textes ableiten. Indes der Zusatz '*auf dem Throne des Horus*' könnte möglicherweise auf die Krönung Bezug nehmen.²⁸

²⁸ Cf. *Urk.*, IV, 166, 2 (Thutm. III.), 80, 9 (Thutm. I.); dies sind eindeutige Beispiele für die Krönung; s. aber *Urk.*, IV, 137, 10-12, wo *h'hr š.t Hr* nur ein offizielles Erscheinen des Königs im Palaste bezeichnet (s. dazu Helck, *a.a.O.*). Ebenso ist auch der Satz auf der 'Traumstele' Tanutamuns Z. 42 (*Urk.*, III, 77) aufzufassen. S. noch Pianchi Z. 58-9 (*Urk.*, III, 20).

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Man sieht also, dass sich für die Annahme einer sechsjährigen Koregenz Schabataka – Taharqa in den Stelen aus Kawa nirgends ein Hinweis findet.²⁹ Wie steht es aber mit den anderen datierten Denkmälern des Letzteren? Es sollen hier nur solche erwähnt werden, die in ein früheres als das 6. Jahr datiert sind, da nur sie uns dabei interessieren.

An erster Stelle wäre da aus Kawa selbst zu nennen die Stele Nr. III, die die Aufwendungen Taharqas an den Tempel in seinem 2.–8. Jahre aufzählt.³⁰ Sodann kennen wir eine Stele aus seinem 3. Jahre aus Medinet Habu.³¹ Auch Macadam erwähnt diese,³² ohne allerdings die notwendigen Schlüsse für seine chronologischen Folgerungen daraus zu ziehen. Des weiteren sind drei kursivhieratische Papyri bekannt, und zwar: Pap. Louvre E 3228d, datiert in das Jahr 3,³³ Pap. Louvre E 3228f aus dem Jahre 5³⁴ und Pap. Kairo 30884 aus dem gleichen Jahre.³⁵ Ausserdem ist in Karnak eine Kaiinschrift, ebenfalls aus dem Jahre 5, erhalten.³⁶

Hiernach dürfte es wohl kaum noch einem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die Macadamsche Theorie in dieser Form schwerlich richtig sein kann. Dass sie jedoch nicht ganz von der Hand zu weisen ist, könnte bei der Diskussion des Begriffes *h'j* schon aufgezeigt werden. Aus dem soeben dargelegten Material ergibt sich darüber hinaus, dass Datierungen aus den in Frage kommenden Jahren 2–5 gut bezeugt sind. Da keines dieser Dokumente eine Doppeldatierung trägt, kann das doch nur dahingehend gedeutet werden, dass Taharqa spätestens im Jahre 2 Alleinherrscher war, eine Tatsache, die wir bei der Behandlung von IV, 13; 15 schon festgestellt haben. Derselbe Text sagt an anderer Stelle von ihm, dass sein Vorgänger Schabataka ihn als Jüngling zu sich gerufen habe.³⁷ Das möchte ich nun so interpretieren, dass Schabataka Taharqa zu seinem

²⁹ Auch die von Macadam (*a.a.O.* p. 20, n. 30) als Argument angeführte Reise der Königinmutter nach Ägypten im 6. Jahre des Taharqa vermag ich nicht als beweiskräftig anzusehen.

³⁰ Macadam, *Kawa*, I, pl. 5, 6. Die Zahl 2 ist nicht erhalten, jedoch mit Sicherheit zu ergänzen, s. Macadam, *a.a.O.*, Text p. 9, n. 1.

³¹ Carter-Maspero, *ASAE*, IV (1903), pp. 178–80; cf. auch Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu*, vol. II, *The Temples of the eighteenth Dynasty*=*OIP*, 41, p. 34; s. *GLR*, IV, p. 31, I; ein Duplikat dieser Stele ist besprochen in *ASAE*, XVIII (1917), p. 190.

³² *a.a.O.*, p. 20, n. 36.

³³ M. Malinine, *Choix de Textes juridiques*, p. 35ff.; Malinine-Pirenne, *Archiv d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*, V (1950), p. 61f. (Doc. 34); Griffith, *Rylands Pap.*, III, p. 15 (2), 57f.; *GLR*, IV, p. 31, I.

³⁴ Griffith, *a.a.O.*, p. 15 (2); Ein weiterer Papyrus, Louvre 3228g, der wahrscheinlich ins 4. Jahr Taharqas gehört, ist von Revillot in *Rev. Ég.*, VII (1896), p. 129f. behandelt. Die Papyri des Louvre stammen aus Theben, der im Folgenden erwähnte Kairener aus Sakkara (s. Spiegelberg, *C.G.C.*, 39–40, Text p. 194, u. 349).

³⁵ Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyrus (C.G.C. 39–40, a.a.O. und pl. 67)*.

³⁶ Legrain, *ZAS*, 34 (1896), p. 115 Nr. 34; s. auch *GLR*, IV, p. 31, III u. Anm. 6, wo die richtige Lesung 'Jahr 5' gegenüber Legrain und *AR*, IV, § 888 wiedergegeben ist.

³⁷ *Kawa*, IV, 7–9; s. dazu auch Leclant-Yoyotte *a.a.O.*, p. 18f.

Nachfolger ausersehen hatte und ihn am Ende seiner Regierungszeit zu sich rief, um ihn zum Mitregenten zu bestimmen. Dieser hätte dann, wie schon ausgeführt wurde, das Jahr der Übernahme der Mitregentschaft als sein 1. Jahr gezählt. Da er aber bereits im 2. Jahre seinen Namen mit seiner offiziellen Titulatur auf den Denkmälern anbringen lässt, so kann daraus wohl geschlossen werden, dass Schabataka im Laufe dieses Jahres starb. Taharqas Zeit als Mitregent wird mithin allenfalls nur wenig über ein Jahr betragen haben; doch auch ein Zeitraum von nur wenigen Monaten wäre durchaus denkbar.

Gleichwohl möchte ich nicht versäumen, bei dieser Deutung des überlieferten Befundes noch einen Vorbehalt zu machen, der m.E. nicht übersehen werden darf: Die Stele Kawa III, die das Jahr 2, das niedrigste von Taharqa belegte, verzeichnet, wurde erst im Jahre 8 errichtet³⁸ und muss so nicht unbedingt als authentisches Zeugnis für das Jahr 2 gelten. In diesem Falle wäre das Datum auf Pap. Louvre E 3228d³⁹: 'Jahr 3, 1. *pr.t*, Tag 10' = III./5./10. das früheste belegbare.

Schliesslich müssen wir der Frage nach der Zählung der Regierungsjahre noch einige Worte widmen. Haben die Äthiopen in der Art des Neuen Reiches gezählt, indem sie das Regierungsjahr vom Tage der Thronbesteigung des jeweiligen Königs an rechneten, oder haben sie den schon aus der 12. Dynastie überlieferten⁴⁰ und in der Saitenzeit ebenfalls angewandten⁴¹ Brauch wieder aufgenommen, das letzte, unvollendete Jahr ihres Vorgängers resp. das Jahr, in dem sie zum Mitregenten ernannt wurden – und das ab 1. 1. des bürgerlichen Jahres gezählt wurde – als ihr 1. zu zählen? Ohne es streng nachweisen zu können, erscheint mir die zweite Möglichkeit als die wahrscheinlichere, da die Äthiopen eine Vorliebe zur Nachahmung und Übernahme von altehrwürdigen Einrichtungen und Traditionen hatten.⁴² Auch liesse sich dafür anführen, dass die eingangs besprochene Serapeumstele, in der der Wechsel vom 20. zum 21. Jahre Psammetichs I. am Neujahrstage des 21. Jahres eintritt, ihren inneren Zusammenhang nur behält, wenn man das letzte, das 28., Jahr des Taharqa dem 1. Psammetichs I. gleichsetzt. Das wiederum müsste zur Voraussetzung haben, dass dieser – und nach ihm alle Könige der saitischen Dynastie – die Art der Zählung ihrer Regierungsjahre von den Äthiopen übernommen hätte. Dieses scheint mir nicht gar so unmöglich zu sein, da die Saiten auch ansonsten in etlichen Einrichtungen an ihre Vorgänger anknüpfen.

³⁸ Aus diesem Jahre stammt die letzte Eintragung.

³⁹ s.o. Anm. 33.

⁴⁰ Edgerton, *JNES*, I (1942), p. 307ff.; Gardiner, *JEA*, 31 (1945), p. 21f.

⁴¹ Gardiner, *a.a.O.*, p. 17ff.

⁴² Hierbei sei noch auf die Parallelerscheinung hingewiesen, dass Inschriften der 25. Dynastie oft Stilelemente verwenden, die ihre Ausprägung schon im M. R. erfahren haben (cf. M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, VII (1948), p. 175f.) s. auch Gardiner, *Mél., Masp.*, p. 494, der ein Zitat aus der Lehre des Amenemhet in einer Tempelinschrift Taharqas in Kawa erwähnt. Für Zitate klassischer Literatur bei Pianchi vgl. den *a.a.O.*, 495 erwähnten Aufsatz von Griffith. – Zum Allgemeinen s. auch noch Griffith, *LAAA*, IX (1922), p. 70.

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Lassen sich also auf Tag und Monat genaue Daten für Taharqa an Hand des heutigen Materials noch nicht geben, so dürfen wir doch mit einiger Sicherheit für ihn folgende Daten in Anspruch nehmen: Geburt: 710 v. Chr.,⁴³ Beginn seiner Mitregentschaft mit Schabataka: 690 v. Chr., Tod Schabatakas und Beginn der Alleinregierung: 689 v. Chr., Tod: 663 v. Chr.⁴⁴

The Year of King Taharqa's Accession

(English Summary)

The publication by Macadam of Taharqa's steles at Kawa has revived discussion about the chronology of his reign. The foundation for this study remains the Serapeum stele of the xxvth Dynasty in the Louvre. This gives us an ascertained date for the first year of Psammetik I. The reference to the Apis, which was born in the 26th year of Taharqa, and died in the 20th year of Psammetik I, after a period of 21 years, two months, and seven days shows that Taharqa must have died in his 28th year, not his 26th year as has been assumed up to the present. Thus the chronology must be revised to give the 1st year of Taharqa's reign as 690–689 B.C., not 689–688 B.C.

The question of the period of co-regency of Shabataka and Taharqa is more difficult. It hangs on the interpretation of stele Kawa IV, 11–13: 'His Majesty's heart became sad over this, until his Majesty appeared as King, crowned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the "two mistresses" (the double crown) were made fast to his head . . . Then he remembered the temple which he had seen as a youth in the first year of his appearance'.

It is not clear whether this means that he saw the temple when he was a youth in the first year of his appearance, and later 'remembered' it; or whether he 'remembered' the temple in the first year of his appearance, having previously seen it as a youth. Macadam favours the former interpretation, and hence presumes that Taharqa was co-regent with Shabataka for six years. However, other evidence contradicts this.

The absence of double-dating of documents of the second to the fifth year of Taharqa's reign indicates that he was sole ruler at this period. It appears that Shabataka summoned Taharqa to make him co-regent at the end of his reign.

⁴³ Dieses Datum ergibt sich aus *Kawa*, v, 16. Dort berichtet Taharqa, dass er seine Mutter verlassen habe, um nach Ägypten zu gehen, als er 20 Jahre alt war. Da sein Zug nach Theben mit der Übernahme der Mitregentschaft zusammenhängt, deren Beginn auf 690 festgelegt ist, muss er also 710 geboren sein.

⁴⁴ Zur Frage nach dem Zeitpunkt des Assyreinfalls und einer Kritik der manethonischen Daten für Taharqa vgl. Rowton, *JEA*, 34 (1948), p. 61, wonach Manetho (nach Africanus) mit dem 19. Jahr Taharqas die 25. Dynastie zu Ende gehen lässt. Das muss das Jahr 671/70 sein. Nach der babylonischen Chronik ist das das 10. Jahr Asarhaddons, in welchem dieser seinen Feldzug gegen Ägypten unternahm (cf. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon [AfO, Beih.* 9 (1956)], S. 124).

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The year of his becoming co-regent is counted as his first year, but by his second year, as his name was put with official titles on the monuments, Shabataka must be presumed to have died. Thus the co-regency can at most have lasted just over a year, and may have only been a few months.

It is also uncertain whether the Ethiopians counted the year of a king's reign from the day of his accession to the throne, as was done in the New Kingdom, or whether they counted the last unfinished year of their predecessor as their first year, as was the custom in the XIIIth Dynasty, and also later in Saite times. The latter seems more likely because of the Ethiopian habit of imitating old traditions.

Although dates correct to day and month cannot be given, we can with some confidence give the following dates for Taharqa : Birth 710 B.C. ; beginning of his co-regency with Shabataka 690 B.C. ; death of Shabataka and beginning of his sole rule 689 B.C. ; death 663 B.C.

'Abka Re-excavated

by OLIVER H. MYERS

I. THE EXCAVATIONS, 1957

WHEN the 'Abka excavations of the Gordon Memorial College were closed in 1948 we had done all that we could with the money available, but were very disappointed at not being able to obtain additional funds to dig a site found late in the season and believed to be earlier than all the others, Site XXXII.

Also, shortly before those excavations ended, we had read a report in a popular scientific journal about C_{14} dating stating that bone was used for the purpose. We collected much bone and despatched it by air to Chicago University in order that it should be the first specimen submitted from the Old World, only to find that bone, unless burnt, is unusable. Our hope has always been that one day we would be able to return to the sites and collect charcoal or shell, both of which can be used for 'radio-carbon' dating (though shell is less satisfactory) and were known to exist at the sites.

When in 1957 Mr Vercoutter invited me to undertake this work on behalf of the Sudan Antiquities Service and Sir Edwin Chapman Andrews, the British Ambassador, kindly gave his permission, naturally I was delighted to seize the opportunity.

Apart from the help of the Director, who took most of the photographs, and Sayed Jelal, who kindly took the level of Site XXXII, I was helped by Ahmed Eff. Hassan Ibrahim of the Antiquities Service who, among other things, chalked for photography the drawings in Site XXXII. I was also helped by Sayed Khalid Ahmed Khalil who was kindly released from the Ahfad Schools by Dr Yusif Badri so that he could lend a hand, having been with my wife and myself as a young boy in the original excavations. Everyone at 'Abka was helpful, particularly the Sheikh, Ahmed Muhammed Khalil, and the schoolmaster, Ustaz Muhammed Sa'id. The work could not have been so successfully completed but for the good fortune of obtaining the services of Rais Ibrahim Umbarak, that most skilled of Qufti workers.

We had in all fourteen days and it was decided first to re-open Site IX to obtain material for C_{14} dating. This site is a multiple pothole about 15 metres across, of which we excavated about a third in 1948, finding that it had been used for a long period, first when it formed part of the Nile bed and was fished in at Low Nile, and later when the Highest Nile floods had fallen below it and it was inhabited.

In 1948 precautions had been taken to ensure that the unexcavated parts of Site IX should suffer no damage that might result from partial excavation. A

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miniature cliff of filling 2 metres high had been walled up with large stones and the interstices filled with pebbles. We judged that the wind would soon re-cover the site with sand, which it did. When I returned in 1957 and re-opened the site by clearing away the sand I found virtue rewarded for I was able rapidly to expose the old section and to decide which levels to clear. (The site was re-closed in a similar manner at the end of the 1957 excavations.)

In Site IX (see sketch plan and section on FIG. 1), we remembered that at the bottom of the lowest level were sand and stones, concreted by the river into the interstices of the native rock and boulders, and that among these was much shell. This had not been completely cleared from all the difficult corners. (This level would be the equivalent of the bottom of Level VI, according to the numbering in the 1957 excavations.) This was tackled first and very soon produced a kilogramme of Nile Oyster shell—double the recommended quantity. It was thought advisable to have double the necessary quantity as some of the shell was a little powdery and chalky and might not be acceptable to the physicists for the C_{14} tests.

Work was then begun on the previously unexcavated part of the site and Level I, about 5 cm. of loose sand with a few pebbles, all intrusive material, was removed. The next stratum of about 15 cm. consisted of loose sandy filling in which there was much powdered bone laid down anciently under dry, or relatively dry conditions. This was cleared in two arbitrary levels, II and III, of roughly 7.5 cm. each in depth. Both levels produced sherds, charcoal, and a few flakes. Level III also produced a little shell and ostrich egg and one hearth, rich in charcoal, which was a great find for our present purpose. (Levels may be seen in the sketch section on FIG. 1 and also in Photo 1 on PLATE XXXIII. The hollow with dipping strata beneath it was in all probability due to a small den having been excavated in the past by some such animal as a fennec and the roof having caved in. This was suggested by the vertical and horizontal distribution of certain sherds found in the 1948 excavations.)

Levels IV and V, of roughly 25 and 30 cm. respectively (though V was very variable, descending to 60 cm. at the West end at its deepest and rising over a large rock to only 10 cm. at its shallowest) were also composed of débris laid down on dry land, but during a time when there seems to have been much more rainfall, as there was a considerable quantity of stones brought down from the hill above in both of them. This fact was observed in 1948. These levels contained similar material to II and III but less charcoal as the depth increased, probably due to it having been carried away by rain. The division between the two levels was arbitrary. (In arbitrary levels we endeavoured as far as possible to follow the curve of the hollow discussed above.) In Level V was found the large mortar or quern shown in Photo 1 of PLATE XXXVI, the first found in these rock-drawing sites.

Levels III to V yielded a very pleasant surprise in the form of a series of rock-drawings of python-like design (Photos 2 and 3 on PLATE XXXIII) on the buried rock face in the N.E. corner. Not only do these drawings show signs of

'ABKA RE-EXCAVATED

age, being blackened by the Nile and smoothed by it (though well above present Nile levels) but they are, of course, stratified—that is to say that as they were buried by this filling they must have been made before the filling was laid down.

The native rock near the bottom of the pothole changes colour in about 30 cm. from the usual dark purple to light grey. This represents the level below which the rock was perpetually submerged by the Nile, and, either discoloration does not take place under such circumstances or else the scouring of sand removes the patina as it forms. Here it corresponded also with a level below which there were no rock-drawings, in fact the Low Nile at the time when the site was a fishing resort.

It may be mentioned here that another site, V, excavated in 1948, crossed the High Nile Level of ancient times, the material above this level being entirely free from water wear and laid down in wind-blown dust, while the material below this level was all water-rolled and in river sand. The deposit was of uniform date. The H.N.L. was 13.5 m. \pm 25 cm. above H.N.L. 1946 at 'Abka. This may help us to get some estimates of the difference between the volume of the Nile then and now. This site gave us some most useful statistical results concerning pottery and stonework in early sites. The original rock-drawings (there are some later intrusions) below H.N.L. were blackened by the Nile while those above (two only) were patinated brown by the elements.

In passing it is worth recording that in Site IX a picture of a spiked wheel trap, not recorded in 1948, was found just above L.N.L. on a rock which had been carefully examined before. The drawing had been extremely worn by the Nile, probably carrying sand and stones at this low level.

We left the remaining, water-worn level, VI, as we had sufficient shell from the bottom level of the 1948 excavations and time pressed.

We next opened up Site XXXII. The site consists of a small ancient islet in the Nile, which was clearly heavily submerged for part of the year because the rocks are blackened and the drawings on horizontal surfaces eroded, often to the point where some doubts arise as to whether they are indeed drawings until the sun strikes the rock surface at the appropriate angle. The only drawings not blackened were two, one *in situ* and one brought back to the Museum, both found buried in the bottom levels. All the drawings except one are highly stylized and what they represent is most difficult to discover. Their nearest parallel—which was recognized in 1948—seems to be with the Mesolithic of Spain. When we found them we thought that they were a cultural survival and believed the site to be of the same 'horizon' as Khartoum A, or 'Wavy-Line' as Arkell called it. There is considerable difference in the degree of wear of the drawings, in some cases clearly due to their position, for example those on a vertical surface facing downstream, the highest point of the site,¹ are but little worn.

¹ 3.87 m. above 1946 H.N.L. at al Hani, upstream. Actually more than this above 1946 H.N.L. because of the fall between al Hani and 'Abka.

— SKETCH PLAN OF SITE XXXII ABKA —

Δ INDICATE A DRAWING OR DRAWINGS

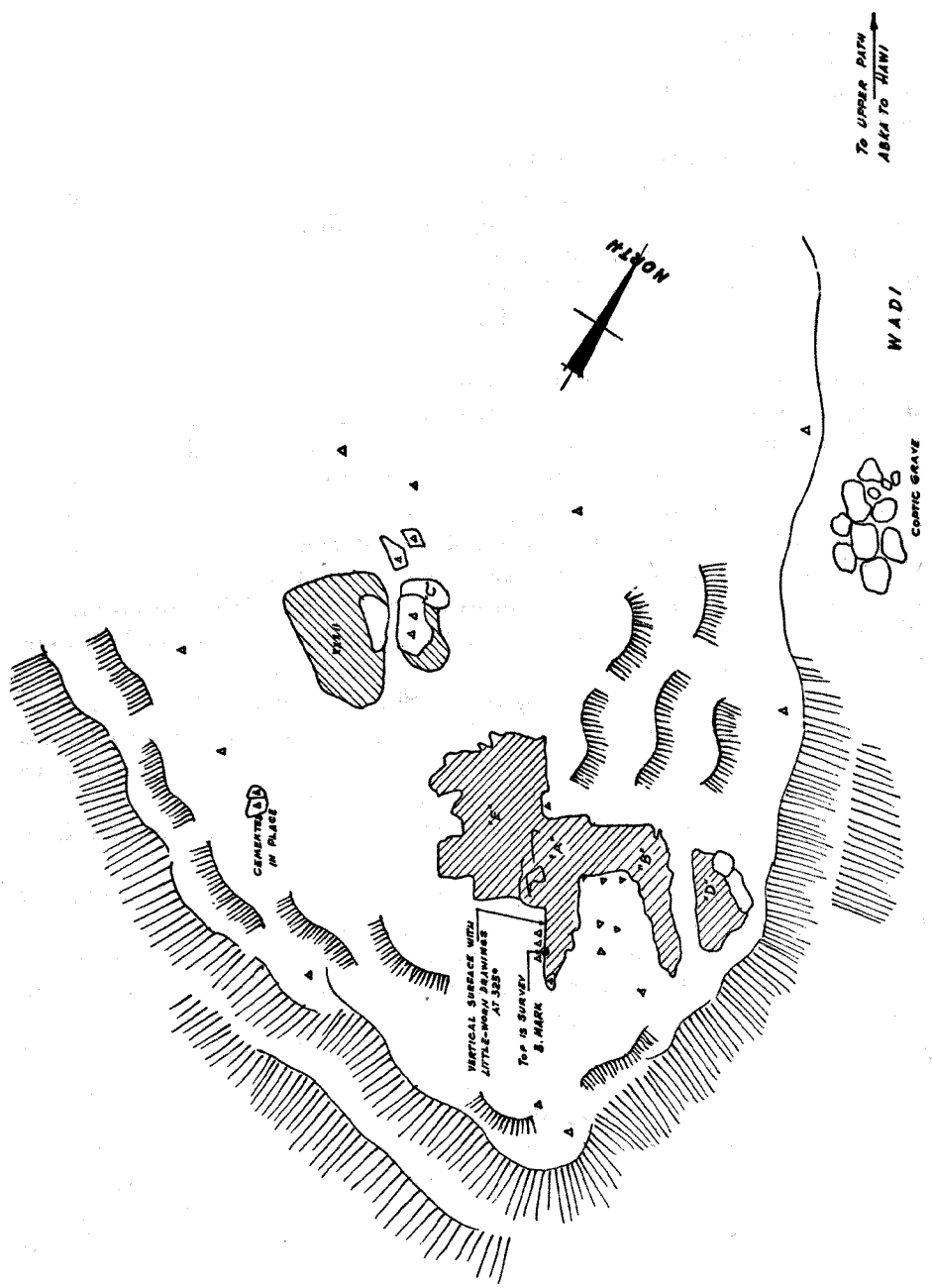


FIG. 2

'ABKA RE-EXCAVATED

(Mention may be made here of the only other stylised drawing of the same type which was found in Site IX and can be seen on a rock to the left of the section elevation in FIG. 1).

Excavations were opened in XXXII in an amorphous area about 3 metres in diameter, given the same number as the site (see the plan on FIG. 2 and also Photo 2 on PLATE XXXVI). Level I, 3 cm. of surface material, was first removed. This produced an odd potsherd and a little shell. (It may be mentioned that the shell found in these sites was almost always the Nile oyster which does not seem to be so common in the cataracts to-day.) Level II, about 20 cm. of loose wind- and rain-borne material, produced one or two agate flakes and some more shell. A drawing was found buried under these upper levels and can be seen in Photo 3 in PLATE XXXVI. Level III was, in the main, of the same material and produced more shell. It also contained the upper surface of the level we were looking for, the Nile-washed stratum. The level was what we have called a 'beyna', designed to prevent material intruding from the upper into the lower level. It must be admitted, however, that statistical work on the first findings in Site IX showed that there is a deep interpenetration of levels, not previously recorded from carefully stratified work, and that this can be represented by a curve of distribution showing kurtosis.

The clearing of this level was exciting but, at first, disappointing for nothing came out of it but a little shell (surprisingly rather less than from Levels II and III) and a number of rolled microliths. In addition there were some pieces of burnt clay from the cracks in the rock, presumably due to fires having been lit on the spot (were the people cooking Nile Oysters and making themselves 'Angels-on-Horseback'?). Not a sherd was found. The filling went down in places to 45 cm. depth, but depths were very irregular and of little import.

The result was disappointing as I was looking for Arkell's 'wavy-line' pottery and I did not pay much attention to the stone implements because in Nile-washed levels of early date rolled carnelian flakes and pebbles are fairly common. I have found them in the sand at Ma'adi in Prof. Mustafa 'Amer's work though not connected with the occupation levels he was excavating.

