



HAL
open science

Egyptians versus Kushites

Florence Doyen, Luc Gabolde

► **To cite this version:**

Florence Doyen, Luc Gabolde. Egyptians versus Kushites: the cultural question of writing or not. Neal Spencer (British Museum); Anna Stevens (University of Cambridge); Michaela Binder (Austrian Archaeological Institute). *Nubia in the New Kingdom: Lived experience, pharaonic control and indigenous traditions*, 3, Peeters, pp.149-158, 2017, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (BMPES), 9789042932586. hal-01895134

HAL Id: hal-01895134

<https://hal.science/hal-01895134>

Submitted on 15 Oct 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Copyright

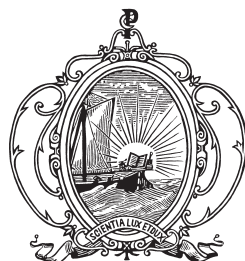
BRITISH MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS ON EGYPT AND SUDAN 3

NUBIA IN THE NEW KINGDOM

Lived experience, pharaonic control and indigenous traditions

edited by

Neal SPENCER, Anna STEVENS and Michaela BINDER



PEETERS

LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT

2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Neal SPENCER, Anna STEVENS and Michaela BINDER Introduction: History and historiography of a colonial entanglement, and the shaping of new archaeologies for Nubia in the New Kingdom	1
---	---

PART 1

THE APPARATUS OF CONTROL – FORMAL PHARAONIC MONUMENTS AND CULTURE

W. V. DAVIES Nubia in the New Kingdom: The Egyptians at Kurgus	65
Charles BONNET From the Nubian temples and palaces of Dokki Gel to an Egyptian <i>mnnw</i> during the beginning of Dynasty 18	107
Dominique VALBELLE The use of stone and decorative programmes in Egyptian temples of Dynasty 18 at Pnubs (Dokki Gel/Kerma)	123
W. V. DAVIES A statue-cache from Sai: Putting the pieces together	133
Florence DOYEN and Luc GABOLDE Egyptians versus Kushites: The cultural question of writing or not.....	149
Timothy KENDALL and El-Hassan Ahmed MOHAMED, with Heather WILSON, Joyce HAYNES and David KLOTZ Jebel Barkal in the New Kingdom: An emerging picture.....	159
Florence THILL The ‘pyramid’ of Sai: State of research	193
R. B. PARKINSON and Neal SPENCER <i>The Teaching of Amenemhat I</i> at Amara West: Egyptian literary culture in Upper Nubia	213

PART 2

THE ENVIRONMENT – LANDSCAPE, NATURAL RESOURCES AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Jamie WOODWARD, Mark MACKLIN, Neal SPENCER, Michaela BINDER, Matthew DALTON, Sophie HAY and Andrew HARDY Living with a changing river and desert landscape at Amara West.....	227
---	-----

Dietrich KLEMM and Rosemarie KLEMM New Kingdom and early Kushite gold mining in Nubia	259
Caroline R. CARTWRIGHT and Philippa RYAN Archaeobotanical research at Amara West in New Kingdom Nubia.....	271
Anna STEVENS and Anna GARNETT Surveying the Pharaonic desert hinterland of Amara West.....	287

PART 3

THE PHARAONIC TOWNS OF NUBIA: LIFE HISTORIES AND LIVED EXPERIENCE

Bruce WILLIAMS The New Kingdom town at Serra East and its cemetery	309
Neal SPENCER Building on new ground: The foundation of a colonial town at Amara West.....	323
Matthew DALTON Reconstructing lived experiences of domestic space at Amara West: Some preliminary interpretations of ancient floor deposits using ethnoarchaeological and micromorphological analyses	357
Marie VANDENBEUSCH Roofing houses at Amara West: A case study	389
Anna STEVENS Female figurines and folk culture at Amara West.....	407
Julia BUDKA Life in the New Kingdom town of Sai Island: Some new perspectives.....	429
Kate SPENCE Sesebi before Akhenaten	449
Pamela ROSE Sesebi: Ceramics, chronology and society	465
Derek A. WELSBY Gematon between the reigns of Rameses VI and Taharqa.....	475

PART 4

NUBIA IN EGYPT

David ASTON and Manfred BIETAK Nubians in the Nile Delta: À propos Avaris and Peru-nefer	491
Dietrich RAUE Nubian pottery on Elephantine Island in the New Kingdom	525

PART 5
CULTURAL CHOICES FOR ETERNAL LIFE

John H. TAYLOR	
The coffins from Debeira: Regional interpretations of New Kingdom funerary iconography	537
Claudia NÄSER	
Structures and realities of the Egyptian presence in Lower Nubia from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom. The Egyptian cemetery S/SA at Aniba	557
Christian KNOBLAUCH	
The burial customs of Middle Kingdom colonial communities in Nubia: Possibilities and problems	575
Michaela BINDER	
The New Kingdom tombs at Amara West: Funerary perspectives on Nubian-Egyptian interactions.....	591
Stuart Tyson SMITH and Michele R. BUZON	
Colonial encounters at New Kingdom Tombos: Cultural entanglements and hybrid identity.....	615

