ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A\j</td>
<td>Antiquaries Journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Ancient Records (J. H. Breasted).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités d’Égypte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASN</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of Nubia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>Archäologische Zeitung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMFAB</td>
<td>Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts Boston.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAS</td>
<td>Harvard African Studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAAA</td>
<td>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LD</td>
<td>Lepsius: Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDIAK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMIFAO</td>
<td>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIO</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalische Literaturzeitung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEQ</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Quarterly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</td>
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<td>R. d’Èg.</td>
<td>Revue d’Egyptologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SASMP</td>
<td>Sudan Antiquities Service Museum Pamphlets.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SASOP</td>
<td>Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNR</td>
<td>Sudan Notes and Records.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urk.</td>
<td>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wb.</td>
<td>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAS</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</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

In my Editorial Notes in the last volume of KUSH I stated that the present issue would give a list of the archaeological sites available for excavation both by the Sudan Antiquities Service and by foreign missions. This list appears on p. 216 below, but since we last went to press, the projected High Dam at Aswan has advanced a further step. Raw materials are piling up at Shellal and the actual work of construction could start any time now (cf. The Times, London, 6 May 1959, p. 12). It is my duty once more1 to draw the attention of the learned public to the terrific loss to the archaeology and history of the Sudan that would result from the flooding of the Nile Valley from Faras up to Kosha, over 200 km. into Sudanese territory.

The loss of the Abu Simbel Temple would be a great blow to the History of Art in general, and to Egyptology in particular, but it must not blind us to the fact that the disappearance of Lower Nubia beneath the water would not be so disastrous for archaeology as the destruction of the sites south of the Egyptian Border. The archaeology of this stretch of country which goes from Shellal in the north to Faras in the south, that is the Egyptian part of Nubia, is certainly the best known reach of the whole Nile Valley. From 1907 to 1910, G. A. Reisner, G. Elliot, F. W. Jones and C. M. Firth published The Archaeological Survey of Nubia in seven folio volumes. This work was completed by the Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey (seven quarto volumes), and by Reports on special subjects. At the same time, G. Maspero initiated the series of Egyptian Antiquities Service Publications on the Temples immergés de la Nubie, in which he himself, G. Roeder, F. Zucker, H. Gauthier and A. W. Blackman published twelve temples in fifteen folio volumes, while A. E. Weigall published his Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia. (First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier) in a separate folio volume. From 1929 to 1938, A. Batrawi, G. Roeder, H. Gauthier, W. B. Emery, L. P. Kirwan, Griffith, H. Junker, Monneret de Villard, Ruppel and Steindorff published nineteen more volumes—mostly folios—devoted to

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1 See Bibliotheca, Orientalis, xiii, 1956, pp. 259–61.
temples, churches and archaeological sites in the same part of the Egyptian Nile Valley. With over fifty volumes, not to speak of the numerous papers published in periodicals, concerning the archaeology and monuments of this limited area, one wonders what more can be gained for science by resuming work in the same region.

If, for comparison, we turn to the Sudanese side of the endangered area, what do we find? The invaluable work of F. Ll. Griffith and Reisner, but limited to four sites (Faras, Semna, Uronarti and Mirgissa), still in part unpublished; the work of the University of Pennsylvania (Eckley B. Coxe, Jun., Expedition to Nubia), but with only two volumes devoted to Sudanese sites (Buhen, and some churches near Debeira); the excellent, but too short, Report of J. H. Breasted on The Monuments of Sudanese Nubia (110 pages in 8vo.); the excavations of O. Bates and D. Dunham at Gammai, of L. P. Kirwan at Firka, of O. H. Myers at Abka (still unpublished), and of myself at Kor. Altogether only ten sites have been partially excavated, while our ground survey, together with the recent Air Survey undertaken by the Sudanese Survey Department, reveals over one hundred sites! The recent work of Professor W. B. Emery at Buhen (see below, pp. 7–14) shows how much Sudanese archaeology has to give, and it is impossible to allow all these sites to be destroyed without having been at least partly excavated and recorded. In a recent Plan of Development, I have asked for special funds to undertake, on behalf of the Sudan Antiquities Service, a preliminary survey of the endangered area, but with the heavy commitments already upon it, the Sudan Government can hardly do more than it is already doing for archaeology.

I sincerely hope that the International Community will help us to excavate the endangered sites, and so avoid an irretrievable loss to the history and archaeology of the Sudan. Of the above quoted list of sites, a number are situated in the endangered area, and the Sudan Antiquities Service would be glad to see them excavated as soon as possible.

J.V.

by W. B. Emery

Following an application by the Egypt Exploration Society, the Antiquities Services of the Sudan Government granted the Society a licence to explore and excavate the Buhen area in the Northern Province. This included the site of Buhen itself, Kor and Mayanarti.

Our expedition arrived at Buhen on 11 November 1957 and after the rebuilding of the ruined rest house which was to serve as our headquarters, we commenced the exploration of the area on 2 December 1957. This work occupied us until 30 December, when we finally decided to make test excavations in the town site of Buhen itself. Thence forward, excavation proceeded with most satisfactory results, and with no interruption until 28 February 1958.

Buhen, situated on the west bank of the Nile opposite Wadi Halfa was only one of the chain of trading stations and fortresses set up by the Egyptians of the 12th Dynasty, to block the difficult passages by land and river through the hundred miles of desolation of the Batn-el-Hagar. But its position immediately north of the barriers of the Second Cataract soon increased its importance and by the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty the perimeter of its great fortifications extended for a distance of more than a mile, enclosing a town which contained two temples, public buildings, quarters for its garrison, workshops for the gold trade, etc. At its stone-built quays, ships from Egypt were loaded with the tribute and products of trade from the south. Tombs discovered in the vicinity in 1910 give ample evidence of a rich and even luxurious standard of living in this outpost of Pharaonic civilization.

But life at Buhen was not uninterrupted by disaster and by the constant threat of destruction. Its great fortifications were constantly strengthened, but even so with the weakening of Egyptian power following the Hyksos invasions of the homeland (1675 B.C.) the town appears to have been stormed and sacked. Thereafter it remained a gigantic and partly burnt ruin for many years until the advent of the warrior kings of the New Kingdom put an end to the Hyksos domination in the north and to the Kushite kingdom in the south. Buhen was reoccupied and its fortifications were rebuilt and enlarged. A fine temple was

1 Somers Clarke, 'Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses', JEA, 3, p. 155.
Fig. 1. PLAN OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THE NEW KINGDOM
Fig. 2. PLAN OF THE OUTER FORTIFICATION OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
a. GENERAL VIEW OF THE INNER FORTIFICATIONS SHOWING THE NEW KINGDOM TERRACE AND SUNKEN ROAD IN THE FOREGROUND

a. THIRD BASTION SHOWING PART OF THE NEW KINGDOM TERRACE WHICH COVERED IT

b. THIRD BASTION FROM THE BOTTOM OF THE DITCH
EXCAVATIONS OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

built by Queen Hatshepsut, the town expanded and apparently remained secure and occupied until the final eclipse of Egyptian power at the close of the xxth Dynasty (1085 B.C.). We do not know what the fate of the fortress was when with the swing of the pendulum, Kush conquered Egypt and her kings became the Pharaohs of the xxth Dynasty (751 B.C.). From remains in the temple of Hatshepsut, there is reason to suppose that the town was reoccupied; but until further excavation is undertaken we have no evidence of whether it was again used as a military stronghold.

Although the temples of Buhen were scientifically examined early in the 19th century, the existence of the fortifications and town were not known until their recognition by the late Sir Henry Lyons in 1892. The first scientific exploration of the site came in 1910, when the Eckley B. Cox Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania spent two seasons in excavating the numerous tombs and cemeteries in the vicinity of the town and in tracing the outline of the fortifications. No detailed examination of the military architecture was undertaken and thereafter the site remained untouched until our excavations this year. The results have been most encouraging, for unlike many ancient sites in Nubia, the fortifications and town are well preserved and have not suffered erosion from the high desert winds which in a few hundred years reduce great structures of mud-brick down to their foundations. Here at Buhen the winds brought the sand and instead of causing the usual destruction it preserved large parts of the fortifications by burying them.

As has been stated above, there are two distinct periods of Egyptian occupation at Buhen. Although there is evidence of Egyptian penetration of the locality as early as the 1st Dynasty and in subsequent periods, the first fortress appears to have been built at the commencement of the xiii Dynasty (1991 B.C.) This consisted of a rectangular walled town surrounded by a dry ditch, which was ultimately stormed and partly destroyed. With the re-occupation in the xviiith Dynasty, its walls were restored and it formed a citadel around which grew a much larger town, which in turn was protected by a new fortified wall and dry ditch designed on a new principle of military architecture consisting of irregular rectangular salients with projecting towers.

After a preliminary survey of the ground, excavation was started on 22 December 1957, with a test clearance of a small area at the extreme north end of the fortress. (Plate I, area A). Here part of the xviiith Dynasty fortifications, consisting of a section of the main wall, the foundations of one of the towers and the dry ditch were revealed. The main wall, with its square external buttresses, has been reduced nearly down to its foundations, but sufficient remains to show that both buttresses and wall had a battered base. Four and a half metres thick, it originally stood to a height of not less than eleven metres, and was faced with white painted gypsum plaster (Plates II and III).

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SECTION ON B-B

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

SECTION ON C-C

WALTER B. EMERY
1958

FIG. 3. SECTIONS OF THE FORTIFICATION OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
EXCAVATIONS OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

The tower was not an original part of the structure, but was added at a subsequent date, although it apparently conformed strictly to the general design. The core of its foundations consists of large roughly dressed stones faced with brickwork. It was hollow with a brick-paved gallery running down its centre and connecting with a door in the interior face of the main wall (FIG. 1).

The dry ditch seven metres wide was cut to a depth of three and a half metres in rock and sand, with the scarp backed by roughly dressed stone and the counter-scarp faced with brickwork. The surface of both scarp and counter-scarp had been smoothed with mud plaster covered with white painted gypsum (PLATES II and III).

With the completion of this preliminary test on the outer defences of Buhen, we turned our attention on our main objective: the central fortifications which belonged to the original XIth Dynasty stronghold (PLATE I, area B). Here we found that the main walls, five metres thick, were panelled in a fashion similar to those of the fortress of Kuban (FIGS. 2 and 3), but after the re-occupation of the town in the XVIIIth Dynasty, they had been strengthened by the construction of exterior buttresses bonded into each recess between the panelling (PLATE IV and FIGS. 4 and 5). Clearing down to the base of these walls we found that a wide brick paved terrace had been built, beyond which was what appeared to be a sunk roadway (PLATE V). Like the buttresses of the main wall, the terrace and sunk roadway were of XVIIIth Dynasty date and consequently everything below had lain undisturbed since about 1500 B.C. (FIG. 5). As the excavation progressed, it became obvious that this sunk roadway covered and followed the original dry ditch of the Middle Kingdom fortress. The removal of part of the terrace and roadway revealed the outer defences of the original stronghold, consisting of a rampart with its loopholed parapet overhanging the scarp of the rock-cut ditch (PLATE VI). The counter-scarp on the other side of the ditch was heightened by brickwork, surmounted by a narrow covered way with what appears to be the top of a glacis behind it. Projecting from the scarp at intervals are round bastions with double rows of loop-holes arranged in groups of three centring on one single shooting embrasure from which the defending archer could direct his fire from three different angles downward onto the attackers in the ditch (PLATES VII, VIII, IX and FIG. 6). This curious form of loophole was a feature of the round bastions at both Kuban and Ikkur, 3 but such was the ruined state of these buildings that their character was not recognized. The general plan of the fortress is very similar to the Middle Kingdom defences of Aniba and it would appear probable that both structures were contemporary in date and perhaps even the work of the same architect 4 (FIG. 2). Some conception of the immense strength of these defences becomes obvious when we realize that an attacking force must first storm the glacis, destroying any

Fig. 5. SECTIONS OF THE INNER FORTIFICATION OF THE NEW KINGDOM

WALTER B. EMERY
1958
Fig. 6. CONSTRUCTIONAL DETAILS OF THE LOOPHOLE SYSTEM
KUSH

outposts concealed in the covered way, while under fire from sling shots and arrows directed from the main wall above. They would then have to descend the steep counter-scarp, six metres deep to the foot of the ditch, under an intense and organized cross-fire from the loop-holed ramparts and bastions behind which the defenders would be completely concealed. Should they survive this ordeal, they would then have to storm the scarp and rampart above it, only to find themselves in a narrow corridor at the foot of the main walls, which were at least ten metres high.

Although only a small part of the N.W. area of the fortifications has as yet been cleared, sufficient is now visible to show that here at Buhen we have a unique example of Egyptian military architecture splendidly preserved because of its deliberate burial to form the foundations of later constructions. Small test excavations behind the fortifications point to the town area being equally well preserved, and there is every reason to believe that we have here an unexpectedly rich field of research in the domestic architecture and living conditions etc., of a military settlement of the xith Dynasty.
Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Results of the British Ennedi Expedition 1957

by A. J. Arkell

THANKS to the Central Research Fund of the University of London, the British Academy, the Royal Anthropological Institute, Miss G. Caton-Thompson, F.B.A., and Mrs Iris Ainley, I was enabled to join the British Ennedi Expedition, which was being organized by Capt. Brian MacDonald Booth of the Royal Scots Greys, an officer with experience of motoring in the Libyan Desert unrivalled to-day and an expert ornithologist. The other members of the expedition were Dr R. J. G. Savage of Bristol University (palaeontologist), Capt. Alexander Campbell, R.A.M.C. (doctor and zoologist), Peter Hutchison of Magdalene College, Cambridge (botanist and assistant archaeologist), and David Bailey of St. Catherine’s College, Cambridge (surveyor). The primary object of the expedition was a general scientific survey of the Wanyanga-Ennedi area, a region of which little is known. The aim with which I joined the expedition was to make a preliminary survey of an area hard of access and virtually unknown archaeologically, that lies on the western fringe of the Nile Valley, for I think that this area must hold the key to several problems that at present confront the student of prehistory and early history in the Nile Valley. One question to which I particularly hoped to find the answer was how, on neolithic sites situated at two points in the Nile Valley and separated from each other by approximately a thousand miles (viz. the Fayum oasis and the Khartoum area) are found stone implements of an unusual type, a semi-polished hollow-cut adze (christened ‘gouge’ by Miss Caton-Thompson in The Desert Fayum), associated with inter alia beads of the hard blue-green semi-precious microcline felspar or amazon stone, perhaps the earliest blue beads known. This ‘gouge’ type has been found over a wide area west of Tibesti stretching from Ténéré, nw. of Lake Chad through Bilma and Djado to Tummo about 350 miles west of Eghei, a north-eastern outlier of Tibesti. Drawings of two implements found by Dalloni in Tibesti1 suggested that the gouge probably spread to the slopes of that massif itself. The discovery during the war by Théodore Monod2 of a considerable outcrop of amazon stone at Zumma in Eghei worked from ancient

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1 Dalloni, Mission au Tibesti, II, fig. 60, b, c.
times until the present day, had suggested to me that these two outstanding peculiarities of the Neolithic, common both to Fayum and Khartoum, which must have come from the same source outside the Nile Valley, had probably come from the west. It therefore seemed reasonable to expect to find a neolithic culture with these features in the area of the large Quaternary lakes known to have existed on the eastern side of Tibesti, of which Great Wanyanga (Ounianga Kebir) is the best example still surviving as a lake to-day. I also persuaded the expedition to make a special visit to the amazon stone quarry of Eghei Zumma in order to study the surface archaeology (Monod having been able to spend only one afternoon there), in the hope of possibly finding evidence of some connection (trade or mining) with the Nile Valley.

The expedition left London by road with three long-wheel base Land Rovers on 9 August. Crossing the Channel by air, it drove to Marseilles, and was transported thence by sea to Tunis. From Tunis it drove via Tripoli to Benghazi and thence south to Kufra, which it made its advance base. At both Benghazi and Kufra the Libyan Government authorities were most helpful and co-operative; in Tripoli the expedition was put up both on the way out and on its return by Mr Christopher Gandy of the British Embassy, and it also received much help from Col. E. G. Evans, O.B.E., M.C., late of the Sudan Political Service.

From Kufra the expedition drove ssw. via Bushra and Sarra wells, to Tekro, and thence to Great Wanyanga. There it stayed from 9 September to 5 October, during which time it explored the surroundings of the Great Wanyanga lake and the two depressions to the east of it, Katam and Little Wanyanga. These still contain the remains of lakes, which are rapidly drying up.

While we were waiting at Sarra for a lorry which we had hired to bring some of our petrol from Kufra, a number of Upper Acheulean handaxes were found scattered within a mile or so of the well. Some of them were eroding out of red soil under a thin scatter of windblown sand.

The first traces of living vegetation dependent on rainfall appear to-day immediately north of Tekro, where there is a shallow well in the bed of what must have been in Quaternary times an extensive freshwater lake; but not only has the greater part of the lake beds, which contain many shells of *Melania tuberculata*, *Limnaea sp.* and *Planorbis sp.*, been blown away, but the depression is rapidly being filled by windblown sand; with the result that two days' search produced little of archaeological interest.

The present motor track from Tekro to Great Wanyanga, except for a few miles at either end, follows what must have been in Acheulean times the bed of a considerable river (torrent ?) which carried at times large quantities of coarse gravel. At a point about 3½ miles east of the lake as the crow flies, a plentiful spread of Acheulean handaxes were found on the slopes of a sandstone terrace cut by the river. Many of the handaxes were very wind-worn, some almost worn to destruction; but others were in good condition, having only recently weathered out of soil, now blown away. They are of Developed Acheulean type,
and include an occasional cleaver. A few very small handaxes 2–3 in. long were also found here, and one Aterian tanged point (see below).

As one approaches Great Wanyanga lake, this Acheulean water-course seems to have turned south in the direction of the depression known as Katam, but it is now very difficult to follow on the ground. About half a mile south of the main motor track and about one mile east of Wanyanga lake, handaxes are plentiful on irregularly spread banks of medium gravel. They are in general smaller than those found further up the watercourse, and appear to be rather later in type. Also just north of the motor track, and slightly nearer the lake (7½ miles by road from the fort) is another Late Acheulean site where small handaxes were found, some very wind-worn and some just weathering out of the last remaining soil.

In all the Wanyanga area, wind erosion is more extreme than I have seen it anywhere else in Africa, and my impression after a month’s observation is that it may have been of no longer duration than in the Sudan, where it seems probably to have been confined to the last two thousand years, and that at Wanyanga it is probably still becoming more and more severe at the present time; (see evidence to this effect from a mound grave on a neolithic site at Guro, see below).

One result of this action of the wind, which has removed practically all trace of soil and is rapidly breaking down the Nubian Sandstone rock, is that the sand of which this rock was once formed is being re-formed into dunes wherever opportunity offers. Notable evidence of its rate of progress is to be seen in the Katam depression, where Umma, the westernmost lake, has been cut into two lakes since 1955, when an air photo was taken showing the sandspit crossing it from its northern shore still at least 20 yards short of the southern shore. Yet by 1957 the sand had reached the southern shore, and the two lakes so formed already differed in level, colour and salinity, no doubt because the easternmost of the two contains the greater share of the freshwater springs supplying them.

The sand forming the sandspit is being driven by the prevailing NNE wind through a gap in the sandstone hills on the north side of the lake, where the harder ironstone cap of the sandstone plateau has been eroded through, and the wind is eating out the softer stone below. Both at Great and Little Wanyanga the same phenomenon may be observed: sand pouring through several such gaps in the plateau, underneath which the lakes lie to the south, and dividing the original lake in each case into several lakes, prior to smothering them entirely in the forseeable future, unless they dry up first owing to falling water-table and/or failing rainfall, as has already happened at Tekro and Guro. All the lakes are salt at Great Wanyanga and Katam, and some salt and some fresh at Little Wanyanga, and all are separated by dunes running from NNE to SSW. Shattered sandstone observed both on the edge of Great Wanyanga lake at the end nearest Katam and in Katam near Hirr Billi spring on the eastern edge of the recently divided lake, shows that earth movement has complicated the history of these lakes, of which it is hoped that Dr Savage will publish a detailed study.

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About two miles sse. of Lake Umma we found a scatter of handaxes mostly wind-worn, some of which appear to be Developed Acheulean in type; but many of them may have been part of an early Aterian complex. One example (Plate x, a) is comparable both to an undoubted Aterian specimen from Kharga\(^4\) and to an artifact from Khor Abu Anga at Omdurman.\(^5\) Within a mile I also found in situ the greater part of what in the Sudan I would have called a 'Tumbian' or Sangoan lancehead (Plate x, b).\(^6\) At Great Wanyanga itself in the vicinity of the landing ground, a very fine lancehead-like foliate point of silcrete sandstone (Plate x, d) was found on the surface. It is 17 cm. long and though rather thicker, resembles one from Kharga.\(^7\) Another bifacial point 12 cm. long from the same area has a definite tang (Plate x, c) and there were other unifacially worked points, including two about 10 cm. long.

On a mound about three-quarters of a mile s. of Marigi, the easternmost of the Katam lakes, we found a strew of wind-eroded artifacts and a few wind-worn sherds of pottery. One of the artifacts was a fairly typical Aterian small tanged point (arrowhead ?). Three of the others appear to be neolithic arrowheads with tangs (Plate xi, d). Typical small Aterian tanged points (arrowheads and ? tools) were found also mixed with sherds on a site at the south end of Great Wanyanga lake. Points and sherds lay together with other occupation débris on the bare surface of the sandstone rock, from which every vestige of soil has been blown away; but the Aterian tanged points (Plate xi, a–c) can hardly be contemporary with the pottery, although the earliest pottery (Plate xii, a) is Dotted Wavy Line ware.\(^8\)

We found two other sites on the sw. edge of the Great Wanyanga lake, on which a few sherds of this Dotted Wavy Line ware had survived in a recognizable condition (Plate xii, b, d). Indeed at these two sites, an inch or two of sand from the bottom of the occupation débris still remained, and in it one or two sherds were found undisturbed and undamaged by the intense wind erosion of to-day. It is to be noted that all these three sites are at the same level: 125 ft. above the present level of the lake, suggesting that the lake level has fallen 125 ft. since the first occupation of those sites. Since on all of them occur also sherds of later types than the Dotted Wavy Line ware it is probable that most, if not all, of the fall in level has taken place since the last occupation, i.e. comparatively recently.

One or two sherds of Dotted Wavy Line ware also turned up on a similar


\(^5\) *SASOP*, 1, pl. 13, 3.

\(^6\) *SASOP*, 1, pl. 13, 2 and Leakey and Owen, *Coryndon Memorial Museum, Occasional Paper No. 1*, fig. 14, 2.

\(^7\) Caton-Thompson, *Kharga Oasis in Prehistory*, pl. 85, fig. 2.

\(^8\) See Arkell, *Early Khartoum*, pl. 72 and pp. 84–5, and *Shaheinab*, pl. 38, 3 and pp. 7–8, 68–9, 101.
occupation site at the east end of the Little Wanyanga (Ounianga Serir=Saghayar) depression (Plate XII, c). At this site there seemed to have been little subsequent occupation. The stone artifacts were mainly crescents and borers that would not have been out of place at Early Khartoum, though rather better made, for the silcrete sandstone of which they were made was easier to work than the quartz and rhyolite of Khartoum. There were also a few bifacial artifacts, apparently broken bifacial points, and four unifacial tools resembling some from the Great Wanyanga site where Aterian points were found, making it seem possible that, at this Little Wanyanga site, there may have been a survival of the Aterian tradition into Neolithic times.

