Egypt in its African Context

Proceedings of the conference
held at The Manchester Museum,
University of Manchester, 2-4 October 2009

Edited by

Karen Exell

BAR International Series 2204
2011

Published by

Archaeopress
Publishers of British Archaeological Reports
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED
England
bar@archaeopress.com
www.archaeopress.com

BAR S2204

Egypt in its African Context: Proceedings of the conference held at The Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 2-4 October 2009

© Archaeopress and the individual authors

ISBN 978 1 4073 0760 2

Front cover illustration: Inlaid gold pectoral from El-Riqqeh, Middle Kingdom. The Manchester Museum 5966
Back cover illustration: Fertility figurine, provenance unknown. The Manchester Museum 10990
©The Manchester Museum (with thanks to Steve Devine)

Printed in England by Blenheim Colour Ltd

All BAR titles are available from:

Hadrian Books Ltd
122 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 7BP
England
www.hadrianbooks.co.uk

The current BAR catalogue with details of all titles in print, prices and means of payment is available free from Hadrian Books or may be downloaded from www.archaeopress.com

Some Notes about an Early African Pool of Cultures from which Emerged the Egyptian Civilisation

Alain Anselin
Université des Antilles-Guyane

Abstract
Using primarily linguistic evidence, and taking into account recent archaeology at sites such as Hierakonpolis/Nekhen, as well as the symbolic meaning of objects such as sceptres and headrests in Ancient Egyptian and contemporary African cultures, this paper traces the geographical location and movements of early peoples in and around the Nile Valley. It is possible from this overview of the data to conclude that the limited conceptual vocabulary shared by the ancestors of contemporary Chadic-speakers (therefore also contemporary Cushitic-speakers), contemporary Nilotic-speakers and Ancient Egyptian-speakers suggests that the earliest speakers of the Egyptian language could be located to the south of Upper Egypt or, earlier, in the Sahara. The marked grammatical and lexicographic affinities of Ancient Egyptian with Chadic are well-known, and consistent Nilotic cultural, religious and political patterns are detectable in the formation of the first Egyptian kingships. The question these data raise is the articulation between the languages and the cultural patterns of this pool of ancient African societies from which emerged Predynastic Egypt.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt, Hierakonpolis, linguistic, Predynastic, rock art, Saharo-Nubian.

In those days, we thought that Egypt was only a gift of the Nile…

In 1974, with the intention of publishing the very first *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique* ('General History of Africa'), UNESCO gathered scholars from Africa (Egypt, Sudan, Senegal and Congo), America and Europe in Cairo to participate in the first colloquium linking Ancient Egypt with its continent, Africa. In spite of the high academic quality of the participants, and the critical examination of the iconographic, anthropological and haematological data, the colloquium did not reveal all the anticipated conclusions about the population of Ancient Egypt. What was the culprit? Genetic studies, which didn't come to fruition until after the 1980s. In addition, in those days it was thought that Egypt was simply a gift of the Nile. For what reason? Until the 1980s, there was a lack of archaeological excavation in Egypt's Western Desert. Today, the historical genetics of the Nile Valley, which is at one and the same time the 'crossroad and refugium', and the 'Saharan affinities' of the Predynastic Egyptians, have begun to be clearly identified (Keita and Boyce 2005).

Since the 1980s, and the renewal of the excavations at Kom el-Ahmar (ancient Nekhen/Hierakonpolis) by a team directed by Michael Hoffman, archaeologists, notably the team led by Fred Wendorf, have given greater attention to the African hinterland of Ancient Egypt, particularly the Saharo-Nubian area, and have excavated a network of sites of ancient African cultures which could provide cultural patterns, ideological features and the framework for the political organisation of the first kingships of Upper Egypt (Friedman 2002a). In this respect, Egypt and Nubia were also 'gifts of the desert' (Friedman 2002b).

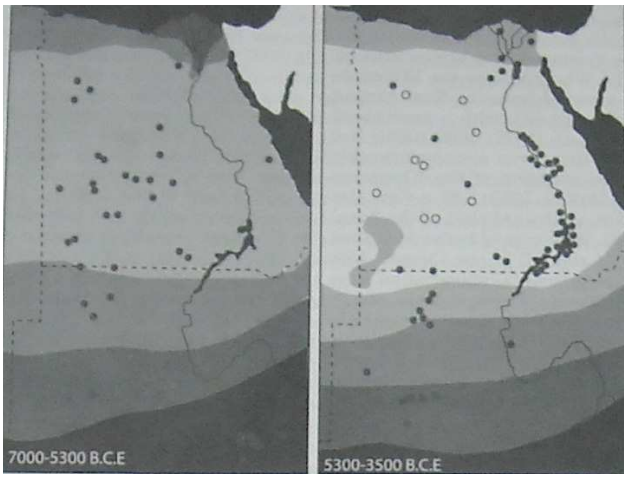


Figure 1. Maps of the Western Desert (after Sadig 2009, 33, fig. 1, a and b).

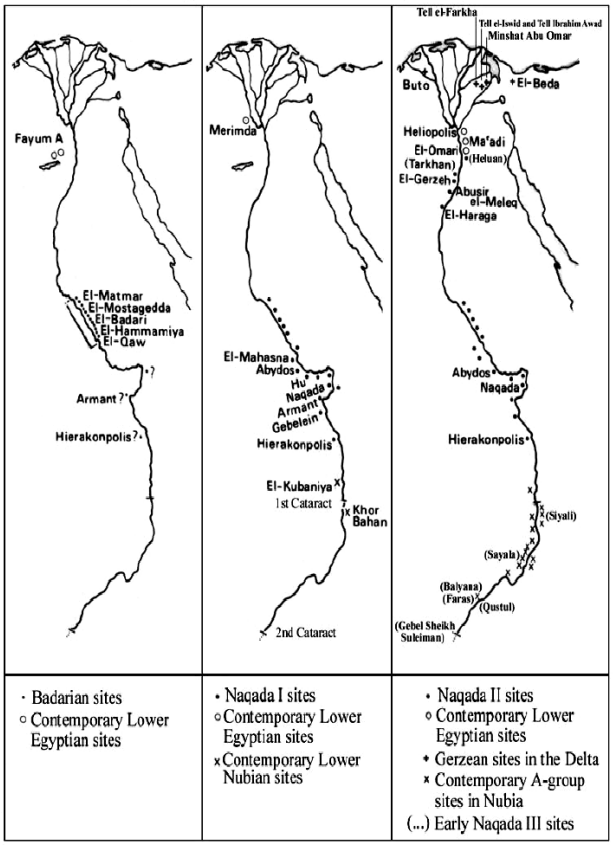


Figure 2. Maps of the main Predynastic sites in Egypt (after Trigger 1983, fig. 1.2).

After 7000 BC, Holocene human settlement expanded all over the Eastern Sahara and Sudan 'fostering the development of cattle pastoralism'; then, 'retreating monsoonal rains caused the desertification of the Egyptian Sahara at 5300BC' (Sadig 2009, 93). During two millennia, the Saharan populations were forced to migrate to ecological refuges such as the desert oases and the 'linear oasis' of the Nile Valley, and to the south, from the desert's western edge in the Chad region and its eastern frontier at the Somalian horn (see Figures 1 and 2). 'The full desert conditions all over Egypt *ca.* 3500 [BC] coincided with the first stages of pharaonic civilization in the Nile Valley' (Sadig 2009, 93). Therefore, the Ancient Egyptians were also the children of the desert.

Then came King Elephant

Today it is accepted that the formation of Egyptian civilisation originated in the expansion of the Naqadan cultures of Upper Egypt, which subsumed the original cultures of the Delta (Maadi-Buto). In this paper I will not be discussing the continuous interaction with the cultures of the Upper Egypt until its 'naqadisation', or the complex relations between Predynastic Egypt and the cultures of the Near East. The southern Naqadan polities traded with the northern polities of the Delta from the time of King Elephant – the burial of an elephant at Nekhen/Hierakonpolis dating to *c.* 3600 BC – and imported Maadi jars as well as Nubian artefacts (Friedman 2003a). I will instead be discussing the links, as historically constituted, of Egypt with its African hinterland from the first kingdoms, revealed through the excavations of Michael Hoffman, Barbara Adams and Renée Friedman over the last thirty years at Nekhen/Hierakonpolis. In placing the kingdom of Nekhen in the context of its African hinterland, we can see that the place where King Elephant was buried emerged at this period from the Badarian cultural background (*c*. 4400-4000 BC) of the Nile Valley and the Western Saharan pool of cultures (see Figures 3 and 4).



