
OUTLINE OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I.

N^o 2.

OUTLINE OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUDAN BY PROF. G. A. REISNER.

PART II. — THE EGYPTIAN OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA DURING THE MIDDLE EMPIRE (2000 TO 1600 B. C.)

The strong man of the time of Mentuhotep IV was the vizier, Amenemhat. After a struggle, Amenemhat became king of Egypt and founded the powerful XIIth dynasty. This dynasty was a time of the greatest prosperity. Its kings built the second group of great pyramids, those at Dāshūr, Lisht, and in the Fayyūm; but these are cheaper in material and in construction than those of the IVth dynasty. The outstanding feature of the period, however, and that which is of most concern for the history of Ethiopia, was the organisation of the administration. The division of Egypt into nomes, or provinces, had during the paralysis of the central authority of the preceding centuries, gained an unwonted importance, and affected deeply the reorganisation under the new dynasty. These nomes, in the settled ages in which we know them, were divisions of the civil administration, but they had their separate dialects and their separate gods, often of a *totem* character, and can be traced back to the early predynastic period. In a land so lacking in geographical features, such divisions, persisting through the whole of Egyptian history, rest in all probability on very early, but enduring, tribal divisions. When the older military monarchy gave

way, the tribal system was the only organisation left. For a long time, each tribe, or nome, fended for itself, led by its hereditary chief. The national recovery which preceded the XIIth dynasty came about through the growth of tribal confederacies for mutual protection and then for mutual profit. As the confederation movement grew, the land was finally divided between two great groups of tribes, the northern and the southern. In the struggle between these two groups, the southern confederation conquered the northern, and during the XIth dynasty, the chief of the southern confederation became king of a reunited Egypt. Thus when Amenemhat I set himself on the throne, his power was based first, on his position as chief of the ruling family of the Theban nome, or tribe, and second, on the victorious confederation of southern tribes for mutual benefit. As a matter of necessity, the existence of the tribal units was recognized in his reorganisation of the administration. The tribal chiefs, or nomarchs, were wisely aided to maintain their hereditary claims; the old boundaries of the nomes were restored, and any encroachment of one nome on another strongly repressed. During the greater part of the period the nomarchs ruled almost as kings in their districts. They made themselves great rock-cut tombs in the cliffs, especially at Beni Hassan, Bersheh, and Assiut, and the greater part of our information about the period comes from the remarkable scenes and inscriptions recorded on the walls of these tombs. The nomarch seems to dominate our picture of Egypt of the XIIth dynasty. He served as the leader of foreign expeditions, and as the governor of Ethiopia; he brought up the levies from his nome for purposes of war, collected the royal revenues in his nome, and administered all the chief religious and civil offices. But the power of the king was over all, guaranteeing peace between the nomarchs and keeping them in their places. The royal domains were still large and a percentage of the cattle and other produce was still payable to the crown. Probably these were the same royal rights as those of the Old Empire based on claims to provincial lands which had been seized by the nomarchs during the period of anarchy and were now reclaimed by the king. Although the revenues from the royal domain and other sources appear to have been collected by the nomarchs, a large body of royal officials was needed for the general administration. A standing army was also maintained for garrison duty and

for attendance on the king. For war, the army was increased by the provincial levies brought up by the nomarchs.

It is quite clear that the government of the XIIth dynasty was well organised and stable. The seven kings from Amenemhat I to Amenemhat IV, all in the direct line of descent, ruled 208 years, an average of 29.7 years; probably the highest dynastic average in Egypt. The list of kings was as follows :

Amenemhat I,	2000-1970 B. C.			
Sesostris I,	1980-1935 B. C.,	10 years	co-regent	with his father.
Amenemhat II,	1938-1903 B. C.,	3	—	—
Sesostris II,	1906-1887 B. C.,	3	—	—
Sesostris III,	1887-1849 B. C.			
Amenemhat III,	1849-1801 B. C.,	x	—	—
Amenemhat IV,	1801-1792 B. C.,	x	—	—
Sebekneferura,	1792-1788 B. C.,			a queen.

The dates are probably correct to within four years as they are based on references to the date of the Sothic festival given by contemporary papyri found in the Fayyūm. In addition to the long reigns of the kings, the inscriptions and the other remains prove that order and justice were well established. The canals were kept in good condition. The crafts and industries were practised in protected security. The monuments, — the statues, the reliefs, the obelisks, and the pyramids, — of these kings indicate great wealth and the command of artisans of the greatest skill. On the other hand, the tombs of the great officials and even of the common people are larger and more richly furnished than those of any previous period. Thus the prosperity seems to be not only greater than ever before, but more widely distributed. In other words, the service rendered by the monarchy in maintaining order was rewarded with a less proportion of the national income than in the Old Empire. The internal revenue of the king appears, however, to have been largely increased by the income from foreign trade and from foreign conquests. Perhaps as a direct result of the increased importance for the treasury of the foreign income, the exploitation of the neighbouring foreign lands, in particular of the Sudan, was organized on a permanent basis. With strong kings such as these of the XIIth dynasty, no interference of local foreign chiefs with the mining and

the trading expeditions was to be tolerated. Unruly tribes were savagely crushed. Strong forts were built at all strategic points along the lines of communication, such as Kubban and Dakka, to control the road to the Wādī Alaqi gold mines, at Buhen (Halfa), at Semna and Kumma to control the traffic from the south, and at Kerma to protect the southern trading stations. Fortunately in the case of Semna, several copies on stone have been preserved of the royal decree for the regulation of the river traffic. Much also was done to improve the navigation, especially of the First Cataract, which seems always to have been a more serious obstacle than the Second. The Libyans, the Arabs of Sinai, the Palestinian tribes, and the nomads of the eastern desert, as well as the Ethiopians, were all dealt with by force. For the first time, the king led his army in person into the Sudan, and established settled garrisons for the control of that country.

