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WEPWAWET

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Editors : Mark Collier and Mariam Kamish

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Editorial note:

To further discussion, the editors invite brief communications on articles which have appeared in *Wepwawet*. We regret that at present we cannot extend an open invitation for articles. Applications, however, may be made by letter to the editors. *Wepwawet* primarily is intended as a forum for the work of researchers to post-doctoral level.

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Hpr and the 'raising' paradigm in middle egyptian by Mark Collier

In *Wepwawet* 2, (Collier (1986)), I remarked on the syntactic properties of the verb *hpr* in late egyptian, where it takes an omitted impersonal subject (\emptyset) and a propositional complement (prop.). I should like to pursue this line of enquiry by considering a rather similar syntactic behaviour exhibited by *hpr* in middle egyptian¹. For the purposes of this paper, I shall take middle egyptian to be literary and non-literary material considered to have been composed in the middle kingdom - this is to be taken as a practical rather than theoretical step.

The examples of *hpr* + \emptyset + prop. known to me from this corpus are;

- 1) Nef.1: *hpr.n.∅ swt [wnn A m nsw mnḥ m t3 r-ḏr.f]*².
(It) happened, however, that/while A was the 'beneficent' king in the entire land³.
- 2) Sh.S. 130: *hpr.n.∅ r.s [nn wī hn']*.
(It) happened, as for it, that/while I was not with (them).
- 3) Sh.S. 153: *hpr.∅ is [iwd.k tw r st tn]*⁴.
(It) will happen that/when you (will) separate yourself from this place.
- 4) Sh.S. 166-7: *hpr.n.∅ [rdi.tw.i hr ht.i r dw3-ntr n.f]*.
'(It) happened that/while I was placed on my belly to worship-god for him.
- 5) Leb. 9-10: *nn hpr.∅ m-'f [rwi.f hrw ksn[t]]*⁵.
(It) will not happen by its hand that/when it (will) escape(s) the day of misfortune.

Rather like its late egyptian counterpart, *hpr*+ \emptyset +prop. in middle egyptian has been the subject of some difficulty. In particular, this has centred (admittedly rather tacitly) on the analysis of the role of the propositional complement, reflected in the alternatives 'that' and 'while' in the translations of 1) to 5) above. Let us consider 2) a little more closely, a sentence where confusion has been particularly rife.

Erman and Sethe were rather unsure how to treat the propositional complement. Thus Erman (1906) p.16;

¹ As in my treatment of the late egyptian material, I shall attempt, in the main body of the text, to refrain from adopting a discussion within a particular formal framework. Indeed, where possible, I shall utilise terms familiar in current work on egyptian grammar. Without a prolonged introduction to such a framework (which I intend to present in my thesis), few egyptologists could be expected to follow and assess the discussion. However, I shall provide a formal account (based on GKPS GPSG) in an appendix for those interested in such matters.

² The variants have *wn*, see Helck (1970) p.3.

The opening of the story of king Neferkare and the general Sisene is somewhat similar (after Posener's reconstruction, Posener(1957) p.122);

FN1) ODM 1214,1 + OIC 13539,1: *hpr.∅ swt wn ḥm n nsw-bity [Nfr]-k3-[R'] s3 R' [Ppi]*
m3't-hrw m nsw [mnḥ m t3 r-ḏr.f ?].

(It) happened that the person of the *nsw-bity* Neferkare son of Re Pepi true of voice was the effective king in the entire land.

ODM 1214 is of 20th dynasty date (Posener (1957), p.122) and with Posener (1957) p.123 n.1, we expect *hpr.n.∅ swt* Compare the O. Liverpool variant of 1), Helck (1970), p.3;

FN 2) O. Liverpool 13624M,1: *hpr.∅ swt wn ḥm n nsw-bity Snfr[w*].

It happened, however, that the person of the *nsw-bity* Snerfer[.....].

which shows both the *hpr.∅* variant of *hpr.n.∅* and the *wn* variant of *wnn*.

For this (literary) 'late egyptianism', cf. my comments on the beginning of the story of Apophis and Sekenenre in Collier (1986) p.16-17.

Since Neferkare 1 does not survive in a reliable middle egyptian form, I have omitted it from the corpus.

³ My translations are intended to convey something of the syntactic pattern of the middle egyptian original, not to be particularly idiomatic or contextually appropriate. Equally, I have picked standard translations of individual terms, so as not to detract from highlighting the syntactic patterns.

⁴ Gardiner (EG para.188) and Lefebvre (paras.585f) prefer to take the following *n sp m3.k*.... clause as the complement of *hpr*, instead of *iwd.k* Since nothing of importance hangs on this for our concerns here, I have selected the more concise option for convenience.

⁵ Early treatments, such as Erman (1896) p.19-20 and Gunn (1924) p.145(38), failed to recognise this sentence as belonging to this pattern. EG¹ para.188 n.4 is the earliest reference that I have found. See Faulkner (1956) p.31 n.9 for arguments that 5) should be treated as belonging to this pattern.

6) 'Es geschah, daß(?) ich nicht mit den Verbrannten(?) war.'
and Sethe (1907) p.84;

7) 'Es geschah aber, daß (oder als?) ich nicht dabei war.'
a position still maintained by Edel (1959) p.20;

8) 'Es geschah, während ich nicht (dabei=) bei ihnen war.'
with footnote one;

9) 'Oder mit Gunn, Studies S.138 Anm.2: "es geschah, daß ich nicht bei ihnen war".
nn wj hn'j wäre dann Subjekt zu *hprn*.'

Gardiner, however, considered the propositional complement to be the grammatical subject of *hpr* and thus to be a 'virtual noun clause' (EG paras.188 with n.4, 486 obs.1). For Gardiner, then, *hpr* predicates the propositional complement, as easily seen in the marginal english variant 'that I was not with (them) happened'; a position already foreshadowed in Gunn (1924) p.138n.2;

10) 'It befell that I was not with (them; *hn'* used adverbially).'

Gardiner considered this analysis applicable to all our five examples and was thus the first, as far as I am aware, to collect our examples together into a group. Gardiner had thus provided a principled analysis covering all five examples.

However, with the advent of the polotskian framework, Gardiner's analysis became untenable. The verb-forms in the propositional complement do not conform morphologically with those classified by Polotsky as 'that-forms', necessary for the propositional complement to be a 'noun-clause' subject to *hpr.n* (*dd.tw.i* in 4) and *rw.w.f* in 5) would be required, cf., e.g., Polotsky (1976) p.13). Equally in 2) the clause does not exhibit the necessary 'convertor' *ntt*, cf. *ibid.* p.13. Rather, they conform with the forms classified by Polotsky as 'circumstantial' or 'adverbial' (cf. Polotsky (1965) *passim*, Polotsky (1976) p.31-2)⁶.

Thus the propositional complement cannot, within the polotskian system, be the syntactic subject of *hpr.n*, it must be an 'adverbial' clause, and there is, presumably, a \emptyset subject. Such an analysis is specifically asserted by Polotsky himself; Polotsky (1976) p.22 translates 2)⁷;

11) 'C'est sans que je fusse avec (eux) que cela est lieu.'

which, as Polotsky notes, is based on Edel's main choice. More particularly, from Edel's two translations, Polotsky chose the one which reflected his 'adverbial' clause analysis; a translation with 'that...', favoured by Gardiner, would seem to be ruled out in principle.

However, there is a non-trivial consequence of Polotsky's choice. Suppose we consider a gardinerian and a polotskian style translation;

12) (It) happened, as for it_j, that I was not with (them).

13) (It) happened, as for it_j, while I was not with (them).

In 12) 'it' must refer to the same situation as 'that I was not with (them)', ie. 'that I was not with (them)' must be the thing which 'happened' - it is as though the propositional complement were the subject of 'happen', though it clearly is not syntactically ('it' is the subject). We shall refer to this referential possibility as the 'that-interpretation'.

However, in 13) (and the similar french translation in 11)) 'it' must refer to a distinct situation from 'while I was not with (them)'; the propositional complement is a simple adjunct, it cannot be the thing which 'happened'. We shall refer to this referential possibility as the 'when/while-interpretation'.

Similarly with the middle egyptian example, Polotsky has taken the 'adverbial' morphology of the clause to indicate an analysis where \emptyset refers to a separate situation (presumably 'going up in flames') than that indicated by *nn wi hn'*, whereas Gardiner took the propositional complement to be the subject, and clearly the thing which happened.

Let us now consider how appropriate either choice is for our sentences by examining them in context. 2) (obviously given the various translations over the years) and 1) allow, contextually, either

⁶ *Di.tw.i* might be expected in 4). However, in the same text we find;
FN 3) Sh.S. 77: '*h'.n rdi.f wi m r.f.*

Then he placed me in his mouth (+ following *sdm.fs*).

In view of the following *sdm.fs*, it may be unwise to treat this as a scribal error (cf. EG para.480). After '*h'.n* we expect an 'adverbial' or 'circumstantial' form, cf. Polotsky (1976) p.33. Since *rw.f* in 5) and *nn wi hn'* in 2) can readily be ascribed 'adverbial' status, it would seem reasonable to take *rdi.tw.i* as a writing of the (passive) 'adverbial' or 'circumstantial' *sdm.f*. For remarks on the inappropriateness of a prospective *sdm.f* (again with *rdi.tw.i* for *di.tw.i*) as the complement of *hpr*, cf. footnote 10.

⁷ Similarly, Junge (1978) p.43;

FN 4): 'Es geschah aber, als ich nicht dabei war.'

referential option (as I shall leave the reader to ascertain) and 5) occurs after a broken context⁸. However, both 3) and 4) are quite specific;

14) Sh.S. 150-4 : *n wr n.k 'ntiw, hpr.t(i) (m) nb snr. ink is hk3 Pwnt. 'ntiw, n-i-im(y) sw; hknw pf dd.n.k, 'in.t(w).f, bw pw wr n iw pn. hpr.ø is iwd.k tw r st tn, n sp m3.k iw pn hpr m nwy.*
'ntiw is not great to you, with you having become the lord of incense. I, now, am the ruler of Punt. *'ntiw*, it belongs to me; this *hknw* of which you said 'It will be brought', it is the great (thing) of this island. It will happen, now, that/while you will separate yourself from this island and you will never again see this island which will have become as waves.

It is rather difficult to see what 'will happen', unless it is the situation indicated by either or both of the following clauses; 'It will happen when you separate yourself.....and you will never see...' leaves the reader asking 'What will happen?' So a 'that-interpretation' is strongly indicated.

15) Sh.S. 166-7 : *'h'.n 3tp.n.i st r dpt tn. hpr.n.ø rdj.tw.i hr ht.i r dw3-ntr n.f. 'h'.n dd.n.f n.i...*

Then I loaded it into this boat. It happened that/while I was on my belly to worship-god to him. Then he said to me, '...'

If we take the 'while-interpretation' this surely entices us to consider the loading of the ships as the situation indicated by 'it'. Yet it is difficult to see how the shipwrecked sailor could both be loading the ship and be on his belly! To take *'h'.n 3tp.n.i st r dpt tn* as a paraphrase for 'I had them load it into this ship' seems to me to be a rather tenuous defence of the 'while-interpretation', given the pattern **'h'.n rdj.n.i 3tp.sn st r dpt tn*. There is no such problem if we take the 'that-interpretation'. Therefore, it would seem, minimally for 3) and 4), that the 'that-interpretation' is required⁹.

Thus these sentences present us with something of a dilemma. Contextually, (minimally for 3) and 4), all five if we consider them a group), they seem to require the propositional complement to be interpreted as if *hpr* predicated it (i.e. it is the thing which 'happened'), just as Gardiner suggested in his translations. Yet, Gardiner's analysis seems to be inappropriate, given the polotskyan framework.

However, Polotsky's particular choice of analysis for 2) does not seem to generalise across the group. Even if we deny that all five sentences constitute a group, 3) and 4) still remain unexplained. How can the propositional complements display 'adverbial' morphology, yet be interpreted as if they were the subject of *hpr*, as if *hpr* predicated them¹⁰.

I think we can resolve this dilemma, if we treat *hpr*, in these sentences, as a 'raising' verb, as I did for *hpr* in late egyptian in Collier (1986).

'Raising' is the term used for the following paradigm; I shall use english examples for the convenience of both the reader and myself;

16) Bill happened to like the odd pint. 'raised' pattern

17) It happened that Bill liked the odd pint. 'non-raised' pattern

From 16) and 17) we may note several descriptive properties associated with 'raising'. In 16), 'Bill' is the subject in the main clause, whilst in 17) 'Bill' is the subject in the complement clause. However, despite

⁸ I would suggest, though, that the surviving context favours a 'that-interpretation'. It is difficult to see 'what will not happen by its hand' other than its 'escaping the day of misfortune'. A translation with 'when/while' yields a poor sense in context; what 'will not happen when it escapes the day of misfortune'? Given the surviving context, the 'that-translation' seems preferable.

⁹ There is just the possibility that 'it' could be taken to be a vague reference to time, 'a time came about...'. This would not seem to generalise to 2), where, contextually, 'a time happened when I was not with them' seems rather inappropriate, since a particular specified occasion is involved. Nor to 5), where 'a time will not come about by its hand when....' seems singularly unegyptian. Equally, there seems little motivation for this interpretation in other occurrences of impersonal *ø* (cf. EG paras.123, 141, 145, 422.1, 486). It would seem preferable to pursue the 'that-interpretation' which covers all five examples and, on our analysis in the text, is well motivated.

¹⁰ Junge(1978) p.100 recognised this difficulty. For 4), his answer was to follow Gardiner and take the complement clause as the syntactic subject of *hpr.n*. On the morphology of *rdj.tw.i*, he remarked;

FN 5) 'd.h. *rdj.tw=j* ist nach üblicher Terminologie eine subjunktivisch/"prospektive", passive, "daß-Form"'.

However, I fail to see how the 'placing on my belly' can be 'relative future' or 'prospektive' to the 'happening' of this very same 'placing on my belly'. This seems to me to be wholly unacceptable and I cannot see Gardiner endorsing Junge's 'modernisation' of his analysis.

this, there is clearly a semantic¹¹ synonymy between the two sentences. In particular, in both sentences, it is as though the 'raising' verb 'happen' directly predicated a proposition 'Bill like the odd pint'¹². That 'Bill' is indeed interpreted as though it were part of a proposition formed with the predicative complement of the 'raising' verb in 16) is indicated by the predicative complement imposing collocational restrictions on the main clause subject, as if it were the subject of the complement directly (cf. its synonym counterpart). Compare;

18) ! The door happened to order a vegetarian pasty.

19) ! It happened that the door ordered a vegetarian pasty.

20) The door happened to shut.

21) It happened that the door shut.

Simplistically, it is clear that in 18) it is the inability (normally) of 'doors' to 'order things' which makes this sentence semantically anomalous, just as in 19). In 20) 'doors' can 'shut', so there is no anomaly, just as in 21). 'Happen' does not influence this particular matter.

The task, then, in dealing with 'raised' sentences like 16) is to ensure that, as with its synonym, a proposition (a semantic entity) comprising the 'raised' subject and the predicative complement can be formed.

For the 'non-raised' pattern (and the proposition formed in the 'raised' pattern), we need to account for the interpretation of the complement clause as if it, itself, were the subject of the 'raising' verb, even though 'it' is clearly the syntactic subject of 'happened' in 16). This is connected with the reference of 'it' which is usually taken as a 'dummy' or 'pleonastic' pronoun, a syntactic placeholder.

To sum up, we have five descriptive properties associated with 'raising' - the distribution of the 'raised' and 'non-raised' subject; synonymy of the two patterns; the propositional interpretation of the 'raised' subject and the predicative complement; the interpretation of the proposition in both patterns as if it were, itself, the subject of the 'raising' verb; the reference of the 'dummy' pronoun - which we need to identify and account for.

Our sentences under discussion ((1) to 5)) clearly fit the 'non-raised' pattern. According to current understanding of verbal and clausal morphology, the propositional complement should not be the syntactic subject of *hpr*, rather we require an omitted impersonal subject \emptyset , which can easily be seen to be a 'dummy' or 'pleonastic' pronoun, a syntactic placeholder. Furthermore, 3) and 4) minimally, and all five, if we wish to present a uniform analysis, require that the propositional complement be interpreted as if *hpr* predicated it.

If we turn to the 'raised' pattern, middle egyptian differs from late egyptian (and english) in imposing a particular restriction on the predicative complement. Arguably¹³, this complement is restricted to prepositional phrases headed by Gardiner's 'm of predication' (EG para.38). For example;

22) Peas. B1 236-7: *iw.k hpr.t(i) m thw*.

(for) you have become a transgressor.

23) Leb. 114-5: *sn irr hn'f hpr m hft(y)*.

(and) the brother who used to act with him has become an enemy.

24) Sin. B92-3: *hrdw.i hpr m nhtw*.

(and) my children had become strong men.

Simplistically, *hpr*, in middle egyptian, seems to require english translations such as 'install' of a situation, 'come into being' of an entity or situation, 'transform into/become' of one entity into another, or the like. It is the last of these descriptive 'meanings' which is the particular domain of the 'raised' pattern. The

¹¹ I take a restricted view of semantics here, as that area of 'meaning' that has been formalised within 'truth-conditional' approaches such as Montague semantics. This is a practical step in accord with the particular choice adopted for the GPSG framework, which I am tacitly following. For the synonymy, the reader can readily see that if 16) is true, then 17) must also be true. This is not to deny that the two sentences differ in their appropriateness in certain contexts, or have different contextual effects- for example, the 'raised' subject clearly has greater 'topic prominence' than the 'non-raised' subject under normal intonation. However, I take these matters to belong to pragmatics and hence beyond the scope of this paper. For convenience, the reader may take semantics to be context-independent 'meaning' and pragmatics to be context-dependent 'meaning'.

¹² Hence the term 'raising', for, in transformational grammar, 'Bill' was (and still is) taken to be 'raised' syntactically from a complement clause to the main clause subject position in the 'raised' pattern 16). I have written a GB account of the 'raising' pattern paradigm with *hpr*, but I do not find it as satisfactory as the GPSG account presented in the appendix.

¹³ Sentences like;

FN 6) Nef. 32-3: *iw hrw hpr hr i3bt*.

Enemies have become in the east.

are a little difficult. Is *hr i3bt* a complement or an adjunct? I suspect the latter and so I prefer, for now, to restrict complement status (particularly predicative complement status) to phrases headed by the 'm of predication'.

compatibility of this 'installation (as)/come into being (as)/become' with the semantics of the 'm of predication' is readily apparent, for as Gardiner noted (attributed to a conjecture of Cerny in EG p.x), the 'm of predication' 'expresses what in logic is termed an 'accident' or aquired attribute rather than a permanent 'property' (EG para.38 obs.).

It would seem, then, that this restriction is to be seen as a parochial matter particular to the lexical semantics of *hpr* in middle egyptian (and not in late egyptian) operating within 'raising' considered as a cross-language phenomenon, and so I shall not dwell on this here¹⁴.

It is intuitively obvious that if A has 'come about as/become' B, then 'A is as B' has 'come about/become'; if A *hpr m B* is so, then *hpr(A m B)* is so (in the appendix we shall give a formal account of this¹⁵). Thus we have the 'raising' property where the subject in the main clause is interpreted as if it formed a proposition with the predicative complement, and that this proposition is interpreted as if *hpr* directly predicated it (for it is formally equivalent to *hpr(A m B)*).

Finally, if we take a pair exhibiting 'raising' most clearly;

27) = 24) Sin B92-3: *hrdw.i hpr m nhtw.* 'raised' (and) my children became strong men.

28) = 1) Nef 1: *hpr.n.ϕ swt wnn A m nsw mnḥ n t3 r-dr f.* 'non-raised'

It happened, however, that A was the 'beneficient' king in the entire land. and abstract once more from particular terms and 'tense/aspect' etc., we have;

29) A *hpr m B*.

30) *hpr ϕ (A m B)*.

Since we have already seen that, in 30), ϕ is to be taken as a 'dummy' pronoun (referentially 'empty') and that (A m B) is to be interpreted as if *hpr* directly predicated it, 30) is logically equivalent to;

31) *hpr (A m B)*.

which, in the last paragraph, we saw to be logically equivalent (for 'raising' verbs) to A *hpr (m B)*. Thus we have the synonymy required as the last of our five descriptive properties associated with 'raising'.

Hpr would thus seem, in its uses discussed here, to be rather amenable to an analysis as a 'raising' verb. We need now to provide a coherent analysis for 'raising' *hpr*, allowing a principled account of our five properties associated with 'raising'. Basically, our account will be a semantic, indeed a lexical semantic account. The following is an informal presentation of the formal account in the appendix (a GPSG account).

We have already noted that we wish to treat both 27) and 28) as if *hpr* were directly asserted of a propositional complement. This would seem to be a lexical requirement for 'raising' verbs, so suppose we assign a semantic lexical entry for 'raising' *hpr* such as;

32) *hpr* (proposition).

i.e. 'raising' *hpr* requires, minimally, a propositional complement semantically.

¹⁴ *Hpr* is a most interesting verb. Suppose we consider 'tense/aspect'. As far as I am aware, the pattern *hpr+ϕ+prop.* only occurs with *hpr* in a *sdm.n.f* form, even after *iw*;

FN 7) Merer 12: *iw hpr.n.ϕ di.(i) di.t(w) (it)-šm' n niwt.(i).*

(It) happened that I caused that one give upper egyptian barley to my

town.

This is rather interesting in view of the truth-conditional synonymy between the 'raised' pattern (which regularly exhibits *hpr* in the 'stative') and the 'non-raised' pattern (which seems to require *hpr.n.ϕ*). This would seem to accord with a wider generalisation, that *hpr* is capable of taking either a 'stative' or a 'circumstantial' *sdm.n.f* after *iw* (even though it is an 'intransitive' verb), which agrees rather well with a distinction between 'resultant state of an event' ('static') and 'event seen as a whole' ('dynamic'), to use familiar terms. The use of the 'stative' is well known, examples of *iw hpr.n.f* are;

FN 8) Les 70,21: *iw hpr.n.k is m sdit(y) hm.i.*

You grew up as a 'foster-child' of my person.

FN 9): Urk VII 1,8: *iw hpr.n rnp(w)t hkrw.*

Years of hunger came about.

I merely draw attention to this here. This and other parochial lexical properties of *hpr*, I hope to have time to study in the future.

¹⁵ Logically we can represent this;

FN 10) $\square(A)(hpr(m B)) \equiv hpr(A m B)$

i.e. 'it is necessary that A *hpr m B* is equivalent to *hpr(A m B)*'. If we convert A into a variable, we can say;

FN 11) $\lambda V \forall A \square(A)(hpr(V)) \equiv hpr(V(A))$

where A is a variable over terms, and V is the predicate (m B). There is a V such that for all A it is necessary that (A)(*hpr(V)*) is equivalent to *hpr(V(A))*. This is basically the 'meaning-postulate' diagnostic of 'raising' verbs for *hpr* (adapted slightly to conform with the restriction on the predicative complement) of Dowty(1985) which we use in the appendix.

This semantic lexical entry is the basis for our account of 'raising', it constrains how items can be related to *hpr*. Observed syntactic patterns must be compatible with this semantic lexical entry to allow a well-formed interpretation of these patterns.

For the 'raised' pattern to conform with this lexical entry, it must be interpreted with the predicative complement forming a proposition with the 'raised' subject. As a predicative complement, the complement requires, semantically, a 'subject' which it finds in the 'raised' subject. This 'tracking' is mediated by the semantically-driven process of 'control' with which the syntactic structure must be compatible (the details need not concern us here, cf. the appendix)¹⁶.

