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## MEROE AND THE NOBA

[This English translation of Fritz Hintze's article *Meroe und die Noba*, published in *ZÄS* 94, 1967, pp. 79 - 86 was found among his papers. I know from verbal communication years ago that Prof. Hintze was interested to have this article published also in English. This 10th edition of the *Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft* is a good opportunity to fulfill his desire. I thank Timothy Kendall, Boston, for checking the English version. St. Wenig]

The famous inscription of the Axumite king Ezana, in which he gives an account of his expeditions against the Noba and Kasu,<sup>1)</sup> has been dealt with and commented on many times since it is of special importance for the fall of the Meroitic Kingdom and for the early history of the Noba Kingdoms. But having occupied myself with this inscription I have, to my surprise, come to the conclusion that some important points have hitherto been disregarded or at least misinterpreted. Therefore, I should like to deal with this inscription again, and in doing so the questions connected with the fall of the Meroitic Kingdom and the spread of the Noba shall above all be re-examined.

With regard to its content the text can be arranged as follows:

1. Introduction and titles (lines 1-7);
2. The campaign against the Noba (7-28),
  - 2.1. Antecedents and cause (7-14),
  - 2.2. The campaign (14-28);
3. The campaign against the Kasu (28-34),
  - 3.1. The campaign towards the mouth of the Atbara (28-29),
  - 3.2. The campaign up the Nile (29-34);
4. The campaign against the (northern) Noba (34-39);
5. The erection of a throne near Atbara (39-40);
6. The enumeration of the booty (40-44);
7. The erection of a throne near Axum (44-45);
8. Final prayer (46-52).

I only provide here parts 2 - 6 in translation, following the last treatment by Enno Littmann (1950) and the English version by Kirwan (1960), and leave the remaining parts out of account since they have no relevance for the questions to be discussed, with the exception of Ezana's titles in Part 1.

1) *DAE* 11: Littmann, 1913 b, 32, with a bibliography of the inscription.

## I. THE TITLES OF EZANA

In this as in his other inscriptions<sup>2)</sup> Ezana calls himself King of Axum, Himyar, Raidan, Saba and Salhan, Siyamo, Bega and Kasu. Himyar, Raidan, Saba and Salhan are areas in Southern Arabia; Siyamo is situated south-east of Axum; by Bega the territory of the Bedja peoples is meant, perhaps particularly the area where the present-day Beni Amer in Eritrea live (Littmann 1913 a, 44; 1913 b, 7). Ezana also calls himself "King of Kasu" (i.e. Kush, the Kingdom of Meroe), which surely expresses a claim to power but does not necessarily mean that he in fact ruled over that area.<sup>3)</sup> This *claim* to power was - as is generally accepted - possibly established by the military expedition of one of Ezana's predecessors whose inscription was found in Meroe.<sup>4)</sup> In this connection I should like to refer to the titles of Darius I who also called himself - probably because of the military expedition of Cambyses against Meroe - "King of Kušiya" without having actually ruled over that area. Ezana does not mention - as should be expected under such circumstances - that the Kasu had refused to pay tribute while before they had paid certain acknowledgement tribute to the Persians and provided a contingent in the Persian army.<sup>5)</sup>

2) *DAE* 4 and 6 - 10.

3) Cf. also Paul, 1954, 44 ff.

4) Sayce, 1909, 190; 1912, 64-65; *Khartoum Mus. No.* 508. Cf. also Kirwan, 1960, 166.

5) Ed. Meyer assumed that the tributes had come from the "Nubian foreland" which "had become subject to the Persians" in the time of Cambyses (Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums IV* 15, 151-152). Similarly Kienitz believed that "it was the only result of the expedition (of Cambyses) that the Nubians who lived directly south of the First Cataract were intimidated and still paid tribute in the middle of the 5th century; that is why Darius I still mentions the Kushites among his subjects" (Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, 1953, 130-31). These statements are based on Herodotus III 97; however, it seems to me that the relations between the Meroites and Near Eastern Asia not only affected Lower Nubia, but were altogether much closer than has been thought so far, and also included the central Meroitic area.

