

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND NUBIA
IN PHARAONIC TIMES.

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Preface

The thought of writing this present work has been with me for a long time, but owing to circumstances which were quite beyond my control, I have had no opportunity previously of attempting it.

Even when I came to Liverpool, I had only faint hopes that I could undertake the strenuous task of the research work, free from worries. Disturbing circumstances and ill health caused me almost to despair.

In view of the long time I had spent away from the archaeological field proper, I needed to revise my knowledge and become acquainted with all the new information which had been published since I was cut off from my study. Much of this burden fell upon my supervisor, Professor H.W. Fairman, but his patience, kindness and encouragement have been more than I could have dared to hope for. He gave me freely of his time and placed at my disposal all his notes and manuscripts, dealing both with my subject and all the others which were of vital importance for my study. His guidance and suggestions whilst he was reading my manuscript saved me from making numerous mistakes, and I cannot find words adequately to express my deep gratitude to him.

I am much indebted also to all who helped in my coming to Liverpool, in particular to Professor Khalafallah, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Alexandria, and to my colleagues, the students of the School of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool, for their help and kindness during the time I enjoyed their company.

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Principal Abbreviations.

Note. When referring to authors see Bibliography, since many abbreviations are included there for convenience.

<u>AASOR</u>	Annual of the American School of Oriental Research, New Haven, 1920 ff.
<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1st Series 1885 ff., 2nd Series 1897 ff.
<u>AJSL</u>	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, Chicago and New York, 1895-1941. (Continued by JNES)
<u>Anc. Eg.</u>	Ancient Egypt, London, 1914 ff.
<u>Archaeology</u>	Archaeology, a Magazine Dealing with the Antiquity of the World, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1948 ff.
<u>Arch. Surv. Nub.</u>	Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Reports for 1907-8, 1908-9, 1909-10, 1910-11. (See under Firth and Reisner)
<u>ASA</u>	Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte, Cairo, 1900 ff.
<u>BAR</u>	(See under Breasted)
<u>Bibl. Aegypt.</u>	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca.
<u>Bibl. d'Etude</u>	Bibliothèque d'Etude.
<u>BIFAO</u>	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901 ff.
<u>Bull. ASOR</u>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn., 1919 ff.
<u>Bull. Bost. MFA</u>	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1903 ff.
<u>BSFE</u>	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, Paris, 1949 ff.
<u>C.C.G.</u>	Catalogue General du Musée du Caire.
<u>Chr. d'Eg.</u>	Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels, 1926 ff.

<u>Gauthier, Dict.</u>	(See under Gauthier)
<u>geogr.</u>	
<u>Gauthier, L.R.</u>	(See under Gauthier)
<u>G.J.</u>	Geographical Journal, Royal Geographical Society, London.
<u>JAOS</u>	Journal of the American Oriental Society, Boston, 1849 ff.
<u>JEA</u>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London, 1914 ff.
<u>JNES</u>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago, 1942 ff. (In succession to AJSL)
<u>LAAA</u>	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, issued by the Institute of Archaeology, University of Liverpool, 1908 ff.
<u>L.D.</u>	(See under Lepsius)
<u>Medinet Habu</u>	Medinet Habu, edited by the Oriental Institute of Chicago.
<u>Mem. Inst. Fr.</u>	Memoires publies par les membres de l'Institute francais d'archeologie oriental, Cairo, 1902 ff.
<u>Mem. Miss. Fr.</u>	Memoires publies par les membres de la mission francais du Caire, (Ministere de l'instruction publique et des beaux arts), 1886 ff.
<u>OLZ</u>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 1898 ff.
<u>PSBA</u>	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London, 1879 ff.
<u>Rec. Trav.</u>	Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archeologie egyptienne et assyrienne, Paris, 1870 - 1923.
<u>Rev. Egyptol.</u>	Revue Egyptologique, Paris, 1880 - 1921. (N.S.)
<u>SASOP</u>	Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers.

Sin. The Story of Sinuhe. (See under Gardiner)

SNR Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum, 1918 ff.

TSBA Transactions of the Society of Biblical
Archaeology, London, 1872 - 1893.

Wb. (See under Erman-Gradow)

ZAS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und
Altertumskunde, Leipzig, 1863 ff.

ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen
Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1846 ff.

Introduction

The great desert belt that stretches eastwards from the Atlantic, across the whole of North Africa and onwards through Arabia, occupies a central position in the Old World and probably played the dual part of assimilation and diffusion. "The areas immediately to the north and south of it (i.e. W. Europe and E. Africa) were probably in fairly constant touch with it - both contributing to it and receiving from it."⁽¹⁾

Egypt and the Sudan form a part of this Saharan (or Saharo-Arabian) Area and lie approximately in its middle, yet they have more favourable conditions, which contributed to their cultures throughout history and gave them priority over the rest of that Area. The main feature in these two countries is the River Nile, and in fact nowhere in the world do people depend for their very existence on a river as do the people of these two countries.

In spite of their unique position and the important part they played in history, only a little is known about their history and their relations with each other in Pharaonic times. Before the French invaded Egypt in 1798-1801, modern civilization knew nothing of its history, except what had survived from the Ancient Greek writings and what the old travellers had related.

The French scholars who joined the Napoleonic campaign to Egypt described its monuments as far as Assuan. It can be asserted that from then the practical archaeological and historical study of Egypt's ancient past was begun. The Cairo Museum was founded and scientific digging and research were organized.

In Nubia and the Sudan, however, the French scholars of Napoleon's invasion were not able to do any work. In 1819, however, F.G. Gau, a French architect, visited Lower Nubia and published his work⁽²⁾ with the intention of supplementing and completing

the work of Napoleon's scholars in Egypt. Others went further south and more archaeological data became available.⁽³⁾ The most important work which was carried out during the last century was that of the Prussian Mission led by Richard Lepsius.⁽⁴⁾ Its value is beyond estimation for many of the monuments which were published by this mission have now been destroyed or damaged. No archaeological work of great importance was afterwards carried out until Sir E.A.W. Budge made his excavations and published the results of his work there.⁽⁵⁾

The importance of archaeological research beyond the Egyptian southern frontier was soon realized and much organized work was carried out.

Meanwhile, the building and ensuing elevation of the Assuan Dam⁽⁶⁾ accelerated the carrying out of archaeological research in the area to be submerged by the waters of the dam. The Egyptian Government sent successive missions to Lower Nubia for that purpose and the ancient sites on both sides of the river as far as Adindan in Lower Nubia were excavated.⁽⁷⁾

Despite all the archaeological work in both Egypt and the Sudan, which have yielded much information about their history, there is still more work to be done. In fact the greatness of their size, their long history, and their limited resources made it difficult of almost impossible to excavate all the ancient sites in both countries. The Egyptian history during the Pharaonic times is however fairly well known; but, as yet, little is known of the history of the Sudan in this period. The uniformity and interrelation of natural phenomena in both countries and the northerly flow of the River Nile⁽⁸⁾ made "the history of the Sudan always more or less bound up with that of Egypt."⁽⁹⁾

The relations between the two countries in Pharaonic times were always noted by the scholars who treated the history of these countries. Sir E.A.W. Budge remarks, "In fact, it seems that the

Sudan was, even at an early period, regarded as a continuation of Egypt..."⁽¹⁰⁾ and Reisner states that "As Ethiopia was the land of roads between Egypt and Central Africa, its history is inseparably bound with that of Egypt and can only be understood in the light of the history of its great northern neighbour."⁽¹¹⁾ He adds that "From the beginning, the history of Ethiopia has been considered as a pendant to the history of Egypt."⁽¹²⁾

Although Sève Söderbergh described the relations between these two countries till the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom,⁽¹³⁾ he did not give a detailed study of these relations in Pre-history. Historically he gave an excellent account of these relations, but recent discoveries in both countries have added more detail or even given a different point of view from some of his opinions.

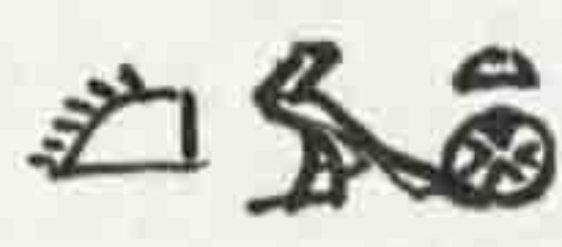
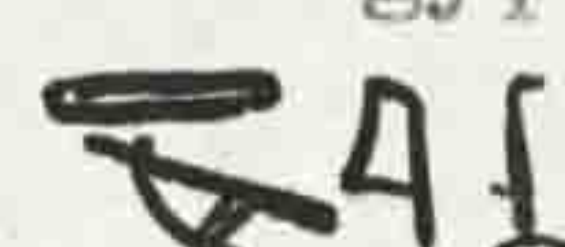
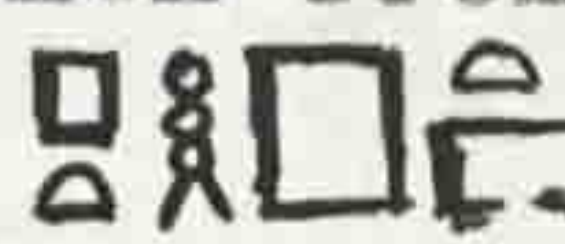
A. J. Arkell in his recent book⁽¹⁴⁾ did not treat of these relations except when it seemed necessary to illustrate some of the events which took place in the history of the Sudan proper.

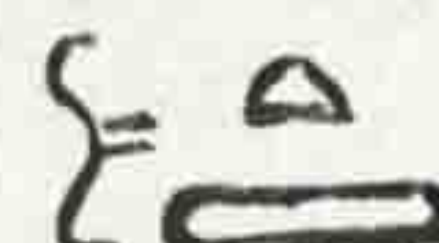
In this work, I aim to give an account of these relations, which seems to me to completely cover their different aspects in all the Pharaonic times and which seems more in accordance with the results obtained from recent discoveries, especially those made since the publication of Sève Söderbergh's book.

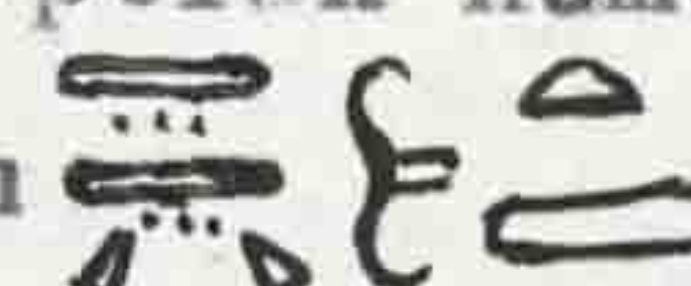
It is noteworthy, however, that Sève Söderbergh called his book "Aegypten und Nubien," Reisner when dealing with the history of the Sudan referred always to that country by the name of "Ethiopia," and Arkell's last book is called "A History of the Sudan." Thus each scholar preferred to give the southern neighbour of Egypt the name which he thought more fitting. Sir Alan Gardiner is inclined to call it "Cush,"⁽¹⁵⁾ for he thinks that "since H3rw and K3š were used widely and contrasted from the reign of Akhenaten onwards, it seems more scientific, because less open to misconception, to retain the Egyptian names themselves, I.E. 'Khor', and 'Cush'," This is also the reason for giving the journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service⁽¹⁶⁾ the name of "Kush," although the Editorial

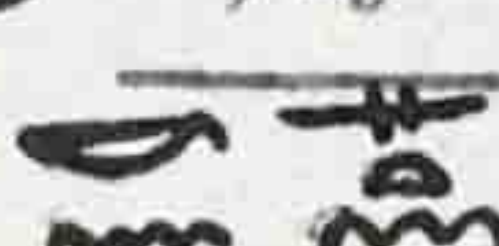
Notes show that it is a journal "devoted to the archaeology and early history of the Sudan".⁽¹⁷⁾

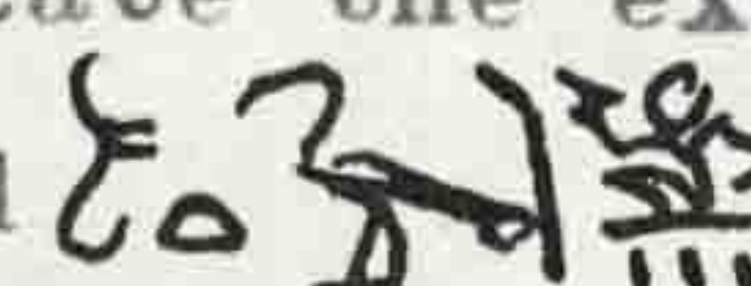
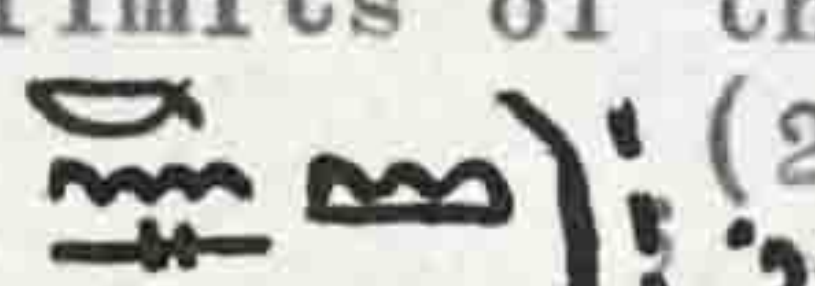
None of these terms, used to denote the southern lands in contact with Egypt, seems to be perfectly fitting. The southern Egyptian frontier was not always the same and so the size of the lands to which it formed a boundary varied. I shall refer to the Changes in these at the appropriate time and according to available historical evidence. The name of Egypt has long survived, but the name of the Sudan has been subject to various changes.

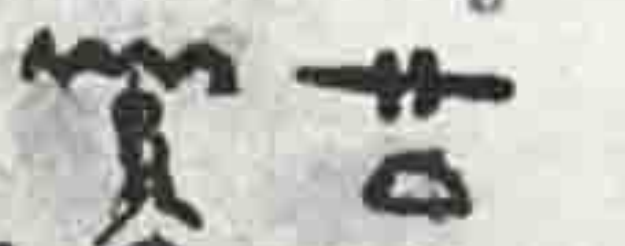
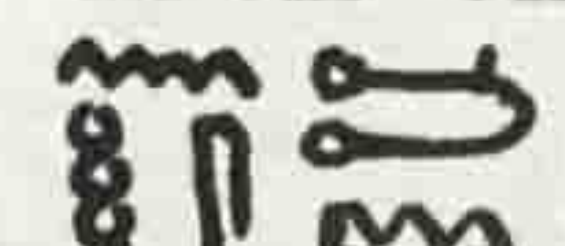


The commonest ancient Egyptian names of their land were  and varr., and  and varr.⁽¹⁸⁾ The modern word "Egypt" is taken from the Greek ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΣ, which in turn was derived from , an ancient name of Memphis.⁽¹⁹⁾


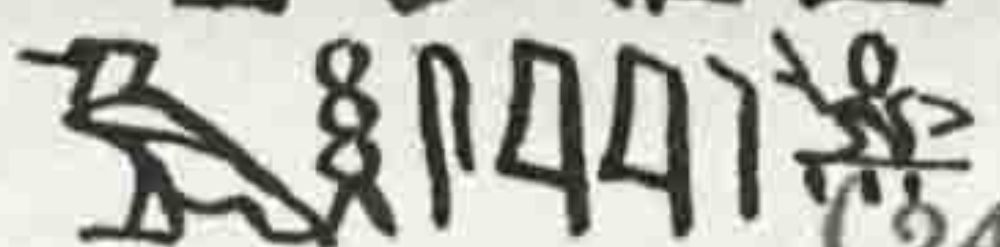
No term for the lands to the south of Egypt has for so long survived. In the earliest times  T?-zti "Ta-Zeti" was applied to both the first Upper Egyptian nome and the Nubian land,⁽²⁰⁾

which may be the origin of the term  T?wy-zti.⁽²¹⁾

Another name given to the southern land was ⁽²²⁾ There


is no evidence to indicate the exact limits of these areas. The inhabitants were called  and ⁽²³⁾ terms which

are evidently derived from the name of the place. Unlike these the terms  (varr. ,  etc.), ,

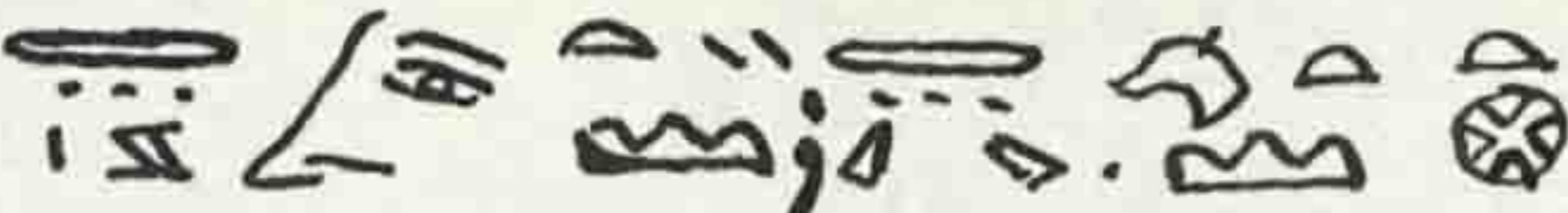
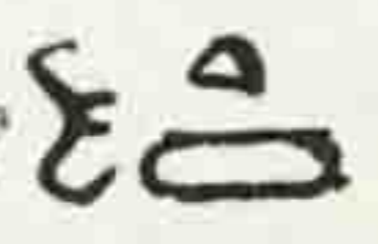

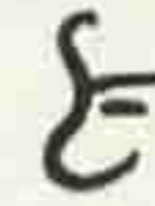
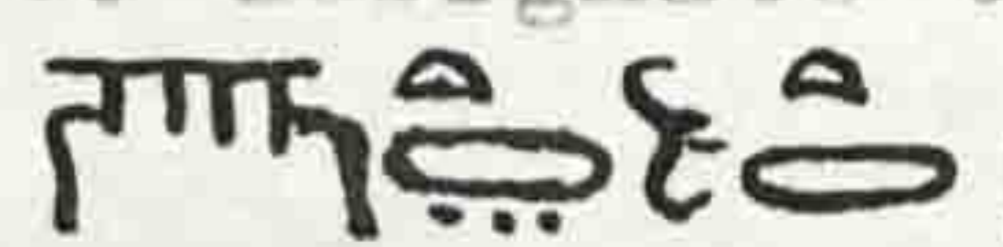
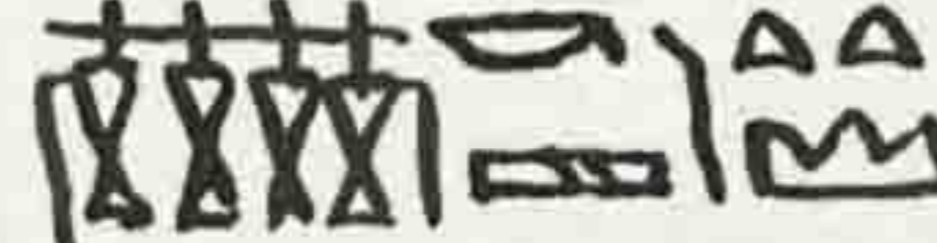
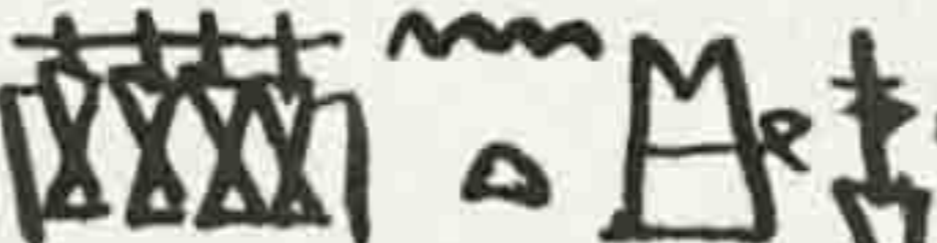
and , were presumably derived from the ethnical term  and varr., which meant "men of Nubian, but not

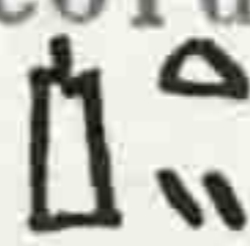
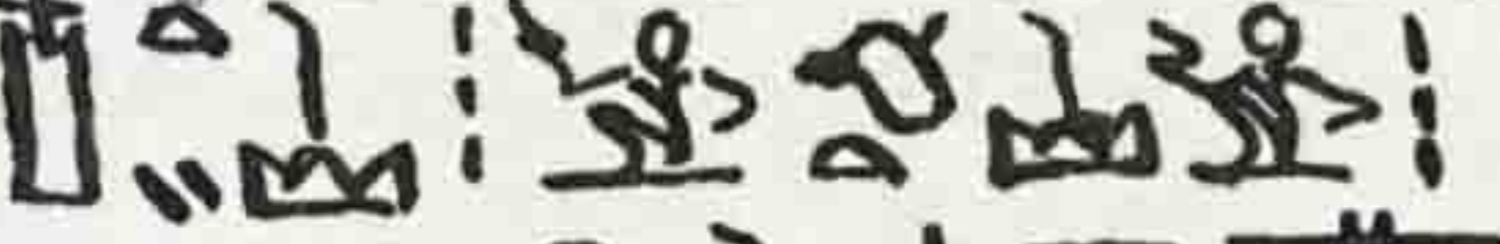
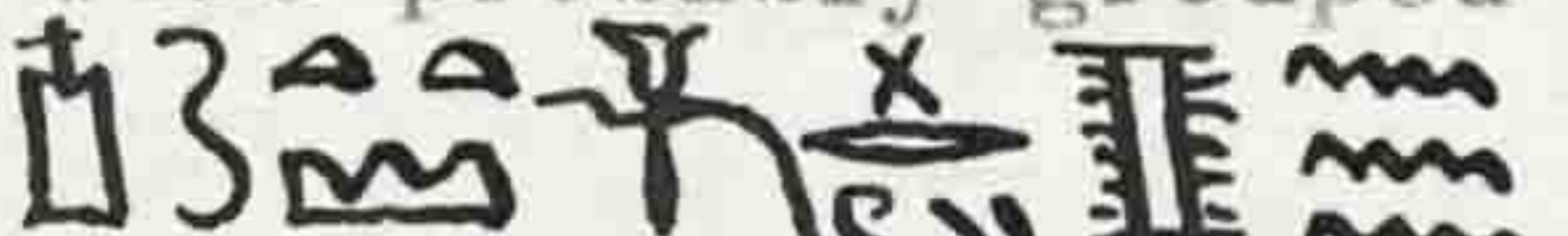
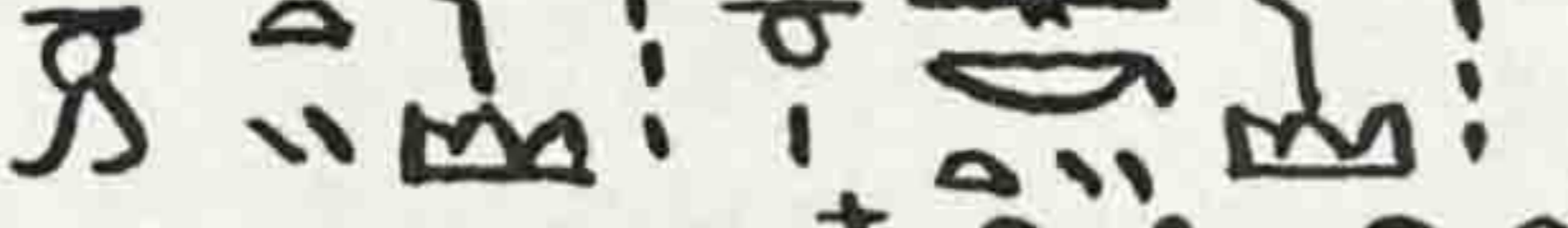

of Negro, race".⁽²⁴⁾ Junker in his article⁽²⁵⁾ stated that the

word 'Neheseyw' designated at all times the inhabitants of south and south-east (of Egypt) and only later referred to the Negroes, and then only through the inclusion of these among the southern people. In most of Egyptian Pharaonic history

we find frequent mention of the Medja  (and varr.)⁽²⁶⁾ giving the impression of a southern people during the

Old and Middle Kingdoms. In the Old Kingdom it referred to

In copying from older texts  (and varr.)⁽³⁵⁾ were written in place of  which was due to confusion between the hieratic forms of  and . This also led to the inaccurate transliteration of these writings as T; hnti which evidently seemed reasonable since the word hnti also means "south" and as such is used in certain compound words to designate the southernmost part of a specific district; thus  Hnt-t;-Zti  Hnt-Ks,  Hnt-hn-nfr meant the most southerly regions of Ta-zeti, Cush and Khent-hennufer,⁽³⁶⁾

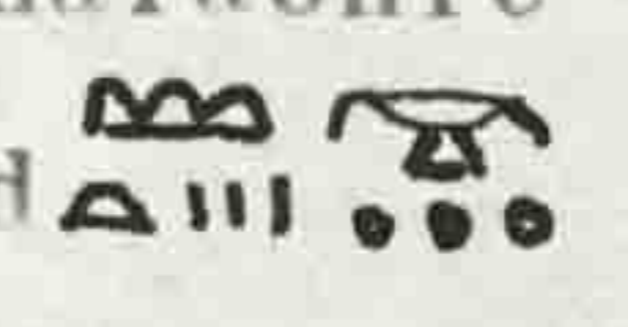
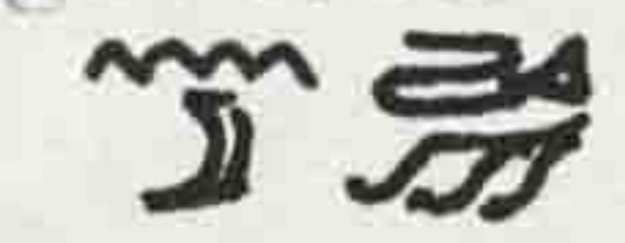
It seems that there was no general rule to form ethnical terms from geographical names of places⁽³⁷⁾, for we find the opposite in some cases.⁽³⁸⁾ Some of the ethnical terms were loosely used because they were derived from, or connected with, regions which are not well defined.⁽³⁹⁾ Others, denoting the population of large areas, are distinguished according to the places or localities in which they lived. Thus the  Iwntyw were probably grouped into  (and varr.), , and , all of which may have been included in the one term  Iwntyw (?).⁽⁴⁰⁾

It is difficult to give a chronological order for these terms but in our present state of knowledge it is probable that the term T;-Zti was first used to designate the southern land (see above, p. 4). It is also probable that T;-Zti was so frequently used that the ethnical term (T;-)Ztyw was formed to designate the inhabitants of this area. When the fame of the Md; became great, this term was widely used (see above, p. 5).

The Iwntyw (Iwnwt), in the past often wrongly translated "Troglydytes", were non-Egyptian tribes whose presence has been recorded from the Old Kingdom onwards, in Sinai, in the Upper Egyptian eastern desert, and above all in Nubia. In the Middle Kingdom the name of the fortress of Uronarti, Hsf Iwntyw⁽⁴¹⁾, indicates that the term included Nubian people living south of the Second Cataract. In the majority of Egyptian texts the term

Iwntyw clearly designates the autochthonous inhabitants of the Nile Valley in Nubia, both Lower and Upper. (42)

The earliest recorded instance of Hnt-hn-nfr occurs in the biography of Ahmose, son of Abana, in an account of a Nubian expedition under Ahmose I. (43) Although never in common use, it appears to have been a general designation of Nubia, and not the name of a fairly restricted district. (44)

None of the above-mentioned terms have survived in current usage, with reference to Nubia and the Sudan, in modern times. The word "Nubia" is used nowadays for that part of the Nile Valley which extends from the First Cataract to approximately Lat. 18 N. (45) The origin of the word "Nubia" is uncertain. It is tempting to derive it from the word nbw "gold", for gold was one of the chief products of Nubia in Pharaonic times and the southern lands are not infrequently called  "the gold lands". The suggestion that there may have been a connection between "Nubia" and  (Copt. ^BNOYBT) (47) has now been disproved. (48)

Eratosthenes (276-196 B.C.) mentioned that the Libyan Nubae were not subject to the Ethiopians. (49) Strabo in his account of his journey (25-24 B.C) said about the geographical distribution of the Ethiopian tribes, "...the remaining parts (of Egypt), those towards the south, are inhabited by Troglodytes, Blemmyes, Nubae, and Megabari, those Aethiopians who live above Syene. These are nomads and not numerous nor warlike either as for those Aethiopians who extend towards the south and Meroë, they are not numerous either." (50) The inscription of Aeizanas, King of Axum, shows that he attacked the Noba who "were in partial possession of the Island of Meroë." (51) The Byzantine historian Procopius mentioned (c. A.D.545) that the Nobatae were introduced by the Roman Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) into Lower Nubia in order to protect the Roman frontier, which had been withdrawn to the First Cataract, from the raids of the Blemmyes and other barbarian tribes. (52) King Silkø describes himself as the King of the NOUBDES

and of all the Ethiopians and states that he made a victorious expedition against the Upper Nobatae.⁽⁵³⁾

The use of these terms suggests that at least one of them has survived in the modern name of Nubia, but it is difficult to know whether they were all derived from one origin or not.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Ethiopia is vaguely used by both classical and modern writers. In classical writings it meant nearly all the southern lands extending from Lower Nubia to Abyssinia. The name still survives in the official name of Abyssinia and is now restricted to that use.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Reisner used this term in most of his works connected with the Sudan. The term probably was derived from the Greek word Αἰθίοψ "burnt face", "Son of Vulcan".

Steindorff assumed⁽⁵⁶⁾ a connection between Αἰθιοπία of the Greeks and Ḥnt-hn-nfr and Ḥnt-hn-nfr, but there is not sufficient evidence to prove such an assumption.

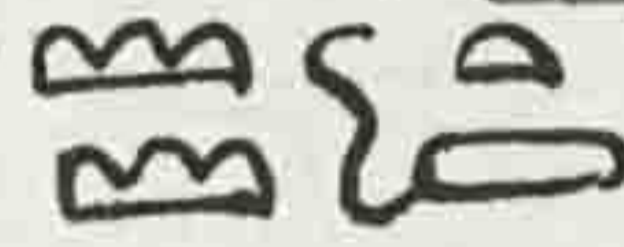


The arabs used the term "Sudan" in much the same way that the Greeks used Αἰθιοπῆες.

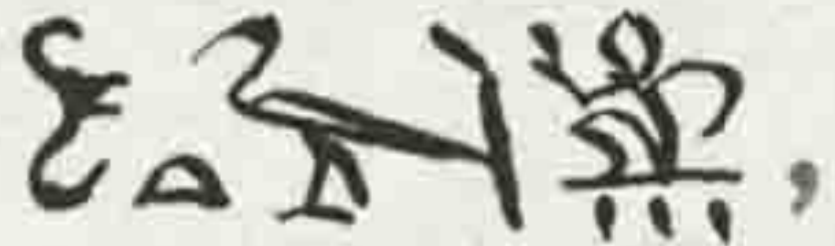
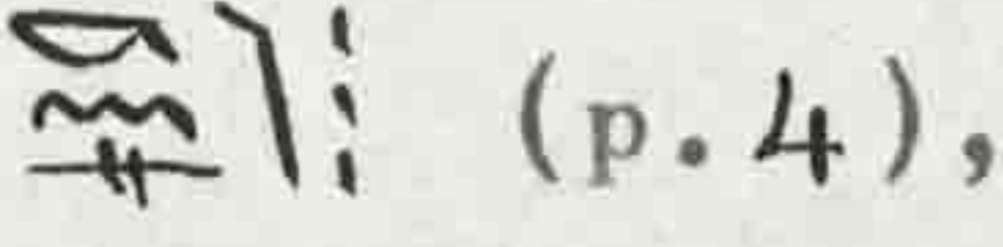
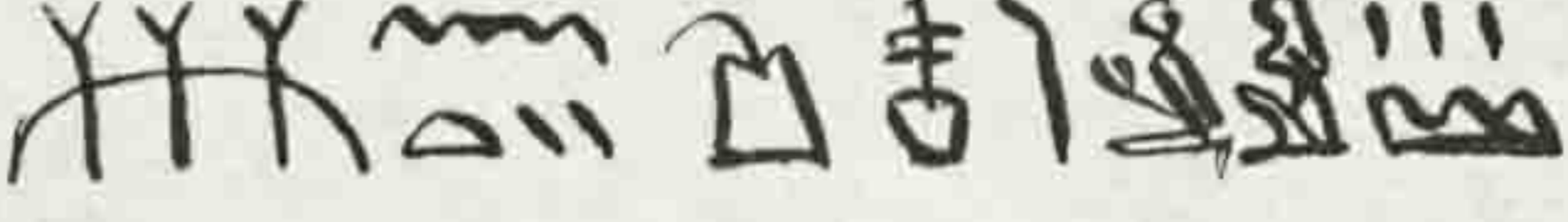
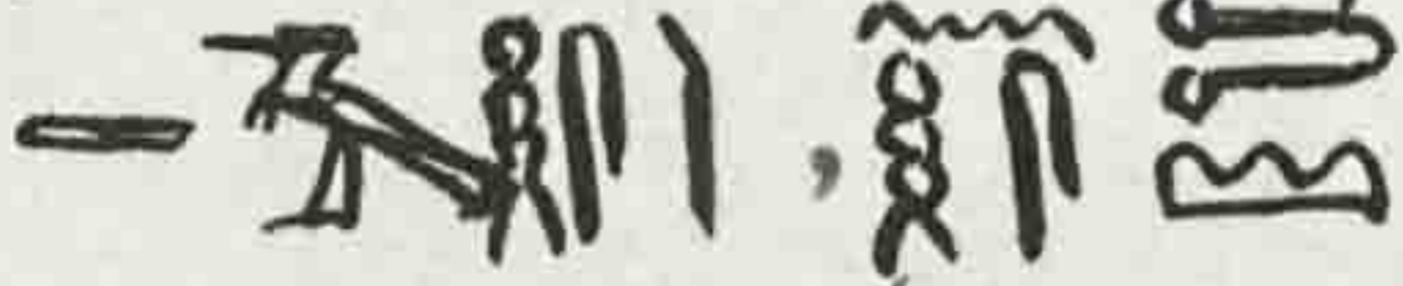
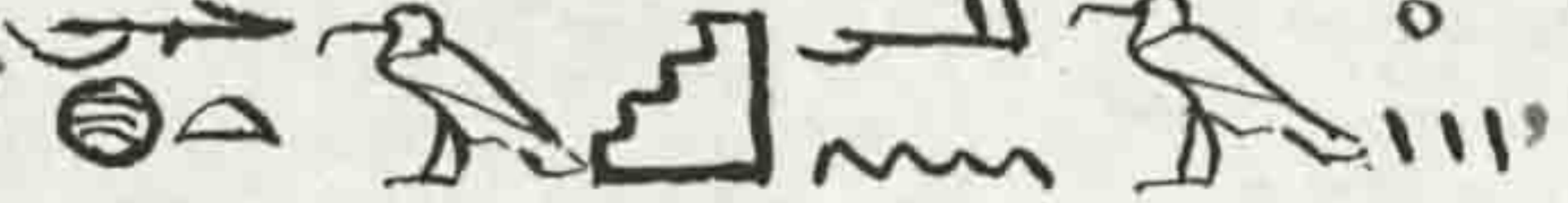
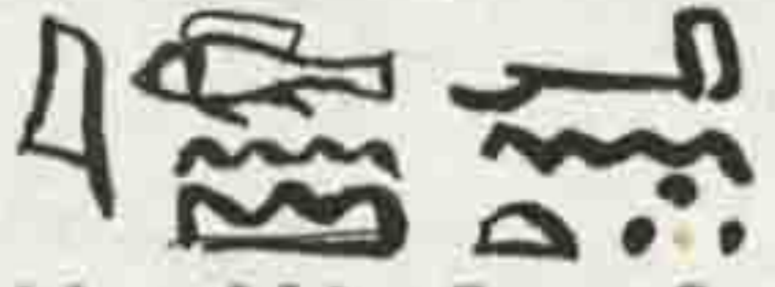
In dealing with relations between Egypt and her southern neighbours, we cannot find any term that could at all times be correctly applied to the lands south of the First Cataract in the same way that "Egypt" can be applied to that part of the Nile Valley north of the First Cataract. Since all the above-mentioned terms have changed their significance through the ages, it seems better to call this work "The Relations Between Egypt and her Southern Neighbours in Pharaonic Times", but as most of these neighbours lay, as far as we know, in Nubia, this last term will be largely used in the following pages.

Introduction

Notes and References.

1. S.A. Huzayyin, The Place of Egypt in Prehistory, 211.
2. F.C. Gau, Antiquités de la Nubie, Paris, 1822,
3. For examples of these see: Budge, The Egyptian Sudan, I, 34-38.
4. This Mission was sent by Fr. Wilhelm IV of Prussia in 1842 to study the remains of the Egyptian and Ethiopian civilizations in the Nile Valley and the neighbouring countries. Its work is published: R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen, Atlas (6 Abt.), Berlin, 1849f. Text (5 Bande), 1 Tafelergänzungsband, Leipzig, 1879f.
5. E.A.W. Budge, The Egyptian Sudan, (2 Vols.), London, 1907.
6. The dam was begun in 1898 (completed in 1902), 1st elevation in 1912 (begun 1907), 2nd elevation in 1933. Excavations were made mainly before these elevations.
7. The 1st mission was led by Reisner in 1907-8 and by Firth in 1908-11, and the 2nd mission was led by Emery-Kirwan in 1929-34.
8. Dr. Abbas Ammar, "The Physical, Ethnographical, Cultural and Economic Bases of the Unity", in The Unity of the Nile Valley, (Paper Issued by the Presidency of Council of Ministers), Caïro, 1947.
9. Addison, "Archaeological Survey of the Sudan", in The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from Within, (edited by Hamilton, 1935), 21.
10. Budge, op. cit., I, 526.
11. Reisner, SNR, I (1908), 4.
12. Reisner, op. cit., 217.
13. T.S. Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubien, (Lund, 1941).
14. A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan, (London, 1955).
15. Sir Alan H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, (Oxford, 1947) I, 180-1.

- 16. Annual Journal, first appeared in January 1953.
- 17. Kush, I, 1.
- 18. See under these words in Gauthier, Dict Geogr.
- 19. Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 138; Erman and Grapow, Aeg. HandW.b., 102.
- 20. Griffith Studies, 361; Kemi, VI, 54ff. These facts would indicate that in early times the boundary of Egypt was considered to be near Silsileh (C.f. also Sethe, Urgeschichte, 152; JEA, 21,29 n. 7; JEA, 30,49).
- 21. Another form is , see Gauthier, op. cit., VI, 10, 31-2.
- 22. Gauthier, op. cit., V, 205; Wb. III, 306.
- 23. Knstyw only in Graeco-Roman texts.
- 24. Gauthier, op. cit., II, 27; III, 97-8; IV, 162; VI, 22; Junker, JEA 7,121ff.; Gardiner, Onom. I, 74.
- 25. Junker, JEA, 7,124-5.
- 26. For the ethnical and geographical variants see Gauthier, op. cit., III, 10, 26-7, 65-6; IV, 158.
- 27. Gardiner, Onom. I, 88-9.
- 28. Gauthier, op. cit., I, 173-4; III, 147; VI, 9-10.
- 29. Reisner, JEA, 6,84.
- 30. Gardiner, ZAS, 45,134.
- 31. Cush was used in its limited sense even during that time (from the reign of Akhenaten onwards) as the administrative counterpart of Wawat. See JEA, 6,83f. Amarah West was probably the capital of Cush in Ramesside times (JEA, 34,11).
- 32. Sethe, Urk. IV, 334.
- 33. Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 162. See also H3st rsynt mht, h3st imntt, h3st (nt) ngbw, ibid, 162, 159, 156.
- 34. Gauthier, op. cit., V, 93. Another corruption which is due to misconception of one of the signs is clear in the writing of  perhaps mixed up with , Gauthier, op. cit., VI, 34.

35. Gauthier, op. cit., VI, 29-30; Junker, Onurislegende, 72; Sethe, Unters. II, 77.
36. Gardiner, Onom, I A34: Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 30, 182-3, 184; VI, 29-30.
37. See above n. 34. In this respect we have also ,  (p. 4),  (Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 183, etc.).
38. Such as  etc. See above p. 4.
39. Such as h;styw rsi (See above, p. 5, n. 33), (Sethe, Urk IV, 83 and Trans., 43), (Legrain, ASA, 4,5) which perhaps corresponds to (Gardiner, Onom. I, 77).
40. Junker, Onurislegende, 72-3, 80; Gauthier op. cit., I, 59; III. 144; IV, 209. C.f. Sethe, Ächtungstexte, 25, 75.
41. Gardiner, Onom. Ramesseum, 174; JEA, 3, 184ff; Onom. I, 10.
42. A convenient summary of the evidence is given by Steindorff in Griffith Studies, 364-8.
43. Urk. IV, 5,5. The name of course may have been an older one, but for the present it has not been found in any earlier text.
44. c.f. Urk IV, 5,5-6; 795,7; Steindorff, op. cit., 361 n. 2.
45. Baedeker, Egypt (1929), 410.
46. There is no record of gold having been brought from Nubia in the Old Kingdom, and as a Nubian product it is first mentioned in texts of the Middle Kingdom. It is of interest to note that in modern Nubian (Fadichian) the word for 'gold' is nwb. C.f the parallel use of  to designate the land of Punt. 
47. MacMichael, Hist. Arabs in the Sudan, I, 12-13.
48. Gardiner, Onom. I, 134; Hölscher, Libyer und Aegypter, 34.
49. Erathostenes in Strabo, Geography, XVII, I,2. Translated in the Loeb edition; Kirwan, Firka, 46.
50. Strabo, op. cit., II, 5,12, Loeb edition; Kirwan, op. cit., 47.

51. Kirwan op. cit., 41; "A Survey of Nubian Origins", in SNR, 20, 49-51.
52. Kirwan, Firka, 39; Firth, Rep. Arch. Nub. 1908-9, 35.
53. Kirwan, ibid; JEA, 21, 57ff; Arkell, A Hist. Sud., 184.
54. See, however, Kirwan, op. cit., 41-43.
55. Dows Dunham, El Kurru, 1.
56. Steindorff, in Griffith Studies, 361.

Chapter I.

Geographical Outline.

It has already been mentioned that the main feature of both Egypt and the Sudan is the River Nile (See above p. 1). After leaving the swampy plain of the Southern Sudan, which extends to Lat. 10 N., i.e. a little to the south of its junction with the Sobat, the White Nile "flows through its alluvial deposits in a wide plain formed from the material furnished by the wearing down of the crystalline rocks on both east and west, where they still form isolated hills of granite and other allied rocks". The Kordofan plateau lies to the west and rises to a height ranging from 600 to 800 metres above sea-level, although some hills may rise a further 200 metres. The rocks in the north of the western desert have been laid bare by erosion through the prevailing north wind which is continually rolling grains of quartz sand from the sandstone, the predominant rock, and building them up into sand-dunes and hills. In the east, three main tributaries run from the Abyssinian mountains in a north-westerly direction to join the Nile between 10 N. and 17 N. "The Abyssinian mountains are continued in a modified form by the Red Sea Hills, which run in a north-west direction to the western shore of the Red Sea until they enter Egypt". To the west of these mountains and hills the rocky desert falls gradually towards the Nile, though a few isolated hills occur near the river. It is probable that these hills and those of Kordofan were connected at some remote period. ⁽¹⁾

North of Khartoum, sand-stone is the predominant rock, overlying the old land surface of crystalline rocks of various kinds.

Much of the overlying sandstone has been removed by continual erosion and the underlying harder rocks are exposed at different points where they offer resistance to the erosive action of the Nile, "and form the numerous rapids which are known, not very accurately, as the cataracts of the Nile".⁽²⁾

At Abu Hamad, about 19 N., the Nile turns about in its course forming the bend of the huge S shape of its course.⁽³⁾ The course of the river is interrupted by rocky islands for about 120 kilometres, from a point nearly 100 kilometres downstream of Abu Hamad to about 18 kilometres above Merowe.⁽⁴⁾ The whole region from Abu Hamad to a little south of Merowe is poor with limited agriculture on both sides of the river. Between Merowe and Argo Island lies the most populated area in the Nile Valley from Khartoum to Assuan, for the Nile flows here gently, without any obstacles in its course and there is wider agricultural land.⁽⁵⁾

The third cataract extends north of Argo as a continual series of rocky islands in the course of the river, until they give way to the Second Cataract near Wadi Halfa⁽⁶⁾; i.e. the 3rd and the 2nd cataracts can be considered as connected. For this reason the Nile Valley in this region is known as "Batn-el-Hagar," i.e. the "Belly of the Stone or the Rocks".

Between Abu Hamad and Korosko, the Bayuda Desert rises to about 820 metres above the river, at its highest point. Generally speaking, beds of Nubian sand-stone have been laid down on the old crystalline rocks through most of this desert. The desert on the western side of the river is flatter and rarely exceeds 500 metres in altitude. The narrow strips of alluvial land on either side of the river, between W. Halfa and Assuan, could be cultivated until the erection of the Assuan Dam. These lands are now submerged by the storage water.

From Wadi Halfa to the Assuan Cataract the river is navigable and free from rocky barriers. Here sandstone is predominant, except at Kalabsha, where we meet the crystalline rocks again.⁽⁷⁾

North of Assuan the Nile flows in a fertile valley, separated from the Red Sea hills, of old crystalline rocks, by a plateau of cretaceous and tertiary sandstone, sloping gradually westwards from the Red Sea towards the Nile Valley. On the west, "the desert plateau rised rapidly from the valley, often as steep cliffs, and more gradually for some 10-20 kilometres beyond this".⁽⁸⁾

In its course from Assuan northwards, the river tends to cut through its right side and make its alluvial valley on its left; but this is not the rule at Qena and in the Delta, south of Rashid Branch, where the desert comes close to the river, The river valley begins from Aswan as a narrow strip, but it suddenly increases in size at Kom Ombo and then becomse narrower again until it reaches Idfu. Thereafter it widens considerably until Qena, where the Nile changes its course and the Libyan plateau falls close to the valley.⁽⁹⁾ About 60 kilometres soutwest of Cairo a deep depression in the desert lies to the west of the Nile Valley, and is connected with it through a narrow opening in the desert hills. This depression is occupied by the Fayum Province and, in its lowest part, by Lake Qarun, which lies about 45 metres below sea level. To the north of Cairo the river now divides into two main branches which reach the Mediterranean.

It is noteworth that no tributary flows into the Nile between Khartoum and its mouth, except the Atbara, but there are some dry valleys which are connected with the Nile on both sides. These dry valleys do not supply the Nile with water now, but in ancient times they could have acted as tributaries in periods of greater rainfall in these areas.

At present, the area, extending from 10 N. to Khartoum (about 15 37" N.) is affected by the seasonal rain caused by the southerly winds passing over the southern oceans in Summer, while during

eight months of the year (October to May) the climatic conditions are of the Saharan type and north-east trade-winds prevail. The rainfall, however, "varies considerably, diminishing rapidly from south to north, while on the steppes on either side precipitation is feeble".⁽¹⁰⁾ The maximum rainfall is about 130 mm., most of which falls in July and August,

Between Khartoum and Assuan lies one of the driest regions in the world, its climate is continental and of the Saharan type proper. From Assuan to Minyeh (Middle Egypt) there is a slight difference in climatic conditions. By reason of its dryness it can be considered as a region within the desert belt. The rest of Egypt has a Mediterranean climate, but there is no part of Egypt or the Sudan, up to 10 N., which can rely for its life on the yearly rainfall.

These climatic conditions were not always the same and even the river system changed during the Ancient Geological Eras. In this present work it is not within our scope to discuss all the changes which occurred, but it is sufficient to refer to the changes which have taken place since man appeared, or those which had an effect, direct or indirect, on his civilization and existence.

In Early and Middle Pliocene a great stretch of land in N.E. Africa was sinking below sea-level, with the result that the Mediterranean advanced up the Nile Valley, converting a long stretch of it into a marine gulf reaching a height of about 180 metres above the present sea-level,⁽¹¹⁾ and further south than Edfou.⁽¹²⁾ In Late (Upper) Pliocene the sea retreated again and the River Nile began to cut its course, which was not completed as we see it today until as late as the Middle Palaeolithic.⁽¹³⁾

During the Plio-Pleistocene Periods also the climate was not the same as at present, and one may safely assume that a glacial phase in the northern latitudes of the globe, or a warm inter-

glacial one corresponded to a pluvial one in the middle and lower latitudes, while a cold interglacial phase corresponded to a period of much reduced seasonal rainfall.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus the glacial and warm interglacial phases of Europe corresponded to pluvial ones in Egypt and the Sudan, while the cold interglacial phases of Europe corresponded to dry phases in Egypt and the Sudan.

The retreat of the sea from over the Lower Nile Valley, which took place in Upper Pliocene, was accompanied by a gradual increase of precipitation.⁽¹⁵⁾ Thus the Nile had a greater volume and flooded over a wider plain than at present. Palaeolithic man had to live on the plateaus on each side. When the desiccation began and the river deepened its course, retreating from the previous area of its flood-plain, man had to come down, following the course of the river and living in its vicinity.

The first existence of man or human-like creatures is disputable. Some scholars think that he existed in the uppermost Pliocene,⁽¹⁶⁾ while others think that he first appeared in the Early Pleistocene.⁽¹⁷⁾ Those who accept his existence in the Pliocene, however, give a long duration to the Pre-chellean or Eolithic, Chellean and Acheulean cultures.⁽¹⁸⁾ In any case, when man followed the course of the river, he left behind his industries on the higher ground, on which he had been living before the river decreased, and thus we have terraces on both sides of the river which show man's earliest stages of civilization in the Nile Valley.

Along the sides of the Nile Valley there are the remains of a series of gravel terraces, which were formed by the river in successive stages, when it was flowing above its present-day flood plain. A general idea of these terraces can be obtained from the accompanying figure (Fig. 1), which shows a section across the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt. Not all these terraces can be seen in one place at the same time on either side of the river, for some of them have been removed by denudation.⁽¹⁹⁾ The highest terraces belong

to the more ancient geological eras, but those at the 150, 100 and 50 foot levels above the present vally floor belong to the Early Pléistocene times.⁽²⁰⁾ The 150 foot terrace contains no human implements, but the other two contain remains of Chellean and Acheulean cultures (Early or Lower Palaeolithic).⁽²¹⁾

Apart from other factors, such as aggradation in parts of the Nile Valley,⁽²²⁾ these terraces are due to the increase in precipitation. They are "formed almost entirely of local material which was brought into the valley by local rainfall, especially on the eastern desert".⁽²³⁾ They are mostly like their smaller counterparts in the tributary wadis.

There is also evidence in both the Fayyum depression⁽²⁴⁾ and Kharga Oasis⁽²⁵⁾ of the existence of such a climate in the past, which enabled men to live in areas now completely arid.

The conclusion drawn from the study of the Nile terraces, of the beaches of Lake Qarun (at the bottom of the Fayyum Depression) and of the Pleistocene tufas in Kharga Oasis (which are mixed with the remains of plants, thus indicating pluvial conditions) all agree, in general, that climatic conditions were more favourable than they are now, and made it possible for man to live on the now entirely dry Plateau.

Generally speaking, there was a gradual increase of rainfall in the Nile Valley before the Lower Palaeolithic (Pre-Chellean ?), which led to the heavy rain-fall known from the 30 and 17 metre (100 and 50 foot) terraces and the formation of the Tufa on the plateau in Kharga Oasis. This was followed by conditions of aridity, during the Upper Acheulian and Pre-Sebelian periods, which did not last long. There was a greater rainfall after this, especially in the Western Desert, leading to the formation of the Wadi Tufas. On the other hand, the Eastern Desert was losing its rainfall by that time and becoming more desert-like. During the Upper Palaeolithic there was a gradual increase of dryness in Upper Egypt and the Wadis of the Eastern Desert. The last phase

gave way to a wet one during the Early Neolithic and it was possibly warmer than at present. In Early Historic times dryer conditions set in very gradually with minor climatic oscillations, but the present aridity was not finally established until after the Roman times,⁽²⁶⁾ These climatic oscillations certainly caused tribal movements and resettlements and there are traces of these on different levels on both sides of the river. The terraces which contained these remains cannot be traced in all parts of the Lower Nile Valley, for some of them have been completely buried under the present river silt, which is the result of the changing of the river's course in some parts of the valley. This change of the river's course can be traced especially in the regions of the First and Second Cataracts, where the river has abandoned its older plains, which lie to the east of the present.⁽²⁷⁾ Through this westward change of course of the river the old settlements on its west bank vanished. The diversion of the river can also be traced in the regions of the Third, Fourth and Sixth Cataracts.⁽²⁸⁾ Whatever the reasons for this lateral change of the Nile's course,⁽²⁹⁾ high deposits of silt choking the mouths of the Eastern Desert Wadis and the ancient eastern channels at Nag^h Hamadi and Assuⁿ, give evidence that desert conditions, which had set in in this region by the end of the Middle Palaeolithic period,⁽³⁰⁾ were accompanied by the deepening of the river in its present course.

From the foregoing account and a study of a physical map of the Nile Valley, we can observe the resemblance between the neighbouring regions of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia. The other parts of the Nile Valley, lying at the extremes, had different conditions, and cultural contact was through this middle part, which acted as a medium or region of transition.

The deserts on both sides of the valley were, and still are, difficult to cross, so that travellers, once across them, would

naturally prefer to settle in the Nile Valley alongside the original inhabitants, rather than recross them. Their racial characteristics may be distributed widely and mixed with those of other races, but their traces, however modified, appear in the racial constitution of the population. (31)

It is obvious that there are different approaches to our part of the Nile Valley, that is Egypt and the Sudan up to 10 N. (32) The northern route was not used until the later periods, or at least until the ancient people could cross the Mediterranean. From the north-east the Nile Valley received Semitic groups and influences, while from the north-west, it received racial influences from the Libyan Desert and the north-west coast of Africa. Through the southern approach Hamitic groups came into the Nile Valley, from East Africa. Wadi Hammamat was undoubtedly one of the most important routes which brought racial elements into Egypt. They crossed the Red Sea and the Eastern Desert to the Nile Valley. Some of their representatives still wander between the Red Sea and the Nile Valley.

We can conclude from the above that different parts of the Nile Valley varied in their racial constitution. The eastern part of the Nile Delta was more exposed to the Semitic invasions, while its western part was more affected by the Libyans and its central part was comparatively protected. Middle Egypt might have been the least mixed in its population, because it is protected by the Delta in the north and by Upper Egypt in the south. The deserts on both sides have few valleys and the Nile bends westwards away from the Red Sea coast. But this can only be theoretical, because Middle Egypt was on the other hand subject to invaders from the north, east and south, when they expanded their territory. As for Upper Egypt, it was free from the northern invasions, but suffered invasion from the south along the Nile, from the south-east through the dry valleys of the Eastern Desert, and, at the river bend of Qena, from both east and west, especially in the Middle Ages, when

it lay on the old route followed by the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.

Lower ~~Egypt~~^{Nubia}, on the whole, does not facilitate east travelling. The valley is very narrow, and the rocks and river obstacles to the north and south of this part make navigation towards it from either side extremely difficult. The comparative richness of Upper Egypt and the Dongala region did not encourage its people to migrate to Lower Nubia, which seemed less favourable; the result of this was that it was probably unpopulated at certain times.⁽³³⁾

Upper Nubia, the Sudan north of Khartoum, was subject to racial influences from all directions, except, in early times, from the north.

In spite of all efforts made by scholars, nothing is known about the first inhabitants of the Nile Valley. Judging from the remains of the ancient cultures, we can only conclude that the chief kernel-zone of Lower Palaeolithic was the Saharan Area (the Saharo-Arabian land-mass including N. Africa and N. Arabia).⁽³⁴⁾ We do not know the original home-land of the first Lower Palaeolithic occupants of the Nile Valley and the adjacent cliffs. It is doubtful whether the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic in the Nile Valley received any outside influence, and although there is a resemblance between the Egyptian Pre-dynastic cultures and those outside the Nile Valley, yet nothing is certain about the people who introduced these cultures.⁽³⁵⁾ It seems possible that the Nile Valley received cultural influence from the north and north-east and conveyed it to the south along the Nile. On the west it is probable that it played the dual part of receiving and contributing.⁽³⁶⁾

No human remains of the Palaeolithic settlers in or near the Nile Valley have been found,⁽³⁷⁾ and scholars have tried in vain to identify them from the remains of later periods.⁽³⁸⁾ The most ancient remains which have been studied show that there were different types living together in these areas.

As the Egyptian civilization was so highly developed, it would be interesting to discover the race responsible for creating it. The absence of any single race at any period of its history can only prove that the Egyptian civilization was due to the contact of different races which inhabited the country and similar races which lived in the neighbouring lands. Although Egypt, as a part of the Nile Valley, can be regarded as having forced the newly arrived inhabitants to acclimatize and mix with the original population (see above, p. 20), yet it cannot be proved that the mixture had produced a distinct race.⁽³⁹⁾ There has never been an Egyptian, but there have always been Egyptians.⁽⁴⁰⁾

It is almost certain that the most active race in North Africa (including the Nile Valley) was the Brown (Mediterranean) race, especially of the Hamitic Groups.⁽⁴¹⁾ Representatives of other types were also living together in this part of the world from the earliest times. These two races are the Brown (Hamitic Groups) and the Negro-type races. The former was the most important, while the other was little represented, especially in the Dynastic Periods.⁽⁴²⁾

Faulkenburger, in his comprehensive study of the Egyptian craniology, pointed out three main races and their admixtures, but his so-called "A Group", being scarcely represented⁽⁴³⁾ and being as he said "Cromagnoid", which as a forerunner of the human race is now seldom considered, it is safe to regard the inhabitants of Egypt as only of the two main races which have been mentioned and their admixture. It is possible, however, that the Cromagnon race was once predominant in the Nile Valley, as it had been in many parts of the Old World, before it was pushed out or conquered by newcomers. We cannot tell for certain which of the two mentioned races came first, but because the Lower Palaeolithic cultures were of the Saharan Area Kernel-zone (see above, p. 21), and the Negro

race is an ancient one,⁽⁴⁴⁾ it is probable that, since it was largely represented in Upper Egypt in the Eneolithic⁽⁴⁵⁾ as well as in the Old Stone Age in Khartoum,⁽⁴⁶⁾ it had been the first to come to the Nile Valley, or at least that it was contemporary with a weak Brown race wave in the beginning, with the latter increasing in later times.⁽⁴⁷⁾ We have no idea whether this Brown race came from the north and north-east or from the south-east of the Nile Valley. It is also uncertain whether the Negro race had originally come from Africa or from south-west Asia, for we still see surviving representatives of this race in Southern Arabia, India and Australia.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The wide dispersal of this race in earlier times⁽⁴⁹⁾ and its decrease afterwards can only mean either that it had been a little earlier than the Brown race, which came to the Nile Valley following the same routes as those followed by its forerunners, or that it had arrived in the Nile Valley at the same time as a comparatively small wave of the Brown race, which increased later and pushed it out especially towards the south.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The fact that the Kernel-zone for the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic cultures was the Eurasiatic Steppes does not have any racial significance for us, because Egypt remained almost unaffected by its neighbours during these periods.⁽⁵¹⁾ The wide distribution of these Hamitic Groups continued undisturbed until the Egyptian Old Kingdom, when new types were introduced into Egypt. These latter had Armenian characteristics which could be traced in some of the Fifth Dynasty burials in the Giza Necropolis.⁽⁵²⁾ Another wave from the opposite direction came in to the Nile Valley and reached as far north as Lower Nubia. This new wave was of negroid elements, forming with the original population what is known as the B Group, which inhabited Lower Nubia during the Fourth to Sixth Egyptian Dynasties.⁽⁵³⁾ A more negroid type advanced again into Lower Nubia and this was termed the C Group, or Middle Nubians, who were contemporary with the Seventh to Sixteenth Dynasties.

The northern admixture of the Armenians and the southern of the Negroid types both advanced towards each other later on and the racial forms became more complicated. Moreover new waves followed from the north-east and north-west, represented especially by the Hyksos and the Libyans, so that it became extremely difficult to distinguish the old races except by continual and comprehensive studies.

Considering the different circumstance which gave rise to the Egyptian civilization and the relations between Egypt and its southern neighbour, it seems that environment had played the major role in creating them. Whether this civilization had been originated in the Nile Valley or brought in from outside is still an unsettled problem, ⁽⁵⁵⁾ but it is quite certain that the environment had determined the nature of this civilization and the relations between the two neighbours. There is no doubt, moreover, that no race that settle in the Nile Valley remained un-Egyptianized.

Chapter I

Notes and References.

1. Lyons, Nile Basin Physiogr., 9.
2. Lyons, op. cit., 10, 245.
3. Sandford and Arkell, Paleol. Man 1933, 4.
4. Lyons, op. cit., 257.
5. Mohamed Awad, Nahr En-Nil (in Arabic), 110, 112.
6. About 9 kilometres south of Wadi Halfa.
7. Granite with diorite veins, Lyons, op. cit., 260; Moh. Awad, op. cit., 115.
8. Lyons, op. cit., 293.
9. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 3, mention that "the igneous rocks sink beneath the ground for the last time on the Nile's course to the sea, and the Nubian sandstone closes in on both sides as far as Esna. Physiographically this reach is at first a direct continuation of Lower Nubia".
10. Lyons, op. cit., 163.
11. John Ball, Contributions to the Geography of Egypt, 27.
12. S.A. Huzayyin, The Place of Egypt in Prehistory, 151; Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 83, and maps at end.
13. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 117 note 1; Ball, op. cit., 74-9.
14. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 329-330 and Table XII, 144.
15. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 1 (Table I and 111 (Table IX end)).
16. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 164-5.
17. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., pp. XV and 18-19.
18. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 193-4 and Table XII, gives these cultures a duration of the 1st Pluvial till the 2nd Pluvial, which correspond to the glacial phases M-- R, R and R - W. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 72-73, 83, also give a long duration to the Chellean culture.

