

"The basis of the Egyptian population was negro in the Pre-Dynastic epoch."

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

by Cheikh Anta Diop

The general acceptance, as a sequel to the work of Professor
[Louis B.]

Leakey, of the hypothesis of mankind's monogenetic and African
origin, makes

it possible to pose the question of the peopling of Egypt and
even of the

world in completely new terms. More than 150,000 years ago,
beings

morphologically identical with the man of today were living in
the region of

the great lakes at the sources of the Nile and nowhere else.
This notion,

and others which it would take too long to recapitulate here,
form the

substance of the last report presented by the late Dr. Leakey
at the Seventh

Pan-African Congress of Pre-History in Addis Ababa in 1971.¹ It means that

the whole human race had its origin, just as the ancients had guessed, at

the foot of the mountains of the Moon. Against all expectations and in

defiance of recent hypotheses it was from this place that men moved out to

people the rest of the world. From this two facts of capital importance

result:

(a) of necessity the earliest men were ethnically homogeneous and negroid. Gloger's law, which would also appear to be applicable to human beings, lays it down that warm-blooded animals evolving in a warm humid climate will secrete a black pigment (eumelanin).² Hence if mankind originated in the tropics around the latitude of the great lakes, he was bound to have brown pigmentation from the start and and it was by differentiation in other climates that the original stock later split into different races;

(b) there were only two routes available by which these early men could move out to people the other continents, namely, the Sahara and the Nile valley. It is the latter region which will be discussed here.

>From the Upper Palaeolithic to the dynastic epoch, the whole of the river's

basin was taken over progressively by these negroid peoples.

Evidence of Physical Anthropology on the Race of the Ancient Egyptians

It might have been thought that, working on physiological evidence, the

findings of the anthropologists would dissipate all doubts by providing

reliable and definitive truths. This is by no means so: the arbitrary nature

of the criteria used, to go no farther, as well as abolishing any notion of

a conclusion acceptable without qualification, introduces so much scientific

hair-splitting that there are times when one wonders whether the solution of

the problem would not have been nearer if we had not had the ill luck to

approach it from this angle.

Nevertheless, although the conclusions of these anthropological studies stop

short of the full truth, they still speak unanimously of the existence of a

negro race from the most distant ages of prehistory down to the dynastic

period. It is not possible in this paper to cite all these conclusions: they

will be found summarized in Chapter X of Dr. Emile Massoulard's Histoire et

protohistoire d' Egypt (Institut d'Ethnologix, Paris, 1949). We shall quote

selected items only.

Miss Fawcett considers that the Negadah skulls form a sufficiently homogeneous collection to warrant the assumption of a Negadah race. In the total height of the skull, the auricular height, the length and breadth of the face, nasal length, cephalic index and facial index this race would seem to approximate to the negro; in nasal breadth, height of orbit, length of palate and nasal index it would seem closed to the Germanic peoples; accordingly the Pre-Dynastic Negadians are likely to have resembled the negroes in certain of their characteristics and the white race in others.

It is worth noting that the nasal indices of Ethiopians and Dravidians would

seem to approximate them to the Germanic peoples, though both are black

races.

These measurements, which would leave an open choice between the two

extremes represented by the negro and the Germanic races, give an idea of

the elasticity of the criteria employed. A sample follows:

An attempt was made by Thompson and Randall MacIver to determine more precisely the importance of the negroid element in the series of skulls from El'Amrah, Abydos and Hou. They divided them into three groups: (1) negroid skulls (those with a facial index below 54 and a nasal index above 50, i.e. Short broad face and broad nose); (2) non-negroid skulls (facial index above 54 and nasal index below 50, long narrow face and narrow nose), (3) intermediate skulls (assignable to one of the two previous groups on the basis of either the facial index or on the evidence of the nasal index, plus individuals marginal to either group). The proportion of negroids would seem to have 24% of men and 19% of women in the early Pre-Dynastic and 25% and 28% respectively in the late Pre-Dynastic.

Kieth has disputed the value of the criterion selected by Thompson and Randall MacIver to distinguish the negroid from the non-negroid skulls. His opinion is that if the same

criteria were applied to the study of
any series of contemporary English
skulls, the sample would be found to
contain approximately 30% of negroid
types. (pp. 420-1)

The converse of Kieth's proposition could also be asserted,
namely, that if

the criterion were applied to the 140 million negroes now alive
in black

Africa a minimum of 100 million negroes would emerge
whitewashed.

It may also be remarked that the distinction between negroid,
non-negroid

and intermediary is unclear; the fact is that 'non-negroid'
does not mean of

white race and 'intermediary' still less so.

'Falkenburger reopened the anthropological study of the
Egyptian population

in a recent work in which he discusses 1,787 male skulls
varying in date

from the old, Pre-Dynastic to our own day. He distinguishes
four main

groups' (p. 421). The sorting of the predynastic skulls into
these four

groups gives the following results for the whole predynastic
period: "36%

negroid, 33% Mediterranean, 11% Cro-Magnoid and 20% of
individuals not

falling in any of these groups but approximating either to the
Cro-Magnoid

or to the negroid'. The proportion of negroids is definitely
higher than

that suggested by Thomson and Randall MacIver, though Kieth considers the

latter too high.

'Do Falkenburger's figures reflect the reality? It is not our task to decide

this. If they are accurate, the Pre-Dynastic population far from

representing a pure bred race, as Elliott-Smith has said, comprised at least

three distinct racial elements - over a third of negroids, a third of

Mediterraneans, a tenth of Cro-Magnoids and a fifth of individuals crossbred

- to varying degrees' (p. 422).

The point about all these conclusions is that despite their discrepancies

the degree to which they converge proves that the basis of the Egyptian

population was negro in the Pre-Dynastic epoch. Thus they are all

incompatible with the theories that the negro element only infiltrated into

Egypt at a late stage. Far otherwise, the facts prove that it was

preponderant from the beginning to the end of Egyptian history, particularly

when we note once more that 'Mediterranean' is not a synonym for 'white',

Elliott-Smith's 'brown' or Mediterranean race being nearer to the mark'.

'Elliott Smith classes these Proto-Egyptians as a branch of what he calls

the brown race". The term 'brown' in this context refers to skin colour and

is simply a euphemism for negro.³ it is thus clear that it was the whole of

the Egyptian population which was negro, barring an infiltration of white

nomads in the proto-dynastic epoch

In Petrie's study of the Egyptian race we are introduced to a possible

classification element in great abundance which cannot fail to surprise the

reader.