Another area or rather a series of crevices were opened, A, B and D, descending the Nile in steps. The area C was around a heavily hammered rock and was removed to expose it completely. The results at all these places were extremely similar except that depths, as was only to be expected in such a place, were very variable. Mention may be made of the well-worn drawing exposed below Levels I and II in area B to be seen in Photo 1 in PLATE XXXVII. As work in these places progressed I realized that the absence of sherds was not a disappointment but a most interesting fact; combined with the growing numbers of rolled artefacts it made it clear that we were dealing with one of the microlithic industries of the Mesolithic period, before pottery was invented, possibly related to the Sibilian found by Vignon at Kom-Ombo.

Less satisfactory was the small quantity of shell, as it had been hoped to get a kilogramme out of the bottom level, while in all we only obtained about half a

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pound out of the bottom level of all areas. (I believe that the shell in the upper levels belongs to the Nile-washed levels, and it may be possible to use all the shell together for dating if there is not enough from the lower level alone.)

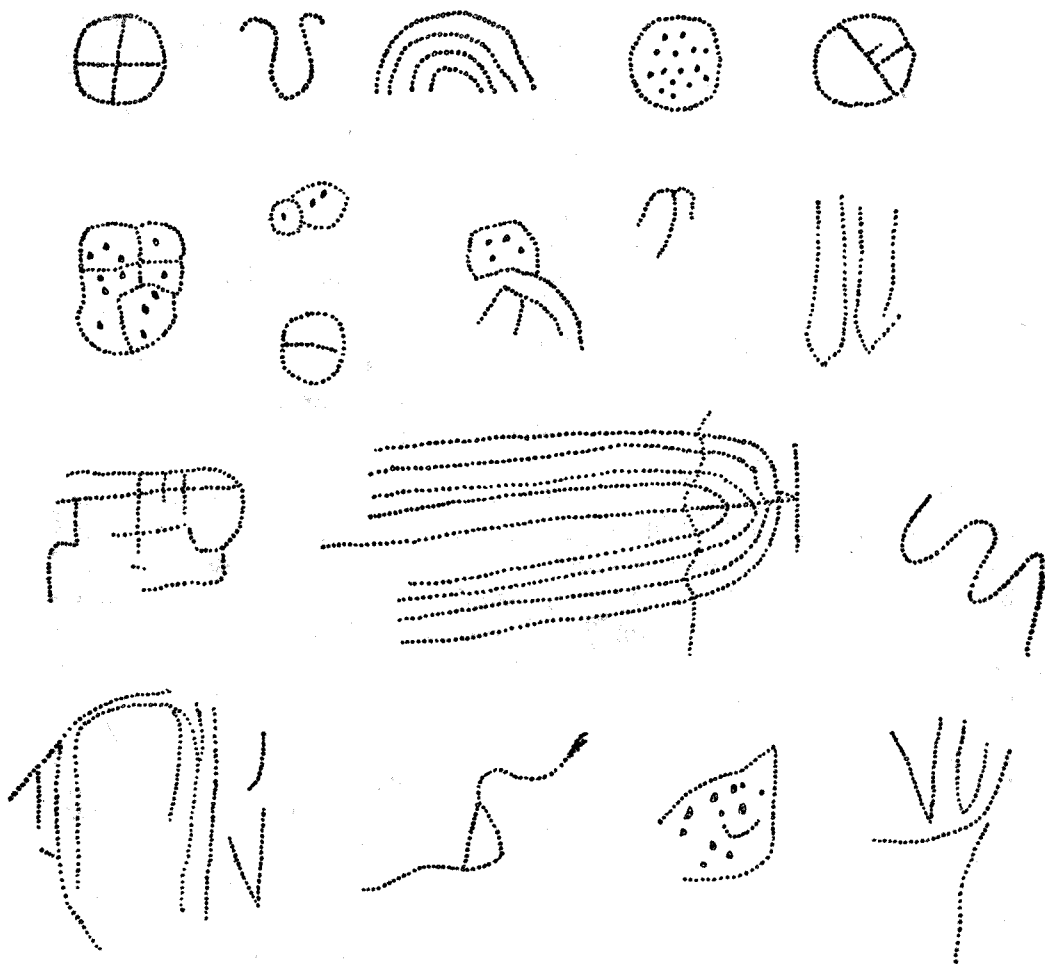


FIG. 3. SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE DRAWINGS AT SITE XXXII
(not to scale)

We then opened a larger area in the middle, E, above the steps A, B and D. The same results were obtained although at one point the filling was 1 m. in depth. A drawing on a loose piece of rock was found in the Nile-washed level and this can be seen in the Khartoum Museum. It is not blackened by the Nile.

During our stay on the site Ahmed Eff. Hassan Ibrahim found a previously undiscovered rock-drawing site, mainly of cattle, and a few other isolated drawings were found by various people.

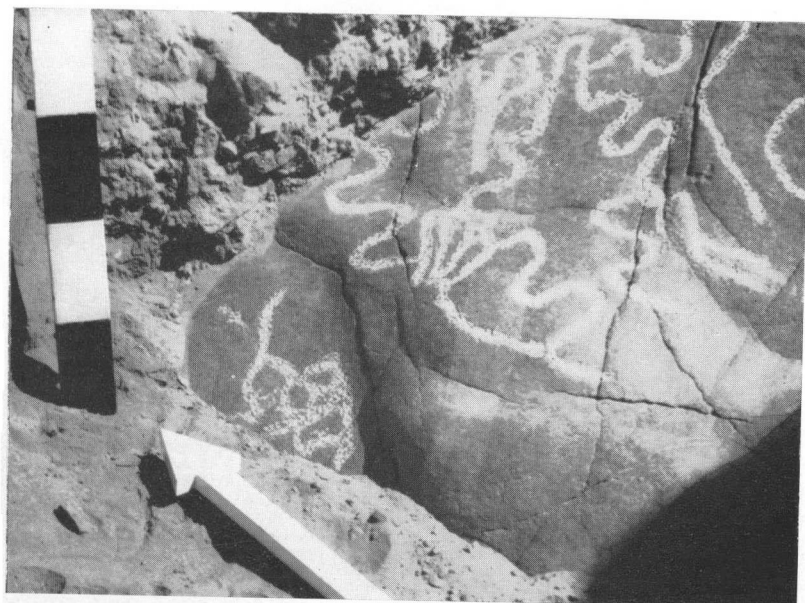
PLATE XXXIII



1. SITE IX. 1957 EXCAVATION. THE STRATA. Top of Nile-worn levels (VI) is marked by a tape. The top of the 'rainfall' levels (IV) and (V) can be seen at 20 cm. below the surface



2. 1957 EXCAVATION AT S.W. OF SITE IX. The python drawings (chalked) running beneath the strata at the edge of the work



3. 1957 EXCAVATION OF SITE IX. Detail of python drawings running beneath strata



1. SITE IX. 1957 EXCAVATION. THE STRATA. Top of Nile-worn levels (VI) is marked by a tape. The top of the 'rainfall' levels (IV) and (V) can be seen at 20 cm. below the surface



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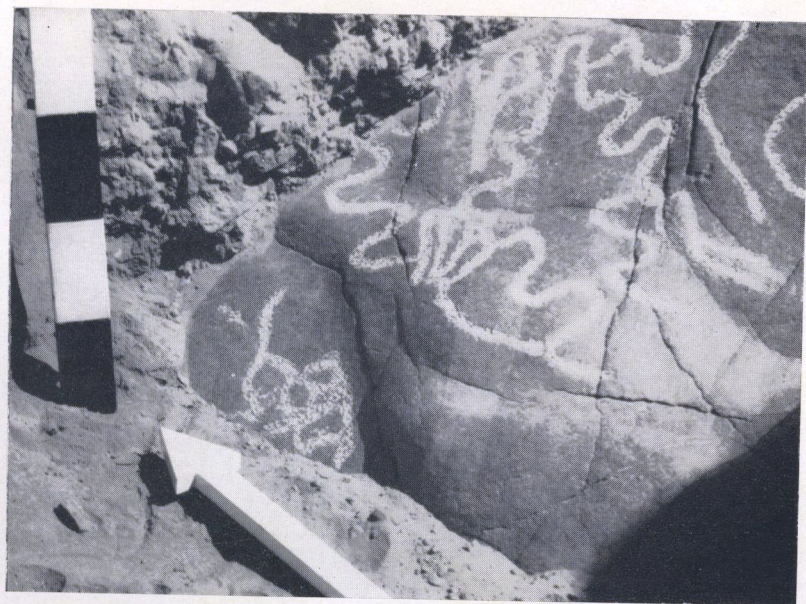
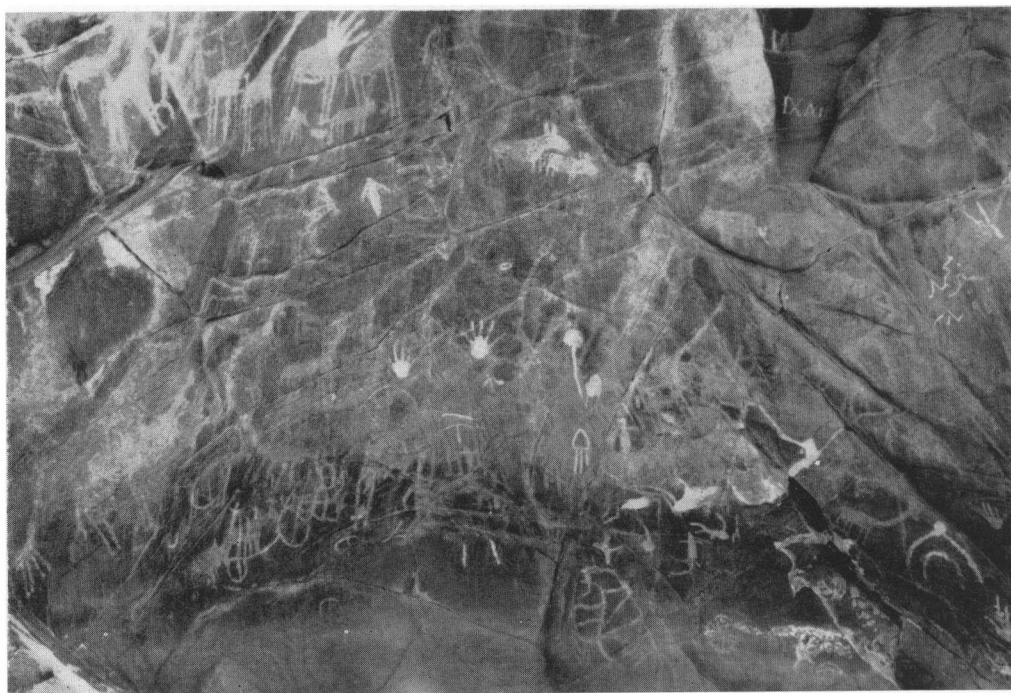


PLATE XXXIV



SITE IX. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MAIN WALL OF DRAWINGS. The pale ones are the earlier group painted in 1948 to make them visible. The drawing right of centre at bottom to left of the spiked wheel may be a fish trap

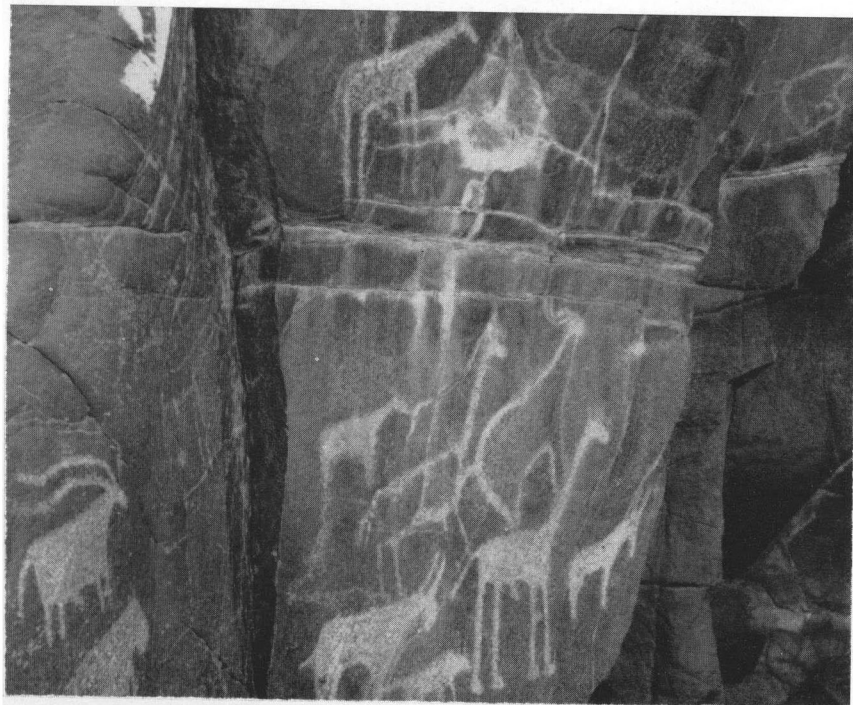


FISH TRAP IN ABKA VILLAGE. Said to be very old

PLATE XXXV

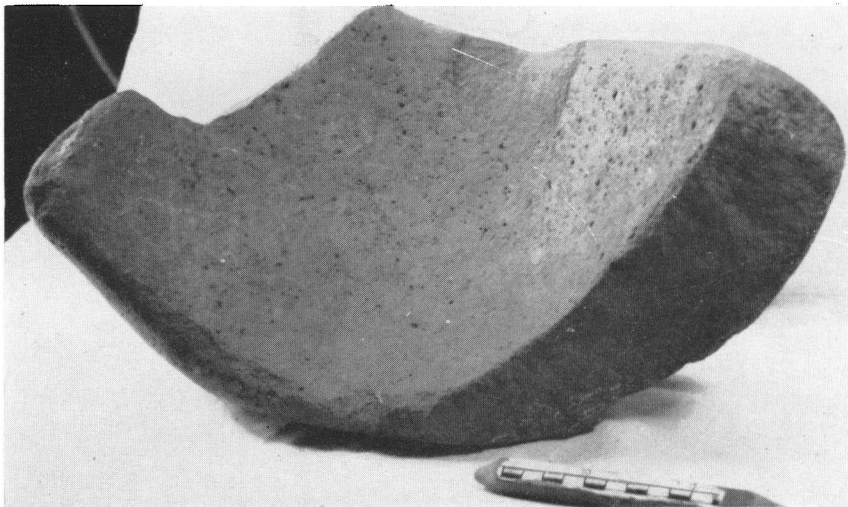


SITE IX. *Left top* : double-headed animal, totem (?). *Right centre* : fragment of rock, drawn on, found in the filling in 1948 and cemented back into place



SITE IX. Detail of some of the later drawings

PLATE XXXVI



1. SITE IX. MORTAR. Found in level V



2. SITE XXXII. MAIN AREA OF EXCAVATIONS LOOKING TOWARDS N.E. CORNER



3. SITE XXXII. A buried rock-drawing under levels I and II to N.E. corner of main excavation

PLATE XXXVII



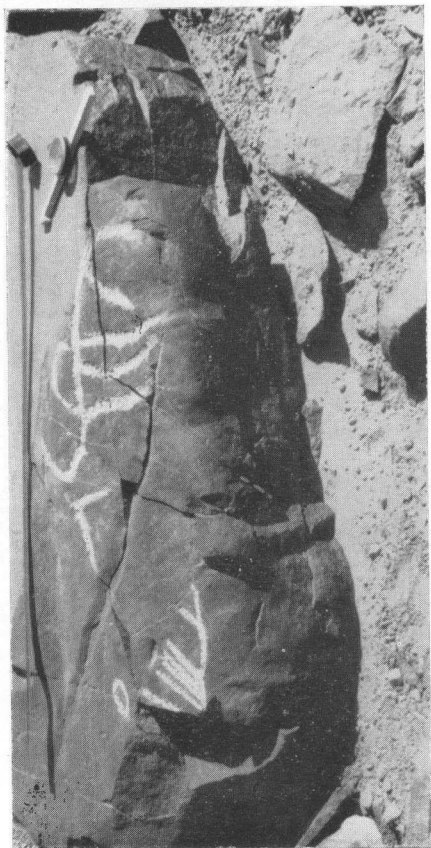
1. SITE XXXII. Worn drawings beneath levels I and II in B



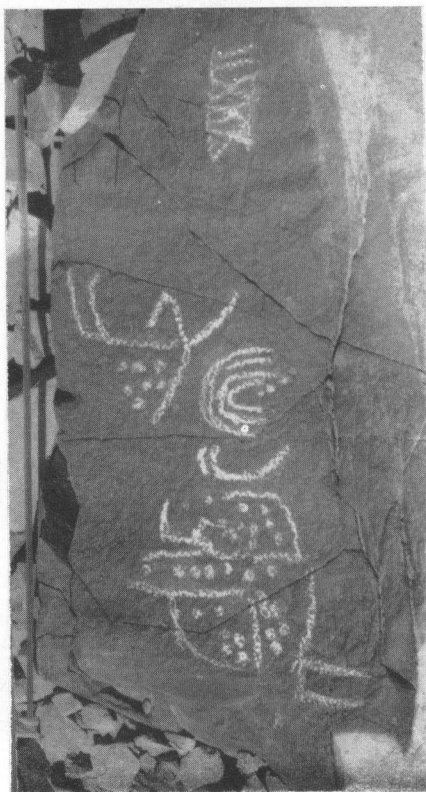
2. SITE XXXII. Highest point (also survey point). Relatively unworn drawings on vertical face and worn drawings on slope. Looking 'upstream'



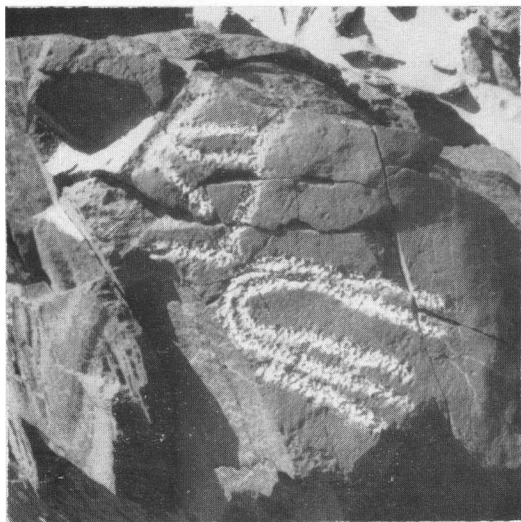
PLATE XXXVIII



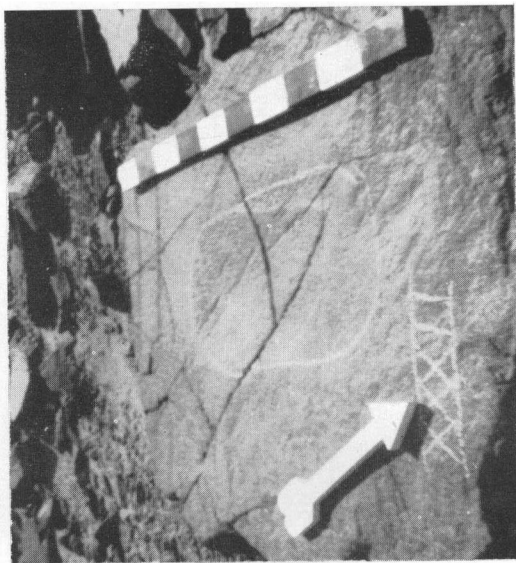
SITE XXXII. Possible drawing of antelope (chalked)



SITE XXXII. Drawings chalked

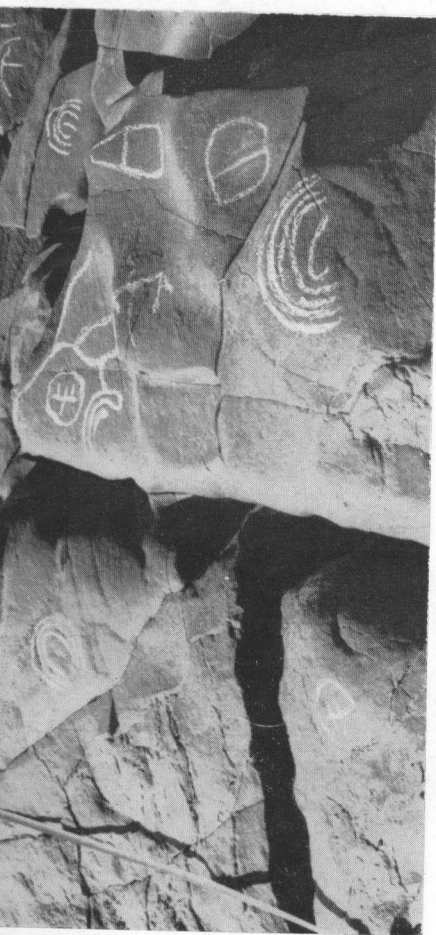


SITE XXXII. Less worn drawings chalked

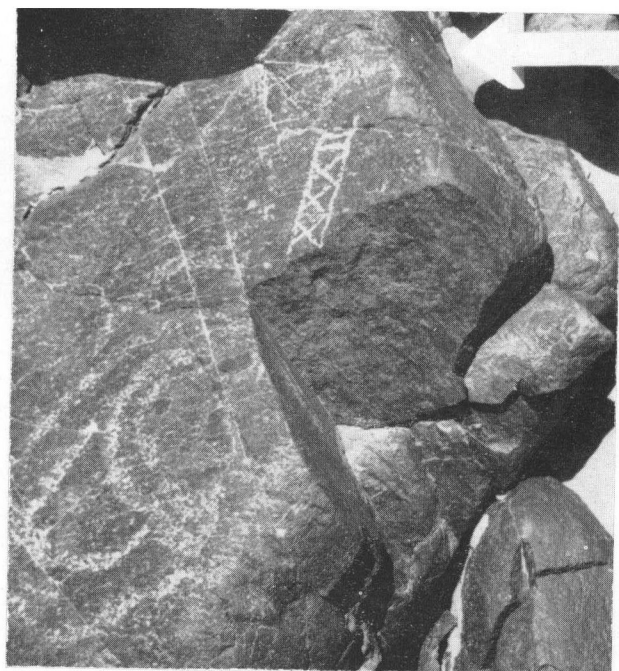


SITE XXXII. Quern pecked in the surface of a flat rock.

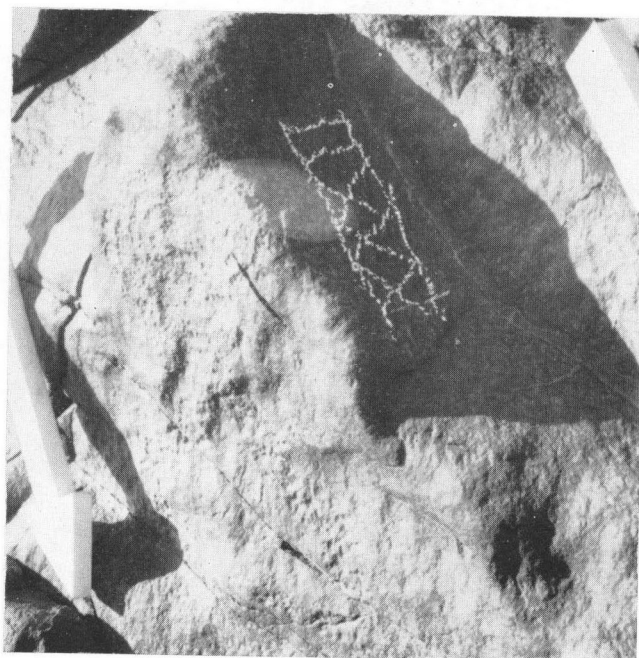
PLATE XXXIX



SITE XXXII. Part of high point—most drawings chalked



SITE XXXII. Drawings



SITE XXXII. Worn drawings

'ABKA RE-EXCAVATED

II. STATISTICAL RESULT OF THE 1948 EXCAVATIONS

Though no figures are available at the time of writing, being in store in England, readers may perhaps be interested to know the general nature of certain results of the statistical examination of the material taken from the 'Abka rock-drawing sites in the 1948 excavations.

I. *The Relationship of Potsherds and 'Flakes'*. The total numbers of potsherds and of all stone flakes due to human activity, including instruments, cores and *débitage*, were recorded from each sayce² of each site and calculations of the coefficient of correlation showed that there was a significant positive relationship between the two at the .01 level of probability (on the null hypothesis). This result held good for both wind-laid and Nile-washed levels of settlement V which crossed the ancient High Nile Level. This is important because the conditions of conservation were so extraordinarily different that it now seems reasonable to suppose that similar results would be obtained almost anywhere.

II. *The Relationship of Potsherds and Bone*. The same positive relationship was found to exist between the numbers of potsherds and the weight of bone *débris*, again in different levels, wind-laid and Nile-washed.

It seems reasonable to assume that in any carnivorous or omnivorous community there would be a direct relationship between the weight of bone *débris* and the numbers of the community. If this assumption be admitted then we are in a position to say that there is a positive relationship between the quantities of both stone and pottery and the size of the community. This result is, of course, entirely according to expectation, but it is valuable to have produced such strong statistical evidence in its support and, above all, to have shown that this relationship does not alter through the millennia under very varying conditions of conservation.

What is now needed is for some anthropologists to divert their attention—if only briefly—from 'kinship' in order to discover among a variety of primitive tribes, as yet unaffected by the petrol can (and that means that the work must be done soon), what these relationships are under different conditions. For example it might vary when pots are coil-built, pinched-up, punched out, or wheel-made. A further study might be the relation of potsherds with stone according to the different kinds of stone used. Once these studies were made we should be in a fair way to be able to estimate from *débris* the size of ancient populations and hence move towards an ecological archaeology (*v.* Myers, KUSH, IV, p. 64).