Such were the general political and economical conditions which led to the occupation of the Sudan by the Egyptians of the XIIth dynasty, but the influence of the personal qualities of the royal family and the great nomarchs can not be ignored. There are no more striking faces among all the sculptured portraits of Egypt than those of the kings of this period, — striking for their cold intelligence and almost brutal power. Still more enlightening for the character of the founder of the dynasty are the instructions which Amenemhat prepared for his son, Sesostri I. This document was so much admired that it has come down to us in seven copies, all made several centuries later. Speaking to his son, Amenemhat says :
 « Shine as a god. Harken to that which I say to thee that thou mayest be
 « king of the earth, that thou mayest be ruler of the lands, that thou
 « mayest increase thy prosperity. Guard thyself against all s^{ub}ordinates.
 « That cometh to pass, to whose terrors no thought has been given. Approach
 « them not alone. Fill not thy heart with a brother; know not a friend; nor
 « make thyself intimates, wherein is no end. When thou sleepest, guard
 « for thyself thy own heart; for a man has no people in the day of evil.
 « I gave to the beggar; I nourished the orphan; I admitted the insignificant
 « as well as him who was great of account; but he who ate my bread made
 « insurrection; he to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein; they
 « who put on my fine linen looked upon me as ; they who anointed

« themselves with my myrrh » « I sent to
 « Elephantine, I reached the Delta; I stood on the borders of the land,
 « I inspected its interior. I carried forward the boundaries by my bravery,
 « by my deeds; I was one who cultivated grain and loved the harvest-god.
 « The Nile greeted me in every ; none was hungry in my years;
 « none thirsted then. They dwelt in peace through that which I did, con-
 « versing concerning me. All that I commanded was carried out. I captured
 « lions; I took crocodiles. I seized the people of Wawat (Nubia); I captur-
 « ed the Mazoi (Nubians). I caused the Bedawin to go like hounds. » These
 are the words of a strong-hearted, wordly-wise old man, who has seen
 clearly the dangers of oriental favouritism and court intrigue and marks out
 a path for his son in which he is to walk alone, utilizing all ranks of men
 and keeping all in their places. As he and his successors took the precau-
 tion to admit the crown-prince to a co-regency and to instruct him in time
 in the principles of government, it may be assumed that the teaching of
 Amenemhat was actually in practice by this family for five or six genera-
 tions.

Of almost equal interest are the tomb inscriptions which portray the
 point of view of the great nomarchs who played a great part in the sub-
 jugation and the administration of the Sudan at this time. As an example,
 Ameny, baron of Beni Hassan (Oryx Nome), speaks of himself as follows :
 « I was aimiable and greatly loved, a ruler beloved of his city. For years,
 « I was ruler in the Oryx nome and all the dues of the royal domain were
 « in my charge. The overseers of the royal herds of the Oryx nome paid
 « me 3000 oxen with their yokes. I was praised for it in the palace every
 « year of controlling the herds. I brought all their dues to the palace,
 « without having any arrears against me in any office of his. The whole of
 « the Oryx nome served me in peaceful ways(?). There was no man's daugh-
 « ter whom I abused, no widow whom I oppressed. There was no peasant
 « whom I turned out of his (land), no shepherd whom I kept away (from
 « his grazing ground). There was no overseer of serfs whose people I took
 « for public works. There were none wretched in my time, nor hungry in
 « my days. When years of famine came, I ploughed all the fields of the Oryx
 « nome as far as its southern and its northern borders and kept its people
 « alive, furnishing food so that none was hungry. I gave to the widow as

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«to the married woman; I did not favour the great more than the little
 «man in all which I gave. Then came great Niles, bringing grain and all
 «things, but I did not collect the arrears from the fields.» In another
 place, speaking of his youth, Ameny says : «I followed my lord (Sesostris I)
 «when he sailed upstream to overthrow his enemies among the four bar-
 «barians. I sailed upstream as the commander-in-chief of the soldiers of
 «the Oryx nome, as the representative of (my) aged father in accordance
 «with his favour in the palace and his preference at court. I traversed
 «Kash, sailing upstream, and fetched the borders of the land. I brought
 «the dues of my lord, and my praise reached the skies. Then His Majesty
 «returned in safety, having overthrown his enemies in wretched Kash;
 «and I came with him, a man of experience. There was no loss among
 «my soldiers.»

When the Egyptian inscriptions are examined, they reveal only three serious military expeditions to the Sudan of which we can be sure. These were as follows :

- (1) Year 29 of Amenemhat I (1971 B. C.) Rock inscription at Korosko.
 General terms in the teaching of Amenemhat I.
 General terms in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan.
- Interval of 9 years.
- (2) Year 18 of Sesostris I (1962 B. C.) Buhen stela of the general named Mentuhotep.
 Tomb inscription of the nomarch Sarenpowet of Elephantine.
 Tomb inscription of the nomarch Ameny of Beni Hassan.
- Interval of 83 years.
- (3) Year 8 of Sesostris III (1879 B. C.) Canal inscription on Sehel.
 Elephantine stela, fort inscription.
 First Semna stela of year 8.
 Second Semna stela of year 16.
- Interval to end of dynasty, 111 years.

There may have been others but of that I am unable at present to find any proof. It has been supposed from certain other inscriptions that Sesostris III made three more campaigns, in his 12th, his 16th and his 19th

years, but this conclusion is based, I think, partly on badly preserved texts and partly on a misunderstanding of the context of the other inscriptions. Moreover, it is altogether improbable that a great king like Sesostris III should have needed more than one campaign to reduce «wretched Kash» to abject submission. In his day the chain of forts extended as far as Kerma, called by the Egyptians *Inebuw-Amenemhat* «the Walls of Amenemhat», and the country was held so strongly that nothing less than a general rising could have broken the grip of the regular garrisons. As the general rising of the year 8 was put down with fire and the sword, it is not very likely that the «wretched and weak-hearted» Ethiopians could have gathered the strength for three more general rebellions in the space of the next ten years.

Fortunately, the excavations in Lower Nubia and at Kerma, together with the examination of the rock graffiti along the Nile, give a more intimate view of the occupation of the Sudan than the bare official records of the three military campaigns.

