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## THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE NEGROES IN HISTORY

BY DR HERMANN JUNKER<sup>1</sup>

ACCORDING to the popular conception Africa is the Black Continent, the domain of the Negroes, in which other races play only a quite subordinate part. Neither for the present time, however, nor as regards antiquity does this view correspond to the facts. It is truer to say in general terms that there are two great families which share possession, Negroes and Hamites; not that one half of Africa is exclusively inhabited by the one, the other half by the other, but rather that throughout the whole region Hamitic population varies with Nigritic. The modern distribution of languages in Africa shows Hamitic idioms, whether pure or vestigial, in the east between the Lower Nile and the Red Sea, the whole complex south of this down to and including German East Africa being dominated by them; in South Africa we find the Nama and Korana languages in German South-West Africa and its surroundings; in the west, parts of French West Africa, and in the north large tracts of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia; to these must be added the Tuaregs in the Sahara<sup>2</sup>.

Yet these linguistic areas represent only a part of the Hamitic domains. In not a few other cases we certainly have a Hamitic population which has lost its own language; I need only mention Egypt and other regions of northern Africa. Thus, throughout the whole continent we have a motley mixture of groups belonging to both races. In addition to this there is at many points a mingling of the races, as probably with the Bantu; in other cases we see a Negro population dominated by a Hamitic superstratum. In brief, all degrees of intermixture are to be found.

This state of affairs must be the result of many migrations and numerous conflicts with varying issues, which began in immemorial times and have continued, to a lesser extent, down to the modern period. Of all these events history knows very little. In the majority of cases it can but argue back from the nature of the results to the anterior stages, and this only for fairly recent epochs.

Now, that an attempt should be made to throw some light on the history of the Blacks from the Egyptological side needs no justification. For Egypt is a part of Africa, and has the oldest history accessible to us. Its soil has not only yielded us a great abundance of witnesses to all phases of its own development, but has also preserved in copious measure documents relating to the history of the neighbouring races. Especially the excavations of the last few decades have provided us with rich material which is of the highest interest particularly for the study of foreign peoples. No more need be recalled here than the

<sup>1</sup> A Lecture given at the Statutory Annual Meeting of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, 30th May, 1920. We are indebted to Dr Junker for permission to reproduce his important lecture in the pages of the *Journal*. The translation has been made by Mr Battiscombe Gunn.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, MEINHOF, *Die Sprache der Hamiten*, in *Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonial-instituts*, IX, Hamburg, 1920.

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discovery of reliefs in which are represented Semites, both settled and nomadic, Libyans and southern peoples, from about the time of 3000 B.C., and further the numerous finds of vases from the Mediterranean civilizations, which latter in part depend for their chronology upon these very finds. Finally, there is no country in the whole world which can exhibit so much certain and dated craniological material as Egypt, from all periods of its four thousand years' history; and of this material a not inconsiderable proportion is contributed by foreign races.

In endeavouring to ascertain the date of the first appearance of the Negroes in history, we must not consider this achieved by, for instance, the dating of an isolated Negro skull from an Egyptian cemetery, since that might perhaps be some representative of the black races who had come by way of trade as a slave to Egypt, without the latter having been in any sort of contact with his country of origin. It is rather a question of ascertaining when the first meeting with communities of this race took place, whether in trade or in war, where we have to look for the seat of these Negroes, when they became neighbours of the Pharaonic kingdom, and so on.

A second important preliminary point has also to be settled, namely, what we should understand by a "Negro," what are the somatic characters of that race. The misunderstanding of this matter has given rise to various fallacies in the history of the Negroes. There has been too great a tendency to regard the darker coloration of the skin as the chief distinctive character, but it is not the most important or the most typical; for a similar strong pigmentation occurs among other peoples, and the degree of darkness is by no means constant within the Negro races themselves. The real characteristics are, however, not equally emphasized by all anthropologists; I here follow the views of Derry, von Luschan, Elliot Smith and Pösch<sup>1</sup>.

Let us begin with the characteristics of the Negro skull. It is long and narrow, and, seen from above, is elliptical; in general its height is greater than its breadth and it has a large facial base (Basi-alveolar length). The zygomatic arches are prominent (Phanerozygy), and project well forward in the face; the bony nasal aperture (*apertura piriformis*) is broad, about equal in height and width. Most typical is the so-called subnasal prognathism, the salience of the upper maxillary; the lips are thick and puffy, the integumental upper lip often shows a concave profile. The hair is woolly and is generally twisted together in small tufts, "peppercorns," between which the scalp is visible.

Noteworthy in the skeleton is the extent of the flexion in the lumbar part of the vertebral column and the accompanying marked inclination of the pelvis, so that the buttocks and thighs appear to be pushed backwards. Equally striking is the dolichoknemy, *i.e.*, the great length of the bones of the calf as compared with the thigh bones; the femoro-tibial index is 84 in the Sudanese Negroes, in Europeans about 80. This proportion is often emphasized in life by the thinness of the calves, caused by the length of the muscles and the shortness of the Achillis Tendo.

