

# SUDAN & NUBIA

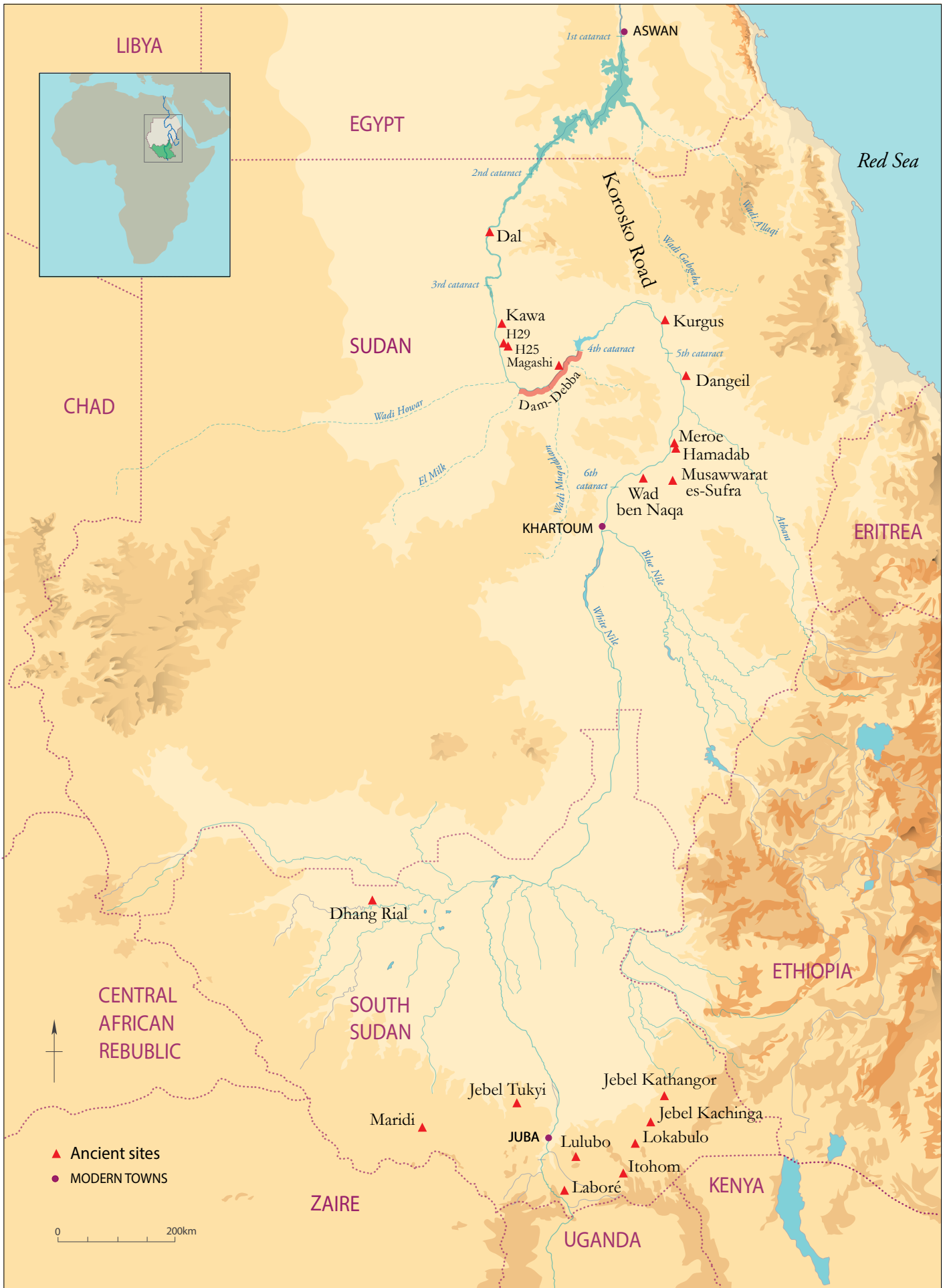
The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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2014





# SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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- Front cover:* Examining the pharaonic inscriptions at Khashm el-Bab on the Korosko Road, November 2013 (photo: D. A. Welsby).
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# The Korosko Road Project

## *Recording Egyptian inscriptions in the Eastern Desert and elsewhere*

*W. Vivian Davies*

The Korosko Road project (KRP) took place during a three week period in November-December 2013.<sup>1</sup> The main aim was to build on discoveries made in the gold-mining regions of the Sudanese Eastern Desert, at Umm Nabari and along the Korosko Road and other routes, by the Centro Ricerche sul Deserto Orientale (CeRDO), directed over many seasons by Alfredo and Angelo Castiglioni.<sup>2</sup> We focused in particular on the sites containing Egyptian inscriptions, which are identified as B, E, F, G, H, I, L and M on the CeRDO map of the region (Plate 1) (Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2006, 178;

2007, 18, fig. 1; Castiglioni *et al.* 2010, 269, fig. 19),<sup>3</sup> all also conspicuous for the presence of native rock-drawings, mostly of animals (especially cattle), often in great profusion. Owing to their uneven state of preservation, many of the inscriptions have proved difficult to interpret from the published photographs. With the generous help of the Castiglioni brothers, who provided us with GPS co-ordinates and images of the landscape, we located the sites and were able to make a new, reasonably detailed record of the inscriptions. In addition, after diverting to Wadi Halfa for provisions, we took the opportunity, before returning to the desert, to visit sites along the Batn el-Hajar. I present here the preliminary epigraphic results of our tour,<sup>4</sup> starting and ending at Abu Hamed, the route of which is recorded in Plate 2.<sup>5</sup> As part of the project, archaeological survey, led by Derek Welsby, was also carried out at various points along the route, one important result of which is reported on by Philippe Ruffieux and Mahmoud Suliman (see below pp. 44-46).



Plate 1. CeRDO map of Eastern Desert identifying ancient routes and sites with Egyptian inscriptions (courtesy Alfredo and Angelo Castiglioni).

<sup>1</sup> The work, organized jointly by SARS and the British Museum, was carried out with the permission and encouragement of Dr Abdelrahman Ali, Director General of NCAM. The team consisted of Vivian Davies (Director, epigrapher), Mahmoud Suliman (archaeologist, representing NCAM), Philippe Ruffieux (ceramic specialist), Bert Verrept (epigrapher), Derek Welsby (archaeologist) and Mohamed Ibrahim (cook).

<sup>2</sup> See also now the fundamental work of Klemm and Klemm 2013, with the site of Umm Nabardi (Nabari) described on pp. 544-548 (6.7.4).

<sup>3</sup> We were unable to visit sites A and C as they are situated over the Egyptian border. Note that A is the site with an inscription naming the 'Chief of Miam Hekanefer' (see below with n. 8).

<sup>4</sup> The copies of the inscriptions made by the epigraphic team (Vivian Davies and Bert Verrept) have been inked by Will Schenck. Production of a number of the images has been much assisted by Derek Welsby.

<sup>5</sup> In order to protect the sites, the GPS co-ordinates are not included here.