Petrie . . . published a study of the races of Egypt in the Pre-Dynastic and Proto-Dynastic periods working only on portrayals of them. Apart from the steatopygian race, he distinguishes six separate types: an aquiline type representative of a white-skinned Libyan race; a 'plaited beard' type belonging to an invading race coming perhaps from the shores of the Red Sea, a 'sharp-nosed' type almost certainly from the Arabian Desert: a 'tilted-nose' type from Middle Egypt; a 'jutting beard' type from Lower Egypt; and a 'narrow-nose' type from Upper Egypt. Going on the images, there would thus have been seven different racial types in Egypt during the epochs we are considering. In the pages which follow we shall see that study of the skeletons seems to provide little authority

for these conclusions. (p.391)

The above mode of classification gives an idea of the arbitrary nature of

the criteria used to define the Egyptian races. Be that as it may, it is

clear that anthropology is far from having established the existence of a

white Egyptian race and would indeed tend rather to suggest the opposite.

Nevertheless, in current textbooks the question is suppressed: in most cases

it is simply and flatly asserted that the Egyptians were white and the

honest layman is left with the impression that any such assertion must

necessarily have a prior basis of solid research. But there is no such

basis, as this chapter has shown. And so generation after generation has

been misled. Many authorities skate around the difficulty today by speaking

of red-skinned and black-skinned whites without their sense of common logic

being in the least upset. 'The Greeks call Africa "Libya", a misnomer au

initio since Africa contains many other peoples besides the so-called

Libyans, who belong among the whites of the northern or Mediterranean

periphery and hence are many steps removed from the brown (or red) skinned

whites (Egyptians).'⁴

In a textbook intended for the middle secondary school we find the following

sentence: 'A Black is distinguished less by the colour of his skin (for

there are black-skinned "whites") than by his features: thick lips,

flattened nose . . . '5 It is only through these twistings of the basic

definitions that it has been possible to bleach the Egyptian race.

It is worthwhile calling to mind the exaggerations of the theorists of

anthropo-sociology in the last century and the beginnings of the present one

whose minute physiognomical analyses discovered racial stratifications even

in Europe, and particularly in France, when in fact there was really a

single and by now practically homogeneous people.⁶ Today Occidentals who

value their national cohesion are careful to avoid examining their own

societies on so divisive a hypothesis, but continue unthinkingly to apply

the old methods to the non-European societies.

Human Images of the Protohistoric Period: Their Anthropological Value

The study of human images made by Flinders Petrie on another plane shows

that the ethnic type was black: according to Petrie these people were the

Anu whose name, known to us since the protohistoric epoch, is always

'written' with three pillars on the few inscriptions extant from the end of

the fourth millennium before our era. The natives of the country are always

represented with unmistakable chiefly emblems for which one looks in vain

among the infrequent portrayals of other races, who are all shown as servile

foreign elements having reached the valley by infiltration (cf. Tera Neter⁷

and the Scorpion king whom Petrie groups together; 'The Scorpion King . . .

belonged to the preceding race of Anu, moreover he worshipped Min and

Set.').⁸

As we shall see later Min, like the chief gods of Egypt, was called by the

tradition of Egypt itself 'the great negro'.

After a glance at the various foreign types of humanity who disputed the

valley with the indigenous blacks, Petrie describes the latter, the Anu, in

the following terms: Besides these types, belonging to the North and East,

there is the aboriginal race of the Anu, or Annu, people (written with three

pillars) who became a part of the historic inhabitants. The subject ramifies

too doubtfully if we include all single pillar names, but looking for the

Annu written, with the three pillars, we find that they occupied southern

Egypt and Nubia, and the name is also applied in Sinai and Libya. As to the

southern Egyptians, we have the most essential document, one portrait of a

chief, Tera Neter, roughly modelled in relief in green glazed faience, found

in the early temple at Abydos. Preceding his name his address is given on

this earliest of visiting cards, 'Palace of the Anu in Hemen city, Tera

Neter'. Hemen was the name of the god of Tophium, Erment, opposite to it,

was the palace of Annu of the south, Annu Menti. The next place in the south

is Aunti (Gefeleyn), and beyond that Aunyt-Seni (Esneh)."

Amelineau lists in geographical order the fortified towns built along the

length of the Nile valley by the Annu blacks.

[Hieroglyphics] =Ant=(Esneh)

[Hieroglyphics] =An =the southern 'On'

(now Hermonthis)

[Hieroglyphics] =Denderah, the traditional birthplace of Isis

[Hieroglyphics] = A town also called 'On' in the name of Tinis

[Hieroglyphics] =The town called the northern 'On', the renowned city of Heliopolis

The common ancestor of the Annu settled along the Nile was Ani or An, a name

determined by the word [hieroglyphics] (khet) and which, dating from the

earliest versions of the "Book of the Dead" onwards, is given to the god

Orisis.

The wife of [hieroglyphics] the god Ani is the goddess Anet [hieroglyphics]

who is also his sister, just as Isis is the sister of Osiris.

The identity of the god An with Osiris has been demonstrated by Pleyte;¹⁰ we

should, indeed recall that is also surnamed by (?) the Anou; 'Osiris Ani'.

The god Anu is represented alternately by the symbol [hieroglyphics] and the

symbol [hieroglyphics]. Are the Aunak tribes now inhabiting the upper Nile

related to the ancient Annu? Future research will provide the answer to this

question.

Petrie thinks it possible to make a distinction between the predynastic

people represented by Tera Neter and the Scorpion King (who is himself a

Pharaoh even at that date as his head-dress shows) and a dynastic people

worshipping the falcon and probably represented by the Pharaoh's Narmer,¹⁴

Khasekhem, Sanekhei and Zoser.¹² By reference to the faces reproduced in the

figure it is easily perceived that there is no ethnic difference between the

two lots, and both belong to the black race.

The mural in tomb SD 63 (Sequence Date 63) of Hierakonpolis shows the

native-born blacks subjugating the foreign intruders into the valley if we

accept Petrie's interpretation: 'Below is the black ship at Hierakonpolis

belonging to the black men who are shown as conquering the red men.'¹³

The Gebel-el-Arak knife haft shows similar scenes: 'There are also combats

of black men overcoming red men.'¹³ However, the archaeological value of

this object, which was not found in situ but in the possession of a

merchant, is less than that of the preceding items.