For the 'non-raised' pattern, the lexical entry cannot accommodate both a propositional complement and a separate (referential) term complement. Therefore, since it is required as a syntactic placeholder (as the subject in the main clause), \emptyset must be referentially 'empty', 'vacuous', for the syntactic pattern to be acceptable. The result is thus logically equivalent to a proposition formed by composing *hpr* with the propositional complement alone (given the 'intransitivity' of *hpr*).

Since both patterns are semantically interpreted (as constrained by the lexical semantics of 'raising' *hpr*) as *hpr*(proposition), synonymy is thus accounted for and we have our five descriptive properties.

So our original dilemma was illusory. By reference to the lexical entry, and semantics, we can interpret the propositional complement in our five original sentences as though *hpr* predicated it. However, we need not require it to be the syntactic subject of *hpr*, indeed in our analysis it is not the syntactic subject, just as our present, polotskyan, understanding of the syntactic status of the propositional complement demands. Combining our terms with Polotsky's, the propositional complement is the 'adverbial' complement of *hpr*. Thus we can treat all five examples as a syntactically homogenous group within a single principled account suitable to the contexts in which all five occur¹⁷.

We are now in a position to pass certain comments on current work on Egyptian grammar. It seems to me that current work (from which pre-polotskyite grammarians are not necessarily exempt) pays too little regard to lexical relations of individual words, equally to treat syntactic distribution without a proper regard to semantics. We have seen that to provide an adequate account of the syntactic behaviour of *hpr* discussed here,

¹⁶ Actually, in the formal account, the semantics allows composition to proceed as observed in the surface syntactic string, i.e.;

FN 12) (*hpr*(*m B*)) (A).

which by the meaning postulate mentioned in footnote 14 is constrained to denote, by entailment, the same as;

FN 13) *hpr*(*m B*(A)).

'Control' determines that the syntax is compatible with this (lexical) constraint.

¹⁷ I should give some indication of how I would prefer to translate and interpret our five sentences, taking the 'that-interpretation'. I shall still keep my translations from being wholly idiomatic. The reader will doubtless be able to produce idiomatic, freer renderings.

1) (It) had come into being in-contrast (to now) that A was the effective king in the entire land.

This initiates the story by setting the scene in the reign of A (king Sneferu), and is contrasted with the setting of the reader by *swt*. The following continuative clause locates the story in one particular (though unspecified) day in his reign. We are then led into the events of that day.

2) (It) happened, concerning it, that I was not with (them).

They burned up *without my being amongst them*.

The polotskyan parallelism still exists, since the second tense focus still rests on the two 'adverbial' clauses. *R.s* is a little difficult. Perhaps it is a situation referent, i.e. indicating relevance to the previous situation (cf. somewhat similarly Gilula (1977) p.79), or perhaps it refers back to *ht* 'the fire', i.e. the sentence is relevant to the fire. In any case, *r.s* makes 'my not being with them occurred' relevant to the previous situation (either as a whole or the flames in particular, not as EG para.252, 'emphasis of one kind or another'), there is no need to impose this on \emptyset (taking it to refer to this previous situation as Polotsky did).

3) (It) will happen, now, that you will separate yourself from this island and you will never see this island again, it having become as waves.

It is very difficult to give an appropriate translation for *is*, 'now' hardly does it justice. The serpent has stated his position that he is the possessor of goods like *'nyw*, and so the sailor's desire to bring him such goods is rather inappropriate. The sentence with *is* is a comment on this which wraps up the episode. 'As it happens', 'in any case' would work here and accord with the role of *is* as a contextual subordinator.

4) (It) happened that I was placed on my belly to worship god for him.

As in standard translations, the sailor has loaded his goods onto the ship and is stated in the text to be in a position of abeyance suitable for the serpent to speak to him, which is the next event recorded.

5) (It) will not come about by its hand that it will escape the day of misfortune.

Broken context, but once again, as in standard translations, the *ba* will not succeed in escaping, running away from the day of misfortune, difficulty by its own actions.

we have had to pay due attention to lexical entries in particular, and to semantics (such as the reference of \emptyset) in general.

Finally, the reader will no doubt have noticed the relevance of the 'raising' paradigm with *hpr* to the study of sentences with *iw*. In my thesis¹⁹, I shall be pursuing this issue, and quite probably in *Wepwawet* 4 as well. This will enable us to generalise beyond *hpr* and lexical relations to consider the adequacy of the polotskyan framework (and its variants or close cognates) itself.

¹⁹ Revised title 'A grammatical analysis of sentences with *iw* in middle egyptian.'

Appendix: A GPSG account of the 'raising' pattern for *hpr*.

To conclude, I should like to present a formal account of the 'raising' pattern with *hpr*. The framework I shall use is that of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (henceforth GPSG)¹ as presented in Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag (1985) (henceforth GKPS), for which there is a simplified introduction (for the syntax of GPSG) in Sells (1985) p.77-133. For reasons of space, I shall assume familiarity with GKPS, though I shall give a limited commentary (as well as page references to GKPS, and Sells(1985)). I follow the GKPS GPSG account closely (except for the semantics), even where such an analysis is in conflict with current conceptions of middle egyptian grammar. I leave it to my thesis to consider such matters further.

GPSG has only one level of structure, surface structure. The grammar is a set of well-formedness conditions on how grammatical information may be instantiated on local trees which make up surface structure, i.e. it gives a local account of grammatical phenomena. We may thus term it a local surface approach to grammar.

We need two lexical immediate-dominance (ID) rules for *hpr* (GKPS p.44f, p.119; Sells p.84f, p.96);

A1) $V^2 \longrightarrow H[1], P^2 [+PRD]$ 'raised'

A2) $V^2 [AGR NP [PLE]] \longrightarrow H[2], S$ 'non-raised'

These are related to the lexical semantics of *hpr* (and constitute what is often known as the 'subcategorisation frames' for 'raising' *hpr*). A1) introduces the V head and a predicative complement (a prepositional phrase, by stipulation we can restrict this to *m*). A2) introduces a V head which by the HFP and the syntax of control agreement must take a 'pleonastic' subject with a S complement. In the syntax these are simply stated by rule, it is the task of the semantics (in this case the lexical semantics of *hpr*) to relate the two entries for *hpr* and to form a locus for the account of the 'raising' pattern.

We also need a non-lexical ID rule to introduce sentential subjects (GKPS p.97; Sells p.89);

A3) $S \longrightarrow N^2, H[-SUBJ]$

To fulfill the well-formedness conditions on rule-to-tree projections (GKPS Chap. 5 p.99, particularly; Sells p.100f.), we need to satisfy the feature co-occurrence restrictions (FCR), the feature specification defaults (FSD), the control agreement principle (CAP), the head feature principle (HFP), the foot feature principle (FFP) and the linear precedence statements (LP). I restrict myself to matters directly relevant to our concerns.

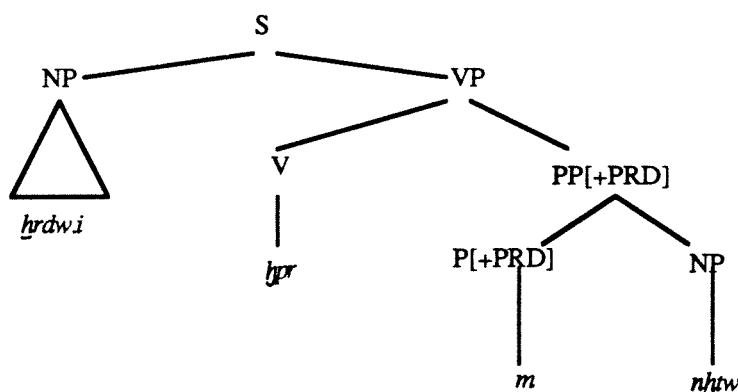
As yet our ID rules are unordered, so we need two LPs (simplistically);

A4) $[SUBCAT] < \sim [SUBCAT]$ (i.e. heads precede complements)

A5) $NP < VP$

We may now generate the following tree for the 'raised' pattern;

A6)



The structure is syntactically compatible with the CAP where PP[+PRD] is locally controlled by the subject NP. Hence the semantics of control can operate.

For the 'non-raised' pattern, we need to introduce the following meta-rule, which operates on lexical ID rules to expand the set of these rules. Since lexical ID rules are syntactic projections of lexical entries, meta-rules amount to operations on lexical entries (GKPS Chap. 4 partic. p.61-2; Sells p.93);

A7) $V^2 [-SUBJ] \longrightarrow W \Rightarrow$

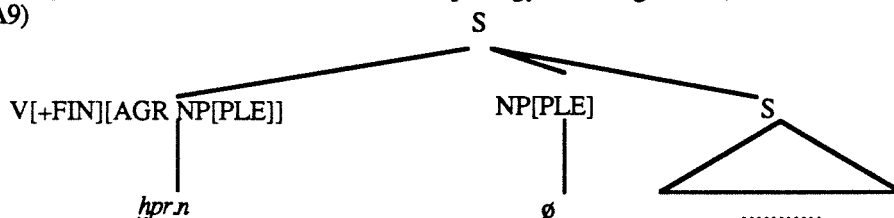
¹ I use GPSG since there is a thorough overview (GKPS) and an introduction (Sells(1985)). There are certain problems for this framework in dealing with middle egyptian. In more recent developments, involving what we might term a greater 'lexicalisation' of the grammar, these seem to be surmountable.

V2 [+INV, +SUBJ] \longrightarrow W, NP
and the following well-formedness condition;

A8) FCR 1m.eg. : [+INV] \square [+FIN] (modified from GKPS p.63)

This basically ensures that there are no 'finite' VPs in middle egyptian, only flat structures with S immediately dominating the verbal head, the subject and the complements of the head (and any adjuncts). Thus, since *hpr.n* requires the feature [+FIN] from its morphology, we can generate;

A9)



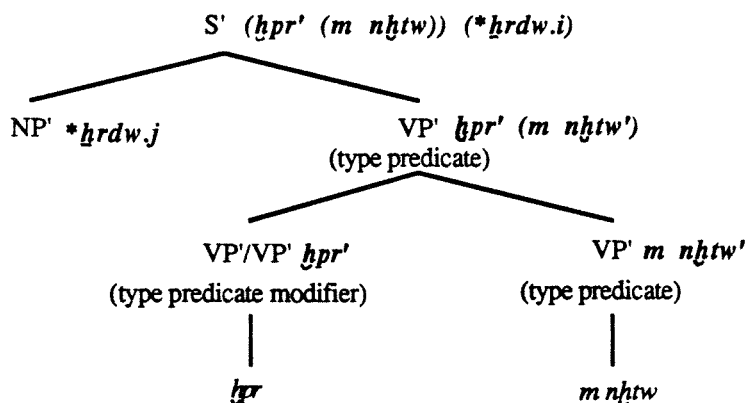
The CAP, once again, ensures that the NP subject must, syntactically, be NP[PLE] as demanded by the lexical entry. It is left to the semantics to relate the presence of both NP[PLE] and the S complement to the lexical entry.

For its formal semantics², GKPS GPSG adopts the general programme of Montague semantics (e.g. Dowty, Walls and Peters (1981)). This is an approach to the semantics of natural languages which developed out of the tradition of formal logic. MS adopts the so-called 'fregean principle of compositionality', which, essentially, holds that the 'meaning' of a unit is 'composed' and 'predictable' from its constituents. 'Meaning' in MG is rather restricted as compared to the everyday use of the word (cf. footnote 10), it is 'denotation in a model' (GKPS p.7), that is to say set-theoretic constructs are assigned as semantic values (cf. Dowty et al p.12-13). Denotations are associated with syntactic categories (which, in GPSG, are complex feature bundles encoding such information as subcategorisation etc.). Complex denotations are composed within local trees producing interpreted local trees. In MS, denotations as set-theoretic constructs can be immensely complex. So, it is usual to translate syntactic expressions into a logical language called 'Intensional Logic' (IL) in dealing with the semantics. Here syntactic expressions are assigned semantic types (from which denotations are wholly predictable). Furthermore, types are sometimes represented with syntactic-like category labels with ticks, e.g. NP' is the type for NP (in IL [\sim XP(P(c))]) cf. GKPS p.205 n.8). However, this is only to be understood as a convenience, it is the proper IL types which are used in calculating composition. Equally, they are not to be confused or conflated with syntactic category labels.

The GKPS account of the semantics of 'raising' is not altogether perspicacious. Instead I have adopted the approach of Dowty (1985), which, in any case, is more in line with the general programme of GPSG.

For the 'non-raised' pattern, we can have the interpreted tree;

A10)



hpr' thus combines with *m nhtw'* (type predicate) to form a modified predicate *hpr(m nhtw)'*. This combines with the subject to form a proposition. A meaning postulate (taken by Dowty(1985) p.301 to be the defining lexical characteristic of 'raising' verbs) ensures that, by entailment, the predicative complement is directly linked to the subject. A suitable meaning-postulate for *hpr* is (after Dowty (1985) p.301);

² I have deliberately simplified the semantic account, avoiding or glossing over all matters not directly relevant to our concerns here.

A11) $\forall V \forall P \square [(hpr' (V)) (P) \equiv hpr^\dagger (V(P))]$ (cf. footnote 13 with its slight modification)

This ensures that the semantic composition in A10) is logically equivalent to the combination of *hpr* with a proposition and thus we have the necessary interpretation. Once again it is the lexical semantics which are the locus of the account, the formal semantics are simply constrained to be compatible.

For the 'non-raised' pattern, we need to deal with \emptyset . In formal semantic accounts to date, this has been treated as a 'distinguished constant Δ of the NP type' (GKPS p.221-222), which, for our concerns, we may consider to be referentially vacuous. Basically, then, we need to ignore it. This is done by vacuous lambda-abstraction. The lexical translation of V[AGR NP[PLE]] is given (after GKPS p.222) in IL as;

A12) $\lambda p \lambda P [hpr^\dagger(p)]$

When *hpr* composes with its sentential complement we get;

A13) $\lambda P [hpr^\dagger(S)]$

ie. 'there is a P [variable over terms] such that $hpr^\dagger(p)$ ' (is a well-formed formula). Since this expression needs to combine with one more term to produce a proposition, it is a predicate by type. However, the variable P cannot be bound (within the lexically determined frame $hpr^\dagger(S)$, there is no 'room'), so it must be vacuous to be well-formed. Equally, the abstract predicate can only combine with a vacuous term (Δ);

A14) $(\lambda P [hpr^\dagger(S)]) (\Delta)$

Since both P and Δ are, in effect, referentially vacuous, this is logically equivalent to;

A15) $hpr^\dagger(S)$

as required. That is to say \emptyset is not required on semantic grounds (as constrained by the lexical entry), it is only a syntactic placeholder.

So, once again, the semantics are compatible with the lexical entry; lexical relations necessitate for 'raising' *hpr* a proposition as its sole complement. Since the two patterns under discussion are syntactically and semantically compatible with the lexical entry, they are well-formed from the perspective of lexical relations.

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Egyptian barley: a reassessment by Christian Tutundjian de Vartavan.

A recent discussion of barley with a fellow archaeobotanist has brought to my attention the fact that archaeobotanists working in Egypt make little use of the ancient textual sources in their investigations in the field and therefore in general are not aware of what they should be looking for.

The standard botanical books¹ concerned with the taxonomy of ancient Egyptian cereals were produced with no direct access to ancient Egyptian sources. Egyptologists whose research has involved cereals have found it difficult to associate the various species named for them by botanists with the names from the ancient texts. As a result, the corpus of work in each discipline is vastly incomplete and the two fields essentially have been unrelated. This is evident from the lexikon entry for barley² which deals only very partially with species identification and nomenclature. It clearly is necessary to establish an identification of the nomenclature used by the ancient Egyptians for the various types of barley (French: orge; German: Gerste), members of the genus *hordeum*. Archaeobotany in Egypt has just begun. It can make a great contribution to our understanding of ancient agriculture, its implications for daily subsistence, trade, foreign and local, and medicine.

The Egyptians distinguished several types of cereals by colour. In the precise identification of species, colour is of little relevance, as variations of colour may be controlled by a single gene and thus specimens of a single species may vary in colour. It nevertheless is possible that peculiar colours of particular species of barley flourished most in various defined regions of Egypt. The evidence of texts, as well as field analysis, may reveal regional variations and needs investigation.

The scientific method of distinguishing the types of barley refers to the rows of florets per spikelet. Two main types are distinguished, two-rowed and six-rowed. In six-rowed barley, one spikelet consisting of three fertile florets is to be found on either side of the central rachis. In two-rowed barley the lateral florets on each of the two spikelets are infertile³. What is often referred to by specialists as four-rowed barley is in fact a type of six-rowed barley which appears to be four-rowed when viewed from the top. Unger, Körmicke and Schulz believed that they had found a four-rowed barley in Egypt. This so-called 'four-rowed' variety is a particular type which accordingly will need to be named. There is no true four-rowed barley⁴.

Černý⁵ pointed out that the existence of a rarely attested type of barley termed white, *it šm3*, was not surprising, as there was an *it dšr*, red barley, *bdī ḥqt*, white emmer⁶, *bdī dšri*⁷, red emmer and apparently also a black barley⁸. V. Täckholm believed that the white, red and black barley mentioned in the texts probably were forms of the so-called 'four-rowed barley'⁹. She does not provide an explanation or reference. Perhaps the white barley was upper Egyptian barley (see the passage in the Butler Merer stela below).

It also may be possible to postulate the identification of the red and black barleys. A. Schultz found a so-called 'four-rowed barley' (as well as a six-rowed variety) in the tomb of Ani at Gebelein¹⁰. Schulz called it *H. vulgare* var. *palaeoegyptiacum*. All of his specimens of *H. vulgare* var. *palaeoegyptiacum* were of a uniform red brown colour. *H. vulgare* var. *palaeoegyptiacum* may be the red barley of the texts.

Black barley apparently is attested¹¹, although I have been unable to find an ancient textual reference. It is possible that black barley was the ancestor of today's *H. tetrastichum* var. *nigrum*, (Willd.), a rarely cultivated

¹ Täckholm, V. and G., *Flora of Egypt*, Cairo, 1924.

Keimer, L., *Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, Berlin, 1924.

² Wild in Helck, W., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975, vol. 2, p.554-5.

³ see plate 1.

⁴ personal communication, Gordon Hillman.

⁵ Černý, J., 'The stela of Merer in Cracow', *JEA* 47, 1961, p.5-9.

⁶ Černý, *op. cit.*, p.8., but not, as Černý believed, to be confused with spelt. References to 'spelt (Triticum spelta) wheat' sometimes are found, but it generally is agreed by botanists and archaeologists that spelt was not grown in Egypt in pharaonic times. The correct name for the wheat then grown is 'emmer', *Triticum dicoccum*. cf. *AEO*, p.221*.

⁷ Wild, H., 'Brasserie et panification ou tombeau de Ti', *BIFAO* 64, Cairo, 1966, p.99.

⁸ Täckholm, *op. cit.*, p.287.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

so-called four-rowed barley with black ears. This variety is known in arabic as شعير أسود 'sha'ir iswid', i.e. 'black barley'.

sh.t is a type of cereal often mentioned in medical texts¹². V. Täckholm pointed out that *sh.t* was sometimes referred to as 'white and black' and that it was used to make cakes and beer. She suggested that it might have been barley¹³. R. Germer has tried to substantiate this theory in her thesis¹⁴. She says that the word *sh.t* is inscribed upon the lid of a vessel from a tomb in Kubbet el Hawa. Remains of the six-rowed barley *Hordeum polystichum* Doll. ssp. *hexastichum* were discovered inside the vessel. This is a strong indication that the inscription referred to this type of barley, but, again, the egyptian demarcation of types (among the various species) does not always coincide with the modern one. Additional evidence is needed to resolve the matter.

With regard to scientific identification of six-rowed barley from Egypt, H. Wild distinguished two varieties, *Hordeum hexastichum*, just mentioned, and *H. tetrastichum*¹⁵. The distinction between the two varieties corresponds to the point of attachment of the florets on the rachis. The former being a straight type with dense spikelets and the latter a nodding type with loose spikelets. A. Schulz called the six-rowed barley which he found in Ani's tomb *H. palaeoparallelum* because of its resemblance to the modern *H. hexastichum* v. *parallelum* Kcke.

The Butler Merer stela¹⁶ contains the passage,

'It happened that I caused that upper egyptian barley be given to the town. I transported for it [the town] many times and gave a heap of white upper egyptian barley (*tt šm' hdt*) and a heap of *hmi*. I measured out for every man according to what he wanted.

This apparently is the only attestation of *hmi*¹⁷. M. Lichteim translates *hmi* as *hmi*-barley¹⁸. Her source is not quoted and there is no apparent direct evidence in support of this interpretation. The opposition, however, of *hmi* with *tt šm' hdt* is suggestive for it.

There is no doubt that *hmi* refers to a specific cereal. The sentence clearly contrasts two different cereals, whether barley and a second variety of barley or barley and emmer, einkorn or some other grain. *hmi* in the text is shown with the determinative (☞) which Wild has identified as referring to the unprocessed fruit as opposed to the ground product¹⁹ for which the determinative is three round dots (•••). From this it is clear that the opposition of *hmi* with *tt šm' hdt* is the opposition of two substances like in kind, rather than, for instance, an opposition of upper egyptian barley unmilled and milled.

It is possible that *hmi* is the two-rowed barley for which no egyptian name as yet is known, which Jackson believed that he had found in the Fayum²⁰, but this is mere conjecture.

The ancient egyptians may have had as many as eight different terms for barley, distinguishing several species of the same genus, a minimum of four and maximum of seven, if *tt mht* is regarded as another distinct variety of barley not related to the upper egyptian variety²¹ and if the controversial *bš3*²² indeed is another variety of barley.

There can be little doubt that with the very rapid progress of archaeobotanical studies the present article and its appended table will need considerable revision in the near future.

¹² Germer, R., *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1979, p147.

¹³ Täckholm, *op. cit.*, p284.

¹⁴ Germer, *op. cit.*, p147.

¹⁵ Wild, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Černý, *op. cit.*, pl.1, lines 12-13.

¹⁷ Černý was unable to quote another instance of it.

¹⁸ Lichteim, M., *Ancient egyptian literature*, London, 1975, vol. 1, p.87, line 6.

¹⁹ ground barley.

²⁰ in Täckholm, *op. cit.*, p.286.

²¹ Wild, H., in Helck, W., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975, vol.2, p.554-5 points out that in early pharaonic times there was a clear distinction made between the terms 'southern' and 'northern' barley, but that later the former superceded the latter. Whether this change in the use of the names reflected a change in barley use is not yet known.

²² Wild, *op. cit.*

²³ I should like to thank Mike Charles for the use of his drawings from Charles, M.P., 'Introductory remarks on the cereals', *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture* I, 1984, p.18-31.