EGYPTIANS VERSUS KUSHITES: THE CULTURAL QUESTION OF WRITING OR NOT

Florence DOYEN and Luc GABOLDE

Abstract

Evaluating the question of the relationship between Egyptians and Nubians, this article discusses the attitude of the Kushites towards writing. At Sai, the Egyptians left, from at least the reign of Amenhotep I onwards, inscriptions such as the great proclamation stela S3, which constituted landmark-proclamations. They were the precursors of the monumental figures and inscriptions that stressed the progression of the New Kingdom Egyptian armies through the territories under Kerma control. But one can wonder for whom these triumphal figures and inscriptions were intended. Were these addressed to the Kushite populations, who did not know the writing and did not speak the same language as the Egyptians and who, therefore, could not read and understand them? On the other hand, in a Kushite context, an oral tradition appears to remain prevalent. The rejection of a writing system was thus reflecting a specific conception of the universe which was closely related to a pastoral way of life in a particular environment. This conception, based on oral transmission, is also encountered among other pastoral people such as the Libyans, the Medjay or, later in Eurasia, among the Mongol tribes. Here might lay the start of an explanation of the cultural question of writing or not.

The Egyptian seizure of Sai¹

The long periods of Kerma Ancien, Moyen and Classique occupation of Sai Island have left the impressive necropolis situated in the southern part of the island (Gratien 1975; 1986). The island, though mentioned under Senwosret I,² was conquered and occupied by Egyptian troops only from the beginning of Dynasty 18. Though it remains possible that Nebpehtira Ahmose, on his way to Kajbar, founded a small structure at Sai Island during his Nubian expedition,³ the epigraphic remains which have survived on the site seem, so far, to attest only a posthumous worshipping of this king, possibly in memory of some victorious deeds or initial foundation (Gabolde 2012, 117–26). With Amenhotep I the Egyptian presence on the island is textually ascertained by architectural remains and also by a great proclamation stela (Fig. 1), alas nowadays very damaged by weathering and the engraving of cupules into its surface. It was later joined by a rock inscription of Thutmose I, now lost, which had been seen by J. H. Breasted (1908, 100) and may have looked like those of this king carved at Tombos.

These kinds of triumphal inscriptions functioned as landmark-proclamations and heralds and were the precursors of the monumental figures and inscriptions that stressed the progression of the New Kingdom Egyptian

¹ Ongoing research on Sai Island was initiated by the Sai Island Archaeological Mission (SIAM) of Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille III University (Prof. Dr. Didier Devauchelle) and continues with the European Research Council project AcrossBorders (directed by Dr. Julia Budka, under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences). For recent results see Budka 2011; 2012; Budka and Doyen 2012–13. Florence Thill, Jean-François Carlotti and Luc Gabolde have undertaken the publication of the Thutmoside temple and the related fragments spread over the site.

² Stela from Buhen, now Florence, Museo Egizio inv. 2540. Old copy by Ricci: H. S. Smith 1976, pl. LXIX, 1. On the Middle Kingdom execration texts with reference to Sai, see Posener 1987, 47, pl. 4, no. 63955, l. 4; 24–5, pl. 7, no. 63958, l. 4. Synthesis, see Devauchelle and Doyen 2009, 34–5.

³ Ceramic evidence analysed by Julia Budka points to an early New Kingdom Egyptian presence; see Budka 2013, 82; this volume.

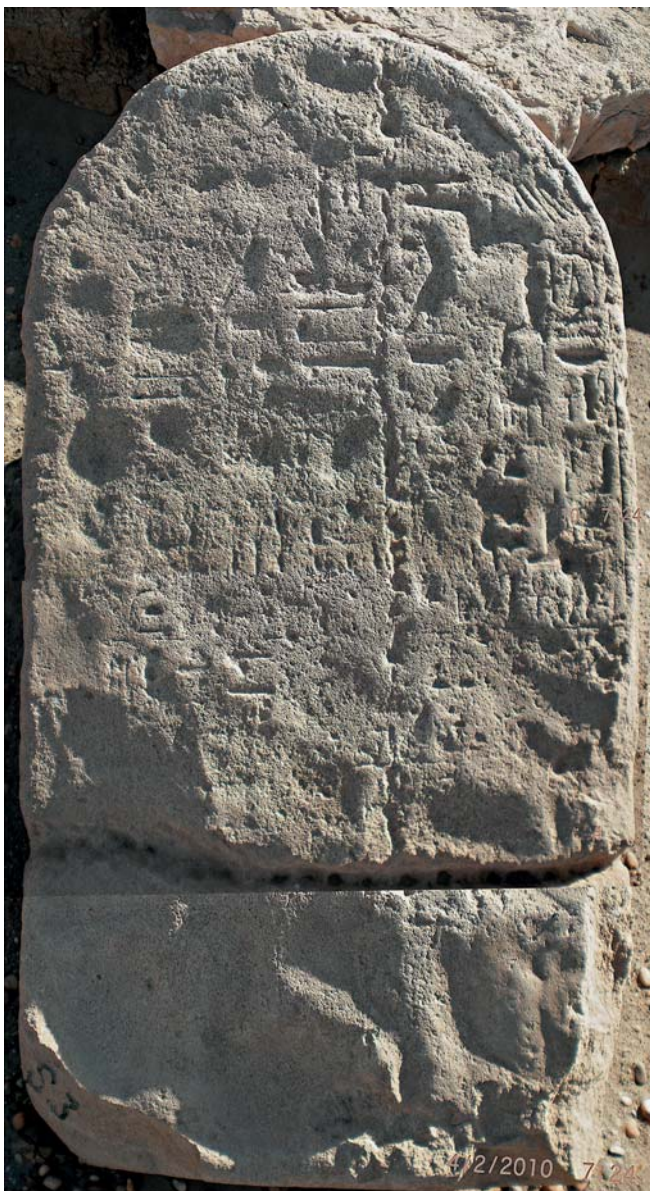


Fig. 1: Stela of Amenhotep I on Sai Island, S.3.
Photo: L. Gabolde © Sai Island Archaeological Mission
(SIAM) of Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3 University.

