

The Double Kingdom under Taharqo



*Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt,
c. 690–664 BC*

Jeremy Pope

The Double Kingdom under Taharqo

Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

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By
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All of the above maps are courtesy of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Cartography Laboratory.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Ambarkab
A 1	Alphanumeric combinations referring to individual Egyptian hieroglyphs (A 1, A 2, B 1, etc.) from Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> (Gardiner Sign-List).
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
Æ.I.N.	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen), Egyptian Collection, inventory number
Abb.	Abbildung
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> , after Christ
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ÄMP	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (Berlin)
<i>ANEP</i>	Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near East in pictures</i>
Anm.	Anmerkung (note)
<i>ANM</i>	<i>Archéologie du Nil moyen</i>
<i>ArchEph</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>ARE</i>	Breasted, <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
B	Gebel Barkal, with number identifying a building/room at the site (see Dunham, <i>Barkal Temples</i>)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before the Common Era
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Études
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Bl.	Blatt
BM EA	British Museum, Egyptian Art
<i>BMA</i>	<i>Brooklyn Museum Annual</i>
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BN	Begrawiya North (grave, see Dunham, <i>Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal</i>)
BS	Begrawiya South (grave, see Dunham <i>West and South Cemeteries at Meroë</i>)
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i>
BW	Begrawiya West (grave, see Dunham, <i>West and South Cemeteries at Meroë</i>)
<i>BzS</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Sudanforschung</i>
c.	<i>circa</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
Cairo CG	Cairo Museum, Catalogue générale
Cairo JE	Cairo Museum, Journal d'entrée
<i>CDD</i>	<i>Chicago Demotic Dictionary</i>
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles</i>
CE	Common Era
CEN	Classical Egyptian Napatán (language)
<i>cf.</i>	confer, compare
Ch.	Chapter
Chs.	Chapters

CHA	Fage, <i>Cambridge History of Africa</i>
CLES	Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture (Brooklyn Museum)
cm	centimeter
col.	column
cols.	columns
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
CRIPEL	<i>Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
diss.	dissertation
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>
ead.	<i>eadem</i> , by the previously cited author (feminine)
ed.	edited (by)
ed.	Edition
Eg.	Egyptian (language)
e.g.	<i>exempli grati</i> , for example
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
<i>Études et Travaux</i>	<i>Études et Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences</i> (Warsaw)
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
Ex.	example
f.	following (page, line, or column)
fasc.	fascicle
FHN	Eide <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum</i>
ff.	following (pages, lines, or columns)
Fig.	Figure (in this book)
fig.	figure (in cited works)
Figs.	Figures (in this book)
figs.	figures (in cited works)
frag.	fragment
frags.	fragments
Fs	Festschrift
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GN	toponym
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i> , from the work cited in preceding footnote
<i>id.</i>	<i>idem</i> , by the previously cited author (masculine)
<i>i.e.</i>	<i>id est</i> , that is
IJAHS	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i>
ill.	illustration (in cited works)
Inv.	inventory
JAH	<i>Journal of African History</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i> (Leiden)
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Kawa	inscription from Kawa (see Macadam, <i>Temples of Kawa</i>)
KH	Khor Hanush
km	kilometer
Ku	el-Kurru (grave, see Dunham, <i>El Kurru</i>)

<i>l.</i>	line
<i>ll.</i>	lines
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck <i>et al.</i> , <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>LAAA</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool)
<i>LD</i>	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> (plate volumes)
<i>LDT</i>	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> (text volumes)
<i>LES</i>	Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian stories</i>
<i>LET</i>	Large Egyptian Tablets (see Onasch, <i>Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens</i>)
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
<i>lit.</i>	literally
<i>l. p. h.</i>	life, prosperity, health (in translations)
<i>loc. cit.</i>	<i>loco citato</i> (from the page just cited)
<i>LR</i>	Gauthier, <i>Le livre des rois d'Égypte</i>
<i>M</i>	Meroë, with number identifying a building at the site
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MFA</i>	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>MittSAG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Sudanarchaeologischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>MMA</i>	Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
<i>MNL</i>	<i>Meroitic Newsletter</i>
<i>Mon. Piot.</i>	<i>Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot</i> (Paris)
<i>MS</i>	manuscript
<i>MSS</i>	manuscripts
<i>n.</i>	footnote (number)
<i>n.d.</i>	no date
<i>NME</i>	Medelhavsmuseet, Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm
<i>nn.</i>	footnotes (numbered)
<i>no.</i>	number
<i>Nu</i>	Nuri (grave, see Dunham, <i>Nuri</i>)
<i>Nr.</i>	Nummer
<i>OAM</i>	Oxford Ashmolean Museum
<i>OIM</i>	Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i> (Leiden)
<i>op. cit.</i>	<i>opus citatum</i> , the work cited above
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia: Commentarii trimestres a facultate studiorum orientis antiqui pontificii instituti biblici in lucem edidit in urbe</i> (Rome)
<i>p</i>	papyrus
<i>p.</i>	page
<i>pp.</i>	pages
<i>pl.</i>	plate or planche
<i>PM</i>	Porter and Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i>
<i>PN</i>	Ranke, <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i>
<i>PN</i>	personal name
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>pt.</i>	part
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>

<i>REM</i>	Leclant <i>et al.</i> , <i>Repertoire epigraphique méroïtique</i>
rev.	revised
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
ro.	recto
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto)
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientale</i>
SHI	Sanam Historical Inscription (see Chapter III.3.1-III.3.3)
SNM	Sudan National Museum, Khartoum
<i>SNR</i>	<i>Sudan Notes and Records</i>
T	Tafa
Tab.	Tabelle, table
Taf.	Tafel, plate
tav.	tavalo, plate
<i>TIP</i>	Kitchen, <i>Third Intermediate Period in Egypt</i>
TT	Theban tomb
UC	University College (London)
unpubl.	unpublished
<i>Urk. I</i>	Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. I
<i>Urk. II</i>	Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. II
<i>Urk. III</i>	Schäfer, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. III
<i>Urk. IV</i>	Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. IV
<i>Urk. V</i>	Grapow, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. V
<i>Urk. VI</i>	Schott, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. VI
<i>Urk. VII</i>	Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , vol. VII
var.	variant
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii (Revue d'Histoire ancienne)</i>
viz.	<i>videlicet</i> , namely
vo.	verso
vol.	volume
vols.	volumes
vs.	versus
WAM	Walters Art Museum (Baltimore)
<i>Wb.</i>	Erman and Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i>
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Göttingen/Wupoertal)
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
² (superscript)	second edition (in footnote citations when the first edition is cited elsewhere)

The following signs have been used in translations and transliterations of documents written in the Egyptian language:

[]	Enclosing damaged word or parts of words restored by modern translators
⸗ ⸘	Enclosing words the reading or translation of which is uncertain
()	In transliterations, enclosing items not written by the scribe but probably present in the spoken language; in translation, enclosing words added by the modern writer to clarify the sense
< >	Enclosing items presumed to have been omitted in error by the scribe
{ }	Enclosing items to be deleted as presumed errors by the scribe

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY,
CHRONOLOGY, ORTHOGRAPHY, AND MAPS

The terminology used to describe the ancient history of the Middle Nile varies considerably across the published literature, and so I have endeavored in this book to employ the existing terms in ways that seem least likely to generate or perpetuate confusion as the field progresses in future decades. The adjective *Nubian* is the most conspicuous example: it does not appear to have been used as a term of ethnic identification by the ancients until the final centuries of antiquity, but it has conventionally been used by scholars to describe places, polities, and persons of much earlier epochs, including those covered in this book. Indeed, there are as yet no adequate terminological substitutes for the regional designations of Upper and Lower Nubia, despite their inherent anachronism. In the pages that follow, the terms *Nubia* and *Nubian* are therefore used outside of quoted passages in their toponymic sense, but not in their ethnic sense: the royalty of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty will be described as Kushite, rather than as Nubian. The toponym *Nubia* is used throughout the present work as one inclusive of both Upper and Lower Nubia, while the toponym *Kush* is taken here to be roughly synonymous with Upper Nubia but not necessarily inclusive of Lower Nubia. Similar caution has proven necessary for other terms.

Though the toponym *T3-Sty* has conventionally been translated as “Nubia” and “Bowland” throughout the published literature, I opt here for a more precise translation as “Land of the *St-Bow*,” following the meticulous recommendations of:

A. Vinogradov, “On the Rendering of the Toponym *T3 STJ*,” *CdE* 75 (2000): 23-34.

Likewise, though it has long been customary in Egyptology to translate *sn.t nsw.t* as “king’s sister” and *sn nsw* as “king’s brother,” this translation must be treated with caution for the Kushite royals, as the Egyptian terms *sn.t nsw* and *sn nsw* did not necessarily refer only to siblings of the Kushite king in all cases. In acknowledgement of this ambiguity, the more cautious translations as “royal kinswoman” and “royal kinsman” are preferred here outside of passages quoted from the secondary literature. On this point, I seek especially to honor the insights and bibliography of:

J. Revez, “The Role of the King’s Brothers in the Transmission of Royal Power in Ancient Egypt and Kush: A Cross-Cultural Study,” in *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, 1-6 August 2010*, ed. J. R. Anderson and D. Welsby (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

In my own translations I have also avoided the equation of *wr* with “chief,” because it is too closely aligned with a term of more specific and debated meaning in the field of political anthropology. In its place, I have chosen the more literal translation of *wr* as simply “grandee.” When “chief” is used in this book, it is only as a translation of superlative adjectives such as *tp*—as in, “Chief Lector Priest”—rather than as a translation of a standalone title.

Yet the most consequential decisions about the use of terminology are those associated with chronological periodization. The adjective *Napatan*, for instance, may be used to refer to both a region near the Fourth Cataract and an historical epoch, and even in this latter sense the term’s meaning is by no means consistent in the published literature. To address these problems, I have sacrificed conciseness for the sake of clarity, carefully distinguishing the “Napatan region” from the “Napatan era.” As the town of Napata has never been definitively located through excavation, I have not conjectured its precise location on the maps in this book. The chronological designation of “Napatan era” I employ in compliance with:

K. Zibelius-Chen, “The Chronology of Nubian Kingdoms from Dyn. 25 to the End of the Kingdom of Meroe,” in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, ed. E. Hornung *et al.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 284-303.

Zibelius-Chen proposes the following sequence of periods: (1) Pre-Dynasty 25 (including Alara); (2) Dynasty 25 (including Kashta and Pi(ankh)y, *contra* Manetho); (3) Early Napatan Period (Atlanersa to

Malowiamani); (4) Late Napatan Period (Talakhmani to Sabrakamani); (5) Early Meroitic Period (from Arkamaniqo to Shanakdakhete); (6) Middle Meroitic Period (second century BC ~ early second century AD); (7) Late Meroitic Period (~ early second century AD—end of Meroitic kingdom). Readers of this book should therefore be forewarned that the phrase *Early Napatan era* refers here to the period that immediately followed the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, rather than to the period that immediately preceded it, as done occasionally in works such as:

K. Grzymiski, "Meroe, the capital of Kush: old problems and new discoveries," *Sudan & Nubia* 9 (2005): 54.

A. Lohwasser, *The Kushite Cemetery of Sanam* (London: Golden House, 2010), 6.

In estimating the regnal dates of kings during the Napatan and Meroitic eras, I follow the exemplary circumspection of:

C. Rilly and A. de Voogt, *The Meroitic Language and Writing System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 187-188.

As regards the orthography of proper nouns, I have tried to employ throughout those spellings which are most widely recognizable to readers of the most recent Anglophone literature on ancient Kush—thus, *Shebitqo*, not *Shabataqo*, and *Nitocris*, not *Netiqert*. The name *Pi(ankh)y* is written here in equal acknowledgment to both sides of an ongoing debate; references to the relevant literature can be found throughout the footnotes. *Meroë* and *Saïte* are used here with dieresises in consideration to the non-specialist reader, because both reflect in orthography the pronunciation that is routinely observed by specialists.

On the maps which accompany each chapter, climatic gradients are plotted in accordance with:

J. H. G. Lebon, *Land Use in Sudan* (Bude, UK: Geographical Publications, 1965), 21 fig. 6.

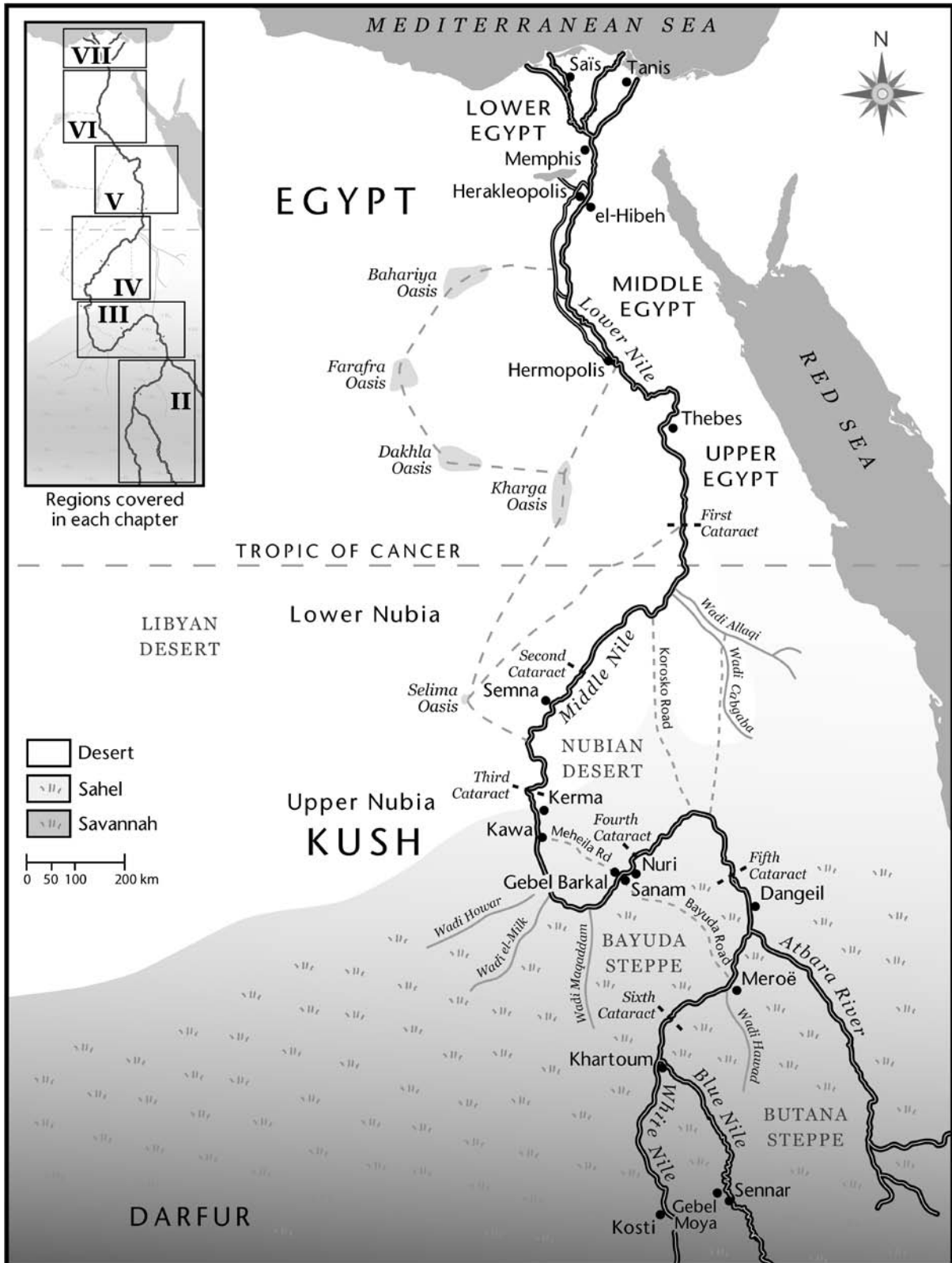
On Maps 1-3, a shaded gradient begins at the Third Cataract and darkens progressively as the gradient continues southward; this variation is meant to indicate an increase in annual rainfall across geographic space—as indeed suggested in Kushite royal inscriptions. Yet the region between the Third and Fourth Cataracts is still best characterized as Nubian Desert, and the icons on these maps representing very sparse vegetation in the Sahel are therefore confined during antiquity to the region south of the sigmoid curve of the Middle Nile. The careful reader will notice that the Sahelian belt is estimated still farther south on the modern landscape shown by Map 8. The differentiation of Map 8 from the other maps acknowledges the growing body of palaeo-climatological research which would indicate a gradual desertification of the region over the past several millennia, but it should not be taken to suggest that the climate of ancient Kush contrasted dramatically with that observable in modern times. In this regard, I follow also W. Y. Adams, who would characterize the Bayuda as a "steppe" during the Meroitic era:

W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 300.

For a general overview of the trajectory of climatic change in this region, see:

J. M. Adams and H. Faure, eds., *Review and Atlas of Palaeovegetation: Preliminary land ecosystem maps of the world since the Last Glacial Maximum* (Oak Ridge, TN: Quaternary Environments Network, 1997): <http://geoecho.snu.ac.kr/index.html> (last modified 14 March 1998).

More extensive references to the climatic implications of palaeo-botanical evidence and of *hafir* use during the Meroitic era can be found in the footnotes of Chapters I and II.



Map 1. The Double Kingdom and its environs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Long before [the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,] the New-Kingdom pharaohs of Egypt found it impossible to rule both Egypt *and* Kush in person all the way from the Mediterranean coast well over 2,000 miles (well over 3,200 km) to Napata and the 4th cataract of the Nile. The 25th Dynasty had exactly the same problem, albeit technically in reverse . . . [I]t took up to 3 weeks to sail from Memphis to Thebes alone, and surely up to 3 months to go from Memphis to Napata—or, 6 months (half a year!) to send up and have a reply!

Kenneth A. Kitchen¹

The huge extent of the Kushite state—excluding Egypt—embraced Nubian Nile valley and Sudanese savanna, separated by tracts of desert. How was it possible for one king to control all of that territory? . . . How did the Kushite monarchy function?

Robert G. Morkot²

The establishment of Kushite rule over Egypt during the eighth and seventh centuries BC resulted in a political state of extraordinary geographic dimensions and ecological diversity. From their dynastic homeland within Africa's tropical belt,³ the rulers of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty exerted differential forms of political control southward into the savannah, latitudinally across the Sahel, and northward over 3,000 km through the Nile corridor and desert oases to the Mediterranean marshes of the Egyptian Delta. Famously termed the "Double Kingdom" by Egyptologist Gaston Maspero,⁴ this state also fused Kushite and Egyptian realms that had once been represented as culturally and politically distinct in Egyptian royal propaganda and literary *topoi*.⁵ The dimensions and diversity of the resulting political system raise a number of questions as to how such a state would have been structured and administered. Yet the means by which the Double Kingdom was actually governed during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty have never constituted the focus of a monographic study.

The book that follows will address precisely this issue: how was it possible for one king to control all of that territory? Enfolded within this problem are several longstanding enigmas that have dogged study of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: to what extent were the Kushite pharaohs' strategies of governance influenced by the circumstances and traditions of their homeland versus the precedents of Egyptian and later Libyan rule in Egypt? Was the basis of Kushite power primarily military or religious? Did the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty appoint a deputy to help them manage the 3,200 km expanse of the Double Kingdom? Would such a position have been most likely filled by a coregent, by the God's Wife of Amun, or by the Queen Mother? And how did the policies of the Kushite dynasts differ from those of their Saïte successors? Pursuit of these questions has driven the present inquiry beyond certain methodological, geographic, and chronological boundaries which have demarcated earlier published scholarship on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

¹ Kitchen, "Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology," 293.

² Morkot, "Foundations of the Kushite state," 232.

³ As Edwards observes, Sudan is located immediately to the south of the Tropic of Cancer and is thus "entirely within the tropics"—hence Connah's characterization of polities in the region as "the earliest known cities and states of tropical Africa": Edwards, "Ancient Egypt in the Sudanese Middle Nile," 140; Connah, "Birth on the Nile," 18. For discussion of the homeland of the el-Kurru dynasts, see Ch. II.1-II.2 below. Palaeo-climatological evidence also suggests that isohyets in Kush during the first millennium BC reached well to the north of their modern locations, placing the Bayuda region within a slightly less arid climate than that of today: Ahmed, "Economy and Environment in the Empire of Kush," 294-95; Chaix and Grant, "Palaeoenvironment and economy at Kerma," 27; Gowlett, "Human Adaptation and Long-term Climatic Change in Northeast Africa"; Mawson and Williams, "Wetter Climate in the Eastern Sudan 2,000 Years Ago?"; Bradley, "Varia from the City of Meroe," 167-169. For the Third Cataract region and its gradual desertification across the first millennium BC, see Macklin *et al.*, "Reach-scale river dynamics."

⁴ Maspero, *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria* VIII, 138.

⁵ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*; Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 24-27.

The dominant methodological approach to the Double Kingdom has been László Török's sustained treatment of Kushite political theology.⁶ Drawing inspiration from the work of the political philosopher Ernst Cassirer,⁷ Török has described the “symbolic forms” which constituted the Kushite “myth of the state”—*e.g.*, divine sonship, “ambulatory kingship,” and principles of legitimate succession. To the extent that the state is represented in administrative form within this kingship ideology, it is primarily as a collection of centralized institutions staffed by royal appointees.⁸ The present work aims to extend this analysis beyond royal propaganda to give equal attention to regional aristocracies and lesser officeholders, as reflected in a series of local negotiations and private documents. In this manner, the Kushite “myth of the state” is confronted with the evidence for its highly variable implementation across the realm.

The existing literature on the Double Kingdom of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty has also been characterized by a geographic bifurcation into separate Nubian and Egyptian studies. While the works of Török, Zibelius-Chen, Prieze, and others have analyzed the “indigenous [Kushite] foundations” of the state as they were represented in temples and inscriptions south of the Third Cataract,⁹ studies by Leclant, Kitchen, Vittmann, and Redford, *inter alios*, have focused instead upon evidence from the state's Egyptian half—with particular attention given to Thebes, where administrative documents are most abundant.¹⁰ As a result of the persistent separation between studies of Egypt and those of Upper Nubia, several problematic assumptions about the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty have escaped scrutiny. One such assumption would view the Double Kingdom as an attempt to reconstitute the traditional Egyptian state *tout court*—replete with “a state-controlled economy modeled along Egyptian lines” and identical to the structure of New Kingdom Egyptian imperialism.¹¹ As a result, deviations from Egyptian precedent have been attributed either to the “personal temperament” of the Kushite kings,¹² their “failure to grasp the reality of the exercise of power within Egypt,”¹³ or “the impact of the Libyan presence on the administration.”¹⁴ Equally vulnerable to critique is the belief that Kushite rule instead conformed to “other yet unknown Nubian prototypes” of governance—particularly to traditions derived from the Butana Steppe, beyond the reach of earlier Egyptian colonial influence.¹⁵ The extent to which such assessments may be justified can only be accurately gauged by comparison of *Kuschitenherrschaft* in both Egypt and Kush, a perspective all but precluded by the disciplinary division of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty scholarship into separate Egyptian and Nubian studies.

Finally, chronological limitations have focused analysis of *Kuschitenherrschaft* principally upon either the inaugural phases of the Double Kingdom—the “Kurru chieftains” and the fragmented regimes of Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo¹⁶—or upon the Double Kingdom's successor states in Kush during the Napatan and Meroitic eras.¹⁷ Within these periods, the evidence for state structure and governmental strategy is either especially thin (for the inaugural and Napatan eras) or recorded in a language still resistant to continuous translation (for the Meroitic era),¹⁸ thereby necessitating a greater proportion of theorization

⁶ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*; *id.*, *Kingdom of Kush*, 58, 197-198; *id.*, *Image of the Ordered World*. A similar focus upon “symbolic forms” is taken by Kendall, “Kings of the Sacred Mountain.”

⁷ Cassirer, *Myth of the state*.

⁸ See critical discussion in Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Kush and Egypt*, 53.

⁹ See n. 6 above, as well as: Prieze, “Napatan Period”; Zibelius-Chen, “Zur Entstehung des Kuschitischen Reiches”; *ead.*, “Das nachkoloniale Nubien”; *ead.*, “Zur Problematik von Herrschaft und Herrschaftsform im Mittleren Niltal”; *cf. ead.*, “Zu Entstehung und Ende eines Großreiches.”

¹⁰ Leclant, *Monuments thébains*; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*; Kitchen, *TIP*; Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*.

¹¹ Trigger, *Time and Traditions*, 226-27. See also n. 1 above.

¹² Gardiner, “Piankhi's Instructions to His Army,” 219; see Török, “Iconography and Mentality,” 195-197.

¹³ James, “Egypt: The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties,” 703; see also Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 75.

¹⁴ In his analysis of Pi(ankh)y's kingship, Török cites the above-quoted remark by Taylor as an explanation of the Double Kingdom's political structure: Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 326; Taylor, “Third Intermediate Period,” 345.

¹⁵ Trigger, *Nubia under the Pharaohs*, 150. For critiques, see esp. Chs. II and III below, as well as: Török, “Historical Background: Meroe, North and South,” 149.

¹⁶ *E.g.*, Prieze, “Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten”; Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 29-52; Gozzoli, “Triumphal Stele of Piye as Sanctification of a King”; Assmann, *Mind of Egypt*, 312-334.

¹⁷ Török, *Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia*; *id.*, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History”; Edwards, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*; Edwards, “Meroe and the Sudanic Kingdoms”; see also Fuller, “Pharaonic or Sudanic?”

¹⁸ For a recent assessment of the current state of Meroitic philology, see esp.: Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*; Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*.

in general and political-anthropological modeling in particular (*e.g.*, Libyan “polyarchy”/“anarchy,” the “Kurru chiefdom,” the “Sudanic model,” and the “segmentary state”). By contrast, the pinnacle of the Double Kingdom—the reign of Taharqo¹⁹ (*c.* 690-664 BC), occupying nearly half of its history—has received little attention in the analysis of *Kuschitenherrschaft*, despite a relative profusion of documentary and archaeological evidence. Indeed, the difficulty of giving coherence to such varied and abundant testimony may actually have contributed to the surprising marginalization of Taharqo’s reign: in 1994, Török would lament that “a monographic discussion of his reign is an unfulfilled desideratum of Egyptology as well as Nubian studies.”²⁰ However, with the recent publication of Klaus Dallibor’s highly-serviceable *catalogue raisonné* of the reign of Taharqo, this obstacle has been largely removed, opening the way for discussion of several historical issues which lie beyond the scope of Dallibor’s own study.²¹ Foremost among such issues is the question of Taharqo’s joint governance of Kush and Egypt.

The chapters that follow will analyze the structure and operation of the Double Kingdom during the period of its greatest stability and most abundant evidence: the reign of Taharqo. They will not endeavor to provide another comprehensive catalogue of archaeological and philological evidence from this period but will instead essay an extended historical discussion,²² focusing upon the connections between categories of evidence in proportion to their relevance to a single, overarching theme: *Kuschitenherrschaft*. Indeed, one of the most daunting challenges faced by the historian of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is the uneven geographic and chronological distribution of the available evidence.²³ In the present work, the principle invoked repeatedly is that an absence of evidence does not constitute definitive evidence of absence according to the standards of formal logic, but that absence can speak directly to the question of probability: historical reconstructions that rest upon slender evidence must therefore be regarded with caution and duly balanced by consideration of affirmative evidence for alternative explanations (see esp. Chs. II.2.2, II.3.2, III.2.1-2.3, IV.1-4, V.2.2-2.3, and VII below).²⁴ Equally central to the present work is an effort to balance the short-term perspectives of *l’histoire événementielle* with attention to the enduring influences of landscape and tradition (see esp. Chs. II.2, III.2, VII.3, and VIII.3 below). The historian is tasked not to choose between these temporal rhythms, but rather to acknowledge their simultaneous operation.²⁵

It is hoped that this book may lay some groundwork for future analyses of the Double Kingdom by bridging some of the methodological gap between political theorization and the cataloguing of empirical evidence. Accordingly, attention will be given not only to Kushite kingship dogma as represented in royal propaganda, but equally to the state as a series of local histories organized region-by-region, each of which may then be utilized to assess the Kushite “myth of the state” and its ideology of centralization. Domestically, the “Double Kingdom” appears, in fact, to have comprised six regions of differing political character, and it is these which form the units of the present study.²⁶

¹⁹ For pronunciation of the name as Taharqo, rather than Taharqa, see first Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 74.

²⁰ *FHN I*, 131 §19.

²¹ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharao aus Kusch*.

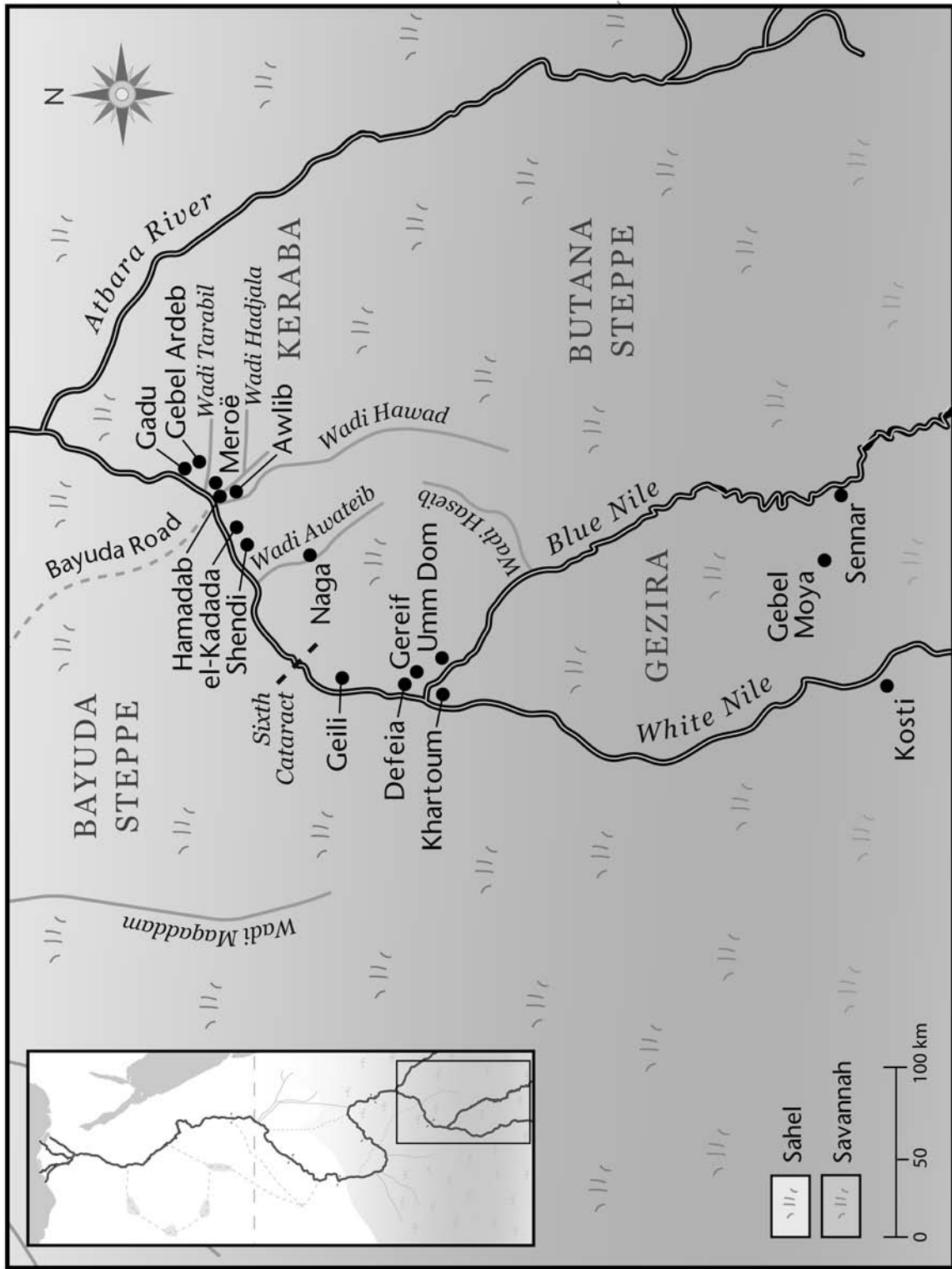
²² For discussion of the problem of history-writing in Egyptology, see: Eyre, “Weni’s Career and Old Kingdom Historiography,” 107; Redford, “Writing of the History of Ancient Egypt,” 1; and Schneider, “Journal of Egyptian History: Preface.”

²³ Morkot and Quirke, “Inventing the 25th Dynasty,” 349.

²⁴ Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, 47-48; Pope, review of *Amun Temples in Nubia*.

²⁵ Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History*; see also discussion in Pope, “Beyond the Broken Reed.”

²⁶ *Pace* Morkot, “Egypt and Nubia,” 250, who argues that “the empire fell into four major regions”: (1) Lower Nubia, (2) the region between the Third and Fourth Cataracts, (3) “the central Sudan as far as present-day Khartoum,” and (4) “Egypt, which was reasonably homogeneous.” The quantity and quality of evidence examined below differs markedly between three regional clusters—Upper Egypt, Middle Egypt, and Lower Egypt—so comparison of Kushite governance across these three Egyptian regions is best deferred until after analysis of each. *Cf.* esp. Chs. V.1.1 and VIII.1 below.



Map 2. Meroë and the Butana Steppe.

CHAPTER TWO

MEROË AS A PROBLEM OF TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY HISTORY

In popular usage, an origin is a beginning which explains—worse still, a beginning which is a complete explanation; there lies the ambiguity, and there the danger!

Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*¹

The recent publication of the excavation records of both John Garstang and the late Peter Shinnie, as well as the ongoing horizontal clearance of Temple M 260 by the Khartoum-Toronto mission, have clarified greatly the role which Meroë played in antiquity as a cultic site of the god Amun.² Yet for historians and archaeologists of the past two centuries, Meroë has also served as a locus for veneration of a rather different kind—devoted to what the *Annales* historian Marc Bloch once termed “the Idol of Origins.” More than any other Sudanese site, Meroë has been uniquely associated with questions of cultural and dynastic origin.³ This has proven particularly true for the history of Meroë during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the reign of Taharqo specifically, for the paucity of empirical evidence datable to this period at Meroë has necessitated a greater reliance upon logical inference and thereby allowed a wider field of play for inherited theories of origin. The excavation of historiographic practice is therefore of the greatest relevance to the physical excavation of the site itself, because the search for origins at Meroë has influenced the questions traditionally asked and the explanations currently proposed for evidence unearthed by the trowel.

II.1. *Historia Quaestionis: Meroë and Origins*

The special association between the site of Meroë and the problem of origins predates the academic discipline of archaeology, and its subsequent trajectory in the face of an accumulating material record has been one of mutation rather than extinction. For early nineteenth-century authors George Alexander Hoskins, the Reverend Michael Russell, and François Chrétien Gau, Meroë was a utopia of the Diodoran and hyper-diffusionist imagination: “that cradle of the arts which distinguish a civilised from a barbarous society . . . [and] whence the arts and learning of Egypt, and ultimately of Greece and Rome, derived their origin.”⁴ In the middle of the nineteenth century, Lepsius’s Prussian expedition effectively put paid to this notion, demonstrating the comparatively late construction of those monuments visible at Meroë and in the broader Butana Steppe. Rather than questioning the model of singular origins and unilateral influence, Lepsius reversed its direction, maintaining that “von einer äthiopischen Urbildung oder überhaupt von einer alten äthiopischen Nationalbildung, von der die neuere Gelehrsamkeit so viel zu rühmen weiß, nichts zu entdecken war. . . . Was von den Nachrichten der Alten nicht auf gänzlichem Mißverstände beruht, bezieht sich nur auf die ägyptische Civilisation und Kunst.”⁵ Meroë was thus transformed from the

¹ Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, 29-30.

² Török, *Meroe City*; Shinnie and Anderson, *Capital of Kush 2*; Grzymiski, *Meroe Reports I*; *id.*, “Meroe, the capital of Kush: old problems and new discoveries”; *id.*, “Recent research at the palaces and temples of Meroe.”

³ By contrast, el-Kurru has become a topic of fervent debate only since the 1980s, and even those attributing to el-Kurru the greatest significance for dynastic history have not necessarily posited it as a site of cultural origin for the individuals interred there. For recent historiographic discussion and references, see Morkot, “On the Priestly Origin of the Napatan Kings.”

⁴ Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, v, 84. See also: Russell, *Nubia and Abyssinia*; Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*. For Diodorus’s view of Meroë, see *e.g.* Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 70,1 folio 158^v. For an English translation during the early nineteenth century, see Booth, *Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian* I, 151-158.

⁵ Letter from “Theben, Qurna, 24. November 1844,” as reprinted in Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, 267. Though never explicitly identified, the evidence which led Lepsius to his conclusions may be easily inferred from certain elliptical references to “Zeichnungen,” as mentioned in a letter addressed “[a]uf dem bleuen Flusse, Provinz Sennâr, unter dem 13. Grad, 2. März 1844” (*op. cit.*, 148). The “Zeichnungen” of Ferlini’s loot which Lepsius first saw in Rome are almost certainly

reputed origin of “civilised society” to a provincial backwater where all signs of “Civilisation und Kunst” were attributed an external origin.

In the early twentieth century, this schism was recast in the more particularist idiom of culture historical archaeology. During the first large-scale excavations at Meroë City (Fig. 1), John Garstang discovered within the Royal Enclosure an assortment of re-used blocks and votive objects inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs with unfamiliar royal nomina. In the Second Interim Report, Garstang’s colleague Archibald H. Sayce concluded that Meroë must have been the original homeland, no longer of “civilised society,” but instead of “the first of the Ethiopian kings who was master of Egypt as well as of Ethiopia”—the predecessor and possible ancestor to the better-known kings of Manetho’s Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁶ By contrast, George Reisner’s excavations in the neighboring cemeteries of Begrawiya West and South revealed grave goods inscribed with the nomina and prenomena of those more familiar Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings, evidence which he took as proof of the region’s rapid annexation by the “Libyan” pharaohs of “Ethiopia” at the beginning of that era.⁷ He concluded that “a branch of the royal family of Ethiopia had gone south to Meroe in the days of Piankhy to hold and administer southern Ethiopia for the king in Napata.”⁸ For both Sayce and Reisner, the appearance of inscribed artifacts at Meroë became a beginning which explained and, still more decisively, a beginning which was a complete explanation—of the site’s political history and its relationship to the Double Kingdom.

Following the paradigm shifts in Nubiology precipitated by the UNESCO salvage operation in distant Lower Nubia, more recent interpretations of the site of Meroë have largely been shorn of that earlier hyper-diffusionism—but not of the overriding emphasis on origin. In 1971, Muhammad Ibrahim Bakr revived Sayce’s theory, tentatively proposing that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty may have been fundamentally Meroitic in both geographic origin and cultural substratum.⁹ Published in Arabic, Bakr’s interpretation appears to have attracted little notice in Western Egyptology, but the same cannot be said of a lecture delivered the following year in English by Ahmed Mohamed Ali al-Hakem in Khartoum; entitled “The City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” it endorsed a theory similar to Bakr’s, proposing Meroë as the original homeland of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰ Over the past four decades, al-Hakem has been followed in this interpretation by a distinguished company of scholars, including Karl-Heinz Priese, Rebecca Bradley, Maurizio Damiano, David O’Connor, and Karola Zibelius-Chen.¹¹ Alternatively, in the publication of Garstang’s excavation records, László Török has updated Reisner’s competing interpretation, jettisoning all suggestions of Libyan extraction for the conquerors of Meroë while maintaining that “the Meroe region lost its independence to the el Kurru dynasty around the beginning of the 25th Dynasty period.”¹² The scenario advocated by Török would conclude, à la Reisner, that the appearance of Egyptian inscriptions at the site coincided with its annexation by an Egyptianized state at Napata, rendering Meroë not the homeland of the el-Kurru dynasts but rather one of their earliest territorial acquisitions and temple-town foundations—perhaps even before the annexation of Egypt.

Such are the two dominant interpretations in current scholarship: Meroë as the ancestral seat of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty versus Meroë as a site annexed at the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s inception. The available evidence is sufficiently ambiguous to permit both scenarios to be entertained with reason, and both would associate Meroë closely with the problem of origins—in one case, geographic origin, and in the

those of G. Guadagnini, Inc., which accompanied the publication of those finds as the final plate of Ferlini’s *Cenno sugli scavi operati nella Nubia*, esp. figs. 12, 14-15. For early photographs of the objects in question, see Boldrini, *Giuseppe Ferlini*, figs. 24-25, 31-33. For modern photographs of the same, see Priese, *Gold of Meroe*, 28 fig. 25.

⁶ See Garstang and Sayce, “Second Interim Report,” 57. The king to whom Sayce assigned this honor—Malonaqen—was initially judged by him a contemporary of Aspelta but assigned quite broadly to “8th or 7th [century] BC.” See the excavation records for Khartoum SNM 00511 as now excerpted in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 28.

⁷ For Reisner’s theory of Libyan origin, see Reisner, “Royal Family of Ethiopia,” 26-28; *id.*, “Note on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at El-Kurruw and Barkal in 1918-1919,” 63-64.

⁸ Reisner, “Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia,” 38.

⁹ Bakr, *Tarikh al-Sudan al-qadim*, 100.

¹⁰ Al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” lecture delivered before the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan, Khartoum, 2 August 1972. Later published as: *id.*, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” *Adab* 2.3 (1975): 119-134.

¹¹ Priese, “Napatan Period,” 77-78; Bradley, “Varia from the City of Meroe”; *ead.*, “Meroitic Chronology”; Damiano, “L’Éta tarda”; O’Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, 67-69; Zibelius-Chen, “Zu Entstehung und Endes eines Großreiches,” 705.

¹² Török, *Meroe City I*, 18.

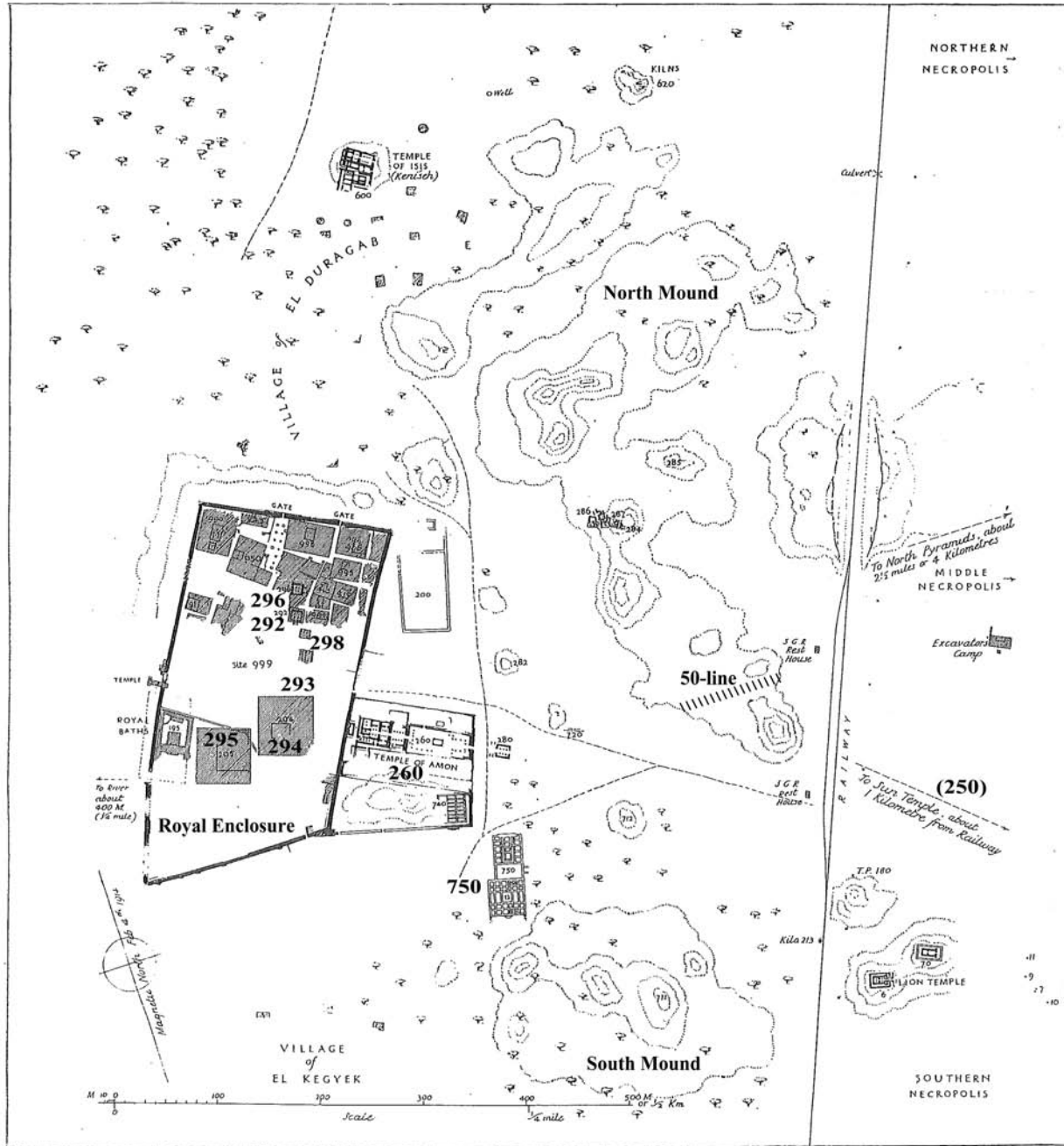


Fig. 1. Meroë City with author's labels in bold. After Garstang, "Fifth Interim Report," pl. I.

other, temporal. Most importantly, the two scenarios reach the same conclusion about Meroë's relationship to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state, placing the region firmly within the territorial boundaries of the Double Kingdom—with significant implications for the state's economic and political structure. Yet they are not the only possible interpretations of Meroë's role, whether during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as a whole or within the reign of Taharqo specifically. The discussion that follows will present apologiae and critiques of the two dominant schools of thought before proposing a third alternative which has received little discussion in the published literature to date—a scenario equally supported by the evidence but less devoted to the Idol of Origins.

II.2. *Meroë as Ancestral Seat of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty*

II.2.1. *Apologia*

At the outset, it is necessary to eliminate one point of potential distraction. For scholars specializing in regions beyond the Middle Nile, the assertion that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty originated at Meroë may appear a natural one, for it has been routinely observed in the literature that the dynasts themselves bore Meroitic nomina.¹³ Yet the apparent linkage between these two points is based upon a confusion of geographic and linguistic terminology. The Meroitic language was first named as such by Heinrich Brugsch, because the texts available to him had been collected by Lepsius from precisely the Meroë region.¹⁴ To the ancients, the language was more likely designated by some variant of *'Ikš*, "Kushite."¹⁵ The "Meroitic" label has been retained in later scholarship as a convenient means of periodization: the grammar of the language first assumed written form during an era when the kings were buried in the vicinity of Meroë City at the Begrawiya North cemetery.

In all other respects, there is nothing distinctly Meroitic about the language which bears this name, for the Meroë region would seem to correspond neither to the language's area of origin nor to its geographic range of distribution, insofar as both have been reconstructed in recent scholarship. Based upon the linguistic principle of least moves and certain suggestive lexical considerations, Claude Rilly has argued that Proto-North Eastern Sudanic—the sub-family of the Nilo-Saharan phylum from which Meroitic and Old (medieval) Nubian equally derive—may have spread from the region between Dongola and Darfur, as the Wadi Howar succumbed to increasing aridity during the middle of the third millennium BC and its inhabitants dispersed in search of more favorable conditions along the Middle Nile and the southern savannah.¹⁶ By the first half of the second millennium BC, an early form of the Meroitic language appears to have been spoken already by Kushite individuals known to Egypt's Hyksos regime, for Papyrus Golenischeff at Krokodilopolis lists several anthroponyms with recognizably Meroitic linguistic features.¹⁷ Given the political landscape of that era, the residence of the individuals named in Papyrus Golenischeff would seem to be in the vicinity of Kerma, home of the Hyksos's Kushite allies and terminus of the desert routes leading from the Fayum. Thus, the later use of Meroitic nomina by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty no more proves their origin from Meroë than it does their origin from Kerma, where the language had likely been in use for a millennium. Consequently, the authors who have proposed Meroë as the origin of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty have not done so on exclusively linguistic grounds.

¹³ *E.g.*, Priese, "Kingdom of Napata and Meroe," 208. For the predicate *-go* as a Meroitic demonstrative pronoun *-go/-qe* accompanied by a copula *-o* in the nomina of Shabaqo, Shebitqo, and Taharqo, see: Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 13, 164-166; Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*, 21.

¹⁴ Brugsch, "Entzifferung der Meroitischen Inschriften."

¹⁵ Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 5; Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*, 4. In the London-Leiden Magical Papyrus, vo., col. 20, l. 3, the reader is instructed to recite "three spells in the speech of Kush" (*r3 3 n mt.t 'Ikš*). See Thompson's transcription in Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical papyrus of London and Leiden* II, pl. labeled "Verso XVII-XX." For discussion, see: Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 138-143 §4.4.4; Koenig, "La Nubie dans les textes magiques"; Thissen, "Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten," 371.

¹⁶ Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 174-181; Rilly, *La méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, 400-408 §5.5; *id.*, "Enemy Brothers," 214-215; see also Keding, "Yellow Nile."

¹⁷ Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 5; *id.*, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*, 5-11.

Geography, however, has been a fundamental component of the argument throughout its long development from Hoskins to Zibelius-Chen.¹⁸ Situated between the Nile and the Butana, the Meroë region combined the benefits of river and steppe into a unique synthesis which may have proven advantageous to an aspiring local dynasty. In the Shendi Reach, the Nile lays a broad alluvial terrace across the soft Nubian Sandstone Formation, yielding circumstances exceptionally amenable to riverine agriculture.¹⁹ Based upon the distribution of silt and fluvial pebbles at the site, Bradley has estimated that Meroë City was located immediately adjacent to the eastern bank of the Nile in antiquity, with the area of the so-called “Royal Enclosure” and the North and South Mounds actually constituting islands separated by a braided channel of the river.²⁰ Thus, even before the introduction of the *saqia*, the ancient inhabitants of Meroë City would have had access to a considerable surface area of *gerif* and *gezira* soils for the intensive cultivation of durra, wheat, and vegetables, as well as for the grazing of cattle during the winter months.²¹ These resources were then greatly supplemented by Meroë’s proximity to the Wadis Hawad, Hadjala, Tarabil, and, to a lesser extent, the Wadis Awateib and Haseib, each of which distributed varying degrees of *seluka*, *nagda*, and *atmir* soils for cultivation and pasture across the region between July and September.²² Still farther afield of the Keraba, the Butana proper and the Gezira offered a vast expanse of rainfed steppe for both shifting cultivation and animal husbandry.²³

Moreover, there can be little doubt that isohyets in the ancient Butana reached well to the north of their modern locations, placing the region within a less arid climate than that of today. If this were not the case, then the numerous *hafirs* excavated within the Butana during the Meroitic era would not have been functional, and the presence of *Celtis integrifolia* seeds at Meroë would be equally difficult to explain.²⁴ While the exact proportions of intensive versus extensive agriculture and sedentary versus nomadic pastoralism remain open to debate,²⁵ the combination of these various regimes would have been highly conducive to the sustenance of both urban and hinterland populations. If one is willing to assume that the catalyst for the rise of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was its successful mobilization of military force,²⁶ and that the number of available military conscripts would have been directly proportional to the size of a regional population, then a dynasty originating at Meroë would have enjoyed a marked advantage over any potential rivals between the Fifth and First Cataracts.

The same advantage would seem to obtain if access to mercantile wealth is instead posited as the catalyst, because Meroë’s strategic location at the interface of the Nile corridor and the broad steppe would have allowed its inhabitants to mediate the exchange of products characteristic to each ecological zone. The importance of long-distance trade at the site is also suggested by its position at the southern end of the Bayuda Road, which linked the region to Sanam and Gebel Barkal and, in turn, to Kawa and Kerma via the Meheila Road. Thus, the fate of Meroë City and its local elites was likely tied in part to the fortunes obtainable through long-distance commerce during a given period. In this regard, O’Connor has observed that the distinctive faunae of the savannah—rhinoceros, elephant, and monkeys—were circulated as diplomatic exchange between Egypt and Assyria in the era that immediately preceded the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.²⁷

¹⁸ Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, 75-77; Zibelius-Chen, “Zu Entstehung und Ende eines Großreiches,” 701-705. Emphasis upon the geographic advantages of the Meroë region is particularly marked in the publication of al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” 119, and in Bradley, “Meroitic Chronology,” 208.

¹⁹ Ahmed, *Meroitic Settlement in the Central Sudan*, 100.

²⁰ Bradley, “Varia from the City of Meroe,” 163-167; *ead.*, “Meroitic Chronology,” 200. The designation “Royal Enclosure” may be anachronistic for the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, as the surviving enclosure wall does not appear to have been built until much later in the site’s history.

²¹ Ahmed, *Meroitic Settlement in the Central Sudan*, 90, 103-104.

²² Grzymalski, “Recent Research at the Palaces and Temples of Meroe,” 227f.; Ahmed, *Meroitic Settlement in the Central Sudan*, 90, 93, 97-98, 103-104; al-Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture*, 16.

²³ Edwards, *Archaeology and settlement in Upper Nubia*, 146-147; Shinnie, “Comments on Adams’ ‘Meroitic North and South,’” 90; *id.*, “Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia,” 221-222.

²⁴ Ahmed, “Economy and Environment in the Empire of Kush,” 294-295; M. Hinkel, “Wasserbauten im alten Sudan,” 32; *ead.*, “Hafire im antiken Sudan”; al-Hakem, “Meroitic Settlement of the Butana”; Shinnie, “Meroe in the Sudan,” 256.

²⁵ Ahmed, *Meroitic Settlement in the Central Sudan*, 90; Carter and Foley, “Report on the fauna from excavations at Meroe, 1967-72,” 308; Edwards, *Archaeology and settlement in Upper Nubia*, 148-149; Bradley, *Nomads in the archaeological record*.

²⁶ Wenig, “Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-Tror”; Bradley, “Meroitic Chronology,” 208.

²⁷ O’Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, 67-69. The reference mentioned by O’Connor (presumably the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III) may, in fact, mark the culmination of a much longer process which brought African savannah faunae and their secondary products

The elites in the Keraba and Butana from whom those animals were obtained, O'Connor suggests, may then have turned their commercial position to political advantage. Whether one subscribes to a military or mercantile explanation, geography would seem to have decisively favored the inhabitants of Meroë over their northern neighbors—including, perhaps, those in the Fourth Cataract region.

If Meroë possessed certain military and mercantile advantages conducive to the rise of an expansionist dynasty, the theory that it was the ancestral seat of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, specifically, requires two further conditions in logical sequence: (1) anteriority—that Meroë was actually inhabited prior to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; and (2) filiation—that those inhabitants bore familial ties to the dynasts buried at el-Kurru. Evidence for the first of these conditions was initially rather equivocal. During the excavations of the Ghana-Calgary and Khartoum-Calgary missions between 1965 and 1972, two deep trenches were opened on the North Mound, revealing in their earliest strata a “set of post-holes arranged in a pattern suggesting a horseshoe-shaped hut” combined with “a series of small mudbrick structures” indicative of “a community of mixed permanent and temporary structures, as in some modern Sudanese villages.”²⁸ Radiocarbon dating of nineteen charcoal samples from the trenches’ earliest strata led the excavators to postulate “a sudden burst of building activity in the 8th century BC” involving “the early stages of sedentarization and absorption of local transhumants” by a “nuclear settlement [that] already existed.”²⁹ However, as Török would later observe, “according to Shinnie-Bradley 1980 Appendix C, the uncalibrated carbon date associated with the earliest level in Trench A is 1330 ± 150 BC; in Trench B 1030 ± 140 BC.”³⁰ Consequently, at least one member of the Khartoum-Calgary mission, John H. Robertson, concluded that “the origins of the city of Meroe appear to date to the beginning of the *tenth* century BC . . . much earlier than originally claimed.”³¹ As Grzymiski would later observe, the stratigraphic connection between the built structures and C14 dates is actually quite unclear: “[A]ny attempt at connecting the post-holes with the earliest date from the North Mound would be futile, . . . [and t]he other two dates from trench 50-line come from a pit dug into the natural soil and are not associated with any particular building remains.”³² The results of excavation upon the North Mound are therefore inconclusive.

Further support for pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty settlement at Meroë has nevertheless emerged from two recently published excavations at the site. The 2004 publication of the 1973-1984 seasons of the Khartoum-Calgary mission describes mud-brick foundation courses found beneath M 292 within the area which Garstang had designated the “Royal Enclosure.” As Shinnie and Anderson explain: “Two C-14 dates were taken from this level. The first sample (MRI-203 Beta 9863) was dated to 2650 ± B.P. calibrated as 881-721 BC and the second (MRI-207 Beta 9867) to 2740 ± 60 B.P. calibrated as 961-841 BC.”³³ Similarly, Grzymiski’s 2005 and 2008 articles describing the ongoing work of the Khartoum-Toronto mission report “surprisingly early” radiocarbon dates from M 750: 920-780 BC (1 σ 840-800 BC) and 840-770 BC (1 σ 820-790 BC).³⁴ Likewise, a charcoal sample collected in association with the mud-brick foundations of a sandstone structure on the South Mound yielded “a 2 sigma (95% probability) calibrated date of 820-410 B.C. (1 sigma, i.e. 68 % probability, calibrated date of 800-740 BC and 710-530 BC).”³⁵ More excavation will be necessary

into Near Eastern circulation. Morkot has argued that the booty acquired by Assyria from Syria and Phoenicia during the ninth century BC included ivory pieces of a size that could not have derived from the much smaller elephant breeds which were native to India and the environs of Punic Carthage; thus a more southerly, Kushite origin should be preferred. Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 120, 154-55. If Morkot’s conclusion is correct, this could also help to explain the ivory available in Samaria during the ninth century (1 Kings 22: 39). Morkot’s thesis demands closer comparative study. The ivory tribute pieces at Nimrud (Kallhu) from the reign of Assurnasirpal II do not seem to be especially grand. Morkot may be referring to the much larger pieces of Shalmaneser III, but an expert analysis is needed to determine whether these fragments are indeed too large to derive from the Indian and northwest African elephant breeds. For measurements of the ivory pieces from both reigns, see Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, §§ III.2.1-III.2.2.h, IV.4.1-IV.4.3.b, IV.7.a-IV.7.6. The most convincing example would be the 68 cm piece found at the Nabu temple in Nimrud (ND 4193).

²⁸ Bradley, “Meroitic Chronology,” 197.

²⁹ Bradley, “Meroitic Chronology,” 207-208.

³⁰ Török, *Meroe City I*, 15 n. 33. Cf. Shinnie and Bradley, *Capital of Kush I*, 313 Appendix C.

³¹ Robertson, “History and Archaeology at Meroe,” 45.

³² Grzymiski, “Meroe, the capital of Kush,” 57.

³³ Shinnie and Anderson, *Capital of Kush 2*, 85 §11.1.1.

³⁴ Grzymiski, “Recent Research at the Palaces and Temples of Meroe,” 234; *id.*, “Meroe, the capital of Kush,” 54.

³⁵ Grzymiski, “Meroe, the capital of Kush,” 49; *id.*, “Recent Research at the Palaces and Temples of Meroe,” 227.

to refine the chronological implications of these dates, but at present the evidence would at least appear to indicate that, prior to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Meroë already constituted a built and inhabited landscape. As Grzymiski has recently concluded, “there can be little doubt that Meroe was occupied from at least the 9th century BC and perhaps earlier.”³⁶

The additional condition of filiation between the inhabitants of Meroë and the earliest kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was first argued by Sayce on the basis of inscribed objects found within the area designated as the “Royal Enclosure.” Sayce’s hypothesis was quickly deemed untenable, for the name which he identified as “the first of the Ethiopian kings”—Malonaqen—was subsequently connected by Reisner to the inscribed contents of a *post*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty pyramid at Nuri (Nu. 5).³⁷ However, Reisner’s excavations at Begrawiya West and South would soon reveal evidence of greater relevance to Sayce’s theory. In addition to several burials equipped with wooden coffins, bead-nets, amulets, scarabs, and assorted Egyptian imports, the excavation of the West and South cemeteries also produced a number of inscribed objects of considerable historical interest. Tomb BW 658 was found to contain a faience plaque naming Kashta and Amenirdis I (Boston MFA 23.842), while BW 816 yielded a golden statuette of the goddess Bastet (Boston MFA 23.335) inscribed with a dedication for the *wr ʕ P3-m3y*—presumed equivalent to the *ḥ3.ty-ʕ P3-m3y* of Busiris shown within the lunette of Pi(ankh)y’s Great Triumphal Stela (Cairo JE 48862).³⁸ The inventory of BS 131 included a green-glazed steatite plaque naming *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* (Pi(ankh)y? Iny? Shebitqo?),³⁹ while in BW 585 a ring bearing the cartouche of Taharqo was found upon the finger of a woman.⁴⁰ Moreover, tombs BS 85, BS 500, and BS 20 contained objects inscribed for a “King’s Wife” (*ḥm.t nsw.t*), “royal kinsman” (*sn nsw.t*), and “King’s Son” (*s3 nsw.t*), respectively.⁴¹ Thus, Priese has cited “the fact that from the time of Piye (747-716 BC, Gen. 2) at the latest, only the kings and the royal wives and mothers were buried near Napata . . . [while t]he other members of the royal family were buried near Meroe.”⁴² The same conclusion has been endorsed by Zibelius-Chen, who observes of Meroë that “sich—mindestens seit der Zeit des Piye—die Mitglieder des Königshauses, mit Ausnahme von König, Königsfrauen und Königsmutter, hier bestatten ließen.”⁴³ The combination of royal nomina and royal kinship titles among the grave goods of the Begrawiya West and South cemeteries now constitutes one of the key pieces of support for the argument that Meroë was the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s ancestral seat, with implications for the boundaries of the Double Kingdom. As Hinkel and Sievertsen have recently observed, “[v]ereinzelt hat man in Meroe offenbar auch Angehörige des Königshauses der 25. Dynastie begraben, deren Herrschaftsbereich der Ort zugehörig gewesen sein dürfte.”⁴⁴ The context and chronology of the Begrawiya evidence will be revisited in the critique of this argument below (Ch. II.2.2).

³⁶ Grzymiski, “Meroe, the capital of Kush,” 57.

³⁷ Sayce, “Second Interim Report,” 57-58; Reisner, “Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nuri,” 8-9, 52 fig. 11, pls. VII [top], XIV [2]; *id.*, “Known and Unknown Kings of Ethiopia”; *id.*, “Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan, Part IV,” 58; *id.*, “Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia,” 75; Dunham and Macadam, “Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata,” 144, pl. XVI [40 b-c]; Dunham, *Nuri*, 142, 144. The objects in question may now be found as Boston MFA 20.1068-9, Khartoum SNM 1385 (2), and Khartoum SNM 1386 (B).

³⁸ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 8 fig. 4a-c, 303-304 fig. 179.10.2-3; Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V C12.

³⁹ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 431 fig. 236 U. For *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* as Pi(ankh)y, see the disputed Louvre stela C 100 in von Beckerath, “Zu den Namen des kuschitischen Königs Pi(ankh)y,” and *FHN* I, 49. For *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* as Iny, see Yoyotte, “Pharaon Iny,” and Goldberg, “Legends of Iny.” For *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* as Shebitqo, see Reisner, “Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia,” 36. Reisner’s theory was presumably based upon the find of a faience necklace at el-Kurru with alternating cartouches of *Dd-k3(.w)-Rʕ* and *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* (from horse burial Ku. 209). See Dunham, *El Kurru*, 113, pl. 68 A 2. Interestingly, Török’s commentary in *FHN* I (1994), attributes the prenomen *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* to Pi(ankh)y, while his 1997 publication of Garstang’s excavation records from Meroë interprets the presence of the steatite plaque of *Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ* in BS 131 as evidence that “Beg. S 131 may be dated to the reign of Shebitqo.” Török, *Meroe City* I, 36.

⁴⁰ See Khartoum SNM 02212 in: Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 49 fig. 34 C; Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 129.

⁴¹ Reisner, “Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia,” 36-37; *id.*, “Two Royal Ladies of Meroë”; Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 370 fig. 199 B, 379-380 fig. 206 D-E (Boston MFA 23.869, top of lunette, second col. from right), 398-399 fig. 221 H. On the translation of *sn nsw(t)* as “royal kinsman” rather than narrowly as “king’s brother,” see above Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps, and further references in Ch. V.2 n. 115 below.

⁴² Priese, “Napatan Period,” 77.

⁴³ Zibelius-Chen, “Zu Entstehung und Ende eines Großreiches,” 705.

⁴⁴ Hinkel and Sievertsen, *Die Royal City von Meroe*, 33 [emphasis added].

The interpretations of Priese and Zibelius-Chen would posit that the Kushite dynasts, their wives, and mothers were interred at el-Kurru near Napata, while other individuals of the blood royal were buried at Meroë, their town of origin. The distance between these two sites—roughly 300 km—raises an important question, as voiced by Török: “[W]hy were the rulers or the conquerors not buried in their original homeland?”⁴⁵ One possible answer was proposed by al-Hakem in his seminal 1972 lecture: the Napata region near Gebel Barkal was, he argued, of merely cultic significance, while the state’s true secular capital was located at distant Meroë—just as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s later capital would be established at Memphis, exponentially farther still from the el-Kurru cemetery.⁴⁶ In support of this theory, al-Hakem cited the apparent absence of an urban settlement at Napata: “If we survey the area around the eastern side of the Gebel [Barkal], we can hardly find an area large enough to accommodate such an important capital with its domestic quarters. The present area is devoted almost entirely to temples and their subsidiary installations.”⁴⁷ There was also, he asserted, a certain artificiality to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s presence in the el-Kurru/Napata region: none of the royal children were buried there, while the cemeteries of Begrawiya West and South contained an abundance of children—including seventy-three at Begrawiya West alone.⁴⁸ Moreover, Priese has observed that the dynasty’s tombs at el-Kurru show little connection with the C-Group culture then prevalent in the Napata region—in direct contrast to the neighboring and contemporaneous cemetery at Sanam.⁴⁹ The inference Priese and al-Hakem would draw is that the dynasts had transplanted themselves in the Napata region for religious and political advantage, though they hailed from and continued to reside at Meroë farther south.

Al-Hakem’s proposed distinction between Napata as cultic site and Meroë as secular capital hinges on the question of residence: the capital, he argued, was quite simply “the city where the king resided,” and thus “one notices that Napata was mentioned as an important religious and ceremonial centre, but never as the capital.”⁵⁰ The underlying assumptions of this definition will require further explication below (II.2.2), but it will suffice at present to note the manner in which the argument has been constructed: affirmative evidence that Meroë, rather than Napata, served as a royal residence emerges most clearly in an inscription written centuries after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Nastasen’s year 8 stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268) from the late fourth century BC states the following:

ll. 4-5: *iw wn=i p3 šr nfr m Brw3.t iry=f{r} ʕš lr=i 'Imn Npy p3y=i it nfr dd imy n=k di=i ʕš=w sn.wy nsw.t nty iw wn m Brw3.t dr*

When I was the good youth in Meroë, Amun of Napata, my good father, summoned me, saying, ‘Come!’. I had the royal kinsmen who were throughout Meroë summoned . . .

l. 18: *ir=f sdm t3.wy nb{t} rmt nb.t di=k ʕš r=i m B3rw3.t*

All the lands and all people have heard that you summoned me from Meroë.

l. 22: *iw=f r iry nsw.t hms ndm m B3rw3.t*

He will be a king who dwells successfully in Meroë.⁵¹

As one traces earlier textual references to Meroë across the preceding centuries, a greater proportion of inference is required to ascertain its political status. Nearly forty years prior to Nastasen’s account, Harsiyotef would mention Meroë only in reference to an Osiris procession, the planting of date palms, and a conflict with the Rehreh, but his description of the ruinous state of the temple and palace at *Napata* has led many to infer that the royal residence was instead located at Meroë.⁵² Harsiyotef’s predecessor, Irike-Amanote,

⁴⁵ Török, *Meroe City* I, 20 n. 69. The original reads “the rulers of the conquerors” (a typographical error?).

⁴⁶ Al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” 121-127.

⁴⁷ Al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” 122-123.

⁴⁸ Al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” 123-124; *id.*, *Meroitic Architecture*, 21 n. 1.

⁴⁹ Priese, “Napatan Period,” 78.

⁵⁰ Al-Hakem, “City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata,” 121.

⁵¹ Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. I-II. See also the collation in Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-36 §3.3.

⁵² See Cairo JE 48864, ll. 7-8, 22-24, 56-57, 61-62, 100, 106, 127-129, 137-138, 148, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. Xa-XXV.

As the foregoing survey illustrates, the logical structure of the argument advanced by al-Hakem *et al.* is not unlike that of the Diodoran thesis once endorsed by George Alexander Hoskins: both theories would deduce the early history of Meroë by retrojecting the prominence which the city would later attain in Classical antiquity. Thus, Damiano concludes that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was descended from “genti venute dal Sud, presumibilmente dal Butana, vista l’importanza *poi* accordata a Meroe.”⁶¹ While this conclusion may ultimately prove justified, the method used to derive it must raise some initial scepticism.

II.2.2. Critique: Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Origins and the Site of Meroë

In the apologia outlined above, the Meroë region was argued to possess certain geographic advantages conducive to the rise of a local dynasty. Yet the proposed linkage between the two is perhaps more dubious than it would first appear. That the region offered diverse forms of subsistence for urban and hinterland populations is apparent, but the additional conclusion that these advantages would have translated into greater potential for dynastic formation and political centralization does not follow logically from the first. While the wadis and the steppe greatly supplemented the yields available from basin agriculture alone by increasing the total quantity of fertile land, they would also have produced less crop per hectare, resulting in lower corresponding population densities.⁶² The resultant high demand for labor would be considerably frustrated by the mobility of Butana transhumants who, unlike riverine agriculturalists of the Lower Nile, could easily relocate to productive soil beyond the reach of an exploitative urban elite.⁶³ Historical research into similar conditions across Africa’s Sahelian and savannah belts has observed that the diffuse nature of the resulting system of land organization has often “prevented the separation of the producer from his means of production (the land),” thereby forming “an *obstacle* to the concentration of wealth and power and thus to differentiation into social classes.”⁶⁴ Rather than giving advantage to aspiring local elites, the geography of the steppe may instead have presented a daunting political challenge.

By contrast, the Dongola-Napata Reach was an environment more analogous to that of the Lower Nile: a riverine basin circumscribed by tracts of desert and semi-desert. What the region lacked in total agricultural yield and carrying capacity it may have compensated in population density and political cohesion. In fact, Adams has observed that the Napata region was not nearly so agriculturally impoverished as comparison with Meroë might suggest:

Napata and Meroë—the northern and southern districts in which Kushite civilization originally flourished—are in reality separated by no more than one and a half degrees of latitude, and the climatic difference between them is correspondingly slight. It is also true that the area of Nile floodplain available for cultivation at Napata is at least as great as that of Meroë. If the southern district enjoys any environmental advantage, it is not so much because of increased rainfall or soil resources as because the Butana Steppe, the hinterland of Meroë, is traversed by a number of large watercourses whose headwaters lie considerably farther south in the rainfall belt, so that they seasonally carry a substantial runoff.⁶⁵

The population of the Napata region should therefore not be underestimated, and political control of the region by aspiring elites would seem to have presented fewer obstacles there than in the variable ecozones around Meroë. It must also be noted that Napata, like Meroë, was admirably positioned for long-distance commerce, and the international circulation of steppic faunae during the Third Intermediate Period would have required Napatan intermediaries no less than Butana suppliers. The large magazine at Sanam further attests the continuity of Napatan commercial mediation during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, with an accumulation of raw elephant tusks, faience, gemstones, copper alloy, and clay sealings naming Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and Taharqo.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Damiano, “L’Età Tarda,” 47 [emphasis added].

⁶² Reader, *Africa*, 249-255; Weiss, “Excavations at Tell Leilan,” 40.

⁶³ Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa*, 30-33; *id.*, *Production and Reproduction*, 108; Stein, “Segmentary States and Organizational Variation in Early Complex Societies,” 68.

⁶⁴ Coquery-Vidrovitch, “Research on an African Mode of Production,” 265-266 [emphasis added].

⁶⁵ Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 301.

⁶⁶ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII”; Vincentelli, “Some Clay Sealings from Sanam Abu Dom.”

The fact that Meroë was clearly inhabited before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would only support the theory that the dynasty originated there if it could be determined that those inhabitants were related by blood to the dynasts buried in the Napata region. The mere presence at Begrawiya West and South of small funerary objects bearing the nomina of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings is not sufficient proof of such relation, for the inscribed plaques, scarabs, and rings may also have been circulated as diplomatic gifts for provincial elites,⁶⁷ or even as more pedestrian items of commerce. Plaques and scarabs of *Mn-ḥpr-R^c* (Pi(ankh)y? Iny? Shebitqo?),⁶⁸ *Nfr-k3-R^c* (Shabaqo), *P-s-m-t-k* (Psamtik I?), and *Hd-ḥpr-R^c stp-n-R^c* (Sheshonq I) have also been found in roughly contemporaneous tombs and occupation levels at Kosti and Gebel Moya, another 500 km south of Meroë (800 km south of Napata) on the White and Blue Niles, respectively, but these have not been taken to indicate filiation between the inhabitants of the Gezira and the Kushite, Saïte, and Tanite royal houses—nor should they be.⁶⁹ The shared assertion of Priese, Zibelius-Chen, Hinkel, and Sievertsen, that “other members of the royal family were buried at Meroe” “mindestens seit der Zeit des Piye”⁷⁰ is therefore contingent upon the additional presence of royal kinship titles among the grave goods at Meroë—namely, “King’s Wife” (*hm.t nsw.t*), “royal kinsman” (*sn nsw.t*),⁷¹ and “King’s Son” (*s3 nsw.t*).

Yet a closer examination of the chronology of the Begrawiya grave goods reveals the assertion to be potentially misleading. While the Begrawiya West and South cemeteries did contain tombs which could be securely dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era, and also produced grave goods with royal kinship titles, the titles were not found in the tombs of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty date. Rather, the earliest tomb attributable to a “King’s Wife” is that of Mernua, spouse of either Anlamani or Aspelta—two to three generations after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁷² In the tombs at Meroë which were judged to be contemporaneous with the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the highest title of filiation attested for a woman on any object is not *s3.t nsw.t* but simply *s3.t iry-p^c.t*, “daughter of a hereditary noble(wo)man,” as inscribed upon a small scarab found in BW 529.⁷³ Pace al-Hakem, the tomb of Sashensa (BS 132) did not contain the name of Tanutamani;⁷⁴ Dunham’s report of the excavation states only that faience ushabti figures found in the tomb “closely resemble in type and style those of King Tanwetamani.”⁷⁵ The ushabtis may just as easily have derived from the decades immediately following Tanutamani, during the reigns of Atlanersa, Senkamanisken, Anlamani, or Aspelta. Consequently, the existence of a “King’s Wife” at Meroë cannot be established with certainty before the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. The earliest attested “royal kinsman” and “King’s Son” at Meroë are later still, dated by Reisner to the reigns of Siospiqo/Nasakhma (early to mid-fifth century BC) and Talakhamani/Irike-amanote (second half of fifth century BC), respectively—two centuries after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁷⁶ The presence of such royal kinship titles in the cemeteries of Meroë certainly increases the probability that the wives, kinsmen, and sons of earlier el-Kurru dynasts might have been buried near Meroë as well—particularly as some of the earlier tombs at Begrawiya South and West are

⁶⁷ For such items during the New Kingdom interpreted as gifts for provincial elites, see: Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom pharaonic sites*, 140-141.

⁶⁸ See n. 39 above.

⁶⁹ See O. C. 2353, 3341, 4177 in: Addison, *Wellcome excavations in the Sudan I*, 117-119; Gerharz, *Jebel Moya*, 182-185. See also Khartoum SNM 3562 and 3643 in: Arkell, “Varia Sudanica,” 40. It should be noted that the scarab from Kosti (Khartoum SNM 3562) has not been dated according to either stratigraphic context or associated finds. Possible relations between Kush and regions farther south, west, and east, are tentatively discussed in Eisa, “Extremities of the Kushite State.”

⁷⁰ Priese, “Napatan Period,” 77; Zibelius-Chen, “Zu Entstehung und Ende eines Großreiches,” 705; Hinkel and Sievertsen, *Die Royal City von Meroe*, 33.

⁷¹ On the translation of *sn nsw* as “royal kinsman,” rather than narrowly as “king’s brother,” see above Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps, and further references in Ch. V.2 n. 115 below.

⁷² Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 370 fig. 199 B. See also Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 78, 167 D.32.

⁷³ See Khartoum SNM 02282 in: Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 287 fig. 175 no. 10; Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 133.

⁷⁴ Al-Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture*, 48.

⁷⁵ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*, 362-363 figs. 193c-d. Török’s suggestion that the “wife of King Tanwetamani” buried in BS 132 was “Queen Khensa” is difficult to explain, for Khensa’s name is known from several items in Ku. 4, including one inscribed with the name of Pi(ankh)y. See Török, *Meroe City I*, 16 n. 48; cf. Dunham, *El Kurru*, 30-37. Moreover, Török elsewhere identifies Khensa as “another queen of Piye.” See Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 104. It therefore appears most likely that Török’s “Khensa” in the Meroë report could be simply a misprint for “Sashensa.”

⁷⁶ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*, 379-380 fig. 206 D-E (MFA 23.869, top of lunette, second col. from right), 398-399 fig. 221 H.; cf. Dunham, *Nuri*, 3.

lavishly provisioned with apparent Egyptian imports (esp. BS 155 and BW 609).⁷⁷ However, royal kinship is not the only means by which wealthy burials may be explained,⁷⁸ and the burial of royals at Meroë in the sixth century BC does not require the burial of royals there during the seventh and eighth centuries BC. To assume that later tombs at Meroë for kings' wives, royal kinsmen, and kings' sons reflect earlier conditions at the site effectively begs the question of historical development.

Without explicit titles of royal kinship linking those interred at Meroë with the members of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty buried in the Napata region, the relationship between the cemeteries must be judged by a broader consideration of demography and burial practice. In regard to the first of these criteria, the prevalence of child burials at Begrawiya West and South and their absence at el-Kurru as noted by al-Hakem does present a suggestive contrast,⁷⁹ but it cannot be assumed that the three cemeteries represent a closed cultural system accounting for all burials across the 300-km distance between Napata and Meroë. The possibility cannot therefore be excluded that children of the el-Kurru dynasts were interred at Sanam or in another cemetery as yet unexcavated in the Napata region. As a possible parallel, it is worth noting that a small cemetery of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty date at the fortress of Mirgissa near the Second Cataract was found to consist almost entirely of children: "Surprisingly, of 27 individuals, buried in individual tombs, only 4 (14.8%) were adults (2 males and 2 undetermined), the remaining 23 (85.2%) children and juveniles." Strouhal concluded: "This find helps vividly to elucidate the problem of missing infants in regular cemeteries"⁸⁰—most notably, at the cemetery of el-Kurru.

The additional criterion of burial practice presents no simple answers to the question of cultural affinity between Napata and Meroë. As Priese has observed, the royal tombs at el-Kurru do not show the strong connections to C-Group cultural tradition that one might expect in the Napata region.⁸¹ However, the development of the el-Kurru tombs is also different in important ways from that of contemporaneous burials at Begrawiya West and South in the Meroë region. The substructure of the earliest tombs at el-Kurru included both a pit and a lateral niche—a feature also present at nearby Sanam—and the contents from Ku. Tum. 6 and its successors reflected the influence of the Egyptian rite of breaking the red pots.⁸² By contrast, that rite was not evidenced in the early tombs in the Meroë region, and the lateral niche grave would not be adopted there until more than a century after the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁸³ Instead, the Begrawiya tombs of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era began as simple non-mummified burials in pit graves oriented east-west prior to the reign of Pi(ankh)y, were then diversified by the inclusion of frequent mummified coffin burials oriented either east-west or north-south, and were gradually replaced in the mid-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period by the so-called "axial niche grave"—a substructure attested in the later Napatan and Meroitic eras across the Butana at Geili, el-Kadada, and Gereif, but evidently not characteristic of the Napata region.⁸⁴ Both the el-Kurru and Begrawiya cemeteries nevertheless included a similar inventory of faience amulets, pottery, and metallic vessels across their histories of development.

When judged against the backdrop of C-Group and Butana cultural traditions, the question of the relative "Egyptianization" of the tombs at el-Kurru would therefore appear to be a rather subjective matter with equally unclear implications: while Priese has cited "the fact that the latter [cemetery] is so decisively 'Egyptianized'" as evidence that "there was very little to connect the Kushite kings with the indigenous traditions of the region around Napata,"⁸⁵ O'Connor has concluded from the evolution of circular superstructure to mastaba that "the rulers buried at Kurru, and hence the people they governed, were evidently familiar with Egyptian culture, but they were not themselves 'Egyptianized' in any fundamental way."⁸⁶ Similarly, Bakr's *Tarikh al-Sudan al-qadim* argued that the burial methods and accoutrements of the

⁷⁷ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*, 28-39, 358-360.

⁷⁸ As now acknowledged for Meroë by: Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanschen Gesellschaft*, 314.

⁷⁹ Al-Hakem, "City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata," 123-124; *id.*, *Meroitic Architecture*, 21 n. 1.

⁸⁰ Strouhal, "Palaeodemography of Kush," 331.

⁸¹ Priese, "Napatan Period," 78.

⁸² Török, *Meroe City I*, 16-17 n. 51.

⁸³ See, e.g., BS 311 and BS 500 in Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 380, 444.

⁸⁴ Geus, "Enquêtes sur les pratiques et coutumes funéraires méroïtiques," 174.

⁸⁵ Priese, "Napatan Period," 78.

⁸⁶ O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, 69.

el-Kurru dynasts were so distinct from Egyptian traditions that they may well have originated from an area beyond Egypt's previous sphere of colonial influence—namely, from Meroë:

The logical explanation for the persistence of these local traditions across this period until the time of the 25th Dynasty—[traditions which persisted] despite the direct influence of elements of Egyptian culture upon the people of the C-Group culture as well as the Kerma culture—is that during the New Kingdom this group from which the house of the 25th Dynasty derived may have lived away from the strong influence of Egyptian culture and may have taken up residence in Meroë. It is known that Meroë finally became the capital of the Meroitic kingdom, and it was previously and from the beginning the residence of a branch of the ruling family at the time of the 25th Dynasty. If this assumption is true, then the conquests of this family start from south to north, and consequently we can consider the rulers of Napata (the 25th Dynasty) as Meroitic kings.⁸⁷

Interestingly, both Priese's interpretation and that argued by O'Connor and Bakr have been used to support the theory that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty originated from Meroë—in the first instance, because they were so artificially Egyptianized *vis-à-vis* the cultural milieu of the Fourth Cataract region, and, in the second instance, because they were so *un*-Egyptianized when compared with the customs of Egypt itself. However, as Dafa'lla has observed, non-Egyptian traditions co-existed with Egyptian influence throughout Kush's history—most notably under the earlier kingdom based at Kerma.⁸⁸ The image that results from an examination of the el-Kurru and Begrawiya cemeteries is not therefore one in which unconscious adherence to traditional burial customs betrays the geographic origins of those interred in a straightforward deterministic fashion, but rather a process of selective adoption which defies neat cultural categorizations and theories of origin. As no individuals of royal blood have been securely identified in the tombs of Meroë during or before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and the tomb types of Begrawiya West and South do not closely or consistently parallel those at el-Kurru, the cemeteries provide little support for the theory that Meroë was the dynasty's ancestral seat.

When attention is instead directed to the settlements that would have neighbored those cemeteries, the results are similarly inconclusive. Al-Hakem's contention that Napata was devoid of urban settlement is, of course, an *argumentum ex silentio*, and it also presumes that the city could only have been located directly at the foot of Gebel Barkal. Such an assumption would seem unwarranted and may actually be contradicted by evidence from Reisner's unpublished excavation diary. Entries for 21-23 March 1919 mention the discovery at el-Kurru of a gateway and a "fort wall of poor masonry," at least 200 m in length, that was partly visible beneath the modern village neighboring the cemetery. Weeks later, further exploration of the area revealed stone walls and a rock-cut stair leading to groundwater. Reisner judged the structure to be "manifestly a large well tapping water and serving a large palace," and he concluded: "Here I take it was the palace of Piankhy."⁸⁹ Though Reisner included sketches in his unpublished diary, unfortunately no survey plans of these features were included in Dunham's publication of the el-Kurru cemetery three decades later. In the early months of 2013, excavations were re-opened in the settlement areas of el-Kurru by the University of Michigan Nubian Expedition under the direction of Geoff Emberling; in addition to further excavating the features identified by Reisner, this new project has already found a large temple of uncertain date, demonstrating that el-Kurru was certainly a site of monumental construction beyond the royal cemetery itself during some period of its history.⁹⁰ Whether this site was the famed Napata is not yet clear. Even if the structures discovered at el-Kurru represent an urban center other than Napata, the possibility cannot be excluded that Napata remains unexcavated beneath the modern village of Kareima northeast of Gebel Barkal.⁹¹ In 2001, work crews digging a ditch for a drainage pipe between the mountain

⁸⁷ Bakr, *Tarikh al-Sudan al-qadim*, 100. I thank Dina El Gabry of Helwan University for refining my translation of this passage.

⁸⁸ Dafa'lla, "Origin of the Napatan State," 129.

⁸⁹ Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 48-49, 114 fig. 17. I thank Tim Kendall for showing me the location of these structures during a visit to el-Kurru in 2005.

⁹⁰ The results have yet to be published, but I thank Geoff Emberling for discussing the project with me and making photographs available online at: http://www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/fieldwork/currentfieldwork/elkurusudan/2013sudanblog_ci (last accessed 26 June 2013).


⁹¹ The location of Napata is unfortunately not clarified by Nastasen's itinerary, for the text is only explicit about the location of the Amun temple at Gebel Barkal which served the town: See Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, ll. 8-12, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; and collation by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-35 §3.3. That Napata was more than a cultic pilgrimage

and the river discovered a mud-brick *temenos* wall extending nearly 200 m, not unlike that at el-Kurru.⁹² The apparent contrast between Napata and Meroë would then result, not from an ancient distinction between cultic center and capital city, but instead from the degree to which each site has been re-used and concealed by modern habitation.

In fact, the concept of a singular and secular capital may be inappropriate to the Kushite case. Inscriptions from the Napatan period describe a coronation ritual in which Kushite kings travelled to the leading centers of the kingdom in a consistent sequence in order to receive oracular legitimation from local forms of Amun and Bastet, and a similar rite appears to be depicted in embryonic form in Taharqo's decorative program at Kawa (see Chs. III.1-III.2.3 below).⁹³ Török has named this process "ambulatory kingship," citing archaeological and textual evidence that most, if not all, stops in the coronation circuit were home, not only to a temple, but also to a royal residence (*pr nsw*) and palace (*'h.t*).⁹⁴ Consequently, al-Hakem's definition of the capital as the "city where the king resided" would seem to necessitate the recognition of several such "capitals" within the kingdom.⁹⁵ Even if one posits, à la Wenig, that "es tatsächlich nur eine Krönung gab," with the other sites serving merely as places where the coronation "zelebriert wurden,"⁹⁶ the surviving evidence does not convincingly support the identification of that primary coronation site with Meroë—and particularly not during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. As illustrated in the apologia above, the documentary evidence in favor of Meroë as a station in the coronation cycle and as a royal residence is most explicit and unequivocal in the late fourth century BC, but it becomes progressively less so as one follows the textual references across the preceding centuries. During the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty itself, the argument must be supported from reconstructed lacunae and ellipses. While the lacuna at the end of line 6 in Tanutamani's Dream Stela may conceivably have included the first attestation of the toponym *Meroë*, it is equally plausible that the missing word was something much more pedestrian like *'h.t=f*, "his palace," or simply *nsw*, "king":

pr pw ir.n Hm=f m b(w) wnn=f im mi pr Hr m Hby.t pr.n=f m ['h.t=f]/[nsw] (7) iw n=f hḥ hfn phr m-s3=f

His Majesty went forth from the place where he had been, as Horus went forth from Khemmis. When he went forth from [his palace?]/as [king?], (7) millions came to him and hundreds of thousands followed him.⁹⁷

Such a solution appears all the more likely when one considers that the size of the lacuna, as judged from comparison with the intact edge of line 9 below it, may actually be too narrow to accommodate .⁹⁸

site and had its own local population during the New Kingdom is perhaps suggested by Thutmose III's address: "Hear ye, people of the Southland who are at the Holy Mountain." See Boston MFA 23.733, l. 33, in Reisner and Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 2," 35, Taf. V. The urban character of Napata during the New Kingdom is equally suggested by the passage of the Amada stela which records that Amenhotep II hung an Asiatic prince upon "the walls of Napata" as a warning. See ll. 18-19 in LD III, pl. 65, and Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 94.

⁹² Kendall, "Napatan Temples."

⁹³ In Irike-Amanote's inscription, the king leaves Meroë to receive the conferral of legitimacy from Amun of Napata, Amun-Re of Kawa, and Amun of Pnubs. See Kawa IX (*in situ*), cols. 1-19, 36-43, 49-60, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-26. The text states that Irike-Amanote had a "royal residence" (*pr-nsw*) at Gebel Barkal (col. 37), a "palace" (*'h*) at Koroton between Napata and Kawa (col. 45), and another "palace" (*'h.t*) at Kawa (col. 78). The context of cols. 89-94 and 118-119 would further suggest that there was a "royal residence" (*pr-nsw*) at Kawa as well. For archaeological evidence of the palace at Napata, see Kendall and Wolf, "Excavations in the Palace of Aspelta at Jebel Barkal." In the Annals of Harsiyotef, a visit to Bastet of Taret is added to the coronation journey, and Harsiyotef again reiterates that there was a royal residence (*pr n nsw*) at Napata. See Cairo JE 48864, ll. 10-22, 127-129, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XIa-XIII. For Taret, see Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 179-180. For the coronation journey in Nastasen's year 8 stela, see Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 15, 22-33, in Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II-III, and collation by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-35 §3.3. In Anlamani's Enthronement Stela, his four kinswomen are appointed as sistrum-players at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs, and also for Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the St-Bow (presumably at Sanam), but no mention is made of Bastet of Taret: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708 (Kawa VIII), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

⁹⁴ Török, "Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History"; *id.*, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 65-73. See also Kormys(c)heva, "Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel." For references to the inscriptions in question, see the preceding note.

⁹⁵ Al-Hakem, "City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata," 121.

⁹⁶ Wenig, "Kommentar zu Török," 137-140. Cf. rebuttal by Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 160.

⁹⁷ Cairo JE 48863, l. 6, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. II-IIa. These two alternatives were proposed by Maspero and Akmar, respectively: Maspero, "Essai sur la Stèle du Songe"; Akmar, "La Stèle du Songe," 51, 75, 91.

⁹⁸ See esp. Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pl. IIa.

The fact that Tanutamani then came (*iw*) to Napata and its Amun temple (*ll.* 7-8) demonstrates only that the locale in question was not identical with either; such a context does not by any means require that Tanutamani had come from Meroë. Pi(ankh)y's earlier reference to "the place where His Majesty was" is equally too vague to be localized in any way, and thus the primary royal residence, if such existed during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, is left unstated in the surviving records. Reference to the toponym *Meroë* cannot be confirmed in a single Twenty-Fifth Dynasty inscription.

Al-Hakem's attempt to retroject the later prominence of Meroë into the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is based upon the assumption that, because coronation rituals were "ancestral in character" and among "the most traditional ceremonies," they would therefore be unlikely to change over the centuries.⁹⁹ However, this hypothesis conceals a significant flaw, for Meroë was not one of the cities included in the coronation circuit, nor was a local form of Amun attested there before the first century AD.¹⁰⁰ Instead, it was at Napata, Kawa, Pnubs, and Taret that the Kushite kings were crowned during the Napatan era, and it was Amun of Napata who was worshipped at Meroë for most of the city's history. As Török has cogently argued:

[The] hypothesis, according to which the kingdom of Kush rose from the Meroe, not the Napata, region, presupposes an initial conquest of the el Kurru chiefdom from the south and it leaves open elementary questions. Viz., . . . why did their original centre play only a subordinate role in the enthronement rites and in the myth of the state, while the most important station of the coronation journey remained at Napata. Furthermore, the hypothesis of the origins of the royal dynasty of Kush in the Meroe region cannot explain the central role of Amûn of Napata, and not an Amûn of Meroe, worshipped at Meroe? Significantly, 'southern' cults or 'southern' accents in cults emerge, by contrast, in the course of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, when a dynasty probably originating in the Meroe area came to power and also transferred the royal necropolis from the Napata region to Meroe City.¹⁰¹

In inscriptions of the Napatan era, Meroë is often the place which kings leave in order to perform the coronation rites elsewhere, but no enthronement rituals are mentioned in connection with Meroë itself.¹⁰² This would be a striking omission, if Meroë were in fact the ancestral seat of the royal line, dating back even to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Ironically, the source which provides the most direct support for Meroë's status as a royal residence during the Late Napatan period may also contain the most explicit evidence *against* the theory that Meroë was the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's ancestral seat. Only a few lines after recounting Nastasen's summons from Meroë, his year 8 stela describes the subsequent journey to Napata as follows:

(7) *dî=i th3my dw3y ph=i 'I-s-d-r-s3.t dî=i sdr sw p=i ' 'b' b' sdm=i {f}r mr šn'w m Npy dd=w (8) iw=f {r} m dynt t3.w{y} nb{t} hrp=i dw3y ph=i T3-q3.t sw p3 m3{t}-š3 rd nsw.t P-nh-'I-r-r m-in=f iw wn p3=i dr.t iby (9) hr s.t nhm gm p3y pr 'Imn iry=w iy n{ty}=i rmt hw.t-ntr 'Imn Npy dr niw.tyw rmt '3.t nb.t md{t}w rm=i (10) dd=w n=i dd ir=f nš n=k '3.t n p3 T3-Sty 'Imn Npy p3y{tw}=k it nfr iw dd=w rmt nb iw=f r mnwt n-drw (II) dd=i <n>=w dd sy t3-itrw my srsr=tn n={f}i 'Imn Npy p3y=i it nfr mš'c tn sy šn=tn i.iry (12) 'Imn Npy*

(7) I made haste in the morning to reach Isdarras and spent the night. It was my 'threshold'. I heard the 'head patrolmen' from Napata. They said, (8) 'It is the 'dam' of all lands.' I got up early in the morning and I reached Taqat. It is the 'garden' from which King Pi(ankh)-Alara 'sprouted'. While my left hand was (9) upon the place of seizing power, that temple of Amun, all of the people of the temple of Amun of Napata, the citizens, and all the notables came to me. They spoke with me (10) and they said to me, 'Amun of Napata, your good father, has

⁹⁹ Al-Hakem, "City of Meroe and the Myth of Napata," 122.

¹⁰⁰ See *Mn(e) Berote* in the leftmost column of the inscription on the first doorway to the Amun temple at Naga: REM 0031(a) in Leclant *et al.*, *Repertoire d'epigraphie méroïtique* I, 62-63.

¹⁰¹ Török, *Meroe City* I, 20 n. 69 [original punctuation].

¹⁰² Al-Hakem would include Meroë in this circuit because it was there that Nastasen and possibly Irike-Amanote were "elected first as king" from among the royal kinsmen. However, no mention is made in those accounts of any formal rituals undertaken at Meroë; in both cases, the royal kinsmen are compelled to go to Napata in order to be chosen by Amun. Moreover, the Enthronement Stela of Aspelta, written nearly two centuries prior, specifies that "His Majesty's entire army was in the town named 'Pure Mountain'" (Gebel Barkal), when the treasurers of the royal estate said to them: "Come, let us cause our lord to appear." See Cairo JE 48866, *ll.* 1-5, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI. It would therefore appear that, even if Meroë were the starting point of the coronation journey during the fifth century BC, the evidence places that starting point at Gebel Barkal in the late seventh-early sixth centuries BC.

confirmed for you the rulership of the Land of the St-Bow,' while all the people said, 'When will he moor?'. (11) I said <to> them, 'Go! Cross the river. You should propitiate Amun of Napata, my good father, for me. Leave! Go, that you may greet (12) Amun of Napata.'¹⁰³

It may be inferred from the passage that Isdarras and Taqat were located on the Bayuda Road between Meroë and Napata, with Isdarras roughly a day's journey northwest of Meroë. Because of the text's reference to patrolmen there, Darnell has suggested that Isdarras might be the fortress at el-Fura.¹⁰⁴ Taqat was evidently located quite close to Napata but perhaps on the opposite bank of the river, for it was here that "the people of the temple of Amun of Napata, the citizens, and all the notables" came to meet Nastasen and were told to "cross the river" that they might "propitiate Amun of Napata."¹⁰⁵ Most significantly, the toponym *T3-q3.t* is associated with the name of *P-ḥ-ḥ-I-r-r*—the latter possibly an amalgam of the two famous Kushite progenitors, but more likely a Kushite royal title and nomen: "The Living One, Alara."¹⁰⁶ Pi(ankh)-Alara's connection to Taqat is open to philological interpretation: the passage may be read as either "the garden from which King Pi(ankh)-Alara sprouted" or possibly "the garden which King Pi(ankh)-Alara planted." Most translators have preferred the former.¹⁰⁷ If this reading is correct, then the text would seem to explicitly state the hometown of Alara—the Ur-ancestor of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as honored in later memory¹⁰⁸—and it would place that hometown immediately across the river from both the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal and the dynastic cemetery at el-Kurru, as much as two days' journey north of the Meroë region.

There is thus little evidence to support the major assertions of the ancestral seat theory: that the Meroë region offered unique environmental advantages which would have favored political centralization; that the ancestors, wives, kinsmen, and children of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty were buried at Begrawiya West and South; that Meroë was the singular and secular capital of the Kushite half of the Double Kingdom; or that it was regarded as a homeland in Kushite historical memory. The most popular alternative to the ancestral seat theory would instead view Meroë as a region annexed at some point during the expansion of the el-Kurru kingdom. The question of whether Meroë was annexed before, during, or after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is of the greatest importance in ascertaining the southern boundary and political strategies of the state ruled by Taharqo during the first half of the seventh century BC.

¹⁰³ See Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 8-12, in: Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; and collation by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-35 §3.3. Translation here after: Darnell, "Whom did Nestasen overhear at Isderes?"; Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 390-393; but cf. *FHN I*, 476-477. For translation of *T3-Sty* as "Land of the St-Bow," rather than the more generic "Land of the Bow," see above Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps.

¹⁰⁴ Darnell, "Whom did Nestasen overhear at Isderes?". See also Shinnie, "Note on Ast-Raset." For the fortress at el-Fura Wells, see Crawford, *Castles and churches in the Middle Nile Region*, 36-39. The toponym would appear to contain the Meroitic word *astu*, "water," suggesting perhaps an oasis; see Peust, "Der Regierungsbericht des Nastasen," 94.

¹⁰⁵ Schäfer and Peust identified *T3-q3.t* with Nuri, and Priese associated it with Sanam Abu Dom: Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, 30-31; Peust, "Der Regierungsbericht des Nastasen," 95; Priese, "Napatan Period," 77. Darnell suggested the wells of Umm Inderaba (Abu Tuleih/Abu Klea). Darnell, "Whom did Nestasen overhear at Isderes?," 155. If *T3-q3.t* were so close to el-Fura Wells, one must ask why Nastasen stopped at el-Fura Wells the previous night (unless this was merely a pun: see Peust, "Der Regierungsbericht des Nastasen," 94)—and equally why he then told the inhabitants of *T3-q3.t* to cross the river to Amun of Napata. Ancient sandstone blocks underneath a modern mosque just 4 km north of Sanam may signal the location of the quay: see Lohwasser, *Kushite Cemetery of Sanam*, 107-108 n. 100.

¹⁰⁶ Priese, "Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter," 167. Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 123; Leclant and Yoyotte, "Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes," 9 n. 1. *P-ḥ-ḥ* as a royal title has often been taken to be "un souvenir du grand Piankhy déifié." However, the possibility should be considered that King Pi(ankh)y derived his nomen from the concept underlying the eventual royal title, rather than the reverse. The title is not written in a cartouche in the *rn nfr* of Pекertror: *ir-p3-ḥ-ḥ-qnq-n=f*. See Chicago OIM 6408 in Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos," 184 pl. XXVIa. Pace Rilly (Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 74 n. 3), at least one piece of evidence suggests that the title may have been understood by Kushite royals with its Egyptian meaning. In l. 7 of Queen Katimala's Semna inscription, written well before Pi(ankh)y's reign, it is stated that: *iw=f r dit p3 nty ḥ-ḥ*, "He (Amun?) shall appoint the one who is alive." See Oriental Institute photograph P 3349. For further bibliography, see Ch. V.2 n. 125 below.

¹⁰⁷ *FHN I*, 477; Priese, "Napatan Period," 77; contra Darnell, "Whom did Nestasen overhear at Isderes?," 154, 156.

¹⁰⁸ Beyond Nastasen's stela, Alara is also remembered in the Kawa IX inscription of Irike-Amanote (col. 54) and in two Kawa stelae of Taharqo: See Khartoum SNM 2678 (Kawa IV = Merowe Museum 52), l. 17, and Khartoum SNM 2679 (Kawa VI = Merowe Museum 53), col. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-12, 19, 24. Alara is earlier named as the father of Tabiry and husband of Kasaqa on Khartoum SNM 1901 in Dunham, *El Kurru*, fig. 29.

II.3. *Meroë as Early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Annex*

II.3.1. *Apologia*

The timing of the Meroë region's annexation depends largely upon what processes that term is taken to comprise. Based upon New Kingdom colonial precedents and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty parallels from Kawa, Thebes, and Memphis, several factors may be envisioned in the state's annexation of a peripheral territory,¹⁰⁹ though not always in combination or in a consistent order:

1. extraction of local resources, whether through trade or outright seizure;
2. development of local industries for extra-local demand;
3. dissemination of state loyalty and supporting cultural values;
4. incorporation or elimination of local elites;
5. installation of state administrators to serve, command, or replace (4);
6. construction of a physical space for (3) and (5);
7. construction of a royal residence on-site; and
8. integration of the locality into the larger myth of the state.

As described in Ch. II.2 above, (1) was already well underway at Meroë before the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, while (8) would not come to fruition until nearly 800 years after the dynasty's end, even though kings began to be interred there by the third century BC. In the absence of other factors, the combination of (1) and (3) would also be clearly insufficient to constitute territorial annexation, for these factors characterized both New Kingdom Egypt's and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Kush's interaction with Near Eastern vassals who were not regarded as part of either state. Moreover, the hand of the state is difficult to discern in (2) and (4) without supporting evidence of either (5), (6), or (7). The nature of the Meroë region's incorporation into the Double Kingdom may therefore be gauged initially by measuring the extent to which these latter three factors were in operation during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

For Reisner and Dunham, the presence of plaques, scarabs, and amulets inscribed with royal nomina among the grave goods at Begrawiya West and South was taken to indicate, not only the dissemination of state loyalty and supporting cultural values (3), but also the subordination of local elites (4) to an intrusive caste of state administrators (5). Noting the prevalence of non-mummified burials in simple pit graves within the West Cemetery and of mummified coffin burials in the South Cemetery, Reisner and Dunham proposed that the West and South burial grounds served ethnically and occupationally distinct groups:

Thus, from about 750 to 275 BC there were two cemeteries serving the city of Meroë, a fact the writer believes may be explained by the existence of two parallel groups of people living there which he has called the Napatan and the Meroitic groups, the latter being the indigenous inhabitants of what was at first an important provincial city subservient to Napata, and the former consisting of Napatan officials stationed at Meroë but belonging to a different clan.¹¹⁰

The immediate subservience of Meroë to Napata was not problematized by Reisner, who regarded the presence of Egyptianized burials as proof of an immigrant population from Napata stationed at Meroë, and that population, in turn, as proof that the region was dominated by the el-Kurru dynasty.

A similar logic guided Reisner's earlier excavations at Kerma, which are perhaps then instructive for an understanding of his conclusions at Meroë. At Kerma, the use of Egyptian building techniques in the Lower Deffufa, along with the proliferation of Egyptian-style vessels, stamp seals, and inscriptions alongside manifestly non-Egyptian burial customs in the neighboring cemetery, signaled to Reisner the conquest of a native Kushite chiefdom by the Middle Kingdom Egyptian state and the subordination of local elites

¹⁰⁹ For discussion and bibliography see: Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 56-96; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*; Kemp, "Imperialism in New Kingdom Egypt," 7-57, 283-297; Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*. For discussion of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty activity at Kawa, Thebes, and Memphis, see Chs. III, V, VII below.

¹¹⁰ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, I; *id.*, "Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan, Part V."

to an intrusive caste of Egyptian administrators.¹¹¹ These conclusions were subsequently challenged, first by Hermann Junker and later by Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, who posited instead the political independence of Kerma under the leadership of a Kushite ruling class that imported Egyptian goods and co-opted literate Egyptian architects in their own service.¹¹² As Adams would later observe:

That there were Egyptians at Kerma seems beyond dispute. Yet it is almost equally certain that Reisner overestimated their numbers and their rule. . . . A small Egyptian élite, supervising native commerce and industry on behalf of a Nubian king, would best account for the archaeological facts at Kerma as we now know them. . . . This seems to be attested too by the stele of Sepedher: "I was a valiant commandant of Buhen, and . . . I built the temple of Horus, Lord of Buhen, to the satisfaction of the ruler of Cush."¹¹³

The case of Kerma suggests an alternative to Reisner's interpretation at Meroë: the various Egyptian goods, influences, and/or personnel at Begrawiya West and South might be explained as imports from the Napata region acquired by a local Meroite elite.¹¹⁴ Under this scenario, the subordination of that elite to the kingdom ruled by the el-Kurru dynasts would more likely be inaugurated, not by the presence of inscribed grave goods and mummified coffin burials *tout court*, but instead by the devotion of local resources and manpower to the construction of a royal residence to house the overlords from el-Kurru and a local temple to disseminate royal propaganda and the cultural values that supported it. If Meroë was annexed to the Double Kingdom during or before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, one might expect the royal center to leave some such architectural stamp upon the local landscape during the roughly nine decades of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rule. Consequently, the argumentative burden would seem to shift from the outlying cemeteries at Begrawiya West and South to Meroë City itself.

Török's updated version of the hypothesis introduced by Reisner has therefore focused upon possible evidence of royal construction projects at the city's North Mound and within the so-called "Royal Enclosure." Upon the North Mound, the absence of any inscriptional material whatsoever has rendered the identification of such projects difficult, but Török would nevertheless infer the hand of the state in certain details of the mud-brick construction. In particular, he cites a suggestive change in brick size, as first observed by Bradley. Early strata of the North Mound revealed brick sizes of 26 × 12 × 8 cm and 30 × 15 × 9 cm.¹¹⁵ As Török observes, "[t]hese standard mud-brick sizes correspond with the mud-brick sizes recorded by Griffith from the foundation wall of the Sanam temple the building of which was probably started by one of Taharqo's predecessors."¹¹⁶ Similar brick sizes were found in the West Cemetery at BW 662—a burial which Reisner tentatively dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, albeit without supporting argumentation.¹¹⁷ After an intervening stratum of silt, subsequent construction upon the city's North Mound used much larger bricks (34 × 17 × 8.5 cm) comparable to those found in constructions of Taharqo in the Napatan region, as well as in BW 467—an adult male's tomb, with no associated objects, to which Reisner consequently declined to assign a date.¹¹⁸ The close concordance between brick sizes at Napata and Meroë is

¹¹¹ Reisner, "Accessions to the Egyptian Collection during 1914," 76; *id.*, "Excavations at Kerma (Dongola Province) I/II," 49. See also *id.*, *Excavations at Kerma, Parts 1-3*; *id.*, *Excavations at Kerma, Parts 4-5*.

¹¹² Junker, *El-Kubanieh-Nord, 1910-1911*, 18-26; *id.*, *Der nubische Ursprung der sogennanten Tell el-Jahudiye Vasen*, 94-105; *id.*, "Bemerkungen zur Kerma-Kunst"; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 103-116. See also the overview provided by Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*, 19-27.

¹¹³ Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 209-210, 214 [emphasis added].

¹¹⁴ One may compare in this regard the Hyksos royal scarab seals found in the Judaeen hills. While Bunimovitz has interpreted them as "an indication of administrative integration," the actual context of their archaeological discovery suggests a rather different function. Ilan explains: "The overwhelming majority have been found in mortuary contexts and should probably be associated with a regenerative amuletic symbolism." In this regard, the biblical mention of the Hyksos dynast "Shesi" among the "Anakite" kings of Hebron need not indicate his rule over the town, as Kempinski has implied; it is just as likely that Sheshi's appearance in the Judaeen hills was a result of ritual authority devoid of administrative control. A similar scenario might well be proposed for the relationship between the el-Kurru dynasts and Meroë as reflected in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty scarabs which appear in mortuary contexts at Begrawiya West and South. For the problem of the Hyksos scarabs, see discussion in: Bunimovitz, "On the edge of empires," 323; Ilan, "Dawn of internationalism," 311; Kempinski, "Middle Bronze Age," 194.

¹¹⁵ Bradley, "Meroitic Chronology," 197.

¹¹⁶ Török, *Meroe City I*, 25. For the foundation courses of the Amun temple at Sanam, see Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 80.

¹¹⁷ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 11.

¹¹⁸ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, fig. 174.

taken by Török to indicate that at the latter site “the builders came from the Napata region,” both before and after an episode of flood which deposited the intervening layer of silt during the reign of Taharqo.¹¹⁹

The neighboring areas of the Amun temple (M 260) and the so-called “Royal Enclosure” pose a challenge to this thesis, for in both areas there is a conspicuous absence of any architectural fragments inscribed with the nomina or prenomina of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings. Garstang explained this absence by speculating that “their stones were carried away” at a point when “some catastrophe overwhelmed the city.”¹²⁰ More recently, Török has proposed to identify this catastrophe with the aforementioned flood, which he connects to the famous inundation of Taharqo’s sixth regnal year.¹²¹ Following Bradley,¹²² he cites a passage from Kawa V as a possible reference to the inundation of the habitation mounds at Meroë City:

hpr.n tr n hwt (7) Hꜥp wnn=f hr hwt m b(w) wr rꜥ nb ỉr.n=f hrw.w ꜥš3.w hr hwt m mh 1 rꜥ nb ꜥq.n=f dw.w T3-rsy hr-tp.n=f ỉ3w.t T3-mhw wnn t3 m Nw.w m nn nn tn (8) m3w.t r ỉtr hwt.n=f m mh 21 šsp 1 dbꜥ 2 gs r dmit n W3s.t rdt.n Hm=f ỉnn.tw n=f gn.wt n.t tp(.yw)-ꜥ hr m3 Hꜥp hpr m h3=sn n gm.tw mitt ỉry ỉm (9) ỉs gr hwt pt m T3-Sty stiḥ.n=s dw.w r dr=sn wnn s nb nw T3-Sty bꜥḥ m ht nb wnn Km.t m ḥb nfr dw3-ntr=sn n Hm=f

When the time came for the rising (7) of the inundation, it continued rising greatly each day and it passed many days rising at the rate of one cubit every day. It penetrated the hills of the Southland, it overtopped the mounds of the Northland, and the land was Primeval Waters, an inert (expanse), without land being (8) distinguishable from river. It rose to a height of twenty-one cubits, one palm, and two-and-a-half digits at the harbor of Dominion (Thebes). His Majesty had the annals of the ancestors brought to him, to see the inundation(s) that happened in their time(s), and the like thereof was not found therein. (9) Indeed, the sky rained in the Land of the *St-Bow*, and adorned all the hills. Every man of the Land of the *St-Bow* was inundated with an abundance of everything. Egypt was in beautiful festival, and they thanked god for His Majesty.¹²³

This flood, Török argues, effectively covered the area upon which M 260 would later be built and limited all royal architecture during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to elevated ground northwest of that area. According to this interpretation, the braided channel of the river prevented the expansion of urban space during the later Napatan era as well, requiring instead that Twenty-Fifth Dynasty structures be dismantled to make room for new royal monuments. The *temenos* which was found to surround that area, dubbed by Garstang the “Enclosure Wall,” was assigned by Török to the mid- or late-third century BC, based upon “stratigraphical speculation” relative to dated levels in Shinnie and Bradley’s trenches on the North Mound.¹²⁴ Observing the “pseudo-rustication” unique to the eastern side of the Enclosure Wall, Török would further date the adjacent construction of M 260 to a period when that wall “was still being in the course of construction,” and thus also in the third century BC.¹²⁵ It is certainly to be hoped that future excavations will provide a more secure means of dating the structure than subjective observation of one wall’s texture or “rustication”—much less its “pseudo-rustication.” Nevertheless, if Török’s conclusion does prove correct, then M 260 would not have been in existence during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Constrained by the course of the river, any temple or royal residence built for the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would therefore need to be sought within the space demarcated by that later wall—the area of the so-called “Royal Enclosure.” Re-used blocks from the area yielded no Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal nomina, but apparent foundation deposits have nevertheless been taken to suggest a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty date. Beneath the structure designated M 296, Garstang discovered “foundation deposits, bronze figures, &c., of Egyptian style, . . . [which] take us back also, like the architecture of the building, to the period of Taharqa.”¹²⁶ Garstang’s allusion to the building’s architecture evidently referred to the four columns which had supported the roof,¹²⁷ and this arrangement, along with the foundation deposits, led Garstang and

¹¹⁹ Török, *Meroe City* I, 25.

¹²⁰ Garstang and George, “Fourth Interim Report,” 6.

¹²¹ Török, *Meroe City* I, 25.

¹²² Bradley, “Meroitic Chronology,” 200.

¹²³ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek *Æ.I.N.* 1712, ll. 6-9, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 9-10.

¹²⁴ Török, *Meroe City* I, 43-45.

¹²⁵ Török, *Meroe City* I, 35. The proposed connection between M 260 and the Enclosure Wall remains a matter of considerable dispute: Grzymski, *Meroe Reports* I, 21; Török, “From chiefdom to ‘segmentary state,’” 160 n. 66.

¹²⁶ Garstang and George, “Fourth Interim Report,” 5.

¹²⁷ See also Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 133.

Sayce to designate M 296 as the “Taharqa building” in the Interim Reports.¹²⁸ In the 1988 publication of his doctoral thesis on Meroitic architecture, al-Hakem also attributed to foundation deposits in the Royal Enclosure “several faience fragments bearing the name of Amanirdis (daughter of Kashta, 760-744 BC),” citing as support the published testimony of Sayce.¹²⁹ More recently, Török would add to this evidence a striding bronze statuette from Garstang’s excavations “which can be identified as a representation of Taharqo” (Figs. 2 and 3 below).¹³⁰ Attributing this statuette to the area inside the later “Royal Enclosure,” Török has reconstructed an “early Amûn temple” (to be distinguished from M 260, the “late Amûn temple”) which was located across the area later spanned by M 292-298 and which was oriented north-south like the earliest dwellings upon the North Mound.¹³¹ Combining the evidence of the foundation deposits from Meroë City with the mummified coffin burials and inscribed early royal prenomina and nomina from Begrawiya South and West, he proposes that, at the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Meroë was already host to “an Egyptianized temple and its priesthood who could care for mortuary rites and cult.”¹³²

Possible support for the theory of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Amun temple at Meroë is provided by the recent finds of the Khartoum-Toronto mission in M 750, an enigmatic structure containing an assortment of re-used reliefs from the Middle or Late Meroitic periods. As noted in Chapter II.2.1 above, radiocarbon samples within the structure yielded “surprisingly early” dates: 920-780 BC (1 σ 840-800 BC) and 840-770 BC (1 σ 820-790 BC).¹³³ If such dates are taken to indicate the existence of a predecessor to M 750 located



Fig. 2. Statue x-g, side view. © Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.



Fig. 3. Statue x-g, frontal view. © Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

¹²⁸ See discussion in Török, *Meroe City I*, 165, pls. 115, 131-132. In the recent publication of the 1973-1984 seasons of the Khartoum-Calgary mission, M 294 is designated the “Taharqa room.” See Shinnie and Anderson, *Capital of Kush 2*, 84.

¹²⁹ From M 294 and M 295. See al-Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture*, 20. Al-Hakem cites “A. H. Sayce, ‘The Ethiopian Sovereigns at Meroe,’ *Ancient Egypt 3* (1920): 70,” though the article was actually published in 1929 and the matter in question instead discussed on p. 71.

¹³⁰ Török, *Meroe City I*, 29, 32, 260, pls. 210-211.

¹³¹ Török, *Meroe City I*, 25-30 §§2.4.1-2.4.2. The area of M 295 is assigned by Török to the early palace that would have accompanied the early Amun temple.

¹³² Török, *Meroe City I*, 29.

¹³³ Grzymiski, “Recent Research at the Palaces and Temples of Meroe,” 234; *id.*, “Meroe, the capital of Kush,” 54.

upon the same spot, then they might equally suggest a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty core to M 260, for M 750 is located on the starboard side of M 260's processional way, in exactly the position one would expect of a royal palace vis-à-vis an Amun temple.¹³⁴ The radiocarbon dates are not mentioned in Török's most recent discussion of the "early Amûn temple," and indeed they would not accord well with his hypothesis that M 260 was a construction of the third century BC and its predecessor instead located within the area of the "Royal Enclosure" and oriented north-south rather than east-west.¹³⁵ Consequently, the Khartoum-Toronto discoveries in M 750 offer possible support for Török's chronological conclusions, but not for his architectural reconstruction.

However, it would be hazardous to base the early history of the site upon only two radiocarbon samples, particularly as neither was directly associated with any architectural features. As Grzymski cautions:

The presence of the Early Napatan [read: pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty] material within a building containing re-used Meroitic reliefs is difficult to explain. The deposits found in rooms C and G were placed inside these rooms and do not seem to represent an early midden on which the palace was later erected. They could conceivably represent the fill placed in that position during the construction of M 750S, although the different nature of deposits in each room and the presence of complete vessels rather than broken sherds argue against this explanation.¹³⁶

Thus, Török's reconstruction of the "early Amûn temple" is instead based upon the aforementioned small finds from the area of the "Royal Enclosure," and he has taken these to indicate a conquest of the region by the el-Kurru dynasts that coincided with the earliest royal nomina at Begrawiya West and South and resulted in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Amun temple and royal residence at the site. This scenario is reiterated in each of his recent monographs dealing with the Nubian half of the Double Kingdom.¹³⁷ Török concludes: "[T]he Meroe region lost its independence to the el Kurru dynasty around the beginning of the 25th Dynasty period."¹³⁸

A certain irony must be remarked here about the manner in which Reisner's and Sayce's interpretations have mutated in subsequent scholarship. As discussed above, the evidence which Reisner used to argue for Meroë's annexation by the el-Kurru dynasts—the collection of inscribed grave goods at Begrawiya West and South—is now cited by Priese *et al.* as proof that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty originated from Meroë, while the evidence which Sayce first used to argue for the dynasty's origin at Meroë—the group of small finds from the Royal Enclosure—is now cited by Török as proof that the city had been annexed by the dynasts from el-Kurru. Clearly, the archaeological evidence from Meroë does not speak for itself. However, the two divergent interpretations have one important conclusion in common: both would subsume Meroë within the Double Kingdom across the entire history of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

II.3.2. Critique: The Architectural Chronology of Meroë City

While Török concedes that his reconstruction is "incomplete and at points hypothetical," the scenario he proposes is nevertheless eminently plausible, incorporating several categories of evidence, and it should

¹³⁴ O'Connor, "City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt," 82ff.

¹³⁵ Magnetometry survey conducted by the Khartoum-Toronto mission within the Royal Enclosure has not revealed the early Amun temple envisioned there by Török: Grzymski, "Amun Temple(s) at Meroe"; Schellinger, "Nubian Palaces and Amun Temples."

¹³⁶ Grzymski, "Meroe, the capital of Kush," 54. Quite recently, Grzymski's excavations have uncovered a mud-brick wall beneath M 750S which was covered by a ceramic dump, a large quantity of animal bones, and charcoal. According to the excavators, the resulting C14 dates confirm "that the newfound wall is of the Early Kushite/Napatan period" [their designation for the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era], but it remains to be determined whether the wall was commissioned by the el-Kurru dynasts themselves. As argued above, Meroë may well have been a site of construction by local elites before it became a site of royal construction by the family buried at el-Kurru and Nuri. Indeed, the existence of some form of temple at Meroë during the ninth century BC would not be at all surprising, given that the evidence in contemporaneous tombs at the site strongly suggests the presence locally of priests literate in the Egyptian language. Less obvious is the political context of any such temple at that time, and thus considerable caution must be exercised in interpreting the decorated blocks that had been re-used in M 750. Again, the complete absence of royal nomina either upon or in association with architectural fragments renders the political significance of the earliest structures at Meroë quite unclear. See Grzymski and Grzymska, "Excavations in Palace M 750S at Meroe," 48-49 pl. 4; Rocheleau, *Amun Temples in Nubia*, 80-81. See also discussion in n. 140 below.


¹³⁷ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 341; *id.*, *Image of the Ordered World*, 19-20, 28, 70 n. 136; *id.*, *Kingdom of Kush*, 129, 152, 175-176.

¹³⁸ Török, *Meroe City I*, 18.

remain among the candidate explanations for Meroë's early history.¹³⁹ Future excavations at the site by the Khartoum-Toronto mission may well furnish additional pieces of support for Török's reconstruction, particularly if they are able to locate even a single re-used block securely attributable to a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty pharaoh.¹⁴⁰ The critique that follows will highlight certain ambiguities in the evidence which admit explanations other than those endorsed by Török, so that alternative scenarios might not be foreclosed prematurely.

Among the more ambiguous evidence cited by Török are the brick-size correlations, and the argument which would connect them to the el-Kurru dynasty bears the closest and most instructive analogy to Reisner's logic at Kerma. In his study of Kerma's Lower Deffufa, Reisner observed that the 52.3 × 26.7 m base of the structure would have corresponded almost exactly to 100 × 50 ancient Egyptian cubits.¹⁴¹ The use of Egyptian units of measure, he reasoned, demonstrated the involvement of Egyptian architects, who, in turn, must have been stationed at Kerma following an Egyptian conquest of the region. Similarly, Török has observed a correspondence between the measurements of mud bricks in the Fourth Cataract region and those found at Meroë, and he has reasoned that the use at Meroë of units of measure otherwise attested in the Fourth Cataract region demonstrates the involvement of architects from that Fourth Cataract region who must have been stationed at Meroë following a conquest by the el-Kurru dynasts. Reisner's and Török's arguments are as speculative as they are ingenious, and both are vulnerable to the same critique: the use of standardized, foreign units of measure demonstrates influence, but it need not correspond to foreign domination—whether by Egyptians at Kerma or by the el-Kurru elites at Meroë.¹⁴² Foreign (or even local) architects employing those units might just as plausibly have been commanded by local elites rather than by foreign overlords. While this point is now widely accepted as a corrective to Reisner's conclusions at Kerma, it has not been raised against Török's similar conclusions at Meroë.

Deductions based upon brick-size correlations on the North Mound must therefore be supported with firmer evidence of involvement by the el-Kurru dynasts in other construction projects at the site. In this regard, it is immediately striking that none of the architectural elements of M 260 or the "Royal Enclosure," whether *in situ* or re-used, bears the nomina or prenomina of a single Twenty-Fifth Dynasty king. Török would explain this absence as the result of the high Nile recorded in Taharqo's sixth regnal year—a flood which, he maintains, confined all royal architecture for several centuries to the palimpsestic space later demarcated by the Enclosure Wall. Considerable doubts about the proposed effects of such a flood upon the urban layout of Meroë City have been voiced by Pawel Wolf.¹⁴³ Yet, even if the exceptional inundation in Taharqo's year 6 did transform the city, it does not necessarily follow that the city thus transformed was already the site of an Amun temple and royal residence.

The textual evidence cited in support of this argument—Kawa V—does not mention Meroë by name, much less a temple or royal residence at the site, and refers only vaguely to "the hills of the Southland" and a rain in the "Land of the St-Bow" which "adorned all the hills" (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712, ll. 7-9). In fact, Kawa V has frustrated many such attempts at geographical eisegesis: though the text does include the only explicit statement of the Double Kingdom's boundaries known thus far, it does so without any identifiable reference to Meroë or the Butana region. In lines 15-16, the inscription states in the voice of Taharqo: "[M]y father Amun had ordered for me that every land and every hill-country be placed under the soles of my feet, south  and north to *Qbh-Hr*, east to the rising of Re and west to the place in which He sets."¹⁴⁴ The southern boundary as named has proven enigmatic, and most scholars have

¹³⁹ Török, *Meroe City* I, 14.

¹⁴⁰ The possibility that blocks from the earliest Amun temple may have been re-used in M 750 or M 260 is discussed by: Grzymski, "Meroe, the capital of Kush," 53; *id.*, *Meroe Reports* I, 20; Rocheleau, *Amun Temples in Nubia*, 80-81.

¹⁴¹ Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*, 21.

¹⁴² The same logic must ultimately be applied to the mud-brick wall recently found by Grzymski beneath M 750S (see n. 136 above), which was "made of small bricks (230-260 × 130 × 80 mm) usually associated with the 25th Dynasty." Grzymski and Grzymska, "Excavations in Palace M 750S at Meroe," 49.

¹⁴³ Wolf, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen am Tempel MJE 105." See also Ahmed, "Island of Meroe?"

¹⁴⁴ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 9-10. See also the recent transcription by Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 137. As Macadam explained in 1949, however, the stela was further damaged during transport and is no longer useful for verification of this reading: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 31.

elected to read a haplography, *r Rthw-Qbt*, “to Retehu-Qabet,” relating the word in Kawa V to passages in two New Kingdom stelae.¹⁴⁵ In line 4 of Thutmose I’s Tombos Stela, it is stated that “the *H3w-Nb.tyw* and the *Rthw-Q3b.tyw* are an abomination,” while line 6 of Cairo CG 34163 (*tempus* Amenhotep III?) names the king’s southern boundary as *Rthw-Qbt*—precisely as Taharqo’s southern boundary is described in Kawa V.¹⁴⁶ As a result, many have attempted to identify the term in Kawa V with a specific ethnonym or toponym located south or even west of Napata.¹⁴⁷

Neither lexicology nor context favors such geographical positivism. A consideration of the term’s attestations beyond royal monuments reveals a connection with celestial rather than terrestrial geography. Papyrus Carlsberg I (col. II, ll. 19-26) states: “Die Oberseite d(ies)es Himmels ist in der Urfinsternis. Die Außenseite des Himmels befindet sich in Finsternis, die geballt ist, das heißt 𓆎𓆏𓆐 , die er im Buch ‘Auflösung’ nannte, welches ist die Umgrenzung des Himmels.”¹⁴⁸ Neugebauer and Parker have translated *Rthw-Qbt* as a synonym for “darkness” in Papyrus Carlsberg I,¹⁴⁹ and Lieven has concluded of the passage that “[d]ie Finsternis begrenzt die Welt nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen, gleichzeitig liegen diese Grenzen in den Wassern des Urozeans.”¹⁵⁰ A similar reading is supported by the context of Kawa V. The year 6 flood, though corresponding to a verifiable historic event,¹⁵¹ is cast in mythic terms in Kawa V as a miraculous reversion to the Primeval Waters (*Nw.w*), and Taharqo’s northern, eastern, and western boundaries are defined, not with identifiable toponyms, but instead as the Cool Waters of Horus and the Rising and Setting of Re. Taharqo’s *oikumene* is thus bounded in each cardinal direction by an *ultima Thule*, and it is rather doubtful that the resulting geography can be overlain upon a modern map and correlated with archaeological sites.¹⁵² This context should also caution against any attempt to correlate the vague “hills” of Kawa V, ll. 7-9, with habitation mounds roughly 500 km away at Meroë, a site unmentioned in any earlier or contemporaneous document.

Without a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty reference to the toponym *Meroë*, or a reference to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings upon the inscribed architecture of Meroë City, the identification of a royal construction project at Meroë during that era is therefore dependent upon the small finds and, in particular, those attributed to foundation deposits within the “Royal Enclosure.” Garstang’s designation of M 296 as the “Taharqa building” was based initially upon a casual architectural comparison which he later rescinded,¹⁵³ but also upon “foundation deposits, bronze figures, &c . . . [which] take us back . . . to the period of Taharqa.”¹⁵⁴ Though the objects in question are not further described by Garstang, Török’s analysis of the excavation records has proposed that they “are probably identical with 296-1 to 7,” objects whose present whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 4). Török’s closer study of the surviving photographs allowed only a vague stylistic dating to the “25th Dynasty or Early Napatan” era.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, it is precisely the distinction between the two periods that is most important to the question at hand, and thus the M 296 deposits provide little assistance in ascertaining the existence of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple or palace at Meroë.

¹⁴⁵ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 60; *FHN* I, 153; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 28. Cf. Gozzoli, “Kawa V and Taharqo’s *By3wt*,” 238: “the south land to Retebu-Kabet [*sic*], the south [*sic*] to Ka-Hehes [*sic*]. Gozzoli’s reading is not derived from a new collation of the original stela. Personal communication from Roberto Gozzoli dated 10 May 2010. I thank Roberto Gozzoli for generously providing me with an offprint of his article. Though “south to *Rthw-Qbt*” is almost certainly the correct reading, based upon its attestations elsewhere, it is at least noteworthy that a copyist relying upon a hieratic original could easily have confused *Rthw* (U 31) with *Hnt* (D 19), “southern”—a quite common prefix in toponyms. See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 8 no. 90, 44 no. 491; *op. cit.*, III, 8 no. 90, 47 no. 491.

¹⁴⁶ *LD* III, 5a; Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire* I, 204.

¹⁴⁷ Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 545 n. 7; Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, 59 n. 4, 65 n. 2; Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, 47; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 31; Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 159.

¹⁴⁸ Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne* I, 59; *op. cit.* II, Taf. 9. See also: col. I, l. 22, in *op. cit.* II, Taf. 8. For earlier translations, see: Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, pls. 36 (col. I, l. 22), 37 (col. II, l. 21). Detoma, “L’astronomia degli Egizi”, 116-117.

¹⁴⁹ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, 45, 52-53.

¹⁵⁰ Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne* I, 141.

¹⁵¹ Legrain, “Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak,” 115-116 nos. 34-35; von Beckerath, “Nile Level Records at Karnak,” 47-48.

¹⁵² For discussion of mythic geographies in Egyptian and Kushite thought, see: O’Connor and Quirke, “Mapping the Unknown in Ancient Egypt”; Layton, “Mysterious Lands.”

¹⁵³ Garstang, Phythian-Adams, and Sayce, “Fifth Interim Report,” 4.

¹⁵⁴ Garstang and George, “Fourth Interim Report,” 5.

¹⁵⁵ Török, *Meroe City* I, 165-166.



Fig. 4. Statues 296-5, 296-6, 296-4, and 296-7. © Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

More definite proof of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty architecture at Meroë would seem at first to be provided by al-Hakem's reference to "faience fragments bearing the name of Amenirdis (daughter of Kashta)" from the foundation deposits of M 294 and M 295, particularly as references were given to Garstang's "Card Records" as well as a published mention of the fragments by Sayce.¹⁵⁶ Though Török's study of Garstang's records found no mention of any inscribed objects naming Amenirdis at Meroë City,¹⁵⁷ Sayce's publication in 1929 did refer to an inscribed object of "blue faience from the Southern Palace" naming "Amon-ardu[s]."¹⁵⁸ However, Sayce made no mention of the nomen *Kashta* found in association with that object, and thus there is little reason to presume that the Amenirdis in question was the God's Wife of that name during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Amenirdis I), rather than the Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis II, who many believe may have returned to Kush *after* the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵⁹ In fact, Sayce's chronological list of the inscribed objects found in that deposit placed "Amon-ardu[s]" between the fifth and fourth centuries BC(!)—likely erroneous but indicating, at the very least, that there was little in the way of archaeological context, artistic style, or palaeography to connect the inscribed object with Kashta and the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings.

Török's publication of Garstang's excavation records does discuss both the bronze figures found beneath M 296 and the "Amon-ardu[s]" fragment mentioned by Sayce, but Török judiciously discounts both as proof of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple in the area.¹⁶⁰ Instead, Török cites the evidence of a bronze royal striding statuette which supports, "however indirectly," the conclusion that "the early Amûn Temple already existed in some form in the early 25th Dynasty period" (Figs. 2 and 3).¹⁶¹ Attributing the statuette to Taharqo, Török writes:

¹⁵⁶ Al-Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ Török, *Meroe City I*, 161.

¹⁵⁸ Sayce, "Ethiopian Sovereigns at Meroe," 71.

¹⁵⁹ Christophe, "La double datation," 147-148; Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush"; Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 163 n. 208.

¹⁶⁰ Török, *Meroe City I*, 161, 165-166.

¹⁶¹ Török, *Meroe City I*, 29.

As far as it may be judged on the basis of the poor photograph, the profile of the Meroe City statuette closely resembles the profile in the Boston bronze [MFA 1970.443]. The proportions of the forehead, nose, and chin parts are identical in both pieces and also the rendering of the short, weak chin and the smooth curve of the transition from chin to neck line are analogous in the two pieces. . . . Russmann and Mysliwiec did not suggest an identification of the Boston statuette, but in Mysliwiec's work it is illustrated on Pl. XIV, certainly not accidentally, in the company of three relief representations of Taharqo. The striking resemblances between the weak chin, full lips and cheeks and the skull shape in the Boston piece and the Taharqo reliefs and especially the characteristic backward slant of the forehead shared by all of them indicate that both the Boston and the lost Meroe City bronzes represent this particular ruler. Such an identification is further supported by the similarities between these statuettes and the Louvre statuette representing Taharqo before Hemen [Louvre E 25276].¹⁶²

The chain of inference thus runs as follows: the existence of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple at Meroë is posited on the basis of a striding statuette from the excavations, now lost, whose facial features are judged "on the basis of the poor photograph" to resemble a squatting statuette of Taharqo at the Louvre and another striding bronze statuette in Boston which, though unattributed, was suggestively placed on the same page with three relief representations of Taharqo in Mysliwiec's published overview of late royal portraiture.¹⁶³

Noticeably absent from this analysis is any demonstration that the statuette could *not* belong to the corpus of *post*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty portraiture—*e.g.*, for such kings as Senkamanisken and Aspelta. Indeed, the exclusion of post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings would be difficult, for even though bronze statuary continued to be made in Kush during the Early Napatan period,¹⁶⁴ the paucity of attributable portraits in that medium renders the identification of distinctive facial features for each king of that epoch and their differentiation from Taharqo quite speculative—particularly given the likely filiation of those kings from Taharqo himself.¹⁶⁵ As both Marsha Hill and Edna Russmann have noted, the royal image and iconography of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty are continuous with those of the Early Napatan kings who followed, and one must therefore be wary of "the tendency . . . to call them all Taharqa, even though some . . . could very well be later than the Twenty-fifth Dynasty proper."¹⁶⁶ If the statuette came from the area within the "Royal Enclosure," as Török quite reasonably suggests,¹⁶⁷ then its date is best judged, not on the basis of stylistic comparisons alone, but also through confrontation with the chronological data provided by the other foundation deposits from that area.

Beneath M 294 were found several objects inscribed with royal nomina. Garstang recorded below its wall three golden necklace spacers inscribed with the names of Aramatelqo (first third of sixth century BC) and Malonaqen (first half of sixth century BC), presumably left there as a foundation deposit.¹⁶⁸ These are now in the collections of the Brooklyn Museum (49.29) and Khartoum's Sudan National Museum (511.1), with replicas at the Brooklyn Museum (63.35.1-2) and Liverpool (SAOS 8041-8043).¹⁶⁹ In a separate cachette below M 294, labeled by Garstang the "rubbish pit," a large number of votive sistra and $\text{rnh-w}^3\text{s}$ symbols was found inscribed with the nomina of: Senkamanisken and his presumed wife, Nasalsa¹⁷⁰ (second half of seventh century BC); Aspelta (late seventh century-early sixth century BC); Aramatelqo (first third of sixth century BC); Malonaqen (first half of sixth century BC); Amanikarqo (second half of sixth century BC); Amaniastabarqo (late sixth-early fifth century BC); and Siospiqo (first half of fifth century BC). Several of these objects are believed to remain uncatalogued in Khartoum.¹⁷¹ In the Second Interim Report, Garstang and Sayce dated the objects to the "8th [*sic*] to 6th century BC," but the earlier half of that date range may

¹⁶² Török, *Meroe City* I, 260.

¹⁶³ Mysliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*, pl. XLIVc.

¹⁶⁴ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 141-149, pls. LXXV-LXXXII.

¹⁶⁵ Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush," 209; Dunham and Macadam, "Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata."

¹⁶⁶ Hill, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt*, 51 n. 2; Russmann, *Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 20.

¹⁶⁷ Though Török initially published the statue as "unprovenanced," he has stated recently: "I failed to realize that it was photographed by Garstang as part of the metal finds from the second cachette." Török, *Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia*, 120 n. 51.

¹⁶⁸ Török, *Meroe City* I, 160-161.

¹⁶⁹ Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity* II, 185 no. 101.

¹⁷⁰ But *cf.* n. 56 above.

¹⁷¹ Török, *Meroe City* I, 155-160; but see also Khartoum SNM 00624 and 00626, both inscribed for Aspelta and attributed to M 294, as now published in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 34.

be explained by the fact that Garstang and Sayce initially believed Malonaqen and Aspelta to be *pre*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings—a view subsequently rendered untenable by Reisner's excavations at Nuri.¹⁷² *Mutatis mutandis*, the cachette yields a date range from the late seventh to the early fifth century BC.

As Sanhourî al-Rayah would first observe, the votive sistra and *ḥh-w3s* symbols suggest an association with the renewal of royal power on New Year's Day,¹⁷³ and possibly also an Early Napatan practice of ante-dating regnal years to coincide with that date—à la their Saïte contemporaries. Török has thus concluded that “the two object complexes discovered under M 294 attest in themselves the existence of a temple in this area.”¹⁷⁴ This interpretation has been disputed by Hinkel and Sievertsen, in light of the “Neujahrshalle des Aspelta” in the royal palace (B 1200) at Gebel Barkal: “Könnte man die Ritual nicht auch in einem speziell dazu bestimmten Bereich des königlichen Palastes ausgeführt haben?”¹⁷⁵ For the present discussion, the distinction is less crucial, as the more important fact is that a royal construction had been erected at Meroë City during the Early Napatan, *i.e.* post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, period.

More definitive proof of the same conclusion is provided by an assortment of blocks found at spot M 293, under M 294, and in secondary position within M 295. These were inscribed with the names of: [*Hr*]-*nbw H[ry-ḥr-M3ʿt ?]* (Anlamani?, late seventh century BC); Aspelta (late seventh-early sixth century BC); Malonaqen (first half of sixth century BC); Amaninatakilebte (second half of sixth century BC); and Talakhamani (second half of fifth century BC).¹⁷⁶ Yellin's recent study of the blocks has concluded that several derived from “temples of either Aspelta or Malonaqen in area M 293/4.” Combining the evidence of the inscribed blocks with that of the foundation deposits beneath M 294, Yellin envisions “a Napatan[-era] Temple to Amun dating to the reign of Senkamenisken,” to which “Aspelta apparently added” before it was “renovated by Malonaqen”; she would presumably exclude the possible Golden Horus name of Anlamani as too fragmentary and conjectural for attribution.¹⁷⁷ The names of Senkamenisken, Aspelta, and Malonaqen are thus the first that are securely attested in relation to a royal construction at Meroë City. This time frame corresponds to the first possible textual reference to Meroë as [*B*]*rw3* in Psamtik II's Tanis stela (Cairo JE 67095, l. 8),¹⁷⁸ as well as to the appearance of iron-working at the site¹⁷⁹ and of the earliest surviving large-scale statuary at Meroë: a figure of Horus inscribed with the prenomen *Mr-k3-Rc* (*i.e.*, Aspelta).¹⁸⁰ It also corresponds to the earliest evidence of royal construction farther afield in the Meroë region and Butana Steppe: at M 250 southeast of the city, broken fragments were found of a stela inscribed with the name of Aspelta, and the possibility has been entertained that reliefs on the lower podium of that structure may derive from his reign as well.¹⁸¹ At distant Defeia in the Butana, a sphinx of Aspelta (Khartoum SNM 11777) was discovered in 1957 that referenced an Osiris cult at a hitherto unlocated toponym: *Mr.t.t.*¹⁸² the later mention by Harsiyotef of separate Osiris processions at *B3rw3.t* and *Mr.ti* was taken by Vercoutter to indicate that the two sites were distinct, and that centuries prior Aspelta had founded a temple at *Mr.t.t./Mr.ti*

¹⁷² Garstang and Sayce, “Second Interim Report,” 49, 57. See also: Keimer, “Gold Pectoral from Napata,” 227; Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 28.

¹⁷³ Al-Rayah, *Napatan Kingdom*, 9, 103, 132.

¹⁷⁴ Török, *Meroe City* I, 28.

¹⁷⁵ Hinkel and Sievertsen, *Die Royal City von Meroe*, 35 n. 32; cf. Török, “From chiefdom to ‘segmentary state,’” 160 n. 67.

¹⁷⁶ Yellin, “Garstang Cache,” 396-416 §§2.8-2.10; Török, *Meroe City* I, 28. Though Yellin does not mention it, the possibility cannot be altogether excluded that the cartouche (her fig. 240, block 6) which she took to be the Golden Horus name of Anlamani might instead have been that of Shebitqo: [*Hr*]-*nbw H[ry-ḥr-nḥt]*, as seen upon Berlin AMP 1480 from the right doorjamb of his chapel by the Sacred Lake at Karnak: *LD* V, Bl. III. The isolation of such a royal architectural fragment at Meroë during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would nevertheless speak in favor of Yellin's identification of the fragment as the Golden Horus name of Anlamani.