What the above shows is that the images of men of the protohistoric and even

of the dynastic period in no way square with the idea of the Egyptian race

popular with Western anthropologists. Wherever the autochthonous racial type

is represented with any degree of clearness, it is evidently negroid.

Nowhere are the Indo-European and Semitic elements shown even as ordinary

freeman serving a local chief, but invariably as conquered foreigners. The

rare portrayals found are always shown with the distinctive marks of

captivity, hands tied behind the back or strained over the shoulders.¹⁴ A

protodynastic figurine represents an Indo-European prisoner with a long

plait on his knees, with his hands bound tight to his body. The characteristics of the object itself show that it was intended as the foot

of a piece of furniture and represented a conquered race.¹⁵ Often the

portrayal is deliberately grotesque as with other proto-dynastic figures

showing individuals with their hair plaited in what Petrie calls pigtails.¹⁶

In the tomb of King Ka (first dynasty) at Abydos, Petrie found a plaque

showing an Indo-European captive in chains with his hands behind his back.¹⁷

Elliott-Smith considers that the individual represented is a Semite. The

dynastic epoch has also yielded the documents illustrated in Pls 1.9. and

1.14 showing Indo-European and Semitic prisoners. In contrast, the typically

negroid features of the pharaohs (Narmer, first dynasty, the actual founder

of the Pharaonic line; Zoser, third dynasty, by whose time all the

technological elements of the Egyptian civilization were already in

evidence; Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, a Cameroon type,¹⁸

Menthuhotep, founder of the eleventh dynasty, very black,¹⁹ Sesostris I;

Queen Ahmosis Nefertari; and Amenhophis I) show that all classes of Egyptian

society belong to the same black race.

Pls 1.15 and 1.16, showing the Indo-European and Semitic types, have been

included deliberately to contrast them with the quite dissimilar

physiognomies of the black pharaohs and to demonstrate clearly that there is

no trace of either of the first two types in the whole line of Pharaohs if

we exclude the foreign Libyan and Ptolemaic dynasties.

It is usual to contrast the negresses on the tomb of Horemheb with the

Egyptian type also shown. This contrast is surely a false one; it is social

and not ethnic and there is as much difference between an aristocratic

Senegalese lady from Dakar and those antique African peasant women with

their horny hands and splay feet as between the latter and an Egyptian lady

of the cities of antiquity.

There are two variants of the black race: (a) straight-haired, represented

in Asia by the Dravidians and in Africa by the Nubians and the Tubbou or

Tedda, all three with jet-black skins; (b) the kinky-haired blacks of the

Equatorial regions. Both types entered into the composition of the Egyptian

population.

Melanin Dosage Test

In practice it is possible to determine directly the skin colour and hence

the ethnic affiliations of the ancient Egyptians by microscopic analysis in

the laboratory; I doubt if the sagacity of the researchers who have studied

the question has overlooked the possibility.

Melanin (eumelanin), the chemical body responsible for skin pigmentation,

is, broadly speaking, insoluble and is preserved for millions of years in

the skins of fossil animals.²⁰ There is thus all the more reason for it to

be readily recoverable in the skins of Egyptian mummies, despite a tenacious

legend that the skin of mummies, tainted by the embalming material, is no

longer susceptible of any analysis.²¹ Although the epidermis is the main

site of the melanin, the melanocytes penetrating the derm at the boundary

between it and the epidermis, even where the latter has mostly been

destroyed by the embalming materials, show a melanin level which is

non-existent in the white-skinned races. The samples I myself analyzed were

taken in the physical anthropology laboratory of the Mus'ee de l'Homme in

Paris off the mummies from the Marietta excavations in Egypt.²² The same

method is perfectly suitable for use on the royal mummies of Thutmoses III,

Seti I and Ramses II in the Cairo Museum, which are in an excel state of

preservation. For two years past I have been vainly begging the curator of

the Cairo Museum for similar samples to analyze. No more than a few square

millimetres of skin would be required to mount a specimen, the preparations

being a few um in thickness and lightened with ethyl benzoate. They can be

studied by natural light or with ultra-violet lighting which renders the

melanin grains fluorescent.

Either way let us simply say that the evaluation of melanin level by

microscopic examination is a laboratory method which enables us to classify

the ancient Egyptians unquestionably among the black races.

Osteological Measurements

Among the criteria accepted in physical anthropology for classifying races,

the osteological measurements are perhaps the least misleading (in contrast

to craniometry) for distinguishing a black man from a white man. By this

criterion, also, the Egyptians belong among the black races. This study was

made by the distinguished German savant Lepsius at the end of the nineteenth

century and his conclusions remain valid; subsequent methodological progress

in the domain of physical anthropology in no way undermines what is called

the 'Lepsius canon' which, in round figures, gives the bodily proportions of

the ideal Egyptian, short-armed and of negroid or negrito physical type.²³

Blood Groups

It is a notable fact that even today Egyptians, particularly in Upper Egypt,

belong to the same Group B as the populations of western Africa on the

Atlantic seaboard and not the A2 group characteristic of the white race

prior to any crossbreeding.²⁴ It would be interesting to study the extent of

Group A2 distribution in Egyptian mummies, which present-day techniques make

possible.

The Egyptian Race According to the Classical Authors of Antiquity

To the Greek and Latin writers contemporary with the ancient Egyptians the

latter's physical classification posed no problems: the Egyptians were

negroes, thick-lipped, kinky-haired and thin-legged; the unanimity of the

author's evidence on a physical fact as salient as a people's race will be

difficult to minimize or pass over. Some of the following evidence drives

home the point.

