INTRODUCTION

DURING the winter of 1904–5 Monsieur Maspero, Director-General of the Antiquities Department, personally inspected the monuments of Lower Nubia; and on his return he informed the present writer, who had just been appointed Chief Inspector of Antiquities, of the neglected condition in which he found them. In the autumn of 1905, therefore, the writer made a seventeen days' inspection of the country as far south as Abu Simbel, and in the following spring another fourteen days were spent in visiting the ancient remains as far south as Mahâraka. These two rapid visits only served to show that a more thorough inspection of the whole country would have to be made, and a fuller report drawn up. The question of raising the Barrage at Aswān at this time began to be discussed again; and as there seemed some probability of the work being carried out, Monsieur Maspero asked the writer to spend eight weeks in Lower Nubia during the autumn of 1906 in order to prepare this report, and to make an estimate of the cost of the necessary repairs and excavations, so that it could be compared with his own estimate. The following pages and plates are the result of the work done during this visit, and may be classed under the following heads:—

1. A description of the temples of Lower Nubia, and a detailed account of the reliefs on the walls; with photographs.
2. A rough statement of the repairs necessary in each case.
3. A description of the cemeteries, fortresses, and other ancient sites, so far as they could be seen by walking over the country.
4. The facsimile drawings of the fragments of pottery picked up on some of these sites, which show the date and style of the antiquities likely to be found there by excavation.
5. Fascimile copies of all the graffiti of historical interest which were found on the rocks.

The report is thus intended, in the first place, to show the archaeologist how very many antiquities Lower Nubia contains, with a view to encouraging scientific work there. In the second place it is intended to give some idea of the work which will have to be undertaken in that part of Lower Nubia which will be flooded when the Barrage is raised. In the third place it constitutes a statement of the condition of all the monuments of Lower Nubia, with suggestions as to the best means of preserving and safeguarding them.

The water will be raised to R. L. 113 at most, and the effect of this will be the flooding of the following sites:—

1. The Temples of Philae.
2. The Temple of Bîgeh.
3. The Temple of Dabûd, and the neighbouring cemeteries.
4. The Fortress and Quarries of Kertassi.
5. The Temple and Town of Wâdy Hedîd.
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6. The Temple and Town of Tâfekh.
7. The Temple of Kalâbšeheh.
8. Part of the Temple of Dendûr.
10. The Fortress and cemeteries of Koštámneh.
11. The Temple, Town, and cemeteries of Dakkeh.
12. Part of the Fortress of Kûhbûn.
13. The Temple and cemeteries of Kûrkêh.
14. The Temple and cemeteries of Mahârûkâa.
15. The numerous cemeteries and ancient remains which lie between the above-mentioned large places.

Besides these the water will flood the large number of ancient sites which are not known, but which very certainly exist. Practically all these temples can be strengthened so as to be able to survive their flooding; and if the excavation of every likely part of the desert is carried out, and a full publication of all the material, both in temples and cemeteries, is made, the loss to science will not be great. It cannot, however, be too clearly understood how serious the loss will be if the most elaborate works are not undertaken.¹

Besides these works in the threatened area a very large amount requires to be done in order to place the monuments of Lower Nubia in a decent condition; and, although it will be necessary to concentrate all one’s efforts on the region which will be flooded, still it must not be forgotten that the monuments here and higher up the river are quite unprotected. At present the temples are all open, and are thus constantly being damaged by natives and European travellers. They are full of bats, and in most cases are extremely dirty. The reader is referred to the description of the condition of the temples of Derr, Abu Simbel, Amâdâ, &c. The forlorn appearance of the larger monuments has resulted in an increase of audacity on the part of the robbers of smaller antiquities. Something like five thousand graves have been robbed and pulled to pieces during the last five years. Between Tôshkêh and Gerf Hûṣên this robbery has been systematically performed, and each cemetery has been tested and dug out if it proved valuable. The report on the cemeteries of Anâybeh and Dakkeh will be sufficient to show how much damage has been done.

Ever since the Antiquities Department was created the Government has spent large sums of money on the ancient monuments, and with such great works (as those, for example, in the Theban ruins) occupying the attention, it is little to be wondered at that the Nubian temples have been left until this later date.

