KUSH

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# ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>A(*)A</em></td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology.</td>
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<td><em>ASAE</em></td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>AR</em></td>
<td>Ancient Records (Breasted).</td>
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<td><em>BIFAO</em></td>
<td>Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale</td>
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<td><em>Bi. Or.</em></td>
<td>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</td>
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<td><em>EA</em></td>
<td>Tell-el-Amarna Letters.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>JEA</em></td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>LAAA</em></td>
<td>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>LD</em></td>
<td>Lepsius: Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopen.</td>
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<td><em>PPS</em></td>
<td>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.</td>
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<td><em>PSBA</em></td>
<td>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Rev. d’Eg.</em></td>
<td>Revue d’Égyptologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>RT</em></td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux.</td>
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<td><em>SASOP</em></td>
<td>Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>SNR</em></td>
<td>Sudan Notes and Records</td>
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<td><em>Urk.</em></td>
<td>Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Wb.</em></td>
<td>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.</td>
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<td><em>ZAS</em></td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ZDMG</em></td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</td>
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The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed by contributors.
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Editorial Notes

_Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II?_ (Khartoum Museum statue no. 30)

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

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

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

1 Height 36 cm. 9; Base 19×11 cm.
2 Information from Dr Crowfoot written on the back of the Entry Card, Antiquities Museum archives.
4 See, for instance, Id., _New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt_, London, 1951, pls. 12, 20, 36, 51.
5 Lucas, _Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries_, 3rd edit., p. 79.
6 Id., ibid., p. 80, who quotes sarcophagi and statues of Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis IV.
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Gebel Ahmar, near Cairo, but from Aswan too; so that if everything points to an xviiiith Dynasty date no indication allows us to refer it to a definite king of this Dynasty.

A long time ago F. Addison, on the ground that most of Kumma (or Semna East) Temple was built by Amenophis II suggested that Khartoum statue no. 30 portrayed the same king. I wonder if that guess was not the right one, not only because one can still see on the walls of the temple Amenophis II making libations to Khnum, with the same kind of vases held by the king of the statue—the same thing could be said of Tuthmosis III—but chiefly because the Khartoum statue is, in my opinion, but one element of a series of monuments belonging to Amenophis II and found in the Sudan as early as 1844.

At this time Lepsius’ party picked up two ‘red Nubian-sandstone’ kneeling statues of Amenophis in Wad Ban Naga, south of Meroë (see Plate II, a–d). The king, just as on the Khartoum statue, does not bear—as it is usual on such monuments—his name on the belt of the loin-cloth, but two inscriptions one in front of the knees (an unusual place), the other one on the dorsal pillar. Taken together those inscriptions give:

![Hieroglyphic Inscription]

The Good God Aākheperure, the son of Rē, Amenhotep ruler of Thebes

(=Amenophis II), beloved by Khnum of Iten-pedjut.

Khnum of Iten-pedjut is now well known. He is the local god who was worshipped in Semna East, and obviously the two statues found in Wad Ban Naga, and now in Berlin, had been taken by Natakamani or some other Meroitic king from Semna Temple to be placed in the sanctuary of Wad Ban Naga.

The Khartoum statue is of the rather conventional style which followed ‘the crisp, fresh style of early New-Kingdom art (which) had begun to disappear

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7 Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 3rd edit., ibid. During a tour in the Second cataract area I saw a layer of similar stone capping the ordinary Nubian sandstone on a small hill between Akasha and Firka, that is quite near to Semna. This could raise the question whether the Khartoum statue was done in Egypt or in Semna itself.


10 LD, Text, v, p. 338 – LD, iii, 70, a–d. Lepsius does not state the material of which the statues are made, but Budge, Egyptian Sudan, i, p. 603, mentions it.


12 The activity of Meroitic kings at Semna is proved by the find of a block with the cartouche of Amanis. . . . (Boston Exped. photo C.10545, quoted by Porter-Moss, vii, p.150).
Top: KHARTOUM STATUE; below: WAD BAN NAGA STATUE
a and d after Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 70

facing p. 6
PLATE III

a and c TUTHMOSIS III, Cairo Museum (from Lange-Hirmer, Egypt, pls. 134-135); b and d KHARTOUM STATUE
a. TUTHMOSIS III, Turin Museum (from Akhmed New: Kingdom Art, pl. 39)
b. AMENOPHIS II, Cairo Museum (from Lange-Hirmer, Egypt, pl. 135)
c. AMENOPHIS II, Cairo Museum (from Lange-Hirmer, Egypt, pl. 135) d. KHARTOUM STATUE
EDITORIAL NOTES

even under Amenhotep II, resulting in a lack of vitality in sculpture in the round.\(^{13}\) Or, as it has been pointed out about the Turin kneeling statue of Amenhotep II\(^{14}\): ‘A comparison between this kneeling figure of a king making a libation and similar earlier specimens from the reign of Hatshepsut... will show that a softer more naturalistic conception has replaced an architectural stylisation, with some loss of vigour in the process.’\(^{15}\) As a matter of fact, Khartoum statue, *mutatis mutandis*, much resembles the Cairo kneeling statue of Amenhotep II which has been dated as early in the reign of this king\(^{16}\) (compare PLATE IV, c, Cairo statue with IV, d, Khartoum statue).

A more conventional, less vigorous style, than under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, is, in my opinion, one of the characteristics of the Khartoum statue when one compares it with other statues of the earlier XVIIIth Dynasty as I have tried to do on PLATES III and IV. For instance one of the chief features of the Khartoum statuette is the seriousness, one could even say the sadness, of expression of the royal face. This is in contrast with the usually frankly smiling face of Hatshepsut and chiefly of Tuthmosis III (see PLATE III, a–d), but is in accordance with the features of other Amenophis II statues (see for instance PLATE IV, c). I should like to add, tentatively, that the absence of name on the Khartoum statue could be explained if this statue was part of a group of three or more statues, perhaps one to each of the divinities specially worshipped in Kumma\(^{17}\) the name being written in full on two, it was less useful to put it again on the others.

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

J. VERCOUVERT.

\(^{13}\) Cf. B. V. Bothmer, *BMFA, Boston*, 47, 1949, p. 43.

\(^{14}\) Cf. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art...,* pl. 51.

\(^{15}\) Id., ibid., p. 57.

\(^{16}\) Id., ibid., pl. 50 and p. 57.

\(^{17}\) From the representations in the temple those divinities are Khnum himself; deified Sesostiris III (see Porter-Moss, *vii*, 153); and either Dedwen (see for instance *LD, iii*, 64, b, where Dedwen is side by side with Khnum); or Anukis (see *LD, Text, v*, p. 214).

\(^{18}\) We know from Deir-el-Bahari, that such groups did exist. See Winlock, *Excavations at Deir-el-Bahari, 1911–31*, New York, 1942, pl. 53 and p. 77, where Winlock states: ‘there were certainly at least ten of them—all were alike, showing Hatshepsut kneeling and offering.’ Like the Khartoum Museum statuettes, these statues had no inscriptions.
Khartoum’s Part in the Development of the Neolithic

by A. J. Arkell

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

After having incorrectly represented me as implying that food production entered Egypt from the south, Professor Braidwood goes on (pp. 26–7) to ask whether there was only one nuclear area in the Near East, or several. By ‘nuclear area’ he means ‘a definable geographical-ecological area in which a constellation of events occurred. . . . Namely, where did the plants and animals of the characteristic old world pattern become effectively domesticated? And, in consequence of this or attending it, where did the village-farming
community make its appearance? We identify the village-farming community archaeologically by means of the traces of a variety of crafts, and we need to ask ourselves whether these were invented once or several times in the area of our concern. The effective domestication of the plants and animals probably came about by a process which was more complicated than simple invention. He says that he himself inclines to one nuclear area in the Near East, which includes the hilly flanks of the Fertile Crescent. He specifically excludes from it the Nile Valley, as well as the high plateau of Anatolia and Iran, suggesting that they were stimulated later from the nuclear area. But he agrees that this will need much more in-the-field checking before it becomes fact, if it ever does; and (pp. 28–9) he suggests that an end-Stone-Age food-gathering era, which may have concentrated on seeds, was probably followed by 'an era of incipient agriculture and animal domestication', which itself preceded the era of the primary village-farming community, in which he appears to include Khartoum along with Jarmo and Jericho. He claims that 'the era of the primary village-farming community is relatively easy to distinguish', though I argue later in this paper that Shaheinab, in spite of having some domesticated goats, was hardly a village-farming community, still less Early Khartoum. He does admit that he cannot yet demonstrate that there is incipient agriculture or animal domestication in his area in the era which precedes that of the primary village-farming community.

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

It seems to me that Professor Braidwood is on the wrong tack in expecting 'a constellation of events' in any one area, and even in speaking of the domestication of plants and animals in one breath. They are two very different things, and did not necessarily originate together, or even at the same time or in the same place. Domestication of plants must take place where they are native—we know, for example, that the potato was domesticated in America. We will confine ourselves to wheat and barley, which the botanists tell us are native to Asia. There is no reason to think that these cereals were domesticated more than once, or that each of them has not been diffused all over the world from the place where it was first cultivated. Everything points to that having been in Asia. But the domestication of animals is a very different matter. It is very easy to domesticate a wild animal if it is hungry; and a young wild animal separated from its mother is soon in that condition. The same conditions occur on a large scale when the rains fail—as they do periodically in the Sudan,
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for example. In my own lifetime I have tamed a number of wild animals. In addition to gazelles, which are easy, I have domesticated both a grass snake in England and a jackal in the Sudan; while I know of a wild duck which joined a neighbour’s domestic ducks during a hard frost in England, and showed no fear of the neighbour as long as he was the only source of food. But the most impressive experience I had was when camping on the River Atbara some ten years or so ago, at a time when the rains had failed for the second year in succession. My tent was at one end of a large tundub bush, and my cook settled at the other end. For the whole of my visit of several days, the cook was pestered by a female of that timid animal the wart-hog, which had a young one with it. They had found some potato peel that the cook had thrown away, and were so hungry that after that they would not leave us. By continuing to feed them, it would have been easy to start a drove of tame wart-hog. Thus hungry wild animals must have sold themselves over and over again into slavery to man in return for a supply of food, and there must have been numberless places where the domestication of animals has so originated. (I cannot help wondering whether it is significant that one of the earliest, if not the earliest of animals domesticated apparently in both Asia and Africa, was that enterprising animal the goat. Hunger makes it particularly fearless, and in that famine year when we were up the River Atbara and all sheep and cattle had ceased to be able to cope and so had been taken away, a number of goats were still hanging on, and those that were strong enough were climbing 20 ft. and more up sunt trees in search of their small leaves. Hungry goats may thus have attached themselves to man more readily than other animals.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

by Labib Habachi

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

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

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2 In Qubbet El-Hawa, where the nobles of Aswan were buried, most of the tombs date back to the Old Kingdom, four belong to the Middle Kingdom and only one (the so-called Lady Cecil Tomb) is to be attributed to the New Kingdom. But this latter tomb is that of a chief priest. The rock inscriptions of Aswan mention sometimes nomarchs of Elephantine (cf. De Morgan, Cat. des mon. et inscr. 1, 88, 62), but they had no great power and must have been subordinate to the viceroy. Sometimes the power of the viceroy extended to Hieraconpolis, but Aswan must always have been included in the district controlled by the viceroy.
3 The tombs of Hori I and Hori II are in Bubastis; Mermose, Setau, Amenhotep-Huy, and most probably Nehi and Sen were buried in Thebes, while Panehesi’s tomb is at Aniba.
4 See below graffito no. 10 (for their work, see Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pp. 180 ff. and Drioton and Vandier, op. cit., pp. 466 ff.)
5 For the work of Setau in Gerf Husein, see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, 33. The same viceroy left many inscriptions in Es-Sebua Temple and officials dedicated stelae near to him, thus showing that he was much concerned with this temple, ibid. pp. 55, 57 and 63.
Military operations were directed at least with the approval of the viceroys, since they are sometimes shown in the presence of the king smiting his enemies (nos. 20–23 below), and they sometimes bore military titles. Hence they probably stayed in Aswan for considerable periods to supervise the work of strategic, civil and religious importance required in that region.

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

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

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6 Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 181.
7 About midway between Aswan and the modern Dam colony, there is a group of large stelae carved on the rocks. These tell of wars waged in the South by Tuthmosis II, Amenophis III and Ramesses II, see Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, v, 245. In Konosso, which seems to mark the end of this road, there are more rock inscriptions of this nature. These latter show Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, see ibid., p. 254.
8 In two cases the viceroy is shown with an official (nos. 11, 19) in another with his son (no. 37) and in a fourth (no. 30) with his wife.
THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH

reproduced by Petrie in his book, *A Season in Egypt* (1887), and almost all were published by De Morgan and his assistants in their *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions*, vol. 1 (1894). The first study of the viceroy of Kush was made by Reisner in an article entitled 'The Viceroy of Ethiopia' in *JEA*, vi, pp. 28 ff. and 73 ff. In this article he gave a list of the viceroy's with their titles as they occur in their inscriptions at various places. He also studied the development of their titles and their dress and gave a list of the employees who helped them in their domain. Gauthier later published a long article called 'Les vice-rois d’Ethiopie' in *RT*, xxxix, pp. 182 ff., in which he commented on what Reisner had said and added some more inscriptions. Viceroy have not been treated as a whole elsewhere except by Säve-Söderbergh in his interesting work, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 175 ff. Here the list of the viceroy of Kush was brought up to date, but the main interest of the study lies in the fact that rights and duties of these high officials and those under their power are discussed.

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

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

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

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

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9 In Amara there were found important inscriptions of some viceroy, but these have not yet been published, although photographs of some of them and references to others are given by Fairman in *JEA*, 25, p. 143 and pls. xv, 2; xvi, 1.
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2. The second inscription (no. 2 = Reisner, 29, 1e; De Morgan 85, 13; Urk., iv, 89-90 (34)c; Porter-Moss, 250), speaks also of the clearance of the above-mentioned canal.

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

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

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

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

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

The only reproduction of this graffito is to be found in De Morgan, 89, 65. The upper inscription is copied there in hieroglyphs as:

\[ Hr\-h\-b \ n \ 'Imn \ m \ dwt \ 'n\ h nbt pr \ldots nht \ s\; nsw \ Nh\-i \]

while the lower one is rendered as:

\[ R\-nsw \ hs \ ntr. \ t \ sw \ Nh\-i \]

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

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10 It is to be noted that among the titles borne by Nehi, that of lector-priest of Amun also appears (Gauthier, 191).
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quite suitable for engraving his figure opposite that of his son and that he was shown with uplifted arms because he was facing the chapel of Anukis.

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

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

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

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

Helck is the latest scholar to have dealt with the inscriptions and objects left by this viceroy, when he published the stela found in 1924 by the Harvard Expedition in Semneh (now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, No. 25632). Helck pointed out that the man had been the object of persecution, although he could not determine why or when in his career the persecution occurred.

When we began to study the graffiti of the Aswan district, some ten years ago, we were aware of this fact, although we also failed to discover why and when Usersatet fell into such disgrace that his name, titles and figure were everywhere totally or partially erased. Fortunately in many cases sufficient traces were left to make the reading of them certain or highly probable.

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

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

13 JNES, xiv, pp. 22 ff.; for his monuments see p. 29.
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On the same side of the cliffs of Sehel on which the only hitherto known inscription of the viceroy is engraved, five other graffiti were carved by the viceroy or one of his subordinates.

One of these inscriptions (no. 5, Figg. 2 = De Morgan, 91, 106) shows two standing men facing each other. The attitude and dress are exactly the same as in the previously described graffito. Reisner speaking of 'the staff of officials attached to the viceroy' lists our graffito among the less definite references, and describes it as having 'the deputy of . . . Sennufer', facing another man labelled ' . . . king's son, overseer of the Southern Lands' (p. 85). This remark is true as far as the latter label is concerned, for a few signs at the beginning and end have been completely erased. As for the first label, we have more of the surviving signs and they permit us to identify one of the two persons depicted in the graffito. De Morgan's copy, on which Reisner depended, gives:—

'Idnw n . . . Sunfr

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

5. 'Idnw n s; nsw imy-r ḫswt rsy Wsrstt, Sunfr,
The deputy of the viceroy, and the overseer of the Southern Lands Usersatet, Sennufer.

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

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

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

Reisner (86, 14), depending on the copy of De Morgan, who omitted the name of the viceroy, could not attribute the charioteer to the viceroyalty of Usersatet.
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A third graffito (here Fig. 4, given no. 7 = De Morgan, 91, 100) shows a man dressed in a similar kilt bearing a stick in his left hand. In front of him an inscription of two vertical lines running retrograde reads:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 Almost all of the second line is unclear in De Morgan’s copy.
of this chapel proved that it was Amenophis II who built it.\textsuperscript{15} In his capacity of viceroy of this king, Usersatet must have supervised the work on the chapel, and that would explain the presence of such a large number of his graffiti in this particular spot.

![Figure 5](image)

FIG. 5. Insr. 10

But the attention which Amenophis II gave to the cult of Anukis was not limited to the erection of the chapel; he also offered to her chapel many objects used in the cult of the goddess and added a fourth day to her previous three day festival.\textsuperscript{16} Usersatet carved a seventh graffito, this time on the island to the South of Sehel called Ras Sehel (Plate VI and FIG 5, here given no. 10=De Morgan, 75; Sayce in \textit{RT}, XVI, p. 73 and the present writer in \textit{JEA}, 39, p. 58) in which he referred to this festival, showing that he, like his sovereign, was interested in the worship of the goddess of the Island. In this graffito we have the figure of a standing man with uplifted arms\textsuperscript{17} and an inscription of six vertical lines. This reads:

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

\textsuperscript{15} The present writer in \textit{JEA}, 39, p. 57, and note 5.

\textsuperscript{16} For references to this stela see Porter-Moss, op. cit., 229.

\textsuperscript{17} The man wears a garment like the one he is shown with in other graffiti.
made accordingly five canals (?) with workmen\textsuperscript{18} scorched in their limbs (?) ; this (?) being done anew.\textsuperscript{19}

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

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

\textbf{11. Giving adoration to Khnum by the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet.}

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

\textit{The deputy of the viceroy Usersatet, Meh.}

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

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

\textsuperscript{18} It is known that š, ‘pool’, interchanges with \textit{mr ‘canal}, see Gardiner, \textit{Gram.}, Sign-list, N. 37. \textit{K3(w)} here may stand for \textit{K3w3w ‘workmen’} as suggested to me by Prof. Edel.

\textsuperscript{19} For \textit{smwh}, see \textit{Wb.}, 4, 157, 16. The words at the end are not quite sure.

\textsuperscript{20} Breasted, \textit{AR}, 1, § 324.
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reign of Amenophis II a chapel was built here as there was on Sehel. But there is no doubt that Amenophis II erected a chapel or a temple on Elephantine, this time for Satis, the chief goddess of the Island. In the ruins of the late temples we came across parts of granite door-jambs bearing the name of the king.\(^{21}\) Two small obelisks of granite were found some time ago on the Island. One of these is now in the Cairo Museum and the other is in Alnwick Castle in England (Porter-Moss, 244). In one of the houses which used to stand on Philae, a column originally from Elephantine was found re-used.\(^{22}\) It is probable, therefore, that Usersatet engraved his graffito opposite Elephantine to commemorate his activity and his sovereign’s activity on the Island itself.

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

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

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

\begin{quote}
12. Overseer of the cattle of Amun, director of the works of the South and the North, head of the stable of his Majesty, the viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, the brave of the king and the praised of the good god, the royal scribe, Amenhotep.\(^{23}\)
\end{quote}

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

\(^{21}\) Not yet published.
\(^{22}\) Porter-Moss, \textit{Topogr. Bibliogr.}, vi, 256.
\(^{23}\) Lately Zaba has shown that Amenhotep was director of works for Upper and Lower Egypt and overseer of the cattle of Amun in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, while Usersatet was still viceroy. When Amenhotep succeeded Usersatet, he was the first to bear the full title of ‘Viceroy of Kush’, see \textit{ASAE}, l, p. 513. It is quite possible that this Amenhotep, of whom we have only this inscription, is the same as Amenhotep-Huy of the reign of Tutankhamen.
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LD, Text, iv, 125, 12; De Morgan, 91, 96) is on Sehel and shows this viceroy holding a fan and a crook in front of the prenomen of Amenophis III, underneath which is the inscription:

13. The viceroy Mermose.

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

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

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

15. All the flat lands and all the foreign lands.\(^{24}\)

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

_Giving adoration to the victorious king, doing obeisance to the good god by the confidant of the king in the Southern Cities,\(^{25}\) the overseer of works, the overseer of the Golden (Lands of Amun), the viceroy of Kush to its length, the real royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands,\(^{26}\) Mermose the blessed (?)_.

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

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

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

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

Mermose thus left four inscriptions in the region of Aswan. One of these was engraved on the rocks of Sehel, perhaps on an occasion when he passed once through the waters of the Cataract. The second and the fourth are carved opposite Elephantine where Amenophis III built a chapel which was still standing until about A.D. 1822.\(^{27}\) The third inscription was engraved on a boulder along the Shellal Road. As we have already suggested, this road was used for

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\(^{24}\) Meaning undoubtedly that these lands are under his control.

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

\(^{26}\) For the titles of Mermose, see Zaba, op. cit., p. 512, and Varille, _ASAE_, xlv, p. 15. Those borne by Mermose in this graffito were rendered by Reisner according to the copies then known as: _Favourite of the king in the southern city_. . . . (3 groups lost ending with mountain-sign) to its length (?)_ king's scribe (op. cit.)

\(^{27}\) _JEA_, 32, p. 59 and note 1.
armies going to the South. Mermose is mentioned on a stela from Semneh (now in the British Museum), which is dated in the 5th year of Amenophis III and speaks of a revolt in the Land of Ibhet (Gauthier, 194 and Säve-Söderbergh, 159 and 181). This would indicate that he took part in dealing with this revolt.

The next viceroy was Thutmose who served under Amenophis IV-Akhenaten. He left two rock inscriptions on Sehel. The first (no. 17= Reisner, 34, 7b; De Morgan, 90, 84; LD, Text iv, 125, 11), showing the viceroy in front of the prenomen of the king with the following words underneath:

17. The viceroy Thutmose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. **Utterance of Anukis** (wrongly copied as Satis by De Morgan),

mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of gods.

Paser is described as:

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

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

*Made by the chief of the works Panpamwda (†)*

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

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

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

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\(^{30}\) He did, however, leave a graffiti in Biga Island (Porter-Moss, 256, 188) but we are not dealing here with the inscriptions on that island. For an inscription in the district which may have been carved by him, see footnote 23.