(a) Herodotus, 'the father of history', -480(?) to -425. With regard to the

origins of the Colchians²⁵ he writes:

it is in fact manifest that the Colchidians are

Egyptian by race ... several Egyptians told me that in their opinion the Colchidians were descended from soldiers of Sesostris. I had conjectured as much myself from two pointers, firstly because they have black skins and kinky hair (to tell the truth this proves nothing for other peoples have them too) and secondly, and more reliably for the reason that alone among mankind the Egyptians and the Ethiopians have practiced circumcision since time immemorial. The Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine themselves admit that they learnt the practice from the Egyptians while the Syrians in the river Thermodon and Pathenios region and their neighbors the Macrons say they learnt it recently from the Colchidians. These are the only races which practice circumcision and it is observable that they do it in the same way as the Egyptians. As between the Egyptians themselves and the Ethiopians I could not say which taught the other the practice for among them it is quite clearly a custom of great antiquity. As to the custom having been learnt through their Egyptian connections, a further strong proof to my mind is that all those Phoenicians trading to Greece cease to treat the pudenda after the Egyptian manner and do not subject

their offspring to circumcision.²⁶

Herodotus reverts several times to the negroid character of the Egyptians

and each time uses it as a fact of observation to argue more or less complex

theses. Thus to prove that the Greek oracle at Dodona in Epirus was of

Egyptian origin, one of his arguments is the following: '. . . and when they

add that the dove was black they give us to understand that the woman was

Egyptian.'²⁷ The doves in question - actually there were two according to

the text - symbolize two Egyptian women who are said to have BEEN carried

off from the Egyptian Thebes to found the oracles in Greece at Dodona and in

Libya (Oasis of Jupiter Amon) respectively. Herodotus did not share the

opinion of Anaxagoras that the melting of the snows on the mountains of

Ethiopia was the source of the Nile floods.²⁸ He relied on the fact that it

neither rains or snows in Ethiopia 'and the heat there turns men black'.²⁹

(b) Aristotle, -389 to -332, scientist, philosopher and tutor of Alexander

the Great.

In one of his minor works, Aristotle attempts, with unexpected naivete', to

establish a correlation between the physical and moral natures of living

beings and leaves us evidence on the Egyptian-Ethiopian race which confirms

what Herodotus says. According to him, 'Those who are too black are cowards,

like for instance, the Egyptians and Ethiopians. But those who are

excessively white are also cowards as we can see from the example of women,

the complexion of courage is between the two.'³⁰

(c) Lucian, Greek writer, +125(?) to +190.

The evidence of Lucian is as explicit as that of the two previous writers.

He introduces two Greeks, Lycinus and Timolaus, who start a conversation.

Lycinus (describing a young Egyptian):

'This boy is not merely black; he has thick lips and his legs are too thin. . . his hair worn in a plait behind shows that he is not a freeman.'

Timolaus: 'But that is a sign of really distinguished birth in Egypt, Lycinus. All freeborn children plait their hair until they reach manhood. It is the exact opposite of the custom of our ancestors who thought it seemly for old men to secure their hair with a gold brooch to keep it in place.'³¹

(d) Apollodorus, first century before our era, Greek philosopher.

'Aegyptos conquered the country of the black-footed ones and called it Egypt after himself.'³²

(e) Aeschylus, -525(?) to -456, tragic poet and creator of Greek tragedy.

In *The Suppliants*, Danaos, fleeing with his daughters, the Danaids, and

pursued by his brother Aegyptos with his sons, the Aegyptiads, who seek to

wed their cousins by force, climbs a hillock, looks out to sea and describes

the Aegyptiads at the oars afar off in these terms: 'I can see the crew with

their black limbs and white tunics.'³³

A similar description of the Egyptian type of man recurs a few lines later

in verse 745.

(f) Achilles Tattius of Alexandria.

He compares the herdsmen of the Delta to the Ethiopians and explains that

they are blackish, like half-castes.

(g) Strabo, -58 to about +25.

Strabo visited Egypt and almost all the countries of the Roman empire. He

concurr in the theory that the Egyptians and the Colchoi are of the same

race but holds that the migrations to Ethiopia and Colchoi had been from

Egypt only

'Egyptians settled in Ethiopia and in Colchoi.'³⁴ There is no doubt whatever

as to Strabo's notion of the Egyptian's race for he seeks elsewhere to

explain why the Egyptians are darker than the Hindus, a circumstance which

would permit the refutation, if needed, of any attempt at confusing 'the

Hindu and Egyptian races'.

(h) Diodorus of Sicily, about -63 to +14, Greek historian and contemporary

of Caesar Augustus.

According to Diodorus it was probably Ethiopia which colonized Egypt (in the

Athenian sense of the term, signifying that, with overpopulation, a

proportion of the people emigrate to new territory).

The Ethiopians say that the Egyptians

are one of their colonies,³⁵ which was

led into Egypt by Osiris. They claim that

at the beginning of the world Egypt was

simply a sea but that the Nile, carrying

down vast quantities of loam from Ethiopia

in its flood waters, finally filled it in

and made it part of the continent. . . They
add that the Egyptians have received from
them, as from authors and their ancestors,
the greater part of their laws.³⁶

(i) Diogenes Laertius.

He wrote the following about Zeno, founder of the stoic School
(-333 to

-261): 'Zeno son of Mnaseas or Demeas was a native of Citium in
Cyprus, a

Greek city which has taken in some Phoenician colonists.' In
his Lives,

Timotheus of Athens describes Zeno as having a twisted neck.
Apollonius of

Tyre says of him that he was gaunt, very tall and black, hence
the fact

that, according to Chrysippus in the First Book of his
Proverbs, certain

people called him an Egyptian vine-shoot.³⁷

(j) Ammianus Marcellinus, about +33 to +100, Latin historian
and friend of

the Emperor Julian.

With him we reach the sunset of the Roman empire and the end of
classical

antiquity. There are about nine centuries between the birth of
Aeschylus and

Herodotus and the death of Ammianus Marcellinus, nine centuries
during which

the Egyptians, amid a sea of white races, steadily crossbred.
It can be said

without exaggeration that in Egypt one household in ten included a white

Asiatic or Indo-European slave.³⁹

It is remarkable that, despite its intensity, all this crossbreeding should

not have succeeded in upsetting the racial constants. Indeed Ammianus

Marcellinus writes: ". . .the men of Egypt are mostly brown and black with a

skinny and desiccated look."³⁹ He also confirms the evidence already cited

about the Colchoi: 'Beyond these lands are the heartlands of the Camaritae⁴⁰

and the Phasis with its swifter stream borders the country of the Colchoi,

an ancient race of Egyptian origin.'⁴¹

This cursory review of the evidence of the ancient Graeco-Latin writers on

the Egyptians' race shows that the extent of agreement between them is

impressive and is an objective fact difficult to minimize or conceal, the

two alternatives between which present-day Egyptology constantly oscillates.

An exception is the evidence of an honest savant. Volney, who travelled in

Egypt between +1783 and +1785, i.e. at the peak period of negro slavery, and

made the following observations on the true Egyptian race, the same which

produced the Pharaohs, namely the Copts:

All of them are puffy-faced, heavy eyed and thick-lipped, in a word, real mulatto faces.