Figure 3. Maadi subterranean dwelling (Lower Egypt, Naqada I) (after Hartung 2004, 348)

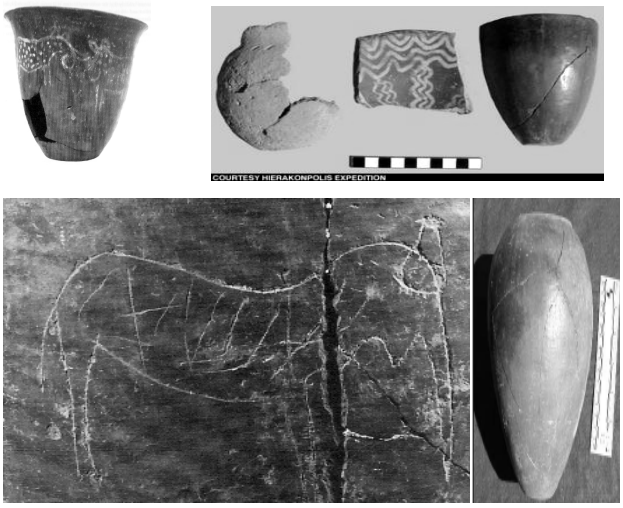


Figure 4. Pottery from the Elephant's tomb, Nekhen Hk24 (Naqada I): imported Maadi jar, C -ware bowl and Black-topped beaker (after Friedman 2003b, 16); Nubian jar from Hk43 (Naqada IIA) (after Gatto 2003, 15b).

Recent archaeological data provided since the 1980s outlines a new map of the formation of Ancient Egypt. Tasian (*c*. 4500 BC) and Badarian Nile Valley sites were not the centres of a Predynastic culture, but peripheral provinces of a network of earlier African cultures around which Badarian, Saharan, Nubian and Nilotic peoples regularly circulated (Darnell 2008).

Saharo-Nubian Cultural Antecedents of the Egyptian Predynastic Culture

The discoveries of archaeologists and rock art specialists over the last two decades uncover a picture of the cultural antecedents or shared characteristics of the Egyptian Predynastic culture supplied by its Saharan hinterland (Anselin 2006a). Here I consider three key features: firstly, in the Gilf Kebir, the rock art can be said to foreshadow the Egyptian myth of the aquatic world of the Afterlife which I call the 'Eau-Delà' (Anselin 2007b); secondly, closer to the Nile Valley, the ceremonial centre and stelae of Nabta Playa document a conception of the Afterlife linked to the key stars of the Egyptian culture: Orion (*S3ḥ*), Sirius (*Spdt*), and the Circumpolar stars (*iḫm-sk*; *Wb* 1, 125.14); and thirdly, we can follow the 'Giraffe road' – not the animals, but their pictures engraved and painted on the rocks of the Western Desert and incised or painted on the Naqadan jars of the Nile Valley cultures.

Zboray presented to the participants at the colloquium *Egypt at its Origins 2* (Toulouse, 5th-8th September 2005) a remarkable scientific inventory of all the sites of the area (Zboray 2005), a valuable tool for all disciplines that serves to invigorate Egyptology. Notably, in the Gilf Kebir, the Wadi Sora group contains many sites that we can interpret as sanctuaries. Kuper and Riemer (2009) propose a chronology as far back as Gilf B1 and B2 that runs from 6600 to 4400 BC, and Gilf C pottery, attested from 4400 to 3500~3000 BC. According to the rock art data and the chronology proposed later by Kuper and

Riemer, Le Quellec was the first to propose a new approach to the relationship between the cultures of the Nile Valley and those of the Sahara, focusing in particular on the Cave of the Swimmers and the Cave of the Beasts (Le Quellec 2005). Pertinently, in Egyptian mythology, the god of the necropolis, Anubis, was the 'Lord of the Cave', *nb ḳrrt*, and the cave, *ḳrrt*, was the place of the dead (Le Quellec 2008, 31). In this similar funerary context, '[t]he famous swimmers, unique to the Sahara, with their filiform and deformed bodies, heading in a series of lines towards the devouring beasts, are very reminiscent of the *nnyw* (drowned people, inert ones) of Egyptian mythology and thus evoke the (aquatic) world of the dead' (Le Quellec and Huyge 2008, 90). Like the Cave of the Swimmers, 'the Cave of the Beasts could illustrate a mythology of the next world similar to some of the mythical tales recorded in the Nile Valley (voracious hybrid beasts, evil spirits caught in the net)' (Le Quellec 2005, 90; Figure 5). From this perspective, many chapters of the *Book of the Dead* (for example, Chapters 127 and 163) and the composite zoomorphic Soul Devourer, *ꜣmmw*, look like a distant echo of the rock art of the far Western Desert of Egypt (Anselin 2007b; Figure 6).



Figure 5. The Cave of the Beast, Gilf Kebir, Wadi Sora (after Le Quellec 2008, 40, fig. 14; 41, fig. 15; see also, Faulkner 1994, 14).

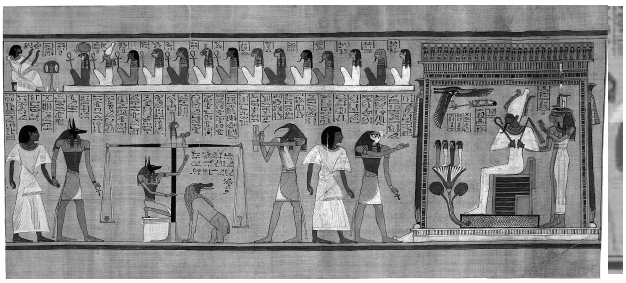


Figure 6. Sheet 3 of the Book of the Dead of Hu-Nefer, showing the 'weighing of the heart' (19th Dynasty; British Museum 9901.3; © The Trustees of the British Museum).

Nearer the Nile Valley, in the South Western Desert, Wendorf and Schild summarise thirty years of excavations as follows: 'the megaliths of the Nabta Playa ceremonial center are an expression of an elaborate Late Neolithic ceremonialism in Africa, the earliest ceremonial center in Africa, marking the dawn of complex societies' (Wendorf and Schild 2004, 11). A first line of a double alignment points 'toward the point where the brightest stars in the belt of Orion rose between around 6150 and 5800 years ago'; a second line 'toward the position of Sirius around 6800 years ago' and a third 'to the rising position of the same star' (Wendorf and Schild 2004, 11). The constellation of Orion, *S3ḥ* in the Egyptian language, the word also meaning 'toe', is associated with Osiris; the rising of Sirius, *Spdt* in Egyptian, is the first chronological reference in the elaboration of the earliest Egyptian calendar. *S3ḥ* and *Spdt* are two key elements of the Egyptian cosmogony. The constellation of Orion and the star of Sirius 'are closely linked to Osiris and Isis' in the Egyptian texts and are attested 18 (Orion) and 22 (Sirius) times in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom (Gadré and Roques 2008, 7). From this perspective, 'the ceremonial center of Nabta Playa supplies evidence that some of the roots of Ancient Egypt[ian] beliefs, magic and religion lie buried in the sands of the South Western Desert' (Wendorf and Schild 2004, 11) and could be one of the ceremonial high circles belonging to a large network of African cultures of the area (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Nabta Playa, the ceremonial centre (after Wendorf and Schild 2004, 13).

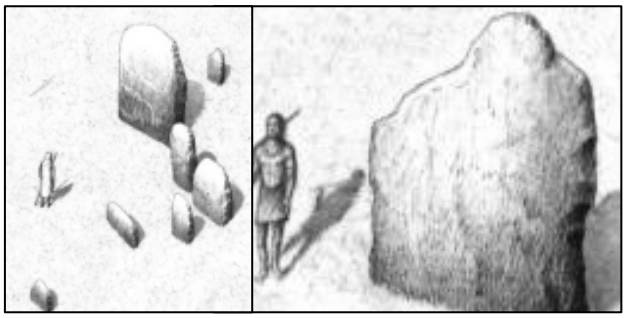


Figure 8. Nabta Playa, the stelae (after Wendorf and Schild 2004, 15).