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The second graffito (no. 21=Reisner, 38, 10b; Petrie, pl. v, 109; De Morgan, 20, 124) consists of two registers. In the upper one Seti I is about to smite an enemy, while in the lower register the viceroy stands with uplifted arms and is described as:

21. The first charioteer of his Majesty, the viceroy of Kush, Amenemopet.

The third graffito (no. 22=Reisner 38, 10c; LD, III, 141h, Text, iv, 120, 9; Petrie, pl. vi, 130; De Morgan, 28, 5) also shows Seti I smiting an enemy, while the viceroy kneels opposite and raises his hands in adoration. The viceroy is styled as:

22. The fan-bearer on the right of the king, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy Amenemopet, the blessed.

Of the last rock inscription of Amenemopet (no. 23=Reisner, 38, 10d; De Morgan, 29, 12) only part of the original representation survives. It apparently showed the king again smiting an enemy in front of Amenemopet, but only the lower part of the king survives. Underneath him is the inscription:

23. . . . the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy, Amenem[opet].

In the four inscriptions carved for Amenemopet on the Shellal Road, the king is shown smiting or about to smite a prisoner. We have pointed out before that on this road graffiti commemorating the victories of kings over their enemies are met with. For this reason we stated that viceroyos chose this road along which to carve their graffiti, when they took part in campaigns to the South. Was there a war waged against the South in the time of Seti I? Säve-Söderbergh has rejected the idea of any battles during that reign. He prefers to see in references to victories over the South simply the conventional phrases, especially because in the famous scenes of the wars of Seti on the exterior of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak there is no mention of a war in the South (p. 168). But according to a stela found in Buhen, Seti I is said to have gone to Buhen in the second year of his father's reign, and there he placed male and female slaves whom he captured. Soon after his visit Seti I ascended the throne and thereupon inserted his name within a cartouche on the stela. It is quite probable, therefore, that Amenemopet, who was then the viceroy of Kush and perhaps took an actual part in the battle as the first charioteer of his Majesty, carved these graffiti on the Shellal Road, where he depicted his sovereign smiting the enemy.

During the long reign of Ramesses II six or perhaps seven men assumed the office of viceroy, but of these we have the names of only two recorded on the cliffs of Aswan region. It has been stated that Hekanakht left a graffito or two on the Shellal Road and perhaps a third on Sehel.

24. One of his inscriptions on the road (no. 24=Reisner, 41, 12g; De Morgan, 27, 207 bis) is very difficult to decipher. The author is shown carrying the fan and saluting the cartouches of Ramesses II, but nothing can now be seen

31 Rendered by Reisner as Charioteer of His Majesty (op. cit., 38, 10b).
of the name and titles. The second graffito, also on the road (given no. 25, Fig 10.=Reisner 41, 12; Petrie, pl. x, 275; De Morgan, 27, 205) is carved on a somewhat rough surface; thence the difficulty in making a reliable copy of the text which it bears. The viceroy is seen lifting his hands in adoration before the prenomen of Ramesses II, having a sun disk between two feathers above and the sm3-t3wy-sign underneath it. The inscription, which begins with two vertical lines and ends in a horizontal one, reads:

![Figure 10: Inscr. 25](image)

**25. Made by the chief of the Stable-of-the-Residence of the Hall of Audience of Ramessu-Meramen, the king's messenger to every land, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands the fan-bearer on the right (of the king), the king's scribe, Huy (the blessed).**

This inscription was attributed by Reisner to Hekanakht on the basis of the belief that he was the only viceroy of Ramesses II who bore the title 'Messenger.'\(^3\) But since this title was dropped on the other monuments of Hekanakht and is only found on a statuette of him, it may also have been dropped on the other known monuments of Huy.\(^3\) Huy, who has been hitherto unknown, left four more inscriptions in the region of Aswan, one of which was also

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\(^3\) This is translated by Reisner as: ... of the house of the palace-of-Ramesses II, the messenger to every land, king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, fan-bearer on the king's right. ...

\(^3\) Säve-Söderbergh, p. 176, and notes 11–13, shows the possibility of a viceroy of that name during the reign of Ramesses II, although he depends for evidence upon a stela in the Berlin Museum, which is to be attributed rather to the other Huy.
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attributed to Hekanakht, while the three others were supposed to have been
carved by Amenhotep-Huy who lived under Tutankhamen.

We shall attempt here to show that these inscriptions can be safely attributed
to the viceroy Huy, who lived under Ramesses II. The four inscriptions are
all on Sehel Island. The first (Plate viii, given no. 26—Reisner 35, 8c; De
Morgan, 84, 8) has one figure of the viceroy to the right and another to the left
of the two cartouches of Ramesses II. In front of the right figure and behind
the left are vertical lines, each reading :


The cartouches of the king in the middle are followed by words which describe
him as :

Beloved of Khnum, Satis and Anukis.

Under the whole scene are the words :

The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the fan-bearer
on the king’s right, Huy.

No trace of change or addition can be detected in this graffito and the
manner in which the cartouches are carved is the same as that in the rest of the
graffito. It is strange, then, that Reisner refers to this graffito as ‘undated
(Tutankhamun erased and replaced by Ramesses II)’, and says further about it
‘Apparently three different graffiti, cartouches of Ramesses II’ (p. 35 8c).
Gauthier (pp. 197–8), on the other hand, says: ‘Je n’ai rien à ajouter à la liste
de ces monuments telle qu’elle a été dressée par M. Reisner,—j’admets avec
lui la restauration des noms de Ramsés II dans les cartouches des graffiti
de Séhel par-dessus les noms du roi Tutânkhamon préalablement martelés
sous Ai ou sous Harmeñabi (c et d de M. Reisner, p. 35)’. But it is clear that
the whole graffito was engraved during the reign of Ramesses II (compare also
Säve-Söderbergh, 176).

The same can be said about the second graffito of the same man on Sehel
(Plate viii, given no. 27—Reisner 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 153). This one has
two registers; in the upper register (a) Ramesses II offering two vases of wine
to the triad of the Cataract region and is described in three vertical lines as :

27a. The good god ‘Usermare Setpenre’ the son of Re’. ‘Ramessu-Meramen’,
given life.

An inscription below the extended arms says :

Giving wine to his father.

Before the first member of the triad are the words:

Utterance of Khnum, lord of the Cataract region.

The second member bears no label, while the third is referred to in an inscrip-
tion behind her, reading :

Anukis, mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of all gods.
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In the lower register (b) is the representation of Huy with uplifted arms and with the fan slung on his back. Facing him appears the prenomen of Ramesses II under the sun-disk and feathers. An inscription in front of Huy reads:

27b. The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the royal scribe, Huy.

Here we find that the style used in carving the inscriptions and that followed in engraving the cartouches is the same as that of the previous graffito. It is to be noted also that in both graffiti parts inside the figures are shown uncarved; thus showing that they were both carved at the same time. We have, therefore, to reject the remarks made by both Reisner and Gauthier about this graffito also.

The third graffito (fig. 11, given no. 28—Reisner, 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 161) has the viceroy lifting one hand in adoration and holding the fan in the other. He is styled:


Facing him is the king above whom is the sun-disk with pendant uraei. In front of the king is the inscription:

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands and master of ceremonies ‘Usermare-setipnre’, ‘Ramessu-meramen’.

This again has been attributed to the reign of Tutankhamen, but undoubtedly it should be assigned to that of Ramesses II. The fourth inscription (fig. 12, given no. 29—Reisner, 41, 12f; De Morgan, 99, 198) shows the viceroy with both hands lifted in adoration and the fan slung on his back. Before him are
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the cartouches of Ramesses II, each under the two feathers, followed by the words:

![Cartouche Illustration](image)

FIG. 12  Inscr. 29

29. **The viceroy of Kush, Huy**

This also was taken to have been carved by Hekanakht rather than Setau (Reisner, op. cit.), but it is clear that it too belongs to Huy.

Huy, therefore, left in the region of Aswan five graffiti, one on the road leading from Aswan to Konosso, and the rest on Sehel. Ramesses II waged war in the South (Säve-Söderbergh, 170 ff.) and that is perhaps the reason why Huy carved his graffiti on the road. That he should have four inscriptions on Sehel is a sign of his great interest in this island. Whether this was due to the fact that he perhaps built a chapel to Anukis there or that he also carved these in the Island when he was on his way to the South, it is quite impossible to say.

The second viceroy in the reign of Ramesses II who left graffiti in the Aswan region was Setau. He left three graffiti in all; one on Sehel and two on the road. The former (no. 30 = Reisner, 43, 141; De Morgan, 97, 174) seems to have been unofficial since he and his wife are kneeling before Anukis, the chief goddess of the Island. The cartouches of the king appear behind the goddess who is herself referred to as:

30. **Anukis, mistress of Sehel.**

Above the viceroy are the words:

*The viceroy of Kush, Setau,*

while behind his wife is the label:

*The chantress of Amun, Nofretmut.*
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Setau seems to have payed an unofficial visit with his wife to the chapel of Anukis, and so he showed the local goddess and not the reigning king.

The second graffito of Setau is one on the road leading to Konosso (no. 31 = Reisner, 43, 14tA; De Morgan, 28, 3). This has the cartouches of the king, followed by the words:

31. *Made by the viceroy of Kush, Setau.*

The third graffito (no. 32 = Reisner, 43, 14tB; De Morgan, 28, 4) has the prenomen of the king followed by the words:

32. *Made by the viceroy, Setau.*

Setau thus left three graffiti, one in Sehel which commemorated a personal visit which he made with his wife to the Island. As for the two inscriptions which he left on the road, they must have commemorated a campaign to the South which Setau in the capacity of viceroy probably supervised.

![Fig. 13. Inscr. 33](image)

To these three graffiti, we can now add a new one. This one lies opposite Elephantine in the public garden close to the Cataract Hotel (FIG. 13, no. 33 in our serial number). It shows the seated king above whom hovers a falcon. The king holds the heka-sceptre in his left hand and extends the other towards the viceroy. Behind that king are the words:

33. *(all) life, (protection) . . . (behind him).*

The viceroy is shown leaning forward slightly towards the sovereign, extending his right hand and raising the fan with the other before the cartouches of the
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king. There seems to have been a speech addressed to the viceroy, of which the following words survive

. . . Horus 'Beloved-of-Ma 'et', the treasury is filled for my Majesty with silver and gold. 34

Above the viceroy is an inscription in three vertical lines which reads:

. . . the fan-bearer on the right of the king, (the viceroy of) Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Setau.

Many a monument inscribed with the names of Ramesses II has been found on the Island of Elephantine. Ramesses II, therefore, may have built in this island a temple or a chapel, the erection of which Setau supervised as viceroy; under Ramesses II's successor, Messuy was viceroy. He left but one graffito and that was on the road (no. 34 = Reisner, 47, 15a; De Morgan, 18, 87; LD, III, pl. 200f.; Petrie, pl. 11, 70). In it he is shown holding out the fan with both hands toward the king who is in his war chariot and looking backwards, the viceroy is described in an inscription above him as:

34. The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of (the Southern Lands), the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy, the blessed.

Below the whole scene is a horizontal line reading:

The viceroy of Kush, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy the blessed.

Here again we see a viceroy in the presence of his sovereign who stands in his war chariot. Were there hostilities in the South during the reign of Merenptah? According to Säve-Söderbergh (pp. 172-3), this is not certain, but it would seem strange for Messuy to show himself in the graffito he carved in Aswan, on the road with military scenes before his sovereign in a war chariot without having taken part in a war in the South.

The viceroy Seti who served under Siptah, left two rock inscriptions, one in Sehel and the second on the road. The first (Plate VIII, no. 35 = Reisner, 48, 16d; LD, III, pl. 202b; De Morgan, 86, 29) shows the viceroy kneeling before the cartouches of the king, which are followed by the inscription:

35. Year 3, the first month of Shemu, the 20th day. Giving adoration to your ka, O valiant king, that he may give praises to the ka of the fan-bearer on the king's right, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti.

Underneath the whole inscription is a horizontal line reading:

The prince and governor, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti, the blessed, possessor of veneration.

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34 This is not strange, since Setau bore the title Overseer of the two Houses of Silver and Gold, as can be concluded from his statue in the Cairo Mus. (No. 1134), see Säve-Söderbergh, p. 176, and note 8.
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The second (no. 36 = Reisner, 48, 166; LD, III, 202c; De Morgan, 28, 6) shows the sitting king on his throne with the chief chancellor Bay standing behind him and the viceroy in front of him. The latter is described as:

36. Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Gold Lands of Amun, fan-bearer on the king's right, chief steward of Ameure, the king's scribe of the records of Pharaoh, L.p.h., Seti, the blessed.

The activities of Seti under Siptah are not known to us, although he left inscriptions in Abu Simbel and Buhen. Perhaps he commemorated a visit to Sehel, but whether he was involved in any campaign against the South or not, it is very difficult to say.

Hori I is known to have followed Seti as viceroy. No inscription of his is known in the region of Aswan, but examination of the graffito in Sehel heretofore attributed to his son Hori II reveals that it actually belongs to him. From our facsimile (Plate VII, Fig. 14, no. 37 = Reisner, 50, 18b; De Morgan, 84, 3), it can be seen that two men are shown in adoration before a cat-headed goddess, taken by De Morgan to be Sekhmet, who is Bastet, goddess of Bubastis, from which city Hori and his family came. The goddess is referred to with the words:

37. Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, mistress of heaven and consort of the gods.

The inscription above the two men says:

Made for the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the

35 Taken by Reisner, op. cit., and by Breasted, AR, III, § 647, as great steward of the king.
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royal scribe, Hori, the blessed. His beloved son, the first charioteer of his Majesty, Webekh[senu].

Hori I seems to have been very loyal to his home deity; hence the representation of her in this and other inscriptions rather than that of the local deity. In passing once by Sehel Webekhsenu, perhaps in the company of his father, engraved this inscription on the Island. It is worth noting that he left in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen a graffito dated in the sixth year of Siptah. There he is again shown in the presence of Bastet.

Opposite Elephantine near the modern Nilometre, we found yet another inscription (no. 38, see FIG. 15). This is perhaps the one reproduced in De Morgan, 41, 183, where we have just the cartouches of Ramesses III with the representation of a man with upraised arms on each side. But examining the inscription, we find that behind the man on the left, there remains only the name. In front of the man on the right is the inscription:

![Fig. 15. Inscr. 38](image)

38. (the king’s son) of Kush, the royal scribe, Hori.

and underneath:

(Made by) the king’s son of Kush, the overseer (of the Southern) Lands, (the fan-bearer) on the king’s (right), the royal scribe, Hori.

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36 Rendered by Reisner (50, 18b) as: king’s son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, King’s scribe, Hori, His beloved son, Wentawuat? Gauthier, in speaking about Un vice-roi d’Ethiopie enseveli à Bubastis in ASAE, 28, pp. 129 ff. refers to this graffito (p. 134) and says that it may show Hori I and his son, though he does not give the name of that son.

37 For references to this graffito, see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, 134, under 13E.
KUSH

It is probable that the author was Hori II and not his father Hori I. Both viceroys seem to have served Ramesses III, but the titles point rather to the son than the father. Regardless of which of the two carved the graffito, it is known that Ramesses III erected some building on Elephantine, opposite which the graffito was engraved.

No viceroy later than Hori II left inscriptions in the Aswan region and so our list ends here. Of that number two are here published for the first time. These are the graffito of Mermose in Hassawanarti (no. 16) and that of Setau opposite Elephantine (no. 33). In addition to these, improvements have been made in the reading of a number of signs in most of the graffito inscriptions, so as to show their true importance. These are the inscriptions of Nehi and his son (no. 3), of Huy (nos. 28 and 29) and of Hori I (no. 37), all on Sehel, those of Mermose (no. 15) and Huy (no. 25) on the road and that of Hori II (no. 38) opposite Elephantine.

It has also been shown that the five graffito inscribed with the name of Huy on Sehel (nos. 26–29) and on the road (no. 25) are to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II and not to that of Tutankhamen or his immediate successors. It was another Huy who was viceroy under Ramesses II. Most important are the seven inscriptions previously known but not hitherto attributed to Usersatet (nos. 5–11). The titles and the name are mostly erased in these seven, but sufficient traces remain to make our identification certain. Through these graffito some of the officials who helped him in his work, such as the deputys Sennufer (no. 5) and Meh (no. 11) are now known. It can be seen also, how he was responsible for digging five canals in the Cataract region.

From the graffiti at Aswan, we have been able also to deduce something about the work of the viceroys in the region. Some of them were concerned with buildings on either Elephantine or Sehel, while others took part in wars in the South. As representatives of the king they were always responsible for any work done in their domain.
Tanqasi and the Noba

by L. P. Kirwan

The excavations\(^1\) carried out at Tanqasi by Mr Shinnie for the Sudan Antiquities Service (with the support of the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts) are important for the geographical history of the Sudan in the fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries A.D. But, first, a word about the date of the Tanqasi tumuli, and especially about the date of their most characteristic contents, the coarse mat-impressed and other 'Noba' pottery. Originally, this was called, by Crowfoot, 'Aloa' ware\(^2\) and was related by him, and has been by others since including Shinnie, to the Nuba wares of Kordofan and to the 'Black Noba' mentioned in the great Ethiopic inscription of 'Ezana'.

The Black Noba were the warrior tribesmen, still living in grass huts (tukls), whom 'Ezana (Aizanas) found in possession of the Island of Meroë when he led his army against them, across the Atbara, about A.D. 350.\(^3\) These Black Noba he describes as the enemies of the 'Kasu,' the indigenous Meroitic peoples, and of the 'Red peoples.' Meroë itself was probably at that time already destroyed—there is no mention of the city in 'Ezana's inscription—not by the Noba but more likely by a preceding King of Axum whose stela (in Greek) was found in Meroë in 1909.\(^4\) Thus weakened, the southern Meroitic province would have fallen an easy prey to the invading Noba tribesmen coming later from the south-west.

These earlier invasions must have taken place towards the end of the third or in the first half of the fourth century A.D. And it is to this period, mainly, that Shinnie assigns the Tanqasi pottery. He suggests at the same time that for this and other reasons the Noba people were the precursors of the so-called 'X-group' whose remains are found further north. But there is evidence to show that the Noba of Tanqasi and elsewhere were contemporary with, rather than earlier than, the X-group. Some of the X-group tombs at Qostol may, like the Tanqasi tombs, be as early as the fourth century.\(^5\) The X-group represents a foreign, intrusive strain imposed upon a presumably weakened Meroitic northern province whose culture the invaders, on achieving supremacy, largely

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\(^4\) Sayce in *LAA*, iv, 1912, pp. 64–5.


adopted and as the inscription of a probable Blemmye chieftain at Kalabsha seems to show, this province had already by the third century A.D. been sufficiently

weakened to permit other invaders, the Blemmye (Beja) tribesmen from the Eastern Desert, to establish themselves in parts of the Lower Nubian Nile

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8 U. Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia cristiana, p. 25.
TANQASI AND THE NOBA

Valley. For the most part, however, the X-group belongs to the fifth and to the first half of the sixth centuries, namely up to the introduction of rival forms of Christianity into the Sudan by Justinian and Theodora which the prejudiced, contemporary, John of Ephesus described.

That these chronological limits for the X-group—fourth to sixth centuries A.D.—can also be applied to the Noba culture, an examination of the Noba tombs at Meroë may show. The earlier Noba tombs there may well be of the third or fourth century. Grave 300 of the Middle Necropolis, for example, contained an imported Roman glass toilet-bottle which in Egypt would be c. A.D. 300. It also contained a very characteristic group of Noba pottery. But other tombs are probably much later than this. As I discovered by reference to Garstang’s original records and object markings in Liverpool, at least one of the graves of the ‘Noba’ Cemetery 300 contained a very well-known type of imported late Roman and Byzantine amphora of the fifth to sixth century A.D. This type, wrongly published as coming from Cemetery 400, is recorded from almost all the X-group tombs at Ballana, and from those (except the earliest) at Qostol. It has also been found at Firka and other X-group sites. In Lower Nubia, these amphorae—usually inscribed in Greek with exporters’ names, serial numbers, and Christian formulae—are typical of deposits of the fifth and sixth century, though in Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East they have also been assigned to the early seventh century. The inscriptions at Ballana and Qostol are mostly in hands of c. A.D. 450–550.

The evidence, admittedly, is not considerable. But it provides some basis—extracted from the remnants published of the Meroë excavations of 1900–10—for proposing that the Noba culture is not necessarily the precursor of the X-group, but is, broadly, contemporary with it. It would thus fill the otherwise inexplicable gap created by the absence of the X-group in the south.

But if these two cultures are broadly contemporary, they are also very different and geographically quite separate. The Noba culture, primitive and wholly African, is—in its pottery and in tomb types—different from both Meroitic and X-group. The X-group on the other hand, though it contains some, perhaps inherited, African traits—as in certain traditional types of ‘African’ pottery—represents a much more developed culture incorporating a great deal from the preceding Meroitic civilization, and having strong links with Egypt and the Roman world.

The differences in the geographical distribution of Noba and X-group sites are equally clearly marked. The X-group sites, centred on Ballana and Qostol, the mound cemeteries of the X-group Kings and Queens, range northwards to the

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First Cataract,\textsuperscript{10} southwards (on present knowledge) as far as Firka. The Noba sites stretch southwards from Tanqasi at least as far as Sennar. Of the gap between Tanqasi, the northernmost known Noba site, and Firka we know little, except that no X-group pottery was found at Kawa, either in the temple area or on the surface of the unexcavated town. Nor were any X-group sherds visible on the surface of the important Meroitic site at Argo.\textsuperscript{11} Further field work might reveal a ‘frontier’ between these two cultures, and it would be interesting to know to which of them the mounds at Wawa belong. Such mound tombs have, hitherto, all been assigned loosely to the X-group, but the Tanqasi excavations show that this may be quite wrong.

This idea of a cultural (and political) frontier in the Firka or Sai-Tanqasi region from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. is directly or indirectly mentioned in two geographically important texts, the fourth century Ethiopian inscription of 'Ezana from Axum (already mentioned) and the fifth or sixth century Greek inscription of Silko, King of the Nobades, in the Lower Nubian temple of Kalabsha.\textsuperscript{12}

'Ezana in his inscription records (line 37 of Budge’s edition) how his soldiers, having pursued the Black Noba down the Nile beyond its junction with the Atbara ‘arrived at the frontier of the Red Noba and returned safe and sound.’ At the junction of the two rivers, 'Ezana then set up a ‘throne’. What was the limit of the Axumite advance and where, in consequence, did this ‘frontier’ lie? One clue may be the apparently Ethiopic graffito on the exterior wall of Temple T. at Kawa, some of the signs of which resemble very closely Old Abyssinian, while others may be Old Abyssinian or Sabean. This has been compared with the Ethiopic graffito on Pyramid A.19 at Meroë which Littmann ascribed to one of the soldiers of 'Ezana.\textsuperscript{13} Another may be the clear evidence of the uniform burning of the temples and buildings at Jebel Barkal, Sanam and Kawa, not as Griffith and Reisner thought by Petronius, but in the third or fourth century A.D.\textsuperscript{14} With this should be compared the passage in the 'Ezana inscription where he describes the burning of the Meroitic towns (‘the towns built of bricks which the Noba had taken’) and the destruction of the temples (lines 19–21 and 36–37 of Budge’s edition).