The conditions in Lower Nubia remained practically unchanged during the whole of the XIIth dynasty. The district between Semna and Elephantine, protected by the forts at Koshtamna, Kubban, Buhen (Halfa), Semna and other places, became populous and prosperous. Every lateral valley had its village or group of huts. Every square metre of alluvial soil appears to have been cultivated. The people were Nubians, perhaps descended in part from the harried population of the Old Empire, but increased by immigrants from the more exposed districts south of Semna. Culturally, they were still in an uncivilized state, nearly neolithic. They were sowers and herdsmen, hunters and fishermen. The only crafts were pot-making, cloth and mat-weaving, and basket-making, — all carried out by hand with the simplest of tools. No doubt they also gained some profit from the traffic and in the service of the Egyptians. The markets at Iken (near Halfa) and at Assuan were probably visited by traders from Egypt as well as by Ethiopians from beyond Semna. Egyptian officials were continually passing. The greater part of this traffic was by boat and must have required the frequent services of the local boatmen who alone would have been familiar with the changing river channel. Cases of oppressive exactions may have occurred, but such proceedings were discouraged by the higher officials.

We may be sure that the Nubians learned how to get their profit out of the situation just as they do to-day. In fact, the conditions in Lower Nubia were then much as they are at the present time; and the population was in about the same state of civilisation as it is now. Then the more prosperous might have had a few objects of Egyptian manufacture, — a blue faience bowl, an alabaster pot, a string of amulets, or a set of bronze tools, — and nearly every one managed to have a large Egyptian water-jar. Now, it is a china plate, a few silver-plated spoons (usually with the mark of some Cairo hotel), a bottle of cheap perfume, Venetian beads, or a sewing machine, while petroleum tins may be found in every hut. In both cases these products of a more advanced race only emphasize the cultural incompetence of the local population. Of course, at each of the forts, there was an Egyptian garrison under an officer with the usual group of scribes and minor officials, often accompanied by their families. One imagines them as small isolated communities, grumbling over their pay and their lonely situation and meeting at the little local «club» to play the Egyptian board-games and drink a beer which was much like the modern *būza*.

South of Semna, things were very different. At Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma) at the northern end of Dongola Province, the old Egyptian trading station was maintained during the greater part of the reign of Amenemhat I. But in 1971 B. C. the year before his last year, Amenemhat found it necessary to lead a punitive expedition into the Sudan. The chief record of this expedition is a brief dated inscription on the rocks at Korosko at the beginning of the caravan road across the desert to Abu Hamed. The nomarch, Khnumhotep of Beni Hassan, accompanied this expedition which appears from the *Teachings of Amenemhat* to have been the chief foreign expedition of the reign. The tribes of Wawat and the Mazoi, who seem to have been the object of the expedition, lay between Kerma and Assuan and probably began the trouble by blockading the roads to the south and plundering the official caravans. After breaking the power of these tribes, Amenemhat built the fort at Kerma (the mud-brick ruin, now called the «Western Deffūfa») and named it Inebuw-Amenemhat «the Walls of Amenemhat» just as the fort built in the north to restrain the Bedawin was called Inebuw-Heqa «the Walls of the Ruler». Amenemhat

appears also to have set a garrison at Kerma and to have appointed an Egyptian governor. This governor died at his post and was buried with Egyptian burial furniture in the large tumulus, K IV, at Kerma, but by some unfortunate chance, no object bearing his name was found during the excavations.

Nine years later, in 1962 B. C., in the reign of Sesostri I, the king was again obliged to lead an expedition to the south. The rising may have been occasioned by the death of the Egyptian governor appointed by Amenemhat I. Possibly he was assassinated. The chief reference for the expedition is a stela set up at Buhen (Halfa) by a general, named Mentuhotep. In the relief above, the war-god, Monthu of Thebes, is represented saying to Sesostri I : «I have brought for thee all the countries which are in Ta-sety (Ethiopia) under thy feet, oh good god», and leading to him ten captives, each of which bears the name of an Ethiopian town or district. In the mutilated inscription below, there is mention of a successful campaign and the laying waste of the country. The same campaign is recorded in the tomb inscriptions of the nomarch, Sarenpowet of Elephantine, and the nomarch, Ameny of Beni Hassan (see above). Ameny says they sailed through Kash to the furthest borders of the land. This expedition, led by Sesostri in person, manifestly resulted in a thorough subjugation of the whole country, certainly as far as the upstream end of Dongola Province and perhaps well into Berber Province.

Of passing interest is the fact that originally the figure of the general, Mentuhotep, was carved behind the figure of the king but has been replaced by the figure of Horus. Mentuhotep, who had served as general under Sesostri I in the campaign, had apparently been left at Halfa when the king returned and found time to have this stela prepared. Perhaps as Prof. Breasted thinks, he made himself too prominent on a record of a personal campaign of the king's and so fell into disfavour; or some later official, or the crown-prince Amenemhat, who came by a few years later may have had a dislike for Mentuhotep or may have taken offence at his prominence on the stela.

This campaign of the year 1962 was the first real conquest of the Sudan. The fort at Inebuw-Amenemhat was enlarged and Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiut, was appointed governor. The garrison was strengthened

and a strong centre of Egyptian civilisation established. Egyptian craftsmen of all sorts were brought up as well as the usual staff of scribes and officials. For the 83 years from 1962 to 1879, no military expedition to Nubia is mentioned. Through the rest of the reign of Sesostri I, the whole of the reigns of Amenemhat II and Sesostri II, and the first 8 years of Sesostri III, the Egyptian occupation continued its peaceful course. During this time, the nomarch, Ameny of Beni Hassan, who had come up with the king on the campaign of 1962, made two more trips, both peaceful, to the Sudan. The first time, in the reign of Sesostri I, accompanied by 400 of his provincial retainers, Ameny came up with the crown-prince (later, Amenemhat II) to fetch gold, and the second time, in the reign of Amenemhat II, accompanied by 600 men, he came up with the crown-prince of that time (later, Sesostri II) to bring ore for Coptos. Probably neither of these expeditions went beyond Wādī Alaqi, and the military escort was more of a guard of honour than a real necessity.

