

SUDAN & NUBIA

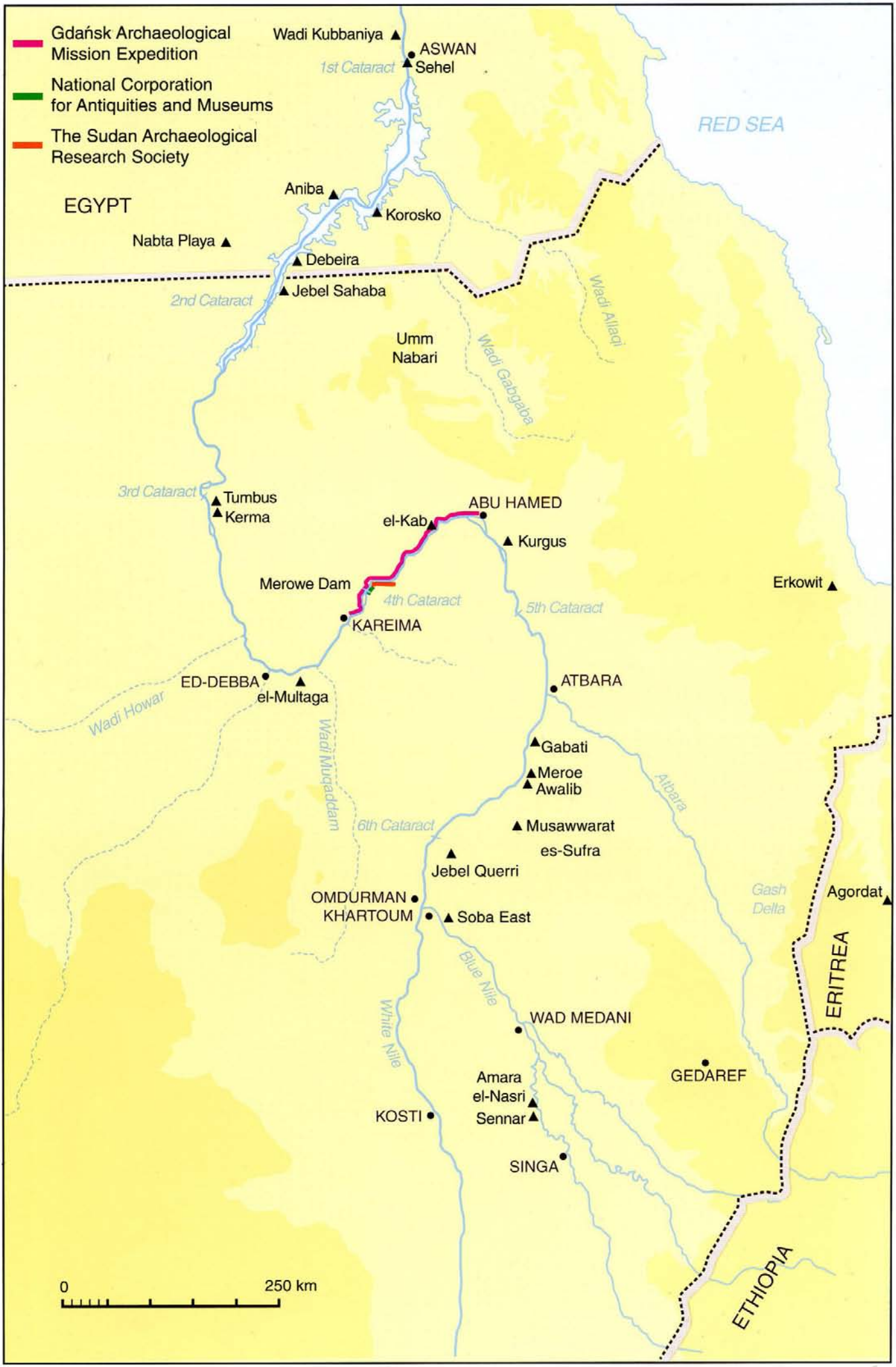
The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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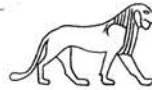
2003





SUDAN & NUBIA

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Introduction

Vivian Davies

The Society's two major events of the year, the results of which are published here - the Kirwan Memorial Lecture delivered in October, 2002, and the colloquium on recent fieldwork held in May, 2003 - were extremely well attended. The colloquium incorporated a special session, led by Dr. Salah Mohamed Ahmed, NCAM Director of Excavations, on the Merowe Dam salvage project. The response has been encouraging. Since the colloquium, several organisations have applied for concessions, joining the existing four missions of Gdańsk, NCAM, the French Unit and SARS. Many more are still needed. Interested parties should contact Dr Salah at NCAM tel./fax. 249 11 786784 or the International Society for Nubian Studies c/o dwelsby@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk.