No celts or arrowheads were found at Early Khartoum or at this Little Wanyanga site, so it appears probable that the arrowheads (Plate XIII, a, bottom row) from two, and the celts (Plate XIII, b) from all three Great Wanyanga sites belong to a later occupation than that which left the Dotted Wavy Line ware, crescents and borers on all these sites, and at Little Wanyanga. M. Gérard Bailloud, archaeologist of the Mission Tibesti-Borkou-Ennedi, has found numerous sherds of the same ware, an unburnished pottery with simple rims decorated with Dotted Wavy Line impressions, in the earliest occupation level in several caves in the vicinity of Fada in Ennedi. In the culture which follows it there, he has found sherds of Burnished Dotted Wavy Line ware indistinguishable from sherds from the Khartoum Neolithic. I found one wind-worn sherd on one of the sites at Great Wanyanga that may well be of this same Burnished Dotted Wavy Line ware. In any case, M. Bailloud had already recognized his discovery of the pottery typical of the later Khartoum Mesolithic and of the early Khartoum Neolithic in Ennedi over 700 miles west of Khartoum and approximately 350 miles W. of the westernmost site hitherto recorded, and our discoveries at Wanyanga extend the range of Dotted Wavy Line ware some 140 miles NW. of Fada. Since Khartoum Mesolithic pottery has been found as far east of the Nile as Kassala, this gives a range of over 1000 miles from east to west for one ware, which in itself suggests that, as R. Pittoni has already deduced, the pottery of Early Khartoum must be very early in the history of pottery. Our expedition thus threw some new light on the range of the Khartoum Mesolithic, while M. Bailloud has found one of the wares typical of the Khartoum Neolithic in Ennedi; so that although neither he nor we found a gouge in either Wanyanga or Ennedi, those Khartoum cultures with early pottery, one of which had gouges, did reach out 700 miles at least west of the Nile. It remains for a future expedition to discover how that peculiar stone implement the gouge, which seems to have its home west and south-west of

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10 Shaheinab, pl. 29, fig. 1 and p. 69.
11 Early Khartoum, p. 116 (Major Van der Byl's Wadi Howar find).
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Tibesti (having been found in Ténéré and at Bilma, Djado and Tummo),
reached Khartoum and the Fayum. It now looks to me as if that route must lie
somewhere north of the Wanyanga-Ennedi line.

Large stone arrowheads with a pronounced recessed base are typical of the
Fayum Neolithic, but neither they nor any form of bifacial arrowhead occur in
the Khartoum Neolithic. The Wanyanga Neolithic seems definitely closer to the
Khartoum Neolithic than to the Fayum Neolithic, in that not only does it have
the Dotted Wavy Line pottery, but apparently only crescents and no bifacial
arrowheads were contemporary with that ware. On one of the Great Wanyanga
sites, where it occurs, we did find a few stone arrowheads with slightly recessed
bases (Plate XIII, a, bottom row). One of them is a small example in a dark grey
stone (30 mm. by 24 mm.) presumably related to another single exquisite little
arrowhead in carnelian (27 mm. by 14 mm.) (Plate XIII, a, top) found at the west
end of the Little Wanyanga depression in association with sherds of a thin hard
red ware with pronounced incisions, since sherds of this ware were also found on
the same Great Wanyanga site. On this latter site were also found a few larger
triangular arrowheads with slightly recessed bases (Plate XIII, a, bottom row), of
silcrete sandstone and similar stones, that may be intermediate in age between the
Dotted Wavy Line pottery and the small arrowheads. They resemble arrow-
heads from Taferjit and Tamaya Mellet. The ferricrete sandstone celts that
occur on this site in some quantity may well be contemporary with these larger
arrowheads.

Little Wanyanga is a depression about 25 miles east of Great Wanyanga,
and once contained a lake as large as the latter. It is, however, in a more
advanced state of desiccation. Much of the old lake bed has been removed
by wind erosion, and wind-blown sand is rapidly filling the depression. On a
spread of gravel on a sandstone plateau near the centre of the northern edge of
the depression, we found some small handaxes and other artifacts that could
belong to a culture intermediate between Acheulean and Aterian. Also at the
west end of the depression we found a scatter of late handaxes, scrapers and
flakes with faceted butts that in central Africa might be classed as ‘Tumbian’
(Sangoan) or in N. Africa as Mousterian.

From Little Wanyanga we returned to Great Wanyanga, and thence made
a short visit to Guro, about 70 miles WNW. Guro was the nearest we got to the
peak of Emi Kussi in Tibesti. Despite Dalloni’s suggestions, we found no
traces of the Neolithic in the intervening country, and little of archaeological
interest, except some possible Early Palaeolithic pebble tools in the coarse gravel
left by a Quaternary torrent, which once flowed from Tibesti through the cliffs
to the north of the track in the vicinity of Ezenga (on the Faya sheet of the

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18 See specimens in the Musée de l’Homme in Paris. See also Joubert and Vaufrey,
‘Le néolithique du Ténéré’ in Anthropologie, 50, p. 328, fig. 2, 16, and p. 330, and
P. Noel, Anthropologie, 28, p. 359.
14 See specimens in the Musée de l’Homme, published by Harper Kelley in the
Journal de la Société des Africanistes, iv, pl. viii, 3 ; ix, 29, 30, and x, 63.

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French 1:1,000,000 map), and then SE. in the direction of Sueika (Soeka). There was once an extensive lake in the vicinity of Guro, but apart from two small pools it has now dried up, and the wind has already removed the greater part of the lake beds. We found three occupation sites with pottery and a limited number of stone artifacts in what was once the SE. corner of this lake. These sites did not appear to be quite so early as those that produced Dotted Wavy Line sherds at Wanyanga, but we did find one wind-worn sherd that may be of Burnished Dotted Wavy Line ware (PLATE XII, e). The third and most extensive site had on it a grave mound which it would have been interesting to excavate, as it could provide an upper limit in time for the severe wind erosion of this area. All the sherds on this site were much worn by wind erosion except those which had been protected from the wind by being heaped up and buried in the mound over this grave. All the serious wind erosion must have taken place since the grave was made, for the sherds in the grave-mound were not worn at all.

From Guro we returned to Great Wanyanga, and then were summoned in to Faya to have our passports stamped, which caused a serious depletion in our limited petrol supplies. From Faya we drove to Fada, and then visited the remarkable gorge of Archei, with its relic crocodiles and caves, the rock pictures of which have been studied by Général P. Huard and other French archaeologists. I picked up in one of the caves a sherd of Dotted Wavy Line pottery. Returning to Fada we paid a short visit by hired camel to the Wadi Basso at Berkiselli (Marouéchili), where Capt. Booth found much of ornithological interest. Near our camp at Berkiselli was a group of stone mound graves and ruined stone buildings which, according to a local Goraan Gaida informant, were those of Bedayat Tōla, who used to inhabit those parts and as far north as the salt workings at Dimi. The site is known as Gubba Tōb, which (if Arabic) means a brick domed tomb, but in the limited time available, I found nothing like one. The largest ruin found was an oval stone ring, of which the inside measurement was 12 paces by eight. The wall, composed of rough stones piled on one another is about 10 ft. thick at the base and 3 ft. high. The long axis runs N-S. Inside were only what seemed to have been a hearth and a possible simple kind of altar. There was a small opening in the wall at the NE., close to which on the outside is the ruin of a doorkeeper’s round stone hut, and there was apparently a larger entrance at the north end.

Near the ruins of stone houses in the vicinity, I picked up some sherds from plain black-topped red bowls with a markedly thickened rim (PLATE XIII, d), which M. Bailloud recognizes as his Djoki ware, which he associates with people who may have introduced iron. If my informant’s tradition is correct, this is presumably the pottery of the Bedayat Tōla, who may have been (Christian?) Beja from the Bayuda Desert west of Dongola, who would naturally have introduced the black-topped red ware characteristic of Nubia, and also iron-working deriving from Meroë. Certainly iron was worked at Gubba Tōb, for I found the remains of three iron smelting furnaces with typical iron bloomery and charcoal underneath the iron.
From Fada we returned direct to Great Wanyanga by a route little used by motor transport; from there we returned across the desert to Sarra Well, and thence by another route east of Bushra to Kufra.

From Kufra, supplied with an excellent Tibu guide by the friendly Libyan authorities, we set out for Eghei Zumma via the little oasis of Rebiana and Assenou, a well built like Bushra and Sarra by the Senussi, to facilitate trade with northern Tibesti. Our journey through the Rebiana Sand Sea, with its Atlantic-roller-like dunes, was an experience never to be forgotten, particularly on the return journey, when with the change to winter weather we seemed to be on the verge of a sandstorm and the wind had removed all tracks made less than a week before and was causing the crests of the dunes to 'smoke' with blown sand. But Booth's masterly driving got us through with a minimum of trouble. Whenever we were delayed by a car sticking, I was able to have a quick look round, and hardly ever failed to find an apparently random scatter of stones, usually silcrete sandstone, all artifacts or waste flakes. Every stone had been brought to its present position by man. Some were more polished by desert varnish than others. They give the impression of having been left by nomads, who carried stone with them, and made a few tools as and when required, probably most often when a kill was made in the chase. The dunes appear to be both moving and growing at present. It seems that as the sand moves, it is probably burying some stone artifacts and uncovering others. In a wet period, when alone man would have been found in the Rebiana Sand Sea, the dunes were no doubt temporarily anchored by grass and slight bush (as in eastern Darfur and western Kordofan to-day), enabling antelope and so human beings to find a living there. It is inconceivable that the Sand Sea has been habitable since the last wet period equivalent to the Makalian of East Africa, and so none of the artifacts can be later than the Neolithic. In the absence of stratification, one has to depend on typology alone, and that is not a reliable guide. My conclusion is that all the artifacts found in the Sand Sea could be contemporary, and that it must be assumed that they are contemporary, and therefore all neolithic, until it is proved otherwise. But it did at one stage seem likely that in the Gamblian wet period the Sand Sea had also seen hunters dropping tools typologically intermediate between the Acheulean and the Aterian, and related to assemblages of that stage from Algeria and Tunisia. A selection of the stone artifacts found in the Sand Sea is shown on Plate XIV. The most frequent were blades of silcrete sandstone with one or both edges serrated (Plate XIV, a and b), which (in form but not in material) resemble the 'half dozen narrow unifacial blades with coarse deeply bitten marginal retouch exaggerated by wear' which were found by Miss Caton-Thompson on the surface of the Kom W Neolithic occupation site in the Fayum. One of those Fayum blades (University College No. 2745) is shown in Plate XIV, a, between two blades from the Sand Sea. Miss Caton-Thompson attributed her blades to a post-neolithic

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period, but she did find a fragment of one in a neolithic fire-hole. Finds from the Sand Sea also included a few blades of flint indistinguishable from Egyptian flint, and one backed blade of silcrete sandstone, with the cutting edge crudely serrated from one side. There were also several scrapers of varying type and form (one of chert).

Plate XIV, c (right) shows some of the unifacial flake artifacts which are thicker than Fayum blades, and look as if they might have been crude, heavy, arrowheads. With them (extreme left) is one slug-shaped, unifacial scraper, length 80 mm., carefully trimmed all round. It seemed at first that it might be related to the unifacial double points with continuous retouch from a Mousterian assemblage (considered to be just prior to a primitive Aterian) from El Oudiane in the department of Constantine in Algeria. But there is a scraper not unlike it from the Fayum Neolithic (U.C. No. 3387a). Its shape connects it with another of our Sand Sea finds, a remarkable fine handaxe-like unifacial artifact of silcrete sandstone (180 mm. long) which is carefully trimmed all round (Plate XIV, d). The nearest examples to it that I have been able to trace (judging only from illustrations), both come from Tunisia, viz.:—a large unifacial Aterian point from Oum et Tine and a somewhat similar 'pointe ogivale' from the Micoquian site at Sidi Zin. But presumably our find can be neolithic too.

Between Assenou Well and Eghei Zumma we found nothing of archaeological interest, except in Eghei at the base of a striking crested hill known as Emi Musaha (Mustafa?) where we found traces of occupation, with a few wind-worn sherds and microliths which included a tiny carnelian crescent and a small carefully worked trihedral rod (broken arrowhead ?), possibly comparable to the trihedral rods of the Fayum Neolithic.

The amazon stone quarry at Eghei Zumma lies in a kind of bay in what Monod calls a plateau bleu of basalt. We approached the quarry from the east, driving with some difficulty through and then over the basalt boulders on the top of the plateau, then down into an open sandy flat plain (Monod’s reg), full of car tracks, some of which belong to the motor road pioneered by Rolle and Torelli. Near the quarry this track was marked by the Italians with numbered oil drums, and, as recorded by Monod, the quarry lies immediately north of drum no. 0707. It consists of a tangled mass of granite boulders about two miles across in any direction, in the bay in the basalt plateau, which is open to the south towards which it drains. The granite is externally weathered brown, and the blue-green amazon stone is only disclosed when the weathered surface is broken. Much of the amazon stone (microcline felspar) is in small crystals in

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16 Cp. one from the Neolithic of Capsian Tradition, illustrated in Musée de Bardo Collections Préhistoriques, pl. lxxiv, 7.
17 Musée de Bardo Coll. Prêh., pl. xxiii, 2.
18 The Desert Fayum, pl. 46, 7.
19 Musée de Bardo Coll. Prêh., pl. xxxviii, 1.
20 H. Alimen, Préhistoire d’Afrique, fig. 14, 3.
21 The Desert Fayum, pl. 48, 23, and pp. 22 and 76.
PLATE X

ATERIAN SURFACE FINDS FROM KATAM AND GREAT WANYANGA

facing p. 24
SHERDS OF DOTTED WAVY LINE WARE

a. FROM GREAT WANYANGA, SITE 2
b. FROM GREAT WANYANGA, SITE 3
c. FROM LITTLE WANYANGA
d. FROM GREAT WANYANGA, SITE 1
e. FROM GURO, SITE SE.2
PLATE XIII

A. CELTS FROM GREAT WANYANGA, SITE 1
B. ONE ARROWHEAD FROM LITTLE WANYANGA
B. FOUR ARROWHEADS FROM GREAT WANYANGA, SITES 2 AND 3
white quartz, so giving the stone a pale green colour when freshly broken. The best coloured amazon stone, almost exactly the same colour as turquoise, is much the hardest, and is found in veins on which our geologist's hammer made no impression. These veins of blue stone have been followed for considerable distances by Tibu miners, whose hammers (balls of dolerite, basalt and in a few cases of amazon stone) are to be found everywhere. Apparently the Tibu heat the stone by burning fires of brushwood, which still can be found in limited quantities in neighbouring wadis such as Zirmei to the south, and they may even take water with them or find it at times after rain in the vicinity, to pour on the heated rock and crack it. But we found no traces of the iron slag reported by Monod. Some of the workings are very old, and the stone in them, though once fresh green when first broken, has since then weathered brown again. A search for inscriptions was fruitless; there is not much rock with a suitable surface, and it is all so foliated from weathering that if there ever was once an ancient Egyptian inscription there, it would probably have weathered right away. Wind-eroded hollows in granite boulders have been utilized by miners as temporary dwellings and improved by the construction of rough stone walls; in the vicinity of a series of such shelters around boulders at the highest point in the southern half of the granite spread, we found a dozen or so small stone arrowheads, a few other microliths (mostly borers) and a few wind-worn sherds of pottery. The most frequent arrowheads were tiny leaf-shaped bifacials, of which 10 were found of various stones, varying in length from 14 to 24 mm. Arrowheads of similar shape but slightly larger occur in the Saharan Neolithic of the Fort Flatters area, and foliate arrowheads with rather more pointed butts occur in the Bedouin Microlithic at Kharga. Other unusual arrowheads include a transverse example with a long tang, length 21 mm. cutting edge 14 mm. reminiscent of examples from the Bedouin Microlithic, and fragments of three others: a flattened bifacial with two unequal bars, the longer re-curved; a small bifacial example with a short tang; a small thick bifacial with a tang half the length of the arrowhead; one small trihedral example with a definite tang, probably related to the 'triangular rod' from Emi Musaha (see above); and a small example of triangular section with a fine point and a short tang (PLATE XIII, c).

In Wadi Zirmei a few miles south of the quarry the expedition found a large number of rock engravings, the majority of which were of cattle in several styles, including some with peculiar head decoration, but which also included wild animals, among which giraffe, elephant and greater kudu were recognized. But in French territory we left rock pictures for M. Bailloud and his compatriots to study.

22 See Musée de Bardo Coll. Préh., pl. xlii, 6, 8 and 17.
23 Kharga Oasis, pp. 162, 164 and pl. 95, figs. 15, 16 and pl. 97, figs. 19 and 25–7.
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To summarize the main archaeological results of the expedition:

(1) The discovery of Aterian around the Wanyanga lakes on the south-eastern fringe of the Sahara supplies a missing link between the Aterian of N. Africa on the one hand and the Sangoan (once ‘Tumbian’) of Central Africa and the Stillbay of East and South Africa.

(2) The discovery of Dotted Wavy Line ware, the later form of Khartoum Mesolithic pottery, in the vicinity of Wanyanga (following on the discovery by M. G. Bailloud of the same ware in Ennedi) shows that Khartoum Mesolithic pottery had a range from e. to w. of over 1000 miles. This suggests that it is a very early pottery, and, since the earliest form (simple Wavy Line) is at present confined to the Khartoum area, that possibly pottery was invented in the Nile Valley not far from Khartoum.

(3) While the influence of the Khartoum Mesolithic and the early Khartoum Neolithic is thus found to have spread into Ennedi and Wanyanga some 700 miles west of the Nile, it still remains to be discovered how the stone gouge reached the Fayum Neolithic and the Khartoum Neolithic from the country w. and sw. of Tibesti.

(4) There appears to be no archaeological evidence at the Eghei Zumma amazon stone quarry of trade connection with the Nile Valley. But now that specimens of the Zumma amazon stone have been obtained, it is hoped that petrologists may be able to determine whether any of the amazon stone found in the Nile Valley came from Eghei Zumma or not.
Is Egyptian a Semitic Language?

by Werner Vycichl

(a) EGYPTIAN AND SEMITIC

A certain affinity between Egyptian and the Semitic languages is admitted by all scholars. It is explained by a blend of an older autochthonous element of African origin, called Hamitic, and a younger Semitic wave. This opinion can hardly be maintained in view of the facts we possess now. For, firstly, recent studies have shown that not only do some grammatical features of Egyptian have a parallel in Semitic, but that the Egyptian grammar as a whole is derived from Semitic—with the exception of a few points still obscure—and, secondly, that the Berber languages of North Africa (dialects of Siwa, Aujila, Ghadames, Kabyle, Shilha, Tuareg, Zenaga, etc.) are, in the opinion of Professor Rössler purely Semitic. On the other hand it has been impossible to find grammatical forms or elements that could be called Hamitic.

Professor Rössler's studies of Old Numidian are fully convincing. If his assertion that the Berber languages are Semitic is somewhat bold—I should prefer calling them rather an archaic type of Semitic language—it is nevertheless true that there is no real Hamitic element in North Africa unless we confer on it the meaning of a Semitic language with archaic features.

Under these new points of view, Egyptian is not situated as hitherto, on the borderline of the domain of Semitic languages but at its centre.

Obviously, nobody will a priori deny the existence of a non-Semitic substratum in Egyptian, but as a matter of fact we cannot prove it from the evidence we possess. Even great lexicographical differences between Egyptian and Semitic are not necessarily the result of older, pre-Semitic elements. English water, Latin aqua, Greek ἡρό, Armenian ēur and Hindustani pānī, though of different origin are probably all Indo-European words. In the French slang 'water' is called flotte and 'wine' is pinard, and there is no influence of foreign, i.e. non-Indo-European elements.

According to A. Gardiner, the similarity of Egyptian and Semitic is very great (Egyptian Grammar, §3). In his view, grammatical inflexion and minor variations of meaning are expressed mainly by internal vowel changes, though affixed endings also are used for this purpose. More important differences in meaning are created by reduplication, whole or partial (e.g. sn 'brother', snsn 'to be brotherly towards') or by prefixed consonants (causative verbs with s-, e.g. s-nh 'cause to live', nouns with formative m like m-hn.t 'ferry-boat' from hny 'to row' and verbal n- formations n-fft 'to leap' away from fftf 'to leap'). Many points of contact are found in the vocabulary: hsb 'to count', Arabic hasaba, though these are frequently obscured by metathesis and by unobvious
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consonantal changes (ṣdm ‘ to hear’, Arabic samī’a, yb ‘heart’, Arabic lubbu, snb ‘to be healthy’, Arabic salima). Finally, Gardiner concludes: In spite of these resemblances, Egyptian differs from all Semitic tongues a good deal more than any one of them differs from any other, and at least until its relationship to the African languages is more closely defined, Egyptian must certainly be classified as standing outside the Semitic group.

(b) PHONETICS

At first sight, the phonetic systems of Egyptian and Semitic differ: instead of the 29 Semitic consonants as they occur in South Arabic, there are but 24 Egyptian consonants, three of which are obviously secondary (ḥ, j, ē as palatalized forms of ḥ, ḡ, ḥ). Though some characteristic sounds are found on both sides (j, ē, ḡ, x, q or k), not less than eight primitive sounds of Semitic are lacking in Old Egyptian.

First of all, the sound ǧ (as in English ‘that ’) and ǧ (as in English ‘think’) are lacking in Egyptian. There is however a change between ǧ and ζ and between ǧ and ζ that seems to prove the existence of primitive ǧ (as in ‘that’) and ǧ (as in ‘think’). This view is supported by two Semitic etymologies:

Old Egyptian js or jt ‘self’ belongs to Arabic gūṭt-a ‘body’ and js-f ‘his body’ or jt-f meant ‘himself’. ǧs-y or jt-y was probably pronounced *juss-i or *jutti ‘my body’, i.e. ‘myself’. The jackal was called ẓḥ (phonetic value of the hieroglyph), cf. Arabic ḏḥ ‘jackal’, Hebrew ṣeb, Akkadian ẓibu. Besides there is an isolated ḏb ‘jackal’ in the Coffin Texts (probably *dḥb). The primitive common form was probably *dḥb, as in Arabic.

R is replaced in some cases by ẓ, mainly before other consonants, e.g. kṣm ‘vineyard’, Arabic karm.

In this case, the group ka is maintained as such and the same is true in the ending of the 2nd person m.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>-k (-ka)</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>-ē (-ći)</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>-ćn (-ćunu)</td>
<td>-kum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Besides -ćn and -kunu, there are three other cases that speak in favour of the palatalization of the group ku:

—Egyptian ēw.t (çuwati) ‘thou ’ m. Akkadian kuwati,
—Egyptian ēuw, written ćnw, once ēnw, Arabic kull ‘all’,
—Egyptian ćn(y).t ‘difference, distinction’, Arabic kunya ‘nickname’.

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However, the ending -k of the so-called qualitative or pseudo-participle was certainly pronounced -ku, as in Akkadian -ku, Ethiopic -ku, Arabic -tu (but in some local dialects of Yemen still -ko, e.g. daxal-ko ‘I entered’). Moreover, Kbn.t ‘ship’ (sailing to Byblos) was probably pronounced *Kubl-t.t. In this latter case, the maintenance of k can be explained by the fact that Kbn.t is a loanword.

It is easy to understand how ki passed to či (pronounced tchi) as similar cases are well known in other languages, e.g. in Italian città ‘town’ from Latin civitas. The passage from ku to ču or sim., however, seems to need some comment. Most probably u passed to yu and the newly developed y provoked palatalization. Egyptian ydn ‘ear’ (in the phonetic value of the hieroglyph) from Semitic yudn (as in Arabic) fits well into this picture (yuḏn, yuḏn, yudn).

Also the group lu became yu, most probably through *lyu: a good example is yb ‘heart’ and Arabic lubb. There is no Coptic equivalent, but we have a Hebrew transcription Ḥophra (King Wš -yb-R) where -oph- corresponds to -(y)ub- ‘heart’. Ḥym.t ‘woman’, Coptic ḥīme, pl. hyome (from *ḥyūmet, pl. *ḥyimwet), may be explained as *ḥalūma.t ‘giving milk’, cf. Arabic ḥalūb. For the sense compare Latin femina. Three verbal stems show y instead of primitive l:

*yby ‘to be thirsty’: Arabic lwb (lāb, yalūb) ‘to gather round a well to drink’ (said of thirsty animals).
*ywšš ‘dough’, Hebrew lus ‘to knead’.
*ywn ‘colour, state, quality’, Arabic lawn idem.

For the change of verbs zae y or w in Semitic becoming zae y in Egyptian, compare Hebrew ‘wp ‘to fly’ and Egyptian ‘py, Arabic pwθ and Egyptian py, Arabic rwm ‘to desire, wish’ and Egyptian mry ‘to desire, to love’ (with metathesis rm:mr like mr ‘pyramid’, Arabic mair, mēr ‘heap, hill, tomb’).

The group li was certainly pronounced ni in literate Old Egyptian, but the sound l was maintained in other dialects and reappears in Coptic:

*ns ‘tongue’ (*nis) Arabic lisān, Shilha ils.
*snb ‘be healthy’, Arabic salim.
*gn.t nom. loc. (determinative: ‘a bull’), Arabic ‘igl ‘ calf’.

Coptic has l in las ‘tongue’ (*lis) and alē ‘to rise’, Arabic lisān, ‘alîy and Shilha ils, ali. However, the word for ‘to rise’ is spelt ‘ry in Egyptian.

Vowels are not written in Egyptian. It is, however, well established that there were three basic vowels (a, i, u) like in Semitic.