In the reign of Amenemhat II, a certain assistant treasurer (*wakil* of the minister of finance), named Sahathor, mentions on his grave stela, among other official journeys, his trips to Ethiopia in the following words: «I visited the mine-land (Sinai), and I forced the (Nubian) chiefs to wash gold. I brought malachite (from Sinai), and I reached Nubia of the negroes. I went overthrowing by the fear of the lord of the two lands (the king of Egypt). I came to He; I went around its islands, and brought away its products.» Another official, named Ankh, cut three inscriptions on the rocks near the temple of Amāda, each marking an official visit to Nubia, one in the 44th year of Sesostri I (1936 B. C.), one in the 5th year of Amenemhat II (1933 B. C.) and the third in the 24th year of the same king (1914 B. C.). A rock inscription near Assuan records that an official, named Hapu, passed there in the 3rd year of Sesostri II (1903 B. C.) on a tour of inspection among the fortresses of Wawat (Lower Nubia). On the rocks along the Nile between Assuan and Semna, many other graffiti have been found which were made by Egyptians visiting Ethiopia during this period, but unfortunately none of them are exactly dated.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian settlement at Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma) prospered under the governorship of Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiout, and produced a curious local culture, the effect of the Egyptian character

working with local ideas, forms, and materials. The Egyptian artisans developed a remarkable series of crafts, the products of which were distributed throughout Ethiopia and as far as Middle Egypt. The crude black-topped, red polished pottery of the Nubians was taken up, and the Egyptians, working like the Nubians by hand with the same materials and the same technical methods, produced an extremely fine-grained, hard, thin ware, the finest ever produced in the Nile valley. Slight changes in the outlines under the eye of the Egyptian artisan yielded graceful well-proportioned forms never attained by the Nubian potters. Other types of pottery, black and red polished bottles, black polished jugs and bowls decorated with white-filled incised patterns, and other vessels, were also produced. The manufactured articles chiefly exported to Egypt were the beakers and smaller bottles, and their influence can be definitely traced in the Egyptian pottery of the New Empire, the succeeding Egyptian period. Of almost equal importance was the manufacture of faïence and glazed stone objects. The forms of the faïence vessels followed those of the pottery and the decoration in black lines on a light blue background consisted not only of the spirals, flowers, birds and animals of Egyptian decorative art, but also of shaded triangles and other designs taken from the Nubian decorated pottery. The glazing of stone, especially quartzite, reached a perfection of which we find no trace in Egypt. Parts of a glazed quartzite bed were found, the largest piece of which must have measured $150 \times 30 \times 7$ cent., but the most beautiful products of the stone-glazer were the blue and the green glazed crystal and quartzite beads. These beads mixed with red carnelian, and gold beads, were made up into necklaces of striking colours. Gold was very abundant, and so common that it was used for the most surprising purposes. In several cases, ordinary Egyptian officers had the legs of their funerary angareebes cased in gold. Probably the gold-smiths produced objects equal to those of Egypt, but unfortunately the very abundance of the gold has caused its loss to us. The plundering of these graves was so profitable that not one has escaped, and consequently the gold objects recovered were few in number. Wood working and the making of stools, chairs and angareebes were highly developed. The angareebes had the legs carved like the legs of bulls and the foot-board was often decorated with ivory or bronze inlays. The

designs included rosettes, triangles, ostriches, ostrich chicks, flying vultures, bustards, giraffes, winged giraffes, gazelles, goats nibbling a bush, donkeys, hyenas, ant-bears, two-horned rhinoceroses, elephants, crocodiles, and other animals. The work is Egyptian, but the animals are many of them unknown to the Egyptian craftsmen in Egypt. Cloth weaving was also practised much as in Egypt but the decoration of the garments took on special local forms. The use of bead-work for decorating garments was known in Egypt, but the use of the local glazed beads permitted unusual effects. The use of the *rahat* and other leather garments, skirts and caps, was probably peculiar to the Sudan, while the decoration of these garments with pieces of mica sewn in was certainly un-Egyptian. These pieces of mica were cut in much the same forms as the ivory pieces used in the inlays in wood. The scarabs and other seals in use also showed both Egyptian designs and local geometrical patterns. Alongside this mass of Egypto-Nubian material, the sculpture was, except for the material, strictly Egyptian. Fragments of several hundred statues and statuettes were found, all of typical Egyptian forms and technique, with Egyptian inscriptions and Egyptian names and titles. The material alone was local and came mostly from the cataract-region to the north. All these remarkable objects are clearly the work of Egyptian artisans working at Kerma on local material, using both Egyptian methods and local technical processes, and utilizing the strange forms of animals, plants, and patterns which they saw for the first time here in the Sudan. Nothing brings out more clearly the peculiar technical genius of the ancient Egyptian. It was his most enduring quality, appearing in the works of the early predynastic period, traceable through the whole development of Egyptian art, and here reappearing in this isolated outpost in the Sudan.

The manners and customs of these isolated Egyptians at Inebuw-Amenemhat must also have been modified in many ways by their environment, but little is discoverable aside from the burial customs. The burial customs are startling in their deviation from Egyptian practice, in the form of the burial to begin with but more especially in the use of human sacrifice. A large Nubian cemetery adjoined the Egyptian cemetery on the north and this gave us a view of the Nubian practices whose influence appears to have produced the changes in the Egyptian customs. In the Nubian cemetery,