Wendorf and Schild add: 'The most convincing tie between the myths and religion of Ancient Egypt and the Cattle Herders of the South Western Desert are the group of Nabta Basin stelae, erected [before 4000 BC, which] face the circumpolar region of the heavens, a place where the stars never die and where there is no death at all – as in the Pyramid Texts, where in the Field of Offerings, the deceased, symbolised by the upright megalith, will live as an "effective spirit"' (Wendorf and Schild 2004, 15; see Figure 8).

The African cultures provide good comparisons for this funerary practice. For instance, in the Kordofan region of the Sudan, a Nilotic-speaking people, the Nyimang, still erect a Bull Stone to the dead leader. If the deceased is a *kwai-gosu*, a bull-man, a stone called a bull, *gosu*, crowns the burial mound (Kronenberg 1959).

Throughout the long period of its history, the culture of Ancient Egypt was a network of dynamic phenomena. Some features which were shared with the last cultures of the Eastern Saharan Neolithic were lost when the Old Kingdom arose. For example, omnipresent in the bestiaries of the Saharan rock art, the motif of the giraffe became a star of the Predynastic iconography of Naqada I and II (*c*. 4000-3100 BC), engraved on rock or incised or painted on pottery (Figures 9 and 10). However, actual giraffes were never buried like others animals of the sacred bestiary (elephants, baboons, cattle) in the contemporary elite cemeteries of Nekhen/Hierakonpolis, and they disappear from Egyptian iconography at the end of Naqada III (*c*. 3000 BC).

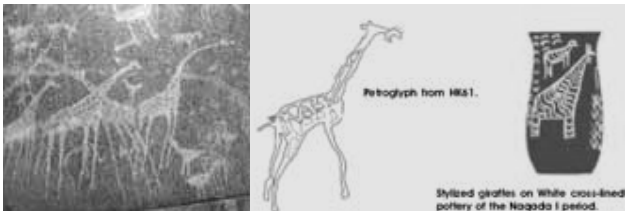


Figure 9. The giraffes of the Gilf Kebir and of the Nile Valley rock art (after Zboray 2005); Rock art and pottery (Hk61, Naqada I) (after Huyge 1998, 9).

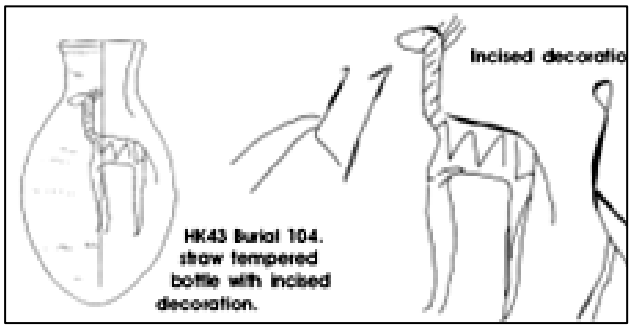


Figure 10. Pottery (Nekhen Hk43, Naqada IIB) (after Friedman 1998, 5).

Some Material and Immaterial Features Shared by Egyptian and African Cultures

In addition to the well-known headrests, the dissymmetric horns of oxen and the *w3s*-sceptre, the Ancient Egyptians shared many features with the cultures of the Nilotic and Cushitic pastoralists, probably as a result of their Saharo-Nubian roots. In particular, the Ancient Egyptian language shares a basic conceptual vocabulary with the languages of these pastoralists.

Material Culture: Some Artefacts

Headrests are known in many African cultures: Cushitic (for example, Beja, Oromo, Somalia), Nilotic (for example, Nyangatom, Turkan), Bantu (for example, Luba, Cokwe, Kuba), Zande and Dogon (Lam 2003). In the Nyangatom culture, the headrest has a religious significance: it is the material double of his owner, just as the favourite ox is the living double (Tornay 2001, 67). This may shed light on the place and the meaning of the artefact in African cultures. In Ancient Egyptian culture, the headrest became a hieroglyph (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Nyangatom headrest (after Tornay 2001, fig. 14; Lam 2003, Pl. XLIII, fig. 3-4); Ancient Egyptian headrest, 18th Dynasty, Gurob (Manchester Museum 3722, © The Manchester Museum); headrest hieroglyph, Gardiner Q3.

The pastoralists who use headrests often practice dissymmetric shaping of the horns of their cattle, using a variety of plaiting models. Among them, the horn shapes of the *komar* of the Turkana and the *kamar* of the Pokot are a notable modern echo of the dissymmetric horns known from the cemetery of Faras (Nubia, C-Group, *c*. 2494-1550 BC), the rock art figures of Gebel Uweynat (6600-3000 BC), and the bas-reliefs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom (2686-2181 BC; Figure 12).

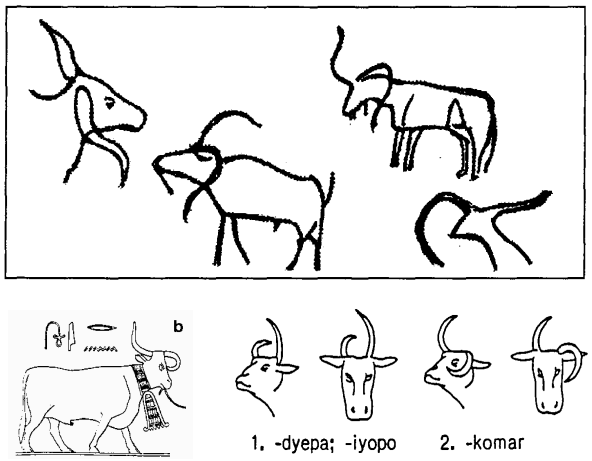


Figure 12. Horn plaiting: dissymmetric horns in Saharan rock art; bas reliefs, Old Kingdom, Egypt; *komar* Turkana, *kamar* Pokot (after Frankfort 1951, 227; Le Quellec 1993, 176, fig. 41, nos. 12, 14; 178, fig. 42, nos. 7, 10; Ohta 1989, 81, figs. 1, 2; Montet 1954, 45).

The pastoral Saharo-Nubian hinterland of the early Egyptian cultures and Predynastic civilisation, the Ancient Egyptian civilisation itself, and contemporary North East African shepherds share some 'powerfacts' or religious artefacts, for which I use the term 'theofacts'. During the ceremony marking the transfer of the post of Director of the South Omo Research Center, the outgoing postholder, Professor Ivo Strecker, gave its emblem, the *woko*, to the incoming Director, Dr Hisada, before the members of the Center, the Elders of the Omo peoples and the academics of the University of Addis Abbaba. Strecker 'explained that this staff with a hook at one end and a fork at the other end was already known in Ancient

Egypt and today is still used in South Omo by the Arbore, the Hamar and others' (Strecker quoted by Thubauville 2009, 1). Its Egyptian ideogram, a straight-handled sceptre with the head of the Seth-animal (Lefebvre 1955, 414) is attested early: pyr, *w3s*. The semantic and phonetic values of the hieroglyph of the *w3s*-sceptre vary. Phonetically, provided with the determinative of the sparrow (*nḏs*) indicating small things, it is used to write *w3si,* 'to be ruined', but also the word for milk, 'Phon. *i3tt* in , milk, cream' (Gardiner 1988, 509), and the name of the milk goddess: pyr, *I3tt* (*Wb* I, 26.16). Provided with a feather, the sceptre is the symbol of the nome of Hermonthis and its capital, Thebes, in Upper Egypt (*W3st*; Gardiner 1988, 503). Known to the Arbore as *shonkor*, to the Hamar as *woko*, it 'is also extended to the realm of ritual where the fork of the staff is used to ward off what is unwanted (disease, drought, war) and the hook is used to draw close what is wanted (health, abundance, peace)' (Strecker 2000, 1). The *w3s*-sceptre is not only the emblem of the Cushitic-speakers and the Omotic-speakers peoples of the Omo Valley, and of ancient Thebes; as the Egyptian Egyptologist Nagwa Arafa writes, the *w3s*-sceptre was also an attribute of Anubis: 'the *w3s*-sceptre of Anubis is the back of the *k3* (Coffin Texts, Spell 743)' (Arafa 2005). It is the ideogram of this staff that is used to write the name of the Egyptian god, Igay. Arafa has provided a long list of the occurrences of his name, the earliest of which are: (Saqqara, 3rd-4th Dynasty, *c*. 2686-2498 BC); (graffito of Niuserra: *I3g3y nb wḥ3t rsy.t*, 'Igay, Lord of the Southern Oasis', 5th Dynasty, *c*. 2445-2421 BC); (Coffin Texts, Spell 776). 'The God Igay was honored in the oases of the Western Desert' (Arafa 2005, 18, translated by the author). Seth, noted Arafa, is the god of deserts and also the lord of the oases. They are confused in the same cult in the 19th nome of Upper Egypt (Arafa 2005). '[A] rather peculiarly shaped was-sceptre', dating from around the 2nd-4th Dynasty (*c*. 2890-2498 BC), is engraved on a stela of Meri, at a rock art site of the Dakhla Oasis region (Hendrickx *et al*. 2009, 204). This brief overview highlights the connections between the ancient cultures of Western Egypt and the Nile Valley, religious artefacts of contemporary cultures of the Omo Valley and the language of contemporary Chadic-speakers and pastoralists of the Sahel, which provide a set of consistent cognates to the Egyptian word: *w3sj,* 'to be ruined, decay' **< *rus** (the prosthetic *w-* is ruled by the Law of Belova and the correspondence *3* = /r/ is well established by Takács 1999) = Western Chadic: ***rus**, 'destroy'; Hausa: **rúúsā**, 'thrash'; Kulere: **ryaas***,* 'break into pieces'; Bole: **ruuš**, 'destroy'; Ngizim: **ràasú**, 'act on an object violently' (Takács 1999, 396); Fulfulde: **ruus-**, 'collapse' (Seydou 1998, 578); Wolof: **ruus**, 'crumble' (Diouf 2003, 294).