19. Ball, op. cit., 42ff.; Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 18-47. The authors state that "The most complete series is to be found on a prominent spur on the left bank 7 miles upstream from Korosko", occurring at 300, 250, 150 and 100 feet.
20. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 150ff; Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 25ff.
21. In one locality in Nubia (at Dehmit) there is an intermediate terrace of 75 feet. See Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 25, 29-30.
22. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 150ff (especially 155).
23. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 154.
24. Caton-Thompson and Gardiner, "Recent Work on the Problem of Lake Moeris", G.J. Vol. LXXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1929, 21-6; Ball, op. cit., 178-184; S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 82-88.
25. Caton-Thompson and Gardner (E.W.), "The Prehistoric Geography of Kharga Oasis", G.J. Vol. LXXX, No. 5, Nov. 1932, 396-409; S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 88-94.
26. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 85; S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 107-111, 156-159.
27. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 57-62; Ball, op. cit., 33.
28. Arkell, "The Old Stone Age in the Ang.-Eg. Sudan", (SASOP, No. 1, 1949), 34ff.
29. c.f. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 150ff.; Sandford and Arkell, ibid; Arkell, "Old Stone Age", (SASOP, 1), 48; Ball, op. cit., 33, 79ff.
30. See above p. ; Ball, op. cit., 33.
31. Dr. Frederic Faulkenburger, Craniol. Eg., 43.
32. There is no known history of the part south of Lat. 10 N. in the Nile Valley before A.D. 1821. See Arkell, A Hist. of Sudan, 2.
33. Emery and Kirwan, Es Sebua, I, 21; Addison, Guide, 24.
34. S.A. Huzayyin, op. cit., 332.

35. c.f. Arkell, A Hist. of Sud., 34; Huzayyin, op. cit., 335; Baumgartel, Cultures Prehist. Eg., 49-51.
36. c.f. however Huzayyin, op. cit., 334.
37. The first human remains which have been found in Upper Egypt and Nubia are Neolithic. See Massoulard, Préhistoire et Protohistoire d'Égypte, 386-8, 424.
38. Faulkenburger, op. cit., 3, 13.
39. Moret admitted that the Egyptian racial stock was not pure, being "not African, nor Asiatic nor Mediterranean" and considered that the Egyptian racial type was a mixture of all these elements. Gabriel Hanoteaux, Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne, Tome 1, 4,6.
40. Faulkemburger, op. cit., 41.
41. Haddon, The Races of Man, 37. See also Faulkenburger, op. cit., 24.
42. Faulkenburger, op. cit., 24; Arkell, "Old Stone Age" (SASOP, 1), 51, states that there is "no evidence of Negroid mixture to the north of Khartoum".
43. It represented 1% in the Middle Kingdom and its maximum was in Naqada (Pre-dynastic) at 12%. It was absolutely absent in Dyn. 20 in Philae and Dyn. 22 in Thebes. The Brown Race was represented by 40-60% increasing in Dyn. 22 (Thebes) to 85%, while the Negro Race was 30-40% in Upper Egypt during the Eneolithic and Pre-dynastic times but decreasing to 2-17% from the beginning of Dynastic times (Faulkenburger, ibid). C.f., however, Massoulard, op. cit., 386-426.
44. Arkell, op. cit., 24.
45. In the Eneolithic and Pre-dynastic in Upper Egypt it was represented by 30-40%. See Faulkenburger, ibid.
46. Arkell, ibid.
47. See above p. n. 43. (This race was 22 % in the Eneolithic, and then increased in Pre-dyn. to 35%). Faulkenburger, ibid.
48. Arkell, ibid.
49. It was represented even in France; See Faulkenburger, op. cit.,

40.

- 50. The study made by Junker, "The First Appearance of Negroes in History", JEA, 7, 121ff., showed (p. 123) that the Negroid admixture in Nubia was less than in Egypt. This seems to favour our point of view.
- 51. Huzayyin, op. cit., 332-3.
- 52. Haddon, op. cit., 37-8.
- 53. Reisner, "Report" (Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I), 6; Haddon, ibid.
- 54. Reisner, op. cit., 6, 33-51.
- 55. Baumgartel, op. cit., 20ff., 49ff.; Huzayyin, op. cit., 334.

Chapter II

The Early Occupants of the Nile Valley.

It has already been mentioned (see above, pp.16 ff) that climatic conditions in the Nile Valley and the surrounding deserts were not as dry as they are nowadays. These conditions enabled human beings to live in areas which are now completely arid. It has also been pointed out that traces of a "Cromagnonoid Race" are found in the Egyptian craniology since the Pre-historic Period, as well as in different parts of ~~Europe~~^{the world} (see above. p.22). Whether there had been one or several Kernel-zones for the human origins, it seems that this race had been widely distributed in the Old World.⁽¹⁾

Because of the immense humidity ⁽²⁾ during the Lower Palaeolithic the remains of this period's cultures are not found immediately on the Nile banks but further out in isolated regions of the deserts.

Sites of the Lower Palaeolithic cultures which exist in the 100 feet (the Chellean) and 50 feet (Acheulean) terraces can be traced from Halfa to Cairo, with the exceptions that at Dehmit the Acheulean is represented in a terrace of 75 feet and that erosion had affected the 50 feet terraces in some parts of the Lower Nile Valley, especially between Isna and Luxor.⁽³⁾ To the south of the Second Cataract some archaeological work has recently been done in connection with the Pre-historic times in the Sudan. These are by no means sufficient to give a complete picture or of these periods, for much is still needed in order to reconstruct an accurate outline of the events which took place during these remote times. According to our present knowledge, however, Lower Palaeolithic cultures are represented in sites extending from

Khor Abu Anga (north of Omdurman) to Abri, but from Abri to Wadi Halfa industries of these cultures could not be found except to the west of the actual Nile Valley. This, as Arkell concludes,⁽⁴⁾ is due to the fact that the Nile may have been flowing in a channel to the west of its present course.⁽⁵⁾ From the wide spread of these cultures in North Africa it seems probable that they were dominant all over this region,⁽⁶⁾ as it lies in the Saharo-Arabian area, which was the chief kernel-zone of the Lower Palaeolithic in the Old World.⁽⁷⁾

Whether the Middle Palaeolithic industries had developed locally in the Nile Valley from those of the Lower Palaeolithic,⁽⁸⁾ or through an outside influence, much is still needed to prove the real provenance of this culture into the Nile Valley.⁽⁹⁾

It seems probable that the Old World had been divided into two main areas in connection with the Upper Palaeolithic. The Eurasiatic Steppeland zone and the African zone. It is also possible that the Eurasiatic Steppeland zone was active in the earlier stage of this period, but Africa had played its part⁽¹⁰⁾ and developed a special culture known as the Capsian. Another form had existed in Egypt known as the Sebilian.⁽¹¹⁾ This proves that, because of the change in climatic conditions, people began to settle down in limited regions with less outside contacts, so that a sort of specialization began to exist.

During this period a "pygmoid" race was widely spread in Africa and Western Europe.⁽¹²⁾ It is an early form of the Bushmen who are now confined to the Kalahari Desert. The skull found at Singa belongs to the same race.⁽¹³⁾ It is probable that this race resulted from the admixture of a tall race with pygmies and because of the wide spread of the Capsian and the related cultures in Africa and Europe, ~~while~~ ^{and since} the Eurasiatic Steppeland zone played an important part in the early stages of the Mid. Palaeolithic, it seems possible that this "pygmoid" race came, bringing this culture, through South West ~~Asia~~ East Africa and spread into

two main branches. One spread north and north-west reaching as far as West Europe and the other moved south and south-west, across the Sahara, to South Africa.⁽¹⁴⁾

The tendency to regional specialization became more and more clear and the following cultures are so remarkably different that the many problems concerning their origin and diffusion gave rise to different theories.⁽¹⁵⁾ In the Nile Valley there is still much to be done in order to know the connection between its cultures and their contemporaries.

Badari

The earliest Egyptian Pre-dynastic culture is the Badarian.⁽¹⁶⁾ Its settlements, as far as we know, are limited to the region of Badari, but Badarian sherds and objects have been found at Armant, Hieraconpolis, and Mahasna. A burial at Grassy Valley in the South Libyan Desert⁽¹⁷⁾ contained a ripple pot reminiscent of some Badarian types,⁽¹⁸⁾ but there is no evidence that the burial was actually Badarian in date. De Bono has claimed to have found Badarian burials at Lageita in the Wadi Hammamat⁽¹⁹⁾ but the attribution is by no means assured.

The settlements on the borders of the Nile Valley are on the low spurs, but they were all intensely denuded. No traces of brick buildings were found and so it is possible that they lived in dwellings of perishable materials.⁽²⁰⁾ Traces of granaries, stone querns, emmer (Triticum dicoccum) and barley were found.⁽²¹⁾

They buried their dead in cemeteries, separated from their settlements and normally to the east of them.⁽²²⁾ The grave was usually circular or oval, and rarely rectangular with rounded angles. Occasionally it had a niche on the west side, large enough for one or two pots. Some of the graves may have been roofed with sticks and matting. The bodies were loosely contracted, mostly on the left side, with the head to the south and facing west. They were covered with fine matting or hides and sometimes

put in wicker hampers. Occasionally a sort of pillow was found under the head and traces of cloth were found between the body and its cover or coffin. ⁽²³⁾

The Badarians were of both fine and heavy built races. The last mentioned is not predominant, for the Badarians are in fact nearer to the Hamites, who resemble the Dravidians in India and the Vedda in Ceylon. ⁽²⁴⁾

Animals were buried in the same cemeteries, in the same kind of graves and in the same way as the human beings, but without equipment. They were mainly oxen (probably cows), dogs or jackals, sheep and goats. This practice of burying animals was common in Nubia, in the B Group Period and even later. ⁽²⁵⁾

Their flint industry is rough and poor. It is predominantly a core industry using surface nodules and ignoring the excellent flint in the limestone cliffs in the neighbourhood. This indicates that the Badarians were unacquainted with flint and apparently unable to mine it and suggests that the Badarians had come from a district where there was no flint. ⁽²⁶⁾ The slate palettes show a high degree of accomplishment ⁽²⁷⁾ but there is little to link them with those of the later Pre-dynastic Periods.

The pottery is the most important achievement in the Badarian civilization. ⁽²⁸⁾ All the wares are hand made and their best specimens are the finest ever made in Egypt. The main features of these are the absence of lips and handles, the rippling on certain types, the preference for open bowl-like forms with rounded bases and carinated form in certain classes. They were of either rough or fine wares. ⁽²⁹⁾ The rough wares are usually brown, rough or pebble burnished. Their common forms are bowls and (large) cooking vessels. They were usually found in the settlements. The fine wares are Black Topped Brown Polished, Black Topped Red Polished and a few Polished Red. They have very thin walls and fine rims. The Black Topped Brown Polished ware is the distinctive Badarian type. The pots are often

rippled, usually diagonally but occasionally vertically, with black interior. A somewhat similar technique has been discovered at Khartoum, but this fact is not sufficient in itself to warrant the assumption that the Early Khartoum rippled ware was the ancestor of Badarian.⁽³⁰⁾ The Black Topped Red Polished ware has a bright red or brown red slip, pebble polished or burnished before baking. Bowls are the commonest forms.

The Polished Red was a small class usually of carinated form. This kind of pottery survived in Naqada I. A very few sherds were found decorated in the Naqada I technique with stripes of red paint or with a red wash round the rim; this would seem to indicate, contrary to Brunton, that there was some overlap between Badarian and Naqada I.⁽³¹⁾ The beakers of a black ware decorated by incised patterns filled with white were considered by Brunton to be typically Tasian. This ware and technique are characteristic of Naqada II, and the evidence of grave 569 at Badari strongly suggests that the beakers in reality are very late Naqada II or even Proto-dynastic in date.⁽³²⁾

Fragments of basalt vessels were found in the debris. It is difficult, therefore, to date them, but they have spread feet like those made in ivory, so we may attribute them to the same period. Carving in ivory was of high standard: spoons, cylindrical vases, bangles and cups (?) have been found.⁽³³⁾ Shells were used for hooks and beads. Three small figurines, one of ivory, the second of polished pottery and the third of unbaked clay, were found. The unbaked clay ends with a peg instead of legs, a rough type which is known from later Egyptian tombs. The polished pottery one shows freedom in movement which is not known in later Egyptian art.⁽³⁴⁾

From the above brief account we can assume that the Badarian settlements were of fairly large numbers of inhabitants, who had a mixed economy of agriculture (granaries and querns, see above p. 3/), stock breeding, hunting and fishing, It is probable that

they had no specialized craftsmen. Their industries were essentially home-industries, but they must have produced enough for both their own needs and for exchange with foreign regions.

The foreign contacts are indicated by the use of shells which came from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, copper from Sinai, and basalt from the north. The painted pottery, grain, agriculture and domestication of animals show influence from Western Asia. (35)

The origin of the Badarian culture and the home land of its people are still problems which cannot be definitely solved until more material is available. The ivory has been thought to indicate a southern contact, but elephants may have lived at that time in the Libyan Desert on the borders of the Nile. (36)

The flint industry only shows that the Badarians came from a region outside the area of limestone cliffs, which extends to 25 N. on the east and further south on the west. (37)

The fact that the Badarians apparently already possessed domesticated animals (sheep and goats), emmer and barley before they settled in the Nile Valley indicates that some sort of contact with or influence from Western Asia existed before this time. The distribution of Badarian remains may perhaps suggest that they came via the Wadi Hammamat to the district of Qena and that they made their principal centre to the north of Badari. On the other hand, Badarian culture is basically African, not Asiatic, in type. (37)

The absence of any Badarian remains south of Hieraconpolis, however, undoubtedly increases the difficulty in finding any direct link between Badarian and Early Khartoum. (38)

If that link existed, it can hardly have been along the Nile. In comparing the two cultures, we find that while the Khartoum dead were buried under or near habitations, (39) the Badarians were buried in cemeteries. The stone querns were used by the Badarians for grinding their grain, while the Khartoum people used them for grinding ochre. There is no evidence that the latter knew agriculture or stock breeding. They were "still mainly hunters

and fishers".⁽⁴⁰⁾ Although the technique of combing the pottery with fish spines is similar in both Khartoum and Badari, yet there are differences even in this industry. The Badarian rippled pottery is usually black, while that of Khartoum has occasionally a black rim.⁽⁴¹⁾ The stone knives and arrow heads of Khartoum are of the Capsian type, while the Badarian flint industry is poor and of surface nodules. In Khartoum barbed bone spears occur,⁽⁴²⁾ but no bone weapons have survived from the Badarian. We are not sure of the Khartoum race, although Arkell states that it is negro,⁽⁴³⁾ for it is only represented by the body of a child, whose date is not certain.⁽⁴⁴⁾ On the ground of the similarity of some elements in both Shaheinab and Fayum A cultures⁽⁴⁵⁾ and because of the marked development in the pottery of Shaheinab (the rippling of Khartoum pottery, see above p. 33) and the domestication of animals, Arkell assumed that Khartoum is earlier than Shaheinab. He came to the conclusion that Khartoum represents an ancestor of the Badarian, but as Shaheinab cannot be very much later than Khartoum,⁽⁴⁶⁾ it would be premature to give Khartoum such an early date.

From the data known up to now about the Badarian culture, we have no definite idea about the relations between communities which lived in Egypt and those which were in Nubia.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Naqada I

It would be a mistake to assume that the predynastic cultures of Egypt and Nubia were entirely independent of each other or that they can be considered, so to speak, as water-tight compartments. It has already been indicated above (p. 33 n. 31) that there was an overlap between Badarian and Naqada I, and similarly Naqada I and II overlapped (see below p. 38).

Remains of Naqada I are more widespread than those of the Badarian culture, but they are still confined to a limited region which extends from Qau el Kebir in the north to Hierakonpolis in

the south with a small outlying cemetery at Khor Bahan.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The main centre of this culture was at Naqada itself.

Naqada I graves are either round holes of sufficient width for a contracted body and its scanty funeral equipment, or oblong or roughly oval pits of varying width and length.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The dead were buried in a contracted position, hands before the face, head to the south, facing west and the body lying on its left side. Although a single burial is the general rule, multiple burials also occur.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Development in wrapping of the body is clear and coffins begin to appear, but the preservation of the body is poor; some instances of deliberate dismemberment of the body were found.⁽⁵¹⁾

Remains of settlements have been found at Armant, Hemamieh, Hierakonpolis, Mahasna and Naqada. At Hierakonpolis Brunton considered that the extensive town went back at least to Naqada I,⁽⁵²⁾ but it has never been properly excavated.⁽⁵³⁾ Many of these settlements contained either simple wind shelters, or roughly circular mud enclosures that acted either as houses or as stores. There is, however, a probability that there also existed more solid structures of mud or mud brick within walled enclosures.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Unfortunately, too little properly stratified excavation of Pre-dynastic settlements has been done to enable us to speak with certainty. The essential point is that in Naqada I there was an increase in the size and number of permanent settlements.

The flint industry of Naqada I shows a considerable advance on that of Badari.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The material used was no longer surface nodules, but the best quality mined flint. The flints from Naqada I and II have never been adequately published and it is difficult to disentangle the two. In the opinion of Mrs. Baumgartel, however, the characteristic features of Naqada I are the bifacial working and the almost complete absence of blades; she also considers that the Fayum A flint industry is similar to, if not identical with that of Naqada I and is certainly not earlier.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In this connection it should be noted that the characteristic weapon of Naqada I, the disc-shaped mace head,⁽⁵⁷⁾ also occurs in Fayum A.

Copper occurs but is still rare, and, rather surprisingly, gold is completely lacking.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The typical Naqada I slate palette is rhomboid in form, sometimes decorated with incised designs.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Among objects of personal use, beads were abundant, but neither the Badarian beads of glazed stone nor the belts of blue beads occur; long strings of pottery beads are quite common. Combs of ivory or bone, sometimes decorated with the figure of a bird, the double bird or a quadruped, have long teeth, as compared with the short teeth of Naqada II. Spoons are entirely lacking, but ivory pins, apparently for the hair, are found for the first time. There is a very great increase in the number of and variety of amulets.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Most Naqada I pottery developed on the same lines as Badarian.⁽⁶¹⁾ The Red Polished and Black Topped Red Polished wares continue, the characteristic forms being bowls and beakers, some with lips, and slender vases and bottles.⁽⁶²⁾ The most important innovation is the White Cross-lined pottery, in which designs are painted in white or cream paint on red polished pots.⁽⁶³⁾ This is the earliest painted ware to be found outside Western Asia. Geometrical patterns are the commonest motifs, but there also occur scenes of animals, hunting, human beings, and, above all, what appear to be ritual dances. There is deliberate composition and the drawing is very lively. Mrs. Baumgartel considers that the White Cross-lined pottery shows undoubted influences from Western Asia, particularly from Iran.⁽⁶⁴⁾

To summarise, Naqada I in general is the culture of a people more numerous and more advanced than the Badarians, but still confined, with the exception of the little outpost at Khor Bahan,⁽⁶⁵⁾ to Egypt proper between Hierakonpolis and Qau el Kebir. There is no definite break between Badarian and Naqada I and the culture is still essentially African and Hamitic, though the White Cross-

lined pottery shows definite influences from Western Asia, which presumably came via the Wadi Hammamat.⁽⁶⁶⁾

There is still no sign of any extension or any communication along the Nile Valley into Nubia, and the extent of contacts with Nubia, if any, and the ultimate origin of the Naqada I people is still unknown.

Naqada II

Naqada II was more widespread than the previous cultures and it is probable that the Nile Valley became more favourable for habitation.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The sites of this culture are, however, confined to limited areas in Egypt and Nubia. Those in Egypt are :

- a) Between Hierakonpolis and Mahasna (on the west bank of the river).
- b) In the region of Badari (east bank).
- c) In the Fayum-Gerzeh region (west bank).⁽⁶⁸⁾

An isolated Gerzean tomb was found at Ras Samadi on the Red Sea coast.⁽⁶⁹⁾

In Lower Nubia the Naqada II sites extend as far south as Seyaleh (on both sides of the river), with an isolated small cemetery at Gemai.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Little is known about Naqada II houses, even less than about those of the earlier period.⁽⁷¹⁾ They are either simple circular mud constructions, or rectangular small brick houses.⁽⁷²⁾ Some dwellings of Naqada I type also occur.⁽⁷³⁾ This indicates the overlap of Naqada I and II (see above, p. 35).

The graves of Naqada II are generally oblong in shape. As the period progresses there is a tendency for graves to become rectangular, often lined with brick. In both types side niches occur. The brick graves, especially the latest examples, sometimes have more than one chamber and sometimes are roofed.⁽⁷⁴⁾ There is considerable variation in the burial attitude, but the commonest is still that of Naqada I. Leather and hides are no longer used for wrapping the dead, but wood, mud, or pottery coffins are increasingly frequent.⁽⁷⁵⁾

The flint industry achieved a highly developed blade technique and superb pressure-flaked ceremonial flint knives were made. Still the former bifacial industry was not completely abandoned. The small tools were abundant and the chisel ended arrow-heads appear for the first time. This last tool may have been introduced from Mesopotamia.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Pear shaped mace-heads, known in earlier times in Mesopotamia, were used and they were made of different stones.

Copper was more represented than in Naqada I. The oldest axe made of copper mixed with other metals belongs to that period.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Stone vases were made of nearly the same stones as those of Naqada I, but squat vases were more frequent. Some vases have the same forms as those of the red painted pottery, the characteristic of Naqada II.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The commonest material for palettes was slate, but other materials are occasionally used. The majority of the palettes are theriomorphic, the commonest motifs, often greatly stylized, being tortoises, fish and birds. The majority of the palettes are with uninscribed surfaces, but at Gerzeh a palette was decorated in low relief by the head of a cow with five stars; this appears to have been an anticipation of the later elaborately decorated monumental slate palettes, none of which, however, has been found in scientific excavations.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Beads and amulets were abundant and of great variety. Textiles and weaving were not highly developed. Ivory vases were less frequent than those of Naqada I and spoons were of simple forms and smaller. Combs usually had short teeth and head pins were as frequent as in Naqada I. (81)

The typical classes of Naqada II pottery are the Wavy-handled and the Decorated, both being made of the new fine clay. (82) The decorated pots are characterised by designs in red paint applied directly to the buff-coloured ware, without any slip or wash. The designs include both geometrical motifs and motifs taken from nature, trees, animals, human beings and boats. The treatment is conventional and stiff, (83) and there is no attempt at composition, each of the elements in the decoration of the individual pot being treated in isolation, with no reference to its content. The decorated ware of Naqada II appears to have been influenced by the painted wares of Mesopotamia of the Proto-literate Period (Jemdet Nasr), and the influence that worked upon Naqada II was certainly different from that of Naqada I. (84) It is significant that a few cylinder seals of Jemdet Nasr type, or imitations of such seals, have been found in graves of the period. (85)

The distribution of the cemeteries and settlements of Naqada II is peculiar and difficult to explain. There are still no known sites between Assiut and the Fayum district. In Egypt the cemeteries are found on the west bank, whereas in Nubia they occur on both banks; this, however, may be simply due to the differing nature of the flood plain north and south of the First Cataract. Attempts have been made in some quarters to derive Naqada II from the Delta or at least from the North. This appears to be quite impossible: Naqada itself is still the great centre, the cemeteries in and near Gerzeh are later in date than the earliest known in Upper Egypt and once again it would appear that such external influences as existed must have entered via

the Wadi Hammamat.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It is only at the very end of the period that we have clear evidence of foreign intrusions from the north, bringing Sumerian objects and influences, that led to the formation of dynastic Egypt.⁽⁸⁷⁾ It is a reasonable assumption that the Naqada II people expanded in Nubia from Egypt, not vice-versa, and it is probable that already there was a growing time-lag between Nubia and Egypt. There is no fundamental difference between Naqada II culture in Egypt and Nubia, and at this period there is no evidence of other relations between the two lands.

Chapter II

Notes and References.

1. It is supposed that this race followed the Neanderthal (L. or M. Pal.) in Europe and was contemporary with the Upper Palaeolithic, but it is not certain that this race only, had created these cultures.
2. This humidity caused the increase of the volume of the River Nile and its course was wider than at present.
3. Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 83-84; Vandier, Manuel d'archeologie egyptienne, Vol. I, 5.
4. Arkell, "Old Stone Age" (SASOP, I), 43-44. For the sites of the same culture on the Atbara, see ibid, 34 and Map.
5. Sandford and Arkell reached the same conclusion, see op. cit., 83.
6. Sandford and Arkell, ibid.
7. Huzayyin, op. cit., 332; see above p. .
8. Huzayyin, op. cit., 332.
9. Arkell, op. cit., 9-10, 43, 45, 51, shows that a civilization similar to that of the Mid. Pal. in Egypt had existed in the Sudan, or rather a predecessor of the Upper Palaeolithic, but this still needs further confirmation.
10. Huzayyin. op. cit., 333.
11. Related to Sebil, a village near Kom Ombo.
12. Dr. Ibrahim RizKana, Egyptian Cultures in Pre-history, (in Arabic) Cairo, 1949, 120-1.
13. Arkell, A Hist. of the Sud., 9.
14. Dr. RizKana, ibid, believes that the diffusion was from North Africa into three directions, one across the Libyan Desert to South Africa, another to Egypt, where it contacted with its Mousterian and formed the Sebilian, and the third reached East Spain and West Europe.

This seems improbable for a) The chief Kernel-zone

was Eurasiatic and not African (Huzayyin, op. cit., 333).

b) The Aurignacian, though similar in some ways to the Capsian, yet differs considerably from it, so that a direct development from that culture is unlikely.

c) Because of the dry climate during this period a large migration from N. Africa towards Egypt through the Libyan Desert, especially through its northern part, is improbable and this may have been the reason for the Aterian not to have reached nearer to the Nile Valley than the Fayyum and a few isolated places between Naqada and Assiut.

d) The physiography of Africa and the existence of a similar culture in its eastern region, Arkell, Old Stone Age (SASOP, I), 10, shows that a diffusion from this region to the north and north-west is more likely.

15. C.f. for example: Baumgartel, op. cit., 19; Arkell, "The Relations of the Nile Valley with the Southern Sahara in Neolithic Times" in the Actes du Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire (Alger 1952), 346 ; Huzayyin, op. cit., 334-5; Sandford and Arkell, op. cit., 46 and Pal. Man 1934, 105, The latter give an opposing idea to that of Huzayyin concerning the Egyptian cultures: "Similarly the Neolithic Stations of Egypt fail to attach themselves to any preceding industry that we know within the country. Here, then, in the study of climate and human industry, a blank page in history remains to be inscribed."
16. The Tasian is considered the same culture as the Badarian and Hammamieh stratification proved that the Badarian is earlier than any other Pre-dynastic culture. See Baumgartel, op. cit., 20ff.; for the Hammamieh stratification see Brunton, Bad. Civ., 69-74. Arkell in Actes du Congres Panafricain, 345 suggests that the Fayum A should be earlier than Badarian (topographically), and because it "is associated with Nakada I", this would lead to the conclusion

- that Nakada I is earlier than Badari. Archaeological evidence from Hammanieh shows that this is improbable.
17. W.B.K. Shaw, "Two Burials from the South Libyan Desert", in JEA 22, 48-50.
 18. JEA 22, pl. IV, 3; cf. Brunton, Bad. Civ. pl. XIV, 21M.
 19. De Bono, "Rapport Exped. Arch. roy. au desert oriental (Keft-Kosseir)", ASA 51, 59-91.
 20. Brunton, Mostagedda, 14 (19).
 21. Brunton, op. cit., 15-18; pls. IV, LXXI, 5.
 22. Brunton, op. cit., 43-46; Bad. Civ., 18-20.
 23. Massoulard, Préhistoire, 115.
 24. Petrie, "The Peoples of Egypt" in Anc. Eg. (1931), 78; Stoessiger, "A Study of the Badarian Crania" Biometrika, XIX (1927), 110-150; Massoulard, op. cit., 129; Vandier, Manuel, I, 197.
 25. Baumgartel, op. cit., 23.
 26. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 75.
 27. Brunton, op. cit., 30-31, 35; Mostagedda, 55.
 28. Baumgartel, op. cit., 22.
 29. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 20-26, pls. XII, XIX; Mostagedda, 48-51, pls. XV- XXXI.
 30. C.f. Arkell, in SNR 32, 213-214; Early Khartoum, 73, 110-112; Old Stone Age (SASOP, I), 9-10, 43, 45, 51; Baumgartel, CAH, I, X, (MSS).
 31. C.F. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 39-40, 76-77, 69; Baumgartel, Cultures, 25; CAH, I, X (MSS).
 32. Baumgartel, op. cit., 21; C.F. Brunton, Mostagedda, 29.
 33. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 30-32, pls. XXII- XXIV; Mostagedda, 53-4, pls. XXII, XXIV.
 34. Baumgartel, op. cit., 22-3.
 35. Baumgartel, op. cit., 23-4.
 36. L. Keimer, "Hist. des serpentes dans l'Ég. Anc. et Moderne" Mem. Inst. d'Ég., L (Caire 1947), 27-31.

37. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 75.
38. See above, p.33 .
39. Arkell, A Hist. of Sud., 27.
40. Arkell, op. cit., 32.
41. CAH, I, X (MSS).
42. Arkell, op. cit., 28.
43. Arkell, op. cit., 27.
44. E. Otto, in OLZ (1955, No. 314), 115.
45. Arkell, op. cit., 29ff; Shaheinab, 102ff.

It is noteworthy that although Arkell relied on Carbon 14 (which is still experimental) in confirming his view that the Fayum A is contemporary with Khartoum, this result could only be obtained by his taking the highest possible Carbon 14 dating for Shaheinab and the lowest dating for Fayum A (Shaheinab, 107); such playing with the Carbon 14 figures is not legitimate.

46. In CAH, I, X (MSS) it is stated that 'Naqada II cannot be much later than Fayum A', and Crawford in Kush II, 88ff showed that Shaheinab and Khartoum contained sherds similar to those found at Jebel Moya, which cannot be earlier than 1000 B.C. This gives evidence that Early Khartoum was much later than Badari.
47. Kees in his recent book Das Alte Agypten, 7, attributes the resemblance in some cultural features between the Tasian-Badarian and those of Nubia to dominant features and not transferred. I think that this cannot be true except in the earliest stages of the civilization, if both lands have the same circumstances and races.
48. References for these sites are given in Massoulard, op. cit., 174 n.l.

49. Capart, Debuts, fig. 143.
50. E.R. Ayrton and W.L.S. Leat, Predynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna, 11-12; Petrie, Diospolis Parva, 32-3.
51. MacIver and Mace, El Amrah and Abydos, 16 and pl. IV; Naville^{and Peet}, The Cemeteries of Abydos, I, 15; Peet, ibid, II, 14, pl. II, 5.
52. Griffith Studies, 272ff.
53. See Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I and Quibell and Green, ibid, II.
54. CAH, I, X (MSS).
55. Petrie, Diospolis, pls. IV, VII, VIII; Naqada and Ballas, pls. LXXII-LXXIV; Massoulard, op. cit., pl. XLIII.
56. Baumgartel, op. cit., 27-8, 49.
57. Ayrton and Leat, op. cit., 31ff, pls. XIX, XX; Brunton, Bad. Civ., pl. LIII, 4; Mostagedda, 89, pl. XLII; Petrie, Prehist. Eg., 22; Diospolis, pl. V.
58. Baumgartel, op. cit., 34; CAH, I, X (MSS).
59. Petrie, Prehist. Eg. 36-8; Corpus, pls. LII-LIX.
60. Massoulard, op. cit., 146-7, 154-5.
61. Baumgartel, op. cit., 29.
62. Vandier, Manuel, I, 55-69, figs. 207-9; Petrie, Corpus, pls. I-VIII; Prehist. Eg., pl. L; Massoulard, op. cit., 138-9.
63. Vandier, Manuel, I, figs. 165-7.
64. Baumgartel, op. cit., 29ff.
65. Arch. Nub. (1907-8), I, 144ff.
66. C.F. CAH, I, X (MSS); Massoulard, op. cit., 168; see also Baumgartel, op. cit., 37ff.
67. Baumgartel, op. cit., 51; Huzayyin, The Place of Eg. 107ff; Sandford and Arkell, Pal. Man (1933), 85.
68. For references about these sites see Massoulard, op. cit., 242 nn. 1-3.

69. G.W. Murray and Derry, "A Predynastic Burial on the Red Sea Coast in Egypt", Man, XXIII (1923), 129-131.
70. Cemeteries representing this culture in Nubia are as follows:
- a) at Kubanieh north of Assuan, Junker, Kub.-Sud., 1-122.
 - b) at RizKallah near Debed), No. 30, Reisner, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I 191ff.
 - c) at Markos, No. 41, ibid, 208-211, 215ff.
 - d) at Dehmit (eastern Cemetery), No. 43, ibid, 246ff.
 - e) at Gerf Hussein, Nos. 73, 79, Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I, 6ff, 99ff, 127ff.
 - f) A large cemetery (more than 600 graves) representing A - C Groups was found at Dakka. The earliest graves are near an Archaic settlement in the south, but the C - Group is intensive. Tombs of Naqada II types are in Nos. 101-103, Firth, op. cit., 51-104.
 - g) at Kuban, No. 111, Firth, op. cit., III, 98ff.
 - h) at Seyaleh, No. 134, Firth, op. cit., III, 192ff.
 - i) at Gemai, Bates ^{and Dunham}, Excavations at Gemai (U.S.A. 1927).
71. Baumgartel, op. cit., 43.
72. Brunton, Qau I, pl. 23; Petrie, Naqada, pl. 85; MacIver, El Amrah, 22, pl. 10, 1-2; Vandier, Manuel, I, fig. 338; De Morgan, Rech. I, 87; Pré. Or., II, 71.
73. Brunton, Bad. Civ., 82ff.
74. Vandier, Manuel, I, 236ff, figs 150, 152ff.
- A different type of grave co-existed with the usual ones in Nubia. This type, which is called "beehive graves", could be dug in the Nubian solid soil. See Reisner, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I, 185, 315-6, figs.
75. Massoulard, op. cit., 196-7.
76. Baumgartel, op. cit., 39.
77. H.C.H. Carpenter, "An Eg. Axe Head of Great Antiquity", in Nature CXXX (1932), 625-6; Lucas, Materials, (3rd ed.), 229, 543.
78. Massoulard, op. cit., 212-3; CAH, I, X (MSS).

- 79. Masseulard, op. cit., 205.
- 80. Vandier, Manuel, I, 570ff.
- 81. Masseulard, op. cit., 207ff.
- 82. Armant I, 50ff.
- 83. Baumgartel, op. cit., 29-30.
- 84. Baumgartel, op. cit., 29ff; CAH, I, X (MSS).
- 85. Baumgartel, op. cit., 48; H.J. Kantor, "Further Evidence for Early Mesopotamian Relations with Egypt", JNES XI, 239f, 246ff.
- 86. CAH, I, X (MSS).
- 87. Baumgartel, op. cit., 50.



Chapter III

The First Explorers.

1. Nubia in Early Dynastic Times.

The unity of Naqada II culture in Egypt and Nubia did not last long, for from the beginning of the Egyptian Proto-dynastic Period the two countries diverged increasingly.

It is probable that the comparatively wide plain in Egypt had enabled relatively large communities to live prosperously and a united kingdom could be founded, but in Nubia the Nile Valley is so narrow that only small communities were able to live, under the continual threat of the wild tribes in the adjacent deserts, who raided their settlements from time to time. There was no great opportunity for a prosperous life and development. So, while the Egyptian tombs from the Early Dynastic Period onwards showed marked development, the contemporary Nubian graves maintained the pre-dynastic features with little change. The Pre-dynastic culture in Nubia prevailed as late as the Hyksos rule in Egypt. The "Black Topped Ware", for example, continued in use during the whole period in Nubia, and was reintroduced into Egypt on a limited scale between the 16th and 18th Dynasties, after having ceased to be in use there since the Late Pre-dynastic Period.⁽¹⁾

The main cemeteries of the Proto-dynastic Period in Nubia are those at Gemmai,⁽²⁾ Faras,⁽³⁾ Aniba⁽⁴⁾ Nag' Wadai,⁽⁵⁾ Seyala⁽⁶⁾ and Es-Seboua.⁽⁷⁾

Unlike the elaborate Egyptian tombs of the period,⁽⁸⁾ these Nubian cemeteries contained mainly rectangular, stone-roofed graves. Beehive graves also occurred, but they were rarer than in the preceding period.⁽⁹⁾ Bodies were buried in the same position as those in the earlier period, but a pit could hold two or more burials.

In addition to Egyptian wares as in the previous period,

Nubian wares of local manufacture also occurred, especially red polished with black mouths,⁽¹⁰⁾ and fine, very thin vessels painted in red.⁽¹¹⁾ New forms such as tall vessels with pointed bases and decorated with red paint are introduced.⁽¹²⁾

Slate palettes were more abundant and of nearly the same shapes as in Egypt,⁽¹³⁾ but new shapes occur, in the form of rectangular and rhomboid palettes of white quartz and other hard stones. These palettes had sometimes traces of the green malachite colour and were accompanied by small pebbles for grinding the paint.⁽¹⁴⁾

(15)

Pear-shaped mace heads and beads were frequent, and copper was in more general use for tools than in the preceding period.⁽¹⁶⁾

It is noteworthy that Nubian products are sometimes found in Egyptian tombs of the Pre- and Proto-dynastic Periods, and possibly they had come into Egypt as raw materials, but Egyptian products in Nubian graves were numerous and were mostly imported in their manufactured forms. This and the comparatively high degree of civilization in Egypt give the impression that Egypt was responsible for the first steps of contact between the two countries. It is probable that when the Egyptians came to know of Nubian products which they required in their own industries, individuals as well as organized groups wandered in Nubia, beyond the Egyptian border, in search of these goods, through commercial exchange or otherwise. Junker's excavations at Kubanieh leave little room for doubt that already in Proto-dynastic times Elephantine was acting as an Egyptian trading post and outpost.⁽¹⁸⁾

It is probable that such early contacts were not always safe, or rather the Nubians were not always ready to respond peacefully to such business. They may have caused trouble to the Egyptians who ventured to go there, so that military action had to be taken against the Nubians on account of their attacks on the Egyptian traders and commercial expeditions. The oldest known mention of such action is found on an ebony tablet from the tomb of Hor-Aha at Abydos.⁽¹⁹⁾ The tablet merely refers to "smiting

Zeti". As "Zeti" can indicate both the first nome of Upper Egypt and Nubia, the precise localisation of this event has been in doubt, but because the boundary was not always at Elephantine⁽²⁰⁾ and because of the recent discovery of the stela of Djer at Jebel Sheikh Suliman, south of Wadi Halfa, with the same sign "Zti"⁽²¹⁾ for Nubia, it is more likely that the military action in the time of Hor-Aha took place in the Nubian land. These two documents and an inscribed fragment of stone from Hieraconpolis, showing Khasekhemui kneeling on a Nubian prisoner with the sign "⎓" above his head⁽²²⁾ prove that the Egyptians even in such early times made campaigns against the Nubians. A text left by the priests of the Ptolemaic Dynasty states that King Zoser had offered Khnum the stretch of land which was later called the Dodekaschoinas. The history of this text has been hotly disputed.⁽²³⁾ The majority of Egyptologists have tended to consider it a pious fraud, but Sethe⁽²⁴⁾ maintained that it was a copy of a genuine document of Zoser, set up by Ptolemy IX Soter II on the occasion of his visit to Elephantine in the second year of his reign. A new, and very plausible view is that of Barguet, who in his recent edition of the Famine Stela puts forward the view that the stela was engraved in the reign of Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, and associated with the name of Zoser for political reasons.⁽²⁵⁾ Although Egyptian authority may have extended beyond the First Cataract by the time of the early Third Dynasty, the Famine Stela cannot be quoted as proof of this assumption.

The following period marked great achievements in Egypt which led to the "Pyramid Age", while in Nubia the degradation continued in the A-Group culture that gave way to the B-Group. This B-Group culture seems to be a degenerate form of the A-Group, for often the two cultures cannot easily be distinguished from each other; this degeneration may have been of short duration.⁽²⁶⁾ Cemeteries of this culture⁽²⁷⁾ are found at Shellal,⁽²⁸⁾ Khor Ambokol,⁽²⁹⁾ and Gerf Hussein.⁽³⁰⁾

The burials in these cemeteries were generally oval or rectangular with rounded corners. The bodies were contracted, lying on either the right or left side, with irregular orientation and wrapped in goat-skins, mats or similar material.

Their pottery was not profuse, mainly of thick red ware and black topped as in the Pre- and Proto-dynastic Periods, but coarser and mostly bigger. Rough hemispherical bowls occur as well, but there were no stone vessels. Beads were rare and mainly of carnelian, shell or blue glaze. The only copper tools were awls, but there were many bone tools such as awls, needles, knife handles, spoons etc.

It is not clear yet whether this change in Nubia was due to hostile action from Egypt ⁽³¹⁾ or to the country's isolation from external influences. But it is not improbable that the Egyptian expeditions into Nubia did in fact tend to impede the development of the local Nubian cultures.

2. The Old Kingdom in Nubia.

It seems likely that Egyptian pressure may have provoked Nubian retaliation, so that Hu(ny), the last king of the 3rd Dynasty, had to fortify Elephantine. ⁽³²⁾

The Palermo Stone mentions that Senefru had destroyed "Ta-Neḥesi", the land of the southerners (see above, p.5) and captured 7000 prisoners and 200,000 cattle and small cattle. ⁽³³⁾ This blow seems to have reduced the resistance of the Nubians or rather to have made them feel the futility of aggression, since the Egyptians were superior in organization and civilization. In fact they may have agreed to deal peacefully with Egyptian trading missions in order to retain their friendship and avoid their punitive actions.

Peaceful relations developed afterwards so that during the 4th and 5th Dynasties the Egyptians could exploit and transport the diorite from the diorite quarries, about 50 miles to the

north-west of Toshke⁽³⁴⁾ where the names of Khufu, Dedefre, Sahure and Dedkare Isesi were found. The Egyptians would hardly have exploited for so long a time and have transported the stone overland to the river and thence northwards by boat to Egypt, unless the Nubians had been comparatively peaceful. They may even have helped the Egyptians in order to gain some profit. Inscriptions at Sehel⁽³⁵⁾ and Tumas⁽³⁶⁾ show that peace was well established and that a great number of Egyptian officials could travel freely in Nubia.⁽³⁷⁾

It is probable that through this contact more friendly relations developed and the Egyptians were more interested in Nubian products. Monkeys were brought and tamed by the upper classes and they are depicted in the Old Kingdom scenes of daily life.⁽³⁸⁾ The Palermo Stone mentions that an expedition was sent by Sahure into Nubia and returned with incense, electrum and a number of boomerangs.⁽³⁹⁾

This state of affairs naturally tended to encourage an increase of Egyptian influence in Nubia beyond the First Cataract, and the Nubians themselves may have acknowledged Egyptian authority in some way, for we have three inscriptions which hint at such authority. The first is a very short one from Elephantine⁽⁴⁰⁾ which states that Unas was the lord of the foreign countries, presumably meaning the southern lands, as the inscription occurs in this region. It is also possible that this inscription marked the contemporary boundary, for we see that the two other inscriptions of Merenere, which were found in the region of the First Cataract, show that this king had visited the place on a tour of inspection. He came there in person and received the homage of the chieftains of the Medja, Irtjet and Wawat.⁽⁴¹⁾

The interest of the Egyptians in establishing relations with Nubia can be noted from the inscription of Kar.⁽⁴²⁾ He was appointed by Pepi I as the "governor of Upper Egypt," "in charge of every secret matter which comes from the gate of Elephantine"

were sent into Nubia.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Hwns was stated to have gone to open (explore) Irtjet.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Another caravan leader, whose name is not mentioned, went to open the southern foreign lands.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Uni was another important official of the Sixth Dynasty who played his part in the development of Nubia. He was appointed by Merenre as Governor of Upper Egypt, after his victories over the Beduin. In this capacity two special activities are recorded in his biography. First, he was sent to Ibhat⁽⁴⁹⁾ on an expedition to bring a sarcophagus and other equipment for the royal pyramid, and to bring certain constructional elements of the royal tomb in Assuan granite.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Subsequently it is recorded that he was sent "to dig five canals in Upper Egypt and to construct seven boats from acacia of Wawat".⁽⁵¹⁾ His canal digging activities have aroused much discussion and speculation, much of it without much foundation. It is often assumed that the five canals were all dug at the First Cataract, but he may well have been merely referring to his having made or cleared canals at various places in Upper Egypt.⁽⁵²⁾

The records of Uni's campaigns against the Beduin give us interesting details of the composition of his army. In addition to native troops, Uni tells us that there were contingents of Nubians (Nhsyw) from Irtt, Md?, I?m, W?w?t and K??w. These must undoubtedly have been mercenaries. After the mention of the Nubian contingents we have "and from the land of Tmh (or perhaps better "of the Tmhw") : here it is noticeable that the word "Nubians" is not given,⁽⁵³⁾ a fairly clear indication that Nhsy⁽⁵⁴⁾ and Tmhw were distinct,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and that whereas the former probably occupied the valley and the deserts adjoining it, the Tmhw are to be supposed as being Libyans living to the west of the Nile. This passage is our first reference to the employment of mercenaries by the Egyptians.⁽⁵⁶⁾ It may, of course, indicate a decline in Egyptian martial ardour, but even more it can hardly be doubted that it shows that relations between Egypt and Nubia were well established, and even friendly, ~~and that~~

Gardiner⁽⁶⁴⁾ contributed to the same subject. They believed that the furthest region (Yam) was either a little to the south of the Second Cataract⁽⁶⁵⁾ or even to its north.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The conclusions drawn by Edel in his recent study of the journeys of Harkhuf are plausible.⁽⁶⁷⁾ He pointed out that the Egyptian expeditions were carried out at the order of the king and supplied by him. Their starting point was always Memphis and, as it was the residence, they used to return there at the end of the journey. As Memphis was the starting place, Harkhuf could follow a different route in each of his journeys. The shortest time he recorded was that of his first journey. In his third journey he mentions that his point of departure (i.e. of leaving the Nile Valley in Egypt) was the Thinite Nome.⁽⁶⁸⁾ It is probable that he followed the Darb-el-Arba^c in route to Selima and thence hit the river again. In those days the trading missions were subject to much delay, but they undoubtedly could cover an average of 15 kms. a day, at least. The distance between Kerma and Badr-Shein, along the Nile, is about 1660 kms. From this it can easily be assumed that Harkhuf could reach the Kerma-Dongola-el-Urdi (the New Dongola) region.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Thus Edel arrived at the conclusion that Yam lay between Sedeinga and Dongola-el-Urdi. On the basis of this conclusion Edel is inclined to dispute Säve Söderbergh's view on the date of Kerma and to support Reisner's contention that Kerma was already a trading centre, though not necessarily under direct Egyptian control, during the Sixth Dynasty.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Almost all scholars agree that Wawat extended from Elephantine to Korosko and that Irtjet was in the Tumas-Medik region.⁽⁷¹⁾ Zatju was to the south of Irtjet⁽⁷²⁾ and Medja was somewhere between Zatju and Yam.⁽⁷³⁾ The Ta-Tjmeh (i.e. the land of the Libyans) is difficult to locate. Erman believed that it lay in Kordofan or Bayuda.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The text of Uni does not give a clue to its location,⁽⁷⁵⁾ but

the text of Harkhuf makes it clear that it lay to the west of Yam.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The Story of Sinuhe shows that it was to the west of the Delta and an inscription from the time of Ramses II shows that it was in the neighbourhood of Es-Sebua.⁽⁷⁷⁾ According to Hblscher the Libyans were in the Old Kingdom far in the south and then spread to the north.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Edel, therefore, concluded that the Libyan Land mentioned in Harkhuf's account lay in the pastoral land to the west of Dongola (i.e. west of Yam).⁽⁷⁹⁾ Edel subdivided Wawat, Irtjet and Yam, but he is not sure of the subdivisions of Irtjet and Yam. He also suggested a location of K₃w, which is mentioned in Uni's inscription, but he himself is doubtful about it.⁽⁸⁰⁾

It should be noted, however, that these regions could only be located in relation with each other or in the neighbourhood of some known districts. We are in no way certain about the boundaries of each. There is no evidence that the boundaries of these regions remained unchangeable. In those days the communities living in these lands were possibly hostile towards each other. The stronger ones tended to aggression and subjected their neighbours. Wars were likely to happen at any occasion.⁽⁸¹⁾ Accordingly some regions had extended their territories, while others had to disappear. The hostility does not only occur between these regions, but some of the Nubian peoples were hostile towards Egyptian expeditions. This can be noticed from the inscriptions of Harkhuf, for the ruler of Irtjet, Zatju and Wawat intended to cause trouble for Harkhuf.⁽⁸²⁾ He did not offer him his help until he saw the strength of the contingent of Yam and the expedition which accompanied Harkhuf.⁽⁸³⁾

The hints of trouble that we find in the biography of Harkhuf may perhaps mark the beginning of a new phase in Egypto-Nubian relations. The expeditions of Harkhuf were essentially peaceful and for trade, but a little later we

find that Pepi-nakht was sent to Nubia on two punitive expeditions against Wawat and Irtjet and that after having pacified these lands, he brought tribute and prisoners, including the two chieftains to the court.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Sabni also had to go to fetch the body of his father Mekhu from a Nubian land.⁽⁸⁵⁾ He took with him ointment, honey, clothing, faience etc., but we do not know for sure whether he took these for his expedition's provisions and the embalming of his father⁽⁸⁶⁾ or for presenting to the chiefs of the region from which he intended to bring back his father's body.

It is noteworthy that these incidents happened during the reign of Pepi II. We have already noted that the local princes and provincial officials began to have more authority while the monarchy itself was falling into decay. (See above p.58f) We do not know how far this was felt outside Egypt. Pepi-nakht rescued the body of nnht (?)⁽⁸⁷⁾ from the land of mw while he was building a ship for an expedition to Punt. The end of the Sixth Dynasty on the other hand, marks the appearance of a strong people known as the C-Group in Nubia (see further pp.70 ff).⁽⁸⁸⁾ Were the expeditions of Pepi-nakht and Sabni to Nubia during the reign of Pepi II⁽⁸⁹⁾ largely due to the decline in Egyptian authority, because the weakness of the monarchy was felt there, or to the appearance of this new strong element? The two factors might have worked contemporaneously.

To sum up the relations between Egypt and its southern neighbours until the end of the Old Kingdom we may enumerate the following phases.

a) From the earliest times till the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty there is no evidence of direct Egyptian control over these lands. There was commercial contact, as proved by archaeological evidence in both areas (see above pp.39 ff), but from time to time there is evidence also of a certain amount of fighting and raiding (see above pp.50 ff).

- b) During the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties the Egyptians' authority enabled them to exploit the Nubian quarries (see above pp. 52 ff).
- c) An increase of the Egyptian authority and more friendly relations until the early years of Pepi II. ⁽⁹⁰⁾
- d) Deterioration in the relations between Egypt and some of her southern neighbours and Egyptian authority in the south began to decline from the time of Pepi II onwards.

3. Commerce.

We have already mentioned that Egypt, from the earliest times, sought raw materials from Nubia. It is probable that ebony and ivory were brought from Nubia since Pre-dynastic times. Granite was exploited from the First Cataract region in most Pharaonic times. ⁽⁹¹⁾ Diorite quarries (see above pp. 52 f) and the "Ibhat" quarries ⁽⁹²⁾ were also exploited, but the diorite quarries were not exploited during the Sixth Dynasty. Certain kinds of cattle are said to have been brought by Senefru (see above p. 52), by Harkhuf ⁽⁹³⁾ and by Pepi-nakht. ⁽⁹⁴⁾ From the inscriptions of Harkhuf we know that he brought, in his third journey, incense, ebony, "hknw" oil, "sat" oil, panther skins, elephant tusks and throw-sticks (?). ⁽⁹⁵⁾ Timber was available in sufficient quantities to permit the building on the spot of ships and cargo boats for transporting from Nubia the stone quarried. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ It is possible that abundant trees were growing in Nubia, not only in the Nile Valley, but in the desert wadis as well. The fauna and flora of the deserts, especially in the nowadays dry wadis, must have changed considerably in a comparatively recent period. ⁽⁹⁷⁾

Gold, which was the most important product of Nubia in later periods, is not mentioned in the Old Kingdom documents. It seems either that the Nubian mines were not yet known or that small quantities only were exploited by individuals for their own use.

We know about Egyptian products in Nubia only from the tombs of that period, for we have no written information about these, except in Sabni's inscriptions, which are unfortunately mutilated so that we cannot make out whether they were taken for commercial purposes or for his expedition's own use (see above, p. 59). Tombs of this period in Nubia (B-Group) are remarkably poor and few Egyptian products are found. No stone vessels were found and beads were rare and of simple shapes and material.

We cannot trace the exact routes which were followed by the commercial missions and traders, but it is likely that the River Nile was only used when transporting heavy products such as the stones brought from the Nubian quarries. Donkeys were used more frequently, as far as we can see from the inscriptions of the period, and mostly in journeys on the western side of the Nile Valley. It is possible that they followed a route bordering the agricultural land with short cuts through the desert at the river bends. In some cases, when travelling across the desert, they may have followed roughly the modern route, suitable for motor traffic which extends from Edfu to Wadi Halfa.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Although the Eastern Desert is cut by several wadis, they mostly lead to the Red Sea coast. They were probably used by immigrants coming into the Nile Valley (see above, pp. 34, 38, 49, 60) and by Egyptians going to Punt.⁽⁹⁹⁾ A route can be followed, however, from a little north of Assuan (Daraw) until it reaches Sennar, without difficulty concerning water, for it passes a series of wells at suitable intervals. This route joins Wadi Allaqi and Gabgaba for the most of the distance across the desert, between Assuan and Abu Hamad. Another route which is approximately parallel to the previous one begins from Korosko and ends at Abu Hamad. There is no evidence that these two routes were both used at that time, and even in Wadi Allaqi itself, which we know was so frequented from the Middle Kingdom and onwards, we

cannot trace names of travellers during the Old Kingdom. ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

4. Egyptians and Nubians in Each Other's Country.

We do not know whether any of the Egyptians settled in Nubia or even had the desire to do so. It was an adventure to go a journey there, as can be understood from their inscriptions, but there is no evidence that they ventured to settle there. The Nubians, on the other hand, had been employed by the Egyptians. From the Dahshour Decree ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ it is seen that, during the reign of Pepi I, the care of the pyramid settlement was given to guards from Medja, Yam and Wawat. The friendly relations between the Egyptians and the Nubians seem to be at their best during the early days of the Sixth Dynasty, for we know that the chiefs of some Nubian regions helped Uni to build his ships for transporting from the cataract region the stone required for the royal buildings (see above, pp. 55, 60). The inscriptions of Merenre at Shellal and between Assuan and Philae hint at the peaceful relations which existed at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. In spite of the role played by the Nubian soldiers, no Nubian settlements have been found in Egypt during the Old Kingdom (see further, p. 72). It is probable that these Nubians used to return to their home-land after ending their service in Egypt. ⁽¹⁰²⁾ Examples of this are still to be observed nowadays, for the people of Lower Nubia are accustomed to work, while they are young, in the large cities of Egypt and to return home when they grow old. These immigrations undoubtedly resulted in producing admixtures between the inhabitants of both lands. ⁽¹⁰³⁾



Chapter III

Notes and References.

1. Reisner, Arch./Nub. I, 320, 325.
 2. Bates and Dunham, Excavations at Gemai.
 3. Griffith, Oxford Excavations in Nubia, in LAAA, VIII, 1-18.
 4. Steindorff, Aniba, I, 24ff.
 5. Cemetery 142, Firth, Arch./Nub. III, 213ff.
 6. Cemeteries 136, 137, Firth, op. cit., III, 199, 204ff.
 7. Cemetery 148, Firth, op. cit., III, 220ff.
 8. See for example Emery, "Great Tombs of the First Dynasty", Excavations at Sakkara (Oxford 1954), pls. 1-15.
 9. Firth, op. cit., I, 197; III, 127.
 10. Steindorff, op. cit., 25.
 11. Steindorff, op. cit., 26 (form G)
 12. Steindorff, op. cit., 24 (form A1)
- For a general survey of the above see Massoulard, op. cit., 367ff.
13. Steindorff, op. cit., 5; Massoulard, op. cit., 370. Note the slate palette with two bird heads, as in the Pre-dynastic Period, Firth, op. cit., III, pl. 21c.
 14. ibid.
 15. Reisner, Arch./Nub. I, pls. 67, 68a.
 16. Firth, op. cit., III, pl. 226; Steindorff, op. cit., 5.
 17. Ivory and ebony. Although it is possible that ivory was brought into Egypt from regions other than Nubia, yet the name of Elephantine suggests that this material had some relation with Nubian Land. See Sethe, Urgesch., 125.
For ebony in the Proto-dynastic tombs see Petrie, Royal Tombs, I, 11, 22, 40; II, 22.
 18. Junker, Kubanieh Sud, 5.

19. Petrie, Royal Tombs II, p. 20 and pl. III,2. Helck, in a recent study, has suggested that Hor-Aha is the coronation name of Menes, who was the successor of Narmer. See Wolfgang Helck, Gab es einen König "Menes" in ZDMG Band 103, Heft 2 (Neue Folge Band 28), 354-9 (esp. p. 359).
20. We cannot tell from the distribution of Naqada pottery where the southern frontier of Egypt was during the Pre-dynastic Period. It is also difficult to have a definite idea about the position of this frontier in the Proto-dynastic Period, but judging from later texts we can assume that it may have been near Silsileh. See Helck, Zur Vorstellung van der Grenze in der Agyptische Fruhgeschichte, 8-10; Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu, I", JEA 21,29; Gardiner in JEA 30,49; Sethe, Urgesch., 152.
21. Arkell, JEA 36, 28-9.
22. Quibell, Hierakonpolis II, pl. LVIII and pp. 47-8.
23. C.f. J. Vandier, La Famine dans l'Égypte Ancienne, 40-42, and in addition P. Barguet, La Stele de la Famine à Sehel, 33 n. 1.
24. Sethe, Dodekaschoinos, 19-26 (Untersuchungen II, Heft 3).
25. Barguet, op. cit., 33-7.
26. Firth, Arch. Nub. I, (1912), 11. C.f. Massoulard, op. cit., 367ff, in which the two groups of cemeteries are dealt with together.
27. Firth, op. cit., III, 18ff.
28. Cem. No. 7, Reisner, op. cit., 33ff.
29. Cem. No. 14, ibid, 141ff.
30. Cem. No. 77. Graves nos. 100 ff. Firth, op. cit., 123ff.

This cemetery is important for it shows the transition from the A-Group to the B-Group and it contains also a number of very small, badly damaged graves of Late Pre-dynastic Period, as those found in cemeteries

- 41 and 45. Reisner, op. cit., 211ff and 262ff.
31. Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua and Adindan, 2.
32. Borchardt, Altäg. Festungen, 41; ZÄS 46,12f and 45.
33. BAR I, 146; Urk. I, 236; Emery and Kirwan, ibid.
34. Not far from the route between Nakhlai and Dungul.
The name of the region is  ;
 ; Säve Söd., Aeg. und Nub., 9. ASA 33,65ff;
38, 369ff and 678ff.
35. The name of Khufu was found there. See ASA 11,171.
36. The names of Sahure, Isesi from the 5th Dyn. and Teti and Pepi I of the 6th Dyn. were found there. Weigall, Report, pls. 57-8.
37. See PSBA 37,117ff and 224; 39, 133f; BIFAO 13,141ff.
38. Erman-Ranke, Agypten, 275; Klebs, Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches, 33-34, no. 2 and the references quoted.
39. BAR I, 161.
40. Urk. I, 69.
41. The two inscriptions are nearly the same, but one was inscribed on the rocks of the eastern bank facing el-Hesseh Island and the other on the old route leading from Assuan to Elephantine. See. Urk. I, 110-111.
42. Urk. I, 251ff; Daressy, ASA 17,131-5.
43. Urk. I, 253,7-8. For his title of "overseer of the South (Upper Egypt)" see ibid, 252.9.
44. For a survey of "mr ^vsm^c" and the other titles connected with it see: Kees, Beitrage..., 85ff; Helck, Untersuch. Beamtentit., 109-110.
45. See Helck, ibid.
46. Urk. I, 208-9; Säve Söd., op. cit., 13 n. 7; Helck, op. cit., 115.15
47. De Morgan, Cat. I, 158ff; Elephantine Pap. 10523; Urk. I, 208.
48. Urk. I, 209.1-2.
49. Sethe, Die Bau und Denksteine, 910f believed that it

the southern boundary from at least the time of Merenre, as can be understood from the inscriptions recording his visit to the cataract region and the biography of Uni. See Urk. I, 110-111; 105.12-13.

61. Helck, op. cit., 115.
62. C.f. for example: Erman in ZDMG 46 (1892), 511; Reisner in SNR I (1918), 10; SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 16-17; Maspero, Rec. Trav., 15,103f; Junker, Ermenne, 39; Daressy in ASA 20,134; Gardiner, Onom., I, 74; Yoyotte in BIFAO 52, (1953), 173-8.
63. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 14ff.
64. Gardiner, Onom., I, 73ff, 112ff.
65. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 17.
66. Gardiner, op. cit., 74.
67. E. Edel, "Inschriften des Alten Reiches, V. Die Reiseberichte des Hr^w H^wf", in Firchow, Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin, 1955), 51-75.
68. Edel, op. cit., 63f and 73.
69. Edel, op. cit., 66. Reisner had arrived at the same conclusion, SNR I, .
70. Edel, ibid; Scharff, in Scharff and Moartgat, Ägypten und Norderasien (1950), 70; Kees, Ägypten (1933), 344; Junker, Die Ägypter (1933), 73; R. Anthes, in Historia Mundi II (1954), 162. Erman located Yam between Khartoum and Berber, ZDMG 46 (1892), 577 and Ed. Meyer stated that the Egyptians of the O.K. reached the 4th Cataract, Gesch. II, 80.
71. Gardiner, op. cit., I, 74ff, 87, II, 269ff, 270 n. 2; SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 16-17.
72. Both Edel and SÄve SÖd. agree in this assumption: Edel, op. cit., 70; SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 16-17. Gardiner believed in locating Zatju to the north of Irtjet, op. cit., I, 75, although he admitted that Zatju is mentioned in an earlier passage before Irtjet, ibid

270 n. 2.