## 2. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NOBA

## 2.1. ANTECEDENTS AND CAUSE

- (a) Thanks to the might of the Lord of the Universe I went off to the war against the Noba;
- (b) when revolted /8/ the peoples of the Noba; when they boasted and said: "He will not cross over the Takkaze" said the [peo/9/ ples] of the Noba; when they did violence to the peoples Mangurto and Ḥasa and Barya,
- (c) and the black[s] /10/ waged war on the red [p]eople,
- (d) and a second and a third time broke their oath [and without] /11/ consideration (?) slew their neighbours,
- (e) and our envoy and our messengers [whom I] /12/ sent to them in order to question them, plundered and robbed them of their possessions and from them /13/ took away their [lan]ces.
- (f) When I sent again and they did not hear me, but refused to stop [this] and blasphemed /14/ and committed offences,
- (g) I took the field against them.

Ezana does not call himself "King of the Noba", but he obviously has certain relations with them: the Noba had promised to maintain peace (2.1. d), and Ezana sent envoys and messengers to them to make them adhere to their peace oath (2.1. e, f). The Noba waged war against the Mangurto, Ḥasa and Barya peoples (2.1. b); the habitats of these peoples cannot be defined exactly, presumably they are to be found between Axum and the Noba – approximately at the Atbara or in the Butana. Littmann (1950, 124) was surely right in identifying the Barya with the present-day Barya or Barea who nowadays live in a small area on the Takkaze in Eritrea, the Ḥasa with a people bearing the same name who lived – according to Arab writers – between the Nile and the Red Sea, i.e. to the north of the Barya. But it is rather unlikely that these present-day or medieval domiciles are still identical with those of Ezana's time.<sup>6)</sup>

The passage 2.1. c ("and the blacks waged war on the red people") has hitherto been understood in such a way that here the "blacks" are thought to be the Noba and the "red people" are thought

to be "the red *herrenvolk* of Axum" (Littmann 1950, 124). Because of this passage one generally speaks of the "Black Noba", which have thus become an established conception of the historians.

In dealing with new inscriptions from Ethiopia A.J. Drewes (1962, 98) established very interesting parallels as regards the use of the terms "black" and "red" in the Ethiopian, South-Arabic and Arabic languages. In an inscription quoted by him he interprets *ḥdmby wšlmby* as 'all people, the whole population' with reference to RES 3945, 15: *ḥdb ḥlm wḥdb ḥmrt*, also drawing upon the Arabic phrase *ḥarb al-ḥmar wal-aswad* 'war against the whole world'. Thereupon Drewes emphasizes that in view of these parallels the present interpretation of the Ezana inscription can no longer be sustained. This passage only implies that: since the Noba did violence to the peoples of Mangurto, Ḥasa and Barya, and thereby the whole world had got into a state of war, Ezana had decided to conduct this campaign. So the "Black Noba" do not exist; Ezana always calls his enemies simply "Noba" from whom he later distinguishes the "Red Noba".

## 2.2. THE CAMPAIGN

- (a) And I set out by the might of the Lord /15/ of the country and fought on the Takkaze, at the ford of Kemalke.
- (b) And thereupon they fled and /16/ stood not still, and I pursued the fugitives (?) for twenty-three - 23 - days,
- (c) whilst I /17/ slew [some of] them and captured [others of] them and took booty from them where I came;
- (d) while prisoners and /18/ booty were brought back (by) my people(s) who had marched out.
- (e) While I burnt their towns, /19/ those of masonry and those of straw;
- (f) and (my people) seized their corn and their bronze and their dried meat /20/,
- (g) and the images of their temples and destroyed the stocks of corn and cotton,
- (h) and plunged the [enemies] /21/ into the river Sēdā, and they were many who perished in the water whose /22/ number I do not know;
- (i) and while it sent their ships to the bottom with very many people, /23/ women and men, on board.
- (j) And I took prisoner two - 2 - chieftains who /24/ had come as spies riding on camels - and their names were /25/ Yesakā, 1, Butālē, 1, - as well as a noble 'Angabēnāwī',

6) Cf. Baumann, *Völkerkunde Afrikas*, 1940, 233: "Their (the Barea and Kunama) area previously extended up to the Atbara, but was so limited by the Beja and Abyssinians that it remained confined to small border-districts at the Takkaze."