As a rule, Semitic word stems have three consonants, seldom four or more. The few nouns with one or two consonants are related to triliteral stems, e.g. dam ‘blood’ (dmw), ibn ‘son’ (bny) etc. In Egyptian biliteral stems are quite frequent and this feature has been considered as a decisive criterion. But as far as we can see, there is no proof for the assertion that Egyptian had left the
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Semitic languages before triliteralism became the rule. As neither vowels nor geminations (e.g. nn, rr, pp) are written in Egyptian, our transcriptions cannot be considered as a proof for the existence of biliteral word stems in Egyptian.

Words like lubb 'heart', simm 'poison', nár 'fire', fil 'elephant', nür 'light' appear in pure consonantal writing as lb, sm, nr, fl, nr, while the consonants are lbb, smm, nrw, fyl and again nwrb. Also bayt 'house' and mawt 'death' are pronounced in many dialects bêt and mêt and could be written bt, mt instead of byt, mwt.

So the existence of Egyptian words written with two consonants only (or even with one consonant in some cases) cannot be regarded as a sufficient proof for the existence of an older, bi-consonantal word-type in Egyptian. The verbs hr 'to fall' and tm 'to finish' can have been xarr and tamm, as in Arabic. Nouns like rī 'Sun, Sun-God' and nb 'lord, master' survive in Coptic as ré and nēb (cuneiform transcriptions ría and nib) so that the old forms were rīr and nib, or rīr and nīy (stem consonants rȳ and nȳ), cf. Arabic rȳ 'light, brightness of the day'. Rd 'foot' is often given as a specimen of a bi-consonantal noun. But Coptic rat-ēf 'his foot' shows that a third consonant is missing (short stressed vowel in closed syllables, long stressed vowels in open syllables). Besides, there is a dialect form reet-ēf (Akhmimic) the 'broken' vowel of which shows that the third consonant has vanished. The consonantal stem was probably rdy (*ridy-i 'my foot'). In Semitic we have rdy too, e.g. Arabic mirdā.t, pl. marādy. Obviously, it cannot be proved that all Egyptian words had (at least theoretically) three or more consonants as is the case in Semitic, but (a) no convincing argument in favour of biliteral stems has been found in Coptic and (b) the Berber languages also have stems with three and more consonants.

A peculiarity of Egyptian is the nominal ending -w (nbw beside nb 'lord, master', šmsw 'follower', pnw 'mouse'). This ending was probably pronounced -aw or -o. There is no ending -aw or sim. in Semitic languages, but Egyptian words with -aw sometimes correspond to Semitic ones without -aw, e.g. clw 'all' (written ḍnw, once ērw), Arabic kull.

(c) Grammar

Gender

Egyptian has two genders, male and female, like Semitic. Female nouns have an ending -t, in most cases pronounced -at (Coptic -ot, -dt, -ūt in stressed position):

spotu 'lips', old dual sp.t-wy from sp.t, Arabic šifa.t, Hebrew šāfāh. Later sp.t was considered as a male noun, therefore the m. ending -wy.

mesyōt (B) 'uterus' from msy 'to beget, to be born' probably *misy-at-i.t. Rmuti 'Goddess Rnw.t.-t.' in the name of the month Phramuti (Rennwenāt-i.t, *Renwāti, *Remāti etc.). M from n+w.

cuneiform transcription pītatiu 'bowmen' from *pīj-at-y-ū (*pīj-at, later *pidd-at 'bow', Coptic pite).
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Word stems ending in -i have -i.t (not -i-at or īy-at, e.g. ymn.t-t ‘the Western (World), Netherworld’, Coptic Amenti (B), i.e. *yamin.t-i.t (Arabic yāmin ‘right’, ‘dexter’), for *yamin-at-i-(a) t.

There may be still another possibility: internal vowel change. The Coptic forms of bsḥ ‘servant’ and ntr ‘god’ (old: ncr) are:

m. bōk ‘servant’ f. bōki pl. m. ēbyaikut
m. nūte ‘god’ f. ntōre pl. m. ntair or ntēr

These forms can be reconstructed as follows: bāṣēk, nātēr, f. baṣākēt, natārēt, pl. m. baṣik-ū, later baṣik-u, natir-u. Most probably, the forms of m.sg. were baṣik, nāchēr against f. baṣāk-ēt, natār-ēt. The vowel change ī:ā for male and female is well known in Ethiopic (Ge'ez: ḥaddīs ‘new’, f. ḥaddās etc.).

Plural

The plural ending was -ū (not -w). This ending is seldom written in the Old Kingdom (as -w), but quite regularly later (e.g. Papyrus Westcar). The vocalic character of the ending (-ū) is attested by Coptic forms (rōw ‘mouths’ from *rāwū, later rāwū, not from *rāzwēw, that would have given *rō, hūōf ‘himself’, old *ḥō-ū-f ‘his members’ i.e. ‘his body’). *Ḥa’wēf would have given *haawūf in Coptic or sim.

The ending -ū is found in Semitic (verbal: qatal, pl. qatal-ū, nominal: faris-ū-n ‘horsemen’ from *faris-ū-u-n, see my ‘Numerus und Kasus im Klassischen Arabisch’, Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma 1958, pp. 175–9). Also Hausa (British Nigeria) has a plural ending -ū.

An older ending, probably -unu is found in the pronominal suffixes --cn ‘you, your’, pl. and -sn ‘they, their’ (-cnunu, -sunu, cf. Akkadian -kunu, -šunu, Berber -kwèn, -sèn m.). This ending is very common in Berber languages: Shilha argaz ‘man’ pl. irgaz-ën, imm ‘mouth’ pl. imm-wën (*i-rgaz-un, *i-ni-w-un).

There are no broken plurals in Egyptian. But there must have been some in prehistoric times, as these formations are found in Berber languages (Shilha a-drar ‘mountain’ pl. i-durar) and Semitic (Arabic sullām ‘ladder’ pl. salālim). Berber durar goes back to *dārīr, with the same vowels as salālim, see WZKM, 1955, P. 313.

Dual

Dual endings were m. -wy and f. -fy. The primitive dual ending was but -y (pronounced probably -āy to judge after Semitic *-āy and Hausa -ay or -āyi). The element w in -wy was the shortened plural ending (-wāy for *-ū-āy). This interpretation may seem surprising, but, as a matter of fact, there are three ways of forming the plural in Egyptian and in each case the dual is formed by adding -y to the plural form:

(a) f ‘he’ and -s ‘she’ pl. -sn ‘they’ du. -sn-y ‘both’
(b) pn ‘this’ pl. y-pn ‘these’ du. y-pn-y ‘the two both’
(c) sn ‘brother’ pl. sn-w ‘brothers’ du. sn-w-y ‘two brothers’
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In all three cases the dual (right column) is not formed from the singular (left column), but from the plural (middle column). The t in -ty is the female ending.

Note: Also in Arabic 'they' (dual) is formed by adding the dual ending -ā to the plural hum (-hum-ā, from *hum-āy, Minaean s-m-y, Sabaeen h-m-y).

Nisba Adjectives

These adjectives correspond to the Arabic forms miśr-ī 'Egyptian' from Misr 'Egypt', sūdān-ī 'Sudanese' from Sūdān, ḥabaš-ī 'Ethiopic' from Ḥabaš. The ending is written -y or -yy m. and -t f. (-iyy plus final vowel, f. -i.t for *-iyy-at, like Hebrew yēhūḏī, f. yēhūḏīt). The vowel i appears as e in Coptic in ḫtēf 'his heart' (from ḫt.tlyēf), from ḫt.t-y.

Numeral Adjectives with ending -nw

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding -nw, e.g. xmt-nw 'third', ḥdw-nw 'fourth'. This ending is found in Semitic as -ān or -ān-ī e.g. Egyptian Arabic awwal-ān-ī 'first', Hebrew riš-ōn 'first' (*-ān).

Personal Pronouns

The suffix pronouns of Egyptian can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Shilha</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Beja</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Akkadian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. i.p.</td>
<td>ni(*)</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>-ɨ</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.p.m.</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kēm(*)</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-(ki)</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.p.m.</td>
<td>ść</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>-f-</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-hu</td>
<td>-šu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-hā</td>
<td>-ša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. i.p.</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>na-g</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.p.</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>kwēn</td>
<td>cunu</td>
<td>-kna</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-kunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.p.</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>sēn</td>
<td>-sunu</td>
<td>-sna</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-šunu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of the 3rd person sg.m. was probably *fi, for this form is certainly related to *piš 'this'. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) are accusative forms.

Independent pronouns

Some forms of independent pronouns show the same construction as Semitic forms: swt 'he', syt 'she', cwt 'thou' m. correspond to Akkadian šuāti, šiāti, kuāti (pronounced šuwaāti, šiyāti, cuwāti).

Genitive

The construction is the same as in Semitic: nb pr 'the lord of the house', Hebrew ba'āl hab-bāyīṭ.

An indirect genitive is formed with the particle ni, ni.t, e.g. byš n p.t 'iron', lit. 'metal of the sky', Coptic beni-pē. Here, the particle of the genitive is
IS EGYPTIAN A SEMITIC LANGUAGE?

conserved as -ni- and it can be concluded that this form is not a nisba adjective of the preposition n, as the nisba vowel is ē in Coptic (htēf), not ī. Ni is doubtless a demonstrative element like dé in Aramaic.

Note: Coptic beniye ‘metal of the sky’ corresponds to Sumerian an-šu and Armenian erkath ‘iron’ from erkin-kh ‘sky’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilha</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Beja</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) yan</td>
<td>ḫy</td>
<td>enqar</td>
<td>ẓahād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) sin (+)</td>
<td>sn-w-y (+)</td>
<td>malo</td>
<td>ītnēn (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) krad</td>
<td>xmtw</td>
<td>ēmhay</td>
<td>talāṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) kkuz</td>
<td>ḡdw</td>
<td>faḍig</td>
<td>arba’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) sēmmus (+)</td>
<td>dyw</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>xamsa (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) sīdis (+)</td>
<td>srsr (+)</td>
<td>asagūr</td>
<td>sītta (ṣdī) (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) sa (+)</td>
<td>sfrw (+)</td>
<td>asarāma</td>
<td>sab’a (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) ttam (+)</td>
<td>xmnw</td>
<td>asēmhay</td>
<td>ṭamāniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) tuzz (+)</td>
<td>psw</td>
<td>āṣāḍig</td>
<td>tis’a (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) mēraw</td>
<td>mjw</td>
<td>tamun</td>
<td>‘āṣāra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is significant that six Berber numerals are Semitic, while there are but three Egypto-Semitic parallels. Therefore Shilha is ‘more Semitic’ than Egyptian in spite of its geographic position. The Beja numerals have no connection with those of Shilha, Egyptian or Semitic.

The Verb

Causative verbs are formed by adding a prefix s- e.g. s-nfr ‘embellish’, s-mn ‘make to remain, establish’. S-causatives are well known in Semitic, e.g. in South Arabic or Ethiopic.

Intransitive verbs are formed with a prefix n- e.g. n-ftft ‘to leap’. This n- is not to be compared with the passive Niphal-forms of Hebrew nor with the VIIth form of the Arabic verb, but with the intransitive n- prefix in Ethiopic (mainly verbs of movement).

The durative participle (type *Xansaw) certainly belongs to a durative stem, probably *xānax corresponding to the 3rd Arabic form.

Frequentative forms are attested in Coptic (A scace ‘to beat’, jraše ‘to disperse’). They correspond to the type laqqāqama (laqqǎrēm) ‘to pick up here and there’ (Amharic), in Berber dialects brurēq ‘to glitter’ (Kabyle) from *barārēq (typological reconstruction). In Egyptian only ḫjñn is found ‘to destroy’.

Imperative

Coptic amū ‘come’ (m.) and amē ‘come’ (f.) shows a female ending *-ī, e.g. Arabic ta‘āla ‘come’ (m.) and ta‘āli (f.).
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Qualitative or Pseudoparticiple

The Semitic suffix conjugation is found in Egyptian with an ending -y (seldom -w), called Qualitative or Pseudoparticiple: the endings are (Old Kingdom and Arabic):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. i.</td>
<td>-k-y</td>
<td>-tu (in Yemen also -ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-t-y</td>
<td>-ta m. and -ti f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m.</td>
<td>-y or -w</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f.</td>
<td>-t-y</td>
<td>-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. i.</td>
<td>w-n</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>t-y-n</td>
<td>-tum (f. tunna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m.</td>
<td>w-y</td>
<td>-ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f.</td>
<td>-t-(y)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending -ku is also found in Akkadian and Ethiopic. Arabic shows that the ending of the 2nd person sg. had different vowels. It is difficult to explain Egyptian w-n (also w-y-n) and t-y-n. The ending -y was a relative pronoun, e.g. 'nx-t-y' 'while thou art living', lit. 'which thou art living'. Relative clauses are used even in modern Arabic where other languages prefer conjunctions: ana mabsūt elli šuft-ak (Cairo): 'I am glad for I have seen you' (lit. 'who have seen you').

Independent forms without ending y occur mainly in old texts. They correspond to the Semitic perfect (Arabic el-mādi). The endings can be reconstructed as follows: 1st pers. *-ko, 2nd pers. m. *-ta and f. *-ti, 3rd pers. *-a and f. *-at, 3rd. pers. pl. *-ū.

Also Berber languages form a pseudo-participle by adding an affix. Tuareg ilkēm 'he has followed', but ilkēm-ētu 'who has followed', 'having followed' or sim.

The form sdm-f

Egyptian has lost the Semitic prefix conjugation (Arabic yaktub 'he writes', taktub 'she writes'), which is still preserved in the Berber languages (Tuareg ilkēm 'he has followed', tēlkēm 'she has followed'). This type comprising several meanings (present, perfect, etc.) has been replaced in Egyptian by the so-called sdm-f form (=lit. 'he hears').

This form has been explained in different ways. Some derive it from an active participle with a shortened pronoun (hearing is he=he hears), others prefer a passive interpretation (auditum suum est=he has heard). As a matter of fact, none of these interpretations is sure and I should like to explain sdm-f simply as 'his hearing (is) = 'he hears'. There seem to be some reasons that speak in favour of the latter view:

(a) We all know how carefully gender is observed in Egyptian. It seems astonishing that no form sdm.t-f is encountered when referring to a female subject.
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(b) The nominal sentence with a verbal noun is quite common in Semitic languages, e.g. in modern Arabic ēs ūlab-ak ‘what do you want’, lit. ‘what is thy wish?’.

(c) The $sdm-f$ form combines with all prepositions, e.g. $śms-y$ $nb-y$ $ḥft$ $ḥnt(y)-f$ ‘I followed my lord when he sailed upstream’, lit. ‘at his sailing upstream’.

It is significant that the $sdm-n-f$ form (see below) which is certainly of participial origin, can combine merely with the prepositions $r$ ‘until’, $my$ ‘like’, $ḥft$ ‘according’ and $m-ht$ ‘after’, while the $sdm-f$ form combines with all prepositions. It must, however, be admitted, that the verbal noun found in the $sdm-f$ form is not necessarily the Egyptian infinitive.

The so-called perfective form consists of a verbal noun plus pronoun: $h̄y-y$ ‘I arise’ (probably *$ḥa$ ‘$y-i$, lit. ‘my (action of) arising is ’).

A subjunctive or optative form shows intercalation of $-a$- e.g. $pery-ā-f$ ‘that he may go out’, Coptic pheriōf (B). It goes without saying that a participle (active or passive) with a pronoun cannot express a wish or a consequence. This $-a$- corresponds most likely to the $a$ of the Semitic accusative of direction (Hebrew $yērūšālaim-āh$).

The emphatic form shows gemination $wnn-f$ ‘he is’, $prr-f$ ‘he comes forth’ (from $wnn$, $pry$).

The form $sdm-n-f$

This form has been explained as ‘heard is to him’ = ‘he has heard’ (ei auditum est), as Aramaic $šēmi$ le-$h$. The Egyptian participle *$saĵim$ corresponds to the Semitic forms (Arabic $qatil$, Aramaic qē$tíl$ ‘killed’). In Coptic however there is no trace of this form, but we can reconstruct it with the help of the royal name $Stp$ n $R$ ‘chosen by God’, cunctiform $Šatepnaria$, where $Šatep$ ‘chosen’ certainly goes back to *$saṭīp$. So $stp-n-k$ ‘thou hast chosen’ was most probably *$saṭīp$ nī-$ka$.

Participles

There are active and passive participles in Egyptian. Both occur as simple forms (derived from the primitive stem of the verb) and emphatic forms (derived from the secondary stem of the verb with gemination, corresponding to the 2nd form of the Arabic verb $qattal$). The emphatic form expresses a continuous or repeated action.

Besides these four forms (active + passive × simple + emphatic) there are still other types of participles, mainly the durative participle, the old passive participle and the participles with prefix $m$ like $mnhzy$ ‘keeping vigil’ or ‘watching’.

(a) Simple active participle. This form has no ending: $ḥsib$ ‘sending’, $yr(y)$ ‘making’, $wn$ ‘being’ (from $wnn$ ‘to be’). The corresponding Arabic forms are $rāsl$ ‘sending’, $fāl$ ‘making’, $mār$ ‘passing’ (from $mrr$ for *$mārīr$). Most probably the Egyptian forms were $hāsib$, $yāri$ or $yāri$, $wānn$ (instead of *$wānin$) like $mār$ for *$mārīr$. 

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This form does not survive in Coptic, but there are several adjectives that can be derived from this form, e.g. nūfe ‘good’ (*nāfr), nutēm ‘sweet’ (nādīm, older nājīm), wōbēś ‘white’ (*wābēh), etc.

(b) Simple passive participle. This form has no ending: hīb ‘sent’, ḥsq ‘cut off’, only verbs ending in -y write -yy, e.g. mryy ‘beloved’, yryy ‘done, made’, rdyy ‘given’, ynyy ‘brought’. As far as I can see there are no forms of verbs zae gem. In Semitic there is a form qatīl (Arabic qatīl ‘killed’, ‘murdered’, Aramaic qēṭil ‘killed’). The Egyptian forms were in all likelihood ḥāṣib, ḥasīq, marīy, yarīy, radīy, yanīy.

The form qatīl corresponds in Coptic to *qtal as already stated by Albright. Several nouns are found like hak ‘bald’ from ḥaṣīq ‘shaven’ (Arabic ḥalīq), wšm ‘dough’ from *wāṣīm ‘kneaded’, the verb being wōṣēm ‘to knead’, wšp ‘exchange’ from *wāṣīb (wōṣēb ‘to answer’ and, probably ‘to give in exchange’), etc.

Note: There was certainly also a form qatūl in Egyptian as many nouns of the type ḥbos ‘cloth’ cannot be explained as infinitives. But ḥbos can go back to *ḥābūs ‘taken as a garment’, cf. Arabic mablūs; ḥto ‘horse’ can be explained as ‘the harnessed animal’ (*ḥatūr), etc. This form is rare in Arabic (rasūl ‘prophet’, lit. ‘sent’), but common in Hebrew (qāṭūl ‘killed’).

(c) Emphatic active participle: this form has sometimes an ending -w. Sḏmw ‘hearing’ (old sḏmuw), mzz ‘seeing’, prr ‘coming forth’ (from pry). These latter forms show that there was a vowel between the second and the third consonant.

In Coptic there are but a few forms, e.g. hako ‘wizard’ (S) *ḥakāz, akho (B) from ḥakāsīw, ṣoph (B) ‘giant, Apophis dragon’ from ‘appāpēw (‘py ‘to fly’, lit. ‘the flying one’), sanūth ‘coward’ (S) from sannāḏēw (old sannājēw), from a verb snd (snj) to fear’. The old Egyptian forms were *saddānēw, *mazzājēw, *parrārēw in the North (B) and probably saddām, mazzās, parrār in the South (S).

In Semitic these forms are well known as nomina agentis: ṭabbāx ‘cook’, ḥayyāt ‘tailor’, gazzār ‘butcher’. In Egyptian there were forms with an ending -y, cf. Ethiopic qattāli.

(d) Emphatic passive participles: the ending is -w, almost always written, seldom -y: yrww ‘made’, ḥsww ‘praised’ (from ḥzy), mzzw ‘seen’, msdt ‘hated’ (f.). This form seems to correspond to the type of Ethiopic fēṣṣūm ‘accomplished’.

No Coptic equivalents are found coming from triliteral verbs, but there are forms of quadrilateral stems, e.g. berbīr ‘spear’ from bōrbēr ‘to throw’ from *barbērew, later *barbīr. For the meaning see Arabic marmīy ‘spear’ as a passive participle from r-m-y ‘to throw’. Coptic leflīf ‘piece, morsel’ from lōflēf ‘to triturate’, etc. (*lafīīf, later *lafīīf).

Durative participles with ending -w (ḥwr-w ‘poor man’). Coptic is Šons ‘God Khonsu’ (name of month Pa-Šons), lit. ‘wandering’ or ‘crossing’
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(scil. the sky). This form seems to correspond to a theme xanaz or sim. (3rd form of the Arabic verbs). The old passive participle jddy ‘said’ (from jd), rxxxy ‘known’ (from rx) has its parallel in Hausa (sananne ‘known’ from sani, haifaffe ‘born’ from haifa). No Coptic equivalent is known of these forms, nor of the participles with prefix m- (mnhzy, mwnf ‘helper’, etc.).

Verbal nouns

The common forms are pôrēk ‘to tear up, extract’ (*prēq, from *parq), hmom ‘to be hot’ (*hemām, from *hamām). These forms correspond in Semitic to qat il (e.g. Arabic) and qatāl (e.g. Hebrew qaton, Arabic salām, Akkadian kašādu). There are still other forms, partly surviving in Coptic.

Forms with prefix m-

Coptic maše ‘balance’ comes from ḫṣy ‘to weight’ (m-ḥṣy.t), msdr ‘ear’, Coptic maajje (S), māṣj (B) from sdr ‘to sleep’, myën ‘way’ probably from a root yēn. This latter form shows a prefix mo-, old *ma- like the Semitic nomina loci, e.g. Arabic ma-tbāx ‘kitchen’.

Appendix

There are but a few forms found in Berber languages and Egyptian that are not at the same time Semitic: (1) the pronoun ēm ‘thou’ f. (Shilha kēm), also in Logone -kēm ‘thee’ f. (Chado-Hamitic), (2) the genitive form ny, f. n.t., Berber n (invariable), (3) the construction of ky-y, f. k.t-y ‘other’ with an ending -y found in the pseudo-participle (qualitative), Berber wa-had-ēn, f. ta-had-ēt ‘other’, qualitative ilkēm-ēn, f. telkēm-ēt ‘having followed’.

Hausa and Egyptian share a passive participle (rxxxy : sananne).

There are no particular forms found in Egyptian and Beja that cannot be observed in Semitic.

It is therefore difficult to maintain the existence of a Hamitic branch language, in spite of some lexicological similarities between Egyptian and Berber dialects.

Particles

There are no common particles (prepositions, conjunctions) in Egyptian and Semitic.

(d) Vocabulary

In spite of some common features, there seems to be a considerable difference in the vocabulary of Old Egyptian and the Semitic tongues. Apart from the early attempts in the dawn of Egyptology, the first systematic study in this field has been published by A. Erman on The Relationship of Egyptian and the Semitic Languages (1892), dealing with both grammar and vocabulary. This latter part contains about 250 etymologies, 50 of which are considered as sure by the author and 75 as probable. In the following decades, until 1930, there was a slow but steady progress in this domain. Etymologies were published by K. Sethe,
F. Hommel, G. Farina, A. M. Blackman, A. Ember, W. F. Albright and F. Calice. Then comparative studies come to an apparent standstill and collections of existing equations are published: Ember’s *Egypto-Semitic Studies* were edited by F. Behnk after the author’s tragic death (1930), Calice’s *Principles of Egypto-Semitic Word Comparison* were published by H. Balcz (1934) and J. Vergote wrote his *Etymologies Chamito-Sémitiques*, a critical selection of Calice’s material as an appendix to his *Phonétique historique de l’Égyptien* (1945). M. Cohen’s *Essai comparatif sur le vocalisme et la phonétique du Chamito-Sémite* (1947) was severely criticized by F. Hintze (1951). A hundred new etymologies were published recently by the author of these lines.

When speaking of Egypto-Semitic etymologies, we obviously understand thereby only the primitive common elements of both Egyptian and Semitic and not loan words of the historic period such as those collected by M. Burchardt (*Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, 1909). This means that we have to exclude all terms created or introduced after the separation of Egyptian and the other Semitic languages. So we cannot expect to find common names for the metals (gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, etc.) as the separation had taken place in neolithic times, nor words for ‘knife’, ‘sword’ or ‘chain’. There was no common word for ‘town’, ‘king’, ‘plough’, ‘cart’, ‘wheel’ nor for ‘camel’, ‘horse’, ‘cat’, ‘cock’ and ‘hen’.