Reports

The Egyptian Conquest and Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom: the testimony of the Sehel rock-inscriptions

Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot

One hundred and ten years ago, Jacques de Morgan, assisted by Urbain Bouriant, Gustave Jéquier, Georges Legrain and Alexandre Barsanti, launched an ambitious project to copy all the inscriptions of ancient Egypt. They started in the south, at Aswan, and in 1894 the first three volumes of the *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* were published (Plate 1).

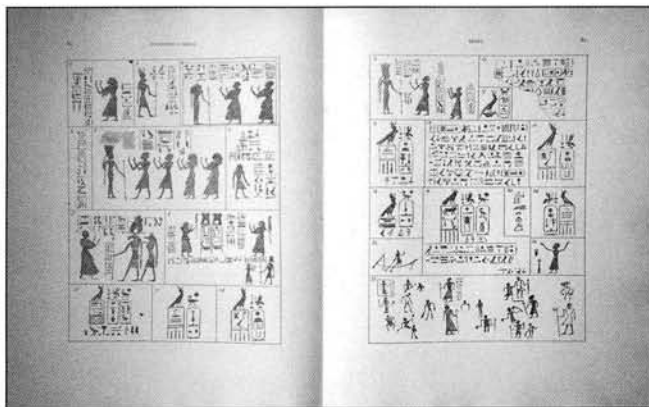


Plate 1. Pages 84 and 85 of J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I/1*, Vienne 1894.

Unfortunately this project had to be abandoned; however, copies of the rock-inscriptions of the First Cataract along the road from Philae to Aswan, Konosso, Elephantine and Sehel (Figure 1) were very soon available to Egyptologists. Sehel (Colour plate XXII) is one of the biggest islands of the Cataract, 3km south of Elephantine, the ancient capital of the region. It is particularly famous for the presence of the Famine Stela on the top of one of the hills.

Since this pioneering work, two scholars, the Egyptian Labib Habachi in the 1950s-60s and the German Elmar Edel in 1980, have been among the few scholars to go back to the field and to resume the work by direct collation of some of the inscriptions. In recent years, on behalf of the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo, we have worked on the island to prepare a new edition of all the inscriptions (Plate 2). The manuscript is almost completed, and here we shall

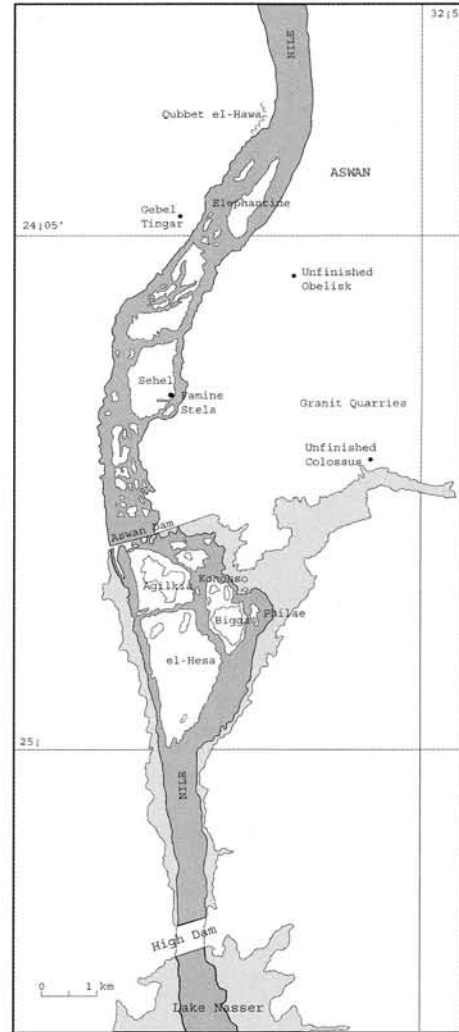


Figure 1. General map of Aswan area (from Baines and Malek 1984, 72).

present some new aspects of this documentation, focussing on the New Kingdom conquest and administration of Nubia.

To begin with, one statistic will illustrate the improvements that have been realised since the first edition. Morgan



Plate 2. Draughtsman Khaled Zaza at work.

reproduced 230 inscriptions; the total amount actually exceeds 500. All the inscriptions are located in the south of the island on two high rocky hills, Bibi togog and Hussein togog (Colour plates XXIII and XXIV) and on three other smaller groups of rocks, Maltineg, Siu debba and Mussein togog, their names in the *kenzi* language of the inhabitants (Figure 2).

