Interim Report on the 1961 Epigraphic Mission to Semna

by C. De Wit and P. Mertens

HAVING been invited by Mr Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology, to collate the texts at Semna East and West, we set out under the auspices of the Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, the necessary funds being provided by a grant from the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (Brussels) as a result of the appeal for the UNESCO Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia.

We wish first of all to thank the Commissioner for Archaeology and the Sudanese authorities for all the facilities which were given us.


At Semna East (or Kumma) we copied in Court A inscriptions on the North jamb of the door which was not numbered by Porter and Moss. We also copied what remains of the door jambs *PM* 1–2.

In Court B we found two columns, indicated but not numbered in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* The texts are badly defaced, but we managed to copy them all.

We had slight improvements to make to the inscription in Dunham-Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 119 (*PM* 3). Corrections were also made to Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, *Text*, v, p. 214 (*PM* 4).

As to the temple proper, we have corrections to propose to nearly every text published in Lepsius. In *PM* 9 we found the remains of erased texts of Hatshepsowe not published by Lepsius. The door lintel *PM* 11 has three horizontal lines and not two as indicated by Lepsius. We copied what remains of it.

The lintel of door *PM* 18 has fallen and we retraced its fragments. We have copied the inscriptions of scenes 20–21 of *PM* which are not in Lepsius. This also applies to the scenes in *PM* 22–23, 24–25, 26–27, for all of which we have only fragmentary indications in Lepsius, *Text*, v.

Part of the architrave on column *E–F* is now on the East wall, above *PM* 22–23.

Contrary to what is indicated in Porter and Moss, *LD*, iii, 66c refers to sanctuary *H* and not *J*. The scene in *LD*, iii, 66c (left) refers to *PM* 39; *LD*, iii, 66c (middle) refers to *PM* 40 and *LD*, iii, 66c (right) refers to *PM* 38.
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We have copied the texts in PM 34, 35, 36, for which Lepsius gives no plates.

We also found a number of loose blocks, inside and outside the temple, which we copied and for which we tried to find a location, whenever possible. Some of these blocks must come from an older building, one of them being used as a pavement stone, partly under the wall PM 30.

As for Semna West, Lepsius made a more complete job of it and all the scenes, except the Katimala inscription, appear in his plates. Here again, we have many improvements to propose.

Sethe has edited many texts in his Urkunden, but he was not infallible and in several instances the plates of Lepsius are more correct.

We intend publishing all our remarks in a special pamphlet.

We looked at about a hundred rock inscriptions and we believe that a special expedition should be sent to Semna to collate them, as Reisner's copies (cf. Dunham and Janssen, op. laud.) do not always seem to reflect the reality. It is true that many of these texts are very difficult to read and allow for various interpretations. We found a few new rock inscriptions.
Soleb
Campagna 1959–60

di MICHELA SCHIFF GIORGINI

Scavi patrocinati dall’Università di Pisa.

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Questa campagna archeologica è stata consacrata quasi esclusivamente allo studio del settore su cui si eleva il tempio. Nella necropoli non si è effettuato che un lavoro ridotto, compimento di ricerche in tombe già scoperte ed in parte esplorate; in linea generale, non v'è nulla da segnalare che non sia già stato esposto nei rapporti precedenti: esumazione parziale o totale dei defunti, chiusura delle camere sepolcrali, demolizione delle soprastrutture ed accumulamento delle salme nei pozzi.

Il solo fatto nuovo ed importante è la scoperta del nome di Thutmosis III su tre scarabei appartenenti a due diverse sepolture. Queste tombe contenevano ancora alcuni oggetti e qualche vaso (TAV. XXV–XXVI), di forma leggermente differente da quella del vasellame finora incontrato nella necropoli. In una si è rinvenuto un pomo di flabello, d'avorio, iscritto a nome del messaggero reale iw.w-n-imn; nell'altra si è trovata menzione del prete ʕ3-hpr-k3 e si sono raccolti frammenti di un vaso fatto a mano (interno e esterno neri, con decorazione striata intorno al bordo), che sembra risalire al cimitero primitivo di Soleb.

Durante le precedenti campagne, lo studio delle sepolture primitive e di quelle della 18a Dinastia aveva permesso di appurare che la tomba No 15, di cui abbiamo già ampiamente parlato, è una delle più antiche della necropoli della 18a e che i suoi fondatori furono gli autori dello sconvolgimento delle fosse primitive. Ricordiamo brevemente che la sua soprastruttura, eretta sullo scompiglio dell'antico cimitero del luogo, subì trasformazioni radicali, difficilmente attribuibili ad una stessa mano.

Ora, ammesso che la necropoli della 18a rimonta a Thutmosis III e che la tomba No 15 è una delle più antiche di questa necropoli, sembra certo che la tomba in questione risale a questo faraone. È dunque alla sua epoca che dobbiamo probabilmente attribuire la revisione delle fosse primitive e la costruzione della piramide di mattoni crudi No 15 sulle cui basi, all'epoca di Amenofi III, fu eretta la piramide a gradini in blocchi di schisto.

Gli scavi di quest’anno si sono estesi dalla seconda corte del tempio fin oltre i ruderi della grande cinta. L’investigazione si è soprattutto orientata verso
SOLEB, CAMPAGNA 1959–60

la prima corte, nel cui sottosuolo si sono trovate vestigia di strutture preesistenti che sono divenute il centro delle successive ricerche. Lo studio del tempio originariamente coperto sarà oggetto della seguente campagna di scavi.

Nella descrizione delle costruzioni rinvenute seguiremo l’ordine cronologico.

ABITATO PRIMITIVO (FIG. 1)

Il tempio di Soleb fu eretto su una prominenza di terreno sedimentario inclinato verso il Nilo. Nella prominenza si distinguono due strati di terra concordanti, separati da un’esile distesa di sabbia. In quello inferiore la terra sembra vergine; alla sua superficie si sono trovati pezzi di limo semicotti dalla prossimità d’un fuoco, tre frammenti di metatarso d’animale che presentano un inizio di fossilizzazione, un ciottolo da un’estremità logora, che servì da martello, e qualche cocciro proveniente da vasellame ornato d’incisioni ‘a spiga’, simili a quelle di alcuni vasi neolitici di Merimde. Il letto superiore di terra ha uno spessore medio di m. 1,50 ed è pieno di crepacci; contiene alla superficie frammenti di vasi a interno nero, alcuni del tipo Kerma.

![Fig. 1. ABITATO PRIMITIVO](image)

Le due stratificazioni furono profondamente intaccate per l’impianto di sei abitazioni quadrangolari, adiacenti, scavate lungo una linea Nord-Sud. La loro trasformazione e successiva colmata, di cui parleremo in seguito, e l’erosione dell’area in cui sono situate le due case Sud non ci lasciano che pochi resti dello stato originario di questo abitato, ne abbiamo tuttavia potuto ricavare i seguenti dati: le abitazioni avevano una profondità di m. 1,70; il loro fondo risaliva verso Ovest, seguendo l’inclinazione del terreno sedimentario; questo particolare, aggiunto al ripiano tagliato nella parete Ovest di un’abitazione, a mo’ di gradino, ne indica la via d’accesso. Il suolo era coperto da uno strato di terra battuta, rifatto a più riprese e interrotto da focolari attualmente cosparsi di residui di cenere; uno di questi è cinto da un bordo rialzato di terra, come i focolari tuttora adoperati dagli abitanti della regione. In un canto, due pietre che servirono da macina, levigate dall’uso, e qua e là sul suolo, o incastrati nel pavimento, frammenti di vasellame a interno e bordo neri, in tutto simile ad alcuni vasi trovati nella necropoli primitiva.

Nessun indizio permette di supporre l’esistenza di silos e di smaltittoi per l’evacuazione dell’acqua, che sembrano comuni a questo genere di abitazioni.
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Sui resti di pavimenti e sulle ceneri non si è rilevata traccia di passaggio di pioggia, sembra quindi certo che le abitazioni erano coperte; la mancanza di buchi per l’incastro delle travi di un tetto fa supporre si trattasse di un soffitto fatto con tronchi d’alberi, ramaglie e fango, appoggiato sul terreno superficiale, il cui naturale pendio doveva facilmente permettere lo scolo dell’acqua piovana.

Questo semplice abitato è la struttura più antica trovata sino ad ora nel settore in cui si eleva il tempio della 18a Dinastia, e non v’è dubbio che fu la sede terrena dell’esiguo gruppo di persone sepolti nelle fosse primitive, nell’area in seguito occupata dalla necropoli della 18a.

TRASFORMAZIONE DELL’ABITATO (FIG. 2)

L’antico abitato fu trasformato in una lunga trincea (circa 48×6 m.) dal fondo e dai lati irregolari: le pareti divisorie erano state sfondate ed i loro resti sporgevano dai lati e dal suolo, mantenendo il tracciato delle abitazioni originarie. Nel fondo di tre case, terra, acqua e paglia erano state rimestate ed impastate per la fabbricazione di mattoni; il fango indurito conserva ancora le orme dei piedi che lo calpestarono. Questi mattoni servirono forse alla costruzione dei due muri trasversali eretti nella seconda casa Nord, muri di due teste, ciccihi, delimitanti un vano di due metri di larghezza (TAV. XX, a). Il suolo del ridotto era stato coperto d’uno strato di terra battuta, mista a paglia tritata, sul quale non si trovano tracce di caduta di pioggia, né depositi di mota; il vano era dunque riparato, probabilmente con una semplice copertura di frasche e canne, perché l’esiguo spessore dei muri esclude ogni possibilità di volta.

Il resto della trincea era a cielo aperto. Il suolo vi era stato pareggiato con un insieme di terra, pezzi di mattoni crudi e sabbia (tra cui vari frammenti di vasellame della 18a Din.), ma lungi dall’essere orizzontale era ora netta mente concavo, come il fondo d’una barca. Su questo aggregato, con mattoni (cm. 35×15×9) uguali a quelli dei muri trasversali, era stato eretto un muricciolo longitudinale che, sporgente oltre il margine Sud, avanzava nel fossato su m. 3,50 seguendo la concavità del suolo e terminando nel vuoto, senza reggere nulla né collegarsi con altro muro o parete. A Nord e a Sud del vano coperto, forse adibito a santuario, erano state scavate cinque buche per alberi nelle quali abbiamo trovato resti di radici ed un frammento di coppella, dello stesso tipo del vasellame rinvenuto in una tomba di Thutmosis III. Alla superficie, a
a. I DUE MURI TRASVERSALI DEL FOSSATO NAVICOLARE
b. IN PRIMO PIANO, FONDAMENTA DELLA PORTA CENTRALE E UNA DELLE BUCHE PER ALBERI.
a. BASE DI STIPITE DELLA ‘GRANDE PORTA DI AMENOPI: NEBMAATRA CHE ASCOLTA IL SUPPLICANTE’

b. BLOCCO RIMPIEGATO NELLA SOGLIA DEL PRIMO PILONE DI AMENOPI III
a. PIANO INCLINATO DI LATERIZI CHE DAVA ACCESSO ALLA PRIMA BANCHINA
b. SECONDA BANCHINA
PERISTILIO DELLA NUOVA CORTE.  

a. VISTO DAL SUD-EST  
b. VISTO DAL NORD
FRAMMENTO DI STATUA IN GRANITO (TEMPIO, 97 II)
TAV. XXV

17 Tp 1 (Altezza 12,7 cm.)
17 Tp 7 (Altezza 23 cm.)

17 T 5 (Altezza 10,4 cm.)
17 Tp 6 (Altezza 7,5 cm.)

17 T 24 (Altezza 6,5 cm.)
17 Tp 11 (Diametro 13,6 cm.)

NECROPOLI DELLA 18ª DINASTIA. TERRECOTTE E CERAMICHE TROVATE IN UNA TOMBA ATTRIBUITA A THUTMOSIS III
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Nord-Est del santuario, doveva drizzarsi un palo, conficcati in un buco di 20 cm. di diametro e 90 cm. di profondità.

L’esame minuzioso di ogni minimo particolare del terreno ha permesso d’individuare l’avvicendarsi dei gesti compiuti per la formazione di un complesso comparabile ad una grande barca con la prua a Nord, una cabina coperta che poteva servire da passerella, ed il simulacro d’un remo-timoniere a poppa, costituito dal singolare muretto dell’estremità Sud. Ma la documentazione raccolta non rivela, per il momento, quale fosse la funzione di questa struttura che, con l’aggiunta degli alberi, ricorda le rappresentazioni di barche di Hiera-konpolis e di alcuni vasi eneolitici. Sappiamo che il fossato navicolare risale alla 18a Dinastia, forse a Thutmosis III, sia per la proporzione dei suoi mattoni, uguali a quelli adoperati nelle piramidi dell’epoca di questo faraone, sia per i frammenti di vasellame rinvenuti tra la terra e sabbia del suolo e in una delle buche per alberi.

Sul fondo a cielo aperto della trincea l’acqua piovana depositò in seguito vari strati di fango, nettamente visibili nello spaccato di questo settore.

Il fossato fu più tardi colmato con un ammasso di frantumi d’arenaria, misti a un po’ di terra, tra cui si trovavano alcuni frammenti di vasi a interno nero e numerosi cocci di vasellame della 18a Dinastia. Il pietrame di riporto era esclusivamente composto di schegge provenienti da uno sgrossamento di pietre; su alcuni di questi frammenti era inciso il tracciato di riquadratura dei blocchi, su altri erano ancora visibili segni rossi, resti dei contrassegni di cava. Non v’è dubbio che si tratta di residui di pietre tagliate per un nuovo edificio: il primo monumento del luogo.

TEMPIO

Nell’immensità di questo deserto, il primo monumento del luogo fu eretto sulle abitazioni primitive precedentemente trasformate. Di esso conosciamo ben poco, l’entità dei ritrovamenti è esigua, insufficiente per trarre conclusioni sulla sua struttura e sul suo tracciato.

Le vestigia portate alla luce mostrano che un fondo di terra battuta era stato steso sulla colmata del fossato navicolare; vi abbiamo trovato cinque buche per alberi (Tab. xx, b), scavate al di sopra dei cinque alberi preesistenti, incamificate di mattoni crudi e contenenti residui di radici. Lo strato di terra battuta si congiungeva alla base di una muraglia che, parallela all’asse del fossato, ne ricopriva parzialmente il margine Est; nel tratto di muro si sono rinvenute le fondamenta di due porte d’arenaria, una delle quali situata davanti all’antico ridotto o santuario. Un pavimento di terra la collegava ad Est con un’altra porta di cui non resta in sito che la soglia, ma la proporzione di questa permette di attribuirle la pietra inferiore di uno stipite sinistro, riadoperato in seguito a poca distanza da là. Sul blocco in questione (Fig. 3) si scorge parte della figura reale, con il testo di base a nome d’Amenofi III e menzionante la ‘grande porta di Amenofi: Nebmaatra che ascolta il supplicante’; testo e
decorazione sono in incavo, dipinti di giallo. Da qui si scendeva verso Est fino alla spianata d'un terrapieno, addossato al declivio del terreno sedimentario e preceduto da un canale; era costituito da una massa di terra e pietrame, attraversata più o meno profondamente da due muri incrociati di blocchi d'arenaria

e cinta da un rivestimento di pietre concie. Segnaliamo infine che nell'edificio esisteva un ammattonato di laterizi quadrati (cm. $42 \times 42 \times 8$), legati con latte di calce e dipinti d'ocra rossa.

Questo è quanto per ora sappiamo di questo primo monumento che è come il prologo del grande tempio di Soleb. Esso venne in seguito parzialmente

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soppresso, in parte conservato nel nuovo edificio (FIG. 4); ed a partire da questo punto è un continuo succedersi di costruzioni che siamo obbligati a descrivere in varie fasi, ma che non devono essere disassociate l'una dall'altra perché, inserendosi man mano nella composizione, tutte concorrono alla formazione totale del grande tempio. Il suo studio non separa il periodo della costruzione da quello in cui l'edificio fu terminato, ma indica invece un'evoluzione continua, lenta e laboriosa, durante la quale il tempio è già, è sempre in funzione.

![Diagram of Amenofi III Temple](image)

**FIG. 4. TEMPIO DI AMENOFO III (I PERIODO)**

Gli scavi hanno portato alla luce i resti di 30 pavimenti di terra battuta, accuratamente lisciati ed intonacati di latte calcico, determinanti 30 fasi progressive, fondamentali nell'evoluzione del monumento. Ma non potendo qui dilungarci oltremodo, descriveremo solo i quattro periodi più caratteristici della configurazione del tempio.

**I (FIG. 4)**

Il tempio era d'arenaria e comprendeva, da Ovest ad Est: un settore consacrato al culto ed attualmente distrutto, una sala ipostila, una corte ornata
di portici ed un pilone. Era completato ad Est da elementi del primo monumento, tra cui il terrapieno fungente da banchina ed il suo canale, collegante il tempio col Nilo.

Il pilone si ergeva a 4 m. ad Ovest del preesistente fossato navicolare; conteneva tre elementi, tra le fondamenta tre basi frammentarie di colonne e vari blocchi decorati, uno dei quali a nome d'Amenofi III (Tav. xxI, b). Era preceduto da una rampa centrale di terra battuta, ai lati si sono rinvenuti due buchi circolari dal fondo conico, nei quali erano probabilmente conficcate le aste porta-banderuole.

All'Est dell'antica muraglia, ancora in piedi, un nuovo suolo di terra battuta scendeva alla porta 'Nebmaatra che ascolta il supplicante' ed alla banchina, che in quest'epoca subì due sopraelevazioni. Ai successivi livelli della sua terrazza corrisposevano nuovi pavimenti, uno dei quali costituito da un piano inclinato di laterizi quadrati (Tav. xxII, a), provenienti dal primo monumento e coperti ora da uno strato di terra battuta.

II (FIG. 5)

Il periodo corrisponde ad un importante ingrandimento verso Est del tempio e dell'area che lo precedeva. Questo sviluppo causò la soppressione degli elementi risalenti al primo monumento e la trasformazione del pilone, al quale furono tolti quasi tutti i blocchi di facciata. Al tempio fu aggiunta un'altra corte ornata ad Ovest d'un portico sopraelevato, eretto nelle cavità del precedente pilone, e limitata ad Est da un pilone d'arenaria, con grande cinta di mattoni crudi. All'esterno fu costruita una nuova banchina (Tav. xxII, b), prospiciente un bacino collegato col Nilo.

La corte, profonda 27 m. e larga 31 m., aveva quattro porte: quella d'entrata, tra i massicci del nuovo pilone, due laterali, situate l'una di rimpetto all'altra alle estremità Est dei muri Nord e Sud, e la porta dell'antico pilone, modificata, che sporgeva dalla parete di fondo formando avancorpo ed interrompendo la colonnata. Le ultime tre, sopraelevate rispetto all'ingresso principale, si trovavano al livello del porticato, della seconda corte e delle sale del tempio. La posizione dei buchi in cui s'impenetravano i battenti delle porte laterali dimostra che quella Sud si apriva verso l'interno, quella Nord, più piccola, verso l'esterno.

Il suolo della corte era composto d'un piano centrale di terra battuta, steso al livello dell'entrata e circondato su tre lati da una fascia rialzata di blocchi d'arenaria, ergentesi a mo' di podio fin quasi al livello del portico. Sotto il piano centrale, tra le vestigia dell'antica muraglia, si sono trovate quattro grandi buche cilindriche, contemporanee della fondazione della corte; una di esse conteneva una coppella di terracotta in frantumi. Il podio era collegato con le porte laterali e con quella di fondo; nelle pietre dell'estremità Sud-Est era stato scavato un condotto, per l'evacuazione di un liquido, sbocca all'esterno della porta Sud. Il tratto tra il podio e la porta Ovest era preceduto da una rampa e fiancheggiato dalle due aste di banderuole, che già avevano ornato la facciata del pilone precedente; i blocchi inferiori del podio, presso ai quali si
Fig. 5. TEMPIO DI AMENOFI III (II PERIODO)
elevavano le aste, presentano una cavità semicircolare, tagliata per adattarsi alla rotondità dei legni.

Nell’assestamento dei blocchi della corte, e sotto il suo fondo di terra battuta, si sono rinvenute varie pietre scolpite a nome d’Amenofi III. Tra queste, un blocco di stipite destro di porta e due soprassogli frammentari, che senza dubbio sormontavano la porta Ovest all’epoca dell’antico pilone e sui quali sono rappresentate le corse rituali del faraone, con i vasi ḫs e con il remo e la squadra. L’uno (FIG. 6), decorato in rilievo, fu incorporato nel lastricato
del podio davanti alla porta di fondo; l’immagine del re, rivolta contro terra, era stata raschiata in vari punti al momento del rimpiego, come l’attestano le schegge di decorazione, staccate e sparse tra le lastre. L’altro soprassoglio (FIG. 7), decorato in incavo, era stato posto sull’orlo di due buche di fondazione.

All’Est della corte il fondo centrale di terra battuta si prolungava tra i massicci del nuovo pilone, ricoprendo la soglia della ‘grande porta’. Il blocco di stipite sinistro (FIG. 3) proveniente da questa porta è stato trovato nell’ingresso, collocato alla base del massiccio Nord (TAV. XXI, a). Il pilone era stato eretto sul terreno alluvionale. Molto più largo del tempio occupava un’area di m. 47,50 × 7,50. La faccia interna, verticale nella corte, era a scarpata alle estremità; la faccia esterna, interamente rastremata verso l’alto, presentava
quattro scanalature adibite alle aste porta-banderuole. Davanti alla facciata del pilone, lo studio dei pavimenti contemporanei della sua costruzione fa risalire a quest'epoca la posa di blocchi di fondamenta, destinati a sostenere più tardi sei statue e due obelischi.

L'antica banchina era ormai soppressa; la sua soprastruttura era stata parzialmente smontata e vari blocchi del muro che l'attraversava d'Est ad Ovest erano sprofondati, in seguito a frana del terreno su cui poggiavano. I suoi resti, ed il materiale di riporto che aveva colmato il canale, furono ricoperti con uno strato uniforme di terra in cui furono piantati vari alberi.

La nuova banchina era stata costruita molto più ad Est, a 83 m. dalla facciata del pilone. Si tratta di una struttura cubica, cinta da pietre concie ben assestate, guarnita agli angoli di modanature e fiancheggiata da due rampe che scendevano verso l'acqua. La terrazza ha 18 m. di lato; la sua porzione Est era stata divisa in tre parti da muri di sottofondazioni.

III (FIG. 8)

La nuova ed ormai prima corte del tempio fu internamente cinta da una serie di 24 colonne erette sul podio e, ad Est, su apposite fondamenta. Tenendo conto del portico precedente, il peristilio (TAV. XXIII) comprendeva ora un totale di 30 colonne, disposte, ad Ovest, in doppia fila.

Le pareti interne della corte furono coperte di scene in rilievo evocanti il giubileo sed, sui fusti delle colonne vennero scolpiti i nomi del faraone e sugli epistili il protocollo reale. È accertato che anche il portico Ovest, già esistente, non fu decorato che in questo periodo: un suo architrave, l'unico ancora in sito, prova infatti che il lato Nord della porta di fondo fu ritagliato dopo l'edificazione del peristilio, e indi decorato.

Il piano centrale della corte venne rialzato fino al livello dei portici e coperto d'un pavimento di terra battuta finemente imbiancato. Le porte laterali comunicavano con due vani, addossati alle estremità della faccia interna del pilone; quello Nord era munito di una scala che collegava il sottoportico con la tettoia.

Nel passaggio tra i massicci del pilone, la pendenza del suolo era stata invertita ed un piano inclinato scendeva ora da Ovest ad Est, dalla corte ad una porta apertesi verso l'esterno. La facciata del tempio era ornata dai sei colossi e dai due obelischi di cui si sono rinvenute le basi; quelle degli obelischi sono due massicci quadrangolari di circa 3 m. di lato.

È senza dubbio a quest'epoca che fu costruito il dromos di arieti di granito collegante il pilone con la banchina, sulla quale doveva erigersi un triplice santuario, rivolto verso il tempio e di cui restano le fondamenta. Ma dobbiamo far presente che, nell'area compresa tra l'antica e la nuova banchina, lo stato delle rovine non permette di stabilire la cronologia delle costruzioni con una precisione assoluta, come quella determinata invece, nel tempio, dai resti di pavimenti. Dobbiamo dunque limitarci, per questo settore, ad ipotesi basate
Fig. 8. TEMPIO DI AMENOFI III (III PERIODO)
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puramente sull’aspetto architettonico. Lo stesso vale per la scala semisotterranea di circa 50 gradini, tagliata nel terreno alluvionale a Nord della prima corte. Sale dal sottosuolo verso il tempio e si sa con certezza che era primitivamente ricoperta da una volta di mattoni crudi, decorata; ma può rimontare tanto a questo periodo quanto ai precedenti.

IV (FIG. 9)

In quest’ultimo stadio si aggiunsero al tempio una sala cubica, sporgente in avancorpo al centro della facciata, ed una seconda cerchia di mura, con un pilone situato all’estremità del dromos. All’esterno, la massa della banchina fu ricoperta, il bacino colmato, ed un nuovo approdo fu costruito sulla riva del Nilo, a 200 m. dal pilone di cinta. L’insieme della costruzione fu più tardi completato con una piattaforma d’accesso, addossata all’Est della nuova sala.

La sala cubica, di circa 17 m. di lato, è già stata descritta nel nostro primo rapporto di scavi. Ricordiamo succintamente che il soffitto era sostenuto da quattro colonne a capitello palmiforme e che il pavimento era costituito da un lastricato d’arenaria, steso al livello delle altre sale e corti del tempio; è sotto questo lastricato che abbiamo rinvenuto le vestigia dell’antico terrapieno e gli strati sovrapposti di numerosi pavimenti relativi agli avvenimenti precedenti. La sala aveva ad Est una porta d’entrata a due battenti, preceduta da una rampa, e ad Ovest l’immensa porta del pilone, a battente unico. La parete di fondo, già facciata del tempio, era ornata di scene riferentisi all’incoronazione del faraone; sul sopras poglio frammentario della porta Ovest, trovato durante gli scavi, Amenofi III è rappresentato al cospetto della sua immagine divinizzata, seduta su di un trono.

Oggi possiamo precisare che le fondamenta della facciata della sala e delle sue colonne Est furono scese a grande profondità, nel terreno di riporto che aveva colmato il primo canale. Quanto alle colonne Ovest, erano state erette sulle basi degli obelischi ormai rimossi. Questi due obelischi, la cui presenza a Soleb è corroborata dalla stele 34025 del museo del Cairo, non fecero qui che un breve soggiorno. Finora non si sono trovate altre basi su cui possano essere stati nuovamente elevati, se non la piattaforma che precede la sala cubica, ma in tal caso è lecito chiedersi dove furono depositati nel lasso di tempo intercorso tra la costruzione della sala e quella della piattaforma. Sembra più probabile che, tolti dalle loro prime basi, siano stati direttamente incamminati verso un altro edificio di Amenofi III.

La piattaforma d’accesso, formata da quattro piani di blocchi d’arenaria, fu appoggiata sulla colmata dell’antico canale; era adornata dai due Horo di granito, crollati poi accanto al luogo su cui ergevano, e forse da altre statue.

Una parte del viale fiancheggiato di arieti era stata conservata e collegava la piattaforma al pilone di cinta, del quale non restano che rovine completamente erose. Il loro esame conferma che anche questa costruzione (m. 55×9) fu elevata sul passaggio del primo canale: le sue fondamenta infatti, quasi inesistenti

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Fig. 9. TEMPIO DI AMENOFE III (IV PERIODO)
alle estremità dei massicci, sono costituite al centro da vari piani di pietre e posate su terreno di riporto. Quattro basi di colossi sono state rinvenute all’Est e all’Ovest del pilone, ai lati del portale.

L’insieme di blocchi d’arenaria immerso nel fiume, sul prolungamento dell’asse del tempio, ed emergente nel periodo delle acque basse, costituisce le vestigia della terza ed ultima banchina del tempio di Soleb.

![Diagramma](image)

**Fig. 10. Pavimenti ad ovest della prima banchina (sezione longitudinale)**

Lo studio preliminare di queste numerose trasformazioni e costruzioni ha potuto effettuarsi soprattutto grazie alla ricerca sistematica ed all’analisi scrupolosa dei resti di pavimenti (Fig. 10) che hanno appartenuto all’una o all’altra fase del tempio. Si tratta di strati battuti di terra mista a paglia, ben spianati, imbiancati con latte di calce e nettamente identificabili. Il loro livello, la loro inclinazione, il fondo su cui furono posati, il fatto che siano stati parzialmente tagliati per un’ulteriore costruzione, o che si stendano invece a perfetto contatto con i blocchi di un edificio, questi ed altri dettagli sono dati preziosi, che determinano in modo sicuro ed indiscutibile la successione delle varie fasi di costruzione e degli eventi che la caratterizzano.