III. *The Quantities of Ostrich Eggshell*. A more speculative experiment was with the quantities of ostrich eggshell found. The ostrich lives in a very narrow

² A sayce is old English for a stratum. We used it to describe each layer removed in each division of a site. Sites were cut up by the topography into a number of small divisions which were excavated in different layers and each of these was called a sayce.

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belt whose position is fixed by the rainfall and the soil. We assumed that the maximum quantity of ostrich eggshell would have been used when the site was in or at its closest to the belt. Two maxima were found and this may be interpreted as being due to a double change of climate, possibly by the 'ostrich belt' passing over 'Abka going North and returning again South. The result needs study in connexion with other evidence such as that of the conchology at Early Khartoum. The quantities of egg shell found were small and it would be dangerous to use the evidence except as confirmatory of that from other sources.

IV. *The Proportion of 'Rimsherds' to the Total Number of Sherds.* A study was made of the number of sherds incorporating part of a rim in relation to the total number of sherds found in a given level or sayce. The purpose of this operation was to discover if rimsherds alone could be used for studying the pottery of a site. Rimsherds are, of course, the most significant sherds for typology. It was found that the fiducial limits of error are such that the rimsherds could be used satisfactorily with pottery of which the sherds were found in thousands. This is the case in a number of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine or Coptic sites in the Near East. It is particularly true of a great Hellenistic city like Alexandria.

V. *The Displacement of Sherds.* Experiments showed that if a pot be broken on a hard even surface the sherds will be found to be distributed laterally more or less according to a normal distribution curve, though the curve tends towards kurtosis³. However, when the lateral distribution of sherds from pots broken anciently is examined, the curve is found to approximate more closely to that of normal distribution because subsequent disturbance spreads the sherds more widely.

This is much according to expectation; far more interesting, indeed astonishing, is that sherds in stratified levels show a distribution curve vertically through different strata, even when the latter are well defined. This curve, as might be expected, shows marked kurtosis³.

This discovery was due in the first place to my wife who, when mending a pot, suggested that she had seen a sherd belonging to it in a considerably lower level. This seemed to me improbable but the sherd was found and fitted. Eventually two bowls about 40 cm. across were reconstructed with sherds from different levels and can be seen in the Khartoum Museum with the *fundplätze* of each sherd marked on them.

The explanation of this phenomenon is fairly simple where it concerns the displacement of sherds upwards. When a site is re-occupied sherds of the previous occupants will be lying about on the surface and these will clearly be incorporated into the lowest level of the new occupiers. (It was this realization that made us introduce the 'beyna' sayce referred to above in the account of the excavations.) Some of these will again be moved into the level above by

³ This means that the curve is high and thin, or in other words the sherds were not as widely spread as they would be in a normal distribution.

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normal disturbance during occupation. In addition to this factor we must remember that there is always a certain amount of digging and scratching in an occupied site and this helps to account for the downward movement as well as the upward. Over and above this human activity, mice and other burrowing animals, up to the size of the fennec, may burrow and displace material in both directions. However carefully sections are cut and digging done, there are holes which will inevitably escape detection except by chance and through these holes and burrows sherds and other things may move up and down the strata. Strata must be separated by a level of concrete or brick before we can be sure that there can have been *no* displacement between them.

There is another point about stratification which seems to be neglected. It must be remembered that, when all is said and done, trenches and sections are only an aid to accurate excavation—in the final issue all good excavation depends on the accurate stripping, layer by layer, by skilled excavators, to whom the section is not visible as they dig.

VI. *The Sequence-Dating of Settlements by Sherds.* This takes a little more explaining. It is based on the same primary reasoning as Petrie's sequence dating of graves but is designed differently.

It is, of course, the ABC of archaeology that pottery is relatively inexpensive to make, that it is fragile and thereby constantly replaced, and that there is infrequent invention or introduction from outside, but constant copying and degradation of form. Petrie's sequence-dating is largely based on the degradation of form but this factor is combined with the change of fashion in different kinds of wares. In sequence dating from sherds alone not enough forms are found to use the former evidence and we must work exclusively upon the changing popularity of different wares. With only half the evidence that Petrie had to go on it must necessarily be a coarser method than his but, whereas he was unravelling the subdivisions of a period, we are trying mainly to arrange periods, only adding subdivisions when possible.

The method used was to count all sherds from each sayce in each division of one site to start with. The number of sherds of each ware in each sayce were then converted into percentages of the total number of sherds in it. These percentages were then plotted on a graph of the division, the abscissa being the sayces and the ordinates the wares and it was then possible to see at a glance which wares declined in popularity during the occupation of the division and which increased.

The next step was to fit the divisions of one site together to form one graph for the whole site. As expected, different divisions showed differing degrees of popularity of the different wares, showing that the site was not uniformly occupied at one time. Before fitting, each division's relationship with another was tested for 'goodness of fit' and the best position for the fit obtained by the method of least squares. In the diagrams below, two divisions are shown in their correct relationship and also two divisions joined—the whole highly

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simplified. When joining two divisions the new position was calculated as a mean between the two divisions weighted directly by the number of sherds in each section. (This is clearly necessary, the mean could hardly be placed

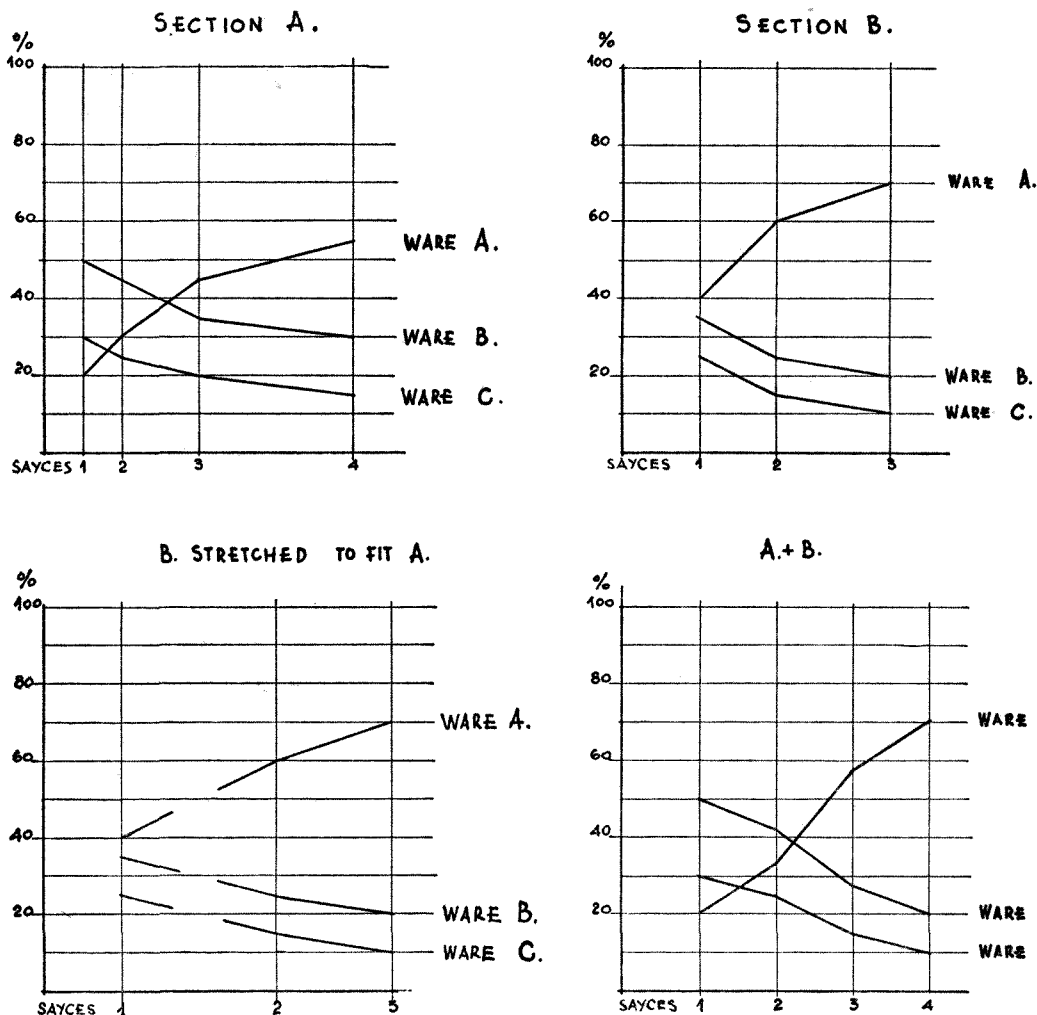


FIG. 4

equidistantly between two points, one of them calculated from several hundred sherds, the other from a mere handful.)

In plotting the abscissae in the first place the position of each sayce was plotted relatively to its depth but, when sections were joined to form a graph for

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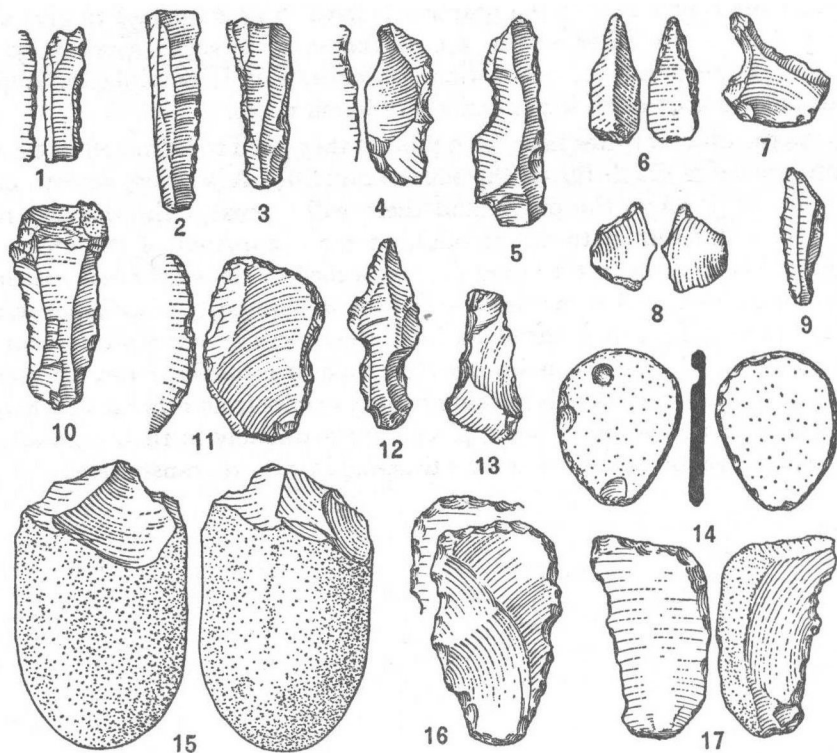
the whole site, sections were stretched or compressed so as to give the best possible fit, for, when the graph is complete, it represents no longer the percentages of sherds in different levels but the change in their popularity throughout the occupation of the site. Should anyone doubt the scientific rectitude of this procedure, let him consider the spreading of débris from the most frequented part of the site (or that where most tipping took place) to the edges. Clearly there will be less and less material as the edges are approached and hence (unless any other factors are at work) superimposed levels will become shallower and shallower till they peter out altogether, so that, considering the site as a whole, its different levels will be thicker in the centre and thinner at the edges. Therefore the sayces from a division near the edge of the site will be shallower than those near the centre and in the graph will have to be stretched to give a true correspondence. In other words the thickness of a sayce gives very little indication of the period of occupation. Moreover it is possible for different sections to have been occupied at entirely different times.

Once the different sites have been plotted they need to be joined in the same way into one large graph for all the sites excavated. After this, smooth curves may be drawn through the points and these will represent the rise and fall in popularity of different potteries throughout the occupation of the area. The final graph becomes in fact a chronological record of the sites excavated in the area and, if we assume that the rise and decline in popularity of different wares is a steady process, then, theoretically at least, the abscissae represent time and not levels. If some C_{14} dates can be inserted then the abscissae can be made to represent centuries and there is nothing to stop results from other sites where the same pottery has been found being placed approximately in their chronological positions, reservation being made for a time-lag in culture transmission.

Industrie d'Abka

by PROF. R. VAUFREY

Les silex taillés d'Abka qui m'ont été soumis par Mr O. H. Myers, sont revêtus d'un lustre qui semble dû à l'action du sable, que celui-ci ait été mû par les eaux du fleuve ou par le vent. La plupart ne sont que des éclats ou des



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lamelles indescriptibles. Il y a cependant un certain nombre de petits éclats ou lamelles retouchés et le plus souvent encochés (nos. 1 à 5, 7, 9 à 13, 16 et 17), une tarière (no. 6) et un microburin (no. 8). Une petite plaquette ovale de $0^m,031 \times 0^m,025$, façonnée par écrasement des bords pour former un pendentif, a subi un commencement de perforation (no. 14) qui ne semble pas avoir été effectuée avec un silex. C'est le seul objet remarquable, avec un petit tranchoir

INDUSTRIE D'ABKA

(*chopping-tool*), de 0^m,058 de longueur, également en silex (no. 15) qui, contrairement aux autres, ne porte aucune trace de lustre. Il y a quelques tessons de poterie sans décor.

Autant qu'on puisse en juger sur un si petit nombre de pièces typiques il s'agit de Néolithique de tradition capsienne, l'industrie la plus fréquente de l'Ouest à l'Est du Sahara et du Soudan. C'est la même que j'ai trouvée moi-même partout au pied des roches gravées du Sud-oranais.*

* Vaufrey, R. L'art rupestre nord-africain. *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine*, mémoire n° 20, 127 pages, 58 figures, 54 planches. Paris, Masson & C^{ie}, 1939.

Excavations at Sai 1955-7

A Preliminary Report

by J. VERCOUTTER

ON 1 December 1954, the French Government, under licence of the Sudan Antiquities Service, began excavations in the Island of Sai (Northern Province).

Sai is some ten miles south of Abri and 180 km. south of Wadi Halfa. Between December 1954 and 10 January 1957 I conducted three excavation campaigns in the island and this is a preliminary report of these excavations.

The party was composed in 1954-5 of M. Debono, Yahia Effendi, a surveyor, and myself; in 1955-6 of MM. J. Guinut, J. Morhange, Yahia Effendi and myself; in 1956-7 of Sayed Thabit Hassan Thabit, Ahmed Effendi Hassan, Abdel Rahman Effendi el Fiki, and myself.

The Site

Sai is one of the biggest islands in the Nile. Its position at the southern end of the Dal Cataract, which begins with the rocky barrier of Attab, a little north of Amara (see FIG. 1), makes it an excellent military site commanding the river and the distant approach to the Second Cataract area, where the main defence system of the Egyptians had been set since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

From the start of the 19th century, European travellers have been attracted by the island and its antiquities. If Burckhardt in 1813¹ as well as Waddington and Hanbury in 1820 and again in 1821² tried unsuccessfully to cross the Nile and visit Sai, their French rivals, F. Cailliaud in January 1821³ and Linant de Bellefonds five months later, in June,⁴ were more lucky and succeeded in reaching the island. They were followed by the Italian explorers Finati and Bonomi in 1829⁵, Hoskins in 1833⁶ and Lepsius with his party in 1844.⁷

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, p. 55.

² G. Waddington and B. Hanbury, *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, London 1822, pp. 20-1 and 295.

³ F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, etc.*, Paris 1826, p. 366.

⁴ Linant de Bellefonds, *Journal d'un Voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822*, Khartoum 1958, p. 191.

⁵ Finati, *Narrative of Life and Adventure*, II, London 1830, p. 422; Bonomi, who later came again to the Sudan with Lepsius' expedition, seems to have visited Sai in 1829. See his unpublished *Diary*; (cf. below note 83), entry of 14 December 1829. I am indebted to Miss Rosalind Moss for a copy of this entry, for which I am most grateful.

⁶ Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, 1885, p. 257.

⁷ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.*, London 1853, p. 237.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAI 1955-7

For the time of the Mahdiya, from 1885 onwards, we have no information on the antiquities of the island, until a little after Kitchener's campaign. In 1905

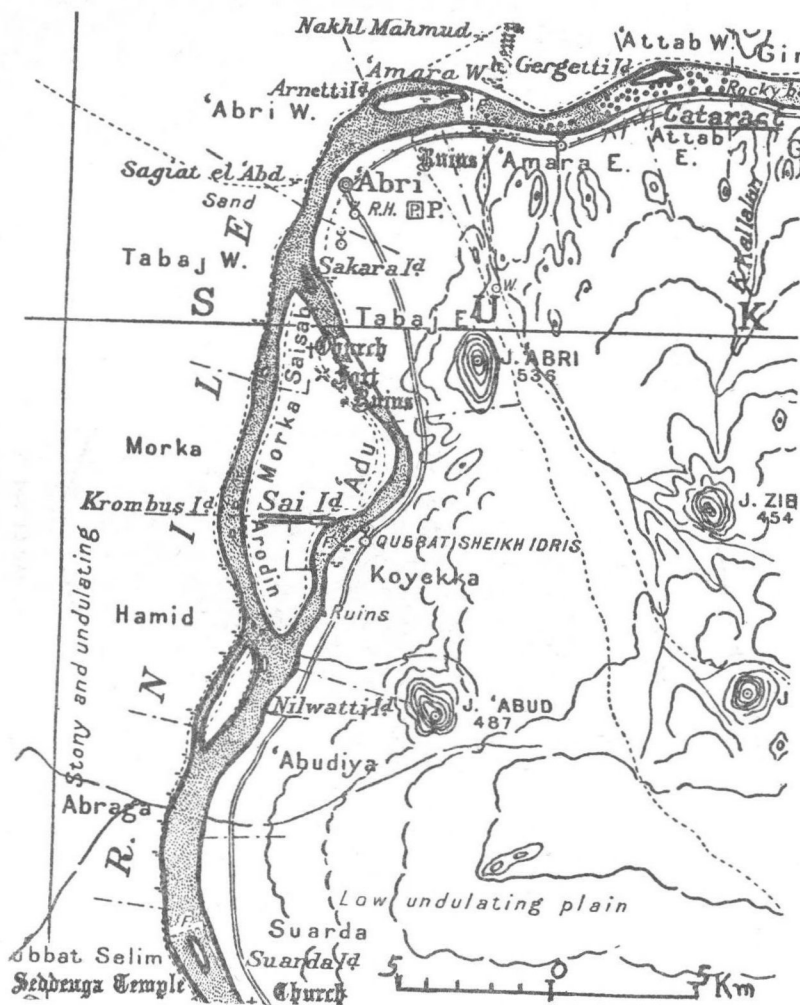


FIG. 1. MAP OF SAI AND ITS ENVIRONMENT
(Scale 1/250,000)

W. Budge reported again on the island,⁸ and soon after him J. H. Breasted,⁹ Somers Clarke,¹⁰ and, more recently, U. Monneret de Villard,¹¹ O. Bates and

⁸ W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, I, pp. 461-4.

⁹ J. H. Breasted, 'Second Preliminary Report . . .', *AjSLL*, 25, 1908, pp. 98-100.

¹⁰ Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1912, p. 45.

¹¹ U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medievale*, Cairo 1935, p.238.

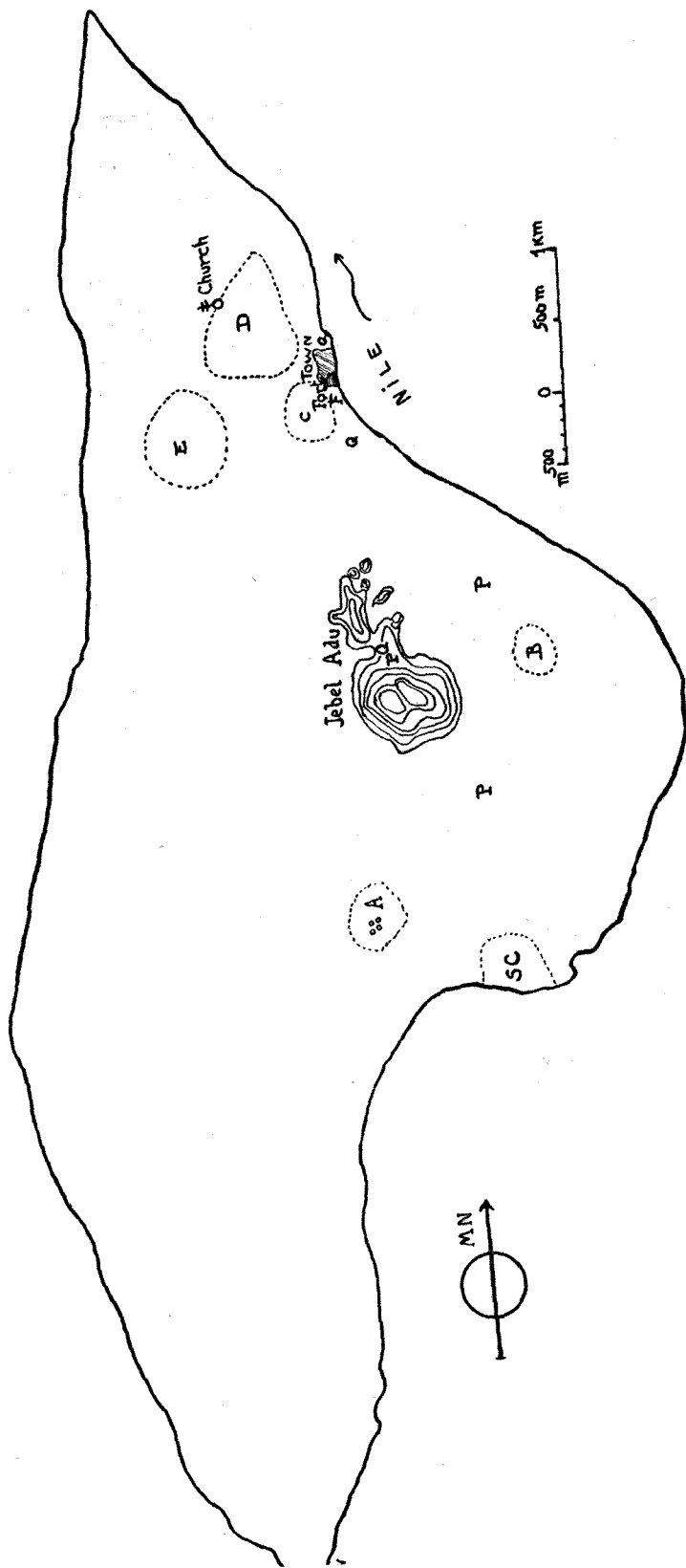



FIG. 2. LOCATION MAP OF SAI

EXCAVATIONS AT SAI 1955-7

D. Dunham,¹² H. W. Fairman and A. M. Blackman¹³ as well as L. P. Kirwan.¹⁴ Just before the Second World War the Egypt Exploration Society had more or less made up its mind to try and excavate the site.

During and after the war 1939-45, A. J. Arkell,¹⁵ M. R. Apter,¹⁶ and Thabit Hassan¹⁷ visited the island and wrote reports on the antiquities of Sai.

The name Sai adopted by the Sudan Survey was formerly spelt *Say* by Burckhardt, Waddington and Hanbury, *Saïde* by Linant de Bellefonds, *Says* by Cailliaud, and *Sais* by Hoskins (see notes 2-6). It is the ancient Egyptian name of the island, or the settlement, which was called ZΔH¹⁸ or ZΔϜI¹⁹ on the Christian inscriptions found in the island and *Shaye* in a Meroitic text.²⁰ These

names come in fact from the Ancient Egyptian  šj't, *Shaât*.²¹

Archaeological remains in the island date from the Old Stone Age to the Turkish period of the 16th century of our era. The Christian period seems to have been a flourishing one for the island since at least up to the 11th century it was the seat of a bishopric²² and Thabit Hassan was able to record, in 1954, five different churches along its banks.²³ Cemeteries, chiefly of round graves or tumuli, can be seen in five different parts of the island, and ancient stone quarries exist south and north of the fort²⁴ on Jebel Adu²⁵ and at the south end,²⁶ (see

¹² O. Bates and D. Dunham, 'Excavations at Gemmai', *HAS*, VIII, 1927, p. 117.

¹³ H. W. Fairman, *JEA*, 25, 1939, p. 142, n.1 and unpublished report in Sudan Antiquities Service Archives. A. M. Blackman, unpublished report in Sudan Antiquities Service Archives; the report is dated 28 February 1937.

¹⁴ L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, Oxford 1939, pp. 28-9.

¹⁵ A. J. Arkell, *Report on the Sudan Antiquities Service for 1939*, pp. 10-11; *JEA*, 36, 1950, p. 34 and various unpublished inspection notes in the Archives of the Sudan Antiquities Service.

¹⁶ M. R. Apter, who later on published parts V and VI of *The Rock Temples of Meir* with A. M. Blackman, must have visited Sai when on his way to see Prof. Blackman, then excavating Sesebi, see *JEA*, 23, 1937, pp. 145 ff. He picked up then part of an Egyptian statuette on the site and brought it to Khartoum, see below, note 35.

¹⁷ Thabit Hassan Thabit, unpublished *Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Survey of Sai Island*, SAS Archives (survey done in April 1954).

¹⁸ Steindorff, *ZAS*, 44, pp. 71-4 and 133.

¹⁹ Griffith, *Christian Doc. from Nubia*, pp. 12-14.

²⁰ Id., *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, p. 9.

²¹ For this identification see now G. Posener, 'Pour une localisation du Pays Koush', *KUSH* VI, pp. 58-60 with references.

²² We know the names of two bishops of the 11th century. Cf. L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, pp. 28-9. Kirwan quotes Monneret de Villard, 'I vescovi giacobiti della Nubia', *Mélanges Maspero*, II, p. 59.

²³ See above note 17.