¹⁷⁷ Yellin, “Garstang Cache,” 418. For the “Anlamani” block, see *op. cit.*, 408 fig. 240.

¹⁷⁸ Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” pl. III.

¹⁷⁹ Shinnie and Anderson, *Capital of Kush* 2, 73-74. For broader discussion of iron-working and its chronology in the Sahelian and savannah belts of Africa, see: Trigger, “Myth of Meroe and the African Iron Age”; Haaland and Shinnie, *African Iron Working*; Rehren, “Meroe, iron and Africa”; Killick, “What Do We Know about African Iron Working?”; Abdu and Gordon, “Iron artifacts from the land of Kush”; Alpern, “Did They or Didn't They Invent It?”; Smith, “Death at Tombos”; Killick, “Cairo to Cape.” Ongoing excavations at Hamadab and Meroë may yield relevant dates for the earliest iron-working there by the end of the summer excavation season of 2013; I thank Jane Humphris of University College London Qatar for sharing this information with me.

¹⁸⁰ Object 6829 in Shinnie and Anderson, *Capital of Kush* 2, 62, 263 fig. 126. For a Horus cippi from Meroë inscribed for one Nesmin, possibly contemporaneous but of ambiguous date, see Khartoum SNM 00521 in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 29.

¹⁸¹ Garstang, *Meroë*, 26; Shinnie, *Meroe*, 83; Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity* II, 59-60; Hofmann, “Notizen zu den Kampfszenen”; Török, *Meroe City* I, 104.

¹⁸² Vercoutter, “Le sphinx d'Aspelta de Defeia.”

near Defeia to which the royal sphinx belonged.¹⁸³ More recently, the base and leg of a statue inscribed for Aspelta were discovered at nearby Umm Dom in possible association with the remains of settlement.¹⁸⁴ It is therefore quite evident that the kings of the Early Napatan period were already erecting monuments at Meroë City, and that Aspelta's sphere of activity extended even farther into the steppe.

In contrast to the profusion of royal nomina from the Early Napatan era attested among the foundation deposits and inscribed blocks in Meroë City and even farther afield, not a single Twenty-Fifth Dynasty nomen or prenomen has yet been found in association with any monumental architecture in the region. When attempting to assign a stylistic date to the various "25th Dynasty or Early Napatan[-era]"¹⁸⁵ bronze figures that were either located beneath M 296 or unprovenanced in Garstang's records, preference should therefore be given to the later of these two periods. The same would logically apply to any "early Amûn temple," "Neujahrshalle," or "königlicher Palast" in whose foundations these bronze figures were deposited—rendering the earliest identifiable royal construction at the site a product of the *post*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period. In the absence of earlier evidence of royal construction, the vague textual references to flooded hills in Kawa V and the changes in mud-brick size on the North Mound cannot be tied with confidence to overrule at the site by elites from the Fourth Cataract region, thereby raising doubts about the extent to which Meroë had "lost its independence to the el Kurru dynasty around the beginning of the 25th Dynasty period."¹⁸⁶ Consequently, the nature of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty control in the region must be reconsidered.

II.4. *Beyond Origins: The Annexation of Meroë*

The archaeological and inscriptional evidence related to Meroë's early history appears in the following sequence. In the late ninth century BC, mud-brick construction was present upon the South Mound, and steppic faunae from the broader Butana region were circulated internationally in the Near East as items of diplomatic exchange. During the middle of the eighth century BC, scarabs, inscribed seals, amulets, and coffin burials in the cemeteries at Begrawiya West and South demonstrate contact with the dynasts interred roughly 300 km to the northwest at el-Kurru, likely mediated by mortuary priests from Egypt or from the Fourth Cataract region who were now resident at Meroë. As recent excavations have revealed, the first half of the seventh century BC brings the establishment of a cult of the royal statue at Dangeil just above the Fifth Cataract, likely accompanied by royal temple construction.¹⁸⁷ In the second half of that century, farther south at Meroë City the area within the "Royal Enclosure" yields the first clear evidence *there* of royal construction—either of a temple, palace, or both—and slag deposits on mounds neighboring the city attest to the development of local iron industry. The reign of Aspelta at the beginning of the sixth century BC witnesses royal construction in the city's immediate hinterland and far afield in the Butana Steppe, and it coincides with the first possible textual reference to Meroë, as well as the burial of a "King's Wife" in the Begrawiya South cemetery. By the fifth century BC, Meroë was recognized internationally as "the metropolis of all the other Aithiopians," and there can be little doubt that the king and his royal kinsmen resided there for some portion of the year.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the chronological distribution of this evidence is that the aforementioned phenomena did not emerge simultaneously at Meroë. The inhabitation of Meroë City, its

¹⁸³ See Cairo JE 48864, ll. 148-149, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXIV-XXIVa.

¹⁸⁴ Khartoum SNM 30177, 30178, in el-Sadig, "Some fragments of a statue of King Aspelta at Umm Dom."

¹⁸⁵ Török, *Meroe City* I, 166.

¹⁸⁶ Török, *Meroe City* I, 18.

¹⁸⁷ Anderson and Ahmed, "What are these doing here above the Fifth Cataract?!"; cf. also Anderson and Ahmed, "Kushite Kiosk of Dangeil." It should be apparent that construction by the el-Kurru dynasts at Dangeil does not necessarily entail construction by the el-Kurru dynasts at Meroë farther south, though it may well signal their southward expansion *toward* Meroë during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. The dedication of Taharqo's statue at Dangeil to "Re-Horakhty who resides in *Mst* [t?]" is particularly interesting and may help to clarify the motivations for royal activity there. Based upon the sequence in which *Mst* appears in Thutmose III's toponym list at Karnak, Zyhlarz proposed to identify it with a coastal port on the Red Sea. Dangeil is too far inland to be synonymous with such a port, but overland routes to the Red Sea would seem to have departed the Nile at Dangeil. See Zyhlarz, "Countries of the Ethiopian Empire of Kash (Kush)," 29.

incorporation into long-distance trade networks, the appearance of mortuary priests from the Fourth Cataract region, the development of local industry for extra-local demand, and the devotion of local resources and manpower to royal construction projects are instead evidenced in phases, rather than all at once at the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Within this scenario, Meroë would have been annexed quite gradually by the dynasts buried at el-Kurru and Nuri. The earliest local elites at Meroë would thus be neither ancestral to nor entirely subservient to the kings of the Fourth Cataract region, constituting instead a Meroïte lineage that benefited initially from long-distance trade with Napata and was then grafted onto the royal line(s) of el-Kurru and Nuri over the course of several generations. Under this scenario, Dangeil farther north would have functioned for the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in a manner analogous to their sites of monumental construction in Lower Egypt (see Ch. VII below): a point of tangency between spheres of established royal hegemony and growing royal influence. It must be noted that this explanation is quite different from the theory, promoted by many and justly critiqued by Török, according to which the singular Kushite “capital” was abruptly transferred to Meroë during the reign of Aspelta as a response to the invasion of Psamtik II and/or the tyranny of Napatan priests.¹⁸⁸ That older theory would still presuppose that Meroë had been rapidly conquered by the el-Kurru dynasts centuries earlier and then served as the refuge of defeated royalty in the early sixth century BC. By contrast, the evidence reviewed above would suggest that Meroë maintained a considerable degree of autonomy in the centuries before Aspelta.

Further support for this interpretation is provided by certain patterns in the evidence which were not cited in support of the two foregoing apologiae. For example, in the cemeteries at Begrawiya West and South, Reisner observed that the earliest mummified coffin burials were among the most poorly-equipped of their generation, while the contemporaneous non-mummified pit burials were often lavishly provisioned with grave goods.¹⁸⁹ This contrast would seem to speak in favor of the autonomy of local elites and against the theory of a dominant, intrusive caste from the Fourth Cataract region. The process by which these local elites were acculturated into the worldview of the el-Kurru dynasts and incorporated into the nascent Double Kingdom is perhaps suggested by the presence of a number of simple pit graves oriented east-west on the distant northern margins of the el-Kurru cemetery (Ku. 51, 52, 54, and 55), which may have contained the burials of Meroïte women associated with the el-Kurru kings through diplomatic marriage.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, the cemeteries at Begrawiya West and South contained a much higher number of graves per generation before the reign of Aspelta than they did after his reign: sixty percent and fifty percent of the graves at the West and South cemeteries, respectively, were made during roughly the first two centuries of each cemetery’s existence, with the remaining forty percent and fifty percent at each site spread over a period of nearly a millennium.¹⁹¹ The reign of Aspelta also produces the earliest securely attested burial of a queen in the Meroë region (Mernua in BS 85), and only two generations later, the number of queens buried at Nuri in the Napata region decreased sharply.¹⁹² If the local Meroïte elite witnessed an abrupt change in their political status at any point during the city’s early history, it would therefore seem more likely to coincide with the early sixth century BC than with the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty nearly two centuries prior.

Finally, it is perhaps noteworthy that each of the earliest historical inscriptions deriving from or mentioning Meroë also contains suggestions of local conflict. The earliest royal stela from the region—that of Aspelta at M 250—was thoroughly destroyed, and the neighboring reliefs sometimes attributed to him there depict a parade of captured enemies.¹⁹³ Two generations later, the few surviving blocks from Malonaqen’s

¹⁸⁸ Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 144-146; Gadalla, “Meroitic Problems,” 199-200; Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 305-306; Török, “Ambulatory kingship and settlement history,” 113; Welsby, *Kingdom of Kush*, 20, 31-32, 65, 138, 140; Török, *Meroe City I*, 20 n. 69; *id.*, *Kingdom of Kush*, 371-374.

¹⁸⁹ Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, 1; *id.*, “Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan, Part V,” 5.

¹⁹⁰ Dunham, *El Kurru*, 78, 81, 91, 93. As noted by Török, *Meroe City I*, 20, who would also include Ku. 22.

¹⁹¹ Vila, *La nécropole de Missiminia I*, 170. For possible explanations of these figures, see Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 78. For the end of the Begrawiya West and South cemeteries in the mid-fourth century AD, see Török, “Archaeological Note on the Connections between the Meroitic and Ballana Cultures.”

¹⁹² Dunham, “Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan, Part V,” 7.

¹⁹³ Garstang, *Meroë*, 26; Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity II*, 59-60; Török, *Meroe City II*, pls. 70-84; but *cf.*: Hofmann, “Notizen zu den Kampfszenen”; Török, *Meroe City I*, 104-107; Hinkel, “Untersuchungen zur Bausubstanz, Architektur und Funktion des Gebäudes Meroe 245,” 224.

temple M 294 include references to *smꜣ* (“slaying”), [*n*]fr.wt *mr* (“soldiers”), and [*s*]bīw (“enemies”).¹⁹⁴ In Irike-Amanote’s inscription, Meroë is mentioned precisely because it was the place where Talakhamani was killed, and the guilty party—the Rehreh—again provide the context for Meroë’s appearance in the stela of Harsiyotef.¹⁹⁵ If this pattern is not completely coincidental, then it may suggest that the populations of Meroë’s hinterland and the broader Butana Steppe continued to pose a formidable challenge to the Napatan-period kings across the early history of their activity at the site.

The defensive functions of Meroë City have often been downplayed, for the Enclosure Wall alone was clearly insufficient as fortification.¹⁹⁶ However, as Grzymiski has recently observed, an examination of the broader region around Meroë City does confirm the impression given by the texts that Meroë was located in potentially hostile territory:

[A] careful look at the surrounding area reveals that to its north, west, and south, Meroe is enclosed by a chain of *jebels* . . . My own visits to Jebel Ardeb, whose summit is full of small stone depressions, convinced me that the place was . . . likely occupied by sentries guarding the Greater Meroe Area and was part of an “early warning system.” Traces of fire and presence of heat-cracked stones, already noticed by Lenoble, are in my opinion the evidence of the use of fire and smoke signals. Such guard posts placed on the hills are known from other regions, notably Dakhla Oasis. The *jebels* form an arch around Meroe at a distance of some 4 to 10 km away from the city, allowing for direct visual contact. Additionally, on the plains the entrance to the Meroe Plateau was protected by military camps such as Hamadab and perhaps Awlib to the south and possibly Gadu to the north.¹⁹⁷

If the region was violently contested during the Napatan and Meroitic eras, it cannot be assumed that the same populations folded compliantly to Twenty-Fifth Dynasty overrule centuries before.

A gradual annexation of the Meroë region as proposed above would have implications for the political history of the Early Napatan period, for it would recast the Keraba and Butana as a zone of active expansion for the kings of that era rather than a territorial bequest from their Twenty-Fifth Dynasty forebears. The Napatan period has often been narrated as a history of decline, corresponding to the loss of Egypt and Lower Nubia, and the subsequent increase in activity at Meroë, culminating in the transfer of the royal cemetery from Napata to Meroë during the third century BC, has been interpreted as a “Kushite Retreat into Africa.”¹⁹⁸ Such an interpretation implicitly assumes that an indeterminate Africa south of Napata already belonged to the Kushite kings as their natural inheritance,¹⁹⁹ and thus the move to Meroë was a retraction rather than an expansion of the state. It is a view which owes much to the centuries-long Egyptological tradition of associating Kush metonymically with the African Other,²⁰⁰ and it does not withstand scrutiny of the archaeological or inscriptional evidence. As outlined above, that evidence does not convincingly support the theory that the el-Kurru dynasts originated from Meroë, and it further draws into question any assumption that the region had lost its independence to those kings at the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

For the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the implications of a gradual annexation of the Meroë region are quite different, suggesting less territorial expansion than has generally been assumed. If Meroë City and its hinterland have yet to provide firm evidence of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal construction, it stands to reason that the dynasty had made fewer inroads there than they had in much of contemporaneous Egypt. Given the challenges impeding the political control of transhumant populations in the steppe, this contrast is perhaps not surprising. The image of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty that is reflected in Meroë’s early history is that of an embryonic kingdom, whose boundaries, political strategies, and myths of the state were more inchoate than inherited.

¹⁹⁴ Blocks #12b and 12c in Yellin, “Garstang Cache,” 404–405 figs. 229a,b–230a,b.

¹⁹⁵ Kawa IX, cols. 3–6, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. 17; Cairo JE 48864, ll. 99–100, 105–106, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXa–XXV.

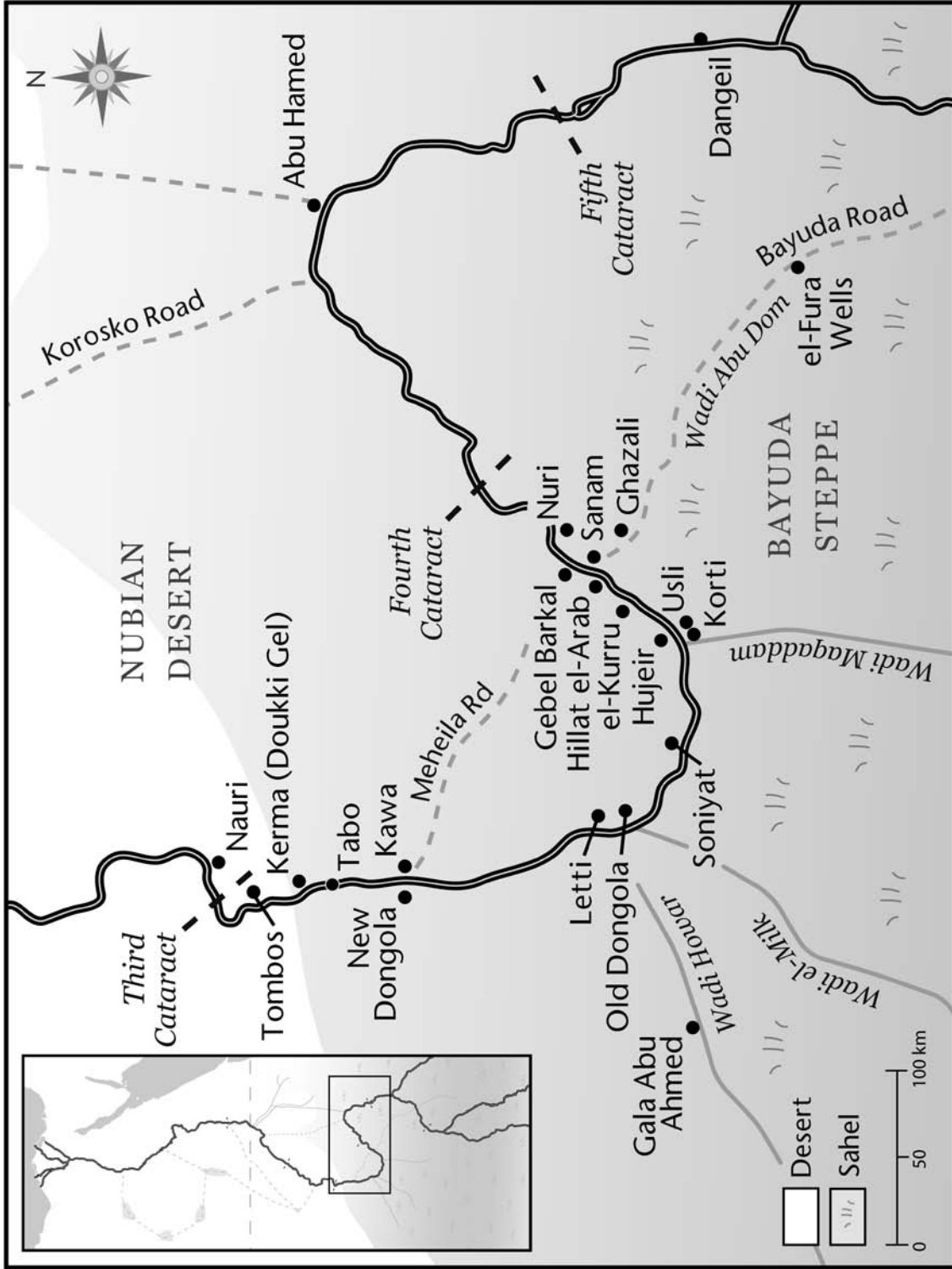
¹⁹⁶ Török, *Meroe City I*, 45.

¹⁹⁷ Grzymiski, “Recent research at the palaces and temples of Meroe,” 235–236.

¹⁹⁸ Kendall, *Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile*, 11.

¹⁹⁹ For a contrasting view from an Africanist archaeologist, see Connah, “Corridor or cul-de-sac.”

²⁰⁰ For discussion of this tradition and its residues, see Edwards, “Ancient Egypt in the Sudanese Middle Nile,” 137–140.



Map 3. The Dongola-Napata Reach.

THE INVENTION OF TRADITION IN THE DONGOLA-NAPATA REACH

III.1. *Gebel Barkal and Napata: Between Ritual and Governance*

Gebel Barkal's preeminence as the cultic center of the Double Kingdom's Kushite half remains a point of justified consensus in Nubian Studies. It was there that the most extensive complex of Kushite temples was constructed and renovated across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹ It was there as well that Pi(ankh)y's Sandstone Stela and Great Triumphal Stela presented the earliest surviving articulations of the Double Kingdom as a political form.² Immediately downstream lay the dynastic cemetery at el-Kurru, and, at the same remove upstream on the opposite bank, its eventual replacement at Nuri.³ Across the river from Gebel Barkal, the locale of Taqat would later be described by Nastasen as "the garden from which Alara sprouted"—possibly revealing, in oblique fashion, the hometown of the dynasty's progenitor.⁴ Whatever the origin(s) and residence(s) of the Kushite kings, it is clear that the region enclosed by Gebel Barkal, el-Kurru, Nuri, and Taqat was under their authority well before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's expansion into Egypt. It should further stand to reason, then, that the strategies used to govern that area would have been central to the political experience of the Kushite dynasty—and thus, a formative element in their subsequent political outlook.

Despite the apparent promise of such a deduction, the evidence currently available from this region imposes considerable limitations upon historical research, as shown most clearly in the distinction between Gebel Barkal and Napata. Inscriptions from the many temples at the foot of Gebel Barkal make frequent reference to the toponym of *Npt*, including the claim inherent in Pi(ankh)y's titulary that he was crowned there: *K3-nḥt Ḥ-m-Npt*, "Strong Bull, Appearing in Napata."⁵ Given the unrivaled centrality of Gebel Barkal within the sacred landscape of Kush, such a claim should refer to his coronation in the Great Temple of Amun (B 500) at Gebel Barkal, thereby implying that Napata lay somewhere in the shadow (perhaps even literally) of the mountain. However, in the present state of our knowledge, Napata is *only* a shadow: archaeological *terra incognita*. Even if one of the town walls described in the preceding chapter at Gebel Barkal and el-Kurru does represent the bulwark of ancient Napata, the fact remains that the settlements enclosed by those walls have only just begun to be excavated in recent years.⁶

The cemetery at Sanam which may have served the populace of Napata (or that of Taqat?⁷) would seem to offer evidence of more immediate use, for it has recently been published in full and analyzed in exemplary detail by Lohwasser.⁸ Through study of Griffith's unpublished records, Lohwasser has identified at Sanam a "middle-class cemetery" of urbanites with considerable internal hierarchy, ranging from

¹ PM VII, 208ff., 212, 215ff., 220ff.; Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 10-12, 41-61, 77-81, plans I, III-V; Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey*; *id.*, "Monument of Taharqa on Gebel Barkal." See also in the broader Dongola region Pi(ankh)y's "Letti obelisk": Khartoum SNM 00462 in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 25.

² Khartoum SNM 1851 in Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1)," Taf. V; Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089 in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I-IV. For the view that the Sandstone Stela refers to Pi(ankh)y's rule in Egypt, see most recently Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 162.

³ Dunham, *El Kurru*; *id.*, *Nuri*.

⁴ See Berlin AMP 2268, ll. 8-12, in Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; and collation by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-35 §3.3; *cf.* discussion in Ch. II.2.2 nn. 105, 107 above.

⁵ Khartoum SNM 1851, l. 25, in Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1)," 90, Taf. V.

⁶ Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 48-49, 114 fig. 17; *id.*, "Napatan Temples." As noted in Ch. II.2.2 n. 90 above, excavations were re-opened in the settlement areas of el-Kurru during the early months of 2013 by the University of Michigan Nubian Expedition under the direction of Geoff Emberling.

⁷ For the proposition that Taqat was Sanam Abu Dom, see Priese, "Napatan Period," 77, and Ch. II.2.2 n. 105 above.

⁸ Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*; and more briefly *ead.*, *Kushite Cemetery of Sanam*. For the initial but cursory publication by Griffith, see his "Oxford Excavations in Nubia XVIII-XXV." See also the cemetery of Hillat el-Arab in Vincentelli, *Hillat El-Arab*.

the graves of wealthy elites to those of commoners, and likely including whatever craftsmen, architects, and priests were employed in the neighboring town and temple. Lohwasser nevertheless cautions: “Doch sie alle haben uns keine Inschriften hinterlassen und so ist es müßig, sie mit bestimmten Berufsgruppen identifizieren zu wollen.”⁹ If members of the administrative class of Kush were buried at Sanam, the evidence which they left behind there would appear more amenable at present to the reconstruction of social history rather than political history. Consequently, the practical administration of Napata must be judged for the time being through its reflection in neighboring royal and cultic spaces: Gebel Barkal, el-Kurru, and Nuri.

Yet there is little reason to expect these three sites to yield evidence of Napata’s civil servants, as Gebel Barkal, el-Kurru, and Nuri were each defined precisely by their exclusion of and elevation above lower administrative strata. In the cemeteries of el-Kurru and Nuri, none of those interred can be identified as a non-royal personage, and it is unclear whether the surviving descriptions of the royal kinsmen and kinswomen themselves should be taken as administrative titles or merely as honorary epitheta, for they do not match administrative offices attested in contemporaneous Egypt, New Kingdom Nubia, or later Meroitic Kush. The problem is particularly acute in the case of the Kushite queens and princesses, as not a single woman resident in Kush bears the title of *hm.t-ntr* (“God’s Wife”), *dr.t-ntr* (“God’s Hand”), or *dw3.t-ntr* (“Divine Adoratrice”) upon the contents of their tombs at el-Kurru and Nuri, nor in the neighboring sanctuaries at Gebel Barkal.¹⁰ As a result, the important question of whether Kushite women occupied such an office *in Kush*, with their own administrative staffs, must be argued through analogy with Upper Egyptian evidence; it is therefore addressed within the discussion of that evidence in Chapter V.2.3 below. At Gebel Barkal, a similar condition obtains: the non-royal priests and priestesses who would likely have served the temples of Amun (B 500 and B 900[?]), Hathor-Tefnut (B 200), and Mut (B 300) during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty remain unnamed upon temple walls and evidently did not deposit their own personalized votives or statuary.¹¹ As Török and Yellin have both observed, the expression of personal piety in Kush was focused upon the god-king relationship, so that private monuments of the kind found in contemporaneous Egypt either did not exist or were created in such small numbers that none has survived.¹² Such conditions have therefore necessitated maximal scrutiny of the Kushite royal stelae, whose length and narrative style at least hold out the possibility of even unintentional reference to administrative practice.

In this regard, Török’s intertextual analysis of the Kushite royal corpus marks one of the most significant and generative interventions to be made in Nubian Studies in recent decades. Specifically, Török has critiqued the prevalent assumption according to which the Kushite king’s participation in local cults as described in the royal stelae was simply “a tradition modelled on the journey of the Egyptian ruler which ‘sets order in the kingdom’ and . . . a practice that corresponds with the significance of any (and every) cult temple as place of the legitimation of royal power.”¹³ On the contrary, Török observes that in Kush, not only were three of those local cults given much greater emphasis than the others, but they were also visited

⁹ Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 323.

¹⁰ See discussion in Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 192-209, and in Ch. V.2.3 below. In Aspelta’s Enthronement Stela, the name of the *dw3.t-ntr* is unfortunately not preserved, and as she is associated there with *’Imn-R’ nsw.t ntr.w n W3s.t*, it cannot be assumed that she held the office in Kush. See Cairo JE 48866, l. 20, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa-VII.

¹¹ In fact, the princess and later queen Tabakenamun is the only woman yet known in Kush who explicitly bears the title of *hm.t-ntr*, and even for her the title appears only upon a statue deposited in Egypt. See col. 1 on the proper left side of Cairo JE 49157, as transcribed in Lefebvre, “Le grand prêtre d’Amon, Harmakhis,” 27. It may nevertheless be suspected that the *ihy.t n ’Imn*, *shmy.t*, and *hmnw* were priestess offices, though their functions outside of temple ritual remain obscure. For depictions of unnamed and untitled men performing ritual duties upon the walls of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temples in Kush, see esp.: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. XIII-XV; Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pls. XXV-XXIX. The evidence is different for the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era, though mentions of priests by name are still rare. For rare post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty lists of administrative officials and priests at Sanam and Doukki Gel, see discussion in Chapter III.4 below of Louvre stela C 257, ll. 2-8, 18-23, as well as the Doukki Gel stela, ll. 3-11, as published in: Schäfer, “Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre,” Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 1A-5B. For “Amanibakhi and the priests and the scribe of the temple archives” at Kawa during the reign of Irike-Amanote, see Kawa IX, cols. 96-97, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 20, 25. For a clan (*mh.wt*) of priests in Kush “called *Tm-p-s-y* (and?) *P-r-d-t-h3-y*,” see the so-called “Banishment” Stela (Cairo JE 48865), l. 5, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IXa-IX; the date of this text is nevertheless uncertain: Priese, “Kingdom of Napata and Meroe,” 207.

¹² Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 403-404; see also Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 243ff.

¹³ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 231. For proponents of this view, see: Priese, “Napatan Period,” 85; Wenig, “Kommentar zu Török.” For Egyptian comparanda, see esp. Gardiner, “Coronation of King Haremhab.”

in a rigid sequence, and that sequence was then invoked directly within the rituals performed at each site. As proof of the elevation of cults beyond Napata, Török first cites the royal palace attested textually at Kawa and the later proliferation of palaces at such locales as Meroë, Sanam, and Koroton—the combination of which would seem to undermine the presumed singularity of Napata as royal residence and national “capital.”¹⁴ As support for the theory that Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs formed a coherent sequence of ritual stations, he observes that kings Irike-Amanote, Harsiyotef, and Nastasen each visited these cults in the same order during the Late Napatan era.¹⁵ These facts alone would not persuasively demonstrate cultic interdependence, because a downstream voyage would naturally encounter Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs (Kerma) in that sequence. Yet by far the most compelling piece of evidence in Török’s arsenal is the unusually condensed account of this voyage within the Annals of Harsiyotef. The passage begins with a direct encounter between the king and Amun of Napata:

tys iy=i m-b3h 'Imn Npt p{t}=i it nfr i-dd my-di n=i p3 sh n p3 t3 Nhs.t dd n=i 'Imn Npt i.di(=i) n=k p3 sh n p3 t3 Nhs.t

Now, I came before Amun of Napata, my good father, to say: ‘Please give to me the crown of the Land of Neheset.’ Amun of Napata said to me: ‘I will indeed give to you the crown of the Land of Neheset.’¹⁶

This coronation is then followed in the text by an extremely rapid succession of visits to Amun-Re of Kawa, Amun-Re of Pnubs, and Bastet of Taret:

hr m-siy n3y sy(=i) i.iry 'Imn-Rc nb hr(y)-ib Gm-<T>tn dd n=i hr dd n=i 'Imn Npt sy(=i) i.iry 'Imn-Rc nb hr(y)-ib Pr-nbs dd n=i hr dd 'Imn Npt sy(=i) i.iry Bst.t T3r.t dd n=i hr dd 'Imn Npt

Now after this, (I) went to Amun-Re, the lord who dwells in Kawa, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said to me*. I went to Amun-Re, the lord who dwells in Pnubs, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said*. I went to Bastet of Taret, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said*.¹⁷

The passage demonstrates both sequentiality and cultic interdependence, as each subsequent encounter with the local god required that the king’s oracular legitimation by Amun of Napata be repeated once more. Harsiyotef’s condensed account therefore illuminates the logic underlying the more digressive versions of Irike-Amanote and Nastasen; though both described a greater range of activities than Harsiyotef, the sequence in which Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs were visited did not vary,¹⁸ and the rites performed at each consistently included an intimate conversation with the god and often the conferral of the royal insignia as well. Moreover, Török argues *contra* Wenig that the king’s subsequent coronations should not be mistaken for simple reiterations of his divine encounter at Napata, as the symbols of territorial authority received at each station were distinctive: the cap-crown and dominion-scepters at Napata, the bow and

¹⁴ Török, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History,” 115, 119, 122. For textual references to a palace at Kawa, see: Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), l. 17, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote, cols. 78, 90(?), 94(?), 101(?), 117-119(?), in *op. cit.*, pls. 20-21, 25-26. The palace actually excavated there by Griffith and Macadam has been judged a construction of the Meroitic era. See Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 115. For a Late Napatan palace at Koroton, see the same inscription, cols. 44-45 (*op. cit.*, pls. 18, 23). For textual references to a palace at Napata, see the same inscription again, col. 37 (*op. cit.*, pls. 18, 23), as well as the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 126-133, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXIIa-XXIII. For archaeological evidence of the palace at Napata, see: Kendall, “Napatan Palace at Gebel Barkal”; Kendall and Wolf, “Excavations in the Palace of Aspelta at Jebel Barkal.” To this writer’s knowledge, no palaces of either the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or the Napatan era have yet been identified at Pnubs.

¹⁵ Irike-Amanote presents the following itinerary: Meroë-Napata-Koroton-Kawa-Pnubs-Kawa. See Kawa IX in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-26. Harsiyotef’s itinerary would appear to be: Napata-Kawa-Pnubs-Taret-Napata-Meroë. See Cairo JE 48864 in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. Xa-XXV. Nastasen’s account is considerably more digressive, mentioning activities at various locales in the following order: Meroë-Isdarras-Taqat-Napata-Kawa-Pnubs-Napata-Taret-Napata-Kawa-Taret. See Berlin ÆMP 2268 in: Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. I-IV; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-44. According to Török, Anlamani’s Enthronement Stela is the “earliest preserved record of a coronation journey.” Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 66. However, it should be noted that Anlamani’s itinerary makes no mention of Pnubs; his itinerary would appear to begin at Napata(?) and then proceed through several unnamed intervening sites until reaching Kawa. See Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708) in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

¹⁶ Cairo JE 48864, ll. 10-11, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XI-XII.

¹⁷ Cairo JE 48864, ll. 19-22, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XII-XIII. Zibelius(-Chen) has proposed that Taret may be Ghazali in the Wadi Abu Dom, south of the Fourth Cataract. See Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 179-180.

¹⁸ But cf. discussion of Anlamani’s itinerary in n. 15 above.

arrows at Kawa, and the ægis at Pnubs.¹⁹ Coronation in this context may be seen, not as a singular event binding across the realm, but a series of interdependent events each conferring localized authority.

The regional division of the Kushite coronation ritual is further taken by Török to reflect the regional division of Kushite governance. Thus, “the kingdom is composed of units put under the sovereignty of Amen-Rê and these units behave in the course of the coronation journey as if they were independent kingdoms.”²⁰ The enthronement ritual, he explains, “pre-formed in a way the actual routine of the ambulatory court: a routine in which the country was governed in the course of a perpetual journey across the country—a journey which was paced by a traditionally fixed festival calendar.”²¹ The itinerant nature of the royal court might then explain, not only the erection of palaces at multiple sites, but also the conspicuous absence of “the kind of governmental hierarchy in which the king would be separated from the level of the territorial government (in this case the ‘temple-towns’) by several levels of dignitaries”—esp. the Vizier and King’s Son of Kush, both of whom had been central to earlier *Egyptian* administrations.²² Drawing upon the work of former *Bundesrepublik* President Roman Herzog, Török has termed this method of governance an “ambulatory kingship, a structure also known from other ancient cultures”—described elsewhere in Török’s work as a “state form” and specifically as “the federal state.”²³ The Kushite royal corpus would thereby disclose, not the local administration of Napata itself, but something no less valuable to the historian: a regional division of governance across the Dongola-Napata Reach.

Though never invoking structuralism by name, Török’s analysis of “ambulatory kingship” resonates with the perspectives of structuralist anthropology: he would identify in the coronation cycle a latent structure of Kushite political society—one that went unnamed as such in Kushite texts but which nevertheless revealed itself through repetition—and he then proposes the model of “ambulatory kingship” as an adequate copy of this latent Kushite structure. Thus, federal administration relates to individual coronations as *langue* to *parole*.²⁴ Török’s method also exemplifies some of the advantages of structuralism: by approaching the corpus from an intertextual perspective, he avoids a purely episodic reading that would disconnect the reigns of the Kushite kings into discrete sets of unrelated events without regard for cultural continuity. By crafting a self-consciously etic vocabulary to classify Kushite political process (“ambulatory kingship,” “the federal state”), Török’s analysis transcends the limitations of a literalist reading, according to which all Kushite phenomena recorded in Egyptian terms and employing Egyptian-derived iconography must be understood as copies of Egyptian phenomena. Whether or not one agrees with Török’s structuralist conclusions, the methods that he uses to derive them have the potential to situate Kushite politics within a much broader comparative perspective, thereby widening the field of available explanations for events, their causes, and the motivations of their agents. Török’s work serves as a reminder that, although structuralism is widely associated with scholarship of the mid-twentieth century, its insights are by no

¹⁹ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 231 n. 196. For receipt of the cap-crown at Napata, see the lunette of Pi(ankh)y’s Sandstone Stela (Khartoum SNM 1851) in Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part I),” Taf. V. For discussion of the cap-crown, see esp. Török, *Royal Crowns of Kush*. For receipt of the “headdress of festival” (*ndy n.t hb*) at Napata, see the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), col. 38, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 18, 23. For receipt of a *sh*-crown at Napata, see the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 11-12, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XIIa-XII. For receipt of a *h3y*-crown at Napata, see Nastasen’s Year 8 Stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268), l. 15, in Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; Peust, *Das Napatansische*, 35. For receipt of the *sdn*-crown and dominion-scepters at Napata, see the Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 22-24, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa-VII. Note, however, that the passage states that in Napata His Majesty “found *all* the crowns of the kings of Kush” (*gm.n=f sdn nb nsw n Kš*). A literal reading might therefore support Wenig’s argument that Napata was the only true coronation site. See n. 13 above. For receipt of the bow at Kawa, see: the Great Inscription of Irike Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 52-53, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24; Nastasen’s Year 8 Stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268), l. 24, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; Peust, *Das Napatansische*, 37. For receipt of the ægis at Pnubs, see again Berlin ÄMP 2268, l. 26. Nastasen also receives a scepter from Bastet of Taret in ll. 32-33, 65.

²⁰ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 72.

²¹ Török, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History,” 116. For demonstration of the coronation cycle’s synchronization with that festival calendar, see esp.: Kormys(c)heva, “Das Inthronisationsritual des Königs von Meroe”; *ead.*, “Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel.”

²² Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 178. For the absence of a vizier in Kush, see *op. cit.*, 248.

²³ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 233 [emphasis added], 178; *id.*, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History,” 115; *id.*, *Meroe City I*, 20 n. 70; *id.*, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 65; *id.*, *Image of the Ordered World*, 17 n. 54. For the *Reisekönigtum*, see Herzog, *Staaten der Frühzeit*, 142-146.

²⁴ De Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*.

means exhausted in the twenty-first—and particularly not for Sudan archaeology, which has incorporated broader theoretical perspectives, not in lockstep with other world archaeologies, but according to its own schedule heavily influenced by the relationship to Egyptology.²⁵

Despite an analysis of the Kushite coronation cycle sustained across several articles and monographs, Török has not yet pursued in depth the question of its diachronic historical development. In fact, he explicitly disclaims such an inquiry: “From the aspect of present investigation the possible origins and explanation of this tradition are not important.”²⁶ Nevertheless, his description of “ambulatory kingship” is not without assertions of origin, for he views the Kushite coronation journey as a ritual enshrinement of the state’s pre-history:

The multiple investiture in a series of territorial centres in the temples of the different local forms of the *Reichsgott* Amûn-Rê can best be explained as a mythologised “commemoration” of the original political independence of the areas centered around these stations of the coronation journey. If so, the coronation journey was also considered as a ritual renewal of the original unification of the independent polities that had emerged with the fall of Egyptian domination in the 11th century BC and existed in the Middle Nile Region until they were integrated by the el Kurru chiefs. In this sense, it may be viewed as related to, but not deriving from and identical with, the Egyptian concept of the “Unification of Two-lands.”²⁷

According to Török, “[t]he earliest preserved record of a coronation journey is in Anlamani’s Kawa inscription,”²⁸ and thus “the original unification of independent polities . . . by the el Kurru chiefs” was not formally commemorated in the royal record until the end of the seventh century BC—i.e., two to four centuries later.²⁹ The considerable gap between the posited unification and its remembrance raises a pair of interrelated questions: was the Kushite coronation cycle through Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs actually practiced during the intervening centuries, and did it correspond to governmental divisions across that span?

Though such questions are initially discounted by Török as “not important . . . from the aspect of present investigation,” his answer to them is implicit in the following remark upon the royal corpus of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty:

The inscriptions of Piye (Sandstone Stela and Great Triumphal Stela), Taharqo, and Tanwetamani do not provide direct information on the enthronement rites. The inscriptions from Kawa usually neglect the stations of the coronation journey visited before and after Kawa . . . The intention of giving a more complete and ‘documentary’ description of the enthronement process may, however, also have become stronger with time, as is obvious from the comparison of the inscriptions of Piye, Taharqo, and Tanwetamani with the more detailed documents of Aspelta and his successors.³⁰

Thus, according to Török’s argument, the tradition of multiple coronations at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs will have been continuous across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, but the inscriptions of that era “neglect the stations of the coronation journey” and only begin to give a “more complete and ‘documentary’ description of the enthronement process” in the *post*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period as a result of changing “intention.”

If Török’s Kushite model of “ambulatory kingship” resembles the Egyptian concept of the Unification of the Two Lands, its application *as history* is also subject to similar qualifications.³¹ Török concedes that “[t]he stations in the coronation journey and the territorial units of the actual governmental structure should . . . not be confused with each other.”³² The incommensurate physical distances between coronation

²⁵ For discussion of structuralism, its variants, and archaeology, see Bintliff, *Annales school and archaeology*. For discussion of the relationship between Sudan archaeology and broader theoretical developments, see Trigger, “Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology.”

²⁶ Török, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History,” 115.

²⁷ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 231–232.

²⁸ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 66. Cf. Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15–16.

²⁹ For an overview of the chronological scenarios envisioned by different scholars, see Morkot, “On the Priestly Origin of the Napatan Kings,” 166 Table 11:2.

³⁰ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 230.

³¹ For critiques of earlier attempts to employ the Unification of Two Lands motif as an account of Egyptian prehistory, see esp.: Kaiser, “Zur Entstehung des gesamtägyptischen Staates”; Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinnesgeschichte*, 44.

³² Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 233.

stations at least warns against any presumed equivalency of corresponding territorial units, for Anlamani's nautical voyage from Napata to Kawa would have traversed more than twice the distance subsequently crossed from Kawa to Pnubs (Kerma).³³ A more defensible application of the model would instead posit the coronation ritual as a commemoration, not of pre-existing political divisions, but of the overarching unit which replaced them, a unit bounded by the apogee and perigee of the coronation circuit—*i.e.*, the Dongola-Napata Reach as bounded by Pnubs and Napata. Török explains:

The northernmost station of the enthronement journey was at Pnubs, a place probably identical with Kerma south of the Third Cataract. It would seem that the journey stopped there because the Nile Valley north of the Third Cataract was considered to be of a different nature. A different structure of government north of the Third Cataract is indicated in the Harsiyotef Annals as well as in the Nastaseñ Stela and the tradition that Lower Nubia had originally been a conquered, and not a federate territory seems to be reflected in its subordination under the authority of a viceroy during the Meroitic period.³⁴

Viewed from this perspective, the Kushite enthronement ritual will have reinforced political cohesion within the Dongola-Napata Reach by differentiating that territory from Lower Nubia to the north. Such an interpretation also accords well with Morkot's theory that the two regions had enjoyed different political statuses under New Kingdom Egyptian imperialism.³⁵ Whether one adopts Török's reading of the enthronement rites as reflections of a "federal state" or Wenig's position that "es tatsächlich nur eine Krönung gab" at Napata which elsewhere at Kawa and Pnubs "zelebriert wurden,"³⁶ the essential point would seem to be that regional political cohesion was enacted by those celebrations and defined by their geographic range. The question of the origins of the coronation cycle may thus be re-framed as follows: what was the process by which the political unification of the Dongola-Napata Reach became memorialized as ritual? The moment of initial commemoration need not coincide with the unification episode, and indeed the episode may have been invented retroactively. In such a case, the act of commemoration becomes the episode itself and is transformed in the process from a subject deemed "not important" to one of the greatest significance for domestic *Kuschitenherrschaft*.

As Twenty-Fifth Dynasty inscriptions at Gebel Barkal make only the most oblique mention of Pnubs and Kawa,³⁷ the possible incorporation of the latter two stations into a coronation circuit with Napata at that time may perhaps be best judged from material excavated at the sites themselves. In the case of Pnubs, the information relevant to Twenty-Fifth Dynasty enthronement rites is equivocal at best. The spectacular discovery in 2003 of monumental statuary at Kerma depicting Taharqo and his successors strongly suggests that a cult of the royal statue had been established at the site,³⁸ but a connection to the coronation ritual is not discernible among the few remaining fragments of temple relief. As Bonnet and Valbelle explain, "à part quelques blocs décorés de qualité et l'attestation du roi Chabaka comme constructeur, les vestiges bien datés ayant conservé leur emplacement initial n'ont pas été retrouvés en grand nombre au cours des fouilles de Doukki Gel."³⁹ Likewise, the contents of the tomb of Penamun, priest of Amun at Pnubs, excavated in the West Cemetery at Kerma, have been judged to belong "à la fin de la 25^e dynastie ou aux

³³ For Anlamani's explicit statement that he traveled to Kawa by river, rather than upon the Meheila Road, see the Enthronement Stela of Anlamani, (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 7-9, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

³⁴ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 233.

³⁵ Morkot, "Egypt and Nubia," 234ff. See also Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 196 fig. 8.4.

³⁶ Wenig, "Kommentar zu Török," 137-140.

³⁷ Amun-Re of Kawa and Amun-Re of Pnubs are both mentioned upon the abacus of Column E from B 502 (*tempus* Pi(ankh)y) as copied in Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 55 fig. 40. A criosphinx image of Amun of Pnubs appears in the lower register above the door from B 305 to 306, while Amun of Kawa is featured in B 307 (all *tempus* Taharqo). See discussion in Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 77-78. In each case, the Kawa and Pnubs forms of Amun appear together with a multiplicity of different gods, so that there is no clear indication of their special association with Amun of Napata as stations in a coronation circuit. Török's suggestion that B 700 housed a "guest cult" of Amun of Pnubs is intriguing, but the date of that structure would appear to be post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and it cannot be assumed that any earlier structures upon the same spot would have been identical in function. See discussion in *op. cit.*, 166-172 §2.7.4. For further attestations of Amun of Pnubs during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Kormys(c)heva, "Amun of Pnubs on the Plaques from Kush," 285-291.

³⁸ For the cult of the royal statue, see Wildung, "Königskult"; *id.*, "Götterbilder."

³⁹ Bonnet and Valbelle, *Des pharaons venus d'Afrique*, 64. See also discussion in Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 118ff.

premiers siècles méroïtiques.”⁴⁰ That a Kushite temple dedicated to Amun of Pnubs existed in some form by the reign of Shabaqo would seem apparent, but the ritual and political uses to which it was put during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty are still unclear.

Kawa, by contrast, provides an embarrassment of riches. At the time of its excavation by Griffith, Temple T was the best-preserved of all Taharqo’s monuments in Nubia, with enough surviving relief to reconstruct an extensive decorative program.⁴¹ The temple’s forecourt and hypostyle hall also contained a veritable archive of Kushite historical memory: six royal stelae, some extensive wall texts, and an assortment of graffiti, collectively spanning several centuries from the reign of Taharqo well into the Meroitic era and including the aforementioned stela of Anlamani which Török has judged “[t]he earliest preserved record of a coronation journey.”⁴² Perhaps most importantly, Taharqo’s stelae are uniquely retrospective in nature—describing the condition of the Kawa temple-compound before his reign and narrating the legitimating acts of his dynastic forebears. Better conditions for an investigation of the diachronic history of ancient Kushite enthronement rites and their connection to the Dongola region cannot be reasonably expected.

III.2. *Taharqo and Kawa*

III.2.1. *The Cult of Amun-Re at Kawa before Taharqo*

As Kawa’s ancient designation of *Gm(-p3)-Itn* would suggest, the origins of a local cult can be traced at least to the fourteenth century BC.⁴³ Indeed, this etymological deduction finds immediate confirmation in the archaeology of the site, for a small temple (Temple A) bearing Tutankhamun’s nomen and prenomen in its pronaos and sanctuary was found there—first perhaps by Colonel Colborne in 1885 and then again by Griffith and company in 1929.⁴⁴ The orientation of Temple A’s axis parallel to the river would, in turn, strongly suggest that it was not the primary structure at the site during the New Kingdom but was instead located along the processional avenue of a more substantial temple.⁴⁵ The same conclusion is equally supported by Macadam’s discovery southeast of Temple A of “some very early red-brick walls . . . not impossibly of the Middle and New Kingdoms,” as well as Griffith’s earlier notation that a slate statuette found among the debris of Temple A bore the title *wʿrtw n tt ḥq3*—“a sure sign of the late Middle Kingdom.”⁴⁶ Kawa’s early history may become clearer as more of the town and cemetery continue to be excavated,⁴⁷ but the important point to note at present is that temple construction is evident at the site prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty but has yielded no indications of Kawa’s inclusion within a coronation cycle linking it to the cult at Napata or to any other Nubian site.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Bonnet and Valbelle, “Une prêtre d’Amon de Pnubs enterré à Kerma,” 8, pls. I-IV.

⁴¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. IX-XXVII, XLIV-LIII, LV-LVII, LIX-LXI, LXIII-LXVI. For more recent detailed analysis of the temple’s decorative program, see Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 80-134.

⁴² Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 66. For the stelae and wall texts, see: Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), Kawa IX-XIII (*in situ*), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-31.

⁴³ For Griffith’s discussion of the toponym *Kawa*, see Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 1 n. 1. For a more recent etymological theory and fuller bibliography of the topic, see Bell and Jalal Hashim, “Does Aten Live On in Kawa (Kówwa)?”

⁴⁴ For Temple A, see Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 28-44, pls. Ia, IIc-V, XXXVI-XL. For its discovery, see *op. cit.*, 1-3.

⁴⁵ See Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. I; *op. cit.* II, pl. 3.

⁴⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 9, 13, 226-227, 231-232, pls. 7, CVIII g.

⁴⁷ Welsby, “Survey and excavations at Kawa, the 1997-8 season”; *id.*, “Kawa Excavation Project”; *id.*, “Early Kushite Shrine at Kawa”; *id.*, “Excavations within the Pharaonic and Kushite Site at Kawa and its Hinterland, 2000-2001”; *id.*, “Kushite Buildings at Kawa”; *id.*, “Kushite Town and Cemetery at Kawa, the 2001-2002 season: Survey and excavations”; Heywood, “Kushite Town and Cemetery at Kawa, the 2001-2002 season: Stabilisation and Investigation of the Wall Paintings”; Welsby and Davies, “Settlement and Cemetery at Kawa”; Fuller, “Early Kushite Agriculture”; Welsby, “Northern Dongola Reach Survey: Excavations at Kawa, 2007-8.”

⁴⁸ Morkot says of Temple A that “the king was worshiped here as the ‘Lion over the south country.’” Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 145. Upon the columns bearing his nomen in the second court, however, Tutankhamun is “*beloved of Amun-Re*, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, *Lion over the South Country*, who resides in Gematen.” Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 33 fig. 8. The epithet would therefore appear to refer to Amun-Re of Kawa, not to Tutankhamun himself. The deified Tutankhamun was worshipped at Faras,

The subsequent history of Kawa between the reign of Tutankhamun and the inauguration of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty has generated considerable debate in recent years. Discussion has focused principally upon the date of a single, badly-damaged sandstone stela (Kawa XIV) which Griffith found lying face-down in the flooring of Temple A.⁴⁹ The lunette of the stela bore an image of Amun receiving offerings from a man whose titulary and nomina Macadam transcribed as:⁵⁰



According to Macadam, there were indications in Griffith's unpublished excavation notes that "he wished to place this otherwise quite unknown king in the Ramesside period owing to his use of the prenomen of Ramses II."⁵¹ Such a scenario would extend the operation and royal patronage of the cult at Kawa into the later New Kingdom—a conclusion further supported by the fact that cartouches of Tutankhamun had been surcharged by an *Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ stp.n-Rꜥ* upon columns 2 and 3 in the second court of Temple A.⁵² The theory suggested by Griffith would also introduce at Kawa a local kinglet of the Ramesside era with an apparent non-Egyptian name, a man who might conceivably have ruled one of the "independent polities" envisioned by Török—polities whose unification would later be commemorated by the itinerary of the Kushite coronation circuit. Griffith's passing in 1934 prevented any further elaboration or re-evaluation by him of such an hypothesis.

Macadam arrived at a very different conclusion about the stela when he published Griffith's excavation records fifteen years later. He proposed to assign the stela to the fourth or third centuries BC, thereby rendering it quite irrelevant to the pre-history of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and its enthronement rites. He advanced this theory upon two principal grounds: firstly, Macadam observed that the relief style of the lunette was similar to scenes within the Early Meroitic pyramids. As the lunette also closely resembled the sanctuary relief within neighboring Temple B at Kawa, he attributed that sanctuary to the king named upon the stela and placed both in the Early Meroitic era.⁵³ Secondly, Macadam observed that the stela "lay at the top level" of the flooring in Temple A and reasoned that "since it is certain that the temple was in use into Meroitic times, a stone so soft as this would have been worn quite away had it been there since the Ramesside period."⁵⁴ The king's prenomen was thus classified by Macadam not as Ramesside but "Neo-Ramesside," evidence not of cultural continuity but of cultural impoverishment: "It is just what a Sudanese king of the late period, unable to compose a new throne-name, might be expected to assume." Of Griffith's

but evidently not at Kawa. See Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun." I thank Nozomu Kawai of Waseda University for confirming my suspicion on this point.

⁴⁹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709 in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 32-33. This stela is misnumbered as 1708 in: Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 266; *FHN II*, 522; and also in Peust, *Das Napatansiche*, 14. I thank curator Mogens Jørgensen for confirming my suspicion on this point.

⁵⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. 33. Surprisingly, Macadam transcribed the same name once in his associated commentary with an orthography that does not appear upon the stela. See *op. cit.*, 76.







⁵¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 78.

⁵² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 33 figs. 6, 7, pl. XXXIX a; *cf.* cols. 1, 4, in *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 8, pl. XXXIX b. Evidence of the site's use during the Ramesside period or later is further evidenced by the surcharged cartouches pictured in *op. cit.*, pl. 39.

⁵³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 78; *op. cit.* II, 21. Morkot also cites the orthography and grammar of the inscription as one of the principal reasons why Macadam had assigned the stela to the Early Meroitic period. Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 145. However, Macadam actually conceded that "from this fact little can be deduced, since at any time a native Cushite, setting himself up as king, might have written debased Egyptian and made the same sort of mistakes." Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 78.

⁵⁴ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 78. Macadam does not appear to have entertained the possibility that a Ramesside or Third Intermediate Period stela could have been displayed in that temple or another across the Napatian period, only to be re-used as flooring in the Early (or even Late) Meroitic period. Under such a scenario, one could not expect more damage to the stela than is already evidenced upon its face.

earlier Ramesside hypothesis, Macadam remarked: “Had he lived to consider the matter further he would probably have altered his decision.”⁵⁵

Macadam’s chronological revisionism gave rise to post hoc orthographic revisionism: though he designated Kawa XIV in the first volume of *The Temples of Kawa* as a stela of “King Ary-Miamün” and translated the sequence as “Ary, beloved of Amün,” his footnote suggested another reading entirely: “Or Aryamani?”⁵⁶ As Macadam would subsequently observe in the second volume of *The Temples of Kawa*, the nomen *Aryamani* would be more appropriate for the Early Meroitic date which Macadam had assigned to the stela, because it would then parallel the orthography employed by the Early Meroitic king Amanislo, in whose name the grapheme  (N 36) was only occasionally included within the cartouche.⁵⁷ Macadam therefore proposed that the grapheme  written upon Kawa XIV could justifiably be “included or omitted at will” by the modern redactor, even though the king named upon Kawa XIV consistently did include that grapheme in his own cartouche—unlike Amanislo.⁵⁸ In support of Macadam’s chronological revisionism, Török has therefore proposed to excise that grapheme altogether—even from *transcription* of Kawa XIV—asserting that the “name is written *’Imni-r-y* and not *i-r-y Mri-’Imn*.”⁵⁹ If valid, such a transcription would indeed suggest that the stela were inscribed long after the Ramesside era and the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Yet a closer examination of the stela itself does not provide convincing support for Török’s claim: below the grapheme  (Y 5), two parallel, horizontal linear indentations are preserved—most clearly in the lunette (Fig. 5) and more faintly in the main body of the inscription below. Due to considerable weathering over the millennia, the text permits at least three possible readings: (1)  as originally transcribed by Macadam; (2) the more conventional  as transcribed by Peust, and recently by both Zibelius-Chen and Dodson;⁶⁰ or at least conceivably (3) some variation of  (à la Fig. 66 in Ch. V.2.3 below?), if Török’s transcription is to be retained. Of these interpretations, the latter would seem the least probable, for it is not employed in the writing of Amun’s name elsewhere upon the same stela.⁶¹ Attempts to date the stela on purely orthographic grounds must therefore be supplemented by other diagnostic criteria.⁶²

Several such criteria are now cited by Morkot in his challenge to Macadam’s hypothesis. While Macadam believed that Kawa stela XIV and the sanctuary reliefs of Kawa Temple B derived from the Early Meroitic era, Morkot has proposed that both may instead belong to the Third Intermediate Period. In support of this position, he notes that the elements *Wsr-mʔ.t-Rʕ*, *stp-n-Rʕ*, and *mry-’Imn* were popular during that era as royal prenomena and epitheta.⁶³ The remaining graphemes within the second cartouche upon Kawa XIV

⁵⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 78.

⁵⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 76-77.

⁵⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 246-247. See also Priese, “Eine verschollene Bauinschrift,” 350 n. 21. This reading is now adopted by Török in *FHN* II, 521ff. §89.

⁵⁸ As noted recently by Zibelius-Chen, “Nubisches” *Sprachmaterial*, 55. Priese’s suggestion was that the lexeme *’Imn* might conceivably be taken as haplography, yielding *’I-r-y-’Imn mry-’Imn*. Priese, “Eine verschollene Bauinschrift,” 350 n. 21. See also Zach, review of *Kingdom of Kush*, 148. However, his proposal is not then sufficient grounds to exclude a Third Intermediate Period date as one possibility for Kawa XIV, because: (a) the epithet *mry-’Imn* would thereby be retained within the cartouche in typical Ramesside style, and (b) the remaining nomen *’I-r-y-’Imn* would bear no element inconsistent with a Third Intermediate Period date (cf. e.g. *T3-n-w3-ti-’Imn*).

⁵⁹ Török, “From chieftom to ‘segmentary state,’” 158 n. 54.

⁶⁰ Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 46; Zibelius-Chen, “Nubisches” *Sprachmaterial*, 54; Dodson, *Afterglow of Empire*, 140.

⁶¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709, ll. 1, 6, 8, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 32-33.

⁶² One additional criterion offered by Török is unfortunately a red herring: he proposes that the term *qb.t* as an “expression used to denote the temple (... Wb. V 25[1]) seems to have been used only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which gives further support to our late dating of Aryamani.” *FHN* II, 528. There are at least three problems with this assertion: (1) unlike the lexeme in Wb. V 25[1], the term which appears in Kawa XIV was copied by Macadam and Peust *sans* architectural determinatives of any kind, leading Peust to translate rather “*qbhw*-Gefäß” (Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 67); (2) the context in which the term appears in l. 4 and again in l. 12 groups the lexeme in question with small, portable donations, and thus there is again no compelling reason to interpret the word as a type of “temple,” nor even a building at all; (3) even if the lexeme in Kawa XIV did describe a building, the dual form of the lexeme given in Wb. V: 25.1 is already attested as a term for a building as early as the Old Kingdom. See, for example, the Autobiography of Harkhuf, col. 9 left of the entrance, in *Urk.* I, 127. Thus, Wb. V: 25.1 signifies only that a specific orthography is first attested in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, not that the lexeme itself originated during those eras. Cf. Wb. V: 27.12.

⁶³ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 147-150. See also: *id.*, Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange between Kush and Egypt*, 191; Dodson, *Afterglow of Empire*, 140-141, 270 n. 15. By contrast, Török maintains that the similarity of Ramesside epithets across Kawa XIV,

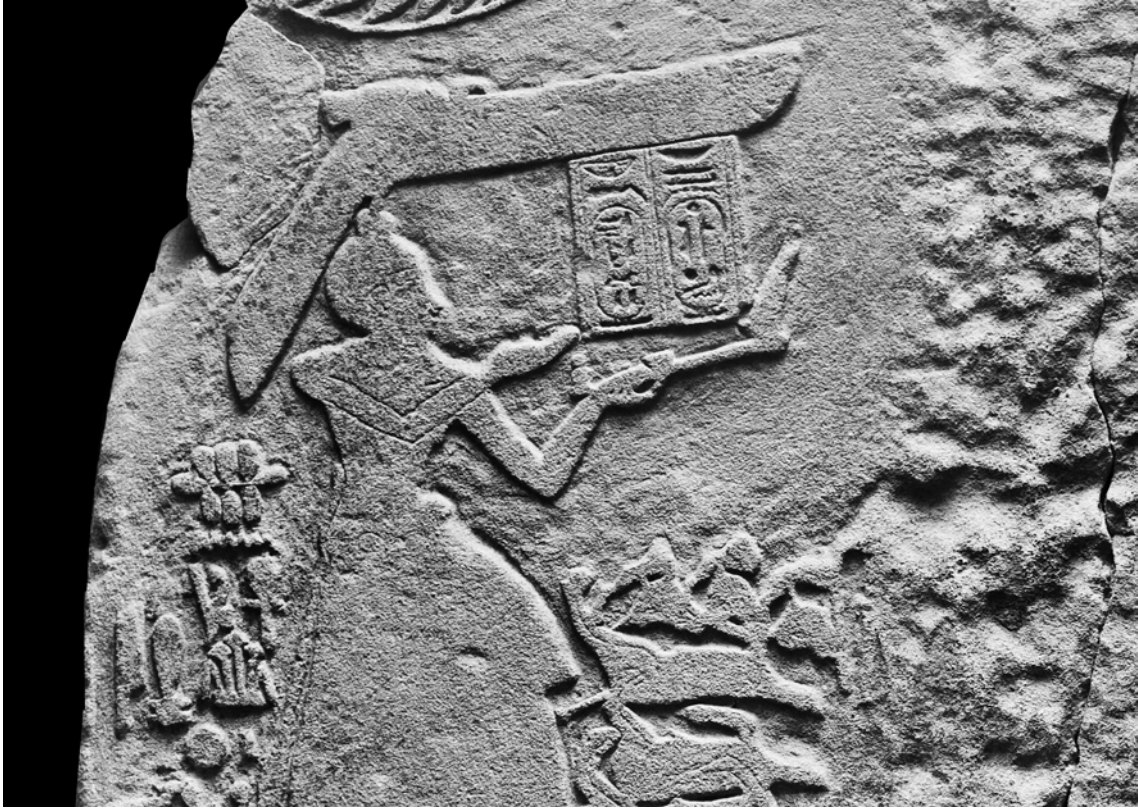


Fig. 5. Lunette detail of Kawa XIV (Æ.I.N. 1709). © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

would then constitute a nomen: *'I-r-y*. It is here that the retrospective stelae of Taharqo begin to assume center stage, for, according to Morkot's interpretation, the remaining nomen upon the disputed stela Kawa XIV bears comparison to the nomen *Alara* as it is featured in two passages from Taharqo's Kawa stelae IV and VI.⁶⁴ In the first, Taharqo recounts to his "friends" (*smr.w=f*) a covenant of sorts between his own ancestors and Amun-Re of Kawa:

Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 16-17:
hn.tw n=fmw.wt n.t mw.t=i in sn=sn smsw S3-R^c 'I-r-r-i

The mothers of my mother were ordained(?) for him by their eldest brother,⁶⁵ the Son-of-Re: Alara.⁶⁶

In the second, the same covenant is described in third-person voice:

Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 22-23:
hn.tw n=fmw.t n mw.t=f in sn=s smsw S3-R^c 'I-r-r

The mother of his mother was ordained(?) for him by her eldest brother, the Son-of-Re: Alara.⁶⁷

the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and Ptolemaic titularies, shows that Kawa XIV emulated and therefore followed Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Ptolemaic exemplars. See discussion in: *FHN* II, 521-522; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 394 and cf. 203; *id.*, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 158-159. Török does not explain why similarity alone should be proof of sequence—i.e., why Ramesside precedent cannot have been conveyed to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by exemplars like Kawa XIV, rather than vice-versa. Likewise, there would seem little reason to assume that the use of Ramesside titularies by the Ptolemies necessarily preceded in time the use of Ramesside titularies in Kawa XIV.

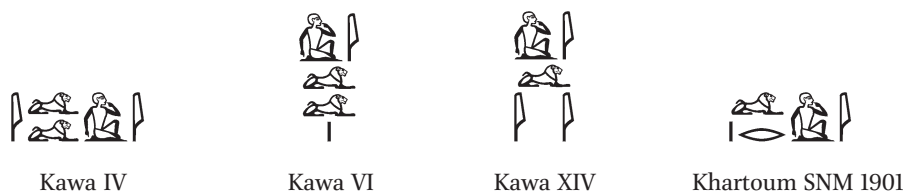
⁶⁴ Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Kush and Egypt*, 226.

⁶⁵ On the translation as "eldest," see Ch. V.2.3 n. 249 below. On the translation in this specific passage as "brother," rather than more generally as "kinsman," see Ch. III.2.1 n. 81 below; cf. above Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps, and further references below in Ch. V.2 n. 115.

⁶⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

⁶⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12.

A stela from el-Kurru (Khartoum SNM 1901) also features one *'I-r-rʿ* whose nomen is written in a cartouche; he is named as the father of Tabiry, the “great royal wife” of King Pi(ankh)y.⁶⁸ The orthography of the nomina in question may be compared as follows:



Observing the similarity of the names, Morkot has posited that the *'I-r-r-(i)* mentioned by Taharqo and the *'I-r-rʿ* who fathered Tabiry could be identical with the *'I-r-y* who commissioned Kawa stela XIV.⁶⁹ Such a conclusion has considerable implications for the architectural and cultic history of the site: if Macadam were correct to attribute the sanctuary reliefs of Kawa Temple B to the king depicted upon Kawa XIV, then Morkot’s reading of that stela would in turn require that Temple B as well was first commissioned by Taharqo’s celebrated ancestor. As support for such an early dating of the Temple B sanctuary, Morkot notes that the columns in the temple’s outer court were inscribed with the nomina of Harsiyotef, a king who preceded the Early Meroitic era;⁷⁰ Török, likewise, concedes that the reliefs in Kawa Temple B are “to be dated probably to the period of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (and not later, as suggested [by Macadam] in literature).”⁷¹ Morkot therefore asserts that a “conventional interpretation of the building stages would date the stone sanctuary as the earliest part” (built by Alara) with the outer courts and columns as later additions (by Harsiyotef).⁷² By contrast, Macadam’s proposition that the sanctuary belonged to the Early Meroitic era would require that it had been inserted into Harsiyotef’s pre-existing structure—a scenario judged by Morkot as architecturally improbable. Morkot further observes that “Kawa XIV refers to the building of [a] temple at Kawa, described as 120 cubits in length.”⁷³ These dimensions would indicate a substantial construction—only ten cubits shy of the Temple of Amun-Re (Temple T) later constructed by Taharqo at Kawa.⁷⁴ Under Morkot’s theory, Kawa might then represent the earliest site of monumental construction for the family which would later become the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,⁷⁵ and that construction could correspond to the predecessor of Temple T or at least to a building of comparable size.⁷⁶ Both conclusions would seem to lend support to Török’s assumption that a coronation journey from Napata to Kawa was already practiced under the early kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Given the considerable historical implications of Kawa XIV for either the Third Intermediate Period or the Early Meroitic era, only a thorough monographic study of the stela’s iconography, palaeography, orthography, lexicography, grammar, and archaeological context will convincingly ascertain its chronological placement in either period (*cf.* analysis of the Semna stela of Montuemhat in Ch. IV.2 below), but no such

⁶⁸ Dunham, *El Kurru*, 87, 90 fig. 29f, pl. XXX A.

⁶⁹ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 157. Morkot’s conclusion is now endorsed by Kendall, who would further identify the king upon Kawa XIV with the owner of Ku. 9. See Kendall, “Origin of the Napatan State,” 34, 64.

⁷⁰ Harsiyotef’s general position within the Kushite royal chronology is anchored by the following data points: (1) A scarab bearing his nomen and title was found in Nu. 13. Dunham, *Nuri*, 223 fig. 171 (17-3-19), pl. CXXV B. (2) Nu. 13 was located on the eastern ridge at a slightly higher elevation than Nu. 15. See map inside back cover of *op. cit.* (3) In Nu. 15, Reisner found a silver caryatid handle and several ushabti figures all bearing the nomen of Nastasen: *op. cit.*, 247 fig. 192 (17.2.1992), 259 fig. 203 (#26 = 17.3.332), pls. XCII C8105 and CXL no. 16. (4) Nastasen clearly followed Harsiyotef in the succession, as his Year 8 stela states that “Amun of Napata, my good father, gave to me the kingship of the Land of the St-Bow, the crown of King Harsiyotef, and the power of King Pi(ankh)-Alara.” See Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, ll. 15-16, in: Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 35-36. (5) Both Nu. 13 and Nu. 15 were judged by Reisner to be earlier than the Barkal pyramids based upon several features of both superstructure and substructure design. See Dunham, *Nuri*, Charts II, III opposite p. 274.

⁷¹ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 90-92 figs. 8-10.

⁷² Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Egypt and Kush*, 190.

⁷³ Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Egypt and Kush*, 226. The passage to which Morkot refers is Kawa XIV (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709), l. 4, as first photographed by Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. 32. But *cf.* n. 79 below.

⁷⁴ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. 12.

⁷⁵ But *cf.* n. 79 below.

⁷⁶ For Macadam’s attempted explanation of this 120-cubit structure, see *Temples of Kawa I*, 79.

study of Kawa XIV has been published to date.⁷⁷ During the decades that have elapsed since Macadam's publication of Kawa XIV, only Peust has endeavored to re-collate the stela, and he has expressed some skepticism regarding Morkot's theories. Peust's refutation is surprisingly brief and focuses principally upon the ambiguous orthography of the royal nomen rather than upon the language of the main text below,⁷⁸ but one observation made by Peust restricts immediately the potential implications of Morkot's hypothesis: the "120 cubit" measurement translated by Macadam resulted from a misreading. Peust explains: "Nach Kollation halte ich es für sicher, dass es sich bei dem vermeintlichen \mathcal{Q} entweder um einen Kratzer oder vielleicht um das Zahlzeichen $\text{I } \text{'}$ handelt."⁷⁹ Thus, even if the king pictured upon Kawa XIV is to be equated with Alara, the monument which he claimed to have constructed was no more than twenty-one cubits in length—only slightly longer than the *sanctuary* of Temple B.⁸⁰ Consequently, the evidence for royal construction within the temple-compound at Kawa is minimal at best between the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the ascent of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty proper.

It is nevertheless clear that Taharqo's retrospective account in Kawa VI at least aimed to present Kawa as the site of an important cult of Amun-Re since the time of his dynastic forebears. The stela attributes to Alara a speech imploring Amun-Re of Kawa in the following words:

Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 23-24:

ī ntr mnḥ ḥḥ iw n ṣ n=f mḏ=k n=i r sn(t)=i ḥm.t ms ḥn^c=i m ḥ.t w^c.t īr n=k n=s mī īr.n=k n īr n=k n bī.t nn s ḥr īb.w n nḥd r=s īn k3w.yw šḥm=k n=i w3w3 ḏw r=i s^cḥ.n=k wī m nsw īr=k n sn(.t)=i mitt n nw stn.n=k msw=s m t3 pn ḏi=f spr=f r bw-nfr ḥ^c m nsw mī īr.k n=i

O beneficent god, swift, who comes to him that calls upon him, look upon my sister⁸¹ for me, a woman born with me from one womb. Act⁸² for her just as you have acted for him that acted for you—as a wonder, not in (men's) hearts and not believed⁸³ by plotters.⁸⁴ (For) you put a stop to him that plotted evil against me, after you had set me up as king. Act for my sister likewise: elevate her children in this land. Let them attain prosperity and coronation, just as you have done for me.⁸⁵

On one point, the text is unequivocal: it was Amun-Re of Kawa who "set [Alara] up as king," and he did so by means of a "wonder" (*bī.t*). The latter is clearly suggestive of oracular legitimation (*bī.t*) as widely practiced during the Third Intermediate Period.⁸⁶ Thus, as Jansen-Winkeln has observed: "Der Amunkult muß schon vor Alaras Zeit im napatanisch Herrschaftsbereich fest etabliert gewesen sein und großes Gewicht gehabt haben, sonst wäre es nicht möglich gewesen, mit Hilfe eines Amunorakels den neuen König zu bestimmen."⁸⁷ What remains unclear is whether Amun-Re of Kawa was the source of legitimacy for the

⁷⁷ Zibelius-Chen's critique of Morkot's "postramessidische" hypothesis deals primarily with the evidence concerning the other kings farther south whom Morkot would assign to this era; of Kawa XIV, she objects only that the form of the king's sandals shown upon the stela was rarely attested in Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, so that Morkot's placement of the stela in that era would require a close connection between Kawa and Egypt that is otherwise inconsistent with the stela's "Text in einem 'gebrochenen,' nahezu unverständlichen Ägyptisch." Zibelius-Chen, "Das nachkoloniale Nubien," 204-206.

⁷⁸ Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 70-71 §5.4.

⁷⁹ Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 47. See l. 4 in Kawa XIV (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709), as re-photographed on the unnumbered plate opposite Peust's p. 52.

⁸⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, pl. 4.

⁸¹ As Alara specifies that the woman in question was "born with me from one womb," it would seem best to presume that she was a sibling—i.e., a child of the same mother—and not merely a royal kinswoman in this case. Cf. discussion in Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above, and further references in Ch. V.2 n. 115 below.

⁸² If the passage in Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 18, is to have parallel meaning, then *n=k* in Kawa VI would be a reflexive dative. See Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 40, pls. 7-8, 11-12. Cf. Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 552 n. 5.

⁸³ Or perhaps: "not trusted." See Gilula, "Egyptian *NHT* = Coptic *NAḤTE* "To Believe."

⁸⁴ The reference to plotting (*w3w3*) in the statement which immediately follows this one strongly suggests that *k3wy.w* refers to "plotters," as rendered by Macadam and more recently by Ritner, rather than "reflective people," as translated by Pierce. See Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 40 n. 85; Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 552; cf. *FHN* I, 174 §24.

⁸⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 11-12.

⁸⁶ Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bī-*, 137ff.; Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle*; Otto, "Götterdekret." For a clear description of an oracular episode in the Early Napatan corpus, see the Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 11-27, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VII.

⁸⁷ Jansen-Winkeln, "Alara und Taharka," 152.

entire Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or merely for a collateral line to which Alara and Taharqo uniquely belonged;⁸⁸ the evidence currently available does not allow much confidence on the subject.

Following the reign of Alara, the early years of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty manifest a consistent royal presence at Kawa and one which becomes increasingly visible over the course of the eighth century BC. Recent excavations of a mud-brick building (A 1) north of Temple T have revealed a single mud sealing with the name of *Mn-ḥpr-R^c*—judged by Welsby “the throne name of the Kushite ruler Piye.”⁸⁹ During the reign of Shabaqo, a stone temple for Anukis, the consort of Amun-Re of Kawa, must have been erected somewhere within the temple-compound, as re-used column drums in the second court of Temple B were inscribed with the dedication of *Nfr-k3-[R^c] s3-R^c Š3-b3-k3 ir.n=f m mnw=f n mw.t=f ʿnq.t ir=f di ʿnh*.⁹⁰ His nomen also occurred upon a barrel bead from the east chamber adjacent to the sanctuary of Temple A,⁹¹ while that of *Š3-b3-t3-k3 mry-ʿImn* was attested upon an amulet from the west chamber.⁹² It may be safely concluded that the temple-compound at Kawa had attracted some degree of royal patronage by the reign of Shabaqo and that it continued to be used by loyalists of the Kushite royal house into the reign of his successor.⁹³

In this regard, discoveries at Thebes may in fact shed some light upon the history of the cult at distant Kawa. Strudwick’s excavations in the re-used tomb of Senneferi (TT 99, *tempus* Thutmose III) have revealed one female mummy and one male mummy with fragments of inscribed burial equipment.⁹⁴ The woman may be associated with pieces of an openwork cartonnage coffin which were found in the tomb and inscribed for a certain *nb.(t) pr (sdm-)*§ *Nyiw s3.t n [...]* *Gm-p3-ʿItn rh nsw P(3)-di-ʿImn m3-ḥrw*.⁹⁵ A second fragment from the same coffin adds that she was *s3.t ḥm-ntr ʿImn Gm-p3-ʿItn*—thereby supplying, it would seem, a missing title from the first.⁹⁶ As Budka has recently observed, this “unequivocal link to Nubia” is in turn supported by a third fragment which shows the deceased with “her hair . . . cut very short to resemble the typical coiffure of Kushite women,” and TT 99 was found to contain mud ushabtis carrying baskets on their heads in a manner otherwise attested only for royal women in the cemetery at el-Kurru.⁹⁷ Nyiu’s father, the *ḥm-ntr ʿImn Gm-p3-ʿItn* Padiamun, was also named upon fragments from a wooden coffin in the tomb.⁹⁸ Though mentioned only briefly in the published reports, this man is a figure of considerable interest for Nubiology, as he represents the only named priest yet known in association with the site of Kawa.⁹⁹ The chronology of Padiamun’s tenure has the potential to yield valuable information about the history of Kawa’s cult of Amun.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁸ Morkot, “Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush,” 218-219. Two details might be taken to indicate that the statement here in Kawa VI was inclusive of multiple branches in the royal family, rather than just one: (1) In Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 16-17, it is not the singular *mw.t* who is ordained but the plural *mw.wt*, a point again reiterated by the sequence of plural nouns and pronouns in Alara’s next statement (ll. 18-19). For *gs.wy*, see Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 177. (2) The king’s address to his *smr.w* in Kawa IV then concludes the narrative with the words: “He (the god) listened to what he (Alara) said about us (*r=n*).” Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

⁸⁹ Welsby, “Kushite Town and Cemetery at Kawa, the 2001-2002 season,” 37 fig. 4. However, cf. Ch. II.2.1 n. 39 above on the prenomen *Mn-ḥpr-R^c*.

⁹⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 47 fig. 14.

⁹¹ OAM 1932.763 in: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 87, pl. 35 no. XXIX [0088]; *id.*, *Temples of Kawa II*, 14, 42, 150.

⁹² Khartoum SNM 02749 in: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 87, vo. pl. 35 no. XXX [0427]; *op. cit.* II, 14, 43, 198, ro. pl. CII b; Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 161; Welsby, *Kingdom of Kush*, 17.

⁹³ So Jansen-Winkel, “Alara und Taharka,” 143, 145, regarding Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 15.

⁹⁴ Strudwick, “Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT. 99]”; *id.*, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor.”

⁹⁵ Strudwick, “Theban Tomb of Senneferi,” 254; *id.*, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” 93. See photograph as Example 2 at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/openwork.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013). Strudwick initially read the name as “Nynyiu,” but cf. Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 148.

⁹⁶ Strudwick, “Theban Tomb of Senneferi,” 254; *id.*, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” 93. See photograph as Example 5 at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/openwork.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013).

⁹⁷ Budka, “Kushite tomb groups in Late Period Thebes,” 505.

⁹⁸ Strudwick, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” 93.

⁹⁹ For depictions of unnamed and untitled men performing ritual duties there: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. XIII-XV.

¹⁰⁰ Nyiu and Padiamun can perhaps be added to: Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III*, 588ff. That Padiamun’s titles were associated with the specifically Kushite cult of *Gm-p3-ʿItn* may be further supported by his daughter’s name: see Zibelius-Chen, “Nubisches” *Sprachmaterial*, 48-49.

The father's tenure may be initially estimated through the style of his daughter's coffin and then further refined by the complex web of prosopographical data which accompanied her burial and that of her male companion in TT 99. The openwork technique employed for Nyiu's coffin finds parallels in the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁰¹ This estimate is further buttressed by other burial equipment found with her body in the tomb. According to Strudwick, the chamber contained wooden coffin fragments which bore "the titles 'fourth priest', *rwḏ ʿḥsf n Nīw.t*, and the beginning of the name of Wedjahor."¹⁰² These, in turn, were found in association with faience vessel fragments "bearing parts of cartouches of Shabaka."¹⁰³ In the same chamber were several bands of mummy linen, upon one of which was written *ʿbw=k sp 4 ḥm-nṯr 4-nw Imn rwḏ ʿḥsf n Nīw.t Wḏḏ-Hr ḥḏ.t-sp 10*.¹⁰⁴ A separate linen was preserved in two fragments, one adhering to the leg of a male mummy in the tomb and reading [...] *nsw-bi.ty* [...] and another bearing the titulary of [Nfr]-k3-[Rc] *s3-Rc n ḥ.t=f Š3-b3-k3 mry Mntw nb W3s.t*.¹⁰⁵ Strudwick reports still another fragment with the fuller royal titulary and epitheta: *Hr Sbg-t3.wy Nb.ty Sbg-t3.wy Hr-nb Sbg-t3.wy nsw-bi.ty Nfr-k3-Rc s3-Rc Š3-b3-k3 mry Imn nb ns.wt t3.wy di ʿnh ḏ.t*.¹⁰⁶ Strudwick concludes: "It seems that [the linen fragments] all belong together, and point to this being the mummy of Wedjahor who died in year 10 of Shabaka, probably 705 BC,"¹⁰⁷ and "the other [Nyiu] may thus be that of his wife."¹⁰⁸ If Strudwick's deductions are correct, then Nyiu's father, the deceased Padiamun, would have served as priest of Amun at Kawa by the reign of Shabaqo at the latest—thereby attesting to the viability of the local cult during the first half of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

The prosopographical evidence from TT 99 allows one further scenario not entertained in Strudwick's publications. The tomb contained an additional mummy linen that was inscribed for *Hr-n-P snb ḥḏ.t-sp 12*.¹⁰⁹ As Strudwick explains:

Wedjahor and Horenpe . . . are also known from two unpublished block statues from the Karnak cachette in the Cairo Museum, whence it may be learned that Wedjahor was the father of Horenpe. Wedjahor was the more important of the two, being a fourth priest of Amun . . . Since Horenpe was the son of Wedjahor, it is preferable to assume that he did not die two years after his father, and the next king with a reign of that length is Taharqa. I thus suggest that Horenpe died in year 12 of that king, about 680 BC, approximately 25 years after his father.¹¹⁰

Nyiu might therefore conceivably have been the wife of Horenpe, rather than his mother by Wedjahor, and thus her own decease would likely fall proximate to his—perhaps during the reign of Taharqa, as calculated by Strudwick. Yet, even under this scenario, her deceased father, Padiamun, would have been an elderly man by Taharqa's ascension, and so his appointment as priest of Amun at Kawa would likely fall during the reign of Shebitqo at the latest. Whether Nyiu was a wife of Horenpe or Wedjahor, the mention of Padiamun's name and titles in association with her burial in TT 99 would seem to indicate, not only that

¹⁰¹ Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," 254.

¹⁰² Strudwick, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92. See photograph as inv. 99.95.0108 and another unnumbered under the heading of "Wedjahor" at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/coffinsThIP.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013).

¹⁰³ Strudwick, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92.

¹⁰⁴ Inv. 99.94.0764. Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," pl. LVIII A. See also *id.*, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 94, and photograph of "Wedjahor linen" at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/textiles.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013). The date upon the linen was initially read by Strudwick as "10th day of the month" but is now understood as simply "year 10." See *id.*, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92; *cf.* *id.*, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," 253, and "private communication from 09/06/2001" as cited by Kahn, "Divided Kingdom," 284 n. 76.

¹⁰⁵ For fragment adhering to mummy's leg, see photograph of 99.94.0801b under the title "On mummy of Wedjahor" at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/textiles.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013). For linen bearing partial titulary of Shabaqo, see 99.97.0523 under the title of "Shabaka example" (last accessed 24 June 2013).

¹⁰⁶ 99.94.0759 in Strudwick, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92-94 fig. 2. See also 99.94.0758/0762.

¹⁰⁷ Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," 253.

¹⁰⁸ Strudwick, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92.

¹⁰⁹ Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," 253. See photograph of 99.95.0275 under heading "Horenpe linen" at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/textiles.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013). Photographs of wooden coffin frags. 99.95.0170 and 99.95.0244 under heading "Horenpe" at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/coffinsThIP.html> (last accessed 24 June 2013).

¹¹⁰ Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi," 253. For statue of Wedjahor from Karnak cachette, see Cairo JE 37153 as noted in *PM* II, 154, and pictured in Bothmer, "Block statues of Dynasty XXV," fig. 3. Also of Wedjahor: Turin Inv. 2470. For statue of Horenpe, see Cairo JE 36970 in El Sayed, "A la recherche des statues inédites de la cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (I)."

the cult at Kawa was already active during the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, but also that its clergy were of sufficient stature to arrange familial marriages with their counterparts in Thebes.¹¹¹

The evidence reviewed above would thus appear to suggest that the cult of Amun at Kawa had achieved prominence by the time of Taharqo's visit to the site as recounted in Kawa IV and VI. It had received some measure of Kushite royal patronage at least by the reign of Shabaqo; it evidently possessed an active priesthood with far-flung political connections; and the claim that Taharqo's ancestral line had received oracular legitimation at Kawa was deemed sufficiently credible to be reported to his *smr.w* and recorded upon two royal stelae. Based upon this information alone, one might be tempted to conclude that the incorporation of Kawa into a royal investiture cycle with Napata had occurred several generations before, so that Kashta, Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo had each processed through the site during festival and endowed its principal temple in commemoration of their ancestors' successful unification of the Dongola-Napata Reach. Yet this conclusion proves to be strikingly incongruous with Taharqo's description of his first visit to the site as heir-apparent.

III.2.2. *Taharqo's Visit to Kawa*

Macadam's 1949 *editiones principes* of the Kawa inscriptions introduced to scholars a new event of ancient history: Taharqo's visit to the site of Kawa, as recounted upon both Kawa stelae IV and VI. The passage from Kawa IV was translated by Macadam as follows:

Now His Majesty had been in Nubia as a goodly youth, a king's brother, pleasant of love, and he came north to Thebes in the company of goodly youths whom His Majesty King Shebitku had sent to fetch from Nubia, in order that he might be there with him, since he loved him more than all his brethren. He passed to the nome of Amun of Gempaten that he might make obeisance at the temple door, with the army of His Majesty which had travelled north together with him. He found that this temple had been built in brick, but that its sand-hill had reached to its roof, it having been covered over with earth at a time of year when one feared the occurrence of rainfall. And His Majesty's heart grew sad at it until His Majesty appeared as King, crowned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and when the Double Diadem was established upon his head and his name became Horus Lofty-of-Diadems, he called to mind this temple, which he had beheld as a youth in the first year of his reign.

Then His Majesty said to his courtiers, "Lo, I desire to rebuild the temple of my father Amon-Re' of Gempaten, since it was built of brick (only) and covered over with soil, a thing not pleasant in the opinion of men. The god was in this place, yet it was not known what the rain had done. But he it was who preserved this temple until it befell that I was crowned King."¹¹²

A more laconic account of the same visit was preserved in Kawa VI, the relevant columns of which were translated by Macadam as: "His temple, having fallen into ruin, was built up with good hard sandstone after His Majesty had found that it had been built in brick, and that the sand-drift had reached its roof."¹¹³ Macadam was initially inclined to place this visit during the first year of Taharqo's reign, based upon his translation that "when the Double Diadem was established upon [Taharqo's] head and his name became Horus Lofty-of-Diadems, he called to mind this temple, which he had beheld as a youth in the first year of his reign."¹¹⁴ Yet, as Kitchen would subsequently demonstrate, such a conclusion is difficult to reconcile with independent chronological data¹¹⁵ and in no way required by the grammar of the inscription: "Middle Egyptian often prefers to leave an adverb or adverb-phrase or equivalent to the end of a sentence in a manner quite foreign to English."¹¹⁶ The conventions of Egyptian grammar would consequently favor a more precise English translation: "he called to mind this temple—which he had beheld as a youth—in

¹¹¹ Whether Wedjahor was an Egyptian or instead a Kushite immigrant in Thebes remains unclear, as some Kushite officials in Egypt are certainly known to have adopted Egyptian names: Budka, "Kushite tomb groups in Late Period Thebes," 510 n. 16; Vittmann, "Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography," 153-157.

¹¹² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 15-16.

¹¹³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 36.

¹¹⁴ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 18-19.

¹¹⁵ For the chronological difficulties of the period, esp. as now complicated by the Tang-i Var Inscription, see discussion and references in Ch. V.2 n. 138 below.

¹¹⁶ Kitchen, *TIP*, 166-167 §133.

the first year of his reign.” Thus, subsequent commentators have concluded with near unanimity, *contra* Macadam, that Taharqo visited the temple as a youth *before* his reign and then recalled that visit during regnal year 1.¹¹⁷

Other, equally-dubious aspects of Macadam’s translation have proven to be more persistent. Among them is his rendering of the physical condition of Kawa as described upon the two stelae. The terms *q33.t* (Kawa IV, l. 10) and *q3y.t* (Kawa VI, col. 16)—both literally “high places”—Macadam elected to translate respectively as “sand-hill” and “sand-drift.” This interpretation was evidently influenced by his modern observation of the site:

[T]he term ‘its sandhill’ (*k33t iry*) is not strange to anyone who has seen how in the N. Sudan the sand sweeps all day long along the level desert surface, so that every object protruding above it, even down to the smallest tussock of dry grass, accumulates its own particular sandhill. Clearly therefore we have here a description of the same conditions as obtain to-day, a sandhill, or what would become one if it were not continually swept away, being the unavoidable accompaniment of every building.¹¹⁸

The additional fact that the temple had been “covered over with earth” was similarly interpreted by Macadam as a protective measure on the part of the temple staff, who had buried the temple “at a time of the year when one feared the occurrence of rainfall,” like archaeologists back-filling their trenches at season’s end. Here again, Macadam appears to have drawn upon his own experience at Kawa: “The effects of rainfall on Nubian sandstone, it may be added, are serious, for during the period between the excavation of the temple in 1931 and the return of the Oxford University Excavations in Nubia to the site in 1935 heavy rainfall, an unusual occurrence, was responsible for the deterioration and disappearance of much of the reliefs in Taharqa’s temple.”¹¹⁹ Macadam’s translation of this passage is now reproduced nearly verbatim in the widely-consulted *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, as well as in Török’s monograph, *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art*.¹²⁰ No alternative translations are given in either text.

The retention of Macadam’s view is surprising, for a compelling alternative was supplied by Clère only two years after the publication of the first volume of *The Temples of Kawa*.¹²¹ In a review of the book, Clère would write: “Dans *k33t iry* (ou *irw*), let mot *iry* . . . doit représenter *dbt* ‘brique(s)’ plutôt que *hwt-ntr tn* ‘ce temple’ (qui est reprise par le suffixe *s* ici et en VI 16). Dans l’esprit du rédacteur, il devait donc s’agir principalement des amoncellements formés par les murs de brique écroulés.”¹²² The Egyptian language certainly did not lack a term for “sand” (*š3y*), and its absence in the passage is therefore conspicuous; instead the scribe wrote only of “brick” (*db.t*) and a “mound thereof” (*q33.t iry*). In fact, Clère’s reading would appear to be confirmed by additional semantic details which have equally escaped notice. The temple was not merely “covered” but actually (*i*)^{cc}(*.w*), “smeared,”¹²³ and the substance in question was specifically *3h.t*, “arable land” or “mud.”¹²⁴ Both would point toward the effects of rain upon the aforementioned collapsed mud bricks, rather than a protective measure taken in anticipation of rain. Assuming the latter, Macadam was forced to interpret the phrase that followed rather awkwardly, as a “*šdm.n.f* without subject”: *r tr n rnp.t snd n hpr h(w)t*, “at a time of year when one feared the occurrence of rainfall.”¹²⁵ Yet l. 15 below leaves no

¹¹⁷ See particularly: Leclant and Yoyotte, “Notes d’histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes,” 20-21; Rainey, “Taharqa and Syntax.” One more recent exception is: Kormys(c)heva, “Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel,” 80. Kormys(c)heva does not address the objections raised by Kitchen, Leclant, Yoyotte, or Rainey.

¹¹⁸ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 17 n. 23.

¹¹⁹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 18 n. 26.

¹²⁰ *FHN* I, 139 §21, 171 §24; Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 81, 399. For further acceptance of Macadam’s “sand-drift” theory, see also: Arkell, review of *Temples of Kawa* I, 115.

¹²¹ As Jansen-Winkel has recently observed, Clère’s insightful corrections seem not to have been fully utilized by later translations of the Kawa corpus. Jansen-Winkel, “Alara und Taharka,” 141.

¹²² Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa* I, 177.

¹²³ *Wb.* I: 40.6. The entry was evidently noticed by Macadam, who cited its usage with “plaster” (*q3d3.w*) at Amarna, but in *Kawa IV* he did not make the connection between this action and the rain mentioned as its agent soon after in l. 15. Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 18 n. 24. For *i*^{cc}(*.w*) (“to smear”) as a reduplicative form of *i*^c (“to wash”), see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 210 §274.

¹²⁴ *Wb.* I: 12.17; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 9; *CDD* 3 (23 August 2002: 02.1): 61. *Tempus* Taharqo: ll. 14-15 in Graefe and Wassef, “Eine fromme Stiftung,” 104 Abb. 1, Taf. 17; Donker van Heel, “Papyrus Louvre E 7852,” 92 n. VIII, pl. VIII; *id.*, “Papyrus Louvre E 7851 Recto and Verso,” pls. XIII-XIV; *id.*, “Papyrus Louvre E 7856 Verso and Recto,” pl. XII; *id.*, “Kushite Abnormal Hieratic Land Leases,” 342.

¹²⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 15, 18 n. 25.

doubt that rainfall had already occurred and was, in fact, the cause of the temple's condition: *wn ntr pn m st tn n rh irt.n hyt*, "This god is in this place,¹²⁶ without it being known *what the rain has done*."¹²⁷ The *snd* mentioned earlier in *l. II* should therefore be taken, not as a relative form lacking a subject, but as an adjective describing a season of the year (*tr n rmp.t*) rendered "terrible" or "dreadful" because of the occurrence of rain (*snd n hpr hwt*).¹²⁸ The phrase calls to mind the Amada Stela's description of Amenhotep II as "likeness of Min in the year of terror" (*rmp.t snd.t*).¹²⁹ Taking all of the above points into consideration, the description of the temple in Kawa IV would then read: "He found this temple built with mud bricks, a mound of them having reached its roof, it being smeared with mud at a time of the year dreadful through the occurrence of rainfall."¹³⁰ The description may be compared with Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela, which describes Egypt's "shrines fallen into desolation and become tracts overgrown with $K[\beta t]$ -plants . . . their halls a trodden path."¹³¹ Yet the condition of the temple at Kawa would seem to have been more dire, as the very integrity of the mud-brick construction had been compromised by rain.

The image that results is that of a temple sorely in need of renovation by the reign of Shebitqo. Macadam concluded that "[t]he temple was clearly out of use and derelict,"¹³² but he seems to have overestimated its disuse and underestimated its dereliction. As demonstrated above, the temple evidently possessed at least one priest and some relationship to both Thebes and the Kushite royal house across the reigns of Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo.¹³³ At the same time, it seems to have been very much a provincial temple at a moment of limited royal largesse; as Anlamani's Enthronement Stela would later attest in passing, the Dongola-Napata Reach just decades after Shebitqo's reign was home to several such local shrines, few of which were significant enough to be referenced by name in royal inscriptions or substantial enough to remain visible to modern archaeological survey.¹³⁴ In this regard, it must be remembered that *Napata* during the reign of Shebitqo already boasted two temples of Amun (B 500 and B 800), the larger of the pair lavishly furnished with lapidary relief scenes depicting the conquests of Pi(ankh)y.¹³⁵ The contrast between Napata and Kawa during the first half of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is so stark, in fact, that one may suspect Taharqo of at least some degree of hyperbole. However, the question of the accuracy of Taharqo's account should not overshadow its intention as propaganda. Any exaggeration was justificatory, for it was soon followed by a large-scale commitment of state resources and foreign labor that would elevate the cult at Kawa to greater prominence.

¹²⁶ Jansen-Winkel, "Alara und Taharka," 143, 145.

¹²⁷ The rain in question cannot be that which accompanied the flood of year 6 (as recorded in Kawa V), for Kawa IV, *ll. 21-27*, claims that the new, stone temple was already built by that year. See Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52) and Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712) in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-10.

¹²⁸ English might require "a year rendered terrible through the occurrence of rainfall," but no such intervening verbal form was appropriate with Egyptian *snd*. See: Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 177; Wilson, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 64.

¹²⁹ See *l. 5* in *LD V*, 65 a.

¹³⁰ See now Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy* 538-539 n. 3. Pace Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaoh aus Kusch*, 177, neither "Sand" nor "Gras" are actually mentioned in Kawa IV.

¹³¹ Cairo JE 41565, *l. 7*, in: Legrain, "La grande stèle de Toutankhamanou à Karnak," pl. opposite 168; Bennett, "Restoration Inscription of Tut'ankhamun," 9.

¹³² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 20 n. 34.

¹³³ Anlamani claimed that his predecessors had not appointed a Third Prophet: Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), *ll. 14-15*, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16. However, Taharqo's donation of four hour-priests to the temple and the appearance of so many priests in the hypostyle reliefs do not suggest a perpetually understaffed cult: Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 6, in *op. cit. I*, pls. 5-6; *op. cit. II*, pls. XIII b, XIV a-b, XV a-c, XVI b (no. III 15). Interestingly, a single priest is erased upon the south wall of the hypostyle hall: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XV b.

¹³⁴ Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), *ll. 7-9*, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16. For the difficulty of correlating those temple-compounds with the archaeological record from the same area, see Grzymiski, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Upper Nubia*, 49; but *cf.* possibly: Zurawski, "Southern Dongola Reach Survey: Archaeological Reconnaissance Near Abkor 1997"; *id.*, "Dongola Reach: The Southern Dongola Reach Survey, 2001"; *id.*, "Survey and excavations between Old Dongola and ez-Zuma"; Nauka w Polsce, "Polacy odkryli największy pałac królestwa Kusz." For a mud-brick temple at Gebel Barkal (B 800-first) later renovated by Pi(ankh)y, see: Reisner, "Barkal Temples in 1916 (III)," 254; Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 67.

¹³⁵ Reisner, "Barkal Temples in 1916 (III)"; Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, pls. L-LII; Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey*, 7-20, figs. 8-10.

III.2.3. *Taharqo's Renovation of Kawa*

The process by which Taharqo's new temple was constructed and provisioned at Kawa may be discerned by aligning regnal years from multiple annals (Kawa III, IV, VI, and VII), synthesizing their accounts, and then comparing those with the archaeology of the site. Description of the earliest stages is preserved only in later stelae, but the terse, ledger format of these documents and their attention to administrative detail suggests that they were based upon temple inventories first compiled on papyri or ostraca. By contrast, the few narrative passages relating to those early years are general enough in content that they could easily have been composed from the authors' recent memory. Work began with the arrival at Kawa of a large group of craftsmen which Taharqo had sent from Memphis under the supervision of an "overseer of construction" (*imy-rꜥ kꜣ.t*), but an inscription just years later would record that Taharqo himself had remained in Memphis (*is Ḥm=f m-ḥnw 'Inb-ḥd*).¹³⁶ Kawa's previous mud-brick temple evidently was not cleared in its entirety by the arriving crew but instead covered with sand and soil, for a deep trench excavated by Macadam and Kirwan found its lower courses 4.20 m below the new temple's plinth.¹³⁷ It would further seem that cultic use of the larger temple-compound (*viz.*, Temple A?) continued to some degree alongside the construction, for royal donations to Amun-Re of Kawa during Taharqo's third regnal year already included "four hour-priests and two transit instruments."¹³⁸ Additional donations authorized by the Crown during those early years included cypress seeds, an incense tree, and an assortment of vessels, cloths, temple furniture, musical instruments, semiprecious stones, and metals. Yet, despite the temple-compound's continued operation and endowment, the events are recounted only by regnal year in the surviving record—without any allusion to festival days.¹³⁹

By Taharqo's sixth regnal year, the essential architectural elements were already in place and lavishly adorned: white sandstone pylons and columns of gold with silver inlays (*ꜥr.w?*), adjacent lakes, an arboretum, and a "Compound of Natron filled with its requirements in silver, gold, and copper" (*ḥw.t-ḥsmn=s mḥ.tw n m dbḥ.w=s n.w ḥd nbw ḥmt*).¹⁴⁰ Royal donations of cloth and furniture continued unabated.¹⁴¹ The temple was now a suitable home for the cult statue of Amun-Re himself, who had by this time officially taken up residence in the sanctuary (*rd.(w) ḥtp ntr pn m-ḥnw=s*).¹⁴² Kawa had also become a suitable venue for the "publication" of Taharqo's divine sonship and royal legitimacy, which were now proclaimed upon two stelae erected in the temple forecourt. Kawa stela IV presented for the first time in a royal inscription Taharqo's special connection to Kawa, narrating his ancestor Alara's covenant with the local Amun-Re and describing Taharqo's own visit to the site as a "good youth" (*ḥwn nfr*) when he had first discovered the mud-brick temple's deplorable condition.¹⁴³ Above the horizontal lines of text, a lunette scene showed Taharqo offering to Amun-Re of Kawa and his consort, Anukis. Slightly more national themes were emphasized in Kawa stela V, which presented Taharqo's *Egyptian* authority: his summons to Thebes by Shebitqo, resultant coronation at Memphis, the subsequent visit of his mother Abalo, and the "four goodly wonders" then wrought by Amun as proof of Taharqo's divine favor.¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, the lunette was designed differently for Kawa than for the parallel texts at Coptos and Mata'nah: whereas the latter two showed the king presenting offerings to the local gods Min and Hemen, respectively,¹⁴⁵ that at Kawa contained two symmetrical offering scenes, one to the local criocephalic Amun-Re and another to an androcephalic "Amun-Re,

¹³⁶ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 21-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8.

¹³⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 226-227. Significantly, the mud-brick walls were built "on almost the same axis" as Temple T, suggesting to Kirwan that "something of this early temple was still visible in Taharqo's day" (just as Kawa IV and VI attest); Kirwan wrote: "[Taharqo], knowing of its existence, selected this spot already sanctified by his predecessors as a suitable site for his own Temple of Amun."

¹³⁸ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 6, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6.

¹³⁹ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), cols. 1-9, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6.

¹⁴⁰ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 22-26, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8.

¹⁴¹ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 10, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6.

¹⁴² Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 26, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8.

¹⁴³ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 7-20, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8.

¹⁴⁴ Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 9-10. For a recent discussion, see Gozzoli, "Kawa V and Taharqo's *Bywt*."

¹⁴⁵ See the Coptos stela (Cairo JE 48440) and Mata'nah stela (Cairo JE 38269) in Vikentiev, *La haute crue du Nil*, pls. I-III, V. The Coptos lunette contained a single offering scene to Min, behind whom stood Horus and Isis. The Mata'nah lunette contained

Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.” The model for this dual scene was likely that of Thutmose III at Gebel Barkal.¹⁴⁶ Despite the apparent functionality of the new Temple T in regnal year 6 and the emphasis upon royal action within the two stelae erected in its forecourt, no mention was made in either text of a recent visit to the site by the reigning pharaoh nor of any specific date upon which such a visit might have occurred.¹⁴⁷ Most conspicuous is the apparent deferral of the new temple’s consecration; evidently the cult at Kawa was not yet considered ready to fulfill all of its intended functions.¹⁴⁸

During the years that immediately followed, the temple continued to receive and record vessels, cloths, metals, and furniture, while the older donation lists of years 2 through 8 were now memorialized in stone upon a new stela in the forecourt (Kawa III)—dedicated to Amun-Re of Kawa and Anukis and dated only by regnal years.¹⁴⁹ Examination of its contents and comparison with subsequent ledgers reveal that the nature of recorded donations had begun to shift perceptibly after year 6. There was firstly an increasing emphasis upon staffing of the larger temple-compound: the Crown provisioned the temple magazines with “male and female servants, being the children of the *ḥq3.w* of the *Tiḥnw*-Libyans,” and filled the temple-compound with “numerous singers, their sistra in their hands to shake the sistra before (Amun-Re’s) beautiful face.”¹⁵⁰ A slightly later account would recall that, at some point during that same interval, the temple-compound had also received female servants “from the wives of the grandees¹⁵¹ of Northland,” viticulturists from among the “best of *Dsds* (Bahariya)” and the “*Mnty.w*-nomads of Asia,” priests “who know their spells,” and “children of the grandees of every land.”¹⁵² Secondly, inventory lists from this period began to mention an increasing number of specific processional implements: trumpets, *mp.t*-scepters, an *ḫ.t*-standard, and a “silver palm-staff for an hour-priest” (*ḥd bʿi n imy-wnw.t*).¹⁵³ Thirdly, materials donated between years 8 and 10 appear to reflect the finishing touches of temple decoration: orpiment, “thin gold for engraving(?)” (*nbw pg n ḫ*), and “blue frit for painting” (*ḥsbd n sš*).¹⁵⁴ It is nevertheless likely that structural elements continued to be modified simultaneously with final surface decorations: the so-called “Taharqo Shrine” between the columns of the hypostyle hall was evidently built after the columns had been erected—for it overlapped them awkwardly—but before the last of them had been inscribed, as Griffith’s dismantling of the shrine would later reveal.¹⁵⁵ The shrine itself remains enigmatic, but its imitation by Aspelta suggests that it was considered an integral part of the cult.¹⁵⁶ Observing its location upon the starboard side of the processional axis in the fashion of royal palaces, Török has suggested that it might have “functioned as the ‘dwelling’ of the king within the temple.”¹⁵⁷ If so, it may have been commissioned in anticipation of his impending arrival.

Year 10 brought the culmination of the entire project. An additional stela installed within the forecourt (Kawa VI) now summarized the donations of recent years and reiterated once more the events which

two symmetrical offering scenes, but Hemen was the recipient on both sides. In the Tanis version, no lunette was preserved: see Cairo JE 37488 in Leclant and Yoyotte, “Nouveaux documents relatifs à l’an VI de Taharqa,” pls. II-III.

¹⁴⁶ Boston MFA 23.733 in Reisner and Reisner, “Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 2,” 25; Kendall, “Origin of the Napatan State,” 69.

¹⁴⁷ Pace Kormys(c)heva, “Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel,” 81; cf. nn. 115-117 above. Had a coronation at Kawa actually taken place in year 6, it would be rather surprising that neither Kawa IV nor Kawa V give the month or day of its occurrence there. Only Kawa VII in year 10 gives such a date—the first day of *ḫ.t* (a conventional date for coronations).

¹⁴⁸ See esp. discussion in Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 125-131.

¹⁴⁹ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), esp. cols. 11-21, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6. See also donations in Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 1-14, in *op. cit.*, pls. 11-12.

¹⁵⁰ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), cols. 22-23, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6.

¹⁵¹ See discussion of this translation in Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above.

¹⁵² Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 15, 20-21, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12. For discussion of the donation of people in Kushite inscriptions, see below Ch. III.3.2.2 (bb).

¹⁵³ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), cols. 11-13, 17, 19, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6; Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 9, in *op. cit.*, pls. 11-12. For depiction of trumpets within the hypostyle hall of Taharqo’s temple at Kawa, see *id.*, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. XIII-XIV.

¹⁵⁴ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 21, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6. Alternatively, the scribe may have intended: “35 sheets of thin gold cut.” Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 7, 12, 14, in *op. cit.*, pls. 11-12. For blue frit, see: Lee and Quirke, “Painting Materials,” 109.

¹⁵⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 15-16, 83-84, pl. LV.

¹⁵⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 89, pls. XVIII a-b, LI a, LVII; Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 107-110, pls. XLIV-XLVII.

¹⁵⁷ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 124.

had first led to the temple's construction: *viz.*, Alara's covenant with the local god and his grand-nephew Taharqo's visit to the temple before his own ascension as pharaoh in Memphis.¹⁵⁸ The stela's symmetrical lunette featured royal offering scenes before a criocephalic Amun-Re of Kawa and a new figure: an equally criocephalic Amun of Napata. More significantly, however, this new stela was accompanied by another (Kawa VII) which was the first in the Temple T forecourt to be dated to a specific month and day: "First month of Inundation, day 1."¹⁵⁹ As the commencement of the Egyptian New Year, this marked the conventional date for temple consecration as well as for coronation ceremonies.¹⁶⁰ Kawa VII was also the first stela in the forecourt to describe cultic activities at Kawa requiring the Royal Presence.¹⁶¹ The first column of the text presented, in the form of narrative infinitives, three temple foundation ceremonies performed by the king *in propria persona*: "Setting Up, Sprinkling (of Natron), Giving the House to its Lord." What followed was a condensed summary of the temple's construction, culminating in a speech delivered by Taharqo to his *smr.w*—much like the one he had delivered before his reign during their initial visit to Kawa.¹⁶² In this speech, however, the renovation project was described as a past accomplishment, thereby forming a structural coda with his earlier vow to those same *smr.w* in Kawa IV.¹⁶³ Stela and temple were then integrated, not only by the foundation ceremonies listed in the main text, but also via an iconographic link within the lunette: offering in a symmetrical scene to a criocephalic Amun-Re of Kawa and androcephalic Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the king stood in front of a group of symbols associated with the traditional *Königslauf*.¹⁶⁴ The same group can be found several times upon the temple walls: behind the king in the forecourt, where it accompanied an apparent representation of Stretching the Cord; once again beside the north exterior door leading into the hypostyle hall; and yet again upon the "Taharqo Shrine" within that hypostyle hall.¹⁶⁵ Temple foundation ceremonies were thereby combined with rites emphasizing the person of the king and his royal legitimacy.

The full iconographic program of Temple T has been admirably described elsewhere by Török,¹⁶⁶ so attention will be drawn here only to those areas of the temple most relevant to the larger question at hand: the diachronic history of Kushite enthronement rites. Most important is the hypostyle hall, where the king would traditionally receive the divine barque and the oracular decree proclaiming his legitimacy.¹⁶⁷ Temple T does not surprise in this regard, as two scenes on each side of the hypostyle show such a procession.¹⁶⁸ In his publication of the reliefs, Macadam concluded that the opposing walls depicted the same event: the king's receipt of the barque of Amun-Re of Kawa.¹⁶⁹ Here Török has made a more recent (2002) and quite critical intervention by observing that the two scenes are, in fact, significantly different,

¹⁵⁸ Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53) in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. 11-12.

¹⁵⁹ Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713) in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. 13-14.

¹⁶⁰ Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An*; Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*, 367-368; Spalinger, "Calendars: Real and Ideal," 306-307; Zibelius-Chen, "Tempelgründung."

¹⁶¹ Naturally, Kawa IV and VI are to be excluded in this regard, as Taharqo was not yet king when he first visited the temple. See nn. 115-117 above. For the willingness of Kushite kings to delegate from afar, see: Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 17, 22-23, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 8-9, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 15, 18, pls. 3A-3B; with discussion by Vinogradov, "Golden Cage," 107-109, 113.

¹⁶² Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), cols. 7ff., in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. 13-14, and discussion in *op. cit.*, 44 n. 12.

¹⁶³ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 13-20, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

¹⁶⁴ Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, 119-134.

¹⁶⁵ Western half (and internal face) of south wall of Temple T's forecourt, where the symbols appear behind the surviving lower body of the king as he processes with a goddess who may be Stretching the Cord: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 70. Fragments of the sequence can be seen again: upon the exterior face of the north wall of Temple T, to the west of the door leading into the hypostyle hall; once more behind Taharqo upon the western wall of the so-called "Taharqo Shrine" within the hypostyle hall—now OAM 1936.661; see Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*, xx fig. 20. For hand-copies of all of the above: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. X a, XVII e, XXV b. The same group of symbols appears behind a Kushite king in the lunette of the so-called "Banishment" Stela at Napata (Cairo JE 48865): Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIIA-VIII.

¹⁶⁶ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 80-134.

¹⁶⁷ Assmann, "Das ägyptische Prozessionsfest," 108; Leclant, "Éléments pour une étude de la divination dans l'Égypte pharaonique." For description of this context within a Kushite inscription, see the Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 16-22, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIA-VII.

¹⁶⁸ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. XIII-XVI.

¹⁶⁹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 76-83.

paralleling the larger division of the temple into halves: one emphasizing Amun-Re of Kawa and the other Amun of Napata.¹⁷⁰ Upon the north wall, the barque is led by two priests as it proceeds toward the king, and one of those priests holds at his side an unopened papyrus.¹⁷¹ In the other scene, only one priest leads the barque and the other priest walks behind Taharqo, reading from an opened papyrus.¹⁷² Török therefore posits that the scenes upon the north wall and south wall represent “two different episodes of the same sequence of rites,” with the Lector Priest behind Taharqo reading aloud his oracular decree from one god as the king encounters the barque of another.¹⁷³ The iconographic program of the hypostyle hall may therefore be compared with Harsiyotef’s coronation cycle, as quoted and discussed at the beginning of the present chapter:

Cairo JE 48864, ll. 19-22:

ḥr m-sʿy nʿy šy(=i) i.iry ’Imn-R^c nb ḥr(y)-ib Gm-<I>tn dd n=i ḥr dd n=i ’Imn Npt šy(=i) i.iry ’Imn-R^c nb ḥr(y)ib Pr-nbs dd n=i ḥr dd ’Imn Npt šy(=i) i.iry Bst.t Tʿr.t dd n=i ḥr dd ’Imn Npt

Now after this, (I) went to Amun-Re, the lord who dwells in Kawa, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said to me*. I went to Amun-Re, the lord who dwells in Pnubs, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said*. I went to Bastet of Taret, *who spoke to me concerning what Amun of Napata said*.¹⁷⁴

As Török explains, the hypostyle hall of Taharqo’s Temple T presents sequential and interdependent rites: “Though representing an independent investiture by Amûn of Kawa, the next episode is nevertheless made possible by the first: telling to Amûn of Kawa what Amûn of Napata said to him, the ruler proclaimed the first oracular decree, to receive then a second oracle and decree.”¹⁷⁵ By displaying two episodes of oracular legitimation, the relief scenes render a condensed account of the king’s perambulation through the ritual circuit from Gebel Barkal to Kawa. The same emphasis upon multiple sources of legitimacy was manifested through Temple T’s frequent symmetry of representations of Amun of Napata and Amun-Re of Kawa, and it found increasing expression upon the lunettes of the forecourt stelae as the temple consecration and local coronation of regnal year 10 approached.

Török presents this repetition of coronations largely in the ethnographic present¹⁷⁶—as an instance of an underlying Kushite structure, without analysis of its origins and development—but the significance of Török’s intervention for diachronic political history should not be overlooked or underestimated: the reliefs of the hypostyle hall in Temple T represent the earliest evidence of a coronation cycle linking two Nubian sites.¹⁷⁷ In this regard, Török’s assertion, in 1995, that “[t]he earliest preserved record of a coronation journey is in Anlamani’s Kawa inscription”¹⁷⁸ must be confronted with his analysis of Temple T as published in 2003. The Enthronement Stela of Anlamani may be regarded as the earliest such record only in the most rigoristic sense: it is the first preserved description of the coronation journey upon the Nile, but, as Taharqo’s hypostyle hall would now suggest, Anlamani’s inscription was not the earliest representation of the coronation circuit.

The distinction at stake is no mere accolade, for it speaks directly to the question of historical development. As demonstrated in Ch. III.2.1 and III.2.2 above, it must be seriously doubted whether a coronation circuit actually passed through Kawa during the reigns of Kashta, Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo, before the site was renovated by Taharqo. The earlier oracular legitimation of Alara at Kawa became the pretext

¹⁷⁰ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 99-100.

¹⁷¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XIV a (nos. I 1 and II 1-2).

¹⁷² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XV b (nos. IV 1 and 2, erased figure unnumbered).

¹⁷³ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 101-102.

¹⁷⁴ Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XII-XIII.

¹⁷⁵ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 104.

¹⁷⁶ Put simply, the coronation circuit has often been described in the published literature as something that the Kushite king does (present tense), without consideration of which king(s) first began this practice, when and why they introduced it, nor how the meanings and/or context of the coronation circuit may have changed across time. There is consequently a danger of collapsing historical events into timeless phenomena. On the ethnographic present, see esp. Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

¹⁷⁷ For Egyptian cultic sites visited by Pi(ankh)y on festival occasions, see Cairo JE 48862, ll. 25-26, 96-98, 101-106, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, II, VI, IX-X.

¹⁷⁸ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 66. Cf. Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

for this renovation but was first articulated by Taharqo in Kawa IV only within the context of a single coronation, not as one among many coronations. Viewed in historical perspective, the coronation cycle then depicted upon the walls of the hypostyle hall appears as a commemorative rite *in statu nascendi*—an “invented tradition” of the kind documented by Hobsbawm and Ranger for other parts of the world: “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past . . . [and preferably] with a suitable historic past.”¹⁷⁹ Taharqo’s apparent invention of this rite at Kawa was justified through appeal to the historic episode of Alara’s covenant with the local deity, but this justification should not be confused with evidence for the timelessness of the coronation circuit.

The subsequent continuance of the rite across the Napatan era also should not be taken to imply a stasis in its political content. It will be recalled that the coronation circuit under Irike-Amanote, Harsiyotef, and Nastasen reinforced the political cohesion of the unit bounded by its apogee and perigee: the Dongola-Napata Reach, as bounded by Pnubs and Napata. Török has argued that “the texts of the pylon front” of Taharqo’s temple at Kawa contained a similar “reference to the Kushite myth of the state, according to which the king received kingship from three forms of his divine father Amun, apparently independently: first at Napata, then at Kawa, and finally at Pnubs.”¹⁸⁰ Yet the pylon front of Temple T contained no reference to Amun of Pnubs (Fig. 6).¹⁸¹ Instead, Taharqo was depicted in a series of three stacked registers before “Ptah, South of His Wall,” “Amun of Napata,” and Amun-Re of Kawa.¹⁸² It would seem an unlikely coincidence that this trio of deities should also correspond to the three sites of Taharqo’s own coronation,¹⁸³ particularly given the explicit references to his Memphite coronation in Kawa stelae IV and V as displayed within the temple forecourt at Kawa.¹⁸⁴ In fact, the royal investiture scenes in Room H of the temple prominently feature Ptah alongside Amun-Re of Kawa.¹⁸⁵ By contrast, Amun of Pnubs plays a far more marginal role in Temple T, appearing only within an unclear context in Room D/E.¹⁸⁶ It may therefore be suggested that the multiple coronations represented in Temple T are not those practiced at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs during the Late Napatan era but instead those attested for Taharqo himself at Memphis, Napata, and Kawa.¹⁸⁷

The iconographic program of Temple T must therefore be carefully distinguished from the records of subsequent epochs: the Kushite coronation cycle that would later come to signify regional cohesion during the Late Napatan era is first attested within the context of Taharqo’s joint claim to Egypt and Kush. If that coronation cycle evidences a “federal” structure within the Dongola-Napata Reach, then the possibility should be considered that said federal structure was itself heavily influenced by the priorities of territorial

¹⁷⁹ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*, 1.

¹⁸⁰ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 119-120.

¹⁸¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XXIII a.

¹⁸² The identity of the god in the lowest register is confirmed by comparison with the better-preserved opposing jamb of the pylon, upon which Taharqo offers to *ʿImn[-R] Gm-ʿ[tn]*. See Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pls. XXIV d, XLVI a.

¹⁸³ Taharqo’s second coronation in Napata is, however, simply assumed in Nubian Studies because of the site’s cultic importance, Pi(ankh)y’s coronation there, and the considerable building activity of both Pi(ankh)y and Taharqo at Gebel Barkal. See nn. 1-2 above.

¹⁸⁴ Vaguely in Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 12., but explicitly in Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), l. 15, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-10.

¹⁸⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. LX a. For Ptah’s various appearances at Kawa, see Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 89-92. For Room H of Temple T, see *op. cit.*, 113-118.

¹⁸⁶ As described in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 98 (3). Török would identify this room as a chapel of Re-Horakhte, and he proposes that the appearance of Amun of Pnubs was motivated by his importance to the coronation cycle. Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 109-113 §§2.4.9. This possibility cannot be excluded, particularly as Pnubs might have been appended by Taharqo to his previous circuit through Memphis-Napata-Kawa. It is nevertheless noteworthy that Amun of Pnubs appears only in Room D/E and not upon the front of the First Pylon with Ptah South-of-His-Wall, Amun of Napata, and Amun-Re of Kawa, nor does Amun of Pnubs appear in the investiture room (H).

¹⁸⁷ The existence of a temple of “coronation type” at Tabo (possibly to be seen as “Greater Pnubs”) is fully consistent with the interpretation of Kawa’s Temple T as proposed here, because the Tabo temple has been widely judged on architectural grounds to have been built by Taharqo after Kawa’s Temple T—and even after the Temple of Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the St-Bow, at Sanam. See discussion in: Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, and Jacquet, “Pnubs and the Temple of Tabo on Argo Island”; Jacquet-Gordon, “Excavations at Tabo, Northern Province, Sudan”; Rocheleau, *Amun Temples in Nubia*, 25, 76-77. For an opposing theory, see comments by Kendall as cited in Kormys(c)heva, “Amun of Pnubs on the Plaques from Kush,” 288-289.

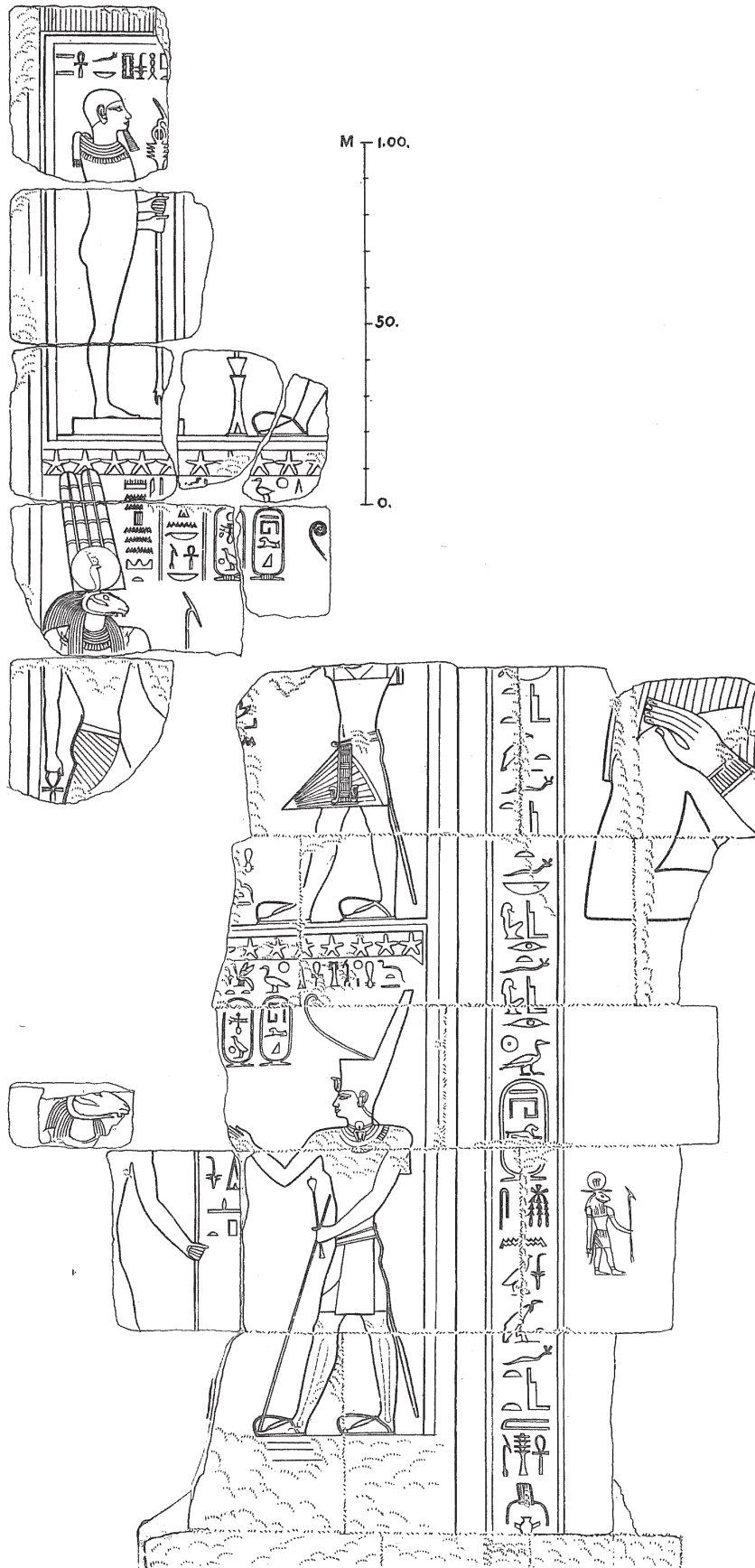


Fig. 6. Temple T, First Pylon, southern half. After Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XXIII a. Reproduced with permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

expansion during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. “Ambulatory kingship” and the royal propaganda which accompanied it would then signify, not essentialist features of Kush, but instrumentalist Kushite responses to the specific historical conditions of the eighth and seventh centuries BC. As argued in Chapter II above, the el-Kurru dynasty appears to have made fewer inroads in the Butana Steppe than they had in contemporary Egypt. Consequently, it would seem more likely that they applied political experience gained in the north to subsequent expansion into the south, rather than vice versa. In fact, the strategies used in the eighth and seventh centuries BC to manage the 3,200 km expanse from Napata to Memphis would have been particularly well-suited to the subsequent maintenance in the sixth through fourth centuries BC of a Napatan Kingdom whose population centers in the Dongola, Napata, and Meroë regions were separated by cataracts, adverse currents, and stretches of intervening desert, Sahel, and steppe.

Here a delicate balance must be struck between the short- and long-term perspectives mentioned in Chapter I above. The most enduring priorities of the region’s political history were shaped by the junction of the world’s longest river with the northern edge of Africa’s Sahelian belt; these factors consistently produced an emphasis upon long-distance trade, the concomitant prestige of internationalism, and the maintenance of patron-client relationships, especially where discontinuous settlement and population mobility frustrated attempts at tighter administrative control.¹⁸⁸ Yet the propagandistic means by which these goals were pursued by the Kushite dynasts of the eighth and seventh centuries BC appear to have been the products of their more recent experimentation. The cultic landscape created by Taharqo would seem a case in point: an early Kushite attempt to invent political tradition.

III.3. *Taharqo and Sanam*

Taharqo’s renovations at Kawa are rivaled in Kush only by his activity at Sanam.¹⁸⁹ In fact, the iconographic programs and architectural layouts of the two temples suggest sequential construction. As Macadam first observed, the design of the “Taharqo Shrine” within the hypostyle hall at Sanam suggests that Taharqo’s activity there followed his construction of the analogous Temple T and accompanying “Taharqo Shrine” at Kawa:

In the Temple of Sanam, a similar Shrine of Taharqo occupied the same position, but there the shrine, of which nothing is left but the lowest courses, had been placed squarely within the four columns and did not project beyond them . . . [W]e may note that the S. face of column 4 [at Kawa] was found, after the dismantling of the shrine, to have been uninscribed. If the addition of the shrine [at Kawa] was an afterthought, as its awkward position in relation to the columns suggests, it was added after the completion of the wall-reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall but not after the completion of the temple. At the Temple of Sanam the shrine seems to have been part of the original scheme, an additional reason for supposing that it was in design an improved version of Kawa, and that Kawa was therefore built first.¹⁹⁰

In other respects as well, Sanam was markedly different from its Dongolan counterpart farther north. Firstly, Sanam was located within the immediate orbit of Gebel Barkal—and may even have been included within the region signified by *Npt* in Kushite texts. Secondly, its position relative to Gebel Barkal and the royal cemeteries has been taken by Török to suggest that these may have been fashioned after the Egyptian constellation of Karnak—Valley of Kings—Medinet Habu, with Sanam analogous to the latter and associated likewise with the cult of the royal ancestors.¹⁹¹ According to Török, this hypothesis finds support, not only in Sanam’s association with Amun Kamutef, but also in Nastasen’s later assertion that Alara, the

¹⁸⁸ For the influence of these enduring priorities upon the foreign policy of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see discussion in Pope, “Beyond the Broken Reed.”

¹⁸⁹ For Taharqo’s activity at Gebel Barkal, see esp. Kendall, “Monument of Taharqo on Gebel Barkal.”

¹⁹⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 83-84, also 15-16, 61, 107.

¹⁹¹ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 15-16, 35-39. Cf. discussion in Kendall, “Why did Taharqo build his tomb at Nuri?” 117-147.

royal ancestor *par excellence*, had “sprouted” there.¹⁹² Thirdly, Sanam’s proximity to Napata seems to have ensured its exclusion from the coronation cycle; as Török observes, “Sanam only occurs as a royal residence and a territorial administrative centre but not as a station in the coronation journey.”¹⁹³ Fourthly, Sanam presents an altogether different challenge for the historian: absent are the numerous royal stelae as erected in the Kawa forecourt. In their place, however, Sanam boasts a wall-text of remarkable dimensions stretching the length of its own forecourt.¹⁹⁴ In that position, it represented the public face of the temple itself,¹⁹⁵ and thus Taharqo’s purposes at Sanam cannot be fully understood without consultation of that text.

III.3.1. *Excursus 1: The Sanam Historical Inscription*

The wall-text inscribed within the forecourt has been aptly termed the Sanam “Historical” Inscription (hereafter SHI) to distinguish it from the bulk of theological texts which adorn the walls of Taharqo’s many temples.¹⁹⁶ In contrast to the more formulaic content of those temple *Randzeilen*, the surviving blocks of SHI contain references to distinct events, their settings, and the agents who were involved. Subjects discussed within the inscription include: one or more nautical expeditions (cols. 2, 12, 27, 60, 64, 66, 122, 145, and 163), possible military and/or political conflicts (cols. 23-57, 127, and 155), several titled officials of the realm (cols. 6?, 24, 26, and frags. 12-13), a plethora of unfamiliar toponyms and ethnonyms (cols. 2, 12, 36, 38, 40, 41, and frag. 4), and the most important cultic centers across the full length of the Double Kingdom: Napata, Thebes, and Memphis (cols. 3, 98, 157, 173, and frags. 5-6). If ever a single royal inscription could reveal the manner in which Kush and Egypt were knitted together under Taharqo, SHI would seem a prime candidate.

Yet the 180 columns of SHI have only been the subject of a single three-page translation—published by Griffith in 1922 with a few sentences of historical commentary and no philological annotation. In fact, Griffith translated less than a quarter of the inscribed columns which he and his wife Nora had copied by hand,¹⁹⁷ alighting only upon those passages which caught his interest at the time. As a result, no *editio princeps* of SHI is yet available for historians to consult. The persistent neglect of SHI is undoubtedly due in large part to the text’s fragmentary condition and the daunting challenges posed by its reconstruction (Fig. 7): by the time that Griffith excavated Sanam in the early twentieth century,¹⁹⁸ the wealth of historical references listed above had survived upon only the lowest courses of very friable sandstone masonry (c. 0.4-0.75 m high)¹⁹⁹ and twenty-one additional scattered fragments (of average dimensions c. 0.28 × 0.4 m),²⁰⁰ while the rest of the inscription was missing entirely (see Fig. 25 below). As Griffith observed, “the loss of so much narrative and detail of various kinds is deplorable.”²⁰¹ Since Griffith’s excavation, still more has been lost: only one of the scattered fragments of SHI was removed for conservation (see Figs. 48

¹⁹² See Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, ll. 8-12, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 34-35 §3.3; cf. Darnell, “Whom did Nestasen overhear at Isderes?”, 154, 156. Török judiciously introduces this evidence as support for a *theory* about Sanam’s relationship to Gebel Barkal; he does not present the linkage as if it were self-evident. Indeed, care must be taken when associating the birthplace of the dynastic founder with the site of the royal mortuary cult.

¹⁹³ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 233-234; cf. Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pls. XXV 2, XXVII 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 101-104, pls. XXXVIII-XL.

¹⁹⁵ For the role of the forecourt in Kushite temples, see Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 259-297.

¹⁹⁶ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 372. For a definition of “historical”, see *id.*, *Image of the Ordered World*, 367. By contrast, Griffith described the text at Sanam only as the “Long Inscription”—a designation which acknowledges its magnitude but not its exceptional contents. Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 101.

¹⁹⁷ The *published* copies of SHI appear to have been made by F. L. Griffith’s second wife, Nora C. C. Macdonald, as indicated by: Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 92.

¹⁹⁸ For an earlier account of the temple’s ruinous condition in the mid-nineteenth century, see Taylor, *Life and Landscapes*, 433-435.

¹⁹⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²⁰⁰ See Figs. 48-50 of the present work. Griffith evidently did not record measurements for the twenty-one fragments, but their surface area can nevertheless be estimated from their illustrations based upon the average column width of 0.11 m as given by Griffith. See Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102, pl. XL. For clarity’s sake, fragment 15 is treated here as a single fragment.

²⁰¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 104.



Fig. 7. Southward view of the forecourt of the Temple of Amun-Re at Sanam. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

and 49 below),²⁰² and those that remained *in situ* were subsequently denuded and then covered by wind-blown sand.²⁰³

Griffith's hand-copies of SHI (Figs. 8-9 and 48 below) may be compared to a puzzle of several hundred pieces, of which 201 survive and 180 may be placed with certainty—but no two of which can be fitted together in sequence. It would surely be imprudent to advance a decisive historical interpretation of SHI based upon discontinuous fragments constituting so small a proportion of the original inscription, and indeed it is doubtful that Griffith intended his brief reading of the text to be used in such a manner. Yet the lack of published analysis of SHI across the past ninety years of Nubian Studies has had precisely this effect: in the works of Sauneron, Yoyotte, Török, Kendall, and Morkot, some highly consequential arguments regarding Nubian toponymy and political history have relied upon the cursory translation of SHI which Griffith published in 1922.²⁰⁴

Fortunately, Griffith took thirty high-resolution photographs of the inscription which were never published (here as Figs. 11-24, 28-31, 33, 35, 37-38, 40-42, 44-45, 47, and 49-50); they are archived today at Oxford's Griffith Institute, along with several dozen site cards containing hand-copies and annotations in Griffith's own hand.²⁰⁵ As a result, SHI can be examined from three separate vantage points: the thirty unpublished photographs; Nora Griffith's hand-copies based upon her perception of those photographs; and F. Ll. Griffith's own hand-copies and annotations made on-site.²⁰⁶ A full translation of SHI with proper philological annotation and contextual analysis would therefore seem overdue.

Such an examination offers few definitive answers to the text's many obscure passages, but it may provide a firmer basis for future attempts to employ SHI in the service of larger historical interpretations. The edition that follows is divided into eight sections according to discernible changes of setting or content, but these should not be mistaken for "chapters" of the original, because in many cases the narrative trails off into fragmentary (and even empty) columns, so that it is often impossible to tell with certainty just how long a particular theme was actually maintained in the text. Yet, as the annotation below will attempt to demonstrate, SHI is remarkably generous with informative and unusual historical details, many of which have thus far escaped notice.

III.3.2. Translation and Commentary

III.3.2.1. SHI Section I: Travel Narrative and Temple Construction (Figs. 10-24)

(1) [...] *m rn=s^r ir rhn=fr sp3.t tn wnn ntr pn* (2) [...] *pw ir.n=sn r Š3is.t Hm=f* (3) [...] *Npt* *r hrw 20 šm[=s]n im=f*
 (4) [...] *s[n] r b(w)-d3r ir.[n]=sn ir.wt=sn nb.t r* (5) [...] *dd.n=sn 'Imn-R^c k3 n T3-Sti ntr 3* (6) [...] *hw.t-ntr m rk=f*
in Ns-q3-šw.ty 'n3w.t' hr (7) [...] *r 3.t twy wn.(i)n=sn ir k3.t im=s* (8) [...] *m tp.yw-^c.wt wmt.w=s 'h^c(.w) mi qd* (9)
 [=sn ...] *hr=f twt m inr n{w} hm-ntr ntt* (10) [...] *pw šm hn^c=f hr irt k3.t m hw.t* (11) [...] *g]m.n=tw hw.t tn im is m3*
 (12) [...] ... *r Š3is dd.in Hm=f n wr.w* (13) [...] *hw.t 'Imn-R^c k3 n T3-Sti gm.n.tw=s m* (14) [...] *g]m.n.tw hw.t tn mi*
dd.n=f m (15) [...] *twt=f im=k tp 3 iw^c=f im=k* (16) [...] *n=f sh n h3w=k n 3[t]* (17) [*n mrr=f tw ...*] *nb ntr pw mrr*
sw rdi [...] (18) [...] *ntr 3 dd.in 'Hm=f* (19) [...] *w 'ht[p]'=f nb.{t}* (20) [...] ... *hpr* [...] *m* [...] (21) [...] *rd]=f*
 [...] *m* [...] *tw* (22) [...] *sw 7 htp(.w) m* [...] (23) [...] *wn.inw hr irt shr.w* (24) [...] *'Imn-R^c k3 n{w} T3-Sti imy-r3*
 (25) [...] *w nb.{t} n{w} pr=f* (26) [...] *=f hn^c imy-r3* [...] (27) [...] *=w hnt.n=f* [...]

(1) [...] ^a its(?) name. ^b If^c he should rely^d upon this district, ^e then this god^f (2) [...] Then they^g sailed^h to Shais,ⁱ His Majesty (3) [...] Napata^j(?) for twenty days. They depart[ed] therefrom it/him^k (4) [...] they [...] to the

²⁰² Frag. 4, now OAM 1922.158. Griffith Institute, Napata album, phot. neg. 168. I thank also curator Helen Whitehouse for her assistance in consulting the Ashmolean's records. See further: Malek and Magee, "Meroitic and Nubian Material in the Archives of the Griffith Institute, Oxford," 29.

²⁰³ I thank the current excavator of Sanam, Irene Vincentelli of the Joint Sudanese-Italian Expedition in the Napatan Region, for her assessment of SHI's current condition and her assistance in attempting to trace the whereabouts of the loose fragments.

²⁰⁴ Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," esp. 175-182; *FHN* I, 284-286 §41; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 372-373; Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 77; Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 257; *id.*, "Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," 81.

²⁰⁵ Griffith Institute, Napata album, phot. negs. 21-50, 166-168, and site cards 1-56. I thank Jaromir Malek, Elizabeth Fleming, Alison Hobby, and Cat Warsi of Oxford's Griffith Institute for providing me with access to the photographs and site cards.

²⁰⁶ The latter are especially valuable, for F. Ll. Griffith enjoyed an advantage that neither his wife Nora nor the present translator possessed: the ability to move around the inscription and view it in varying light and shade.

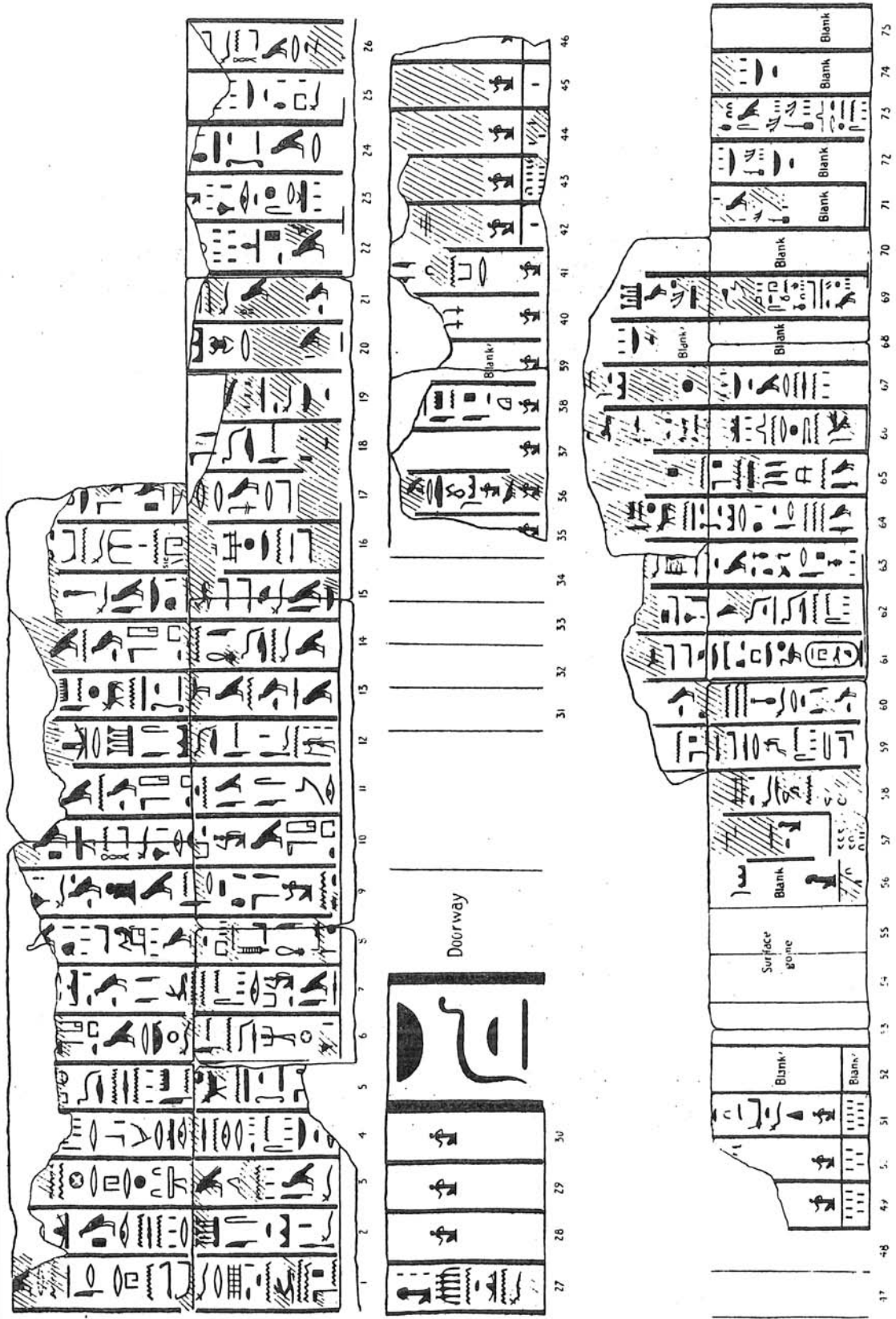


Fig. 8. Nora Griffith's hand-copies of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 1-75. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXVIII.