- 73. Šave Švd., considered the Medja as a name of a people (nomads), ibid, 18. C.f. Gardiner, op. cit., 74-6 and Edel, op. cit., 70.
- 74. Erman, op. cit., 577.
- 75. Urk. I, 101.16.
- 76. Urk. I, 125-6.
- 77. BSFE 6,13.
- 78. Hölscher, Libyer und Agypter, 49.
- 79. Edel, op. cit., 68ff; Arkell, Hist.Sud., 44 located Ta-Temeh further south. Edel points out that the Egyptians did not necessarily define a single and extensive Land of the Libyans, but that when they found Libyans in occupation of an area or an oasis, they called that place "Land of the Libyans", hence the various "Lands of the Libyans" that are found in the Egyptian texts.
- 80. Edel, ibid, 70.
- 81. See for example Harkhuf's account of the raid of Yam against Tjemeh, Urk. I, 125, 127.
- 82. It is clear that the ruler of Irtjet had united Zatju and Wawat under his rule. Urk. I, 126-7. See Edel, op. cit., 53 n. 1 and 58f.
- 83. Urk. I, 127. 4-6.
- 84. Urk. I, 133-4.
- 85. Urk. I, 136.
- 86. Embalmers and all burial equipment were sent to him from the palace; Urk. I, 138, but this would not mean that Sabni did not prepare for his father's burial before he got the royal equipment.
- 87. Urk. I, 134.13-15.
- 88. C.f. Steindorff, Aniba I, 6ff and Junker, Kub. N., 35f. We shall refer to these people later on.
- 89. Urk. I, 131ff; Elephantine Pap.VI;
Urk. I, 135ff; Elephantine Pap.VI and II.

90. See above pp. 54-5 ; Urk. I, 109.1-2; 126.2; 127.4-6 ;
See also Černý, Anc. Eg. Religion, 124.
91. Sethe, Die Bau und Denkmalsteine, 87ff; ASA 38,519.
92. Urk. I, 106ff. For locating these quarries, which is
uncertain c.f. Sethe, op. cit., 510f and Lucas, Materials,
56. See also Šáve Šbd., op. cit., 23.
93. Urk. I, 127.7-8.
94. Urk. I, 134.
95. Urk. I, 126-7.
96. Urk. I, 108-9; Boreux, Études^{de} Nautique Eg., 130ff.
97. See Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, 184; Murray in JEA
12,248; Šáve Šbd., op. cit., 25.
98. See fig. 2.
99. Urk. I, 134.14-5.
100. All the graffiti published by Černý were from the
Middle and New Kingdoms. See JEA 33,56.
101. Urk. I, 209; ZAS 42,7ff.
102. Junker, Kubanieh Nord, 14; Giza II, 194.
103. Bull. Boston M.F.A. 13,32ff, fig.; Petrie, An. Eg.
(1916), 48.

Chapter IV.

The Middle Kingdom and the Conquest of Nubia.

1. The Break-up of the Old Kingdom.

At the end of the previous chapter we saw that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty there were indications of a change in Nubia. Harkhuf met with difficulties in his later expeditions and, as we have seen, after him, in the reign of Pepi II, Pepi-nakht led two punitive expeditions into Nubia, and the experience of Sabni confirm that the old peaceful conditions favouring mainly trading expeditions had changed. Although the causes of this change are never stated in our records, we have suggested above that it may very probably be connected with the advent of a new ethnic group in Nubia, the C-Group. Before, however, we proceed to discuss this new people, it seems advisable briefly to outline the course of events in Egypt immediately after the fall of the Sixth Dynasty.

By the end of the long reign of Pepi II it is evident that the king and the central administration had lost much of their power and authority, and that in consequence disunion, disorder and social unrest were widespread. Many of the nomarchs were, at least, semi-independent and their tombs are found in the provincial centres and no longer at Memphis.

Civil war broke out and eventually crystallised into the long drawn out and fluctuating struggle between the princes of Herakleopolis and Thebes, which eventually ended with the triumph of the Thebans. In the Delta we know that even before the end of the Sixth Dynasty infiltrations of Asiatics had assumed such large proportions that

until well on in the Herakleopolitan Period the Delta as a whole lay outside Egyptian influence and was under the control of Asiatics. It has been suggested by some that Egypt at this time, and particularly after the fall of the Seventh Dynasty, went through a form of social revolution.⁽¹⁾

Although for a long period Egypt was disunited and the prey to civil war, it would be a mistake to assume that the people as a whole were reduced to dire distress and poverty. It is a striking fact that the middle-class and even the poorer tombs of the period are bigger, better equipped than those of the Old Kingdom, and contain a far higher proportion, far more generally distributed, of objects of gold and luxury than hitherto.⁽²⁾ Social upheaval and the fact that life no longer revolved round the court had evidently resulted in a redistribution of wealth.

The very marked increase of gold in the graves of the period is striking and remarkable, and at the same time somewhat puzzling: the robbing of the royal pyramids cannot by itself explain this phenomenon, it cannot explain the remarkable proportion of gold found at Qau and Badari. As we have already pointed out (p.60), gold from Nubia is not recorded in the Old Kingdom, but first mentioned in the Twelfth Dynasty. Whence, then, came the gold in the graves of the period? Was there, for unexplained reasons, increased exploitation of the Egyptian gold mines in the Eastern Desert, or was there already a trickle of gold from Nubia?

Inscribed records of Egyptian contacts with Nubia throughout this time are lacking. It is difficult to imagine that Egyptian trading expeditions could have continued on the same scale as hitherto, but it is clear that relations were not entirely severed. In the first place it is certain that Nubian mercenaries were employed on both sides in the course of fighting between Herakleopolis and Thebes.⁽³⁾ The tomb of

⁽¹⁾ Some records that the gold of the Egyptian grain

Ankhtifi at Mo'alla, moreover, shows that Nubians were employed in Egypt at that time not merely as soldiers, but in more peaceful occupations such as herdsmen,⁽⁴⁾ and during the great famine that ravaged Upper Egypt. During this time Ankhtifi records that he sent Upper Egyptian grain to Wawat.⁽⁵⁾ We may conclude, therefore, that contacts of a kind were maintained. Naturally it would be wrong to assume any frequent or big Egyptian expeditions, as in the Sixth Dynasty, but conditions, at least in the Nubian districts immediately south of the frontier, must have been sufficiently peaceful to permit the recruitment of Nubians for various kinds of service, and sufficiently friendly to enable a nomarch such as Ankhtifi to relieve hunger and famine in Wawat.

Of conditions deeper in Nubia, and above all of the C-Group people, contemporary Egyptian records tell us nothing. This information is forthcoming from the archaeological remains from Nubia itself, and it is this evidence that we must now consider.

2. The C-Group.

The C-Group people were probably nomads⁽⁶⁾ of mixed Hamitic-negroid origin. Their original homeland is unknown⁽⁷⁾ but they had come into the Nile Valley by the end of the Old Kingdom (see above, pp. 59, 70). Presumably they must have mingled with the local Nubian population and a new culture was produced which retained, however, some of the older elements. Eventually the C-Group people made their way north as far as Upper Egypt. Their most northerly settlement, so far as is known, is ~~at~~ Kubanieh, where the latest burials have been dated by Junker to the middle of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.⁽⁸⁾ It is clear that the expeditions of the later Eleventh Dynasty and the campaigns and forts of the

Twelfth Dynasty stopped any further northwards expansion. Nevertheless, both in the First Intermediate Period and in the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptians did not hesitate to recruit Nubian mercenaries. The few Egyptian objects found in early C-Group graves may well be due in part to some of these mercenaries returning home after service in Egypt. The increase in Egyptian objects in later C-Group cemeteries is doubtless to be explained by the increase in the numbers of Nubians in Egyptian employ, and partly, of course, by the Egyptian occupation of Nubia itself.

The main characteristic of this culture was the incised bowls. Red polished and Red polished Black topped wares were similar to those of the former periods. The rough "Nubian Ware" is completely missing and the "Qena Ware" is rare, until the later stages. A few copper objects, mirrors, daggers and cheap ornaments, were imported from Egypt, but much mother-of-pearl came from the Red Sea coast.

Steindorff, in his analysis of the Nubian cultures,⁽⁹⁾ included the C-Group in his Middle Nubian (MN), which he divided into four stages:

- MN.I : contemporary with Dyns. VI-XI,
- MN.II : the peak of the C-Group, Dyns. XI-XII,
- MN.III : contemporary with the Hyksos Period and showing a general decline after an initial revival,
- MN.IV : contemporary with the end of MN.III, is not represented in Nubia, but in the Pan-graves in Upper Egypt.

For the sake of convenience, we will follow Steindorff's classification in the following pages.

The so-called Kerma Culture, as we shall see (pp. 112 ff), is contemporary with MN.II and MN.III, but its exact relations with these phases is not yet certain. The only site that has yet been excavated is at Kerma itself, and all Reisner's so-called "Kerma Nubian" is still unpublished. The only

other known sites, at Amarah West and Sai, have never been excavated, and the first of these, at least, is very badly robbed.

The distribution of MN.I, as known at present is limited to the sites at Faras, Aniba and Dakka. Firth pointed out that the differences in the graves at Dakka indicated that some of them were later in date than the others.⁽¹⁰⁾ The earliest tombs at Aniba are more certain in date than those of the two other sites, Dakka and Faras.⁽¹¹⁾

Graves of this period are either without superstructure or with a small superstructure of well-set stone over small round or oval pits.⁽¹²⁾ Rough, stela-like stones were set up irregularly in the cemeteries. The body was buried in a contracted position, on its right side, with face to the north. Some exceptions were noted, according to the orientation of the graves. The rough Nubian Ware does not occur and the "Qena" ware of Egyptian origin is rare.⁽¹³⁾ Red painted pots also occur.⁽¹⁴⁾ Some mirrors were found, many beads for ornaments and amulets. The beads are mostly of shell, carnelian and flint. Some of them were arranged in necklaces of black and white. A few Egyptian objects, faience beads, button seals and small alabaster vases, in some of the tombs give evidence of very limited commercial contacts between Egypt and Nubia.⁽¹⁵⁾ The presence of these objects, however, does not necessarily mean that friendly relations existed between the incoming C-Group people and their neighbours in Egypt.⁽¹⁶⁾ They may more likely be evidence of the final stages of a dwindling commercial contact, for the number of these Egyptian objects diminished until they vanished, and then subsequently new types, especially in pottery, appeared.

MN.II represents the high water mark of the C-Group. Their cemeteries were more widely distributed than those of the MN.I, and, in addition to those of Aniba, Dakka and Faras, have been found at Gerf Hussein,⁽¹⁷⁾ Allaki,⁽¹⁸⁾ Qurtah⁽¹⁹⁾ and at a site nearly opposite to Maharaga Temple.⁽²⁰⁾

The chief characteristics of these cemeteries can be summarized as follows:

The superstructures, which were bigger but less well made than those of MN.I, were often placed on overlying sand and not directly on the gebel. The graves are rectangular pits with rounded corners and often lined with stones and roofed with stone blocks, or alternatively have mud brick lining and vault.⁽²¹⁾ The body was usually laid on its right side with head to the east, and was often wrapped in mats or skins. The head often rested on a pillow of straw. Pottery vessels of various types were laid outside the superstructure and now included some vessels of "Qena" ware. The graves have yielded many beads and necklaces, arm-rings or bracelets, and characteristic are the ear-rings (or hair rings) of mother of pearl.⁽²²⁾

The beginning of the MN.III is roughly contemporary with the Thirteenth Dynasty and this phase covers the whole of the Hyksos Period. The earlier graves show that, at first, there was some advance in wealth, but soon a general decline set in. The chief cemeteries of MN.III are found at Faras, Aniba, Dakka, Shellal,⁽²³⁾ Meris-Markos,⁽²⁴⁾ Ginari,⁽²⁵⁾ Kuban,⁽²⁶⁾ Seyalleh,⁽²⁷⁾ Allaki East,⁽²⁸⁾ Qurtah West⁽²⁹⁾ and also at Kubanieh North, Ermenne and Toshka. The burials in these cemeteries are similar to those of MN.II, but the superstructure was commonly provided with a chapel on its eastern or northern side.⁽³⁰⁾ On the edges of the cemeteries are large massive superstructures with vaulted pit and brick chapels. The graves are often on high sand over older buildings. The position of the body was not so uniform as in MN.II; E.-W. direction is the norm, but N.-S. also

occurs). The body lies on its left side and the knees are only slightly flexed or scarcely so. Small cattle (sheep and goats) are often buried with the body. In many cemeteries red painted horns were laid outside the superstructure. Unlike the preceding stage, the majority of the pots were laid inside the pit or in the chapel; only occasionally were they laid outside. Many of the MN.II pottery forms are retained, but they show degeneration. New forms appeared as well, such as the deep bowls of Red polished or Red polished Black topped ware, with incised line patterns,⁽³¹⁾ incised vessels with inlaid coloured patterns, ring-stands, beakers and spouted cups of Kerma Ware. Characteristic are arm-bands composed of thin, rectangular pieces of mother-of-pearl strung together.

MN.IV is approximately contemporary with the end of the Hyksos Period and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is not represented in Nubia and by this term we refer to the Pan-graves of Egypt, which are found at various places in Upper Egypt as far north as Assiut.

The graves show many points of resemblance with those of MN.III, but at the same time they present so many peculiarities that they must be regarded as representing a different culture phase. Junker⁽³²⁾ tried to connect them with Kerma, but Firth proved that they are really of the late C-Group. The Pan-graves and the Kerma tombs differed greatly in size, shape and contents.

The chief Pan-grave cemeteries are at Hu (Abadiyeh),⁽³³⁾ Rifeh,⁽³⁴⁾ Balabish⁽³⁵⁾ and Badari.⁽³⁶⁾ The graves are circular shallow pits without superstructure. As in MN.III, red painted animal horns were placed outside the graves. The body was buried in a contracted position, on its right side, with face to the west. In addition to known Nubian forms, pottery of new forms and decorations were placed with the dead in the grave, and included plates, pots with spouts

and Kerma beakers. Pierced snail shells were arranged in necklaces and arm-bands made of mother-of-pearl were as popular as in MN.III.⁽³⁷⁾ A characteristic feature of these graves is the frequent presence of the copper daggers and of leather, apparently from wrist-bands or gauntlets: these facts led Wainwright to conclude that the Pan-grave people were warlike and that their graves were those of Nubian soldiers, mainly bowmen, who had died and were buried in Egypt.⁽³⁸⁾

In addition to the Pan-graves, it should be pointed out that some examples of Kerma pottery have been found elsewhere in Egypt. Petrie found at Qurneh the intact burial of a woman buried in Egyptian style in a Rishy coffin, which he dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Along side the coffin were four typical Kerma bowls.⁽³⁹⁾ Petrie points out that the teeth of the body were rather projecting, though the face was not prognathous. It is difficult to evaluate this burial: it might possibly be that of an Egyptianized Nubian woman, or it might have been of a true Egyptian who had come into possession of, and been attracted by, some Kerma pottery.

Finally it must be mentioned that in 1908 Garstang found some Kerma pottery at Abydos. The only grave of which any photographs exist shows a shallow ill-defined pit, which contained, at least, two bodies lying on the right side, loosely contracted and with hands before the face.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The pottery was in the grave alongside the body. This was evidently a grave of a different type than that found by Petrie at Qurneh and may be regarded as an isolated grave of the Pan-grave type.

3. The Expansion of Egypt.

It has been mentioned above (p.70) that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty the nomarchs had assumed great power at the expence of the king. The history of the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, of which the first mentioned may be mythical, is obscure. In most of the recent histories the view is held that the kings of the Eighth Dynasty had little authority outside the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and it has been suggested that there was simultaneously a pseudo-dynasty at Coptos. A king, Wadjkare, mentioned in the Coptos decrees and whose name occurs in two inscriptions at Dehmit in Nubia,⁽⁴¹⁾ was said to be one of the kings of this Coptos Dynasty. The existence of this dynasty has now been disproved and it is probable that Wadjkare should be regarded as one of the last kings of the Memphite Eighth Dynasty.⁽⁴²⁾

The consequences of these recent studies are that it would appear that the kings of the Eighth Dynasty, though greatly reduced in authority and in almost abject dependence on the princes of Upper Egypt, exercised at least nominal rule over all of Egypt south of Memphis (the Delta appears to have been completely outside Egyptian control (see above pp.70-71)) and to some extent they were still active in Lower Nubia.

Roeder⁽⁴³⁾ suggested that the inscriptions of Dehmit belong to a Nubian prince who was in friendly relations with the Egyptian king and had helped to subdue a revolt in the north. This view is untenable and has rightly been rejected by Sève Söderbergh.⁽⁴⁴⁾ We must accept the view that the inscriptions of Dehmit reflect the activity in Lower Nubia of the Memphite Eighth Dynasty and not that of either a Nubian prince or a hypothetical Upper Egyptian Dynasty.

The circumstances of the rise to power of the princes of Herakleopolis, who formed the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties,

are obscure.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Let it suffice that they assumed power, but that eventually the princes of Thebes grew in strength and independence and opposed them; The story of most of the First Intermediate Period of Egypt is that of the long struggle between Herakleopolis and Thebes, which finally ended in the complete triumph of the Theban princes of the Eleventh Dynasty, who once more united the whole of Egypt,

Documentary evidence of Egyptian activity in Nubia during this period is not unnaturally very scanty. The name of Khety I occurs at the First Cataract.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It is doubtful to what extent this can be taken as proof of direct Herakleopolitan interest in the southern boundary of Egypt, and it is more likely to be the work of an Upper Egyptian prince, inscribed at a time when Thebes was not strong enough to dispute the claims of Herakleopolis to supremacy. It is premature to assume, as Sæve Söderbergh does,⁽⁴⁷⁾ that this was the work of a Theban prince, for the inscriptions of Mo^calla show clearly that a man such as Ankhtifi was in opposition to Thebes and in friendly relations with Lower Nubia.

Nevertheless, it is certain that eventually it was the Thebans who were interested in the southern boundary and the lands that lay beyond it. Evidence for this is forthcoming from the stela of a man called Dmj, an overseer of the army (mr ms^v), and caravan leader (mr-^c), who, in giving details of his career, records, "I made Wawat tributary to every nomarch who was in this nome".⁽⁴⁸⁾ The stela bears no royal name, nor that of any identifiable nomarch and, therefore, cannot be dated with certainty. Nevertheless it was first studied when it was offered for sale in Luxor and it is a very reasonable assumption that it must have originated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Thebes. With all due caution, therefore, the stela of Dmj

may be cited in support of the view that the Theban princes eventually interested themselves in Nubia. Possibly the stela is to be assigned to a time subsequent to the reign of Khety I and after the Thebans had overcome the opposition of Ankhtifi and his supporters.

The stela of Antefi, a nomarch of Thebes, records as one of his titles "the trusted on of the king in the narrow door of the south",⁽⁴⁹⁾ a revival of an Old Kingdom title. Here again we have clear evidence of Theban interest in the southern boundary. It is probable, as Sæve Söderbergh has pointed out, that this inscription is earlier than Antef I and perhaps roughly contemporary with that of Dmꜣ. Similarly, further evidence of Theban interest in Nubia is afforded by occurrence of the name of Antef II, Wꜣh-ꜥnh at Elephantine.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Before proceeding to discuss the activities of the Eleventh Dynasty a few words are necessary on the nomenclature of its kings. For many years past there has been lively controversy on the number and names of the kings called Mentuhotep,⁽⁵¹⁾ and in various histories their number has varied from four to five. Recently, however, Clère⁽⁵²⁾ and Vandier⁽⁵³⁾ have suggested that there were only three kings of this name. Mentuhotep I, who at successive stages in his career also bore the names S^ꜥankhibtawi, Netjerihedjet and Smatwawi, and also in the last two stages the name Nebhepetre; Mentuhotep II, S^ꜥnkhare; and Mentuhotep III, Nebtawire. It is this scheme that will be followed in this work, but in order to render identification easier each Mentuhotep will also be given the appropriate additional name.

Practically nothing is known of relations between Egypt and Nubia between the reigns of Antef I and Mentuhotep I. At various places in Lower Nubia the names of two kings

  and  have been found. The

names bear obvious resemblances to those of the Eleventh Dynasty, but their identity has been hotly disputed. Ed. Meyer was at first inclined to assign them to the Eleventh Dynasty,⁽⁵⁴⁾ but subsequently changed his mind and considered that in Nubia at that time there was an independent regime under Egyptian dynasts, who bore pure Egyptian titulary.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Gauthier, on the other hand, doubted whether these men were Egyptians and was inclined to link them, together with Wadjkare, (whom we have already discussed on p.78), with a hypothetical Nubian dynasty independent of Egypt,⁽⁵⁶⁾ but subsequently he appears to have changed his mind somewhat and to have assigned them to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Junker,⁽⁵⁸⁾ Rowe⁽⁵⁹⁾ and Winlock⁽⁶⁰⁾ were all of the opinion that they would be dated to the Eleventh Dynasty. The most recent discussion is that of Sève Söderbergh, who points out⁽⁶¹⁾ that the second of these kings is associated, in obviously contemporary inscriptions, with officials bearing purely Egyptian names and titles. He argues, therefore, that it is most unlikely that an Nubian princelings at that time could have been so Egyptianized as to bear themselves Egyptian names and titles and to be surrounded by a court modelled exactly on the Egyptian pattern, with officials bearing Egyptian names, for there is not the slightest archaeological evidence to support such an assumption. Sève Söderbergh, therefore, concludes that these cartouches must have been those of genuine members of the Theban family, presumably men living somewhat before the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty as we now know it. A definite solution of this problem is not yet possible for lack of evidence, but the view of Sève Söderbergh appears to be reasonable.

All that it is safe to deduce from the inscriptions of

the First Intermediate Period is that from time to time some of the princes of southern Upper Egypt, including the Thebans, maintained an interest in at least northern Lower Nubia.

It may be mentioned here that when Garstang worked at Nagada in 1905, he excavated at least one large tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty, which has not been published. Among the inscribed objects from this tomb are six small blocks of stone, which do not join each other, but bear clear references to fighting and a possible reference to the bringing of captives. It is not clearly stated that this fighting was in Nubia, and the text may merely refer, of course, to incidents in the civil war, but one of the blocks mentions Mdꜣw and Wꜣwꜣtyw, presumably, therefore, either Nubian mercenaries employed in the civil war or, but rather less likely, Nubians against whom the owner of the tomb had fought. (62)

There is no doubt, however, about the interest of Mentuhotep I, Nebhepetre, in Nubia, probably even before the final victory of the Thebans. A relief from Gebelein shows him smiting four prisoners, who represent Egyptians, Asiatics, Nubians and Libyans. (63) Although such a relief has no great historical value, since it may well be merely yet another of those conventional scenes so often seen on the monuments of different periods, another inscription of the king's shrine at Denderah states that the Nubians were paying tribute and mentions the Mdꜣ, Wꜣwꜣt (?) and the Libyans Tmhw. (64)

On a block from Deir-ell-Ballas a king, probably Mentuhotep I, boasts of having joined Wꜣwꜣt and the Oasis to Upper Egypt. (65) A rock inscription at Assuan, (66) which is dated to the 41st year of Mentuhotep I mentions a seal-bearer called Khety, who is also known from other inscriptions from Thebes. This inscription is badly damaged, but it is

clear that an expedition returned by boat from Wawat. It is possible that it is the same Khety who, in year 39 of Nebhepetre is mentioned, together with the king, his mother Queen Iah and his son (?) Antef, at Shatb-er-Rigal (Shatt-er-Rigall): perhaps this commemorates yet another expedition to Nubia by Khety. (67)

A fragment from a relief from the XIth Dynasty temple at Deir-el-Bahari is said by Naville (68) to show a dark coloured prisoner, but we cannot confirm this, for the relief is so fragmentary that it gives no clear idea. (69) Naville also published another fragment of relief which was found in the same temple and which he describes as that of a "negro bringing tribute of precious metal in rings". (70) The man may well be a Nubian, but certainly not a negro, and though the fragment was found in the XIth Dynasty temple, there is every probability that it originally came from the temple of Hatshepsut, perhaps part of the scene illustrated in Naville, Deir-el-Bahari III, pl. 76 and it cannot be quoted, therefore, as evidence of XIth Dynasty activity in Nubia. (71)

Further evidence of the interest of Mentuhotep I, Nebhepetre, in Nubia is afforded by seven graffiti which have been found near Dehmit. These texts are written in hieratic and are so damaged and uncertain that the majority of them are practically unintelligible. The first, (72) however, is rather better preserved and appears to read: "A command which Thm;w performed in the year..... I began to fight in the time of Nebhepetre in an expedition when he sailed upstream to Bn. (My) son returned with me to the king. When he had seized the whole land, he planned to slay the Beduin of D;ty. (I ?) approached Thebes on the return-journey (?)..... back. Then I overthrew D;ty. He set sail upstream". For the passage left untranslated

towards the end of the text, SÄve Söderbergh translated "But the Nubian returned back", and explained that a Nubian, too well-known to be mentioned, who had accompanied Thm;w from Nubia, had returned again to his home. ⁽⁷³⁾ This seems a very bold assumption, for none of the published copies of the text support the reading "Nubian".

What appears clear from this obscure text is that Nebhepetre organized an expedition into Nubia, which may have had Buhen as its objective, if we accept the suggestion that Bn is an error for Bhn, and that subsequently Nebhepetre planned an Asiatic campaign in which Thm;w had a part. SÄve Söderbergh's further suggestion that Thm;w had gone to Nubia to recruit mercenaries seems quite plausible and may perhaps find some support in the fourth inscription ⁽⁷⁴⁾ which records that when he returned to Thebes, the people awaiting on the river-bank thought there would be fighting and apparently fled: if Thm;w were returning with a contingent of Nubians, this unheralded arrival might well at first have created something akin to panic. Nevertheless, the tenor of the whole text remains uncertain. Is the term "I began to fight" to be taken literally as "to fight the Nubians" ? If so, it surely contradicts the assumption that Thm;w was sent deep into Nubia to obtain Nubian mercenaries, who would, one would imagine, be more easily obtained if conditions were peaceful.

One's tentative impression is that, accepting the identification of Bn with Buhen, Thm;w went to obtain Nubian mercenaries, presumably for the final stages of the struggle with Herakleopolis, but that, Herakleopolis having been finally defeated in the interim, Nebhepetre diverted his forces to Asia, probably as a phase in the restoration and consolidation of control over the Delta. If this interpretation is correct, it would seem to indicate fairly peaceful conditions in Nubia, a conclusion that seems to be

supported by the fact that we have no record of any activity in Nubia in the reign of Mentuhotep II, S'ankhkare. At all events, there is ample evidence of Egyptian activity in Nubia in the reign of Nebhepetre; in spite of the king's references to Nubian tribute, there is still no clear proof that these activities were mainly military, and even the inscription of Deir-el-Ballas should not be assumed, without further evidence, as proving that Lower Nubia was formally annexed to Egypt.

Expeditions were sent by Mentuhotep I and his successors to the Wadi Hammamat⁽⁷⁵⁾ in order to exploit the quarries and open up a practicable route to the Red Sea and Punt.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The history of the end of the Eleventh Dynasty is obscure, but there is good reason to suspect that it was a time of considerable internal confusion, if not of actual civil war, and, after the brief reign of Mentuhotep II, S'ankhkare, there appears to have been an interregnum of seven years before the reign of Mentuhotep III, who may have been a usurper.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Nevertheless, the exploitation of the Wadi Hammamat continued on a very large scale. Thus in the reign of Mentuhotep II, S'ankhkare, Henu in person led an expedition of 3000 destined for Punt.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In the reign of Mentuhotep III, Nebtaouire, further expeditions to Wadi Hammamat are recorded particularly under his vizier Amenemhat, who succeeded him on the throne,⁽⁷⁹⁾ and, in addition, he sent expeditions to the amethyst mines in Wadi-el-Hudi, to the south-east of Elephantine (see further below, p. 96).

We have already seen how in the First Intermediate Period Nubians were employed as mercenaries in Egypt. The majority of these would naturally have returned to their homes after their period of service had ended. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some may have preferred to settle in Egypt and to have married either Egyptian women or women from their own homeland, whom they

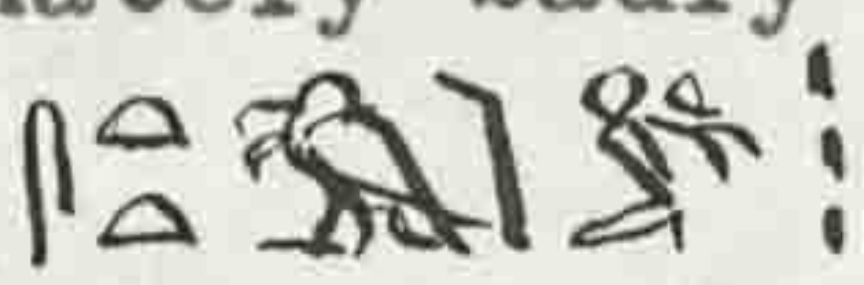
would have brought with them. Particularly if relations between Egypt and Nubia were in the main friendly, we may expect that a limited number of Nubians may have made a permanent home in Egypt. Hence it is not surprising that the two well known queens or concubines Ashayt and Kemsyt were apparently of Nubian origin. (80)

Mentuhotep III, Nebtaouire, was succeeded by Amenemhat I the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, who is generally identified with the vizier of the same name who served under Mentuhotep III. It is interesting at this point to recall that in the Prophecies of Neferti, after an account of the miseries of Egypt in the First Intermediate Period, Neferti goes on to say, "A king will come from the South, called Ameny the justified. He is the son of a woman of Ta-zeti". (81) Since Ta-zeti is the name both of the first nome of Upper Egypt and of Nubia, the origin of Amenemhat I cannot be decided with certainty, but at least he was a native of the extreme south of Upper Egypt.

Although internal affairs were the main concern of Amenemhat I, he was the first to initiate the vigorous policy of intervention in Nubia, which under his successors led to the effective occupation of Lower Nubia. The question arises what control over or interest in Nubia did Egypt possess when the Twelfth Dynasty came to power. At Hieroglyph Hill and Gebel Sheikh Suliman to the west of Buhen South, graffiti have been found containing names of Eleventh Dynasty type. (82) Arkell has suggested that these graffiti may perhaps indicate that the Eleventh Dynasty had occupied Nubia as far as the Second Cataract and that the foundation of the fortress of Ikn may be assigned to the same dynasty, if not earlier. (83) In support of this theory might also have been cited the inscription from Deir-el-Ballas (mentioned above, p. 82).

The evidence of these graffiti alone is hardly sufficient

to warrant such an assumption, for the personal names are not necessarily Eleventh Dynasty in date and, even if they were, need not imply anything more than occasional visits by Egyptians and not an effective occupation. The most southerly inscriptions that can be dated to the Eleventh Dynasty with certainty are in the region of Dehmit (see above, p. 83). None of the inscriptions from Hieroglyph Hill and Gebel Sheikh Suliman refer to military officials, but one has a clear reference to quarrying of stone⁽⁸⁴⁾ and it would seem more reasonable to conclude that these graffiti are possibly records of a number of expeditions for quarrying or for trade, rather than large scale military activity and complete occupation of the area between the First and Second Cataract. Moreover, if the Eleventh Dynasty had effectively occupied Lower Nubia as far as the Second Cataract, it is strange that the Twelfth Dynasty had to campaign so energetically in the same area and that Sesostri III was only able to fix his southern boundary at Semnah, the head of the Second Cataract. The reasons for the very active interest of the Twelfth Dynasty in Nubia are uncertain. Was it merely an outcome of the renewed power and prosperity of Egypt, or can we assume that the C-Group people had now reached the height of their development and thereby provoked vigorous Egyptian military action? It may be suggested that it was a combination of both that led to the conquest of Nubia.

There is little doubt that in the reign of Amenemhat I there was an increased Egyptian activity in Nubia, but the exact extent of that activity and of Egyptian control is uncertain. An expedition to Nubia in his reign is apparently recorded in tomb no. 14 at Beni Hasan, that of the nomarch Khenum-hotep I.⁽⁸⁵⁾ This inscription is unfortunately badly damaged, but appears to mention the Nehsyu and :

Stay in obscure context. None

Sttyw in an obscure context. Reisner⁽⁸⁶⁾ identified the Sttyw with the inhabitants of the region of the First Cataract, whereas Ed. Meyer⁽⁸⁷⁾ considered that they were Asiatics. The date of this expedition, which appears to have been by river, is unknown. Furthermore, in the Instructions of Amenemhat I for his son Sesostris I, the king claims that he "had subdued the people of Wawat and made captives of the Medja".⁽⁸⁸⁾

Inscriptions of his reign have in addition been found at a number of places in Lower Nubia, but they are not as numerous as those of the later kings of the dynasty. Between Assuan and Philae is an inscription of his 23rd year.⁽⁸⁹⁾ At the entrance of Wadi Girgani, near Korosko, an inscription of his 29th year states "we came to overthrow Wawat":⁽⁹⁰⁾ this is the only certain dated expedition of the reign. An inscription found near Mariyah north of Gerf Hussein may be dated either to Amenemhat I or to a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁽⁹¹⁾

At Kerma Reisner found one fragment of an alabaster vessel with traces of the titulary of Amenemhat I.⁽⁹²⁾ At Kerma also Reisner found a stela dated to the 33rd year of Amenemhat III which refers to repairs made to the "Inebu-Amenemhat-the-justified".⁽⁹³⁾ Reisner was therefore inclined to see in the Inebu-Amenemhat the Egyptian name of Kerma and suggested that it indicated that Kerma was founded in the reign of either Amenemhat I or II. Whereas on general principles Reisner was inclined to prefer Amenemhat I, he was careful to point out that archaeological evidence seemed to favour Amenemhat II. It must be admitted that it would be indeed bold to assign the construction of the Egyptian fort at Kerma to as early a date as the reign of Amenemhat I. Except for the alabaster fragment at Kerma, the inscription at Korosko is the southernmost of his reign that is known.

Moreover, the C-Group cemeteries of the period show no marked signs of Egyptian influence and objects, and for the time being, one would hesitate to assume that the direct activity of Amenemhat I extended much beyond Korosko.

Under Sesostri I, the son and successor of Amenemhat I, Egyptian activities extended further south. An overseer of the army and recruiting officer, Mentuhotep son of ^{mw}, left a stela in Buhen dated to the 18th year of Sesostri I, on which the king is depicted in front of Montu, lord of Thebes, who offers to the king "all the lands in Ta-zeti" as prisoners. Below the relief are the remains of five name rings, each surmounted by the head and shoulders of a bound Nubian, containing the names of Nubian lands. The names of some of these lands are severely mutilated, but others are still legible and for the first time we come across the name of Cush.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Another inscription from the same place of an overseer of recruits and overseer of the army⁽⁹⁵⁾ mentions a fortress and frontier patrols, an indication of more effective and thorough control. A stela which was found about 20 kms. to the south-west of Assuan may have some connection with this campaign, for it is dated to year 18 of a king whose name is not given and depicts a man armed with a bow driving a prisoner before him.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The son of Khnum-hotep, Ameni, mentions the same campaign in his biographical inscription at Beni Hasan and specifically mentions Cush.⁽⁹⁷⁾

It seems that Elephantine became of great importance as a starting point for the campaigns in Nubia, for we notice from the inscriptions of Sarenput the great part he played in controlling the boundary and facilitating the traffic through the Cataract region.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In fact, the nomarch of Elephantine began to gain the king's favour and confidences, and the king as a result rewarded him with gifts.⁽⁹⁹⁾ His responsibility was so great that he states that he was the

seal-bearer of the king (i.e. executive officer) in all matters concerning Kush, ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and that he was "over the towns in Nubia (T?-zti)", ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The evidence at our disposal indicates that under Sesostri I Egypt pursued an active and determined policy in Nubia. The Story of Sinuhe shows that even before the death of his father he had been given special responsibility for external affairs, ⁽¹⁰²⁾ and makes clear references to his activities in the south. ⁽¹⁰³⁾ The excavations at Kuban indicate that the first fortress on the site was in all probability built in the reign of Sesostri I, ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and it is possible that the fortresses of Kuban and Buhen are both to be assigned to his reign. Taken in conjunction with the stela from Buhen mentioned above (p. 89), with its references to a fortress and frontier patrol, we may safely conclude that it was in this reign that Egypt deliberately began the effective conquest and occupation of Lower Nubia and immediately proceeded to consolidate the conquest by starting to set up the fortress system (Kuban to control the route to Wadi el Allaqis gold mines, Buhen to guard the Second Cataract frontier), and by instituting proper controls and patrols.

It is doubtful whether this direct Egyptian control over Nubia in the reign of Sesostri I extended beyond the Second Cataract. An offering-table found on the island of Argo was considered by Reisner to indicate that Sesostri I had even built a temple on the island. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ It is true that the name of the king has been found on one or two fragments of alabaster at Kerma, ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ but these few pieces are not enough in themselves to prove that any permanent buildings were erected at either Kerma or Argo. It is certain that the fortress at Kerma was founded not later than the reign

of Amenemhat II (see above, p. 88), but whether there was any permanent occupation in the reigns of Amenemhat I or Sesostris I is still problematical.

Other inscriptions have been found in different parts of Lower Nubia and are dated to the later part of the reign of Sesostris I and to the reigns of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III, but these inscriptions do not give any information about military activities (see further, pp. ⁹²95 ff.). ^{101, 105} They are probably evidence that for some time after the decisive campaign of Sesostris I peace prevailed in Nubia.

The long peace after Sesostris I and the resultant active commercial exchanges in all probability led to the increased prosperity and strength of the C-Group people. A consequence of this may have been that in the end they began either to interfere with Egyptian trade or to raid Egyptian centres in Nubia. At least Sesostris III was compelled to make several campaigns in Nubia, and this must surely indicate that the Nubians had been making trouble and that it was necessary to reassert Egyptian authority. (107)

Sesostris^{III} certainly realised the importance of having easy communications along the River Nile and so he ordered a canal in the region of the First Cataract to be cleared anew. (108) This was recorded at Sehel in the 8th year of his reign. An inscription from Elephantine dated later in the same year gives a fragmentary account, "His Majesty commanded the chief of the ten of Upper Egypt, Ameni.... in the fort of Elephantine to make quarries (?) for the gsw-pr of Upper Egypt..... [people] on the river bank of Elephantine, when [His Majesty L.P.] H. went to overthrow the vile Cush". (109)

The exact connection of this inscription with the expedition of year 8 is uncertain; since the Sehel inscription

clearly states that after the canal had been cleared the king sailed south "to overthrow the vile Cush", and since The Elephantine stela is dated to the very end of the same year, it would seem clear that the events related in it took place after the expedition had departed and could not have been connected with any preparatory measures. Owing to the lacunae in the text, the precise nature of the work required is unknown, nor is it clear what is meant by the concluding reference "when His Majesty went to overthrow the vile Cush".

Our sources show clearly that under Sesostris III a large scale military action in Nubia was undertaken and that the fortress system was expanded and brought to completion. Hence Sesostris III is rightly regarded as the real conqueror of Nubia and as such he was recognised by the Egyptians themselves and, at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty was worshipped as one of the gods of Nubia.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Of course a considerable proportion of the fortress system was already in existence before his reign: for example, in year 35 of Amenemhat II we read of a man being sent to inspect the fortresses of Wawat.⁽¹¹¹⁾ It is not clear from the records to what extent, if any, active campaigning was necessary in Lower Nubia north of the Second Cataract and none of our sources make a clear reference to fighting in this area. On the other hand, it is certain that Sesostris III campaigned south of the Second Cataract and that he took special steps firmly to fix the southern boundary of Egypt at Semnah. These measures involved new fortresses, such as Uronarti, in the Cataract area, and renewed attention to the forts of Lower Nubia. The impression one gains is that the main force of the campaigns of Sesostris III was directed against Nubian peoples south of the Second Cataract and not so much in Lower Nubia.

This work of conquest and consolidation appears to have required three or four campaigns. The first took place in the 8th year of the reign and is authenticated by a boundary stela that was set up at Semnah.⁽¹¹²⁾ This stela states that the southern boundary had been fixed at Semnah in order to prevent any Nubians passing Hh, which is presumably to be identified with Semnah, ^{by} land or boat, except on an official mission, or in order to trade at the fortress of Ikn.

The second campaign apparently took place in the 10th year and is recorded on a rock inscription between Assuan and Philae: it is unfortunately damaged and incomplete.⁽¹¹³⁾ Reisner was inclined to identify the campaign recorded in this campaign with the expedition of year 8:⁽¹¹⁴⁾ while this is not impossible, it seems more reasonable to assume that the text in fact records a different campaign.

The next campaign is usually dated to year 16 on the strength of the second and larger stela from Semnah.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ This stela does not clearly mention a campaign, but in view of the fact of its very aggressive and contemptuous tone, and that in the same year, according to a duplicate of the same text found at Uronarti, the fortress of Uronarti itself was built,⁽¹¹⁶⁾ it is not unreasonable to suggest that there was in fact a campaign in this year also.

The fourth and last campaign took place in year 19 and is mentioned in a stela of Sesatet,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ who accompanied Iykhernofret when he was sent to execute certain works at Abydos. The same campaign is also mentioned in an inscription found at Uronarti in 1931.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The last mentioned inscription apparently refers to difficulties occasioned by low water, particularly at a place called Ismwk (?). The identity of this place is uncertain, but it is probably to be equated with the Smk of the inscription of Sesostris I at Buhen

(see above, p. 89). This text leaves little doubt that the expedition penetrated into the Sudan south of the Second Cataract.

The furthest point reached by the Egyptian campaigns in the Middle Kingdom is still a problem. Sesostri III was, as far as we know, the most active king in this respect. He fixed his official southern boundary at Semnah (see above, pp. 92f), but the Egyptian centre at Kerma lies further south and was probably built during the reign of Amenemhat II (see above, p. 88). We have already seen (p. 57) that Kerma appears to have been an important trading centre at least at the end of the Old Kingdom, though this does not mean that it was at that time under Egyptian occupation. It is hardly likely that a centre such as Kerma could have been occupied and administered by Egyptian personnel without some military measures to secure its communications with the nearest Egyptian base at Semnah: any other course would have been folly in view of the disturbed conditions that obviously prevailed south of the Second Cataract.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Probably Kerma continued to exist as a native trading centre after the Old Kingdom, and was then occupied and developed by the Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom.⁽¹²⁰⁾ The absence of forts beyond Semnah can be explained by the fact that Semnah is the southernmost strategic point in the Second Cataract region and that south of it as far as the Third Cataract the land is almost complete desert and could never have been thickly populated. Kerma, therefore, may be regarded as a distant outpost. Our conclusion therefore is that under Sesostri III the Egyptians certainly campaigned south of the Second Cataract, that they reached Kerma, and may even have gone a little beyond.⁽¹²¹⁾

It is probable that the campaign of year 19 was the last military action of Sesostri III in Nubia. There is no evidence that his successors undertook any military expeditions

there: the measures taken by Sesostris III obviously had achieved their aim, and the country was pacified.

We have already seen that MN.II, which was the peak of the C-Group, was contemporary with the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties (see above, p.73). It is fairly clear that the campaigns of the Kings of the Twelfth Dynasty must have broken the power of the C-Group. The revival of C-Group prosperity at the beginning of MN.III (see above, p.75) may mark the period of decline in relations, which followed the early rule of the Hyksos in Egypt.

4. The Exploitation of Nubia.

It is noteworthy that the Egyptian expeditions in the Middle Kingdom were not always of a military nature. Some expeditions were sent to different parts of Nubia in order to get gold or other kinds of Nubian products. The expeditions which were sent to the quarries, in particular, show that even during the early Middle Kingdom no military action was needed. It is likely that the regions in which these quarries exist were sparsely inhabited by weak or peaceable people. Were they the former inhabitants of the Nile Valley in Nubia who were pushed into these isolated regions by the C-Group people? There is no evidence to prove this supposition, but it is not improbable. Most of the inscriptions at Wadi el-Hudi and the Diorite Quarries N.W. of Toshka indicate that the officials sent in expeditions there were of less importance than those sent to Sinai.⁽¹²²⁾ This would suggest that these areas were comparatively peaceful.

Of the inscriptions of Wadi-el-Hudi some are well preserved and accurately published, the others are badly

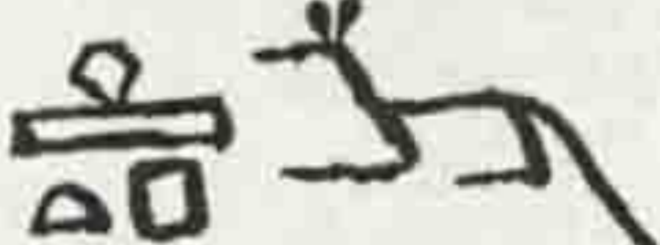
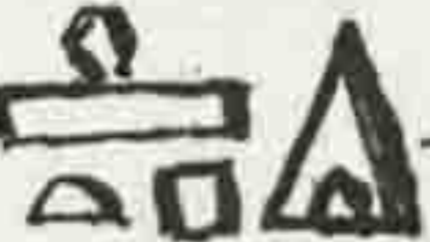
damaged, fragmentary or inaccurately recorded. (123)

An official, Antef son of Shedu, was sent in the first and second years of Mentuhotep III, Nebtaouire, to this region in order to bring hsmn (= amethyst). (124) He left four inscriptions, the second of which is difficult to read and no trace of hsmn can be observed, but b₁? w₁d (= fresh copper) is mentioned instead. (125) A line at the top of the fourth inscription records the year one of a king whose name is not given; below this is a text of 13 lines, dated to year 2 of Mentuhotep III, Nebtaouire, from which it appears that Antef was sent to obtain hsmn. (126)

Sesostris I sent several expeditions to these quarries. The earliest of these expeditions was in his 17th (?) year. Most of the inscription is illegible. (127) I can only make out that an overseer of the infantry, Imny-p₁-t₁wy (?) (= Imny-wr-nny ?) and his follower (?) Nfr-hr (?) with strong forces from the southern cities went there in order to get hsmn. Three inscriptions (128) show that an expedition was sent in the 20th year of the same reign. The first of these was inscribed in the name of Antef son of Ankh-ishu, (129) The second was inscribed by the vice-treasurer, Wni, for his father, the vizier Antef-iker. (130)

An inscription of a third expedition is carefully written and is dated to the 21st year of the reign and mentions the retainer Nesmonth son of Hotep son of Idu; the text is composed of stereotyped cliches and gives us no information. (131) The owner of the inscription is depicted under the ten lines of text, standing holding a long baton in one hand and a sceptre in the other.

Two persons, Sesostris son of Wnn (132) and Sobek son of Nubti (?) left two inscriptions concerning an expedition in the 22nd year of Sesostris I. (133) An inscription of four lines shows that an expedition arrived there in the 24th

year of Sesostris I. ⁽¹³⁴⁾ It is possible that this expedition was forced to hasten back to Egypt, for the script is bad, the name of the king is written without a cartouche and no inscriptions of expeditions for the next four years occur. ⁽¹³⁵⁾ In the first two lines the owner (?) states that he followed (?) to amethyst in the 24th year of Sesostris. The two next lines give the name of the owner. I do not see that  has any relation with the usual formula of  etc.; I believe that they form elements in the name of the owner. ⁽¹³⁶⁾

An expedition in year 28 is recorded by User, who was accompanied by his trusted servant, the stone cutter Si-Hathor (?). ⁽¹³⁷⁾

Two stelae now in the Cairo Museum mention an expedition to the same region in the 29th year. Both seem to be made by the same person, for one is inscribed in the name of Henenu and the other in the name of Henenu son of Monthu-hotep. ⁽¹³⁸⁾ A third stela, which bears no date, was brought with the last mentioned two stelae from Wadi el-Hudi to the Cairo Museum. ⁽¹³⁹⁾ This stela describes the valour of the king and gives the epithets of Hori, who inscribed it. The text shows that Hori was able to obtain large quantities of amethyst and he forced the Iwntyw of Nubia to help transporting it. It can be assumed that he may have exerted considerable pressure on the inhabitants of the region. ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Quarrying activity in the Eastern Desert was greater than in the West. An inscription dated to the 20th year of Sesostris I was inscribed in the Diorite Quarries N.W. of Tashka by the same Henenu son of Monthu-hotep whom we met in the 29th year expedition of Wadi el-Hudi. ⁽¹⁴¹⁾

A series of graffiti was found opposite to Khor Dehmit. They are dated by a double date of the coregency of Amenemhat II and his father; i.e. the 3rd year of Amenemhat II and year 45 of Sesostris I. ⁽¹⁴²⁾

Another group of graffiti, dated some to year 5 of Amenemhat II and others to the reign of Sesostris III, were found about 4 km. south of Amada temple. (143)

Peaceful conditions continued during the reign of Amenemhat II and his successor Sesostris II and officials were sent to get different products from Nubia. A certain Si-Hathor went to "the mining land and forced the great ones (?) (= chieftains ?) to wash the gold" for him. He mentions also that he "brought malachite and reached Nubia of the Nehsyu". (144) The mention of the bringing of malachite from Nubia is unusual in Egyptian texts, but it is certainly found in the Eastern Desert south of Egypt. (145)

A stela was found in Barytes Workings, Site No. 1 of Wadi el-Hudi, inscribed in the name of Sesostris II and dated to his 8th year. The stela is very badly damaged and nothing, except the name and the date, can be deciphered. (146) Remains of ancient huts probably of the same period lie near to the site of the stela. (147)

In the Diorite Quarries N.W. of Toshka some inscriptions of Sesostris II were found. (148)

Two carefully cut stelae were found at Wadi el-Hudi from the reign of Sesostris III. (149) They are both dated to his 13th year. One is inscribed by Antef-iker son of Senankh and the other is by Senb-bu son of Sebek-re.

Fakhry attributes a third inscription to the same king and gives it the date of year 22, (150) but I think that the traces visible in the photograph (151) suggest either year 3 or year 11 of the reign of Amenemhat III.

The upper part of a round-topped stela is inscribed in the name of Amenemhat III and dated to the 20th year of his reign. (152) Only four lines are left and they do not yield any information of particular interest. Another inscription dated to the 24th year of the same king has a badly damaged

text, but we can make out the name of the official who inscribed it, Sa-bastet son of Isy, and a list of the people who took part in the expedition. (153)

From the reign of Amenemhat IV we have only one stela, at Wadi el-Hudi. (154) It is dated to year 2 and was inscribed by Si-Hathor. No photograph of the stela is published by Fakhry. The facsimile is clear enough, although one would doubt some signs (155) which, however, do not affect the meaning. It is interesting that Si-Hathor born of Meryt mentions that he went to the land of hsmn (?) when the king had ordered him to go to the land of Rs?wt. This statement suggests that Rs?wt lies near Wadi el-Hudi, i.e. in the Nubian region of the Eastern Desert and not in Sinai. (156) It is very doubtful whether this man is to be identified with the same Si-Hathor mentioned above. (see pp.97f), for this would mean that Si-Hathor had been in office during the reigns of Sesostriis II, Sesostriis III, Amenemhat III and a part of the reign of Amenemhat IV, and this would cover a period of about 90 years.

From the above account we notice that the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom were active in exploiting the natural resources of Nubia. They exploited the quarries of both the Western and the Eastern Deserts. They obtained diorite from the quarries to the north-west of Toshka, and amethyst from Wadi el-Hudi. There is clear evidence that they got copper, barytes and malachite from Wadi el-Hudi also. Small mines of gold also exist there, but the main source was Wadi Allaqi (see below, p. III). Copper was also obtained from a region easily reached from Kuban (see below, pp. III-2).

There is no mention of wood or cattle being brought from Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and it may be assumed that timber became of minor importance in comparison with the other products, of that Nubia itself no longer produced much timber.

5. Administration.

We know very little about the organization of the administration of Nubia in the Middle Kingdom. There are no large or tremendous monuments which enable us to draw a certain picture as in the New Kingdom.

Unfortunately all the Semna Despatches published by Smither⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ are much damaged and none of them preserves the name and titles of the person to whom it was addressed. These Semna Letters were clearly written by persons in the fortress of Semna (Shm-H^c-k[?]wr^c), and perhaps from other forts, to an obviously very high person. Since all these Semna letters were found at the Ramesseum, it is a reasonable assumption that correspondence had to be sent to Thebes and that it was there that the centre administration must have been situated. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the clay sealings of the Thirteenth Dynasty from Uronarti.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ A letter sealing of which few examples were found bore the inscription "office of the z[?]b-t[?]i[?]ty of the Southern City";⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ there can be no doubt that this is a reference to a vizier. Another letter sealing of which six examples were found records "the office of the vizier of the Head of the South".⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ These ten seal impressions according to Reisner were all from letters and it seems certain, therefore, that they must have been the seals of letters sent from the vizier's office at Thebes to a commandant at Semna. Furthermore, another sealing of which two examples were found bears the names and titles "the overseer of the city and vizier Pth-ddw".⁽¹⁶¹⁾ This last example is of considerable interest; the two seals are box sealings stamped over the seal of "the granary of the

fortress of Uronarti".⁽¹⁶²⁾ Reisner has pointed out that among the Uronarti sealings were a number of over stamps and has suggested that they were the personal seals superimposed on the general seal of the fort or of one of its departments as a precaution against unauthorized breaking of the sealing, and has therefore suggested that the owner of any such seal must actually have been in Uronarti for a greater or lesser period.⁽¹⁶³⁾ It therefore follows that it is probable that the vizier Pth-ddw paid at least one brief visit to Uronarti.

The evidence we have just quoted is too little and too fragmentary to permit our making any binding conclusions. Nevertheless it is reasonable to deduce that from the scanty evidence available that the administration of Nubia was under the direct control of the vizier at Thebes, probably more particularly under the department concerned with "the Head of Upper Egypt". The vizier apparently must have made periodical tours of inspection. A striking feature of our material is the evidence for minute control that was apparently exercised over the fortresses and Nubia. Thus in the Semna Despatches we find that what appear to be us to be quite trifling movements of Nubians are duly reported to Thebes, as well as to any local fortress that might be interested. 128

The organization of the administration of the individual fortresses is uncertain, but it is significant that the sealings from Uronarti record a h?ty-^c of Iken⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and a very fragmentary sealing seems to record a h?ty-^c of another place whose name cannot be deciphered with certainty.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ It may therefore be tentatively suggested that each fortress may have been under the command of a h?ty-^c. In this connection it may be pointed out that at Aniba in the Twentieth Dynasty Penne also bore the title h?ty-^c.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

Other administrative grades are uncertain, but we hear of a lashane (mr [✓]snt) at Iken (?), ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ who may well have been a fairly senior official. We also know of various "administrators" (w[✓]rtw), e.g. w[✓]rtw niwt "administrator of the city", ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ w[✓]rtw n styw "administrator of the Nubians" ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ and another damaged seal from Uronarti appears to mention a w[✓]rtw. ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ We also find an imy-r? w[✓]rt "overseer of the administrative department" ⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and an imy-r? w[✓]rt n ms[✓]?t "overseer of the administrative department of the stone masons". ⁽¹⁷²⁾

It is evidence that within each fort there were a number of separate departments, among which we find the treasury pr-hd, ⁽¹⁷³⁾ the granary snt ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ and the w[✓]bt ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ "kitchen (?)". / There


It would seem to be a reasonable assumption that in broad lines the administration of Nubia was very much the same as that of Egypt at the same period. Among the officials who may have specialized posts in the Nubian administration are the overseer of the troops imy-r? ms[✓], ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ the overseer of the recruits imy-r? d[✓]mw, ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ the chief of the bowmen iry pdt, ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ the overseer of the ships imy-r? w[✓]?, ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ the inspector of ships shd w[✓]?, ⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ the scribe of ships ⁽¹⁸¹⁾ and the overseer of the double treasury of silver and gold imy-r? prwy hd nbw. ⁽¹⁸²⁾ We also find reference to the garrison "troops of occupation" iw[✓]yt, ⁽¹⁸³⁾ the frontier patrols phrtyw, ⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ the guardsmen h[✓]wtyw, ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ among whom occur, though we cannot explain them a guardsman of Nhn ⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ and a guardsman of Tbt, ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ and finally of course stone masons. ⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

In addition to these titles there are naturally many titles identical with those of Egypt, whose occurrence merely supports our conclusion that the administration

in Nubia and in Egypt is modelled on the same lines.

In addition to these officials we find men in purely civilian occupations, whose presence, nevertheless, is not unnatural in a Nubian fort. Among these we find a "chamberlain of a chamber of offerings (?), (189) a butler, (190) a hair-dresser, (191) a physician, (192) a gardener (193) and, in addition, numerous citizens ('nh n niwt), (194) scribes, (195) attendants (smsw) and their appropriate overseers. (196)

Some official titles found in Nubia are connected with Egypt itself, such as wr md sm the "greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt", (197) iry Nhn the "Mouth of Hierakonpolis", (198) imy-r? pr the "overseer of the house", (199) iry-t the chamberlain, (200) iry-t n pr- "Chamberlain of the Pharaoh", (201) imy-r? hnwt "overseer of the cabinet", (202) hri n tm, (203) whmw the "reporter" (204) and an "overseer of the king's table." (205)

A number of sealings from Uronarti mention attendants of , (206) which Reisner has translated as rmn-tp. One example of this title occurs in a Middle Kingdom stela from Egypt, with no obvious Nubian connection. (207) On another sealing from Uronarti, unfortunately slightly damaged, there occurs an "inspector (shd) of the attendants of the rmn-tp". (208) The term rmn-tp is puzzling, but from the context of the sealings it would appear to be the name of some department in the administration. Is it possible to see in this expression an abbreviated writing of the word rmnyt recently discussed by Gardiner? (209) If so, we should perhaps transliterate the Uronarti examples with rmny(t) tp(t). According to Gardiner, the meaning of rmnyt in most periods appears to be domain, but the earliest examples occur in the Second Intermediate Period (210) and for these Gardiner suggests "department". All the examples in the Second Intermediate Period published by Jequier occur in masons' graffiti on blocks of stone, rmnyt

following immediately after the date and being itself followed by the title and name of an official, who is usually an $\text{Imy-r?}^{\text{h}}\text{nwty}$. Our Second Intermediate Period examples, therefore, seem to be linked with quarrying or similar activities. This impression may of course be purely accidental, but pending further information it may be tentatively suggested that the rmny(t) tp(t) of the Uronarti sealings may have been a department in some way connected with quarrying operations.

It is a striking fact that no priestly titles are recorded in the surviving inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom from Nubia. Perhaps this is to be explained by the assumption that the religious duties were performed by senior officials. ⁽²¹¹⁾

One further point in connection with the Uronarti sealings: Reisner has pointed out that the widespread occurrence of private seals in the fortress can hardly have been accidental and suggests that it is probably an indication that some officials were engaging on private trade on their own account. ⁽²¹²⁾ This is a rather surprising state of affairs in view of the very strict control that appears to have been exerted, and the strong probability that commercial activities were a royal monopoly, but it is difficult to see how else to interpret the evidence.

In all these inscriptions there are no obvious foreign or Nubian names, and it would appear therefore legitimate to presume that in all probability there was little contact between the Egyptians and the local population. This assumption is supported by the relative infrequency of Egyptian objects in the majority of C-Group graves. ⁽²¹³⁾

To sum up, our limited evidence suggests that basically

the administrative organization of Nubia was similar to that of Egypt of the same period. Control over Nubia was exerted from strategically placed fortresses, and perhaps from a few other centres, by Egyptian commandants, who reported all their activities in the most minute detail to the vizier at Thebes. The vizier himself, or sometimes another official, from time to time inspected these Nubian outposts. The obvious duties of the Egyptian officials were to safeguard the frontier and the trade-routes by constant patrols and by rigorous control of the movements of the Nubians and also to control mining and quarrying activities and commercial operations in the widest sense. Presumably too, there must have been some sort of taxation on the Nubians actually living within the limits of the Egyptian frontiers, but of this we have no decisive evidence.

6. Forts.

The kings of the Middle Kingdom intended to keep Lower Nubia under their control and maintain safe trade. They built a series of forts at strategic points and in the open plain on the river bank.⁽²¹⁴⁾ Save Söderbergh has fully studied these forts and it is unnecessary to repeat in detail what he has said.

A list of these fortresses in Lower Nubia is given in a papyrus found by Quibell in a Late Middle Kingdom tomb,⁽²¹⁵⁾ which has been dated approximately to the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Dynasties, though the papyrus, of course may have been slightly earlier.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Fourteen

forts in Lower Nubia are mentioned in this list. Nine of these are identified by archaeological evidence, while the identity of the others is not yet certain.⁽²¹⁷⁾ Those identified are from south to north :

<u>Shm-H^ck[?]wr^c-m[?]hrw</u>	- Semnah,
<u>Itnw-pdwt</u>	- Kummah,
<u>Hsf-Iwntyw</u>	- Uronarti,
<u>W^cf-h;swt</u>	- Shalfak,
<u>Bwhn</u>	- Wadi Halfa,
<u>M^c;[?]m</u>	- Aniba,
<u>B[?]ki</u>	- Kuban,
<u>Snm(w)t</u>	- Bigeh,
<u>?bw</u>	- Elephantine.

The identification of three more proposed by Borchardt, though not certain, is accepted by Gardiner and Reisner.⁽²¹⁸⁾

These are :

<u>D[?]ir h[?]swt</u>	- Semnah South (?) (Kidinkalo ?),
<u>Dr-wtyw (?) (= Wh[?]tyw)</u>	- Mirgisse (?), ⁽²¹⁹⁾
<u>Ikn</u>	- Buhen South (?)