²⁴ Sandstone has been quarried north and south of the fortress. The northern quarry is less than 40 m. from the northern wall of the Egyptian settlement and overhangs the river. The southern quarry is about 200 m. south of the fort and extends from the river

[footnotes continued on next page]

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FIG. 2). Finally, the ruins of the fortress are among the most picturesque in the Northern Province (see PLATE XL).

According to the terms of the licence granted by the Antiquities Service, the French excavations were limited (a) to three tumuli in the South Cemetery (see FIG. 2 at A) and (b) to the fortress and its surroundings. At the request and expense of the French Mission, a preliminary air survey of Sai was undertaken by the Air Section of the Sudan Survey, under the supervision of Mr Allen, on 9 December 1954 and from the photographs a sketch map at 1/10,000 was drawn by the Survey Department. Work started with the excavation of the South Cemetery.

Excavations in the South Cemetery

The South Cemetery lies about 1 km. due south of Jebel Adu, the low mountain standing in the middle of the island (see FIG. 2). It consists of about 20 large tumuli and hundreds of small ones (PLATE XLI) all of them plundered in ancient times. The tumuli consist of low round hillocks, the bigger ones are covered with white pebbles in their centre and surrounded by a black circle of dark schist in a striking contrast. Three of the tombs were excavated in 1954, a large one by myself and two small ones by F. Debono, then my assistant. The bigger tumulus, C.1, has a diameter of 39 m. 80, and a height of 1 m. 98 above the present ground level (see FIG. 3). It had been anciently plundered and in the disturbed ground left by the robbers' work we found broken bones of animals (goats or sheep), fragments of alabaster vases and of a porphyric vessel, as well as part of a truncated cone in grey quartz, a few Egyptian beads and numerous sherds of typical Kerma ware, black and red. The main burial, entirely plundered, was cut into the natural ground—a hard alluvial soil—in the centre of the tumulus. It consisted of two small chambers without any connection between them and rather shallow (0 m. 75 deep at the most). In the West Chamber (B) among broken bones, human and animal, two vases were found, one of fine Kerma ware (see FIG. 4), the other of a rougher texture.²⁷ During the excavation

continued from previous page

into a rocky wadi. In the two quarries there is evidence of extensive stone extraction work. It is worth mentioning that Lepsius when visiting the sandstone temples at Semna associated them with Sai. He wrote: 'In both fortresses . . . (is) . . . a temple built of huge blocks of sandstone . . . which must have been brought from a great distance . . . for, southward, no sandstone is found nearer than Gebel Abir (=Jebel Abri) . . . and the Island of Sai'. Letter to Ehrenberg and Böckh dated September 1844, quoted in Lepsius: *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.*, translated by L. & J. B. Horner, London, 1853, p. 509.

²⁵ On Jebel Adu a highly crystallized sandstone has been extensively quarried. It seems to be the same layer of sandstone which is still quarried on Jebel Abri, to make millstones.

²⁶ Cf. Budge, *Egyptian Sudan*, I, pp. 457-8.

²⁷ For the shapes compare with Reisner, *Kerma*, IV-V, *HAS*, VI, 1923, beaker, fig. 226, p. 331 and dish, fig. 298, no. 65, p. 419 (but simpler).

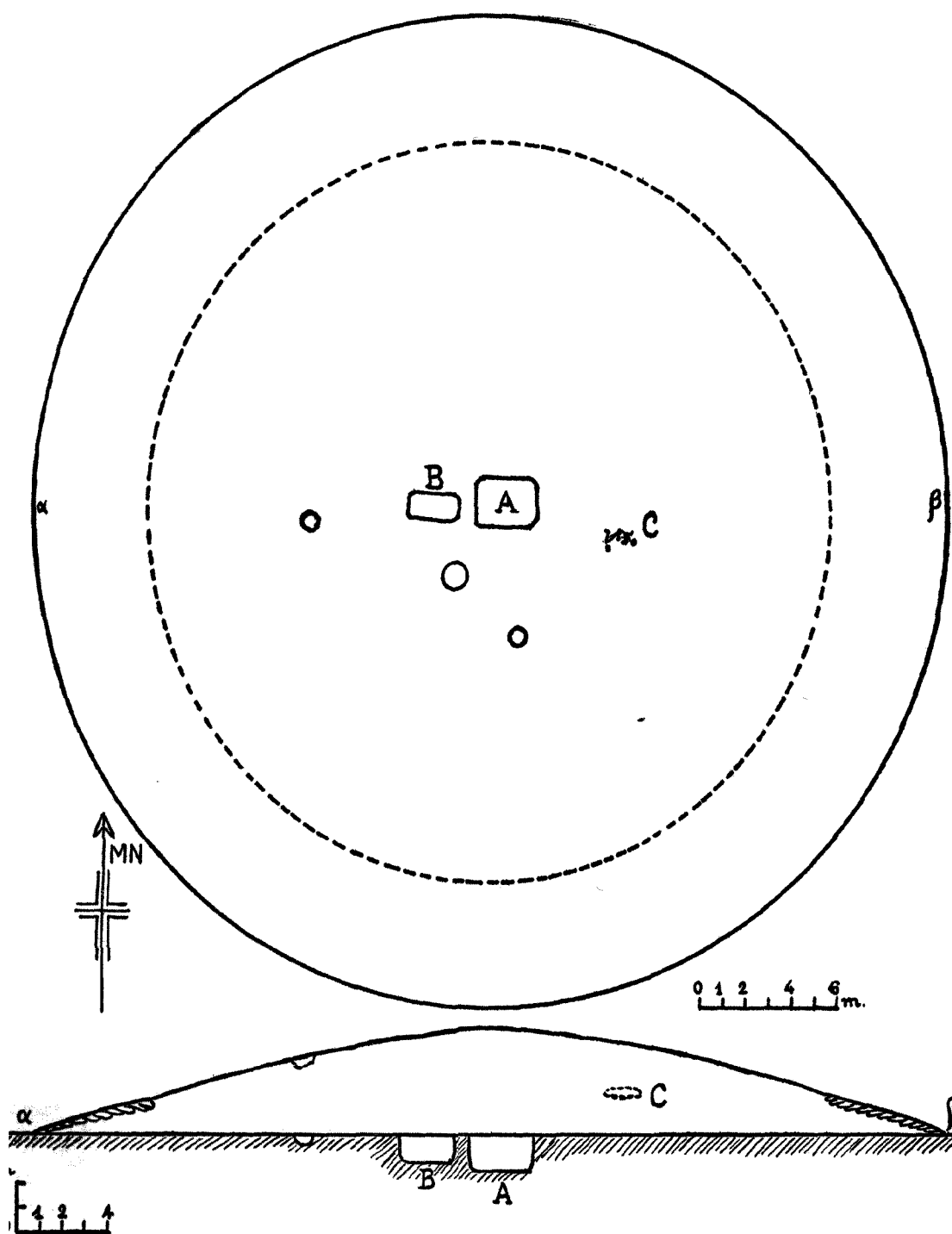


FIG. 3. TUMULUS C.1—PLAN AND SECTION

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of the bulk of the tumulus, a burial was found at level $+0.93$ (see plan and section, FIG. 3 under C). The body (see PLATE XLII), a female, was laid on its chest, head towards the east, face looking south, legs bent, the right arm crossing the chest, the left folded so that the left hand was near the jaw of the skull. The spine seemed to have been anciently broken. A peculiar feature was that the right leg had been severed from the body and placed beside the chest and on its right (see PLATE XLII, a). This must have been done quite soon before or after death, at least while there was still flesh on the skeleton, since none of the many small bones of the foot had been displaced. Very small beads of blue faience were laid on the skull itself. A vase of red pottery, oval in shape,²⁸ was found near the knees (see PLATE XLII, b), and under the body two beakers²⁹ of red and black ware were discovered (cf. FIG. 4). Just before the finding of the secondary burial C, mentioned above, in the displaced earth, the broken bones of a child

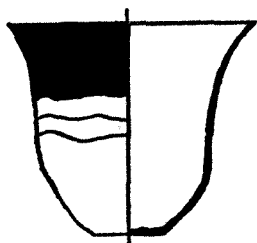


FIG. 4. KERMA WARE—
TUMULUS C.1

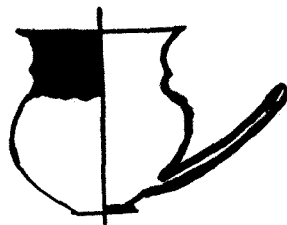


FIG. 5. KERMA VASE—
TUMULUS C.1

were found together with the remains of a small Kerma libation vase with spout³⁰ (see FIG. 5); it is probable that this small skeleton belonged to the same subsidiary burial as the adult body, but was displaced and broken when the plunderers cut their trench to reach the main burial. From the disposition of the adult body one wonders if it was not a 'sacrificial' burial like those observed at Kerma by Reisner. The two small tumuli excavated by F. Debono (C.2 and C.3) were entirely robbed and only one complete vase³¹ and fragments of Kerma ware, together with human and animal bones were found. Tumulus C.2 had 32 ox skulls bordering its southern part.

From the general features of the tombs excavated, it is obvious that the South Cemetery, as was suggested by A. J. Arkell,³² is contemporary with the cemeteries excavated by Reisner at Kerma. White pebbles surrounded by black schist is one of the features of the large Kerma graves, as well as the

²⁸ Excavation no. S.36; red polished ware; for the shape cf. id. *ibid.*, fig. 272 (54), p. 396.

²⁹ Excavation nos. S.39 and S.40. Cf. id. *ibid.*, fig. 226, no. 9, p. 331.

³⁰ Excavation no. S.35. Cf. id. *ibid.*, fig. 244, p. 364.

³¹ Excavation no. S.49. Cf. id. *ibid.*, fig. 262, no. 37, p. 379.

³² *Antiquities Service Report for the Year 1939*, pp. 10-11.

truncated quartzite cone and the crescent of ox skulls around the southern edge of the tumulus.³³ All the objects found, small faience beads, pottery, fragments of alabaster vases, could be easily paralleled among the Kerma grave furniture.³⁴ Furthermore the fragment of a granite statue of the Middle Kingdom, found by M. R. Apter³⁵ in the same cemetery, would, if needed, add to the evidence collected during the excavations. Finally, the huge number of the graves (see PLATE XLI) tallies well with the fact that Shaât was an important centre during the Middle Kingdom, and, this definitely supports G. Posener's idea of equating Kush and related countries, with the Kerma culture.³⁶ However, some difference between the Kerma graves near the eastern Defufa and the graves of Sai ought to be noted. If we except the subsidiary grave, which may or may not be a sacrificial burial, there is no trace in C.I, the largest mound excavated, of the numerous sacrificial burials discovered by Reisner in Kerma.³⁷ Even if we take into consideration the fragments of human bones, found in the ground disturbed by the plunderers, no more than five to six human beings, at the most, could have been buried in this tumulus, and animal bones were far more numerous than the human bones.

Of course this aspect of the Sai Kerma culture graves could be the result of chance finds.³⁸ In view of the importance to be attached to the study of the Kerma culture for the History and Archaeology of the Sudan, it is hoped that excavations can be resumed in this cemetery, however heavily plundered it may be. If it is systematically explored, it will yield a quantity of Kerma ware and, which is still more important, it could give fresh data on the still controversial origin—whether they were destined for Egyptian officials or not—of this type of burial. So far the evidence collected seems to justify much more Junker's theory of purely Sudanese burial, than Reisner's opinion. There is nothing to show that an Egyptian official might have been buried in tumulus C.I.

³³ Cf. Reisner, *Kerma I-III*, *HAS*, v, 1923, p. 64. The very terms used by Reisner to describe the Kerma graves fit word for word the Sai graves: 'a *low dome-shaped tumulus* of earth much *larger than is necessary to cover the main burial*, a broad *ring of dark stones* outlining the tumulus and assisting to maintain its form, a *sprinkling of white pebbles* over the tumulus inside the dark ring, a *crescent of ox skulls* around the southern sector, and a *cone of white quartzite* which appears to have stood at the summit of the tumulus'. (Italics are ours).

³⁴ Small faience beads, cf. id. *ibid.* iv-v, *HAS*, vi, pp. 94-5 (on head of sacrificial bodies): alabaster, *ibid.* Chapter xxii, pp. 56 ff. For the black and red pottery cf. above, notes 27 to 31.

³⁵ Cf. KUSH v, 1957, p. 64. For the Egyptian sculpture found by Reisner at Kerma, cf. Reisner, l.c. part IV, chapter xx, pp. 22 ff.

³⁶ Cf. G. Posener, article in the present number of KUSH, p. 64.

³⁷ Cf. Reisner, l.c. I-III (*HAS*, v) pp. 65 ff.

³⁸ It must be noted, however, that some of the large tumuli excavated by Reisner did not yield any sacrificial burials, see id. *ibid.*, p. 81, Tumulus XIX; p. 82, Table B, Tumuli v, xxxv, xiii. The number of sacrificial burials ascribed to them by Reisner is hypothetical; p. 66, para. (ii), Reisner states that the number of bodies ranged 'from one to twelve or more'. Accordingly, Sai C.I Tumulus would be normal with one sacrificial burial.

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Finally, the discovery of fragments of a porphyric vessel in the earth used to build the tumulus could be an indication of the presence of an A Group cemetery or settlement in the vicinity of the South Cemetery.³⁹

Excavations in the Fortress and its Surroundings

The fort of Sai is one of the most extensive ruins in the Northern Sudan, and it must have looked very impressive when, only one century ago, its walls

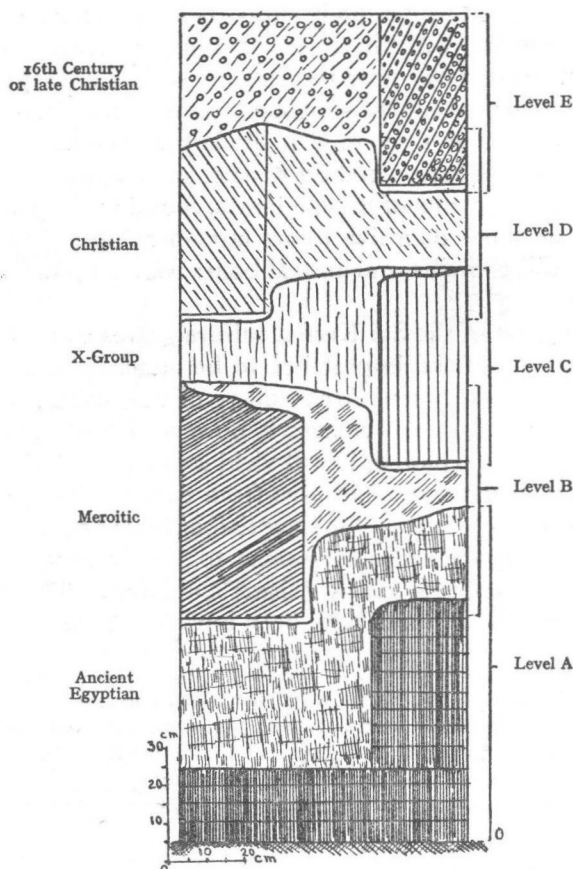


FIG. 6. DIAGRAM—THE FIVE MAIN LEVELS

had still retained their full height of nearly 12 m., as they were when Cailliaud and Linant de Bellefonds⁴⁰ saw them in 1821. Happily a drawing by Linant gives us an idea of the fortress at this time (see PLATE XLIII).

³⁹ A. J. Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, London 1955, p. 37, mentions that he picked up sherds of typical A-Group pottery on Sai Island.

⁴⁰ Cailliaud and Linant de Bellefonds seem to have been the first Europeans to see the fort, immediately after its conquest by the army of Ismail Pasha in 1821 (see notes 3-4).

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The fort has been ascribed to various dates. A. J. Arkell and W. Budge⁴¹ were of the opinion that it went back to the Middle Kingdom, while Blackman thought that it was Egyptian New Kingdom. H. W. Fairman,⁴² observing that part of the visible masonry work was certainly post-pharaonic, called it 'Medieval'. Lately Thabit Hassan stated that, in his opinion, the fort was entirely Turkish in date.⁴³

The main problem for the excavator was to explore the site without spoiling too much the external aspect of the ruin. Happily the air photographs, taken in December 1954, revealed that the north girdle wall had been destroyed in antiquity, and could be removed without altering the general appearance of the fort. Accordingly, I decided to excavate the northern half of the fortress, beginning from the west and progressing towards the east, on both sides of the girdle wall.

Rapidly the work showed that the site was even more complicated than was at first suspected by the archaeologists who saw the site before 1955. In fact, five different main levels could be noticed (see diagram, FIG. 6). The most ancient level, A, in the north-western corner of the fortress, was dated by a door-jamb bearing the name of Nehi, vice-roy of Kush under Tuthmosis III (see FIG. 7 at a). Level B, established when the buildings of Level A were in ruins, is at a mean height of 40 cm. above A: from the sherds and objects discovered, this level seems to be Meroitic; Level C is somewhat difficult to interpret; it consists chiefly, at least in the part of the site so far excavated, of small houses more or less intermingled with similar dwellings from Level D. However, from the discovery of a pot which was laid directly on the floor of one of the rooms, Level C ought to be ascribed to the X-Group culture, and accordingly we seem to be here in the presence of an X-Group settlement, an important fact.

Level D has been in many places destroyed by the foundations of the buildings belonging to the last level, E. From pottery stamps, fragments of inscriptions and sherds, Level D belongs to the Christian period. Structures of Level E in this part of the site, lie directly, without levelling or even proper foundations, on the 'kom' resulting from the demolished dwellings of Level D, and, accordingly, it varies considerably in height from one point to another, chiefly from north to south. Since it is essentially composed of the remains of the northern girdle wall formed by a core of re-used stones inside a mud-brick mass, and since the stones are indifferently Egyptian, late Egyptian and Christian, Level E can be ascribed to the post-Christian period, either a very late stage of Christian occupation, early Arab or Turkish of the 16th century.

⁴¹ A. J. Arkell, *Antiquities Service Report for 1939*, p. 10; W. Budge, *Egyptian Sudan*, I, p. 462. Since 1939 it seems that Arkell has abandoned the idea of a Middle Kingdom fort at Sai, and in his *History of the Sudan* he mentions only the New Kingdom fort (pp. 82, 84, 102).

⁴² See above note 13.

⁴³ See above note 17.

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This succession of main levels, which takes into account only the foundations of building levels,⁴⁴ could only be ascertained where the buildings of Level D protected the underlying levels. Everywhere else stratification is practically impossible to ascertain owing to the extensive removal of earth and the consecutive disturbance of the site, due to the work of the 'marog' diggers.⁴⁵ In

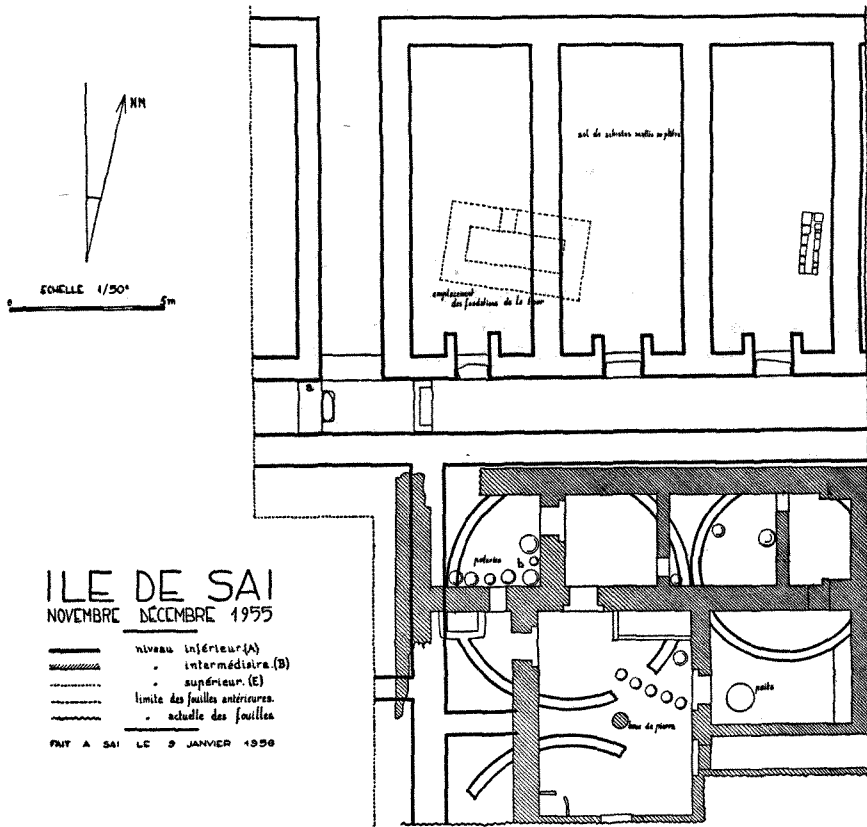


FIG. 7. PLAN OF LEVELS A-B IN 1956

the centre of the fort, for instance, not more than one metre of debris, sometimes less, is left over the natural soil. In this case the five levels are completely

⁴⁴ For instance in some places between the foundation level of B (Meroitic) and the pavements of buildings belonging to Level A (Egyptian), from five to twelve successive layers, different in composition, were noticed. They will be dealt with in the full scale publication of the site.

⁴⁵ 'Marog' is in the Sudan the equivalent of the Egyptian 'Sebakh'—the nitric soil found in sites which have been inhabited for a long time.

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blurred. This fact shows the importance of excavating the northern part of the fortress, since it is the only part of the site where some depth is left.

We will now examine rapidly each of the levels.

Level A (see PLATE XLIV, a). The buildings are either rectangular storerooms or round silos (see FIG. 7) all built of mud-bricks, with door-jamb and sills of sandstone. The entrance to one of these storerooms had still the lower half of a door-jamb *in situ* with the name of Nehi inscribed on it (see FIG. 7 at a). The consecutive attribution to the XVIIIth Dynasty of these buildings was confirmed later on by the finding of a typical New Kingdom jar (see FIG. 8), which was laid on the floor of one of the silos.

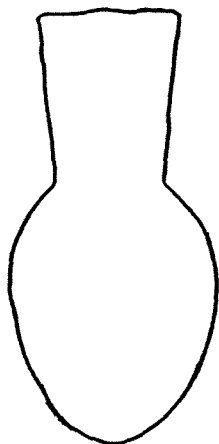


FIG. 8.
NEW KINGDOM
POT (Level A)

During the 1956-7 campaign, it was found that the buildings of this level had undergone some changes and that, for instance, a succession of round silos had been changed into rectangular rooms at a later date, keeping, however, the same level as the previous silos.

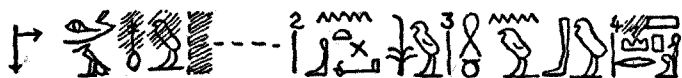
Most of the epigraphic material which was found at higher levels but had originally come from Level A, has been published in KUSH IV. It includes inscriptions from Amosis I, Amosis-Nefertiry, wife of Amosis I, Tuthmosis I, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II and Amenophis III,⁴⁶ as well as from the vice-roys, Nehi and Usersatet. In the last campaign more than fifteen other fragments of inscriptions have been discovered, among which the most important are : (a) part of a fine Egyptian relief with the head of a horse⁴⁷ (see PLATE XLV, a). Over the head of the horse, probably part of a representation


⁴⁶ Cf. J. Vercoutter, KUSH IV, 1956, pp. 74-8, Inscr. 13 to 23.


⁴⁷ Excavation no. S.108.

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of the god Reshep or the goddess Astarte on horseback, since a shield⁴⁸ can be seen near the head of the horse and one can still read (see PLATE XLV, a) :



(b) lower part of a pillar,⁴⁹ bearing the representation of a king () wearing

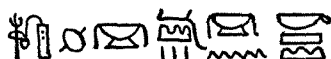
the atef-crown and dressed in the royal pleated loin cloth. In front of the king a god () with a falcon head wearing the double crown.⁵⁰ Beneath is the

beginning of an inscription of which two⁵¹ lines and the first signs of a third one^e are preserved. They run (see PLATE XLVI, a) :



*Year 27, the second month of Peret, the 8th (?) day under the majesty of Horus, the Powerful Bull who rises in Thebes, the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menkheperre the Son of Rē, Tuthmosis given life. His Majesty ordered to fashion a statue of*⁵¹ . . . (?).

(c) A fragment of a sandstone stela⁵² in a dilapidated state (see PLATE XLV, b). On stylistic grounds, and from the text, it belongs to the Ramesside period. It mentions (see PLATE XLV, b) the name of :



Scribe-accountant of the gold and (or of the) overseer of the gold countries of Kush.

⁴⁸ Reshep is usually represented holding a shield in his left hand and a mace in his right, see Leibovitch, articles in *ASAE*, 39, 1939, pp. 145-60 and plates xv-xix ; and *ibid.* 40, 1940, pp. 489-92, and figs. 59-60. But so far he is never represented on horseback, Astarte on the other hand seems to be an equestrian goddess cf. *JNES*, 16, 1957, pp. 265 and 269.

⁴⁹ Excavation no. S.125.

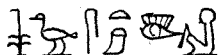
⁵⁰ Later the pillar had been cut in the form of a staircase ; along the border of the steps one can still read the prenomen of Tuthmosis III, *sz n ht.f (Dhwtj-Ms nfr hpr)*.

⁵¹ One is tempted to read here *Hnsw*, and see in the whole sentence an allusion to the scene engraved above the inscription since (a) the god represented could be the falcon-god Khonsu, and (b) *Ssm* which we translate 'statue' could also mean an 'engraved picture' (see *Wb.* 4, 291, (12)). However the traces do not fit well with *Hnsw*.

⁵² Excavation. no. S.103.