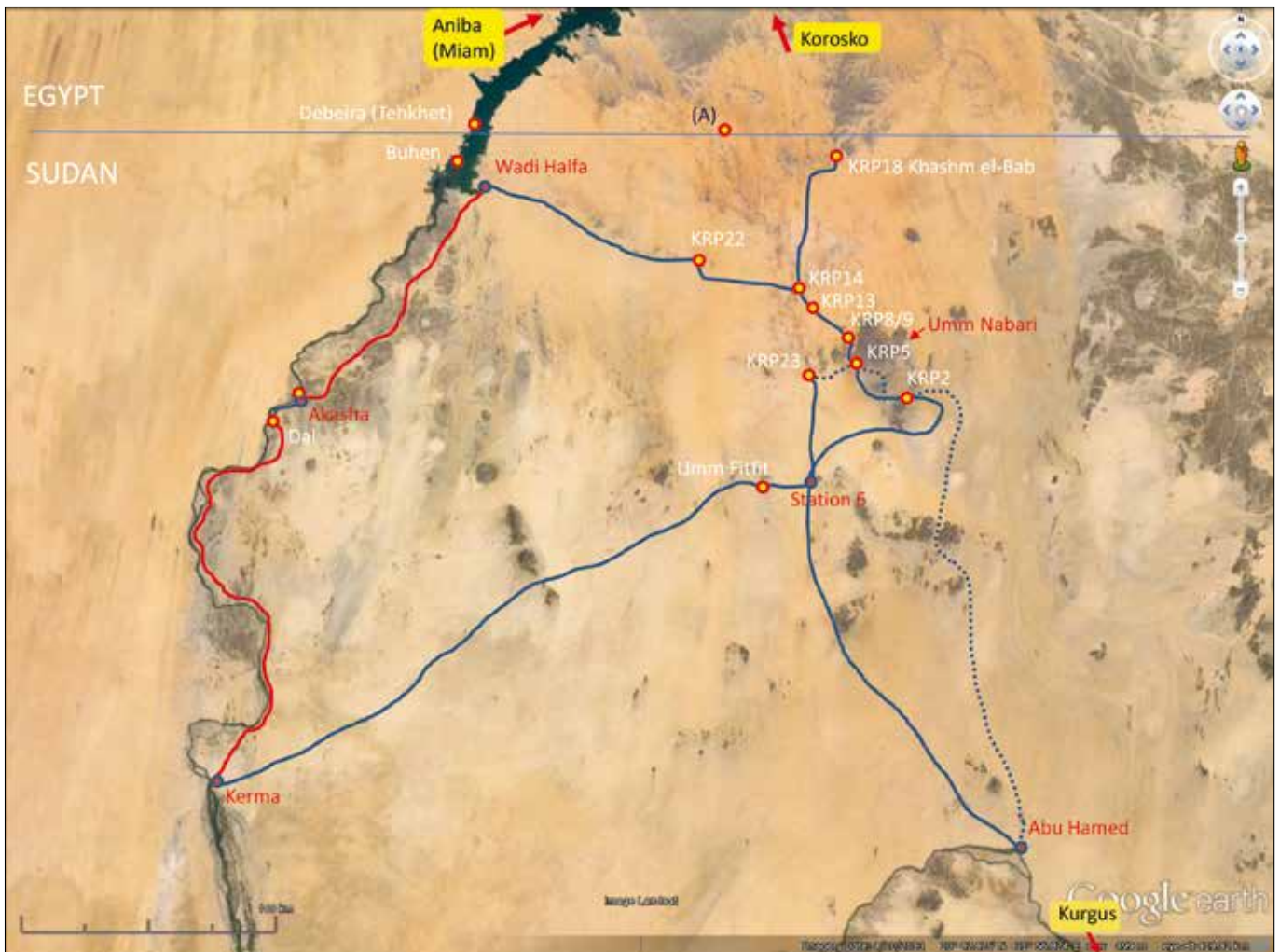


Plate 2. Korosko Road Project, map showing route followed and sites documented.

**Eastern Desert**

**KRP5.** Cave (CeRDO site I; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2003, 48, pls 1-2, colour pl. xxx; 2006, 171; 2007, 32-34, figs 20-22; Roccati 2007, 58). The cave runs east-west downwards straight through the hill measuring about 62m in length, with its western and eastern mouths measuring 7.54m and 5.3m in height respectively (Plate 3). The inscriptions, both of which refer to the same man, are incised in the walls just inside the western entrance. The longer and more complete inscription is located on the south wall less than a metre above the bedrock floor of the cave (Plate 4; Figure 1, upper). It consists of a single horizontal line of hieroglyphs reading right to left, ‘Chief of Tehkhet Paits(y)’. Associated, to the left, is a standing male figure possibly meant to represent Paitsy. He is shown wearing a short wig and skirt, his arms raised in worship, probably with reference to the sun. The second inscription is located roughly opposite on the north wall about 2.5m above the floor (Plate 5; Figure 1, lower). It is arranged in two horizontal lines reading right to left, the beginnings of which are eroded. It reads, ‘[Chief] of Tehkhet

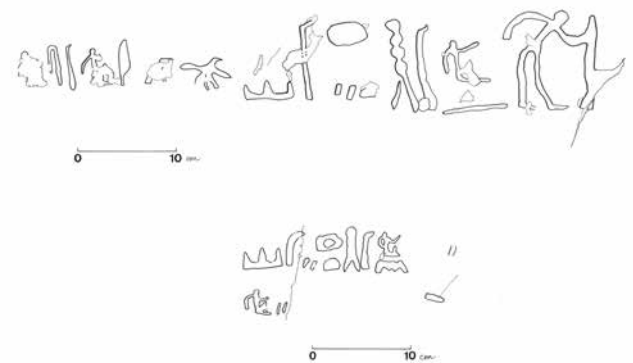


Figure 1. KRP5, inscriptions of Chief of Tehkhet Paitsy.

P[ait]y.<sup>6</sup> These are the earliest certainly dated inscriptions in this gold-mining area.

The Chief of Tehkhet Paitsy, who had two names, ‘Dje-hutyhotep called Paitsy’ (the first Egyptian, the second native),

<sup>6</sup> In addition to the final y of the name, the tip of the front wing of the p3-bird is preserved. For the full writing of the name Paitsy, see Griffith 1921, 99, pl. xxix, 2; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 195-6, fig. 49, C1.



Plate 3. KRP5, cave entrance with Mahmoud Suliman, viewed from west.



Plate 5. KRP5, north side, inscription of Paitsy.

of Miam (Aniba), who served Tutankhamun's viceroy, Huy, and whose name and title occur in a rock-shelter identified as site A on the maps (Plates 1 and 2).<sup>8</sup> Eighteenth Dynasty activity in the eastern desert is also attested to by ceramic finds (see Ruffieux and Mahmoud Suliman, below, pp. 44-46)

**KRP8.** Rock face (CeRDO site H; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2003, 48-49, pls 3-7; 2006, 174-5; 2007, 28-30, 33, figs 12-15, 19). There are several groups of inscription located on the

eastern face of a long hill. The northernmost consists of two horizontal lines of large hieroglyphs reading from right to left, '(1) General, Deputy of the troop, (2) Mayor Hornakht' (Plate 6; Figure 2). A little distance to its upper left there is another inscription done in the same style (Plate 7), reading, 'General, Deputy of the troop', clearly referring to the same man. Some distance to the south, his name and titles recur in a long horizontal line, done again in exactly the same style, here with an important filiation and place of origin (Plate 8; Figure 3), 'Mayor Hornakht, son of Penniut, Deputy of the troop, of Miam (Aniba)'.<sup>9</sup> A second, shorter line placed

immediately underneath is eroded and still under study. Represented below to the right is a large figure of the god Horus in the form of a falcon (Plates 8 and 9), identified in the inscription to the right of its head as a 'Horus of Gold' or

<sup>8</sup> Castiglioni and Castiglioni 1994, 20; Castiglioni *et al.* 1995, 26, 118-122, 180-181, B 34; Damiano-Appia 1999, 513-517, 540, fig. 1, WH-1; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2004, 20; 2007, 37-8, fig. 26; on Hekanefer in general, see Simpson 1963, *passim*; Fitzenreiter 2004, 176-7; Török 2009, 271-2; Brown and Darnell 2013, 133-135; Darnell 2013, 828; Morkot 2013, 948-950; Müller 2013, 51-54, 246-247. See now also the 'Chief of Miam Mer' at KRP18, below.

<sup>9</sup> For the writing of Miam here, cf. the rock-inscription, Jacquet-Gordon 1981, 228-9, fig. 2, pl. 88c. On writings of the toponym in general, see Zibelius 1972, 120-122.



