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## **Eastern desert ware : traces of the inhabitants of the eastern desert in Egypt and Sudan during the 4th-6th centuries CE**

Barnard, H.

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### APPENDIX THREE

#### Historical Sources on the Blemmyes, the Beja, the Megabaroï and the Trogodytes

The information on the historical sources on the Blemmyes, the Beja, the Magabaroï and the Trogodytes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996; 1998; 2000) is presented here in six tables. Tables 9-1 and 9-2 give the provenance, the date, the title and the language of the text; Table 9-1 presents the sources on the Blemmyes, Table 9-2 the sources on the Beja, the Megabaroï and the Trogodytes. Tables 9-3 and 9-4 give the author, a relevant quote and the perspective of the author; Table 9-3 presents the sources on the Blemmyes, Table 9-4 the sources on the Beja, the Megabaroï and the Trogodytes. Tables 9-5 and 9-6 give the relevant geographical and personal names mentioned in the text, as well as any additional remarks; Table 9-5 presents the sources on the Blemmyes, Table 9-6 the sources on the Beja, the Megabaroï and the Trogodytes. Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy. These tables were originally prepared for H. Barnard (2005). 'Sire, il n'y a pas de Blemmyes. A Re-evaluation of Historical and Archaeological Data,' in J.C.M. Starkey (ed.). *People of the Red Sea. Proceedings of the Red Sea Project II, held in the British Museum, October 2004. Society for Arabian Studies Monographs number 3. BAR International Series 1395*. Oxford, Archaeopress: pp. 25-33.

No.	Pages	Provenance	Date	Title / Medium	Language
34	I: 216-228	Amun temple at Kawa	7th c.BCE	Enthronement stela	Hieroglyphic
<b>50*</b>	I: 296-298	al-Hibe	513 BCE	PRylands IX, 5/2-5	Demotic
56	I: 302-312	Medieval copies	450-430 BCE	Herodotus 2.29-31	Greek
109	II: 557-561	Medieval copies	3rd c.BCE/1st c.CE	Strabo 17.1.2	Greek
116	II: 569-570	Medieval copies	3rd c.BCE	Theocritus 7.111-114	Greek
<b>123*</b>	II: 579-580	?	220-219 BC	PHauswaldt VI	Demotic
<b>136*</b>	II: 612-614	Philae?	180 BCE	PDodgson	Demotic
190	III: 828-835	Medieval copies	1st c.CE	Strabo 17.1.53-54	Greek
259	III: 997-1000	Meroe (Begarawiya)	3rd c.CE	Mortuary inscription	Hieroglyphic and Meroitic
260	III: 1000-1010	Philae Temple	253 CE	Graffito	Demotic
261	III: 1010-1016	Philae Temple	253 CE	Graffito	Demotic
272	III: 1041-1043	Philae Temple	273 CE	Graffito	Demotic
276	III: 1049-1050	Philae Temple	3rd c.CE?	Graffito	Meroitic
278	III: 1052-1055	Medieval copies	400 CE	Carmina Minora 25.69-82	Latin
279	III: 1055-1057	Discovered in 1433	291 CE	Panegyrici Latini 11.17.4	Latin
280	III: 1057-1059	Discovered in 1433	291 CE	Panegyrici Latini 8.5.1-3	Latin
281	III: 1059-1060	?	12th c.CE	Epitome Historiam 12.31	Greek
282	III: 1060-1063	Isaac Casaubon	4th-5th c.CE?	Tyranni Triginta 22.6-8	Latin
<b>283*</b>	III: 1063-1065	Isaac Casaubon	4th-5th c.CE?	Quad. Tyr. 3.1-3	Latin
idem	idem	Isaac Casaubon	4th-5th c.CE?	Aurelianus 33.4-5	Latin
284	III: 1065-1066	Isaac Casaubon	4th-5th c.CE?	Probus 17	Latin
292	III: 1076-1079	Aswan or Luxor	321 CE	SB I 4223:II	Greek
<b>293*</b>	III: 1079-1081	Medieval copies	336 CE	Vita Constantini 4.7	Greek
294	III: 1081-1083	Medieval copies	311 CE	Hist. Eccl. 2.1.13	Greek
<b>295*</b>	III: 1083-1087	Dionysias	337-338 CE	P. Abinn. 1. CPL 265	Latin
296	III: 1087-1092	Medieval copies	390 CE	Vita Prima Graeca 85	Greek
idem	idem	Medieval copies	4th-5th c.CE	Paralipomena 9	Greek
300	III: 1103-1107	Kalabsha Temple	5th c.CE	Inscription	Meroitic
301	III: 1107-1109	Sohag	5th c.CE	Vita Senutii	Coptic (Bohairic)
302	III: 1110-1112	Philae Temple	373 CE	Graffito	Demotic
303	III: 1112-1114	Medieval copies	4th c.CE	Ammianus Marc. 22.15.2	Latin