In the oldest period of Egypt that is accessible to us, up to the beginning of the Old Kingdom, *i.e.*, roughly from 5000 to 3600 B.C., we find no evidence whatsoever of Negroes in the vicinity of Egypt. We meet with them neither in tablets commemorating victories, in ceremonial palettes or rock-reliefs, not yet hinted at in any other way. It is true that

<sup>1</sup> Derry and Elliot Smith according to their work in the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report II*, and in the various Bulletins; Luschan from his *Hamitische Typen* in Meinhof's work cited above; Pösch from verbal communications.

with the prehistoric skeletons of Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dêr in Upper Egypt Elliot Smith assumes 2% with negroidal traits, but it is practically certain that this state of things is to be explained otherwise than by immigration of Negroes dwelling near by. They certainly cannot have entered gradually from the south through Nubia; for in the cemetery of South Kubâniyeh, much further south, which has been excavated on behalf of our Academy, and which is of the same period, no negroid characters were observable in the skeletons<sup>1</sup>. And, what is still more significant, still further south, in Nubia, neither pure nor hybrid Negroes appear during the prehistoric period, and even in the subsequent A-period down to the Second Dynasty skulls from which any admixture of Negro elements can be inferred are here quite isolated<sup>2</sup>. It should be remembered that both in Nubia and at Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dêr the appearance of somewhat negroid traits in isolated individuals is very far from implying any connection, whether direct or indirect, with full Negroes; this indicates merely an immigration of elements which possessed a strain of Negro blood. Should the existence of a pure Negro at Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dêr really be demonstrated—and this has not yet been done convincingly<sup>3</sup>—he certainly arrived there by way of trade, and his tribe must have dwelt far away.

<sup>1</sup> See *Anthropologische Untersuchung der menschlichen Überreste aus den altägyptischen Gräberfeldern von El Kubanieh*, in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse*, 96 Band, Vienna, 1919, p. 45: "any considerable admixture of Negro elements in these is not demonstrable." An exception is pointed out *op. cit.*, p. 43: "It may further be noticed that in the whole material to hand only one skull of decidedly Negro type is to be found. It is the skull of South Group No. 36, which was not included in the tables owing to premature synostosis of the sagittal suture." This skull was found in Grave 22 l. 9. Prof. Pösch describes it as follows: "Root of the nose broad, and flat nasal bones, broad osseous nasal aperture, strong alveolar prognathism, low face, somewhat sloping forehead." Grave 22 l. 9 had been plundered; judging from its situation it belonged to the last representatives of the A-period. But Szombaty points out "that the skull exhibits quite a different state of preservation to that of its neighbours; these are much more desiccated by alkaline action (*ausgelaugt*) and weathered, while the 'Negro'-skull is still greasy and appears to be of more recent date." As a matter of fact there are a number of early Muslim graves situated just in this district; see *El Kubanieh-Süd* (*Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 62, 3), pp. 210, 212, Pl. LIII; we may thus very well have to do with one of these later burials. The absence of the eastern locus also occurs elsewhere, e.g., in 22 n. 1, and is to be attributed to the re-utilization of old shafts.

<sup>2</sup> This is to be inferred from the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Bulletin* 6 (1910): ".....as we pointed out in the First Bulletin (p. 28) and have repeatedly confirmed since, the only change in the physical characters of the population [from the early dynastic period to the Old Kingdom] was due to a slight admixture with Negroes." I have examined the detailed descriptions contained in the above-mentioned report, Vol. II, and find no instance even of negroid traits from the Early and Middle Prehistoric Periods. No pure Negro has been pointed out in A-Group (late Predynastic to the First Dynasties). Only a small number of negroid characters are found; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 71, Grave 7:104, bodies of a woman and a man, "being the only members of the A-Group presenting any possible traces of Negro admixture\*" and even these are not sufficiently definite to permit of a more positive statement being made." Cf. also: 30:39, "Young Predynastic male...well-marked prognathism"; 40:57, ditto; 41:406, ditto; 45:403 A, "...Skull is of the Egyptian type. ...the nares are negroid," etc.; 45:485, "...slight prognathism"; 45:517 A, ditto. Thus in reality the two skulls of Grave 7:104 are the only ones in which any admixture of Negro blood is in question at all, since the rest may be explained as variations of the early Nubian type. Negro-hybrids would thus appear to be rarer in Nubia during the early period than in Egypt, and an infiltration of Negroes from the south cannot have taken place at that time; even a merely negroid race, to which the two per cent. of negroid skulls at Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dêr is to be attributed, must have come by another route than through Nubia.

<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of pure Negroes appears to be assumed by Elliot Smith in *The People of Egypt* in *Cairo Scientific Journal*, No. 30, 1909, p. 14: "Even in early predynastic times in Egypt we meet with

\* The italics in the matter cited in this footnote and the next are due to Dr Junker.—TRANSL.

For the following period, styled the Old Kingdom (roughly from 3600 to 2700 B.C.), the state of affairs is generally assumed to have materially altered. It has become a *fable convenue* among historians, as also among many anthropologists, that in the meantime the Negroes had penetrated northward along the course of the Nile, and had peopled Nubia down to about the First Cataract. Among the authorities I may name Eduard Meyer, Breasted and Randall-MacIver<sup>1</sup>. According to them the history of the Negroes began as far back as *circa* 3000 B.C., and we are able to follow the fortunes of their northernmost representatives from that time onwards uninterruptedly.

But this view can no longer be maintained; for it runs entirely counter to the facts.

