CHAPTER THIRTEEN


(And from that time on) the southerners have been sailing northwards, the northerners southward, to the place where His Majesty is, with every good thing of South-land and every (kind of) provision of North-land.[1]

1. Introduction: The Emergence of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty

The el Kurru necropolis had originally been associated with an unexcavated and unpublished settlement site beneath the present-day village of el Kurru. Reisner discovered sections of several hundred metres lengths of its rubble-filled, stone-faced enclosure walls together with a rounded bastion-like structure and a gateway facing the river.² It must remain a conjecture that this walled settlement was the ancestral (?) seat of the princes buried at el Kurru, which took over the functions of Napata 15 km upstream from Kurru after the withdrawal of the viceregal administration. The placename Kurru may actually derive from the Karoy (Kṣrṣy, Kṣry, Kṣr, Kṣṛ) of New Kingdom Egyptian texts occurring as the name of the southernmost area under Egyptian control as well as a placename (cf. Chapter IX.1).³

The earliest el Kurru burials, viz., Ku. Tum. 1, 4, 5, and 2 (for the sequence, see Table G), display purely un-Egyptianized features as to tomb type and burial rite and attest thus to the survival of indigenous mortuary traditions during the centuries of Egyptian domination and their re-emergence some time after the final withdrawal of the viceregal government in the eleventh century BC. The circular stone superstructure, if correctly reconstructed, resembles the characteristic tomb type of the Nubian C-Group culture (Chapter IV.3), although its

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¹ Dream Stela of Tanwetamani, FHN I No. 29, lines 41 f., trans. R.H. Pierce.
² G.A. Reisner, Field notes 1919, mentioned by Kendall 1999a 48f.
³ Zibelius 1972 162f.; Kendall 1999a 49.
continuous survival could so far not be documented. The position of the contracted body similarly recalls a C-Group tradition. The burial on a bed, introduced with Ku. Tum. 6, had been practiced in the Kerma culture from the end of Ancient Kerma and, on Kerma influence, also in the final stage of the C-Group culture. The lateral niche or pit-and-side-chamber substructure type occurs with the earliest burials and may thus be regarded as characteristic for the el Kurru population.

The changes in tomb types and mortuary religion at el Kurru reflect a political process during the course of which a local princely family of apparently limited resources established its power over a territory which was significantly expanded within a rather short period of time. The borders of the original nuclear territory (the size of which may be estimated on the basis of the size of the tombs as not larger than perhaps the wider Napata region) were expanded to the First Cataract in the north and the Butana in the south in c. one century according to the short, and in c. two and a half centuries according to the long chronology. We are ignorant of the actual course of this integration process. Certain details of the Kushite myth of the state (first of all the multiple coronations) may be interpreted as a conceptualized memory of the federation of polities centred around Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs/Kerma, while the form in which the Butana region is included into the myth of the state as well as the absence of the mention of the region north of the Third Cataract in the discourse on the myth of the Kushite state indicate that these latter regions were acquired by conquest.

Artefacts made of ivory indicate contacts of the el Kurru chiefdom with more southern regions from Ku. Tum. 1, i.e., the first generation. A large, unworked chunk of obsidian from Ku. 11 signals trade with the Ethiopian highlands, while the lapis lazuli artefacts from Ku. 14 may have come from Afghanistan (via Egypt?) as well as from Ethiopia. In Ptolemaic texts lapis lazuli would also be mentioned as a product of the First Cataract region and of Meroe. The political annexation of the Butana region, which secured complete control of the trade routes, was, however, not accomplished before the middle of the eighth century BC. This region was not conquered by Egypt in the New Kingdom.

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6 Zibelius-Chen 1988 87f.
Due to the lack of archaeological data, its history and cultures remain unknown before the emergence of the united kingdom of Kush.