armies through the territories under Kerma control, as far as Kurgus (see W. V. Davies, this volume [Kurgus]). But one can wonder to whom these triumphal figures and inscriptions were addressed and for whom they were intended.⁴ Were they addressed to the Kushite populations, who did not know the writing, who did not speak the same language as the Egyptians and who, therefore, could not read and understand them?⁵ With this in mind, a closer examination of the general attitude of the Kushites towards writing, when compared to that of the Egyptians, is potentially instructive and worth exploring.

A long-lasting neighbourly relationship

It is well known that Egypt and Nubia had a long history of frequent contact.⁶ Yet, down to the beginning of the 2nd century BC, there was no attempt on the part of the Kushites to adopt, like the Egyptians had, a writing system for their own idiom or to borrow that of their neighbours (Gratien 2006, 115). In that respect, Buhen stela 691, if it were to actually represent a Kushite ruler — an identification which was challenged by Knoblauch⁷ — would be quite instructive as to the attitude of the Kushites towards writing, as the sovereign was obviously not accompanied by any inscription.⁸

The absence of writing in Kush

There is no doubt that seals, stamps and tokens were used by the Nubian populations. Societies of the A-Group adopted them (Björkman and Säve-Söderbergh 1972; Török 2009, 44) and they are still found in Kerma cities during the Second Intermediate Period (Gratien 1991; 1993; 2006; Török 2009, 130–1). But this primitive system of recording accounts or identities never turned into writing. Such a step is, however, not

⁴ Kemp 1978, 8 considers that they belong to the religious sphere as theological documents ascribed with apotropaic power.

⁵ One can wonder, for example, if the statement of Senwosret III on his Year 16 stela at Uronarti (see below) is reflecting this perception?

⁶ Valbelle 2004b, 92–9. Nubian control was apparently established over Upper Egypt in the mid-4th millennium BC: Williams 1986, 163–5. Egypt then appeared more or less peripheral to the Nubian world: Ehret 2001, 242. During the Second Intermediate Period, the Kushites entered Egypt and seem to have reached Elkab, see W. V. Davies 2003; 2005, 49–56. On the other hand, Egyptians launched victorious campaigns in the course of

the Old Kingdom (see Obsomer 2007), achieved the occupation of the Kushite lands up to Buhen and Mirgissa during the Middle Kingdom and, again, implemented a more extensive campaign throughout Dynasties 18 to 20.

⁷ Knoblauch 2012, 89. His proposal is extremely well presented but in no way definitive as there remain arguments for the alternate theory.

⁸ Török 2009, 108 notes: ‘the absence of an inscription on the stela points towards the influence of a different cultural tradition and reinforces the identification of the royal figure as a ruler of Kush’. An Egyptian ruler deprived of inscription would indeed be extremely surprising.



Fig. 2: Assembled blocks, Sai F2015-S.573a-b. Photo: L. Gabolde © Sai Island Archaeological Mission (SIAM) of Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille III University.

necessarily automatic, nor mandatory.⁹ Token and clay seals constitute a kind of symbolic labelling, which need in no way reflect a spoken language and its grammatical complexity, nor intend to render it. They bear very limited information, mainly dealing with accounting (Schmandt-Besserat 1991), identification or ownership. Quite significant too is the fact that tokens and seals are known in Mesopotamia as far back as 8000–7000 BC, and for around four millennia their use was not transferred into writing.¹⁰

The Kushites seem, on many occasions, to have behaved as if they paid almost no attention to the great victory stelae, graffiti and inscriptions set up by the pharaohs along their Nile territory, though these were intended to proclaim Kushite defeats. They apparently did not attempt to chisel out the figures and inscriptions on these monuments, which fiercely proclaimed their subjection, whereas Akhenaten's agents did actually attack the names and depictions of the banned Amun on Sai Island, at Soleb, at Dokki Gel (Valbelle, this

volume) and elsewhere. Some reconstructed scenes from the Temple of Amun at Sai bear clear scars of the Atenist desecration, whereas the boastful royal or divine claims of victory were left untouched (and the royal figures as well) by the vanquished (Fig. 2).¹¹

Chiselling-out was without doubt an effective method of rendering Egyptian images and texts powerless. The attitude of the Egyptians towards writing and figurative representation, which were both closely interweaved (Fischer 1977, 86, 89, § 32), was pervaded with magical conceptions (Lacau 1913; Beaux 2009). Valbelle (2004a) has noted, on the other hand, the extreme rarity of human representations among Kushite societies, suggesting that their relationship to the image was much more distant than that of the Egyptians.