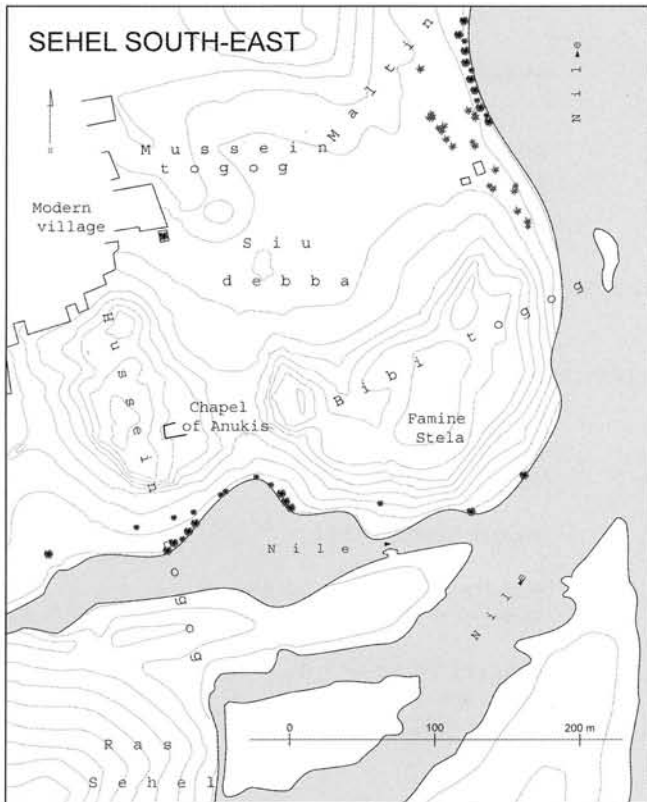


Figure 2. Map of the south-eastern part of Sehel island (D. Lainey/IFAO).

As far as the Old Kingdom is concerned, we can only guess at a link with operations in Nubia through the titles of officials carved on the rocks of Sehel like “overseer of the foreign lands”, “ship captain” or “chief of the Nubian auxiliaries”.

With the Middle Kingdom, for the first time we find royal inscriptions quoting works undertaken to dig a canal alongside Sehel to allow unimpeded access for ships to the south. They commemorate military expeditions led by King Sesostri III himself in order to conquer regions in Nubia where huge mud-brick forts like Buhen and Mirgissa were built. The most famous text is called today by the inhabitants “el-Aroussa” i.e., “the Foamy”. It reads: “Year 8, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakaoura, living eternally. His Majesty gave the order to make anew the canal – the name of which is “Perfect are the Ways of Khakaoura eternally” – after his Majesty sailed upstream to slay Kush-the-vanquished”. It then gives the dimensions of the canal: 150 cubits long, 20 wide, 15 deep (c. 78 x 10.4 x 7.8m).

It is also during the Middle Kingdom that the goddess Anukis appears in the inscriptions of the island to become later paramount. She is then “the one who presides over Ta-Seti (i.e., Nubia)” (*hntt T3-Sti*) or the “Mistress of Ta-Seti” (*nbt T3-Sti*) and then becomes “Mistress of Sehel” (*nbt Stt*).

New Kingdom inscriptions are by far the most numerous, with a total of 300 texts. New Kingdom royal inscriptions only belong to the 18th Dynasty. Most of them are carved close to the Middle Kingdom ones, and are in the name of Thutmose I and Thutmose III. They mention the conquest of Kush and once more the canal that the military ships had to pass through: “Year 3, first month of *sbemu*, 22nd day. His Majesty went through this canal as he was coming back, victorious and powerful, after having slain Kush-the-vanquished. The viceroy Turoy” (Plate 3).



Plate 3. Inscription of year 3 of Thutmose I mentioning the viceroy Turoy (Morgan n° 19).

We know from other sources that this expedition of Thutmose I was indeed very successful and that the capital city Kerma was razed to the ground, their chiefs killed or brought back to Egypt as prisoners. Turoy, the chief administrator of the colonised province, is well-known through the documentation found in the fortress of Buhen.