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304	III: 1114-1115	Medieval copies	4th c.CE	Ammianus Marc. 22.15.21-24	Latin
305	III: 1115-1121	Medieval copies	394 CE	De XII gemmis	Coptic and Latin
306	III: 1121-1123	Philae Temple	394 CE	Graffito	Demotic and Hieroglyphic
307	III: 1123-1125	Medieval copies	395 CE	Hist. Monachorum 1.2	Greek and Latin
308	III: 1125-1126	Medieval copies	400 CE	Carmina Minora 28.15-23	Latin
<b>309*</b>	III: 1126-1128	Medieval copies	423 CE	Olympiodorus 1.37	Greek
310	III: 1128-1131	Kalabsha Temple	5th-6th c.CE	Graffito	Greek
311	III: 1131-1132	Kalabsha Temple	5th-6th c.CE	Graffito	Greek
312	III: 1132-1134	Tafa Temple	4th c.CE	Inscription	Greek
313	III: 1134-1138	Kalabsha Temple	5th c.CE	Inscription	Greek
314	III: 1138-1141	Philae?	425-450 CE	PLeiden Z.SB XX 14060	Greek
315	III: 1141-1144	Philae Temple	434 CE	Inscription	Greek
idem	idem	Philae Temple	5th c.CE	Inscription	Greek
317	III: 1147-1153	Kalabsha Temple	Before 450 CE	Inscription	Greek
<b>318*</b>	III: 1153-1158	10th c.CE excerpt	5th c.CE	Priscus 21	Greek
<b>319*</b>	III: 1158-1165	Qasr Ibrim	450 CE	Letter of Phonen	Greek
320	III: 1165-1171	Qasr Ibrim	450 CE	Coptic Museum 76/50A	Coptic (Sahidic)
321	III: 1171-1172	Qasr Ibrim	450 CE	Coptic Museum 76/50B	Coptic
323	III: 1175-1176	Medieval copies	6th c.CE	Historia Nova 1.71.1	Greek
324	III: 1177-1181	Philae Temple	535-537 CE	Five graffiti	Greek
326	III: 1182-1185	Luxor	3rd-5th c.CE	PBerol 5003	Greek
327	III: 1185-1188	Medieval copies	After 529 CE	Anecdota Graeca 5	Greek
328	III: 1188-1193	Medieval copies	545 CE	De Bellis 1.19.27-37	Greek
329	III: 1193-1194	Medieval copies	551 CE	Romana 333	Latin
331	III: 1203-1205	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Coptic and Greek
332	III: 1205-1206	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Coptic and Greek
333	III: 1206-1207	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Coptic and Greek
334	III: 1207-1208	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
335	III: 1208-1209	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
<b>336*</b>	III: 1209-1210	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
337	III: 1210-1211	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
338	III: 1211-1212	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
<b>339*</b>	III: 1212-1214	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Coptic and Greek
340	III: 1214	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
341	III: 1215	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
342	III: 1215-1216	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek
343	III: 1216	Gebelein?	6th c.CE?	Blemmyan documents	Greek

Table 9-1: Historical sources on the Blemmyes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Page = volume and page number(s) in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Date = date of the text; Title/Medium = Title or source of the text; Language = language(s) in which the text was written. Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).