In order to illustrate the language relationship in a limited space, it has seemed advisable to choose the names of the parts of the body together with the corresponding verbs. These words belong to the most conservative elements of the language and reflect to a high degree the relationship of related languages. However, it must be borne in mind that geographical reasons can to some extent be invoked for a certain homogeneity on the Semitic side where incessant contacts favoured a levelling of the terminology.

The following expressions are dealt with at some length in my article on ‘Principles of Egypto-Semitic Word Comparison’. I give explanations only when necessary.

(a) ‘yn ‘eye’: ‘yn, Arabic ‘ayn ‘eye’. The full reading is indicated by late Egyptian ‘yn ‘limestone’, comp. Arabic ‘ayn ashshams ‘white limestone’ in mediaeval alchimistic literature. In Egyptian ‘yn ‘eye’ survives only in the phonetic value of the hieroglyph but there must have been such a word in olden times. *Rj* ‘mouth’ has been connected with Arabic rawīy ‘to relate, to report’, in the Shkhauri language (South Arabia) ré means ‘to sing’. In Egyptian, the mouth is called the ‘speaker’ as Arabic ḥū, pl. afwāḥ is related to fāh, yafāh ‘to utter, to pronounce’. There is no common word for ‘tooth’ but there was most probably an expression like *sinn* in olden times, as this root occurs in the Berber languages (Tuareg esin, other dialects isin, where the prefix e- or i- is the old article) and in Semitic (Arabic sinn). *Sp.t* ‘lip’ is obviously Babylonian shaptu, Hebrew sāfāh), Arabic shīfā.t. The word for ‘tongue’ is written ns and was most probably pronounced ls as we have Coptic las (old *lis* or sim.), Berber ilēs (Tuareg), ils (Shilha), alēs (Siwa) and Semitic lisān (Arabic). Ydn
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‘ear’ is the phonetic value of the hieroglyph F21 (ear of animal) and corresponds to Arabic ṣudhn, Hebrew ṣozen.

(b) ʾd ‘hand’ (phon. value) : Arabic yad ‘hand’ (modern dialects ʾid, yadd yedd), ḫb ʾfinger’ : Ḫb, e.g. Arabic usbd, ḩf ʾfist’ and ‘to seize’ : Arabic xafa ʾto seize’. Ḫnḥ ʾwing’ is Arabic ganāḥ.


(d) Dg or dgy ʾto look’ : Babylonian dagālu. Gmh ʾto look’ : Arabic gaḥam ʾto open one’s eyes, to stare’, gaḥma ʾeye’.

(e) Psg ʾto spit’ : Arabic bazaq or baṣaq. Pʾy ʾto spit’ (late word) : Arabic ḥaʾ, yafṣā ( ḥw). Sḥb ʾto sip, to take a medicament’ : Arabic saḥab ʾto swallow’ (greedily). Nṣp ʾto breathe’ : Babylonian naṣāpu. Lḥs (not attested, but Coptic lhēs) ʾto snuffle, to gasp’ : Arabic laḥat, yaḥḥat. Srq ʾto breathe’ : Hebrew šāraq ʾto whistle’, also found in Berber languages (Tuareg ēsrēg ʾto breathe’). Ḫkh.t ʾcough’ : Arabic kaḥkah ʾto cough’. Qṣṣ ʾto vomit’ : Arabic qalas.


### SYNOPSIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Semitic</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Semitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ʾd ‘hand’</td>
<td>ʾyd ‘hand’</td>
<td>ʾqḥb ‘bowel’</td>
<td>ṣrb ‘bowel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏg ‘to look’</td>
<td>ḏgl ‘to look’</td>
<td>ʾqṣb ‘to vomit’</td>
<td>ṣl ‘to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥps ‘navel’</td>
<td>ḫlīf ‘to ally’</td>
<td>ṣdy ‘leg, foot’</td>
<td>ṣdy ‘leg, foot’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫb ‘finger’</td>
<td>ḥb ‘finger’</td>
<td>ʾsn ‘tooth’</td>
<td>ṣn ‘tooth’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥnḥ ‘wing’</td>
<td>ḡnḥ ‘wing’</td>
<td>ṣḥb ‘to swallow’</td>
<td>ṣḥb ‘to sip’</td>
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<td>ḥl ‘to gasp’</td>
<td>ḥlī ‘to gasp’</td>
<td>ṣnq ‘to suckle’</td>
<td>ʾynq ‘to suckle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ(r) ʾtongue’</td>
<td>ṣ(r)-n ‘tongue’</td>
<td>ṣp.t ‘lip’</td>
<td>ṣp.t ‘lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫkh ʾcough’</td>
<td>ḫkh ‘cough’</td>
<td>ṣrq ‘to breathe’</td>
<td>ṣrq ‘to breathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwt ‘to die’</td>
<td>mwt ‘to die’</td>
<td>ṣḥb.t ‘throat’</td>
<td>ṣḥb.t ‘flute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr ‘windpipe’</td>
<td>nfr ‘trumpet’</td>
<td>ṣfx ‘to seize’</td>
<td>ṣfx ‘to seize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nky ‘to beget’</td>
<td>nky ‘to beget’</td>
<td>ṣyb ‘heart’</td>
<td>ṣhb ‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥp ‘to breathe’</td>
<td>ṣḥp ‘to breathe’</td>
<td>ṣyd ‘ear’</td>
<td>ṣdn ‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣr ‘mouth’</td>
<td>ṣrw ‘to report’</td>
<td>ṣyb ‘throne’</td>
<td>ṣwṭ ‘throne’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ps ‘to fly’</td>
<td>ṣfr ‘to fly’</td>
<td>ʾyn ‘eye’</td>
<td>ʾyn ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psq ‘to spit’</td>
<td>ṣbz ‘to spit’</td>
<td>ṣg ‘to hoof’</td>
<td>ṣg ‘to mount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps ʾy ‘to spit’</td>
<td>ṣw ‘to spit’</td>
<td>ṣy ‘to fly’</td>
<td>ṣw ‘to fly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The above 32 etymologies show a narrow relationship between Egyptian and Semitic. There is no doubt that the material will be increased by further studies. Obviously, some of the most common Semitic terms are lacking, as rass 'head', sanf 'nose', dufr 'nail' and rigl 'foot', dam 'blood' and gutta 'body'. But dam may have existed in Egyptian in early times, as the corresponding Berber word is idammén 'blood' (i- and -ën are plural elements) and gutta 'body' survives in js-f 'himself' i.e. 'his body' (vocalized probably juss-i 'my body') as I have pointed out in Museon 46.

(c) Conclusion

To judge from the foregoing comparisons there seems to be a close relationship between Egyptian and Semitic. Almost all grammatical elements, forms and categories of Egyptian can be found in Semitic languages. The main differences can be summarized as follows:

A. Features found in Egyptian but not in Semitic:

(a) Egyptian has a pronominal element $f$ (3rd person m. singular) e.g. in pr-$f$ 'his house', sdm-$f$ 'he hears'. This element is not found in Semitic.

(b) Egyptian has a deictic element $p$ (male gender) corresponding to $t$ (female gender), e.g. pn 'this' m. and pf 'that' m. (the female forms are tn and tf). This element $p$ is unknown in Semitic in this function.

(c) The plural exponent $y$ is found prefixed e.g. $y$-pn 'these' m. and $y$-pf 'those' m. The Old Coptic form is eipn, pronounced $ipn$.

(d) Egyptian has developed new verbal forms (sdm-$f$, sdm-$n$-$f$ and others).

B. Features found in Semitic but not in Egyptian:

(e) The forms of the independent pronouns almost common to all Semitic languages (Arabic anā 'I', anta, f. anti 'thou', huwa 'he', hiya 'she', etc.) are not found in Egyptian.

(f) There is no nomen unitatis in Egyptian (Arabic shajar 'trees' as a collective), shajara f. 'one single tree, a tree').

(g) Semitic languages have a prefix conjugation (Arabic yaktubu 'he writes', taktubu 'she writes'). This type of conjugation is not found in Egyptian but in Berber languages and Beja.

C. Differences in words of common usage:

(h) The vocabulary is different: the numerals for 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 100 and 1000 differ, there is not one common preposition in Egyptian and Semitic, there are hardly any common names for domestic animals, plants, weapons, etc.

However it does not seem as if the differences as listed under (a)–(h) could be explained as survivals of a pre-Semitic substratum in Egyptian. On the
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contrary there is in all likelihood no essential difference between Egyptian and Semitic, at least regarding grammar.

The male element f (a) seems to be a phonetical variant of p (b). P or f is found in Semitic in adverbs, e.g. Hebrew pō ‘here’ and ḫō ‘where?’. A change of h : f can be observed in Arabic. ‘How?’ is kif in Algeria or kih. As kif goes back to kayfa, kih was probably kayha. In the Arabic dialect of ‘Ommān and Zanzibar, there is a relative pronoun (m. or f.) bū ‘who’, probably old *pu, e.g. r-rāyji bū fi l-ġūrfe ‘the man who is in the room’ or l-ḥorome bū ma’dāk ‘the woman who is with you’. The plural exponent y- (c) may be connected with Semitic forms (Arabic ulū, Hebrew ēlē ‘these’ or sim.). The new verbal forms sdm-f and sdm-n-f seem to replace the abandoned prefix conjugation (g). As far as we can see, sdm-f is formed with a verbal noun (Semitic form qatīl or qattāl, Hebrew qattāl) plus pronominal suffixes and sdm-n-f (sajim ni-f) is a parallel to an Aramaic form (šēmī: le-h ‘he has heard’).

The Semitic set of independent pronouns (anā, anta, anti, huwa, hiya, etc.) has been developed in all likelihood after separation of Egyptian and Semitic (e). An astonishing fact is the absence of a nomen unitatis in Egyptian, but some cases may survive, e.g. swlh.t ‘egg’, and bi.t ‘tree’ f.

The most difficult problem is in my opinion the question of the vocabulary (h). Some years ago I tried to collect words common to Egyptian and the Berber languages but not found in Semitic (ZDMG, 1952). This short word list comprises qa ‘bone’ (vocalized qisi), Berber igēs (Kabyle), egēs (Tuareg), -qis-in ta-qis-mar-t ‘chin’, lit. ‘bone of the beard’ or wśn ‘jackal’, ehēnṣi (Tuareg), uštên (Kabyle and Shilha) and about twenty other expressions. But srq ‘to breathe’, Tuareg ēsrēg, seems to belong to Hebrew šāraq ‘to whistle’ and yā: yψ ‘donkey’, Berber ayγul is found in Gejze as awāl ‘young donkey’. New Egyptian bl, Coptic bal ‘eye’, Berber wēl (Ghadames) may belong to Semitic b-l-l ‘to be wet’ (bilīl.t ‘water’ in the Arabic dialect of the ‘Abbaḍis) as ‘eye’ and ‘well’ or ‘fountain’ are expressed by the same word in many languages (Arabic ‘āyn, Armenian ḍhn, Persian čaṃ ‘eye’ and čaṃa ‘well’, etc.). Still other Semitic etymologies may be discovered but the fact remains that a great many Egyptian etymologies show no relationship with Semitic. (It is also possible that these words existed once at a very early stage in Semitic and were lost, while they were retained in Egyptian).

So it is clear that Egyptian got its vocabulary or at least a considerable part of it, not from a pre-Semitic tongue, but from a language where the principle of the three root consonants was fully developed as is the case in Semitic itself. As the relationship between Egyptian and Semitic is established now in the main outlines, we can examine the question whether we are entitled to call Egyptian a Semitic language or not.

Frankly speaking, in spite of all the parallels existing between Egyptian and Semitic, I feel some hesitation in doing so. This is certainly not because of the vocabulary. Neither is English a Roman language in spite of its numerous loanwords nor is modern Persian an Arabic dialect. On the other hand, the
term 'Semitic' comprises, in my opinion, somewhat more than a set of grammatical elements and 200 or 300 etymologies. It implies rather a certain unity of history, social organization, religious beliefs and civilization that form a well defined group of tribes and peoples, doubtless distinct from the Egyptians. The relationship between the Berber, Egyptian and Semitic languages can be represented as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Pre-Semitic} & \downarrow & \text{Pre-Egyptian} & \downarrow \\
\text{Pre-Berber} & \leftarrow & \text{Early Semitic} & \downarrow \\
\text{Berber} & \downarrow & \text{Egyptian} & \downarrow \\
& \downarrow & \text{Coptic} & \downarrow
\end{array}
\]

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The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family

by Labib Habachi

In the fifth number of Kush we published the graffiti left by the viceroys of Kush in the region of Aswan, showing how many of them tried to leave a record of their visits or work in the region. There we showed also that in most of these inscriptions the name of the viceroy is written and sometimes his figure is represented opposite that of the sovereign. In two cases only did we find the viceroy depicted in the presence of local divinities, in a third one he was shown adoring his local deity, and in two particular instances he was represented accompanied by a member of his family and in the third one followed by one of his officials. There we came to the conclusion that 'the viceregal visits to the region were considered strictly official'.

We can come to the same conclusion if we examine the inscriptions left by these viceroys in the other places which were under their control. These great officials were second only to the king in these places and have left many graffiti and other monuments, such as stelae, statues and even rock shrines. But there again it was the king that was more often mentioned than any divinity, while relatives are rarely shown or mentioned. Strange to say, in places outside their fields of work, very few objects were found inscribed with their names. Even in Thebes, whence some of them originally came and where some chose to erect their tombs, only a few objects were left by them.

This may be the reason why very little is known about their lives and those of the members of their families. But thanks to three statues left by the relatives of the first two viceroys we know many details about them and their family, perhaps more than we know about the families of the other viceroys. Though all of these statues have previously been published, their inscriptions were either improperly interpreted or understood, so that their value was not realized. Here we give a description of these statues and an account of their inscriptions, showing how they can offer us many interesting details about six generations of the family. At the end, we shall speak of the first two viceroys, and in particular of the second one.

The most important of these statues is in quartzite, 53 cm. high, and was procured in 1909 by the British Museum, where it has been kept under No. 888. It is not known where it came from, but, as we shall show below, it may have

1 Pp. 13 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 16.
3 Such as those erected in Ibrim, see Porter-Moss, vii, 92–3 and in Gebel El-Shams, p. 132.
4 See below p. 61 and notes 77, 78.
been standing in Deir El-Bahari. As can be seen from the two views kindly sent to us by the Keepers of the British Museum (Plates xv and xvi), it shows a man sitting with the legs bent up, the arms crossed over the knees and under the chin. A htp-sign is carved on the front at the place where the two arms meet. The man is dressed in a leopard skin, wearing a wig and sandals.

Two inscriptions are carved on the statue, one on the front and the other on the back. The former consists of a horizontal line, followed by nine vertical ones and ending with another horizontal line. From this inscription it is clear that the statue was made by the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Hori(?) for his father Teti, who was sometimes called Tetity. This latter has many titles of which some are rather unclear, but the most important titles may be the ones written at the head of the titles on the front and which shows him to have held the title later borne by his son, and that at the beginning of the titles on the back describing him as 'royal scribe'.

To understand the importance of the statue, we give a facsimile of its inscriptions. From these it can be seen that on the front we have:

![Fig. 1. FRONT OF THE STATUE OF TETI](image)

May the king give (offerings) to Amun and to Horakhti, that they may grant usefulness, power, justification, joy and good veneration (2) to the ka of scribe of the

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6 See below p. 55.

6 This facsimile is made according to the views of the statue with the help of the copy reproduced in Hieroglyphic Texts from Stelae, and C., in the British Museum, part v, pl. 25. My friend Harry James was kind enough to examine the statue and point out to me some corrections.
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divine offerings of Amun, Teti, the deceased, (3) to the ka of the One who is over the secrets in the House of Amun, Teti, the deceased, (4) to the ka of the craftsman (?) in the House of Ptah, Teti, the deceased, (5) to the ka of the royal scribe, the chieftain of the lector-priests, the One who fills the heart of his Lord, Teti, the deceased, (6) to the ka of the prophet of . . . in the House of Rš, the stm-priest, Teti, the deceased, (7) to the ka of the prophet of Horus of . . . , the royal scribe, Teti, the deceased, (8) to the ka of the prophet of Horus of the staircase(?), Tetity, the deceased, (9) to the ka of the overseer of the scribes . . . the scribe(?), Tetity, the deceased, (10) to the ka of the stm-priest in the House of Duat, Tetity, the deceased (11) His son the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Hori(?), born to the mistress of the house, Mutnesw‘ (FIG. 1).

On the back there is an inscription formed of a horizontal line, followed by three vertical ones. This reads:

‘The royal scribe, the chieftain of the lector-priests, the craftsman (?), Teti, (2) son of the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Ahmose Patheni, the deceased, (3) son of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose Turo, the deceased, (4) son of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose Sa-Tayit, the deceased’ (FIG. 2).

Such are the inscriptions on the statue of Teti; it gives us for the first time the name of a viceroy, who was perhaps the first to be appointed to this important post. But the relation of this viceroy to the rest of his family was not always clear. The authorities of the British Museum, who were the first to publish its inscriptions, speak of the owner in the following words: ‘On the back are the names of his son, the Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Amen, Aahmes-Patenia, with those of the Son of the King’s Son and Governor of the Lands of the South, Aahmes-Ture, and the Son of the King’s Son and Governor of the Lands of the South, Aahmes-Sa-Atait, all deceased. Early xviiith Dynasty’. Gauthier did not approve this point of view; he thought that the names of the people enumerated in the three vertical lines were rather those of

\[\text{FIG. 2. BACK OF THE STATUE OF TETI}\]

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7 This sign may be cursive writing for the sign hm, Gardiner, Sign List, U.24, as suggested to me by Harry James, and thus would perhaps mean ‘the craftsman’. Here this title is related to Ptah, who was known to be ms hmuat and ms hmu; high priests of Memphis are known to have borne the title wr hpr hmuat, Wb, III, 86; 9, 13 and 1 respectively. Ptah had a special temple in Karnak and some chapels on the other side, Holmberg, The God Ptah, pp. 244 ff.

8 The sign is copied like the sign mr (Sign List, F.20), but from the photograph, it looks rather like that of mh (V.23), which fits here with the context.

[footnotes continued on next page]
the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of the owner of the statue, though
he admitted that this was not certain.\textsuperscript{16}

Luckily another statue of one of the members of the family can settle this
question. This statue was found by Naville towards the beginning of the present
century in the debris from the Mortuary Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir El-Bahari. Since then it was left at the foot of the Temple until last year when
we transferred it to our storerooms in the Metropolitan Museum House nearby.
Owing to the fact that it was found incomplete, with many parts of its inscriptions
missing, it was not attributed to its proper owner, and its value was not duly
appreciated. Naville speaks of it as: ‘Lower part of limestone statue. The
man was called \textit{Turo} \text{\begin{figure*}[hbt!]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{turo.png}
\caption{The symbol of Turo.}
\end{figure*}}\textsuperscript{16}, and seems to have been a very high dignitary’.

He gives also a fairly good copy of its inscriptions and a translation of the text on
the right side.\textsuperscript{17} Because of the importance of our statue, we are here giving
views of all its sides (\textbf{PLATES XVII–XVIII}) and facsimiles of its inscriptions, com-
pleting in some cases what is missing.

The statue used to show a man sitting on a throne and dressed in a long
garment reaching a little above the ankles. What still survives of the statue
is the throne which is somewhat destroyed, and the parts of the legs below the
knees. The statue is in sandstone,\textsuperscript{18} 50 cm. high, 38 cm. broad and 53 cm. long;
originally it was about a metre in height. Quite likely it was coloured, but
only traces of blue colour are still to be seen on a few signs in the inscription and
red on the body.

\textit{Hieroglyphic Texts}, part v, p. 9.
\textit{Les “fils royaux de Kouch” et le personnel administratif de l’Ethiopie}, \textit{RT},
\textbf{xxxix}, p. 183.
\textit{Eleventh Temple at Deir El-Bahari}, part \textit{iii}, pl. ix, C(a-f) and p. 8.
\textit{Described as made of limestone by Naville, ibid.}
On the front of the throne, there was an inscription running vertically on each side, perhaps beginning with the top, continuing on the front, and ending on the top of the pedestal. But of these inscriptions, we have only the lower part of the one on the left; this reads:—

`. . . (after he inspected) the entire Medjaw, in as much as he was efficient in his (lord's) heart'\(^{19}\) (Plate XVII, a and FIG. 3). On the pedestal there were three inscriptions, the one on the front formed of three vertical lines, and one on each side formed of two lines. It is difficult to know for certain the relation between these inscriptions, since the one on the right side and a part of that on the front are now missing, while some of the surviving signs are somewhat destroyed. Still it is not improbable that they formed one single text, beginning with the right side, continuing on the front and ending on the left side.

The front has:—

\[\text{Fig. 3} \quad \text{FRONT OF THE STATUE OF TURO}\]

\[\text{Fig. 4. PEDESTAL OF THE STATUE OF TURO}\]

`. . . worked in gold (2) . . .\(^{20}\) of the other time, causing (3) the strengthening of his name. I reached [on the left side]: (the Southern Countries) as viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, (2) my fault did not occur and my carelessness did not happen\(^{21}\) (Plates XVII, a and XVIII, b, and FIG. 4).

\(^{19}\) For this inscription, see below p. 59.

\(^{20}\) In the previous line there was a mention of a statue of an animal made in gold. Perhaps here there was mention of similar objects, all given as rewards to the viceroy.

\(^{21}\) The last sentence copied in the facsimile given by Naville as \(\text{ph. n.f.}\).
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On the throne, there are three inscriptions, two on the sides and one on the back. That on the right side used to have five lines, just like the one on the other side, but of these we have only the lower part of the last three. The first part, now missing, should have had the *di-nsw-htp* formula, while the second one, still surviving, luckily contains the name of the owner and his son. This reads:—

![Fig. 5. RIGHT SIDE OF THE STATUE OF TURO](image)

'(3) . . . (in the daytime) of every day to the ka of the viceroy, (4) (and overseer of the Southern Countries, \(^{22}\) Ahmose, called) Turo; being what is made by his son, who makes [his] name to live (5) (the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun\(^{23}\) Ahmose), \(^{24}\) called Patheni, cenerated through the great god' (PLATE XVII, b and FIG. 5).

On the back, there are seven columns, of which the top is missing. These read:—

\(^{22}\) Restored from L.1 of the inscription on the right side of the throne, see below.

\(^{23}\) Restored from L.5 of the same inscription.

\(^{24}\) We restored the names of the man and his son from the inscriptions on the statue of Teti described above.

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"(May the king give offerings to Amen)re, lord of the Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and to Thoth, lord of (2) (Ashmunein, 26 that) they (may give) invocation consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothing, incense and ointment, (3) ve(getables and fruits), offerings of meat and drink (?) 26 and pieces of meat, namely every good and pure thing (4) (on which a god lives), which the heaven gives, the earth creates and Hapi brings (5) (from) his ca(ve), breathing the sweet breeze of the North, drinking on (6) (the shore) of the river and a good bread-offering of Osiris to the ka of (7) (the prince and governor, the chan(cellor) of the king of Lower Egypt) 27 the sole friend, the One who fills the heart of the king in embellishing me (?) 28. (PLATE XVIII, a and FIG. 6).

On the left side of the throne are the lower parts of five columns; these read:

"(Giving adoration) to Osiris by the viceroy and the overseer of the (Southern) Countries (2) (Ahmose, called) Turo, [he says] 29: 'Hail to thee O Osiris (3) (the foremost of the Westerners), 30 the chief in Busiris, the Great One in (4) Abydos, the sover(eign), lord of eternity, mayest thou grant that I should go in and

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26 Thoth may have been given here any other title, but we preferred his main title showing him as 'lord of Ashmunein', as Amun was given his main title as 'Lord of Karnak'.

26 The sign is known to have had the value of hn. Because some words are not properly inscribed, we think that this is an error for hnk which is expected here.

27 These titles are restored from the inscription of the same man in the Island of Uronarti, see below.

28 Here there are traces of the sitting man, but we expect here something like snm/h mnw.f, see below.

29 Usually these words precede the expression 'Hail to thee . . .'.

30 It is indeed difficult to know the exact missing words here. We restored this from such texts as Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), 452, 4 (Chapter CLXXIII), where we have Dw3 Wstr hntw imnItw ntr '3 nb Ibdw . . .
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out laden (5) (with thy praises?), 31 by his beloved son, who makes his name to live, the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun’ (Plate XVIII, b and Fig. 7).