After the conquest of Kerma at the beginning of Dynasty 18, and the implantation of Egyptian garrisons along the Nile up to Napata/Jebel Barkal, the two cultures cohabited. Perforce, several employees of the Egyptian administration were necessarily bilingual and many of

⁹ Hyman and Renn 2012, 80–1: 'This early writing (= seals and tokens) was hardly, and possibly not at all, related to the structure of spoken language. It thus did not represent the meaning of words or sentences nor did it reflect grammatical structures of language, but rather meanings related to specific mental models of societal practices such as accounting'. See the similar statements by Damerow 2012, 155–61. See also Baines 2004, 169.

¹⁰ Schmandt-Besserat 1991. The authors stress that writing, which appeared between 4000 and 3000 BC, developed very quickly and on its own.

¹¹ The desecration of the tomb of one of the last kings of Kerma, characterised by chiselling out and smashing into small pieces (as noted by Bonnet 2011, 254), appears quite Egyptian: 'La manière dont la destruction de la tombe a été opérée fait la preuve que rien ne devait rester d'un souverain qui avait osé défier la puissance de l'Empire.'



Fig. 3: Jebel Barkal, east wall of the vestibule of the Mut temple B 300. After *LD V*, pl. 5.

hereafter covering the walls of funerary chambers and chapels, as Napatan royal funerary customs show. It was also a language for the gods housed in the temples, able to convey prayers from earth to heaven. Even the great propaganda texts and stelae must primarily be regarded as religious documents (Kemp 1978, 8). The Egyptian deities could only understand or read the Egyptian language.

The adoption of Egyptian language and writing should therefore be regarded as a genuine feature of

religious conversion.¹⁸ Obviously the spiritual beliefs and netherworld conceptions of the Egyptians were, as time passed, more and more widely shared by the Kushite populations, starting with the religious commitment of the elites. In this context, it would probably be fruitful to consider Egyptianisation not as a real form of acculturation but as a mere religious shift.¹⁹ Kushites kept many, if not most, of their ways of life and their language remained, we assume, vibrant — albeit restricted to communication between the Nubians in a

¹⁸ This paramount religious dimension of so-called acculturation is not often discussed, except by S. T. Smith 2003, 134, 155–68; it is also evoked by Török 2009, 297 in his comment on the Katimala inscription at Semna. The commonly accepted definitions of ‘acculturation’ imply a conception of culture that includes, among the areas of human endeavour, politics, economics and religion (Toral-Niehoff 2012).

¹⁹ The different aspects of Egyptianisation and the related question of acculturation have been thoroughly explored and have generated fertile discussions: Török 2009, XVI–XIX. Redford (2004, 44–5) considered it a coercive process with limited reach. See also the analysis of Lohwasser (2006), although the specific criteria she selects (fusion, acceptance, adaptation and resistance), while explaining ‘how’ acculturation occurs, are less suited to explain ‘what’ acculturation involves.

strict oral tradition.²⁰ It is well established that the introduction of a writing system in a society modifies substantially its vision of the world (Baines 2007, 13). Consequently, the rejection of such a system is also meaningful.

Pastoralism and oral traditions

The reasons behind the reluctance of the Kushites to adopt a writing system must have been varied and complex, and may themselves have reflected a very specific conception of the universe. Without entering into considerations about the diversity and parentage of the languages spoken in Nubian societies or about the questions of ethnicities or cultures, it has to be noted that all of them, from the A-Group to the C-Group, from the Medjay or Pan-Graves people to the Kushites — with or without geographical identity — share the absence of a writing system (Liszka 2012, 42–57).

They share also, to various degrees, another common feature in their way of life: they all have strong pastoral roots, though a closer examination reveals slight differences and evolutions (Liszka 2012, 114–9; Bonnet 1991, 113–4). From prehistoric times this pastoral (and often nomadic or semi-nomadic) way of life is a character of the North Sudanic societies.²¹ The importance given to cattle, and to cattle-owning, is paramount in the Nubian people from the earliest times (Reinold 1991, 22–3)²² and permeates their funerary customs (Williams 1991, 74; Török 2009, 45–7, 64, 146–7). The nature of the warning that the pharaoh addressed at Kurgus to the Nubians is significant: ‘the sky shall not rain for him, his cattle shall not calve’ (W. V. Davies 2001, 50; this volume [Kurgus]). This threat specifically concerns herdsman living in steppe-pastures who were dependent on rainfall. One of the very rare potential representa-

tions of a genuine Kushite deity features a bull (Valbelle 2004a, 177; Bonnet 1990, 155 n. 34). The observation of Chaix (2010, 526) on the subject remains entirely relevant when he concludes, for later periods, ‘the absolute pre-eminence of cattle. The latter occupy the first place not only in the animal economy, but also in the religious sphere, being present in temples as well as occurring at royal funerals’.

The remarkable set of paintings found in tomb K XI at Kerma provides a series of animal depictions. Some of them are set under cattle lists (repeated figures of the same animal) comprising at least four bulls; forty-six hippos and eleven giraffes are also shown.²³ These may show the possessions of the sovereign in the context of a society of hunters and herdsman. It also seems likely that the Nubians saw in certain wild animals natural expressions, if not embodiments, of powerful divine entities.