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Additional references to 'Beja'					
No.	Pages	Provenance	Date	Title / Medium	Language
71	II: 425	Temple T at Kawa	5th c.BCE	Inscription/graffito	Hieroglyphic
109	II: 561	Medieval copies	3rd c.BCE/1st c.CE	Strabo 17.1.2	Greek
234	III: 953	Christian Topography	2dn-3rd c.CE/550 CE	Andulitana II (see 285)	Greek
285	III: 1068	Meroe	3th-4th c.CE	Inscription (see 234)	Greek
298*	III: 1096-1097	Aksum	4th c.CE	Inscription	Greek
299*	III: 1102	Aksum	4th c.CE	Inscription	Greek
331-343	III: 1199	Gebelein?	6th c.CE	Blemmyan documents	Coptic and Greek
Additional references to 'Megabaroi'					
189	III: 826	Medieval copies	1st c.CE	Strabo 16.4.8-17	Greek
198	III: 859	Medieval copies	1st c.CE	Naturalis Hist. 6.189-190	Latin
Additional references to 'Trogodytes'					
Comments	I: 283	Elephantine	5th-6th c.BCE	Inscription	Hieroglyphic
57	I: 313	Medieval copies	450-430 BCE	Herodotus 3.97.2-3	Greek
66	I: 331	Medieval copies	450-430 BCE	Herodotus 4.183.4	Greek
147	II: 659-660	Medieval copies	2nd c.BCE	Diodorus 3.33.2	Greek
171	II: 714	Philae Temple	1st c.BCE	Epigram	Greek
189	III: 826	Medieval copies	1st c.CE	Strabo 16.4.8-17	Greek
202	III: 869			Naturalis Hist. 6.172	
218	III: 917-918	Medieval copies	110-115 CE	Life of Anthony 27.3-5	Greek
224	III: 932-935	?	1st-2nd c.CE	P della raccolta Milanese	Greek
233	III: 947-948	7th century CE abstract	2nd-4th c.CE	Rav. Ano. Cos. 5.28.3	Latin
274	III: 1046-1048	Medieval copies	350-375 CE	Aethiopica 8.16.4	Greek

Table 9-2: Historical sources on the Beja, the Megabaroi and the Trogodytes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Page = volume and page number(s) in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Date = date of the text; Title/Medium = Title or source of the text; Language = language(s) in which the text was written. Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).

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No.	Author	Relevant quotation / Abstract	First hand?	Perspective
34	King Anlamani	... caused his army to invade the foreign country Bulahau.	Yes	Enemies
50*	Petrie	... came down and summoned Wahibremer, a Blemmyan.	Yes	Party
56	Herodotus	... there is a great lake around which nomad Aithiopians live.	No	List
109	Eratosthenes/Strabo	... toward the Red Sea the Megabaroï and the Blemmyes.	No	List
116	Theocritus	... beneath the rock of the Blemmyes,...	Literary	Exotic
123*	Anonymous official	Marriage contract between a Blemmyan/Megabari and an Egyptian woman.	Yes	Party
136*	Anonymous official	... drinking with the Blemmyes, saying herdsman, night has come ...	Yes	Party
190	Strabo	... Blemmyes (...) these are nomads and neither many nor warlike ...	Yes	List
259	King Teqorideamani	Evidence for reign.	Yes	Party
260	Pasan	... the prayers which I made to you [Isis] in the desert ...	Yes	Party
261	Tami	Tami describes his career and prays to Isis.	Yes	Enemies
272	Teos (Djedhor)	Teos describes his career and prays to Isis.	Yes	Enemies
276	King Yesebokheamani	Not fully translated.	Yes	Party
278	Claudius Claudianus	... who once was ordered to watch over Meroe and the Nile.	Literary	Exotic
279	Anonymous	... Blemmyes (...) against the Aithiopians,...	Yes	Exotic
280	Anonymous	... Nile trophies under which the Aithiopian and the Indian ...	Yes	Exotic
281	Ioannes Zonaras	... was marching through Egypt against the Aithiopians,...	No	Enemies
282	Anonymous	... he drove back the barbarian peoples ...	?	Enemies
283*	Anonymous	... he also maintained close relations with the Blemmyes ...	?	Party
idem	Anonymous	... there were Blemmyes (...) Indians (...) each with their gifts ...	?	List
284	Anonymous	... Coptos and Ptolemais had been liberated from the Blemmyes,...	?	Enemies
292	Anonymous official	The Roman army has restored peace in the region.	Yes	Enemies
293*	Eusebius	... both the Blemmyan and the Indian races and the Aithiopians,...	Yes	Party
294	Eusebius	... from the land of the Aithiopians ...	Yes	Exotic
295*	Flavius Abinnaeus	... to bring refugees from the Blemmyan people ...	Yes	Party
296	Anonymous	... the barbarians were waging war ...	Yes	Enemies
idem	Anonymous	When he had done so, the Blemmyes released him.	Yes	Enemies
300	King Kharamadoye	Isemne (see 311), Kharamadoye (not fully translated).	Yes	?
301	Besa	... it happened one day that the Blemmyes came north ...	Yes	Enemies
302	Petesenufe	... the Blemmyes had gone against the Akhbewe (Nubians/Hibis?) ...	Yes	Enemies
303	Ammianus Marcellinus	... Elephantine and Meroe, cities of the Aithiopians,...	Yes	List
304	Ammianus Marcellinus	... have been driven to migrate to the land of the Blemmyes.	Yes	Exotic
305	Epiphanius	... Kalabsha, which is now held by the Blemmyes ...	No	Exotic
306	Esmetakhom	... Madulis, lord of Pure Island, the great god ...	Yes	Party
307	Anonymous monk	... the Aithiopians (...) Aswan (...) laid waste its surroundings ...	Yes	Enemies