The contrast between the two groups or divisions of Noba in 'Ezana’s inscription is in somewhat similar terms to those used by Silko, who speaks of two groups of Nobades and describes how, having driven the Blemmyes-Beja

\textsuperscript{10} W. B. Emery, op. cit., ii, pl. 4. From information kindly provided by M. Vercoutter, it appears that X-group burials occur also at Sai.
\textsuperscript{11} M. F. Laming Macadam, Temples of Kawa, ii, Oxford 1955, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{12} H. Gauthier, Temple de Kalabchah, pp. 204–5.
\textsuperscript{13} Macadam, Temples of Kawa, i, Oxford 1949, p. 118. It is certainly not Meroitic.
\textsuperscript{14} Macadam, op. cit., ii, p. 235. According to Strabo and Pliny, from Lower Nubia Petronius struck out south-eastwards across the desert to Napata. He would then have by-passed Kawa.
northwards from the Nile Valley, he turned to the ‘upper country’ and ‘of the other Nobades in the South I ravaged their lands since they contended with me.’\textsuperscript{15} The Nobades (of Silko and Procopius), as Junker first suggested, are evidently the X-group peoples.\textsuperscript{16} Is there then some equation between these two culturally different but perhaps racially connected groups, the X-group—Nobades—Red Noba on the one hand, and the Black Noba and ‘Other Nobades’ on the other; both of whom succeeded, though probably at different times, to the northern and southern provinces of the then declining Meroitic Kingdom?

It is worthwhile, very briefly, to compare this picture of political and cultural pre-Christian groupings with the situation, as we know it, in the Sudan in the Christian Nubian period, from the middle of the sixth century. Then, as the late Professor Monneret de Villard has described\textsuperscript{17} in his great work on mediaeval Nubia, there were—not two—but three principal Sudanese groupings or kingdoms. In the north there was Nobatia, the Arabic al-Maris, extending from Egypt to the ’Akasha region. In the extreme south, there was Alodia, the Aloa of a sixth century Egyptian papyrus, the ’Alwah of the Arab geographers, whose northern frontiers (according to al-Aswāni) lay between the Fourth Cataract and the junction of the Nile with the Atbara. In this kingdom, the principal racial element was that of the Noba or Nuba. In between was the Kingdom of Makuria, Arabic Muqurrah, stretching over the ‘frontier’ region between the earlier Noba and X-group cultures. Of the origins of this third and new division Makuria, little is known apart from vague references to peoples of like-sounding name in some of the classical geographers.

\textsuperscript{15} καὶ ὁ ἄλλος Νοῦβαδων ἀνωτέρω ἐπιρρήτησα τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν, ἐπειδή ἐφιλονικήσαν μετ’ ἐμοῦ.
\textsuperscript{17} For further arguments against the Blemmye theory, see U. Monneret de Villard, ‘Le Necropoli di Ballana e di Qostol’, in \textit{Orientalia}, ix, 1940, pp. 61–75.
Antiquities of the Baṭn el Hajjar
by H. N. CHITTICK

SOUTH of the Second Cataract of the River Nile lies a barren and forbidding region known as the Baṭn el Hajjar or ‘belly of stones’. This extends from the area of Sarras in the north to Akasha in the south; near its northern end lies the earliest Egyptian frontier fortress of Semna. For some eighty miles, the Nile, dotted with islands, flows through a narrow valley, flanked on the east by bare black mountains of granite and schist, and on the west by lower hills mantled with yellow sand. Scenically, it is perhaps the most spectacular stretch of the entire course of the river, but it is difficult of access and little visited. The frequent rapids make navigation very awkward, and the mountains, which in places drop sheer into the river, are a barrier to all wheeled traffic. For this reason, the modern road takes a route through the hills some miles west of the river.

Because of the remoteness of the region, its antiquities have hardly been visited and never recorded. With a view to studying this in part, I made a trip on horseback along the river from Akasha to Semna West during January, 1955. Only two and a half days were available for the seventy or so miles to be covered, and consequently only very short visits could be made to the more accessible sites. Few of the ruins to be seen on the islands were visited, and only one crossing was made to the west bank, on which there appear to be more antiquities than on the east. Such surveying as was done was of the most summary sort, and it is only the reflection that even a sketch is better than nothing that has persuaded me to include plans that can make no pretence to strict accuracy.

The antiquities seen almost all appear to date from the Christian period. The best preserved of these are a church and two forts.

The church is situated in the Omodia of Ukma East close to the Khor Kageras, which name was also ascribed by a local inhabitant to the church itself. It is indicated on the map (Sudan 1 : 250,000) at 21°7’ N. 30°42’ E. The church is surrounded by a massive dry stone wall forming a rectangular enclosure measuring about 43 m. (north–south) by 37 m. externally. The east side of this wall is seen in PLATE IX, a, the top of the church being visible above it; the hills in the background are on the west bank of the river. The total height of the wall is about 3 m. A ledge runs round its inner side, the uppermost 80 cm. or so of the wall being less than half the thickness of the lower, thus forming a parapet. At the north-east corner is a solid tower, forming three quarters of a circle, about 3 m. in diameter. The wall would thus seem to have been built for defensive purposes.
ANTTIQUITIES OF THE BAṬN EL HAJJAR

The church is not situated in the centre of this enclosure, but rather to the east. Most of the rest of the space is occupied by small, roughly built, dry-stone buildings, some certainly, and most probably, dating from a later period. The church itself is of mud-brick; the roof is completely destroyed, and only

the southern side of the main building is tolerably well preserved. The north wall is completely lacking, and later stone buildings have been built in its place.

It will be seen from the accompanying plan (FIG. 1) that there are two distinct buildings. The bigger of these is the earlier and is a church of, it would seem, the basilican type. Unfortunately, only one pier of the arcades survives, and it is difficult to be sure about the disposition of the remainder. The surviving pier, which, like the rest of the church, is of mud-brick, may be seen on the right of the photograph in PLATE IX, b. The stepped fashion in which its
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Western side is constructed is a feature to which I know no parallels. It seems that we have here the springing of a high but narrow arch. There is insufficient space for there to have been more than one other pier on this side, which I suggest was placed the same distance from the western wall as the surviving one is from the eastern. The span of the arch between the two would then be double this distance. The springing of a vault on the north side of the existing pier shows that this was the mode in which the eastern end of the nave was roofed, but in view of the position, height, and probable lightness of the arch postulated above it seems unlikely that the vault extended further west.

The rest of the layout, with apse and rooms in the four corners, is typical. The doorway at the west end of the south aisle may have been balanced by another to the north; that leading eastwards from the south-east room (later blocked) is, however, unusual. There are traces of white plaster on the interior of the walls, and the south wall is pierced by narrow windows measuring about 1.25 x 0.25 m. The axis of the building is not true east but bears 80°.

The smaller building, of which little survives at its eastern end, has few features of note. Its northern wall is built on three arches, of mud brick, resting against the south wall of the church proper, and blocking part (perhaps originally all) of the windows of the latter. A small door towards the eastern end gives access from the church, and there is another door in the eastern wall. Indications of the existence at the east end of a curved wall, its top now flush with the present surface, may denote an apse or tribune beneath. I think it possible, but not certain, that this building was a second church.

Some 300 m. to the east of these buildings is a group of what appear to be graves. Each is marked by a surround of stones, nearly flush with the ground surface, forming a figure intermediate between an oval and a rectangle, the middle part sides being straight and the corners rounded. The enclosed ground is slightly depressed suggesting a collapsed vault below; or possibly robbing. There is a thin scatter of sherds of Christian type.

I know no other instance of a fortified church in Nubia, nor, south of the Egyptian border, of any other case of a building being added to a church. In lower Nubia, however, there are contiguous churches at Medinet Addeh¹ and at Tabit.² At both these places the secondary church is to the south of the chief building, whereas at Ukma it lies to the north. At Sinesra there are living rooms adjacent to the church to north and west.³

On the island of Ed Diff, a few hundred metres south of Ukma Church, are more ruins which the scanty sherds indicate to be of Christian date. These buildings are mostly of mud-brick; some are roughly built of unhewn stone. Many of the walls of the former stand to their full height, the holes for the roof

¹ See Monneret de Villard, La Nubia Medioevale, p. 178. Both churches have four-columned aisles.
² Ibid., pp. 145–8. The secondary church is very irregular in plan.
³ Ibid., p. 164.
a. THE CHURCH AT UKMA EAST, FROM THE EAST

b. THE CHURCH AT UKMA EAST, APSE OF MAIN BUILDING
a. NORTH CORNER OF THE FORT ON SUSINARTI, FROM THE SOUTH

b. EAST WALL AND ENTRANCE OF THE FORT ON SUSINARTI
a. REMAINS OF TABLE FOR WASHING GOLD ORE, AT DOSHAT

b. CUBICAL STONE WITH HEMISPHERICAL DEPRESSIONS, DOSHAT
RAFTERS BEING VISIBLE. THERE ARE NO WINDOWS TO BE SEEN. A ROUGH STONE WALL, ALMOST COMPLETELY DESTROYED, SURROUNDS THE WHOLE.

CONTINUING OUR JOURNEY NORTHWARDS, NUMBERS OF (APPARENTLY) GRAVES WERE PASSED. ABOUT 500 M. NORTH OF UKMA CHURCH ARE TWO MOUNDS, ABOUT 2 M. IN HEIGHT, AND SOME SMALLER; AND A FEW HUNDRED METRES FURTHER ON A GROUP OF STONE CIRCLES RESEMBLING 'C-GROUP' GRAVES. THE FEW SHERDS ROUND ABOUT WERE, HOWEVER, DOUBTFULLY CHRISTIAN. IN SONKI, CLOSE TO THE TRACK BY KHOR KIDINKONG, ARE FOUR SIMILAR GRAVES WITH STONE REVETMENT, THE PROFILE BEING THUS

in section, with a diameter of 10–14 m. There are also some smaller graves of the same type, but whose surface is wholly covered with stones. A little further north, at the foot of J. Alimula, is a further group of flat-topped graves.

ALONG THIS STRETCH OF THE RIVER, ON THE WEST BANK, ARE SEVERAL FORT-LIKE BUILDINGS. THE FIRST OF THESE THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO VISIT WAS ON TANJUR ISLAND, IN THE OMODIA OF MELIK EN NASIR.

FORTS DATING FROM THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD ARE OF VERY VARIED TYPE, THEIR FORM BEING CHIEFLY Governed, IT WOULD SEEM, BY THE DETERMINATION OF THE BUILDERS TO TAKE EVERY ADVANTAGE OF THE NATURAL FEATURES. Situated at about the centre of the west side of Tanjur Island (at 21° 15’ N 30° 4’ E) is a small fort of the 'contour' type. It lies on a small hill close to the river, some 1000 m. upstream of a point where the stream is very narrow and flows fast, an obstacle to river craft coming from the north which the fort presumably intended to command. It consists simply of a wall running round the hill at a uniform height, forming a rough oval, with its longer axis at right angles to the river. The wall is of dry-stone construction, the blocks being large, rough, and irregular; its greatest height is about 3 m. but there are traces of a super-structure of mud-brick or jalse. The width on the side towards the river amounts to only 0.90 m., but increases on the landward side to a maximum of 3 m. in the sections adjacent to the entrance. This is a simple gap in the wall, which has a recess on its inner face on one side; both the inside corners are rounded, though the outside is square.

With in the fort, close to the entrance, are the remains of some mud vaults, more or less flush with the ground. These may be graves.

There is a scatter of sherds, within the fort, those that are identifiable being of Christian type.

Further downstream on the small island marked on the map as Susinarti (21° 17’ N, 30° 51’ E), but with the inhabitants called Sunnardi, is a fort of different type and greater pretensions. This is situated on the south side of the island on a hill which resembles a tilted triangle, the lowest side of which lies towards the river; the angle opposite this, to the north, is the highest point. The disposition of this hill governs that of the fort, of which a very rough plan, based on a few paced measurements and compass bearings, is shown in FIG. 2. The south wall fronts on the river, the other two running up the shoulders of the
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hill to the highest point. Here they abut on a large tower, or keep, containing several rooms and commanding a good view of the main stream of the river on the further side of the island (PLATE X, a). There are smaller towers at the other

two corners of the fort. There is only one entrance, on the eastern side, set in an angle of the wall, presumably to give the defenders a better command of the approach. This door (too narrow to be called a gate) is surmounted by an arch in mud-brick, over which runs the masonry of the wall; it may be seen at the left of PLATE X, b.

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This photograph also gives a good idea of the construction of the outer wall, which is built of biggish unhewn blocks, carefully fitted together without mortar. Here, in the part adjacent to the entrance, it reaches its greatest height (5–6 m.), being lower on the western side and lowest of all towards the river, where much of it has been destroyed. The thickness varies between 1.20 m. and 2 m.

Within the fort are remains of rough stone rooms or huts, chiefly in the south-east corner and built against the western wall. Some of those on the west side are visible in Plate x, a (the mud brick building is, however, modern). There is a scatter of sherds, of typical Christian type, including a few fragments of glass and of imported Islamic glazed ware.

The only other triangular fort in Upper Nubia known to me is also, apparently, unpublished, and lies at Deiga (18° 10’ N, 31° 35’ E). This is also built on ground rising from the river (on the right bank) and is associated with Christian pottery. It has, however, some six entrances, and solid elliptical towers round the periphery. There are also remains of a curtain wall on the side fronting the river.

Several miles north of Susinarti is an area, lying mostly within the Omodia of Doshat (as it is called on the map, though the local pronunciation sounds more like Duweishat) where there are remains of ancient gold workings. The existence of these has for long been known; an attempt, soon abandoned, was made early in this century to mine the ore again, and recently another company has begun operations on a fairly big scale. Evidence of ancient workings extends from about 21° 20’ N, to the region of the modern mine at 21° 21’ N, 30° 59’ E. Judging by the considerable areas of disturbed and pitted sand which lies in the crevices and gullies in the rock, much of the work would seem to have consisted in washing the gold from the existing alluvial deposits. Here and there may be seen the remains of the tables on which the washing was carried out (Plate xi, a). There are, however, ancient underground workings in the area of the modern mine (and perhaps elsewhere also; no search was made). One shaft follows an almost vertical seam of the white quartz gold-bearing ore to a depth of about 10 m. The ore, after being broken into small pieces, was evidently pulverized on stone querns prior to washing. Numbers of these (mostly the lower stone) were noted, being similar to the type used for grinding bread; no circular grindstones, such as are found in the Red Sea Hills, were seen. Several stone blocks such as that shown in Plate xi, b were observed; one would guess that they are connected with the extraction of gold, but their precise purpose is obscure. Each is a roughly cubical boulder, with a ground hemispherical depression in the centre of three to five of the sides of the block.

Scattered through the area are ruins of small stone huts and drystone enclosure walls. Some of the latter extend for considerable distances; the land over which they run being wholly barren it is difficult to see what purpose they could serve. The rather scanty potsherds were all wheel made, but
coarse in character; they include the base of a *gadus*, the type of pot used to raise water on a *Saqia* (water wheel) which does not occur before the Meroitic period. A buff-green ware which occurs resembles the mediaeval ware found at Aidhab (though a very similar coarse green ware was made in Napatan times). An amphora,\textsuperscript{4} stated to come from the area of the mines, is of a type dated to the 8th century A.D.; on its shoulder is incised a small cross.

There are engravings on a rock at 21° 20' 20" N, 30° 56' 30" E, but there is no reason to suggest that they are connected with the gold working. They include pictures of giraffe, bull, and of a boat; nightfall unfortunately compelled me to hurry on without copying them.

The ruined village on the island lying opposite Attiri, and to which local report gave the name Masanarti, looks well worthy of investigation. A well-preserved but rough defensive wall encloses a mass of ruined mud-brick or *jalus* buildings, the hill being crowned by what appears to be a church. Though a photograph of this site, taken from a distance, has been published,\textsuperscript{5} it does not ever seem to have been described. Time, however, was too short to muster a boat and cross to the island. Not far away on the mainland, opposite Tila island, is an area with a plentiful strew of Christian potsherds, and another similar site close to the southernmost houses of Semna village. Here, as the two Egyptian forts of the Middle Kingdom and the dramatic narrows of Semna come into view, we enter a more thoroughly explored region.

The only antiquities seen in the course of this journey to be (presumably) dated to before the Christian period are thus the flat-topped and mound graves of the southern part of the region. The Batn el Hajjar thus seems to have been more important in the Christian period than before or since; that importance we may guess, in view of the extreme paucity of agricultural land, to have been due to the value of the deposits of gold, and perhaps also to the fact that the frontiers between the two northern Christian Kingdoms lay in this region.

\textsuperscript{4} Kindly presented by Sgr. Giovanni Nascé to the Sudan Museum (No. 11503). The vessel is similar to that illustrated by Griffith, *LAA*, xiv, 1927, pl. xliviii, no. 2.

\textsuperscript{5} See Arkell, *A Short History of the Sudan*, pl. 21 (b) and p. 195.
L’Éthiopie et l’Arabie méridionale, aux IIIe et IVe siècles A.D. d’après les découvertes récentes

JEAN DORESSE

La découverte d’inscriptions sud-arabiques nouvelles provenant surtout de Marib vient, ces derniers temps, de bouleverser la chronologie des royaumes d’Arabie du sud que l’on concevait jusque là. Par suite de ce bouleversement, des épisodes de l’histoire de Saba peuvent désormais être très précisément mis en rapports avec quelques détails de l’histoire beaucoup plus obscure de l’Éthiopie axoumite. La période sur laquelle portent principalement ces révélations s’étend du milieu du IIIe jusqu’aux premières décades du IVe siècle. Elles concernent donc une époque où l’empire éthiopien, né quelques siècles plus tôt grâce à une civilisation elle-même apportée d’Arabie méridionale, semble atteindre subitement une puissance extraordinaire.

Que savait-on, jusqu’à présent, des commencements de cette grandeur d’Axoum ? Les ruines, les petits monuments, que l’on a retrouvés sur les plateaux du Tigré, sont relativement abondants mais, dans la plupart des cas, restent anonymes ou indatables. Ils n’ont encore aidé à reconstituer nulle histoire précise. Les plus éloquents d’entre eux, ce sont deux inscriptions archaïques d’Abba-Pantalewôn (Axoum), l’une sabéenne, l’autre grecque, relatives à des campagnes lancées outre-mer par les Axoumites. Puis c’est l’inscription grecque de Sembrouthès, ‘grand roi des rois des Axoumites’, à Decca-Maharé. Ce sont encore les stèles guèzes d’Anza et de Matara ; les dédicaces grecques que des empereurs, dont les noms sont perdus, laissèrent, l’une à Adoulis, l’autre dans les ruines de Méroé.1 A cela, ajoutons des informations indirectes encore plus puissantes : la meilleure, c’est la mention du roi d’Axoum Zoscalès, avare fieffé mais bon connaisseur des lettres grecques, que nomme le Péripole de la Mer Erythée vers l’année 50.2 Ajoutons-y une allusion du Talmud, un peu plus tardive : un docte rabbin dit avoir rencontré, dans le

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2 C. Conti-Rossini, Storia, p. 119.
Sud de l’Arabie, un prince à peau sombre, se disant Kouchi, c’est à dire probablement éthiopien.3

Par bonheur, à ces monuments qui permettent seulement d’entrevoir la présence historique d’un empire axoumite qui pourtant dut être prospère, s’ajoutent, après le milieu du IIIe siècle, des monnaies frappées par ses souverains. On a pu constater que, parmi ces pièces très variées, les aurei suivent fidèlement les variations de poids dont le modèle est donné par les dévaluations des monnaies de l’empire romain. C’est ainsi qu’en pesant ces pièces on a pu établir la succession à peu près certaine des empereurs qu’elles représentent et dont elles donnent les noms. L’évolution du style de ces pièces confirme, d’ailleurs, la séquence dont voici les premiers éléments4:

**ENDYBIS BISI-DAKHOU** (monnaies inscrites en grec).

**APHILAS BISI-DIMELE** (inscrites en grec ; sur l’effigie qui orne l’avers paraît la couronne impériale).

**OUSANAS BISI-GHISENE** (inscrites en grec ; certaines monnaies de ce souverain pèsent encore 2 gr. 56, comme celles des précédents ; d’autres s’allègent à 2 gr. 19 que les suivantes ne dépasseront plus).

**OUAZEB BISI-ZA-GALAY** (exceptionnellement inscrites en guèze non-vocalisé ; grand monogramme guèze dessiné au dessus de la couronne ; la composition décorative de cette pièce est particulièrement majestueuse; poids : 2 gr. 04).

**EZANA BISI-HALEN** (de nouveau inscrites en grec ; certaines des monnaies sont marquées du croissant et du disque stellaire, symboles païens ; d’autres portent désormais la Croix).

Cette énumération pourrait se poursuivre de façon assez précise, d’après ces monnaies, jusqu’aux alentours du Xe siècle, c’est à dire jusqu’à l’époque où l’empire d’Axoum sombre dans la décadence. Nous la bornons aux époques pour lesquelles les inscriptions d’Arabie méridionale viennent d’apporter leurs plus précieux éclaircissements.

Quelques dates précises peuvent être ajoutées à la suite de noms royaux que nous venons de donner. L’allégement de la monnaie, tel qu’on le constate sous le règne d’Ousanas, répond manifestement à la réforme monétaire opérée par Constantin juste avant 312.5 D’autre part, de l’histoire d’Ezana, on connaît un certain nombre de faits. Son avènement se situerait vers 320/325. Des stèles commémorant certaines de ses victoires et inscrites en sabéen, en grec,

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3 *Storia*, p. 120.
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en guèze archaïque, ont subsisté à Axoum. L’une d’elles atteste effectivement son abandon du paganisme sud-arabe pour un monothéïsme nouveau qui, ces monnaies l’indiquent en remplaçant le croissant par la croix, n’est point le judaïsme, qui courait aussi par ces contrées, mais bien le christianisme. Or l’histoire de cette conversion est encore éclairée, par exemple, par Rufin, qui raconte comment le pays fut guidé vers le christianisme par deux jeunes-gens de Tyr que le hasard jeta sur les côtes du pays pendant le règne du père d’Ezana. Ces jeunes-gens assistèrent Ezana pendant son éducation, puis pendant sa minorité. C’est l’un d’eux, Frumentius, qui, se rendant ensuite à Alexandrie, fut consacré comme premier évêque d’Axoum et renvoyé en Ethiopie par Athanase entre les années 341 et 346.