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This could belong to the same man mentioned on the pillar, which was seen in 1905 by J. H. Breasted.⁵³ One can still read in column 2 :



the King-son Setau

who was mentioned too it seems on the stela seen by Breasted. In column 6 another King-son is quoted :



The King-son Pesiur

The vice-roys of Nubia, Setau and Pesiur, are well known from other sources.⁵⁴ They were in charge under Rameses II and must be added to the list of vice-roys of Kush already found in Sai.⁵⁵ On the other hand the title *mr ḥ3styw nbw n Kš* 'Overseer of the gold countries of Kush', is, as far as I am aware, new,⁵⁶ and it is tempting to equate him with the well attested title *Overseer of the Gold countries of Amon*⁵⁷ with the implication that during the xxth Dynasty all the gold mines of the southern country Kush, as a whole, were under the supervision of the clergy of Amon.

Embedded among the debris of a wall of a late date was found a badly weathered sitting lion⁵⁸ (see PLATE XLVI, b), still bearing the cartouche of Tuthmosis III :



Menkheperre who is at the head of the foreign countries.

Level B (see PLATE XLIV, a) consists of a large structure (see FIG. 7) built in mud-bricks and composed of rooms with stone sills and some of them with columns. The rooms are intermingled with the remains of the Egyptian Level A, some of their walls being actually built directly on the ruins of the Egyptian ones. The building of this level was erected when the Ancient Egyptian edifices were more

⁵³ Cf. Breasted, 'Second Preliminary Report', *AJSLL*, 25, 1908, p. 98 and photograph, no. 3267, Oriental Institute Chicago, where one can still read : *Mr ḥ3styw nbw n Imn St3 . . . Overseer of the Gold Countries of Amon Seta . . .*

⁵⁴ For Setau, cf. Reisner, *JEA*, 6, pp. 28 and 73 = Gauthier, *RT*, 39, p. 179. For Pesiur, the second of the name, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 176, 178 and 205, note 8.

⁵⁵ Cf. KUSH IV, p. 72, Inscr. 10.

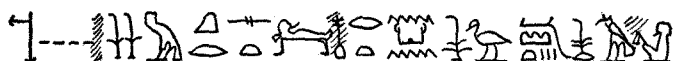
⁵⁶ It is not mentioned either in Säve-Söderbergh, l.c. pp. 273-4 in the index of titles, nor in the study of Gauthier, *RT*, 39, pp. 232 ff. among the various officials attached to the vice-roy of Kush.

⁵⁷ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, l.c., p. 180, with bibliography.

⁵⁸ Excavation no. S.90.

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or less in ruins, as is shown by the fact that at least part of those edifices are re-used in Level B. For instance, a sill of one of the rooms in Level B is composed of half of a door-jamb with the inscription :



. . . *this, as a beautiful burial for the spirit (ka) of the King's son the overseer of Southern Countries Nehi.*

The main Level B could be ascribed to the Meroitic period both from the pottery found *in situ* in one of the rooms (see FIG. 7 at b) and from a small lamp⁵⁹ which was laid on the floor of another. In one of the storerooms the stratigraphy

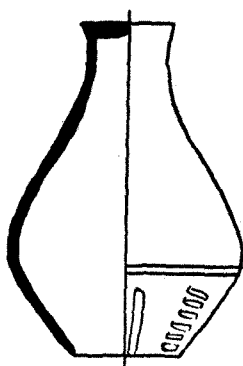


FIG. 9
X-GROUP POTTERY
(Level C and Tumuli
T. 1-2)

between the pavement of Nehi's structure and the foundations of Level B showed that the site was left uninhabited for a long period of time and that when the builders of the Meroitic construction came, the Ancient Egyptian buildings, in that part of the site at least, had been destroyed for a very long time. It is tempting to deduce from this fact that the destruction of the Egyptian level was a result of the storming of the site under Psammetik II, if this king, as has been suggested⁶⁰ went as far as, and south of Sai.

Level C (see PLATE XLVII, b) consists of roughly built dwellings of mud-bricks. The date of the level could be ascertained by the finding of a typical X-Group pot (see FIG. 9), which was still on the pavement of one of the houses. This level is not very thick and it is somewhat difficult, in a number of cases, to distinguish it from the following Level D.

⁵⁹ Excavation no. S.99.

⁶⁰ Cf. Sauneron et Yoyotte, ' La Campagne Nubienne de Psammétique II ', *BIFAO*, 50, 1952, pp. 189 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAI 1955-7

Level D (see PLATE XLVII, a and b). Like Level C, it consists of small houses built of mud-bricks of small size. However thick it is, it has been much disturbed by the subsequent Level E. Its date was determined from the great number of coloured sherds collected, which are of the same type as those found in Soba and Firkinarti,⁶¹ a fragment of Christian epitaph in Greek (on a tablet of red pottery),⁶² and from some pottery stamps with the design of the so-called Solomon's ring (see FIG. 10), or a Maltese cross.

It is from this level that must come the greatest part of the numerous Christian stones which later on were re-used in Level E. Among those stones were found a curious seat in sandstone, maybe the bishop's 'cathedra' adorned with a cross enclosed in a 'rosace'⁶³; a number of capitals of various sizes and shapes,⁶⁴ column drums, some of them hexagonal,⁶⁵ and various other architectural features of good workmanship⁶⁶ as well as fragments of Greek inscriptions.⁶⁷ At least one of the architectural features had been cut from a stone taken from



FIG. 10.
POTTERY STAMP
(Level D)

an Ancient Egyptian building,⁶⁸ which seems to imply that the Christian architects either pursued the demolition work of their Meroitic predecessors, or re-used part or all of the Egyptian buildings as they then stood.

Level E. In the part so far excavated, Level E is represented by a poorly built dry stone wall, which seems to have been erected to support a more massive wall of mud-bricks, unless the mud-brick structure is only a later consolidation of the stone wall. A great number of the stones used come from earlier buildings, Egyptian of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and Christian. It is from this wall that come most of the worked stones found so far, and chiefly the torso of a seated king, possibly the missing part of the statue of Amenophis I discovered near the southern entrance of the fort in 1954.⁶⁹ For the inscription on the back of this

⁶¹ Compare for instance Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba*, SASOP, 3, 1955, pls. x-xiii; and for Firkinarti, L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, p. 22, fig. 17.

⁶² Excavation no. S.110.

⁶³ Excavation no. S.28, dimensions 0.60 × 0.42 × 0.50 m.

⁶⁴ Excavation nos. S.31, 32, 101, 115, etc.

⁶⁵ Excavation no. S.85.

⁶⁶ Excavation nos. S.29, 30, 33, 92, 93, 96, 106, 107.

⁶⁷ Excavation nos. S.42, 57, 110.

⁶⁸ Excavation no. S.92.

⁶⁹ Cf. KUSH IV, p. 79, Inscr. 29.

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statue see KUSH IV, 1956, p. 79, Inscr. 29. The few signs left on the torso *n-swt bity hr st Hr* could be the end of the inscription which began on the head. The whole text being thus read : *He is the head of the Kas of all the living, who rises as king of southern and northern Egypt on the throne of Horus.*

From the fact that a number of the stones used to build the girdle wall of this level come from Christian buildings, it is clear that Level E is of a very late date. One is tempted at first to ascribe it to the Bosnian builders of the 16th century, and all the more so since the walls of the Turkish houses still standing inside the fort are built more or less in the same manner, layers of re-used stones alternating with mud-brick.⁷⁰ However, this is not the only possibility and one must keep an open mind, since one cannot rule out the possibility that this structure was the work of the last Christian inhabitants of Sai who had to defend themselves from the Muslim tribes, and consequently abandoned open settlements to entrench themselves in the fort, dismantling some of the monuments of the towns abandoned in the plain.

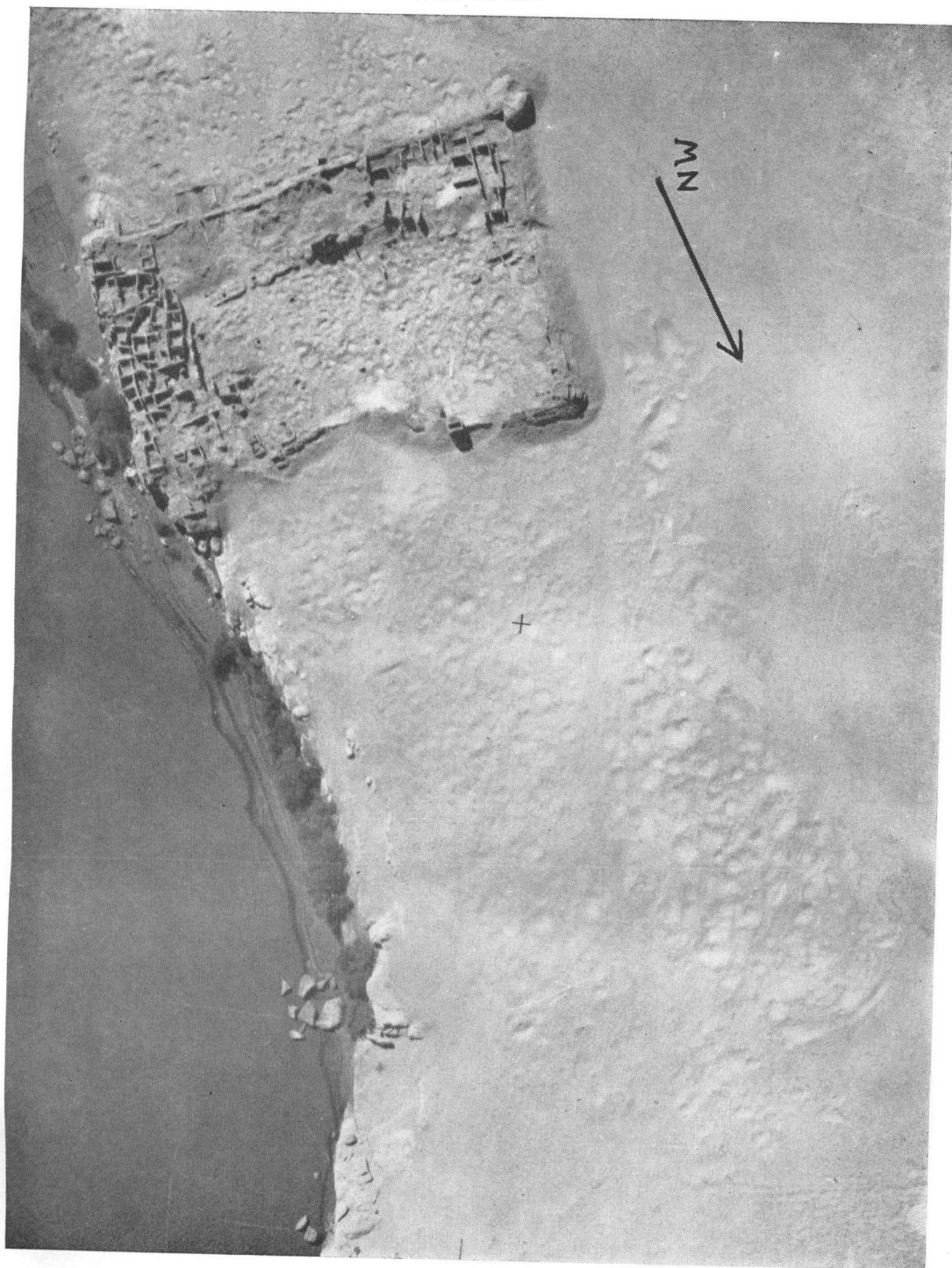
The dating of Level E raises the problem of dating the fortress as a whole. It has been seen above that the date ascribed to it by former visitors to the site varies from the Middle Kingdom (c. 1800 B.C.) to the 16th century A.D. One thing at least is sure : Sai fortress is a very complex building ; it covers an Ancient Egyptian site, which was later on re-occupied, possibly by the Napatans,⁷¹ and certainly by the Meroitics, the X-Group peoples, the Christian Nubians, and lastly the Turks. If the buildings, still standing though much dilapidated, in the centre of the fort are undoubtedly of the Muslim period since they include a ruined mosque, the date of the walls which surround these structures is much more difficult to determine. The north wall, very different in style and size from the others, could be Turkish, but even this is not sure since we have seen that Level E, in this part, is formed by two different walls, one of stone, one of mud-brick, only this one could possibly be Turkish. The round bastion, and the south and western walls much resemble the Christian fortresses of the Middle Nile.⁷²

⁷⁰ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 55, wrote ' the Castle of Say, built of alternate layers of stone and bricks, with high walls '.

⁷¹ At least one of the stones found in the later wall seems to bear the style of the Napatan period ; it consists in part of a lintel decorated by a frieze of uræi. The uræi bear a sun disk itself adorned with the *double* uræus, distinctive of the Napatan period. (Excavation no. S.5, dimensions : 0.65 × 0.20 × 0.15 m.), furthermore grave T.3 (see below, p. 168) seems to belong to the xxvth Dynasty.

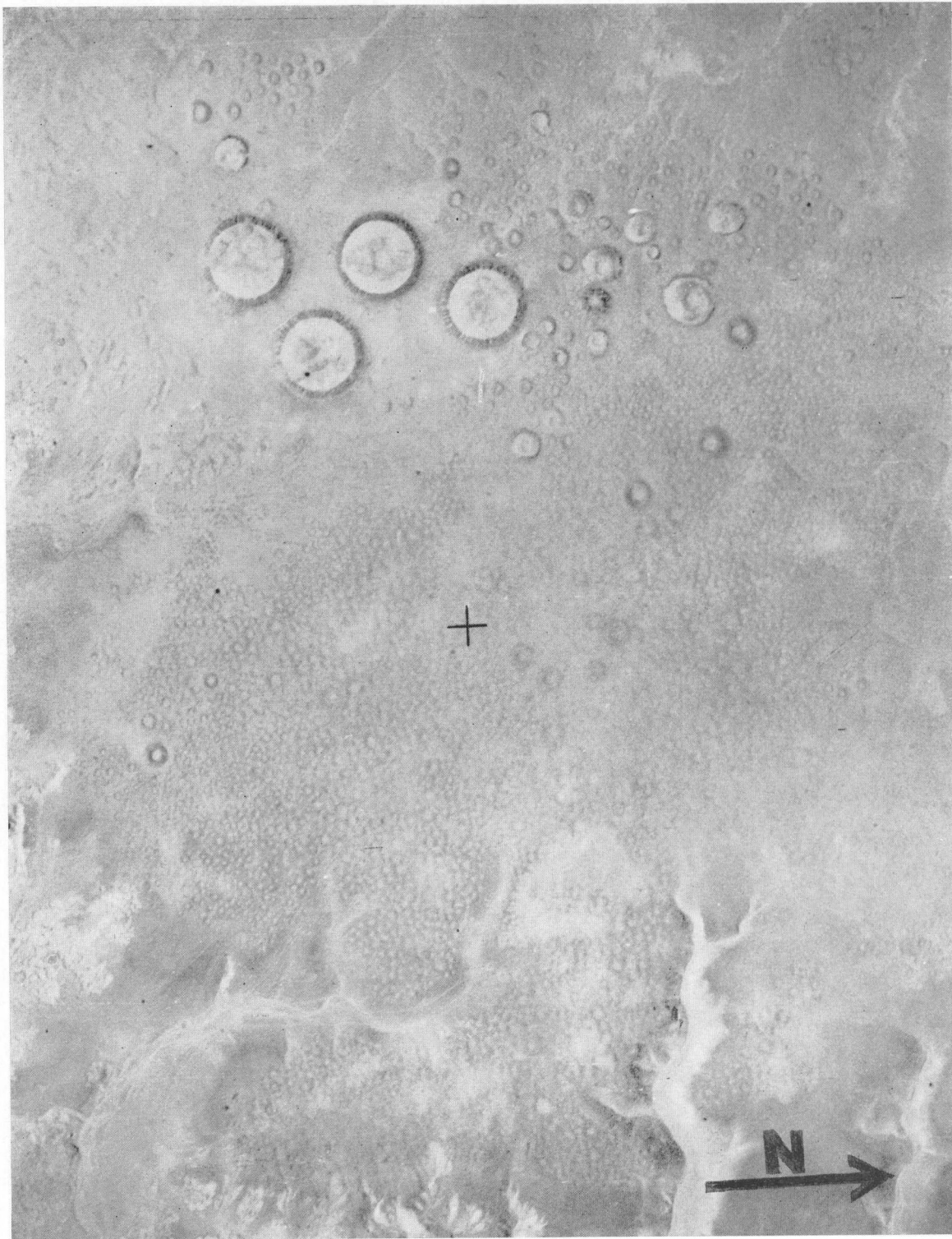
⁷² Cf. O. G. S. Crawford, *Castles and Churches in the Middle Nile Region*, SASOP, 2, 1953. The Castle of El Kab (l.c. p. 10 and fig. 1) with its bastions of irregular oval shape (l.c. p. 12 and fig. 2) as well as with the asymmetric northern wall, much resembles the plan of Sai fortress. For other similarities with Christian forts, see l.c., p. 29, and fig. 8 (Gandeisi Castle) and, *ibid.*, fig. 10, facing p. 31 (El Koro Castle) ; see, too, Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 86 and fig. 19 (Qirsh Castle) ; and U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medievale*, p. 46, figs. 35, 36 (detail of the oval shaped bastion).

PLATE XL



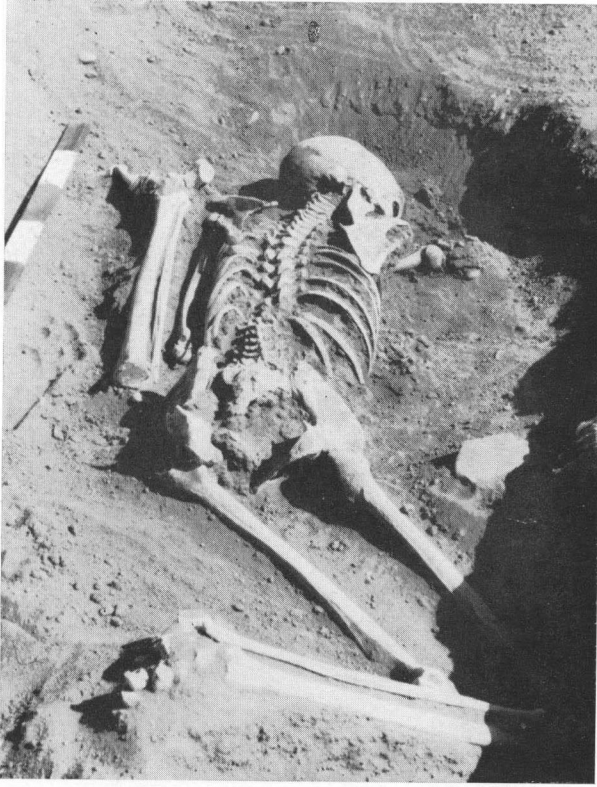
FORT AND TOWN FROM THE AIR—BEFORE EXCAVATION
Air Photograph Sudan Survey

PLATE XLI

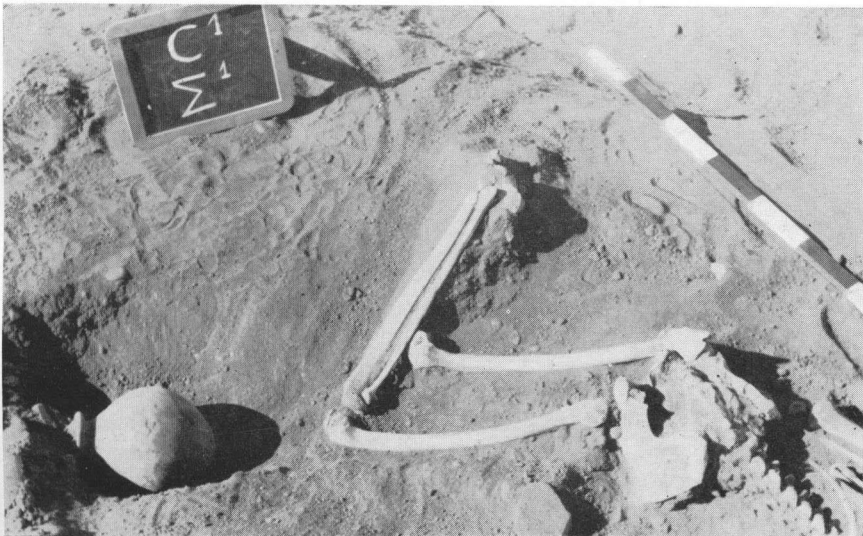


SAI SOUTH CEMETERY FROM THE AIR (1954)
Air Photograph Sudan Survey

PLATE XLII



a. SACRIFICIAL (?) BURIAL OF TUMULUS C.1



b. POTTERY *IN SITU* C.1

PLATE XLIII

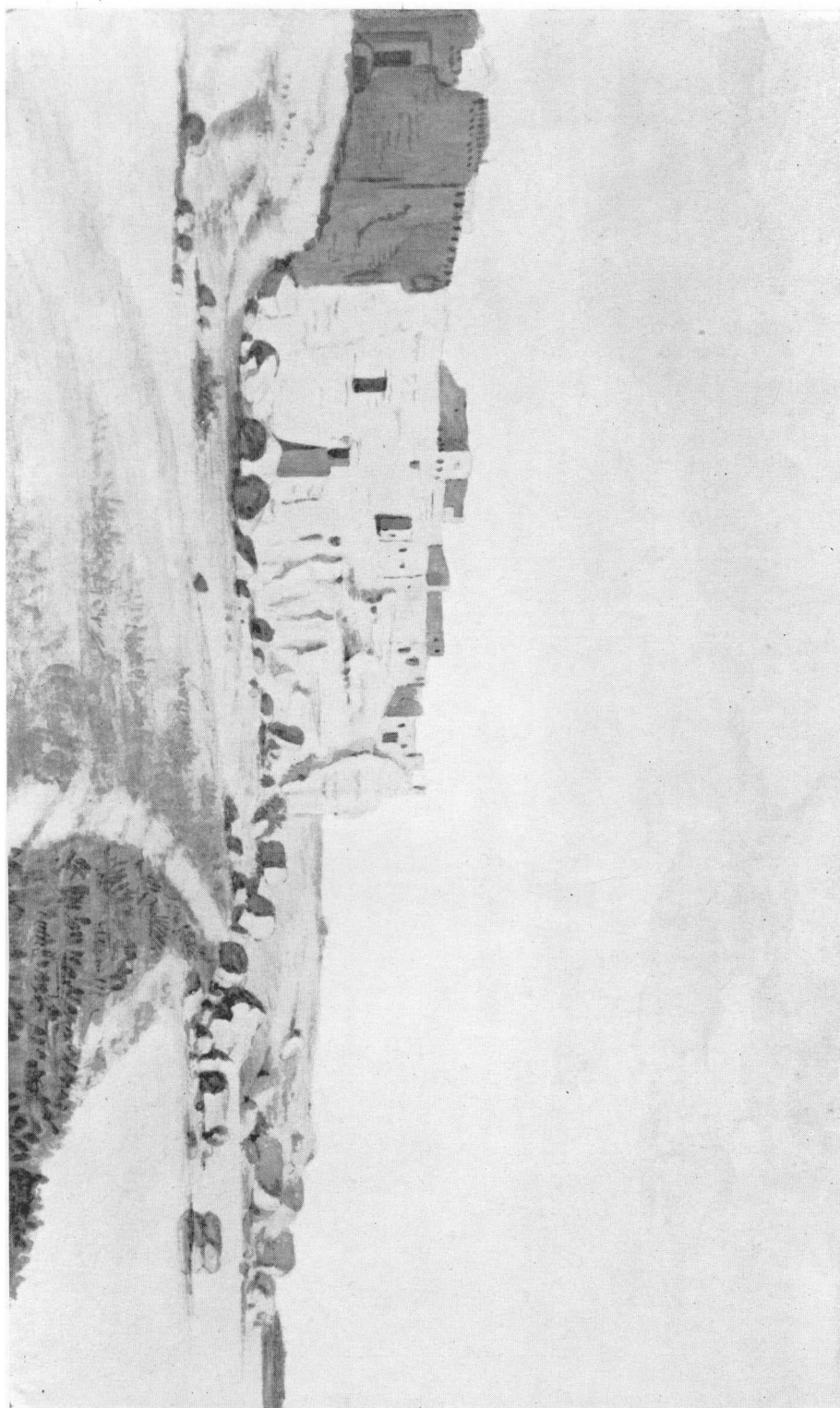
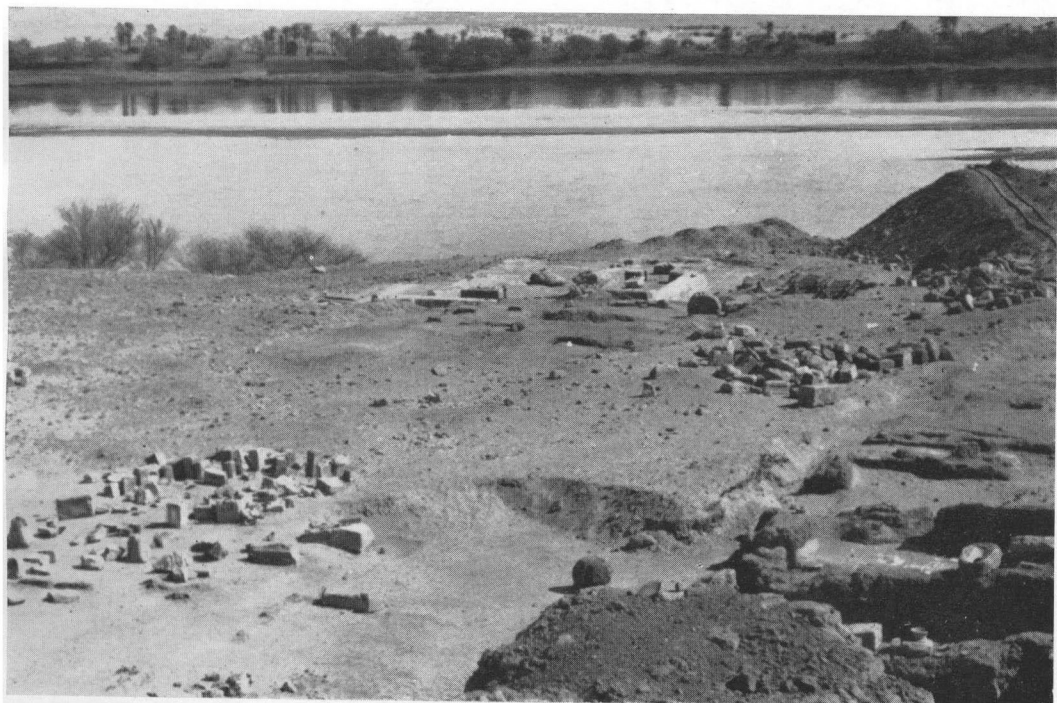