Representations of Negroes are wholly absent in the Old Kingdom. In the reliefs which show us the conquered peoples, including those of the south, a Negro is nowhere to be perceived. It is true that the Sixth Dynasty representation of the monarch Pepinakht at Elephantine, which shows a dark brown colouring instead of the usual red-brown, has been invoked in this connection, but it has been overlooked that the picture does not possess the specific Negro characters. The abnormal colouring of the skin may point to a dark Nubian mother, for the Princes of Elephantine, on the southern frontier of Egypt, who led the expeditions into Nubia, perhaps did not disdain to marry the daughter of a chieftain of the south<sup>2</sup>; but it is more probable that the reddish colouring of the reliefs was the conventional tint which differed from the actual hue in the south of Egypt.

But the main argument is derived from the word *nhšyw*, which in later times not seldom accompanies the representations of Negroes, and which, it is considered, must also in the Old Kingdom have designated the blacks. But I have been able to demonstrate<sup>3</sup> that the

occasional Negro-hybrids, or even pure Negroes: but it was not until near the time of the Pyramid-builders that any appreciable number of Negroes came north, and even then most of them come no further than Lower Nubia" (regarding the last statement see the preceding note). Cf., on the other hand, *ibid.*, p. 8, "Sporadic examples of *negroid individuals* do occur in these predynastic graves: but it is surprising that a population inhabiting the narrow ridge of habitable land joining the territories of the white and black peoples should include so few *hybrids*..... What I do maintain is.....that definite and unmistakeable Negro characteristics of skull, bones or hair are so rare in the predynastic people that it is altogether unwarrantable and quite misleading to look upon the Negro as one of the constituent elements in this population."

In the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report 1907-1908*, II, 34, he writes on the same question: "In the earliest known Predynastic series of remains (I refer to those from Nag' ed-Dêr in Upper Egypt) two per cent. of the skeletons exhibit undoubted *negroid traits*... At the present time, therefore, we must confess that, except for sporadic cases of *hybridism with Negroes*, there is no appreciable Negro-element in the Predynastic Egyptian."

<sup>1</sup> See JUNKER, *Bericht über die Grabungen auf den Friedhöfen von El Kubanieh-Nord*, *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 64. 3, p. 13; cf. also von Luschan in MEINHOF, *op. cit.*, p. 244, where he says of the Berberin: "They were originally dark Africans, and were always represented by the ancient Egyptians as such, as real 'Negroes.' In the course of intermixture with their Egyptian neighbours during several thousand years they have doubtless received some Hamitic blood.....," etc.

<sup>2</sup> The *Petrograd Papyrus* 1116 A, recto, which describes the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty, states (l. 58) that the founder of the latter, Amenemhês I, is the child of a Nubian woman. I have often asked myself in this connection whether the somewhat foreign-looking traits of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty—above all the very salient cheek-bones—are not a legacy from the Nubian ancestress; the Kushites then dwelling in Nubia certainly show somewhat negroid characters.

<sup>3</sup> See *El Kubanieh-Nord*, pp. 14 foll. [The demonstration may be summarized here for the convenience of readers who have not had access to the work referred to. (a) The archaeological evidence is clean contrary to the view that Negroes inhabited Nubia in the periods of the Old and Middle Kingdoms; thus *nhšyw*, which is applied to the Nubians, cannot mean "Negroes." (b) We possess three Old Kingdom reliefs of



word never possessed this meaning, but rather designated at all times the inhabitants of the south and south-east, and only later referred to the Negroes, and then only through the inclusion of these among the southern peoples. A strong factor in the argumentation is formed by the discovery of two representations in relief of such *nhšyw* from the middle of the Old Kingdom on the site of the Academy's excavations at the Pyramids of Gizeh. They here appear as typical Hamites, not differing from the accompanying Egyptians in cranial conformation, facial type and figure<sup>1</sup>.

Anthropology also gives powerful support to this thesis. The systematic excavations of the Egyptian Survey of Nubia have brought to light throughout Lower Nubia skulls and skeletons, of the period corresponding to the Old Kingdom, which are Hamitic; it is true that a certain percentage with somewhat negroid characters occurs, but this slight admixture is without material importance, particularly as here also no pure Negroes have been found<sup>2</sup>. Thus the fact remains that Hamites dwelt in Nubia during the period of the Old