(k) and the (following) chieftains fell:<sup>7)</sup> /26/ Danök<sup>U</sup>ē, 1, Dagalē, 1, 'Anak<sup>U</sup>ē, 1, Ḥawarē, 1, Karkarā, 1, their priest, 1; [the soldiers] had /27/ wounded (?) [him] and taken from him a silver crown (?) and a gold ring (?); (so) it was the chieftains who /28/ were killed, 5, and their priest 1.

To begin with, Ezana won the passage across the Takkaze (2.2. a) in a battle at the ford of Kemalke,<sup>8)</sup> and pursued the fleeing Noba over a long distance for 23 days (2.2. b) up to the Seda, i.e. up to the Nile (2.2. h). In the different interpretations of the inscription the question of where did Ezana pursue the fleeing Noba on this campaign has been answered variously and – in my opinion – unsatisfactorily.<sup>9)</sup>

Enno Littmann (1913 b, 39) commented: “Kemalke was situated on the Atbara, probably not far to the north of a line drawn westward of Axum or approximately below the fifteenth parallel.<sup>10)</sup> The enemies probably fled downstream into the area of ed-Damer, or down to the junction of the Nile and the Atbara. This is more likely than the version which propose that the king marched towards the Nile directly through the desert, for, firstly, he would not have failed to emphasize this arduous march, and, secondly, it is clear from lines 17 - 20 that the expedition went through an inhabited area ...”

In his second treatment of the inscription (1950, 124), Littmann formulated his view in a somewhat different way: “... when this had no effect he himself campaigned against them, defeated them on the Takkaze where they had challenged him, and pursued them for 23 days, at first presumably along the Atbara up to their own country on the Seda, i.e. on the Nile before it joins the Atbara ... Then the king marched against the Kasu who had allied themselves with the Noba and defeated them at the junction of the Nile and the Atbara, or in the region of the present-day ed-Damer.”

7) *As far as I know a linguistic investigation of the names of these chieftains has not been attempted yet, although that might be of some importance for the Noba problem.*

8) Littmann, 1950, 121, points out that *malka* means ‘the ford’ in Galla.

8) *The interpretation of the inscription given by Henderson, who even speaks of an expulsion to the Noba from the Nile Valley, seems strange: "In the fourth century A.D. the Group B Noba invaded the country of 'the Reds and the Blacks' (e.g. Dongola and Soba) and were ejected by Aizanas of Axum ..."* (Henderson, 1935, 149).

10) *That would be the area of present-day Khashm el Girba.*

Kirwan (1960, 167) tried to determine Ezana's march even more accurately: “The general direction of Ezana's advance appears to have been northwestwards across the Takkaze (the Atbara) towards the Seda (the Nile) and towards the junction of the Nile with the Atbara. After a pitched battle on the banks of the Atbara, near the ford Kemalke (or Kenmalke), *malka* being the Galla word for ‘ford’, Ezana pursued the Noba across the Island of Meroe for twenty-three days. Evidently, Ezana's soldiers ranged widely over the whole area between the rivers, and Meroitic settlements and temples, no doubt those inland as at Musawwarat and Naga as well as those nearer the Nile, were attacked as well as straw-hutted villages of the Noba. This rout of the Noba ended on the banks of the Nile ...”

These attempts to interpret the inscription contain many uncertainties. The fact that the Noba assumed Ezana was not going to cross the Takkaze and therefore disregarded the demand to keep their peace vow, and that the decisive battle was fought at a ford leading across the Takkaze, shows clearly that the country of the Noba – seen from Axum – must have been on the other side of the river Takkaze-Atbara. Therefore it is rather unlikely that the campaign went along the Atbara, as Littmann thought. In a sense Kirwan took this into account by assuming that Ezana, after having crossed the Atbara, went northwestwards across the Island of Meroe towards the Nile. But if Ezana's army had come to the Nile and into the country of the Noba somewhere between the present-day Khartoum and the mouth of the Atbara – as, according to Kirwan via Naga and Musawwarat (that is near Shendi) – the following campaign up the Nile from the mouth of the Atbara (3.2.) would be quite incomprehensible, for it would have led again into the area just crossed in the opposite direction. Moreover, the inscription does not say that the Noba had taken away the towns of masonry from the Kasu, but these towns are expressly designated as towns of the Noba (2.2. e). For this very reason such towns as Naga or Musawwarat are completely out of the question here. – In this connection the sentence 2.2. d “... while prisoners and booty were brought back by my peoples who had marched out” is also of importance. It implies the end of the campaign against the Noba; the following (2.2. f-k) is an additional detailed account of the events that had occurred during this campaign. This sentence also shows that the campaign against the Kasu who lived at the mouth of the Atbara did not continue in the same direction, for at first the “peoples who had marched out” returned. Since the