GENERAL MORPHOLOGY OF THE BARLEYS

e.g. : HORDEUM SATIVUM

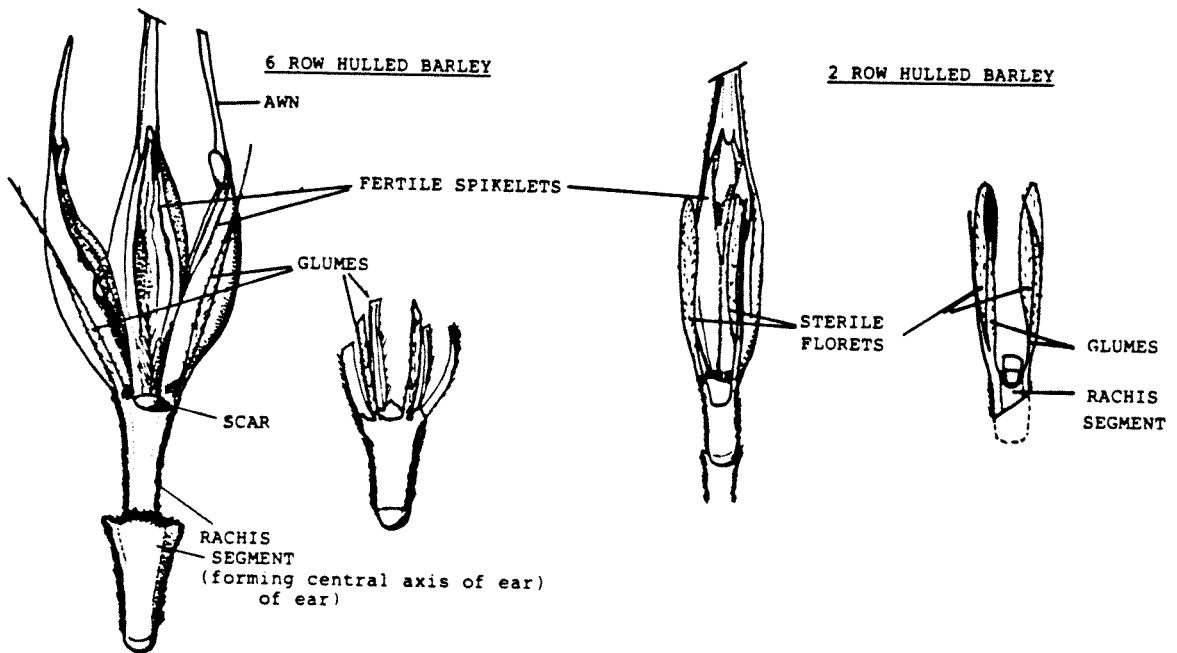


plate 1. general morphology of the barleys: *Hordeum sativum*

(after M.P.Charles²³)

sources	hieroglyphic writing	transliteration	reading	current identification	possible species
WB I/142.		<i>t</i>	barley	generic term for barley? two-rowed barley (Jackson in Täckholm, 295.)	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> or <i>H. sativum</i> (Täckholm, 278.)
Çerny, 7.		<i>t sm3 hdt</i>	white upper egyptian barley	so-called 'four-rowed barley' (Täckholm, Unger, Korniche)	<i>H. vulgare</i> var. <i>Palaeoegyptiacum</i> (Schulz: Täckholm, 287.) (¶ Tutundjian de Vartavan)
WB I/142.		<i>t mhi</i>	lower egyptian barley — ?		
WB I/142.		<i>t dšr</i>	red barley (¶ Tutundjian de Vartavan)		
	?	?	black barley (¶ Tutundjian de Vartavan)		
Germer, 147		<i>sht</i>	sht-barley (¶ Germer, 140)	six-rowed barley (Schweinfurth, Schulz, Täckholm, 287)	<i>H. hexastichum</i> (straight) <i>H. tetrastichum</i> (nodding) (Wild, 96, 118.) <i>H. paleoparallelum</i> (Schulz: Täckholm, 287) <i>H. polystichum</i> Doll ssp. <i>hexastichum</i> (Wild's straight type)
WB I/142.		<i>bš3</i>	malted(?) barley	?	?
Çerny, 7.		<i>hmi</i>	hmi barley(?)	?	?

legend: ¶ tentative suggestion

plate 2. barley in ancient Egypt: the present state of research

The role of the royal family in the 18th dynasty up to the reign of Amenhotpe III: 2. Royal children.

by Gay Robins

Royal children can be identified by the titles *s3 nsw* 'king's son' and *s3t nsw* 'king's daughter', the plural of both being *msw nsw*. Caution must be exercised in relation to *s3 nsw* because it is also used as a title by certain officials who were not of royal birth, but a careful examination of the usages of the title can suggest guide lines for distinguishing holders of the title who are actually king's sons.

Royal offspring often have *m3'* 'true' or *n htf* 'of his body' added to *s3 nsw*, which never occurs with non-royal officials. They are also frequently shown as children in relation to their tutors or other officials, an iconographic form not used by non-royal *s3 nsw*. Finally, royal *s3 nsw* rarely hold titles of office; officials who are *s3 nsw* are most often also attested with titles¹. There is one piece of evidence from the 18th dynasty which names a *s3t nsw* as the daughter of a *s3 nsw*, who is thus only a grandchild of the king². However, if we consider the small number of *s3t nsw* and *s3 nsw* that are attested from the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III, just over 50, and remember that these kings were polygynous, I would suggest that we know only of a very small proportion of royal children and that most of them left no record because they lacked importance. Therefore, it seems to me most likely that the majority of children who are attested were the actual offspring of the king.

The material relating to the royal children is very different from the material relating to queens. Neither *s3* nor *s3t nsw* are generally shown in temples or on royal monuments. They are mainly known from private monuments belonging to their nurses³, tutors⁴ or other officials who were presumably associated with them in some way⁵, and also from funerary objects⁶, although generally we have little knowledge concerning their burials⁷.

S3 and *s3t nsw* are generally depicted as children, naked with a sidelock⁸ and often with a finger held to the mouth⁹ in a manner which can be paralleled in representations of the children of private individuals from the old kingdom onwards. There is a change in the style of the sidelock from the reign of Thutmose IV; the hair may now hang loose instead of plaited¹⁰, and the lock may be worn over a wig, which possibly indicates adolescence as children wearing such a style are shown fully clad¹¹. The change in the sidelock occurs in the representation of both royal and private children. One should note that a plaited lock worn over a wig is used by some priests, particularly the *sm* priest and the high priest of Ptah; it may indicate a filial role in the cult, but it does not mark its wearer as a child or as of royal birth.

Most royal children are given no titles beyond *s3 nsw* for the boys and *s3t nsw* with the possible addition of *snt nsw* 'king's sister' for the girls; the title *sn nsw* 'king's brother' is not attested in the 18th dynasty. A few princes have in addition a title of office¹², but this happens too rarely for one to suppose that

¹ See also B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT. 'Königssohn'*, Bonn, 1976.

² S. Birch and H. Rhind, *Facsimiles of two papyri found in a tomb at Thebes*, London, 1863, pl.12, no.1.

³ e.g. CG 34117.

⁴ e.g. CG1112; H. Brunner, 'Der 'Gottesvater' als Erzieher des Kronprinzen', *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pl.3; TT 64.

⁵ e.g. HT 8, pl.2, CG 638, CG 42171.

⁶ e.g. G. Legrain, 'Fragments de canopes', *ASAE* 4 (1903) p.138-49; CG 24269-73.

⁷ G. Robins, 'Amenhotpe I and the child Amenemhat', *GM* 30 (1978), p.74.

⁸ e.g. K. Mysliwiec, *Eighteenth dynasty before the Amarna period. Iconography of religions XVI,5*, Leiden, 1985 pl.1, no.1.

⁹ e.g. E. Naville, *The temple of Deir el Bahri. Part 5*, London, 1906, pl.145.

¹⁰ e.g. Brünner, *op. cit.*, pl.3.

¹¹ e.g. CG 51113, TT 192.

¹² Amenmose, C-M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, IFAO Cairo, 1976, p.14; Amenemhat, Sir A.H. Gardiner, 'Thutmose III returns thanks to Amun', *JEA* 38 (1952) p.15, pl. 6, l.57; Amenhotpe, S. Glanville, 'Records of a royal dockyard of the time of Thutmose III', *ZÄS* 66 (1931); Webensenu, G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois 1898-1899*, Cairo, 1902, no. 5031; Thutmose, G. Daressy, 'Notes et remarques', *RT* 14 (1893), p.174-5; A.H. Gardiner, 'A statuette of the high priest of Memphis, Ptahmose' *ZÄS* 43 (1906), p.56; A. Mariette, *Le sérapéum de Memphis découvert et décrit par Aug. Mariette* 1, Paris, 1857, p.124-5.

princes were customarily given honorary offices as children. It is safer to assume that princes with such titles were old enough to exercise office.

Since much of the material concerning princes comes from representations with tutors and other officials, its purpose is to illustrate the relationship between the official and the prince by showing the latter as a child and gives no evidence about their ages¹³. Although a few monuments belong to princes who cannot be children, no monument of a *s3 nsw* can definitely be dated to the reign of a brother, and most of them can be shown to date from the reigns of their fathers. Since Egyptian kings were polygynous, the chances are that they had a number of sons. Many may have died in infancy, but some surely survived childhood. The lack of evidence concerning them shows that it was not normal for the majority to play any part in the administration. There is a problem, therefore, as to what happened to the remaining king's sons when one of them came to the throne. Since there could be no guarantee that the son selected as heir would survive to succeed his father, the other sons must have represented an assurance for the continuation of the royal line and been educated as such. Once however one son had succeeded, the others might have been seen as a threat to his authority. Lack of evidence leaves open what happened to them.

The majority of *s3t nsw* remain as obscure as the *s3 nsw*, but a handful are better known because they were married to the king, their brother or half-brother, and became *hmt nsw wrt*¹⁴. A very few *s3t nsw*, who are not attested as *hmt nsw wrt*, do however appear with the king in ritual scenes and occasionally use some items of queenly insignia and some queenly titles. The best known of these is Nefrure, daughter of Hatshepsut. Unlike other *s3t nsw*, she almost always wears the uraeus¹⁵ and once the double feathers and vulture headdress¹⁶. She may also carry the 'nh'¹⁷ and she follows her mother in some offering scenes¹⁸. It is possible that since Hatshepsut was a woman and did not have a *hmt nsw wrt*, her daughter carried out the ritual functions of the queen when necessary. Two daughters of Thutmose III follow their father in an offering scene in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el Bahri¹⁹; the preserved titulary of one includes the title (epithet?) *bnrt mrwt*, which is of a type used by queens. The daughters of Amenhotpe III appear in various *sd* festival scenes²⁰.

Thus royal daughters can play a ritual role, taking over some of the attributes of queens. Royal princes, by contrast, seem to have no ritual role and rarely appear. Could this be the reason why only the *s3t nsw* of Akhenaton are so prominent during the Amarna period, while there is only one preserved reference to a *s3 nsw n ht.f*? However, one must ask why there is this difference between the male and female royal children. The answer lies in the mythologies relating to the kingship and queenship. One aspect of Egyptian kingship is deeply rooted in the Osiris - Horus myth, in which Horus claims the kingship as the son of Osiris. Thus the dead king is identified with Osiris and the living as Horus. So on a mythological level the throne always passes from Osiris to Horus and this is the official view perpetuated on monuments, so that we see only an endless succession of kings. Within this framework there is no obvious role for the other sons of the king.

From the old kingdom onwards, the king is always shown as the son of Re, and at least by the new kingdom this has been elaborated into the myth of the king's birth in which the god, now Amun-Re, impregnates the king's mother and so fathers the king. There is no more an obvious place within this view of kingship for the other *s3 nsw* of the king than there was in the Osiris-Horus myth. (I would like to stress that the legitimacy of the king's rule did not depend on marriage with any 'heirress', there being no evidence at all for the existence of the latter; the king ruled as the son or selected heir of his predecessor²¹.)

¹³ e.g. compare J.J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The tomb of Paheri at el-Kab*, London, 1894, pl.4 and 10 where the same prince Wadjmose is shown as a child with his tutor and as an adult receiving funerary offerings.

¹⁴ e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, Meritamun I, Hatshepsut.

¹⁵ e.g. CG 42116.

¹⁶ A.H. Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, London, 1952-5, pl.58, no.179.

¹⁷ E. Naville, *The temple of Deir el-Bahari, Part 5*, pl. 143.

¹⁸ e.g. A. Fakhry, 'Une statuette du nouvel empire', *ASAE* 39 (1939), fig. 71.

¹⁹ H. Winlock, 'The Egyptian expedition 1928-1929. The museum's excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (Nov. 1929), p.33, fig.35.

²⁰ e.g. G. Haeny, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis' III*, Wiesbaden, 1981, pl.41; LD 3, pl.86b.

²¹ see G. Robins, 'A critical examination of the theory that the right to the throne of ancient Egypt passed through the female line in the 18th dynasty', *GM* 62 (1983), p.67-77.

By contrast, the *s3t nsw* forms with the *mwt nsw* and *hmt nsw wrt* a triad of mother, consort and daughter reflecting the similar triad that Hathor combines within herself in her relationship with Re. There is a strong link between women of the royal family and Hathor: a number of votive *mnt* counterpoises dedicated to Hathor by royal women have been found; the solar aspect of many items of the queen's insignia has close connections with Hathor; in kiosk scenes the queen's figure may appear in the same position as that of Hathor. This close connection between the various royal women may enable a *s3t nsw* to appear in ritual scenes instead of the *mwt nsw* or *hmt nsw wrt* of her father, further stressing the link between *s3t nsw* and queen.

During the period covered by this paper, therefore, we find that most *s3 nsw* remain obscure. They have no ritual role, although a few presumably older princes are given office. Most *s3t nsw* remain equally obscure, but a few are known, either because they become *hmt nsw wrt* or because they appear in a ritual role more normally associated with queens. It is interesting to compare this situation with the trend for depicting royal children, especially in temples, begun by Ramesses II. Processions of individually named *m_nsw nsw* decorate the lower parts of temple walls, while *s3 nsw* appear in military contexts in the great battle scenes which come into vogue at this time. However, *s3 nsw* still have no part in the traditional ritual scenes, and *s3t nsw* not only continue to appear sometimes in a ritual role but several of Ramesses II's daughters are given the title *hmt nsw wrt* in relation to their father. In other words, there is still a split between the roles of the *s3 nsw* and *s3t nsw*. Further, although from the time of Ramesses II, it becomes much more common than in the 18th dynasty to show members of the royal family, the sources still tell us very little about individuals. At least, however, the names of many of the royal offspring are preserved for us; in the 18th dynasty, the majority of king's children have surely escaped our notice altogether.

Toponym studies and Memphis:
1. consideration of methods and preliminary report of field work
 by Mariam Kamish

At the beginning of October 1986 I took up an A.R.C.E. fellowship¹ for field work and research in Egypt into problems of memphite toponymy. My partners in the project were Mai Trad of the Cairo Museum without whose experience and standards of excellence in the study of toponymy in the field and in the archives the work might well never have survived our initial uncertainties; Rais Qatb Mohammed Mohammed Saif whose vast knowledge and resource are the origin of most of the practical results which the work has so far produced; and Michael Quinn, whose knowledge of land survey was very important to the topographic investigations and who did a great deal of the textual research and of the theoretical work².

The existence of linguistic fossils in Egyptian colloquial speech is well known. Mai Trad in her work in upper Egypt is demonstrating that survivals in popular usages can give us important insights into daily life in ancient times and even into ancient religious belief³. It has, in addition, long been recognised that many towns and villages in Egypt bear names which are Arabic or ancient Egyptian-derived remnants of names from antiquity. The name of the modern city of Asiut, for instance, is a form of ancient *S3wt*. In the name Luxor, *al-Uḳṣar*, the fortresses, a tradition may be traced about the ruins among which the village and later town was situated.

We may note the major types of place name. There are descriptive names, under which category may be included such names as *Miṣr al-ḳadema*, (literally old Egypt), the name of old Coptic and Roman Cairo, as well as names which mark a place as the scene of an event, the location of a significant feature or as the site at which a particular activity is undertaken. There also are abstract or metaphorical place names, such as *Miṣr al-ḳahira*, (Egypt the conqueress), Cairo, the name which was given to the new Muslim foundation at the Arab conquest⁴.

Toponym studies in the past have been useful in locating ancient city sites in Egypt. The great toponym researches of Brugsch⁵, Budge⁶, Tousson⁷ and Gauthier⁸ classified a great number of place names by region, and Gardiner⁹ and Sauneron¹⁰ refined and corrected many of the earlier estimations. Yoyotte¹¹ and others have added valuable studies of particular toponymic problems. Nevertheless, many excavators are faced with a choice between treating their often inscrutable discoveries at city sites as quite anonymous or inventing a plausible context for

¹ with the generous funding of The United States Information Agency, a civil service department akin to the British Council.

² I should like to thank Dr. Moḥammed Saḥla, director of the Cairo Museum, Dr. Ali al-Khouli, Mr. Nassif Ḥassan, Mr. Fouad Yacoub and Madame Fauzia Bishara of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation administration, Professor Ḥassanein Rabi'a of the University of Cairo, Dr. Holeil Ghaly of the Sakkara and Mitrahina inspectorates, Dr. Abdel Fatah Sobahy of the Giza inspectorate, Mr. Nadir Ramadan, Mr. Ferghali Qandil and Mr. Mohammed Rashid of the Mitrahina inspectorate and Madame Amira Khattab of the American Research Center in Egypt and her staff. I must also thank Professor H.S. Smith of University College London, Saif al-Islam Mohammed Assim abd al-Kader, Rais Sa'id Salim of Saḳkara village and Debbie Roberts of the Egypt Exploration Society. I am grateful to the American Research Center in Egypt for sponsoring the work, to the Egyptian Ministry of Education for providing the opportunity for me to study in Egypt and to the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation for making the work possible.

³ A precis of this work was presented at the Egyptological conference in Munich in 1985 and the first published portion should, I believe, appear in the summer of 1988. I also should like to mention Elisabeth Wickett's work on the varied and complex poetic tradition of the funeral litanists of upper Egypt, (there exclusively women), in which are demonstrated considerable connections with ancient material.

⁴ For complications connected with the reference of these names and the names Memphis and Babylon, see Butler, *Babylon of Egypt, a study in the history of old Cairo*, Oxford, 1914. *Miṣr* itself is a very ancient name: see *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1986 (or 1927).

⁵ Brugsch, H., *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, Leipzig, 1879.

⁶ Budge, W., *An Egyptian hieroglyphic dictionary*, London, 1920.

⁷ Tousson, O., *La géographie d'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, Cairo, 1928.

⁸ Gauthier, H., *Dictionnaire des nom géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphique*, Cairo, 1925-31.

⁹ Gardiner, A. H., *Ancient Egyptian onomastica*, Oxford, 1947.

¹⁰ Sauneron, S., *Villes et légendes d'Égypte*, Cairo, 1974; the *Voyages en Égypte* series, ed. Sauneron, S. et al., IFAO, Cairo.

¹¹ e.g., Yoyotte, J., 'Notes de toponomie égyptienne', *MDAIK* 16, 1958, p.414-30; 'Études géographiques II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et <<le pehou d'Héracleopolis>> B. villes et villages méridionaux de la plaine memphite', *RdÉ* 15, 1963, p.87-119, etc.

them¹². Discovering a correlation within the ruin field of a city between what is known from ancient texts of the old districts and city quarters and the settlement sites which the excavation itself recovers at present often is not possible. What one would like is to have in the assessment of city sites some third resource.

That such a resource could be found in the minor place names of the contemporary countryside was a possibility that until recently there was little reason to consider. Then in the course of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations and survey at Memphis in 1983, Professor H.S. Smith and David Jeffreys, in retracing and renewing the work of Joseph Hekekyan¹³ in the last century, realised that the *Hod al-Miḳyas al-Bahri* and *Hod al-Miḳyas al-Ḳibli*, the northern and southern 'scale' (here, nilometer) basins, just east of the ruin field, did indeed correspond with the line of a roman water front installation along the eastern perimeter of *Kom al-Arba'in*¹⁴.

The *miḳyas*, the nilometer¹⁵, was a particularly famous and important foundation at Memphis which survived decline of the city itself in early christian times¹⁶. Nevertheless, it was reasonable to suppose that for the farmers and the villagers who in later generations came to live on the ruins of the old city, the memory of other foundations and of other names might have been equally significant. It was possible that an investigation of contemporary names and traditions of the memphite area might yield more information relevant to the topography and toponymy of ancient Memphis.

We were looking when we began the field work for retentions along the lines of *Hod al-Miḳyas*. There were it seemed four possible categories of name retention. First there was the direct linguistic fossil of the *S3wt* > Asiut variety. Second was the type in which the meaning of the original ancient name had survived in arabic translation.

¹² This is, I believe, an accurate statement of the predicament. Memphis is unusual among the great cities of ancient Egypt in that a large portion of its ruin field has not been built over or otherwise lost. (For a discussion of this good fortune, its curious and disparate origins and in what ways and through what causes it is changing, in addition to a survey of past archaeological work at Memphis and a bibliography, see Jeffreys, D.G., *The survey of Memphis, part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985, section 2: general description of the site; section 3: previous exploration of Memphis; figure 3, Memphis: recent land use, etc.) Petrie with his large resources was able to take random soundings over a large area of the site. Most later work has been confined to individual defined areas, and a good deal has been concentrated upon stone monuments, perhaps because these have been seen as most particular to the site of a great city and as most interesting. Temples attested in the texts can serve as markers about which to assemble the available archaeological and textual evidence. The relationship of one temple and its district to another conceivably may be useful in the effort to 'map' the ancient city. With the exception, however, of the great Ptah temple (and there are problems for our understanding of its position, as well), the temples and other stone monuments which have been recovered have not been among those known from the texts. Stone buildings, in addition, are very difficult to preserve under the present conditions. Efforts have now been turned to settlement sites in the area in hopes of gaining a better understanding of the organisation of the city. The aim is proving difficult to achieve.

¹³ Jeffreys, D. G., *op. cit.* p.13, etc.

¹⁴ Smith, H. S. and Jeffreys, D.G, 'The survey of Memphis 1983', *JEA* 71, 1985, p.9. See the maps in Jeffreys, *The survey of Memphis, part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985 for the location of the koms and other features of the Mitrahina ruin field. The villages, canals, etc., in the scope of the present survey are illustrated in the maps which accompany this paper.

¹⁵ The nilometer itself was not found in 1983, but it may have been part of the waterfront installation recovered in the excavation. In a large scale survey of the perimeter of the fields, it might be possible to determine whether the name corresponded to the site of the ancient place. The fame of the nilometer may have secured its memory as a place along the river without preserving correct details. The importance of the find for the premise of the present survey lay in the fact that here what clearly was the name of an ancient institution had been preserved for modern use.

¹⁶ The decline of Memphis in early christian times should perhaps be seen as an incident in the ongoing process of shifts in the city's focus (see notes 21 and 32) since very ancient times, a process in which the current evolution of Cairo (the evidence of the toponyms is obvious and well-known support for popular identification of Memphis as ancient Cairo) is a modern part. At any pre-christian period, the palace, or palaces, and the public buildings, wherever they were situated at that date, constituted a focus of the city and the main aggregation of temples in the Mitrahina area, another focus. Each of the centres and their institutions will have been served by canals, storehouses, etc. The relatively permanent temples must have been an axis point from which the city swung out in various directions. With the decline of the old religion, therefore, old Memphis which had a permanent 'pole' in the Mitrahina area declined as well. There were no immovable factories to preserve it as a centre, nor water or electric works to hold its population. The administrative focus of the city more and more was centred a long way to the north at Babylon and (ackn. M. Jones) a considerable number of the population was being drawn to the desert monasteries. The old centre of Memphis at Mitrahina now with many fewer people, must have become a series of villages unprotected from the inundation and drawn up onto the high ground. What essentially was new Memphis to the north, also smaller than the old centre, began to grow from a fort into a city.