Plate 4. KRP5, south side, inscription of Paitsy with figure to the left.

is well known from his tomb at Debeira (ancient Tehkhet) and other monuments.<sup>7</sup> Coming from a family of indigenous Nubian chiefs, he governed his region as part of the colonial administration of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Several of his other inscriptions associate him closely with Queen Hatshepsut. The presence of his name at Umm Nabari suggests that his duties included oversight of the gold-mining area. He is one of two such chiefs dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty attested in the Nubian Eastern Desert, the other being Hekanefer, the chief

<sup>7</sup> On the 'princes of Tehkhet', including Djehutyhotep-Paitsy and his family, see Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 190-211; Davies 2004; 2005, 54, with n. 68; Török 2009, 265-270, 272; Morkot 2013, 945-946; Müller 2013, 51-54, 244-246.



Plate 6. KRP8, north, inscription with titulary and name of Hornakht.



Plate 8. KRP8, south, rock-drawings and inscriptions including one of Hornakht.

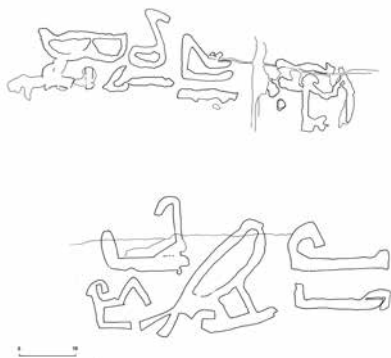


Figure 2. KRP8, titles and name of Hornakht.



Figure 3. KRP8, south, titles and name of Hornakht with filiation.



Plate 7. KRP8, north, titulary of Hornakht.

possibly ‘Horus lord of...’; the reading of the rest of the line is yet to be determined.<sup>10</sup> A few metres to the left is another group in three lines (Plate 10; Figure 4), recording members of Hornakht’s entourage including his son, ‘(1) Scribe Mery, son of Mer, (2) Scribe Meri[...] (3) Retainer Haty, son of the Deputy of the troop’.

This is very possibly the same Hornakht as the ‘... Mayor of Miam, Deputy of Wawat, Hornakht, justified, son of Mayor [of] Miam, Penniut’, known from a rock inscription at Abu Simbel and other sources of the reign of Ramesses II

(Kitchen 1980, 118, III.7 and 125, III.24; Peden 2001, 114-5, n. 342; Mahfouz 2005, 71; Gnirs 2013, 683-684, with n. 184; Müller 2013, 207, nos 3-5).<sup>11</sup> The son, ‘Retainer Haty’, is attested here for the first time. Hornakht’s titles, ‘General’ and ‘Deputy of the troop’<sup>12</sup> may point to a specific military purpose for his presence in the area.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> It has previously been read tentatively as ‘overseer of the Nubians, Ity’.

<sup>11</sup> See also the ‘Mayor Hornakht’ depicted in the shrine of the viceroy Setau at Qasr Ibrim (Raedler 2003, 159, fig. 13, and 161).

<sup>12</sup> The title *idnw pdt* is uncommon; see Chevereau 1994, 89-90, 11161; Paminger 2003, 33 (p. 90).

<sup>13</sup> Relevant here perhaps is the expedition directed by Ramesses II’s viceroy Setau against the land of Irem resulting, among other things, in the capture of the chief of Ikyt (Kitchen 1980, 93, 9-10; 2000, 64; Raedler 2003, 156; Mahfouz 2005, 64; Raedler 2009, 334; Obsomer 2012, 407-408; Müller 2013, 135, 247, no. 8, 291, no. 3, 402, 23.2), a



Plate 9. KRP8, south, figure of Horus and inscription.



Plate 10. KRP8, south, inscription listing members of Hornakbt's entourage.



Figure 4. KRP8, south, members of Hornakbt's entourage including his son.

**KRP9.** Cave (CeRDO site G; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2003, 50, pls 8-9; 2006, 179; 2007, 30, 32-3, figs 17-18). Three separate lines of inscription are located near to the entrance on the northern side of the cave. The first (Figure 5) reads,

toponym for a gold-mining area of the Eastern Desert including the Wadi Allaqi (Zibelius 1972, 95-6; Zibelius-Chen 1994; Kitchen 1999, 214-6; Mahfouz 2005, 62-63 no. 9, B; Török 2009, 17-18, with n. 62).

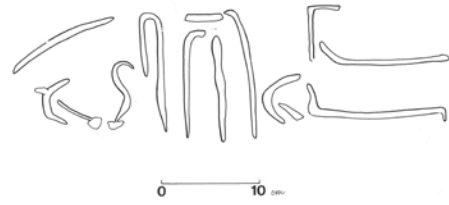


Figure 5. KRP9, Mayor Mesu.

‘Mayor Mesu’. The second, to the left a little further inside and done in a different hand (Plate 11; Figure 6), reads, ‘High Priest<sup>14</sup> Nebnetjeru’. The third, just above the latter to the left, belongs to a ‘scribe’, but the rest of the inscription is eroded and unclear. The ‘Mayor Mesu’ may well be the same as the ‘Mayor of Miam Mesu’ attested in a secondary inscription at Ellesiya (PM vii, 91; Curto 2010, 90, a5, 103, 233, pl. 21, a.5; Müller 2013, 206, 2.5.2, 1, and 412, 28.6), which is datable to the New Kingdom after the reign of Thutmose III. For the Priest Nebnetjeru, see KRP18 below.



Plate 11. KRP9, inscription including name of Nebnetjeru.

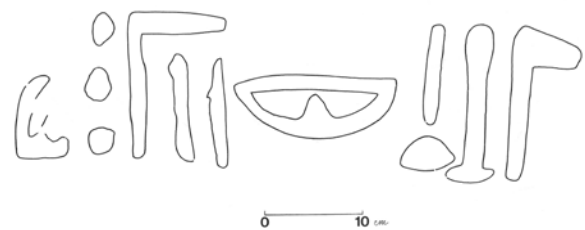


Figure 6. KRP9, High Priest Nebnetjeru.

**KRP13.** Cave (Previously unrecorded). Located on the cave's northern side, not far above the floor, is a single, short line of hieroglyphs (Figure 7), reading from right to left: ‘Scribe Nyny’. This scribe, or at least his name in this form, is not otherwise attested in this area or in the Wadi Allaqi.<sup>15</sup> He can be dated in all probability to the New Kingdom.

<sup>14</sup> Reading *hm-ntr tp(y)*, the *tp*-sign (D1) rendered in rather perfunctory fashion, as it is in the title of the same man in KRP18.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. perhaps the ‘scribe Nana’ at Sahabu (Hintze and Reineke 1989, 168, no. 551, pl. 233; Müller 2013, 275, no. 41, 452, 42.31).



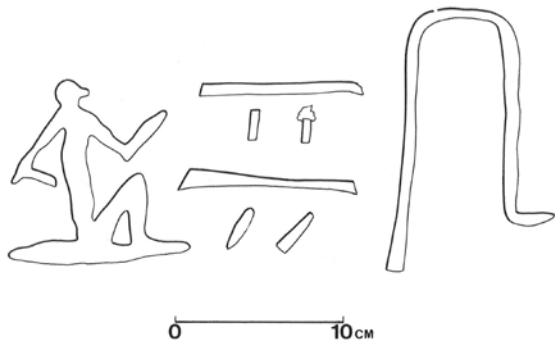


Figure 7. KRP13, *Scribe Nyny*.

**KRP14.** Cave (CeRDO site F; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2006, 170, 176; 2007, 21, fig. 4; Roccati 2007, 57-58). A boulder at the entrance bears a remarkable inscription in sunk relief (Plate 12; Figure 8), consisting of large and well-formed



Plate 12. KRP14, *inscription including indigenous name*.