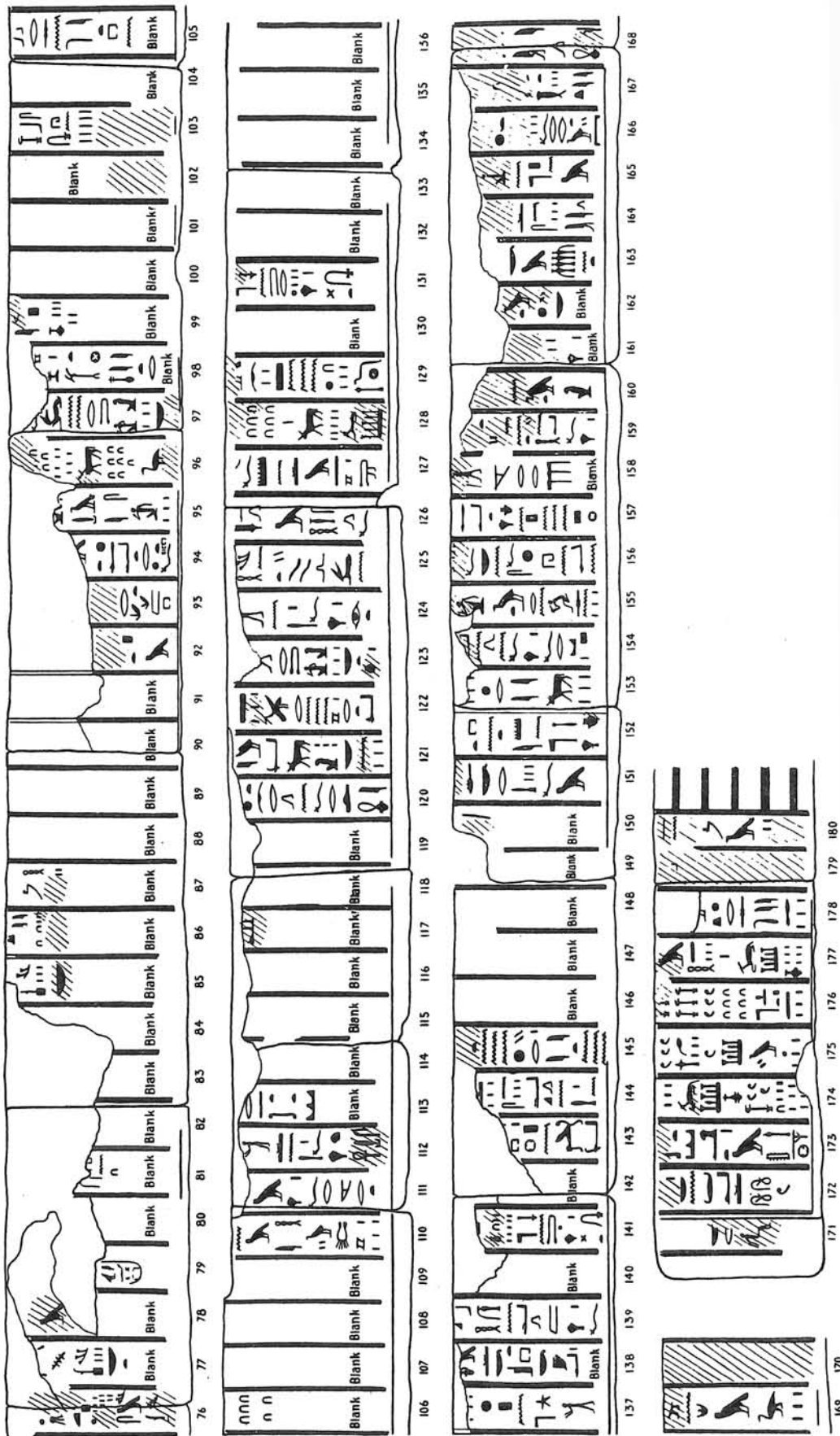


Fig. 9. Nora Griffith's hand-copies of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 76-180. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXIX.

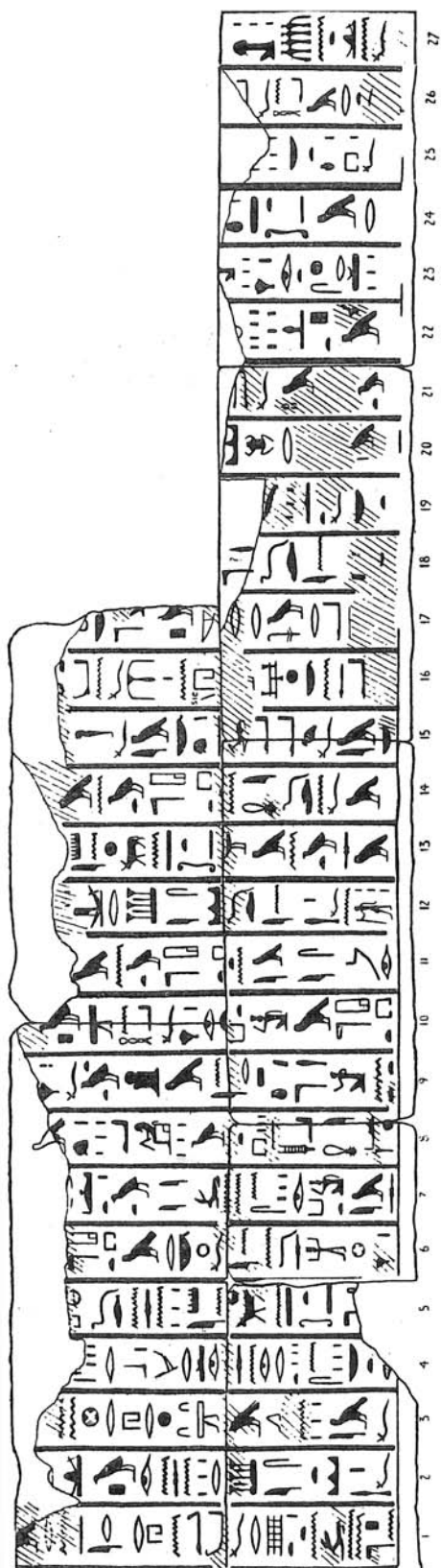


Fig. 10. Section I of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 1-27. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXVIII.



Fig. 11. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 1-4. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

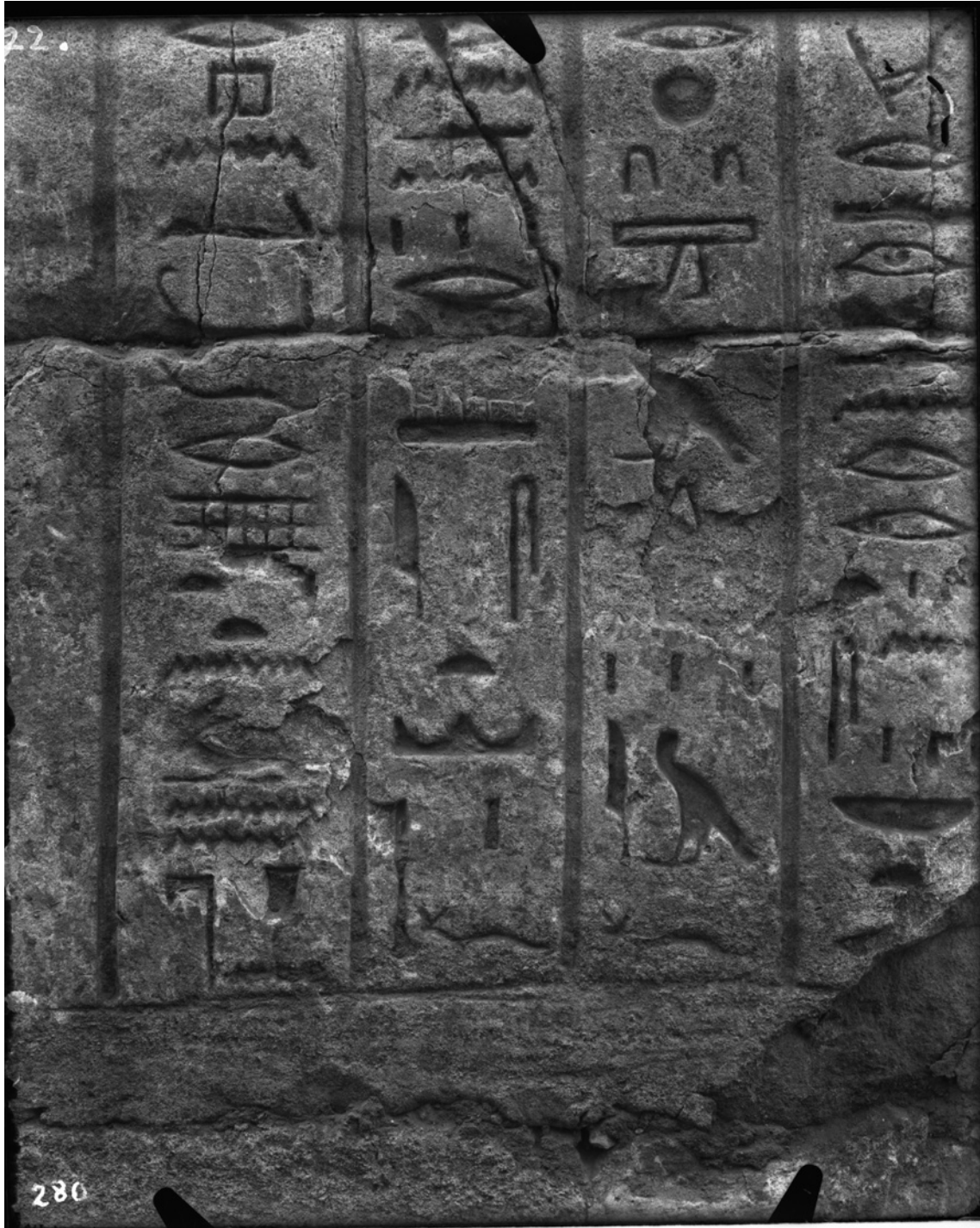


Fig. 12. The Sanam Historical Inscription, lower portion of cols. 1-4. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 13. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 3-7. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 14. The Sanam Historical Inscription, lower portion of cols. 3-7. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 15. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 6-10. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 16. The Sanam Historical Inscription, lower portion of cols. 7-10. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 17. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 9-13. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 18. The Sanam Historical Inscription, lower portion of cols. 10-14. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 19. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 12-16. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 20. The Sanam Historical Inscription, lower portion of cols. 12-16. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 21. The Sanam Historical Inscription, upper portion of cols. 14-18. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

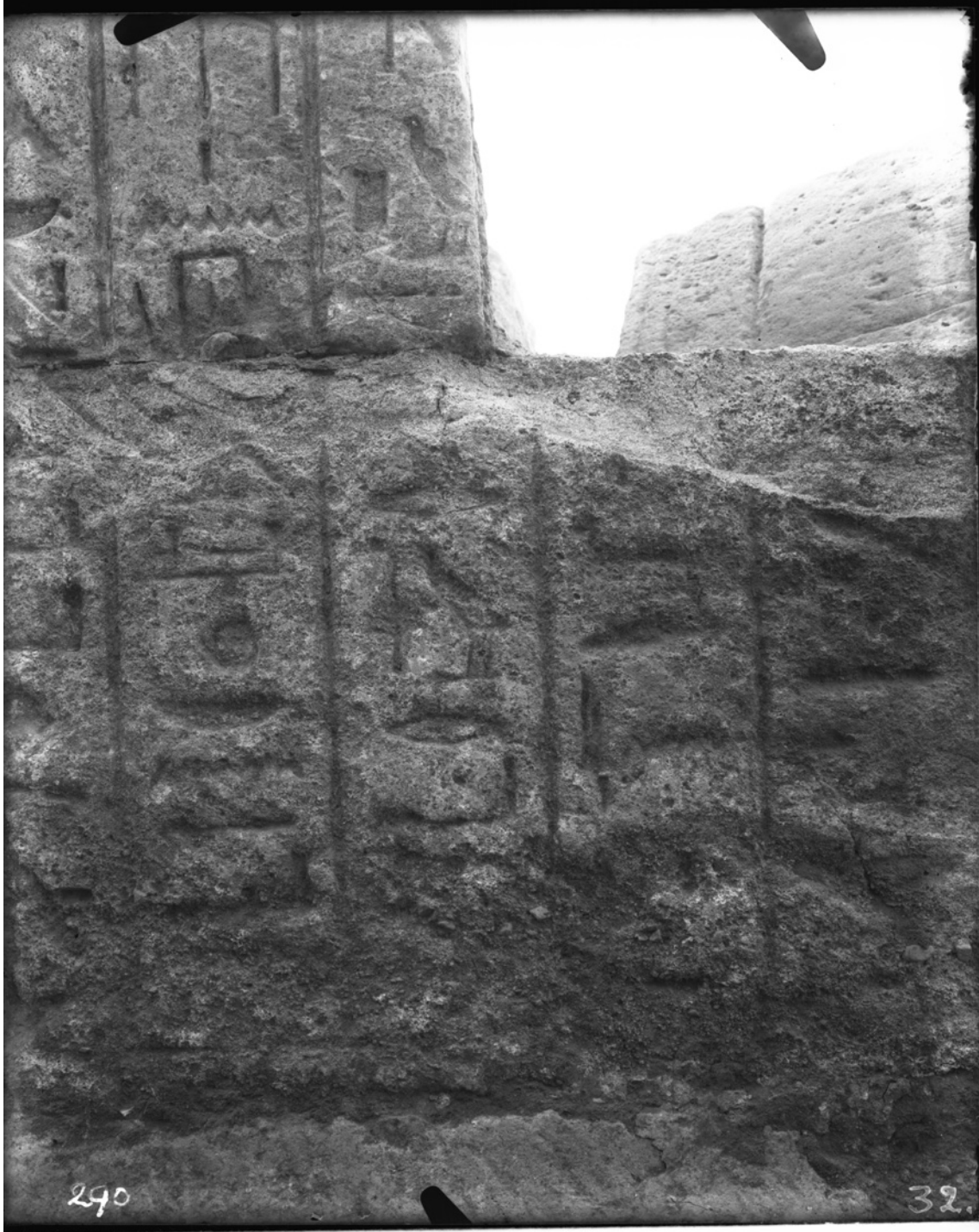


Fig. 22. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 15-19. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 23. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 18-22. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 24. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 21-25. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

sacred place, having done all that which they did^l in order to (5) [...] they said: ‘Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, the great god (6) [...] temple in his^m time by Nesqashuty(?),ⁿ the town(?) was (7) [...] to(?) this mound.^o Then they did construction therein it (8) [...] ancestors, its gateways^p standing^q in [their] entirety (9) [...] upon it, an image in stone of the priest^r who (10) [...] gone forth with him while doing construction in the temple (11) [...] in which this temple was [f]ound.^s Indeed, [...] saw (12) [...] Then [...] sailed to Shais. Then His Majesty^t spoke to the grandees^u (13) [...] the temple of] Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*. It was found as/in (14) [...] this temple was [fou]nd^v just as he had said as/in (15) [...] the grandees said to His Majesty: ‘[...] You are his [image] on earth, you are his heir^w (16) [...] for him a hall^x in your reign because of how greatly (17) [you love your father,^y Amun-Re [...] every [...] he is a god who loves him. [...] gave [...] (18) [...] the great god. Then His Majesty(?) spoke [...] (19) [...] every offering(?) of his [...] (20) [...] became [...] (21) [...] (22) [...] day 7, resting in [...] (23) [...] Then [...] were making plans^z (24) [...] Amun-Re, Bull] of the Land of the *St-Bow*, the overseer (25) [...] every [...] of his house (26) [...] he/his [...] with the overseer [...] (27) [...] after he had sailed southward^{aa} [...]

(a) The question of just how much is missing from the first column directly affects interpretation of the first preserved fragments of text in the lower masonry courses below. In this regard, we are not restricted to vague speculation, for the approximate parameters of the available space in column 1 may be calculated through comparison of Griffith’s recorded measurements at Sanam with those of other temples and inscriptions of the era. Firstly, Griffith estimated the height of the south wall at Sanam between 5.5 and 7.0 m; this range would later find support in Griffith’s excavation of Taharqo’s Temple T at Kawa, a structure which was of identical length to the temple at Sanam and of very similar floor plan but much better preserved.²⁰⁷ At Kawa, the forecourt’s east wall was extrapolated from the surviving blocks to a height of 5.5 m, and that of the north and south walls was similarly estimated at 7.0 m.²⁰⁸ From this he concluded at Sanam that “the columns of inscription might consequently have been 4½ to 6 metres in length” [*i.e.* height].²⁰⁹ The two lower courses of surviving masonry in cols. 1-17 he measured at 0.75 m high and the remaining one course thereafter at 0.4 m high. These measurements were evidently consistent across the 20.5 m length of the south wall.²¹⁰ From Griffith’s recorded figures, the approximate proportion of missing wall to preserved inscription may then be visually reconstructed to scale as shown in Figure 25.

The surviving text with which SHI begins would therefore have constituted a mere 0.75 m at the end of an inscribed column $\leq c.$ 6.0 m in height—*i.e.*, $\geq c.$ 12% of the original inscription. Griffith reasonably inferred that the lost portion of the first column would have included a “date, royal protocol, and all introductory words,” and so he reconstructed the lacuna accordingly as “[Year . . . of King Tirhakah etc., etc.]”²¹¹ If his assumption is correct, then the available space in col. 1 of SHI may be productively compared with the opening protocols of Taharqo’s other columned inscriptions (Kawa stelae III, VI, and VII), as well as the analogous Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote upon the walls of the hypostyle hall at Kawa (Kawa IX).²¹² In Figure 26, these protocols are inserted into the missing portion of SHI, col. 1, and scaled according to its dimensions (0.13 × *c.* 6.0 m).²¹³

As the comparison illustrates, the variations in protocol length depend not only upon which elements were included (dateline; full royal titulary or only prenomen and nomen; beatification; ritual; temple dedication) but are also heavily determined by orthography: consequently, the rather profligate use of space for the prenomen, nomen, and temple dedication of Kawa VI occupies a height nearly equal to the fuller royal titulary and temple dedication of Kawa III. The example of Kawa VII is actually somewhat misleading, for the first column of vertical inscription in that text was actually preceded by a horizontal register with dateline and full royal titulary. Nevertheless, even if SHI began exceptionally without those two elements, the space intervening between the reconstructed protocol *à la* Kawa VII and the preserved fragment of SHI below would have been anything but expansive—allowing for at most a few laudatory epitheta and a

²⁰⁷ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 61.

²⁰⁸ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 113.

²⁰⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²¹⁰ For this measurement, see Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 82.

²¹¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²¹² Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), and Kawa IX (*in situ*), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6, 11-14, 17-26.

²¹³ For the recorded width of col. 1 as 0.13 m, see Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

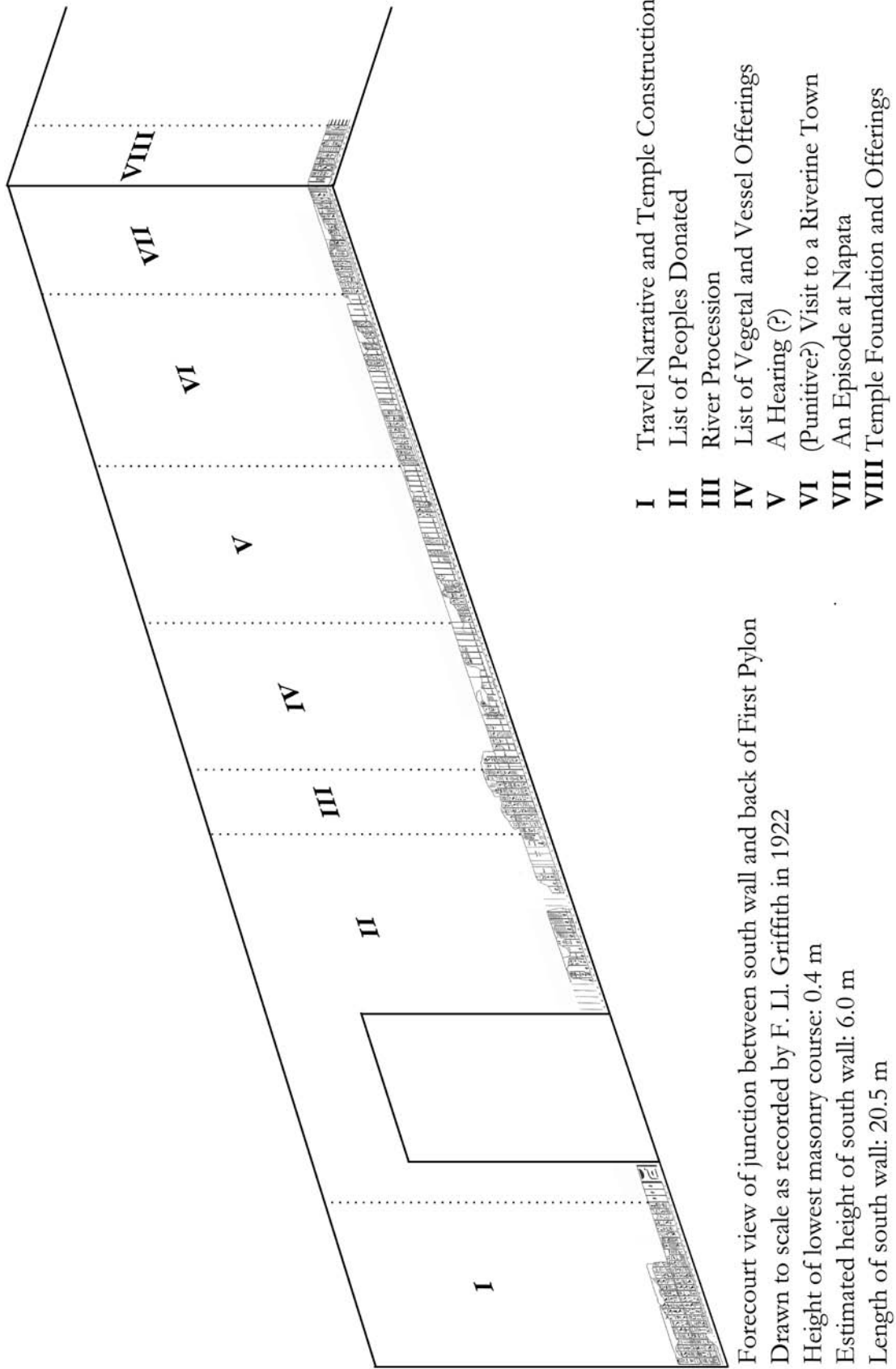


Fig. 25. Schematic map of the Sanam Historical Inscription.

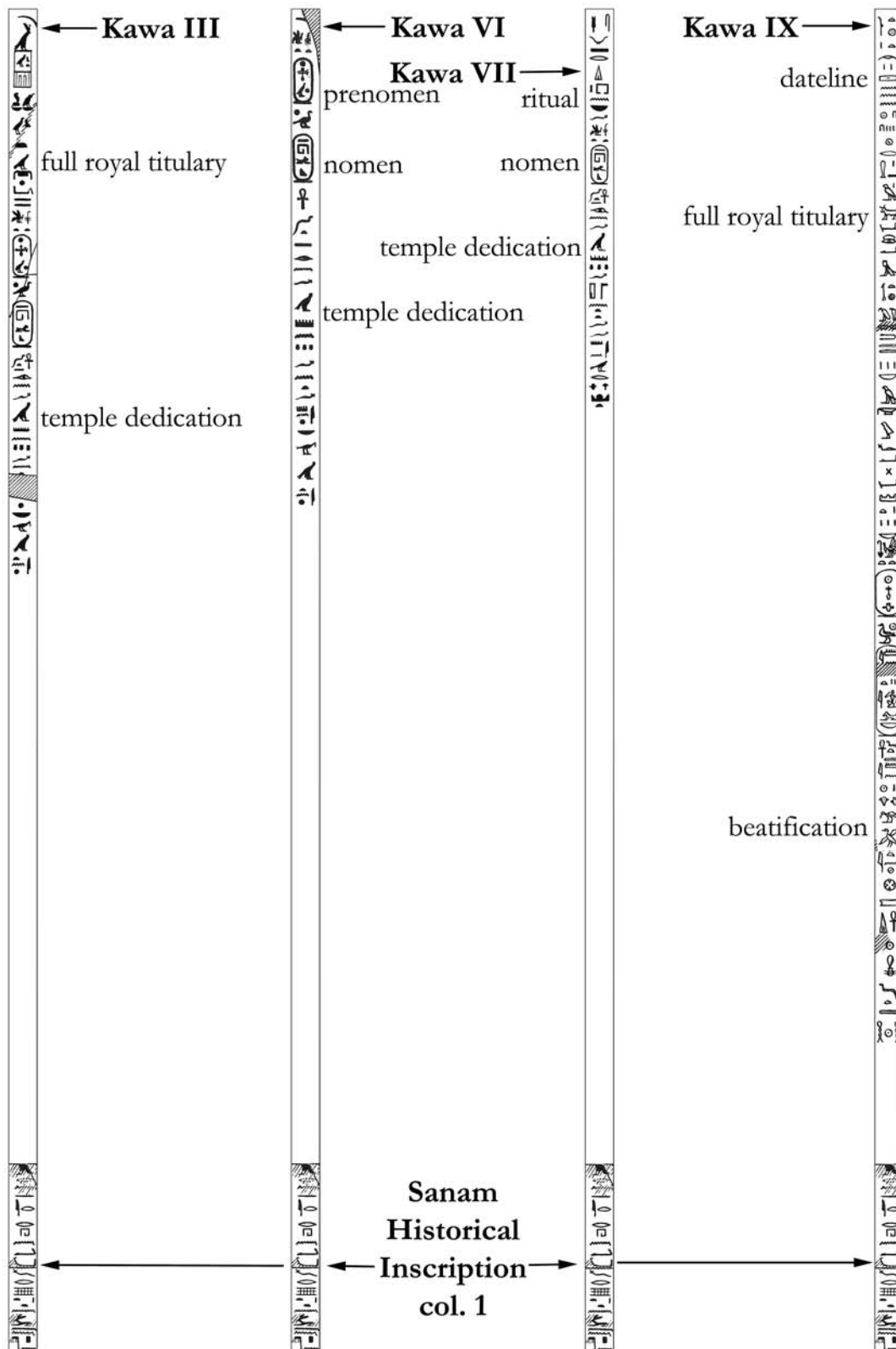


Fig. 26. Estimate of missing portion from the Sanam Historical Inscription. Comparison with protocols of Kawa III, VI, VII, and IX at top.

very brief prologue to the narrative that follows. If Taharqo's scribe had elected to employ a more extensive protocol of the kind illustrated in Kawa IX, there would not have been room even for those elements.

Two deductions are suggested by this comparison: firstly, it appears most likely that col. 1 of SHI did extend the full height of the wall, for only this arrangement would allow sufficient space after the dateline and protocol for a prologue to the surviving text below. Secondly, as that space allows little room for a change of setting, the god (*ntr pn*) and district (*sp3.t tn*) mentioned at the end of col. 1 may be tentatively associated with the god to whom the temple inscription was dedicated (Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the St-Bow) and the district where he took up residence (Sanam). As demonstrated further below, these inferences are of some assistance in establishing context for the narrative that immediately follows in cols. 2-11.

It is less clear whether the entirety of SHI beyond col. 1 would have spanned the full height of the south wall, but Griffith's records again permit approximate calculations of probability. If a portion of the text were inscribed below a relief scene of any considerable size—*e.g.*, 5.0 × 3.0 m or more—then such a scene could only have been placed upon the south wall in its upper eastern half (i.e., to the right of the doorway in Fig. 25), as only that space would have the horizontal length to accommodate it. Yet, of the many loose fragments which Griffith found in the forecourt, none preserved evidence that could directly connect SHI with an accompanying relief scene: *e.g.*, a large image of the pharaoh, a god, supplicants, celebrants, chariots, animals, or bound enemies.²¹⁴ The few disconnected blocks bearing large cartouches with Taharqo's nomen or prenomen may have derived instead from the architrave, the cavetto cornice, or the internal faces of the neighboring pylons, and even those do not preserve a scene but only brief *Randzeilen*.²¹⁵ A more scenic arrangement of temple accoutrements was found on a single block in the area—but in possible association with an inscribed block of Senkamanisken.²¹⁶

By contrast, the remaining twenty-one loose fragments of SHI preserved only uninterrupted columns of text corresponding to the average column width of 0.11 m on the lower masonry courses of the south wall.²¹⁷ If a large relief scene were present above the inscribed columns, there is less than an eight percent statistical probability that twenty-one fragments of average dimensions 0.28 × *c.* 0.4 m would survive without a single one deriving from such a 5.0 × 3.0 m portion of the 20.5 × *c.* 6.0 m south wall.²¹⁸ Consequently, it would appear doubtful that SHI was written below a large relief scene. The possibility of smaller relief scenes—whether arranged in a single, short horizontal register or sandwiched between full columns of vertical text—cannot be excluded, but it is also much less consequential for an understanding of SHI itself. The essential point would seem to be that SHI was likely quite as long as Griffith surmised: 180 vertical columns, “originally several metres high, perhaps even carried up to the roof of the colonnade.”²¹⁹ This would easily class SHI in its original form as the longest royal document yet known from the reign of Taharqo—more prolix even than the extensive theological texts at his Edifice by the Sacred Lake at Karnak,²²⁰ and therefore comparable (if only in length) to Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela at Gebel Barkal.²²¹ Further support for this conclusion is given by the discussion of col. 57 in (ii) below.

²¹⁴ Frag. 21 reveals a horizontal line that might be mistaken for a register, but a closer inspection reveals that the column intersected by it actually continues above; see Fig. 48 and discussion in (eeee) below.

²¹⁵ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 104-105 and pl. XXVI 5-8. In fact, the block bearing cartouches in pl. XXVI 7 is explicitly identified by Griffith as belonging to “a piece of cavetto cornice built into a brick wall.” Unfortunately, Griffith offered no explanation as to why he had elected not to include the columned inscription of pl. XXVI 8 among the fragments of SHI on pl. XL. His decision may have been due to the size of the former or its lack of associated traces of red and blue paint (*op. cit.*, 102). Griffith also did not supply any allusion to the block's later acquisition, so it may be inferred that this block was among the many “left on the spot owing to crumbling or expense of transport”; by the time Griffith published his account of Sanam a decade after its excavations, he noted that many of the temple blocks “are inaccessible and may have perished by now” (*op. cit.*, 92-96).

²¹⁶ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 105, pl. XI 4, *cf.* pl. XI 3.

²¹⁷ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102, pl. XL.

²¹⁸ This calculation assumes, of course, that the twenty-one fragments have survived at random, as there would seem to be no particular reason why locals (and Kitchener's troops) would have systematically passed over blocks of inscription in order to harvest only relief blocks from the site.

²¹⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²²⁰ Parker *et al.*, *Edifice of Taharqa*, pls. 6, 12-16, 18, 20-30.

²²¹ Cairo JE 48862 and 47086-47089 in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I-IV.

(b) The phrase with which the first fragment begins is quite unclear. Griffith read *m rn=s*, “by its name.”²²² He offered no parallels, nor did he explain what such a phrase might entail. It is tempting to suppose that the phrase *m rn=s* here in col. 1 could be a feminine variant of the more common *imy rn=f* (“list”), particularly as a plural variant of that formula appears in col. 67: [...].*w nb.t (i)my rn=sn*, “every [...]. List of them: . . .” The same formula is employed by Irike-Amanote in his Great Inscription (Kawa IX), cols. 61 and 66:

rd.n.=i n=k ʒh.wt nb.t r-ḫt=w m-ʿ=k m hrw pn imy rn=sn

On this day I have given to You the territories that were taken from You (var. col. 61: *rmḫ nb myt.t*, ‘and all of the people likewise’). List of them: . . .²²³

Examples also exist of *imy rn=w* as a plural form with identical meaning.²²⁴ However, the phrase is typically then followed by an actual list, which is clearly not the case here in col. 1 of SHI, and *imy rn=s* would be a highly unusual variant.

Other explanations must therefore be entertained. One such is suggested by a reference to Amun in Leiden I 350 col. III, ll. 21-22: “One is more brave than hundred(s) of thousand(s) by his name.”²²⁵ The format also calls to mind ll. 48-49 inscribed in front of the king in the Khonsu Cosmogony: *dīn Šw ḫw ʒ.tw m rn=s* “Shu has given the breath (of life) that one recites as her name.”²²⁶ However, in the context of the Sanam inscription, feminine =s would be mismatched with the god of the temple: Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the St-Bow. We may therefore suspect that the antecedent in question could be the district itself (feminine *spʒ.t*), as attested in the following two passages from the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX):

cols. 44-45: *ʿhʿ.n ph.n Ḥm=f r spʒ.t tn Kʒ-r-t-n rn=s*
Then he arrived at this nome called Koroton.

col. 56: *ʿhʿ.n ph.n Ḥm=f r spʒ.t tn Pr-nbs rn=s*
Then His Majesty arrived at this nome called Pnubs.²²⁷

Such an explanation would seem particularly attractive here in SHI, as the preserved fragment immediately then makes reference to “this nome” (*spʒ.t tn*) in the statement that follows *m rn=s*.

If this were the case, it would nevertheless seem unusual for such a statement to use the *m* of predication, the more customary form being a simple apposition:²²⁸

Aspelta’s Enthronement Stela (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 1-2:
isk ḫr=f mʒʿ n.w Ḥm=f r ʒw=f m-ḫnw dmy Dw wʿb{t} rn=f

Now the army of His Majesty in its entirety was in a town called ‘Pure Mountain.’²²⁹

Museum of Seized Antiquities no. 379, l. 3 beneath the Horus falcon:
Nb.t-tʒ.wy rn=s

‘Mistress of the Two Lands’ is her name.²³⁰

M might represent the final phoneme of the preceding toponym, but here again the absence of any determinatives is surprising. It would therefore seem best to refrain from encumbering this particular passage with any interpretive weight, as even the palaeography itself is by no means certain.

²²² See also the recent transcription by Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 163.

²²³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pl. 19.

²²⁴ pLouvre A 1577 (*tempus c.* Dynasty 21), l. 7, in Černý, “Le parchemin du Louvre no. A F 1577,” 235 n. 4, unnumbered plate; the Greater Dakhla Stela (OAM 1894.107A), l. 16 (year 5 of Sheshonq I) in Gardiner, “Dakhleh Stela,” pl. VII; pLouvre E 3228 F (year 5 of Taharqo), l. 4, in Malinine, “Transcriptions hiéroglyphiques de quatre textes du musée du Louvre,” pl. 4.

²²⁵ Zandee, “De hymnen aan Amon van papyrus Leiden I 350,” 86, pl. IV.

²²⁶ Cruz-Uribe, “Khonsu Cosmogony,” 170.

²²⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 18-19.

²²⁸ For several examples, see Cruz-Uribe, “Khonsu Cosmogony,” 169-180.

²²⁹ Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI.

²³⁰ Kákosy and Moussa, “Horus Stela with Meret Goddesses,” 144 fig. 1, 149.

(c) Griffith translated: “If he lean on this nome, this god shall be. . . .”²³¹ Though Griffith made no mention of it, this first preserved statement in the inscription begins in remarkable fashion—not with laudatory epitheta (which may have preceded it in col. 1), nor with the past tense narration expected of a *Königsnovelle*, but rather in the conditional mood with the *ir* + prospective construction. This would seem to imply that, at the moment when the statement was first articulated, a circumstance was as yet unfulfilled—namely “his” reliance upon “this district”—and another was contingent upon it: “then this god will . . .” As SHI likely commemorates a *fait accompli* rather than proposing a future contingency, the conditional statement is unlikely to issue from the narrative voice. Therefore, three possible contexts may be suggested: (1) quoted speech of the king, referring to the god: “If (the god) may rely upon this district, then this god will . . .”; (2) quoted speech of a singular courtier or messenger, referring to either the king or god: “If (the king/the god) may rely upon this district, then this god will . . .”; (3) quoted speech of plural courtiers, troops, construction crews, or townspeople, addressing either each other or the king himself. Several examples of the latter scenario can be found in the Late Napatan inscriptions of Harsiyotef and Nastasen:

Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864):

ll. 7-9: *dd=w n=i i dd h(3)y hw.t-ntr n 'Imn n Npt hr t3 wsh.t n mh.t snd=i šnw=i w^c rmt i3w i dd ih t3w dd=f n=i i dd wh3h p(3)=k drt*

They spoke to me, saying: ‘The temple complex of Amun of Napata has collapsed in the court of the north.’ I was afraid, and I questioned an old man, saying: ‘What is this?’ He spoke to me, saying: ‘Let your hand be active.’

ll. 22-23, 27: *mtw dd=w n=i i dd*, (var. ll. 119, 125-126: *š^c-mtw dd=w n=i i dd*)

And they spoke to me, saying: . . .²³²

Nastasen’s Year 8 Stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268):

ll. 9-10: *iry=w i nty=i rmw hw.t-ntr 'Imn Npy dr=w niw.tyw rmt.w 3{t} nb{t} md=w r3-m=i dd=w <n=>i dd ir=f nš n=k 3.t n p3 T3-Sti 'Imn Npy p3y{tw}=k it nfr*

They came to me—all the people of the temple-compound of Amun of Napata, the people of the city, all the notables—that they might speak with me. They spoke to me, saying: ‘He has made subject to you the rulership of the Land of the *St*-Bow—Amun of Napata, your good father.’

ll. 20-21: *dd=w rmt.w nb dd iw=f iry nfr mdt n rmt.w nb{t} di n=f 'Imn Npy 3t n3h wd3 snb n p3 T3-St(y)*

They spoke—all the people—saying: ‘He will make things good for everyone. Amun of Napata gave to him the rulership, l. p. h., of the Land of the *St*-Bow.’²³³

Whether the subject of the protasis is the king or the god, the statement made in col. 1 of SHI would appear to refer to some moment when either party had not yet placed their full reliance upon the district in question.

It must be emphasized that the conditional act of *rhn r* is quite unlikely to refer to the foundation of the town, as the names of Pi(ankh)y, Shabaqo, and *Mn-hpr-R^c* (Pi(ankh)y? Iny? Shebitqo?)²³⁴ are attested upon objects found within the neighboring structure designated by Griffith as the “Treasury.”²³⁵ If *sp3.t tn* does at least refer to Sanam (see discussion in (a) above and (e) below), then this passage in col. 1 may instead be related to the (re)construction of the temple by Taharqo, particularly as the temple’s foundation deposits included “six inscribed plaques of Tirhakah” and all of the inscribed architectural elements were clearly datable to his reign and those of his successors.²³⁶ Thus, regardless of whether a New Kingdom or Third

²³¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²³² Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XIa-XI, XIIIa-XIII.

²³³ Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II. See also the collation in Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 35-36.

²³⁴ See Ch. II.2.1 n. 39 above.

²³⁵ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 118, 121, 123, pls. LV 1 (of Namart, *tempus* Pi(ankh)y), LVII 5 and 8, LIX 11; Vincentelli, “Sanam Abu Dom, an administrative and trading district in the Napata region.” For the period during which the Sanam necropolis was in use, see Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*.

²³⁶ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 81. Griffith proposed three readings for the [. . .] *nsw.t mw.t nsw.t* [. . .]-*b3-r* who appears upon a loose block from the outer face of the south wall of the hypostyle hall (*op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII): (1) “Mother of

Intermediate Period temple had actually preceded it,²³⁷ Taharqo's Temple of Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, seems to have been equated rhetorically in this inscription with the inauguration of a conditional pact of unspecified nature—either between Sanam and Taharqo, or between Sanam and Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*.²³⁸ In this regard, a slight contrast may be observed with Kawa, of which the heir-apparent Taharqo would state in Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 15-16:

wn ntr pn m s.t tn n rh̄ irt.n hyt ntj pw swd̄ r3-pr pn r h̄pr h̄c̄=i m nsw rh̄.n=f ntt ir.n n=f mnw

This god [Amun of Kawa] has been in this place [Kawa] without it being known what the rain has done. But it is He who has kept this temple safe until my appearance as king took place, because He knows that I have made for Him a monument.²³⁹

At Kawa, the local god is clearly depicted as resident and object of veneration there before Taharqo's arrival²⁴⁰—a perspective which finds some confirmation in two re-used column drums at the site bearing Shabaqo's (partial) Two-Ladies name, (partial) prenomen, and intact nomen²⁴¹—and the temple's foundation is presented exclusively as a reciprocal covenant between king and god in Kawa IV. At Sanam, the situation appears to have been framed somewhat differently in SHI, col. 1, with the district itself foregrounded as a party to the covenant. Beyond this minor distinction in rhetorical strategy, however, little can be responsibly inferred from so fragmentary a passage, particularly as the intended meaning of *rhn r* is itself unclear (see (d) immediately below).

(d) *Rhn r* would seem literally to mean “to lean against,” and other attestations of the same verb suggest the sense of “to rely upon,” not “to exert pressure upon.”²⁴² However, the verb is normally coupled with the preposition *hr*,²⁴³ or occasionally with *m*,²⁴⁴ but not with *r* as found here in SHI; other possible meanings cannot therefore be excluded.²⁴⁵ The use of *rhn r* and its appearance within a conditional sentence both mark the first column of SHI as quite unusual, and thus it is unfortunate that so little of the passage has survived.²⁴⁶

the king, wife(?) of the king Ba-ka-Re', i.e. Tanwetamane"; (2) "Mother of the king, daughter of the king Shabako"; or (3) "Mother of the king, sister of the king. . .ba-ru." Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 97. The first of these options is least probable, as the phoneme *b̄* within the prenomen of Tanutamani was frequently written as E 10 but never as G 29, as preserved upon the Sanam block. Pace von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 207, 211, the writing of G 29 within the nomen of Shabaqo is found at least four times: (1) pLouvre E 3228c, col. 1/l. 9 (*tempus* Taharqo but with mention of Shabaqo): Malinine "Un jugement rendu à Thèbes sous la XXV^e dynastie," pl. IV; (2) pLouvre E 3228e, l. 16 (*tempus* Shabaqo): Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 35-42, and, *op. cit.* II, 14-17, pl. V; (3) mummy linen of Wedjahor: inv. 99.94.0759 in Strudwick, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor," 92-94 fig. 2; and (4) possibly New York MMA 55.144.6, l. 1 (*tempus* Shabaqo): Daninos Pacha, *Collection d'antiquités égyptiennes de Tigrane*, 10 no. 75, pl. 32. By contrast, the grapheme G 29 is more consistently attested in the name of Abalo: Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 141; so Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 112. Consequently, there are no inscribed architectural elements of the Sanam temple that may be dated earlier than the reign of Taharqo.

²³⁷ For a brick wall of differing orientation found beneath Taharqo's Sanam temple, see Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 85.

²³⁸ The text's opening emphasis upon locality may be compared in this regard with an unusual but still obscure epithet borne by Amun-Re at Sanam: "Bull in the Place"; see Vinogradov, "Rare Epithet of Amun in the Temple of Sanam."

²³⁹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8; *contra* FHN I, 140.

²⁴⁰ As noted recently by Jansen-Winkel, "Alara und Taharqa," 145 Anm. 3.

²⁴¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, 46-48, fig. 14, pls. XLII, CVII f. [obj. no. 2083].

²⁴² *Wb.* II: 440.4-8; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* II, 1504; Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 274; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 252. Cf.: Barr, *Comparative philology and the text of the Old Testament*, 166; Greenfield, 'Al Kanfei Yonah, 223ff; Greenfield, "Use of *rhn* in Aramaic and Arabic"; Foster, "Islamic Law of Real Security," 135. Any more aggressive meaning appears to have required augmentation by the adjective *sh̄m*: Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85), l. 81 (i.e., eighth l. from bottom), in Scott, "Metternich Stela," 209.

²⁴³ pBerlin ÄMP 3024, ll. 120-121, in Erman, *Lebensmüden*, Taf. 8; Faulkner, "Man Who Was Tired of Life," 29, 38 n. 99; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 155 §204 XVII(3); pPetersburg 1116 A, col. XI, ll. 7-8 = pMoscow 4658, col. VIII, l. 7, var. pCarlsberg VI, col. IV, l. II—col. V, l. 1, in Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare*, 80; Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, Taf. 3-4; Louvre A 134, lowest l. on front apron, in Delvaux, "La statue Louvre A 134 du premier prophète d'Amun Hapouséneb," pl. 1 no. 2; Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris* III, pl. 18; possibly Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque saïte," 127, pls. XXIII A, XXIV; equally tenuous pAnastasi III, col. 3, l. 1, in Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 22.

²⁴⁴ Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* I, 148 l. 6, 149 n. (f.), bl. 37; *op. cit.*, 150 ll. 6-7, 152, bl. 146.

²⁴⁵ E.g., "to flee": see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 588; *Wb.* II: 440.14. The sense of *hn r* as "to border upon, to extend to" would make sense with *sp̄.t* but is difficult to reconcile with the preceding grammatical context of *ir r*: *Wb.* II: 495.13.

²⁴⁶ As SHI is evidently intended to dedicate the temple of Amun-Re, it is tempting to see the use of *rhn* there as an oblique reference to Amun's designation as *rhny*, the sacred ram—particularly as he assumed criocephalic form just across the Nile at

(e) In Taharqo's Kawa IV stela (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 9, *sp3.t tn* refers to the site of the inscription:

sw3y=f r sp3.t tn n.t 'Imn Gm-p3-'Itn

He passed by this district of Amun of Kawa.²⁴⁷

The same is true of Anlamani's Enthronement Stela (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 7-12, where *sp3.t tn* denotes Kawa, while *sp3.t* alone is twice used in reference to the other districts passed *en route* to Kawa from a more southerly site (presumably Napata):

hd.n=f m 3bd 2 prt hr gr(g) sp3.t nb hr ir 3hw.t n ntr nb hr rdt fq3.w n hm.w-ntr [w^]b.w n hw.t-ntr nb spr=f r=s wn{n}.in sp3.t nb.t h^c m hsf=f hr nhm hr dw3-ntr hr qsi ph.n=f Gm-p3-'It[n] . . . im(y)w-pr m sp3.t tn hr hb . . .

Thus he sailed north in the second month of Winter while establishing every district, doing benefices for every god, and giving rewards to the gods' servants and wab-priests of every temple at which he arrived. Every district was rejoicing at his approach, shouting, thanking god, and bowing down . . . He reached Kaw[a] . . . The tem[ple-employees] in this district were making festival. . . .²⁴⁸

Sp3.t is then used profusely in the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), but with more flexibility, owing perhaps to the changing setting of the king's residence and activities throughout the text. *Sp3.t tn* first refers to Meroë (cols. 6, 22-24, 26, 30), then to Pnubs (col. 56), and finally to Kawa (cols. 64, 71, 99?, 106), while *sp3.t* alone denotes several unspecified locales within the Dongola-Napata Reach (col. 44).²⁴⁹ The possibility that the narrative of SHI began with reference to a locale other than Sanam must nevertheless be doubted, for, unlike the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), there would have been little space in col. 1 of SHI between the opening protocol and the first preserved fragment in which to establish a remote setting (see discussion in (a) above)—particularly if that protocol ended with a royal beatification invoking Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*. However, as the preserved text appears to begin with an illocution (see (c) above), the location of the speaker need not have been Sanam, and consequently a change of setting could have occurred quite rapidly, not in col. 1 beneath the opening protocol, but in the missing portion of subsequent narrative in col. 2.

(f) Gemination would not normally be expected in an apodosis with prospective meaning, nor would a circumstantial *wn.n=f*. The form may represent here a Second Tense Prospective, but the connection between morphology and function was not so strictly observed in the Classical Egyptian Napatan (CEN) corpus. As Sargent has noted, “[t]here is apparently some confusion between the written forms of *wnn*, *wn*, and *wn.jn* in the CEN texts.”²⁵⁰ The interchangeability of geminating and non-geminating forms is clearly demonstrated by the use of *wn=i* and *wnn=i* within otherwise identical phrases upon the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.²⁵¹ Sargent would emphasize in particular that “*wnn* can be a writing of *wn.jn*,” which was used to express “an action that is successive to or a result of the previous action in the CEN texts.”²⁵² If the form in question here in col. 1 is not simply a Second Tense Prospective, then the *wn.in* construction may be considered as well.

(g) Particularly noteworthy is the pluralization of the subject—not only here in col. 2, but also in cols. 3-5, 7, and 62. Elsewhere in the corpus of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and later Napatan-era inscriptions, a traveling

neighboring Gebel Barkal. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* IV, 702-703; Wainwright, “Some Aspects of Amûn,” 143-145.

²⁴⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8.

²⁴⁸ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 15-16.

²⁴⁹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 17-21.

²⁵⁰ Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 57. See also Priese, “Zur Sprache der ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch,” 110.

²⁵¹ Doll, *Texts and Decorations on the Napatan Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, 33, 337 n. 2.

²⁵² Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 61, 63.

party referenced in the plural is one that does not include the king himself.²⁵³ By contrast, when His Majesty is present among the crew, he takes precedence and becomes the subject of verbal action, as if he alone were making the trip.²⁵⁴ Consequently, it must be doubted whether the phrase that follows at the end of col. 2 (*Hm=f* . . .) would actually have included the king among the traveling party. More probable would be an ending like that employed in Kawa IV, where the description of a travelling construction team is completed by the phrase *is Hm=f m hnw 'Inb-hd*, “while His Majesty was still in Memphis.”²⁵⁵ As the pluralized subject often refers elsewhere in the Kushite corpus to the army (*mšc*), one might at first be tempted to assume the same referent for the plural =*sn* here at Sanam, particularly given the apparent list of prisoners of war in cols. 28-57 (see (z) and (bb) below). However, none of the surviving courses before col. 22 preserves even a possible reference to military action, focusing instead upon a temple (cols. 4, 6, 11, 13, 14, and 16) and its construction (cols. 7, 8, 10, and 16). In fact, col. 7 specifically identifies =*sn* as the agent of that construction, stating that *wn.(i)n=sn ir k3.t im=s*. The sailing party in col. 2 would therefore seem to comprise a building crew of the kind that Taharqo had earlier employed at Kawa—albeit likely with military escort like that mentioned in Kawa IV.²⁵⁶

(h) Griffith read: “They went so[uth] to Shais, his majesty. . . .”²⁵⁷ No commentary accompanied Griffith’s translation, so that the means by which he inferred a southward direction for the voyage must be deduced from his site card 26, upon which he confidently transcribed a *t* as the end of the verb (presumably then *hnti*: *Wb.* III: 309.3-310.1). Gauthier likewise concluded that the terminus of the voyage was “située au Sud de Sanam, car on s’y rendait en remontant le Nil.”²⁵⁸ However, Priese, Sauneron, and Yoyotte have quoted the passage, *contra* Griffith, as [*hd*] *pw ir.n=sn*.²⁵⁹ Alas, the correct reading remains unclear from the photograph, which shows at the top of col. 2 only the lower edge of the grapheme as a horizontal line consistent with both *hnti* and *hdi* (Fig. 11). The determinative of the verb likewise proves less than helpful: in col. 12, a sail is clearly unfurled upon the mast, suggesting southward travel with the prevailing winds, while here in col. 2 neither sail nor mast are visible, suggesting perhaps a northward itinerary.²⁶⁰ However, little can reasonably be made of determinatives in this case, for col. 27 later shows a full writing of *hnti* in which mast and sail are nowhere to be found. Moreover, it should be noted that any considerable nautical expedition to or from Sanam would have required sail for some portion of the trip, as the Nile twice shifts direction on either side of the Fourth Cataract region—first at Abu Hamed and then again just before one reaches Old Dongola. Consequently, the direction of travel here in SHI, col. 2, must be judged from context rather than from the determinative alone and is therefore contingent, not only upon identification of the crew’s point of departure, but also of its stated destination: Š*is*(.t).

(i) In his brief commentary upon the text, Griffith concluded that “[t]he locality Shais, named twice in the early lines, is unfortunately not recorded elsewhere.”²⁶¹ Yet, as Gauthier’s *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* would detail just six years later, the phonemic sequences Š*i*-s and Š*s* actually appear with

²⁵³ Great Triumphal Stela of Pi(ankh)y (Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089), ll. 15-17, 20, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, VI; Aspelta’s Enthronement Stela (Cairo JE 48866), l. 15, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI; Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 16, 21-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17, 22.

²⁵⁴ Great Triumphal Stela of Pi(ankh)y (Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089), ll. 29-31, 61-64, 76, 81, 83, 85, 89, 154-155, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, IIB-C, III, IVB, VI, VIII, IX, XII; Taharqo’s Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM, 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 7-8, 17 (the latter in reference not to Taharqo but to the Queen Mother, Abalo), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8; Dream Stela of Tanutamani (Cairo JE 48863), ll. 6-7, 9-16, 24-26, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IIa-III; Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), l. 7, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 36-38, 43-45, 49-50, 56, 63, in *op. cit.* I, pls. 18-19, 23-24.

²⁵⁵ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

²⁵⁶ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 20-22, and *cf.* Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 18-19, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-12.

²⁵⁷ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

²⁵⁸ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques V*, 97.

²⁵⁹ Priese, “Zur Sprache der ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch,” 105; Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” 176 n. 3.

²⁶⁰ See also the transcription of Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III*, 163.

²⁶¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 104.

some frequency in hieroglyphic texts and are consistently determined as toponyms.²⁶² Indeed, Griffith acknowledged one of these toponyms upon his unpublished site card 26, writing above col. 2: “of Š̅s-*hrt*?” In subsequent decades, scholars have associated Š̅s-*i*-s and Š̅s-*s* in their various combinations with three different regions across the span of Kushite and Egyptian history: (1) western Asia; (2) Sai Island between the Second and Third Cataracts; and (3) the Dongola-Napata Reach.²⁶³ For an understanding of SHI, it would be of the greatest importance to determine whether any of these three regions were equivalent to Taharqo’s Š̅s(*t*) in cols. 2 and 12. As toponyms often shift their referents considerably over time, priority must be given to evidence most contemporaneous to SHI.

The possibility that Š̅s(*t*) was located in western Asia may be decisively excluded for several reasons. Though the well-documented Asiatic Š̅s.*w* are, in fact, named as bound captives in the propagandistic scenes upon the neighboring Second Pylon at Sanam,²⁶⁴ the contexts in which the toponym Š̅s(*t*) appears in SHI militate against any association with Asia. The party which travels to Š̅s(*t*) appears to have been primarily involved in temple construction (see (g) above), and Š̅s(*t*) would seem to represent either the site of that construction or one from which older statues and monuments were harvested to decorate the new temple. Neither activity is otherwise attested for Taharqo’s regime in western Asia, and it would be difficult to explain why Taharqo should place such emphasis upon an Asiatic temple within an inscription at distant Sanam in Upper Nubia. Moreover, the list of conquered peoples which culminates the opening narrative in cols. 28ff. includes a -*k3r* ending most typical of Nubian ethno- and toponyms (see (gg) below). To this may be added the additional fact that the voyage to Š̅s(*t*) is described in exclusively nautical terms and is once determined (in col. 12) by a ship with unfurled sail—suggesting that at least one of Taharqo’s crews *may* have reached Š̅s(*t*) by sailing southward (but see discussion in (h) above and (aa) below). Most importantly, however, a source from the first half of the sixth century BC explicitly locates a region called Š̅s, not in Asia, but in the “Land of the Nehesyu” (*p3 T3-Nḥs.yw*). The Tanis Stela of Psamtik II (Cairo JE 67095, ll. 5-6) states that:

p3 T3-Nḥs.yw [im] k3=w ḥ3 ḥnḥ[=k] rd.n Ḥm=fšm mšḥ.w r t3 Š̅s wr.yw ḥnḥ=f n(y).{t} ḥnw spr pw ir=sn [. . .]r[. . .]b3 ḥnw pw n kwr nty im ḥnḥ dmi T3-dhn.t rn=s

(As for) the Land of the Nehesyu [there],²⁶⁵ they conspire to fight with [you?]. His Majesty sent an army to the land of Š̅s, the grandees²⁶⁶ together with it (*i.e.*, with the army)²⁶⁷ of the residence. They reached [. . .]r[. . .]b3,²⁶⁸ the residence of the *qore* being located there, together with the town called *T3-dhn.t*.²⁶⁹

It would therefore appear that, even at distant Tanis, Š̅s was a recognizable Nubian toponym belonging to the realm of the *qore* during the century immediately following the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and thus Taharqo’s mention of Š̅s(*t*) and Š̅s at Sanam would most likely have referenced the same place.

The connection between Š̅s and Nubia in the Tanis Stela further suggests some continuity with homophonic toponyms of the preceding and succeeding eras. During the New Kingdom, Thutmose III’s lists of southern lands (*swḥ nn n ḥ3s.wt rs.ywt*) upon the western façade of the Sixth Pylon and the southwest

²⁶² Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, 97-108.

²⁶³ Excluded from this list is Š̅s-*htp* in Upper Egypt, as it does not appear to have been abbreviated simply Š̅s at any point: Kessler, “Schashotep.” A reference to Š̅s-*htp* appears upon a fragment from the Sanam temple that Griffith associated with fragments naming other Upper Egyptian toponyms in the “nome procession.” See Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XXXVI no. XI.

²⁶⁴ Second register from top, third name-ring from left, in Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XLI. A block from this register is now Merowe Museum 48 (previously Khartoum SNM 5229). See *PM* VII, 199.11-12. The list is generally assumed to be a copy of Horemheb’s from the Tenth Pylon of the Amun Temple at Karnak. See Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 173 n. 319. For the Š̅s.*w*, see: Giveon, “Schasu”; *id.*, *Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*.

²⁶⁵ See discussion in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 370 n. 273.

²⁶⁶ Manuelian transliterated *sry.w* but then quoted as *wry.w* in subsequent discussion: Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 367, 370 n. 276. The orthography of these two words is frequently ambiguous. See also (u) below.

²⁶⁷ The Shellal and Karnak stelae indicate that Psamtik II did not accompany his army, a conclusion also suggested here on the Tanis version by the statements that he “sent an army” and that “they reached [. . .]g[. . .]b.” See cols. 6-7 in Bakry, “Psammetichus II and His Newly-found Stela at Shellal,” Taf. LVII-LVIII; cols. 4-6 in Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” pls. I-II.

²⁶⁸ Montet proposed to read “Qergeba,” while Sauneron and Yoyotte would restore [t]r[g]b. See: Montet, “Inscriptions de la Basse époque trouvées à Tanis,” 81; Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” 182-183.

²⁶⁹ Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” pls. III-IV; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pl. 8.

façade of the Seventh Pylon of the Amun Temple at Karnak included a *Šis* and *Šis.t*,²⁷⁰ respectively, while Ramses III's similar list of *ḥ3s.wt rsy* upon the northeast tower of the First Pylon at Medinet Habu likewise mentioned a *Šis*.²⁷¹ Only a century after Taharqo's reign, a text inscribed upon the back pillar of Neshor's statue (Louvre A 90, l. 6) from Elephantine, at the border between Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia, would describe the defection of soldiers from Apries's army as a flight to *Š3is-ḥr.t* (Upper *Š3is?*):

mi šd.n=t wi m s.t-qsn.t m-^c pđ.t(yw) ʿ3m.{t}w Ḥ3-nb.w St.tyw k3=w rd{t}[...] m ib=sn rd{t} šmt r Š3is-ḥr.t m ib=sn snd.n Ḥm=f sp ḥs ir=sn smn.n=i ib=sn m šhr.w n rd{t} š3is=sn r T3-Pđ.t(yw) rd{t} spr=sn r bw nty Ḥm=f im

For you rescued me from an evil plight, from the bowmen—*ʿ3m.w*, Greeks, and *St.tyw*, who had it in their hearts to [...], who had it in their hearts to go to *Š3is-ḥr.t* (Upper *Š3is?*). His Majesty feared the evil which they did. I re-established their heart in reason by advice, not permitting them to travel (*š3is*) to the Land of the Bowmen (*T3-Pđ.tyw*), (but) bringing them to the place where His Majesty was.²⁷²

Over three centuries later, an inscription of Adikhalamani at Debod in Lower Nubia would then reference an apparent royal residence of the Kushite king at *Š3s-ḥr.t*:

in=f Š3s-ḥr.t Ḥm=f dsr(.w) m-ḥnw n pr=f

He reaches *Š3s-ḥr.t*, His Majesty being secluded in his house.²⁷³

Finally, in the Myth of Horus inscribed upon the Enclosure Wall at Edfu, *Š3is-ḥr.t* is identified as a town (within *Š3is?*) and associated with both the Land of the Bowmen (*T3-Pđ.tyw*) and the Land of Wawat (*T3-W3w3.t*):

spr pw ir=sn r T3-Pđ.t(yw) r dmy.t n Š3is-ḥr.t ḥ^cn gmḥ.n=f nfy ḥf.tyw sš.tyw=sn m T3-W3w3.t ḥr w3w3 r nb=sn

Then they reached the Land of the Bowmen and the town of *Š3is-ḥr.t*. Then he saw those enemies and their comrades (? : *sš.tyw*²⁷⁴) in the Land of Wawat plotting (*w3w3*) against their lord.²⁷⁵

In the epitome of the same myth, it is said of Horus that:

ḥnty=f tp.t ym n sqd.t s3b.n=f r Š3s-ḥr.t s3b.n=f m ḥft m tp.t T3-W3w3.t

He sailed south upon the Red Sea; he went toward *Š3s-ḥr.t*; he went south of(?) the Land of Wawat.²⁷⁶

Thus, from the fifteenth to the second century BC, the phonemic sequence *š-s* in its various vocalized, feminized, and localized orthographies (*Šis*, *Šis.t*, *Š3is*, *Š3is.t*, *Š3s-ḥr.t*, *Š3is-ḥr.t*, and *Š3s*) was repeatedly associated with one or more toponyms of the Middle Nile region. Unfortunately, however, none of the above-named sources gives unambiguous testimony as to exactly where *Š3is(.t)* was situated within that region, except perhaps to suggest vaguely that it was somewhere “south of the Land of Wawat.”

Török has equated the *Š3s* of Psamtik II's Tanis Stela with Sai Island between the Second and Third Cataracts, based upon both contextual and phonemic considerations.²⁷⁷ He observes that the other two

²⁷⁰ For the Sixth Pylon, see list caption in top row and *Šis* as no. 107 of bottom row in Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 22. According to Mariette's pl. 24, *Šis.t* was effaced upon the Seventh Pylon, but it was recorded as such by Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III,” 98 no. 107. For the writing as a confusion from hieratic, see: Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 156; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, 443 no. 282.

²⁷¹ Behind Amun-Re-Horakhte, fifth row from bottom, third name-ring from left in Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 102. For the phrase *ḥ3s.wt rsy*, see the fourth column of inscription from the right above the head of Amun-Re-Horakhte.

²⁷² For a photograph of the statue (where the back pillar is unfortunately not visible), see Ziegler *et al.*, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 261. For transcriptions of the back pillar inscription, see: Maspero, “Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire,” 89; Schäfer, “Die Auswanderung der Krieger unter Psammetich I.,” Taf. 2.

²⁷³ Long text column behind Amun in Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* II, Taf. 20. For the writings of *dsr* and *=f*, see Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* I, 41 §689/62, 232 §371/926.

²⁷⁴ *Wb.* IV: 279.10? *Wb.* IV: 63.22f.? The meaning is obscure, but the determinative and context suggest a group of people.

²⁷⁵ Internal face of the western Enclosure Wall, second register, third col. from right, as shown in Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* XIII, pl. DXXX. Clearly, the choice of elements in this passage has been motivated by wordplay.

²⁷⁶ Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* VI, 9. Sauneron and Yoyotte would read: “au sud du Pays du *W3w3t*”; see *id.*, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” 178.

²⁷⁷ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 371-374; *FHN* I, 284-286 § 41.

stelae at Karnak and Shellal which describe Psamtik II's Nubian campaign²⁷⁸ make no mention of Šs but instead fix the battlefield at *ḥs.t Pr-nbs*, “the hill-country of Pnubs”—*i.e.*, near either Kerma or Tabo, depending upon one's interlocutor.²⁷⁹ Török reasons that, if the Karnak and Shellal stelae identify the Third Cataract region as the theater of war, the Tanis version's Šs should be located there as well. In support of this argument, he observes that the effaced cartouches of Taharqo at Buhen mark the “southernmost documents of the systematic *damnatio memoriae* of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by Psammetich II,”²⁸⁰ and they would appear to coincide with a short, archaic Greek graffito believed to have been left there by one of Psamtik II's Greek mercenaries: [. . .] *νορίδας ΕΑ*. [. . .], “[. . .]noridas (of?) El[. . .].”²⁸¹ Consequently, Török cites Arkell to the effect that the obscure toponym *T3-dhn.t* (Eg.: “the hill”)²⁸² mentioned in the Tanis stela is “most likely at the hill Adu on the island of Sai.”²⁸³ As evidence that Sai Island was called Šs during antiquity, Török cites “J. Vercoutter's (*Kush* 6 [1958] 158) identification of Šst with the island of Sai.”²⁸⁴

Török's discussion of Šs occurs entirely within the context of an argument about the geographic extent of Psamtik II's Nubian campaign, and thus he addresses only in passing the appearance of Šs(.t) in Taharqo's SHI. Nevertheless, the implications of Török's identification of Šs with Sai Island have been taken up in decisive fashion by Morkot, who states the following of SHI:

The long foundation text, sadly damaged, records that ships brought statues from the island of Shaat. This was Sai, the site of a New Kingdom fortress and temples. It seems that Taharqo was filling his temples with monuments from earlier, now disused shrines, just as Piye had done at Barkal. Indeed, from Sanam came a piece of a seated statue, originally of Amenhotep III, which had been re-inscribed for Piye.²⁸⁵

This conclusion is of considerable significance for an understanding of regional priorities within the Double Kingdom, as it would mean that Taharqo systematically depleted a cult north of the Third Cataract in order to equip another farther south—*à la* Amanislo four centuries later.²⁸⁶ In a still more recent compendium, Morkot cites the appearance of Sai Island in SHI as an explanation for Kushite archaism at Sanam:

A foundation inscription of Taharqo in his temple at Sanam also refers to the transport of statues, in this case from the island of Sai, site of another New Kingdom temple. The re-use of statuary on a large scale is likely to have served as an inspiration to the creators of new works at the time, even if they did not model their own works directly on them.²⁸⁷

Morkot's description of the “transport of statues” evidently refers to the singular mention of a *twt m inr* in SHI, col. 9—though the statue in question there belongs not to Amenhotep III but to an unnamed priest (*n{w} ḥm-ntr nty* [. . .]) (see (r) below).²⁸⁸ In support of the association between the construction of Sanam and the depletion of Sai as proposed by Morkot, it might be further observed that Sai Island was indeed a site of construction for Amenhotep III, and a local cult there was devoted to Horus the Bull, Lord of the Land of the *St-Bow*—suggesting a possible model for the figure of *Amun-Re*, Bull of the Land of the

²⁷⁸ For the Karnak and Shellal stelae, see: Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” pls. I-II; Bakry, “Psammetichus II and His Newly-found Stela at Shellal,” Taf. LVII-LVIII; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pls. 4-7.

²⁷⁹ For Pnubs as Tabo, see Jacquet-Gordon *et al.*, “Pnubs and the Temple of Tabo on Argo Island.” For Pnubs as Kerma, see: Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 118ff.; Bonnet and Valbelle, “Un prêtre d'Amon de Pnubs enterré à Kerma,” 3-12; Bonnet, “Funerary Traditions of Middle Nubia,” 5.

²⁸⁰ *FHN* I, 286.

²⁸¹ Masson, “Nouveaux graffites grec d'Abydos et de Bouhen,” esp. 310f.; Jeffrey and Johnston, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 476f.; see also Bernard and Masson, “Les inscriptions grecques d'Abou-Simbel.”

²⁸² *Wb.* V: 478.11-13.

²⁸³ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 372-373; Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 145 n. 2.

²⁸⁴ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 373 n. 176; see also verbatim in *FHN* I, 285.

²⁸⁵ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 257. The seated statue to which Morkot refers is pictured in Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pls. XIII no. 3, XV-XVI. Török evidently does not subscribe to Morkot's theory that the statue came from Sai, preferring instead Gebel Barkal as its provenance: Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 296.

²⁸⁶ See BM EA 2 in Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 130 §51.

²⁸⁷ Morkot, “Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,” 81.

²⁸⁸ Presumably following Reisner, who interpreted SHI cols. 8-10 to mean that a statue “was brought from a temple near Shais (near Soleb)”: Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1),” 99; critiqued by Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” 176 n. 4.

St-Bow, at Sanam.²⁸⁹ At Semna just downstream of Sai, a New Kingdom door-jamb even seems to associate Amun-Re and Horus together in this aspect: *htp di nsw 'Imn-Rc Hr k3 nb T3-Sti*.²⁹⁰ SHI would then record a symbolic passing of the baton from northern to southern *cultus* during the reign of Taharqo.

However, the evidence behind Morkot's reading of SHI is more tenuous than it might first appear. Firstly, Török's phonemic identification of Šs with Sai is somewhat misleading: the argument is cited to "J. Vercoutter's (*Kush* 6 [1958] 158) identification of Šst with the island of Sai," but no such argument is contained in Vercoutter's article. Instead, Vercoutter documents the use of Šs̄t as a name for the island of Sai.²⁹¹ To this writer's knowledge, there are no monuments deriving from or clearly referring to Sai that use the phonemic sequence š-s as part of the island's name—even with intervening ʒ or i—nor does later Sai appear to have been connected with Coptic sequences such as *zΔc, *zIc, *wΔc, *wIc, *wΔz, *wIz, or any known variations thereof in the Meroitic script.²⁹² In fact, Vercoutter explicitly endorsed the conclusion that Psamtik II's campaign against t3 Šs "went as far as, and south of Sai"—thereby implying that Šs and Sai need not have been equivalent.²⁹³ Similarly Török cites Arkell's equation of *T3-dhn.t* with Adu Hill as further support for the conclusion that the latter was located in t3 Šs, but Arkell's own argument was quite different: "The expedition reached Pnubs (Tumbus), and then defeating the Cushites at Ta Dehne, occupied the 'land of Shas', presumably all Dongola including Napata."²⁹⁴

Török rejects the association of t3 Šs with this broader and more southerly region on the grounds that both the Karnak and Shellal stelae, as well as the archaeological distribution of *damnatio memoriae*, suggest a Saïte campaign that did not reach beyond the Third Cataract region; consequently, he reasons that, if the Tanis version describes a campaign against t3 Šs, then t3 Šs must be located in the Third Cataract region as well. However, the seat of Kushite power and the site of the Kushite-Saïte battlefield need not be coterminous, as a closer examination of the Tanis stela reveals (Cairo JE 67095, ll. 5-6):

*p3 T3-Nhs.yw [im] k3=w 'h3 hn̄c[=k] rd.n Hm=f šm mš̄c.w r t3 Šs wr.yw hn̄c=f n(y).{t} 'hnw spr pw ir=sn [...]r[...]b3
hnw pw n kwr nty im hn̄c dmi T3-dhn.t rn=s*

(As for) the Land of the Nehesyu [there], they conspire to fight with [you?]. His Majesty sent an army to the land of Šs, the grandees together with it (i.e., with the army) of the residence. They reached [...]r[...]b3, the residence of the *qore* being located there, together with the town called *T3-dhn.t*.²⁹⁵

The Tanis version never explicitly states that the army actually reached "the land of Šs," only that they were sent "to"—or even "against" (*r*)—it.²⁹⁶ The army's arrival is instead sited at [...]r[...]b and *T3-dhn.t*, which

²⁸⁹ As suggested by Vercoutter, "New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan," 73. For Amenhotep III's activity at Sai, see *op. cit.*, 74, 81 no. 28. For the cult of Horus-the-Bull, Lord of the Land of the *St-Bow*, at Sai, see *op. cit.*, 72 no. 10, 73 no. 11, 78 no. 23, 79 no. 26. Morkot's identification of the god resident at Sanam as "Amun-The-Bull, Lord of Nubia" [i.e., Land of the *St-Bow*], is not entirely accurate. The temple at Sanam was instead dedicated to "Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*," and the epithet "Lord of the Land of the *St-Bow*" (*nb T3-Sti*) is not used in the temple. As a result, the parallels between the cult at Sai and that later instituted at Sanam are not quite so pronounced as Morkot would suggest. Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 257; cf.: Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pls. XXII, XXVI no. 15, XLI no. 2, XLII no. 3, XLIV no. 2(?), and SHI, cols. 5, 13, 24(?), 64; Louvre C 257, lunette and ll. 2, 8, 16, 17-19, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 1A-4B. The epithet *nb T3-Sti* also belongs to Horus of Edfu, and a "Horus-the-Bull, Lord of the Land of the *St-Bow*, who resides in Thebes" is further attested at the Ellesiyah grotto. See: col. in front of Horus in *LD* III, 46 b; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, 198.

²⁹⁰ Diary of Reisner, 25 January 1928, p. 2, in the Archives of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum.

²⁹¹ Cf. Vercoutter, "Excavations at Sai, 1955-57," 147, 158. See also: esp. *id.*, "New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan," 73-74; Posener, "Pour une localisation du pays Koush au Moyen Empire," 57-60. As the relevant inscriptions are from Sai itself, there would seem to be little reason to maintain Sauneron and Yoyotte's earlier (1952) skepticism about the identification of Šs̄t with Sai. See Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," 181 n.4.

²⁹² Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 154-158. For Coptic zΔh as Sai, see l. 10 of tombstone photographed in: Budge, *Egyptian Sudan* I, 465; transcribed in Steindorff, "Der Grabstein eines nubischen Bischofs." For possible Meroitic writings, see Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions* II, 37 no. 97, 54 no. 129, pls. XXIV, XXVIII, XLII, XLIII.

²⁹³ Vercoutter, "Excavations at Sai," 158 (the very page cited by Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 373 n. 176).


²⁹⁴ Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 145.

²⁹⁵ Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," pls. III-IV.

²⁹⁶ Pace Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," 175, *p3 t3 Šs* may simply be a metonym for the Kushite threat, and thus if that enemy was defeated roundly at [...]g[...]b, *T3-dhn.t*, or *h3s.t Pr-nbs* farther north, royal propaganda might very well claim these as victories against *p3 t3 Šs*. See also Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 373.

may or may not be located within the “land of Ṣ̌s.”²⁹⁷ As Török has rightly observed, *contra* Sauneron and Yoyotte, the stela’s additional statement that [...]r[...]b “was the residence of the *qore*” is of little help in locating [...]r[...]b, because the *qore* of Kush appears to have had several such “residences” within the kingdom.²⁹⁸ Ultimately, it would appear that Török’s rigorous argument that Psamtik II’s Nubian campaign did not extend beyond the Third Cataract is in no way contingent upon the location of Ṣ̌s—and, conversely, has little direct bearing upon the latter.

The many oblique references to Ṣ̌(ṣ̌i)s(.t) and Ṣ̌(ṣ̌i)s(.t)-ḥr.t outlined above must therefore be confronted with a contextual analysis of SHI which has yet to be undertaken in the published literature to date.²⁹⁹ Its value for this inquiry appears to have been underestimated; Török, for instance, has stated that “the geographical context of this placename [Ṣ̌ṣ̌is.t] in the Sanam text [SHI] is just as undefined as in any of the above-named other texts.”³⁰⁰ Yet, in the other attestations of Ṣ̌(ṣ̌i)s(.t), the toponym is never situated vis-à-vis other known toponyms within a single itinerary; in SHI the context—even though fragmentary—is more informative, so that it may be possible to hypothesize the position of Ṣ̌(ṣ̌i)s(.t) according to differ-

ent travel scenarios. Most noteworthy is the appearance of  at the upper edge of the second course of masonry in col. 3. As discussed at further length in (j) below, this combination of determinatives is consistently associated with the city of Napata but is otherwise quite rare in Nubian toponymy. In fact, Napata receives precisely these determinatives in its appearance later in col. 157.³⁰¹ Moreover, the crew described by SHI stops at this locale for a period of twenty days—a practice which finds parallels in numerous Kushite inscriptions, where Napata is consistently a sojourn and ritual station of some importance for both traveling kings and armies.³⁰² The duration of their stay would certainly have been consistent with festival participation at a cultic site. Consequently, Griffith confidently supplied it in his translation of col. 3: “. . . [Napi] for twenty days.”³⁰³

Yet this hypothesis greatly complicates Morkot’s and Török’s assertions that Sai Island was the destination of the trip. If the trip started at Sanam or elsewhere in the Fourth Cataract region, it would make little sense for the text to speak of a nautical voyage far downstream to Sai Island in col. 2, only to follow it with a sojourn upstream at Napata quite soon thereafter in col. 3; the missing portion of col. 3 would seem to provide insufficient space for the even most cursory account of a round-trip between the Fourth Cataract and Sai. As demonstrated in (a) above, a close examination of the south wall’s dimensions reveals that there was not, in fact, an infinite amount of space between the preserved portions of cols. 2 and 3 in which to imagine protracted narratives. If, on the other hand, the construction crew (see (g) above) was traveling downstream—as had the team of Egyptian workmen sent to Kawa³⁰⁴—the equation of Ṣ̌ṣ̌is.t with Sai proves equally problematic, for the crew would need to have attained both Sai and Napata in relatively rapid succession, leaving space in col. 3 for only a brief description of their activities at Sai. This naturally raises the question as to why Ṣ̌ṣ̌is(.t) should receive only a passing notice (quite literally) within the travel

²⁹⁷ For the argument that the first toponym is to be read as [T]r[g]b and equated with Pliny’s “Tergedum” recently located at Soniyat in the Dongola-Napata Reach, see Zurawski, “Pliny’s ‘Tergedum’ discovered,” 80.

²⁹⁸ Török, “Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History,” 111-126; *id.*, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 65-73; also Kormys(c)heva, “Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel.” For the evidence involved, see: Kawa IX, cols. 1-19, 36-43, 49-60, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-26; Cairo JE 48864, ll. 10-22, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XIa-XIII; Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 15, 22-33, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II-III; and collation by Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 34-35 §3.3; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Ä.I.N. 1708 (Kawa VIII), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

²⁹⁹ Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 42.

³⁰⁰ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 372; also verbatim in *FHN I*, 284-285.


³⁰¹ Also included in col. 157 is the stone-slab determinative (O 39) alluding to Gebel Barkal. For the various orthographies of *Np(t)*, see Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 137-138.

³⁰² *E.g.*, Cairo JE 48862 and 47086-47089, ll. 7-8, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(cankh)y*, pls. I, V; Cairo JE 48866, ll. 1-2, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI; Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote, cols. 18-19, 36-39, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-18, 22-23; Cairo JE 48864, l. 158, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXVa-XXV; Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 11-16, in Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. II; as collated by Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 35-36.

³⁰³ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

³⁰⁴ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 20-22, and Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 18-19, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-12.

narrative if it was (twice) the named destination of the expeditions themselves (cols. 2 and 12).³⁰⁵ Morkot's and Török's equation of *Ṣ̌is.t* with Sai Island would therefore seem to require one of two conclusions: either the determinatives which appear in col. 3 do not signal the appearance of Napata in the text (*contra* Griffith), or the expedition actually started upstream of Sanam—perhaps bringing temple craftsmen to Napata and Sai Island, in succession, from Meroë or the broader Butana Steppe. This latter scenario is, of course, fraught with problematic assumptions about the nature of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty involvement in that region, as outlined in the preceding chapter (Ch. II).

By contrast, if *Ṣ̌(̣i)s(.t)* instead denoted the Dongola-Napata Reach, as suggested by an earlier generation of scholars (Sauneron, Yoyotte, Arkell, and Vercoutter) on the basis of Psamtik II's Tanis stela,³⁰⁶ then a nautical expedition *r Ṣ̌is.t* in col. 2 of SHI would result quite naturally in a sojourn at Napata in col. 3, followed by an invocation of the local god of Sanam (*dd.n=sn 'Imn-R^c k3 n T3-Sti ntr 3*) in col. 5, the construction of a temple there (*wn.(i)n=sn ir k3.t im=s*) in col. 6, and the mention of gateways (*wmt.w*: see (p) below), a statue (*tw.t*), and further temple construction (*ir k3.t m hwt.tn*) in cols. 8-10. Likewise, the mention of another trip *r Ṣ̌is(.t)* in col. 12 is suggestively followed soon thereafter by further mention of the temple for *'Imn-R^c k3 n T3-Sti* in col. 13. If *Ṣ̌is.t* is postulated as a designation for the Dongola-Napata Reach at the outermost limits of the erstwhile New Kingdom Egyptian empire,³⁰⁷ then it is also tempting to suppose, *à la* Sauneron and Vercoutter,³⁰⁸ that the name was in some way either derived from or retroactively associated with the very idea of "travel" (Eg.: *ṣ̌is*)—particularly as many of the toponym's later attestations occur within the context of deliberate wordplay and sometimes even with the walking-legs determinative: .³⁰⁹

It must be emphasized, however, that the equation of *Ṣ̌is.t* with the Dongola-Napata Reach does not then require acceptance of a host of arguments which have come to be associated with it in recent decades. Foremost among these is Kendall's argument that *T3-dhn.t* was a name for Gebel Barkal.³¹⁰ Though Kendall is likely correct to read *Dhn-w^cb* as a reference to the "Pure Mountain" in Pi(ankh)y's Sandstone Stela (Khartoum SNM 1851),³¹¹ the designation *T3-dhn.t* (simply "the mountain") in Psamtik II's Tanis Stela was considerably more generic and could have applied to any number of promontories besides Gebel Barkal—as, indeed, it did for one in Middle Egypt within the narrative of Pi(ankh)y's own Great Triumphal Stela.³¹² The proposed equivalence of *Ṣ̌is.t* with the Dongola-Napata Reach is also not contingent upon Sauneron and Vercoutter's hypothesis that Psamtik II's armies attained the Fourth Cataract; as explained

³⁰⁵ Unlike its appearance in Psamtik II's Tanis stela, *Ṣ̌is(.t)* does not appear to serve as a metonym for the Kushite military in SHI, and thus *Ṣ̌is(.t)* cannot be expected to have intercepted the traveling party before its arrival. *Ṣ̌is(.t)* should represent the actual destination of the expedition described in SHI and the setting for at least some of the activities described.

³⁰⁶ Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 145; Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," 181, 189ff.; Vercoutter, "Excavations at Sai," 158.

³⁰⁷ For discussion of the possible gradations in Egyptian imperialism in Nubia, see: Morkot, "Egypt and Nubia"; Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 83-96, 196 fig. 8.4.

³⁰⁸ Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," 179-181.

³⁰⁹ Thus, in Louvre A 90, l. 6, the enemy "had it in their hearts to go to *Ṣ̌is-hr.t*," but Neshor did "not permit them to travel (*ṣ̌is*)" there. See transcription by Maspero, "Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire," 89. For soundplay, see also: Adikhalamani's inscription at Debod in Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* II, Taf. 20; Myth of Horus at Edfu in Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, pl. DXXX. As Sauneron and Yoyotte observe, a leontocephalic goddess (Tefnut?) at Dendara is also once called *Nb(.t)-Ṣ̌is-hr.t*, "Mistress of the Voyage," adding some support to Posener's theory that *Ṣ̌is-hr.t* was named as such precisely because it was the refuge of Hathor-Tefnut. Sauneron and Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II," 177 n. 6, 180.

³¹⁰ Cited as "Timothy Kendall, personal communication, 1987," in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 370 n. 281.

³¹¹ See col. 1 in front of Amun in Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1)," Taf. V. Reisner translated: "he who appoints and is pure" (*op. cit.*, 81), a reading now seconded by: FHN I, 55 §8. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 372 n. 175. Reisner's and Kendall's readings are not, however, mutually exclusive: in Pi(ankh)y's Sandstone Stela, *Dhn-w^cb* may have been chosen as a designation of the "Pure Mountain" over the more conventional *Dw-w^cb* for precisely the reason that Török invokes: the text's focus upon "election" (also Eg. *dhn*). More tenuous is Kendall's contention that the choice of *dhn* was motivated by the resemblance of Gebel Barkal's butte-and-pinnacle form to a forehead (*also* Eg. *dhn*)-with-uraeus: Kendall, "Kings of the Sacred Mountain," 168-169, 420 n. 62.

³¹² See Cairo JE 48862, l. 27, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, VI. A certain *Nh3n3.t* is featured in the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), l. 159, within a context which suggested to Macadam a location "between Napata and Kawa." See: Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXVa-XXV; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 59, 79. This conclusion presumes that Osiris processions at Napata, *Nh3n3.t*, Kawa, and Pnubs, were listed in that order in ll. 158-161 so as to follow a downstream itinerary, but it should be noted that the larger context of ll. 145-161 does not present a particularly coherent geographic arrangement, as *e.g.* Abu Simbel is listed after Meroë but before Napata. A further *Dnh3n3.t* appears in l. 6 of Kawa XIV (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709), where it occurs in proximity to *'Imn-R^c Gm-'Itn*. See: Peust, *Das Napatanische*, pl. opp. 52; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 32-33.

above, the passage of the Tanis stela mentioning $t\check{s}\check{s}$ does not require such a conclusion, and thus Török's refutation of Sauneron and Yoyotte's position stands upon quite separate ground.

(j) As discussed in the preceding note, \otimes is a rare combination of determinatives in Nubian toponymy. Aside from Napata, it is attested for the locales of *Trmnt* and *Skskdt*, both of which received cattle from Napata during the reign of Nastasen.³¹³ Given their apparent obscurity, it seems unlikely that Taharqo's crew would have sojourned at either for twenty days as described in SHI, and in any case both may have been quite close to Napata.³¹⁴ The available explanations may nevertheless be expanded if the First Cataract region is taken into consideration.³¹⁵ If the crew did indeed spend twenty days in the First Cataract region, then they could have passed there during a southward trip to $\check{S}(i)s(.t)$, rendering Török's and Morkot's equation of $\check{S}(i)s(.t)$ with Sai Island somewhat more probable than concluded above (i). However, it must be remembered that the cult at Philae seems to have been in its infancy during Taharqo's reign,³¹⁶ and SHI does not appear to record its foundation, as an invocation of "Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*," intervenes in col. 5 between the reference to \otimes in col. 2 and the first mention of construction in col. 7. Thus, Griffith's reading of \otimes as "[Napi]" is preferred here.³¹⁷

(k) The space here would be rather tight for nominal $\check{s}m.n=f$; for use of the perfect or indicative $\check{s}dm=f$ with intransitive verbs during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see: Winand, *Études* I, 193 §319; cf. Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 195-209 §8. In the phrase that follows, $im=f$, the masculine suffix pronoun is at least noteworthy. Had the referent been the temple compound (*hw.t-ntr*) at Napata, one might have expected feminine =s. If =f does not refer instead to *Amun* of Napata (or to a *r3-pr*), then "His Majesty" might be suggested, but there are reasons to suspect that Taharqo was not previously among the crew (see (g) above and (m) below). Consequently, if the king is meant here, then he may have already been in Napata when the crew arrived and remained there even after they departed ($\check{s}m=sn im=f$). However, in col. 12 Taharqo appears to sail to $\check{S}is(.t)$ and then converse with his grandees about the temple which they found at Sanam "(just) as he had said" (see (t) below). Such an itinerary would seem unlikely if he were already resident at Napata.

(l) As the setting is evidently a cultic place (*r bw-dsr*), it is tempting to suppose that the actions that they performed there (*irwt.n=sn nb.t*) were ritual in nature, and *irw* certainly can and often does bear such meaning (*Wb*. I: 113). Unfortunately, the context is too fragmentary to allow much confidence on the point.

(m) If this phrase continues the illocution that began in the preceding column ($\check{d}d.n=sn$, col. 3), then the statements made in col. 4 would seem to support the conclusion reached in (g) above that Taharqo was *not* part of the crew, for he is referenced here in the third person ($rk=f$). This context may be contrasted with that in col. 16, where the speakers (presumably *wr.w* or *sr.w*, col. 12) allude instead to "your reign" ($h3w=k$).³¹⁸

(n) The name mentioned here marks one of the most potentially significant passages in SHI—but also one of the most unclear. Griffith read simply "a temple in his time by Es-qe-shoout(?) upon . . ." offering

³¹³ See Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, ll. 41-42, in Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III; as collated in Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 39-40. See also Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 137-138, 152, 176.

³¹⁴ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 73, would confidently place both north of the Third Cataract.

³¹⁵ See, e.g., orthography of $\check{b}.t-w^c b$ in second col. in front of Shu upon north wall of Adikhalamani's chapel at Debed: Roeder, *Debed bis Bab Kalabsche* II, Taf. 17.

³¹⁶ Winter, "Die Tempel von Philae und das Problem ihrer Rettung," 11 Abb. 16; Farag, Wahba, and Farid, "Inscribed Blocks of the Ramesside Period and of King Taharqa, Found at Philae."

³¹⁷ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 102.

³¹⁸ Upon his site card 26, Griffith confidently transcribed avian legs and tail feathers projecting below the damage that precedes grapheme N 31 in col. 16.

the temple referenced in this passage was a New Kingdom monument upon Sai Island from which older statues were being harvested for re-use (see (i) above).³³⁰ Far more likely is the possibility that the *ḥw.t* mentioned throughout these early cols. of SHI was simply Taharqo's Temple of Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, at Sanam—the very one upon whose walls SHI was inscribed.

(o) If *ḥ.t* is not being used generically here to refer to any holy place, then it may have been influenced by the topography of Sanam itself. Griffith stated that “[t]here is a considerable rise from the river bank, the stone foundation of the temple resting on sand 5½ metres above it.”³³¹

(p) Griffith read “its towers standing entirely.”³³² Given the determinative, the lexeme in question does seem most likely to represent an architectural element of some kind. Upon his site card 26, Griffith tentatively proposed to reconstruct the damaged seam between the blocks as a phallus (D 52); this would suggest that he understood the word as *wmt.w*.³³³

(q) This passage suggests two possible interpretations: (1) reference to an earlier temple built by “the ancestors” at Sanam, one whose “gateways” were found still “standing in their entirety,”³³⁴ or (2) boast of a temple just built by Taharqo's crew exceeding anything that “the ancestors” had done, its “gateways” already “standing in their entirety.” The mention of ongoing construction work in the preceding col. 7 would strongly favor the latter; for similar statements in Taharqo's other inscriptions, see: Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 24; Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 16-19; Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), cols. 2-4.³³⁵ Yet, as discussed in (r) below, the former possibility cannot be excluded, for col. 9 does appear to reference the harvesting of at least one statue from an earlier monument.

(r) Griffith likewise read “a statue of stone of the prophet who. . .”³³⁶ The expression *twt m inr nw* would nevertheless be unusual. If Griffith's translation proves justified, this seemingly pedestrian remark is actually quite significant and potentially revealing when viewed within the context of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty cultic practice. As Török has observed:

As opposed to Egyptian developments, in Kush . . . [p]ersonal piety existed only within the framework of the god-king relationship, viz. in the form of the cult of the colossal royal statues. It follows from this that the types of private representations in the round, in relief and in painting which were created in Egypt in association with temple- and mortuary cults were not adopted in Kush, even though the representation of Kushite dignitaries in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty *Egypt* was common.³³⁷

A stone image of a priest as described here in col. 9 would therefore have been a highly unusual monument if created or installed in Kush during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—an apparent singleton within the surviving archaeological record, as no private statuary was found during the excavations at Sanam, or, for that matter, anywhere else in Upper or Lower Nubia during this period.³³⁸ While the possibility of such a monument cannot be excluded outright, its very exceptionality would suggest that the absence of such private statues is not an accident of survival but instead reflects precisely the kind of broad differences in

³³⁰ Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 257; *id.*, “Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,” 81.

³³¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 79.

³³² Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

³³³ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 186-190.

³³⁴ This is evidently the scenario preferred by Kendall, “Origin of the Napatan State,” 77.

³³⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-14.

³³⁶ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 102.

³³⁷ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 403-404 [emphasis added]; see also Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 243ff.

³³⁸ The striking absence of such statuary in Nubia during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty may be observed not only for non-royals but also for the royal family beyond the king himself. However, for a statue of Queen Amanimalel (Khartoum SNM 1843) commissioned during the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era and found in Kush, see discussion and references in Morkot, “Kushite Royal Woman,” 155-156 n. 4.

cultic practice between Kush and Egypt that Török has postulated for the era. Consequently, it would seem that the statue mentioned here in col. 9 was a relic of Egyptian imperialism in the region which was being harvested by Taharqo's crew for re-use at Sanam. At least this aspect of Reisner's and Morkot's hypotheses stands justified.³³⁹ However, the toponymic and contextual observations discussed above would seem to indicate that statue was most likely taken, not from distant Sai Island, but simply from the neighboring cult at Napata—as Török has elsewhere proposed.³⁴⁰

(s) See discussion of the grammatical form as compared with cols. 13-14 in (v) below.

(t) Here begins an apparent second trip to Š³is(.t), but this time there is greater reason to believe that Taharqo was among the crew (cf. (g) and (m) above), for reference is then immediately made to his conversation with the grandees: *dd.in Hm=f n wr.w*. If the determinative may be trusted, this party sailed southward, though it is not possible to determine whether they were doing so upstream from Egypt or downstream from Abu Hamed (see discussion in (h) above).

(u) The orthography is extremely spare and consequently ambiguous; it may refer to grandees (*wr.w*), officials (*sr.w*), courtiers (*šn.w*), elders (*smsw.w*), or even simply friends (*smr.w*) (A 19-A 21).³⁴¹ In Kawa IV, it is in fact *smr.w* with whom Taharqo converses about temple construction, and these evidently overlapped in some fashion with the group of military recruits (*hwn.w-nfr.w*).³⁴² Unfortunately, a decisive reading of the grapheme in SHI col. 12 would beg the question of exactly who constituted Taharqo's upper-level administration in Kush: local "chiefs," appointed officials, or royal kinsmen. The reading of *wr.w* ("grandees") is preferred here, not out of any conviction that such was intended, but because of its capacity to encompass all of the above groups without overdetermining the passage's interpretation. By contrast, the translation of "chiefs" is avoided here, for the reasons outlined above in Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps.

(v) On his site card 26, Griffith transliterated *gm* above col. 11. In his published translation, he appears to have read the form as a passive relative: *gm(w).n.tw hwt tn im*, "in which this temple was found."³⁴³ Another option is suggested by cols. 13 and 14, where Griffith evidently supposed for both a Second Tense with impersonal subject *tw*:³⁴⁴

col. 13: *gm.n=tw s(y) m . . .*

It was found as . . .

col. 14: *[g]m.n=tw hwt tn mi dd.n=f m*

This temple was found as he had said in . . .

The difference in meaning would appear negligible. Nevertheless, the parallelism between cols. 11, 13, and 14, indicates that *s(y)* in col. 13 is to be equated with *hwt tn* in cols. 11 and 14—and, as the verbal phrase in col. 13 is preceded by *Imn-R^c k³ n T³-Stⁱ*, the antecedent in question can hardly be any other than the temple of Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St*-Bow, at Sanam. Viewed in context, it would further seem highly unlikely that the statement made here was a description of an earlier temple found in ruin, à la

³³⁹ Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1)," 99; Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 257; *id.*, "Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," 81.

³⁴⁰ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 296.

³⁴¹ For an example of the potential confusion caused by this determinative, see Vinogradov, "[. . .] their brother, the Chieftain, the Son of Re, Alara [. . .]." See also Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 367, 370 n. 276.

³⁴² Khartoum SNM 2678 (= Merowe Museum 52), ll. 7-8, 13-16, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8. For *hwn-nfr*, see *Wb.* III: 52.11.

³⁴³ For the problem of passive relatives, see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 205 §388.

³⁴⁴ For the distinction between the passive *s_dm(w)=f* and the perfect active *s_dm=f* with impersonal subject =*tw*, see: Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 32; Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien I*, 303 §476.

Kawa stelae IV and VI,³⁴⁵ because mention had already been made to construction in SHI cols. 7 and 10. The broader context would therefore suggest that cols. 12-14 described a visit to Sanam by Taharqo and the *wr.w* in which the temple was presented as a *fait accompli*. Cols. 15-16 add further support for this reading in the form of laudatory remarks made to the king, presumably by those same *wr.w*, in admiration of his accomplishment.

(w) The speech here may be compared to that delivered by the *smr.w* of Taharqo in Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), *l.* 20:

dd=sn hft Hm=fwn mʕ.t pw ddw.t=k nb sʕ=fim=k smnh mnw=f

They said to His Majesty: ‘All that you say is true; you are (indeed) His son who embellishes His monument.’³⁴⁶

(x) For *sh* as a term for “tent, hall, pavilion, or kiosk,” see *Wb.* III: 464.3-21. By contrast, it would appear that only *sh-ntr* may be taken as a synonym of “temple”; cf. *Wb.* III: 465.1-13. For the latter, see Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 114-119.

(y) Cf. Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 21-22:

ir.n Hm=fnw n ʕ n mr=f it=f Imn-Rʕ

His Majesty did this because of how greatly he loved his father, Amun-Re . . .³⁴⁷

Though Griffith suggested *ink* upon his site card 27 as the first preserved word in col. 17, he transcribed upon the card not $\bar{\text{O}}$ but clearly O , and he elected to translate: “He is a god that loveth him. . . .”³⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the photographs (Figs. 21-22) do little to clarify the issue.

(z) Taken alone, the phrase *hr irt shr.w* is far too general in meaning to establish a context for this passage. However, when compared with the mention of two overseers (*imy-rʕ*) in cols. 24 and 26 and the subsequent list of enemy peoples donated to the god in cols. 28-57, it may be suggested that the *shr.w* could have been military in nature.

(aa) It is certainly noteworthy that the opening narrative appears to culminate with another trip—this time explicitly toward the south. It is therefore tempting to suppose that some the peoples listed subsequently in cols. 28-57 would have been located there. If the setting remained unchanged between cols. 17 and 27, then this would place them in the Bayuda and Butana, but the appearance of the hill-country determinative (N 25) in col. 20 may signal a new locale—and therefore cautions against any such assumption.

III.3.2.2. SHI Section II: List of Peoples Donated^{bb} to Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the St-Bow (Figs. 27-31)

(28-35) [...] (36) [...] *m-r-d* (37) [Spatium] (38) [...] *Imn-ip.t* (39) [Spatium?] (40) [...] *-n* (41) [...] *y[...]-n-kʕ-r* (42) [...] *I* (43) [...] *I9* (44) [...] 3 (45) [...] *I* (46-48) [...] (49) [...] 7 (50) [...] 5 (51) [...] $\text{ʕ}^{\text{ʕ}}\{\text{t}\}=\text{f}^{\text{r}}\text{d}i(\text{w})^{\text{r}}$ 9 (52) [Spatium] (53-55) [...] (56) [...] 2] [Spatium] (57) [...] *s* *shm.(w)t* 544

(28-35) [...] ^{cc} (36) [...] *merud*^{dd} (37) [...] (38) [...] *amenope*^{ee} (39) [...] (40) [...] *en*^{ff} (41) [...] *y[...]-nekar*^{gg} (42) [...] one (man) (43) [...] nineteen (men) (44) [...] three (men) (45) [...] one (man) (46-48) [...] (49) [...] seven (men) (50) [...] five (men) (51) [...] whom he seized^{hh}(?). Given: nine (men) (52-55) [...] (56) [...] twenty-one (women) of [...] (57) [...] men and] women: 544.ⁱⁱ

(bb) As Griffith noted, the seated-man and seated-woman determinatives (A 1 and B 1) which appear at the bottom of the surviving lower courses of cols. 28-57 indicate that the inscription upon this portion of

³⁴⁵ Khartoum SNM 2678 (Merowe Museum 52), *ll.* 10-16, and Khartoum SNM 2679 (Merowe Museum 53), *ll.* 15-17, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-12.

³⁴⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

³⁴⁷ Khartoum SNM 2679 (Merowe Museum 53), *ll.* 21-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12.

³⁴⁸ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 103.

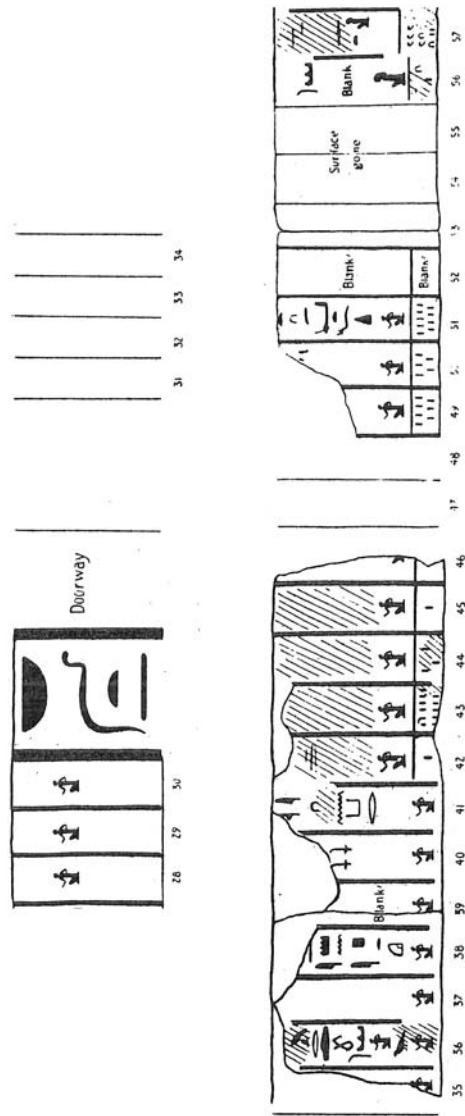


Fig. 27. Section II of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 28-57. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXVIII.



Fig. 28. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 35-39. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 29. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 39-44. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 30. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 49-52. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 31. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 52-64. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

the south wall was “evidently . . . a list of persons.”³⁴⁹ Beyond this observation, he declined to comment upon the list’s structure, contents, or historical parallels. However, total interpretive abstinence would seem unwarranted in this case, as the list does permit certain deductions of a limited nature. Firstly, the named peoples were consistently *unenumerated* in cols. 28-41 and then consistently enumerated thereafter in cols. 42-57; a structural difference between the two parts of the list is clearly suggested.

The content of the first part (cols. 28-41) is then indicated by three of the surviving names. In col. 36, [. . .] *m-r-d* was written with both the hill-country (N 25) and sparrow (G 37) determinatives, suggesting not only that the name in question was associated with a particular region (and therefore likely a collective plural) but also that it was marked as an enemy of the realm. The same conclusion must be preferred even if the apparent sparrow is instead understood as a swallow (G 36) signifying *wr*, “grandee” (conventionally translated as “chief”). This deduction would seem to be confirmed by the name in col. 38: [. . .] *’Imn-ḫp.t*; though Griffith made no mention of it, the same name appeared as [. . .] *mn-ḫp* within a name-ring upon the northern face of the temple’s First Pylon, where it accompanied an image of a bound captive.³⁵⁰ When one considers the additional fact that col. 41 contained a *-k3-r* ending characteristic of other enemy toponyms in the Kushite corpus (see (gg) below), it may be safely concluded that cols. 28-41 listed enemy peoples according to their regions of either origin or residence. If the list included nomadic populations of the Libyan Desert, the Nubian Desert, the Bayuda Steppe, or the Butana Steppe, then any attempt to distinguish or correlate ethnonyms and toponyms may prove misguided and its results mostly artificial.

Taharqo’s list in SHI finds its closest parallels in the later Napatan-era inscriptions of Irike-Amanote (second half of fifth century BC) and Nastasen (second half of fourth century BC). During successive visits to Pnubs and Kawa, Irike-Amanote would list by name “lands” (*ḫt.wt*), “people” (*rmṯ.w*), and “clans” (*mh3.w*) restored to the god through royal donation:

Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 60-63:

dd.in ntr pn n Ḥm=f di=k n=i ḫt.wt ḫt=w m-ḥ=i dd.in Ḥm=f m-b3ḫ ntr pn rd.n=i n=k ḫt nb.t r-ḫt=w m-ḥ=k m hrw pn rmṯ nb mitt imy rn=sn wp-s Gr-’Imn-st Skst Trḫt mh3w.yw M-w3-r-s-w n t3-sš.t m-b3ḫ ntr pn

Then this god said to His Majesty: ‘May you give to Me the lands that were taken from Me.’³⁵¹ Then His Majesty said in the presence of this god: ‘On this day I have given You all the lands that were taken from You, as well as all the people.’ List of them, specified: *Gr-’Imn-st*, *Skst*, *Trḫt*, and the clans of *M-w3-r-s-w* as sistrum-bearers before this god.³⁵²

Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 65-69:

dd.in ntr pn šps n Ḥm=f di=k n=i ḫt.wt r-ḫt=w m-ḥ=i dd.(i)n Ḥm=f m-b3ḫ ntr pn rd.n=i n=k ḫt.wt rmṯ ḫt=w m-ḥ=k m hrw pn imy rn=sn wp-s M-r3-k3-r ’I-r-t-k3-r ’I-š3-3w-m-t G3-r-k-n mh3.w ’I-r-m T3y=i-nb mh3.w ’I-rw-[. . .] qbw l.t t3w 3 s 25 ḫrt n sš-nsw 4 prḫ n Km.t 1

Then this noble god said to His Majesty: ‘May you give to Me the lands that were taken from Me.’ Then His Majesty said before this god: ‘On this day I have given You all the lands and people that were taken from You.’ List of them, specified: *M-r3-k3-r*, *’I-r-t-k3-r*, *’I-š3-3w-m-t*, *G3-r-k-n*, clans of *’I-r-m* and of *T3y=i-nb*, clans of *’I-rw-[. . .]*, one *qbw*-vessel, three *t3w*-vessels, twenty-five men, four *ḫrt*-rolls of byssus, and one Egyptian *prḫ*.³⁵³

At Pnubs, the captured groups were specifically conscripted as “sistrum-bearers before this god,” while at Kawa they were listed together with temple furniture and tallied in the same fashion: “twenty-five men.” The pattern emerges again in the annals of Nastasen a century later, where the donated peoples are explicitly labeled as “enemies” of the god:

³⁴⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 103; see also Wolf, *Die archaologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 79: “List von Personennamen(?)”

³⁵⁰ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XXIII g.

³⁵¹ For this translation, see: Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 179; Priese, “Articula”; Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 240. The concept of peoples “taken” from the god may be compared with several passages in the Nauri stela of Seti I, where laborers are “captured from (one) district for (another) district.” See ll. 26, 31, 32, 38, 43, 65-68, 99-101, in Griffith, “Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri,” pls. XL-XLI.

³⁵² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24.

³⁵³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24.

Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 44-46:

di-i n=k 'Imn Np Rtq Wps M-hb-q-s3-w3 dr py{t}=k{w} t3r.w p3w t3w hm.t dm.t IIO

I gave to You, Amun of Napata, all of *Rtq*, *Wps*, and *M-hb-q-s3-w3*—they are Your enemies—a total of IIO men and women.³⁵⁴

In light of these passages, there would seem little reason to impose any artificial distinction between a donation text and a record of a war, and Nastasen's account in particular casts doubt upon Török's statement that it was "usually [a] small number of people [who were] 'donated' to temples."³⁵⁵ Indeed, if the comparison between the contents of SHI and the inscriptions of Irike-Amanote and Nastasen bears further scrutiny, this statement becomes untenable.

The structure of Irike-Amanote's and Nastasen's lists would also seem to parallel Taharqo's SHI, beginning with several collective plural ethno- or toponyms and then later enumerating their members as temple donations. Yet, in Taharqo's list, the captured were tallied not as a lump sum but in several sub-totals, suggesting an attempt at further division by ethnic affiliation, geographic origin, or subsequent conscription (see (cc) and (ii) below). That peoples in cols. 42-57 were still associated with toponyms is strongly suggested by col. 56, where a group of twenty-one women are tallied below throw-stick and hill-country determinatives (T 14 and N 25).

SHI and the inscriptions of Irike-Amanote and Nastasen thus merged two royal duties into a single performance: pharaoh as benefactor of the temples³⁵⁶ and pharaoh as subduer of foreign peoples upon the god's behalf. The vanquished were actually listed among and even *as* temple donations and, in some cases, were assigned to positions of cultic service.³⁵⁷ The practice may be traced further across the Napatan era in the texts of Anlamani (late seventh century BC), Harsiyotef (first third of fourth century BC), and Sabrakamani (first half of third century BC),³⁵⁸ and it has been postulated as well for a considerable number of Meroitic inscriptions (esp. late second century BC—first half of first century AD) which feature tallies of people in association with words taken to mean "raid" or "seize."³⁵⁹ Most conspicuously, the donation of subalterns to temples was also emphasized within Taharqo's other inscriptions:

Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 19-21:

*mh.n=f <sy> m mr.w š3.w{t} rd.n=f hm.wt r=s m hm.wt wr.w n.w T3-mh3w h3m irp m i3rr.t n.w niw.t tn š3=s{t} r Dsds
rd.n=f k3r.yw r=sn m k3r.yw nfr.w n.w Mn.tyw St.t mh.n=f hw.t-ntr tn m w'b.w r=s m r h3 r3=sn m ms.w wr.w n.w t3
nb mh.n=f pr=f m hn.w r šš n hr=f nfr*

He has filled <it> (*i.e.*, the temple) with numerous servants and appointed female servants for it—wives of the grandees of Northland. Wine is trodden from vines of this city, it being more abundant than (that of) Bahariya Oasis. He has appointed gardeners for them—good gardeners of the Mentiu-nomads of Asia. He has filled this temple compound with priests for it—men who know their spells, the children of the grandees of every land. He has filled His house with female musicians to shake the sistrum before His beautiful face.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁴ Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III; as collated by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 40. For the unusual orthography of *t3r*, "enemies," see *op. cit.*, 59, 64, 107.

³⁵⁵ *FHN* II, 723.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 41565), ll. 17-18, 21-22, in: Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, pl. 70; Legrain, "La grande stèle du Toutankhamanou à Karnak," 162-173; Bennet, "Restoration Inscription of Tut'ankhamun," 10, 13 n. 36.

³⁵⁷ For comparison with Egyptian precedents, see Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 545-546.

³⁵⁸ Anlamani's Enthronement Stela (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Ä.I.N. 1708), ll. 16, 19-20, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 68-69, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XVIIa-XVII; Nastasen's Year 8 Stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268), ll. 34-35, in Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III, and Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 38; Inscription of Sabrakamani (Kawa XIII), col. 6, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 75-76 n. 10, pl. 31.

³⁵⁹ Boston MFA 23.736 (=REM 1044, *tempus* Taneyidamani: late second century BC), esp. ll. 4-5, 131-131, in Leclant *et al.*, *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique* III, 1462-1465; OAM 1912.1012 (=REM 0521, late second or early first century BC), ll. 23-24, in *op. cit.* I, 862-863; REM 0092 (*tempus* Teriteqas, Amanirenas, and Akinidad: late first century BC), ll. 6-14, in *op. cit.* I, 204-205; BM EA 1650 (=REM 1003, *tempus* Amanirenas and Akinidad: late first century BC), ll. 4, 5, 8-12, 14, 23-25, in *op. cit.* III, 1378-1381; REM 1039 (*tempus* Akinidad: late first century BC), in *op. cit.* III, 1452-1453; possibly REM 1041 (*tempus* Amanishakheto: first half of first century AD), frag. B, l. 4, in *op. cit.* III, 1456-1457, and Rilly "L'Obélisque' de Méroé"; REM 1333 (=Cairo JE 90008, *tempus* Teqorideamani: mid-third century AD), ll. 13-14, 16, 20, in Carrier, "La stèle méroïtique d'Abatoye." For brief lexical and grammatical discussion: Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 31-32.

³⁶⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12; cf. l. 18 of Griffith, "Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," pl. XL.

Earlier in Taharqo's reign, one encounters in Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 6, a royal donation of four *imy.w-wnw.t* ("hour-priests") within a list of vessels, wax, incense, and ladanum.³⁶¹ As Macadam observed, "[t]he inclusion of persons among the objects listed seems curious."³⁶² Yet again in Taharqo's twenty-first regnal year, a Theban foundation for Osiris was endowed by the estate of the Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet II with, among other things, several vessels, cows, fields, as well as: *iry-ꜣ 3 ḥw.ty 1 d(ꜣ)t(.t) 1 ir n s 5*, "three door-keepers, one fieldworker, and one female-weaver, amounting to five people" (l. 24). Of the door-keepers, it was specified earlier upon that stela that they were *ꜣb(.w) n rn=f*, "branded with His [*i.e.*, the god's] name" (l. 5)—a practice otherwise attested for cattle and for enslaved prisoners of war.³⁶³ Beyond the list provided in SHI, it remains unclear whether the people donated to temples in other inscriptions from Taharqo's reign are to be understood as captives or merely as conscripts (see Ch. VII.2 below); by contrast, SHI clearly enumerates donated peoples by ethno-/toponyms and in numbers comparable to the prisoners of war donated by later kings of the Napatan era. In this regard, the unpublished columns of Taharqo's SHI would seem to contradict Zach's recent assertion that "[t]he earliest written source recording the commitment of prisoners-of-war to a Kushite temple is inscription Kawa VIII (lines 19-20) of Anlamani (*fl.* end of seventh century BC)."³⁶⁴

Moreover, SHI was arguably the fullest expression of this theme in the entire Kushite corpus. In cols. 28-57, the tallies of the royal daybooks³⁶⁵ were projected as monumental discourse onto as much as 20 m² of the south wall (see Fig. 25 above). Whereas the submission of Upper and Lower Egyptian districts was represented upon the external face of the rear wall of the temple as a traditional procession of anthropomorphized nomes bearing agricultural offerings,³⁶⁶ the parallel submission of more southerly territories appears to have been subsumed there under the singular figure of *T3-Sti*.³⁶⁷ For a more detailed itemization of southern regions, peoples, and their offerings, visitors to the temple would have consulted SHI upon the south wall of the forecourt, and this *Vorlage* may have influenced the similar list of the Late Napatan king Irike-Amanote at Kawa.³⁶⁸

Despite the large proportion of SHI (cols. 28-57) which is devoted to enumerating these foreigners and the many parallels for such a list in later Kushite inscriptions, this section of SHI appears to have been overlooked in the published literature. Spalinger has highlighted elsewhere in the Sanam temple the "banal list of nome gods . . . representing the traditional list of Egypt's subdivisions" and the "typical enemies, the 'Nine Bows' . . . carved in cartouches," but he makes no mention of the persons listed in cols. 28-57. Their inclusion in SHI directly contradicts Spalinger's assertion that "the inscriptions are not much concerned with any of Egypt's neighbors, be they friend or foe."³⁶⁹

(cc) The considerable unused space in cols. 28-30 is intriguing, for it would suggest that the list of donated peoples was in some way discontinuous; similarly, F. Ll. Griffith's site card 28 confidently judged col. 37 as "blank" (and, with less certainly, cols. 39 and 40 as "blank?"). One possible explanation for this layout would be that the list was organized according to either chronological or geographic divisions: in the case of the former, cols. 28-41 might have represented separately-dated and sequential conquests, with a greater number of territories conquered during the earliest months or years (cols. 36, 38, and 40-41). If the list was instead structured by geographic divisions, then Taharqo's military activity would reveal an uneven

³⁶¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6.

³⁶² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 10 n. 22.

³⁶³ Graefe and Wassef, "Eine fromme Stiftung." For parallels, see: pAnastasi V ro., col. 7, l. 6, in British Museum, *Select papyri in the hieratic character*, pls. 99-121; pBologna 1094, col. 9, l. 6, in Lincke, *Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden*. On the branding of enslaved prisoners of war, see discussion of pAnastasi V, col. 7, l. 6, and further references in: Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 230-231; Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 56.

³⁶⁴ Zach, "Sacred Act' or 'Profane Death,'" 541-550.

³⁶⁵ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, 97-126.

³⁶⁶ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pls. XXXV-XXXVI.


³⁶⁷ As noted by Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 100.


³⁶⁸ SHI is considerably less likely to have been consulted by other kings of the Late Napatan and Meroitic eras, because royal patronage of the cult at Sanam appears to have discontinued at some point during the fifth century BC; see Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft*, 298.

³⁶⁹ Spalinger, "Foreign Policy of Egypt," 24-25.

distribution between those regions represented by cols. 28-30 and those then named in cols. 36-41. A similar conclusion is suggested by the considerable number of later cols. in SHI whose inscription evidently did not reach the lowest course of masonry; all would seem to indicate the redaction of a daybook ledger upon the temple wall.³⁷⁰ Similar deductions are not plausible for cols. 31-34 to the right of the doorway, as Griffith observed on his site card 28 that these cols. were “all destroyed.”


(dd) Upon his site card 28, Griffith wrote above col. 36 “not owl?”. Indeed, an examination of Zibelius’s gazetteer reveals no exact matches for [...] *m-r-d*, but the final phonemic sequence may be paralleled by [...] *d3-r3-d* [...], *t3-rw-dyt*, *k3-t3-rw-dyt*, *trw(t)*, and *tdw*.³⁷¹ Griffith’s transcription upon the site card bears a slight resemblance to the Horus falcon. For discussion of the broader significance of this toponym within the context of SHI, see **(bb)** above.

(ee) As mentioned briefly in **(bb)** above, [...] *Imn-ip.t* appears again on the north outer face of the First Pylon as [...] *mn-ip*, where it accompanies the figure of a bound captive.³⁷² The name itself is suggestive: if it is not a phonetic rendering of a Meroitic toponym with only coincidental resemblance to Egyptian lexemes, then the name’s constituent parts (“Amun-(in-the-)Opet”) might be taken to mark a locale of especial Egyptian influence; certainly the determinative  shown here in col. 38 would indicate that the scribe(s) responsible for SHI intended such an association.

(ff) The double writing of  as shown at the end of the ethno-/toponym here may correspond to the—*n* ending common to several Meroitic proper nouns, as perhaps best known from the royal nomen *Nastasen*.³⁷³

(gg) The prevalence of *-k3-r* as a toponymic ending is discussed at length by Zibelius(-Chen), who notes that it “steht wohl in Verbindung mit *kwr*, dem Titel des kuschitischen Herrschers.”³⁷⁴ In the Late Napatan inscriptions of Irike-Amanote and Nastasen, one finds the toponyms *M-r-k3-r* and *I-r-t-k3-r*, as well as *Ir-k3-r-k3-r*.³⁷⁵ An intriguing example comparable to the writing employed here in SHI appears upon Taharqo’s statue base (Cairo CG 770) from Karnak’s Mut Precinct:³⁷⁶



(hh) The graphemes that follow  are intriguing. As the parallels for Taharqo’s SHI list frequently refer to peoples as having been stolen (*it*) from the god and then restored to his domain by seizure (*t3*),³⁷⁷ the phrase in question here (*t3=f*) may have been intended as a perfect relative of similar meaning that modified the group of persons named immediately above.³⁷⁸ If so, the antecedent of *=f* could have been a named

³⁷⁰ Cols. 70, 75, 80, 82-84, 88-91, 100-102, 104-105, 107-109, 114-116, 118-119, 130, 132-136, 140, 146-148.

³⁷¹ Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 169, 175, 180, 184, 189.

³⁷² Griffith site card 11; Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XXIII g.

³⁷³ For *n*, see: Priese, “Zur Entstehung der meroitischen Schrift,” 288; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 218; Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*, 269, 391-392; Rilly and de Voogt, *Meroitic Language and Writing System*, 121-122.

³⁷⁴ Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 196 n. 6, 87, 162, 173.

³⁷⁵ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 19, 24; Berlin ÄMP 2268, ll. 50-51, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. IV; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 41.

³⁷⁶ Borhardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königinnen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo III*, 82. As the list upon CG 770 includes both African and Asian toponyms, it is unclear whether this example refers to an African region.

³⁷⁷ Kawa IX, cols. 61-69, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. 19. See further parallels in **(ccc)** below.

³⁷⁸ Upon his site card 51, Griffith appears to have transcribed grapheme V 20, but the seeming numeral here may be doubted on account of the lesser “nine” summed at the bottom of the col.

enemy responsible for the transgression,³⁷⁹ but a more likely scenario would posit either Taharqo or his army as the requisitioner, à la Nastasen and his army centuries later:

Berlin ÄMP 2268:

ll. 39-40: $\text{t}^{\text{3}}(=\text{i}) \text{p}^{\text{3}}=\text{f} \text{t}^{\text{3}}.w \text{nb} \text{dybn}.w \text{nb} \text{i}w^{\text{3}}.w \text{nb} \text{mn}.w \text{nb}$

(I) seized all his lands, all domestic animals, all small and large cattle.

ll. 46-47: $\text{i}ry=\text{i} \text{d}i \text{s}i \text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{p}d.t(yw) \dots \text{t}^{\text{3}}y\{t\}=\text{f}n \text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{wr} \text{'I}y\text{-h}nt\text{-k}^{\text{3}}$

I sent the archery corps . . . It (the corps?) seized the Grandee of *'Iy-hnt-k3*.

l. 51: $\text{t}^{\text{3}}=\text{i} \text{p}^{\text{3}}w \text{wr} \text{R-b-d-n} \text{p}^{\text{3}}y\{w\}=\text{f}nb.t \text{n} \text{nbw}$

I seized the Grandee of *R-b-d-n* and all of his gold.

l. 53: $\text{d}i=\text{i} \text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{wr} \text{n} \text{M}^{\text{3}}\text{-h}^{\text{3}}.t \text{'I-b-s}$

I had the Grandee of *M3-h3.t* and *'I-b-s* seized.

l. 55: $\text{d}i=\text{i} \text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{p}^{\text{3}}w \text{wr} \text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{nt} \text{i}w=\text{f} \text{s}^{\text{c}}n\text{h}\{t\} \text{i}r.t \text{n-im}\{t\}=\text{f}nb.t \text{h}m.t \text{nb.t}$

I had that grandee seized and all that with which he would sustain the people, and every woman.

l. 58: $\text{i}r=\text{i} \text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{p}y\{w\}=\text{f} \text{p}^{\text{3}}w \text{wr} \text{T}^{\text{3}}\text{-m}^{\text{3}}\text{-h}^{\text{3}}\text{-y-t}i$

I seized its grandee of *T3-m3-h-y-ti*.³⁸⁰

Under this scenario, the grapheme which followed in SHI (Δ : X 8/M 44) may simply bear (participial or) stative meaning: “(that which was) given,” followed in turn by the tally below: “nine.”³⁸¹ Cf. Taharqo’s year 21 foundation for *Wsir-šd-hm=f-n-dw3.t*, l. 3, which states: $\text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{rn} \text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{nkt} \text{nty} \text{dd} \text{m-b}^{\text{3}}\text{h} \text{W}^{\text{3}}\text{sr}$, “the list of the property which was given in the presence of Osiris.”³⁸²

(ii) The figure of c. 544 given at the end of col. 57 would appear to represent the total number of men and women donated to the god and enumerated in the preceding columns (cols. 42-56). This would mean that an average of thirty-six people was donated in each of those earlier columns. As the numbers at the bottom of each column fall quite short of that mark (and total only one person each in the case of cols. 42 and 45), it may safely be postulated that the missing upper portions of cols. 42-56 contained several additional groups of separately enumerated peoples. Based upon the average number of people donated at the bottoms of each of those columns and the total number then calculated in col. 57, it is most likely that cols. 42-56 each contained an average of four additional groups of donated people beyond the one mentioned in the lowest masonry course. If each col. contained its own dateline (see (a) above), then the 544 people would need to be distributed in greater proportions among a smaller number of groups, but their tally would still likely have required most of the available space. This deduction provides further support for the conclusion reached in (a) above that SHI extended the full height of the south wall.

III.3.2.3. SHI Section III: River Procession (Figs. 31-33)

(58) [...] $w^{\text{3}}.t=\text{f} \text{spr}.n[=\text{f}] \text{r} [\dots]$ (59) [...] $n \text{ntr} \text{pn} \text{ } ^{\text{3}} \text{r} \text{hrd}(.w)=\text{sn} \text{m}^{\text{c}}\text{b}$ (60) [...] $\text{tw} [\dots] \text{'mw}^{\text{3}} \text{nfr}\{t\} \text{i}i=\text{tw}$ (61) [...] $\text{i}w^{\text{c}}=\text{k} \text{hr} \text{ns.t}=\text{k} \text{s}^{\text{3}} \text{R}^{\text{c}} \text{T}^{\text{3}}\text{-h-r-q}$ (62) [...] $\text{h}^{\text{c}} \text{hr} \text{s.t} \text{Hr} \text{d.t} \text{dd.n}=\text{sn}$ (63) [...] $=\text{f} \text{'}^{\text{3}}\text{b.t} \text{m} \text{t}^{\text{3}} \text{h}nq.t \text{k}^{\text{3}} \text{ } ^{\text{3}}\text{pd} \text{i}rp.w$ (64) [...] $\text{'Imn-R}^{\text{c}} \text{k}^{\text{3}} \text{n} \text{T}^{\text{3}}\text{-Sti} \text{r-tp} \text{i}trw \text{i}w$ (65) [...] $p [\dots] \text{n} \text{ntr} \text{pn} \text{ } ^{\text{3}}\text{ty} \text{n} \text{i}w$ (66) [...] $r [\dots] \text{n} [\dots].w \text{nn} \text{rh} \text{tnw}$ (67) [...] $\text{nb.t} (\text{i})\text{m}(\text{y}) \text{rn}=\text{sn}$

³⁷⁹ E.g., the Annals of Harsiyotef, (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 83, 93-96, 99-101, 105-109, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XVIIIa-XXI; Nastasen’s year 8 stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268), l. 64, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. IV; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 43.

³⁸⁰ Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, pls. III-IV; as collated by Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 39-42.

³⁸¹ Admittedly, a grapheme of precisely this appearance would later come to signify *q* in the Meroitic syllabary, but that writing system is not attested at the time when SHI was composed: Priese, “Zur Entstehung der meroitischen Schrift,” 292-293.

³⁸² Graefe and Wassef, “Eine fromme Stiftung,” Abb. 1, Taf. 17.



Fig. 32. Section III of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 58-67. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXVIII.



Fig. 33. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 64-75. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

(58) [...] his way, [he] reached [...] (59) [...] of this great god for their children together with (60) [...] the 'good water.'^{kk} One came (61) [...] ' [...] Your heir upon Your throne, the son of Re, Taharqo' (62) [...] having appeared upon the throne of Horus, forever. They^{ll} spoke (63) [...] he/his [...] great offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, and wines. (64) [...] Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, upon the river.^{mmm} (65) [...] this god, a shrineⁿⁿ of(?) (66) [...] bo]ats,^{oo} the number unknown (67) [...] every [...]. List of them:^{pp}

(jj) Within Török's analysis of the decorative program of the Sanam temple, special mention is made of SHI col. 58. According to Török, this column marks a departure from the temple foundation narrative which characterized the rest of the text:

The text apparently described the foundation and endowment of the temple by Taharqo, but it also seems to have contained descriptions of royal actions at Thebes (col. 58) ... Columns 64-66 seem to have referred to a temple festival at which "boats innumerable" appeared on the river. Judging by the closeness of this latter passage to the Theban episode in col. 58, this part of the text seems to have referred to one of the Theban festivals that included river processions.³⁸³

Yet it is by no means clear whether Thebes was even mentioned in col. 58: while F. Ll. Griffith initially transcribed ⊗ at the bottom of col. 58 upon his site card 29, an examination of Nora Griffith's published hand-copy shows only a circular shape devoid of internal markings; the unpublished photograph (Fig. 31 above) gives even less reason for confidence, revealing that the lower half of this column had been severely abraded beyond legibility. F. Ll. Griffith's suggestion that a circular shape he perceived in that abrasion might have represented Thebes (*Nḥw.t*: ⊗) was just that—a suggestion, and one advanced with due reservation: "... his way, he drew near to Thebes (?)."³⁸⁴ There is otherwise little reason to assume Thebes as the setting here, and the mention of "[...] Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, upon the river" in col. 64 would seem to speak against it. Boat processions were, in fact, prominently featured in the decorative program of the god's temple at Sanam; fallen relief blocks from the outer faces of the north and south walls depicted several such vessels, both at quay and hoisted upon the shoulders of priests, one of whom bore characteristic Kushite cicatrices upon his cheek.³⁸⁵ The first mention of Thebes that can be ascertained in SHI does not appear until col. 98, where it is written with the Hermonthite *w3s*-scepter (R 19).³⁸⁶

(kk) Griffith translated with some doubt: "... good progeny (?)." Presumably he was endeavoring to link col. 60 to the one which precedes it. However, if it is to be placed within the broader context of the travel narrative in col. 58 and the river procession in cols. 64-66, then the phrase in question here in col. 60 may instead be *mw nfr*:{*t*}, "the good water," perhaps to be contrasted with *mw bin*, "the bad water"—historically a designation for the difficult passage of the Fourth Cataract region, where both current and wind conspire against upstream travel.³⁸⁷ From the perspective of Sanam, the "good water" could have any number of referents, but all of them would seem to entail travelers arriving(?) from outside of the Fourth Cataract region.

(ll) Here again is an indication that a group (=sn) was involved, but beyond this little more can be inferred from the passage (*cf.* (g) above).

(mm) Griffith read: "to the edge of the river."³⁸⁸ For *r-tp*, see *Wb.* V: 271.17.

(nn) In Griffith's translation, this line was skipped altogether. However, the content is not uninteresting, for it adds another (albeit vague) cultic element to the river procession. For *šty*, see *Wb.* IV: 559.4ff. The function served by *n ḥw* here would seem impossible to determine without context.³⁸⁹

³⁸³ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 137.

³⁸⁴ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 103.


³⁸⁵ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pls. XXV 2, XXVI 1, XVII, XXXI 1-3.

³⁸⁶ But see also frag. 6 (*Imn-Nḥw.t*), in Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XL.

³⁸⁷ See second col. from right in the Autobiography of Ahmose, son of Abana, as transcribed by LD III, 12 d.

³⁸⁸ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 103.

³⁸⁹ At best, *n-ḥw*: for *n* as an abbreviated writing of the interrogative particle *ḥn*, see Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 87.

(oo) Whereas the published transcription by Griffith's wife, Nora, perceived traces of several graphemes at the top of col. 66, Griffith's own hand-copy upon site card 30 was more reticent, beginning only with the unmistakable . For images of the boat procession at Sanam, see references in (jj) above. Given the presence of this grapheme at the top of the col., it is unclear why Spalinger judged col. 66 to refer to "a possible slaughter of an enemy."³⁹⁰ For a more probable reference to slaughter, see col. 153 and discussion in (jjj) below.

(pp) For parallels to *imy rn=sn*, see references given in (b) above. At this point, the narrative appears to conclude, and a list of offerings commences that will span cols. 68-91.

III.3.2.4. SHI Section IV: List of Vegetal and Vessel Offerings (Figs. 33-35 and 37)

(68) [...] *nb.t* [Spatium] (69) [...] *šw* [...] *m3^c w^cb st hn.w 13 ʿntyw* (70) [Spatium] (71) [...] *sm.w rnp.[w]* [Spatium] (72) [...] *w nb rnp.w nb{.t}* [Spatium] (73) [...] *20 sm.w rnp.w n rh tn=sn* (74) [...] *w nb.t* [Spatium] (75) [Spatium] (76) [...] *šw* [...] *x +* ^{r 8} *sm.w rnp(.w)* (77) [...] *rnp.w nb{.t}* [Spatium] (78) [...] *m* [Spatium] (79) [...] *hwf* [...] (80) [Spatium] (81) [...] *n 10* [Spatium] (82-84) [Spatium] (85) [...] *rnp.w nb* [Spatium] (86) [...] *y* [*x +*] 23 [Spatium] (87) [...] *m3h* [...] *x +*] 2 [Spatium] (88-91) [Spatium]

(68) [...] every [...] (69) vegetables(?) [...] offerings [...] thirteen [...] -vessels,^{9a} resin^{rr} (70) [...] (71) [...] herb[s], vegetable[s]^{ss} (72) [...] every [...], every vegetable, (73) [...] twenty [...] vessels], herbs and vegetables, their number unknown, (74) [...] every [...] (75) [...] (76) [...] dried^{tt} [...] *x +*] eight [...] herb[s] (77) [...], every vegetable, (78) [...] (79) [...] meat(?) [...] (80) [...] (81) [...] ten (82-84) [...] (85) [...] every vegetable, (86) [...] *x +*] twenty-three (87) [...] *x +*] two (88-91) [...]

(qq) Jansen-Winkeln has interpreted Griffith's transcription as a vase-with-pouring-water (D 60) over a sickle (U 1); some variation of the expression *m3^c w^cb* may be suspected.³⁹¹ The mouth of the vase is unusually narrow, however, producing some resemblance to the reversed lotus (M 9); for lotus-vessels among Taharqo's Kawa offerings, see Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 8, and Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 11.³⁹² For the reversal of other graphemes in SHI, see cols. 79 (*hwf*), 138 (*hnm*), 171 (A 17), and frag. 5 (*Inb-hd*).

(rr) For resin among Taharqo's Kawa offerings, see Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 6.³⁹³

(ss) Of the list of offerings in cols. 68-91(?), Griffith noted only that it consisted "perhaps of contributions by individuals or institutions and localities to the dedication-feast or to the endowment of the temple."³⁹⁴ A few additional observations may be added: all of the items which survive in the lower courses are either vessels or vegetal offerings. The juxtaposition of a boat procession (Section III) with mention of vegetal offerings (Section IV) invites general comparison with *l. 23* of Seti I's Nauri stela, which describes fleets of boats bringing herbs (*h3.w*) for his foundation at Abydos.³⁹⁵

Yet the inclusion of the vegetal offerings distinguishes SHI rather noticeably from Taharqo's offering lists at Kawa—and, indeed, from the entire corpus of Kushite royal inscriptions.³⁹⁶ It may not be unreasonable to suppose that this distinction owes something to geography, Sanam being the most southerly of the surviving Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan-era historical texts and located at the fringe of the

³⁹⁰ Spalinger, "Foreign Policy of Egypt," 24.

³⁹¹ Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 164; *Wb. I*: 281.25.

³⁹² Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6, 11-12. See also a *h3wy*-vessel with lotus determinative in *l. 21* of Shepenwepet II's stela in Graefe and Wassef, "Eine fromme Stiftung," 104 Abb. 1, Taf. 17.

³⁹³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12.

³⁹⁴ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 103.

³⁹⁵ Griffith, "Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," pl. XL (published only five years after SHI). See also *ll. 8, 21-22*, 63.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-14. For a single bundle of herbs (*sm htp.t*) donated to the Osirian foundation of Shepenwepet II at Thebes, see *l. 13* in Graefe and Wassef, "Eine fromme Stiftung," 104 Abb. 1, Taf. 17.

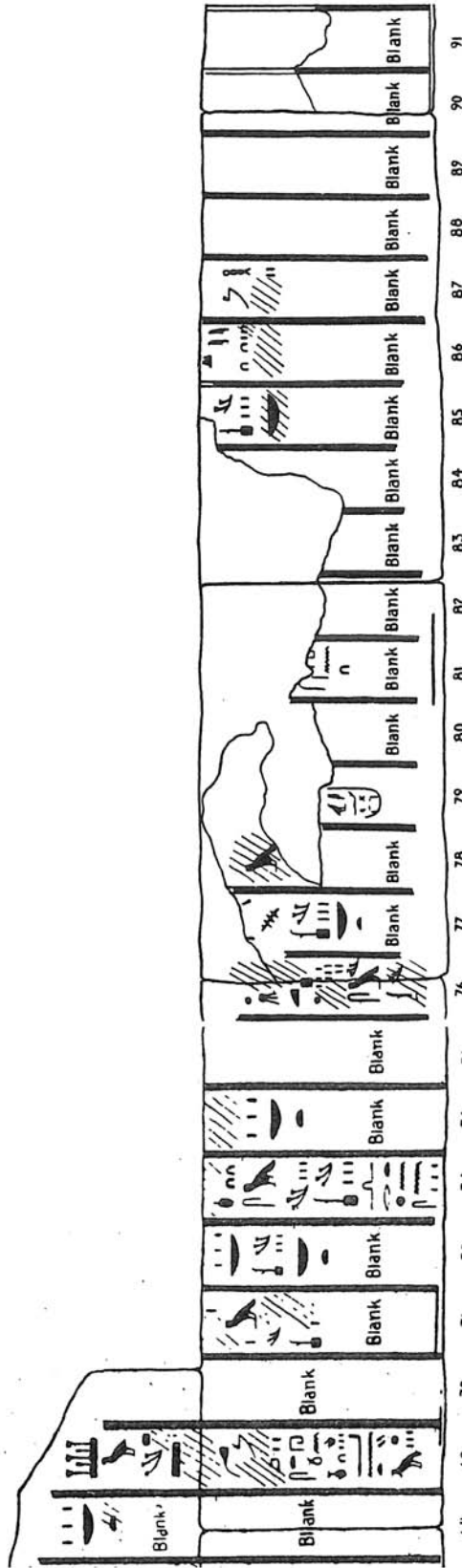



Fig. 34. Section IV of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 68-91. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pls. XXXVIII-XXXIX.



Fig. 35. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 75-86. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Sahel.³⁹⁷ The decorative program of the Sanam temple was also exceptional, for its external walls featured representations of what Griffith judged to be “wild palm-trees and desert herbage on undulating ground.”³⁹⁸ Immediately upstream of the temple near the building dubbed the “Treasury” by Griffith, a structure (SA.K 300) more recently excavated by the Italian mission has been found to contain a heap of elephant tusks among an assortment of vessels and royal sealings, confirming Griffith’s suspicion that Sanam functioned as a depot for goods obtained from farther south.³⁹⁹ However, the vegetal offerings listed in SHI are consistently described as *rnp.w nb.wt* (“every vegetable”) and *sm.w nb.wt* (“every herb”), without any effort at quantification, unlike the vessels listed with them.⁴⁰⁰ The lists do not, therefore, support a theory of regularized taxation of produce—only perhaps of tribute delivered to the temple. On the other hand, the redundancy with which generic *rnp.w* and *sm.w* offerings were listed in cols. 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, and 85 would seem to indicate either that they were delivered on multiple occasions or from separately categorized regions—a conclusion equally suggested by the unused space in cols. 68, 70-72, 74-75, 78, 80, 82-91 (*cf.* discussion in (cc) above). The apparent distinction between *rnp.w* and *sm.w* unfortunately remains unclear.

(tt) The inclusion of  (N 8) among the graphemes written here might be taken to indicate that the substance in question was “dried”; for “dried resin” (*ntyw šw*) written with precisely this grapheme in Taharqo’s Kawa offerings, see Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 6.⁴⁰¹ For a mention of resin earlier in SHI, see col. 69.

III.3.2.5. SHI Section V: A Hearing(?) (Figs. 36-38 and 40)

(92) [...] *tp m* (93) [...] *r-sdm{.t} sdm* (94) [...] *š.t r-ḥft* (95) [...] *dʒis.w* (96) [...] *x +* 57 *kʒ.w 70 ʒpd* (97) [...] = *fwn.(i)n rmt.w nb* (98) [...] *rsy Wʒs.t nfrj.t r* (99) [...] *i[r]p 5* [Spatium] (100-102) [Spatium] (103) [...] *ḥʒbs hn.w* [*x +*] 5 (104) [Spatium] (105) [...] *r snti.t n* [Spatium] (106) [...] 50 [Spatium] (107-109) [Spatium] (110) [...] *n m ḥw.tyw* (111) *m ḥr=f r mr(w).t* (112) [...] *dwʒ[-ntr] n Ḥm=f ḥr-tp ḥḥ (w)dʒ s(nb)* (113) [...] *r Tʒ-Sti* [Spatium] (114-119) [Spatium]

(92) [...] (93) [...] which the audience hall^{uu}(?) heard (94) [...] a long while in front of^{uu}(?) (95) [...] disputants/disputations/incantations(?)^{uu} (96) [...] *x +* fifty-seven [...] seventy oxen, [...] geese (97) [...] he/his [...]. Then the people were [...] (98) [...] south of Thebes until^{vv} (99) [...] five (vessels of) wine (100-102) [...] (103) [...] lamp, [*x +*] five *hn*-measures [...] (104) [...] (105) to the foundation^{ww} of (106) [...] fifty (107-109) [...] (110) [...] with fieldworkers^{xx} (111) [...] in his sight in order to (112) [...] thanking His Majesty on behalf of^{yy} life, prosperity, and health (113) [...] to the Land of the *St-Bow* (114-119) [...]

(uu) Of cols. 92-119, Griffith stated only that there were “some headings or short paragraphs of narrative”; he did not translate these columns or make any remark as to their contents. Consequently, this section of SHI has escaped notice, and it has never been discussed in print. However, it contains surprising elements which certainly merit some comment, however tentative. The orthography of cols. 93-94 is rather spare and cannot be judged without context, but the same is not true of col. 95, where one can easily discern the word *dʒis.w*—“disputations,” “disputants,” or possibly “incantations.”⁴⁰² Within a theological context, the term may refer to the active elements of a god’s speech or the songs of worshippers,⁴⁰³ but just as frequently *dʒis.w* appear within the context of civil dispute. A canonical reference may be found in Ptahhotep’s maxims 2-4, the context of which is potentially revealing for SHI:

³⁹⁷ For palaeo-climatological discussion, see Ch. I n. 3 above.

³⁹⁸ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 94, pl. XXIV 5-6.

³⁹⁹ Vincentelli, “Sanam Abu Dom: An Administrative and Trading District in the Napata Region.” For similar finds in the “Treasury,” see Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 120-121, pl. LVII 8.

⁴⁰⁰ Also included are the obscure *šw*-vegetables(?)—in a fragmentary context in col. 69 and again more clearly in col. 175. In neither case is a number preserved.

⁴⁰¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12. A similar grapheme determines the obscure word *tf* in Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 9 (*loc. cit.*).

⁴⁰² Of the preceding graphemes above *dʒis.w*, Griffith hypothesized upon his site card 32: “woman?”

⁴⁰³ For the former meaning, see the Dream Stela of Tanutamani (Cairo JE 48863), l. 32, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IVa-IV; Sauneron, *Esnā V*, 269. For the latter meaning, see pLeiden T 32, col. III, l. 17, in Stricker, “De Egyptische Mysteryën: Pap. Leiden T 32,” pl. II.