persons expressly stated to be *nhšyw*; all these exhibit a type related to the Egyptian not only in physical conformation but in dress and treatment of hair and beard, and show no trace of negroid characteristics. The Old Kingdom hieroglyph determining *nhšyw* points the same way. (c) Even in the New Kingdom the Puntites, who are demonstrably not Negroes, are more than once referred to as *nhšyw*. (d) The Nubians are called indifferently *iwntyw* and *nhšyw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and the term *iwntyw*, "Trog-lodytes" or the like, cannot refer to pure Negroes. Moreover these old terms were applied to the inhabitants of Nubia after the population of that country had completely changed, in race if not in appearance. (e) Although Negroes may have predominated much later in several provinces they were not called *nhšyw* because they were Negroes, but, so to speak, in spite of that fact, the term being, as previously, geographical and not ethnic. Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> See JUNKER, *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh vom 16. Dez. 1912 bis 24. März 1913*, in the *Anzeige der Phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1913, No. 14, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Derry speaks, *loc. cit.*, of a "slight admixture with Negroes," during the Nubian Old Kingdom. Elliot Smith states, *Arch. Surv. Nub., Report II*, 34: "Our investigations in Nubia have shown that, at a time assigned by Dr Reisner to the Third Dynasty, the Negro element suddenly became more pronounced, although it was still relatively slight in amount." Here he seems to assume a reinforcement of real Negroes. In this connection he adduces (*loc. cit.*) two instances: "As an example of the small Negroes who came north in the times of the Ancient Empire and mingled with the Archaic Egyptian to form the B-group mixture, I might refer to the occupant of Grave 162 in Cemetery 22..." And further: "In spite of the fact that most of these Archaic Negroes were small, tall Negroes also occasionally came north in these early times; thus a Negro in Cemetery 23 (Archaic Nubian) was 1.724 metres in height." *Both these cases, however, must be eliminated.* Reisner, *Report I*, 180, shows that Cemetery 22 has in the west graves from the time of the Middle Kingdom, and Byzantine burials in the south; only the east perhaps contained a B-group cemetery. But Grave 162 is certainly Byzantine: it is expressly described on p. 183 as: Grave: Christian type VI, orientation West, "body lying at full length on back." No grave-number is given for the other case, from Cemetery 23, but it can be only 23: 28: *Report II*, 124: "A tall (1.724) Negro of the Archaic Nubian or B-group." According to *Report I*, 161, however, No. 23: 28 belongs to the C-group, *i.e.*, to the Middle Kingdom; the position on the left side and the northward orientation further indicate the end of that epoch. Here also, therefore, full Negroes do not occur; the further details as to negroid characters at this period may be collected here:—CEMETERY 7, Early B-group remains, *Report II*, pp. 75 foll.: 202, "typical Egyptian nose in association with definite subnasal prognathism"; 260, "appearance of subnasal prognathism." For the latter B-group: 112, "very slight prognathism"; 119, "subnasal prognathism .....no definite Negro features but a negroid appearance"; 146 A, "moderate subnasal prognathism"; 150 A, "nose somewhat broad with prominent bridge slight prognathism and subnasal flattening." CEMETERY 17, No. 51, "...ovoid skull.....flat nose of Negro type"; 55, "a suspicion of Negro admixture but no prognathism." CEMETERY 23: p. 129, No. 75, claimed to be Archaic Nubian, belongs to C-group, see *Report I*, 164; 81, "very slight subnasal prognathism"; 85 belongs to C-group; 86 the same. CEMETERY 41: p. 155, grave 215, "margins of the nares are infantile and negroid.....slight apparent



Kingdom, and that Egypt was also at that time in no direct communication with the Negroes.

That this conclusion is correct is shown by the known facts in the subsequent period of Egyptian History, the Middle Kingdom, which comprises the time from 2000 to 1700 B.C.

Before this great changes had taken place in the south. Tribal groups penetrated from the Sûdân northwards, and rolled through the whole of Nubia right into Egyptian territory, as is shown by the Academy's excavations in North El-Kubâniyeh. But these new neighbours of Egypt, coming from the south, are again decided Hamites. Thus in the previous period the whole population to deep within the Sûdân must have been Hamitic, and neither in the Middle Kingdom nor previously can Negroes have dwelt in Nubia.

We are now able to divide the new races which meet us here into various groups or tribes: the northern, which covers the territory between the First and Second Cataracts; the southern, whose principal seat was in the province of Dongola; and the middle, who probably occupied the territory between the Third and Second Cataracts, or roughly speaking Dar Sukkôd and Dar Mahas<sup>1</sup>.

It has been said that these peoples were in essentials Hamites. No definitive results have, however, been arrived at with regard to a more precise classification. The editors of the material brought to light by the Nubian Survey consider the northern group to be Hamites showing a not inconsiderable admixture of Negro blood, this however being not recent but of long standing, and having resulted in a stable mixed type with markedly predominant Hamitic elements. In addition to this they assume a repeated immigration of Negroes from the south.

We are in the fortunate position of being able in part to test these views independently. The Academy has had cemeteries of this group excavated in two separate places, namely, at the northernmost point of their territory, at North El-Kubâniyeh, and at the most southerly point investigated hitherto, at Toshkeh, which is only about ninety kilometres distant from the second Cataract. For Kubâniyeh we have the above-mentioned work of Toldt, who was not able to find any considerable admixture of Negro elements in any of the skulls; a Negro skull was not found there at all. The material from Toshkeh has been rendered available expressly for the purposes of the present investigation through the courtesy of Professor Pösch and Herr Szombaty, and Professor Pösch's researches have led to the same conclusions as those obtained by Toldt for Kubâniyeh<sup>2</sup>. The discrepancy in these views is in part explained by the fact that Elliot Smith and Derry included without distinction the latest burials in the above-named cemeteries, some of these burials extending

prognathism"; 216, "there is evident prognathism." CEMETERY 43, p. 162. Grave 4, woman, "skull is distinctly negroid.....the mandible.....is distinctly negroid, the margins of the nares are negroid, and the nose is flat": the date of the grave is not certain; the position is that of the C-group; 43, woman, "skull is ovoid, with a flat nose. The margins of the nares are sharp. There is apparent prognathism." CEMETERY 45, pp. 167 foll. Grave 206, "slight apparent prognathism"; 213B, woman, "apparent prognathism"; 235, woman, ditto; 207, "the face is distinctly negroid, but the nose has been fairly prominent." These quotations show how little we are entitled to speak of a Negro population in Nubia during the Old Kingdom; no full Negroes occur, and strongly negroid skulls are equally to seek, since No. 43:4 must be eliminated as uncertain. It can thus be a matter only of accretions to a population, including a few slightly negroid individuals, almost exclusively women; see also footnote 1, end, next page.