The recent results gained by W. V. Davies (2001, 49–50 and fig. 4; this volume [Kurgus]) from his new study of the Kurgus rock inscriptions have shown, among many innovative conclusions, that the Egyptians, under the commands of Thutmose I and III, selected and emphasised the animal figures which pervaded their hieroglyphic and figurative messages when addressing the Kushite populations: falcon Horus of the *serekh* for the king, the brand new ram-headed depiction of the god Amun, the exaggerated size of the *k3*-bull in the writing of the name Amun-Ra-Kamutef and, last but not least, the impressive figures of lions (see also Gabolde 2009, 78, n. 15). The importance given by the Egyptians to the ram-headed figure of Amun, adopted at the time of the conquest of Nubia by Thutmose I from an ancient local ram-deity (Wildung 1984, 181–2; Bonnet 1986, 8, 44–8; 2000, 26–8, 53), was certainly a subtle way to enhance the syncretism of Egyptian and Nubian beliefs, focused on the god Amun.

²⁰ One can wonder to which degree they may have also considered that their native language presented an opportunity to communicate in secret from the Egyptians.

²¹ Pastoralism may be associated with nomadism, though it is not always the case. For early pastoralism in Nubia see Caneva 1991, who sees an evolution, due to climatic changes in Neolithic times, from sedentary and semi-permanent settlements along the Nile to a semi-nomadic way of life and to the creation of the basic state institutions of a pastoral society, highly organised and hierarchised. She observes moreover that two millennia later, the Meroitic population had still the same basic pastoral way of life, witnessed also in the analysis of strontium levels in bones. Gatto (2011) perceived this fundamental pastoral background throughout archaeological field data, especially among

funerary items. See also Cavalli-Sforza 1996; Håland 1995; Sadr 1991. For the nomadic way of life in Upper Nubia: Peressinotto et al. 2004. For the non-sedentary character of the C-Group: Trigger 1976, 36 and Nordström 1972, 26. The influence of the pastoral way of life has been scrutinized by Emberling (2014).

²² David Edwards (pers. comm. 2013) notes that Sudanese graffiti scattered over the rocks along the Nile and in the deserts (mostly cattle, a few herdsman or hunters, and also a few boats) appear around ten times more frequently than the Egyptian inscriptions.

²³ Bonnet 2000, 65–102; esp. 95 for the interpretation of ownership. Whereas Bonnet suggests a possible Egyptian influence (2000, 101–2), Török (2009, 151) rather rejects it.

The deep geographical discrepancies between Egypt and the Sudan provide some clues to understanding the context in which the development of writing appeared (Edwards 2003, 142–8). The extremely arid Egyptian deserts, almost uninhabited in the 3rd millennium, contrast with the Sudanese steppe and, to the south, the savannah, watered by annual rains and therefore favourable to cattle grazing. In such an environment, cattle are grazed over large areas (Ehret 2001, 229), which generally have a low population density, while the need to regularly move cattle to fresh grazing leads to a semi-nomadic or nomadic way of life. On the other hand, the cultivable areas in the Egyptian Nile flood plain are obviously much wider than in Sudan, allowing intensive and productive agriculture, creating denser populations, and leading to sedentary and gregarious accretion. Density of population multiplies exchanges, creates regulations, administrations and hierarchies, and rapidly leads to the need for writing. Sudanese populations, with less cultivable land and more steppes available for grazing, developed sparse temporary dwellings and a way of life that mixed pastoralism and agriculture, together with some aquatic subsistence along the river (Ehret 2001, 229).²⁴

When the Kingdom of Kush grew into a highly organised sacral state, the agricultural basin of Kerma allowed it to support a rather densely populated landscape (Welsby 2001) and the capital became an active trade centre. Nevertheless pastoralism was never entirely abandoned in the conservative Kushite society, as witnessed eloquently in funerary customs: hecatombs of bucrania around tumuli, and paintings of cattle and wild animals in funerary complexes (Dubosson 2011). Sedentism among the Kushite populations was, in fact, not deeply anchored in the customs of the society. As Caneva illustrated, referring to the Mesolithic culture of the Saggai region (1985, 427–8), sedentism was, once before, abandoned after one millennium in favour of a semi-nomadic way of life.

²⁴ Interestingly, Ehret 2001, 231 also quotes traces of vocabulary linked to the raising of domestic animals in the proto-Northern Sudanic languages: ‘to drive to water’, ‘to milk’, ‘cow’, and for the agricultural side terms such as ‘flour’ or ‘grindstone’, but nothing really related to the cultivation of grain.

²⁵ Kemp 2006, 44 characterised the Libyans, at least in the New Kingdom, ‘as a pastoral people’ used to travel ‘with their wives, children, other leaders, a large number of followers, and with herds of animals, including cattle. They had tented camps

Closing remarks

The reliance on oral transmission which also characterises Nubian society is again encountered among other pastoral people: it has been acknowledged among the Libyans in the Western Egyptian desert,²⁵ or the Medjay from the Eastern desert (Liszka 2012, 182–3).

It appears that the primacy of oral tradition in a civilisation gives to speech a fundamental social function which implies also a sacred dimension: it relies on truth, confidence, and the absolute value of oaths, or word of honour, in communications between individuals.²⁶ The native Kushite language offered to the Nubians the guarantee of an authentic statement, a property that justified its subsequent longevity. Egyptian language and writing was mainly intended to address the divine sphere, where gods appeared to speak, understand and read only the Egyptian idiom.