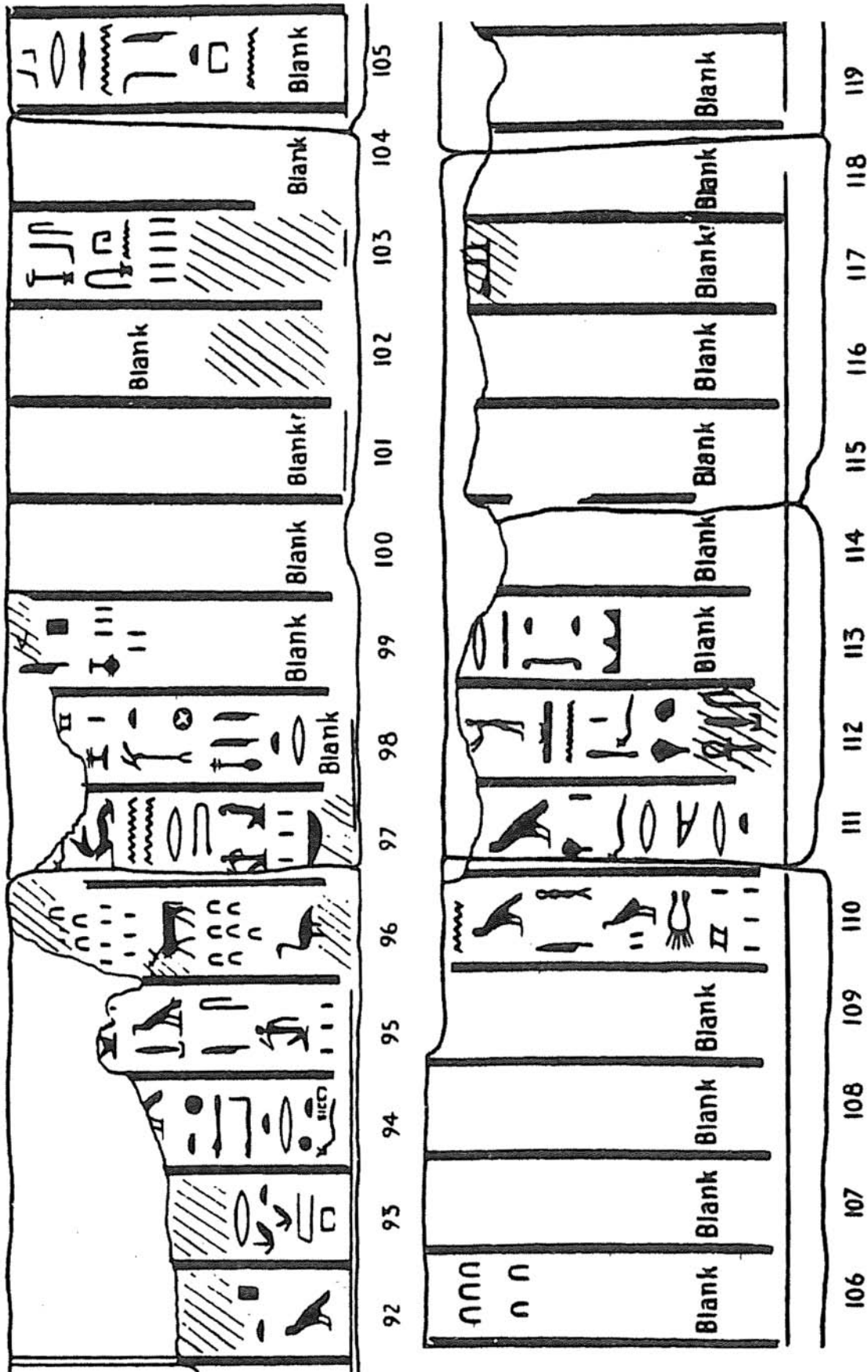


Fig. 36. Section V of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 92-119. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXIX.



Fig. 37. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 90-101. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 38. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 101-112. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

pPrisse col. IV, l. 10–col. V, l. 3 (var. BM 10371/10435):

ir gm=k dʒisw m ʒ.t=f hʀp-ib m iqr r=k hʒm ʿ.wy=k (L2 var. *rmn=k*) *hms sʒ=k m tʒ ib=k r=f nn rmn=f n=k sʿnd=k dd bin m tm hsf sw m ʒ.t=f nis.tw=f m hm-ht pw rmn dʒr-ib=k ʿhʿ.wt=f*


If you find a disputant (*dʒisw*) in action—a powerful man, superior to you—fold your arms, bend your back. Do not ‘take your heart’ against him; he will not stand beside you. You should belittle the evil speech, by not opposing him while he is in action. He will be called a know-nothing. Your self-control will match his pile (of words?).



ir gm=k dʒisw m ʒ.t=f mi.tw=k nty m rmnt=k dd=k hʀp iqr=k r=f m gr iw=f hʀ md.t bin.t wr wʒ in sdm.yw rn=k nfr m rh (L2 var. *ʒh.wy*) *n sr.w*

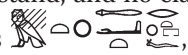
If you find a disputant (*dʒisw*) in action—who is your equal, on your level—you will make your worth exceed his by silence. While he is speaking evilly, there will be much talk by the hearers (*sdm.yw*), your name being good in the mind of the officials (*sr.w*).

ir gm=k dʒisw m ʒ.t=f m hwrw n is mi.tw=k m ʒd ib=k r=f hʀt (var. *rh.ti*) *hss=f imi sw r tʒ hsf=f n=f ds=f m wʒd sw r is ib=k* (var. *m wʒb n=f kʒi m sisy=k*) *m iʿ ib n nty hʀt(.yw)=k* (L2 var. *kʒi m iʿ ib n nty m hʀt(.y)w=k*) *qsn pw hdd hwrw-ib tw r irt nty m ib=k* (L2 var. *ib=f*) *hw=k sw m hsf n sr.w*

If you find a disputant (*dʒisw*) in action—a poor man, not your equal—do not attack him because of how weak he is. Leave him alone; he will confute himself. Do not answer him to relieve your heart. Do not vent yourself against your opponent. Wretched is he who injures a poor man. One will wish to do what you desire. You will beat him through the officials’ (*sr.w*) reproof.⁴⁰⁴

In Ptahhotep’s maxims, the *dʒisw* evidently appears *in foro* before a group of “officials” (*sr.w*) and another of “hearers” (*sdm.yw*)—if the two are not actually synonymous—and it is these individuals who will then issue their “reproof” (*hsf*). Later references to *sdm.(y)w* place them within a judicial setting, leading some to translate the term as “judges.”⁴⁰⁵ The phrase *sdm rʒ*, “to hear a statement” (Malinine: “entendre la déposition”) is also well-attested in documents of cession and indemnification.⁴⁰⁶ In pTurin CG 54031, col. III, l. 8, reference is also made to a *s.t-sdm.yw*, lit. a “place of the hearers”—presumably where such “hearings” of *dʒisw* transpired—and the word is accompanied by the house determinative  (O 1).⁴⁰⁷

The mention of *dʒis.w* in col. 95 of SHI may therefore be of assistance in discerning context for the columns which immediately precede it. In col. 93, we encounter the graphemes  followed by  (*sdm*).⁴⁰⁸ The determinative of the latter would seem to indicate a setting or institution at which “hearing” took place, a conclusion further supported by the possible mention of “disputants” (*dʒis.w*) only two columns later. The translation of “audience hall” has been provisionally suggested here, in concordance with pTurin CG 54031.⁴⁰⁹ The phrase which precedes it is difficult to interpret without context, but it has the form of a Late Egyptian perfect relative/Demotic past relative *r-sdm{t}*, yielding perhaps: “which the audience hall heard.”⁴¹⁰

The column which intervenes is more difficult to understand, and no claim is made here to a definitive solution. Jansen-Winkel has transcribed the sequence as , though he does not appear to

⁴⁰⁴ Jéquier, *Le papyrus Prisse et ses variants*, pls. II-III (pp. 5-6). The Instructions of Ptahhotep begin on col. III of pPrisse (*op. cit.*, 5, pl. II). For possible quotations from Ptahhotep in the Dream Stela of Tanutamani, see Cairo JE 48863, ll. 7, 33, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IVa-IV; cf. Ptahhotep l. 116; Jasnow, “Remarks on Continuity in Egyptian Literary Tradition,” 198 n. 24.

⁴⁰⁵ References given in Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian II*, 102.


⁴⁰⁶ See discussion and suggested restoration of pLouvre E 3228 e (*tempus* Shabaqo), ll. 8-9, *ir pʒ nty iw=f md bn [sdm].ti rʒ=f m [hʒi nb n sh.w]* “As for anyone who will contest (*md*), his deposition (*rʒ*) will not be [heard (*sdm*)] by [any hall of writings],” in Malinine, *Choix de textes II*, pl. V; further discussion in *Choix de textes I*, 41 n. 18. Also pLouvre E 3228 c (*tempus* Taharqo), col. I, l. 24, in Malinine, “Un jugement rendu à Thebes sous la XXV^e Dynastie,” pl. VI.

⁴⁰⁷ Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, pl. III 88, where the term appears with *wsh.wt*, “courts” (*cf. l. 5*).

⁴⁰⁸ For a similarly condensed writing of *sdm sdm* in a title(?) or epithet of obscure meaning, see l. 4 in: Favry, “La double version de la biographie de Sarenpout I^{er},” 220 fig. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ The *sdm* may have functioned similarly to the “hall of writings” (*hʒ n sh*) in which statements were heard (See n. 406 above). As Jasnow has observed of the latter: “This may be an official archive or record office, although the phrase also evokes a court room situation.” Jasnow, “Egypt: Third Intermediate Period,” 792.

⁴¹⁰ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien I*, 376-382 §§596ff.; Černy and Israelit-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 480ff. §§51.1ff.; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 66; Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 118ff.; or *r sdm*=f, “until the audience hall heard.”

have derived this reading from an independent collation of SHI.⁴¹¹ With one significant exception, most of Jansen-Winkeln's transcription of col. 94 is confirmed by an examination of Griffith's unpublished photograph (Fig. 37) and Griffith's site cards in the archive of the Griffith Institute. For instance, the photograph clearly shows the third grapheme in the sequence as a circular form, consistent with any number of determinatives (or conceivably even \ominus); upon his site card 32, Griffith cautiously transcribed only an open circle without any internal marks. Likewise the tiny \square determinative was noted quite deliberately and with some surprise by Griffith upon the same site card: he appears to have first pencilled the determinative directly below the bread-loaf *t*, before erasing it and moving it slightly to the side, inserting a "sic" underneath. *Pace* Jansen-Winkeln, the full sequence of graphemes would therefore suggest rather  *ʒ.t ʒ.t r-ḥft*[...] "[...] a long while in front of [...]" For the writing of the sun-disc determinative as a curretted circle in SHI, *cf.* its appearance after *hrw* in col. 3 above (nevertheless inconsistent with the determinative of *rk* three cols. later). For the expression *ʒ.t ʒ.t*, see *e.g.* the Contendings of Horus and Seth (pChester Beatty I), col. 4, l. 1, in: Gardiner, *LES*, 41 l. 7. For *r-ḥft* (equally *r-ḥft-hr*), see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 133 §178; and with \square as determinative, *Wb.* III: 274.4, 275.17, 276.6. Unfortunately, the precise meaning of the passage here in col. 94 remains obscure without context.

Viewed together, these three consecutive columns (93-95) might be taken to reference some form of judicial hearing, but this proposition must remain highly tentative at best, and in any case the remaining fragments tell us precious little about the dispute involved. Had more of SHI survived, the text might allow productive comparison with the few surviving court records from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—esp. pLouvre E 3228 c and pVienna D 12002.⁴¹² Yet what would surely be more remarkable is that such a matter should be mentioned at all upon the wall of a royal monument. As Jasnow has observed:

While much of the traditional royal vocabulary and iconography remains, the Third Intermediate period kings are often shadowy and, presumably, insubstantial figures. Their role in legal matters is correspondingly minimal.⁴¹³

The matter may have been included within SHI at the Sanam temple because its verdict was delivered by oracle,⁴¹⁴ but the complete lack of context forbids confidence altogether.

(vv) In contrast to Török's interpretation of col. 58 (see (jj) above), there is good reason here in col. 98 to draw a connection to Thebes, as it is explicitly mentioned. For *ḥfry.t r*, "bis zu," see *Wb.* II: 262.13-16.

(ww) The determinative \square suggests here *snt.t* as a writing of *śnt.t*: *Wb.* IV: 179.9-14. F. Ll. Griffith's site card 32 indicates that he clearly perceived the pestle-*t*, though the unpublished photograph (Fig. 38) and Nora Griffith's published transcription show a surprisingly top-heavy grapheme.

(xx) *Wb.* I: 214.7-9. For "fieldworkers" donated elsewhere by Taharqo and Shepenwepet II, see ll. 17 and 24 of the stela commemorating their Theban foundation for Osiris.⁴¹⁵ The preceding phrase ending in *m* likely specified that the temple at Sanam had been supplied "with" fieldworkers; for parallel descriptions of temple staffing at Kawa, see Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 19-21.⁴¹⁶ As no suffix pronoun =*f* intervenes here between *n* and *m*, the subject may be the implied first person singular =*i* of the king's own speech.

(yy) For *ḥr-tp ʿnḥ wdʒ snb*, "on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health" of the king, see: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 135 §178, with reference especially to inscriptions upon the middle colonnade of the southern wall at Deir el-Bahari, as published by Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari* III, pls. LXXVII (second col. from viewer's right), LXXIX (first col. to viewer's right of incense heap).

⁴¹¹ Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 164.

⁴¹² Malinine, "Un jugement rendu à Thebes sous la XXV^e Dynastie"; Menu, "Un document juridique 'kouchite,' Le P. Vienne D 12002."

⁴¹³ Jasnow, "Egypt: Third Intermediate Period," 784; *cf.* Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 635.

⁴¹⁴ Traunecker, "L'appel au divin," esp. 44ff.

⁴¹⁵ Graefe and Wassef, "Eine fromme Stiftung."

⁴¹⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 11-12.

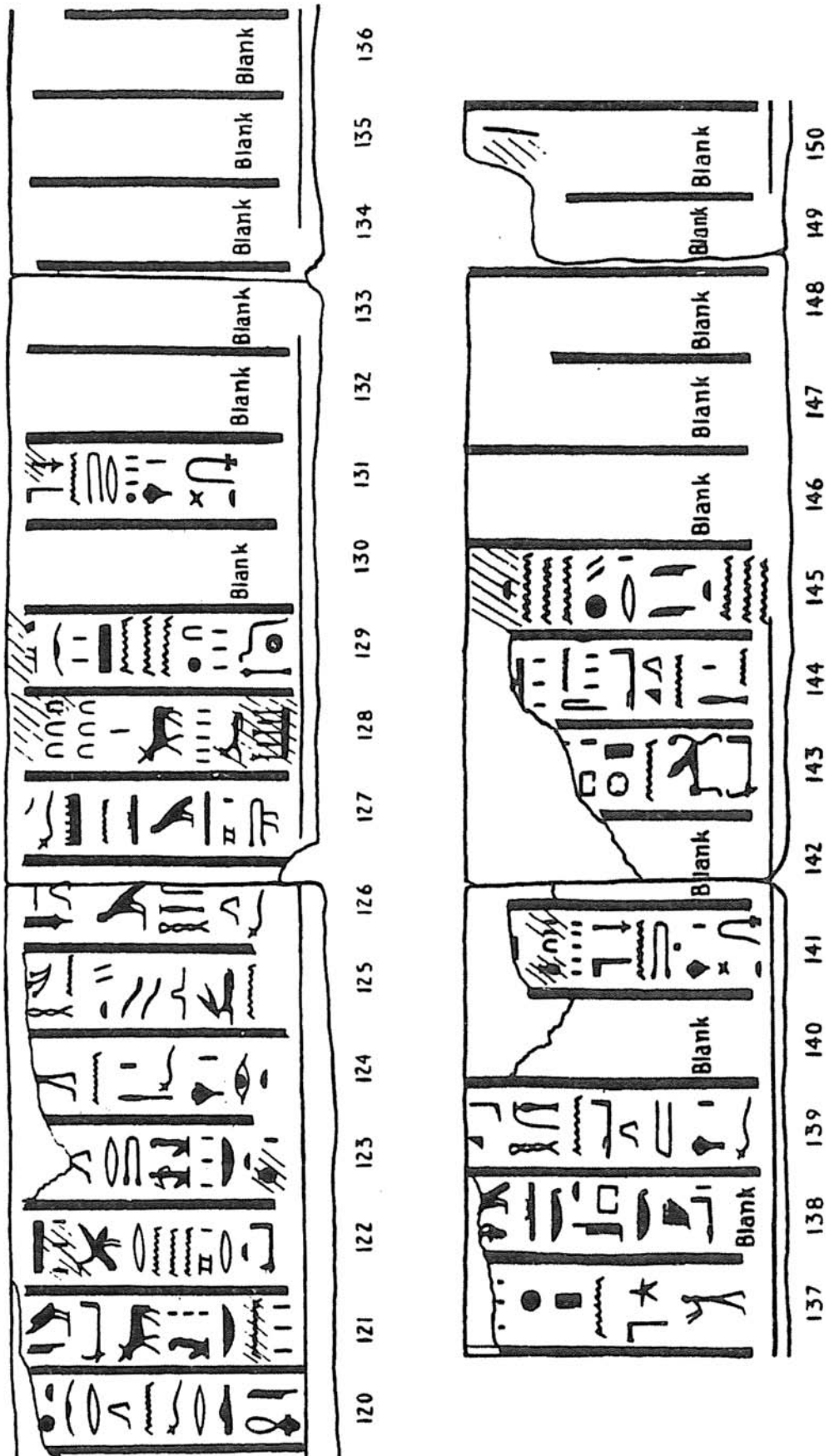


Fig. 39. Section VI of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 120-150. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXIX.



Fig. 40. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 112-123. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 41. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 123-134. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 42. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 134-144. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

III.3.2.6. SHI Section VI: (Punitive?) Visit to a Riverine Town (Figs. 39-42 and 44)

(120) [...] *m-ht spr.n=f r dmi* (121) [...] *iw h3q.(w) ih.w(t)-sh.m.t nb=n* (122) [...] *w p3 r3-mw rd* (123) [...] *rm.t.w nb.w(t) n.w* [...] (124) [...] *in n Hm=f hr irt* (125) [...] *hn.ty n wn* (126) [...] *h.c.(w) m hs=f* (127) [...] *f mn.(w) m t3 it* (128) [...] *x + 6I k3.w 5 iwš* (129) [...] *m 3bd 2 šmw sw 13 hq-* (130) [*t3*] [Spatium] (131) [...] *sntr hr sdt* (132-136) [Spatium] (137) [...] *hrw pn dw3-ntr* (138) [...] *hnm=k s.t=k dr-c* [Spatium] (139) [...] *qbh n.c m hr=f* (140) [Spatium] (141) [...] *17 sntr hr sdt* (142) [Spatium] (143) [...] *pn sdr* (144) [...] *htp=sn c.q.n Hm n* (145) [...] *hyry.t* (146-150) [Spatium]

(120) [...] after he had reached this town (121) [...] ‘Cows have been captured(?),^{zz} our lord.’ (122) [...] the water’s edge^{aaa} [...] (123) [...] all of the people of [...] (124) bringing to His Majesty while making (125) [...] cattle-horns. There [were] not (126) [...] having risen up to meet him/it.^{bbb} (127) [...] his/he [...] having remained in the land. [...] seize[d]^{ccc} (128) [...] *x +* sixty-one, five oxen, [...] porridge-vessels^{ddd}(?) (129) [...] month 2 of Summer,^{eee} day 13, at dawn (130) [...] (131) [...] burnt incense (132-136) [...] (137) [...] today. Praise (138) [...] that might you assume your place long ago. (139) [...] refreshed(?), having gone to him/it^{fff} (140) [...] (141) [...] seventeen [...] -vessels, burnt incense (142) [...] (143) [...] of this [...] laid down^{ggg} (144) [...] their offerings(?). The Majesty of [...] entered (145) [...] wadi^{hhh} (146-150) [...]

(zz) The orthography is ambiguous here, so that three options of variable probability may be entertained: (1) *iw h3q.(w) ih.w.t-sh.m.t nb=n*, “cows⁴¹⁷ have been captured(?),⁴¹⁸ our lord”; (2) *iw3.ywt nb=n*, “female workers, our lord”; (3) *iw3.wt nb=n*, “cows, our lord.” In the first case, the orthography of the verb would be quite spare; in the second, the inclusion of the bull (E 1) would be rather sportive and the meaning would be inconsistent with the cols. 125 and 128 which follow; and in both the second and the third, the inclusion of the arm-with-stick (D 40) would be surprising, particularly before the other determinatives. The photograph confirms Griffith’s transcription as =*n* rather than =*sn*, so that the context of the passage would seem to be that of speech by a collective—presumably the people of the “town” (*dmi*, col. 121). The passage shares several elements with another from Nastasen’s year 8 stela—including the verb *h3q* and mention of both women and cattle, followed by a wickerwork basket (V 30):

di(=i) h3q hm.t nb dbn.t nb.t nbw š3

(I) caused that all of the women, all of the cattle, and much gold should be captured.⁴¹⁹

However, the grammatical context of the passage in SHI appears quite different from that of Nastasen’s text and would therefore caution against facile comparison.

(aaa) *Wb.* II: 391.1, 392, 397. From this fragment, it would appear that the setting of the passage was not far from the riverbank.

(bbb) *Wb.* III: 159.15-17. Cf. discussion of this phrase in: Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 54-55, 65-66, 159-160; see also van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 166 n. 98.

(ccc) The verb *it*, when combined with the phrase *h.c m hs=f* in the preceding col. and enumeration of cattle in the one that follows, might be taken to indicate an aggressive encounter—particularly as the seizure of cattle frequently occurred in later Napatan-era inscriptions as an outcome of punitive raids by the king. If col. 127 described the reclamation of cattle, this might also explain the earlier mention of “cows”

⁴¹⁷ The word for cows could equally be read *mn.mn.t-sh.m.t*, *k3.wt-sh.m.t*, or *iw.t-sh.m.t*. For the feminine of the species written as *-sh.m.t* during this period, see: the cow sold in pVienna D 12002, ll. 4, 8, in Menu, “Un document juridique «kouchite»: le P. Vienne D 12002,” 333 fig. 23; another pair donated to the Osirian foundation of Shepenwepet II at Thebes (ll. 17, 25) in Graefe and Wassef, “Eine fromme Stiftung,” Abb. I, Taf. 17.

⁴¹⁸ Cf.: in Taharqo’s Kawa Temple T the “Libyan Trampling Scene” on back of First Pylon, cols. beneath and behind pictured cattle, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, pl. IX b: *h(3)q.n=f w.t=sn mn.mn.(t)=sn nb.(t) [...] h3q].n=f h3s.wt bšd.w* “He captured all their flocks and herds. [...] He [captured(?)] the foreign lands that had revolted.” See also the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), col. 6, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 17-18, 22-23. Other readings would include *h3* (“inspected”) or *it / t*, (“taken”). See (hh) above and (ccc) below.

⁴¹⁹ Berlin ÄMP 2268, l. 47, in Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III.

in an apparent speech to “our lord” in col. 121. Episodes of this kind at Meroë are recorded in the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote:

Cols. 5-6: *m-hnw* ‘*h.t=f n.t B3-r-w3 m-ht btš.w h3s.tyw sbi.w R<h>rhs r Hm=f iw=sn hr mh.t n sp3.t tn h3q mnmn.t w.t rm rmt nb gm=sn*

... in his palace of Meroë, after the people of the hill-countries, the rebels of Re(h)rehs, revolted against His Majesty, they being on the north of this nome, capturing all the large and small cattle and people they found.

Cols. 21-31: *ibd 3 šmw sw 2 m [dw3.t] ‘h.c.n ii=sn r smiw n [Hm=f dd] h3s.tyw sbi.w nty hr mh.t n sp3.t tn nty iw=sn btš r Hm=f ii=sn [...] sp3.t tn hn.c mnmn.w w.(w)t nb rmt nb ht nb m.c=sn nn rh dnw iry ‘h.c.n dd.n=sn in Hm=f h3s.wt pw nty m phr m sp3.t tn š3=sn r šy [dd.i]n Hm=f mi n=i it=i ‘Imn rd.n=k n=i nsyt m m3.c di=k n=i hpš=k di=k šfy.t [m]-hnw h3s.wt btš.w nty m phr n sp3.t tn ‘h.c.n rd{t} šm mš.c r ‘h3w hn.c=sn wnn[=f] hms m-hnw n ‘h.t=f nn šm=f r=sn ‘h.c.n mš.c n Hm=f ir h3y 3 [im=s]n [...] bh pw ir.n h3s.tyw šhs=sn hr w.r=sn wn.in mš.c in Hm=f hr šm=sn m-hnt=sn hr sm3 im=sn wn.[in] nhn.w nb hm.wt nb.(w)t nty m sp3.t tn hr it h3q.w nb mr=sn n mnmn [...] nb.t*




Third month of Summer, second day, in [the morning]: then they came to report to [His Majesty, saying]: ‘(As for) the rebels of the hill-countries who are on the north of this nome and who have revolted against His Majesty, they are coming [...] this nome with all of (their) large and small cattle, all (their) people, and all (their) property with them, the number thereof being unknown.’ Then they said to His Majesty: ‘It is the hill-countries that are surrounding this nome, for they are more numerous than the sand.’ Then His Majesty said: ‘Come to me, my father Amun, for You have given me the kingship in truth. Give me Your scimitar and put awe of You among the hill-countries that are in revolt and that are surrounding this nome.’ Then the army was sent to fight with them, while he stayed in his palace without going against them. Then the army of His Majesty made a great blood bath among them. [...] Off fled the people of the hill-countries, running away as fast as their legs could carry them. Then His Majesty’s army went after them, making a slaughter among them. Then all the young men and all the women who were in this nome were seizing all the plunder that they wanted in cattle [...] of all kinds.⁴²⁰

For further discussion and references related to Napatan-era cattle raids, see (hh) above.⁴²¹ It is perhaps worth noting that Irike-Amanote’s punitive expedition against the steppe pastoralists occurred during *šmw*, thereby coinciding with the date mentioned immediately after this passage in SHI (see col. 129); if navigation of the cataracts was involved in the trip, it would at least have been easier during that season.⁴²² At present, little is known of Taharqo’s military activity within Nubia, but his inscription upon the Sixth Pylon at Karnak makes reference to previous activities in Nubia as a parallel for his ambitions in Khor:

i ‘Imn p(3) (i).ir=i n p(3) t3 Nhs i.r di[...] imi ir=i sw n p(3y)=k in.w n p(3) t3 n H3r i.cmq r-r=k

O Amun, what I did in the Land of Nehes, ‘grant’[...] let me do it with Your tribute from the land of Khor which is turned away from You.⁴²³

Elsewhere the same inscription specifies the tribute of Nubia as “red cattle, Your *hrp*-cattle, Your oryxes, Your panther skins, [...] Your dom-palm fruit, Your ochre, Your pure sand, You[r . . .], the long dom-palm fronds.”⁴²⁴

(ddd) Association between  (*iwš*) and pots is clearly indicated by the  and  determinatives written repeatedly for this word in SHI cols. 174, 177, and five times in frag. 15.

⁴²⁰ Kawa IX in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-18, 22-23. For discussion, see Vinogradov, “War and ‘charity’ in Kush.”




⁴²¹ Also worth noting is the fact that the inundation is described in Kawa V, l II, as a “cattle thief” (*it k3.w*); this metaphor is used only in the Kawa version, not those from Coptos and Mata’nah. For the passage and later parallels from Edfu and Dendara, see Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 25, 30 n. 31, pls. 9-10. The metaphor also appears in l x + 15 of a stela from Karnak of disputed date: cf. Redford, “Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya”; Revez, “Une stèle inédite de la troisième période intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en Thébaïde?”




⁴²² Cf. Psamtik II’s Shellal stela, col. 1, and commentary in Goedicke, “Campaign of Psammetik II Against Nubia,” 187-198.


⁴²³ Chicago House Epigraphic Survey photograph 8581, as copied and translated in Vernus, “Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I),” II fig. 11, fifth and sixth columns from left. I thank Christina Di Cerbo for providing me with access to the Chicago House Epigraphic Survey’s unpublished photographs of this inscription. A new stela of Taharqo found at Karnak was initially projected to be published by François Leclère in *Cahiers de Karnak* 14; I thank Dominique Valbelle for sharing with me this information. As Leclère’s article is absent from the recently published volume 14, it would appear now to have been postponed until *Cahiers de Karnak* 15.

⁴²⁴ See western part of wall in Vernus, “Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I),” 7 (fig. 6), 9 (fig. 8), 10 (fig. 9).

The choice to be made here is between a translation as “resin,” as “porridge-vessel” (perhaps for porridge beers), or simply as “beer-vessel.”⁴²⁵ Etymological considerations are not decisive. Papyrus Ebers instructs the reader to combine a list of ingredients and “make into one substance, make into *ḥwšš*.”⁴²⁶ That *ḥwšš* could refer to the consistency of a substance, rather than to its precise contents, is equally suggested by homophonic terms within the Afroasiatic phylum; all refer to the act or product of “kneading” or “mixing.”⁴²⁷ The connection between *ḥwšš* and these Afroasiatic lexemes is indeed asserted in the *Wb.* and other lexicographic works,⁴²⁸ but it is unlikely to be the result of a genetic relationship; the Egyptian term’s syllabic orthography and the specific palatal ending used to render it would suggest rather that *ḥwšš* was understood by Egyptian-speakers as a loanword from one of the Semitic languages.⁴²⁹

A translation as “resin” is undermined by considerations of orthography and context: the term  *ḥwš* for “resin” is only very seldom written as  *ḥšš* and Demotic  *ḥwš*.⁴³⁰ Moreover, the *ḥwš* that appears in SHI repeatedly occurs within lists of foods, casting some doubt upon the possibility that it denoted “resin.”

An affirmative case for a translation of  as “porridge” is supported by the contexts in which the term appears elsewhere. A fragment among the Abusir Papyri mentions  that had been donated to Neferirkare’s temple in *ḥwš*-pots;⁴³¹ Posener Kriéger took the contents for “un sorte de pâte ou de brouet comestible,” explaining of the *ḥwš*-pots: “Ce type de vase, généralement à fond pointu, est couramment utilisé pour la bière ou le vin; on observe qu’aucune des matières mesurées en *ḥwš* dans notre document n’est à proprement parler un liquide.”⁴³² In the Onomasticon of Amenemope,  appears within a list of agricultural products, prompting Gardiner to translate the term as “gruel.”⁴³³ Within the Coptic corpus, the term is considerably more common, and its uses are explicitly culinary; pChassinat, for instance, mentions the combination of flour and grapes into an *ooγω*.⁴³⁴ As the term appears five times in SHI frag. 15 (Figs. 48 and 50) within lists of cakes, loaves, dates, grapes, and soaked bread (**bbbb**), a culinary meaning would appear most probable in SHI.

In his unpublished dissertation, Priese asserted in passing that the *ḥwš* mentioned in SHI could be taken as an orthographic variant of the  donated in Tanutamani’s Dream Stela, in Aspelta’s Dedication Stela, and occasionally in Egyptian texts.⁴³⁵ If correct, this theory would increase the probability that the *ḥwš* donated in SHI was indeed a beer-vessel and one common in Kush, and the bread-roll determinative (X 4) which sometimes accompanies *š* could conceivably support Posener Kriéger’s deduction above that *ḥwš* “n’est à proprement parler un liquide.”⁴³⁶ However, Priese’s equation of *ḥwš* and *š* cannot be endorsed with confidence, for the contextual and orthographic similarities are not yet compelling in the present state of the evidence. *š* is consistently coupled with the term *ḥnq.t*, whereas *ḥwš* is not, either in SHI or elsewhere, and the mere fact that both *š* and *ḥwš* occur in lists of food and with the same rather generic vessel determinative is not sufficient grounds to assume that they represented the same item. In terms of orthography, the use of *ḥw* as an allograph for *š* appears to be weakly attested at best in the Kushite corpus; in Priese’s study the *ḥwš* vessel donated at Sanam is the only example given for this phonetic substitution.

⁴²⁵ For *ḥwš* as “resin,” see: *Wb.* I: 6.1; Erichsen, *Glossar*, 2; Johnson, *CDD 3* (02.1): 11; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 3. For *ḥwšš*, *ooγω*, and *ωογω* as “porridge,” see: *Wb.* I: 58.2; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 257a, 533a; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 142. For *ḥwš* proposed as an alternative orthography for an *š* “Bierkrug,” see Priese, *Meroitisches Sprachmaterial*, 197.

⁴²⁶ pEbers col. 62, l. 21, in Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers* I, Taf. LXII.

⁴²⁷ Orel, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, 364 §1676.

⁴²⁸ *Wb.* I: 58.2-3; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte*, 156; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 142.

⁴²⁹ Ehret, *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic*, 253, 529.

⁴³⁰ *Wb.* I: 6.1, 135.13; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 3; Johnson, *CDD 3* (02.1): 12.

⁴³¹ pBM 10735 frame 9 ro., fourth col. from viewer’s right (Compte 51, 2a), in Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. II-Ila.

⁴³² Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï* II, 370, 375-376.

⁴³³ pGolenischeff col. 7, l. 1, in Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, 231*-232* §541; *op. cit.* III, pls. XIII-XIIIa.

⁴³⁴ pChassinat, form. CCXXIX, l. 407, in Chassinat, *Papyrus médical copte*, pl. XIX.

⁴³⁵ Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 197; Cairo JE 48863, l. 9, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IIa-II; Louvre C 257, l. 13, in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3; LD III, 258 a, col. 14.

⁴³⁶ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 159; Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 79.

It would therefore seem safest to take *hwš* as a separate item bearing in SHI the same meaning that it bears in texts from Egypt.

What is particularly interesting, however, is the geographic distribution of this lexeme. In Egypt, it appears only occasionally, and it is not mentioned among any of Taharqo's offering lists at Kawa, nor is a term of this orthography employed anywhere else in the entire corpus of Kushite royal inscriptions north of Sanam,⁴³⁷ but here at the Sahelian border of Egyptian literacy, *hwš* is one of the most frequently donated items in the surviving columns of SHI. The exceptional frequency with which porridge would seem to have been mentioned at Sanam may therefore be compared with the archaeological and ethnographic literature observing the preponderance of porridge-based foodstuffs and especially porridge-beers in Sahelian diets over a very *longue durée*.⁴³⁸ Haaland has proposed that this dietary pattern is likely due to the fact that the invention of pottery in the eastern Sahel anticipated the domestication of cereals there by as much as two millennia—precisely the opposite of the sequence which obtained in Egypt and especially the Near East, with its Pre-Pottery Neolithic phase. As argued elsewhere, this passage in SHI could provide valuable context for attempts to understand the epithets “*hwš*-eater” and “*qmy*-eater,” as used in Egyptian literature to refer to their southern neighbors.⁴³⁹

(eee) Upon his site card 33, Griffith reconstructed the first grapheme as “*m?*” Other passages dated to *šmw* in Kushite inscriptions appear in Taharqo's Dahshur Road Stela (*l.* 1), the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX, cols. 1, 21, and 36), the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864, *ll.* 77, 84, 104-105), Nastasen's Year 8 Stela (Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, *l.* 37), and a Nilometer reading of Shebitqo at the quay of Karnak.⁴⁴⁰ If the foundation of the temple at Sanam was timed like that at Kawa to coincide with the New Year,⁴⁴¹ then the events described here in col. 129 would have been at least many months distant from the temple's foundation. Based upon Egyptian comparanda, there is also little reason to assume that a particular festival corresponded to the date given here.⁴⁴²

(fff) *Cf. Urk. IV, 113.9.*

(ggg) For this orthography, *cf.*: Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek *Æ.I.N.* 1712), *ll.* 2, 4; Taharqo's Coptos stela (Cairo JE 48440, *ll.* 4, 7); Taharqo's Mata'nah Stela (Cairo JE 38269, *ll.* 4, 8); Nastasen's year 8 stela (Berlin *ÄMP* 2268), *l.* 30.⁴⁴³ It should be noted that *sdr* appears in the latter within a context suggestive of a dream oracle.⁴⁴⁴ However, if the meaning is not literal here, then *sdr* may have been used as an inchoative verb.⁴⁴⁵ For the lexemes which precede *sdr*, it would seem that ⊗ should function as a determinative, as the demonstrative pronoun *pn* would modify a masculine noun, not the feminine *nḥw.t*.

⁴³⁷ For other lists from which *hwš*-vessels are absent, see: Dousa, Gaudard, and Johnson, “P. Berlin 6848, a Roman Period Temple Inventory”; Helck, “Maße und Gewichte,” esp. 1203-1205.

⁴³⁸ Dirar, *Indigenous Fermented Foods of the Sudan*; *id.*, “Indigenous Fermented Foods and Beverages of Rural Areas of the Sudan”; Edwards, “Ancient Egypt in the Sudanese Middle Nile”; *id.*, “Sorghum, Beer and Kushite Society”; Haaland, “Africa and the Near East: Pot and Porridge, Bread and Oven”; *ead.*, “Porridge and Pot, Bread and Oven: Food Ways and Symbolism in Africa and the Near East from the Neolithic to the Present”; *ead.*, “Ancient Nubia: A Culinary Cross-Road between Africa and the Near East.”

⁴³⁹ Pope, “Gum-Eaters of Nubia”; Sauneron, “L'Avis des Egyptiens sur la cuisine Soudanaise.” For the literary references in question, see: pKrall 5.2, 5.4-5, 8.1-2, 9.6, in Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 162-163 n. 723, 194, 213, Taf. 5, 8, 9; pBM 604 vo. 3.5, in Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 164-165; pSpiegelberg 15.21 in Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 32 n. 9, Taf. XV.

⁴⁴⁰ Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur,” Taf. 47; Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse,” 57-84; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 17-18, 22-23; Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XVIIIa-XX; Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 38; Legrain, “Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak,” 115 no. 33.

⁴⁴¹ Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek *Æ.I.N.* 1713), *l.* 1, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 13-14.

⁴⁴² *Cf.* Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 104-105 nos. 139-146.

⁴⁴³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 24, 28 n. 6, pls. 9-10; Vikentiev, *La haute crue du Nil*, 19-20, pls. IV-VI; Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. I; Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 37.

⁴⁴⁴ Kormys(c)heva, “Das Inthronisationsritual des Königs von Meroe,” 201 n. 92.


⁴⁴⁵ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 394 §483; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 84ff.

(hhh) If *hyry.t* may be taken here for a writing of *h3r.t* as the determinative would suggest, then it can be related in turn to Demotic *hlt*, Bohairic *Ⲭⲉⲗⲗⲟⲧ*, and Sahidic *Ⲙⲗⲟⲧ*—all meaning “wadi,” “ravine,” or “canal.”⁴⁴⁶

III.3.2.7. SHI Section VII: An Episode at Napata (Figs. 43-45)



(151) [...] *hkr=f m* (152) [...] *hw*.t n.t 'Imn ntr 3 *hri-ib* (153) [*Npt*...]w *hyry.w* (154) [...] 3 *n.n=f hr=f r dw* (155) [...] *shwr*=*tw rn hrw=sn* (156) [...]=*fnb n sf hn.n* (157) [...] 'Imn ntr' 3{.t} *hr-ib Np* (158) [...] *mrr ntr.w* (159) [...] *t*[...]n[...] *nty hn=f hr* (160) [...] *n mw.t* (161) [=f...]w *hr* [Spatium] (162) [...] *tw r^c nb* [Spatium] (163) [...]=*k m hnt* (164) [...]=*sn ii* (165) [...] *n ntr pn m* (166) [...]w=*f r rw.ty* (167) [...] *bnr.wt 'hyr'* (168) [...] *ii(w) mi qd* (169) [=f *m it k3.w* ... *hsfn=f wnm n*] *s3nhm.w* (170) [*r=s*...]

(151) [...] his panoply [...] (152) [...] this [temp]le of Amun, the great god, who resides in (153) [Napataⁱⁱⁱ...] sacrificial cattleⁱⁱⁱ (154) [...] he turned back toward the mountainⁱⁱⁱ (155) [...] May one [curse] the name of their enemy!^{kkk} (156) [...] all of his former [...] then/who [...] assented (157) [...] Amun, the] great [god] who resides in Napataⁱⁱⁱ (158) [...] who love the gods (159) [...] who were together with him, while (160) [...] to [his] mother (161) [...] (162) [...] every day. (163) [...] you [...] while sailing upstream (164) [...] they/their [...] came (165) [...] of this god as/in (166) [...] outside (167) [...] datesⁱⁱⁱ [...] (168) [...] it] having come in [its] entirety (169) [like a cattle thief^{mmm} ... It repelled the voracity of the] locusts^{mmm} (170) [from it ...]

(iii) Griffith's interest in the text evidently returned at this point, for his translation of SHI resumes at col. 151 and continues intermittently thereafter. The stimulus was perhaps an apparent change of setting in the narrative, as several factors combine to indicate Napata as the new scene of action: the reference to the god as *'Imn ntr 3 hr-ib* [...], rather than *'Imn-R^c* or *'Imn-R^c k3 n T3-Sti*, would seem to suggest that the deity in question was not that of Sanam. This inference is then supported by reference to the “mountain” (*dw*) in col. 154 and to “[Amun] the great [god] who dwells in Napata” [*'Imn ntr*] 3{.t} *hr-ib Np* in col. 157. Consequently, it is likely that Napata was already the setting for cols. 152f. Upon his site card 33, Griffith clearly transcribed  at the top of col. 154.

(jjj) The lexeme appears to be preceded by three plural strokes, and thus it is likely to be a simple offering preceded by another. Nevertheless, as a curse is uttered two cols. later (col. 157), it is worth noting that *hyry.wt* can occasionally be used to compare a human enemy to sacrificial cattle.⁴⁴⁷ Consequently, Griffith translated “victims.”⁴⁴⁸

(kkk) In Griffith's estimation, it was this column that showed most clearly what SHI contained—and consequently, what had been lost: “The expression ‘cursed be their names’ in l. 155 shows that the long inscription was not without interesting historical references and the loss of so much narrative and detail of

various kinds is deplorable.”⁴⁴⁹ It would be rather unusual to find  as a determinative for *m*, and no plural strokes appear before the suffix pronoun =*sn*, so *pace* Griffith there would seem little justification for pluralizing the noun(s) in question as either *m.w* or even *hrw.w*. Such grammatical corrections do not, however, diminish the interest of the passage. Römer has recently offered evidence from the Third Intermediate Period suggesting that 3 (*n*) *hrwy.w* had become a military title (“warlord”) among the Libyans;⁴⁵⁰ without further context, a similar reading of  cannot yet be excluded in this passage of SHI.

If the phrase was not simply a formulaic imprecation against future vandals and the like, then it may have condemned an enemy or *persona non grata*, as did Katimala's Inscription at Semna (col. 10):

⁴⁴⁶ *Wb.* III: 232.17; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 396; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 630a; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 311, 366.

⁴⁴⁷ *Wb.* III: 322.8.

⁴⁴⁸ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 103.

⁴⁴⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 104.

⁴⁵⁰ Römer, “Eine Bezeichnung für libysche Warlords?”

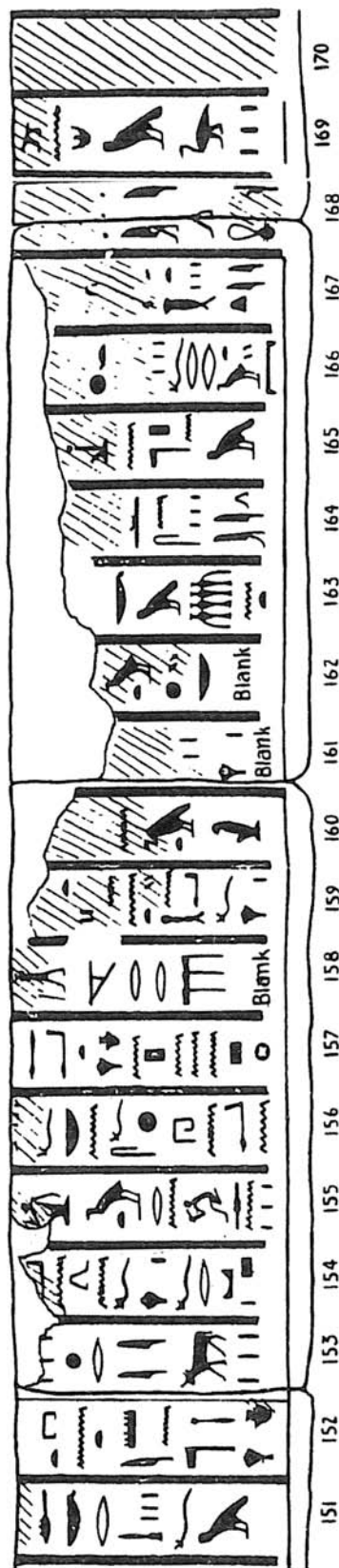


Fig. 43. Section VII of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 151-170. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXIX.



Fig. 44. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 149-160. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.





Fig. 45. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 160-170. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

iw i.iry n3w n rmt nb n niw.t shwr M3-k-3-r-š3 m mn.t

All of the people of the town cursed *M3-k-3-r-š3* daily.⁴⁵¹

That the imprecation in SHI appears to have been issued at Napata (see (iii) above) is at least interesting; the field of Nubian Studies has long entertained speculation about the circumstances which led to the *damnatio* and subsequent restoration of Pi(ankh)y's nomina at Gebel Barkal, but much remains conjecture at present.⁴⁵² Reflecting upon the contrast between *Aspelta's* intact nomina at Sanam and those effaced at Gebel Barkal, Griffith surmised: "For a time at any rate we may gather that the hierarchy of Napata and the court in Contra-Napata [*i.e.*, Sanam] were not on speaking terms."⁴⁵³ Spalinger likewise considered col. 155 suggestive of impiety, noting here that "an intriguing passage mentions blasphemy, but it is too broken to determine whether this section is historically important or not."⁴⁵⁴

(III) For *bnr.wt* as "dates," written with these graphemes in precisely this arrangement but with phonetic complements surviving above, see frag. 15 (cols. x + 1 and x + 6).

(mmm) Though Jansen-Winkel has transcribed  (T 32) at the top of col. 169,⁴⁵⁵ lexicographic context favors a very different interpretation: the avian legs visible at the top of the column would seem to be those of the pintail duck  (G 39), rendering an orthography attested for *s3nhm.w* by the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁵⁶ Mention of "locusts" might at first suggest a metaphor for soldiers, as employed particularly during the New Kingdom.⁴⁵⁷ However, this passage of Taharqo's SHI should also be compared with evidence from Taharqo's other inscriptions—particularly the Kawa and Tanis accounts of the four miracles brought by the flood during the king's sixth regnal year:

hsf.n=f wnm n s3nhm.w r=s

It repelled the voracity of the locusts from it.⁴⁵⁸

Given the frequency with which the high Nile of year 6 was referenced in Taharqo's corpus, it may be suspected that another reiteration was inscribed here toward the close of SHI. If this is so, then the phrase which ended the preceding column (col. 168) might also be completed to approximate the Kawa V version: *ii.(w) mi qd[=f m it-k3.w]*, "having come in [its] entirety⁴⁵⁹ [like a cattle-thief . . .]." The space now missing in SHI at the top of col. 169 would accommodate well the statements which intervened between "cattle-thief" and "locusts" in Kawa V:

*iw.n h'p m it-k3.w b'h.n=f t3 pn r 3w=f nn gm mi.ty=f hr s3.w m rk dr.tyw nn dd sdm=i
m-^c it=i rd.n=f sh.t nfr.t r 3w=s sm3.n=f hddq.w im.ywt-t3 wn m qb=s hsf.n=f wnm n s3nhm.w r=s*

The inundation came as a cattle-thief and flooded this whole land, its like not being found in the writings from the time of the ancestors, nor it being said, 'I heard (of the like) from my father.' It (the inundation) made the

⁴⁵¹ Darnell, *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*, pls. IV-VIII.

⁴⁵² For the most influential entrants in the debate, see: Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1)," esp. 93-100; Yoyotte, "Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II." See also discussion and references related to the alleged murder of Shebitqo in Dallabor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 167-168.

⁴⁵³ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," 79.

⁴⁵⁴ Spalinger, "Foreign Policy of Egypt," 24.

⁴⁵⁵ Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III*, 166. Jansen-Winkel would seem to have been influenced here by the ambiguity of Griffith's published transcription, but clearly not by any examination of Griffith's unpublished photograph.

⁴⁵⁶ *Wb. III*: 461.6. I thank Colleen Manassa of Yale University for providing an unpublished photograph of the relevant passage in Merneptah's inscription.

⁴⁵⁷ Manassa, *Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 74.

⁴⁵⁸ Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), l. 12, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 9-10. For the Tanis Stela (Cairo JE 37488), see l. 2 in Leclant and Yoyotte, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa," pls. II-III, with additional transcription in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 26. For bare initial *sdm.n=f* as a simple past tense statement, see Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 28.

⁴⁵⁹ Upon his site card 34, Griffith clearly transcribed a tall rectangular grapheme such as Aa 28, not the simple reed-leaf (M 17).

entire countryside good. It killed off the vermin and snakes that were in it (the countryside). It repelled the voracity of the locusts from it. . . .⁴⁶⁰

It would therefore appear likely that the Sanam Historical Inscription contained yet another telling of the “goodly wonders” which occurred during Taharqo’s sixth regnal year, as previously attested elsewhere at Kawa, Coptos, Mata’nah, and Tanis.⁴⁶¹ Of the five, this “new” version at Sanam is easily the farthest south.

III.3.2.8. SHI Section VIII: Temple Foundation Ceremony and Offerings (Figs. 46-47)

(171) [...] (172) [...] *hb n w^c w³w* (173) [...] *T³-]Sti h³.t m 'Inb-*hd** (174) [...] *w iwš 1,319* (175) [...] *x + 300 nd.w 100 šw* (176) [...] *x + 6,360 htp.w-ntr* (177) [...] *q]mh 1 iwš 6* (178) [...] *w^h]y-hr-sty.w* (179) [...] (180) [...] *n[...]* *m³[...]*


(171) [...] ⁿⁿⁿ] (172) [...] Festi]val of Stretching the Cord^{ooo} (173) [...] Land of the] *St-Bow*,^{ppp} beginning in Memphis (174) [...] 1,319 porridge-vessels^{ddd} (175) [...] *x + 300* [...] 100 (sacks of) flour(?),^{qqq} vegetable(-oil?) (176) [...] *x + 6,360* [...], offerings (177) [...] one [...] oaf, six porridge-vessels, (178) [...] col]umns-for-brazier-stands^{rrr} (179) [...] (180) [...].


(**nnn**) From col. 170 onward, the numbering scheme employed upon F. Ll. Griffith’s site card 34 departs from that which was later used in Nora Griffith’s published hand-copy, so that the former interposes an extra blank column. Consequently, col. 172 on F. Ll. Griffith’s site card 34 corresponds to col. 171 of Nora Griffith’s published hand-copy. Fortunately, the numbering scheme employed in his published commentary matches the published hand-copy, so it is retained here.

Though some graphemes are visible in Griffith’s hand-copy of col. 171, it would be hazardous to translate them, for Griffith’s visual inspection led him to doubt their connection to the rest of SHI: “The south-west corner is reached between ll. 170-171; the few signs in the latter may be scrawls not belonging to the inscription. A new text may begin at l. 172.”⁴⁶²

(**ooo**) In Taharqo’s Temple T at Kawa, an enigmatic relief scene at the same corner of the forecourt was interpreted by Macadam as a representation of Stretching the Cord.⁴⁶³

(**ppp**) Griffith read “Nemt (?)”.⁴⁶⁴ His justifications are unclear, and, given the context here in the temple of *'Imn-R^c k³ T³-Sti*, there would seem to be little reason to resist a reading of simply [*T³-]Sti* instead.

(**qqq**) Upon F. Ll. Griffith’s site card 34, the corn-measure (U 9) is squared in accordance with  and not nearly so narrow or quite so curved as that transcribed by Nora Griffith for the published hand-copy. However, as the photograph reveals (Fig. 47), Nora Griffith’s rendering is more faithful to the original.

(**rrr**) The column-determinative  (O 29) suggests that “[colu]mns-for-brazier-stands” (*[w^h]y hr(y)-sty.wt*)⁴⁶⁵ may have been the items given here, as such columns were also donated by Taharqo in Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 3, and again in l. 23 of a stela commemorating

⁴⁶⁰ Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), ll. 11-12, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 9-10.

⁴⁶¹ At Karnak, only the high Nile is mentioned in Taharqo’s inscriptions, without the accompanying trio of “wonders.” See: Karnak Pylon VI inscription in Chicago House Epigraphic Survey photograph 8742, top of second col. from viewer’s right, as copied in Vernus, “Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire I,” 3 fig. 1 (block C). I thank Christina Di Cerbo for providing me with access to the Chicago House Epigraphic Survey’s unpublished photographs of this inscription. Another mention of Taharqo’s(?) high Nile may appear in Redford, “Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya,” 189 ill. 1, ll. 14, but cf. the earlier date proposed by Revez, “Une stèle inédite de la troisième période intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en Thébaïde?”

⁴⁶² Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 103.

⁴⁶³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, 70, pl. X a. For temple foundation rituals, see: Montet, “Le rituel de fondation des temples égyptiens”; Letellier, “Gründungzeremonien”; Zibelius-Chen, “Tempelgründung.”

⁴⁶⁴ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 103.

⁴⁶⁵ *Wb.* III: 395.14f.

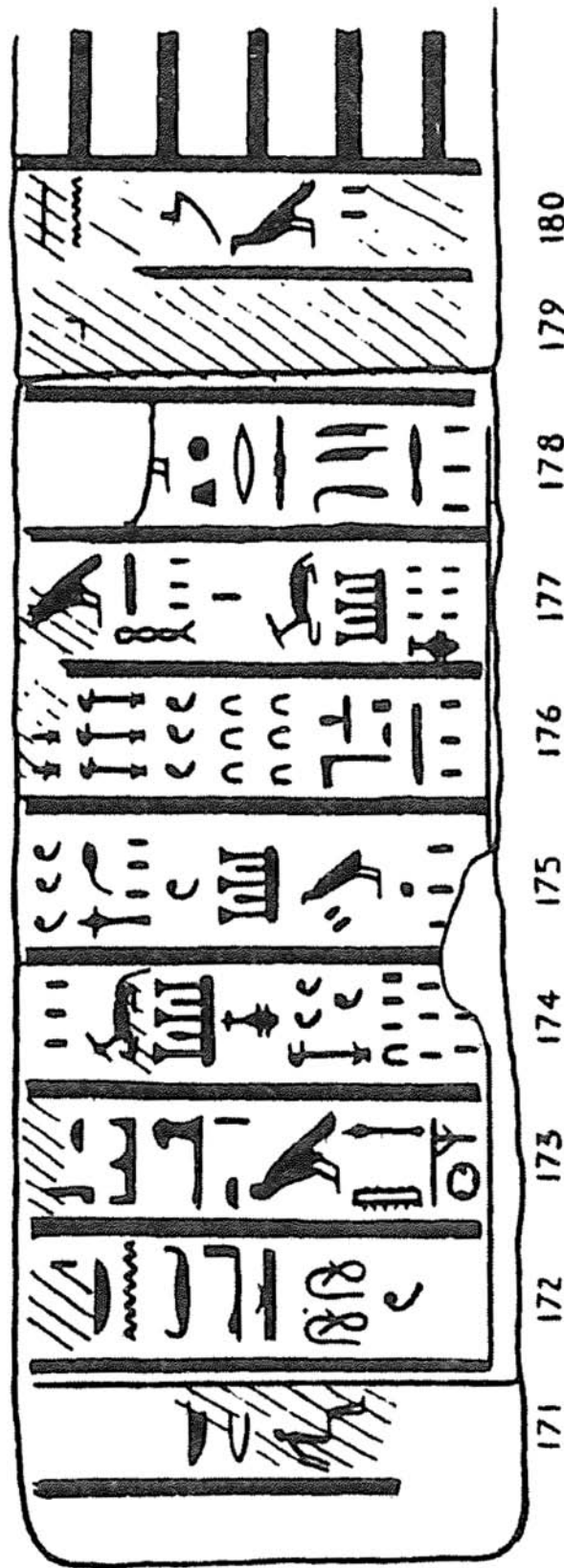


Fig. 46. Section VIII of Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 171-180. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XXXIX.



Fig. 47. The Sanam Historical Inscription, cols. 171-180. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

an Osirian foundation of Shepenwepet II at Thebes.⁴⁶⁶ As Macadam explained, the item was evidently “a column for carrying the small bowl in which the brazier is placed.”⁴⁶⁷ At Kawa, these “columns-for-brazier-stands” were then depicted in relief within the hypostyle hall of Temple T, where they were shown carried by three priests in the ritual procession.⁴⁶⁸ At Sanam, an identical depiction may be seen upon Griffith’s hand-copy of a block which had fallen from the outer face of the south wall just outside of the hypostyle hall; he judged it with some uncertainty as a representation of “three men . . . holding a lighted candle (?)”⁴⁶⁹ In the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 50-51, mention is again made of “brazier stands” (*hr-st.yw*), followed immediately by a “column” (*whꜣ*) with determinative closely matching the relief depictions at Kawa and Sanam.⁴⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the orthography in SHI would be unusual and must therefore be regarded with caution.

III.3.2.9. Additional Fragments from SHI (Figs. 48-50)

Frag. 1: (1) [...] *šmw sw 15* [...] (2) [...] *nꜥ.n=f* [...]

(1) [...] of Summer,^{sss} day 15 [...] (2) [...] he traveled . . .

Frag. 2: (1) [...] *hb-sd* [...]

(1) [...] Sed festival [...]

Frag. 3: (1) [...] *T3-h-r-q [T]mn* [...] (2) [...] *wry.w=s* [...] (3) [...] *T3-h-r-q 'Imn nb [ns.wt t3.wy. . .]*

(1) [...] Ta]harqo. [A]mun [...] (2) [...] its door-posts^{ttt} [...] (3) [...] Ta]harqo. Amun, Lord of [the Thrones of the Two Lands . . .]

Frag. 4: (1) [...] (2) [...] *Mr Nmty-m-sꜣ=f* [...] (3) [...]

(1) [...] (2) [...] Canal-of-]Nemtyemsaf^{uuu} [...] (3) [...]

Frag. 5: (1) [...] *t=f* [...] (2) [...] *hw.t n ntr pn hr* [...] (3) [...] *f r=s m 'Inb-ḥd* [...] (4) [...] *dbn 10 s* [...]

(1) [...] his [...] (2) [...] temple] of this god upon [...] (3) [...] he [...] it in Memphis^{vvv} (4) [...] ten deben [...]

Frag. 6: (1) [...] (2) [...] *irt.n=f* [...] (3) [...] *'Imn-Nṯw.t* [...]

(1) [...] (2) [...] which he made [...] (3) [...] Amun of Thebes(?) [...]

Frag. 7: (1) [...] *ḥt-t3.wy 'Imn-rꜣ kꜣ [n T3-Sti . . .]* (2) [...] *qd* [...]

(1) [...] Memphis^{www}, Amun-Re, Bull [of the Land of the St-Bow . . .] (2) [...]

Frag. 8: (1) [...] *imn-rn=f ḥꜥ* [...] (2) [...] *wd.n=f* [...]

(1) [...] He-whose-Name-is-Hidden^{xxx}, having appeared [...] (2) [...] he decreed [...]

Frag. 9: (1) [...] *.n=f ḥꜥ* [...] (2) [...] *.n=f* [...]

(1) [...] he [...] having appeared [...] (2) [...] he [...]

Frag. 10: (1) [...] *ḥ.w r sꜥ ḥd ʿ* [...]

(1) [...] garlands to brighten(?) [...]

⁴⁶⁶ Graefe and Wassef, “Eine fromme Stiftung,” 104 Abb. 1, Taf. 17; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12. Brazier-stands alone may also be found in Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 8: *op. cit.*, pls. 5-6.

⁴⁶⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 37 n. 13.

⁴⁶⁸ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa II*, pl. XV c; see also *op. cit.*, pls. XIV b, LIII a.

⁴⁶⁹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 97, pl. XXIX 1.

⁴⁷⁰ Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XVa-XV.

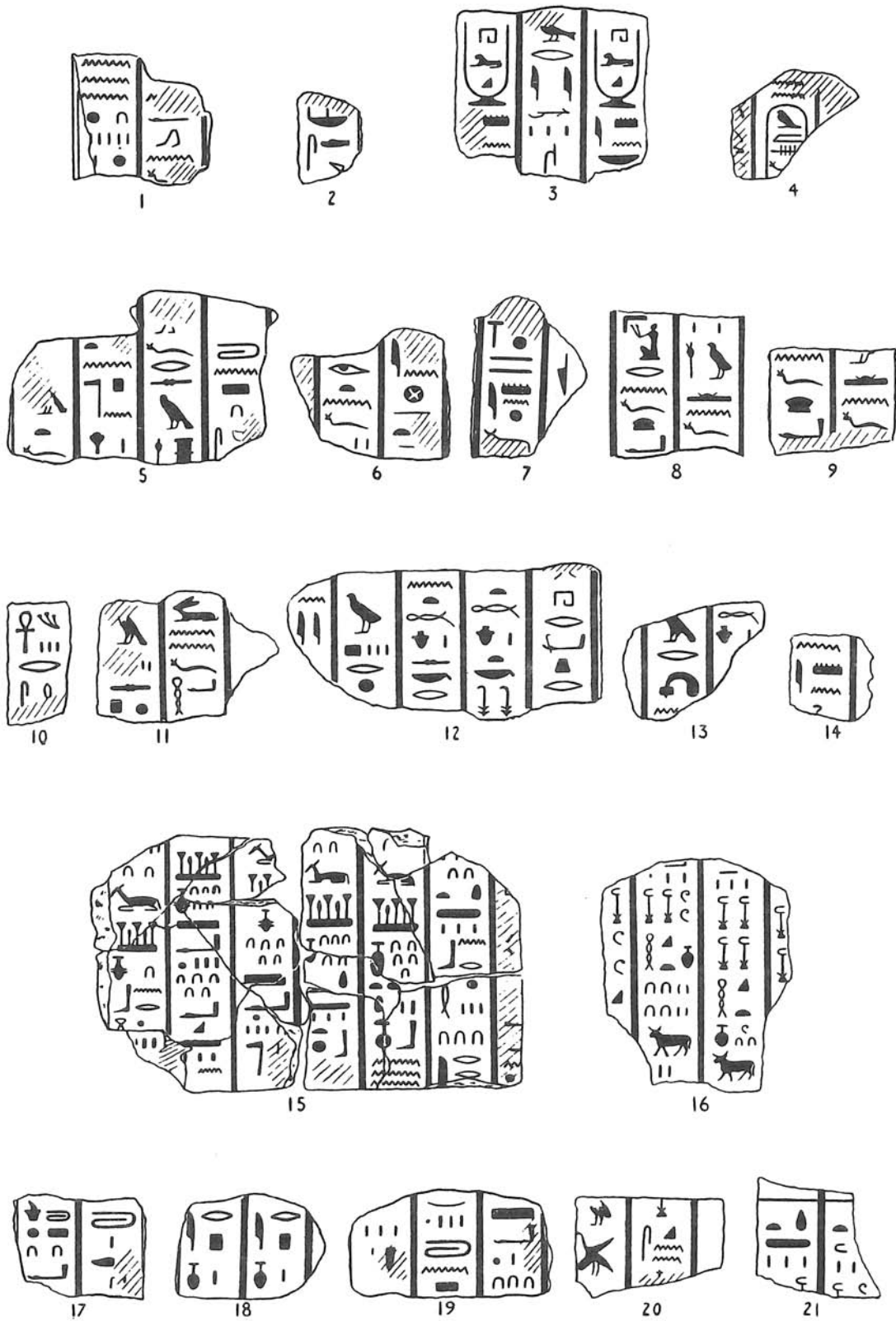


Fig. 48. Nora Griffith's hand-copies of Sanam Historical Inscription, Frags. 1-21. After Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XL.



Fig. 49. The Sanam Historical Inscription, Frag. 4 (OAM 1922.158). © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.



Fig. 50. The Sanam Historical Inscription, Frag. 15. © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

Frag. 11: (1) [...]m[...] sp [...] (2) [...] wnn=fh^{cc} [...] (3) [...]

(1) [...] occasion [...] (2) [...] he is joyful [...]

Frag. 12: (1) [...]n y[...] (2) [...]w rh [...] (3) [...] n{t} mh-ib Skr[...] (4) [...]n]{t} mh-ib t-k-n[...] (5) [...]hr hr [...]

(1) [...] (2) [...] knew (3) [...] trusted^{yyy} [...] Sokar[...] (4) [...] trusted^{yyy} [...] taken[...] (5) [...] under [...]

Frag. 13: (1) [...] imy-r³ sd³.wty n [...] (2) [...] nt] mh-ib [...]

(1) [...] Overseer of the Seal of [...] (2) [...] trusted^{zzz} [...]

Frag. 14: (1) [...] n 'Imn [...] (2) [...]

(1) [...] of Amun [...] (2) [...]

Frag. 15: (1) [...] x +] 30 iwš 10 bnr.wt [...] (2) [...] iw]š 50 š^c.w 50 ^cq.w n [...] (3) [...] iwš 50 š^c 10 [htp.w-n]tr [...] (4) [...] x +] 20 iwš 50 t thb[w m...] (5) [...] x +] 10 iwš 50 t thb[w m...] (6) [...] x +] 20 t bnr.wt 30 irr[t...] (7) [...]n[...]

(1) [...] x +] thirty [...] ten porridge-vessels,^{aaaa} dates [...] (2) [...] fifty [por]ridge-vessels, fifty cakes, loaves [...] (3) [...] fifty porridge-vessels, ten cakes, [...] offering[s...] ^{bbbb} (4) [...] x +] twenty [...], fifty porridge-vessels, bread soaked^{bbbb} [in...] (5) [...] x +] ten [...] fifty porridge-vessels, bread soaked^{bbbb} [in...] (6) [...] x +] twenty [...] bread, thirty dates, [...] grapes^{cccc} [...] (7) [...]

Frag. 16: (1) [...] x +] 1,200 [...] q [...] (2) [...] 2,200 hnq.t 60 k³.w [...] (3) [...] 4,000 hnq.t 120 k³[...] (4) [...] x +] 2,000 [...]

(1) [...] x +] 1,200 [...] (2) [...] 2,200 [...] sixty (jugs of) beer, [...] oxen^{dddd} [...] (3) [...] 4,000 [...] 120 (jugs of) beer, [...] oxen [...] (4) [...] x +] 2,000 [...]

Frag. 17: (1) [...] dbn 20 ^c[q...] (2) [...] dbn [...]

(1) [...] deben, twenty lo[aves...] (2) [...] deben [...]

Frag. 18: (1) [...] irp [...] (2) [...] irp [...] (3) [...]

(1) [...] wine [...] (2) [...] wine [...] (3) [...]

Frag. 19: (1) [...]w (2) [...]w dbn [...] (3) [...] š^c [x +] 30 [...]


(1) [...] (2) [...] deben (3) [...] cakes [x +] thirty [...]


Frag. 20: (1) [...]w p³ [...] (2) [...] 1,000 sqnn [...] (3) [...]

(1) [...] the [...] (2) [...] 1,000 [...] oil [...] (3) [...]

Frag. 21^{eeee}: (1) [...] t [...] x +] 1,000 (2) [...] x +] 2,000 [...]

(1) [...] x +] 1,000 loaves of bread [...] (2) [...] x +] 2,000 [...]

(sss) For another event in SHI dated to šmw, see discussion of col. 129 in (ccc) and (eee) above. Upon his site card 35, Griffith clearly transcribed the top of this column as .

(ttt) The reference here to “door-posts” wr.yw(t) would suggest that it may have derived from the narrative of temple construction in Section I of SHI. For the preceding col. (x + 1) of frag. 3, Griffith’s site card 36 clearly shows that the graphemes  were confined to the right side of the col., strongly suggesting T³-h-r-q [T]mn—precisely as written in col. x + 3 of that same fragment.

(uuu) Frag. 4 was the one piece of SHI which Griffith saw fit to remove to Oxford (now OAM 1922.158). He stated of the fragment:

In it occurred the cartouche Methesuphis (?) on fragment 4, doubtless referring to the fourth king of the Sixth Dynasty. This king received at Elephantine the homage of the Nubian princes and it was in his reign that Herchuf made his long and eventful journeys in Nubia. Unhappily the cartouche is on a very small fragment and its context is wholly lost; it is not preceded by any royal title; we might perhaps read [w]nm . . . M . . . —m-s'f [m'²-hrw] “which [the deceased] Methesuphis had . . .” But more probably we should take the two characters before the cartouche as belonging to a place-name or geographical expression such as Water-, River-, or Channel-of-Methesuphis. Such may well have been a name in Nubia itself, comparable to the ‘Residence of Amenemmes’ named on a block of Ethiopian workmanship in the citadel of Old Merawi on the right bank.⁴⁷¹

It will be immediately recalled that, according to Weni’s autobiography (Cairo CG 1435, cols. 45-46), the five canals commissioned by Mernere Nemtyemsaf⁴⁷² were sited in Upper Egypt (Šmꜥw)—not Nubia.⁴⁷³ In Nubia itself, inscriptions firmly datable to Mernere’s reign have been discovered in the First Cataract region, but farther south only a single vessel fragment attests his name at Kerma.⁴⁷⁴ However, Weni also recounts that the king sent him to *Ibhꜣt* to bring the royal sarcophagus (Cairo CG 1435, cols. 37-38).⁴⁷⁵ According to Sethe, Weni’s description does not require that *Ibhꜣt* itself was a quarry, but merely that it was the port town from which that quarry could be accessed.⁴⁷⁶ Consequently, Mernere may have stationed ledgemen at a riverine site called *Ibhꜣt* whose banks or adjacent wadis could very well have been commemorated by Taharqo’s scribe(s) as the “Channel-of-Nemtyemsaf” or similar. Under this scenario, the possible identifications of the apparent toponym referenced in SHI frag. 4 would be determined by the location of *Ibhꜣt*—still a contentious issue in Old Kingdom studies. While Sethe envisioned *Ibhꜣt* as a site in the Second Cataract region, Lucas, Boreux, and Säve-Söderbergh have argued that only the First Cataract region would provide the appropriate stone for Mernere’s sarcophagus.⁴⁷⁷ In either case, SHI would then refer to a Lower Nubian region—not an uninteresting possibility, given the toponymic issues at stake especially in Section I (see esp. (i) above).

If, however, one is willing to entertain the possibility that the “Channel-of-Nemtyemsaf” was merely one visited by *Harkhuf* during his famous journeys to Yam, then the available identifications expand much farther afield—into Upper Nubia or beyond, depending upon one’s interlocutor.⁴⁷⁸ It is therefore very unfortunate that the present fragmentary condition of SHI has prevented it from clarifying in any way such important questions of both Old Kingdom and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty history.

(vvv) Memphis (*Inb-hꜣ*) is also mentioned in col. 173 and frag. 7 (www). In neither case is it clear that Memphis was actually the setting for the actions recounted. Of the passage in col. 173, Spalinger judged that it “apparently delimits the extent of Taharqa’s domain.”⁴⁷⁹

(www) On his site card 35, Griffith pencilled above his transcription of this column the phrase “*nh-tꜣ.wy?*” and then later crossed out his own question mark. It has been proposed that *s^hnh-tꜣ.wy* may have functioned as an alternative *Nb.ty*-name within Taharqo’s titulary,⁴⁸⁰ as a large fragment of relief inscription from the hypostyle entrance of this temple at Sanam mentioned a “[. . .] *s^hnh-tꜣ.wy Hr-nb Hw-tꜣ.wy*

⁴⁷¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” 104.

⁴⁷² So von Beckerath, who argues that the Greek rendering *μενθεσουφίς* would more likely result from a metathesis of *Nmty-m-sꜣ=f* than of *nty-m-sꜣ=f*. See von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 62 n. 7.

⁴⁷³ Photograph in Ziegler *et al.*, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 186-187.

⁴⁷⁴ Zibelius(-Chen), *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen*, 5; *PM* V, 246, 248; Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, 508 fig. 343 19.

⁴⁷⁵ Ziegler *et al.*, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 186-187.

⁴⁷⁶ Sethe, *Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen*, 49-50.

⁴⁷⁷ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 56; Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne*, 127; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 23 n. 11, 159.

⁴⁷⁸ For overview and bibliography, see O’Connor, “Locations of Yam and Kush and Their Historical Implications.” For recent discussion, see: Obsomer, “Les expéditions d’Herkhouf (VI^e dynastie) et la localisation de Yam”; Morai, “Descubierto el Reino de Yam”; Clayton *et al.*, “Hieroglyphic Inscription found at Jebel Uweinat mentioning Yam and Tekhebet.”

⁴⁷⁹ Spalinger, “Foreign Policy of Egypt,” 24.

⁴⁸⁰ For discussion of this and other possibilities, see Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 213-214.

hknw [...]”⁴⁸¹ Nevertheless, the context here in this fragment of SHI suggests a toponym rather than a prenominal; see *Wb.* I: 203.13.

(xxx) For this epithet as applied to Amun and other deities, see Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* I, 343-344. Within the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty specifically, Tanutamani’s Dream Stela refers to Amun as “He-whose-Name-is-Hidden-from-the-Gods” (*imn rn=f r ntr.w*) and states that “they brought him garlands for He-whose-Name-is-Hidden” (*in.n=sn n=f nhy n imn rn=f*).⁴⁸² For garlands, cf. SHI frag. 10 above.

(yyy) The phrase *n{t} mh-ib* (“trusted”) in two consecutive cols. of frag. 12 suggests a list of officials, an inference further supported by the juxtaposition in frag. 13 of another *mh-ib* with an *imy-r3 sd3w.ty* in adjacent columns. In Aspelta’s Enthronement Stela (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 3-4, the phrase *n{t} mh-ib* is used repeatedly to characterize officials of various kinds:

isk ir=f wn ts.w n{t} mh-ib m-q(3)b mšc n.w Hm=f s 6 iw wn ts.w n{t} mh-ib imy-r3 htm s 6 isk ir=f wn imy.w-r3 t t n{t} mh-ib s 6 isk wn sry.w imy.w-r3 htm.w n{t} pr-nsw.t s 7

Now, there were trusted commanders among the army of His Majesty: six men; there were trusted commanders (who were) overseers of fortresses: six men; there were trusted overseers of crews: six men; and there were officials (who were) overseers of the royal treasury: seven men.⁴⁸³

In Taharqo’s Dahshur Road Stela, mention is also made of a *mšc n mh-ib*:

ds nsw.t wd3=f r B3 r m3 nfr.w=f [i]w=sn mi iw 3w.w mi dr.tyw hwy m dn3.wy=sn mšc n mh-ib m-cb ktk n{n} tn=sn r=sn

The King himself, he proceeds to *B3* in order to see his recruits when they [arr]ive like the coming of the winds, like kites who flap their wings. (As for) an elite force (lit., ‘trusted army’) with fast runners,⁴⁸⁴ they (*i.e.*, the elite force) are no more distinguished than they (*i.e.*, Taharqo’s recruits).⁴⁸⁵

The apparent reference to officials here in SHI, frags. 12-13, would further suggest that both could have derived from the final columns of Section I (c. cols. 24-27), where two other references to *imy-r3* [...] appear. In the case of frag. 12, the elements which follow (*Sk*[...], *t-k-n*[...]) may have described at least one religious office or theophoric name related to Sokar.⁴⁸⁶

(zzz) See preceding note.

(aaaa) The redundancy of *iwš.w*, *bnr.wt*, and *šc.w(t)* as offerings in consecutive columns would again suggest that several regions or dates of donation were involved. See also (cc) and (ss) above. The types of offerings given here in frag. 15 match most closely those given in cols. 174-177, but also more briefly in col. 128.

⁴⁸¹ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” III, pl. XXVI no. 13; see also his site card 56 at the Griffith Institute Archive.

⁴⁸² Cairo JE 48863, ll. 10, 13, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. II-IIa.

⁴⁸³ Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Demotic *gtgt* in Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 594; *gtg* in *CDD g* (25 May 2004): 04:1, 77. See also discussion of $\kappa\tau\omicron\kappa$ in: Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 65-66; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 469 (* $\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon$); *ktkt* in *Wb.* V: 146.1-6. By contrast, Altenmüller and Moussa read “Ausrüstung.” Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse,” 66 and 71-72. The term is left untranslated in: Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur,” 336; *FHN* I, 161.

⁴⁸⁵ Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur”; Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse.”

⁴⁸⁶ *PN* I, 298 nos. 8-12. Ranke documents no theophoric names related to Tekenu: cf. *op. cit.*, 383 nos. 3 and 17. On the phonemic sequence *t-k-n* as a possible Meroitic element, see Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 142; *id.*, “Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter,” 188. As Priese notes, the sequence is included not only in the name of Iriketkana, a Kushite official in Thebes, but also appears twice in REM 1044 (*tempus* Taneyidamani = late second century BC), ll. 4, 130, in Leclant *et al.*, *Répertoire d’épigraphie méroïtique* III, 1462-1465. For *tkn* as both the beginning of an Egyptian personal name and as a possible title (“petitioner?”), see the Donation(?) Stela of Ankhnesites (Cairo JE 37888), ll. 4, 6, in Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 573-574.

(bbbb) For the reconstruction of *htp.w-ntr* at the bottom of col. 3 of frag. 15, cf. col. 176 of the main inscription above (Figs. 46-47). For *tḥb* as “soak” or “steep,” see: *Wb.* V: 326.1-11; Erichsen, *Glossar*, 653-654; *CDD T* (12:1): 286, 288-290. For the stative form, see esp. Case 2 of the Kahun Medical Papyrus (pUC London 23057), col. 2, l. 8, in Quirke, *UCL Lahun Papyri*, 60, and the following images provided on the book’s enclosed CD: T32057col2r.tif and UC32057-page1+2-f-CE-LE.jpg.

(cccc) Cf. Coptic ελοολε.⁴⁸⁷

(dddd) Enumeration of cattle also appears in cols. 96, 128, and possibly 153.

(eeee) The final fragment is actually quite instructive, as it is the only one which reveals a horizontal dividing line intersecting the column-divider; it may therefore be inferred that at least some of the offerings in SHI were enumerated, not in continuous sequence, but in the compartmentalized format of a ledger.

III.3.3. Summary of the Sanam Historical Inscription

As argued in (a) and (ii) above, the Sanam Historical Inscription in its original state was quite possibly the longest of all the Kushite royal texts—including not only Twenty-Fifth Dynasty comparanda, but also those of the later Napatan and Meroitic eras. Though it has often been limned as simply “un long texte relatant la construction et la consécration du temple,”⁴⁸⁸ a close examination of even its fragmentary surviving contents reveals a much more diverse range of subject matter. The inscription is annalistic in nature,⁴⁸⁹ recounting several different types of events, some with attached datelines (eee and sss). Of particular interest to historians of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty will be the apparent retelling of Taharqo’s celebrated narrative of the “four goodly wonders” within the final columns of SHI (mmm), an element which evidently escaped Griffith’s notice during his brief treatment of the text. Equally significant but more enigmatic are the possible references to “disputants(?)” within Section V of the inscription (uu), the mention of seized cattle in Section VI (zz and cc), and the imprecation uttered at Napata in Section VII (iii and kkk). The lack of a thoroughgoing translation and annotation of SHI has thus far rendered these details inaccessible to historians. Instead scholars have relied upon Griffith’s cursory translation from 1922 of a few selected passages in SHI, resulting in the popularization of certain arguments which the inscription itself does not convincingly support. Foremost among these is Morkot’s conclusion that SHI narrated a trip to Sai Island during which Taharqo’s crew dismantled older New Kingdom cults to equip the new temple at Sanam; as demonstrated above (i and q), such a scenario is difficult to reconcile with the details and context of SHI.

It should also be noted that the Sanam Historical Inscription is, in the current state of our knowledge, the southernmost historical narrative ever composed in Egyptian hieroglyphs.⁴⁹⁰ This geographic context, too, yields details of considerable interest, including a list of vegetal offerings to the temple that is unparalleled in other Kushite royal texts (ss), an otherwise unattested vessel-type which would seem to be intended for porridges or porridge-beers (ddd), and a categorized enumeration of peoples who appear to have been not only conquered by Taharqo but also donated by him to the temple within a list of offerings (bb-ii). This last inclusion is of cardinal importance, for it resonates with the larger Kushite inscriptional corpus from Taharqo’s reign, and it was then echoed by the later Napatan kings Anlamani, Irike-Amanote, Harsiyotef, Nastasen, Sabrakamani, and perhaps equally by the kings and queen regents of the Meroitic period. As a result, SHI provides a unique, if fragmentary, window into the mechanisms of *Kuschitenherrschaft* in Kush itself. For all of the reasons cited above, one must therefore emphatically

⁴⁸⁷ Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 34; *Wb.* I: 32.

⁴⁸⁸ Leclant, “Taharqa,” 158; see also: Dallibor, *Taharqa: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 211; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 55.

⁴⁸⁹ For a definition of the genre, see Gozzoli, *Writing of History in Ancient Egypt*, 6.

⁴⁹⁰ One might also include Aspelta’s Dedication Stela from Sanam, though its contents are more those of a redacted administrative document than a narration of past events. See Louvre C 257 in Schäfer, “Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre,” Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 1A-4B.

reject Wolf's dismissive remark about the Sanam Historical Inscription that "historisch und sprachwissenschaftlich ist sie kaum aussagekräftig."⁴⁹¹ Such a judgment has gone unchallenged precisely because the Sanam Historical Inscription has remained untranslated, un-annotated, and unpublished for the past century since its discovery by Griffith.

It must be remembered that the Kushite royal texts most familiar to modern scholars (*e.g.*, Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela, Taharqo's Kawa V, and Tanutamani's Dream Stela) were not necessarily those most consulted by later generations of Kushites themselves. The Sanam Historical Inscription likely surpassed all three in length and diversity of subject matter; it spanned the greater part—if not the entirety—of a c. 120 m² wall; the forecourt in which it was displayed was home to an active cult for the next two centuries;⁴⁹² and its influence can be traced in later inscriptions of the Napatan and Meroitic eras. Its subsequent deterioration and scholarly neglect merely underscore the potential distance between ancient and modern understandings of the past.

III.4. Post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Inscriptions and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Administration

The middle of the seventh century BC brought the expulsion of the Kushite dynasts from Egyptian soil at the hands of Assyria, resulting in a dramatic contraction in the geographic scope of Kushite suzerainty.⁴⁹³ Just a few decades later, Egypto-Kushite relations turned to outright hostility under Psamtik II, producing threats to the territorial sovereignty of Kushite kings at their very borders—and possibly deeper into Kush itself. (See discussion and references in Ch. III.3.2.1 (i) above.)⁴⁹⁴ As argued in Chapter II, the same period yields the earliest identifiable monuments constructed for the Kushite royal family at Meroë, perhaps reflecting a larger effort at southward expansion into the Butana Steppe. The political tumult of the late seventh century BC would therefore warn against any casual assumptions of political continuity between the reign of Taharqo and the subsequent post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or "Napatan" era. This consequence is all the more unfortunate, because the inscriptions of the Napatan era provide a relative abundance of precisely that information which was missing from the preserved record of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: a bureaucracy of named and titled officials in Kush (*cf.* Ch. III.1 above).

Yet the two corpora of historical evidence cannot be separated entirely, for there are both direct and indirect references to Twenty-Fifth Dynasty administration within the *post*-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty corpus. The most obvious of these appears in Aspelta's commemorative stela for a certain "Mayor of Kanad, the royal bodily son of Pi(ankh)y, justified: Khaliut, justified."⁴⁹⁵ Aside from this singular attestation, there are no surviving examples of a "mayor" (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ*) in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Kush, yet the historicity of the man cannot be reasonably doubted, for his generation was separated from that of his commemorator, Aspelta, by no more than a few decades.⁴⁹⁶ A much broader series of links between the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty administration and their successors is manifested in the repeated emphasis upon hereditary succession in the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty corpus. After installing a Third Prophet of Amun at Kawa, Anlamani would emphasize: "As for this office which I gave to you, it belongs to your relatives (*mh3.w*) forever and ever."⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹¹ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 140 n. 108. Similarly, Spalinger has concluded of Sanam, perhaps prematurely, that "the inscriptions from that site . . . contain little that is historically important to our knowledge of the foreign policy of Taharqa." Spalinger "Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest," 24. In the most recent gazetteer of ancient Nubia, Sanam is not among the forty-eight sites which receive their own gazetteer entries: Fisher *et al.*, *Ancient Nubia*.

⁴⁹² Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanschen Gesellschaft*, 298; *contra* Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 297, who would postulate a much longer period of cultic use.

⁴⁹³ For the timetable involved, see Vittmann, "Zwei Priestereinführungsschriften der 25. Dynastie aus Luxor."

⁴⁹⁴ For the possibility that outright hostility may have commenced already under Psamtik I, see discussion and references in Kahn, "Judean Auxiliaries in Egypt's Wars against Kush."

⁴⁹⁵ See the Khaliut Stela, (*in situ?*), ll. 1, 10, 28, and lunette, in M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 4."

⁴⁹⁶ The time elapsed between Taharqo's generation and that of Aspelta may be estimated from genealogical data as given in Ch. II.2.1 n. 56 above.

⁴⁹⁷ Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), l. 10, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16. On the term *mh3.w* ("relatives" or "clan"), see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 179-203.

Likewise, in Aspelta's Dedication Stela, he installed Henuttakhebi as a sistrum-player at Sanam with the words: "It is hers forever and ever; it is her children's; (and) it is her children's children's, enduring forever and ever, without anyone cutting them off forever."⁴⁹⁸ In the so-called "Banishment" Stela, dispossession of priestly inheritance was presented as the ultimate imprecation; the Kushite king implored the god: "As for every prophet and every *w^cb*-priest who shall do a misdeed in the temples, [destroy] them, without allowing (their) feet to be on earth, without letting their heirs be established after them, in order that the temple-compound not acquire the[ir] sin."⁴⁹⁹ Aspelta uttered a similar threat against anyone who might erase his Dedication Stela: "He is (destined) for the fiery blast of Sekhmet, his son not enduring on his seat."⁵⁰⁰ Such widespread concern with hereditary succession of offices might be construed as a response to some recent erosion of that principle, but the formulaic contexts in which it consistently appears instead suggest that it was a traditional feature of Kushite bureaucracy—one unlikely to have been initiated only during the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era. It may therefore be postulated that many of the families which held office under Anlamani and Aspelta would have had ancestors who held office under Taharqo.

In this regard, it is particularly interesting to note that of the thirty-four individual officials resident in Kush and explicitly named and titled in the Kushite royal stelae of the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC, only eight bear clearly recognizable Egyptian nomina:⁵⁰¹

Table A. Named officials in Kush during the Early Napatan Era.

Name	Office(s)	Egyptian nomen?
1 <i>L-m-'Imn</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm.w n. {t} pr-nsw</i> • <i>h3.ty-ε n.w T3-Sti</i> • <i>imy-r3 nbw n.w h3s.wt</i> 	No: <i>PN I</i> , 222 §10; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 173-174; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43, 86
2 <i>'Imn-t-r(3)-h(3)-k-n</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm n. {t} pr-nsw n εdd</i> 	No: <i>PN I</i> , 31 §8; Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 42-44; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42
3 <i>'T-r-h(3)-'Imn-s-k-n</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm n. {t} pr-nsw n W3d.t</i> 	No: Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 233-234; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
4 <i>K-r-'Imn-t-n</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm n. {t} pr-nsw 'T-n3-w3-s3-sw</i> 	No: <i>PN I</i> , 346 §§18 and 22; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 243-245; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
5 <i>K-s-(s)-m-t(y)-n</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm n. {t} pr-nsw n 'Pr-ε-d-ε-r-t</i> 	No: <i>PN I</i> , 346 §15; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 241-242; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
6 <i>N-(3)-s-t-ε-b-w-s3-k-n</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>imy-r3 htm n. {t} pr-nsw</i> • <i>hr(y)-d3d3</i> 	No: <i>PN I</i> , 213 §6; <i>PN II</i> , 411 and 301 §19; Zibelius-Chen, » <i>Nubisches</i> « <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 162-163; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43.

⁴⁹⁸ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 14-16, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 4A-4B. On Henuttakhebi as the object of Aspelta's dedication, see Vinogradov, "Golden Cage."

⁴⁹⁹ "Banishment" Stela (Cairo JE 48865), l. 10, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IXa-IX. Though conventionally assigned to Aspelta, the stela could belong to an earlier reign and therefore demands further study: Priese, "Kingdom of Napata and Meroe," 207.

⁵⁰⁰ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), l. 18, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 4A-4B.

⁵⁰¹ See Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 2-8, 18-23, in Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; and the Doukki Gel stela alongside a new edition of Louvre C 257 in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 1a-5b. Excluded here are the two "clans" (*mh.w*) named *Tm-p-s-y* and *P-r-d-t-h3-y* who were banned from the temple and immolated in the so-called "Banishment" Stela, as they are not given specific titles of office and the date of the stela is actually unclear. See Cairo JE 48865, l. 5, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IXa-IX; brief discussion of the date in Priese, "Kingdom of Napata and Meroe," 207. These seem to be most comparable to the various "clans" (again *mh.w*) whom Irike-Amanote captured and conscripted into temple service, though it is clear from the Enthronement Stela of Anlamani that priestly succession was organized by precisely these *mh.w*: Kawa IX, cols. 62, 67-68, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24; and discussion in Zibelius-Chen, »*Nubisches*« *Sprachmaterial*, 267-268; cf. Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), l. 10, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16. In order not to overestimate the numbers of office-holders with Kushite ancestry, only titles with parallels in earlier Egyptian history are cited here as "offices." Many additional titles borne by Kushites (especially women) likely also correlated to administrative offices, but those titles are not so easily distinguished from mere epitheta. For discussion of the problem, see Ch. V.2.3 below and Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 192-209. Were those more ambiguous titles to be included here, the number of male and female office-holders bearing Kushite nomina would be augmented considerably.

Table A (cont.)

	Name	Office(s)	Egyptian nomen?
7	<i>M-r-y-w-'Imn</i>	• <i>hr(y)-sš {i}n Kš</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 163 §3; <i>PN II</i> , 291 §22; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 136-137; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42
8	<i>Ḥnsw-ì.ìr-dì-s</i>	• <i>sš-nsw</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 270 §21; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42
9	<i>ʿI-r-t</i>	• <i>imy-r3 šnw.t</i> • <i>imy-r3 ḥtm n W3-r-r n T3-Sty</i>	Unclear: <i>PN I</i> , 43 §22; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 75-76; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
10	<i>T-k-ʿr-ʿt3</i>	• <i>sš-nsw n šnw.t</i>	No: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 274; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
11	<i>P3-dì-nbw</i>	• <i>ḥtmw n. {t} nsw</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 124 §§10-11; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 41
12	<i>Ḥnw.t-t3-Ḥb</i>	• <i>ìhy.t</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 244 §8 and 268 §15; Vinogradov, "Name of the Kushite Princess"; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 75-76
13	<i>M-d-q-n</i>	• <i>šhmy.t</i>	No: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 150-152
14	<i>W3-h-m-n-y-'Imn</i>	• <i>ḥm-ntr 2-nw n 'Imn-Rc k3 n T3-Sti</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 83 §24; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 104-105; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42, but cf. 89
15	<i>T-n-'Imn</i>	• <i>ḥm-ntr 3-nw n 'Imn-Rc k3 n T3-Sti</i>	No: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 269; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
16	<i>T-n-b-w-t</i>	• <i>ḥm-ntr 4-nw n 'Imn-Rc k3 n T3-Sti</i>	No: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 269
17	<i>Q3-q3=f</i>	• <i>sš mdw-ntr n 'Imn-Rc k3 n T3-Sti</i>	Yes: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42 (contra: <i>PN I</i> , 333 §11; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 235)
18	<i>S-p-ì-hy</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 <n> ntr pn</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 306 §12; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 200; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
19	<i>S-b</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 303 §7; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 198; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
20	<i>P3-dì-'Imn-ìp.t</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 122 §4; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 41
21	<i>Nm-ḥy [or Nmty?]</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	Unclear: <i>PN I</i> , 204 §12; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 154-155; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 41
22	<i>K-r-Ḥr</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 346 §20; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 248-249; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
23	<i>ʿS-ʿr-hy</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	No: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 193; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
24	<i>K-r-t-n-'Imn</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3 n ntr pn</i>	No: <i>PN I</i> , 346 §§18 and 22; <i>PN II</i> , 411; Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 255; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 43
25	<i>Ns-'In-ḥr</i>	• <i>ḥry-tp n ntr pn</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 174 §2; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42
26	<i>Bs-ʿnḥ-ʿ</i>	• <i>ḥry-tp n ntr pn</i>	Unclear: Zibeliuss-Chen, »Nubisches« <i>Sprachmaterial</i> , 108; cf. Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 41
27	<i>Wn-nfr</i>	• <i>ḥry-tp n ntr pn</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 79 §19; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 41
28	<i>Ns-Ḥr</i>	• <i>sš ḥwt-ntr n ntr pn</i>	Yes: <i>PN I</i> , 178 §7; Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 42
29	<i>K-r-n-kš</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3</i>	No: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
30	<i>K-r-s-n-r</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3</i>	No: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
31	<i>K-r-k-h-t</i>	• <i>imy-r3 [ḥtm.w n pr-nsw ...]-b-d- [...]</i>	No: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
32	<i>K-r- [...]</i>	• <i>ḥm-ntr 2-nw</i>	No: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
33	<i>[...] -k-m</i>	[...] (listed among the <i>ḥm.w-ntr it.w-ntr n.w ḥwt-ntr</i> at Doukki Gel)	Incomplete: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44
34	<i>[...] -r- [...]</i>	• <i>wcb ʿ3</i>	Incomplete: Valbelle, <i>Les stèles</i> , 44

Of the remaining twenty-six names, several exhibit one or more of the elementary graphemes most typical of group writing, as used for non-Egyptian names;⁵⁰² the names of these twenty-six officials are perhaps to be seen as linguistically Meroitic, particularly as several include specific phonemic sequences that would later recur in names transcribed in the Meroitic script.⁵⁰³ In the case of at least two officials (Malowiamani and Madiqen),⁵⁰⁴ the attribution of their names to the Meroitic language would appear certain from the inclusion of recognizably Meroitic lexemes that are elsewhere followed by unvocalized Egyptian determinatives to clarify their meaning.⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, the proportion of Egyptian to non-Egyptian names is only slightly higher for documented temple officials (6:22)⁵⁰⁶ than it is for those associated just with fiscal administration (2:12)⁵⁰⁷—and in neither category do Egyptian names constitute so much as a third of the persons listed. Even if these officials were descendants of the Egyptian émigrés posited by Kendall during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,⁵⁰⁸ the majority of them still bore names suggesting some intermarriage with Kushite families. In fact, the possibility should be seriously considered that the administration of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Kush may have consisted largely of *Kushite* officials.

The aforementioned conservatism of official succession would in turn suggest some continuity in the titles and nature of the offices themselves, which might therefore preserve traces of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's administrative structure in Kush. Atop the hierarchy, the Kushite kings of the Napatan era were evidently not averse to delegating responsibility from afar⁵⁰⁹—much as Taharqo appears to have done during the temple constructions at Kawa and Sanam.⁵¹⁰ Immediately below the king were the royal kinsmen (*sn.w nsw*), from among whom the heir apparent was chosen by means of the Amun oracle.⁵¹¹ However, the group thus constituted evidently did not hold a monopoly upon the highest offices of government, for in Aspelta's Enthronement Stela the royal kinsmen were sent before the oracle by a separate group of commanders (*ts.w*), palace officials (*sry.w n{t} pr-nsw*), and "friends" (*smr.w*).⁵¹² Regarding these *smr.w*, certain specifications may be gleaned from the record. Firstly, it is likely that they included some military personnel, as Anlamani appears to have sent one at the head of his army;⁵¹³ the same may be posited of Taharqo's *smr.w* decades earlier, for their collective summons north by Shebitqo occurred during a time

⁵⁰² Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*; Schenkel, "Syllabische Schreibung"; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 42-44.

⁵⁰³ Most conspicuously, e.g., the concluding sequence—*s-k-n* in names 3 and 6 above; for discussion, see: Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 43; Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 127, and e.g.: Lemerskeny, Kelbasken, Atakhebasken, Senkamanisken. For Lemerskeny, see Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I and V. For Kelbasken, see: TT 391 in *PM I*, 441-442; further discussion and references in Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 96, 99, 100, 171. For Atakhebasken, see Nu. 36 and its contents in Dunham, *Nuri*, 19-24 figs. 12, 198, 204 no. 5, pl. CXXI no. 1. For Senkamanisken, see references in *FHN I*, 211-214 §§31-32. For further examples and discussion, see: Abdalla, "Some Examples of Incremental Repetition in Meroitic Personal Names"; *id.*, *Meroitic Personal Names*; Fléchelle, *Transcriptions des anthroponymes koushites*; Rilly in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 78-83. Also worth noting in the above list of twenty-six non-Egyptian nomina is the absence of the phonemes *ʿ* and *f*—an absence at least consistent with the Meroitic syllabary: Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Méroé*, 3-10.

⁵⁰⁴ See Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 5-6, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3B.

⁵⁰⁵ Priese, *Meroitische Sprachmaterial*, 104-110, 129-130; Rilly in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 84-85.

⁵⁰⁶ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 18-23, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 4A-4B.

⁵⁰⁷ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 2-8, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3B.

⁵⁰⁸ Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 3-117; cf. Morkot, "On the Priestly Origin of the Napatan Kings," 151-168.

⁵⁰⁹ Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 17, 22-23, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 8-9, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 15, 18, pls. 3A-3B; with discussion by Vinogradov, "Golden Cage," 107-109, 113.

⁵¹⁰ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 21-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8. See also discussion of the relevant passages of the Sanam Historical Inscription in Ch. III.3.2.1 (g).

⁵¹¹ Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), l. 18, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa-VII; Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 9, and Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), ll. 13-14, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-10.

⁵¹² Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 14-18, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa-VII.

⁵¹³ Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 16-17, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16. The term must be restored in a lacuna but nevertheless seems most likely in context.

of war.⁵¹⁴ However, the group of *smr.w* as a whole does not seem to have been synonymous with the commanders, as they are mentioned separately during Aspelta's enthronement.⁵¹⁵

Aside from the general groupings of royal kinsmen and "friends," a variety of more specific offices are attested, all clearly named after Egyptian precedents: *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ* (Mayor), *imy-r3 ḥtm.w n{t} pr-nsw* (Palace Treasurer), *ḥtm n{t} nsw* (Royal Sealer), *ḥr(y)-d3d3* (Superior of the Tribunal), *ḥry-sš* (Chief Scribe), *sš-nsw* (Royal Scribe), *imy-r3 nbw n.w ḥ3s.wt* (Overseer of the Gold of the Hill-Countries), *imy-r3 šnw.t* (Overseer of the Granary), *sš-nsw n šnw.t* (Royal Scribe of the Granary), and *sš ḥw.t-ntr* (Scribe of the Temple-Compound), *ihy.t, šhmy*, or *sššy* (Sistrum-Player),⁵¹⁶ *ḥm-ntr* (Prophet), *wꜥb 3* (Great Priest), and *ḥry-tp n ntr* (Chief Official of the God).⁵¹⁷ It might be tempting to assume that these posts were staffed in large part by members of the royal family, particularly given the prominent cultic appointments of Kushite royal kinswomen in both Kush and Egypt.⁵¹⁸ However, the inscriptional record speaks against a royal monopoly: in the so-called "Banishment" Stela, the *Tm-p-s-y* and *P-r-d-t-ḥ3-y*, collectively designated as "that clan (*mh.wt twy*) which the god hates," are expressly forbidden from entering the temple-compound and then immolated "to cause every prophet and every priest to be afraid when they enter bearing this noble god."⁵¹⁹ It may be safely inferred from context that the "clan" thus condemned was one of temple servants and *not* synonymous with the royal family. Equally apparent is the fact that the priesthood of Kush was not entirely coterminous with the civil administration, for Aspelta's Dedication Stela describes an address delivered by the treasurers, scribes, and officials of the granary "to the prophets and god's fathers of this temple-compound."⁵²⁰ Moreover, the appointment of local "mayors" (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ*) may have cut across both royal and non-royal lineages: as mentioned above, Pi(ankh)y's son Khaliut became Mayor of the unidentified province of Kanad,⁵²¹ by contrast, Lamamani (a.k.a. Romiamani), the "Mayor of the Land of the *St-Bow*" (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ T3-Sty*) under Aspelta, bore no titles of royal filiation at all.⁵²² The evidence therefore combines to refute quite forcefully the assumption that Kushite governance was controlled by a small oligarchy; on the contrary, administrative control appears to have been dispersed across a number of parallel (but likely still overlapping) kin groups (repeatedly termed *mh.w*).⁵²³

Comparison between these groups of officials and the regional divisions of the state is greatly hindered by our ignorance of Upper Nubian toponymy, but significant patterns do still emerge from an overview of the offices enumerated. In the Enthronement Stela of Aspelta, the procedures of royal succession were discussed by a congress of officials: six "trusted commanders," six "trusted commanders and overseers of fortresses," six "trusted overseers of documents," and seven [*sic*] "officials (being?) palace treasurers."⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁴ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 7-9, and Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), ll. 13-14, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-10. For the early wars between the Double Kingdom and Assyria, see Kitchen, *TIP*, 154-161 §§126-129.

⁵¹⁵ Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 14-15, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI.

⁵¹⁶ Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 19-21, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12. Interestingly, those appointed by Anlamani were his own kinswomen, whereas those appointed by Taharqo were the daughters of non-Kushites ("children of the rulers of every land") conscripted into temple service in Kush. The social status of a "sistrum-player" is consequently very difficult to infer. See further discussion in Ch. VII.3 below.

⁵¹⁷ Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 3-4, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI; Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 2-8, 18-23, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-4B.

⁵¹⁸ See esp. Excursus 2 in Ch. V below, as well as the Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

⁵¹⁹ "Banishment" Stela (Cairo JE 48865), ll. 4-5, 8-9, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IXa-IX; discussion in Zibeliussen-Chen, »Nubisches« *Sprachmaterial*, 267-268. For the possibility that this stela may predate Aspelta's reign, see Priese, "Kingdom of Napata and Meroe," 207.

⁵²⁰ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), l. 9, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 15, 18, pls. 3A-3B; Vinogradov, "Golden Cage," 107-109, 113.

⁵²¹ Khaliut Stela, ll. 1, 10, 28, and lunette, in M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 4," pls. IV-VIII.

⁵²² Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), l. 3, in Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3B.

⁵²³ "Banishment" Stela (Cairo JE 48865), ll. 4-5, 8-9, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IXa-IX; Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), l. 10, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), cols. 62, 67-68, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24.

⁵²⁴ Enthronement Stela of Aspelta (Cairo JE 48866), ll. 3-4, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa-VI.

The repeated division of governance among six officials might be taken to correspond to six territorial units within the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state, though the final mention of seven palace treasurers must then be explained. Török has proposed that the last stroke was a scribal error.⁵²⁵ However, examination of the same king's Dedication Stela for Henuttakhebi reveals a similar pattern: six of a kind plus one outlier. In that text, six "treasurers" are named in association with "palaces" (four localized and two unnamed) and this group is then completed by an additional "treasurer" associated, not with a palace, but with the obscure "W3-r-r of the Land of the St-Bow."⁵²⁶ Interestingly, the named palaces are not sited to the prominent locales of Napata, Kawa, Sanam, and Pnubs, but to toponyms entirely obscure: Adjed, Wadjet, Inawasasu, and ʿPer¹-desheret. In this regard, it must be remembered that the stone temple-compounds mentioned in Kushite inscriptions were by no means the only cultic (or administrative) centers in the region: on his trip between Napata and Kawa, Anlamani "sailed northwards . . . refounding each district, doing good for every god, and giving rewards to the prophets and [pri]ests of every temple-compound at which he arrived."⁵²⁷ Archaeological survey in the Dongola-Napata Reach is only just beginning to propose locales for these "districts,"⁵²⁸ and it is likely that many of the smaller units of Kushite administration were housed in materials far more perishable than those at Napata, Sanam, Kawa, and Pnubs.⁵²⁹

More conspicuous, however, are two elements absent from the record. Firstly, there is little suggestion at all of a pyramidal articulation of governmental positions. Officials are presented in the aggregate, but no one individual can be identified as the king's special deputy to whom the others reported. In fact, as Török has observed, "the multiplication of the singular office of the New Kingdom Egyptian overseer of the treasury, who was more or less an equal of the Vizier, can be explained by a governmental organization in which . . . the territorial units were centered around temple-towns and royal residences," likely reflecting "different principles of centralisation" in Kush.⁵³⁰ Equally noteworthy in the corpus of the Early Napatan era is the absence of any identifiable reference to Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, or even the Abri-Delgo Reach,⁵³¹ as observed above, the image of the state presented (and maintained) by the coronation circuits of Anlamani, Irike-Amanote, Harsiyotef, and Nastasen appears to have treated those regions as a separate concern. This distinction may have resulted from a territorial contraction experienced by the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state in the north, or it may preserve traces of administrative practice during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty itself. In either case, the nature of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty administration between the First and Third Cataracts cannot be retrojected from the corpus of the Napatan era and must instead be judged from evidence found in those regions themselves and datable to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

⁵²⁵ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 251.

⁵²⁶ Dedication Stela of Aspelta (Louvre C 257), ll. 2-8, in Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3B. The Doukki Gel stela includes mention of an *imy-r3* [...]*b-d*[...], but the context is unfortunately too fragmentary to determine his office or locale with certainty: *ead.*, pls. 5A-5B.

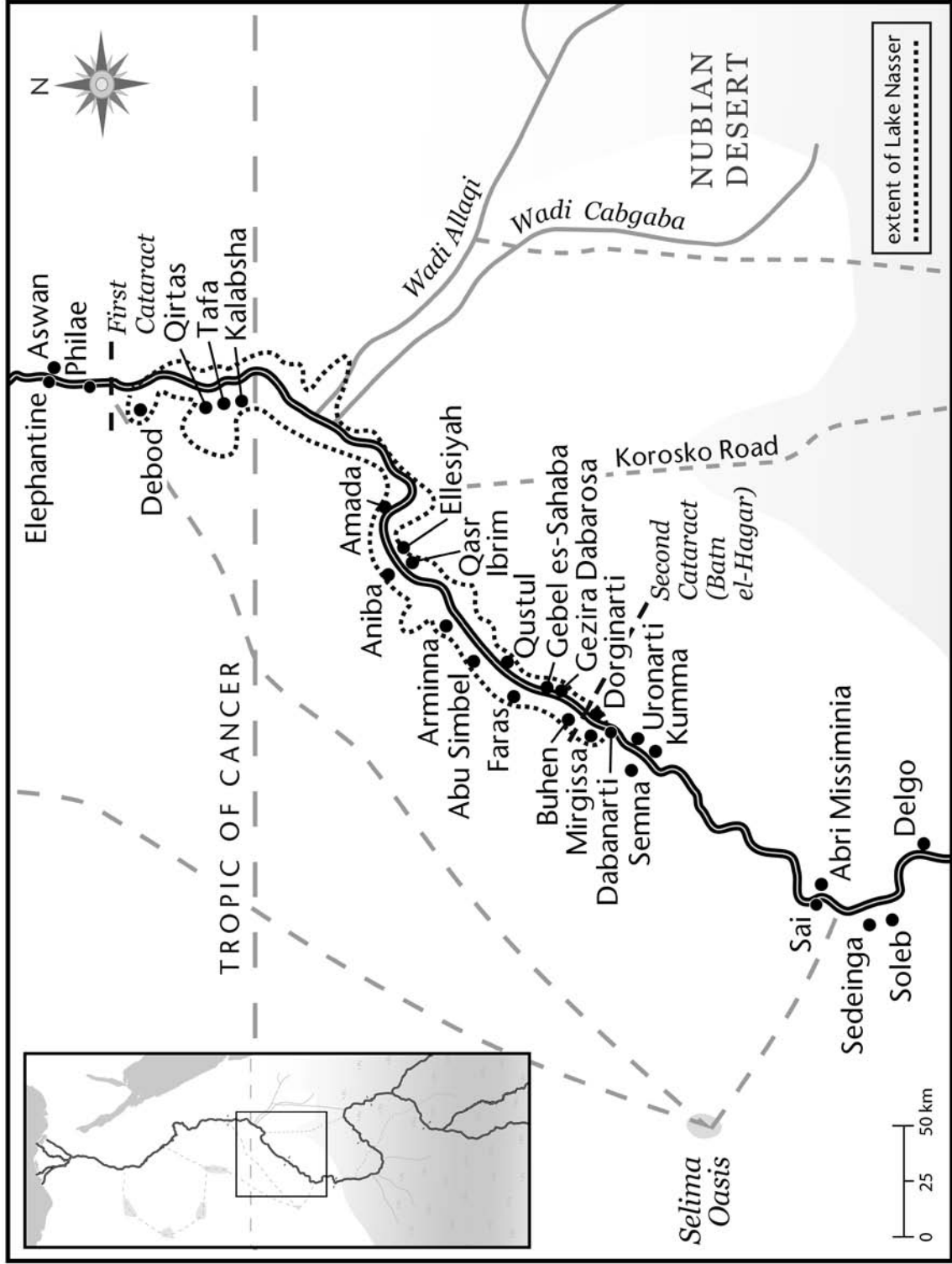
⁵²⁷ Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 7-9, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16.

⁵²⁸ Grzymiski, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Upper Nubia*, 49. One possible cultic center for such a district in the Dongola-Napata Reach would be Temple TRG40 at Soniyat. See: Zurawski, "Southern Dongola Reach Survey: Archaeological Reconnaissance Near Abkor 1997"; *id.*, "Dongola Reach: The Southern Dongola Reach Survey, 2001." *Nauka w Polsce*, "Polacy odkryli największy pałac królestwa Kusz." The sites of Usli and Hujeir also appear to have been foci of settlement and monumentality during this period; see Zurawski, "Survey and excavations between Old Dongola and ez-Zuma."

⁵²⁹ For an earlier mud-brick temple at Barkal (B 800-first), see Reisner, "Barkal Temples in 1916 (III)," 254.

⁵³⁰ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 251, 248. Valbelle has reasonably suggested that Khonsirdis, the *sš-nsw imy-r3 šmw.t* reveals "l'administration centrale, à moins qu'il s'agisse du grenier d'une institution locale non précisée." *Ead.*, *Les stèles*, 39. Yet there is little reason to see this figure as superordinate to the other administrators, because: (1) the fact that he presided over "une institution locale non précisée" does not distinguish him in that regard from either Lamamani or Nastibusken (both treasurers of unnamed royal palaces); (2) Khonsirdis's stated responsibilities are confined strictly to the granary and do not therefore include the treasuries overseen by his colleagues; (3) his placement within the list varies between the Sanam and Doukki Gel stelae, so the order in which the officials are named does not accord him any special status.

⁵³¹ In the *Late* Napatan corpus, a notable exception is the appearance of Abu Simbel in l. 156 of the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), but the context does not resemble descriptions of the coronation cycle; see: Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XXVa-XXV.



Map 4. Lower Nubia, the Bath el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach.

THE INTERNAL FRONTIER: LOWER NUBIA, THE BATN EL-HAGAR, AND THE ABRI-DELGO REACH

IV.1. *Settlement History*

For much of its existence, the Double Kingdom was a marriage of two cities, Napata and Thebes, and the Upper Nubian and Upper Egyptian regions centered upon them. Both were devoted to the cult of Amun in its most institutionalized and politicized form, and their respective sacred landscapes even mirrored one another.¹ The inauguration of the Double Kingdom has been narrated as a series of Kushite entreaties reaching progressively farther into Upper Egypt and answered by increasing reciprocal influence at the royal necropolis of el-Kurru. The territory crossed in these exchanges—Lower Nubia—had constituted in centuries past a quintessential example of the “internal frontier”: a marginal zone of sparse population which was “open to legitimate intrusion and settlement.”² It would therefore seem logical to expect that the Lower Nubian region should bear archaeological witness to the expansion of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, or, at the very least, to the subsequent cementing of Upper Nubia and Upper Egypt into a common state.

Yet the evidence does not meet expectations. Of the first four Kushite kings to exert influence in Upper Egypt, none is attested iconographically, textually, or architecturally in Lower Nubia. Thus, Kashta’s name may be found at the Upper Nubian cemetery of el-Kurru and at the Temple of Khnum in Upper Egyptian Elephantine, but not in Lower Nubia.³ Likewise, Pi(ankh)y’s name is prominently featured throughout the Dongola-Napata Reach and again in Upper Egypt and the Dakhla Oasis, but is nowhere to be found between the First and Third Cataracts. His two successors, Shabaqo and Shebitqo, added Lower Egypt to the Double Kingdom, but they left no surviving mark upon Lower Nubia. It is only with the reign of Taharqo that state intervention becomes visible within the region that separated its twinned political centers.

For many of the archaeologists who participated in the UNESCO salvage operation and interpreted its results, the relative silence in Lower Nubia during the eighth and seventh centuries BC was explained as a result of aridity and depopulation: if the settlements of the region were depleted and their inhabitants forced into a semi-nomadic existence, then the lack of state interest in Lower Nubia would be easily explained.⁴ However, Williams’s more recent examination of the mortuary evidence from this period has drawn such an explanation into question, demonstrating that much of the excavated material which had previously been ascribed to the New Kingdom actually showed closer affinities to the period defined broadly by Williams as “Twenty-fifth Dynasty/Napatan.” His analysis revealed between 685 and 800 burials which might derive from the era, distributed across roughly forty sites in Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach. Most importantly, Williams emphasized that “[s]ince most of these burials must be subtracted from the New Kingdom totals in the same areas, the disparity between early New Kingdom materials and those of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty/Napatan period is reduced. The extent to which Lower Nubia was abandoned in the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period should be reassessed.”⁵

¹ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 34-39.

² Kopytoff, *African Frontier*, 11.

³ An unprovenanced and unpublished necklace (Boston MFA 1992.312, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen) mentions Kashta in association with the *hm.t nsw Tiy*. As Kashta is not otherwise attested in Lower Nubia, it would seem slightly more reasonable to assume (*pace* Kendall) that Kashta had a wife named Tiy rather than to assume that he was active at Sedeinga, site of the New Kingdom cult of Amenhotep III’s wife of that name. See Kendall, “Origin of the Napatan State,” 65-66, 115 fig. 18.

⁴ The voluminous literature on this question has been admirably synthesized in Heidorn, *Fortresses of Dorginarti and Lower Nubia During the Seventh to Fifth Centuries B.C.*, 8-23.

⁵ Williams, *Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul: Cemeteries Wand V*, 44. For reviews of this work, see: Hofmann, review of *Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul*; Edwards, *Nubian Past*, 128-129; Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 285-288. Current discussion of the history of Lower Nubia during the Third Intermediate Period revolves around questions of degree: settlements in the region are still estimated to have been quite small, but they do not reflect the pervasive depopulation once imagined

Williams's findings greatly complicate the question of Lower Nubian administration during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. The presence of small, scattered settlements between the First and Third Cataracts must now be reconciled with the relative absence of indicators for state control—large-scale construction projects, standardized ceramic industries, administrative archives, and royal inscriptions. In fact, of the few written sources of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty date which have survived from the region, the vast majority are temple *Randzeilen* bearing only theological content and recording only those actions carried out *in illo tempore*. In their efforts to discern the administrative hand of the state between these two realms, scholars have therefore given particular weight to the few surviving historical sources which record *res gestae*, their causes, and motivations. Among these historical sources attributed to the reign of Taharqo, an inscribed stela from the town of Semna is of singular importance.

IV.2. *The Semna Stela of Montuemhat*

During the winter excavation season of 1928, George Reisner discovered within the Semna West fortress a round-topped granite stela which bore the name, titles, and epitheta of Montuemhat. Though containing a mere six lines of inscribed hieroglyphic text, the stela proved to be of considerable historical interest, for it credited Montuemhat in line 5 with the direction of an enigmatic state construction project:

mḥ-ib n nsw.t m srwd mn.w=fm irt r3-ꜣ hr Km.t

... who filled the heart of the king (with confidence) in strengthening his monuments (and) in making a doorway over Egypt.⁶

As a result of this valuable detail, Montuemhat's Semna stela has been featured with increasing emphasis in more recent discussions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state. In 1990, Pawel Wolf included the stela in his unpublished but widely-cited doctoral thesis, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*. Wolf proposed that the Assyrian war against Taharqo's regime may have precipitated Montuemhat's restoration of the Semna fortress: "Daß Taharqo an der Festung Restaurierungen durchführen ließ, ist mit Blick auf den drohenden Einfall der Assyrer gut möglich."⁷ Montuemhat's stela was then referenced in the first published monograph on Taharqo's reign: Klaus Dallibor's 2005 book, *Taharqo—Pharao aus Kusch*, where it was again taken to indicate "Bauarbeiten in der Festung."⁸

In László Török's seminal study, *The Kingdom of Kush*, and more fully in his 2009 work on Lower Nubia, *Between Two Worlds*, the stela is now placed at the center of a nexus of historical deductions about the state structure, administrative system, and military policy of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Firstly, Török observes: "Montuemhat's appearance as director of constructions at Semna indicates that, at least in this particular aspect, *Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia were treated as a single unit*"⁹—perhaps not unlike the "Department of the South" which had obtained over a millennium before under Egyptian imperial rule.¹⁰ Secondly, the transplantation of a Theban administrator to the Nubian town of Semna is cited in support of the conclusion that, in Nubia as in Egypt, the "system followed patterns provided by the functioning of TIP Egyptian temple-towns, especially Thebes itself," with the temples functioning "as institutions performing the tasks of territorial administration, jurisdiction, and redistribution."¹¹ Thirdly, in light of Montuemhat's activity

for the region. Given the region's strategic importance between Upper Nubia and Upper Egypt, the apparent lack of royal activity in Lower Nubia during the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty therefore demands explanation.

⁶ For the first published photograph of the stela, see Reisner, "Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti," 72 fig. 9; description of the object was first published earlier that year in Reisner, "Excavations at Semna and Uronarti," 157.

⁷ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 113, 34.

⁸ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharao aus Kusch*, 230.

⁹ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345 [emphasis added]. The same view is expressed in Török's *Kingdom of Kush*, 250: "The Montuemhat stela from Semna . . . records building works at a fortress, and it also may be interpreted as an indication of the existence of a military organisation extending over Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia as a single unit."

¹⁰ Berlev, "Social Experiment in Nubia during the Years 9-17 of Sesostris I," 149, 151.

¹¹ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250, 140 Table L n. 117. The object is correctly identified as "MFA 29.1130" on p. 54 n. 4, but on p. 140 n. 117 Török mistakenly labels the stela as "MFA 29.2230"—which would instead correspond to the clay figurine of a quadruped found on the island of Uronarti. The error is repeated in Török's 2009 work, *Between Two Worlds*, 344 n. 169.

at the Semna fortress, Török further proposes that Dorginarti, Gebel es-Sahaba, and other military stations of “irregular ground plan, rectangular gate towers and bastions” should be *re-dated* to Taharqo’s reign and attributed to a state policy of fortification “intended to control the desert nomads as well as the inhabitants of the region between the First and Second Cataracts.”¹² The assignment of the fortresses at Dorginarti and Gebel es-Sahaba to the reign of Taharqo deviates from the conclusions advocated in the excavation reports for each,¹³ but Török contends that the dating of such installations is nevertheless best interpreted within the context of Taharqo’s construction of temples across Lower Nubia and, most importantly, “the restoration works directed by Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes at Semna fort.”¹⁴ Thus, despite the brevity of its inscription, the Semna stela of Montuemhat has formed the basis for a series of important arguments regarding the structure, administration, and fortification of Taharqo’s Double Kingdom. In fact, so influential has Török’s proposed scenario become that “la réorganisation du pays par Taharqa” and “la nouvelle organisation du pays par Taharqa” have recently been invoked as regional context for an individual site report in the Abri-Delgo Reach.¹⁵

Török nevertheless concedes that these policies cannot be assigned with conviction to the reign of Taharqo, specifically, but can only be placed broadly within the lifetime of Montuemhat, the Mayor of Thebes, whose tenure overlapped the reigns of at least three kings:

The date of the stela recording construction work at the fortress of Semna erected by the Theban Mayor Montuemhat . . . is uncertain: Montuemhat was in office in the reigns of Taharqo and Tanwetamani as well as under Psamtik I when Lower Nubia was not under Kushite sovereignty.¹⁶

The fusion of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia into a single governmental unit, the administration of the latter region by means of Egyptian-style “temple-towns,” and the proposed chain of military installations might therefore be equally dated to the period after the reign of Taharqo, when the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty had already retreated from Egyptian soil—and possibly from Lower Nubia as well. A similar disclaimer is added by Dallibor, who observes of Montuemhat’s stela that the “Bezug auf Taharqo [ist] ungewiß.”¹⁷

This uncertainty appears to have been grossly understated, in fact. Though Montuemhat’s stela can now be found in the collection of Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts (MFA 29.1130), it does have an archaeological context which is arguably of some importance to its historical interpretation: the stela was discovered *not* within Taharqo’s temple in the Semna fortress’s river-side quarter, but rather ninety meters due west in Room W 147, a structure of unclear date located just inside the fortress’s desert-side wall (Fig. 51). Within this room, Montuemhat’s stela had been re-used as flooring, along with four other stelae and two offering tables (Figs. 52 and 53). All were found together on the twenty-fifth of January in 1928, and registered in the excavation report accordingly as objects 28-1-496 through 28-1-502.¹⁸ The fourth of these, the stela of a man named Bebusen, contained within its *hṯp-di-nsw* formula the cartouche of *H^c-k3.w-R^c* (Senwosret III),¹⁹ while the only three remaining objects which bore legible names each specified their owners as *Imny*, a moniker most common during the Twelfth Dynasty.²⁰ Consequently, Reisner immediately classed

¹² Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345.

¹³ Hoerth, *Oriental Institute Report 1963-1964*, 15f.; Knudstad, “Serra East and Dorginarti”; Heidorn, “Saite and Persian Period Forts at Dorginarti,” 205-206; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom and Pharaonic Sites*, 319-323. See also Jesse, “Napata in the West?,” 143.

¹⁴ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344.

¹⁵ El-Naggar, “Contribution de Sedeinga à l’histoire de la Nubie,” 183, 192.

¹⁶ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 54 n. 4.

¹⁷ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 230.

¹⁸ A description, illustration, and photograph of the findspot were later published in: Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 7, 58-62, fig. 4, pl. 9A. Wolf’s assignment of the stela to Taharqo’s temple may have been influenced by a discrepancy within the unpublished diary and site cards. See Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 154, where those unpublished notes gloss “room W 147” as being “inside Taharqo Temple”—in complete contradiction with Dunham’s published reports and maps. In fact, the alphanumeric system was employed only in the fort’s West Wing, while the rooms within Taharqo’s temple were designated by a strictly alphabetical scheme.

¹⁹ 28-1-499 (Khartoum SNM 2648), l. 2, in Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 60, pl. 91 C.

²⁰ 28-1-496 (Khartoum SNM 2647), l. 5, 28-1-498 (Khartoum SNM 2649), top l. 1 and front l. 2, and repeatedly upon 28-1-501 (Khartoum SNM 2650) in: Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 59-62, figs. 3-4 (back matter), pls. 91 A-B², 92 C. For the name *Imny*, see *PN I*, 31 §§10ff., and Gratién, *Prosopographie des nubiens et des égyptiens en Nubie*, 34-39.

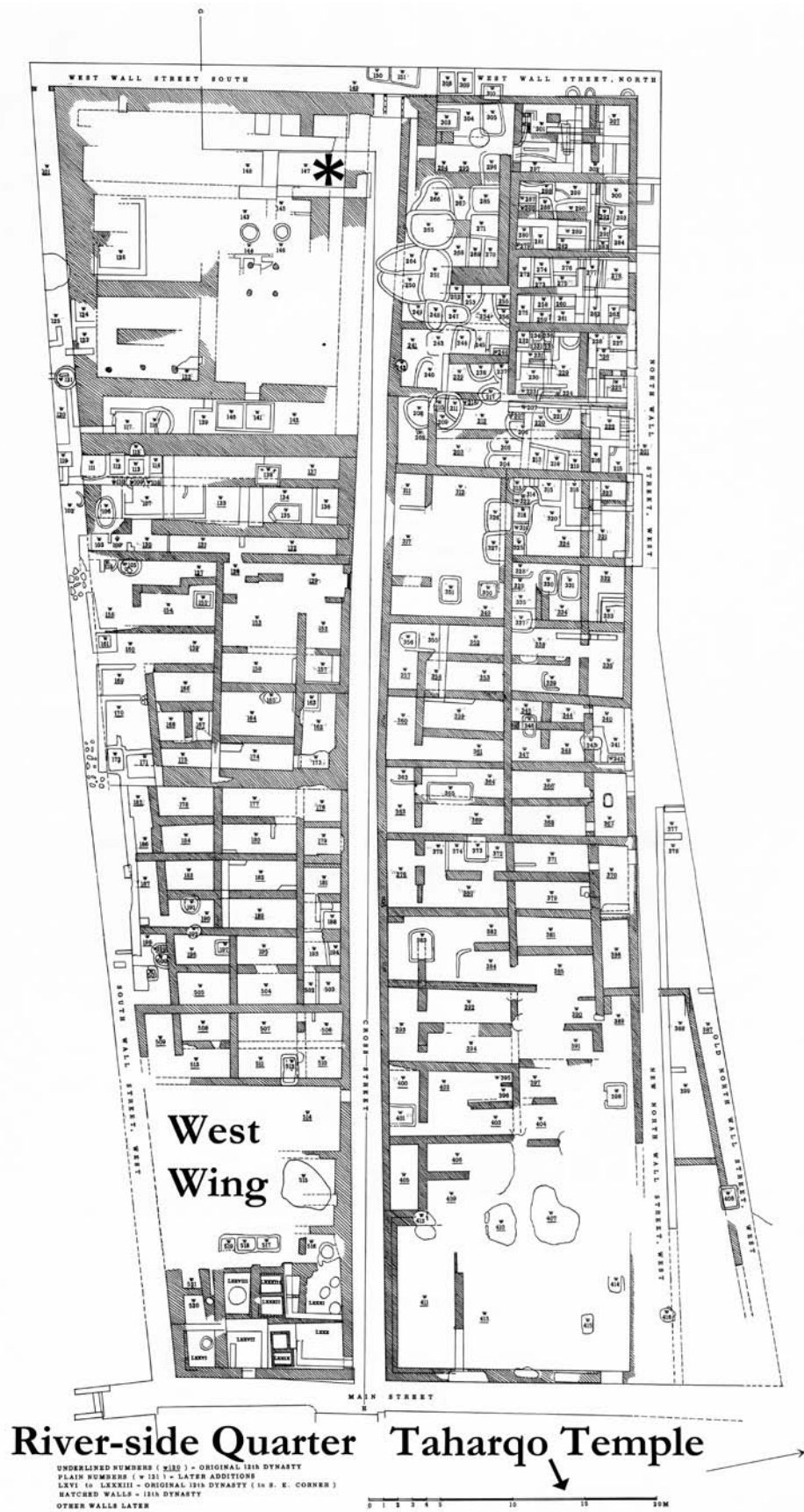


Fig. 51. West Wing of Semna Fortress with author's labels in bold and findspot marked by asterisk. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 52. Semna Fort, Room W 147, looking south. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

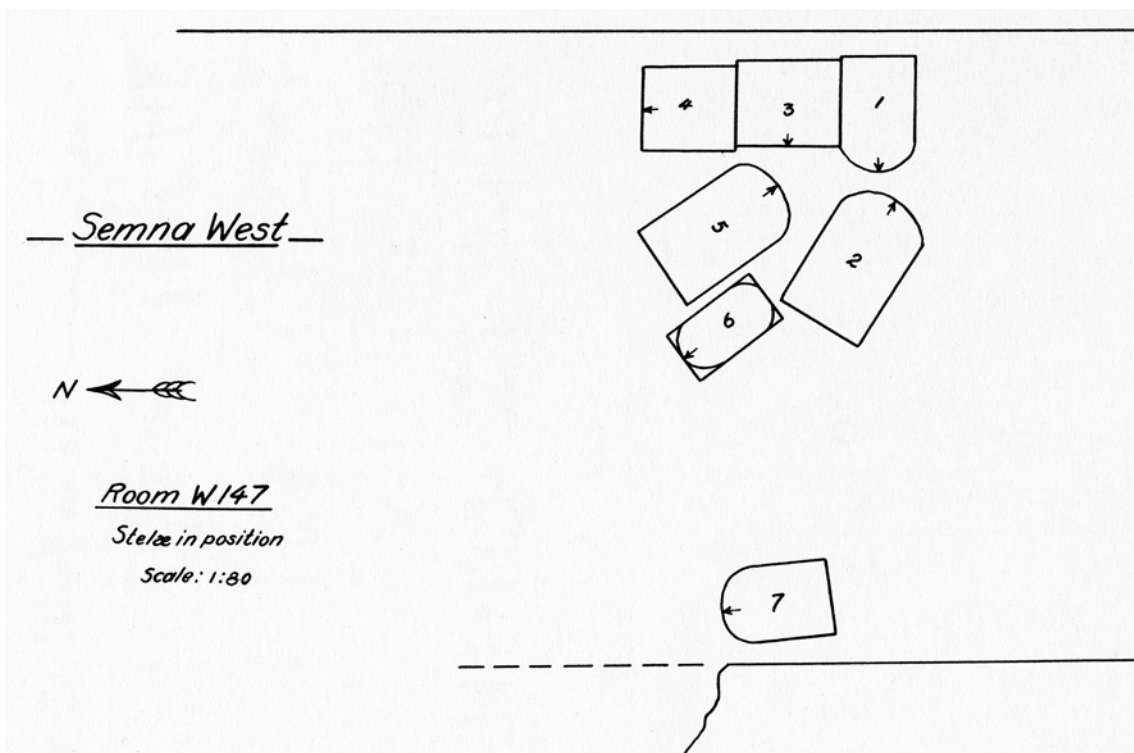


Fig. 53. Dunham's illustration of findspot in Room W 147. Montuemhat's stela indicated as 2. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the stela and offering tables as finds “from the Middle Kingdom”—including Montuemhat’s stela, an object which Reisner believed to have been installed “originally in the Middle Kingdom temple.”²¹ Such an attribution would date the Semna stela of Montuemhat at least one thousand years before the reign of Taharqo, so that the Montuemhat in question would necessarily be an official of the early second millennium BC and decidedly *not* equivalent to the Mayor of Thebes who bore that name during the middle of the first millennium BC.

In the published literature on Egypt’s Middle Kingdom, this interpretation has been universally accepted ever since the stela’s discovery. Reisner’s interpretation was first echoed by Porter and Moss in 1951²² and subsequently reinforced a year later by the first scholar to publish a brief study of the stela’s inscription, Jozef M. A. Janssen, who confidently placed it among the “textes autobiographiques du Moyen Empire.”²³ When a full report of Reisner’s excavations at Semna was finally published by Dunham and Janssen in 1960, the stela and offering tables were again affirmed as objects “all of the Middle Kingdom.”²⁴ Subsequent discussions within Middle Kingdom studies have not questioned whether the stela belongs to this period but have instead deliberated over precisely which Twelfth Dynasty pharaoh Montuemhat would have served—a matter largely contingent upon the determination of when the Semna West fortress was originally built, what the “doorway” comprised, and whether Montuemhat was its architect or merely its restorer. Though Reisner judged the fortress to be a construction of Amenemhat I,²⁵ the lack of recorded evidence for this claim led Janssen to attribute both the construction of the fortress and the inscription of Montuemhat’s stela to the reign of Senwosret III.²⁶ The same conclusion was reached by Blumenthal in 1970,²⁷ by Simpson in his famous 1974 work, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*,²⁸ and again by Delia in his unpublished dissertation of 1980, *A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*.²⁹ By contrast, Vercoutter proposed that Montuemhat’s stela was actually commissioned during the reign of Amenemhat III and that its allusion to *mn.w* and a *r3-3* may have referred to dams and spurs found during Vercoutter’s excavations at Semna South.³⁰ In 1985, Reisner’s slightly earlier dating was resuscitated by Leprohon within a brief description of the stela which combined both philological study and art historical analysis; observing that the offering scene included only a single figure, Leprohon proposed “a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty.”³¹ No consensus has been reached on this question in subsequent decades, but an in-depth study of non-royal epitheta by Doxey (1998) and prosopographical and lexicographical reference works by Gratien (1991) and Hannig (2006), respectively, have nevertheless agreed that the Semna stela of Montuemhat was commissioned sometime during the Middle Kingdom.³²

The proposition that the stela belonged instead to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty thus appears to have been first introduced in Wolf’s aforementioned dissertation of 1990. Though Wolf cited the earlier works of Porter and Moss, Janssen, and Dunham, he neither challenged nor even acknowledged the Middle Kingdom date advocated for the stela in those publications. Wolf’s dissertation then seems to have engendered a separate interpretive tradition: Montuemhat’s stela henceforth became a topic of relevance to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and the authors who discussed it in this regard consistently cited only Wolf and the three

²¹ Reisner, “Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti,” 74, 72 fig. 9 caption. The stela which Reisner attributes to the district commandant, “Makhu,” is presumably equivalent to that later published by Dunham and Janssen as belonging to *nb.i-ḥwi.w* (28-I-500, Khartoum SNM 2646).

²² *PM* VII, 145: “all Middle Kingdom.”

²³ Janssen, “La stèle de Montouemhat trouvée à Semna,” 442.

²⁴ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts* I, 7.

²⁵ Reisner, “Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti,” 66-67.

²⁶ Janssen, “La stèle de Montouemhat trouvée à Semna,” 442.

²⁷ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des mittleren Reiches* I, 301 G 3.29.

²⁸ Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 28 §86.

²⁹ Delia, *Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*, 81, 92.

³⁰ Vercoutter, “Semna South Fort and the Records of Nile Levels at Kumma.” Referring to the aforementioned inscription of Bebusen, Vercoutter writes on p. 151 n. 87: “The stela (5) = 28.I-499 (=Khtm. 2648) from the same find is clearly post-Sesostris III, since the king appears as already deified.”

³¹ Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* II, 153-155.

³² Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 236; Gratien, *Prosopographie des nubiens et des égyptiens en Nubie*, 83; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* II, e.g. 807, 954, 1012, 1451, 1893, 2160, 2289. Montuemhat is omitted altogether in Franke’s prosopographical study of the Middle Kingdom (published in 1984), but the similar absence of Bebusen from that work would seem to suggest that the Semna officials were excluded as a group: Franke, *Personendaten aus dem mittleren Reich*.

publications which he had referenced, without mentioning the Middle Kingdom date advanced in those earlier works or the subsequent studies published by Vercoutter, Blumenthal, Leprohon, Simpson, Delia, Gratién, Doxey, and Hannig.³³ In fact, the silence is mutual: just as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty literature does not address any interpretations of the stela proposed by Middle Kingdom scholars, literature on the Middle Kingdom makes no reference to the fact that Montuemhat's stela has been simultaneously employed in the history of another period—indeed, of another millennium.

As a result, for the past twenty years, the Semna stela of Montuemhat has led something of a double life—and, remarkably, never the twain have met. Yet the two interpretations cannot be equally valid: as the stela shows no visible trace of either refacing or surcharging, it was inscribed either for an official named Montuemhat during the Middle Kingdom or for Montuemhat, the Mayor of Thebes, during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—but not for both. One of these interpretations must be false, and consequently any historical deductions built upon it must be re-examined. For Middle Kingdom studies, the question is arguably one of minor consequence: it is already well-established that the Semna West fortress was first erected sometime during the Twelfth Dynasty, and thus, if the Semna stela of Montuemhat were *not* commissioned during the Middle Kingdom, then this conclusion would merely require that Montuemhat's name be removed from the list of officials who contributed to the fortress's construction and restoration during that period. For scholarship on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, however, the implications are considerable: if the Semna stela of Montuemhat were *not* commissioned by the celebrated Mayor of Thebes who bore that name, then the realization of this fact would severely undermine the attendant threefold argument: that Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia formed a single governmental unit, that Lower Nubia was administered by means of temple-towns modeled after Thebes itself, and that the military stations at Dorginarti and Gebel es-Sahaba must be re-dated to the reign of Taharqo and attributed to a policy of simultaneous fortification across the region. Each of these claims is of paramount importance to the history of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and each has been based in some measure upon the Semna stela of Montuemhat. A closer examination of the dating criteria for the stela would therefore seem essential to any attempt to understand the structure and operation of Taharqo's Double Kingdom.

Whatever the cause of Wolf's, Dallibor's, and Török's Late Period dating of the stela, their interpretations must be taken seriously, for the matter is by no means a simple one. Efforts to assign Montuemhat's stela to either the Middle Kingdom or the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty are greatly complicated by the phenomenon of archaism: after all, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was an era in which older monuments and inscriptions—those of the Middle Kingdom in particular—served as direct models for contemporary works, and arguably no individual personified this classicist spirit of “living in citations” more fully than the Mayor of Thebes, Montuemhat.³⁴ Moreover, the possibility of archaism further dictates that the two competing arguments be advanced under decidedly unequal epistemological conditions: no preponderance of diagnostic Middle Kingdom features upon the stela can definitively assign it to that era, for any style which could be employed by a Middle Kingdom artist might just as easily be mimicked by an archaizing artist of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Yet the same circumstances do not obtain in the reverse: it is, of course, logically impossible for an artist in the Twelfth Dynasty to have mimicked a form first developed during the Twenty-Fifth. As a result, the identification of even a single anachronism upon the stela may be sufficient to draw into question its Middle Kingdom dating and shift the balance in favor of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty attribution. Archaism thus has the effect of skewing the argument even before an examination of the stela has been performed. Inquiry into the date of Montuemhat's Semna stela must therefore proceed by first evaluating how well its style and content fit within the attested repertoire and historical conditions of the Middle Kingdom independently of the possibility of archaizing imitation in a later period.

³³ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 54 n. 4, 140 Table L nn. 117-118, 250; Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharao aus Kusch*, 230; Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345 n. 169.

³⁴ For the description of archaism as *zitathafte Leben*, see: Mann, “Freud und die Zukunft”; Assmann, “Zitathafte Leben.” An epistemological parallel to the Semna stela of Montuemhat may be observed in the Abydene stela of Taniy (Vienna 192 + Cairo CG 20564); once thought to belong to the Middle Kingdom, it has now been accepted as a monument of the late Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. See discussion in: De Meulenaere, “Retrouvaille de la dame Taniy”; Leahy, “Taniy: A Seventh Century Lady”; Lichtheim, “Stela of Taniy, CG 20564.”

IV.2.1. *Montuemhat, Middle Kingdom Official at Semna*

If Montuemhat's stela were commissioned during the Middle Kingdom, it should fit this historical context upon a number of simultaneous registers: iconography, palaeography, prosopography, technical vocabulary, grammar, phraseology, and, perhaps most importantly, the broader system of cultural values which characterized that era. In regard to the first of these criteria, iconography, the arrangement and composition of the offering scene on Montuemhat's stela provide some initial affirmation for a Middle Kingdom date (Fig. 54). The omission of gods and goddesses from the scene would suggest a date prior to the late Twelfth Dynasty, as does the complete absence of Montuemhat's family members. Conversely, attribution to any period before the Middle Kingdom would seem to be excluded by the object's provenance at Semna, and this conclusion can be further refined by an examination of the offerings piled in front of Montuemhat: items are arranged so closely together that they are touching, a convention which did not obtain under the pre-unification Theban style. Thus, the most salient features of the scene immediately speak for a date during the Middle Kingdom.

Further details of Montuemhat's costume, figure, and associated offerings do not contradict this general time frame. He is shown in raised relief wearing a shoulder-length wig that covers his right ear, along with a collar and pleated kilt, and sits upon a low-backed chair with animal legs. His broad, angular shoulders extend into very thin arms, the left of which is folded back to place a hand flat across his chest, as the right arm rests upon his thigh holding a folded cloth. While the slenderness of his limbs might suggest a date during the late Twelfth Dynasty, his broad shoulders and minimal garment favor a slightly earlier style. Before him, the table is provisioned from bottom to top with: four bread loaves, two tall and two round, the latter with four finger-indentations in each; two dead fowl and between them an ox head and a side of beef cleaving to a large bone; above those a set of ribs flanked by a bundle of onions and another object whose form is obscured by the severely abraded edge of the stela; and, finally, a vessel lying horizontally that is surrounded on each side by piles of grapes. Below the table are a spouted ewer and a jar with stopper. Each element of Montuemhat's provisions and appearance has parallels throughout the Middle Kingdom repertoire.³⁵

Equally consistent with a Middle Kingdom date is the position of the accompanying text entirely above and beside the stela's scene rather than below it. The inscription is etched in sunken relief and reads as follows:

(1) *iry-p^c.t h3.ty-^c sd3w.ty-bi.ty smr-w^c.ty pg3-hr m sh n 'š3.t m* (2) *irt shr mnβ.wt mtr n nsw.t hnt smr.w=f r d3ir* (3) *hny.w St.t sbi.w n.w t3.w mh.tyw b'ħ.n* (4) *m3^c.w=f t3.wy shb.n in.w=f 'ħ 'pr hw.wt n.t smnh sw* (5) *stn sw r hpr.w m h3.t mh-ib n nsw.t m srwd mn.w=f m irt r3-3 hr Km.t* (6) *sd3w.ty-bi.ty imy-r3 mš^c Mnṭw-m-ħ3.t m3^c-ħrw nb im3ħw*

(1) The hereditary nobleman, mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, open-of-face (i.e., honest) in the council of the multitude while (2) making the plan of the soldiers, precise to the king before his courtiers³⁶ with regard to conquering (3) the insurgents of Asia and the rebels of the lands of the Northerners,³⁷ whose (4) products inundated the Two Lands, whose presents made the Palace festive, who

³⁵ Cf. Bourriau *et al.*, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 21 §10, pl. I, 29-31 §10, 50-52 §39-40; see also Freed, "Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12."




³⁶ One might have expected here not *smr.w* but rather *sr.w*, as attested in Sinai II2, eastern face, l. 2, in Gardiner *et al.*, *Inscriptions of the Sinai* I, pl. 37. However, the determinative (A 50) would appear to suggest either *šny.wt* or *smr.w*—the latter as attested in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 25, 119. Given the spare orthography, *šps.w* cannot be excluded either. It is tempting to see the choice of the seated determinative as being influenced by the appearance of the larger seated figure in the scene below.