Ikn is mentioned in the list between Dr-wtyw (Mirgisse ?) and Bwhn (Wadi Halfa), so Ikn is to be identified with one of the forts in this area. Save Söderbergh, after discussing these forts, suggested that Ikn must have been in the neighbourhood of Buhen South.⁽²²⁰⁾ Somers Clarke had pointed out the apparent importance of Kor and dated it to the Old Kingdom⁽²²¹⁾ and Arkell suggested that Ikn might be Kor (Gebel Sheikh Suliman, about half a mile to the west of Buhen South).⁽²²²⁾

Vercoutter recently came to the conclusion that Ikn² included both Meinarti and Kor, the first, being an island, was for defence (actual fort) and the second, on the west bank of the river, acted as a commercial post. This combined system is in his view similar to the Ikkur-Kuban complex.⁽²²³⁾ An objection to Vercoutter's theory is the fact that up to the present nothing has been found on Meinarti except some pottery of later periods.⁽²²⁴⁾ Smither⁽²²⁵⁾ argued against the identification of Ikn² with Dabnarti or any other island because the Semnah frontier stela,⁽²²⁶⁾ while allowing Nubians to go northwards to trade at Ikn², prohibited any Nubian boats from going northwards from Hh². This argument, however, appears to be a little illogical. Admittedly, Nubian boats would have been stopped at Semnah and their goods would have had to be unloaded and carried over-land, but there must have been some place at the foot of the Second Cataract where such goods could have been re-loaded onto ships for transport to Egypt, and where stores and reinforcements for the frontier garrisons could be unloaded. Seen from this point of view, Kor would seem to fit well with what is required from such an entrepôt and might be Ikn², but the evidence to prove this is still lacking and the identification of Ikn² must be regarded as still uncertain.

There is still no agreement on the identification of the remaining two fortresses in the text. These are Hsf-Md²yw, which has been identified with Faras or Serreh, and Ink-t²wy, identified with Serreh or Wadi Halfa East. In the New Kingdom Faras was known as Shtp-n²rw⁽²²⁷⁾ and Serreh as Thnt⁽²²⁸⁾ and it must be concluded either that Faras and Serreh were not included in the text of the named Middle Kingdom forts, or that in the interim their names had changed. Moreover, both Faras and Serreh differ from

the normal Middle Kingdom fort by not being in any obvious strategic position, and Serreh in particular is very small. It is evident that Hsf-Md?y^w and Ink t?wy must have been to the south of Buhen, but their identification is quite uncertain. Nevertheless, there was a Middle Kingdom fort at Faras⁽²²⁹⁾ and if it is to be identified with any name in the Ramesseum list, Hsf-Md?y^w may perhaps be regarded as the more likely.⁽²³⁰⁾ There is as yet no evidence of any occupation of Serreh before the New Kingdom, and therefore Ink-t?wy may perhaps be Wadi Halfa East. Both these identifications, it must be stressed, are highly speculative.

The distribution of these forts shows that eight at least lie within the Semnah-Wadi Halfa reach; in a district of not more than 60 kms. from south to north. This shows the importance of the district, for the navigation of the river is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by rocks and islands. The navigable part of the river ends immediately south of Buhen. The river obstacles are grouped in two main parts: between Buhen and Mirgissa-Dabba and between Shalfak and Semnah. These obstacles, however, did not prevent small ships from navigating at certain periods of the year, especially at high Nile.⁽²³¹⁾

Traces of a wall parallel to the river on the west bank outside the route, between Semnah and Uronarti, were found by Borchardt, who assumed that this wall was similar to that which existed between Philae and Assuan and served as a protection for caravans.⁽²³²⁾ It is possible that the Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom noticed that rebels and raiders could find suitable hiding places in this area and so they built this large number of forts⁽²³³⁾ and the wall in order to protect their trade and officials.

Trade goods from the south were presumably unloaded from ships at Semnah and then transported to ²Ikn by land along a road or track on the west bank of the river. The series of fortresses at short distances from each other, and the road with its low protective wall were obviously designed to facilitate the supervision and protection of these caravans while passing through the cataract region.

Three at least of these forts were built by Sesostri III (see above, pp. 92 - 93), who clearly had a keen interest in protecting the southern frontier and the safeguarding of the trade routes. It is obvious that the garrisons of the forts would have been able to contact and support each other with ease and there was no need for large garrisons to be placed in each, as long as other forts were within reach; between Semnah and Shalfak they were within sight of each other.

Generally speaking, the Egyptian forts in Lower Nubia had a dual function: serving as ramparts against possible military aggression and as trading posts. (234)

The Semnah stelae show that Semnah was the frontier. Traders and officials were the only Nubians who were allowed to pass this frontier to ²Ikn (see above, p. 93 ~~in~~ 226). It is probable that, in addition to its great part in defense, Semnah served as a trading post as well, but the bulk of trade usually passed, after being inspected and unloaded at Semnah, to ²Ikn. As Buhen lies at the end of the easily navigable part of the Nile (see above) a harbour for embarking and disembarking was built there and this supports the old suggestion of its identification with ²Ikn, (235) but, as we have already seen (p. 107), Kor is now considered the most likely place for ²Ikn.

Two types of fortress are found in Nubia. One type is built in more or less flat country, near the river, primarily

in Lower Nubia between Shellal and Wadi Halfa: The forts of this type are roughly rectangular, with their longer sides parallel to the river, with many bastions along the wall. The second type is found mainly in the Second Cataract area, the forts being situated either on the rocky cliffs overlooking the river or on islands.⁽²³⁶⁾ Such fortresses were rather irregular in shape, though obviously striving after a general rectangular form, and clearly were governed in their form and design by the nature of the terrain. The bastions of these fortresses were often spaced irregularly, clearly to meet purely military, defensive needs. A striking feature of many of these cataract forts is a long projecting wing, a stout wall of solid brick which extends from the fort proper and is roughly parallel to the river:⁽²³⁷⁾ this again must have been a special defensive device, presumably to help outflank any attackers. It is evident that at the time these forts were built the danger of their being attacked was very real.

In the forts of the first group, the strongest part of the fortifications were on the side away from the river and facing the desert. The chief elements in the defensive system were the main inner wall with a glacis, a ditch or moat and a low outer wall surmounted by towers.⁽²³⁸⁾

The position of the forts of the second group on high cliffs made it impossible to provide any moat or ditch that could be filled with water. Moreover, the elevated position of the fort, dominating the surrounding country ensured that attackers would have the minimum of protection and concealment, hence none of these forts have moats and most of them seem to have had a single wall. However, it is probable that an outer wall was built at Kumnah and traces of two parallel walls were found at Mirgissa:⁽²³⁹⁾ it is not

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certain whether these walls were contemporary with the main fort or whether they were built at different dates. No internal water supply or well was possible in these forts and special arrangements were made to construct a passage leading down from the fort to the river in such a way that the lower end would have been below the water even at low Nile. This passage was covered and concealed by flat stones and thus the garrisons were enabled to obtain water freely at all times. (240)

Each fort contained a temple (see above p. 104), but since most of the forts built in the flat country in Lower Nubia have unfortunately been largely destroyed, it is difficult to reconstruct the internal plan and lay-out of most of them. Seal impressions found in some forts show also that, apart from the quarters of the garrison and officials, each fort contained different offices such as a treasury and a granary (see above, p. 102).

The forts built in the flat country were mainly for controlling the heavy populated plain and ensuring the safety of traffic by river and land. Aniba, Ikkur⁽²⁴¹⁾ and Kuban were certainly of this kind. The last of these was also of great importance for controlling the route leading to the gold mines at Wadi Allaqi. It is difficult to find an explanation for the position of the two forts at Serreh West and Faras, for they are not in strategic sites and they were not of great importance for trade. They were probably for protecting the trading vessels when they had to spend the night in their area.

It is suggested that Ikkur and Kuban, both at the mouth of Wadi Allaqi, show the importance of that region. They probably supplemented each other, as one, Ikkur, acted as a store for gold, which was worked and crushed at the other, Kuban. Copper was also found in a region

easily reached from Kuban. (242)

7. Kerma.

Distinct from the fortresses we have just discussed is the outpost or fortress at Kerma. It is situated in a flat plain about two kms. from the river and is known locally as the Western Deffufa. To have built here a fortress similar to those built on low ground as in Lower Nubia (see above, pp. 88, 94) does not seem to have appealed to the Egyptians, for the existing remains suggest a deliberate artificial imitation of the cliff type of fortress found in the Second Cataract region. This effect was obtained by building a substructure of brick, about 19.3 metres in height and on the top of this were the living rooms. An annexe of the same height was built to the east, but of this only the lower part remains. All this was surrounded by a huge low wall. (243) The fort was built according to Egyptian measurements and of bricks similar to those used in Egypt.

It is reasonable to think, as Junker assumed, (244) that this was not a fort from which an Egyptian governor and his troops controlled the surrounding country. The Egyptian frontier was fixed at Semnah by Sesostri III and Kerma lies about 250 kms. to the south. No other forts lie between them and this shows that such an isolated building could not act as a strong fort as part of a continuous fortress system. The finds in the cemetery which lies about 3 kms. to the east, give evidence of peaceful exchange of trade between the Egyptians and the inhabitants. The raw materials (graphite, haematite, copper oxide, resin, mica, rock-crystal, carnelian and ostrich

egg shells), partly manufactured objects (glazed quartz, faience vessels and beads), over-fired pottery and clay sealing impressions from baskets and pots all indicate that the building was an important trading centre. No sections showing the successive layers of the excavations have been published, but Reisner mentioned three layers.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ Traces of older walls were found under the main mass. Some parts of the building complex were also of earlier date and fragments of vases from the Old Kingdom were found in the middle layer. Reisner concluded that these fragments are connected with the earlier buildings and assumed that this trading centre already existed in the Old Kingdom. Svein Söderbergh rejects this idea.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ The recent study made by Edel of Harkuf's inscriptions, on the other hand, shows that this trading centre probably existed in the Old Kingdom, but not necessarily under direct Egyptian control (see above, pp. 57, 94).

Before Reisner's excavations we knew nothing about Egyptian activity in this region. A stela from Edfu⁽²⁴⁷⁾ mentions that H₃-nh-f had been in the south of Kush and returned home bringing gold and a slave. The journey between the place he visited and Assuan took him thirteen days. It has been suggested that he may have been in Kerma, but there is no definite proof to confirm this idea.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ Egyptian activity in this region can only be deduced from archaeological evidence in the Western and Eastern Deffufas; i.e. in the trading centre and the native cemetery which lies about 5 kms. to the east of the river bank.

Archaeological finds in the Western Deffufa, as has been mentioned above, date back to the end of the Old Kingdom, but they are not automatic proof that the centre was in the Egyptians' hands by that time. Other finds in

Argo⁽²⁴⁹⁾ and in the Eastern Deffufa⁽²⁵⁰⁾ indicate that this trading centre was developed by the Egyptians during the reign of Amenemhat II (see above, p. 88). It was repaired in the reign of Amenemhat III and probably continued to function until the Hyksos Period, for the names of Ineni (a queen of the Thirteenth Dynasty?) and four early kings of the Hyksos have been found there. About the end of the Hyksos rule the place was deliberately destroyed by fire.⁽²⁵¹⁾

The Eastern Deffufa, the native cemetery, consists of a number of tumuli and two chapels. A marked Egyptian influence can be noticed in the scenes and inscriptions which decorated these chapels.⁽²⁵²⁾

The inscriptions which were found do not give a definite idea about the owners of the tumuli. Reisner has suggested that a line of Egyptian governors was appointed in Kerma and that these had been buried there, beginning with Hapidjefai, the prince of Assiut, who was appointed to the office by Sesostri I.⁽²⁵³⁾ No inscription in Egypt or Nubia has referred to such an appointment and it is doubtful whether any Egyptian of high rank would have been buried away from his country (see above, p. 59).⁽²⁵⁴⁾

The tumuli varied in size. The largest was attributed by Reisner to Hapidjefai, since a complete statue of his wife Sennuwy was found in the central corridor and the lower part of a life-size statue of Hapidjefai himself was found in the debris in a small room near the central burial chamber. The finding of small statues of other high officials in the same tomb does not favour this assumption. Among these was one of the "overseer of the great ten of the south" and the "overseer of the seal-bearers". It is probable that such officials were in the same position as Hapidjefai and it is not likely that they shared his tomb. It is also improbable that the prince of El-Kab, Sebek-nakht, was buried in a small tomb of minor importance (KIII), because

an alabaster vase bearing his name was found there. (255)

Apart from the statues and inscribed objects, the finds in Kerma show that they were of local origin, which was greatly affected by Egyptian cultural influence. (256)
The tumuli and their contents indicate that they belong to a strong warlike race.

The tumulus usually consists of a main burial and secondary burials. The main burial was placed on a bed in a natural sleeping position, and accompanied by weapons, toiled articles and objects of daily use. Servants and wives were sacrificed and buried in the secondary burials. The whole was covered with a circular mound or tumulus to mark the burial place. A few of these tumuli were of great size and contained hundreds of sacrificial burials. Striking resemblances to these tumuli were found at El-Kurru, where the ancestors of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Ethiopian) were buried. The sacrificial burials disappeared at El-Kurru and later the transformation from Cushite burial customs into those of Egypt was more pronounced, from the time of Piankhy. (257)

The inscribed objects which were found at Kerma are of different dates and show that Reisner's conclusions are not certain. The stela of Antef refers to repairs carried out during the reign of Amenemhat III. So the chapel KII in the debris of which the stela was found may be dated to the reign of Amenemhat II, but other parts of Kerma, where objects from the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Hyksos Period were found, cannot be dated before the Second Intermediate Period. These indicate that a decline in the art of building the tumuli and in commerce had begun. The centre was finally deliberately destroyed by fire at the end of the Hyksos Period (see above, p. 114). Sæve Söderbergh concluded that this decline in commercial relations may have been due to

conditions in Egypt itself, ⁽²⁵⁸⁾ but we know that the struggle against the Hyksos began in Egypt when Nubia was independent, and therefore an additional factor may have been a desire of the Nubian leaders themselves to reduce contacts with Egypt.

The contents of the tombs in Kerma were partly of local manufacture and partly imported articles from Egypt. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two ⁽²⁵⁹⁾ and Reisner thinks that some Egyptian craftsmen emigrated to Kerma and there initiated industries using local material but influenced by Egyptian art and technique. ⁽²⁶⁰⁾

The pottery in Kerma was mainly of three kinds:

a) about $11\frac{1}{2}\%$ - $15\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the pottery is similar in material and manufacture to that of Egypt; b) about $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ consists of rough wares similar to those of the C-Group; c) 76% - 79% is of fine ware, which, except for some bowls, cannot be paralleled in Egypt or Nubia. The characteristic type of Kerma wares is the tall Red-polished black-topped beaker. The finest examples are from the beginning of the period.

The carpentry of the beds is Egyptian, but their forms differ from the Egyptian beds. They have footboards decorated with patterns of inlaid ivory. Copper daggers have characteristic large, flat-topped ivory handles which indicate an ample supply of ivory, but they are probably made by Egyptian craftsmen. These copper daggers which were found in Kerma are more numerous than all those found in Egypt in all its ancient periods. Copper vessels were also made locally and some of them were similar in form to the pottery beakers.

Large quantities of ornamental objects in blue glazed faience were found. Many faience vessels were decorated with patterns in black line, which include some animal motifs. Plentiful beads, mostly spherical, were made of quartz and covered with blue glaze. Small figures and amulets were also made in the blue glaze industry. Leather caps were found: they were decorated with figure of animals,

birds, flowers and geometrical patterns in mica. Similar figures were made in ivory and inlaid in carpentry industries. The leather caps are Nubian, but the creative idea is probably Egyptian.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the tumuli are Nubian and may be connected with the circular superstructures of the C-Group or with their mud-brick chapels of later periods. (261) The sacrificial burials are also a practice which was followed by the Nubians in most of their ancient periods. With the exception of some small statues and amulets in blue glaze there are no Nubian statues. The contents of the tombs in Kerma, as we have seen, are partly connected with Egyptian culture and partly foreign. (263) The centre of Kerma, as has already been mentioned (see above, p. 88) was repaired in the Twelfth Dynasty, which is contemporary with MN.II (see above, p. 73), but we cannot form a complete idea about the relationship between the MN.II of the C-Group culture and Kerma until further information is obtained. There is still much unpublished material from Reisner's excavations at Kerma and some sites of the Kerma culture, such as Amara and Sai (see above, pp. 73-4), are not yet excavated.

To summarize the relations between Egypt and the Kerma district: there was probably a trading centre, where peaceful commercial contact between the Egyptians and the natives was carried out during the Old Kingdom, but this was probably only occasional and on a limited scale. In the Middle Kingdom, the centres was very active. Commercial exchanges between Egypt and Nubia were affected by the weakness of Egypt during the Hyksos Period and the centre gradually decayed and was finally burned towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period.

Chapter IV

Notes and References.

1. Pap. St. Petersburg 1116A, ll. 81-83, which refer to a Herakleopolitan reconquest of the west of the Delta and not of the east; the same papyrus, ll. 83-91 contain further advice to reconquer the centre and eastern Delta. See the remarks in A. Volten, Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften, 87-9.
2. Brunton, Qau and Badari I, 75-6.
3. Nubian troops are either depicted or mentioned: e.g. the "soldiers of Assiut", Maspero, Musée égyptien, pls. XXXIII-XXXVI; the Nubian bowmen at Mo'alla, Vandier, Mo'alla, 53, 58-9, 97-8.
4. Vandier, op. cit., 57-8.
5. Vandier, op. cit., 220.
6. Griffith, in LAAA 8, 67.
7. C.f. Erman, in ZDMG 46, 577; Steindorff, op. cit., 6; Junker, Kub. N., 9ff; Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. II, 19.
8. Junker, op. cit., 35f.
9. Steindorff, op. cit., 7ff.
10. Firth, op. cit., II, 12ff.
11. Steindorff, op. cit., 8.
12. ibid.
C.f. Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua-Adindan, 482; types C.I, C.II and C.III, figs. 454-456.
13. Steindorff, op. cit., 98, pl. 60 (Type VI).
14. ibid., 102ff, pls. 66, 9 and 210 (Type VII).
15. ibid., 6.
16. Junker, Ermenne, 11ff.
17. Cem. 72/200 and 73: Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I, 80ff, 105ff.
18. Cem. 114 : Firth, op. cit., III, 129ff.
19. Cem. 115 and 118 : ibid., 132ff, 145ff.
20. Cem. 127 : ibid., 172-3.
21. Steindorff, op. cit., 8-9. C.f. Emery and Kirwan, op.

- cit., 483ff: types C.IV, C.V and C.VI, figs. 457-9.
22. Steindorff, op. cit., 8. *Surv.*
 23. Cem. 7 : Reisner, Arch./Nub. I, 51ff.
 24. Cem. 41/500 : ibid, 224ff.
 25. Cem. 58/100 : Firth, op. cit., I, 55ff; C.f. Junker, Toshke, 13.
 26. Cem. 110 : Firth, op. cit., III, 51ff.
 27. Cem. 135 : ibid, 198ff.
 28. Cem. 113 : ibid, 125ff.
 29. Cem. 118 : ibid, 143ff.
 30. Steindorff, op. cit., 32ff.
 31. Firth, op. cit., II, 18, fig. 1, classes XI, XII, pls. 32b, 1-3 and 35c, d; C.f. Junker, Toshke, II, 14.
 32. Junker, Kub. N., 30.
 33. Petrie, Diospolis Parva, 45, pls. 35-6, 38-40.
 34. Petrie, Giza and Rifeh, 20-21, pls. 25, 26.
 35. Wainwright, Balabish, 8ff, pls. 2-15.
 36. Brunton, Oau and Badari III, 5, pl. X.
 37. Wainwright, op. cit., 17.
 38. ibid, 6.
 39. Petrie, Qurneh, 6-10, pls. IV, XII-XXVIII.
 40. See Emery, "Two Nubian Graves of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos", in LAAA X, 33-5, pls. VII, VIII. The pottery and photographs are in the Liverpool University School of Archaeology.
 41. Roeder, Debod, 306ff.
 42. JEA 32, 19-23; 34, 115-6; Stock, Die Erste Zwischenzeit Ägypt. 32-50, also rejects a Coptos Dynasty, but in place invents an Abydos Dynasty, a theory that can hardly be correct.
 43. Roeder, op. cit., 116.
 44. Säve Söd., Aeg. und Nub., 43-44.
 45. Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte (3rd ed.), 216.
 46. Gauthier, L.R. I, 204 n. 3.
 47. Säve Söd., op. cit., 45f.
 48. AJSL (1921), 55ff.



49. Cairo 20009 = Lange-Schäfer, Grab und Denksteine (CCG), 8. Most recent edition: Clère-Vandier, in Bibl. Aegyptiaca X, 8.
50. Petrie, A Season in Egypt, p. XII no. 310.
51. A good summary of the question will be found in Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte, 276ff.
52. Clère, "Hist. des XI et XII Dyns. Eg.", in Journal of World History I, No. 3 (Jan. 1954), 643-664.
53. Vandier, Manuel II,I, 154,n. 5.
54. ZÄS 24,115.
55. Ed. Meyer, Gesch. Alt. (5th ed.) I, 2, p. 258f.
56. BIFAO 9,132ff.
57. Rec. Trav., 40,187ff.
58. Kub. N., 36.
59. ASA 38,686f.
60. AJSL (1940), 161,n. 96.
61. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 47-50.
62. The present whereabouts of these blocks is unknown; photographs of them are in Liverpool University, School of Archaeology, negative numbers N. 05/47 and 48.
63. Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte, 240; Daressy, in Rec. Trav., 14,26; 16,42; Bissing, Denkm. Ägyptische Sculptur (Munich 1906-1914), pl. 33A.
64. ASA 17,226ff, pl. 1.
65. Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones, No. 66, pl. 34; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 243 suggest that the oasis mentioned is probably Selima. No royal name occurs on the block, but style and content indicate an XIth Dynasty date, possibly Mentuhotep I; c.f. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 60,n. 4.
66. Petrie, A Season in Egypt, pl. VIII, no. 213; See also Gauthier, L.R. I, 232.
67. AJSL (1940), 137ff.
68. Naville, Deir-el-Bahari (XIth Dyn.) I, 5.

69. Šave Šbd., op. cit., 55.
70. Naville, op. cit., III, pl. XIII,5, p. 23.
71. Šave Šbd., op. cit., 55-6.
72. Roeder, op. cit., 104, pl. 107a; Weigall, Report, pl. XIX,8.
73. Šave Šbd., op. cit., 58-9.
74. Roeder, op. cit., pl. 108a.
75. Couyat-Montet, Ouadi Hammamat, Nos. 1, 40, 55, 105, 110, 112-114, 191, 192, 205 and 241.
76. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 244.
77. H.E. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (New York 1947), 54ff.
78. Couyat-Montet, op. cit., No. 114.
79. ibid, Nos. 110, 113, 191, 192.
80. Naville, op. cit., I, 31-32, 50 and 55. C.F. the question of the parentage of Amenemhat I discussed ~~below~~ (p.86).
81. Pap. St. Petersburg, 1116A, 57ff.
82. JEA 36,25-27 and also 30-31.
83. JEA 36,31; Arkell, Hist. Sud., 56.
84. JEA 36,26, no. 4.
85. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIV, 5-6; Urk. VII, 12.
86. Kerma II, 542.
87. Ed. Meyer, Gesch. Altert. I, 2, 264f.
88. Sallier II, 2, 10 = Millingen, 3, 2-3; for the variant versions see Volten, Zwei Altägyptische politische Schriften, 115.
89. De Morgan, Cat., I, 34, No. 81.
90. Brugsch, Thesaurus, 1213; ZAS 20,30; Weigall, Report, 107 states that he was unable to find this text.
91. Weigall, Report, pl. XXXII,6; See also Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 314, 324.

92. Reisner, Kerma II, 511.
93. ibid, 509, fig. 343, no. 30; 511f.
94. Breasted, in PSBA 23, 230ff, pls. I-III, Reisner, SNR I, 65.
95. B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts IV, pls. 2, 3.
96. ASA 38, pl. LV, 3, and p. 389.
97. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 8; Urk. VII, 14.19.
Perhaps the same campaign is mentioned by Serenput I (Urk. VII, 5.17).
98. Urk. VII, 1ff; Müller, Die Felsen Gräber der Fürsten von Elephantine, ~~29~~ (Ägypt.Forsch. Heft 9, 1940), 29; Gardiner, in ZÄS 45, 123ff.
99. Urk. VII, 5.17-21.
100. Urk. VII, 1.20; c.f. Müller, op. cit., 29.
101. Urk. VII, 2.6.
102. Sin. B. 50.
103. Sin. B. 71.
104. Emery and Kirwan, Es Sebua, 26-27; c.f. the alabaster weight inscribed with the king's name, Emery and Kirwan, op. cit., 48, fig. 28.
105. Reisner, Kerma II, 545, Kerma I, 102.
106. Kerma I, 30, 99ff.
107. Säve Söd., op. cit., 74-75. C.f. Reisner, Kerma II, 549, whose account of the campaigns of Sesotris III does not agree with the texts from that period, especially with the campaign made in year 19. Ships are mentioned in this campaign. See Schäfer, "Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos (Untersuchungen IV, 2), 8.
108. Sethe, Lesestücke, 85; De Morgan, Cat. I, p. 86 no. 20 and p. 87 no. 39; Rec.Trav., 13, 202.
109. B.M. 169 (852) = Hierogl. Texts. IV, pl. 10.
110. Säve Söd., op. cit., 202-3.
111. L.D. II, 123e; De Morgan, Cat., I, 25 no. 178.

112. Berlin No. 14753; Äg. Inschr. Königl. Mus. Berlin I, 225f; L.D. II, 136i; Sethe, Lesestücke, 84.
113. L.D. II, 136c. There has been some doubt about this date and Petrie, A Season in Egypt, pl. XIII no. 340, gave year 10. There is little doubt that the reading of Lepsius is the correct one and it is now generally accepted. See ~~further~~ Säve Söd., op. cit., 77 n. 1.
114. Reisner, Kerma II, 547.
115. Berlin 1157; Äg. Inschr. I, 257-8; Sethe, op. cit., 83-4.
116. Stela Khartoum No. 3, 1. 2. See JNES 12, 51-55.
117. Untersuchungen IV, 2, 8.
118. Bull. Boston M.F.A. 29, 66-7; SNR 15 (1932), 256 pls. XIV-XVI.
119. Junker, Tell el-Yahudiye Vasen, 99ff; Säve Söd., op. cit., 66.
120. C.f. however, Säve Söd., op. cit., 111.
121. Budge, The Eg. Sudan I, 553-4 states that Sesostris reached the southern part of Atbara Valley or the neighbourhood of Punt near the western coast of the Red Sea. So also Naville, Bubastis, 9-10, pl. XIV; Maspero, Hist. Anc., 127, but this seems impossible. Budge, 553, "He appears to have established a fortified outpost about 80 miles south of Semna, in the neighbourhood of Gebel Dosha".
122. Helck, in OLZ (1955) 5/6, 213.
123. A. Fakhry, Wadi el-Hudi (Cairo, 1952).
124. The word hsmn in Egyptian means copper; natron; or semi-precious stone = amethyst. See. ZÄS 30, 30ff; Kees, Kulturgesch., 143 n. 1; Wb. III, 162f; Säve Söd., op. cit., 71; Fakhry, op. cit., 9 admits that there may have been some copper mines in the same

area of Wadi el-Hudi, but he is inclined to think that the material mined in this region was in all probability the amethyst. Thus he seems to give hsmn at least in the inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi the specific meaning of amethyst.

125. Fakhry, op. cit., 20 no. 2.4. For bi?, w?d see Wb. I, 267.14. It should be noted that although there is no modern record of copper having been found at Wadi el-Hudi, copper exists at a number of localities in the Eastern Desert, including several places between 24 N. and 21 N. (Lucas, Ancient Eg. Materials and Industries, 3rd ed., 235-6).
126. Fakhry, op. cit., 22 no. 4. C.f. Helck, in OLZ (1955) 5/6, 213.
127. Fakhry, op. cit., 24 no. 6, fig. 20. Thebes is mentioned in this text as the Southern Residence for the first time: 1. 4 in the rectangular frame. C.f. Helck, ibid.
128. Fakhry, op. cit., 24, 26, 33-34, nos. 7, 8, 14.
129. Fakhry, op. cit., 24. The photograph, pl. VIII B shows a space too large to be suitable for  which is suggested after  (1. 4).
130. Fakhry, op. cit., 26 states that the name of the king is not mentioned, but I can see traces of the cartouche in the photo., pl. X A.
131. Fakhry, op. cit., 28. 6-8.
132. The same name occurs on a granite slab now in Aswan Museum. Fakhry, op. cit., no. 36.
133. Fakhry, op. cit., 28-30 nos. 10, 11.
134. ibid no. 2.
135. Although the expedition of the 24th year is mentioned on the same stela of Monthu-hotep (no. 14), in five lines at the end of the stela, yet the next expedition

152. Fakhry, op. cit., 38 no. 19, pl. XVI B.
153. Fakhry, op. cit., 39 no. 20.
154. Fakhry, op. cit., 39-41 no. 21.
155. For example see ibid, fig. 32.7.
156. C.f. Gauthier, Dict. Géog., III, 127; Gardiner, "The Tomb of a Much-travelled Theban Official", in JEA 4, 36 n. 4; Helck, in OLZ (1955) 5/6, 213.
157. P.C. Smither, "The Semnah Despatches", in JEA 31, pls. 1-6.
158. Reisner, "Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort", in Kush III, 26-69.
159. Kush III, 54, 8 (248).
160. Kush III, 54, 7 (307). Probably the last two signs on the sealing are to be read $tp\text{-}sm^c$, c.f. perhaps p. 55, 31 (29) a very doubtful example. It should be noted that Thebes was not the capital but the administrative centre of the "Head of the South", see Hayes, in JNES 12, 32ff; Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, 33, 138ff.
161. Kush III, 54, 15 (7). This vizier is unknown unless the name is to be regarded as an abbreviated form of a man whose name occurs on a scarab dated by Newberry to Dynasties XII-XIV (Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XI; Weil, Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches (1908), 49, 19).
162. Kush III, 53, 10 (5a), c.f. p. 43.
163. Kush III, 38-40, 45-6.
164. Kush III, 53, 15 (502).
165. Kush III, 55, 23 (X - 69).
166. Steindorff, Aniba II, SA 6,4.
167. JEA 31, pl. III, 7; Kush III, 53, 15 (502).

168. JEA 31, pls. VI,12.
169. Berlin 19500; Äg. Inschr. I, 260f.
170. Kush III, 55, 24 (X - 64).
171. SNR 12,157; Säve Söd., op. cit., 100.
172. ASA 33,72.
173. Kush III, 53, 11 (5b); 14 (X - 8); 20 (504); 21 (503).
174. Kush III, 53, 10 (5a); 12 (172).
175. Kush III, 53, 25 (32).
176. SNR 12, 157.
177. ASA 33,71.
178. Kush III, 54, 12 (9).
179. Kush III, 69, 441 (512).
180. Roeder, Debod, 453.
181. ibid 529.
182. ASA 33,71.
183. JEA 31, pl. IV,12.
184. JEA 31, pl. IV,4,12.
185. JEA 31, pl. III,3,9.
186. JEA 31, pl. IV,8.
187. ibid, 9.
188. ASA 33,73-4.
189. Kush III, 69, 442 (513).
190. Kush III, 55, 26 (X - 52).
191. Kush III, 56, 46 (144).
192. Roeder, op. cit., 524, I, fig. 14, p. 190.
193. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 201.
194. e.g. Kush III, 54, 11 (247); JEA 31, pl. IV,11; pl. VII,7; Säve Söd., op. cit., 101.
195. Kush III, 55, 19 (251); 56, 50 (X - 162).
196. Kush III, 55, 20 (301); 35 (311); 36 (310); 28 (X - 5); 38 (310); 56, 43 (309); 69, 444 (518); 55, 21 (X - 4); 22 (322); c.f. CCC 20330.
197. Weigall, Report, pl. LIII; Kush III, 54, 16 (33).

198. SNR 12,159.
199. Roeder, op. cit., 114, 186; Kush III, 53, 23 (505);
55, 34 (30); 69, 443 (514).
200. ASA 33,74; Kush III, 54, 10 (293); 56, 44 (110).
201. Kush III, 55, 19 (251).
202. Roeder, Dakke, 371; Kush III, 56, 47 (280).
203. Kush III, 54, 14 (21), not hri² knbt as given by Sæve
Söderbergh, op. cit., 101.
204. SNR 12,159; L.D. II, 139b;
205. See Peet, The Stela of Sebek-khu, pl. II.
206. Kush III, 54, 17 (X - 3); 55, 22 (322) (?), 28 (X - 5);
c.f. 44, 38 (312); 56, 43 (309) (?); 69, 444 (518).
207. Cairo 20330 c = Lange-Schäfer,
208. Kush III, 55, 21 (X - 4).
209. Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus II: Commentary, 110-111.
210. Jequier, Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire, 10, fig. 8,
no. 1; 11, fig. 9, nos. 1-3; fig. 10, no. 1; 12, fig.
11, no. 4; 62, fig. 46.
211. C.f. Reisner, Bull. M.F.A. Boston, 27,72.
212. Kush III, 34-36.
213. Steindorff, Aniba I, 114.
214. Sæve Söd., op. cit., 80ff.
215. J.E. Quibell, The Ramesseum, London 1896.
216. Gardiner, "An Ancient List of Fortresses of Nubia",
in JEA 3,184; Onom. I, 6.
217. Gardiner, Onom. I, 10-11; Sæve Söd., op. cit., 81;
Reisner, Kerma II, 549.
218. Borchardt, Altäg. Festungen, 25 n.4; Gardiner, JEA
3,184ff; Onom. I, 10-11; Reisner, op. cit., 549.
219. Gardiner, Onom. II, 266.
220. Sæve Söd., op. cit., 92-3.
221. Somers Clarke, in JEA 3,163.

222. Arkell, "Varia Sudanica", in JEA 36,27.
223. J. Vercoutter, "Kor est-il Iken", in Kush III, 17, 19;
c.f. Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I, 25.
224. JEA 3,164; MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 7 only mention
a Coptic monastery.
225. Gardiner, Onom. I, 10 n. 4.
226. Berlin No 14753, l. 2ff; Sethe, Lesestücke, 84.19ff.
227. LAAA 8,83.
228. R. Moss, in JEA 36,41.
229. LAAA 8,80ff, pl. 16.
230. Gardiner, Onom. I, 11 n. 1; c.f. Borchardt, op. cit.,
25 n. 1.
231. Reisner, in SNR 12,147; see above p. . Note also
the small size of the peculiar boats carrying the
tribute of the south, in the tomb of Huy: Davies and
Gardiner, Tomb of Huy, pls. XVIII and XXXII:
232. Borchardt, op. cit., 23.
233. ibid, 24.
234. Smither, in JEA 31,4.
235. Reisner, Kerma II, 549.
236. Somers Clarke, "Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses",
in JEA 3,154ff; R.D. Wells, "A Note on the Fortress
of Gezirat El-Malik", JEA 3,180-181; Borchardt, op.
cit., 26ff; ibid.
237. R.D. Wells, ibid; Borchardt, op. cit., 11-13, pls. 9-14.
238. Somers Clarke, ibid, pls. XXV, XXVI, XXVIII-XXXII.
239. The peculiar sites where Kummah and Mirgissa were
situated had probably determined their building
plans. See Borchardt, op. cit., 6-9, 13-16; pls. 3, 15.
So too the forts of Dabba and Semnah: ibid, 9, 17-23;
pls. 6, 19; c.f. S. Clarke, op. cit., 167, 169ff;
pls. XXV fig. 2, XXIX-XXXI.
240. Reisner, in SNR 12, 152; pl. V.

241. Aniba, Kuban and Ikkur were thought to be of the Old Kingdom, but SÄve Söderbergh proved that they date from the Middle Kingdom: op. cit., 30-36. He suggests, op. cit., 88 n. 1, that Ikkur was not in use at the time when the Ramesseum Papyrus was written, but it is possible that it was not mentioned in that list because it was considered a part of the Kuban-Ikkur complex and for the importance of Kuban this fort was mentioned in substitute for the whole complex. See above, p. 107 n. 223.
242. Lucas, Materials, 3rd ed., 236, 239, 241.
243. Reisner, Kerma I, 24ff.
244. Junker, Tell el-Jahudiye Vasen, 99ff.
245. Reisner, op. cit., 30f.
246. SÄve Söd., op. cit., 107-108.
247. ASA 29, 5ff.
248. SÄve Söd., op. cit., 103.
249. An offering table in the name of Sesostris I, Reisner, Kerma II, 545.
250. The statues of Hapidjefai and his wife: ibid, 23f, and the stela of Antef: ibid, 209, 511f. C.f. Scharff, in OLZ 29, 93ff.
251. SÄve Söd., op. cit., 109-110; Reisner, op. cit., 74ff. See also Kerma I, 28, 38ff.
252. SÄve Söd., op. cit., 110. C.F. Junker, in Griffith Studies, 297ff.
253. Reisner, Kerma II, 23ff.
254. Reisner, obsessed by his theory of actual burials of senior Egyptian officials at Kerma, divides the site into Egyptian and Nubian cemeteries, but unfortunately did not publish the latter. Such material as is available from the so-called Nubian cemetery does not afford any

support for Reisner's theory. It appears probable that the Nubian cemetery is merely that of people poorer and perhaps of a lower social status than those buried in the "Egyptian" cemetery. A final verdict must await the proper publication of the evidence, but we can find no evidence of a specifically Egyptian cemetery or of proof of the theory that would differentiate, on racial grounds, between the two cemeteries.

255. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 112.
256. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 110.
257. Dows Dunham, in Archaeology 6 No. 2 (June 1953), 88-9.
258. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 116.
259. A short account was given by Kirwan of a mixed culture (of Kerma and the C-Group) in the sites of Firka and Kosha. See JEA 21,197.
260. Reisner, Kerma II, 320ff.
261. Scharff, "Die Ausgrabung von Kerma", in OLZ 29 (1946), 2, 91.
262. One example from Egypt was quoted by Petrie, Royal Tombs I, pl. 60.
263. Scharff, ibid, 92ff.

Chapter V.

The New Kingdom and the Colonization of Nubia.

1. The End of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period.

The Twelfth Dynasty was followed by the Thirteenth, whose kings do not appear to have been as strong as their predecessors. A characteristic of this time is the very large number of royal names that have come down to us and the very short reigns, averaging only two or three years, of the majority of them. These facts in the past have been interpreted by the assumption that Egypt was disunited and racked by civil tumults. Such a facile conclusion, however, does not appear to accord with the evidence which appears to indicate not only that these kings in general were recognized throughout all Egypt, but that, particularly on the evidence of the seals of the Thirteenth Dynasty found at Uronarti, ⁽¹⁾ Egyptian authority in Nubia was still maintained. Some authorities, therefore, maintain that at first there is no evidence of a break-up in Egypt, but that the facts suggest that in Egypt, for reasons totally unknown to us, there was a kind of elective kingship ⁽²⁾ and that men were appointed or elected king and held that office for very short periods: it is worthy of note that, though at this time the kings changed frequently, the vizirate was very stable and that individual viziers held office for many years extending over several reigns. Whatever the explanation may be, and it is not yet possible to establish the truth, it is quite certain that the administration of Egypt was stable, that she was not torn by revolution and that her control over Nubia was to a large extent unimpaired.

Four inscriptions at Semnah, recording the Nile levels, were inscribed in the reign of Sekhemre Khutowe, the founder of the dynasty.⁽³⁾ One of these records was inscribed by Renseneb, the overseer of the army and the leader of Semnah fort, in the 3rd year of the reign of the king.⁽⁴⁾ A small statue inscribed in the name of the same king was found at Kerma.⁽⁵⁾ The name of the king's successor Seankh-towe Sekhemkare was not found in Nubia, but a statue of Khutowere Ogaf was found at Semnah.⁽⁶⁾ The last mentioned was one of the six kings who followed Seankh-towe Sekhemkare. He was probably contemporary with Kai-Amenemhat, another king of the same group, for their names were found together on a block of limestone at Medamoud.⁽⁷⁾ After a short interval of disunity, Sebek-hotep III reunited Egypt and ruled over the whole land.⁽⁸⁾ A bas-relief of the king shows him worshipping Satis, the mistress of Elephantine and Anukis, who presides over Nubia.⁽⁹⁾ A fragment published by Macadam (JEA 32, pl. 8, pp. 57ff) shows the same king with Khnum, who dwells in Elephantine and presides over Nubia, Seth and Horus. This suggests that the authority of the king extended over Egypt and Nubia.⁽¹⁰⁾ During the following period the two brothers, Khasekhemre Nefer-hotep and Khaneferre Sebek-hotep, apparently ruled the whole of Egypt and their authority was probably acknowledged in Nubia, for the name of Nefer-hotep is found on rock inscriptions in the Firts Cataract region⁽¹¹⁾ and on a stela from Buhen.⁽¹²⁾

Two colossi lying at Argo have often been attributed to Sebek-hotep IV⁽¹³⁾ but Dows Dunham has recently proved that they are of Meroitic type and has dated them to Netekamani, who lived about 15 B.C. to 15 A.D.⁽¹⁴⁾

A badly damaged inscription from the time of Sebek-hotep IV mentions a struggle against the Medja (?) and Wawat, but the text on the whole is difficult to understand and the circumstances are not clear.⁽¹⁵⁾ Papyrus Boulaq 18 also states that the Medja, who came in submission from the land of Aushuk were supplied with provisions.⁽¹⁶⁾

There is no evidence that military action had been undertaken in Nubia during this period. The Egyptian tombs and their contents indicate that it was a period of peace, development and prosperity. The earliest of these tombs are dated to the later part of the Twelfth Dynasty or to the early Thirteenth.⁽¹⁷⁾ Some of the tombs continued to be in use until the Hyksos Period or the early Eighteenth Dynasty. It is difficult to give definite dates to these tombs, especially those in which different generations are buried (family tombs?). They are rarely distinguished except by comparing different types in the funerary equipment and through the common use of certain types, for the pottery had developed slowly⁽¹⁸⁾ and the names of kings are rare, and are all inscribed on old, mostly reused, scarabs.⁽¹⁹⁾

Some Egyptian cemeteries were found at Kuban, Aniba, Buhen and near to Semnah and Shalfak. The latter two have not been properly published and dated.⁽²⁰⁾ About ten tombs at Aniba date to the late Twelfth Dynasty, the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period or the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but these dates are not certain.⁽²¹⁾ The colony was undoubtedly prosperous in the period which followed the Twelfth Dynasty. A scarab in the name of Sh^c-n-R^c was found in a tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The name of the same king was found at Kerma, but Reisner is not sure about its reading and dates it to the Hyksos Period, but there is nothing to confirm these dates.⁽²²⁾

The cemetery K at Buhen is of a special importance, for according to its site, inside the outer wall of the town, which was built by Ahmose, it can be dated to a period earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty. Other tombs in cemeteries J and H date to the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period but their dating is not absolutely certain. The tombs of cemetery K date to the Twelfth Dynasty or the Hyksos Period⁽²³⁾ and show the development and prosperity of the colony after the Twelfth Dynasty. There is no tomb that can be dated with certainty to an earlier date than the late Twelfth Dynasty or the Thirteenth Dynasty. Junker assumed that the so-called Tell el-Yahudiye vases were of Nubian origin, some examples having been found in tombs in Nubia dated later than the Twelfth Dynasty, but this assumption has proved to be erroneous.⁽²⁴⁾ These wares probably came originally from the region of Palestine and Syria, where they reached their peak about the beginning of the Hyksos rule in Egypt. They do not occur in the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty and were not common in the Kerma tumuli. They were not found in the C-Group tombs proper and occurred in Lower Nubia only in tombs later than the Twelfth Dynasty.

The period which followed the Twelfth Dynasty, therefore, was peaceful in Nubia, which possibly remained united with Egypt until at least the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty or even the Hyksos Period. It is difficult to explain how the situation changed, for at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty Nubia is referred to as an independent country.⁽²⁵⁾

We have already mentioned that in Egyptian settlements in Nubia the contents of the tombs and forts do not show that a sudden change had happened and there is no evidence that the forts were violently destroyed. It is possible

that they were not subject to military action and that they continued to function until the government in the homeland, Egypt itself, had collapsed. The fort of Aniba was renewed several times and continued to function until the New Kingdom.⁽²⁶⁾ In the sixth stage of building the stones are not well cut and mud was used as mortar. The walls are not on the same lines as those of the older ones. The bastions and the ramps are similar in their technique to those of the C-Group buildings.⁽²⁷⁾ It is therefore assumed that the fort may have fallen into the hands of the C-Group people and was repaired by them.⁽²⁸⁾

In Egypt itself the district of Xoïs, in the swamplands of the Western Delta, was ruled by a long line of kings or rulers known as the Fourteenth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus lists 72 kings and Manetho mentions 76 kings of a duration of 184 years for this dynasty. It is assumed, therefore, that this dynasty ruled in its small state throughout the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty and a great part of the Hyksos rule; i.e. about 1778-1594 B.C.⁽²⁹⁾ The power of the Thirteenth Dynasty, in the meantime, progressively declined, especially after the rule of the two brothers, Nefer-hotep and Sebek-hotep.⁽³⁰⁾

It is assumed that, about a generation after the death of Nefer-hotep,⁽³⁰⁾ the Hyksos ruled Egypt and "took over the Egyptian control of Lower Nubia, as well as the trade at Kerma in the Sudan."⁽³¹⁾ Internal conditions in Egypt, however, do not seem to have radically affected her political position in the south, although the kings of Egypt, with a few exceptions, were not interested in or capable of, carrying out an active policy in Nubia.

The Hyksos probably filtered into the Delta, as peaceful immigrants, after the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, for we know that several kings of the Thirteenth

Dynasty bore Semitic names.⁽³²⁾ There is no evidence that the Hyksos rule was the result of a major invasion and it is assumed that it was probably a change of political leaders.⁽³³⁾ They overpowered the Egyptians during the reign of one of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Dedmose, (Tou)timaios of Manetho,⁽³⁴⁾ whose name probably occurs in a fragmentary inscription from Kerma.⁽³⁵⁾ They probably established their rule while Egyptian kings continued as their vassals. A king called Nehesi dedicated monuments to the god Seth of Avaris, and hence it has been assumed that he was contemporary with the Hyksos and was ruling as their vassal.⁽³⁶⁾ The name Nehesi suggests that he might have been connected with Nubia or that he was an actual Nubian. It has been suggested that he was probably the "son of a Nubian lady to one of the Egyptian kings who went to Nubia".⁽³⁷⁾ Naville suggested that there was a Nubian conquest of Egypt at this time, but this idea has never been accepted and is contrary to the situation and facts we have already discussed (see above, pp. 132 ff).

The Hyksos rulers are generally grouped into two main groups. The first six kings formed the Fifteenth Dynasty and ruled about 108 years and the second group was of minor importance and formed the Sixteenth Dynasty. Of the first group, the last three: Apophis (Awoserrē), Iannas (Sewoserenrē Khian) and Assis (Aseth, Sheshi (?)) ruled the whole of Egypt and Lower Nubia.⁽³⁸⁾ The distribution of the in situ finds bearing their names, which Sæve Söderbergh suggested indicated that they ruled over Egypt and Lower Nubia, shows, however, that their monuments are completely absent in the region south of Gebelein. Other scholars such as von Bissing⁽³⁹⁾ and Labib Pahor⁽⁴⁰⁾ assumed that the Hyksos never ruled Egypt

south of Cusae. It is obvious that most of the finds bearing their names were portable objects and as such can hardly give precise information as to the extent of Hyksos rule. The recently discovered stela of Kamose, on the other hand, supports the assumption that the Hyksos had a great influence in Nubia, for the stela mentions that Apophis, in his letter to the ruler of Cush, asked him why did he not let him know when he became king of Cush. ⁽⁴¹⁾

It is possible that commerce flourished in Kerma during the early rule of the Hyksos, for we cannot otherwise explain the occurrence of the names of Apophis, Seshy and Ma'ibrē in that centre. It seems that the Hyksos could not maintain for long any authority they may have had in Upper Egypt. Perhaps strong local princes opposed them and the resistance of the Egyptians increased during the Seventeenth Dynasty. Consequently commercial exchanges with the south declined and the trading centre at Kerma was neglected until it was completely destroyed. It is unlikely that Egypt had completely lost her authority in Lower Nubia by that time.

The flourishing trade with Nubia during the early Hyksos Period seems to have been reflected in the development which is noted in the tombs of the C-Group in early MN III. The tumuli became larger and were provided with mud brick chapels. The pottery bowls were decorated with beautiful designs which were filled with coloured material. ⁽⁴²⁾ This seems to indicate that Nubia developed its local culture and tended to be separated from Egypt. Nubia might have become independent and the barrier which separated the pure Kerma culture from that of Lower Nubia was no longer in existence, for we notice that typical Kerma industries were represented in the late C-Group tombs ⁽⁴³⁾ and some isolated graves of Kerma type have been found in Lower Nubia. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Support for this contention is

afforded by the fact that one of the latest cemeteries at Kerma (K. Cem. N: not yet published) is stated to have "produced pottery related both in form and ware to that of the latest C-Group graves in Lower Nubia".⁽⁴⁵⁾

It is striking that the apparent independence of Lower Nubia was followed by a thorough Egyptianization. It has been assumed that the Hyksos rule in Egypt led to the emigration of many Egyptians to Nubia.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Although the late Hyksos Period is little known, we know of some Egyptians who served in Nubia during that period. A stela from Buhen indicates that an Egyptian, Soped-hor, was commandant of Buhen and built a temple to Horus lord of Buhen to the satisfaction of the ruler of Kush. This stela was first dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty⁽⁴⁷⁾ but its resemblance to another stela, Khartoum 18, which is dated to the end of the Second Intermediate Period, suggests that it is slightly earlier.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The stela Khartoum 18 gives the name of the ruler of Kush as Ndh without hm.f or nsw which were usually used in texts made by Egyptian officials when they refer to Egyptian kings. This shows that the ruler of Kush was certainly not Egyptian and it is possible that Nubia was by that time independent under his rule. Two other texts from Edfu⁽⁴⁹⁾ support the assumption that Nubia was independent and that its rulers had some Egyptians in their service. These isolated examples do not prove however that Egyptians emigrated in large numbers to Nubia. The independence of Nubia by that time can also be inferred from the texts of Kamose, since he refers to Egypt as having an Asiatic ruler in the north and a Nubian in the south.⁽⁵⁰⁾

In fact the Egyptianization of Nubia may have been speeded by the Nubian mercenaries who served in Egypt. The Kamose stela mentions the Medja soldiers as taking part in the struggle against the Hyksos, and Nubian cemeteries and

settlements have been found in Upper Egypt. It is true that mercenaries from Nubia served in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards, but these were not apparently in such great numbers as in the Second Intermediate Period. In former times they mostly went home after service and this is why Nubian burials of these times are unknown in Egypt, but in the Second Intermediate Period great numbers were encouraged to settle in Egypt, where they formed what is known as the Pan-grave culture or MN IV (see above, p. 76).

The Nubians who returned home, probably, were affected by the Egyptian civilization. They may have used Egyptian clothing and brought Egyptian wares and industries with them. Egyptian burial customs were followed.⁽⁵¹⁾ Some of the Nubian princes may also have borne Egyptian names and titles. At Ermenne an inscription,⁽⁵²⁾ possibly of a local prince, records the name Ntr I^chms-Intf, which is unknown among the names of Egyptian kings.

We also notice that a Nubian fort was built at Areika, possibly by a local prince,⁽⁵³⁾ for ordinary C-Group wares were found mixed with the usual Egyptian ones and the method which was followed in building this fort is similar to that used in local settlements: the walls were built of slabs of stone cemented together with mud and with rough stones filling the cavities, and plastered with mud.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the fort was found a foundation deposit of ten pottery tablets, each inscribed with a scene showing a standing figure of a man having an ostrich feather in his hair and holding, by a rope, a kneeling prisoner. Examples of the same scene were found at Kuban and Buhen, and a similar scene was found in a stela about 20 kms. south-west of Assuan (see above, p. 89).

The main figure in the Areika tablets was considered to be a Nubian prince by Junker, MacIver and Woolley, and Bates, but the examples at Buhen were thought by Junker to be of a

Nubian chieftain, while MacIver and Woolley believed that he was an Egyptian.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The scene itself is Egyptian and the ostrich feather in the hair of the standing figure at Areika need not automatically imply that the man was a Nubian, for one example from Buhen shows the main figure in the form of the normal hieroglyph (A 12) used in Egyptian texts to write the word $m\check{s}^c$ "army, expedition" and occasionally in the Eighteenth Dynasty this word is written with a standing figure.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The figure of the prisoner in the examples of Buhen and Kuban was surmounted by the hieroglyph $\dot{m}n\check{t}t$ (= west) and a goat or bull, but in Areika the sign is not clear, though it looks like a goat. This probably indicates a victory over some inhabitants of the Western Desert, for the sign of the animal may be an indication of a foreign people or land. This people may have had some connection with the C-Group, for we know that many of the latter were herdsmen and that their animals played a large part in their economy and religion; e.g. the animal offerings at their graves, the numerous clay figures of animals,⁽⁵⁷⁾ the frequent incised drawings of cattle etc. on their pottery,⁽⁵⁸⁾ and the figures of cows and calves engraved on their tomb stelae.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The scene on these tablets may, therefore, indicate a victory over Nubians. Säve Söderbergh points out that such an assumption appears to be rather illogical in view of the fact that the tablets were found in a fortress of a Nubian prince (Areika), and he believes that the scene is Egyptian copied locally without understanding its meaning.⁽⁶⁰⁾ While Säve Söderbergh may be correct, the argument is hardly conclusive and there seems to be no reason why a Nubian prince should not have recorded in this way a victory which he had won over other Nubian tribes.

The Nubian site at Areika was surrounded by a wall which was cut through by mud brick buildings in later times, so that it looked like an open farm. It is the only settlement of the kind that has been properly published, but a similar settlement 300 metres north of Aniba is briefly mentioned⁽⁶¹⁾ and remains of buildings similar to these were found at Masmara.⁽⁶²⁾ These two settlements at Aniba and Masmara were probably similar to that of Areika, but it is not certain whether they were open settlements or not.⁽⁶³⁾

Towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period, it is certain that the Egyptians had lost control over Nubia and that the southern frontier of Egypt was at Shellal,⁽⁶⁴⁾ and not at Semnah. In spite of this fact, it is remarkable that numerous cemeteries and even settlements of the Nubians of this period have been found in southern Upper Egypt. In earlier times it appears that, by and large, Nubians in Egyptian employ returned to their native villages once their period of service was ended. In the late Second Intermediate Period we know that Nubians were employed as mercenaries and Kamose refers to Medja soldiers as forming an important element in his army during the struggle against the Hyksos.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Many of these mercenaries died and were buried in Egypt and presumably, in contrast with the former practice, were even encouraged to settle there. Whether Nubians other than soldiers were able or encouraged to settle in Egypt cannot be proved, but it is not impossible. The cemeteries and settlements of these Nubians form what is generally called the Pan-grave culture, remains of which have been found in Egypt as far north as Assiut. The known Pan-grave sites, the more important of which have already been mentioned (see above, p. 76), are:-

Rifeh, ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Mostagedda, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Qau, ⁽⁶⁸⁾ Abydos, ⁽⁶⁹⁾ Balabish, ⁽⁷⁰⁾
 Hu, ⁽⁷¹⁾ Ballas, ⁽⁷²⁾ Khozam (unpublished), ⁽⁷³⁾ Thebes, ⁽⁷⁴⁾
 Armant, ⁽⁷⁵⁾ Ed-Deir, ⁽⁷⁶⁾ El-Kab, ⁽⁷⁷⁾ Esna, ⁽⁷⁸⁾ between
 Hierakonpolis and Hessayeh, ⁽⁷⁹⁾ and opposite to Daraw. ⁽⁸⁰⁾

Only five of these have been properly published:

Rifeh, Mostagedda, Qau, Balabish and Hu, of which the largest was Mostagedda, where there were 107 tombs and a settlement. Most of the tombs were plundered, but because they contained objects of the Twelfth Dynasty and pottery of the Second Intermediate Period, these tombs date to a period later than the Twelfth Dynasty. The beads and the complete absence of objects of the New Kingdom indicate that they are earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty. ⁽⁸¹⁾

An axe inscribed with the name of Nb-m?°t-R°, who seems to be earlier than the Hyksos, was found at Mostagedda. ⁽⁸²⁾ At Rifeh a scarab of Sheshi, the Hyksos king, and another of the seal bearer H?;r were found. ⁽⁸³⁾ A statuette in the shape of a sphinx with Semitic features and holding an Egyptian prisoner in its claws was found at Abydos. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ These finds do not enable us to fix an exact date for the entry of the Pan-grave people into Egypt, but they may indicate that some of these people were employed by the Hyksos. Junker ⁽⁸⁵⁾ and Kirwan ⁽⁸⁶⁾ believed that the Pan-grave people were different from the C-Group and that the two cultures are distinct from each other. The typical Pan-graves are rare in Lower Nubia, but Junker attributes some of the graves in the cemeteries No. 7 at Shellal and Nos. 110 and 113 at Kuban to this culture. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ In fact, only a few tombs at Shellal resembled the Pan-graves, while the two other cemeteries of Kuban are connected with Kerma: the bracelets of this sheets of mother-of-pearl, which Junker considers characteristic of the race, are typical in the Pan-graves, but they are not so in the pure C-Group tombs.

Junker placed the Pan-grave culture in the Middle Nubian and between C-Group and Kerma. He attributed the Tell el-Jahudiye vases to the Pan-grave culture, while Kirwan connected it with the late Kerma;⁽⁸⁸⁾ as has already been mentioned, however, the last stage of Kerma is unknown (see above, pp. 114-6), and so the problem is difficult to solve. It is noteworthy, however, that Kirwan gave a short account of tombs found at Firka and Kosha which contain mixed features of early Kerma and Pan-grave cultures.⁽⁸⁹⁾

The contents of the Pan graves show that the people were warlike (see above, p. 77) and may be connected with the Medja, mentioned by Kamose as having been employed in his struggle against the Hyksos.⁽⁹⁰⁾ They may have come from a region south of Semnah after the Egyptian frontier had been withdrawn, and were employed by the Egyptians. Some of these Nubians, however, might have been employed by the Hyksos as well (see above), but this must have been earlier than the time when the frontier between the Hyksos and the Seventeenth Dynasty kings was at Cusae, for no Pan graves have been found to the north of that place.⁽⁹¹⁾ It is possible that, in the struggle against the Hyksos, they only fought on the side of the Egyptians. They probably played a major part in that struggle and it is certain that they were used as scouts in advance of the Egyptian forces in order to find out the position of their enemy.⁽⁹²⁾

Their social standing is uncertain, but the golden objects found in their tombs, which were badly plundered, indicate that they were not poor and that they were obviously well paid.⁽⁹³⁾ Their arms were on the whole of Egyptian type⁽⁹⁴⁾ and it seems that they were Egyptianized like the later C-Group people of Lower Nubia. All their wares, except those of some later tombs, were Egyptian and their settlements show that they had abandoned the circular huts for rectangular buildings,⁽⁹⁵⁾ and so it is evident that the Pan graves disappeared in the

New Kingdom.

Säve Söderbergh concludes that, as a result of the complete Egyptianization of the Pan-grave people, they lost their individuality as a race and their part in history ended. Meanwhile the Egyptianization of the C-Group in Lower Nubia made them culturally subject to the Egyptians and this facilitated the restoration of Egyptian authority in Nubia during the New Kingdom.

Little is known about the Seventeenth Dynasty. It seems that during the late Hyksos Period several dynasts ruled in different parts of Egypt, paying tribute to the Hyksos kings. The princes of Thebes claimed to be the legitimate rulers of Egypt and extended their authority until they succeeded in driving the Hyksos out of the country. (96)
 At the beginning of the decisive phase in the struggle against the Hyksos, there were three kingdoms in Egypt and Lower Nubia: (97)

- a) The Theban kingdom from approximately Cusae to Elephantine.
- b) The Hyksos kingdom in Lower and Middle Egypt as far south as Cusae.
- c) Nubia, which was under a Nubian ruler, reached as far north as Elephantine.

It is difficult to know how the struggle began and its start is obscure. Our sources for the conflict are of later periods and are far from giving the complete story. We only know that at least three successive rulers of Thebes, Sekenenre, Kamose and Ahmose, tried to liberate their country from the Hyksos before the last named succeeded in expelling them.

The Papyrus Sallier I, of Ramesside date, contains the story of how Apophis sent a message to Sekenenre complaining that the noise of the hippopotamæ at Thebes prevented him from sleeping. This is so unreasonable a pretext that, if there were any truth in the story, it would seem that the

Hyksos were deliberately trying to provoke hostilities. The story of Apophis and Sekenenre, which is written naturally from the Egyptian point of view, appears to place the responsibility for aggression on the Hyksos, and Sekenenre appears to have tried to temporize.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The end of the story is unfortunately lost, but it seems possible that soon after this incident the hostilities commenced, for the mummy of Sekenenre, which has five terrible wounds in the head, shows that he met a violent death either in battle or by assassination.⁽⁹⁹⁾

We are better informed concerning the course of events in the reign of his successor Kamose. A wooden tablet⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ found at Thebes and dated to the 3rd year of his reign, though unfortunately incomplete, undoubtedly contained the story of the beginning of the struggle of Kamose against the Hyksos. Another version of the same incident is to be found on two fragments of a stela found by Chevrier at Karnak, but only about a sixth of the original text has survived.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ From these texts it is clear that the Theban kingdom was sandwiched between the Hyksos kingdom in the north and the Nubian kingdom south of Elephantine. Kamose was clearly in favour of attacking the Hyksos, whereas his courtiers counselled moderation and the maintenance of the status quo and were overruled by the king. Thereafter, Kamose with an army of Egyptians and Mazoi attacked a certain Teti son of Piopi, evidently an Egyptian who was loyal to the Hyksos,⁽¹⁰²⁾ at the frontier town of Nefru-sy⁽¹⁰³⁾ and defeated him. At this point the Carnarvon Tablet is broken.