Figure 8. KRP14, *main inscription*.

hieroglyphs, including a fine Horus-bird and a lion, the group carefully disposed so as to avoid a fault in the stone-surface, which runs diagonally downwards from left to right at this point. The inscription partly covers earlier decoration formed of animal-drawings and indeterminate motifs. To its left is a group of doodles, crudely incised, which appear to reproduce some of its hieroglyphs.

The inscription is arranged in three lines, reading from right to left and from bottom to top. The reading of the bottom line, which should contain a name, is problematic. The whole has been translated as 'le scribe Ra-hen, aimé de Horus, maître du Pays étranger', with the first sign at the bottom evidently understood as *sš*, 'scribe' and the horizontal line under the lion as an *n*. However, as the photograph and copy show (Plate 12; Figure 8), the line beneath the lion is part of the lion-hieroglyph, representing the ground-line on which the lion walks, while the first hieroglyph is a *tr*-sign followed by a stroke. The name here is not Egyptian but is surely indigenous,<sup>16</sup> probably that of a Nubian ruler (a king of Kush of the *Kerma Classique* period?), with the lion, an embodiment of the ruler,<sup>17</sup> serving as semantic determinative, and the inscription reading literally 'Tr-r-h, the lion, beloved<sup>18</sup> of Horus, lord of desert lands'. The form of the name recalls that of the 'ruler of Kush Teri-ah/Teri-ahi' (possibly an ancestor?) included as an enemy of Egypt in execration texts of the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Mirgissa (Figure 9; Koenig 1990, 103, A1, 104, b, 118-119, line 1, 120-121, line 1, 124-125, line 1; el-Sayed 2011, 294, L 400).

If this interpretation is correct, the inscription – almost certainly then the creation of an Egyptian (or Egyptian-trained) artist in the service of Kush – represents a statement of ownership, cultural and territorial,<sup>19</sup> which is unique in content but consistent with what we know of the developing wealth,

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to Claude Rilly, Karola Zibelius-Chen and Rafed el-Sayed (pers. comms) for their helpful comments on the interpretation of the name proposed here.

<sup>17</sup> For the image of a lion as king, see the lions representing Thutmose I and III at Kurgus, both identified by name (Davies 2001, 51-52, figs 6-7, pl. xxxii; 2003, 28, fig. 9), and for lion-figures from royal contexts in Kerma, see Bonnet (ed.) 1990, 209, no. 251, 216, no. 272; Wildung 1997, 100-101. For the likely iconographic connection, see now Manzo 2014, 1149. On the king-lion identity in later Kushite iconography and writing, see Onasch 1993, 236-237; Roccati 2006; Zibelius-Chen 2011, 276-278. Cf. also perhaps in this context the 'figure of a large feline' at Misedda (Osman and Edwards 2012, 328-329, fig. 8.21.21, MAS029d).

<sup>18</sup> The *mr*-sign, N36, is used here rather than the more usual V6 (hoe), as it better fits the space.

<sup>19</sup> In a reversal of role, the Egyptian god, Horus, lord of desert lands (often attested in mining regions; cf. Leitz 2002, 710-711; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 15-16, 19, 52, 56-57), is here appropriated to act as guarantor; cf. in contrast the Egyptian 'border' stela of the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period from Argin (SNM 14221; Wildung 1997, 84-85, no. 92; Berengneur 2003; Roccati 2007, 57-58, fig. 4; Knoblauch 2012, 90, fig. 2, and 93).

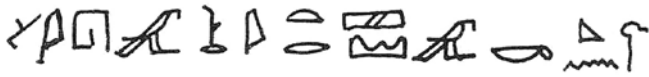


Figure 9. Ruler of Kush Teri-abi, from an execration text  
(after Koenig 1990).

power and ambition of the Kushite state (Edwards 2004, 90-97; Davies 2005, 49-50; Fitzenreiter 2012; Török 2009, 108-110; Valbelle 2014, 106-7; von Pilgrim, forth.). That the latter had some hegemony over the southern Eastern Desert is further suggested by the absence from the region of inscriptions left by Egyptian officials pre-dating the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

**KRP18.** Khashm el-Bab (CeRDO site B; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 1994, 20; Castiglioni *et al.* 1995, 112-114; Damiano-Appia 1999, 522-534, 541, fig. 2; Andrassy 2002, 10-13; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2006, 172; 2007, 26-28, fig. 11; Roccati 2007, 58; Castiglioni *et al.* 2010, 267-8, fig. 18). This rock-face (see Front Cover) has the greatest single concentration of Egyptian inscriptions, comprising names and titles, in the Sudanese Eastern Desert, no doubt reflecting its position at a point where various desert routes come together as they pass through the hills. The main decorated area, at the right end (Plate 13), measures about 1.4m in height and 2.9m in width. It once extended further to the left but the surface here is now lost. A single inscription, located well above head height, occurs at the far left end of the rock-face. Many of the inscriptions are written in hieroglyphs, some a little clumsily done. Others are rendered in hieratic or in a mixed, lapidary script.<sup>21</sup> Most are arranged in horizontal lines. They are listed briefly below,<sup>22</sup> in some cases with provisional translation as problems of reading and interpretation remain, as do those of dating. All are New Kingdom. The few that can be dated more closely with any certainty are of the Ramesside period, though others may be earlier.<sup>23</sup>

*Right side, from top* (Plates 13 and 14): ‘Man of counting (?) Pashed’; ‘Ramose’; ‘High Priest Nebnetjeru’ (deliberately hacked out but traces visible).

<sup>20</sup> On Kerma/Kushite interest and presence in the gold-bearing areas, see Bonnet 2007; Castiglioni *et al.* 2010; and Manzo 2012, 81-82, discussing ‘the occurrence of Kerma elements in some assemblages from the Eastern Desert ... the first direct archaeological evidence from that region of a Kerma/Kush interest in entering into the Eastern Desert’. Note that, during our survey, sherds of the Kerma tradition were identified by Philippe Ruffieux at KRP8.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Darnell 2013, 808.

<sup>22</sup> Not all are illustrated in detail here owing to limitations on space.

<sup>23</sup> I am grateful to Dr Robert Demarée for his view (pers. comm.) on the hieratic inscriptions. He dates them to the ‘late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, not later’.

*Centre, from top* (Plates 13 and 15): ‘Scribe Amena’; ‘Scribe of counting of gold Djehutyhotep’, ‘Leader of retainers, Huy (?)’, ‘Scribe Nebnetjeru’ (three times), ‘Scribe of counting of gold Meryure’, ‘Retainer Nebamun’; and a group of three lines in hieratic (Plate 15): ‘(1) Scribe Amena, son of Paser, (2) Man of counting (?) Pa-en-Mia(m), (son of) Panakht (?), (3) Man of counting (?) Kheper, son of Ankhti (?)’. Two of the prominent central inscriptions (Plate 13, centre left), both reading ‘Mayor, Scribe Desnefer’, are very likely not ancient.<sup>24</sup>

*Left, bottom* (Plate 13; Figure 10): ‘May’(?); ‘Retainer Nakht’; ‘Scribe of the district [name lost]’; and group of three lines in mixed script: ‘(1) Chief of Mia(m) Mer, Retainer Mer, (2) Man of counting (?) Panehsy, (3) son of Paser’.

*Left, far end* (Figure 11): ‘High Priest Nebnetjeru’ (part of title missing owing to natural loss of surface).

The High Priest Nebnetjeru, whose name and title



Plate 13. KRP18, main decorated area.



Plate 14. KRP18, main area, right, Man of counting(?) Pashed.

<sup>24</sup> They are copied in large part from a group of hieroglyphs at Khor el-Mediq, which includes an inscription of a ‘Scribe Des’ (Lopez 1966, 20, no. 12, pl. viii, 2).