³⁷ Janssen first transcribed the grapheme which follows *mh* as a jabiru (G 29), with its distinctive lappet upon the breast. Such a reading would disconnect the grapheme from the word that precedes it and instead associate the jabiru with the word that follows: *b'ħ*. Thus, he translated the passage as "les rebelles des pays du Nord, de qui les présents inondent. . . ." Janssen, "La stèle de Montouemhat," 442. However, an examination of the photograph provided by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts does not confirm the presence of the bird's lappet, as this area of the stela is severely abraded. Moreover, even if the jabiru were included as part of the group writing of the word, it would normally be expected to appear *after* the phonetic complement *b*. See: *Wb.* I: 448-449; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 470, 52 §60; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* II, 807. Dunham appears to have represented the bird as a jabiru in overall form, but his transcription indicated damage in precisely the space where the tell-tale lapette would be expected to appear; he translated accordingly: "the rebels of the northern lands." Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts* I, 59. Blumenthal elected instead to transcribe the grapheme in question as an aleph-vulture, but with some sort of mark (a horned viper?) laid across its chest. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des mittleren Reiches* I, 301 G.329. Leprohon's



Fig. 54. Boston MFA 29.1130 (Semna Stela of Montuemhat). Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

equipped the estates of the one who had advanced him, (5) the one who distinguished him³⁸ more than those who had been before (him), who filled the heart of the king (with confidence) in strengthening his monuments (and) in making a doorway over Egypt, (6) the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the overseer of the army, Montuemhat, justified, possessor of honor.

A palaeographic examination of the inscription reveals here one apparent anomaly which may be of chronological significance—namely, the determinative of *pg3* within the epithetic phrase *pg3-hr*, “open-of-face,” in line 1. In his collation of the text “d’après un estampage du Musée de Boston,” Janssen rendered the determinative as a circle ,³⁹ and a similar interpretation was given by Dunham’s illustration in the excavation report: .⁴⁰ However, as clearly suggested by the accompanying translations, the more common determinative would be not a closed circle but rather the open, embracing arms (D 32)—much less schematic and spherical, and instead more detailed and angular, as later stylized by Leprohon’s transcription: .⁴¹ Unfortunately, the form which one finds here on Montuemhat’s stela bears comparison with only three other writings of the epithet in Middle Kingdom inscriptions, because, in many of the surviving attestations, the determinative in question is omitted.⁴² Among the three examples which do include the determinative, none is quite so spherical as that written here.⁴³

At first blush, it might therefore appear that the determinative of *pg3* could be a palaeographic anachronism within Montuemhat’s text. If so, it might provide evidence that the inscription was written during a later era, when different stylistic conventions were in operation. However, the writing of this grapheme attested in later periods appears to exhibit a marked trend away from rotundity and instead toward a form in which the arms were “almost vertically extended” by the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties: .⁴⁴ It would seem more plausible then that the more rounded determinative written upon Montuemhat’s stela at Semna was instead formed under the influence of either cognates or hieratic orthography—if not both. Nominal cognates for the adjective *pg3* include terms for “opening” and “battlefield,” both of which were frequently accompanied by a closed circle as determinative. Also in the hieratic script, grapheme D 32 displayed considerable rotundity in hieratic between the end of the Middle Kingdom and beginning of the Second Intermediate Period. In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and again in Papyrus Westcar, the hieratic grapheme assumes a spherical shape, a form which it does not seem to have retained in the hieratic script of much later epochs.⁴⁵ Consequently, the rotund determinative of *pg3* in line 1 of the stela’s inscription would tend to support, rather than undermine, the proposed Middle Kingdom date—if, indeed, it is not simply a scribal idiosyncrasy without chronological relevance.

The prosopographical details given by the stela are equally unremarkable if understood within the historical context of the Middle Kingdom. The owner’s name, *Mntw-m-h3.t*, bears a Theban religious accent (cf. *Mntw-htp*, *Imny*, *S-n-Wsr.t*) and a grammatical structure (cf. *Imn-m-h3.t*) which are both prominently attested in theophoric names during the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁶ In fact, for a military officer, invoking the

transcription is more ambiguous: it resembles both the Horus falcon (G 5) and the long-legged buzzard (G 4), with only a faint dot upon the bird’s breast, but Leprohon translated exactly as Dunham had done: “the rebels of the northern lands.” Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* II, 153. A slight preference is given here to the reading of this grapheme as the long-legged buzzard, which would render *mh.tyw*, leaving the foot (D 58) as the first grapheme of the word that follows, as generally expected for the orthography of *b’h*.

³⁸ See n. 54 below.

³⁹ Janssen, “La stèle de Montouemhat,” pl. XLVII.

⁴⁰ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts* I, 59.

⁴¹ Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* II, 153.

⁴² E.g., Sinai 104 (Khenhausenakh, son of Hetepui) and Sinai 112 (Sanofret, son of Sattekh) in Gardiner *et al.*, *Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pls. 36, 37. See also Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk* I, 61 Ap.

⁴³ E.g., Beni Hasan 2 (tomb of Amenemhat), fourth column on left doorjamb, in: LD II, 121, and Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 7. See also Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk* I, 61 Ap.

⁴⁴ See brief discussion and references in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 173. The Late Period example with straight arms shown above is, in fact, from a statue of the Mayor of Thebes, Montuemhat: see Leclant’s transcription of the sixth column of text on the back pillar of Cairo CG 647, in Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 104(x), pl. XXVIII.

⁴⁵ For cognates: *Wb.* I: 562.11-16. For hieratic comparisons: Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, no. 110; *op. cit.* III, no. 110.

⁴⁶ *PN* I, 154 §7; Gratien, *Prosopographie des nubiens et des égyptiens en Nubie*, 82-83. As it is confined to individuals attested in Nubia, Gratien’s list naturally omits any Thebans who might have borne that name, although some overlap between Theban and Nubian administrations is likely for the Middle Kingdom: cf. Montuemhat, son of Heqaib, as mentioned on BM EA 2736 in: Bourriau *et al.*, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 161 §186.

bellicose Montu at the fore would seem particularly appropriate. Montuemhat is designated as an *iry-p^c.t*, a *ḥ3.ty-^c*, a *sḏ3w.ty-bi.ty*, and a *smr-w^c.ty* in line 1, and then by the additional office of *imy-r3 mš^c* in line 6. Each of these titles is rather pedestrian for the era,⁴⁷ and only the latter is actually elaborated by *termini technici* related to the office: in addition to addressing the assembled soldiers under his command, his duties as *imy-r3 mš^c* appear to have included the making of a “doorway,” *r3-^c*—a term which has proven difficult to translate with precision⁴⁸ but which is nevertheless prominently featured in royal inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. During the Eleventh Dynasty, Wahankh Intef would boast of having made Abydos “into a *r3-^c* behind (me).”⁴⁹ J. W. Wells has argued that this passage should be understood as a reference to:

the border from which he could launch strikes against his northern opponent. This is the concept—a fortified location on a border used as the jump-off point for military expeditions—that is signified by *irt r3-^c*. The border fortress is the place where troops and supplies are assembled prior to the king’s arrival.⁵⁰

Wells’s reading is supported by a stela of Senwosret III which refers to the making of a “doorway in the monument of Elephantine,” *r3-^c m mnw n 3bw*, in preparation for his campaign against “wretched Kush.”⁵¹ As Elephantine was well beyond the immediate vicinity of the Kushite stronghold at Kerma, the *r3-^c* would seem to signify a *point d’appui* from which campaigns could be launched farther south. In fact, the possibility cannot be excluded that Montuemhat’s claim to have “filled the heart of the king . . . in making a *r3-^c*” may even refer to that very same staging base at Elephantine; alternatively, it could refer to the construction of a subsequent staging base at Semna itself. In either case, it is clear that the technical vocabulary employed in Montuemhat’s stela was utilized elsewhere in the textual corpus of the Middle Kingdom—much like his titles and personal name.

Equally instructive is the grammar of the text. Montuemhat’s titles are immediately followed by a list of laudatory epitheta, which then constitute the entirety of the remaining inscription. Not a single independent clause is introduced in the lines that follow. Consequently, there is little use of the narrative verbal system; instead, all verbal roots appear either with nominal function (as participles or infinitives) or within nominalized relative clauses. This structure characterizes a genre termed the “encomiastic autobiography” by Gnirs: “[E]specially popular during the Middle and early New Kingdom, . . . [t]hese texts prefer short nominal sentences, which make the arrangement of themes and motives extremely flexible.”⁵² In Montuemhat’s stela, that flexibility is exercised with virtuosic effect, for the epitheta are here organized into thematic couplets—a device also widely attested among the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat graffiti.⁵³ The organization of Montuemhat’s epitheta is often particularly complex, with parallel clauses coupled within a single epithet, which is then paired with another epithet of similar internal structure and complementary meaning:

A: *pg3-ḥr m šḥ n š3.t*
 m irt šḥr mnḥ3.wt
 mtr n nsw.t ḥnt smr.w=f
 r d3ir ḥny.w St.t
 sb3.w n.w t3.w mḥ.tyw

⁴⁷ Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 170 § 1472 and §1475, 29 §205. Cf. also *ḥtm.ty-bi.ty* in Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 86.

⁴⁸ Janssen equated the term with “la forteresse-frontière” and was followed in this regard by Dunham’s English translation (“frontier-fortress”) and Leprohon’s 1985 study (“frontier”). Janssen, “La stèle de Montuemhat,” 443; Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 60; Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum II*, 153. Nevertheless, as Delia has observed, “the exact significance of *m irt r3-^c* is vague. It may refer to construction work on the defense structures at the southern end of the Cataract.” Delia, *Reign of Senwosret III*, 83. Vercoutter proposed that the structures in question may have been dams or spurs at Semna South. Vercoutter, “Semna South Fort and the Records of Nile Levels at Kumma,” 149-153. The interpretation preferred here is that advanced by Wells: that the *r3-^c* was a kind of military staging base for campaigns farther into Nubia. Wells’s reading seems to fit best with the use of the term in royal inscriptions from both the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Wells, “Sesostris III’s First Nubian Campaign.”

⁴⁹ Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} dynastie*, II §16, l. 3.

⁵⁰ Wells, “Sesostris III’s First Nubian Campaign,” 344.

⁵¹ See photograph of BM EA 852 published in Taylor, *Egypt and Nubia*, 17 fig. 15.

⁵² Gnirs, “Biographies,” 186.

⁵³ Leprohon, “Remarks on Private Epithets Found in the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat Graffiti.”

open-of-face in the council of the multitude
 while making the plan of the soldiers,
 precise to the king before his courtiers
 with regard to conquering the insurgents of Asia
 (and) the rebels of the lands of the Northerners,

B: *bšḥ.n mšꜥ.w=f t3.wy*
šḥb.n in.w=f ḥ

whose products inundated the Two Lands,
 whose presents made the Palace festive,

C: *ꜥpr ḥw.wt n smnh sw*
stn sw r ḥpr.w m ḥ3.t
mḥ-ib n nsw.t m srwd mn.w=f
m irt r3-3 ḥr Km.t

who equipped the estates of the one who advanced him,
 the one who distinguished him⁵⁴ more than those who
 had been before (him),
 who filled the heart of the king in strengthening his monuments
 (and) in making a doorway over Egypt

In Couplet A, Montuemhat's virtues are exhibited in two different directions. He is first described as *pg3-ḥr*, "open-of-face" (i.e., "honest")—an adjective which frequently appears in Middle Kingdom inscriptions to characterize an individual's proper interaction with peers or subordinates.⁵⁵ It is the latter sense in which the phrase is employed by Montuemhat, for this *imy-r3 mšꜥ* speaks of being forthright in the assembly before his military conscripts: "in the council of the multitude while making the plan of the soldiers" (*m šḥ n ḥ3.t m irt šḥr mnḥ.wt*). The emphasis was a common one during the Middle Kingdom among the leaders of expeditions and garrisons: in the Sinai, officials Khuy and Senaaib each claim to have "contented the army with his plans" (*hrrw mšꜥ m šḥr.w=f*),⁵⁶ while in the Wadi Hammamat, the infantry overseer and supervisor of bodyguards, Amenemhat, is described as "the one who attends to the army when making the plan" (*ḥꜥ r mšꜥ m irt šḥr*).⁵⁷ In Montuemhat's case, his interaction with subordinates before "the multitude" is then coupled with an epithet describing his behavior toward the king before a select audience—"precise to the king before his courtiers" (*mtr n nsw.t ḥnt smr.w=f*)—a virtue which is immediately demonstrated by military action: "with regard to conquering" (*r d3ir*). A similar statement is made by the Twelfth Dynasty official Sanofret in the Sinai when he claims to be "precise to the king before his officials with regard to bringing precious materials for him" (*mtr n nsw.t ḥnty sr.w=f r int n=f 3t.t šps.t*).⁵⁸ Thus, Montuemhat first emphasizes his "honest" interaction with subordinates, as exemplified by his command of troops, and then stresses his "precise" conduct toward the king, as demonstrated by successful conquest on behalf of the state.

The effect of this epithetic pairing is to place the biographical subject at the center of a system of vertical solidarity. Montuemhat is not explicitly situated as the member of any horizontal collective; instead, his identity within this first couplet is defined by his obligations to those above and below him in the social order. As Assmann has observed, this system of integrative ethics, embodied by the concept of *m3ꜥ.t* ("Konnektive Gerechtigkeit"), was codified with particular force and clarity in the biographical

⁵⁴ Janssen rendered *stn sw* as "qui s'est distingué," and he was followed in this regard by both Dunham and Leprohon: "who distinguished himself." Janssen, "La stèle de Montouemhat," 442; Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 60; Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum II*, 153. Such a reading of *stn sw* is grammatically defensible, but it loses the parallelism with *smnh sw* and also deviates from the attested pattern of usage for the verbs *stn* and *tn* in Middle Kingdom inscriptions, where the agent of verbal action is quite consistently the king. See examples given in Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 149.

⁵⁵ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 199, 294.

⁵⁶ Sinai 33 and 35 (both *tempus* Amenemhat IV) in Gardiner *et al.*, *Inscriptions from the Sinai I*, pls. 11-12.

⁵⁷ Hammamat 43, l. 7, in Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, pl. 13.

⁵⁸ Sinai 112, eastern face, l. 2, in Gardiner *et al.*, *Inscriptions of the Sinai I*, pl. 37.

inscriptions and literary papyri of the Middle Kingdom, when the local patronage networks of the First Intermediate Period were writ large “als ein Projekt restaurativer Rezentralisierung.”⁵⁹ In the first couplet of Montuemhat’s stela, this vertical solidarity is given an ethical cast, pairing “honesty” to one’s subordinates with “precision” to one’s superior.

In the second couplet (B), it is now projected into metonymic form and recast as universal largesse—diffused initially across Egyptian society as a whole, and then focused upon the royal court at its apex: Montuemhat is the one “whose products inundated the Two Lands,” (*b3h.n m3c.w=f t3.wy*) but equally he “whose presents made the Palace festive” (*shb.n in.w=f h*). The terms used to describe material prestations (*m3c.w* and *in.w*) are inseparable from the concept of order (*m3c.t*) and the behavior expected of a tributary (*int*). Within a social system composed primarily of vertical ties like those of the Middle Kingdom, themes of upward mobility, entrepreneurship, and accumulation are subordinated to an emphasis on the biographical subject’s maintenance of social connectivity. Even individualism was therefore expressed through the language of integration—in Montuemhat’s stela and across the biographical corpus of the Middle Kingdom.

The final couplet (C) extends the discourse of vertical solidarity by introducing a different ethical value: reciprocity. Couplet C is structured around two participial forms of parallel meaning, one concrete and the other abstract: Montuemhat is both the one who “equipped the estates” of his royal benefactor and also the one who “filled (his) heart” with confidence. In the first instance, that benefactor is alluded to only as he “who advanced him” (*smnh sw*) and “who distinguished him” (*stn sw*) more than his predecessors. Both phrases were part of the standard terminology of royal selection and promotion during the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁰ In the final line of the inscription, Montuemhat’s benefactor is then explicitly named as “the king,” and the actions which follow are instead those performed by Montuemhat himself which justify that advancement and distinction: “strengthening his monuments” (*srwd mn.w=f*) and “making a doorway over Egypt” (*irt r3-3 hr Km.t*). As Doxey explains of the idealized Middle Kingdom official:

Through the successful execution of his duties, he could also become “one who fills the heart” (*mh-ib*) of the king, thereby becoming a trusted confidante. To express obedience in a more general sense, an Egyptian official could claim to have “followed the path” (*mdd mtn* or *mdd w3.t*) of “the one who established him” (*smnh sw*), a type of epithet particularly common in expedition inscriptions . . . Unlike epithets beginning with *irr hst=f*, those introduced by *mh-ib n nsw.t* often state explicitly that the official has earned the king’s trust through the successful execution of his administrative or military responsibilities.⁶¹

Couplet C thus presents a complete cycle of reciprocal interaction between Montuemhat and his superior: Montuemhat gains the king’s confidence by strengthening his monuments and making the “doorway over Egypt,” for which he is awarded with advancement beyond the level of his predecessors; Montuemhat then reciprocates this advancement by equipping the estates of his royal benefactor—a function which he is presumably now able to fulfill precisely because the king has granted him charge of the Semna fortress, the leading southern commercial port-of-entry into the Egyptian state of the Middle Kingdom.

The discourse on vertical solidarity and its extension into reciprocity stand in place of one aspect which is conspicuously absent from the text: divinity. Not a single god or goddess is mentioned in the inscription, just as none is featured in the accompanying offering scene. To the extent that religion enters the text explicitly at all, it is only within the allusion to Montuemhat’s eventual “justification” (*m3c-hrw*) in the afterlife and the representation of the deceased as a recipient of offerings in the accompanying scene. The complete absence of deities distinguishes Montuemhat’s autobiography from the other inscribed objects that were found with it in Room W 147 of the Semna fortress; all of them reference at least a single god, most invoke several, and one stela names as many as eight.⁶² In this regard, Montuemhat’s inscription

⁵⁹ Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte*, 145.

⁶⁰ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 147-149; Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, 70 Bc.10-13; see also: Hammamat 17, l. 7 (Hetpi, *tempus* Amenemhat III), and Hammamat 108 (*tempus* Amenemhat III), in Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouádi Hammámât*, pls. 5, 28.

⁶¹ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 206, 144.

⁶² Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 59-62.

would appear somewhat anomalous. However, when viewed within the broader theological context of the Middle Kingdom, the omission is less surprising:

In the Middle Kingdom, the gods were portrayed as relatively remote from the daily activities of humanity. Although the Egyptians probably believed that supernatural powers governed some everyday occurrences, epithets very rarely refer to direct intervention on the part of the gods in the affairs of humanity or of non-royal humans in the affairs of the gods . . . Many scholars have argued that such a relationship did not exist prior to the New Kingdom. The contact between non-royal humans and the gods is limited in the Middle Kingdom, and the king dominates the non-royal epithets. It is only in the New Kingdom that private people begin to refer regularly to direct interaction with the gods.⁶³

The dissemination of loyalism took precedence during the Middle Kingdom; devotion to the king was synonymous with the *propaganda fide*. A closer examination of the other inscriptions found in Room W 147 reveals that their invocation of gods also occurs entirely within this framework, for gods are featured in those texts only through the explicit mediation of the king within *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae. Montuemhat's stela diverges from this material not in cultural emphasis but in genre, as his is the only biographical text in the room. The omission of gods and goddesses from Montuemhat's inscription may therefore be explained as a product of two related factors: the absence of personal piety in the Middle Kingdom and the conventions of the "encomiastic autobiography" during that same era, which favored epithetic couplets and their emphasis on vertical solidarity, reciprocity, and loyalism in the human sphere.

Moreover, the Semna stela of Montuemhat would appear to resonate with the larger inscriptional corpus at that specific site, even across the boundaries of genre. As Eyre has demonstrated, there was such a marked intertextuality among the inscriptions at Semna that the literate class responsible for and/or educated in Middle Kingdom *belles lettres* was likely also commissioned for both royal inscriptions and private autobiographies. At the very least, "the texts show a community of concepts, phraseology, style and metrical patterns that speaks for a community of background and purpose in composition and audience."⁶⁴ Consequently, the language of Montuemhat's stela would appear to either anticipate or recall that employed in royal boundary stelae at Semna. As Delia has observed: "Montuemhat's claim to have 'maintained his (the king's) memorials' calls to mind Senwosret's (III) exhortation on the Semna and Uronarti stelae of year 16 to *srwḏ t3š n Ḥm=i*, 'maintain the boundary of My Majesty."⁶⁵ In fact, if these "memorials" (*mn.w*) include the *r3-ḏ*, as Janssen has proposed,⁶⁶ then there could be a direct equivalence between Montuemhat's activities and the boundary maintenance of Senwosret III. At a more subtle level, the vocabulary of Montuemhat's private biography is drawn from the worldview articulated in Middle Kingdom royal propaganda. His designation of border foes as *hny.w* associates rebellion with illocution (*hn*)⁶⁷—and, conversely, its suppression with execration—in a manner reminiscent of Senwosret III's year 16 stela at Semna: "Since the Nehes listens to the word of mouth, to answer him is to make him retreat."⁶⁸ The same king was also lauded as "he whose decrees have made his borders, whose words have brought together the Two Banks. . . . The tongue of His Majesty restrains Khent; his statements put Asiatics to flight."⁶⁹ This paeianistic tradition of Middle Kingdom loyalism is embedded throughout both the vocabulary and underlying values of Montuemhat's own text, even as the pharaoh whom he served remains unnamed.

Thus, Montuemhat's Semna stela does appear to fit the historical context of the Middle Kingdom upon a number of simultaneous registers—not only in the details of iconography, palaeography, prosopography, technical vocabulary, grammar, and phraseology, but also through its resonances with the broader cultural values of that era: vertical solidarity, reciprocity, and an emphasis on loyalism rather than personal piety. It is particularly noteworthy that this effect appears to have been achieved without resort to quotation.

⁶³ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 224-225.

⁶⁴ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 163.

⁶⁵ Delia, *Reign of Senwosret III*, 84.

⁶⁶ Janssen, "La stèle de Montouemhat," 443.

⁶⁷ *Wb.* III: 288-289. Cf. also Late Egyptian usage in Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 362-363.

⁶⁸ Berlin ÄMP 1157, ll. 11-12; this numbering system includes the two horizontal lines inscribed within the lunette. An excellent photograph has been published in Wildung, *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*, 79 fig. 81.

⁶⁹ Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl. I, cols. 11, 7-8.

In fact, several of Montuemhat's epitheta are quite unique,⁷⁰ placing common vocabulary in original combinations which do not appear to be drawn from any sort of *Musterbuch*. While the exceptional nature of the text might be construed as a reason to doubt its Middle Kingdom attribution, it must be remembered that "texts from border regions and the desert quarries and mines frequently include 'unusual' textual material."⁷¹ Moreover, the absence of direct quotations and stock phrases in Montuemhat's inscription stands in direct contrast to its thorough embodiment of contemporaneous cultural values. Replication of the former would seem an easy task, but imitation of the latter would require a great deal more historical awareness and sophistication—particularly if attempted at a millennium's remove. There would thus appear to be nothing internal to either the scene or the inscription on Montuemhat's stela that should draw into question its authenticity as a Middle Kingdom object. In the initial and brief publication of the stela, Janssen intuited as much, even without explication of the underlying cultural values expressed by the text: despite the "accent personnel aux épithètes employées," he concluded that "[d]'après *l'esprit*, nous avons certainement affaire à une inscription traditionnelle."⁷²

IV.2.2. *Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes at Semna*

[H]ow difficult it is to distinguish between an original from the Middle Kingdom and a classicist work from a later age. . . .

Dietrich Wildung⁷³

An antiquarian and a sensitive connoisseur of the art of the past, Mentuemhet was able to commission artists to produce work in the style of all ages.

Cyril Aldred⁷⁴

If the Semna stela were an archaizing work of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, it must therefore have been executed with considerable skill and fastidious attention to historical detail. Yet, of all men of the era, the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat was arguably in the fullest possession of those qualities. His surviving body of work is a veritable catalog of Late Period archaism, including several examples in both the plastic arts and inscriptions. Montuemhat's Theban tomb (TT 34) features scenes modeled closely after those painted in the neighboring Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Menna and Rekhmire. The artists and scribes commissioned by Montuemhat drew equal inspiration from the Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's nearby temple at Deir el-Bahari, copying scenes and their accompanying captions together.⁷⁵ Similar use was also made of texts from the Tenth Dynasty tomb of "Tefib" (*'Iti-ib=i*) at Assiut, and, in some cases, Montuemhat's scribes even appear to have corrected orthographic and grammatical errors which they had found in the originals.⁷⁶ The high standard which characterized Montuemhat's archaism can be seen most clearly through comparison with that of his contemporary, the Chief Steward Ibi: while the two officials copied many of the same Tenth and Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions for their own monuments during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Ibi's versions are full of incoherent passages resulting from miscopying, while Montuemhat's are consistently faithful to the original inscriptions and demonstrate a much deeper understanding of their historical context.⁷⁷ The art and inscriptions commissioned by Montuemhat not only offer one of the most extensive corpora of Late Period archaism, but they may also represent its apogee.

As a Theban himself, Montuemhat exhibited a certain affection for the artistic styles which accompanied that town's ascent to national prominence during the Middle Kingdom. Among his more famous statues is a seated figure from Karnak which appears to mimic both the posture and costume of the Twelfth Dynasty official Kherihotep. Likewise, Montuemhat's so-called "crypt inscription" at Karnak's Mut Precinct

⁷⁰ Especially *m sh ʿš.t*, on which see Janssen, "La stèle de Montouemhat," 443.

⁷¹ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 143.

⁷² Janssen, "La stèle de Montouemhat," 445.

⁷³ Wildung, "Looking Back Into the Future," 62-65.



⁷⁴ Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs*, 220.

⁷⁵ Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 20, 22, 28-50.

⁷⁶ Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 7-10.

⁷⁷ Numerous examples of this contrast are dispersed throughout the footnotes of Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 7-50.

“est écrite dans le style le plus traditionnel,” eschewing the analytic tendencies of Late Egyptian for the denser, synthetic forms which characterized the language of the Middle Kingdom.⁷⁸ Of course, in this regard, Montuemhat was not alone. Middle Egyptian had long since come to be regarded as the Classical variety of the language, and its use was paralleled by the imitation of Middle Kingdom statuary and stela during the Late Period.

The Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat would therefore appear fully capable of commissioning the stela which Reisner discovered at Semna. The proportions, costume, and layout of Middle Kingdom offering scenes were easily mimicked, as were the palaeography and orthography of its accompanying inscription. Admittedly, by the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, it may have been rather unusual to include the final aleph in *pgʒ*,⁷⁹ or to write its determinative with such rotundity, and it is further somewhat surprising that, of the thirteen different orthographies attested for the name of Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes, none includes both the tether  (V 13) and the quail chick  (G 43) as written here on the Semna stela.⁸⁰ However, orthographic differences of this kind are superficial and idiosyncratic, and they can exhibit as much variety within a single period as they do across a millennium. Moreover, deviations from a Classical ideal could be easily avoided by an attentive scribe, particularly if he had access to proper Middle Kingdom *Vorlagen*—if not immediately at hand at Semna, then at least in Thebes. The same would seem to be true of the Semna inscription’s grammatical forms and couplet structure. In fact, the sheer syntactic density of the stela’s participial epitheta allowed little field of play for grammatical anachronisms of any kind.⁸¹

In this regard, the Semna stela merits comparison with a text inscribed upon the famous striding statue of the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat (Cairo CG 42236). Much like the inscription at Semna, the opening sequence of epitheta on Montuemhat’s statue makes extensive use of active participles, so that every verbal root appears with nominal function and little morphological variation that might betray its Late Period context. The statue inscription is also divisible into thematic couplets and emphasizes Montuemhat’s service to both Palace and populace:

(1) *iry-p^c.t hʒ.ty-^c sdʒw.ty-bi.ty smr-w^c.t*

(1) The hereditary nobleman, mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole companion,

(2) *wr hʒ.w ʒ mrw.t*

(2) great of favor,
great of love,

d(ʒ)r nʒn(y) m pr-nsw.t

ʒq (3) *hr nfr.t r b(w) hr nsw.t*

who drives trouble from the Palace,
who enters (3) bearing beautiful things to the place where the king resides,

rʒ shr m niw.wt spʒ.wt

shṭp Hr m pr=f

the mouth which contents the towns and the nomes,
who pacifies Horus in his house,

mʒ(ʒ) n m-h.t

(4) *rḥ hn.ty*

who sees the future,
(4) who knows the boundaries,

⁷⁸ For Kherihotep, see Berlin ÄMP 15700, as compared to Montuemhat’s statue Berlin ÄMP 17271 in Wildung, *Ägypten*, 172-173. For the so-called “crypt inscription,” see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 193-238 esp. 235.

⁷⁹ Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 9.

⁸⁰ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 241-243.

⁸¹ For the general conformity of Twenty-Sixth Dynasty participles to Classical Egyptian norms, see Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 131; cf. Schenkel, review of *Living in the Past*.

rs-tp hr w^c nb m pr=f
hry-sšt3 nsw.t m s.t=f nb

vigilant toward everyone in his house,
 the keeper of the king's secrets in all of his places,

w^r n ntr
m^r s.t-db^c.w

who has access to the god,
 excellent of action,

(5) *hm-ntr nw-4 'Imn h3.ty-^c n Niw.t Mntw-m-h3.t m3^c-hrw*

(5) the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Mayor of the City (Thebes), Montuemhat, justified . . .

By the seventh century BC, the “encomiastic autobiography” had become so firmly entrenched in Egyptian tradition that it required little effort at archaistic imitation; its faithful reproduction may instead be viewed as an effect of cultural continuity. The statue upon which this particular text was inscribed was itself an aggregate of elements drawn from the past: a striding figure in the style of the Old Kingdom, whose subject nevertheless wore a characteristically New Kingdom wig.

Thus, one possible explanation of the Semna stela would be that it was commissioned by the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat during the Twenty-Fifth or Twenty-Sixth Dynasty in a style which followed the iconography, palaeography, and grammar found within such Middle Kingdom autobiographies as could be seen at Thebes, and that it was subsequently deposited within the Semna fortress alongside an inventory of earlier Middle Kingdom tables and stelae with inscribed offering formulae. In much the same way, Taharqo's temple at Semna was built to establish mythic continuity with the fortress's Middle Kingdom patron: Senwosret III.⁸² The occasional resonances between the boundary stelae of Senwosret III and Montuemhat's own biographical stela would then be an extension of that archaistic project—deliberate intertextuality across a millennium at a single site. The resulting object would, indeed, be very difficult to distinguish from a Middle Kingdom original. To appreciate the potential for confusion, one need only recall the example of a purported “Middle Kingdom” stela in the Museo Egizio di Turino, “whose archaizing style definitely calls to mind an original of the twelfth Dynasty (1991-1786), but which, on the basis of the personal name of the owner, Harbes, belongs to the early twenty-sixth Dynasty (beginning 664 BC).”⁸³ In the case of Montuemhat's Semna stela, his personal name offers no such clarification.

If one accepts that the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat could easily have included all of the elements that are present upon the Semna stela, what remains to be determined is the probability that he would also have omitted those elements which are conspicuously absent from the Semna stela—most notably, any visual or textual reference to deities. Here the proposed dating of the stela to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty begins to raise scepticism, for the religious Zeitgeist of the Late Period was that of personal piety: people at multiple levels of Egyptian society now appealed directly to the gods, solicited their intervention in human affairs, and attributed good fortune to their divine will. While contemporary forms of art, handwriting, and speech were frequently replaced by imitations of the Classical Middle Kingdom ideal, the contemporary emphasis on personal piety was *not* so easily subordinated to the archaizing aesthetic. In fact, the complete absence of gods and goddesses from both the offering scene and the text of Montuemhat's Semna stela would appear to exceed the usual bounds of Late Period archaism.

A clear example of the conflict and negotiation between archaism and personal piety was remarked by Otto within his study of Late Period Egyptian biographies. Upon a statue of Iret-Hor-aa from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, the inscription contains recognizable quotations from the Tenth Dynasty tomb of “Tefib” (*Iti-ib=i*) at Assiut, but these quotations were adroitly modified in order to bring them in line with the contemporary spirit of personal piety:

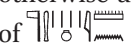


⁸² See Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, pl. 37B: *nsw.t-bi.ty T3-h-r-q ʿnh d.t ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f nfr ntr H3-k3.w-R^c m3^c-hrw*.

⁸³ Limestone stela of Harbes in Wildung, “Looking Back Into the Future,” 63.

In Siut heisst es: 'Jeder Edle, der Gutes tun wird den Menschen und übertrifft die Art dessen, der ihn erzeugt hat, der wird dauern auf Erden.' In unserem Text ist dagegen die Stelle so formuliert: 'Jeder Edle, der den Menschen Nützlichtes tut und übertrifft den Fall dessen, der ihn erzeugt hat, den lässt Gott auf Erden dauern.' Der Unterschied ist deutlich und erhartet das oben Gesagte: In alter Zeit ist das Dauern auf Erden die natürliche Folge der guten Handlungen; von Gott ist stillschweigend vorausgesetzt, dass er diesen gesetzmässigen Ablauf der Dinge in Ordnung hält. In der Spätzeit dagegen ist der Glaube an die Gesetzmässigkeit erschüttert: Es liegt im Willen Gottes, der guten Tat die Belohnung folgen zu lassen. Man erwartet und hofft, dass er es tun wird; aber es ist jedesmal ein besonderer Akt seiner Gnade. Dadurch bekommt die gesamte Ethik der Spätzeit ein neues Gesicht.⁸⁴

This "new face" of Egyptian ethics was inscribed upon even the most archaistic works, and its inclusion would suggest that the motives which drove archaism were not primarily those of forgery and deception: Late Period archaism manifested instead a reverence for tradition as perceived through the vestiges of the past, one which supplemented contemporary forms of religiosity rather than displacing them.

Montuemhat's statue inscriptions, stelae, and relief scenes fully embodied the spirit of personal piety during his tenure as Mayor of Thebes in the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. Not only do his inscriptions prominently feature appeals to gods and goddesses, but Montuemhat is also consistently depicted as a supplicant before those deities in lunette scenes upon his stelae.⁸⁵ If the Semna stela were one of his inscriptions, its complete omission of deities from both the text and accompanying scene would mark a radical departure from his surviving body of work. The decision to exclude gods and goddesses from the Semna stela would also seem *a fortiori* improbable for a man of Montuemhat's clerical status: within his various inscriptions, he is identified as the Fourth Prophet of Amun (*hm-ntr 4-nw 'Imn*), the Temple Scribe of the House of Amun (*sš hw.t-ntr pr 'Imn*), the Overseer of Priests (*imy-r3 hm.w-ntr*), the Inspector of Priests (*shd hm.w-ntr*), the Overseer of the Temple (*imy-r3 hw.t-ntr*), the Supreme Chief Official of the Temple (*hry-tp 3 n hw.t-ntr*), and also a Priest of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep and Sokar-Who-Dwells-in-Karnak (*[hm.w-ntr Hnsw]-m-W3s.t-nfr-htp* and *hm-ntr Skr hr-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt*).⁸⁶ None of the gods whom Montuemhat served are mentioned or depicted upon the Semna stela.

This absence in turn exposes several others which are no less significant: Montuemhat does not bear a single priestly title upon the Semna stela, nor does he bear the titles of the high secular offices which were otherwise ubiquitously associated with his name during the Late Period. Most conspicuous is the absence of  "Fourth Prophet of Amun"—arguably his favored title upon other monuments. Equally missing from the Semna stela are his titles as  "Mayor of the City (Thebes)" and  "Overseer of Upper Egypt." All of Montuemhat's complete monuments during the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties contain at least one of these three titles, most bear two, and several include all three in succession.⁸⁷ On the Semna stela, none of these titles is present. While one might well cavil that the militant purpose of his appearance at Semna would have rendered his priestly title irrelevant and his Theban office overly provincial, the absence of the title "Overseer of Upper Egypt" is not so easily explained. In fact, if Török were correct to conclude from the Semna stela that "Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia were treated as a single unit" during the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties,⁸⁸ then Montuemhat's status as Overseer of Upper Egypt would seem to be of the greatest relevance to his claims to authority in Lower Nubia. Yet no such status is invoked on the Semna stela.

In addition to omitting the expected titles, the inscription at Semna also includes one title which is not otherwise attested for the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat: *imy-r3 mšc*. A title mentioned only once, like an office assumed only briefly, would not in itself be altogether surprising. However, the title of *imy-r3 mšc* would seem to claim for Montuemhat a very different role than his offices as *hm-ntr 4-nw 'Imn*, *h3.ty-c n*

⁸⁴ Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, 23-24.



⁸⁵ See esp. Cairo CG 42241, as well as an unnumbered stelophorous statue and BM EA 1643 in Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pls. 22, 8, 9.

⁸⁶ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 255-257.

⁸⁷ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 251-258.

⁸⁸ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345; see also Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250.

Niw.t, and *imy-r3 Šm^c.w*: it would render him a *military* official, as would the accompanying epithet in line 1: “open-of-face in the council of the multitude while making the plan of the soldiers” (*pg3-ħr m šh^cšy.t m irt shr mnf3.wt*). The Semna stela thereby raises the question as to whether Montuemhat’s responsibilities during the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties included the command of troops. Certain passages from his inscriptions might be taken to suggest so. Upon the north wall of the so-called “crypt” in Karnak’s Mut Precinct, Montuemhat claims to have been “a perfect refuge for my city” (*ibw mnħ n niw.t=i*), when “[I] conquered the rebels in the nomes of Upper Egypt” (*d3r[=i] bñn.w m sp3.wt Šm^c[.w]*).⁸⁹ As Leclant has observed, the Mut “crypt” features Taharqo and a living Nesptah A but no Tanutamani, so the activities described within the inscription would seem to correspond to “la «renaissance» éthiopienne, consécutive à la décadence et aux troubles de la fin du VII^e siècle.”⁹⁰ Similarly, a group statue from the Karnak cachette depicting the deceased Montuemhat and his son, Nesptah B, includes upon its back pillar some fragmentary references to the defeat of enemies and the subsequent return to normalcy in fortified towns: *r ħsf nšny n ħ3s.wt . . . ħf.tyw sdr=sn ħtm.w=sn wn ĩw.wt=sn . . .*, “in order to repulse the fury of the hill-countries (foreign lands?) . . . the enemies. They pass the night with their fortresses open, with their herds. . . .”⁹¹ While such passages would seem to record defensive organization on the part of Montuemhat, they do not thereby render him a military general. In fact, the statements within Montuemhat’s “crypt” inscription and upon his group statue bear closest analogy with the traditional claims of nomarchs to have defended their provincial domains from encroaching chaos.⁹² No mention is made of troops or expeditions, and, most significantly, all of the conflicts appear to be local in nature; they involve “my city” and “the nomes of Upper Egypt,” while the external threats are “repulsed” and attributed only to generalized “hill-countries,” without reference to specific foreign lands. They would therefore appear to describe Montuemhat’s defense of Upper Egypt during revolts or invasions, but they do not place him outside of the borders of that domain as the leader of a military expedition.

Among Montuemhat’s attested titles during the Late Period, there are only two which may bear comparison with the Semna stela’s *imy-r3 mš^c*. Upon the right base of his cube statue from Karnak’s Mut Precinct, Montuemhat is called the , “Ruler of the Hill-Countries,” while the inscription upon the opposing left edge identifies him as the , “Overseer of the Door of the Hill-Countries”⁹³—a title which is repeated once more upon the “partie supérieure d’un cercle . . . dans la collection Wallis.”⁹⁴ The first of these titles, *ħq3-ħ3s.wt*, would seem to explicitly claim authority over foreign lands like Lower Nubia, while the latter, *imy-r3 3 ħ3s.wt* suggests an intriguing analogy with the Semna stela’s reference to *m irt r3-3 ħr Km.t*, “making a doorway over Egypt.” However, within the Egyptian cultural context, such titles cannot be taken literally without supporting evidence, for they often conflate administrative control over a foreign land with receipt of foreign tribute. During the later Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Padihorresnet would bear the designation of *ħq3 ħ3s.wt m W3s.t*, “Ruler of the Hill-Countries in Thebes”—a title which is arguably best understood as a claim to foreign imports rather than foreign territory.⁹⁵ Montuemhat’s claim to authority over the “Hill-Countries” must therefore be confronted with the attested geographic scope of his activities.

The precise extent of Montuemhat’s domain would be difficult to determine, were it not for the fact that one of his inscriptions unambiguously specifies the southern and northern boundaries of his authority. On the left side of the throne on his seated statue (Berlin ÄMP 17271), the text reads:

⁸⁹ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 203; see fourteenth column from right on pl. LXVIII.

⁹⁰ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 237.

⁹¹ Cairo CG 42241, sixth and seventh columns from left on the statue’s wide back pillar in: Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 83, pl. XXII.

⁹² In this regard, it is noteworthy that Elias would interpret the *ħsf n Niw.t* (likely predecessor of the *ħ3.ty-^c n Niw.t*) as the “defensor” of Thebes. See: Elias, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom*, 694-695 n. 86; also Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 76. Nevertheless, Payraudeau would emphasize that “L’influence hors de Thèbes de [les *ħsf.w nwt P3-mi et ħr*] . . . ne saurait démontrer une quelconque autorité des *rwd 3 ħsf nwt* en dehors des limite de Thèbes.” For this argument and the relationship between the *ħsf Niw.t* and the mayoralty of Thebes, see: Payraudeau, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes aux époques libyenne et éthiopienne,” esp. 150; also Malinine, *Choix de textes I*, 80-82 n. 2.

⁹³ Cairo CG 646 in Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 73-74, pl. XVI.


⁹⁴ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 153.

⁹⁵ Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes*, 86, pl. XXV.

di=i šs3=tn m mnḥ=i wn.n=i m ḥ3.ty-ḥ n W3s.t Šmḥ.w r dr=s ḥr s.t-ḥr=i tš rsy r 3bw mḥ.ty r Wunw.t

I caused that you should know my efficacy when I was Mayor of Dominion (Thebes) and Upper Egypt in its entirety was under my supervision, the southern boundary being at Elephantine and the northern at Hermopolis.⁹⁶

On the basis of this passage, Posener concluded that Montuemhat's titles as *ḥq3-ḥ3s.wt* and *imy-r3 3 ḥ3s.wt* referred "à la frontière sud" at Elephantine,⁹⁷ while Leclant elected instead to associate them with Montuemhat's recorded mining expeditions in the Wadi Hammamat and Wadi Gasus.⁹⁸ In either case, Montuemhat's titles would lay claim to imports arriving in Upper Egypt, not to the annexation of foreign territories beyond that realm.

In this regard, it is necessary to avert a popular misconception that would grant Montuemhat national authority. In the Annals of Assurbanipal, Montuemhat is indeed designated as a *šarru*,⁹⁹ leading many authors to overestimate his political power. However, Montuemhat is only one *šarru* among many within that text. As Leclant has explained, "[o]n traduit habituellement *šarru* par « roi »; ce terme étant employé dans les textes assyriens pour désigner de façon uniforme les nomarques d'Égypte, c'est donc l'équivalent de  *iry-pḥt ḥ3.ty-ḥ*."¹⁰⁰ More recently, Török has attributed to the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat a stela in the Cairo Museum that would designate him as Northern Vizier, thereby extending his authority over both Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁰¹ However, examination of the stela in question reveals that the Vizier's name was twice spelled clearly as *Montuhotep* (Figs. 55 and 56)—another man entirely—and never as

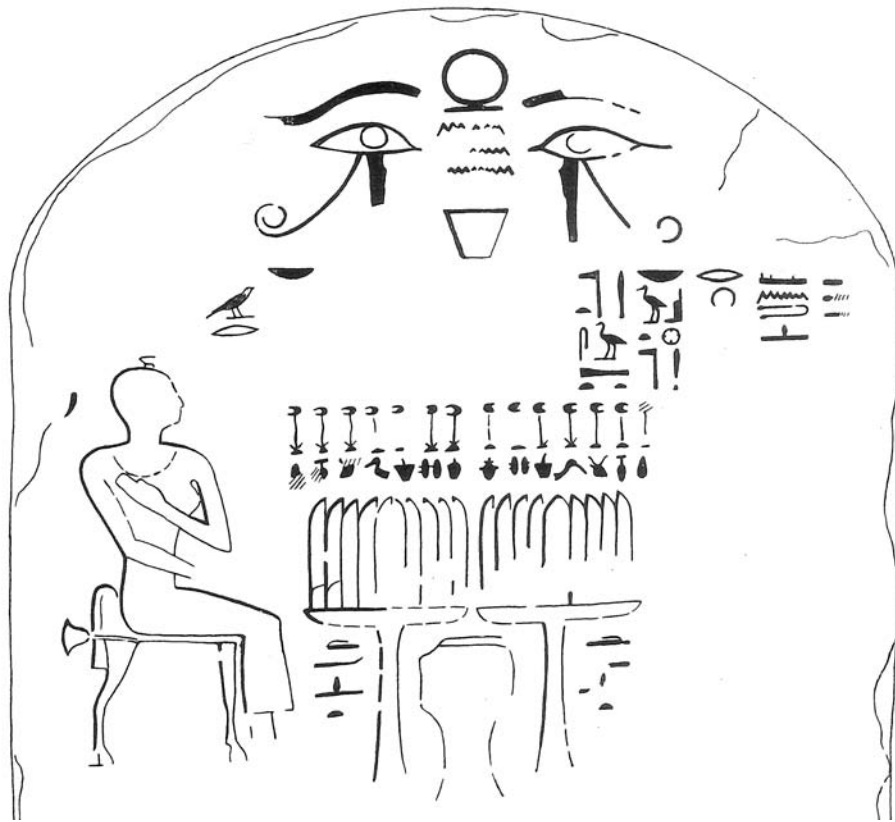


Fig. 55. Line drawing of Montuhotep's stela in the Cairo Museum (vo.). After Habachi, "Mentuhotp," pl. 7.

⁹⁶ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 64, pl. XV. Interestingly, the same boundaries were later claimed by both Padihorresnet and Ibi. See transcription and discussion in Graefe, "Zwei Ergebnisse einer Inspektion des Grabes No. 196 im Assasif," 244-245.

⁹⁷ Posener, "Les douanes de la Méditerranée dans l'Égypte saïte," 119 n. 5.

⁹⁸ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 192, 268, 272-273.

⁹⁹ See Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), l. 109, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens I*, 119.

¹⁰⁰ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 260.

¹⁰¹ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 475 n. 394; Teeter, "Celibacy and Adoption," 411 n. 42.

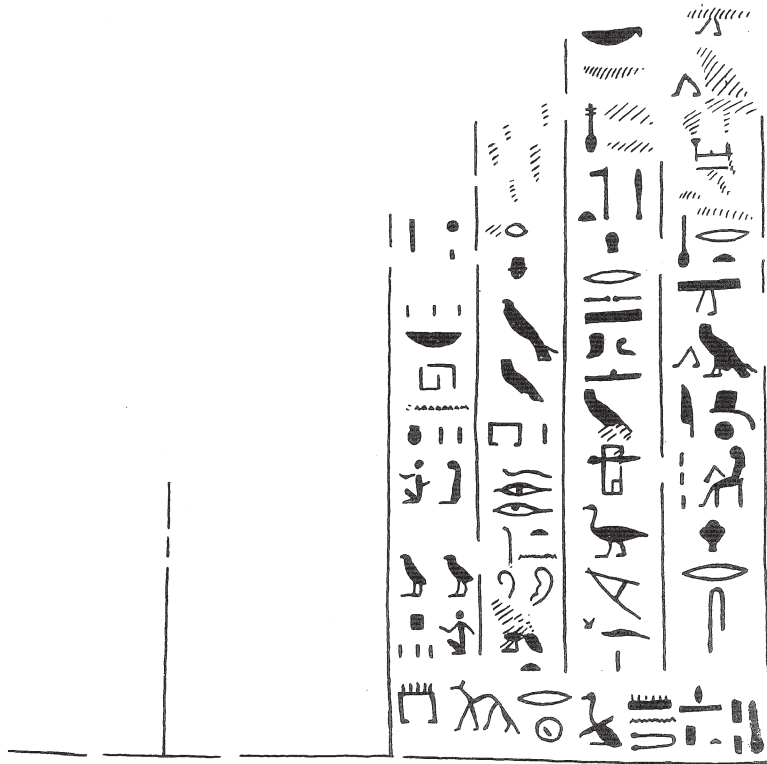


Fig. 56. Line drawing of Montuhotep's stela in the Cairo Museum (ro.). After Habachi, "Mentuhotp," pl. 5.

Montuemhat.¹⁰² The conclusions which Leclant reached in his 1961 study of Montuemhat would therefore appear fully justified: "Il ne porte pas non plus de titres témoignant de son rôle près de Pharaon, soit dans l'administration, soit dans l'armée . . . Montouemhat fut essentiellement un puissant chef local."¹⁰³ The distribution of his monuments gives no reason to doubt the testimony of Montuemhat's Berlin statue (ÄMP 17271), which places the southern boundary of his authority at Elephantine.¹⁰⁴ From there, Semna was another 270 km south as the crow flies.

Semna was also located within a very different cultural context. In Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach, only a single private document has yet been found which might possibly be dated to the Twenty-Fifth or Twenty-Sixth Dynasty—a small, oracular(?) amuletic papyrus discovered within secondary fill of an early structure at Qasr Ibrim.¹⁰⁵ Aside from this single papyrus, no non-royal textual corpora from the period have been found between the First and Third Cataracts: no administrative dockets, no private statuary, no tomb inscriptions, no inscribed funerary cones, and no private stelae. At a time when political tumult allowed the rise of local magnates in Lower Egypt, and when personal piety yielded a relative profusion of private religious testimonials in Upper Egypt—and, to a lesser extent, Upper Nubia—no such documents have been located between the First and Third Cataracts. As illustrated below, all texts found from this era in Lower Nubia are either royal amulets or scarabs, royal temple dedications, or other temple *Randzeilen*. Private individuals north of the Third Cataract are rendered effectively invisible by the surviving textual evidence. Török has remarked this pattern without bringing it to bear on the

¹⁰² Habachi, "Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa." Plates are listed by Habachi as "17-23" but numbered instead as 1-7 at the end of the volume. In Török's reference to the stela, Habachi's publication is mistakenly cited under the title "Mentuemhat, the Vizier and Son-in-Law of Taharqa." See preceding note. Attempts to commission new photographs have proven unsuccessful, because the Cairo Museum is no longer able to locate the stela; I nevertheless thank Yasmin El Shazly for her assistance.

¹⁰³ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 278-279. As Leclant has noted, the mention of Montuemhat upon a single fragment from Tell el-Yahudiyeh (now at the Anthropological Museum of Marischal College at Aberdeen) should not be taken as an indication that Montuemhat held office in Lower Egypt; *op. cit.*, 133-134, pl. XLIV.

¹⁰⁴ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 64, pl. XV.

¹⁰⁵ Rose, "Evidence for Early Settlement at Qasr Ibrim," 3-4.

question of Montuemhat's Semna stela.¹⁰⁶ Yet any such biographical text commissioned for a private official at Semna would seem to have existed in a documentary vacuum extending over the whole of Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach.

The proposed assignment of the Semna stela to the Twenty-Fifth or Twenty-Sixth Dynasty would thus require the historian to accept a formidable list of assumptions: (1) that the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat either modestly understated his domain in his "crypt" inscription or greatly extended that domain during a later epoch; (2) that he became a general in charge of troops at Semna, though he had never held military office before; (3) that he left the only private stela in all of Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach during that era; (4) that he eschewed his usual titles at Semna, even his claim to regional authority (Overseer of Upper Egypt); (5) that he equally jettisoned all signs of personal piety within the inscription, thereby exceeding the usual bounds of archaism and creating a monument which was both radically dissimilar from his surviving body of work and quite contradictory to his various clerical offices; and (6) that he chose to render this biographical inscription not only in the artistic style, palaeography, orthography, grammar, phraseology, and technical vocabulary of the Middle Kingdom, but also in complete accord with the cultural values that had characterized that era more than a millennium before. Such a scenario exceeds the limits of credibility, particularly when another, far more defensible alternative is at hand: that the Semna stela was commissioned for an official named Montuemhat during the Middle Kingdom. In Leclant's exhaustive 1961 study of *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, the Semna stela was not mentioned at all, and it would be another thirty years before Wolf would propose to attribute the stela to the famous Mayor of Thebes. It was therefore with a certain prescience that Leclant would caution his readers in 1961: "Il existe des monuments de plusieurs autres Montouemhat; les titres et les indications généalogiques empêchent de les confondre avec le dignitaire que nous étudions."¹⁰⁷

IV.3. Administration

Montuemhat's appearance as director of constructions at Semna indicates that, at least in this particular aspect, Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia were treated as a single unit.

László Török (2009)¹⁰⁸

Without the presence of the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat at Semna, there is no longer any compelling reason to adopt Török's assertion that Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia formed a single unit within the organization of the Double Kingdom. Across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, neither a Vizier, a God's Wife of Amun, her Chief Steward, nor any other state official below the pharaoh is attested iconographically or textually between the First and Third Cataracts.¹⁰⁹ The marked contrast between this circumstance and the elaborate hierarchy of officialdom in Upper Egypt and Upper Nubia on either side would suggest that Lower Nubia was rather treated as a *separate* unit.¹¹⁰

However, Török's further proposal, that Lower Nubia was administered during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty through a series of Egyptian-style temple-towns, is much less dependent upon Montuemhat's presence in the region, so the hypothesis merits further consideration.¹¹¹ Under the regime of New Kingdom imperialism centuries before, Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach comprised a riverine chain of towns centered around temples and their associated regal or viceregal residences, allowing the Crown to integrate its conquered possessions into the economy of the larger Egyptian state. The imperial system

¹⁰⁶ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 403-404; see also Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 243ff.

¹⁰⁷ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, xi n. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345.

¹⁰⁹ During the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, a priest of Amunresonter, one Khonsirdis, claimed the title of "Geheimrat der Götter von Nubien," an office which Kees would associate with the Dodekaschoenus. Though the title appears only in Upper Egypt, the possibility should at least be considered that officials serving the Saïte regime exercised some authority in Lower Nubia. See Kees, *Das Priestertum in ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, 286-287.

¹¹⁰ For the administrative hierarchy of Upper Egypt, see Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*. For female officialdom in Upper Nubia, see Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*. For their male counterparts, see discussion in Ch. III.4 above.

¹¹¹ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250.

appears to have been modeled, in turn, after domestic administration: New Kingdom temples in Egypt were linked with their surrounding towns by a complex sharecropping arrangement in which “the gods were given the status of landed nobility” and rent was extracted from a hierarchy of lessors and laborers.¹¹² In some cases, the expanse of land owned by a temple could be considerable: a fleet of barges is needed to collect rents in Papyrus Amiens, and certain temples in Egypt may also have claimed revenue from provinces in distant Nubia.¹¹³ Temples were then linked to the royal center by a reciprocal arrangement of taxation and royal donation, and in many cases the Crown itself claimed direct ownership over *khato*-land which the temple personnel were responsible for administering.

Nevertheless, the economic gain to be derived in Nubia below the Third Cataract, specifically, may be doubted. As Kemp has observed:

The apparently non-ecologically based distribution of temple towns into the impoverished area between the Batn el-Hagar and the Third Cataract looks suspiciously like the result of an over-assessment of agricultural potential based on a false understanding of the processes of nature. Their survival must have depended on subsidies from land owned by them in more fertile areas. Here one must emphasize that in trying to elucidate the motives behind a piece of ancient planning one must certainly envisage a far from simple decision-making process in which doctrinaire considerations advanced by people in powerfully entrenched positions must have vied with expert testimony from local investigations.¹¹⁴

If the agricultural productivity of the region was as low as generally supposed, then the establishment of New Kingdom temple-towns within the region may be viewed as a largely propagandistic measure—disseminating the ideology of empire and royal divinity for the purposes of political integration. As Kemp has emphasized, temple-towns sited in defiance of ecological constraints would have been heavily dependent on the *inter*-site network to supplement the meager gains of *intra*-site revenue. Consequently, temple-towns in Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach cannot be considered in isolation from one another; the motives behind their construction and maintenance and the uses to which they were put must be understood through the pattern of their regional distribution. During the New Kingdom, this distribution was extensive.

If the New Kingdom Egyptian state utilized a system of temple-towns to integrate Lower Nubia politically and, to a lesser extent, economically, it would seem natural to posit with Kitchen that the Kushite pharaohs of “[t]he 25th Dynasty had exactly the same problem, albeit technically in reverse,” and perhaps even that they addressed it by means of the same solution.¹¹⁵ This scenario becomes all the more appealing if one is willing to assume that administrative divisions mentioned in the later Napatan inscriptions of Aspelta refer to governmental units below the Third Cataract (but *cf.* Ch. III above).¹¹⁶ Such isolated references would then provide a rare glimpse of the governmental structures which underlay Lower Nubian temple construction during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Thus, Török would infer the extent of administrative control from the distribution of cultic presence, under the assumption that temples continued to serve functions of civil governance, coordinated with military defense, well into the first millennium BC:

In its accents, Taharqo’s Lower Nubian building activity recalls the Eighteenth Dynasty period of the (re-)creation of Nubia’s sacred geography. Similarly to the New Kingdom antecedents, it is to be seen in the context of the formulation, demonstration, and explanation of royal authority and at the same time as part of the comprehensive organization of military defence, civil administration, production, and redistribution.¹¹⁷

Török’s survey of this Lower Nubian building activity follows the earlier work of Wolf, noting several temple constructions by Taharqo north of the Third Cataract at: Sedeinga, Semna West, Buhen, Gezira Dabarosa, Faras, Qasr Ibrim, and then Philae at the Egyptian border.¹¹⁸ Yellin would add further “building

¹¹² Kemp, “Temple and town in ancient Egypt,” 658.

¹¹³ Gardiner, “Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn”; Griffith, “Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri.”

¹¹⁴ Kemp, “Temple and town in ancient Egypt,” 667.

¹¹⁵ Kitchen, “Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology,” 293.

¹¹⁶ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250-251.

¹¹⁷ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 339.

¹¹⁸ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 140.

campaigns” carried out by Taharqo at Arminna, Aniba, Kalabasha, and “Semna Kumma” (as distinguished in her list from “Semna West”).¹¹⁹ The image that results from this list is one of a centralized regime thoroughly invested in Lower Nubia, lending considerable weight to the proposal that the region would have been administered through an inter-site network of centralized taxation and redistribution. It is therefore essential to examine the archaeological evidence in order to determine the nature and extent of royal interest at each of these eleven sites.

At Sedeinga, excavations during the 1960s by Schiff-Giorgini discovered four sandstone blocks obstructing the entrance to a tomb (W T 1) in the western cemetery.¹²⁰ Two of them connected to form the image of a king who was clearly identified by a cartouche containing the final element of Taharqo’s nomen (. . . q). The others were inscribed with a fragment of his prenomen (*Hw* . . .) and a divine epithet (. . . 3 *nb T3-Sti*).¹²¹ Deliberately attempting a “description objective, évitant de conclure,” Schiff-Giorgini designated the excavated structure as a “tombe au nom de Taharqa.” This description then led both Haycock and Adams to propose that Taharqo had been interred at Sedeinga, and that his large pyramidal tomb at Nuri was nothing more than a cenotaph.¹²² Haycock even suggested that Taharqo may have been deposed by Tanutamani and forced into exile at Sedeinga.¹²³ However, further excavations at the site revealed the surrounding eight tombs to be of Meroitic date, the entrance of one being obstructed by a block of “style comparable” to those of Taharqo.¹²⁴ Leclant concluded that “[p]lutôt que désigner W T 1 comme la ‘tombe de Taharqa’ ou une ‘Tombe avec le nom de Taharqa,’ il serait plus prudent d’en faire état comme d’une tombe comportant des blocs d’un monument de Taharqa.”¹²⁵ No further trace of this monument can yet be confidently identified at the site,¹²⁶ and thus it is unclear whether the remaining blocks belonged to a local structure or were transported from farther afield. Sedeinga is approximately equidistant from the nearest attested monuments of Taharqo above the Third Cataract and northward at Semna, but the distance is a considerable one.

At Semna West, a small mud-brick temple of Taharqo with several inscribed sandstone elements was excavated first by Budge and then by Reisner within the fortress’s river-side quarter.¹²⁷ Most impressive among the contents found by Budge was a sandstone altar bearing Taharqo’s dedication to Senwosret III: *nsw-bi.ty T3-h-r-q ʿnh d.t ʾr.n=f mn.w=f n it=f mry ntr nfr H3-k3.w-Rʿ*.¹²⁸ Within the sanctuary itself, a door jamb with relief scene bore traces of a fragmentary text reading simply: *di ʿnh mi Rʿ*.¹²⁹ Reisner’s later excavations found in the southern part of the temple several column drums, two of which bore the nomen and prenomen of Taharqo.¹³⁰ From the entrance to the sanctuary, a loose block with inscribed sun-disc invoked *Hr Bhd.ty*, and a lintel found west of the temple bore Taharqo’s nomen.¹³¹ While these inscriptions were formulaic in nature, the altar found by Budge had clearly been patterned after an inscription in

¹¹⁹ Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 253 esp. n. 55.

¹²⁰ Schiff-Giorgini, “Première campagne de fouilles à Sedeinga.”

¹²¹ Leclant, “Taharqa à Sedeinga,” 1116.

¹²² Haycock, “Kingship of Kush in the Sudan,” 466 n. 18; Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 266, 277, 324.

¹²³ See discussion in Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 710 n. 78.

¹²⁴ Leclant, “Taharqa à Sedeinga,” 1116.

¹²⁵ Leclant, “Taharqa à Sedeinga,” 1116 [emphasis added].

¹²⁶ But cf. discussion in el-Naggar, “Contribution de Sedeinga à l’histoire de la Nubie.”

¹²⁷ See Fig. 51 above.

¹²⁸ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, pl. 37B; Budge, *Egyptian Sûdân I*, 483, pl. opposite 482. The inscription of Thutmose III, after which Taharqo patterned his text, was itself clearly dedicated *n nsw.t-bi.ty H3-k3.w-Rʿ* (where Budge supplies: “to [his father] the King of the South and the North, Kha-kau-Ra”). While it is most likely that Taharqo’s inscription was intended in exactly the same manner, the wording does not absolutely require it, for *n it=f* is not placed in direct apposition to *ntr nfr H3-k3.w-Rʿ* as Budge’s reading would suggest; instead, the word *mry* intervenes between the two in translation, though it is honorifically transposed after Senwosret III’s prenomen in writing (pace Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 34, and Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaos aus Kusch*, 214). Consequently, it should not be regarded as a certainty that Taharqo’s Semna temple was dedicated to the deified Senwosret III like that of Thutmose III, as *it=f* in Taharqo’s inscription might instead refer to another deity more conventionally regarded as the father of the king, with *mry ntr nfr H3-k3.w-Rʿ* serving as an epithet of Taharqo: “beloved of the good god Kha-kau-Re.” Still, the older interpretation is preferred here because of the significant proximity to Thutmose III’s temple.

¹²⁹ Khartoum SNM 00449 in: Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, 24; Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 33; Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 12-14.

¹³⁰ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 12; Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 33 n. 62.

¹³¹ Khartoum SNM 00499: Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 33; Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, pl. 38C.

the neighboring temple of Thutmose III.¹³² Taharqo's Semna West temple thus provides the most explicit support for Yellin's assertion that the Kushite king's Lower Nubian construction program was "channeling the glory of the New Kingdom into his reign"¹³³—though, in this particular instance, the New Kingdom inscriptional model appears to have served principally as a conduit for Middle Kingdom glory.

On the east side of the river at Kumma, no structures, loose blocks, or small finds have yet been published which can be dated specifically to the reign of Taharqo. Yellin's inclusion of "Semna Kumma" as a separate site of construction from "Semna West" may result from a misreading of Leclant's endnotes in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* entry for "Kuschitenherrschaft."¹³⁴ In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that Yellin's article as published in 1995 was a reworking of a paper delivered to the Hauptreferat of the Meroitic Conference in Khartoum a decade prior; the time lapse between the research and its publication consequently produced minor bibliographic inaccuracies, as identified further below.¹³⁵

Buhen presents a case analogous to that of Semna West: a restoration project undertaken by Taharqo upon an earlier monument bearing the names of Thutmose III. During the 1909-1910 season, excavations led by Randall-MacIver and Woolley noted within the Southern Temple a relief scene "bearing no name but obviously portraying some Ethiopian king."¹³⁶ Hall suggested that the king might be Taharqo, a conclusion later justified by the Egypt Exploration Society's epigraphic mission to Buhen in 1960-1961 under the direction of Emery and Caminos: papyriform columns in the temple forecourt yielded the Two-Ladies name of Taharqo,¹³⁷ while parts of the king's nomen were clearly preserved on a nearby fragment from a sandstone door-jamb.¹³⁸ A barque-stand in the temple was also inscribed in sunken relief with the dedication: *nsw.t-bi.ty T3-h-r-q ʿnh d.t mry Hr nb Bhn*.¹³⁹ The lower courses of a screen wall bore relief scenes "unmistakably Ethiopian in style," flanked by the erased cartouches of a king and another dedication to Horus, Lord of Buhen.¹⁴⁰ Several additional fragments found in the area without inscribed royal names were likely also associated with Taharqo's construction at the site,¹⁴¹ indicating a considerable restoration of the New Kingdom temple.

At nearby Gezira Dabarosa, Verwers excavated a later Coptic church whose main entrances had been blocked with stones: "[A]mong them were two inscribed blocks with parts of the cartouche of Taharka."¹⁴² Remains of an older mud-brick structure were noted below the church. Unfortunately, photographs and transcriptions of the inscribed blocks were never published, and their location today is unrecorded. As Wolf has observed: "Auf Grund der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft von Buhen kann man ebenso annehmen, daß die Blöcke von einem der Tempel in Buhen stammen."¹⁴³

Further downstream, small sandstone fragments entirely from door-jamb and lintels were found "re-used in the walls of the Faras Cathedral" alongside Ramesside and Thutmocide fragments. Comparing all of the blocks with those from neighboring temples in the region, Karkowski tentatively advocated "the outside provenance of this group of objects from Faras," noting: "[T]he presence of [Taharqo's] blocks at Faras is not surprising. Unluckily, no direct connections between his Faras fragments and the Buhen remains have been found."¹⁴⁴ Wolf thus concluded: "Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß das Dutzend kleiner

¹³² Budge, *Egyptian Sûdân* I, 483-484.

¹³³ Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 253.

¹³⁴ Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 253 n. 55. In the list cited by Yellin of places in Lower Nubia where Taharqo "est présent," Leclant includes "Semna-Ouest" and in turn references the publication of that evidence as: "Dunham-Janssen, Semna-Kumma, 12-13." See Leclant, "Kuschitenherrschaft," 896, 900 n. 58.

¹³⁵ I thank Janice Yellin for answering in generous detail my queries regarding her 1995 article. As Yellin's list is introduced within a footnote and is not the focus of the article as a whole, its importance to the present discussion lies principally in the fact that it reflects—and has subsequently reinforced—a conclusion widespread in the published historiography: that Taharqo was extensively involved in Lower Nubia.

¹³⁶ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 17, pl. 99.

¹³⁷ Cols. 22 and 23 in Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples at Buhen* I, 59, pls. 10, 12, 71.

¹³⁸ See frag. 59 in Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples at Buhen* I, 86, pl. 103.

¹³⁹ See frag. 58 in Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples at Buhen* I, 86, pl. 103.

¹⁴⁰ Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples at Buhen* I, 58, pl. 69.

¹⁴¹ See frags. 51-59 in Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples at Buhen* I, 82-86.

¹⁴² Verwers, "Survey from Faras to Gezira Dabarosa," 33.

¹⁴³ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 108 [emphasis added].

¹⁴⁴ Karkowski, *Faras* V, 63-65, 341-346.

Sandsteinblöcke in koptischer Zeit über 30 km stromabwärts transportiert und in den christlichen Bauten verbaut wurde.”¹⁴⁵

At Arminna, no architectural fragments or other objects have been published which can be attributed to the reign of Taharqo. It is unclear why Arminna has been included in Yellin’s list of Lower Nubian constructions during his reign, unless the allusion is to unpublished material(?).¹⁴⁶

Within the fortified town at Qasr Ibrim, Lepsius noted several re-used blocks which bore the prenomen and nomen of Taharqo.¹⁴⁷ More than a century later, Plumley’s excavations would reveal a mud-brick temple with plastered interior upon which was preserved a painted scene of a king labeled clearly as *T3-h-r-q* offering to a god.¹⁴⁸ The dedication of the temple was nowhere clearly stated, but presumed continuity with New Kingdom precedents at the site would strongly favor Horus of Miam (Aniba) as the god venerated at Qasr Ibrim during this period. Nevertheless, blocks naming both Amun and Mut were also found.¹⁴⁹ In the foundations of a nearby Meroitic structure, Plumley’s excavations also uncovered a re-used block bearing Taharqo’s nomen within a cartouche.¹⁵⁰

At Aniba itself, no remains of a Taharqo temple are known. The inclusion of Aniba in Yellin’s list may therefore result from a confusion with the presumed temple to Horus of Aniba at Qasr Ibrim. Alternatively, the reference to Taharqo’s construction activity at Aniba may derive from the discovery of a small clay plaque bearing his nomen which was found at Contra-Primis (*i.e.*, on the bank opposite Qasr Ibrim).¹⁵¹ In either case, there is little reason to conclude that Taharqo erected a structure at Aniba.

Kalabsha also contains no published structures attributable to Taharqo. It is included as a site of “Taharqo’s building” in Yellin’s list because of the presence of three graffiti from Taharqo’s regnal year 19 which were scratched onto boulders in the western mountain pass between Qirtas and Kalabsha (see Ch. IV.5 below).¹⁵²

Finally, Taharqo appears to have initiated construction on the island of Philae, thereby engendering a cultic site that would attain the greatest significance in the centuries that followed. Weigall first noted the existence of a granite stand in the forecourt of the Temple of Isis which bore a dedication to *’Imn n T3-q-m3-p-s*.¹⁵³ In an article accompanied by a transcription of the text, Griffith noted: “Ammon was the principal god of Tirhaqa’s great kingdom, but there seems to be no other trace on Philae either of the worship of that deity or of Tirhaqa’s piety.”¹⁵⁴ This circumstance would change in 1976 with the publication by Winter of a sandstone block bearing the king’s Golden Horus name.¹⁵⁵ Later excavations by Farag, Wahba, and Farid uncovered at the Gate of Nectanebo I a baked-brick furnace supported by an external strut of re-used sandstone blocks, several of which bore inscriptions naming and depicting Taharqo.¹⁵⁶ While the layout of the original building has not been reconstructed, the orientation of the later Temple of Isis toward the south has inspired some conjecture. Thus, Rutherford observed: “The possibility suggests itself that Taharqa founded a sanctuary on Philae facing towards Ethiopia as a sort of challenge to the established temple of Khnum on Elephantine. It may be significant that from the beginnings the main approach to the sanctuary was from the south, in order to welcome visitors from Kush.”¹⁵⁷ The extent to which the direction of the temple should be read as a political “challenge” is questionable; nevertheless, the dedication

¹⁴⁵ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 107.

¹⁴⁶ Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 253 n. 55. No objects from Arminna inscribed with the nomina of Taharqo are yet catalogued for the collections in Khartoum SNM, as published in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*, but the possibility of unpublished objects viewed by Yellin elsewhere must remain open.

¹⁴⁷ *LD V*, 129-132.

¹⁴⁸ Plumley, “Qasr Ibrim, 1974,” pl. XII; Miller, Rose, and Singleton, “Taharqo Wall Painting Program.”

¹⁴⁹ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit*, 106 n. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Plumley, “Qasr Ibrim, 1974,” pl. IX; see also Rose, “Early settlement at Qasr Ibrim.”

¹⁵¹ Emery and Kirwan, *Excavations and Survey from Wadi es-Sebu and Adindan*, pl. 58.

¹⁵² See citation to “Adams 1984” in Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 253 n. 55.

¹⁵³ Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 49.

¹⁵⁴ Griffith, “Four Granite Stands at Philae,” 128.

¹⁵⁵ Winter, “Die Tempel von Philae und das Problem ihrer Rettung,” II Abb. 16.

¹⁵⁶ Farag, Wahba, and Farid, “Inscribed Blocks of the Ramesside Period and of King Taharqa, Found at Philae.”

¹⁵⁷ Rutherford, “Island of the Extremity,” 231. For the later significance of the site in welcoming visitors from Kush, see esp. the Demotic graffito Philae 416 in: Pope, “Demotic Proskynema of a Meroïte Envoy to Roman Egypt”; *id.*, “Meroïtic Diplomacy and the Festival of Entry.”

to Amun of Taqompso upon Taharqo's altar at Philae does at least suggest that the temple was significant within the Lower Nubian context and not merely that of Upper Egypt.

As the foregoing brief survey would indicate, lists of Taharqo's construction sites in Lower Nubia are potentially misleading. Finds at Gezira Dabarosa and Faras were actually deemed by their excavators to belong to the nearby temple at Buhen, and the three re-used blocks at Sedeinga may also derive from another site. Monuments attributed to Taharqo at Kumma, Arminna, Aniba, and Kalabsha would appear to be altogether chimerical. This leaves only Semna West, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim, and Philae as sites at which Taharqo can be said with certainty to have built and renovated temples. These remaining sites have certain notable features in common. Buhen, Semna West, and Qasr Ibrim were each located at or very near major administrative centers of the New Kingdom, while the latter two were arguably the two most salient Lower Nubian sites of the preceding Third Intermediate Period: the first as the site of Katimala's royal inscription,¹⁵⁸ and the second as a habitation site stretching continuously across much of the so-called "Nubian Dark Age."¹⁵⁹ All three sites were also previously fortified, and Buhen and Qasr Ibrim were both associated with cults devoted to the Nubian forms of Horus. Perhaps most significantly, however, Semna West, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim, and Philae were all particularly well-situated for access to long-distance trade: Semna West at the narrowest point of riverine passage, Buhen on a spur of the ancient precursor to the *darb al-arba'in*, Qasr Ibrim near the Nile juncture with the Korosko Road, and Philae as the point-of-entry into Egyptian territory. The rare presence of camel dung at Qasr Ibrim, in particular, has been taken to indicate its position within long-distance networks at the time.¹⁶⁰

Yet the four Lower Nubian sites at which Taharqo is most clearly attested also share certain absences which would appear equally significant. Among the four, only Qasr Ibrim is easily associated with concentrated settlement during the period; the others, while not quite in the "uninhabited areas" envisioned by Yellin,¹⁶¹ do nevertheless appear to have been sited according to priorities beyond those of available labor and arable land. None of the four sites contains historical inscriptions or other royal stelae showing an investment of state resources comparable to that manifested at Kawa and Napata. Likewise, neither Semna West, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim, nor Philae appears to have been a site of construction for Taharqo's predecessors in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and none was evidently renovated or maintained by either his Early Napatan successors or those who followed in the Late Napatan era. Finally, as described above, none of these sites bears evidence of a single literate administrator outside of the artists responsible for temple decoration. It is perhaps noteworthy that in Török's recent monograph devoted to Lower Nubia, discussion of "Lower Nubia Under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty" is largely extrapolated from *Upper* Nubian examples.¹⁶² In the present state of the evidence, Taharqo's activity in Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach must therefore be deemed quite different from that which obtained under the pharaohs of the New Kingdom.

These circumstances may be variously explained. Semna West, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim, and Philae can be viewed primarily as loci for the "formulation, demonstration, and explanation of royal authority"—*i.e.*, as sites for the promotion of ritual suzerainty in lieu of centralized administration.¹⁶³ Such objectives would also have dovetailed well with the Crown's desire to control access to long-distance trade routes with the Egyptian provinces—particularly when that trade included prestige goods delivered as tribute or the spoils of war. However, the intra-site and inter-site sustainability networks of Egyptian-style temple-towns are not well-reflected in the surviving evidence from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁶⁴ Of the available

¹⁵⁸ Darnell, *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*; Zibelius-Chen, review of *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*; El-Sayed, review of *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*.

¹⁵⁹ Horton, "Africa in Egypt: New Evidence from Qasr Ibrim"; Adams, "1980 Excavations at Qasr Ibrim," 419; Alexander, "Saharan Divide in the Nile Valley."

¹⁶⁰ Rowley-Conwy, "Camel in the Nile Valley."

¹⁶¹ Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 253.

¹⁶² Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 311-350.

¹⁶³ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 339. A similar view of Taharqo's activity in Lower Nubia has been advanced by Edwards, who would compare Taharqo's strategy in the region to that of later Meroitic kings. See Edwards, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*, 85.

¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, Trigger specified neither region nor citation for his statement that during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty "large amounts of standardized wheel-made pottery suggest that centralized control was exercised over the surpluses of many basic

explanations, the one which is least supported by the nature and distribution of Taharqo's Lower Nubian construction sites is the view that they were "part of the comprehensive organization of military defence, civil administration, production, and redistribution."¹⁶⁵ The question of Taharqo's administration in Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach thus remains *sub judice*.

IV.4. Fortification

Daß Taharqo an der [Semna] Festung Restaurierungen durchführen ließ, ist mit Blick auf den drohenden Einfall der Assyrer gut möglich.

Pawel Wolf¹⁶⁶

Certainly, troops were stationed there [at Qasr Ibrim] and at Buhen, Mirgissa, and Semna in the reign of Taharqo.

Robert Morkot¹⁶⁷

The question of Lower Nubian fortification under Taharqo, though potentially related to that of administration, is by no means dependent upon it. One can easily imagine a scenario in which the Crown positioned modest numbers of troops at strategically-placed and fortified locations in order to control trade, without also entertaining ambitions of exerting simultaneous control over production, redistribution, and local jurisdiction. In fact, scholars who have considered the archaeological evidence most closely have judged at least minimal fortification in Lower Nubia to be an inevitable feature of the Double Kingdom. As Heidorn explains:

Forts like those built during the early Egyptian occupations of Lower Nubia have been thought not to exist during the first millennium B.C. But troops, diplomatic envoys, messengers, and traders must have used the river routes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when Kush ruled Egypt, and they would have needed rest stops, resupply points, and places where they could transfer to and from river or land routes. Manned guardposts would have been necessary to monitor traffic and provide safe passage to travelers. Thus we can assume with confidence that such strongholds did in fact exist in Lower Nubia during the period in question.¹⁶⁸

Here an important distinction must be drawn between the state's use of older fortified sites and the creation of new fortresses as "part of the comprehensive organization of military defence . . . intended to control the desert nomads as well as the inhabitants of the region between the First and Second Cataracts."¹⁶⁹ The two scenarios entail very different levels of state investment in the region. Taharqo's temple construction in association with the pre-existing forts at Semna West, Buhen, and Qasr Ibrim would seem to argue for the former scenario, although the numbers of troops stationed at any one of these sites is easily overestimated. While it has been generally assumed that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty manned the fortresses at Semna West and Buhen, the archaeological evidence for such conclusions remains rather spare. Thus, Caminos would conclude of Semna: "There is at all events evidence that restorations and additions to the southern temple were made by Pharaoh Taharqa in the seventh century B.C., but there is no indication that he put the place to military use to any extent."¹⁷⁰ The latter of the two scenarios must, in turn, be supported by evidence of new fortifications built during the reign of Taharqo.

In this regard, Török has proposed to assign Dorginarti and Gebel es-Sahaba to the later Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Citing Heidorn's brief 1991 article, he states that "the pottery and small finds from Dorginarti

commodities." Trigger, *Time and Traditions*, 226-227. A thorough region-by-region survey of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ceramics might indeed prove instructive in this regard, but no such study has been published yet. I thank Tim Kendall for his consultation on this matter.

¹⁶⁵ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 339.

¹⁶⁶ Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*, 113, 34.

¹⁶⁷ Morkot, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Warfare*, 251.

¹⁶⁸ Heidorn, *Fortress of Dorginarti and Lower Nubia During the Seventh to Fifth Centuries B.C.*, 103.

¹⁶⁹ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 339, 344-345.

¹⁷⁰ Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I*, 3.

belong to Egyptian and Nubian types occurring in the Third Intermediate Period through Twenty-Seventh Dynasty,” and thus “the original fortress may as well be dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, most likely to the first half of Taharqo’s reign.”¹⁷¹ However, examination of Heidorn’s more extensive chronological discussion within her unpublished dissertation reveals misgivings about such an early date: “Although it was initially supposed that the fortress was a Twenty-fifth Dynasty outpost along the route that ran northwards to Egypt, a comparison of the pottery from Dorginarti with the pottery from Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Early Napatan sites in Nubia indicates that the differences in the ceramic types signify chronological rather than functional or regional differences.”¹⁷² As “most of the pottery and small objects from Dorginarti resemble remains from Saite and Persian period sites in Egypt,” Heidorn would date the construction of the fortress to that era, but “a late eighth-century to early seventh-century BC date for the original occupation of Dorginarti is not precluded.”¹⁷³ Similarly equivocal is the dating of Gebel es-Sahaba offered by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy: “[T]he first fortifications on Gebel es-Sahaba are later than the Middle Kingdom and the 18-19th Dynasties and perhaps not earlier than the Third Intermediate Period or the 25th Dynasty, thus perhaps roughly contemporary with the fortress of Dorginarti.”¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the ceramic types and other small finds do not correspond neatly to short-term political changes: while attribution of the excavated assemblages to the “25th Dynasty/Napatan” or “Saite and Persian” periods is of the greatest significance in excluding New Kingdom dates, these broad periodizations nevertheless obscure momentous short-term political shifts which Lower Nubia must have experienced during the seventh century BC, when the region appears to have passed from Kushite to Saïte hands. The same chronological range is typical of the fortifications themselves: comparable structures at nearby Dabanarti as well as distant Gala Abu Ahmed and el-Fura Wells have yielded only a general dating as “Kushite,” without evidence that can be tied clearly to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷⁵ In fact, the principal reason to assign these fortresses an absolute and early date, rather than a relative one, seems to have been the concurrent activity imagined for Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes, at the Semna West fort. As argued above, however, the attribution of the Semna stela to Taharqo’s reign does not withstand an examination of its various iconographic, palaeographic, grammatical, prosopographic, and cultural historical features.

In this way, the misinterpretation of the Semna stela of Montuemhat highlights a fundamental problem of method in the study of the ancient past. Archaeological *catalogues raisonné* of the kind provided by Wolf and Dallibor have proven invaluable to the advancement of knowledge about ancient Egypt and Nubia; without such labor-intensive compendia, the challenges of discerning meaningful patterns in the realms of political, cultural, and social history would be prohibitive for antiquity. Yet the very comprehensive scope of these catalogue volumes all but precludes close scrutiny of each and every disparate piece of collected evidence. This responsibility is therefore incumbent upon the historian.

IV.5. *The Lower Nubian Graffiti of Year 19*

The exclusion of the Semna stela leaves only a single written source in Lower Nubia recording an historical event from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: a brief lapidary graffito bearing a dateline to Taharqo’s nineteenth regnal year. Though the graffito once existed in three ancient copies inscribed onto boulders west of the Nile, all three are now submerged under Lake Nasser. Consequently, the interpretations offered by those who first noted the graffiti have assumed a certain permanence, for it is no longer possible for scholars to examine the original inscriptions or to scrutinize on foot their relationship to the surrounding landscape. This is all the more unfortunate, because the ancient graffiti are precisely concerned with a description of that landscape and its passage on foot. Nevertheless, the approximate position of each graffito can be

¹⁷¹ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344.

¹⁷² Heidorn, *Fortress of Dorginarti and Lower Nubia During the Seventh to Fifth Centuries B.C.*, 101.

¹⁷³ Heidorn, “Saite and Persian Period Forts at Dorginarti,” 205-206.

¹⁷⁴ Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, 323.

¹⁷⁵ Welsby, “Kingdom of Kush: Urban defences and military installations,” 45, 50.

determined by comparing travelers' accounts with stereotopographic surveys of the region assembled from aerial photography prior to the completion of the Aswan High Dam. Though surprisingly rare,¹⁷⁶ the maps produced from such surveys are sufficiently detailed to indicate local footpaths (Fig. 57).

In October of 1906, Arthur Weigall traveled through Lower Nubia by river, occasionally stopping for inland sorties to document monumental structures and inscriptions along either bank.¹⁷⁷ After passing through the Bab el-Kalabsha, he moored at the village of Khartûm and walked westward to intersect the local footpath that ran between Tafa and Kalabsha. Weigall recorded that "[o]ne passes through the village and over the sandy slope, turning, after about a kilometre, to the north and entering a rocky valley along which the pathway runs."¹⁷⁸ Weigall's rough approximation of distances would seem to place this point of entry only a half-kilometer south of the Nag' el-Sheima el-Qibli.¹⁷⁹ Retracing Weigall's itinerary two years later, however, Roeder would specify that the inlet giving access to this point was the Khor Hanush, which is actually slightly farther south than Weigall's estimates would suggest.¹⁸⁰ "About two kilometers" before he reached the Coptic ruins of "Sitte Kasmâr" (Sitte Gasma)¹⁸¹ and "about half way between Kalâbsheh and Tâfeh," Weigall copied a short graffito which he found "on a rock on the left side of the pathway."¹⁸² Roeder's later visit to the same spot specified that the inscription was located "an der Südseite des Weges . . . wo das Tal sehr eng ist," approximately fifteen-minutes' walking distance west of the Nile.¹⁸³ This description accords well with both Weigall's stated northwest trajectory and with the footpath recorded by later topographic surveys. Of the first two visitors who recorded the site, only Roeder would photograph the graffito and offer a partial translation of its contents: "Jahr 19, 3. Überschwemmungsmonat, Tag . . . Der Ochsenweg, den Taharka gemacht hat auf der westlichen Höhe des Landes der Majestät [des] Königs Taharka, von Amonre geliebt" (Figs. 58 and 59).¹⁸⁴

Less than two years after discovering the Khor Hanush graffito, Weigall traveled the same road by camel and found "another copy of the inscription on a sandstone rock on the southside of the Khor Tâfeh about a half mile back from the river immediately behind the village of Tâfeh" (Figs. 60 and 61). It would appear from Weigall's description that Greater Tafa was taken by him to include the modern Nag' el-Sheikh Omar, for the area behind the town of Tafa is specified in his account as lying on the "southside of the Khor Tâfeh," and the Nag' el-Sheima el-Bahari is clearly visible in Weigall's photograph from a point which he designates as Tafa's "Roman Pavilion on cliffs to [the] south of town."¹⁸⁵ This geographic understanding was shared by Reisner's Archaeological Survey of Nubia, for the southern limits of "Teifa" are identically positioned on Reisner's published map.¹⁸⁶ Like the Khor Hanush graffito, the Tafa graffito was inscribed on the boulder's north-east surface. Combining this observation with the date provided in the first line of the text, Weigall drew a logical conclusion, which he then embellished with a colorful bit of historical conjecture:

The inscription is written on the north-east face of the rock, and thus while it would face a traveller passing from north to south it would not be noticed by one coming from the south, who, at the point from which it could be seen, would have his back to it. I think, therefore, that it was written to commemorate Taharqa's march to the Sudan in B.C. 669-668 when Esarhaddon entered Egypt from the north. There is really a great deal of pathos in

¹⁷⁶ The United States Library of Congress owns one detailed topographic map of the region dating before 1964 (Fig. 57)—and none of neighboring Sudan. The more detailed UNESCO Nubian Series is not available at all in the United States. See Butzer and Hansen, *Desert and River in Nubia*, 550-552. I thank Karl Butzer for his assistance in my search for the UNESCO Nubian Series.

¹⁷⁷ For context see Hankey, *Passion for Egypt*, 67ff.

¹⁷⁸ Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 68.

¹⁷⁹ Weigall states that in the Bab el-Kalabsha "[a] number of islands are presently passed, upon the largest of which there are some ruined houses of modern times. About a half a kilometre south of these ruins, the village of Khartûm lies at the mouth of the valley on the west bank." Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 67. For the Nag' el-Sheima el-Qibli as the largest island in the Bab el-Kalabsha, see Ricke, *Ausgrabungen von Khor-Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali*, xvi Abb. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 215.

¹⁸¹ Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 68. Roeder: "Sitte Kasmâr bei Weigall . . . Sitte Gasmar bei Bädecker; das r am Ende des Namens habe ich nie gehört." Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 216 n. 2.

¹⁸² As later recounted in Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," 105.

¹⁸³ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 215.

¹⁸⁴ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 216, Taf. 94, 127 a. Fig. 58 here shows instead the higher-resolution photograph later taken by Walter F. Reineke.

¹⁸⁵ Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," 105; *id.*, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. XXIII nos. 2-3.

¹⁸⁶ Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1907-1908 II*, plan VI.

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Fig. 58. Photograph of Khor Hanush graffito. Courtesy of Walter F. Reineke.

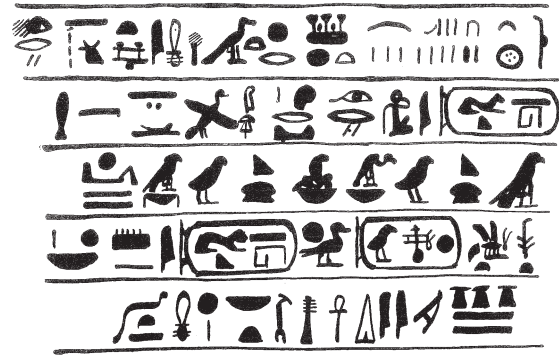


Fig. 59. Line drawing of Khor Hanush graffito. After Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, Taf. 127a.



Fig. 60. Photograph of Tafa graffito. After Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, Taf. 93a.

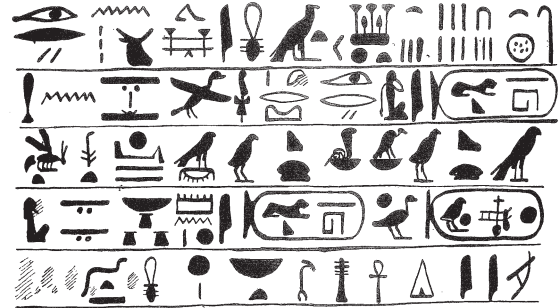


Fig. 61. Line drawing of Tafa graffito. After Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, Taf. 127b.

the brave words of the inscription which seem to tell of a great King's triumphal entry into his southern dominions, but which in reality record but a moment of order in the headlong flight of an utterly defeated Pharaoh.¹⁸⁷

Weigall did not offer a translation, but this was once again provided by Roeder, who gave a reading identical to the Khor Hanush graffito, but now supplemented with brief philological commentary noting a number of grammatical and orthographic problems.¹⁸⁸ The difficulty of translation throughout the text was blamed upon the graffito's ancient author, who was assumed to have been an unlettered Kushite: "Der Bau des folgenden Satzes ist ungeschickt und rührt gewiss von einem nubischen Schreiber des Königs her, der das Ägyptische nicht vollständig beherrschte." The general sense of the passage nevertheless seemed clear to Roeder, who concluded, *contra* Weigall, that "[d]er Text spricht von der Anlage eines Ochsenweges (d. h. für Ochsen gangbares Weges?) auf dem westlichen Gebirge durch König Taharka in seinem 19. Jahre. Bedenkt man, dass die beiden Inschriften angebracht sind an den Enden des Weges, der, früher wie heute, das Bab Kalabsche umgeht, so ist es klar, dass dieses der 'Ochsenweg' des Taharka ist."¹⁸⁹

Nearly a half-century later in March of 1959, Fritz Hintze discovered a third copy of the same inscription "im Bezirk Ambarkab etwa 800 m vom Nil entfernt westlich des Naga' Hendaw, das halbwegs zwischen Tafa und Qirtas liegt, unter einem überhängenden Felsen." Comparing the three parallel versions

¹⁸⁷ Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," 106.

¹⁸⁸ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 211-212.

¹⁸⁹ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 211.

at Ambarkab, Tafa, and Khor Hanush (Fig. 63), Hintze developed a new reading of the text as a record of travel rather than construction: “Jahr 19, 3. Monat der *ꜣht*-Zeit, Tag 1, unter der Majestät des Königs Taharqa (volle Titular); der Rinderweg, den Taharqa auf dem westlichen Gebirge des Landes zog.”¹⁹⁰ In further refutation of Roeder’s translation, Hintze observed that there was no visible trace of actual road construction—presumably indicating that the path had not been cleared in the fashion of later Roman thoroughfares in Lower Nubia.¹⁹¹ In rejecting Roeder’s proposal that the inscription recorded the construction of a road, Hintze also minimized the text’s emphasis on the transport of cattle. Instead, Hintze revived Weigall’s view that the graffiti were to be connected with the Kushite wars against Assyria:

Die drei Inschriften sind etwa je 5-6 km voneinander entfernt und sind offensichtlich am gleichen Tage angebracht. Man kann daraus den Schluß ziehen daß Taharqa hier mit einer größeren Heeresmacht, die in drei Marschgruppen gegliedert war (Vorhut, Haupttrupp, Nachhut?), diesen Weg zog und daß beim Halt der Truppen diese Inschriften angebracht wurden. Taharqa hat wahrscheinlich in seinem 19. Jahr Theben zurückerobert und es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß diese Inschriften anläßlich seines Zuges nach Norden angebracht wurden.¹⁹²

Particularly noteworthy is the direction of the imagined itinerary: whereas Weigall had proposed a southbound trip by Taharqa following his defeat by Esarhaddon, Hintze assumed that the king was traveling northward in a later attempt to retake Thebes. Hintze thus adopted the most conjectural part of Weigall’s interpretation—the text’s connection to the Assyrian wars—while apparently discarding Weigall’s more empirical observation that the Khor Hanush and Tafa graffiti “would face a traveller passing from north to south” but “would not be noticed by one coming from the south, who at the point from which [they] could be seen, would have his back on [them].”¹⁹³

The reasoning behind Hintze’s inference of northward travel is not explained in his publication of the Ambarkab graffito; in fact, Hintze’s article never specifies in which direction the Ambarkab graffito faced. However, an unpublished photograph (Fig. 62) taken by a member of that expedition, Walter F. Reineke,



Fig. 62. Fritz Hintze looking southward with Ambarkab graffito at his left shoulder. Photograph courtesy of Walter F. Reineke.

¹⁹⁰ Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 333.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Hester *et al.*, “New Evidence of Early Roads in Nubia.”

¹⁹² Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 332-333.

¹⁹³ Weigall, “Upper Egyptian Notes,” 105-106.

shows Hintze standing with his back to the inscription, angled slightly so that he looks south at midday.¹⁹⁴ The Ambarkab graffito thus faced west-southwest, with the result that an ancient traveler would indeed have seen it while passing from south to north—precisely as Hintze inferred. What Hintze neglected to acknowledge in his article was that the two, nearly identical graffiti discovered by Weigall on the same footpath faced in the opposite direction.

In subsequent literature, the route marked by these graffiti has consistently been interpreted, following Hintze, as a northward one connected with military advance.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, it has proven necessary to modify the timing of Taharqo's maneuver, for the date provided in the text does not match the chronology of the Assyrian wars as now understood: in the third month of Inundation during Taharqo's nineteenth regnal year, the Assyrian armies had yet to take Memphis, much less Thebes, so the graffiti could only record Taharqo's preparation for war—not his retreat, and certainly not an attempted reconquest of Thebes.¹⁹⁶ Thus, Kitchen and Dallibor have concluded that the text “may mark the route north by which he had *earlier* brought his Nubian levy to Egypt”¹⁹⁷ in anticipation of “der Abwehr einer *drohenden* assyrischen Invasion.”¹⁹⁸ Roeder's earlier interpretation of the graffiti as markers along a simple “Ochsenweg” has now fallen almost completely from favor, dismissed by Török as an “untenable interpretation.”¹⁹⁹

Remarkably, despite the historical weight which has been laden upon the text, no further attention has been given to the many grammatical and orthographic problems first noted by Roeder. In fact, much of Roeder's translation was adopted uncritically by Hintze. Yet such philological issues cannot properly be separated from the text as mere cosmetic elements unrelated to its meaning and historical content. A new edition of the graffito would therefore seem necessary before its historical significance can be properly gauged.

IV.5.1. Translation and Commentary (Fig. 63)

In the synoptic translation presented below, the three versions are sequenced from north to south (Ambarkab, Tafa, and Khor Hanush); however, as it now clear that the graffiti faced in different directions, the order of their listing here should not be taken as an endorsement of any supposed itinerary:

A:	<i>ḥ3.t-sp 19 ibd 3 ḥr 3ḥ.t 'sw 1' t3 mi n iḥ.w ury T-h-r-q i-iry-tp r3 ḏw imn.t p3 t3 Ḥm n</i>
T:	<i>ḥ3.t-sp 19 ibd 3 3ḥ.t 'sw 1' t3 mi n iḥ.w ury T-h-r-q i-iry-tp r3 ḏw imn.t p3 t3 n Ḥm</i>
KH:	<i>ḥ3.t-sp 19 ibd 3 3ḥ.t ḥr t3 mi.t n iḥ.w ury T-h-r-q i-iry-tp r3 ḏw imn.t p3 t3 n Ḥm</i>
A:	<i>Ḥr Q3-ḥ'w Nb.ty Q3-ḥ'w Ḥr-nb Ḥw-t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty Ḥw-Nfrtm-R' s3-R' T-h-r-q</i>
T:	<i>Ḥr Q3-ḥ'w Nb.ty Q3-ḥ'w Ḥr-nb Ḥw-t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty Ḥw-Nfrtm-R' s3-R' T-h-r-q</i>
KH:	<i>Ḥr Q3-ḥ'w Nb.ty Q3-ḥ'w Ḥr-nb Ḥw-t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty Ḥw-Nfrtm-R' s3-R' T-h-r-q</i>
A:	<i>mry 'Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy di 'nh dd w3s nb.{t} mi R' d.t</i>
T:	<i>mry 'Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy di 'nh dd w3s nb.{t} mi R' d.t</i>
KH:	<i>mry 'Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy di 'nh dd w3s nb.{t} mi R' d.t</i>

Regnal year 19, month 3 of Inundation, 'day 1'^a: the cattle-road which Taharqo traveled^b at^c the entrance^d of the western mountain of the land^e of the Majesty of Horus: Exalted-of-Epiphanies; Two-Ladies: Exalted-of-Epiphanies; Golden-Horus: Protector-of-the-Two-Lands; King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Re-is-the-Protector-of-Nefertem; Son-of-Re: Taharqo, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, given all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

¹⁹⁴ Berlin-Academie slide no. 5/26 v. 06/III/59. I thank Walter F. Reineke for granting permission for the photograph to be published here and explaining to me in precise detail the circumstances under which it was taken.

¹⁹⁵ E.g.: Kitchen, *TIP*, 392 n. 871; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 141 n. 123; Dallibor, *Taharqo*, 81.

¹⁹⁶ The third month of Inundation in Taharqo's nineteenth regnal year would correspond to the spring of 672 BC, with that same regnal year ending on 6 February 671. Esarhaddon's armies did not capture Memphis until the twenty-second day of the month of Du'uzu, which would correspond to the late spring of 671 BC. See dates given in: Depauw, *Chronological Survey*, 2; Kahn, "Taharqo, King of Kush and the Assyrians," 112.

¹⁹⁷ Kitchen, *TIP*, 392 n. 871 [emphasis added].

¹⁹⁸ Dallibor, *Taharqo*, 81 [emphasis added].

¹⁹⁹ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 141 n. 123.

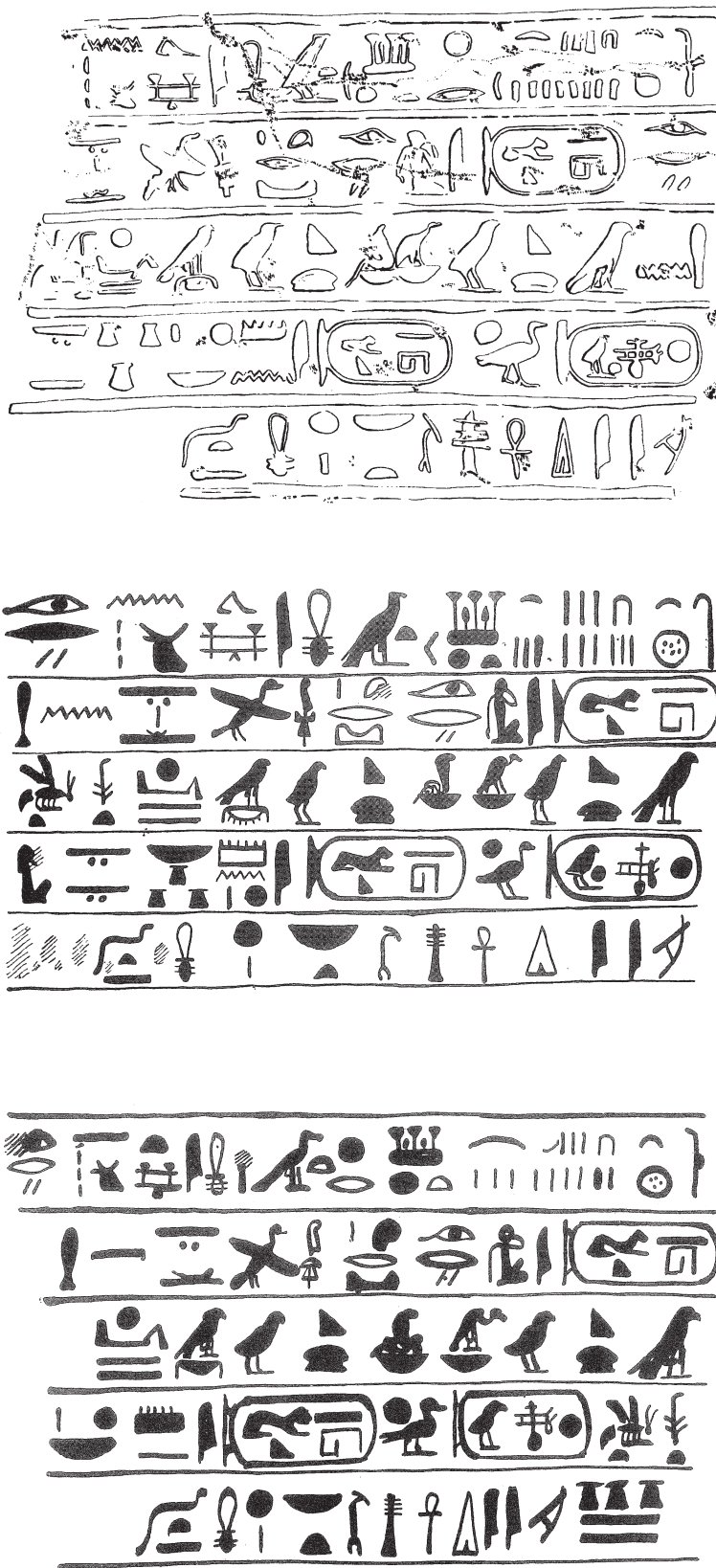





Fig. 63. Comparison of graffiti. From top to bottom: Ambarkab, Tafa, Khor Hanush. Ambarkab transcription after Hintze, "Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas," 331.

(a) The date seems to have been transcribed at Khor Hanush as  (?) and at Tafa as a kind of horizontal caret. Though enigmatic, the orthography would clearly suggest that the scribe was working from or influenced by hieratic. Thus, Roeder concluded: “[E]ine entfernte Ähnlichkeit haben höchstens die hieratischen Zeichen für 4 und 10.”²⁰⁰ At Ambarkab, the sign more closely resembles a single vertical stroke, and thus Hintze’s reading simply as “1” has been preferred here.²⁰¹ Also noteworthy is the fact the dating formula in the graffito was not immediately followed by the king’s full titulary as one might expect; instead, the titulary was provided at the end of the text, after the historical content had been delivered. Hintze therefore concluded that the author had made an error in all three copies, writing in lines 3-5 what he had intended to include in lines 1-2. This substantial emendation to the three graffiti was again justified by reference to the ancient author’s presumed ignorance of the ancient language: “Die Verfasser dieser Inschriften haben es offenbar nicht verstanden, die Datierungsformel und die Nachricht.”²⁰² However, as explained in (e) below, the order of elements may have been consciously motivated by context.

(b) Hintze recognized that the verb *iri*, “to do, to make,” need not refer to the actual construction of a road, as Roeder had assumed, but merely to one’s use of it: “Zunächst kann *irj* in bezug auf einen Weg (oder ein Land) bedeuten ‘einen Weg gehen’ (bzw. ‘ein Land bereisen’), vgl. *W B I*, III, 12; 247, 9, 10.”²⁰³

(c) The apparent repetition of *iry* before and after Taharqo’s cartouche was explained by Roeder as a case of syntactic redundancy: “Ein Verbum hat der Satz gar nicht und die dem Namen angehängte doppelte Konstruktion mit  jr ‘machen’ bringt erst die Hauptsache.”²⁰⁴ As Roeder’s translation would suggest, he interpreted the construction as an example of Late Egyptian periphrasis. This reading was then retained by Hintze, but it is immediately problematic. In order for *ir T3-h-r-q i-iry* to constitute an example of Late Egyptian periphrasis,  would need to serve as an infinitive. However, the prothetic *yod* is otherwise attested only for the *status pronominalis* infinitive of *iri*—whether in Late Egyptian, Late Egyptian Napatan, Late Middle Egyptian, Classical Egyptian Napatan, or Demotic texts.²⁰⁵ Moreover, *iri*-periphrasis would normally be employed only for a verb of more than three radicals.²⁰⁶ The temptation to treat *i-iry* as an infinitive here despite these facts is heavily dependent upon the assumption that the graffito’s ancient author was a scribe “der das Ägyptische nicht vollständig beherrschte.”²⁰⁷ While such a view is not uncommon in the treatment of Kushite inscriptions,²⁰⁸ it is a dubious starting point for textual analysis—particularly as it would require one to credit the scribe with even less command of the Egyptian language than was possessed by his successors of the Napatan era. If the grammar of the text is instead understood as deliberate, several options become available which may then be weighed against one another. While the prothetic *yod* is quite common in the relative form and the nominalization converter (Second Tense) in Late Egyptian,²⁰⁹

²⁰⁰ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 211 n. 2.

²⁰¹ Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 330.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 332.

²⁰⁴ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 212.


²⁰⁵ Černý and Israelit-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 162, 184; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 80 §2.2.3(1), cf. 66 §2.1.4(5); Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien I*, 56-66, 85-87 §§157-159, esp. 152-155 §§258-260; Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 196 §408; Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, 52-53 §85, 73 §116, 99-100; Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 38-39 §1.9, 295 §II.12; Peust, *Das Napatansiche*, 292-294 §§27.5.1-27.5.3; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, 101-108 §§220-234; Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 14; Johnson, *Thus Wrote Onchsheshonqy*, 59, cf. 53 §67.


²⁰⁶ See references in preceding note. Though the first *iry* in question here in *l. 1* is clearly a perfect relative, Junge’s remarks upon the rarity of the periphrastic preterite are of some relevance: “Like the prospective forms, the preterite *sdm=f* resisted periphrasing with *iri*. Aside from verbs with four and five radicals, the *ir=f sdm* form did not appear until Late Demotic texts of the Roman period (to be precise, mostly in the London-Leiden Magical Papyrus), whence it reached Coptic as $\alpha\tau\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\bar{\alpha}$.” Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 155 §3.5.2.

²⁰⁷ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 211-212.

²⁰⁸ For critiques of this view, see: Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 3-18; Darnell, *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*, 47-53.

²⁰⁹ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 66 §2.1, 129-134 §3.3; Černý and Israelit-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 162 §10.5, 366-387 §26, 480-493 §51; Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien I*, 279-287 §§442-457, 376-384 §§596-604. The imperative *iir* may also be excluded, as it does not fit the context here in translation. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 78 §2.2.2(1).

neither interpretation would make sense of the passage here, for there is no logical subject to follow the verb. Instead,  may be taken as the Demotic and Late Egyptian Napatan preposition *i-iry*,²¹⁰ so that some portion of the phrase which follows would then specify the place to which Taharqo traveled.

(d) The interpretation of *ir...i-iry* as periphrasis required Roeder and Hintze to take *tp r* as an “ungewöhnlich” preposition ( *tp-r* “auf”) mediating between the action and its locus—“auf dem westlichen Gebirge”—despite the fact that no such preposition is attested in the Egyptian language.²¹¹ Yet a preposition *tp-r* need not be invented for this purpose, as the preceding element *i-ir* can instead be taken together with *tp* as *i-ir-tp*—a variant of *r-tp*, “auf etwas,” where *r* appears in the compound Demotic form as *i-ir*.²¹² The phrase that follows it would then signify the *r3 dw imn.t*, the “entrance of the western mountain.” In fact, the same meaning is produced even if one elects to treat *i-ir* as a separate preposition and instead connect *tp* directly to *r3* (compare Coptic $\tau\alpha\pi\rho$), meaning the “mouth, “door,” or “entrance” of the western mountain.²¹³ The metaphor was a natural one in ancient Egyptian topography,²¹⁴ just as it is in modern Egyptian Arabic (e.g. the Bab el-Gebel which leads to the Mokattam Hills and the tombs of the caliphs outside Cairo).²¹⁵ Such a description also resonates directly with Weigall’s account of the surrounding landscape at the northern entrance of the Bab el-Kalabsha:

Tâfeh is one of the most beautifully situated villages on the Nile. At this point the hills fall back somewhat, leaving a bay about two kilometres across. To the south the magnificent granite rocks of the Bâb el Kalâbsheh shut in the view, and to the north and west the lower sandstone rocks confine the scene. . . . Its position is of considerable strategical importance, as it lies just at the mouth of the Bâb or Pass, where originally there was a cataract. . . . The view from here is indeed superb. To the north the town and temple of Tâfeh is overlooked, and beyond this the Nile is seen flowing towards the distant hills. To the south and west the tumbled granite boulders and ragged hills extend as far as the eye can see. To the east one looks sheer down on the river as it winds between the sombre cliffs, and here and there one catches a glimpse of a little bay in which stand a few palms or other trees, looking wonderfully green against the purple-brown of the rocks.²¹⁶

Just as the narrow riverine passage between high granite cliffs was imagined as a “door” (*bab*) in modern times by a traveler looking southeast, ancient travelers looking in the opposite direction seem to have envisioned the route *around* that western cliff as the “door of the western mountain”—most likely at the opening between that cliff and the hills which stretched to the north and west of Tafa.²¹⁷ On the stereotopographic surveys performed before the completion of the Aswan High Dam, a footpath is traced continuously around that western mountain, thereby circumventing the steep cliffs of the Bab el-Kalabsha and opening to the valley at Tafa and Khor Hanush—i.e., at the mountain range’s northern and southern ends. The further graffito found by Hintze at Nag’ Hindawi in the Ambarkab region²¹⁸ would mark the route which Taharqo traveled “at the entrance of the western mountain.” An ancient traveler passing in either direction would thus encounter at least one graffito facing him along this mountain pass: the Ambarkab graffito if traveling from south to north, and the Tafa and Khor Hanush graffiti if passing from north to

²¹⁰ Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 313-314 Table II.iii. lists *i-iry* as a form of the preposition *r*, either when used to indicate “to, toward a god,” “to, toward a person,” or as marking the object of a verb. For further discussion of this preposition with precisely this orthography, see Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 275-283 §26.8, where it is argued that the preposition is rather an “honorative Präposition.” See also: Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 16; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, 169-170 §382, 173-174 §390, 192 §431; Johnson, *Thus Wrote Onchsheshonqy*, 29; Černý and Israelit-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 95 §7.1.2iii Ex. 309.

²¹¹ Roeder, *Dehob bis Bab Kalabsche*, 211-212; also Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 333.

²¹² *Wb. V*: 271.15-22; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 16.

²¹³ Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 240, 548; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 192; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 219; *Wb. V*: 275-277, 287.

²¹⁴ *Wb. II*: 391-399.





²¹⁵ Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sūdân*, 70, 117.




²¹⁶ Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 66.

²¹⁷ It would seem unlikely that the “western mountain” could refer to the distant Gebel Rawraw, as the western cliffs of the Bab el-Kalabsha would have presented a much more immediate point of reference for a traveler advancing on foot from Ambarkab. Were Gebel Rawraw the referent, the graffitist’s reference to the “door” of the mountain would also be more difficult to explain.

²¹⁸ Hintze states that the graffito was located “halbwegs zwischen Tafa und Qirtas”; this would seem to correlate on the topographic map (Fig. 57) slightly better with the “Khôr-Hindâwi” than with the “Khôr-Hindâw” further south. Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 330.

south. The purpose of marking such a route with a royal inscription is not immediately clear, but the phrase that follows may have some bearing upon the question.

(e) Roeder observed the odd orthography of the graphemes which he read as *t*: “Ebenso die Schreibung , die auf eine abstrakte Bedeutung des Wortes *t* ‘Land’ weist, falls nicht  statt  falsch aus dem Hieratischen umschrieben ist; aber auch Khor Hanuschije schreibt .

Hintze, following Roeder and Erman, entertained only one possible explanation: that the papyrus-roll determinative (Y 1) had been written beneath the sign for flatland (N 16) as a result of understandable confusion between the abbreviated hieratic forms of the papyrus-roll  and canal  determinatives.²²⁰ This would seem a reasonable explanation, but the possibility should also be considered that  signified *dmd*, “united,” an adjective frequently appended to *t*.²²¹ No claim is made to a definitive solution here. More significantly, juxtaposition of *t* with the royal titulary may be explained simply as a territorial declaration (“the land of the Majesty of . . .”), thereby obviating the need for Hintze’s sweeping re-ordering of the text.

IV.5.2. *Historical Significance of the Graffiti*

Each individual change proposed above would result in only subtle alterations to the text’s meaning; it would still record a trip taken by Taharqo upon a “cattle road.” However, the combined effect of these changes would place greater emphasis upon the geographic setting of that trip: Taharqo does not merely pass through the landscape “upon the western mountain” on his way to war; he traverses specific features of that landscape—the “cattle road” passing through the “entrance of the western mountain” which he claims the “land of His Majesty.” The focus of the text is decidedly territorial.²²² Weigall’s and Hintze’s assertions that the graffiti commemorated one specific trip towards an historic battle are undermined by the fact, revealed above, that the graffiti face in opposite directions. In this regard, it must further be noted that the graffiti contain no reference at all to warfare: there is no mention of troops, no rhetoric of “repulsing the Asiatics,” not even a militaristic royal epithet. These omissions are all the more remarkable when one considers that this same king devoted a royal inscription at Dahshur to an account of military training exercises,²²³ and Pi(ankh)y credited generals by name in his own Great Triumphal Stela.²²⁴ By contrast, Taharqo’s Lower Nubian graffiti contain not a single reference to the military, to warfare, or even to rhetorical aggression. Instead, the emphasis is local, topographic, and territorial. Weigall’s colorful interpretation seems to have persisted largely because these graffiti would then answer the historian’s desire for an Egyptian commentary upon the Assyrian wars. As Dallibor has observed: “Möglicherweise sind die drei nubischen Inschriften der einzige ägyptische Beleg für die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Assyren.”²²⁵ Yet there is nothing internal to the graffiti that would justify Weigall’s interpretation and

²¹⁹ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, 212.

²²⁰ Hintze, “Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas,” 333 n. 9.

²²¹ *Wb.* V: 161, 457. Still another possible reading is suggested by examination of both Taharqo’s Edifice by the Sacred Lake at Karnak and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Theban tomb of the Chief Steward Ibi (TT 36), where Y1 and Y2 are exchanged with N 37 š: Parker *et al.*, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 31 n. 9, pl. 12 B col. 67; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 24-25, 57. If both scribes were working from hieratic copies, the error may be explained as confusion between the hieratic renderings of those graphemes. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* III, 52 §538B, 335. However, the same mistake could equally have been produced by a confusion of hieroglyphic signs—particularly as the Old Kingdom models favored by archaizing scribes of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties would have written the papyrus-roll determinative simply as Y 2, a sign easily mistaken for N 37, as the example in Ibi’s tomb demonstrates. Thus, the enigmatic lexeme in l. 2 of Taharqo’s year 19 graffiti could constitute a writing of *tš*, meaning “boundary” or “district.” *Wb.* V: 235-236.9-10; Helck, “Grenze”; Hornung, “Zur geschichtlichen Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie,” 125. Remarkably, *tš* appears to serve as a phonetic transcription of the toponymic component *dšr.t* in l. 6 of the newly discovered Doukki Gel stela: see Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 36, 79.

²²² Brown, “Agents of Construction.” I thank Marina Brown of Yale University for her consultation regarding the purpose of Taharqo’s year 19 graffiti; any errors of interpretation are entirely my own.

²²³ Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse”; Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur.”

²²⁴ Cairo JE 48862, l. 8, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V. For commentary, see also Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey*, 23 n. 35.

²²⁵ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharao aus Kusch*, 81.

its popularity in subsequent literature, and the date of the graffiti would actually require that they were written before the Assyrian capture of Memphis.²²⁶

A closer examination of the graffiti would thus seem to vindicate Roeder's view that the texts were primarily concerned with an "Ochsenweg." Whether the road was actually "made" (*ir*) or simply "traveled" (*ir*) may be immaterial, for the king's claim to have traveled the road through the entrance of the western mountain was likely tantamount to its royal "construction," even if not a single boulder was moved in the process. Taharqo's desire to mark a "cattle road" may seem rather mundane when compared with the more exciting military narrative imagined by Weigall, yet care must be taken not to impose modern judgment upon the text. The donation of cattle wealth to temples was sufficiently important to the Kushite dynasts to merit inclusion in several royal inscriptions: cattle and antelope are enumerated among Taharqo's donations at Sanam²²⁷ and Karnak's Sixth Pylon,²²⁸ while in Taharqo's Edifice by the Sacred Lake, it is specifically red Nubian gazelle which are offered to the gods.²²⁹ In a text possibly commissioned by Taharqo at Karnak, "flocks of cattle" (*ḥw.wt mnmn.t*) are emphasized among the captured booty,²³⁰ and in Tanutamani's Dream Stela, the king boasts of having built for Amun of Napata "another portal for going outside to make his milk from his many herds, being tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens, without reckoning the number of yearling calves of their mothers."²³¹ When one considers the larger corpus of inscriptions from the Napatan period, such references to cattle wealth begin to predominate.²³² Trigger has observed that, across its long history, pastoralism has been exceptionally important to the subsistence economy of Lower Nubia even in times of great aridity, a fact further supported by modern census data.²³³ Consequently, the emphasis upon a "cattle road" in Taharqo's year 19 graffiti cannot be dismissed as insignificant, for it is precisely this pastoral economy and its local topography which the ancient scribe chose to record—and to which Taharqo laid claim—at Ambarkab, Tafa, and the Khor Hanush in Lower Nubia.

A reconsideration of the inscriptional and archaeological record north of the Third Cataract therefore cautions against previous attempts to project onto that landscape the grand narrative of international warfare against Assyria—and, as argued further above, such a re-examination warns equally against attempts to intrude into that region either the administrative hand of Egyptian officials like the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat or the institutional model of the New Kingdom temple-town network. Nevertheless, the absence of evidence for either centralized administration or state investment should not be taken to signify a political vacuum. A more defensible scenario would instead posit Taharqo's immediate subordinates within the region as "invisible elites"—merchants, pastoralists, and local potentates essential to the functioning of the state who neither held office within centralized institutions nor manifested their wealth and influence through biographical inscriptions and private statuary.²³⁴ In this regard, Lower Nubia under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty presents a striking contrast with the bureaucratic formalization of Upper Egypt.

²²⁶ See n. 196 above.

²²⁷ Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII," pl. XL frag. 16.

²²⁸ Vernus, "Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I)," 7 fig. 6, 10 fig. 9.

²²⁹ Parker, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 66 nn. 16-17, pl. 26.

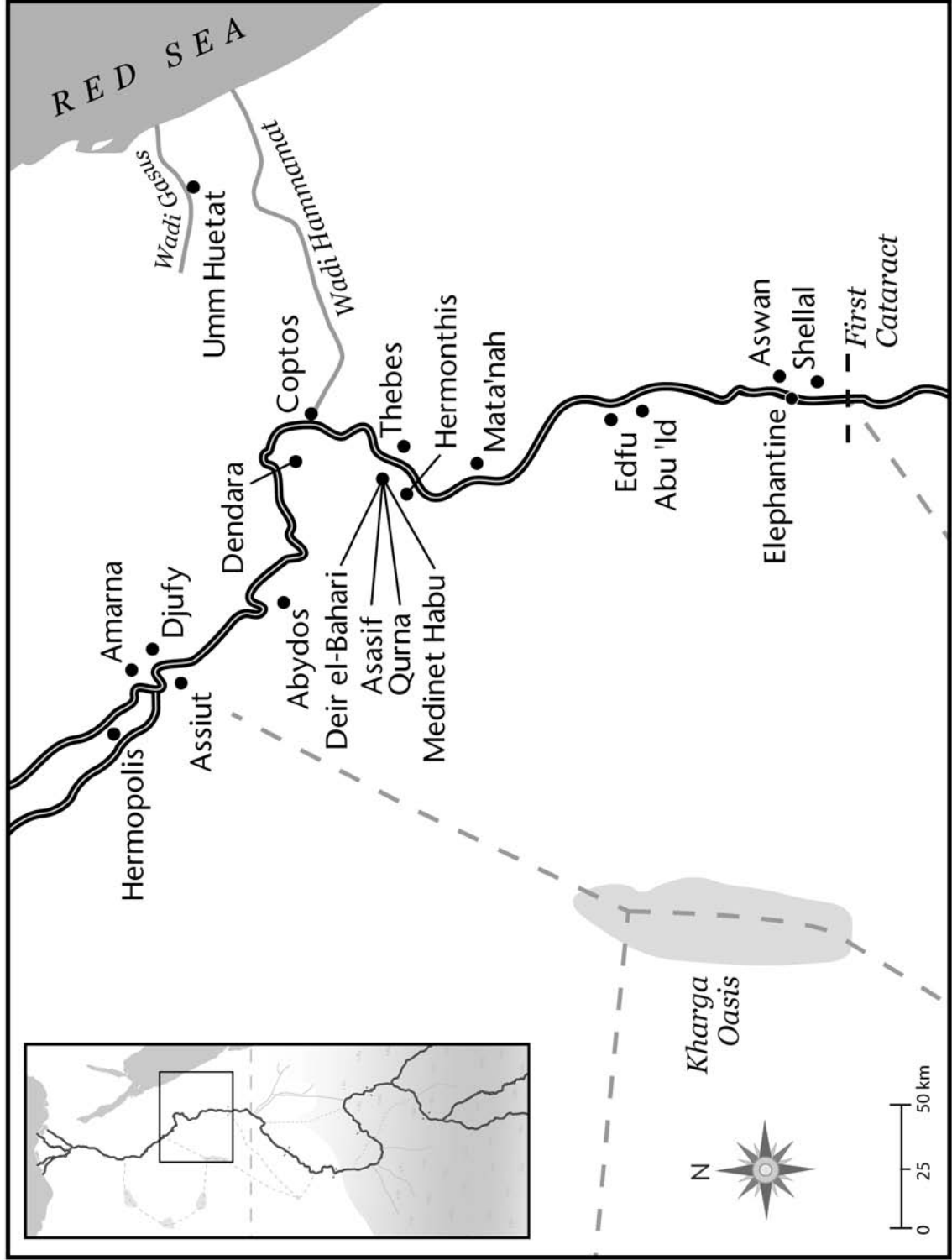
²³⁰ Redford, "Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya," 189 ill. 1, ll. 11. But *cf.* the earlier date proposed by Revez, "Une stèle inédite de la troisième période intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en Thébaïde?"

²³¹ Cairo JE 48863, ll. 22-24, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. III a, III.

²³² See esp.: Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864), ll. 60-99, where livestock dominate the lists of both enemy plunder and royal temple donations: Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. XVII a-XX; Nastasen's year 8 stela (Berlin ÄMP 2268), ll. 37-58, in: Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III-IV; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 34-35.

²³³ Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, 21-22; Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 54.

²³⁴ García, "Limits of pharaonic administration."



Map 5. Upper Egypt.

THE CITY AS STATE: THEBES AND THE DOUBLE KINGDOM

V.1. *Thebes as Model?*V.1.1. *Upper Egypt and Regional versus National Kuschitenherrschaft*

Upper Egypt remains the most thoroughly documented and most extensively studied region in all of the Double Kingdom. Entire volumes have been devoted to cataloguing the era's monuments and prosopography just in Thebes alone.¹ The city's cultic preeminence, the florescence of personal piety there during the first millennium BC, and the development of Abnormal Hieratic bookkeeping across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty specifically have combined to yield a relative profusion of both documentary and archaeological evidence.² Moreover, a considerable proportion of this evidence speaks directly to the question of governance through an array of civil and ecclesiastical titles often explicitly correlated with regions, towns, and lines of hereditary succession. For the historian, it might therefore seem an attractive strategy to reconstruct the policies and organization of the Double Kingdom from the abundant dossiers of Theban officials.

Yet such an approach has the potential to be dangerously misleading. Despite the copious evidence for Theban officialdom, only a few such Upper Egyptians can be shown to have held high administrative office in Middle or Lower Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (see Ch. VI.3 and Ch. VII.2-VII.3 below),³ and none at all would appear to have done so in Lower Nubia, Upper Nubia, or the Butana Steppe. As the preceding chapter has argued at length (Ch. IV.2.2), even the powerful Montuemhat explicitly defined his own sphere of authority between Elephantine and Hermopolis,⁴ and attempts to connect him with distant Semna now seem to have been unjustified. It would therefore be a mistake to envision the government of the Double Kingdom as synonymous with that of Upper Egypt, as if Theban elites had been posted across the 3,000-km stretch from Meroë to Tanis, like so many Oxbridge men sent to administer the provinces.⁵ Instead, one finds a highly variable governmental landscape across that stretch: in the Butana Steppe, a small concentration of apparent Kushite loyalists at Meroë (Ch. II.3.1-II.3.2); in Upper Nubia, a coterie of anonymous officials, likely of Kushite parentage, whose existence must largely be extrapolated from Napatan-era documentation (Ch. III.1 and III.4); in Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach, a pervasive absence of relevant data (Ch. IV.1-IV.3); in Middle Egypt, a similar, if less absolute, dearth of testimony (Ch. VI.1); and in Lower Egypt, a patchwork of semi-autonomous bailiwicks overseen by Libyan grandees (Ch. VII). Consequently, the evidence for Taharqo's national regime defies the tidy categorization into civil, ecclesiastical, and military prosopographies that has proven so effective in studies

¹ Leclant, *Monuments thébains; id., Montouemhat; id., Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces*; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*; Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*. See also: Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*; Kitchen, *TIP*; Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun*; Bierbrier, review of *Priester und Beamte; id., Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 115; Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak*. I thank Christopher Naunton for generously granting me access to his manuscript. Naunton's DPhil thesis on the same subject was defended at Swansea University in June 2009.

² Malinine, *Choix de textes I and II*; Martin, "Saite 'Demotisation' of Southern Egypt"; Vleeming, "La phase initiale du démocratique ancien"; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal."

³ Most notable would be the Harbor Master Pediese, son of Ankhsheshonq, in Middle Egypt and the Vizier Harsiese (R) in Lower Egypt. For the identity of Pediese's father as a "Priest of Amunresonter" (in Thebes), see pRylands IX, col. 5/ll. 16-17, in: Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, 21-22, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVII. For the possibility that Harsiese (R) hailed from Upper Egypt, see his titles as given upon Philadelphia E. 16025 in De Meulenaere, "La statue d'un vizier thébain." For reservations about this identification, see Bierbrier, "More Light on the Family of Montemhat"; *id.*, review of *Priester und Beamte*.

⁴ Left side of throne on statue Berlin ÄMP 17271 in Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 64, pl. XV.

⁵ For an early articulation of the view that Theban émigrés precipitated the rise of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 538. For a more recent argument for the same view, see: Kendall, "Origin of the Napatan State," 5, 55-58.

of other pharaonic reigns.⁶ Only Upper Egypt proves amenable to such analysis, and the *regional* authority of its officials should not be confused with *national* governance.

If the administrative *personnel* of Upper Egypt did not literally populate the Double Kingdom as a whole, the question remains as to how the administrative *practice* of Upper Egypt may be compared to that of the larger state. One school of thought would view Upper Egypt as wholly exceptional—the sole, true dominion of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt, with *Kuschitenherrschaft* farther north seldom amounting to more than a punitive incursion, isolated outpost, or rhetorical projection of Kushite ambition.⁷ Only Upper Egypt was bereft of a local *nsw* in Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela;⁸ only Upper Egypt would fail to produce such a claimant in the decades that followed;⁹ and only Upper Egypt was depicted as a monocratic realm (now under Montuemhat) in the Annals of Assurbanipal.¹⁰ Thus, Redford has concluded that “in contrast to the Delta, the Sudanese rulers of Egypt were ‘at home’ in the valley of the Nile, . . . [and] Thebes was sufficiently enamored of its pious co-religionists from Napata to allow the Twenty-fifth Dynasty a free hand.”¹¹ According to this understanding, Upper Egypt was the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state—the only Egyptian region in which Kushite hegemony approached the time-honored pharaonic ideal of centralized governance.

An alternative view has recently been articulated by Naunton but has received little subsequent commentary in the literature to date. Naunton argues that Upper Egypt was not exceptional but rather microcosmic—even formative—for *Kuschitenherrschaft* and its development over the course of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty:

Una dettagliata analisi dei documenti relativi a questi funzionari dimostra che è possibile utilizzare le testimonianze provenienti da Tebe come *un indicatore dell'evoluzione* della situazione politica nel corso della dinastia kushita *in tutto l'Egitto* . . . [affinché] Tebe *funga da modello* in questo periodo.¹²

A comparable perspective was mooted for Upper Nubia in Chapter III.1 above, where it was proposed that the strategies used to govern the Dongola-Napata Reach would have been central to the political experience of the Kushite dynasty and thus a formative element in their subsequent political outlook. After examination of the evidence, this hypothesis was modified in Chapter III.2.3 to another even more analogous to that entertained by Naunton: the experience of Kushite expansion into Egypt may indeed have influenced the strategy and structure of Kushite governance in Upper Nubia. Naunton would posit a similar role specifically for Thebes—as a model for subsequent governance across all of Egypt.

The validity of Naunton's interpretation can only be judged by comparison with *Kuschitenherrschaft* in Middle and Lower Egypt (Chs. VI-VIII below), but this approach first requires scrutiny of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rule in Upper Egypt. The overview that follows will not rehearse all of the prosopographical and chronological details which constitute the intricate and debated history of Theban officialdom, as these have already been admirably dissected in the works of Vittmann, Naunton, Kitchen, Leclant, Graefe, and Bierbrier.¹³ Instead, analysis will be directed toward the broader divisions of power, strategies of appointment, and modes of succession as these reflect the involvement of the Kushite royal house and the challenges of regional and national governance which it confronted. To this end, one difference of approach is particularly noteworthy: the detailed studies cited above have consistently been structured as a series

⁶ *E.g.* of the genre: Kawai, *Studies in the Reign of Tutankhamun*; Iskander, *Reign of Merenptah*; Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*; Delia, *Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*; Leprohon, *Reign of Amenemhat III*.

⁷ *E.g.*, James, “Egypt: the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties,” 703.

⁸ For the *nsw* Namart of Hermopolis, the *nsw* Pefjtjauawybast at Herakleopolis, the *nsw* Iuput of Leontopolis, and the *nsw* Osorkon of Bubastis, see Cairo JE 48862, lunette and *ll.* 17-18, 34, 62, 99, 106, 114, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, II B, III, VI, VIII, X.

⁹ For possible local claimants of the royal titulary in Lower Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Ch. VII below. For their possible counterpart Thutemhat in Middle Egypt, see Cairo JE 42212 and BM EA 11005 in Kitchen, *TIP* §§187, 330-331, 525, and Ch. VI.1 n. 14 below. For the controversial figure of Khmuny/Iny as a figure who has resisted both localization and even relative dating, see: Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 292-294; Yoyotte, “Pharaon Iny”; Goldberg, “Legends of Iny.”

¹⁰ Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), *ll.* 89-109 esp. 109, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 36-57 esp. 57, 118-119.

¹¹ Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 111.

¹² Naunton, “Tebe durante la XXV dinastia,” 101 [emphasis added]; similarly Exell and Naunton, “Administration,” 99.

¹³ See n. 1 above.

of chapters devoted either to individual offices (*e.g.*, the vizierate, the mayoralty of Thebes, and the Amun priesthood) or to individual lineages (*e.g.*, the Besenmut family or the genealogy of Nespamedu).¹⁴ As Bierbrier has lamented, such approaches often result in “a tendency to treat each family grouping in isolation rather than to construct an integrated schema.”¹⁵ The present chapter is an attempt at the latter, beginning with consideration of the dominant parties resident in Upper Egypt at the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Ch. V.1.2). Only after those broad outlines have been sketched will attention turn to a micro-analysis of one office particularly central to Kushite rule in Egypt: the God’s Wife of Amun (Ch. V.2. below).

V.1.2. *Seven for Thebes: Families and Their Fates under Kushite Rule*

The political landscape which the Kushite house encountered and helped to create in Upper Egypt may be traced largely through the interaction of seven parties: one family of Leontopolitan¹⁶ royal pedigree; three noble lineages of early prominence; another more latterly on the rise; and a pair of individuals of obscure parentage who would nevertheless bear the greatest significance for Theban history. Arguably the highest of these parties, at least initially, was comprised of the scions and affines of the Twenty-Third Dynasty.¹⁷ To them may be added the noble lines of the Vizier Harsiese (F),¹⁸ the Fourth Prophet of Amun Nakhtefmut (G),¹⁹ and the Overseer of the Temple Treasury of Amun, Djedanhurefankh (A),²⁰ all of whom appear to have been well ensconced in the upper echelons of Theban society by the second half of the eighth century BC. Considerably less distinguished was the rank-and-file Amun priest Ankhefenamun,²¹

¹⁴ See *e.g.*: Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*; Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*; Leahy, “Nespamedu, ‘King’ of Thisis”; De Meulenaere, “La famille des vizirs Nespamedou et Nespakachouty”; De Meulenaere and Clarysse, “Notes de prosopographie thébaine,” 229-231; Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak*.

¹⁵ Bierbrier, review of *Priester und Beamte*, 308.

¹⁶ As M. J. Adams and others have noted: Manetho placed the Twenty-Third “Dynasty” at Tanis; Pedubast and Osorkon III are consistently attested in Upper Egypt (and Pi(ankh)y’s Great Triumphal Stela recorded even Osorkon IV’s presence at Bubastis). The association between Osorkon III’s line and Leontopolis must therefore be regarded with caution. See: frag. 62 (from Syncellus, citing Africanus), frag. 63 (a) (from Syncellus, citing Eusebius), and frag. 63 (b) (Armenian version of Eusebius) in Waddell, *Manetho*, 160-163 (and MSS on *op. cit.*, xxx); Cairo JE 48862, ll. 19, 106, 114, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, III, VI, X; Adams, “Manetho’s Twenty-third Dynasty and the Legitimization of Kushite Rule over Egypt.” Nevertheless, Kitchen’s suggestion that the line was tied administratively to Leontopolis is tentatively adopted here on two bases: (1) the burial there of Kama(ma) (likely Osorkon III’s mother) within what may be a dynastic cemetery; and (2) the absence of evidence for Pedubast and Osorkon III at Tanis itself. As Kitchen observes, Manetho’s geographic categorization of dynasties is not consistently an indicator of their origin but sometimes instead of their administrative center. Gauthier, “A travers la Basse-Égypte,” 21-27. Kitchen, “Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction,” 184-185; *id.*, *TIP*, 128-130 §102.

¹⁷ See esp.: Aston and Taylor, “Family of Takeloth III and the ‘Theban’ Twenty-third Dynasty,” and “Appendix: The Twenty-third Dynasty,” 131-154, 177-200; Kitchen, *TIP²* §§66-79, 97-110, 295-323; Broekman, “Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty”; Payraudeau, “Takeloth III: Considerations on Old and New Documents.”

¹⁸ Harsiese F’s known genealogy actually begins with one Ankhwenefer and his son Pediese, identified only as Amun priests, but neither claims a particularly high rank, and both would have been quite elderly (or even deceased) at the inception of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Legrain, “Recherches sur la famille dont fit partie Montouemhat”; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 261-263; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 40, 42, 149-150; Kitchen, *TIP²* 230-233 §196, 561 §478, 566-567 §489.

¹⁹ Eventually to be related by marriage to the famed Besenmut family. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 7, 17, 96; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 566 §488, 580 §521, Table *14; previously “Nakhtefmut B,” *cf.* references in *op. cit.*, 511. If Kitchen’s genealogy of the Fourth Prophets of Amun in Table *14 is correct throughout, then Nakhtefmut (G)’s family had held that office for two centuries before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and it had passed into the hands of his son, Djedkhonsefankh (D) by the reign of Kashta.

²⁰ In the works of Kitchen and Naunton, only one individual of this name is included, as only one such individual bore the important title of Third Prophet of Amun. However, if De Meulenaere’s interpretations of stela Cairo CG 22141 and the unpublished stela BM EA 624 are correct, then the family had an earlier ancestor of that name who served as *imy-r3 pr.wy-hd pr Imn*, and this man would seem to have held that office at some point during the first half of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Cairo CG 22141 mentions a *β.ty Ns-q3-šw.ty m3^c-hrw s3 mi-nn imy-r3 pr.wy-hd pr Imn Dd-In-hr-ḫw=f-ḥḥ m3^c-hrw s3 P3y=w-hr*; see Cairo CG 22141, ll. 5-6, in Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* I, 122-123, pl. XLI. It would certainly seem that this Djedanhurefankh cannot be the Third Prophet of Amun who bore that name, as he was elsewhere designated as the son of a Vizier Nespakashuty, not the son of an untitled Payuhar. Moreover, Nespakashuty (D) was designated as the son of the Vizier Nespamedu, not of any Djedanhurefankh. Consequently, the Djedanhurefankh mentioned upon Cairo CG 22141 would seem to be an earlier man who instead fathered Nespakashuty (C); he is therefore designated here as “Djedanhurefankh (A)” to differentiate him from his grandson. See De Meulenaere, “La famille des vizirs Nespamedou et Nespakachouty,” 73, 76-77; *id.*, “Trois vizirs.” *Cf.* the information for his grandson and namesake, the Third Prophet of Amun, in: Kitchen, *TIP²*, §487B, 596 Table *14; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 90, 92, 158-159. Of the two objects which formed the basis of De Meulenaere’s interpretation, only BM EA 624 is mentioned by Vittmann, and no discussion is given by Vittmann of the Djedanhurefankh who fathered a Vizier Nespakashuty (*op. cit.*, 197).

²¹ Unpublished stela Cairo JE 37377, transcribed in Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 280 §51.33.

whose importance could hardly have been anticipated at the time. Finally, mention must be made of two Mayors of Thebes, Wedjahor and Kelbasken,²² though their respective positions within the genealogical and chronological framework of the era remain quite unclear. The greatest administrative changes wrought in Upper Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty all involve one or more of these seven parties: the Leontopolitan house; the distinguished families of Harsiese (F), Nakhtefmut (G), and Djedanhurefankh (A); the humble line of Ankhefenamun; and the enigmatic pair of Wedjahor and Kelbasken.

At the time of Kashta's initial overtures in Upper Egypt, the post of God's Wife of Amun was occupied by the Leontopolitan princess Shepenwepet I—daughter of Osorkon III and sister of his coregent, Takeloth III.²³ The High Priesthood of Amun appears to have been vacant, and it has been assumed that the powers of that office were absorbed by the God's Wife Shepenwepet I in an attempt to forestall the kind of endemic aggrandizement among Libyan royal scions witnessed during the preceding era.²⁴ It would therefore seem quite evident that the God's Wife of Amun was already a figure of considerable authority in Thebes during the reign of Kashta. The means by which the Kushite house then managed to insert one of its own princesses, Amenirdis I, into that office as Divine Adoratrice and heiress apparent to the God's Wife are not described in the surviving evidence,²⁵ but the possible duration of her subsequent tutelage under Shepenwepet I would seem to indicate a diplomatic relationship between Napata and Leontopolis.²⁶ The same conclusion is equally suggested by the Leontopolitan ancestry and affinity of Amenirdis I's fellow clergy in the cult of Amun: the Second Prophet of Amun, Djedptahefankh (D), was himself a son of Takeloth III, and he was in turn related by marriage to the Third Prophet, Padiamunebnesutawy (A/B).²⁷ Thus, although Jansen-Winkeln has argued that "the rulers of the house of Osorkon III were swiftly evicted from Thebes,"²⁸ the same cannot be said of their kin and affines, who seem to have been at least tolerated under the early Kushite dynasty.²⁹ By the end of Pi(ankh)y's reign at the latest, Amenirdis I and her Leontopolitan colleagues were joined by still another Kushite princess—Shepenwepet II, daughter of Pi(ankh)y—so that the college of priestesses now included a God's Wife and two heiresses apparent in succession.³⁰

It has often been asserted that among the Kushites' first administrative interventions in Upper Egypt was the forcible installation of Kelbasken as Fourth Prophet of Amun and Mayor of Thebes.³¹ However, though his name was clearly Kushite,³² Kelbasken's tenure cannot be fixed with confidence at the inception

²² Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT. 99]"; *id.*, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor"; Cairo 37153 as pictured in Bothmer, "Block statues of Dynasty XXV," fig. 3; Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 40-41, pl. 14, map 8; Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif."

²³ For Osorkon III as the father of Shepenwepet I, see: Cairo JE 43654 in Legrain, "Sur un fragment de statue d'Osiris"; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* II, 315 §30.3; Careddu, *La collezione egizia*, 43-44 no. 51, 59 no. 51c, tav. 51; Fanfoni "Un nuovo documento di Scepenupet Ia e Amenardis Ia." For Takeloth III as the son of Osorkon III, see Daressy, "Notes sur les XXII^e, XXIII^e et XXIV^e dynasties," 133.

²⁴ *E.g.*: Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," 241; Ayad, "La Sposa Divina," 116; *ead.*, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 17-18; Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter I. As Naunton's MPhil thesis was provided to me in manuscript, pagination is variable and has therefore been avoided in citations to this work.

²⁵ For evidence that Amenirdis I's adoption may have been arranged by her father, Kashta, while she was still a youth, see: Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos," 182, and WAM 22.474, as recently published by Schulz, "Ein neuer Beleg des Kaschta und Amenirdis I." However, Luc Limme and Jansen-Winkeln now maintain that portions of the so-called "Pi(ankh)y blocks" from the Mut Precinct at Karnak depict Amenirdis I's adoption as arranged by Pi(ankh)y. See discussion in n. 262 below.

²⁶ *Cf.* disagreement between Ayad and Koch in n. 175 below.

²⁷ Tübingen 1734 in Brunner and Brunner-Traut, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 39-41, pl. 113; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 89; Aston and Taylor, "Family of Takeloth III and the 'Theban' Twenty-third Dynasty," 134-135. Kitchen had previously distinguished a Padiamunebnesutawy A and B; see Kitchen, *TIP*, 226-228 §§192-193. For their subsequent identification as a single person, see: Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 88-89; Kitchen, *TIP*², 564 §482, 566 §487, 596 Table *14.