each great chief was buried in a large circular pit about a metre deep over which a tumulus of earth was heaped up to a height of one or two metres above the desert surface. The tumulus was outlined with a circular band of dark stones set on edge and covered with black and white pebbles, apparently to keep the earth from blowing away. Around this tumulus, often encroaching on it, the members of the family and the adherents of the chief were later buried in smaller subsidiary graves. Thus the grave of each chief is the centre of a small cemetery of 20 to 60 subsidiary graves. In each grave, whether large or small, the body lay on its right side with its head to the east on a wooden angareeb near the middle of the grave with the usual personal equipment, — garments, bead-necklaces and bracelets, wooden head-rest, decorated cap, ostrich-feather fan, leather girdle with sword or dagger, sandals, and other objects. Around the sides were stacked a large outfit of household pottery and often a few alabaster jars with perfume, honey and oil. Thus the dead man was supplied with all the necessities of life for the use of his spirit in the other world. So far the Nubian practice is in accord with the Egyptian and with very widespread ideas of life after death although the orientation and the use of the angareeb are especially characteristic of Nubia. But the Nubians carried this idea to its logical conclusion and placed with the dead man his wives and favourite servants that they also might serve him in the other world. One young girl of the better class lay in the arms of an old negro woman, while an older girl lay on the ground behind the angareeb. We give this the ugly name of human sacrifice, taking no adequate account of the categorical imperative of primitive people and the duller sensibilities of half savage man. There are many examples in Africa and Asia of customs similar to the Nubian by which the wives and favourites of a man sacrifice themselves to accompany his spirit to the other world; and I have no doubt that previous to the coming of the Egyptians, the Nubian wives and servants had in obedience to custom laid themselves with their dead lord under the ox-hide to be suffocated when the grave was filled in. In Egypt, human sacrifice was not the custom. It is supposed that a sculptured representation of a ceremony called *tekenu* may refer to some such custom. In this representation, something tied up in a skin is being dragged on a sledge while men in a peculiar dress accompany it dancing. But in the

graves themselves, there is no trace of human sacrifice and even the sacrificial animals appear merely as joints of meat and dressed fowl not as whole animals. The Egyptian tomb also was of a type far different from the Nubian. The rectangular burial chamber was deep underground, at

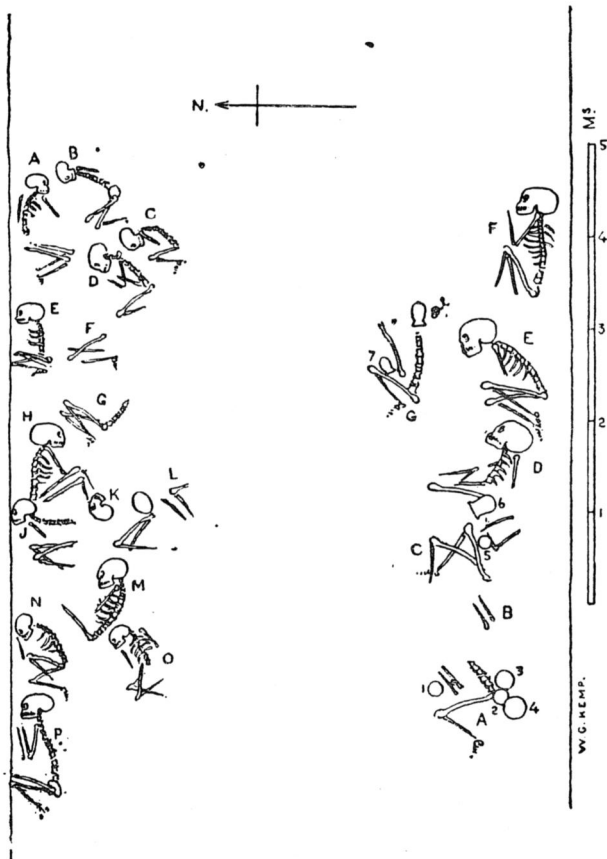


Fig. 1. — Plan of a part of the sacrificial corridor of K IV, the tomb of the first Egyptian governor. Plundered.

the foot of a vertical or a sloping shaft, while the visible part was either a rectangular *mastaba* or a rock-cut chamber with offering stela and pictures of offerings. But here at Inebuw-Amenemhat, the water-table was too near the surface to permit the use of deep shafts and the mountains were too distant to be used for rock-cut chambers. So the Egyptians made their tombs on the Nubian plan even to the grouping of subsidiary graves

around the big tumuli of the governors. The tomb of Hepzefa, for example, was a great circular tumulus of earth 90 metres in diameter and 3 metres high in the centre, held in place by a multitude of cross-walls of

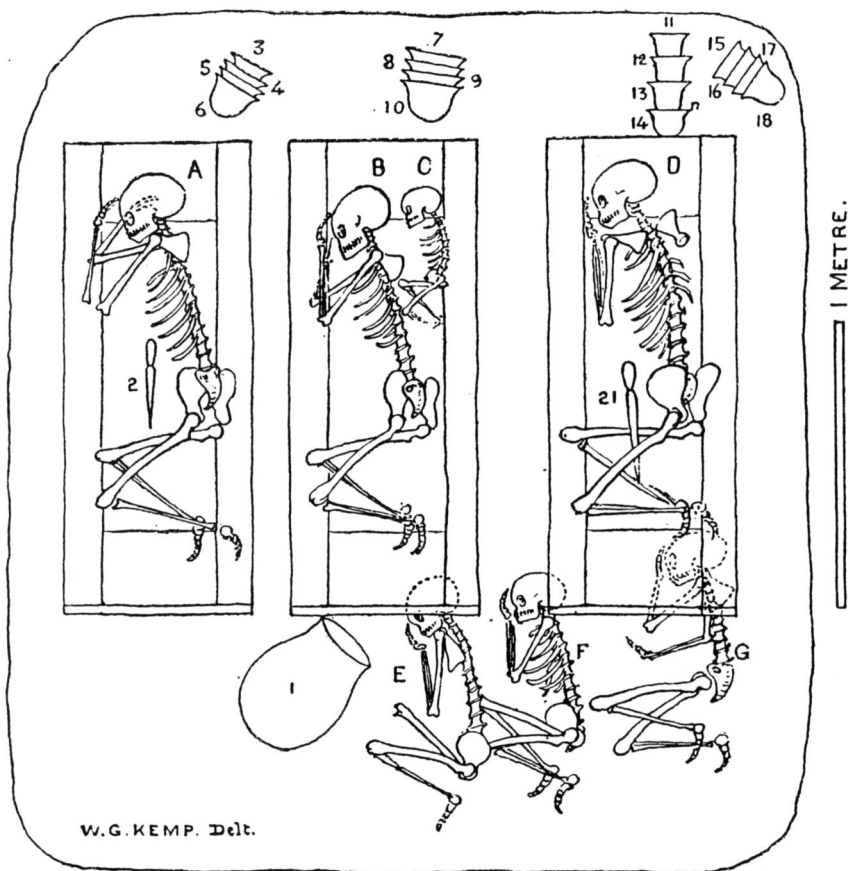


Fig. 2. — Plan of grave K 425, the subsidiary grave of an Egyptian officer, buried in the tumulus of K IV. Body A, a male (attendant) with dagger; body B, a woman with a baby (C); body D, the chief burial; bodies E, F, G, females. Object 1, a large pot; objects 3-18, four stacks of black-topped, red-polished beakers. Plundered grave.