bringing back of prisoners and booty is the express subject of this sentence we may well assume that the king's headquarters had remained at Kemalke on the Atbara, and that consequently the troops returned there after the end of this campaign.

But all these contradictions can be removed if we assume that the campaign against the Noba on the other side of the Takkaze continued in a westerly to south-westerly direction and through the Butana to the Blue Nile (- Sēdā) – about the area of the present-day Sennar. With a distance of approximately 350 km about 15 km would have to be covered per day, a distance marching troops pursuing the fleeing enemy (“and thereupon they fled and stood not still”, 2.2. b) are well able to cover. And the Butana can by no means be called a desert, as Littmann did; it is a steppe with good pasture-grounds and also a sufficient number of wells.

From the inscription we learn something about the culture of these Noba: they had both towns of masonry and towns of straw (2.2. c); they engaged in cattle-breeding, owned camels, know how to extract metal from ores and cultivated grain and cotton (2.2. f, g, j); they built temples for their gods (2.2. g) and also had ships that could carry many people. The excavations of Abu Geili at Sennar (Crowfoot-Addison, 1951) have clearly proved that “towns of masonry” did exist on the Blue Nile in Ezana's days. The large settlement, of which only a small part has been excavated, shows at least three to four building periods; the houses are built of mud-bricks and later also of red bricks. The settlement has to be dated approximately from 200 B.C. to sometime between 200 and 600 A.D. (Addison 1956, 14); on the third floor in room No. 43 a Roman glass vessel of probably Alexandrian origin belonging to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. was found. Meroitic objects (ceramics, beads, amulets etc.) which give evidence of an intensive trade with Meroe and a not insignificant emanation of the Meroitic culture to the south (cf. Addison, 1956) have also been found at Abu Geili – just like at Jebel Moya (Addison, 1949).

### 3. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE KASU

#### 3.1. THE EXPEDITION TOWARDS THE MOUTH OF THE ATBARA

- (a) And I arrived at the Kasu,
- (b) slaying (some of) them and taking (others) prisoner at /29/ the junction of the rivers Seda and Takkaze.

#### 3.2. THE CAMPAIGN UP THE NILE

- (a) And on the day after my arrival [I] despatched /30/ into the field the troop Maḥazā and the troop Ḥarā and the Damaw(a) and Falḥ(a) and Ṣerā /31/ up the Sēdā [against] the towns of masonry and of straw; their towns /32/ of masonry were called Alwā, 1, Dārō, 1.
- (b) And they slew and took prisoner and threw into /33/ the water;
- (c) and safely they returned after having terrified and defeated their enemies through the power of the Lord /34/ of the Land.

After the campaign against the Noba had come to an end on the Blue Nile, and after the despatched troops had brought back the prisoners and the booty (to the headquarters, probably near Kemalke (2.2. d), Ezana continued his campaign along the Atbara and came to the Kasu who lived on the mouth of the Atbara (3.1.). From here the troops were at first sent up the Nile against the towns “of masonry and of straw”. These towns, also those “of straw”, are towns of the Kasu, for in this passage it is only the Kasu who are mentioned, and not the Noba. The text does not contain any clue as to the Island of Meroe – That is the ancient central Meroitic area – having already been infiltrated or even conquered by the Noba as is generally pretended.

It is safe to say that Alwa is another name of the town of Meroe; the old name for that region, which is also found as *'ilt* in inscriptions written in Egyptian, has here been used for the capital (cf. Hintze 1959, 30-31). The identification of Daro has not yet been clarified; in all probability it was situated not too far way from Meroe.<sup>11)</sup>

Just as in the report on the campaigns against the Noba (2.2. c) here, too, (3.2. c) it is expressly said: “and safely they returned” – namely to the king's headquarters, that had now been shifted from Kemalke to the mouth of the Atbara.