²⁸ Jansen-Winkeln, "Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns. 22-24," 256.

²⁹ But *cf.* Bierbrier, review of *Priester und Beamte*, 308; Cairo JE 48862, l. 140, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. IVa, XI.

³⁰ For Shepenwepet II's installation by her father, see Cairo JE 36327, ll. 4-7, 15-16, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. VIII-IX. For Shepenwepet II as the daughter of Pi(ankh)y, specifically, see Berlin ÄMP 7972 in Hintze and Hintze, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan*, fig. 64.

³¹ Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 95; *id.*, review of *Priester und Beamte*, 307; Kitchen, *TIP*², 382 §344, 482 Table 14, 596 Table *14; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 168; Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 40; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 99-100, 171; Naunton, "Tebe durante la XXV dinastia," 86; Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif," 11, 13.

³² *Cf.* the names of Pi(ankh)y's general Lemerskeny, Taharqo's wife Atakhebasken, and the later Napatan king Senkamanisken: Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V: contents of Nu. 36 in Dunham, *Nuri*, 19-24 fig. 12, 198, 204 no. 5, pl. CXXI no. 1; *FHN* I, 211-214 §§31-32.

of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Initial attempts to do so appear to have been based upon the assumption that early Kushite rule would necessarily have been more militant and intrusive in nature, giving way only later to strategies of conciliation. In accordance with this view, Naunton has judged the tomb of Kelbasken (TT 391) as “la prima della serie di monumenti realizzate tra il periodo kushita e l’Epoca Tarda nell’Assasif e quindi . . . il primo monumento del Rinascimento artistico e culturale che caratterizzo l’Epoca Tarda.”³³ Yet the localization and typology of that very tomb led Taylor to assign it instead to the second half of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, an hypothesis now followed by both Payraudeau and Vittmann.³⁴ Moreover, regardless of where Kelbasken is to be positioned in the chronology of the era, his installation does not provide evidence of Kushite usurpation, for the possibility cannot be excluded that he was either a son-in-law or even a descendant of his Egyptian predecessors in office—perhaps through their intermarriage with the Kushite royal house or another family of elites from Upper Nubia.

Also inferred at times upon onomastic grounds is an early marriage alliance between the Kushite dynasty and the Upper Egyptian vizierial line of Harsiese (F).³⁵ Specifically, it has been observed that the latter’s son, Khamhor (A), had a wife and father-in-law both with non-Egyptian names: respectively, *T3-b3t* and *Š3-r3-š3iw*.³⁶ As Bierbrier and Naunton have deduced, such an alliance with the royal house might account for Khamhor (A)’s status as Great Inspector and Controller of Thebes (*rwd 3 hsf n Nw.t*), a post which he assumed alongside his inherited office as Vizier;³⁷ according to Vittmann, marriage to a Kushite woman would also explain why Khamhor (A)’s grandson, the illustrious Montuemhat, was “occasionally depicted with Nubian features and with darker complexion.”³⁸ However, both the onomastic and phenotypic arguments are rather problematic. Firstly, as Vittmann observes, the Libyan king Takeloth III had a wife named *Bt3t*, “which is obviously the same element as that contained in Tabetjat!”³⁹ The theory of early intermarriage between the Kushite royal and Egyptian vizierial lines would then depend upon a choice between two scenarios: either Takeloth III and Khamhor (A) were both wedded to Kushite women, or Khamhor’s Kushite wife surprisingly bore a Libyan name.⁴⁰ Secondly, Kushite ancestry is not necessarily required to explain the physical features of the Upper Egyptian Montuemhat—particularly as he lived during an era when the aesthetic canon of private statuary often took its cue from images of Kushite royalty.⁴¹ It would therefore seem that, *pace* Vittmann, the “simplest solution” is that Khamhor (A)’s wife *T3-bt3t* and the Libyan Takeloth III’s wife *Bt3t* were Libyans themselves—rendering the theory of a marriage alliance with the early Kushite dynasty superfluous.⁴²

If neither the Mayor of Thebes Kelbasken nor the Mayor of Thebes Khamhor (A) provide solid evidence of an early Kushite appointment akin to those of Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II, then the next available candidate for such distinction may be found in the person of Wedjahor. As discussed in Chapter III.2.1 above, his burial equipment and that of his wife Nyiu in TT 99 show him to be not only a Fourth Prophet of Amun and affine of the Kushite priesthood at Kawa, but also a *rwd 3 hsf n Nw.t* who was interred during the tenth regnal year of Shabaqo.⁴³ Payraudeau’s recent survey of this title’s scattered attestations has provided compelling support for a view long assumed: that the *rwd 3 hsf n Nw.t* (Great Inspector and

³³ Naunton, “Tebe durante la XXV dinastia,” 86.

³⁴ Personal communication between Taylor and Strudwick cited in Strudwick, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” 93 n. 11, *cf.* 92 n. 5; personal communication between Taylor and Payraudeau cited in Payraudeau, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes,” 147 n. 89. See also Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 145.

³⁵ Bierbrier, “More Light on the Family of Montuemhat,” 116; Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 1.

³⁶ Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” 133 no. CLXXXVI; De Meulenaere, “Notes d’onomastique tardive (troisième série),” 50.

³⁷ Vassalli, *L’egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 112; Cairo CG 41068 in Payraudeau, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes,” 143 n. 71.

³⁸ Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 151.

³⁹ Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 151; Berlandini, “Petits monuments royaux.”

⁴⁰ Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 151.

⁴¹ See discussion in: Rusmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 227; *ead.*, “Montuemhat’s Kushite Wife,” 22-23; Wenig, “Kingdom of Kush: The Art and Architecture of the Napatan Period”; Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, xxxviii.

⁴² For *Bt3t* and *T3-bt3t* as “Libyan” names see Colin, *Les libyens en Égypte* II, 41-43.

⁴³ Strudwick, “Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT. 99],” 241-266; *id.*, “Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” 91-94; *cf.* Kitchen, *TIP*², 566 §488, 596 Table *14.

Controller of Thebes) was, in fact, a precursor to the *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ n Nḥw.t* (Mayor of Thebes) of the Late Period.⁴⁴ In fact, the latter title is used to designate Wedjahor posthumously upon the statue of his son, Horenepe.⁴⁵ It would therefore seem clear that, by the reign of Shabaqo and quite possibly before, the Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of Amun was related by marriage to a Kushite line—albeit a non-royal one.⁴⁶ Such an alliance between Kushite and Egyptian priesthoods was undoubtedly facilitated by the union of Kush and Egypt into a common realm, if it was not actually orchestrated by the Kushite royal house itself. Yet, unfortunately, Wedjahor's marriage to a Kushite elite cannot be taken as firm evidence for his installation by the Kushite kings; like Kelbasken, Wedjahor may have borne some unattested relation to the lines of Harsiese (F) or Nakhtefmut (G) and thereby inherited his offices from his father or an uncle.

The earliest unequivocal proof of a Kushite appointment within the Theban administration after the adoption of Shepenwepet II would therefore be that of Shabaqo's son, Horemakhet, who assumed the office of High Priest of Amun.⁴⁷ Upon his coffin, Horemakhet's mother bears a non-Egyptian name—*Mꜥ-s3-b3-t3*—and so there is no reason to assume any blood relation to the Theban elites.⁴⁸ As the High Priesthood of Amun had evidently obsolesced under Shepenwepet I, its revival two generations later in the person of Horemakhet suggests a deliberate maneuver by the Kushite dynasty. It has been widely assumed that Shabaqo arranged his son's installation because he could not do the same for a daughter, the Divine Harem of Amun being quite crowded already with a Leontopolitan and two Kushites betrothed.⁴⁹ Less attention has been given to the difference which this action marked between the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fifth Dynasties: if the former abolished the office for dread of factionalism, the latter appears to have reinstated it with no such concern. In fact, as Ayad has argued, "Horemakhet's appointment may be better viewed . . . in terms of Shabaqo's program to assume, or resurrect, older traditions"—that is, as a propagandistic or pietistic measure rather than an administrative one.⁵⁰ In this regard, it may be significant that Horemakhet's remaining titles were almost unanimously either pedestrian (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ*, *iry-pꜥ.t*, *smr-wꜥ.ty*), ecclesiastical (*ḥm-ntr Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd*, *mty-n-s3*, *shd ḥm.w-ntr*, *imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr nb*, *imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n W3s.t*), or tied directly to the king and his estate (*ḥrp ḥ*, *sd3w.ty-bi.ty*, *rh nsw m3ꜥ mr=f*, *s3 nsw*, *ir.ty nsw*, *ḥh.wy bi.ty*, *ḥry-sšt3 nsw m s.wt=f nb.t*).⁵¹ The only outlier was his enigmatic and perhaps bombastic designation as "Controller of the Grandees of the South and North" (*ḥrp wr.w rsy.t mhy.t*).⁵² Aside from this lone and rather vague extravagance, there is no suggestion that Horemakhet wielded practical authority outside of the temple and palace over any matter of civil or military administration. Kitchen has thus concluded that Horemakhet's office was "wholly a religious benefice."⁵³

At the turn of the century, the Kushite dynasts also created an office, one which manifested a similar emphasis upon the Amun cult: the Chief Steward of the God's Wife. The post was granted, not to the venerable Leontopolitan lineage, nor to those of Nakhtefmut (G) or Harsiese (F), but instead to one Harwa,⁵⁴

⁴⁴ Payraudeau, "La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes," 131-153; Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 80-82 n. 2.

⁴⁵ Back-pillar of Cairo JE 36970 in: el-Sayed, "A la recherche des statues inédites de la cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (I)"; Payraudeau, "La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes," 142.

⁴⁶ That the line of Padiamun and Nyiu was non-royal is suggested by the fact that neither claims royal affiliation of any kind. For Kushites of various statuses resident in Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see: Vittmann, "Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography," 139-161; Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos"; Wenig, "Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-Tror."

⁴⁷ Cairo JE 49157 in Lefebvre, "Le grand prêtre d'Amon, Harmakhis"; Cairo JE 55194 in Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Montemhet," 61; Cairo CG 42204 (Cairo JE 38580) in Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* III, 12-13, pl. III; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 348-349 §52.6; Leiden AMS 59c (= I 358) in Klasens, "Amuletic papyrus of the 25th dynasty."

⁴⁸ Cairo JE 55194 in Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Montemhet," 61; New York MMA photograph M.11.C.106. I thank Marsha Hill of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for providing me with access to the photograph.

⁴⁹ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 168; Naunton, "Tebe durante la XXV dinastia," 89; *id.*, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 4 (Conclusion).

⁵⁰ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 119.

⁵¹ See references to Horemakhet's monuments in n. 47 above.

⁵² Cairo JE 49157, between left leg and back pillar, in Lefebvre, "Le grand prêtre d'Amon, Harmakhis," 27.

⁵³ Kitchen, *TIP²*, 382 §344. It is certainly noteworthy that no Kushite scion appointed to the priesthood ever acceded to the throne.

⁵⁴ For the timing of Harwa's installation, see: personal communication between Tiradritti and Naunton, cited in *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 3; Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun* II, 82; Naunton, "Tebe durante la XXV dinastia," 92.

descendant of the rank-and-file Amun priests Ankhefenamun and his son Padimut,⁵⁵ none of whom are known to bear any prior relation to Kush or its royal house.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, once elevated to his new office, Harwa supervised the vast estates of the God's Wife Amenirdis I, and if his statuary and lavish tomb in the Asasif necropolis (TT 37) are any indication,⁵⁷ he benefited quite handsomely from access to royal sculptors and temple coffers.⁵⁸ The discovery in 1997 of an ushabti statuette depicting Harwa with crook and flail in hand has even led Tiradritti to class Harwa as a local "dynast" in his own right:

This could indicate that Harwa had more power than that deriving from his priestly role and that he could be considered as the real governor of the Theban region, on behalf of the Nubian king—the most politically influential person in a state stretching to the First Cataract (a graffito naming Harwa was found at Nag'esh Sheikh near Aswan). The vast size of his tomb and the many surviving statues would also support this hypothesis . . . Is it possible to speak of a 'dynasty' of officials governing the Theban region with the consent of the Nubian kings?⁵⁹

That Harwa held considerable authority in his post as Chief Steward would seem beyond dispute, but Tiradritti's tentative classification of him as a "dynast" should not be taken to indicate Harwa's autonomy from his mistress, Amenirdis I, or from the royal house to which she belonged. As Ayad has observed, "Harwa would not have acted on his own accord; . . . [and w]hile Harwa's unique ushabti holding crook and flail is exceptional, the discovery of just one ushabti does not make him 'king' of Upper Egypt."⁶⁰ What the statuette instead suggests is that the traditional decorum restricting the use of royal insignia was relaxed for Amenirdis I's Chief Steward; like the High Priest Horemakhet, Harwa's power does not appear to have been regarded as an immediate threat to the Kushite kings.⁶¹

Harwa and Horemakhet's fellow clergy during the early part of their tenure may only be conjectured upon present evidence. The Leontopolitan Djedptahefankh (D) might conceivably have remained in office as Second Prophet of Amun until the end of the eighth century BC, though he would have been quite elderly at that point;⁶² alternatively, the post may have lain vacant for some years or been occupied by one or more incumbents who left no testimony of their existence.⁶³ His next known successor as Second Prophet, a certain Patjenfy, may be assigned with confidence to the reign of Shabaqo,⁶⁴ but Patjenfy's

⁵⁵ Cairo JE 37377 in Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 280 §51.33.

⁵⁶ *Contra* Kuentz, "Remarques sur les statues de Harwa," 145. Harwa's family bore Egyptian names, and the name *H3-r-w3* is attested in Egypt prior to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, so there is no reason to assume that the name was linguistically Kushite. See Leahy, "Harwa and 'Harbes,'" 63.

⁵⁷ Clère, "A propos des monuments de Haroua"; Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, Plan 5; Gunn, "Berlin Statue of Harwa"; Gunn and Engelbach, "Statues of Harwa"; Kuentz, "Remarques sur les statues de Harwa"; Roeder, "Kunstgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu den acht Statuen des Harwa"; Russmann, "Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat"; Senk, "Zu Form und Titular der Harwa-Statuen"; Tiradritti, "Three years of research in the tomb of Harwa"; *id.*, *Il cammino di Harwa*; *id.*, "La tombe de Haroua (TT 37)"; *id.*, "Cinque anni di scavi nella tomba di Harwa"; *id.*, "Tomba di Harwa (Luxor)."

⁵⁸ Jansen-Winkel, "Amenirdis und Harwa"; Tiradritti, "La tombe de Haroua (TT 37)," 26.

⁵⁹ Tiradritti, "Three years of research in the tomb of Harwa," 6. See also: HRW 1997 R 200 in Einaudi and Tiradritti, *L'enigma di Harwa*, 196 fig. 43; Boston MFA 72.745 in Pérez Die, *Nubia: Los reinos del Nilo en Sudán*, 165 no. 76. For the Aswan graffito to which Tiradritti refers, see Petrie, *A season in Egypt, 1887*, 12, pl. IX no. 263.

⁶⁰ Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 34 n. 146.

⁶¹ That his *line* was regarded with caution is nevertheless suggested by the fact that no descendant succeeded Harwa in office; the Chief Stewardship instead passed to Akhamenru, son of Pekiry, as attested upon multiple objects: Leclant, "Le prêtre Pekiry"; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 324-329.

⁶² This estimate may be calculated from the fact that Djedptahefankh (D) was a son of Takeloth III; as Takeloth III appears to have ceded the throne to Rudamun and then to the Kushite Pi(ankh)y during the middle decades of the eighth century BC, and Djedptahefankh (D) was presumably appointed by a Leontopolitan king rather than a Kushite, the latter would have been a man of advanced age by the turn of the century. Tübingen 1734 in Brunner and Brunner-Traut, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 39-41, pl. 113. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 89; Aston and Taylor, "Family of Takeloth III," 134-135; Broekman, "Taleloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty"; Payraudeau, "Takeloth III."

⁶³ Daressy assumed in 1901 that Djedptahefankh (D) was succeeded as Second Prophet by Neshorbehdet, an interpretation subsequently followed by Kitchen in the first edition of *TIP*. Daressy, "Notes et remarques," 127-128; Kitchen, *TIP*, 357 §319, 482 Table 14. However, Vittmann would later demonstrate that Neshorbehdet was a quite unrelated individual of much later date. See: Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte in Theben der Spätzeit*, 65, 176; Kitchen, *TIP*², 565 §486, 580-581 §521, 582 §524, 596 Table *14. The possibility that the office of Second Prophet remained temporarily vacant after Djedptahefankh (D) was proposed by Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 1.

⁶⁴ Cairo JE 46916 in Bisson de la Roque, "Complément de la stèle d'*Imn-m-h3.t* fils de *P3-tnfy*."

ancestors are unknown,⁶⁵ and so it is unclear whether the post had passed to a collateral branch of the Leontopolitan line or had been transferred from that family altogether.⁶⁶ Similarly obscure are the successors of the Third Prophet Padiamunebnesutawy (A/B); none of his sons or nephews is known, and thus it cannot yet be determined whether any came to inherit his office during the reigns of Shabaqo or Shebitqo. Likewise, the sequence of Fourth Prophets during this same period depends upon the genealogies of the enigmatic figures Wedjahor and Kelbasken, as well as the latter's chronological position: did either or both actually interrupt the line of Nakhtefmut (G)—a family which appears to have held the office for nearly two centuries before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty?⁶⁷ As the evidence admits multiple scenarios, the extent and timing of Kushite intervention in the Theban priesthood under the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty remain uncertain.

Harwa and Horemakhet's contemporaries outside of the temple present an equally complicated prosopography. Both Harsiese (F)'s son, Khamhor (A), and the enigmatic Wedjahor claimed the title of Great Inspector and Controller of Thebes upon their own monuments, and both were designated as Mayors of Thebes by their descendants.⁶⁸ Yet only Khamhor (A)'s descendants are known to have borne the latter title.⁶⁹ Consequently, it would seem that either: Wedjahor preceded Khamhor (A) in office; Wedjahor was actually a relative of Khamhor (A) who inherited the office from him; Wedjahor was of a different lineage and interrupted the succession; or the mayoralty of Thebes was claimed by both men at once. The necessity of entertaining all such options is underscored by the proliferation of Southern Viziers who may potentially be assigned to this period: Harsiese (F) passed the office to as many as three different sons born to his wife Babai: Nesmin (A), Khamhor (A), and almost certainly a "Vizier Pediese (C), son of Harsiese, his mother being Babai," who is named upon a coffin from Deir el-Bahari.⁷⁰ All three men appear to have been contemporaries or direct predecessors of a "Vizier Ankhor" and another "Vizier Nespaqashuty (B)," neither of whom was a relation of Harsiese (F).⁷¹ Khamhor (A) in turned passed the vizierate to a pair of sons: Pahrer (a. k. a. Harsiese G) and Nesmin (B).⁷² Kitchen explained this remarkable turnover as a veritable plague of senescence: "The large number of viziers attested for the south in this period suggests (i) a rapid succession, and (ii) that this office was held by a series of senior men who did not usually have a long tenure, because of old age."⁷³ However, an alternative view proposed by De Meulenaere and subsequently entertained by Naunton would class the southern vizierate more as an honor claimed simultaneously by many than as a central institution occupied by only one.⁷⁴ A parallel to this practice may be found in the title of Overseer of Upper Egypt, which was used by several individuals of varying status across the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties.⁷⁵ Unlike the mayoralty of Thebes and the Amun priesthood, the offices of Southern Vizier and Overseer of Upper Egypt bore no necessary connection to the Southern City itself, and thus there was little to prevent local potentates elsewhere in Upper Egypt from assuming

⁶⁵ Kees identified the Patjenfy of the Edfu stela (see preceding n.) with the son of Padiamun of Edfu: *PM* I, 243; Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Monthemhet," 63; but cf. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte in Theben der Spätzeit*, 64-65 §§3.2.1-3.2.2.

⁶⁶ The possibility that Patjenfy may have been a Kushite ally who received the office when it was transferred from the Leontopolitan line may be supported by the observation that his son, Amenemhat, appears to have married a woman with typically Kushite name, hairstyle, and costume: Vittmann, "Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography," 146-147.

⁶⁷ Kitchen, *TIP*², 566 §488, 580 §521, Table *14.

⁶⁸ Vassalli, *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 112; Cairo CG 41068 in Payraudeau, "La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes," 143 n. 71; Cairo CG 41068 in *op. cit.*, 143 n. 71; Cairo TN 27/1/25/11 (9915) in Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, 33-34, 202, Taf. 5 Abb. 20; Strudwick, "Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT. 99]"; *id.*, "Fourth priest of Amun, Wedjahor." Cairo JE 36970 in El-Sayed, "A la recherche des statues inédites de la cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (I)," 143-149, pls. I-II; Cairo JE 37153, in Payraudeau, "La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes," 142.

⁶⁹ *Viz.*, Nesptah (A) and Montuemhat. See Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* III, 601, 604.

⁷⁰ Cairo TN 27/1/25/11 (9915) in Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, 33-34, 202, Taf. 5 Abb. 20; Cairo CG 41029 in Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à la époque saïte*, 270-273, pls. 31-32.

⁷¹ Daressy, *Statues des divinités*, 71; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* III, 360-361; Aston and Taylor, "Family of Takeloth III," 148; Kitchen, *TIP*², 567 §489, 598 Table *15; Leahy, "Name of Osiris Written," 148-149.

⁷² New York MMA 25.3.214 and Cairo CG 48629 (JE 38605) in Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* III, 450 §52.187, 489 §52.250; Cairo CG 41021-41022 in Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à la époque saïte*, 208-226, pls. 23-24.

⁷³ Kitchen, *TIP*², 484 n. to Table 15.

⁷⁴ De Meulenaere and Clarysse, "Notes de prosopographie thébaine," 231; Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 3 esp. n. 205.

⁷⁵ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 190. See discussion in Ch. VI.3.3 below.

either or both titles. Indeed, if the vizierate could be split between northern and southern bureaux as generally assumed, the possibility of even further multiplication of the office within Upper Egypt cannot be discounted. Viewed from this perspective, the striking reference to “all the viziers” in Pi(ankh)y’s Great Triumphal Stela may have been more than a careless imprecision.⁷⁶

The likelihood of this scenario is clearly suggested by the subsequent history of the vizierate under Taharqo: when the prosopographical haze of the eighth century finally yields to clarity c. 680 BC, at least one coherent line of vizieral succession may be traced, but its claimants hailed not from Thebes but rather Abydos.⁷⁷ Moreover, there would seem little reason to imagine this Abydene family as a rogue power in conflict with the elites of Thebes,⁷⁸ for the first of the Abydene viziers, Nespaqashuty (C), was the son of an Overseer of the Treasury of the Domain of Amun (the aforementioned Djedanhurefankh A)⁷⁹ and equally the father of the new Third Prophet of Amun: Djedanhurefankh (B).⁸⁰ These circumstances admit two possible explanations: either the Abydene line had peaceably replaced that of Harsiese (F) in order to curb the latter’s power—presumably by Kushite royal fiat⁸¹—or the southern vizierate was not a singular institution under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. If Nespaqashuty (C) was descended from the aforementioned Vizier Nespaqashuty (B)—contemporary of the Theban Vizier Khamhor (A)—then this second explanation would be unavoidable.⁸² Indeed, after Nespaqashuty (C) passed the office to his son Nespamedu, it would then be inherited under Psamtik I by yet another Nespaqashuty (D)—suggesting an alternation of patronyms within the Abydene vizieral line.⁸³

Even if the Theban line of Harsiese (F) had seen its vizieral duties transferred to Abydene elites under Taharqo, it would be excessive to attribute this change to a presumed rift with the royal family: after all, Harsiese (F)’s most notable descendant during this era, the famed Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of Amun Montuemhat, was married to one of Taharqo’s younger kinswomen, Wedjarenes.⁸⁴ As she lived into the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, bore Montuemhat’s second-ranking son, and was then prominently featured in Montuemhat’s tomb, Wedjarenes was likely Montuemhat’s last wife—placing his marriage alliance to the Kushite line securely within Taharqo’s reign.⁸⁵ Montuemhat’s high status at this time, as reflected in part by his lavish tomb in the Asasif (TT 34) neighboring that of Harwa (TT 37),⁸⁶ should not therefore be interpreted as evidence of a local “dynasty” alienated from the Crown. The Chief Steward Harwa and Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat were joined at the Asasif by the adjacent and equally grandiose tombs of the Chief Steward under Shepenwepet II, Akhamenru (TT 404), and the Chief Lector Priest during the early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, one Pedamenope (TT 33).⁸⁷ Interestingly, despite the comparable scale and chronological and topographic proximity of their tombs, no familial relation is attested between these men, and no single

⁷⁶ Cairo JE 48862, l. 107, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. III, X.

⁷⁷ Leahy, “Nespamedu, ‘King’ Of Thisis,” 33; Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901*, 80, pls. XXIII, XXX (now Bolton 36.01.34), XXV no. 7, XLII (now Chicago OIM 5740-50); Berlin *ÄMP* 2090 in De Meulenaere, “Pyramidions d’Abydos,” 2, 4.

⁷⁸ Redford has inferred an Upper Egyptian conflict during the reign of Taharqo from Cheikh Labib 94 CL 1013, but the text bears no royal nomina, and Revez’s more recent study has now assigned it earlier during the Third Intermediate Period. Redford, “Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya”; cf. Revez, “Une stèle inédite de la troisième période intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en thébaïde?”. No actual debate over the dating criteria of the stela has yet appeared in print.

⁷⁹ Discussion in n. 20 above of Cairo CG 22141, ll. 5-6, in Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* I, 122-123, pl. XLI.

⁸⁰ Cairo JE 37014 and 48647 (JE 37447) in Bresciani, “Una nuova statua del terzo profeta di Ammone Gedinherefankh.”

⁸¹ Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 105; Leahy “Nespamedu, ‘King’ of Thisis,” 35-36.

⁸² Naunton, *Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt*, Chapter 3 n. 205.

⁸³ See pBrooklyn 47.218.3, col. B/ll. 11-12, in: Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 15-16 nos. 4-4a, pl. 3; De Meulenaere, “Trois vizirs,” 197-201.

⁸⁴ For Wedjarenes’s filiation to a “Har, son of Pi(ankh)y,” see Barguet *et al.*, “Les tables d’offrandes de la grande cour de la tombe de Montouemhat,” 493-494. It has been widely assumed by scholars that Pi(ankh)y was in turn the father of Taharqo, a filiation suggested by a nexus of sources which connect Taharqo to Shepenwepet II as *sn* and *sn.t*, her to Pi(ankh)y as *s3.t nsw P-ḥb-y*, and then Taharqo more indirectly with Pi(ankh)y as paired cartouches upon a single scarab: Cairo JE 36327, l. 3, in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Berlin *ÄMP* 7972 in Hintze and Hintze, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan*, fig. 64; Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 291 fig. 119. Unfortunately, this proposal hinges upon the meaning of the ambiguous terms *sn* and *sn.t*; see above Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps, as well as n. 115 below.

⁸⁵ Russmann, “Mentuemhat’s Kushite Wife.”

⁸⁶ Russmann, “Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat.”

⁸⁷ Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, Plan 5; Einaudi, “La necropoli dell’Assasif fino alla XXVI dinastia.”

office was held by all four.⁸⁸ Their similar wealth and evident desire to be associated with one another must therefore be explained by some factor beyond strict genealogical or official succession.⁸⁹

Taharqo's reign also saw the appointment of two of the king's children to priestly office. In the Harem of Amun, Taharqo's daughter Amenirdis II was appointed as Divine Adoratrice and heiress presumptive to Shepenwepet II—a position which she would continue to hold during the early part of the Saïte era in Upper Egypt.⁹⁰ Taharqo's son, Nesishutefnut, was installed as Second Prophet of Amun, replacing the line of Patjenfy.⁹¹ Thus, during Taharqo's latter years, the most prominent offices in the Amun cult were held by members of the Kushite royal family: the God's Wife of Amun Shepenwepet II, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun Amenirdis II, the High Priest of Amun Horemakhet, and the Second Prophet of Amun Nesishutefnut. There is no evidence that any of these individuals ever attempted to form a splinter dynasty as had Libyans before them, and none seem to have claimed the titles of civil or military authority that were held by their Theban and Abydene contemporaries. The Amun cult belonged in large part to the Kushite house, but the civil administration of Upper Egypt evidently did not.

Despite the complexity of Theban prosopography during this era, certain patterns of significance may be gleaned from the foregoing survey. Firstly, it may be deduced that either: (a) the Kushite regime permitted the lines of succession for the Vizier and Overseer of Upper Egypt to be interrupted with tremendous frequency, or more likely (b) these titles were not regarded as singular and centralized offices under Kushite rule but were instead used concurrently by more than one individual. Secondly, the Kushite appointments sometimes inferred for those offices and for the mayoralty of Thebes are actually quite unclear and possibly even chimerical. The most important changes wrought by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Upper Egypt are instead best evidenced within the temple precinct, where lapidary inscription was likely the exclusive prerogative of the royal family.⁹² Thirdly, alliances between Kush and the Theban mayoralty were at times cemented by marriage—most notably in the cases of Wedjahor and Montuemhat. To these observations may be added a pair of retrospective points inferred from the aftermath of the Assyrian invasions: as Nespamedu of Abydos and Montuemhat of Thebes were clearly attested under Kushite rule and then subsequently confirmed in their posts by the Assyrians, it may be proposed that their authority had not been entirely dependent upon Kushite favor;⁹³ in addition, the continued Theban presence even during the reign of Psamtik I of the God's Wife Shepenwepet II, the Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis II, and the Kushite scion Harkhebi as incumbent High Priest of Amun would further suggest that the clerical offices most emphasized by the Kushite house were shielded from rapid political changes by a certain measure of inviolate sanctity.⁹⁴ The finer details of Theban prosopography are still debated, but the outcome of those discussions would not seem to alter the general observations reached above, which instead speak to the broader patterns of *Kuschitenherrschaft*.

The most recent attempt at a comprehensive analysis of Theban officials and their duties during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is Naunton's doctoral thesis submitted at Swansea University in 2009—the result of

⁸⁸ Cairo JE 37377 in Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* III, 280 §51.33; Leclant, "Le prêtre Pekiry"; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* III, 324-329; Duemichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*; Brunner, "Petamenophis"; Von Bissing, "Das Grab des Petamenophis in Theben"; Maspero, "Le tombeau de Pétéménophis."

⁸⁹ For Akhamenru's ancestor, Ankhpakhered, proposed as a Kushite ally, see Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes*, 12.

⁹⁰ Cairo JE 36327, ll. 4-7, 15-16, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. VII-VIII; but cf. Ch. V.2 n. 106 below.

⁹¹ Cairo CG 42203 in Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* III, 11-12, pl. VI; cf. discussion in Bisson de la Roque, "Complément de la stèle d'*Imn-m-h.t* fils de *P3-tnfy*"; *PM* I, 243; Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Monthemhet" 63; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 64-65 §§3.2.1-3.2.2.

⁹² In this regard, the temple program of Upper Egypt presents an interesting parallel to those of Upper and Lower Nubia: Chs. III.1, III.4, IV.1, and IV.2.2 above. But cf. Montuemhat's "crypt" inscription from this period: Leclant, *Montuemhat*, 236-237.

⁹³ Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), ll. 108-109 in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 56-57, 118-119. Such a deduction cannot be made with the same confidence for Lower Egypt, as many of the officials named by Assurbanipal are not clearly attested prior to Esarhaddon's invasion, owing largely to the uncertain chronology of Lower Egyptian political history during this era. See discussion in Ch. VII.2 below.

⁹⁴ The same is not necessarily true of the king's son and Second Prophet Nesishutefnut, for Montuemhat's claim to that office upon a single Hathoric cup may signal the Second Prophetship's transference after the Assyrian conquest. Leclant, "Une coupe hathorique au nom de Montuemhat (British Museum 1292)," III. Interestingly, no Second Prophet is attested in pBrooklyn 47.218.3. For the presence of Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis II, and Harkhebi in Upper Egypt under the rule of Psamtik I, see esp.: Cairo JE 36327, ll. 4-7, 15-16, 22, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. VII-VIII; pBrooklyn 47.218.3, col. N/ll. 11-14, in Parker, *Saïte Oracle Papyrus*, 29 no. 50, pl. 15.

a decade's labor upon the subject.⁹⁵ Though the full publication of Naunton's research has yet to appear in print, his conclusions were forecast in an article co-authored with Exell in 2007, and they are particularly instructive: "We infer that during the 25th Dynasty there was a concentration of wealth in the hands of certain important officials; . . . [a] study of the inscriptions of these few individuals, however, shows that there is little correlation between wealth and titles held."⁹⁶ Exell and Naunton therefore propose that the older hierarchy of officials "had become distorted," so that single titles were less indicative of an official's actual powers than was his sheer accumulation of multiple titles. The aforementioned juxtaposition of Harwa, Montuemhat, Akhamenru, and Pedamenope in the Asasif necropolis might well be taken as a case in point. Exell and Naunton explain:

Despite superficial similarities to the New Kingdom, the nature of the government and administration of Egypt in later periods was quite different. The titles held by the highest state officials, such as vizier, remained in use, but as the nature of the kingship itself had changed fundamentally, so did the meaning of these titles and the role of those that held them. It is not possible to speak of a 'court' for the centuries following the New Kingdom.⁹⁷

Kitchen's assertion that "[t]he 25th Dynasty had exactly the same problem [as the New Kingdom pharaohs], albeit technically in reverse,"⁹⁸ would therefore appear too simple a gloss: the "problem" faced by the Kushite kings was, in fact, considerably different from that confronted by their New Kingdom Egyptian predecessors; not only was the Kushites' territorial authority stretched over a 3,200 km expanse, but it also appears to have been maintained without the aid of a national administrative system.⁹⁹

Consequently, Exell and Naunton have concluded that New Kingdom analogies are of little help for ascertaining the governing principles of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. The differences between the two eras, they argue, are

masked to a certain extent by the retention of certain elements of tradition such as the use of particular titles, and the revival, inspired by Piye and his successors, of others, such as monumental construction with the king as the focus of religious iconography, apparently once again the ruler of a united Egypt . . . With the image of the pharaoh restored to prominence at cult centres and the temples themselves renovated, *maat* was restored, and this was perhaps the Kushites' priority, that is, to return Egypt to its proper condition, ideologically. *Maat* having been achieved, the pharaoh was perhaps content to leave the mundane business of running the country to those individuals and systems already in place: which, if true, confirms that, by this point, central authority and administration had disappeared.¹⁰⁰

It is surely noteworthy that such a conclusion about the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty should result even from an analysis focused upon Thebes—where administrative titles are best attested. Positing Thebes as a model for the Double Kingdom more generally, *Kuschitenherrschaft* would then be best understood, not by the fabrication of an elaborate hierarchy of offices, but through examination of the principal ways in which the Kushite royal house maintained the allegiance of disparate local aristocracies. As Exell and Naunton observe, "[t]he relationship of the pharaoh to the officials at this time is crucial to understanding the way the country was run; . . . [i]n indeed, decorum dictated that it was only the pharaoh and the Divine Adoratrices who could be shown in association with the gods on . . . monuments."¹⁰¹ Of the various offices

⁹⁵ Unpublished but synopsised in Naunton, "Towards a Prosopography for Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes." See n. 1 above.

⁹⁶ Exell and Naunton, "Administration," 100.

⁹⁷ Exell and Naunton, "Administration," 102; see also Naunton, "Libyans and Nubians." I thank Chris Naunton for providing me with his chapter in manuscript.

⁹⁸ Kitchen, "Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology," 293.

⁹⁹ This does not, of course, preclude the existence of *intra*-regional systems of taxation and redistribution within the Double Kingdom; see discussion in Ch. VI.3.3 below. For example, it would be of the greatest interest to know if Abnormal Hieratic tablet Leiden I 431 belongs to the reign of Taharqo, as Černý initially hypothesized; the text describes a complex negotiation over tax payments related to Elephantine and perhaps another town. Alas, despite the text's length, the most obvious of diagnostic criteria for Abnormal Hieratic documents do not appear to be present in Leiden I 431, and Thissen, Menu, and Depauw have all assigned it, not to the reign of Taharqo, but to that of Amasis. Given its evident importance for either period, the text demands further intensive study. Černý, "Abnormal-hieratic tablet Leiden I 431"; Thissen, "Chronologie der frühdemotischen Papyri," 110; Menu, "Un document juridique 'kouchite' le P. Vienne D 12002," 342 tableau 2; Depauw, *Chronological Survey*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Exell and Naunton, "Administration," 102-104.

¹⁰¹ Exell and Naunton, "Administration," 104.

surveyed above, the God's Wife and her heiress apparent, the Divine Adoratrice, consequently assume a superordinate importance. Therefore, after deferring micro-analysis at the outset in favor of a broader perspective, let us now pursue it in regards to that most significant office of Kushite rule. *Le bon Dieu* is, after all, *dans le détail*—and in this case, *l'épouse du Dieu*, one Meritefnut.

V.2. Excursus 2: The Problem of Meritefnut

The paramount importance of the God's Wife of Amun during the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties has long been recognized by historians of the period. As the highest official among the female clergy in Egypt, the God's Wife under Kushite and Saïte rule not only exercised cultic prerogatives that had once been the preserve of kings,¹⁰² but her position also became a vehicle for the transmission of dynastic legitimacy and territorial sovereignty in Upper Egypt.¹⁰³ A considerable body of research has therefore sought to ascertain the timing and procedures by which God's Wives were selected, promoted, and replaced within the college of priestesses. Several tenets of this reconstructed protocol have been widely repeated in the published literature:¹⁰⁴ that a king's daughter was appointed as the heiress apparent to the office, often by her father while she was still young;¹⁰⁵ that she was formally "adopted" by the incumbent God's Wife and given a junior position at the clerical seat in Thebes; that the heiress's name was then enclosed within a cartouche and granted the title of "Divine Adoratrice;"¹⁰⁶ that the Divine Adoratrice then acceded to the full status of "God's Wife,"¹⁰⁷ usually upon the decease of her predecessor,¹⁰⁸ while retaining her earlier titles; and that this accession was commemorated by the formulation of an official prenomen invoking the God's Wife's connection to Mut as the divine consort of Amun.¹⁰⁹ Alongside this assumed protocol, a comprehensive and continuous line of succession has been accepted for the office across the eighth and seventh centuries BC: the Libyan God's Wife Shepenwepet I and her replacement, the Kushite God's Wife Amenirdis I; the latter's successor and kinswoman, the God's Wife Shepenwepet II, and her own heiress presumptive, the Divine Adoratrice¹¹⁰ Amenirdis II; the Saïte God's Wife Nitocris I;¹¹¹ her grandniece, the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre; and, finally, the High Priestess of Amun and heiress presumptive Nitocris II, during whose career the office of God's Wife obsolesced under Persian rule.¹¹² Over the past century of Egyptological research, historical evidence pertaining to the God's Wives and their staffs has been mapped across this line of succession and its accompanying protocol to produce an elaborate matrix of interdependent dates and a standard narrative of the office's evolution.

¹⁰² Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 381; cf. Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 75-115.

¹⁰³ Teeter, "Celibacy and Adoption," 406; Ayad, "Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule"; Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela."

¹⁰⁴ For the assumption that there was a standardized protocol which dictated the succession, titulary, and exercise of the office, see esp.: Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 14-15; von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien in Ägypten*, 68; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 343; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 148-150; Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 180-182.

¹⁰⁵ See: n. 25 above, but cf. n. 262 below; Cairo JE 36327, ll. 4-7, 15-16, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII; Cairo JE 36907, ll. 1-2, in Leahy, "Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak," 146 fig. 1. For the youth of the adoptees, see: n. 167 below; Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 26.

¹⁰⁶ For refutation of Dodson's argument that the heiress apparent bore the title of "God's Hand," see Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 45-46; cf. Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 181-185. Koch argues that even the title of "Divine Adoratrice" was held only by the living God's Wife, not by her heiress apparent, and that the heiress apparent's name was not enclosed within a cartouche; Koch would therefore interpret all ancient textual references to a "Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis" as references to Amenirdis I only. See Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 44-50, 62-65. By this logic, the title of *dw3.t-ntr* would have been associated with Amenirdis II only as a *prospective* condition upon the Nitocris Adoption Stela, not as a description of present circumstances. See Cairo JE 36327, l. 3, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII. However, it is difficult to endorse this hypothesis with certainty, for the chapel of Osiris *p3-dd-nh* at Karnak was inscribed for both the *dw3.t-ntr Imn-ir-di-s nh[.ti]* and the *dr.t-ntr Imn-ir-di-s m3'.t-hrw*, interspersed with frequent references to the *dw3.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t nh[.ti]*. See Bargout, *Karnak-Nord* IV, pls. XCVI-XCIX. Koch would contend that the deceased Amenirdis I was described upon the chapel as "living" only because the scene depicted her receiving life from Amun as she exited the chapel; see esp. Koch's pp. 46-47.

¹⁰⁷ Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 180-181.

¹⁰⁸ Leahy, "Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak," 159.

¹⁰⁹ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 1, 29-33, 163 n. 208; *ead.*, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 38-40; Christophe, "La double datation du Ouadi Gassous," 145.

¹¹⁰ But cf. Koch's recent theory that Amenirdis II never assumed this title: see n. 106 above.

¹¹¹ Dodson would interpose here an ephemeral Divine Adoratrice "Shepenwepet IV." See n. 192 below.

¹¹² Ayad, "Some Thoughts on the Disappearance of the Office of God's Wife of Amun."

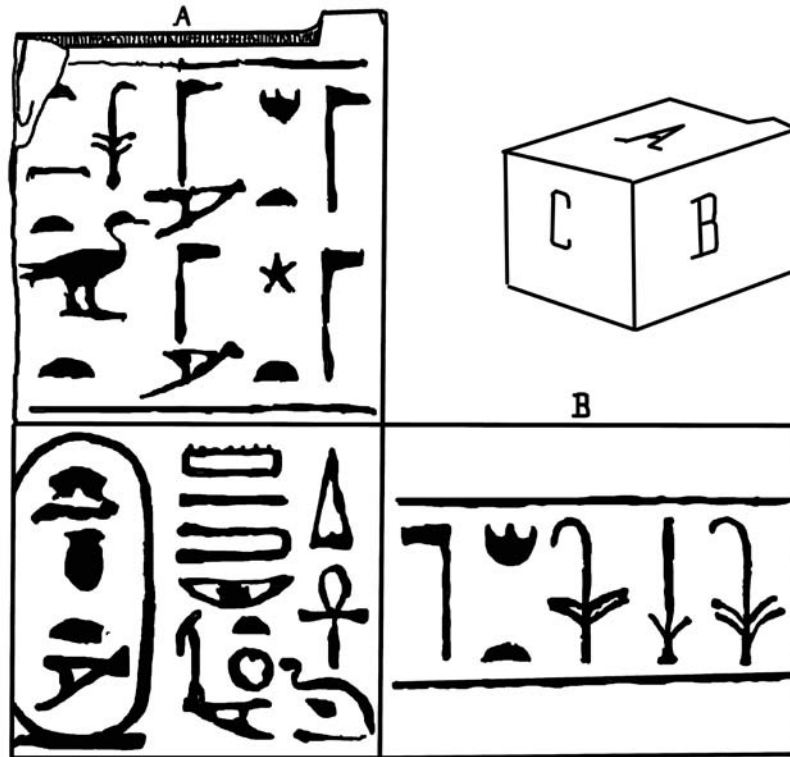


Fig. 64. Meritefnut statue socle. Author's illustration after Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnouit," 131.

Yet certain pieces of evidence have never been successfully fitted into this matrix and its narrative. One such object was first noted by Georges Legrain in 1903 at "une boutique fort sale de Louqsor."¹¹³ There he found a left-corner fragment from a ceramic statue socle, no more than a few cubic centimeters in size, with a hieroglyphic inscription painted upon three sides (Fig. 64):

SIDE A:

hm.t-ntr mr(y.t) ntr
dw3.t-ntr mr(y.t) ntr
s3.t nsw

God's Wife, beloved of the god,
 Divine Adoratrice, beloved of the god,
 king's daughter.

SIDE B:¹¹⁴

hm.t-ntr sn.t nsw [...] nsw

God's Wife, royal kinswoman,¹¹⁵ king's [...]¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnouit," 131. Though Legrain did not publish notice of the socle until 1904, he would later specify that it was "en 1903, quand j'achetai le fragment publié." Legrain, "Sur la princesse Mirit Tafnouit," 138.

¹¹⁴ In Leclant's transcription of this object, Sides B and C have been switched; see Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 191 §49/D/b.

¹¹⁵ For this translation, see discussion above in Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps, as well as the following additional references: Wenig, "Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-tror," 343; Apelt, "Bemerkungen zur Thronfolge in der 25. Dynastie," 28; Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 172; Robins, "Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms"; Revez, "Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* 'Brother'"; Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 232-242; Leclant and Yoyotte, "Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes," 36-38.

¹¹⁶ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was widely assumed that the God's Wives were queens rather than only priestesses. See e.g. Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 279. Thus, Legrain assumed that the missing title on the socle was "probablement encore [épouse] royale" (Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnouit," 131); also: Buttes, *Queens of Egypt*, 213; Gauthier, *LR* IV, 46 §2; Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 §30. However, the missing space on Legrain's socle could have been filled by a reiteration of "king's [daughter]."

SIDE C:

Mr(y.t)-Tfnw.t

mr(y.t) Mnt(w) nb W3s.t

di ḥḥ d.t

Meritefnut, beloved of Montu, lord of Dominion (Thebes), given life forever.

For a God's Wife, the name "Beloved of Tefnut" would have been particularly appropriate: though conceptualized as the embodiment of the Theban goddess Mut in her role as Amun's divine consort, the God's Wife also impersonated the Heliopolitan goddess Tefnut—the daughter of Re-Atum, the cosmogonic feminine principle *par excellence*, and vital agent of creation.¹¹⁷ Tefnut was referenced in both oblique and explicit form throughout the iconography, ritual actions, and epitheta of the God's Wives of Amun.¹¹⁸ Moreover, as a "king's daughter," the Meritefnut named upon the socle bore the expected filiation for a woman of her office. Yet the "God's Wife Meritefnut" was a figure wholly unfamiliar to Legrain and his contemporaries; the name was otherwise unattested among either the nomina or the prenomina of the God's Wives. In the first published notice of the socle in 1904, Legrain would remark: "J'ai bien cherché dans les livres et n'ai point trouvé de princesse Mirit-Tafnout. Non plus M. Maspero, ni MM. Brugsch et Daressy ne la connaissent."¹¹⁹

The following year, Legrain encountered the "God's Wife Meritefnut" once again within a brief catalogue description of an inscribed bronze hinge that had recently been acquired by the British Museum (Fig. 65).¹²⁰



Fig. 65. Bronze hinge (BM EA 36301). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

¹¹⁷ Yoyotte, "Les vierges consacrées," 43.

¹¹⁸ Leclant, "Tefnout et les Divines Adoratrices thébaines"; Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 22 n. 8.

¹¹⁹ Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnout," 131-132;


¹²⁰ BM EA 36301 in Budge, *Guide to the third and fourth Egyptian Rooms*, 260, n° 67; Legrain, "Sur la princesse Mirit Tafnouit," 138; first published photograph: Leclant, "Tefnout et les Divines Adoratrices thébaines," pl. XXIII.

The museum had purchased the hinge in 1902 through the Reverend Chauncey Murch, and he, in turn, had acquired it from the well-known antiquities dealer Muhammad Mohassib in Luxor.¹²¹ Upon this object, the accompanying inscription was more informative, affiliating Meritefnut with three additional names:



ḥḥ ḥm.t-ntr Mr(y.t)-Tfnw.t dr.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t ḥḥ.t(i) s3.t nsw Py-ḥḥ dr.t-ntr 'Imn-ir-di-s m3̄.t-ḥrw

(Long) live the God's Wife,¹²² Meritefnut, the God's Hand,¹²³ Shepenwepet, living,¹²⁴ king's daughter of Pi(ankh)y,¹²⁵ the God's Hand, Amenirdis,¹²⁶ justified.

As the “king's daughter of Pi(ankh)y,” the Shepenwepet referenced on the hinge could be confidently equated with the second God's Wife of that name.¹²⁷ The deceased (*m3̄.t-ḥrw*)¹²⁸ Amenirdis who followed her in the inscription was accordingly her predecessor, none other than Amenirdis I, the inaugural God's Wife of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Thusly situated within an historical context as a high official related to three of that era's most prominent figures, the identification of Meritefnut appeared imminent, and Legrain's initial expectations were sanguine. After listing the God's Wives of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties and their prenomen,¹²⁹ he would write: “peut-être ajouterons-nous quelque jour à cette liste celui de .¹³⁰

For more than a century since Legrain's publication, Meritefnut has remained unidentified. According to Leclant, the problem “ne nous semble pas résolu par la légende gravée sur un gond de porte du British Museum,”¹³¹ because the information furnished by the hinge “ne permet pas de décider si c'est là la nom d'une nouvelle Divine Adoratrice ou seulement le surnom [i.e., prenom] d'une Divine Adoratrice connue d'autre part.”¹³² In his seminal study of the Third Intermediate Period, Kitchen has dubbed her “the mysterious Meryt-Tefnut” who only appeared “on two monuments of this general age.”¹³³ In fact, though mention of Meritefnut has become a requisite inclusion within the prodigious literature published about the God's Wives, the problems that Meritefnut presents have never received more than a few sentences of discussion and are usually consigned to a footnote.¹³⁴ In a recent monograph on the God's Wives of Amun during the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, Meritefnut is not mentioned at all.¹³⁵

¹²¹ For the object's authenticity, see n. 136 below. For the frequency of Murch's shipments to the BM, see: Mace, *Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 7; Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, 154, 341-342 n. 4; Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 302.

¹²² Budge assumed that Meritefnut was a queen (*id.*, *Guide to the third and fourth Egyptian Rooms*, 270); see also n. 116 above.

¹²³ For this title used for Shepenwepet II, see: Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 22; Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedestellten*, 99-102, 105, 126, 131, 173-174, and 177; *contra* Dodson, “Problem of Amenirdis II,” 181 n. 19.

¹²⁴ *Sensus stricto*, *ḥḥ.ti* is an exclamatory stative expressing a desire (“May she live!”), but it is nevertheless widely assumed to convey the antecedent's continuing life and not merely her wish for such.

¹²⁵ Debate over the appropriate reading of this king's name is still ongoing; for discussion and further bibliography, see: Ch. II.2.2 n. 106 above; Priesse, “Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter”; Vittmann, “Zur Lesung des Königsnamens *P-ḥḥ*”; Rilly, “Une nouvelle interprétation du nom royal Piankhy”; Zibelius-Chen, “Zur Problematik der Lesung des Königsnamens Pi(anch)i”; Rilly in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 74 n. 3. For the unusual orthography *Py-ḥḥ*, see n. 136 below.

¹²⁶ Petrie listed this hinge among the monuments of Amenirdis I: *id.*, *History of Egypt* III, 288-289.

¹²⁷ *E.g.* Berlin ÄMP 7972 in Hintze and Hintze, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan*, fig. 64.

¹²⁸ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 53; but *cf.* Leclant, “Varia Aethiopica,” 289-97, 295 n. 43; Leahy, “Adoption Stela of Ankhnesneferibre,” 152 n. (v), 160; Dodson, “Problem of Amenirdis II,” 185; Hays, “New Offering Table for Shepenwepet,” 97.

¹²⁹ Identified by Legrain in 1906 as: *H̄c-nfr.w-Mw.t 'Imn-ir-di-s* (I); *H̄nw.t-nfr.w-Mw.t 'Irt-R̄c Šp-n-wp.t* (II); *Nb.t-nfr.w-Mw.t N.t-iqr.t* (I) (cognomen: *Šp-n-wp.t* III); *H̄q3̄.t-nfr.w-Mw.t ḥḥ-ns-nfr-ib-R̄c*.

¹³⁰ Legrain, “Sur un fragment de statue d'Osiris,” 49.

¹³¹ Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 354 n.1.

¹³² Leclant, “Une statuette d'Amon-Rê-Montou,” 94 n. 12.

¹³³ Kitchen, *TIP²*, 391 n. 864.

¹³⁴ Buttes, *Queens of Egypt*, 213; Budge, *Book of the Kings of Egypt* II, 89; Gauthier, *LR* IV, 46 §2C; Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 §30, 22 n. 8; Leclant and Yoyotte, “Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes,” 35 n. 5; Leclant, “Tefnout et les Divines Adoratrices thébaines,” 166 n. 5, Taf. XXIII; *id.*, “Une statuette d'Amon-Rê-Montou,” 94 n. 12; *id.*, *Monuments thébains* I, 191 (§49/D/b), 354 n. 1; Gitton and Leclant, “Gottesgemahlin,” 805 no. 29; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 391 n. 864, 480 Table 13; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 178; Leahy, “Kushite Monuments at Abydos,” 175, 191 n. 5; von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 210-211; Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 329; Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 40 n. 169; Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedestellten*, 50.

¹³⁵ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*. Meritefnut is also excluded from Dunham and Macadam, “Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata”; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 119-130.

Yet the state of the evidence does not require a counsel of despair. The authenticity of the two objects has never been disputed, and indeed such a challenge would not withstand close scrutiny: for the case of the hinge, in particular, several objections militate against any hypothesis of modern fakery.¹³⁶ Moreover, a close study of the hinge yields sufficient information to narrow immediately and substantially the field of possible explanations. Firstly, as Amenirdis I is characterized as *m³ˢ.t-ḥrw*, “justified,” (i.e., deceased)¹³⁷ at the end of the hinge’s inscription, the text would appear to have been written no earlier than the reign of Shebitqo (c. 706 BC at the earliest),¹³⁸ whose Horus name, *Dd-ḥˢ.w*, has survived together with a “living” (*ḥ.ti*) Amenirdis I on the Kushite addition to the chapel of Osiris *ḥq³-dt* (“Osiris-Ruler-of-Eternity”) at East Karnak.¹³⁹ The hinge also suggests an approximate *terminus ante quem*: as the name of Pi(ankh)y was originally inscribed upon it (later to be subjected to *damnatio*), one would certainly not expect such a text to have been produced in Egypt at any time after regnal year 3 of Psamtik II (c. 593 BC),¹⁴⁰ when the Saïte king is known to have waged a military campaign against Kush and to have replaced the names of his Kushite predecessors with his own throughout the monumental record of Egypt.¹⁴¹ In fact, it is unlikely that the hinge would have been inscribed much later than Psamtik I’s twenty-first regnal year (c. 644 BC), the last date at which the writing of the Kushite kings’ names is known to have been permitted in Egypt.¹⁴² As a starting point, Meritefnut may therefore be confidently placed within a span of little more than a century (c. 706-593 BC) and most likely within the first half of that span (c. 706-644 BC). Given that the Saïte princess Ankhnesneferibre did not attain the title of “God’s Wife” until the fourth year of Apries (c. 586 BC),¹⁴³ it is quite clear that she could not be the Meritefnut named as “God’s Wife” upon the hinge. This leaves only five possible explanations for Meritefnut’s identity. Meritefnut was either:

1. the missing premen of Amenirdis II;
2. the nomen of the original, predeceased successor to Shepenwepet II;
3. the nomen of a God’s Wife who held the office in Nubia;
4. an alternative premen used by Nitocris I; or
5. an alternative premen used by Shepenwepet II herself.

Comparison of these five options reveals them to be of widely varying probability.¹⁴⁴ Still more striking, however, is the realization (discussed below) that each of these explanations contradicts one or more of the widely-assumed tenets of the God’s Wives’ protocol. Since the five options outlined above represent all

¹³⁶ Design and material of BM EA 36301 are consistent with: Louvre N659 in Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun I*, 237-238 (P35), Anm. 3, Taf. 32a/b, 15*/16*; Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, 21-22; Arnold, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, 74-75. More instructive is the distinctive orthography of Pi(ankh)y’s nomen, which is attested only three other times, the latter two of which were first discovered after 1906: BM EA 24429; Cairo JE 49157; and relief block from B 500. See: Yoyotte, “Les martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II,” 225; Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1924-25),” 16; Lefebvre, “Le grand prêtre d’Amon, Harmakhis,” 29-30; OI negatives 2995, 2997; *erratum*: Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 166. Upon BM EA 24429, the nomen is oddly retrograde and also intact. Thus, any challenge to the authenticity of BM EA 36301 must posit a modern faker who mimicked the *damnatio* but not the orthography of Pi(ankh)y’s vandalized nomina, opting instead to copy an unusual (and unvandalized) writing of the name and then modifying it in accordance with two additional objects which had yet to be discovered.

¹³⁷ See n. 128 above.

¹³⁸ As per the Tang-i Var inscription: Frame, “Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var”; Sarfarāz, “Sangnibištah-i mihi-i Ūrāmānāt”; Redford, “Note on the Chronology of Dynasty 25”; Kahn, “Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var,” 1-18; *pace* Depuydt, “Date of Piye’s Egyptian Campaign.” However, *cf.* Kitchen, “Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 162-164 §§4-8. For a provocative alternative, see Bányai, “Ein Vorschlag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie in Ägypten.” For chronological implications of Wadi Gasus graffiti: Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 42-44.

¹³⁹ Ayad, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule,” 38 fig. 5, 40 fig. 8; Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant*, 18 fig. 1.3, 129; *cf. erratum: ead.*, 118.

¹⁴⁰ Depauw, *Chronological Survey*, 3-4.

¹⁴¹ Shellal stela, ll. 1, 6-9, in Bakry, “Psammeticus II and his Newly-found Stela at Shellal,” pls. lvi-lix; also Yoyotte, “Les martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II.”

¹⁴² Serapeum IM 3733/RC 2471, l. 5, in Malinine *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, pl. LII #192; Yoyotte, “Les martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II,” 232, 234-235. For the possibility that Psamtik I may have promoted overt hostility toward the Kushites soon thereafter, see Kahn, “Judean Auxiliaries in Egypt’s Wars against Kush.”

¹⁴³ Cairo JE 36907, ll. 7-14, in Leahy, “Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre,” 146 fig. 1, pl. XII.

¹⁴⁴ At a length of one paragraph, Koch’s analysis is the most extensive published to date. Koch discusses two possible explanations for Meritefnut’s identity. See Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 50.

of the available candidates,¹⁴⁵ this consequence would seem unavoidable, and it follows that none can be dismissed on the grounds of only a single objection. In fact, a consideration of the possible explanations for Meritefnut's identity must necessarily draw into question the very notion of a standardized protocol, thereby joining the recent critiques of Ayad and Koch.¹⁴⁶ As a result, the problem of Meritefnut is not only a matter of prosopographical interest but also has significant bearing upon our understanding of the office of God's Wife of Amun and the broader history of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties.

V.2.1. *Meritefnut Amenirdis (II)*

Among the many works that have referenced Meritefnut in passing, nearly all have tentatively posited Meritefnut as the prenomen of Amenirdis II.¹⁴⁷ After all, Amenirdis II would otherwise lack a prenomen,¹⁴⁸ and the only other known princess adopted into this line of succession who never acquired a prenomen was Nitocris II, whose career was cut short when the office of God's Wife was abolished after the Persian invasion and reorganization of Egypt. Like the Meritefnut attested upon Legrain's socle, Amenirdis II was also demonstrably a "king's daughter" (of Taharqo).¹⁴⁹ In fact, as Lohwasser has observed, the name *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would be particularly appropriate for a child of Taharqo:

Es besteht die Möglichkeit, daß Meritefnut eine Tochter von Taharqo gewesen ist, oder, wenn es sich um den Vornamen von Amenirdis II. handelte, dies sogar sicher war. Die beiden von diesem König bekannten Söhne tragen Namen, die mit Namen von Göttern der Sage vom Sonnenaug zusammen gesetzt sind: 'Nes-Onuris' und 'Nes-Schu-Tefnut.' Wenn man bedenkt, daß Taharqo diese Sage als politisches Konzept nutzte, wäre es nicht verwunderlich, wenn eine Tochter von ihm Meritefnut hieße.¹⁵⁰

If Meritefnut were the prenomen of Amenirdis II, then the British Museum hinge would list four individuals, each by a single name: Meritefnut (Amenirdis II), Shepenwepet II, Pi(ankh)y, and Amenirdis I. At first glance, this solution would seem to have an appealing parsimony in its favor, which may account for its popularity in the published literature.

In her unpublished dissertation, Mariam Ayad has voiced two objections to the identification of Meritefnut as Amenirdis II. Ayad has observed that the classification of Meritefnut as a prenomen of Amenirdis II would violate certain punctilios of the God's Wife's titulary:

It has been suggested that Amenirdis II may have been the otherwise unidentified Meryt-Tefnut whose name appears on monuments from this general time. This, to my mind, seems unlikely. Firstly, the two names of a God's Wife would appear together (e.g., as in the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I). Secondly, by including the goddess Tefnut in her name, Amenirdis II would be departing from regular Kushite and Saite practice.¹⁵¹

As Ayad explains, all of the other Kushite and Saite God's Wives bore prenomena that instead referenced Mut as the divine consort of Amun.

Yet the popular identification of Meritefnut with Amenirdis II carries additional implications of far greater historical significance. Foremost among these is the fact that Meritefnut was twice entitled a "God's Wife,"¹⁵² while it has been widely assumed that Amenirdis II never acceded to that status.¹⁵³ As Bryan has observed of Amenirdis II's career: "She was known to have been Divine Adoratrice, a position she could

¹⁴⁵ For other scenarios of extreme improbability, see nn. 186, 190-192, 194-195, 197-198, 227 below.

¹⁴⁶ See esp.: Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 142-146; Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 62-65.

¹⁴⁷ Gitton and Leclant, "Gottesgemahlin," 805 no. 29; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 391 n. 864, 480, Table 13; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 178; Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 324; von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 210-211.

¹⁴⁸ Leclant, "Amenirdas II," 200.

¹⁴⁹ See n. 105 above.

¹⁵⁰ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 329 n. 647; but cf. Meyrat, "Der Name des Kronprinzen Taharqas."

¹⁵¹ Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 40 n. 169.

¹⁵² On the implications of Meritefnut's designation as "God's Wife," see also recent commentary by Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 50.

¹⁵³ Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 408 n. 2; Leclant, *Monuments thébains I*, 364; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 178; Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 90, 179, 180, 185; Lichtheim, "High Steward Akhamenru," 164; Bryan, "Property and the God's Wives of Amun," 11; Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 163 n. 208; Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 27; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 358. For additional advocates of this view, see also nn. 159-160 below.

have held already as a child, but no document identifies her with certainty as the god's wife."¹⁵⁴ In order to reconcile this relative invisibility with Psamtik I's vow that he would not "do what in fact should not be done" and expel Amenirdis II "from <her> seat,"¹⁵⁵ several authors have proposed that she was allowed to remain in her current office while ceding her inheritance as God's Wife Elect to the newly-adopted Nitocris I. Thus, Dodson states: "Amenirdis II was indeed leap-frogged by Nitokris I on Shepenwepet II's death, but retained high office in the Amun clergy until at least the end of Psammetichus I's reign."¹⁵⁶ Her fate after that point is a matter of speculation, and it has been suggested that she then relocated to either Napata¹⁵⁷ or Lower Egypt.¹⁵⁸ Whatever her final destination, the prevailing view among Egyptologists remains that expressed by Troy, that Amenirdis II "may have never actually functioned in the office of the wife of the god."¹⁵⁹ Yet this conclusion is clearly inconsistent with the proposition, advanced by Troy and others, that the "God's Wife Meritefnut" was the prenomen of Amenirdis II.¹⁶⁰ Though widely and even simultaneously espoused throughout the literature on the God's Wives, these two arguments are mutually exclusive and must be weighed against one another.

The counter-argument that Amenirdis II did, in fact, assume the title of "God's Wife" has never gained much favor, but the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand. Much of the evidence remains ambiguous, as a result of alternation between the names *Šp-n-wp.t* and *ʿImn-ir-di-s* among no less than five successive Divine Adoratrices,¹⁶¹ and the problem is further compounded by the fragmentary condition of many of their surviving monuments. The potential for confusion is well-illustrated by the multiple and contradictory interpretations advocated for the Wadi Gasus graffiti,¹⁶² the outer lintel of Pabasa's tomb,¹⁶³ and the temple lintel of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥp*,¹⁶⁴ each of which features a *Šp-n-wp.t* together with an *ʿImn-ir-di-s*. Yet what is most notable about all three cases is that none features the title of *ḥm.t-ntr* in connection with *ʿImn-ir-di-s*; the latter is instead designated as either a *dw3.t-ntr* or a *dr.t-ntr*. Consequently, even a definitive identification of each Amenirdis in question would not effectively settle the issue as to whether Amenirdis II ever acceded to the full status of God's Wife.

In the absence of unequivocal evidence linking Amenirdis II with this title,¹⁶⁵ Graefe has nevertheless attributed the office to her on the basis of chronological inferences. He contends that there must have

¹⁵⁴ Bryan, "Property and the God's Wives of Amun," 11.

¹⁵⁵ Cairo JE 36327, l. 3, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. 8. The importance of this passage was first emphasized by Caminos, 79, *contra* Breasted, *ARE* IV, §§935-58, and *id.*, *History of Egypt*, 567. However, Caminos did not differentiate between Amenirdis II's current office (Divine Adoratrice) and her inheritance (to the position God's Wife of Amun and its property), assuming that because she was not expelled from the former she cannot have been dispossessed of the latter. Caminos also did not entertain the possibility that Psamtik I may later have violated his own political promises. See also Kitchen, *TIP*², 404. For adoption as a transfer of property, see Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 142-145.

¹⁵⁶ Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 185.

¹⁵⁷ Christophe, "La double datation," 147-148; Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush," 194-200; Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 163 n. 208.

¹⁵⁸ Habachi, "Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa."

¹⁵⁹ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 178.

¹⁶⁰ In the published literature to date, this contradiction appears to have been noted only by Jansen-Winkeln (see n. 313 below) and more recently Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 50.

¹⁶¹ Included here is "Nitocris [I], her fair name being Shepenwepet," as she is described on the Nitocris Adoption Stela (Cairo JE 36327, ll. 7, 12); see the collation by Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. 8-9. For the argument that Amenirdis II never actually attained the title of "Divine Adoratrice," see n. 106 above.

¹⁶² Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 42-44; Jurman, "Die Namen des Rudjamun in der Kapelle des Osiris-Hekadjet"; Payraudeau, "Le règne de Takélot III et les débuts de la domination Koushite," 89; Christophe, "La double datation," 141-152, with references to earlier studies; Kitchen, *TIP*², 543-544, 581; von Zeissl, *Äthiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 65-67.

¹⁶³ TT 279 in Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 184.

¹⁶⁴ Cairo JE 29254B in: Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 365; *op. cit.* II, pl. lxxvii; Christophe, "Trois monuments inédits mentionnant le grand majordome de Nitocris Padihorresnet," 77-78; Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 182.

¹⁶⁵ *Pace* Stewart's interpretation of UC London 14739 in *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie collection* III, 36-37 no. 136, pl. 45; *pace* also *PM* and Handoussa's interpretations of the enclosure-and-chapel complex dedicated to Osiris *wn-nfr-ḥry-ib-p3-ḥsd* at East Karnak: *PM* II, 202 H.1.a-b, 203.4; Handoussa, "Rebirth of Ramses II in the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak," 109. See also: Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 43 fig. 15. As Ayad has recently observed, Amenirdis's cartouche on the left chapel jamb is followed by *m3ꜥ.t-ḥrw*, while Shepenwepet is identified just as clearly as *ḥp.ti d.t* on the opposing chapel jamb: Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 134 figs. 3.8-3.9. The chapel jambs would therefore seem to depict Amenirdis the Elder (I) and her successor, Shepenwepet II. The enclosure jambs in front of the chapel likely also refer to a "living" Amenirdis the Elder (I) and her own adoptive mother, Shepenwepet I, particularly if *PM* are correct in regarding the larger chapel complex as a monument originally "dedicated by Shepenwepet I" (*PM* II, 202.H), much like the neighboring chapel of Osiris *ḥq3-d.t*. Unfortunately, the epithet that would have followed Shepenwepet's name on the left enclosure jamb has not survived.

been an appreciable interregnum between Shepenwepet II's demise and Nitocris I's accession, and that Amenirdis II would necessarily have filled this interval with her own tenure as a full-fledged God's Wife. Graefe's argument is based upon his analysis of Cairo JE 36158,¹⁶⁶ in which he observed that Ibi's account of his installation as Chief Steward in Psamtik I's twenty-sixth regnal year is immediately preceded by a (fragmentary) description of a festival celebrated in honor of the God's Wife. Graefe would contend that the festival must have commemorated Nitocris's accession to the full status of God's Wife *and* that this accession must therefore have taken place only shortly before Ibi's own installation as her Chief Steward (c. 639 BC). This chronological inference is then coupled with another: Graefe argues that, if Nitocris had immediately succeeded Shepenwepet II rather than Amenirdis II, such a late date for the accession of Nitocris would necessarily attribute to Shepenwepet II an "erstaunlich" longevity. As daughter of Pi(ankh)y, her birth must have occurred less than a year after the date of her father's decease, which is presumed equivalent to the coronation date of his successor Shabaqo (c. 710 BC according to Graefe), thereby making her more than seventy years old at death.¹⁶⁷ Graefe concludes that Shepenwepet II must have died much earlier and passed the highest office on to Amenirdis II before it was ever ceded to Nitocris. Amenirdis II's relative invisibility as God's Wife is then explained by Graefe as a "nicht erstaunlich" consequence of Psamtik I's strategic neglect of the office during this period, as presumably reflected in Ibi's comment that "the house of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun had fallen into ruin" (ll. 12-13).¹⁶⁸

Thus, Graefe's argument is as debatable as the assumptions upon which it depends: that consecutive passages of Ibi's inscription must recount proximate events; that the festival described by Ibi can only commemorate Nitocris's accession and not merely her adoption;¹⁶⁹ that Shabaqo's reign was counted from the time of Pi(ankh)y's death c. 710 BC;¹⁷⁰ and, finally, that no woman can have lived seventy years during the seventh century BC.¹⁷¹ As Dodson has noted, "a possible compromise with Graefe's position could be to suggest that Amenirdis had indeed succeeded on Shepenwepet II's death, to be supplanted while she still lived in Year 26 of Psammetichus I, yet kept within the college as God's Hand . . . [though] the dynamics of such a situation are difficult to visualise!"¹⁷² Under these conditions, Amenirdis II might conceivably have assumed the prenomen of *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* during a very brief tenure as God's Wife before she was demoted to the position of God's Hand.¹⁷³

However, the commonly-held view that *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* was a prenomen of Amenirdis II would require an additional conclusion: not only would Amenirdis II have claimed the title of "God's Wife," but she would also have done so *during the lifetime of her predecessor*, Shepenwepet II. The inscription on the British Museum hinge expresses the wish that the God's Wife Meritefnut should continue in life (*ꜥnh ꜥm.t-ntr Mry.t-Tfnw.t*), followed immediately by a reference to Shepenwepet II as "living" (*ꜥnh.ti*). If Meritefnut were the missing prenomen of Amenirdis II, then a co-tenure between her and Shepenwepet II appears unavoidable. Such an arrangement must not be confused with the "'corégence' sacerdotal" envisioned

¹⁶⁶ Graefe, "Der autobiographische Text des Ibi," 85-99, Taf. 10-14.

¹⁶⁷ Pace Dodson, *Afterglow of Empire*, 171. A coronation date c. 710 BC is among the lowest currently proposed for Shabaqo: Dalibor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 19-24. Such a scenario would require a coregency of some kind between Shabaqo and Shebitqo, as it is clear that Shabaqo reigned for at least fifteen years (as per BM EA 24429, l. 1) and Shebitqo extradited Yamani of Ashdod c. 706 BC at the latest (as per the Tang-i Var inscription, see n. 138 above, with objections by Kitchen). The higher dates more recently proposed for Shabaqo's coronation (c. 722/721 BC) in lieu of a coregency would, of course, make Shepenwepet II even older at the time of her death—if, indeed, we may assume that Pi(ankh)y was deceased at the time of Shabaqo's coronation (see n. 170 below). For discussion of possible Kushite coregencies, see Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 344, 394; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 378, 555-56, 583, 589; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East II*, 624; Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 189-90; Redford, review of *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*; refuted by Kahn, "Divided Kingdom," 275-292.

¹⁶⁸ Graefe also cites Amenirdis II's subsequent veneration alongside Nitocris and Shepenwepet II in TT 279, but she is not identified there as "God's Wife" and is not presented as a superior to Nitocris. Cf. nn. 106, 163 above.

¹⁶⁹ Graefe, "Der autobiographische Text des Ibi," 87. In Cairo JE 36158, l. 5, her appointment *r ꜥm.t-ntr* may well refer to her future status à la Cairo JE 36327, ll. 2, 7, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII.

¹⁷⁰ On BM EA 24429, Pi(ankh)y is characterized as *ꜥnh d.t* during the fifteenth year of Shabaqo; so Hall, "Ethiopians and Assyrians in Egypt," 277 n. 1, 279 n. 2, 760. However, the context of the inscription is Iti's participation in Pi(ankh)y's *funerary* cult: Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes*, 15-27; Leclant and Yoyotte, "Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes," 25 n. 3; Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 188-189, 235; Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship," 207; Kahn, "Divided Kingdom," 278.

¹⁷¹ Contra Cairo JE 36907, ll. 7-8, which places Nitocris's decease in regnal year 4 of Apries—seventy years since her adoption.

¹⁷² Dodson, "Problem of Amenirdis II," 185 n. 44.

¹⁷³ Cf. also nn. 231, 237, 242 below.

by Christophe, in which “deux Divine Adoratrices pouvaient être associées” as co-heiresses-in-waiting,¹⁷⁴ because in the case of Shepenwepet II and Meritefnut Amenirdis II, *two God's Wives* would thereby share the highest office. As Leahy has observed, the evidence in every other known case from this era would suggest that “there was only one god's wife at a time.”¹⁷⁵

If Leahy's conclusion is not correct, then Amenirdis II would presumably have been associated together with Shepenwepet II in the highest office during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty in order to appease the incumbents of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: Amenirdis II would need to have begun her co-tenure sometime after Psamtik I's ninth regnal year, when she is mentioned on the Nitocris Adoption Stela only as a *dwꜣ.t-ntr* (l. 3) and as heiress presumptive to a living *ḥm.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t* (II) (ll. 15-16),¹⁷⁶ but before that same king's twenty-sixth regnal year, at which point Nitocris had already acceded to the position of God's Wife herself.¹⁷⁷ In fact, the interval during which Amenirdis II could have held the title of God's Wife is likely much shorter than that: as the construction of Shepenwepet II's funerary chapel at Medinet Habu was modified while in progress to accommodate that of Nitocris I,¹⁷⁸ Amenirdis II would seem to have ended her own tenure and ceded the office to Nitocris well before year 26. The brevity of her tenure might then explain her apparent failure to commission architectural monuments in her own name, both at Karnak and at Medinet Habu.

However, brevity does not then adequately explain the way in which Amenirdis II was treated within the later inscriptions of Nitocris I and the Chief Stewards. Nitocris I's adoptive mother is always named as Shepenwepet II, never as Amenirdis II.¹⁷⁹ If the latter is referenced at all by Nitocris, it is consistently as either *dwꜣ.t-ntr* or, more dubiously, as *dr.t-ntr*.¹⁸⁰ Had Amenirdis II shared the highest office with Shepenwepet II, then monumental veneration of both women as adoptive mothers would have been a valuable means by which Nitocris could publicly demonstrate her own legitimate inheritance.¹⁸¹ Had Amenirdis II actually survived Shepenwepet II and held the office even briefly alone, as Graefe argues, then commemoration of Amenirdis by Nitocris would have been indispensable. Yet this did not occur; instead, Amenirdis II was repeatedly elided. The same pattern is observable in the records left by Akhamenru, the Chief Steward under Shepenwepet II,¹⁸² if he lived to see a co-tenure between Amenirdis II and his mistress, he left no surviving record of it. Yet the most striking case is undoubtedly that of Ibi, whose service to the God's Wives would seem to have spanned any possible period of co-tenure. In his Theban tomb (TT 36), he boasts of having been *mꜣꜣ sšꜣ dr.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t* (“the one who witnessed the mysteries¹⁸³ of the

¹⁷⁴ Christophe, “La double datation,” 144. See also: Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 363-367; *id.*, “Le Prêtre Pekiry,” 160 n. 32; Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 134; Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 124 n. 6, 126.

¹⁷⁵ Leahy, “Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak,” 159; Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 77-79; *contra* Ayad, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule,” 41. Von Zeissl also discussed the possibility of a co-tenure between Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet I: von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 67. However, Jurman's recent palaeographic study of the Wadi Gasus graffiti has concluded that the two cartouches were carved at different times and do not pair Amenirdis I with Shepenwepet I but instead with Shepenwepet II. See n. 162 above. A co-tenure was proposed by Monnet for Nitocris I and Ankhnesneferibre, but, as Leahy has observed, the argument placed undue interpretive weight upon the mere absence of the epithet *mꜣꜣ.t-ḥrw* after Nitocris's name: Monnet, “Un monument de la corégence des divines adoratrices Nitocris et Ankhnesneferibre”; Leahy, “Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak,” 159-160.

¹⁷⁶ Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pls. 8-9.

¹⁷⁷ Cairo JE 36158, ll. 6-14. See the transcription by Daressy, “Une statue d'Aba,” 95, as well as the more recent transcription and study by Graefe, “Der autobiographische Text des Ibi,” 85-99, Taf. 10-14.

¹⁷⁸ This conclusion was reached by the excavator on the basis of the reliefs, in which a living Nitocris honors a deceased Shepenwepet II, as well as the evident incongruity between the west and east cella walls, the latter of which appears to have been reduced from its original plan in order to accommodate Nitocris's adjoining cella. See Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* V, 24-25.

¹⁷⁹ Among the many examples, four will suffice to illustrate the point: (1) her funerary chapel at Medinet Habu: Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 14a; (2) her Wadi Gasus graffito: Schweinfurth, *Alte Baureste und hieroglyphische Inschriften im Uadi Gasus*, Taf. II; (3) a cultic niche in the tomb of her Chief Steward, Ibi: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi* II, Taf. 96-97, and *LD* III, pl. 270c; and (4) a hinge dedicated in her name, with filiations, by a priestess in her service: Louvre N659 in Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, 237-238 (P35), Anm. 3, Taf. 32a/b, 15*/16*.

¹⁸⁰ Cairo JE 29251 in Leclant, *Monuments thébains* II, pl. LXVII = Cairo JE 29254B in Dodson, “Problem of Amenirdis II,” 183; Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord* IV, pl. XCVI. For refutation of Dodson's argument that Amenirdis II held the title of “God's Hand,” see Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 45-46.

¹⁸¹ Bryan, “Property and the God's Wives of Amun,” 12.

¹⁸² Lichtheim, “High Steward Akhamenru”; Leclant, “Le Prêtre Pekiry.”

¹⁸³ As this title refers to his service in Shepenwepet II's funerary cult, she need not have been alive during Ibi's life. See Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun* II, 60-63.

God's Hand, Shepenwepet") and states that he was *imꜣḥw ḥr ḥm.t-nṯr dwꜣ.t-nṯr Šp-n-wp.t mꜣ(.t)-ḥrw* ("the revered one before the God's Wife and Divine Adoratrice, Shepenwepet, justified"),¹⁸⁴ while the autobiographical inscription upon his stelophorous statue (Cairo JE 36158, ll. 6-14) states that he was installed as Chief Steward under Nitocris I.¹⁸⁵ If Amenirdis II was elevated to a co-tenure as the *ḥm.t-nṯr Mry.t-Tfnw.t*, it must have transpired during the service of either Akhamenru or Ibi. Why then should both Chief Stewards neglect to mention her at all amidst frequent references to Shepenwepet II and Nitocris I?¹⁸⁶

The popular identification of Meritefnut with Amenirdis II thus contradicts several widespread and fundamental assumptions about the protocol of the office and the history of the era: (a) that the prenomena of the God's Wives were always paired with a corresponding nomen; (b) that the prenomena of the God's Wives always invoked Mut as divine consort of Amun; (c) that Amenirdis II never fully acceded to the highest office of God's Wife; (d) that the position of God's Wife was held by only one woman at a time; and, finally, (e) that Nitocris I and her staff referenced Shepenwepet II on their tombs as "her mother" (*mw.t=s*) instead of Amenirdis II precisely because Shepenwepet II was Nitocris's adoptive mother and immediate predecessor as God's Wife.¹⁸⁷ One or more of these assumptions may indeed be false, but the equation of Meritefnut with Amenirdis II would require that *all* of them be false. Far from being parsimonious, the most common explanation of Meritefnut's identity is, in fact, an epistemologically radical one, and must be weighed against other alternatives which have thus far received little or no consideration.

V.2.2. *Meritefnut, Original Successor to Shepenwepet II*

The objection that the God's Wife's prenomen should not appear alone may be effectively answered if *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* were instead a nomen—a personal or birth name of the God's Wife. In such a case, Meritefnut could not be identical to any of the known God's Wives or Divine Adoratrices in Egyptian history, as the nomina of these women are already well-attested.¹⁸⁸ Nor could she be confidently equated with any of the lesser chantresses and officials who are sometimes named in temple scenes, including the otherwise exalted priestess Desehebsed, who was demonstrably not a "king's daughter" but rather that of a priest and mayor, Nesptah.¹⁸⁹ Yet, if Meritefnut held the highest position in the female clergy, then how does one explain her obscurity?

¹⁸⁴ In TT 36, see the text inscribed at upper left and upper right within the cultic niche upon the west wall of the "Lichthof" (R3), at the point where it meets the south wall: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi* II, Taf. 118a, 119; *op. cit.* I, 156 (T 313-314). It is evident that "Shepenwepet" cannot refer here to the cognomen of Nitocris, as the former is identified as deceased and the latter as still living on this wall and those of the neighboring pillared hall (R2). See: *op. cit.* II, Taf. 96-97; *op. cit.* I, 70-71 (T 87 and T 96); also Walls r', B, and B' in Scheil, "Le tombeau d'Aba," 644, pl. VI; *LD* III, pl. 270c.

¹⁸⁵ See n. 166 above.

¹⁸⁶ It might conceivably be imagined that *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* were a replacement cognomen which Amenirdis II adopted only after acceding to the full status of God's Wife. While this would mark a complete departure from the precedent set by earlier God's Wives, it would at least explain why Meritefnut never appears in a lesser status as only "Divine Adoratrice," and it would also answer the aforementioned objections regarding the proper use and formulation of a God's Wife's prenomen during the Kushite era. However, it would still be necessary to explain why this hypothesized cognomen of Amenirdis II was placed within a cartouche (unlike that of Nitocris I), why it was omitted from the inscriptions of all of her contemporaries and successors—most notably, her coregent Shepenwepet II and their servant Ibi (see n. 166 above)—and why she was never provisioned with a tomb at Medinet Habu or even an inscription there alongside those of her colleagues.

¹⁸⁷ Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 50, has observed that the title of "king's sister" is not otherwise attested for Amenirdis II. Indeed, such a title for Amenirdis II would seem at first glance to require either that Tanutamani was a son of Amenirdis II's father, Taharqo (*contra* Macadam and Leahy *inter alios*), or that Atlanersa's authority was (obliquely) recognized in Egypt. See: Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 119-130; Leahy, "Tanutamoni, son of Shabako?", 43-45. However, the unlikelihood of these scenarios does not then prove that Amenirdis II was not a *sn.t nsw*, for, as many scholars have shown, the semantic range of *sn.t nsw* may include not only siblings but also much more distant relations (see Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above, as well as n. 115 above). Interestingly, the effaced name of the *dwꜣ.t-nṯr* who appears on Aspelta's Enthronement Stela (Cairo JE 48866, l. 20) is also given the title of *sn.t nsw* (see n. 231 below).

¹⁸⁸ See n. 129 above and n. 189 below.

¹⁸⁹ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, fig. 2.8; Legrain, "Recherches sur la famille dont fit partie Montouemhat," 171-173. Not to be confused with the *princess* Desehebsed: Cairo JE 36980, ll. 5-7, Cairo JE 37410, in: Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 67, 83-84, 125; *id.*, "Die Familie der saïtischen Könige," 383. Also excluded: Petrie, *Abydos*, 49, pl. 73 nos. 4-7; Cairo JE 36959 (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth photograph 14583); Vatican 128a in Wreszinski, "Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit," 113-114, Taf. V; *PN* I, 158; Marruchi, *Il museo egizio vaticano*, 126.

A possible solution has been proposed by Lohwasser. She writes: “Es kann sich bei Meritefnut um eine weitere, vielleicht zu früh verstorbene Gottesgemahlin, die in die 25. Dyn. datiert werden muß.”¹⁹⁰ Meritefnut would then be a successor of Shepenwepet II and would have predeceased her soon after assuming the office, to be subsequently replaced by the new heiress presumptive, Amenirdis II.¹⁹¹ The possibility of predeceased heiresses to the office has, in fact, been considered in the case of Nitocris I’s successors,¹⁹² and for reasons that could apply equally to those of Shepenwepet II: both women appear to have survived several of their royal kinsmen and may have similarly outlived one or more of their own appointed successors in the college of priestesses.¹⁹³ Under such a scenario, the possible filiations of Meritefnut are many: she could conceivably be the “king’s daughter” of any Kushite king from Kashta to Taharqo¹⁹⁴ and the “royal kinswoman” of any from Pi(ankh)y to Tanutamani.¹⁹⁵ Among these options, her given name would seem to favor Taharqo as father, as Lohwasser has observed. A similar conclusion is reached by Leahy, who suggests only that Meritefnut “may have been Taharqa’s daughter.”¹⁹⁶ Beyond such speculation, little can be said about a woman who died so early as to leave only two known objects attesting her existence.

The suggestion that Meritefnut was a “früh verstorbene Gottesgemahlin” is fundamentally an argument from silence—incapable of proof by the standards of formal logic, but, like so many historical arguments, appealing instead to a calculus of probability. Such an argument would construe premature death as the explanation for Meritefnut’s total lack of surviving Osiris chapels at Karnak, her complete absence from relief scenes,¹⁹⁷ her failure to construct a funerary chapel at Medinet Habu alongside those of her colleagues, and the unanimous silence with which her very existence was treated in the records of her contemporaries and successors: her fellow God’s Wife Shepenwepet II, the Theban priesthood, the Chief Stewards, the Chantresses of the Residence of Amun, the Divine Adoratrices and God’s Wives who would follow her, and even the immediate members of her royal family. Consequently, Meritefnut appears on only two objects, each of which was expressly dedicated in her name.

All of these absences might presumably be explained by an early demise. Yet, for Meritefnut’s particular case, the argument from silence raises just as many questions as it would seek to answer. Firstly, in ancient Egypt, death was hardly an obstacle to one’s future incorporation in monumental art or inscriptions. Moreover, a premature death cannot explain the apparent trajectory of Meritefnut’s career up to that point. She was a “God’s Wife” and “living” during the lifetime of Shepenwepet II, and thus she would presumably have shared that office with Shepenwepet II as part of a co-tenure arrangement. Yet there is no evidence that Meritefnut ever held a lesser rank in the line of succession.¹⁹⁸ Instead, she appears and then disappears from the historical record in only one status, that of God’s Wife—arguably the highest office

¹⁹⁰ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 329. The God’s Wife of Amun in Thebes would seem unlikely to be among the Kushite royals captured in Memphis and deported by Esarhaddon: Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin 2708, rev. ll. 43b-50 a, in von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendchirli I*, 40-41, Taf. II, V; Leichty, *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon*, 185-186 §98.

¹⁹¹ The possibility that Meritefnut replaced a deceased Amenirdis II as heiress presumptive to the “living” Shepenwepet II may be immediately excluded, as Cairo JE 36327 clearly names Nitocris I as successor at a point when Amenirdis II was still at most “Divine Adoratrice” (Cairo JE 36158, ll. 6-14, and TT 36; cf. nn. 105 and 161 above).

¹⁹² Dodson, “Problem of Amenirdis II,” 184. Successors to Nitocris I can be excluded from consideration, as BM EA 36301 includes no reference to her as adoptive mother.

¹⁹³ See nn. 167, 171 above.

¹⁹⁴ See n. 195 below. If the daughter of Tanutamani, she would need to have been appointed as heiress apparent after his accession to the throne but before Taharqo’s appointment of Amenirdis II. The latter event is not firmly attested until Psamtik I’s ninth year, but it clearly must have happened before Psamtik I’s first year, which was counted from the departure of Taharqo from Egypt (= Taharqo’s presumed date of decease). See n. 105 above.

¹⁹⁵ If Meritefnut were a sibling of Pi(ankh)y and the original successor of Shepenwepet II, then she would effectively have been adopted into office by her own niece(!); though unlikely, this would at least explain why she predeceased Shepenwepet II.

¹⁹⁶ Leahy, “Kushite Monuments at Abydos,” 175, 191 n. 5.

¹⁹⁷ The two unnamed and untitled women who appear on the west wall behind Amenirdis I’s funerary chapel cannot be identified at present. If Morkot is correct to designate them as “royal ancestors” of Amenirdis I, then neither could be equivalent to the Meritefnut of Shepenwepet II’s generation. Morkot, “Kingship and Kinship,” 214; see also *id.*, *Black Pharaohs*, 248.

¹⁹⁸ This is equally true of the other “royal kinswomen” and “king’s daughters” of this era, and thus it does not appear likely that any of these women could have adopted the cognomen *Mry.t-Tjnw.t* upon accession to the position of God’s Wife. During the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, eight women are attested as both “royal kinswoman” and “king’s daughter,” while an additional seventeen bear only one of these filiations. Aside from Shepenwepet I, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Meritefnut, and Amenirdis II, none of these women is ever designated as either a “Divine Adoratrice,” “God’s Hand,” or “God’s Wife.” See Lohwasser, *Die königlichen*

available to a woman in all of Egypt at that time. Thus, to posit Meritefnut as the nomen of a predeceased successor is to imagine her a most exceptional and unprecedented figure: a God's Wife whose rise to power was either instantaneous or left no surviving trace, a high-priestess who then held the senior position in the clergy jointly with its incumbent, yet who was never referenced in the inscriptions of either her contemporaries or her successors. She would be a high state official existing in the most peculiar isolation. Such conditions might be explicable, however, if Meritefnut were only a sojourner in Egypt—a God's Wife whose clerical seat, noble lineage, and undiscovered tomb lay somewhere abroad.

V.2.3. *Meritefnut, "God's Wife" in Nubia*

The nature and distribution of the surviving evidence in Nubia for this period are substantially different from that available in Egypt: during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, all inscribed architectural monuments in the Nubian half of the Double Kingdom were commissioned by kings in their own names, such that personal piety appears to have been universally focused on the god-king relationship.¹⁹⁹ By contrast, other Kushite individuals were not the centers of cults and were not, so far as can be judged, the recipients of religious veneration on the Egyptian model.²⁰⁰ Consequently, if Meritefnut were a resident of Nubia, one could not expect to find any Osiris chapels dedicated by her, any funerary chapel inscribed with her name like those built for the God's Wives in Egypt, nor even a representation of Meritefnut in the round. Beyond the kings themselves, both royal and non-royal Kushite personages alike are instead overwhelmingly attested in only one of three possible contexts: funerary assemblages, particularly from tombs at Begrawiya South and West, Sanam, and el-Kurru (many of which were disturbed in antiquity by looters); temple relief scenes, where they occasionally appear as officiants (but often with only fragmentary images and nomina, owing to the friability of the native sandstone); and royal stelae, where they are sometimes named as living or deceased relatives of the king.²⁰¹ As a result, we are often better informed about Kushites who emigrated to Egypt than we are about those who remained at home.²⁰² A Kushite royal who visited Egypt briefly might very well leave only two inscriptions attesting her existence.²⁰³ Thus, although Meritefnut is nowhere mentioned in Nubia, this absence of evidence cannot be reasonably construed as evidence of her absence under such epistemological conditions.

The more pertinent question, then, is whether Meritefnut could have been a *God's Wife* in Nubia, for she clearly bears this title in both Egyptian inscriptions containing her name. As Lohwasser has explained: "Es ergibt sich die Frage, ob in Napata so wie in Karnak eine Institution der Gottesgemahlin existierte. . . . Gab es 'Gottesgemahlinnen' in Kusch?"²⁰⁴ When viewed from an Egyptian perspective, the probability of such a parallel institution in Nubia would appear quite high: the God's Wife of Amun was, after all, not the only theogamous institution of its kind even in Egypt during this period.²⁰⁵ Moreover, the iconography

Frauen, 255 Tab. VII, which omits Shepenwepet I, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Meritefnut, Amenirdis II, and the "king's daughter" Diesehbed (not equivalent to the priestess of that name, see n. 189 above).

¹⁹⁹ See comments to this effect in: Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 403-404; Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 243ff.

²⁰⁰ As Yellin has noted, however, this does not exclude the more general veneration of ancestors as a collective, particularly prior to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the assimilation of Osirian elements into Kushite religion. See Yellin, "Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact," 244. It would also appear that at least one statue of Queen Amanimalel was produced in Kush during the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era (Khartoum SNM 1843), so the absence of feminine royal statuary across the preceding century may simply be an accident of survival. See discussion and references in Morkot, "Kushite Royal Woman," 155-156 n. 4. A similar argument could be made against the absence of private stelae in Upper Nubia, because BS 15 (~*tempus* Nastasen: second half of fourth century BC) contained the funerary stela of a woman named Pasahta who bore no titles of royal filiation. See Boston MFA 21-2-101 in Dunham, *West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*, 395, 397 fig. 220.

²⁰¹ For Kushite royal women, all three categories of evidence have been thoroughly catalogued by Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*.

²⁰² See e.g.: Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos"; Vittmann, "Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography."

²⁰³ It would nevertheless be unusual for such a brief visit by a Kushite royal to result in their adoption of an Egyptian name. See discussion in: Wenig, "Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-Tror," 345-346; Rilly, "Une nouvelle interprétation du nom royal Piankhy," 364. See also Meyrat, "Der Name des Kronzprinzen Taharqas," who would posit a Meroitic name even for Taharqo's crown prince resident in Memphis.

²⁰⁴ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 300-301.

²⁰⁵ At Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el-Medina), a stela inscribed for a woman named *T3-n.t-Imn* during the Third Intermediate Period describes her daughter *T3-šry.t-Pth* as the *imy.t-b3h* (or *imy.t-ḥnn*) of Heryshef. Pérez Die states: "[H]abía una referencia

and ritual actions of the God's Wives in Egypt would suggest that their office functioned more as an organ of the state than as a cloister; though their territorial sovereignty appears to have been largely confined to Upper Egypt, the theology and propaganda of rites such as the Protection of the Cenotaph and the Elevation of the *Ts.t*-Support were manifestly directed outward, invoking the totality of the Double Kingdom as conceived by the Kushite dynasts.²⁰⁶ If the institution served such purposes for Kushite royal women in Egypt, why would it not then be adapted for similar purposes in Nubia itself—where political integration of disparate territories was certainly no less of a concern?²⁰⁷ Thus, Radwan has concluded: “Amun of Gebel Barkal must have his own ‘God’s Wives.’”²⁰⁸

This hypothesis would also seem to be supported by certain pieces of inscriptional and iconographic evidence from Kush. Only decades after the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the Kushite king Anlamani would give “his four kinswomen to the gods as sistrum-players—one to Amun of Napata, one to Amun-Re of Gematen (Kawa), one to Amun of Pnubs (likely Kerma), and one to Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St*-Bow (at Sanam).”²⁰⁹ Anlamani’s inscription would indicate that royal women were, as Yoyotte proposed, “du moins consacrées au culte des Amon éthiopiens.”²¹⁰ It is equally clear that the ritual actions, iconography, and titles assumed by Kushite royal women paralleled the rites, costume, paraphernalia, and epitheta of Egyptian institutions—among them, the God’s Wife of Amun.²¹¹ Consequently, Yellin has proposed that “the institution of the God’s Wife of Amun in Thebes might have been adopted in Kush for at least some of the royal women.”²¹² The possibility cannot be excluded and merits further research.

Yet, for the identification of the “God’s Wife Meritefnut,” the burden of proof is considerably more stringent: the question at stake is not whether Kushite institutions were broadly patterned after those of Egypt, but instead whether there existed in Nubia during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty a theogamous clergy to which Meritefnut could have belonged and which would have motivated her use of the title *hm.t-ntr* upon arrival in neighboring Egypt. In this regard, it should be noted that Anlamani did not appoint his kinswomen explicitly *r hm.t-ntr*, as Psamtik I had done for Nitocris I,²¹³ but rather *r shmy.w*—“as sistrum-players.”²¹⁴ While the mechanism of appointment and the ritual activities of the position were at least vaguely similar, there is nothing in Anlamani’s description which would suggest a theogamous understanding of the office, nothing that would warrant the title of *hm.t-ntr*. The distinction is an important one to recognize, for the mere act of shaking a sistrum in an appointed clerical office would not in Egypt a “God’s Wife” make; there is little reason why a different standard of evidence should be applied in Nubia. For the identification of the *hm.t-ntr Mry.t-Tfnw.t*, the essential feature which must be confirmed in Nubia is that of *clerical*

a la tradición teogámica de Heracleópolis y al falo del dios Herishef. El decreto de Sheshonq I (Tresson, *Mélanges Maspero* I/2, p. 822) nos informa que esta sacerdotisa poseía dominios: dominio de la sacerdotisa *imy.t-b3h*: ‘Diez bueyes’, como en Tebas la divina esposa o la divina adoratriz.” Pérez Die, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina* I, 53, pls. XIVb, XVb. For additional examples of theogamous priestess titles beyond the cult of Amun, see discussion and references in: Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 81-82.

²⁰⁶ Parker *et al.*, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61-69, pls. 25-26; Ayad, “God’s Wife of Amun and Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion.” The scene depicting the Elevation of the *Ts.t*-Support at Taharqo’s Karnak edifice shows Dedun, Soped, Sobek, and Horus, each representing one geographic form of the universal god Amun, respectively: Nubia, Asia, Libya, and Egypt. Such a rite would seem to have adapted remarkably well to the four local forms of Amun revered in Kush, if a Kushite king had chosen to copy it (see n. 209 below). In the scene at Karnak, the officiant is labeled once as *hm.t-ntr dr.t-ntr* and twice (possibly thrice) as only *hm.t-ntr ntr pn* (“God’s Wife of this god”). For the unspecified *ntr pn* as a reference to one’s patron deity, see Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, 57-60.

²⁰⁷ Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 43ff., 66ff.

²⁰⁸ Radwan, “Deification of the Monarch,” 261; similarly Gozzoli, *Writing of History in Ancient Egypt*, 71.

²⁰⁹ See Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708, l. 24, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 15-16.

²¹⁰ Yoyotte, “Les vierges consacrées,” 48. For refutation of Yoyotte’s larger contention, that the adoptive succession of priestesses in Egypt extended beyond the position of God’s Wife of Amun, see: Ritner, “Fictive Adoptions or Celibate Priestesses?”; *id.*, “Oblique Reference to the Expelled High Priest Osorkon?”; *cf.* Graefe, “Die Adoption ins Amt der *hzwt njwt hnw nj jmnw* und der *smsw.t dw3t-ntr*.”

²¹¹ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 73-102; Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 282-300.

²¹² Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 251.

²¹³ See n. 169 above.

²¹⁴ The word in question may be read as either *shmy.w* or *sšy.w*, either of which would translate as “sistrum-players.” See discussion in Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 159-160 n. 243. A royal kinswoman is also appointed as “sistrum-player” in Louvre C 257, l. 11 (the Dedication Stela of Aspelta), as published in: Schäfer, “Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre,” pls. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-3B.

theogamy. Such a concept is exceedingly difficult to prove on the basis of iconographic evidence alone, for many of the rites, costume, paraphernalia, and epitheta of the God's Wives in Egypt were themselves borrowed from a still earlier source—the institution of queenship. Consequently, the adaptation of Egyptian rites and iconography in Nubia rarely allows one to discern whether the woman in question was posing as God's Wife or merely as queen.

An illustrative case is provided by a silver amulet (Boston MFA 24.928) found in Kurru 52, the tomb identified by Reisner and Dunham as that of Nefrukekashta, wife of Pi(ankh)y and possible daughter of Kashta.²¹⁵ Dunham first concluded that the amulet depicted “Isis suckling a king,”²¹⁶ but, as Hofmann would later observe, “[d]as weite, faltenreiche Gewand sowie die deutlich hervorgehobene Brust lassen aber wohl mit ziemlicher Sicherheit auf ein Frau schliessen. . . . [I]st es nicht ausgeschlossen, das hier Nefrukekashta selbst von einer Göttin gesäugt wird.”²¹⁷ In this regard, the amulet bore a striking similarity to the suckling-scene of the Libyan God's Wife Shepenwepet I on the chapel wall of Osiris *ḥq3-dt*.²¹⁸ Radwan thus concluded that “Neferu-Ka-Kashta . . . could have assumed the status of a God's Wife of Amun by receiving the sacred milk.”²¹⁹ Under this scenario, Nefrukekashta would have represented herself as a God's Wife in Kush by copying the scene from the God's Wife in Egypt, Shepenwepet I, who had in turn adopted it from the traditional iconography of Egyptian kingship. However, there are two significant problems with this explanation: firstly, Nefrukekashta and Shepenwepet I were contemporaries, and thus it cannot be assumed without evidence that Nefrukekashta adopted the scene from the Egyptian God's Wife rather than copying it directly from Egyptian kingship. Yellin has even proposed that Shepenwepet I's scene in Egypt was carved during the tenure of Amenirdis I, so that the monument depicted Shepenwepet I “posthumously during Dynasty 25 which again suggests that the Napatans understood and practiced the institution of the God's Wife of Amun differently than the Egyptians.”²²⁰ Secondly, as Hofmann has argued: “Es ist jedoch völlig unägyptisch und im meroitischen Raum auch nur von einem König bezeugt, dass ein anderer Mensch als der regierende Herrscher von einer Göttin gesäugt, d.h. als legitim anerkannt wird,” and thus “[e]s ist möglich, dass Nefrukekashta als *Regentin* in Napata eingesetzt wurde.”²²¹ Rather than representing a Kushite God's Wife, the scene may very well represent Kushite queenship—particularly as the excavators deemed Nefrukekashta a wife of Pi(ankh)y but found no priestly titles associated with her name.

Similar problems are raised by a small plaque found in tomb ARA 8 of the Hillat el-Arab cemetery, located between Gebel Barkal and el-Kurru. The scene upon the plaque depicts a thin feminine figure in a double-crown and close-fitting dress, shaking a sistrum before the ram-headed Amun (Fig. 66). According to Lohwasser's account, the figure was first interpreted as a God's Wife, by both Vincentelli and Kendall, at the Eighth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Lille (1994).²²² If this were so, then the plaque might be assumed to provide evidence of a priestly college of God's Wives in Kush, parallel to that in Egypt, one of whose members may well have been the “God's Wife, Meritefnut” attested on BM EA 36301 and Legrain's socle. However, subsequent discussions by Vincentelli appear to have gradually abandoned this interpretation of the Hillat el-Arab plaque. The first published description of the object three years after the congress in Lille was cautiously ambiguous: “[P]erhaps, . . . the female figure represents the divine wife of the god.”²²³ In the more recent site report for Hillat el-Arab, Vincentelli's description leaves no doubt

²¹⁵ Reisner, “Discovery of the Tombs of the Egyptian XXVth Dynasty at el-Kurru,” 251; Dunham and Macadam, “Names and Relationships,” 145; Dunham, *El Kurru*, 81-85, pls. LXc, LXXb 4/1.

²¹⁶ Dunham, *El Kurru*, 82.

²¹⁷ Hofmann, *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*, 37-38. Hofmann has actually proposed that the Queen Mother may have administered the Nubian half of the Double Kingdom during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, a position further endorsed by Kormys(c)heva. See Kormys(c)heva, “Remarks on the Position of the King's Mother in Kush,” 247; but *cf.* critique of “divided rule” by Kahn in n. 138 above.

²¹⁸ See discussion in Ayad, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule,” 34-36 fig. 4.

²¹⁹ Radwan, “Deification of the Monarch,” 258.

²²⁰ Yellin, “Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact,” 257 n. 75. For varying interpretations of this scene and its chronological implications, see esp.: Ayad, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule,” 41; Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 77-79.

²²¹ Hofmann, *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*, 38.

²²² Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 300 n. 546.

²²³ Vincentelli-Liverani, “Recent Excavations in the Napatan Cemetery of Hillat el Arab,” 122. *Cf.* in this regard “la Sposa Divina di Amon” as a translation of *ḥm.t-ntr*: Ayad, “La Sposa Divina,” 109.



Fig. 66. Hillat el-Arab plaque from tomb ARA 8. Courtesy of Irene Vincentelli.

as to the identity of the figure: “On her wig she wears the double crown, a detail that identifies her as the goddess Mut.”²²⁴ Since the God’s Wife of Amun impersonated Mut in both costume and ritual action, there would be little means to differentiate the two in the absence of a nomen or title.

In contrast to iconography, the inscriptional evidence from Kush might be expected to provide more explicit proof of a parallel institution of God’s Wives. While the surviving record is admittedly lacunose, tomb contents from el-Kurru in particular have yielded a detailed royal prosopography and a diverse selection of titles.²²⁵ Yet the title of “God’s Wife” (*hm.t-ntr*) is nowhere to be found within this corpus.²²⁶ In fact, beyond Shepenwepet I, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, and Nitocris I, Meritefnut is the only possible nomen in either Egypt or Nubia which is ever paired with the title *hm.t-ntr* during any part of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,²²⁷ and the title is equally absent from Nubia during the later Napatan

²²⁴ Vincentelli, *Hillat El-Arab*, 158.

²²⁵ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 140-209.

²²⁶ See also the previously unpublished material now assembled in Hinkel and Mohamed, *Catalogue of the Objects in the Sudan National Museum*.

²²⁷ One must exclude in this regard Masbata, the mother of Horemakhet who is named on his unpublished coffin from the Asasif (Cairo JE 55194). In an article briefly referencing the coffin’s inscriptions, Hermann Kees attributed to Masbata the title of “God’s Wife”; see Kees, “Die priesterliche Stellung des Montemhet,” 61. However, examination of the excavator’s unpublished photographs of the coffin reveals that the title painted above Masbata’s cartouche is clearly *hm.t nsw* (MMA photograph M.11.C.106). I thank Marsha Hill of the Metropolitan Museum for granting me access, not only to the museum’s photographs of Cairo JE 55194,

era.²²⁸ Consequently, Lohwasser has concluded that “[d]er Titel *hmt ntr* ‘Gottesgemahlin’ is also für Kusch zu eliminieren.”²²⁹

The title of *dw3.t-ntr* does, however, appear once in the inscriptional record of Kush—within Aspelta’s²³⁰ famous list of ancestresses on the king’s Enthronement Stela from Gebel Barkal.²³¹ Unfortunately, the name of the woman with whom it was associated was effaced in antiquity, but an examination of the context in which the title was employed would seem essential to any attempt to understand the relationship between the God’s Wives in Egypt and the institutions of Kush. The text is referenced in precisely this regard within Ayad’s recent study of the God’s Wives of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. Ayad states:

That the Nubian God’s Wives remained very prominent figures in Nubian history is evident from King Aspelta’s account of his ancestry, in which he mentions no fewer than six Divine Worshipers. Living some two hundred years after the Nubians left Egypt, Aspelta may have been metaphorically referring to the God’s Wives as his mothers. He may have had an adoptive relationship in mind, when he had his inscription penned. Alternatively, it is possible that he traced his ancestry through a female line of descent from Amenirdis II. Such a female line could have resulted from a marital union that Amenirdis II embarked on after being ousted from her Theban position. It is conceivable though that this female line resulted from a sequence of adoptions that originated in a “second postulated adoption of Amenirdis II, of purely Napatan character.”²³²

This brief discussion of the stela departs from convention at two key points. Firstly, it would attribute to each of Aspelta’s ancestresses the status of “Divine Worshiper”—a title used elsewhere in Ayad’s study as an alternative translation of *dw3.t-ntr*, “Divine Adoratrice.”²³³ Yet the stela in question gives this title explicitly to only one of the seven women listed:²³⁴

mw.t=f sn.t nsw mw.t nsw hnw.t n Kš s3.t R^c [...] ḥnḥ(.ti) ḏ.t
mw.t=s sn.t nsw dw3.t-ntr n Ḥmn-R^c nsw ntr.w n W3s.t [...] m3^c(.t)-ḥrw
mw.t=s sn.t nsw [...] m3^c(.t)-ḥrw
mw.t=s sn.t nsw [...] m3^c(.t)-ḥrw
mw.t=s sn.t nsw [...] m3^c(.t)-ḥrw
mw.t=s sn.t nsw hnw.t n Kš [...] m3^c(.t)-ḥrw

His mother is the royal kinswoman, the king’s mother, the mistress of Kush, the daughter of Re, [...],²³⁵ living forever,

but also to Lansing’s excavation notes. See also discussion in: Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 165, 194; Vittmann, “Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography,” 156 n. 95.

²²⁸ Most striking is the absence of this title among the multiple royal women represented in Atlanersa’s temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal, as copied by Orlando Felix in 1828 before its destruction. See Griffith, “Scenes from a Destroyed Temple at Napata,” 27, pl. 5. Though the words *hmt.wt 4 n ntr.w* do appear in sequence in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.L.N. 1708, l. 24 (Anlamani’s Enthronement Stela, Kawa VIII), the context militates against any translation as “4 God’s Wives.” To do so would place the phrase in awkward apposition to the preceding *sn.w(t)=f*, and it would require that the four kinswomen were already “God’s Wives” before they were separately appointed as “sistrum-players.” Moreover, if the phrase were meant to be understood as a title, one would expect some form of honorific transposition, rather than a genitival article (actually a dative unit). The compound used in the sentence is thus not *hmt.wt n ntr.w* but *sn.wt=f-hmt.wt* (> Copt. ⲥⲟⲛⲛⲉⲛⲥⲣⲓⲛⲉ). See discussion and references in Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 160 n. 242.

²²⁹ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 194.

²³⁰ Aspelta’s nomen does not survive on the stela, but the text is nevertheless clearly attributable to him, as his Horus name, Nebty name, and Golden Horus name are all preserved: see l. 1 in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIa, VI.

²³¹ Cairo JE 48866, ll. 19-21, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa, VII.

²³² Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant*, 154, with further quotation to Al-Rayah, *Napatan Kingdom*, 117. Identical statements are made in Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 34-35 n. 152.

²³³ Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant*, 9-10, 15.

²³⁴ Cairo JE 48866, ll. 19-21, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa, VII.

²³⁵ As Cairo JE 48866 was commissioned by Aspelta (see n. 230 above), the lady in question here is accordingly to be identified with Nasalsa, his mother as attested on the king’s Dedication Stela (Louvre C 257, lunette and l. 10) and the Khaliut Stela (l. 13, left *in situ* by M. B. Reisner). See Schäfer, “Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre,” pls. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 1A-4B; and M. B. Reisner, “Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 4,” 40-41. Nevertheless, the relationship between her and the “Divine Adoratrice” who precedes her in the genealogy may be a purely adoptive one, paralleling the system of succession for the God’s Wives in Egypt; see Török in *FHN I*, 249-251, but cf. Morkot, “Kingship and Kinship,” 197-198. In any case, since Nasalsa is elsewhere named as the “mother” (*mw.t=f*) of both Aspelta and Anlamani (see Ch. II.2.1 n. 56 above and further feminine titles

whose mother was the royal kinswoman, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun-Re, king of the gods of Dominion (Thebes?),²³⁶ [...], justified,
 whose mother was the royal kinswoman, [...], justified,
 whose mother was the royal kinswoman, [...], justified,
 whose mother was the royal kinswoman, [...], justified,
 whose mother was the royal kinswoman, [...], justified,
 whose mother was the royal kinswoman, the mistress of Kush, [...], justified.

Ayad's reading would thus infer that the title of "Divine Adoratrice" as used in the inscription was meant to apply, not only to the woman so designated, but also to the four ancestresses otherwise described only as "royal kinswoman," as well as to the woman listed finally as "royal kinswoman, mistress of Kush." Ayad's interpretation is not shared by many scholars who have previously commented upon the text.²³⁷

More striking is the chronological framework in which Ayad's analysis would situate this genealogy. In the Kushite royal succession at Napata, Aspelta is separated from Taharqo by four attested kings appearing to represent no more than three generations:²³⁸ Aspelta's brother, Anlamani;²³⁹ Senkamanisken (of unknown relation); his predecessor, Atlanersa; and Tanutamani, Taharqo's successor in office, in whose reign the Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty quitted Egyptian soil. Consequently, Aspelta "may be assumed to have ascended to the throne about sixty years after Taharqo's death, i.e., around the end of the 7th century BC."²⁴⁰ By contrast, Ayad's interpretation would situate Aspelta's reign "some two hundred years after the Nubians left Egypt"—i.e., around the middle of the fifth century BC, approximately 140 years or six generations later than conventionally argued. No explanation is given for this different chronology, but it has considerable effects upon the interpretation of Aspelta's genealogy and, in turn, the office of the God's Wife during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Based upon the assumption that Aspelta was separated from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by "some two hundred years," Ayad's chronology would seem to place Amenirdis II as the Ur-ancestrous of Aspelta's genealogy, arguing that his matrilineage either began with "a marital union that Amenirdis embarked on after being ousted from her Theban position . . . [or] that this female line resulted from a sequence of adoptions that *originated* in a 'second postulated adoption of Amenirdis II.'"²⁴¹ The Kushite institution of "Divine Worshippers" would therefore be derivative from and subsequent to the rise of the God's Wives in Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. However, as no more than two generations of kings are known to have passed between Aspelta and Tanutamani (the successor of Taharqo), a similar interval should naturally be expected to separate Aspelta from Amenirdis II (the daughter of Taharqo). In this case, the Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis II who resided in Egyptian Thebes might very well be identical with Aspelta's "Divine Adoratrice of Amun-Re, king of the gods in Thebes," making her Aspelta's (adoptive or even biological) grandmother. The genealogy which precedes Amenirdis II would then span across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and into the Third Intermediate Period, thus running parallel to, intersecting, or

given in Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 169-170), there can be little doubt that she was a woman, *pace* Teeter, "Celibacy and Adoption," 411 n. 42.

²³⁶ The possibility cannot be altogether excluded that *W3.t* could invoke here in the Enthronement Stela, not the priestess's actual authority in Egyptian Thebes, but rather her connection to a local temple of "Amun-Re of Dominion," as *W3.t* does appear to have just such a local referent in Nastasen's stela from year 8: the king records there that he gave to "Amun of Napata" two large copper braziers and "set them up in the temple of Waset"; see Berlin *ÄMP* 2268, l. 49, in Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. III, and the collation in Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 41. For B 700 as a temple dedicated to an otherwise unspecified form of Amun-Re, see references given in Reisner, "Barkal Temples in 1916, Part II," 104, 108. However, the interval between the two stelae is a considerable one, and it was accompanied by an equally significant change in political circumstances which could well explain Nastasen's need to substitute a local surrogate for the temple of Amun-Re at Egyptian Thebes.

²³⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, 127; Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 170, 251-254; Morkot, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Kush and Egypt*, 341-347; Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship," 196-200; Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 433; Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 98-99, but *cf.* the ambiguity of *op. cit.*, 99-102; *cf.* also FHN I, 250-251.

²³⁸ In fact, it seems quite likely that no more than two generations separated Aspelta from Taharqo: as Morkot has pointed out, the father's cartouche in Aspelta's Enthronement Stela is not large enough to accommodate the erased name of Senkamanisken and would better fit that of Atlanersa. In this case, the two could be brothers representing only a single generation—particularly as it was concluded by Reisner that Atlanersa had a rather short reign. Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship," 199.

²³⁹ See Ch. II.2.1 n. 56 above.

²⁴⁰ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 367.

²⁴¹ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 154 [emphasis added].

even duplicating the list of the Kushite God's Wives in Egypt during that era. Such are, indeed, the available interpretations of Aspelta's genealogy that have been debated among Nubiologists, including the source quoted by Ayad (Sanhoury Al-Rayah), and they carry very different implications for the identification of Meritefnut.

If Aspelta's genealogy is understood to duplicate the list of God's Wives in Egypt, then this would more easily explain the inclusion of a "Divine Adoratrice" in the list. The line of succession might look something as follows:

Table B. Aspelta's Matrilineage: Reconstruction I.

Generation	Titles and filiations	Erased ancestresses
7	<i>sn.t nsw mw.t nsw ḥnw.t n Kš s3.t R^c</i>	Nasalsa
6	<i>sn.t nsw dw3.t-nṯr n Ḳmn-R^c nsw nṯr.w n W3s.t</i>	Amenirdis II
5	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Shepenwepet II
4	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Amenirdis I
3	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Shepenwepet I
2	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Karoatjet (Kelatja)?
1	<i>sn.t nsw ḥnw.t n Kš</i>	Karomama?

However, this reconstruction would have some very surprising implications, as clearly explained by Al-Rayah:

[I]f Aspelta was tracing his ancestry through the holders of the office of Divine Adoratrix at Thebes, the second, [third], fourth, and fifth names [after Nasalsa and Amenirdis II] should be these [*sic*] of Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet I and Karoatjet (Kelatja), a wife of Osorkon III. The unlikelihood of an Egyptian princess of the 23rd Dynasty bearing the title *ḥnwt n Kš* led Macadam to the conclusion that the descent claimed by Aspelta must be through a female line of adoptive nature from a second postulated adoption of Amenirdis II, of a purely Napatan character, not otherwise attested.²⁴²

Macadam's proposition was that Amenirdis II may have been re-adopted in Napata after her inheritance to the office of God's Wife in Thebes was forcibly transferred to Nitocris I.²⁴³ Upon the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's retreat from Egypt, the Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis II would have been grafted onto a parallel line of Napatan ancestresses—perhaps the very line from which Amenirdis I had originally sprung generations before. Macadam would thus interpret Aspelta's genealogy as a list of ancestresses in Kush, whether adoptive or biological, thereby legitimating Aspelta's authority at Napata by reference to local dynastic lineage rather than Egyptian institutions.

A proponent of this view, László Török, has reconstructed the seven generations of Aspelta's Napatan matrilineage as follows:²⁴⁴

²⁴² Al-Rayah, *Napatan Kingdom*, 117. Macadam and Al-Rayah would thus envision Aspelta's claims to dynastic legitimacy as passing "through a female line of adoptive nature" and ultimately reaching Aspelta and his mother, Nasalsa, "from [i.e., by way of] a second postulated adoption of Amenirdis II," but unlike Ayad, they do not argue that said line "originated" with Amenirdis II's adoption and then resulted in "a sequence of adoptions" thereafter. The sequence of adoptions is instead placed before that of Amenirdis II in Macadam's and Al-Rayah's analyses, in accordance with the accepted chronology of the period. It is also only within this interpretation that it becomes possible to equate the "Divine Adoratrice of Amun-Re, king of the gods in Thebes" with Amenirdis II, for the woman so described is clearly separated from Aspelta by no more than a single adoption (presumably Amenirdis II's adoption of Nasalsa?) in his genealogical list, not by the "sequence of adoptions" described by Ayad.

²⁴³ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 126-127.

²⁴⁴ *FHN I*, 251 §37. Titles and filiations are as given in Aspelta's Enthronement Stela (Cairo JE 48866, ll. 19-21). Additional titles attested for the women with whom Török would equate these ancestresses are given by him in *FHN I*, 250.

Table C. Aspelta's Matrilineage: Reconstruction 2.

	Titles and filiations	Erased ancestresses	Corresponding reigns	Approximate regnal dates
7	<i>sn.t nsw mw.t nsw ḥnw.t n Kš s̄.t R^c</i>	Nasalsa	Senkamanisken, Anlamani, and Aspelta	second half of seventh century BC-early sixth century BC
6	<i>sn.t nsw dw̄.ḫ.t-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntr.w n W̄s.t</i>	Amenirdis II	Atlanersa	second half of seventh century BC
5	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Khalese	Atlanersa	second half of seventh century BC
4	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	[...]salka	Taharqo	690-664 BC
3	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Takahatamani or Abalo or Naparaye	Taharqo	690-664 BC
2	<i>sn.t nsw</i>	Khensa	Pi(ankh)y	middle to late eighth century BC
1	<i>sn.t nsw ḥnw.t n Kš</i>	Pebatma	Alara and Kashta	early to mid-eighth century BC

Thus, Török would envision the Ur-ancestress of Aspelta as a contemporary of Alara—presumably to be equated with the unnamed “sister” whom Alara gave to Amun in Kawa stelae IV and VI, the very same ancestress whom Taharqo had once invoked as the source of his own dynastic legitimacy.²⁴⁵ By contrast, Priese would stretch these seven generations across a much longer chronology: “Die Genealogie geht zwei Generationen über ALARA hinaus!”²⁴⁶ Within either interpretation, the list would thereby intersect the Egyptian line of priestess succession at only one point: the Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis II. Each of the other ancestresses would be a resident of Nubia, not Egypt, during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the preceding Third Intermediate Period. Yet even these scenarios do not necessarily provide an identity for Meritefnut: if any of Aspelta’s ancestresses actually held the office of *ḥm.t-ntr* in Nubia, then why should Amenirdis II be the only woman in the genealogy to bear a priestess title?

Rather than attempting to intrude the office of *ḥm.t-ntr* into Aspelta’s genealogy and its Kushite context, it would seem preferable to instead read the inscription for those titles which its *author* chose to emphasize—the most conspicuous being that of *ḥnw.t n Kš*, a title that both opens and closes the list. In this regard, Lohwasser’s meticulous catalogue of Kushite female titles reveals a pattern that is otherwise unremarked in her commentary: of the thirty-four women catalogued, no less than half bear titles compounded with *ḥnw.t*. Similarly, of the fifty-two total attestations of titles, twenty-four are compounded with *ḥnw.t*. By contrast, titles compounded with terms such as *nb.t*, *tp̄.t*, *ihy.t*, *rḥ̄.t*, and *rp̄.t* are far less common; none is attested more than ten times, and most appear only twice or thrice.²⁴⁷ This distribution would clearly suggest that the concept of *ḥnw.t* was given special emphasis within the Kushite hierarchy. The etymology currently proposed²⁴⁸ for *ḥnw.t* may also explain why Alara’s appointment of his sister into the service of Amun was twice described with the otherwise enigmatic verb *ḥn*, rather than the expected verb of appointment, *rdi*:

²⁴⁵ See nn. 250-251 below.

²⁴⁶ Priese, “Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten,” 23.

²⁴⁷ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 206-209.

²⁴⁸ Lorton states: “*ḥnw.t* is perhaps to be connected with the verb *ḥn* ‘to order, command,’ with its connotations of authority and proprietorship.” Lorton, *Juridical terminology*, 44 n. 21. The use of the term in royal titles might be taken to indicate that *ḥnw.t* was derived from the active participial form of the verb (*nomen agentis*). However, as Kawa stelae IV and VI demonstrate, the object of the verb *ḥn* could be not only a thing or matter but also a person (see also *Wb.* III: 101.17-20). If the author of the Kawa stelae understood *ḥnw.t* as a *nomen acti* or *patientis*, this may explain his decision to employ the unusual *ḥn* rather than the expected verb of appointment, *rdi*. An analogous case would be that of the word *fiancée*, which has been understood as both an active (reflexive) participial and passive participial form of its verbal root (< Old French *fiancer* < Latin *fidere*), irrespective of its actual etymological history. For the verb *ḥn* in its later usage, see also recently Johnson, *CDD H*, 09:1: 47ff.

Kawa IV, ll. 16-17: *hn.tw n=fmw.wt n.t mw.t=i in sn=sn smsw S3-Rc I-r-r-i*

The mothers of my mother were ordained(?) for him by their eldest brother,²⁴⁹ the Son-of-Re: Alara.²⁵⁰

Kawa VI, cols. 22-23: *hn.tw n=fmw.t n mw.t=f in sn=s smsw S3-Rc I-r-r*

The mother of his mother was ordained(?) for him by her eldest brother, the Son-of-Re: Alara.²⁵¹

If Török's chronological framework for Aspelta's Enthronement Stela is correct, then the object of Alara's *hn* became a *hnw.t n Kš*—and was thereby appointed both into the service of the god and into a matrilineage of legitimate succession for future kings. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the variants of such *hnw.t* titles were never overtly sacral in Nubia, but rather sociopolitical and even territorial: *hnw.t n Kš* ("Mistress of Kush"), *hnw.t n T3-Sty* ("Mistress of the Land of the *St*-Bow"), *hnw.t n Km.t* ("Mistress of Egypt"), *hnw.t Šmꜥ.w Mhw* ("Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt"), *hnw.t t3.wy* ("Mistress of the Two Lands"), *hnw.t t3.wy tm* ("Mistress of All Lands"),²⁵² and *hnw.t hm.wt nb.wt* ("Mistress of All Women"). Not only is "God's Wife" not included among the titles borne by women in Nubia, but the overwhelming emphasis of the titles which they did bear appears to have had little to do with clerical theogamy at all. If female royalty in Nubia during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty did not replicate the institution that had proven so useful to the Kushite dynasts in Egypt, it was perhaps because institutions of another kind were already in place in Nubia that would have rendered the intrusion of a "God's Wife" superfluous. The evidence would therefore justify the conclusion reached by Lohwasser:

Die Schaffung der Position der Gottesgemahlin, einer Institution, die in Ägypten bereits seit Jahrhunderten bestand, war nicht notwendig. Auch wenn die Institution der Gottesgemahlin in Theben die kultischen Aktivitäten der kuschitischen Priesterinnen beeinflusst hat, so ist sie nicht als 'Institution', also als Priesterinnenkollegium mit eigenen Einkünften und eigenen Machtbefugnissen, übernommen worden.²⁵³

Had Meritefnut belonged to such a theogamous college of "God's Wives" in Nubia, she would seem to have been alone—an even more unprecedented figure than the predeceased heiress mooted above.

V.2.4. *Meritefnut Nitocris (I)*

If the God's Wife Meritefnut directly succeeded Shepenwepet II, as most published discussions of BM EA 36301 have concluded, then it is worth considering whether Meritefnut may have been a prenomen of Nitocris I—the only woman known to have directly succeeded Shepenwepet II in the office of God's Wife. This option has never before been proposed,²⁵⁴ but certain facts do weigh in its favor. Nitocris I was a "king's daughter" (of Psamtik I)²⁵⁵ and a "royal kinswoman" (of Necho II),²⁵⁶ just as Meritefnut is

²⁴⁹ For the translation as "eldest," see: Vinogradov, "[...] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the son of Reꜥ, Alara [...]?" ; see also: Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharao aus Kusch*, 57; Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 179. By contrast, Török maintains that Macadam's reading of "chieftain" should be preferred over Clère's reading of "eldest brother," because Alara's name was once written on a mortuary stela *sans* titles. See Török, "From chieftdom to 'segmentary state,'" 157-158. For the translation as "brother" here, rather than the more generic "kinsman," cf. Ch. III.2.1 n. 81 and Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above, as well as further references given in n. 115 above.

²⁵⁰ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8.

²⁵¹ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12.

²⁵² For the ambiguity of *t3.wy* as a writing of either the plural or the dual, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §36, and more recently: Peust, *Das Napatanische*, 235 §22.3.3; Sargent, *Napatan Royal Inscriptions*, 386 n. 251.

²⁵³ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 301.

²⁵⁴ Budge included Meritefnut among the God's Wives of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, but he did not suggest that she be equated with Nitocris I. See Budge, *Book of the Kings of Egypt II*, 89.

²⁵⁵ Cairo JE 36327, ll. 2, 6, 12, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. VIII-IX.

²⁵⁶ In contrast to Kushite royal usage of the term *sn.t nsw*, Saïte usage appears consistent with the narrowest sense of the term: "king's sister"; cf. Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above, as well as Ch. III.2.1 n. 81 and Ch. V.2 n. 115 above. Nitocris I's and Necho II's common parentage is indirectly suggested by Cairo CG 38372, the statue of the Chief Steward Padihorresnet: the latter is called both the *imy-r3 pr-wr dw3.t-ntr N.t-igr.t nh d.t* and the *imy-r3 pr-wr dw3.t-ntr sn.t nsw.t Ny-k3.w nh d.t*. See Vittmann, "Die Familie der saïtischen Könige," 376-377. Even if *sn.t nsw(.t)* were to refer here only to cousinhood, the fact would remain that Nitocris I was a *sn.t nsw(.t)*, just as Meritefnut is described on Legrain's socle. Necho II's filiation to Psamtik I is further implied by Herodotus II.158, who writes that royal succession in the Saïte line passed from father to son until the deposition of Apries.

described upon Legrain's socle. Though she was no daughter of Taharqo, Nitocris I exhibited the reverence for Tefnut that was characteristic of all the God's Wives; in the tomb of Ibi, it was even said of her that she was "the daughter of Re, Tefnut herself,"²⁵⁷ and Ankhnesneferibre's replacement of her in office was described as a ceremony "like that performed for Tefnut in the beginning."²⁵⁸ In addition, Nitocris I had a sister and two nieces whose names were compounded with *Mry.t*: respectively, Meritneith, Meritneby, and Meritneithyotes.²⁵⁹ As Nitocris I is already known to have adopted a prenomen (*Nb.t-nfr.w-Mw.t*, "Possessor-of-Beauties-is-Mut"),²⁶⁰ her further identification as *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would then disprove the assumption that each God's Wife held only a single prenomen. Yet this anomaly might be attributed to the unusual circumstances of dynastic transition.

By choosing *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* as a second prenomen, Nitocris I would necessarily have departed from convention, omitting from this prenomen the references to Mut that characterized the prenomena of all of her predecessors and successors in office. This, too, might be explicable as a political maneuver, but the circumstances in Nitocris's case render such a maneuver unlikely: as the daughter of a Saïte king, adopted into the line of succession as the future Wife of Amun in order to assert her father's newly-won hegemony over Upper Egypt, she would seem to have been situated in a vulnerable position at a highly sensitive juncture. It would be decidedly impolitic of her to then remove the customary reference to Mut, the Theban goddess and established consort of Amun, and instead replace her with a Heliopolitan goddess, Tefnut. She would thereby effectively trade an Upper Egyptian connection for a Lower Egyptian one, even though her adoption was arranged precisely to cement Upper Egyptian connections for a Lower Egyptian king. The timing of this choice is therefore critical to discern; the earlier in her tenure such a decision were made, the more impolitic and improbable it would become.

The interval during which Nitocris I would have used the name appears to have been quite brief. As Meritefnut is *hm.t-ntr* upon the hinge, any identification of Meritefnut as Nitocris I would require that the hinge have been inscribed after her father Psamtik I's ninth regnal year—the earliest possible moment at which Nitocris could have acceded to the position of a full-fledged God's Wife. Yet, not long after her accession to the highest office, Nitocris is referenced in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) by her better-known prenomen: *Nb.t-nfr.w-Mw.t*.²⁶¹ Consequently, unless Nitocris employed both prenomena simultaneously, the prenomen *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would need to have been used by Nitocris quite early in her tenure and only briefly—while Shepenwepet II was still "living" (as on BM EA 36301) but before Ibi employed the newer prenomen in his tomb. Even under such a scenario, it would still be remarkable that Ibi should refer to her in TT 36 by a different prenomen than the one she had used throughout his tenure in her service. The most logical solution would be to propose that Nitocris employed both prenomena interchangeably, but with a marked preference for *Nb.t-nfr.w-Mw.t* over *Mry.t-Tfnw.t*, as the former is considerably better-attested than the latter.

More problematic, however, is the statement of filiation that is inscribed on Meritefnut's hinge. While Shepenwepet II is named as "king's daughter of Pi(ankh)y," the name of Meritefnut is given no parentage. Why should Nitocris's own filiation to the reigning king be omitted upon a monument dedicated in her name, while Shepenwepet II's filiation to Pi(ankh)y was included?²⁶² Such exceptional deference to the

²⁵⁷ See the outer right vertical column of text framing the cultic niche on the west wall of the pillared hall (R2) in TT 36: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi II*, Taf. 96-97, and *op. cit.* I, 71 (T 96); also Walls B and B' of chamber 2 in Scheil, "Le tombeau d'Aba," pl. VI; *LD III*, pl. 270c.

²⁵⁸ See Cairo JE 36907, ll. 14-15, in Leahy, "Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre," 146 fig. 1.

²⁵⁹ For Meritneith, see: Wild, "Ex-voto d'une princesse saïte à l'adresse d'Amen-hotep—fils de Hapou." For Meritneby, see El Sayed, "Quelques éclaircissements sur l'histoire de la XXVI^e dynastie," pl. VII A; for Meritneithyotes, see Berlin *AMP* 15008 in Müller, *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 192f., and further discussion in Vittmann, "Die Familie der saïtischen Könige," 384.

²⁶⁰ The name is inscribed as part of the inner left column of text within the cultic niche on the antechamber south wall of TT 36, the tomb of Ibi. See: J. G. Wilkinson, Ms. XVII H.16, previously in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, now likely re-numbered at the Bodleian Library; R. Hay, British Library Add.Ms. 29847, f. 95; and photographs in Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi I*, Taf. 77-79. The inscriptions were first published in Scheil, "Le tombeau d'Aba," 625, 627.

²⁶¹ See references in the previous footnote. Nitocris was served by no less than four Chief Stewards, the first of whom was Ibi, who seems to have predeceased her relatively early during her tenure. For a chronology of the Chief Stewards of the God's Wives, see: Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 100-43; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 370; Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, 82-83; Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 37.

²⁶² The so-called "Pi(ankh)y blocks" which feature Pi(ankh)y's name at the Mut Precinct of Karnak were re-examined by Luc Limme in his unpublished dissertation. Limme concludes that the reliefs depicting the "ship of Pi(ankh)y" (*p3 wsht n nsw P-nh-y*)

senior God's Wife is best explained if the structure in question was dedicated in honor of Shepenwepet II herself. Indeed, the closest parallels can be found at Shepenwepet II's funerary chapel at Medinet Habu, where Nitocris's name appears together with those of Shepenwepet II and Pi(ankh)y on the façade reliefs, the lintel, and the jambs of the chapel doorway. However, considerable objections militate against any analogy between the Medinet Habu inscriptions and that of the British Museum hinge. Firstly, the British Museum hinge is unlikely to have been installed within the chapel doorway at Medinet Habu, for Shepenwepet II is described on the hinge as "living," while she is just as clearly designated as "justified" (i.e., deceased)²⁶³ on the doorway of her funerary chapel.²⁶⁴ Moreover, even there on Shepenwepet II's tomb, Nitocris's name consistently appears in combination with that of her own father, Psamtik I. On the British Museum hinge, it is not the inclusion of Pi(ankh)y that most surprises, but rather the complete omission of any reference to Psamtik I—the very king who had arranged Nitocris's adoption into the line of succession.²⁶⁵

To this one must add a further concern: it would be quite unusual for a God's Wife's prenomen to appear alone without its accompanying nomen. Nitocris's proposed use of the prenomen *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would have to be counted as a rare example, because the names *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* and *N.t-igr.t* never once appear together in the historical record. Thus, the equation of Meritefnut with Nitocris is not impossible, but neither is it convincing—particularly if the evidence at hand suggests a more cogent explanation.

V.2.5. *Meritefnut Shepenwepet (II)*

The God's Wives' consistent practice of writing prenomen together with a corresponding nomen suggests still another reading of BM EA 36301, as mentioned recently in a brief discussion by Koch: *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* may have been a prenomen paired with the nomen which immediately follows it on the hinge: *Šp-n-wp.t (II)*.²⁶⁶ The shared identity of these two names is further indicated by the grammar of the inscription:



The two names are framed by a prospective and a feminine exclamatory stative both urging her continued life: *ḥḥ ḥm.t-ntr Mr(y.t)-Tfnw.t dr.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t ḥḥ.t(i)*. Despite its seeming redundancy, this formula was a standard feature of the royal titulary as repeated on countless stelae and temple wall inscriptions, where the king's Horus name, Nebty name, Golden Horus name, prenomen, and nomen were each separately titled, with the prenomen and nomen enclosed in cartouches, and the ensemble was then framed on each end by the prospective *ḥḥ* and the masculine exclamatory stative *ḥḥ(.w)*. For an illustrative example, one need only refer to the inscriptions of Taharqo—the reigning king during Shepenwepet II's tenure. In the Hall of Offerings (B 303) within his temple for Mut at Gebel Barkal, two parallel frieze inscriptions on opposing sides of the room laud the king as follows:²⁶⁷

are cut in a different style than the inscriptions naming Somtutefnakht, the latter being in larger hieroglyphs with interlinear lines and exhibiting marked orthographic differences from the former. The same conclusion is now advocated by Jansen-Winkel, who has recently photographed and collated the blocks' inscriptions. Limme and Jansen-Winkel would thus conclude that the original reliefs recorded an event during Pi(ankh)y's reign, while those of Somtutefnakht were added a century later during the reign of Psamtik I. Kitchen's and Daressy's arguments that the reliefs *in toto* record instead the adoption of Nitocris I at Thebes are therefore drawn into question. Broekman would further argue that the original reliefs recorded the adoption of Amenirdis I as arranged by Pi(ankh)y, but *cf.* possible evidence for an installation by Kashta in n. 105 above. Even if Pi(ankh)y did install Amenirdis I in office, Perdu has now shown that the "Pi(ankh)y blocks" do not clearly date that event to his regnal year 5, as previously claimed, for the supposed dateline appears to be instead a measure of donated ochre. See discussion in: Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, 257-259, 370-379, pls. XX-XXII; Kitchen, *TIP²*, 236-239; Broekman, "Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty," 101, 443"; *id.*, "Once again the Piankhy-blocks from the Temple of Mut at Karnak"; Perdu, "Le prétendu 'an V'"; *id.*, "Les 'blocs de Piānkhi' après un siècle de discussions."

²⁶³ But see n. 128 above.

²⁶⁴ Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 14b and c. For a closer view of Shepenwepet's epitheta on the right façade, see Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne* III, pl. 10.

²⁶⁵ As Leclant clearly explains, references to Pi(ankh)y were not uncommon on Nitocris's monuments, but they were consistently paired with symmetrical references to Psamtik I. See Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 363.

²⁶⁶ Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 50. Koch discusses two of the five possible explanations for Meritefnut's identity, one of which is then eliminated from consideration.

²⁶⁷ Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 12 fig. 3.

ḥḥ Hr Q3-ḥꜥ.w Nb.ty Q3-ḥꜥ.w Hr-nb Ḥw-Ḥ.wy nsw-bi.ty nb Ḥ.wy nb ir ḥ.t Ḥw-Nfrtm-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥ.w T3-h-r-q
ḥḥ(.w) d.t

(Long) live Horus: Exalted-of-Epiphanies; Two-Ladies: Exalted-of-Epiphanies; Golden-Horus: Protector-of-the-Two-Lands; King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Lord-of-the-Two-Lands, Lord-of-Ritual: Re-is-the-Protector-of-Nefertem;²⁶⁸ Son-of-Re, Lord-of-Epiphanies: Taharqo, living forever.

A similar formula is employed on a pair of upper and lower bronze hinges dedicated by a lesser chantress in the name of Shepenwepet II's successor in office, the God's Wife Nitocris I.²⁶⁹ In fact, these hinges provide the closest surviving parallels to BM EA 36301 in their functional design and decoration. The inscriptions upon both comparanda begin: ḥḥ ḥm.t-ntr N.t-igr.t ḥḥ.t(i), "(Long) live Nitocris, living." On the lower hinge, Nitocris is then affiliated with her adoptive mother, Šp-n-wp.t (II) m3ꜥ.t-ḥrw (i.e., deceased),²⁷⁰ in much the same way that Shepenwepet II honors her own adoptive mother, Imn-ir-di-s (I) m3ꜥ.t-ḥrw, on BM EA 36301. On the upper hinge, Nitocris is then affiliated with her father by the title s3.t nsw P-s-m-t-k (I), much as the British Museum hinge labels Shepenwepet II as s3.t nsw Py-ḥḥ. If BM EA 36301 was dedicated in the name of Mry.t-Tfnw.t Šp-n-wp.t (II), this would explain why the only king named among the statements of filiation was her own father: Pi(ankh)y.

Such a scenario is in no way contradicted by the inscriptions upon Legrain's socle: while Shepenwepet II's nomen does not appear there, it must be remembered that the socle was only a fragment, "l'angle gauche du socle d'une petite statue dont la base devait mesurer quatre centimètres environ de large."²⁷¹ Just as the missing piece adjoining Side B will have completed the title "[...] nsw," so too might the missing piece adjoining Side C have contained an accompanying nomen—particularly as the cartouche containing the name of Mry.t-Tfnw.t abuts and overlaps the socle's inner edge (Fig. 64). That the original object contained further hieroglyphs is not only possible but likely, as the surviving fragment of the statue socle does not even contain an uninscribed space upon which the statuette itself could have stood. Consequently, Legrain's socle should not be regarded as the sole example in which a God's Wife's prenomen appeared alone, for there is no reason to assume that the surviving fragment represents the complete inscription. As the socle also describes Meritefnut as a "king's daughter" and "royal kinswoman," Shepenwepet II would qualify on both counts.²⁷²

If Mry.t-Tfnw.t were a prenomen of Shepenwepet II, this explanation would render unnecessary the many radical historical implications required for the other options that have been entertained above and in the published literature to date. There would be no need to promote Amenirdis II to the status of God's Wife (*ḥm.t-ntr*), a title and office which are otherwise unattested for her. Nor would there be cause for inserting between Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II a predeceased heiress who was never mentioned in any of the inscriptions of her contemporaries or successors. Equally superfluous would be the co-tenure arrangements postulated above, which would have associated Shepenwepet II together in the highest office with either Amenirdis II, Nitocris I, or the phantom predeceased heiress; instead, Meritefnut and Shepenwepet II would be "living" God's Wives at the same moment simply because they were the same

²⁶⁸ On this reading, see Clère, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 176.

²⁶⁹ See Louvre N659 in Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, 237-238 (P35), Anm. 3, Taf. 32a/b, 15*/16*; cf. also BM EA 51059 (PM II, 536).

²⁷⁰ See n. 128 above.

²⁷¹ Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnout," 131.