Here might lie the start of an explanation of the cultural question: to write or not? Though the matter certainly deserves further research, and the conclusions might be refined, the link between the Nubian cultures, pastoralism and oral tradition seems to constitute a suitable basis of reflection. Moreover, viewing the adoption, by the Kushites, of Egyptian customs, languages and writing as a religious conversion, rather than as a true acculturation process, seems to be an appropriate framework to explain the specific way that Egyptian culture spread in the Sudan.

Acknowledgements

It is our pleasure to thank Neal Spencer and the British Museum for having invited us to give a lecture at the colloquium held in London in July 2013. We are very grateful to Ben Haring for references he kindly provided us with. We also benefited from the significant comments of Prof. L. Török who kindly read this paper. Last but not least we are indebted to the editors, and especially to Anna Stevens, for their insightful remarks and their help in improving the style of the manuscript.

(which the Egyptians burnt)’. Colin (1996, 183), evokes too their ‘nomadisme pastoral’ and their common language, which was never written; see also further comments in Colin 2005.

²⁶ See the conclusions drawn from the communications at the Paris conference: Auzépy and Saint-Guillain 2008, with especially, among others, the contributions of Dumezil (2008) on contradictory oaths, of Aigle (2008) on the prevalence of orality at the enthronement of Baybars, or of Mottahedeh (2008) dealing with the legal value given to an oath.

Bibliography

- Aigle, D. 2008. La parole et l'écrit: Baybars et le califat abbaside au Caire. In M.-F. Auzépy and G. Saint-Guillain (eds), *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): Parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*. Collège de France – CNRS Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographie 29. Paris, 123–35.
- Auzépy, M.-F. and G. Saint-Guillain (eds). 2008. *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): Parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*. Collège de France – CNRS Centre Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographie 29. Paris.
- Baines, J. 2004. The earliest Egyptian writing: Development, context, purpose. In S. D. Houston (ed.), *The first writing: Script invention as history and process*. Cambridge, 151–89.
- . 2007. *Visual and written culture in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford.
- Beaux, N. 2009. Écriture égyptienne: L'image du signe. In N. Beaux, B. Pottier and N. Grimal (eds), *Image et conception du monde dans les écritures figuratives. Actes du colloque Collège de France–Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 24–25 janvier 2008*. Études d'égyptologie 10. Paris, 242–87.
- Björkman, G. and T. Säve-Söderbergh. 1972. Seals and seal impressions. In H.-Å. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group sites. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia 3/1*. Stockholm, 117–18.
- Bonnet, C. 1986. *Kerma, territoire et métropole. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*. Bibliothèque Générale IX. Cairo.
- . 1990. *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*. Geneva.
- . 1991. Upper Nubia from 3000 to 1000 BC. In W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from prehistory to Islam*. London, 112–17.
- . 2000. *Édifices et rites funéraires à Kerma*. Paris.
- . 2011. La Nubie face à la puissance égyptienne. In D. Aston, B. Bader, C. Gallorini, P. Nicholson and S. Buckingham (eds), *Under the potter's tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt presented to Janine Bourriau on the occasion of her 70th birthday*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 204. Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA, 253–62.
- . 2012. Les grands monuments égyptiens et nubiens du début de la XVIII^e dynastie sur le site de Doukki Gel (Kerma). *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 112, 57–76.
- Breasted, J. H. 1908. Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago. Second preliminary report of the Egyptian Expedition. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25, 1–110.
- Budka, J. 2011. The early New Kingdom at Sai Island: Preliminary results based on the pottery analysis (4th season 2010). *Sudan & Nubia* 15, 23–33.
- . 2012. Neue Arbeiten in der Siedlung des Neuen Reiches auf der Insel Sai. *Sokar* 24, 54–63.
- . 2013. Die 18. Dynastie auf Sai Island. Neue Puzzlesteine als Ergebnisse der Feldkampagne 2013. *Sokar* 26, 78–87.
- Budka, J. and F. Doyen. 2012–13. Life in New Kingdom towns in Upper Nubia: New evidence from recent excavations on Sai Island. *Egypt & the Levant* 22–3, 167–208.
- Caneva, I. 1985. The prehistory of Central Sudan: Hints for an overview. In M. Liverani, A. Palmieri and R. Peroni (eds), *Studi di Paleontologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*. Rome, 425–32.
- . 1991. Prehistoric hunters, herders and tradesmen in Central Sudan: Data from the Geili Region. In W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from prehistory to Islam*. London, 6–15.
- Cavalli-Sforza, L. L. 1996. The spread of agriculture and nomadic pastoralism: Insights from genetics, linguistics and archaeology. In D. R. Harris (ed.), *The origins and spread of agriculture and pastoralism in Eurasia*. London, 51–69.
- Chaix, L. 2010. Animal exploitation during the Napatan and Meroitic times in the Sudan. In W. Godlewski and A. Łajtar (eds), *Between the cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement Series 2.2/2. Warsaw, 519–25.
- Colin, F. 1996. *Les Libyens en Égypte (XV^e siècle a.C.–II^e siècle p.C.). Onomastique et histoire*. Brussels. <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00120038/file/ColinV1.pdf> [last accessed 12 January 2015].
- . 2005. Kamose et les Hyksos dans l'oasis de Djesdjes. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 105, 35–47.
- Damerow, P. 2012. The origins of writing and arithmetic. In J. Renn (ed.), *The globalization of knowledge in history*. Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge Studies I. Berlin, 153–73.
- Davies, N. de G. and A. H. Gardiner. 1926. *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tut'ankhamun (No. 40)*. EES Theban Tombs Series 4. London.
- Davies, W. V. 2001. Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian inscriptions. *Sudan & Nubia* 5, 47–53.
- . 2003. Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush. *Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 3–6.
- . 2005. Egypt and Nubia: Conflict with the Kingdom of Kush. In C. H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus and C. A. Keller (eds), *Hatshepsut: From queen to pharaoh*. New York, 49–56.
- Devauchelle, D. and F. Doyen. 2009. Retour à l'île de Sai (Soudan, 2006–2009). *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 175, 29–49.