It is to be hoped that in the near future an Egyptian inspector will be found for this district,² who will travel constantly from place to place; and a thoroughly good set of gaffirs or watchmen will in time be appointed. At present there are only five gaffirs employed: one at Gerf Hûṣên, one at Dakkeh, one at Kalâbšeheh, and two at Abu Simbel. There should, however, be at least fifteen.

Each year an increasing number of travellers pass through Lower Nubia and visit the temples. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the necessarily large

¹ It has been decided to carry out works on so extensive a scale that no loss to science need now be feared.
² An inspector has now been appointed.
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works in other parts of Egypt have caused the ‘show-places’ here to be somewhat overlooked. Abu Simbel is partly covered with sand, Amâda is in the same condition, Dêr is very dirty, Es Sebû’a is almost buried in sand, Dakkeh has fallen to pieces in part, Gerf Huşên is fouled by bats and birds, Kalâbshsh is so filled with broken stones that a visit to its halls necessitates a difficult climb, Dabûd has fallen in parts, and so on.¹ It may be said that at the present time there are no antiquities in Egypt which so urgently require attention as do these monuments of Lower Nubia.

It will be best to introduce the report by a brief sketch of Lower Nubian history, and an account of the main products of the cemeteries found there.

Note.—While this report was being written Prof. Breasted, of Chicago, published an account of his work in Lower Nubia during the winter of 1905–6; and the writer has only recently managed to procure a copy from a friend, no official copy having been presented to this office. He has prepared for publication most of the temples of the New Empire; none of which, however, are in the territory which will be flooded. He did not, of course, examine anything but the known sites, his excellent work in the temples occupying all his time; and thus the new material collected in this report was in no way ‘missed’ by him.

¹ Work on these temples is already commencing.
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In ancient times the country of Lower Nubia extended northwards as far as the neighbourhood of El Kab. It is at about this point that the aspect of the country changes, and instead of the wide fields of Middle Egypt there are only narrow strips of cultivated land at the water's edge, alternating with stretches of rock and desert. In the Eighteenth Dynasty and onwards the Viceroy of Kush, or Ethiopia, ruled from El Kab southwards, but as the title of this official is always 'Viceroy of Kush and Governor of the Southern Lands' it is not necessary to suppose that the country called Kush extended any further north than the Second Cataract. From Wādy Hālēfā to Aswān the territory was known as ḫâb Ta-kens 'The Bend-Land' or 'The Land of the Bow'; and, as will be seen, there were three or four principalities included in this district, while between Aswān and El Kab there was the nome of Edfu. The Egyptians were always at war with 'Kush the Vile', but seldom in dynastic history is a war recorded with Lower Nubia. In the Viceroy's title the country north of the Second Cataract was included in the 'Southern Lands', and is quite distinct from Kush. When, therefore, in the following history one reads of the king smiting Kush, one must remember that it was above Wādy Hālēfā that the war took place, unless the people of Kush had invaded Lower Nubia. Throughout almost the entire history of the Nile Valley the people of Lower Nubia were the faithful allies of the Egyptians, and assisted the Pharaoh to keep the Kushites under control and in their own territory. When Sesostri III drove these Kushites back from the land north of the cataract, which they had invaded, the people of Lower Nubia celebrated his victories and converted him into a national hero, worshiping him in a deified form for several hundreds of years afterwards. In the following account of the history and antiquities of Lower Nubia, therefore, one has nothing to do with Kush, except in so far as it affects some question in Lower Nubian affairs. Nor is one concerned with the district north of the barrage which, although a part of Lower Nubia in character, had a very different history.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of Egyptian influence in Lower Nubia is to be found in the drawing of an arcaic king on a rock near Gerf Hûsên (Plate XXXVII, No. 17). In Ptolemaic times the priests of Philae stated that King Zesper, the first sovereign of the Third Dynasty ruled Lower Nubia as far south as Takompso, i.e. the Island of Derär near Dakkeh; and there is no reason why one should doubt this. The people of Lower Nubia at this early age were in part the close relations of the arcaic Egyptians, and in the discussion of the so-called 'Pan-grave' tribes it will be seen that the people buried in the great prehistoric cemeteries of Egypt had similar utensils and similar funeral customs to those found in the early cemeteries of Lower Nubia. On the rocks at Tôshkhêl one of the arcaic inhabitants of the country is drawn (Plate LXV, No. 8) and
from this one sees that the custom of wearing a feather in the hair, which is so often depicted in later Egyptian scenes, was already in existence. This figure carries a bow and arrow, and as there is considerable later evidence to show that this weapon was in very general use amongst the natives here, it may be that the country’s name Ta-kens owes its origin to the habit. The early inhabitants were good draughtsmen and delighted in covering the rocks with drawings of the gazelles, oxen, giraffes, elephants, and other animals which they saw around them, as well as with drawings of boats and sometimes of themselves.