The accomplishment of the southward expansion of the el Kurru dynasty is demonstrated by the earliest burials in the elite cemeteries at Meroe City. The highest parts of the hills on which the Begarawiya West and South Cemeteries (Beg. W. and Beg. S.) are situated, i.e., the areas where the interments commenced, were occupied by simple pit graves covered with mound superstructures (now completely eroded). There were two different burial forms observed: a) contracted bodies (on the left side, head to east, or on the right side, head to west) supposedly buried on beds; b) coffin burials of mummi ed bodies provided as a rule with the characteristic Egyptian Third Intermediate Period-Late Period type bead net. Initially, for a maximum of two generations there occurred only burials with contracted bodies at Beg. W., after which concurrent coffin burials began. Beg. S. was started later than Beg. W., for it has no contracted body burials: the earliest coffin burials are dated to the second half of the eighth century, at the earliest, by a faience seal with the cartouches of Kashta and his daughter the God’s Wife of Amun Amenirdis I and a golden statuette of Bastet inscribed for Pemui, Chief of the Ma vanquished by Piankhy in c. 735 BC (for the chronology, see Chapter XIII.3). The earliest contracted body burials may thus slightly predate Kashta’s reign (c. before 775 BC) and are dated here in general terms to the first half of the eighth century BC.

Both the contracted body burials and the coffin burials contained Egyptian (and/or Egyptian-type) artefacts. In view of the topographical continuity of the cemeteries and the short time distance between the

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7 See Dunham 1963 5 (Beg. W. 611), 28 (Beg. W. 609), 55 (Beg. W. 502), 298 (Beg. W. 619), 305 (Beg. W. 663). No clear evidence of an actual bed was found, however, in any of these tombs.

8 Dunham 1963 10 (Beg. W. 620), 11 (Beg. W. 662), 12 (Beg. W. 861?), 44 ff. (Beg. W. 671), 49 (Beg. W. 583) etc. The earliest examples of the bead net in Egypt are dated by D.A. Ashton: Tomb Groups from the End of the New Kingdom to the Beginning of the Saite Period. Birmingham 1987 516 ff.; J.H. Taylor in: D Auria et al. 1998 175 to around 700 BC. However, bead nets were found in the burial of Sheshonq II (around 890 BC) at Tanis (P. Rigault in: T. Phillips [ed.]: Africa. The Art of a Continent. London – Munich New York 1995 Cat. 1.66) and in graves of Piankhy’s wives one of which (Ku. 53, Tabiry) dates from Piankhy’s lifetime, i.e., before c. 721 BC, Dunham 1950 81 (Ku. 52), 86 f. (Ku. 53), 91, Pl. XXVI/A (Ku. 54).


Occurrence of the two different burial customs, both Beg. W. and Beg. S., can be interpreted as burial grounds opened in conjunction with the foundation of a new settlement, viz., Meroe City, as the political centre of the Butana region after its conquest by the El Kurru dynasty, and not as cemeteries started shortly before the conquest. The contracted burials reflect the traditions of a local elite which was, however, acculturated within a few generations to the Egyptianized burial customs imported by the new rulers of the region. The local centre and motor of such an acculturation was an Egyptian-type cult temple: only such a temple and its priesthood could provide for mummiﬁcation, adequate funerary equipment, the performance of the funerary rites and the proper maintenance of an Egyptian-type mortuary cult.

Remains of monumental buildings (Structure 1000) and defensive walls partly excavated at Qasr Ibrim may be regarded as archaeological testimonies to the expansion of the Kushite kingdom north of the Second Cataract. A radiocarbon date from the ill of Structure 1000 produced a calibrated date of 920-800 BC. As the carbon dating was obtained from the dung of domesticated camel, it attests at the same time to trade contacts with the South, for the camel (which was otherwise not known in the Nubian Nile valley before the Ptolemaic period) could only have been introduced from the region of modern Ethiopia or from southern Arabia across the Red Sea.