Before speaking of the importance of this statue and its owner, it may be of interest to point out how some words are omitted or improperly written in the inscriptions. As we have seen, on the left side we should expect Dd.j after the name Twri (L.2), while in L.4 we have itp instead of stp. On the back in L.7, we get nsw mh ib m smnh.t, which should have been mh ib n nsw m smnh mnw.f. A strange feature can be noticed in this statue, and that is the absence of the name of the owner or that of his son after their titles. This can be seen at the back of the statue, where we have the titles of the owner, but not his name, and on the left side, where we have the titles of the son, but not his name. It is improbable that these inscriptions were continued on the missing parts of the statue and that the names were then found in these parts. 32

In spite of these faults and the unusual omission of the names, there is no doubt whatever that the statue was made for the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Turo; his titles are found on the left side of the pedestal and on the back of the throne, while these titles followed by the name are met on the right and right sides of the throne. The titles of the son are to be found on the left side of the throne, while his name is in the surviving part of the inscription on the right side. Here he is referred to as ‘... called Patheni’ while his father also is spoken of here and on the left side as ‘... (call)ed Turo’; thus

31 Though stp is not inscribed correctly, there is no doubt that it is the word meant here. I replaces j in many words, see for example Wb.1, 12:2, also sth and tht, thm and thm on the same page. The variant we have here of itp is known from the Greek period, Wb.1:15. The word following could be m hstw n ntr nfr, see statue no. 11635 of Berlin Museum, where we have ‘ck prt m hts-ntr.f hr hstw n ntr nfr’.

32 The missing inscriptions are to be found on the left side of the front of the throne and on the pedestal. But on the former part we expect to find the beginning of the biographical inscription speaking of such things as presents given to Turo. On the latter part there may have been some titles of this viceroy, and the inscription may have been continued on the front and the other side of the throne.
showing that these were surnames rather than names of these persons. They should be the same persons found in the first two columns on the back of the statue of Teti; the surnames and titles are the same. But on our statue, it is clearly stated that the statue was made for the viceroy Turo by his son the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Patheni. This shows that Patheni is to be considered as the son of Turo and on this basis we can conclude that Ahmose Sa-Tayit was his grandfather and Teti was his son.

Patheni, his son Teti and grandson Hori (?) were working as scribes of the divine offerings of Amun; but it seems that other members of the family occupied the same post. This is proved by a headless statue discovered also by Naville at the beginning of the present century in the debris of Mentuhotep's Temple in Deir El-Bahari, but of which the present position is unknown. Naville gives a brief description of it, with a view of the front and a facsimile of its inscription, which we reproduce here. According to the view he gives, the owner was shown in the same position as Teti in his statue. He does not give its dimensions, but he tells us that it is made of black granite. The inscription, found on the front, reads:

\[\text{Fig. 8. Front of the Statue of Patheni}\]

\[1\text{ May the king give offerings to Amenre, king of the gods, pre-eminent in 314-1st (2) and to Hathor, mistress of the Necropolis and to Osiris, lord of eternity (3) that they may grant an invocation formed of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothing, incense and ointment, all offerings of meat and drink, of vegetables and fruits, (4) (namely) all good and pure things on which a god lives (5) and breathing the sweet breeze of the North to the ka of (6) the scribe of the divine offerings of}\]

\[33\text{ Op. cit., pl. viiiA and p. 2. Unluckily the view represented is so small and unclear that we found it useless to reproduce it here.}\]
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Amun, Aḥmose, the deceased, (7) called Patheni(i) (8); [made] by his son who makes his name to live, the scribe (9) of the divine offerings of Amun, Amenemḥab ⁴⁴ (FIG. 8).

This statue was thus made for Aḥmose Patheni by his son Amenemḥab, who was like his father, his brother Teti and nephew Ḥori(?), a scribe of the divine offerings of Amun. Patheni's father and grandfather were more important; each occupied the post of 'vicery and overseer of the Southern Countries'. Here is the genealogy of the family:⁴⁵

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The viceroy</th>
<th>Aḥmose Sa-Tayit = Tayit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The viceroy</td>
<td>Aḥmose Turo =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scribe</td>
<td>Aḥmose Patheni =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scribe</td>
<td>Teti = Mutnesw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scribe</td>
<td>Ḥori (?) =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The scribe ... Amenemḥab =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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On the statue of Patheni is an invocation to Amun, described as king of the gods and pre-eminent of ḫ-h-ḥst. The first title is known for the god everywhere, but the latter one shows him as adored in the Funeral Temple of Mentuhotep. Apart from this god, Hathor, as mistress of the Necropolis, and Osiris, as lord of eternity, are also invoked. On the statue of Turo made by his son Patheni is a litany to Osiris, and an invocation to Amun and to Thoth. Most probably there was on the missing part an invocation to other divinities, such as Hathor.

All these divinities are known to have been specially adored in the area occupied by the temples in Deir El-Bahari, where many statues, mostly from the beginning to the middle of the xviiiith Dynasty, were found.⁴⁶ It is to be noted

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³⁴ The copy given by Naville is a fairly good one, but it has to be remembered that it contains a few faults which we corrected here. Such is the case with the sign šs (Sign List, V.6) written as Zq (L.3), the sign hnkt (W 39) written as (W 37) (L.3). It is to be noted that the determinative of ḫtp-sign is written in different ways in L.6 and 9.

³⁵ Many people at the beginning of the xviiiith Dynasty were given the namesake of the founder of this dynasty. This led many among those who bore that name to take for themselves a surname, by which they were more known than by the original one. That surname was not an abbreviated form of the name, such as Ḥuy for Amenhotep, Māhu for Amenemḥab, see Erman, AZ, xliv, pp. 87 ff. Quite likely the first recorded viceroy was called Sa-Tayit after the name of his mother.

³⁶ Many statues of the xviiiith Dynasty were found by Naville in Deir El-Bahari, op. cit. pp. 2 ff. and pls. viii, ix (not included in Porter-Moss, ii); others now in the British Museum are noted to have come from the same place, see Hiero. Texts, part v, pl. 24, p. 8 (40961, 40964). On these statues are the names of these divinities; only Thoth is never found, but he may have been mentioned on the statue of Turo because he had got a temple in the vicinity, Porter-Moss, ii, 113.
that in that period a temple for Hathor was built close to the north of the Mortuary Temple of Menthuhotep. This temple was called Dsr tḥt and was most probably built by Amenophis I, destroyed by Hatshepsut, when building her Funeral Temple, and then rebuilt by Tuthmosis III. In this temple Amun, Hathor, and the other divinities adored in the Funeral Temple of Menthuhotep were also worshipped. Naville claimed that the statues of Patheni and Turo were found in the latter temple, but this is quite close to the former and it is difficult to say in which of the two temples they were standing. It may be asked if the statue of Teti was not found in one of these temples. This statue was made by a scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, who was a member of the same family, who erected two statues in the same temple. It contains also an invocation to Amun, who was among the chief divinities of the place, and to Horakhti, known to have been worshipped there also. That the htp-sign is engraved at the top of the front of the statue seems to show that the statue was not standing in a tomb, but rather in a temple where he could claim ‘offerings’, which are usually given in such buildings.

If indeed this statue was also standing in Deir El-Bahari, it is quite likely that its owner Teti, his son Ḫor(?) his brother Amenemḥab, and his father Patheni were all working in this temple. All of them were scribes of the divine offerings of Amun, who had a special cult in the place. Other scribes of the divine offerings were attached to other temples, which are sometimes explicitly mentioned at the end of the title. It has to be noted that Teti had many titles, some of which related him with the cult of Amun, but others connected him to that of Ptah and Horus. Whether he carried out these duties also in Deir El-Bahari is a question very difficult to answer. Still it can be said with certainty that he was an important person, judging by the numerous titles he held.

But more important were his grandfather and his great grandfather. Both of them occupied the very important post of ‘the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries’. It is not known when officials were first appointed to that post, but it may be assumed that this happened when the rulers of Thebes succeeded in liberating the country from the foreigners and could establish peace in Nubia. It was important then to replace the rulers with representatives of

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37 For the temple built by Amenophis I, then destroyed by Hatshepsut, see Winlock, *Excavations at Deir El Bahari* (1911–1931), pp. 88, 208; for the temple of Tuthmosis III, see pp. 80–1, 203.

38 Compare Naville, op. cit., pl. v, 4, 5, VIII Fb.

39 See Engelbach, *ASAE*, xxxvii, pp. 1 ff and plate where he published a statue purchased by the Cairo Museum and coming from Elephantine. This statue has on one hand the word htp and on the other the word dḥ3. No tomb is found on the Island and the statue should have come from one of the temples which used to stand there. In placing it in the temple, the owner was hoping to take a part of the offerings to be placed there.

40 Such as in the case of a certain Menkheper, who was ‘the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in Hnkt-ḥḥ’, *Urk. iv*, 1205 (L.12).

41 Undoubtedly there were cults of such divinities in Karnak, perhaps, also in other temples on the other side.
the king. It is known that Ahmose Turo was appointed to his post not later than the seventh year of the reign of Amenophis I. His father most probably assumed his function under Ahmose I, if not in the reign of his brother and predecessor, king Kamose. These kings undoubtedly felt the necessity of having a representative to look after the Southern Countries. Before the publication of the statue of Teti, Turo was considered to be the first viceroy appointed in Kush. Nothing else has appeared mentioning the name of the father, and the statue of Teti is still the only document mentioning that name. But it may be asked if he was not responsible for carving the graffito of Toshke enumerating the cartouches of both Ahmose I and Kamose. Under these cartouches are the words; 'King's son', preceded and followed by some unclear signs. If the name of a viceroy was carved here, it may be that of Ahmose Sa-Tayit, who would have been the first viceroy appointed to such a post. But such a hypothesis cannot be accepted before the graffito is found again and re-examined.

Was this Ahmose the son of Ahmose I, as suggested by Gauthier? When Reisner wrote his two articles about 'The viceroy of Ethiopia', he said: 'I can discover no evidence that any viceroy of Ethiopia was ever a prince of the blood royal'. But when Gauthier later discussed the same subject, he commented on the statue of Teti, saying that the first viceroy was the son of the founder of the xviiiith Dynasty and that would explain why his successors were called kings' sons. But Teti's son would have undoubtedly mentioned that on the statue he dedicated to his father, if it were true. He has traced his ancestors to the fifth generation, and if Ahmose I was the father of the first known viceroy, he would have mentioned that. On statues of the xviiiith Dynasty, only parents' names are usually given, but on the statue of Teti, his son was keen to show the names of his great predecessors. We believe, therefore, that the first known viceroy was not of royal blood. Kings' sons were not necessarily descendents of kings. As shown by Gauthier in his studies on 'Les fils royaux de Nekhabit (El Kab)' and 'Les fils royaux de Ramsès', and as we shall see in discussing persons who were described as 'the eldest son of Amun', all these were not of royal families.

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42 Säve-Söderbergh, in studying a passage in the newly discovered Stela of Kamose (KUSH IV, pp. 54 ff), says that there was a family of Nubian kings who remained for more than one generation before the conquest of this land by Kamose, cf. pp. 58–9. After such conquest, the Egyptian kings found it important to appoint a representative; a policy which lasted till the end of the xixth Dynasty.

43 See below p. 57 and note 55.

44 The only record of this important graffito is in Weigall, Antiquities of Lower Nubia, pl. 65, 4 and p. 127. We tried to find out this graffito, but have not succeeded yet, see Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 57 and note 14.

45 ÆEA, vi, pp. 28 ff and 73 ff, cf. 84.


47 ASAE, x, pp. 193 ff.

48 Ibid., xiii, pp. 245 ff.

49 We hope to publish a list of these when discussing 'the eldest son of Amun, Nakht and his tomb (No. 397 of the Theban Necropolis)'; see Porter-Moss, i, 2nd ed. (in press).
STATUE OF TETI, BRITISH MUSEUM NO. 888 (FRONT)

By courtesy of the British Museum

facing p. 56
STATUE OF TETI, BRITISH MUSEUM NO. 888 (BACK)

By courtesy of the British Museum
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But if the first recorded viceroy was hardly known to us, we know so much about his son Ahmose Turo that we can follow his career in its important stages. Reisner mentioned six inscriptions with his name (JEA, vi, p. 29, a-f, referred to here as R. a-f) and Gauthier added four (RT, xxxix, pp. 182 ff, 1-4, to which we shall refer as G.1-4). We published above his statue coming from Deir El-Bahari, and we shall publish below a rock inscription, a scarab, and a cone. (These are spoken of here as L.1-4 respectively).

Gauthier attributed to this viceroy the carefully carved inscription to the north of the Small or the Nefertari Temple at Abu Simbel. This reads:

'Made by the scribe of the Temple, the god's father, the overseer of the cattle, the governor and the chief priest, Ahmose called Turo, the blessed' (G.1).\textsuperscript{50} We quite agree with Gauthier that this inscription belongs to Turo before he was chosen to replace his father in the post of viceroy, but we cannot follow him in his idea that he was working then at Abu Simbel.\textsuperscript{51} There is no evidence that any building was erected there before the two temples of Ramesses II, but it was in Buhen, where early monuments were built and where he himself worked later, that he assumed his function. The graffito of Abu Simbel reminds us of another carved on the cliffs near to the Temple of Ḥaremhab in Abahūda which reads: 'the scribe of the temple, Turo' (L.2).\textsuperscript{52} These two graffiti seem to have been carved by Turo on one of his trips going to Buhen from Egypt or back.\textsuperscript{53}

Reisner was undoubtedly right in attributing to Turo the graffito carved on the door of Ahmose I and his mother Ahhotep in Buhen. There he is described as: 'The commandant of the fortress of Buhen, Turo' (R.a)\textsuperscript{54}; thus showing him to have been working in this important place. Undoubtedly he was occupying that post and that of 'the scribe of the temple', while his father was still working as viceroy.

But the first mention of Turo as viceroy was found in a graffito in Semna West, dated to the seventh year of the reign of Amenophis I. This inscription was only spoken of by Breasted, who refers to it in a few words saying that Turo was described there as: 'The king's son of the Southern Countries' (R.b)\textsuperscript{55}. It is not known why Turo left his inscription at Semna, but in the Island of Uronarti

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., vii, 117 (2), cf. Gauthier, op. cit., p. 182.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 185, but see Säve-Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubien, p. 197, note 7.
\textsuperscript{52} Weigall, op. cit., p. 139 and Maspero, ASAE, xi, p. 159 (Porter-Moss, op. cit., 119). Maspero dates this graffito and another of a certain 'scribe of the temple, Harmosi' to the end of the xviiiith Dynasty, but it is rather to the beginning of this dynasty that they can be attributed.
\textsuperscript{53} Few are the temples of Nubia which date back to the xviiiith Dynasty or earlier, but in the various places of this land we found graffiti from this dynasty or earlier. These were mostly written by people who passed by these places.
\textsuperscript{54} Porter-Moss, op. cit., 130. There it is said that this door is tem. Tuthmosis I, but according to Reisner and Gauthier in their studies of the viceroys, it should date to the king with whose name it is inscribed, see also Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 144 and note 7.
\textsuperscript{55} 'Second Report ... (1908),' AJSL, p. 108.
Amenophis I built a temple and it was Turo who was charged with its erection.\textsuperscript{56} This can be concluded from the presence of a graffito in the neighbourhood reading\textsuperscript{57}:

‘Year 8 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt ‘Djeserkare’, given life forever. The prince and governor, the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the One who fills the heart of the king in the Southern Countries as One whose dignity the lord of the Two Lands made (?)\textsuperscript{58}, the viceroy, Turo’ (R.c). But if Turo was active in these remote places in the seventh and eighth years of the reign of Amenophis I, most likely he was already in his post for some years past. In Sai Island, Ahmose I, Amenophis I, and Tuthmosis I left some monuments and the second king is thought to have erected a temple there.\textsuperscript{59} Quite probably it was Turo who was charged with erecting it for his sovereign.

When Tuthmosis I ascended the throne, he sent to Turo a decree announcing that event and informing him of the five names by which he was to be known. This decree has come down to us on two stelae, one of which was discovered in Qâhân, while a duplicate was found in Halfa. There he is addressed as:

‘The viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Turo . . . (2) A king’s decree to the effect that you are allowed to know that my Majesty I.p.h. appears as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus of the living without . . . forever, making his titulary . . . ’ (R.d.).\textsuperscript{60} The next mention of the viceroy was recorded on the cliffs called Bibitagouf, on which graffito mentioning the canal dug in the Cataract are engraved. There we find two graffito signed by ‘The viceroy, Turo’, and speaking of ‘the navigation of his Majesty on this canal in power and strength upon his return from overthrowing the vile Kush’ (R.e).\textsuperscript{61} In one of them it is added that the canal was also cleared. Speaking about Turo in our previous article about the viceroys, we have shown that he, ‘in his capacity of viceroy, must have supervised in the reign of Tuthmosis I the clearance of a canal and perhaps arranged for the campain mentioned in the two graffito’.\textsuperscript{62}

Apart from these dated records, there are other undated monuments mentioning Turo as viceroy. Gauthier mentions two scarabs, each bearing the inscription: ‘The viceroy, Turo’ (G.4).\textsuperscript{63} He refers also to a statue which was standing in Kerma and of which the lower part was procured by the British Museum; this being inscribed by ‘the overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose, called Turo’ (G.3). The Keepers of the Museum dated the statue to the

\textsuperscript{56} This temple was devoted to Dedwen and Monthu, see Porter-Moss, op. cit., 143–4.
\textsuperscript{57} Urk. iv, 78(29) from a copy by Steindorff.
\textsuperscript{58} For this expression see Wb. v, 89: 10.
\textsuperscript{59} For the temple which was probably erected by Amenophis I and for the monuments left by him, Ahmose I and Tuthmosis I, see Porter-Moss, op. cit., 164–5.
\textsuperscript{60} See ibid., 84 and 141.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., v, 250.
\textsuperscript{62} Kush v, pp. 15–16 (1, 2).
\textsuperscript{63} RT, xxxix, p. 185.
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xixth Dynasty, but later Gauthier was right in attributing it to the viceroy Turo. The title given to the owner of the statue is known to be one of the main titles given to many viceroyes, especially the earlier ones.

It cannot be known when the scarabs and the statue of Kerma were made; it can only be said that this occurred when Turo was still working as viceroy. The same can also be said about his statue, which was erected by his son in Deir El-Bahari (L.1). On the front of the statue is an inscription on each side, but only the lower part of the one on the right side is still surviving. This reads:

'... (after he inspected) the entire Medjaw, in as much as he was efficient in his (lord's) heart'. A typical text, found on the façade of the Temple of Tuthmosis III in Semna West, belongs to the viceroy Sen, the successor of Turo. There it is said that the king has favoured his viceroy after he inspected the entire Medjaw because of his efficiency. We cannot expect to find an exact text, since the statue was made by Turo's son and not by the king. Most probably it is said here that the king granted his viceroy some present or promotion. This shows that he was still alive then and that he inspected the Medjaw, which word should stand for the land and not for the people or the policemen as it was taken later. It is noteworthy that at the end of the inscription on the back of the statue, Turo is spoken of as 'the one who fills the heart of the king in embellishing (his monuments)'. Did this mean that he erected a building in the vicinity, or in Nubia? It is difficult to give an answer to this question, but it has to be remembered that Amenophis I erected a temple to Hathor in Deir El-Bahari and most likely the statue of Turo was placed in that temple by his son who was working there.

But other monuments and inscriptions were made after his death. The statue made by Teti's son Hor (?) could only have been done some time after his

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64 Guide to the British Museum, Sculpture, (1909), p. 182 (653). In Porter-Moss, VII, 180, it is also attributed to the xixth Dynasty; no mention is made of Gauthier's remark, see the following footnote.
66 JEA, VI, p. 78, where it is shown that this title is only found with that of 'viceroy', but this latter title might have been existing on the missing part of the statue.
67 Porter-Moss, VII, 145-6, cf. Reisner, op. cit., p. 29 (2a-b) and Urk. IV, 39-41. This inscription was first attributed to Turo by Breasted, AR. II, §§ 61-2, but it was rightly attributed to his successor by Reisner, op. cit., and others. According to this inscription Sen was appointed viceroy in the reign of Tuthmosis I.
68 The presence of the phrase Ṝt.n mnh.f hr lb requires such a meaning. See Spiegelberg, Aegy. Danksteine . . . Munich, 4, where we have: 'He gave it to me as commander of soldiers, by virtue of being efficient in (his) heart'. See also Urk. IV, 409, where we have it related that Senmut had to control the work in many places where he served and, at the end, it is said 'he ordered that I should be supervising it in as much as I was efficient in his heart' (L.16-17).
69 For the Medjaw, see Gardiner, Onomastica, I, pp. 75 ff., for the inscription of Sen with this same sentence, see p. 79.
70 For smnh mnw. see Wb. IV, 137 : 9.
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dead (G.2). It is made by his great grandson, who must have been already a
grown up man to be able to dedicate such a monument; most probably it was
made during the last years of the reign of Tuthmosis III or later.

It was assumed that Turo was still alive, though no longer performing the
function of viceroy in the reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. This was
concluded from the presence of the representation of the viceroy in the rock
shrine of the viziers Amathu and his son User, in Gebel El-Silsileh (R.f.).

Turo was undoubtedly no more working then as viceroy, since in a biographical
inscription of the viceroy Sen, it was said that this latter person was appointed as
viceroy in the reign of Tuthmosis I. Turo may have been dead when this rock
shrine was erected. Great personalities may be represented in the tombs of
their relatives, though already dead. In the shrine of Amathu, Turo is shown
at the head of the vizier’s daughters, opposite his sons. Perhaps he was so shown
as he was one of their forefathers.

![Fig. 9. A CONE OF THE VICEROY TURO](image_url)

It remains to speak of the last two objects related to this man. These are
a scarab (L.3) found in grave S. 711 at Semna (No. 24-4-5), which was kindly
pointed out to me by my friend William S. Smith and a cone (L.4, FIG. 9)
found in the Theban Necropolis. Both are inscribed with the name of ‘the

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71 *PSBA*, XII, p. 114.

72 See above p. 59 and footnote 67.

73 In the tomb of Khonsu, who lived under Ramesses II (No. 31 of the Theban
Necropolis), the vizier Usermenthu, who served Tutankhamen is shown, though quite
likely already dead. He was taken to be a member of the family, but undoubtedly a
forefather. For this man and others who were represented in tombs of their offspring
see Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurneh*, pp. 13, 46.

74 In other tombs, the great personalities are shown taking part in ceremonies or the
like, ibid.
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king's son of the Southern Countries, Turo'.\(^{76}\) It is unknown why the scarab was found in Semna, but the cone came from the Theban Necropolis because Turo was buried there. Such cones are found usually in tombs, as can be proved by the presence of the epithet given to the owner in most of them as 'The Osiris' or 'The Honoured'.\(^{76}\) This leads us to believe that Turo was originally from Thebes and that he erected there his tomb, especially if we remember that some of his offspring lived there and were working in one of its temples. Many a viceroy came from the same place and chose it to build his tomb. Such was the case undoubtedly with Mermose, the viceroy who served Amenophis III\(^{77}\); Amenhotep-Huy who lived under Tutankhamen,\(^{78}\) Setau of the time of Ramesses II,\(^{79}\) and perhaps also with Sen\(^{80}\) and Nehi,\(^{81}\) who followed Turo in his post. It is natural that kings of the xixth Dynasty should choose people from the capital for the important post of viceroy, especially at the beginning of the dynasty. Thus the second viceroy and perhaps also the first one came from the capital and their tombs should be sought in some part of the Theban Necropolis. We are enumerating here the titles and epithets of Turo.

\(^{76}\) For the cone, see Davies, Macadam, A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones, no. 575.

\(^{74}\) Macadam, speaking of the collection of cones gathered by Davies, says: 'During the years in which N. de G. Davies was resident at Gurnah he had made a practice of collecting funerary cones, realizing by so doing he was forming a useful and independent source for fresh names and titles of the inhabitants of the Theban Necropolis, many of whose tombs have never been discovered', p. v.

\(^{77}\) Owner of a tomb at Gurnet Murai (for his tomb and sarcophagi see Varille in ASAE, xlv, pp. 1–15). For a part of a sarcophagus, now in Prague, see Zaba in ibid. L, pp. 509 ff. It is to be noted that Mermose bore many titles, which related him with Amun, perhaps he held these titles before he was appointed as viceroy.