#### 4. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE (NORTHERN) NOBA

- (a) And after that I sent the troop Ḥalēn and the troop Lakēn (?) and /35/ the troop Sabarāt and Falḥ(a) and Ṣerā down the Sēdā;
- (b) (against) the towns of the Nōbā of /36/ straw, 4, Neg<sup>u</sup>ēs, 1;

11) I think it incorrect to identify Alwa with Soba, and Dara with Hasabeisa (Crawford, 1951 b).

- (c) the towns of masonry of the Kasu which the Nōbā had conquered (were) Tabītō (?), 1, /37/ Fertōtī, 1;
- (d) And they reached the area of the Red Nōbā.
- (e) And safely returned /38/ my peoples after they had taken (some) prisoners and slain (others) and seized booty from them through the power of the Lord of /39/ Heaven.

The last stage of the great campaign new led down the Nile to the north against the Noba who lived there in towns of straw and who had taken two towns of masonry from the Kasu. This shows that in Ezana's days the area north of the Atbara was already conquered and occupied by a branch of the Noba. Littmann holds the view that "the Kasu had made common cause with the Noba and had therefore been attacked by the king. It seems they even transferred two towns to the Noba in order to defend them against the king of Axum", (Littmann, 1913, 40). Nothing is said in the text permitting such a supposition.

This campaign led as far as to the area of the "Red Noba" (4. b) who consequently lived north of, or down the Nile from, the Noba. Unfortunately, it can hardly be said at present where the habitat of the Red Noba began. The meaning of Neg<sup>U</sup>ēs (e.b) is not very clear, presumably it is the name of one of the four "towns of the Noba built of straw", and the names of the other three have been omitted by mistake (Littmann, 1913, 40). Unfortunately, the town Tabītō (the reading -bītō is a bit doubtful) and Fertōtī (4. c) cannot be identified yet;<sup>12</sup> the letter *f* in Fertōtī is strange, since the Meroitic language does not have the *f*-sound.<sup>13</sup> Apparently there was a bigger Meroitic town near Dungeil (Crowfoot, 1911, 8), but, of course, we do not know if it is identical with one the towns mentioned. As a matter of fact only little archaeological research has so far been carried out north of the Atbara. Only systematic excavations of cemeteries and settlements can help show where the border between the Noba and the Red Noba was. But I think it very unlikely that the campaign led as far as Kirwan thought possible (Kirwan, 1957, 40; 1960, 169).

12) Crawford (1951 b) identifies *Tabito* and *Fertoti* with the islands *Tibet* and *Birti* situated not far from *Kareima-Merowe*. But I believe that these names are similar just by chance and that no conclusions must be drawn from this similarity. For should one not expect *Napata* to be mentioned if the expedition had led so far down the Nile - according to Kirwan even up to *Kawa*?

13) The reading *fe* has been generally accepted although it, too, is not quite sure; cf. the *Foto* in Littmann, 1913 b, Table V.

From the mouth of the Atbara up to Kawa the rivercourse covers approximately 600 km (and the campaign went down the Nile, 4. a) Ezana would surely have mentioned such a long distance, which would naturally have required more than 23 days to cover. The two campaigns, starting from the mouth of the Atbara, probably only covered shorter distances and were of less importance than the one against the Noba on the Blue Nile, which is described in the inscription in much greater detail.

Just as in the former stages of the campaign, the return of the troops (to the headquarters at the mouth of the Atbara) is expressly mentioned (4. e).

#### 5. THE ERECTION OF A THRONE NEAR ATBARA

- (a) And I erected a throne at the junction of the rivers Sēdā and /40/ Takkaze opposite the town of masonry which is on this peninsula.

In memory of the victory a throne is erected at the mouth of the Atbara as a sign of victory and domination (cf. Littmann, 1950, 125) as was done later on at Axum after the return (7). Sayce claimed to have still seen ruins of the "town of masonry which is on this peninsula" – by which probably the peninsula between the Atbara and the Nil is meant –, but which Monneret de Villard looked for in vain (Monneret de Villard, 1938, 37).