Further details of the struggle can now be gleaned from the stela of Kamose recently discovered at Karnak.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ This stela makes it clear that the Hyksos king against whom Kamose fought was ꜥ-wsr-rꜥ Apophis. This important text, apparently

does not contain the full story; it bears no date and starts in the middle of the recital; one must assume, therefore, that there has been a companion stela, which bore the opening passages of the record. The new stela records sweeping victories over the Hyksos, who were put to flight and Avaris itself threatened with attack. (105)

Interesting is the light thrown in this stela on conditions in Nubia. Kamose intercepts a letter from Apophis to the ruler of Cush appealing to him for help, suggesting that he should attack Kamose in the rear and then divide Egypt with Apophis. Apophis reproaches the Nubian for not having notified him of his having come to the throne. (106) Evidently, therefore, either Nubia and the Hyksos were in very close and friendly relations or the Hyksos may have claimed some measure of control over Nubia. At the same time Apophis makes a passing reference to a previous attack by Kamose on Nubia, (107) in the course of which Kamose apparently gained a big victory. This stela, therefore, indicates that Nubia and the Hyksos were allies in the fight against the Thebans, that already Kamose had inflicted a severe defeat on the Nubians, obviously in an attempt to secure his rear before concentrating on the Hyksos, and that he was pressing the Hyksos hard and they were on the retreat.

Great though the victories of Kamose appear to have been, they were not complete. The work of liberation was completed in the reign of Ahmose I, who captures Avaris and besieged the remnants of the fleeing Hyksos at Sharuhem in south Palestine and finally captured it after a siege of three years

2. The Reconquest of Nubia in the Eighteenth Dynasty and other Military Campaigns in the New Kingdom.

We have already referred to the possibility that Kamose had attacked Nubia before the final expulsion of the Hyksos (see above, p.147). This may be supported by the finding of a scarab apparently inscribed with his name at Faras,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and by an inscription at Toshka bearing his name and that of his brother Ahmose.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Sæve Söderbergh argued that the text of the Toshka inscription refers to a campaign which might have taken place after the reign of Kamose, and the Faras scarab, as a portable object, does not mean that a military campaign against Nubia was made in his reign. He believed that it was impossible for Kamose, who was threatened by the Hyksos in the north, to undertake such a campaign in Nubia and considered that the epithet di' nh which followed his name did not mean that he was alive when the inscription was made and quoted a similar example from the reign of Sesostri III, which was presumably an error for Sesostri I.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Admitting that the scarab cannot be regarded as proof of campaigns by Kamose in Nubia, the rest of Sæve Söderbergh's arguments against such a campaign can hardly be correct. The attempt to equate di' nh with m;'-hrw is unjustified and, moreover the new Karnak stela of Kamose now seems to give proof of an attack on Nubia. In the letter which he sent to the new ruler of Cush, Apophis says, "I cannot attack him in the same way as all that he did to you".⁽¹¹²⁾ Though rather vague, it is difficult to see how these words can be explained except by assuming that Kamose had already attacked Nubia. This conclusion is supported by the epithet "Who suppresses the South", which Kamose bears in this same text.⁽¹¹³⁾ It is implicit in the Carnarvon Tablet⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and in the new Karnak

stela as we have seen above (p. 147) that Nubia at this time was hostile to the Theban kingdom and in friendly relations or an alliance with the Hyksos. It is reasonable to assume that before seriously attacking the Hyksos, Kamose should have wished and attempted to safeguard his rear by attacking Nubia. Further support for this conclusion is afforded by the discovery of a statue of Ahmose at Sai, well to the south of the Second Cataract, which may perhaps indicate that Ahmose may have campaigned south of the Second Cataract and may have founded the fortress of Sai (see below, p. 150). It seems most unlikely that Ahmose could have penetrated so deeply into Nubia unless Kamose had already taken steps to break the power of an independent Nubia.

An officer, Ahmes son of Abana, who lived under the first four kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, described the events which took place during the reign of Ahmose. (115) He mentioned the victory of the king at Avaris and his sailing upstream, afterwards, to Hnt-hn-nfr. (116) He also referred to the defeat of two Nubian rebels, Ata and Teti-an. The first is said to have come from the south but the gods of Upper Egypt had captured him and the king found him at a place called Tj-nt t?-c, captured him and took his family. Ahmes son of Abana goes on to say that he brought two Medja from Ata's ship. The place Tj-nt t?-c is unknown, but it may be suggested that the fighting took place in Lower Nubia, for we know that Amenophis III got 110 Medja from Ibat (117) which is identified with the region of Semnah. It is probable that Ahmose occupied the whole of the navigable reach between the first two cataracts and may even have reached as far south as Sai. His inscription at Toshka (see above, p. 148), a seal bearing his name from the ruins of Ineheser temple then that of Amenophis II

a sealing bearing his name from Kuban,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ a door-jamb at Buhen from the remains of an older temple than that of Amenophis II and bearing his name and that of his queen I²-h-htp,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ the inscription of Thure⁽¹²⁰⁾ who became commandant of Buhen and may be identified with Thure the viceroy of Nubia under Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I⁽¹²¹⁾ and his statue which was found at Sai,⁽¹²²⁾ all these would support that view. That a statue should have been found at Sai strongly hints that he was actually responsible for founding the fort there, a fact which further indicates that he must have effected a thorough conquest of Nubia.

His successor, Amenophis I, led a campaign into Cush "in order to extend the territory of Egypt".⁽¹²³⁾ The main source for this campaign is the biography of Ahmes son of Abana, but it is also mentioned in the biography of another officer, Ahmes Pennekheb.⁽¹²⁴⁾ It is probable that a revolt broke out in Lower Nubia and the king led the campaign in person, subdued the revolt and captured a Nubian chief. The fight may have ended somewhere in the desert and not very far from Egypt, for Ahmes son of Abana mentions that he brought the king to Egypt in two days from the "high well station".⁽¹²⁵⁾ The king, therefore, might have followed the Nubian chief into the desert, or it might be that the latter came from one of the tribes living in the desert of Lower Nubia. This expedition undoubtedly reached as far south as Semnah, for two inscriptions of Thure at Semnah⁽¹²⁶⁾ and Uronarti⁽¹²⁷⁾ are dated to years 7 and 8 of the reign. An inscription of a priest of Amon, Pn-t?-wrt, suggests that the authority of Amenophis I was extended up to K?r,⁽¹²⁸⁾ near Napata, but there is no evidence to prove that it could have reached so far.

Tuthmosis I was certainly the first king known to have extended the Egyptian authority further south than it had

reached in the Middle Kingdom. His first campaign into Nubia is mentioned in the biographies of Ahmes son of Abana and Ahmes Pennekheb, Ineni, a stela at Tombos⁽¹²⁹⁾ and small graffiti at the same place, at the First Cataract⁽¹³⁰⁾ and at Sai and Tangur.⁽¹³¹⁾

The description of the campaign in the biography of Ahmes son of Abana indicates that the king went to Hnt-hn nfr in order to punish the rebels in the foreign countries and to oppose their attacks (?). It also states that Ahmes was brave on the "bad waters" when the fleet was towed through the water of the Cataract. This would suggest that the tribes living south of the Second Cataract might have revolted and the Egyptians themselves might have wanted to occupy the land with which they had commercial relations in the Middle Kingdom and whence they could obtain many of the favourite materials. The inscriptions at Sai and Tangur are dated to year 2 of the king's reign and indicate that the ships were counted by the scribe of the army. It is possible that the fleet reached the region of the Second and Third Cataracts in Summer, when they passed t?-pn-^syt, which may be an incorrect reading or an indication of the river bend at Ikkur.⁽¹³²⁾

About five months later the inscription at Tombos indicates that the expedition had successfully arrived there, thus reaching the navigable and fertile Dongola Reach, where nothing would hinder further advances to the south, so that the king could pass even beyond the Fourth Cataract.⁽¹³³⁾ He passed through another stretch of the river difficult to navigate and set up a boundary inscription at Kurgus.⁽¹³⁴⁾ This inscription makes it clear that the Dongola Reach was effectively occupied by Tuthmosis I and that he had broken down the resistance of the Nubians of that region.

The biography of Ineni mentions that his southern boundary was at the "Horns of the Earth"⁽¹³⁵⁾ and Arkell suggests that this may indicate some hills at Kurgus and furthermore he believes that the Egyptian authority had reached Meroë⁽¹³⁶⁾ but this is hard to prove. In this campaign Tuthmosis I undoubtedly penetrated much further south than any of his predecessors and in the Tombos Stela he, not unjustifiably, boasts of himself as one "who opened the valleys which the ancestors had not known and which the wearers of the Nbtj-diadem had not seen".⁽¹³⁷⁾ Breasted suggests⁽¹³⁸⁾ that a fort might have been built by Tuthmosis I at Tombos, but at present there is no evidence of its existence.

Sethe⁽¹³⁹⁾ was of the opinion that Tuthmosis I made another campaign, but he arrived at this conclusion by comparing the epithets of the king in two small graffiti at Tombos with the epithets he used in the first four years of his reign: there is no evidence that he made such a campaign. He reigned a comparatively short time and if the alleged campaign was conducted after his fourth year, there would be no chance for the Nubians to revolt immediately at the beginning of his successor's reign.

It seems that Tuthmosis I meant to establish full control over Lower Nubia. His viceroy Thure (see below, p. 173) left two inscriptions at Sehel which mention the clearing of the canal at the First Cataract and refer to the king's return from his successful campaign. A third inscription at Elephantine gives the same information.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The king's advance beyond the Third Cataract and his inscription of Kurgus suggest that he aimed to have the trading routes by river and by land in his hands.

The obscure circumstances which followed the reign of Tuthmosis I⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and the revolt which took place in Lower

Nubia at the beginning of the reign of Tuthmosis II indicate that some Nubian tribes might have tried to shake off the Egyptian rule and found an opportunity to do this when the succession to the throne was not settled. The rebels attacked Egyptian property and robbed their cattle. Tuthmosis II sent an expedition which severely subdued the revolt and brought hostages, including the chief's son.

The events of the campaign are recorded on the rocks between Assuan and the First Cataract.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The name of the king is said to have been found at Gebel Barkal, but this has not yet been confirmed and it is improbable that the campaign of Tuthmosis II could have reached there.⁽¹⁴³⁾


During the reign of Hatshepsut peace seems to have prevailed in Nubia. No monuments of her have been found beyond Argo and none of the contemporary inscriptions give any definite idea about a military activity in Nubia.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ The most important event in her reign was the expedition to Punt, which is fully recorded in her temple at Deir el-Bahari.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

When Tuthmosis III became absolute king of Egypt and presumably because of his military fame, which he gained in his Asiatic campaigns, Nubia continued to be peaceful and used to send its tribute. In his annals at Karnak the Nubian tribute is mentioned from the beginning of his seventh campaign up to his sixteenth campaign.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ The southern people whom he ruled are described as the southern Iwntyw-
Zty who are from Hnt-hn-nfr.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

The famous Gebel Barkal Stela of Tuthmosis III states that the Egyptians had reached that place during the 47th year of his reign and indicates that some military activity took place.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ It is not necessary to assume that the king himself participated in the campaign, for some of his leaders may have been in charge of it, but another text at the First

Cataract⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ informs us that he had returned from a victorious campaign in the regnal year 50. It is improbable that he had spent three years in that campaign, from year 47, as suggested by Budge,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ but it is more likely that he went in person to Nubia in year 50.

His successor Amenophis II made use of his victory in Asia to establish order in Nubia. He brought from Asia seven prisoners, killed six of them at Thebes and sent the seventh to be hanged on the walls of Napata.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ This was a sufficient threat and subsequently there was no need for him to undertake military action in Nubia. At Tura, an official called Minhotep left an inscription⁽¹⁵²⁾ stating that he erected stelae in Naharin and Karoy. No stela bearing the name of Minhotep was found by Reisner at Gebel Barkal, but he found the bases of a lion or sphinx with the cartouche of Amenophis II.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Two small statues of Amenophis II were found at Ben Naga⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ (Wad-ba-Nag~~ca~~), but they may have been moved to that place, for it is unlikely that the Egyptian authority had reached so far (see above, p. 151 and n. 134)⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

During the reign of Tuthmosis IV a revolt broke out in Nubia and it seems that it extended nearer to Egypt than the previous ones, for the inscriptions at Konosso Island mention that it had been in W?w?t.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ This text is dated to the 8th year of his reign, but another text, which Lepsius copied from the same place, is dated to his 7th year and this seems to be only a mistake in copying, for the two texts are similar to each other, except that the latter had depicted the two gods Dedwen of Nubia and  H? of the western desert, before whom the king is shown slaying his enemies.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ These inscriptions also mention that the king had consulted the god Amun before going to overcome the rebels, a fact which may be interpreted as testimony to the increasing power of the priesthood of Amun in the period immediately before the Amarna Age, with all the

weakening of the position of the throne that was involved.

That Nubian affairs and the Nubian campaign were at this time of lesser importance than those of Asia is indicated by the lack of emphasis on the Nubian scenes on the chariot of Tuthmosis IV. On this chariot scenes of Tuthmosis IV subduing Asiatics are found on the right and left sides of the exterior, and on the left side of the interior,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ but only one Nubian scene occurs, on the right side of the interior.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Other sources refer to the same campaign, such as an inscription from Thebes which mentions that the prisoners were settled in a special colony,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ an inscription at Amada,⁽¹⁶¹⁾ and a priest of Onuris states that he followed the king from Naharin to Karoy,⁽¹⁶²⁾

After the campaign of Tuthmosis IV Nubia appears to have been peaceful and for a time, at least, there seems to have been no need for any military activity. In the reign of Amenophis III only one campaign, in his 5th year, is attested for certain and this is mentioned on two inscriptions on the ancient road between Assuan and Philae⁽¹⁶³⁾ and on another at Konosso.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Another broken stela found at Semnah but now in the British Museum apparently refers to this same campaign, but the date is lost: this particular inscription records the recruiting of an army between the fortresses of Baky (Kuban) and Karoy, a victory over Nubians apparently in Ibh~~a~~t and the taking of 740 prisoners.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

Another inscription found at Buhen⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ may perhaps refer to the same campaign, but this is not quite certain. Finally an inscription found at Bubastis⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ has been assigned by Breasted to the reign of Amenophis III and is considered by him to refer to the same campaign, which he suggests may have extended as far as the Atbara.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Hitherto this inscription, following Naville,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ has been thought to be of the Twelfth

Dynasty, a view still maintained by the Wörterbuch, but Breasted is undoubtedly right in assigning it to the New Kingdom. Breasted's reason for assigning the stela to Amenophis III rests solely on his belief that line 6 of the text contains a reference to the accession or coronation day of the king; since only one possible reference to that event having occurred during the campaign of year 5 is known.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Sve Söderbergh, however, is undoubtedly correct in pointing out that the passage in question has no reference at all to the accession or coronation⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and that Breasted's so-called land of Hꜣsꜣt is merely a writing for hꜣst. There is therefore no evidence that the Bubastis inscription has any reference at all to a campaign of Amenophis III, still less does it afford any evidence that the campaign reached the Atbara.⁽¹⁷²⁾

Peace continued in Nubia during the reign of Akhenaten in spite of events in Egypt itself. A stela from Buhen states that no revolt occurred during his reign⁽¹⁷³⁾ and a fragment of another one⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ refers to tribute from Nubia, or military activity, but the text is damaged and no clear idea can be obtained of its contents.^(XXV)

A chest found in the tomb of Tutankhamun represented the king in his chariot charging a confused mass of defeated Nubians,⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ but this need not be interpreted as serious historical fact. The tomb of the viceroy of Nubia, Huy, at Thebes⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ mentions no military operations in Nubia, but only depicts the peaceful payment of tribute.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ It is therefore probable that the artists made the representation on the chest of Tutankhamun in order to please their young king.

Horemheb, since the reign of Akhenaten, played a great part in the politics of Egypt. During the reign of Tutankhamun he went on a tour of inspection in Nubia in order to check

the loyalty of the officials there after the restoration of the old regime.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ As soon as he became king, he went again to Nubia and this was probably to make sure of his position, as he held no real claim to the throne, although his rock temple at Silsileh⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ shows him returning with prisoners from Cush. It is possible, however, to see in the scenes of Silsileh an imitation of the representations on the chariot of Tuthmosis IV, some details of which were again imitated in the reigns of Ramesses II and III.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

From the reign of Tuthmosis IV onwards we hear of no revolts in Nubia and it seems that, except for the campaign of Amenophis III, there had been no military action of any importance in Nubia. Kings of later periods were represented in scenes of battles and described in the inscriptions as overcoming Nubians, but these were all conventional and do not give any particular information about the places where these military acts, if any had happened, took place. In fact, Nubia continued to be peaceful and there was no need of such campaigning.

Ramesses I in a stela dated to year 2 of his reign is said to have built a temple at Buhen, equipped it with priests and filled its work-house with slaves whom he brought as prisoners.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ A copy of the same text is dated to year 1 of the reign of Sethos I, his son,⁽¹⁸²⁾ and Breasted suggested that Sethos I made the campaign for his father, who was, as his stela states, at Memphis,⁽¹⁸³⁾ but this cannot be proved as the text does not confirm his view. It does not mention where these prisoners were captured and it may be conventional, for another inscription, from Abydos, describes Ramses I as the wild bull who smites the Nubians.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

A stela from Amarah West dated to year 4 or 8 of the reign of Sethos I states that he conquered Irm,⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ but it seems that this campaign was of minor importance⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ for at

Karnak only his wars in Asia and Libya are depicted and nothing concerning his campaign in Nubia is represented except in two scenes which show him slaughtering the enemies of the north and south in the traditional manner. They do not give any particular information and even the texts adjoining them seem to be taken from the hymn of victory of Tuthmosis III and those of Amenophis III on one of his buildings. ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Two scenes at El-Radessieh Temple (Wadi Miah) represent him smiting the enemy in front of the God: the enemy in one of these represents the people of the north and in the other represents the "Chiefs of the vile Cush". ⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Amun, the god, is represented as saying that he had given the king the south and the north under the soles of his feet and ten oval shapes of forts surmounted by figures symbolizing the conquered countries are depicted. The nine countries which are listed after Cush are the traditional nine countries usually represented on the throne under the feet of the pharaoh and which we know from the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ and so bear no particular meaning in such a scene.

Ramesses II ruled for 67 years and was an active builder. Accordingly many records of his wars have survived but they only give a little historical information. These concerning Nubia do not mention any date or place of their events. In fact they may have been inscribed in order to parallel the representations of his wars in Asia. They were inscribed in the conventional manner and mostly copied from inscriptions of older times.

The most important of these are in the temples of Beit el Wali, ⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Ed-dirr ⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and Abu Simbel. ⁽¹⁹²⁾ The representations at Beit el Wali and Ed-dirr show the delivery of tribute and the scene of the battle in which a Nubian village appears to be surrounded by palm-trees and with a woman crying in front of

her hut. A shepherd is represented in the scene and a wounded man is carried out of the battle towards the hut. (190) At Abu Simbel the return from a victorious campaign and the leading of prisoners are represented. It is mentioned that the prisoners are led to work in the temple of Amun and the tribute is brought for the god. Not only the scenes, but also the inscriptions adjoining them are copied from older sources and so they cannot have any historical value. (193) Another record which does not give any historical data about the wars in Nubia is a stela (194) on the old road between Assuan and Philae. After the date, year 2, month 3, day 26, it refers only to a victory in the north and contains general epithets which do not imply any particular military activity in Nubia.

At Amarah West Ramesses II is represented in a campaign in Nubia. Three of his sons are represented following him in his triumphant return. A short inscription records that the campaign was against the Nubian land of Irm and lists 7000 prisoners, but it is not certain whether this is a genuine Nubian campaign or whether the reliefs had been made by Sethos I and then reworked by Ramesses II, (195) for a stela has been discovered in the same place recording a campaign made by Sethos I against Irm. (196)

A badly damaged stela found at Amada (197) indicates that Menephtah subdued a revolt in Wawat. The text seems to resemble the accounts of the revolts which were mentioned by Tuthmosis II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III. (198) This revolt seems to have some connection with the defeat of the Libyans by Menephtah; they may have reached Nubia in search of new homelands and supplies, (199) for men of fair colour are represented among the people of the south (200) and a place in Nubia was called Thnt (201) and Reisner may not be far wrong in assuming that the Ethiopian royal house was of Libyan origin

(see further, pp. 216-7).

There is no evidence that the successors of Menephtah made military efforts in Nubia. Siptah, for example, went to Nubia in order to install the viceroy Seti in his office.⁽²⁰²⁾ The only records of the Twentieth Dynasty which bear military significance are those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu⁽²⁰³⁾ and at Karnak⁽²⁰⁴⁾ but they have no real historical value, for they seem to be copies of older records. The scenes at Medinet Habu resemble those of Ramesses II at Beit el Wali, Ed-dirr and Abu Simbel, which in turn were copied from older sources (see above, p. 158). The scene at Karnak is similar to the representations of the battle of Kadesh.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ Even the list of Southern People⁽²⁰⁶⁾ is copied from older records.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ The reference at Medinet Habu to Nubian chieftains and their children bringing tribute⁽²⁰⁸⁾ and the information in Papyrus Harris I⁽²⁰⁹⁾ about the Syrians and Nubians whom the king captures are all without historical importance.

If we may summarize the results of this survey of Egyptian military activity in Nubia during the New Kingdom, it may be said that at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty strenuous military efforts were necessary to restore Egyptian control in Nubia and then to push the boundary further south. This work was complete by the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, by which time Nubia was completely pacified and linked with Egypt by the special administration system which, as we shall see (below, pp. 172ff), the Egyptians set up. From at least the time of Amenophis III, for the remainder of the New Kingdom, there is no real evidence that there was any need for major military campaigns and the references by such kings as Amenophis III, Sethos I and Ramesses II to campaigns and the taking of captives are most probably to be explained as minor raids and punitive expeditions deliberately exaggerated for the glorification of Pharaoh. That Nubia after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty

was completely pacified is proved by the fact that clearly a policy of colonization and not of military control was pursued and the citing of the new forts and towns was no longer governed by strategic considerations.

3. The Egyptianization of Nubia.

The Egyptian kings, even before the start of the New Kingdom, did not regard with ease the separation of Nubia from their territory. Kamose had clearly expressed that view.⁽²¹⁰⁾ Archaeological evidence (see above, pp. 148f) shows that Ahmose I not only went deep into Nubia but he also renewed and added to the fort of Buhen and, apparently, he appointed Thure commandant of that fort. He might have reached as far as Sai, for a statue about life size has been found there (see above, p. 149) and it is possible that he had built a temple or fort in that place.

Tuthmosis I took more effective steps. He ordered the river passage at the First Cataract to be cleared from the stones which blocked it.⁽²¹¹⁾ In his inscription at Tombo, the building of a fort is mentioned⁽²¹²⁾ and perhaps he may have built a fort there, but of this no trace has yet been found. From his boundary stela at Kurgus (see above, p. 151) we may assume that he had, at least, built an outpost there. It was suggested by Sæve Söderbergh that the mud brick temple at Sai which was replaced by Tuthmosis III by a stone built one, may date to Tuthmosis I⁽²¹³⁾ but I think that it is more likely to be dated to Ahmose I, since his statue has been found there. The inscriptions of Tuthmosis II refer to the forts built by his father.⁽²¹⁴⁾ We do not know anything

about these forts, but they may have been in the newly conquered region south of the Second Cataract. /h

The kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty continued to build extensively throughout Nubia. Their buildings and towns are to be found as far south as Gebel Barkal and it seems that they intended to use these places as cultural centres from which Egyptian authority and civilization could permeate their southern territories. To strengthen these links they took steps to improve communications: thus Tuthmosis III in his 50th year not only had the canal at the First Cataract cleared, but laid upon the fishermen of Elephantine the duty of keeping it clear year by year. (215)

A particularly interesting side of Egyptian activity in Nubia is their religious policy. It may be suggested that the Pharaohs experimented in Nubia with ideas or innovations whose acceptance in Egypt may have at first been doubtful. Tuthmosis III, for instance, paid special attention to the cult of the deified Sesostris III: traces of this are found at many places, particularly Semnah, Uronarti and Gebel Dosha, (216) and sometimes, e.g. at Gebel Dosha, Tuthmosis III is himself directly linked with it. It may be suggested that at first the cult of Sesostris III was introduced for reasons of dynastic or imperial policy, the great conqueror being regarded in a sense as the patron of Nubia.

A notable development took place under Amenophis III: In his great temple at Soleb, which was bigger than the temple of Luxor at the time, he introduced during his lifetime the cult of himself as the god "Nebmare, Lord of Nubia", and traces of this have also been found in the temple built for his wife Ty at Sedenga, and in the crypt in the temple of Sesebi. (217) This erection of temples to, and the foundation of the cult for, the living king is something new. It is

perhaps to be linked with the struggle between the throne and the established priesthood, which culminated in the Atenist revolution, and it may be suggested that Amenophis III introduced the cult of his living self partly as a kind of religion of empire and partly as a counterblast to the old religion. Since this was in a sense revolutionary, apparently, the new development was first introduced experimentally in Nubia. The cult of the deified Amenophis III is already attested at Soleb in his 30th year,⁽²¹⁸⁾ but it seems probable that before his death it was introduced into Thebes.⁽²¹⁹⁾ This movement was pushed to extremes in Egypt itself under Akhenaten, and thereafter there are numerous references to a king being the object of a special cult during his lifetime (see below, p. 166).

Griffith considered that the temple A at Kawa was founded by Amenophis III⁽²²⁰⁾ but was inclined to think that the discovery of a statuette of the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period might extend the history of the site to the Middle Kingdom.⁽²²¹⁾ Griffith's excavations at Kawa proved that it was to be identified with Gem(pa)aton, which Breasted had previously identified with Sesebi.⁽²²²⁾ It is a strange fact that neither the name of Akhenaten nor any traces of his handiwork have been found at Kawa. The only point of contact with Atenism is the name of the town and since we know that the Aton movement began before the accession of Akhenaten, it is by no means impossible that the name Gem(pa)aton itself goes back to the reign of Amenophis III. Nevertheless, Akhenaten was active in Nubia, for he is represented at Soleb,⁽²²³⁾ and he also built the town and temple at Sesebi within the first five years of his reign, as is proved by the inscriptions on the columns and the foundation deposits of the temple and of the town itself,⁽²²⁴⁾ and subsequent to the change in his

name he built a sun temple or, more accurately, peripteral kiosk, to the north east of the main temple. ⁽²²⁵⁾

When Tutankhamun abandoned Atonism, he restored the name of Amun on monuments from which it had been erased, he repaired the temple of Gebel Barkal and also built there a small temple dedicated to Amun, Atum and Iah ⁽²²⁶⁾ and he repaired and enlarged the temple A at Kawa. ⁽²²⁷⁾ He himself was worshipped in a temple built at Faras. ⁽²²⁸⁾

The new foundations of the later kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty throw interesting light on conditions in Nubia at the time. Whereas previously all frontier towns, of which we have any knowledge, were veritable forts designed to meet military needs and to withstand attack, and are carefully sited in strategic positions, the new fortress towns of the late Eighteenth Dynasty are entirely different. The temples and towns at Sedenga, Soleb and Sesebi, for instance, are placed in level plains and do not control any route by land or by river, nor, as far as we know, are they sited in relation to any local natural resources. At Sedenga and Soleb, it is true, all traces of the towns have disappeared apart from the ruins of the temples and extensive New Kingdom cemeteries, unexcavated, to the west of them, but Sesebi is preserved and ^a ~~my~~ reasonably be regarded as affording a type example. At Sesebi the town is of fortress type, in that it is surrounded by a stout wall equipped with bastions or buttresses, but now instead of irregular shape and irregularity of spacing of the buttresses, ~~sited~~ with an eye to strategic and defensive needs, the town is neatly rectangular and the buttresses are regularly spaced. At Sesebi also there is no ditch, no protective stone at the base of the walls and no defensive system attached to the four gates of the town, and, though the town lies a short distance back from the river, it possessed no well, no internal water supply of any description and no water gate. ⁽²²⁹⁾ It is quite obvious

that such towns as Sesebi served no military purpose; they could never have resisted any prolonged or serious attack and clearly they were not in danger of such attack.

The conclusion imposes itself that Nubia in the time subsequent to the middle Eighteenth Dynasty was completely pacified and open to Egyptian influence and that these later towns were not fortresses in the strict sense, but deliberate attempts at colonization. It is noteworthy that the New Kingdom cemetery at Sesebi produced no signs of Nubian burial customs or Nubian objects. The burials were all of Egyptian type and the objects were either true Egyptian or local imitations. As we shall see below, much the same remarks can be made regarding the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty were also active in erecting monuments in Nubia. Horemheb has not left records of any great activity in Nubia, probably because the reorganization of Egypt demanded his main attention, and Ramesses I reigned too short a time to have made his mark. The name of the latter, however, appears in an inscription at Amada,⁽²³⁰⁾ badly damaged, and in a limestone stela at the temple of Buhen.⁽²³¹⁾ The name of his successor, Sethos I, also appears on the same stela and on other monuments in different parts of Nubia, extending as far south as Gebel Barkal.⁽²³²⁾ Some of these monuments, however, belong to some of his predecessors, but he had certainly repaired or added to them. He also tried to dig a well in the Eastern Desert on the route leading to the gold mines.⁽²³³⁾ He was also worshipped in his lifetime, as an inscription at Elephantine shows his viceroy, Amenemopet, adoring him.⁽²³⁴⁾

In spite of usurping many of the monuments of his predecessors, Ramesses II is one of the greatest builders in

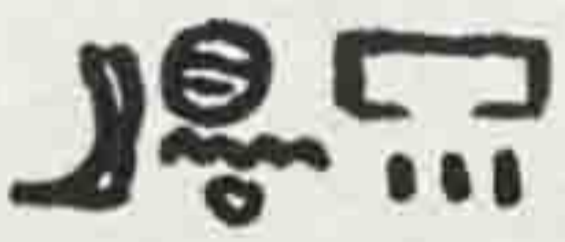
Egypt and in Nubia. Some of his temples in Nubia are of a particular type, the hemi-speos: the forepart of the temple is built in the normal way in the open, but the rest of the temple is hewn in the rock. Of this type are the temples of Beit el Wali, Gerf Hussein, Es-Sebua and Ed-dirr. His two temples at Abu Simbel are entirely hewn in the rock and the largest of them may be considered the most magnificent of all his temples. He also repaired and added to other temples, such as Serreh, Faras and Amarah West.⁽²³⁵⁾ At Amara the temple was almost entirely his work and the greater part of at least one of the levels in the town, as far as has been excavated, was built in his reign. A stela found at Amara states that he caused to rest in the city, which is called Pr-R^cmss-mry Imn, the statues of his father Horus which he had brought to Nubia, and there claims to have built Amara.⁽²³⁶⁾

His name appears at Kawa over cartouches of Tutankhamun.⁽²³⁷⁾ He followed the example of Amenophis III and Tutankhamun (see above, pp. 163f) in deifying himself. At Serreh (Aksheh) he himself is worshipped as the main god in Nubia,⁽²³⁸⁾ but in other temples such as Abu Simbel, Gerf Hussein and Es-Sebua,⁽²³⁹⁾ he was worshipped as "Ramesses in the temple of Amun" and so he was not the main god in these temples; he might have been one of the Triad of Amun, perhaps in place of Khonsu. He was also worshipped in his military colony at Horbeit in Egypt itself.⁽²⁴⁰⁾ In addition, Ramesses II succeeded in digging a well on the route leading to the gold mines in the Eastern Desert, where his father's attempt had failed.⁽²⁴¹⁾

The name of Meneptah was found at Amada (see above, p. 159). The name of Amenmeses was found at Amara on a buttress in the hypostyle hall and a statue of his was originally placed in a little shrine built against the east jamb of the south door to the hypostyle.⁽²⁴²⁾ The name of Meneptah-Siptah is found in a graffito at Sehel⁽²⁴³⁾ and on the road between Assuan and Philae.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Sethos II was mentioned at Abu Simbel, at Sehel

and in a graffito at Bigeh.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ An inscription of a king's herald, Rekhpehtuf, on the south wall of Abu Simbel, mentions that Ramesses-Siptah went to Nubia in order to install his viceroy Sety in his office. This viceroy was identified by Breasted⁽²⁴⁶⁾ with king Sethos II, but his assumption is improbable.⁽²⁴⁷⁾ The name of Ramesses-Siptah was also found on the north walls of Abu Simbel⁽²⁴⁸⁾ and in the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen.⁽²⁴⁹⁾

It appears, therefore, that in spite of conditions in Egypt at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Egyptian authority was maintained in Nubia. In fact, as we have seen, Ramesses-Siptah apparently went in person to Nubia to install his viceroy. It is somewhat surprising to find that, even a king like Amenmeses, of whom so little is known, should have been active, during his short reign, at Amarah. It should be noted, however, that in contrast with earlier practice, the figures and names of officials are often found on the same monuments as the kings, a fact that may perhaps hint at the growing independence and power on the part of the Nubian officials.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

Ramesses III was mentioned in a few places in Nubia, such as Amarah and Semnah.⁽²⁵¹⁾ In Medinet Habu it is also mentioned that he built  in Egypt, Nubia and Asia⁽²⁵²⁾ and Papyrus Harris states that he erected a temple for Amun in Nubia.⁽²⁵³⁾

Although the kings who followed Ramesses III were weak, they continued to build in Nubia. At Kawa we find the names of Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII⁽²⁵⁴⁾ and at Amarah the names of Ramesses VI, IX and XI are recorded,⁽²⁵⁵⁾ and it is apparently under the last mentioned that the decoration of the temple was completed.

There is no doubt that the cult of the living king was of great importance in Nubia, for the establishment of the

authority of the Egyptian royal house. It reminded the Egyptian officials there of loyalty to their king and mother-land and strengthened the ties which bound Nubia and Egypt.

As in Egypt, Nubia worshipped the main gods of the empire. The official god was Amen-Re, who was given in Nubia epithets similar to those attributed to him in Egypt. (256) Some local gods were also worshipped in different parts. The Triad of Khnum, Satis and Anukis was perhaps of Nubian origin and their worship, which began in the First Cataract region, extended to the Second and Third Cataracts. In other places such as Faras, Gerf Hussein, Derr, Abu Simbel, Soleb and Amarah, one or more of this Triad was worshipped. (257)

Dedun was known in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards as the god from Nubia (see Pyr 10, 17, 17/18). (258) He was probably one of the falcon gods known as the Horus-gods and was worshipped at Semnah as the main god, together with Sesostris III. Other gods in the form of Horus were adored in other places: for example Horus of Buhen, Horus Lord of Mī'am and Horus Lord of Mh². (259)

Hathor was worshipped in certain places and especially at Abu Simbel and at Faras, where she was called the mistress of Ibsk. So, Firth identified Ibsk as Faras, but Kees identified it with Abu Simbel. (260)

It is obvious that the early kings of the New Kingdom had to build new forts, especially in the region beyond the Second Cataract, and to repair and add to the old ones of the Middle Kingdom. As we have already mentioned most of these forts had lost their importance (see above, pp. 164ff) in later times. Nevertheless, temples were at first built close to these forts or within their walls, for in Nubia, far from the central government, the wealth of the temples had to be carefully guarded. Later, when peace prevailed, these temples were built in other places, some of which were not near any fortresses of

which we now have knowledge. These temples were on the whole in rich and well populated areas. Some of these areas seem now to be sparsely populated or even deserted, such as the districts in which are found the rock temples of Beit el Wali, Gerf Hussein, Sebuah, Derr and Abu Simbel. The small cemeteries around them have led to the conclusion that these regions were poor and sparsely populated.⁽²⁶¹⁾ Other sources, however, give evidence that they were near to towns and well populated regions.⁽²⁶²⁾ These temples were, on the other hand, built to indicate the greatness of the Pharaoh and may have provided officials and soldiers travelling south or north with shelter and provisions.⁽²⁶³⁾ All such temples, however, were built after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, after the pacification of Nubia. Before that time, it is unthinkable that temples should have been erected away from the protection of the forts,

The temples on the whole, whether inside fortified towns or near to them, must have attracted some Nubians to settle near-by and render services to the staff of the temples or in their estates. Accordingly they played a great part in spreading the Egyptian civilization and helped to speed the Egyptianization of Nubia.

Nevertheless, the Egyptian civilization was, undoubtedly, already familiar to the inhabitants of Nubia before the New Kingdom. In the Second Intermediate Period some Egyptians were employed by Nubian princes and tablets similar in style to Egyptian stelae were found in some Nubian forts (see above, pp. 140-141). At the end of the period, Nubian mercenaries were widely employed in Egypt and their cemeteries extended as far north as Assiut (see above, pp. 76, 142). These mercenaries, of course, did not lose contact with their home land and naturally they may have conveyed to it some elements of Egyptian

civilization. These factors must have led to an easy acceptance of Egyptian culture and speeded the Egyptianization of Nubia.

It was natural that the reoccupation of Nubia in the New Kingdom should have entailed the sending of large numbers of military and civil officials from Egypt to organise its administration. Other Egyptians of differing status might have found the chance for a better life in the new colony. The exploitation of gold, although probably a government monopoly, required the services of many Egyptians. These Egyptians in all probability lived in or near the forts and in the big towns. Egyptianized Nubians must have lived side by side with them, but it is difficult to distinguish them, as they bore Egyptian names and followed most of the Egyptian burial customs.⁽²⁶⁴⁾ Examples of these came from different places such as Buhen and Serreh.⁽²⁶⁵⁾

The local princes played an important part in Egyptianizing their country, for we know that Tuthmosis I divided Nubia into five regions⁽²⁶⁶⁾ governed by their local princes, who were naturally under the control of the Egyptian viceroy and his deputy.

In the annals of Tuthmosis III it is stated that the children of the chiefs of Syria and their brothers were brought to Egypt, obviously to be educated; when any of these chiefs died, one of his sons was sent from Egypt to replace him.⁽²⁶⁷⁾ Similarly, Ramesses III states that Libyans were also brought to Egypt that they might hear the speech of the men who were in the following of the king and forget their mother-tongue.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ It is evident that these references mean that key men from the defeated foreign lands were brought to Egypt, usually, it appears, to the court, to be educated in Egyptian ways and to return eventually to their homelands to spread Egyptian influence.

Although we have no exact records of the same procedure being applied to Nubians, there seems little doubt that it was possible in their case. For instance, the annals of Tuthmosis III mention the bringing of male Nubians to Egypt "for service".⁽²⁶⁹⁾ A text of Ramesses III indicates that such Nubians were brought to Egypt for special service to the person of the king.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Although such Nubians are not said to have been brought to Egypt for education, there is little doubt that in the course of their service they, very probably, could have become thoroughly Egyptianized, some of them, undoubtedly, were promoted,⁽²⁷¹⁾ and all such men were capable of spreading Egyptian ideas and influences when they returned home.

It was in these ways that the Egyptians attempted to maintain and increase their influence in the lands that they conquered. We may also recall here that the foundation of Nubian settlements in Egypt has already been mentioned (above, pp 170f). The consequences of this policy may be seen in the scenes of the Nubian tribute of Thebes. Thus in the reign of Tutankhamun, in the tomb of Huy, we see the arrival of a Nubian princess together with Nubian princes who are called "the children of the chieftains of all foreign lands", and among the princes kneeling in adoration before the king is the prince of $M\bar{h}^c m$, with the good Egyptian name of Hekanefer.⁽²⁷²⁾ Similar scenes occur in the Ramesside Period,⁽²⁷³⁾ though these may of course be partly imitative. Hekanefer prince of $M\bar{h}^c m$ may justifiably be regarded as an Egyptianized Nubian. That he was not the only one, by any means, is shown by a tomb at Dibera East, north of Wadi Halfa, belonging to the prince of Serreh, Dhuthotep called Itisi, who was the son of another prince of Serreh called Ruiyu; here we have an example of two generations of Nubian princes bearing Egyptian names.⁽²⁷⁴⁾

4. The Egyptian Administration in Nubia.

We have already mentioned that Kamose made a campaign in Nubia (see above, p. 147), but it seems that this campaign did not result in the occupation of any part of the country, for the Carnarvon Tablet refers to the southern boundary being at Elephantine. ⁽²⁷⁵⁾

When Ahmose made his campaign, he probably left some troops to occupy the conquered land. These troops were naturally under the command of a high official, who would be in charge of setting order and safety in the occupied region. Reisner has pointed out that Thure was the first governor of Nubia, ⁽²⁷⁶⁾ while Gauthier proved that Thure's father, Ahmose son of Tayit, was the first viceroy of Nubia and that he was probably the son of Ahmose I. ⁽²⁷⁷⁾ The assumption that Ahmose son of Tayit was the first viceroy is plausible, but there is no evidence that he was the son of Ahmose I. It is likely, however, that the king should entrust such a post to one very close to him. Thure was by that time commandant of Buhen ⁽²⁷⁸⁾ and perhaps his promotion to the office of viceroy in year 7 of Amenophis I ⁽²⁷⁹⁾ indicates either that he was very close to the royal house or that the importance of the office of commandant of Buhen at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty was next to that of the viceroy of Nubia.

It is natural that at the beginning of the occupation the post of the governor of Nubia should be given to a person who had followed a military career and who was trusted by the king, perhaps even a close relative. The governor, who may not have been familiar with administration, would be helped by another high official, who would be in charge of financial and other civil duties. This may explain the situation

of Hormin, the governor of Hekhen, who, it is suggested, lived under Ahmose I, ⁽²⁸⁰⁾ as he was in charge of collecting the tribute of Wawat ⁽²⁸¹⁾ and had perhaps other administrative duties. He might have been acting by the side of Ahmose son of Tayit and it is probable that he organized the administration in Nubia. When Thure was appointed as viceroy of Nubia in year 7 of Amenophis I, he assumed command of both military and civil administration. Perhaps he was honoured by the title of the King's Son in the southern region for that reason. ⁽²⁸²⁾

The order of succession in the line of viceroys after Thure was first given by Reisner ⁽²⁸³⁾ but slight alterations were suggested by Gauthier. ⁽²⁸⁴⁾ Archaeological evidence in recent years has added more information and it is now possible to recognise more viceroys than those given by both Reisner and Gauthier. ⁽²⁸⁵⁾ The probable reconstruction of the line of viceroys in connection with the reigns of the successive kings is as follows:-

1 - Thure	Amenophis I (year 7)
2 - Seni	Tuthmosis I and II
3 - <u>Inbny</u> (?) ⁽²⁸⁶⁾	The combined reign of Hatshepsut
<u>Inbwy</u> (?)	and Tuthmosis III (?) ⁽²⁸⁶⁾
4 - <u>Nehi</u>	Tuthmosis III
5 - Wesersatet	Amenophis II
6 - Amenhotep	Tuthmosis IV (?) and Amenophis III.
7 - Mermose	Amenophis III
8 - Tuthmosis	Amenophis IV
9 - Huy	Tutankhamun
10 - Paser I	Ay, Horemheb and Ramesses I.
11.- Amenemopet	Sethos I and Ramesses II
12 - Yuni	Ramesses II
13 - Hekanakht	Ramesses II
14 - Paser II	Ramesses II

15 - Sethauw	Ramesses II
16 - Messuwy	Menepthah, Amenmesses and Sethos II
17 - Seti	Siptah
18 - Hori I	Siptah, Setnakht and Ramesses III
19 - Hori II	Ramesses III /
20 - Paser III ⁽²⁸⁷⁾	Ramesses IV and V ⁽²⁸⁷⁾
21 - Siese ⁽²⁸⁸⁾	Ramesses VI
22 - Naheher ⁽²⁸⁸⁾	Ramesses VI (?) /
23 - Wentauwat ⁽²⁸⁹⁾	/ Ramesses IX
24 - Ramesses nakht	/ Ramesses X and XI
25 - Panehsi	Ramesses XI
26 - Herihor	Ramesses XI
27 - Paiankh	Ramesses XI
28 - Neskhons	Queen of Painedjem

The tomb of a viceroy named n-htp was found at Drah Abu el Naga and is dated to the Ramesside Period,⁽²⁹⁰⁾ but we do not know the exact date of his holding the office.

The characteristic title⁽²⁹¹⁾ of the viceroys of Nubia was "King's Son". In the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, this title was used alone or with the addition "overseer of the southern land". In and after the reign of Tuthmosis IV the title was usually "King's Son of Cush", less frequently "King's Son", with or without the additional titles "overseer of the southern lands" or "overseer of the gold land of Amun". The viceroy naturally bore many other titles, but these are the significant ones, though it should be noted that almost every viceroy from the time of Mermose under Amenophis III also bore the title "fan-bearer on the right hand of the king". The title "King's Son" was even borne by Neskhons, a woman, a fact which indicates that it is not always to be interpreted literally. Gauthier has attempted to prove that Thure was the grand-son of Ahmose I and that his father Ahmose son of Tayit

was a true son of Ahmose I, but this is by no means certain. The majority of the viceroys do not seem to have been members of the royal family and it may be suggested that the title of "King's Son" was given in the first instance to the viceroy partly to increase the prestige of the office and its holders in the eyes of the Nubians and partly because the viceroy was, evidently, a kīng's man, for the viceroy of a vast and remote empire such as Nubia inevitably must have had a great measure of independence and immense power, and it was essential that he should have been a man whose loyalty to the king was beyond doubt.

It seems that the viceroys were honoured according to the amount of tribute they sent to Egypt; Wesersatet, for example, was described as "the one who brings the greatest tribute from Nubia", and "who fills the treasury with electrum".⁽²⁹²⁾

The viceroy of Nubia was usually selected from among those who were known by their capacity in administration, for he was almost independent in his post and was at the head of all other officials. Some of these viceroys, however, had military titles such as "the chief of the stables" and "horseman (officer)",⁽²⁹³⁾ some among them had led their forces in person.⁽²⁹⁴⁾

The viceroy's authority gradually increased, so that he could sometimes support the king and establish order in Egypt itself by his troops. Such was the case when Panehsi went with his forces to Egypt to support Ramesses XI.⁽²⁹⁵⁾ Similarly, there is little doubt that Herihor derived much of his power from combining the offices of high priest of Amun and viceroy of Cush.

The sphere of authority of the viceroy appears to have varied from time to time. When the office was created and during the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it seems

probable that his authority extended southwards from Elephantine, but in the reign of Amenophis III and in Ramesside times, Upper Egypt as far as Nekhen appears to have been under his administrative control.⁽²⁹⁶⁾ It has been suggested very plausibly that this extension of the viceroy's authority was in order to place the control of the gold mines of Egypt and the Sudan under a single administration.

The area under the viceroy's control was divided into two main divisions, each under a deputy or idnw. These divisions were, in the north Wawat, corresponding to the modern Lower Nubia, and in the south Cush, corresponding to the modern Upper Nubia and all the Sudan that was under direct Egyptian control. The exact boundary between Cush and Wawat is never clearly stated, but it may be assumed that it was approximately at the Second Cataract. The capital of Wawat was very probably Aniba and, apparently, was also the residence of the viceroy.⁽²⁹⁷⁾ The capital of Cush is less certain and may very well have been changed from time to time. It is possible that in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties Amarah West was the capital of Cush and the residence of the deputy: Amarah at this time was certainly a very important administrative centre and the door-jambs of successive levels of the governor's palace afford strong support for the assumption that the idnw n Ks^v actually resided there.⁽²⁹⁸⁾

Under the viceroy and his deputies, the administrative system in Nubia appears to have been very similar to that of Egypt.⁽²⁹⁹⁾ Most of the officials, of whom we have any records were Egyptians, but undoubtedly a proportion were Egyptianized Nubians; it is difficult to isolate the latter, for they bore Egyptian names and adopted Egyptian burial customs (see above, p.177). The local princes also played a big part in the administration; they were responsible for

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collecting the tribute from their lands, and, as long as they were loyal to Egypt, were maintained in their offices. ⁽³⁰⁰⁾

The Egyptians were not always willing to go to Nubia, for we find reference to this in some of their inscriptions. An Egyptian, when taking the oath in a lawsuit, declares, "if I speak falsely, may my nose and ears be cut off, and may I be sent to Cush". ⁽³⁰¹⁾ Most of the viceroys and perhaps the high officials were buried in their homeland, in Egypt. It is probable that this was the reason for their unwillingness to go to Nubia, in addition, of course, to difficult living conditions. The inscriptions of Mes clearly hint that criminals were sent to Cush to work perhaps in the mines as a punishment. It is probable that the Egyptians also employed, for the hard work of exploiting gold, prisoners or slaves, as in the Greek times. ⁽³⁰²⁾ Nevertheless, many Egyptians must have settled in Nubia, just as we know that many foreigners, including Nubians as we shall see further (pp. 178 ff), settled in Egypt.

We have already seen that Nubia played an important part in the internal affairs of Egypt. Ramesses-Siptah went in person to install his viceroy and sent rewards to the high officials there. Nubian tribute, Nubian gold and the Nubian troops and mercenaries, all were of great value to the state. We do not know how far the different parties in the Tuthmoside made use of the Nubian resources. ⁽³⁰³⁾ Horemheb, as we have mentioned (p. 157), went to Nubia, perhaps to make sure of the officials' loyalty to him. ⁽³⁰⁴⁾ Menepthah-Siptah sent a special envoy in order to get the Nubian tribute ⁽³⁰⁵⁾ and it may be that he had sent this envoy in order to examine the loyalty of the viceroy and the other officials in Nubia.

Emery suggested ⁽³⁰⁶⁾ that Seti, the viceroy of Nubia, ascended the throne of Egypt as Sethos III, but this is doubtful. If this were so, it can only prove the great importance of the Nubian staff. This importance is also noted in the

intrigues against Ramesses III. ⁽³⁰⁷⁾ Through the help of Nubian troops the viceroy Panehsi restored order in Egypt and, probably, he was responsible for appointing Herihor as the high priest. ⁽³⁰⁸⁾ Herihor also recognized the importance of the post of viceroy of Nubia, so that he appointed his son Pi^cankhi to the post. ⁽³⁰⁹⁾

5. The Nubians in Egypt.

Wars in ancient times, as at present, always yielded captives. Most of the documents of the New Kingdom concerning wars in Nubia mention a number of captives being brought into Egypt. At the beginning of the period, the campaigns in Nubia were frequent and consequently captives were brought into Egypt in what must have been considerable numbers, for we know that one officer, Ahmose son of Abana, for example, was, in one of the campaigns, given nine male and ten female slaves. ⁽³¹⁰⁾ Prisoners of war were not only the fighting men, but included civilians, women and children. ⁽³¹¹⁾ These captives were put to slavery and were the king's property. ⁽³¹²⁾ The king usually kept some of these and offered the rest to the temples ⁽³¹³⁾ and his officers. ⁽³¹⁴⁾

Slaves were also brought from Nubian in peaceful times as a part of the tribute. They are mentioned in the annals of Tuthmosis III and sometimes depicted in the tomb scenes showing the arrival of the tribute. The number of slaves brought from Cush was usually larger than that from Wawat; ⁽³¹⁵⁾ perhaps because the territory of Cush was larger than that of Wawat; perhaps also because the Cushites were considered to

be of better physique or better suited for work than the people of Wawat. A letter of Ramesside times concerned with Nubian tribute expressly mentions people from Irm and Trk among the tribute. (316)

Many of these Nubian prisoners of course remained in Egypt in temple or private ownership; others, as we have already seen (pp. 170f), we put in special settlements; but, in addition, at times a policy of deportation to lands outside Egypt or Nubia seems to have been followed, for Ramesses II is described as "he who brings the Land of the Nubians to the North-land and Asiatics to Nubia, who transfers the S^vsw (Beduins) to the west, and settles Libyans on the high-lands". (317)

The duties of these slaves varied according to their sex, age and physique. The women were employed in such tasks as textiles and spinning. The men worked in cultivation, industry and gold mining and washing. (318) *weaving* The children were, perhaps, trained for certain jobs to which they might be assigned when they grew up. Slaves could be traded or hired (319) and so they became a source of wealth to their masters. The children of the princes and of the higher classes, on the other hand, were brought into Egypt as hostages, and were brought up in the court with the Egyptian princes and were considered among the courtiers. They were given titles according to their position and duties in the palace. These titles were often retained, presumably purely honorific, when they had reached higher rank: thus Hekanefer, the prince of M³m includes among his titles "sandal-maker of the king, and page". (320)

As a conquered people, the Nubians were depicted in traditional manner as being killed or led captive by the

king in front of the god. They were also depicted in the attitude of weakness and the Egyptians looked down on them, as indeed on all foreigners, and often called them "those wretched Cushites".⁽³²¹⁾ It was only natural that they should be given difficult jobs, which the free Egyptian would consider beneath his dignity. This attitude towards the Nubians can be noted from the way in which an idle scribe is reproached by his master, who wrote to him that he was "like the Nubian who jabbars when he is brought with the tribute".⁽³²²⁾ The lowly status of the Nubian is reflected in a marriage settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty, in the course of which the vizier, in emphasizing that the father had every right to dispose of his property as he wished, declares "Even if it had not been his wife, but a Syrian or Nubian whom he loved, to whom he gave his property, who shall invalidate what he has done?"⁽³²³⁾

This contemptuous attitude is, of course, one often displayed by conquerors towards the people they have defeated or subjected. The Egyptians, as is well known, looked down on all other people, calling themselves "men" (rmt), while others were identified by the appropriate ethnic or geographic term, often accompanied by abusive epithets. The Romans, for example, called themselves "Romans" and called the other nations "Barbarians". Similarly, the Arabs called themselves "Arabs" or A^crab" and called the Persians, for example, "A^cagem", a term which can be connected with the adjective applied to animals which cannot speak. They also called the people of North Africa "Berber" and the countries to the south of Egypt "Bilad El Sudan", i.e. "the countries of the Blacks".

Nevertheless, Nubians were appreciated for, at least, certain types of work. Some of them were, perhaps, skilful

labourers, and others were chosen for their physical fitness and good looking. These last mentioned were usually employed as attendants, fan-bearers, shield-bearers and for driving chariots.⁽³²⁴⁾ It is probable that the royal house initiated the employment of Nubians in such work; a letter dealing with preparations for Pharaoh's arrival lists "goodly Nubians fitted to carry the fan".⁽³²⁵⁾ During the reign of Ay, a lady called Merytrē employed two Nubian girls among her maids and her husband had Nubian attendants.⁽³²⁶⁾ The use of Nubians as personal servants seems to have been quite common, and thus a lover could say, "Would I were her Nubian-maiden, then would I see the colour of all her limbs".⁽³²⁷⁾

It seems that the Nubians were not always ill-treated or looked down upon. Many of them probably obtained their freedom and were even able to attain high rank. In fact, the separation between slaves and free people was not necessarily strictly maintained, for we know that Tutankhamen promoted some male and female slaves to be singers and dancers and so they entered the priesthood and became members of a higher social class.⁽³²⁸⁾ A lady adopted Nubian children, and in her will made them her heirs and cursed those who should continue to call them slaves.⁽³²⁹⁾ An earlier example of a Nubian having fairly high social standing is that of a Nubian lady whose tomb was found at Qurneh, dated to the Seventeenth Dynasty, and furnished with rich equipment including objects closely connected with the Kerma culture (see above, p. 77); she may have been the wife or concubine of an Egyptian of high rank.

The pygmies, who were so popular in the Old Kingdom, were also employed as servants and attendants in the New Kingdom. The tomb of May at Amarna depicts two such pygmies, who bear the Egyptian names B'arē and Rē-neheh.⁽³³⁰⁾

Not all the Nubians who came into Egypt were originally captives or slaves. In fact, many of them used to come to Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards to offer their services as soldiers and guardsmen. Nubian guards were employed in Egypt during most of her history and even in the present day they are employed in the desert forces and coast guards. The reputation of the Medja as guards in the Old Kingdom was so great that the term Medja (Mazoi) was used to indicate "policemen", even when the men in question were not of Medja stock. The commandant of the police, too, was called hry Md;yw (= the chief of the Medja).⁽³³¹⁾ During the First and Second Intermediate Periods Nubian troops played an important part, as they were employed by the different nomarchs and were also among the troops of Kamose during his struggle against the Hyksos (see above, pp. 139f, 142f.).

These Nubian forces were usually placed in the capital and in the big towns and, in addition to the internal defence, they were responsible for such duties as tax collecting and gathering the recruits.⁽³³²⁾ Their efficiency in keeping order was probably well known in the whole empire, for the loyal kinglets of Asia wrote to the king in the Amarna Period asking him to send them a party of Cush and Melukha troops, referring undoubtedly to the Nubian troops.⁽³³³⁾ These Nubian troops were mostly dressed in the Egyptian way and were similar in appearance to the Egyptians. One of the inscriptions of Hatshepsut, showing the transport of an obelisk, mentions the "youths of Hnt-hn-nfr" who were depicted side by side with the Egyptian troops, wearing Egyptian clothes and armed with the same arms as those of the Egyptians.⁽³³⁴⁾ In a tomb of a recruiting scribe, Tnny, a Nubian troop is depicted with the Egyptian aprons and ostrich feathers in their heads.⁽³³⁵⁾ The troops of Mehu, the commandant of the police at Amarna,

had the usual Egyptian dress and were mixed with the Egyptians.⁽³³⁶⁾ This was also the case with the troops of Nebamun who formed the bodyguard of the king and were of different foreign elements, Asian, Libyan and Nubian.⁽³³⁷⁾ Where foreign troops were represented, they usually are distinguished by special characteristics or dress, but the Nubians are the least unlike the Egyptians. Their special dress was an apron which, in Herakleopolitan times, had a long end which hung down between the legs. They had a sash on the shoulders and big earrings. Some Nubians in Amarna were dressed in leather aprons and this continued in the time of Tutankhamen, but disappeared afterwards and reappeared in the Ramesside Period.⁽³³⁸⁾

It is possible that, when the Egyptian Empire became largely extended and peace and prosperity prevailed in Egypt, many foreigners could find the chance of leading a better life than they enjoyed in their homelands by rendering their services to Egypt. It is also probable that the Egyptians themselves became more and more used to luxury and dependent of foreigners. This in turn led indirectly to the Egyptians losing their military ardour and prowess. The foreign soldiers, of course, were far from being free from corruption and at times sought wealth by banditry and robbery. Naturally the Nubians had their share in such practices, since they were in fairly large numbers, for a papyrus dated to the Ramesside Period mentions⁽³³⁹⁾ that one troop in the Egyptian army consisted of 1900 Egyptians, 520 Sherdans, 1600 Kehek, Meshwesh (?)⁽³⁴⁰⁾ and 880 Nubians. Nevertheless, the Nubian soldiers seem to have been well paid, even during the Second Intermediate Period, when their Egyptian masters had limited resources, as can be inferred from the Pan-graves (see above, *pp.* 144) and they certainly led a prosperous life.

Some of the Nubian soldiers reached high ranks and, as has already been mentioned, were among the bodyguard of the king. Thus they could play an effective part in the internal affairs of Egypt, and it is possible that the chief of the bowmen who took part in the conspiracy against Ramesses III was a Nubian.⁽³⁴¹⁾ There seems no doubt that, though the Nubians in Egypt might have been completely Egyptianized, their loyalty to Egypt must have been shaken by the general decadence. Ramesses XI, when his throne was threatened, sought help from his viceroy Panehsi and his troops in Nubia, who were, apparently, more loyal than those living in Egypt.

6. The Nubian Products.

We cannot form a clear idea about the density of the population of Nubia during the New Kingdom, for the region beyond the Second Cataract has not yet been thoroughly examined, and, though the Nile Valley from Assuan to Faras has been studied by the expeditions of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, most of the cemeteries were so badly robbed or were so poor in material fixing their date that it is not possible to obtain a complete picture.⁽³⁴²⁾ Consequently the archaeological results alone are not sufficient to enable us to form a reliable estimate of the economic activity of Nubia in the New Kingdom. Other sources, however, indicate that Lower Nubia was fertile and that agriculture was actively pursued till at least the Ramesside Period, but the agricultural land was always less than in Egypt and Nubia was much less densely populated.

A text from Qurneh⁽³⁴³⁾ dated to the reign of Ramesses II lists a number of villages and districts, most of which cannot be identified; probably they ceased to exist in later times. Two other texts from Abu Simbel and dated to the same period mention the donation of land to the temple of Faras and mention that adjacent lands belonged to the king and to private persons.⁽³⁴⁴⁾ A text from the tomb of Penne at Aniba⁽³⁴⁵⁾ mentions the lands which were endowed for the rites of the statue of king Ramesses VI in the regions of Aniba and Ed-dirr. No other natural resources were mentioned in the text, which refers to different kinds of agriculture as it mentions flax fields and gardens. From the annals of Tuthmosis III we know also that corn was among the tribute of Wawat.⁽³⁴⁶⁾

The tribute of Nubia was usually reported to the king, for a scene in the tomb of Kha-em-hat shows how information about the harvest in the empire "from Cush to Naharin" was read to king Amenophis III.⁽³⁴⁷⁾ Most of the tribute of Cush which is mentioned in the tomb of Sn-m-ⁱh, from the time of Hatshepsut, appears to be foodstuffs.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ The inscriptions of the temple of Semnah mention the giving of Upper Egyptian barley and spelt of Wawat to Khnum and Dedwen.⁽³⁴⁹⁾

These are only a few examples of the documents which prove that Nubia was fertile and growing approximately the same kinds of crops as Egypt. The decree of Nauri shows that cultivation played an important part in Cush during the reign of Sethos I and enumerates the different types of officials and labourers attached to the Nubian estates of the Temple of Abydos. The account shows that there were farm guards, messengers, bee-keepers, farm labourers, gardeners, fishermen and fowlers etc..⁽³⁵⁰⁾ It also refers to the punishments

imposed on the officials who act illegally against the public interest, and it can be understood that it does not exempt the foundation from taxation or its workmen from forced labour for the state. (351)

The amount of Nubian tribute is by no means certain. we have no complete lists for the New Kingdom, and though some official lists, e.g. those of Tuthmosis III, give precise figures, many of the official records and most of the scenes in the tombs merely depict the bringing of tribute, without stating the amount. An approximate idea can sometimes be obtained from the information given us about the numbers of men required to transport the tribute. For instance, a text of Amenophis II at Ibrim⁽³⁵²⁾ gives the following details :-

Gold (?)	carried by 150 men,
ivory	carried by 250 men,
ebony	carried by 1000 men.

We may also form some idea of the amount of the Nubian tribute from the endowments which were made to the temples in comparison with those from other sources. Such comparison would undoubtedly indicate the importance of the Nubian tribute in the Egyptian economy. (353)

A study of the tribute lists of Tuthmosis III is interesting. The Nubian tribute in this reign is divided into that from Cush and that from Wawat, and gold always appears at the head of the lists. The following table summarizes the information given in the annals, but it should be noted that, in addition to the products specifically mentioned for both Cush and Wawat, it is always stated that all the good products of the land were brought.