I was tempted to attribute this to the climate until, on visiting the Sphinx, the look of it gave me the clue to the enigma. Beholding that head characteristically Negro in all its features, I recalled the well-known passage of Herodotus which reads: 'For my part I consider the Colchoi are a colony of the Egyptians because, like them, they are black skinned and kinky-haired.' In other words the ancient Egyptians were true negroes of the same stock as all the autochthonous peoples of Africa and from that datum one sees how their race, after some centuries of mixing with the blood of Romans and Greeks, must have lost the full blackness of its original colour but retained the impress of its original mould. It is even possible to apply this observation very widely and posit in principle that physiognomy is a kind of record usable in many cases for disputing or elucidating the evidence of history on the origins of the peoples . . .

After illustrating this proposition citing the case of the Normans, who 900

years after the conquest of Normandy still look like Danes, Volney adds:

but reverting to Egypt, its contributions

to history afford many subjects for philosophic reflection. What a

subject for meditation is

the present-day barbarity and ignorance of the

Copts who were considered, born of the alliance

of the deep genius of the Egyptians and the

brilliance of the Greeks, that this race of

blacks who nowadays are slaves and the objects

of our scorn is the very one to which we owe our

arts, our sciences, and even the use of spoken word;

and finally recollect that it is in the midst of the peoples

claiming to be the greatest friends of liberty and humanity that

the most barbarous of enslavements

has been sanctioned and the question raised whether

black men have brains of the same quality as those of white men!⁴²

To this testimony of Volney, Champollion-Figeac, brother of Champollion the

Younger, was to reply in the following terms: 'The two physical traits of

black skin and kinky hair are not enough to stamp a race as negro and

Volney's conclusion as to the negro origin of the ancient population of

Egypt is glaringly forced and inadmissible.'⁴³

Being black from head to foot and having kinky hair is not enough to make a

man a negro! This shows us the kind of specious argumentation to which

Egyptology has had to resort since its birth as a science. Some scholars

maintain that Volney was seeking to shift the discussion to a philisophic

plane. But we have only to re-read Volney: he is simply drawing the

inferences from crude material facts forcing themselves on his eyes and his

conscience as proofs.

"The Egyptians had only one term to designate themselves:

kmt=the negroes (literally)."

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS (Cont,)

by Cheikh Anta Diop

The Egyptians as They Saw Themselves

It is no waste of time to get the views of those principally concerned. How

did the ancient Egyptians see themselves? Into which ethnic category did

they put themselves? What did they call themselves? The language and

literature left to us by the Egyptians of the Pharaonic epoch supply

explicit answers to these questions which the scholars cannot refrain from

minimizing, twisting or 'interpreting.'

The Egyptians had only one term to designate themselves:

[hieroglyphics]=kmt=the negroes (literally).⁴⁴ This is the strongest term

existing in the Pharaonic tongue to indicate blackness; it is accordingly

written with a hieroglyph representing a length of wood charred at the end

and not crocodile scales.⁴⁵ This word is the etymological origin of the

well-known root Kamit which has proliferated in modern anthropological

literature. The biblical root kam is probably derived from it and it has

therefore been necessary to distort the facts to enable this root today to

mean 'white' in Egyptological terms whereas, in the Pharaonic mother tongue

which gave it birth, it meant 'coal black.'

In the Egyptian language, a word of assembly is formed from an adjective or

a noun by putting it in the feminine singular. 'kmt' from the adjective

[hieroglyphics] =km=black; it therefore means strictly negroes or at the

very least black men. The term is a collective noun which thus described the

whole people of Pharaonic Egypt as a black people.

In other words, on the purely grammatical plane, if one wishes to indicate

negroes in the Pharaonic tongue, one cannot use any other word than the very

one which the Egyptians used of themselves. Furthermore, the language offers

us another term, [hieroglyphics] kmtjw=the negroes, the black men

(literally)=the Egyptians, as opposed to 'foreigners' which comes from the

same root km and which the Egyptians also used to describe themselves as a

people as distinguished from all foreign peoples.⁴⁶ These are the only

adjectives of nationality used by the Egyptians to designate themselves and

both mean 'negro' or 'black' in the Pharaonic language. Scholars hardly ever

mention them or when they do it is to translate them by euphemisms such as

the 'Egyptians' while remaining completely silent about their etymological

sense.⁴⁷ They prefer the expression [hieroglyphics] Rmt kmt=the men of the

country of the black men or the men of the black country.

In Egyptian, words are normally followed by a determinative which indicates

their exact sense, and for this particular expression Egyptologists suggest

that [hieroglyphics] km=black and that the colour qualifies the

determinative which follows it and which signifies 'country'. Accordingly,

they claim, the translation should be 'the black earth' from the colour of

the loam, or the 'black country', and not 'the country of the black men' as

we should be inclined to render it today with black Africa and white Africa

in mind. Perhaps so, but if we apply this rule rigorously to [hieroglyphics]

=kmit, we are forced to 'concede that here the adjective "black" qualifies

the determinative which signifies the whole people of Egypt shown by the two

symbols for "man" and "woman" and the three strokes below them which

indicate the plural'. Thus, if it is possible to voice a doubt as regards

the expression [hieroglyphics] =Kme, it is not possible to do so in the case

of the two adjectives of nationality [hieroglyphics] kmt and kmtjw unless

one is picking one's arguments completely at random.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the ancient Egyptians should never have

had the idea of applying these qualificatives to the Nubians and other

populations of Africa to distinguish them from themselves; any more than a

Roman at the apogee of the empire could use a 'colour' adjective to

distinguish himself from the Germani on the other bank of the Danube, of the

same stock but still in the prehistoric age of development.

In either case both sides were of the same world in terms of physical

anthropology, and accordingly the distinguishing terms used related to level

of civilization or moral sense. For the civilized Romans, the Germans, of

the same stock, were barbarians. The Egyptians used the expression

[hieroglyphics] =na-has to designate the Nubians; and nahas⁴⁸ is the name of

a people, with no colour connotation in Egyptian. it is a deliberate

mistranslation to render it as negro as is done in almost all present-day

publications.

The Divine Epithets

Finally, black or negro is the divine epithet invariably

used for the chief beneficent gods of Egypt, whereas all the malevolent

spirits are qualified as desret=red; we also know that to Africans this form

applies to the white nations; it is practically certain that this held good

for Egypt too but I want in this chapter to keep to the least debatable

facts.