It is in the Fourth Dynasty that one obtains the first insight into Nubian affairs. King Sneferu conducted a campaign against Lower Nubia or Kush, and records the fact that he captured seven thousand prisoners and two hundred thousand cattle. This must have practically ruined the country, and one hears nothing more of it until a century and a half later, when Userkaf, the founder of the Fifth Dynasty, visited Aswan, and most probably organized the government of the region above that town, thereby making it possible for his successor, Sahura, to send his officials up as far as Tomos, where the name of that king is found. During the reign of King Asasa, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, a naval officer named Khnumhotep wrote his name on the rocks at Tomos; while three officials of the time of Tetu, of the Sixth Dynasty, also recorded their names on these rocks. In the reign of Pepy I war was made on the Red Sea and the Eastern Delta, and a great noble of the period, named Una, was commanded to collect an army of negroes from Nubia. This he did, taking the men from the tribes of Arthet, Mazoi, Aam, Wawat, Kaw, and Temeh. The situation of these tribes will become clear presently. Under Pepy’s successor, Merenre, Una was appointed Governor of the South, his province extending as far south as the First Cataract only. This cataract and the neighbouring district was now known as ‘the Door or Frontier of the South’, of which some high official was always ‘the Keeper’. The fact that Una was able to collect troops above ‘the Door’ shows that the Lower Nubian tribes were friendly; though, as the frontier was so clearly marked and so well guarded, the Egyptian control there must have been loose.

Una was now sent to the First Cataract to dig five canals at the most difficult points for the transport of boats. He was then ordered to build three cargo boats and four ordinary boats, in order to bring down from the quarries at the south end of the cataract the granite blocks destined for the king’s pyramid. For the building of these boats Una invited the negro chiefs of Arthet, Wawat, Aam, and Mazoi, to cut the timber, which they did with such promptitude that Una is able to state that the whole undertaking, including the making of the canals and the building of the boats, was completed in one year. Now the building of the boats must have taken at least three months, for in the present day one vessel of a thousand ardebs takes from six weeks to three months to build if the work is carried out quickly. The cutting down of the trees must have taken three months at least, for between five hundred and a thousand acacia trees would have been required to build the seven large vessels; and their floating down the river must have required another month. To complete the whole undertaking in a year, therefore, shows that these works in the extreme south
of Egypt must have been well organized. At this early stage in the history of Nubia, however, one cannot suppose that Una would have attempted to obtain his wood from above the Second Cataract; nor can one suppose that for a work which he seems to have desired to carry out quickly he would have troubled to send for his wood from a distance of over 220 miles. All the tribes, therefore, mentioned above must have been located north of the Second Cataract.