\(^{78}\) Owner of tomb no. 40 lying also in Gurnet Murai, Davies-Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun.

\(^{79}\) Tomb no. 289 of the Theban Necropolis.

\(^{80}\) Sen was governor of the Southern City (Thebes) and overseer of the granary in addition to his title as viceroy. Cones in his name were found in the Necropolis, Davies-Macadam, op. cit., nos. 342 and 343. We found more of these cones in the tomb of Panehsi in Dra Abu El-Neggah (no. 16).

\(^{81}\) Nehi was a lector-priest of Amun, and so was his son, only the latter was attached to the Funeral Temple of Tuthmosis III, see KUSH v, p. 16 (3a, b). A statue of the viceroy was found in Deir El-Bahari, Naville, op. cit., pl. xiA and p. 3. More important for showing that he was buried in the Theban Necropolis is the discovery behind the Ramessseum of a ushabti inscribed with his name, Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes, pl. 11, no. 1 and also Gauthier, op. cit., p. 190. It is to be noted that some other viceroys left some monuments in Thebes, but it is imprudent to conclude on this basis only that they were originally from that place. Such may be the case with Usersatet, of whom a statue was found in the area of Deir El-Medineh. Maysitre who published this statue (Mélanges Maspero, Ancien Orient, p. 663, see also Helck in JNES, xiv, 31), says that perhaps one of his ushabitis, now in the Cairo Museum, came from here, and that Thebes was quite likely his original place. But we believe that he was rather from the district of Aswan, his name is formed with one of her main divinities as an element and he left many inscriptions in the district (KUSH v, p. 22).
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SCRIBE OF THE TEMPLE  G.I–L.2

GOD’S FATHER, OVERSEER OF THE CATTLE, CHIEF PRIEST  G.I

GOVERNOR  G.I-R.C-L.1 (?)

COMMANDANT OF THE FORTRESS OF BUIHN  R.a

PRINCE  R.C-L.1(?)

THE CHANCELLOR OF KING OF L.E. AND THE SOLE FRIEND  R.C-L.1

VICEROY  R.C, d, ē, f-G.2, 4, L.1

OVERSEER OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES  R.d, f-G.2, 3-L.1

VICEROY OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES  R.b-L.3, 4

TRUSTY OF THE KING  R.C-L.1

It is noteworthy that Turo is referred to on the cone, the scarab and in the inscription of Semna West as ‘The viceroy of the Southern Countries’. The two main titles for viceroys, which appear independently on other monuments are shown here linked together. It seems that viceroys at the beginning were called ‘viceroys of the Southern Countries’, as later they were called ‘viceroys of Kush’ to show that they were concerned with this land.
L’Avis des Egyptiens sur la cuisine Soudanaise

by SERGE SAUNERON

LORSQUE le sorcier d’Éthiopie,1 venu défier le roi d’Égypte, lui eut demandé de lire le contenu d’un rouleau de papyrus sans en briser le sceau, la cour se trouva plongée dans le plus sombre désarroi :—

L’instant que Satni entendit ces paroles, il ne sut plus l’endroit du monde où il était, il dit: ‘Mon grand seigneur, qui est-ce qui serait capable de lire une lettre sans l’ouvrir? Maintenant donc qu’on me donne dix jours de répit, que je puisse voir ce que je suis capable de faire, pour éviter que l’infériorité de l’Égypte soit rapportée au pays des Nègres mangeurs de gomme’. Pharaon dit : ‘Ils sont donnés à mon fils Satni’.

Satni obtient donc un délai pour trouver une solution, et l’on prend soin du sorcier d’Éthiopie :—

‘On assigna des appartements où se retirer à l’Éthiopiens, on lui prépara des saletés à la mode d’Éthiopie’.2

Maspero, auquel nous empruntons cette traduction pittoresque, précise dans une note : ‘Les saletés à la mode d’Éthiopie’ ne sont que les mets en usage chez les Égyptiens : la haine que les Égyptiens de la Basse-Égypte professaient contre les gens du royaume de Napata se portait non seulement sur les hommes, mais sur tout ce qui leur servait, y compris la nourriture’.3 C’est assurément une explication possible ; il est tout aussi possible que les Égyptiens aient eu une forte mauvaise opinion de la cuisine étrangère,4 dans la mesure même où elle différerait de la leur. Sinouhé, devenu Bédouin, nous entretient des menus qu’il se fabriquait au désert (B. 87 sq.), mais il s’empresse, à son retour, dès la frontière passée, de se faire préparer de la bière d’Égypte (B. 248). De même, Hérodote

1 Sur le renom des ‘sorciers d’Éthiopie’ (c’est-à-dire de la Nubie et du Soudan), voir déjà, à la xviii° dynastie, la stèle d’Ousersatet (Helck, Urkunden iv, 1344).2
2 II Satni, 3 4—6 = Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, p. 165. Le mot traduit par ‘saleté’ est nbêy, que Griffith a rapproché du copte nobî : nobî, qui s’applique à une faute morale. Erichsen ne semble pas avoir enregistré ce terme (Demotisches Glossar).
4 Attitude que les étrangers leur rendaient avec usure, à en croire la stèle de Piânkhi (l. 151—2 = Urkunden iii, p. 54)—au nom, il est vrai, de principes religieux! Quant aux Hébreux de l’Exode, qui regrettaient la bonne nourriture d’Égypte, ils avaient pour motif le fait que la manne du désert, fût-elle providentielle, n’en devenait pas moins insipide quand on en faisait une consommation exclusive (Nombres ii 4—8).
(II, 36) nous rappelle que ‘les autres peuples vivent de blé et d’orge ; mais en Égypte, qui tire de là sa subsistance est tout à fait déconsidéré’.

En fait, il semble que le mode d’alimentation ait été, aux yeux des Égyptiens, l’un des critères importants qui permettaient de distinguer les différents peuples. Deux textes, au moins, permettent de le croire.

Le premier d’entre eux, conservé sur une colonne du temple d’Esna (colonne 7, n° 250 12-13, époque de Trajan), s’intègre dans un très beau texte universaliste, où l’on explique que l’humanité entière, en dépit des divergences de langages, est issue d’un seul et même père, le dieu Khnoum. Évoquant les pays étrangers, le rédacteur s’exprime en ces termes :—

‘Il (= Khnoum) a créé des produits exotiques à l’intérieur de leurs pays, pour qu’ils aient un tribut à exporter au dehors ; car le Seigneur du Tour, il est (aussi) leur père, Tanen qui a donné naissance à tout ce qui existe sur leur sol, faisant pour eux des aliments—à la mode des gens du pays d’Ibéhâ—afin de sustenter leur corps’.

Passons sur l’idée selon laquelle l’étranger n’a été créé que pour livrer tribut à l’Égypte, et sur celle plus élevée sans doute, qui fait du créateur le père de toutes les races. Examions seulement le passage qui fait allusion au mode d’alimentation des peuples étrangers. L’expression tr hrt signifie exactement ‘fournir une subsistance quotidienne’, ‘assurer l’ordinaire’ ; les derniers mots (‘afin de sustenter leur corps’) montrent qu’il ne saurait subsister d’incertitude sur le sens à reconnaître ici. Dans ce contexte, il semble que le groupe de mots: m trw rmḥ nḥw Tḥ Yḥḥ ne puisse apporter qu’une précision nouvelle, développant le terme vague hrt : ‘Khnoum a assuré (à ces gens-là) une nourriture qui les maintienne en vie,—une nourriture du genre de celle que consomment (ou : dont

4bis Si nous ne voulons pas corrigé le texte en introduisant un <n> entre tr et ṣn, il faut comprendre : ‘… sur leurs sols, de sorte, qu’ils (= ces sols) puissent produire des aliments, etc. . . .’

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se contentent) les gens d'İbêhâ',—suffisante pour les faire vivre, mais apparemment peu appréciée des Égyptiens, puisqu'ils éprouvent le besoin de souligner sa spécificité ! . . .

Qui sont ces ' gens du pays d'İbêhâ'? Le déterminatif et le contexte montrent à l'évidence qu'il s'agit d'une contrée étrangère. Dans quelle direction la chercher ?

Si nous voyons, dans l'ensemble du toponyme, un seul terme : T3(y ?)bh, nous ne trouverons pas de parallèle exact ; les mentions de [new line]

signalées par Gauthier, et désignant des contrées méridionales, sont trop éloignées de la forme qui nous occupe pour en fournir l'exacte réplique ; il faudrait en effet justifier la métathèse du groupe bh/hb, l'absence (dans les ex. du Nouvel Empire) d'une articulation finale ('ou j), et, dans les deux derniers exemples, le redoublement du b. Enfin nous ignorons tout de la situation de ces contrées méridionales. Ne regrettons donc qu'à demi de ne pouvoir trouver en eux les prototypes du terme employé à Esna.

Si nous décomposons le groupe en deux mots : t3 (le pays') et Ybh, nous serons plus favorisés. Notons d'abord deux points qui peuvent faciliter notre enquête :

(a) Le \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) initial ne peut être rattaché au signe t3 qui précède ; les autres exemples de t3 qui figurent dans cette inscription sont rarement accompagnés des signes \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) ou \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) dont l'altération aurait pu amener un groupe semblable à \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \). Il serait également vain de r rattacher ces deux traits obliques à celui qui figure dans le corps du toponyme (la disposition en colonnes verticales rendant théoriquement une telle dissimilation possible), l'usage du trait oblique à la fin d'un mot étant fréquent dans ce texte (\( h^\circ \), l. 19 ; \( srk \), l. 9 ; \( Wstr \), l. 18). En revanche, nous trouvons des exemples d'emploi abusif du groupe \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) (l. 17).

(b) A Esna, \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) peut correspondre aussi bien à t qu'à 3, consonnes faibles.

Nous pourrons donc admettre des variantes—si nous en trouvons—, qui comportent les éléments fixes suivants : \( T3 + bh \), entourés de vocalisations secondaires.

Or nous avons trouvé, dans les textes d'Edfou, quelques toponymes de ce genre.

1. \( Edfou \), III, 281 6.

La divinité y est nommée :  古  " souverain de l'Égypte,

roi au coeur du Pays de Bêh (ou : Bah) ;

6 \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \) \( \text{\MakeLowercase{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}}} \)
2. Edfou iv, 25015 (rite: šms 'nty), [Image]

' qui prend le Pays du dieu, le maître de Feqhir, le chef des montagnes du Pays de Bah '.

Le signe qui suit bjh est entraîné par l'existence d'un verbe dont on trouve des exemples dans Urk. iv, 1229 8, 1239 10, Edfou vi, 11 9 (cf. Urk. ii, 22 ult.), etc. . . . Il n'a vraisemblablement pas d'effet sur la lecture.

3. Edfou iv, 114 14 (offrande des sept huiles rituelles)

[Image]

'Tu lui donnes les huiles—išw8 en tant que souverain du pays de Bêh '.

Même remarque à propos de l'hieroglyphe des jambes inversées. Le texte parallèle d'Edfou vi, 100 11-12 mentionne le pays de Bwgm. Dans ces deux derniers cas, il s'agit donc probablement d'une contrée du Sud.

4. Un dernier exemple se rencontre probablement à Esna même, dans la liste des pays vaincus, section méridionale (no. 572 10), où figure le toponyme

[Image] T3 Īwbh, ' le pays (?) d'Ebêh ', entre Thny (=la Libye), Sḥt Imw (=Gauthier, D.G., v, 49-50), Šwty (ibid., v, 130), d'une part,—Sgrt et wmn'y (ibid., i, 143), d'autre part.

De ces quatre exemples, il ressort que ' le pays de Bah ', extérieur à l'Égypte, et sans doute situé vers le Sud, comptait au nombre des régions productrices de gommes odoriférantes, et que son nom semble avoir été bien connu encore aux basses époques.

Cela nous permet, semble-t-il, d'identifier ce terme tardif au toponyme très anciennement connu d'Ibht (Gauthier, D.G., i, 64 ; cf. Bht, ii, 26), dont nous savons :

(a) qu'il était dans le Sud ;
(b) qu'on y trouvait une pierre ibht portant le nom de son pays d'origine (Mutter und Kind, p. 50, n. 1, et Admonitions 31 (=3,2) ; Sethe, Bau- und Denkmalsteine, pp. 49-51)
(c) que des Médjay, appréhendés au voisinage d'Iken (=Kor ?), prétendaient venir d'un puits situé en ce secteur ( Semnah Despatches, no. 3=p. 2 14, JEA, 31, p. 8) ;
(d) qu'Aménophis III en ramena un abondant tribut d'esclaves (Stèle de Mérymosé, Hierogl. Texts from Stelae . . . Brit. Museum, viii, pl. 20) ;

7 Le voisinage des termes h3swt et t; inciterait à voir en Tḥbḥh un mot unique, à ne pas décomposer ; l'exemple suivant montre pourtant qu'il n'en est rien.
8 Ou : ' Tu le récompenses en tant que . . . ' (litt. : ' tu lui fournis un équivalent . . . ').
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(e) enfin que c'était sans doute une province nubienne de quelque importance (note de Smither, jEA, 31, p. 8, n. 5).

Le nom de ce pays, connu déjà sous Ouni (6e dynastie), mentionné sous Aménemhat III (lettres de Semnéh), puis aux époques d'Aménophis III (stèle de Mérymosé) et de Séthi Ier (Gauthier, DG, II, 26); connu d'autre part par une pierre particulière qui déjà tentait Ouni et se retrouve mentionnée dans un papyrus magique du Nouvel Empire (Mutter und Kind), pourrait bien avoir été conservé dans les textes hiéroglyphiques de basse époque sous les cinq formes que nous en avons signalées. Comme au temps d'Aménophis III, on le désigne parfois de l'expression : 'la montagne du pays d'Ibéha' ; mais il n'est plus désormais célèbre par la qualité de ses carrières ni par la main d'œuvre que l'on pouvait y procurer : son renom lui vient de sa position dans les régions méridionales, productrices de gommes et de parfums, et, au moins à Esna, du brouet innombrable dont ses habitants faisaient leurs délices... Rejoignant dans son esprit le texte de Satni, cette allusion à la cuisine particulière des contrées du Sud confirme donc l'expérience malheureuse que les fins palais égyptiens ont dû faire des mets méridionaux.

Ajoutons tout de suite, pour nuancer cette opinion peu flatteuse, que les Égyptiens semblent n'avoir pas plus apprécié la cuisine phénicienne, ainsi qu'en témoigne le second texte dont nous avons à nous occuper ; il s'agit d'un passage de l'un des deux beaux hymnes du temple d'Hibis (édit. Davies, III, pl. 32, l. 17–18), où nous lisons :

\[ \text{ Il (=le dieu créateur) a séparé les deux pays, et il a délimité leurs frontières, les nourrissant d'aliments, il a créé le double pays des Fénékhou, pour eux de leur subsistance.} \]

\[ ^9\text{ Ou : 'et ils se nourrissent de...'} \]

\[ ^10\text{ On trouve parfois mention des } hjswt Fnhw \text{ (Edfou VII, 102 ?), mais l'expression la plus courante est } tswy Fnhw \text{ (Edfou V, 143}; \text{ Urkunden VIII, no. 189 (=p. 134) ; no. 129 c (= p. 103) ; no. 58 d ; Temple d'Opot (éd. De Wit), p. 232, l. 8 ; p. 142, bas). Aux basses époques, la graphie } tswy \text{ correspond souvent au pluriel } tsw\text{—et à l'occasion au singulier } ts \text{ (Wb. V, 219) ; pourtant, dans le texte d'Hibis, c'est le mot } hjest \text{ qui est apparemment au duel, et cet usage est ancien : cf. déjà Sinouhé B 221, à propos duquel G. Lefebvre note : 'le texte porte bien 'le double pays des Fénékhou', par analogie avec le 'double pays d'Égypte' (Romans et Contes, p. 19, note 88). Sur l'indication du pluriel suivant un mot apparemment au duel, Junker, Grammatik, pp. 58–9.} \]
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On peut se borner à voir, dans l’emploi successif des deux mots ksw puis hrt, un simple effet stylistique, tendant à éviter une répétition (le terme hrt s’employant couramment sans la moindre nuance péjorative, cependant que ksw peut fort bien désigner la nourriture des voisins orientaux de l’Égypte, Edfou 6, 196 3). Mais on peut aussi y noter une volonté de distinguer la manière de s’alimenter qui caractérise les deux pays : en Égypte, on vit de ksw, d’aliments convenables ; les gens des échelles levantines, eux, ont leur hrt, c’est-à-dire ce qui leur est nécessaire — ou ce dont ils se contentent ! . . .

Cette opposition entre les deux termes serait moins évidente si ces phrases ne se trouvaient précisément dans un passage où l’on traite de la distinction des races humaines en soulignant les critères les plus évidents qui la rendent possible : l’aspect physique (3bw), l’allure ([kd?]), la couleur de la peau, la différence de langage, etc. . . .

Le mode d’alimentation semble donc avoir constitué, aux yeux des Égyptiens, un moyen certain, entre plusieurs autres, de distinguer les peuples, — ce qui, en soi, n’est pas inexact11 ; n’ont-ils pas également caractérisé neuf contrées particulières (les Neuf Arcs) par la façon dont ils s’approvisionnaient en eau ?12 Mais, au-delà de cette distinction purement formelle, certains détails des deux textes d’Hibis et d’Esna, le conte de Satni, et le passage d’Hérodotque que nous avons cité, montrent sans qu’il subsiste d’incertitude, la piété estime en laquelle ils tenaient toutes ces cuisines étrangères. On ne mange nulle part aussi bien que chez soi, c’est un adage bien connu. . . .13

Dernier point mystérieux : pourquoi, entre tous les noms désignant les pays du Sud — ou les pays étrangers en général (par ex. t; b(n)r, Edfou 3, 188 16 [cf. JEA, 29, p. 29 (14)]; Esna no. 359 40) le scribe d’Esna a-t-il choisi précisément celui du pays d’Ibèha ? Sur ce point, on ne peut se livrer qu’à des hypothèses ; mais il faut constater que l’hymne d’Hibis réduit toutes ces zones étrangères où l’on se nourrit autrement qu’en Égypte à la seule mention des

11 Nous parlons de même des ‘ peuples du mil ’, des ‘ mangeurs de riz ’, à l’occasion des ‘ anthropophages ’, cependant que les Anglo-Saxons, pour des raisons moins évidentes, nous qualifient de ‘ mangeurs de grenouilles ’1

12 Edfou 6, pp. 196–9.

13 Noter enfin que, pour une notable part, ce dédain des Égyptiens à l’égard des aliments étrangers peut être né, non seulement de leur piètre qualité, mais de leur caractère insuffisant ; dès qu’on quitte la Vallée, les terres riches disparaissent, ce qui contraire les habitants des déserts au nomadisme : ‘ le désert meurt de faim ’ (Semnaha Département, no. 5, l. 10=JEA, 31 (1945), p. 9 et pl. v et v, a) ; ‘ l’Asiatique ne se fixe pas en un endroit unique, qui devient (vite) inhabitable par manque de nourriture ’ (Merikaré, C. 29) ; ‘ Les Libyens sont profondément à errer et à combattre pour emplir leur ventre au jour le jour ’ (Stèle de Merenptah, à Karnak, l. 22) [textes réunis par G. Posener, R d’Ég., vii 1950, pp. 177–8]. Ainsi, dans les contes démotiques, désigne-t-on volontiers les Éthiopiens (=les Soudanais, à l’occasion les Thébains) du sobriquet de ‘ mangeurs de gomme ’ (w[n]m kw hmy) (II Satni, 3 6 ; Pétoubasit 15 21 ; cf. ibid., H 6). ‘ C’est une injure à l’adresse des Nègres, que la pauvreté de leurs terres obligeait à se nourrir des gommes de diverses natures qu’ils recueillaient sur les arbres de leurs forêts ’ (Maspero, Contes 4, p. 164, n. 1 [cf. p. 238, n. 1]).
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échelles phéniciennes. Peut-on supposer un texte initial, à la base de ce genre de littérature traitant de la distinction des races, où Nord et Sud se trouvaient évoqués chacun par la mention d'un (ou de plusieurs) toponymes ? Le texte d'Hibis n'en aurait conservé que la mention du pays des Fénékhou, celui d'Esna seulement celle du pays d'Ibèha ? Sans doute devons-nous, pour le moment, nous contenter de cette hypothèse puisque, en tout état de cause, il est exclu que 'le pays d'Ibèha' ait pu constituer une désignation globale des pays du Sud.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

EGYPTIAN OPINIONS OF Sudanese Cookery

When the Ethiopian (Nubian) sorcerer, who had come to challenge the King of Egypt, asked him to read the contents of a roll of papyrus without breaking the seal, the court was plunged into dismal confusion.

'When Satni heard these words, he did not know where in the world he was. He said: "My Lord King, who could possibly read a letter without opening it? May I be given ten days' respite, so that I can see what I can do to prevent the inferiority of Egypt being reported in the lands of the Negro eaters of gum". Pharaoh said: "They are granted to my son Satni".'

Satni thus obtained time to find a solution, and the Ethiopian sorcerer was given hospitality.

'The Ethiopian shall be given quarters where he can retire, and muck in accordance with the Ethiopian custom shall be prepared for him.'

Maspero, to whom we owe the French translation, explains in a note that 'muck in accordance with the Ethiopian custom' refers to the regular diet of the Ethiopians. The hatred which the Egyptians of Lower Egypt professed for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Napata embraced not only the people but also all their possessions, and here includes their food. This is certainly a possible explanation; it is also possible that the Egyptians had a very poor opinion of all foreign cookery in so far as it was different from their own.

Sinouhe, who became a Bedouin, regales us with the menus he had in the desert, but he was eager, as soon as he crossed the frontier on his return, to have Egyptian beer prepared for him. Herodotus tells us that 'other people live on wheat and barley; but in Egypt they are despised by those who live there'.

In fact, it seems that, in the eyes of the Egyptians, culinary habits were one of the criteria by which the different peoples could be distinguished. Two texts at least permit this interpretation.

The first of these, preserved on a column in the temple of Esna (time of Trajan), is part of a very fine text concerning the universe, wherein it is explained that the whole of mankind, despite differences of language, proceeds from one single father, the god Khnoum. Referring to foreign countries the editor expresses himself as follows: 'Khnoum created exotic produce in their countries so that they would have tribute to send abroad; for the Lord of the Potter's
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wheel is also their father, Tanen who gave birth to all that is in their land, providing food for them—after the custom of the people of the Land of Ibeha—so as to sustain their bodies’, or, to be more precise, ‘Khnum has assured (these people) nourishment to keep them alive—nourishment of the kind that the people of Ibeha eat (or, with which they are content)—enough to keep them alive, but apparently unappreciated by the Egyptians, since they think it necessary to stress the point.

Who are these ‘people of Ibeha’ and where does their country lie? A study of the ancient texts reveals that ‘the land of Bah’ was beyond the southern frontier of Egypt, included several regions producing aromatic gum, and was well known even in the earliest times. It would, therefore, seem permissible to identify this late form with a much older toponym, about which we know the following facts: it was in the South; a stone bearing the name of its country of origin was found there; the Medjay arrested in the neighbourhood of Iken (=Kor?) claimed to come from a well in that region; Amenophis III brought back a large tribute of slaves from there; and finally it was undoubtedly a Nubian province of some importance. By this time, however, it was no longer celebrated for the quality of its quarries, nor for the labour which could be obtained there; its renown simply came from its position in the South, from the gum and perfumes produced there, and, at least to Esna, from the indescribable thin broth which to the inhabitants served as a delicacy.

The Egyptians seem also to have been unappreciative of Phoenician cookery as is borne out by a passage from one of the hymns from the temple of Hibis, where we read: ‘He (the creator god) has separated the two countries and drawn their frontiers, nourishing them with food; he has created the dual land of the Fenekhou and provided their subsistence’. The use of the different wording may be in part a stylistic device to avoid repetition, but one may also note here a desire to distinguish the eating habits which characterized the two countries. In Egypt they lived on proper food; the people of the Levantine seaboard ate what was necessary.