Queen Hatshepsut also took her part in the conquest of Nubia and we have on Sehel island one of the very few inscriptions from her reign reporting on an expedition. J. de Morgan did not see it and it is L. Habachi who brought it to light. This is one of the most verbose inscriptions on our subject: “The hereditary prince, chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, director of the seal and bounty collector Ty. He says: I followed the perfect god, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Maatkare], given life; I saw her slaying the *Iwntyw*. their chiefs were brought to her as prisoners. I saw her destroying the land of *Nebesy* as I was in the following of Her Majesty. I am a royal envoy who does what he



Table 1. List of the Viceroys and Viceroy of Kush during the New Kingdom.
(After Habachi, 1980, 630-640. Names in bold type are those of the officials mentioned in Sehel)

Viceroy	Reign	No. of inscriptions	Bibliography
<u>Viceroy</u>			
1	Teti	Kamose	
2	Djehuty	Ahmose	
3	Satayt	Ahmose	
4	Turoy	Ahmose / Thutmose I	1 Morgan 1894, 85, n° 19.
5	Seny	Thutmose I / Thutmose II	
6	Inebni or Iny	Hatshepsut	
7	Amenemnekh	Hatshepsut	1 Morgan 1894, 86, n° 35; Habachi 1957, 25, fig. 18; and here fig. 4.
8	Nehy	Thutmose III	1 Morgan 1894, 89, n° 65.
9	Usersatet	Amenhotep II	7 or maybe 8 Morgan 1894, 75 (no number), 86, n° 28, 90, n° 89, 91, n° 100, n° 103, n° 106, 92, n° 112, 100, n° 207.
<u>Viceroy of Kush (modification of the title)</u>			
10	Amenhotep	Thutmose IV	1 Morgan 1894, 92, n° 108.
11	Merimes	Amenhotep III	1 Morgan 1894, 91, n° 96.
12	Djehutymes	Amenhotep IV	1 Morgan 1894, 90, n° 84.
13	Amenhotep Huy	Tutankhamun	
14	Paser I	Ay / Horemheb	1 Morgan 1894, 86, n° 31.
15	Iouy	Seti I	
16	Amenemipet	Seti I / Ramesses II	1 (?) Mariette 1872, 24 & pl. 72; Morgan 1894, 96, n° 161 & 103, n° 53.
17	Heqanakht	Ramesses II	
18	Huy	Ramesses II	3 or maybe 4 Morgan 1894, 84, n° 8, 86, n° 29, 96, n° 153 and n° 161 (?).
19	Setau	Ramesses II	1 Morgan 1894, 97, n° 174.
20	Paser II	Ramesses II	
21	Iouy II	Ramesses II	
22	Mernedjem	Ramesses II	
23	Ânhotep	Ramesses II	
24	Hori I	Ramesses II	
25	Mesouy	Merenptah	
26	Khâemtery	Merenptah	
27	?	Seti II - Perhaps Mesuy	
28	Sethy	Siptah	1 Morgan 1894, 86, n° 29.
29	Hori II, son of Kama	Siptah / Sethnakht	
30	Hori III, son of Hori II	Ramesses III and IV	
31	Saiset	Ramesses VI	
32	Naherha	Ramesses IX	
33	Wentawat	Ramesses IX	
34	Ramessesnakht	Ramesses IX	
35	Panehesy	Ramesses XI	

has been told." (Figure 3).

Once the conquest was achieved, Thutmose III had only to organise one expedition in year 50 and to manage the exploitation of the goods collected in the region. One inscription in Sehel is largely a copy of that of Thutmose I's already mentioned. We can add two more inscriptions in the name of that king, one of which gives the same regnal year.

No royal inscription of the 19th or 20th Dynasties was carved on Sehel island, although many texts with the names of the high officials dealing with Nubia under the Ramesside kings were present. Nevertheless, the most important cor-

pus concerns the inscriptions of the viceroys and those of the viceroys of Kush and their staff during the entire New Kingdom (Table 1). The studies of G. Reisner (1920), H. Gauthier (1921), L. Habachi (1957; 1959; 1967; 1980), I. Pomorska (1987) and B. Schmitz (1976; 1980) have contributed step-by-step to establishing the full corpus.

We observed that the viceroys and the viceroys of Kush represented at Sehel belong mainly to the 18th Dynasty, from the reign of Hatshepsut to the reign of Horemheb. With the exception of Amenhotep (Huy), viceroy of Tutankhamun, all the viceroys of that period are represented in Sehel.

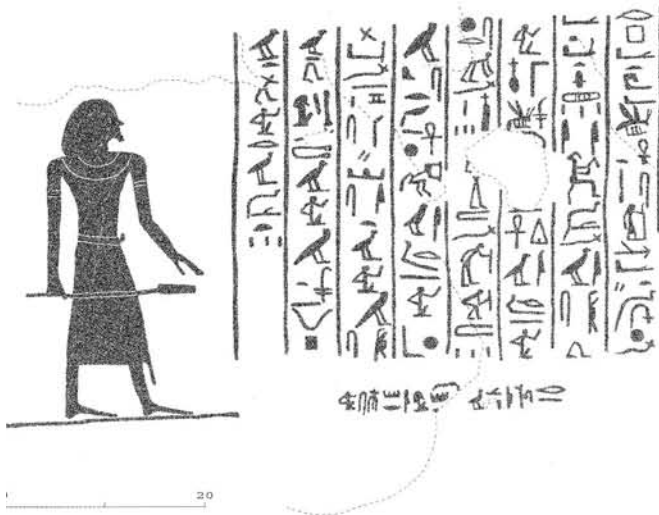


Figure 3. Facsimile of the inscription of Ty, Hatshepsut's envoy to Nubia (Habachi 1957b, 100, fig. 6).