#### 6. THE ENUMERATION OF THE BOOTY

- (a) What I was given by the /41/ Lord of Heaven (is the following);
- (b) male prisoners 214, female prisoners 415, this makes (together) 629;
- (c) /42/ and slain men 602, slain women and children 156, this makes (together) 700 /43/ (and) 58.
- (d) And that is prisoners and dead (together) 1387.
- (e) And booty of cattle 10500 /44/ (end) 60,
- (f) and sheep 51050.

It is not quite clear if this is only the booty of the campaigns against the Kasu and the northern Noba, or the overall booty including the campaign against the southern Noba. At any rate, the figures of the booty are rather small compared with say those of Natasen who, for instance, claimed to have captured during his campaign against the 'Irrs north of the Atbara alone 202,120 head of cattle and 50,520 head of small livestock.<sup>14</sup>

## 7. SUMMARY

The renewed examination of the Ezana inscription DAE 11 gives, in my opinion, the following results:

(1) In the time of Ezana, the Noba, whose expansion was considered a threat by Axum, were the rising new element in the Nile Valley. It was above all against the Noba that Ezana's campaign was directed after the attempts to come to a peaceful understanding with them had failed. At that time these Noba had their political and cultural centre on the Blue Nile.

(2) One branch of the Noba had already occupied the Nile valley north of the Atbara and also conquered towns of the Meroites there.<sup>15)</sup> For the time being we cannot say how far this branch of the Noba had spread downstream. I think it possible that the dividing line with the "Red Noba" extended somewhere between the 5th and 4th Cataract, maybe even directly at the 4th Cataract.

(3) In the time of Ezana the Meroitic kingdom had already lost its importance or had already ceased to exist as a kingdom altogether. But the Meroites still dominated the narrower central area of the Island of Meroe between the mouth of the Atbara and possibly Banaga or the 6th Cataract with the towns of Naga and Musawwarat situated off the Nile. It is out of the question that the Noba had already at that time occupied this area as is often pretended.<sup>16)</sup> It was rather claimed by Ezana as his dominion; we do not know, however, to what an extent it was really dependent on Axum at that time or which role – greatly restricted or important – the native Meroitic dynasty may still have played. Therefore, Ezana's campaign to Meroe is not of decisive importance for the question of dating the end of the Meroitic kingdom – as regards this question we depend more on the scanty arguments from Meroitic history itself (cf. Hintze, 1959 a, 30).

(4) The occupation of the Island of Meroe by the Noba can only have taken place after Ezana, and therefore the Noba graves in this area have

to be dated after 350. They include, for instance, the southern (graves 1-99) and the northern cemeteries (graves 300-399) of Meroe.<sup>17)</sup> In these graves Meroitic offering tables from earlier Meroitic graves had been used for blocking the grave-chambers, a fact implying, I should say, that the religious meaning of these offering tables was no longer taken into account.

In Musawwarat, the "Northern Cemetery" (north of the Great Enclosure) turned out to be a Noba necropolis. Most of the graves are dug through a settlement layer of about 50 cm thickness containing only Meroitic potsherds. For blocking the tomb-chambers the upper coping stones from the Great Enclosure, which consequently was no longer respected as a sacred place at that time, had been used here. The superstructures consist of a ring-shaped retaining wall forming a low tumulus (outside diameter 7 to 12 m, inside diameter 5 to 8 m). The corpse is buried in a crouched position lying on the right side with the head in the South looking to the East. The typical grave goods consist of a big ball-chaped vessel with a narrow neck (the so-called "beer-pot") which in most cases is placed at the foot, and a flat drinking-cup near the hands. Similar "ring graves" are found on many places of the Island of Meroe.

The "Noba Grave" excavated by us in 1958 at Naga (Hintze, 1959 b, 186-87) differs from those at Musawwarat by the superstructure (stone tumulus with a diameter of approximately 2 m) and by the absence of the "beer-pot". The tomb at Ushara (Marshall-Abd el Rahman, 1953) contains the typical Noba ceramics (drinking-cups and beer-pots); it is, however, differently orientated (East-West, looking to the North). It has not yet been clarified whether such differences in superstructure, orientation and grave goods are due to cultural, chronological or social differences.