The surnames of the gods are these:

[hieroglyphics] =kmwr=the 'Great Negro' for Osiris⁴⁹

[hieroglyphics] =km=the black + the name of the god⁵⁰

[hieroglyphics] =kmt=the black + the name of the goddess⁵¹

The km (black) [hieroglyphics] qualificative is applied to Hathor, Apis,

Min, Thoth, etc⁵² [hieroglyphics] set kmt=the black woman=Isis⁵³ On the

other hand 'seth', the sterile desert, is qualified by the term desret=red.

⁵⁴ The wild animals which Horus fought to create civilization are qualified

as desret=red, especially the hippopotamus.⁵⁵ Similarly the maleficent

beings wiped out by Thoth are Des= [hieroglyphics] =desrtjw=thr red ones;

this term is the grammatical converse of Kmtjw and its construction follows

the same rule for the formation of 'nisbes'.

Witness of the Bible

The Bible tells us. ' . . .the sons of Ham [were] Cush, and Mizraim [i.e.

Egypt], and Phut, and Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and

Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah.⁵⁶

Generally speaking all Semitic tradition (Jewish and Arab) classes ancient

Egypt with the countries of the blacks.

The importance of these depositions cannot be ignored, for these are peoples

(the Jews) which lived side by side with the ancient Egyptians and sometimes

in symbiosis with them and have nothing to gain by presenting a false ethnic

picture of them. Nor is the notion of an erroneous interpretation of the

facts any more tenable.⁵⁷

Cultural Data

Among the innumerable identical cultural traits recorded in Egypt and in

present-day black Africa, it is proposed to refer only to circumcision and

totemism.

According to the extract from Herodotus quoted earlier, circumcision is of

African origin. Archaeology has confirmed the judgment of the Father of

History for Elliott-Smith was able to determine from the examination of

well-preserved mummies that circumcision was the rule among the Egyptians as

long ago as the protohistoric era,⁵⁸ i.e. earlier than -4000.

Egyptian totemism retained its vitality down to the Roman period⁵⁹ and

Plutarch also mentions it. The researches of Amelineau^{6,60} Loret, Moret and

Adolphe Reinach have clearly demonstrated the existence of an Egyptian

totemic system, in refutation of the champions of the zoolatric thesis.

If we reduce the notion of the totem to that

of a fetish, usually representing an animal

of a species with which the tribe believes

it has special ties formally renewed at fixed intervals, and which is carried into battle like a standard; if we accept this minimal but adequate definition of a totem, it can be said that there was no country where totemism had a more brilliant reign than in Egypt and certainly nowhere where it could be better studied.⁶¹

Linguistic Affinity

Walaf,⁶² a Senegalese language spoken in the extreme west of Africa on the

Atlantic Ocean, is perhaps as close to ancient Egyptian as Coptic. An

exhaustive study of this question has recently been carried out.⁶³ In this

chapter enough is presented to show that the kinship between ancient

Egyptian and the languages of Africa is not hypothetical but a demonstrable

fact which it is impossible for modern scholarship to thrust aside.

As we shall see, the kinship is genealogical in nature.

Egyptian
Walaf

Coptic



=kef=to grasp,
kef=seize a prey

(Saidique dialect)

to take a strip

(of something) 64

keh=to tame 65

PRESENT
PRESENT

PRESENT

kef i
kef na

keh

kef ek
kef nga

keh ek

kef et
kef na

keh ere

kef ef

kef ef

kef es
kef ef na

keh es

kef es

kef n
kef nanu

keh en

kef ton
kef ngen

keh etetu

kef sen
kef nanu

keh ey

PAST
PAST

PAST

kef ni	keh nei
kef (on) na	
kef (o) nek	keh nek
kef (on) nga	
kef (o) net	keh nere
kef (on) na	

kef (o) nef	keh nef
kef (on) ef na	

kef (o) nes	keh nes
kef (on) es	

kef (o) nen	keh nen
kef (on) nanu	

kef (o) n ten	keh netsten
kef (on) ngen	

kef (o) n sen67	keh ney68
kef (on) nanu	

EGYPTIAN

WALAF

off (symbol) =feh=go away feh=rush

We have the following correspondences between the verb forms,

with identity of similarity of meaning: all the Egyptian verb forms, except for two, are also recorded in Walaf.

WALAF	EGYPTIAN	
ef	feh-ef	feh-
es	feh-es	feh-
on-ef	feh-n-ef	feh-
ones	feh-n-es	feh-
w	feh-w	feh-
w-ef	feh-wef	feh-
w-es	feh-w-es	feh-
il-ef	feh-w-a-ef	feh-
w-on-es	feh-w-n-es	feh-
il-ef	feh-in-ef	feh-
il-es	feh-in-es	fen-

t-ef	feh-t-ef	feh-
es	feh-t-es	feh-
ati-fy	feh-tyfy	feh-
at-ef	feh-tysy	feh-
tw-ef	feh-tw-ef	mar-
tw-es	feh-tw-es	mar-
fahi-kw	feh-kw(i)	
an-tw-ef	feh-n-tw-ef	feh-
an-tw-es	feh-a-tw-es	feh-
y-ef	feh-y-ef	feh-
y-es	feh-y-es	fey-
WALAF	EGYPTIAN	

[symbol] =mer=love
mar=lick (symbol)

ef	mer-ef	mar-
es	mer-es	mar-
on-ef	mer-n-el	mar-
on-es	mer-n-es	mar-
w	mer-w	mar-
w-ef	mer-w-ef	mar-
w-on-ef	mer-w-n-f	mar-
w-on-es	mer-w-n-es	mar-
il-ef	mer-in-ef	mar-
il-es	mer-in-es	mar-
t-ef	mer-t-ef	mar-
t-es	mer-t-es	mar-

tw-ef	mer-tw-ef	mar-
tw-es	mer-tw-es	mar-
at-ef	mer-tyfy	mar-
aty-es	mer-t-tysy	mar-
aty-s		mar-
aty-sy		mar-
mari-kw	mar-kwi	
y-ef	mer-y-ef	mar-
y-es	mer-y-es	mar-
an-tw-ef	mer-n-tw-ef	mar-
antw-es	mer-n-tw-es	mar-
tw-on-ef		mar-
tw-on-es		mar-

Egyptian and Walaf Demonstratives

There are the following phonetic correspondents between Egyptian and Walaf

demonstratives;

[This section was omitted because of the difficulty of reproducing the

symbols on the Internet]

These phonetic correspondences are not ascribable either to elementary

affinity or to the general laws of the human mind for they are regular

correspondences on outstanding points extending through an entire system,

that of the demonstratives in the two languages and that of the verbal

languages. It is through the application of such laws that it was possible

to demonstrate the existence of the Indo-European linguistic family.