<sup>1</sup> See *El Kubanieh-Nord*, 18 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Weigall's summary statement in *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 29, must certainly rest on a misinterpretation of cranial characteristics: "The skulls which the writer brought back from Toshkeh and elsewhere do not prove anything. Most of them are negro, and a few are Egyptian."

up to, and perhaps also into, the New Kingdom. Moreover they have in one case certainly taken into their calculations the burials of a cemetery which, as is now clear, belongs to another group and to a later period. The result of an examination of the material published by the Survey of Nubia is that convincing evidence of the occurrence of full Negroes during the period of the C-group proper is not forthcoming<sup>1</sup>.

The investigations into the southern group are not yet available in a complete form. I am speaking now of the gigantic burial grounds at Kerma, which were excavated by Reisner in the years 1913 to 1915. All that is at present certain is that we have here essentially to do with Hamites, who here, deeper in the Sūdān, are perhaps crossed with Negro blood to a somewhat greater degree. The bodies of the chieftains show such a decided and pure Hamite type that Reisner declares them to be Egyptians, and believes that he can find in this fact confirmation of his theory of an Egyptian domination of Nubian natives. But the conclusions which he draws from the archaeological material are not really valid<sup>2</sup>; a difference in physical appearance between rulers and subjects is found

<sup>1</sup> Here again I may collect the detailed statements and make the necessary corrections. CEMETERY 7, *Report II*, 35. The skeletons dealt with here do not come from the C-group, but from a related, more southerly tribe, and doubtless belong to the New Kingdom (see my publication of North Kubānīyeh, p. 30). Here also, however, no full Negro occurs, since even No. 162 A does not show negroid traits. CEMETERY 23. Grave 28 belongs, as shown above, to the quite late C-group; occupant perhaps an immigrant, "Negro, skull is broken; there is extreme prognathism"; 75, late C-group, woman, "Face is distinctly prognathous. The margins of the nares are negroid. The bridge of the nose is flat and broad"; 81, "very slight subnasal prognathism"; 86, woman, "flat negroid prognathous face." CEMETERY 29. This cemetery belongs to the quite late C-group, as is shown by orientation and pottery. 29:1, "Egyptian type with little evidence of Negro mixture"; 9, "Negro.....the face is pure Negro.....the hair consists of typical Negro peppercorns."—There must here, however, be some mistake in the grave-numbering, since Reisner, *Report I*, 189, has for No. 29:9, "Infant, disturbed by weight of grave filling." 29:10, "very slight subnasal prognathism"; 29:12, man, "Skull is broken and distorted. The face is distinctly negroid....There is well-marked subnasal prognathism"; 29:102 is of uncertain date. CEMETERY 30. Grave 11, immediately before the New Kingdom, "face slightly prognathous"; 12, of the same period, "considerable apparent prognathism"; 5, old woman, "The face is strongly negroid; the forehead very retreating and the jaw is negroid." The period is given as early C-group; yet the grave extends into Grave 4 of the C-group. 31, woman of the later C-group, "slight prognathism and the nose is broad." CEMETERY 41. Grave 503, man, "with a prognathic and somewhat Australoid type of face"; 515, woman, "distinctly negroid"; 529, woman, "slight subnasal prognathism"; 530, woman, "distinctly negroid." CEMETERY 45. Grave 257, woman, "There is slight but definite prognathism."

Up to this point it is seen that pure Negroes are assumed in two cases: one, however, 23:28, belongs to the final C-group; there thus remains only 29:9, the numbering of which is however probably in error. Apart from this there are five cases of strongly negroid skulls.

Derry, who had at his disposal the material from several cemeteries lying further south, writes, *Bulletin 6, penit.* 19: "we have the most definite evidence (see Plates II, III, IV, and V) that fresh Negroes came north from time to time, adding to the population elements by no means uniform in their physical traits."

In so far as a fairly marked manifestation of negroid traits is here meant, the statement may be freely conceded, but if this phenomenon is attributed to a temporary reinforcement of full Negroes, it must be pointed out that evidence for this is lacking. For cemeteries 1 to 45 see above; the reproductions in Pls. III, 2-4, IV, 3-4 in *Bulletin 6* show only strongly negroid traits, as indeed is stated in the captions thereto: comparison with the negress in Pl. VI makes the difference clear. It is for the rest surprising that the negroid characters appear almost exclusively with women. Toldt points out to me that it is with this sex that greater and more frequent deviations from the normal type occur, and that one must therefore proceed with double caution in drawing conclusions as to an admixture of foreign elements.

<sup>2</sup> See *El Kubānīeh-Nord*, 20 foll.

elsewhere, for example during the New Kingdom, in Punt, on the coast of Somäliland, the chieftains of which are given a much lighter colouring than their people in the representations. Present-day Africa also offers numerous parallels; I need mention only the Hima and Tusi among the Bantu, and the Woronga among the Nyam-nyam.