2. Alara’s Memory

Ku. 9, a pyramid-on-mastaba tomb at El Kurru, is identiﬁed as the burial of Alara, the direct predecessor of King Kashta. Ku. 9 appears to have been the ﬁrst tomb provided with a mortuary stela and an

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11 For the archaeological ﬁnds connected to an early Amun temple at Meroe City, see T r k 1997b 25ff., 153ff., 233ff.
13 Kendall 1999a 34. The identiﬁcation follows from the archaeologically fairly certain tomb sequence Ku. 9 - Ku. 8 - Ku. 17. From Ku. 17 come shawabti ﬁgures of Piankhy, it is thus rather likely that this tomb belonged to Piankhy; Ku. 8 to his predecessor Kashta; and Ku. 9 to Kashta’s predecessor Alara. For the evidence concerning the family relationships on the basis of which the sequence of the rulers is suggested, see D. Dunham M.F.L. Macadam: Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of
As already indicated above in Chapter XII.3, Alara is mentioned in two inscriptions of King Taharqo, his fifth successor, as the source of the legitimacy and power of Taharqo and his dynasty. He was mentioned in the same sense again by King Irike-Amannote in the second half of the fifth century BC, and by King Nastasene in the last third of the fourth century BC. Taharqo's inscriptions present two slightly different versions of what we may define as a dynastic legend. Among other things, the preserved variants of the legend record in a mythologized form that Alara committed or ordained his sister to Amun of Kawa, i.e., he installed her as priestess of the god. In return, the god granted kingship to her descendants. In theological terms, this is a covenant between a god and a ruler. The epithets given to Amun in Taharqo's inscriptions clearly indicate the conceptual setting of the legend in the Third Intermediate Period Theology of Will and, more

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14 For Reisner's observations, see Kendall 1999a 51f.
15 Kawa IV = FHN I No. 21; Kawa VI = FHN I No. 24.
16 Kawa IX line 54, FHN II No. 71.
17 Nastasene Stela line 16, FHN II No. 84. Jansen-Winkeln 2003 156 suggests that Alara's mentions in Irike-Amannote's and Nastasene's inscriptions did not follow from a Legitimationsbedürfnis: 'Man kann ihnen zunächst entnehmen, dass Alara auch nach Jahrhunderten berühmt und ein Vorbild für andere Könige war'. Jansen-Winkeln disregards the contexts of Alara's mentions. In Kawa IX it is part of Irike-Amannote's prayer to Amun of Kawa during his (oracular) investiture by the god: 'Then this god said to him [the king], This bow is given to you (to be) with you to every place where you go. His [Majesty] said to [him], May you give me a long life on earth, after you have given to me as you did for king Alara, [justified]. Then [he] [the god] said [to him], I have (already) done for you everything that is in your heart. The context is analogous in the case of Nastasene, but Alara appears in his dialogue with Amun of Napata.

18 Vinogradov 1999 84, note 7 observes that while in Kawa IV and VI the word ḫn, ḫwn, order, commit is used, the Enthronement Stela of Anlamani (late 7th cent. BC, Kawa VIII = FHN I No. 34 lines 14ff.) and the Nitocris Adoption Stela (656 BC) use the verb ṭḏ, give. Both inscriptions record consecrations of princesses into priestly positions in a more explicit form. On this basis, Vinogradov doubts that Alara's sister would have been installed as a priestess, yet such a meaning of ḫn, ḫwn, order, cannot be excluded, either. According to Lohwasser 2001 257f. Alara's sister was consecrated as a priestess, yet she declines the association of the act with an institution created under the influence of the God's Wife of Amun, perhaps because she does not consider the case of Alara's sister in the context of the priestly offices of other Kushite royal princesses or the list of Aspelta's female ancestors (see below).

closely, in Theban concepts associated with the legitimating power of the God’s Wife of Amun. The commitment to Amun of a female member of the royal family may be understood in the sense of the concept of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period God’s Wife as a legitimating force and a mediator between the god and the king. The queen as priestess of Amun and of the royal cult played an essential role in the renewal and maintenance of royal power in both Egypt and Kush. Yet the most important feature of Alara’s giving his sister to Amun of Kawa, which was established in the course of an oracular procedure, is that he did so in order to secure the kingship of her descendants in this, and not any other way.