A ce sujet, il faut noter que les inscriptions d’Ezana, en même temps qu’elles lui donnent les titres de ‘roi d’Axoum, Himyar, Raydâh, Habashât (qu’une rédaction grecque de ces textes traduit par Ethiopie), Saba, Salhên, Siyamo, Bëga, Kasou, roi des rois . . . qui n’est point vaincu par l ennemi . . . , le disent ‘fils d’Ella-Amida’. Ella-Amida était donc ce monarque à la cour duquel avaient échoué Frumentius et Aedesius. Mais le nom de ce souverain ne figure sur aucune des monnaies jusqu’à présent retrouvées. Il peut s’agir d’un empereur duquel nulle pièce ne nous serait parvenue ; mais il faut convenir que, dans ces conditions, son règne—tassé entre, d’une part, celui de Ouazéb déjà postérieur à cet Ousanas qui gouverna au-delà de l’année 312, et d’autre part l’avènement d’Ezana qui se fit au plus tard vers 325—aurait été très éphémère. Il est donc plus probable qu’Ella-Amida ait été un autre titre du roi Ouazéb. Il est, en effet, notable que les souverains axoumites semblent avoir porté une titulature complexe dont les monnaies ou les inscriptions recueillaient des éléments différents et incomplets. Cette titulature aurait comporté ; un véritable nom—par exemple : Endybis, Aphila, Ezana, Caléb . . . ; un qualificatif : Ella-Amida, Ella-Asbeha, Ella-Gabaz . . . ; une indication de tribu d’origine : Bisi-Dakhou, Bisi-Dimélé, Bisi-Ianaaf . . . ‘l’homme de Dakhou . . . de Dimélé, . . . de Ianaaf.’

Mettons en présence de ce schéma historique ce que nous apprennent, pour la même époque, les inscriptions d’Arabie, d’une importance capitale, qui ont été publiées plus particulièrement en 1956 par le Prof. G. Ryckmans. La pièce capitale de ces découvertes, c’est l’inscription que l’on appelle désormais ‘Ryckmans 535’, du nom de son éminent éditeur et du numéro sous lequel il l’a publiée.

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Cette longue inscription, appartenant au roi sabéen 'Ilsharah Yahdub et à son corégent Ya'zil Bayyin, rapporte plusieurs campagnes lancées par eux contre le souverain arabe 'Imru 'l-Qays et, surtout, contre Shamir Yuhar'ish,—concurrents qui, dans les derniers épisodes, appelle à son secours Ouazébé, roi d'Axoum. Cette inscription a contribué à regrouper vers la fin du IIIe et le début du IVE siècle les événements mentionnés par un certain nombre d'autres inscriptions qui citent elles aussi le nom de cet 'Ilsharah,—événements que l'on avait jusque là situés aux alentours de notre ère ou même jusque vers l'an 115 B.C.

Quel est désormais, vu d'Arabie, le cours des événements dans lequel se reflète, marquée par des allusions, la puissance éthiopienne ? On constate que, pour la maîtrise des royaumes sud-arabes, diverses lignées sont aux prises : là où l'on avait voulu supposer, d'après les titres ambitieux dont ils se parent, de grands rois exerçant un pouvoir réel, il y avait en fait des rivaux assumant plus ou moins vainement des titres identiques. De ces lignées, on peut tracer le tableau suivant :^88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabes</th>
<th>Saba et Raydân</th>
<th>Habashat</th>
<th>Axoum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yarim 'Aynan</td>
<td>Fari' Yahanb</td>
<td>Ysr Yuhan'im</td>
<td>Gadarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alhan Nahfan</td>
<td>'Ilsharah Yahdub</td>
<td>Shamarin Yuhar'ish (nommé auprès de son père des 270 et j. à 281) (ensuite : roi 'de Saba et Raydân')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'r Awtar, roi—'Ilsharah Yahdub roi 'de Saba et Raydân' (=prend ensuite pour corégent Ya'zil Bayyin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Imru 'l-Qays</td>
<td>Nasha'karib Ya'min Yuharrib et : Watarum Yuha'min</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† 328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ouazébé (règne dont les limites extrêmes sont entre 312 et 325)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^88 Ce tableau, tout en tenant compte des données les plus récentes, s'inspire de celui qui a été établi par J. Ryckmans, L'institution monarchique en Arabie Méridionale avant l'Islam (Ma’n et Saba), Louvain, 1951, p. 337.
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Voici comment les textes permettent d’étoffer ce schéma.

On voit se dérouler des luttes auxquelles participent tout particulièrement les populations du Hamdân et, plus encore, les Habashân, c’est à dire des peuples établis sur les versants occidentaux du Yémen. Les Habashân présentent l’intérêt d’être des parents ou alliés des Axoumites (ce sont certains d’entre eux qui laisseront à l’Éthiopie le nom d’Abyssinie); ils sont installés depuis le Sahartân et le Haouzân jusqu’au Ma‘âfir. Ils tiennent les cités de Zafar et de Sawa (l’actuelle Taîzz) que, deux siècles auparavant, Pline connaissait déjà comme les maitresses de provinces dont les côtes, par les ports d’Océlis et de Mouza, unissaient l’Arabie aux terres africaines.

Dans la seconde moitié du 11e siècle de notre ère, un prince d’une lignée du Hamdân, ‘Alhân Nahfân, supplante le roi de Saba Fari‘ Yanhub. Avec son fils Sha‘r Awtar, il usurpe le trône et s’établit au palais de Salhên. Dès lors, il s’allie en premier lieu à un puissant souverain du Hadramaut, Yad’ab Ghayân, prince auquel semble remonter le développement d’une cité dont les vastes ruines se voient encore peu au Sud de Timma, à Hajar bin-Humaïd. Ensuite ‘Alhân Nahfân sollicite l’alliance d’un seigneur encore plus puissant, Gadarat, roi des Habashân. Un pacte l’ayant finalement lié à ce roi, avec l’aide duquel il se hâte d’écraser certains adversaires, il commémore ce succès par la somptueuse dédicace de trente statues d’or au dieu Ta’lab de Riyam, ce qui donne à penser que Gadarat représentait un allié considérable. Aucune de ces statues n’a, bien sûr, subsisté. Mais on a retrouvé, dans les ruines mêmes du temple de Riyam, jusqu’à seize copies de la dédicace qui les accompagnait et qui racontait cette histoire. Tandis que ‘Alhân Nahfân était, nous disent-elles, établi au grand palais sabéen de Salhên, c’est d’un château appelé Zararân que négociait le roi des Habashân. Certains historiens ont cru comprendre qu’un détail de ces textes faisait allusion à une alliance sur terre et sur mer, ce qui leur a fait suggérer que ce prince aurait eu sa résidence en Éthiopie et ce qui leur a fait associer ces épisodes très étroitement (mais à une époque bien trop ancienne) à l’histoire éthiopienne. Ce caractère éthiopien de Gadarat était d’autant plus vraisemblable que le nom de GDR, pratiquement équivalent à GDRT, se retrouve à deux reprises dans les listes éthiopiennes médiévales qui prétendent énumérer les noms des anciens rois d’Axoum. On y voit figurer un GDR parmi les successeurs les plus immédiats de ‘Ménélïk Ier, fils du roi Salomon et de la reine de Saba,’ fondateur, selon les traditions de la nation

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11 CIH, 308.
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axoumite : c'est trop ancien pour notre histoire. Un autre GDR se situe peu avant les souverains Abraha et Asbeha, dont l'archéologie ignore encore les noms mais que les traditions situent au moment où l'Éthiopie adopte le christianisme : c'est bien à l'âge où se place la mention de GDRT par l'inscription d' ' Alhân Nahfân. De plus, aujourd'hui, l'existence historique d'un roi GDR vient d'être attestée par une preuve des plus tangibles : par l'inscription gravée sur le ' sceptre ' votif que ce nagashi d'Axoum dédia en l'ensevelissant avec les monuments que nous avons retrouvés à Azbi-Dera, dans l'Est du Tigré. Ajoutons à cela qu'une inscription sud-arabe récemment signalée par le P. Jamme mentionne le même GDRT que les dédicaces du temple de Riyam. Cette fois, GDRT y fait figure d'adversaire du roi Sha'r Awtar, fils de son ancien allié ' Alhân Nahfân. Il porte les titres précis de ' roi de Habashât et d'Axoum' et de ' nagashi'.

Certes l'expression : bbrm/wybsn (ligne 17) qui fut, jadis, traduite ' sur terre et sur mer', dans cette inscription, et qui fit chercher en Éthiopie la résidence de Gadarat est maintenant interprétée de façon certaine comme désignant ' les campagnes et les steppes'. Il est , en outre possible que Zararân, où ce roi résidait, aït été une localité du Yémen telle que l'actuelle ez-Zireir, dans la vallée de Harib. Mais il est bien attesté, désormais, que GDR était un souverain d'Axoum illustré par les légendes comme par les monuments.

Ce que devint l'alliance ainsi bâtie ?— C'est ce que laisse entrevoir, une génération plus tard, une série d'inscriptions plus variées, dont la plus précieuse est la dédicace ' Ryckmans 535'. Ces textes paraissent consacrer l'effacement de la lignée de ' Alhân Nahfân. Son fils, Sha'r Awtar, qui affiche le titre tout nouveau de ' roi de Saba et de Raydân', ne laisse pas de successeur connu. La coalition que son père avait établie avec les Habashân est reprise à son profit (à la suite de conquêtes?) par un souverain d'une autre lignée : Shamir Yuhar'ish, de qui le nom apparaît pour la première fois dans des inscriptions dédiées par son père Yasr Yuhan'im, vers l'an 270. Mais ce prince n'a point le champ libre : en face de lui se dresse une troisième famille représentée par ' Isharah Yahdub et par Ya'zil Bayyan, fils de l'ancien roi de Salhên, Fari' Yanhub, que ' Alhân Nahfân avait dépossédé. Cela n'avait d'ailleurs point empêché ' Isharah, aux débuts de son règne, d'exercer son pouvoir conjointement avec Sha'r Awtar, fils de ' Alhân Nahfân. Tous ces souverains prétendent ensemble au même titre, nouveau dans le protocole sud-arabique, de rois ' de Saba et de Raydân'.

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Lorsque cette histoire nous apparaît, Shamir vient de se faire enlever par ses rivaux la cité de Marib tandis qu’au nord un adversaire venu de plus loin—le célèbre ‘Imru ‘l-Qays, roi de tous les Arabes’—lui prend Nedjrân. En compensation, Shamir semble assurer son autorité sur l’Ouest du Yémen : c’est ce que suggère une inscription qui décrit une campagne menée par lui contre quatre tribus du Sahartân qu’il poursuit dans la vallée de Damad, qu’il accule au pied des deux volcans éteints Oukwatain et qu’il jette enfin à la mer.\textsuperscript{18} Alors, avec l’aide du Sahartân et du Ma’afir, il tente de résister à ‘Ilsharah : en vain. Des inscriptions plus tardives nous apprennent que Shamir, les seigneurs du Sahartân et les maîtres de la cité de Sawa capitale du Ma’afir, ont été contraints, tous ensemble, de demander la paix à leurs rivaux.\textsuperscript{19}


Quelle fut ensuite la fortune de ce Shamir qui, dans certaines dédicaces, s’est lui aussi paré du protocole ambitieux de roi ‘de Saba, Raydân, Hadramaut et Yamanat’,\textsuperscript{20} et qui a également porté le titre plus bref de Shamir dhu-Raydân ? On ignore si Ouazèb vint à son secours. Il semble même—s’il ne s’agit là d’épisodes à situer lors d’une trêve antérieure ?—que Shamir ait fini par se rallier à ses anciens ennemis, et qu’il ait fait campagne aux côtes des princes de Marib lors de guerres où ceux-ci conquièrent le Hadramaut et où la grande cité de Shobwa, avec ses soixante temples, est détruite.\textsuperscript{21}

Il semblerait donc que, dans ces années, la lignée de l’ancien roi Fari‘ Yanhub, jadis éphémèrement écarté par ‘Alhân Nahfân, se soit de nouveau assurée la suprématie. De fait, le pouvoir de ces rois est devenu considérable ; car il faut ajouter qu’‘Ilsharah et son frère, depuis qu’ils se sont emparés de Marib, ont ajouté à la résidence traditionnelle de Salhên le nouveau château de Ghoumdân, le plus splendide de ceux qu’aît connus l’Arabie méridionale, édifié dans la cité également neuve de San‘ā. Illustré par l’érection de cette demeure et, aussi d’autres palais de plaisance ornés de marbres aux alentours

\textsuperscript{18} CIH, 407.
\textsuperscript{19} CIH, 314.
\textsuperscript{20} Cf. J. Ryckmans, Institution monarchique ..., p. 304 sq.
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de Ṣan‘a, ’Ilsharah Yahub devait même être un des princes les plus célèbres dont le Yémen ait gardé le souvenir. L'historien arabe Hamdani le mentionnera encore en le présentant aussi comme un poète, de qui il cite quelques vers. 
Enfin, les traditions himyarites tardives firent de lui le père ou l'ancêtre de la princesse qu'elles identifièrent, anachroniquement, sous le nom de Bilkis, à la bible Reine de Saba.

Le pouvoir ainsi établi devait d'abord rester à la lignée d'’Ilsharah : d’autres inscriptions gravées à Marib font état de victoires remportées par le souverain Nasha’karib Ya’min Yuharhib, héritier d’ Ilsharah et, probablement, fils de Ya’zil Bayyin. Ce nouveau roi continue les guerres de ses pères contre le Sahartân et, —dans une dédicace où ne figure plus nulle allusion à Shamir,— couvre le dieu Almaqah de bénédictions pour les succès qu’il a remportés.

Mais l’effet de ces rivalités entre lignées rivales allait sans doute se tourner, provisoirement, au profit des empereurs axoumites qui étaient déjà intervenus sur ces terres (si l’on en juge par les inscriptions axoumites d’Abba-Pantalewôn) dans des siècles plus anciens, et auxquels Shamir venait justement, en la personne de Ouazéb, de lancer un appel. C’est ainsi qu’un souverain éthiopien—Ouazéb, Ella-Amida, Ezana aux débuts de son règne—étend ses prétentions sur l’ensemble des terres pour lesquelles Ilsharah et Shamir s’étaient combattus. C’est-ce que signifie le titulature de roi ‘d’Axoum, Himyar, Raydân, Habashât, Saba, Salhên, . . .’ adoptée par Ezana dans toutes ses inscriptions. Les Éthiopiens—qui dans les mêmes décades ont détruit Méroé—s’établissent donc sur ces territoires—de façon plus ou moins effective, bien sûr,—jusqu’aux années 375–378 à partir desquelles le prince sabéen Malkikarib Yuhан’tim rebâtit un empire himyarite qui va rester indépendant de l’Éthiopie jusqu’à 525. C’est durant ce siècle et demi qu’après Malkikarib règnent les rois qualifiés de Toubba, lesquels adoptent le judaïsme.

Comment la stèle, grecque, que le voyageur Cosmas Indicopleustes copia vers 525 à Adoulis, se situe-t-elle par rapport à l’histoire ainsi reconstituée ?

Les campagnes qu’ênumère, dans ce texte, un souverain dont le nom est malencontreusement perdu, aboutissent véritablement à la création d’un empire axoumite. Les premières de ces guerres ont été conduites contre les Guèzes et l’Agamé, le pays des Agao et le Sémién, les Bedja, la Somalie, le Sasou,—c’est à dire, sans doute, le Ouollega. Une fois soumis ces peuples, qui représentent la plus grande étendue que le territoire éthiopien ait jamais atteinte, les flottes

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23 The Antiquities of South Arabia. . ., p. 21 et 36. Cf. J. Doresse, L’Empire du Prêtre-Jean, I, chapitres III et VIII.
25 Cf. DAE, IV, nos. 6–11.
26 Cf. Storia, p. 121 sq.
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parties d'Adoulis assurent la pacification des Arabes des côtes—les Kinaïdocolpites et les Arrhabites—depuis le pays des Sabéens jusqu'à la Nabatène. C'est au retour de ces flottes que le souverain, dans la vingt-septième année de son règne, passe en revue ses troupes et dédie à Arès,—au dieu dynastique Mahrém, substitut d'Almaqoh—un trône votif tel que ceux que l'on retrouve dans les ruines d'Axoum. 'Le premier et le seul des rois de ma lignée, j'ai soumis tous ces peuples', s'exclame le vainqueur. De fait, l'empire ainsi créé atteint presque la plus grande étendue que l'Éthiopie connaissait au cours de son histoire, puisqu'il contrôle les routes menant à l'Égypte, le trafic qui va d'Adoulis vers Méroë, les voies maritimes de la Mer Rouge et même,—exception faite des royaumes sabéens qui ne sont pas revendiqués clairement,—la grande route de l'encens de laquelle dépend la prospérité de ceux-ci, depuis sa sortie de Saba jusqu'à la Nabatène.

Quand situer ce grand roi de qui, malgré la longueur particulière de son règne (plus de 27 ans) l'histoire a très injustement oublié le nom ? Le grand historien C. Conti Rossini avait voulu imaginer, dans l'auteur de l'inscription d'Adoulis, quelque roi d'Axoum qui aurait été l'allié de Palmyre au moment où cette puissance fut écrasée par les Romains. Il donnait pour argument la présence de captifs axoumites au triomphe de l'empereur Aurélien qui célébra cette victoire à Rome en 274. Mais on a reconnu, depuis, que ces captifs éthiopiens, n'auraient été que des mercenaires capturés en Égypte, et non des soldats officiellement envoyés par leur nation à l'aide de Palmyre. Pourtant, il serait possible de situer cet immense développement de l'empire d'Axoum dans les mêmes années où s'étendait la puissance de Palmyre. On en possède une preuve étonnante dans le livre des Chapitres attribués à l'hérésiarche Mani (216–276), que l'on a retrouvé en copte. Voici ce que dit un passage du Kephalaion LXXVII: 'L'Apôtre (c'est à dire Mani) parla de nouveau : Il y a quatre grands royaumes dans ce monde. Le premier est celui de Babylone et de la Perse; le second est le royaume des Romains; le troisième est celui des Axoumites; le quatrième est le royaume du Nil'. Ainsi, du point de vue du prophète qui résidait en Babylone, l'empire d'Axoum ne le cédait qu'à la Perse et à Rome, passait avant l'Égypte, et éclipsait si totalement les royaumes du sud de l'Arabie qu'il n'en est point fait mention.

Est-il dès lors possible de mieux identifier le souverain de l'inscription d'Adoulis ? Notre vainqueur pourrait-il être identifié avec l'un des rois mentionnés par les monnaies ? Disons tout de suite qu'il ne peut s'agir d'Ezana qui, moins de vingt ans après les débuts de son règne, adoptera le christianisme alors que notre prince anonyme, après vingt-sept années de trône, est encore païen.

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27 Cf. Storia, p. 124 sq.

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Ce ne peut être non plus Ouazéb dont le règne, cantonné au maximum entre les années 312 et 325, fut beaucoup trop bref. D’ailleurs, le Kephalaión que nous avons cité prouve que l’empire axoumite était déjà constitué de façon prestigieuse avant la mort de Mani, donc avant 276. Du coup, il ne peut sans doute pas plus s’agir d’Ousanas, dont le règne dépassera l’année 312! Comme le vainqueur d’Adoulis se proclame même le premier qui ait atteint pareille puissance, il ne peut donc être que l’un des deux premiers souverains révélés par les monnaies ou bien même un prince plus ancien. Peut-être pourrons nous un jour mieux reconnaître notre héros, soit dans cet Endybis qui, signe d’une puissance nouvelle, donne à l’Éthiopie ses premières monnaies, soit dans cet Aphilas qui introduit sur ses effigies la couronne impériale, symbole, si grandiose, soit encore dans ce mystérieux GDR que monuments et traditions s’unissent pour célébrer?

Un des plus grands mystères archéologiques d’Axoum, c’est l’âge, et la signification des innombrables stèles dont les tronçons, le plus souvent abattus mais parfois encore dressés vers le ciel, se groupent en certains secteurs du site antique. Les plus mystérieux de ces monolithes restent, sans doute, ceux que revêt un remarquable décor architectural, colosses dont l’un dépassait 37 mètres de haut. Nous avons eu, en 1954 et 1955, le privilège de conduire les deux premières campagnes de fouilles qui ont commencé de révéler l’ensemble architectural, les terrasses aux murs polis, sur lesquelles s’alignèrent ces aiguilles de pierre. Ce que révèle aujourd’hui l’histoire commune de l’Arabie méridionale et de l’empire d’Axoum, ce que l’on y apprend des souverains qui, au cours du troisième siècle et pendant la première moitié du IVe, bâtirent une puissance jusqu’ici méconnue, suggère que des monuments aussi prodigieux purent être l’oeuvre de ces mêmes souverains.
Ethiopia and Southern Arabia during the III and IV centuries A.D. according to recent discoveries

by J. Doresse

(English Summary)

PROFESSOR G. RYCKMAN'S publication of new Sabean inscriptions chiefly from Marib, of which the most important is 'Ryckman's 535' has given us the opportunity to establish now a coherent history of the kingdoms of southern Arabia during the second half of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th. At this time East Africa and southern Arabia, already linked together for a number of centuries, display still closer links. We must then compare the newly discovered facts with what we already knew of the history of Ethiopia from very scanty inscriptions and chiefly from original coins found in excavations.

One can verify in Sabean country the rivalry of noble families, struggling for the cities of Marib, Nedjran, and chiefly for the complete possession of the title: King of Saba and of Raydan. While one of these families really controls the very heart of the Sabean country another one takes as an ally the Western inhabitants of Yemen among whom are the powerful Habashan, a branch of which will give to Ethiopia the name of Abyssinia.

At first, one sees Alhan Nahfan join forces with Gadarat, Prince of the Habashan. Until now the historians, who had guessed that this Gadarat was a genuine sovereign of Ethiopia, have dated this event about two or three centuries too early.

Then a violent rivalry broke out, interrupted by truces, between Shamir Yuhar'ish and 'Ilsharah Yahdub who quickly gained considerable power and established the palace of Ghoumdan and the city of San’a. Shamir Yuhar'ish who joined forces in his turn with the Habashan, was to make a call for help from the King of Axum, Ouazeb, who reigned between the limit dates 312–325.

After all these events, the history of southern Arabia becomes dark again. However, one can ascertain that the great Axumic Emperor 'Ezana, the same one who was to embrace Christianity towards the middle of the 4th century, claimed, as one can see from the very formulary of his Axumic inscriptions, the suzerainty not only over Saba and Raydan but also over Himyar, Habashat and Salhen. We have no proof of the reality of this possible suzerainty.