The conclusion that during the whole period of the Middle Kingdom Nubia was inhabited not by Negroes but by Hamites finds confirmation in the fact that where we find representations of Nubians belonging to that time these show a type related in all respects to that of the Egyptians. The principal documents are the victory-relief of Mentuhotpe at Gebelên, the victory-stela of Sesostris I at Wâdy Halfeh, and perhaps also a group of soldiers at Beni Hasan<sup>1</sup>. The well-known wooden figures from the tomb of Mesehti at Siût have been invoked in support of the theory of a Negro population of Nubia. In these a body of Egyptian soldiers is accompanied by Nubian mercenaries: these latter have been claimed to be Negroes, but on what ground is not at all clear. I have been able to examine their appearance afresh from the first-rate photographs of the Berlin Academy; they are typical Hamites, devoid of the specific characters of the black races<sup>2</sup>.


Perhaps, however, we can indirectly infer something regarding the history of the Negroes in this period. The above-mentioned northward penetration of the Nubians, which must have set in between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, should probably be attributed to strong pressure in the south, and this pressure must have arisen from the Negroes, whom we shall find appearing later as southerly neighbours of the Hamites.

After the decline of Egypt during the so-called Hyksos period, the country arose to fresh prosperity, and the New Kingdom began about 1600 B.C. In this period we meet for the first time with numerous representations of genuine Negro peoples. The Egyptian artist, who had of old an uncommonly sharp eye for what was typical and characteristic, depicts us the black figures, gently caricatured, in a mature style which was never surpassed<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> I have similar doubts with regard to the "Negro troops" in the tomb of Thanuny at Shêkh 'Abd el-Kurneh (No. 74), of the New Kingdom. Wreszinski writes in his *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Pl. 23, of the lower line of soldiers: "On the right are marching seven Negroes, the first two of which are carrying trumpets (?), while the five others are armed with throwing-sticks." But the photograph seems to give little support to this view. I do not see that their colour is darker than that of the group on the left-hand side. The facial conformation is in no respect different from that of the Egyptian soldiers on the left or in the upper register: note the sharp lips of soldiers nos. 3 and 7. The hair might be that of Negroes, but just as well, and much more probably, Hamitic hair, which is at the present day still worn in similar fashion. Finally, the more usual adornment of Negroes was a single ostrich-feather, while the soldiers reproduced here wear the double crossed ostrich feathers. To recognize the obvious contrast with real Negroes, contemporary representations of the latter, e.g. in the tomb of Sebekhotpe, 'Abd el-Kurneh 64, WRESZINSKI, *op. cit.*, Pl. 56 a, should be compared.

[Dr Junker states in a letter that since the first publication of his lecture the above observations on the supposed Negroes in the tomb of Thanuny have received confirmation from Herr Wreszinski, who informs him that according to the original photograph their colour is not black, and their hair no true Negro hair.

Dr Junker also points out in a letter that the representation of the *nḥsy*  on her stela figured DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, I, 39, which has been taken for that of a negress, is not necessarily one. The facial type, he writes, is not more negroid than Hamitic; the style of the hair is Nubian, but is not that of a negress, and resembles that of the Nubian women in the tombs of Anena and Rekhmirê at Thebes; the colour of the skin is not indicated in the publication.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> For good representations of typical Negroes, see, for example, LEPS., *Denkm.*, III, 120-1, Tomb of Haremhab, *Mémoires de la Mission*, v, Pl. IV; good reproductions are WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, Pls. 56a, 35; *Wall Decorations of Egyptian Tombs illustrated from examples in the British Museum*, Fig. 9, p. 15.



Now, therefore, the Negroes enter definitely into the circle of historic peoples. But we need not content ourselves with the establishment of this general fact. It will be worth while to investigate the question whether at this time they had really pushed their *habitat* further northwards, and further at what point of time direct contact with them was effected.

It is significant that the first encounters with the Negroes of which we have any knowledge occurred through two quite different channels. When Queen Hatshepsowet, in the ninth year of her reign, *i.e.*, 1482 B.C., sent a great fleet to the land of Punt, which included roughly the regions of Italian Eritrea and of British Somaliland, the expedition there met with genuine Negroes as well as half-breeds among the Hamitic Puntites. In the famous pictures of the rock temple at Dêr el-Bahri<sup>1</sup> we see them moving about among the round huts built on piles. Whether they lived in a state of subjection to the real inhabitants of the country, or had settled beside them in the harbour district, or had merely come from the hinterland for purposes of trade, are matters of conjecture.

At about the same time occurred the other encounter, in the countries of the Upper Nile. In this case we may be certain that the meeting was brought about not by influx of Negroes but by the extension of the Egyptian frontier. The realm of the Middle Kingdom had extended only a little distance into the region of the Second Cataract, to about fifty kilometres south of Wâdy Halfeh. But one of the first rulers of the New Kingdom, Tuthmosis I, extended it in a victorious campaign, pushing it as far as Napata, some 600 kilometres south of the previous frontier. Naturally in the incorporation of so much territory tribes belonging to other races now became subjects or neighbours of Egypt. But it seems that even here, so greatly further south, Negroes are not yet to be looked for in the Nile Valley. Tuthmosis presented a part of the captives to the Temple of Amûn as slaves. A group of them, men, women and children, is represented in the tomb of Anena at Thebes, and they are not Negroes but typical Hamites. I have been able to collate the reproductions in *Mémoires de la Mission*, XVIII, 9, with the photograph (No. 776) of the Foreign Peoples Expedition of the Berlin Academy and thus obtain a reliable basis for study. We see here brown figures, resembling the Egyptians in structure and facial type; the men, who bring the characteristic products of the Sûdân, such as ebony, are clothed like the Egyptians in a short kilt. The women are unnaturally slender and have loose, pendent breasts; for clothing they wear a long coat of narrow strips sewn together, reaching to the feet and differing materially from the garments which negresses are usually shown as wearing in the later tombs.