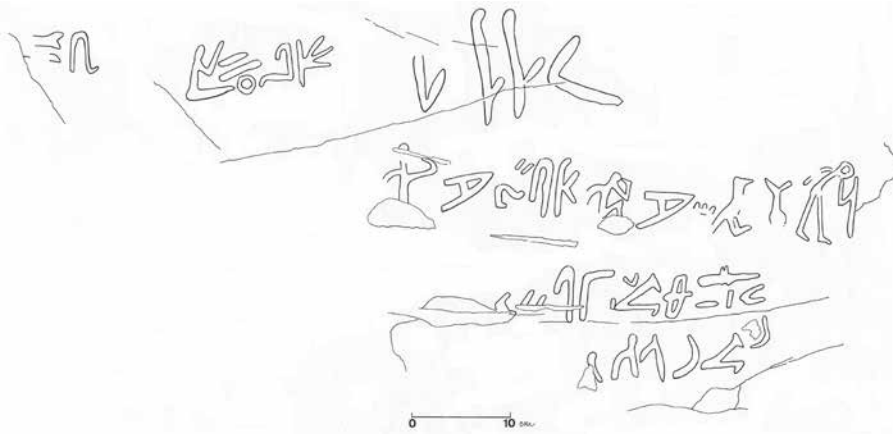


Figure 10. KRP18, Chief of Miam Mer and others.



Figure 11. KRP18, High Priest Nebnetjeru.



Plate 15. KRP18, main area, centre, detail.

occur twice at Khashm el-Bab (in one case hacked out), has been encountered already, further south, in KRP9.<sup>25</sup> He may well be the same man as the ‘Scribe Nebnetjeru’, who is attested three times on the main face here, the priestly title perhaps representing a career-progression; the inscriptions are close palaeographically. The latter may, in turn, be equated with the ‘Scribe Nebnetjeru’ known from numerous rock-inscriptions in the gold-mining regions of the Wadi Allaqi and other sites, where he is often further identified

<sup>25</sup> See n. 14 above.

as the ‘son of Hori, of Baki (Quban)’ and can be dated by association to the reign of Ramesses II (Černý 1947, 53- 57, nos 11, 20, 21, 28; Piotrovsky 1983, 67, nos 2 and 7; 68, no. 22; 70, no. 47; 71, no. 52; 74, no. 104; 75, no. 116; Kitchen 1980, 121, III.12; Peden 2001, 117, n. 363; Hikade 2001, 239-240, nos 228-231; Roccati 2007, 58; Espiñel 2012, 101).<sup>26</sup> The ‘Chief of Miam Mer’ is to be added to the list of known chiefs of the Aniba/Toshka region, of which three others, all 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, are attested. These are Amenhotep,<sup>27</sup> Rahotep,<sup>28</sup> and the already-mentioned Hekanefer (see KRP5 above with n. 8), of whom Mer may have been

a relatively close successor. Notable among the other titles is *s n ḥsb*, lit. ‘Man of (or ‘for’) counting (?)’, if the sign writing the last word has been understood correctly. The title’s meaning, whether it refers to gold-counting or some other function, remains to be clarified.<sup>29</sup> It occurs several times at the Khashm el-Bab but seems to be unattested in the Wadi Allaqi or elsewhere.

**KRP23.** Cave (CeRDO Site L). Near to the entrance on the right side of the cave, about 1m above the floor, is a single line of hieroglyphs (Plate 16) reading ‘Priest Herunefer’.

**KRP22.** Rock face (CeRDO site E; Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2007, 19-20, fig. 3; Roccati 2007, 58). There are two lines of hieroglyphs located several metres apart, well above head-height, both referring to Herunefer. The easternmost (Plate 17) reads, ‘(Gift that) the king gives and Horus of Buhen, priest Herunefer’. The other line (Plate 18) reads ‘Priest of Horus Herunefer, son of [Ho]remheb’. An animal drawing has been partly superimposed on the father’s name and title with consequent loss to some of the signs but the reading seems assured.

**KRP2.** Wadi Murrat/Murrat Wells (CeRDO site M; Castiglioni *et al.* 1995, 117-8; Damiano-Appia 1999, 518-591, 540, fig. 1, BM-A/1, BM-A/2, BM-B, BM-C; Andrassy 2002,

<sup>26</sup> For the gold-production sites in the Wadi Allaqi region, see Klemm and Klemm 2013, 294-339.

<sup>27</sup> Minault-Gout 2011-2012, 190, no. 2, 196-198.

<sup>28</sup> Simpson 1963, 25, fig. 20, 26-27; Müller 2013, 53, 246, no. 6. Note that Rahotep is also attested in a rock-inscription in the Wadi Barramiya in Egypt; see Rothe *et al.* 2008, 118, BR08; Brown and Darnell 2013, 132-133, where the inscription has been misunderstood. It actually reads, *wr R<sup>c</sup>-ḥtpw n Mī<sup>c</sup>(m)*, ‘Chief Rahotep of Miam’. The group read previously as *r* with *d* below is the hieratic *ḥtp*-sign with *t* below.

<sup>29</sup> It is tempting to see a connection between *s n ḥsb* and the term *ḥsb*, ‘enlistee’, the designation for a project-worker often recruited from local sources and assigned to mining and other expeditions (Berlev 1965, 266-268; Quirke 1990, 169-171; Moreno García 1998, 81, n. 36; Collier and Quirke 2002, 193; Allam 2004, 144, n. 151; Eyre 2010, 134; Pantalacci 2010, 150, b; Menu 2010, 173-177; Kóthay 2013, 491, 494-496, 503, 518).



Plate 16. KRP23, inscription of Herunefer.



Plate 17. KRP22, inscription of Herunfer invoking Horus lord of Buben.



Plate 18. KRP22, inscription of Herunefer with filiation.

8-9; Castiglioni 2007, 22-3, fig. 6; Espiñel 2012, 101-102; Klemm and Klemm 2013, 544 (6.7.3)). There are two main groups of hieroglyphic inscriptions (for the general loca-

tion see Back Cover, upper). The first group is located on a protruding rock face, in a wooded area, at the base of a hill, near to a dried-up well within the *wadi* (Plate 19; Figure 12). The top line consists of a figure of the god Horus before an altar surmounted by a lotus flower, the stem now gone; the hieroglyphs behind the figure to the left read, 'Made by the priest Herunefer'.<sup>30</sup> The bottom line reads, 'Priest of Horus Herunefer'. On the side of the same rock, close to the



Plate 19. KRP2, inscriptions of Herunefer with figure of Horus before altar.

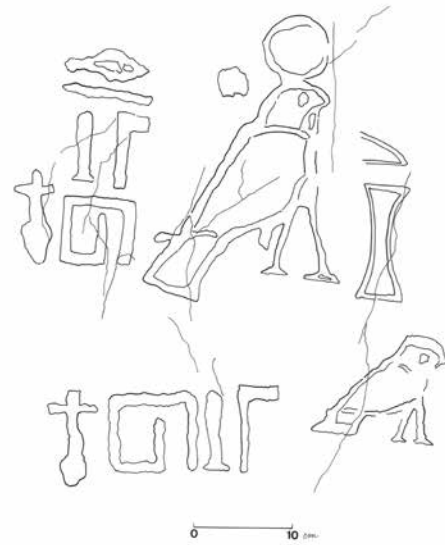


Figure 12. KRP2, Herunefer and Horus.

inscriptions, is a figure of Horus, standing facing outwards, as if having emerged from the hill, holding a sceptre in the front hand and what is probably meant to be an *ankh* in the rear hand (Plate 20; Figure 13).<sup>31</sup> The other main inscription is located on a prominent rock further up on the side of the same hill (Plate 21). It reads, 'Priest of Horus Herunefer'.

<sup>30</sup> On such signatures, see Brown and Darnell 2013, 135.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Piotrovsky 1983, 180 (figure of Horus in Wadi Allaqi). It is unclear whether in our case a sun-disk or some other motif surmounts the head, as Damiano-Appia 1999, 540, fig. 1, BM-B.



Plate 20. KRP2, figure of Herus.