Immaterial Culture: Stars in the Mind

The two constellations that caught our attention earlier were the subject of a splendid work by Gadré (2007) who discusses their astronomic meaning and the place they occupied in Egyptian thought. One, Orion, is visible in the southern sky; the other, Ursus Major, in the northern sky (Gadré 2007, 253; 256). As a matter of fact, the constellation of Orion, *S3ḥ*, was conceived as a complex figure that Osiris governs: 'The Sons of Horus, in fact, raised asterisms among the Egyptians, that is to say that they were distributed in astronomical correspondences, in the southern sky as in the northern sky. The southern sky, in fact, offered a fine example of asterism in which a group of three stars, our Orion's Belt, appears surrounded by four others, [and] it was easy to recognise Osiris protected by the Four Sons of Horus' (Mathieu 2008, 12, translated by the author). In this manner, the Egyptians assimilated Orion to Osiris. Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead reveals that the Four Sons of Horus were a key part of the constellation of Ursus Major: '*jr ḏ3ḏ.t ḥ3 Wsjr, (I)mstj Ḥpy Dw3-mw.t.f Ḳbḥ-sn.w.f pw nty.w m-s3 p3 ḫpš m p.t mḥty.t* – "It is the assembly who are around Osiris, Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, who are at the back of the Khepesh in the Northern sky"' (Mathieu 2008, 12, translated by the author). But, Mathieu adds, Osiris remains invisible in the stellar configuration. Empty, his place is surrounded by the stars called the four Sons of Horus (Figure 13).

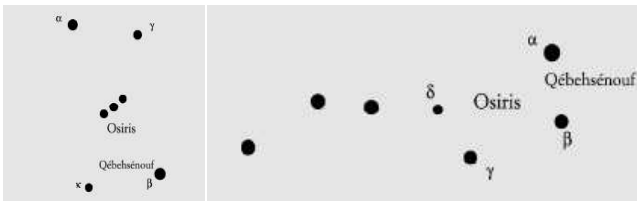
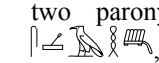
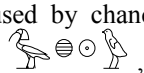
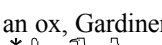
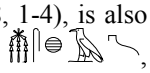


Figure 13. Map of the Egyptian skies: Left: Southern sky, Orion. Osiris, visible, is surrounded by the Four Sons of Horus; Right: Northern Sky, Ursus Major. Osiris, invisible, is surrounded by the Four Sons of Horus (after Mathieu 2008, 14).

The presence of the Sons of Horus in the two skies, the southern one, Orion, and the northern one, Ursus Major, is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, Spell 576, and in Spell 1143 of the Coffin Texts: '*Ḥr smsw ḫr*(*y*)*-jb sb3.w ḫr*(*y*)*.w ḫft ḫr*(*y*)*.w* – "Horus the Elder, who is in the midst of the stars above as well as (the stars) below"' (Mathieu 2008, 12-13, translated by the author). So, if we consider the names of the two key elements of the Egyptian cosmogony that embody Osiris, Orion and Ursus Major, we can weave again a web of African cognates, distributed between the Chadic and Cushitic languages and the Nilotic ones: , pyr, gr , *s3ḥ,* 'toe' (*Wb* IV, 20) and the constellation of Orion, 'das Sternbild das Orion, bes. Auch als Hauptsternbild des Südhimmels (im Legs. zum, *msn.tjw* des Nordhimmels)' (*Wb* IV 22, 1-3). The Egyptian word is provided with the suffix indicating body-parts*:* *-ḥ*; that is, it is lexicalised. This suffix is used in contemporary Chadic languages: 'Kera and Kwang share a common prefix k- to mark the names of body-parts' (Jungraythmayr 1977, 18, translated by the author). For example, Kera: **kor**, 'blood'; Kwang: **kowar**; Tumak: **bor** (without the

suffix). But, Takács (1995, 99), quoting Skinner (1977, 32) specifies, 'Chadic *-k was also a suffix in the words used for body parts'. He provides some consistent examples for the Angas-sura: ***p^{w}o**, 'mouth' > ***p^{w}ə** > ***p^{w}e**; Gerka: **pak** (suffix **-k**), 'mouth'; Angas: **po** (Takács 2004, 110, 295; Anselin 2009a). In Egyptian anatomical vocabulary, this suffix loses its semantic and categorical relevance and appears as a frozen classifier. As Takács notes, 'these postfixes became non-productive very early, possibly in the Old Kingdom or even on [the] «Proto-Egyptian» level (that is before 3000 BC)' (Takács 1995, 101). Certainly, the word for toe belongs to the earliest linguistic horizon, whose remnant is the lexicalisation of the suffix. This is this Chadic-type name that is given by the Egyptians to Orion, the constellation of Nabta Playa. In addition, if we consider that the phonetic value of the hieroglyph of the *percnopterus* vulture, Gardiner G1, well established by Hodge (1968), Lacau (1972), Garba (1996) and Takács (1999), is */3/ = /l/*, the cognates of the Egyptian word *s3ḥ* < [*s-l + *h*] are: East Cushitic: Somali: **suul**, 'thumb'; Somali-Jabarti: **suul**, pl. **suulal, '**big toe'; Bayso: **suul**, 'fingernail, claw'; Sidamo: **suul-ičo**, 'fingernail'; South Cushitic: ***cool**, 'finger'; Dahalo: **tsoole**, 'nail, claw'; and Central Chadic: Muturwa: **sĕlĕk**, 'fingernail' (with **–k** postfix) (Anselin 2009a, 19-20; Takács 1999, 195; 2000, 80-1).

From this perspective, the assimilation of the constellation of Orion to Osiris enters the liturgical vocabulary and enriches it. We know that the Egyptians liked playing with paronyms and closely linking their meanings in this way (for instance, in Egyptian myth, mankind (*rmṯ*) is the tears (*rmy*) of *Rᶜ*, the sun god). Although formed from two different roots, *s3ḥ*, toe, and *3n*, light, written with the hieroglyph of a bird, the *Ibis comata* (Gardiner G29), and the solar determinative, the two paronyms designating the Osirian star, *S3ḥ*, , and the Osirian hymns *s3ḫw*, , transfiguration hymns (Hannig 1995, 661), seem not to have been used by chance. *S3ḥ*, 'transfiguration', is a causative of , *ȝḫ.w,* '(sun-) light' (*Wb* I, 13), and *ȝḫ* designates the transfigured spirit, with the same value as the */3/* of *s3ḥ* for *3ḥ* (Old Kingdom), 'to be splendid, glorious, beneficial' (*Wb* I, 13-14). For */3/ = /l/*, and *3ḥ* < ***lꞑ**, see South Berber: Ghat: **ulaγ**, 'to be good'; Ayr: **a-laγ**; North Omotic: ***loq**, 'good'; South Omotic: ***laq**; Ari: **laq-mi**, 'to become good'; Bako: **laγ-mi** (Takács 1999, 62).