Si costruisce il tempio e durante la sua edificazione vi è come un attimo di posa, che ritroviamo fissato grazie ai resti di un pavimento accuratamente imbiancato, la cui estrema fragilità attesta che fu il suolo di un momento, di un avvenimento determinato, di una cerimonia od inaugurazione. La costruzione continua, il pavimento si ricopre poco a poco di terra e pietrame che costituiranno il suolo giornalmente calcato, fino alla sovrapposizione di un nuovo strato di terra battuta, anche questo perfettamente imbiancato e fragilissimo, anche questo con funzione provvisoria. Così il tempio si costruisce e si completa, derivando in sostanza da un insieme di elementi rituali ed architettonici che si sviluppano e regolano fino allo stadio finale.

*Soleb, 17 Marzo 1960.*
SOLEB, CAMPAGNA 1959–60

SOLEB

1959–60 Season

SUMMARY

This season has been almost entirely devoted to a study of the temple. In the cemetery only a very little excavation was undertaken, but the name Tuthmosis III was found, which indicates that the xviiith Dynasty cemetery and the disturbance of the earlier cemetery are to be dated to this reign.

In the temple we brought to light an early settlement, dug into the alluvial soil and contemporaneous with the earliest cemetery. It had been transformed in the time of Tuthmosis III into a long, boat-shaped ditch which served as the sanctuary and became the point of departure for the successive buildings which were to become the great temple of Soleb.

Thus in a vast desert this monument was based on the reconstruction of a primitive settlement. The four main stages of development were as follows:

I. At first the temple comprised an area dedicated to the cult, a hypostyle hall, a court, and a pylon in front of which was a quay linked to the Nile by a canal.

II. A court with a podium, a pylon and a new quay, much larger than the original one, were next added.

III. The new court was then decorated and ornamented with a colonnade and at the same time colossi and obelisks were erected in front of the façade. An avenue ran from the pylon to the quay.

IV. Later a square hall was built on the site of the obelisks, together with a great outer pylon at the end of the avenue and a final quay was constructed on the banks of the Nile. The temple was eventually completed by the addition of a platform built up against the façade of the square hall.

The study of these developments has only been possible because of the discovery of a large number of lime-washed pavements of compacted earth corresponding to the various stages of construction and showing irrefutably how the temple was evolved.
A Brief Description of the Decoration of Room II of the Temple of Soleb

by JOZEF M. A. JANSSEN

AGAIN, as in my previous article published in Kush vii (1959), pp. 166–9, the numbering of the scenes has no significance other than to indicate their position on the walls; see plan in Kush vi (1958), plate iv. For a full bibliography, see Porter-Moss, vii, pp. 170–1.

Entrance to the Pylon

In the entrance passage, on the right-hand side at the point where the door folded back, can be seen the remains of an extensive scene. Beneath the hieroglyphic sign for the sky, the king was depicted facing the sanctuary. The vulture of the goddess Nekhbet, the ‘White One’ of el-Kâb, is the only part of the relief, apart from the inscriptions, which remains intact. Lepsius, the only scholar previously to have mentioned this scene, affirmed that the cartouche contained the name Nebmaatre, but supposed that this name was not the original one. It is, however, impossible to confirm his statement. The text in the right-hand section contains the royal epithet ‘he who drives away the (nine) bows’; the second column begins with ‘Amonrasonther residing at (Soleb)’. The left-hand text reads: ‘... O(?), our lord(?), (there is no exag)geration in this, who fights and brings back plunder from every land, full of energy, the only one who is strong’. Below these texts one can still just see the legs of a figure facing the king, but nothing remains of the pharaoh; there is an offering-table between them. The deity would not appear to be Amon since the text above his head leaves no room for the double plume.

The state of the opposite wall indicates that it, too, was certainly decorated. To the extreme west can be seen two legs turned to the east. In view of the fact that these legs have been restored, it seems likely that this was the god Amon. Facing him are the remains of another figure.

Right Door-jamb of the Entrance (fig. 1)

This door-jamb was originally decorated with at least four registers one above the other. The lowest (no. 16) is almost destroyed. The other three depict the king, Amenophis III, on the right, standing before a deity, who is also standing, and facing him.

The existing lower register (no. 17) shows the pharaoh wearing the nemes-head-dress in adoration before the god Amon of Karnak residing at Soleb; the
DECORATION OF ROOM II OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLEB

Fig. 1. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE
figure of the god has been hammered out and restored. The vulture of the goddess, here called Wadjet, is flying over the figure of the king and sheltering him with her wings.

The middle register (no. 18) retains only the remains of the pharaoh, depicted making an offering of incense to the moon god; the latter is wearing ram’s horns surmounted by lunar discs. The god bears the prenomen of the king and is called ‘Lord of Nubia’.

![Diagram of the Pylon: North Pier, West Face](image)

In the third register (no. 19), the top one, the figure of the king is lost. On the left the moon god is again to be seen but it is difficult to define his gesture.

The Great Wall to the right of the Entrance (FIG. 2)

The registers ornamenting this wall are divided into several scenes of different sizes, all of which show aspects of the celebration of the royal jubilee. The lower part of this wall (register 10) was originally divided into two. The southern side is taken up with scenes related to the ‘illumination’ of the two thrones. To the left of these scenes, in the northern section, the representations are grouped into two registers one above the other. An inscription reads ‘going to the great throne room’. But it would be interesting to know
DECORATION OF ROOM II OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLEB

whether this happened before or after the ‘illumination’ of the thrones. Since the texts which accompanied the second tableau are in the main destroyed, it seems impossible to determine the chronological order of these scenes. Furthermore, at the extreme right of this tableau a palace is shown, from which the king and his attendants have just emerged and are moving away from the ‘illumination’ of the thrones.

It should be noted that on the North Wall of the West Doorway where the royal palace is represented several times, it is always shown at the end of a series of scenes. However, it is possible that the palace was placed in the middle of register 10 to indicate that the scenes developed in both directions beginning after the king and his suite had left the royal residence.

The representation of the ‘illumination’ of the thrones has as its focal point a large double shrine, supported by eight papyriform columns and decorated with bands of uraei facing in both directions. Though it is largely obliterated, this scene still retains traces of a throne in the centre of the right-hand section. The vertical strip behind the throne displays several royal symbols: the bull, the falcon of Horus, and the animal symbolic of Seth. The double shrine or baldachin is flanked by two chests containing ‘the mysterious oil’ for ‘illuminating the throne’. The seven receptacles in which it had been contained are under the protection of six deities, shown above them, each in a naos. The name of the first cannot be distinguished, but the others are the bull šmj, the monkey ‘nn, the ibis ḫn, the god Anubis, and the goddess Pakht. The part played by the chest in the ceremony is not clear and the inscription above it does not clarify the point. It states that the king is bringing his eye to Horus and imploring him to make it well. On the other hand, the text between the shrine and the chests tells us that the object of the ceremony was to ‘light up the throne’, ‘beginning at the 4th month of the peret season, the 26th day, until the 1st month of the shemu season’. Are we then to understand that this ceremony was repeated on five successive days? In any case, the text states that the ceremony began ‘at dawn on the day of the sed-festival’ when the pharaoh received the fire of the torch which illuminated the shrine.

To the left and right of the shrine and the two chests, Amenophis III is shown holding a long torch in his hands and he is followed by the queen, Teye. In front of the figure of the king, to the right, are to be seen two figures of whom is offering the torch and the other reciting the ritual. Behind the queen there is a long text of 23 lines; lines 10–16, which Lepsius was able to read, were already missing in the photographs taken by Breasted 50 years

ago since part of the block had disappeared. The text is far from clear, but we can understand that it describes how light was given to several high officials of the royal court.

To the left of this long tableau there is a palace, probably a double one, from which a great procession is emerging and wending its way to the north. At the head of the procession are to be seen the escort of the Great Chamberlain of the court. The majority of the participants, of whom many are arrayed in the robes of sem-priests, are depicted with raised hands. Finally, close to the palace, the pharaoh, wearing sandals, is preceded by two officials and some figures are prostrated in front of them. On a stone fragment found in the southern part of this court figures are to be seen similarly prostrated.

Registers 11–15, above the tableau of the ‘illumination’ of the thrones, are surrounded by a band representing a crenellated wall. There follows the ceremony of pharaoh knocking at the doors which is shown both horizontally and vertically. This rite is intercalated with representations of the pharaoh preceded by officials; besides the two viziers several standard-bearers are to be seen; amongst the standards at the extreme right of the scene is a great post surmounted by Wepwawet. A woman is twice portrayed in front of him; this seems to be the same person that we find on the opposite wall of this room. The king is shown standing, facing the entrance, and wearing the blue crown; he is knocking on a door with his club; in his left hand he carries a staff. This act is shown four times in the horizontal band and at least three times in the vertical. The vulture goddess is hovering above the king. Two officials face him from the other side of the door; one of them, the royal scribe Amenophis, is also touching the door with his club. The king is supposed to be going from one door to another, since the text, in archaic language, gives the number of each repetition. The most southerly door bears the number 12.

The section bordered to the south by registers 11–15 is divided into two parts of unequal height. The lower one which prolongs register 12, shows, on the right, the king holding a staff in his left hand while with his other hand opening the door of one of the nine chapels which are shown in front of him. The first chapel contains a heset-vase, the others are occupied by deities, among them the goddess Werethekau; two chapels seem to be dedicated to the god Montu. The following scene shows a very large naos; in the centre of which the sacred barque of Amon of Karnak is represented on a pedestal, and with the winged disc above it; to the left of this are five heset-vases, and to the right five standards. The prow of the barque is ornamented with a ram’s head and there is another near the helm. There is a naos in the centre of the boat. The king is approaching the barque and seems to be offering a bouquet. To the left of the large naos are small sanctuaries arranged in three rows one above the other; each row seems to consist of two groups of four chapels facing each other. The following scene of which we only have part, depicts two rows of stylized palm trees; the space between the palm trees being filled with chapels.
The scene to the left of registers 13 and 14 seems to be the centre of the group surrounded by a precinct. The king, who has just left a sanctuary which is reached by a stairway, is in the middle. In front of the pharaoh is another sanctuary, also with a stairway. The first sanctuary is perhaps consecrated to Amon of Karnak since he is referred to in the text. Before the king are three rows of people—sem-priests and standard-bearers—with a sacrificial scene above them. A figure is offering the front leg of a cow to the king; on a level with his shoulder two women are depicted bearing the hieroglyph $\text{H3}$ on their heads. This central panel is surrounded by chapels containing deities. Below are two rows of chapels opposite each other. The inscriptions refer amongst other deities to Thoth, Sopdu, Horheka, Banebdjedet and Sendet. To the right, a great number of naos are ranged in at least six rows. Among the deities represented may be mentioned Amon, Anubis, Khonsu, Horus (several times), and the monkeys Benty and Bentet.

The Great Wall to the Left of the Entrance

Only a few traces remain of the decorations on the western face of the south wall. It is clear, however, that this also was decorated with reliefs. Enough remains to show that the sacred barque of Amon was again depicted here. Although it is several metres lower than in the analogous scene on the North Wall, the prows point to the same direction. On another block farther to the south one can just make out a few traces of reliefs.

North Wall

It has been possible to reassemble several blocks which certainly come from the ornamentation of the eastern end of the North Wall of the temple. Among them are to be found fragments of the door-jambs. There is also the king presenting a clepsydra to a goddess, a motif which does not appear on the walls now standing and which is repeated here at least six times. Other blocks show fragments of processions comparable to those depicted on the two walls which are still intact in this sector. A fragment of relief contains the remains of a great Hapy facing west; it would be most interesting to know the exact position of this relief, but it must certainly have been somewhere near the side door. It should be borne in mind that the decoration of the façade of the pylon also contains a Hapy on a level with the cornice.

South Wall

It is impossible with certainty to attribute a single decorated stone to this wall. We found amongst the rubble in this sector a considerable number of small pieces of stone showing amongst other things fragments of a procession. Perhaps they were part of this wall.
North Jamb of the West Door

Above an inscription mentioning 'the great door of Nebmaatre' are three registers of reliefs; in each register the king is shown on the right facing a deity and both of them are standing. In the lower register (no. 32), Amenophis III, wearing the red crown, is standing before Amonrasonther, residing at Soleb. The god calls him 'my beloved son Nebmaatre'. It should be noted that the figure of Amon has been hammered out and restored.

The following register (no. 33) shows Amenophis wearing two plumes and the ram's horns on the nemes. The two cartouches in front of him have been hammered out and only the second one has been rewritten, but instead of the name Amenophis heka-waset, the prenomen of the king has been inscribed there. He is making the offering of incense to the divine Amenophis shown in the form of the moon god residing at Soleb. He is wearing the moon on his head which is ornamented with ram's horns.

The third register (no. 34) represents, to the right of the lintel, the same moon god embracing the king 'his living image on earth'; the king is wearing the blue crown. To the left the pharaoh is shown running with an oar in his hand.

Southern Jamb of the West Door

Nothing remains of the façade. On the southern side of this jamb three horizontal blocks remain, decorated with badly worn reliefs. Three figures are standing in front of an inscription which tells how Amenophis III built the hall or the door(?) and 'no one has ever done anything like it'. There follows a man who is pouring liquid into a great vase which is standing on the ground, and another man is facing him. In the lower register the remains of at least four figures are visible; they seem to be bearers of offerings. The following block shows plants in rows one above the other; in the middle a man can be seen bowing. Below, two birds can be distinguished and, above, a man sitting on a stone or a stool. The third block is also ornamented with plants. Other representations of plants are to be found on the adjacent western wall. On this side a bird and a fish are to be found among the plants.

North Wall of the West Door

This wall is divided into nine registers (nos. 22–30), the upper limits of which are indicated by the elongated sign for the sky. The majority of these registers are subdivided but often in an irregular manner. The following description of each register begins at the right-hand side, continuing towards the left, following the order of the scenes and going from top to bottom. In order to simplify the description 'the king' always means Amenophis III and 'the queen' his wife Teye.
DECORATION OF ROOM II OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLEB

The first remaining block of register 30 shows, at the bottom, a group of 18 men carrying a great standard of Wepwaut set in a wooden support with a cornice. There are two more persons below the standard. The inscription reads: 'setting out under the god for the great hall'. Two fan-bearers precede them but they belong to the procession accompanying the royal couple. Above, are to be seen a dignitary followed by a lady; she heads the procession probably in the capacity of 'mother of the god of Assiut', the town of Wepwaut, and precedes three sem-priests. After the great standard of the lower register nothing now remains of the royal suite but two priests and a figure leaning on a stick. In the following scene, the royal couple are shown, the pharaoh dressed in archaic costume. At the extreme left of the register, in front of the palace, can be seen the king standing and the queen followed by a group of princesses.

The upper section of the following register (no. 29) begins with a scene going from left to right, unlike the rest of the tableau, and there seems to be a naos in the centre of it. A person with a staff opens the procession, followed by women; behind the naos can be seen two people, the first of whom holds a vase in his two hands. The second tableau shows the pharaoh dressed for the sed-festival and followed by the queen. The officials preceding the king seem to be part of the next tableau where the king is in a chapel, making the offering of incense before a naos which contains the sacred ram of the god Khnum. There are several officials behind the king in the chapel; those above are kneeling in the attitude of jubilation. After making the offering, Amenophis and Teye, preceded by bearers of standards and symbols of royalty, proceed towards the palace and are shown yet once more before going back inside.

The lower part of this register (no. 29) is taken up with a long procession moving towards the left. The first group from the left is made up of a great number of people, apparently in groups of three, who are carrying a great standard of the god Wepwaut. Six princesses follow them under the watchful eye of the steward of the royal harem. Then come numerous standard-bearers, generally denoted as hem-netjer.

The first blocks at the right-hand side of the third register (no. 28), at the bottom, show the royal couple making an offering to the ithyphallic god of Koptos, Min, who is to be seen in a naos. The queen is carrying a sistrum in her right hand. The upper part of the scene is badly weathered. However, standard-bearers can still be distinguished approaching a building. In the following tableau the royal family are shown both above and below. Above, they are preceded by many people carrying staffs or perhaps standards. Below, they are preceded by several persons carrying the figure of the god Min before which are to be seen the king preceded this time by two figures who seem to be holding two large crossed oars. The god Min is also represented in the following tableau in both the upper and lower sections. Above, he is shown standing facing another royal image in front of his sanctuary,
which is recognized by its characteristic shape, and decorated with two lettuces. The part between the king and the god is badly worn; the text accompanying Min says, amongst other things, that he has given the king the throne of Geb and the office of Atum. A scene which appears to be almost identical is depicted just beneath in the lower part of the register. After having paid homage to the god Min, the royal couple turn to the left preceded by some standard-bearers. Then the king and queen enter the palace followed by courtiers. The lower part of the left-hand section of the register is occupied by a group of at least seven persons. The first four are priests among whom the smty-priest is closely associated with the god Min as also are the bearded dancers who follow with arms raised.

The scene with which register 27 begins shows first the pharaoh faced by 24 standard-bearers arranged in three rows of eight. Behind the king there is a row of small standing figures and another figure precedes the king. A vertical inscription in four lines above this servant is entirely worn away. The lower row of standard-bearers are followed by a princess. Above her the pharaoh is again depicted in the heb-sed costume confronted by eight deities in two rows—one above the other. Next the king approaches a naos in which is the standing figure of an anthropomorphic god which Lepsius took to be a ram-headed god, but the figure might perhaps represent Horus. The tableau to the left shows the royal couple preceded by several groups of standard-bearers; a large Wepwaut occupies the central position. Then the royal couple go back to the palace. All the lower part of the register is taken up by a procession of dignitaries.

The following register (no. 26) begins with the figure of the king, rather damaged; he is in a naos before an ennead of deities both male and female. The first from the top represents the sun god, with the head of a falcon. The second tableau shows the king before a naos dedicated to the god Horus. Next there is the king preceded by a great number of bearers of standards and symbols of royalty. Then comes the pharaoh in archaic costume in front of a naos which also contains a representation of the king making an offering of incense to the ram of the god Khnum who is himself in another naos. After the king, and higher up, are four officials in attitudes of jubilation. The royal couple are preceded by a large procession of bearers of standards and symbols of royalty. Again the Wepwaut are numerous. The large post in the middle ornamented with a standing jackal belongs to the lower part of the register. The last scene represents the royal couple before entering the palace. Throughout the length of the lower part of the register there is a long procession headed by the two viziers and moving towards the left.

The following register (no. 25) begins with the figure of the pharaoh who is shown in front of a naos. Inside this naos is an anthropomorphic god with the head of a falcon. The king’s face has been hammered out. Then comes the king preceded by a group of bearers of standards and symbols of royalty
in the midst of whom is to be seen the large Wepwaut of the lower register and, once more, Amenophis III. On the following tableau, only the lower part of the pharaoh remains intact; he is standing before an altar in a naos in which he is represented again, doubtless with the ram of Khnum. After the offering the royal couple turn to the left preceded by a procession carrying mainly Wepwaut standards. Then they arrive at the palace. A very long procession of dignitaries takes up the whole of the lower register. Many of them carry staffs, some plain and some decorated at the top; others are raising their arms. The carriers of the huge support for the post crowned by the Wepwaut should be noted; as is the case elsewhere, there is a small upright figure at the point where the post comes out of the support and another kneeling figure faces him. At the end of the procession are the two viziers and other persons of high rank.

The next register (no. 24) begins with the king standing and wearing the red crown, as he does everywhere on this wall, and holding a sceptre and flagellum in his hands. Priests and courtiers are coming towards him in two rows—one above the other. The chief lector-priest is inviting the sem-priest to ‘make a royal offering of libations and incense to Osiris before the palaces the day . . . of the jubilee’. Below, a row of people are turning towards the king. Above, the register continues with a naos in which can be seen a great statue of the king in the form of Osiris and in front of him, in three rows, are a number of deities; beginning from the top they are Re, Atum, Shu and Tefnut, respectively.

After having completed the rites, the pharaoh continues his progress. There are three officials in front of his legs and at least three others lower down. Then comes a big naos in which is represented the creator god Khnum in the form of a ram to which the king is offering incense. He is followed, below, by a bowing figure and by officials. Above, four chief magicians are making the gesture of jubilation.

After this ceremony the king, followed by the queen, once more continues his progress towards the palace preceded by a great number of standard-bearers; in the middle is the great Wepwaut of the lower register and the royal couple are shown yet again before they enter the palace. Behind the queen the divine mother of Assiut is to be seen once more.

A long procession is depicted in the lower register but only a few of the figures remain; many groups of sem-priests bring it to an end.

At the beginning of the eighth register (no. 23) there is a group of persons turning towards the right. Then follows a scene with the pharaoh sitting on his throne, wearing the red crown, and holding the sceptre and flagellum in his hand. Behind the king can be seen traces of the figure of Queen Teye with the two princesses, Isis and Henuttaneb, behind her. In front of the king a retrograde text in six vertical lines, partly defaced, begins with the date: ‘30th year, 2nd month of the shemu season, first day’. This text describes the ceremonies in the temple of Amon connected with ‘the first sed-festival of
KUSH

his son who occupies his throne’. To the left of this text are to be seen persons in three ranks, one above the other, all turning to the left. It is impossible to say, in view of the state of preservation of the bas-relief, whether this group belongs to the foregoing scene where the king is seated, or whether it is part of the following scene. For the rest, it should be noted that it is often difficult to determine the division between the upper and lower parts of this register, as happens also many times with other registers of this wall.

So it may be possible that the carriers depicted beneath the retrograde text belong to the upper scene and that this time they are carrying the king himself. In front of the retrograde text are four men carrying staffs topped with two feathers. They are followed by bearers of standards surmounted by recumbent dogs; according to the text these standards represent ‘Wepwawet, master of Assiut’. Below, there is another retinue of carriers. The middle row begins with one person facing several others of whom at least two are carrying standards. The following scene shows the king standing, wearing the red crown, and holding the sceptre and flagellum. He is followed by Queen Teye wearing two long plumes and preceded by figures the lowest of whom is the chief lector-priest and royal scribe Nebmerutef. The scene which follows hardly differs from the foregoing. The king and the queen, followed by four princesses, are returning to the palace to rest ‘having completed all that must be done at the sed-festival’.

In the lower register, a row of several men holding staffs in their right hands are to be seen below the two scenes at the extreme left; six women, probably the royal princesses, follow them. This procession continues to the right end of the wall but, as has already been mentioned, the state of preservation of the reliefs does not always permit an exact division to be made between the upper and lower sections of this register.

Of the bottom register (no. 22) only traces remain. A boat is depicted on the block at the extreme right. Below this, some plants can be distinguished. At the extreme left of the register can be seen a door opening into a storeroom; in front of it is a man turning to the right. A storeroom is also shown at the same level in register 21 where a series of large jars can be seen. Beneath this is an aquatic scene. First a series of birds can be seen and, on the right, traces of a man crossing the water in a canoe, followed by cattle.

The Colonnade

Despite the fact that the majority of the 24 columns surrounding the court have fallen, the inscriptions on 15 of them still remain in a fairly complete state. Originally the central part of each column facing the court was incised with four vertical bands, the fourth band facing the opposite way to the others; this contains the name of a deity who loves the king. The other three bands always begin with one of the names of royal protocol (Horus, Nebty or Golden Horus) followed by the prenomen and name of the king. It has been stated
already that a divinity who loves the king appears on each column. On all
the odd-numbered columns this divinity is the statue of Nebmaatre facing the
royal names; on the alternate columns this space was devoted to different
manifestations of Amonre.

The six columns flanking the sides of the door at the end of the court
and probably anterior in date to the colonnade surrounding it were ornamented
in the same fashion. Only the text of one of these columns has come down
to us and there it is not Amonre who loves the pharaoh but Khnum, Lord of
the Cataract, residing at Soleb.

One can say in general that the abaci were ornamented on all four faces.
In the middle of each side are two vertical cartouches containing the name
Nebmaatre, and bearing two plumes and the solar disc. Each of these two
names is under the protection of a vulture. The side facing the court is incised,
the other faces in relief. Many of the details of this ornamentation are worthy
of note, but a full description would be too lengthy here.

Although all the architraves of the interior columns have fallen, it has
nevertheless been possible to form a fairly definite idea of how they were
decorated. The side facing the court was ornamented with an incised inscrip-
tion, the inside face with hieroglyphs in relief and the under-side carried a large
cartouche of Nebmaatre, preceded by one of the titles Nesubity, Sa-Re or netjer-
nefer with the hieroglyph of the sky above it. The inscriptions began at the
two doors and proceeded towards the north and south, respectively. Those
on the north colonnade began from the west, in the corner of the court, and on
the south colonnade they went in the opposite direction. The two lateral faces
of the epistyles were inscribed with the protocol names of the king to which
epithets were added, sometimes unusual ones such as ‘(strong bull) in the
arena who overthrows all’.

West Doorway

On the north face of the inside of the doorway there is a scene and a text
dating from Rameses II engraved ‘for the Ka of the viceroy (of Kush) the
general, the royal scribe, his beloved, Rameses’; in front of this a fragmentary
horizontal text extends the whole length of the door. On the north and south
sides are engraved cartouches of Rameses III. To the west a kneeling figure
is adoring these cartouches. In the upper part of the passage a very worn
text refers to a fan-bearer on the right hand of the pharaoh, whose name is lost.
This text is accompanied by a scene at the extreme left of which a person can
be seen sitting on a seat facing east and coming towards him can be distinguished
traces of fan-bearers; probably there were two of them.
Four Objects Belonging to Viceroyos of Kush and Officials Associated with Them

by Labib Habachi

The four objects published here are reported to have come from various sites in Nubia, but nothing definite is known of how they were found nor of the exact places in which they originally stood; even the general area in which one of them was reported to have been discovered can be shown to be probably incorrect. Still, it will be of interest to discuss them briefly as they add to our information about certain viceroys of Nubia and other officials associated with them in their duties, some of whom were unknown to us before.

(1) A Statue of the Viceroy Ahmes Turo, said to come from Kerma

In my article about 'The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family' which appeared in Kush vii, I mentioned the lower part of a statue of Ahmes Turo, now in the British Museum, and said to have come from Kerma. This piece is described in the Museum Guide as: 'Lower portion of a seated sandstone figure of Aahmes \[\text{figure}\] who was surnamed 'Thur' \[\text{figure}\] a superintendent of the "countries of the South", i.e. an officer in the Sudan, who flourished probably under the xixth Dynasty. The text contains a prayer to Horus of Behen for sepulchral offerings. Found near Kerma, in the Sudan. xixth Dynasty. Height 1 ft. 7 in., width 10 in. (no. 1279)'.

In the above-mentioned article, I stated my opinion that Gauthier (speaking of this statue in RT, xxxix, p. 185) was right in attributing it to the viceroy Turo, who lived at the beginning of the xviith Dynasty. He mentions the title 'Overseer of the Southern Countries' given to Turo on this statue which is known to be one of the main titles held by viceroys of Kush, especially the earlier ones. After the publication of my article, I wrote to my friend, Harry James, asking him to send me a copy of all the titles held by the owner of the above statue. To my surprise, I found that among them was the title 'King's son', showing him clearly to have been a viceroy. The title is mentioned twice, once on each side of the seat. I then asked Mr James to provide me

\[\text{footnotes}\]

1 pp. 58 f. (G. 3).
3 p. 59. In footnote 66 on the same page we noted that in JEA, vi, p. 78, it was shown that this title was only found with that of 'viceroy', and we added that this latter title might have been on the missing part of the statue.
with photographs of the two sides, which he kindly sent me with permission to publish them. I would like to express my warmest thanks to him and to Mr Edwards, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the Museum.

The statue is of sandstone, the surviving part being 25 cm. wide and about 50 cm. high; originally, it must have been nearly 80 cm. high. As can be seen from the views reproduced here (PLATE XXVII, a, b), it represents a man sitting on a cubicl chair; the bust, feet and front of the seat are missing. The owner is shown dressed in a long garment reaching to the ankles. The form of the seat is the usual one, but the back is prolonged, to form a dorsal pillar for the statue.

On each side of the seat is a neatly carved inscription consisting of five horizontal lines. That to the (owner’s) left (FIG. 1) reads: ‘May the king give offerings to Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, and to Dedun, (2) pre-eminent in Nubia, that they may give splendour in heaven, power (3) on earth and justification in the Underworld, going in and out as he likes without being stopped at (4) the door of the Dual (namely) to the ka of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries Ahmes, called (5) Turo, engendered by the scribe of the offerings of Amun, Sayit, the blessed’.

The inscription on the other side (FIG. 2) reads: ‘May the king give offerings to Horus, lord of Buhen, and to the gods of the (2) Southern Elephantine that they may give an invocation offering consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (vases) and clothing, incense and ointment and everything that goes forth (3) on their offering tables during the daytime of every-day (namely) all the good and pure things (4) on which a god lives to the ka of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries (5) Ahmes, called Turo, born of the mistress of the house, Satioh, the blessed.