We must assume, then, that as far as the Fourth Cataract Tuthmosis I had not yet come upon the actual Negro country. But from this southern point expeditions and skirmishes were doubtless carried out into the settlements of the Blacks, and the neighbouring Negro chieftains certainly acknowledged the supremacy of the Egyptian king by annual tribute of goods and slaves, without, in some cases, their territory being actually subjected to Egypt, and only to protect themselves from raids and plunderings. Finally, many negro tribes of the interior of Africa will have sought out the newly established trading-places of the Egyptians for the sake of barter; others may, at least in isolated cases, have penetrated further into Egyptian territory along the safe routes which now led from Napata to the north.

<sup>1</sup> See NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, III, Pls. LXX, LXXI; text, pp. 12 foll.; see also Pl. LXXIV, text p. 11. Journ. of Egypt. Arch. VII.

These conditions, however, cannot have been the immediate fruit of the first conquest of the territory up to the Fourth Cataract, but must have come about gradually after the consolidation of the new possessions which took place under Tuthmosis II and III. This development explains why, in the first period of the New Kingdom, representations of Negroes still keep the background in the pictures of southern peoples. In the tomb of Anena there are no blacks; in the tomb of Rekhmirê<sup>c</sup>, *temp.* Tuthmosis III, out of twelve bringers of tribute from the Sûdân, only two are depicted as Negroes, and among the numerous prisoners of these very same Southerners none at all; they are all the same Hamites that have been described above<sup>1</sup>. Very soon, however, Negroes predominate in such representations; thus already in the tomb of Haremhab, who lived under Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III. It must indeed not be left out of account that in many cases there was a stereotyping of the subject-matter and of the figures, the artist obviously taking more pleasure in the comical figures of the Negroes than in the mixed type of the Nubians<sup>2</sup>. Further, the tribute of slaves was doubtless later obtained not so much from the Egyptian province of Kush as from the adjacent states, which acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty by this tax, just as the Christian kingdoms of the Sûdân were obliged to send their *bakt*-contribution to Cairo annually in the Middle Ages.

Although we have thus no reason to assume a northward movement of masses of Negroes even in this period<sup>3</sup>, a considerable accretion of Negroes and negroid elements has to be reckoned with in Nubia. Here we meet with blacks in the desert mines and in the quarries, also attached to the strong fortresses and great temples which the Pharaohs founded in Nubia at that time.

In Lower Nubia, on the other hand, at least in the districts adjoining Egypt, there appears to have been another process. Here the Egyptian element increases; side by side

<sup>1</sup> See *Mémoires de la Mission*, v, Pl. VI; cf. text, pp. 34 foll. We have here to do with the princes of the foreign countries of the South, and the Nubians are particularly mentioned: "Twelve Ethiopian envoys. Two of these envoys are blacks; the others are of a red-brown, in some cases comparatively light, in other cases darker; some of them are clothed in kilts of woven stuff, the majority in girdles of spotted animals' skins," etc. They are bringing ebony, elephants' tusks, panther-skins, ostrich feathers, apes, etc. In Pl. VIII = text, p. 39 (cf. SETHE, *Urkunden*, iv, 1102) are presented the prisoners from the foreign countries of the South, who are used as temple slaves. First come eight men of brown pigmentation with panther-skin kilts, then several groups of women with the long coats described above, and finally five naked women. The agreement with the figures in the tomb of Anena is obvious. Here, then, we have before us the actual Nubian type, such as must also have been prevalent at Dongola.

<sup>2</sup> There is certainly imitation of previous work in the representation of the groups of women. On the other hand it must not be left out of account that in many cases renderings of particular individuals appear to occur, as with the Negroes in the tomb of Haremhab, which doubtless reproduce tribal peculiarities which struck the artist as remarkable. (See Photographs Nos. 746 and 747 of the Berlin "Foreigners" Expedition.) I have attempted to follow up these matters, but am quite unable to do so for lack of material. The publications are for the most part wholly inadequate for the establishment of finer distinctions. A number of pictures are lacking in the photographs of the Berlin "Foreigners" Expedition, and apart from this, for many important matters the photographs cannot be used with sufficient confidence in view of the state of preservation of some of the paintings. I am convinced, however, that much of importance for the study of the Negro races of that time would emerge from an exact study of the details.

<sup>3</sup> Although, in the New Kingdom division of the classes of mankind into *rmt*, "Egyptian," *ḥm*, "Asiatic," *nḥš*, "Southerner," *imhw*, "Libyan" (see LEPS., *Denkm.*, III, Pl. 136), the *nḥš* appear as Negroes, this of course proves nothing for the near neighbourhood of the Negroes to Egypt, and as little for the contemporary meaning of the name *nḥš*. The blacks appear in this connection as representatives of the South, as do the Asiatics for the (North-)East and the Libyans for the West; they were now, as a matter of fact, the tribes adjoining the enlarged Egyptian empire in the south.

with the foundation of purely Egyptian settlements, an intensive colonisation appears to have taken place in such a way that the majority of the native men were eliminated, and the women were married to Egyptians. For the anthropological data show the Egyptian type on some occasions quite predominant in these districts during the New Kingdom as regards the male skulls, while a considerable number of the women's skulls are Nubian<sup>1</sup>. Nubia has many times had to undergo a similar forcible modification of the race in later periods, as during the compulsory Islamization, and in a limited area in still more recent times through the compulsory settlement of Muhammedan Albanians in the provinces of Dirr, Ermenneh and Argin.