20 FHN I No. 21 lines 19 ff.; No. 24 line 23.
22 As suggested by Jansen-Winkeln 2003 145 ff.
23 Jansen-Winkeln 2003 152 ff. does not attach any special importance to the ordainment of Alara’s sister, although he states that it was a second oracular procedure following a first one in which Alara himself received royal power from Amun. He declines the possibility that the (hypothetical) matrilineal legitimacy would have been introduced in this way by Alara. While this seems indeed likely, and Jansen-Winkeln’s supercilious imputation rather inappropriate (ibid. 154 ff.) that my reconstruction of the line of the female ancestors listed in the Election Stela of Aspelta (FHN I No. 37, turn of the 7th century BC) and of the structure(s) in the background of such a list of female members of the dynasty is offenbar nur von dem Bestreben getragen, die Schwester des Alara an die Spitze des Stammbaums setzen zu können. As it seems, Jansen-Winkeln read my arguments in FHN I 248 ff. with little attention. Lohwasser 2001 253 ff. similarly suggests that the genealogy in the Aspelta Stela starts with Alara’s sister; while Jansen-Winkeln also declines Lohwasser’s view, he also acknowledges her zutreffende Bemerkung, dass die Vorfahrrinnen des Aspelta alle nur sn(t) njswt, nicht aber mwt njswt genannt werden, but does not recognize that this is an essential feature of a genealogy which lists relationships that are as a principle adoptive. While dismissing the signification of the genealogy, Jansen-Winkeln also leaves unmentioned that the second ancestress of Aspelta listed in it bears the titles King’s Sister, Divine Adora-trix of Amun-Re, king of the gods of Dominion (Thebes) (FHN I No. 37, line 26). Lohwasser distinguishes (ibid. 249 note 328) between epithets and actual priestly titles in the titularies of Kushite queens. Stating that several queens in the Aspelta list have only epitheta but no explicitly priestly titles, she declines my suggestion that the queens of the list adopted each other into priestly offices and functioned thus as additional vehicles of royal legitimacy in a system that was partly modelled on the Theban God’s Wife of Amun. She doubly contradicts herself, however, remarking (ibid.) that in the Jahr 3. des Aspelta (= FHN I No. 39) trgt keinen Kulttitel and that nach einer ersten Einsetzung von Priesterinnen durch den K nigE das Amt durch Adoption nach gyptischem Vorbild weitergegeben wurde (ibid. 261).
Taharqo’s Kawa inscriptions refer to Alara from the viewpoint of his sister and her descendants. In my contributions I accepted Macadam’s and Pierce’s reading of the actual passages as ‘The (fore)mothers of my mother were ordained for him [i.e., Amun of Kawa] by their brother, the Chief, Son-of-Re, Alara (Kawa IV, lines 16 f.) and His [i.e., Taharqo] s mother’s mother was committed to him [i.e., Amun of Kawa] by her brother, the Chief,24 the Son-of-Re, Alara (Kawa VI, cols 22 f.), respectively. Consequently, I suggested that Alara is viewed in the Kawa texts from a double perspective: viz., from the perspective of his actual rank as chieftain of a tribal state on the one hand, and from the perspective of Taharqo who derived his kingship from Alara and bestowed upon him a cartouche and the Son-of-Re title posthumously, on the other.25

Alexey Vinogradov vindicated recently J.J. Cléré’s suggestion that the correct reading of the references to Alara is ‘Their elder brother, the Son-of-Re, Alara.”29 Cléré’s and Vinogradov’s reading is also repeated by Karl Jansen-Winkeln, who speculates that Alara was not the founder of the dynasty but only the first member of a line which replaced another (elder) line and from which Taharqo descended.30 David Edwards draws the following conclusion from the corrected reading of Alara’s title:

24 Here Pierce also adds, however, the alternative ‘or: by her elder brother’ without further comments, FHN I 173.
25 FHN I 42; T r k 1995 43.
26 Review of Macadam 1949, BiOr 5 (1951) 179, quoted in Vinogradov 1999 86 f. but ignored in FHN I.
27 Kawa IV, FHN I No. 21.
28 Kawa VI, FHN I No. 24.
30 Jansen-Winkeln 2003. This is a hypothesis based on a passage of the covenant legend in Kawa VI=FHN I No. 24, lines 23 f., according to which Amun put a stop to him that plotted evil against me after you set me up as king. The hypothesis is meant to support the principal thesis of the article, according to which Taharqo’s legitimacy was weak and required special arguments even the possibility is raised that Taharka tats chlich ein Usurpator und K nigsm rder war (wenn das auch keineswegs erwiesen ist) (ibid. 154). But even if we suppose that the evil plotters are identical with another branch of the dynasty, how can we tell whether was it Alara, scion of a younger line, who usurped the throne of the elder line, or was it a scion of a younger line, who attempted to usurp the throne of Alara, the scion of the elder line? The text speaks only about a conspiracy after Alara’s enthronement, to which a stop was put by Amun of Kawa.
Attempts to track the historical development of the Kushite state have made much of [Alara’s] apparent portrayal in texts as a chieftain as opposed to a king. However, these debates now appear to be based largely on a series of philological misunderstandings and this distinction is illusory.31

This is somewhat rash. In the text of his daughter’s mortuary stela, Alara’s name is written in a cartouche, but he has no title at all.32 This case is paralleled33 by the inscription of a scarab of Amenirdis I in which the name of her father, Kashta, appears in a cartouche but without any title.34 Contrary to Edwards’ conclusion, also Vinogradov maintained that Alara’s royal title in the Kawa inscriptions could be fictitious and his actual rank may not have been equivalent to that of kings from the Egyptian perspective of the time of his great nephew Taharqo and that it is likely that he would have been accorded royal rank retrospectively.35

Remaining at the issue of Alara’s retrospective royal title, also another passage of Taharqo’s stela Kawa VI deserves our attention. Alara turns in it to Amun of Kawa asking from the god that he may:

[È ] look upon my sister for meÈ Act for her (even) as you acted for him [i.e., Alara] that acted for you, as a wonder, unpremeditated [È ] For you put a stop to him that plotted evil against me after you set me up as king.36

The expression wonder, bist, designates with sufficient clarity the origin of Alara’s royal power as it was conceived by Taharqo: for in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period texts bist refers to an oracular decision given by Amun at his processional appearance in which the god elects, i.e., legitimates a king and bestows upon him the royal power.37 The hint at plotters may also belong to the historical layer of the legend relating the foundation of the Kushite royal dynasty.

31 Edwards 2004 114.
32 FHN I No. 11.
33 As it is also pointed out by Vinogradov 1999 93 note 58.
34 W.M.F. Petrie: Historical Scarabs. London 1889 58 No. 1830.
35 Vinogradov 1999 93. Even ignoring the date and circumstances of the transition from chieftain to kingdom or the person of the prince involved, it would be rather extravagant to suggest that the distinction between chieftain and king is illusory or superfluous.
36 Col. 23, FHN I No. 24.
3. Kashta and Piankhy in Egypt

Under circumstances that remain obscure to us, Kashta, successor of Alara, king of the emergent kingdom of Kush, installed his daughter Amenirdis I at Thebes as God’s Wife of Amun Elect some time before c. 755 BC. By this means, he established and/or reinforced his legitimacy as king according to the prevalent Theban tradition not only as far north as the First Cataract region but, at least for some time, also in Upper Egypt where he also assumed an Egyptian royal titulary. As to the conditions of his success, it is highly significant that his Egyptian titulary indicates a Theban authorship by its contents as well as by its writing.

It remains unknown whether the stela fragment from Elephantine on which Kashta whose name contains Qes, the Meroitic form of Kush appears as nsw-bity (Ny)-Mṣ’t-Rʿ ss-ʿ nb-tswy, The King of...
Upper and Lower Egypt, He-who-belongs-to-Re's-Order (or: Possessor of Truth/Equity is Re), Son of Re, Lord of Two-lands comes from a monument erected before, at the time of, or some time after Amenirdis I's installation at Thebes. The stela was dedicated to Khnum, Lord of Cold-water; i.e., the First Cataract, and Satet, Lady of Elephantine. Kashta also appears as king of Egypt on an aegis of Mut of unknown Egyptian provenance.\textsuperscript{13}

The appearance of a ruler of Kush as King of Upper and Lower Egypt in an inscription at Elephantine, dated in an indirect manner to after c. 775 BC and more closely to around 755 BC by the date of the extinction of the title king's son of Kush (preceding the death [?] of its last known holder, Pamiu), not only indicates the end of the rule of the Egyptian Twenty-Third Dynasty in Lower Nubia. It also marks the beginnings of the political process that led to Egypt's reunification.