According to the registers of the British Museum, this statue was presented to the Museum by G. Page, Esq., in 1898. Undoubtedly, it was the donor who indicated the provenance of the statue as being Kerma but we are bound to examine the matter in order to determine whether this information fits with what we know about Ahmes Turo in general and with the inscriptions on the statue in particular. One of the two inscriptions mentions Osiris, qualified as ‘foremost of the Westerners’, together with Dedun, pre-eminent in Nubia, while the other refers to Horus, lord of Buhen, and to the gods of the Southern Elephantine. This latter place-name was considered by Gauthier to designate in one instance the site of Semna and in another the town of Buhen. Our statue likewise mentions Horus, lord of Buhen, the important town situated at the second cataract where Turo, at that time holding the position of commandant of the fortress of Buhen, left on a door a graffito of King Ahmose and his mother, Ahhotep. Furthermore, a copy of the decree announcing the

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4 For these phrases see Wb., 1, 13:11.
6 Dic. géogr., 1, p. 3.
7 Ibid., iv, p. 207.
8 Kush vii, p. 57 (R, a).
ascension of Tuthmosis I to the throne and addressed to Ahmes Turo, now viceroy of Nubia, was found in Wadi Halfa.⁹ It came, no doubt, originally from Buhen or the close vicinity.

⁹ *KUSH* vii, p. 58 (R, d).
which was reported to have been found in one of the tombs at the same site.\textsuperscript{10} Dedun, who also appears on our statue, was one of the most important divinities of this place where there existed a temple dedicated to him and to Sesostris III.\textsuperscript{11} Another temple dedicated to Dedun and Montu was built at Uronarti where

\textsuperscript{10} For these, see ibid., p. 57 (R, b) and p. 60 (L, 3) respectively.

\textsuperscript{11} Porter-Moss, \textit{Bibliography}, vii, pp. 145 ff.
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Turo has likewise left a graffito.\textsuperscript{12} With all these factors in mind, therefore, it becomes improbable that the statue forming the subject of this article should have come originally from Kerma; very possibly it stood either in Buhen or, even more probably, in Semna, where so many monuments of the viceroy have been discovered.

Our statue mentions the names of the parents of the viceroy. His father, called Sayit, is found here for the second time; the only instance hitherto known of him was on the statue 888 in the British Museum representing his great-grandson, Teti. But there he is called Ahmes, surnamed Satayit, and is described as: *Viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries*,\textsuperscript{13} while on our statue he is referred to by his surname only and is given the title: *Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun*. There is no doubt that the former titles are more important than the latter, but for some reason his son referred to him by the less important title. Perhaps it was because of the shortage of space that the other titles and the name itself were omitted. It is to be noted that the title given to Sayit here: *Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun*, was borne by most of the members of his family.\textsuperscript{14}

In my article already referred to, I outlined the family tree of Ahmes Satayit for six generations.\textsuperscript{15} Now we can add to this tree the name of his wife, Satioh, the mother of the viceroy Ahmes Turo. It is noteworthy that the names of most of the members of this family are formed with the word *ioh*, meaning ‘the moon’.

(2) *Lintel of the Deputy of the Viceroy Meresiris(?), called Meh.*

When passing through Ed-Derr in 1958, I saw in the temple a block of sandstone with an inscription of several vertical lines, below which appears the upper part of a man with uplifted arms, wearing a wig and a robe. This should have been followed by a woman, probably his wife; both were most likely shown kneeling (PLATE XXVIII, a).

The inscription above is partly mutilated, but sufficient traces remain to show its importance. It reads (FIG. 3): *Adoration to thy ka, O Amunre, (2) lord of the Two Lands*,\textsuperscript{16} mayest thou give life, prosperity and health to the

\textsuperscript{12} Porter-Moss, *Bibliography*, VII, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{13} KUSH VII, p. 47, FIG. 2 and PLATE XVI.

\textsuperscript{14} Only his son Ahmes Turo was not shown on any monument as bearing that title, but his son, two grandsons and one of his great grandsons held that title, ibid., pp. 46 ff.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 54.

\textsuperscript{16} Usually Amunre is given the title of *nb nswt tawi*, as his main title was the ‘master of Karnak’. But the title given to him here shows him as king of Egypt. This title is not given so often to the god, but it is found once on the Chapel of Sesosstris I rebuilt by Chevrier; see Lacau-Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak*, p. 73 (Sec. 8).
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ka of (3) the deputy of the viceroy Meresiris(?), Meh; (4) his beloved sister, the chantress of Horus (5) . . . mistress of (6), . . .  

The block on which this inscription figures is of sandstone, perhaps of local origin. It is 55 cm. wide, 60 cm. high and about 20 cm. thick. Its back is rough and shows that it was probably cut from the surface of one of the cliffs. Thus it was very possibly originally a graffito. Our inquiries about its original location were unfruitful, but in all probability it was found in the

17 The wife of Meh is referred to here as 'chantress of Horus', most probably described as master of one of the places sacred to the god in North Nubia. It seems that she was attached at the same time to one of the goddesses of this area, perhaps Isis or Hathor, also described as mistress of one of the sites of that land.
vicinity. Judging from the inscriptions and the attitude of the persons depicted on it, it is clear that it must have been carved opposite a figure of Amunre or in a place sacred to that god, as only under such conditions would we be likely to find a relief of a man in adoration accompanied by the inscription: Adoration to thy ka, O Amunre. . . .18

The person depicted here is described as the ‘deputy’ or wakil of a viceroy unknown to us before. The name of this viceroy is formed with that of Osiris as one of its elements, but the second element is not quite clear; faint traces suggest the sign _mr_.19 This viceroy, as I have said, is unknown until now and it is difficult to determine under which king he served. But a _wakil_ by the name of Meh is already known to us. He has left a graffito in Gebel Tingar on the western side of the Nile to the south of Elephantine Island. There he is shown behind Usersatet, who acted as viceroy under Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, and is described as: ‘The _wakil_ of the viceroy Usersatet, called Meh’.20 If this man is the same as the one responsible for carving our block, Merosiris(?) would have held the position of viceroy directly before or after Usersatet. In the former case, Merosiris(?) would have served Amenophis II and perhaps also Tuthmosis III, and in the latter case he would have lived under Tuthmosis IV. It is to be observed that all of these kings commanded works at the temple of Amada,21 opposite the place where the block was found.

(3) Lintel of the Viceroy Huy and the Governor Panmehyt

In March 1956, my friend Thabit Hassan Thabit, then Senior Inspector of Antiquities in the Republic of the Sudan, was kind enough to invite me together with the officials and experts of the Centre of Documentation working on the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, to see the monuments of Wadi Halfa and its environs. In his company we visited the newly discovered part of the tomb of Debeira, the Halfa Museum and the temples of Buhen. I noticed

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18 As a matter of fact, there is a niche about 200 m. to the north of Ed-Derr Temple, where a king is shown adoring three divinities with Amunre at their head on the upper register and a kneeling person in the lower one, see Porter-Moss, vii, pp. 89 f. Nothing is left of the inscriptions to show us in what period the niche was carved, but it is not improbable that our block was once standing near to that niche.

19 The name of Osiris was never used as a personal name, but names formed with that of the god as an element, such as Osiris-onkh are found. See Ranke, _Personennamen_, 1, 84: 21 ff. and 85: 1 ff.

20 _Kush_ v, p. 21 (11), _Fig. 6_ and _Plate vi_. It is quite probable that Merosiris served as viceroy after Usersatet; this viceroy and others working before him were never given the title of ‘Viceroy of Kush’ given to Merosiris. Only during the reign of Tuthmosis IV and later are viceroys given that title. See Drioton-Vandier, _L'Egypte_, p. 464.

21 Porter-Moss, vii, pp. 65 ff. It is to be noted that many graffiti were carved by viceroys on the walls of this temple, but all these are of a date later than that of the temple.
PLATE XXVIII

a.
LINTEL OF THE DEPUTY OF THE VICEROY MEROSIRIS(?) CALLED MEH

b.
LINTEL OF THE VICEROY HUY AND THE GOVERNOR PANMEHYT
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then, among the contents of the Hatshepsut temple at the latter site, the lintel which forms the subject of this paragraph (PLATE XXVIII, b). As it contained several points of interest, I asked Dr Vercoutter for permission to publish it and at a later date I requested Sayed Nagm Ed-Din of Halfa to verify some signs for me. Both of them were so kind as to afford me what I wanted and it is a pleasure for me to extend to them my best thanks.

![Fig. 4](image)

The surviving part of the lintel is 30.5 cm. high and 78.5 cm. wide. The lower part of the lintel and the half to the (spectator’s) left are missing; when complete it was almost double its present height and breadth. In the centre was the sky-sign above the prenomen and nomen of a king, both surmounted by sun-discs. On each side was an inscription formed of several vertical lines, under which were shown the figures of two kneeling persons with uplifted arms. Only a part of the sky-sign, one sign in one of the cartouches, a part of the inscription to the right and the hands and head of the first figure on this side still survive.

The inscription to the right reads (FIG. 4): Giving adoration to thy ka (O victorious king . . . (2) to the ka of the viceroy (3) of Kush, (4) Huy (5) to the ka of (6) the governor (7) Panmehyt.

This lintel was said to have been found a short time before I inspected it in 1956 to the north of the Hatshepsut temple. It undoubtedly at one time formed part of a doorway erected by the governor Panmehyt. As an official attached to the viceroy Huy, he was eager to show himself on the doorway which he had erected, following his chief, both of them being in adoration before the cartouches of the reigning king. The governor Panmehyt was heretofore unknown, but we can determine the period at which he lived by his association with a viceroy named Huy and a king whose name can be deduced from the unique surviving sign in the cartouche on the central part of the lintel.
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In my article in Kush v, pp. 13 ff., about ‘The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroy of Kush in the Region of Aswan’, it was shown that the four graffiti inscribed by a viceroy Huy on the Island of Sehel should be attributed to the viceroy of that name who served under Ramesses II and not to his homonym who lived in the time of Tutankhamen. To prove this, we pointed out that the cartouches of Ramesses II in these graffiti are original and that there are no traces of erasures in them; also that the style used in carving them is the same as that used in carving the rest of the inscriptions. We were likewise able to attribute to the same viceroy a fifth inscription, this one carved near the military road leading from Aswan to Philae.22 There existed, consequently, two viceroys named Huy, the first called Amenhotep and surnamed Huy who served Tutankhamen, and the second, the official of Ramesses II. Which of the two is the man mentioned on the lintel of Panmehyt?

Nothing is left of the two cartouches in the middle of the lintel except for one sign: a hawk-headed god with a sun-disc on his head. This is certainly the god Re. But although the prenomen of Tutankhamen begins with the Re-sign, it is never written with this hieroglyph. It is written, on the contrary, only with the sun-disc. The nomen of Ramesses II, on the other hand, is almost always written with this sign facing a similar figure of Amun.23 Thus the cartouches of the king figured on the lintel of Panmehyt were those of Ramesses II. That Panmehyt should erect a doorway in Buhen shows his close association with that place of which he was very probably governor. During the reign of Ramesses II, stelae inscribed with the name of this king and inscriptions of viceroys who served him were erected there.24

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the monuments made for the viceroy Huy who served Ramesses II and those made for his homonym who lived under Tutankhamen. The former viceroy was almost unknown to us before, whereas the existence of the latter was very well attested by his monuments, in particular the small temple which he built for his sovereign at Faras West,25 and the tomb he erected for himself in Gurnet Murai opposite Luxor;26 in fact these were by far the most important monuments known, belonging to the reign of Tutankhamen, before the discovery of his tomb. A broken sandstone statue found at El-Kab belongs to a ‘Viceroy of Kush, Huy’. On it there are two inscriptions, in one of which is an invocation to the local goddess, Nekhabit,27 but nothing shows to which of the two Huys it can be

22 For these inscriptions, see Kush v, pp. 28 ff (25–29).
23 This inscription is not so neatly carved as is the case with those from the reign of Tutankhamen.
24 Porter-Moss, vii, pp. 133 ff.
25 Ibid., p. 124.
26 Porter-Moss, i (2nd edition), i, pp. 75 ff. (Tomb No. 40).
27 LD, iv (Text), p. 42. This statue is said to have been found in the Temple of Amenophis III at El-Kab. It was attributed to Huy who served Tutankhamen, see JEA, vi, p. 36 (8b), but this cannot be taken as certain.
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attributed. Other monuments of these two men are more easily attributable although the names of their sovereigns are not to be found on them. The most important of these is the stela, no. 17332, in the Berlin Museum. As it demonstrates the great importance of the viceroy Huy who served Ramesses II, we thought that it would be worth while to republish it here, with a photograph which was kindly provided by Dr M. Krause.

(4) Stela (no. 17332) of Huy in the Berlin Museum

This is a round-topped stela of sandstone about 80 cm. high and 65 cm. wide. At the top are two wdj3t eyes, between which are placed the sign of eternity, then the cup and the water-signs. Below, to the (spectator’s) right, is a seated man opposite whom is a man standing. Between them is an offering table (PLATE XXIX). The seated man is shown dressed in a wig, surmounted with a cone of fat, and a long garment reaching down to his ankles. In his left hand he holds a bouquet formed of a lotus flower and two buds, which he holds to his nose. In his right hand he grasps the object usually taken to be a handkerchief, here partly unfolded and very much resembling one. On the table are shown all kinds of offerings above, while underneath are represented two vases, upside down, with a papyrus flower wound about each one. The person on the left lifts his right arm in adoration towards the sitting personage, while his other hand holds one of the corners of the leopard skin which he is wearing. The faces of both persons seem to have been intentionally mutilated.

The inscriptions above both persons have been similarly mutilated but, luckily, enough traces are left to permit of certain readings. The inscription over the standing man reads (FIG. 5): Performing (the ceremony of): may the king give offerings, twice pure, (2) of every good and pure thing for the ka of (3) the viceroy Huy (4) by the draughtsman, Kheti, (5) made for Pameniu(?). The one above the sitting person reads: The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Countries, and (2) the overseer of the lands of gold of (3) Amun, Huy.

In the lower register is an inscription consisting of five horizontal lines which reads: May the king give offerings to Amunre, master of the-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, to Thoth, pleased with Truth, to the Horuses pre-eminent in Wawat and to the gods (2) masters of Nubia, that they may give the receiving of offerings coming forth before (them) at the beginning of every season which happens in their temples (3) (namely) to the ka of the prince and governor, the viceroy, the highest authority in Nubia, the fan-bearer on the right of the King, the praised by the

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29 Copied as sš nswt, see ibid.
30 Shown as two strokes and a reed, all hachured as being unclear, see ibid.
31 Shown as three strokes, but the context needs such a word.
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Good God, the chief of the archers, (4) the overseer of the horses, the deputy of his Majesty in the chariots, the chief of the archers of Tharu, the royal messenger to every foreign land, (5) the one who comes from Khatti, who brings its Great One; a person who can report where it (Khatti) is, has never existed, the royal scribe, Huy.
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As can be seen from the inscriptions on the upper register of this stela, it was made for the viceroy Huy by a draughtsman called Kheti. This latter man is shown standing before the viceroy, extending a hand towards him and holding in the other a part of a leopard skin which he is wearing. It is strange that a draughtsman should be depicted in such a dress; but he may have occupied the post of a priest as well. The name of the father of this man may have been Pameniu; a man of that name was also a draughtsman and lived under Ramesses II.

The provenance of this stela is not certainly known but, as indicated by the registers of the Berlin Museum, it came from North Nubia. Judging by the inscriptions which figure on the stela, this appears to be true since the Horuses of Wawat and the gods of Nubia are invoked there. The Horuses of Wawat are those of Bak, of Miam and of Buhen, all of which places are in North Nubia. On the other hand, the gods of Ta-sty are supposed to be those of Aswan and the region to the south of that city, which was also included in North Nubia. With these divinities, Amunre lord of Karnak and Thoth described as ‘pleased-with-Truth’ are invoked. It is to be noted that these two divinities were worshipped in many places in Nubia, but it was at Abu Simbel that they were particularly adored. In the Great Temple, the king of the gods was worshipped together with Horakhti, and adjacent to the Great Temple, to the south, was a small chapel dedicated to Thoth. Probably the stela was standing somewhere nearby. Graffiti and objects of many viceroyos who worked under Ramesses II have been found near or in the Great Temple.

The viceroy is here given many titles which are not to be found in the tomb of the viceroy of the same name who served Tutankhamen. Again the mention of the town of Sile and the Land of Khatti (see below) clearly point to the epoque of Ramesses II rather than to that of Tutankhamen. To show the importance of this man, I give here a list of his titles as they appear on his stela and on the five graffiti found in the region of Aswan.

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32 This draughtsman is previously unknown to us. His name is hardly found during the N.K., but in the M.K. it was very popular. Many kings of the ixth and xth Dynasties were given this same name. For the only case in which the name was given to a person in the N.K., see Ranke, Personennamen, 1, p. 278 : II.

33 It is copied as Paser in Aeg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin, II, p. 213, but the standing man seems to lean somewhat forward and looks more like a herdsman (Gardiner, Sign-List, A.33). If this is true, the man should have been called Pameniu, which is the name of a draughtsman who lived under Ramesses II. See Cde, xxix, 1954, p. 212 and fig. 26.

34 See Säve-Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubian, pp. 201 f.

35 Ṭ3-sti or Sti, as it is written in L.3, stands for the Land of Nubia and sometimes for the first name of Upper Egypt of which Elephantine was the capital.

36 For this title related with Thoth see Brugsch, Thesaurus, 760 (Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt, p. 193).

37 Called 'South Chapel' in Porter-Moss, VII, pp. 96 ff.

38 Important inscriptions of the viceroyos Yuny, Hekanakht, Setau and Paser II, who served Ramesses II, were encountered in or near the two temples of Abu Simbel, ibid., pp. 117 f.
Prince  —  —  —  Stela.

Governor  —  —  —  Stela.

Viceroy  —  —  —  Stela.


Overseer of the Southern Countries  —  —  Stela, gr. 25–27.

Overseer of the Countries of gold of Amun  —  —  Stela.

Fan-bearer on the right of the King  —  —  Stela, gr. 25, 26.

The foremost authority in Nubia  —  —  Stela.

Chief of the archers  —  —  Stela.

Chief of the archers in Tharu  Stela.


Overseer of the horses  —  Stela.

Deputy of the chariotry  —  Stela.

Messenger of the king to the Foreign Lands  —  —  Stela, gr. 25, 26.

Royal scribe  —  —  Stela, gr. 25, 27.
FOUR OBJECTS BELONGING TO VICOEROYS OF KUSH

From this list of titles it can be clearly seen that Huy was a very important man. In addition to the usual titles describing him as ’Prince’ and ‘Governor’, he is given many other titles which emphasize his distinguished position in Nubia. He is once styled ’viceroy’, and often referred to as ’viceroy of Kush’, the latter title being sometimes accompanied by the other honorary titles given to viceroys such as ’Overseer of the Southern Countries’, ’Overseer of the Countries of Gold of Amun’⁴⁹ and ’Fan-bearer on the king’s right’. But he is also accredited with a very unusual title, or rather epithet, namely: ’The foremost authority in Nubia’⁴⁰.

Very important also are the military titles attributed to him, these being more numerous and important than those given to any of his colleagues. On the stela, he is once styled ‘Chief of the archers’ and once ‘Chief of the archers in Tharu’, which latter title would associate him with the fortified town of Sile at the north-east frontier of Egypt. This town began to take on importance from the beginning of the New Empire, when the Pharaohs started to push their way towards the East.⁴¹ But it was not until the accession of the kings of the xiiiith dynasty to the throne that this town appeared in the titles of certain officials.⁴² That Huy is here spoken of as ’Chief of the archers in Tharu’ is another proof that he did not live during the reign of Tutankhamen, but rather during that of Ramesses II.⁴³ This is confirmed beyond all doubt by the title which is found only in his graffito on the Military Road leading from Aswan to Philae, which refers to him as ’Overseer of the Stable of the Residence of the Hall-of-Audience-of-Ramessu-meramen’.⁴⁴ This title connects Huy with a stable, perhaps in Piramessu, the Delta city not far from Sile. In addition, he held the important military titles of ’Overseer of the horses’ and ’Deputy of the chariotry’ which shows him to have been the chief of that section of the army.⁴⁵

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⁴⁹ According to Reisner, this title is a variant of the previous title; JEA, vi, pp. 78–9.
⁴⁰ For rj hry, see Wb., ii, 390 : 6 and Belegstellen, but the title was not found in connection with Nubia.
⁴¹ For this town, see Gauthier, Dic. géogr., vi, pp. 67 f. and Gardiner, Onomastica, A.419, where it is shown that this place-name was not found before Tuthmosis III.
⁴² See for example the Four Hundred Years Stela, where Piramessu and his son Seti are described as ’chief of the archers’ once, and as ’overseer of the Fortress of Sile’ once more. See Montet, ’La stèle de l’an 400 retrouvée’ in Kemi, iv, pp. 191 ff; Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, pp. 308 ff. and 446 ff. (21, 22).
⁴³ In Porter-Moss, vii, p. 273, it is stated that it is tem. Tutankhamen, but in Aeg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin, ii, p. 212, it is dated to the reign of Ramesses II. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 176 and footnote 13, on the other hand, referring to the stela, says that Huy may have served Ramesses II. I myself thought that this stela should be attributed to the reign of Tutankhamen, KUSH v, p. 28, footnote 33.
⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 28 (25).
⁴⁵ For these two titles see Onomastica, A.94 and A.95 respectively.
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But the title naming him ‘Messenger of the king in every Foreign Land’ seems to have been of particular importance to him. On the stela, this title is followed by the words: \textit{The one who comes from the (Land of) Khatti, who brings its Great One.} By the Great One of the Land of Khatti, Mahornefrure, the daughter of the king of the Hittites,\textsuperscript{46} was undoubtedly meant and Huy would be, therefore, the man who accompanied the princess on her journey from her country to Egypt.\textsuperscript{47} Perhaps some time before the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Ramesses II, Huy was appointed as ‘Messenger of the king to the Land of Khatti’\textsuperscript{48} and had the opportunity of coming back with the princess. Having taken part in this great event, he was anxious to record his participation on his stela. The following phrase underlines the importance of that event in speaking of him as ‘the one who reports where Khatti is has never existed’.\textsuperscript{49} Undoubtedly, he refers to the fact that he was the one who reported the arrival of the princess in Egypt to be conducted to his sovereign, an event which was interpreted by Huy as having been a great one, since nobody knew where the land of Khatti was.

It may be interesting to point out that four copies of the Marriage Stela recording this event are known to us; those of Karnak, Elephantine, Abu Simbel and Amara.\textsuperscript{50} All these records, except that at Karnak, are found in the area controlled by the viceroy of Kush. But Karnak is exceptional in that it is supposed to have been a national shrine of the Empire where copies of important documents were preserved carved on the walls or on stelae set up within the temple area. It is quite possible, therefore, that it was Huy who proposed the carving of these copies of the marriage stela at the Nubian sites, or that it was he who was charged with carrying out that work. Such an idea

\textsuperscript{46} Usually ‘the Land of Khatti’ is considered to be masculine, but here the word for Land is omitted. There is no other way to take the s after \textit{Wrt}. The name of the princess was usually read as \textit{Mutnofrure} but Montet in \textit{Kemi}, v, p. 10 and Gardiner, \textit{Ramesseide Administrative Documents}, 23 and 23a, read it as \textit{Maa-Hor-nofrure}.

\textsuperscript{47} For record of this marriage see Kuentz, ‘La ‘Stèle du Mariage’ de Ramsès II’ in \textit{ASAE}, xxv, pp. 181 ff. Professor Černý, who has had the opportunity to examine the copies of this stela minutely in the last few years, is intending to give a detailed study of that important monument.

\textsuperscript{48} No mention is here given of the place where he was delegated as messenger, but from the words which follow, it is clear that he was stationed in the Land of Khatti. Some messengers were referred to as ‘the royal messenger to the Land of Khatti’, such as the famous vizier Rahotep of the reign of Ramesses II; see Helck, op. cit., pp. 320 and 453.

\textsuperscript{49} For this phrase, see \textit{Wb.}, i, 494 : 19 and 495 : 1. I owe the translation of this sentence to Sir Alan Gardiner.

\textsuperscript{50} Kuentz treated the first three copies. It was later that Fairman found fragments of the copy at Amara, see \textit{JEA}, xxiv, p. 155 and xxv, p. 140. It is to be noted that the marriage of the king with the princess is referred to in the Inscription of Ptah at Abu Simbel, \textit{LD}, iii, p. 194; Naville, \textit{TSBA}, vii, 1882, pp. 119 ff., and Breasted, \textit{AR}, iii, §394 ff.
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would explain to us the fact that the person who dedicated our Berlin stela for Huy was a draughtsman; perhaps the same man who carved one of the copies in Nubia, possibly even that of Abu Simbel, if our guess about the stela coming from there is correct.

Huy is described as ‘the one favoured by the Good God’. Though this is an epithet that is applied to many different officials, still taking into consideration the long list of titles borne by Huy, we can admit that in the present case it corresponds certainly to the facts. At the end of all his titles, Huy is finally described as ‘The royal scribe’, a fact which seems to indicate that it was one of his main titles of which he was most proud. This is not strange as the title confers on its bearer the honour of being a man of letters.

Summing up what has been said about the four objects which form the subject of this article, it can be seen that the statue of Ahmes Turo in the British Museum should be attributed to the viceroy of that name. From the divinities invoked on the sides of the seat, it can be concluded that it stood at Buhen or more probably at Semna, but not at Kerma as was previously thought. From the lintel kept in the temple of Ed-Derr we learn of a hitherto unknown viceroy who was probably called Merosiris. Very probably he, together with his deputy Meh, lived during the reign of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis III or under that of Tuthmosis IV and took part in the building or the decoration of the temple of Amada situated opposite the place where the lintel is now kept.

The lintel of Buhen, on the other hand, acquaints us for the first time with the governor Panmehyt. This man worked with the viceroy Huy during the reign of Ramesses II. The lintel which he erected at Buhen and which originally formed part of a doorway, demonstrates his relationship to that place of which he may have been the governor. But most important is the stela, no. 17332 in the Berlin Museum, on which the viceroy Huy appears bearing many important titles, among them several which indicate the importance of the military posts held by him. He was likewise charged with the prominent position of ‘messenger of the king to Foreign Lands’ and in this capacity he accompanied Mahornefrure when she came to Egypt to become the bride of Ramesses II. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest personalities who lived during the long and glorious reign of Ramesses II.
Sudan-Ägyptisch im Antiken Äthiopenreich von K’ash

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Eine völlige Analogie genannter Art hat sich aber in Hinsicht der sprachlichen Verhältnisse im antiken Äthiopenreich von K’ash historisch nicht
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abgespielt. Trotz der Dürftigkeit der sprachwissenschaftlich brauchbaren Unterlagen für diese Frage zeigt sich merkbar, ganz speziell auf dem Gebiet der K’ash-Provinz, nach erlangerter politischer Unabhängigkeit eine wachsende Tendenz, den Wörtern eigener Nationalsprache im Rahmen ägyptischer Hieroglyphenschrift Ausdruck zu geben. Diese Tendenz zeigt sich deutlich und klar bei der Wiedergabe äthiopischer Königsnamen vormeröthischer Zeit d.i. 751–ca. 150 v. Chr.; (Reisner Nr. 1–36). Infolge der Mehrdeutigkeit solcher hieroglyphisch geschriebener Namens-Sätzen äthiopischer Prägung war man sogar dazugekommen, ägyptische Determinativa zur Sinnverdeutlichung einheimischer Namen zu verwenden.¹

Die acht Jahrhunderte ägyptischer Kolonialherrschaft haben es also bei den Kaschiten nicht vermocht, die nationale Sprache gegenüber dem Ägyptischen so weit in den Hintergrund zu drängen, wie etwa heute das Nubische gegenüber dem Arabischen zurückgewichen erscheint. Auch ohne einheimische Litteraturschrift musste sich wohl die Stammes-Sprache der Bevölkerung von K’ash neben der ägyptischen Litteratur-, Verwaltungs- und Verkehrssprache eigenwillig behauptet haben, um sich schliesslich, noch ohne nationales Schriftsystem, sozusagen als gleichberechtigt neben die altheilige ‚Gottessprache‘ ihrer ehemaligen Kolonialherren einzuschalten. Noch im Nachhinein erhalten wir so ein Charaktersymptom für das Volk von K’ash, welches uns verrät, weshalb der an sklavische Untertüchtigung gewöhnte Ägypter des Neuen Reiches


\[ k^2 \ 's^\prime \ 'Der k' (ist) geheim‘. \]  
\[ nys \ 'hm^t \ 'Der König (ist) das Haupt‘. \]  
\[ *m\text{l}_3 \ 'wy-b \ 'mn-I \ 'Schöön sind die Wege zu Amân‘. \]

Möglicherweise war der Erfinder der Determinativ-Setzung der Oberschreiber von K’ash unter König \[ *A§-Pero\text{-}t \ 'Der Ruf ist das Recht des Pharao‘ \]  
[\text{Nûri, Pyr. Nr. \text{viii}}, welcher seinen (wie anderer Beamter) Namen schon determinierend schrieb: \[ d.h. \ *m\text{l}_3 \ b \ y-w\ 'mn \ 'Schöön ist der Ort, zu dem Amân kommt. \]  
immerzu mit schlecht verhehltem Ingrimm vom ‘elenden Kōš’ zu sprechen gewohnt waren.