²⁷² For Shepenwepet II as *sn.t* of Taharqo, see Cairo JE 36327, l. 3, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII. Even if one were to assume—à la Legrain, Budge, Buttles, Gauthier, and Sander-Hansen (see nn. 116 and 122 above)—that the "[...] nsw" written upon Meritefnut's statue socle should be understood as a reference to her status as "king's [wife]," this would not necessarily exclude Shepenwepet II from consideration. In an otherwise enigmatic passage carved around the perimeter of Nitocris I's unpublished sarcophagus lid (Cairo TR 6.2.21.1), Shepenwepet II is given the title of *ḥm.t nsw*: Nitocris's statement of filiation reads there *mw.t-s ḥm.t nsw dw3.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t m3ꜥ.t-ḥrw*. The title is just barely visible in the photograph provided by Hornung and Bryan, *Quest for Immortality*, 201; transcribed by Gauthier, *LR IV*, 85 [M.a.]; see also *PM I*², 686. The title may even be explicable as a variant of *ḥm.t-ntr*, because Nitocris I is described in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) as the *ḥm.t nsw tp.t n.t Imn-rm=f ḥm.t-ntr Nb.t-nfr.w-Mw.t dr.t-ntr N.t-igr.t*, "the chief royal wife of He-whose-Name-is-Hidden, the God's Wife, Nebetneferumut, the God's Hand, Nitocris." See: Kuhlmann und Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi II*, Taf. 76; *op. cit.* I, 31; Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun I*, 102. The title of *ḥm.t nsw* is again attested for Shepenwepet II upon Pier scarab 1476, but Jansen-Winkeln has deemed this the error of the "modernen Kopisten." Pier, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. XI, and Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit III*, 322; cf. also Pier scarab 1475, where the same title is given to Amenirdis I.

person. Finally, there would be little remaining reason to imagine a parallel institution of God's Wives in Nubia, where not a single woman is known to have borne the title *ḥm.t-ntr*. All such conclusions would seem unwarranted. As Kitchen has recently opined:

The natural impulse, when an “exciting” new text is made available, is to look for correspondingly “exciting” results from it. But this is poor discipline and bad method. Good method is to scrutinise *all* data rigorously, especially if novel; it is *always* wisest to look first for the most banal and *unexciting* interpretation possible; and if that is inadequate, only then to look further afield.²⁷³

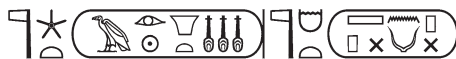
Given its economy of assumption, the equation of Meritefnut with Shepenwepet II might be considered just such an interpretation, though its own historical implications (discussed below) are perhaps not quite so “banal and unexciting” as the scenario described by Kitchen.

For Shepenwepet II, the name *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would have constituted a second prenomen, as her better-known prenomen referencing Mut has long been recognized on the upper frieze inscription of her funerary chapel at Medinet Habu.²⁷⁴ Yet it would not be altogether surprising if the daughter of Pi(ankh)y did employ more than one prenomen. Her father adopted so many different prenomena during his lifetime that leading Egyptologists at the turn of the century once entertained the possibility of as many as seven separate kings each named “Pankhy.”²⁷⁵ It was only with the work of George Reisner at Gebel Barkal that scholars began to realize that all such prenomena referred, in fact, to a single man.²⁷⁶ As Török has demonstrated, these multiple throne names of Pi(ankh)y conveyed different propagandistic and theological messages tailored for changing political circumstances throughout his reign.²⁷⁷ We may suspect that the same was true of his daughter, Shepenwepet II, whose tenure in Egypt witnessed similar political tumult, and it is in this element of deliberate choice where the less banal and more interesting implications of her prenomena await analysis.

The one respect in which Meritefnut Shepenwepet II can be said to have deviated from the assumed protocol of the God's Wives is her decision to reference a goddess other than Mut in her prenomen:



This fact alone might be construed as a general objection to the very conclusion that *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* could have been a God's Wife's prenomen at all. However, in Shepenwepet II's particular case, such an objection begins to falter upon closer examination. The prenomen for which Shepenwepet is best known was that of *Ḥnw.t-nfr.w-Mw.t* (“Mistress-of-Beauties-is-Mut”), which appears on her funerary chapel at Medinet Habu. Yet most interesting is the additional element that she consistently added to this name within the cartouche: *ʿr.t-Rʿ* (“Eye of Re”).²⁷⁸



Among the God's Wives, this solar reference was unique to Shepenwepet II's prenomen. As Ayad has explained:

²⁷³ Kitchen, “Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 162 [emphasis in the original].

²⁷⁴ Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” 118.

²⁷⁵ De Rougé and Brugsch both recognized two kings of that name, yet, as Morkot has observed, “Piankhis proliferated in the succeeding years.” Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 20. Thus, in Petrie's seminal overview of Egyptian history, seven kings appear bearing this same nomen. Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 267-268; see also Gauthier, *LR* IV, 2 nn. 1-4, 24. It would also appear that one of Pi(ankh)y's wives, Khensa, adopted a prenomen that was written within a separate cartouche: “Meritmut, Mistress-of-Heaven.” See Dunham, *El Kurru*, 36 fig. h.

²⁷⁶ Reisner, “Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 1.”

²⁷⁷ *FHN* I, 47-52.

²⁷⁸ In her unpublished dissertation, Ayad initially chose to translate this name as “Made by Re” or “Whom Re made,” but these less conventional readings are rejected in her more recent book in favor of “Eye of Re.” As the orthography is rather spare, there would be little means to differentiate between the two readings. Cf. Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 38, and *ead.*, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 19. “Eye of Re” is preferred by Kitchen, *TIP*², 387.

Shepenwepet II's name is the only one that included a direct reference to Re, the Memphite solar god of the Old Kingdom. By acquiring this epithet, Shepenwepet II emphasized her solar religious affiliation. Like her father and brothers, she flaunted her Memphite connections and nostalgia for a bygone era.²⁷⁹

Shepenwepet II's prenomen at Medinet Habu not only included a direct reference to Re, but specifically to the *Eye* of Re. The goddess Mut appears to have acquired this epithet by the Twentieth Dynasty at the latest, as it is attested repeatedly on the columns of Karnak's hypostyle hall.²⁸⁰ Yet the epithet was not uniquely nor even primarily associated with Mut; rather, it was derived from the solar religious traditions of Heliopolis and Memphis. During the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the Eye of Re was given particular emphasis within a cycle of related myths,²⁸¹ known collectively to Egyptologists as the "Myth of the Sun's Eye," that was intimately bound with the political theology of the Kushite kings.²⁸² Within that mythic cycle, the Eye of Re was equated with the figure of Tefnut.²⁸³

By employing a Heliopolitan epithet within her prenomen, Shepenwepet II would have continued a family tradition. In the speech which opens his Great Triumphal Stela at Gebel Barkal, her father Pi(ankh)y styled himself as the "living likeness of Atum"—the father of Tefnut.²⁸⁴ Likewise, in royal statuary at the Amun temple complexes of Thebes and Gebel Barkal, her royal kinsman Taharqo was represented in the form of Onuris-Shu—the brother of Tefnut.²⁸⁵ Taharqo's temple B 300 at Gebel Barkal has been interpreted as a structure "dedicated to the cult of two divine couples, viz. Amûn of Thebes with Mut and Amûn of Napata with the lion-headed Hathor-Tefnut," so that within the temple "Mut is called *jrt-R'*, 'eye of Rê', using an epithet of Mut which associates the goddess with Hathor-Tefnut as a central figure of the Myth of the Eye."²⁸⁶ In Egypt, the insertion of Lower Egyptian elements has been interpreted as part of a political program of national unification on behalf of a Kushite dynasty whose territorial sovereignty was often tenuous beyond Upper Egypt.²⁸⁷ Shepenwepet II's tenure as God's Wife coincided with that dynasty's attempts at greater political integration of Lower Egypt during the reign of Taharqo (and possibly Shebitqo before him)²⁸⁸ and the rapid deterioration of that same project during the reigns of Tanutamani and Psamtik I. It is not, therefore, surprising that her prenomen at Medinet Habu reflects similar concerns, incorporating a Heliopolitan accent that was absent from the prenomena of her predecessors and successors in the office of God's Wife. Most noteworthy, however, is the fact that her better-known prenomen already departed from regular Kushite and Saïte practice by its insertion of the "Eye of Re." In a certain sense then, Tefnut has always been present within Shepenwepet II's known titulary, even without the additional prenomen *Mry.t-Tfnw.t*.

It would be of considerable historical interest to determine exactly when and under what circumstances Shepenwepet II might have employed her different prenomena. Unfortunately, the surviving evidence

²⁷⁹ Ayad, *Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I*, 38. Indirect reference to Re might nevertheless be postulated for the phrase *nfr.w-Mwt*, which appears in the prenomena of both Shepenwepet II and her predecessor, Amenirdis I. For this argument, see Morkot, "Kushite Royal Woman," 157 n. 28.

²⁸⁰ Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen I*, 427.

²⁸¹ Otto, "Augensagen," 566.

²⁸² Robisek, *Das Bildprogramm des Mut-Tempels am Gebel Barkal*; Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 92-93. See also nn. 284-286 below.

²⁸³ Verhoeven, "Tefnut"; Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, 71ff.

²⁸⁴ Cairo JE 48862, l. 1, Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pl. 1.

²⁸⁵ Cairo CG 560 and Khartoum SNM 1841: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, 33-34, 47, 49, figs. 8-9, 11. For Taharqo as royal kinsman and possibly sibling of Shepenwepet II, see n. 272 above, but cf. also Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above.

²⁸⁶ Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 278-79 n. 178.

²⁸⁷ O'Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," 243-245. On the titularies themselves, see: Török, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 133ff.; FHN I, 126, 130; Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 230; Kitchen *TIP*², 378, 383, 388; Leclant, *Monuments thébains I*, 343-344 n. 1. On the possible limits of Kushite authority in Lower Egypt, see recently Perdu, "La chefferie de Sébennytos."

²⁸⁸ On a limestone stela fragment in the collection of the Royal Scottish Museum of Edinburgh (1956.150), Namenekhamen (A) is titled as both the *w^cb hm.t-ntr Šp-n-wp.t* and the *w^cb nsw ntr nfr Š3-b3-t3-k3 m3^c-hrw*. Graefe has deemed it chronologically improbable that the man would have first served Shepenwepet I and then both served and outlived Shebitqo (but cf. nn. 139 and 220 above), thus concluding that the Shepenwepet in question would more likely be the second God's Wife of that name. If this be so, the fact that Namenekhamen served both of them as *w^cb*-priest may indicate that there was some overlap between Shebitqo's reign and Shepenwepet II's tenure. See discussion and further references in Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin des Amun I*, 102-103; but cf. also Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen*, 42-44.

divine épouse, fille royal du maître des deux pays Piônkhi, adoratrice divine, Shepnapit, fille d'Améniritis. . . Le temple d'Osiris-ti-anekh est aujourd'hui entièrement déblayé, et, le sébakh étant épuisé dans cette partie du territoire de Karnak, les chercheurs d'engrais et d'antiquités se sont reportés sur la face ouest du mur d'enceinte. C'est le dernier point où la recherche du sébakh soit encore libre. . . Ce sera pour le Service des Antiquités une occasion unique d'exproprier ce village aux frais des chercheurs de sébakh.²⁹³

Legrain was evidently convinced that the looting had been underway for more than a year, for he also attributed to this temple the famous *étui à tablette* of Pashuper (Louvre E 101814) that had been acquired by Bénédite in 1899.²⁹⁴ He thus resolved to reconstitute as much of the temple's original contents as possible by commencing an immediate search of the antiquities boutiques in Luxor.

After several months, Legrain would write to Maspero on the third of March, 1903, "[m]on cher Maître, j'ai fait une tournée chez les marchands d'antiquités et ai vu bien des choses qui pourraient être achetées par la Musée."²⁹⁵ Though Legrain's later 1904 article somewhat collapses the chronology of events, his private correspondence with Maspero reveals that it was actually during his search of the Luxor antiquities market in 1903—and not upon the initial discovery of the temple the prior year—that Legrain found the stela (Cairo JE 36159, dated to year 25 of Takelot) which he would later incorporate into his report and describe as an object taken by the *sebakhin* from the temple of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ/nb-d.t* and "vendu chez Mohamed Moasseb." It was during this same search of the Luxor antiquities market during 1903²⁹⁶ that he purchased the small socle fragment bearing the name of Meritefnut, "beloved of Montu,"²⁹⁷ but, unlike the more impressive stela, there is no record that the tiny piece was ever acquired by a museum. The British Museum hinge (BM EA 36301) did not pass through Legrain's hands, but private correspondence between Murch and Budge would appear to suggest that the hinge's initial purchase from Mohassib likely occurred sometime during 1901—after the commencement of *sebakh*-digging at the temple, as estimated by Legrain, but before Legrain's arrival at the site and his subsequent purchase of the statue socle.²⁹⁸

If the socle purchased by Legrain in 1903 and the hinge acquired from Muhammad Mohassib shortly before did, in fact, originate from the area of Shepenwepet II's temple of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ/nb-d.t*²⁹⁹ beside the Montu precinct in North Karnak,³⁰⁰ then this would furnish a more specific range of dates for the use of the name *Mry.t-Tfnw.t*. On relief blocks from the chapel, the *dr.t-ntr Ṣp-n-wp.t ḥḥ.ti s3.t nsw [P-ḥḥ-y]* is accompanied by both a *dr.t-ntr Imn-ir-dī-s m3̄.t-ḥrw* and a *dw3̄.t-ntr Imn-ir-dī-s ḥḥ[.ti]*.³⁰¹ Barguet and Leclant thus concluded:

²⁹³ Legrain, "Le temple d'Osiris Neb-Djeto," 181-182, 184. The exact chronology of events can be discerned from correspondence which Legrain sent to Maspero that is now conserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 4027, f° 284-288). For discussion, see Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain I*, 25-26, 363. Legrain's "porte de Thoutmôsis I^{er}" has subsequently been re-attributed to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III by Van Siclen, "Amenhotep II's Bark Chapel," 358-359.

²⁹⁴ Legrain, "Le temple d'Osiris Neb-Djeto," 184; Bénédite, "Sur un étui à tablette trouvé à Thèbes." See further discussion of the *étui à tablette* and its provenance in Dewachter, "A propos de quelques édifices méconnus de Karnak-Nord," 8-25 esp. 18-19.

²⁹⁵ MS 4027, f° 284, in Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain I*, 363.

²⁹⁶ See n. 113 above.

²⁹⁷ On the importance of Montu and North Karnak specifically to the God's Wives, see Leclant, "Une statuette d'Amon-Ré-Montou," 95.

²⁹⁸ The chronology of events can be reconstructed from records kept by the British Museum: no purchases from Mohassib are recorded between 1899 and 2 April 1900; Mohassib's name is missing from a list of Budge's purchases from Murch in 1900; by January 1901, Budge complained of Mohassib's extortion for items already delivered; reports from April 1901 mention an imminent shipment from Mohassib; price negotiations are mentioned on 26 November 1901; on 12 April 1902 the hinge was purchased by the British Museum, but Budge noted that it had "been in the Museum for some time." Thus, BM EA 36301 would appear most likely to have passed from Mohassib through Murch to Budge during one of two intervals: either between April and November 1901, or before 1899, in which case Murch's acquisition of the hinge in Egypt may have been contemporaneous with Bénédite's acquisition of the *étui à tablette* (see n. 294 above). Given the evident frequency of Murch's shipments to Budge (see n. 121 above), a slight preference is expressed here for the former scenario, placing the initial acquisition of BM EA 36301 roughly one year before Legrain's aforementioned arrival at North Karnak. I thank Patricia Usick for her generous assistance in consulting the British Museum's acquisition records.

²⁹⁹ Separate structures? See Dewachter, "A propos de quelques édifices méconnus de Karnak-Nord," 16ff.

³⁰⁰ For this area as a source of other objects purchased by the British Museum from Mohassib, see: Eaton-Krauss, "Fate of Sennefer and Senetnay," 113-129 esp. 118; *contra* James, "Le prétendu 'sanctuaire de Karnak' selon Budge."

³⁰¹ Barguet, *Karnak-Nord IV*, 112, 127, pls. XCVI-XCIX; Leclant, *Monuments thébains I*, 365; *op. cit.* II, pl. LVI. The resolution of Barguet's pl. XCVI and Leclant's pl. LVI do not allow confirmation of Taharqo's nomen.

La construction de l'édifice date donc de la période où, après le décès de la grande Amenirdis, Chepenoupet règne associée à la fille de Taharqa,³⁰² qui est connue par bien peu de mentions. Il est possible que ce soit dans les dernières années du règne glorieux de Taharqa, car, sous Tanoutamon, il n'y a que peu de constructions à Thèbes et peu d'importances. Cependant, le début du règne de Psammétique ne saurait être exclu: la principauté thébaine est alors absolument indépendant entre les mains de la Divine Adoratrice et du Quatrième prophète d'Amon, Montouemhat; l'absence totale du nom du roi régnant serait ainsi plus explicable que sous le règne du puissant Taharqa.³⁰³

In support of this view, it may be noted that the chapel inscriptions feature the Chief Steward Akhamenru,³⁰⁴ who was likely still living even as late as Psamtik I's fourteenth year, when Akhamenru's father, Pekiry, was listed among the witness subscriptions to the Saïte Oracle Papyrus.³⁰⁵ Under such a scenario, the name *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* would have been used during the construction of the chapel sometime between 690 and 656 BC, and most likely toward the latter half of that range—perhaps even during the final years of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Twenty-Sixth, when Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II had become the last of the Kushite dynasts still resident in Thebes.

Why Shepenwepet's use of the prenomen should occur during her activity at North Karnak at this time is unclear. This may well be the illusory result of an accident of survival, particularly as one of the objects in question was clearly portable and the other (BM EA 36301) easily detachable from the doorway in which it was originally installed. Nevertheless, it is worth considering whether the context itself may have had some significance, for the chapel of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ/nb-d.t* is, in fact, exceptional among Shepenwepet II's constructions. During the 1950 season, excavations by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire discovered re-used blocks bearing the name of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ* within the platform in front of North Karnak's Temple of Montu.³⁰⁶ When reconstructed, several of these blocks formed the lower courses of a scene depicting Shepenwepet II in a long garment facing a series of standards and seated upon a carrying-chair (*sp3*), below which was the characteristic *ḥb*-basin. Across her chest she held two long scepters, and at her knees stood Horus the Behedite.³⁰⁷ Ayad states:

[T]he entire representation depicted on the blocks of Shepenwepet II is entirely too similar to the representations of *sed* festivals celebrated by Tuthmosis III and Osorkon II to be anything else. The recovery of these blocks caused an academic stir as they seemed to depict a woman, a God's Wife, celebrating the *sed* festival, the royal rite *par excellence*.³⁰⁸

Such a festival would provide an appropriate occasion for either the formulation or the emphasis of an additional prenomen.

Yet it cannot be assumed that these phenomena were necessarily linked, for Shepenwepet II's tenure was otherwise exceptional on multiple counts, even beyond her activities at the chapel of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ*. As Ayad has explained: "Il potere e l'influenza della Sposa Divina raggiunse il culmine sotto Shepenupet II, figlia di Piankhy. Fu questa che smantellò la capella in mattoni crudi della madre adottiva Amenirdis I per erigerle un nuovo 'monumento per l'eternità' in pietra."³⁰⁹ It was equally Shepenwepet II who was

³⁰² Pace Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 111.

³⁰³ Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, 127-128; similarly Koch, *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenzustellen*, 38-39. Barguet and Leclant describe here the structure whose re-used blocks were uncovered during their own excavations in 1949-1951; it was identified by its façade inscriptions as the chapel of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ* (nn. 306-307 below). It has been widely assumed that this structure was equivalent or adjoining to the temple of Osiris *p3-dd-ḥḥ/nb-d.t* whose looting was documented by Legrain at the turn of the century (n. 293 above); but cf. n. 299 above and Graefe, "Schepenupet I./III.," 581-582.

³⁰⁴ It is actually Pekiry's name which appears on the exterior wall of the chapel, but the surrounding context was judged to be that of (Akhamenru's) filiation: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, 124 n. 2, pl. CXI.

³⁰⁵ See pBrooklyn 47.218.3, col. 5, l. 5, in Parker, *Saïte Oracle Papyrus*, 16, Nr.6/6a, pl. 4. For further discussion of Akhamenru's genealogy, see: Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces*, 3-12; Leclant, "Le Prêtre Pekiry"; Kees, *Das Priestertum in ägyptischen Staat*, 269-272; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 102-103 §4.2.

³⁰⁶ Perkins, "Archaeological News," 81-82 figs. 1-2.

³⁰⁷ Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. CIII.

³⁰⁸ Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 113. A recently discovered block from the doorjamb of this same chapel also includes the phrase *ḥb-Sd*. I thank Jérémy Hourdin for sharing this information with me in advance of its imminent publication: Hourdin, "À propos de la chapelle d'Osiris-Padedankh de Chapenoupet II."

³⁰⁹ Ayad, "La Sposa Divina," 119.

shown on the same scale with Taharqo in scenes at both his Edifice by the Sacred Lake at Karnak³¹⁰ and their shared chapel dedicated to Osiris *nb-ḥꜥ/pꜣ-wšb-ꜣꜣd*.³¹¹ In fact, of all of the God's Wives, none commissioned so many monuments as Shepenwepet II.³¹² What Legrain's socle, the British Museum hinge, and the re-used blocks of Osiris *pꜣ-dd-ḥꜥ* do then indicate is that there were political dimensions to Shepenwepet II's tenure as God's Wife that have yet to become fully apparent from the archaeological record.³¹³ In this respect, Legrain's remark upon discovering the socle a century ago is no less applicable today: the problem of Meritefnut "nous prouve que nous sommes loin de la connaître encore entièrement."³¹⁴

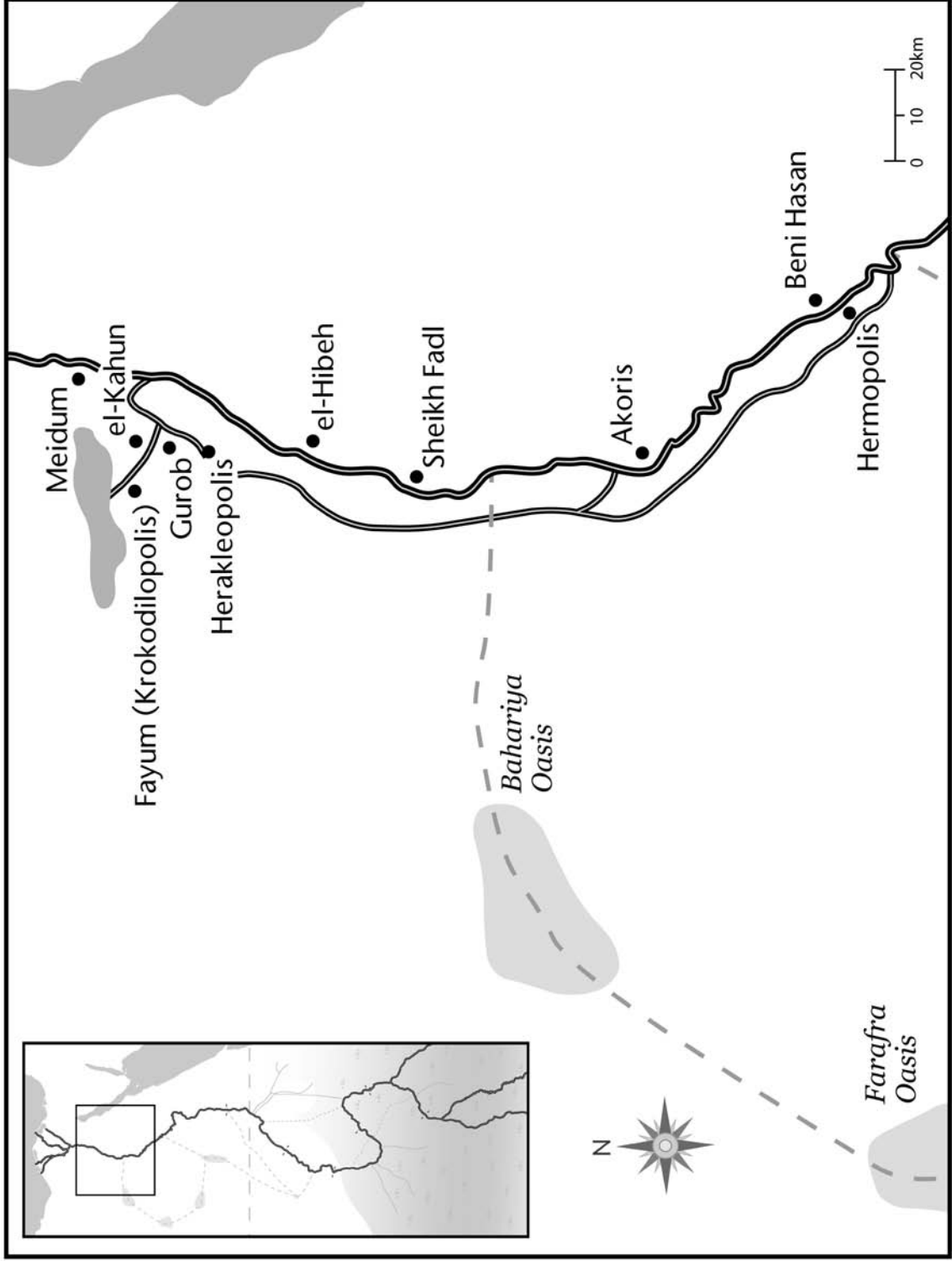
³¹⁰ For the scene, see Parker, *Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 25. For the identification of this figure as Shepenwepet II, see Ayad, "God's Wife of Amun and Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion."

³¹¹ See photographs in Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, figs. 2.20a-b. Likewise, an Abnormal Hieratic contract is sworn in honor of both Taharqo and the Divine Adoratrice (unnamed), while a statue of Akhmenru bears cartouches of Tanutamani on one shoulder and Shepenwepet (II) on the other. See: pLouvre 3228d, in Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 43-49; *op. cit.* II, 17-20, pl. VI; Cairo JE 37346 in Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, 122 §33, 377.

³¹² Regarding Shepenwepet II's importance, it is interesting to note that pseudo-Aristeas's letter addressed to Philocrates during the second century BC recalls that ψαμμητιξω had waged war πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰθίοπων Βασιλέα. However, the ψαμμητιξω in question may well be the second of that name, while Βασιλέα may be explained as either a scribal error or Aristeas's retrojection of the queen regency known to him during the Meroitic era. See Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 98-101.

³¹³ In Jansen-Winkeln's recent catalogue of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty inscriptions, BM EA 36301 is judiciously categorized among the monuments of Shepenwepet II, as hers is the only identified name of a living person upon the hinge. Legrain's socle is then included immediately after BM EA 36301 as a contemporaneous object, but Meritefnut is identified only vaguely as "einer Gottesgemahlin." Meritefnut's identity is then discussed within the context of Amenirdis II's prenomen, a proposition about which Jansen-Winkeln expresses due skepticism (see also n. 160 above). Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 319. Comparison of Jansen-Winkeln's transcription with the photograph of BM EA 36301 provided by the British Museum demonstrates clearly that he has mistranscribed the orthography of Pi(ankh)y's name (see n. 136 and cf. Fig. 65 above).

³¹⁴ Legrain, "La princesse Mirit-Tafnout," 132.



Map 6. Middle Egypt.

“EL FIEL DE LA BALANZA”: ARISTOCRACY AND INSTITUTION IN MIDDLE EGYPT

VI.1. *Periodization and Administration*

En el centro del país, Heracleópolis se convirtió en muchas ocasiones en el fiel de la balanza.
Carmen Pérez Die¹

When compared with the Manethonian scheme of numbered dynasties, the division of ancient Egyptian history into larger “kingdoms” and intermediate periods must be regarded as a decidedly more etic chronology. This observation holds particularly true for the distinction between the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, the passage between which was not announced by retrospective lamentation of chaos on the part of the ancient Egyptians and has equally resisted a consensus definition among Egyptologists.² A few prominent examples will suffice to illustrate the diversity of modern opinion: in Gay Robins’s standard overview of the history of Egyptian art, the reigns of Kashta and Pi(ankh)y are assigned to the Third Intermediate Period, while the Late Period proper commences under Shabaqo c. 712 BC.³ By contrast, Trigger *et al.*’s and Shaw *et al.*’s influential surveys of Egyptian history place the entirety of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty within the Third Intermediate Period, while in Kitchen’s seminal study, the Third Intermediate Period terminates even later—in 650 BC, well into the reign of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty pharaoh Psamtik I.⁴ Alternatively, in the English edition of *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte*, Assmann maintains that “[t]he Late Period proper begins with the ascension of Psammetichus I to the throne in 663,” while nevertheless conceding that “the Kushite or Ethiopian reign... no longer qualifies as a ‘genuine’ intermediate period... [because, i]n many of its aspects the Kushite empire anticipates the Late Period.”⁵ The choice between these periodizations would seem to depend upon which type of change is given pride of place: cultural change corresponding to the florescence of archaism; geopolitical change emphasizing the reclamation of Egypt’s international profile in the Mediterranean and Near East; territorial change defined by the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt; or administrative change manifested in specific innovations of governance.⁶ As a result, the space between divergent periodizations offers more than an arena for chronological dispute: enfolded within it are questions of great interest for the cultural, political, and social history of the seventh century BC.

One such question was recently thrown into stark relief by the published proceedings of the 2007 Leiden conference, “The Libyan Period in Egypt.” In an essay detailing the importance of the God’s Wife of Amun, Mariam F. Ayad attributes to fellow conferee Robert Ritner a novel argument regarding administrative change: “Ritner suggested that suppression of lineage, particularly of tribal lineage, served to establish state authority. According to Ritner such suppression was part of a systematic policy of Egypt’s new Nubian rulers.”⁷ In Ayad’s analysis, the preference exhibited by Amenirdis I for titles of priestly succession rather than dynastic filiation in her Karnak chapel of Osiris *hqꜣ-d.t* provides one instance of this larger Kushite attempt to replace tribal aristocracies with state institutions. For an exposition of this larger policy, Ayad

¹ Pérez Die, *Ehnasya el Medina: Excavaciones 1984-2004*, 16.

² Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte*, 319; Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 195.

³ Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 9-10, 195, 210.

⁴ Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 183-184; Shaw, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 330ff., 369ff; Kitchen, *TIP*, 362ff., 399ff.

⁵ Assmann, *Mind of Egypt*, 287-288.

⁶ For the latter, see: Martin, “Saite Demoticisation of Southern Egypt.”

⁷ Ayad, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule,” 48.

refers the reader to Ritner's contribution "in this volume."⁸ Yet one searches in vain for mention of such a Kushite policy in Ritner's own essay. Instead, he asserts:

In Egypt, the re-integration of the state after the so-called 'Libyan Anarchy' equally required extra-tribal mechanisms. Nubian domination under Dynasty 25 had subjugated—but failed to suppress—tribal authority and political divisions within Egypt. Dynasty 25 ruled at most a nominal unity... and it was left to the heir of Sais, Psammetik I, to accomplish not only the liberation of Egypt from outside domination, but the recreation of the Egyptian state itself... No longer a confederation of competing kin groups, Egypt was again a society of institutions.⁹

Whereas the view attributed to Ritner by Ayad would class the replacement of tribal aristocracies with state institutions as a Kushite strategy, Ritner's own discussion actually classes that same policy as a Saïte innovation which distinguished them from the preceding Kushite regime.

This apparent contradiction may be variously explained. If it is not an instance of simple misattribution by Ayad, then it could reflect an inconsistency between Ritner's statements as delivered at the conference and those later published in the proceedings. At a more substantive level, however, the contrast between the two positions may be explained by a distinction between the Kushites' ideological versus administrative goals: while Ayad's allusion to a "systematic policy" on the part of the Kushites would seem to imply the latter, Ritner's own view may instead discern an ideological policy without administrative teeth. In fact, an essay by Ritner in the recent *Festschrift* for Leonard Lesko describes precisely such a propagandistic initiative under Kushite rule, in which "Taharqa or his agents consciously expose[d] the falsehood of [Libyan] acculturation and stigmatize[d] Libyan ethnic groups as traditional enemies of Egypt."¹⁰ Alternatively, the seeming contradiction within the Leiden proceedings may be reconciled as a distinction between goals and outcomes, in which the Kushites pursued a policy of tribal suppression but ultimately failed to achieve it. Whatever its underlying cause, the disconnect between the position attributed to Ritner by Ayad and that actually advanced by him in the same volume exposes an issue which has thus far received little attention: how did the policies of the Kushite dynasts differ from those of their Saïte successors? In the literature published to date, discussion of Saïte administrative innovations has not been balanced by a consideration of Kushite precedents, so that the contrast between the two remains more implied than demonstrated, more assumed than examined.¹¹

In this regard, the evidence cited by Ritner is particularly useful, for the Saïte innovations which he describes take place not within the abstract setting of "the State" but upon a more concrete and scrutable landscape of local politics: Middle Egypt. According to Ritner, the Saïtes united Lower and Upper Egypt by replacing tribal aristocracies with state institutions in the intervening region of Middle Egypt.¹² As a result, administrative change within Middle Egypt is made synonymous with territorial change across it. Ritner's emphasis upon Middle Egypt is fully justified, for the region's leading cities had proven central to earlier contests between Saïte and Kushite rule: as narrated in Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela, it was the Saïte attempt to annex Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el-Medina) and Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein) which first prompted Kushite military intervention along the Lower Nile.¹³ Across the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, the allegiance of Middle Egypt not only shifted the balance of power but also served as the chief indicator by which those shifts could be gauged: "el fiel de la balanza."

Attempts to trace the political history of Middle Egypt across this period have been consistently frustrated by the scarcity of local evidence: no royal monuments of the Twenty-Fifth or early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties have been found in the region,¹⁴ and the only royal stela from this period recorded by local

⁸ Ayad, "Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule," 48 n. 62.

⁹ Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period," 338-339.

¹⁰ Ritner, "Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian," 306.

¹¹ See esp.: Kees, "Zur Innenpolitik der Saïtendynastie"; Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*; Jansen-Winkel, "Die Libyer in Herakleopolis Magna."

¹² See also: Ritner, "End of the Libyan 'Anarchy' in Egypt."

¹³ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 4-8, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V.

¹⁴ Spencer *et al.*, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein* II, 70; *op. cit.* III, 13; Spencer and Bailey, *Ashmunein*, 1; Zaghoul, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermupolis*, 5, 10-11 n. 47, 81. Louvre C 100 is of Theban provenance, and the only reason for connecting it with Hermopolis was the dubious suggestion of Petrie that the royal nomen was to be read *Hmny*. Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 292-294;

excavations appears to have been subsequently lost before its translation could be published.¹⁵ Yet the dearth of local historical corpora datable to this era admits one very significant exception, rendered all the more influential by its spectacular isolation: a group of nine papyri discovered together in the ruins of el-Hibeh (ancient Teudjoi and Ankyropolis) before their acquisition by Lord Crawford in 1898-1899 and ultimate sale to the John Rylands Library in Manchester.¹⁶ The two earliest papyri—both grants of priestly stipends—date from the reign of Psamtik I,¹⁷ but it is the latest and most retrospective of the group which has attracted the earnest attention of historians: a fourteen-foot scroll known either as “The Petition of Pediese” or simply as Papyrus Rylands IX.¹⁸

VI.2. *Rylands IX: Narrative Summary and Source Criticism*

The latest date mentioned in Rylands IX is Darius I’s ninth regnal year (c. 513 BC), during which a state tax collector travels to Teudjoi to inquire into the town’s delinquency.¹⁹ Official inquiries are soon directed to a local man with personal knowledge of Teudjoi’s history: “There is not a man who will be able to tell you the manner in which this town has been ruined except Pediese, son of Wedjasematawy, that temple scribe; it is he who will tell you the truth.”²⁰ After initial reluctance, this Pediese then testifies—under considerable duress—that the town’s decline is tied directly to crimes perpetrated against his own family, and he seizes the opportunity of the state inquest to enter a petition before the *snty* in Memphis calling for the redress of his family’s grievances.²¹ As a result, the better part of Rylands IX (cols. 5/13-21/9) is concerned with the reconstruction of events long past, beginning at least 148 years prior during the crucial transition from Twenty-Fifth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

The earliest decades of this span are recounted by the petitioner in order to demonstrate his rightful inheritance, for he claims that his great-great-grandfather had been installed “in the fourth regnal year of Pharaoh Psamtik the Elder” (c. 661 BC) as an assistant to the “Harbor Master” and endowed by the latter with a priesthood of Amun of Teudjoi.²² Yet, according to the petitioner, his family line henceforth became the perpetual target of local animosity. In the first among many outrages, fellow priests at Teudjoi murdered their new colleague’s grandsons.²³ Only two generations later, more conspiring local priests forcibly dispossessed the family of their share of the priesthood and its stipends, drove the rightful heir from town, and destroyed his house and one of two stelae documenting his inherited titles.²⁴ The petitioner then reports that his own attempts to reclaim that lost inheritance landed him in prison, caused him to be beaten severely and left for dead, and then resulted in the arson of his family home.²⁵ In fact, it becomes clear in the course of the narrative that the surviving document is actually a renewed petition, the man’s earlier request having been answered by a mere order of protection, without either compensation for his injuries or the restitution of his family’s priestly office.²⁶ In apparent support of his account, the petitioner

cf. Kitchen, *TIP*, §525; Yoyotte, “Pharaon Iny”; Goldberg, “Legends of Iny.” For Thutemhat, see Cairo JE 42212 and BM EA 11005 in Kitchen, *TIP* §§187, 330-331, 525. For Padinemyt at Assiut, see: Leahy, “More fragments of the Book of the Dead of Padinemyt.”

¹⁵ Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 611-612 n. 19, 613 n. 25, 673 No. 25.6.7; Spencer *et al.*, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein* II, 70. *Contra* Dallabor (*Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 79, 208 n. 4), Lausanne 24 is identified in *l. 1* as a stela of Apries: Wild, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de la collection du Dr Widmer*, 25-26, pl. IV [left].

¹⁶ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 37.

¹⁷ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* I, pls. I-XIV; *op. cit.* II, pls. 1-7, 9-15; *op. cit.* III, 44-50, 201-209, 307-308.

¹⁸ Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* I, pls. XXIII-XLVII; *op. cit.* II, pls. 21-42; *op. cit.* III, 60-112, 218-253; Den Brinker *et al.*, *Berichtungsliste*, 341-345; Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, 22-54.

¹⁹ Col. 1/ll. 1-2 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 1, 116-117; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXIII.

²⁰ Col. 1/ll. 8-10 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 2, 116-117; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXIII.

²¹ Col. 1/l. 10—col. 2/l. 4 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 2-5, 116-119; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXIII-XXIV. On the *snty*, see: *op. cit.* II, 296-298; Yoyotte, “Le nom égyptien du ‘ministre de l’économie’ —de Saïs a Méroé.”

²² Col. 5/l. 14—col. 8/l. 3 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 21-32, 128-139; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVII-XXX.

²³ Col. 11/ll. 2-9 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 47-49, 148-151; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXXIII.

²⁴ Col. 15/l. 1—col. 18/l. 20 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 69-89, 165-179; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXXVII-XL.

²⁵ Col. 2/l. 6—col. 3/l. 3 and col. 4/ll. 18-20 in Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 5-9, 118-127; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXIV-XXVI.

²⁶ As noted by Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 61.

encloses hieratic decrees dated to the fourteenth and thirty-fourth regnal years of Psamtik I, one of which, he claims, is a copy of the stela destroyed by his grandfather's enemies.²⁷ Rather pointedly, he also includes copies of hymns sung to Amun by those who had approached the stelae, testifying to their faith in Amun's retributive justice.²⁸

The account is somewhat complicated by the fact that most of the key figures bear the same name: (1) the petitioner: Pediese III; (2) his dispossessed grandfather: Pediese II; (3) his great-great grandfather who was first given the priesthood: Pediese I; and (4) the latter's cousin²⁹ who endowed him with that priesthood: the Harbor Master, Pediese, son of Ankhsheshonq (hereafter simply: *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*). However, only the two earliest figures, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* and Pediese I, are assigned to the transition period between Kushite and Saïte rule, and so it is upon this pair that the present inquiry must focus.

P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq is clearly identified as the more powerful and senior of the two. Rylands IX describes *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* as a Priest of Heryshef, a Priest of Sobek, and the "son of a Priest of Amunresonter" (in Thebes), and the text further specifies that "he had been brought to Pharaoh's house before he became Priest of Amun."³⁰ Most importantly, the papyrus attributes to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* a considerable sphere of authority in his office as "Harbor Master":

wn-n3w P3-t3-rsy hn n P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq p3 ʿ3 n mr n t3 t3 rs rs(y) n Mn-nfr š3c Swnw

The Southland was in the charge of Pediese, son of Ankhsheshonq, the Harbor Master from the southern fortress of Memphis to Aswan.³¹

The lines which follow reveal that his responsibilities within that region included the collection of taxes rendered in *ḥd* and *bty* (silver and emmer) and that the revenues of the Southland had increased by fifty percent during his tenure.³² Nevertheless, the text states that by the fourth year of Psamtik I, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* admitted to Pharaoh that he was no longer administering the realm himself but had instead delegated that task to his cousin, Pediese I, because "I have grown old."³³ *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* therefore requested that Pharaoh give formal recognition to the authority which Pediese I was already exercising, and Pharaoh conceded, telling Pediese I that the Southland "is committed to him [*P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*] together with you."³⁴ According to the narrative, the Southland was then administered jointly by the two cousins for the next fourteen years, during which the senescent *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* rewarded Pediese I's continued service by granting to him and his descendants a share of the priesthood of Amun of Teudjoi.³⁵

These few details pertaining to the responsibilities of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* and his cousin, Pediese I, have provided the basis for a series of arguments about administrative innovation under Saïte rule. Observing that the title of "Overseer of Upper Egypt" (*imy-r3 šmʿw*) was used by the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat—a contemporary of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*—Griffith first suggested that the latter's claim to charge of the "Southland" (*P3-t3-rsy*) might signal an expansion of his powers at the expense of Montuemhat. This expansion, Griffith proposed, had been orchestrated by Psamtik I in the Saïte's effort to wrest Upper Egypt from Kushite

²⁷ Col. 21/l. 10—col. 23/l. 9 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 101-108, 189-98; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XLIII-XLV.

²⁸ Col. 24/l. 1—col. 25/l. 9 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 108-114, 198-203; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XLVI-XLVII. See also Bresciani, "I tre salmi ispirati da Ammone nel P. dem. Rylands IX."

²⁹ Ritner, "End of the Libyan Anarchy in Egypt," 102 n. 6: "The relationship is not one of 'uncle' and 'nephew' as stated by GRIF-FITH, *Pap. Rylands III*, pp. 71-72 and *passim*; see col. 5/17: *wn-n3w wn-mtw=fwʿ sn šr n p3 sn hm n p3y=f i3 p3y* 'He had a 'brother' (GRIFFITH: 'colleague'). 'He was the son of the younger brother of his father.' Here the Egyptian term 'brother' is used for 'cousin'; cf. CRUM *CD*, p. 343a: *σνῆϋ ἰπνεϋρῆϋ*. Such usage is typical of 'classificatory kingship,' see SAHLINS, *Tribesmen*, pp. 11 and 68-73." Vittmann also reads: "Er hatte einen Verwandten, (einen) Sohn des jüngeren Bruders seiner Vaters." *Rylands 9*, 131. See further references in Ch. V.2 n. 115 above.

³⁰ Col. 5/ll. 16-17 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 21-22, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVII.

³¹ Col. 5/ll. 14-15 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 21, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVII.

³² Col. 6/ll. 1-2 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 23, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVIII. O'Connor appears to have assumed that this increase occurred in no less than four years, thereby inferring either that: (a) *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* had only been in office since the first regnal year of Psamtik I, or (b) that Pediese I had only been assisting him since the first regnal year of Psamtik I. The papyrus states neither. O'Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," 250-251.

³³ Col. 5/l. 20 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 22, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVII.

³⁴ Col. 6/l. 6 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 24, 132-133; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVIII.

³⁵ Col. 9/l. 12—col. 10/l. 1 in Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 39-42, 144-145; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXXI-XXXII.

control.³⁶ A similar view was advanced in 1971 by Graefe, who argued that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* had been elevated by Psamtik I as part of a stratagem to annex Upper Egypt to the Saïte realm: “Der erste Schritt dieser Politik [Psamtiks I] war im Jahre 4 die Unterstellung von ganz Oberägypten unter Peteese, Sohn des Ankhsheshonki, und seinen Neffen [sic] Peteese als Kollegen.”³⁷ Ritner’s discussions of Rylands IX add specificity to this view, asserting that, “[b]eginning with Psammetik [I],” the office of Harbor Master was “redesigned” by “expansion,” “replac[ing] the political domain of the early Libyan High Priests of Amon” and subordinating “the once-dominant ‘chief of the Meshwesh.’”³⁸ Thus, according to Griffith, Graefe, and Ritner, the elevation of the Harbor Master to a position of authority over all of Upper Egypt represented the Saïte regime’s first attempt in the region to replace tribal aristocracies with state institutions.

However, other authors have reached different conclusions from the very same passage in Rylands IX. An influential study by Wessetzky concluded that Psamtik I had instead deliberately curtailed the authority of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* by compelling the latter to share his duties with Pediese I.³⁹ According to Wessetzky, this division of power between two officials was implemented by the Saïte king in order to check the newly-expanded authority of the Harbor Master during his reign. More recently, Kahn has observed an apparent flaw in all of the above arguments, noting that “Tanutamun’s regnal years 2, 3, 4, [and] 8 are attested in Thebes and [so] *he* and not Psammetichus was recognized as the legitimate king in Thebes in those years.” Consequently, any appointments relating to the “Southland” between c. 664 and 657 BC cannot be assumed to have been made by Psamtik I, and Rylands IX’s suggestions to the contrary would simply reflect “backdating retrospectively according to Psammetichus’ regnal years in Lower Egypt, [while] disregarding Tanutamun’s sovereignty in Upper Egypt.”⁴⁰ Rylands IX has thus produced three different historical interpretations: (1) that Psamtik I expanded the authority of the Harbor Master in order to place Upper Egypt under a Saïte loyalist; (2) that Psamtik I divided the authority of that same office between two individuals in order to diminish the power of Upper Egypt; or (3) that neither stratagem can be attributed to Psamtik I, as the Southland was instead loyal to Tanutamani prior to 656 BC.

The heuristic potential of these three scenarios must nevertheless be qualified by certain reservations about the source itself. As Drenkhahn has observed, Rylands IX is clearly in some degree corrupt, for important details are at odds with evidence external to the narrative:⁴¹ column 10 of the papyrus recounts the decease of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* in Psamtik I’s regnal year 18,⁴² after which his replacement as Harbor Master, Pediese I, requested that Pharaoh provide him with an assistant: Somtutefnakht, son of the late *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*. Yet regnal year 18 is far too late for the appointment of Somtutefnakht to this office, as he is already attested with the title of “Harbor Master” (*wr ʿ3 n mry.t*) upon the Nitocris Adoption Stela—a text which is dated to Psamtik I’s ninth year—and the further depiction of Nitocris’s adoption as God’s Wife upon the so-called “Pi(ankh)y blocks” from the Mut Precinct of Karnak grants Somtutefnakht once again the title of *ʿ3 n mry.t*.⁴³ Even if one supposes that the Nitocris Adoption Stela were inscribed after year 9 and merely antedated to that year, the actual date of its composition should still precede year 18, for the stela features one titled official (Padiamunebnesutawy C) who ceded his post to a son (Horus) in year 14,

³⁶ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 75. Griffith in fact suggests multiple interpretations, but it seems to have been this one that has predominated in subsequent scholarship.

³⁷ Graefe, “Zwei Ergebnisse einer Inspektion des Grabes No. 196 im Assasif,” 242. Gyles even proposed that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* had participated in a Saïte conquest of the Kushite regime in Upper Egypt: “In the ‘Year IV of Psamtik I’, says Papyrus Rylands IX, the governor of Heracleopolis and Admiral of the Fleet defeated the king of Ethiopia and helped in an ‘inspection of the southlands.’” Gyles, *Pharaonic policies and administration*, 18.

³⁸ Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 338-339; *id.*, “End of the Libyan ‘Anarchy’ in Egypt,” 103.

³⁹ Wessetzky, “Die Familiengeschichte des Peteese.”

⁴⁰ Kahn, “Divided Kingdom,” 289.

⁴¹ Drenkhahn, “Eine Bemerkung zur Nitokris-Stele.”

⁴² Cf. however, the reservations expressed by Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 214 n. 69, who posits that translation as “year 8” may be preferable, despite the fact that this date is sandwiched between references to years 15 and 19 in the Rylands IX account.

⁴³ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI. For the so-called “Pi(ankh)y blocks,” see discussion and references in Ch. V.2.4 n. 262 above.

and another (Montuemhat) whose son (Nesptah B) replaced him by year 17 at the latest.⁴⁴ Consequently, the reference in Rylands IX to Somtutefnakht's appointment as "Harbor Master" during year 18 would appear to be in error. Similar doubts about the veracity of Rylands IX are raised by the very documents provided to support it: the two hieratic copies of stelae from years 14 and 34 record exemption decrees issued by *P3-di-3s.t s3 'nh-Ššq* and Pediese I, respectively, but, according to Vittmann, the issuance of such a decree would have been the prerogative of Pharaoh.⁴⁵ In fact, the *Königsnovelle* format of both documents would appear to suggest that they were actually patterned after a royal decree in the local temple and then modified in order to aggrandize the petitioner's ancestor.

If Rylands IX cannot be trusted as objective historical reportage, it also cannot be dismissed as complete fiction devoid of any historical content. The author and collator of the text has clearly imparted to his account a certain verisimilitude by including historical personages with their appropriate titles. Most conspicuous is the figure of Somtutefnakht, whose service to Psamtik I and title as "Harbor Master" (*3 n mr*) are attested outside of Rylands IX upon the Nitocris Adoption Stela (*l* 9) and "Pi(ankh)y block" 2.⁴⁶ Upon a headless black granite statue from Kom el-Qalah in the Memphite region (Cairo CG 653), his duties in this office are further elaborated by the designation of "Overseer of the Royal Crews" (*imy-r3 'pr 'h'w nsw.t*), and his recently-published statue in Richmond describes Somtutefnakht as the "Overseer of Northbound and Southbound River Traffic" (*imy-r3 hd hnt*).⁴⁷ Equally significant is the fact that Somtutefnakht's various monuments give him the same regional authority and priestly duties that are attributed to his father, *P3-di-3s.t s3 'nh-Ššq*, in Rylands IX: Somtutefnakht is "Overseer of Upper Egypt" (*imy-r3 Šm'w*) upon a granite kneeling statue from Balkim (south of Sebennyos), as well as upon naophorous statues from Ashmun el-Rumman, Ehnasya, and Sharia Wagh el-Birket (south of Heliopolis), and the latter statue also calls him "Overseer of the Priests of Heryshef."⁴⁸ Moreover, the presentation of Somtutefnakht to Psamtik I as a "man of the household of Pharaoh" within the narrative of Rylands IX (col. 10, *l* 4) finds confirmation upon the Ehnasya, Sharia Wagh el-Birket, and Richmond statues, each of which contains an inscription claiming that Somtutefnakht was born of a "king's bodily daughter" (*s3.t nsw n h.t=f*).⁴⁹ Rylands IX and Somtutefnakht's corpus of statuary are again consistent in their acknowledgment of only Saite royalty⁵⁰—a strong indication that the statements of royal filiation contained in each were references to the Saite house.⁵¹ In fact, the authentic elements of Rylands IX are not confined to details of prosopography: as Edakov has observed, the hieratic texts appended in support of the petition exhibit substantial differences from it in both grammar and vocabulary, suggesting an earlier composition as claimed in their respective datelines.⁵² That

⁴⁴ As first recognized by Drenkhahn, "Eine Bemerkung zur Nitokris-Stele," 116. For the decease of Padiamunebesutawy C and the installation of his son (Horus) in his place by Psamtik I's year 14, see pBrooklyn 47.218.3, col. I, *l* 1 (§29), and col. K, *l* 3 (§35), in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 22, 24-25, pls. 10, 12. For the decease of Montuemhat (A) and the installation of his son (Nesptah B) by year 17, see reference to pVienna 12.003 in *op. cit.*, 24. That Montuemhat was still alive in year 14 and possibly as late as year 16 is further attested by the graffito left by his mining expedition to Umm Huetat: Vikentiev, "Les trois inscriptions concernant la mine de plomb d'Oum Huetat," 180 fig. 1, 182.

⁴⁵ Vittmann, "Eine misslungene Dokumentenfälschung."

⁴⁶ Cairo JE 36327, *l* 9, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI.

⁴⁷ Cairo CG 653 in: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 197; Daressy, "Samtaui-Tafnekht," 30. Nomina of Psamtik I also in: Bakry, "Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte from the Delta," pls. 2-3; Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte," 112. For Richmond VMFA 51-19-4+64-60, see Leahy, "Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis," 204 fig. 7b, 206(i) a.

⁴⁸ Bakry, "Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte from the Delta," 21 fig. 7, 27, pls. 3, 5; Daressy, "Samtaui-Tafnekht," 29-33; Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte," 112. *Contra* Otto, Spiegelberg's transcription of the Sharia Wagh el-Birket statue does *not* specify that Somtutefnakht was the "Sohn des Prophetenvorstehers des Harsaphes." See: Spiegelberg, "Beiträge zu den demotischen Rylands Papyri," 176; Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit*, 10; Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte," 112.

⁴⁹ Spiegelberg, "Beiträge zu den demotischen Rylands Papyri," 176; Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 10; Daressy, "Samtaui-Tafnekht," 29; Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte," 112. Upon Cairo T 31.3.18.7, only *s3[.t] nsw [...]* is preserved.

⁵⁰ For the cartouches of Psamtik I upon statues of Somtutefnakht, see: Richmond VMFA 51-19-4+64-60 in Leahy, "Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis," 202; Sharia Wagh el-Birket statue in Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte," 112; Cairo CG 653 in Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 197, pl. 120; Tanta Magazine 694 in Bakry, "Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte from the Delta," 19-22, pls. 2-3; Cairo SR 286 in Perdu, *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes* I, 114-115 no. 23; Louvre E 25388 in Leahy, "Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis," 222-223.

⁵¹ Perdu, "De Stéphinatès a Nécho," 1232; *contra*: Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 275; Morkot and James, "Peftauawybast, King of Nen-Nesut."

⁵² Edakov argues that this contrast is also apparent between the main petition (col. 1/*l* 1—col. 5/*l* 12) and the historical excursus (col. 5/*ll* 13ff.): Edakov, "Comments on the Demotic Papyrus John Rylands Library 9," 156.

Rylands IX was also found together with older papyri—including two dated to the reign of Psamtik I and containing early Demotic oath formulae⁵³—would further seem to indicate that its author had archival documents at hand.

Rylands IX must therefore be placed somewhere within the broad spectrum between history and fiction, leaving three principal explanations: (1) The papyrus could indeed record a genuine petition submitted in good faith to the *snty* during the reign of Darius I, but one for which many details (especially dates) were poorly researched and then reported with undue certainty. If this were the case, the differentiation of fact from fiction would be prohibitively difficult for historians, as the vagaries of the petitioner’s research can hardly be anticipated. However, this good faith scenario does not answer Vittmann’s aforementioned objection, that the hieratic copies falsely credit to priests exemption decrees which would have been the prerogative of Pharaoh. Some measure of fabrication should perhaps then be suspected. (2) Rylands IX may represent a deliberate attempt on the part of a real petitioner to manipulate historical facts for personal gain. It is certainly noteworthy that his ancestors—especially Pediese I and II—are depicted throughout as such beneficent and irreproachable victims of local intrigue. If the text may be explained in this manner, then its deviations from historical fact may also be expected to follow a discernible pattern, with the details of family office and inheritance being especially vulnerable to self-serving distortion. Yet any such deception was clearly held in check to some degree by the desire for verisimilitude, because the appended hieratic documents are only indirectly related to the petitioner’s case. As Griffith noted, “if Peteêsi fabricated these documents in support of his petition, he would probably have made them agree more strikingly with the narrative.”⁵⁴ (3) Finally, Rylands IX may be a work of historical fiction, an entertaining tale woven together from archived contracts, legal petitions, and local lore. This was the view advocated by Wessetzky and more recently by Leahy, and it accords particularly well with the text’s hymnic conclusion.⁵⁵ Even so, such a classification does not entirely negate Rylands IX’s value as an historical source, for the scribe’s manifest use of archival material may have resulted in the inclusion of certain details from the past that are otherwise unavailable to the historian.⁵⁶

In many ways, Rylands IX presents a paradigm case for historical source criticism: a document potentially offering a wealth of detail for political, social, and cultural history, much of which is simultaneously qualified by uncertainty related to its author’s intent and his access to reliable information. Yet one familiar trope of amateur source criticism would appear to be of little use for Rylands IX: distance decay. Whether the text was written as a poorly-researched petition, a self-serving misrepresentation of historical facts, or a ludic interweaving of historical documents into fictional narrative, the resulting distortions cannot be assumed to increase in direct proportion to their chronological distance from the author himself. In fact, the litany of recent crimes for which the petitioner seeks redress must be counted among those details most vulnerable to any deliberate distortion. By contrast, for the earliest years of his recounted family history, the author would seem to have only a single discernible objective—to establish Pediese I’s original endowment with the priesthood at Teudjoi—and thus little other reason to deviate from the information available to him in the archival documents. As to the nature of that archival material at his disposal, we are not in a position to judge whether the collection of more recent documents was in any way superior to that preserved from earlier periods. If the papyri found together with Rylands IX are any indication, the chronological distribution of documents could have been extremely uneven; no less than two-thirds of the Rylands corpus at el-Hibeh derives from a narrow seven-year span in the middle of the sixth century (Rylands III-VIII, all *tempus* Amasis), and the corpus includes more total documents from the mid-seventh century (Rylands I-II, *tempus* Psamtik I) than from the late sixth century when Rylands IX was evidently collated.⁵⁷

⁵³ See discussion in Martin, “Saite Demoticisation of Southern Egypt,” 27-28.

⁵⁴ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 107.

⁵⁵ Wessetzky, “An der Grenze von Literature und Geschichte”; Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 219. In support of this view, it should be noted that even Abnormal Hieratic and early Demotic appear to have been used not only for administrative documents but also for literary composition. See pQueen’s College in Baines, Donker van Heel, and Fischer-Elfert, “Abnormal Hieratic in Oxford”; Baines, “Ancient Text in a Modern Library.”

⁵⁶ See discussion in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 678-693; Tait, “Demotic Literature,” 178; Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, 165.

⁵⁷ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* I, pls. I-XXII; *op. cit.* III, 44-60, 201-218.

As potential source material for the history of Middle Egypt during the mid-seventh century BC, Rylands IX cannot therefore be dismissed out of hand. To then regard Rylands IX as a primary source for that subject is, of course, only permissible by the most inclusive definition of that evidentiary category as advanced by historians: *faute de mieux*, Rylands IX contains “those pieces of information which stand in the most intimate relationship to an event or process in the present state of our knowledge.”⁵⁸ Yet the controversy over how to categorize Rylands IX is arguably subordinate to the related question of how to use it for the inquiry at hand—a comparison of Saïte administrative practice with its Kushite precedents in Middle Egypt. In this regard, the papyrus’s content may be productively judged through confrontation with documentary and archaeological evidence from the mid-seventh century BC. As the earliest official assigned to Middle Egypt within the Rylands IX account, the figure of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* assumes center stage. Three questions are of cardinal importance: (1) the historicity of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*, (2) the pharaoh(s) whom he served (if indeed any), and (3) the scope of his authority while in their service. Only after these questions have been addressed can the nature of administrative change across his career be accurately judged.

VI.3. Rylands IX: Historical Analysis

VI.3.1. The Historicity of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*

In the initial publication of Rylands IX, Griffith expressed doubts about the scope of authority granted to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in the papyrus, and he supported these doubts by citing the absence of the man’s name in the monumental record:

On turning to the published monuments, we find in them no reference to Peteêsi the ‘Master of the Shipping’ [i.e., the Harbor Master]. On the other hand, Semtutefnakhti appears in several inscriptions. . . . [W]hen we further perceive that the name of Semtutefnakhti is not accompanied by that of his father on any of his extant monuments, it may be doubted whether Peteêsi was ever really of much importance.⁵⁹

In subsequent historical literature, Griffith’s judgment has been cited as support for remarks that would cast doubt upon the very existence of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* as an historical personage. Thus, Drenkhahn asserted that, “[n]ach Aussage der vorhandenen historischen Inschriften ist überhaupt nur *Šm3-t3.wj-t3j=f-nh.t* belegt, *P3-dj-is* aber nicht,” and Mokhtar likewise concluded that, “[o]n turning to the monuments, we find no references to Peteêse.”⁶⁰ Quite recently, Leahy too has echoed Griffith’s skepticism, proposing that the *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* featured in Rylands IX may have been nothing more than a fictional character.⁶¹

Griffith’s influential judgment was to a large degree predicated upon his dismissal of a statue in Stockholm (Medelhavsmuseet NME 081) inscribed with the name of one *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*. “Peteêsi is a very common name,” Griffith observed, “[and] his father’s name ‘Anksheshonk, ‘life of Sheshonk’ or ‘as Sheshonk liveth,’ is found in texts of the 34th year of Darius from the Serapeum.”⁶² Moreover, Griffith objected that, though the Stockholm statue represents “a certain Peteêsi, son of ‘Anksheshonq and T . . . , nomarch of Coptos and priest, . . . his titles do not at all agree with those attributed to our Peteêsi on the stela [i.e., the stela quoted in Rylands IX].” For the inscribed statue in question, Griffith referred his reader only to “Lieblein, no. 1026.” Indeed, Item 1026 in Lieblein’s *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques* does credit “Stockholm Statue 81” with a rather spare inscription: Lieblein’s brief genealogical diagram names *ʿnh-Ššq* and the *nb.t pr T3w-t3w* (or possibly *T3-ıwf-t3-ıwf* or *T3-hy*) as the parents of the *ıry-p^c.t h3.ty-^c wr m Ntr.t imy-r3 hm.w-ntr P3-di-3s.t*.⁶³ Admittedly, “hereditary nobleman, mayor, Grandee in Netjeret [= Griffith’s ‘nomarch of Coptos?’], and Overseer of Priests” are not titles explicitly attributed to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in Rylands IX.

⁵⁸ Henige, “The Race is Not Always to the Swift,” 54.

⁵⁹ Griffith, *Papyri from the John Rylands Library* III, 72.

⁶⁰ Drenkhahn, “Bemerkung zur Nitokris Stele,” 115; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina*, 132.

⁶¹ Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 219.

⁶² Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 77 n. 7.

⁶³ Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, 335.

Yet the titles given in Lieblein’s *Dictionnaire* are not the only ones present upon the Stockholm statue. When the object was first published by Karl Piehl in 1892, a much fuller transcription was given, naming the specific gods for whom *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was priest: *imy-r3 ʿhm.w-ntr ʿHry-šfnsw t3.wy ʿhm-ntr Sbd(ʿy.t) ʿhm-ntr ʿInpw ʿhm-ntr ʿHwt-ʿHr*.⁶⁴ The sequence is revealing, for, as De Meulenaere would later observe:

D’après la mention du dieu Arsaphès, en tête de la liste, on peut supposer que la statue provient d’Hérakléopolis. La présence, dans le même contexte, de Sobek, Anoubis et Hathor, divinités principales respectivement du Fayoum et des 17^e et 22^e nomes de Haute Égypte situés à proximité d’Hérakléopolis, paraît confirmer cette hypothèse.⁶⁵

Like Rylands IX, the Stockholm statue names a Pediese who is a “Priest of Heryshef,” a “Priest of Sobek,” and a “son of Ankhsheshonq.” Griffith’s judgment that the titles upon the statue “do not at all agree with those attributed to our Peteési [in Rylands IX]” would therefore seem to have been reached without a proper examination of the statue itself. Moreover, the Pediese described on the statue is specifically an “Overseer of the Priests of Heryshef,” just as Somtutefnakht—the successor of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in Rylands IX—is called the “Overseer of the Priests of Heryshef” on his own Sharia Wagh el-Birket statue.⁶⁶ Griffith’s apparent translation of *wr m Ntr.t* as “nomarch of Coptos” would also appear to be incorrect, for the same title is borne by Tefnakht upon Pi(ankh)y’s Great Triumphal Stela and by several other individuals associated with the Saïte line and its bailiwick; *Ntr.t* is thus more likely a designation for Saïs, Buto, Behbeit el-Hagar, or another town within the traditional realm of the Saïte court.⁶⁷

While Stockholm NME 081 does not include the title of “Harbor Master” as attributed to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in Rylands IX, it must be remembered that even within *Somtutefnakht*’s sizable corpus of private statuary this office is seldom mentioned, and then rather obliquely: “Overseer of the Royal Crews” (*imy-r3 ʿpr ʿhʿ.w nsw.t*) and “Overseer of Northbound and Southbound River Traffic” (*imy-r3 ʿhd ʿhnt*).⁶⁸ No one has endeavored to propose that Somtutefnakht never held the title of “Harbor Master” (*ʿ3 n mr*), as it is consistently associated with his name in the royal inscriptions of the Nitocris Adoption Stela and the “Pi(ankh)y blocks.”⁶⁹ For reasons unclear, the title does not appear to have been emphasized upon private statuary,⁷⁰ and in this regard Stockholm NME 081 is no exception. If *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* never bears the title of “Harbor Master” outside of Rylands IX, this may be due to the simple fact that he was never mentioned within a royal inscription. As specified at length in Ch. VI.3.3 below, there are also broader contextual grounds for suspecting that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* would have exercised the duties of Harbor Master.

The *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* described upon the Stockholm statue thus shares a remarkable number of prosopographical traits with the *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* of Rylands IX: not only a father named Ankhsheshonq, but also priesthoods of Heryshef and Sobek, a demonstrable connection to Middle Egypt, and a position of high standing with the Saïte royal court. Furthermore, the *P3-di-3s.t* of the Stockholm statue cannot be equated with any of his later namesakes in Rylands IX, for none was a *s3 ʿnh-Ššq*; Pediese I was instead *s3 ʿIr.wt-rw* and Pediese II and III both *s3 Wd3-Sm3-t3.wy*.⁷¹ The evidence therefore supports provisional identification of the *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* upon the Stockholm statue with the *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* of Rylands IX—and, consequently, the latter’s existence as an historical personage living during the early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

⁶⁴ Piehl, “Quelques textes égyptiens.”

⁶⁵ De Meulenaere, “Trois Personnages Saïtes,” 251-252.

⁶⁶ Spiegelberg, “Beiträge zu den demotischen Rylands Papyri,” 176; Spiegelberg, “Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tefnakhte,” 112. See also clarification in n. 48 above.

⁶⁷ As noted by De Meulenaere, “Trois Personnages Saïtes,” 252-253. According to Yoyotte, the mother’s name as given upon Stockholm NME 081 would also suggest a maternal connection to Saïs: “Sa mere s’appelait *Twtw*, un nom typiquement saïte.” Yoyotte, “Les fondements géopolitiques du pouvoir saïte,” 16 n. 111.

⁶⁸ For Cairo CG 653, see: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 197; Daressy, “Samtaui-Tafnekht,” 30. For Richmond VMFA 51-19-4+64-60, see Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 204 fig. 7b, 206(i).

⁶⁹ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI.

⁷⁰ As Leahy observes, the title upon Somtutefnakht’s Richmond statue is noticeably situated “in the midst of a series of epithets describing the general character of Somtutefnakht’s influence, rather than in a formal title sequence.” Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 206(i).

⁷¹ Col. 5/l. 17, col. 14/l. 10, and col. 18/l. 11 in Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 22, 65-66, 86-87, 130-131, 162-163, 178-179; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVII, XXXVI, XL.

It remains then to be determined which pharaoh(s) this man would have served and the extent of his authority in their service.

VI.3.2. *The Master(s) of P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*

If the historicity of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* appears most likely, the nature of his relationships as translated from Rylands IX has nevertheless been drawn into question: Leahy has recently suggested that Somtutefnakht's filiation from *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, as expressed by the terms *šri* and *it* in Rylands IX, may have been a case of adoptive, rather than biological, kinship; Somtutefnakht's royal descent would then imply nothing at all about the wife or wives of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*.⁷² Under this scenario, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* could have been installed by a Kushite pharaoh during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty but then encouraged by the rising Saïte house to accept one of their own kin, Somtutefnakht, as fictive "son," assistant, and successor in office, and the titles linking *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* simultaneously to Middle Egypt and Saïs upon Stockholm NME 081 might then be explained as a result of his consent to adopt Somtutefnakht. Were this the case, the office of Harbor Master would have been co-opted by Saïs in a manner not unlike that envisaged by Wessetzky. Leahy's hypothesis of fictive paternity is at least conceivable, for the name of Somtutefnakht's mother is never paired upon his statuary with that of any father.

Yet it would be a rash historian indeed who promoted Leahy's suggestion as the most probable of all explanations, for the weight of the evidence would appear to be slightly against it. The only surviving remembrance of Somtutefnakht's installation as Harbor Master—Papyrus Rylands IX—relates a markedly different state of affairs than that proposed by Leahy. According to the Rylands IX account, Somtutefnakht was recommended not by the Saïte king—nor even by his court—but rather *to* him by Pediese I, on the grounds that Somtutefnakht was already the designated heir of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*; in the papyrus, Pediese I informs Pharaoh that "*P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, the Harbor Master, *has his son*; he is a man of the household of Pharaoh, an excellent man, and his name is Somtutefnakht."⁷³ As Leahy has justly cautioned, the role which Pediese I actually played in this appointment must be seriously doubted, for the papyrus's author may have simply inserted this ancestor into the narrative to support his own claim upon priestly office.⁷⁴ Equally suspicious is the claim that Pediese I was responsible even for the Saïte pharaoh's *knowledge* of Somtutefnakht—likely a Saïte royal kinsman! However, the author of Rylands IX would have had little discernible reason to then fabricate the relationship between Somtutefnakht and *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*; after all, Pediese I's intervention upon Somtutefnakht's behalf would appear all the more magnanimous if the latter were *not* already the heir of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*. Consequently, the statement in Rylands IX that Somtutefnakht was the son of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* is best interpreted as a detail which has survived distortion, rather than one that was produced by it. Likewise, if the attribution of Stockholm NME 081 as argued above proves justified, then the title of *wr m Ntr.t* as borne by *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* would seem a remarkable honor for an incumbent Herakleopolitan official who had merely conceded to adopt a Saïte scion as successor; the title is more easily explained if *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* was himself wedded to a Saïte princess.⁷⁵ It would therefore seem most reasonable to conclude that the terms *šri* and *it* were employed in Rylands IX with their common meanings of "(biological) son" and "(biological) father," referring to Somtutefnakht as the child of the incumbent Harbor Master, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*.

Of course, these facts alone do not prove that it was Psamitik I, or indeed any other Saïte dynast, who first installed *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* in administrative office. Egypt was full of officials in the mid-seventh century BC who had first been installed under Kushite rule but then proceeded to nail their colors to the Saïte mast after the Assyrian invasion—most notable among them, the Mayor of Thebes Montuemhat.⁷⁶

⁷² Leahy, "Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis," 218.

⁷³ Rylands IX col. 10/ll. 3-4 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 43, 146-147, 451; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXXII.

⁷⁴ Leahy, "Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis," 218.

⁷⁵ Another statue in the Lichatscheff collection inscribed with the name of a *wr m Ntr.t P3-di-3s.t* and the cartouches of *W3h-ib-Rʿ P-s-m-t-k* (i.e., Psamitik I) may belong to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, as the other Pediese known to have served Psamitik I (Pediese I) is nowhere attested with the title of *wr m Ntr.t*. Turajeff, "Einige unedierte Saïtica in russischen Sammlungen," 160.

⁷⁶ See Ch. IV.2 above.

It might therefore seem probable that the marriage of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* to a Saïte princess would have occurred under Psamtik I’s reign after the exit of Taharqo from Egyptian soil.

Yet Rylands IX and the aforementioned statues are not the only evidence relevant to this question. As attested on both the Nitocris Adoption Stela and “Pi(ankh)y block” 2, Somtutefnakht was evidently old enough by Psamtik I’s regnal year 14 (c. 651 BC, or even by year 9 = c. 656 BC) to be credited with the title of Harbor Master, and the Saïte king even allowed Somtutefnakht at that time to officiate the arrival of Nitocris at the quay of Thebes for her installation as Divine Adoratrice of Amun.⁷⁷ Given that Somtutefnakht enjoyed such royal favor so early in the reign of Psamtik I, it would appear most likely that Somtutefnakht’s mother, the “king’s bodily daughter,” was a Saïte princess wedded to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* many years before 664 BC.⁷⁸ That *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was allied to the Saïte royal court even during the reign of Taharqo would therefore seem the most defensible conclusion.

In theory, such an alliance between *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* and the Saïtes could have begun quite early. By 651 BC at the latest, his son was a leading official, and, if Rylands IX is to be believed, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was already considered “old” by 661 BC and was then deceased by 646 BC.⁷⁹ Pérez Die’s excavations in the Third Intermediate Period necropolis at Ehnasya el-Medina (Herakleopolis) have shown the typical lifespan to be approximately forty years during this period, and, as a nobleman exempted from the more onerous forms of labor, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* may well have surpassed that mark.⁸⁰ Consequently, his relationship to the Saïte court could have lasted across the better part of what Kitchen has termed the “Proto-Saïte Dynasty.”⁸¹ Kees would further infer that not only Somtutefnakht but even *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* himself was raised at the Saïte court and presumably owed his ascent to its patronage: “Nach der Gesamtlage schiene es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass Peteêse am Hofe der Äthiopienkönige in Theben aufwuchs, eher wird man an die Residenz einer der libyschen Restkönigtümer in Unterägypten, vielleicht Memphis oder Saïs, zu denken haben.”⁸² The possibility that he maintained this relationship across much of the reign of Taharqo raises questions about his political loyalties, for at least one of those Saïte magnates—Shepesre Tefnakht—is argued by Perdu to have held aloof of Taharqo’s regime and claimed for himself royal titles.⁸³ It is tempting to suppose then that the manifest and possibly quite prolonged allegiance of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* to the Saïte cause would have alienated him as well from the rival Kushite court. Yet such a conclusion rather begs the question of Kushite policy: it presumes that the officials of Middle Egypt could not serve two masters simultaneously, based upon the belief that the Kushite regime would not have countenanced Saïte loyalists within its own administration. Such an assumption must be subjected to a critical examination before it can be taken on board.

The theory that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* served only Saïte masters has been challenged upon two overlapping grounds: prosopography and geography. Kitchen’s prosopographic challenge to this theory is based

⁷⁷ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI; Drenkhahn, “Bemerkung zur Nitokris-Stele,” 116.

⁷⁸ If the union of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* and this princess had taken place only after 664 BC, then their son, Somtutefnakht, would have been no more than fourteen years old—and more likely no more than nine years old—when he officiated the arrival of Nitocris at Thebes in his capacity as Harbor Master. Such a precocious elevation appears most unlikely, and thus it may be safely assumed that his birth—and thus his parents’ union—occurred sometime during the reign of Taharqo.

⁷⁹ Col. 5/l. 20 and col. 9/l. 20—col. 10/l. 1 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 22-23, 41-42, 130-131, 144-145; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVII, XXXI-XXXII.


⁸⁰ Pérez Die, “Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna,” 317. Nevertheless, according to pRylands IX col. 10/l. 10, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was interred at *Pr-wsr-î-îr-îr* (Abusir el-Meleq), so a comparison of the average age in that necropolis during the seventh century BC would be even more useful if published. See: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 44, 146-147, 452 n. 1000; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXXII.

⁸¹ Kitchen, *TIP*, 468 Table 4.

⁸² Kees, *Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat*, 279.

⁸³ As proposed by Perdu, “De Stéphinatès a Néchao,” 1227 (emphasis added); but cf. Kahn, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt,” 141-148, as well as discussion in Ch. VII.2-VII.3 below. For Shepesre Tefnakht’s donation stela, now in the Michailides Collection, see: Yoyotte, “Notes et documents pour servir a l’histoire de Tanis,” 38-39 figs. 1-2; with further bibliography in Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 672 (24.1.0). Yoyotte proposed a Bubastite provenance for the stela, but Perdu has recently challenged this location. Perdu, “De Stéphinatès a Néchao,” 1224 n. 44, 1231 n. 81. For Shepesre Tefnakht’s donation stela from Saïs in Athens (Dimitriou Collection); see: el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, 37-53 doc. 3, pl. VII; further bibliography in Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 672 (24.1.8); Tzachou-Alexandri et al., *World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, 161.

upon a cartouche “effacé” on the Stockholm statue of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* which De Meulenaere assumed to contain the name of Psamtik I. *Contra* De Meulenaere’s suggestion, Kitchen reasons that the “erased cartouche . . . suggests a 25th Dynasty date.”⁸⁴ On this point, Kitchen’s logic is quite sound, for Psamtik II’s campaign of *damnatio memoriae* during this era is widely attested against Twenty-Fifth Dynasty cartouches—and even (with perhaps less virulent intent) against those of his father, Necho II—but not against any of the Saïte dynasts whom *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* could have served during his lifetime: “Stephinales” (Tefnakht II), Necho I, or Psamtik I.⁸⁵ Consequently, an erased cartouche upon the statue can safely be assumed to contain a Kushite nomen or prenamen.

Yet Kitchen’s conclusion appears to have been based upon an incomplete examination of the Stockholm statue. As Vittmann notes of “Stockholm 81,” “[e]s liegt lediglich die alte Publikation von K. PIEHL, in *Actes du 8^{ème} Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1892, 47-49 (ohne Abbildungen) vor.”⁸⁶ In that publication, the cartouche in question is merely described as “un nom pharaonique, malheureusement effacé . . . [a]uprès du bras gauche de la statue,” and it is transcribed rather ambiguously as .⁸⁷ Statue NME 081 is not currently on view at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, and the museum’s files do not include a photograph of sufficient resolution to allow examination of the cartouche on the statue’s left arm.⁸⁸ However, unpublished photographs of the same statue are kept in the late Bernard Bothmer’s Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture (CLES) at the Brooklyn Museum, and one of these reveals quite clearly that the cartouche was lost in severe breakage to the statue, leaving no actual indication that it had been deliberately erased prior to the damage (Fig. 67).⁸⁹ As a result, a Kushite royal nomen cannot be inferred upon the Stockholm statue of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, and, given the presence of *wr m Ntr.t* upon the statue’s front apron, there would seem to be little reason to resist De Meulenaere’s suggestion that the cartouche instead contained a Saïte royal nomen.

While the statue is more likely to bear a Saïte nomen, this does not then preclude the possibility that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* served a Kushite master earlier (or even simultaneously) during his career. His possible relationship to the Kushite court may be supported by certain details of Egypt’s political geography prior to 657 BC. In the Great Triumphal Stela of Pi(ankh)y, Herakleopolis is unambiguously identified as a vassal of the Kushite king, and its determined (and ultimately successful) resistance to Saïte annexation is rewarded with a unique exemption: among all of the sites visited by Pi(ankh)y in Middle and Lower Egypt, only Herakleopolis is not compelled to render its grain to the Temple of Amun in Thebes.⁹⁰ José Lull’s comparative analysis of the tomb contents at Herakleopolis and el-Kurru discerned further evidence of a political alliance between the two sites, a conclusion now echoed by the current excavator of the Herakleopolitan necropoleis, Carmen Pérez Die.⁹¹ Textual evidence of the same relationship is more

⁸⁴ Kitchen, *TIP*, 402-403 n. 936.

⁸⁵ Yoyotte, “Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II”; Gozzoli, “Statue BM EA 37891 and the Erasure of Necho II’s Names.” Erasure of the final grapheme would seem to exclude the prenamen of Necho II from consideration, for Psamtik II typically erased only the medial grapheme of Necho II’s prenamen (*Wḥm-ib-Rʿ*) in order to replace it with his own (*Nḫr-ib-Rʿ*). On similar grounds, any erasure of the initial or medial graphemes would equally seem to exclude the prenamen of Shabaqo (*Nḫr-k3-Rʿ*). I thank Roberto Gozzoli for sharing with me his expertise on the subject of Saïte *damnatio memoriae*; any errors of interpretation are entirely my own. If the chronology of Rylands IX is to be believed, then Necho II may be excluded *a fortiori*: according to the account, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* was “old” by c. 660 BC (Psamtik I’s regnal year 4), was succeeded in office by 651 BC (regnal year 14) at the latest (more likely 656 BC—regnal year 9), and was deceased by c. 647 BC (regnal year 18). Even if the latter date is inaccurate, Somtutefnakht had clearly succeeded an aging *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* by 656/651 BC. Necho II did not assume the throne until four decades later (c. 610 BC), so *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* would easily have been a septuagenarian or even an octogenarian by that point.

⁸⁶ Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 387 n. 655.

⁸⁷ Piehl, “Quelques textes égyptiens,” 48.

⁸⁸ I thank curator Sofia Häggman and Ove Kaneberg of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm for their consultation.

⁸⁹ I thank curator Yekaterina Barbash of the Brooklyn Museum for her assistance in consulting the records of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture.

⁹⁰ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 70-76, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. IIc, VIII.

⁹¹ Lull, *Las tumbas reales egipcias del Tercer Periodo Intermedio*, 222; Pérez Die, “Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna,” 318. No Kushite royal names have been found at Herakleopolis during this era. However, one faience bezel ring discovered during Pérez Die’s excavations deserves some comment in this regard: “El nombre termina por *Stp-n-Rʿ* pero la lectura de la primera parte no es segura. Debajo del signo *Rʿ* hay un signo inidentificable (*n(y)*, o *nb*) además de la efigie de Maat y el signo anj. Este signo anj ¿es un signo autónomo?, o por el contrario, debe combinarse con el de Maat, ya que a menudo la diosa sujeta este signo. Lecturas posibles: *N(y)-M3ʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*; *N(y)-ʿnh-M3ʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*; *Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*; *Nb-ʿnh-M3ʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ* . . . Se ha



Fig. 67. Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NME 081. © Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.

difficult to track across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, but it is certainly noteworthy that Tanutamani’s Dream Stela mentions no resistance south of Memphis.⁹² Moreover, the father of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in Rylands IX is designated as a “Priest of Amunresonter”—i.e., Amun of Thebes—and later in the same text his cousin, Pediese I, sends “his wives and children to go up to *Niw.t* (Thebes)” where he places them “in the house of his father which was in *Niw.t*.”⁹³ *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* would therefore seem to be descended from a priestly line at Thebes—the stronghold of Kushite rule—and installed as a resident priest at Herakleopolis—a site with historic ties to the Kushite court—but, by the reign of Taharqo at the latest, he became a “Grandee in Netjeret” and an affine of the rival Saïte house. His loyalties may have changed, or perhaps they were divided for some portion of his career.

The chronology of this change or division of loyalties may be reflected in his own sphere of authority. If *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was “Overseer of the Southland” (*imy-r3 P3-t3-rsy*) and “Harbor Master . . . from the southern fortress of Memphis to Aswan,” as claimed in Rylands IX, then he should have exercised this authority for some length of time before the offices were ceded to his son as attested on the Nitocris Adoption Stela—i.e., before 651 BC at the latest, and more likely before 656 BC.⁹⁴ Taking the Rylands IX account at its word, Kahn has therefore deduced that any “Overseer of the Southland” during those years

emitido la hipótesis que estas sortijas de fayenza eran ‘Faïences [sic] copies thought to have been distributed as gifts or token of royal favour.’ Examination of the accompanying plate would seem to slightly favor the first of the readings suggested above, in which case the bezel might bear the prenomen of Kashta (*N(y)-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ*) with a typical Ramesside epithet: *stp-n-Rʿ*. However, if this reading is incorrect, the bezel might instead bear the prenomen of Ramses VI: *Nb-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ*. Pérez Die, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina* I, 74 §57, 140 fig. 28, 167 Lám XXV.

⁹² Cairo JE 48863, ll. 16-17, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IIa-II.

⁹³ Col. 5/l. 16, col. 8/l. 16, col. 9/ll. 17-20, in: Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 21-22, 35, 40-41, 130-131, 140-141, 144-145; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVII, XXX-XXXI.

⁹⁴ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII.

would have served the king who was recognized in that region: Tanutamani, the Kushite.⁹⁵ Though Kahn does not make note of it, such a scenario would necessarily entail some division of loyalties on the part of *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq*, for he was simultaneously wedded to a “king’s bodily daughter” in the Saïte royal house—and it would further reflect some measure of administrative continuity across the transition from the Twenty-Fifth to Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, with the Southland remaining under the command of a single Herakleopolitan line. By contrast, Griffith was inclined to doubt whether *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* was truly “Overseer of the Southland” before the ascension of Psamtik I, for it is only Rylands IX which attributes to *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* such extensive authority. Consequently, Griffith proposed that the office was bestowed upon *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* quite late in life by Psamtik I, as part of a Saïte effort to subjugate Upper Egypt—an interpretation subsequently elaborated by Graefe and Ritner.⁹⁶ Under this scenario, the loyalty of *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* would have changed at some point during his lifetime, deviating from his family’s Theban affinities and turning instead to the Saïte cause—and this shift would further entail administrative change, with the Southland newly entrusted to a Herakleopolitan line. The question of which masters *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* served and when he did so is thus contingent upon the geographic scope of his authority across his career: when did *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* first become “Overseer of the Southland” and “Harbor Master from the southern fortress of Memphis to Aswan?”

VI.3.3. *The Authority of P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq*

Rylands IX attributes to *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* some authority over Upper Egypt in two different offices: Harbor Master and Overseer of the Southland. In the first, his territory is explicitly bounded as far south as Aswan.⁹⁷ For the second, the Southland appears to denote a territory separate from Teudjoi, as voyages are twice recounted in Rylands IX passing from one to the other: during the reign of Psamtik I, Pediese I travels from Teudjoi “to the Southland,” and again in the reign of Darius I, Ahmose, son of Padihorenepe, travels “from the Southland to Teudjoi.”⁹⁸ Consequently, the “Southland” would seem to correspond roughly to Upper Egypt, as distinct from Middle Egypt.⁹⁹ Rylands IX therefore places Upper Egypt under the command of a Herakleopolitan official even before 651 BC, and more likely before 656 BC.¹⁰⁰

Griffith’s skepticism about this part of the Rylands IX account was based upon two observations. Firstly, he noted that, outside of Rylands IX, *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* is never attributed the titles of Harbor Master and Overseer of the Southland.¹⁰¹ Only one other monument of *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* has survived—the fragmentary Stockholm statue (Medelhavsmuseet NME 081) with the short biographical inscription upon its apron¹⁰²—and, indeed, it does not include the titles of *3 n mr* or *imy-r3 P3-t3-rsy*. By contrast, supervision of riverine commerce and command of Upper Egypt are both claimed in the monumental record for the

⁹⁵ Kahn, “Divided Kingdom,” 289. A new stela of Tanutamani found at Karnak is to be published by Dominique Valbelle in the forthcoming proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies, held in Vienna, Austria, in 2008. I thank Valbelle for sharing with me this information.

⁹⁶ Graefe, “Zwei Ergebnisse einer Inspektion des Grabes No. 196 im Assassif,” 242; Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 338-339; *id.*, “End of the Libyan ‘Anarchy’ in Egypt,” 103.

⁹⁷ Col. 5/ll. 14-18 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 21-22, 130-131; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXVII. Griffith and Vittmann have both taken Aswan to be the southern boundary of his authority as Overseer of the Southland. Consequently, Vittmann concludes that “[d]a nach gehörte also alles Gebiet von Memphis bis Assuan bereits zum Südländ.” Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 288. However, this is not the only possible reading of the two passages in question. In col. 5, ll. 14-15, the papyrus states that *wn-n3w P3-t3-rsy hn n P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq p3 3 n mr n t3 t3 rs(y) n Mn-nfr š3c Šwnw*. The phrase “from the southern fortress of Memphis to Aswan” is placed in apposition to “Harbor Master,” not to “the Southland”; it may therefore refer to the Harbor Master’s sphere of authority, not to that of the Overseer of the Southland. Four lines later in the text, the apposition is less ambiguous, for “the Southland” is not mentioned at all, so that the phrase “from the southern fortress to Aswan” is paired only with office of “Harbor Master”: *P3-di-3s.t p3 3 n mr mtw=f p3y wn-n3w mšd n t3 n t3 rs(y) š3c Šwnw* (col. 5/l. 18).

⁹⁸ Col. 1/l. 2 and col. 7/l. 13 in: Vittmann, *Rylands 9*, 1, 30, 116-117, 136-137; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXIII, XXIX.

⁹⁹ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 65 n. 2.

¹⁰⁰ As per Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII.

¹⁰¹ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 72.

¹⁰² But see also a statue of unclear attribution from the Lichatscheff collection: Turajeff, “Einige unedierte Saitica in russischen Sammlungen,” 160.

son of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, Somtutefnakht, with titles related to one or the other responsibility invariably appearing upon his statues from Balkim, Ashmun el-Rumman, Ehnasya, Sharia Wagh el-Birket, and Kom el-Qalah, as well as upon the Nitocris Adoption Stela and “Pi(ankh)y block” 2.¹⁰³ Secondly, Griffith doubted that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* would have held the title of *imy-r3 P3-t3-rsy* across the same span that Montuemhat, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet claimed to be *imy-r3 Šmʿ.w mi qd=s*, “Overseer of Upper Egypt in its entirety.”¹⁰⁴ Assuming the titles to be in conflict with one another, Griffith questioned whether the less ubiquitous *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* “was every really of much importance.”¹⁰⁵

Yet, as Vittmann has observed, even the title of *imy-r3 Šmʿ.w* itself was clearly held concurrently by more than one official during this period.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the individuals named above, the title was also used by: the Chief Steward of the God’s Wife, Ankhor; the Viziers Nespaqashuty C and D; the Mayors of Thebes Nesptah B and Khonsirdis; the Fourth Prophet of Amun Nespamedu and his son Nespaqashuty; and the General Wahibre. Vittmann asserts: “Eines ist von vornherein klar: es hat mehr als nur einen Träger des Titels zu einer bestimmten Zeit gegeben.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the Serapeum Stela of Pasenhor demonstrates that the title of “Overseer of Upper Egypt” was claimed across no less than seven generations of “Overseers of the Priests in Herakleopolis” (*imy-r3 hm.w ntr m Hnn-n(y)-sw.t*) from the middle of the ninth century BC to the middle of the eighth century BC.¹⁰⁸ Vittmann concludes:

Der Vater des *Sm3-t3wj-t3f-nht P3-dj-3st* führt in den uns bekannten Belegen den Title “Vorsteher von Oberägypten” nicht. Da aber in pRylands IX ausdrücklich die Rede davon ist, daß ihm Oberägypten unterstellt war, kam ihm dieser Titel wohl *ex officio* zu, sofern die Angaben des Rylands IX überhaupt zuverlässig sind.¹⁰⁹

Thus, omission of this title from the Stockholm statue should not be taken to indicate that the office was not his own: in Rylands IX itself, he is given a title (*imy-r3 mšʿ*) within the hieratic copy of the destroyed stela which is not mentioned for him elsewhere in the papyrus.¹¹⁰ In fact, the latter office was also held by his son, Somtutefnakht, as well as by two Priests of Heryshef during the tenth and ninth centuries BC, and one Hemptah in the eighth century BC combined the Generalship with the titles of *imy-r3 Šmʿ.w* (“Overseer of Upper Egypt”) and *imy-r3 hm.w ntr m Nn-nsw* (“Overseer of the Priests in Herakleopolis”).¹¹¹ Across the Third Intermediate Period, command of Upper Egypt had been claimed by several Herakleopolitan officials, often in concert with the duties attributed to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* in Rylands IX: the Generalship and the Priesthood of Heryshef. To refuse the position of Overseer of the Southland to *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* simply because it and he are mentioned infrequently together in the surviving record is to overlook the broader context of Herakleopolitan officialdom during the Third Intermediate Period.

A similar point must be argued for his title as “Harbor Master” in Rylands IX. Until recent decades, the earliest known attestation of such an office outside of Rylands IX was for his son, Somtutefnakht, leading Griffith to conclude that “the title of ‘Master of the Shipping’ [i.e., Harbor Master] is as yet known only in the reign of Psammetichus I.”¹¹² Leahy has therefore proposed of the office that “its origin lies in the brief period of Assyrian intervention in Egypt.”¹¹³ If this were the case, then the office might be interpreted as an invention of the Saïte regime, with *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* and Somtutefnakht as *novi homines* in

¹⁰³ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI; Bakry, “Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte from the Delta,” 19-33, pls. 2-5; Daressy, “Samtaui-Tafnekht,” 29-33; Spiegelberg, “Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte,” 112; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 197.

¹⁰⁴ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 74.

¹⁰⁵ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 72.

¹⁰⁶ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 190.

¹⁰⁷ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 190.

¹⁰⁸ S. Louvre IM 2846 in Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum* I, 30-31 no. 31; *op. cit.* II, pl. X no. 31. See also: Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 17-21 no. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 190.

¹¹⁰ Col. 22/l. 1 in: Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 103, 194-195; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XLIV.

¹¹¹ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII; Mokhtar, *Ihnasya el-Medina*, 127-131.

¹¹² Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 73.

¹¹³ Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis,” 216.

a newly centralized and detribalized administration—as indeed postulated by Griffith, Graefe, and Ritner.¹¹⁴ However, with the publication of the Akoris Stela of Osorkon III (Fig. 68) by Den Tomimura in a site report issued by the Paleological Association of Japan, the history of this office in Middle Egypt may now be extended even into the early eighth century BC. Lines 5-6 of the stela read:

h3 pn smn.ty p3 I2 n g3dy n nh(h) r Pr 'Imn-Rc-m3i-hnty tp t3 mr (hr)-.wy n3 imy.w-r3 mr

On this day, there were established twelve vessels of oil for the estate of Amun-Re-the-Lion-of-the-South (i.e., Amun-Re of Akoris) upon the riverbank under the supervision of the Overseers of the Harbor . . .¹¹⁵

It is perhaps not too much to suppose that the office of “Overseer of the Harbor” (*imy-r3 mr*) at Akoris was a regional precedent for that of “Harbor Master” (*3 n mr*) attested at Herakleopolis in Rylands IX for *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* and upon the “Pi(ankh)y blocks” and the Nitocris Adoption Stela for his son, Somtutefnakht.¹¹⁶ There is consequently little reason to assume that the position was newly-created under Psamtik I.¹¹⁷ Thus, the authority claimed by officials in Middle Egypt does not appear to have undergone any radical change with the ascension of the Saïtes: the region’s harbor towns were still associated with the formalized supervision of riverine commerce, and Herakleopolitan Priests of Heryshef continued to invoke command of Upper Egypt in variable combination with the Generalship of Herakleopolis and even occasionally the Priesthood of Amunresonter,¹¹⁸ just as their predecessors had done across the Third Intermediate Period.

The evidence presented thus far demonstrates only that command of Upper Egypt was *claimed* by Herakleopolitan officials before *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq*; in order to determine whether some taxation of Upper Egypt might actually have been *exercised* from Herakleopolis as claimed in Rylands IX, it is necessary to look beyond vainglorious titularies to the evidence of economic history. For this subject, much of the surviving documentation for the Third Intermediate Period through the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty derives from Thebes—yet, even in this Theban corpus of Abnormal Hieratic contracts, consistent reference is made to the “Treasury of Heryshef.” As Müller-Wollerman has observed of these contracts: “Harsaphes, griechisch Herakles, ist keine der Hauptgottheiten Ägyptens, sondern vorwiegend bekannt als Lokalgott von Herakleopolis.”¹¹⁹ Such references begin during the reign of Takelot (either I or II) in the ninth century BC, and they continue for over two hundred years across the entirety of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty:

¹¹⁴ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 75; Graefe, “Zwei Ergebnisse einer Inspektion des Grabes No. 196 im Assassif,” 242; Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 338-339; *id.*, “End of the Libyan ‘Anarchy’ in Egypt,” 103.

¹¹⁵ Tomimura, “Osorkon Stele.” I thank Nozomu Kawai of Waseda University for providing me with access to the publication with photographic plate. For a transliteration and translation only, see also Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 421-423 no. III. Ritner’s decision to read *n3* as the plural definite article would seem preferable here to Tomimura’s theory that *n3* was a genitive.

¹¹⁶ For the title of *3 n mr* used for Somtutefnakht in Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, see Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” pl. VIII. Manuelian would subsume the preceding adjective *wr* within the title (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 93 n. 533, 300), but this combination is not attested elsewhere; in fact, its redaction as such in l. 2 of the infamous “(Greater) Necho Scarab” was precisely one of the features that alerted Erman and Schäfer to the scarab’s inauthenticity. See Erman and Schäfer, “Der angebliche ägyptische Bericht über die Umschiffung Afrikas,” 961. Regarding the equivalence of offices argued here, the *imy-r3 mr* of Osorkon III’s Akoris Stela is certainly no less a parallel for *3 n mr* than the title of *imy-r3 hd hnt* which appears in l. 3 on the front of the base of Richmond VMFA 51-19-4+64-60—a title which Leahy has recently proposed “might then correspond broadly to ‘master of shipping.’” See Leahy, “Somtutefnakht of Herakleopolis,” 204 fig. 7b, 206(i).

¹¹⁷ *Pace* Ritner, the Akoris Stela of Osorkon III does not establish the “lesser significance” of the Harbor Masters before the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Ritner, “Fragmentation and Reintegration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 340 n. 92. The text reports only that the riverbank at Akoris was under their supervision; it does not state that only Akoris was under their supervision. The boundaries of their authority are not specified in any way. Given the broader territorial claims of Herakleopolitan officials to Upper Egypt/the Southland during this period, there would seem little reason to assume that the early Harbor Masters were any less ambitious than their Twenty-Sixth Dynasty successors.

¹¹⁸ Cairo JE 65841 in Gauthier, “Un curieux monument des dynasties libustites d’Héracléopolis,” 18.

¹¹⁹ Müller-Wollerman, “Ägypten auf dem Weg zur Geldwirtschaft,” 1353.



Fig. 68. Akoris Stela of Osorkon III. Courtesy of Kawanishi Hiroyuki, Akoris Archaeological Mission.

Table D. The Treasury of Heryshef in the Abnormal Hieratic Corpus.

Document	Transliteration	Translation	Tempus
pBerlin ÄMP 3048, l. 3 ¹²⁰	<i>dbn 5 ḥḏ p3 pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i>	“five deben of silver of the Treasury of Heryshef”	Takelot (I or II), year 13
pLeiden F 1942/5.15, ll. 3-4, 16, 19 ¹²¹	<i>p3 dbn 3 qd 1 ḥḏ pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i>	“the three deben and one kite of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef”	Pi(ankh)y, year 21
pLouvre E 3228e, ll. 4-7, 12, 15, 18-19, 21-22 ¹²²	<i>p3 dbn 2 qd 2 ½ ḥḏ n pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i> (ll. 4, 12, 15, 18-19, 21-22)	“the two deben and two-and-a-half kite of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef” (ll. 4, 12, 15, 18-19, 21-22)	Shabaqo, year 10
	<i>ḥc ḥḏ n pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf dbn</i> [2 qd 2 ½] (l. 5)	“sum of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef: [two] deben [and two-and-a-half kite]” (l. 5)	
	<i>ḥḏ n pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i> (ll. 6-7)	“silver of the Treasury of Heryshef” (ll. 6-7)	
pLouvre E 3228d (old “a”) (ll. 4-5, 12-13, 20, 23) ¹²³	<i>p3 dbn 2 qd 4 ḥḏ n pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i> (ll. 4-5, 12-13, 20, 23)	“the two deben and four kite of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef” (ll. 4-5, 12-13, 20, 23)	Taharqo, year 3
MMA 35.3.318 (wooden tablet) (vo. ll. 5-6) ¹²⁴	<i>p3 2 ½ dbn [ḥḏ n pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf]</i> (ll. 5-6)	“the two-and-a-half deben [of silver of the Treasury of Hery]shef” (ll. 5-6)	Taharqo(?), ¹²⁵ year 3(?) ¹²⁶
pMichaelides 1 (pBM EA 10907) (ro. ll. 5-6) ¹²⁷	<i>p3 dbn 1 qd 3 pr.(wy)-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i> (ro. ll. 5-6)	“the one deben and three kite of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef” (ro. ll. 5-6) ⁹	Taharqo(?), ¹²⁹ year 7
pLouvre E 3168, ll. 3-4, 5-6 ¹³⁰	<i>qd.t 2 ¼ n ḥḏ [n] pr.[wy]-ḥḏ Ḥry-šf</i> (ll. 3-4, 5-6)	“two-and-a-quarter kite of silver of (the) Treasury of Heryshef” (ll. 3-4, 5-6)	Taharqo(?), ¹³¹ year 16 ¹³²

The word order of these references may be significant: it is consistently the means of payment, and not its unit of measure, that is genitively linked to the Treasury of Heryshef, and, in one instance, the unit

¹²⁰ Möller, “Ein ägyptischer Schuldschein der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie,” 300.

¹²¹ Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh Py,” 11. Malinine assumed another reference to “deben d’argent de la Trésorie d’Harsaphès” in pVatican 10574, but the place where such reference might be expected in the contract at the end of l. 4 is lost in damage to the papyrus. Malinine, “Une vente d’esclave à l’époque de Psammétique Ier,” 121, 123, 129. The text was originally dated by him to the reign of Psamtik I in its first publication, but according to Menu he later re-classified the text as belonging to the reign of Pi(ankh)y: “Dans les diverse reprises de ce texte lors de ses course, M. Malinine avait corrigé la date en: ‘An 22... sous le pharaon Pi(ankh)y’, l’épithète ‘fils d’Isis, aimé d’Amon’ s’appliquant aux rois kouchites, c’est P[eye] qui est désigné et non P[sammétique].” Menu, “Cessions de services et engagements pour dette,” 75.

¹²² Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 35-42; *op. cit.* II, 14-17, pl. V.

¹²³ Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 43-49; *op. cit.* II, 17-20, pl. VI.

¹²⁴ Černý and Parker, “Abnormal Hieratic Tablet.”

¹²⁵ Černý and Parker, “Abnormal Hieratic Tablet,” 127: “[T]he tablet may be dated palaeographically to about the reign of Taharqa.”

¹²⁶ Černý and Parker, “Abnormal Hieratic Tablet,” 128.

¹²⁷ Donker van Heel, “Day in the Life of the Ancient Egyptian Goatherd Ityaa,” 156 fig. 3; with excellent photographs in *id.*, *Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book* I, 17-24.

¹²⁸ A later mention of the treasury on pMichaelides 2 (vo. ll. 4-5) does not specify the treasury in question. Donker van Heel, “Day in the Life of the Ancient Egyptian Goatherd Ityaa,” 164 fig. 7.

¹²⁹ Donker van Heel, “Day in the Life of the Ancient Egyptian Goatherd Ityaa,” 160: “The name of the scribe is in both papyri preceded by *p3 mtr-sh*, which points to a date in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty rather than the Twenty-sixth, when the name of the scribe was invariably preceded by *m-sh*. Also, the mention of a regnal year 7 in both P. Michaelides 1 and 2—and assuming that these papyri were indeed written in Thebes—rules out the reign of Psamtik I, who was by that time not yet the recognized ruler in Thebes. Regnal year 7 of Taharka being 684 BC, this in my view represents the latest date at which P. Michaelides 1 and 2 may have been written, although a dating to an earlier period cannot be excluded.”

¹³⁰ Malinine, “Transcriptions hiéroglyphiques de quatre textes,” 98, pl. 6.

¹³¹ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 16: “It is separated in the Louvre numbering from the batch of Taracus papyri (3228), but there seems no reason to attribute it to any other king.”

¹³² Malinine once identified the date of this papyrus as “an 10 de Taharka,” but this is contradicted by his early publication of the same with J. Pirenne. Cf.: Malinine, “L’hiératique anormal,” 32-33; Malinine and Pirenne, *Archives d’histoire du droit oriental* 5, 54.

of measure is even extracted from the phrase and placed in final position as a sum. Thus, Vleeming has remarked:

We can tell that the word ‘silver’ should be connected with ‘Treasury’ and not with the preceding ‘*deben*’ from the transposition of the phrase in Pap. Louvre E 3228 E l. 5 (705 BC) . . . : ‘Silver of the Treasury of Arsafé: x *deben*’ . . . The texts written in the early demotic tradition view the matter from a different angle, however, by saying, ‘silver, x *deben* of the Treasury.’¹³³

The word order of the documents listed above would at least suggest that the silver alloy was checked by the Treasury of Heryshef, whereas in later periods it seems to have been only the weights that were standardized by the Treasury. Müller-Wollerman concludes: “Wahrscheinlich erfolgte die Garantie durch eine Art Stempel oder Aufschrift.”¹³⁴ If this supposition is correct, then the Treasury of Heryshef would have represented not only the silver standard invoked in Theban transactions but also the agency responsible for certifying its quality.

While it may be tempting to localize the Treasury of Heryshef at Herakleopolis itself,¹³⁵ the documentary record would appear to contradict this assumption. A contract of sale from the forty-fifth regnal year of Psamtik I (c. 620 BC) references the silver standard of the “Treasury of Heryshef” in ll. 9 and 15, but two of the witness subscriptions repeating that transaction then substitute the “Treasury of Thebes” (*pr.wy-hd Nhw.t*) in its place (ll. 31, 54).¹³⁶ Malinine therefore deduced that the Treasury of Heryshef represented a Theban institution throughout the Abnormal Hieratic corpus: “Les contrats en démotique archaïque et en hiératique « anormal » nous renseignent que la Trésorerie d’État se trouvait . . . à Thèbes et était placée sous le patronat du dieu Arsaphès (de Hnès).”¹³⁷ This Theban institution then disappears immediately following the reign of Psamtik I and is replaced entirely by references simply to the “Treasury of Thebes”—without mention of Heryshef.¹³⁸ Payment formulae would continue to invoke the Treasury of Thebes to the end of the reign of Amasis,¹³⁹ after which contracts in the reign of Darius I instead referenced the “Treasury of Ptah”¹⁴⁰—most likely headquartered in Memphis, like the Persian administration that it served.¹⁴¹

Thus, the treasury which defined the silver standard at Thebes throughout the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was that of Heryshef, a Herakleopolitan deity, just as the high officials at Herakleopolis were evidently appointed from among the Theban clerical aristocracy.¹⁴² Herakleopolitan connections with distant Thebes at this time would therefore seem to support the claims made in Rylands IX that *P3-di-3s.t s3 nḥ-Ššq* exerted some measure of fiscal authority over the Southland. In this regard, he was anything but a *homo novus*. It is also noteworthy that all references to the Treasury of Heryshef cease after the reign of Psamtik I—precisely when the office of Harbor Master appears to have obsolesced following the tenure of Somtutefnakht. To assume that the authority of the Harbor Master was actually expanded by the Saïtes is to turn the economic and prosopographic evidence on its head.

Beyond placing *P3-di-3s.t s3 nḥ-Ššq* in a position of authority over the Southland, Rylands IX also profers intriguing details about the social conditions within Middle Egypt during his lifetime. As Edakov has

¹³³ Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 87-88 n. 67.

¹³⁴ Müller-Wollerman, “Ägypten auf dem Weg zur Geldwirtschaft,” 1353.

¹³⁵ As implied by Müller-Wollerman, “Ägypten auf dem Weg zur Geldwirtschaft,” 1353.

¹³⁶ Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 72-84; *op. cit.* II, 33-41.

¹³⁷ Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 25-26.

¹³⁸ Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 87 n. 67 includes “Tor. 2118 l. 19” as a late reference to the Treasury of Heryshef, but the reference instead appears in l. 17. The error is derived from Malinine’s transcription, which mistakenly includes two separate lines each numbered “19”—one after line 18 and one before. See Malinine, *Choix de textes* II, 24. Malinine would also appear to have been mistaken when he stated that the Treasury of Heryshef was invoked “pendant la période embrassant les règnes de Chabaka à Amasis.” *Choix de textes* I, 25.

¹³⁹ The latest securely-dated reference to the “Treasury of Thebes” occurs in ro. l. 11 of pLouvre E 7837 from Amasis’s thirty-sixth regnal year, but an additional reference in l. 5 of pVindob KM 3853 is likely attributable to the regnal year “40 + x,” and it clearly bears the nomen of Amasis. For the former, see: Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis*, 212, pls. XXVII A-XXVII. For the latter, see: Pestman and Vleeming, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* I, 43-45 no. 2; *op. cit.* II, pls. IIIa-III.

¹⁴⁰ See pLoeb 48, ll. 2-3, in Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 25-28; *op. cit.* II, 9-10.

¹⁴¹ Pestman and Vleeming, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 45.

¹⁴² Col. 5/l. 16, col. 8/l. 16, col. 9/ll. 17-20, in: Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 21-22, 35, 40-41, 130-131, 140-141, 144-145; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVII, XXX-XXXI. See also Cairo JE 65841 in Gauthier, “Un curieux monument des dynasties bubastites d’Héracléopolis,” 18.

observed, the account of Pediese I's benefactions at Teudjoi mentions several different categories of laborers: "There we see 'quarriers of stone' (*gy.w*) or (*hrtj.w-ntr*), 'gravers' (*stj.w*) 'scribes of the House of Life', 'colourers' (*ss.w-kdj.w*)," and the purported stelae copies mention a group of *smdt* who act as the bonded population of the island responsible for its cultivation.¹⁴³ There would seem to be little reason for the author of Rylands IX, writing nearly 150 years later, to have fabricated this general description of the region's social structure, as inaccuracy in such matters would have served neither a petition nor a work of historical fiction. One must be more skeptical, however, of the author's claim that Teudjoi had once been exempted from taxation prior to an unspecified "evil time" (*pꜣy hꜣ-bꜣn*)¹⁴⁴ either during or before the lifetime of *Pꜣ-di-ꜣs.t sꜣ nḥ-ššq*, a status apparently justified by the officials' contention that "no man was priest here [at Teudjoi] except the priests of Amunresonter" and thus "it is one of the great houses of this nome."¹⁴⁵ While it is tempting to connect this exempt status with the preferential treatment shown to Herakleopolis (and Teudjoi?) under the early Kushite regime,¹⁴⁶ the exemption itself is entirely too self-serving a detail in the petitioner's case to be taken at face value: Pediese III was, after all, compelled to testify as to why Teudjoi had failed to pay taxes.¹⁴⁷ Consequently, Rylands IX gives a more trustworthy account of Middle Egypt's role within the national landscape than of Teudjoi's role within Middle Egypt.

The apparent prominence of Herakleopolis across the Third Intermediate Period through the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty may be explained both as a function of its symbolic position as "el fiel de la balanza" between Upper and Lower Egypt and as an effect of commercial topography: situated between the Nile and the Fayum, Herakleopolis afforded direct access not only to Nile commerce but also to caravan goods repacked for riverine transport.¹⁴⁸ For a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty realm stretched longitudinally over 3,200 km,¹⁴⁹ the routes convergent at Herakleopolis were integral to the state economy, and Napata's recognition of this fact is manifest in the royal record. After his brief reconquest of Egypt c. 664 BC following the Assyrian invasions, Tanutamani proclaimed the unification of the realm in decidedly nautical terms:

wn.in Ḥm=f <dit> šm=sn r nḥw.t{n}=sn wn.in=sn m nḥy.w wnn rsy.w hr ḥd mḥy.w hr ḥnty r b(w) hr Ḥm=f

So His Majesty let them go back to their cities alive, and (from that time on) the southerners have been sailing northwards and the northerners sailing southwards...¹⁵⁰

Nine years later, it was these same "northerners sailing southwards" who would actually displace the Kushite dynasty in Egypt at the installation of Nitocris, and they did so under the supervision of the Harbor Master—Somtutefnakht, son of *Pꜣ-di-ꜣs.t sꜣ nḥ-ššq*.¹⁵¹

VI.4. Aristocracy and Institution

In the argument essayed above, evidence has been cited in support of the following sequential points: (1) Even if it was intended as a work of fiction, Rylands IX is invaluable as an historical source, for the

¹⁴³ Edakov, "Comments on the Demotic Papyrus John Rylands Library 9," 159-160.

¹⁴⁴ Col. 7/l. 3 in: Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXIX; Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 28, 134-135, with discussion in *op. cit.*, 409: "Der Ausdruck kehrt in VII 3 wieder und bezieht sich offenbar in beiden Fällen auf die 'schlimme Zeit' der Assyrerherrschaft." According to Pérez Die, the tombs at Herakleopolis are generally quite poor across the Third Intermediate Period and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: "El anonimato de estos individuos es prácticamente total y su estatus social muy bajo, reflejo quizá de condiciones históricas adversas en momentos de declive o de decadencia política. Su ajuar es bastante pobre, y está compuesto de pequeños amuletos y escarabeos." Pérez Die, "Excavaciones en Heracleópolis Magna (Egipto)," 110. However, as these conditions exhibit no sudden onset corresponding to the Assyrian invasions, the poverty of the Herakleopolitan cemetery is most likely a result of the fact that the town's leading administrators were appointed from (and presumably buried at?) Thebes or elsewhere.

¹⁴⁵ Col. 6/l. 13 and col. 7/l. 3-4 in: Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 25, 28, 132-135; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pls. XXVIII-XXIX.

¹⁴⁶ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 70-76, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. IIc, VIII.

¹⁴⁷ Col. 1/ll. 1-18 in: Vittmann, *Rylands* 9, 1-4, 116-119; Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, pl. XXIII.

¹⁴⁸ Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina*, 18-25.

¹⁴⁹ Kitchen, "Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology," 293; Lobban, "Foreign Relations of the XXVth Dynasty," 332.

¹⁵⁰ Cairo JE 48863, ll. 40-41, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IVa-IV. On the meaning of "north" and "south" in Tanutamani's Dream Stela, see esp. the intriguing discussion by Vinogradov, "Puzzles of the Dream Stele," 129.

¹⁵¹ Cairo JE 36327, l. 9, Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pl. VIII; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. XXI.

author’s manifest interest in verisimilitude and his reliance upon archival material may have resulted in the inclusion of details that are otherwise unavailable to the historian. (2) There is little reason to assume that the Rylands IX account of events and conditions in the seventh century BC is any less reliable than its account of events and conditions in the sixth century BC. (3) The earliest official stationed in Middle Egypt in Rylands IX, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*, shares a remarkable number of prosopographical traits with a certain *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* represented in statuary as Medelhavsmuseet NME 081, and thus he most likely represents an historical personage. (4) There is equally little reason to doubt that this same man served the Kushite regime during the early part of his career as both Harbor Master and Overseer of the Southland. (5) His sphere of authority in those offices was likely more than rhetorical, for it was paralleled by significant political and economic ties between Herakleopolis and Upper Egypt. (6) At some point during the reign of Taharqo or even before, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* became an affine of the aspirant Saïte line. It would seem to be this marriage alliance, and not his installation as Harbor Master *per se*, that eventually delivered the *coup de grâce* to Kushite rule in Egypt c. 656 BC. When considered within the context of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the office of Harbor Master does not provide compelling evidence of administrative change in Middle Egypt between the Kushite and Saïte regimes.

Yet it is not only the *conclusions* of Griffith, Graefe, Ritner, and Wessetzky which may be questioned; equally suspect are the *stakes* of the Kushite/Saïte comparison as they envisioned it. Ritner has argued that the suppression of tribal aristocracy was a result of the promotion of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* over and against the Grandees of the Meshwesh, whereas Wessetzky equated the suppression of tribal aristocracy with the demotion of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* in favor of Pediese I.¹⁵² For both, the transition from the Twenty-Fifth to Twenty-Sixth Dynasty was imagined as a triumph of institutions over aristocracy, of nationalism over tribalism. If the terms of this comparison have a decidedly modern ring, it is perhaps because they are anachronistic. As historian Jonathan Powis once observed:

Whatever the precise meaning they attach to the word, historians have often found aristocracy both an elusive and an unsympathetic subject. . . . [P]erhaps the most important factor of all has been the nature of history’s development as an organised field of study. During the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, research was directed above all to the history of institutions: to the growth of the Parliament and the royal administration in England, and to the emerging national states of France, Germany and Italy on the Continent. Amid such concerns aristocratic power appeared a marginal force, even a reactionary or disruptive one. . . . In a historical perspective dominated by the growth of public institutions and the rise of an enlightened middle class, aristocratic power was easily associated with decadence and feudal anarchy.¹⁵³

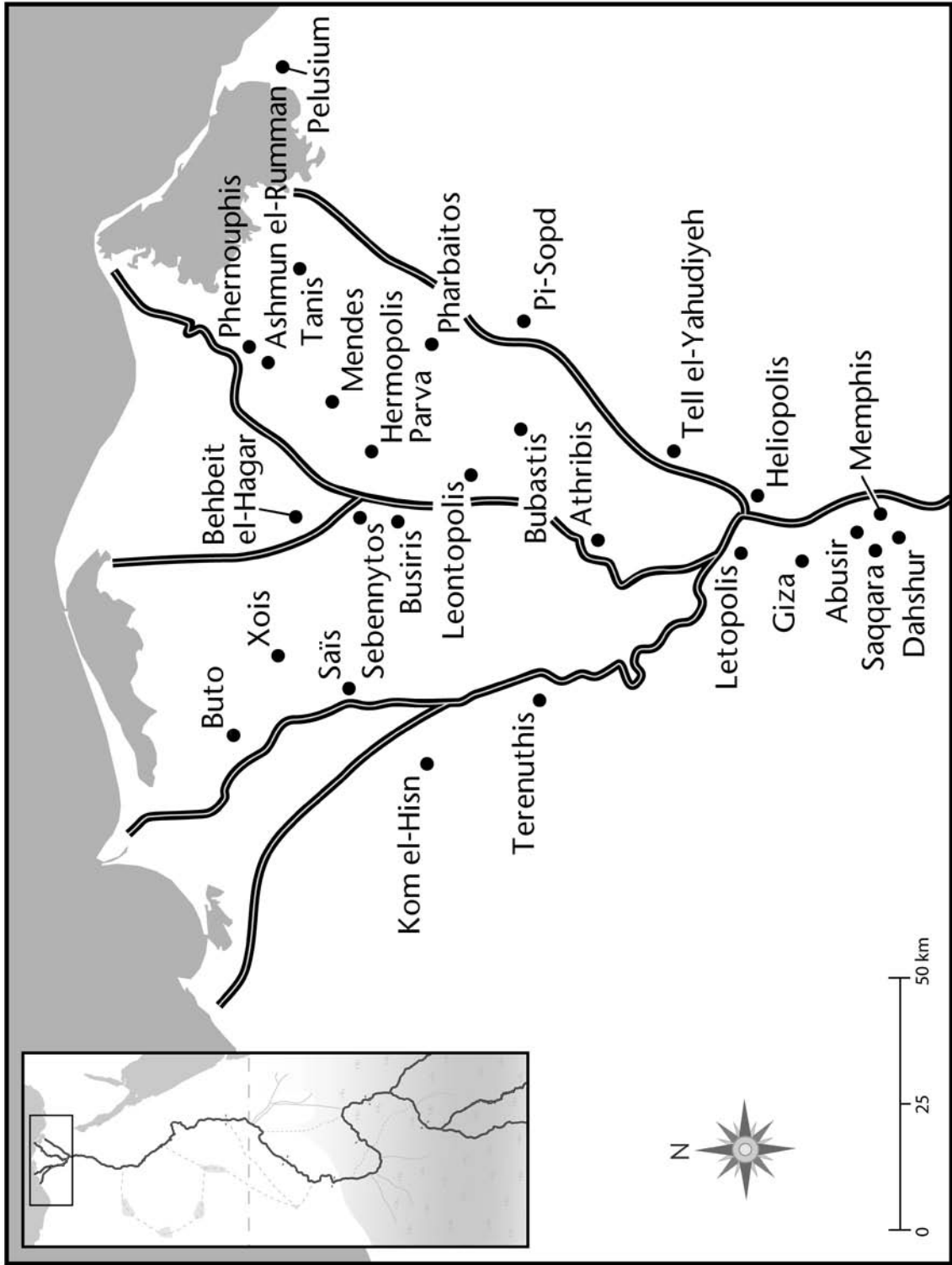
Neither the Saïtes nor the Kushites exhibited such a marked and systematic distaste for tribal aristocracy in favor of institutions. On the contrary, the office of Harbor Master and possibly also the institution of the *Qnb.t*-court were allowed to obsolesce under Saïte rule,¹⁵⁴ and the post of High Priest of Amun was eventually folded into that of God’s Wife so that one Saïte scion could lay claim to both.¹⁵⁵ Such processes are perhaps best understood as the triumph of one aristocracy over several others, rather than of institution over aristocracy. Likewise, the Kushite regime not only tolerated tribal lineages and titles within the realm but appears to have relied upon such lineages as a means of regional integration: in the case of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*, the Kushite dynasts countenanced in Middle Egypt a high official of Theban birth and Libyan patronym who was wedded to a family of Libyan extraction in distant Saïs. While it has often been argued that the disintegration of central authority in Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period created a power vacuum for Kushite expansion at the beginning of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the process may be viewed from a rather different angle: the evidence from Middle Egypt would suggest that Kushite rule was facilitated less by Libyan anarchy than by Libyan aristocracy.

¹⁵² Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 338-339; *id.*, “End of the Libyan ‘Anarchy’ in Egypt,” 103; Wessetzky, “Die Familiengeschichte des Peteëse,” 69-73.

¹⁵³ Powis, *Aristocracy*, 2.

¹⁵⁴ Allam, “Egyptian Law Courts in Pharaonic and Hellenistic Times”; *id.*, “*Quenebete* et administration autonome en Égypte pharaonique”; Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 179. However, it is unclear whether the *qnb.t* institution was actually discontinued or merely renamed as the *ʿwy n wp.tyw*.

¹⁵⁵ Cairo JE 36907, l. 5, in Leahy, “Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak,” 146, pl. XII.



Map 7. Lower Egypt.

TAHARQO IN LOWER EGYPT: SAÏTE REBELLION, KUSHITE HEGEMONY, OR PAX NAPATANA?

VII.1. *The Residence and the Rest*

The history of the Kushite regime in Lower Egypt presents an immediate and striking irony. On one hand, the Lower Egyptian city of Memphis was a site of Kushite royal construction from the reign of Shabaqo to that of Taharqo,¹ and the latter also named Memphis as the site of his first coronation and subsequent royal residence.² Memphite religious accents were ubiquitous throughout the royal titularies,³ architecture,⁴ and other inscribed material⁵ of the Kushite kings across the length of the Double Kingdom, and Taharqo even levied artisans from Memphis for the construction of his temple at distant Kawa.⁶ Moreover, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's repeated engagement in the Levant would clearly have necessitated regular traversal of the Eastern Delta between Memphis and Pelusium.⁷ The Kushite royal presence in Lower Egypt can therefore hardly be doubted. On the other hand, the evidence for monumental construction on the part of the Kushite regime is quite meager outside of White Wall itself.⁸ Some obscurative role must be attributed to the brackish and shifting landscape of the Delta islets, but these conditions alone do not explain why the Kushite dynasts were so seldom referenced upon the extant stelae, statuary, and architecture of Lower Egyptian potentates.⁹ In this regard, Lower Egypt presents a very different case, not only from the prodigious Kushite building activity in Upper Egypt and Upper Nubia (Ch. V and Ch. III), but also from the circumstances of Lower Nubia (Ch. IV): in the latter, the dearth of royal monuments was paralleled by a scarcity of *non*-royal inscriptions and architecture, but in Lower Egypt the frequent invisibility of the Kushite regime stands in contrast to a monumental aggrandizement of local authority at such towns as Saïs, Leontopolis, Bubastis, and possibly Tanis.¹⁰

The apparent incongruity between Kushite-controlled Memphis and the neighboring Delta—between the Residence and the rest—has come to dominate the literature on *Kuschitenherrschaft*, so that broad assertions about the nature of Kushite rule in Egypt often refer primarily to governmental strategy in Lower Egypt.¹¹ To a certain extent, this emphasis may derive from the decidedly Lower Egyptian perspective of

¹ See nn. 59-63, 70-71, 75-77 below.

² See nn. 73-74 below.

³ Vercoutter, "Napatan Kings and Apis Worship," 65-67; von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 60-61 no. 8. On Taharqo's titulary, cf. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* V, 663.

⁴ Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 55 fig. 40 abacus K; *PM* II, 197, 278; Leclant, *Monuments thébains* I, III-III §31, pls. LXVIII-LXX; Fig. 6 in Ch. III.2.3 above; Török, *Image of the Ordered World*, 89-92.

⁵ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 85-86, 97-98, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. III, IX-X; and nn. 62-63, 75, 77 below. Louvre N 2541 in Russmann, *Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 46 (4); *ead.*, "Two Royal Heads of the Late Period in Brooklyn," 100-101 figs. 13-14. N. 1037 at Villa Albani in Curto, "I monumenti egizi nelle Ville Torlonia a Roma"; Berlin ÄMP 7742 in Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 3 no. 9; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa," 281 n. 1 fig. 7; Yoyotte, "Plaidoyer pour l'authenticité du scarabée historique de Shabako," 469 n. 1. Louvre E 3697, Louvre E 4878, and Louvre E 7658 in Leclant, "Schabaka," 508 nn. 63, 73; Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, no. 1874. Vodoz, *Les scarabées gravés du Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève*, 35-36 no. 12 = Genf 19887. New York MMA 55.144.6 in n. 67 below. Cairo JE 38269 (Mata'nah stela), l. 2, in Vikentiev, *La haute crue du Nil*, pl. V.

⁶ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 21-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 7-8. Also: *id.*, *Temples of Kawa* I, 21 n. 51; *op. cit.* II, 63, pls. IX, XLIX; cf.: Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-re* II, pls. 1, 8; *id.*, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, pls. 8, 10-12; Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, pls. 8-9, II.

⁷ See references in nn. 32, 66, 103 below.

⁸ See references in nn. 64-65, 67-68, 72, 79, 81-83 below; also: Vernus, *Athribis*, 81-82 §87.

⁹ New York MMA 55.144.6, Louvre E 10571, New York MMA 65.45 in nn. 67, 72 below.

¹⁰ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 2-5, 17-18, 20, 99, 106, 114, 126, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, III, V-VI, X-XI; nn. 29, 39, 45-50, 119-120, 127, 139 below.

¹¹ *E.g.*, James, "Egypt: the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties," 703.

the Manethonian tradition.¹² Yet it would also seem justified by historical hindsight: when the Kushite regime was finally compelled to withdraw from Egyptian soil, it was a Lower Egyptian regime based at Saïs that immediately replaced it.¹³ The rivalry between Napata and Saïs makes for compelling drama, and it has recently given rise to two intriguing reconstructions of Kushite politics in Lower Egypt. In an article published in 2004, Perdu has argued that Saïs, Sebennytos, and Tanis were engaged in open rebellion against Kushite rule, even during the ostensibly peaceful years of Taharqo's early reign before the Assyrian conquests.¹⁴ That such defiance of Kushite royal authority were possible so close to Taharqo's administrative seat at Memphis would speak volumes about the limitations and frustrated ambitions of *Kuschitenherrschaft*. Yet the same body of evidence has led Kahn (2009) to a very different conclusion: that Taharqo was actually *unchallenged* throughout the Delta prior to the interference of Esarhaddon.¹⁵

The archaeological and inscriptional record from Lower Egypt is sufficiently equivocal to support Perdu's theory, Kahn's refutation, and at least one other reading of the evidence. This ambiguity is, in large part, an effect of the uneven chronological distribution of the available data. For the early stages of Kushite rule over Egypt, the historian has recourse to Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela—a document exceptionally forthcoming with details of political geography, many of which pertain directly to Lower Egypt¹⁶—and at the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's conclusion, a similar if less informative political map is offered by the Annals of Assurbanipal.¹⁷ Yet both of these sources depict that landscape at a moment of interregal flux, and neither derives from the five-decade span during which Memphis served as a Kushite royal residence and administrative capital.¹⁸ The political geography of Lower Egypt during the greater part of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty must consequently be intercalated between the accounts of Pi(ankh)y and Assurbanipal, requiring the historian to rely upon a jigsaw of small objects, fragmentary monuments, and oblique textual references. The web linking these disparate pieces of evidence to Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela and the Annals of Assurbanipal on either side depends heavily upon the degree of change or continuity assumed across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Before interpretations can be evaluated, a chronological ordering of the evidence and temporary suspension of judgment would therefore seem essential. In the summary that follows, reservations and debates regarding the chronology or content of individual pieces of evidence will be noted throughout, but broader theories about the relationship between these data and their relevance to the evolution or continuity of governance in Lower Egypt will be deferred until all of the evidence has been presented.

VII.2. *The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Lower Egypt: Chronological Summary*

Though an exhaustive prosopography of Lower Egyptian families lies beyond the scope of the present chapter,¹⁹ certain overarching connections across those lineages and their respective provinces are clearly apropos to the question of *Kuschitenherrschaft*. The relationship between the Kushite royal center

¹² As recently argued by Gozzoli, *Writing of History in Ancient Egypt*, 197 n. 36.

¹³ The ascendance of the Saïte regime at the direct expense of the Kushites is reflected most clearly in the adoption of Nitocris I as heir-apparent to the God's Wife of Amun Shepenwepet II. See Cairo JE 36327 in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela."

¹⁴ Perdu, "La chefferie de Sébennytos"; *id.*, "De Stéphinatès à Néchao," 1239.

¹⁵ Kahn, "Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt," 143-147 §4.

¹⁶ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 2-5, 17-20, 99-140, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, III, IV A, V-VI, X-XI.

¹⁷ See esp. Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), ll. 89-105, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens I*, 36-55, 118-119. New editions of the Annals of Assurbanipal are forthcoming in the RINAP project (*Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*) edited by Grant Frame. An important distinction must be drawn here between the information given by the Rassam Cylinder about Lower Egypt and that given about Upper Egypt. In the case of the latter, a relative wealth of prosopographical information from the preceding decades can be used to verify the positions of those named by the Rassam Cylinder (esp. Montuemhat of Thebes and Nespamedu of Thinis/Abydos); yet the same is not equally true of Lower Egypt, and thus the Rassam Cylinder's depiction of that region cannot be trusted wholeheartedly without independent confirmation. For its part, the Dream Stela of Tanutamani (Cairo JE 48863) gives little information at all about the division of power within Lower Egypt. See only l. 36 in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IVa-IV.

¹⁸ Assurbanipal's account of Lower Egypt was, of course, composed after his conquest of the region and ejection of Taharqo; the Assyrian king's annals therefore describe the political vacuum created by Taharqo's withdrawal, and so they do not necessarily correspond to the conditions which obtained under *Kuschitenherrschaft*.

¹⁹ Yoyotte, "Les principautés du Delta," re-issued and updated in 2012 as Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta*.

and Delta potentates becomes visible along three simultaneous registers: (1) the distribution of Kushite royal monuments in the region, (2) the assumption of royal titles by local authorities, and (3) the latter's attempts at territorial expansion. Episodes of either conflict or negotiation may potentially be discerned in the moments and geographic spaces at which these three categories of evidence meet in Lower Egypt.

The decades leading up to Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela effectively mark the pre-history of *Kuschitenherrschaft*, for evidence of a Kushite royal presence in the Delta is sparse to non-existent during the first half of the eighth century BC. Alara is nowhere attested upon Egyptian soil, and objects bearing Kashta's royal nomina have been noted with certainty only in Upper Egypt.²⁰ Nevertheless, Priese has raised the possibility that Kashta's prenomen, *Ny-m³.t-R^c*, might be preserved in Manetho's epitome as *Ἀμμέρις*, the *Αἰθίοψ* progenitor of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.²¹ If this hypothesis proves justified, it will perhaps serve only to demonstrate the garbled nature of the Manethonian tradition, for there is not a shred of archaeological evidence yet discovered which can support Kashta's control of the Delta, and even Manetho's own dubious regnal chronology would place *Ἀμμέρις Αἰθίοψ* no earlier than the end of the eighth century BC.²²

If the Kushites were not expanding across Lower Egypt at this time, it is nevertheless evident that one Delta potentate *was*: Tefnakht, Supreme Grandee of the Ma. His early association with Saïs is immediately suggested by a recently published bronze statue dedicated by him and invoking the goddess Neith.²³ Tefnakht is then mentioned, *sans* royal titles, upon two stelae dated to regnal years 36 and 38 of a pharaoh unnamed but presumably to be identified with the long-reigning Sheshonq V.²⁴ Within the first stela, Tefnakht is described only as the *wr 3 M h3.ty wr 3 n Rby* ("Supreme Grandee of the Ma, Commander, and Supreme Grandee of the Libu")²⁵ but the second credits him with the more grandiose title of *wr 3 n.w t3 dr=f* ("Supreme Grandee of the Land in its Entirety") and he is depicted in the lunette of that stela cloaked in the panther skin expected for a *sm*-priest of Ptah.²⁶ More explicit testimony of Tefnakht's ambition is provided by Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela, which describes in extraordinary detail the territorial conquests of the *wr n Imnt.t h3.t(y)-^c wr m Ntr T3y=f-nht*.²⁷ According to Pi(ankh)y's account, Tefnakht held sway over the Saïte, Xoite, and Prosopite nomes (the latter just north of Letopolis), as well as Kom el-Hisn, *Pr-nb*, and Memphis—in sum, *Imnt.t m mi-^cgd=f*—and he was consequently titled as both a *hm-ntr Nt.t nb(.t) S3w* ("Prophet of Neith, Mistress of Saïs") and a *sm n Pth* ("*Sm*-Priest of Ptah," ll. 2-3, 19-20). Interestingly, Tefnakht's accumulation of power in the Western Delta and his subsequent expansion immediately south of Memphis elicited only laughter from Pi(ankh)y (l. 6). Not until the defection of the Hermopolitan "king" (*nsw*) Namart to Tefnakht's side did Pi(ankh)y decide to act, but the narrative that follows reveals several figures of the Central and Eastern Delta who had evidently also joined the Saïte cause "as footmen (*iry-rd.wy*) of the Supreme Grandee of the West." These included: the Leontopolitan *nsw* Iuput (II), the Busirite *wr 3 n M* Sheshonq, the *wr 3 n M* Djedamenefankh of Mendes and his eldest son (Ankhor, *cf.* l. 115) in neighboring Hermopolis Parva, the "hereditary nobleman" [(*i*)*r(y)-p(^c.t)*] Bakennefy and his eldest son Nesnayisu in *Hsbw*, the Bubastite and Phernouphite *nsw* Osorkon (IV), "all the grandees who wore the feather in Northland," and "every count and ruler of compounds in the West, the East, and the islands between" (ll. 17-19). After a series of pitched battles, Pi(ankh)y's forces repulsed the Saïte threat

²⁰ Cairo JE 41013 in Maspero, "Notes de voyage," 9-10 §VII; Leclant, "Kashta, Pharaon, en Egypte," fig. 1; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 126; Schulz, "Ein neuer Beleg des Kashta und Amenirdis I"; Leclant, "Kashta, Pharaon en Egypte," figs. 2-5; and possibly Pérez Die, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina I*, 74 §57, 140 fig. 28, 167 Lám XXV.

²¹ Priese, "Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten," 18; *cf.* frags. 69 (a), 69 (b) in Waddell, *Manetho*, 170-173.

²² As Necho I would seem to ascend *c.* Esarhaddon's invasion in 671 BC (see nn. 116-118 below), the reigns allotted by Manetho would place *Ἀμμέρις Αἰθίοψ* no earlier than the reign of Shebitqo; see also Ch. V.2 n. 138 above.

²³ Florence 1777 in Del Francia, "Di una statuetta dedicate ad Amon-Ra."

²⁴ But *cf.* the alternative explanation recently proposed by Yoyotte, "Les fondements géopolitiques du pouvoir saïte," 10.

²⁵ Yoyotte, "Les principautés du Delta," 153-154 §48; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 670 (22.10.36). On the translation of *wr* as "grandee" rather than "chief," see Notes on Terminology, Chronology, Orthography, and Maps above; the Libyan chiefdom classification may well prove justified but requires its own analysis beyond the scope of the present work: Leahy, "Libyan Period in Egypt"; O'Connor, "Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society"; Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period"; Earle, *Chiefdoms*; McIntosh, *Beyond Chiefdoms*.

²⁶ Sauneron, "Cinq années de recherches épigraphiques en Égypte," 51, 53-54 figs. 1-2; Yoyotte, "Les principautés du Delta," 152 §47, pl. I (1); Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 670-671 (22.10.38).

²⁷ Cairo JE 48862 and 47086-47089 in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I-XII.

and crushed the resistance of both Meidum and Memphis (*ll.* 81-97). The list of potentates who then came to pay homage to the Kushite king includes many of Tefnakht's former footmen, but also several parties absent from the preceding lists—most notable among them, the Sebennytite “Grandee of the Ma” (*wr n M*) Akanosh and the Athribite *iry-p^c.t* Pediese (*ll.* 99-119). The rigor with which Delta potentates are titled and localized in the text suggests a Kushite royal house fully attentive to Lower Egyptian politics.

Among the titles credited to local headmen in Pi(ankh)y's inscription, none is more striking than that of *nsw*—an honor traditionally reserved for the singular pharaoh yet now bestowed, not only upon Namart and Peftjauawybast in Middle Egypt, but also upon the Bubastite Osorkon IV and even the Leontopolitan Iuput II, an erstwhile defector (*ll.* 18, 99, 106, 114). The same distinction is granted them in the stela's lunette, where they are depicted after Pi(ankh)y's conquest bowing before the Kushite king yet separated from the lesser grandees and still crowned with their own uraei. What is remarkable about this state of affairs is not merely that Pi(ankh)y tolerated it, as polycentric conditions had obtained for most pharaohs across the preceding Third Intermediate Period; more surprising is the fact that Pi(ankh)y chose to commemorate this proliferation of *nsw.w* without lamentation or denial. As Assmann has observed:

Wir haben hier also, in genauer Umkehrung der Situation der beiden vorhergehenden Zwischenzeiten, nicht nur das Fehlen jeder kognitiven Dissonanz festzustellen, wie sie sich aus der Diskrepanz zwischen der polyzentrischen Wirklichkeit und der monokratischen Theorie notwendig ergeben und in Klagen und Chaosbeschreibungen äußern müßte, sondern darüber hinaus auch noch *die positive Beschreibung dieser Situation im Sinne einer normative Ordnung* vor uns . . . Piyes Text gelingt es, diese Realität sprachlich einzufangen, auf Begriffe zu bringen und *als eine politische Ordnung* darstellbar zu machen.²⁸

Whether Osorkon IV and Iuput II continued to exercise royal prerogatives after Pi(ankh)y's conquest is unclear, for their surviving monuments and paraphernalia have not been dated with certainty.²⁹ Yet Pi(ankh)y's account gives little reason to suspect otherwise; in fact, the royal status of his Egyptian vassals is openly celebrated in Pi(ankh)y's Sandstone Stela (Khartoum SNM 1851, lunette cols. 20-22) as evidence of his own superordinate status and *laissez-faire* politics:

p3 nty tw=i dd n=f ir h^c ir=f h^c p3 nty tw=i dd n=f m ir h^c b(w) ir=f h^c p3 nty tw=i di hr=i r=f nb mn qi-n-hf p3y=f dmi iw bn sw m-drt=i in3

He to whom I say, ‘Appear (as king)!,’ he shall appear. He to whom I say, ‘Do not appear (as king)!,’ he does not appear. (As for) everyone to whom I pay attention (lit. ‘give my face’), there is no way to seize his town, (even though) it is not in my hand.³⁰

Pi(ankh)y's royal inscriptions make little attempt to distinguish the political geography of the Delta before his conquest from the conditions that obtained thereafter. As a result, the Kushite king is presented in his Great Triumphal Stela not as the agent of regime change but as its opponent.

While it might be tempting to see Pi(ankh)y's Lower Egyptian strategy as a mere cover for the limits of his political reach, there are nevertheless indications in the surviving record that the king's ambition—if not even his activity—may have extended beyond the Delta. Relief scenes copied during the nineteenth

²⁸ Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte*, 357, 370 (emphasis added).

²⁹ For faience seal Leiden AO 10a with the nomen of Osorkon, see: Schneider, “Royal epigone of the 22nd dynasty,” 264-265 fig. 1, pl. Ia; Payraudeau, “Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon,” 76 fig. 2. For relief fragment Leiden F 1971/9.1 with the nomen of Osorkon, see: Schneider, “Royal epigone of the 22nd dynasty,” 265-267 fig. 2, pl. Ib; Payraudeau, “Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon,” 76 fig. 3. Identification with Osorkon IV has nevertheless been contested by Leahy, *Libya and Egypt*, 189, and Payraudeau, “Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon,” 75-80. For aegis Louvre E 7167 from Bubastis, see: Berlandini, “Petits monuments royaux.” If the above objects did not belong to Osorkon IV, then he would be attested outside of Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela only perhaps in Sargon's Annals—and there as a *šarru*, not *piru*. For the original proposition that Sargon's “Shilkanni” might have been Osorkon IV, see Albright, “Further Light on Synchronisms,” 24. For a bronze hinge (Cairo JE 38261) likely from Tell Moqdam (Leontopolis) bearing Iuput's prenomen and nomen, see: Spencer and Spencer, “Notes on Late Libyan Egypt,” 200 fig. 3. For a faience plaque bearing his prenomen and nomen, see Brooklyn 59.17 in Koss, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, no. 69. For a granite socle with his prenomen and nomen from Tell el-Yahudiyeh, see: Naville, *Mound of the Jew*, 10, 50, pl. 1. However, as Kitchen has cautioned, the identification of these objects is “not absolutely certain,” because Iuput II's prenomen cannot yet be decisively separated from that of Iuput I. See discussion in Kitchen, *TIP*, §302.