This type like the first variety had direct lineage to ancient times. The third category consisted of names which described or identified an ancient site or institution or used such a description or identification as a marker, for instance for a field. This was a mixed class. Some of the names, such as *Hod al-Miḳyas*, had their roots in the ancient city itself, while others, such as *al-Uḳsar*, probably had not. In the fourth expected type of name retention, a twisted version of the phonic structure of the old name could be traced. Names in this category might have been worked upon with a view to making them intelligible or perhaps, in some cases the old names, no longer understood, had fallen into a phonic decay. There might be names which appeared by their apparent descent to belong to more than one of the categories.

The names of large towns already were known to us. From maps available in Egypt¹⁷ we could collect the official names of small towns and villages. Old travellers accounts¹⁸ would serve as a source for the reference of a few of the names which were no longer in use. We were to discover that there were villages in the area which had additional names in popular use. Few field names were available from maps. Fields in each area are officially numbered. The numbers appear on current maps. Older maps did not regularly include all the field names for a district and older maps to this scale are not easily accessible. We were to find that fields might be called by more than one name. Even where this represented a confusion of local tradition, it was clear that the additional names might prove relevant. Field work clearly was necessary.

We expected in walking the districts to collect the names of the parts of villages, parts of districts and of smaller canals and on the edge of the desert and of the river, the names of geographical features. Relevant village history we hoped might survive in local tradition and also in the village archives, about which in some cases it might prove possible to inquire.

The area of the ancient memphite nome is very large, stretching from north of Giza probably to the latitude of Atfih and for some periods containing portions of the east bank in the Turah and Massarah areas¹⁹. A good deal of archaeological and toponymic work has been done in the north half of the region. The medieval travellers, too, coming from Cairo and the north studied the northern district to the neglect of the south. It is fairly widely accepted that the city of Memphis at its greatest extent covered much of this northern portion of the nome, perhaps even meeting Heliopolis at Cairo²⁰. I believed that there might be topographic, and I hoped toponymic, evidence

¹⁷ useful for these purposes at the 1:5,000 scale produced for the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

¹⁸ Ibn Jubair, Tabari, etc. See the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, 1986 (and 1927).

¹⁹ See Montet, P., *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 1957, p.27ff.

²⁰ See Memphis in Helck, W., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975.

that the archaeologically less well known region south of the Mitrahina ruin field had at various periods formed part of the old city of Memphis²¹. We decided to concentrate our attention there.

Our strategy in the first place was to search out high ground, to go there and to ask questions about place names. We wanted high ground because, we reasoned, in a floodplain land for permanent buildings was raised against the inundation season and ground far higher than required was evidence of very long occupation. This assumption was supported by the fact that the village of Mitrahina which certainly had been in continuous occupation for many centuries and perhaps since antiquity rose to 33.2m above sea level, 13m above the surrounding plain, the highest occupied ground in this region of the valley²².

We intended initially to stay away from the waterfront. Because of shifts in the Nile bed at this latitude²³, we should there need to be concerned with whether any particular riverine area had been on the eastern bank at any selected period of antiquity, had formed part of an island or had been beneath the river. We should need to have a clear conception of what visible evidence if any might be important to the detection of these shifts. We were to stay away from 'the macadam' as a rule on the understanding that the big roads brought change and that their vicinities therefore were less likely to harbour old names and traditions. Although high ground seemed the most obviously interesting, we were aware that the deprivations of the *sebakhīn*²⁴, particularly since the building of the high dam made village height unimportant, might in some areas entirely have obscured the original contours of what had been *kom*'s.

Our most uncertain resource was to be the people to whom we spoke in the field, hoping to interest them in contributing what they knew to the research. We were to be strangers in areas in which ordinarily the only strangers seen are connected to families of the village. Foreigners come to archaeological sites at the Mitrahina ruin field itself, but they rarely enter a village. They occasionally pass on the smaller roads between Giza and Sakkara, but always in cars. We were to be working to the south of Mitrahina on foot and away from the large roads, in some cases in very small villages away from roads of any kind.

²¹ The large ruin field of the Mitrahina area from the archaeological remains seems to have been, at least from ramesside times an important area, perhaps the central area of Memphis (although egyptian city organisation is still little understood and it cannot be said with assurance that 'central area' is an appropriate term in this context. see note 32.) Until the late 18th century Mitrahina village was called *Manf*. (The area locally sometimes is called *Mamph* today, but with the long tenure of archaeological work at the site, it is impossible to determine whether this is a new or an old tradition.) If indeed the village re-formed as late as the 14th century (see Jeffreys, *The survey of Memphis, part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985, p.30), the case presents an interesting problem of toponym retention. The difficulty is in determining by what mechanism and for what use the name was retained. It may have been associated with the still impressive Ptah temple ruins. The choice of *Manf* over the other names of Memphis cannot be judged and, of course, the name may have been remembered, but not the character of the site.

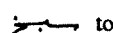
If, as seems particularly likely for the early period, the city was a shifting entity in which palaces and public buildings were built where convenient in each reign, perhaps in the old kingdom in relation to the current pyramid and later in order to take advantage of a particular site for a palace, for new access to a good port as the river and its islands so often shift at this latitude or for other logistical reasons, then the region to the south of the present ruin field may at an early period have formed part of the city. Water transport made a shifting focus for the city possible.

Textual evidence suggests that at its greatest extent in the late period, the city may have been considered to be coterminous with the nome, but the limits of the city have not yet been established for any period. Arguments against this interpretation are founded upon a late period text which mentions collecting wood from the houses in the south of Memphis. This has been taken to signify that the south of Memphis was not built up at the time. It has been said that the wood might have been requisitioned from the structure of the houses. The organisation of the city, however, might have been such as to include wooded places within its confines (see note 32).

The other point cited as evidence that the city did not extend to the south of the ruin field is the fact that the roman ruins in the south of the ruin field on *Kom Sabakhah* stand at a much lower level than the new kingdom and late period remains on *Kom Tamam*. This has been taken as evidence that the southern part of the ruin field itself was built upon only late in the history of Memphis. The essential point here is whether or not at various periods the city shifted focus within the nome. If it did so, the variation in levels is easily explained and indeed old kingdom remains, for instance, may underlie roman levels without the intervention of middle kingdom and/or new kingdom levels, etc. There also are the roman period quotations of the city's size. A straightforward decrease in size, however, is not puzzling.

²² Ruins, however, just north of the Apries palace at last measure stood to 37.8m. All heights are approximate levels quoted from maps (see note 18).

²³ See Jeffreys, *The survey of Memphis; part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985, p.48-55.

²⁴ The *sabakhīn* take mudbrick from ancient sites, because it makes very good fertiliser (*sabakha*,  to fertilize. The practice long has been illegal, but day-old tourist marks - alongside other tourist marks of every age - can be seen on ancient walls. The palace of Apries on Kom Tamam at Mitrahina particularly is at risk.

We were, in short, to be working in a foreigner-free region. We needed to determine in what form we ought to frame our explanations of what we were doing in the area and to calculate how to ask questions in such a way as to provoke accurate and relevant discussion without influencing people's own opinions. In practice we learnt our ethnographic theory in the field, as once we had begun we were able to depend upon the experience of Rais Qatb Mohammed Mohammed Saif and his character as a known local person.

As we knew the Mitrahina area well, we started at the southern end of the ruin field in order to observe changes in the land and, as we moved away from the acknowledged ruin field, in what people knew about it. The first village south of the main ruin field is Šinbab, a conical *korn* rising from the 19-20m above sea level of the surrounding plain and a depression immediately encircling the *korn* to 25.5m above sea level. It was agreed among us that we first should see the 'umda²⁵, on the one hand to tell him that we were in the village and on the other to ask him to whom we best might speak. We found here what we were to recognise as a general rule for the area, that the visit on the first count was likely to be found unnecessary if he didn't mind and to be unavailing if, as rarely happened, he did, while on the second it was inappropriate.

This was a village which we did not know and we did not have the advice which we had expected. We went up to the highest oldest part of the village. Anchored deep in ancient streets were houses several hundred years old, with great wooden supporting beams and a heavy archway covering the descending path. These old houses up at 25m must stand on many much older layers. It was clear that the place was a *korn*, but we needed to decide what to do next.

We had been told that it would be best to speak with old men, which seemed strange advice as there was no one old enough to be appreciably closer to ancient times and indeed young people, women and men alike, seemed to be as acquainted with present field names, local history and traditions as their elders from whom they had learnt them. We soon realised that the very old, women and men, were in fact the people whose help we ought most to be seeking, although we continued to learn from younger people, as well. Many of the greatest changes in land use since late antiquity have been undertaken in this century. People who now are in their eighties and nineties - and there are a great number such - knew the area before the first dam, the new roads and post-dam changes in fields and in the disposition of villages²⁶. Their recollections and ideas about the area especially are important for the present study (and needless to say are an ephemeral resource), because place names change with changes in place usage²⁷.

In Šinbab, as in other villages, we learnt the old course of the water during the inundation. This, in conjunction with other information, such as the history of population change in the village and population movement to and from it, gave us an indication of the history of the configuration of the inhabited area. We studied the position and construction of old water walls in order elsewhere to judge where such walls, now lost, might have stood. We studied the oldest parts of the village, the construction of the old houses, any stone ornaments about the doors and the level to which the street ran above stone doorsills, in order after further research to be able to date them and to estimate the antiquity of the buried levels²⁸. We saw the sheikhs²⁹ and heard the

²⁵ *ʿumda*, the chief magistrate of a village. His office often has been passed down from generation to generation in a family, though it less generally is so today.

²⁶ Land use has been changing since the first dam was built in the early years of the century. Since the building of the high dam it is possible to live year 'round almost anywhere in the valley. At the same time the population has been growing. In every village new houses have been built down on agricultural land. Field use, too, has changed with the new irrigation.

²⁷ There is a great deal to be recovered in this way. Land configuration at this latitude, however, has been changing with the movement of the river since very ancient times. This means that in some areas a great deal of data will have been lost.

²⁸ This is not a straightforward matter (see note 21, last paragraph), but such methods may provide a *terminus ante quem*. Despite the antiquity of large scale settlement in the area, many of the villages are not very ancient. In the first instance, the decline of Memphis must have meant the loss of the livelihoods of many ordinary artisans and traders and of the farmers who supplied the tradespeople (see note 16). Many people will have gone north to the new capital or elsewhere. Later, villages were founded, grew and fell into desuetude with changes in the Nile level which attacked the inundation season high ground or made more land available and with changes in the river bed which produced new islands and riverine land and reclaimed other areas. There have been movements of population less obviously founded in necessity. An old village, Ezbet Osman Farid, of an apparently good situation was deserted ten years ago and later leveled. The villagers went off in a body to Beni Suef.

²⁹ here, colloquially, the tomb of a sheikh.

stories connected with them and with others which no longer exist³⁰. Finally, we went down to the newer parts of the village built since the high dam in order to learn the names of the fields which had been there.

Outside the village there was the work of walking all about the fields of the surrounding countryside. In the fields we gathered a great number of field names and learnt more about the progress of the inundation. Canals large and small, even those which had been dug in this century, proved in many cases to preserve the old demarcation lines between two districts, as for instance between the lands of two villages. The railway line to the south of Šinbab which here runs along the old course of the inundation flood waters does the same. We heard stories of the district among which sometimes were stories of finds of antiquities. We noted changes in the land from district to district, brown as on *koms* of the Mitrahina ruin field between Šimī and Badrashein, flat and plain-like near Zawat Dahshur, low and deep around Marazig. These variations, impossible to judge from the maps, may be important in gauging the ancient habitation pattern of the area³¹.

What we did not find in contemporary use, apart from a distinction between old high ground and new low ground, the 'old village' and the 'new village', were names for the parts of villages or parts of districts. We had hoped that these might in some cases serve to localise ancient landmarks or institutions, that village quarters might have names as ancient as the village names themselves. Our research to some extent was breaking new ground. We needed to formulate a theory of the mechanism of toponym retention from the evidence of the initial field work in order to calculate among which categories of names our investigations were likely to prove fruitful.

Place names are known to have been retained in cases in which the town, village or field in question has survived as a centre of habitation or has continued in the same capacity. The names of old cities, towns and villages in continuous occupation are retained in many more instances than are other categories of named place. Town names in general are changed only occasionally with changes in government regime or with important events in the history of the townspeople. Field names more often are changed: for example, for the name of an owner of long standing. They also are more difficult to trace over thousands of years than are town names, because individual fields are of lesser public stature than are towns and they therefore have been documented with less care. In consequence they are less easy to identify in old records. Geographical features such as hills in many cases have names which describe their character which may be reinterpreted over time.

In the survival of the name *Hod al-Miḳyas* was evidence that the name of at least one element of an old city might be included with the names of complete ancient cities and towns in the ranks of toponymic remnants from antiquity. It was necessary to understand for names which had been retained over long periods what the names or the circumstances of their use might be seen to have had in common. The chief quality of place names is that they serve a purpose. They are not changed randomly. They last as long as they continue to identify a place (not necessarily their original place) sufficiently or so long as the place which they identify continues to be worth identifying. Thus, a name may last indefinitely or it may quickly be lost. Having recognised this principle of 'usefulness', one finds the existence and absence, the persistence and decay of various categories of name less bewildering.

By the principle of usefulness it can be seen to be unlikely that old descriptive names, on the lines of *Hod al-Miḳyas*, should survive within the villages themselves. The field, though not the nilometer which presumably once had visibly distinguished some portion of it, had continued in the same use. As there were many other fields,

³⁰ A story told about a sheikh might be important for the survey, as at Šimī. We had been told in the village that Šimī was a thousand years old, a figure which, as mentioned by an ordinary person, if unlinked to specific details might signify that the village had been inhabited since antiquity. Later, serious people gathered to talk about the history of the village and there was considerable authority for the account that the village bore the name of the Sheikh Šimī abu Ḥiḍr. We had heard this, but we now learnt that he had 'opened the track' and the high ground three hundred years ago with Sheikh Moḥammed al-Nahib. The village itself had come into being only one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five years ago and was settled by people from Marazik and Šinbab.

This sort of detail was convincing. We had not believed that Šimī was ancient, as it stood on low ground. As, however, discussed above in note 21 and 28, levels are not entirely a predictable indicator of age. It was useful to have the more ordinary trend confirmed and confirmed through local knowledge. Furthermore, identification of the name with a named person gave us the opportunity to check the tradition before searching for an ancient connection for the name. It is, of course, possible that notable older histories in some cases may prove to have been conflated with notable more recent ones, a phenomenon which may be recognised in ethnographic material as early as Herodotus. Nor does precision or detail serve as testimony for the accuracy of a tradition.

³¹ For a provisional understanding of the evidence we will need to speculate on the configuration and organisation of ancient Memphis. Temple estates, for instance, into which the annual floods were allowed access, may have had a place in the 'city' similar to the palm plantations at *Kafr Qal'a*, *Kafr abu 'Atiya*, etc. Perhaps there is at the four *kafr*'s the germ of a city made up of four villages loosely confederated. Certainly, this is not a large village of four named quarters, though this conclusion would be tempting if local history and the topography did not make it clear that this was not so.

it required a name, as a village among other villages requires a name. An ancient place, a temple or shrine, has no function and therefore has no identity within a village. Any spot in which it stood would more distinctively be distinguished by its modern use. Houses may be built against an ancient wall or inside a temple, but in this process the ancient use of the place has no relevance. Ancient names have not survived as the names of village quarters, because a village is not complex enough an organisation to require quarter names. Its landmarks are the tomb of a sheikh, canals, houses and schools, none of which are likely to date to before the arab conquest³².

There are, however, remnants from antiquity in the region, names and monuments, which popularly are felt to require identification. Under this heading may be grouped the subjects of what generally are considered to be traditions about place names and traditions about the history of the area which have survived from antiquity. The case of Šinbab serves to illustrate the ambiguities of the first category.

It was Mai Trad who first had the meaning of the name Sinbab from Rais Said Salim. He said that Sinbab was *Wiš-Šinbab*, which signified *wiš al-bab* (face of the gate), *wiš al-bab al-madina* (loosely, face of the gate of the city, i.e., of Memphis). This exegesis proved to be a very widely known tradition. Everywhere in the fields and villages of the Šinbab area and beyond, the question received a version of the same answer. Nearly everyone, even those to whom the second form meant no more than the first, replied that Šinbab was *Wiš-Šinbab*. Perhaps sixty percent explained that this signified *wiš al-bab*. Over forty percent took *wiš al-bab* to refer to *wiš al-bab al-madina* and half the latter group said that the full sense was '*wiš al-bab al-madina al-ḳadima, ya-anj, Mitrahina/Memph/Miṣr Ḳadima*' (the face of the gate of the ancient city, i.e., Mitrahina/Memphis/Old Cairo).

This certainly was interesting and whether or not the story could in any sense be considered accurate, its existence was a justification of what we were working at. There were, however, serious problems in interpreting the find. The fact that everyone knew the tradition of the name Šinbab did not prove that the derivation was correct. A tradition is a historical fact in its own right, but it is not necessarily testimony of facts accurately remembered. It does not even necessarily represent a memory about the event, the place or the period which it names.

There is a sense in the egyptian countryside that a place name should mean something. A name might be said to be an explanation of a place as much as a means of identification³³. The question 'What are your ideas about, (for example), Ṭarfaya?' generally is received by a countryman or woman as an inquiry in the first instance about the meaning of the name and is taken only on the second and third counts to concern the age and size of the village.

In the light of this, one must question whether the story of the meaning of the name Šinbab is a tradition of the kind which superficially it seems to be. It seems to an outside observer to be a surviving memory of ancient times, but it may seem more like deductive science in the context of the village. The organisation of this sort of tradition is part of the work, undertaken everywhere, of explaining the world³⁴. This story and the rest of the apparent traditions are not part of a more general 'historical' tradition about the village and the region in antiquity. They serve exclusively to explain names. They may draw upon an authentic tradition from the period in question, but they are as likely to have been formulated at some other equally illknown period in the past. They have no certain connection with antiquity in the way in which a method of irrigation or pottery making or indeed a place name bearing a linguistic fossil has. The craft like the place name is preserved through unconsidered and habitual use.

The preceding remarks are of general reference. The explanation of the name Šinbab may be a single fact retained in local memory from ancient times, precisely because it has served a useful purpose, that of answering a question which continues to be important, the question 'What is Šinbab?' Nevertheless, it is likely that the story is an extension of the name itself, which serves to make the name complete, i.e., to make it a proper intelligible explaining name. In a similiar case, it is said at Saḳḳara village that the name Saḳḳara derives from the name of

³² In the city, a district and, indeed, a street often functions in the social sense as a village. It might perhaps be said that in this sense a village is a unit than which no smaller unit of the kind requires a name. The position of the village within the mudiriya (governorate) is in important respects analagous to the position of a district or street within the city. Badrashein is a place large enough to need quarter and street names and it occupies ground at the heart of the memphite region. It, however, only recently has grown to (official) city status. Its quarters and streets are given family names and the like, as with any new city.

³³ The notion of a name as an explanation or, in current slang, a 'label' is more common than one might suppose. It can be traced in the often heard remark that someone 'suits' or 'does not suit' his or her name.

³⁴ It is of a kind with the custom, very popular among all groups in our own culture, of theorising or passing judgement upon past generations, 'the sixties', 'before the war', 'victorian times' or latterly, 'the chivalric age': names which are conceptual relics, so often recalled that traditions have grown up around them, widely accepted, very little founded in fact and each almost entirely a register, like the name itself, of the sensibilities of a variety of periods since but not including the one which it names.

a king of the pyramid age called Saḳḳ. There is every reason to suppose that the in the name Saḳḳara is preserved the name of the ancient god of those hills, Sokar³⁵.

Thus, a name may preserve a linguistic fossil and yet have a misleading tradition attached to it. It is possible that the name Šinbab itself may do so. Should the tradition attached to the name Šinbab be accurate it presumably would signify that at some period Šinbab stood at the edge of the city. There is some independent support for the tradition. David Jeffreys³⁶ has suggested that Šinbab may be ancient Khempabi, said to have been outside the city of Memphis in late roman times. Such a place, rather than an actual southern gate might well have had the name 'face of the gate of the city'. That there was roman occupation in the area is uncontested³⁷. Excavations on Kom Helûl and Kom Sabakha in the extreme south of the present ruin field, just over a kilometre from Sinbab, have revealed extensive roman remains. We were told by several people that large numbers of greek and roman period statues and statue fragments came to light in the Šinbab area thirty to forty years ago³⁸.

Traditions about the history of the area have proved to be very similiar in kind to traditions about place names. The Mitrahina area has a reputation for traditions from antiquity. For the most part these prove to be associated with the Yusif legend. The name of the Baḥr Yusif and the tradition that the pyramids were the granaries of Yusif were known even in Europe at a time when the location of Memphis itself had been lost. In the 1850's Mariette wanting to excavate a building near Abušir, was told that he must not, as this was the prison of Yusif, Saidna Yusif (our lord Yusif) of the Koran, the Joseph of the bible. The building turned out to date to byzantine period³⁹, but, it was reasoned, it might have been the site of a much older structure. Villagers still visit the ruin in procession each Friday evening at the entry to the Saḳḳara gebel near Abušir to light fires as at the tomb of a sheikh. Another well-known tradition of Yusif is that he lived at Azizīya. Badrashein did not exist then, it is said, and Azizīya was a hamlet called after al-Aziz, a well-attested epithet for Kitfir, (Potiphar in biblical tradition). Badrashein, it is said, is called after the trouble of Yusif at his imprisonment. It is al-badr al-shēn, 'the full moon shamed'⁴⁰. There is a shaft west of the Seti chapel called the well of Yusif⁴¹ to which women make a night procession to leave stones, when praying for a barren woman. Yusif is said to have built for pharaoh on the gebel.

Still other identifications have been heard by others in recent times⁴², including some connected with Zuleika, the wife of Kitfir/al-Aziz, who according to the literary tradition married Yusif after Kitfir's death. The post-koranic tradition of the Yusif legend is very elaborate⁴³. The Yusif traditions of the Mitrahina area, however, do not consist in or include stories. Each, like the tradition of Šinbab, is an explanation of a feature of the region. It explains the character of a ruin; it makes a place name intelligible; or it gives religious authority to a ritual. Therefore, like the explanations of place names discussed above, they would appear not to belong to the period with which they appear to be concerned.

It may be objected that the density of Yusif traditions in the Mitrahina area is hard to account for without assuming a continuous tradition. The period, however, between the time of Yusif and the date at which he became religiously important in Egypt is some thousand years. It is extremely unlikely that by some singularity of his

³⁵ despite the shift from 'kaph' to 'ḳoph'. I should add that it was mentioned to me at Sakkara village that in the name Saḳḳara the officially used 'ṣod' correctly is 'sin'.

³⁶ Jeffreys, D.G., *The survey of Memphis, part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985, p.9.

³⁷ It should be recognised that a tradition need not necessarily record the latest form which the institution in question took before falling into desuetude or being changed in use. The name Manf was used at Mitrahina in the fourteenth century, though it had its origins as a name for the city in the early new kingdom and might have been expected from the evidence of many late texts to have given way, perhaps to *Hwt-k3-ptḥ* or *Nḥ-t3wj* or to a name of contemporary origin. Thus, it is not impossible that the tradition, if it is a tradition from antiquity, may belong to a very early period. Equally, it may refer to roman times and the city may have extended much farther to the south at various periods in pharaonic times (see note 21.)