Von der später konkurrierenden Stadt Meroë ist in jener Zeit noch gar keine Rede. Wir erfahren nur, dass die Stadt dieses Namens schon unter König ( *

Im Verhältnis zur Sprachtradition Ägyptens bemerken wir jedoch, dass die Äthiopenkönige der 25. Dynastie (Reisner Nr. 3 bis 6) in ihren offiziellen Urkunden zwar ganz und gar als Ägypter ihrer Zeit auftraten, und dass die Abfassung ihrer Inschriften ganz im Geist der neu-ägyptischen Entwicklung ihrer Epoche gelegen war, dass aber ihre *zi-Ria-Namen ausschliesslich in kaschitischer Sprache geprägt erscheinen. Es war ihnen also durchaus nicht eingefallen, bei all ihrem ägyptischen Königtum und der sichtlich betonten Bigotterie ihres ägyptischen Götterglaubens, ihre national kaschitische Herkunft etwa ägyptisierend zu vertuschen. Ausserdem bemerkt man in stilistischer Hinsicht, dass man, abweichend von ägyptischer Stil-Tradition, durchaus egozentrisch und mitunter sogar kritisierend zu den ägyptischen Lesern zu sprechen beliebte. Ganz deutlich bemerkt man auch, dass dem äthiopischen Ägypterkönig ägyptisches Wesen sozusagen ‘dekadent’ erschien, eine Einstellung, welche sich in der Folge, als die Rolle der Äthiopien als ägyptische Könige ausgespielt war, keineswegs abschwächte, sondern sich im Laufe der Zeit nachweislich noch intensivierte. Diese Einstellung ist für das Verständnis der weiteren Entwicklung von grundlegender Wichtigkeit.

A. Die ‘Sprachenfrage’ im Äthiopenreich von Napate

Dass es etwas dergleichen im antiken Äthiopien gegeben hatte, zeigt sich krass und deutlich in dem Verhalten des 23. Äthiopenkönigs mit seinem sichtlich tendenziösen *ensebia-Namen ägyptischer Prägung: ‘Horus (ist)


Dass es sich bei diesem Gedanken keineswegs um ein voreiliges Urteil nach zufälligem Anschein handelt, das verrät uns untrüglich die so lange inhaltlich nur halbverstandene und weitgehend missgedeutete Stele des letzten unbestrittenen Äthiopenkönigs *Nistesána (Nűři, Pyr. Nr. xvi) des einigen Reiches von Napate.

Nachdem auch diese Stele sudan-ägyptisch abgefasst ist, zudem aber auch noch besonders merkwürdige Neuerungen gegenüber dem herkömmlichen Sprachgut ägyptischer Tradition zeigt, verdient ganz besonders dieses in seiner Art einmalige Dokument sudan-ägyptischer Textkomposition eine gesonderte sprachtheoretische Neubehandlung.  

Weil sich aber eine solcherart einmalige Komposition am Ende des 4. Jhdtv. Chr. auf dem Boden eines Reiches mit doppelsprachiger Intelligenz-Schicht vollzogen hatte, kann man für die genannte Epoche irgendwie von einer 'Sprachenfrage' im modernen Sinne sprechen, welche die Endphase des Äthiopenreiches von Napate bewegt hatte.

B. DIE SPRACHHISTORISCHE EPOCHE KÖNIG NISTESANYA'S


Der Vater von Beiden war der schon genannte König *Panyalora, El-Kurru, Pyr. Nr. i, geboren in der Tempelstadt *Ta-dewa, dem heutigen Nuri. (Anm. 3).

Mit der Feststellung der echt kaschitischen Dynasten-Abkunft des Königs Nistesanya erübrigt sich auch das Meritorische der schon in Anm. 4 erwähnten früheren 'Nubier'-Hypothese, welche allerdings im Verlaufe von 50 Jahren mangels Erkenntnis-Möglichkeit des ganz und gar vom Nubischen abweichenden Sprachcharakters des Kaschitischen bereits in allerhand euro-päische Litteraturwerke Eingang gefunden hat.

Der Name des Königs Nistesanya, hieroglyphisch  geschrieben, ist nicht kaschitisch, sondern gut ägyptisch. Er erscheint nicht in sonst normaler Orthographie * (i a) d.i. *nsnw.t dy-s-nb 'Der König ist der,


welcher Ernährung gibt’, sondern, anscheinend absichtlich, phonetisiert. (Solche Phonetisierung findet sich später auch noch.)

Diese vom bisherigen Gebrauch der Vorgänger auffallend abweichende Königsbraune entsprang wahrscheinlich dem (eigenwilligen) Bestreben, den Namen nicht nur für Absolventen einer Tempelschule lesbar zu halten, sondern für Jeden, welcher Ägyptisch blos in der gesprochenen Sprache des Sudan beherrschte. Das wären dann also in erster Linie die kaschitischen Landsleute ‘weltlicher’ Intelligenz-Stände.

Das allein jedoch war es nach Ausweis der Stele Nistesana’s nicht, was den König bewegt hatte, noch über die popular hieroglyphisierende Redaktion Harsiyotef’s hinaus zu gehen. Der Letztere hatte ja nur ein Prototyp für die Schaffung einer äthiopischen Litteratur-Sprache auf dem Boden des zeitgenössischen Sudan-Ägyptisch geben wollen.

Bei *Nistesana jedoch bemerken wir, dass er persönlich korrigierend in die jedenfalls priestertlich redigierte Erst-Abfassung seiner Stele eingriffen haben muss. Bei ihm handelt es sich nämlich um mehr als um das ‘Orthographische’, sondern hier geht es auch um Korrektur der ägyptischen Sprache im Hinblick auf das typisch kaschitische grammatische Geschlecht.6 Ein derartiger Eingriff in die sprachgeschichtlich evolvierte Struktur der ägyptischen Sprache aus der Perspektive kaschitischen Sprachempfindens heraus verrät aber, dass der königliche ‘Reformator’ der sudan-ägyptischen Grammatik sich als König Äthiopiens auch für berechtigt gehalten haben musste, fallweise auch ‘supra grammaticum’ stehen zu dürfen. Dass dem so wirklich gewesen sein musste, erhellt auch deutlich aus dem gleichsam legitimierenden Epitheton, welches sich der König lin. 3 seiner Stele beilegen liess, wo er sich ropy-rb.t mdw.t nb.t my Dhwit tituliert.

Als ‘der Kenner aller Sprache wie Thout’ konnte er sich natürlich auch erlauben, die Eigenarten seiner nationalen Muttersprache dem ‘dekadenten’ Neu-Ägyptisch seiner Zeit aufzunötigen. Aus Diodor, lib. III, cap. 2–4


Die Folge dieser eigenmächtigen Korrektur an ägyptischer Grammatik war nun der Eindruck, dass die Abfasser der Stele einem Volk angehörend gewesen sein könnten, welches kein grammatisches Geschlecht kannte.
ersieht man ja zur Genüge, dass die Äthiopen dem ägyptischen Wesen gegenüber die historische Priorität prägend waren.

*Nistesana liess seine Stele also nicht deshalb so eigenartig abfassen, weil er nicht Ägyptisch konnte, sondern weil er es 'verbessern' wollte.


C. DIE SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCHE REFORM-STELE KÖNIG NISTESANYA'S
[ab lin. 4]

Einleitung:

1. dy-rh.t n-tnw n.sw.t-by.t K'-'nḫ-Rc, z'-Rc, nb-t'.wy Nist'sḥ 'nḥ d.t ḏd-f:
Kundgeber an Euch (ist der) *ensebia *K'anya-Ria, *zi-Ria, *neb-tēw
Nistesanya, der ewig Lebende, welcher spricht :?

BERUFUNG UND KRÖNUNG ZUM KÖNIG BEIDER ÄTHIOPIEN

2. iw wn-i p'-šr nfr m Brw' 'ry-f 'ś 'r-i 'mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr (r) ḏd : 'my
n-k !'

7 Nominaler Hauptsatz. – Seinerzeit hielt man das (hier, wie auch sonst, mechanisch
dy geschriebene) Partizipium für das koptische † der 1. Person. Das gibt es hier
nirgends. Die koptische Litteratur-Entwicklung des Neu-Ägyptischen liegt ja auch
acht Jahrhunderte nach Nistesanya.
ALS ICH (SCHON) 'DER GUTE SOHN IN MERÖE' WAR, RIEF MIR AMĀN VON NAPE, MEIN GUTER VATER, ZU (SAGEND): 'DU, KOMM!' 

3. dy-i 'š-w nfr.w-sw.t, nty itw wn m Bnw' dr-w. 
Ich liess sie rufen, die Thronberechtigten alle, die es gab in Meroé. 


4. dd-i [n-]w (r) dd : 'my-tn *śi-whs *nm-n wp.t n p'y-n *-sl !' 
Ich sprach zu ihnen: 'Kommet suchen gehen miteinander die Entscheidung unseres Anspruchs !' 8 

Anm. Kaschitisch ḫ ṣl 'Anrede, Wort, Ratschlag [als Lehnwort im Altnubischen cÅ erhalten in Bedeutung 'Rede, Ansprache '] sudan-äg. ḫ ṣl geschrieben. 

5. dd-w [n-]i (r) dd : bn iw-n *śi *nm-[k] : nt-k p'y-f šr nfr ! 'ry-f mr(y) n-k 'mn Np't, p'y-k yt nfr. 
Sie sprachen zu mir: 'Nicht gehen wir mit Dir; Du bist (ja) sein guter Sohn! Er hat Dir Liebes getan, der Amān von Napate, Dein guter Vater'. 

Anm. *śi alt-äg. ʾḥmy 'gehen', kopt. ṣe; hier und bei Harsiyotef immer mit ḫ geschrieben, weil Kaschitisch kein ägypt. ḫ ṣ sprach, sondern ḥ. [Eine Art 'Sibboleth' dieser Sprache.] 

6. dy-i thm (hr)-dw' (r) ph '(r) 'sdl's ; dy-i sdr. 
Ich gab Alarm des Morgens zur Reise nach Astalis; (da) liess ich übernachten. 

Anm. Der Name ḫ ṣdl's ergäbe kaschitisch eine passende Bedeutung für einen Stadtnamen, nämlich: 'Tochter des weissen Nils'. Der Nil hatte bei den Äthiopen drei Namen. Von Ägypten bis Syène hiess er Nil; vom 1. Katarakt bis zum 4. hiess er (Y)ettā-l, und im Oberlauf *Asta, [aksumitisch Sedā].

8 Die hier konform neu-äg. Schreibung : 'rm 'mit 'immerzu gleichartig wiedergegebene Präposition ist hier in der Transskription der Einfachheit wegen konform der kopt. Lautierung (a) NE AE = (b) NE ÂA = durchwegs mit *nm wiedergegeben. Über die Etymologie dieser Präposition liefert die sudan-ägyptische Stele natürlich auch keine näheren Anzeichen.
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7. \textit{sw p'y-i 'h'b : sdm-i \textit{m'r}w-w m Np't' dd-w : "'w-f mdy-n.t t'-wy nb.t".}
Das war meine (Traum)-Erscheinung: Ich hörte die Orakelpriester von Napate sagen: 'Er ist 'Eigner der Krone' aller beider Länder!'

Anm. Ág. \textit{ΔΔΔΔ} \textit{'h'b 'Erscheinen'} hier mit Kleider-Determinativ \textit{γ} wie \textit{sdr 'schlafen'}; hier liegt sicher analog zu 'Traumstele' \textit{Tanwad-aman}i's lin. 4 ein ominöser Traum des Königs vor. – Ág. \textit{WA} \textit{2} : ist phonet.
Wiedergabe des kaschit. Titels \textit{m'rj}, einer Klasse von Priestern des Amân. [Cf. Karanòg 124, l. 9/10] – In \textit{mdy-n.t} steckt Bezeichnung \textit{t} \textit{n.t} der unterägyptischen Krone.

8. \textit{hrp-i (hr) dw' (r) ph (r) T'-dw.t.}
Ich erhob mich morgens zur Reise nach Nûri.

9. \textit{sw pw m'y.t 't, pr-s', rd n.sw.t-by.t P.'nh-'rw.r m'm-f.}
Das ist die grosse Löwin, der Gartentempel, dem \textit{ensebia \textit{Pany-Alô-ra}} entsprossen ist.\(^9\)

Anm. Der König erinnert hier an seinen Meroë freundlichen Vater, welcher in Nûri zur Welt kam.

10. \textit{iw wn p'y-i dr.t y'b.t(y) hr 's.t - nhm-gm' (n) hy pr-'mn, 'ry-w 'y.t mdy-i rm(t) - h't-ntr.y (n) 'mn Np't' dr.w, nw.t-y-w, rm(t) 'c-(w) nb.t, mdw-w \textit{nm-i.}}
Als meine linke Hand auf dem 'Ort des Kraft-nehmens' von jenem Amân-Tempel lag, da sammelten sich bei mir alle Tempelleute des Amân von Napate (und) die Stadtbewohner (und) die Vornehmen alle, um zu reden mit mir.


11. \textit{dd-w (n-)i (r) dd : 'ry-f n's n-k 't n p'-t'-styw 'mn Np't', p'y-k yt nfr; iw dd-w rm(t) nb.t : "iw-f (r) m'ny m tn-nw ?"}
Sie sagten zu mir: Er hat Dir unterwürfig gemacht die Herrschaft von Tösete, der Amân von Napate, Dein guter Vater; jedermann spricht: "Wann wird er landen?".

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\(^9\) Hier mag vorweg genommen werden, dass das sudan-ägypt. Verb \textit{nh 'leben'} durchwegs die Lautierung \textit{any} gehabt hatte. Daher ist dieses Verb später auch als Lehnwort \textit{φ}- 'leben' ins Alt-Nubische aufgenommen worden. – [Cf. auch unten D].
Anm. Das äg. Verbum des Fürchtens \( nš \) ist wohl im Sudan-
Ägyptischen zur Bedeutung von \( nš \) ‘ergeben sein’,
e etc., gelangt. – Tösete (griech. \( τοστετέ \)) meint in diesem
Texte sichtlich ganz Nord-Äthiopien mit Napate als Haupt-
stadt.

12. \( dd-\) (n-)w (r) \( dd \) *Si-w d’y-ytr.w; ‘my slsl-tn n-f n-i ’mn Np’t’, p’y-i yt
nfr! mś-tn, *ši šny-tn ’r ’mn Np’t!’
Ich sagte zu ihnen: ‘Gehet (und) setzet über; beruhiget ihn mir, den
Amân von Napate, meinen guten Vater! Gehet (und) begrüsset den Amân
von Napate!’

Anm. Sudan-äg. \( šn(y) \) gehört etymologisch zu alt-äg.
\( šn(y) \) ‘fragen; erkundigen’; mit Begriffswandel zu
‘grüssen’. [Cf. lin. 11.]

13. \( dy-\) *ši mšh hr m’ny d’y-ytr.w hr pr-Rc.
Ich liess wenden hinab zum Überfahrtsafen nach Per-Ria.

Anm. Äg. \( mšh \) ‘sich wenden’. Das Ziel war der
Landungshafen Napate’s.

14. \( dy-\) *ši hrt-c’-w (r) ph r’-pr c’t.
Ich liess hinauf gehen die Kavallerie bis hin zum ‘grossen Tempel’.

Anm. Neu-äg. \( htr’- \) Terminus für Hof-Equipage mit
reitender Garde. – Sudan-äg. \( r’-pr c’t \) überlebte-
noch im Alt-Nubischen als \( ἀπφαεί ο \).

15. ’ry-w šn(y) ’r-i rm(t)-c’(-w), hm-ntr ’mn dr-w; ’ry-w smc’ ’r-i r’-nb.t.
Sie begrüsssten mich, die Vornehmen (und) alle Priester des Amân; sie
priessen mich ein jeder. [Wörtlich: ‘jeder Mund’.]

Anm. Zur Vorstellung vom lebenden Zusammenhang mag nach-
stehende Übertragung ein Bild geben: *Au šīne aray rem-
maay, ‘ant-Amân tēru; au smā aray ra-nībe.

16. \( dy-\) *ši hry (r) wn sb’-c’-w.
Ich liess hinaufgehen zur Eröffnung der grossen Tore.

17. ’ry-w ’ry.(t) n-i p’-wn (r) ’ry p’y-i – srh.sw h’w.ty-w nfr-s.c’y (r) ’p.t’-s.w.t
(n) nb.w.
Sie ermöglichen mir, dass veranstalte meine Élite-Garde eine Gala-Parade
(zum) goldenen Thebaner-Tempel.
KUSH

Anm. Dieser Satz blieb stets unverständlich, da er ungewöhnliche äg. Wörter gebraucht. Der sudan-äg. Terminus srh.sw entspricht einem äg. Prototyp *\[\text{zwischenzeichen}\] s.rh-n.sw.t 'Glorie des Königs' d.i. die Garde; (gesprochen etwa *\[\text{zwischenzeichen}\] ge\[\text{zwischenzeichen}\]mc). Dieselbe veranstaltet hier als 'Garde der Ersten' (+*gōvate), wofür wir Élite-Garde sagen würden, ein *\[\text{zwischenzeichen}\] d.i. eine 'schöne Verherrlichung' vor dem Thebanertempel, also was wir eine 'Gala-Parade' zu nennen pflegen.

18. dd-i n-f 'mn Np\text{'}t, p\text{'}y-i yt nfr, mdw.t-i, p\text{'}-wnwn nb.t m h\text{'}t-i ; 'w sdm *nm-i 'mn Np\text{'}t p\text{'}y-i r'.
Ich sprach zu ihm, dem Amân von Napate, meinem guten Vater, meine Rede (und) Alles was sich bewegte in meinem Herzen; es hörte aber mit mir, der Amân von Napate, meinen Mund.

Anm. Wie der König das Zuhören des Gottes festgestellt hat, ist hier nirgends angedeutet.10

19. dy.n-f n-i 'mn Np\text{'}t, p\text{'}y-i yt nfr, swy.t n p\text{'}-t'-ztyw, p\text{'}-h\text{'}t n.sw.t-by.t Hr-z'-yt-f, nh\text{'}t.y n.sw.t-by.t P\text{'}nh\text{'}-\text{\text{`}}rw-r'.
Gegeben hat mir Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, das Königtn von Tösete (Nord-Äthiopien), die Königshaube des *ensebia Harsiyotef (und) die Macht des *ensebia *Panyalôra.

20. 'bd III, h.t, r\text{'}ky, dy-i h\text{'}y 'mn Np\text{'}t, p\text{'}y-i yt nfr.
Dritten Monats, Überschwemmung, Ultimo, liess ich erscheinen Amân von Napate, meinen guten Vater.11

21. 'y 'brw r'-pr o'.t dy-f n-i swy.t n p\text{'}-t'-ztyw, 'rw, t'-psd.t, p\text{'}-\text{dsn.w}, p\text{'}-fdw k\text{'}h.w.
Herauskommend aus dem grossen Tempel gab er mir das Königtn von Tösete (und) Alô, die Bogen-Neunheit, die beiden Ufer (und) die vier Ecken.

10 Möglicherweise Priester-Trick mit der Götterpuppe in der Kapelle.
11 Zur ägypto-kaschitischen Zeremonie des Herausrufens eines Gottes cf. Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions 102, 1. 3-4 :

\[\text{Wj\text{'}i y\text{'}-n.tk', pl-pl p\text{'}l lh pl-i !}
O Isis, die mit Leben begabt ist, komm' heraus aus dem grossen Tempel !
[NB Die Isis als Göttin hat natürlich maskulines Verbal-Präfix y'- anstelle t' im Kaschitischen !]

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Anm. Ausser der Gross-Einteilung Unter- und Ober-Äthiopien folgen hier noch die neun Sicherungsgarnisonen des langen Nil-Defilés, das doppelufrige Äthiopienland zwischen erstem und zweitem Katarakt sowie die nach den vier Weltgegenden gerichteten Sicherungen von Alô. Der König zeigt also hier (wie auch anderswo) ein strategisches Weltbild und keine prahlerische Aufzählung aus der Mythologie.

22. *dd-(i) p'y-i m.w.t nfr.(t) *nm-f, p'-R°;  
*dd-i n-f, 'mn Np't', t'-mdw.t :

Ich sprach meine ‘schöne Rede’ mit ihm, dem Rìa;  
(dann) sprach ich zu ihm, dem Amàn von Napate, (folgende) Rede :

Anm. Die ‘schöne Rede’ mit dem alten Hochgott Rìa, über deren Inhalt wir hier nichts erfahren, erfolgte jedenfalls in der iepī διαλεκτος (*emtau-enter ‘). Daher behandelt sie hier der Kascht selbstverständlich als ‘maskulin’! Die persönliche Rede des Königs in Neu-Ägyptisch passiert dagegen als ‘feminin’.

23. ‘ntk p'-nty 'w-k 'ry-sw n-i, 'ry-f sgm-i t'-wy nb.t, rmt nb.t. dy-k 'š(w) 'r-i m Brw’, 'y-i r 'ry(t). n-k;  
*dy-k šn(y.w) n-i c't n p'-t'-ztyw. 'w brw
*rdy-sw rm(t)-m-swy.t h(r)w py-f 24, dy.n-k n-i c'.t.’


24. 'w wn rm(t)-sdr hn' rm(t)-hhy nb.t hr w'.t hnhn.t-i hft-hr R°.  
Es gab Kriegervolk und alles Bauernvolk auf dem Wege meines Tanzes vor Rìa.

Anm. Der König begnügt sich keineswegs mit der göttlichen Erwählung allein, sondern sucht durch punktuellen Vollzug aller traditionellen Gebräuche ägyptisch-äthiopischer Königs-Initronisation seine Wahl vor allem Volk zu sanktionieren.

25. ph-(i) hr s.t - hr, t'y(-i) iw' 2;  
*ši-i hry (r) hmsy hr bd (n) nb.w m 'p.t'-sw.t 
(n) nb.w (m) h'yb.t n hrw pn.

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Ich langte an auf der Beschauestelle (und) wählte 2 iw'-Rinder; (dann) ging ich hinauf, zu sitzen auf dem goldenen Thron im goldenen Thebaner-Tempel (im) Schatten dieses Tages.

Anm. \[\text{s.t-hr} ‘\text{Observanz}’ \text{ist hier der Platz, wo die Opfer-Rinder rituell beschaute zum offiziellen Opfer für Ria bereitstanden. – [Die Thronbezeichnung \(\text{bd}\) wechselt lin. 34 mit \(\text{bt}\).} \]

26. \(\text{dd-w rm(t) nb (r) dd} \) : ‘\(\text{w-f ‘ry nfr msw.t nb.t ; dy-f n-f ‘mnNp’t’ c’r t, ‘nh-wd’-snb, n p’-t’-ztyw. z’-R} \) Nist’sn \(\text{*si hry hmsy hr bd} \) (n)\(\text{nb.w m h’yb.t m hrw pn. ‘w-f ‘ry n.sw(t), hmsy m-m Brw’.”} \)


Anm. Man beobachtete also in Napate genau, dass der neue König punktuell alle Vorschriften für die Krönung eines *nis’ (n.sw.t) von Tösete erfüllt. Sichtlich weiss man aber, dass dieser nicht die Absicht hat, in Napate zu residieren, sondern in Meroë.

27. \(\text{’bd I, hrw 12 dy-i m}s \text{‘} \text{hd r ‘mn Pr-gm.t, p’y-i yt nfr.} \)


Anm. *Per-gîme, Abbreviatur für ‘Per-gem-Aton’, auch \(\text{bw-gm.t, kaschitisch: ‘}\text{b’k’m’ genannt, ist heutiges Kâwa.} \)

28. \(\text{dy-i h’y ‘mn Pr-gm.t ‘brw r’-pr-c’ .t.} \)

Ich liess erscheinen den Amân von *Per-gîme, heraus aus dem grossen Tempel.

Anm. Die sudan-ägyptische Phrase *abal-arpai entsprach genau der kaschitischen Wendung: *pahi lah pul.i ‘heraus aus dem grossen Tempel’. [Cf. oben Satz 20, not. 11.]

29. \(\text{dd-i p’y-i msw.t nfr.t *nm-f p’-R} \)\(\text{c’, dy.n-f n-i swy.t n p’-t’-ztyw.} \)

Ich sprach meine ‘schöne Rede’ mit ihm, dem Ria, welcher mir gegeben hatte das Königum von Tösete.

Anm. Der Relativsatz hier ist analog zum bekannten, semitischen ‘Sifa’-satz, also ohne Relativpronomens konstruiert.
SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCH IM ANTIKEN ÄTHIOOPENREICH VON K’ASH

30. dy-f n-i p‘-ª’d 2, ‘rw, t‘-psd.t, p‘y-f t‘-pd.t sdr.
   Er gab mir die beiden Ufer, Alōa, die Neunheit und seinen starken Bogen.


31. dd-f n-i ’dd-f n-i ‘mn Np’t’, p‘y-i yt nfr ; *ši-i hry (r) hmsy hr bd (n-)nb.w.
   Er sagte mir, was mir (schon) gesagt hatte Amān von Napate, mein guter Vater; (und) ich ging hinauf, zu sitzen auf dem goldenen Thron.

   Anm. Dieses (öffentliche) Sitzen auch in dieser Stadt des Amān symbolisiert, dass auch hier jedermann sehen kann, wer nunmehr der rechtmässige ‘nīt’ von Tōsete ist.

32. *ši-i r ’mn Pr-nbs, p‘y-i yt nfr.
   Ich ging zu Amān von P.nubs, meinem guten Vater.


33. h‘y ‘mn Pr-nbs ’y ’brw r‘-pr £.t ; dy.n-f n-i swy.t p‘-t‘-ztyw, p‘y-f hër.w sdr.
   Es erschien Amān von Pnubs indem er herauskam aus dem grossen Tempel; er gab mir das Königstum von Tōsete (und) seinen starken Ledermantel.


34. dd-i p‘y-i mdw.(t) nfr.(t) *nm p‘-R£ ; *ši-i hry (r) hmsy hr bd (n-)nb.w.
   Ich sprach meine ‘schöne Rede’ mit Ria; (dann) ging ich hinauf, zu sitzen auf dem goldenen Throne.

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35. 'y-i hry 'r 'mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr.
(Dann) kam ich herauf zu Amân von Napate, meinem guten Vater.

36. 'bd II, hrw 19 dy-i h'f y 'mn Np't', y brw r'-pr-".ty.
Am 19. Mechir liess ich erscheinen Amân von Napate, welcher heraus
kam aus dem grossen Doppel-Tempel.

Anm. Dass es ein Doppel-Tempel war, wissen wir. (Amân-Ría
und Amân von Napate). Es könnte darum sein, dass der
orthographisch oft nicht ernst zu nehmende Text hier
ausnahmsweise wirklich Dual-Endung zeigt.

37. dd-i p'y-i mdw.(t) nfr.(t) *nm-f p'-%Rc ; dd-i (n-)f 'dd-f n-i mdw.(t) nfr.(t)
(r) ḏr 'mn Pr-gm.(t), 'mn Pr-nbs, ntr.w (r) ḏr.(w).
Ich sprach meine 'schöne Rede' mit ihm, dem Ría; ich sagte ihm alle
die 'schönen Reden', welche mir gesagt hatte Amân von Per-gime,
Amân von Pnubs und die Götter alle.

Anm. Die 'schönen Reden', von denen hier immer gesprochen
wird, kennen wir. Es ist das der Terminus für die in ab-
steigender Kolonne vor und bei den Götter-Relieven stehenden
Reden. Rein graphisch könnte man hier neben dem gewöhn-
lichen *meete-nafre auch ein *emtaw-nâfer zu erkennen
vermuten.

38. hnhn(-i) (r) ph hr s.t-hr, (r) t'y.(t) iw' 2.
Ich tanzte, um zu gelangen auf die 'Beschaustelle', zu wählen zwei
iw'-Rinder.

39. *sî-i hry m p'd'.t, sdr(-i) grh 4 ; 'ry-i p'-hb.nw nb.t hrw 4.
Ich stieg hinab in die Krypta, (wo) ich vier Nächte schlief; (denn) ich
verrichtete alle Festzeremonien vier Tage (lang).

40. *sî-i hry (r) ph hr s.t-hr, (r) t'y.(t) iw' 2.
Ich stieg hinauf, um zu gelangen auf die 'Beschaustelle', zu wählen (die)
zwei iw'-Rinder.