- Dubosson, J. 2011. Cattle sacrifice in the funerary rituals of the Kingdom of Kerma: The contribution of ethnoarchaeology. In M. Honegger, C. Bonnet, D. Valbelle, P. Ruffieux, C. Fallet, M. Bundi and J. Dubosson (eds), *Kerma 2010–2011. Documents de la mission archéologique suisse au Soudan 2011/3*. Neuchâtel, 19–24.
- Dumezil, B. 2008. Le crime de parjure dans l'Espagne wisigothique du VII^e siècle. In M.-F. Auzépy and G. Saint-Guillain (eds), *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): Parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*. Collège de France – CNRS Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographie 29. Paris, 27–42.
- Edwards, D. N. 2003. Ancient Egypt in the Sudanese Middle Nile: A case of mistaken identity? In D. O'Connor and A. Reid (eds), *Ancient Egypt in Africa*. London, 137–50.
- Ehret, C. 2001. Sudanic civilization. In M. Adas (ed.), *Agricultural and pastoral societies in ancient and classical history*. Philadelphia, 224–74.
- Emberling, G. 2014. Pastoral states: Toward a comparative archaeology of early Kush. *Origini* 36, 125–56.
- Fischer, H. G. 1977. *The orientation of hieroglyphs. Part 1, Reversals*. Egyptian Studies II. New York.
- Gabolde, L. 2004. La stèle de Thoutmosis II à Assouan, témoin historique et archétype littéraire. In A. Gasse and V. Rondot (eds), *Séhel. Entre Égypte et Nubie. Inscriptions rupestres de l'époque pharaonique, Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 31 mai–1^{er} juin 2002*. *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 14. Montpellier, 129–48.
- 2009. Amon-Rê, *p3 mry nfr*, Amon, *mry (ntr) p3 nbj nfrw*, au temple de Deir al-Medîna. In C. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies Thébaines tardives*. Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 3. Montpellier, 75–83.
- 2011–12. Réexamen des jalons de la présence de la XVIII^e dynastie naissante à Saï. *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 29, 115–37.
- Gatto, M. C. 2011. The Nubian pastoral culture as link between Egypt and Africa: A view from the archaeological record. In K. Exell (ed.), *Egypt in its African context. Proceedings of the conference held at The Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 2–4 October 2009*. BAR International Series 2204. Oxford, 21–9.
- Gratien, B. 1975. Les nécropoles Kerma de l'île Saï, III. *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 3, 43–66.
- 1978. *Les cultures Kerma. Essai de classification*. Lille.
- 1986. *Saï I. La nécropole Kerma*. Paris.
- 1991. Empreintes de sceaux et administration à Kerma (Kerma Classique). In C. Bonnet, B. Gratien, S. M. Ahmed, M. el Tayeb and C. Simon, *Kerma 1988–1989 — 1989–1990 — 1990–1991*. *Genava* n. s. 39, 21–4.
- 1993. Nouvelles empreintes de sceaux à Kerma: Aperçus sur l'administration de Kouch au milieu du 2^e millénaire av. J.-C. In C. Bonnet, J. Reinold, B. Gratien, B. Marcolongo and N. Surian (eds), *Kerma 1991–1992 — 1992–1993*. *Genava* n. s. 41, 27–32.
- 2006. Un système d'enregistrement à Kerma à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire? In E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman and A. Schwab (eds), *Timelines. Studies in honour of Manfred Bietak*, III. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149. Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA, 115–22.
- Håland, R. 1995. Early Holocene sites and the emergence of sedentism in the Atbara region. *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 17/1, 97–115.
- Hyman, M. D. and J. Renn. 2012. Survey: From technology transfer to the origins of science. In J. Renn (ed.), *The globalization of knowledge in history*. Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge Studies I. Berlin, 75–104.
- Janssen, J. J. 1953. The Stela (Khartoum No. 3) from Uronarti. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12, 51–5.
- Kemp, B. J. 1978. Imperialism and empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575–1087 B.C.). In P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds), *Imperialism in the ancient world*. Cambridge, 7–57.
- 2006. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a civilisation*. London (2nd edition).
- Knoblauch, C. 2012. The Ruler of Kush (Kerma) at Buhen during the Second Intermediate Period: A reinterpretation of Buhen Stela 691 and related objects. In C. Knoblauch and J. C. Gill (eds), *Egyptology in Australia and New Zealand 2009. Proceedings of the Conference held in Melbourne, September 4th–6th*. BAR International Series 2355. Oxford, 85–96.
- Lacau, P. 1913. Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 51, 1–64.
- Lichtheim, M. 1973. *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London.
- Liszka, K. 2012. 'We have come to serve Pharaoh': A study of the Medjay and Pangrave Culture as an ethnic group and as mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE. PhD Thesis. University of Pennsylvania.
- Lohwasser, A. 2006. Fremde Heimat – Selektive Akkulturation in Kusch. In E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman and A. Schwab (eds), *Timelines. Studies in honour of Manfred Bietak*, III. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149. Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA, 133–8.
- Mathieu, B., 2014. La littérature à la fin du Moyen Empire. In F. Morfoisse and G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostris III, pharaon de légende*. Ghent, 86–91.
- Millet, N. B. 1974. Writing and literacy in the Ancient Sudan. In A. M. Abdalla (ed.), *Studies in ancient*