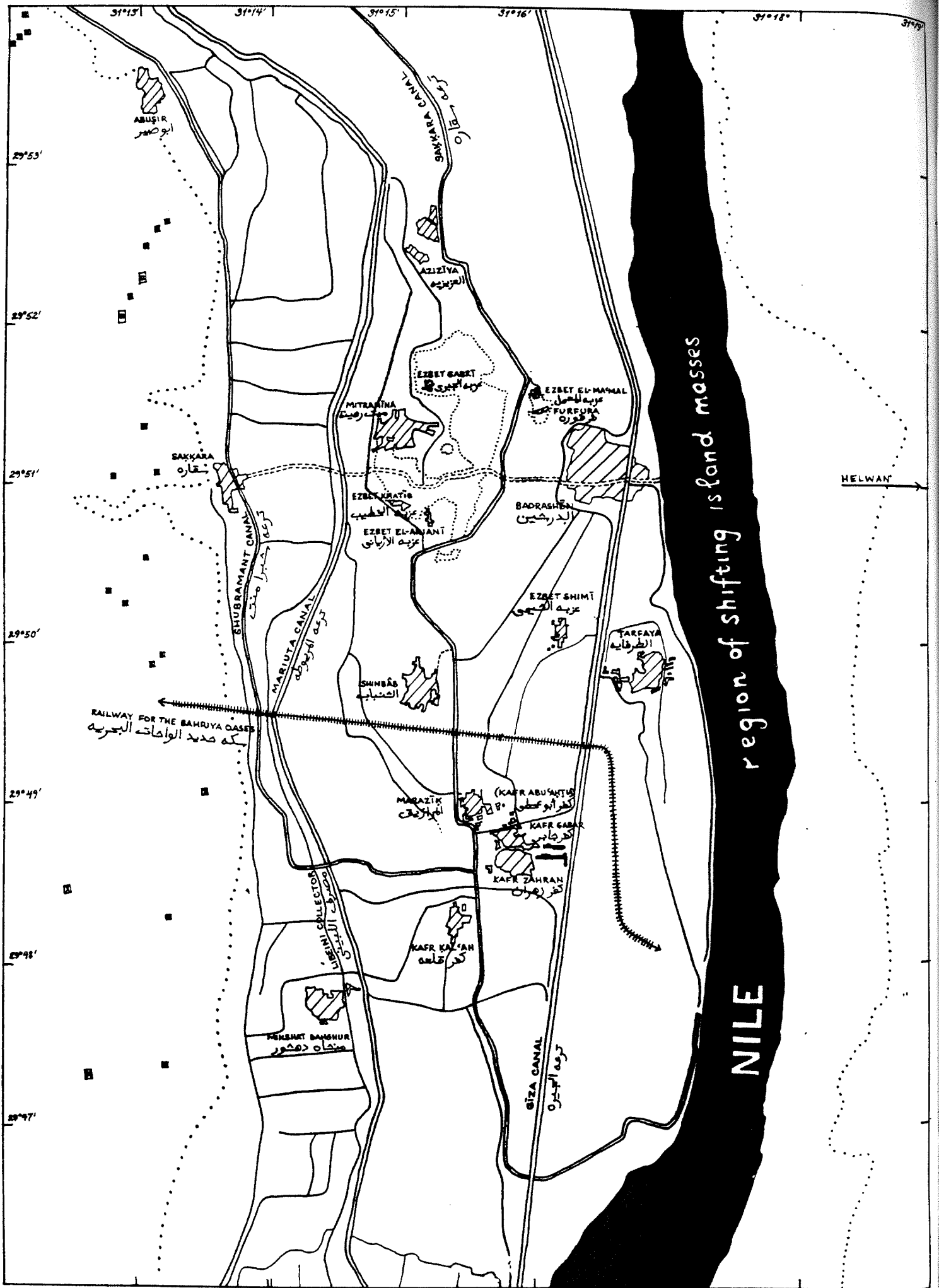
³⁸ During the construction, it is said, of the railway to the Baḥriya Oases which passes just south of Šinbab greek and roman period antiquities were turned up to the east of the line of the Mariuta Canal and pharaonic pieces to the west of it.

⁴⁰ The full moon is a familiar metaphor in arab tradition and arabic poetry for a beautiful beloved. This would be a conventional description for the revered sayyidi (sīdī) or sheikh.

⁴¹ The well of Yusif in which his brothers left him should be in the desert far from Memphis, but it seems to have been popular to collect all the elements of the story here. There is another 'well of Yusif' at the citadel in Cairo.

⁴² See Jeffreys, *The survey of Memphis, part one: the archaeological report*, London, 1985, p.55-6

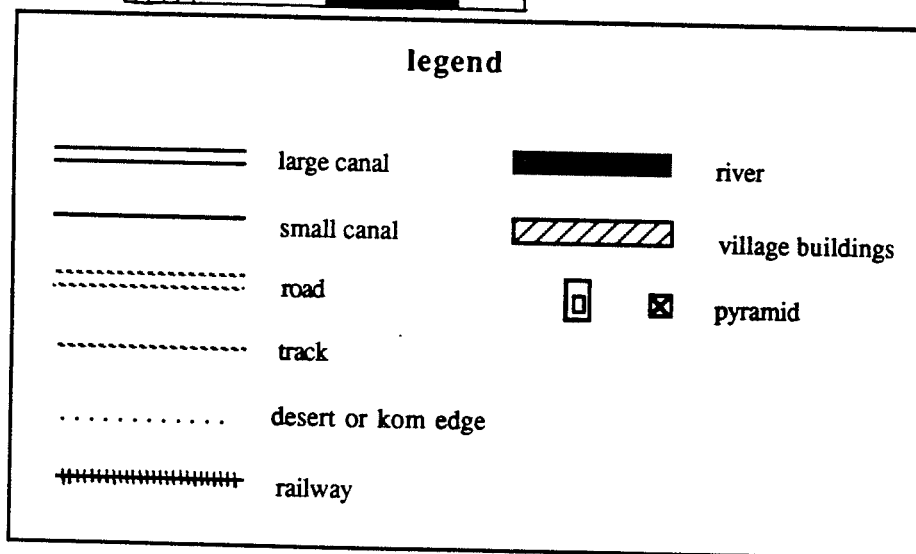
⁴³ See *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1986, (and 1927).





Scale : Approx. 1 : 60,000

MICHAEL QUINN



sketch map

compiled from maps of the Egyptian Topographical Survey, maps of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction of the Arab Republic of Egypt, field notes and other sources and showing only features relevant in the research to date

life or character, Yusif was remembered for his own sake over such a distance of time⁴⁴ or that by an accident of archaeology the connections were rediscovered in the early medieval period. The very density of Yusif traditions in the area constitutes the most significant reason for suspecting them and the element most persuasive for the construction set upon them here.

Evidence, also, of the transmission of names may be ambiguous. In the area of the main ruin field at Mitrahina, for which there is an independent record of local names stretching back to the 1840's in the form of the testimony of various archaeologists⁴⁵, the erosion of the koms, predictably, has been accompanied by a confusion of their old names. In the southern part of the ruin field and just beyond, we were told by many people on separate occasions that the area long attested locally and by visitors as *Kom Ḳal'a* was called *Kom Ṭemam*, otherwise the name of high ground in the northwest of the ruin field in the vicinity of the palace of Apries. One generally well-informed man called it *Kom al-Miḳyas al-Ḳibli*, after the name of the adjoining field. We met a man heading for what he said was called *Kom Girgis*, which is well attested as *Kom Fakhry*. Someone else called *Kom Qal'a*, *Kom Fakhry*. A group of women identified what we knew as *Kom Helûl* as *Kom abu Khamis*.

Should anyone wonder whether we might not have been the objects of a spate of joking, I can assure them that this was not the case and I should say that each of the discrepancies occurred in conversations in which all of the other place names came where we expected them. From conversation to conversation the names of the fields and the canals were as expected. It was the names of the Mitrahina area *koms*, which today are in many though not all cases a series of connected plateaus, which were subject to interchange.

The Mitrahina area, as it was so well known, was our control case and it gave us cause for concern. There are few *kôm* areas elsewhere which are not also village sites and therefore each in possession of a single village name, but in other instances we found a similiar confusion of field names. At Mitrahina the old predam basins have been preserved, as they are separated by protected high ground. There are areas in which the basin divisions have become less distinct; thus the confusion. This decay will continue and with the loss of those who remember their use, the names will be lost.

The first season's survey included the southern half of the main ruin field at Mitrahina, Saḳḳara Village, Ezbet el-Ma'mal, Furfura, Badrashên, the Šinbab area from the Mariuta canal to the railway for the south, and the villages and vicinities of Šimī, Ezbet Usman Farid, Ṭarfaya, Maraziḳ, Kafr Darghali, Kafr Zahran, Kafr Gabar, Kafr abu 'Ahtia, Kafr Ḳal'a, Minšat Dahšur, Dahšur, Zawiat Dahšur, Barnašt and Lišt.

It was necessary for us, as it is and must be for anyone attempting similiar work, to analyse the nature of the material collected. Therefore, in this preliminary report I have concerned myself with the problems of the work, calling upon the data chiefly for illustration. The largest part of the data collected in the field work remains to be analysed and compared with names and relevant lexical items from pharaonic, coptic and medieval sources. There is a great deal of further field work to be undertaken in future seasons. The limitation of this research is that there is no means of certifying the preliminary results. The purpose of proceeding with the project on so large a scale is to be able to assemble as large as possible a corpus of evidence in order to be able to employ a variety of related data in identifying the reference and character of each new element.

It seems clear that it is necessary to treat with caution traditions (i.e., stories or explanations) which appear to refer to and to have survived from periods in the distant past. There is evidence, however, that a significant number of minor place names of the area belong to one of the categories of linguistic fossil surviving from antiquity. A place name, unelaborated and unsuspected of meaning, would appear to be the safest repository of topographic tradition. It may be altered as its users reinterpret its reference or rationalise its meaning through the medium of another language or under influence of new circumstances, but it is likely in many cases to retain a traceable inheritance from older forms.

⁴⁴ One may object that 'seers' such as Ptahhotep were remembered over very long periods, but this was in the context of continuous literary tradition. Ramesses and Senwosret were remembered in Herodotus's day because of the colossal monuments for which there was a popular need for explanation.

⁴⁵ Archaeologists from the time of Hekekyan onwards, with varying reliability, have recorded kom names at the Mitrahina ruin field. See the site reports. The maps in Jeffreys, 1985, show the ruin field as it is today.

**Studies in new kingdom Nubia, 1.
Politics, economics and ideology: Egyptian imperialism in Nubia.
Robert G. Morkot**

The past ten years have seen the publication of a number of important studies which re-evaluate the traditional view of the Egyptian presence in Nubia¹ as purely exploitative. B.J. Kemp² discusses 'imperialism' as applying to Egypt, and in terms of its practical cultural and economic manifestations. Kemp propounds the view that the temple-towns served as the centres of a local redistributive economy within Nubia, and that the Egyptian presence was far from being purely exploitative³. In the collected papers of the symposium 'Power and propaganda'⁴ P.J. Frandsen⁵ argued a very similar case to Kemp, whilst in keeping with the subject of the symposium he addressed himself to some more theoretical issues. The theoretical-modular approach taken by some of the other contributors⁶ to this collection is particularly stimulating and valuable in establishing a range of possibilities in considering this subject. D. O'Connor⁷ considers the nature and functioning of the viceregal administration, the Egyptianised elite and role of Nubia as a gold producer, but perhaps most importantly, also offers some new interpretations of the geographical material which, if accepted, indicate wider ranging Egyptian campaigning in the central Sudan than had previously been thought likely.

This paper⁸ is an attempt to consider some aspects of the three key issues discussed by Kemp and Frandsen, but particularly the context of the time-scale of the Egyptian presence in Nubia.

I. New kingdom Nubia: the response to domination.

Whilst the importance of time-scale relative to the changing attitude of Egypt to Kush is implicit in all of the writing on new kingdom Nubia, it is rarely explicitly discussed in detail⁹. The Egyptian presence in Nubia, from the beginning of the re-conquest under Kamose to the campaigns of Herihor against the viceroy Panehesy, covers some five hundred years. Even this ignores the old kingdom and middle kingdom presence, which must (at least in the case of the middle kingdom) have considerably affected the attitude of the Egyptians towards the south. Clearly there were many changes and developments during the period of new kingdom domination, and the resulting smaller phases each had their own characteristics defined by the interaction of Egyptians and Kushites, their policies and motives. The important factor to consider is attitude: the response of the Kushites to the Egyptian expansion and that of the viceregal administration to Nubia. The information available to us is far too limited to reconstruct actual policy, although certain phenomena can be distinguished which may, or may not, be the result of the policies which must have been formed. It is, however, all that we have. The following outline of phases of the Egyptian presence in Nubia is therefore tentative, and its divisions somewhat arbitrary. Its function is to establish a temporal framework for the consideration of the changing relationship between Egypt and Nubia during the new kingdom.

¹ Nubia and nubian are here used throughout in a purely geographic sense to avoid political, ethnic or linguistic connotations; i.e. that the indigenous population were either ethnically nubian or nubian-language speakers during the new kingdom. They were probably not. Kushite is the deliberately vague term here applied to the indigenous populations of Nubia and the central Sudan.

² Kemp 1978. Säve-Söderbergh (1941, p.224f.) had already argued that many of the *b3kw* remained in Nubia.

³ Kemp 1972a and 1972b.

⁴ *Power and propaganda. A symposium on ancient empires = Mesopotamia 7*, ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen, Copenhagen 1979.

⁵ Frandsen 1979.

⁶ Particularly interesting are the studies by: S.E. Eisenstadt 'Observations and queries about sociological aspects of imperialism in the ancient world', p.21-33; O. Lattimore 'Geography and the ancient empires', p.35-40; K. Eckholm and J. Friedman 'Capital' imperialism and exploitation in ancient world systems', p.41-58; R. McC.Adams 'Common concerns but different standpoints: a commentary', p.393-404.

⁷ O'Connor 1982 and O'Connor 1983: see also Postscript, below.

⁸ Many of the ideas in this paper were discussed or expressed in seminars I gave at University College London between 1984 and 1986. My thanks to those who have commented on them. My ideas have considerably benefitted from discussions with Professor Dr.St.Wenig during my period of study in Berlin/DDR, although we retain differing positions on a number of issues. To him my especial thanks.

⁹ Kemp 1978 does, to some extent. The standard work on new kingdom Nubia and its relationship with Egypt remains, of course, Säve-Söderbergh 1941.

Kamose 5 (?) years.

years 1-5 of domination.

The theban princes Kamose and Ahmose were victorious against both the Hyksos rulers of lower Egypt and the kushite princes. H.S. Smith and A. Smith¹⁰ have discussed the campaigns of Kamose against Nubia, and conclude that the main function of these was to establish a rear protection before directing a major campaign against Avaris. This is doubtless correct. The effect was the re-occupation and restoration of Buhen, which marked the southern limit of Kamose's expansion, creating a large buffer between the kushite kingdom, probably ruled from Kerma, and upper Egypt. This expansion was almost certainly before Kamose's year 3¹¹, and consequently must be considered as his first military campaign. Whilst it is likely that Kamose would have regarded the defence of his southern frontier essential as a prologue to any attack on the Hyksos, the opportunity arose with a change of ruler within Kush itself, as is revealed by the text of the letter from Awessere Apepy to the new ruler (*hk3*) intercepted by the thebans¹².

Since lower Nubia had a fairly substantial population the imposition of some sort of civil administration at an early date was clearly imperative, and there is a strong likelihood that a viceroy, Tety, was appointed by Kamose¹³. However, we do not know anything of the local socio-political composition, although it seems probable that the three pryncedoms known later already existed, perhaps as vassals of the Kerma chiefs¹⁴. The fortress of Buhen, and possibly others, had an egyptian overseer working for the kushites¹⁵, and there was an egyptian or egypto-kushite population in these centres.

The egyptians regarded lower Nubia as part of Egypt as is revealed by the Kamose texts¹⁶ and other documentary material¹⁷. This is significant when considering the attitude displayed towards Nubia. Kamose and Ahmose may have had no intention beyond the reclamation of the territories ruled by the middle kingdom pharaohs. Indeed, there seems to be no indication that greater expansion was considered before the reigns of Thutmose II or III. Even the establishment of the fortresses of Sai¹⁸ and Tumbos may have been related to the defence of the frontier against Kerma, or the suppression of Kerma¹⁹, rather than the beginning of a positive expansion programme.

Ahmose - Amenhotep I.
Ahmose 25 years.
Amenhotep I 21 years.

years 5 -51 of domination.

The length of Kamose's reign is not yet known, although five or six years are usually accredited to him. As Cl. Vandersleyen has argued²⁰ Ahmose was probably still a minor at his brother's death and own

¹⁰ Smith and Smith 1976, particularly section 6, p.66-69.

¹¹ Smith and Smith 1976, 67; see also the stela from Buhen Smith 1976, p.8-9 (no.488) and p.82, 206.

¹² Habachi 1972; Säve-Söderbergh 1956.

¹³ Simpson 1963, p.32ff.

¹⁴ Säve-Söderbergh 1956; the continued existence of a 'chiefdom' as a territorial unit does not, of course, mean that the chiefs or dynasties were not replaced by others more amenable to the egyptian administration for an example see Lorton 1974, p.147-8 (AP no.2).

¹⁵ Smith 1976, p.80-85, for the history of Buhen in the second intermediate period: for the officials Smith 1976, p.73-76; for the nubian kingdom of the second intermediate period see Säve-Söderbergh 1949 and 1956; Vandersleyen 1971, p.51-2: for the issue of acculturation or egyptianization in the second intermediate period see Säve-Söderbergh (ms) cited in Frandsen 1979 n.13 (p.183).

¹⁶ Vandersleyen 1971, p.56-61.

¹⁷ see Vandersleyen 1971, p.53-6.

¹⁸ Sai itself had been an important centre of the Kerma culture.

¹⁹ The suppression of Kerma does not necessarily signify incorporation of its territory and may have been to establish vassalage in the region. The collapse of the Kerma chiefdom and the apparent cessation of large burials in the south cemetery (dated by Bonnet to ca 1450 BC see Bonnet 1987, p.90-1, p.109) may have seen the rise of a new chiefdom in upper Nubia, or a struggle for power amongst kushite chiefs who had formerly been vassals of Kerma.

²⁰ Vandersleyen 1971, p.198-9.

accession. This accounts for the lack of follow up to Kamose's campaigns until year 11, or perhaps better, a lack of major campaigns led by the king in person.

Ahmoose's military activities in Nubia, discussed by Vandersleyen²¹ established an Egyptian presence beyond the second cataract in the northern part of the Abri-Delgo reach. The quantity of material with the names of Ahmoose and Amenhotep I from Sai would seem to suggest the establishment of a fort there during this period²². The Ahmoose-Abana text states that the campaign against *Hnt-hn-nfr* came after that against the *Mntyw* of Asia, suggesting that Kamose's second cataract frontier had been maintained without serious problems, and that the new viceregal administration was strongly in control of lower Nubia, allowing Ahmoose to direct his attention towards the north. Vandersleyen suggests that the Ahmoose campaign against Kush took place around his 15th year.

After the Nubian campaign Ahmoose was confronted with the 'rebellion' of 3313²³, possibly a Nubian chieftain active somewhere in lower Nubia or upper Egypt. Later came the campaign against Teti-an. Whether these 'rebellions' indicate serious internal difficulties and opposition to the new regime towards the end of Ahmoose's reign is presently impossible to determine. If Ahmoose and Amenhotep I had to consolidate their rule in Egypt this may have led to a cessation in foreign campaigns thereby establishing the necessity for Thutmose I to make a major display of strength in Nubia and in Asia.

Thutmose I-II.

years 51-67 of domination.

Thutmose I, 12 years.

Thutmose II, 4 years.

Thutmose I campaigned in Nubia in the 2nd year of his reign²⁴, and prior to his Asiatic campaign. Indeed, this seems to be the regular pattern, demonstrated previously with Kamose's campaigns, and later with those of Thutmose III: a display of authority in the south, serving also to protect the rear. During Thutmose I's expedition a Kushite chief, possibly the ruler of Kerma, was captured and his body hung upside down from the prow of the king's warship for his triumphant return to Thebes²⁵. However, Thutmose I established his frontier at Tumbos, to the north of Kerma²⁶.

Although the rock inscription of Thutmose I at Hagar el-Merwa (Kurgus)²⁷, and the report of a fortress near the same place suggests the presence of the Egyptian army in this region, it seems more likely that this was associated with the Korosko road and gold mines than with the control of riverine upper Nubia (i.e. the 2nd-4th cataracts)²⁸. If, as seems possible, the latter years of Ahmoose and part of that of Amenhotep I had been occupied with internal politics a major show of strength would have been necessary at this time. The, at least symbolic, boundary stelae of Thutmose I at Hagar el-Merwa and on the Euphrates mark a sphere of Egyptian influence not extended by any later rulers.

The evidence suggests that from this time Sai was the major fortress in upper Nubia, although there is no indication of the establishment of a wider colonisation programme.

²¹ Vandersleyen 1971, p.49-74.

²² Vercoutter 1972, p.25-28.

²³ Vandersleyen 1971, 75-81; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.143; Smith and Smith 1976, 74.

²⁴ see Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.146-151; the campaign is recorded in an inscription at Tumbos dated year 2, 1st season, day 15; the return to Aswan is recorded in three texts of year 3, 3rd season, 1st month, day 22. Further texts of the campaign were carved at Tangur and Sai; see Vercoutter 1972, p.28. The campaign went into the new regnal year which began on day 21, 3rd month of the 2nd season.

²⁵ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.147; see the text of Ahmoose-Abana, Urk IV, 9.

²⁶ For the fortress at Tumbos see Urk IV, 138.16-139.1; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.149-150. Breasted noted a 'brick stronghold' at the south end of the island; see Breasted 1908, p.45. This is not mentioned in PM VII, 175.

²⁷ Arkell 1950, p.36-9; Vercoutter 1956, p.67-70.

²⁸ Whilst Egyptian presence in the Kurgus region should probably be connected with the control of the desert routes, it did establish Egypt's claimed area of interest relative to the Berber-Shendi reach. The official boundary of Egypt along the Nile in the populated regions of upper and lower Nubia, was, from the time of Thutmose III set at Napata and the fourth cataract. The Kurgus boundary would seem to be serving the same function relative to the desert routes and gold-mining regions over which the Egyptians maintained a claim. Both boundaries delimited Egypt's claimed area of domination in Kush, and were oriented towards the princedoms of the Berber-Shendi reach and central Sudan.

Thutmose II's accession saw an offensive launched by the 'sons' of the kushite (Kerma?) ruler against the Egyptian presence in the third cataract region²⁹. The attack may have been inspired by the news of Thutmose I's death, as the record of the campaign combines the bringing of the news of the 'rebellion'³⁰ with the announcement of the coronation³¹. Thutmose II took one of the captured kushite princes to Egypt, which is the earliest direct evidence of the policy of creating vassals in the region. Indeed, this could be the actual turning point in Egyptian policy. Until now, the Egyptians appear to have observed a boundary at Tumbos, on the Nile (the Wadi Allaqi/ Gabgaba routes being unconnected with the policy towards the Dongola reach). However, the repeated revival of a kushite offensive may have led to the concerted attempt to suppress Kerma (or its successor) once and for all.