Anm. Der König erzählt hier wieder, dass er die beiden Opfertiere
für Amân-Ría 'wählte'. (Wie schon vormals oben in Satz
25.) Die nunmehr detaillierte Angabe seines viertägigen
Tempeldienstes verrät, dass er nicht nur auswählte, um dann
das Opfer von Priestern darbringen zu lassen, sondern er
unterzog sich selber allen umständlichen Vorschriften zum
Vollzug des grossen Staats-Opfers.

41. *k(-i) m h'.t-nfr(y) (r) hmsy hr p'-sk' m pr-s' (n-)nb.w.
(Nun) trat ich ein ins Allerheiligste, zu sitzen auf dem Thronsitz im
goldenen Gartentempel.

42. hrw 24 *ši-i hry ’r B's.t(t) hr-'bTrw, p’y-i mw.t nfr(t) ; dy.n-s n-i ‘nh, ’w.t ’r t nfr(t).

Am 24 sten ging ich hinauf zu B'este im Innern von Trw, meiner guten Mutter; und sie gab mir Leben und hohes, schönes Alter.

Anm. Der Name der Göttin lautete, wie bekannt, mit ‘aleph prostheticum’ an – etwa *eb’ēste –, so dass das sonst vokalisch verflüchtende r ‘zu’ erhalten blieb wie vor Amān. – Zur n-Form im Nachsatz, cf. Erman, Grammatik, §310. – Da die B'este eine Göttin ist, so musste sie für den Kaschiten natürlich maskulin konstruiert werden. (Die Unkenntnis dieser Tatsache bildete einst die Hauptstütze der ‘Nubier-Hypothese’.)

43. mnd y'b.ty dy.n-s sw n-i m kn(y), ’nh nfr ; dy.n-s n-i t'y-s nrw sdr. ’y-i n Np’t.

Die linke Brust, sie gab sie mir in ‘Umarmung’, (und) schönes Leben; und sie gab mir (auch) ihr starkes ‘nrw’. (Dann) kam ich nach Napate.

KUSH

44. hrw 29 dy-i ḫy 'mn Np't; ḏy.n-f n-i t'-p.t nb.t, t' nb.t, p'-y'r.w nb.t, rm(t) nb.

Am 29 sten liess ich erscheinen Amân von Napate; und da gab er mir den ganzen Himmel, die ganze Erde, den ganzen Nil und die Menschen alle.

45. *ši-i ḫry (r) ḫmsy ḫr bt (n-)nb.w.
Ich (aber) ging hinauf, zu sitzen auf dem goldenen Thron.

Anm. Konform Satz 26 (oben) kehrt der König nunmehr zurück nach Meroë, seiner Residenz. Zum ‘goldenen Thron’ in Napate brauchte er ja nicht ‘hinauf’ zu gehen, denn dort befand er sich schon bei der Schlussfeier vor Amân. Er zog also von Napate aus stromauf, d.i. südwärts.

II

OPFERSPENDEN AN AMân VON NAPATE

1. dy.t-i ḫy n-k : ḫm 4, 'mnNp't, ḫr(.t) Np't; ḏw ḏn rm(t) 36 m ḫn(w)-f.


2. dy.(t)-i n-k : sntr, k'll ḫm 3; ḏyy.t, k'll ḫm 4; 'nty.w, *r' 3 *k'.
Was ich Dir gab: Weihrauch, drei grosse Kupfer-kelöl; Honig, vier Kupfer-kelöl; Myrrhe, drei *dz, zusammen.

Anm. Von Interesse ist hier das Gewichts-Mass ₀₀ für Myrrhe, welches kaschitisch und nicht ägyptisch ist. Wir kennen es schon von Philae (Griffith, Mer. inscript. Nr. 101, lin. 4 und 8), wo es ∅/∅ dz; geschrieben erscheint. Ebenfalls als Gewichtsbezeichnung für Weihrauchsendung. – Kaschitisch ist jedenfalls auch der auf dieser Stele mehrfach Rechnung en
abschliessende Zusatz \( \tilde{\varphi}_2 \), mit dem ptolemäischen Lautwert \( k' \). Auch diesem Element begegnen wir in der eben erwähnten Abrechnung, Philae, Nr. 101 lin. 4, 8, 9 in \( \overline{\text{a}^4} \)
\( k' \)-\( n \) 'ausmachend' nach Zahlangaben. [Cf. auch l.c. Umm Soda, Nr. 45, lin. 4.]
(Es folgen in diesem Abschnitt der Stele noch die königlichen Spenden an Amân von Napate, nämlich: drei Goldstatuetten, dreizehn Silbergefäße und einundvierzig Kupfergeschirre. (Stele, lin. 34–7).—Mit Datum von Ultimo Pachons (Stele, lin. 37–9), dediziert der König noch speziell für Amenophi: zehn Stück Operrinder und dreiunddreissig Kupfergefäße.)

III

FELDZÜGE IN ÄTHIOPIEN

INSTITUTIONEN UND GLAUBENSBEKENNTNIS

1. \( 'y \ 'hy.t \ n \ "bs-Wdn.t" \).
Es kam die Hinrichtung des 'Gouverneurs von Wdn.t'.

Anm. Hier handelt es sich um keinen der gewöhnlichen 'Feinde', sondern um einen verräterischen Äthiopen, welcher sich in der Zeit vor Nistesanya als 'bs' von Wtn.t' — (Stadt am roten Meer, oberhalb von Myos Hormos, Thutmosis III, Afrikan. Liste 1. Nr. 64) — selbständig gemacht hatte. Nur wegen der Diskretion des Falles wurde der ganze Passus hier in ptolemäischer 'Bildschrift' für Unberufene unlesbar geschrieben, sowie auch kein Name genannt. Die 'Aufhängung' des Hingerichteten ('hy.t) brauchte wohl mit Rücksicht auf die Familie durch die kgl. Stele nicht publik gemacht werden. Es genügte \( \overline{\text{a}^2} \).

2. \( dy-i \ ^*\text{si} \ tpy-pd.t \ n \ D'r \ (r) \ h'y-\text{cr} \ (n) \ p'\text{y-f} \ h \text{d} \ nb. \)
Ich mobilisierte die Haupt-Garnison von \( D'r \) zu einer grossen Abschlachtung für all sein Verbrechen.

Anm. Dieser Passus der Stele ist sehr flüchtig notiert; wahrscheinlich auf Basis des ehemaligen offiziellen Vollzugsberichtes. — Das Zeichen \( \overline{\text{a}^1} \) vor \( pd.t \) meint jedenfalls \( \overline{\text{a}^6} \ tpy \ 'erster; Spitze'. — Die Garnisons-Stadt \( D'r \) ist noch unbestimmt. (Ob \( \overline{\text{a}^6} \overline{\text{a}^2} \) der nubischen Zeit ist fraglich.)
KUSH

3. h'k(-i) wi' n d'y nb ; p'w, dy-i n-f h'y.
Ich erbeutete alle Überfahrt-Schiffe; der Fürst, den liess ich hinrichten.
Anm. Der Ausdruck, etwa *wō-n-djay lautend, ist sonst ägyptisch nicht belegt und jedenfalls sudan-ägyptisch. – Typisch kaschitschisch ist der Ausdruck p'w ‘Ordnung, Gesetz’ a.n. ΠΑΤΟΣ, als Bezeichnung für Fürsten und Häuptlinge. Der ‘Herrschere’ hiess kaschitschisch *‘paw-i.de’ d.i. ‘einer, der Ordnung schafft’.
[Cf. Garstang, Meroe 9, lin. 2 47/43 98 482
‘der gute Herrscher’] Es handelt sich wohl um eine schlackeige Abbreviatur im antiken Sudan, wo die sudan-ägyptische Amtssprache einen Beamten schlechtweg *paw tituliert haben mag. – Nach der Einleitung zu schliessen, liess der König den Leichnam des Justizierten öffentlich aufhängen.

4. t'y(-i) p'y-f t' nb, *dbn.(‘w.t) nb, iw' nb, *mn(mn) nb, nty s.‘nh’-r.t nb, t'y-n- Kr' tpy *s*c – Trwdy ph.w.
Ich nahm all sein Land, alles Kleinvieh, alle Operrinder, alles Weidevieh und Alles, was den ‘Menschen’ ernährt, von (der Stadt) Kr’ vorne, bis zur (Stadt) Trwdy hinten.

5. dy-i sw n p'-nty k'k' 'w h'y m'-m-f ; 'w s.‘nh’-r.t m'-m-f, 'ry-i t.’nh.w n n*c-hty.
Ich gab es dem ‘Brater’, was wund war darunter; was Menschen-nahrung darunter (war), machte ich zur Verpflegung für das Gefolge.12
Anm. Hier haben wir den speziellen Ausdruck für den Esser unreiner Speisen: p'-nty k'k' (kopt. *n-‘H-ΣωΣ ‘der, welcher brät ‘) mit Esser-Determinativ. [Demotisch FieldValue ‘braten, rösten ‘] – Auch haben wir den Hintergrund für die Verachtung der ‘langlebigen Äthiopen’ gegenüber dem gerösteten Essen der meisten anderen Völker. (Cf. Herodot,

12 Hier erhalten wir erste positive Kunde über die Sitte der Äthiopen, nur gekochtes Fleisch von fehlerlosen Tieren zu essen und Gebratenes aller Art für ‘unrein’ zu halten.

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III/cap. 21-2, welche dessen Folgen nur durch ihren starken Wein paralysieren konnten.) – Den Terminus für 'Gefolgschaft' bildet hier der Ausdruck n²-hty nach ägypt.

ₙ² m hty, 'hinterher gehen'.

6. dy-i sw (n) Trmn iw'-hw 12, p.n'-mn Np't', 'w'ny-w hry n Np't'.
Ich übergab der (Stadt) Trmn zwölf heilige Operrinder, dem Amân von Napate gehörig, welche man herab brachte aus Napate.

Anm. Der Name dieser Stadt ist kaschitisch und bedeutet ṭḏmnm 'Flussperre'. Welche der vielen Flussperren im Katarakten-Gebiet 2 einer Stadt den Namen gab, ist nicht bekannt. Jedenfalls aber handelt es sich um Entschädigung für den dortigen Amân infolge der Politik des 'bs'-Wdn.t'.

7. 'bd IV, ḫ.t, hrw 26, hrw-msy.t z'-Rc Nist'sn, dy-i sw n Skskdy iw'n md.t ç.t 6, p.n'-mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr; 'w-w 'y hry n Np't'.

Anm. Auch diese Stadt scheint zu den geschädigten nördlichen Amân-Städten zu gehören. – Das ☞ □ ☐ md.t ç.t 'grosses Gehege' des Amân in Napate musste auch hier für die Fest-Opfer sorgen.

8. 'bd IV, ḫ.t, hrw 'rky, hrw dy.t-sw p'-sh n z'-Rc Nist'sn, dy-i (sw) 'ry.(t) n-k, 'mn Np't', kkt 12 *k' : md-hd, srk, t'y-(n)Krw-tpy świadczenie.Tr'rwt.

Anm. Es handelt sich hier klar um eine Leistung zur Wiedergutmachung, da die erstgenannte Stadt zum Rayon des 'bs'-Wdn.t' gehörte. – kkt wird durch das Determinativ des Doppel-Jochs als schwerer Transport-Behälter gekennzeichnet.

– Das schon erwähnte ☚ k' (11, Satz 2) ist kaschitisch.

9. dy.t-i 'ry.(t) n-k, 'mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr, hbs hr Tkt.t; dy.t-i 'ny.(t) n-k h¹'k(-i) : iw' 300, mnmmn 300, t'y.w 200.
Was ich Dir machen liess, o Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, (ist) eine Lampe für Tkt.t; was ich Dir bringen liess, (ist) meine Beute: dreihundert iw'-Rinder, dreihundert Weiderinder und zweihundert Mann.

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Anm. Die relative Verbalmform dieses Textes, gekennzeichnet durch \( \Delta \) (Cf. oben II, Satz 1, Anm.) mit Personal-Suffix 1. Person und Pluralstrichen verrät den Auslaut -ti durch Hieroglyphierung einer kursiven Form *deyti der 1. Person \( \mid \text{11} \mid \text{2} \text{Δ} \text{*} \), bei welchem man die schliessenden drei Striche – (Lautwert-i) – irrtümlich für Pluralstriche gehalten hatte. Es war keine ‘Flüchtigkeit’, sondern burearkratische Pedanterie. Der ganze Ausdruck war ein gewählter, doch das Zeichen \( \Delta \) gehörte gar nicht mehr ins Frühdemotische.

10. 'mn Np't', p'y-k hps 2 nty hpr ; p'y-k šf nfr.
O Amân von Napate, Deine beiden Arme (sind) das, was ist; Deine Macht ist gut.

Anm. Für das possessive pe-k ‘Dein’ steht hier, wie an gar manchen anderen Stellen, * p'ytkw. Diese sprachlich unmögliche Form verdankt ihre graphische Struktur einziger der Pedanterie des Hieroglyphisten, welcher bemüht war, aus den früh-demotischen Schriftformen seiner Konzept-Vorlage jedes Strichelchen, jeden Füllpunkt, etc., irgendwie hieroglyphisch zu transponieren. Hier lag wieder die Gruppe: \( \mid \text{11} \mid \text{2} \text{Δ} \text{vor} \).

11. dy.t-i n-k, 'mn Np't', Rfk, Wps m hb: “h’s h’s.w.t dr.w” ; p’y-k*tkr pw : t’y.w, hm.w.t 110 dmd.

Anm. Mit dem Hymnus dieses Festes der Fesselung aller Wüstenländer schliesst die kriegerische Aktion Nistesanya’s im nördlichen Wüsten-Défilé Äthiopiens ab. Wir erfahren dabei, dass die (ansonst nicht näher bekannten) Teil-Länder Äthiopiens wohl am meisten unter der Politik des emanzipierten Verräters gelitten hatten, speziell Rfk und Wps. – Zu bemerken ist, dass hier als Terminus für ‘Beute’ das kaschitische Wort \( \text{W} / 13 / 5 \) : t’kr gebraucht ist.

12. hr kt(y) ‘n. – ’ry-i dy.t *ši t’-pd.t hr sby.w Mhynd-knn.t.
Nun etwas anderes wieder. – Ich liess marschieren ein Heer gegen die Rebellen von Mhynd-knn.t.

Anm. Dieser und die folgenden Feldzug-Berichte basieren jedenfalls für das Stelen-Konzept auf der Unterlage militärischer
SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCH IM ANTIKEN ÄTHIOOPENREICH VON K'ASH


13. 'ry-w knkn *nm-f h'y-s'. t'yt-f n p'w 'yyk'.
Man schlug mit ihm eine grosse Schlacht. Gefangennahme des Häuptlings *Ayêke (o.ä.).


14. dy-i h'k hm.w.t nb.t, *dbn-(cw.t) nb.t, nb.w 's.t, iw' 209.659, mn(mn) 505.349, hm.t 2236, 'ky.t n Ktrwdy 323, *k'.
Ich liess erbeuten alle Frauen, alles Kleinvieh und viel Gold; 209.659 iw'-Rinder, 505.349 Weiderinder, 2236 Frauen (und) 322 (Stück) Bildwerk von Ktrwdy, insgesamt.

15. dy.t-i dy(t)-sw n p'-k'k' 'w 'ry-s. 'nh t'.wy nb. t.
Was ich geben liess dem 'Brater' (war) das, was alle beiden Länder ernährte.

Anm. D.h. die Beute war so ungeheuer, dass man sogar rituell reine Tiere den Essern unreiner Speisen mitüberlassen konnte. – Die Struktur des Satzes wäre etwa zu denken: *tey.t-i tees n-pe-kayk a er-sanye-tëw nibe.

16. dy.t-i 'ry,(t) n-k, 'mn Np't', h'bs hr Ktrwdy, 'ky.t 12.
Was ich Dir machen liess, o Amân von Napate, (war) eine Lampe für Ktrwdy (und) zwölf Statuetten.

17. dy.t-i 'ry,(t) n-k hr-sq.t (n) hmt 2; dy.t-i 'h'-w hr r'-pr (n) W's.t.
Was ich Dir machen liess, (waren) zwei grosse Feuer-Ständer aus Kupfer; was ich anordnete, (war) dass sie standen auf dem 'Tempel von Theben'.

18. 'mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr, dy.t-i 'ry,(t) n-k ktkt 6, *k', hr Ktrwdy.
O Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, was ich Dir machen liess, waren sechs Traglasten insgesamt für Ktrwdy.

KUSH

19. dy-t-i wn r'~pr n iw' n nb.w, 'k(y).t p.n~mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr.
   Was ich anordnete, (war) die Eröffnung eines Tempels für den goldenen
   iw'-Stier, das Bild des Amân von Napate, meines guten Vaters.

20. kt(y) 'n. -- dy-i *si t'~pd.t hr sby Rb'rww, 'k'rwwk'r3 ; dy-t-i h'y~c'.
   Etwas anderes wieder. -- Ich liess gehen ein Heer gegen das rebellische
   Rb'rww und 'k'rwwk'r3 ; was ich anordnete, (war) eine grosse Schlacht.
   Anm. Nach dem Determinativ handelt es sich immerzu noch um
   Wüstenstämme.

21. t'y-w p'w Rwbjdn ; p'y-f nb.t n-nb.w 's.t mn~p(.t) ; iw' 203.216, mn(mn)
   603.107, hm.t nb(.t), p'~nty 'w-w s.nh~r.t *nm-w nb.
   Man ergriff den Häuptling Rwbjdn ; sein Gesammtes an Gold (war)
   eine Menge ohne Zahl ; (zudem) 203.216 iw'-Rinder, 603.107 Weider-
   rinder, alle Frauen (und) Alles, womit sich die Menschen ernähren.
   Anm. Ein typisches Beispiel für den äth. Nominalsatz ohne
   Kopula: *pe-f nibe-n-nûb 'câsê men-épe.'

22. dy-i sw p'w (n)~mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr.
   Ich gab ihn, den Häuptling, dem Amân von Napate, meinem guten Vater.

23. p'y-k hps sdr, p'y-k*sl nfr.
   Dein Arm ist stark, Dein Wort ist gut.

24. hr 'n. -- dy-i msh 's~t' t hr sby 'rrs, dy-i h'y~c'.
   Nun wieder. -- Ich liess rundum gehen vieles Rufen gegen den Rebellen
   von Arares, dass ich lieferne eine grosse Schlacht.
   Anm. Die Stadt Arares war, konform zu Meroe, Nr. 2, lin. 29 u. 39,  
   eine Amân-Stadt. -- Im vorliegenden Falle handelte es sich  
   jedenfalls um einen plötzlichen Überfall seitens räuberischer  
   Wüstenbewohner ; daher der spontane Alarm.

25. dy.t-i t'y.(t) (n) p'w n M's', 'bs3 ; h'k-i hm.t nb.t, *dbn~w.t nb.t, nb.w
   dbn 1212, iw' 22.120, hm.t nb.t, mn(mn) 55.200.
   Was ich veranlasste, (war) die Ergreifung des Häuptlings von M's',
   (namens), 'bs3 ; ich erbreute alle Frauen, alles Kleinvieh, 1212 dbn Gold,
   22.120 iw'-Rinder, alle Frauen und 55.200 Weiderindar.
   Anm. Dass hier zweimal 'alle Frauen' genannt sind, muss nicht
   unbedingt 'Gedankenlosigkeit' sein. Zum erstenmal konnte
   der Harem des gefangenen Häuptlings und später dann der
   weibliche Tross der gefallenen Feinde gemeint gewesen sein.

26. dy-i sw p'w, p'y-f šb, (n-)mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr.
   Ich übergab ihn, den Häuptling (und) seinen Besitz, an Amân von Napate,
   meinem guten Vater.
27. \( p'y-k \) \( rn \) c. \( t \) \( nfr \), \( p'y-k \) \( sf \) \( nfr \).
Dein großer Name ist gut, Deine Macht ist gut.
Anm. Dass hier \( *pe-k \) \( ren \) c.6 für \( *pe-k \) \( ren \) c.0 angedeutet ist, war für den Äthiopen gleich.

28. \( kt(y) \) 'n. – dy-i \( *śi-f \) t' \( -pd.t \) \( hr \) sby \( Mḥšrḥt \), dy-t-i \( h'y-\) c.
Etwas anderes wieder. – Ich liess gehen ein Heer gegen das rebellische \( Mḥšrḥt \); was ich veranlasste, (war) eine grosse Schlacht.

29. dy-t-i \( t'y.(t) \) (n) p'w, p'-nty \( 'w-f \) s.'nḥ-'r.t \( *nm-f \) nb.t, hm.t nb.t.
Was ich (weiter) veranlasste, (war) die Gefangennahme des Häuptlings, Alles dessen, womit sich der Mensch ernährt, und aller Frauen.

30. dy-i sw \( hr-i \) \( h'k \) : \( iw' \) 203.146, mnnm 33.050.
Ich gab es für mich, das Erbeutete: 203.146 \( iw' \)-Rinder und 33.050 Weiderinder.

31. 'mn Np't', \( p'y-i \) yt \( nfr \), \( p'y-k \) \( ḫpš \) sdr, \( p'y-k \) \( ren \) c. t nfr.
O Amān von Napate, mein guter Vater, Dein Arm ist stark, Dein großer Name ist gut.

32. \( kt(y) \) 'n. – dy-i \( *śi \) 'ś' s.t \( hr \) sby \( Myṣk \).
Etwas anderes wieder. – Ich liess ergehen vieles Rufens gegen den Rebellen von \( Myṣk \).

33. \( 'r-y-f \) n-i sby \( hr \) \( nh.(t) \) n \( Srsr \); dy-i \( knkn \) \( *nm-f \), dy-i \( h'y-\) c.
Er machte Aufstellung gegen mich, der Rebell, bei der Sykomore von \( Srsr \); ich liess kämpfen mit ihm und lieferte eine grosse Schlacht.
Anm. Das Verbum \( tny \) äg. 'sich messen im Kampfe' ist hier sicher; wenn, wie vermutet worden, \( śny \) gemeint gewesen wäre, so hätte sich der Häuptling ja unterworfen und jeder Kampf wäre überflüssig gewesen. – Die Stadt \( Srsr \) ist ansonst unbekannt.

34. \( 'r-y-i \ t'y.(t) \) p'y-f p'w, \( Tmḥyt \); dy-i \( h'k \) p'y-w \( hm.t \) nb.t, \*dbn(\'w.t) nb.t, nb.w dbn 2000, \( iw' \) 35.330, mnnm 55.526, p'-nty \( 'w-w \) s.'nḥ-'r.t m-'m-f dr.
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Anm. Zu beachten ist hier, dass die Frauen klassenmäßig als superior (maskulin) gelten, während Feinde sonst der inferioren Klasse zugehören. [Stele, lin. 1, t'y-f sby.w.]

35. dy-f n-i 'mn Np't', p'y-iyt nfr, t'.wy nb.t; p'y-f hps sdr, p'y-f šfy(.t) nfr, p'y-f rn ʾ.t nfr my p.t.
Es gab mir Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, alle beiden Länder sein Arm ist stark, sein Ansehen schön (und) sein grosser Name ist gut wie der Himmel.

36. 'ry-f 'ry(.t) n-i 'mn Np't', p'y-i yt nfr.
Gewirkt hat für mich Amân von Napate.


37. ḫr kt(y) 'n.– 'ry-w pn cnk.t n 'mn ḫr-'b Pr-gmy-'tn, 'by-s(w)-'r.t (n) n.sw.t 'sprwt.
Nun etwas anderes wieder.– Man tat entwenden Eigentum des Amân im ' Tempel der Auffindung Aton's' (Kâwa), (u. zw.) Kleinodien des Königs *Asperot.

Anm. Der Ausdruck pn cn 'ausleeren' für Stehlen entsprach wohl dem Bilde vom Umleeren aus einer Schatulle in einen Sack.– Charakteristisch ist hier wieder der Terminus für ' Schmuck-
sachen, Kleinodien, etc.' durch Nominalisierung eines sudan-
äg. 'by sw 'r.t d.i. 'der Mensch begehrt es' im Sinne von: 'Was der Mensch begehrt'.– Nominalisierung ganzer Nominal-
oder Verbalsätze gehört zu den typischen Zügen des Kaschitschen.

38. p'-wn ʾš ʾš.t (r) wād n p'y-i srh.s h'w.ty.w (r) db cn sby n Md'y.
Da gab es viel Rufen nach einem Raid meiner Élite-Garde zur Bestrafung der Matoy-Rebellen.

Anm. Die Matoy-Rebellen sind hier zwar ebenfalls als Wüsten-
bewohner bezeichnet, jedoch handelt es sich sichtlich nicht um eingebrochene 'Feinde', sondern wohl um einen Diebstahl seitens 'Irregulärer'. Der Ruf geht auch nicht vom König aus, sondern von der geschädigtten Tempelverwaltung. Die Aktion scheint also mehr 'dienstlichen' Charakter gehabt zu haben.– [Stele lin. 61 weist an dieser Stelle ein *ke ma ' Korrektur' auf.]

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39. *dy-w* gm.t-f nk.t-w.
Man liess auffinden ihr Eigentum. —


40. *p’y-i’by-s(w)’r.t, s’c-mtw-f’ry(t) n-i’mn Pr-gmy’tn, p’y-i yt nfr, dy-i n-f (sw) (n)’mn Pr-gmy’tn, p’y-i yt nfr.*
Meine Kleinodien, bis sie mir gewährte Amân von Pergemyaton, mein guter Vater, ich gab (sie) ihm, dem Amân von Pergemyaton, meinem guten Vater.

41. *dd-f n-i’mn Pr-gmy’tn, p’y-i yt nfr: ‘dy-i n-k p’y-i t’-pd.t, nhty*nm-f, phty. dy-i n-k sby-w h’s.w.t nb.t*m skr.w hr tb.wy-k’.*

42. *hr kt(y) ‘n.’ry-w t’y(t)-f sby-Mt’y.w nk.t’h.t-wd’.t n B’s.t(t).t hr’b Tr, ‘by-s(w)’r.t nsu.w.t’sprot.*

43. *’y-w p’y-i’by-s(w)’r.t, dy-i n-s sw B’s.t(t).t hr’b Tr, p’y-i mw.t nfr.*
Da kamen meine Kleinodien (und) ich gab ihr dieselben, der B’este in Tr, meiner guten Mutter.13

44. *dy.n-s n-i p’y-s*šsn.w c.t (r) nfr, ’w.t c.t (r) nfr.*
Da hat sie mir gegeben ihren ganz grossen Lotos-Strauss und (damit) ganz hohes Alter.


45. *m’c.t, p’y-s šfy.t nfr (r) dd: p’y-k wd’d.t *pw, p’y-k m’c.t *pw! s’c-mtw-f’ry(t) n-i’mn Np’t’, p’y-i yt nfr, s’c-mtw-f’ry-nfr p’y-i ‘by-s(w)’r.t; p’y-f hps sd.’r.*
Wahrscheinlich, Ihr Ansehen ist schön, das heisst: ‘Dein Schatz-Tresor ist in Ordnung [kasch. *paw!], Dein Recht ist in Ordnung!’ sobald es mir

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13 Die zu Satz 39 oben gemachte Bemerkung, betreffend die Gleichgültigkeit des Königs gegenüber dem Gottesraub an Spenden König *Asperot’s, erfährt hier noch grössere Verstärkung, da der König persönlich nur an seiner eigenen Spende für die Göttin interessiert erscheint.
bewirkt Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, sobald er prachtvoll macht meine Kleinodien; sein Arm ist stark.


46. hr, ’i ’mn Np’t, p’y-i yt nfr, t’-mdw.t p’-nty ’w-k s’-r’ m’ ’t, ’w bw’-ry-s dy.(t) (r) ph.wy.

Denn, o Amân von Napate, mein guter Vater, die Sache, deren Recht Du befehlst, die geht nicht zugrunde.

47. hr, ’n ’w sny r’-k m’ ’t, bn-mdy-w s.’nh’-r.t *m’-m-f hr t’-p.t.

Denn, wenn vorbeigeht Dein Mund am Rechte, (dann) hat man nichts, wovon der Mensch sich ernährt unter dem Himmel.

Anm. Die letzten beiden Sätze enthalten das politische Glaubens-Bekenntnis des Königs. Nur Amân von Napate repräsentiert die in der Welt wirkende Gotteskraft, welche Alles erhält und die ‘Ordnung’ sichert. Was ER will, das geschieht, was ER aber nicht will, das geschieht nicht. Dieses Gesetz gilt nicht nur für die Menschen, sondern, wie gezeigt wird, auch für die Götter.