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308	Claudius Claudianus	... winds through Meroe and fierce Blemmyes ...	Literary	Exotic
<b>309*</b>	Olympiodorus (see 326)	... the barbarians around Aswan, the Blemmyes ...	Yes	Party
310	King Tamal	I, king Tamal ...	Yes	Party
311	King Isemne (see 300)	I, king Isemne ...	Yes	Party
312	Kola (Tesemaeikhem?)	Silbanikhem (...) agent of the cult society Amati, built it.	Yes	Party
313	Presidents of three cults	... Altik[...] Pison president of the cult society of Abene ...	Yes	Party
314	Appion	... the Blemmyes (...) we suffer many attacks from them,...	Yes	Enemies
315	Pasnous	... I, Pasnous, son of Pachoumios, priest of Ptireus,...	Yes	Party
idem	Pamet	... I, Pamet, son of Bereos, priest of Ptireus,...	Yes	Party
317	King Silko	... I fought with the Blemmyes and God (Mandulis?) gave me victory ...	Yes	Enemies
<b>318*</b>	Priscus	The Blemmyes and the Noubades, having been defeated ...	Yes	Party
<b>319*</b>	King Phonen	The most distinguished Phonen, king of the Blemmyes ...	Yes	Party
320	Viventius	... to Tantani, the tribal chief of the nation of the Anouba ...	Yes	Party
321	Yahatek	... to the Lord Tantani, the lord of the Nouba ...	Yes	Party
323	Zosimus	... Probus overcame both it and the Blemmyes, who were its allies ...	No	Enemies
324	Anonymous	Praise be to Apa Theodorus.	Yes	Enemies
326	Olympiodorus? (see 309)	... the Blemmyes (...) the men whom he could catch he killed.	Literary	Exotic
327	Anonymous	... a huge army, (...) the so-called Blemmyes and Noubades ...	No	Party
328	Procopius	... drive off the Blemmyes and the other barbarians ...	No	Enemies
329	Jordanus	... he checked the Noubades and the Blemmyes ...	No	List
331	Sansnos	Transfer of ownership of a slave and the freeing of her children.	Yes	Party
332	Sansnos?	A loan, secured by a piece of land, to be used for ransom.	Yes	Party
333	Sansnos	A loan secured by a tavern.	Yes	Party
334	Agathon	Pokatimne entrusts the island Tamsir/Tanare to Poae.	Yes	Party
335	Agathon	A loan secured by two slaves.	Yes	Party
<b>336*</b>	Sansnos	The king entrusts the island Tanare to his children.	Yes	Party
337	Dioskorus	Receipt of Noubadian coins.	Yes	Party
338	Sansnos	Receipt of Noubadian coins.	Yes	Party
<b>339*</b>	Agathon	Royal order to Sophia to stay in some unclear place or status.	Yes	Party
340	Sansnos	Acknowledgement of debt.	Yes	Party
341	Sansnos?	Acknowledgement of debt.	Yes	Party
342	Sansnos	Acknowledgement of debt.	Yes	Party
343	Sansnos?	Acknowledgement of debt.	Yes	Party