mud-brick and covered with a layer of mud-brick over which were strewn pebbles as over the Nubian mounds. Through the middle of the tumulus ran a corridor about 1 m. 50 cent. wide, between two long mud-brick walls. In the middle of the southern side of the corridor, a doorway led

to an ante-chamber and this to the main burial chamber, both built of mud-brick with the usual Egyptian barrel-vaulted roof. The floor of the chambers and the corridor was the old desert surface, but the place for the actual burial was sunk about 50 centimetres below the surface. Here the body of Hepzefa had been laid with the usual Egyptian equipment of models of boats and household scenes, but the particulars have been destroyed by plundering. Outside in the corridor lay the skeletons of about 350 people, male and female, each with some small personal equipment and some with a few household pots. The filling of the corridor had been left until after the burial and the placing of the human sacrifices. The earth had then been thrown in over all these and the mud-brick floor carried over the whole. During the time of Hepzefa, the Egyptians had made their tombs, to the number of about 70, in the tumulus of his predecessor, K. IV, on both sides of the burial corridor. After the death of Hepzefa, they buried in his tumulus. These subsidiary Egyptian graves kept to the rectangular form of Egypt but otherwise were entirely on the model of the Nubian graves. The Egyptian lay on an angareeb on his right side with his head east and the usual equipment of head-rest, fan, sword, sandals, stone vessels and pottery. At his feet lay a ram buried whole and around him were from 2 to 30 males and females all covered by the great ox-hide which was laid over the burial.

The first Egyptian governor who died in the Sudan was buried in tumulus K. IV. Over 100 people were buried alive in the corridor of his tomb. His name was not found, but he had probably ruled the province about 9 years. It is quite possible that his Nubian wives and favourite slaves may have felt in duty bound to follow the usual custom and die with him. However that may be, the Egyptians certainly adopted this along with other Nubian burial customs and hundreds of people laid themselves down to die in the corridors of the tombs of the governors. There are hundreds of ox-skulls buried around the southern edge of each of the large tumuli which must have come from the cattle slaughtered for the great funeral feast. Possibly these human sacrifices were stupefied by some drug during the feasting and went to their death with little pain and no reluctance to change a servitude of the living body for a servitude of the spirit.

In this far away outpost, Hepzefa, nomarch of Assiut and chief priest of the temple of Wepwat, god of Assiut, was sent by Sesostris I, probably about 1961 B. C. After a number of years, he appears to have died early in the reign of Amenemhat II, and he was buried according to the barbarous Nubian custom in tumulus K. III. But before leaving Assiut, he had planned a burial in the Egyptian manner worthy of a nomarch of the highest rank. He had caused a great rock-cut tomb of seven chambers to be hollowed in the cliff above Assiut, had had the designs for the decoration painted on the walls and the sculpture of the inmost chamber finished, when he was sent away. He had also engaged a funerary priest bound by the terms of a liberal endowment and had made contracts with the priests and officials of Assiut for the supply of offerings, torches, and special services for the benefit of his *ka*. At the foot of the pathway which led to his tomb in the cliff, he had made a garden with a small chapel in which stood a little portable statue of himself. Dying in Inebuw-Amenemhat, this statue was left as the sole representative in Assiut of his *ka*, and at the last he wrote to his *ka*-priest in Assiut as follows : «The hereditary «prince, the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, he says to his *ka*-priest : «'See, all these things for which I have contracted with these priests are «'under thy oversight; for it is the *ka*-priest of a man who causes his «'property and his offerings to flourish. See, I have brought to your «'knowledge these things which I have given to these priests in return for «'those things which they have granted to me. Guard lest any of them be «'revoked. Mayest thou let thy son and heir who shall act for me as *ka*-«'priest hear every word of my lists of what they have given to me. See, «'I have endowed thee with land, with serfs, with cattle, with gardens, «'and with everything like any exalted man of Assiut in order that thou «'mayest carry out my service with a willing heart. Thou art over all affairs «'which I have given into thy hand. See, they are before thee in writing. «'These things shall belong to thy one son, thy beloved, the chosen of «'thy children, who shall act as my *ka*-priest (after thee) as a provision «'which I have established for him but not permitting that he shall divide «'it among his children, according to these instructions which I have «'given thee.'» Later, the *ka*-priest had these contracts with the priests carved on the walls of the unfinished tomb at Assiut. They are ten in

number and provide for the complete annual round of mortuary services and offerings for the statue of Hepzefa, — the daily offerings of bread and beer and the special offerings and services of the great feast days. As some similar ceremonies may have been carried out in the Egyptian cemetery of Inebuw-Amenemhat and the two temples near the cemetery, the description given of the ceremonies of one of the great feast-days in Assiut may be taken as typical of such services. On the evening before, the statue had been carried from the chapel in the garden to the temple of Wepwat. On New Year's day, in the early morning before daybreak, there was a ceremony of torch lighting in the temple. The priests of Wepwat gave the *ka*-priest of Hepzefa 10 loaves of white bread as offerings for the statue. A torch properly blessed was delivered by the wardrobe-keeper and lighted for Hepzefa. A procession was then formed headed by the *ka*-priest and his servants carrying the statue and followed by the priest of Wepwat. The priests followed as far as the northwestern corner of the temple and then turned back to perform similar services for other honoured dead. The little procession went on to the temple of Anubis which was near the foot of the cliff where it was joined by the overseer of the cemetery and the desert guards with a torch furnished by the chief priest of the temple of Anubis. Then they went on to the cemetery, to the tomb of Hepzefa in the cliff, set down the statue, and the *ka*-priest received from the overseer of the cemetery and the 9 desert guards an offering of 11 large jars of beer, 550 rolls of common bread and 55 rolls of white bread. One is to think of the hill-side twinkling with the lights of many such little processions. Later in the morning, the offerings were probably distributed to the poor. The two mud-brick temples in the Egyptian cemetery at Inebuw-Amenemhat were clearly temples of the gods of the dead, and here also torches may have been lighted and processions formed as at Assiut.