Hatshepsut-Thutmose III co-regency, 22 years.

years 67-89.

The Egyptian attack initiated by Thutmose II against Kush continued during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, resulting in the defeat of the kushite princes. One certain Nubian campaign in the reign of Hatshepsut has been known ever since Labib Habachi published the graffito of the *imy-r sd3wty*, Tiy at Seheil³². Habachi also drew attention to texts in the tomb of Senmut³³ and on the stela of Djehuty³⁴, which allude to Nubian campaigns. The issue was discussed in detail by D.B.Redford³⁵ who cites a badly preserved text at Deir el-Bahari³⁶ which directly connects Hatshepsut's campaign with that of Thutmose I. The texts of Tiy and Djehuty are quite explicit that the expedition was led by Hatshepsut in person³⁷. Unfortunately neither these, nor the Deir el-Bahari texts are year-dated. Redford, in conclusion, suggests two certain campaigns during the co-regency; the first, early, being led by the king herself, and the second dated by the Tumbos inscription³⁸ of Thutmose III to his year 20. Redford suggests the possibility of two further expeditions; if the Deir el-Bahari text is taken as referring to a different campaign to that in the Tiy graffito, and the Armant pylon texts³⁹ and stela⁴⁰ relate to an expedition different from that recorded in the Tumbos inscription⁴¹. Indeed the Armant stela, as Redford argues⁴², states that a Nubian campaign took place not long before the first Asiatic campaign of year 23.

The Nubian wars of Hatshepsut are also considered by W.-F.Reineke⁴³ in the light of his republication of the graffito at Tangur dated to year 12 of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III⁴⁴. The military activity in Nubia during the co-regency thus consisted of three or four campaigns. The first led by Hatshepsut in person and soon after her seizing of the kingship. This, probably the campaign referred to in the Deir el-Bahari inscription, would be a direct reaction to the kushite response to the expeditions of Thutmose I and II. The second campaign, of unknown extent, in year 12 recorded by the Tangur graffito was perhaps led by Thutmose III. The third campaign in year 20, possibly followed by a campaign in year 21 or 22 (shortly before the death of Hatshepsut), which if the suggestion of Kemp that Miu is to be located as far south as the

²⁹ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.151; Urk IV, 138f.

³⁰ 'rebellion', being, of course, the subjective, Egyptian, interpretation of events.

³¹ cp below n.57.

³² Habachi 1957, p.99-104.

³³ Urk IV, 399: 2, 6: Theban tomb 71, PM I.1², p.140 (2).

³⁴ Habachi, 1957, p.104.

³⁵ Redford 1967, p.57-63.

³⁶ Redford 1967, p.58-9; E.Naville *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* VI (London 1908), pl.165.

³⁷ Redford 1967, p.60.

³⁸ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.207 ff. with handcopy and translation p.208 and Abb.16 (after Breasted 1908).

³⁹ Urk IV 1248-49.

⁴⁰ R.Mond and O.Myers *The Temples of Armant*, London 1940, 8 ff., pl.88; Urk IV, 1243-1247.

⁴¹ Säve-Söderbergh 1946, p.6, n.1 associates the Tumbos inscription with the year 47 Gebel Barkal stela, see Redford 1967, p.61, n.30.

⁴² Redford 1967, p.61-2.

⁴³ Reineke 1977, this text was overlooked by Redford.

⁴⁴ The older reading, cited in PM VII, p.157 derived from Breasted 1908, was year 15.

Berber-Shendi reach⁴⁵, was a major and far ranging expedition. This military activity at the end of the co-regency surely marks the final crushing of resistance by the kushite princes.

Egyptianisation of the kushite elite in Wawat was rapid from the reign of Thutmose I onwards. Its results are particularly clear during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the princes of Debeira being a good example, adopting egyptian names, working within the viceregal administration and being buried in egyptian style tombs (one at Aswan)⁴⁶. Other nubians working within the viceregal administration are known from burials, again in egyptian style and with egyptian statuary and grave goods, from Aniba⁴⁷.

Thutmose III sole reign, years 22-54.

years 89-121.

The years 22/3-31 and 33-42 were dominated by Thutmose III's asiatic expeditions. Upper Nubian resistance may have been completely suppressed by the campaigns of years 20-22, although O'Connor suggests that year 31 may be the significant date for the secure establishment of egyptian dominance, since this is the first year that the *b3kw* of Wawat and Kush are recorded⁴⁸. Any military activity in Nubia during these years of Thutmose III's northward consolidation was doubtless in the hands of the viceroy Nehi⁴⁹. The boundary inscription of Thutmose I at Hagar el-Merwa was duplicated, probably in year 35⁵⁰, although the royal presence is not a corollary of egyptian activity in the region. The last recorded campaign led by the king in person in Nubia occurred in year 47⁵¹, when the fortress *sm3 h3swt* was founded near Gebel Barkal. This suggests an expedition covering the 3rd cataract to Dongola reach and 4th cataract, although whether it was militarily active, or a display of strength is unclear.

Four sons of the prince of Irem were sent to Egypt along with the *b3kw* of year 34, indicating that the egyptianisation of the upper nubian elites was strongly desired.

The sole reign of Thutmose III witnesses much building work throughout lower and upper Nubia. The fortresses received new or restored temples, indicative of their continued importance. The beginning of temple building outside the fortresses in lower Nubia (eg Amada) and the cutting of rock chapels, denotes a change in attitude. The cults of Amun-Re and Re-Harakhty are pre-eminent in these new temples, indicating a change in the religious policy within Nubia. The fortress temples had been largely dedicated to the Horus deities, or gods of the cataracts and their associates. The introduction of the egyptian state-gods in the new temples, allied with their contemporaneous promotion in Egypt, shows that lower Nubia was considered as an extension of Egypt itself.

Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV.

years 121-157.

Amenhotep II 26 years (+ ?)

Thutmose IV 10 years (+ ?)

An inscription of an overseer of works, Minhotep, at Tura⁵², dated to year 4 of Amenhotep II mentions the setting up of stelae in Naharin and in Karoy. The former doubtless associated with the king's asiatic campaign, and the latter with the hanging of one of the slain asiatic princes from the walls of Napata⁵³, both of which events are dated to year 3. Egypt's limits were thus defined as they had been

⁴⁵ Kemp 1978, n.68 (p.290): see also Postscript.

⁴⁶ For the princes of Debeira see Säve-Söderbergh 1960 and 1963, and Hodjache-Berlev 1977; the princes of Mi'am (Aniba) are discussed by Simpson 1963; for general discussion of the princes of Debeira and Aniba see Kemp 1978, p.35-7; O'Connor 1983, p.265-67 and fig.3.23; Smith 1976, p.208-09.

⁴⁷ The grave goods and statuary of Ruiiu, now in Leipzig, and of Pahul; see Steindorff 1937, 187-9 (S 66) and p.221 (SA 17).

⁴⁸ O'Connor 1983, p.257: see also Postscript.

⁴⁹ Nehi is attested in office from year 23 (ie the beginning of the sole reign) until year 52.

⁵⁰ see Arkell 1950, and the text of year 35 of Thutmose III in Vercoutter 1956, p.68 ff (no.4). If this indicates a campaign in year 35, it surely could not have been led by Thutmose III in person.

⁵¹ For the Gebel Barkal stela, now Boston MFA 23.733; see G.A. Reisner and M.B. Reisner ZÄS 69 (1933), p.24-39; Urk IV, 1227-1243.

⁵² see BAR II §799; Säve-Söderbergh 1946, p.6 n.1, connects this inscription with the campaign of year 47 of Thutmose III.

⁵³ The Amada and Elephantine stelae Urk IV 1297-98; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.155-6.

established by Thutmose I, consolidated by Thutmose III and were later expressed, in a less dramatic fashion, by Thutmose IV⁵⁴ and Amenhotep III⁵⁵.

A campaign is indicated by the Konosso inscription of Thutmose IV⁵⁶, in the king's 8th year. This, however, seems to have been directed against bedouin in Wawat, and was not led by the king in person.

The administration reached its fully developed form by the reign of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV, when the *idnw* were defined as 'of Kush' and 'of Wawat', and a dual system was established for the two parts of Nubia.

Amenhotep III, 38 years.

years 157-195.

The only known campaign of Amenhotep III was in year 5⁵⁷, and this was directed primarily against the territory of Ibhet⁵⁸, but the new toponym Ikayta also now occurs in the topographical lists⁵⁹ and is also to be located in the gold mining regions of the eastern desert. O'Connor views this year 5 campaign as part of a 'comprehensive plan to expand and improve the exploitation of the gold mining areas as a whole'⁶⁰. This plan included the extension of viceregal authority as far north as Nekhen, in order to embrace the gold mining regions of southern Egypt⁶¹.

The reign of Amenhotep III saw the beginning⁶² of a new policy in upper Nubia. The king established a new temple and town which became the major administrative centre for the region until the early 19th dynasty. This was at Soleb, and called after the king's Horus name *H'-m-M3't*.⁶³ The date of the town's foundation is so far unknown, but a jar label from Sesebi records wine of the 'House of *Nb-M3't-R*' in *H'-m-M3't* dated to year 7 of Amenhotep III⁶⁴. The temple of Soleb was one of the major works of the reign of Amenhotep III, and in many ways resembles his two major theban monuments, the temple of Luxor and the 'mortuary' temple (*Kom el-Heitan*)⁶⁵. Indeed, it belongs to a scheme of building work in which the king emphasised particular aspects of his divine nature. Religious policy in Nubia during this reign placed greater emphasis upon the royal cult associated with Amun-Re, and the queen associated with Hathor, paralleling developments in Egypt⁶⁶.

⁵⁴ A scarab, *JEA* 17 (1931) p.23; also see Edwards 1939, p.8-9, pl.9, a stela of a 1st prophet of Anhur, who followed the king 'from Naharin to Karoy'.

⁵⁵ On the well-known 'marriage scarab'.

⁵⁶ Urk IV 1545.14-1546.3; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.156f.

⁵⁷ A text at Konosso records the return, and the Semna stela (BM 657), Edwards 1939, p.21-22, pl.20, the campaign. The 'rebellion' was announced year 5, 1st season, 3rd month, 2nd day, the day of the coronation. Is it possible that some symbolism was attached to an announcement of a royal campaign on the day or the feast of the coronation? cp the similar announcement under Thutmose II n.31 above, connected with the accession. An inscription from Sai, Vercoutter 1956, p.81 (no.28) may also refer to this campaign.

⁵⁸ Zibelius 1972, p.74-75.

⁵⁹ see Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.163; Smith 1976, p.129; O'Connor 1983, p.260; Zibelius 1972, p.95-6.

⁶⁰ O'Connor 1983, p.259.

⁶¹ The investiture of the viceroy Huy before Tutankhamun (Davies-Gardiner 1926, pl.VI) indicates his control 'from Nekhen to Karoy' and 'from Nekhen to Nesut-tawy'; these are usually taken as expressing the same limits (see n. 103, below). It might, however, be interesting to consider whether Nekhen to Nesut-tawy (Gebel Barkal) indicates riverine Nubia, and Nekhen to Karoy the deserts and wadis to Kurgus. The nature of the viceregal control of the Nile valley north of Aswan, and its towns, is a matter for some conjecture. One might reasonably suppose that the towns remained within the sphere of the upper egyptian vizier, only the deserts, and certain essential valley resources and transport depots being under the control of the viceroy.

⁶² At least, the evidence suggests this reign, although there are some grounds for believing there was occupation at Sesebi and Soleb earlier, also possible at Tabo.

⁶³ see Schiff Giorgini 1965 (p.155-56 gives complete bibliography of the expedition to that date, subsequent reports appearing in volumes of *Kush*).

⁶⁴ This label will be published with the other material from Sesebi in the final excavation report (in progress, see n. 76 below). My thanks to the committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to cite this document here.

⁶⁵ Probably also the temple at Memphis, see Morkot 1.

⁶⁶ see Morkot 1986, *passim*..

Soleb temple was dedicated to Amun-Re of Karnak and to Amenhotep III himself, in his form as 'the living image of *Nb-M3't-R*' and as 'lord of Nubia'. The king was worshipped as a lunar manifestation⁶⁷.

A second town built by Amenhotep III in the Abri-Delgo reach, at Sedeinga⁶⁸, had as its centre a temple dedicated to queen Tiye associated with the goddesses Hathor, Tefnut, Isis and Weret-Hekau. She was called the 'mistress of foreign lands', thereby forming a counterpart to the king's role as 'lord of Nubia'⁶⁹. Unfortunately our knowledge of the Sedeinga temple is presently even less than that of Soleb⁷⁰, although the cultic relationship between the two was clearly very close.

This expansion within the Abri-Delgo reach was perhaps motivated by a number of practical factors: this part of upper Nubia was now no longer considered hostile, was reasonably fertile, and was within the gold mining region⁷¹. An ideological motive for the building of the new towns is, however, also apparent. The main administrative centre of Sai was associated with the cult of Horus 'the bull, lord of Nubia'⁷². Amenhotep III developed and personalised this cult, the whole temple and town functioning as one of the 'houses of millions of years' built at various towns throughout Egypt, and which played an increasingly important role from the late 18th dynasty to 20th.

The fortress of Sai, which was still occupied in the 19th dynasty, was superseded as the upper nubian administrative centre by Soleb (and later Amara west). However, Sai doubtless retained, as many lower nubian towns and fortresses did, an important role as a staging post and population centre.

The establishment of vineyards at Soleb indicates that the programme initiated included intensive and long-term agricultural planning. It is from this time also that manufactured goods appear in the *b3kw* of Kush - indicating that towns were also functioning as production centres, largely for objects made from the 'luxury' materials, or specifically kushite products such as leather.

Akhenaten, 17 years

years 195-212.

A campaign has been known since the publication of the Buhen stela fragment in 1911, and a fragment of a parallel text from Amada by M. Sandman⁷³, but, as H.S. Smith has noted⁷⁴, this received relatively little attention. Smith's republication⁷⁵ of the Buhen fragments with the beginning of the text discovered during the EES excavations, allows a date of between years 10 and 12 to be given to the campaign. Smith suggests year 12 as best fitting the traces. The expedition was directed against *Ik3yt3*, which is to be located in the Wadi Allaqi region and seems to have been caused by attacks on the mining settlements.

Sesebi, the upper nubian foundation of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten, was a large walled town, over half the area of which was taken up by the temple precinct⁷⁶. Sesebi was founded early in the reign and was connected by a road with Soleb⁷⁷ where Akhenaten had the decoration of his father's temple completed. Unfortunately we know little of the original dedication of the Sesebi temple, which was altered during the

⁶⁷ The cult is briefly discussed in Morkot 2, in which for the lunar aspect and iconography see sections 4 and 5.

⁶⁸ PM VII, p.166-67; the work of the Schiff Giorgini expedition of recording and consolidating the temple is summarised in *Kush* 13 (1965), p.112-115 and *Kush* 15 (1967-68), p.266-67. Work has recommenced at Sedeinga see *Nubian Letters* 9 (August 1987), p.11.

⁶⁹ see Morkot 1986, p.3, 5.

⁷⁰ My thanks to M.Prof.J. Leclant for his information on the current state of work at Soleb and Sedeinga and their publication, see also n.68 above.

⁷¹ Perhaps also, having made a decision to absorb this area the Egyptians needed settlements which would establish an integrated local economy, something a fortress does not do. Also with the expansion of the lower nubian system land may have been needed to settle, if not Egyptians, Nubians or Egypto-Nubians.

⁷² see Morkot 2, section 1.

⁷³ M. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, Brussels 1938, p.146; *ASAE* 10, p.122f.

⁷⁴ Smith 1976, p.129; the exception is Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.162f.

⁷⁵ Smith 1976, p.124-129 (no.1595) and pls.xxix, lxxv.

⁷⁶ The final report on the excavations carried out by the Egypt Exploration Society 1936-38 is currently in progress (R. Morkot, *Sesebi-Sudla*); the preliminary reports were published in *JEA* 23 (1937), p.145f, and *JEA* 24 (1938), p.151f. see also Bengt Peterson in *Orientalia Suecana* 16 (1967) p.3f. and Morkot p.4.

⁷⁷ see *Kush* 15 (1967-68), p.267.

reign of Akhenaten, and later re-decorated, with re-dedication to the theban triad, by Sety I. What is clear from the fragmentary evidence, is that the deified Amenhotep III was included in the cult.

Tutankhamun, 10 years.

years 212-222.

With the accession of Tutankhamun the focus of attention, at least in terms of major monumental work, seems to have moved to lower Nubia, with the building of a new temple and administrative centre for Wawat at Faras (called after his Golden Horus name *Shtp-ntrw*)⁷⁸. However, this does not mean that there was a decrease in activity in upper Nubia. Soleb remained the administrative centre⁷⁹ and some minor work continued in the temple⁸⁰. Unfortunately our knowledge of Kawa, certainly founded before or during this reign, is incomplete. Faras was the first new town in Wawat to have a large temple dedicated to the royal cult at its centre. Is it possible that Tutankhamun was building Faras as a lower Nubian parallel to Soleb?

It is significant that Soleb was retained as the major upper nubian centre. This could be an example of the 'devotion' displayed by Tutankhamun to Amenhotep III allied with the desire to build his own monument promoting the royal cult within lower Nubia, and with the practical advantages of maintaining Soleb, conveniently situated and splendidly endowed as the upper Nubian centre.

Faras was a large temple⁸¹, whereas the only known building of Tutankhamun in upper Nubia is the relatively small temple 'A' at Kawa⁸². The royal cult in lower Nubia had previously been promoted through those of Horus and Senusret I and III: the cult of Tutankhamun at Faras established the more direct personalised royal cult of the later 18th dynasty using the king's throne name *Nb-Hprw-R'*. A practical advantage of the site was its position at the centre of its block of productive land, whereas Buhen was at the southern end⁸³. The central region of lower Nubia already had Aniba at its centre: it would have been impractical to have replaced a large town and fortress, administrative capital and cult centre which was centrally positioned both for its agricultural block and for the whole of lower Nubia.

Although the details of the cult are unclear, Tutankhamun was worshipped in a lunar aspect at Faras⁸⁴, as Amenhotep III was at Soleb. J.Karkowski⁸⁵ has proposed that the king's temple was paired with the chapel of Hathor of Ibshek already existing at Faras, thus paralleling the temples of Soleb and Sedeinga, and the later temples of Ramesses II and Nefertari at Abu Simbel.

Ay-Horemheb.

Ay 4 years.

Horemheb 28 (?)years.

years 222-254.

⁷⁸ For Faras before Tutankhamun see Karkowski 1981, p.66-70; the settlement was not a large temple-town until the reign of Tutankhamun: cp.n.83 below.

⁷⁹ So the evidence from the tomb of Huy (whose *idnw* Amenemopet was buried there) indicates. Huy, on his arrival in Nubia is shown greeted by the two *idnw* and the officials of *Shtp-ntrw* and the mayor of Soleb (Davies-Gardiner 1926, pl.XIV-XV).

⁸⁰ The second of the 'Prudhoe' lions, see Edwards 1939, p.14; Morkot 2, sections 4 and 6.

⁸¹ The excavated remains of the temple proper were 56 x 25 m, before which there would have been a pylon and possibly a courtyard, and/or dromos. The temenos of the Buhen temple was 31.5 x 24 m approx., and the temple itself 15 x 10 m approx. Soleb was 102m from the back wall to the second pylon, and a further 72 m to the first pylon and 30-33m wide.

⁸² Macadam 1955; see also the important study of L.Bell 'Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun' in *Mélanges Mokhtar I* (Cairo 1985) p.31-59.

⁸³ Frandsen 1979, p.173, observes of the fortified settlements of lower Nubia that their distribution 'is clearly correlated with the location of the gold mines and the need to control the river traffic'. Faras falls outside this definition, and the reason is obviously that time had reduced the necessity for major defensive sites in lower Nubia, and a greater emphasis on agricultural potential. Trigger 1965, 14, p.151-4 on the position of Faras. Trigger 1965, p.109 gives the traditional assessment of Faras's importance throughout the 18th dynasty, but see now the re-interpretation of the material in Karkowski 1981.

⁸⁴ A statue group from Faras (Karkowski 1981, p.124-29, no. 73) shows the king with Amun and Mut and describes him as 'he who is born entire every month' see also Morkot 2, section 5.

⁸⁵ Karkowski 1981, p.70 and n.314.

The late 18th dynasty is not well attested in Nubia; the only temples are the small chapels of el-Shems and Abahuda. Ay did a little work at Soleb⁸⁶. One interesting feature is the appearance of a new Horus-god in lower Nubia, 'Horus the lord of *Mh3*', the region of Abu Simbel. This may reflect a renewed emphasis on the Horus-king as opposed to the type of cult celebrated for Amenhotep III, Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. The nature of these rulers' accessions may have dictated a more conventional, and less personal cult form.

The evidence from Buhen indicates that it was not a major centre during the Tutankhamun-Horemheb period⁸⁷, although it doubtless remained important in the communication and transportation network. Faras retained its importance until the reign of Sety I.

The frequent occurrence of the name of Tutankhamun on temple blocks from Faras suggests that the decoration of at least the innermost rooms, and consequently that much of the building work, was complete at Tutankhamun's death. The erasure of Tutankhamun's name and its replacement with that of Horemheb on a relief depicting the bark shrine⁸⁸, is unusual (Tutankhamun's name in most instances being left) and particularly interesting. The result is that Horemheb is described as 'beloved of *Nb-Hprw-R*'.

Whilst little evidence from the reign of Horemheb has yet been recovered from upper Nubia, it is perhaps possible that he founded Amara west and the earliest part of B500 at Gebel Barkal.

Ramesses I-Sety I

years 254-270.

Ramesses I 2 years.

Sety I 14 years.

Sety I founded new temple towns at Amara west in upper Nubia and at Aksha in lower Nubia. It is significant that these are close to Soleb and Faras respectively, indicating that the areas were controlled in much the same way, and also that the foundation of these new towns was an ideologically rather than politically or economically motivated change⁸⁹.

Amenhotep III had built at Soleb and at es-Sebua, but these do not in any way seem to have been equal foundations⁹⁰. Nor is there any evidence, although a possibility, that Faras and Kawa constituted a pair⁹¹. However, with the reign of Sety I it is clearly Aksha and Amara west which serve as parallel administrative centres for lower and upper Nubia, each with a temple for the royal cult. It is interesting that the two foundations are roughly similar in size, and both considerably smaller than Sesebi or Soleb.

The Nauri decree of year 4 of Sety I presents a number of problems of interpretation. Whether it records land and property owned by an Egyptian or Nubian foundation of the king is briefly considered below. What is clear, however, is that the varied and probably intensive agricultural system initiated by Amenhotep III in Abri-Delgo reach continued during the early 19th dynasty. Indeed, if Soleb ceased to be used as a major centre, the estates may have been transferred to the new foundations and restorations of Sety I at Amara west and Sesebi.

Ramesses II, 67 years.

years 270-335.

This is one of the reigns best attested in Nubia through monumental building works. Aksha, founded by Sety I, was completed and replaced Faras as the new administrative and royal cult centre in lower Nubia. The cult of the 'living image' of Ramesses II at Aksha indicates a policy in relation to the royal cults deriving from that of Amenhotep III. Abu Simbel, completed in the 20's, marks the beginning of a new policy, directly analogous to the cults of the king in Egypt.

⁸⁶ A text was carved on one of the 'Prudhoe' lions recording its setting up in the temple see Morkot 2, sections 6-7.