D. DER SPRACH-CHARAKTER DES SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCHEN

SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCH IM ANTIKEN ÄTHIOPIENREICH VON K'ASH


Die jüngste Erkenntnis, dass alle äthiopischen Königs- und sonstigen Personennamen sprachlich Namens- Parolen darstellten, d.h. dass es sich um kürzere oder längere Sätzen handelt, welche in Beziehung zu Religion, Stand, Lokalabstammung oder politischer Maxime des Namensträgers standen, bietet uns eine steigende Fülle von äthiopischen Sprach-Materialien. Es ist dabei ganz gleichgültig, ob der Namens-Satz syntaktisch kaschitische Struktur aufweist, oder ob er rein ägyptisch abgefasst ist, denn die typisch kaschitische Aussprache schlägt auch hier durch.

Nehmen wir z.B. den Namen des Äthiopenkönigs Nr. 17 (Nûri, Pyr. iv), welcher völlig ägyptisch gebaut ist, nämlich: \(\text{\textit{\begin{tabular}{c}
\end{tabular}}\)}\(, so hätte dieser

\(^{14}\) Kaschitisch determiniert hiess ‘der Prinz’ mit dem Artikel -l versehen *psent, weil s+l phonetisch t ergab; ein Prinzen-Abstämmling hiess mit Relativ-Suffix -é versehen *pset-é. (Griech. \(\psi\text{ev}\) \(\eta\hspace{1mm}\) \(\gamma\) \(\text{\textit{\begin{tabular}{c}
\end{tabular}}\)}\) genannt.)
konform ägyptischer Schreibtradition geschrieben sein müssen, denn er bedeutet: ‘Der grosse (Kriegs-)Ruf ist vortreffliche Abwehr’, enthält also ein Bekenntnis zu steter Kriegsbereitschaft. In konventionell neuägyptischer Aussprache hätte dieser Name also *ayš-š-o
sahr-ške(r) lauten müssen. Weil jedoch der Kascht kein , kein und kein lautete, sondern nur für Letzteres einfaches s sprach, wäre das äthiopische Lautbild des Namens etwa: *aysosarške gewesen, und diese Lautierung liegt auch der äthiopischen Schreibung zu Grunde.15


Für die Eigenart kaschitischer Lautierung liefert uns ein kaschitischer Personennam (Asperot, Stele I), welcher zeigt, dass man ägypt. nh wie ny zu sprechen gewohnt war. Es ist das der Name welchem ein normal ägyptisches whm-šnh ’mn ‘Wiederbelebend ist Amán’ entspräche.16 Dementsprechend erscheint es nicht verwunderlich, dass der Hieroglyphist der Stele Nistesanya’s (lin. 48 und 68) sich der Lautfolge caneg und ṭhgq nicht klar war und Schriftgebilde wie snhns und thns reproduzierte. Hätte man zu Schäfers, etc. Zeiten bereits das meriitis geschriebene Kaschiten-Nomen *tany-i.de ‘Verpflegung schaffend’ gekannt, wäre die Unsicherheit leichter erklärbar gewesen.

Der Plan der letzten Epoche des Äthiopenreiches von Napate, das im Nil-Sudan gangbare Neu-Ägyptisch zur Litteratur-Sprache zu erheben, hat uns zwei ausführliche Text-Urkunden erhalten, welche geeignet sind, uns ein

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15 Nach Analogie der Götternamen ’Amuâr und Xvâ-h, welche anstelle des ägyptisch regulären Langvokals o resp. u den primären a-Vokal bewahrt zeigen, wird man anzunehmen haben, dass es sich hierbei um einen Konservativismus des Sudan-Ägyptischen handelt.

16 Nachdem bekanntlich whm-šnh auch als (jung-ägyptischer) Terminus für die ‘Nilflut’ in Gebrauch stand, verwendeten die Kaschiten die Bezeichnung /\432/3 var. \328\317 w3ml-s als Berufstitel für den Beobachter und Berechner des Nilstandes der Überschwemmungs-Periode. Dieses höchst wichtige Amt kennen wir bisher in drei Rangstufen.
SUDAN-ÄGYPTISCH IM ANTIKEN ÄTHIOPIENREICH VON K’ASH


Von Nubier weiss uns Nistesanya zu seiner Zeit nichts zu berichten. Die Stämme und Stämmlchen jener bäuerlichen Völkerschaft lebten dazumals ausserhalb des äthiopischen Machtbereichs auf der ‘libyschen’ Seite des Nils und gehörten daher gar nicht in das zeitgenössische Geschichtsbild.17

SUMMARY

The Sudanese Egyptian Language in the Ancient Ethiopian Kingdom of K’ash

From 1548-751 B.C. Ethiopia (=the Sudan) was directly administered by Egypt. The Egyptian colonial territory was composed of the Wawat Province, on both banks of the Nile, which had been administered by Egypt since the Middle Kingdom, to which the pacified K’ash Province (on the East Bank only) was annexed in 1454 B.C.

From that time the Egyptian language was used for administrative purposes and as the lingua franca as far south as the Fourth Cataract. The tribes of this territory under Egyptian administration had no written language of their own and it would not, therefore, have been surprising if during the New Kingdom the Egyptian language had become the lingua franca and literary idiom of Egyptian Ethiopia in the same way as Sudan Arabic is used today. But this did not come about to the same extent because, especially in the K’ash Province, there was a tendency to introduce indigenous words into the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing; this tendency can clearly be seen in the names of the Ethiopian kings in pre-Meroitic times, and eight centuries of Egyptian colonialism did not succeed in suppressing the indigenous languages—even though they were not written languages—in favour of Egyptian.

As an ideological offspring of the Theban prototype, the Ethiopian theocracy had as its supernatural sovereign the high god Amun-Re of the ‘holy mountain’

(Jebel Barkal), and the nearby town of Napata was the natural capital for the Ethiopian kingdom. At this time we still hear nothing of Meroe which was later to supersede it.

So far as the Egyptian language tradition is concerned, it should be stated that the Ethiopian Kings of the xxvth Dynasty appear in the official documents as true Egyptians, and the formulation of their inscriptions follows the line of contemporary Egyptian development, but the pattern of their -zi-Re names is dictated by the Kashitic language. This proves that they did not try to suppress or Egyptianize their Kashitic origins. The style they used is egocentric and even critical towards its Egyptian readers and so contrary to the Egyptian tradition. It can also be clearly seen that the Ethiopian kings of Egypt regarded the Egyptians as decadent, and this attitude became more pronounced after the Napatans ceased to be kings of Egypt. A realization of this attitude is of great importance for the understanding of later developments.

That a language question existed in Napata is clearly shown in the behaviour of the 23rd Ethiopian king with his tendentious Egyptian-style ensebia-name: 'Horus (is) the son of his father', which is conventionally read as Har-zi-yōtef (Harsiotef). Apart from his name, which even after centuries of independence is still purely Egyptian, this king ordered his stela for the temple in Napata to be transcribed from the new cursive Egyptian into the new hieroglyphic Egyptian, which seems extraordinary.

This has so far been considered to be symptomatic of the decadence of the Egyptian language tradition in the Sudan and attributed to the political separation of Napata from Egypt. But it must be taken into account that a wealthy Ethiopian king could at any time hire an Egyptian hieroglypher if he were really interested in the old style of Egyptian writing. Moreover, it should be noted that the old Egyptian texts of the Meroitic kings were correctly formulated. There must, therefore, be an explanation other than decadence for the form in which Harsiotef's stela was inscribed. Between the 21st and 24th Napatan kings there is evidence of a reaction in Upper Ethiopia (Alwa) against the Napatan Kingdom which was still under the influence of Egyptian tradition. We may, therefore, interpret the above-cited instance of the use of hieroglyphs for the writing of Sudanese Egyptian at this period as an attempt to raise the status of the spoken and administrative language of the Egyptianized Napatan intellectual class to that of the official written language of the whole kingdom.

This idea is borne out by the stela of the last Napatan king, Nistesanya (Nistasen), which has long been misinterpreted. Because this stela is written in Sudanese Egyptian and shows some unique divergences from the Egyptian language tradition, it merits a new philological interpretation. Since this text was composed in the fourth century B.C. in a kingdom with a bi-lingual intellectual class, we can accurately speak of the language problem—in the modern sense—which caused concern in the Kingdom of Napata in its final phase.
King Nastasen was of Kashitic origin but his name is Egyptian in form, though written phonetically and not in accordance with the normal orthography. This was probably so that it could be read by anyone who knew the spoken Sudanese Egyptian, that is to say the 'secular' Kashite intellectual class. The king was *supra grammaticam* and was accordingly able to order the text of his stela in conformity with Kashitic grammar. The clearest instance of this is given by the use of the Kashitic grammatical gender in an Egyptian *context*. In this respect both languages are quite different.

The Napatan priesthood of Amun at Jebel Barkal seem to have tried to establish their spiritual and political superiority by the creation of a popular literary language. Ranged against them, however, were those whose aim was to create a literate version of the indigenous language of K'ash. Accordingly, we find Harsiotef's stela written in hieroglyphs in Sudanese Egyptian while that of Nastasen shows more far-reaching Kashitic influence.
The Longarim Favourite Beast

by Andreas Kronenberg

The aim of this paper is to show the essential role of what I shall call for lack of a better term 'the Longarim favourite beast' in certain selected institutions in Longarim or Boya social structure and culture. The awkward term 'favourite beast' must be used since unlike the Nuer, Karamojong, and Jie, the Longarim do not limit their choice of favoured animals to oxen only. Either bulls or oxen may be so favoured, indeed even cows play this role for women. Hence using the more conventional term 'favourite ox' would be misleading. In order to avoid undue repetition, on occasion the term bull will be used in inverted commas. In this case it should be taken to include the two categories of beasts, bulls and oxen.

My analysis will be confined to the following institutions: the age-system, prestige and status, institutionalized best friend, hunting, war, marriage, and other relationships between the sexes. The role that the beast plays in assuring the individual's conformity to the society's norm will be discussed in several sections of this paper. These various institutions will not be described in detail, since I am only concerned here with the aspects of these institutions related to the favourite beast.

The Longarim are a tribe of 923 male taxpayers inhabiting the Longarim hills in the Eastern District of Equatoria Province of the Republic of the Sudan. Tucker classifies them with the isolated Didinga-Murle language group, but

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1 The Antiquities Service programme for anthropological research in the Southern Sudan is first to study the Didinga-Murle speaking tribes. In 1959–60 field work was devoted mainly to the study of the Didingas, and my wife and I could only stay one month with the Longarim. It seems to us that the knowledge which we collected of the Didinga made the approach to the closely related Longarim much easier than we had expected. We hope to continue our work among these tribes as soon as possible.

I owe a very great debt to Mr F. Rehfisch, with whom I have discussed this paper at its various stages. I am also grateful to Dr I. Cunnison and Dr N. Dyson-Hudson, who have read the draft of my article and made many suggestions, some of which I have adopted.

2 Boya is the Topotha appellation for Longarim.


5 P. H. Gulliver, 'Bell-Oxen and Ox-Names among the Jie', Uf, 16, 1952, p. 72.

6 A. N. Tucker and M. Y. Bryan, The Non-Bantu Languages of North Eastern Africa, Oxford, 1956, p. 88, give the figure of 923 tax-payers. Using this figure, I estimate the total population to be roughly 7,000 to 10,000.

7 op. cit., p. 88.
they have adopted many linguistic and verbal expressions, particularly those relating to the 'favourite beast complex', the age-system and the institution of the best friend, from their Nilo-Hamitic neighbours the Topotha.

In spite of the great economic importance of agriculture, cattle play a dominant role in Longarim culture, to such a degree that they may be called the leitmotiv of that culture, and Dyson-Hudson's statement about the Karamojong can equally well refer to the Longarim. 'The attachment of Karamojong to their herds is more than economic, and their desire for and interest in cattle goes beyond what is explicable in terms of subsistence. Important social relationships always involve cattle interest at some point, and there are few situations which the Karamojong do not conceive to be, in one sense or another, 'a cattle matter'. . . . Cattle are also wealth, and wealth is put to various uses. Prominent among these are the establishment and development of the family, the acquisition of supporters, the achievement of status and thereby of influence in public affairs . . . the extension of kin ties'.

Cattle is an investment in personal social relationship. Most aspects of the culture and social structure are intimately affected by cattle and the Longarim ideas concerning these beasts. The concept of the favourite beast is an emotional expression of the non-economic utility of cattle.

Cattle may be obtained by inheritance; as a part of the bride-wealth payment when a female relative is married; from fines levied on the lovers of a pregnant unmarried girl; as a gift from a relative, friend, or husband, thus strengthening the kin- or friendship ties; by theft or as war-booty; by exchange against millet; more recently by purchase; and finally from an exchange of beasts. On some occasions a man will ask another for a bull or an ox to sacrifice. In return the owner of the bull will be given a heifer. From the point of view of the herd he considers such an exchange advantageous, since not only does he receive a younger animal, but also he will benefit from the heifer's fertility. Favourite beasts can also be obtained in one of these ways.

At the end of puberty a youth is made aware of the importance of having a favourite beast. He chooses one of the calves that he is grazing and anoints its back daily with dung (araci) in order to make it quiet and tame. No one else must do this. Should this beast not belong to the boy's father, the latter must compensate its owner. In most cases, the son asks his father for the calf which he wants as his favourite, or the father tells his son to select a favourite when he thinks that he is old enough. Then the young man announces to his age-set that he has chosen his beast and that they must perform the

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necessary duties (*nyaboli*)\(^\text{10}\) for it, which are: hunting dangerous animals, composing a song and a hymn of praise, providing certain paraphernalia such as a bell, horn, spear, shield,\(^\text{11}\) etc., and holding a dance. If it is to be an ox, also to castrate it and shape its horns so that they will assume aesthetically attractive forms.

There are two kinds of favourite beast and the intensity of identification between ‘father’\(^\text{12}\) and beast differs in each case.

1. *Nyamenat*,\(^\text{13}\) meaning favourite ox, is the most common kind of favourite beast. A young bull may be chosen as a *nyamenat* with the intention of having it castrated within a reasonable period of time. Some time after a Longarim has chosen his *nyamenat* he announces the fact to his age-set, and if the duties toward it are fulfilled, it will be eaten by the age-set when it is old. Its ‘fathers’ will mourn for it and then choose another ox—thus one man can have several *nyamenat*-oxen during his life-time.

2. *Ikari*, on the contrary, is a favourite bull (*plate xxx, a*) whose ‘father’ has sworn to his age-set mates that he loves it so much that it must never be killed or eaten. An *ikari* should die of senile decay, be killed on his ‘father’s’ grave, or when it is very old the wife of the bull’s ‘father’ can kill it by cutting its chest. The meat is then eaten only by women. This way of slaughtering is not regarded as killing a bull in the true sense, because usually only goats and sheep are killed in this manner. The skull of the *ikari* is put on the roof-top of its ‘father’s’ house (*plate xxx, b*). An *ikari* is always an *iwnani*, a bull which is left in its original undeformed state, its horns are not broken, and it is not castrated. But for an *ikari* even more wild animals should be killed than for a *nyamenat*, and the dance held for it must be an outstandingly large one. A Longarim can have only one *ikari* during his life-time, and the age-set is most anxious that as many as possible

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\(^{10}\) *Nyaboli* is also the name of the women’s dancing belt, and there is probably a symbolic analogy between these two meanings, because the duties for the favourite beast are regarded as a chain of glorious deeds which adorn the animal, its ‘father’, and his age-set.

\(^{11}\) The beast’s ‘father’ must kill the animals when on the hunting party using this shield and spear (*nyezuwat*). This spear is also used to castrate the favourite animal, and later one of the ‘fathers’ age-mates, most often his ‘best friend’, will use it to spear a *nyamenat*-ox. After this the best friend keeps the spear and all the beast’s paraphernalia.

\(^{12}\) *bati tomotu*—the father of the bull (or ox). I prefer to use in this article the expression ‘father’ rather than ‘master’ or ‘owner’, because ‘father’ evokes the intimate personal relationship between the human and the beast which exists among the Longarim.

\(^{13}\) *nyamenat*—the beloved one; it is also possible to speak of the *tomot cik amenani*—beast of love.
of its members should have such bulls because the ‘father’ of an *ikari* is a most courageous hunter and warrior, since the inspiration given by an *ikari* is much stronger than that of a *nyamenat*.

It is said to be necessary to castrate a *nyamenat* in order to make it quiet and more devoted to its ‘father’, to make it bigger and fatter; whereas this is unnecessary for an *ikari*-bull, which the Longarim consider to be a quiet animal and naturally devoted to its ‘father’. It comes at a whistle, and will become very big and fat even without castration. When discussing the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard says, ‘It is oxen which arouse their admiration. Bulls evoke utilitarian interest rather than emotional and aesthetic attention’,¹⁴ and this is also true to some extent of the Longarim: *nyamenat* is an ox and the *ikari* is given the attributes of an ox.

The identification between ‘father’ and *ikari* is closer than that between owner and *nyamenat*. If an *ikari*-bull is fighting with other cattle, its ‘father’ must kill its adversary on the spot; if two *ikari*-bulls are fighting each other, their ‘fathers’ must fight a duel; on the other hand, if the fighting bulls belong to two best friends, this fight is interpreted as play. At its death the ‘father’ tries to overcome his sorrow by exposing himself to dangerous adventures: he hunts wild animals and fights others in the hope of being killed himself; the death of an *ikari* can even be a reason for suicide. But if he returns alive after his dangerous tasks, he must sacrifice at least two *nyapunyot*-bulls¹⁵ for his dead *ikari* and shave his head as for the death of a near relative. His age-set mates must join in this sacrifice by killing goats. Should an *ikari* be killed accidentally, his meat will not be eaten but is left to the vultures. ‘My *ikari* is my preferred son, should it die, I will have to kill the wild animals I meet. I will cry for it. I love it more than anything else. I sleep in the forest to kill wild animals for it’. As mentioned above, the inspiration given by an *ikari* is much stronger than that given by a *nyamenat* and enables a man to approach more nearly the conception of the ideal man. But as far as I can judge, it is a difference of degree and not of kind.

The emotional attitude towards one’s favourite beast is of great importance and when under its influence a man will be spurred into action. The Longarim say: ‘If I see my favourite beast, my heart is open’ and this will lead them to ‘undertake something’. The type of emotion felt and resultant actions are directed towards the realization of the ideal type of behaviour. The actions of a man towards his beast are used by the society as a diagnostic means to determine the way in which he will live up to his social obligations. This explains why it is only during the periods of adolescence and young adulthood, those times when society makes its most imperious demands upon the individual,

¹⁵ Bull sacrificed at the graveside for deceased relatives or friends.
that favourite beasts are important, indeed they are unnecessary during the period of childhood and old age and cannot be acquired at these times.

The ideal type for the Longarim is an extrovert, active man with strong emotions which themselves lead to action. He must be self-confident, holding opinions on all important matters, and having persuasive powers in order to convince others that his opinions are the best. These characteristics should be displayed at the assembly of the age-sets. He should feel deeply involved in the ideals of his culture and certain of the rightness of its values, courageous and fearless in hunting and fighting and always prepared to kill bulls for the age-set. Such a person will be able to fulfil his duties vis-à-vis his favourite beast, which require courage and generosity, and will succeed as a warrior; inspired by his favourite he will compose impressive bull-songs which should help him to gain the favours of girls and thus enable him to marry many women. His best friend and age-mates will praise him and his favourite beast publicly at dances. Affected by this praise 'his heart will open' and his reaction will be either to kill a bull or to direct a hunting party.

A brief description of the Longarim age-system, which is similar to that of the Topotha\textsuperscript{16} will show the role of the favourite beast in this institution. Mainly for reasons of space I am not able to deal with details and I have selected what I regard as the most significant features.\textsuperscript{17}

All Longarim are grouped on the basis of age. 'The channels of political authority are the relationships created between groups and persons by age ranking... The demonstrable instrument of political authority is the obedient membership of all sub-senior age-sets; its attributed instrument is the intervention of God in its support'.\textsuperscript{18} The blessing or cursing of an older person

\textsuperscript{16} Only Capt. King has given a description of Topotha age-sets in L. F. Nalder's, \textit{A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province} (Int. Inst. of African Lang. and Cult., Oxford, 1937), pp. 69–74. On p. 69 he states that 'the whole subject of age-classes is extremely complicated and confusing'. 'The confusion in this description seems to me to be due to two facts. (a) Capt. King did not discover that there are two moieties, right hand and left hand, though he writes on p. 71 'that the Idongo were the left wing in war and hunting, the Nyikaletho the right, but this point requires further elucidation'. The children born to a father of one moiety belong to the other, and the knowledge of this division is important to an understanding of the age-sets. (b) Capt. King wrote that the Topotha had bull-classes. I doubt this very much. He spent some time as administrator among the Longarim and among the Western Topotha. The term for age-set in Longarim is \textit{bul} and is also sometimes used by the neighbouring Topotha. I was very much confused when informants said that their \textit{bul} was the age-set so and so. I first assumed that they were speaking of their bull-classes until I realized the error of confusing their term \textit{bul}, meaning age-set, with the English word 'bull'.

\textsuperscript{17} I hope to write a paper dealing \textit{in extenso} with the Longarim age-system.

\textsuperscript{18} N. Dyson-Hudson, op. cit., 1960, pp. 166 ff.
THE LONGARIM FAVOURITE BEAST

is considered as being far more effective than that of a younger one. The age-groups which are formed are of two kinds:

1. Longarim society is split into two cyclical and ever-recurring moieties or generation-classes, which are called lions and monkeys. Children of men belonging to the lion group are recruited into the monkey group and vice-versa. The two moieties do not actively engage in social activities together; for example when the lions are dancing, the monkeys sit on the side-line and watch. At a meeting the moiety of lions sit together forming a line facing east, its senior age-set (age-set will be discussed below) sitting on the extreme right, while the next junior age-set sits to the left of them, and so on in descending order of seniority. The monkey-moiety on the other hand place the most senior group on the extreme left and the most junior on the extreme right. This right and left orientation of the two moieties is extended to their relations with their favourite beasts. If a 'lion' wishes to deform his favourite ox's horns so that they will grow asymetrically, he must do this so that the right horn will bend upwards and the left horn downwards. The monkeys must pattern theirs in the opposite way.

2. Within each moiety there are a number of linear age-sets, called bul.\textsuperscript{19} In principle, members of an age-set are of roughly equivalent age. Age-sets are formed by the youths themselves when their number is such that they feel strong enough to do so. The formation of a new age-set is largely determined by demographic and economic factors. A man is not permanently a member of one age-set; most Longarim are promoted two or three times to a senior set during their life-time. However, an outstanding character may be promoted with greater frequency.

A man's status is largely determined by the age-set to which he belongs, and prestige within one's own age-set is gained by conforming as closely as possible to the ideal type. The principle of age-ranking is thus maintained by attributing arbitrarily to outstanding personalities with high prestige a more senior age-status. Age, therefore, is often defined in terms of status.

It is within the context of the age-set that the favourite beast reaches the apogee of its structural importance, and is the most dynamic element in the functioning of the bul-group. The age-set organizes collective hunts, dances, and ceremonies for the favourite animals of its members. The age-set is the institution wherein emotions are mutually stimulated and released by collective action in relation to the favourite beast. The question to acquire or not to acquire a favourite animal is thus not merely an individual matter for a Longarim, but rather a most important question for his age-set. If one of the members

\textsuperscript{19} See n. 16 above.
fails to obtain a favourite, his age-mates will persuade him to get one, because ‘they need a strong man to help them in time of war’. A man who has an ikari-bull is of the utmost importance, being extremely courageous. ‘A man without a favourite beast is like a woman’. Without a favourite beast a Longarim will find great difficulty in obtaining a wife, and an elderly bachelor will not be respected in his age-set; his mates will not listen to his opinions. The members of an age-set having favourite beasts increase the probability that they will marry, thus ensuring the continuity of generations.

Horn shaping has a symbolic meaning for the Longarim. Before an age-set went to war in former times, the favourite beast of one of its members, by necessity one with horns which had not been tampered with, was killed and eaten by the age-mates. This feast was a type of communion held, so they say, since some would die on the battlefield and some would live, and by means of this communion they manifested and strengthened the bond between those who were to die and the survivors. They say that the sacrificial animal must have naturally-formed horns or else the enemy would succeed in encircling the age-set in the forthcoming battle. The sacrificed bull was called arimor edicay. This name describes the total disappearance of the animal while symbolically expressing the unity of the group.

There are other occasions on which a favourite beast serves as a link between the living and the dead age-mates in a communion feast. When a man dies, if his favourite still lives it is killed and eaten by his age-mates on the deceased’s grave. This rite shows the transcendental union existing between age-mates expressed by means of the favourite beast. Also when the ‘father’ dies the favourite loses any social function that it had during his life except, of course, that of serving for the communion meal.

Most Longarim have a ‘best friend’ who is chosen from their own age-set, usually at adolescence. This friendship must be sanctioned by sacrifices and favourable auguries. In this context I may quote what Driberg writes of a similar institution among the Didinga: ‘...friendship by being institutionalized and publicly ratified acquires a social as well as an emotional value, incurring fresh responsibilities and obligations which are more comprehensive than the terms of a simple friendship between two individuals. ... Each must look after the interests of the other, even more rigorously than he would consider his own. ... They must warn each other of impending danger and sacrifice their lives in each other’s defence. ... There can be nothing kept secret from the best friend. Anything that one has can be demanded by the other and the demand cannot be refused on any pretext, since theoretically all their possessions are held in common. ... The two may be considered then as a

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20 arimor (Top.), edicay (Did.)= to finish, to complete.
a. FAVOURITE WHITE BULLS HAVE DECORATIVE BRANDING

b. SKULL OF A FAVOURITE BULL PLACED ON THE TOP OF HIS 'FATHER'S' ROOF

facing p. 264
a. THE HORNS ARE CRACKED AND TWISTED INTO THE DESIRED SHAPE

b. CASTRATION OF A NYAMENAT
PLATE XXXII

a. b. TWO DIFFERENT KINDS OF STONE IMPLEMENT USED TO CRACK THE HORSNS:
a is 26 cm. long and 6.26.5 cm.
c. IVORY ORNAMENT, NYANGOLOFOKUM:
Length 20 cm.
a. THE BEAST’S ‘FATHER’ AND HIS BEST FRIEND ARE ‘DRESSED’ IN OSTRICH FEATHERS DURING THE DANCE FOR THE FAVOURITE

b. SMALL-SIZED BELLS ARE GIVEN TO THE FAVOURITE BULLS AND OXEN BUT NOT TO COWS

c. FAVOURITE COW’S BELL: Length 19 cm.
THE LONGARIM FAVOURITE BEAST

legal, social, economic and military unit, and this type of institutional friendship is the strongest bond there. . . .21

A best friend has also special obligations towards his counterpart's favourite beast: he must provide some of the paraphernalia for the latter's animal, especially the bell and an ivory ornament, nyangoletom22 (Plates XXXII, c; XXXIII, b, c); he must assist his friend at the dance and castration ceremony for the latter's beast, and eventually kill it if it is an ox. The most important obligation, however, is the praising of his best friend.

Praising is an essential element of the Longarim dance, hunt and war. Anyone not praised is regarded as a 'nobody', and upset, he will leave the place of dancing. The praising has a great emotional effect. The praised man feels himself strong and courageous and ready to perform acts which will prove that he is worthy of praise. Usually, when highly praised, a Longarim at once goes hunting to kill something for his favourite beast. The best friends praise each other reciprocally by means of their favourite beasts towards whom they have mutual obligations. The psychological effect of this is of great importance during a battle when the two friends fight close together giving mutual stimulation.

Often when praising the best friend his eldest brother will also be praised, especially if the best friend supplied the favourite beast. The eldest of full brothers is in charge of the family herd, and if only the younger brother was praised he might feel neglected and demand the return of the animal. Since it is the favourite beast's name which is used in praising, one is not always clear whether the beast or the man is referred to. This also applies to 'bull'-songs and hymns. Because man and beast are so closely identified, the problem of reference is of no major importance in this context, but the emotional effect is heightened by association with the favourite beast.

The 'father' of a beast is usually called by the latter's name, his own name being forgotten as he grows older. Under certain circumstances, such as during age-set ceremonies, it would be an offence to use his birth-name instead of his beast's name.

The 'bull'-song must be composed by the beast's 'father' and is usually sung in chorus. It usually consists of a short description of the beast, and often includes some remarks about the cow that gave it birth; further, the services rendered to the beast are related in song: what was killed on hunting parties for it, who shaped its horns (the singer indicates by raising his arms the form of the horns); who castrated it; who gave it the bell; what the best friend has done for it, etc. Sometimes also some verses relating to a girl

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22 The bell and the ivory ornament nyangoletom are worn by the beasts only during the dry season and are stored in the houses during the rains, because the ropes by which they are attached would break easily when wet and so the ornaments might be lost in the bush.

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with whom the owner is, or has been, in love are included. It is very important for a Longarim to compose an impressive ‘bull’-song, because this is the surest way to make himself known and to attract the attention of girls. One informant told me: ‘I am famous for my tomot (bull, ox or ‘bull’-song), girls are singing it when grinding millet at home. They love my bull and would like to be married to me’.