The viceroy of Hatshepsut Amenemnekh is a newcomer to the corpus of Sehel (Figure 4). His inscription was studied by L. Habachi who translated it thus: "The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Gold (Lands) of Amun, overseer of the Southern Lands and overseer of the masons, Thutmose". It must actually be understood as: "The viceroy, overseer of the Southern Lands, Amenemnekh. The overseer of the masons, Thutmose". Thutmose is most probably the one who carved the inscription for his viceroy. Four other texts in the name of Amenemnekh are known in Sudanese Nubia, two in Shalfak (Hintze and Reineke 1989, n° 365 and n° 366) and two in Tangur (*Id.*, n° 558 and n° 564).

The viceroy Usersatet (reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV: Der Manuelian 1987, 154-158; Zayed 1999, 213-223; Peden 2001, 86 and n. 154) deserves a special mention. He is the one who left by far the largest number of inscriptions on the island. Is this due to the fact that he was a native of the region, as the presence of the goddess Satis's name (goddess of Elephantine) in his own name indicates? Because his name has been erased everywhere, it has been difficult to figure out which of the inscriptions belong to him.

For a long time, only one inscription had been documented (Morgan 1894, 86, n° 28): "The viceroy and overseer of

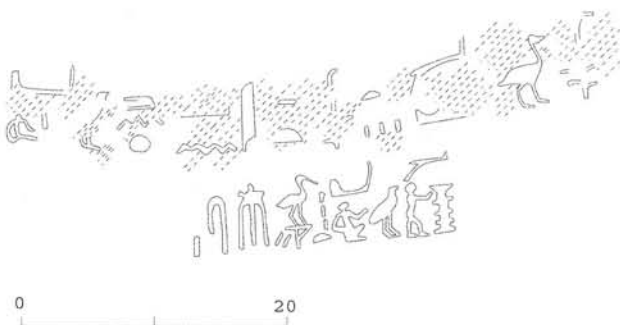


Figure 4. Facsimile of Amenemnekh's inscription (Morgan n° 35).

Southern Lands, Usersatet" (Front cover, bottom).

L. Habachi (1957, 17-22) proposed to add five other texts:

- 1) "The deputy (*idenou*) of the viceroy, and overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet, Sennufer" (Morgan 1894, 91, n° 106).
- 2) "The charioteer of the viceroy, User(sa)tet, ..." (*Id.*, 92, n° 112).
- 3) "May the King give offerings (to) Anukis, mistress of Sehel, (namely) to the ka of [the king's son], the brave [of the king] ... [User]satet" (*Id.*, 91, n° 100).
- 4) "The one concerned with the booty, the brave in vile Kush..." (*Id.*, 91, n° 103; Bryan 1991, 89, n. 184 proposed to read the name Khaemwaset).
- 5) An inscription, south of the island, on Ras Sehel (Plate 4): "Giving adoration to Amun, doing obeisance to Re-Harakhti by the viceroy, the overseer of the (Southern) Lands, User(sat)et, after coming to see the beauties of Anukis in her beautiful festival of proceeding to Sehel. He made accordingly five canals (?) with workmen scorched in their limbs (?); this (?) being done anew" (Morgan 1894, 75).

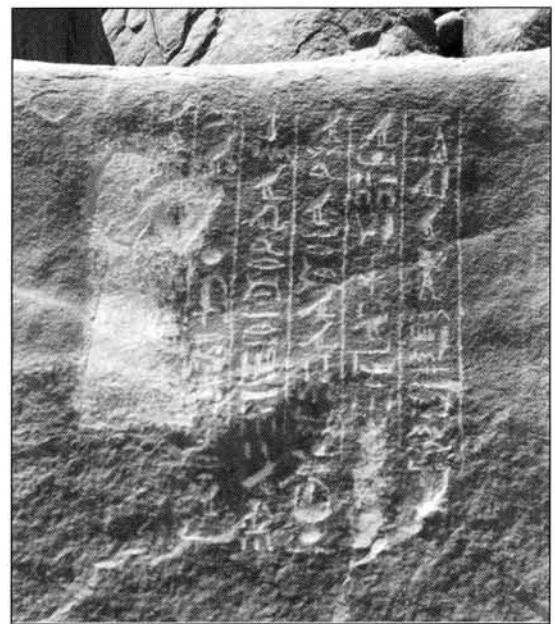


Plate 4. Inscription of Amenhotep II's viceroy, Usersatet, in Ras Sehel.