Is it possible in relation with those events to place the extraordinary conquests of the anonymous Ethiopian emperor who dedicated the Greek inscription of Adulis—which is the real birth-certificate of the Axumic Empire? Without
doubt it must be placed during a period prior to the events we alluded to above, since he states himself to be 'The first and only one' of his lineage who accomplished such conquests. Moreover, a passage of the *Kephalai* of the heresiarch Mani (A.D. 276), preserved in a Coptic version, mentions the Empire of Axum as being the third great world power of his time, immediately after Persia and Rome. This is a proof that the imperial achievements described by the stela of Adulis were already completed at the time—prior to A.D. 276—when this chapter of Mani's work was written.

These few facts suggest what were the true inter-relations between the Axumic Emperors and Arabia. Moreover, the few references we have about the uncommon power of Ethiopia from the 3rd century onward lead us to suggest that the wonderful and colossal Stela of Axum could be ascribed to the great sovereigns of this period.
During an inspection visit to Buhen Temple I noticed a small stela of brownish sandstone, which I brought back to the Khartoum Museum, where it now is under number 11778 (cf. Plate XII, a and Fig. 1).

The reading of this stela does not present great difficulty if one excepts the qualification ascribed to the god Sobk, which is nearly defaced (see Plate XII): it runs (cf. Fig. 1):

'A boon which the king gives (to) Sobk Lord of Sumenu (a), (to) Horus Lord of Buhen (and to) Horus, Lord of foreign lands (b), that they may give invocation-offerings (consisting of) bread and beer, to the overseer of interpreters (c) Dedusobk, son of (lit. who was made by), Dedusobk repeating life (d), (and) born of Neket, venerable (lit. possessor of veneration').

Fig. 1. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 11778

1 Dimensions 0.45 x 0.30 x 0.10 m.
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Notes
(a) For the writing **swmnw** see, for example, Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, iii, pl. xiv, 2; Porter-Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, v, p. 63; and Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 28, p. 149.

(b) For this qualification of Horus see Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA*, 35, 1949, p. 51 (C); Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, ii, p. 29.

(c) For the title ‘w ‘Interpreter’ and Imy-r ‘w ‘Overseer of Interpreters’, see A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA*, 37, 1915, pp. 117–26; ibid., 39, 1917, pp. 133–4; Peet, *PSBA*, 37, 1915, pp. 246–52; and Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, ii, pp. 14, 17. It was one of the titles of the Elephantine officials who undertook journeys to Nubia during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. See Säve–Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 10, 27, 45, 50, 67 ff. For the form of the sign, see Gardiner, Peet, Cerny, l.c., inscr. 71, pl. xxi, where it is given as **(temp. Amenemhat II).**

(d) This qualification added to the name of deceased (see *Wb*, i, 341 (4) and (5)), is frequent on the stelae from Buhem, see, for example, Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhem*, pp. 110, 113, 114, 180, 183, 184.

Khartoum Mus. 11778 is similar to another Buhem stela kept in the British Museum (see fig. 2 for comparison). Same disposition of the text, same figures of Horus on each side of the second register, same representations of the deceased in the right hand corner of the monument. The two stelae, if not actually engraved by the same craftsman, are certainly of the same date (see p. 68).

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2 *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, part iv, pl. 4.
The father and mother of our ‘overseer of interpreters’ are known from another stela, also from Buhen, Khartoum Mus. 372 A,\(^3\) inadequately published by Randall-MacIver and Woolley (see Plate XIII and Fig. 3). The text runs:

\[\text{A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris and Horus Lord of Buhen that he (sic) may give an invocation-offering (consisting) of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, incense and oil, for the spirit (Ka) of the Lady of the House Neket, justified (and) for the spirit of the honoured one Dedusobk, justified.}\]

Fig. 3. KHARTOUM MUSEUM 372A.

The name Dedusobk appears again on still another stela from Buhen, wrongly attributed to the New Kingdom,\(^4\) but which, from the title \(w'rtw-n-hk3\) ‘overseer of the Prince’s Table’, must be of the Middle Kingdom.\(^5\) On this stela, one Dedusobk is mentioned as the son of a certain 𓊙𓊕𓊢𓊧𓊕 (?) and of 𓊚𓊫𓊢 (?) and accordingly differs from the Dedusobk of Khartoum Mus. 11778, but could be of the same family, either the grandfather or the grandson of Dedusobk, the husband of Neket (Khartoum Mus. 372 A, see fig. 3). Before leaving this inscription, it should be noted that one of the daughters of the deceased, a sister of Dedusobk, is called 𓊙𓊚 Sobk-wer.

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\(^3\) Brownish sandstone, 0.50×0.35×0.07 m. Comes from grave K.26, see Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, p. 208.

\(^4\) Randall-MacIver and Woolley, ibid., p. 184. The authors state ‘Stela of which the grave number has been lost in transit’, but they classify it among the stelae from the New Kingdom Cemetery.

\(^5\) See \(Wb\), 1, 288, 13, which ascribes the title to the Middle Kingdom.
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Lastly the base of a small granite statuette (cf. PLATE XII, b), found some years ago in Sai Island, bears the inscription:—

A boon which the king gives (to) Ptah-Sokaris, that he may give an invocation offering (consisting) of bread and beer for the spirit (Ka) of Dedusobk son of (lit. who was made by) Djarru.

Fig. 4. KharTouM MUSEUM 5516

From the name of the father, it can be seen that the Dedusobk of Sai is still a different personage from the Dedusobks of KharTouM stelae 11778, 372 A and from the BuhEn stela just mentioned.

All these occurrences of the name 'Sobk' either in Dedusobk or other personal names found with Sobk7 as a component could have been merely coincidence, but for the fact that the stela, KharTouM Mus. 11778, indicates that the crocodile god was worshipped in Nubia and the personal name, Nebsumenu, clearly related to the worship of the same god, appears from time to time in Egypto-Nubian onomastica.

That the crocodile god was specially worshipped in Nubia is further substantiated by a small stela (KharTouM Mus. 2647) found by Reisner in 1928 in Semna West8 (cf. PLATE XIV and FIG. 5), which reads:—

A boon which the king gives (to) Ptah-Sokaris (and) Osiris, Lord of BuhEn, (and) Sobk-Re, Lord of Sumenu (and) Dedun who is in front of Ta-Seti (Nubia) (and) Horus who is over his . . . (?)9 (and) Khnum, Lord of the Cataract (and)

6 KharTouM Mus. 5516. The card reads as follows: 'Picked up by Mr Apter near Tumuli at s. end of Sai Island, Feb. 1947'. The statuette is mentioned in Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, p. 165.

7 See, for example, the Sobk-wer quoted above, the same name, but for a man, appears at Iken, 10 km. south of BuhEn (see JEA, 31, 1945, p. 7), a Sôbkemhab lived in BuhEn under the xiiith Dynasty (see Barns, KUSII, pp. 19–20), as well as a Sôbkemsaft (see Randall-MacIver and Woolley, BuhEn, p. 182).

8 Cf. Reisner, SNR, 12, p. 157 (3) and BMMA, 1929, p. 74 (3).

9 A qualification of Horus, which, with the limited means at my disposal in KharTouM I have been unable to find elsewhere. We know that Horus was specially worshipped in Nubia (see Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten u. Nubien, pp. 201–2) and that more than one specific falcon-god was adored there (see Id., ibid, p. 201, notes 6 and 11). The Horus mentioned here could be one of those Horus-gods, lords of Nubia. Addendum. After this was sent to press my friend Dr J. Janssen informed me that from other evidence in his possession the title should be read ḫnḥw.
Satis, Lady of Abu (Elephantine) (and) Anukis, who is in front of Ta-Seti (Nubia), that they may give an invocation-offering consisting of thousands of bread and beer, oxen (and) fowls, clothing (and) [all things] which the sky gives (and) the earth produces, for the spirit (Ka) of the centurion (?) (lit. overseer of one-hundred) (?)\textsuperscript{10}. Imeny, justified (and) venerable (lit. possessor of veneration), son of (lit. who was made by) the Lady of the House, Ikai, justified.

\textsuperscript{10} See Coptic lashane, Wb, 4, pp. 496 and 498. In Nubia, the \textit{imy-r šnt} seems to have been a military man—see Smither, \textit{JEA}, 31, 1945, p. 7, where the \textit{lashane Sobk-wer} was in command at Iken, hence our tentative translation 'centurion'.
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The main interest of this inscription lies in the fact that apart from Ptah-Sokaris and Osiris, the normal funeral gods, all the divinities mentioned on the stela were worshipped in Nubia and can be considered as the local gods of the country between the first and second cataracts, if not further south. It follows that Sobk-Re, Lord of Sumenu, must also be considered as one of the gods specially adored in Nubia, and the Khartoum stela seems to imply that Buhen was the town, or one of the towns, where he was worshipped.

Now the question arises, why in Middle Kingdom Nubia Sobk, god of Sumenu, should have been chosen instead of Sobk, Lord of Shedyt, in the Fayum, for instance, in whom the kings of the xith Dynasty showed such a special interest. That it was the particular god ‘Lord of Sumenu’ that was intended to be honoured is further indicated by the personal name Neb-sumenu borne by an official of Buhen, as can be seen from one of the stelae of this town (Khartoum Mus. 370) which mentions among the relatives of Am, the owner of the stela:

\[\text{His son the greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt Neb-sumenu.}\]

It is, possibly, the same Neb-sumenu who appears too on a graffito near Semna West fortress.

The town Sumenu, of which Sobk was the local god, lies in Upper Egypt not very far from Arman some fourteen kilometres south-west of Luxor, near the place where the small village of er-Rizeiqat now stands. The town site has never been excavated, but the cemetery, which has been heavily plundered,

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11 Khnum, Satis and Anukis, as a triad, were worshipped as far as Jebel Dosha (see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, p. 167); Khnum at Sesebi (id., ibid., p. 173); Satis and Anukis at Kawa (id., ibid., pp. 187–8).


13 Cf. Randall-Maclver and Woolley, Buhen, p. 183, from J.14. The authors ascribe the cemetery ‘J,’ from which the stela comes, to the ‘poorer people of the eighteenth and following Dynasties’ (ibid., p. 130). The stela itself is much more of the Second Intermediate Period style than of the eighteenth Dynasty. The report does not mention where the stela was found and the two pots reported, on page 169, as coming from the same tomb as the stela could be Second Intermediate, see Brunton, Qau and Badari, iii, pl. xiv, 20k and pl. xvi, 55R.

14 Cf. Lepsius, Denkm., Text v, p. 203.

15 See Gauthier, Dictionnaire Noms Géographiques, 5, pp. 16–17; Ch. Kuentz, BIFAO, 28, 1929, pp. 152–4, and, lastly, A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, ii, p. 275*.  

16 Mond, Myers, Cemeteries of Arman, p. 59: ‘Professor Garstang kindly lent . . . his unpublished field notes of his dig at Rizeikat.’ Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., v, pp. 161–2, does not mention Garstang’s unpublished excavations, but these must have concerned the cemetery not the town, see Mond, Myers, ibid., pp. 58–9.
has yielded a number of stelae of the Second Intermediate Period. The first idea which comes to mind to explain the transfer of the worship of a local god from an Egyptian town to a Nubian one is that it was caused by people coming from this town, or, to put it in another way, that it was settlers from Sumenu/Rizeiqat who brought their local god with them to Nubia.

We do not have much information about the Egyptians who, after the conquest of Lower Nubia in the 18th year of Sesosret I, must have settled in the country. It seems that the settlers limited themselves to the Egyptian fortresses and their vicinity. So Kuban, Aniba, Buhen, Semna and Shelfak have their Egyptian cemeteries, which prove that Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom lived permanently in the country, but where did they come from, and who were they?

The military levies who conquered the country do not seem to have settled in Nubia, as is shown by the inscription of Amenemhat in Beni Hasan which runs:

I sailed southward as . . . Commander-in-chief of the troops of the Oryx-nome . . . I passed by Kush . . . there was no loss among my soldiers.

And again:

I sailed southward with a number of 400 men of all the choicest of my troops who returned in safety having suffered no loss.

At the end of a third expedition to the south, Amenemhat records likewise:

I returned in peace, my soldiers being in good condition.

There is no mention of anybody being left in the country. However, the inscription of Hepu shows that fortresses had by then been erected in Nubia, since it runs:

Hepu came in order to make an inspection in the fortresses of Wawat. (temp. Amenemhat II).

In view of the silence of the historical records on this subject, every scrap of evidence we have, which could throw some light on the history of the early Egyptian colonization of Nubia, must be carefully scrutinized.

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19 On the colonization see Säve-Söderbergh, l.c. pp. 98–9.
20 See id., ibid., pp. 121–6.
21 Cf. Newberry and Griffith, Beni Hasan, i, pl. viii; Breasted, AR, i, 519–20 = Säve-Söderbergh, l.c., p. 73.
22 Newberry, Griffith, l.c., pl. viii B, Southern jamb, col. 12.
23 Ibid., A. Northern jamb, col. i = col. 14 of Breasted.
24 Stela of Year 35 of Amenemhat II and Year 3 of Sesosret II, see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., v, p. 247 and Säve-Söderbergh, l.c., p. 74.
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The Buhene stelae mentioned above are conclusive in themselves of the fact that Egyptian settlers lived in Buhene during the Middle Kingdom, that they had their families there, and that their sons stayed in the town and held official posts there. It is true that the fact that the owners of the stelae bear Egyptian names is no proof of their being Egyptians. Foreigners did have Egyptian names, but if such were the case, it will be difficult to explain why they chose as their local god the deity of a small Egyptian town far removed from Nubia. Accordingly, we can take for granted that they came from Upper Egypt, from the town of Sumenu/Rizeiqat, or from its vicinity. Is it possible to fix the date at which they may have settled in Buhene? Everything depends, of course, on the dates we can ascribe to the stelae themselves.

I have pointed out that Khartoum Stela 11778 was similar to British Museum Stela 139 (see above p. 62 and Figs. 1–2), but on the British Museum stela the local god worshipped, in addition to the two Horus, is: The good god Kheper-ka-re justified. This is, as far as I know, the single instance we have of Sesostris I being worshipped, after his death, as a god in Nubia; this being the case, this stela is certainly later than the reign of Sesostris I and, in all probability, earlier than the reign of Sesostris III, whose worship was widespread in Nubia, since if it had been later than Sesostris III, this king would have been mentioned and not Sesostris I. Of course the date ante quem is not so sure as the one post quem. On these grounds the Khartoum Stela could be ascribed to the reign either of Amenemhat II or Sesostris II. There are, however, two difficulties—The first is that on Khartoum Stela 11778 the word Sumenu is written 𓊫𓊱. Ch. Kuentz, in his excellent study of the forms of this geographical name, has shown that similar writings are much more frequent at the end of the Middle Kingdom than during the xIth Dynasty. The second difficulty is that the stela of Imeny (see above Fig. 5 and pp. 64–5), which also mentions the god Sobk of Sumenu, can hardly be earlier than Sesostris III, having been found in Semna West.

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26 See Säve-Söderbergh, JEA, 35, 1949, p. 51, note 1; that Sesostris I was considered as a god is further indicated by the personal name Dedukheperkare, where his name appears as a component; Stela of the Second Intermediate Period, Khartoum Museum 364—Randall-Maclver and Woolley, Buhene, p. 180.
28 During the New Kingdom Sesostris III was specially worshipped in Buhene, see Randall-Maclver and Woolley, Buhene, pp. 41–2, and his cult seems to have started at least under the Second Intermediate Period, see Barns, KUSH II, p. 21: Khartoum Stela 5320, dedicated by an annoncer-priest of Sesostris III and Säve-Söderbergh, JEA, 35, 1949, p. 54: stela Philadelphia 1984, where Sesostris III appears as a god.
30 Semna West Fort, as its name Sekhemkhakaure indicates, must have been built by Sesostris III, see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, pp. 144 ff.
UPPER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM NUBIA

If we consider the first difficulty—the main one—we should be tempted to lower the date of Khartoum Stela 11778 to the xiri Dynasty, considering the mention of Sesostris I on the British Museum stela as a local archaism, due to the fact that Sesostris I was in all probability the founder of Buhen. However, it would be unsafe to lower the date too much, because by their epigraphy Khartoum stelae 11778 and 372 A are quite different from the stelae of the Second Intermediate Period (xiii–xiv Dynasty) found in Buhen or elsewhere. They are much more in the style of the xith Dynasty. So that everything being taken into account, and, more particularly, the possibility of an early spelling of Sumenu with the mace mnw, we should ascribe the stela 11778 tentatively to the second half of the xith Dynasty, between Amenemhat II, end of the reign, and Amenemhat IV (i.e. between 1920 and 1785 B.C.). If such is the case, the first settlement of worshippers of Sobk of Sumenu in Buhen could go back to the reign of Amenemhat II and is certainly not later than the reign of Amenemhat III, since the Dedusobk of Khartoum Stela 11778 belonged to the second generation of Egyptian settlers in Buhen.

If our inferences are correct, Upper Egyptians from Sumenu/Rizeiqat settled in Buhen or in its vicinity just after the conquest of Sesostris I, or after Sesostris III’s campaigns. We have no idea as to who brought them to Nubia, and whether or not they came of their own free will, but I suspect that they were not the only Upper Egyptians to settle in the newly built fortresses. The frequency of personal names with Montu, Montuhotep and Intef as components suggests that the main bulk of the Middle Kingdom settlers came from the Theban region, of which Sumenu/Rizeiqat is but a part. It may be worth while to note here that the links between Upper Egyptians and Nubia probably go back to the First Intermediate Period; since—if it is not pure boasting—Ankhtifi, nomarch of Edfu and Hierakonpolis, claims to have sent corn to the Nubians of Wawat during a famine. Mo’alla, the home town of Ankhtifi, was scarcely 11 km. south from Sumenu/Rizeiqat.

31 In all probability Sesostris I was the first king to erect a chapel in Buhen, see Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, p. 129, see, too, note 26 above.
33 This possibility cannot be ruled out since Ch. Kuentz, BIFAO, 28, 1929, p. 149, quotes at least three instances of it, dated: no. 10, p. 127 of Amenemhat II (same spelling as on Khartoum stela); nos. 30 and 31, p. 136 of Middle Kingdom without specific reign.
34 See, for instance, from Buhen itself, or its vicinity: Deduante of and Mentuhotep (temp. Sesostris I)= Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., vii, pp. 130 and 139; Mentu and Antef, ibid., p. 110; Mentuhotep (temp. Amenemhat IV)= JEA, 31, 1945, p. 9; Simontu= ibid., p. 10; Mentuhotep= Kush iii, p. 14, n. 40.
Notes on the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor

by WERNER VICICHL

Paris

I. INTRODUCTION

T

HIS story preserved in a Middle Kingdom papyrus (about 2000 B.C.) nowadays in Leningrad has been translated and edited for the first time by Golénischeff (Le conte du naufragé, Le Caire, 1912). As generally admitted, it but constitutes a fragment of a more important cycle of adventures, as its beginning refers to another expedition beyond the land of Wawat in the Sudan. Similar stories, e.g., the adventures of Sinuhe (Dyn. xiii) and of Wenamon (Dyn. xx) show the deep interest the stay-at-home Egyptians took at all times in dangerous journeys and far, marvellous countries.

The present notes deal with two questions: (a) the marvellous serpent as a guardian of precious drugs; (b) the probable meaning of the hapax legomenon *yawdanub. In order to facilitate the investigation, I am starting with a condensed description of the contents of the papyrus.

The hero of the story, the Shipwrecked Sailor, as he is called by modern Egyptologists, was the leader of an expedition starting from a mine of His Majesty on the Red Sea with a ship, 120 cubits long and 40 cubits broad manned by a crew of 120 sailors. The ship perished in a terrible storm with the crew and the hero himself was cast as the only survivor onto an island where he stayed alone for three days ‘only with his heart as his companion’. The island abounded in figs, grapes and other fruit, vegetables, as well as birds and fishes. He satisfied his hunger and made a fire-drill in order to make an offering to the gods.

At that moment he heard a thunder-like roll like a wave of the sea. The trees were shattered and the earth quaked. When he took his hands off his face, he saw a gigantic serpent, 30 cubits long with a beard of more than 2 cubits, its body gilded and its eye-brows of genuine lapis lazuli who moved forward crawling. The serpent opened its mouth while it lay flat on its belly and spoke to him:—‘Who has brought thee here? If thou dost not tell me who has brought thee to this island, I shall show thee that thou art ash!’ The Shipwrecked Sailor told it his story and the serpent calmed him: ‘Don’t be afraid. Lo, the god has kept thee alive and brought thee to this island that is full of all good things. Thou wilt spend four months on this island. Then a ship will come from the residence with sailors that thou knowest. Thou wilt go with them to the residence and thou shalt die in thy town’.

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NOTES ON THE STORY OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR

Then the serpent told him his own story. He had lived on this island together with his brothers and children, altogether 75 serpents. Then a star fell down on them and burned them all, leaving the serpent alone with a heap of dead bodies.

When the serpent promised him that he would return home, embrace his children and kiss his wife, the Shipwrecked Sailor promised him to speak of him to the king. He would send him ibi, hekenu-oil, yawdanub and khesait, and temple-incense to rejoice the heart of every god. Offerings of bulls and geese would be made to him and ships would be sent to him from Egypt loaded with all precious things. The serpent laughed over what the Shipwrecked Sailor had said and answered: ‘Thou hast not much myrrh, thou hast only some incense. But I am the ruler of Punt and the myrrh belongs to me as well as that hekenu-oil of which thou said that it would be brought to me, as it is the main product of this island. Furthermore, if thou shalt leave this island, thou shalt never see it again, as it will disappear in the flood.’ The serpent wished him a good return home and gave him a shipload of myrrh, hekenu-oil, yawdanub, khesait, tishepes-wood, shaas, eye-paint, giraffe-tails, a big piece (?) of incense, elephant-tusks, greyhounds, baboons, monkeys and many beautiful and precious things.

II. THE MARVELLOUS SERPENT

The marvellous serpent-island formerly identified with Soqotra in the Indian Ocean does not correspond, in my opinion, to any existing island. This is clearly indicated in the papyrus itself (n zmz-k yrw pn, hpr nwy m msw ‘never thou shalt see this island again for it will become water’.) However it must have been situated, in the mind of the Egyptians, somewhere between South Arabia and Somaliland. This localization is based on the following considerations:—

—the expedition of the Shipwrecked Sailor had started from a mine of the King on the Sea, i.e. necessarily from a point on the Red Sea coast;
—the marvellous serpent calls himself ‘ruler of Punt’ i.e. Somaliland,
—nearly all the products of the serpent-island are known as products of Punt or the Sudan;
—the rôle of the serpent as a possessor of precious drugs has its parallel in Herodotus’ report on the winged serpents in Arabia as guardians of the incense-trees.