The comparison could be carried to show that the majority of the phonemes

remain unchanged between the two languages. The few changes which are of

great interest are the following:

[This section was omitted because of the difficulty of reproducing the

symbols on the Internet]

It is still early to talk with precision of the vocalic accompaniment of the

Egyptian phonemes. But the way is open for the rediscovery of the vocalics

of ancient Egyptian from comparative studies with the languages of Africa.

Conclusion

The structure of African royalty, with the king put to death, either really

or symbolically, after a reign which varied in length but was in the region

of eight years, recalls the ceremony of the Pharaoh's regeneration through

the Sed feast. Also reminiscent of Egypt are the circumcision rites

mentioned earlier and the totemism, cosmogonies, architecture, musical

instruments, etc., of Africa.⁷¹ Egyptian antiquity is to African culture

what Graeco-Roman antiquity is to Western culture. The building up of a

corpus of African humanities should be based on this fact.

It will be understood how difficult it is to write such a chapter in a work

of this kind, where euphemism and compromise are the rule. In an attempt to

avoid sacrificing scientific truth, therefore, we made a point of suggesting

three preliminaries to the preparation of this volume, all of which were

agreed to at the plenary session held in 1971. ⁷² The first two led to the

holding of the Cairo Symposium from 28 January to 3 February 1974. ⁷³ In

this connection I should like to refer to certain passages in the report of

that symposium. Professor Vercoutter, who had been commissioned by Unesco to

write the introductory report, acknowledged after a thorough discussion that

the conventional idea that the Egyptian population was equally divided

between blacks, whites and half-castes could not be upheld.. 'Professor

Vercoutter agreed that no attempt should be made to estimate percentages,

which meant nothing, as it was impossible to establish them without reliable

statistical data'. On the subject of Egyptian culture: 'Professor Vercoutter

remarked that, in his view, Egypt was African in its way of writing, in its

culture and in its way of thinking'.

Professor Lecant, for his part, 'recognized the same African character in

the Egyptian temperament and way of thinking'.

In regard to linguistics, it is stated in the report that 'this item, in

contrast to those previously discussed, revealed a large measure of

agreement among the participants. The outline by Professor Diop and the

report by Professor Obenga were regarded as being very constructive'.

Similarly, the symposium rejected the idea that Pharaonic Egyptian was a

Semitic language. 'Turning to wider issues, Professor Sauneron drew

attention to the interest of the method suggested by Professor Obenga

following Professor Diop. Egyptian remained a stable language for a period

of at least 4500 years. Egypt was situated at the point of convergence of

outside influences and it was to be expected that borrowing had been made

from foreign languages, but the Semitic roots numbered only a few hundred as

compared with a total of several thousand words. The Egyptian language could

not be isolated from its African context and its origin could not be fully

explained in terms of Semitic, it was thus quite normal to expect to find

related languages in Africa'.

The genetic, that is, non-accidental relationship between Egyptian and the

African languages was recognized: 'Professor Sauneron noted that the method

which had been used was of considerable interest, since it could not be

purely fortuitous that there was a similarity between the third person

singular suffixed pronouns in Ancient Egyptian and in Wolof, he hoped that

an attempt would be made to reconstitute a palaeo-African language, using

present-day languages as a starting point'.

In the general conclusion to the report it was stated that: 'Although the

preparatory working paper sent out by Unesco gave particulars of what was

desired, not all participants had prepared communications comparable with

the painstakingly researched contributions of Professors Cheikh Anta Diop

and Obenga. There was consequently a real lack of balance in the

discussions'.

A new page of African historiography was accordingly written in Cairo. The

symposium recommended that further studies be made on the concept of race.

Such studies have since been carried out, but they have not contributed

anything new to the historical discussion. They tell us that molecular

biology and genetics recognize the existence of populations alone, the

concept of race being no longer meaningful. Yet whenever there is any

question of the transmission of a hereditary taint, the concept of race in

the most classic sense of the term comes into its own again, for genetics

tells us that 'sickle-cell anaemia occurs only in negroes'. The truth is

that all these 'anthropologists' have already in their own minds drawn the

conclusions deriving from the triumph of the monogenetic theory of mankind

without venturing to put them into explicit terms, for if mankind originated

in Africa, it was necessarily negroid becoming white through mutation and

adaptation at the end of the last glaciation in Europe in the Upper

Palaeolithic; and is not more understandable why the Grimaldian negroids

first occupied Europe for 10,000 years before Cro-Magnon Man-
the prototype

of the white race-appeared (around -2,000).

The ideological standpoint is also evident in apparently
objective studies.

In history and in social relations, it is the phenotype, that
is, the

individual or the people as that individual or people is
perceived, which is

the dominant factor, as opposed to the genotype. For present-
day genetics, a

Zulu with the 'same' genotype as Vorster is not impossible.
Does this mean

that the history we are witnessing will put the two phenotypes,
that is, the

two individuals, on the same footing in all their national and
social

activities? Certainly not -- the opposition will remain not
social but

ethnic.

This study makes it necessary to rewrite world history from a
more

scientific standpoint, taking into account the Negro-African
component which

was for a long time preponderant. It means that it is now
possible to build

up a corpus of Negro-African humanities resting on a sound
historical basis

instead of being suspended in mid-air. Finally, if it is true
that only

truth is revolutionary, it may be added that only rapprochement
brought

about on a basis of truth can endure. The cause of human
progress is not

well served by casting a veil over the fact.

The rediscovery of the true past of the African peoples should not be a
divisive factor but should contribute to uniting them, each and all, binding
them together from the north to the south of the continent so as to enable
them to carry out together a new historical mission for the greater good of
mankind; and that is in keeping with the ideal of Unesco.

**"Footnotes to:
ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS"**

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS (Cont,)

by Cheikh Anta Diop

NOTES

1. Proceedings of the Seventh Pan-African Congress of Pre-History and

Quaternary Studies, December 1971

2. M.F.A. Montagu, 1960, p. 390.

3. The study of this race's pigmentation can be carried farther by the

method described; actually Elliott-Smith often found patches of skin on the

bodies and the mummification methods which cause skin deterioration were not

yet in use.