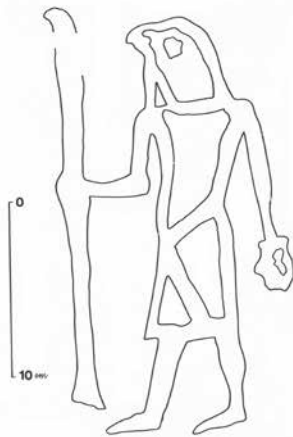


Figure 13. KRP2, figure of Herus.



Plate 21. KRP2, inscription of Herunefer.

These are currently the southernmost known Egyptian inscriptions in the Eastern Desert.

The three sets of inscription located at widely separated stations (KRP23, 22, 2) allow us broadly to track Herunefer's route from Buhen (his home town) to Murrat Wells deep in the gold-bearing region (Plate 22), a journey of at least 170km

(Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2007, 57).<sup>32</sup> The destination, an important source of water in this otherwise arid area, was a place also of ritual import, as signalled by Herunefer's shrine-like tableau and the huge quantities of native rock-drawings on the *wadi* sides, many very finely done.

Herunefer's close connection with the temple and town of Buhen (in whose economic interests he no doubt undertook the journey) is indicated by the invocation in KRP22 to 'Horus of Buhen' and is confirmed by another rock-inscription, done in his distinctive style, from Tomas (Leclant 1963, 21-22, pl. vi, fig. 11; 1965, 9, fig. 1), which reads, 'Herunefer of Buhen'.<sup>33</sup> The latter inscription is placed directly underneath, and is exactly aligned with, an inscription of Setau, the viceroy of Ramesses II, which may well be an indicator of its date. The name of Herunefer's father recorded in one of the inscriptions at KRP22 is new and useful in that it may lead to further connections in due course.<sup>34</sup>

### Batn el-Hajar

Two sites in the Batn el-Hajar, namely Akasha West and Dal, were visited, where inscriptions long thought to have been submerged following completion of the Aswan High Dam were found to be well above water.

**Akasha:** At Akasha we located on the west bank the important group of rock-inscriptions, among them an inscription of Year 2 of Thutmose I, to which attention has recently been drawn (Edwards and Mills 2013, 14-15, pl. 13; Davies 2013).<sup>35</sup> Our new photograph and copy of the inscription are shown in Plate 23 and Figure 14. Consisting of nine lines, arranged horizontally (1-5) and vertically (6-9), it can now be translated in full, '(1) Year 2 under the Majesty of the King of (Upper and) Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, (2-3) Aakheperkare, may he live eternally. His Majesty sailed southwards to overthrow vile K̅ush, (4) when the King's eldest son, General Amenmose, (5) landed at this place, (and) (6) when scribe (7) of the army, Ahmose (8-9) counted the boats which were emerging (from the cataract) at this place'. Marking the progress of the invading Egyptian fleet through the Akasha Cataract, the inscription parallels another located downstream at the Tanjur Cataract (Hintze and Reineke 1989, 171-172, no. 561, pl. 238), which features the same military

<sup>32</sup> The journey, if direct, might have taken perhaps six days or so by donkey-caravan, assuming an average daily travel rate of a loaded pack donkey of around 25-30km (Hendrickx *et al.* 2013, 365-6; Köpp 2013, 109-110, 127). On the use and suitability of the donkey for desert travel, see Förster *et al.* 2013.

<sup>33</sup> For another possible example of a rock-inscription made by our Herunefer (though with the additional title 'mayor'), see Hintze and Reineke 1989, 34-5, no. 57, pl. 27 (where the inscription immediately below is surely not connected). It is located at Abd el-Qadir, not far south of Buhen.

<sup>34</sup> Cf, for example, Žába 1974, 138-9, no. 106, fig. 210, for a 'scribe Herunefer, son of Horemheb'.

<sup>35</sup> I am grateful to David Edwards for the initial suggestion that the inscription might still be accessible and for his assistance in determining its location.



Plate 22. Possible route of Herunefer's journey from Buben to Umm Nabari.



Plate 23. Akasha West; inscription of Year 2 of Thutmose I.

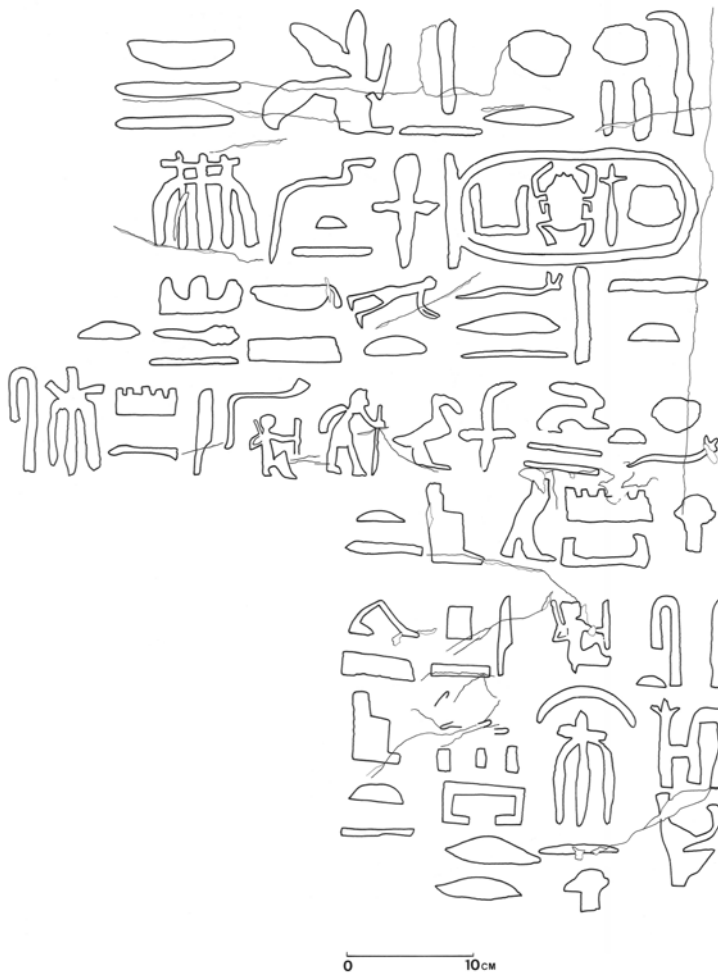


Figure 14. Akasha West, Inscription of Thutmose I.

scribe, his counting-brief suggesting that the boats were numerous and that there were concerns over their safety as they passed through the cataracts. The mention of the crown-prince Amenmose is new and important. Supplementing the evidence from the Hagr el-Merwa at Kurgus (Davies 2001, 50, fig. 5, and 53; 2003, 27, fig. 7, and 32), it confirms that Amenmose participated in the campaign and indicates that as ‘General’ (*imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>*) he was probably the field-commander, as was appropriate for a crown-prince.<sup>36</sup>

**Dal:** Our brief investigation at Dal was confined to the east bank, where we encountered a large number of rock-inscriptions. Not all of them are fully documented or understood in the published surveys of the area (Vila 1975, 26-27, figs 12-17; Hintze and Reineke 1989, 181-183, pls 260-264). For example, to be added to the prosopographical corpus is the inscription (Plate 24, with scale; Vila 1975, 27, fig. 14, 28, no. 4; Hintze and Reineke 1989, 181, no. 602, pl. 261) reading ‘King’s son Usersatet, (my) lord’, the name deliberately damaged as is often the case with this viceroy (reign of Amenhotep II).<sup>37</sup> The inscription is repeated further down on the same rock-

<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere (Sethe 1930, 91, 12) Amenmose has the title *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> wr*, ‘Generalissimo’ (see Gnirs 2013, 642-643; Spalinger 2013, 395, 401).  
<sup>37</sup> See Davies 2009, 27-28.