As a matter of fact, Herodotus (about 450 B.C.) relates that the Arabs gather the incense only when burning styxax, as the incense-trees were watched by numerous small winged serpents (III, 107). It was not possible to get rid of them otherwise than by burning styxax the odour of which they disliked.

Winged serpents are well known in Egyptian mythology, e.g. the dragon Apophis (for the nominal form see Museon 1952, 1-4). The serpent in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor is not described as winged, but there is, in my
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opinion, little doubt that there is a relation between the island-serpent as a possessor of myrrh (‘ntyw) and the winged serpents as guardians of myrrh in Herodotus’ report.

III. YAWDANUB

This word only occurs twice in Egyptian (Shipwrecked Sailor). The consonants are y-w-d-n-b, the vowels are unknown. This product is mentioned in our text together with myrrh, hekenu-oil, then khesait, tishepes-wood, shaas, incense, eye-paint, etc. In Herodotus’ report (III, 107) we have incense, myrrh, cassia, kinnimonon and lēdanon as the products of Southern Arabia.

It seems to be tempting to compare y-w-d-n-b with lēdanon. As a matter of fact, lēdanon goes back to lādanon, equally attested in Greek and corresponds to Latin lādanum or laudanum. The South-Arabic form can be reconstructed as *lādan-um (nom., with the article -m), perhaps also *laudan-um (late Latin laudanum). This latter form strangely corresponds to the Egyptian form that can be reconstructed as *yawanub. In this case, Arabic l has been rendered by y as there is no hieroglyph for l in hieroglyphic writing at that time. Change between m and b is most frequent, specially in presence of m, n, e.g. Egyptian wnb ‘to eat’ (Pyr.) for wnm, Coptic bène ‘swallow’ for old mn.t; Tigré jahannab ‘hell’ (M. Campero, Manuale pratico della lingua Tigré, Milano 1936, 89) from Arabic jahannam; Arabic busmār ‘nail’ and barham ‘balsam’ for the good forms mismār, marham (heard by myself, Luxor).

Laudanum is attested twice in Kawa (M. F. Laming Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, 1, 1949, III, 6 and VI, 13–14) as rdw, i.e. lādan (or sim.). But this form is a new loan-word and does not derive from yawanub (or sim.).

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding study can be resumed as follows:—

(a)—The Serpent-Island was thought to be situated somewhere near South Arabia or Somaliland.
—It is merely fictive and does not correspond to Soqotra nor to any other existing island.
—There is certainly a common background for the serpent as a possessor of myrrhs and the myrrh watching serpents in Herodotus’ report.

(b)—The drug y-w-d-n-b was most probably pronounced *yawanub ‘laudanum’, from an old form lādan or laudan (plus -um).

Notes

A NEW TYPE OF MOUND GRAVE

Mound graves are to be found over very extensive areas of the central and northern Sudan, but they are nowhere so plentiful as on the east bank of the Nile in the Khartoum region, and northwards at least as far as El Metemma. They mostly lie, in groups of varying size, just away from the cultivated land, on the first rise of the gravel desert. Great and small (some are barely perceptible hummocks) their total number must run into many thousands. The surface of the mounds is usually of gravel, presenting much the same appearance as the land round about; but where stone is available close by they are often covered with small boulders. Chronologically, they are usually assigned to that period, of which so little is known, immediately following the disappearance of the Meroitic kingdom. The graves would thus be contemporary with the ‘X-group’ culture further north; they have been guessed to have been made by the ‘Noba’ referred to by ‘Ezana of Axum as being in possession of the area when his forces passed through.1

In the area of the village of Hobagi (16° 36’ N, 33° 10’ E), some 23 km. upstream from El Metemma, are a number of mounds provided with enclosing walls (now ruined) which distinguish them from their fellows. I have found five such mounds, but have not seen either on the ground elsewhere or described in the books any similar examples.

These mounds are considerably bigger than the normal type, varying between 2 and 3.5 m. in height, and 30 and 40 m. in diameter in their present eroded state. Two have large depressions in their centres, presumably dug by robbers. The walls encircling them have all completely collapsed; they were built of rough slabs of ferricrete sandstone of various sizes. In plan they form an ellipse orientated roughly north and south. The mound is in all cases situated at the southern end of the enclosure and in the narrower focus of the ellipse. In one case (FIG. 1, a)2 there is a cairn on the slope of the mound, and a small circle of stones (diameter 2.5 m.), possibly not contemporary with the mound, on the summit. In another (FIG. 1, b) there is a cairn on the flat ground within the enclosure, which unlike the other four examples, has its longer axis running east and west. In no case could any entrance through the enclosure

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2 This and the following plans are based on paced measurements.
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Fig. 1. PLANS OF ENCLOSED MOUNDS SOUTH OF KOBAGI

b. Height of mound c. 2.75 m.

a. Height of mound c. 3.15 m.
be observed. Plate xv, a shows a view from the north-west of a mound situated rather to the north of Hobagi; its flat-topped appearance is due to a depression in the centre. Plate xv, b depicts the area north of the same mound, with the ruins of the wall enclosing it.

In one instance the two mounds seem to be associated with each other, and with two small oval mounds, each about 10 m. in length and 0.5 m. in height, lying between them. This group lies east of Hobagi village, close to the cultivated land; a plan is shown in Fig. 2. Plate xv, c is a photograph taken from the top of the more westerly of the mounds; in the space between this and its fellow can be seen one of the two oval graves.

With the exception of the two described in the previous paragraph, the enclosed mounds are dispersed over a fairly big area, it being more than 1 km. from the southernmost to the northernmost. There are also some plain mound-graves in the area, including a group of about forty a little to the south of the pair of enclosed mounds; but there is no evidence of the two types of grave being associated. The two or three sherds found on the surface of one (only) of the enclosed mounds were of the same type of post-Meroitic 'beer jar' as is frequently found on the plain mounds, and as was found in the grave at 'Ushara.³

No excavation having been attempted, it is hazardous to draw conclusions about these graves. The open space to the north of the mounds, enclosed by the wall must surely have some religious significance; one may guess that this was ground sanctified for the performance of some commemorative ritual. Such indications as these are suggest an early Napatan, or, I think more probably, a post-Meroitic date.

A tomb at Kurrur (Tumulus VI) of a royal personage ancestral to the kings of the xxvth Dynasty and dated to a little before the time of Kashta⁴ shows certain resemblances to those at Hobagi. This consisted of a small mound (diameter 8.5 m.) with an enclosing wall shaped like an elongated horseshoe. Two short returns of the wall form an entrance. This, however, and the open space between it and the mound lie to the south-east of the latter, and not to the north. There is, however, no sign of any remains of such an early date in the Hobagi region, though there is nothing improbable in the influence or hegemony of Kurrur having extended so far, particularly in view of the ease of travel between the two areas.

The few sherds found, however, suggest a post-Meroitic date, and it is tempting to guess that these are rather the tombs of the chiefs, or meks, of the people to whom the simple, unenclosed mound graves belong. This is the conclusion drawn about the biggest mounds at Tanqasi⁵ where, however, mounds

³ Marshall & Adam, Kush II (1954), fig. 3, no. 1.
⁴ See Dunham, Royal Cemeteries of Kush, II, El Kurrur.
⁵ Shinnie, ibid., p. 68 and fig. 2.
Fig. 2. PLAN OF GROUP OF MOUNDS EAST OF HOBA GI
The mound to the west is c. 3.5 m. high, and that to the east 2 m.
a. ENCLOSED MOUND NORTH OF HOBAGI

b. THE ENCLOSURE WALL AND AREA TO THE NORTH OF THE MOUND SHOWN IN a.

c. GROUP OF MOUNDS EAST OF HOBAGI

facing p. 76
QUARTZ FLAKES AND KNAPPED PEBBLES FROM SOBA
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of all sizes are intermingled, and there is no trace of enclosing walls round any of them. Though both Hobagi and Tanqasi were presumably localities of importance, no trace of any settlement of the period has been found at either. It is interesting to note that both sites lie close to places that were of great importance in the preceding periods, Tanqasi being close to the Napatan sites (where religious importance continued into the Meroitic era) and Hobagi near the chief monuments of the kingdom of Meroë.

H. N. CHITTICK.

A QUARTZ INDUSTRY AT SOBA

Revisiting Soba recently I was surprised by the number of quartz flakes and chipped pebbles (pebble cores) to be seen on the mound on which I was sitting. My first thought was that the mound might be of earlier date than the others, but the surface sherds and some brick fragments indicated that this was not so; moreover, I soon found fragments on other mounds of obviously Christian date. Friends helped in a further search and fragments were found on and about seven mounds, including Shinnie’s mounds A and B and the Church mound. Fragments were found occasionally between mounds, but far more rarely than on and at the edges of mounds.

There are four reasonable hypotheses about this industry: (1) It could have been earlier than the site and the fragments could have been brought up on to the mounds by animal and human agency. However, they appear to be altogether too common for this hypothesis to hold, especially when their infrequency between mounds be considered. (2) It could have been an earlier industry sited where the Sobans made their bricks and the fragments would in that case be washed out from the bricks. I examined all exposed walls that I could find, mainly in Mounds A and B but did not discover a brick with a quartz fragment in it. Moreover, some of the pebbles are rather large to have been included in the pudge in brickmaking. (3) The industry could be contemporary with the site, and (4) It could belong to a later phase and belong to nomads who inhabited the site but left no other remains.

The last hypothesis lacks probability, for there would almost certainly be other remains, but it is not impossible if we postulate nomads using skins and gourds and no pottery. It is also necessary to assume that these later peoples favoured the tops of mounds to inhabit and this further reduces the probability.

Some people will be surprised at the suggestion of a stone industry as late as mediaeval times but there are examples in the Near East. Suliman Huzayyin

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6 Nor indeed anywhere else. It has usually been assumed that the people associated with this culture were mostly, or wholly, nomadic, though this does not accord very well with their making large pots.

7 El Kurru is opposite Tanqasi, Jebel Barkal and Nuri a short distance upstream.

8 Wad Ban Naga lies opposite Hobagi and Mussawarat es Safra and Naga a few miles into the desert thence. Meroë itself is no great distance downstream.
and Myers have shown in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, London, 1940, that stone implements of crude forms remained in use until Roman times at least in Upper Egypt.

I was informed by the inhabitants of the Beer Sheba region that until World War I, the points fixed into the base of a beam for chaff cutting were of flint. I have also heard, though I cannot cite the authority, that at the same period flint sickles were found in use in remote parts of Albania.

Unless large-scale excavations be undertaken it may be difficult to select from these hypotheses by standard archaeological method. If the industry is contemporary with the site then further excavations may reveal a store of flakes or a knapper's débris, but this would need a fairly high degree of chance, in a small scale excavation. The presence of flakes in the débris or even scattered on the floors would not be conclusive of the date of their horizon. In fact it may well be impossible, short of large scale excavations, to give absolute proof of the date of the culture.

However, if we can show that the industry is invariably associated with the mounds we can eliminate on probability grounds hypotheses (1) and (4) and greatly weaken (2). The second hypothesis would be weakened because the likelihood that all the bricks from which Soba was built came from a field with remains of an early culture spread throughout it is low indeed.

An adaptation of the method for relating cultures on surface sites set out by Myers in *Some Applications of Statistics to Archaeology*, Cairo, 1948, would be useful, but the size of the site forbids it, for it needs a grid to be flung over the whole site and Soba is about a mile square.

The problem is then a statistical one, as long as we realize that in making use of statistics we are calling for probabilities rather than "certainties" (if such things exist indeed), and that the statistics answer a question about figures not about things. It depends on the archaeologist to see that the figures submitted represent accurately the objects.

Mr K. J. Krotki of the Statistics Department of the Ministry for Social Affairs kindly agreed to provide the necessary method and formulae which are as follows:

It will be first necessary to obtain a plan of Soba showing all the mounds. The plan need not be very accurate but should be of a scale not less than 1:200\(^1\). Then mark out on the plan, again no great accuracy is required, belts 1 metre wide between the tops of neighbouring mounds joining them together. Belts should not be made that pass over or close to a third mound. Then all the belts drawn in this way should be numbered and, say, 10 of the total drawn out of a

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\(^1\) Such a plan is most necessary for other reasons. The site is a most curious one with its relatively widely separated mounds and (from the ground) no apparent plan. The first step to discovering the meaning is a clear plan. Afterwards excavation is needed, not only of the mounds, but in between to see what separated the big buildings.
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hat. It is not possible to say exactly how many of these belts are required because in the absence of a plan we do not know their length. Furthermore, and what is more important, we know nothing of the variability of our material. In fact, the position is statistically speaking even more curious because as will become apparent later, we do not know whether we are drawing one sample or more.

The belts drawn and selected must then be plotted on the ground and every third square metre starting always from the north or east should be carefully marked out and all the quartz artefacts collected and counted. In counting out the third square counting should not always start from the first square but from one of the first three squares, numbers again being drawn from a hat. Should any of the squares overlap belonging as it were to different belts, this should be ignored and the square metres considered rigidly and separately as if they did not overlap. It will be seen that to meet this requirement special precautions will have to be taken when counting and collecting the artefacts in the selected squares.

When the results of the counting are complete there will be, say, 10 series of figures of various length according to the distances between the mounds of the selected belts. According to expectation, on the positive hypothesis that the quartz industry is associated with the mounds, these figures should be close to zero in the middle of each run and reach maxima at either end. On a purely superficial estimate from memory of the site these maxima should be in the neighbourhood of 10–30 for each metre square, counting each flake and each core as one object. The results if plotted should look something like this:

![Graph](image)

Should the actual results when plotted be really anything like the above diagram, it will be obvious visually that the mounds are different from the dales between them. In actual fact the graphs when plotted may show a situation
less obvious and more complicated than the above diagram. In any case, whether an easy visual conclusion can or cannot be drawn, it would be re-assuring to be able to rely on the evidence (not proof!) of a statistical test rather than visual impression.

In order to test whether the actual results do in fact indicate a close correlation between mounds and artefacts and to assess the significance of this association a number of tests is available, the suitability of each depending to some extent on the nature of the figures when collected. It is difficult to say with confidence what tests would be the most appropriate one without knowing what the actual material will be like, but two tentative suggestions can be made which will probably meet the requirements of the case.

The first solution would assume that in fact two different samples have been drawn: one on the mounds and one in the dales. Let them be $M_1, M_2, \ldots M_n$, for the mounds, and $D_1, D_2, \ldots D_n$, for the dales. We can then compute the two averages:

$$M = \frac{\sum M}{n_1} \quad \text{and} \quad D = \frac{\sum D}{n_2}$$

We want to test that $\bar{M}$ and $\bar{D}$ are significantly different from each other to furnish evidence that they come from different populations of pebbles, i.e. that the differences between them cannot be explained by the chance of random sampling. A condensed formula may be used:

$$t = \bar{x} \sqrt{\frac{n_1 n_2 (n_1 + n_2 - 2)}{(n_1 + n_2) S^2_x}}$$

where $\bar{x} = \bar{M} - \bar{D}$, and

where $S^2_x = M_1^2 + M_2^2 + \ldots + M_n^2 + D_1^2 + D_2^2 + \ldots + D_n^2$.

Having obtained the value of $t$ from the above formulae we then look it up against the table of $t$ values, the number of degrees of freedom in this case being $n_1 + n_2 - 2$. We locate the value of $t$ in the body of the table and the df (degrees of freedom) on one of the axes. We can then read off the $P$ or Probability on the other axes. If $P < 0.05$ our hypothesis need not be rejected.

It may however be that the subjective element in dividing our one sample into two samples will be too great, i.e. that in fact we cannot honestly claim that the collected figures make obviously two samples. In such a case we could apply the chi-square test, which will give us the probability of getting a random sample more divergent than the one in hand. The general formula to compute $X_2$ is:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(E - O)^2}{E}$$

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where \( O \) = the observed number of artefacts in each size class.
\[ E = \text{the expected number of artefacts in each size class computed on the probably true assumption that the population of pebbles, when half a belt is taken on each side of the mound, follows one of the distributions used in statistics like normal, bi-nomial, Poisson.} \]

The above suggestions assume a rather simplified position. In fact it may very well be that the variability between the belts or more probably between the halves of belts is so great that each half belt has to be thought of as a separate sample (Statisticians will excuse my simplification). It is also possible that only some of the mounds are associated with the quartz industry, in which case the arrangements into samples would have to be reconsidered. It may also be a good precaution while drawing the samples to let a few belts run into the desert, starting from the external or boundary mounds roughly perpendicular to the boundaries of the whole site. These belts should probably be slightly longer than half of the longest belts between the mounds. We could then see how far the dales between the mounds have or have not been contaminated by the neighbourhood of the mounds in comparison with the more distant desert.

O. H. Myers

TOMB OF DJEHUTY-HETEP (TEHUTI HETEP), PRINCE OF SERRA

The site which is the subject of our report is situated on a hill, one mile east of the Nile and at the village of Debeira East, some 20 kilometres north of Wadi Halfa town.

This site was known to the Antiquities Service since 1938, but it was largely filled up with sand which made the determination of its plan very difficult and nobody could tell then whether it was really a tomb or a tomb-chapel. The occurrence of sherds of pottery and fragments of mud bricks outside the structure led to the conclusion that the place was robbed. A recent robbery which occurred in November 1955 attracted my attention and made the total clearance of the site rather essential. The Commissioner for Archaeology entrusted the excavation to me.

The work, with the help of two trained Egyptian workers and ten local labourers, started on 1 December 1955 and finished on the 14th of the same month. The result of the excavation was very gratifying in spite of the fact that the place was robbed more than once. The result is gratifying in the way that the robbing was not complete and the site whether in its structure, its paintings or its finds has proved to be the only one of its kind which has been found so far in the Sudan and hence it is unique.

The site is a tomb hewn in the rock and of an intricate nature, the entrance faces the west looking towards the river and is approached by a ramp cut in the rock. It leads into a hall 6 metres long and 4 metres wide more or less. The excavation revealed a mud brick structure immediately after the entrance and occupied approximately half the area of the hall (for dimensions and plan, see
FIG. 1). Facing the entrance, on the eastern side, there is a small door 86 cm. wide leading into a small shrine containing four seated figures carved in the rock. The excavation also revealed a small door in the southern wall which led to a little chamber which was not known to have existed before. This had in its middle a rectangular shaft 4.75 metres deep leading to a burial chamber which contained all the coffins. This will be referred to as the Coffins Chamber.
On the south-east corner of this chamber there is a very small doorway leading into a very small chamber which will be referred to as the children's tomb. In the north side of the Coffins Chamber, there is a rectangular shaft about 3 metres deep leading down to a small chamber which will be referred to as the main burial chamber (see FIGS. 2 and 3).

The purpose of the mud brick structure (see FIG. 1) which is rectangular in
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shape, vaulted and had its walls erected against the sides of the hall covering a great part of the paintings on these walls, is rather obscure. It is definitely an intrusion which belonged to a very late period. Judging by the style of the architecture, I would say that it belonged to the period when the Christians converted the ancient Egyptian buildings in the neighbourhood like the M.K. Fort at Serra into vaulted churches and hermitages and our structure could have also been used as a hermitage.
PAINTINGS FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB
HEAD-REST FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB AND INSCRIPTIONS ON COFFIN
PLATE XIX

COFFINS FROM DJEHUTY-HETEP'S TOMB AT SEKKA
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On removing the mud brick structure, the original shape of the hall was restored and the paintings on the walls were complete. The north wall was covered with painted scenes. To the extreme east of it, the deceased and his wife were depicted sitting on chairs, in the middle there is a scene of musicians and dancers (see PLATE XVII, 2), and to the extreme west and continued on the west wall, there is a very important scene. This reveals what sort of trees the Sudan used to have in that remote time, and place. The scene depicts the deceased holding a long club and watching the labourers watering plants and gathering fruits in his estate (see PLATE XVII, 1). The importance of the scene lies in the abundance of trees, four different species of which could at least be distinguished. Dom, date and sun trees could be clearly identified. Monkeys could be seen playing in the trees. Some of the workers were painted red and some black. The latter are obviously slaves. A war scene was depicted on the southern side of the west wall but very much defaced. At least the deceased riding in a chariot preceded by running soldiers could be discerned. There is a trace of colour on the western side of the south wall but the scenes themselves must have disappeared with the erection of the mud brick wall. There is a stela cut in the rock on the southern side of the east wall but it has never been used.

The lintel and jambs of the door-way leading to the shrine containing the seated figures is covered with very well-cut hieroglyphs painted yellow. The inscriptions (see PLATE XVII, 3) are the usual funerary prayers in addition to the names and titles of the deceased and his wife.

The shrine is a rectangular room 2.10 x 2.90 metres and 2 metres high. The four seated figures which are more than life size are facing the entrance looking west. They were carved out of the rock and show traces of having been plastered and painted. Their heads were very badly smashed. Above them, are their respective names inscribed in hieroglyphs. These are (from left to right) Tentnub, wife of the deceased; Djehuty-hetep, the deceased; Ratu, his father and Runa, his mother (see PLATE XVII, 3). On the northern wall, in a niche and carved out of the rock, there is a little figure perhaps of Osiris to the west of which there is another recess in the wall, but empty.

The doorway on the southern wall of the hall, which had a stone door which was found partly open (see PLATE XVII, 4), leads to a small rectangular room 2.40 x 2.78 metres and 1.80 metres high. At its centre, there is a rectangular shaft 1.90 x 87 metres running north and south and covered with a slab of stone which was broken in the middle by the robbers. This shaft which is 4.75 metres deep ended in a doorway on its northern side leading into a more or less square chamber (see FIG. 2) which was found crammed with coffins and pottery. Seven complete painted wooden coffins were found in addition to two small broken ones for children and two big covers whose coffins were most probably smashed by plunderers. Two scarabs were also found. The coffins were piled on each other, the pottery scattered all over the place and ropes,
petrol tins and even modern coins which were left behind by the robbers, were found.

The small room on the eastern side of the coffins chamber was found empty but most probably it used to contain the two children’s coffins before they were pulled out by the intruders.

The main burial chamber which was referred to before and is situated below another shaft was also completely emptied by the robbers. It was big enough to hold one coffin only, traces of which were found and that must have been of Djehty-hetep himself.

The contents of the coffins were terribly disturbed. They only contained wrappings and broken bones. Other finds are a number of bowls and jars of buff colour and rough workmanship. Some of them are typical xviiith Dynasty ware. A wooden head rest was also found (see Plate xviii). Three small scarabs two of which are definitely xviiith Dynasty. The third is of doubtful date but possibly is also xviiith Dynasty.