The hymn of praise to the beast (wudi) can only be sung by the beast’s ‘father’ and only on special occasions when he feels a strong emotion. For instance, if he hears his bull bellowing at night he will answer it by a wudi; or it may be sung in the early morning when the ‘father’ goes to see his beast at the river.

The ambiguity of the ‘bull’-name is significant and intrinsic to ‘bull’-songs and hymns of praise. It is even more marked since one animal may have several names referring to the colour of the skin on different parts of its body, or to the shape of its horns. To add to the difficulties, the ‘father’ can be called by the names of all the favoured beasts he has had during his life-time. If many ‘bull’-names occur in a ‘bull’-song only one or two persons may be meant by them, and thus these songs are intelligible only to those who know the facts and circumstances.

The stimulating aspect of the ‘bull’-name is also illustrated by the fact that the age-set members, when running and leaping in a dance or formerly during a fight, refer in their battle-cry to their beasts together with the names of their father, mother, best-friend, wife and child, or some of them (nyakan).

As mentioned above, Longarim favourite beasts also play an important role in relation to the institution of the hunt and war. I now propose to discuss briefly some of the duties and supernatural sanctions related to these institutions.

The hunt (nyakerep) can be either individual or collective, and the aim is to kill dangerous animals for the favourite beast. Often the ‘father’ of the beast declares that he will not castrate it or shape its horns or dance for it until he has himself killed a leopard, a lion, etc., and in former times, enemies. The beast’s ears are notched when something is killed for it. ‘On nyakerep I am killing animals for my favourite beast. I kill everything which is in my way, but should I meet friends, then I take some earth and throw it on them and I say: auto urigit (stay, your life shall be)’. This throwing of the earth indicates symbolically that they should be killed and so come ‘under the earth’, but being friends or relatives they nevertheless remain alive.

Individual nyakerep can result from the strong emotions arising from the sudden death of the favourite animal, especially when it was an ikari.23 ‘I

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23 Some ten years ago the administration introduced the killing of favourite beasts as a punishment. After a tribal clash the herd of the Longarim fugitive war leader, Arikori, was sequestered and his favourite ox was executed in public in Nagishot. The Longarim were certain that Arikori would be in the vicinity at the time of the bull’s execution and would kill everyone he met. It seems therefore that such a measure is risky and could cause prolonged bloodshed.
would like to die when my bull dies. Therefore I go to fight, or to hunt in the forest. When the ‘father’ hears his animal bellowing during the night, he leads it around the settlement singing the hymn of praise for it. Nothing should cross its path, and even cattle and goats doing so are killed; the beast is angry and the ‘father’s’ heart becomes angry (mozit) too.

The importance of nyakererep, of killing something for the favourite beast, is well illustrated by the following ‘bull’-song: ‘Every day I must hunt for my bull, Lobakori. The ‘father’ of Lobakori kills something every day. It (the bull) was born of a hornless cow (see Appendix A). It will remain (Lobakori is an ikari which will not be killed). Its bell was given by Lounaryo Edvaringole (the singer’s best friend). Every day I hunt and kill many things for Lobakori. Its mother gave birth to calves all of which are hornless. My father Cipangole was a good hunter, his speech (when instructing the age-set) was very long. I lead it (the bull Lobakori) to (the grazing place) Munaoikori. I cut its ears after the first hunt. Nareboleteli (another name for the singer’s best friend) killed many things for it. I visited daily in Kanyangakapel the bull of Lormaloka. (The singer’s bull and that of his best friend were grazing together in Kanyangakapel and the singer was looking after his friend’s bull during his absence.)’ This killing has a special transcendental aim. It is the acquisition of the victim’s supernatural powers, of his spirit meningit, which becomes a guardian spirit to the favourite beast, and protects it, especially against the evil eye and witchcraft, thus reducing one of the permanent fears of the Longarim that favourite beasts may be bewitched.24

In former times when a man died his best friend tried to kill an enemy or a wild animal so that the victim’s spirit would accompany the deceased into the afterworld. Formerly, another reason for killing enemies was to increase the probability of the killer’s wife bearing children. Therefore, one had to avoid killing a person who did not conform to Longarim values. The victim, whether a man, woman or child, should not be ugly, timid or stupid, otherwise the warrior’s wife might give birth to a child with these undesirable characteristics. When a man killed an enemy, cuts were made on his upper right or left arm and shoulder. The right side was used to denote a male victim and the left for a female. Some favourite beasts, particularly white or reddish ones, wear a nyangoletom, an ivory ornament, between their horns (Plate XXXII, c). Those belonging to a man who has killed an enemy have their nyangoletom notched in the same way as his arm and shoulder. This, like the custom described below, is an indication of the close identification of a man and his favourite beast.

If a man goes to war and his favourite beast, which remains at home, becomes ill or shows other signs of weakness, this is thought to indicate that

24 Because of this the favourite beasts must never remain for long in one grazing place. Thus an older favourite beast has usually grazed on all the pastures which are accessible to the Longarim.
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the 'father' of the beast has killed an enemy and that the blood of the latter is harming it. When a man killed an enemy, to avoid evil consequences, he must sacrifice a goat and anoint his body with the contents of its intestines. Immediately upon his return he must do the same for his favourite beast.

The Longarim also laid special stress on killing the favourite beasts of their enemies in time of war, as well as their girls and women. This was done to increase the fear in which they, the Longarim, were held and to upset their enemies.

The following three texts will show the importance of the Longarim attitude towards favourite beasts in the context of the age-sets and hunting.

I. 'My dear brothers (age-set mates), my father gave me this (calf) Nyerizamute\textsuperscript{25} and he ordered me to perform the duties (nyaboli) for it. He said: "I will not give you another bull if you eat this one with your friends before it is big enough. You must love it, but still call my name (include it in the battle-cry) so that my heart may be open if I see you in the place of dancing". My brothers, you should take care of this animal, we must go hunting for it, and I ask you to be ready in twenty days. We must go hunting as my father told me. He told me that I must love this beast, therefore we all must love it. My father told me: "Take care of it and let me see the result. Let me see it and then I will give you another beast, but if you and your friends eat this one without performing the duties for it, I will not give you another". Therefore, friends, let us take care of it. Let us kill many things and hold a big dance for it. Until it grows old it belongs to our name (i.e. the beast belongs to the age-set of its 'fathers'). Tomorrow\textsuperscript{26} we should go hunting for it, tomorrow we should dance for it, but only our age-set should do so. Therefore, I say today: "This beast is for nyaboli". Now my brothers said: "Because you say so we must go hunting (nyakerep), our hearts are open". Then we went to the Tutubekti (Kidopo river). There we spent two days. After three days we went. We were hunting at the Tutubekti. We surrounded the bush. We found a leopard at the river. We killed it. We also killed monkeys and other animals. We encircled a herd of buffalo at Muneccerege. We speared four buffaloes, then we said: "It is finished". We returned. We carried the meat and the skins of the animals. We came to our village. We remained at home, and then saying that our dance would be held soon, we again went hunting. We killed one rhinoceros, we also speared two elephants, but they ran away with our spears. Then we returned and remained in our bul

\textsuperscript{25} Individual name of a beast.
\textsuperscript{26} Tomorrow means an indefinite future; yesterday refers to an indefinite past.
(term for age-set and its meeting place). We danced. Then my ox remained and grazed. When it fell sick, we killed it. "Maybe it will die, let us kill it". If it had not become sick, it would be still (alive). We will still dance for it, even if it is dead. This is the story of my nyamenat'.

II. 'I told my father: "My father, this beast Lopiryaloka should not be given away. I love it more than anything else but I will continue to call your name". Then I spoke to my age-set: "Brothers, my beast, Lopiryaloka, will not be eaten, I love it. We shall go hunting for it, then we will castrate it and dance for it." Now Lopiryaloka is very old, and when it becomes so old that it cannot move, I will ask my age-set to come with some bulls (which will be speared together with Lopiryaloka) and to make a lot of beer for the dance. Then I will cease to dance for my bull'.

III. 'I asked my father (to give me) the beast Lokeleris. He gave it to me. I went hunting. I killed a lion. We (the age-set) went hunting. I killed a buffalo; my friend killed another one. Then we danced and shaped my beast's horns. Then I said: "It is finished. When it died, it died". I said: "I did everything for the ox my father gave to me". I say: "It is finished, I don't need to do anything for it". This is the end of my beast; this is the story'.

The role of the favourite beast is of primordial importance in marriage as well as in other relations between the sexes. This stems from the fact that a man has the same personal and emotional attitudes towards the two, women and favourite beasts. The following examples will illustrate this point.

1. The favourite beast of the groom should be given to his father- or brother-in-law, if the latter insists upon this being done. But the agreement of the groom’s age-set must be obtained before the transfer and they may refuse. This transfer can be accounted for as an emotional compensation, ‘because the father loves his daughter and gives her away, the groom, who loves his bride, must be prepared to give up his favourite ox for her’.

2. If a woman commits adultery her lover caresses her spouse’s favourite beast. Such an act under more normal conditions would be greatly appreciated by its owner, since ‘if someone loves my beast, he loves me also’ and often elicits a gift of a goat from the owner. But for the lover to caress the beast of the deceived husband only intensifies the humiliation. A deceived husband often tries to steal or to kill the favourite beast of his wife’s paramour, because they say that it is the beautiful tomot, used to mean ox, bull or ‘bull’-song, of the latter
which made his wife turn unfaithful. During a meeting of the age-
sets in Kimotong, a sick man was heard to complain publicly that
‘everyone is running after my wife, all caress my brown bull’.

3. When dancing or fighting a man calls out the name of his favourite
beast and often the name of his wife also.

The Longarim have a similar aversion to a bachelor as they have to a man
without a favourite beast. It is a reaction against an incomplete man and one
without strong emotions. Without these a man cannot carry out successfully
the obligations dictated by Longarim culture.

An introvert, shy man, is, of course, the antithesis of the Longarim concept
of the ideal type. Lacking the initiative to perform satisfactorily the duties
owed to a favourite beast, he will feel hostility and/or opposition to his culture.
His mates will ignore him inasmuch as he does not follow the dictates of his
own culture.

When all other obligations towards the favourite beast have been completed,
the last part of nyaboli, the fulfilment ceremony for the beast, should take place
and, if it is not an ikari or an iwani, it will be castrated and the horns will be
formed into the desired shape. This dance is a rite de passage by which the
union between a man and his favourite beast is accomplished. By its perform-
ance the ‘father’ becomes a ‘full man’, since he has satisfied the society’s
expectations: first, by choosing a favourite beast; secondly, by fulfilling the
duties ascribed to a male, a warrior, a member of an age-set, and the future
head of a family.

In Kimotong my wife and I witnessed this ceremony and the following
description will show the role of different but interrelated institutions, such as
the moieties, the age-sets, the best friend, etc. The preparations lasted several
weeks, thus showing the importance the Longarim attach to its performance.
Nearly everyone was busy obtaining the necessary ornaments to wear on his
body, and generally beautifying himself and his weapons in order to look
impressive at the dance. The bull’s ‘father’ and his best friend were going
round asking for ostrich feathers, because on this occasion both must be
‘dressed’ in these; that is to say they are used to cover their heads and faces
(Plate XXXIII, a).

I estimate, by counting the members of age-sets and adding the same
number of women, that nearly 1,500 persons took part in this ceremony which
lasted three days.

On the first day only the age-set Ngoroko, the bull’s ‘fathers’, were
dancing, but not on the usual dance-ground. Meanwhile the other age-sets
assembled in the usual dancing place. A rope was fastened between two trees
so that every newcomer to the area had to pass under it. In the middle of
this rope was attached a piece of the skin of a goat which had been sacrificed
the day before by the best friend of the beast’s ‘father’. The dancing place

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was sprinkled with the contents of the goat’s intestines in order to ‘clean’ the place, to prevent anyone becoming ill there, quarrelling or being wounded, or the favourite beast being bewitched. This should also make everything ‘cool’, especially high tempers. The sacrificed goat must be white ‘to make the hearts white’, i.e. to make the people happy. The ‘father’ of the beast and his best friend also put medicine, a branch of the *bobowoc*-tree, on the dancing place. This plant is used because it is bitter and people fear it on account of its taste and by analogy, therefore, they should also ‘fear’ disturbing the ceremony.

Shortly before sunset the favourite beast was driven into the village of his ‘father’ Lokidori. Lokidori’s mother, his father’s other wives, and his sisters were praising their favourite cows, ‘because they were so happy that their kinsman had so many friends who came to his settlement’. The members of the lion-moiety (the beast’s ‘father’s’ group) were all festively decorated. Only Lokidori and his best friend did not wear special ornaments and looked rather upset and anxious. They seemed to be worrying about the outcome of the castration, whether it would be well done or not.

One of Lokidori’s age-mates castrated the animal using a spear (*plate xxxi*, b). Old men boiled and ate the testicles. These must be cooked, otherwise the wound would not heal. Some hairs from the beast’s penis, tail and ears were also put in the pot. By this the entire body of the animal is influenced. Small boys are also allowed to eat the testicles since ‘they are (impotent) like old men’ and give the guarantee that after having eaten they will not have sexual intercourse. If this rule were broken, the beast would not prosper, because the persons who ate the testicles are for some time identified with the ox and should, therefore, act in a manner conformable to its behaviour.

After the castration a bull was speared and from its intestines the futures of the favourite ox, its ‘father’, the man who speared it, and of the whole tribe were predicted. The eating of this bull in common by the age-sets was the last activity of the first day of this ceremony.

Usually the horns are cracked (*plate xxxi*, a) at the time of castration with a stone implement called *nyaremets* (*plate xxxii*, a, b), which is believed to have fallen from the sky. They are then put into the desired position.

The second day was devoted to the big dance *nyamumoro*: Lokidori’s relatives and the wives of members of the age-sets Ngoko and Nyetamo had prepared millet beer and a bull was killed in the morning. The monkey-moiety was sitting in the place of dancing, while the age-sets of the lion-moiety arrived running one after the other into the centre of the place. When all the age-sets had gathered, two men delivered speeches. These orations were not related to Lokidori’s ox, but gave general instructions and expressed their hopes. ‘I take away the tears of the Larim (=Longarim), I take the tears away from this country, the tears of sorrow; we give sickness to the Tolorok’; 27 I take

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27 Longarim names for neighbouring tribes.
away the tears from the Larim; we give them to the Logir; we give the tears of this country to the Oroketa. I wash away the tears from this country’, etc. The dancing which followed lasted until sunset. Each male and female age-set was dancing separately. When the sun was setting and the dances stopped, Lokidori sung his ‘bull’-song. He and his best friend were ‘dressed’ during the whole day in ostrich feathers (Plate XXXIII, a). The next day, when Lokidori and his friend removed the ostrich feathers, they had to kill ‘the bull of removing the feathers’.

This very brief description shows clearly that the favoured beast was the central focus of the entire ceremony. As indeed is the case with many of the large-scale social gatherings of the Longarim. This type of gathering strengthens the ties between members of the various age-sets and moieties by increasing their corporate features.

While this is far from a complete analysis of the significance of the favoured beasts in Longarim social structure and culture, yet enough data has been given to show their importance in a few of the key institutions. An attempt to describe the total role of these beasts would require a full-length monograph since their influence is felt in nearly every sphere of social activity.

Appendix A

There are several standard ways of shaping the horns, each one with its own aesthetic evaluation and symbolic meaning.

okodo: both horns are broken and turned towards each other with converging points.

nakamer: like okodo but with the points meeting.

otodo: both horns broken and turned towards each other but with diverging points.

ngelec: asymmetrically-shaped horns, i.e. one horn is broken and turned down, the other unbroken one is left up. If the beast’s ‘father’ belongs to the lion-moiyety which is symbolically connected with the right hand, then the right horn must be up and the left down, and the contrary applies to the monkey-moity which is orientated to the left.

nyelu: both horns are broken and turned down.

iwani: undeformed horns; e.g. an elephant can also be called iwani because of its ‘undeformed tusks’.

muguro (ngolim): cattle born without horns; this is the most appreciated and valued kind of favourite animal. It is usually specified in ‘bull’-songs if a hornless bull was born of a hornless cow.
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APPENDIX B

A woman’s favourite cow is a mimicry of the male conception of the favourite beast; also the women’s age-sets are a copy of the men’s age-sets and both are of little importance in social life.

After marriage the husband gives his wife a cow which becomes her favourite. Only she is allowed to milk this animal, and her husband cannot use it for bride-wealth payment when he wants to take another spouse. This favourite cow is given a bell (plate xxxiii, c), and a cow-song is composed by its ‘mother’. It is always considered as an ikari, i.e. its horns are not to be shaped, and because it is ikari it is killed like a goat when it grows very old. The women of the cow’s ‘mother’s’ age-set cut its chest, and only women can eat its meat. The men are entertained with beer followed by a dance. Then the wife must be given another favourite cow. One woman can thus only have one favourite cow at a time.

APPENDIX C

I. HYMN OF PRAISE\(^{28}\)

1. iwani
   beast with unshaped horns
nyamong Longyangabi
bull beast’s name
aramuni nyakop ka
take place of
ngimoiy
enemy

2. iwani
   beast with unshaped horns
nyaboli ka Lokale
paraphernalia of name
ka Ngiriliba
of beast’s name

3. eyay nyeperet neni tarau
   I slept here robbed
nyamong nyaka najore
bull for fight
lomojong
old

1. I took my beast Lonyangabi whose horns will never be shaped, to the place of enemies. (The favourite beast was led to a pasture which is within the boundaries of a neighbouring tribe. Pastures should be changed as often as possible to avoid evoking envy and thus causing the animal to fall sick either by being bewitched or looked upon by the evil eye.)

2. The paraphernalia of my beast with unshaped horns (was given) by Lokale whose (favourite beast) is Ngiroliba.

3. I slept here (in the enemy’s territory) and stole the ‘bull’ (Longyangabo), which will make me strong and a good fighter until old age comes.

\(^{28}\) In this hymn or song different names are used to refer to one animal: if several personal names or ‘bull’-names occur in one song, they usually refer to one individual only, most often the best friend.
4. nyakadong ka Tulabu
   bell of name
   kapa Lokonyen
   father beast's name

5. atwari ka muto
   I took care on place
   nyamorou ka nyedow
   rock of mist

6. nyaboli ka
   paraphernalia of
   Lokoray kapa
   name father
   Nakimangole
   bull's name

7. iwani
   beast with unshaped horns
   nyamong Lonyangabi
   bull beast's name
   tomjong
   old

8. atwara nakop ka
   I took care place of
   ngimoy ebolari nyakadong
   enemies sound bell
   ka Lowiy locin ka
   name sister's son of
   Lodengemoi
   name

9. iwani
   beast with unshaped horns
   nyamong Lonyangabi emena
   bull name love
   apohon Lonyangabi nyakun
   father name your
   kero ngolo omojong
   name this old

10. etumo ngede
    ecstatic children
    nataparac iloy iloy
    morning waving
    nyarok
    rump

4. (My beast's) bell (was given by)
   Tulabu, who is the 'father' of
   (the beast) Lokonyen (=big-eyed).

5. I took care (=I grazed my beast)
   in the place of the Misty Rocks
   (place name).

6. The paraphernalia (for my favourite
   beast were given by) Lokoray,
   the 'father' of (the beast) Naki-
   mangole.

7. (My beast, whose) horns will not
   be shaped, Lonyangabi (will not be
   eaten until it becomes) very old.

8. I grazed (my beast) in the place of
   enemies (and when it grazed, its),
   bell sounded (which was given by)
   Lowiy, the son of Lodengemoi's
   sister.

9. (Oh !) my beast Lonyangabi with
   unshaped horns! The 'father'
   of the (beast) Lonyangabi loves
   (you and calls you with) this your
   old name.

10. (In the) morning the children
    (look) ecstatically (on the beast's)
    wobbling rump (because the beast
    is so big and fat, and they forget
    everything else).
II. ‘BULL’-SONG (tomot)\textsuperscript{29}

A.

1. \textit{maya kacini na Lonyangalim}
   if see I beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   1. If I see (my beast) Lonyangalim, my heart is open.

2. \textit{maya kacini na Loyaylem}
   if see I beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   2. If I see (my beast) Loyaylem, my heart is open.

3. \textit{maya kacini na Nameripos}
   if see I beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   3. If I see (my beast) Nameripos, my heart is open.

4. \textit{maya kacini na Lokiron}
   if see I beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   4. If I see (my beast) Lokiron, my heart is open.

5. \textit{maya kacini nika Natilado}
   if see I beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   5. If I see (the beast) Natilado, my heart is open.

6. \textit{maya kacini gotoni}
   if see brother
   \textit{nakamer}
   beast with asymmetrically
   broken horns
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   6. If I see the brother (of my beast) with the asymmetrically shaped horns, my heart is open.

7. \textit{maya kacini gotoni Lonyailim}
   if see brother beast’s name
   \textit{ay zinin vatak}
   my heart open
   
   7. If I see the brother of (my beast) Lonyailim, my heart is open.

8. \textit{gerza kazi nana niko}
   bad hear I something
   \textit{ay zinin mitidihinik}
   my heart angry
   
8. If I hear something bad, my heart becomes angry.

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\textsuperscript{29} See no. 28 above.
9. *del kizeha na cikidik*
   if hear I small thing
   (whispering)
   *ay zinin mitidihinik*
   my heart angry

10. *maya kizeha nana Lomaylim*
   if hear I beast’s name
   *ay zinin bwa*
   my heart laugh

11. *maya kacini nika Nakamer*
   if see I beast’s name
   *ay zinin vatak*
   my heart open

12. *otodo maya kacini*
    diverging horns if see
    *Lonyailim*
    beast’s name
    *ay zinin vatak*
    my heart open

B.

1. *epote ngatuk nyekuruyle*
   come cattle to water
   *iwani*
   beast with unshaped horns
   *arenga alona*
   still far away

2. *Lopiracuma nyamojong...*
   bull’s name old
   (the refrain *iwani arenga alona*
   is indicated by dots)

3. *epote ngatuk nye kuruye...*
   come cattle to water

4. *epote ngatuk nyakiloma...*
   come cattle enter

1. The cattle are approaching the waterhole, but (my) beast with unshaped horns is still far away. (In the morning the men are awaiting their favourite beasts at the watering place; when the cattle are approaching, they take their shields and spears and come to meet them. The singer of this song wants to kill something for his beast at the waterhole.)

2. Lopiracuma (the favourite bull) is already old...

3. The cattle are approaching the waterhole...

4. The cattle come and enter (into the water)....
THE LONGARIM FAVOURITE BEAST

5. oka nyaketeng kapa
   oh cow father
   Ngolebey . . .
   beast’s name

6. ngura dang dang lolobit
   every day day demand
   kwara . . .
   spear

7. alepa apekeng Loyci . . .
   ask father beast’s name

8. oka nyaketeng kapa
   oh cow father
   Lingabey . . .
   beast’s name

9. omojong nyeka Nahapel
   old cow name

5. Oh cow of the ‘father’ of Ngolebey (my best friend). (The cow which is owned by the singer’s best friend gave birth to his favourite bull Lopiracuma) . . .

6. (My beast) demands every day the spear (to kill something for it) . . .

7. I asked the ‘father’ of (the beast) Loyci (best friend) (to give a bell to my favourite beast) . . .

8. Oh, cow of the ‘father’ of Lingabey . . .

9. (My favourite beast, who was born of the) cow Nahapel, is old.
Notes

ZU DEN IN KUSH VII, pp. 93 ff., VERÖFFENTLICHTEN MEROITISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN

Aus dem Nachlass Monneret de Villards sind in KUSH VII dankenswerterweise einige meroitische Inschriften veröffentlicht,1 zu denen ich hier einige Bemerkungen machen möchte.

1. Der Schrifttyp ist 'archaisch' und die Schrift läuft nach rechts um die Opfertafel, die damit vor ca. 80 v. Chr. zu datieren ist2. Die Lesung kann an einigen Stellen verbessert werden: Zeile 4 mtıt (statt meıt); Zeile 6 ist wohl elht e (statt elhn) zu lesen; Zeile 8 ahmléwi: hélkte (statt . . . wi: tel . . .). — In atmlél ahmléwi hélkte liegt eine Zusammenziehung der Benediktionssformeln B und C (genauer C'2)3 vor, die mir sonst nicht bekannt ist; sie ist vielleicht durch Platzmangel verursacht.

2. Die Hieroglyphen vor Ašereyi (semkrechte Zeile über der Darstellung) sind wohl eher s3-R2 als k zu lesen. — Zeile 2 tremel (statt premeš); Zeile 3 ege (statt eše). — Die Benediktionssformeln weichen hier stark von den sonst bekannten Typen ab.

3. Die Opfertafel MFA 32.872 ist besser in RCK, iv, p. 189, pl. lx, c, veröffentlicht und von mir in den Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie bearbeitet.4


3 Vgl. Hintze, Studien, p. 35.
4 Hintze, Studien, p. 59.
7 So Garstang und Porter-Moss.
NOTES

Zeile 2 ist der letzte Buchstabe aber sicher r (nicht d, wie Monneret de Villard lesen wollte), und qērist wohl sicher das bekannte Wort für 'König'. Demnach könnte das unmittelbar vorhergehende ble das Ende eines Königsnamens sein, für den dann nur Amnīḥble, Amanikhabale, in Frage kommt, Eine Ergänzung wie

smlē : kdidadeq[ē : Amnīḥ]
ble : qēr[e

würde genau die Lücke in Zeile 1 füllen. – Damit hätten wir ein fünftes Denkmal mit dem Namen des Königs Amanikhabale8 und einen Anhalt für die Datierung der vorliegenden Stele.9 Allerdings scheinen sich die Anfangsworte der Stele wohl auf eine Frau zu beziehen: für smlē hat Griffith die Bedeutung 'Ehefrau' erschlossen,10 und in dem Namen (?) Kdidade (qē) ist kdi das bekannte Wort für 'Frau'; alle mit kdi gebildeten Namen sind weiblich. Der Text könnte aber etwa folgendermassen aufzufassen sein: 'Für seine) Ehefrau Kadide (qē) hat König Amanikhabale (dieses Denkmal gestiftet o.ä.)'. Dass ich in meinen Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie einen anderen Namen für die Frau des Amanikhabale vermutet habe,11 braucht dem nicht zu widersprechen, da Kadide auch die erste Frau des Amanikhabale gewesen sein kann.

6. Die Abweichungen des neu vorgelegten Textes der grossen Stele des Akinidad gegenüber Griffith lassen sich nach der kleinen Fotografie nicht überprüfen. In Zeile 4 ist in der Umschrift arslī nach kdisl ausgelassen; in Zeile 7 lies škte (statt skte) und in Zeile 12 prite (statt prit); Zeile 15 Ende hat die Abschrift mleslke, die Umschrift mlewlske, wahrscheinlich ist mlewlske; am Anfang von Zeile 18 ist ĕsbe unmöglich, Griffith hat nur sbe.


Die Darstellung im Gießelfeld der Stele ist spiegelbildlich identisch mit der grossen Stele des Akinidad (BM 1650),13 wie es auch der ursprünglichen Aufstellung der beiden Stelen rechts und links vor dem Eingang zum kleinen

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8 Die anderen vier Denkmäler sind: Opertafel (Meroe), Opferschale (Naqa), Löwe (Basas), Bronzekonus (Kawa); vgl. Hintze, Studien, p. 45.
10 Griffith, Karanòg, 1911, pp. 60, 68.
11 Hintze, Studien, pp. 44, 46.
13 Griffith, JEA, 4, 1917, pl. xxxi; Kush VII, Plate xxvi.
NOTES


Der erhaltene Text lautet etwa:

1. er : tmeysıw : Akinid[d] : pqr [ : qër] [ssl ... ] y. : [ ] e. [ ]
2. widte : enëte : tmoey : [ ] te : etrebëte : arke[i] [ ]
3. edmëleb : p[b]hte : [ ] i : [ ] e : qëtie : tmoey : abr
5. tte : swëte : enët : tmoey : s[i] [ ] ri[i] [ ] sli : wtye : tmoey : s, kk : pë
6. pl : yëtë : ahrëb : npë : ip[i] [ ] d : erki : ede ... edelw : i
7. rëh : erb.peb : peën[i] [ ] sli[i] [ ] el[i] : adh.ehviëtes :
8. swimëlt : pepe : [ ] i : s[i] [ ] i[i] [ ] këlm : adh : mrë
9. sëqë : pawëdë : [ ] që[i] [ ] e[ ] tte : pd
10. metelnq. : [ ] d ... [ ] s : [ ] dël : ... 
11. leb : y.te [ ] lm [ ] nke : [ ]
12. rbh.s : a[ ] i[i] [ ] i : abes ... [ ]
13. k[ ... ] : yë [ ] tyë.leb : e ... [ ]
14. debë : abe : [ ] snl[i] [ ] ekb.es : pesë : p
15. tře : ep. htrı : mhır : [ ] që.e[e] [ ] ... nšë : ayëb : ... ...
16. rli : tembh ... e[e] [ ] tēs : s[i] [ ] që : el ... irh.
17. ... : pehrë : abes[i] [ ] mrë[i] : [ ] Amnp [ ] ... sl
18. [ ] ishw : ar[i] [te] [ı] : qëri[i] [ ] ... [ ] sl ... rp ...
19. [ ] ... e[i] [ ] nkw : hřpë : te[ ] hıw [ ] : p
20. [ ] wi : e ... [ ] b[i] [ ] sb : [ ] ked.
21. [ ] slıw : [ ] e[i]
22. [ ] nir[i] [ ] [ ]
23. [ ] [ ]
24. [ ] : irh [ ]
25. ... bhıte : [ ] ... [ ]
26. [ ]
27. mrë [ ]
28. shti [ ]
29. pql [ ]
30. [ ]
31. [ ]
32. de[r] [ ]
33–35. [ ]

14 LAAA, vii, pls. vii, viii.
15 Ein Punkt unter einem Buchstaben bedeutet unsichere Lesung. Auf die Angabe der Grössen der Lücken habe ich verzichtet, dazu ist die Abb. 1 zu vergleichen. Der Text ist im Kommentar zur Stele des Tanyidamani (Kush viii, 125 ff.) als Akin II zitiert.
Über den Inhalt des leider sehr lückenhaft erhaltenen Textes lässt sich nichts sagen. Einige Wörter und Wendungen lassen sich auch sonst belegen:

1. *er* Tany. 60. – *tmey(*) noch in Zeile 2, 3, 4, 5 und Inscr. 94; vgl. den Personennamen *Tmeyye* Sh. 4.16 – *Akinidd pqr qērisl* auch Akin. I 2, vgl. hier Zeile 29.