⁸⁷ Smith 1976, 211.

⁸⁸ Karkowski 1981, p.116 (no.58). The continuance of the cult of Tutankhamun at Faras under Horemheb is significant, and lends weight to any ideas that Horemheb was not 'anti-Amarna'. The 'usurpation' of Tutankhamun's name elsewhere, e.g. at Luxor, is most probably because the work was completed and dedicated by Horemheb.

⁸⁹ i.e. land holdings of the Faras institutions were probably transferred largely, if not entirely, to the successors in Aksha.

⁹⁰ ie es-Sebua does not appear to have possessed a large town.

⁹¹ As stated above, I believe Faras and Soleb were serving the same function for lower and upper Nubia during Tutankhamun's reign. Kawa probably held a very different role.

The later temples of the reign, Wadi el-Sebua, Gerf Hussein and el-Derr, were attached to the *pr*-domains of Amun, Ptah and Re, although whether these domains are to be identified with the major Egyptian centres of Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, is far from clear. Many questions are raised by a close examination of these temples, however, by this stage in the occupation of Nubia it would seem that the cultural integration of Nubia (at least as far as the Abri-Delgo reach) and Egypt was complete. The mode of celebration of the royal cults, and in private monuments the greater emphasis upon family relationships and hereditary office all parallel contemporaneous developments in Egypt. The viceregal bureaucracy was almost certainly controlled very largely by Nubian families, whether of indigenous, Egyptian, or mixed origin, with only the very highest officials being appointed from Egypt. It is however, noteworthy, that, the office of chief of bowmen of Kush was held by one family for at least three generations during the reign of Ramesses II, and that there are strong indications that one or more of the viceroys came from Nubia.

The later 19th-20th dynasties.

years 335-490.

Little or no major building activities, although many smaller and mainly private works. However, the question should be asked: does the evidence from Nubia during this period reveal a situation which is totally contrary to what is happening in Egypt? There is perhaps no reason to view the later 19th and the 20th dynasties in Nubia as anything other than prosperous.

Egyptian control still extended as far as Kawa, and the evidence from Amara indicates that it remained an important town. Indeed there is much viceregal work at Amara, and it is possible that attention was being directed towards the rising power of the Kurru kingdom.

The withdrawal of the viceregal administration.

The end of the viceregal administration in Nubia⁹² has been treated only very superficially by most writers who have considered it. The historical details are far from clear, but if we are to assume that the major centres were 'evacuated', fundamental questions about *how* this was achieved must be considered. Whilst many have supported the view that in the later New Kingdom there was a decrease in the agricultural productivity and consequent decline in population, the evidence for this is far from conclusive⁹³. A wholesale withdrawal of the administration and elites to Egypt is usually advocated, without asking the many questions which derive from such an idea, much less whether this is even likely. O'Connor⁹⁴ prefers a political cause for depopulation and it should be recognised that ecological conditions must be extreme in their severity and prolonged before wholesale migration of populations occurs. Also, that the removal of the upper strata of society (i.e. here the Egyptian administration and rulers) does not necessarily indicate that the peasant population also moved. A peasant farmer eking out a subsistence living is perhaps not particularly worse off without the visible paraphernalia of government.

Indeed, even if we are to believe that most of the population drifted away into the wilderness of upper Nubia over a longer period, there must have been a point when the administration was officially closed down. The disestablishment of the machinery of a bureaucracy in existence for nearly five hundred years is no overnight matter. The records of land tenure, and endowments, taxation assessments, viceregal correspondence, orders for building must have been disposed of or transferred elsewhere. Were the temples closed down? If they were, what happened to their administrative records, their furnishings and fittings, their cult images, and religious libraries? Also, what happened to the emigrating population? How was it, indeed, how could it, have been easily absorbed into Egypt itself?

Should we not rather envisage, as perhaps the evidence suggests, that an attempt was made at secession by the viceroy Panehesy⁹⁵, and that the local chieftains and elite tried to carve out principalities for themselves?

⁹² I discuss this phase and the following 3rd Intermediate period and rise of the 25th dynasty and scholastic interpretations of them, in detail in Morkot 3.

⁹³ For discussion see Trigger 1965, p.112-14.

⁹⁴ O'Connor 1983, 268 suggests a 'voluntary and wholesale evacuation of Nubia... which may initially have been caused by the intensity of Piankh's campaigning'.

⁹⁵ A secession by Panehesy is fairly widely advocated, see Kitchen 1973, p.248 (§209); Černý 1975, p.632-34; O'Connor 1983, p.268; although note that Kitchen seems to assume an actual control of some parts of lower Nubia by Herihor and Piankh.

Panehesy was dealing with grain supplies and nubian products, apparently at Thebes itself, in years 12 and 17 of Ramesses XI⁹⁶. He was also involved in the 'suppression' of the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, campaigning as far north as Hardai⁹⁷. Although he was apparently still in Thebes, or controlling Thebes in year 17 of Ramesses XI, by year 19 a new situation is apparent in the southern city. Year 19 was also the year 1 of the 'repeating of births'⁹⁸, and marks the appearance of Herihor in Thebes with the titles high priest of Amun, generalissimo and viceroy of Kush⁹⁹. In the tomb robbery papyri Panehesy is referred to with the determinative signifying 'something deadly, hostile or detrimental'¹⁰⁰. There is no evidence that Herihor and his son Piankh, who succeeded him in year 7/26¹⁰¹, were anything other than titular viceroys of Kush.

An alternative interpretation of events is that, Panehesy was invited, or of his own accord, took some control of upper Egypt around year 12 of Ramesses XI. Herihor was sent against him and installed as ruler of upper Egypt with the office of high priest of Amun added to his military rank of generalissimo. Panehesy was, at least technically, deprived of the office of viceroy, which was then given to Herihor, but Panehesy himself remained *de facto* ruler of lower Nubia. Indeed, he was buried at Aniba, and possibly succeeded by another independent ruler.

How far Panehesy controlled the whole of the viceregal domain is uncertain. His authority may eventually have been confined to lower Nubia, whilst upper Nubia was divided amongst local princes. The most important of these were later the chiefs buried at el-Kurru. It is significant that 20th dynasty material has been identified amongst the earliest burials at el-Kurru¹⁰², indicating that our interpretation of the sites chronology needs reconsidering. Viceregal control of the Abri-Delgo reach lasted until the reign of Ramesses XI, and the fragmentation of Nubia may have been rapid and the direct result of the activities of Panehesy.

II. Limits of influence and control.
A. Geographical.

The military expeditions recorded in Nubia after the reign of Thutmose III were most frequently against the nomadic tribes of the eastern desert which presented a constant threat to the gold mining stations and perhaps also the riverine settlements. The frequent depictions of the slaughter of the kushites is certainly more symbolic than historical.

Egypt defined its southern frontiers by use of natural features, originally the first cataract, and later, with the middle kingdom occupation, the natural boundary of the 2nd cataract. The 18th dynasty expansion south of the 2nd cataract limited itself first at Tumbos, and ultimately in the region called Karoy. This is to be identified with the 4th cataract region¹⁰³ or Abu Hamed reach¹⁰⁴.

The southernmost egyptian fortress was established at the 4th cataract by Thutmose III who was apparently the first egyptian ruler to reach Gebel Barkal, as recorded in a stela of year 47 from there. The fortress (called *sm3 ḥ'styw*) contained a chapel dedicated to Amun, although neither of these have yet been

⁹⁶ Kitchen 1973, p.247-8 (§208) and refs; p.16 (§14) and refs in n.70.

⁹⁷ Kitchen 1975, 247 (§208); Černý 1975, p.630-31.

⁹⁸ Kitchen 1973.

⁹⁹ Kitchen 1973, p.16-23 (§§14-19); p.248 (§209).

¹⁰⁰ Černý 1975, p.634.

¹⁰¹ For Piankh see Kitchen 1973, p.16f. (§§14-17).

¹⁰² T. Kendall, *Kush: Lost kingdom of the Nile* (Brockton, Mass., 1982), p.21 (for general discussion of el-Kurru cemetery); p.22, for faience bowl, Kendall raises the possibility that this object was actually an heirloom. Manufacture in Egypt is not, of course, necessarily to be assumed; it could equally have been the product of lower Nubia or Amara west.

¹⁰³ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.156; Vandersleyen 1971, p.65 n.6; Zibelius 1972, p.162-3; Kemp 1978, p.29; Sauneron and Yoyotte in *BIFAO* 50 (1952) p.183-7 associate the name with the root KUR/KAR and with the modern Kareima and Kurru. Many of these writers use the analogy of the text in the tomb of Huy (Davies-Gardiner 1926, pl.VI), but see my comment in n.61 above.

¹⁰⁴ Vercoutter in *Kush* 7 (1959), p.135 suggests that Karoy covered a large area and most probably 'included the Fourth Cataract region with the gold mines east of Abu Hamed'.

located. Amenhotep II had an asiatic prince hung from the walls of the fortress¹⁰⁵, but there is relatively little known building work of the 18th dynasty, and no town or fortress has ever been discovered.

Our knowledge of this southernmost area of egyptian control is limited. The way in which different empires have controlled their frontier zones is far too complex to discuss in detail here, although it should be considered in relation to Egypt's 4th cataract frontier. The usual assumption is that the frontier was established at the cataract, north of which, in riverine terms, all was in control of the viceregal administration.

Owen Lattimore¹⁰⁶, discussing chinese imperial expansion and establishing a model for other old world expansions indicates three radii:- unification by military action; centralization under uniform civil administration, and economic integration¹⁰⁷. To qualify these, then, simplistically apply them to Nubia. Military action itself comprised inner and outer radii, over territories that could be added to the state and those which could be invaded with 'profit' in plunder or tribute, or to prevent the growth of powerful military strength. The outer radius comprised territories which could not be permanently annexed. In Nubia these radii are clear, being defined by the Bayuda desert and 4th/5th cataract region. Beyond this the Berber-Shendi reach *could* have been invaded (as O'Connor has proposed) but not annexed. Similar administrative structures all derived from the central type were introduced into each newly acquired region. Within Nubia this is abundantly documented, the bureaucracy being modelled directly on that of Egypt. Economic integration, with the shortest range, was, in Lattimore's model, dictated by the transport of bulk goods (especially food) at a profit. This for Egypt and Nubia is a more complex issue, and discussed below.

Whilst the egyptians may have patrolled the cataract region as far as Kurgus, and even campaigned farther south, the sphere of control, although not necessarily influence (which may have ranged farther) certainly ended at Napata. The natural frontiers are too formidable for integration, military or administrative, of the region beyond.

The lack of evidence for egyptian activity between Kawa and the fourth cataract suggests the possibility that this area may have been in the control of local princes who owed an allegiance to the pharaoh. Such local chieftains would doubtless have found many advantages in an alliance with a powerful egyptian state, although they probably tried to establish their own hegemonies when that authority ultimately weakened. Such a situation would also account for the extensive building works of the egyptians in the region immediately to the north, the Abri-Delgo reach, which is less fertile than the Dongola reach¹⁰⁸. B.J.Kemp has already plausibly argued that the fertile Kerma-Letti basin region might have been given over to cattle grazing¹⁰⁹. Although this is the most fertile region south of Silsila, it is known that for high agricultural (i.e., crop) production, irrigation of the basins is necessary. There is however, some supporting evidence for the large scale pasturing of cattle in upper Nubia.

The role of the frontier fortress of Napata is very unclear. Although it has been regarded by some that Napata functioned as a viceregal seat and the major administrative centre for upper Nubia, there is no direct evidence to support this. Indeed the evidence we possess and theoretical considerations seem rather to indicate the opposite. Napata in the 18th dynasty may have been not a major city but a relatively small frontier fortress marking Egypt's official boundary¹¹⁰. Such religious significance that it had was due to the association of Gebel Barkal with the 'throne of the two lands' and consequently a dwelling place of Amun¹¹¹. Whilst we know very little of Napata in the 18th dynasty, Piye's transference of the Soleb sculptures to adorn

¹⁰⁵ see n.53 above.

¹⁰⁶ Lattimore 1962, p.450; see also Mason 1984, p.99.

¹⁰⁷ These radii will of course be governed and modified by a number of factors: the nature of the country; its population; political structure and economic resources; its proximity to militarily powerful states and other spheres of influence.

¹⁰⁸ The political interpretation of the Abri-Delgo settlement proposed here deliberately ignores the ecological alternative of Kemp 1972b, p.667: 'The apparently non-ecologically based distribution of temple towns into the impoverished area between the Bam el-Hagar and the Third Cataract looks suspiciously like the result of an over-assessment of agricultural potential based on a false understanding of the processes of nature.' cp. Frandsen 1979, p.173 and see further below.

¹⁰⁹ Kemp 1978, p.21,32.

¹¹⁰ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p.155 'Napata spielte wahrscheinlich nicht nur als Grenzfestung, sondern auch als Handelsplatz eine grössere Rolle, wo die Produkte des südlichen Sudans das ägyptische Imperium erreichten..', a view also held by Kemp (1978, p.28); cp. however, my alternative suggestion for the method of trade below.

¹¹¹ A sacred site in a remote place does not, however, predicate either a large temple and town, or a major cult and pilgrimage centre. cp. perhaps the Hathor shrine at Sinai. The popularity (and hence wealth and importance) of centres such as the Amun oracle at Siwa seem to belong to a later phase of religious development.

his enlarged Amun temple (B500) surely indicates that there had been no monumental building there for him to re-use. A small temple (B600) is thought to date from the reign of Thutmose IV¹¹², and the first larger temple, the eventual core of B500, was begun by Horemheb or Sety I and completed by Ramesses II. However, as has been argued for lower Nubia, ramesside temples, whatever their size, do not necessarily predicate large town sites or population centres. Ramesses II's temple at Gebel Barkal is similar in size to the temple of Gerf Hussein.

The major new kingdom building work was in lower Nubia and the Abri-Delgo reach. It is, in any case, hardly likely that the Egyptians would have built their major administrative centre at the frontier.

The evidence¹¹³ indicates that Soleb and Amara were successively the seats of the *idnw* in the late 18th-20th dynasties, and in consequence should be regarded as the most important towns. Access to Napata may have been most frequently via the Meheila road from Kawa, thereby avoiding the Dongola reach.

No archaeological evidence for a town or fortress has yet been discovered at Gebel Barkal¹¹⁴. The site of Sanam, a little way to the west of Barkal, on the south side of the river, has been suggested to have been the town site of Napata during the 25th dynasty. However, during the new kingdom such a situation for Napata is clearly impossible. While Sanam controlled the Bayuda road to Meroe and thus during the Napatan-meroitic period would have been in an important position, as an Egyptian garrison it would have been extremely vulnerable.

It is possible that the frontier fortress founded by Thutmose III was located on one of the large islands in the river, near Gebel Barkal. Lepsius found some new kingdom fragments on 'Om Oscher, although these could have been taken there at a later date¹¹⁵. The Egyptians would doubtless have chosen as the position of their frontier fortress a site which was both easily defensible and had some controlling position. Island or west bank fortresses had been favoured at the second cataract, because the major military threat came from the eastern desert. The early-mid-18th dynasty fortress in upper Nubia was on the island of Sai, and there was possibly a fortress founded by Thutmose I on the island of Tumbos. At Napata the situation was complicated by the direction of the river, which here runs in a great double bend. Military threat from the Berber-Shendi reach would thus have come directly from the south along the desert routes which strike the Nile again at Sanam. Attack from desert dwellers would have been possible along the whole north bank of the river. An island fortress is a logical possibility. As an historical reality it can be verified only by exploration of the islands in the Gebel Barkal region.

The boundary inscriptions at Kurgus are, as noted above, more likely to be connected with Egyptian control of the Wadi's Allaqi and Gabgaba, and the Korosko road, than with control of the Nile and delimiting Egyptian interest relative to the Berber-Shendi reach.

It falls beyond the scope of this survey to discuss O'Connor's suggestion that Irem is, in the new kingdom, to be located in the Berber-Shendi reach¹¹⁶. This new interpretation conflicts with the view that Irem is the same as the old kingdom Yam and meroitic Arme/Armi, both equated with Kerma¹¹⁷. Acceptance of O'Connor's theory would require a complete re-evaluation of Egyptian military activity in the 3rd to 6th cataract region. B.J.Kemp has independently located Miu, another important Kushite chiefdom in the new kingdom, in the Shendi reach¹¹⁸. Whether or not these theories of identification are correct, it is certain that there were important political units within the central Sudan at this date. This does not, of course, mean that they came into *military* conflict with the Egyptian presence further north, although they must have been the main suppliers of the 'luxury' products which formed a considerable part of the *inw* and *b3kw* of Kush.

¹¹² PM VII, p.215 for materials.

¹¹³ Evidence, that is, which has survived, been excavated *and* published. However, it is significant that such documentary sources as the tomb of Huy refer to Napata *only* as the limit of viceregal power, and to the officials of Soleb and Faras as the leading towns of the regions. Also no specifically Napatan officials appear to be recorded in *any* surviving new kingdom source.

¹¹⁴ The excavations led by Prof.S. Donadoni may uncover new kingdom material which would totally invalidate all of my arguments and justify the more traditional interpretation (which I believe to be based upon meagre evidence). On the other hand they may not.

¹¹⁵ LD Text V, p.286; the text suggests an 18th dynasty date (Thutmose III-Amenhotep III).

¹¹⁶ O'Connor 1982, p.934-40: but see Postscript!.

¹¹⁷ A view argued by K.-H.Priese 'rm und '3m, das Land Ireme. Eine Beitrag zur Topographie des Sudan im Altertum', *Altorient.Forsch.* 1 (1974), p.7-41, cp.comments of O'Connor (1982) and see Postscript.

¹¹⁸ Kemp 1978, n.68 see also comment of O'Connor 1982, p.940: also Postscript.

B. Political.

In the tomb scenes depicting the presentation of foreign products, or the rewarding of officials, it is noteworthy that there are representatives of both the asiatic and african states. The interpretation of such scenes, and the extent to which they can be read literally as records of events is, of course, problematic. Some might argue that this is another example of the symbolic duality found so frequently, and that it does not necessarily mean that there were kushite or african ambassadors. What good reason can we have for maintaining such an idea? The Kamose texts quite clearly record letter exchange between the Hyksos and the kushite princes. There is quite simply no need to accept that the states were incapable of sending ambassadors and communicating with Egypt. Admittedly the kushite and african states were very differently organized to the highly structured city-states of the Levant and Mesopotamia, and in consequence the nature of their relationship with Egypt must have been different. However, it was mutually advantageous for the egyptian and kushite elites to establish and maintain contacts, and, it should be emphasised, diplomatic exchange is between the representatives of ruling elites/princes/chiefs, and thus within discussion of Kush is not necessarily indicative of political cohesion, but of the existence of important individual rulers. There is certainly a considerable amount of evidence from periods other than the new kingdom indicating¹¹⁹ or suggesting¹²⁰ such diplomatic contact and gift-exchange.

As suggested elsewhere, the region south of the third cataract may have been largely controlled by indigenous kushite princes. There is some evidence in support of this, and it is likely that the egyptians would have established a buffer zone between their political frontier at Napata and their colonised region of the Abri-Delgo reach.

The existence of such indigenous princes is not accepted by all scholars, who believe them to have been village headmen of little importance. However, there is ample evidence for kushite chiefs in the early 18th dynasty leading resistance to the egyptians. Any total disappearance of them, not paralleled in other imperialist expansions, needs to be accounted for. Also it is worth considering the role of chiefs as found in models of frontier expansion where one 'weaker' people retreats before a stronger culture¹²¹. Here it can be seen that retreat (physical) or resistance emphasises the power of local chiefs, indeed, in societies which are loosely structured during peaceful times (eg due to the agricultural capabilities of the land) a former village-headman may increase his power and *become* a chief because of a tightening in the society's structure. If they are recognized as representatives of the communities by the invading power in order to impose the institutions of that power, or to establish a framework for the co-existence of the two communities, the power of chieftains over their own people is increased even further. The hereditary principle is also strengthened, and a family of chiefs may have a vested interest in perpetuating the subordination of the people as a whole. This situation is quite compatible with tribal insurrections against the dominant people.

It is a commonplace of egyptological discussions of Nubia and the viceregal administration to regard Egypt's attitude to the southern country as totally different to its attitude to Asia. But does this interpretation derive solely from our own pre- (or mis-) conceptions? Inherent is the attitude that the egyptians thought like 'us' in relation to the south¹²².

One example of the result of this attitude is the confusion as to whether there were kushite women married to the pharaoh. We have evidence for kings marrying mitannian or hittite princesses, but this is due largely to the survival of unusual source materials in the form of the 'Amarna letters, and the marriage stela of Ramesses II. The tomb of Huy shows the arrival of the *msw wrw* from Kush, which includes two

¹¹⁹ e.g. the embassies to Alexander III at Babylon; the meroitic graffiti recording ambassadors to Rome (ie Egypt); the treaties leading to the establishment of a *tyrannos* in the dodekaskhoinos, and with Augustus at Samos; the ambassadors mentioned in Strabo.

¹²⁰ As suggestive (ie not accurately recorded; or preserved in source materials which require particularly careful treatment) of embassies (or payment of tribute) from Kush to other powers in the near east; Herodotos; the tradition of kushite ivory used in the building of the palace at Susa; the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis and other figures of Kush as one of the throne-supporters of the persian kings; the letter exchange between 'Kandake' and Alexander III; the meroite treasurer recorded in *Acts of the apostles* 8.27.

¹²¹ Latimore 1962, p.476; since the writer discusses China I paraphrase to a greater or lesser degree.

¹²² We should, of course, be equally wary of imposing upon egyptian-nubian relations the diplomatic machinery of the near-eastern states, but at the same time recognise that some sort of contracts must have been mutually agreed. Whilst it is accepted for the pharaoh and the near eastern rulers, the idea seems to be prevalent that in Nubia the king could set up an inscription (NB in egyptian) effectively saying 'keep out', and he was obeyed. The nubian boundary inscriptions are analogous with those in Naharin and at the Bahr el-Kalb: there is no good reason to believe that they lacked the contractual background of the asiatic inscriptions.

princesses¹²³. We accept without demur that the male children of foreign princes were brought up at the Egyptian court as *hrdw n k3p*, yet, seem reticent to believe that the pharaoh married Kushite women¹²⁴. However, our knowledge of the royal wives is so limited that we are hardly able to argue such a position¹²⁵. Whilst the king may, for political reasons, have avoided choosing a foreign princess as the *hmt nswt wrt*, it is hardly likely that the union of such marriages were always childless. The greater number of 18th dynasty kings were children of 'minor' wives, and the accession was possibly sometimes disputed. Can we really be certain that there was no foreign blood, Asiatic or Kushite, in the royal line¹²⁶?

III. The economy of Nubia¹²⁷.

In lower Nubia there were three major agricultural regions to which the three indigenous princedoms seem to have conformed¹²⁸. Probably the most productive of these, as in Christian times, was the central Derr-Toshka region, which had Aniba at its heart¹²⁹.

Lower Nubia was re-organised along the Egyptian pattern of land distribution, although when and how this was achieved is not known; i.e. whether it was a gradual development over a longer period or a single decisive action. The few extant documents relating to land holdings in lower Nubia are of 19th and 20th dynasty date, but reveal a situation closely corresponding to that of Egypt. Of course, within Nubia the agriculturally productive land was far more limited than in Egypt and possibly was of only one or two fields' width between the river and desert¹³⁰. Consequently we must envision a series of narrow fields, rather than the broader field patterns of Egypt. This is at least the impression conveyed by the Pennut donation text¹³¹. Kemp¹³², discussing the postulated decline in population in the 18th dynasty, suggests the possibility of demographic revision in which the population was attracted to the urban centres. This may reflect a policy by the Egyptian administration of moving the people in order to re-organize the land.