Table 9-3: Historical sources on the Blemmyes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Relevant quotation / Abstract = relevant part or short abstract of the text; First hand? = can the author be expected to have first hand knowledge of his subject? Perspective = is the author describing his subject as enemies or exotic, are they party to the text or on a geographic or ethnographic list? Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).

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Additional references to 'Beja'				
No.	Author	Relevant quotation / Abstract	First hand?	Perspective
71	King Irike-Amannote	Ikike-Amannote defeats both the Rehrehes and the Meded.	Yes	Enemies
109	Eratosthenes/Strabo	... Megabaroi and the Blemmyes (...) along the sea live the Trogodytes.	No	List
234	Cosmas Indicopleustes	Having subdued Atalmo and Beja (...) up to the boundaries of Egypt,...	No	Enemies
285	Anonymous king	[...] and I pillaged the [...]	Yes?	Enemies
298*	King Aeizanas	... when the nation of the Bougaites once revolted ...	Yes	Party
299*	King Azanas	... King of (...) Khaso and Bougaites ...	Yes	Party
331-343	Three notary scribes	An archive of thirteen official documents (see above).	Yes	Party
Additional references to 'Megabaroi'				
189	Strabo	... the Aithiopian Megabaroi put iron knobs on thier clubs,...	Yes	Exotic
198	Pliny the Elder	... opposite Meroe, live the Megabaroi (...) called the Adiabari ...	No	List
Additional references to 'Trogodytes'				
Comments	King Necho II	Necho II sent an riverine expedition against the Trogodytes.	Yes	?
57	Herodotus	... their neighbors (...) have subterranean dwellings ...	No	Party
66	Herodotus	The Aithiopian Trogodytes are the swiftest runners ... (see 274)	No	Exotic
147	Diodorus/Agatharchides	Their local burial customs are quite extraordinary. (see 189)	No	Exotic
171	Iunius Sabinus	... the tribes of the Aithiopians (Trogodytes?) ...	Yes	Exotic
189	Strabo	The Trogodytes lead a nomadic life,...	Yes	Exotic
202	Pliny the Elder	... the most important trading center of the Trogodytes,...	No	List
218	Plutarch	... be they Aithiopians, Trogodytes ...	No	Party
224	Nicolaus Demascenus?	The Trogodytes who had been dispersed by Rufus [...]	Yes?	Enemies
233	Ravennas Geographus	... Aithiopia of the Trogodytes ...	No	List
274	Heliodorus	The Trogodytes inhabit a part of Aithiopia; they are nomads ...	No?	Exotic

Table 9-4: Historical sources on the Beja, the Megabaroi and the Trogodytes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Relevant quotation / Abstract = relevant part or short abstract of the text; First hand? = can the author be expected to have first hand knowledge of his subject? Perspective = is the author describing his subject as enemies or exotic, are they party to the text or on a geographic or ethnographic list? Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).