The coffins (see Plates xviii, xix and xx), which were all painted, showing deities and funerary texts provided a great problem. Their rough paintings and especially their inferior hieroglyphs were an obvious contrast to the very well-cut hieroglyphs on the lintel and jambs of the shrine and hence they point to a much later period. They look like the coffins found in the Roman burials in Egypt. If this is true, then the tomb must have been re-used at a much later date. On the other hand, it could be argued that the fact that these coffins were found together with xviiith Dynasty pottery and scarabs and that the small burial chamber exactly fitted the two small children’s coffins, which are typical of the rest, is an indication that the coffins in question are the original ones. Their bad workmanship and inferior hieroglyphs could be attributed to less clever craftsmen and scribes than those who did the shrine lintel and jambs. Anyhow these coffins are the subject of a further detailed study which might enable us to say the last word about them.

A study of the inscription on the lintel and jambs of the shrine and above the seated statues has informed us that the owner of the tomb is called Djehty-hetep which is a typical Egyptian name but he was also called Paitsi which might have been his local name. We also understand from the inscriptions that Djehty-hetep and his father Ruiu before him were both princes of Tehnut, i.e. Serra.

The pottery and the scarabs enable us to say that Djehty-hetep was the chief of his area during the xviiith Dynasty but the inscriptions which were studied by Professor Fairman, Mr Iversen and Miss Moss show that the style strongly suggests the reign of Hatshepsut. Again a statuette of a scribe, Amenennat, with the same parents as Djehty-hetep and presumably his brother was found during the excavations of Buhen. We can therefore safely say that Djehty-hetep or Paitsi was contemporary with Hatshepsut.

THABIT HASSAN THABIT.
NOTES

STAND FOR A SACRED BARK OR ALTAR? (The Altar of Taharqa in the Great Temple of Amon at Gebel Barkal.)

Many years ago, Schäfer\(^1\) suggested that the grey granite altar,\(^2\)(see PLATE XXI), which still stands in the outer vestibule of the Great Temple of Amon at Gebel Barkal (B.500)\(^3\) might have been the stand on the top of which the shrine and statue of the god had stood. More recently, M. F. Laming Macadam pointed out that, according to the Bankes Manuscript the same stand or altar was represented in a relief on the wall of the chamber in which it stood.\(^4\) He called attention to the fact that 'the relief does not actually afford confirmation of Schäfer's suggestion, for there is no shrine or statue on the stand.'\(^5\)

I am not sure that from the absence of any representation over the stand in the Bankes drawing we can be satisfied that there was nothing on the original. Bankes's drawing is but a sketch, and if the upper part of the scene had been destroyed or was in a bad state when he saw it, Bankes would probably not have taken the trouble to show it in his drawing. The succession of gods which was seen by Bankes and Linant in the same room, suggests some kind of a processional ritual and we immediately think of the well-known formal 'coming-out' of Amon in Karnak and Thebes.\(^6\)

For this coming-out, the statue of the god was usually put inside a golden bark and it was the bark which was processionally carried out by the priests.\(^7\) From representations in Egyptian temples, we know what the stand, on which the sacred bark was laid, looked like, both in its special sanctuary at Karnak, and, temporarily, in the various repositories along the route of the procession. All these representations show a striking resemblance to the so-called 'altar' of Gebel Barkal. It is unnecessary to reproduce here all the representations\(^8\) and I will confine myself to the bark stand of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, which has been recently published.\(^9\) Not only is the shape the same—compare for instance (M. Hammad's paper, plate viii) the Karnak stand (FIG. 1), with the

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\(^1\) ZAS, 35, pp. 98 ff.
\(^2\) Dimensions 1 m. 50 x 1 m. 50 x 1 m. 50.
\(^3\) Cf. Porter-Moss, vii, p. 220 (40-43).
\(^4\) M. F. Laming Macadam, 'Gleanings from the Bankes MSS.', JEA, 32, 1946, pp. 61-2=Bankes MSS. pl. xv, a.32.
\(^5\) Id., ibid., p. 62.
\(^6\) One of the most important occasions for this 'Coming-out' was during the 'Ipet feast', for which see S. Schott, 'Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale', Abhandl. d. Akad. d. Wissensch., Wiesbaden, 1952.
\(^7\) On the number of carriers, and how they managed what must have been a very heavy burden, see G. Legrain, 'Le logement et transport des barques sacrées . . . ', BIFAO, 13, 1917, pp. 38-46.
\(^8\) See for instance, at Karnak, BIFAO, 13, 1917, pl. iv; ibid., 24, 1924, pl. x; and at Luxor, ibid., pl. xviii.
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Gebel Barkal one (Plate XXI); but the representations also are much the same. We find depicted on both monuments the rite of tying together the plants of the

![Fig. 1. THE KARNAK STAND](image1)

North and of the South, and, what is more convincing still, the same representation of the king, four times repeated, the arms uplifted to sustain

![Fig. 2. GEBEL BARKAL STAND](image2)

the sky (Fig. 2). I think that the comparison of the two monuments is in itself convincing, but if we needed further proof, we could point out that the text inscribed on the Gebel Barkal stand reads:

![Image of hieroglyphs]

10 Compare pl. xxi with M. Hammad, ibid., pl. vii.
GEBEL BARKAL STAND

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
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[He (Taharqa) made: as a monument for his father Amon-Re the Lord of Ipet-sw, the Great God, who resides in Ta-Seti (Nubia) a stand of granite so that he can rest\(^{11}\) on it in his temple. Never had the like been done. . . .

The word \(\text{stand}\) is definitely \(\text{‘stand’}\)^{12}, and cannot be an altar.\(^{13}\) Finally, I should like to point out that the actual position of the stand in the outer vestibule\(^{14}\) is similar to that of the Bark Sanctuary in Karnak Temple, in relation to the central sanctuary.

If we admit, as I think we ought to, that the Gebel Barkal monument is a stand for the sacred bark of Amon, it follows that the same \(\text{‘coming-out’}\) of the God was performed in Napata as in Thebes. We know from a relief that such a rite was actually performed in the Amon Temple of Sulb, since the sacred bark of Amon is represented ready for the \(\text{‘coming-out’}\) (see FIG. 3), on a stand much similar to the Gebel Barkal one.\(^{16}\)

We do not know if it was the same sacred bark which during the great \(\text{‘coming-out’}\), went from Gebel Barkal to Sulb, or \(\text{vice-versa}\), but one thing at least is sure, during the procession Amon of Gebel Barkal crossed the Nile in his bark since Griffith found in Sanam Temple, on the bank opposite Gebel Barkal, a relief picturing the actual procession\(^{16}\), with the Bark of Amon on the shoulders of the carriers (see FIG. 4), he even found the granite stand similar to the Gebel

\(^{11}\) For the meaning of \(\text{htp ‘to rest’ ‘to repose’}\) see \(\text{Wb. 3, 190 D.}\) In the temple of Ramses II at Gournah, it is written that Amon sails in his own bark \(\text{r htp m-bnw ht.f ‘to rest himself inside his temple’}\) (cf. \(\text{BIFAIO, 24, 1924, p. 38}\)). Furthermore the buildings where the God stopped during the procession were called \(\text{htp ‘repository’}\) (ibid., p. 100).

\(^{12}\) Cf. \(\text{Wb., 1,489, which quotes Urk., iv, 834, concerning a stand of stone.}\)

\(^{13}\) Cf. \(\text{Jéquier, BIFAIO, 19, 1922, p. 249 and Wb., 6, p. 5, s.v. ‘Altar.’}\)

\(^{14}\) See \(\text{Porter-Moss, vii, p. 210.}\)

\(^{16}\) Cf. \(\text{Breasted, Oriental Institute, Chicago, photo 3192, unpublished elsewhere. For the position of the relief see Porter-Moss, ibid., p. 170 (5-6).}\)

\(^{16}\) Cf., \(\text{Griffith, ‘Oxford Excavations in Nubia’, in LAAA, ix, p. 96 and pl. xxvii.}\)

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Barkal one but uninscribed, on which the God took his ‘rest’ while in Sanam Temple.

We can then safely assume that the same processions which were performed in the great temple of Amon at Thebes were done too in the Gebel Barkal area.

J. Vercoutter.

CHINESE PORCELAIN FRAGMENTS FROM AIDHAB, AND SOME BASHPA INSCRIPTIONS (This note first appeared in Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1926-27, London, 1928, pp. 19–21 and is reprinted by courtesy of the Oriental Ceramic Society.)

Any information bearing on the question of early Chinese blue-and-white is particularly welcome in these days when so many specimens claiming to be Sung or Yuan are arriving from China. A few years ago to suggest such a thing as pre-Ming blue-and-white would have been regarded as a mild form of insanity, in spite of the fact that there are passages in the works of old Chinese writers which point clearly to its existence. To-day our minds are better prepared for such shocks. The use of on-glaze enamel decoration in the 13th century has been proved; and once we have adjusted our ideas to this startling fact, the appearance of Sung blue-and-white becomes a perfectly logical occurrence. If there is still some hesitation in accepting many of the blue-and-white specimens offered as Sung, it is because they have decorations which we have grown accustomed to regard as Ming, or because they have the rather coarse appearance which we associate with later provincial wares. These objections, however, are as easily answered as made. Painted decoration of any kind on pottery was regarded as poor taste in the Sung Dynasty when monochromes were all the rage, and one would therefore expect the Sung blue-and-white to belong to the coarser brands of porcelain. As for the designs, we know

17 Cf., Griffith, ‘Oxford Excavations in Nubia’, in LAA, ix, pl. x and p. 86. It must be noted that the dimensions of the Sanam stand (1’30 m. x 1’20 m), are comparable to those of the Gebel Barkal one (1’50 m. x 1’50 m.); however, a trifle smaller, the Sanam stand could have been used for the same purpose as the Gebel Barkal one.
that the bulk of the Ming motives are ultimately Sung in origin, and we need feel no surprise at the appearance of apparently Ming decoration on pre-Ming wares.

The fragments illustrated on PLATE XXII, give a still more substantial support to those who have boldly accepted the Sung and Yüan blue-and-white. They are a few of many pieces of Chinese porcelain which were found by Mr G. W. Murray near old Suakin, in the ruins of what was once a flourishing port on the Red Sea, named Aidhab or Zibid in medieval times. Records exist of the place from the 11th century to 1426, the year of its destruction; and it is mentioned in the writings of Ibn Batutah and Ibn Jubayr, who both visited it. According to the Dictionary of Islam, Aidhab was at the height of its prosperity between 1058 and 1368, and doubtless it then enjoyed a share in the Far Eastern trade of which Chinese porcelain was an important item. It is practically certain, then, that the porcelain found by Mr Murray reached Aidhab before the year 1426 at the latest.

PLATE XXII, c is the bottom of a bowl of thick strong porcelain, which is of fine grain and white, although the unglazed surfaces have acquired a light reddish brown coloration. This reddish brown 'biscuit' is a common feature of the pre-Ming blue-and-white wares; and it may in some cases be due to traces of iron in the body material; but, that this browning was equally well produced by weathering or by burial, is proved by the fact that it covers the old fractures of our specimen, whereas the recent fractures show a pure white surface. The glaze is decidedly thick and of a slightly bluish white colour; and the decoration—a lotus flower and foliage—is painted in greyish blue mottled here and there with darker touches. PLATE XXII, d shows the reverse of a similar piece which is decorated with chrysanthemum scrolls. There is a striking similarity in make and decoration between these Aidhab fragments and the pieces of blue-and-white porcelain found by Sir Aurel Stein in Kharakho, in Southern Mongolia, a city which flourished between the 12th and the 14th, or at latest the early 15th centuries. It would seem indeed that this was a typical export ware of the Yüan or late Sung periods. PLATE XXII, a is a piece of much finer quality, broken from the lip of a small bowl. It is thin and neatly potted, and it is painted with floral scrolls in a dark blue of slightly violet tone. Without its history it would probably have been classed as Ch'êng Hua: under the circumstances of the find it cannot well be later than Yung Lo.

PLATE XXII, b is part of a beautiful celadon bowl with the grey-green, kinuta type of glaze, fluted on the exterior and ornamented inside with a fish (one of a pair) in relief, evidently a late Sung specimen. A piece of the ordinary sea-green celadon found at Aidhab has an incised character of an unusual kind. It belongs to the Bashpa, or Phags-pa, script which was invented in the 13th century by the Lama Phags-pa, to represent Chinese sounds in Thibetan characters. Apparently this script was adopted by the Chinese Court in the early years of the Yüan Dynasty, but came into general use for a few years only.
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Here then is a fragment of Yuan celadon, but it has no features which a photographic reproduction could bring out.

It may be of interest to show here two other specimens with Bashpa characters. Plate xxiii is a stoneware wine-jar of Tz'ü Chou type and perhaps of Shantung make, with buff body coated with white slip on the upper half and with brown slip below and covered with a transparent cream glaze. Across the shoulder are painted in cursive Bashpa the Mongol words Sayi darasun (good wine). Prof. Pelliot, to whom I am indebted for this reading, adds that it is unlikely that an inscription of this kind on an object of everyday use would have been written in Bashpa after the end of the 13th century. Parti-coloured jars of the same kind of ware with the same leaf-shaped loops round the neck are well-known, but it is interesting to have their dating confirmed.

Plate xxiv is a porcelain bowl of 16th-century type, with dragon designs incised beneath the glaze on the interior but outlined in threads of clay and filled in with green glaze in a yellow ground on the exterior. In this scheme of decoration the green dragons are usually carved in the paste; and our bowl is unusual both in this respect and in the mark which is written in four Bashpa characters. The writing is of a late and debased kind and the reading of the first two characters is uncertain. The eminent French authorities, Prof. Pelliot and M. Blochet, have examined the inscriptions, but only agree that the last two characters are nien chih (made in the period) and that the mark is a nien hao. Prof. Pelliot suggests chêng for the second character making the reign Ch'ung Chêng (1628–44). On the other hand Mr J. Allan, who also examined the mark, by taking the pardonable liberty of reversing the first character reads the nien hao as that of Chia Ching (1522–66). In the 16th-century Bashpa would be no more than a literary curiosity, and it is not surprising that it should be inaccurately written on late Ming porcelain. What is surprising is that it should have been written at all at such a late period; and we can only suggest that the bowl was made for presentation to a Thibetan Lama, to whom a Bashpa inscription would appeal as a subtle compliment.

R. L. Hobson.
a. FRAGMENT FROM THE SIDE OF A BLUE-AND-WHITE BOWL. (Length 1.8 ins.)
b. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A CELADON BOWL WITH FISH IN RELIEF, AND FLUTED EXTERIOR. (Length 3.3 ins.)
c. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A BLUE-AND-WHITE BOWL. (Length 2.9 ins.)
d. FRAGMENT FROM THE BOTTOM OF A SIMILAR BOWL, SHOWING UNGLAZED BASE. (Length 3 ins.)
WINE BOTTLE WITH BASHPA INSCRIPTION
(Height 10½ ins.)
BOWL WITH NIEN HAO IN BASHPA SCRIPT
(Diameter 8½ ins.)
Reviews


L’ouvrage que le Dr A. J. Arkell vient de consacrer à l’histoire du Soudan depuis les origines jusqu’à la conquête égyptienne de 1821, sera salué avec bienveillance de nombreux côtés. C’est d’abord la première synthèse sur ce sujet ; claire, alerte, bien équilibrée, elle sera sur la table de tous ceux qui s’intéressent au pays, —des Soudanais d’abord à qui le volume est dédié ; écrit par un ami et un connaisseur du Soudan, ce livre sera un manuel pour les étudiants et les administrateurs. Il sera aussi l’objet de multiples confrontations de la part des africanistes ; d’ailleurs, le Dr Arkell lui-même n’a pas ménagé les comparaisons et les références aux autres domaines de l’Afrique, chaque fois qu’il a pu le faire. Pour les égyptologues qui, jusqu’à présent, ont étudié surtout les connexions de l’Egypte avec l’Asie et les civilisations du Proche-Orient, il pose, sans qu’on puisse l’esquiver, le problème fondamental des rapports de la basse vallée du Nil et du reste de l’Afrique ; sur ce thème il leur offre un matériel bien classé et amassé de première main.


Après une présentation d’Harold MacMichael, qui souligne, en connaissant, les mérites de l’ouvrage (p. v–vii), et une préface de l’auteur (p. ix–xii), le volume s’ouvre par une introduction substantielle (ch. 1 : pp. 1–21). Celle-ci précise d’abord les limites du pays, longtemps désigné comme Soudan anglo-égyptien : c’est le Soudan Oriental, coupé de la Méditerranée par les barrières successives des cataractes du Nil et séparé de la partie vive du Soudan Occidental par des distances considérables que traversent seulement quelques rares pistes ; pour la partie méridionale (au Sud du 10° lat. Nord), toute histoire, même sommaire, reste impossible ; seules quelques traditions tribales éclairent le passé des Azande, des Shilluk et Dinka, des Beni Shangul et Kaffa. La présentation géographique s’appuie sur l’utile travail de J. D. Thotill, Agriculture in the Sudan (1948) ; peut-être pourrait-on signaler l’importance du Delta du


Dans son chapitre II, le Dr Arkell donne des aperçus beaucoup plus amples sur les résultats atteints par lui ces dernières années et présentés dans les splendides publications de *Early Khartoum* (1949) et de *Shaheinab* (1953), ainsi que plusieurs articles importants parus dans *JEA* et *Kush*. Pour A. J. Arkell, *Early Khartoum* correspond au mésolithique, avec un climat nettement humide.
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(presence de Celtis integrifolia, du rat des roseaux); la poterie est décorée d'incisions en forme de vagues. P. L. Shinnie (Bi. Or., xii, 1955, p. 128) a contesté la qualification de mésolithique pour une culture déjà assez évolution ; ce serait pour lui une variété du néolithique. N'importe comment, la stratigraphie comparée des couches archéologiques est assurée par la fouille du site subsidiaire d'El Qoz. Shaheinab est incontestablement postérieur ; lors de cette culture caractérisée par l'utilisation de 'gouges', le climat est devenu plus sec. Les similitudes sont considérables avec le Néolithique du Fayoum, la plus ancienne des cultures égyptiennes, plus évoluée cependant que Shaheinab, puisqu'on y connaît déjà un début d'agriculture et d'élevage des bovidés. Dans la comparaison de ces diverses cultures, on rencontre cependant encore des difficultés : la méthode du radiocarbone attribue au néolithique du Fayoum les alentours de 4000 avant J.-C., alors que pour Shaheinab on obtient, selon des méthodes différentes, $-3490 \pm 380$ et $-3110 \pm 450$, ce qui le rapprocherait davantage d'El Omari. Diverses objections ont pu être présentées contre certaines datations ou interprétations (H. Kantor, Aff. A, 55, 1951, p. 413-15 ; Gordon Childe, New Light on the most Ancient East, 1953, p. 47). En tout cas, on ne saurait trop souligner l'importance des enquêtes de pré- et protohistoire soudanaise pour l'étude du passé le plus ancien de l'Égypte (cf. déjà A. J. Arkell, Bi. Or., xi, 1954, p. 48 ; avec raison, E. Massoulard n'a pas négligé cet aspect dans son traité, 'Préhistoire et Protohistoire d'Égypte', Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, lxxiii, 1949, p. 352-85).


L'auteur montre en revanche qu'il y a continuité depuis la poterie des deux civilisations mésolithique et néolithique du Soudan jusqu'à la poterie de la culture dite du groupe A. Celle-ci subsiste jusqu'à la Ire dynastie égyptienne ; sa fin reste obscure, même après les récentes recherches (p. 40). Dès lors, les Égyptiens seraient parvenus jusqu'en Nubie ; selon une découverte du Dr Arkell, on devrait lire le nom du roi Djer sur un graffito du Jebel Cheikh Soliman à proximité de la seconde cataracte. Cependant, le signe stj sur la tablette du roi Hor-Aha peut désigner tout aussi bien que la Nubie ce qui sera plus tard le Ier nome de Haute-Égypte, au Nord de la Ière cataracte.
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A partir de la XIème dynastie, peu avant le début du IIème millénaire, les pays du Sud sont intégrés étroitement à l’histoire de l’Égypte. Il suffit ici d’indiquer comment A. J. Arkell utilise avec science et art la riche documentation hiéroglyphique; on lit avec aisance le résumé très clair et dense des grandes étapes de la conquête et de l’affermissement du pouvoir égyptien. De façon générale, l’auteur montre une tendance marquée à remonter les dates, ce qui n’ira pas sans quelque opposition: selon lui, il y a eu occupation permanente jusqu’à la Seconde Cataracte dès la XIème dynastie (p. 58); les conquêtes attribuées à Sésostris III devraient être reportées à Sésostris Ier (p. 60 et 64). Il n’hésite pas à pousser vers le Sud la limite de l’influence égyptienne: selon lui (p. 132, n. 1), l’établissement de Kawa aurait pu être fondé dès l’époque de Kerma; mais la présence sur ce site de statues du Moyen-Empire ne nous semble pas une ‘évidence’ suffisante, car elles peuvent avoir été apportées postérieurement; il est aussi tenté de reporter à l’aval du Dongola une fondation d’Amenemhat II mentionnée sur un fragment remployé à Merawe-Est (p. 73); mais il nous paraît difficile de tirer un argument certain de pierres ‘déplacées’. De même, pour l’aube du Nouvel-Empire, on trouve bien une statue d’Ahmès à l’île de Sai; elle semblerait en place pour Arkell (p. 82, n. 2), mais n’a-t-elle pas été apportée là postérieurement? Pour l’auteur (p. 83-4), il n’y a pas de doute que l’inscription de Hagar el Merwa ou Kurgus (à 50 milles au Sud d’Abu Hamed) date de Thoutmôsis Ier; il a publié lui-même cet important document (JEA, 36 (1950), p. 36-9 et fig. 4); si l’on accepte son interprétation, Thoutmôsis Ier aurait évité la grande boucle du Nil et coupé, par le désert, pour gagner directement la zone de la steppe; la route vers le Sud, le vrai pays des Nègres, aurait donc été atteinte dès le début de la XVIIIème dynastie; quelques hésitations pourtant peuvent subsister sur la lecture des très difficiles inscriptions de Kurgus. Quant aux objets de la XVIIIème Dynastie trouvés à Méroé, ils ne constituent pas un témoignage incontestable, n’ayant pas été trouvés en place.