PLATE XLIV



a. LEVELS A-B FROM THE WEST



b. NORTH TEMPLE FROM THE GIRDLE WALL

PLATE XLV



a. RELIEF S.108



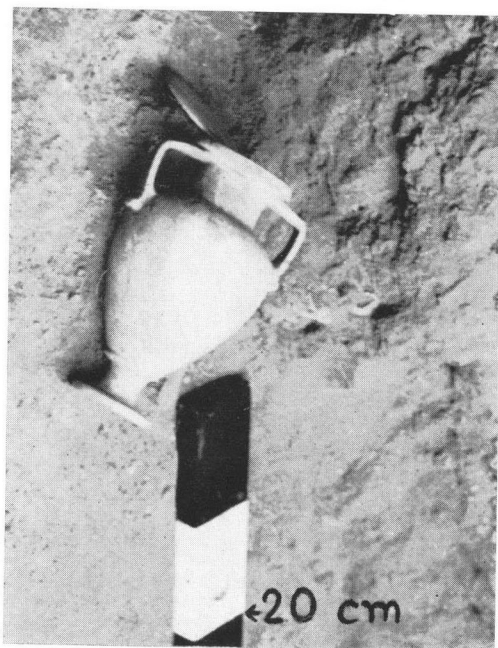
b. RELIEF S.103



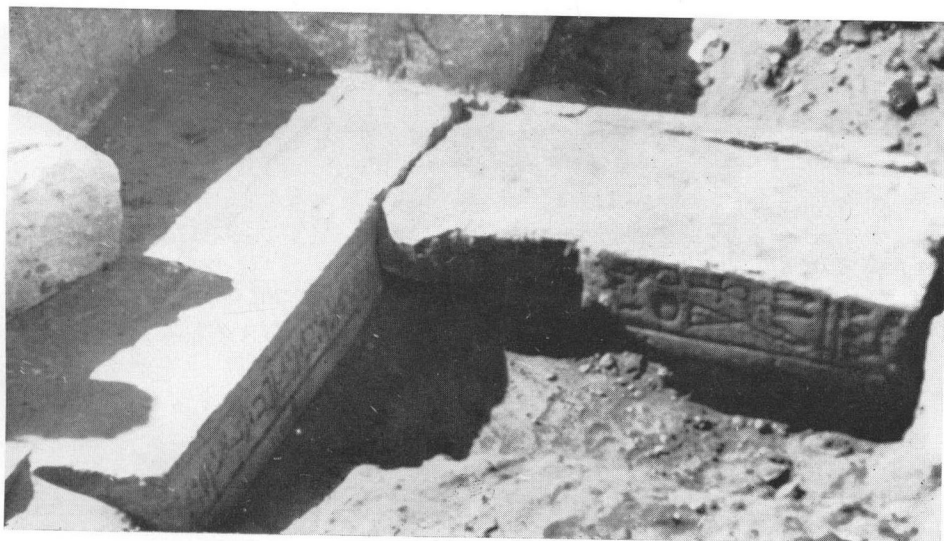
a. TEXT OF THE YEAR 27 OF TUTHMOSIS III



b. LION OF TUTHMOSIS III



c. ALABASTER VASE FROM GRAVE T.3 IN SITU



d. RE-USED STONES IN NORTH TEMPLE

PLATE XLVII



←Level E

←Level D

a. LEVELS E-D

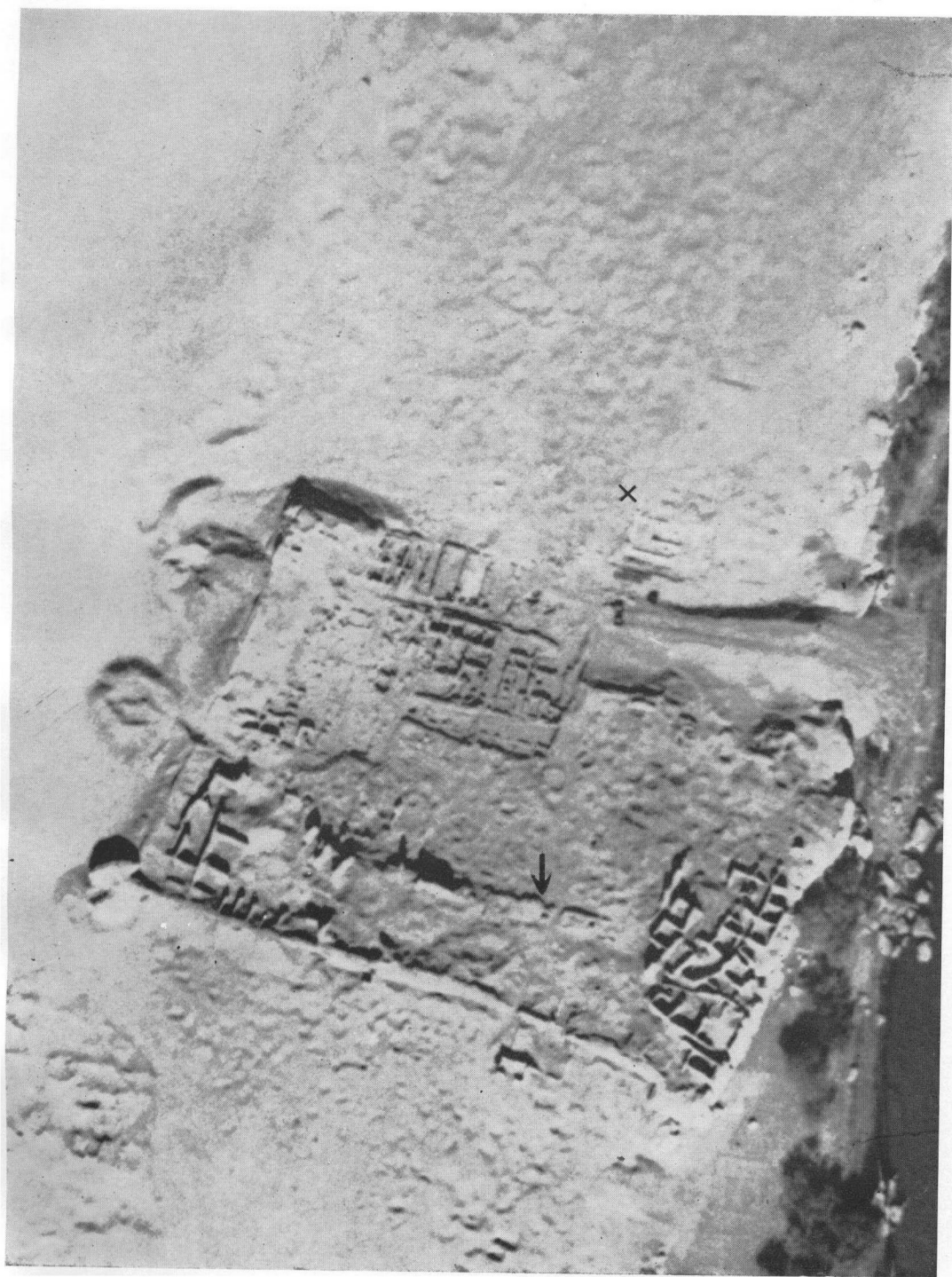


←Level D

←Level C

b. LEVELS D-C

PLATE XLVIII



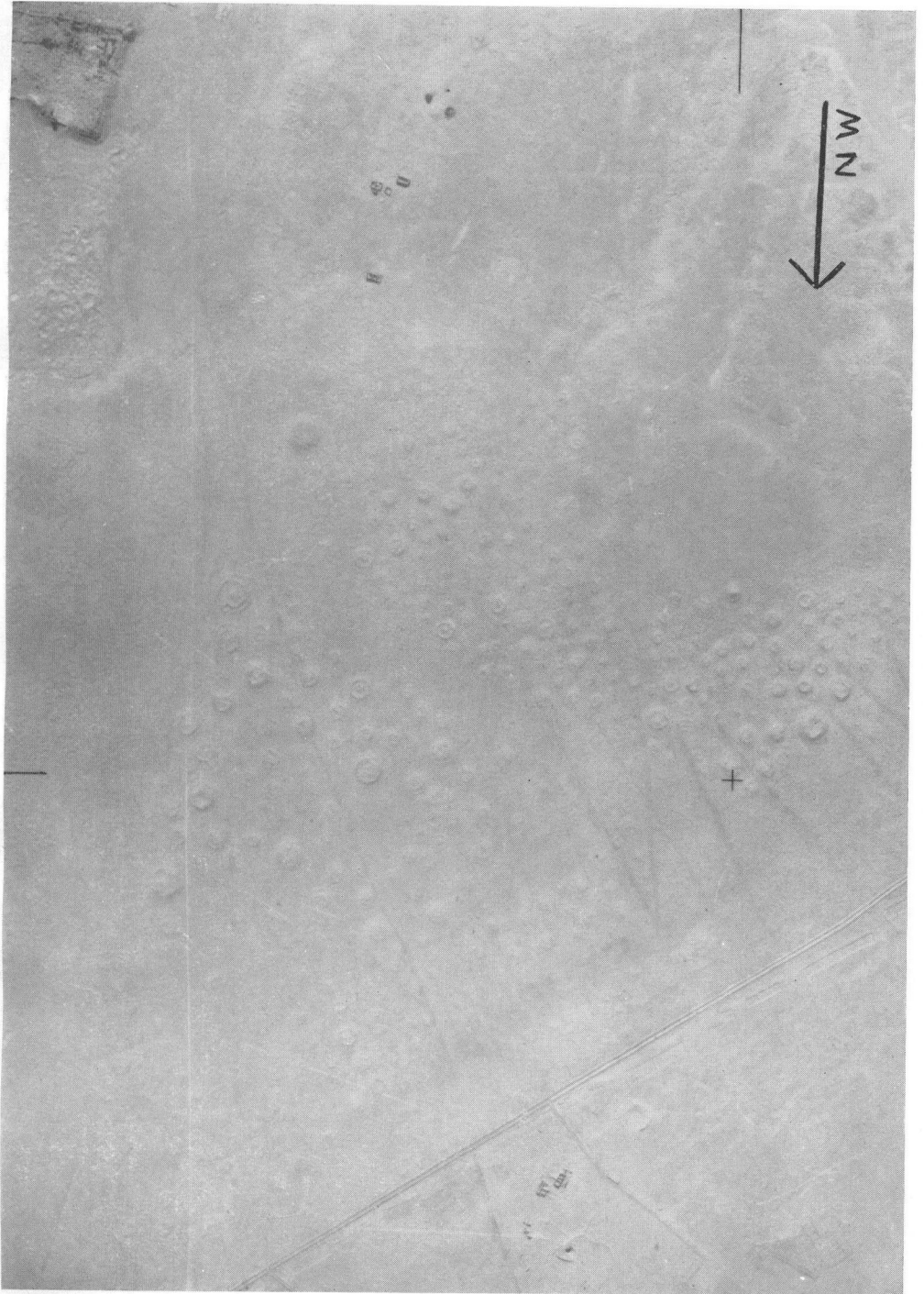
FORTRESS FROM THE AIR IN 1957



CEMETERY SOUTH-WEST FROM FORT (1954)

Air Photograph

PLATE L



THE NORTH-WESTERN CEMETERY FROM THE AIR

Some of the ancient travellers mention that according to local tradition the fortress was built by the Bosnian soldiers, but it is obvious that this tradition was biased. Indeed in 1820, the inhabitants of Sai considered themselves—some of them still do at the present time—as the direct descendants of the soldiers of Sultan Selim, and accordingly they considered the fortress as their heirloom, hence the tradition. Cailliaud seems to have done justice to this false claim when he writes⁷³: *It is stated that Sultan Selim undertook some repairs there and entrenched himself in the fort.*⁷⁴ *One can still see some small Turkish guns.*⁷⁵ *It is said too that the Sultan built dwellings on the ruins of Ancient Egyptian buildings.* This remark—Cailliaud does not state the source of his information—tallies with the facts observed during our excavations. If we agree to it, only the repairs on the north wall and the houses inside the fort would be 16th-century work. Indeed, since the castle did not offer any opposition to Ismail Pasha's army in 1820,⁷⁶ it is improbable that the northern wall could have been standing in the 19th century, and the obvious difference in technique between the north wall and the southern and western ones could be safely ascribed to the hasty work⁷⁷ of the few Bosnian soldiers who settled in the fort at the beginning of the 16th century. If such were the case, the bulk of the defence walls would be either late Christian or early Arab, since the Turkish Sultan was called upon for help by the Gharbye tribes in their struggle with the Djowahere tribes around 1500.⁷⁸

Between the two possibilities, late-Christian or Arab, the former is more probable if we take into consideration the type of structure. As we have noted already⁷⁹ the plan of Sai fortress is more or less similar to the Christian forts along the Nile Valley. That the Christian fort, if such it is, was itself built on an Ancient Egyptian fortress as suggested by Cailliaud, is not only proved by the excavations but historical sources too. One Egyptian inscription found on the site reads *Mnnw n Ši't, The fortress of Shaât*⁸⁰ and we know the name of a *ḥṣty-ḥt-šj't, governor of the castle of Shaât*.⁸¹ A glance at the air photograph

⁷³ Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, p. 367.

⁷⁴ Of course Sultan Selim did not come personally to Sai. Cailliaud only means that it was on his orders that the expedition was made.

⁷⁵ Linant de Bellefonds, *Journal d'un Voyage, etc.*, p. 191, confirms that the guns were Turkish of the 16th century. *I saw guns with the mark of Sultan Selim.* Sultan Selim I reigned 1467-1520.

⁷⁶ Cf. Douin, *Histoire du Soudan Egyptien*, Cairo 1944, p. 93. Douin quotes Cadalvéne and Breuvery, *L'Egypte et la Nubie*, II, p. 361, which I have been unable to consult.

⁷⁷ Burckhardt, too (see *Travels in Nubia*, p. 134), was of the opinion that the Turks only repaired an existing fort. He writes: 'The Bosnian soldiers built the three castles or rather repaired the existing fabrics at Asswan, Ibrim and Say' (italics are ours).

⁷⁸ Cf. Burckhardt, l.c., pp. 133-4.

⁷⁹ See note 72 above.

⁸⁰ Cf. KUSH IV, p. 74 Inscr. 13.

⁸¹ Louvre Stela C. 103=Pierret, *Rec. Inscr. Inédites*, II, p. 41, quoted by G. Posener, present number of KUSH, p. 58 note 172.

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(see PLATE XL) shows that the site was surrounded by a ditch—still unexcavated—clear, however, on the picture, along the western side of the site.

Inside the fort there still exists a great wall, about four metres thick, which seems to be a part of the Ancient Egyptian outer fortifications (see PLATE XLVIII at arrow and FIG. 11 at a), since excavations have shown that it is built on the same precise orientation, north-south, east-west, as the Egyptian Level A, and,

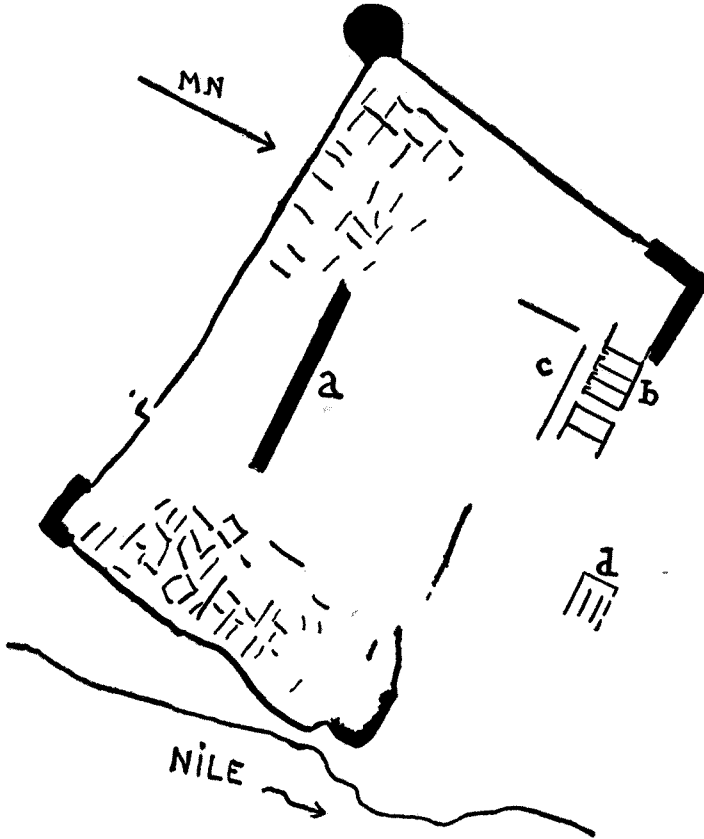


FIG. 11. SKETCH MAP OF THE FORTRESS

consequently, it is but a part of this level. From place to place traces of fire can be seen along its inside lining, maybe an indication of an ancient storming of the fort.

One of the main features of the Egyptian level still to be elucidated by future excavation, is the existence or not of a temple within the enclosure. It has been suggested that there never was any temple in the fort,⁸² and that the only ones there were located *outside* the fortress. From the reports of the

⁸² Thabit Hassan Thabit, see note 17 above.

travellers who saw the site when it was not so ruined as it is now, it seems that at the beginning of the 19th century, parts of an Egyptian temple could still be seen within the fort. Bonomi⁸³ writes: *About the middle of the town* (by which he means obviously the fort) *are the remains of an Egyptian temple of grit or sandstone. The lower part of the columns and the door posts stand in situ. They have had hieroglyphs on them in relievo but now entirely gone, besides the greater part of the columns is hid by the modern walls of houses in ruin.*

Cailliaud a few years before gives the same information; when visiting the big mud-brick building, the *remains of an ancient fortress*, he writes.⁸⁴ *I saw there the ruins of a very small Egyptian temple where one can still see the two door-jambs of a gateway adorned with some hieroglyphs and two fragments of columns. If Linant does not agree with Cailliaud about the size of the temple, he was also of the opinion that the stones he saw within the fort belonged to an Egyptian temple still partly standing, if much ruined. He noted that part of the later walls were built with the remains of a temple which was within the Castle . . . the ruins of the temple are composed of sections of columns still in their place and in a house there are still other small remains which show that this monument must have been important.*⁸⁵ Lepsius also states that in the middle of the fortress stands a temple, from which two column drums are still standing; near the columns two door-jambs were standing too and bore the cartouche of Tuthmosis III, their inner face bearing the name of an *Idnw* of Kush.⁸⁶ Lepsius, a trained epigraphist, would not have mentioned the *inner face* of a doorway had he not seen the door-jamb *in situ*. It seems, therefore, that from 1820 to 1844 at least small parts of the original temple were still in existence and that they were dismantled later on as a result of *marog* digging.

Since it had been suggested⁸⁷ that all the stones lying within the enclosure came from a small monument which could still be seen outside the fort near the northern wall, I decided to clear this small edifice (see PLATES XLIV, b, XLVIII, and FIG. 11 at d). It consists of three *cellae*, or rectangular rooms, preceded by a hall too much ruined to show its design. In the south-western corner there are still traces of engraving enhanced with yellow pigment and on the south side are the scanty remains of a small enclosure wall of mud-bricks about 60 cm. thick.

⁸³ Unpublished *Diary* of Bonomi, entry of 14 December 1829. Bonomi's *Diary* is in the possession of Mrs Anthony de Cosson and other members of the family, see Porter-Moss, VII, p. xxxiii.

⁸⁴ Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, p. 366.

⁸⁵ Linant de Bellefonds, *Journal d'un Voyage* . . . , p. 191.

⁸⁶ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Text, v, pp. 226-7. For the text of this *deputy* of Kush see also KUSH IV, p. 76.

⁸⁷ Thabit Hassan Thabit unpublished report (see above note 17) p. 3 of MSS. 'all the inscribed sandstone blocks found within the fort enclosure . . . have been brought from the Egyptian site immediately to the north of the fort' and again (p. 10 of MSS) 'the big slabs of inscribed sandstone . . . lying within the enclosure . . . were brought by the Bosnians from the area lying just north of the fort'.

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My first impression was that we were in the presence of a small temple dating from Amenophis II, but a closer study showed rapidly that such was not the case. A number of the stones used for the building are re-used from other structures. In the northern room, for instance, we found two blocks, integral parts of the masonry (see PLATE XLVI, d) which belonged, one to a construction of Nehi since it still bears the following inscription :



An offering which the King gives so that Renenut, the mistress of the food may give thousands of everything good and pure ; the offerings which are in the southern land ; the food which is in the northern land to the spirit (ka) of the Royal Son, Nehi.

The other one (see PLATE XLVI, d, right part of photograph) was engraved with part of a royal titulary similar to the one which was found in 1956, and is from Amenophis II. It follows that the small temple so excavated is *later* than Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II and that it belongs to a period when the buildings of those kings were more or less dismantled. From the fact that the Meroitic level was at least partly established on a ruined town (see above pp. 157-8) and, for instance, the door-jamb re-used in the temple could come from a similar building to the one from which one of the sills of the Meroitic house was taken (see p. 158), I would suggest for this northern temple a late date, either 25th Dynasty or more probably Meroitic.

To the south-west of the fortress lies an extensive cemetery of round graves (see PLATE XLIX). Being, for a time, too short of labourers to work effectively in the fort, we made three trial diggings in this cemetery to ascertain its date. We excavated two tumuli (T.1 and 2) and a rectangular grave (T.3) (for the positions see PLATE XLIX).

Tumulus T.1. Of a diameter of 8 m. 20, and a height of 0 m. 50, the tumulus was composed of greyish earth, somewhat friable, filled with a few pebbles and rare pieces of broken bricks. Some sherds and bones were found in the earth of the tumulus. Once the tumulus proper had been removed, five rectangular graves were found (see FIG. 12), dug into the natural ground, a rough gravel in a whitish and pulverulent soil. Graves 1, 2 and 3 were roughly orientated east-west, while grave 4 and possibly grave 5⁸⁸ were north-south. From the fact that grave 3 was partly inside and partly outside the area covered by the tumulus, it was obvious that the two types of graves did not belong to the same period and that the east-western burials were older than the north-southern one. This was

⁸⁸ The contour of grave 5 given on fig. 12 may not be the original position of the grave since its linings had collapsed in ancient times.

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all the more certain when we observed that while the tumulus itself was intact, the graves 1 to 3 had been anciently plundered and the bones were found scattered on the ground on which the tumulus was later erected. Grave 2 was completely

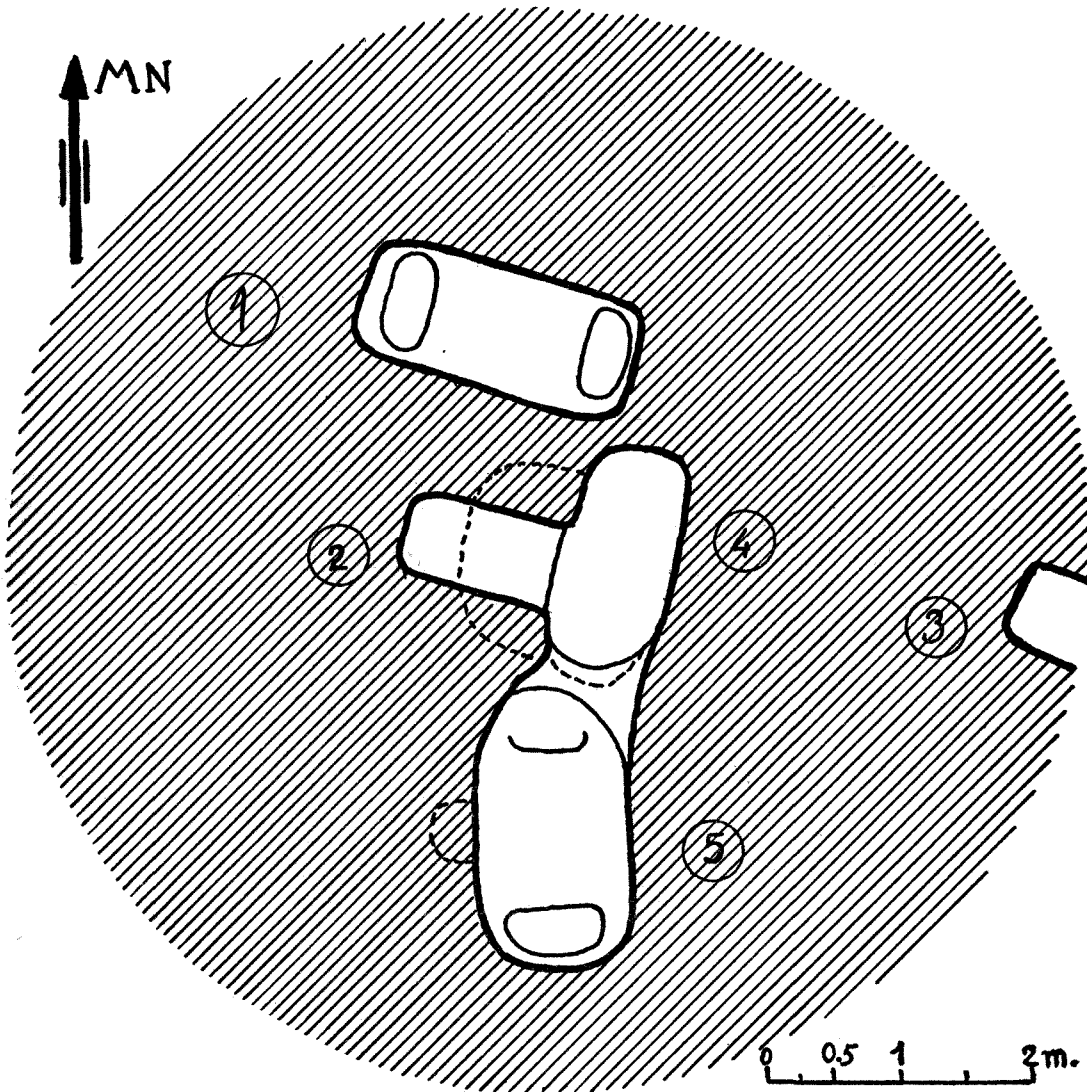


FIG. 12. TUMULUS T.1—PLAN

empty ; grave 1 had a few bones and a fragment of a wooden stick. The sherds were coarse and some big bricks ($37 \times 17 \times 8$ cm.) had fallen into the grave, coming possibly from a former covering of the burial. Grave 4, orientated north-south, had still the corpse in it, head turned to the south and facing east.