The end of the text needs further study. It may actually refer to the splitting of granite through fire.

We can now add two more inscriptions in the name of Usersatet:

- 1) An adoration to Anukis, mistress of Sehel (*Id.*, 90, n° 89).
- 2) a text in the name of one of the viceroy's subordinates: "The scribe of the viceroy Usersatet, Nehesy" (*Id.*, 100, n° 207).

There is then a total of seven or possibly eight inscriptions concerning Usersatet in Sehel. He is constantly referred to by his title of "viceroy", and we know that he is the last



one to bear it in this form, since it will later become “viceroyn of Kush”.

Amenhotep is the first to be called viceroy of Kush and we have one inscription in his name on Sehel island with a characteristic series of titles which reads: “The viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, brave of the king, praised of the perfect god, overseer of the cattle of Amun, overseer of the works in Upper and Lower Egypt, chief of the stables of His Majesty and royal scribe, Amenhotep” (Plate 5). Turning to the Ramesside period, we observe that among the 10 viceroys of Kush under Ramesses II, only two are present at Sehel: Huy (Morgan 1894, 84, n° 8, 86, n° 29, 96, n° 153 and n° 161 (?)) and Setau (Morgan 1894, 97, n° 174).



Plate 5. Inscription of Thutmose IV's viceroy of Kush, Amenhotep (Morgan n° 108).

The last of the viceroys of Kush to have had his name carved on the rocks of the island is Sethy, viceroy of Kush under Siptah (Front cover): “Year 3, the first month of *shemu*, the 20th day. Giving adoration to your ka, O valiant king, that he may give praises to the ka of the fan-bearer on the king's right, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Sethy. The prince and governor, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Sethy, the blessed, possessor of veneration” (Morgan 1894, 86, n° 29; Habachi 1957, 33).

The Sehel corpus gives much information about the staff of the viceroy or viceroy of Kush through inscriptions that have long been commented upon. Nevertheless we have occasionally been able to improve on previous interpretations, for example with the inscription Morgan 1894, 99, n° 197, dating to the reign of Ramesses II (Figure 5).

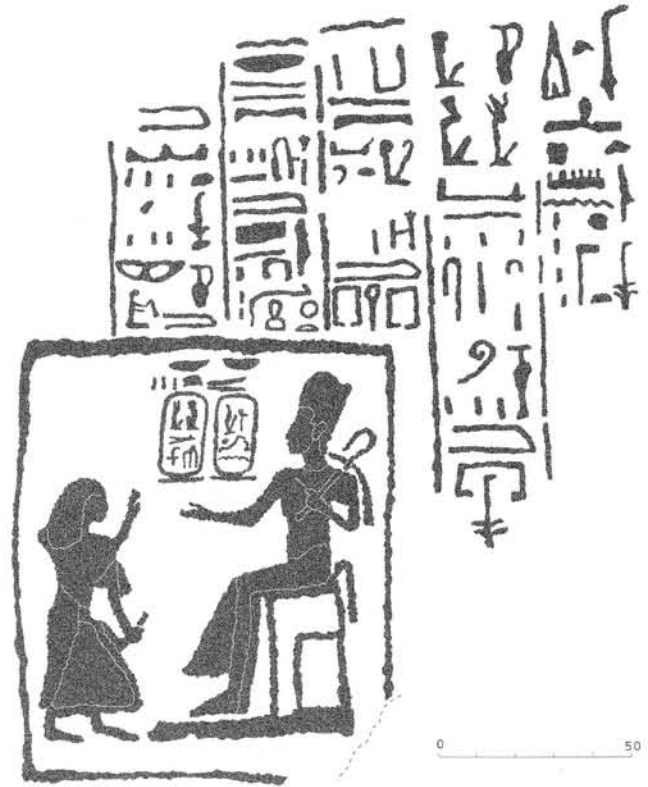


Figure 5. Facsimile of Khnumemheb's inscription (Morgan n° 197).

Until now this inscription has been attributed to a certain Merikhnum “overseer of the curators for the archives of the treasure of the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of the archives in the domain of Amun and mayor of the town in the Southern Lands” (Valbelle 1981, 19, n° 157; Kitchen 1989, 111, 15-112, 4). The real name of this high official is in fact Khnumemheb and he is not “mayor of the town in the Southern Lands” but “overseer of the seal (*imy-r3 htm*) in the Southern Lands”.