15. *ep.hṭū* vgl. (?) *epēwō* Tany. 28. –


Fritz Hintze.

Summary

Professor Hintze makes some additional comments on the stelae published by the late Monneret de Villard in KUSH VII.

In 1958 he made a new latex squeeze of the second Hamadab Stela in the light of which he gives a new reading.

DREI MERUITISCHE GRAFFITI AUS UNTERNUBIEN

Es ist auffällig, dass im ägyptischen Nubien verhältnismässig wenig meroithische Graffiti gefunden wurden, obwohl grössere meriatische Siedlungen und Friedhöfe bei Qustul, Karanog, Shablul, Es Sebua und in den Bezirken Wadi el Arab und Mediq nachgewiesen sind. Nur folgende Graffiti bzw. Felsinschriften waren bisher bekannt: 1. Inscr. 88, Felsenstele südlich Naga\c{c} el Oqēiba, Bezirk Mediq ; 2. Inscr. 91, drei Graffiti am Jebel Abu Dirwa (Station III), sw. von Dakka ; 3. Inscr. 92 am Pylon des Tempels von Dakka ; 4. Inscr. 93 am Pylondurchgang des Tempels von Dakka ; 5. Inscr. 94 vom Tempel von Kalabsha (grosse Inschrift von 34 Zeilen); ferner die zahlreichen Pilgerinschriften von Philae.

MEROITISCHE GRAFFITI VON NAGA EL OQFIBA

facing p. 282
Auf einer Fahrt durch Nubien im Frühjahr 1959 habe ich vor allem Felsinschriften gesammelt, aber auch bei sorgfältiger Suche konnten wir nur drei neue meroitische Graffiti ausfindig machen.\(^2\)

1. Dom el Dakkar im Bezirk Wadi el Arab: Dicht südlich des Dorfes finden sich an einer Felsengruppe am Nordufer nahe der Mündung des Wadi Dom el Dakkar neben z.T. sehr alten Felszeichnungen und einem ägyptischen Graffito (intf) zwei Zeilen in früher meroitischer Kursive [46]: (1) tmeiteli : (2) weske.\(^4\) Die Deutung ist ungewiss; ein Ortsname Tmēn kommt in Kar. 47, Far. 37 und Khartoum 5587 (Stele aus Dabarosa, eigene Abschrift) vor. Die Lesung lmeīn ist weniger wahrscheinlich.

\[\text{Fig. 1}\]

2. 3. Naga\(^5\) el Oqeiba im Bezirk Mediq: Unmittelbar nördlich des Dorfes befinden sich auf einer Landzunge etwa 100 m von der Mündung des Wadi entfernt zwei meroitische Inschriften, die paläographisch sehr bemerkenswert sind wegen der Mischung von kursiven und hieroglyphischen Formen und wegen der eigenwilligen Gestaltung mancher Zeichen (s. Abb. 1 und Tafel XXXIV).

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\(^1\) Die Reise habe ich gemeinsam mit Prof. K. H. Otto (Direktor des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Humboldt-Universität Berlin) und zwei Assistenten durchgeführt.

\(^2\) Die Kollation der von Griffith veröffentlichten meroitischen Inschriften vom Jebel Abu Dirwa bei Dakka (Station III; Inscr. 91 a, b, c) ergab nur ganz geringe Abweichungen: Zeile 2 wohl eher dehnē (statt dēhnē), Zeile 4 ist ḳ in nspinsiā sicher, in Zeile 5 ahuwēt oder ahuwit (statt ahuwēs). Die drei Inschriften sind voneinander völlig unabhängig, vgl. Hinte, 'Die sprachliche Stellung des Meroitischen' (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 26, 1955), 370 Anm. 42.

\(^3\) Die Zahlen in [ ] beziehen sich auf die Nummern der Inschriften in meinem Notizbuch 'Unternubien, Felsinschriften, März 1959'.

\(^4\) Die Inschrift ist auch auf Tafel vi, fig. 24, bei Dunbar, Rock Pictures of Lower Nubia (1941), zu erkennen.

Fritz Hintze.

Summary

In 1959, while travelling through Lower Nubia, Professor Hintze discovered three Meroitic graffiti which he has published here.

A LATE LATIN INSCRIPTION

The only Latin inscription known from the Sudan is the one from Musawwarat es Sofra seen and published by Lepsius1 and taken by him to Berlin. It is of considerable interest as the most southerly Latin inscription in Africa and has been used as evidence for Roman contacts with Meroe.

The publication by Lepsius and that given in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions2 suggest that the inscription itself is quite clear and that there is nothing in the form of the letters to cast doubt on its Roman origin. The Corpus says: ‘Ex Wadi e Sofra in museum Berolinense intuit Lepsius. Locus hic supra Meroen est longe extra fines Romanos’, and gives the text following Lepsius as:

Bona Fortuna
BONA FORTUNA DOMINAE
REGINAE, IN. MULTOS. AN
NOS. FELICITER. VENIT
E URBE. MENSE APR
DIE XV VIDI TACI
TUS

with a note to line 5: ‘litterae VID valde incertae’.

6 Weigall, A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (1907), pl. xlix, 2; Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions, ii (1912), p. 17 (Nr. 88).
1 LD, 6, 101, Lat. No. 56. 2 III, pars i, p. 16, No. 83.
A LATE LATIN INSCRIPTION
NOTES

In spite of this slight warning of problems of accurate reading, the Lepsius and C.I.L. versions have been accepted uncritically by such subsequent writers as have dealt with the later history of Meroe. Monneret de Villard, for example, in his Storia della Nubia Cristiana, reprints the C.I.L. version without comment, not even referring to the doubt about the reading of line 5 and by implication uses it as evidence of Roman contact with Meroe some time during the first to third centuries A.D.\(^3\)

It is surprising that the inscription has called for no further comment and that in spite of its unusual form, peculiar Latin, and un-Roman method of dating, no doubt has been cast on its authenticity or on the usually accepted date. It is quite clear that it cannot have been written by anyone to whom Latin was a mother tongue or even by one closely familiar with that language, and it has even been suggested in recent years by an eminent Latin epigraphist that it might be a joke perpetrated by a nineteenth- or twentieth-century traveller. Since Lepsius was at Musawwarat in 1844, long before more than a handful of other visitors had been there, such an explanation is highly unlikely. It is made an impossibility by the presence in situ in March 1822 of the inscribed block, when it was seen and copied by Caillaud. Caillaud gives a slightly different version. He could make nothing of the first line and reads:\(^4\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\cdots \cdots \cdots \cdots \cdots \\
\text{VICINA (POST*) MULTOS AN} \\
\text{NOS. FELICITER. VENIT} \\
\text{EX URBE MENSE ATHYR} \\
\text{DIE XV ANNI \cdots \cdots \cdots :} \\
\end{align*}
\]

* or PER

He describes the block as being: 'Sur le mur d'une rampe dans la partie postérieure du monument central à el-Meçaourat'.

Caillaud's reading still gives us a Latin inscription, though with several variants from the Lepsius version, and suggests that some care is needed in establishing a definitive text. Since the original block has gone astray in Berlin and several attempts to locate it have failed, we have only one version of an approximate facsimile (since neither Lepsius nor Caillaud make any attempt to provide one—though many must have assumed the Lepsius copy to be such).

This facsimile was made by Linant de Bellefonds, who visited the site in February 1822, shortly before Caillaud, and is contained in the Bankes papers, the property of Mr Ralph Bankes, which were for a time on loan to the Griffith Institute in Oxford.\(^5\) It is numbered XVII.B.8 and is reproduced as PLATE XXXV.

The various inscriptions shown in the plate are all from Musawwarat and the one in question is the second from the top. The others are in Old Nubian

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\(^3\) p. 17.  \(^4\) Voyage à Méroé, iii, p. 375.  \(^5\) For Linant see his diary published as SASOP, 4.
KUSH

and Meroitic and thus represent a considerable range of date, from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., if not later.

Linant’s version of our text gives a very different impression from the confident and apparently error-free version which is usually published. It may well be that Linant, not himself a trained epigrapher, missed readings that the experienced and scholarly Lepsius was able to make out, but even if this is so it is clear that many details, particularly in the first line, are extremely uncertain. Since there is no possibility, unless the original block is found, of making an independent check, it is not possible to say how accurate this version is, but we know from much evidence in his published diary and in his drawings that Linant was a careful and accurate copyist and it is likely that, even though he may have missed some readings, the general forms of the letters as shown by him are substantially correct.

If this assumption is right, it may be possible to get an approximate dating for the inscription. Whatever the real reading of some portions may be, enough is clear to show that we have a document part of which at least is certainly in Latin and of which the whole may be. It is also reasonably certain that neither the forms of the letters nor the use of the language permit us to claim a date as early as the third century A.D. nor to claim that it was inscribed by a Roman.

The whole document suggests that it was inscribed at a much later date and by someone with a scanty knowledge of Latin. The late Greek tombstones of Nubia with their errors of grammar provide a close parallel and show the decreasing knowledge of the Greek language.

This phenomenon of ill-written inscriptions in ungrammatical and scarcely understandable Latin is known from North Africa, where a considerable number are known of sixth-century date. A typical example of the class is one from Altava in Algeria published by Courtois.6 This inscription, clearer than ours is written in barbaric Latin and is dated to the year A.D. 508.

On this evidence, and by some similarity to forms of letters in Old Nubian, it can be suggested that this document was written by a Nubian (or at least by a non-Roman) not earlier than about A.D. 600, and since it is unlikely that Latin was current anywhere near to the Sudan after the sixth century, it cannot be much later. Until the original can be found and studied, the existing accepted text of Lepsius may be allowed to stand, subject to the warning that many of the readings are most uncertain.

P. L. SHINNIE.

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NOTES

INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE FORMS FOR ‘WE’ IN OLD NUBIAN

In Kush vi, pp. 172–4, I tried to determine the actual meaning of Old Nubian er (gen. en-, en-na) and ou (gen. ou-n-, ou-na) both meaning ‘we’. Seven passages containing eight occurrences have been examined in this respect and all the arguments obtained from logical analyses seemed to speak in favour of an inclusive meaning of er and an exclusive one of ou. This interpretation contradicts that previously given by Professor Zyhlzarz in his Grundzüge (§ 98: er exclusive, ou inclusive).

My statement has been called in question by Professor Zyhlzarz in Kush vii, pp. 229–30. However, seven occurrences out of the eight quoted in my article are not discussed in his paper and it might therefore be taken that my conclusions are correct. But I cannot follow Professor Zyhlzarz when he declares that my conclusions were ‘clearly drawn from analogy with the (harsh) pronominal discrimination made in the Somali language’. As a matter of fact I did mention Somali (among other African and Asian languages) as showing the same distinction between inclusive and exclusive ‘we’, but the meanings of both Old Nubian forms were obtained, not from analogy with Somali, but merely from the context of the Old Nubian passages.

Professor Zyhlzarz quotes two passages to back his own interpretation (1) that er is exclusive and ou inclusive and (2) that er was primarily a dual form ‘I and you’ or ‘both of us’.

The first of these passages is not found in full in Griffith’s Old Nubian Texts and is reproduced for the first time in Kush vii, p. 229, after Professor Zyhlzarz’ restoration. I shall not deal in this note with all the details involved and concentrate merely on the meaning of er and ou. However I wish to state that both restoration and translation may be regarded only as provisional.

The English translation as given by Professor Zyhlzarz runs as follows: ‘Since we jointly (er djimmil-gou-l) shall receive by Him a mediator of life and peace-admonition, thus may peace be in us too who all together shall get by the powerful cross mercy and grace’. According to Professor Zyhlzarz, the text distinguishes two ‘differently united groups’:

(1) the ‘Christian Nubians of their own days who believe in the Saviour’ (intimate community), and

(2) ‘all Christians of the last days, when the powerful cross will manifest its mysterious efficacies to the whole of mankind’ (universal community).

He adds: ‘proof is given for this view by the contrast between djimmil (Semitic djml ‘to unite, réunir’) and the formerly unknown Nubian inchoative verb tul-uî, O.N. tuî-nî- ‘to become universal’ or similar’ (p. 229).
In my opinion, it seems difficult to discuss a text containing so many unexplained words (awit, ankade-nu, tun-n- etc.) and then, I have some hesitation about admitting a Semitic origin for djimmil ‘entire’ and ‘all’ (F. Ll. Griffith, The Nubian Texts; Berlin 1913, p. 125); there are no Semitic loanwords at all in Old Nubian, except some Biblical expressions (allēlουia etc.) and there is no Semitic form like djimmil. Djimmil may be a participle (ending -il) of a Nubian verb *djimm-. On the other hand, I do not see how an unexplained tu-n-n (or tuun-) can be adduced as a formal proof to support Professor Zyhlarz’ view. This word is found in Griffith’s Text in the Stauros Liturgy (28, 10) and seems to have a different meaning there. Moreover, Professor Zyhlarz’ restoration and translation will have to be accepted with a certain reserve as his interpretations have several times been severely criticized by others (D. J. Wölfel, ‘Dilettantismus and Scharlatanerei’, in Mémorial André Basset, Paris, 1957, pp. 147-58) and by myself.

If there is any contrast between er and ou in the above text, it may be explained in a slightly different manner: ‘Since we all (er djimmil-gou-l) shall receive by Him a mediator of life (or similar) and peace-admonition, thus may peace be in us too (ou-io)—i.e. the elected people—who all together shall get by the powerful cross mercy and grace’. In the first sentence, the speaker says er ‘we’ as everybody will receive by God a mediator of life and peace-admonition, while the second ‘we’ (ou-io) means a less numerous community: the elected people.

The second passage is taken from the legend of Saint Menas. The boatman asks his boy whence came the egg he found in the boat. The boy answers: ‘My father, dost thou not remember this which a woman gave us that we might put ( . . . ) in the Church of Saint Menas?’ Griffith, Texts, pp. 12 and 13). Here ek-ka (*er-ka) ‘us’ is obviously inclusive, but the Professor alleges—from this sole passage—a primitive dual meaning ‘I and you’ or ‘both of us’ for er. This form may doubtless concern two people, but the former passage (er djimmil-gou-l) refers to a great many people and so do the cases mentioned in my paper. Moreover there is a strong typological argument against er as a primitive dual: as a rule, languages with dual pronouns have also dual verbal forms (Sanskrit, Old Greek, Old Egyptian, Arabic), as far as they have a pronominal conjugation. In some cases, dual pronouns may survive the corresponding verbal forms, but in these cases the primitive situation may be reconstructed by chronological and dialectological comparisons. If er was really a primitive dual form, we should expect other dualities among pronouns and verbal forms both in Old Nubian and in modern Nubian dialects. But, as far as I can see, there is not the slightest evidence in this respect. On the other hand, inclusive and exclusive forms are quite common in African languages (not only in Somali) and, for this reason, I should like to maintain the explanation given in KUSH VI: er—inclusive ‘we’, ou—exclusive ‘we’.

Werner Vycichl.
NOTES

BERBER WORDS IN NUBIAN

According to Eratosthenes (about 200 B.C.) the Nubians lived to the west of the Nile (i.e. not on both banks of the river), in Libya (cited by Strabo, Ch. 786). This means that the Nubians, as new-comers, had not yet given their name to that part of the Nile Valley.

In this connection, it may be remembered that a Libyan tribe, the Temehu lived in some oasis west of the Nile Valley in the days of Harkhuf, a nomarch of Elephantine (about 2600 B.C.), as he found the Ruler of Yam had gone to the land of the Temehu ‘to beat the Temehu to the western corner of the sky’, when he made his third expedition to the Sudan (Sethe, Urk., 1, pp. 125–6).

This record proves that there were some relations between the Libyans and the dwellers of the Nubian Nile Valley and some Berber loan words in Nubian speak in favour of this opinion. There are at least three sure equations, aman, water, bille, onion and kurum, back, and probably also jirgir, rat.

Aman, water

Aman, water is found in Old Nubian and modern Mahass. The Kenūz and Dongola dialects use the genuine word essi. In the Berber languages, aman is the current expression for water, except in Augila (Libya) where a local variant (imin) is used.

Aman is a plural (ending -n) and constructed as such. It is not found in Kordofan Nubian and this fact entitles us to consider it as a Nubian loan word. It was borrowed, most probably, as a technical term for irrigation purposes and served as an expression for the Nile.

Bille, onion

Kenūz bille, Mahass fille, onion, correspond to Tuareg efelēli (Ch. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire Touareg-Français, 1, p. 325). The prefix e is the old article, today considered as a part of the word.

In Nubian, the original form seems to have been *pille:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Nubian</th>
<th>Mahass</th>
<th>Kenūz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to write</td>
<td>pæi</td>
<td>fāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>pap</td>
<td>fāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>fī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onion</td>
<td>*pille</td>
<td>fille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reconstructed form pille does not quite correspond to Berber fēlēli (Tuareg), but there are other forms too: Siwa Oasis afellu, Ghadames afil; Sokna ifalil (E. Laoust, Siwa, Paris, 1932, p. 269). There is no form *(a) fēlli as one would suggest, but it might have existed in some dialect in or near the Nile Valley.
KUSH

Kurum, back

This word is found in many Berber dialects in the form akrum, back, so in Shilha, south-western Morocco (E. Destaing, Dictionnaire français-berbère, Paris, 1938, p. 98) and at Fassāto in Tripolitania (F. Beguinot, Il Berbero Nefusi di Fassāto, Roma, 1942, p. 231).

The word is also used in Tunisian Arabic where we have krūma, back (f).

Jigir, rat

I have connected this word with Tuareg ejiger, big dark brown rat (Ch. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire, I, p. 409) in the Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie, Vienna, 1938, Festgabe für Hermann Junker.

The stem of the Berber word is merely jiger and e is the old article as in efélēli. In Nubian there are several words for mouse or rat, e.g. buruki, kukuj, iskinti (L. Reinisch, Die Nuba-Sprache, II, Wien, 1879, p. 60) and jigir. Now G. von Massenbach has a form jigid and jikit mouse, rat (Mitt. Sem. f. Or. Sprachen, Berlin, 1933, III, p. 180) copied from Murray’s vocabulary. These forms may be derived from jigir, but, if they constitute the original forms, the Berber word must be separated from them.

Herodotus (about 450 B.C.) calls the rats of Libya zegérēs (i.e. zegeri and plural ending -es), that was ‘a Libyan word meaning hills’ (bounoi), IV, p. 191. In my above-mentioned article I have explained the confusion as due to a similar word connected with zegret, to be high (Tuareg hejret), of a tree, a wall or a mountain.

Herodotus, as a Greek, replaced the sound j by z or dz as many modern Greeks do (dzournal for journal, tsewing gum for chewing gum) and this peculiarity was the cause of the confusion between zegeri (or simil.) rat and jegeri (or simil.) hill, bounos.

This explanation can be regarded as certain.

Another question is the connection of Tuareg egiger with Nubian jigir rat or mouse. It is indicated here merely as a possibility since the variants jigid and jikit seem to contradict this etymology.

Werner Vycichl.
Reviews


Professor Hintze's *Researches on Meroitic Chronology and the Offering Tablets of the Pyramids of Meroe*, are a brilliant contribution to both Meroitic history and philology. In Part I, the author deals with the typology and chronology of funerary inscriptions, the composition of formulas (invocation, nomination, description, benediction) in the different periods of Meroitic history, the repetition of (B) and (C) words in accordance with his previous study in the Westerman Festschrift. Part II concerns King Nastesen, who reigned most probably from 335 to 315 B.C. and his enemy Kh-m-b-s-w-d-n—not Cambyses as erroneously assumed by Schäfer—but a prince Kh-b-b-sh. Part III is a table of Meroitic chronology. The order of the first nine kings is well-known. Professor Hintze discusses the order and chronology of the remaining twenty-four kings up to Ergamenes (Nr. 33) with new arguments. A comparative list gives the chronologies as established by Reisner, Dunham and Hintze. Part IV contains a classification of twenty-three offering tablets from a typological point of view. The appendix reproduces Greek and Latin texts concerning Meroitic history (Strabo, Pliny, Dio Cassius, Seneca, Ptolemy). Good paper, clear print, numerous reproductions of inscriptions and stelae.

Werner Vycichl.


Professor Jensen, the director of the Frobenius Institute, gathered together a team of ethnologists to carry out between 1950 and 1956 ethnological field work in southern Ethiopia, where he himself had already been working before the Second World War. This fresh material gives his studies added breadth and weight of authority.
KUSH

This large, well-illustrated book describes ten ethnic groups—the Baka, Schangama, Ubamer, Basketto, Dime, Male, Bama, Hammer, Tsakamo, and Bodi—living between Lake Ruspoli and the lower reaches of the river Omo, and is the first volume in a series on the peoples of southern Ethiopia which is to be edited by Professor Jensen. Its component chapters written by different members of the team vary both in depth of insight and in richness of material due to the different lengths of time spent among each of these groups—the longest being more than six months, and the shortest two days (Bodi). To arrange the abundant material as clearly as possible, the authors have followed a standard lay-out for each of the tribes, beginning with a general introduction (Land und Leute) to the physical environment, history, administration, conditions under which field work was carried out, informants, etc., and continuing with a description of the social and religious life, customary law, life-cycles, myths and stories.

That fuller discussion of many of the details given would be of interest may be shown by two examples. I do not think it can be proved that the Bodi took over the sandal oracle from the Jidenitsch (p. 416), because it is also to be found among the Didinga and Longarim who are linguistically related to the Bodi, the Lango, and other Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic tribes. The statement that in Baka the place for cattle sacrifices is inherited by the eldest son and, when he dies, taken over by the senior of his surviving brothers (p. 69) makes the reader curious to know more about the family herd with its social implications, as we know it from the Jie and Turkana.

If a fault can be found, it is in the style of some of the chapters which lacks the impress of personality. One is reminded of the competently written but somewhat impersonal articles in encyclopaedias. But obviously it was the aim of some of the authors to give, as formally and objectively as possible, an account of the information they had recorded (even if its meaning and role in the culture concerned could not be explained), so that cultural-historical comparison and interpretation will be possible even after the tribes concerned have been acculturated by modern civilization.

This volume will hold a lasting place as a handbook on Ethiopian and African ethnology and it is to be hoped that the further volumes of this series will appear soon, for southern Ethiopia was until recently an ethnological no-man’s land and many scholars are impatiently awaiting the publication of their material.

A. Kronenberg.
Obituary

JOHN WINTER CROWFOOT, 1873–1959

J. W. Crowfoot, who died on 6 December 1959, was one of the legendary figures of Sudan archaeology and the founder of the Antiquities Service.

He was born in 1873, and was educated at Marlborough and Oxford. After a period of travel in the Mediterranean he became for a short while a lecturer in Classics at Birmingham University. In 1901 he accepted an appointment in the Ministry of Education in Cairo and from there went to the Sudan as Assistant Director of Education in 1903, staying in the country until 1908. He arrived at a time of considerable archaeological excitement, as he has described in his article in Kush 1, when Wallis Budge was excavating at Meroe, and he was able to utilize the interest thus aroused to start an Antiquities Service. There were no funds and no possibility of engaging assistants, so that he had to find time from his busy life as a member of the Education Department to do what work he could on the antiquities. Often he would combine an official visit to schools with a quick dash to inspect antiquities in the area and the earliest files of the Antiquities Service were filled with the results of his activities—a telegram requesting camels to meet him at some station, a report on the antiquity he visited supported by letters requesting another Department to prop up a pillar, cement a crumbling wall, or to see that an ancient building was not used as a goat pen.

In spite of these difficulties Crowfoot was able to visit most of the antiquities of the northern Sudan, formed the nucleus of the Museum, and wrote what is still the best general appreciation of Meroitic civilization in his book The Island of Meroe. Returning to Egypt in 1908 he did not come back to the Sudan until 1914, when he was appointed Director of Education and Principal of Gordon Memorial College. During this period there was less time for travel, and the post of Acting Conservator of Antiquities (a post in those days always held by an official who had full time duties somewhere) was held by others. But Crowfoot’s interest in the antiquities of the Sudan was well maintained and he continued to give great support and help to all those who were trying to look after the monuments and build up the Museum collection.

He did not write much during these years, but everything he did write was of the highest quality. His article on Christian Nubia in the JEA in 1927 is a remarkable, stimulating, and illuminating study of the cultural contribution of Nubia in medieval times, and his publication of Greek inscriptions from Nubia in the same journal and the same year shows the high standard of his scholarship.

Crowfoot retired from the service of the Sudan Government in 1926 and it was from then on that his full time archaeological life began—he was appointed
Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1927, and continued to fill that post until 1935. During these years he carried out a number of excavations in Palestine of which the most important were those at Samaria, published in the series of volumes of *Samaria-Sebaste*. He continued this work through his later years and the last volume was published as recently as 1957.

Crowfoot's contribution to the archaeology of the Sudan as shown by his published work is not great in quantity, but to judge his contribution by this alone would be misleading. Had he not come to the country when he did, it is likely that the care for the antiquities, and the interest in them which he stimulated in the early years, would never have come about. The good fortune which brought a trained and able archaeologist to serve the Sudan at a critical moment in its history served the cause of archaeology well. The pity is that Crowfoot never had the opportunity for full time work on archaeology whilst in the Sudan. There is not one of our colleagues who could have written better about the past of the country than he. The writings already mentioned show his powers of generalization as his work in Palestine showed his quality as excavator and meticulous publisher of the results. He was also a very acute observer of archaeological material and it was he who first pointed out the true chronology of the pottery from Meroe which Garstang had misunderstood.

Crowfoot was married to Grace (who died in 1957) herself an archaeologist and ethnologist of distinction and an expert on ancient and modern weaving.

P. L. Shinnie.
Correspondence

31 March 1960

The Editor of Kush

Sir,

Dr Vycichl’s interesting note in Kush vii, p. 221 on the ‘Burial of the Sudanese Kings in the Middle Ages’ may mislead since he does not make it clear that he is using the word Sudanese in the sense that medieval Arab geographers used Beled es Sudan to refer to the country south of the desert stretching across Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea.

The description given by El Bekri comes from his work Kitab al mughrīb fi dhikr bilad Ifriqiyya wa’l Maghrib it was written in the year A.H.460 = A.D. 1067–1068 and does not deal in the section quoted with the Sudan in the sense of the modern Republic of the Sudan.

The account of the royal burial forms part of the famous description of ancient Ghana, the only detailed description we have of this, the earliest, of the great states of the medieval Western Sudan, and situated in what are now Mauretania and the Mali Federation over 2,000 miles to the west of Khartoum. Had Dr Vycichl followed the original text more carefully he would have observed that it says ‘The religion of the people of Ghana is paganism and the worship of idols. When their king dies etc. . . .’ It does not say ‘When a king of the Sudan dies etc. . . .’, although El Bekri would certainly have considered Ghana as part of Beled es Sudan.

In view of the great geographical distance between Kerma and Ghana we cannot claim any direct link. But the remarkable coincidence of method of burial suggests that here is a common and long-standing African tradition. The X-Group tombs of Firka, Ballana, and Qustul are also in this tradition and are chronologically much nearer to ancient Ghana.

Yours, etc.,

P. L. SHINNIE.