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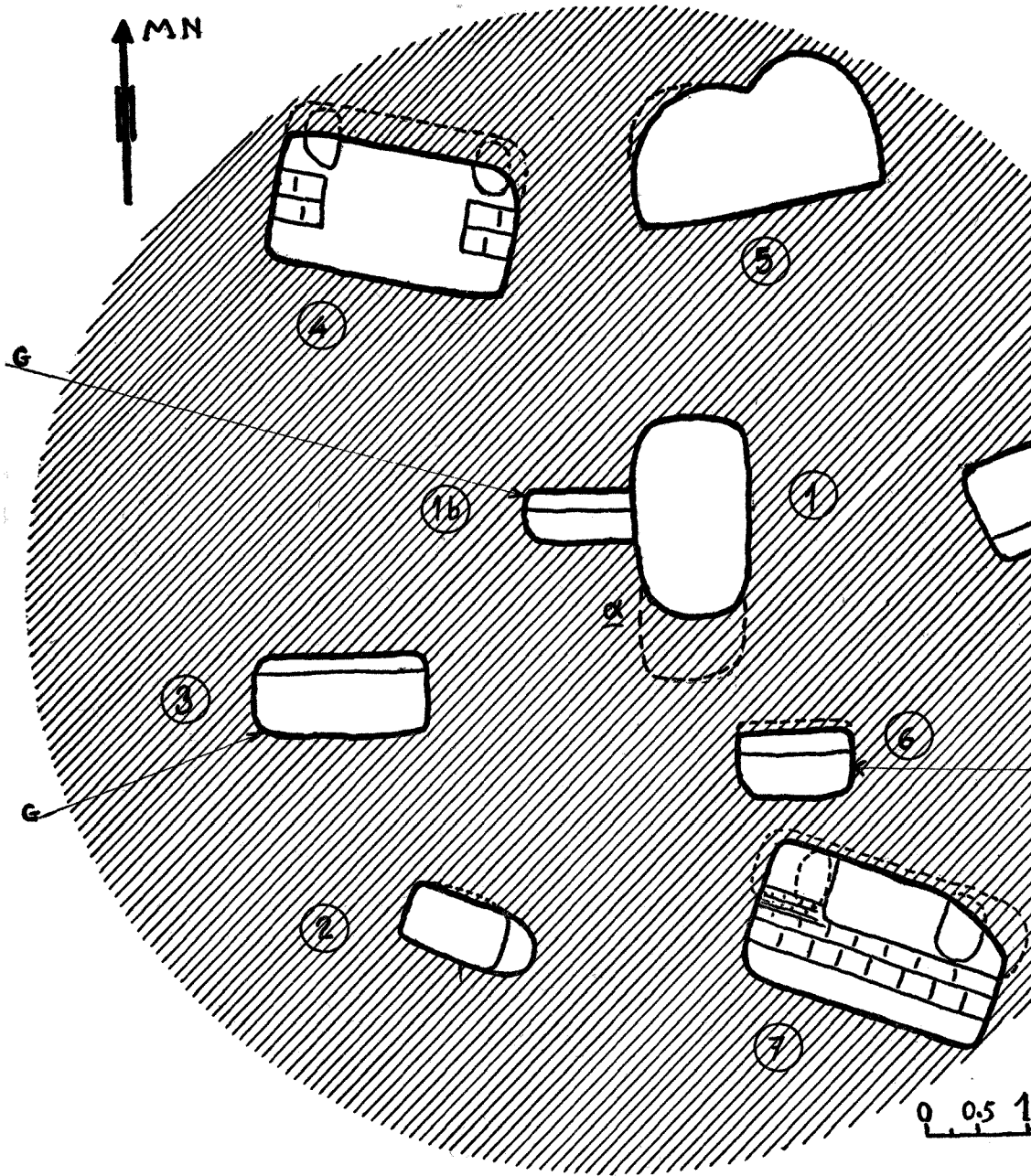


FIG. 13. TUMULUS T.2—PLAN

EXCAVATIONS AT SAI 1955-7

The body was in a contracted position, hands toward the knees, and wore a leather garment. Over the head a 'goatskin' had been laid. Near the feet and under the knees typical X-Group pots (see FIG. 9 above) were found. Grave 5, of undefined shape, had been robbed and contained only a few scattered bones and fragments of broken bricks. Notwithstanding its orientation it must belong to the same period as graves 1 to 3.

Tumulus T.2. Like the first one, tumulus 2 (see FIG. 13) 11 m. 05 in diameter and 0 m. 60 in height, contained two different kinds of graves. Graves 1, b and 2 to 8 were roughly orientated east-west; only grave 1 was north-south. A roughly made pot of blackened pottery, adorned with incised strokes near the rim, was found at 15 cm. below the surface of the tumulus and quite near to the centre (FIG. 13 at α). Grave 1: the body seems to have been originally in the same position as that in tumulus, 1 grave 4, but it was more or less disturbed as a

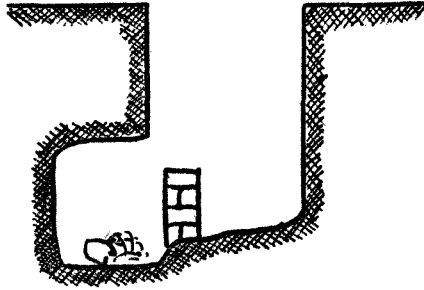


FIG. 14. SECTION OF GRAVE IN T.2

result of some digging by wild animals. On the corpse, traces of a garment of cloth were found; under the legs and near the head vases similar to those in tumulus 1, grave 4, were collected as well as fragments of basket work and a few beads. Grave 1, b was the interment of a child, no objects were found; the body was laid on its back, head to the west. Grave 2 was also the interment of a child, possibly a foetus, in the embryonic position, head to the west, face to south. Near the feet were two vases, one broken, the other possibly a feeder. Graves 3, 4, 6 and 8 had been completely robbed. Grave 5, robbed too, yielded however two vases, one globular, the other a dish. Grave 7, a little deeper than the others, has escaped plundering. It is of the type with a lateral niche, blocked by a small wall of bricks (see, for instance, FIG. 14). The body was *in situ*, head to the west, face to south; as in tumulus 1, graves 1 and 5, hollows had been cut near the head and at the feet. The objects found were a small vase with handles, a big amphora still capped with a bowl, a wooden head-rest and a copper razor.⁸⁹

It is obvious, from the facts observed and from the objects collected, that tumuli 1 and 2 were erected during the X-Group period, but that they were

⁸⁹ Amphora and bowl=Excavation no. S.81 and 81 bis (height 0.46). The headrest (S.82) and copper razor (S.83) are now in Khartoum Museum, Entry numbers 11732 and 11731.

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built over an older cemetery. This older necropolis, from the objects and type of graves⁹⁰ can be safely ascribed to the Meroitic period,⁹¹ but, if we can judge from the evidence collected in tumulus 2, grave 7, the only unplundered interment, it seems that it belonged either to a poor class of people or to a time when the Meroitic Empire had declined.

During the excavation of tumuli 1 and 2, I had observed a slight depression, rectangular in shape on the top of one of the gravel terraces, near the tumuli then under excavation. This grave was excavated in December 1956. It consists of a small rectangular shaft giving access to a vaulted room of sun-dried bricks (see FIG. 15). The grave had been plundered, but a beautiful alabaster⁹² handled jar had been left by the robbers (see PLATE XLVI, c), as well as a small pottery vase (S.116) and a small scarab⁹³ (see FIG. 16). From the shape of the alabaster, and

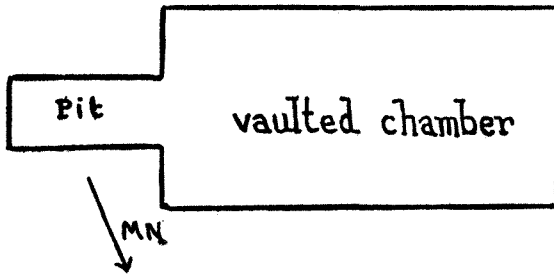


FIG. 15. GRAVE T.3

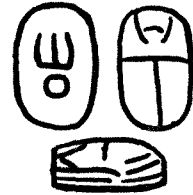


FIG. 16. SCARAB
FROM GRAVE T.3

the type of the scarab, I think that this grave (T.3 on plate) can be ascribed to a late dynastic period, possibly xxvth Dynasty (c. 750 B.C.)⁹⁴

The excavation campaign of 1956-7 was finished in January 1957 with the trial digging of three mound burials in the North-Western Cemetery (see PLATE L). Excavations, in this part of the site, were conducted by Senior Inspector of

⁹⁰ For this kind of Meroitic grave either with a lateral niche, or the body on one side and bordered by a brick wall, see, for instance, Reisner, *Kerma I-III*, HAS, v, plan XII A, facing p. 50.

⁹¹ L. P. Kirwan, *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, p. 19, notes that it is an 'almost universal rule' for the X-Group people to select the site of an earlier Meroitic cemetery, to establish their own graves.

⁹² Excavation no. S.117, now in the Khartoum Museum, Entry no. 11764.

⁹³ Excavation no. S.118. The design is most probably the sun disk topped by the Atef-crown. For this design on late scarabs, see J. Vercoutter, *Objets Égyptiens et Égyptisants du Mobilier funéraire Carthaginois*, Paris 1945, pp. 140-1, nos. 189-92.

⁹⁴ The type of alabaster jar to which no. S.117 belongs is reminiscent of the similar alabaster found in Assyria and published by Fr. V. Bissing, 'Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Alabastengefässe', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, N.F. 12 (vol. XLVI) pp. 149 ff. The type of grave is known in Nubia since the xviiiith Dynasty, see Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, I, Text, p. 137 ff., tombs H 2, 5, 29 and so on. But this is no proof of a New Kingdom date. The small vase (S.116) is paralleled at Kurru, cf. D. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush, El Kurru*, pl. xliii, C 8844, from a tomb ascribed possibly to Shebitku's time. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 103.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAI 1955-7

Antiquities, Thabit Hassan, who will write the preliminary report of the work done under his supervision. It is sufficient to state here that the burials proved to be X-Group.

Conclusions

To complete the excavations at Sai, a considerable amount of work is still to be done, and greater material resources than I have had so far at my disposal will have to be provided. Hundreds of tombs have to be excavated in the south cemetery and a thorough search undertaken to find the Kerma culture settlement of the Middle Kingdom Shaât which is contemporary with this necropolis. In the fort, less than one quarter of the site has been excavated, and tons of earth would have to be displaced to reach the temple or temples still undiscovered. The town which is on the edge of the fortress is untouched. The Egyptian cemetery south of the fort has not been tried, and the huge cemeteries north, west and south-west of the Egyptian settlement ought to be explored more thoroughly than we were able to do.

It is obvious that the temple has suffered severe damage, and that there is little hope of recovering much more than the ground plan of it, but a number—if not all—of the stones which once adorned it, are certainly still enclosed in the later walls and will be recovered piece by piece. The results so far obtained prove that this material is of interest not only for the history of the site, but for history itself. For the town, I should not like to commit myself at the time of writing. It is not so well buried as one would expect at first sight,⁹⁵ but even so it can yield, if not many objects, at least important data on the type of settlement established by the Ancient Egyptians at the beginning of the New Kingdom.

Sai from palaeolithic times up to the 16th century of our era has kept traces of all the ups and downs of Sudan History. During the three excavation campaigns, 1955-7, the names of nearly all the pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, from Amosis to Amenophis IV, have been discovered, showing that it was, as far as we know, a most important site in the Sudan at this time. We now find one after the other the names of the vice-roys of Kush and they prove that notwithstanding the establishment of Amara during the XIXth Dynasty, Sai was still an important town during the Ramesside.

Re-occupied during the Meroitic Kingdom, Sai was obviously if one judges by the extent of the cemeteries of this date, an important centre for the X-Group peoples. From the number of the churches within the island and the fact that it was the seat of a bishopric, we know too that it did not lose any of its importance during Christian times, with the implication that it is a likely place to look for Greek and Nubian inscriptions.

The conclusion is that Sai is an important site in every sense, and that its excavation ought to be resumed as soon as possible.

⁹⁵ The excavations along the outside north border of the girdle wall have shown that the natural ground is no more deeply covered than about 0.50 to 0.60 m.

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FIELD ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE NILE REGION

In KUSH II, pp. 94-5, Mr H. N. Chittick has some remarks about my article in KUSH I. These concern the cemetery at the foot of Jebel Erembat, quern-fragments and rubbing-stones from neolithic sites at Shiqila and Ed Damer, and various remains at Jakdul.

He is probably right in regarding the grave at Erembat (my plate I, b) as Moslem, not Christian. Whether the adjacent *qubba* was Christian or Moslem could only be decided by excavation; the red bricks with crosses do, however, prove that Christians inhabited there. That was known already; it was the record of a brick with PETROS on it that first aroused my interest in the site.

Shiqila and Ed Damer. For reasons of transport I collected only the smaller fragments of what I regarded—and still regard—as saddle-querns, not ochre-grinders. There were at Ed Damer many bigger fragments lying on the surface, and I wish now that I had retrieved them. Dr A. J. Arkell has shown quite conclusively that some grinding stones were used for grinding ochre, but I am not convinced that all of them were so used. The curve of some that I saw at these two sites was a flat one, implying that the original stone was a large one; but of course that alone is not proof that it was used for grinding grain. It would seem that the matter must remain controversial until further excavation has been carried out; and I would enter a plea for the early excavation of at any rate the Ed Damer site, which is not only most conveniently situated close to the town but also (for that very reason) in danger of being built over and lost to science.

Since I wrote the article Dr Kathleen Kenyon has found in the oldest pre-pottery strata at Jericho certain soap-cake rubbing-stones that were used in a peculiar type of grooved quern.¹ These rubbing-stones would appear, judging from the illustrations only, to resemble Arkell's from Shaheinab²; I picked up several of this type on the desert margin of the west bank, especially near Bauga, and have one in front of me as I write. It is of vesicular lava and looks exactly like a bluish rubber sponge. In the same marginal belt one can pick up many potsherds of Shaheinab type. Surface association, of course, proves nothing,

¹ Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho*, 1957, p. 57, pl. 16 b.

² *Shaheinab*, pl. 21, 4.

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but my own opinion is that the soap-cake grinders are of the same age as the potsherds. The problem of whether any of these stones were used for grinding corn is important because, if they were, it would prove that the users were food-producers (unless they were used for grinding the seeds of wild plants). On general grounds it would seem improbable that the inhabitants of the Middle Nile Region were still ignorant of food-production at least three thousand years after it was practised at Jericho and at least a thousand years after it was practised in the Fayum.³ As Dr Arkell has shown, there are typological links between Shaheinab and the Fayum. But in the neighbourhood of these two Sudanese sites corn-growing could never have been more than a supplementary source of subsistence unless there was irrigation.

Jakdul. Mr Chittick's remarks concern the forts, the 'evidence of permanent occupation', the 'parallel ridges' and the pool itself. He repeats my remarks about the forts and was not 'able to find anything in the immediate vicinity of the pools demonstrably earlier than 1884'. Neither was I, for I did not suggest a date for any of the other field-works. I do not however agree with him and Shinnie that the parallel ridges are 'the relics of the spaces cleared for camel-lines or for tents'. Compare my KUSH I, plate IX with that in *Archaeology in the Field*, plate 22 b, showing precisely similar ridges still cultivated at Ourei in Darfur.

I don't know what exactly a 'significant spring' is, but cannot believe that the pool depends on flood waters from the hills behind. Surely what happens is that during periods of rainfall the hills soak up the water which sinks down and then leaks out round the edge of the hills? The pool would thus be replenished constantly by the percolation of underground water. If it were not so replenished, but consisted simply of a puddle left after the rains, surely it would run dry? It is used daily by large numbers of men and beasts.

In the sentence quoted above ('demonstrably earlier') Mr Chittick was referring presumably to the field-works I mentioned near the pool. I would point out however that these, though worth a few lines of record, are not really of much importance. What is important is the discovery of worked flints on the plateau above, and of an Acheulian (?) axe in the wadi, both mentioned in my article.

O. G. S. CRAWFORD.

³ The radiocarbon dates are (1) Jericho c. 6800 to c. 6000 B.C. (2) Fayum A, c. 4437 to c. 4145 B.C. (3) Shaheinab c. 3300 B.C.

OLD NUBIAN STUDIES

(a) *Inclusive and exclusive Forms of the Pronoun of the 1st Person (Plural).*

Old Nubian has two forms corresponding to the English pronoun 'we' namely *er* and *ou* (Griffith, *Nubian Texts*, p. 75). Zyhlarz states that *ou* is the *inclusive* form (I and you, we and you) while *er* is *exclusive* (we without you), *Grundzüge*, § 94. As a matter of fact, the archaic dialect of Gebel Midob still shows this difference (MacMichael, 'Notes on the Zaghawa and the People of Gebel Midob', *JRAI*, XLII, p. 168) and Zyhlarz compares *ou* with the modern form *u* of the Mahās dialect while *er* seems to be *ar* in the Kenūz dialect and *adi* (exclusive) in the Gebel Midob dialect.

Inclusive and exclusive forms of the pronoun 'we' occur in many African and other languages. Somali has *inna-gu* 'we' (inclusive) and *anna-gu* (exclusive), J. W. C. Kirk, *A Grammar of the Somali Language*, Cambridge 1905, p. 31. Ful (West Africa) has the forms, *enen* 'we' (inclusive) and *minon* (exclusive), Dr F. Storbeck, *Ful*, Berlin 1917, p. 28. In Nuer, there are three forms: *ko* (exclusive), *nè* (dual inclusive: I and thou) and *né* (plural inclusive: I and you pl.), J. P. Crazzolaro, *Outlines of a Nuer Grammar*. Vienna 1933, § 131. In Malay the first person plural is *kita* or *kami*. *Kita* is used when the person addressed is intended to be included. *Kami*, on the contrary, like the royal 'we' in English, excludes the person addressed. W. E. Maxwell, *A Manual of the Malay Language*, London 1899, p. 49.

In my opinion, there is no doubt that the two forms of the first person plural represent the inclusive and exclusive form as in Somali or Ful. I only think that Zyhlarz was mistaken in regarding *ou* as inclusive and *er* as exclusive as the passages we have at our disposal show the contrary, e.g.:

Till-ou e-n an-j-na tok-innaue-l 'the peace of the Lord, our Saviour' (Griffith, op. cit., pp. 42, 47). In this case God is the Saviour of *us all* and *e-n* means 'our, of us all' (*inclusive*).

On ou apostolos-gou-l tar-io-tjo dau-a-ña . . . 'and when we the apostles stood around him' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 43). Here the listeners are not included in the number of the apostles and *ou* therefore means 'we' (without you, *exclusive*).

Nod-a Till-a ou-na ou-n aei-l-gou-na-eion esoggi-der-a, 'O Lord, our God and Comforter of our hearts' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 43). Obviously, God cannot be included in this case. *Ou-na* and *ou-n* mean twice 'our, of us (without Thee)', as *exclusive* pronouns.

Nod-a Till-a ou-na, 'Lord, our God' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 43). This is the same case as the preceding one.

Er jimm-il-gou-l, 'we all' (shall be saved by the Lord, or sim.), see Griffith, p. 46. Though the sense of the passage is not quite clear, *er* here refers to all men and is *inclusive*.

Nod-ou en-nou Isous-i-dal, 'with our Lord Jesus' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 61). Jesus Christ is the Lord of *us all*. Therefore *en-nou* (from **er-nou*) must be the *inclusive* form.

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En-na ouer-ene 'kathos hemeis hen esmen' (Griffith, op. cit., p. 35, John 17, 22), obviously inclusive, according to the context.

Résumé: The foregoing seven passages contain eight cases with the following meaning:

(1)	<i>en</i> 'our'	inclusive	—	—
(2)	—	—	<i>ou</i> 'we'	exclusive
(3)	—	—	<i>ou-na</i> 'our'	exclusive
	—	—	<i>ou-n</i> 'our'	exclusive
(4)	—	—	<i>ou-na</i> 'our'	exclusive
(5)	<i>er</i> 'we'	inclusive	—	—
(6)	<i>en</i> 'our'	inclusive	—	—
(7)	<i>en-na</i> 'our'	inclusive	—	—

The exclusive meaning of *er* (*en*, *en-na*) is well established in four cases (1, 5, 6, 7) and so is the inclusive meaning of *ou* (*ou-n*, *ou-na*). It is accordingly felt that the following sections of Zyhlarz' *Grundzüge* should be corrected: §§ 94, 96, 99 and p. 166, No. 80, note 1.

(b) *The Origin of the Emphatic Conjugation*

The Old Nubian verb has two sets of pronominal suffixes: (a) the fuller emphatic forms denoting a statement or an independent action while (b) the subjunctive forms stand for a wish or a dependent action.

		(a) emphatic:	(b) subjunctive:
sg.	1st person	-e	-i
	2nd person	-na	-in
	3rd person	-na	-in
pl.	1st person	-o	-ou
	2nd person	-o	-ou
	3rd person	-ana	-an

Zyhlarz considers the Old Nubian conjugation in all likelihood as a combination of old participles with pronominal elements. These latter appear to be shortened forms of the independent pronouns. So he derives *-e* from *ai* 'I' and *-o* or *-ou* in the 1st person plural from the pronoun *ou* 'we' while the corresponding form of the 2nd person plural is explained as shortened for *our* 'you' (pl.). However, he has to admit that some forms—the 2nd and 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural—cannot be explained in this way and suggests former suffixes with an additional *n* according to Darfur Nubian suffixes (*in*, *on*, *unga*) corresponding to the Old Nubian endings (*na*, *na*, *ana*), see *Grundzüge* § 155.

Instead of deriving the pronominal suffixes from the full forms, it seems more important to establish a relation between the emphatic and subjunctive form. As a matter of fact, both sets of endings show various affinities as:

- (1) Similar forms of the emphatic suffixes correspond to similar forms of the subjunctive suffixes (*-na*, *-na* : *-in*, *-in* and *-o*, *-o* : *-u*, *-u*).

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- (2) The same three forms contain an element *n* in both sets (*-na, -na, -ana* : *-in, -in, -an*).
- (3) There seems to exist a certain correlation in the vowel nuances (*a* : *a, e* : *i, o* : *u*).

In my opinion, it is most probable that the emphatic suffixes derive from the subjunctive forms by means of an affix *-a* :

- sg. 1st person : *-e* from *i+a*
- 2nd person : *-na* from **in+a*
- 3rd person : *-na* from **in+a*
- pl. 1st person : *-o* from *u+a*
- 2nd person : *-o* from *u+a*
- 3rd person : *-an* from *an+a*

The 2nd and 3rd person singular are shortened for **-ina*.

The element *-a* is no doubt identical with the so-called predicative *-a* (roughly translated 'it is'), e.g. *ourou-a ein-in* 'while he is a king' (Papyrus, Berlin 11277,3), *tan taniš-ka Mena-a oke-so* 'call his name Mena!' (Menas 13, 11), also used as an ending of the vocative : *iatros-a* ! (Stauros 4). *Ein-in* means 'while he is, that he be' (subjunctive) while the emphatic form *ein-na* 'he is' means literally 'it is that he is, that he be' (**ein-in-a*). Similar construction can be observed in other languages, e.g. modern Arabic *b-ašūf* 'I see', *b-amši* 'I go' from *b* plus *ašūf* 'that I see' and *amši* 'that I go' or Armenian *gu-ka* 'he comes', literally 'it is that he comes' (but *thogh ka* 'let him come', literally, 'let [that] he come').

Zyhlarz' theory that the pronominal suffixes are shortened forms of the absolute pronouns seems difficult to maintain in view of the evidence we possess (*ai* : *i, eir* : *in, tar* : *in* and pl. *ou* : *ou, our* : *ou, ter* : *an*). WERNER VYCICHL

HINDU INFLUENCE IN MEROTIC ART ? ON THE THREE-HEADED LION-GOD *APEZEMAK*

Naga or more correctly *In-Naga*^c 'the plain' is the name of a place in the desert S.E. of Shendi marked by a group of four Meroitic temples ('*il-Muṣaw-warāt*'). The first explorer of this place was Cailliaud (*Voyage à Méroé*, Paris, 1826, vol. I, pl. XI) and the Prussian expedition under Lepsius completed his work with more exactitude (*Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien*, Berlin 1849-58). The whole complex has been studied anew by J. W. Crowfoot (*The Island of Meroe*, London 1911) and F. Ll. Griffith (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, I-*Sôba to Dangel*, London 1911; II-*Napata to Philae and Miscellaneous*, London 1912), who have been able to use photographs of Prof. Breasted's expedition.