¹²³ Davies-Gardiner 1926, pl.xxvii and xxviii.

¹²⁴ Frandsen 1979, p.179 citing Davies-Gardiner 1926, pl.xxvii, regards the princesses as hostages and that 'this does not prove that they were subsequently admitted to the royal harim'. Equally it does not prove that they were not. Ironically, if Mutemwiya is actually a relative of Heka-ro-neheh and Heka-resu, as may be indicated by the evidence, Frandsen's theory (1979, p.169-70 and n.14 on p.183) that *hk3*-names indicate Nubians would provide us with a Nubian *mwt nswt*. A Mitannian origin is often proposed for Mutemwiya; the issue is however, too complex and theoretical to discuss here. A Nubian origin was advocated for Ahmose-Nefertari by earlier scholars (for refs. see Redford 1967, p.68, n.56), and, on the basis of the (unnamed) Berlinwest 'ebony' (actually boxwood) head, and her temple at Sedeinga, for Tiye.

¹²⁵ On the 18th dynasty queens, see G. Robins 'The Role of the royal family in the 18th dynasty up to the reign of Amenhotep III: 1. Queens.' *Wepwawet* 2, 1986, p.10-14, particularly p.13.

¹²⁶ Redford 1967, p.66-69 proposes (on perhaps rather contentious grounds) a Nubian origin for the 17th dynasty royal family.

¹²⁷ The only work by an Egyptologist (other than editions of economic texts, many of which have illuminating commentaries) which makes the attempt to survey the new kingdom Egyptian economy is the immensely valuable study of Janssen 1975. A masterful work on the historiography of the ancient economy is to be found as chap.1 of Finlay 1985. Max Weber's 'Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum' in *Handwörterbuch der Staatwissenschaften*, 1909 (trans. R.I. Frank as *The Agrarian sociology of ancient civilizations*, London 1976) whilst a fundamental work is, for Egypt, out of date. The same applies to F.W. Heichelheim's weighty *An Ancient economic history*, trans. J. Stevens (3 vols. Leiden, 1958-70).

¹²⁸ O'Connor 1983, p.265, fig.3.22.

¹²⁹ see Trigger 1965, p.14; also B.G. Trigger 'Cultural ecology of Christian Nubia' in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens*, ed. E. Dinkler, Recklinghausen 1970.

¹³⁰ see comments of Kemp 1979, p.40 on el-Sebua. Trigger 1965, p.154 'the geography of Nubia is hostile to the spontaneous emergence of urban centres which give the society an organic unit in the Durkheimian sense. The natural tendency is for the farming population to disperse itself along the river in order to exploit what land is available'.

¹³¹ see most recently, and with abundant references, W. Helck 'Die Stiftung des *Pn-nwt* von Aniba' *BzS*.1, 1986, p.24-37.

¹³² Kemp 1978, p.39f.

The system of temple town economies proposed by Trigger and Kemp, whilst establishing a model which provides for the greatest productivity and a locally self-sufficient and re-distributive machine, remains largely unsubstantiated¹³³.

In upper Nubia the land redistribution possibly developed alongside increasing Egyptian interest in the region. Whilst Kemp's idea of demographic revision may account for the apparent population decline, there must have been small settlements throughout the cultivable area due to the intensely linear distribution of the agriculturally productive land.

It is possible that some Egyptian temple foundations held land in Nubia, although the evidence for this is difficult to interpret¹³⁴. Within the agricultural sphere it is difficult to know how such land-holding would have operated, unless it was to provide food for the use of those employed elsewhere in, for example, the gold mines. However, land-holding immediately creates an elaborate system which cannot be wholly exploitative, since it is necessary to feed, even at subsistence level, the local workers, and also to provide administrative staffs. Any involvement of the Egyptian temples within Nubia may therefore have been ideologically motivated. The king was the founder of temples, and donor of land. If the Nubian temples were attached to their respective *pr*-domains in Egypt this may have been to embrace Nubia more closely within Egypt.

The Nauri decree¹³⁵, one of the most informative, but difficult, donation texts from Nubia records a temple of Sety I 'Heart's ease in Abydos', but whether this temple was actually the famous Abydos temple of the king is far from certain¹³⁶. It may perhaps be possible that the temple was either the rededicated temple at Sesebi¹³⁷, or the king's new foundation at Amara west, which was attached to the Abydos temple, and perhaps contributed some revenue (mineral wealth) to the more august fane.

The Nauri decree enumerates the other agricultural possessions and products of the Sety I temple, indicating a wide-ranging exploitation of resources and agricultural potential. The temple owned bird trapping and fishing rights, fish pools, cattle, asses, dogs and goats. The agricultural employees mentioned include bee-keepers, gardeners and vintners, whilst other employees were involved with gold-washing and with foreign trade, some of the products of which would have been transported by the temple's own fleet. The *inw* brought to the temple is characteristically Nubian, including gold, ivory, ebony, leopard skins and animal tails. The tenor and location of the inscription suggest that these activities were carried out largely in upper Nubia.

Wine production is attested from the reigns of Amenhotep III and Sety I, presumably indicating continuity. Although the precise locations of vineyards are unknown, the estates were attached to the temple foundation of Amenhotep III at Soleb, and to the estates donated by Sety I in the Nauri decree, thereby suggesting an upper Nubian provenance. Wine was also imported from Egypt, probably as part of the food allocations to the higher ranking officials¹³⁸.

There is evidence for imports from Egypt, and exports to Egypt, in agricultural and foodstuff terms. However, the movement of products between Nubia and Egypt may perhaps reflect the similar movements within Egypt, most areas being largely self-sufficient in basic agricultural terms, and perhaps manufactures, but with some types of food and other goods being transported and exchanged¹³⁹. Frandsen¹⁴⁰ argues the case for the integration of the Egyptian and Nubian economies during the New Kingdom against the view of simple

¹³³ Trigger 1965, p.109; Kemp 1972a; 1972b, p.661, 667; 1978, p.33f.; see also discussion of Frandsen 1979.

¹³⁴ I discuss the difficult materials for this subject in Morkot 1.

¹³⁵ see principally F.L. Griffith 'The Abydos decree of Seti I at Nauri' *JEA* 13, 1927, p.193-208.

¹³⁶ Although it is usually accepted, see Kemp 1978, p.30.

¹³⁷ An idea briefly discussed in Morkot 4.

¹³⁸ Smith 1976, chap.10-11 (p.162-179) and importantly chap.12 (p.180-189), discusses all of the jar sealings and vintages from Buhen, which include Nubian products from the Soleb estates as well as imports. Frandsen 1979, n.29 (p.184) gives further references to wine in Nubia, apparently from delta vineyards. The Amara west excavations discussed many examples, which are as yet unpublished. Indeed the Amara west material should eventually shed light on the late New Kingdom economy of upper Nubia.

¹³⁹ e.g. cattle, indicated by the Huy scenes (Davies-Gardiner 1926, pls. xxx, xxxii, xxxiii; cattle are also frequently depicted in *inw/b3kw* scenes. The issue is, however, complex, and it is unknown whether long-range trade within Egypt was exceptional or common, and whether it concerned luxury goods or also commodities for daily use; also to what extent the population was dependent upon local production and to what extent upon commodities from other regions, see Janssen 1975, p.161f.

¹⁴⁰ Frandsen 1979, p.171-72.

exploitation. It is important to remember that the situation is one of ancient, pre-capitalist economics and that consequently notions of 'profit' applied within more recent imperialist expansions are not necessarily relevant.

Kemp¹⁴¹ suggests two ways in which the Egyptians may have derived advantage in terms of economic return from their expansion into Nubia, particularly upper Nubia. The first is that trade products were encountered closer to their sources and therefore were diminished less by customs dues levied upon them by a succession of native rulers. This may be valid, although it does raise the extremely difficult and complex issues of whether customs dues were actually levied, and whether profit is really a consideration within the terms of the pre-capitalist economies. In any case it should be considered whether, if the Egyptians maintained an actual limit of occupation in the Abri-Delgo-Kawa region, they actually controlled the trade with the central Sudan. Whilst it is a common assumption that they did, and that to an extent this was a motivation for their activity in the region, can we really be certain that 'control' of trade was desired by the Egyptians? They may in fact have found it more convenient to leave it in the hands of the local princes of the Dongola reach, and receive it direct from them. There seems to be little direct evidence that the Egyptians were involved in trade expeditions in Nubia at this time (unlike the expeditions of the 6th dynasty)¹⁴².

Foreign trade was probably less for 'profit' than for the acquisition of luxury or desirable commodities which could not be produced in Egypt¹⁴³. The agricultural production of Egypt was used largely *within* Egypt, as were many of the manufactures. Lattimore¹⁴⁴ raises the important issue that in China the justification for commodities passing over the frontier was political rather than economic. For this reason the economic categories 'trade', *inw* and *b3kw* may be difficult to distinguish, trade being an exchange of commodities of equal value at one time, whereas the gift exchange was part of an extended cycle of events. In terms of products exchanged, there may have been no distinction. The evidence for Nubian goods certainly seems to attest the same commodities being exchanged under the three different categories. The distinction derives from the social relationship implicit in gift exchange: trade probably did not involve such complex social obligations¹⁴⁵.

Kemp secondly considers direct exploitation of the available resources, both mineral and directly of the land. The mineral, particularly gold, exploitation of Nubia has for long been regarded as the prime factor in the Egyptian expansion, although J.Janssen has raised some doubts about this¹⁴⁶. Kemp also points out that economic exploitation as a prime motive in imperialism has been doubted in the history of more recent colonial empires. The agricultural production of Nubia is unlikely ever to have been so great as to have made it particularly 'profitable' for the Egyptians in a strictly economic sense. The investment in terms of people, administration and ultimately temple building, as Kemp points out, must have been a 'loss'. The benefit is the extension of the very state itself¹⁴⁷.

Slaves were acquired directly from territories adjacent to those occupied by the Egyptians in Nubia, primarily the eastern deserts. These were most usually captured during military campaigns, and were thus initially prisoners. Whether the Egyptians conducted slave-raids, ie the purposeful acquisition of slaves by use of military force, is a little unclear. It is possible that the campaigns described in texts really had the function of a slave-raid, even if the excuse given is 'rebellion' or attack on gold mining settlements. Slaves were also acquired as part of the *inw* and *b3kw* of the Kushite states of the south of Nubia and the central Sudan. Within Egyptian society and economic structure, however, slaves constituted a relatively small group. Egypt did not possess the necessary conditions for large-scale slavery¹⁴⁸, and there is a fundamental distinction to be drawn

¹⁴¹ Kemp 1978, p.19f.

¹⁴² Trade with Punt is a different issue. I did once suggest that the Hatshepsut Punt expedition may have been an attempt either to avoid upper Nubian and central Sudanese levies, or have been due to political and military difficulties in upper Nubia.

¹⁴³ A stimulating work on this subject is K. Polanyi, M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson eds., *Trade and market in the early empires. Economies in history and theory* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957) although it has little detailed discussion of Egypt.

¹⁴⁴ Lattimore 1962, p.483.

¹⁴⁵ although it can be argued that almost all trade was conducted by the means of gift exchange, see discussion of Mauss in Mason 1984, p.118 f.

¹⁴⁶ Janssen 1975, 153-56; Frandsen 1979, p.172 pursues this with some crucial, if unanswerable questions; cp. however, O'Connor cited under Amenhotep III above (text to n.60).

¹⁴⁷ Kemp 1979, p.33.

¹⁴⁸ Janssen 1975, p.171-73, considers slaves 'economically irrelevant' within the Egyptian system.

between Egyptian and græco-roman or industrial/capitalist slavery¹⁴⁹. Slaves in Egypt were employed in households, temples, or in the production of luxury goods, but not as the largest group of agricultural labourers.

Of the forms of Egypt's economic exploitation of Nubia, the most frequently cited, and apparently most clear example is 'tribute'. The terms *inw* and *b3kw* are well recognized as difficult of interpretation. It is possible, following W.Helck¹⁵⁰, that *b3kw* indicates produce of a non-agricultural nature. This was perhaps paid as annual tax to the central government. D.Lorton regards it as indicating trade goods¹⁵¹. A recent discussion of *inw* by E.Bleiberg¹⁵² proposes that it is to be regarded as the products exchanged between foreign princes and pharaoh in gift-giving, and as such indicates a social relationship rather than the taxation or levies of an imperialist or political hegemony. The produce or commodities represented by *inw* became part of the king's privy purse¹⁵³.

It is simplistic to view *inw* and *b3kw* entirely as commodities disappearing from Nubia, to lump them together and represent the situation as purely exploitative. We need to assess the roles of *inw* and *b3kw* within the Egyptian economy, and they are clearly different. Whilst the commodities represented in *inw* and *b3kw* are frequently the same, or at least there is a large overlap, they are two different economic categories, deriving from different relationships.

The 'luxury' products acquired as *inw* and *b3kw* possessed a particularly important role within the society. The use of some products, such as gold, incense, ivory and ebony can be relatively easily accounted for. Their value in the redistributive economy as gifts to officials, and within the diplomatic sphere of gift-exchange, was not purely economic, it also cemented social relationships, and emphasised the position of the king, both within the Egyptian hierarchy and in the wider geo-political context.

To recognize *inw* as indicative of a social relationship introduces the issue of reciprocal obligation with its corollary that a reciprocal and social relationship cannot be wholly exploitative. Since *inw* was presented by the Kushite rulers to the pharaoh we must acknowledge that the pharaoh gave gifts to the Kushite rulers in return. Past studies have usually seen the pharaoh as depleting Nubia of its gold resources and luxury goods, either directly, or as 'tax' or 'tribute' which then entered a reciprocal gift exchange cycle with the other near eastern potentates. However, reconsidering the nature of *inw* we must radically alter our perception of the Kushite-Egyptian relationship. The pharaoh thus becomes involved in mutual gift exchange with both Kushite and near eastern rulers (and Libyan and Puntite chiefs, and probably chiefs of the eastern desert tribes). It should be stressed that transference of goods by gift is not principally, or essentially, with the idea of receiving a profit or an economic advantage¹⁵⁴.

It is not possible to discuss here the constituent elements of *inw* and *b3kw* in detail. The role played by the Nubian products not depicted as forming part of the *inw/b3kw* should also be considered, and the question posed: did they not belong to them, falling instead into some other economic category or were they not depicted because they were not 'exotic' or 'luxury' commodities?

Some categories of product are, however, economically inexplicable. For example, what function was a giraffe in the Egyptian economy? Wider issues must be considered, and although *inw* and *b3kw* have an

¹⁴⁹ see the 'Slave mode of production' chap.1 of Anderson 1978; and the inspiring studies of Sir Moses Finlay, Finlay 1983 and 1985 (chap.3).

¹⁵⁰ see Janssen 1975, p.173 and discussion p.174f.

¹⁵¹ Lorton 1974, p.99-104, with many useful references.

¹⁵² Bleiberg 1984; see also Lorton 1974, p.104 who thinks that the word has a more general application.

¹⁵³ This is a different issue and we can accept Bleiberg's interpretation of the origin of *inw* without here discussing its ultimate use as 'privy purse'. The significant feature is that gift can be re-used only in certain ways eg. as gift to a temple, an official, or a foreign potentate. This, however, all falls beyond the immediate capability of this survey, if not its ultimate scope. My gratitude to Prof.J. Janssen for providing me with an English version of his study of gift by the king in Egypt. My own study of the *inw* and *b3kw* of Kush is not yet complete. The fundamental analysis of gift is, of course, M. Mauss, *The Gift*, New York 1954 (trans. of 1925).

¹⁵⁴ Lattimore 1962, p.483, discussing cross-frontier silk trading, raises the interesting phenomenon of 'barbarians' submitting petitions and sometimes demands 'that they be allowed to 'submit tribute' to China *more often* [his italics]' since the return gifts of the emperor were customarily of greater value than those presented to him. Here one might postulate a net profit to the 'barbarians', although its nature and use may qualify this. China was a different economic case than the ancient near east, but this does rather cast the gift/tribute relationship in a different light. Although the material has not yet been treated rigorously enough for analogous situations to be noted in the ancient near east, it does at least pose the question, was gift exchange economically 'profitable' to the politically superior power?

important economic role, that is only one aspect. A giraffe is without obvious religious or ritual connotations. As a function therefore, it must be considered within the 'prestige' sphere. Whether Egyptian kings kept zoos is rather unclear, but such exotica would have played a significant role at some of the great royal displays of power, such as the so-called 'presentation of foreign tribute' depicted in two tombs at 'Amarna. At these occasions the might of the Egyptian ruler was manifested to his own courtiers and people, and also to the foreign princes, dignitaries and their representatives. On these occasions people from upper Nubia and Mitanni, the Aegean, Libya and the Levantine states, Mesopotamia and perhaps Punt were all assembled. The display of animals from Africa or from the remoter regions of Asia would have impressed upon all those present the extent of pharaoh's authority throughout the world. The ultimate value of such 'products' thus falls within the sphere of prestige and power: the display of pharaoh's universal rule. All people and their products are gathered together in his presence. A close analogy can here be made with the 'tribute' scenes in the Apadana at Persepolis, and those on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III.

IV. Ideology.

In New Kingdom Nubia only the dominant ideology, that of the ruling elite, is visible, and that is itself represented through the Egyptian kingship ideology.

An examination of the kingship ideology as expressed in the Nubian temples and comparison with the more abundant evidence from Egypt, does however, allow us to see something of the way in which the Egyptians regarded Nubia.

The function of the kingship as expressed in the Nubian temples is fundamentally the same as it is in the Egyptian temples. The function of the Egyptian *kingship* in Nubia, must therefore have been essentially the same as it was in Egypt. Had its function been strikingly different, its expression would reflect this. The king is still the sole performer of the rituals - and the same rituals; the preserver of *m3't* and establisher of offerings. The king is the subduer of foreign lands, and ruler of all that the sun encircles. He is the son and successor of the gods.

The chief gods of the Nubian temples, from the mid-18th dynasty onwards are Re-Harakhty and Amun-Re, with the addition of Ptah in the late-18th dynasty. In this respect Egypt is no different. The state triad of Re-Harakhty, Amun-Re and Ptah was promoted after the 'Amarna period, in association with the king. Local deities are also found, admittedly usually forms of Horus, Hathor and Isis, but with a specifically Nubian, and local sphere¹⁵⁵. The indigenous Nubian religion plays no part in the state cults, but the distinction may be much as that between personal and state religion within Egypt¹⁵⁶. There are indications that at least some of the rock-cut temples were at places which were already ancient religious sites. Nubian religion itself seems to have been so fundamentally different from the Egyptian that it was impossible to assimilate deities in the same way as happened with the Asiatic gods. It is perhaps also incorrect simply to assume that the Egyptians despised local religious forms, it may rather be that an abstract religious conception and possibly lack of state-organized, temple-oriented cults did not allow for assimilation with Egyptian kingship ideology, which was, after all, the foundation of Egyptian *state* religion. Asiatic deities such as Reshep, Baal and Astarte were more easily accommodated within the Egyptian state religion and kingship ideology¹⁵⁷.

The promotion of the divine kingship in Nubia has local manifestations, but is not otherwise different from the Egyptian. The 'ausserpolitische Propaganda' seen by Wildung certainly exists, but no more than in any Egyptian temple. Frandsen believes that the Nubian temples reveal 'a process of deification manifesting itself in iconography, epigraphy, epithets and divine typology' which 'had a distribution confined, by and large, to Nubia'. A rigorous examination of every temple in Nubia does not suggest this. Royal iconography and epithets are very much as found in Egypt. Of course, the Ramesside temples are different from those of Amenhotep III or Thutmose III, but this is a result of the period of time involved. The attitudes of Egyptians and Nubians had changed considerably. As Kemp noted, 'it is not enough to say that these rock temples were built to overawe the local inhabitants; this had happened generations before'.

A thorough analysis of the Nubian temples as outlined above in the brief chronological survey reveals a development in kingship ideology which closely parallels developments within Egypt itself.

¹⁵⁵ The worship of Horus and Hathor as patrons of foreign lands was not confined to Nubia; cp. Hathor at Byblos, Sinai and Timna.

¹⁵⁶ In Egypt, of course, there was a greater overlap between the deities worshipped in personal and state religion, and in some cases it is not different gods, but different aspects of them which were particularly important within personal religious practice eg Hathor and her associated deities, Bes, Taweret etc.

¹⁵⁷ And were also identified with Egyptian gods, notably Seth.

The earlier 18th dynasty emphasized the Horus-king, but from the reign of Thutmose III there was an increased emphasis upon the *hb-sd* which led ultimately to the personalisation of the royal cult as expressed by Amenhotep III, and most extremely, by Akhenaten. Tutankhamun reverted to the kingship ideology of Amenhotep III, although new developments are also apparent during this reign. Ay and Horemheb may have stressed the Horus-aspect of the kingship, perhaps for personal political reasons. The early 19th dynasty is a continuation of the royal cult-forms established by Amenhotep III, with new cults of the 'living image'. However, the later years of the reign of Ramesses II saw the complete ascendancy of the royal cult in many different forms. Indeed, it is tempting to interpret the policy pursued Ramesses II as derived from that of Akhenaten, but expressed in more politic fashion. Instead of replacing the divine images with royal ones, the royal images proliferate and combine with the divine in many different ways.

Kemp pertinently observed that the texts relating to Egyptian new kingdom imperialism 'are about divine kingship, not about national greatness'¹⁵⁸. Indeed, within the conventions of Egyptian kingship ideology, Egypt and its people were treated in much the same way as the foreign lands. The appearance of a new king involved the seizure of the two lands and the bringing of the people to order. The emphasis is always upon the person and divine power of an individual, the king. Egyptian imperialism thus lacked many of the nationalistic and racist aspects of later, particularly modern capitalist, empires.

Because the theology and ideology of Egyptian imperialism focus upon the person of the king, *de facto* 'imperialism' becomes a different issue, the nature of which has been extensively discussed by Kemp and Frandsen. The constituent elements of the Egyptian expansion into, and domination of, Nubia, outlined here, require more detailed and rigorous analysis, including further field work in upper Nubia. Only then will it be possible to give any assessment of the full significance of the new kingdom control, both to Egypt and to the later history of Nubia.

Postscript.

In the final stages of editing David O'Connor's detailed argumentation of the location of Irem (presented initially in O'Connor 1982) was received: D.O'Connor 'The Location of Irem' *JEA* 73, 1987, 99-136. O'Connor's new study will doubtless prove challenging to the now widely accepted view that Irem is to be identified with old kingdom Yam and meroitic Areme (argued by K.-H.Priese, see n.117 above). In his historical conclusions (part V, p.135) O'Connor discusses the contrasting implications of siting Irem in the 3rd-4th cataract region or in the Berber-Shendi reach, and also gives support to the idea that Miu should be located in this same region. O'Connor's interpretation seems to accord with the present writer's views as expressed in sections II A and II B, at least to the extent that he regards Egyptian policy in Nubia as paralleling that in Syria/Palestine. This new study is of major importance, and will help us to reevaluate our interpretations of Egyptian policy in the central Sudan.

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¹⁵⁸ Kemp 1978, p.15.

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