(5) In Ezana's time the "Red Noba" had already occupied a part of the Nile Valley north of the (northern) Noba, perhaps from the 4th Cataract on downstream, while in Lower Nubia up to close to the south of the 2nd Cataract the "Nobades" had already been domiciled since 297 (Monneret de Villard, 1938, 23; Arkell, 1955, 178-79). The graves at Tangasi (Shinnie 1954) are probably graves of the Red Noba. At any rate many more excavations are necessary in order to find out where the bordering lines between the Noba and the Red Noba, and between the Red Noba and the Nobades extended.

It is tempting and obvious to relate this tripartition of the "Noba" to the subsequent Christian Nubian kingdoms: Nobatia in the north is

14) Nastasen, line 54.

15) It is significant that it is the same area that even in the heyday of the Meroitic kingdom had repeatedly been pillaged by nomadic tribes; cf. for instance the inscription Kawa IX.

16) E.g. Kirwan, 1957; 1960; Shinnie, 1953; 1955.

17) Cf. Monneret de Villard, 1938, 38-39. In grave No. 300 an Alexandrian glass vessel was found which is dated between 200 and 400, in grave No. 361 an amphora of the fifth/sixth century was found. Shinnie; 1955, 84; Kirwan, 1957, 39.



the kingdom of the Nobades known to us archaeologically as the X-group; Makuria is the kingdom of the Red Noba; and Alodia (Aloa) in the south is the kingdom of the Noba. •

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JÜRGEN BECKER

# DIE SANDSTEINBRÜCHE IM GEBIET VON MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA<sup>1)</sup>

## I. EINLEITUNG

Die Bausteinprovenienz des Architekturkomplexes der Denkmäler von Musawwarat es Sufra erläutert der nachfolgende Aufsatz in einer

1) *Herrn Prof. Dr. STEFFEN WENIG, Seminar für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, danke ich sehr dafür, daß er mir die Untersuchung der Steinbrüche in Musawwarat es Sufra angeboten hat. Die Ergebnisse waren nur dadurch zu erzielen, daß ich die unerläßliche, vor Ort aber nicht mögliche interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit durch anschließende Diskussion meiner Fotodokumentation sicherstellen konnte. Für die Diskussionsbereitschaft und sonstige fachliche Beratung und Unterstützung möchte ich mich bedanken bei Frau GERTRUD RÖDER, Koblenz, die aufgrund ihrer langjährigen Erfahrung in der Erkundung antiker Steinbrüche guten Rat in vielerlei Hinsicht gegeben hat, Frau RENATE VAN DEN ELZEN, Zoologisches Forschungsinstitut und Museum Alexander König in Bonn, deren Gutachten zur Abgrenzung ornithogener Spuren von geogenen Lochformen den Verfasser vor anfänglichen Irrtümern bewahrte, Herrn JÜRGEN WEINER, Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege, dem ich grundlegende montanarchäologische Hinweise und den ersten Anstoß zur Weiterverfolgung der Bohrtechnik zu verdanken habe, Herrn Dr. JOSEF EIWANGER, Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Bonn; Dr. EIWANGER hat die Arbeit vor allem durch Erörterung der Werkzeug-Schleifvorgänge und ihrer Abbildung in den jeweiligen charakteristischen Sekundärspuren in den Sandsteinbrüchen sehr gefördert, den Herren Prof. Dr. GERD WEISGERBER, Museumsdirektor, und Dr. CHRISTOPH BARTELS, Kustos, Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Institut für Montanarchäologie in Bochum, die überaus eingehend die Frage der antiken Schlagbohrtechnik in Musawwarat diskutiert, diese verifiziert und historisch eingeordnet haben, Frau Dr. MARIA-THERESIA DERCHAIN, Köln, wegen ihrer Hinweise zur phonetischen Bedeutung bestimmter Steinbruchzeichen, Herrn VOLKER MARX, Bildhauer und Steinmetzmeister in Euskirchen, für die oftmals geleistete Hilfe bei der Analyse von antiken Werkzeugmarken und -spuren vor dem Hintergrund der steinbearbeitungstechnischen Zusammenhänge und ihrer Formung der Spurenbilder; die langjährige fach-*