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No.	Geographical names	Personal names	Remarks / Abstract
34	Bulahau (Blemmyes?)	Anlamani and Nasalsa (his mother)	Kawa is on the east bank of the Nile, 100 km south of the 3rd cataract.
50*	Teudjoi, Blemmyes	Ahmoose, Wahibremer (a Blemmyan)	Blemmyes seem to have acted as guards/policemen.
56	Elephantine, Aithiopians, Meroe	---	Description constructed from 'hearsay'.
109	Red Sea, Megabaroï, Blemmyes, Aithiopians, Trogodytes, Nubai	Psammetich	Strabo (see 190) quotes Eratosthenes (both appear trustworthy).
116	Edonians, Hebrus, Aithiopians, Blemmyes, Nile	---	This 'rock' may well be one of the cataracts.
123*	Blemmyes, Black Land (Egypt)	Harmais (son of Harpaeis), Taese (daughter of Khahor)	Pabus, the son of Harmais, is elsewhere called Megabaroï.
136*	Elephantine, Blemmyes (see 312)	Petra (son of Pshenpoer/Peteharhensnufi)	Egyptians and Blemmyes drinking and disturbing the peace together.
190	Trogodytes, Blemmyes, Noubai, Magabaroï, Aithiopians	---	Strabo's own 'observation' (see 109).
259	---	Teqorideamani	King Teqorideamus may have ruled the Dodecaschoinos (see 260).
260	Final Island (Philae), Pure Island (Abaton), Black Land (Egypt)	Pasan (son of Paese), Teqorideamani	The deserts may have been dominated by the Blemmyes (see 259).
261	Final Island (Philae), Pure Island (Abaton)	Bekmeti (son of Qerenya)	Tami's career may be influenced by the conflicts in the region.
272	Pure Island (Abaton)	Teos (son of Peteos)	Teos may have been an officer of the fleet fighting the Blemmyes.
276	Not fully translated.	Yesebokheamani	Meroitic control over the Dodecaschoinos made visiting Philae possible.
278	Danube, Tomi, Meroe, Nile	Celerinus	At this time 'Blemmyan' is synonym with 'enemy of Christianity' (see 293).
279	Blemmyes, Aithiopians	Emperor Maximian	Blemmyes are (partly) responsible for the troubles in the region.
280	Nile, Aithiopians, Indians (Blemmyes? see 283 and 293)	Emperor Constantinus I	It remains unclear after which unrest the region is said to be pacified.
281	Egypt, Aithiopians	Emperor Diocletianus	Connection between the Persian war and a campaign in Upper Egypt.
282	Egypt, Thebaid (Upper Egypt)	Lucius Mussius Aemilianus (Prefect of Egypt), Emperor Gallienus	These barbarians may well be the Blemmyes.
283*	Egypt, African Frontier, Blemmyes, Saracens	Firmus, Queen Zenobia, Emperor Aurelius	Firmus trade contacts aided Aurelius victory over Zenobia.
idem	Lybia (North Africa), Blemmyes, Indians (see 280 and 293)	Emperor Aurelius	Captives are displayed in a procession for Aurelius in Alexandria.
284	Pamphylia, Isauria, Coptos, Ptolemais, Blemmyes	Probus, Narseus	Blemmyes aided the population in their revolt against the Romans.
292	---	Victorinus, Emperor Licinius	The road between Aswan en Philae had to be protected by a wall.