Summary of the Nubian Tribute during Years 31 - 42 of
Tuthmosis III. (354)

Cush

Yr.	Gold ⁽³⁵⁵⁾ (dbn)	Slaves	Cattle	Ivory	Ebony	Corn	Panther skins
31	[-]	16+x	343	✓	✓	✓	✓
33	155,2	134	419	✓	✓	✓	✓
34	300+x	64	275	✓	✓	✓	-
37	70,1	10+x	[-]	✓	✓	✓	-
38	100+x	36	306	✓	✓	✓	-
39	144,3	101	[-]	-	-	[✓]	-
41	195,2	21	[-]	[✓]	[✓]	[✓]	-
42	[-]	[-]	[-]	-	-	✓	-

Wawat

Yr.	Gold ⁽³⁵⁵⁾ (dbn)	Slaves	Cattle	Ivory	Ebony	Corn
31	[-]	5	92	-	-	✓
33	[-]	20	104	-	-	✓
34	2554	10	?	-	-	✓
37	[-]	34	94	-	-	✓
38	2844	16	77	-	-	✓
39	[-]	[-]	89	-	-	[✓]
41	3144,3	-	114	✓	[✓]	[✓]
42	2374,1	[-]	[-]	[✓]	[✓]	[✓]

It will be observed from this summary that gold was the most important material brought from Nubia. It was usually mentioned at the head of the annual tribute and was regularly represented in the annals of Tuthmosis III from his 31st year

onwards. The tribute was divided into two sections according to the administrative territories Wawat and Cush. The gold from Wawat was much more than that from Cush, probably because Wawat had more abundant supplies, and perhaps transport was easier. The Annals show that Nubia provided much more gold than Asia, but the tribute from Asia was much more varied than that from Nubia, which was restricted, apparently, to a few kinds of produce.

Other Nubian regions in addition to Wadi Allaqi are mentioned as supplying gold, but they have not been identified. Sève Söderbergh thinks that these districts may have been south of Wadi Allaqi and most probably at Um-Nabardi.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ Perhaps he is not far from being correct, for there is clear evidence that some gold mines were in the neighbourhood of Amarah West.⁽³⁵⁷⁾ It is also probable that the Egyptians in the New Kingdom obtained gold from southern countries outside Nubia itself, as the inscriptions of Hatshepsut concerning the Punt expedition mention gold from mw, irm, Myw and Nmyw lands.⁽³⁵⁸⁾ It seems also that gold was sorted into different kinds according to its source, for there is reference to gold of water supplies, gold of the mountains and the beautiful gold.⁽³⁵⁹⁾

It was largely Nubian gold that made Egypt in the New Kingdom so famous in the rest of the ancient world for its wealth of gold, so that king Dushratta of Mitanni, when asking Amenophis III to send him some gold, remarked that gold in Egypt was as abundant as dust.⁽³⁶⁰⁾

We must add here that the importance of gold was highly appreciated from the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. The jewellery of Tutankhamen proves that gold-working had reached a high standard. The kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty seem to have tried to organize the

exploitation of gold for we know from the Kuban Stela that Sethos I had tried, without success, to dig a well in the road leading to the Wadi Allaqi mines,⁽³⁶¹⁾ and a map of the region of the gold mines, probably of Hammamat, which may be the oldest map in the world, is drawn in the Turin Papyrus.⁽³⁶²⁾ Ramesses II succeeded in digging the well in the road leading to Wadi Allaqi,⁽³⁶³⁾ and it is probably to his reign that the gold-working at Amarah West is to be assigned, for the evidence of crushing gold bearing quartz was found in one of the levels associated with his reign.

From the above summary we notice that Cush yielded a little gold, slaves, cattle, ivory, ebony, corn and occasional skins, while the tribute of Wawat consisted mainly of gold, corn, small numbers of slaves, cattle and only rarely ivory and ebony. It is clear that about four times as much cattle came from Cush as from Wawat and the number of slaves coming from the former was greater than that coming from the latter. The amount of gold, as has already been mentioned (see above, p. 188) is much greater from Wawat than from Cush. We do not know whether ivory and ebony coming from Wawat came directly from that region or whether they came from commercial exchange with lands further to the south.

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the Nubian tribute was mainly of raw material; gold was sent in rings and small bars, ebony was in logs and ivory was in tusks.⁽³⁶⁴⁾ No Nubian industry was represented except by a large storage vase which is depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire.⁽³⁶⁵⁾ It is not until the Amarna Period that objects of Nubian industry are depicted on any scale: among these were chairs, stools, shields, bows and arrows, and exceedingly elaborate pieces of gold work representing bowls and stands with modelled palm trees, animals etc.; many of the objects were inlaid.⁽³⁶⁶⁾ It would seem that industrially Wawat was more developed than Cush, for in the

tomb of Huy the manufactured objects are brought by the princes of Wawat, whereas the tribute of Cush appears to consist only of raw materials. It may be suggested that more Egyptians lived in Wawat than in Cush and that they encourage industry to flourish there.

Among the raw materials which were brought from Nubia are some which have not been precisely identified: the representations of these in the tombs suggest that they were primarily incense and various kinds of precious and semi-precious stones. (367)

Wood was also brought from Nubia, either as timber or as ships. From the Old Kingdom onwards it seems to have been the common practice to bring Nubian tribute and produce to Egypt in boats constructed in Nubia, and not to bring Egyptian ships into Nubia. The Gebel Barkal Stela, (368) the annals of Tuthmosis III, (369) scenes in the tomb of Huy, (370) a letter from the Ramesside Period, (371) and the Nauri Decree, (372) all are examples indicating that the Egyptians preferred to build ships in Nubia to transport southern produce.

Special kinds of wood were, because of their value or rarity, sent from Nubia without being worked up. Ebony was always mentioned with ivory, perhaps because they were usually used together (373) in industry (carpentry) and perhaps also because they came from the same regions. We have referred to their occasional inclusion in the tribute of Wawat and have suggested that they came through Wawat by trade from regions further south and possible from beyond the Egyptian territory in Nubia. These two products were mentioned regularly in the tribute of Cush, but they were only rarely included in the tribute of Wawat (see above, p. 187) and sometimes they are mentioned as coming from Nubia, the land of the Nubians or from the southern lands, which are general terms and do not indicate definite regions. (374)

Animals and their products were of great importance. Although the ostrich lived in the Egyptian desert, ostrich feathers and eggs were imported from Nubia. They were much used in industry. The feathers were used for fans and the egg shells were mainly used in making beads, and perhaps were exported to countries of the Mediterranean. ⁽³⁷⁵⁾ Monkeys were popular and they are depicted in scenes of feasts and of daily life. ⁽³⁷⁶⁾ Living giraffes are represented for the first time in the scenes of the tombs of the New Kingdom and they were, as well as panthers, included in the tribute of Cush. ⁽³⁷⁷⁾ Hunting dogs, t_{smw}, are represented in the Nubian tribute ⁽³⁷⁸⁾ and are mentioned in the tribute lists. ⁽³⁷⁹⁾

Gazelle ⁽³⁸⁰⁾ and cattle of various kinds were also brought from Nubia. Almost all the records about the booty of the campaigns, ⁽³⁸¹⁾ scenes ⁽³⁸²⁾ and lists of the tribute ⁽³⁸³⁾ mention cattle. As already mentioned, the tribute of Cush included about four times as much cattle as Wawat (see above, p. 189). The numbers of Nubian cattle, however, were always relatively low: probably distance and transport difficulties prevented large numbers being sent to Egypt, and it may be presumed that only the best specimens were sent to Egypt, the remainder being retained for local use. ⁽³⁸⁴⁾

We have already referred to the inclusion of Nubian slaves among the tribute of Nubia. The remarkable fact about these is their small number. In the Annals of Tuthmosis III between years 31 and 41 the total number of slaves and Nubians from Wawat and Kush was slightly more than 457. Such numbers could not have had any appreciable effect on the labour situation in Egypt. Some of these Nubians are stated to have been for the service of the king, presumably as attendants, shield bearers etc. (see above, p. 181). The small numbers of Nubians leads one to suspect that they were not brought to

Egypt primarily for manual labour in the fields, but that they may have been selected individuals destined to act as personal servants, and perhaps also as craftsmen working in special Nubian techniques and industries.

There is no doubt that these resources played a great part in the economics of the country. They may also be considered to have had an indirect effect on the decadence that developed later, for they increased the prosperity of the Egyptians and made them used to the life of comfort and luxury, so that in the end they relied on foreign mercenaries to defend their country. Nubia, on the other hand, when the Egyptian control was loosened, could, through its rich resources and the contact with the southern countries, develop, and eventually gained power over her northern neighbour.

Chapter V.

Notes and References.

1. Bull. Bost.M.F.A. 28, 47ff; SNR 14 (1931), 1ff;
Kush III, 26-69.
2. See Junker, "Die Ägypter", in Geschichte der Führenden Völker bd. III (Freiburg 1933), pp. 104-5; W.C. Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn 1955), 147-8.
3. Bull. Bost.M.F.A. 28, 47ff; SNR 14 (1931), 1ff.
44. L.D. II, 151c; Sethe, Lesestücke, 99.
5. Reisner, Kerma II, 516.
6. Budge, The Eg. Sudan, I, 484ff; Legrain, in ASA 10, 106-7.
7. Bisson de la Roque and J.J. Clère, Medamoud V, 83 No. 6 (inv. 2810).
8. JEA 37, 24.
9. JEA 37, 12-16.
10. See JEA 37, 18-19 and 20ff.
11. Gauthier, L.R. II, 24f.
12. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 201, pl. 74.
13. e.g. L.D. II, 151h, i; Breasted, in AJSL (1908), 41ff; SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 119.
14. JEA 33, 63-5.
15. B.M. Hierogl. Texts IV, pl. 23 (No. 278 1060).
16. ZÄS 57, 51ff; Drioton and Vandier, op. cit., 304f.
For Aushuk see Sethe, Ächtungst. 37; Posener, Princes et Pays, 53.
17. Firth, Arch. ^{Supr.} Nub. III, 24.
18. Peet, Cemeteries of Abydos II, 70; JEA 14, 204.
19. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 121.
20. Bull. Bost.M.F.A. 27, 72; 29, 70.
21. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 121 and the references quoted in his note 6.
22. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 121-2.

- 23. C.f. the different dates given by MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 185f; Junker, Tell el-Yahudiye Vasen, 82f and Steindorff, Aniba II, 38 n. 1.
- 24. Säve Söd., op. cit., 125; Otto, "Studien zur Keramik der mittleren Bronzezeit in Palästina", in Zeitschr. d. Deutsch.-Paläst. Vereins, Bd. 61 (1938), 168ff; Sjöqvist, Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age, 86 and the references quoted.
- 25. Steindorff, Aniba I, 10f; II, 38; Junker, Ermenne, 44; Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua, 11; JEA 3, 95ff; ASA 39, 245ff.
- 26. Steindorff, op. cit., II, 16.
- 27. See MacIver and Woolley, Areika, 6f, pl. 4 (= Säve Söd., op. cit., fig. 11, p. 131) and the cemetery of Wadi el-Arab in Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua, 106.
- 28. Säve Söd., op. cit., 128.
- 29. Hayes, The Sceptre of Egypt, I, 351.
- 30. The date of the death of Nefer-hotep is disputed. Albright, in Bull. ASOR 99 (1945), 16 suggests c. 1730 B.C., Stock, Studien zur Gesch. u. Arch. der 13 bis 17 Dyn. Äg., 61 suggests about 1750 B.C. and Säve Söd., in JEA 37, 54 n. 1 gives this date as 1740 B.C.
- 31. Säve Söd., op. cit., 55; Aeg. u. Nub., 128.
- 32. Hayes, op. cit., 351. C.f. Säve Söd., in JEA 37, 56.
- 33. JEA 37, 56-61.
- 34. C.f. Albright, op. cit., 15 n. 44; Stock, op. cit., 63; Hayes, in JEA 33, 9f. Hayes points out that at least one of the two kings with that name (Dedmose) ruled all Upper Egypt down to Itj-towe.
- 35. Reisner, Kerma I, 101; Säve Söd., Aeg. u. Nub., 111. A fragment of alabaster inscribed withms which Reisner suggests might be of the name of Ddwms (?).
- 36. Turin Canon of Kings, 8,1 = Farina, Il Papiro dei Re, 45; Petrie, Tanis I, pl. III, 19A; c.f. Tanis II, 18-19; Naville, "Le Roi Nehasi", in Rec. de Trav. 15, 97-101; Drioton and Vandier, op. cit., 288.

37. Budge, Hist. of Eg. III, 103.
38. JEA 37, 62-63. See the discussion of the identification of Jacob-il with Kirtos (Assis) n. 5, p. 62-3; Stock, op. cit., 64ff.
39. F.W. von Bissing, "Das angebliche Weltreich der Hyksos", in Archiv für Orientforschung XI (Berlin 1936-7), 325-335.
40. P.C. Labib, Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz (Glückstadt Hamburg, 1936), 18ff.
41. ASA 53, pl. I, 1. 20.
42. Steindorff, Aniba I, 8ff.
43. Steindorff, Aniba I, 9; Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua, 504.
44. Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. III, 39; Emery and Kirwan, op. cit., 526.
45. JEA 25, 108.
46. Reisner, Report, 340ff; Emery and Kirwan, op. cit., 11; Steindorff, Aniba II, 38. See also Firth, Arch. ^{Surv.} Nub. I, 27; (Junker, Ermenne, 44); II, 20f; III, 25. C.f. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 130.
47. Gauthier, in Rec. Trav. 39, 236.
48. SÄve SÖd., in JEA 35, 50ff.
49. JEA 7, 100; ASA 29, 5ff.
50. JEA 3, 98f.
51. Junker, Ermenne, 43-4.
52. Junker, op. cit., 34f.
53. MacIver and Woolley, Areika, 5.
54. Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua, 106.
55. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 117; Bates, The Eastern Libyans, 249; Junker, op. cit., 39 n. 1.
56. Urk. IV, 888, 9.
57. For a selection see Steindorff, Aniba I, Taf 73.
58. Steindorff, op. cit., I, Tafeln 57 and 65.
59. Steindorff, op. cit., I, 38 and the references there quoted.
60. SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 134.

61. Steindorff, Aniba II, 35.

62. Weigall, Report, 123.

63. Säve Söd., Aeg. u. Nub., 135.

64. See Junker, Tell el Jahudiye Vasen, 136.

65. JEA 3,104f.

66. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, 20f.

67. Brunton, Mostagedda, 114f.

68. Brunton, Oau and Badari III, 3ff.

69. LAAA 10,33ff; JEA 14,46ff.

70. Wainwright, Balabish.

71. Petrie, Diospolis Parva, 45ff.

72. Arch. Surv. Nub. Bull. No. r, 12; Reisner, ^{Arch. Surv. Nub. I,} Report, 6.

73. ibid.

74. Weigall, Report, 25.

75. JEA 23,118; Chr. d'Eg. 12 (1937), 172.

76. Weigall, Report, 25.

77. Weigall, Report, 26.

78. ASA 8,141f; JEA 14,46.

79. ASA 8,137f.

80. Weigall, Report, 25.

81. Säve Söd., op. cit., 137¹/₂

82. Brunton, Mostagedda, 117, 127, 131; See Gauthier, L.R. II, 51f.

83. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, 21.

84. Garstang, in JEA 14,46, pl. 7.

85. Junker, Kubanieh^N, 32f; Tell el Jahudiye Vasen, passim.

86. JEA 25,108f.

87. Junker, Kubanieh N., 30f.

88. See Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 38.

89. JEA 21,197; See also Kirwan, Firka, XII, XIII, 27, 37.

90. See Steindorff, Aniba I, 9.

91. C.f. Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 135ff; Gardiner, Onom. I, 73 ff; II, 271 f.

92. JEA 3,95ff.

93. Brunton, Mostagedda, 122.

94. Brunton, op. cit., 128.

95. Brunton, Qau and Badari III, 4; See also Steindorff, Aniba I, 214.

96. JEA 37,66.

97. PSBA 35,117; JEA 3,99, 110.

98. Sallier I, 2,3ff; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 87f. Erman, Die Literatur der Aegypter (Leipzig 1932), 215-6.

99. JEA 5,43; 37,67; Eliot Smith, The Royal Mummies, 2, 4ff, pls. II-III.

100. Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years' Exploration at Thebes, 4; JEA 3,95-110, pls. XII, XIII; 7,36-56.

101. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1934-5)", in ASA 35,111; Lacau, in ASA 39,245ff.

102. C.f. PSBA 35,117ff; JEA 3,110; 37,70.

103. JEA 37,70.

104. Habachi, in Revue de Caire 33 (Numero special), 52ff; ASA 53,195ff; Hammad, in Chr. d'Eg. 30, No. 60 (1955), 198ff.

105. ASA 53, pl. I, L1. 11-13.

106. ASA 53, pl. I, L1. 19-24.

107. ASA 53, pl. I, L1. 21-22, 35.

108. LAAA 8,6, pl. XVIII.

109. Weigall, Report, pl. LXV, 4; ASA 39,261ff.

110. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 142 n. 2; C.f. his pp. 65 and 25.

110. Sève Sbd., op. cit., 141-142.

112. ASA 53, pl. I, L. 21-22.

113. ibid, L. 35.

114. JEA 3,103.

115. Urk IV, 5ff.

116. This is the first mention of the term. See above, pp. 7 .

117. Mem. Miss~~u~~ Fr. V, 420, pl. III.

118. Emery and Kirwan, Es-Sebua, 50.

119. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 86ff, pl. 35.

- 120. ibid.
- 121. JEA 6,29.
- 122. JEA 25,142 n. 1; 36,34.
- 123. Urk IV, 7,1-2.
- 124. Urk.IV, 36,1-2.
- 125. Urk IV, 7,3 15.
- 126. AJSL (1908), 108.
- 127. Urk IV, 78,8ff. From a verbal information Professor Fairman informed me that a statue of the same king, Amenophis I, has been found by Mr. Thabet, of the Sudan Antiquities Service, at Sai.
- 128. Urk IV, 50,12.
- 129. Urk IV, 8,5ff, 36,5ff, 70, 82ff.
- 130. Urk IV, 87-90.
- 131. AJSL (1908), 100, 104f.
- 132. See AJSL (1908), 104f; PSBA 7,121; Sethe, Untersuchungen I, 41; C.f. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 147 n. 3.
- 133. C.f. Arkell, A Hist. of Sud., 83-4; SÄve Söd., op. cit., 147ff.
- 134. Arkell in JEA 36,36-8; A Hist. of Sud., 84. It seems reasonably certain that inscription at Kurgus marks the effective boundary of Tuthmosis I. This does not contradict the statement in the Tombos Stela that "his southern boundary is at the front (i.e. the southern limit) of this land" (Urk IV, 85,13); c.f. the similar expression employed by Tuthmosis III in the Gebel Barkal Stela (Urk IV, 1230,17).
- 135. Urk IV, 55,4; the same claim is made by Tuthmosis III (Urk, IV, 1230,17).
- 136. Arkell, A Hist. of Sud., 85-6. Arkell, however, is on dangerous ground in attempting to give a precise localisation to "Horns of the Earth", for to the

Egyptians at all times this term only meant the southern limit of their world, and at different times it was pushed southwards from Elephantine, as their knowledge and control extended (Wb. I, 298 (3); Gauthier, Dict. géog. I.).

137. Urk IV, 85,11-12.
138. AJSL (1908), 45.
139. Urk IV, Übersetzung, 45 n. 1.
140. Urk IV, 88-90.
141. W.F. Edgerton, The Thutmosid Succession (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 8) Chicago, 1933,
142. Urk IV, 137ff.
143. Wilkinson, Topography of Thebes (London 1835), 472;
C.f. Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 148.
144. Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 152-3.
145. Naville, Deir el-Bahari III, Text 11; Urk IV, 315f.
146. Urk IV, 695f, 702f, 708-9, 715-6, 720-1 etc.
147. ibid, 795.
148. ZÄS 69,24ff; Urk IV, 1228-1243.
149. Urk IV, 814.
150. Budge, The Eg. Sud. I, 573.
151. Amada Stela, lines 17-19 = Kuentz, Deux steles d' Amenophis II (Bibl. d'Etude, tome X), 10-11; most recent edition, Urk IV, 1297,3-16.
152. BAR II, 799.
153. ZÄS 66,81 (4).
154. L.D. III, 70.
155. C.f. Schäfer, Aeth. Königsinschr. (Nastasen), 31.
156. De Morgan, Cat. Mons. I, 66; Rec. Trav. 13,178f.
157. L.D. III, 69c.
158. Carter and Newberry, The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV, 26ff,
pls. X, XI, XX.

- 159. Wreszinski, Atlas II, 3; less complete, Carter and Newberry, op. cit., 31-33.
- 160. Petrie, Six Temples, pl. I,8; ZÄS 36,84.
- 161. L.D. III, 69f; Gauthier, Amada, 153.
- 162. B.M. No. 902; Hierogl. Texts VIII, 8, pl. IX.
- 163. L.D. III, 81g,h; De Morgan, Cat. I, 4, 5.
- 164. L.D. III, 82a; De Morgan, op. cit., 67f; Brugsch, Thesaurus, 1218f.
- 165. B.M. No. 657; Hierogl. Texts VIII, 21f, pl. XX.
- 166. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 81.
- 167. Naville, Bubastis, pl. 34A.
- 168. BAR II, 846; See also Arkell, A Hist. of Sud., 91 and SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 160ff.
- 169. Naville, op. cit., 9.
- 170. L.D. III, 81g; Gardiner, in JEA 30,27-8 regards this as probable but not certain.
- 171. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 160, with n. 7.
- 172. This inscription has been recently studied by R.O. Faulkner, "A Possible Royal Visit to Punt", in Studi..... Rosellini II, 85-90. Faulkner thinks the events related accord better with a sea journey than with a journey by Nile and suggests that the text may record the visit of a king to Punt. He suggests tentatively that the king may be either Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II; the inscription should certainly be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. While we agree with the latter view, it is difficult to accept the suggestion of an actual royal visit to Punt and that a journey in the Red Sea is involved seems more than doubtful.
- 173. MacIver and Woolley, op. cit., 91.
- 174. ASA 10,122f; BIFA0 35,161ff.
- 175. Carter and Mace, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen I, pl. 52; Davies, Ancient Egyptian Painting, pl. .
- 176. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 166.

- 177. Davies, The Tomb of Huy, pls. XVI, XVII.
- 178. Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 167.
- 179. L.D. III, 120, 121.
- 180. See Wreszinski, Atlas II, 161, 165-8; Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago), I, pl. 9.
- 181. Louvre C 59 = Brugsch, Thesaurus, 1233f.
- 182. B.M. 1189; BAR III, 157-161.
- 183. BAR III, 74ff.
- 184. Metropolitan Mus. of Arts: Papers vol. I: Winlock, "Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos", pl. IX.
- 185. JEA 25,142.
- 186. Nevertheless, the Amarah stela records the taking of Nubian prisoners.
- 187. BAR III, 113.
- 188. L.D. III, 139a, 140a; BIFAO 17,1ff.
- 189. See Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 169-170.
- 190. Wreszinski, Atlas II, 165-168; Roeder, Beit el Wali, pls. 26-29.
- 191. Wreszinski, op. cit., II, 168a; Blackman, The Temple of Derr, pp. 18-20, pls. XVff.
- 192. Wreszinski, op. cit., 180, 181, 184a; BAR III, 450ff.
- 193. Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 170ff.
- 194. L.D. III, 175g; De Morgan, Cat. I, 6.
- 195. JEA 34,8.
- 196. JEA 25,142.
- 197. Gauthier, Amada, 187ff; Bouriant, in Rec. Trav. 18,159f.
A much damaged and incomplete duplicate of this text was found on the right (east) side of the entrance to the temple of Amarah West.
- 198. Säve Söderbergh, op. cit., 172-3.
- 199. Hölscher, Libyer und Agypter, 61.

200. Wreszinski, Atlas I, 270; see Junker, Ermenne, 39.
201. Hölscher, op. cit., 21f. Thnt has been identified by Miss R.L.B. Moss with Serra (JEA 36,41-2), and is, it is suggested, sometimes written Tht, Thtⁱ.
202. BAR III, 642; Davids, The Tomb of Siptah, p. XXI; L.D. III, 212.
203. Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago) I, pls. 9-11.
204. Anthes, in ZAS 65,26ff.
205. Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 173-4; Anthes, ibid.
206. Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago) II, pl. 102.
207. BAR IV, 138.
208. Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago) II, pl. 102; Wreszinski, Atlas II, 160.
209. Harris 51a,9 = Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I (Bibl. Aeg. V), 57,15.
210. JEA 3,98.
211. Urk IV, 89f.
212. BAR II, 72; L.D. III, 5a.
213. Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 150.
214. Urk IV, 138f.
215. Urk IV, 814,11, 815,1-2.
216. L.D. III, 47a; MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 41; SNR 14,10.
217. Personal information from Professor Fairman.
218. C.f. Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten III, 154 with nn. 3 and 5; see also L.D. III, 85a.
219. Tomb of Kheruf at Thebes: ASA 42,463-4; see also JEA 9,135; Borchardt, Alterhand Kleinigkeiten, 27; Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 155-6; Nina de Garis Davies, Anc. Eg. Painting, II, 85.
220. Macadam, Kawa II (Text), 9-14.

221. Statuette 0180: Macadam Kawa II, 9, 42, 140, pl. 75a and also Kawa I, 82, pls. 35-6.
222. ZAS 40,106-113; AJSL 25,51-82, especially 77-82.
223. AJSL 25,87-88; Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 154.
224. JEA 23, 148, pl. 17; JEA 24, 153; AJSL 25,87-88.
225. JEA 23,147-8, pls. 13 and 16,3.
226. Budge, The Eg. Sud. I, 624; Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum, pl. XXVII, p. 15.
227. Macadam, Kawa II (Text), 9, 12-14, 32ff.
228. LAAA 8,93, pl. 27 and Davies, The Tomb of Huy, 18, and pl. XV.
229. See JEA 24,151ff.
230. Weigall, Report, 107.
231. BAR III, 74ff.
232. ZAS 69,72.
233. Kuban Stela: Tresson, in Bibl. d'Etude IX, 7,20-21.
234. L.D. III, 141n; De Morgan, Cat. I, 28 no. 5.
235. Rec. Trav. 17,163f; LAAA 8,83ff; JEA 34,9.
236. Stela No. 58: JEA 24, pl. XVI,2.
237. Macadam, Kawa II (Text), 4, 10, 14, 32, 34.
238. Rec. Trav. 17,163.
239. L.D. III, 188a, 189e, 191h, 178a,b,e; Gauthier, Ouadi es Seboua, passim; ASA 11,64. See also Kees, Kulturgesch., 349.
240. ZAS 61,57ff.
241. Tresson, op. cit., 3ff; BAR III, 282-293.
242. Private information from Professor Fairman.
243. De Morgan, Cat. I, p. 86 no. 29; L.D. III, 202b; BAR III, 646.
244. De Morgan, op. cit., 28 no. 6; L.D. III, 202c; BAR III, 647.
245. JEA 6,47, 50; L.D. III, 204e,f; De Morgan, op. cit., 95 no. 140; L.D. (Text) IV, 175.

- 246. BAR III 640-2.
- 247. JEA 6,47; SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 243 n. 2;
See also Gardiner, in JEA 40,40ff.
- 248. Maspero, in ASA 10,132.
- 249. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 25; BAR III, 643.
- 250. ibid.
- 251. JEA 25,141-3; 6,50 no. 19a.
- 252. Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago), pl. 138,40ff.
- 253. Harris, 8,13; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I (Bibl. Aeg. V), 11,2-3.
- 254. Macadam, op. cit., 4, 10, 14, 32; II, 14, 115, 140.
- 255. JEA 25,140-3.
- 256. SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 201.
- 257. ZAS 45,22ff; MacIver and Woolley, op. cit., passim;
LAAA 8,90; AJSL (1908), 95, 96; L.D. Text, V, 56;
L.D. III, 178a, 183b; Blackman, Derr, pl. 8, p. 50;
JEA 25, pl. XVI,1.
- 258. See H. Gauthier, "Le dieu nubien Doudoun", in Rev.
Egyptol. N.S. II (1902), 1-41.
- 259. SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 201-2.
- 260. LAAA 8,88; JEA 11,267; Kees,
- 261. Firth, Arch. Surv. Nub. III, 28; See also Steindorff,
Aniba, I, 11.
- 262. SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 196-200.
- 263. Firth, op. cit., II, 21.
- 264. Such as the prince of M³c²m, see: Junker, Ermenne, 37ff;
SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 184, 186.
- 265. MacIver and Woolley, op. cit., 109, 110, 112;
LAAA 8, pl. XXIX,2, p. 29.
- 266. Urk IV, 138f.
- 267. Urk IV, 690,2-5; BAR II 467.
- 268. L.D. III, 218c.
- 269. Urk IV, 728,1-2, 695,11-12; c.f. 703,7; BAR II, 526,
464.

270. L.D. III, 218c; C.f. Rec. Trav. 27,35. See further on this question Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 185, 228-9, 231.
271. For example, in a tomb from the reign of Ramesses XI belonging to Imi² sb²; Porter-Moss, Top. Bibl. I, 94; See also Junker, Ermenne, 44.
272. Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, pl. 27. C.f. similar scenes in the tomb of Imiseba: Wreszinski, Atlas I, 224.
273. For example, under the reign of Ramesses II: Wreszinski, Atlas II, 180 and under Ramesses III: L.D. III, 209a.
274. JEA 36,41-42.
275. JEA 3.
276. JEA 6,28-29.
277. Rec. Trav. 39,182-5.
278. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 88.
279. JEA 6,29; Urk IV, 78; AJSL (1908), 108.
280. JEA 6,78.
281. Urk IV, 76f.
282. AJSL (1908), 108; JEA 6,29.
283. JEA 6,28ff and 73ff.
284. Rec. Trav. 39,179ff.
285. See for example, JEA 25,143.
- Note: the sign / after the name of the king indicates that the viceroy probably continued in his office into the reign of the king's successor and / before the king's name indicates that the viceroy was probably in office during the reign of the king's predecessor.
286. Sæve Söderbergh, op. cit., 176, 208; c.f. Reisner, in JEA 6,30-31; Gauthier, in Rec. Trav. 39,189 n. 1; Helck, in JNES 14,30-31 suggests that there may have been a viceroy between Nehi (no. 4) and Wesersatet (no. 5). We may here assume that Inbny² is the viceroy

in question and the order should be changed thus:
 Nehi (no. 3), ²Inbny (?) (no. 4) and Wesersatet (no. 5).
 Breasted, in AJSL (1908), 47 believed, however, that
²Inbny was under Tuthmosis IV, but this is doubtful:
 SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 208.

287. See Gauthier, Rec. Trav. 39,217.
288. JEA 25,143.
289. C.f. Reisner, in JEA 6,48 (No. 17); Gauthier, in
Rec. Trav. 39,218-9; JEA 25,143.
290. ASA 28,136f.
291. For the discussion of these titles, see Reisner, in
JEA 6,77ff.
292. B.M. Hierogl. Texts VII, 34; c.f. JEA 6,83.
293. See SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 181 n. 3; Helck, Der
 Einfluss der Militärführer, 64 n. 11.
294. For example, Mermose and Panehsi (Reisner's list Nos.
 7 and 25); See Rec. Trav. 39,194 and Pap. Turin:
 Pleyte and Rossi, Papyri de Turin, p. 87, pl. LXVa.
295. Pap. Turin: Pleyte and Rossi, op. cit., p. 87, pls.
 LXVI; BAR IV, 595ff.
296. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 178-180; c.f. also Drioton
 and Vandier, L'Egypte (3rd ed.), 464; JEA 6,78;
 Kees, Kulturgesch., 340.
297. Note that the grave of the viceroy Panehsi under
 Ramesses XI was found at Aniba: Steindorff, Aniba
 II, 240f.
298. JEA 34,9, 11.
299. See Reisner, in JEA 6,84ff; Gauthier, in Rec. Trav.
 39,232ff; Steindorff, Aniba II, 248; Drioton and
 Vandier, op. cit., 465ff.
300. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 184-5.
301. Mes, No. 28 = Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes,
 (Untersuchungen IV, 3).
302. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 188. The hard labour in

- Nubia may be noted from the way an idle scribe is reproached in Anastasi IV referring to the work of Kush: See Pap. Anastasi IV, 2,6-7,12: Gardiner, Late Eg. Misc., 36,8-9, 37,1-2; Caminos, Late Eg. Misc., 131, 132.
303. C.f. Sethe, Das Hatschepsutproblem, 27; SÄve SÖd., op. cit., 151, 241.
304. SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 241.
305. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 26, pl. 12.
306. Emery, "The Order of Succession at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty", in Melanges Maspero I, 353f.
307. JEA 23,152ff; Erman-Ranke, Aegypten, 161.
308. Kees, "Herihor und die Aufrichtung des Thebanischen Gotterstaates", (Ges. Wiss. Göttingen Nachr. Phil.-hist. Kl. Fachgr. I NF, Bd. II, No. 1) Göttingen 1936, pp. 11ff.
309. Gauthier, L.R. III, 238; JEA 6,53.
310. Urk IV, 11,4-14.
311. Urk IV, 795,11-14; Bakir, "Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt", (Supplements aux ASA, Cahier No. 18), 111.
312. Bakir, ibid.
313. Bakir, op. cit., 36-8, 111.
314. Urk IV, 4, 10-15; 5,11; 6,7, 15.
315. C.f. Urk IV, 695, 702, 708, 715, 720, 725 and 796, 703, 709, 716, 721, 728.
316. Koller 4,3-4,5; Gardiner, Late Eg. Misc., (Bibl. Aegypt. VII), 119,11-14; se Caminos, Late Eg. Misc., (Oxford, 1954), 438.
317. Wreszinski, Atlas II, 182.
318. Kees, Kulturgesch. 213ff, 239 n. 1.
319. Bakir, op. cit., 114; SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 229.
320. Weigall, Report, 126; c.f. also SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 185f.

321. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 234-5.
322. Sallier I, 8,1 = Gardiner, op. cit., 85,11-12;
c.f. Caminos, op. cit., 320.
323. Pap. Turin 2021, 3,11-12 = JEA 13, pl. XIV and p. 32.
324. See for example, Urk IV, 695, 703, 728; BAR II, 474,
526; L.D. III, 218c; Rec. Trav. 27,35.
325. Anast. IIIA, 6 = Anast. IV, 16,5 = Gardiner, op. cit.,
33,9; 52,16; Caminos, op. cit., 117, 200.
326. Davies, The Tomb of Neferhotep, 26, pl. 15.
327. Ostrakon Cairo 25218,13-14; Müller, Die Liebespoesie
der Alten Aegypten (Leipzig, 1899), 43.
328. Rec. Trav. 29,166; ASA 14,23.
329. JEA 26,23ff.
330. Davies, ElAmarna V, pl. III.
331. Helck, Der Einfluss der Militärführer, 57f.
Heads of the regiments (or units) in the Nubian
troops were also called hry Nhsyw, even if they were
Egyptians: SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 232-3.
332. Kees, op. cit., 47.
333. See SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 233 and the references
there quoted.
334. Naville, Deir el Bahari VI, 155.
335. Wreszinski, Atlas I, 23; the Nubians are shown in
N. de Garis Davies, Anc. Eg. Paintings, pl. 45 ;
it should be noted, however, that ⁱⁿ this scene there is
a distinct difference between the Egyptian and Nubian
contingents, and the latter are obviously being some-
what ridiculed in contrast to the Egyptians (see
Davies, op. cit., III,90-91).
336. Davies, El Amarna IV, pls. 19ff.
337. Davies, The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the
Fourth, pl. 27.
338. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 232.

- 339. Pap. Anastasi I, 17,4: Gardiner, Eg. Hierat. Texts I, 29,3-6.
- 340. The number is lost, but SÄve SÖderbergh, op. cit., 234, although misquoting a reference to Gardiner, Eg. Hierat. Texts I, p. 29 as p. 58, reasonably restored the number of Mashwash as 100, which fits to the total number of the soldiers given in the text, 5000; c.f. Gardiner, op. cit., 29 a n. 5d.
- 341. JEA 6,77; Rec. Trav. 39,229; MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, 33; JEA 23,152ff.
- 342. LAAA 8,84; Woolley, Digging up the Past (Pelican Books 1937), 27; Steindorff, Aniba II, 152ff.
- 343. Piehl, Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques I, 145A
- 344. H. Gauthier, "Une fondation pieuse en Nubie", in ASA 36,49-71.
- 345. Steindorff, op. cit., Taf 101; BAR IV, 479ff; L.D. III, 229c.
- 346. Urk IV, 696ff.
- 347. L.D. III, 77e.
- 348. Urk IV, 512ff.
- 349. Urk IV, 195.
- 350. JEA 13,201, pl. 41, lines 39ff.
- 351. Edgerton, in JNES 6,219ff.
- 352. AJSL (1906), 38f; Weigall, Report, 122; L.D. Text V, 124f. The men quoted with reference to the animals must surely refer to herdsmen required to tend the animals on their journey to Egypt, e.g. 10 men with living leopards, 20 men with hunting dogs and 400 men with lw? and wndw cattle.
- 353. Kees, Kulturgesch. 130f; See also the amount of gold in the lists of Ramesses II of his offerings to the temple of Luxor: Rec. Trav. 16,51; 32,68f and in the lists of Amun's wealth in Papyrus Harris I, 12 = Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 14-15.

354. Urk IV, 695-734.
355. 1 dbn = 91 grams.
356. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 212.
357. JEA 34,4.
358. Urk IV, 329, 333; Naville, Deir el Bahari III, pl. 76.
359. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 212-3.
360. Mercer, The Tell el Amarna Tablets, XIX, 61; XX, 52, 71; XXVI, 41, 20, 136.
361. Kuban Stela, 21; P. Tresson, La Stele de Kouban (Bibl. d'Etude IX), 7,10-12.
362. Gardiner, in Cairo Scientific Journal, 41ff; Erman-Ranke, Aegypten, 556f.
363. Kuban Stela, 32-33 = P. Tresson, op. cit., 10,3-4.
364. See for example: Davies, Five Theban Tombs, pls. 22ff.
365. Wreszinski, Atlas I, 334f.
366. Davies, Amarna II, 38; III, 15; Tomb of Kenamun, pl. 14; Tomb of Huy, pls. 24-27, pp. 22ff; Wreszinski, Atlas I, 224; II, 167f.
367. See SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 216ff.
368. Gebel Barkal Stela, lines 28ff = ZÄS 69,33f. Ships were built in Nubia in the Old Kingdom (see pp. 55,60).
369. Urk IV, 695.
370. Davies, The Tomb of Huy, pl. 18; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pls. 158ff.
371. Gardiner, Late Eg. Misc., 118, 119,3; Davies, op. cit., 28.
372. JEA 13,203, lines 82ff.
373. See Lucas, Ancient Materials (3rd ed.), 496.
374. See Urk IV, 948f, 983; ZÄS 69,34.
375. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 221-2.
376. See for example Wreszinski, Atlas I, 123, 389; Boussac, "Le singe dans l'Égypte anc." (La Science au XXe siècle, 3e année), 116-119.
377. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 222-3.

378. See for example JEA 26, pl. 24; Wreszinski, Atlas I, 337.
379. For example Urk IV, 1099.
380. See Kees, Kulturgesch. 21.
381. See Urk IV, 7f; B.M. Hierogl. Texts VIII, 21f, pl. XX. Rec. Trav. 39,194.
382. Wreszinski, Atlas I, 148, 160, 247; II, ;68.
383. Urk IV, 695ff; 743, 1099.
384. SÄve Söderbergh, op. cit., 223-5.

SCRIPT

Chapter VI.

The Napatan Kingdom and the Conquest of Egypt.

1. The Decline in Egypt and the Supremacy of Napata.

A number of factors, political, social and economic, led to the decline of Egypt in the late New Kingdom and after. The increase of the wealth and authority of the priests, the rise of the Hittites and later the Assyrians to power and the attacks of the Libyans and the People of the Sea, in addition to internal troubles and economic strains, led to a weakening and decay of Egypt that entailed first the loss of her empire, and later still the loss of her independence.

At the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty corruption and internal troubles created a state of anarchy. Papyrus Harris states that "the land of Egypt had been cast aside, with every man being his (own standard of) right. They had no chief spokesman for many years previously up to other times. The land of Egypt was officials and mayors, one slaying his fellow, both exalted and lowly. Other times came afterwards in the empty years, and Irsu, a Syrian with them, made himself prince. He set the entire land as tributary before him. One joined his companion that their property might be plundered. They treated gods like people, and no offerings were presented in the temples".⁽¹⁾

Setnakht restored order and Ramesses III, his son, tried to revive the glory of the Egyptian empire. In Papyrus Harris he boasts, "I planted the whole land with trees and vegetation and caused the people to dwell in their shade. I caused the woman to go about freely (lit. her ears uncovered)

wherever she wished, without other people molesting her on the way. I caused the infantry and chariotry to dwell (at home) in my time, and Sherden and Cehek in their towns, lying extended on their backs (lit. high of backs), having no fear, for there were no contingents of Kush, nor enemies from Kharu".⁽²⁾ This prosperity, however, did not last long, for the seeds of decay were still in the land. An undue proportion of the wealth of the country was in the hands of the temples, and corruption in administration, treachery, bribery and injustice were common. The foreign mercenaries, as has already been mentioned (p. 183), in periods of trouble plundered and violated the Egyptians' property. Tomb robberies were frequent and the last kings of the Twentieth Dynasty and the Theban Priest-kings of the Twenty-First Dynasty were unable to reform the administration. The Twenty-First Dynasty of Tanis was also weak and the old fame of Egypt was lost in the neighbouring countries of Western Asia.⁽³⁾

The Egyptian army as we have seen (p. 183) contained many foreigners who reached high ranks. The majority of these foreigners were Libyan mercenaries, who increased in number so much that Drioton- Vandier say "leur services avaient ete apprecies a un tel point qu'il est presque permis d'affirmer que l'armee egyptienne, a partir de la fin de la XXe Dynastie, en dehors de quelques Nubiens, se composait uniquement de Libyens".⁽⁴⁾

The Twenty-First Dynasty was too weak to stop the Libyans who settled in Egypt from rising to power. A Libyan chief, Buyuwawa, settled in the nome of Heracleopolis and his son became the priest of its god.⁽⁵⁾ The descendants of this chief gradually increased their authority, which was extended over their nome and later over the whole of Middle Egypt. Sheshonq, a descendant of the family, extended his authority down to Bubastis, but he probably did not ascend the throne until the last king of the Twenty-First Dynasty, Psousennes II,

died. He married his son Osorkon I to the daughter of Psousennes II. It seems that Sheshonq was not well accepted as king by the priests of Amun at Thebes and perhaps some of these priests were forced to find refuge in Napata. It is suggested that these priests who went to Nubia founded the Napatan kingdom, which later invaded Egypt (see further, pp. 220ff).⁽⁶⁾

After Sheshonq I the authority of the royal house was divided into two branches of the family, one at Bubastis and the other at Thebes. The history of the Libyan kings, the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties, is obscure and complicated and they were, on the whole, weak and of limited authority.⁽⁷⁾ It seems that when Sheshonq I ascended the throne he was helped by the other Libyan chiefs, who were at the head of the army in different parts of Egypt, and in return for their help they enjoyed a sort of independence. The big cities of Egypt were under the command of the military chiefs or the high priests, all of whom were of Libyan origin. This was later developed into a state of strong feudalism, so that a series of dynasts, gradually increasing in number, ruled each a territory which was hardly larger than a nome. The situation in Egypt, on the whole, can be summarized as Drioton-Vandier suggests, "Rois, dynastes et grands pretres avaient un point commun, leur grande faiblesse. L'Egypte a cette epoque etait une proie facile pour l'etranger. Mais, heureusement pour elle, aucun de ses voisins d'Asie n'etait assez puissant pour tenter l'aventure".⁽⁸⁾ Among the dynasts of the Delta a strong ruler, Tafnakht of Sais, tried to unite Egypt, and was destined to offer the strongest opposition to the Napatan conquest, but without success (see further, pp. 220ff).

The situation in Nubia after the Twentieth Dynasty is almost unknown. We have already mentioned that Panehsi, the viceroy of Nubia, had restored order in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses XI, the last king of the Twentieth Dynasty.

It is probable that Nubia was, for at least most of the Twenty-First Dynasty, still in the hands of the Egyptians. Herihor was appointed viceroy of Nubia, presumably after Panehsi and his son Piankhy succeeded him to the office. It is remarkable that the latter ceased to bear the title of the viceroy of Nubia, apparently when he ascended the throne, and none of his successor kept the title either. It seems that they actually exercised their authority as viceroys, but dropped the use of the title, as this dynasty of the descendants of the priests of Amun claimed royalty and their sons, who acted as viceroys of Nubia, were real princes. The title was given to Neskhons, the wife of Painodjem II, who was the only woman known to have borne the title. It is probable, however, that intermarriage between the family of the priest-kings of Thebes and that of Tanis had led to the disappearance of the authority of the priest kings, who retained their influence, at least nominally, in Nubia. The effective power and rule in Egypt, however, was concentrated in the north.

In fact, the building of a capital in the Delta by Ramesses II was followed by international events which caused Egypt to divert her attention from the south to the north. The appearance of the Hittites, the Peoples of the Sea, the Libyans and later the Assyrians, Persians and Greeks diverted Egyptian attention towards the Mediterranean and Asia, and not to the Upper Nile Valley. It was natural that the hold of Egypt over Nubia should be loosened. Only a very little is known about Nubia during the reign of the Libyans. The tribute of Nubia is mentioned a few times, and one or two of the kings include in their laudatory predicates that of conqueror of the southern lands".⁽⁹⁾ During the civil war which broke out in year 15 of Takelot II, the high priest of Amun, Osorkon, fled to the south.⁽¹⁰⁾ At Nuri an alabaster fragment was found

inscribed with the names and titles of Pashedenbast, who ruled in Thebes under Pedibast. Pashedenbast was the son of Sheshonq III⁽¹¹⁾ and is believed by Reisner⁽¹²⁾ to be the father of Kashta and the latter "inherited Cush and, being descended from Sheshonq II or III managed to displace Osorkon III (Sa-Isit) from Thebes and force the adoption of his daughter Amenirdis by Shepenupet, the daughter of Osorkon, ~~high priestess~~ ^{god's wife} of Amon-Ra". Macadam, however,⁽¹³⁾ suggested that Kashta was the brother of and successor to a certain chief called Alara.

Another reference to a kind of relation between Egypt and Nubia can be noted from the titles of Osorkon-Ankh, who lived under the Twenty-Second or Twenty-Third Dynasties. These titles are s?-ny-sw and ?imy-r? h?swt rsy(w).⁽¹⁴⁾ Gauthier supposed that the man exercised some authority in Nubia, but admitted that this needed to be confirmed.⁽¹⁵⁾

From the foregoing account it seems that Egypt maintained some authority in Nubia during the Twenty-First Dynasty and the priests of Amun at Thebes had, at least, a spiritual influence in Napata during the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties. As Kashta was contemporary with Osorkon III and Pashedenbast ruled under Padibast, we may conclude that the relations between Thebes and Napata had stopped for about two generations, during which Napata became strong enough to conquer Egypt.

The origin of the Napatan royal family is not certain. It was suggested that a party of the priests of Amun, not accepting the rule of Sheshonq I (see above, p. 214), went to Nubia and founded a ruling family at Napata much devoted to Amun.⁽¹⁶⁾ Reisner, however, believed⁽¹⁷⁾ that when the Egyptianized Libyan dynasts claimed independence in their territories, "the Libyan prince who had the command of Ethiopia would also have made himself a more or less independent place as governor

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of Ethiopia". From his excavations at El Kurru, he suggested that the oldest tombs in the cemetery represent six generations before Pi^cankhi. He concluded that during this period, of the six generations, which date back to approximately 920-860 B.C., the province of Dongola was governed by a chief of the Temehu, i.e. the southern Libyans, following the example of their contemporaries of the north, in the Delta and Middle Egypt. (18)

Both suppositions are doubtful, for the attitude of the Napatan kings towards Amun, the use of the Egyptian language officially in the temples and monuments, and the Egyptian name of Pi^cankhi all show that there can be little doubt that there was a strong Egyptianization of Nubia. Actually, the Egyptian language was not the spoken language, for it gradually disappeared and was finally replaced by the Meroitic language. Archaeological evidence shows that out of the 36 arrow-heads which Reisner found in the tombs of El Kurru and considered to be of Libyan type, 25 were rather of Nubian type. (19) Hölscher (20) also rejected the assumption that the Napatan kingdom was of Libyan origin because Pi^cankhi refused to receive the Libyan dynasts of the Delta, because they were, in his view, impure and fish-eaters. (21) The view of Hölscher can not be taken as decisive, for he refers (22) to the fact that Pi^cankhi, while refusing to receive the dynasts of the Delta, admitted Nemrud of Hermopolis to his audience, as he considered him to be pure and did not eat fish. It may, therefore, be assumed that Pi^cankhi distinguished between Nemrud and the dynasts of the Delta for some political reasons, or perhaps because Nemrud may have been of different tribal origin than the Delta dynasts, for we know that there were differences between the Libyan tribes, (23) or even because the latter used to eat fish!

The problem of the origin of the Napatan royal house cannot be settled until further information is available. In view of the events which took place in Nubia after the Twentieth Dynasty, we may be allowed to think that there

were different powers in Nubia: Egyptian descendants of those who had been administrating Nubia, priest refugees, local princes⁽²⁴⁾ and Libyans. We have referred to the Egyptianization of Nubia (see above, pp. 161ff) and the Libyans in Egypt were easily Egyptianized. So it is important for the relations between Egypt and Nubia to point out that, from whichever of these powers the royal family of Napata was descended, they were Egyptians or Egyptianized.

The relationship between the members of the royal family and the dates of the reigns of some of the kings are disputed,⁽²⁵⁾ but the order of their succession to the throne is certain.

The royal cemetery at El Kurru includes tombs of six generations before Pi^cankhi and the tombs of all the Napatan kings who formed the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt, except Taharqa. The tombs of the predecessors of Pi^cankhi developed from a simple pit grave under a tumulus to an improved tumulus with a casing of sandstone masonry, a mud-brick chapel and a horse shoe shaped enclosure. This was altered to a roughly square masonry mastaba over a pit tomb, with a masonry chapel and surrounded by a rectangular enclosing wall and then a later type of mastaba which had the burial pit orientated east-west in place of the north-south orientation of the earlier ones, replaced this. The east-west orientation was standard in the later royal tombs. The tomb of Pi^cankhi had a burial chamber roofed with a corbel vault, with a stairway leading to it and a superstructure in the form of a pyramid.⁽²⁶⁾ This type continued with little improvement during the reign of the successors of Pi^cankhi. Taharqa built the biggest pyramid at Nuri and Tanwetamani returned to El Kurru, where he built the next largest. The tombs of El Kurru in most respects conform to the standard Egyptian practice of the period, with one notable exception. In the tombs of the kings and queens the coffin bench is constructed with niches cut

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near the corners for the legs of the funerary bier, the frame of which rested upon the bench; this is a practice which seems to be of Sudanese origin. (27)

In spite of the severe plundering, the tumuli, when excavated, still contained an abundance of gold beads and other small objects. Much gold was also found in two of the other tombs, including a solid gold figure 3 cm. high and a large gold nugget inscribed on one side with a magical text in hieroglyphs. (28)

Reisner believed that, during the reign of Sheshonq I or a little later, "a Libyan chief, the man buried in Kutum. I, established himself on an estate at El Kurruw near Napata". This chief or one of his successors, not later than the third general, seized the powers which the Egyptian viceroy of Nubia used to wield. (29) Macadam suggested that Alara was a powerful desert chieftain whose family united with that of Kashta and "gave to the rising Napatan family the power to assume the sovereignty of Kush and to begin the conquest of Egypt". (30) tion?

Whatever the situation might have been, Kashta was the first Napatan king to extend his authority to Thebes; he had his daughter, Amenirdis I, adopted by the daughter of Osorkon III, Shepenupet I, the God's Wife of Amun. (31)

2. The Conquest of Egypt.

It is not certain whether the sovereignty of Kashta over Upper Egypt was the result of military action or was through inheritance or a similar reason, such as intermarriage.⁽³²⁾ But, having obtained control of southern Upper Egypt, his kingdom thus included the gold mines which supplied Egypt with gold, and the caravan routes between Egypt and the countries of the Sudan, rich in raw materials. He, undoubtedly, imposed taxes on the vast lands under his authority and was consequently richer and more powerful than the ruler of Egypt.

We have already mentioned that Egypt was in a state of decadence, (see above, pp. 212ff) and that she was an easy prey to invasion. It seems that Pi^cankhi, the successor of Kashta, was planning to conquer the whole of Egypt, when he received the news that Tafnakht, the prince of Sais, had obtained control of the Delta and the northern part of Upper Egypt. The Stela of Pi^cankhi, set up at Gebel Barkal in year 21 of his reign (c. 731 B.C.), stated that Tafnakht was advancing southwards and was meeting with success: "he has sailed up the river with a large number of soldiers and the Two Lands were united in his train, and the princes and governors of the towns were as hounds, as his companions. None of the fortified towns of the nomes of Upper Egypt had shut its gates they opened their doors through fear of him".⁽³³⁾

From the same stela we understand that the nobles who were loyal to the Napatans had feared Tafnakht: the chiefs, the barons and the army commandants who were in their town sent daily to his majesty saying, "Doth thou remain silent so as to forget the South Land and the nomes of Hn-Nhn? Tafnakht is sweeping all before him (lit. seizing to his face) and does not find any to oppose him".⁽³⁴⁾ This clearly

indicates that Upper Egypt was in the hands of the Napatans and the authority of Pi^{ankhi} may even have reached Middle Egypt before Tafnakht began his march towards the South. Nemrod (Nemareth), the prince of Hermopolis gave a little resistance to Tafnakht and then joined him.

When Pi^{ankhi} advanced northwards, Tafnakht fought bravely against him, but he was defeated and Pi^{ankhi} conquered the whole land. He received the homage of the princes of the Delta and Tafnakht was at last obliged to pay his homage too.

It is probable that Tafnakht became the vassal of Pi^{ankhi} in the north, and so he was able to regain his power when the latter returned to his remote capital, Napata. We do not know the reason for his quick return, but this had undoubtedly made his campaign more like "une brillante aventure sans lendemain".⁽³⁵⁾

There is no evidence that he had eliminated any of the factors of corruption in Egypt or had dismissed any of the princes who fought against him. It is quite possible that Tafnakht did not cease to claim royalty except for the short time of Pi^{ankhi}'s conquest, for a stela in the Athens Museum is dated to the year 8 of his reign.⁽³⁶⁾ No important historical information is yielded by this text, but it mentions a present made for the benefit of Neit, the goddess of Sais. Tafnakht's rule most probably did not extend beyond Memphis, but this decree indicates that he was the real founder of the Twenty-Fourth Dynasty and not his son, who is considered by Manetho to be the founder and only king of the dynasty.

Only a little is known about the reign of Pi^{ankhi}; he restored the temple of Ramesses II at Gebel Barkal and made generous gifts to other temples in Egypt.⁽³⁷⁾

Shabaka succeeded Pi^{ankhi} to the throne of Napata about 715 B.C. and, like his predecessor, claimed the throne of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is very probable that at the same

time Tafnakht was ruling the Delta, and he was succeeded by his son Bocchoris, who was considered one of the legislators in Ancient Egypt.⁽³⁸⁾ From the annals of Sargon II, king of Assyria, we know that Bocchoris sent him tribute in 711 B.C.⁽³⁹⁾ It is probable, on the other hand, that Bocchoris opposed the authority of Napata, or rather he may have sent gifts to Sargon II, who considered them as tribute, in order that he might gain his assistance against Shabaka, for it is stated by Manetho that the latter imprisoned and later burnt Bocchoris.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It seems that Shabaka had found that the position of Napata was not suitable as a capital for the whole kingdom, and so he was the first Napatan to make his residence in Egypt.⁽⁴¹⁾ The absence of monuments of Shabaka south of Edfu made Gauthier⁽⁴²⁾ and later Zeissl⁽⁴³⁾ think that he never ruled Nubia and the Sudan, but recent discoveries prove that his activity extended over both Egypt and the Sudan.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Schafer⁽⁴⁵⁾ in translating the stela of Taharqa found by Petrie at Tanis attempted to prove that Shabaka had conquered Egypt; this view is incorrect and must be abandoned, for more recent studies and additional texts show that all refer to a visit to Egypt by Taharqa at the command of Shebitku.⁽⁴⁶⁾ We have to accept Macadam's assumption that Taharqa went to Lower Egypt during the reign of his brother Shebitku,⁽⁴⁷⁾ although the whole argument of Macadam about the coregency of Taharqa and Shebitku needs to be confirmed, for there is no clear evidence in Kawa Stela IV, on which Macadam bases his theory, that Taharqa was coregent for six years. It also hints that Taharqa did not become king until after Shebitku died. Other documents refer to years of his reign earlier than year 6, which is mentioned in Stela IV.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Shabaka had certainly started an effective policy in Egypt by having his residence there, by appointing his son Harmakhis a high priest, and by following the example of his

predecessor in making the God's Wife, Amenirdis I, adopt his daughter, Shepenwepet II. For this reason, some historians considered that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty consisted of Shabaka and his successors, thus excluding Pi ankh and Kashta. (49)

Events in Western Asia at this time forced the Napatan kings to take steps to resist the growing power of Assyria. Under powerful kings the Kingdom of Assyria was expanding, and, pushing westwards, had conquered Syria. In 721 B.C. the Assyrian king, Sargon II, captured Samaria and transported the people of the Kingdom of Israel to Mesopotamia. Thus only the little Kingdom of Judah separated the Assyrian Empire from Egypt. Hezekiah, king of Judah, caught between the opposing powers, hesitated whether to submit to Assyria or to cooperate with Egypt. (50)

Sargon II was a contemporary of Shabaka and they seem to be on good terms, for the seals of the two kings were found together on a clay tablet in the Assyrian archives of Nineveh. Other clay seals of Shabaka, which were presumably used to seal his messages to the Assyrian king, have been found in Kouyoundjik. The Assyrian king might have sent a present in acknowledgement of Shabaka's message, but the latter regarded it as a tribute and depicted himself slaughtering the Asiatics and the Africans in the traditional manner. (51)

A clash between the Assyrians and the Napatans was imminent. (52) It was unavoidable that the Assyrian forces should try, sooner or later, to conquer Egypt, after subduing the small Palestinian countries, including Judah. The countries which had submitted to Assyria were in revolt against their conquerors and were encouraged by Shabaka. Then Sennacherib king of Assyria besieged Jerusalem in 701 B.C. and Hezekiah was compelled to pay the heavy tribute imposed on the city. (53)

In order to do this, he took the treasures from the temple. The Assyrians then withdrew because of the arrival of Taharqa and the "angel of God".⁽⁵⁴⁾ The submission of Jerusalem, however, was a definite threat to the authority of Napata in Egypt, but Assyria was busy at that time with her internal affairs and probably abandoned for the time being the idea of attempting to invade Egypt.

Little is known about the reign of Shebitku, who succeeded Shabaka, but he probably directed his attention towards building. He restored some parts of the temple of Ptah at Memphis and built a hall at Karnak.⁽⁵⁵⁾

It seems that when Taharqa succeeded Shebitku, the Ethiopians had already established their rule in Egypt, but the traditional organization of Egypt remained unaltered. The local administration was left in the hands of the hereditary princes. The Ethiopians did not make special preparations for their struggle against the Assyrians, nor did they reorganize their army.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Taharqa, however, began intriguing and plotting against Assyria. He cooperated with the vassals of Assyria, and especially with Tyre and Sidon. He persuaded the king of Sidon not to pay tribute to the Assyrians and as a result the king of Sidon was killed in 676 B.C. Similarly, some Arabian states were conquered by Assarhaddon.⁽⁵⁷⁾ When the king of Tyre heeded to the messages of Taharqa, the Assyrians besieged his city and simultaneously sent an army against Egypt. This army was defeated or was compelled to retreat. The siege of Tyre continued for five years and the fury of Assarhaddon became so great against Taharqa that he advanced towards the Egyptian frontier, where he defeated the Napatans in 670 B.C.

Taharqa retreated to Memphis, but the Assyrians followed him and conquered the city. Taharqa escaped to the south,

leaving his harem in the hands of his enemy. Assarhaddon plundered Memphis, but on receiving the homage of the princes of the Delta, he left them in their posts as Assyrian vassals.

Assarhaddon, in memory of this victory, erected a stela which depicted Taharqa as a negro prisoner, whom Assarhaddon dragged by a ring in his nose.⁽⁵⁸⁾ This is, however, improbable, because the statues of Taharqa and his successors all have Libyan or Egyptian features. There is no doubt that Assarhaddon exaggerated, for he also mentioned that he had become king of Upper and Lower Egypt and Kush. It is most probable that neither Assarhaddon nor any of his officers had seen Taharqa, and that none of them had gone into Upper Egypt. Consequently it was impossible for them to reach Kush. So this representation of Taharqa as a negro must have been pure imagination, invented by Assyrian artists who used to describe Taharqa as "that Nahsi (negro) of Ethiopia".⁽⁵⁹⁾

As soon as Assarhaddon had left Egypt, Taharqa returned with another army, which he recruited from Upper Egypt and the Sudan. He reoccupied Memphis, made some restorations there and resumed contacts with the king of Tyre. It is probable that he met with some opposition in the Delta, but some of its princes were loyal to the Napatán king. These princes remained undecided whether to join the Assyrians or the Napatans.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Assarhaddon died while preparing for a second campaign against Egypt and his son Ashurbanipal carried it out. He states in his annals that "Tarku (Tirhaqa), the king of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begot me, had defeated, and whose land he had brought under his sway, forgot the power of Assur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own strength. Against the kings, the governors whom my father had installed in Egypt,

he marched, (intent) on slaying, plundering and seizing Egypt. He broke in upon them and established himself (lit. sat down) in Memphis, the city which my father had conquered and added to the territory of Assyria. A swift courier came to Nineveh and reported to me" (61) He then describes how his army invaded Egypt, was victorious in a battle at Kar-baniti (62) and destroyed the army of Taharqa.