From the reign of Sheshonq III (825–773 BC), an increasing number of local rulers, first of all in Lower Egypt, became autonomous and adopted the title of king. By the middle of the eighth century BC Egypt was politically in a state of extreme fragmentation as a result of a process that had started with the bifurcation of pharaonic kingship under the Twenty-First Dynasty, the formal recognition of Smendes' dynasty throughout Egypt, and the effective regency of Herihor's descendants in Middle and Upper Egypt. Although both the kings in Tanis and the High Priests of Amun of Thebes appeared for more than one century with royal titulatures, the essentially important political fiction of an undivided kingdom was nevertheless maintained with the help of the ideology of Amun's direct regency.\textsuperscript{44}

The western Delta was dominated by the great chiefs of the Libyan Libu, who were the overlords of several local chiefs. Around 800 BC, the region of Mendes lay under the rule of the hereditary great chiefs and armyleaders of the Libyan Ma. At the same time, the eastern Delta with centres at Tanis and Bubastis as well as the regions of Buto and Sais, Busiris, Athribis and Heliopolis were in the possession of two branches of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.\textsuperscript{45} As to further details, the changes in the political map of Egypt remain unknown for the next

\textsuperscript{13} J. Leclant: Kashta, Pharaon, en Égypte. \textit{ZÄS} 90 (1963) 74–81 78ff., figs 2–5.

\textsuperscript{44} For a discussion of the three principal features of Twenty-First Dynasty kingship: the association of the title of the High Priest of Amun of Thebes with the royal titulary; the contemporaneity of kings in Tanis and Thebes with full royal titulatures; the peaceful coexistence of these latter, see Ršmer 1994 78ff.

\textsuperscript{45} Kitchen 1986 346 fig. 4.
seventy years or so, before the Great Triumphal Stela of Piankhy would then present us with an overview of the situation prevailing around 735 BC.46

The political fragmentation of Egypt before the Twenty-Third Dynasty was, unlike the First and Second Intermediate Periods, not experienced and not described as a fall into Chaos, and posteriority remembered the subsequent times as a period of polyarchy based on dynastic relationships and concordats (cf. Herodotus 2.147 on the dodecarchy ).47 This seems to have been the result of a successful economic-governmental functioning of the smaller units, which resolved the collapsed central administration of the late New Kingdom. On the level of the world-view it followed from the acceptance of an ideology of national unity that was supported by the theology of Amun’s direct kingship. The intricate ideology of the god’s co-regency with the king and the High Priest provided an excellent support to the coexistence and dynastic integrity of the two power centres at Tanis and Thebes. Integrity was also secured practically as well as ideologically by the institution of the Divine Adoratrice or God’s Wife of Amun of Thebes, which emerged from the function of the New Kingdom great royal wife as priestess of the royal cult and vehicle of legitimate succession in her double quality as mother and wife of the king, who, in turn, was regarded son of the god and at the same time son of his bodily father.48

From the early Twenty-First Dynasty onwards, the God’s Wife of Amun of Thebes was a royal princess who was regarded as the sole wife of the god, acted as chief of his female priesthood and secured thus the legitimacy of the royal dynasty in Thebes and the control over the entire Theban realm.49

With the civil war starting in Year 15 of Takelot II (c. 836 BC), however, the political disintegration of Egypt took a decisive turn.50 The war resulted in the expulsion of the Twenty-Second Dynasty from Thebes and the emergence of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty51 (c. 818

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47 Assmann 1996 319ff.
48 See, with literature, Troy 1986 103ff.
49 Cf. also Kahn 2005 151.
51 The Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty is to be distinguished from Manetho’s Twenty-Third Dynasty which as successor of the Twenty-Second Dynasty ruled from Tanis. Aston Taylor 1990; Leahy 1990 186ff.
715 BC), which included the successive kings Pedubast I, Osorkon III, Takelot III and Rudamun (the latter from c. 754 BC).