In the same way that the words for the human toe and that of Orion, *S3ḥ*, are written with the hieroglyph of an animal body-part, Gardiner F39, occasionally the determinative for 'back', *psḏ*, whose phonetic reading is *im3ḫ*, the word for the Big Dipper (Ursus Major; the 'Great Bear') is written with the hieroglyph of another animal body-part, the foreleg of an ox, Gardiner F23. , *msḫn***,** a writing of  or , *msḫtjw,* the constellation of the Great Bear (*Wb* III 148, 1-4), is also the word for, and the writing of, the adze, , the ritual tool of the Opening of the Mouth, linking the offering of the living *ḫpš* to the *k3* of the deceased. The cognates of the Egyptian word *ḫpš*, 'thigh, lower part of leg of humans and animals, forearm' – Demotic: ***špš***, 'foreleg'; Coptic: **ϣωπϣ** (**ϥωπϣ**)(SB), **ϣωπεϣ** (**ϥωϧϣ**) (B) and **ϩωπϣ** (A) – are distributed in the Nilotic languages: Masaai: **en.gubis**, variant: **en.kupes** (Crazzolara 1978) and nom. sg. **en-kúpês**, acc. pl. **in-kupesîr**, 'front of leg between hip and knee; thigh (in humans and cows); pubic area' (Payne and Ole-Kotikash 2008). In Maa, the name of the thigh is not given to a star. Orion is the **enk-áîbártani**, 'female one who has not been circumcised', not a masculine cultural metaphor or hero; and the Big Dipper, Ursus Major, is not a thigh, but the Seven, '**l-oisápa**. n. pl. [North] Big Dipper constellation; (lit: the seven)' (Payne and Ole-Kotikash 2008). In Nandi: **kupes**, 'thigh', plural **kupes.ua** (Hollis 1909); Pokot: **k°pɛɛs**, plural **kipɛsɛi** (Crazzolara 1978); Turkana: **ekipiis**, plural **ngikipiis**, 'forearm', as well as lower part of leg of humans and animals, and the tibia (Ohta 1989, 6-8). The Turkana call the dissymmetry of the horns, **komar** (Ohta 1989, 81), the Pokot, **kamar**. All these Nilotic speakers, the Nandi, the Maa and the Pokot are the primary pastoralists of the Nilo-Saharan peoples. Therefore, the fact that the Pokot culture uses the word **kopees** for the thigh of their **kamar**, 'asymmetrical horned oxen', cannot be a coincidence.

From this perspective, looking at similar cultural features of the North East African pastoralists, we see that the first Ancient Egyptians as well as the Cushitic-speaking and the Nilotic peoples share the art of ruler metaphors which liken the chief or the king to a bull (see Navajas Jiménez, this volume). The bull representing the Horus Narmer charging an enemy city on the lower register of the verso of his famous palette (Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 32169; JE 14716) is well-known, and has contemporary echoes in the Nilotic-speaking culture of the Nyimang of the Nuba Hills, where the leader is a Bull-Man (Kronenberg 1959), or in the Cushitic-speaking culture of the Daaseneč of the Omo, where the political leaders of a generation are called **ara**, literally, 'bulls' (Elfmann 2005, 157).

Immaterial Culture: The Lord of the Divine Words

Around 3700 BC, the elites of Nekhen/Hierakonpolis buried sacred animals such as elephants, young hippopotamuses, wild bull, dogs, cats, cattle, goats and baboons in their cemetery, Hk6 (Friedman 2008). In those days, there was no writing. Later, the immaterial features of the literate culture, the words, were considered sacred. Thoth, the author of these 'Divine Words', with the epithet *nb mdw nṯr* (), 'Lord of the Divine Words', was qualified as the Divine Hieroglyphist. The epithet, 'Lord of Divine Words' has traditionally been explained as 'Lord (or founder) of hieroglyphs' (Boylan 1922, 93). But, later, in the texts of the Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BC), 'the Divine Words … are carefully distinguished from the written signs, and seem to be what is conveyed or expressed by the written signs, rather the signs themselves' (Boylan 1922, 93) for which the Egyptian language uses different words: *sš3* (with a divinity named *Sš3.t*), and *drf*. If we follow the familiar idea of Ancient

Egyptian literature as the written form of recitations of, for instance, funerary offerings, we can suggest that these written standard formulae are the new (and final) form of an ancient religious and ritual 'oral culture'. In this case, 'Lord of the *mdw nṯr*' means 'Lord of Spoken Words', rather than 'Lord of Written Words' or 'Lord of Script', , *nb sš*. 'The *mdw ntr* were primarily not signs but words' (Boylan 1922, 94). The Egyptian word, *mdw* (Demotic: **md(.t)**) has a broad and contemporary peripheral range of cognates: Chadic: Kwami: **màad-**, 'to say'; Cushitic: Afar: **mad'a**, 'speech'; Nilo-Saharan: Teda: **meta**, 'to speak', **medi**, 'speech'; and Niger-Congo: Fulfulde: **medd-**, **met-**, 'to speak' (Anselin 2006b, 147).

Thoth, Lord of Speech and Script, was frequently associated with the baboon or, sometimes, represented by it. The baboon seems an enigmatic metaphor. On the one hand, the baboon was traditionally connected with the rising sun in the Egyptian cultural conception. On the other hand, the baboon was linked with speech, and associated with the ibis as a divine representative of the *mdw nṯr*. A few epithets of Thoth highlight our observations: , *wpt,* 'messenger', sometimes with the determinative of the sitting baboon or the divine standard (*nṯr*). Similarly we find , which can mean *iḳr ḏd*, 'splendid of speech', , and the ***bnwt(y)***-ape of Denderah (Boylan 1922, 185). The sitting position of the hieroglyphic baboon is remarkable. It is the same as that of the carved baboons found in the deposits at Nekhen/Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902) and Tell el Farkha (Chlodnicki and Cialowicz 2006). It is remarkable that the baboon, sometimes associated with the other metaphor of Thoth, the ibis, is so closely associated with speech.

Therefore can we assume that the sacred baboon is the most ancient metaphor of a 'Lord of the Speech', and the basis for the progressive and speculative elaboration of the classical divine figure of Thoth, Lord of Speech, Lord of Divine Words, Lord of the Script? If we look for contemporary terms of comparison, we can find it in the Omo area, where many pastoralist cultures of Cushitic-speakers (Daaseneč, Arbore), Omotic-speakers (Hamar) or Nilotic-speakers (Nyangatom) co-exist. In the culture of the Hamar, for instance, the baboon represents superior knowledge: 'Let the people go like baboons' says one of their oral texts (Anselin 2009c). 'The picture of people going like baboons', Strecker comments, 'is a marvellous example of rhetorical creativity and competence. It remains strange and cryptic, however, until we know that the Hamar attribute superior knowledge to the baboon, especially an ability to sense danger from afar' (Strecker 1979, 2-5; see also, unpublished, 3-4).