The temple of the lion-god *Apezemak* (temple a of Lepsius) is the westernmost of the four temples and consists of a pylon-shaped façade with a single room behind it erected by King *Natakamani* and Queen *Amanitore*. The king's name is followed on the pylon by the title *gore* probably 'king' and the queen's by *katake-l*, i.e. the *Ka(n)dake*, *-l* being the definite article in Meroitic (Crowfoot, p. 55). The chief deity of the temple was *Apezemak*, a Sudanese lion god who

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does not belong to the Egyptian pantheon. On the back wall of the temple (Crowfoot, pl. xx) *Apezemak* is represented as a triple headed lion-god, four-armed, distributing his favours to the king and the queen on either side.

Elsewhere, *Apezemak* is represented with a single lion-head. On the side wall of the temple (Crowfoot, pl. xviii) he is crowned with a triple bundle and feathers on horn. He holds in one hand a standard surmounted by a lion similarly crowned and a kind of bouquet or bunch of cornstalks, and the sign of life (*ankh*) in the other. A column in the temple of Amon at Naga shows *Apezemak* with the queen who makes offerings to him and to other deities (Crowfoot, pl. xxiii). Here the god bears a *was*-sceptre in one hand and the sign of life in the other.

The representation of a many-headed deity is not unknown in Egypt but rather rare. *The Book of the Dead* shows a goddess with a head of a woman and two heads of a vulture, standing with outstretched wings. On each side of her is a dwarf with two heads, one of a man and one of a hawk (Lepsius *Totenbuch*, Bl. 78 and E. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, London 1923, p. 538, chapter CLXIV). The Louvre Museum possesses a bronze figure of Mont with two falcon heads, surmounted by the solar disk and long feathers (*The Photographic Encyclopaedia of Art*, Paris 1935, vol. I, pl. 112). The sarcophagus of *Taho*, son of *Petemenkh* shows the hours of the night or twelve caverns through which the sun had to pass, separated by high portals guarded by serpents belching fire. One snake has a human head and four legs, another three snake heads, four legs and two wings, etc. (ibid., pl. 149). Another snake has five human heads (pl. 150). A four-winged deity with four heads, of Bes, Isis, Horus and Bastet standing on two lions with two serpents and two crocodiles belongs to the Museum of Berlin (A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin 1943, p. 310). There are other similar cases, too, but the three-headed and four-armed *Apezemak* of Naga can be derived neither from them nor from the lion-goddess Sakhmet.

It seems difficult to admit a sudden unique apparition of a three-headed, and four-armed god in the Meroitic pantheon and so I venture to suggest an Indian origin. It is a well-known fact that India is the fatherland of many-armed and many-headed deities that appear, as far as we know for the first time in the 2nd century B.C.

The following gods are worshipped in India, among others :—

Shiva is four-armed and sometimes three-headed, with two legs.

Brahma has four heads, four arms, two legs.

Devi, a goddess has one head, four arms, two legs.

Ganesha has an elephant head, four arms, two legs.

Kartikkeya has six heads, six arms, two legs.

Sarasvati, a goddess has one head, three arms, two legs.

Vishnu has one head, four arms, two legs, etc.

The composition of *Apezemak* shows a similar composition to that of *Shiva*, except for the lion heads :

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Three heads, the middle one *de face* and the other ones in side view.

Four arms : the upper hands hold bunches of flowers (*Apezemak*) and a quoit and a conch (*Vishnu*) while the lower hands hold no symbols or emblems.

(In some cases Vishnu holds a mace and a lotus-flower in his lower hands).

The feet are drawn in side-view, the knees are well marked.

In the present state of our knowledge, it would be somewhat hazardous to ascribe an Indian origin to god *Apezemak* of Naga and, as a matter of fact I do not think him to be a Hindu god. Most probably the artist has seen a representation of an Indian god, perhaps of Shiva, and this example may have inspired him.

It might be tempting to explain *Apezemak*'s representation as influenced by the three rows of seven (or more) kneeling prisoners depicted on both towers of the Naga-pylon (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, I, p. xvi). It is the classical scene of the slaying of the prisoners by the king (on the left) and by the queen (on the right). The same scene is found on a plaque from Meroe (*JEA*, IV, 1917, pl. v). It is true that in these cases one face is represented in front-view and the others in side-view (right and left), somewhat like the three faces of *Apezemak*. There are, however several serious reasons that speak against this explanation. First of all, each prisoner has but *one* head and *two* arms (one arm outstretched and the other arm held *on his breast*), and he *kneels* on the ground (side-view). But the decisive argument against this explanation is, as I think, the impossibility of representing *a mighty god* by the model of the *wretched prisoners*.

NOTE.—The Egyptian motive of the god on the lotus-flower (Nefertem, Horus, Harsaphes) has been introduced to India after Alexander the Great's expedition and the representations of Brahma or Buddha on the lotus-flower go back to Egyptian prototypes (S. Morenz and J. Schubert: *Der Gott auf der Blume. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie und ihre weltweite Bildwirkung*, Artibus Asiae, Supplementum XII, Ascona, 1954, p. 168).

WERNER VYCIHL

A LATE EGYPTIAN DIALECT OF ELEPHANTINE

In a literary pamphlet, the scribe *Hori* compares *Amenemope*'s letter with a conversation between a man of Elephantine and a man of the Delta. (*Pap. Anastasi*, I, 20). This means without any doubt that the text was unintelligible. However, when comparing the dialects of the Coptic period, Bohairic (Delta) with Ša'īdic (South), the dialect differences seem to have been less important than those existing between modern English or Egyptian dialects.

As a matter of fact, Coptic dialects present in spite of all the existing differences an aspect of a relatively high uniformity. This is in my opinion less due to the constant differentiation of a primitively homogeneous language but on the contrary, as the outcome of a continuous levelling under the influence of several subsequent *koinés*, as it was the case in Greece where the old dialects vanished in Byzantine time. So it seems that the literary language of the Old Kingdom

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had lost the sound *l*—there is no hieroglyph representing this sound—and replaced *p* of other dialects by *f* in some words (*f-s-y* 'to cook' instead of later *p-s-y*, Coptic *pīse*). A few traces of this dialect still subsist in Bohairic (*čōrep* 'to reveal,' *hfōt* 'fathom' against Ša'īdic *čōlēp*, *hpōt*).

A dialect of Elephantine seems to have existed in pre-Coptic times as there are some word forms that cannot be explained by the five known Coptic dialects. Here are a few survivals attested in Greek, Nubian and Arabic :

- (a) *S-w-n-t* Aswān is called *Sewēnē* (Hebrew) and *Suēnē* (Greek). These forms go back to a normal Coptic *Swēne*.

Arabic uses a different form *Aswān* and so does modern Nubian : *Swan Dīb* (G. von Massenbach, *Wörterbuch des nubischen Kunūzi-Dialekts*. Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1933, III Abteilung p. 211). *Dīb* comes from Old Nubian *dipp-i* 'town'.

- (b) Egyptian *y-r-p* 'wine' is Coptic *ērēp* (pronounced **ōrēp*, see KUSH IV, 1956, p. 41) while the Old Nubian form is *orp*.
- (c) Egyptian *m-sh-c* 'army' is Coptic *mēēshe* 'crowd, people' (pronounced *mōōshe*, or sim.) while the Meroitic writing shows *mosh* or *mush*.
- (d) *Taltaman*, king of Egypt (about 664–656 B.C.) is called *Taštamāni* in cuneiform script. The change *l : š* is common in Accadian before unvoiced sound; there seems to have been an unvoiced *l* like Welsh *ll*, later changed into *š*. In this name, the element corresponding to *Amon* is still *-aman* like in Middle-Babylonian and not *amunu* as one would expect. The form is *-amen* in *Ergamenes*, when the Coptic form was *Amun*.
- (e) Egyptian *h-t-r* 'horse' (later pronounced *h-t-;* and *h-t-y*) is Coptic *hto* while Beja has a form *hatāy*. The Coptic form goes back to **hatáj*.
- (f) Old Nubian *niabe* 'sin' shows *a* instead of Ša'īdic *o* (*nobe*). However, this word cannot be very old as it belongs to the Christian terminology.
- (g) Old Nubian *nap* 'gold' corresponds to Coptic *noub* (pronounced *nūb*).

In a former article (*WZKM*, 1935, pp. 111–12) I was certainly wrong to compare *Chnoumnebiēb* 'Khnum Lord of Elephantine' with *Neboap* as this latter means the 'pure Lord' (*n-b w-c-b*). Also *Telēlis* nom. loc. has nothing to do with *Shellāl* (p. 178). I am unable to tell what is the relation between *Tāfa* and *Teife*, a place between *Debōd* and *Kalābsha* in Lower Nubia.

When comparing the Coptic forms with those of the loan-words, there seem to exist some well-established phonetical laws that can be resumed as follows (Š=Ša'īdic dialect, E=Elephantine dialect) :

(1) Š <i>ē</i> : E <i>a</i>	<i>Swēne</i> – <i>Swan</i>	(a)
	(<i>Tēfe</i>) – <i>Tafa</i>	(?)
(2) Š <i>ō</i> : E <i>o</i>	<i>ōrēp</i> – <i>ōrp</i>	(b)
	<i>mōōše</i> – <i>moš</i>	(c)

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- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---|--------------|-----|
| (3) § ö : E a | <i>hto</i> | – | <i>hatāy</i> | (e) |
| | <i>nobe</i> | – | <i>nabe</i> | (f) |
| (4) § ou : E a | <i>nap</i> | – | <i>noub</i> | (g) |
| | <i>aman</i> | – | <i>Amoun</i> | (d) |

The aramaic papyri of Elephantine give no information on this subject. The Egyptian names of persons, places and months are transcribed as if they were Ša'idic. The regularity of the above sound-changes seems, however, to confirm the fact that there was an Egyptian 'dialect of Elephantine' showing major divergences with the other dialects of the Nile valley. WERNER VYČIHL

SHORT NOTES

THE NAME OF SHELLAL

F. Ll. Griffith identifies Meroitic *Sleley* (nom. loc.) with modern *Shellāl* (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, I, 1912, p. 30). *Shellāl* is the name of the cataract and a village opposite Philae, and of cataracts in general. Professor Margoliouth has examined the question of the origin of the name from the point of view of an Arabic and Semitic scholar, and is of opinion that Shellal is likely to be an Arabized foreign name rather than true Arabic (p. 30, note 3). Zyhlarz has accepted this opinion and identifies *Sl'l'* (to-day *Shellāl*) with Greek *Telēlis* (*Anthropos*, xxv, 1930, p. 417).

I do not think that we can identify Meroitic *Sl'l'* (*Sleley*) with Arabic *Shellāl*, as this latter is a good Arabic word. *Shall* means 'to shed tears' and the 8th form *ishtall* 'to run with noise and increasing violence (like a cascade)'. *Shalīl* is the 'bed of a torrent' and *shalāla* is given as 'cascade' (*cascade d'eau*), A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire-Français*, I, 1860, p. 1263. A kindred verb is *shalshal* 'to drip, to trickle'. *Shallāl* cannot be separated from Arabic *shalāla* 'water-fall' (John van Ess: *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq*, 2nd edition, 1953, additional vocabulary, p. 279).

THE STRATEGOS OF THE WATER

As Griffith has suggested, the Meroitic group *pelemēš atēlis* corresponds to *p-le-mēš n p-mow* 'the strategos of the water' in Egyptian (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, 1912, p. 38: Meroitic Chamber, Philae). The sign generally transcribed as *ē* seems, however, to represent an *o* or *u* (English *oo*, or similar). This has been suggested by Griffith in his 'Meroitic Studies' (*JEA*, III, 1916, p. 121):

- (a) *arēme* 'Roma' corresponds to Greek *Hrōmē*.
- (b) *apēte* 'envoy' or 'ambassador' is transcribed *uputi* in 'Amārna cuneiform.
- (c) *krēr* is probably found in the proper names *Plokh-karour* and perhaps also in *Pete-ēsis-kroure* at Dakke.
- (d) *brtēye* name of an important person mentioned at *Faras*, Greek transcription *Abratoeis*.

NOTES

Two other cases cited by Griffith are less convincing: *Pxême* nom. pr. 'Paxôm' as there seems also to be a form *Pxeme* (p. 119) and the group *tê* perhaps corresponding to Coptic *to* 'land'. The value *ê* assigned to / is supported by *p-le-mês* 'strategos' and the meroitic title *pestê*. Greek *psentês*. However, the above examples speak in favour of an *o* or *u* value and Griffith adds: comparative philologists like the late Prof. Sweet have told me that it is almost inconceivable that a language should have existed without the *o-u* vowel. This is also the opinion of Schuchhardt (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxvii, p. 167).

As I have pointed out in KUSH IV, pp. 41-4, Coptic *mēēshe* 'people, crowd' belongs to the same nominal type as *ērēp* 'wine'. In these cases, Coptic *ē* represents a vowel like French *eu* or German *ö*. This view is supported by the fact that this *ē* corresponds to *u* in a cuneiform transcription (Coptic *mēt* 'ten': *muṭu*), the change between *e* and *o*—probably *ō* and *o*—as in *abot* 'month' pl. *abēt*, *hyē* 'way, road' pl. *hyowwe* and Old Nubian *orp* for Coptic *ērēp*. It is supposed that the real forms were *abōt*, *hyō*, *ōrep*. Most probably, also Coptic *mēēshe* had this sound *ō* (*mōōshe*) and so Griffith was perfectly right to think of a form like **p-le-moosh* or similar instead of Coptic *p-le-mēēshe*.

THE NAME OF THE BLEMMYES

The name of the Blemmyes is a phonetic puzzle. Demotic texts write *B-l-h-m-w*, e.g. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III, p. 271, London 1909. The Coptic forms are *Balnem-mooui* (B) and *Balehmou* or *Blhmooue* (S). There were at least three different types phonetically transcribed as follows:

	(B)	(S ₁)	(S ₂)
sg.	* <i>Balnemmū</i>	<i>Balehmū</i>	* <i>Blhmū</i>
pl.	<i>Balnemmōwwi</i>	* <i>Balehmōwwē</i>	<i>Blhmōwwē</i>

Greek *Blemmys*, pl. *Blemmyes* obviously derives from *Blhmu* or a similar form. For the interpretation of *ōw* (B) as *ōw* see my article, *Museon*, LXVII, 1954, pp. 187-9 (Zur Phonetik des Bohairisch-Koptischen). There are several points that cannot be explained by Egyptian or Coptic phonetic laws: (a) *l:n*, (b) *m:mm* and the *m*. ending *-ū*, pl. *-owwe*.

To-day, the Blemmyes are forgotten in Egypt and among the 'Abābde. There is a word *balhama* 'foreign language, unintelligible language' and a verb *balham*, *yibalhim* 'to speak unintelligibly' (Luxor) but I hesitate to connect it with *B-l-h-m-w*. The slang of the Maghārba, wizards and treasure-hunters, is called *balhama* or *qarwaša*.

WERNER VYICHL

Reviews

'AMHARIQUE DĒNK "NAIN"'. By WERNER VYCICHL. *Annales d'Ethiopie*, vol. II, 1957, p. xx.

Amharic *dēnk* 'dwarf, pygmy', tigray *dēnkit* belongs to the African stock of the language as it is not represented in the Semitic Languages of Asia. It is doubtlessly related to *d-n-g* the Egyptian word for 'pygmy'. In Egypt, pygmies are already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. The nomarch *Harkhuf* of Elephantine who lived under king Phiope II (about 2300 B.C.) brought a pygmy (*d-n-g*) from the Sudan who knew the dances of the god (*y-b-ḏ-w n-ḏ-r*). Before him, *Ba-wer-jed* had brought another pygmy from *Punt* (Red Sea Coast) under king *Izezi*, about 2400 B.C. As far as we can gather from the texts, pygmies were extremely rare in Egypt and the Egyptians have never been in direct contact with the pygmy tribes of Central Africa. The author thinks the pygmies of the Egyptians were the *Thoony* who were mentioned for the first time by Father P. CRAZZOLARA (*Pygmies on the Baḥr-el-Ghazāl*, SNR, xvi, 1935, pp. 85-8). These pygmies live hidden in the papyrus swamps of the Baḥr-el-Ghazāl and Baḥr-el-'Arab system where they build little grass huts. Some Nuers consider them not as human beings but as animals and use their entrails as a medicine. The pygmies are said to be cannibals and to steal the sheep and goats of the Nuers and there is a perpetual war between the tall Nilotes and the small pygmies. This state of things speaks in favour of the rationalist interpretation of the war between pygmies and cranes, a well known motive in old Greek art. The cranes are the Nilotic tribes (Nuers, Shilluks, Dinkas) who used to stand on one foot like the cranes. The hieroglyphic writings *d-ḏ-n-g* and *d-ḏ-g* seem to be due to a confusion with another word ('deaf'). In the Berber dialect of Jebel Nefusa (Tripolitania) a pygmy is called *a-denjal* (from **dengāl*), in Hausa *gandī*.

ARMENOUHI BARSAMIAN

'DER RAHAT EINE FAST VERSCHWUNDENE MÄDCHENTRACHT IM OSTSUDAN'. By RUDOLF HERZOG. *Baessler-Archiv*, Neue Folge IV, 1957, pp. 1-12.

The *rahat* is a waist fringe of leather worn by young girls in the Sudan. The author establishes its Arabic origin: in pre-Islamic times, naked men made the *t'awāf* round the Kaaba and the women were covered only with a *rahat*. Very early the *rahat* spread over to Africa where it was frequently noticed by earlier travellers while it is now nearly out of use. In Nubian it is called *geyye*, i.e. 'curtain.' The author has not noticed that there is a genuine

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expression *wālekā* in the Bilin language and *waleho* in Saho (Reinich, *Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache*, Vienna 1887, p. 356). The Arabic origin of the *rahat* may be surprising, but here Dr Herzog is right: there is not a trace of it to be found on Egyptian monuments and all the negro women represented there wear petticoats and the little girls are naked.

WERNER VYICHL

THE 24TH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

The 24th Congress of Orientalists was held in Munich from 28 August to 4 September 1957. The following papers may be of particular interest to readers of this Review. Résumés will be published in the Proceedings of the Congress in 1958.

(a) Archaeology :

VERCOUTTER, J. (Khartoum) : *Exploration archéologique du Soudan*, 1955-57 (No. 11).

(b) Philology :

HINTZE, FR. (Berlin) : *Das Meroitische* (No. 27).

VERGOTE, J. (Louvain-Héverli) : *Où en est la vocalisation de l'égyptien ?* (No. 25).

ULLENDORFF, E. (St. Andrews, Scotland) : *What is a Semitic Language ?* (No. 138).

MOSCATI, SABATINO (Roma) : *Who were the Semites ?* (No. 139).

PLAZIKOWSKI-BRAUNER, H. (Frankfurt) : *Die determinativen Elemente der kuschitischen Sprachen* (No. 438).

WERNER VYICHL

'A HISTORY OF THE HAMITIC PEOPLES OF AFRICA'. By KENNETH HOWARD HONEA. Doctoral thesis (Vienna University, Austria), summary published in *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, vol. IV, 1956, pp. 211-12.

The primary object of this thesis is the elucidation of the origin of the so-called Hamites, their differentiation into suggested individual but related strata as well as the chronological relationship of these latter. The quantity and quality of the archaeological, historico-linguistical and ethnological material produced within the last 50 years seems to furnish sufficient data which may help in clearing up a number of complex questions connected with this special subject.

According to the author, material at present available appears to justify the division of the old Hamitic population of Africa into at least two major groups appertaining basically to the Mediterranean type which entered Africa in all likelihood from south-western Asia during two epochs :

the Paleo-Hamites came from South-west Arabia and settled in Ethiopia and Kenya, expelling or absorbing the autochthonous inhabitants of these regions (Bushman type).

The early Proto-Hamites are the immediate descendants of the Paleo-Hamites, who spread during the closing Upper Paleolithic and dawning Mesolithic into the Sudan, Upper Egypt, the Sahara and North-west Africa.

The later Proto-Hamites form the second incursion of Hamitic-type peoples into Africa from South-west Arabia, conceivably in late Mesolithic times.

KUSH

The Paleo-Hamites and the early Proto-Hamites form (a) the first major incursion from Arabia into Africa and the later Proto-Hamites, (b) are considered as the second wave.

The lithic industry introduced by the Paleo-Hamites was of earlier Capsian *facies*; their economy was based on hunting, fishing and probably food-gathering. Traces of the early Proto-Hamites are the Sebilian culture in Egypt and the Capsian culture in North-west Africa. The later Proto-Hamites were cattle-breeders (long-horned, humpless cattle). We may clearly follow their route by pertinent information supplied by very numerous naturalistic paintings and stone-engraving of pastoral scenes. Certain groups of these Hamites spread into the Northern Sudan, Upper Egypt and the Eastern Sahara. Although hardly influencing North-west Africa, some clusters penetrated into the Western Sahara in the second or third Millennium B.C. At about the same time, small groups of pastoral nomads appear to have reached East Africa from the Sudan. The main diffusion of Hamitic cattle-breeders into East Africa and the neighbouring areas to the south and west seems likely to have occurred much later 11th to 18th centuries A.D.).

Later Proto-Hamitic nomads combined in Upper Egypt in the early Neolithic with the makers of the Badarian civilization, who represent according to the author, for the most part, though not exclusively, a local branch of the early Proto-Hamites. The immediate forebears of the Badarians were agriculturists with goats and sheep (but no cattle) and had cultural connections with Western Asia. The author thinks that a section of the primarily agricultural population of Upper Egypt was forced to migrate northward into Lower Egypt in Badarian times giving rise there to such civilizations as those of the Fayyum and Merimde. The Amratian civilization seems to be a result of the innovations initiated in Badarian times in Upper Egypt. The advent of strong Semitic cultural elements during still later periods as is evident in the Gerzean and Meadian civilizations, combining with the above complex strain, paved the foundations for the first dynasties of the Egyptian civilization.

The author makes a tentative division of present-day Hamites in Africa. A first group (a) representing the progeny of the earliest known Hamites (Paleo-Hamites and early Proto-Hamites) is composed of the Berbers and certain 'substrative' peoples in Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia (Agau, Sidama, Waito, Sab), the Somalilands and perhaps East and South Africa. Secondly (b) a group representing the descendants of the cattle breeding later Proto-Hamites, consists of the modern Borana and Galla, but which is also to be encountered in one form or other amongst the Somali, Afar (Dankali) and Beja in North-east Africa, the Ful in West Africa and the Hottentots of South Africa. Similar elements, but of comparatively recent date are to be encountered amongst various tribal groups of East Africa (Masai, Iraku, Ufiomi), Central Africa (Wahima, Watussi) and South-west Africa (Herero and others). Elements of an older population may with a great measure of certainty be recognized in the present-day Sandawe and Hadzapi tribal groups of Tanganyika.

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Honea's study is the first attempt to classify the different groups of Hamites in Africa. His principal ideas are two incursions into Africa from South-western Arabia, the first one traversing a land-bridge formerly connecting South-west Arabia with North-east Africa and the advent of strong Semitic cultural elements in the Egyptian prehistory (Gerzean, Meadian), doubtless coming across the land-bridge of El-Qantara. The author is certainly right when distinguishing between the Paleo-Hamites and early Proto-Hamites as hunters and the later Proto-Hamites as cattle-breeders as their economic and social organization differs. However, I do not think that we have to overestimate this difference: the camel was adopted by the Berbers in North Africa without major racial or linguistic changes as was the horse by the Indians of North America.

WERNER VYCICHL

'ON THE BEJA TRIBES OF THE SUDAN'. By ANNA HOHENWART-GERLACHSTEIN. *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, vol. IV, 1956, pp. 180-7.

This is a short but interesting and well-documented description of the Beja tribes mainly based on English works. A great number of objects are similar to those used by the ancient Egyptians, e.g. head-rests, beds ('*angarēb*'), stools, cooking pots made of steatite, grinding stones, musical instruments (harp, drum, lyre) and hunting equipment. The Beni-Amer who are said to be of Arabic origin, closely resemble the Proto-Egyptians and Seligman calls them the 'modern representatives of the old predynastic Egyptian and Nubian stock' (p. 181). Does this mean that the old predynastic Egyptians were Arabs? *Beja* is said to be related to the Arabic *badawiy* 'dweller of the desert'. I think that *Beja* corresponds to Arabic *Bugā* and Greek *Bougaitōn* (gen. pl.) while *badawi* comes from *badw* 'desert'. The language of the Beja (*Tō-Bedāwīye* more correctly *Tō-Bejāwīye*) is one of the Cushitic group where it has been classed with Galla and Masai to which it is said to show some affinities. It would be most interesting to have some more information on this point. WERNER VYCICHL

GESCHICHTE DER ERFORSCHUNG DER NILOTISCHEN SPRACHEN

By OSWIN KÖHLER. Berlin 1955 (Reimer), 4°, IV, 84 pp. 'Beiheft' of the *Review Afrika und Übersee*, Hamburg.

The author who has written a doctoral thesis on the Nilotic languages in 1948 has a thorough knowledge of the literature published on this subject. The present study deals with word-lists, grammars, wordbooks, etc. of the Nilotic languages published within the last 150 years (1812-1954) and covers a bibliography of about 400 titles, e.g. by Seetzen, Mitternuth, F. Müller, Merker, Reinisch, Struck, Crazzolaro, Westermann, Meinhof, Tucker and others. Köhler divides the Nilotic languages into three groups: (a) West-Nilotic; (b) East-Nilotic and (c) South-Nilotic. Köhler's study is a most useful guide to Nilotic linguistics.

WERNER VYCICHL