face (Plate 24, bottom right; Vila 1975, 27, fig. 16; Müller 2013, 449, 42.4), there partially retrograde in arrangement and wholly intact.<sup>38</sup> Also to be noted is the inscription, in a nearby *nadi*, of Amenemnekhu (a viceroy during the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut),<sup>39</sup> sections of which are misrepresented in the published copy (Hintze and Reineke 1989, 182-3, no. 609, pl. 264; cf. Müller 2013, 105, no. 4, 169, A 10, 449, 42.5). The ‘Deputy of Amenemnekhu, Hori’, as recorded in the copy, does not exist. The inscription is incomplete owing to erosion but what remains (Plate 25) reads as follows: ‘(x+1) King[s] son] [rest missing] (x+2) [all missing] (x+3) warrior (*kf<sup>w</sup>*) Amenemnekhu, [who follows his lord upon] (x+2) his footsteps in southern and northern foreign lands, on water and on land, in every place (*m st nbt*). (x+3) Praised one of his lord, Scribe Amenhotep’.<sup>40</sup>

### Summary

Building on the pioneering work of CeRDO in the Eastern Desert, the Korosko Road project has made considerable progress in documenting and understanding the inscriptions and their context. The corpus – over 40 individual inscriptions from nine different sites – comprises an important *in-situ* record of personnel involved in the Umm Nabari gold-working industry (several of whom are known from elsewhere) and of their movements around the area, adding significantly to the data recorded previously from the Wadi Allaqi and other such regions. It includes not only routine administrative staff but also senior officials from important Nilotic centres



Plate 24. Dal East, rock-drawings and inscriptions.

<sup>38</sup> The unfamiliar order of the signs might have been the reason that the name here escaped damage.

<sup>39</sup> See Davies 2008.

<sup>40</sup> The traces of the title and name in the last line are faint but clear on close *in-situ* inspection. The title is formed of the *sš*-sign followed by a seated man determinative. Amenhotep, the scribe of Amenemnekhu, is known from two other rock-inscriptions located downstream at Shalfak and Abu Sir respectively; see Hintze and Reineke 1989, 90, no. 365, pl. 122, and 38, no. 64, pl. 30.



Plate 25. Dal East, inscription of viceroy Amenemkhu.

in Lower Nubia (Wawat), namely Buhen, Debeira, Aniba and probably Quban, from which the expeditions were sourced. One of these expeditions, dating from the Ramesside period, may have had a military function beyond a purely protective role, but there is no direct inscriptional evidence for the earlier (often postulated) military use of the desert route from Korosko to the Abu Hamed bend and Kurgus (the Thutmose I invasion of Kush was by river, as is now further confirmed by the Akasha West text). The inscriptions all date to the New Kingdom except for one, of exceptional quality, which includes an indigenous name, arguably that of a king of Kerma, dating from a period when the Eastern Desert was probably Kushite territory. More generally, the data as a whole, including the ceramic evidence, confirm the results of other desert research, especially that carried out recently in the Western Desert (Förster 2007; 2013; Hendrickx *et al.* 2013), that, notwithstanding the obvious difficulties and danger, the Egyptians were well practised at desert travel and occupation, having long had the capacity and knowledge to cover great distances when necessary.

Outside the desert, the brief visit to the Batn el-Hajar produced an unexpected bonus in the form of sites with rock-inscriptions, including royal and viceregal records, widely believed to have been under water but actually still accessible. The situation presents research opportunities which we hope to exploit further in the near future.

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## *Preliminary report on some New Kingdom amphorae from the Korosko Road*

*Philippe Ruffieux and Mahmoud Suliman Bashir*

The Korosko Road Project 2013, mainly aimed at recording hieroglyphic inscriptions in Sudanese Nubia's Eastern Desert, has also offered an opportunity to record material evidence of human presence in these remote areas, notably during the New Kingdom. The following is a brief preliminary report on a pottery discovery of particular interest.

Site KRP8 is located on the north-western edge of the Umm Nabari massif. It is a small sandstone hill approximately 200m in length, adjacent to the Wadi Tonaibda. New Kingdom hieroglyphic inscriptions are engraved on surfaces used at an earlier date for rock-carvings (see pp. 32-34). Apart from a dozen pottery sherds of various dates discovered around the hill, the most interesting pieces were found on its flat summit and down its steep sides to the *wadi*: more than 70 fragments of New Kingdom date, scattered over a large area. The fragments were concentrated around a small circular structure made of dry stones and lying close to the summit (Plate 1).



*Plate 1. Remains of a circular dry stone structure on site KRP8, where the fragments of the amphora were found (photo D. A. Welsby).*

These potsherds all come from a single amphora, as can be seen from the partly reconstructed profile (Figure 1, Plate 2). Its short neck ends in a slightly rolled rim, the shoulder being rounded into a medium-wide body. Although no handles were preserved, their starting point could be seen on some of the fragments, revealing a rather low position on the profile. A potter's mark consisting of two intersecting strokes was incised before firing beside the upper attachment of a handle. The general shape of this amphora corresponds to Hope's category *1a* (1989, 93-94; fig. 1, 1-5) and to Aston's type *B1* of MARL D amphorae (2004, 187-191; fig. 6, a-d), typical

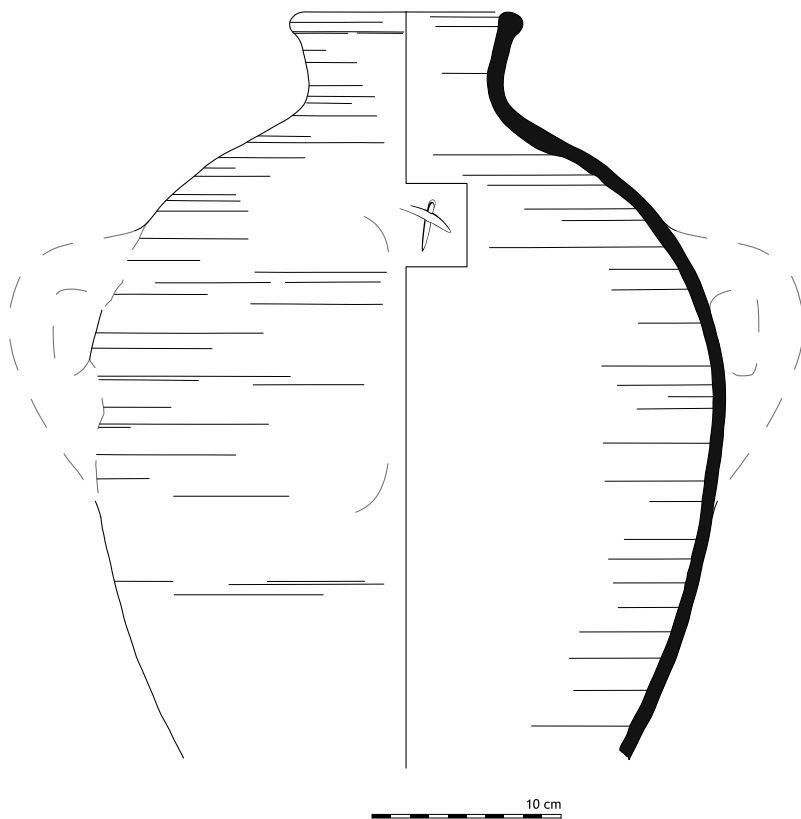


Figure 1. Profile of the amphora found on site KRP8 (drawing P. Ruffieux).

of the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>1</sup> and most probably inspired by *Late Bronze Age I* Canaanite amphorae commonly used to import such products as wine, oil, honey and resin from the Levant to Egypt (Bourriau 2004, 89-90). The fabric falls into the MARL D<sup>2</sup> family, a hard and dense fabric containing abundant limestone temper and largely employed for the production of Nile Valley amphorae during the New Kingdom.

An intact Egyptian amphora was discovered by the Italian CeRDO<sup>3</sup> mission in 2004 and is now stored in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (inv. Nr 31405). Its profile is very similar to that of the vessel from site KRP 8 and likewise corresponds to the Egyptian standard amphorae of the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Plate 3). Based on surface observations, the fabric probably belongs to the MARL D family.