³⁰ Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1),” 90, Taf. V.

century by Bankes and Wilkinson in the Great Temple of Amun (B 500) at Gebel Barkal depict enemy soldiers wearing headgear judged by Spalinger to be “very like the inverted funnel type of helmet worn by the Assyrian army which came into vogue during the reigns of Tiglath Pileser III and later Sargon II.”³¹ Likewise, in his Great Triumphal Stela, “the terror of His Majesty” is said to have “reached the Asiatics” (*ph Sty.w*) and his victory is followed by the arrival of “ships laden with . . . everything of Northland (*T3-Mhw*), every product of Syria (*H3r*), and all the aromatic woods of God’s Land (*T3-ntr*).”³² A “man of the North” (*rmṯ ḥ-mh.ti*) sold during Pi(ankh)y’s reign has often been interpreted as a Delta inhabitant captured during the Kushite’s war against Tefnakht,³³ yet it was by no means a unique designation coined for that circumstance; a similar term (*hm n ḥ-mh.t*) appears in a stela of the Bubastite Twenty-Second Dynasty.³⁴ Quaegebeur has demonstrated at length that “il n’y a aucun argument décisif permettant d’exclure la possibilité que les esclaves appelés « hommes du nord » dans les textes en hiéroglyphes « anormal » de la 25e dynastie viennent d’une région « au nord » de la frontière égyptienne . . . [mais] il ne faut pas écarter la possibilité d’un trafic d’esclaves venant de Syrie en dehors d’un contexte militaire.”³⁵ As support for any theory of Kushite campaigns abroad, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s scattered references to “Asiatics,” Levantine products, helmeted soldiers, and “men of the North” constitute a rather weak reed;³⁶ what these sources demonstrate more convincingly, however, are the military and commercial motives which likely drove Kushite policy in the Eastern Delta.

For Pi(ankh)y’s designs and achievements in the Western Delta, there is little direct evidence. Redford has argued that the aforementioned *Ἀμμέρις* of Manetho’s Twenty-Sixth Dynasty is to be identified with *Wsr-mṯḥ.t-Rḥ*, the prenomen of Pi(ankh)y—a remembrance of the Kushite’s subjugation of Saïs, if not his actual sovereignty there.³⁷ Yet in the king’s Great Triumphal Stela, his campaign appears to have produced a mere oath of fealty on the part of Tefnakht.³⁸ The ambitions then entertained by the Supreme Grandee of the Ma after his repulse by Pi(ankh)y remain a subject of considerable debate. The cartouches of a *Špss-Rḥ T3y=f-nḥt* are featured upon two donation stelae from the Delta, one of which is dated to a regnal year 8,³⁹ but scholars are divided as to whether this individual should be equated with Pi(ankh)y’s adversary—and, if so, whether the stelae record Tefnakht’s assumption of royal titles before or after the Kushite’s intervention.⁴⁰ While Yoyotte considered both documents as evidence of royal pretensions by the Supreme Grandee of the Ma,⁴¹ Priese and Baer have instead proposed that *Špss-Rḥ T3y=f-nḥt* was the enigmatic *Στεφινάθις* who succeeded Manetho’s *Ἀμμέρις Αἰθίοψ*.⁴² Perdu’s analysis of the iconography and execution of the two stelae has lent recent support to this theory, matching their stylistic conventions to those which

³¹ Spalinger, “Notes on the Military in Egypt during the XXVth Dynasty,” 48-49 figs. 3-4. Nevertheless, the identification is by no means certain; I thank Deborah Cantrell of Vanderbilt University and Andrew Knapp of Eisenbrauns Publishing for their consultation. For the images themselves, see: Wilkinson MSS xi. 56 now in Oxford’s Bodleian Library; Bankes MSS xv A. 28 now in the Dorset History Centre, UK. For an alternative interpretation that would place this relief later during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 356-357 n. 185.

³² Cairo JE 48862, ll. 30, 154, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, IV B, VI, XII.

³³ See pLeiden F 1942/5.15, ll. 4, 11, 13, 16, 19, in Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh Py,” 11, 14 n. 45; with an excellent photograph in Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book I*, 31-32. See also pVatican 2038C (old 10574), ll. 4, 13, 17, 19, 25, in: Griffith, “Early Contract Papyrus in the Vatican”; Malinine, “Une vente d’esclave à l’époque de Psammétique Ier,” 121-122. For the corrected date of this text, see Ch. VI.3.3 n. 121 above.

³⁴ See Cairo JE 31882, l. 22 in: Pirenne and Van de Wall, “Vente et louage,” doc. 12; Legrain, “Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897,” 15. For Bubastis as the seat of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, see now: Payraudeau, “Un linteau de Sheshonq III à Bubastis.”

³⁵ Quaegebeur, “A propos de l’identification de la ‘Kadytis,’” 264 (emphasis added).

³⁶ As recognized by Kitchen, *TIP*, 144 §115. For further discussion, see now Pope, “Beyond the Broken Reed.”

³⁷ Redford, “Sais & the Kushite Invasions,” 12-13.

³⁸ Cairo JE 48862, ll. 126-144, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. IV A, XI. For discussion, see: Kahn, “Tefnakht’s ‘letter of submission’ to Piankhy”; Niccacci, “Il messaggio di Tefnakht”; Théodoridès, “L’argumentation de Tefnakht dans la stèle de Piānkhy.”

³⁹ Yoyotte, “Notes et documents pour servir à l’histoire de Tanis,” 38-39 figs. 1-2; Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 672 (24.1.0); cf. Perdu, “De Stéphinatès à Nécho,” 1224 n. 44, 1231 n. 81. See also: el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, 37-53 doc. 3, pl. VII; Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 672 (24.1.8); Tzachou-Alexandri et al., *World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, 161.

⁴⁰ See esp. Redford, “Sais & the Kushite Invasions,” 11-13; Kitchen, *TIP*, xxxv.

⁴¹ Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta,” 158 §58; Kitchen *TIP*, §112.

⁴² Priese, “Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft,” 19 n. 19; Baer, “Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt,” 23. Cf. frag. 68 in Wadell, *Manetho*, 168-169. For MSS, see *op. cit.*, xxx.

obtained “à la fin de la XXV^e dynastie,”⁴³ but his conclusion is now disputed by Kahn, who observes that all of the diagnostic criteria occurred upon earlier objects—albeit never in combination.⁴⁴

Whatever the distribution of power between Tefnakht and Pi(ankh)y during their final years, it is apparent that the generation which followed them included at least one individual—Bakenrenef—whose sphere of authority approached that of the former *wr n 'Imnt.t*. In fact, Diodorus's account (I.45) of *ΤνέΦαχθον τόν Βοκχόριδος τοῦ σοφοῦ πατέρα* likely preserves some memory of either the filiation or political resemblance between Tefnakht and Bakenrenef.⁴⁵ The cartouches of Bakenrenef may be found as far east as Tanis,⁴⁶ as well as upon several unprovenanced objects,⁴⁷ including a recently published donation stela depicting the king before Amun and Mut.⁴⁸ His presence is most conspicuous, however, at Memphis, where two Apis stelae⁴⁹ and a *dipinto* inscription upon a neighboring wall of the Serapeum identify Bakenrenef as regent during *h3.t-sp* 6.⁵⁰ Such royal status at Memphis would clearly suggest that Tefnakht's expansion to the apex of the Delta was repeated soon after by Bakenrenef, provided that the latter's tenure has been dated correctly.

The chronology of Bakenrenef's reign was reconstructed with confidence by Vercoutter, who noted that the king's *dipinto* in Serapeum chamber S accompanied a “scribbled inscription on the wall” of the same chamber which was dated to Shabaqo's year 2.⁵¹ As Vercoutter observed:

Since the underground vaults of the Serapeum were opened only for the 70 days during which the body of Apis was being embalmed for the actual burial, it follows that the second year of Shabaka could be ascribed to a period quite close to the date of the burial of the Bocchoris Apis. . . [B]esides the scribbled inscription on the wall, there is not a single monument which could be assigned to the supposed burial of year 2 of Shabaka, while a number of stelae can safely be ascribed to the burial of the 6th year of Bocchoris. . . [I]n his plan of the underground chambers of the Serapeum, Mariette ascribes chamber R to the Apis which died in the 37th year of Sheshonq V, and chamber S to both the Apis which he numbers 'XXXIVth'—Bocchoris, and 'XXXVth'—Shabaka. . . [Thus,] it was in honour of the *same* Bull, buried in year 6 of Bocchoris, that Shabaka had his name engraved in year 2 of his reign.⁵²

Vercoutter's deduction would synchronize Shabaqo's year 2 with Bakenrenef's year 6, suggesting that the Kushite king assumed power at Memphis less than a decade after Bakenrenef's accession. Several commentators have seen in this chronology decisive proof of Manetho's assertion that *Σαβάκων* immolated *Βόχχωριν* and displaced him upon the throne,⁵³ and the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*⁵⁴ now correlates both events with a scarab of Shabaqo (Toronto ROM 1910.28.1) that alludes only vaguely to victory over the “Sand-Dwellers” and “those who rebelled against him in the South and the North”;⁵⁵ a similar inference was drawn by Griffith from the sale of an enigmatic *q3d3w3d3 ʿ-mḥ.ti* in a Theban papyrus from Shabaqo's reign.⁵⁶ Certain reservations about Vercoutter's chronology must nevertheless be noted; as Jansen-Winkel

⁴³ Perdu, “De Stéphinatès a Néchao,” 1227 (emphasis added).

⁴⁴ Kahn, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt.”

⁴⁵ Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, 158-161.

⁴⁶ Frag. with partial nomen: Yoyotte, “Notes et documents pour servir a l'histoire de Tanis,” 44-45 fig. 3.

⁴⁷ See recently the extensive catalogue of Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* II, 375-381 §§41.3-10.

⁴⁸ Gustav-Lübcke-Museum 5770 in: von Falck, “Eine Landschenkungsstele des Königs Bokchoris im Gustav-Lübcke-Museum Hamm.”

⁴⁹ Louvre IM 1258 (Mariette's 3589) and Louvre IM 3592 in Malinine *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, 75, 82-83, pl. XXVI no. 91, pl. XXIX no. 101. The nomen *B3k[-n-rm=f]* may also appear in fragmentary form upon Louvre IM 2682 in *op. cit.*, 96-97, pl. XXXIV no. 21. Several additional Apis stelae have been attributed to Bakenrenef upon chronological grounds: see Louvre IM 2704, 3424, 3050, 3068, 2680, 2692, 3035, 5947, 3036, SN 22 in *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI no. 92, pl. XXVII nos. 93-97, pl. XXVIII nos. 98-100, pl. XXIX no. 102, pl. XXXIII no. 117.

⁵⁰ Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 24, pl. 34; Petrie, *History of Egypt* III, 316 fig. 134.

⁵¹ Vercoutter, “Napatan Kings and Apis Worship,” 65-67; cf. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 184.

⁵² Vercoutter, “Napatan Kings and Apis Worship,” 66.

⁵³ Frags. 66, 67a, 67b, in Waddell, *Manetho*, 166-169.

⁵⁴ *FHN* I, 122-125 §§13-14.

⁵⁵ Yoyotte, “Plaidoyer pour l'authenticité du scarabée historique de Shabako,” pl. II D.

⁵⁶ pLouvre E 3228e, ll. 3, 12, 15, 22, in: Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 35-42; *op. cit.* II, 14-17, pl. V; Griffith, *Papyrus in the John Rylands Library*, 15; Quaegebeur, “A propos de l'identification de la ‘Kadytis,’” 259-264. See also pLouvre E 3228c, col. I/ll. 7-9, II, 20, col. II/ll. 7, 12, 17, 22, in Malinine, “Un jugement rendu à Thèbes sous la XXV^e dynastie.”

has recently observed,⁵⁷ Vercoutter's "scribbled inscription on the wall" was designated "une petite stèle" in the original publication by Mariette, whose account also contained an important discrepancy of provenance: "[L']Apis mort l'an 37 de Scheschonk [V], dernier roi de la XXII^e dynastie, et l'Apis mort l'an 6 de Bocchoris, l'unique roi de la XXIV^e, furent ensevelis dans la même chambre"—i.e., in chamber R, not chamber S as recorded upon Mariette's own plan of the Serapeum.⁵⁸ Given the dearth of evidence for a separate Apis buried by Shabaqo, it would appear most likely that Mariette's plan is more accurate than his published description, but without independent confirmation the chronology of Bakenrenef's replacement at Memphis by Shabaqo remains *non liquet*.

Once established, however, Shabaqo expanded his own authority over territories previously held under the sway of Bakenrenef and Tefnakht, leaving a far more pervasive record of his presence in Lower Egypt than any Kushite before him. At Mit Rahina (Memphis), the king extended the chapel of Seti I,⁵⁹ while also adding to the Apis House⁶⁰ and a sanctuary in the southern precinct of Ptah.⁶¹ Objects bearing Shabaqo's titulary have been found in abundance throughout the Memphite region⁶²—most notable among them, the so-called Memphite Theology, which elevates Ptah to the head of the pantheon in a rather striking *démarche*.⁶³ More dubious are the constructions sometimes attributed to Shabaqo at Athribis⁶⁴ and Bubastis,⁶⁵ but the Kushite regime's use of the eastern branches of the Nile is clearly suggested by the increasing evidence of Kushite involvement in the Levant—manifest not only in the Biblical account and Assyrian royal annals, but also perhaps in Assyrian art.⁶⁶ Shabaqo's broad influence across Lower Egypt is further demonstrated by donation stelae dedicated in his name and image at Pharbaitos in the Eastern Delta and Buto in the West.⁶⁷ Particularly intriguing is another unprovenanced stela whose lunette depicts Shabaqo before Osiris and Neith—suggesting an association with her cult at Saïs. As Hodjash and Berlev have noted: "The act of homage to her by the king who has overthrown the dynasty of her particular worshippers (Dyn. XXIV) is noteworthy."⁶⁸ Thus, the geographic scope of Shabaqo's authority reveals no discernible boundaries across the breadth of the Delta, though the precise nature of that authority might still be questioned.

His successor, Shebitqo, remains far less visible in the archaeological and inscriptional record of Lower Egypt, but this situation might well be attributed to a short reign; only three regnal years are attested for Shebitqo,⁶⁹ and his monuments are equally sparse across the full length of the Double Kingdom. At Memphis, a modest selection of statues and inscriptions has been attributed to Shebitqo,⁷⁰ and his

⁵⁷ Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 2 §4.

⁵⁸ Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 24-26; Malinine *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, pl. opposite xvi.

⁵⁹ Berlin (West) 39/66 in: *PM* III, 843 J; Leclant, "Varia Aethiopica," 289-290, Taf. 44a-b.

⁶⁰ Jones and Jones, "Apis Expedition at Mit Rahinah," 23-28, figs. 10-11; El-Amir, "ΣΗΚΟΣ of Apis at Memphis."

⁶¹ *PM* III, 842 H; Petrie, *Memphis* I, 10 §31, pls. XXV (lower left), XXVII (upper left); Leclant, "Varia Aethiopica," 289-294.

⁶² Bresciani, "L'attività archeologica dell'Università di Pisa in Egitto: 1977-1980," Tav. XV no. 34; Bresciani *et al.*, *Tomba di Bakenrenef*, 12, Tav. V b; Cairo CG 37397 in: Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, 350, pl. XVII; Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, pl. 29 d. Cairo CG 38020 in Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 8-9. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 8. Louvre IM 2686 and 3117 in: Malinine *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, 98-99, pls. XXXIV-XXXV nos. 123-124; Vercoutter, "Napatan Kings and Apis Worship," 69-70.

⁶³ BM EA 498 in: Breasted, "Philosophy of a Memphite Priest"; Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*; Krauss, "Wie jung ist die memphitische Philosophie auf dem Shabaqo-Stein?"; Peust and Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Das « Denkmal » Memphitischer Theologie"; Gozzoli, *Writing of History in Ancient Egypt*, 238.

⁶⁴ Habachi, "Athribis in the XXVIth Dynasty," 215 fig. 1; *cf.* Kitchen, *TIP*, 152-153 §124.

⁶⁵ Adam, "Recent Discoveries in the Eastern Delta," 307 §8; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 673 no. 25.4.3; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 138; possibly also Berlin ÄMP 8182 in Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, 37 no. 66 a; but *cf.* Kitchen, *TIP*, 152-153 §124.

⁶⁶ Spalinger, "Foreign Policy of Egypt"; Albenda, "Observations on Egyptians in Assyrian Art," 16; Reade, "Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B.C.," 100; Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5, 137.

⁶⁷ Louvre E 10571 in: Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 672-673 no. 25.4.2; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 29 §72. New York MMA 55.144.6 in: Daninos Pacha, *Collection d'antiquités égyptiennes de Tigrane*, 10 no. 75, pl. 32; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 673 no. 25.4.6; photograph at <http://www.metmuseum.org> (last accessed 26 June 2013).

⁶⁸ Stela Moscow I.La.5646 (4118): Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, 163, 165 §108.

⁶⁹ Legrain, "Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak," 115 no. 33; von Beckerath, "Nile Level Records at Karnak," 53 pl. V no. 33.

⁷⁰ Cairo CG 655 in: Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, pl. 29 e.1, e.2, e.3; Borhardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, pl. 121 no. 655; Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, pl. VII no. 142. See also possibly: Cairo CG 38020 in n. 62 above; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 27, 184.

construction in the region would seem confined to mere additions within the Ptah precinct.⁷¹ Despite his apparent ephemerality, a donation stela was erected in his name to the cult at Pharbaitos—by the very same *Pꜣ-ṯnfy* who had once honored Shabaqo at the same site. One intriguing difference between the two documents may nevertheless be noted: whereas Shabaqo appeared alone upon a stela merely naming the dedicant Patjenfy, Shebitqo was actually joined by Patjenfy in the lunette as co-donor to the gods.⁷²

The reign of Taharqo provides the first explicit testimony of Memphis's role within the Double Kingdom: inscriptions state that the king was crowned there,⁷³ and they name Memphis as a royal residence.⁷⁴ The site's prominence is equally attested, not only by the profusion of small objects in the region bearing Taharqo's titulary,⁷⁵ but also by the surviving record of monumental construction. Architectural fragments from Seti I's chapel there show traces of an addition by Taharqo,⁷⁶ but more intriguing is the king's work upon the temple of Amun-Re within the Ptah precinct, as recorded in a stela of exceptional historical value.⁷⁷ Two features of the document are particularly noteworthy: firstly, it elevated Amun-Re—the national god of the Kushite state—within a cultic setting dedicated to Ptah—the local god of the royal residence. Ptah was positioned within the text as Amun-Re's trustee, in effect hosting the god's temple within his own precinct and bearing responsibility for its maintenance. Amun-Re's traditional marginality at Memphis was counterbalanced by his designation in the stela as “Amun-Re, Foremost of the Temples,” as well as his superordinate status as recipient of Ptah's donations—including 467 ½ aroura (*stꜣ.wt*) of land. The statues of His Majesty were likewise to receive six loaves daily from “the southern 'bakery' of the temple of Ptah.”⁷⁸ Secondly, this relationship was given administrative form within the stela through the decree of financial obligations to be imposed upon the inhabitants of Memphis: a class of vaguely-defined “authorities” (*ḥsf:w*) was charged with the task of collecting from the local fishermen thirty deben of silver—a total declared equivalent in value to thirty-eight cows—and the merchants of the town were likewise required to render monthly payments of oil. The text presents in microcosm the negotiation between the national and the local, and it does so in both theological and pragmatic terms.

Taharqo's reign also brings the first clear evidence of Kushite activity at Tanis and Athribis. Upon the Third Pylon of the Amun Temple at Tanis, Taharqo commemorated the high Nile of his sixth regnal year with an inscription whose surviving lines mirror the otherwise unique conclusion to Kawa stela V.⁷⁹ Also found there was a torso of statuary bearing Taharqo's nomen upon its back pillar.⁸⁰ At Athribis, excavations in the tomb of the Saïte queen Tahout have uncovered re-used blocks with the titulary of Taharqo, likely to be associated with a neighboring structure oriented north-south above foundation deposits of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty style.⁸¹ Attributed to the same site as well are an unprovenanced menat of the king

⁷¹ *PM* III, 839; Leclant, “Varia Aethiopia,” 292-293 nn. 28-29, fig. 2.

⁷² New York MMA 65.45, in: Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 673 no. 25.5.00, Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 53 §21; photograph at <http://www.metmuseum.org> (last accessed 26 June 2013).

⁷³ Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.L.N. 1712), l. 15, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 9-10; Cairo JE 37488, l. 8, in Leclant and Yoyotte, “Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa,” pls. II-III.

⁷⁴ Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8; Dahshur Road Stela, ll. 3, 13-14, in: Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur”; Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse.”

⁷⁵ Dahshur Road Stela in: Moussa, “Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur”; Altenmüller and Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse.” Cairo CG 31652 in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 10, pls. 5-6. Cairo JE 45742 in Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 59 no. 11. Also with Taharqo's titulary: Louvre IM 2640, 2675, 2705, 2706, 2707, in Malinine et al., *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, 99-102, pl. XXXV (nos. 125-127). Likely *tempus* Taharqo: Louvre IM 3019, 2732, 2746, 3146, 3440, in *op. cit.*, 103-105, pl. XXXVI (nos. 129-131), 123-124, pl. XLIV (nos. 159-160); Vercoutter, “Napatan Kings and Apis Worship,” 67-76. Louvre IM 3733 (*tempus* Psamtik I), l. 5, mentions Apis installation under Taharqo: Malinine et al., *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, 146, pl. LII (no. 192).

⁷⁶ *PM* III, 843 J; Leclant, “Compte rendu des fouilles et travaux menés en Égypte, 1948-50: III,” 346; Habachi, “Head of Queen Touy and a Block of Shabaka,” 50.

⁷⁷ As described in stela Cairo JE 36861, for which see Meeks, “Une fondation memphite de Taharqa.”

⁷⁸ Pace Meeks, “Une fondation memphite de Taharqa,” 237 (24). Given the mention of *‘q.w* (“loaves”), the possibility should be considered that the word *‘mr* (> *ⲁⲙⲣⲉ* “bakery”) was intended, perhaps a confusion between D 52 and E 23 from a hieratic original. For *‘mr* as “bakery,” see: Darnell, “Chief Baker”; CDD² (23 JULY 2003): 03.1: 70; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 486; Vittmann, “Zwei Spätzeittitel.”

⁷⁹ Cairo JE 37488 in Leclant and Yoyotte, “Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa.”

⁸⁰ Tanis magazine 168: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, 51 §21.

⁸¹ Ruzsyczyc, “Taharqa à Tell Atrib.”

dedicated to Horus Khentikhety⁸² and a fragmentary donation stela showing Taharqo offering a field to Harpocrates and Isis, “Mistress of Kem (Athribis).”⁸³ While Taharqo’s monuments and paraphernalia demonstrate a Kushite royal presence in the Eastern and Central Delta, Perdu has emphasized the limited scope of the king’s activities in both regions: “Les témoignages laissés par le souverain dans le nord du pays sont d’ailleurs très peu nombreux et surtout limités à deux villes . . . précisément Athribis . . . [et l]’autre ville étant Tanis.”⁸⁴

Yet Taharqo’s absence beyond these sites was perhaps not so absolute as Perdu’s judgment would suggest. An unprovenanced serpentine weight in the Petrie Museum is inscribed for the *s3 R^c T3-h-r-q mry Wsir hry-ib S3w*. As Quirke has observed:

the rulers of Sais presented the principal opposition within Egypt to Napatan power, and therefore this inscription might be seen as evidence for a policy of pacification by Taharqa in the home-city of his main enemy. . . . There were at least two great sanctuaries to Osiris; the weight might have belonged to the temple inventory at either place, perhaps reflecting larger-scale monumental activity there by the Napatan king.⁸⁵

Leclant and Yoyotte have both proposed a similar origin for a bronze hinge with traces of Taharqo’s nomen, subsequently usurped by Psamtik I and found at Memphis, “mais provenant peut-être de Saïs”—as clearly suggested by its dedication to “Neith, Mistress of Saïs.”⁸⁶ Taharqo’s references to the town and his suggested construction there stand in marked contrast to the history of militant antagonism between Saïs and the Kushite regime under Pi(ankh)y and Tanutamani.

The possibility of direct conflict between Taharqo’s regime and the potentates of Lower Egypt has led scholars to read with heightened interest those few passages in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty corpus which contain references to the North and its people, but unfortunately the terms in question are consistently oblique. Aside from another problematic allusion to a *rmt^c mḥ.ti* sold in a Theban papyrus,⁸⁷ Taharqo’s Kawa stela VI also describes the conscription in Upper Nubia of viculturists “of the *Mn.tyw St.t*” and “the best of *Dsds*, the like thereof, people of Northland,” “children of the *grandees (wr.w)* of every land,” and “maidservants (*ḥm.wt*) . . . being the wives of the *grandees (wr.w)* of Northland.”⁸⁸ The passages do not clarify the degree of compulsion or volition which attended their service, nor do they specify the means by which these people were procured or recruited. The *Mn.tyw St.t* appear again in Taharqo’s daring inscription upon the pinnacle at Gebel Barkal, where they are coupled with the *Ṭmḥ.w*.⁸⁹ Likewise, at Sanam bound captives labeled upon the Second Pylon include the *Tiḥn.w* along with the *ḥ3s.wt mḥ.tyw*.⁹⁰ Kawa stela III mentions “children of the *ḥq3.w Tiḥn.w*” among the individuals conscripted for temple service,⁹¹ and Redford has proposed a date during the reign of Taharqo for a fragmentary stela at Karnak mentioning “children of the ‘grandees’” who evidently possessed cattle, traveled overland, and seem to have been forcibly relocated after their defeat.⁹²

It would be of the greatest interest to know if any of these groups might be identified as Delta inhabitants subdued by the Kushite regime as a result of specific military engagements, yet the evidence has thus far frustrated all such positivistic ambition. The stela published by Redford may actually belong to an earlier period,⁹³ and the enemies that it mentions could very well have hailed from the “oasis” mentioned

⁸² Cairo CG 12913 in: Vernus, *Athribis*, 62 §71; Reisner, *Amulets* II, 50, pls. XII, XXVI.

⁸³ In a private collection; see: Bruwier, *Pharaons noirs*, 141-142 no. 44.

⁸⁴ Comments by Perdu in Bruwier, *Pharaons noirs*, 142 §44.

⁸⁵ See photograph of UC London 16369 in Trope, *Excavating Egypt*, 12 no. 9; also Petrie, *Glass stamps and weights*, pl. X (2398).

⁸⁶ Petrie *et al.*, *Meydum and Memphis* III, 40, pls. 32-33; Leclant, “Taharqa,” 163, 178 n. 158; Yoyotte, “Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II,” 230 n. 3, 235.

⁸⁷ pLouvre 3228d, ll. 3, 13, 21, in Malinine, *Choix de textes* I, 43-49; *op. cit.* II, 17-20, pl. VI. Another document from Taharqo’s sixth regnal year (pLouvre E 3228c) mentions the sale of a “man of the north,” but the transaction itself is dated in that text to an earlier point during the reign of Shabaqo; see n. 56 above.

⁸⁸ Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 15, 18-22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 11-12.

⁸⁹ Kendall, “Monument of Taharqa on Gebel Barkal,” 33-35 figs. 24-25.

⁹⁰ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XXLI; also frag. 8, col. x + 4, in *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI.

⁹¹ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6.

⁹² Cheikh Labib 94 CL 1013 in Redford, “Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya;” also n. 93 below.

⁹³ Revez, “Une stèle inédite de la troisième période intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en thébaïde?”

elsewhere in the text;⁹⁴ the same might be argued for the *Tjhn.w* referenced at Sanam, as an “oasis” is again featured there upon the temple’s First Pylon.⁹⁵ In Taharqo’s Kawa stelae the possible connection to an oasis is even more direct, as *Dsds* (Bahariya)⁹⁶ is the only site identified by name as a source of temple servants. Moreover, the generic and even archaic nature of the ethnonyms and toponyms employed would suggest an analogy with the famous trampling scene upon the back of the First Pylon at Kawa’s Temple T⁹⁷: all may simply represent broadly anti-Libyan propaganda, rather than historical references to anti-Libyan razzias during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁹⁸ In fact, the Delta potentates themselves participated in this campaign of propaganda, as indicated only decades after Taharqo’s reign in Saqqara stela VII of Psamtik I, who asked: “Have the Tjehenu conspired [in] their hill-country?”⁹⁹

If documents and archaeology do not provide clear evidence of military conflict within the Double Kingdom’s Delta provinces, the surviving record of civil administration in the region is somewhat more informative. Above the ranks of the various *wr.w n M* and *iry.w-p.t*, one finds a *tj.ty* Montuhotep whose stela and carnelian scarab bear the stylistic features of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties and a series of titles related to Lower Egypt: “Grandee in the Towns of the East,” “Grandee of the East,” and “Prophet of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis.”¹⁰⁰ In addition, a statue of “the High Priest of Athribis, Montuhotep” is likely attributable to him.¹⁰¹ As Northern Vizier, Montuhotep would presumably have overseen the palace’s receipt of tribute items from the Levant;¹⁰² in the royal inscriptions of Taharqo, these are mentioned with some frequency.¹⁰³ Montuhotep’s association with the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is in turn suggested by the image of his wife upon the stela’s lunette (*cf.* Ch. IV.2.2 Fig. 55 above); as Habachi observed: “[H]er slender body, with prominent breast and curiously raised hair are characteristic of this period.”¹⁰⁴ The wife’s hairstyle is indeed “der typisch kuschitische Kopfschmuck,”¹⁰⁵ as seen frequently in Upper Nubia at Meroë, Sanam, Gebel Barkal, and Kawa.¹⁰⁶ Most significantly, she is identified upon the stela as the *s3.t nsw Imn-ir-di-s*. Habachi therefore inferred that she was none other than Amenirdis II, daughter of Taharqo and Divine Adoratrice of Amun in Thebes. The identification has nevertheless been doubted by both Leclant and Morkot, who observe that she bears not a single title recalling her exalted Theban priestly office;¹⁰⁷ upon the stela, she is only *hm.t=fmr=fnb.(t) pr iry-p.t wr.t im.t wr.t hsyw nb.(t) im.t bnr.t mrw.t im3hw hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t-htp*. The absence of any reference to the Divine Adoratrice would suggest that this “royal daughter Amenirdis” with Kushite headdress was another woman entirely, and unless Taharqo had two daughters of the same name, preference must be given to a different father in the Kushite royal line. As Taharqo is the first Kushite king firmly attested at Athribis, it is nevertheless possible that the Athribite high priest Montuhotep first assumed the vizierate during his reign—an honor likely bestowed as a result of or in conjunction with Montuhotep’s marriage to the daughter of Shabaqo or Shebitqo.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁴ Cheikh Labib 94 CL 1013, ro. 9, in Redford, “Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya,” 189-190, ill. 1.

⁹⁵ Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XXIIIa.

⁹⁶ For possible Kushite activity there, see: Fakhry, *Bahria oasis* II, 73; *id.*, *Oases of Egypt* II, 64.

⁹⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, pls. IXb, XLIX; see also n. 6 above.

⁹⁸ See related discussion in Ritner, “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian.”

⁹⁹ Saqqara stela VII, col. 5, in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 325, 327 fig. 64, pls. 2, 14.

¹⁰⁰ Hodjash, “Skarabei vezira Mont(u)khotpa”; Habachi, “Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa.”

¹⁰¹ Discussion and references in Habachi, “Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa,” 170.

¹⁰² *Cf.* van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 313-314 §2.1.4.

¹⁰³ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), cols. 9, 21, Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 18, Kawa VII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713), cols. 3-4, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 5-6, 11-14; Karnak Pylon VI inscription (Chicago House Epigraphic Survey photograph 8581), in Vernus, “Inscriptions de la troisième période intermédiaire (I),” 11 fig. 11 (J2), sixth col. from left (Vernus’s “col. 16”). I thank Christina Di Cerbo for the photograph.

¹⁰⁴ Habachi, “Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa,” 169.

¹⁰⁵ Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*, 43, 222-225 §III.1.2.5.3; see also: *ead.*, “Ein archäologischer Beleg für einen kuschitischen Kopfschmuck.”

¹⁰⁶ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* II, pl. LXIV e-g; Griffith, “Scenes from a Destroyed Temple at Napata”; *id.*, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII,” pl. XLV; BN 7 in LD V, 35.

¹⁰⁷ Leclant, “Taharqa,” 182 n. 34; Morkot, *Black Pharaohs*, 301.

¹⁰⁸ For the possibility of other diplomatic marriages, see Morkot, “Egypt and Nubia,” 250, presumably in reference to either Tabakenamun or Khensa: *cf. id.*, *Economic and Cultural Exchange Between Kush and Egypt*, 383 §43, 400 §85.

A quite similar case is presented by the *ḫ.ty* Harsiese who is named upon both the Theban coffin and stela of his daughter, Nanefherhes.¹⁰⁹ Munro's examination of the stela has assigned it to "um 670 v. Chr.," observing: "Die Gestaltung des Frauenkörpers und des Gewandes sowie die Form des Opfertisches weisen eindeutig auf ein kuschitisches Entstehungsdatum... [und d]er Stil der Darstellungen... auf das Ende der 25. Dyn. weist."¹¹⁰ The father's titles upon the stela also associate him with Lower Egypt: he is the *wr m33(.w) 'Iwnw*, a *wn-r3* priest in Letopolis, and a *stm*-priest in *Hw.t-k3 Pth*.¹¹¹ Consequently, Kitchen has proposed that he may have been "a successor to Mentuhotep" in the office of Northern Vizier.¹¹² However, whereas Montuhotep appears by all accounts to have been a Lower Egyptian who assumed the vizierate close to home, Harsiese bears upon a statue from Giza two additional titles suggesting a Middle or Upper Egyptian familial origin: Grandee of the Prophets of Osiris in the Thinite province and Supreme Grandee of Djufy.¹¹³ Likewise, whereas Montuhotep had married into the Kushite royal line, Harsiese's daughter may have wedded a Saïte: Mehetnusekhet, wife of Psamtik I and mother of Nitocris I, is identified in her funerary chapel at Medinet Habu as the *s3.t n wr m33(.w) n 'Iwnw Hr-s3-Is.t*.¹¹⁴ The prosopographical information upon Mehetnusekhet's chapel is intriguing, for it would seem to equate the Northern Vizier during Taharqo's later reign with the father-in-law of Psamtik I. Unless Nitocris I was installed as Divine Adoratrice before the tender age of eight,¹¹⁵ then her mother's marriage to Psamtik I should have occurred before his accession—rendering the Vizier Harsiese an in-law of Necho I even during the final years of Taharqo's reign.

The appearance of Necho I brings with it the twilight of *Kuschitenherrschaft* in Lower Egypt, and it is doubtful whether conditions obtaining during his tenure at Saïs can be taken as reflective of earlier Kushite governmental policy in Lower Egypt. By the time Necho appeared in the record c. 671 BC, Taharqo's capital at Memphis had been sacked by Esarhaddon, the Kushite king wounded and expelled from the region, and his family members taken away as living captives.¹¹⁶ The Esarhaddon Chronicle (l. 44) first mentions Necho in a context that is lacunose and obscure: "The first year of Shamash-shuma-ukin [...] toward [...] Taharqo, the pharaoh, [...] M[isr...] Necho, the p[harao]h [...]"¹¹⁷ In the later Annals of Assurbanipal, it is nevertheless recorded that it was Esarhaddon who installed Necho at "Kar-bel-matate [*i.e.*, Saïs]."¹¹⁸ The Saïte's surviving monuments are few and include no images of the king,¹¹⁹ but the unpublished donation stela of a certain Akanosh at Sebennytos is dated to Necho I's second regnal year and dedicated to the Osirian triad of Behbeit el-Hagar.¹²⁰

All subsequent accounts of Taharqo's reign in Lower Egypt are, of course, retrospective in nature, introducing a host of interpretive challenges. The Kushite reconquest of Memphis is described in Tanutamani's Dream Stela, but the author's knowledge of or attention to Lower Egyptian political geography pales in comparison to that displayed in Pi(ankh)y's Great Triumphal Stela: from the account we learn principally that Pi-Sopd was now loyal to the Kushite cause.¹²¹ A similar conclusion for Athribis may be reached in

¹⁰⁹ Cairo A 9930 (= T 27/1/25/17) in Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Abb. 13; coffin mentioned in 1898 by Daressy, "Notes et remarques," 21 no. CXLIV (now Cairo T 21/11/16/10).

¹¹⁰ Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, 19 (*cf.* 31ff.), 203.

¹¹¹ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 39-43 esp. 41, also 148; *id.*, "Die Familie der saïtischen Könige," 376 n. 10.

¹¹² Kitchen, *TIP*, §§490-492.

¹¹³ De Meulenaere, "La statue d'un vizier thébain."

¹¹⁴ Partially transcribed in 1898 by Daressy, "Notes et remarques," 21 no. CXLIV; for prosopographical context, see also Cairo JE 36327, ll. 2, 5, 12, in Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela," pls. VIII, IX; Vittmann, "Die Familie der saïtischen Könige," 376-377; *contra* Bierbrier, "More Light on the Family of Montemhat," 306-308.

¹¹⁵ For the date and circumstances of Nitocris's adoption, see Cairo JE 36327, as analyzed by Caminos, "Nitocris Adoption Stela."

¹¹⁶ Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt."

¹¹⁷ Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 210-211. The surviving copy has been attributed to the Neo-Babylonian era.

¹¹⁸ See esp. LET, ll. 37, 55-56, 65, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 36-55, 118-119.

¹¹⁹ UC London 14869 in Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 54 (25.5.1); scarab BM EA 45721 in Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian scarabs*, 253, no. 2529; plaque BM EA 18125 in *op. cit.*, 294 no. 2805.

¹²⁰ Perdu, "La chefferie de Sébennytos," 98-99 fig. 2; *id.*, "De Stéphinatès à Nécho," 1237 fig. 3. For Necho in later memory: Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Cheikh-Fadl," 90-112; Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, 44.

¹²¹ Cairo JE 48863, ll. 36-37, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IVa-IV; Breyer, *Tanutamani*, 293-296 §3.6.2.3. Herodotus (II.152) attributes the death of Νεχών to a Kushite conquest which forced Ψαμμήτιχον into exile, but the Kushite associated with this event by Herodotus is not Tanutamani but rather Σαβακχών. See Godley, *Herodotus* I, 462-463.

more inferential fashion from the Annals of Assurbanipal: among the Lower Egyptian potentates named after the Assyrian conquest, a Bakenefy appears at Athribis, but the subsequent appointment of *Nabû-šezibanni* (Psamtik I?)¹²² to the same town would seem to have displaced a Kushite loyalist in favor of a Saïte scion.¹²³ The remaining list contains much of historical value, but the history to which it speaks is that of Lower Egypt after the earlier conquests of Esarhaddon. In fact, the same qualification must be applied to Herodotus's famous "Dodecarchy" (II.147, 151);¹²⁴ it would be imprudent to construe either as a description of *Kuschitenherrschaft* under Taharqo. Moreover, Assurbanipal's consistent designation of Delta headmen as *šar* reveals little sense of internal hierarchy within the region.¹²⁵ Those headman whose names and locales are not entirely obscure appear to be simply descendants of the expected lineages at each site.

One name nevertheless stands out from Assurbanipal's list for its possible survival in later memory: *Putubišti šar San'nu*.¹²⁶ Scholars remain divided as to whether this figure is to be identified with the *Šhtp-ib-R^c P3-di-B3st.t* featured upon monuments at Tanis and Memphis.¹²⁷ Habachi has attributed the archaeological evidence to a Tanite kinglet contemporaneous with the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty—and thus with Assurbanipal's conquest—while Yoyotte has suggested that Sehetepibre Pedubast was rather a contemporary of Darius.¹²⁸ As Gomaà subsequently recognized, the implications of Habachi's theory would position Pedubast as a king-in-waiting, possibly as early as the latter years of Taharqo; Pedubast would then have seized the opportunity afforded by the Kushite's withdrawal:

Die assyrische Inschrift erwähnt einen König (Šarru) Pedubaste als Herrscher von Tanis. Wie wir oben gesagt haben, muß es sich hier tatsächlich um einen König—nicht um einen Fürsten oder Statthalter—handeln, da die Stadt seit ihrer Gründung nur von Königen beherrscht war. . . . Wenn er . . . in Tanis geblieben ist, dann konnte er während dieser Zeit die Stadt Memphis besetzen, da König Taharqo aus der Stadt nach Oberägypten floh und Nechao in Assur war, d. h., daß die Stadt für kurze Zeit von keinem König oder Fürsten beherrscht war. Dies veranlaßte Pedubaste die Stadt zu erobern.¹²⁹

The considerable, if temporary, political dominion of this figure might then explain why his reign formed the setting for a cycle of historical romances composed during the Graeco-Roman era.

The so-called *Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*¹³⁰ presents many of the same problems and opportunities as Papyrus Rylands IX (see Ch. VI above): on one hand, the Pedubast texts were written long after the events which they purport to narrate, and their many points of deviation from the surviving records of the mid-seventh century BC reveal a pattern of widespread anachronism and historical refraction.¹³¹ On the other, the authors' pursuit of verisimilitude is nevertheless suggested by a countervailing number of correspondences with those same seventh century records, particularly as concerns the political geography of Lower Egypt.¹³² Kitchen has observed of the Pedubast stories that "[t]hey themselves are not history, but they contain some remarkable reminiscences of historical personages of almost a half-a-millennium

¹²² See reservations noted in Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," 260 n. 59.

¹²³ LET, Prism C, and Prism A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), esp. ll. 17-18, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 40 (Anm. 183), 100-101, 120-121. For possible literary remembrance of Bakenefy's Athribite descendants, see Ryholt, "Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition."

¹²⁴ Godley, *Herodotus* I, 454-455, 462-463. For the MSS, see *op. cit.*, xvii-xviii.

¹²⁵ See esp. Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), ll. 89-105, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 36-55, 118-119.

¹²⁶ Prisms C and A (BM 91086 and BM 91026 [Rassam Cylinder]), l. 96, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 52, 118-119.

¹²⁷ For blocks of Sehetepibre Pedubast from Tanis, see: Montet, "Le lac sacré de Tanis," 64-65, 70-73, pl. 30; Habachi, "Three Monuments of the Unknown King Sehetepibre Petubastis," 69-74 fig. 5, Taf. Va, VIa. For a seated granite statue from Kom el-Fakhry (Memphis): *op. cit.*, 70-72 figs. 1-2, Taf. Vb, c. For two doorposts possibly from the Fayum (now Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek A.I.N. 820/821), see: *op. cit.*, 72-73 figs. 6-7, Taf. VIb, c.

¹²⁸ See personal communication between Yoyotte and Habachi cited in Habachi, "Three Monuments of the Unknown King Sehetepibre Petubastis," 73-74.


¹²⁹ Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas*, 143-146.

¹³⁰ Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*; Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, 55-117.

¹³¹ Kitchen, *TIP*, 458 §426.

¹³² Kitchen, *TIP*, 456-458 §425.

earlier . . . especially of the late-Nubian period.”¹³³ Particularly enigmatic is the claim made in the *Contest for the Breastplate of Inaros* that Pedubast survived an attack from the East by the ꜥwr išꜥ[wl] ʒslšꜥtry;¹³⁴ if the text has not merely replaced Taharqo with one of his successors in Lower Egypt, then it may indicate that Pedubast was already of prominent stature during the initial defeat of the Assyrian Esarhaddon c. 673 BC.¹³⁵ Therein lies the peril and promise of the *Sagenkreis*; in its conflation of several consecutive historical epochs, the fund of names, locales, and political rivalries which it provides may occasionally reach into the era which preceded the conquests of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Any possible reference to the Kushite regime in the Pedubast Cycle would therefore warrant maximal scrutiny.

In this regard, the story known to Egyptologists as the *Contest for the Benefice of Amun* may prove especially significant. The papyrus recounts the death of the High Priest of Amun during the reign of King Pedubast at Tanis, followed by an immediate struggle for control of the Amun prebend between the priest’s son and a certain Ankhor of royal blood. The son of the High Priest of Amun is named in the text as “the priest .”¹³⁶ Spiegelberg understood this sequence of graphemes to signify *Hr-n-P*, rendering the man in question an unnamed priest of Horus of Buto.¹³⁷ However, at the 2009 Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Schneider proposed that this sequence of graphemes might instead be read as *Hr-H̄bi*, “Harkhebi”—the very man who is otherwise attested as son of the High Priest of Amun, Horemakhet, during the tenure of Assurbanipal’s *Putubišti šar San’nu*.¹³⁸ If this reading proves justified, it would place a Lower Egyptian family of royal pretensions in direct competition with the hereditary Kushite priesthood at Thebes; regardless of whether such conflict were attributable to the era before or after the Assyrian invasions, the rivalry to which it refers could well have developed from political divisions during Taharqo’s reign. As a potential source of information about *Kuschitenherrschaft*, the Pedubast Cycle has therefore not been altogether exhausted, even after more than a century of study.

Yet the most suggestive fact about the figure of Pedubast is not the singularity accorded him in the *Sagenkreis* but rather the pervasive nature of the larger chronological problems which his historical existence would pose. For Pedubast is not necessarily alone; he is accompanied by a considerable host of kings whose few monuments have been placed variously in the eras before and after the Assyrian conquest, including Gemenefkhonsbak, Penamun, Sekhemkare, and Padinemy.¹³⁹ Such names have frustrated not only absolute but even relative dating, largely due to their detachment from recognizable Manethonian dynasties.¹⁴⁰ All seem to have held aloof from the larger powers of their day, and thus their chronological placement holds significant implications for the political boundaries and policies of their contemporaries—Kushite or otherwise.

¹³³ Kitchen, *TIP*, 461, 456.

¹³⁴ pKrall col. V/l. 7 in Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 165, Taf. 5.

¹³⁵ For the proposed identification with Esarhaddon, see Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 115. See further discussion in Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, 42–61.

¹³⁶ pSpiegelberg (Strassburg), col. 2/l. 3, col. 3/l. 9, col. 4/l. 20, and col. 15/l. 4, in Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, Taf. II–IV, XV.

¹³⁷ Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 14–19, 30–31.





¹³⁸ Schneider, “Assyrian Conquest in Disguise.” This reading nevertheless remains open to question; cf. the expected orthographies of *H̄bi* in: Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 353; Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 84*. For the presence of a Pedubast at Tanis at the beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, see the Annals of Assurbanipal in n. 125 above. For Harkhebi’s priestly office at Thebes during that same period, see: Cairo JE 36327, l. 22, in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” 76, pls. VI, X; pBrooklyn 47.218.3, col. N/ll. 11–14, in Parker, *Saïte Oracle Papyrus*, 5 fig. 2c, 29 §50, pls. 1, 15. For Harkhebi’s filiation from the High Priest of Amun, Horemakhet, see the latter’s coffin: Cairo JE 55193 (still unpublished, but photographed as Metropolitan Museum of Art M.II.C.115). Transcription of the relevant passage may be found in Kees, “Die priesterliche Stellung des Monthemhet,” 62.

¹³⁹ For blocks and fragments from Tanis bearing the titulary of Gemenefkhonsbak, see: Montet, “Le lac sacré de Tanis,” 67–73 (239–47), 74–81, pl. 31; *id.*, “Chonsou et son serviteur.” For a stela of Gemenefkhonsbak in Turin, see Sauneron, “Une stèle « égarée » du roi Gemnefkhonsoubak”; Montet, “Le lac sacré,” 72, pl. 81; bronze cube from Tanis temple (now in Cairo): Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, 29–30, pls. 103(c)–104; Montet, “Le lac sacré de Tanis,” 68. For monuments of the other kings named, see objects catalogued in Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 251 §50.10, 256–257 §§50.17–21. Neferkare may stand apart from the list as the only kinglet associable with a Manethonian pharaoh (Psamtik I); see n. 64 above.

¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., the status accorded these kings in von Beckerath’s *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, where they are described as “Vassallen der XXV . . . die nach dem Abzug der Äthiopen zunächst gemeinsam mit Psammetichos regiert haben sollen.” *Op. cit.*, 212 n. 1 (emphasis added). For Gemnefkhonsbak, however, cf. Morkot’s proposals regarding stylistic dating, as well as apparent onomastic links to Shepsesre Tefnakht and his line: Morkot, “From Conquered to Conqueror,” 960.

VII.3. *Change and Continuity in Kuschitenherrschaft*

As the foregoing survey would clearly suggest, the available evidence from Lower Egypt constitutes a very tenuous foundation upon which to build any theory of political strategy or governmental structure. The political significance of much of the data depends upon its exact placement within the chronological scheme of the seventh century BC, but that placement is in turn heavily influenced by presumptions of significance. Only the general outlines may be reconstructed with certainty: during the reign of Pi(ankh)y, a polycentric distribution of power in the Delta was openly tolerated—even celebrated—by the Kushite royal house, and the monumental record shows no discernible Kushite stamp upon the architectural landscape of the region. The reigns of Shabaqo and Shebitqo clearly wrought significant changes—most notably, construction activity by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at Memphis; that this same era also produced the earliest unequivocal evidence of Kushite loyalists in the Delta, involvement in Levantine affairs, and an apparent displacement of Bakenrenef is unlikely to be coincidental. The subsequent increase in the volume of relevant evidence during the reign of Taharqo is unfortunately matched by a similar rise in the number of chronological challenges. As a result, the extent to which Delta policy was continued, modified, or abandoned across the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is still mired in uncertainty. However, these conditions do not decisively exclude theories dependent upon the Lower Egyptian evidence; on the contrary, the ambiguity of the preserved record should underscore the necessity of entertaining and scrutinizing all available explanations until more data have been collected.

From the morass of evidence summarized above, Perdu has selected one item as particularly significant: the still unpublished stela of the Sebennytite Akanosh, dedicated to the Osirian triad of Behbeit el-Hagar and dated to Necho I's regnal year 2.¹⁴¹ As Necho was evidently installed by Esarhaddon and mentioned in that Assyrian's chronicle,¹⁴² the date as given upon the Sebennytos stela should place its composition before the conquest of Assurbanipal. Indeed, the latter mentioned at Sebennytos not Akanosh but *Harsiešu* (= Eg. *Hr-s3-'Is.t*).¹⁴³ Consequently, it would seem most *unlikely* that the Akanosh who honored Necho I at Behbeit el-Hagar before Assurbanipal's conquest could be the same Akanosh who served Psamtik I after that conquest,¹⁴⁴ and so the two Sebennytite headman should be separated by the intervening figure of Harsiese. Perdu would further distinguish the Akanosh who honored Necho I from his namesake under Pi(ankh)y, observing not only the half-century separating the documents in question but also a difference in the orthography of the two names: while Pi(ankh)y's contemporary was consistently either  or , the dedicant upon the unpublished stela is instead .¹⁴⁵ Between the two, Perdu interposes a certain *'Iw[pw]t*, named as the father of  upon the unpublished stela. The Sebennytite line would then run as follows between the reigns of Pi(ankh)y and Psamtik I, with patronyms alternating by typical Egyptian custom:

Akanosh (A)	<i>tempus</i> Pi(ankh)y
Iuput	<i>(tempus</i> Shabaqo/Shebitqo?)
Akanosh (B)	<i>tempus</i> Necho I (and Taharqo?)
Harsiese	<i>tempus</i> Assurbanipal
Akanosh (C)	<i>tempus</i> Psamtik I

¹⁴¹ Perdu, "La chefferie de Sébennytos."

¹⁴² For the Esarhaddon Chronicle, see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 210-211. For the Annals of Assurbanipal, see esp. LET, ll. 37, 55-56, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 36-55, 118-119.

¹⁴³ Prisms C and A, l. 98, in Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* I, 118-119.

¹⁴⁴ For the latter Akanosh, see Cairo CG 657 in el-Sayed, "Un grand prêtre de Sébennytos," esp. pl. XVII (cartouches of Psamtik I on back pillar).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Cairo JE 48862, lunette and ll. 99, 115, in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, III, V, X. The writing of N 36 (usually *mr*) as an orthographic variant of N 18 (*'w*) is surprising, but the phonetic value of the sign as *'w* would seem to be confirmed by the orthographic variant N 30 (usually *is.t*); cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 48 §§18-19.

The unpublished stela from Behbeit el-Hagar would therefore introduce a new figure into the political history of the Delta, and one with unmistakable clout. As Perdu observes, Akanosh (B) donated 9,500 aroura (*st̄3.wt*) of land, a parcel far outstripping even royal donations of the era.¹⁴⁶ According to Perdu, this man's political allegiances are also particularly revealing:

Sur ce document, on remarque notamment la façon dont Akanosh B s'abstient de toute référence au souverain éthiopien qui n'est ni représenté dans le cintre, ni évoqué au début du texte à propos de la datation. En témoignant ainsi de son éloignement de la XXV^e dynastie, ce chef ne s'affranchit pas pour autant de toute tutelle. Pour dater sa donation, il n'hésite pas en effet à mentionner le roi dont il prend les années de règne en considération, démontrant de cette façon l'ascendant qu'il lui reconnaît. Or il est question de *Nécho I^{er}*, souverain dans lequel il faut voir un concurrent du pharaon éthiopien et le représentant d'une dynastie implantée autor de Saïs peu de temps après le couronnement de Taharqa. . . . En se ralliant à cet irréductible foyer d'opposition à la domination éthiopienne dont les chefs sont les héritiers de Tefnakht, le meneur de la coalition dirigée contre Piânkhi, et Bocchoris, l'adversaire malheureux de Shabaka, Akanosh B semble en fait marquer *son engagement dans la lutte contra Taharqa*.¹⁴⁷

Perdu further argues that the Delta's gradual alienation from the Kushite regime is reflected in the Pharbaitite stelae of Patjenfy—the first of which donates land in the image of Shabaqo alone, while the second elevates the local headman to a position alongside Shebitqo as co-donor;¹⁴⁸ the same pattern would be suggested by the royal prerogatives exercised by a certain Shepsesre Tefnakht during the early reign of Taharqo.¹⁴⁹ By Taharqo's latter years, Perdu contends, this erosion of Kushite control had spread to Tanis, as evidenced by the royal pretensions of “un certain Pétoubastis.”¹⁵⁰ Perdu concludes that “l'exemple de Sébennytos permet de mettre l'accent sur les problèmes rencontrés par Taharqa dans le Delta *bien avant* les campagnes assyriennes, empêchant ainsi de croire plus longtemps que son règne peut se résumer à la treize années de paix et autant de conflits.”¹⁵¹ As proof of the civil unrest which plagued Taharqo's early years, Perdu cites two additional textual references: (1) Herodotus's story (II.141) of warrior-class opposition to Σεθῶν,¹⁵² and (2) Taharqo's resettlement “des gens du Nord à Kawa,” as attested in Kawa stelae III and VI.¹⁵³

In the proceedings of the recent Leiden conference, Kahn now disputes Perdu's theory upon both logical and chronological grounds.¹⁵⁴ In the unpublished stela, he observes, Necho I appears only by name *sans* royal image; thus, by Perdu's own criteria, Necho would have exercised even less authority at Behbeit el-Hagar than Shabaqo and Shebitqo had held before him at Pharbaitos. The threat which Necho posed to Kushite royal authority should not then be overestimated. Moreover, Kahn proposes that the date of Akanosh's stela would not coincide with Taharqo's rule from Memphis: “Necho I's second regnal year is to be dated in 671, when Taharqa was defeated by the Assyrians and fled southward from where he did not return for several years.”¹⁵⁵ Akanosh (B)'s decision to honor Necho I would consequently have little relevance at all to the conditions of *Kuschitenherrschaft*, and it would not undermine the peaceful hegemony which has previously been assumed during the first half of Taharqo's reign.

Kahn would likewise exclude from the first half of the seventh century BC the stelae of Shepsesre Tefnakht, not only because the diagnostic criteria observed in the lunette have proven inconclusive, but also upon the assumption that Shepsesre Tefnakht's vast sphere of authority cannot be accommodated

¹⁴⁶ By contrast, the Buto donation stela from the reign of Shabaqo mentions only twenty aroura of land and Taharqo's donation to the Amun-Re chapel at Memphis only 467 ½ aroura. For the former, see New York MMA 155.144.6, l. 2, in Daninos Pacha, *Collection d'antiquités égyptiennes de Tigrane*, 10 no. 75, pl. 32. For the latter, see Cairo JE 36861, l. 16, in Meeks, “Une fondation memphite de Taharqa,” pl. XXXVIII.

¹⁴⁷ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 105 (emphasis added).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. nn. 67 and 72 above.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. n. 39 above.

¹⁵⁰ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 109.

¹⁵¹ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 108.

¹⁵² Cf. Godley, *Herodotus* I, 446–447. Σεθῶν is therefore equated with Shebitqo.


¹⁵³ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 108 n. 84. For the passages in question, see nn. 88 and 91 above. The same inference about these passages in the Kawa stelae has been drawn by: Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta,” 53; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 172; Ritner, “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian,” 526.

¹⁵⁴ Kahn, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt.”

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

within that era. Kahn argues, *contra* Perdu, that one of the stelae of Shepsesre Tefnakht derived from Bubastis, thereby demonstrating that the Saïte king had “expanded his rule to the eastern boundaries of Egypt with no evidence of a Kushite withdraw.”¹⁵⁶ According to Kahn, such conditions must be placed within the reign of Pi(ankh)y, equating Shepsesre Tefnakht with the adversary named upon the Great Triumphal Stela, because “[t]he Kushite occupation of the Delta and the expansion of Saitic rule can not fit together into the same period.”¹⁵⁷ Despite the fundamental divergence between Perdu’s and Kahn’s theories, the evidence available at present can reasonably be marshalled in support of either alternative, and one or the other may prove justified as additional archaeological and inscriptional material is published in the future.

Yet the stakes of the argument between Perdu and Kahn seem to have been defined with unwarranted and artificial stricture. Perdu’s theory would require that all royal prerogatives exercised by the Saïte and Tanite houses be symptoms of military conflict with the Kushite authority in Memphis; he makes no mention at all of Taharqo’s apparent overtures to (or even possible constructions at) Saïs, as suggested by the king’s serpentine weight inscribed for *Wsir ḥry-ib Sꜣw* and bronze hinge dedicated to *N.t nb.t Sꜣw*.¹⁵⁸ Kahn’s opposing theory would require that the royal pretensions of Shepsesre Tefnakht, Necho I, Gemenefkhab, Pedubast, Penamun, Sekhemkare, and Padinemty must all be assigned either to the period before Manetho’s Twenty-Fifth Dynasty had taken up residence at Memphis or to the period after it had been expelled by the Assyrians.¹⁵⁹ The regal status of the early names in Manetho’s Twenty-Sixth Dynasty—two *apud* Africanus, three *apud* Eusebius¹⁶⁰—would then be classed as a political fiction bestowed retroactively upon the ancestors of Necho I. Underlying both Perdu’s and Kahn’s arguments is the shared belief that *nsw.w* would not have been tolerated in Lower Egypt under the Kushite regime. In short, it has been assumed that Pi(ankh)y’s polycentric strategy in the region must have been jettisoned completely by his kinsman Shabaqo and never pursued in any measure by either Shebitqo or Taharqo.

As an alternative to both theories, it might be proposed that the proliferation of *nsw.w* in Lower Egypt was less anathema to the Kushite royal house¹⁶¹ than it has been considered by many modern Egyptologists. The necessity of such an alternative is illustrated by the aforementioned case of Akanosh (B). Upon a statue in Athens’s National Archaeological Museum,  is named as the father of *Tꜣ-Kꜣ.t*.¹⁶² This would suggest, not only that Akanosh (B) had a Kushite daughter, but naturally also that he had a Kushite wife—very likely of the blood royal, like Montuhotep’s *sꜣ.t nsw* Amenirdis. Perdu’s scenario would then require that Akanosh, an affine of the Kushite royal line and father of *Tꜣ-Kꜣ.t*, “marqu[a] son engagement dans la lutte *contra* Taharqa,”¹⁶³ while Kahn would propose that Akanosh abandoned the Kushite cause in favor of the fledgling Saïte line immediately after Taharqo’s (temporary) expulsion from Memphis. Neither explanation is impossible, but both are surprising—and perhaps unnecessary. If Shepsesre Tefnakht were allowed to claim royal titles within his Saïte bailiwick during the reign of Taharqo—just as the Bubastite Osorkon IV and Leontopolitan Iuput II had once done under Pi(ankh)y—then Akanosh (B)’s connections

¹⁵⁶ Kahn, “Did Tefnakht I rule as king?,” 124. A Bubastite provenance for the Michailides stela was first proposed by Yoyotte, “Notes et documents pour servir à l’histoire de Tanis.” However, Perdu has recently challenged this location. Perdu, “De Stéphanatès à Nécho,” 1224 n. 44, 1231 n. 81.

¹⁵⁷ Kahn, “Did Tefnakht I rule as king?,” 125. In the cited article (1999), Kahn initially proposed that Taharqo’s summons north by Shebitqo “was not in order to fight against Sennacherib at Eltekeh (701 BC), but to stop the expansion of the ruler of Sais.” *Op. cit.*, 124-125 n. 17. Kahn appears to have subsequently abandoned this hypothesis; see *id.*, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt,” 145.

¹⁵⁸ See nn. 85-86 above.

¹⁵⁹ It has long been proposed in the literature on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty that a certain “Nekauba” also claimed royal titles at Saïs during this interval, but Ryholt has recently undermined this theory. See: Stroganoff 84 in Wiedemann, “Inschriften aus der saïtischen Periode,” 64 §2; frags. 68, 69a-b, in Waddell, *Manetho*, 168-173; Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, nos. 2121-2125, 2143; *id.*, *History of Egypt* III, 318-319; Ray, “Pharaoh Nechepso”; Ryholt, “Den legendariske kong Nechepsos”; *id.*, “New Light on the Legendary King Nechepsos.”

¹⁶⁰ Cf. frags. 68, 69(a), 69(b), in Waddell, *Manetho*, 168-173.

¹⁶¹ See perceptive comments of Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, 527.

¹⁶² Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 110 in: Maravelia, *Ancient Egypt and Antique Europe*, 37-38 no. II.15; Tzachou, *World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, 158-159; Boufides “Τακουσιτ, η θυγατηρ του μεγαλου αρχηγου των μαξυων”; Hill, *Gifts for the Gods*, 98-103.

¹⁶³ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 105 (emphasis added).

to both the Kushite and Saïte royal houses would result, not from a caprice, but from the Sebennytite's political dexterity within a polycentric system.

A similar complexity is presented by the aforementioned Northern Vizier, Harsiese. As Kitchen observed, “[t]he possible identification of the Heliopolitan high priest Harsiese, father-in-law of Psammetichus I, with the vizier and Heliopolitan high priest Harsiese R would imply that, even during the reign of Taharqa, Harsiese had entered into relations with Necho I as prince of Sais, in marrying off his other daughter to Necho's son Psammetichus (I).”¹⁶⁴ Perdu's logic would suggest that this marriage constituted a rebellion against Taharqa by a Vizier of Upper (or Middle) Egyptian birth who owed his very appointment to that Kushite king. Alternatively, the marriage could be explained under both Perdu's and Kahn's theories provided that it took place after Taharqa's expulsion from Lower Egypt. Yet the parallel case of *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq*, as analyzed in Chapter VI above, would seem to render all such strictures unnecessary. It will be recalled that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* was most likely installed under Taharqa, as he exercised the duties of Harbor Master across Upper Egypt during Taharqa's reign, and did so from his seat at Herakleopolis—a town with historic ties to the Kushite court. If the sequence of deductions essayed in Chapter VI is correct, then he subsequently married a daughter of the Saïte royal line, and c. 656 BC their son had attained sufficient favor at the court of Psamtik I to be entrusted with the task of officiating Nitocris's arrival at Thebes. Consequently, *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-ššq* would have been allied to the Saïte court even while he served Taharqa's regime in Upper Egypt. There would seem little reason for refusing a parallel scenario to the Vizier Harsiese. In fact, given the examples of Montuhotep, Akanosh (B), and Harsiese, it is perhaps best to consider these complex marriage arrangements, not as unique instances of duplicity, but as common practice under *Kuschitenherrschaft*.

It might be objected that this *Pax Napatana* in Lower Egypt would be inconsistent with Taharqa's violent suppression of the region, as widely conjectured from the Kawa stelae.¹⁶⁵ Yet it is by no means clear that Lower Egypt was ever the target of Taharqa's military campaigns. As explained in Chapter VII.2 above, the *rmt.w ʿmh.tyw* sold at Thebes and the *Tḥn.w* and *Mnty.w St.t* resettled at Kawa need not have originated in Lower Egypt, particularly as they are mentioned in conjunction with *Dsds* (Bahariya).¹⁶⁶ A better case can certainly be made for the Delta origin of the *rmt.w n.w T3-Mḥw*, but here the nature of their service must be examined more closely: unlike the people donated by Taharqa to Amun-Re, Bull of the Land of the *St-Bow*, at Sanam (*cf.* Ch. III.3.2.2 Figs. 27-31 above), those given to Amun-Re of Kawa were never tallied according to ethnonym or toponym like conquered enemies of the state. When “people of Northland” and “wives of the grandees of Northland” were mentioned in Taharqa's royal corpus, they were conscripted as viticulturists (*k3ry.w*), servants (*mr.w*), and maidservants (Macadam: “priestesses,” *ḥm.wt*);¹⁶⁷ none of these statuses should be facilely equated with corvée labor imposed upon prisoners of war.¹⁶⁸ In fact, to the limited extent that the Kawa documents specify the activity required of these individuals, the tasks described are indeed those of either viticulturists, priests, or priestesses, as Macadam first surmised. Thus, Kawa VI mentions “men who know their spells” and “chantresses to shake the sistrum before His beautiful face,” while Kawa III specifies “numerous chantresses, their sistra in their hands, to play before His beautiful face.”

The same role would later be filled by Anlamani's and Aspelta's kinswomen and commemorated on royal stelae,¹⁶⁹ though it is not necessarily to be equated with an honorary appointment: Vinogradov has recently proposed that even the installation of royal kinswomen into priestly office may have been an

¹⁶⁴ Kitchen, *TIP*, 568 §492; but *cf.* Bierbrier, “More Light on the Family of Montemhat,” 306-308.

¹⁶⁵ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos,” 108 n. 84; Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta,” 53; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 172; Ritner, “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian,” 526.

¹⁶⁶ See nn. 88 and 96 above.

¹⁶⁷ Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 40 n. 63.

¹⁶⁸ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6; Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 15, 20-21, in *op. cit.*, pls. 11-12.

¹⁶⁹ See: the Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (Kawa VIII = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Aspelta's Dedication Stela (Louvre C 257), ll. 8-15, in Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 3A-4B. *Cf.* the Great Inscription of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX), col. 63, where *captive* peoples are given to Amun of Pnubs as “sistrum-bearers before this god.” Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 19, 24.

act of “tonsuring” designed to curtail the political ambitions of the appointee’s descendants.¹⁷⁰ Given the exalted status accorded many of those resettled at Kawa (“wives of the grandees of Northland,” “children of the rulers of the Tjehenu,” and “children of the grandees of every land”),¹⁷¹ the process should perhaps be seen more as a political machination than as an outcome of military conquest. Wilson has argued of the reference to “wives of the grandees of Northland” in Kawa VI that “[p]robably this does not mean an enslaving of conquered Egyptians, but rather the purchase of their gratitude by appointing them to honorary posts, with purely nominal duties in serving the ramheaded god as priestesses.”¹⁷² If Vinogradov’s interpretation is correct, then those posts may have been less honorary than incapacitating, conferred for the sake of formalized political subordination rather than as a purchase of gratitude. Yet, in either case, the many references to such appointment would have little to do with warfare against an enemy. Viewed from this perspective, the “people of Northland” resettled in Upper Nubia may well reflect, not a violent conflict between the two regions, but instead their rapprochement under Taharqo. In the present state of the evidence, neither scenario can be easily assumed.

Both Perdu’s and Kahn’s theories would envision Lower Egypt as the field of contest between agonistic Kushite and Saïte forces; their scenarios differ principally in the timing of this militarization. The strongest parallels may be seen in the events which precipitated Pi(ankh)y’s campaign in Egypt and those that attended Psamtik II’s later war against Kush.¹⁷³ However, neither Perdu’s nor Kahn’s scenario accords quite as well with the conditions that obtained after Pi(ankh)y’s campaign, or with those that accompanied the reign of Psamtik I. The interval between—the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty proper—admits a third scenario, as briefly mentioned by Picchi:

[S]i rese necessario l’intervento dell’esercito nubiano per entrare in possesso del territorio. Eliminato anche fisicamente il signore locale più potente, vale a dire Bocchoris—ultimo sovrano della XXIV dinastie—, *non sembra però che i Kushiti apportassero grandi mutamenti alla struttura politico-amministrative del Delta*. Si preoccuparono piuttosto di dimostrare rispetto alle divinità del pantheon egiziano e di accattivarsi il favore della classe sacerdotale per ottenere il riconoscimento della loro autorità anche nel Basso Egitto.¹⁷⁴

The choice of alternatives—violent contestation, resolute hegemony, or local co-option—is central to understanding *Kuschitenherrschaft*, and it is the interplay between the three which the present work has sought to problematize and examine.

¹⁷⁰ Vinogradov, “Golden Cage,” 113-114.

¹⁷¹ Kawa III (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707), col. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 5-6; Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 20-21, in *op. cit.*, pls. 11-12.

¹⁷² Wilson, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 64.

¹⁷³ For the latter, see esp.: Cairo JE 67095 in Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II”; Bakry, “Psammetichus II and His Newly-found Stela at Shellal”; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pls. 4-7; Yoyotte, “Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II.”

¹⁷⁴ Picchi, *Il conflitto tra Etiopi ed Assiri*, 65-66 (emphasis added).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

VIII.1. Kuschitenherrschaft *under Taharqo: Region-by-Region Summary*

At the Eleventh International Conference for Nubian Studies in 2006, László Török was invited to give a *conspectus* of the current state of the discipline and the most salient issues for future research. He chose to focus upon the enigmatic structure and operation of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state and its political legacy in Nubia.¹ Indeed, the central question of Török's paper has been raised in a number of recent publications by leading Nubiologists.² Of particular interest are the vast territorial extent of the Double Kingdom and its resultant ecological diversity: a domain of more than 3,200 km stretching from Sahel through arid Nile corridor to Mediterranean fens. Some have even gone so far as to pronounce the Double Kingdom “the largest land power on earth”³ during the early seventh century BC and to cast its mode of governance as “an entirely new concept of . . . kingship.”⁴ Both characterizations are quite debatable, and they serve to highlight just how little is currently understood of *Kuschitenherrschaft*. As Morkot has asked: “How was it possible for one king to control all of that territory? . . . How did the Kushite monarchy function?”⁵

Török's approach to this question has focused upon the Kushite royal necropoleis and the rich corpus of Kushite royal inscriptions. The cemeteries at el-Kurru and Nuri and royal stelae and reliefs from Gebel Barkal and Kawa are analyzed for the “symbolic forms” which communicated the Kushite “myth of the state”—*e.g.*, divine sonship, “ambulatory kingship,” and principles of legitimate succession. Across the discipline of Nubian Studies, such emphasis upon political theology remains dominant in analyses of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and it has added considerably to modern knowledge of ancient Kush.

The present work has pursued the question of *Kuschitenherrschaft* from a different angle, in an effort to supplement the contributions of earlier studies: broad theorization of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty state as the singular entity depicted in royal propaganda has been deferred here in favor of empirical analysis directed toward regional administration, prosopography, and political economy. In order to minimize the proportion of theory to evidence, attention has been focused upon the reign of Taharqo specifically, during which the available fund of both archaeological and documentary source material is most abundant. A concerted attempt has also been made in the preceding six chapters to hew an historical approach to the subject matter, defined not by resort to a single methodology but rather by the combination of several. Morkot and Quirke have observed that, to many “within Egyptology, . . . ‘historians’ are merely those who are neither excavators nor philologists.”⁶ In the present study, the work of the historian is defined by commission rather than omission, so that historical research is instead taken to concern all evidence relevant to questions of change, continuity, events, their causes, and the motivations of their agents, as well as all methodologies necessary to understand such evidence—*e.g.*, interpretation of excavation reports and survey data, translation, palaeography, lexicography, grammatical study, prosopography, historiography, and analysis of iconography, its arrangement, and its composition. In some instances, a proper understanding of the significance of even a single piece of evidence has required the employment of all such methodologies (see esp. Ch. IV.2). More often, the variable nature and uneven distribution of evidence between

¹ Török, “From chieftom to ‘segmentary state.’”

² See esp.: Kahn, “Divided Kingdom”; Fuller, “Pharaonic or Sudanic?”; Zibelius-Chen, “Entstehung und Endes eines Großreiches”; *ead.*, “Theorie und Realität im Königtum der 25. Dynastie”; Edwards, “Meroe and the Sudanic Kingdoms”; *id.*, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*; Morkot, “Foundations of the Kushite state”; Wenig, “Kommentar zu Török.”

³ Lobban, “Foreign Relations of the XXVth Dynasty,” 332.

⁴ Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey*, 17.

⁵ Morkot, “Foundations of the Kushite state,” 232.

⁶ Morkot and Quirke, “Inventing the 25th Dynasty,” 349.

regions of the Double Kingdom has produced different methodological combinations from one chapter to the next.

In the Butana Steppe (Ch. II), the surviving evidence from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty era is almost exclusively archaeological, and the inscribed material is so terse that its spatial distribution often reveals more than does its content. The relationship between the Butana Steppe and the Double Kingdom has been interpreted in the published literature through the prism of Meroë and its traditional association with questions of origin, producing two dominant theories: (1) that Meroë was the ancestral seat of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, or (2) that Meroë was a site annexed at the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's inception. As argued above, the evidence currently available provides the least support for the ancestral seat theory. In particular, widespread assumptions about the region's political economy, the chronology and significance of royal scarabs and tomb types in Meroëite cemeteries, and the toponymic referents of Kushite royal inscriptions do not withstand close scrutiny. A stronger case may be constructed for the theory that Meroë was annexed by the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and future excavations may well provide definitive proof of this hypothesis. Yet, in its current formulation, the theory relies upon some highly questionable interpretations of brick-size correlations and foundation deposits, and undue weight has been given to a single bronze statuette (now lost) whose heavily-corroded facial features were judged "on the basis of the poor photograph" to resemble other statuettes possibly to be identified as images of Taharqo.⁷ Because of the severe ambiguities of the evidence, a third scenario was proposed in the present work which has yet to be discussed in the literature published to date: as the earliest evidence of royal construction in the region, the earliest textual reference to Meroë, and the earliest testimony of royal filiation among those interred at the site all appear during the late seventh century BC, it was proposed that Meroë could have maintained a considerable degree of autonomy before the reign of Aspelta, suggesting less territorial expansion by the el-Kurru dynasts than previously assumed. Indeed, the chronology of the evidence in the Butana Steppe would seem to indicate that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty had made fewer inroads there than they had in much of contemporaneous Egypt.

The Dongola-Napata Reach (Ch. III) presents a markedly different range of evidence: a detailed corpus of royal inscriptions without a corresponding record of settlement archaeology. Remarkably, evidence of administrative titles does not emerge from the inscribed record until immediately after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, but the ubiquitous emphasis upon hereditary succession of office would suggest that these administrative titles were not of recent introduction. If accepted provisionally upon this basis, the details of local administration found in the royal corpus of the Napatan period speak quite forcefully against the assumptions that Upper Nubian officialdom was peopled by Egyptian émigrés or controlled by a small oligarchy. Authority appears instead to have been dispersed across a number of kin groups; there is oddly little pyramidal hierarchy of governmental positions; and offices which might otherwise be equated with the king's unique deputy are found divided among several individuals. The royal inscriptions composed during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty itself are less informative upon the subject of local administration but quite generous with details of larger regional political geography. Several grounds of support were voiced above for Török's intertextual analysis of this corpus, which has concluded that coronation in Upper Nubia was not a singular event binding across the realm, but a series of interdependent events each conferring localized authority. As Török observes, the repetition of both coronation and governmental functions at several locales within Upper Nubia may explain the surprising absence of "the kind of governmental hierarchy in which the king would be separated from the level of the territorial government . . . by several levels of dignitaries" (e.g., the Vizier and King's Son of Kush).⁸ Yet the present study has also challenged Török's claim that "the possible origins and explanation of this [coronation] tradition are not important";⁹ on the contrary, the diachronic history of Kushite enthronement rights would seem to hold the greatest relevance to domestic *Kuschitenherrschaft* within the Double Kingdom. In this regard, several details of the Kawa stelae and accompanying reliefs seem to indicate that the coronation circuit through Kawa was

⁷ Török, *Meroe City* I, 260.

⁸ Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 178, cf. also 248.

⁹ Török, "Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History," 115.

not practiced during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty before Taharqo's tenth regnal year and that the circuit initially passed through Memphis, Napata, and Kawa, before its later contraction to the Dongola-Napata Reach. It was therefore proposed that the commemoration of "federalism" in royal propaganda may have derived not merely from essentialist features of Kush, but also from instrumentalist responses to the process of territorial expansion during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Finally, an excursus in Chapter III provided the first full translation and annotation of Taharqo's Sanam Historical Inscription, and it was argued that the text in its original form was one of the longest, most annalistic, and most influential of all the Kushite royal inscriptions, containing several innovations in content, a hitherto unnoticed retelling of Taharqo's "four goodly wonders," and valuable geographic details previously rendered inaccessible by the lack of a thoroughgoing *editio princeps*.

In Lower Nubia, the Batn el-Hagar, and the Abri-Delgo Reach (Ch. IV), a *catalogue raisonné* listing the sites at which Taharqo's royal nomina are attested might easily give the impression of a considerable investment of state resources across the region. However, as scrutiny of the archaeological evidence has demonstrated above, the catalogue approach is misleading, for several of the locales so enumerated north of the Third Cataract yielded only one inscribed block from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, many of them quite possibly harvested from a single site, and three more locales credited as the focus of "Taharqo's building" contain nothing more than graffiti scratched onto boulders. Moreover, the few remaining monuments which can be localized with certainty do not reflect the intra-site and inter-site sustainability networks which characterized earlier Egyptian-style temple-towns, and they appear to have been sited according to priorities of long-distance trade rather than locally-available labor or arable land. A widely-consulted *catalogue raisonné* of Taharqo's reign has also led Nubiologists during recent decades to associate the Semna stela of one *Mntw-m-ḥ3.t* with the Theban Mayor of that name, and Török has concluded from this official's apparent presence at Semna that "Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia were treated as a single unit," that the latter would then have "followed patterns provided by the functioning of TIP Egyptian temple-towns," and that military stations throughout the region should consequently be *re*-dated to Taharqo's reign and attributed to a state policy of fortification "intended to control the desert nomads as well as the inhabitants of the region between the First and Second Cataracts."¹⁰ Yet a closer examination of the stela now indicates that it was commissioned during the Middle Kingdom—at least one thousand years before the reign of Taharqo. Once the Semna stela is eliminated, there remains no evidence of a single Egyptian administrator stationed in Lower Nubia during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and no compelling reason to assume a pervasive state investment in the region at the time, whether for temple-town foundation or military fortification. The exclusion of the Semna stela also leaves only a single written source in Lower Nubia recording an historical event from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: the aforementioned year 19 graffito inscribed upon three boulders west of the Nile. Grammatical study of that text and consideration of its topographical placement as presented here would in turn suggest that its historical content stands misconstrued in recent literature; rather than attesting to a dramatic march to international war, the graffito marks a route of importance within the local pastoral economy.

Upper Egypt (Ch. V) remains the most thoroughly documented and most extensively studied region in all of the Double Kingdom. In contrast to the Nubian and Middle Egyptian regions on either side, Upper Egypt presents a relative wealth of civil and ecclesiastical titles and other prosopographical data. Nevertheless, the most recent attempt at a comprehensive analysis of Theban officials and their duties during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty has concluded that even in Upper Egypt "it is not possible to speak of a 'court' for the centuries following the New Kingdom," as "central authority and administration had disappeared."¹¹ Several reasons for this conclusion were demonstrated here—foremost among them, the lack of correlation between wealth and titles and the evident proliferation of Southern Viziers and Overseers of Upper Egypt under Kushite rule. Both would suggest either that the Kushite regime permitted lines of succession to be interrupted with tremendous frequency or that titles were regarded more as

¹⁰ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344-345; *id.*, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250.

¹¹ The study in question is Naunton's DPhil thesis defended at Swansea University in June of 2009, but its conclusions are forecast in the article quoted above: Exell and Naunton, "Administration," 102, 104.

honors claimed simultaneously by many than as central institutions occupied by only one. Theban officials do not appear entirely dependent upon Kushite royal favor, but they also were not treated as threats to Kushite authority; Exell and Naunton have proposed that “the pharaoh was perhaps content to leave the mundane business of running the country to those individuals and systems already in place.”¹² As argued above, the evidence for royal appointments within the civil administration has often been overestimated, and the Kushite house was allied principally by marriage to the Theban mayoralty. Members of the royal family were instead appointed to positions within the cult which were not explicitly combined with offices of civil authority. Kushite rule in Upper Egypt would therefore seem best understood, not by the fabrication of an elaborate hierarchy of offices, but through examination of the principal ways in which the Kushite royal house maintained the allegiance of local aristocracies. To this end, an excursus in Chapter V considered the problem of the “mysterious Meryt-Tefnut,”¹³ God’s Wife of Amun in Thebes, concluding that *Mry.t-Tfnw.t* was a prenomen adopted briefly by Shepenwepet II, likely as a political overture asserting the national scope (and specifically Lower Egyptian reach) of her religious authority.

The evidence from Middle Egypt (Ch. VI) stands in marked contrast to the conditions obtaining immediately to the south. No royal monuments of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty have been found in Middle Egypt, and the only royal stela recorded from the region was subsequently lost. The abundance of private individuals depicted in statuary and named by administrative papyri in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Thebes is also without parallel in Middle Egypt. In its place, however, the town of el-Hibeh offers the detailed narrative account of Papyrus Rylands IX—composed over a century later, but referring at length to the history of the late Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. Even if originally intended as a work of fiction, Rylands IX is invaluable as an historical source, for the author’s manifest interest in verisimilitude and his reliance upon archival material may have resulted in the inclusion of details that are otherwise unavailable to the historian. As argued above, there is also little reason to assume that the Rylands IX account of events and conditions in the seventh century BC is any less reliable than its account of events and conditions in the sixth century BC. Griffith, Mokhtar, and Drenkhahn have asserted that the earliest official mentioned in Rylands IX, one *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq*, is not otherwise attested, and thus his historicity should perhaps be doubted.¹⁴ However, it was demonstrated here that a statue commissioned during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Medelhavsmuseet NME 081) may be safely attributed to him, and thus *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* represents an historical personage from that era. There is equally little reason to doubt that this same man served the Kushite regime during the early part of his career as both Harbor Master and Overseer of the Southland, and his sphere of authority in those offices was likely more than rhetorical, for it was paralleled by significant political and economic ties between Herakleopolis and Upper Egypt. While it has been widely assumed that he served the Kushite and Saïte royal houses during successive and distinct periods, the chronology of his tenure and the geographical range of his service speak forcefully against such presumption, suggesting rather that *P3-di-3s.t s3 ʿnh-Ššq* was an affine of the Saïte line at the same time that he served the Kushite regime. It would therefore seem that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty not only countenanced officials of Saïte affinity within its Middle Egyptian administration but may actually have utilized the intermarriage of such tribal lineages as a valuable means of regional integration across the Double Kingdom. Instead of replacing local aristocracies with centralized institutions, the Kushites appear to have used links between the former as a substitute for the latter.

The evidence for local aristocracies is more plentiful in Lower Egypt (Ch. VII), yet their relationship to the Kushite royal house is also more problematic. Kushite monuments are quite sparse north of Memphis, and local potentates in the Delta exercised royal prerogatives either during or immediately after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Confrontation of Lower Egyptian prosopography with the geographic distribution of Kushite royal construction has recently yielded a pair of competing theories: (1) Observing the evident royal pretensions of local headmen at Saïs, Sebennytos, and Tanis, Perdu (2004) has argued that all three were in league against Taharqo even before the tumult caused by the Assyrian invasions.¹⁵ Perdu’s theory

¹² Exell and Naunton, “Administration,” 104.

¹³ As dubbed by Kitchen, *TIP*², 391 n. 864.

¹⁴ Griffith, *Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 72; Drenkhahn, “Eine Bemerkung zur Nitokris Stele,” 115; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina*, 132.

¹⁵ Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytos”; see also *id.*, “De Stéphinatès à Néchao.”

would thus treat the assumption of royal titles by Delta potentates as a sign of military conflict with the Kushite house. (2) By contrast, Kahn (2009) has maintained that all such royal prerogatives were necessarily exercised either before or after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, as “[t]he Kushite occupation of the Delta and the expansion of Saitic rule can not fit together into the same period.”¹⁶ Kahn would instead credit Taharqo with complete hegemony throughout the Delta prior to the interference of Esarhaddon. The present work has supported a third hypothesis not entertained by either Perdu or Kahn: that Taharqo’s regime tolerated the coexistence of local *nsw.w* in Lower Egypt just as Pi(ankh)y had done a generation before. The likelihood of this scenario is further underscored by the familial relations of the Supreme Grandee of the Ma, Akanosh (B), and the Vizier Harsiese (R), both of whom appear to have maintained simultaneous ties to the Kushite and Saïte houses.

A region-by-region survey of the Double Kingdom would therefore seem to justify Naunton’s aforementioned hypothesis that “Tebe funga da modella . . . in tutto l’Egitto.”¹⁷ At Thebes, the Kushite house left in place much—if not indeed all—of the civil administrative elite, countenanced the use of royal insignia by Harwa, and forged marriage alliances with the local aristocracy. Similar strategies were employed in variable combination in Lower Egypt, Middle Egypt, Upper Nubia, and as argued here, possibly the Butana Steppe as well. In fact, the degree to which the Double Kingdom was modelled after early *Kuschitenherrschaft* in Thebes may be even greater than Naunton has intimated; if the scenarios proposed in Chapters II and III prove justified, the experience of Egypt’s initial annexation by the el-Kurru dynasts will have influenced the subsequent structure of Kushite governance in the Dongola Reach and Butana Steppe. However, Naunton’s proposal must be carefully distinguished from that advanced by Török: whereas Naunton has argued that Kushite diplomacy in Thebes was then extended to all Egypt, Török would envision the network of Egyptian-style temple-towns as a system replicated across Lower Nubia and extended even to Meroë.¹⁸ As argued in Chapters IV and II above, the evidence does not provide convincing support for such replication. On the contrary, regional divisions within the Double Kingdom correspond to marked differences, not only in ecology and the nature and quantity of surviving documentation, but also in political economy, investment of state resources, and internal administrative structure. Such diversity renders all the more problematic the maintenance of national unity under Kushite rule.

VIII.2. «Des Tendances Unificatrices»: The Double Kingdom?

Or, la structure politique de l’Égypte avait été plus ou moins profondément remaniée depuis le temps de Piankhy. De nouvelles dynasties royales étaient nées, celle de Saïs (XXIV^e), illustrée par Bocchoris le réformateur, celle de Koush (XXV^e) qui manifestait des tendances unificatrices, et la deuxième maison de Saïs (XXVI^e).

Jean Yoyotte¹⁹

Despite the apparent coexistence of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty with the late Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties (Chs. V.1.2 and VII.2 above), certain strategies of national unification appear to have distinguished the Kushite regime from its Libyan predecessors and contemporaries. Unlike the Libyan dynasts who had risen from the ranks of the Supreme Grandees of the Ma,²⁰ the Kushite pharaohs did not retain titles of provincial authority after their ascension to the throne of Horus. No king of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty boasted of his status as *kwr* alongside his assumption of pharaonic titles,²¹ and

¹⁶ Kahn, “Did Tefnakht I rule as king?” 125; *id.*, “Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt.”

¹⁷ Naunton, “Tebe durante la XXV dinastia,” 101.

¹⁸ Naunton, “Tebe durante la XXV dinastia,” 101; Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 344–345; *id.*, *Kingdom of Kush*, 250. See also discussion of Török’s architectural chronology of Meroë in Ch. II above.

¹⁹ Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta,” 130 [emphasis added].

²⁰ Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period”; Jansen-Winkel, “Die Fremdherrschaft in Ägypten”; Leahy, “Libyan Period in Egypt.”

²¹ *Kwr* is used by Psamtik II to refer to his Kushite contemporary and by Pi(ankh)y to refer to an otherwise unattested potentate: Cairo JE 67095, l. 8, in Sauneron and Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II,” pl. III; Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, pls. 21 no. 3, 22 no. 4; Meeks, review of *Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, 257.

even Alara was remembered only as the *s3 R*.²² During the entire history of the Double Kingdom, there is equally no firm evidence that the Kushite royal family ever splintered into collateral and competing dynasties,²³ and their appointment of Kushite scions to the positions of High Priest and Second Prophet of Amun does not suggest the dread of intradynastic conflict that had once characterized their Libyan predecessors (see Ch. V.1.2).²⁴ Moreover, even under Pi(ankh)y, Kushite rule was formulated (at least rhetorically) as superordinate to the Libyan system of provincial *wr.w* and *nsw.w*.²⁵ Perhaps most importantly, however, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is attested over an exponentially larger territory than any of the dynastic houses of the Third Intermediate Period: objects bearing Kushite royal nomina appear as far south as Kosti and Gebel Moya²⁶ and as far north as Nineveh,²⁷ while monuments commissioned by the Kushite kings have been found from Dangeil to Tanis.²⁸ Thus, Assmann has concluded that

Der erfolgreichste Versuch, die Dritte Zwischenzeit zu beenden und in einheitliches ägyptisches Reich unter einem wieder auf Überlebensgröße gesteigerten Königtum im vollen traditionellen Sinne zu begründen, ging von einem Staat aus, der sich im äußersten Süden von Kusch, in der Gegend des vierten Katarakts gebildet hatte.²⁹

The Double Kingdom may therefore be credited with some form of “nominal unity”³⁰ across a considerable territory.

It has at times been casually asserted that the unity of the Double Kingdom rested upon a foundation of military power.³¹ Several points might be cited in support of this view: prior to Pi(ankh)y’s intervention against Tefnakht, his agents within Egypt were notably two generals,³² and Manetho’s account would suggest that a conquest of Egypt may have proven necessary again under Shabaqo.³³ In fact, other generals of Kushite ancestry are also attested in Egypt at the time,³⁴ and the Kushite kings themselves were evidently drawn from the ranks of the army.³⁵ Shabaqo’s successor, Shebitqo, bore a series of militaristic royal nomina,³⁶ and both Taharqo and Tanutamani were compelled to retake the Lower Nile after its seizure by the Assyrians.³⁷

However, the assumption that Kushite rule of Egypt was primarily military in nature is considerably undermined by other observations. Firstly, there remains a strong possibility that Kashta and Amenirdis I’s religious overtures in Upper Egypt preceded and rendered unnecessary any subsequent conquest of that

²² Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), l. 16, Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), col. 22, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-8, 11-12; Vinogradov, “«[...] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the son of Re^c, Alara[...]?».”

²³ But cf. Dallibor, *Taharqo—Pharao aus Kusch*, 167-168 §C.25.3; Depuydt, “Glosses to Jerome’s Eusebios”; Kitchen, *TIP*, §127.IV n. 307; Janssen, “Que sait-on actuellement du Pharaon Taharqa?”

²⁴ Philadelphia E 16199 + Cairo JE 37489, ll. 7-12, in Jacquet-Gordon, “Inscriptions on the Philadelphia-Cairo Statue.”

²⁵ Ch. VII.2 above; lunette of Cairo JE 48862 in Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V; Khartoum SNM 1851, lunette cols. 17-24, in Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1),” 90, Taf. V.

²⁶ O. C. 2353, 3341, and 4177 in: Addison, *Wellcome excavations in the Sudan I*, 117-119; Gerharz, *Jebel Moya*, 182-185. Khartoum SNM 3562 and 3642 in Arkell, “Varia Sudanica,” 40.

²⁷ BM EA 84884 and 84527 in Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 156; Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian scarabs I*, 290 §2775-76.

²⁸ Anderson and Ahmed, “What are these doing here above the Fifth Cataract?!”, *id.*, “Kushite Kiosk of Dangeil.”

²⁹ Assmann, *Ägypten: eine Sinngeschichte*, 350.

³⁰ Ritner, “Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 339.

³¹ O’Connor, “New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period,” 243; Wenig, “Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-Tror”; Exell and Naunton, “Administration,” 104.

³² See Cairo JE 48862, ll. 8-9, Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, pls. I, V; see also Aston, “Sherds from a fortified townsite near Abu ‘Id.”

³³ Frags. 66, 67a, 67b in Waddell, *Manetho*, 166-169; speculative link with Toronto ROM 1910.28.1 in *FHN I*, 122-125 §§13-14.

³⁴ Pischikova, “Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif”; Chicago OIM 6408 in: Leahy, “Kushite Monuments at Abydos,” 184, pl. XXVIa; Wenig, “Pabatma—Pekereslo—Pekar-Tror.”

³⁵ See chronology and vocabulary (*hwn nfr*, *tsi*) of Taharqo’s summons to Egypt in Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52), ll. 7-8, Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), ll. 13-14, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 7-10. See also role played by army in Cairo JE 48866: Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa-VII.

³⁶ *Nb.ty* and *Hr-nb* names at the quay of Karnak, no. 33, in: Legrain, “Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak,” 115; von Beckerath, “Nile Level Records at Karnak,” 53 pl. V.

³⁷ Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, 287 no. 351; *id.*, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal II*, 269 (Letter 279); Kahn, “Assyrian Invasions of Egypt”; Cairo JE 48863 in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IIa-III.

region.³⁸ Even within Lower Egypt, suggestions of military conflict are rather few and equivocal between the reigns of Pi(ankh)y and the onslaught of the Assyrians nearly a century later (see discussion in Ch. VII.2 above). Secondly, the most extensive analysis of the Kushite soldiery to date has concluded that their armament conferred no discernible advantage over that of their northern neighbors and actually “lagged behind the developments in other parts of the ancient Near East.”³⁹ Thirdly, while the organization of the Kushite military is still poorly attested,⁴⁰ the contrast between the absence of such information even in Thebes and the extensive prosopographical data for civil and ecclesiastical titles in the same town is in itself highly suggestive. Had the highest-ranking officials of the Double Kingdom been members of a Kushite military caste akin to the Libyan *gl-šr* (*καλασιρις*), one might well expect to find them in the largest of Theban tombs, but this is decidedly not the case. In fact, military titles were claimed with no special frequency or emphasis by the most prominent Kushite loyalists in Upper Egypt (*cf.* Ch. V.1.2 above). Most significantly, however, the assumption that national unity in the Double Kingdom was maintained principally by troops begs the question of their mobilization for the Kushite cause. Additional means of unification must therefore be sought.

One theory of enduring popularity would envision the two halves of the Double Kingdom as administered separately by a senior king and his heir apparent—a coregency of sorts, devised as much for territorial control as for dynastic continuity.⁴¹ Thus, Redford has posited a

‘bifurcation in the government’ of the vast domain of the Kingdom of Egypt-and-Kush. Shabaka had . . . realized the need to separate off the administration of the Kushite heartland; and he assigned his nephew Shebitku, complete with the trappings of kingship [in Kush].⁴²

It is nevertheless rather striking that evidence of such a bifurcation has not been forthcoming from the monuments and inscriptions themselves; neither Kush nor Egypt has yielded a single example of double-dating by two kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and passages once taken to refer to coregency have not withstood scrutiny.⁴³ The most ardent support for such hypotheses has come from those attempting to assign absolute dates of accession to the Kushite pharaohs, leading Dodson to protest: “I reject any *ad hoc* invention of a coregency between . . . two kings purely to rescue a preconceived chronology.”⁴⁴ Kahn has recently offered a number of reasons why such a “Divided Kingdom” should be doubted on principle.⁴⁵ The Kushite pharaohs made frequent claims to rule both Egypt and Kush simultaneously, and it was stated of both Pi(ankh)y and Tanutamani that no one would share the kingdom with him.⁴⁶ It would also appear that the difficulties of communication within the Double Kingdom have been greatly overestimated: though Kitchen asserts that it would take “surely up to 3 months to go from Memphis to Napata,”⁴⁷ von Beckerath has calculated from the dates given upon Pi(ankh)y’s Great Triumphal Stela that the king traveled between Napata and Thebes in no more than thirty-nine days,⁴⁸ and for her part Nitocris I crossed the additional distance between Thebes and Memphis in fourteen days.⁴⁹ Taharqo could therefore conceivably have visited the far northern and southern limits of the Double Kingdom in under two months. Such conditions would hardly seem to necessitate the appointment of a coregent, but they would have been considerably mitigated by the services of a royal deputy. In Egypt, several viziers may well have divided this function (Chs. V.1.2 and VII.2-VII.3), but no such figure is attested in Kush (Chs. III.I, III.3.2.1(n), and III.4). As the

³⁸ Ch. V.1.2 n. 25 and Ch. VII.2 n. 20 above.

³⁹ Spalinger, “Notes on the Military in Egypt during the XXVth Dynasty,” 57.

⁴⁰ Dallibor, *Taharqo: Pharaon aus Kusch*, 154-161 §C.24.4.-C.24.5., 182-184 §C.26.2.8.

⁴¹ Yurco, “Sennacherib’s Third Campaign”; Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 166-168; Kitchen, “Regnal and Genealogical Data of Ancient Egypt (Absolute Chronology I),” 50-51; von Beckerath, “Zur XXV. Dynastie,” 4; Hoffmeier, “Egypt’s Role in the Events of 701 B.C. in Jerusalem.”

⁴² Redford, “Note on the Chronology of Dynasty 25.”

⁴³ Kahn, “Divided Kingdom.”

⁴⁴ Dodson, “Problem of Amenirdis II,” 182 n. 24.

⁴⁵ Kahn, “Divided Kingdom.”

⁴⁶ Khartoum SNM 1851, ll. 9, 11-12, in Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal (Part 1),” 90, Taf. V; Cairo JE 48863, l. 6, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. IIa-III.

⁴⁷ Kitchen, “Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology,” 293.

⁴⁸ Von Beckerath, review of *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*, 74.

⁴⁹ See discussion of Cairo JE 36327 in Caminos, “Nitocris Adoption Stela,” 81-84.

kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty also maintained a consistent Egyptian—and even Memphite—presence (Ch. VII.1-VII.2), it is therefore the governance of the Double Kingdom's Kushite half which presents the greatest enigma.⁵⁰

In theory, the responsibilities of a royal deputy could have been fulfilled by the only individual other than Pharaoh who was associated with deities upon royal monuments: the God's Wife of Amun. After all, the God's Wife assumed royal prenomena, some of which were given Lower Egyptian accents (Ch. V.2), and the rites which she performed were also noticeably directed beyond the cult toward an image of the kingdom as a whole.⁵¹ Amenirdis I even employed her own personal "Envoy to the Land of the *St-Bow*" (*wpw.ty r T3-Sty*)—one Nesnebtjeru.⁵² Yet the Theban God's Wives are nowhere attested in Nubia during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,⁵³ and thus it would be unreasonable to assume that they oversaw that half of the realm. The possibility that Napata instead housed a parallel institution to the God's Wife of Amun in Thebes has been discussed at length and ultimately discredited in Ch. V.2.3 above. The titles of *hm.t-ntr* and *dw3.t-ntr* never appear within Kushite cemeteries or upon Kushite temples,⁵⁴ and direct evidence for a theogamous clergy is altogether lacking; instead, royal kinswomen were appointed as "sistrum-players" for the god⁵⁵—a status which cannot be assumed equivalent to the institution of God's Wife. Any attempt to identify the latter in Kush is nevertheless greatly complicated by the fact that the rites and iconography of the God's Wife of Amun in Egypt overlap so thoroughly with those of the *king's* wife in both Egypt and Kush.

A much more intriguing case may be made for the Queen Mother as a royal deputy in the Kushite half of the Double Kingdom. This hypothesis was initially advanced by Hofmann on the basis of a silver amulet which depicts a wife of Pi(ankh)y, Nefrukekashtha, being suckled by Isis:⁵⁶

Es ist jedoch völlig unägyptisch und im meroitischen Raum auch nur von einem König bezeugt, dass ein anderer Mensch als der regierende Herrscher von einer Göttin gesäugt, d.h. als legitim anerkannt wird. Es ist möglich, dass Nefrukekashtha als Regentin in Napata eingesetzt wurde, während ihr Bruder (?) Shabako, der Nachfolger des Pianchi, in Ägypten herrschte. Er scheint kaum in seiner Heimat gewesen zu sein, aber das grosse Reich konnte nicht einfach sich selbst überlassen werden.⁵⁷

The matrifocal tendencies of the Meroitic state have been well-documented and occasionally overdrawn from Graeco-Roman sources,⁵⁸ but the theory that the Queen Mother served as a kind of *Reichsverweser* in Kush rests upon a firmer empirical base, as recently demonstrated by Kormysheva.⁵⁹ When the Queen Mother appears in royal inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the Napatan era, she consistently resides in a region quite distant from her reigning son, and yet her participation is integral to his own

⁵⁰ As recognized by Morkot, "Foundations of the Kushite state," 232. For the willingness of Kushite kings to delegate from afar, see: Kawa VIII (= Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 17, 22-23, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 15-16; Louvre C 257, ll. 8-9, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," Taf. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 15, 18, pls. 3A-3B; with discussion by Vinogradov, "Golden Cage," 107-109, 113.

⁵¹ See Ch. V.2.3. above and Parker *et al.*, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61-69, pls. 25-26; Wilson, review of *Temples of Kawa I*, 64.

⁵² See Kiev SK 128 in Moss, "Statue of an Ambassador to Ethiopia at Kiev."

⁵³ See discussion in Ch. V.2.3 above of Cairo JE 48866, ll. 19-21: Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa, VII. For an object from Meroë naming Amenirdis (II?), see Sayce, "Ethiopian Sovereigns at Meroe," 71; *cf.* Török, *Meroe City I*, 161.

⁵⁴ But *cf.* preceding note and Ch. III.1 n. 11.

⁵⁵ Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679 = Merowe Museum 53), cols. 19-21, and Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 24-25, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 11-12, 15-16; Louvre C 257, l. 11, in: Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre," pls. 4-5; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, pls. 4A-4B.

⁵⁶ Boston MFA 24.928 in: Reisner, "Discovery of the Tombs of the Egyptian XXVth Dynasty," 251; Dunham, *El Kurru*, 81-85, pls. LXC, LXXb 4/1.

⁵⁷ Hofmann, *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*, 37-38.

⁵⁸ See discussion in: Zach, "Meroe: Mythos und Realität einer Frauenherrschaft im antiken Afrika"; Dafa'alla, "Succession in the Kingdom of Napata"; Priese, "Matrilineare Erbfolge im Reich von Napata."

⁵⁹ Kormys(c)heva, "Remarks on the Position of the King's Mother in Kush." M. J. Adams has recently argued that Taharqa actually *innovated* the legitimating function of the Queen Mother in Kush in order to fabricate a genealogical connection to the God's Wife Shepenwepet I. Adams, "Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty and the Legitimization of Kushite Rule over Egypt." *Cf.* however: n. 53 above; n. 56 above; Darnell, *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*, 45-46.

coronation.⁶⁰ Aspelta's mother, Nasalsa, was designated as the *s3.t R*,⁶¹ and the mother of Nastasen was even crowned with the *sh* elsewhere bestowed upon Kushite kings.⁶² That the Queen Mother, as a royal woman, had at least a potential status as regent even before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would also seem to be suggested by the prominence of the *nsw-bi.ty* Katimala in her inscription at Semna.⁶³ Unfortunately, identification of the Queen Mother's role in Kush during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is plagued by many of the same uncertainties that attend the role of the Theban God's Wife of Amun: in both cases, their duties beyond the ritual sphere remain obscure. As Redford has complained of the latter: "It is difficult to determine whether this 'princess court' was more theme park than city hall. Did the Divine Worshiper really exercise political power?"⁶⁴

The difficulty of distinguishing ritual power from political power—"theme park" from "city hall"—would therefore appear a fundamental problem in the analysis of *Kuschitenherrschaft*, even within a region-by-region study of administration, political economy, and prosopography as essayed in the present work. This conclusion further underscores the paramount importance of Török's focus upon the Kushite "myth of the state" as an indispensable complement to regional political history. In the apparent absence of centralized institutions and national administrative hierarchy (Chs. III.4, IV.3, and V.1.2.), the propagandistic functions of Kushite political theology may help to explain in part how the royal center related to local aristocracies and fostered national unity within an exceptionally diverse realm.

VIII.3. Kuschitenherrschaft in Comparative Perspective

A consistent refrain in the preceding six chapters has been the unwarranted interpretive strictures imposed upon the political history of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. In Lower Egypt, both Perdu and Kahn have assumed that local *nsw.w* could not have been countenanced by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and consequently evidence of the Delta potentates' royal pretensions must either signal outright rebellion against the Kushite house or belong to another era entirely (Ch. VII.3). Likewise in Middle Egypt, discussions of the Harbor Master *P3-di-3s.t s3 nh-Ššq* have widely taken for granted that his apparent marriage to the Saïte line necessarily precluded or terminated his service to the Kushite regime, even though the chronological data would seem to contradict such an assumption (Ch. VI.3.2-VI.3.3). In Upper Egypt, Kitchen has attempted to fit an extraordinary number of attested Southern Viziers into a single line of succession by positing a veritable plague of senescence, rather than entertaining the possibility that more than one person could have claimed the title at a given moment (Ch. V.1.2). In Lower Nubia, Török has sought to match the region's political structure to the Egyptian system of networked temple-towns, an argument predicated in very large measure upon the evidence a single stela now shown to have been dated incorrectly (Ch. IV.2-IV.3). In Upper Nubia, Wenig has dismissed Török's reconstruction of the Kushite enthronement cycle based upon the belief that Kush would have had only one capital city hosting only one coronation (Ch. III.1). Finally, in the Butana Steppe, the dubious evidence of brick-size correlations and amuletic scarabs has produced the assumption that Meroë itself was a temple-town *during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty* and was administered as a conquered province by Egyptianized Kushite elites hailing from the Fourth Cataract region (Ch. II.3.1-II.3.2). One or more of these hypotheses may ultimately prove justified, but in all cases the pool of available explanations has been unduly restricted to the exclusion of viable alternatives. The

⁶⁰ Kawa V (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712), ll. 16-21, Kawa VIII (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708), ll. 22-24, Kawa IX (*in situ*), cols. 81-84, in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pls. 9-10, 15-16, 20, 25. Cf. also: Lohwasser, "Der 'Thronschatz' der Königin Amanishakheto," 291; *ead.*, "König/Königin—Gott/Göttin," 66-67; and the remarkably selective *damnatio memoriae* on Cairo CG 42203: Legrain, *Statues et statuettes III*, 11-12, pl. VI.

⁶¹ Cairo JE 48866, ll. 19-20, in Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes*, pls. VIIa, VII.

⁶² See lunette of Berlin ÄMP 2268 in Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Taf. I; as collated in Peust, *Das Napatansche*, 44.

⁶³ Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I*, pls. 15, 17; Darnell, *Inscription of Queen Katimala at Semna*, pls. IV-VIII; Zibelius-Chen, "Das nachkoloniale Nubien," 206-208. Whether "Katimala" or "Karimala," the name would appear Meroitic: Morkot, "Tradition, Innovation, and Researching the Past," 152; Valbelle, *Les stèles*, 74-85.

⁶⁴ Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 114.

frequent recurrence of this problem across studies of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty reveals a striking pattern that demands scrutiny.

A review of the foregoing list would suggest that *Kuschitenherrschaft* has commonly been plotted upon a developmental curve between Libyan feudal “anarchy” and Saïte re-centralization. In some cases, the unilinear evolutionism is quite explicit:

In Egypt, the re-integration of the state after the so-called ‘Libyan Anarchy’ equally required extra-tribal mechanisms. Nubian domination under Dynasty 25 had subjugated—but failed to suppress—tribal authority and political divisions within Egypt. . . . It was left to the heir of Sais, Psammetik I, to accomplish . . . *the recreation of the Egyptian state itself*.⁶⁵

This framework of explanation would seem to assume that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was an attempt to reconstitute an Egyptian—or perhaps more properly, Egyptological⁶⁶—ideal of the tightly-centralized state with jealously-guarded pharaonic prerogatives, clearly-demarcated territorial boundaries, and a redistributive economy administered by a multi-tiered civil bureaucracy.⁶⁷ The deceptive attraction of such a theory is neither novel nor mysterious. Firstly, the interval of Kushite rule does fall between periods of radical decentralization under Libyan dynasts and considerable *re*-centralization by the Saïte regime, so the temptation to interpolate the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as a developmental midpoint between these two poles—to mistake chronological sequence for political continuity—is understandable. Secondly, the Kushite dynasts’ cultural antiquarianism (commonly termed their “archaism”) may be easily confused with governmental conservatism. In its most extreme form, this can lead to the thesis that *Kuschitenherrschaft* was not *Fremdherrschaft* at all, since the fundamentals of Egyptian religion and language were little changed.⁶⁸ When Kushite governance does not fully meet this expectation, there remains a tendency to fill the interstices of the empirical evidence with either Libyan or Egyptian precedent, rather than considering alternative forms of political organization. The multiple instances of unjustified stricture observed above may therefore result from a poverty of comparanda.

Efforts to alleviate this deficit are still in their developmental stages, but some initial proposals may be found in Edwards’s analysis of the Meroitic state. At the Seventh International Conference for Nubian Studies in Gosen, Edwards observed several features of regional physiography which distinguish both the landscape and political economy of Kush from those of Egypt to the north: a narrower and more intermittent alluvial floodplain; riverine passage impeded by numerous cataracts; and, most crucially, valuable access to ranging savannah through Kush’s southern Sahelian reaches.⁶⁹ Such environmental factors have tended to favor transhumance, extensive dry-farming, and swidden agriculture, yielding less crop per hectare of cultivated land and lower corresponding population densities than would an intensive regime based on irrigation.⁷⁰ The resulting pattern of dispersed agrarian settlement and pastoral nomadism can hinder direct state control over property and populace, and also discourage centralized attempts to extract, transport, and redistribute surplus staples.⁷¹ By contrast, the economy of the Lower Nile was centered around the exceptional circumstances of annual inundation, intensive agriculture, and tight administrative

⁶⁵ Ritner, “Fragmentation and Reintegration in the Third Intermediate Period,” 339-340 [emphasis added].

⁶⁶ The broad applicability of such an ideal to all periods of Egyptian history may indeed be questioned. For a critique related to Predynastic/Neolithic Egypt, see Wengrow, “Landscapes of Knowledge, Idioms of Power”; *id.*, *Archaeology of Early Egypt*.

⁶⁷ For explication of this ideal, see esp. Trigger, *Early Civilizations*. For the assumption that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty attempted to reconstitute such an ideal in Egypt, see James, “Egypt: the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties,” 703. For the argument that the Egyptian model would have been replicated in Kush, see Trigger, *Time and Traditions*, 226-227.

⁶⁸ As proposed by Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten,” 13-16, 19-20.

⁶⁹ First presented in 1992 at the Seventh International Conference for Nubian Studies, Edwards’s paper would later be published in the proceedings as: Edwards, “Meroe in the Savannah—Meroe as a Sudanic Kingdom?”. A fuller explication of the same argument may be found in his doctoral thesis, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: A Study of its Social and Political Structure*, and its eventual publication as *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*. A synopsis later appeared in: Edwards, “Meroe and the Sudanic Kingdoms.”

⁷⁰ Reader, *Africa*, 249-255; Weiss, ‘Excavations at Tell Leilan,’ 40. It is important to note here that these regimes do not necessarily impoverish the state, since the total quantity of cultivable land often exceeds that available in an irrigated system.

⁷¹ Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa*, 30-33; Goody, *Production and Reproduction*, 108; Coquery-Vidrovitch, “Research on an African Mode of Production,” 265-266; Stein, “Segmentary States and Organizational Variation in Early Complex Societies,” 68.

control. Consequently, Edwards argued, there is little reason to assume that the political organization of Egypt would have been adopted wholesale in the altogether different ecological regime of the Sudanese Sahel, and this environmental contrast may well have fostered an equally dissimilar conception of the state in Kush. More appropriate comparisons for the Kushite state may therefore be sought within the subsequent histories of *the same region*—most notably, among the Funj and Keira sultanates.⁷² Both polities have traditionally been partitioned into African Studies rather than Egyptology, and thus their histories have rarely been consulted by Nubiologists. As Morkot would later observe of Edwards's proposal at the Gosen conference: "It seems remarkable that that model had never before been addressed by our discipline."⁷³

Edwards's analysis has focused upon the Meroitic state centered in Upper Nubia which was extended to Lower Nubia, and he has not yet pursued in depth the implications of such an approach for the Double Kingdom that was formed when Upper Nubians annexed Egypt to the Kushite realm centuries prior. Was the subsequent governance of Egypt by Kushite overlords influenced by Upper Nubian traditions, or did it rely entirely upon native Egyptian precedents?⁷⁴ Despite his silence upon this question, Edwards's proposed analogy between the Kushite state and its Funj and Keira successors gives entrée to a much wider field of potential comparanda. As the Funj and Keira sultanates have been discussed within the discipline of anthropology, their political features have in turn been related to similar practices in other regions of the world: most notably, India,⁷⁵ Mesoamerica,⁷⁶ Southeast Asia,⁷⁷ the Near East,⁷⁸ and several other regions of the African continent.⁷⁹ The interdisciplinary discussion of the characteristics shared among these polities has been conducted under the conceptual heading of "the segmentary state,"⁸⁰ and its associated literature is voluminous. The specific features in question and their comparative value will be examined at length further below, but it is first worth noting the historiographic implications of Edwards's proposal: if the comparisons between Kush and other *non-Egyptian* polities withstand scrutiny, the field of Nubiology might conceivably contribute to and benefit from dialogue with the wider discipline of history as well as many of the related social sciences.

Edwards's proposal is emphatically rejected by Török. His published refutation opens with the sub-heading "The Rise and Fall of Models," and thus it would appear at first glance to be a critique of structuralism.⁸¹ Such a tack would be quite surprising, for, as the reader of Ch. III.1 above will recall, Török himself has argued that Kush was governed by means of an "ambulatory kingship, a structure also known from other ancient cultures" which he describes elsewhere as a "governmental structure," a "state form," and specifically by the model of "the federal state."⁸² Rather than immediately discounting Török's critique as a self-contradiction, it would seem preferable to take his declaration of the "Rise and Fall of Models" as a reference to a specific model deemed either inappropriate to the Kushite case or altogether

⁷² See esp. O'Fahey and Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*; O'Fahey, *State and Society in Darfur*; Spaulding, "Farmers, herdsman and the state in rainland Sennar"; *id.*, *Heroic Age in Sennar*.

⁷³ Morkot, "Foundations of the Kushite state," 232.

⁷⁴ Fuller's extension of Edwards's approach nevertheless begins with mention of Pi(ankh)y's conquest of Egypt; see Fuller, "Pharaonic or Sudanic?," 169. Edwards has also drawn a suggestive parallel between Taharqo's treatment of Lower Nubia and its subsequent position under the Meroïte kings—albeit without commenting upon the degree of political continuity that might be assumed between the two eras; see Edwards, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*, 85.

⁷⁵ Fox, *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule*; Stein, "Segmentary state in South Indian history"; Fritz *et al.*, *Where Kings and Gods Meet*; *id.*, "Vijayanagara."

⁷⁶ Houston, *Hieroglyphs and History at Dos Pilas*; Fox, *Maya Postclassic State Formation*.

⁷⁷ Keifer, "Tausug polity and the Sultanate of Sulu"; Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*; *id.*, "Galactic polity"; Geertz, *Negara*.

⁷⁸ Stein, "Segmentary States and Organizational Variation in Early Complex Societies"; Maeir, *Material Culture of the Central Jordan Valley during the Middle Bronze II period*, vol. I, 183-184.

⁷⁹ Wilson, *Divine Kings and the 'Breath of Men'*; Netting, "Sacred power and centralization"; MacGaffey, "Kingship in Sub-Saharan Africa"; Amselle, *Logiques métisses*, 149-180.

⁸⁰ As first articulated by Southall, *Atur Society*.

⁸¹ Török, "From chieftdom to 'segmentary state,'" 149.

⁸² Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 233, 178 [emphasis added]; *id.*, "Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History," 115; *id.*, *Meroe City I*, 20 n. 70; *id.*, *Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 65; *id.*, *Image of the Ordered World*, 17 n. 54. For the parallels of *Reisekönigtum* cited by Török, see Herzog, *Staaten der Frühzeit*, 142-146.

conceptually flawed. A close inspection of Török's essay confirms this reading, as the models of chiefdom and centralized state are employed uncritically and without the quotation marks that frame his allusions to the "segmentary state"; in fact, his discussion closes with the heading "Elite and Central Power: In Defense of an Old Model."⁸³

The criticisms outlined by Török are directed at both the segmentary state model itself and its application to the Kushite case. With regard to the latter, he suggests that "the changes in the political map of the Middle Nile Region in the post-Meroitic period, the period of the Christian kingdoms, and afterwards could be relevant from the aspect of the post-Mediaeval Sudanic segmentary states."⁸⁴ Such "changes in the political map" are left unspecified, but Török would seem to imply that they rendered ancient and "post-Mediaeval" Upper Nubian states fundamentally incomparable to one another.⁸⁵ A similar view was intimated by Leclant, who asserted that Upper Nubia «s'africanise rapidement» following the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁸⁶ According to such interpretation, meaningful political comparisons for the ancient Middle Nile would correspond with convenient exactitude to the disciplinary boundaries first established in the nineteenth century under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.⁸⁷

The greater part of Török's critique is instead focused upon the segmentary state model itself, whose invalidation would then obviate quite expediently any possible application to ancient Kush. An inspection of Török's footnotes reveals his principal interlocutor to be a brief article by Fuller applying Edwards's proposal to specific problems of late Meroitic history;⁸⁸ of the extensive multidisciplinary literature which discusses the segmentary state model, the only sources cited by Török are those that appear in Fuller's bibliography—*sans* direct quotations or page references.⁸⁹ Török's object of critique is thus defined in terms lifted directly from Fuller—but with one highly significant *misquotation* as italicized below. Török writes:

But what is a "segmentary state"? Its original definition was presented by Southall (1956; 1988; 1999; cf. Fuller 2003: 173), according to whom a segmentary state is characterized: 1) by numerous centres of political power; 2) by the differentiation of political power between the suzerainty of a single king and "local *suzerainties*" [*sic*], i.e., the practical power of local elites; 3) in a segmentary state, the organisation of the royal centre through an administrative system and a coercive force is repeated on a smaller scale by the local centres; 4) the size of a segmentary state fluctuates.⁹⁰

Rightly observing the gross imprecision of such a concept, he concludes: "The definition is generalizing enough (cf. Feinman and Marcus 1998) to be applied, by way of experiment, to any ancient territorial state consisting of units of territorial government, even including pharaonic Egypt."⁹¹ Yet in Fuller's publication, a distinction emerges which appears to have been missed by Török: "Political power is differentiated between royal suzerainty (held by a single king and recognized by all, often through ritual form) and practical power held by local elites, which we might term local *sovereignty*."⁹² As explained at length below, the word misquoted by Török is at the very crux of the model's utility, which would distinguish *ritual suzerainty* from *local sovereignty*. In implicit criticism of the model, Török's opening epigram quotes a passage from Jane Austen's *Persuasion*: "All that sounded extravagant or irrational . . . might have no origin but in the language of the relators."⁹³

⁸³ Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 151-154, 163, 167.

⁸⁴ Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 169 n. 119.

⁸⁵ For suggestions of continuity in the political culture of the region across the medieval period, see recently: Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia*, 5-8, 107-114.

⁸⁶ Leclant, "Kuschitenherrschaft," 897.

⁸⁷ For discussion, see: Wengrow, "Landscapes of Knowledge, Idioms of Power"; Prakash, *After Colonialism*.

⁸⁸ Fuller, "Pharaonic or Sudanic?"

⁸⁹ *Viz.*: Southall, *Alur Society*; *id.*, "Segmentary State in Africa and Asia"; *id.*, "Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy"; Feinman and Marcus, *Archaic States*.

⁹⁰ Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 162-163 [emphasis added].

⁹¹ Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 163.

⁹² Fuller, "Pharaonic or Sudanic?", 173 [emphasis added].

⁹³ Török, "From chiefdom to 'segmentary state,'" 149.

Török thus advocates the dismissal, not only of Edwards's work, but also that of a large group of anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians who have found the segmentary state model an "extremely useful" stimulus to comparative dialogue elsewhere in the world⁹⁴—in the Near East, Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and Mesoamerica. In fact, the assembled body of scholars who have employed the segmentary state model far outnumbers the practitioners of Nubiology itself, and it comprises some of the most distinguished names in historical and anthropological scholarship—including Clifford Geertz, Stanley J. Tambiah, Burton Stein, Gil Stein, and Susan McIntosh, to name only a few.⁹⁵ Török's summary rejection of the entire corpus of multidisciplinary literature on the subject would imply that each of these scholars has become the dupe of a spurious concept. In this regard, we might do well to recall another remark penned by Jane Austen, this time from *Mansfield Park*: "Where any one body of educated men, of whatever denomination, are condemned indiscriminately, there must be a deficiency of information."⁹⁶

In order to evaluate Edwards's comparative proposal for the analysis of ancient Kush, some such information about the segmentary state model itself must be considered—this time, by consulting its broader literature beyond Fuller's brief synopsis. Perhaps the question to be asked is not whether the Double Kingdom *was* a "segmentary state" in the literal fashion of structural-functionalism, but rather: is the "segmentary state" concept a useful means by which to identify polities with meaningful similarities to the Double Kingdom? And could the historical and ethnographic record of those polities offer viable explanations for change, continuity, events, their causes, and the motivations of their agents within the history of the Double Kingdom? In the *post*-structural analysis of social organization, classification of societies as chiefdoms, unitary states, city-states, or segmentary states is less an endpoint than a point of departure.

The segmentary state model was first formulated by Aidan Southall during his fieldwork among the Upper Nilotic Alur.⁹⁷ In Alur society, Southall encountered a political system which matched neither the traditional definition of the "primitive state," nor that of the acephalous "stateless society"; it therefore seemed ill-suited to Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's popular taxonomy of African political systems.⁹⁸ The scale of the Alur polity was considerable, in both population and territorial extent, and the ritual authority of its central ruler and his family was recognized among a multiplicity of ethnic groups in Uganda and the Congo.⁹⁹ These groups were not viewed as lineal subdivisions of Alur ethnicity but were instead regarded as protectorates: local communities would host immigrant Alur scions, receiving in exchange a sage arbiter, religious expert, and liaison to the royal court.¹⁰⁰ Yet despite his extensive juridical and ritual dominion, the central ruler of the incorporated Alur state did not oversee a bureaucratic system of regular taxation, and he possessed no monopoly on either the means of production or the sanction of military force within the outermost provinces of his realm.¹⁰¹ The result was a delicate balance of power in which ritual suzerainty was superimposed upon a system of political segmentarity; as the first District Commissioner quipped in 1914, "among the Alur every petty chief wants to be independent."¹⁰²

Southall had discovered an apparent exception to the prevailing typology—a political community of significant scale that was integrated and hierarchized along certain sacral dimensions of authority, but radically decentralized with respect to the coercive and material inducements considered essential to the functioning of any "unitary" state. In subsequent decades, many more such exceptions would be observed in Mesoamerica, the Near East, India, and Southeast Asia, as well as several other regions of the African continent;¹⁰³ together these constitute a large share of the "intermediate-level" or "medium-range" societies which have been the subject of much current anthropological discussion. While Edwards and Fuller

⁹⁴ McIntosh, "Pathways to complexity," 15.

⁹⁵ Geertz, *Negara*; Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*; *id.*, "Galactic polity"; B. Stein, *History of India*; *id.*, "Segmentary state in South Indian history"; G. Stein, "Segmentary States and Organizational Variation in Early Complex Societies"; McIntosh, *Beyond Chiefdoms*.

⁹⁶ Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 101.

⁹⁷ Southall, *Alur Society*.

⁹⁸ Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, 5-9.

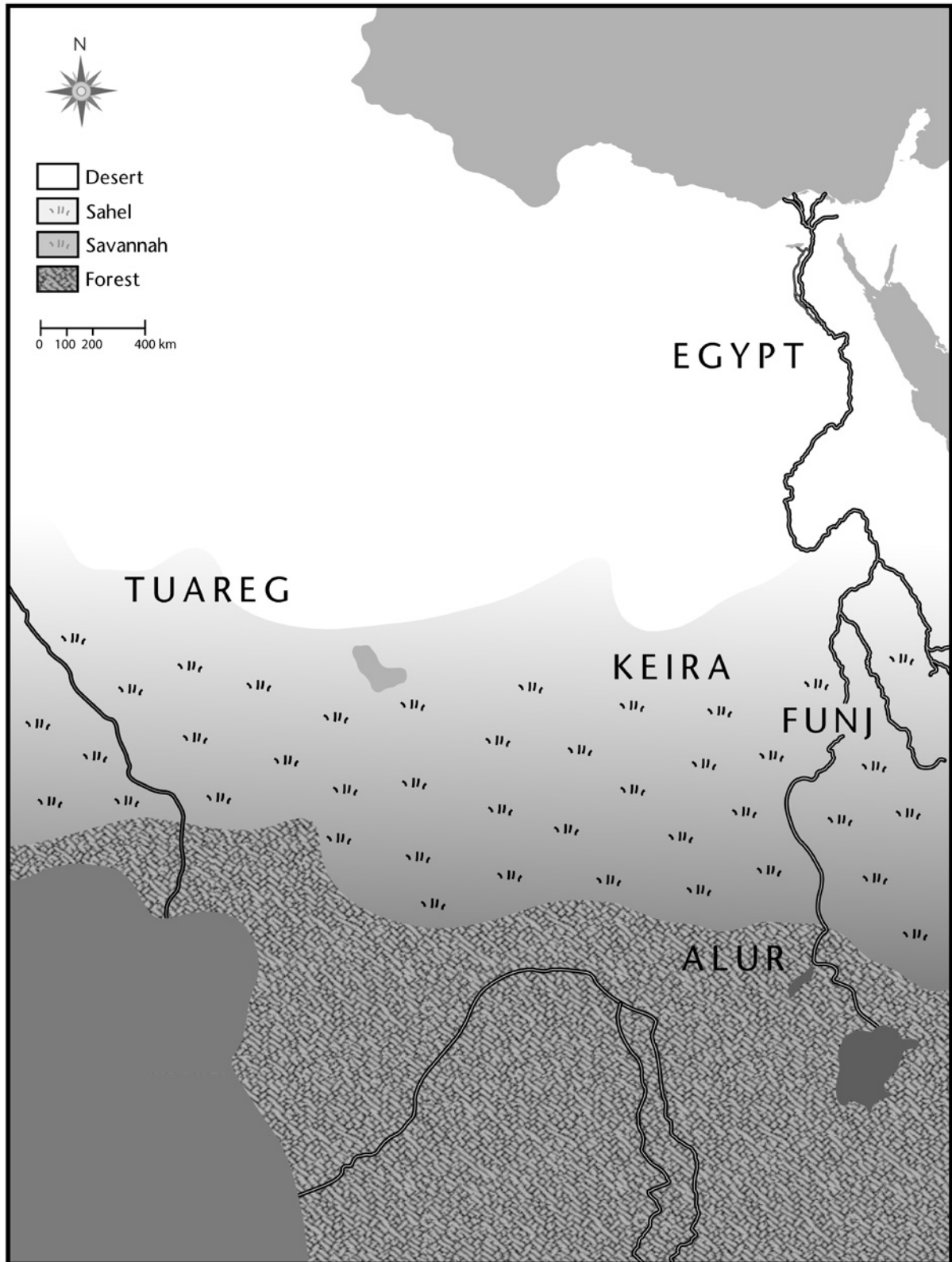
⁹⁹ Southall, *Alur Society*, 14-24, 348-351.

¹⁰⁰ Southall, "Power, sanctity, and symbolism in the political economy of the Nilotes," 211-12.

¹⁰¹ Southall, "Segmentary State in Africa and Asia," 65-68.

¹⁰² Southall, "Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy," 37.

¹⁰³ See references in nn. 75-79 above.



Map 8. Modern polities mentioned in Chapter VIII.

have characterized their own application of Southall's work as a "Sudanic model," the highly-mobile and geographically-discontinuous form of authority that they describe also resonates immediately north of the Sudanic belt with studies of Tuareg political organization—a system which Retaillé has termed *sahélicité* and notably contrasted with the *territorialité* of boundary-delimited states.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the diversity of comparanda in Mesoamerica, Asia, and Africa would clearly suggest that segmentary political organization is a eurytopic phenomenon and should therefore be understood not as a stable function of shared geography but as a recurrent product of history in several different geographic settings.

In his most recent comparative summary of the model and its uses, Southall has managed to glean from the segmentary state's many applications a single principle from which other characteristics would seem to derive: "The segmentary state is one in which the spheres of ritual suzerainty and political sovereignty do not coincide."¹⁰⁵ Politics which can be described in this way do not fit well within existing typologies of social organization, and thus Southall's model offers a finer heuristic tool.¹⁰⁶ The "moral economy"¹⁰⁷ observed in such polities represents an explanatory alternative to more political-materialist concepts of the state; the histories which have been compared under the heading of the "segmentary state" are thus defined not by measurements of scale,¹⁰⁸ nor by a simple dichotomy of centralization versus decentralization,¹⁰⁹ but rather by the kinds of centralization at work in each and the number of dimensions along which this ideal was pursued and achieved by rulers.¹¹⁰

A comparative study of these polities offers several examples of the forms which administration can take in the absence of a national bureaucratic hierarchy. In many such cases, the central ruler's political sovereignty is quite limited, in that most legal fees and fines, customary taxes, and uses of coercive force within the state's peripheral territories are locally-determined and -administered by provincial elites.¹¹¹ To the extent that direct taxes of any kind, either staples or prestige goods, are surrendered by the provinces, they may not be delivered according to a regularized schedule but might instead take the form of episodic exchanges for specific services rendered by the royal center.¹¹² In fact, the media of exchange often comprise exotica and prestige goods obtained through "Embassy-Trade" and external raiding;¹¹³ these "politically charged goods" seem to provide a particularly apt material vocabulary in which to express a ruler's wide territorial dominion and iconic ritual significance.¹¹⁴ As a result, polities which have been discussed as examples of the segmentary state have usually exerted more control over circulation and exchange than production.¹¹⁵ The criterion for payments made to the royal center is often the ritual efficacy of the ruler

¹⁰⁴ Retaillé, "Le contrôle de l'espace"; Retaillé and Guillas, "Les identifications ethniques dans l'espace Sahara-Sahel"; Baier and Lovejoy, "Tuareg of the Central Sudan." I thank Sara Berry of Johns Hopkins University for suggesting to me the Tuareg comparison.

¹⁰⁵ Southall, "Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy," 31; see also *id.*, "Segmentary State in Africa and Asia," 52.

¹⁰⁶ Observe, for instance, the typological critiques of Marcus and Feinman, who have argued that Alur society was no state because "the Alur are no more than a rank society at best," and the royal center lacked "anti-fission institutions." Marcus and Feinman, *Archaic States*, 7-8. Not only does such an argument treat the pairing of class-based hierarchy and "anti-fission institutions" as the *sine qua non* of all state-level societies, but it also fails to propose more suitable models for the array of polities that have been characterized as segmentary states during the past fifty years of anthropological scholarship. If these were all to be described as "complex chiefdoms," then researchers would need to acclimate themselves to the existence of a substantial number of such chiefdoms which actually exceed most known states in population, territorial extent, and centralization of religious authority. Rather than enlarging the chiefdom model to this extent, it would seem preferable for comparative purposes to diversify the concept of the state to include both unitary and segmentary varieties. See: G. Stein, "Heterogeneity, Power, and Political Economy," 26; Levy, "Heterarchy in Bronze Age Denmark," 41; Kristiansen, "Chiefdoms, states, and systems of social evolution," 17.

¹⁰⁷ Prins, *Hidden Hippopotamus*, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Southall, "Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy," 35-36; *contra*: Stein, "Segmentary States and Organizational Variation in Early Complex Societies," II fig. 1, 12; Maeir, *Material Culture of the Central Jordan Valley during the Middle Bronze II period*, vol. I, 183-84.

¹⁰⁹ *À la Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, African Political Systems.*

¹¹⁰ Southall, "Power, sanctity, and symbolism in the political economy of the Nilotes," 211-212; Mann, *Sources of Social Power*, 22-28.

¹¹¹ Spaulding, "Farmers, herdsmen and the state in rainland Sennar"; Zagarell, "Hierarchy and Heterarchy," 97.

¹¹² Southall, *Alur Society*, 261; Godelier, "Infrastructures, Society and History," 767; Lévi-Strauss, *Elementary Structures of Kinship*, 67; Mauss, *Gift*.

¹¹³ Edwards, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*, 29.

¹¹⁴ Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men," 124; Brumfiel and Earle, *Specialization, exchange, and complex societies*, 5.

¹¹⁵ Spaulding, *Heroic Age in Sinnar*, 112-116; Bjørkelo, *From King to Kashef*, 33; Edwards, *Archaeology of the Meroitic State: New perspectives on its social and political organisation*, 46.

and his or her adherence to a shared moral or ritual code. By monitoring and redressing any breaches to this code, local elites can engage in a process which Blanton has termed “reflexive communication.”¹¹⁶ Local elites’ approval can be secured by means of diplomatic marriage but also through the ruler’s performance of ritual circuit through the provinces.¹¹⁷ In circumstances of more extreme nonconformance, royal centers dependent upon ritualized authority have actually lost the allegiance of their most distant provinces, causing the state to fluctuate in size.¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, a ritualized suzerain should not necessarily be understood as a mere religious figurehead atop a confederacy of autonomous polities. As a result of his or her sacral authority across what can be a wide territorial expanse, such a ruler is capable of mobilizing quite significant manpower for military action or public construction.¹¹⁹ The control manifested in such a system of rule is not primarily exerted over material wealth, but conforms instead to M. G. Smith’s definition of power as “the capacity for effective action”—a kind of political potential energy derived from the ruler’s charisma and personal connections to provincial elites.¹²⁰ Miers and Kopytoff have famously rendered such dominance as “wealth-in-people,” but Guyer and Belinga have noted that in practice this involves not only laborers but “wealth-in-knowledge”—a ruler’s access to the kinds of specialized ecological information and ritual/political *savoir faire* that are invested in people and prove necessary for the unification of any polity of significant scale in the absence of more coercive means of control.¹²¹ The state thus becomes a “gigantic proscenium” for shared religious belief: the royal center includes provinces within its boundaries by claiming these territories during the performance of religious ritual, and the provinces reciprocate by affirming the ruler’s legitimacy, supplying essential wealth-in-knowledge, and, in some instances, offering material prestations.¹²² An effective ruler can convert this process of reflexive communication into one that is “not essentially imperative but aimed also at bearing witness” to their indispensable role within the functioning of the cosmos—and so the state itself.¹²³ Thus, while the means of control can appear largely imaginary to an external observer, the resulting political integration is decidedly practical, and it is a process in which individual rulers often wield considerable personal influence.¹²⁴ Given the centrality of this ritual performance, Clifford Geertz’s “theatre state” is perhaps a valuable descriptive complement to Southall’s “segmentary state”: whereas the latter emphasizes those mechanisms which would compromise the royal center’s authority, the former captures the ceremonial basis of that authority.¹²⁵

In fact, the vulnerability of such rulers should not be overestimated. Within a polity largely devoid of national institutions, the paucity of bureaucratic tiers can actually make it more difficult for would-be usurpers within the state to develop their own political power base.¹²⁶ Amselle has proposed that “le pôle segmentaire et le pôle étatique sont deux aspects complémentaires d’une seule et même réalité,” insofar as segmentary cleavages are often “entretenus à distance *par les États*.”¹²⁷ The multiplicity of lineages or local institutions wielding political power within a given region thereby maintains a *heterarchical* balance,¹²⁸ so that the very absence of upper-level administrators with national authority helps to ensure the ruler’s

¹¹⁶ Blanton, “Beyond Centralization,” 161-162; Levy, “Heterarchy in Bronze Age Denmark,” 47; McIntosh, “Pathways to complexity,” 15. It is arguably this reciprocal affirmation of the royal center *by* local elites and of full state membership *for* those elites which best distinguishes the segmentary state concept from forms of empire—the latter a category which is not advocated here for the Double Kingdom; see also Pope, “Beyond the Broken Reed.”

¹¹⁷ Kertzner, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 23; see also Guyer and Belinga, “Wealth in People as Wealth in Knowledge,” 116.

¹¹⁸ Southall, *Alur Society*, 249.

¹¹⁹ Mann, *Sources of Social Power*, 7-8.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Corporations and Society*, 175; Southall, *Alur Society*, 249-252.

¹²¹ Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*; Guyer and Belinga, “Wealth in People as Wealth in Knowledge,” 109.

¹²² Southall, “Segmentary State in Africa and Asia,” 80; Houston, “Weak states and segmentary structure,” 8; Fritz *et al.*, *Where Kings and Gods Meet*, 46; Fritz, “Vijayanagara,” 46; Geertz, *Negara*.

¹²³ Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 300.

¹²⁴ Netting, “Sacred power and centralization,” 233; Earle, *Chieftdoms*, 8.

¹²⁵ Geertz, *Negara*.

¹²⁶ Wright, “Prestate Political Formations,” 71; Zagarell, “Hierarchy and Heterarchy,” 98.

¹²⁷ Amselle, *Logiques métisses*, 149, 177 [emphasis added].

¹²⁸ Ehrenreich *et al.*, *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies*; Blanton, “Beyond Centralization”; Blanton *et al.*, “Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization.”

superordinate status. Consequently, while the boundaries of such polities have often become amorphous and ephemeral, the royal center can prove remarkably durable. States based upon such authority often give the appearance of being constantly in flux; thus, Kopytoff has praised the segmentary state as a comparative model for its exceptional focus upon “the process of indigenous political expansion.”¹²⁹

As the foregoing description would clearly indicate, the African, Near Eastern, Mesoamerican, South and Southeast Asian polities widely discussed under the heading of “the segmentary state” are marked by a number of features which resonate with those analyzed in the preceding six chapters for Taharqo’s Double Kingdom. When power is defined *à la* M. G. Smith, as the “capacity for effective action,” Redford’s attempted distinction between ritual power and “real” power begins to dissolve: in Geertz’s “theatre state,” the “theme park” is actually more capable than “city hall” of mobilizing “wealth-in-people” and “wealth-in-knowledge” for national defense, external raiding, and public construction.¹³⁰ The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty advanced initially on all three fronts, despite the apparent lack of a national bureaucratic hierarchy. Wright’s and Amselle’s observations that heterarchical cleavages are often “entretenus à distance par les États”¹³¹ may also help to explain how the Kushite royal center justified its evident tolerance of multiple Southern Viziers (Ch. V.1.2), Overseers of Upper Egypt (Ch. V.1.2), Upper Nubian Palace Treasurers (Ch. III.4), Lower Egyptian *nsw.w* (Chs. VII.2.-VII.3), and a number of regional officials with seemingly divided loyalties (Chs. VI.3.2-VI.4 and VII.2-VII.3). Most interestingly, however, in its emphasis upon national administrative absence, “reflexive communication,” and especially the political functions of the king’s ritual circuit, the segmentary state bears a striking similarity to the “ambulatory kingship” of Török’s “federal state.”¹³² As Fallers has observed of segmentary states, “they are . . . essentially ‘federal’ in nature.”¹³³ Though Török has presented his approach and that of Edwards as antagonistic positions, they appear to have rather complementary potential; in fact, as the central enigma of ritual suzerainty remains the question of exactly how the ruler related to the ruled,¹³⁴ Edwards’s comparative proposal actually underscores the importance of Török’s own analysis of Kushite political theology. Dismissal of the segmentary state model at the present moment would therefore seem premature and counterproductive for our understanding of the Double Kingdom.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, the regional histories examined in Chapters II through VII also add important qualifications which would caution against too mechanical an application of any model. The el-Kurru dynasty was initially based adjacent to the rain-fed steppe, an environment which has often proven amenable to the segmentary forms of political integration described above; yet the available evidence suggests that the dynasty had made fewer inroads to the south than they had in contemporary Egypt (Chs. II.3.2-II.4), and their strategies of regional integration in the Dongola-Napata Reach also do not emerge with clarity until the latter part of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Ch. III.2.3). Consequently, the political form assumed by the Double Kingdom was shaped not merely by environmental determinism but also by the historical process of territorial expansion.¹³⁶ Here Török has made a crucial intervention, noting of Pi(ankh)y’s claim to command multiple *wr.w* and *nsw.w*: “What he announces here is his *Egyptian* policy.”¹³⁷ This suggests, not that the ritual suzerainty of the Double Kingdom was necessarily a developmental precursor to greater administrative centralization,¹³⁸ but rather that the challenges posed by the management of so

¹²⁹ Kopytoff, *African Frontier*, 253 n. 1.

¹³⁰ Smith, *Corporations and Society*, 175; Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 114; cf. Geertz, *Negara*.

¹³¹ Wright, “Prestate Political Formations,” 71; Amselle, *Logiques métisses*, 149, 177; Zagarell, “Hierarchy and Heterarchy,” 98.

¹³² See also in this regard: Herzog, *Staaten der Frühzeit*, 146.

¹³³ Fallers, “Political Sociology and the Anthropological Study of African Polities,” 82.

¹³⁴ Houston, “Weak states and segmentary structure,” as quoted in Southall, “Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy,” 34.

¹³⁵ While Marcus and Feinman imply that Southall would now prefer to recant the model, Southall’s own subsequent work clearly refutes this assumption: he has written with enthusiastic approval of the diverse attempts to “export” the concept. See Marcus and Feinman, *Archaic States*, 8-9; cf. Southall, “Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy,” 34-36.

¹³⁶ A useful parallel might be the Chola state: Stein, “Segmentary state in South Indian history”; Southall, “Segmentary State in Africa and Asia,” 65; *id.*, “Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy,” 35.

¹³⁷ Török, “From chiefdom to ‘segmentary state,’” 158.

¹³⁸ See esp. critiques by: Amselle, *Logiques métisses*, 103; Weissleder, *Political Ecology of Amhara Domination*, 10.

large a territorial expanse and so diverse a populace may well have influenced the strategies of governance subsequently employed by Kushite dynasts of the Napatan era to control the Butana Steppe and the distant Letti and Kerma basins of Dongola. *Kuschitenherrschaft* would then be an evolving response to the particular circumstances of the first millennium BC, determined as much by events as by ecology. In this way, a region-by-region analysis of Taharqo's Double Kingdom calls for the continued development of historical approaches in Nubian Studies.

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