1

4. D.P. de Pedrals, p.6.

5. Geographie, classe de 5, 1950.

6. In his 'Lutte des races" (1883) L. Gumplowicz asserts that the diverse

classes making up a people always represent different races, of which one

has established its domination over the others by conquest. G. deLapounge in

an article published in 1897 postulated no less than a dozen 'fundamental

laws of anthropo-sociology' of which the following are typical; his 'law of

distribution of wealth' posits that, in countries of mixed European-Alpine

populations, wealth is greater in inverse proportions to the cephalic index;

the 'law of urban indices' given prominence by Ammon in connexion with his

research on Badener conscripts asserted that town dwellers exhibit greater

dolichocephaly than the people in the adjacent countryside; the 'law of

stratification' was formulated in the following terms: 'the cephalic index

decreases and the proportion of dolichocephalics rises the higher the social

class, in each locality'. In his *Selections sociales* the same writer had no

hesitation in asserting that 'the dominant class in the feudal epoch belongs

almost exclusively to the variety "Homo Europaeus" so that it is not pure

chance which has kept the poor at the foot of the social ladder but their

congenital inferiority'.

We thus see that German racism was inventing nothing new, when Alfred

Rosenberg asserted that the French Revolution must be deemed a revolt of the

brachycephalics of the Alpine stock against the dolichocephalics of the

Nordic race.' (A. Cuvillier, p. 155)

7. W.M.F. Petrie, 1939, Fig. 1.

8. *ibid.*, p. 69.

9. *ibid.*, p. 68.

10. E. Amelineau, 1908, p. 174.

11. Pl. 1.2.

12. Pl. 1.3.

13. W.M.F. Petrie, 1939, p.67.

14. Pl. 1.11.

15. Pl. 1.5.

16. pl. 1.8.

17. Pl. 1.7 I know that 'Indo-European' is usually said to be a language,

not a race, but I prefer this term to 'Aryan' wherever its use causes no

confusion.

18. Pl. 1.2.

19. Pl. 1.13.

20. R.A. Nicolaus, p. 11.

21. T.J. Pettigrew, 1834, pp. 70-71.

22. C.A. Diop, 1977.

23. M.E. Fontant, pp. 44-5 (see reproduction: T).

24. M.F.A. Montagu, p. 337.

25. In the fifth century before our era, at the time when Herodotus visited

Egypt, a black-skinned people, the Colchians, were still living in Colchis

on the Armenian shore of the Black Sea, East of the ancient port of

Trebizond, surrounded by white-skinned nations.

The scholars of antiquity wondered about this people's origins and Herodotus

in 'Euterpe', the second book of his history on Egypt, tries to prove that

the Colchians were Egyptians, whence the arguments we quote. Herodotus, on

the strength of commemorative stelae, erected by Sesostris in conquered

countries, asserts that this monarch had got as far as Thrace and Seythia,

where stelae would seem to have been still standing in his day (Book II,

103).

26. Herodotus, Book II, 104. As with many peoples in black Africa, Egyptian

women underwent excision of the clitoris: ef. Strabo, Geography, Book XVII,

Ch. I.

27. Herodotus, Book II, 57.

28. Seneca, Questions of Nature, Book IV, 17.

29. Herodotus, Book II, 22.

30. Aristotle, Physiognomy, 6.

31. Lucian, Navigations, paras 2-3.

32. Apollodoros, Book II, 'The Family of Inachus', paras 3 and 4.

33. Aeschylus, The Suppliants, vv. 719-20. See also v. 745.

34. Strabo, Geography, Book I, ch. 3, para. 10.

35. My italics.

36. Diodorus, Universal History, Book III. The antiquity of the Ethiopian

civilization is attested by the most ancient and most venerable Greek

writer, Homer, in both the Iliad and the Odessey: 'Jupiter followed today by

all the gods receives the sacrifices of the Ethiopians' (Iliad, I, 422).

'Yesterday to visit holy Ethiopia Jupiter betook himself to the ocean shore'

(Iliad, I, 423).

37. Diogenes Laertius, Book VII,i.

38. The Egyptian notables liked to have a Syrian or Cretan female slave in

their harems.

39. Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXII, para 16 (23).

40. Pirate gangs who worked from small ships called Camare.

41. Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXII, para. 8 (24).

42. M.C.F. Volney, *Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte*, Paris, 1787, Vol. I, pp.

74-7.

43. J.J. Champollion-Figeac, 1839, pp. 26-7.

44. This important discovery was made, on the African side, by Sossou

Nsougan, who was to compile this part of the present chapter. For the sense

of the word see *Worterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Vol 5, 1971, pp. 122

and 127.

45. *ibid.*, p. 122.

46. *ibid.*, p. 128.

47. R.O. Faulkner, 1962, p. 286.

48. *Worterbuch der agyptischen Sprache*, p. 128.

49. *ibid.* p. 124.

50. *ibid.*, p. 125.

51. *ibid.*, p. 123.

52. It should be noted that *set-kem*=black wife in *Walaf*.

53. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, p. 492.

54. *ibid.*, p. 493.

55. *Desret*= blood in Egyptian; *deret*=blood in *Walaf*; *ibid.*, p. 494.

56. *Genesis*, 10:6-7.

57. C.A. Diop, 1955, pp. 33ff.

58. E. Massoulard, 1949, p. 386.

59. *Juvenal*, *Satire XV*, vv. 1-14.

60. E. Amelineau, *op. cit.*

61. A. Recnach, 1913, p. 17.

62 Often spelt *Wolof*.

63. C.A. diop, 1977.

64. R. Lambert, 1925, p. 129.

65. A. Mallon, pp. 207-34.

66. A. de Buck, 1952.

67. *ibid.*

68. A. Mallon, pp. 207-34.

69. By extension=love intensely (hence the verb mar-maral)
after the fashion

of a female animal licking the cub which she has just borne.
This sense does

not conflict with the other notion which the determinative may
convey of a

man raising hand to mouth.

70. See below for the explanation of this important law.

71. See C.A. Diop, 1967.

72. See final Report of the First Plenary Session of the
International

Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a general History of
Africa,

UNESCO, 30 March-8 April 1974.

73. Symposium of 'The peopling of ancient Egypt and the
deciphering of the Merioteic script'. Cf. Studies and Documents
No. I UNESCO, 1978.