The archaeological context in which these pots were discovered is reminiscent of the situation along the Abu Ballas trail in the Egyptian Western Desert. During the Old Kingdom, a network of stations was established at regular intervals along this road, linking Dakhla Oasis to the Gilf

<sup>1</sup> See for example SJE's ordinary amphora type A01 IVG/0/1-m (Holthoer 1977, 97-99, and pls 22, 54), dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty 'pre-Hatshepsut' for the type from Fadrus cemetery, site 185, and to Hatshepsut-Thutmose III for that of the Amenemhat tomb, site Q (for the dating, see Troy 1991, 220-227, 264 no 185/196; Säve-Söderbergh 1991, 188-189, 204-205).

<sup>2</sup> According to the Vienna System for the classification of pottery fabrics, see Nordström and Bourriau 1993.

<sup>3</sup> Centro Ricerche sul Deserto Orientale, for these missions see Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2003; 2007; Castiglioni *et al.* 1995.



Plate 2. Fragments of the amphora from site KRP8 after reconstruction work (photo P. Ruffieux).

Kebir plateau, some 400km south-west, providing water for the caravans heading towards or returning from the Gilf Kebir, and using numerous donkeys as pack animals (Förster 2013).

Egyptian expeditions crossing the desert to the

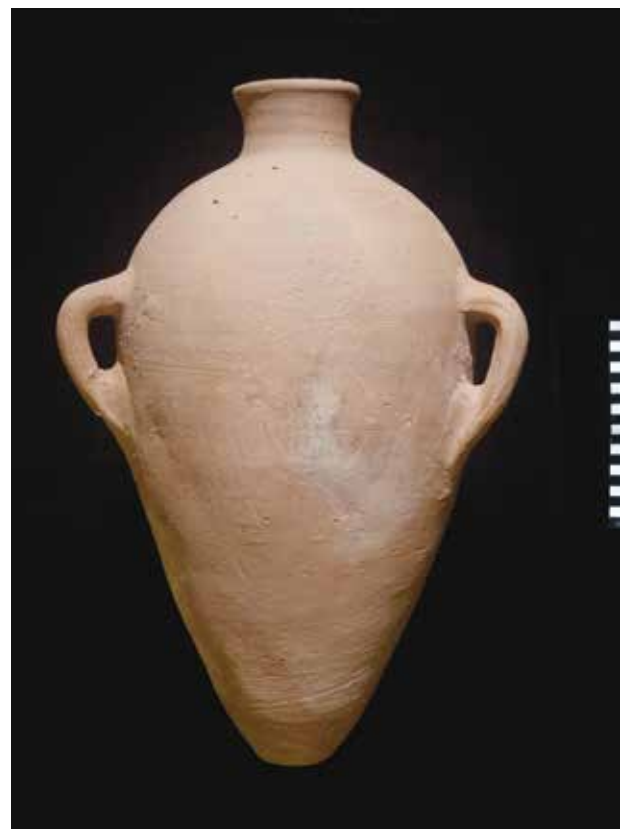


Plate 3. Amphora from the CeRDO mission (photo J. Rossiter).



east of Nubia to reach the mining area, or cutting through the desert to reach the Nile upstream of the Fourth Cataract (Castiglioni and Castiglioni 2003, 47), must have included many individuals and donkeys, with a significant need for a secure water supply (Förster *et al.* 2013). The presence of other ‘filling stations’ along the Korosko Road may be suggested by pottery fragments discovered on other sites, notably KRP9, not far north of KRP8, where two MARL D sherds were found, very likely from an amphora, or the so-called rock shelter ‘of Heqanefer’, close to the Egyptian border, in front of which large fragments of New Kingdom amphorae were discovered by the CeRDO mission (Castiglioni *et al.* 1995, 119). Site KRP12 should also be mentioned; it is located a few hundred metres south of KRP8, at the base of a large sandstone hill and was comprised of a wide scatter of Neolithic potsherds, tumuli burials, and a circular structure of dry stone set partly into the ground and closed with a sandstone slab (Plate 4). Although it proved to be empty, this



Plate 4. Circular dry stone structure closed by a sandstone slab, on site KRP12 (photo D. A. Welsby).

stone structure would have formed a good hiding place for an amphora and it bears some resemblance to the structure at KRP8. Stone circles were also discovered on the Abu Ballas trail, next to some New Kingdom amphorae deposits, but they were interpreted as watering or feeding devices for donkeys (Förster 2013, 301 and fig. 8; Hendrickx *et al.* 2013, 368 and figs 34-35).

The ongoing examination of the material, especially amphorae, found on the Korosko Road, will certainly provide interesting information concerning the organization and logistics of Egyptian expeditions sent out to these remote areas of the Eastern Desert. In this respect, the recent results of a number of studies carried out in the field of desert archaeology (see Förster and Riemer 2013) are of great value for comparison with the situation found along the Korosko Road.

## Acknowledgements

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amphora, and to Pierre Meyrat for proofreading the English version of this text.

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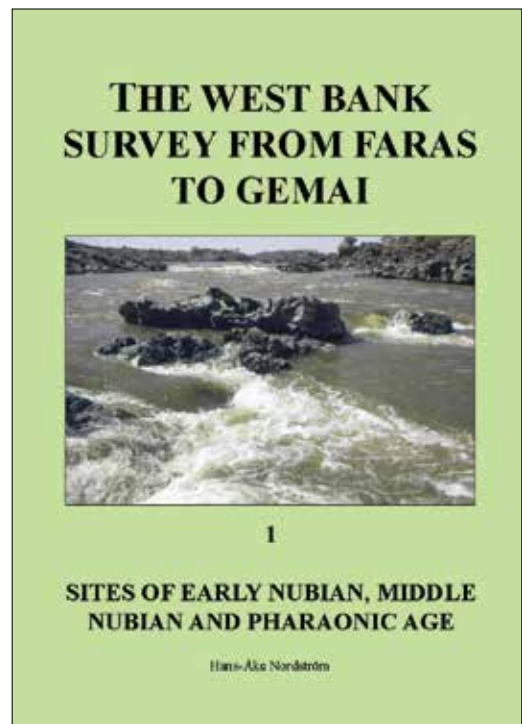
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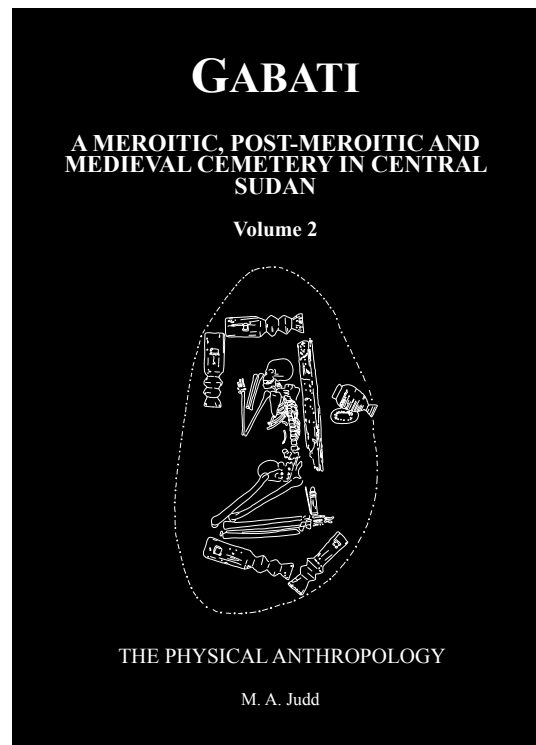
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*View upstream along the Wadi Murrat from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Egyptian fort.  
The pharaonic inscriptions are amongst the trees at the wadi edge in the far centre (photo D. A. Welsby).*



*Horus, Lord of the Desert. A natural rock outcrop along the route from Buben towards Wadi Murrat (photo D. A. Welsby).*