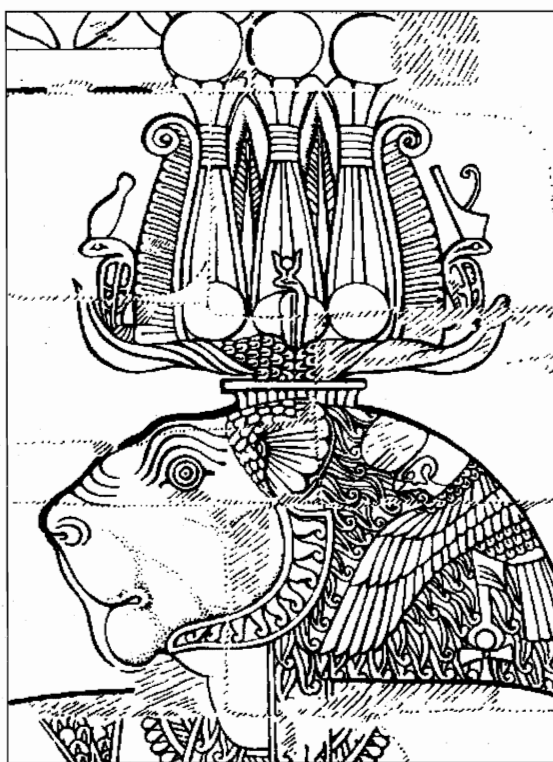
gerafften Darstellung. Diese enthält die wesentlichen Ergebnisse einer systematischen Untersuchung der Steingewinnung an den west-nordwestlichen sowie den südöstlichen Felshängen des Wadi es Sufra während der Frühjahrskampagnen 1998 und 1999.<sup>2)</sup> Sie waren nur deshalb

*liche Zusammenarbeit hat zu einer verlässlichen, freundschaftlichen Verbundenheit geführt, die bei der vorliegenden Arbeit zum Tragen kam, Herrn Prof. Dr. BALDUR GABRIEL, Fachhochschule Eberswalde, Fachbereich Landschaftsnutzung und Naturschutz, für die intensive Erörterung spezieller Fragen der Abgrenzung anthropogener Spuren und geogener Phänomene in Musawwarat sowie die kritische Durchsicht des Manuskripts des Untersuchungsberichts nebst Korrekturvorschlägen, Herrn FRITZ WEBER, Studiendirektor in Euskirchen, der in vielen Fragen der Geomorphologie und Petrologie hilfreich zur Seite stand, Herrn Prof. Dr.-Ing. GERNOT KLEIN, Fachhochschule Koblenz - Fachbereich Keramik-, für die Erörterung der Gewinnung und Aufbereitung von Rohstoffen und Farbpigmenten für Keramik sowie die elektronenrastermikroskopische Untersuchung von Gesteins- und Tonproben aus Musawwarat. Frau ROSEMARIE KLEMM in Dissen möchte ich dafür meinen Dank sagen, daß sie mir eine Auswahl ihrer Fotoaufnahmen aus ägyptischen Steinbrüchen für den Untersuchungsbericht zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Hilfreiche Unterstützung erfuhr ich bei meinen Fotoaufnahmen im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum; dafür und für die Gestattung des Abdrucks danke ich Herrn Prof. Dr. WEISGERBER und Herrn Dr. BARTELS ganz besonders.*

2) *Der umfassende Untersuchungsbericht mit den Einzelfeststellungen und weiteren Maßangaben, den Meßdaten und deren Auswertung, der Diskussion der Lösungen zur Abgrenzung von zweifelhaften Abbau-spuren zu natürlichen Phänomenen (insbesondere bei Lochformen in Felswänden) sowie der Auseinandersetzung mit weiterer Literatur liegt dem Seminar für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin im Entwurf vor. Er bedarf einer abschließenden Überarbeitung aufgrund der Kontrollinspektionen dieses Frühjahrs und einiger noch ausstehender spezieller Spurenanalysen vor Ort. Die Veröffentlichung des Berichts mit ausführlichem Bildteil ist zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt vorgesehen. Die wesentlichen Ergebnisse sind der DFG im Oktober 1998 vorgelegt worden.*



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Blick auf die Terrasse des Zentraltempels der Großen Anlage von Musawwarat,  
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