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293*	Aithiopians, Blemmyes, Indians (see 280 and 283)	Emperor Constantinus I	Barbarian envoys (see 278) pay their respect to the Emperor.
294	Aithiopians	---	The Aithiopians are said to be ruled by queens.
295*	Diospolis (Luxor), Thebaid (Upper Egypt), Blemmyes	Emperors Constantinus and Constans	Flavius Abinnaeus was helping pro-Roman Blemmyes.
296	'Barbarians' (most likely Blemmyes)	Pachomius	These barbarians may have been Meroites or, more likely, Blemmyes.
idem	Blemmyes	'the Great', 'the Blessed' (both most likely Pachomius)	Blemmyes as desert dwelling (like the monks) enemies of Christianity.
300	Luxor, Napata, Qurte, Philae, Karanog, Soleb (not fully translated)	Isemne (see 311), Kharamadoye (not fully translated)	Soleb is on the west bank of the Nile, 75 km north of the 3rd cataract.
301	Blemmyes, Ptolemais	Shenute	With a miracle, Shenute frees the captives of Blemmyan raiders.
302	Blemmyes, Nubians?, Pure Island (Abaton)	Petsinamre (son of Page), Petesenufe (son of Harendotes)	Attacks from the south may have disturbed the regular cult life in Philae.
303	Elephantine, Meroe, Aithiopians, Red Sea, Catadupians, Saracens	---	The Blemmyes may have lived between the Nile and the Red Sea.
304	Blemmyes	---	The hippopotamus is hunted to extinction in Egypt, but not south of there.
305	Red Sea, Smaragdinum, Berenike, Elephanine, Kalabsha, Blemmyes	Emperors Nero and Domitian	Blemmyes have recently conquered Kalabsha and Mons Smaragdus.
306	Pure Island (Abaton)	Esmetakhom (son of Esmet)	The cult of Madulis accomodated both Egyptian and Blemmyes.
307	Aithiopians, Aswan, Thebaid (Upper Egypt)	Emperor Theodosius	Aithiopinians is used here for Blemmyes, Beja and 'barbarians'.
308	Nile, Lybia (North Africa), Aithiopinas, Blemmyes	---	The Blemmyes appear to live in the Nile Valley.
309*	Luxor, Aswan, Kalabsha, Blemmyes	---	For a visit to the emerald mines in the region a royal order is needed.
310	---	Tamal, Sentaesis, Pateboras	Tamal may have been king of the Blemmyes between AD 394-453.
311	---	Isemne, Degou, Ploulan	The tribal Blemmyes may have seen Kalabsha as their cultural center.
312	---	Kola, Tesemaeikhem, Silbanikhem (son of Namous)	The Blemmyes must have integrated with society (see 136).
313	Kalabsha	Phonen, Gamatifant Psentaesis, Menroukhem Plokhkarour	The Blemmyes had non-Egyptian gods and non-Egyptian names.
314	Aswan, Elephantine, Philae, Blemmyes, Annoubades	Emperors Flavius Theodosius and Valentianus	Blemmyes and Annoubades (Nubians) threaten Upper Egypt.
315	---	Pasnous (son of Pachoumios)	The names of the writer and the god may be Blemmyan or Nubian.
idem	---	Pamet (son of Bereos)	The names of the writer and the god may be Blemmyan or Nubian.

### Eastern Desert Ware

317	Noubades, Aithiopians, Kalabsha, Tafa, Blemmyes	Silko (see 319)	Maybe the Noubades majority spoke Nubian and the Blemmyes Meroitic.
<b>318*</b>	Blemmyes, Noubades, Philae	Maximinus	Despite subsidies the raids continued (see 329).
<b>319*</b>	Blemmyes	Phonen (King of the Blemmyes), Abouti (King of the Noubades), Silko	Phonen asks Abouti, the successor of Silko (see 317), to withdraw.
320	Egypt, Anouba, Aswan, Philae	Viventius, Tantani	The Blemmyes may also have had a tribal chief (phylarch).
321	Nouba, Talmis	Yahatek, Tantani	Yahatek may be a Blemmyan name.
323	Ptolemais, Thebaid (Upper Egypt), Coptos, Blemmyes	Probus	The revolt in Ptolemais and Coptos was supported by the Blemmyes.
324	---	Bishop Apa Theodorus	Philae turned from a surviving pagan shrine into a Christian sanctuary.
326	Blemmyes	Germanus	The text cannot be linked to a datable episode.
327	Himyarites, Negran, Coptos, Berenike, Blemmyes, Noubades	Emperor Justinus, King Ella Asbeha, Alamoundaros	The troops to help the Christians in Arabia were probably never sent.
328	Aksum, Elephantine, Blemmyes, Nobatai, Oasis, Philae	Emperor Diocletianus, Narses	Procopius' description may have served to explain the existing situation.
329	Alexandria, Noubades, Blemmyes, Aithiopia	Attila, Florus, Zeno	This account is probably based on that of Priscus (see 318).
331	---	Kharaktik, Mahanat, Apehset, Sentekhaynis, Munkokhnhui	Tribal chief Khaia signed the document which does not free the mother.
332	---	Trempyoh (daughter of Phant)	The names are Egyptian.
333	---	Sulien (son of Wanaktikuta), Phant	The same parties as in 335.
334	Temsir (an island also known as Tanare, see 336)	Pokatimne, Poae	The location and final status of the island remains uncertain.
335	---	Sulien (son of Wanaktikuta), Phant (son of Kirbeeitak), Todetes	The same parties as in 333.
<b>336*</b>	Blemmyes, Tanare (Temsir? see 334)	Kharakhen (both the king and his son, see 339), Kharapatkhur, Kharahiet	The 'Romans' might not agree to pay taxes to their Blemmyan overlords.
337	---	Ose	Actually two receipts, the relation between which remains unclear.
338	---	Argon (son of Laize), Noaymek"	Invalid if written by Diokoros, valid if written by Sansnos.
<b>339*</b>	Blemmyes	Barakhia (king of the Blemmyes), Amnas/Sophia, Kharakhen (see 336)	Amnas was baptised Sophia, Barakhia succeeded Kharakhen.
340	---	Osian, Ose (see 341-343)	Ose is specified to be phylarkhos (tribal chief).
341	---	Sle, Ose (tribal chief, see 340 and 343)	The same parties as in 342, but a different date.
342	---	Sle, Ose (tribal chief, see 340 and 343)	The same parties as in 341, but a different date'
343	---	Tusikia, Hadetak[...], Ose (tribal chief, see 340-342)	---