A l’arrière-plan, la vie profonde du pays reste une des préoccupations du Dr Arkell, qui consacre plusieurs pages à la fin de la culture C, au comptoir de Kerma et à sa ‘culture de contact’, à l’étude de l’égyptianisation de la Nubie au cours de la Seconde Période Intermédiaire. Ce dernier problème est d’ailleurs fort délicat: l’auteur (p. 79) s’en tient à l’interprétation proposée en 1941 par T. Säve-Söderbergh: les mercenaires, tels qu’ils sont connus par les pan-graves en Égypte, auraient propagé le goût pour l’Égypte en rentrant chez eux; cependant, des arguments contre cette thèse ont été présentés ensuite par T. Säve-Söderbergh lui-même; l’engouement pour la culture égyptienne serait le fait des chefs nubiens, qui avaient des Égyptiens à leur service (JEA, 35, 1949, p. 50 sq.; Kush II, 1954, p. 20-21; cf. déjà la
visite de princes nubiens à Thèbes mentionnée sur des papyrus de la XIIème dynastie, A. Scharff, ZAS 57 (1922), p. 61. L’interprétation nouvelle que l’on est amené à donner de l’égyptianisation des pays du Sud durant la Seconde Période Intermédiaire reçoit une confirmation dans la nouvelle stèle de Kamose récemment découverte à Karnak et étudiée par Labib Habachi ; elle met en évidence l’existence d’un pouvoir indépendant et organisé à Kouch, à la veille de l’essor thébain. Quoi qu’il en soit de cette question, pour le Nouvel Empire lui-même, le Dr Arkell a raison de s’interroger (p. 100 sq.) sur le degré réel de pénétration, en profondeur, des influences égyptiennes : il y eut alors un certain afflux de soldats, de fonctionnaires, de prêtres égyptiens, mais ceux-ci restèrent cantonnés dans les centres égyptiens de colonisation ; le fond de la population resta nubien, avec ses usages locaux (Junker, Ermenne, p. 37 ; Stiendorff, Aniba, 11, p. 39).

C’est précisément à des ‘natives of Cush (Dongola)’, égyptianisées par leur contact étroit avec les prêtres d’Amon du Gebel Barkal, que le Dr Arkell rapporte l’origine de la lignée d’Alara, Kachta, Piankhy et la XXVème dynastie d’Égypte, dite ‘éthiopienne’ (p. 115, 121, 136). Avec raison, il rejette l’hypothèse de l’origine libyenne formulée par Reisner : comme on peut le voir sur la stèle de Khartoum no. 1901 (D. Dunham, El Kurru (1950), p. 90, fig. 29 f), la reine Tabiry est qualifiée de ‘grande des Barbares’ et non pas ‘the great Chiefness of the Temehuw (the southern Libyans)’ (cf. J. Yoyotte, Bull. Soc. Franç. d’Égyptologie, 6 avril 1951, p. 9, n. 1). Dans l’ample résumé d’un millénaire d’histoire du royaume de Kush (ch. vi–vii, p. 110–73), le Dr Arkell met en place les dynasties de Napata et de Méroé (pour ces dernières, quelques modifications sont apportées aux listes de Reisner, en accord avec M. F. Laming Macadam, p. 157–8 et 169) et il caractérise les faits saillants ; on ne peut qu’admirer la richesse de son information, la précision de son exposé. Dans des domaines où beaucoup d’incertitudes subsistent, ces pages marquent bien les points assurés ; c’est par référence à l’Histoire d’Arkell qu’on pourra désormais préciser tel ou tel détail. L’auteur (p. 130–2) insiste sur l’importance des constructions de Taharqa à Napata ; mais il ne faut pas négliger son activité à Thèbes, comme le montre l’inventaire systématique que nous y avons entrepris : la grande colonnade-propylée de l’Ouest n’est que la plus célèbre des colonnades dont il

dota Karnak, aux quatre points cardinaux. A propos des Perses (p. 150), on
tiendra compte des remarques de G. A. Wainwright, JEA, 38, 1952, p. 75-7 ;
Hérodote, vii, 69, dans son catalogue des contingents de l’armée de Xerxès,
offre un tableau si vivant des troupes ‘éthiopiennes’ qu’on aurait aimé le voir
mentionné. Sur l’histoire de Méroé, dont Arkell est tenté de remonter l’origine
S’il demeure difficile de préciser la limite du royaume kouchite vers le Sud
(cf. p. 130-7)—et cette lacune de notre connaissance affecte très lourdement
l’examen des rapports entre l’Egypte et le reste de l’Afrique—, l’histoire des
confins Nord peut recevoir sans doute quelques compléments, encore que des
incertitudes subsistent : au IVème siècle avant notre ère, il existe en Nubie
des roitelets assez forts pour oser, l’un tenter une révolte contre Harsiotef :
c’est Cambasauden en qui l’on avait à tort essayé de retrouver Cambysé—et
l’autre réussir la conquête de l’Egypte : c’est Khababash (cf. W. Spiegelberg,
Der Papyrus Libbey, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strasburg,
1907, suivi par Fr. Kienitz, Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4.
Jhdt (1953), p. 188-9). Pour la Basse-Nubie à l’époque ptolémaïque, on doit
tenir compte aussi des articles de M. Alliot, La Thébaïde en lutte contre les rois
d’Alexandrie sous Philopator et Epiphane (216-184), Recue Belge de Philologie et
d’Histoire, xxix, 1951, p. 421-43 ; P. Barguet, La Stèle de la famine, 1953,
p. 34-6. Le thème de la ‘menace du Sud’ dans les textes des temples
ptolémaïques méritait d’être étudié, cf. e.g. Edfou, v, 134, 7. Dans un rite
d’exécration des ennemis, on mentionne les ‘cadavres de Napata’ ; la rédaction
du passage (une glose intercalée dans un manuscrit plus ancien) semble être
contemporaine de la gravure, soit du 1er s. av. J.-C. (M. Alliot, Le Culte d’Horus
à Edfou II (1954), p. 525, n. 2 ; cf. H. Kees, Orients, viii, 1955, p. 345) ; Edfou
vi, Mythe d’Horus et Texte dramatique d’Edfou : Koush est un repaire Séthien
(cf. en particulier Edfou vi, 86, 11, et 128 ; S. Sauneron et J. Yoyotte, BIFAO,
L, 1952, p. 178 et 194). De son côté, le Dr Arkell (p. 159) attribue au dossier
de la politique ptolémaïque en ces régions les graffites des Grecs de Cyrène à
Buhén (des précisions sur la méthode de datation seraient nécessaires). Il
insiste aussi avec raison sur l’importance de l’archéologie des royaumes soudanais
pour une appréciation exacte de la civilisation hellénistique : p. 162 et pl. 17 b,
magnifique buste en bronze d’Auguste conservé au British Museum ; p. 168,
les bains de Méroé fouillés par Garstang, en 1911-12, et dont on attend encore
la publication (cf. Cl. Préaux, Chronique d’Egypte, 53, 1952, p. 280, n. 3) ;
p. 170, bronzes hellénistiques de la tombe de Natakanani (autour de l’ère
chrétienne) ; l’absence de tels objets dans les tombes plus tardives indique
une coupure des influences extérieures qui peut expliquer la décadence du
royaume méroïtique. L’isolement d’ailleurs demeure relatif, puisque c’est le
Dr Arkell lui-même qui a signalé des rapports possibles avec l’Inde (p. 166 ;
résumant un mémoire de 1951 dans les Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford) ;
la question mériterait discussion, car on peut contester par exemple l’influence
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de l’Inde sur l’architecture axoumite ; mais on sera tenté d’interpréter dans cette
perspective le motif du temple de Naga qui orne la couverture de la présente
revue : un serpent à tête de lion surgissant d’une fleur (cf. S. Morenz et
J. Schubert, Der Gott auf der Blume, Ascona, 1954) ; sur de curieuses coïnci-
dences techniques avec l’Extrême-Orient, cf. A. H. Sayce, ‘The biscuit or egg-

Une ère nouvelle s’ouvre avec la chute de Méroé ; cf. désormais aussi P. L.
Shinnie, KUSH III (1955), p. 82–5 ; pour l’inscription d’Ezana (Aksum-
Expedition no. 11), on consultera l’édition récente de E. Littmann, Miscellanea
Academica Berolinensia, ii, 2, 1950, p. 114–29 ; en particulier la traduction des
ll. 9–10 : ‘und die Schwar[zen] das rote (V)olk bekriegen und zum zweiten
und dritten Male ihren Schwur brachen’. Il appartiendrait à de plus qualifiés
que moi de présenter les derniers chapitres (viii : de 350 à 600 ap. J.-C. ; ix :
la montée de l’Islam, 600 à 1500 ; x : 1500–1700 ; xi : le déclin des monarchies :
1700–1821). On notera que pour le Dr Arkell (p. 181), comme pour H. Junker
et L. P. Kirwan, les civilisations des cimetières de Ballana et Qostol sont le fait
des Nobades—et non pas des Blemmyes (contra W. B. Emery, cf. Orientalia, 24,
1955, p. 161). Sur les progrès de christianisme, la résistance de certains milieux
attachés au paganisme, les incursions des Blemmyes, la politique de Byzanie—
et enfin l’invasion arabe, les recherches poursuivies par R. Rémondon apportent
des éléments nouveaux (Papyrus grecs d’Apollônios Anò, Le Caire, 1953, en
particulier p. 41–6 ; ‘Problèmes militaires en Egypte et dans l’Empire à la fin
chrétiens du Soudan a été l’objet d’une précieuse monographie de J. Kraus,
‘Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien’, Veröffentlichungen des Internationals
Instituts für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen (Mödling bei Wien, 1931).
Comme l’indique Arkell (p. 217 et 220), les héritiers de l’empire kouchite ont
été non seulement les royaumes chrétiens du Soudan, mais ensuite, à des titres
divers comme le montrent certaines ressemblances d’institutions ou de pratiques,
le royaume Fung de Sennar et l’empire salomonien d’Abyssinie. Dans les
rapports du Soudan avec l’Éthiopie du Négus, on tiendra compte de l’établisse-
ment de la capitale à Gondar (cf. Annales d’Éthiopie, 1, 1955, p. 159). Sur la
question des Fung, on notera la position du Dr Arkell qui leur attribue désormais
(p. 208) pour habitat primitif l’Ouest du Soudan ; au classique ouvrage de
O. G. S. Crawford, The Fung Kingdom of Sennar (Gloucester, 1951), on ajoutera
la référence à J. Spencer Trimmingham, Islam in the Sudan (Oxford, 1949). On
peut attribuer à l’imprudence la mort de Jacques Le Noir, dit du Roule, envoyé
comme ambassadeur de France en Éthiopie en 1704, mais les conditions de son
assassinat à Sennar ne justifient peut-être pas totalement l’‘Oraison funèbre’ de
la p. 219, n. 2.
Les nombreuses remarques de détail dont j'ai été entraîné à grossir le présent compte-rendu, sont la preuve évidente du grand intérêt que ne peut manquer de susciter l'ouvrage du Dr Arkell. Peut-être n'ai-je pas suffisamment souligné combien la reconstitution du passé à partir de documents soigneusement analysés et interprétés se trouve vivifiée par une connaissance exceptionnellement directe du milieu et des faits : le livre profite de la double expérience d'un administrateur et d'un archéologue qui a parcouru les pistes et foulé les sites ; il rappelle au besoin que le voisinage étrôit des vivants et des morts se retrouve aujourd'hui encore au Soudan (p. 27, n. 1) ; l'importance du régime des vents pour la navigation sur le Nil est justement soulignée (p. 67). Peut-être n'accedera-t-on pas crédit à toutes les étymologies que propose l'auteur, ni à tous les rapprochements qu'il établit entre toponymes anciens et modernes ; il n'en reste pas moins qu'il faudra tenir compte de ses remarques dans une enquête générale de toponymie africaine désormais nécessaire.

L'History of the Sudan est enfin enrichie par un précieux index (p. 235-49), par 11 cartes très lisibles (peut-être, à la carte 7, p. 139, un carton à échelle réduite serait-il utile pour localiser de façon plus précise les nombreux sites de Napata-Merawé) et par une belle illustration photographique groupée sur 24 planches en fin de volume : clichés de Chicago, Boston, du British Museum ou des archives personnelles de l'auteur.

D'emblée manuel classique pour l'historie du Soudan, le livre du Dr A. J. Arkell marque aussi une étape pour la connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique centrale et pour celle des pays de la Mer Rouge, elle-même en plein essor. Il prend donc une place de choix dans l'historiographie de l'Afrique.

JEAN LECLANT, Strasbourg.


continued on p. 102
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... continuité des temples thébains endommagés par les Assyriens.—P. 128: on connaît deux grands-prêtres (ou 'premiers prophètes') sous la XXVe dynastie, Harmakhis fils de Chabaka, et Horkheb.—P. 227, lire : Caillaud, p. 230 : Kelley.—Il existe une 3ème édition (1952), révisée et considérablement modifiée de Driotton-Vandier, Égypte, Coll. Clio.

3 Le nom d'Armi (Darfour) correspondrait au hiéroglyphique 'Ir démocratie (p. 90, 106-107; rappellons la forme Arame connue par des textes en méritoique de Kawa); celui d'Ashtem - à l'avenue de la 1ère cataracte à 'simak' (p. 50); la dérivation de Bedja à partir de Mdsor est classique (passim); les Hamaj, sujets du royaume Fung, sont rapprochés par Arkell (p. 209) du berbère amgh (pl. imghad), 'serf'; le hiéroglyphique hwat survivait dans Hawaït (VIIème cataracte; p. 91, cf. Crawford, The Lung Kingdom of Sennar, p. 5). Kareima dériverait de kary (p. 83, 97), mais il nous semble que l'équivalent actuel de ce dernier terme pourrait être plutôt cherché dans El-Kurru; il est vrai que ce lieu d'une nécropole 'royale' pourrait provenir plus directement encore de qêr, qêr (à vocaliser peut-être en qârâ, qârâ) qui est la désignation normale du roi en méritoique (S. Sauneron-J. Yoyotte, BIFAO, 1, 1952, p. 186, n. 1 et 2; compléments de A. J. Arkell lui-même dans KUSH III, 1955, p. 94). De qêr dériveraient aussi Kaira (Darfour, p. 213) et Kirati (Tungur Kirati, p. 201); le nom de Kordofan est rapproché du nubien Kurta, 'hommes' (?); Kreish (Darfour) correspondrait au hiéroglyphique Groisi; le nom de Kush survivrait dans celui de plusieurs tribus du Kordofan et du Darfour: Kajidi, Kaja, Kajjar (p. 174); la peuplade de Mahasa, au Dongola, conserverait la désignation hiéroglyphique de Nhûs (p. 41-5); les Mazics sont rapprochés du touareg Imsagho (p. 179); le nom du royaume chrétien de Mukurra est comparé au berbère Mgr, 'chef' (p. 185; cf. U. Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia Cristiana, 1938, p. 92) tout comme Tumgera (famille royale du Tibesti, p. 200), d'où procéderait Tuar (Nord Darfour); Nyima Nuba (Sud Kordofan) correspondrait à Mjwe (p. 106); le nom fameux de Tmwe, les 'Libyens', serait conservé dans Tama (Nord-Est du Ouadaï, p. 44, 45, 49); Tumurj, au Darfour, serait le hiéroglyphique Trk (p. 90, 107); Urti (Nord Darfour) 'Irû (p. 44). Evidemment il y a là matière à nombreuses discussions et contestations.


5 Aux pl. 11 a et b, on notera les statues généralement peu connues de Taharqa et Aspalta, conservées au Musée de Merowe. La pl. 8 a représente un détail d'une procession (et non pas le tribut nubien) de Ramsès II, à l'angle Sud-Ouest de la première cour du temple de Louxor; le 'boeuf gras' porte une tête postiche de Négres entre ses cornes terminées par des mains (cf. La mascarade des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Egypte, Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Arch. Instituts, Abt. Kairo 14, 1956, p. 133-4).

ANNALES D'ETHIOPIE. 'Ya Itopya ya amatáwi Tarih Maşket.'


This archaeological, philological and historical Review is published by the Archaeological Section of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia. The editor is Ato Kebbedé Mikael, General Director at the Ministry of Public Education, Addis Ababa, assisted by two French experts, Mr A. Caquot, Directeur d'Études, École des Hautes Études, Paris and Mr J. Leclant, Maître de conférences, Strasbourg University.
REVIEWS

The first number of this Review has been published on the occasion of the Jubilee of His Majesty Haïlé Sélassié (1930–55), who is himself deeply interested in archaeological research. Most of the articles are written in French with an Amharic translation or résumé. Well illustrated and carefully printed, the Annales d’Éthiopie consist of four parts: I, Excavations and archaeological reports; II, Texts (mostly in Ge’ez, with translation); III, Studies (history, palaeography, art, popular traditions, etc.), and IV, a Review of books, printed both in Amharic and European languages. All the correspondence concerning publications, review of books and periodicals, exchanges, etc. will be addressed to the Director of the Archaeological Section, National Library of Ethiopia, P.O.B. 717, Addis Ababa.


Part II: Texts. Three studies by A. Caquot: L’homélie en l’honneur de l’archange Ouriel (the homily Dersāna Ura’el, its signification, text and translation), pp. 61–88, Aperçu préliminaire sur le Maşâha Tēfut de Gechen Amba (the arrival of a piece of the Holy Cross in Ethiopia under King Dāwiit, about A.D. 1400 and the vision of King Zar’a Yâqob; translation of some important parts, e.g. the genealogy of the kings of Axum, history of Sayfa Are’ed, of Dāwiit II, of Zar’a Yâqob), pp. 88–108. Note sur le Berber Maryam (an Abyssinian convent, description, inventory of the treasures and the library, Ethiopic text and translation), pp. 109–16.

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pp. 121–6. J. Leroy: Objectifs des recherches sur la peinture religieuse éthio-
pienne (European influence in Ethiopian painting is older than A.D. 1550, Greek,
Italian and Spanish influences), pp. 127–36. A. Caquot: La Reine de Saba et le
bois de la Croix (the Queen of Sheba and the wood of the Holy Cross, an Ethiopian
tradition), pp. 137–47.

Part IV. Comptes rendus bibliographiques (pp. 151–60): (a) Amharic
publications (two school books; the development of the Amharic language;
a technical book on electricity; Telleq Eskender or Alexander the Great, by Ato
Këbbédë Mikail; The History and the Work of the Philosophers, by Aklila
Berhän Walda Qirqos, led by a German book, describes uncertain number of
ancient philosophers from Thales to Galileo Galilei; Five Years of unluck, or
the Fascists in Ethiopia, by Masallen Anellay; a choice of fables (Aesop),
Ya dam zamän or The Time of Blood, by H. E. the Bitwaddad Makkewen
Endalkacaw, a historical novel; The Unforeseen Vengeance, by Ato Mogas Kefle
(a village dweller kills his neighbour and takes his wife, he is punished by
Providence). Do not Deny Me! by Ato Dassalan Hara Mikail (a moral story,
followed by practical advices and a dialogue between Virtue and Sin); The
Last Judgement, by Ato Menase Yasegat, religious philosophy; Liberty, my
Honour, by Ato Yashawa Warq Haylu, is a national theatre piece celebrating
the heroic attitude of the Abyssinians, during the occupation; The Mirror of
the World, by Ato Abhad Saburé is a ‘digest’, a collection of various articles.
(b) Publications in European languages: A. Vööbus: Die Spuren eines älteren
äthiopischen Evangelientextes (an older Ethiopian text of the Gospels), Stockholm,
1951 (supposes an ancient Syriac translation as a base). Wolf Leslau: The
Influence of Sidamo on the Ethiopic Languages of Gurge (A. C.). A. Dillmann:
Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae de A. Dillmann (additions). (A. C.),
P. Gabriele da Maggiora: Vocabolario etiopico-latino ad uso dei principanti.
(A. C.) S. Strelcyn: Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (Collection Griaule),
Nos. 1–3: the Ethiopic kitchen; popular traditions and fables; wedding and
funeral; the sanctuaries of Shoa (A. C. and J. L.). O. G. S. Crawford: The
Fung Kingdom of Sennar, Gloucester, 1951 (J. Leclant). M. Cohen: Cinquante
années de recherches linguistiques, sociologiques, critiques et pédagogiques, 1955
(J. Leclant).

WERNER VYCICHL, Paris.
Obituary

LADY PETRIE

Perhaps for every 500 people who are aware of the valuable general library which has been built up at Khartoum University round the nucleus of the Newbold Library there is one who is aware of the splendid specialized archaeological library built round the solid core of the Petrie Library in the Sudan Antiquities Service, so that there were fewer to mourn the death last year of Lady Petrie, through whose kindness the collection came to Khartoum.

Hilda Mary Isabel Urbin mixed as a girl in pre-Raphaelite circles and was painted as one of Beatrice’s companions in Holiday’s picture of Dante, but more important was the fact that she was herself a draughtswoman and able to help her husband capably in this side of his work. However, this particular talent of hers was over-shadowed by her ability to raise money for the work and to supervise with economy the expenditure in camp. She was absolutely tireless in raising money and year after year Petrie’s excavations went on, each excavation matched by its appropriate publication. It has been rightly said that Petrie found more objects for less money than any five of his colleagues rolled together, and it might be added that he wrote more history from his finds than any ten of them. Some money there had to be, much of it collected in half-crowns and shillings by As-Sitt Hilda—as she was known to all the excavating staff. This task became something of a mania with her and there were certainly some young men with healthy appetites in Petrie’s camps who resented the rigorously economic régime, but, apart from the justification of the amazing results, it can be said that none of them came to any harm from it, and some, such as Howard Carter—who is said to have had a hole from his room into that of the foreman through which supplementary meals were passed—came to fame as a result of their training with the Petries.

Lady Petrie hardly ever missed an excavation season except at the time when she was bearing her husband a son and a daughter, John and Anne. She shared all the roughness and the occasional dangers of the campaigns with her husband. If she expected an economic standard of others, she applied it to herself. Her first season’s work in Egypt comprised a trip down the Nile on a merkub carrying coal with her husband and his assistant J. B. Quibell. She described this in an article curiously entitled ‘My Romantic Honeymoon. Three on a Coal Barge’ which, if it did not show a sense for the most felicitous wording, showed that enthusiasm which is absolutely necessary in archaeologists and their wives, and is not always apparent in the younger generation.

Among other qualities she had that of realism and quiet irony, combined with a friendliness for those in trouble or in need. During World War II I attended an archaeological congress at Jerusalem at which Lady Petrie was also
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present. After a preliminary meeting which she had not attended I found my driver by the car. 'Coo, sir,' he said, 'I just bin 'aving a cup of tea with a real Lady, proper kind she is too, Petrie or some such!' At the end of the meeting she said to me 'That was a very sensible series of resolutions we passed, they sound as if they should improve archaeology a lot. I remember a congress at Istanbul in 1897 when we passed just about the same series!'

The loss of Lady Petrie breaks one of the very few remaining links with the grand days of Egyptology when at one time there were 6 or 7 international expeditions working at Luxor alone and great discoveries came thick and fast. We are more scientific than the Petries were in the sense that we have erected many pavilions on the wide solid foundations that they built, but the like of those days led by Flinders and Hilda will not recur till another civilization nears its end and the archaeologists set to work to dig up the remains of ours.

O. H. Myers.