Immaterial Culture: Some Basic Words of the Mind

The metaphorical, immaterial figure of speech as an activity of the mind is one thing, the words of the mind, another (Anselin 2009b). If we consider all languages as the archive of their civilisation, the Egyptian vocabulary reflects a lengthy ancient pooling of cultural features from Chadic-speakers and Nilo-Saharan-speakers, shepherds of the Western Sahara. Rather than focusing on the lexicon of material culture, or the significant corpus of the names of the body-parts, I will give a short overview of the immaterial culture through a comparative study of a few words of the mind, or concepts:

b3 **< *b-l, 'soul'** (Old Kingdom; *Wb* I, 411; on the identification of /3/ as /l/, see above and Anselin 2007a): West Chadic (Nigeria): Angas-sura: **bĕl**, 'reason, sense, to be wise, intelligence, understanding' (Takács 2004, 31); Central Chadic: Matakam (Cameroon): ***bl**, 'genius, spirit, mboko', **belbele-hay**, 'genius'; Niger-Congo: Fulfulde (Cameroon): **ᵑbeelu** (**ᵑgu**), 'principe vital de l'homme – menacé d'être dévoré par les mangeurs d'âme' (Noye 1989, 40; see also, Anselin 2007b, 92); Semitic: ***bāl,** 'spirit, mind'; Aramaic: **bl**, 'spirit, intelligence'; Northern Syriac: **bālā,** 'reason, attention'; Arabic: **bāl,** 'attention, consciousness, mind' (Takács 2001, 6).

si3 **<*s-r,** 'to understand, know > god of the knowledge' (Old Kingdom; *Wb* IV 30, 1-21), written with the hieroglyph of the cloth (Gardiner S32); *si3.t,* (Pyramid Texts; Coffin Texts variant, *sr3.t*, identifying /i/ as a reflex of /r/): Central Chadic: Mofu-gudur: **sər**, 'to know' (Barreteau 1988, 198); Merey: **sər**, 'to know' (Gravina *et al*. 2003); Udlam: **-sər**, 'to know' (Kinnaird and Oumate 2003); Muyang: **sər**, 'to get to know' (Smith 2003).

m33 **< *mVl**, 'to see, look, examine' (Old Kingdom; *Wb* II 7, 1-10, 7), phonetically written with the hieroglyph of the sickle (Gardiner U1), the phonetic complement of the vulture (Gardiner G1) or the determinative of the eye (Gardiner D4) (Kahl 2004, 166-7): Cushitic: Agaw: Bilin: **mili‍ʔy-,** 'to look, examine'; Kemant: **mel-**, 'to examine, observe'; Eastern Cushitic: Oromo: **mal-,** 'to think'; Sidamo: **mal-**, 'to perceive, advise'; Somali: **mala**, 'thought'; Burji: **mala**, 'plan' (Anselin 2001). Omotic: Wolamo: **mil**, 'to believe'; Kafa: **mallet**, 'to observe' (Dolgopolsky 1973, 180).

ḫm, 'to know not, be ignorant of, be unconscious of', with the determinative of negation and the negative gesture (Gardiner D35) or, with the determinative of the seated man (Gardiner A1), meaning 'ignorant man' (*Wb* III 280, 6-8); *ḫmt,* 'to think, consider, intend' (*Wb* III 285, 5-11): Cushitic: Afar: **igim**, 'ignorant', **iggima,** 'ignorance', **eegeme**, 'to be ignorant' (Parker and Hayward 1985); Saho: **agam**; Beja: **gam**, 'to know not', **agim, '**stupid'; Niger-Congo, West Atlantic: Fulfulde: **hiimago**, 'to reflect, think, plan, calculate', **kiim.ol**, 'calculation' (Noye 1989, 160), **hiim-**, 'to think, imagine' (Seydou 1998, 279); Wolof: **xam**, 'to know', **xam-xam**, 'knowledge', **ne xamm**, 'to be thoughtful', **ne xiim, '**to be ignorant' (Anselin 2001; Fal 1990, 250, 259).

ip**,** 'to reckon, count, take a census'; Coptic: **wp (ωπ)** (Vycichl 1990, 128; *Wb* I 66, 1-21); *ipw,* 'inventory' (*Wb* I 67, 2): Central Chadic: ***l-p**, 'to reckon up'; Daba: **nif <**

lif**; Kola: **nof**. The same root is possible (with semantic shift): ***ỉp < ***lp**, 'to examine, investigate' (*Wb* I, 66): Western Chadic: Angas-sura: ***lap**, 'to investigate, look for'; Mupun: **yāp,** 'to look for something that is missing', **yàp**, 'to check' (Takács 1999, 88). Notice the later loanwords in Canaanite: **'ēpā**, 'to measure (capacity)'; Hebrew: **3ēfā**; Greek: **οιφι**, 'measure of corn', from the Egyptian *ip.t*, 'to measure'; Demotic: ***ỉp, ỉpy.t, ỉyp.t***; Coptic: **ειοπε** (S), **οεπε** (Vycichl 1983, 15, 65, 155, 250). We don't know the consistent Semitic vocabulary of calculation in the Egyptian language, but for example, *ḥsb*, 'to count, calculate, reckon' (*Wb* III, 166, 11-167, 15; Kahl 2004, 326-7): Arabic: ***ḥasab, yaḥsub*** (Vycichl 1983, 193). The tool used for calculation, the 'calculus', could provide the pattern and the name: Arabic: **ḥṣb, ḥṣy**, pebbles; **ḥṣb**, to reckon. The Semitic word is as ancient as the Egyptian, and as old as the interactions between the Upper Egyptian kingdoms and Lower Egyptian polities, and between these and their Asiatic neighbors and partners – as ancient as the Palestinian wine-jars of the Tomb Uj of King Scorpion (Naqada IIIA; *c.* 3360-3200 BC). It entered the language in the same way and at the same time as the Semitic numerals 6, *sjs, srs*; 7, *sfḫ*; and 8, *ḫmnw* and it replaced original Chadic numerals based on a numerical anthropology whose vestiges are 4, *fdnw*, and 9, *psḏ* (Chadic: ***f^{w}ad-**). On *psḏ* as a body-part mark in numerical anthropology, see *psḏ*: 'back'/*psḏ*: '9', with a body-part suffix *-ḏ* < ***g** (as in Beja: **fadig**, '4'), cf. Central Chadic: Logone: **pasē**, 'buttocks'; Omotic: ***p-s**, 'back'; Chara: **bizā**, '9'; Sezo: **bes'é** (see Anselin 2008). In relation to this, Takács suggested a relevant scenario that fits well with the archaeological data, characterised by the meeting of two waves of languages in the Nile Valley: one, the earlier, of which many vestiges survive in contemporary Chadic deriving from the Neolithic southern settlements and those of the Western Desert, and the other, later, from the northern Predynastic sites with their well-established oriental connections (Takács 1999, 47).

Similarly for the names of the key stars of the ancient Egyptian culture, this interpretation may be extended to the Nilotic domain for the key concept of the 'name': *rn* (*Wb* 425, 1-428, 19), one of the elements of the Egyptian person or self; in Coptic: **ran (ⲣⲁⲛ)** (SBO), **ren (ⲣⲉⲛ)** (AA^{2}FO), **len (ⲗⲉⲛ)** (F), **rin (ⲣⲓⲛ)** (P), absolutely distinct from Berber: **ism**, pl. **ismawen**; Arabic: **ism** (P = 'Book of Proverbs; see Vychicl 1983, XII and 176) and Western Chadic: Angas-sura: ***ṣəm**, 'name'; Angas: **súm**, 'name, fame'; Sura, Goemy: **sum**; Mupun, **səm**, 'name, honor' (Takács 2004, 338). In Proto-Nilotic: **ka-Rin**; Western Nilotic (Luo, Nweer, Shilluk): ***rin**, 'name'; Dinka: **rin**, 'name, reputation'; West Chadic: Angas-sura: ***rin**, 'shadow, spirit', as an element of the personality, distinct from ***ṣəm**, 'name, honor, fame'; Mupun: **riin**, 'shadow of person, spirit'; Karekare: **rini**, 'shadow, one's senses, thinking clearly' (Takács 2004, 310); in Bokkos: **rin**, 'spirit'. The Angas-sura and the Bokkos (Ron family) share the root ***s-m**, 'name', with Berber and Semitic, and are active in a Benue-Congo linguistic environment. It is noteworthy that Angas-sura and Bokkos use the Nilotic root with the wide meaning of 'spirit' and not the strict meaning of 'name', which is always ***s-m**. This may signify that the Nilotic word, because of its basic place in the culture, was already shared by the time that the ancestors of Nilotics, Chadics and Egyptians came together, in the ancient pooling area of the Western Sahara desert, which came to constitute the standard of Egyptian culture.