At about the same time another noble, named Herkhuf, was commanded by King Merenrê to make an expedition to Aâm in order to discover the best means of opening up communications with that country. The expedition occupied seven months, and brought back with it ‘all manner of gifts’ from the Aamites. Now if it only took seven months to explore all the desert roads leading to Aâm, to make a report on the conditions up there, to make friends with the inhabitants, to receive and collect from them their numerous gifts, and to carry these back by armed caravan to Egypt, one must admit that Aâm cannot have been any further south than the Second Cataract at most. Soon after this Herkhuf made a second expedition, which he describes in the following words: ‘I set out upon the Elephantine road, and I descended [to the river] at Ærhet, Mâkhêr, Tereres, and Artheth, being an affair of eight months. When I returned I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity . . . I descended to the dwelling of the chief of Sethu and Arthet, after I had explored these countries. Never before had any noble or caravan-conductor who went forth to Aâm done this.’ The Elephantine road, upon which Herkhuf started, is probably the great road which runs on the west bank behind the Grenfell tombs, and which is approached by a half hour's walk up one of the valleys opposite Elephantine: for example, up the valley which leads past the Monastery of St. Simeon. This road runs southward at no great distance from the river, except where it cuts inland to avoid the bends, and for that reason it is much used by persons who are in no hurry and who do not wish to carry much provision along with them. Herkhuf descended to the river perhaps at Ærhet and Mâkhêr on his way up, and at Tereres and Arthet again on his way down, afterwards being entertained by the chief of Arthet and of Sethu. Tomâs is the point at which most persons who now use the road descend to the river for the first time after leaving Aswân; and the rocks here are covered with inscriptions of the Sixth Dynasty. There is thus some likelihood that the principality of Arthet may have included Tomâs; and as will be seen presently there are other facts which point to the same conclusion. The second descent is generally made just above Abu Simbel, a district which in Ramesside times was called Mâhâ. This name is not altogether unlike Mâkhêr, when one remembers that a thousand years would separate the two readings. The third descent is usually made at the Second Cataract, and in this neighbourhood one must look for Aâm. If it was on his return journey that Herkhuf visited Tereres, one may perhaps identify this place with Taray, a town which is to be identified with Anâybeh, as will be pointed out later. He may have next descended into the principality of Arthet somewhere about Amâda, which was one of the usual resting-places, as the many graffiti on the rocks prove. Herkhuf then visited Sethu, a district which is known to have been below Arthet; and he boasts that this route was one which had not been followed
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before. This probably indicates that he returned by way of the great Korâoko bend: a route which the complete lack of graffiti along its course shows to have been rarely used. Herkhuf was again sent on an expedition to Aâm in later years, and this expedition he describes as follows: ‘His Majesty sent me a third time to Aâm. I set out on the What road, and I found the chief of Aâm going to the land of Temeh tosmite Temeh as far as the western corner of heaven. I went after him to the land of Temeh, and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king’s sake . . . Now when I had pacified that chief of Aâm [I descended to the river] below Ärhet and above Sethu, and [there] I found the chief of Ärhet, Sethu, and Wawat. I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, grain, panther-[skins], ivory, boomerangs, and every good product. Now when the chief of Ärhet, Sethu, and Wawat, saw how strong and numerous were the soldiers of Aâm which descended with me . . . this chief brought and gave me bulls and small cattle, and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Ärhet’.

To understand this expedition it must first be pointed out that the Temeh are the same as the later Temehu, the semi-Libyan inhabitants of the Oases, who cannot have been in any great numbers further south than el Khârgeh. The chief of Aâm was therefore probably invading the Oasis of el Khârgeh. Now the only road to el Khârgeh which runs from the region of the Second Cataract, meets the road from Tomâs near that place, and runs to the Oasis of Kûrkûr. Here there is a junction; and one road runs towards the Nile which it meets at Daraw, while the other road runs to el Khârgeh. The word wâket is to be identified with wâket ‘oasis’, and the ‘wâket road’ spoken of by Herkhuf must therefore be this Daraw–Kûrkûr road. This route from Egypt to the Second Cataract via the Kûrkûr oasis is the best one to be taken, and is generally used by express caravans at the present day. It seems that when Herkhuf arrived at Kûrkûr he found that the chief of Aâm had passed through this junction shortly before him, on his way to drive the Temehu westward. Herkhuf, remembering that Una, as has been seen, recruited troops from these Temehu, thought it very necessary to prevent their extermination; and he therefore hurried along the Kûrkûr–Khârgeh road to catch the chief up. This he succeeded in doing, and with him he returned to Kûrkûr, and thence to the river at a point below Ärhet and above Sethu, where he found the chief of these two tribes and of the tribe of Wawat. Ärhet did not extend northwards much beyond ‘Amâda, and Herkhuf may have descended to the river at some point such as Medîk, to which place a road leads from the Kûrkûr–Tomâs road, and on the rocks of which there are many Sixth Dynasty graffiti like those at Tomâs. From Herkhuf’s account one sees at least that Sethu was further north than Ärhet and that Wawat was located not far away from either. Herkhuf was now conducted by the chief to some road such as that on which he had travelled on his first expedition, and thus he returned to Aswân. The main point to be derived from this account is in regard to the position of Aâm. It has already been pointed out that that country cannot be very far to the south, and this conclusion is amply substantiated by the fact that the chief of Aâm had gone to make war on the oases. There are no good roads which he could have followed south of the
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Second Cataract, nor would he have attempted so long a journey. But, starting from somewhere north of Halfa, he could have followed the road which keeps near the river as far as Anâybeh, and then cuts inland to Kûrkur and thence to Khârgeh. It has been suggested that the What road on which Herkhuf set out is to be identified with the Aswân–Shellal quarry road, the verb whâ meaning ‘to quarry’. But in that case Herkhuf would be travelling on the east bank of the river, and would not have met the Æmites who were going westward. Moreover the main roads on this bank lead to the mines and to the Berber neighbourhood in the Sudan.