When Taharqa, who was at Memphis at that time, heard of the defeat of his army, he fled to Thebes. Ashurbanipal followed him and reached Thebes in 40 days. Taharqa withdrew to the western bank and the Assyrians captured Thebes. Ashurbanipal strengthened his garrison in Lower Egypt and reappointed some of the rulers who were ruling in the time of his father. He then returned to Nineveh, heavily loaded with the spoils of the Egyptians temples and palaces. We

We know that most of the rulers in the Egyptians nomes were Egyptianized Libyans (see above, p.214). The most important of these in that period was Necho of Sais, the father of Psammetichus I who founded the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and Montemhat at Thebes, who later tried to restore some of what had been destroyed in the sack of Thebes. (63) It seems also that Montemhat had been loyal to Taharqa, for he restored the temples and statues in his name. (64)

We have already mentioned that the rulers of the Delta were not loyal to Assyria (see above, p.225); they submitted only temporarily and later sent to Taharqa declaring that they wanted peace to prevail among them and to cooperate in opposing the Assyrians. (65) This message fell into the hands of the Assyrians, who thus put an end to the intrigues, and subsequently the rulers of the nomes were sent in chains to Nineveh. Necho, however, was forgiven, restored to his position at Sais and his son Psammetichus the future founder

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of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, was appointed ruler of Athribis and also given an Assyrian name.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Taharqa, according to the Assyrian texts, fled to Nubia, where he died and was succeeded by Tanwetamani.⁽⁶⁷⁾

During most of his reign over Egypt Taharqa resided at Tanis, probably in order to be near the course of events in Asia, and appointed Montemhat, the prince of Thebes, to be governor of the south.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The authority of the Napatan kings was well established during the reign of Taharqa, in spite of the attacks made by the Assyrians, and it seems that this authority was extended to Baharia Oasis⁽⁶⁹⁾ and Siwa.⁽⁷⁰⁾ His building activity was great in both Egypt and Nubia, but in particular in Nubia. He built a colonade at Karnak and his name has been found at Medinet Habu, Edfu, and Tanis. He built the great temple at Kawa, where he recorded that, on his way to Egypt, he noticed that the mud brick temple was damaged by rain and covered with sand.⁽⁷¹⁾ He also restored the hall in the great temple of Amon-Re at Gebel Barkal, where he placed his grey granite altar. He cut two small temples in the cliff north of the great temple, and built a temple at Merbe.⁽⁷²⁾ He was the first of the Napatan kings to be buried at Nuri, but nothing was found in his pyramid, except his badly damaged wooden coffin, though a number of small objects were found in the debris. Among these were a large series of stone Shabtis, a few stone vases, some jewellery in gold, and a large broken statue, which has been put together again and is now in the Khartoum Museum.⁽⁷³⁾ One of the best of his statues is in the Merowe Museum.⁽⁷⁴⁾

3. The Withdrawal of the Napatans.

When Taharqa fled from the Assyrians, he devoted his efforts to the restoration of the Napatan temples and founded the royal necropolis at Nuri. He might have given up the struggle, or he could not find the means and time which he could devote to that struggle against the Assyrians.

His successor Tanwetamani, however, had left us a stela, known as the "Dream Stela" in which he stated that he re-subjected Egypt to Kush and established himself at Memphis.⁽⁷⁵⁾ From his text we know that the internal circumstances in Egypt were unfavourable, ".... then his majesty sailed downstream to Lower Egypt, while (the people on) the west and east (banks) rejoiced (and raised) songs of joy: they said "Welcome. and welcome to thy Ka. in order to give life to the Two Lands, to erect the temples which have fallen into ruin, to set up their idols, even their sacred images, to give offerings to the gods and goddesses, and funerary offerings to the glorious (dead), to install the priest in his office, and to perform all the ritual of the divine cult". Those whose hearts had been inclined towards fighting became (filled) with rejoicing".⁽⁷⁶⁾ When he reached Memphis the garrison resisted him but he claimed to have won a sweeping victory and to have occupied the city. After the capture of Memphis he pushed into the Delta: "Now after these events His Majesty sailed northwards to fight the chieftains of Lower Egypt. Then they entered into their strongholds like beasts that crawl ?? into their holes. His Majesty spent many days before them, without one of them coming forth to fight with His Majesty".⁽⁷⁷⁾ After this, the king returned to Memphis and in due course received the submission of the Delta princes, who then returned to their cities to organize

the collection of the tribute that had been imposed on them.

This victory was only temporary, for after about two years (about 661 B.C.), Ashurbanipal invaded Egypt once again and stormed Thebes and captured very great treasure.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Tanwetamani fled to Ethiopia and from that time no Ethiopian king ruled the whole of Egypt. The Assyrians, however, were unable to establish complete control, for Tanwetamani was for a short time able to regain a nominal authority over southern Upper Egypt.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes about fifty years later.⁽⁸¹⁾

When the Assyrians withdrew, after the sacking of Thebes, Psammetichus extended his authority over Lower Egypt, while Tanwetamani was still acknowledged in Upper Egypt.⁽⁸²⁾ A stela recording the selling of a stretch of land is dated to the 8th year of the reign of Tanwetamani,⁽⁸³⁾ but it seems that his authority did not last long, for the Nile levels of the years 653, 652, 646, and 644 B.C. are dated to the years 10, 11, 17, and 19 of the reign of Psammetichus I.⁽⁸⁴⁾

It is probable that he had declared himself king in Lower Egypt before the second invasion of Ashurbanipal took place, about 661 B.C., since the first record of the Nile level in the reign of Psammetichus (about 653 B.C.) is dated to year 10 of his reign. The invasion of Ashurbanipal seems not to have had a lasting effect, for Psammetichus ignored it in counting the years of his reign. It is remarkable, however, that Tanwetamani was nominally acknowledged in Thebes up to about 655 B.C.⁽⁸⁵⁾ There are no Egyptian documents which refer to the expulsion of the Assyrians. Psammetichus I did not indicate how this event happened. It is also difficult to tell what the original homeland of the new dynasty was.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The highest attested date of Tanwetamani in Upper Egypt is his 8th year⁽⁸⁷⁾ but the real authority was in the hands of Mentuemhat and the God's Wife Shepenwepet II. Psammetichus was in the meantime strengthening his authority in Lower Egypt and was obviously seeking a means of extending it to Upper Egypt, without at first having the physical power to do so. Eventually he got his way in the same way as Pi⁴ankhi, by negotiating the adoption of his daughter, Nitocris, by the reigning God's Wife, Shepenwepet II, in year 9 of his reign (c. 655 B.C.).⁽⁸⁸⁾ Psammetichus I himself did not go to Thebes for the adoption and delegated the prince of Herakleopolis, Smataouitefnakht, to escort his daughter. This step ensured the ultimate establishment of the authority of Psammetichus over Upper Egypt and the elimination of the Ethiopian influence, but special rights were probably preserved to Mentuemhat and Shepenwepet II.

We do not know how long Tanwetamani ruled in Napata after his withdrawal from Egypt, but it seems that he did not have time to restore the economy of his country, for his tomb at El Kurru (Ku. 16)⁽⁸⁹⁾ is small and its furniture indicates that he was a poor sovereign. The wars against the Assyrians had undoubtedly exhausted the resources of Napata and trade must have suffered. In his "Dream Stela", Tanwetamani mentions that he built a monument for Amun at Napata and furnished it lavishly.⁽⁹⁰⁾ It is probable that the temple endowments were among the factors which impoverished the treasury. The tomb of Tanwetamani, though badly plundered, contained funeral furniture of a common and cheap kind. His shabtis are also of ordinary blue faience. The similarity of these with the statues of a member of his harem (wife or daughter) made it possible to recognize a number of the tombs of queens of his reign. One of the queens, mentioned in his "Dream Stela", Piankhirty, was buried in a very small tomb with symbolic pyramid.⁽⁹¹⁾ It is evident that during his reign economic

conditions at Napata were bad and it is probable that he was followed by another branch of the family, for the next two kings were buried not at El Kurru, as their predecessor, but at Nuri, which became the burial place for most of the Napatan family.⁽⁹²⁾

The defeats which were inflicted upon the Napatans by the Assyrians had destroyed their power in Egypt and undoubtedly weakened it in Nubia. Their army suffered great losses and became in no better, if not worse, state than that of the united armies in the Delta. The people in Upper Egypt do not appear to have tried to join any of the opposing factors, which probably meant little more to them than a change of masters.⁽⁹³⁾

Little is known of the period which followed the reign of Tanwetamani. Only a few historical inscriptions have survived,⁽⁹⁴⁾ but most names of the kings of the period were known from different sources. From the material obtained by Reisner from his excavations at Gebel Barkal and the cemeteries of Napata and Meroe, it has been possible to reconstruct a historical framework. Reisner's conclusions have been slightly modified by recent researches.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Only in a few rare instances have details survived of actual historical events in the reigns of kings whose names are known.

Authorities differ as to the subdivisions of the kings of Kush. Reisner⁽⁹⁶⁾ proposed a Napatan kingdom (750-308 B.C.) and a Meroitic kingdom (308 B.C. - 350 A.D.).⁽⁹⁷⁾ He divided the Napatan kingdom into four periods and considered that after the death of Nastasen in 308 B.C. separate kingdoms were formed at Napata and Meroe. He suggested that the second king of the Meroitic kingdom united Napata and Meroe for a short time. Then, for five generations, beginning with Ergamenes (No. 31) the two kingdoms were united, but then were separated once more for a short time during which a king

followed by two queens ruled over Napata. This Napatan kingdom was destroyed by the invasion of the Romans in B.C. 23 and was finally absorbed into the Meroitic kingdom.

Reisner's scheme is influenced primarily by the burial places of the kings; until 308 B.C. the kings were buried at Nuri and he assumed that Napata must have been the capital.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Dows Dunham⁽⁹⁹⁾ doubts the correctness of this assumption and does not believe that there is any justification for postulating a rigid division into two kingdoms. While not denying the shift of capital from Napata to Meroe, he considers that the change was gradual and that it began much earlier than Reisner was prepared to admit, but that for long after the change of capital the kings continued to be buried at Nuri and the observances of the cult of Amun were maintained. He considers that the facts are really explained by the assumption that the ruling class in Kush was divided into two clans; one with its centre at Napata, which in the earlier period was dominant, and one living at Meroe.

Dows Dunham's scheme, therefore, divided the kingdom of Kush into two main periods:

- a) The Napatan Period (750 - 538 B.C.),
- b) The Meroitic Period (538 B.C. - 350 A.D.).

The Napatan Period he divides into two phases:

- Kashta to Tanwetamani (750-653 B.C.), and
 Atlanersa to Malenaqen (653-538 B.C.).

Throughout both these phases Napata was the capital of a united kingdom of Napata and Meroe.

The Meroitic Period is divided by Dunham into four phases:

- i) Anlama⁶aye to Nastasen (538-308 B.C.), united kingdom capital Meroe, but royal burials and centre of the cult of Amun at Napata.

ii) Arikakamen to Kaltali (Bartare) (300-255 B.C.), Meroe capital and royal burial place, Napata of religious importance only.

iii) King 31 to Natakamani (255 B.C. - 15 A.D.), the height of the Meroitic culture, Meroe capital and burial place, but a brief division of the kingdom following a revolt by the Napatan clan; Petronius (23 B.C.) invaded Napata, but this does not seem to have seriously affected Meroe and, in fact, the great flowering of the Meroitic art came in the years immediately after the attack by Petronius.

iv) Sherkare to king 65 (A.D. 15-350), slow but steady degeneration, royal burials at Meroe, destruction by Axum c. 350.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ This last phase lies outside the scope of this thesis.

The following list of kings from Kashta to A.D. 15 is based largely on Reisner's original scheme, modified slightly by the result of more recent researches. Dunham's rejection of two kingdoms of Napata and Meroe and his division in a Napatan and a Meroitic period are accepted (see however, p.²³⁶).

A. The Napatan Period.

<u>Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tomb</u>	<u>Reign B.C.</u>
1	Kashta	Ku. VIII	750-744
2	Pi ^{ankhi}	Ku. XVII	744-710
3	Shabaka	Ku. XV	710-700
4	Shebitku	Ku. XVIII	700-688
5	Taharqa	Nuri I	688-663
6	Tanwetamani	Ku. XVI	663-653
7	Atlanersa	Nuri XX	653-643
8	Senkamensken	Nuri III	643-623
9	Anlamani	Nuri VI	623-593
10	Aspalta	Nuri VIII	593-568

11	Amtalqa	Nuri IX	568-553
12	Malenaqin	Nuri V	553-538

B. The Meroitic Period.

13	Anlama ⁴ aye (Nalma ⁴ aya)	Nuri XVIII	538-533
14	Amani-natake-lebte	Nuri X	533-513.
15	Karkamani	Nuri VII	513-503
16	Amani-astabarqa	Nuri II	503-478
17	Sa ⁴ aspiqa	Nuri IV	478-458
18	Nasakhma	Nuri XIX	458-453
19	Maliwiebamani	Nuri XI	453-423
20	Talakhmani	Nuri XVI	423-418
21	Aman-nete-yerike	Nuri XII	418-398
22	Baskakeren	Nuri XVII	398-397
23	Harsiotef	Nuri XIII	397-362
24	? (101)	Ku. I	362-342
25	Akhratan	Nuri XIV	342-328
26	Nastasen	Nuri XV	328-308
27	? (102)	Bark. XI	308-280
28	Arakakaman	Beg.S. VI	300-280 ⁽¹⁰³⁾
29	Amanislo	Beg.S. V	280-265
30	Bartare	Beg. S. X	265-255
31	Aman....tekha	Beg.N. IV	255-242
32	Hinayka	Beg.N. LIII	242-225
33	Arqamani (= Ergamenes)	Beg.N. VII	225-200
34	Adikhalamani	Beg.N. IX	200-180
35	Naqyrinsan	Beg.N. VIII	180-160
36	Queen Nahirqa	Beg.N. XI	160-150
37	Shanak-dakhete (?) ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾	Beg.N. XII	150-125
38	?	Beg.N. XIII	125-100
39	Tanyidamani (?)	Beg.N. XX	100-80

40	Teriteqas (?)	Beg.N. XXI	80-60
41	Queen Amanirenas	(?)	60-45
42	Akinidad ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾	(?)	(?)
43	Queen Amanishakhete	Beg.N. VI	45-25
44	Queen Naldamak	Bark. VI	
45	Amanikhabale	Beg.N. II	25-15
46	Natakamani	Beg.N. XXII	15- A.D. 15
47	Queen Amanitere	Beg.N. I	15- A.D. 15

The oldest cemetery of the Napatan kingdom was founded at El Kurru and included five generations of the ancestors of the royal family, who were followed by Kashta and his line of descendants. Napata continued to be the capital until it was replaced by Meroe. The kings were at first buried in the neighbourhood of Napata (El Kur and Nuri), until the end of the reign of Nastasen (No. 26). The burial place of the kings was later changed to Meroe, in the generations 28-65, though a new Napatan cemetery, that begun in generation 27, was occasionally used; i.e. when an independent line ruled in Napata. Once the Napatans had lost Egypt, the importance of Napata as a centre declined, but Meroe, being nearer the resources of wealth in central and southern Sudan, where conditions were more favourable to cattle rearing and agriculture, steadily grew in importance and security⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ at the expense of Napata. The flourishing iron smelting industry at Meroe indicates that abundant trees must have been available in the district to furnish the enormous supplies of fuel that would have been required.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Thus Meroe came to rival Napata in size and importance. At first its governors were men of the same origin as the royal house at Napata and were appointed by the king, though at first

they may have had considerable independence. As Meroe's prosperity increased, the kings tended to spend increasingly longer periods there: they probably also married Meroitic women of aristocratic families, in addition to their Napatan wives. Since inscriptions of Aspalta, Amtalqa and Malenaqen have been found at Meroe, it is reasonable to conclude that immediately after the loss of Egypt, the Napatan kings began increasingly to spend more of their time at Meroe.

The exact date of the change of the capital is disputed.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The first known literary reference to Meroe is that of the great inscription of Aman-nete-yerike,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ who lived c. 418-398 B.C. The stela of Harsiotef mentions that the royal palace at Napata was so much ruined or sanded up that none could enter it.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Moreover, the Sun Temple at Meroe⁽¹¹¹⁾ may have been constructed during the reign of Aspalta, since a fragment of a stela bearing his name was found there.⁽¹¹²⁾ These indicate that the change of the capital occurred between the reigns of Aspalta and Talkhamani. The assumption of Dows Dunham (see above, p.232), which he based on archaeological evidence, that the Meroitic Period began c. 538 B.C. seems reasonable.

The loss of Egypt undoubtedly tended to cause the Napatans to look more to the south than to Egypt. With the transfer of the capital to Meroe, this tendency must have strengthened and, as we shall see later (pp.243) increased the isolation of Upper Nubia and the Sudan from Egypt.

Early in the period following the loss of Egypt we have a stela in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen,⁽¹¹³⁾ which was found in Temple T at Kawa. It records that king Anlamani (No. 9), who was contemporary with the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty of Egypt, made a campaign against the country of Belhe. The Belhe people were identified by Griffith with the Blemmyes, and these in turn were identified by Kirwan with the Beja.

Further evidence shows that, although the Beja are not to be identified with the Md;, the Belhe and the Md; were sometimes to be found in precisely the same area, but this does not necessarily imply that they were identical. The terms may have been loosely interchangeable. From this stela we know that Anlamani wanted to establish peace and justice during his reign. It is probable that the campaign against the Belhe refers to an expedition against the dwellers of the Eastern Desert.

Aspalta left two inscriptions. One of these mentions his coronation⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and refers to the offerings he gave to the temple of Amon-Re.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ It seems that the priests were obliged to appoint his daughter God's Wife of Amun.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ In the other stela Aspalta stated⁽¹¹⁷⁾ that the princes of the royal house were brought, after the death of Anlamani, to the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal, but the god had only chosen him for the throne. This indicated that the priests of Amon-Re, or rather their leaders, had gained great authority but of course the strongest member of the royal family may well have had the means to persuade the priests to give him their support. In such circumstances, however, there is always a real danger of a conflict between the priesthood and the throne. That such troubles arose is to be inferred from a stela in the Cairo Museum:⁽¹¹⁸⁾ the stela mentions the punishment of Napatan priests by a king whose name has been deliberately erased. Evidently the growth of the power of the priesthood of Amun had much the same results in Napata as previously in Egypt.

The names of Atlanersa and Senkamanisken were found on two altars in a temple at Gebel Barkal.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The temple was founded by Atlanersa and completed by Senkamanisken, Anlamani,

Aspalta and Amtalqa. The name of the last was found also on a statue in the same temple. In another temple at Kabushiya his name was found together with those of Aspalta and Malenagen.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Till recently nothing was known about the period between Aspalta and Harsiotef, but Macadam has published four inscriptions of a king called Aman-Nete-yerike, whom he placed in that period.⁽¹²¹⁾ One of these texts is very long and records the election of Aman-Nete-yerike as king after the death of Talkhamani, a revolt by the Rhrhs,⁽¹²²⁾ their defeat, the king's journey to Napata and his coronation, his visit to Krtn,⁽¹²³⁾ a battle with the Medja, his arrival at Kawa and the festival there, his visit to Pnubs⁽¹²⁴⁾ and the presenting of the captured territories to Amon-Re of Pnubs, the return of the king to Kawa and the festival he held there, the visit of the queen mother to this place, his oblations to Amun and the restorations and endowments he made.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The three other stelae are of less importance and size. Apart from traditional adorations to Amun and reference to some building activity they do not give any information of particular interest.⁽¹²⁶⁾

Harsiotef left a stela⁽¹²⁷⁾ on which he mentioned that he made nine military campaigns against the Rehrehhs and the Meded. He states that, in year 11 of his reign, he reached as far north as Assuan⁽¹²⁸⁾ but it seems doubtful whether either the Egyptians or Harsiotef made any pretence of holding the valley below Kalabshah.⁽¹²⁹⁾


An inscription of Nastasen records that, like Harsiotef, this king made a number of military campaigns, one of which was against a certain Cambasouden who was thought to be Cambyses, but this seems improbable (see further, p. 242).

The inscriptions of two other kings, Aman....Sabrak... (?) and Ary (?), who date according to Macadam to the First Meroitic Dynasty of Napata (?), do not have any important historical information.⁽¹³⁰⁾

Almost all archaeologists agree that Lower Nubia was very largely deserted during the period which followed the loss of Egypt under Tanwetamani down to the Ptolemaic Period. They found no trace of living people in Nubia from the end of the Twenty-First Dynasty, c. 1085 B.C., to about 300 B.C. They concluded that the Ethiopian armies in their retreat to Napata must have plundered and destroyed the whole country. (131)

All that is known about this period is that the Assyrians were occupied with internal affairs of their own country, while Psammetichus, who was contemporary with the kings of Napata from Tanwetamani to Senkamensken, took the opportunity to restore the prosperity of Egypt and to recruit an army of mercenaries, who were mainly Greeks. Psammetichus revived the trade with the Mediterranean ports and established safe caravan routes. After he had extended his authority over Upper Egypt, both Kush and Egypt were interested in the trade routes south of Egypt, but because ^{of} prevailing conditions, neither was able to maintain an active interest in them. Egypt was bound for a long time to concentrate on the north and Asia, and Kush, as we have seen already, after the loss of Egypt was more interested in the south and her kings were more concerned with restoring the prosperity of their own land. The family of Kashta was still living in Napata and a number of Egyptians, skilled in arts, were presumably living there also. Priests, scribes and artisans kept the traditions in religious and artistic practices and Kush was during that time still culturally a part of Egypt. (132)

This use of mercenaries by Psammetichus may have been the reason for the rebellion of the garrison of Elephantine and their departure to the Sudan, for they probably did not accept the king's policy of preferring the mercenaries to them. Herodotus mentions (133) that these "deserters" called

themselves $\text{A6M}\alpha\text{X}$ and that they meant "those who stand on the left side of the king". Perhaps it is connected with the Egyptian word  (134). It is also probable that these deserting soldiers were Egyptianized Libyans or descendants of Mashwash.

Necho, the second king of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, did not pay any attention to Nubia, but his successor Psammetichus II went to Elephantine in order to inspect the expedition which he directed to Nubia. The mercenaries of Psammetichus II inscribed their names in Carian script in different places such as Abu Simbel, (135) in the temple of Buhen (136) and on Jebel Sheik Suliman. (137) In one of the graves near Ikhmindi, on the west bank south of Dakka and opposite to the mouth of Wadi Allaqi, were found several iron spear-heads of the same type as that known from the settlements of the foreign mercenaries in Egypt. (138) These facts suggest that garrisons of Greek mercenaries may have been maintain^{ed} at or near Buhen and at Ikhmindi in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty or in the Persian Period. The importance of the expedition was so great that it was remembered 150 years later when Herodotus mentioned it. (139) Two badly damaged stelae, one found at Karnak (140) and the other at Tanis, (141) give more details about the campaign. The stela of Karnak refers (l. 5) to Pnubs as one of the stages of the campaign. (142) Pnubs was formerly believed to be Hierasycaminos (near to the modern Maharaka) (143) but the list of the nomes in Philae (144) refers to Pnubs after the nome next to Napata, while four nomes separate it from Buhen. The Kawa inscription VIII mentions (l. 24) (145) Amun of Napata, Amun of Kawa, Amun of Pnubs and Amun of Sanam successively. The town of Pnubs is also mentioned in Kawa XIII, 11 (146) in connection with Kawa. These, as well as other sources, suggest that Pnubs should be looked for in the Dongola region, or at least immediately south of the Third Cataract. The stela of Tanis mentions (l. 5)

that the campaign was directed against the kingdom of Napata and that it penetrated far to the south. We also understand from the Tanis stela that the object of the campaign was the capital of the Napatan kingdom itself. (147)


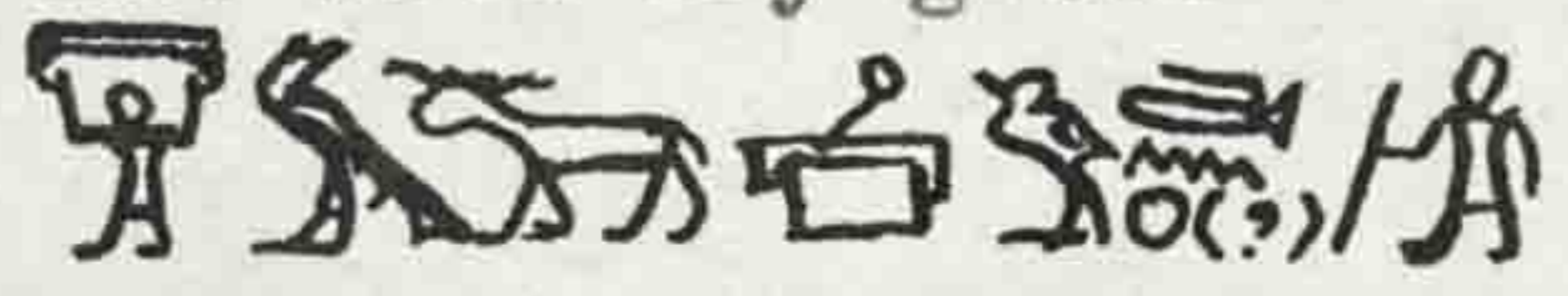
The graffiti of Abu Simbel mention a place called Kerkis, which may be identified on phonetic resemblance with Kurgos (Hagar-el Merwa), but this is not certain. (148)

The booty mentioned in connection with the campaign, the finding of a tablet of Senkamensken at Memphis, (149) the destruction of the statues of some kings of Napata at Gebel Barkal (150) and the supposition that the Ethiopian soldiers at the death of Anlamani, the predecessor of Aspalta, were at Abu Simbel (151) all these indicate that the Egyptian forces conquered Napata and reached somewhere near the Fifth Cataract. (152)

The invasion as we know from the Tanis stela took place in year 3 of the reign of Psammetichus II (about 591 B.C.), which corresponds to the reign of Aspalta (No. 10), and may have been carried out for fear of the Napatans, who were presumably a threatening power in the south (see above, pp 236-7). Obviously the Egyptians directed their main attention to the north and the Napatans to the south, but still, Lower Nubia occasionally provoked their interest. Their sporadic campaigns usually met with success, for the few inhabitants were naturally unable to cause difficulty to the conquerors.

It is probable that the Egyptian forces occupied Lower Nubia for some time after the invasion, but we hear nothing about the activity of Apries, the successor of Psammetichus II, in that region (see further below). A badly damaged papyrus from Elephantine, (153) dated to the reign of Amasis, refers to some activity in Nubia, but we are not sure whether it refers to a real military campaign or a peaceful expedition escorted by guards. It was more likely a commercial expedition. (154)

Nevertheless, the mercenaries who revolted against Apries found refuge in Nubia and the frequent mention of Psammetichus II, Apries and Amasis in the region of Elephantine⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ indicate clearly that the Saite kings felt the threat of Nubia and, presumably, fortified Elephantine. The real danger, however, came to Egypt from the north, for soon Egypt was invaded by the Persians and remained in their hands, except for brief periods of independence under relatively weak kings, until the triumph of Alexander the Great.

Ancient historians did not agree about Cambyses' conquest of Nubia. Herodotus mentioned that Cambyses returned from his campaign after he had reached a desert region where his provisions had been so exhausted that the soldiers ate some of their fellows.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Strabo, however, mentioned that Cambyses had conquered the capital of Ethiopia and gave it the name of his sister Meroe.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Josephus⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ and Diodorus⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ agree with him. Some modern historians, also, agree that Cambyses had succeeded in conquering Nubia, because of references in classical authors to a city near the Third Cataract, called by Pliny⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Cambuses, and by Ptolemy⁽¹⁶¹⁾ *Καμβούβου* (i.e. the store places of Cambuses). Budge⁽¹⁶²⁾ suggested the identification of this place with the Egyptian  proposing that it referred to a Nubian town, but this term in fact does not indicate a town.⁽¹⁶³⁾ Budge⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ also believed that Nastasen inflicted heavy losses on Cambyses and forced him to retreat to Egypt. Since we know that Nastasen (No. 26) lived between c. 328-308 B.C., while Cambyses came to Egypt c. 525-522 B.C. (see above, p. 234), Budge's theory must certainly be rejected.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ There is no positive proof that Cambyses met with any great success in his Nubian campaign. The name  which occurs in the stela of Nastasen may refer to a chief in some part of the Nubian desert and not to Cambyses.

The stela of Nestasen⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ records his accession to the throne, his coronation at Napata, the visit to other temples and the celebration of feasts in these places. It also refers to his extending his authority over Lower Nubia and mentions that he returned to live at Meroe. This confirms that Meroe was the political capital, while Napata was still of great religious importance.

The relations between Egypt and Nubia during the remainder of the Persian Period are unknown, but it seems that Darius succeeded in securing the trade with the south. An active trade in gold, slaves, ebony, ivory and other Nubia products was conducted during his time. Herodotus also mentions that the people of Lower Nubia paid him tribute in Gold, slaves, ebony and ivory.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

There is no need to discuss in detail events in Egypt from the beginning of the Persian Period till the coming of Alexander. It is sufficient to mention that Egypt was only concerned with her own internal affairs and was forced in her politics to act as one of the Mediterranean countries.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ It had been affected by the new powerful countries which came into existence in Western Asia.

Cush had similarly turned its attention in the opposite direction and Napata had lost its previous importance.

It is possible that Alexander conquered Egypt during the reign of Akhratan (No. 25), the predecessor of Nastasen. The Greek writers, however, stated that Alexander invited the queen "Candace" to meet him at the boundary of her kingdom, "in order to worship Amun together", but she sent the answer that the oracle prevented moving the statue of the god and prevented any stranger from entering her country without being considered as an enemy.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

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Alexander sent a scientific expedition to the Sudan, for his tutor Aristotle had advised him to discover the cause of the flood of the Nile. We do not know how far that expedition reached, but it returned with correct answers, which can be summarized in the statement that the flood of the Nile is caused by the rain falling upon the mountains of Abyssinia. When Aristotle heard this he wrote "the flood of the Nile is no more a problem".⁽¹⁷⁰⁾


A garrison was stationed by Alexander at Elephantine, which remained the southern frontier in the reign of his successor, Ptolemy I, Soter.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

It has been mentioned (p.231 n.97) that at the beginning of the Meroitic Period two separate kingdoms were in Kush, Napata and Meroe. When Ergamenes ascended the throne of Meroe he united the two kingdoms in about 225 B.C., and it is possible that he had some authority over Lower Nubia. The Ptolemies, on the other hand, tried to establish commercial relations with Nubia and to maintain the caravan routes.⁽¹⁷²⁾ It is probable that trade flourished, since the time of Darius (see above, p.243), but there is no doubt that the prosperity in Lower Nubia increased during the rule of the Ptolemies, for the water-wheel had been introduced⁽¹⁷³⁾ and eventually more people lived there.

There is no evidence that Ptolemy I attacked Nubia, though Diodorus⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ mentions that Eumachus, the general of Ptolemy I, had conquered the Numidians and that he had gone to Higher Africa, where he reached a land full of cats and then a land where monkeys lived in houses. The people of Pithecussae worshipped them and named their sons after them. He did not go beyond that last land because he heard that the Barbarians had gathered against him, and so he withdrew to the sea.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Ptolemy II stated in a stela, found at Pithom by Naville,

from the Book of the Dead according to the Egyptian tradition. These Egyptian traditions were followed by the Ptolemies themselves and the native temples of the time were not different from those of the earlier periods of Egyptian history. Reisner believed⁽¹⁸¹⁾ that Ergamenes had brought an Egyptian priest-scribe for his inscriptions in the temple at Dakkah, but we may suggest that these inscriptions were inscribed by an Ethiopian scribe. We know that the Ethiopian civilization had inherited the Egyptian culture in Napata and when the capital was moved to Meroe, Egyptian culture remained dominant for a long time, so that it was not difficult to find some Ethiopian artists who could imitate the Egyptian traditional art, following the example of the Ptolemies themselves in decorating their temples.

The situation in Lower Nubia, and especially in its northern part which was known as the Dodekaschoinos, is, because of the scarcity of information, unknown. The name of the Dodekaschoinos means that its length was twelve schoinoi, which were equivalent to the Egyptian , or 120 stadias. It was applied to an ancient part of the land, known since early times and generally endowed to the temple of Khnum at Philae. The southern boundary of the region, which extended about 90 kilometres, is not certain. It was perhaps near to the modern Maharaga or Derar (Takompso) which faces it.⁽¹⁸²⁾

In a temple at Philae⁽¹⁸³⁾ the innermost and earliest hall was built by Ptolemy IV, while the entrance hall was built by Ergamenes, whose name has been defaced in some instances, and the hall was partly enlarged by Ptolemy V. Similarly, but in reverse order, the inner shrine at Dakkah was built by Ergamenes and the outer hall by Ptolemy IV and the pronaos by Ptolemy VIII, Energetes II.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

The evidence of the Nubian temples suggests that Ergamenes was on friendly terms with Ptolemy IV and that either the Dodekaschoinos was a neutral region between them, or that the interests of Egypt and Meroe overlapped in northern Lower Nubia. It has been assumed by some that Ergamenes may have ruled this region under the protection of the Ptolemies, ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ while others have implied that Ergamenes actually extended his direct rule to Philae. ⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The authority for this last assumption is an inscription of Ergamenes at Dakkah, which according to Bevan states that Isis had given Ergamenes "the Land of the Twelve Ar, 'from Syene to Tachompso'". This statement is inaccurate: in a scene in which Ergamenes offers wine to Isis he says, "I offer to thee thy domain as far as (?) Nubia (T? ztí) from Syene to Tachompso, to wit 12 itr on the west and 12 itr on the east," together with all its lands and fields and products. ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ It might of course be argued that, since Ergamenes thus gives the Dodekaschoinos to Isis, that region was his to dispose of, and it cannot be denied that throughout that region he built temples and was depicted and described exactly as if he were an ordinary pharaoh ruling that area. The same facts, however, also apply, apparently at the same time, to Ptolemy IV. It would seem, therefore, that both Ergamenes and Ptolemy IV considered themselves and were depicted as rulers of the Dodekaschoinos, and it is difficult therefore to escape the conclusion that Egyptian and Meroitic interests overlapped and that, since there is no indication of friction or fighting, there may even have been some form of condominium. More than this cannot be said, for precise information as to the exact nature of the Egyptian and Meroitic interests is lacking. It is, however, beyond dispute that in the reign of Ergamenes the activities and interests of the Meroitic kingdom extended far beyond the boundaries of Kush to the First Cataract.

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Towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV native revolts broke out in Egypt and are associated, particularly in Theban documents, with the kings Armachis and Anchmarchis. Dated documents of these kings go back to at least 210 B.C., but, on the other hand, the building operations in the temple of Edfu continued without interruption until 206 B.C.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ The revolt, therefore, does not seem at first to have seriously affected the Thebaid, but eventually southern Upper Egypt became independent, until the revolt was crushed in year 19 of Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, 186 B.C.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ These kings, together with another king Hygronaphor, appear to have been Nubians and the second decree of Philae, promulgated after the crushing of the revolt, makes clear references to Nubian troops being involved in the fighting during the revolts in the Thebaid.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ It is possible, therefore, that Nubian elements played a large part in the native revolts in Upper Egypt at this time, but this of course is not to say that Meroe had any share in them.

It seems rather improbable that the activity of Ergamenes in Lower Nubia and his being given in the Nubian temples the normal titles of an Egyptian king should be, as some have suggested, too closely linked with the native revolts in Egypt. Doubtless Ergamenes did not regard them with disfavour, and undoubtedly the revolt in the Thebaid must for some years have left him a relatively free hand in the whole of Nubia, but it seems very likely that the joint activities of Ergamenes and Ptolemy IV began well before the outbreak of the revolts.

When Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, had brought the revolt to an end in the 19th year of his reign, it was not unnatural that he should have taken active measures against Nubia, where he could not unreasonably have seen the source of some at least of his troubles. Hence the erasure, in his reign, of the cartouches of Ergamenes in the temple of Philae finds a logical

explanation. Ptolemy V also seems to have attempted to re-establish a measure of Ptolemaic authority in Lower Nubia, but details of this are entirely lacking. Some evidence of this may be seen, perhaps, in the Famine Stela of Sehel, if, as has been recently suggested, the Ptolemaic king under whom it was inscribed were really Ptolemy V.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ The stela records, inter alia, the granting of the Dodekaschoinos to Khnum.

The policy initiated by Ptolemy V was continued by Ptolemy VI, Philometor, who attempted to extend the Ptolemaic control over Lower Nubia as far as Wadi Halfa, the region that was called Triakontaschoinos.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Towards the end of the reign two towns were founded called Philometoris and Cleopatra in the Triakontaschoinos.⁽¹⁹³⁾ One of the pylons of the temple of Debod, an inscription states, was dedicated by Philometor and Cleopatra to Isis and the co-templar deities (synnavi theoi).⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ /o

It is possible that Adikhalamani, the successor of Ergamanes, who built a chapel in the temple of Debod, had extended his authority over the Triakontaschoinos before Ptolemy VI pushed into Lower Nubia. At Debod Adikhalamani is depicted as an Egyptian pharaoh, with the traditional titles including nsw-bit, s?-R^c and nb t?wy.

The few documents which mention the names of the Ptolemies in Lower Nubia do not give sufficient information about their policy in the south. It is likely that their main attention was occupied by affairs in the north. It is also possible that they feared that closer relations between Egypt and her southern neighbour, or rather the unification of the Nile Valley, would increase the national feeling against them as foreigners. The survival of the pharaonic culture and traditions in the Nile Valley was a threat to their kingship. Bevan says, "The Greek conquerors had subjugated Egypt, but they had not subjugated the whole realm of the ancient Pharaohs, the whole area of Egyptian culture; and so long as the Egyptian nationalists saw their old tradition still ruling there, just beyond the

frontier, they might well refuse to believe that it had been crushed for good. After all, the old legends told of Egyptian kings in former days, when Egypt was overrun by strangers, taking refuge in Ethiopia on the Upper Nile and issuing thence to recover the land down to the sea. (195)

The Ptolemies, however, encouraged commercial exchanges with the south. They sent expeditions to hunt and capture elephants, which they used in their armies. These expeditions went via the Red Sea and reached the eastern corner of the east coast of Africa and thence advanced into the interior.

Geographical exploration was actively pursued in the time of the Ptolemies. Their sailors had reached Gardafui (Notos) during the reign of Ptolemy IV and many ports and store-houses were founded on the western coast of the Red Sea. The Ptolemies also paid attention to the routes which connected the Nile Valley with the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea and those leading to Nubia, where the gold mines are found. (196)

We have no evidence that, after Tanwetamani withdrew from Egypt, there had been any direct contact between Egypt and the southern lands, except in rare occasions. These contacts were only temporary in effect, so that we can safely say that Egypt and her southern neighbours were separated from the time that the Napatans withdrew from Egypt. Nevertheless, for a long time the Napatan kingdom remained culturally a part of Egypt, but the archaeological evidence shows that the Napatan culture diverged more and more from the Egyptian culture as Napata was forced to turn southwards. When Meroe became the centre of the kingdom, it was culturally a part of Napata, which had been Egyptianized. Reisner says, (197) "Meroe was Ethiopianized, that is, brought under the influence of the Egyptian culture which had been inherited from the days of the viceroys. But this Egypto-Ethiopian culture, probably never so virile as that of Egypt itself, was certainly greatly diluted by its extension to Meroe. About 440 B.C., I believe, but at any rate before 350 B.C., Meroe

had in its turn absorbed Ethiopia itself, just as Ethiopia three centuries before had absorbed its mother country Egypt."

Meroe continued, as can be noted from the pyramids of the kings and queens, to be prosperous for about five generations, then sudden signs of impoverishment appear in the pyramids which follow. On this ground and because these later pyramids are apparently contemporary with the second group of pyramids at Barkal, Reisner assumed that another split had occurred in the Meroitic kingdom in the first century B.C. He suggested that there was perhaps a quarrel about the succession; a Napatan queen claimed the throne for her infant son, but failed and consequently set up an independent kingdom at Napata.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ There is no evidence for this assumption, for we know that queen Tanyidamani (c. 100-80 B.C.) left inscriptions at both Napata and Meroe, and the queens Amarineas, Akinidad, Amanishakhete and Amanikhabale seem to have controlled both Meroe and Napata. It is possible that the Barkal pyramids are the tombs of princes and princesses of the Napatan branch of the royal family, who had local authority but did not reign, or they may have been local governors who claimed independent rule over Napata,⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ in perhaps the same way as the priests of Amun at Thebes did at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

Classical writers mention⁽²⁰⁰⁾ that a queen with one eye and masculine appearance conducted all the negotiations with the Romans who invaded Napata, after she had raided Assuan and Philae and pulled down the statue of the emperor Augustus. It seems that the queen was encouraged by what she heard about the failure of Aelius Gallus, the Roman governor of Egypt, in his campaign in Arabia (25 B.C.) and raided Lower Nubia, reaching as far north as Assuan. This roused the anger of the Romans, who sent an army under the leadership of Petronius against the raiders. The Roman army caused a great loss to the forces of the queen in every battle while driving them back to Napata, and Napata itself was destroyed and looted about 23 B.C.

Arkell suggests that the queen in question was Amanirenas, whose monuments extend from Dakkah to Meroe, or more probably Amanishakhete, ⁽²⁰¹⁾ but we have no evidence for this identification. The queen was called by the classical writers Candace, which proved to be a title meaning queen or queen-mother and not a proper name. ⁽²⁰²⁾ The two queens quoted by Arkell lived, according to their chronological order, in c. 60-45 and 45-25 B.C., ⁽²⁰³⁾ and so neither was contemporary with the destruction of Napata.

The sacking of Napata, however, marks the end of Napata and the fading out of the Egyptian culture from Northern Sudan. Temporary revivals of the Egyptian culture occurred, however, in later periods, but this was only limited to decorating parts of some of the temples and pyramid chapels of the northern cemetery at Meroe. Meroe itself does not seem to have been affected by that Roman attack on Napata, and the period immediately after the fall of Napata marked in fact the high water mark of Meroitic culture. Meroitic art and script developed and reached their highest standard, but the kingdom itself soon began to decay and degeneration set in increasingly, until Meroe was conquered by Ezana, the king of Axum. ⁽²⁰⁴⁾ With the fall of Meroe the traces of the Egyptian culture completely disappeared, after being dominant in the Upper Nile Valley for several centuries.

The preservation of the Egyptian culture for so long is due to various factors:

- i) The kings of Napata and Meroe were descendants of an Egyptian or an Egyptianized stock.
- ii) The loyalty to and enthusiasm of the Kushites for the Egyptian religion.
- iii) The building of temples in Egyptian style and decoration.
- iv) Occasional commercial contacts.

Meroe began to abandon the Egyptian culture about 200 B.C. and this may have been influenced by the appearance of a new race of strong negroid affinities and by the disappearance of Pharaonic traditions in Egypt itself. Egyptian culture had given way to Greek culture and the latter must have gradually penetrated the South. (205)

Chapter VI.

Notes and References.

1. Pap. Harris I, pl. 75,3-5 = Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 91,7-12; BAR IV 397ff; Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 260.
2. Pap. Harris I, 78,8-11 = Erichsen, op. cit., 95, 16-96,4.
3. SNR 2,35-38.
4. Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte (3rd ed.), 522.
5. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 523; c.f. Reisner, in SNR 2,41-42.
6. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 524.
7. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 528.
8. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 539-540.
9. SNR 2,42.
10. BAR IV, 756-770; See also ZÄS 45,1-7.
11. SNR 2,43-4; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 532.
12. SNR 2,43.
13. Macadam, Kawa I, 127-8.
14. BIFAO 12,138. Reisner places this man as No. VIII in his list of "officials whose position is uncertain in Ethiopia": JEA 6,75.
15. Rec. Trav. 39,223-225.
16. Ed. Meyer, Gesch. d. Altert. II (2nd ed.), 52; Budge, The Eg. Sud. I, 652; Hist of Ethiop. I, 25; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 523-4.
17. SNR 2,43.
18. JEA 5,61-64.
19. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 569-570. There is no real basis for Reisner's assumption that the Napatans were of Libyan origin.
20. Hølscher, Liby. u. Ag., 68.
21. Stela of Pi'ankhi, lines 149ff = Urk III, 54.
22. Hølscher, op. cit., 46.

23. See Hølscher, ibid.
24. Arkell in his review of Macadam, "The Temples of Kawa I", in JEA 37,115 suggests that Alara and Kashta were, more probably, hereditary Egyptianized chiefs "and probably descended from the chiefs of Kerma".
25. C.f. Reisner, in SNR 2,44; Macadam, op. cit., 121 n. 2; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 569ff; Jean Leclan-Jean Yoyotte, in BIFAO 51,17ff and in particular pp. 24ff.
26. See Dows Dunham, El Kurru, 121ff.
27. Dows Dunham, "Notes on the History of Kush (850 B.C. - A.D. 350)", in American Journal of Archaeology 50 (1946), 382; See also Reisner, in SNR 2,238ff.
28. SNR 2,246; Dows Dunham, El Kurru, passim.
29. SNR 2,247.
30. Macadam, Kawa I, 123; But c.f. ibid pp. 127-8, where he assumes that Alara was the brother and predecessor of Kashta. Reisner had placed (Pi'ankhi) Alara after Harsiotef and suggested that he was the owner of Ku. I, but Macadam prefers to leave this tomb undated until further information is available: see Macadam, op. cit., 123.
31. SNR 2,248.
32. SNR 2,248.
33. Urk III, 5,3-8.
34. Urk III, 6,6-9.
35. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 543.
36. Rec. Trav. 18,4-6; 25,190-193; Capart, Recueil de monuments égyptiens, 2e serie (1905), pl. XCII.
37. See for example Urk III, 20-21, 25, 27, 36-37.
38. Diodorus I, 65, 79, 94.
39. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 545; BAR IV 884.

- 40. Manetho, Sothis App. IV = Waddell, Manetho (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 247; Zeissl, Äthiopen u. Assyrer, 12; See also Budge, Hist. of Ethiop. I, 33-34; Macadam, Kawa I, 17 n. 19.
- 41. Zeissl, op. cit., 10.
- 42. Gauthier, L.R. IV, 15, 28 n. 5.
- 43. Zeissl, op. cit., 15.
- 44. BIFAO 51,9 n. 4.
- 45. ZÄS 38,51f.
- 46. The most recent edition of the Tanis stela and the additional fragments is that of Leclant and Yoyotte, in Kemi 10,28-37, where references to previous work are given. Taharqa's visit to Egypt is also mentioned in the Kawa stela IV, 7-9 (Macadam, Kawa I, pls. 7, 8, p. 15) and V, 13-16 (Macadam, op. cit., pls. 9, 10, p. 28).
- 47. Macadam, op. cit., 17 n. 19.
- 48. BIFAO 51,24, indicates that the actual coronation did not take place until Shebitku died.
For other documents c.f. ASA 4,178-180; Gauthier, L.R. IV, 31; ZÄS 34,115; Kawa I, 17 n. 17.
- 49. BAR IV, 892-896; SNR 2,48; Petrie, Tanis II, pl. XI no. 163.
- 50. II Kings, XVIII, XIX.
- 51. Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 547. The evidence for the assumption is not sufficient for the scene is on a fragment of a scarab and the representation of the enemies is missing. These may have been Africans only. See Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXXVIII, no 7.
- 52. Kienitz, Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens, 7.
- 53. Breasted, History, 552-3.
- 54. II Kings, XIX.

- 55. LD. V, 3, 4.
- 56. SNR 2,49; Budge, op. cit., I, 34.
- 57. SNR 2,49.
- 58. Senjirti stela, in Berlin: see Breasted, A History of Egypt (2nd ed. 1912), fig. 181; SNR 2,50; Zeissl, op. cit., 36 n. 180.
- 59. SNR 2,50. For the use of Nhsi in the sense of negro see above, p. .
- 60. C.f. Zeissl, op. cit., 41, 59.
- 61. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, II, 770.
- 62. For references to attempts to identify this place, all without any real success, see Zeissl, op. cit., 42 n. 212.
- 63. Dümichen, Historische Inschriften II, 48; Wreszinski, in OLZ 13 (1910), 385-399; BAR IV 901-916.
- 64. Zeissl, op. cit., 56, 59-60; SNR 2,51.
- 65. Zeissl, op. cit., 44; SNR 2,50.
- 66. See Luckenbill, op. cit., II, 774.
- 67. For the relationship between Tanwetamani and his predecessor see the argument of Macadam, op. cit., 121 n. 2; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 571.
- 68. Arkell, A Hist. of the Sud., 127-8. The importance of Memphis during the reign of Taharqa is indicated by various documents and it is possible that it was also the residence during the reign of Shabaka: see BIFA0 51,28.
- 69. It is probable that the Napatan authority over Baharia began in the reign of Shabaka: see Fakhry, in ASA 39, 641; Bahria Oasis II, 730.
- 70. See BIFA0 51,28 n. 6.
- 71. Macadam, op. cit., p. XII.
- 72. LAAA 9,75ff, 85ff.

73. SNR 2,52-3.
74. Arkell, A Hist. of Sudan, 128.
75. Urk III, 57ff.
76. Urk III, 66,6-67,4.
77. Urk III, 69,4-10.
78. Urk III, 77,8-10.
79. Luckenbill, op. cit., 776-8.
80. Kienitz, op. cit., 14-15.
81. Luckenbill, op. cit., 1174-9; Kienitz, op. cit., 17-20.
SNR 2,52.
82. Psammetichus declared himself king of Lower Egypt, probably, after the death of Taharqa. See Zeissl, op. cit., 49-50.
83. ASA 7,226-7.
84. ZÄS 34,116-117, Nos. 39-42; Nile levels on the quay at Karnak.
85. See Zeissl, op. cit., 13, 49-50; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 577.
86. Herman de Meulenaere, "Herodotus over de 26ste Dynastie (II, 147-III, 15)" (Leuven, 1951), pp. 16f, 150, discussed the origin of the Saite Dynasty and suggested that it was Ethiopian. This seems improbable, for Psammetichus ruled in the Delta while the authority of Tanwetamani was still acknowledged in Thebes. Moreover, Psammetichus, if he were Ethiopian, would not have been well treated by the Assyrians.
87. ASA 7,226-7.
88. ZÄS 35,16-19, 24ff; BAR IV, 935-8.
89. Dows Dunham, El Kurru, 3, 8; c.f Reisner, in SNR 2,55, 252 (Reisner attributed Nuri IV to Tanwetamani).
90. Urk III, 68-9.
91. SNR 2,55. For the reading of the name of the queen see Urk III, 59; Macadam, op. cit., 125.

92. See SNR 2,57-8; JEA 9,75; Macadam, op. cit., 129.
93. SNR 2,55.
94. SNR 2,56; Macadam, op. cit., pp. XIIIIf.
95. See Macadam, The Temples of Kawa (2 vols) (London, 1949-55); Dows Dunham, "El Kurru", Royal Cemeteries of Kush I (Boston, 1950).
96. JEA 9,75-6; SNR 2,57-62, 251-2; 5,194-5.
97. The fall of Meroe, as suggested by P.L. Shinnie, in Kush III, 82-5, took place shortly after A.D. 200. Though we can neither reject nor confirm this, for lack of sufficient evidence, it does not affect the order of the kings given in our list.
98. Reisner suggested, however, that the capital was moved to Meroe about 440 B.C., though the kings continued to be buried at Nuri.
99. AJA 50,386-8; SNR 38,7-10.
100. The most recent list of kings of this period is that of Arkell, A Hist. of Sudan, 169.
101. Reisner suggested that it was Pi ankhlara (?): SNR 2,58; JEA 9,75, but Macadam proved the identification of Pi ankhlara and Alara, the predecessor of Kashta. The evidence for attributing the tomb Ku, I to him is not sufficient and so Macadam preferred to leave that tomb unidentified. See p. .
102. Reisner suggested that the owner of Bark. XI ruled between Nastasen (No. 26) and Arakakaman (No. 28): JEA 9,63-7, 75, but the situation is uncertain: see Arkell, op. cit., 156-7.
103. The dates given for the reigns of Arakakaman and his predecessor are those of Reisner's chronology. Arkell suggests (?) 308-280 B.C. for Arakakaman and neglects his predecessor.
104. C.f. the identification of the burial places and the order of the kings from Reisner's No. 37 to the end

- of this section in Reisner's table in JEA 9,75-6 and Arkell, op. cit., 157-8.
105. It is doubtful whether he came to the throne; see Arkell, op. cit., 158.
 106. Crowfoot, The Island of Meroe, 9; SNR 5,178.
 107. Dunham, in SNR 38,6; C.f. Wainwright, "Iron in the Napatan and Meroitic Ages", in SNR 26,5ff and in particular pp. 21-24, 35.
 108. Reisner SNR 2,62 dated the event to about 440 B.C.; Dows Dunham, AJA 50,368-8; SNR 38,10, suggested 538 B.C. and was supported by Wainwright, JEA 38,75ff, Smith, Kush III, 24 suggests a date between 550-450 B.C.
 109. Kawa IX, 5. See Macadam, op. cit., 51, 54 n. 11, pl. 17.
 110. Urk III, 10-5.
 111. It is possible that the table of the sun mentioned by Herodotus, III, 17-18, refers to this temple. See Garstang, Sayce and Griffith, Meroe, 27.
 112. Garstang, Sayce and Griffith, op. cit., 26.
 113. Kawa VIII, Macadam, op. cit., 44ff, pl. 16.
 114. Urk III, 85ff.
 115. Urk III, 102ff.
 116. Urk III, 104-6; SNR 2,59.
 117. Urk III, 94-5.
 118. Mariette, Mons. Div., pl. X; Urk III, 108-113.
 119. L.D. V, 15a, b.
 120. SNR 2,59.
 121. C.f. Macadam, op. cit., 50-51; SNR 2,58.
 122. These people lived near Meroe and to the north between the Nile and the Atbara; Macadam, op. cit., 54 n. 12.
 123. Between Napata and Kawa: Macadam, op. cit., 58 n. 75.
 124. Most likely on the Argo Island: See Macadam, op. cit., pp. XIV, XV and the references there quoted.
 125. Macadam, op. cit., pls. 17-26, pp. 50-67.

126. Macadam, op. cit., 70ff.
127. Urk III, 113ff; Mariette, Mons. Div., pls. 11-13.
128. Urk III, 129,4.
129. SNR 2,63.
130. Macadam, op. cit., 72-81.
131. Emery, Nubian Treasure, 24; Firth, Arch. Surv. Nub. I, 5, 23.
132. SNR 2,56; 5,179.
133. Herodotus II, 30.
134. Wb. IV, 140.
135. L.D. VI, 98ff; Sayce, in TSBA 9,144ff.
136. Sayce, in PSBA 17,39-41.
137. Macadam, Kawa II (Text), 240.
138. Arch. Surv. Nub 1910-1911, pl. 29,1 = Cem. 131, Grave 1, (Firth, op. cit., 187), Cem. 120, 16 (Firth, op. cit., 155); see also Arkell, op. cit., 145 and n. 4.
139. Herodotus II, 161.
140. Legrain, Les Temples de Karnak, 140; Müller, in Archaeological Researches I, 22-23, pls. 12-13 attributed it to Psammetichus I, then in ibid II, 185 corrected his assumption.
141. Montet, in Kemi 8,39-40.
142. Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte, "La Campagne Nubienne de Psammetique II et sa signification historique", in BIFAO 50,168.
143. ZAS 29,28-30.
144. Urk II, 120.
145. See Macadam, op. cit., 47.
146. Macadam, op. cit., 75, 76 n. 12.
147. BIFAO 50,188.
148. For the most recent discussion of this point see BIFAO 50,189-90.

149. ASA 10,183-4; c.f Gauthier, L.R. IV, 53 (5, 11).

150. JEA 4,216-7; 6,251-3. See also Macadam, op. cit., 128; JEA 6,264-5; ZÄS 66,87-8.

151. If we accept the identification of dw-w'ḥ mentioned in Aspalta enthronement stela (1. 2) = Urk III, 86,4-5, with Abu Simbel = Gauthier, Dict.Geogr. IV, 115; c.f. above p.236.

152. BIFAO 50,203.

153. Berlin 13615 = Erichsen, in Klio 34,56ff.

154. Erichsen, op. cit., 60+61.

155. See Porter-Moss, T. Bibl. V, 221, 226, 249, 252, 254, 256 (6B, 3B, 4B).

156. Herodotus III, 25.

157. Strabo, Bk XVII, 5.

158. Josephus, Antiq. Jud., II, 102.

159. Diodorus I, 33.

160. Pliny VI, 7.

161. Ptolemy IV, 7.

162. Budge, op. cit., 94.

163. See Gauthier, Dict. Geogr. V, 215.

164. ibid.

165. Budge, op. cit., 104 dated the death of Nastasen to about 516 B.C., which disagrees with Reisner's chronology. The Napatan king who was contemporary with Cambyses' invasion is Amani-natake-lebte (No. 14).

166. Berlin No. 2268: L.D. V, 16, 137ff.

167. Herodotus III, 91, 97.

168. Jouget, Imp. Mac., 29.

169. Pseudo-Callisthenes III, 18; Haight, More Essays on Greek Romances, 2-3.

170. Dr. Ibrahim Noshy, Egypt under the Ptolemies (Arabic ed.), 17; see CAH VI, 532.

171. Bevan, A Hist. of the Ptolem. Dyn., 76.

172. Budge, op. cit., 109.

173. Firth, Arch. Surv. Nub. 1909-1910, 5, 21, 23.
174. Diodorus XX, 58ff.
175. ibid.
176. Urk II, 91, 6-10; Naville, The Store City of Pithom (London 1883), pl. 9 line 11; Brugsch, in ZÄS (1894), 74; See Gauthier, Dict. Geogr. IV, 176-7.
177. Budge, Hist. of Ethiop., I, 53.
178. Diodorus III, 6.
179. SNR 2, 59.
180. Greek writers and teachers lived in various countries; Simonides, for example, lived in Meroe for five years and wrote a book about Ehtiopia. An Indian king asked for a Greek teacher to be sent to him: see Bevan, op. cit., 244-5.
181. JEA 9, 42-3.
182. Sethe, Untersuchungen II, 59ff, 103ff.
183. Bevan, op. cit., 246; see also Arkell, op. cit., 158-9 and Weigall, Report, 37ff.
184. Roeder, Dakke I, 32ff; Arkell, op. cit., 159.
185. Ibr. Noshy, op. cit., 396.
186. Bevan, op. cit., 247.
187. Roeder, op. cit., I, 250; II, pl. 100 = Brugsch, Dict. Geogr., 844. C.f. also Sethe, Dodekaschoinos (Untersuch. II) 13, 18.
188. See Chronique d'Ég. 9 (1936), 531-2 with the authorities there quoted.
189. Chassinat, Edfou IV, 8, 1-4; VII, 6, 6-7; BIFAO 43, 102 n. 1.
190. Urk II, 217, 7-9.
191. P. Barguet, La Stèle de la Famine a Sehel, 33-37.
192. Bevan, op. cit., 293-6.

193. W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (Leipzig 1905), 111.
194. Roeder, Debod bis Bab Kalabshe I, p. 18, 37; Zucker, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche III, p. 1. The Greek text is published by Dittenberger, op. cit., No. 107.
195. Bevan, op. cit., 261.
196. Ibrahim Noshy, op. cit., 396, 398-406.
197. SNR 2,67.
198. JEA 9,69ff; SNR 5,187-9, 193-5.
199. C.f. Arkell, op. cit., 160-161; Dows Dunham, in SNR 38,8-9.
200. Strabo, Geography XVII, I, 54; Pliny, Natural History VI, XXXV, 4.
201. Arkell, op. cit., 161-2.
202. J.W. Crowfoot and F. Ll. Griffith, The Island of Meroe and Meroitic Inscriptions I (London 1911), 55; Macadam, Kawa I, pp. XII, 101.
203. C.f. Arkell, op. cit., 158.
204. For the fall of Meroe see above, p. 259 m. 96.
205. Garstang, Sayce and Griffith, Meroe, 4.

Summary and Conclusions.

The proximity of Egypt to Nubia and the Northern Sudan, their dependence on the river Nile, the largely similar climatic and physical conditions, have made it inevitable that the history and cultures of these lands should be closely linked. The early communities which settled on the banks of the Nile in Egypt and Nubia were of much the same cultural type. In Egypt the more favourable conditions led to a speedy development of civilization, power and wealth, whereas Nubian tended to remain a cultural backwater, and when the Old Kingdom reached the height of its power, Egypt's southern neighbours were probably still small nomadic or semi-nomadic communities culturally very little different from those of the Predynastic Period.

It is not until the end of the Old Kingdom that we first hear of larger tribal groups or petty kingdoms, and even then it is obvious that conditions were very unsettled. Inevitably there were struggles for power between these groups, but these had only small scale and local effects and there is no evidence of the formation of large and stable kingdoms as in Egypt. The Egyptians of the Old Kingdom were mainly interested in trade with Nubia and in this way Egyptians and Nubians doubtless came to know each other better. Nubians were also, perhaps, tempted by good pay to enter Egyptian service as guards, police and soldiers, and in other capacities as well, and throughout history up to and including modern times they have continued to find employment in Egypt.

Nothing is known about the relations of the two areas in the First Intermediate Period, but we may assume that small

unorganized expeditions for trade might occasionally have been carried out. The Nubian elements were still employed in the armies of the nomarchs and they played a great part in the struggles of the nomarchs with each other.

The Middle Kingdom occupied Lower Nubia and consolidated the occupation by a series of forts and the introduction of a system of administration largely similar to that of Egypt. Nubian gold was mentioned for the first time and thereafter became the greatest product imported from Nubia.

The relations between Egypt and Nubia did not cease in the early Hyksos Period, but towards the end, owing perhaps to the prosperity which was achieved in the Middle Kingdom, at least one independent kingdom was founded in Nubia, as can be understood from the inscriptions of Kamose.