One of the leading industries organised by the Egyptian authorities in Nubia, the extraction of gold, was under the control of Amun's temple. It is documented in the Sehel corpus by five inscriptions.

Inhernakht, a high official under Ramesses II (Kitchen 1980, 116), is known on the island from three texts (Morgan 1894, 88, n° 61 & n° 63, 89, n° 74); the last one describes him as “fan-bearer at the king's right, commander of troops and overseer of the gold-land of Amun in Ta-Seti”. He is the only general director of gold mining works to be named in our documentation. We have another example of the control of gold mining exploitation being under the domain of Amun, this time for the 18th Dynasty, with Iahmes, “scribe

of accounts of gold and controller of the works of Amun” (Morgan 1894, 91, n° 97), paralleled by one text on Gebel Tingar on the west bank facing Elephantine, in the name of a Netjerhotep who is “scribe of accounts of gold in Wawat and controller of the works of Amun” (*Id.*, 128, n° 29 and also n° 9).

A striking aspect of gold exploitation in Nubia can be inferred from a series of inscriptions that inform us about the position held during the 19th-20th Dynasties by certain Elephantine citizens or families involved in controlling the entry of gold into Egypt. For example, one Pakem, who was “scribe of the nome of Elephantine and scribe of the accounts of gold” during the 19th Dynasty, had a grandfather Nebimen, “first prophet of Khnum”, and his father was Penimen, “second prophet of Khnum” (*Id.*, 101, n° 217). The same kind of family links are to be found again in a text on Gebel Tingar, where the “hereditary prince, overseer of the prophets of Khnum, Satis and Anukis”, Djehutyhotep, was the son of the “scribe of the accounts of gold of Wawat” Sendjehuty (*Id.*, 128, n° 11).

Most probably under Ramesses III, the career of Pa(ne)fry, son of Pareemheb, is a good illustration of the importance of this charge and shows us that it could lead the incumbent to higher positions in the royal administration.

In one recently discovered inscription he starts with the rank of “scribe of the nome and accountant of the gold of Ta-Seti” (Figure 6). Then, in another text, he becomes “Prince, overseer of the prophets of Khnum, Satis and Anukis, scribe of the nome of Elephantine and accountant of the gold of this town” (*Id.*, 89, n° 77). Two more inscriptions document Pa(ne)fry having reached a higher rank in the hierarchy, since he is now “scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands” (*Id.*, 97, n° 170 et 98, n° 184, left).

All these inscriptions, as well as, in Gebel Tingar, a text in the name of a Panefer “scribe of the nome of Elephantine and accountant of the gold of this nome”, whose father is “scribe of the nome of Elephantine” (*Id.*, 128, n° 12, mid-



Figure 6. Facsimile of Pa(ne)fry's inscription (unedited).

dle), show how strong the link is between the administration of the first Upper Egyptian nome and the control of the gold entering the country.

One interesting aspect of such a study is that it enables the tracing, through their inscriptions and monuments, of the progression of officials or workers toward the South. In conclusion, we would like to quote two of them.

One not recorded by Morgan has been studied by Habachi (1957, 19) with an erroneous reference to Morgan 1894, 92, n° 116, and attributed to Usersatet. In fact, it is another high official that is referred to in this unfinished inscription. We can actually complete the text as “[...] [overseer] of the Southern Lands [...] [Pahe]qaemsasen.” (Plate 6). One of his statues, found in Jebel Barkal, is now in Khartoum Museum (SNM 1848) and we know of an inscription in Tumbus (Colour plate XXV) in his name, as demonstrated by Dewachter, using a copy made by Lepsius (Dewachter 1976, 53-60).



Plate 6. Inscription of Paheqaemsasen.

Some kilometres further north at Sabu (Colour plates XXVI and XXVII) an Elkab citizen carved a short text in his name: “The draughtsman Neb from Nekhen.” (Hintze and Reineke 1989, 184, n° 611). Supposedly he stopped by Sehel on his journey south (or on his return?), since a similar inscription was discovered at Sehel (Plate 7;



Mariette 1872, 24 and pl. 71; Morgan, 1894, 92, n° 114). We have yet to understand the reasons that made people stop at Sehel on their way to or from the south during the New Kingdom. The list of the viceroys of Kush and the fact that not all of them are mentioned in our documentation illustrate the fact that this halting place was not compulsory but that it was for the sake of the cult to Anukis that visitors came to Sehel.



Plate 7. Sehel, inscription of draughtsman Neb from Nekhen.