- languages of the Sudan. Papers presented at the Second International Conference on 'Language and Literature in the Sudan' sponsored by the Sudan Research Unit, 7–12 December 1970.* Khartoum, 49–57.
- Morkot, R. 2013. From conquered to conqueror: The organization of Nubia in the New Kingdom and the Kushite administration of Egypt. In J. C. Moreno-Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian administration*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 104. Leiden; Boston, 911–63.
- Mottahedeh, R. 2008. Oaths and public vows in the Middle East of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In M.-F. Auzépy and G. Saint-Guillain (eds), *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): Parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*. Collège de France – CNRS Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographie 29. Paris, 117–22.
- Nordström, H.-Å. 1972. *Neolithic and A-Group sites*. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia 3. Stockholm.
- Obsomer, C. 2007. Les expéditions d'Hirkhouf (VI^e dynastie). In M.-C. Bruwier (ed.), *Les pharaons noirs. Sur la piste des 40 jours*. Mariemont, 39–52.
- Peressinotto, D., A. Schmitt, Y. Lecointe, R. Pouriel and F. Geus. 2004. Neolithic nomads at El Multaga, Upper Nubia, Sudan. *Antiquity* 78/299, 54–60.
- Posener, G. 1987. *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 101, Cairo.
- Redford, D. B. 2004. *From slave to pharaoh: The black experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore.
- Reinold, J. 1991. Néolithique Soudanais: Les coutumes funéraires. In W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from prehistory to Islam*. London, 16–29.
- Roccati, A. 1982. *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*. Littérature Ancienne du Proche-Orient 11. Paris.
- Sadr, K. 1991. *The development of nomadism in ancient Northeast Africa*. Philadelphia.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. 1941. *Ägypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*. Uppsala.
- 1991. Teh-khet, the cultural and sociopolitical structure of a Nubian Principedom in Tuthmoside times. In W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from prehistory to Islam*. London, 186–94.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. and L. Troy. 1991. *New Kingdom Pharaonic sites. The finds and the sites*. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia 5. Uppsala.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1991. Two precursors of writing: Plain and complex tokens. In W. M. Senne (ed.), *The origins of writing*. Lincoln, 27–41.
- Schneider, T. 2006. Akkulturation – Identität – Elitekultur. Eine Positionsbestimmung zur Frage der Existenz und des Status von Ausländern in der Elite des Neuen Reiches. In R. Gundlach and A. Klug (eds), *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 2. Wiesbaden, 201–16.
- Simpson, W. K. 1964. *Heka-Nefer and the dynastic material from Toshka and Arminna*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition to Egypt 1. New Haven; Philadelphia.
- Smith, H. S. 1976. *The fortress of Buhen. The inscriptions*. EES Excavation Memoir 48. London.
- Smith, S. T. 2003. *Wretched Kush: Ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian empire*. London.
- Taylor, J. 2003. The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC). In I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford history of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, 330–68.
- Toral-Niehoff, I. 2012. Acculturation (CT). In H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds), *Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity volumes*. BrillOnline. https://www.academia.edu/1289343/Art._Akkulturation [6 January 2015]
- Török, L. 2009. *Between two worlds. The frontier region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC.–500 AD*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 29. Leiden; Boston.
- Trigger, B. 1976. *Nubia under the Pharaohs*. London.
- Valbelle, D. 1990. L'égyptien à Kerma, sous l'Ancien Empire. In C. Bonnet (ed.), *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*. Geneva, 95–7.
- 2004a. The cultural significance of iconographic and epigraphic data found in the Kingdom of Kerma. In T. Kendall (ed.), *Proceedings of the IXth International Conference for Nubian Studies, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 21–26 August 1998*. Boston, 176–83.
- 2004b. Egyptians on the Middle Nile. In D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson (eds), *Sudan. Ancient treasures. An exhibition of recent discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*. London, 92–9.
- Welsby, D. A. 2001. *Life on the desert edge. Seven thousand years of settlement in the Northern Dongola Reach, Sudan*. Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication 7. London.
- Wildung, D. 1984. *Sesostris und Amenemhat. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich*. Munich.
- Williams, B. B. 1986. *The A-Group royal cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*. Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 3. Chicago.
- 1991. A prospectus for exploring the historical essence of Ancient Nubia. In W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from prehistory to Islam*. London, 74–91.

Abbreviations

- LD = Lepsius, K. R. (ed.). 1949–1859. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 6 vols. Berlin.
- Urk. IV = Sethe, K. and W. Helck. 1906–1958. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Abteilung IV. Berlin; Leipzig.