Of the tribes of Lower Nubia already mentioned, the Mazoi and the Kaw still remain unplaced. One does not again hear of the Kaw; but as they are mentioned at the end of the list, it is possible that they inhabited the regions north of the Sethu and just south of the First Cataract. It is at this end of Lower Nubia where the tribes would most quickly lose their individuality. Some light is thrown on the question of the Mazoi by an inscription and relief cut on the rocks opposite Gezirat el Ḥasseh, near the First Cataract. King Merennâ is here seen receiving the homage of Lower Nubian chiefs, and the inscription, which is dated in his fifth year, reads: ‘The coming of the king himself, standing behind the hill-country, while the chiefs of Mazoi, Árhet, and Wawat, did obeisance and gave great praise.’ Here one finds the Mazoi chief coming to Egypt with the chiefs of the Wawat and Árhet, neither of which tribes are to be located above Abu Simbel; but the Ámite chief does not appear. Mazoi, therefore, seems to have been more accessible than Áam; and as has been seen already it is to Áam that the difficult expeditions are sent. The people of Mazoi were an extremely warlike race, and the Egyptians so constantly employed them as mercenary troops in later times that the name of their tribe became the usual word for ‘soldier’. In the account of the ‘Pan-grave’ races it will be seen that there is a great possibility that those tribes were employed as soldiers by the Egyptians, for their pottery is found in large quantities inside all the great fortresses. These ‘Pan-graves’ are found mainly between Gerf Hussein and Toshkheh on the west bank of the river, and thus this region, or a part of it, may have to be identified with Mazoi. At any rate the Mazoi are not to be placed much higher up the river than this for the following reason. King Amenemhat I of the Twelfth Dynasty made war on Wawat, and placed an inscription to this effect at Korósko; while in another inscription he boasts of having overthrown Wawat and Mazoi together. Thus Mazoi cannot be far from Wawat, and it has already been seen that Wawat is to be placed somewhere near Korósko, as this inscription of Amenemhat also indicates. It has been thought that the Mazoi lived in the desert behind Korósko, and that Amenemhat invaded their territory by way of the Korósko–Abû Hamid road. But in the first place there is ample evidence to show that the Egyptians did not know of this road and never penetrated the desert here; and secondly there is here no oasis in which the Mazoi could have lived; and nowadays the water supply is extremely meagre.

In the present writer’s opinion, therefore, the country between the First and Second Cataracts in the Sixth Dynasty is to be divided amongst these
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tribes in the following manner. The rugged country between the First Cataract and the Bāb el Kalābsheh, or thereabouts, belonged to the tribes of Kaw. At this time there was a cataract rushing down the Bāb, and a natural frontier would thus be formed. Between this and Koshtâmneh lived the Šethu. Just south of Koshtâmneh the country on the west bank completely changes in aspect, the sandy desert taking the place of the shelving rocks. Along this bank, as far south perhaps as Derr, lived the Mazō; while on the east bank opposite them, and in the rocky valleys running back towards the eastern desert, lived the people of Wawat. At about Tomās on the west bank and Ibrim on the east began the territory of Arthet. Probably there were rapids at this point, and thus there was a natural frontier as before. Arthet extended southwards to just above Abu Simbel, where again there were probably rapids. Above Abu Simbel the aspect of the country entirely changes once more, and becomes more open and sandy; and here one may place the people of Āam, whose southern frontier was perhaps the Second Cataract. Each of these tribes thus occupied an area quite as large as most of the nomes or provinces of Egypt, and there is, therefore, no need to consider them as extending beyond the Second Cataract, and the above arrangement cannot be said to cramp them into an unnaturally small space. In the Eighteenth Dynasty there were five or more provinces in Lower Nubia—Baki, Māām, Māha, Beḥeni, &c.—and at this early date there must have been certainly as many; for the tendency is always towards amalgamation.