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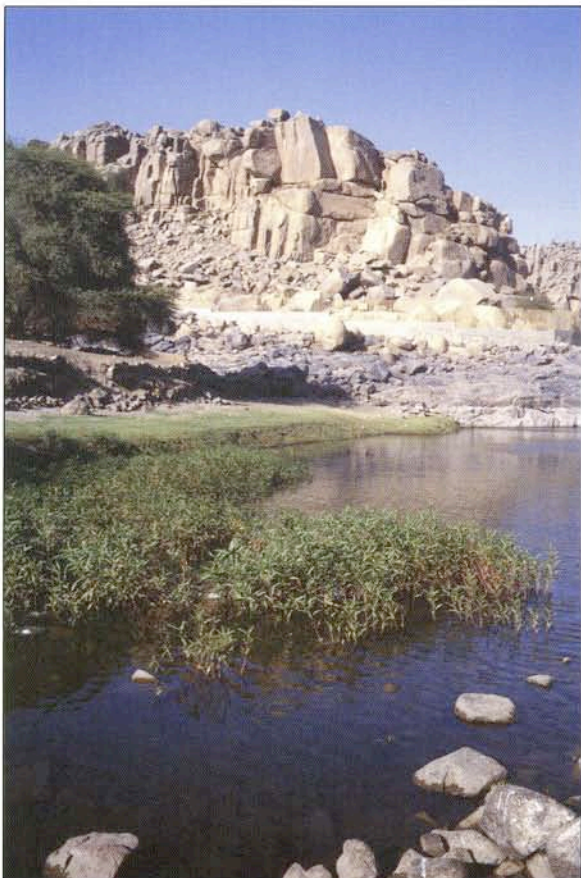
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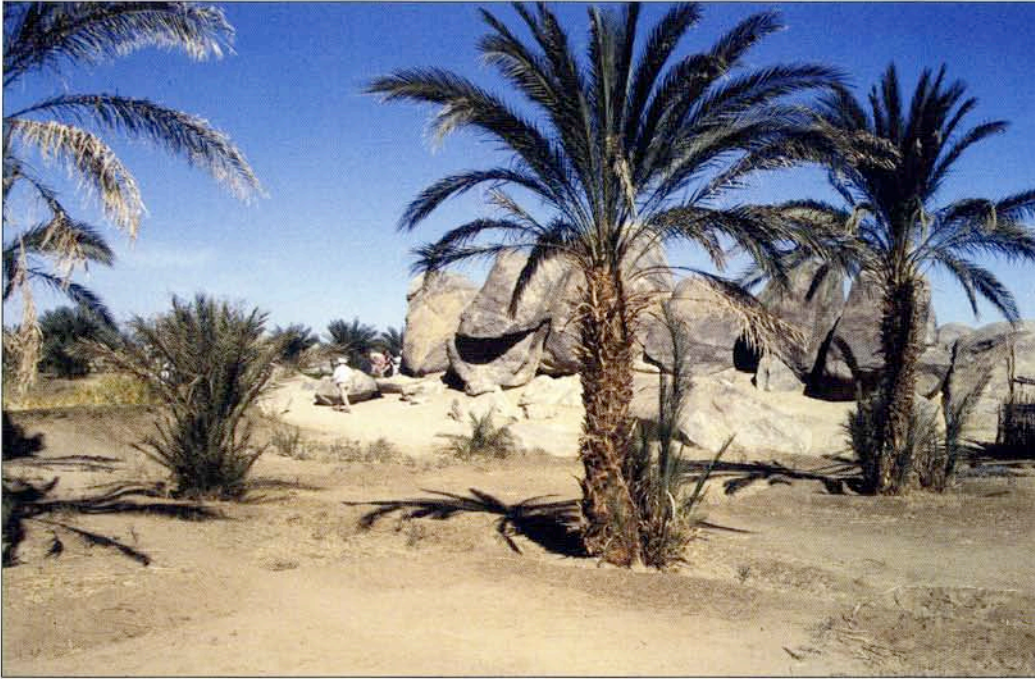
Colour plate XXII. Sebel, general view from the north east.



*Colour plate XXIII. Bibi togog, rock-inscriptions on the north-eastern slope.
(photo A. Lecler / IFAO).*



*Colour plate XXIV. Hussein togog
as seen from Ras Sebel
(photo A. Lecler / IFAO).*



*Colour plate XXV.
Tumbus, general view
with the rock bearing
Pabeqaemsasen's
inscription.*



*Colour plate XXVI.
Sabu. General view
from the north.*



*Colour plate XXVII.
Sabu. Inscription of the
draughtsman Neb
from Nekhen.*