Table 9-5: Historical sources on the Blemmyes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Geographical names = relevant geographical names mentioned in the text; Personal names = relevant personal names mentioned in the text; Remarks / Abstract = additional remarks or a short abstract of the text. Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).

### Appendix III: Historical Sources

Additional references to 'Beja'			
No.	Geographical names	Personal names	Remarks / Abstract
71	Rehrehes (in the desert to the north), Meded (western desert dwellers)	Irike-Amannote, King Talakhamani (his predecessor)	These desert dwellers may have been groups of the Beja.
109	Red Sea, Megabaroi, Blemmyes, Aithiopians, Trogodytes, Nubai	Psammetich	Blemmyes, Megabaroi and Trogodytes may be groups of the Beja.
234	Red Sea, Atalmo, Beja (Blemmyes?), Tangaïtes	---	The Beja may be the Blemmyes.
285	Aksum, Himyar	---	The first lacuna may have contained a reference to the Beja.
298*	Aksumites, Himyarites, Aithiopians, Bougaïtes (Beja?)	Aeizanas, Sazanan and Adiophan (his brothers)	The Bougaïtes may be the Beja (see 299).
299*	Aksumites, Himyarites, Bougaïtes (Beja?)	Azanas	The Bougaïtes may be the Beja (see 298)'
331-343	Temsir, Tanare, Blemmyes	Chiefs Khaias, Kharakhen, Barakhia and Ose	The names and other peculiarities suggest a third language (Beja?).
Additional references to 'Megabaroi'			
189	Trogodytes, Aithiopian	---	This description of the Red Sea coast owes Aristocreon and Artemidorus.
198	Trogodytes, Red Sea, Meroe, Napata	---	Pliny's uncritical compilation includes many errors and fabulous tales.
Additional references to 'Trogodytes'			
Comments	The text is too fragmentary to be fully understood.	The text is too fragmentary to be fully understood.	The text is too fragmentary to be fully understood.
57	Aithiopians, Indians	Cambyses	This may refer to the Trogodytes.
66	Aithiopians, Trogodytes	---	Trogodytes may be used here to mean nomads.
147	---	---	Diodorus quotes Agatharchides, the observation may be accurate.
171	Aswan, Aithiopians or Trogodytes	Iunius Sabinus	Aithiopians may have to be read here as Trogodytes.
189	---	---	This description is partly very similar to 147.
202	Sace, Daphnis, Adulites, Trogodytes, Ptolemais	---	The description follows the East African coast (Azania).
218	Aithiopians, Trogodytes, Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, Parthians	---	The Trogodytes mentioned may have come from the Dodecaschoinos.
224	Aithiopians, Trogodytes	Rufus	The status and interpretation of the text remains unclear.
233	Aithiopians, Trogodytes	---	This may refer to the area between the Nile and the Red Sea.
274	Trogodytes, Aithiopia, Arabs	---	They are also mentioned to be swift runners (see 66).

Table 9-6: Historical sources on the Beja, the Megabaroi and the Trogodytes as collected in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Eide et al. 1994; 1996;1998; 2000). Number = number in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*; Geographical names = relevant geographical names mentioned in the text; Personal names = relevant personal names mentioned in the text; Remarks / Abstract = additional remarks or a short abstract of the text. Sources marked with \*) can be considered relatively trustworthy (Barnard 2005).