It is at present impossible to name the successors of Hepzefa at Inebuw-Amenemhat, but for many years after his death, the Egyptian officials were left undisturbed in the exploitation of the mines and the trade of Ethiopia. It was not until the 7th or 9th year of Sesostris III (1879 B. C.) that a great revolt finally broke out. The causes have of course escaped us, but were probably increasing exactions of the Egyptians, and growing discontent of the higher class Ethiopians, fired by the plunder of some

official caravan or the surprise of some outpost. In the winter of the year 8-9, the king led an army in person to the Sudan and put down the revolt with fire and sword. The references in the Egyptian inscriptions are nume-

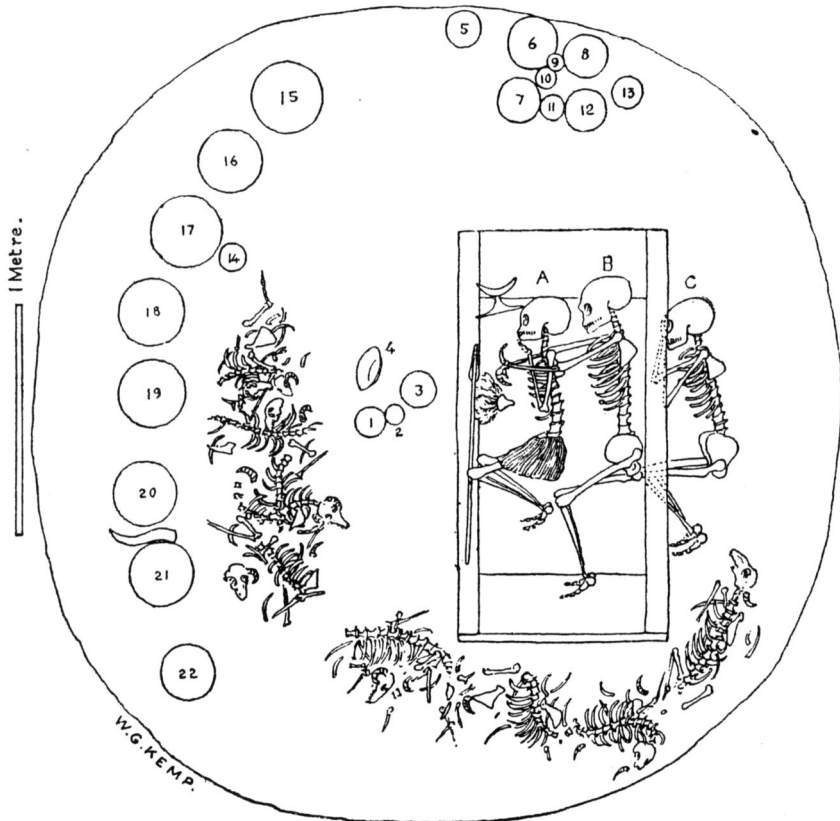


Fig. 3. — A Nubian grave, K 5611, subsidiary to the Nubian tumulus LVI and from its proximity to the main grave probably the grave of a daughter. Body A, the chief burial, a young girl, clad in a beaded leather skirt, with headrest, ceremonial spear, and ostrich-feather fan. She rests in the arms of B, an aged negress. Body C, a girl, lying on the ground. All three were covered with an ox-hide. There are also 8 goats. Object 1, a gold rimmed copper bowl; 9, an alabaster jar; the rest are pottery vessels. An undisturbed burial.

rous and conclusive. Near the Island of Sehel in the First Cataract, a channel, 75 metres long, 10 metres wide, and 7 m. 50 cent. deep, was cleared for the passage of ships in the year 8 « when the king sailed

upstream to overthrow Kash» and the channel was named «Beautiful are the roads of Khakauwra (Sesostris III)». An inscription of the year 9 records building operations carried out in the fort at Elephantine in accordance with orders issued by the king «when he journeyed to overthrow Kash, the wretched». In the year 8, the king also set up a stela at Semna inscribed with the order that «no negro should pass, by water or by land, «either ship or herds of the negroes, except a negro who shall come to «trade at Iken or on an embassy. These shall be well treated but without «allowing a ship of the negroes to pass Semna going downstream forever.» In another stela of the year 16, also set up at Semna, Sesostris III describes his manner of dealing with the Ethiopians and refers in all probability to this campaign of the year 8 : «for they (the negroes) are not men of «strength but poor and weak of heart. My Majesty has seen it without «boasting. I have seized their wives and carried off their dependants. I «have gone forth to their wells and smitten their bulls. I have pulled up «their corn and set fire to it. By the life of my father, I speak the truth.» The booty appears to have been considerable, for an inscription by an official named Ikhernofret informs us that a large share of the booty including especially a certain amount of gold was set aside for the adornment of the temple of Osiris at Abydos.

Sesostris III, having quelled the revolt, made Semna-Kumma the chief point for controlling the traffic. He built several great mud-brick forts and other buildings and established certain festivals to keep up the memory of his punitive campaign. Thus his name became so identified with Semna and the breaking of the power of the southern tribes that both Thothmes III (1501-1447 B. C.) and Tirhaqa (668-663 B. C.) made memorials to him at Semna. Some time during the New Empire a private man at Toshkeh even went so far as to deify Sesostris and to include him as a god in a shrine which he built for the Syrian god, Reshep, Sesostris III and the local Horus.