After the death of Merennâ Herkhuf made a fourth expedition to Āam, and on his return he wrote to the young King Pepy II, dating his letter in the second year of his reign, and informing him that he had brought back a pigmy from Āam. The king was immensely pleased, and wrote to Herkhuf, saying, ‘Come northward to the court immediately, and bring with you the pigmy which you have brought living, in good condition, and healthy, from the land of spirits, for the amusement of the king, to rejoice and gladden his heart. When the pigmy is in the vessel, appoint trustworthy people to be on either side of him. Take care that he does not fall into the water. When he is sleeping at night appoint trustworthy people to sleep beside him in his cabin; and make an inspection ten times a night. My majesty desires to see this pigmy more than the gifts of Sinai and of Punt.’ It is probable that Herkhuf had heard of these pigmies while he was in Āam, and had managed to obtain this one, through the agency of the Aamite chief, from the far south.

These expeditions of the Sixth Dynasty had opened up the country, and had brought it under Egyptian rule. To the new régime the various tribes objected, and a revolt soon followed. An official named Mekhu, while on an expedition somewhere above ‘the land of Wawat and Utheth’ [probably Arthet], was murdered; and as soon as the news was brought to his son Sâbny, an expedition was fitted out, and every effort was made to recover the body. It seems to have been Sâbny’s first consideration to find his father’s body and give it decent burial; and the punishment of the culprits was postponed. Sâbny actually took presents to the chief of Wawat and Utheth, and made friendly overtures to him. Later in life Sâbny was made ‘Governor of the South,’
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but the Lower Nubians seem to have been still in a rebellious state; and a general named Pepynekht had to be dispatched to teach them a lesson. Pepynekht states that his orders were ‘to hack up Wawat and Árthet’, and that he slew large numbers of the enemy, including the chief’s children and the nobles, while others were taken prisoners. On his return he was sent again to these countries to arrange for their future government; and he brought back to the king the two chiefs of Wawat and Árthet, together with their children and some of the nobles. A period of absolute peace followed, and a certain Khnumbōtep states that he accompanied a great personage named Khwy to Punt, and another noble named Thety to Kush, on eleven expeditions. This is the first mention of the name Kush, and here, as in later times, it may doubt designate the country above the Second Cataract. During the obscure period which followed one may perhaps place the King Ḥor-nefer-ḫen whose cartouche is found three times on the rocks at Tomás (Plate LVIII). In one of these three inscriptions reference is made to the land of Árthet, which is a further indication that that tribe is to be located near Tomás.

The next reference which one finds to Lower Nubia dates from the reign of Menthuホテtep II of the Eleventh Dynasty, when, in the forty-first year of that king, an official named Kheti, refers to Wawat in vague terms. During all this period, from the Sixth to the Eleventh Dynasties, Egyptian officials seem to have travelled very considerably in the country, for, as will be seen in the following report, they have left numerous graffiti on the rocks. But towards the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the feeble rule of the Egyptian Pharaohs left the chieftains of the different tribes free to manage their own affairs; and when Ámenemḫáti I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, reasserted his rights, the Lower Nubians were at first unmanageable. In the well-known ‘Teachings’ of Ámenemḫáti I, he says, ‘I seized the people of Wawat, I captured the people of Mazoi’; and on a stele at Koróško, dated in the king’s twenty-ninth year, there are the words, ‘We came to overthrow Wawat. . . .’ the end of the inscription being lost. This was the second and last revolt of the Lower Nubians until Ptolemaic times.

Sesostris I, the next king, made the now peaceful Lower Nubia the basis of a campaign against Kush, and in his eighteenth year he was able to set up a tablet at Wády Hálfa stating that he had conquered ten of the tribes who lived above that town and probably above the Second Cataract. Eight of the names of these tribes are still preserved, but the names of the Lower Nubian tribes which have already been noted do not occur here; and this is a further indication that none of them is to be located above the Second Cataract. In the forty-third year of Sesostris I the Prince of the Oryx Nome, named Ámeny [Ámenemḫáti] records that at some time previous to this date he sailed up with the king to conquer the Kushites, taking with him a contingent of troops from his nome; and on a rock at Ḫmáda he seems to have recorded his name (Plate LI, No. 2). In the forty-fifth year, Sesostris I inscribed his name on the same rock, but it is a question whether he was here on a tour of inspection or was returning from another campaign in Kush. On this rock the next king, Ámenemḫáti II, records his fifth year; and at Dehmíd