But further south the population remained exempt from this fate. The only Egyptians dwelling here will have been the officials and the priests in the temples, the garrisons in the fortresses and such traders as there may have been.

We see this clearly at Ibrim, 100 kilometres north of the Second Cataract. Here a native prince ruled under Tutankhamun, about 1350 B.C., as at Areika, situated somewhat further north. Huy has represented him for us in his tomb at Thebes. The owner of the tomb there receives the homage and tribute of the great men of Nubia; among these appears, in a prominent position, and with strong Negro characters, "the Prince of *Mcm* (Ibrim), the good ruler." The reproduction of the southerners is here by no means uniform; we find Hamites and Negroes mixed, but the latter are quite predominant<sup>2</sup>. The artist has evidently not been willing to undertake the task of giving to each of the numerous tribes its particular characteristics, and certainly did not know them all from his own observation. It would thus be premature to draw fixed conclusions from the picture. We are in a position to demonstrate this positively through contemporary anthropological material from the territory of the above-mentioned prince of Ibrim. In 1911 a New Kingdom cemetery at Ermenneh, some 30 kilometres south of Ibrim, was excavated on behalf of the Academy of Sciences. The investigations of Prof. Pösch showed that out of about 60 well-preserved skulls only four were of decidedly Negro type, all of these coming from young negresses, while seven showed negroid traits, mostly very slight. All the remaining skulls are non-negroid, and exhibit the two classes of more refined and coarser types pointed out by Toldt in Kubanijeh.

At that time, therefore, Hamites dwelt as previously not far from the Second Cataract, but they now begin to receive a more considerable admixture of Negro blood, although by no means so much as the representations would lead us to suppose. We must conceive of

<sup>1</sup> See *Report II*, 130-1: "These, however, suffice to show that, as in graves of the time of the New Empire examined elsewhere in Nubia, a large proportion of the men and some of the women conform to the Egyptian type, but they are mixed with a few Nubian men and a considerable number of Nubian women." See also especially the results from Cemetery 7, *op. cit.*, 88 foll., particularly page 92.

<sup>2</sup> Photographs Nos. 582-588 of the Berlin "Foreigners" Expedition were at my disposal for the study of the representations in the tomb of Huy. While the faces appear as of a Negro type in most of these, those of the "Prince of all Foreign Countries," of the Princess, of the woman waggoner and probably also of the two cattle-drivers, are Hamitic; also the kneeling princes in the uppermost register appear less negroid in comparison with the carriers in their rear. For the most part their hair is arranged in the form of a cap or wig; it is very doubtful whether we have here artificially matted hair and not rather a variety of Hamite hair (similar to that of the Nubians in Photo. No. 748 of the Berlin "Foreigners" Expedition), as Professor Pösch also points out to me. The short woolly hair of the Negroes does not appear, on the contrary the Princes' hair is dressed in Egyptian style, as also that of the fan-bearers and cattle-drivers.



similar conditions as being prevalent as far as the southern boundary of the Egyptian province. The modification which has been noted is doubtless to be attributed chiefly to Negro slaves, who came hither either in the performance of military duties or by way of trade. We may recall the similar conditions in Nubia only a few decades ago, before the abolition of slavery.

If we now, in conclusion, summarize the evidence regarding the first appearance of the Negroes in history, we find it quite clear, in the first place, that in the oldest periods they came into no contact with the civilization of Egypt. Further, the assumption made hitherto, that as far back as the Old Kingdom they had penetrated into Nubia and had become neighbours of Egypt, has proved to be untenable. Indirectly we may perhaps infer the presence of the blacks in the transitional period before the Middle Kingdom, since the northward trend of the Kushites in that epoch is doubtless to be attributed to pressure from the Negro tribes in the South. But at this time, as previously, the Nubians are true Hamites.

The great victories of the New Kingdom brought Egypt, at about 1500 B.C., for the first time in direct contact with the Blacks, whose *habitat* is to be sought south of the Fourth Cataract. At the same time we meet them on the coast of Somäliland, at about the same latitude. The territory of the Negroes proper thus extended at that time almost exactly as far as at present, or only a little further northward.

During the War great excavations were carried out in Nubia. They were chiefly confined to the large monuments in the neighbourhood of Napata—the sites of Gebel Barkal and the Pyramids of Nûri, and threw new light on the history of the Nubian dynasties of the late period. For the great question of the distribution of races in Nubia and the history of its tribes, they are of only subordinate importance. Information on the subject will doubtless be given us less by the oft-plundered Capitals than by the simple cemeteries which must lie there, hidden under the sand, and from which rich anthropological material is to be hoped. May work on them, more thankless and less productive of museum objects, not be forgotten, and be undertaken before here as elsewhere the waters of the projected great barrages annihilate most of them and render impossible the final solution and full classification of these problems.