The two texts of Hibis and Esna, the tale of Satni, and the passage from Herodotus all show, without any doubt, the poor opinion the Egyptians had of all foreign cookery.
Two King’s Sons of Kush of the Twentieth Dynasty

by Jaroslav Černý

Reisner and Gauthier collected documents bearing on the officials called King’s sons of Kush with amazing completeness and laid a solid basis for establishing their succession and chronology.\(^1\) Strictly speaking this is true of the Kings’ sons of the xviiith and xixth Dynasties only; for the first two thirds of the xxth Dynasty, that is down to the King’s son of Kush Pinedhas, who was in office under Ramesses XI, they had to limit themselves to probabilities and guesses owing to the paucity of material for this period. Reisner attributed to it three viceroys, Hori, Wentawat and Ramessenakht, in this order; the first because he found him associated with the cartouches of Ramesses IV, the other two less by the style of their monuments than because there seemed to be no place for them earlier, Ramessenakht undoubtedly also because of the frequency of this name in the xxth Dynasty.\(^2\) He therefore placed Wentawat under Ramesses VI–VIII and Ramessenakht under Ramesses IX, naturally with query-marks after the names of these sovereigns.

Gauthier\(^3\) added, wrongly, a further viceroy, Paser, son of the viceroy Hori, also under Ramesses IV, trusting a copy by Sayce,\(^4\) but otherwise accepted Reisner’s tentative order. The result was therefore the following list of viceroys of the xxth Dynasty:

Hori, second part of the reign of Ramesses III and first part of the reign of Ramesses IV,

Paser, second part of the reign of Ramesses IV and under Ramesses V,

Wentawat, under Ramesses VI–VIII (?)

Ramessenakht, under Ramesses IX and X (?)

The attribution of Wentawat and Ramessenakht to the xxth Dynasty and their relative order could have safely been deduced and their place within that dynasty determined from a hieratic graffito in black ink in the temple of Abu Simbel. This graffito, strangely overlooked by both Reisner and Gauthier, was

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\(^2\) On archaeological evidence Wentawat had been formerly assigned to the xixth Dynasty.


\(^4\) Sayce, \textit{RT}, 17, p. 163, no. 14 (Porter-Moss, \textit{vii}, 133–4). Gauthier did not notice that a photograph of the inscription was published in Randall-MacIver and Woolley, \textit{Buhen}, pl. 11 (middle right) and in type, p. 23. Comparing the photograph with Sayce’s copy one cannot call the latter anything but appalling.
noticed and copied by Champollion and Lepsius. Their copies agree almost entirely so that a transcription into hieroglyphs can be established without any difficulty. This is very fortunate, since without these early copies the graffito would now be practically illegible: in 1942 visiting members of the Royal Air Force scratched their initials just over it. Later, someone—probably a conscientious ghafir—found this defacement and obliterated it by rubbing the surface thoroughly all over. As a result not only the modern initials, but the graffito as well have disappeared almost entirely; enough, however, is left of the latter at least to check the parts indicated by a dotted line in the accompanying transcription, among them fortunately also the groups m dd and tw lb.f in line 2, the former admitting of an interesting conclusion, the latter displaying an unusual grammatical construction where any doubt as to the correct transcription might have been embarrassing.

The short text can now be translated as follows: ‘(1) By Panaḫo, scribe of the King's son of Kush Wawat (and of) the King's son of Kush Ramessenaḥkt (2) by permission of Ramesse-mi’mûn, the great god, it being his wish. (I) made (it) in my own hand (lit. “writing”).’

The name borne by the scribe and unattested elsewhere, is not without interest but its discussion is better postponed until the end of this article. The important expression m dd is evidently a Late Egyptian reminiscence of the Middle Egyptian expression m dd ‘by the order (of so-and-so)’, see Gardiner Gr.3, § 444.3, where dd is stated to be the Imperfective sdm.f, though Erman (Neuäg. Gr., § 332) in an identical construction m dd lb.f, ‘according to his wish’ (lit. ‘in his heart's giving’) in the Decree for Esknons, 1.58, takes it as (Imperfective) Passive Participle. Though our form is, at any rate, imperfective, the reference is clearly to the past ‘as Ramesse-mi’mûn has caused’ as it also is in the example from Ptaḥhotep, 642, quoted by Gardiner (Gr.3, p. 356, n. 7). ‘Tw lb.f without any predicate stands for something like tw lb.f <r tr.t.f.>, lit. ‘his wish being <to do it>’; whether it has been thus truncated by the scribe’s inadvertence, or whether this was the actual usage we do not yet know.7

After having disposed of the grammatical problems of this short text we can now turn to the deductions which we can legitimately draw from its wording. Panaḫo was scribe of two King’s sons of Kush, Wawat and Ramessenaḥkt, and evidently of these two only, down to the time when he wrote the graffito. The order Wawat-Ramessenaḥkt proposed by Reisner is therefore correct, without any other King’s son of Kush intervening between them. Panaḫo was

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5 Champollion, Notices descr., i, p. 74; LD, vi, pl. 22 [4]; the beginning also LD Text, v, p. 168 (bottom right); see Porter-Moss, vii, p. 107 (57)-(58).
6 Great Temple, Room iii, east wall of the plan in Porter-Moss, vii, 96; second scene (not ‘fourth’ as stated by Porter-Moss, vii, 107), on the offering-stand between Atûm and Rameses II kneeling before the god. The position is indicated in LD, iii, pl. 191, e.
7 Compare tr wnn lb.k tr š elsewhere, ‘if your wish is (to do it) become a scribe’ (P. Lansing, 7, 5).
a. HIERATIC GRAFFITO AT ABU SIMBEL; LEPSIUS' FACSIMILE (L. D., vi, 22 [4])

b. HIERATIC GRAFFITO AT ABU SIMBEL; TRANSCRIPTION

(Only the passages underlined (--------) can be still verified in the original)

(a) This sign, omitted by Lepsius, has been added from Champollion's copy (Not. descr., i, 74)
appointed by the will of king Ramesse-miamün. This king, however, was no longer reigning, when the graffito was being written, since the epithet ‘the great god’ refers to a dead, not to a living Pharaoh. But who is this Ramesse-miamün? This can certainly only be Ramesses II; he was the only Ramesses who had the epithet -miamün, and this solely, as a part of his nomen, the other kings of that name having their nomen expanded by different additions. It is in the form Ramesse-miamün that his name lived on in the name of the Delta residence founded by him. It would of course have been very difficult, if not impossible, to force the two viceroyse Wentawat and Ramessenakht into the series of known viceroyse of the second part of the reign of Ramesses II and the beginning of the reign of Menephtah. The forms of the hieratic signs of the graffito give the impression of being written in the xxth Dynasty rather than in the xixth and the way in which the hr in the name of Panaho is written definitely points to the xxth since this form was then fashionable, especially in the later part of the Dynasty.

We are thus driven to the conclusion that it was not the living Ramesses II himself who appointed Panaho as scribe to the two viceroyse—moreover, it would be hard to believe that a king would ever have been personally concerned with such minor appointments—but that Panaho was appointed long after by the statue of Ramesses II through an oracular decision similar to the well-known appointment to the throne of Tuthmosis III by the statue of Amun during a procession at Karnak. The appointment of Panaho might have taken place even at Abu Simbel itself.

The graffito therefore means that Wentawat and Ramessenakht must be relegated to the xxth Dynasty, and more precisely to its second half, that is, approximately to the period in which Reisner placed them.

The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Amara brought to light a considerable amount of new material so that Säve-Söderbergh was able to establish a more complete list of viceroyse of the xxth Dynasty:

- Ḥori, son of Kama—Setnakht (?);
- Ḥori, son of the preceding—Ramesses III, year 5 and 11; Ramesses IV;
- Sičse—Ramesses VI;
- Naḥiḥo;
- Wen(ta)wat, son of the preceding—Ramesses IX;
- Ramessenakht, prog. son of the preceding—Ramesses IX;
- Pinehas—Ramesses XI, year 12 and 17.

Despite the discoveries of Amara, however, the graffito of Abu Simbel still

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8 See Peet’s observation, JEA, 10, p. 126, n. 2.
9 Compare ‘House of Ramesse-Ruler-of-On’ (a foundation of Ramesses III), as opposed to ‘House of Ramesse-miamün’ in Pap. Harris, 62 a, 3.
10 Ägypten und Nubien, p. 177. The material from Amara is still chiefly known only from Fairman’s communication in JEA, 25, p. 143.
TWO KING'S SONS OF KUSH OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

retains some of its value, because only by it can the succession Wentawat-Ramessenakht be ensured. It thus supports the restoration ‘King's son of Kush . . . [Rajmessenakht], son of the King's son Wentawat’ proposed by Gauthier for the inscription of the Cairo relief J. 50207.\textsuperscript{11}

At Amara the evidence as to the date of Ramessenakht seemed at first conflicting. The inscriptions on both sides of the gate between the Outer and Inner Courts\textsuperscript{12} showed the figure of Ramessenakht and, in a horizontal band above it, the cartouches of Ramesses VI\textsuperscript{13}, while an inscription on the northwestern face of the wall separating the Inner Court from the Hypostyle Hall\textsuperscript{14} gave the names of both Ramessenakht and Ramesses IX\textsuperscript{15}. Professor Fairman in a letter kindly gave me full details of all this evidence; naturally, I must leave it to him to set this forth in his forthcoming volume on the excavations at Amara, but we now agree that the association of Ramessenakht with the cartouches of Ramesses VI is purely fortuitous and does not imply that they were contemporaries. The evidence of the graffito naming him and Ramesses IX, despite its bad state of preservation, however, stands to prove that Ramessenakht was in office in that sovereign’s reign.

Since we now know that Wentawat’s father, Nahiho, was a viceroy, it is tempting to explain the name of the scribe of our graffito Panañ as a writing of *P-t-n-njbrh, ‘He of Nahiho’. The omission of *n and of the first *hr (preposition) would be completely in accordance with the tendencies of the late Ramesside orthography. *P-t-n, ‘he of’, having lost the genitival *n sounded already like the Coptic possessive prefix *njbr- and the preposition *hr was then currently left out in writing perhaps even where it was still pronounced. In the present case it could have coalesced with the second *hr, which is presumably the substantive *hr, ‘face’. The proper name written *njbr or *njhr, and therefore presumably pronounced something like Nahiho, is not rare\textsuperscript{16}, though we do not know yet what it means. Panañ, ‘He of Nahiho’ would then appear to put its bearer in some relation to the viceroy Nahiho; perhaps he was born to one of this viceroy’s subordinates during his tenure of office.

\textsuperscript{11} Gauthier, ASAE, 28, p. 135; PM, vii, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{12} PM, vii, p. 159 (4) and (5).
\textsuperscript{13} Fairman, JEA, 24, pp. 155 and 25, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{14} PM, vii, p. 159 (14).
\textsuperscript{15} Fairman, JEA, 25, p. 141. On p. 143 it is said that Ramessenakht, ‘seems to appear again under Ramesses XI’, but here ‘Ramesses XI’ is a misprint for ‘Ramesses IX’.
\textsuperscript{16} Ranke, Die äg. Personennamen 1, p. 170, no. 3; further references, Glanville, JRA, 1929, p. 24, n. 2; Faulkner, The Wilbour Pap., iv, Index, p. 67, under *ljrdt Njhr. For the spelling *njhr, see JEA, 28, p. 143.
Une danse nubienne d'époque pharaonique
par HENRI WILD

UNE tombe rupestre, située à Debeira (20 km. au nord de Ouadi-Halfa, sur la rive droite du Nil), contient une scène de danse que M. Vercoutter, directeur des antiquités, m’a prié de copier à l’occasion d’une brève visite que j’ai faite dans cette région en février 1957.1 Cette sépulture, signalée naguère par Miss Moss, venait d’être dégagée entièrement et protégée par les soins du Service des antiquités du Soudan.2

Son propriétaire, surnommé , est régulièrement désigné par son titre ‘chef de Téhénout (?)’, auquel s’ajoute occasionnellement celui de ‘scribe’. Une stèle de lui, au Musée de Liverpool,3 le qualifie par la seule fonction administrative de ‘scribe du Sud’, tandis qu’un autre monument (statuette no. 92 du Musée de Khartoum) donne pour son père la charge de chef local qu’il assuma après lui.

Le nom de la région sur laquelle Djéhouthi-hotep et son père exercèrent leur autorité, toponyme que Miss Moss suggère de lire Thnwt plutôt que Thht(?)4, désignerait le district de Serra situé un peu plus au nord, dans la région de Nubie appartenant aujourd’hui administrativement au Soudan. Les noms des parents de Djéhouthi-hotep, de même que son propre surnom, sont de caractère indubitablement nubien ; aussi peut-on en déduire qu’il était de souche autochtone. Il vécut très probablement sous le règne de Hat·shepsout.

La décoration de la chapelle, en couleurs polychromes sur un très léger enduit de chaux appliqué sur le grès, est fort dégradée. Il en subsiste pourtant quelques scènes d’un intérêt très réel, comme celles qui montrent deux jardiniers

1 Je le remercie des facilités qu’il a bien voulu m’accorder pour atteindre le site et de m’avoir proposé d’étudier cette scène pour la présente revue.
2 Moss, JEA, 36 1950, pp. 41–2 ; Porter-Moss, Bibl., vii, p. 128 ; Thabit Hassan, Kush v, 1957, pp. 81–6. Le tombeau comprend une cour à ciel ouvert, une chapelle aux longues parois latérales, au fond de laquelle un naos est occupé par les statues de Djéhouthi-hotep, de sa femme et de ses parents et .
3 Griffith, LAAA, viii, 1921, p. 99 et pl. xxix, 2.
4 JEA, 36, 1950, p. 42. Ma copie montre également partout un signe rond en place du vase nw ; cependant, le petit récipient globulaire présente souvent, à cette époque, une lèvre si peu accusée qu’elle est quasi inapparente. Souhaitons la découverte d’autres mentions de ce toponyme, afin que soit levé le doute subsistant sur sa lecture.
UNE DANSE NUBIENNE D'ÉPOQUE PHARAONIQUE

en train d’arroser leurs cultures ou plusieurs serviteurs à peau claire, foncée ou noire en train de cueillir des dattes, apporter leur récolte et des volatiles à leur maître, dans un charmant décor de sycomores, de palmiers *doum*, de dattiers, où s’ébattent des singes.

Le fragment qui sera décrit et commenté dans la suite de cet article se trouve dans la partie droite de la paroi nord, dont elle occupe la moitié supérieure,

![Fig. 1. SCÈNE DE DANSE DU TOMBEAU DE DJÉHOUTI-HOTEP, A DEBEIRA (état actuel)](image)

sur un registre unique, comme fait toute la décoration de cette salle. Il appartient à une scène de banquet dont les convives—un couple assis à droite (←) et vraisemblablement un autre couple assis à gauche (→), à moins qu’ici le nombre en ait été plus grand—se font face, chacun des groupes étant servi par un homme qui leur offre à boire. Derrière le couple de droite, qui représente Djéhouti-hotep et sa femme, ou peut-être aussi ses parents (puisque, dans le
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naos, ces quatre personnes sont figurées en effigies), sont amoncelées des offrandes ou provisions.

Entre les deux groupes de convives se déroule un divertissement où une double flûte (hautbois) et sans doute le chant, accompagnés de battement de mains et de tambour, s’associent à la danse ou l’inspirent. Les exécutants sont six jeunes femmes, dont trois, accroupies sur une natte, battent le rythme en chantant peut-être, tandis que les trois autres évoluent devant elles en dansant et en jouant de leur instrument (FIG. 1).

Cette partie du décor mural de la chapelle est si sérieusement abîmée qu’au premier abord on ne voit que les trois femmes accroupies; cependant les instruments de la hautboiste et de la tambourineuse et quelques détails corporels des trois danseuses, notamment les mains de celle du milieu dans leur position si particulière, permettent finalement d’imaginer l’ensemble de la scène.

Toutes les femmes ont la peau claire, à l’exception de la danseuse du centre, qui l’a très foncée, presque noire. Rythmeuses et flûtiste portent la robe fourreau blanche à bretelle(s) et il semble que les premières aient eu des périclides. La nègresse était sans doute nue et sa compagne au tambour l’était peut-être aussi; il convient cependant de n’être pas affirmatif sur ce point, étant donné l’état où sont maintenant ces deux sujets. La chevelure retombe en masse sur la nuque, en réservant quelques mèches ou nattes isolées sur les tempes, coutume qui a survécu en Nubie et dans les oasis; un pain d’onguent de forme hémisphérique est placé sur la tête des rythmeuses et des musiciennes, sans doute également de la danseuse noire. La flûtiste semble porter un bandeau frontal.

La reconstitution proposée (FIG. 2) réclame un certain nombre de remarques.

(a) Joueuse de tambour en forme de barillet.7

La partie levée de l’instrument est toujours dirigée en avant; le corps de la tambourineuse doit donc être orienté à droite, en direction de la danseuse noire.

Une ligne conservée au bas de la perruque, derrière la nuque, et la position du cône à onguent indiquent que le visage était tourné vers la gauche. Généralement, quand une instrumentiste, parfois simultanément danseuse, se tourne en arrière, elle le fait vers une compagne, comme pour établir l’entente musicale ou rythmique avec elle. Ici, c’est le corps de la tambourineuse qui est orienté vers

5 Il n’est pas rare, en effet, que le texte même de la chanson soit noté au-dessus des personnages, et il arrive que les rythmeuses soient figurées la bouche ouverte (Thèbes, tombe no. 22), ce qui prouve indubitablement qu’elles chantent.

6 Cf. KUSH v, pl. xvi, 2.

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la danseuse noire, tandis que son regard se dirige vers le groupe de convives de gauche. Dans cette position, le buste devrait être de face, mais les exemples en sont trop rares pour autoriser cette solution.

(b) Danseuse noire.

La position des mains conditionne la restitution du haut du corps. La ligne du bassin et une très légère trace de la partie arrière d'une jambe permettent de supposer que la jeune fille exécutait un pas, le talon du pied placé en arrière étant levé assez haut.

(c) Joueuse de double hautbois.

Les deux tuyaux de l'instrument sont tenus presque parallèlement. La

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8 Joueuses de double flûte (hautbois) esquissant un pas de danse (xviii dyn.): Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. xxxiv (Thèbes, no. 18); Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 1, 259 (haut). (Th., no.}

[footnote continued on next page]
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danseuse-hautboïste est entièrement orientée à droite, vers le couple assis. Son pied arrière passe devant la natte sur laquelle sont installées les rythmeuses.

(d) Rythmeuses.

Les trois rythmeuses ont une jambe repliée sur elle-même, entièrement visible, et l’autre genou levé.

Si la superposition des deux avant-bras est régulière dans la position de profil, on s’étonne qu’avec la projection en arrière d’une épaule, ce parti de simplification ait été néanmoins adopté par le dessinateur. Car il semble que, dans l’intention de ce dernier, les trois femmes soient censées vues de dos ou, à tout le moins, de trois quarts dos.  

Un petit détail déjà relevé a une signification déterminante pour l’interprétation de la scène au point de vue de l’évolution des trois danseuses sur le terrain : le talon du pied arrière de la flûtiste ‘mord’ sur la natte des rythmeuses, ce qui signifie, si telles étaient bien les intentions du décorateur, que cette instrumentiste vient de passer dans l’espace libre situé à leur droite et qu’elle arrive devant elles.

La danseuse noire et la tambourineuse évoluent dans l’espace situé à gauche des rythmeuses, la première tournant le dos au couple assis à droite et se dirigeant vers les autres convives ; la seconde, arrivée près de ces derniers, faisant demi-tour pour regagner l’espace central.

Ce schéma rend l’interprétation plus explicite :

![Diagram](image)

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6 Généralement, on représente les rythmeuses de trois quarts face, plus exceptionnellement entièrement de profil. La position des jambes et des pieds peut également varier. Les exemples de la xviii ré dyn. se rapprochant le plus de notre sont tous datés d’avant Aménophis III.
SCÈNE DE DANSE DU TOMBEAU DE KIPÉBOU, À THÉBES

facing p. 80
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Cette interprétation vaut pour des danseuses évoluant à l’unisson ou à la file indienne. On peut, tout aussi gratuitement, imaginer que chaque sujet, suivant son impulsion, exécute son pas propre. Leur position, au moment choisi par le décorateur, n’en demeure pas moins la même sur le terrain.

C’est à dessein que l’attitude de la jeune négresse a fait jusqu’ici l’objet de peu de commentaires. Elle motive cependant au premier chef le titre choisi pour le présent article, d’autres indices génériques de la scène étudiée étant en outre fournis par la localisation de la tombe et, à la rigueur, par la présence d’un tambour en forme de barillet, instrument volontiers joué par des nègres.

La jeune danseuse noire, un avant-bras levé verticalement et l’autre bras légèrement fléchi et dirigé vers le bas, les doigts des deux mains en extension complète, la tête et le buste droits, est très comparable à deux nègres dansant d’époques plus tardives. L’une appartient à une scène du tombeau de la fin de l’époque ramesse, aujourd’hui entièrement détruit, de Ki-nébou (no. 113 de Thèbes), scène connue par deux dessins de Hay10 (PLATE XIX). L’autre figure sur une membrane de tambourin du Musée du Caire,12 provenant d’une tombe collective ptolémaïque de la région d’Akhmim (FIG. 4, a, b).

Dans la tombe thébaine, la danseuse est vêtue et parée comme ses trois compatriotes à peau claire, mais elle porte, en plus, des boucles d’oreilles, des bracelets et des tatouages sur l’avant-bras, toutes choses bien caractéristiques de son origine.

L’inscription qui accompagne la scène, foiisonnante d’incorrections dans l’état où elle nous est connue,13 énumère principalement les titres et noms des personnes représentées, à savoir les enfants du couple défunt et une servante noire.14 Une édition corrigée et commentée de ce texte étant prévue pour paraître dans le cadre d’un ouvrage sur la danse, en voici, en attendant, une traduction qui n’est pas sans intérêt pour la présente étude :

(Homme présentant un vase) : son fils, le ouâb d’Amon, Amen-hoptep, j.v. ;
(danseuse à peau claire) : sa fille, la chanteuse d’Amon, Isis, j.v., surnommée (litt. à qui—masc. !—ils disent) Ta-kéry ; (danseuse noire) : la servante Rekhtoui-ém-mout (?)15 j.v. (?) devant son maître.16 Chanteuses et danseuses ayant coutume

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10 Porter-Moss, Bibl., I, p. 137.
11 Br. Mus., Add. Ms. 29822, f. 121 et 122. Je remercie la Conservation du British Museum d’avoir bien voulu m’autoriser à faire état de ces documents et de m’en avoir procuré des photographies.
12 Borchardt, MIFAO, lxvi, Mélanges Maspero, vol. 1, 1934, pp. 1–6 (av. 1 pl.) ; Hickman, Instruments de musique, CGC, p. 111 et pl. lxxx.
13 Il est difficile d’imputer toutes les erreurs au copiste, car le texte est d’une époque (Ramsès VIII ?) où l’écriture est parfois bien corrompue.
14 Il n’entre pas dans le cadre de cet article d’énumérer tous les Nubiens et Nubiennes, enfants ou adultes, représentés dansants sur des monuments ou objets d’époque pharaonique. Seuls ont été retenus, dans la suite, ceux qui, par leur attitude, offrent des analogies frappantes avec notre danseuse de couleur.
15 Trad. : ‘Je-suis-connue-de-Mout’, nom qui, si telle est bien la phrase qui le compose, ne se trouve pas au dictionnaire de Ranké.
16 La disposition des derniers signes est aberrante, le déterminatif devant avoir sa place après nb.
Fig. 4, a, b. MEMBRANES DE TAMBOURIN
(Musée du Caire)

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d’agir selon son désir.\textsuperscript{17} (Joueuse de harpe) : sa fille, la chanteuse d’Amon, Mout·em-opet,\textsuperscript{18} j.v. ; (joueuse de hautbois) : sa fille, la chanteuse d’Amon, Mout. . . .

Cette inscription précise, fait présumable autrement, que la danseuse noire est une servante. On s’étonne, cependant qu’elle porte un nom égyptien et soit vêtue et parée comme les filles de son maître. Faut-il voir dans son nom, en admettant un double sens à mut, qu’elle est connue de [sa] mère, et, par voie de conséquence, de père inconnu ? D’être admise à participer au divertissement des filles de Ki-nébou, exactement comme l’une d’elles, laisse-t-il supposer de la part de celui-ci un traitement de faveur motivé par une raison personnelle ? Il est bon de noter, à ce propos, que la première nommée des filles, Isis, porte un surnom d’origine nubienne.\textsuperscript{19} Ceci laisse entendre que la famille avait des attaches avec le Sud, soit par le sang, soit par quelque autre relation.