After the Hyksos had been driven out of Egypt, the Egyptians conquered Nubia, in the late Eighteenth Dynasty the land was colonised, and the Nubians who were acquainted with the Egyptian culture since the Middle Kingdom were soon Egyptianized, so that most of the Middle Kingdom forts lost their importance. The Egyptianized Nubians shared in the administration of their country and some Nubian employees in Egypt itself attained high ranks. Nubian products played their part in increasing the wealth of Egypt and eventually these Nubian resources became of great importance in the internal economy of Egypt. Nubia itself became a part of Egypt, so that when trouble occurred in the reign of Ramesses XI, it was the Nubian troops led by the viceroy Panehsi who restored order. It seems that prosperity prevailed in Nubia during the New Kingdom and its wealth and power became as great as that of Egypt.

When Egypt was ruled by the Libyan family and then by other dynasts a Kingdom of Napata was founded. This kingdom

soon became more powerful and conquered Egypt. The occupation of the Napatans did not last long, for the conflict between them and the Assyrians resulted in their losing Egypt. Following the withdrawal of the Napatans from Egypt the relations between the two countries were stopped. There were henceforth only rare and relatively infrequent contacts between them.

After Egypt was diverted in her politics towards the north, a general decline, with only short intervals of revival occurred. The same can be said about Nubia, for while she maintained the relations which bound her with Egypt she rose to power and could conquer Egypt, but when she turned towards the south general decline in due course also set in.

Thus it seems that both Egypt and her southern neighbour could gain prosperity and power by being in close relations with each other. It is only natural that their proximity and their geographical conditions should have influenced to a great extent their history and forced them, for their greater prosperity, to maintain and develop these relations.

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PLATE I

PHYSIOGRAPHICAL MAP.

EGYPT AND NORTH SUDAN

scale 1 : 7500000

altitude in metres

1500

1000

500

200

sea level

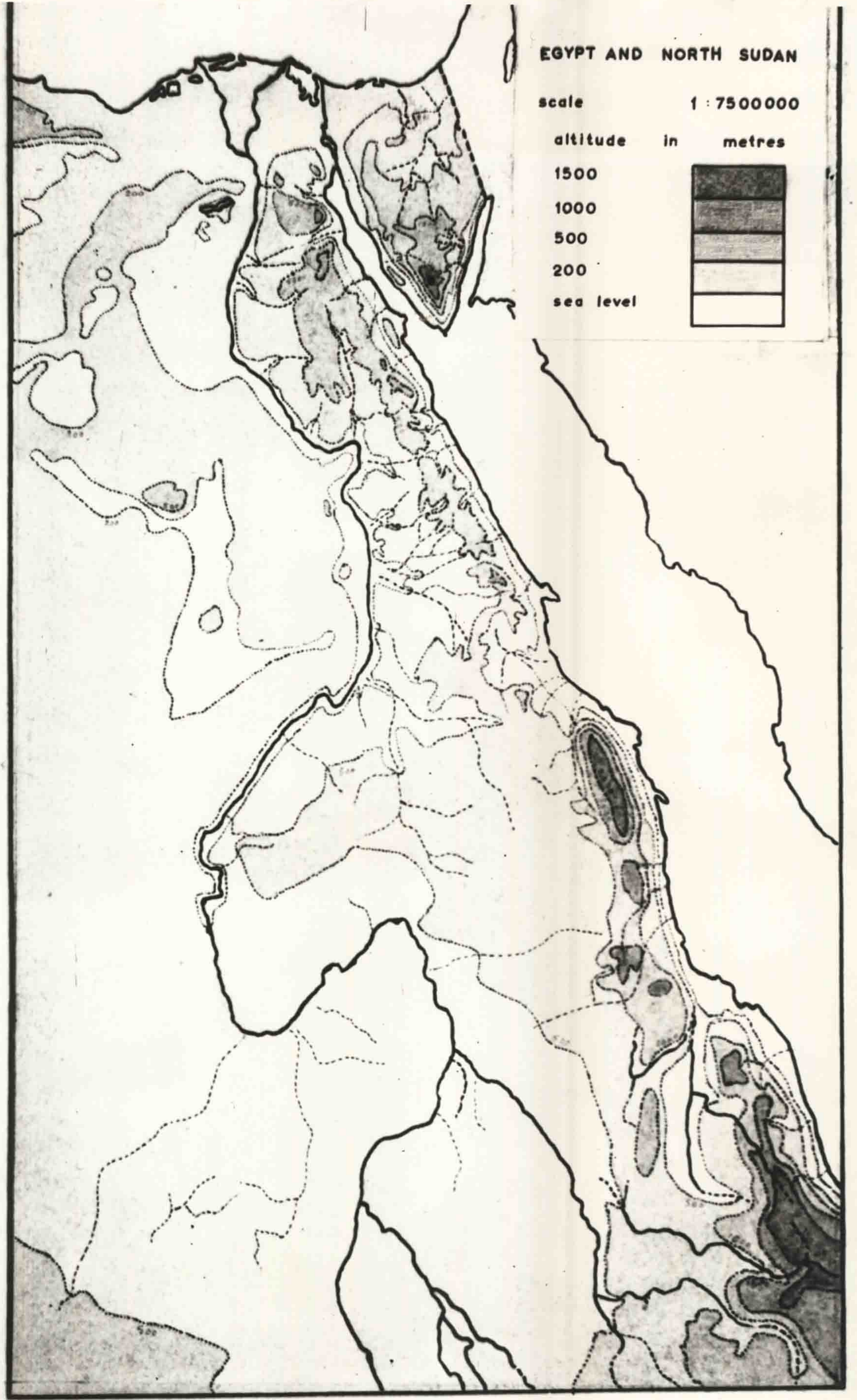
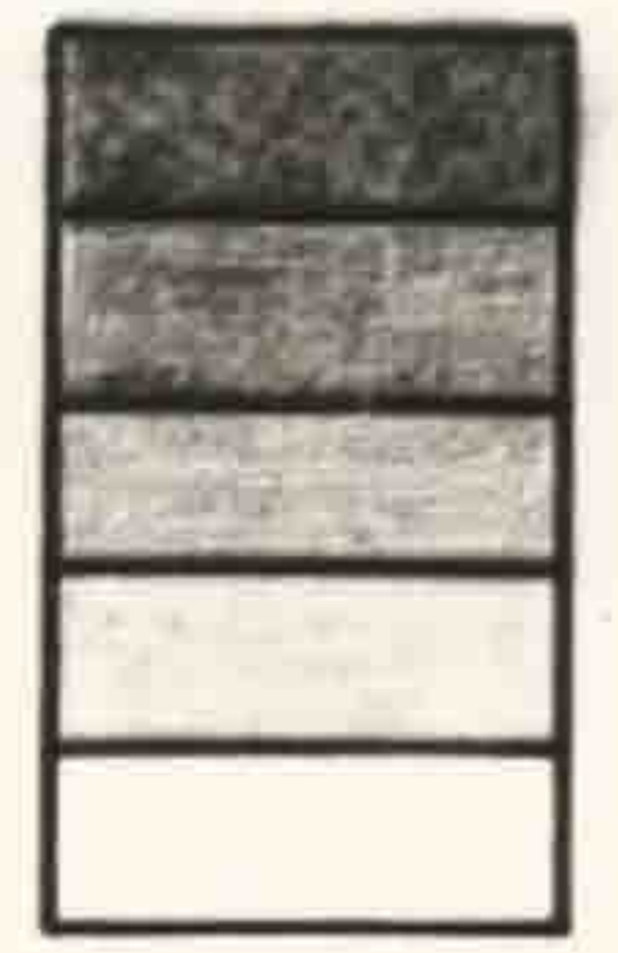
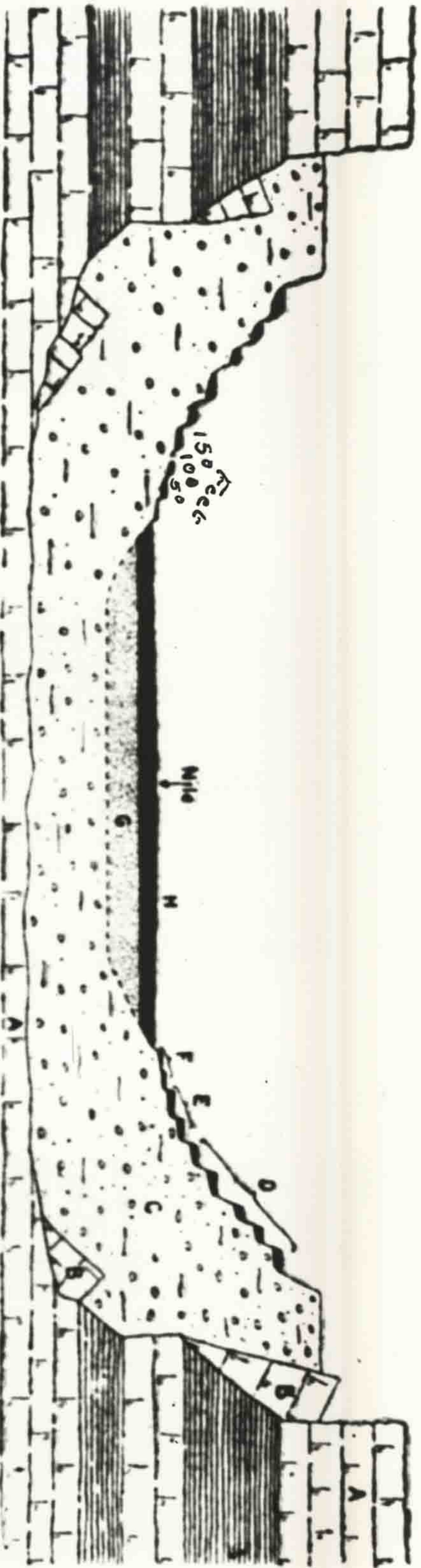


PLATE II

NILE TERRACES

After J. BALL "Contributions to the Geography of Egypt" p.42.



Pl. II—Diagrammatic section across the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt, showing river-terraces. A, Eocene and Cretaceous limestones and clays, in which the primitive rock-valley was eroded in Miocene times. B, Slipped-down blocks of limestone at sides of primitive rock-valley. C, Pliocene infilling of conglomerates, gravels, and sands. D, Late Pliocene and Early Pleistocene river-terraces. E, Early Palaeolithic river-terraces containing Chellenn and Acheulean implements. F, Middle Palaeolithic river-terraces with Mousterian implements. G, Concealed silts, sands, and gravels of Late Palaeolithic (Sebilian) age. H, Nile mud, forming the cultivable lands of the present-day flood-plain.

PLATE III

FORTS OF THE SEMNAH - WADI HALFA REACH.

cf. Kush III, p.9 Plan C, and Borchardt, Altag.Festungen
Blatt 2.

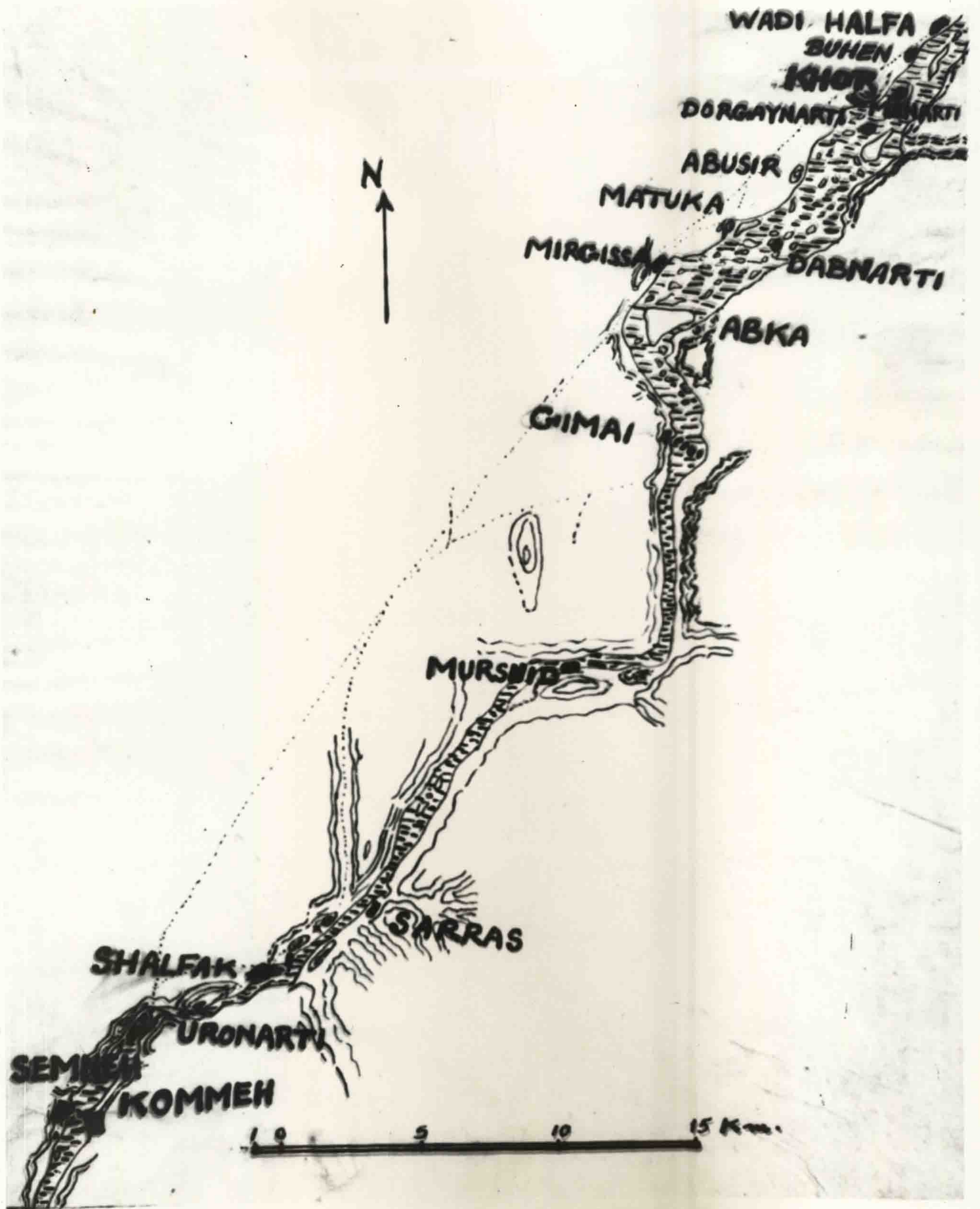


PLATE IV

AERIAL VIEW OF URONARTI

Kush III, Pl. XIV



PLATE V

AERIAL VIEW OF SEMNAH

Kush III, pl.XIII



PLATE VI

KOMMAH

After Borchardt: Altag. Festungen
Bl. 15.

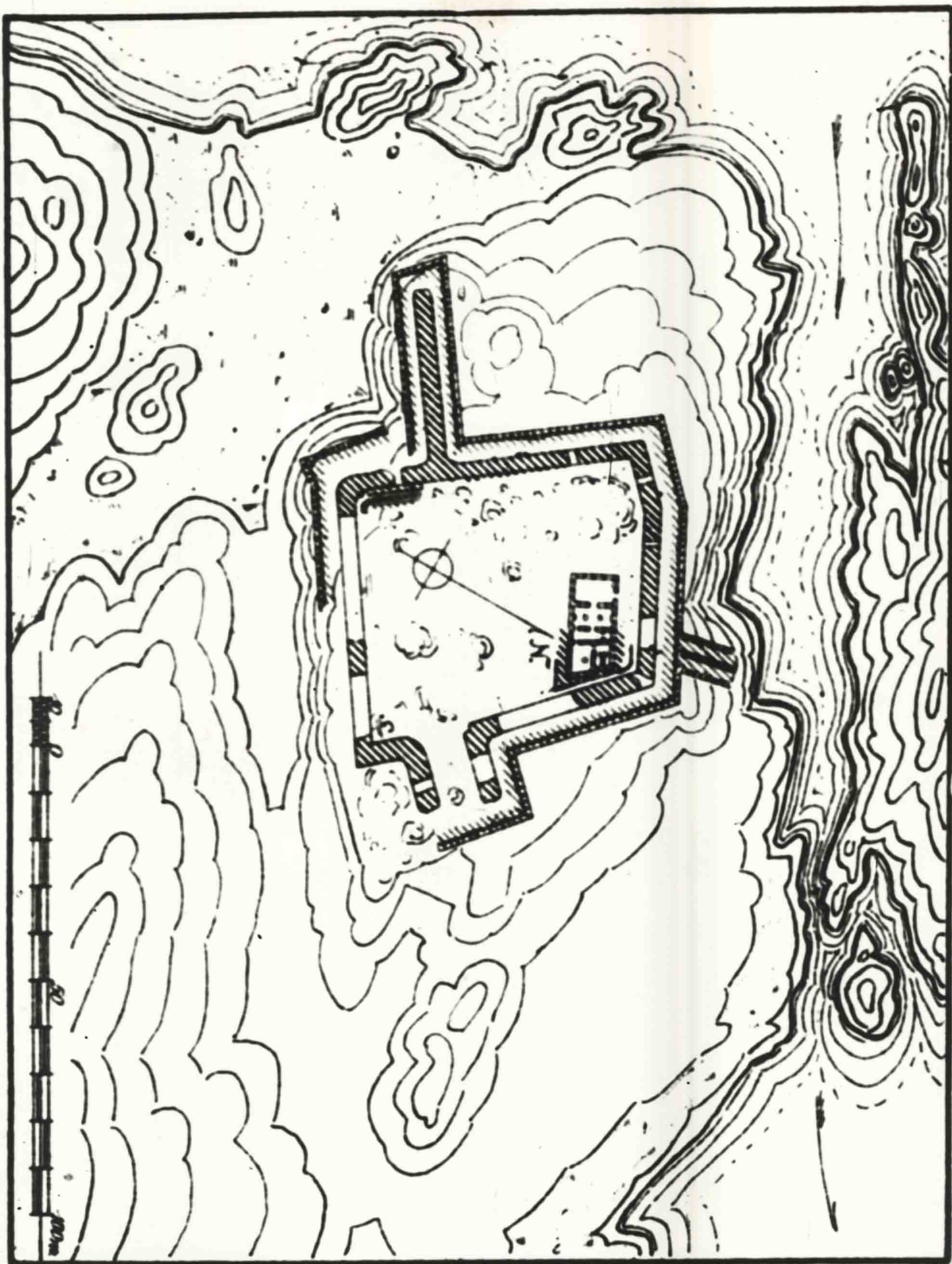


PLATE VII

URONARTI.

After Borchardt: Altag. Festungen, Bl.13.

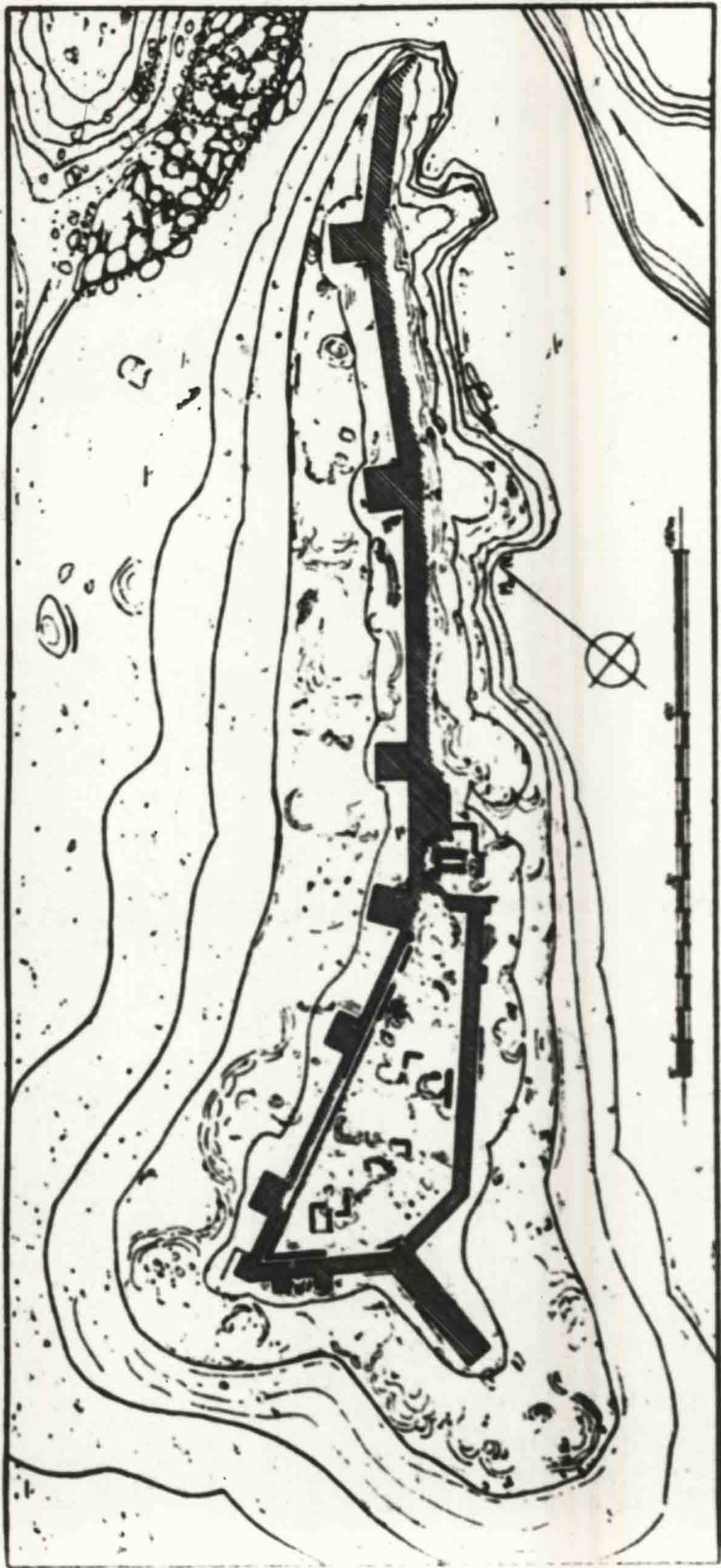
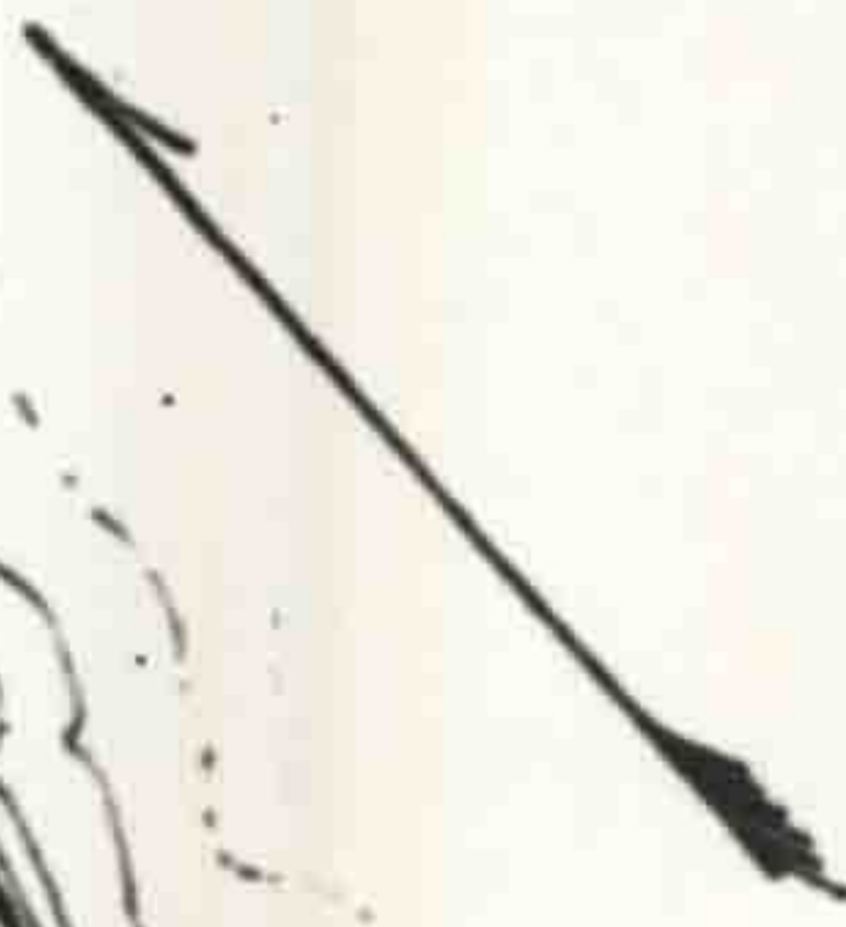
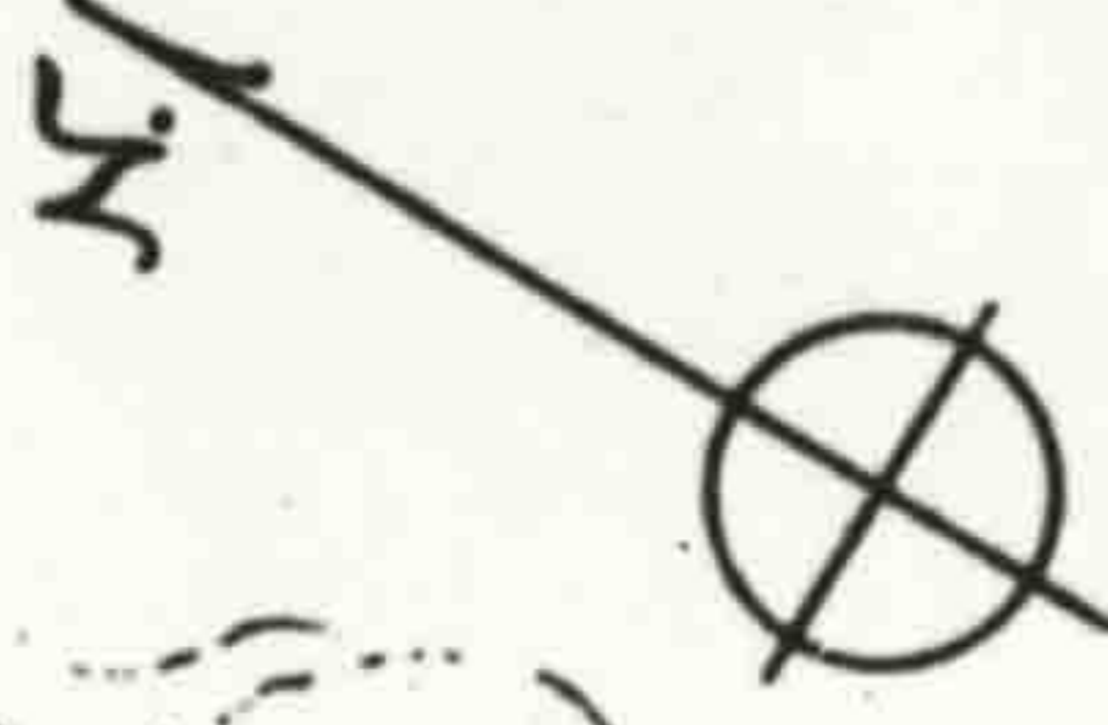
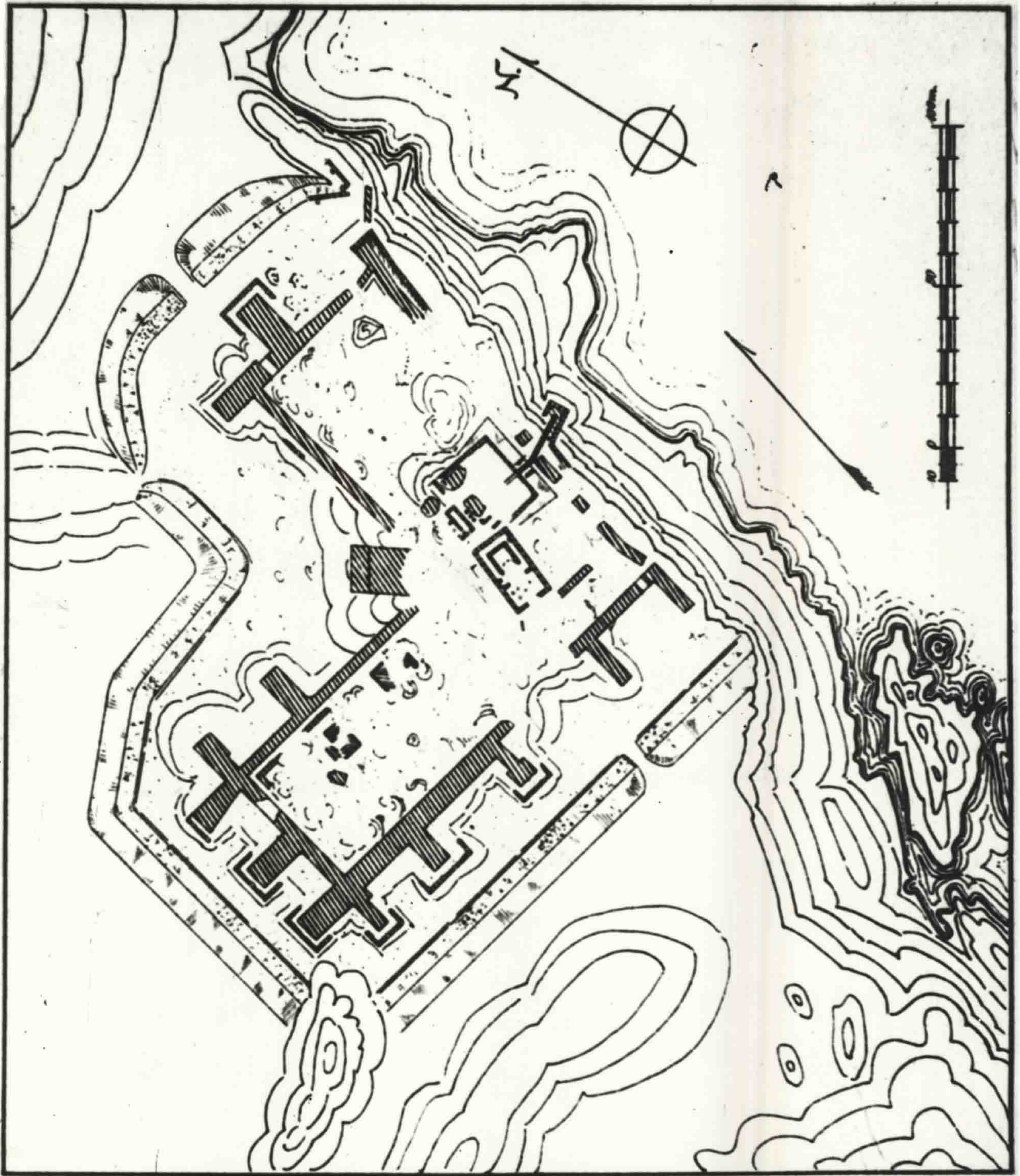


PLATE VIII

SEMNAH.

After Borchardt, *Altäg. Festungen*, Bl. 19.

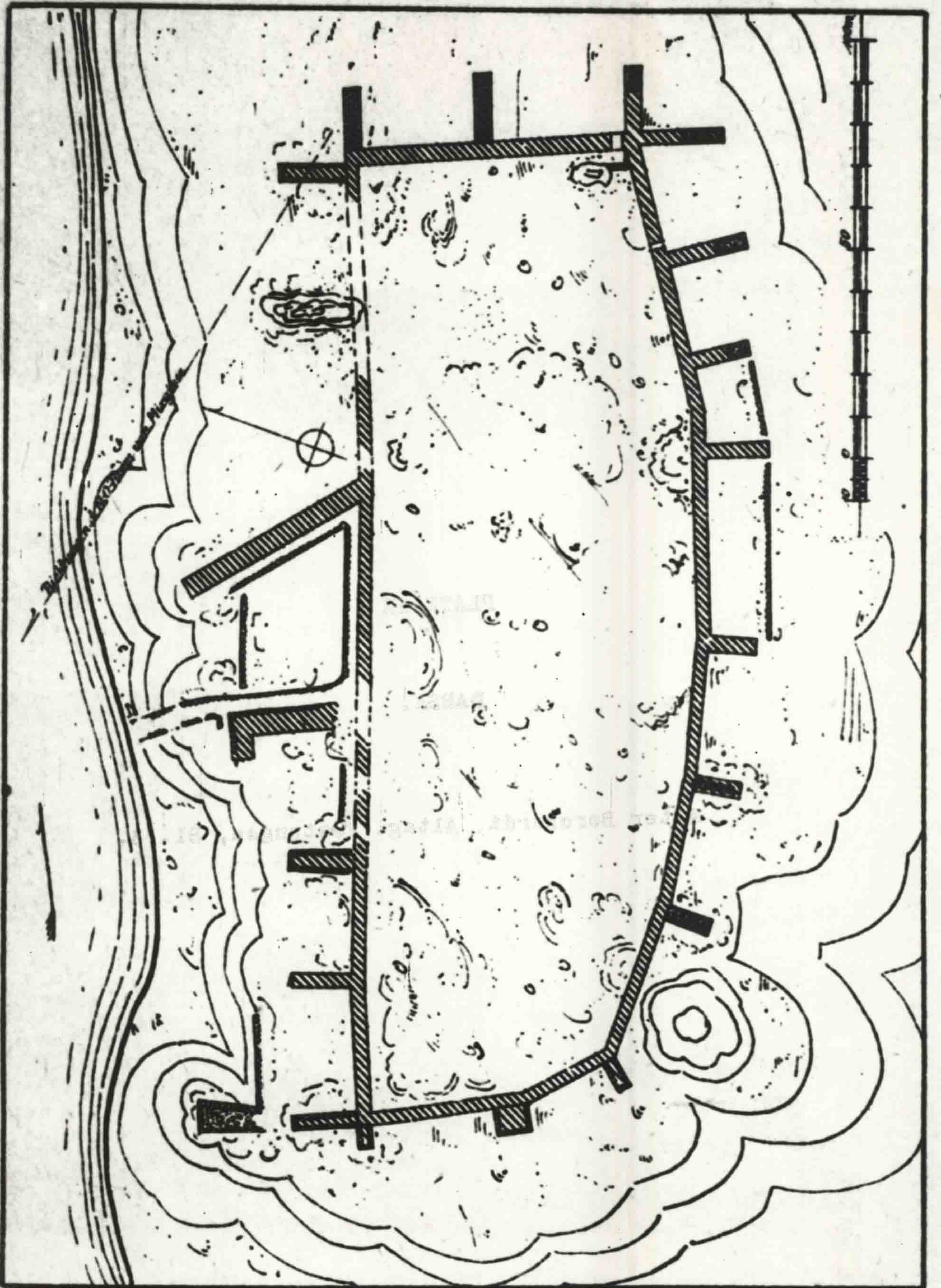


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PLATE IX

DABBA.

After Borchardt, *Alttag. Festungen*, Bl. 6.



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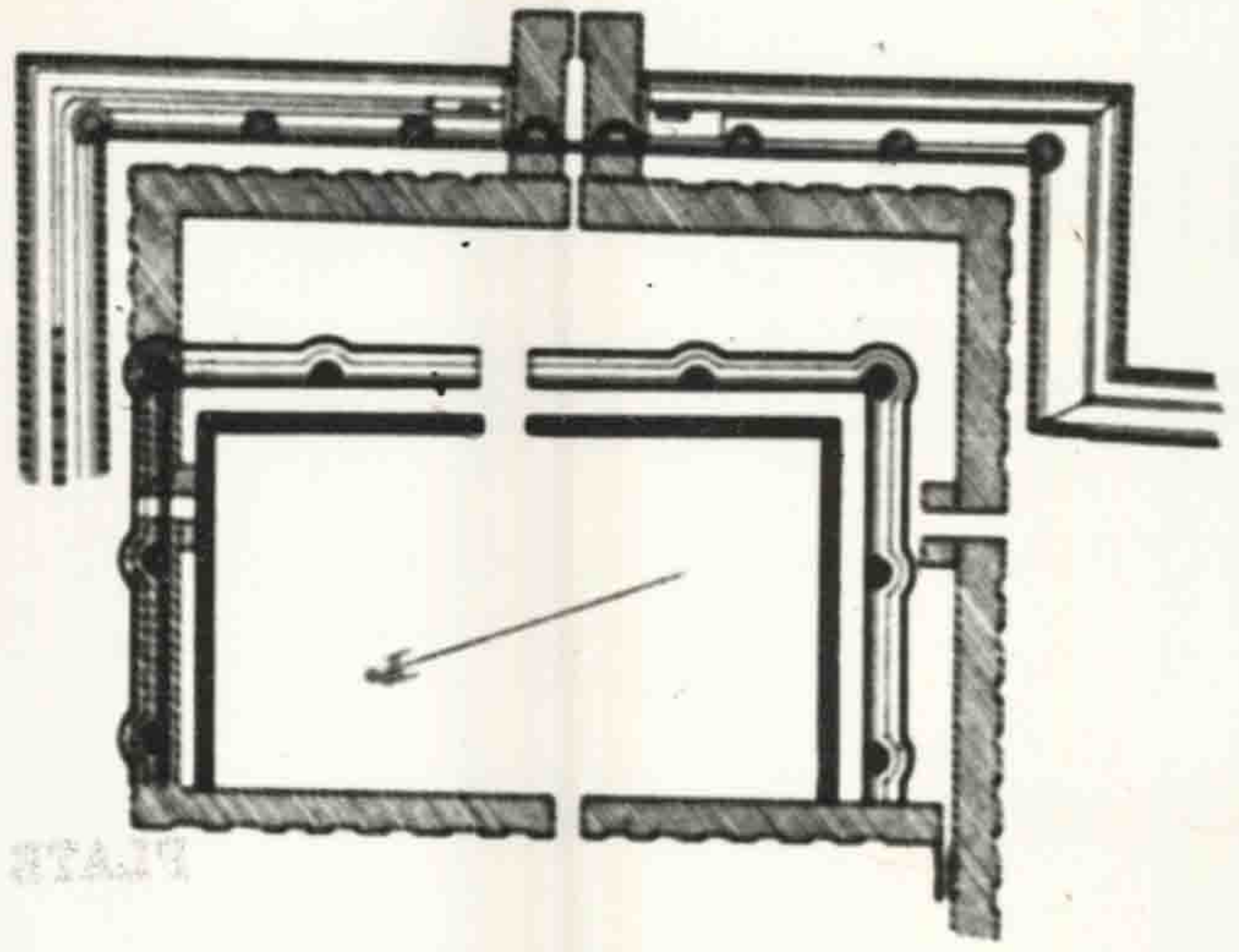
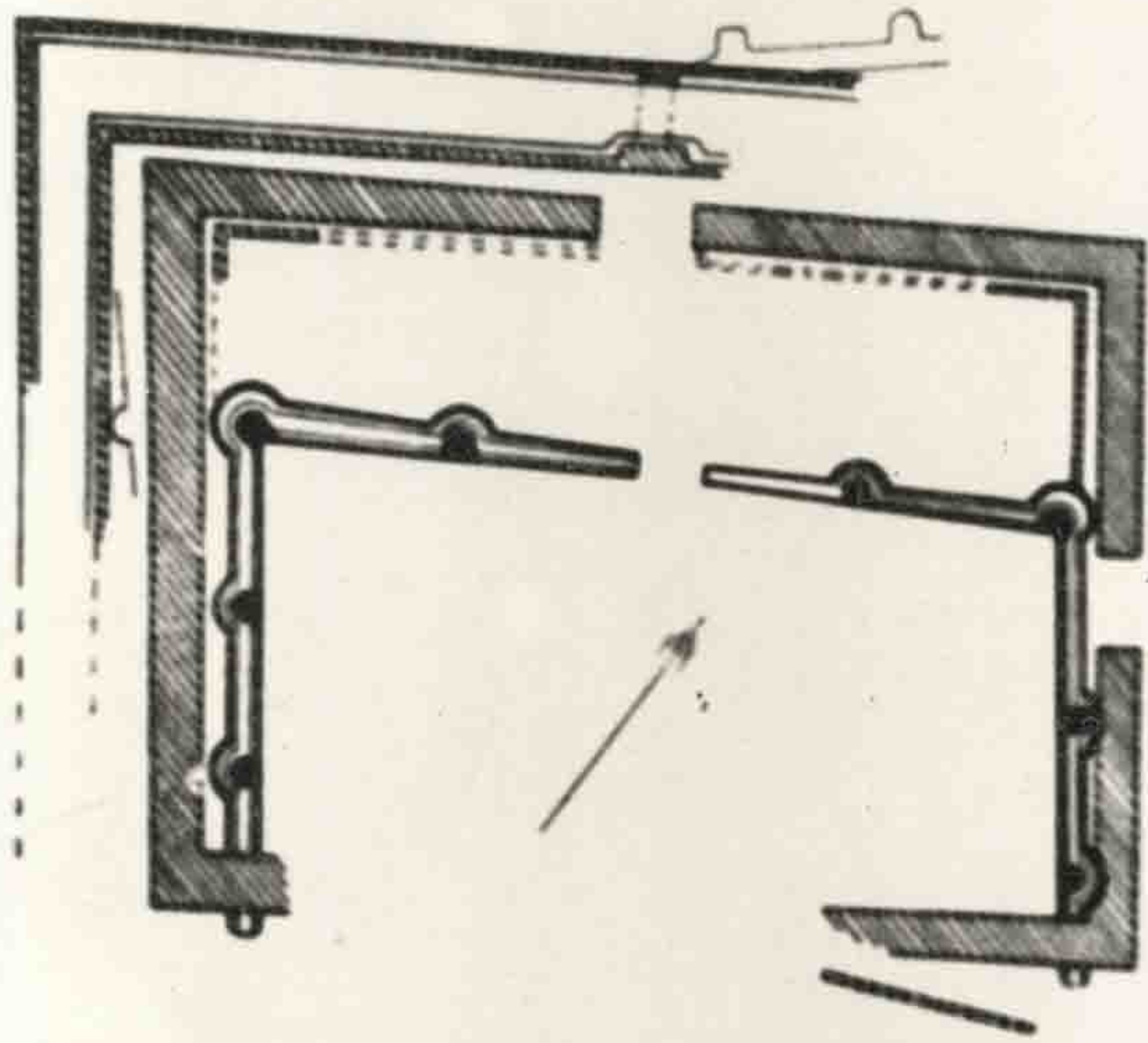
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PLATE X

IKKUR, KUBAN AND ANIBA.

After Save-Soderbergh, Aeg. u. Nub., p.31.



IKKUR

KUBAN

ANIBA

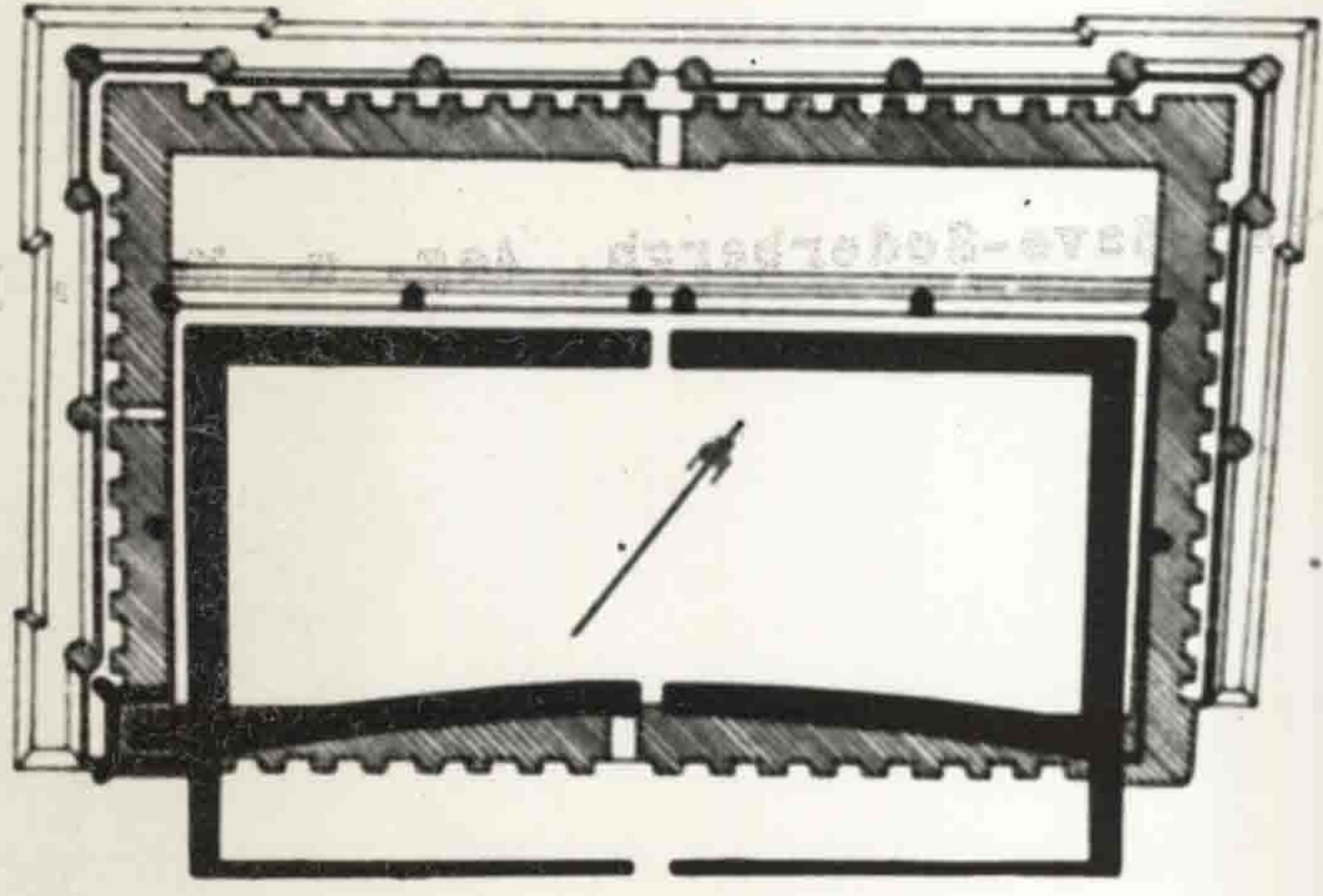
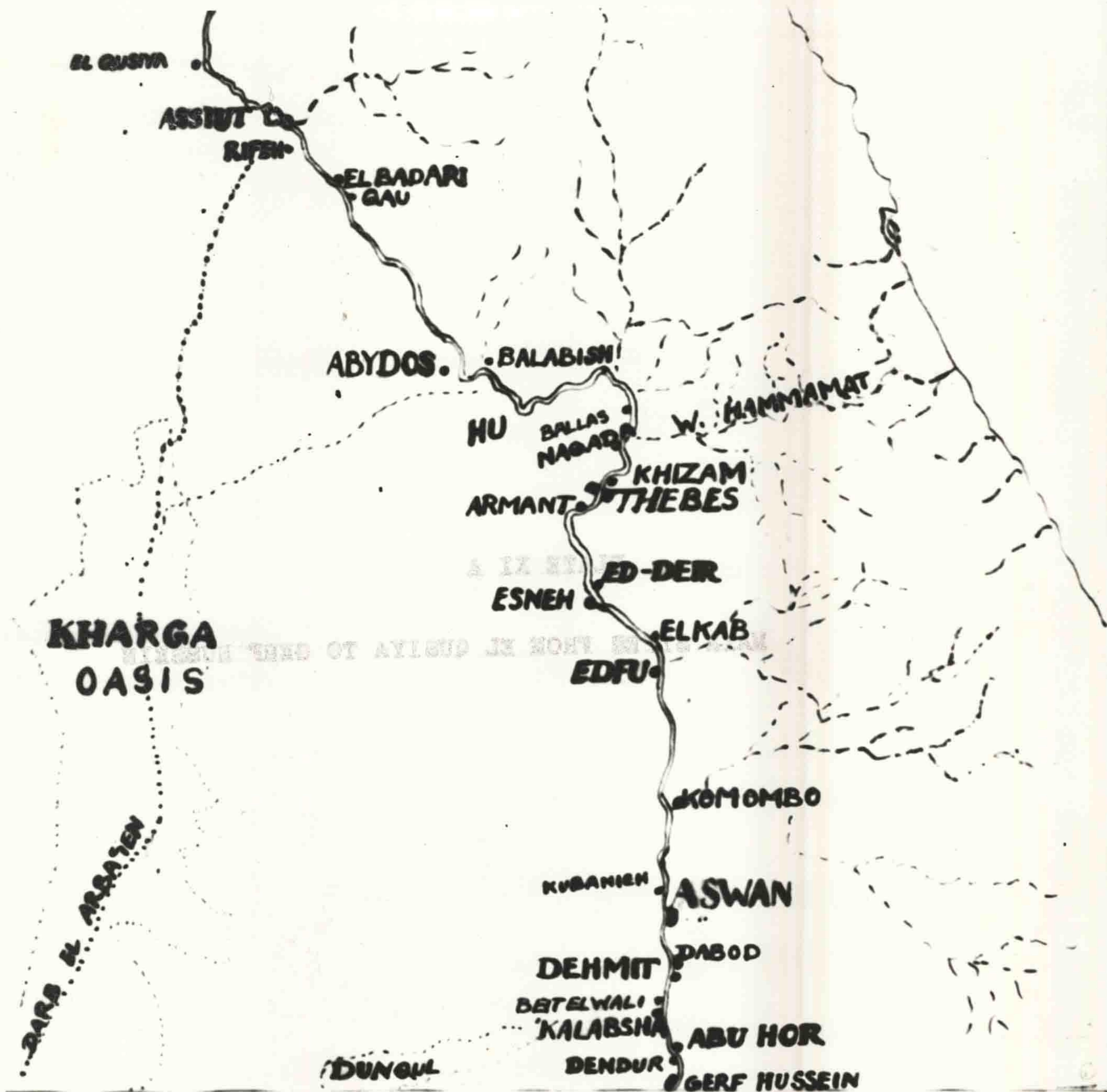


PLATE XI A

MAIN SITES FROM EL QUSIYA TO GERF HUSSEIN



Scale.

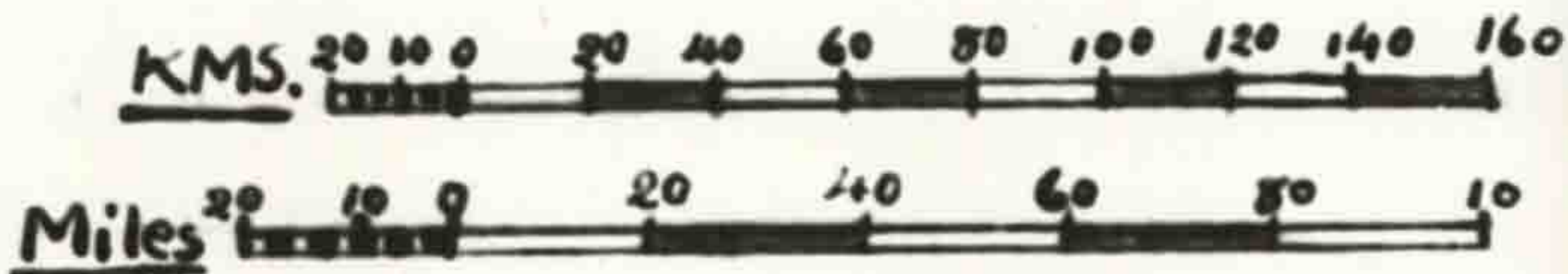
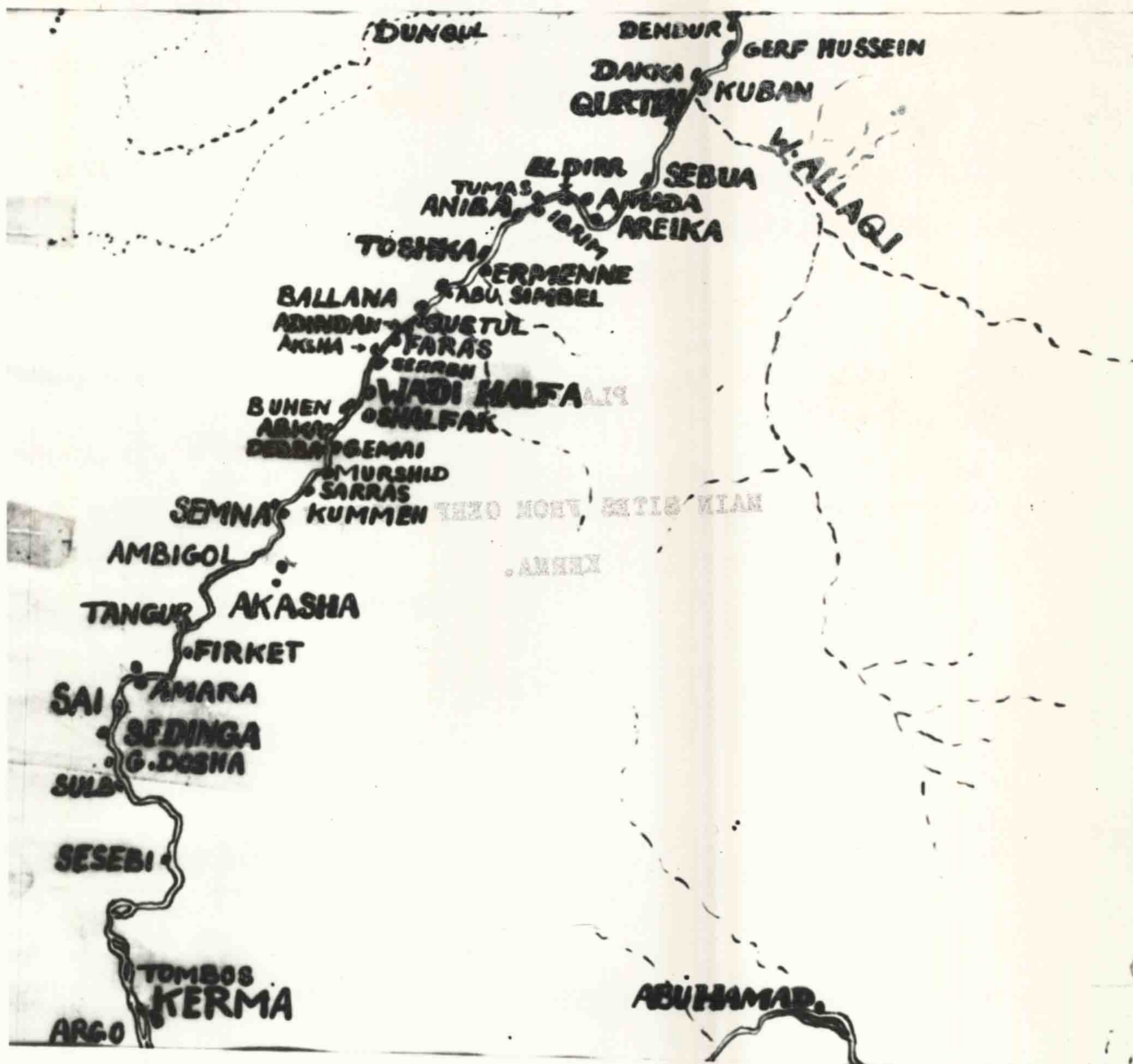


PLATE XI B

MAIN SITES FROM GERF HUSSEIN TO
KERMA.



Scale.

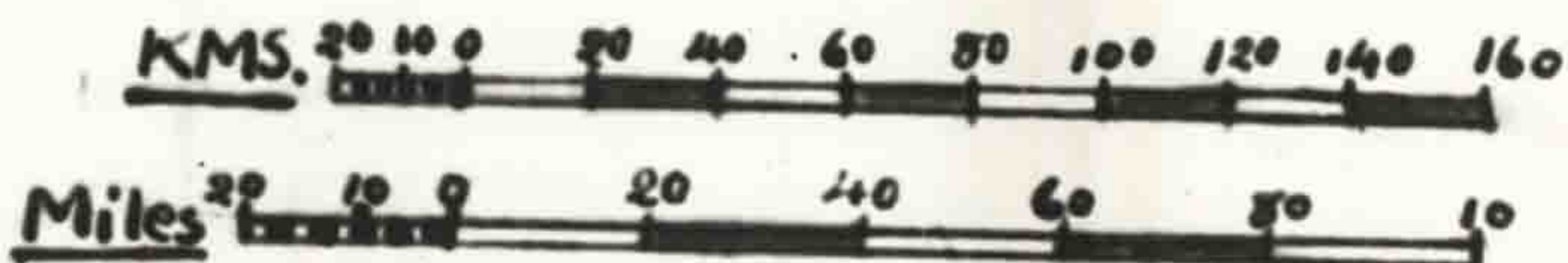
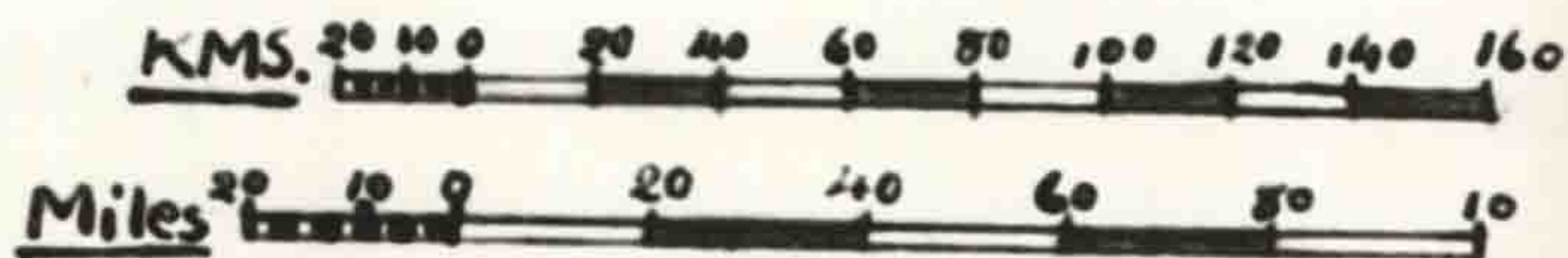


PLATE XI C

MAIN SITES FROM KERMA TO KHARTOUM.



Scale.



Summary

The present work deals with "The Relations Between Egypt and her Southern Neighbours in Pharaonic Times". It is limited only to the study of these relations and the main factors which had directly affected them, refraining from going deep into details of some of the theories which have no connection with these relations proper.

The work is divided into six chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by general conclusions.

The introduction refers to the earlier researches which have attempted to acquaint the modern world with the history of Egypt and the Sudan. Reference is also made to some of the Pharaonic terms applied to both areas and which may have some connection with their modern names.

Chapter I is a brief geographical outline, historic, physical and racial, of the Nile Valley in Egypt and the Northern Sudan. It shows how conditions in Upper Egypt were similar to those in Lower Nubia and thus produced similar cultures in both areas in the very early stages. More favourable conditions obtained in Egypt and a phase of development started, while in Nubia the civilization remained relatively unchanged. Reference is made to racial and cultural influences from adjacent areas.

Chapter II is a study of the cultures of the early occupants of the Nile Valley, in Pre-history. It shows how these cultures were affected by the civilizations of Western Asia. Archaeological evidence indicates that, at least in the last stage of Pre-history, there was no fundamental difference in culture between Egypt and Nubia. Perhaps the Naqada II people expanded into Nubia from Egypt, but there is no sufficient evidence that the inhabitants in

the two areas were in relation with each other.

Chapter III deals with the relations in Egyptian Early Dynastic Times. The Egyptian environment encouraged the development of civilization, while in Nubia there was no apparent development. The Egyptians, seeking raw materials for their industries, made the first contacts with their southern neighbours. Relations developed between Egypt and the southern neighbours and many of the latter were employed in Egypt. After that time they were commonly employed throughout Egyptian history. The nomarchs of Elephantine, who were usually the caravan leaders of the kings, were encouraged by their lords and some of them reached far south beyond the Second Cataract. The Egyptians did not conquer these lands, but they may have occasionally raided Lower Nubia and their commercial expeditions were most probably well guarded.

Chapter IV relates the conquest of Nubia by Egypt, begun in the Middle Kingdom. A series of forts was built and a system of administration was established. This conquest, however, was of great effect on the prosperity of the Nubians for they were able to exchange their goods with the Egyptians and to increase their wealth by rendering service to the Egyptians. Being in immediate contact with the Egyptian culture, by the end of the period they achieved a high standard of civilization.

When the Egyptians regained their independence after the Hyksos invasion, they turned towards the south. They colonized and Egyptianized Nubia as far south as, at least, Napata, so that Nubia became culturally a part of Egypt (Chapter V). Nubian resources were largely exploited and many Nubians who were employed in Egypt reached high rank. During this period also, Nubia with its resources played a great part in the internal politics of Egypt.

Egypt, after the New Kingdom, was ruled at first by a Libyan Dynasty and declined, while a strong kingdom was founded at Napata. This kingdom conquered Egypt and resumed the relations between the two regions which had been cut for a while, although the Egyptian culture persisted in the south throughout the period. (Chapter VI). A strong power, the Assyrians, appeared in Western Asia and a conflict between the Assyrians and the Napatans broke out. The Napatans were forced to withdraw from Egypt and each country turned its back on the other; Egypt was forced to direct her policies towards the Mediterranean and Napata turned southwards and eventually the Kingdom of Meroe succeeded her. Relations between the two areas ceased except for rare occasions, and the Egyptian culture was destroyed in both lands.

The striking feature is that, although Egypt was nearer to other countries in the Mediterranean region, it was closely connected with her southern neighbours for several centuries and both Egypt and her southern neighbours achieved high civilization and prosperity through their relations, while they lost these and their very independence when they were completely separated.

Whereas in modern times an important aspect of Egyptian interest in the Sudan is the vital question of the control and utilization of the waters of the Nile, in ancient times this never appears to have been a factor. In Pharaonic times Egypt's prime interests in Nubia were in her man power and natural resources, and in the trade routes to and products from the far south and the equatorial regions. It was Egypt's great concern to have a peaceful Nubia, whether independent and friendly or under direct rule and colonized by Egypt, and it will be found that the essential prelude to every period of Egyptian greatness was the securing of her back door.