Conclusion

It is possible from this overview of the data to conclude that the limited conceptual vocabulary shared by the ancestors of contemporary Chadic-speakers (therefore also contemporary Cushitic-speakers), contemporary Nilotic-speakers and Ancient Egyptian-speakers suggests that the earliest speakers of the Egyptian language could be located to the south of Upper Egypt (Diakonoff 1998) or, earlier, in the Sahara (Wendorf 2004), where Takács (1999, 47) suggests their 'long co-existence' can be found. In addition, it is consistent with this view to suggest that the northern border of their homeland was further than the Wadi Howar proposed by Blench (1999, 2001), which is actually its southern border. Neither Chadics nor Cushitics existed at this time, but their ancestors lived in a homeland further north than the peripheral countries that they inhabited thereafter, to the south-west, in a Niger-Congo environment, and to the south-east, in a Nilo-Saharan environment, where they interacted and innovated in terms of language. From this perspective, the Upper Egyptian cultures were an ancient North East African 'periphery at the crossroads', as suggested by Dahl and Hjort-af-Ornas of the Beja (Dahl and Hjort-af-Ornas 2006). The most likely scenario could be this: some of these Saharo-Nubian populations spread southwards to Wadi Howar, Ennedi and Darfur; some stayed in the actual oases where they joined the inhabitants; and others moved towards the Nile, directed by two geographic obstacles, the western Great Sand Sea and the southern Rock Belt. Their slow perambulations led them from the area of Sprinkle Mountain (Gebel Uweinat) to the east – Bir Sahara, Nabta Playa, Gebel Ramlah, and Nekhen/Hierakonpolis (Upper Egypt), and to the north-east by way of Dakhla Oasis to Abydos (Middle Egypt). This is important for the glottochronology of all these languages to which the first attestations of written words in Egyptian provide some chronological markers. This is also important in terms of the cultural anthropology of the languages. In a pool of cultures, a shared feature is never an accidental parallel; it is necessarily a concrete reality, a unique feature, an individual paradigm. From this perspective, the Western Egyptian Sahara, and the Nile Valley, was, from 6000 BC to 3500 BC, a true zone of linguistic compression, as defined by Jungraithmayr and Leger (1993). As well the conceptual names of the stars, we find many Chadic and Cushitic terms, and, already, Nilotic ones. In particular, the short conceptual vocabulary shared by contemporary Chadic-speakers, Nilotic-speakers and Ancient Egyptian-speakers suggests that the Western Egyptian Sahara was the northern region of this wider contact area that became a zone of linguistic and cultural compression following its desertification (Figure 14).

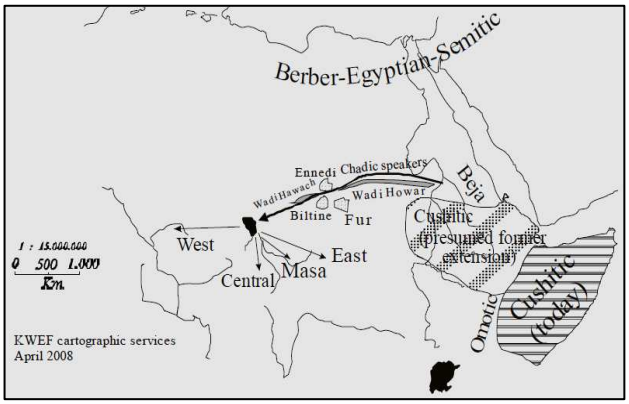


Figure 14. Maps of the distribution of the North-Eastern African populations (after Blench 2008, 124; Cerny 2006, 124) with proposed corrections (Anselin 2009a, 11a).

The distribution of these linguistic data, as well as the archaeological data, notably the artefact and the word for the Egyptian *w3s*-sceptre, is consistent with the first sets of genetic findings: on the one hand, in Upper Egypt, '… the Gurna population has conserved the trace of an ancestral genetic structure from an ancestral East African population, characterized by a high M1 haplogroup frequency. The current structure of the Egyptian population may be the result of further influence of neighbouring populations on this ancestral population' (Stevanovitch *et al*. 2004; for data on another (ancient) Upper Egyptian population, and its sub-Saharan affinities, see Crubezy 1992); on the other hand, '…the Chadic branch is linguistically close to the East African Cushitic branch (of Afro-Asiatic) although they are separated by 2000km of territory where different Semitic and Nilo-Saharan peoples live today. We show that only northern Cushitic groups from Ethiopia and Somalia are genetically close to Chadic populations' (Cerny *et al*. 2004). Therefore, on the one hand, marked grammatical and lexicographic affinities of the spongy Egyptian *vehicular* with Chadic are well-known (Diakonoff 1998; Takács 1999), and, on the other hand, consistent Nilotic cultural, religious and political patterns are detectable in the formation of the first Egyptian kingships (Anselin 2007b; Cervelló Autuori 2001; Ehret 2001). The question these data raise is the articulation between the languages and the cultural patterns of this pool of ancient African societies from which emerged Predynastic Egypt. These contradictory data could suggest a progressive pooling of various religious and cultural models through conflicts, alliances and integrations, and the common use of a progressively preeminent vehicular language (not a phylum) by various pastoralist societies, around ceremonial, funerary and political sites.

References

Anselin, A. 2001. Signes et mots de l'écriture en Égypte antique. *Archéo-Nil* 11, 21-43.

—2006a. Iconographie des rupestres sahariens et écriture hiéroglyphique. Signes et sens. *Cahiers de l'AARS (Association de l'Art Rupestre Saharien)* 10, 13-28.

—2006b. Les Mots de Geno. Fulbe, Couchites, Nilotes et Égyptiens anciens, in R. Confiant and R. Damoiseau (eds.), *Á L'arpenteur inspire. Mélanges offerts à Jean Bernabé*, 135-54. Matoury, Guyana, Ibis Rouge.

—2007a. Aegyptio-Graphica I. Note sur la valeur phonétique du hiéroglyphe du percnoptère translittéré /**3**/. *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie* 10, 29-42.

—2007b. Archéologie linguistique de la Vallée des Images. *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie* 10, 59-98.

—2008. Signes et mots des nombres en égyptien ancien: quelques éléments d'analyse et de réflexion, in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2: Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Toulouse (France), 5th–8th September 2005*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 172, 851–86. Leuven, Peeters.

—2009a. Un classificateur fossile en égyptien ancien. *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie* 12, 11-32.

—2009b. Some Egyptian Words of the Mind. *i-Medjat* 3, 8a-11a.

—2009c. Let the People go like Baboons. *i-Medjat* 3, 11a-b.

Arafa, N. 2005. Le dieu Igay. *Discussions in Egyptology* 63, 11-22.

Barreteau, D. 1988. *Description du Mofu-Gudur. Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun.* Paris, Éditions de l'Orstrom.

Blench, R. M. 1999. The Westward Wanderings of Cushitic Pastoralists. Explorations in the Prehistory of Central Africa, in C. Baroin and K. Boutrais (eds.), *L'homme et l'animal dans le bassin du luc Tchad.* Actes du colloque du Réseau Méga-Tchad, Orléans, 15-17 Octobre 1997, 48 ff. Paris, Éditions de l'Orstrom.

—2001. Types of Language Spread and their Archaeological Correlates: The Example of Berber. *Origini. Preistoria et Protostoria delle Civiltà Antiche* 23, 169-89.

—2008/in press. Links between Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic and the Position of Kujarge. *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Cushitic and Omotic Languages.*

Boylan, P. 1922. *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*. London, Milford.

Cerny, V., Hajek, M., Bruzek, J., Cmejla, R. and Brdicka, R. 2004. Relations génétiques des populations de langues tchadiques parmi les populations péri-sahariennes révélées par l'étude des séquences de l'ADN mitochondriale. *Antropo* 7, 123-31.

Cervelló Autuori, J. 2001. Monarchie pharaonique et royautés divines africaines. *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie* 2, 27-52.

Chlodnicki, M. and Cialowicz, K. 2006. *Tell El-Farkha 2006. Preliminary Report*. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 18. Warsaw, Warsaw University Press.

Crazzolara, P. 1978. *A Study of the Pokot (Suk) Language, Grammar and Vocabulary*. Bologna, Editrice Missionaria Italiana.

Crubezy, E. 1992. De l'anthropologie physique à la paléo-éthnologie funéraire et à la paléo-biologie. *Archéo-Nil* 2, 7-19.

Dahl, G. and Hjort-af-Ornas, A. 2006. Precolonial Beja: A Periphery at the Crossroads. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(4), 473–98.

Darnell, J. C. 2008. Rock Inscriptions and the Origin of Egyptian Writing, in R. F. Friedman, and L. McNamara (eds.), *Abstracts of Papers Presented at the Third International Colloquium on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt,* 82-3. London, British Museum Press.

Diakonoff, I. 1998. The Earliest Semitic Society. Linguistic Data. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43, 209-19.

Diouf, J.-L. 2003. *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof*. Paris, Karthala.