Sur la membrane de tambourin, la petite danseuse\textsuperscript{20} a la peau noire, les cheveux et le haut du costume peints en jaune, tandis que la moitié inférieure de celui-ci est blanc. Naine ou enfant, elle danse devant Isis, au son du tambourin dont joue une femme ou prétresse, tandis que la déesse lève une coupe. Sans doute est-elle en réalité quelque divinité secondaire, peut-être la propre compagnie de Bès,\textsuperscript{21} car l’autre membrane du tambourin —s’il est bien vrai que toutes deux appartiennent au même instrument— montre une scène tout à fait semblable, dans laquelle la petite danseuse est remplacée par le dieu nain barbu à face léonine, vu de profil, exécutant une danse grotesque en se tenant la queue.

Ainsi, trois danseuses noires, représentées sur des documents s’échelonnant sur plus de mille ans, répètent exactement le même geste. Les très légères différences, comme celle de lever le bras un peu plus haut (Ki-nébou), ou celle

\textsuperscript{17} Ou peut-être : ‘ chants et danses exécutés selon son désir ’.

\textsuperscript{18} Ranke, PN, II, p. 288, 25.


\textsuperscript{20} Borchardt (op. cit., p. 4) dit qu’il s’agit d’un petit nègre, vraisemblablement un ‘ Daneg ’, danseur nain venu du Sud. Mais le costume et la rondeur du sein sont d’un individu de sexe féminin.

de tenir les mains ouvertes en dehors (tambourin) ou en dedans (Djéhouti-hotep), sont certes négligeables, puisque, de toute façon, l'attitude n'était pas statique, mais appartenait à un enchaînement de mouvements, dont celui qui est figuré était l'un des plus typiques. Ainsi, la jeune fille au surnom nubien qui est en tête de la troupe de Ki-nébou n'exécute assurément qu'une variante de la figure de sa compagne de couleur.

D'ailleurs, une pose des bras absolument identique à celle de nos trois exemples se retrouve chez un danseur appartenant à la troupe nègre (FIG. 5) —il s'agit du quatrième—qui escorte au son du tambour l'apport du tribut du Sud, au temple d'Armant (règne de Touthmosis III). Même la pose des jambes est très pareille, à peine un peu plus souple et dégagée que chez les danseuses et musiciennes de Ki-nébou.

La troupe d'Armant, dont chaque sujet fait un geste différent, est certes plus animée que celle de la tombe thébaine, où les quatre femmes progressent à l'unisson. L'une évolue sur la route, au milieu d'un cortège, pour amuser une foule en liesse ; l'autre exécute un divertissement bien réglé, dans un cercle privé. Mais les Nubiens n'en révèlent pas moins, par leurs attitudes diverses, le caractère de leur danse ethnique : grande variété dans la pose des bras, tantôt levés, tantôt baissés, ensemble ou séparément ; torsion du haut du corps jusqu'à regarder en arrière, le buste toujours maintenu droit ; jeu de hanches ; mouvements rapides des pieds au niveau du sol, les talons plus ou moins levés, entraînant parfois un certain fléchissement des genoux.

De telles danses, dans lesquelles les bras dessinent d'étranges figures dans l'espace, tandis que les pieds, maintenus au ras du sol, sont saisis d'une sorte de frénésie rythmique qui envahit progressivement tout le corps, danses accompagnées d'un tam-tam obstiné, sont en pratique aujourd'hui chez certains peuples noirs. Un certain Mambo, venu du Soudan ou du Congo, était célèbre au Caire encore récemment par son numéro à peine arrangé pour un public de touristes, mais où l'on retrouvait tous les gestes des danseurs d'Armant. D'ailleurs le répertoire des bals de la jeunesse actuelle ne comporte-t-il pas également de lointains sous-produits de ce vieux folklore africain ?

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22 Mond, *ILN*, 4 July 1936, p. 29, fig. 3 ; Mond-Myers, *Temples of Armant, A Preliminary Survey (The Plates)*, pl. 9.
UNE DANSE NUBIENNE D’ÉPOQUE PHARAONIQUE

Les exemples réunis dans cet article démontrent qu’il existait à l’époque pharaonique, en Haute Nubie, un type particulier de danse. Épimé, du moins dans l’image, d’une manière plus retenue par les femmes, il se manifeste en toute sa vivacité dans une scène où les acteurs sont des hommes. Si, dans la tombe thébaine, les instruments à cordes (lyre et harpe) se joignent à la double flûte, pour constituer un ensemble musical bien égyptien et digne d’un prêtre d’Amon, dans les trois autres exemples, c’est à des instruments de percussion (tambour, tambourin)—auquel se joint, à Debeira, le hautbois (double flûte) emprunté à l’Égypte, ainsi que le battement de mains—qu’est dévolu le rôle de l’accompagnement. Le tambour en forme de barillet paraît bien être d’origine méridionale ; du moins était-il un instrument de prédilection des Nubiens. Sa présence souligne encore, s’il le fallait, le caractère bien typique de la danse nubienne.

Au tombeau de Djéhouti-hotep, la différence de pigmentation de la peau des jeunes musiciennes et danseuses s’explique avant tout par la localisation de la scène dans une région où les races blanche et noire se mélangent fréquemment. Faut-il rappeler la variété d’aspect des ouvriers travaillant aux cultures du maître ? On pourrait aussi citer, à ce propos, la troupe de danseuses, à la peau figurée rouge, jaune ou noire, qui accompagnent les officiers et l’équipage, à l’arrivée en Nubie de Houy, à l’occasion de son entrée en charge comme vice-roi.

D’autres exemples pourraient être cités encore, comme le petit Nubien se livrant à une danse animée, un bras levé, l’autre baissé, au son d’une double flûte que joue un singe. (Brunner-Traut, Die altäg. Scherbenbilder, pp. 99–100 et pl. xxxv, no. 101).

Chez Houy (tome no. 40 de Thèbes), les danseuses qui accueillent le nouveau vice-roi de Nubie (voir ci-dessous, note 26) lèvent les deux bras plus ou moins haut, la tête et le buste bien droits, en exécutant des pas glissés et peut-être un jeu des hanches, entraînant un fléchissement en avant des genoux.

Au tombeau de Hor-em-heb (no. 78 de Thèbes), plusieurs danseurs nègres ont des poses qui ne sont pas sans analogie avec celles de leurs frères de race du temple d’Arman, tandis que celui de l’extrémité gauche fait un bond qui ne se retrouve pas ailleurs. Aucun mouvement d’ensemble ne paraît présider aux joyeux ébats de la troupe : chaque individu gesticule en suivant, semble-t-il, sa propre inspiration, que devait régler néanmoins, au moins rythmiquement, le son du tambour. (Wreszinski, Atlas, t. 1, pl. 248c).

Enfin, le fragment de poterie no. 663 de Deir el Médineh, dont j’ai vu l’original, montre deux nègres à la triple tour de cheveux ; seul subsiste le haut de leur corps et, pour chacun d’eux un seul de leurs bras, qui est levé en un geste large.

Contra Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, p. 68, pour l’exemple de Ki-nébou ; cet auteur voit dans l’attitude de la danseuse noire un mouvement tout à fait conforme au mode d’expression égyptien.

Outre l’exemple d’Arman, citons pour la xviiie dyn. : Wreszinski, Atlas, II, 194 (temple de Louxor) ; dans les tombes thébaines no. 78 (Hor-em-heb), op. cit., 1, 248c, no. 74 (Tja-nou-ny), Nina Davies-Gardiner, Anc. Eg. Paintings, i, pl. xlv.

Nina de G. Davies-Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, pl. x et xv et p. 17. Sir Alan suppose (op. cit., p. 16, bas) que cette partie du tableau représente un épisode précédant l’embarquement de Houy et qu’il se déroulait sur le rivage de Thèbes. Son argument est la présence, répétée deux fois dans la même scène, des lieutenants de Ouauat et de Koush. Cependant, les deux officiers ne peuvent-ils être figurés à deux moments bien déterminés, mais au même endroit, une fois se prosternant devant le vice-roi lors de son débarquement en Nubie, et l’autre fois à l’occasion de l’apport du tribut fourni par cette province ?

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Même si, à Debeira, le divertissement était confié aux propres filles du défunt, la présence parmi elles d’une danseuse noire n’aurait rien de très insolite, puisque les parents de Djéhouti-hotep semblent bien, de par leurs noms, appartenir à la population autochtone. Aujourd’hui encore, il n’est pas rare, dans cette région, de voir des frères et soeurs de couleur très différente.

Le nom qui désignait la danse, chez Djéhouti-hotep, ne nous est parvenu. Mais, chez Ki-nébou, c’est le terme relativement rare de *ksks* qui est employé à cet effet.\(^27\)

Il n’est certes pas sans intérêt de noter que, dans les Rituels de Mout et de Nekhbet, dont de larges portions nous sont conservées respectivement par un papyrus de Berlin et par des blocs du temple d’El Kab, un passage lacunieux, mais que les deux sources complètent bien à propos,\(^28\) dit:

(El Kab)  

(Berlin)  

‘Les *krw* dansent [šnš],\(^29\) le *kwr* danse [ksks].’

De ces danseurs, le premier nommé, avec son déterminatif spécifique, paraît bien être une variété de babouin, dont il est dit au Pap. Anastasi qu’‘on lui apprend à danser (ksks)’ et dans un papyrus de Bologne qu’‘il écoute les paroles, lorsqu’on l’amène du pays de Koush’.\(^30\) Quant au second, c’est ou bien l’habitant du pays de Kouri, région qui constituait ‘pendant une longue période la marche méridionale de l’empire égyptien’,\(^31\) ou bien le souverain du royaume de Koush.\(^32\)

Du point de vue stylistique, c’est la seconde acception du terme qui a le plus de chance de convenir, car il est bien évident que les deux membres de la


\(^{28}\) *Hier. Pap. . . . Berlin*, 1, pl. xii, 5 (Berlin P. 3053); *Fond. Eg. R. Elisabeth, Fouilles de El Kab—Documents*, Bruxelles 1940, pl. 23, col. 14 (notes de B. van de Walle, p. 72).

\(^{29}\) Les Belegst. du *Wb*. (v, 142, 2) citent par erreur ce passage sous *ksks*.


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phrase expriment un contraste. Nous aurions ainsi la traduction : ‘Les babouins dansent, le roi [de Koush] danse33, avec le sens sous-entendu : si les singes dansent et si le roi danse au pays de Koush, tout le monde y danse !

Insistons bien, pour terminer, que c’est encore le terme *ksks* qui désignerait ainsi la sautation du souverain de Napata, comme il désigne la danse nubienne du tombeau de Ki-nébou et les mimiques des babouins venus de Koush. Peut-être, en définitive, est-ce bien l’appellation propre de la danse de ce pays.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

A NUBIAN DANCE OF THE PHARAONIC PERIOD

A rock tomb at Debeira (20 km. north of Wadi Halfa on the right bank of the Nile) contains a dance scene, which I copied when I paid a short visit to the district in February 1957. The tomb has been completely cleared and conserved by the Sudan Antiquities Service.

Its owner is usually denoted by his title ‘Chief of Tehenut’ and also sometimes ‘scribe’. A stela inscribed by him, now in the Liverpool Museum, simply describes him as ‘the Scribe of the South’, while another monument (statuette, Khartoum Museum no. 92) relates that his father had also performed the function of local chief.

Djehuty-hetep and his father ruled over the Serra area, a little further north, in that part of Nubia which belongs to the Sudan. The names of Djehuty-hetep’s parents, as well as his own cognomen, are indubitably Nubian, from which it may be deduced that he came of local stock. He probably lived at the time of Hatshepsut.

The decoration of the chapel, in polychrome on a very thin coat of lime over the sandstone, is badly damaged. There remain, however, several scenes of great interest, such as those which depict two gardeners watering their cultivations, and several servants, some light-skinned, some dark, and some black, gathering dates and bringing the crop and also birds to their master, against a setting of sycamores, dom palms and date trees in which monkeys are playing.

The fragment which is described and discussed in this article is to be found on the upper-half of the right hand side of the north wall. It is part of a banqueting scene, in which the guests—a couple seated on the right, and probably another couple, or more people, seated on the left—face one another, and each group is being served by a man who is offering them drinks. Behind the couple on

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33 Notons incidemment que, dans la légende d’Onouris, à savoir le récit de la quête de Hathor-Tefnout hors de Nubie par Shou, celui-ci danse devant la déesse pour l’apaiser, et que le roi se substitue à lui dans ce rôle à Esna (texte et figuration) ; à Philae et Dendara, des hymnes font également allusion à la danse du roi (Junker, Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnout aus Nubien, pp. 31, 45–6, 70–2 ; Die Onurislegende, pp. 100–1). Dans la même légende, il est fait, en outre, mention plusieurs fois de la danse des singes pour réjouir la déesse.
the right who represent Djehut-hetep and his wife, and perhaps also his parents (since the shrine contains effigies of all four) there are heaps of offerings and provisions.

Between the two groups of guests an entertainment is taking place, in which a double flute (hautboy) and probably singing, accompanied by the clapping of hands and beating of drums, are combined with dancing. The participants are six young girls, of whom three, squatting on a mat, clap the rhythm and perhaps sing, while the others dance before them playing their instruments.

This part of the mural is so badly defaced that at first glance one can see only the crouching figures. However the instruments of the hautboyist and the drummer and certain details of the dancing figures, notably the position of the hands of the middle one, enable one to visualize the whole scene.

All the girls are light-skinned, except the central dancer, who is very dark, almost black. The girls who are clapping the rhythm and the flautist are wearing tight-fitting white dresses with shoulder straps, and it looks as though the former may have had anklets. The negress was probably naked and her companion with the drum may have been so too; it is advisable not to be too definite about this, considering the present condition of the subjects. Their hair falls in a bunch at the nape of their necks, except for isolated locks or plaits over the temples, a style which still survives in Nubia and the oases. There are round cakes of ointment on the heads of the girls who are clapping the rhythm and the musicians, and no doubt the negro dancer had one too. The flautist seems to be wearing a fillet.

Fig. 2 shows the suggested reconstruction, which has been determined by the details which can still be seen. The position of the shoulders of the seated girls suggests that the artist intended them to be seen back view, or at least three quarters back view, while the position of the hands and feet of the dancers indicates the movement shown in Fig. 3. This interpretation would stand whether they moved singly or in unison.

The young negress has so far been the subject of little comment. She is, however, the principal reason for the title of this article, other reasons being, in the scene here studied, the location of the tomb, and the presence of the barrel-shaped drum, a negro instrument.

The young dark-skinned dancer, with one forearm raised vertically, the other arm slightly bent and pointing downwards, all the fingers of both hands outstretched, head and shoulders straight, is very similar to two coloured dancers of later periods. One figures in a scene, now totally destroyed and only known to us from two sketches by Hay (Plate XIX), in the tomb of Kynebu of the late Ramesside period (no. 113 at Thebes). The other appears on a drum-head from a collective tomb of the Ptolemaic period in the region of Akhmim (Fig. 4), now in the Cairo Museum.

In the Theban tomb the dancer is dressed and adorned like her three light-skinned companions, but she wears in addition earrings, bracelets and tattooing on her forearms, all of which are characteristic of her origin. The inscription
which accompanies the scene is full of mistakes in the version that is known to us; a corrected edition of it is to be published with comments in a work on dancing which is now in preparation. It enumerates the titles and names of the persons represented and states (so it may be presumed in other cases) that the negro dancer is a servant, the other dancers being Kynebu’s daughters. Surprisingly, however, she has an Egyptian name, Rekhtou-em-mut (?), and is dressed and adorned like her master’s daughters. Is it possible to deduce from her name, admitting a double meaning of the word mwt, that she is known by her mother and consequently of unknown father? Does the fact that she is allowed to take part in the entertainment given by Kynebu’s daughters, like one of them, suggest favoured treatment on his part motivated by personal reasons? It is as well to note in this connection that the first of the daughters, ‘ Isis surnamed Ta-kery’, bears a name of Nubian origin. This indicates that the family had connections with the South, either by blood or in some other way.

On the drum-head there is a little dark-skinned dancer, whose hair and the upper part of her costume are painted yellow, while the lower part is white. Dwarf or child, she is dancing before Isis to the sound of a drum beaten by a woman or a priestess, while the goddess raises a bowl. Probably she is in reality some minor deity, perhaps the companion of Bes, for the other drum-head—if it is true that the two belong to the same instrument—shows a similar scene in which the little dancer is replaced by a bearded dwarf with a lion’s face, seen in profile performing a grotesque dance and holding his tail.

Thus, three negro dancers, represented in documents spanning a thousand years, repeat exactly the same movements. The very slight differences, such as raising the arm a little higher (Kynebu), or holding the hands opened outwards (drum), or inwards (Djehythu-hetep), are negligible, since the attitude is not static, but is part of a series of movements, among which that depicted is the most typical. So the young girl with the Nubian surname who heads Kynebu’s troupe is only executing a variation of the figure performed by her coloured companion.

A position of the arms, absolutely identical to that of our three examples, is found again in a dancer of a negro troupe (FIG. 5)—the fourth one—accompanying to the sound of the drum the bringing of tribute from the South to the Temple of Armant (time of Tuthmosis III). Even the position of the legs is very similar, though a little more supple and free than in the case of the dancers and musicians of Kynebu.

The Armant troupe, each of whom is making a different gesture, is certainly more animated than that of the Theban tomb, where the four women are moving in unison. But the Nubians do not reveal any less by their diverse attitudes the character of their ethnic dance; a great variety in the position of the arms, whether raised or lowered, together or separately; twisting of the upper part of the body so as to look behind, the head and shoulders always kept straight; looseness of the hips; rapid movement of the feet level with the ground, entailing sometimes a bending of the knees.
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Such dances, in which the arms perform strange figures in the air, while the feet, kept almost touching the ground, are seized with a sort of rhythmic frenzy which spreads progressively over the whole body, dances accompanied by the persistent beat of the tom-tom, are performed today among certain negro peoples. Mambo, a black-skinned man from the Sudan or the Congo, was well known in Cairo until quite recently, for his native dances, in which all the gestures of the dancers of Armant could be recognized.

The examples brought together in this article show that in Pharaonic times there existed in Upper Nubia a particular type of dance. Expressed, at least in the illustrations, in a more restrained manner by women, it shows itself in all its vivacity in a scene where the participants are men. If in the Theban tomb stringed instruments (lyre and harp) join with the hautboy to form a musical ensemble, Egyptianized and worthy of a priest of Amon, in the three other examples there are percussion instruments (drum and tambourine) to which is added, at Debeira, the hautboy (double flute) borrowed from Egypt, and the clapping of hands upon which has devolved the rôle of accompaniment. The barrel-shaped drum appears to be of Southern origin; at least it was the favourite instrument of the Nubians. Its presence underlines, if it is necessary, the typical character of the Nubian dance.

In the tomb of Djehuty-hetep the difference in the pigmentation of the skin of the young musicians and dancers is explained by the location of the scene in a district where the black and white races are frequently mixed. Need one repeat the variety in the appearance of the workers in the master’s garden? One might also mention in this connection the troupe of dancers with their skins painted red, yellow or black, which accompanied Huy on his arrival in Nubia as vice-roy.

Even if at Debeira the entertainment was confined to the actual children of the deceased, the presence among them of a negro dancer would not be very unusual since the parents of Djehuty-hetep seem from their names to have been local people. Even today it is not unusual in this district to see brothers and sisters of quite a different colour.

The name of the dance for Djehuty-hetep has not come down to us. But in the case of Kynebu the relatively rare word $k$s$k$s is used in this connection. It is not without interest to note that in a defective passage of the Rituals of Mout and Nekhbet preserved in a papyrus in Berlin and an inscription at El Kab, there is a passage which could be translated ‘The monkeys dance, the King [of Kush] dances’, with the understood meaning that if the monkeys dance and the King dances in the land of Kush, then everyone dances there.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the term $k$s$k$s was used to designate the ritual leaping of the Sovereign of Napata as it had designated the Nubian dance in the tomb of Kynebu and the mimicking of monkeys which originated in Kush. Perhaps it was indeed the name of the country’s dance.
A Gold Statuette from Jebel Barkal
by P. L. Shinnie

The statuette illustrated in plates XX and XXI was found in 1948 by a small girl, Amna bint Babikr,1 who was tending her father’s goats outside the ruins of the great temple at Jebel Barkal. It appears from the slightly confused account of the find that the statuette was lying on the surface of the sand of one of the tip heaps that remain from Reisner’s excavations of thirty years before. The statuette passed from the hands of the finder into those of some women of Barkal village and it was only when these villagers tried to deprive the finder’s family of any share in the proceeds that the affair was brought to the attention of the police. The statuette was rescued before more serious damage was done to it, and was handed over to the Antiquities Service.

The piece (Sudan Museum No. 5457) is 10 cm. high, is in solid gold and when found was intact except for the head and the feet. The deep cut in the left upper arm, the hammering visible on the hands and the lower part of the body, and the removal of the lower part of the legs are all a result of attempts by the villagers to cut the statuette into small pieces so as to melt it down. The right lower leg was recovered with the statuette and is shown in place in PLATE XX, a. The left leg was never recovered, and it seems likely that the speed with which the heavy fine imposed on those responsible for the damage was paid, resulted from the sale of that piece of gold.

No similar figures are known to me but the piece clearly represents a royal female personage of the Meroitic period. The well rounded contours of the body and the details of the dress can all be paralleled from reliefs of that period. The figure is standing with hands in a ritual attitude as seen in the reliefs on the north and west walls of Temple A at Naqa,2 where Queen Amanitêre is shown together with the king worshipping in one case the goddess Isis and in the other the three-headed lion god.

The dress can also be seen to be virtually identical with that worn by Amanitêre. It consists of a tight fitting short sleeved dress coming down to the ankles with a fringe at the hem, the upper part of the body being covered by a shawl-like garment over the right shoulder but leaving the left arm free. A long tasselled cord hangs over the left shoulder and falls probably nearly to the hem of the dress. Though the lower part is too damaged to be clearly seen, a comparison with the reliefs makes this virtually certain. What could not be told from the reliefs is that this cord hangs down behind as well as in front.

The forearms, left bare, have bracelets below the elbow and at the wrist, and a necklace hangs round the neck.

1 Amna was paid a reward of £E.311 as the finder. This sum was the intrinsic value of the gold as assessed by goldsmiths in Omdurman.
2 Budge, Egyptian Sudan, vol. II, pp. 142, 144.
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The loss of the head makes it impossible to reconstruct the headdress but two cords or ribbons which are shown in the Naqa reliefs as hanging down the back from the headdress, appear on the statuette and it is reasonable to assume that the figure wore a close fitting cap similar to Amanitère’s.

The hands, though now badly damaged, seem to have been made to hold some objects though it is not possible to determine what they were. On the north wall at Naqa Amanitère holds a mirror (?) in the right hand together with a sceptre, whilst on the west wall she holds a staff, and any of these could have been placed in the hands of the statuette.

Evidence for date can be drawn only from comparison with the reliefs. Apart from the Naqa temple scenes, the reliefs that show the closest resemblance to our statuette are on two pyramids at Begarawiya, N. II of Queen Nahirqa and N.2 of King Amanikhabale. Queen Nahirqa is tentatively dated to c. 160–150 B.C. and Amanikhabale to c. 25–15 B.C., the latter being the immediate predecessor of Natakamani whose queen Amanitère was. Such evidence as there is from the reliefs would suggest a date in the 1st or 2nd centuries B.C.

That the statuette was found at Jebel Barkal may enable us to deduce a more precise date for it.

There are two groups of royal burials at Barkal. One of these dates from the 4th century B.C. and is therefore likely to be too early for our purpose. The other dates from the 1st century B.C. and was assumed by Reisner to represent burials of a line of kings independent of those ruling at Meroë. Chronologically one of these burials would be a possibility but with their comparative poverty it is inherently unlikely that a gold statuette would have been placed in one of them nor is there any evidence that such objects found a place in the burial chambers.

It is more probable that a statuette of this type would have formed part of the furnishings of a temple and since the piece was found in débris from the temple excavations it appears highly likely that in fact it was originally placed there. The later history of the Jebel Barkal temple is not very clear but we do know that the only large scale work carried out there after its original foundation was by Natakamani. Here then it appears is the answer to the problem, the close resemblance of the statuette to the figures of Amanitère from Naqa and its discovery beside a temple reconstructed by her husband strongly suggests that our figure is of Queen Amanitère herself.

If this is so, it is one further addition to the increasing number of pieces known from this reign and further testimony to the power and wealth of Meroë at that time.

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3 Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, III, pl. 7, a.
4 Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, III, pl. 15, a.
5 Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, p. 158.
6 In recent years the colossus at Argo (Dunham, *JEA*, 30, pp. 63–5) and two statues at Naqa (Shinnie, *Kush* I, p. 53), have both been identified as being of this period.
PLATE XX

GOLD STATUETTE FROM JEBEL BARKAL

facing p. 92