After the time of Sesostris III until the New Empire, no mention of Ethiopia is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, but at Semna, the rock inscriptions recording the levels of the high Niles extend through the reigns of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV and for four years of Sekhemkhuwtauwira of the XIIIth dynasty. At Inebuw-Amenemhat, about 60

Egyptians were buried in the subsidiary graves of the mound of Hepzefa, the funerary temples were restored, and the tumuli V to IX, XII to XVI were made, each with from 5 to 50 subsidiary burials. In the 33rd year of Amenemhat III, the prince, sole companion, and chief sealer, Yentef, was sent to Inebuw-Amenemhat with a force from Elephantine « on account « of his value in enlarging the boundaries (of Egypt) and the excellence « of his character », according to the inscription which he left in the temple, K II; but whether he came as governor or for some temporary purpose is not clear. It is certain, however, that the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan continued, probably with only minor troubles with the nomads and other lawless inhabitants. In the reign of the same Sekhemkhuwtauwira, in whose time terminated the records of Nile levels at Semna, the last of the great Egyptian governors was buried in tumulus K X at Inebuw-Amenemhat. But the Egyptians maintained themselves in the province many years after the death of this governor; for over 100 Egyptians were buried in the subsidiary graves of his tumulus. Two centuries had now elapsed since Amenemhat I founded Inebuw-Amenemhat and over 150 years since the development of the local arts and crafts had reached their height under the administration of Hepzefa. It is therefore not surprising to find that in the graves of K X, the objects show a certain deterioration. The black-topped, red-polished pottery was especially affected. The beakers had become wider and deeper and in some cases the colouring was obtained by painting and not by firing. This point is important because it is this degenerate pottery which was used at the time of the last occupation of the fort, the Western Deffūfa. The fort and the surrounding offices had been burnt out at the end of their last occupation and this pottery was found on the floors under the layer of ashes and coals. Now, this fort had been the centre of administration and so over a thousand seal-impressions in mud were found which had come from sealed receptacles and letters opened in the offices. Fortunately several of these seal impressions bore the names of the so-called « Shepherd Kings » (Hyksos) who came from Western Asia and ruled over Egypt for about a century (from about 1660-1560). At this time then (about 1600 B. C.) the fort of Inebuw-Amenemhat, the administrative centre of the province, was burned out and never rebuilt. It had been in use 360 years and the mass stands to-day worn and cracked by the

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weather, and undermined by treasure-seekers, but still rising ten metres above the surrounding desert. Except for a few walls near the fort, the town has been worn completely away; and only the broken pottery, the bits of animal bones, the broken bread-grinders, and fragments of other household utensils scattered over a few square miles of denuded desert remain to mark the site.

In conclusion, the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan of the Middle Empire lasted nearly four centuries, from about 2000 to about 1600 B. C. During that time, at least three serious military campaigns were carried out by the king of Egypt in person, and the armed strength of Ethiopia was completely broken by the third of these in 1879. The line of communications was held by a series of forts and garrisons which reached as far as the lower end of the present Dongola Province, and at several of these, notably at Semna and at Kerma, regular colonies of Egyptians were established for administrative purposes. The most important colony seems at present to have been at Kerma, called Inebuw-Aménemhat, where the Egyptians developed a special local civilisation, a curious modification of the culture of Egypt deeply affected by local forms, materials, and customs. The object of the occupation was the control of the gold mines and especially of the trade with the whole of the Sudan. The proceeds were a perquisite of the royal treasury and this made the occupation a matter of special interest to the king. The mines of Wādī Alāqi and at other places in the eastern desert were worked by forced Ethiopian labour; but it is probable that a quantity of gold also came down in trade from the alluvial gold fields near the Abyssinian frontier. The other objects which came down in trade were ebony, ivory, ostrich-feathers, ostrich eggs, leopard skins, resins, myrrh, some special plant products, and slaves. Just what objects went up from Egypt for the Sudan is unknown, but the demand would naturally have been for coloured faïence beads and amulets, woven fabrics, weapons, and scented oils. Curiously enough most of these things were manufactured at Inebuw-Amenemhat and the factories of this colony may have supplied the trade. Our information on this point is deficient. At the settlement itself, the few objects imported from Egypt include alabaster jars, a small amount of wheel-made pottery of which there was a local imitation, and probably either bronze or manufactured objects of

bronze. The wide field of the Sudan remains unexplored for its evidence on this trade. It is not quite clear but it is probable that the whole trade was in the hands of the royal officials and that they were required to send a certain amount, a sort of tribute, every year to the royal treasury. In any case, whatever private ladings went through, either on animals or, as was more usual, on ships, must have been required to pay a tax to the Egyptian local administration. The chief station for the control of this business was Inebuw-Amenemhat (Kerma). It may well be imagined that the Egyptian governor and his officials had to depend on «perquisites» for their livelihood and managed to pay themselves well for their isolation. The manifest prosperity, the abundance of gold, at Kerma proves this conclusively. It was undoubtedly the power given to the Egyptian officials by the profits of the traffic and the ability to supply the demands of the southern trade from the local factories which enabled the Egyptian settlement at Kerma to maintain itself through the period of disorganisation in Egypt which culminated in the conquest of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos. Towards the end, the annual tribute may have been entirely withheld, and the local governor may have ruled as an independent king. However that may be, the end of the settlement of Inebuw-Amenemhat was approaching. It is probable that the Ethiopians became aware that the king of Egypt was no longer to be feared, that they rose suddenly, took the fort by assault, and dealt with the Egyptian garrison after the manner of Central Africa. Thus ended after four hundred years the first Egyptian occupation of the Sudan. But Ethiopia remained the land of gold and of trade routes, and the first king to gain the mastery of a united Egypt was bound by the force of circumstances to clear away the confusion of local tribal control.

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NOTE. — The translations of the documents referring to the Middle Empire are to be found in Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. I.