Ehret, C. 2001. The African Sources of Egyptian Culture and Language. In J. Cervelló Autuori (ed.), *África Antigua. El Antiguo Egipto, una Civilización Africana.* Actas de la IX Semana de Estudios Africanos del Centre d'Estudis Africans de Barcelona, 18-22 de Marzo de 1996. *Aula Aegyptiaca Studia* 1, 121-8.

Elfmann, P. 2005. *Women's Worlds in Dassanetch, Southern Ethiopia*. Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 53.

Erman, A. and Grapow, H. 1982 [1926-1953]. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Vols. I-XIII. Berlin, Akademie Verlag.

Fal, A., Santos, R. and Doneux J.-L. 1990. *Dictionnaire wolof-français*. Paris, Karthala.

Faulkner, R. O. 1994. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*. San Franciso, Chronicle Books.

Frankfort, H. 1951. *La royauté et les dieux*. Paris, Payot.

Friedman, R. 1998. More Mummies: The 1998 Season at Hk43. *Nekhen News* 10, 4-5.

—2002a. The Predynastic Cemetery at Hk43: Excavations in 2002. *Nekhen News* 14, 9-10.

— (ed.) 2002b. *Egypt and Nubia. Gifts of the Desert*. London, British Museum Press.

—2003a. Hierakonpolis 2003: exhumer un éléphant. *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 157, 9-22.

—2003b. Excavating an Elephant. *Nekhen News* 15, 9-10.

—2008. Hierakonpolis 2008 (April 2008-January 2009), Field Note 1. *Archaeology's InteractiveDig*. http://www.archaeology.org/interactive/hierakonpolis/field08/1.html

Gardiner, A. H. 1988 [1927]. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford, Griffith Institute.

Gadré, K. 2007. *Conception d'un modèle de visibilité d'étoile à l'œil nu. Application à l'identification des décans égyptiens.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toulouse.

Gadré, K. and Roques, S. 2008. Catalogue d'étoiles peuplant le ciel de l'Égypte ancienne. *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* 11, 5-14.

Gatto, M. 2003. Hunting the Elusive Nubian A-Group. *Nekhen News* 15, 14-15.

Gravina, R., Doumok, E. and Boydell, A. 2003. *Merey Provisional Lexicon.* Cameroon, SIL.

Hannig, R. 1995. *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch.* Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.

Hartung, U. 2004. Excavations in the Predynastic Settlement of Maadi, in S. Hendrickx, R. Friedman, K. M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 138, 337-56. Leuven, Peeters.

Hendrickx, S., Riemer, H., Förster, F. and Darnell, J. C. 2009. Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting in Egypt's Western Desert. From Capturing Wild Animals to the Women of the 'Acacia House', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb and N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara. Status, Economic Significance and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity.* Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop, University of Cologne, December 14-15, 2007. Colloquium Africanum 4, 189-244. Cologne, Heinrich Barth Institute.

Hollis, A. C. 1909. *The Nandi. Their Language and Folklore*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Huyge, D. 1998. Giraffes in Ancient Egypt. *Nekhen News* 10, 9-10.

Jungraithmayr, H. and Leger, R. 1993. The Benue-Gongola-Chad Basin. Zone of Ethnic and Linguistic Compression. *Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs* 268(2), 161-72. Frankfurt, Goethe Universität.

Kahl, J. 2004. *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch unter Mitarbeit von Markus Bretschneider und Barbara Kneissler, Lieferung 3: h - ḫ.* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Keita, S. O. Y. and Boyce, A. J. 2005. Genetics, Egypt and History: Interpreting Geographical Patterns of a Y-Chromosome Variation. *History in Africa* 32, 221-46.

Kronenberg, A. 1959. Notes on the Religion of the Nyimang. *Kush* 7, 197-213.

Kuper, R. and Riemer, H. 2009. *The Gilf Kebir National Park. Challenge and Change for Archaeology*. Unpublished Conference Paper. Dakhleh Oasis Project

Sixth International Conference: New Perspectives on the Western Desert of Egypt, 20-24 September 2009, Università del Salenta, Lecce.

Lam, A. M. 2003. *L'Unité culturelle égypto-africaine à travers les formes et les fonctions de l'appui-tête*. Dakar, Presses Universitaires de Dakar.

Lefebvre, G. 1955. *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Le Quellec, J. L. 1993. *Symbolisme et art rupestre au Sahara.* Paris, L'Harmattan.

—2005. Une nouvelle approche des rapports Nil-Sahara d'après l'art rupestre. *ArchéoNil* 15, 67-74

—2008. Can One "Read" Rock Art? An Egyptian Example. In P. Taylor (ed.), *Iconography Without Texts*. Warburg Institute Colloquia 13, 25-42. London, Warburg Institute; Turin, Nino Aragno Editore.

Le Quellec, J. L. and Huyge, D. 2008. Rock Art Research in Egypt 2000-2004, in P. G. Bahn, M. Strecker and N. Franklin (eds.), *Rock Art Studies. News of the World* 3, 89-96. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Mathieu, B. 2008. Les enfants d'Horus, théologie et astronomie. *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 1, 7-14.

Montet, P. Les boeufs égyptiens. *Kêmi* 13, 43-58.

Noye, D. 1989. *Dictionnaire foulfouldé-français. Dialecte peul du Diamaré, Nord-Cameroun*. Geuthner Dictionnaires. Paris, Geuthner.

Ohta, I. 1989. A Classified Vocabulary of the Turkana in Northwestern Kenya. *African Study Monographs Suppl*. 10, 1-104.

Parker, E. M. and Hayward, R. J. 1985. *An Afar-English-French Dictionary (with Grammatical Notes in English)*. London, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Payne, D. L. and Ole-Kotikash, L. 2008. *Maa Dictionary*. 2008 online version at: http://www.uoregon.edu/~maasai/

Quibell, J. E. and Green, F .W. 1902. *Hierakonpolis II*. London, Egypt Research Account.

Sadig, A. M. 2009. Preliminary Observation on the Neolithic Settlement Patterns in Central Sudan. *Sahara* 20, 31-56.

Seydou, C. 1998. *Dictionnaire pluri-dialectal des racines verbales du Peu. Peul-Français-Anglais.* Paris, Karthala.

Smith, T. 2003. *Muyang Provisional Lexicon*. Cameroon, SIL.

Strecker, I. 1979. *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*. *Vol. III. Conversations in Dambaiti*. Hohenschäftslarn, Renner.

—2000. Hamar Rhetoric in the Context of War, in B. Yimam, R. Pankhurst, D. Chapple, Y., Admassu, A., Pankhurst and B. Teferra (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies at the End of the Second Millenium. Proceedings of the XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, *6-11 November, 2000, Addis Ababa*. Addis Ababa, University of Addis Ababa.

Stevanovitch, A., Gilles, A., Bouzaid, E., Kefi, R., Paris, F., Gayraud, R. P, Spadoni, J. L., El-Chenawi, F. and Béraud-Colomb, E. 2004. Mitochondrial DNA Sequence Diversity in a Sedentary Population from Egypt. *Annals of Human Genetics* 68, 23-39.

Takács, G . 1995. Traces of Nominal Lexical Categories in Egyptian. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 37, 99-114.

—1999. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Vol. 1. A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

—2000. South Cushitic Consonant System in Afro-Asiatic Context. *Afrikanistiche Arbeitspapiere* 61 (Institut für Afrikanistik, University of Cologne), 69-117.

—2001. *Entymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Vol. 2. b-,p-,f-*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

—2004. *Comparative Dictionary of the Angas-Sura Languages*. Berlin, Reimer.

Thubauville, S. (ed.) 2009. Handing Over Ceremony at SORC. *News from South Omo Research Center and Museum* 5, 1-2.

Tornay, S. 2001. *Les Fusils jaunes. Générations et politique en pays Nyangatom (Ethiopie).* Nanterre, Société d'Ethnologie.

Trigger, B. G. 1983. The Rise of Egyptian Civilization, in B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 1-69. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Vycichl, W. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte.* Leuven, Peeters.

—1990. *La Vocalisation de la langue égyptienne. Tome Ier. La Phonétique.* Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Wendorf, F. and Schild, R. 2004. The Megaliths of Nabta Playa. *Focus on Archaeology. Academia* 1(1), 11-15.

Zboray, A. 2005. *Rock Art of the Libyan Desert*. Newbury, Fliegel Jezerniczky Expeditions Ltd. DVD.