The Theban kings seem to have been sole masters of Upper Egypt, i.e., of the estate of Amun, holding Hermopolis and Herakleopolis under their control as well. Their legitimacy in Thebes was secured through the installation of the virgin daughter of Osorkon III, Shepenwepet I, as God's Wife of Amun around 761 BC (?). The Divine Adoratrice governed the domain of Amun, which was practically identical with Upper Egypt with the help of an administration of her own. While her successors continued to adopt cartouche names, it was Shepenwepet I the only Divine Adoratrice to be styled as ruler: i.e., nbt tswy and nbt ḫw, mistress of Two-Lands and mistress of appearances instead of adopting the titulary of a non-ruling queen. Also her throne name referring to Amun remains exceptional: her successors would adopt throne names referring to Mut. Some time after her appointment, Shepenwepet I adopted Amenirdis I. As already indicated in the foregoing, the installation of Kashta's daughter as presumptive Divine Adoratrice was the key moment in the process of the extension of Kushite power over Egyptian territories.

There is no contemporary or later indication of a violent prelude to Kashta's appearance as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. On the contrary, a peaceful overture is suggested by the fact that the descendants

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52 Leahy 1990 181ff; the Dynasty is, however, very poorly documented and its history and chronology continue to be debated. The absolute dates suggested by Kitchen 1986 Table *3 are: Pedubast I 818-793, Osorkon III 787-759, Takelot III 764-757, Rudamun 757-754, Iuput II 754-720 BC.

53 For the extension of the domain of Amun and the wealth of the Amun temple in the late New Kingdom and the TIP cf. W. Erichsen: Papyrus Harris I. Bruxelles 1933; Redford 1992 288.

54 For Osorkon III in Hermopolis and Tehneh and Takelot III in Abydos and Heracleopolis, see Leahy 1990 184.

55 Her appointment in conjunction with the co-regency of Takelot III with his father Osorkon III: Kitchen 1986 336. This is, however, hypothetical and the actual date remains unknown. Shepenwepet's chronology also depends on the chronology of her father Osorkon III who is regarded now (cf. Leahy 1990 192) to have been identical with the HPA Osorkon attested as HPA from Y. 11 of Takelot II (c. 840 BC) to Y. 39 of Shoshenq III (c. 784 BC), when he began a reign of c. 28 years. If so, he must have died as an octagenarian (cf. Leahy 1990 192f) and at the time of his death Shepenwepet I could not have been young, either. She was still alive in c. 736 BC (cf. Aston Taylor 1990 144ff.).


57 Zeissl 1955 64.
of Osorkon III, Takelot III, and Rudamun continued to enjoy a high social status in Thebes in the second half of the eighth and in the first half of the seventh century BC and were buried there. The continued flowering of members of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty under Kushite rule may be explained as the consequence of the withdrawal of Rudamun and his son-in-law and successor Pentjuawybast from Thebes to Herakleopolis, which was under Theban control during the rule of Takelot III. In fact, Rudamun’s reign in Thebes was, as indicated by the scarcity of his monuments, very brief and his successor is attested to only in Herakleopolis. The date of the withdrawal can best be placed in the years before 754 BC, the supposed end of Takelot III’s reign and thus within Kashta’s later reign (for the chronology of Kashta and his successors, see below). Kashta’s peaceful takeover of power is also clearly indicated by the joint activity and double dating of the Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet I, daughter of Osorkon III, and the God’s Wife of Amun Elect Amenirdis I, daughter of Kashta, during the course of the third quarter of the eighth century BC.

According to the most recent chronology of the regencies between Kashta and Shebitqo, Kashta’s successor Piankhy ascended the throne of the kingdom of Kush around 755 BC. This is not the place to discuss the problems connected with this chronology about the details of which there is still no consensus. It may suffice to confront it here with the traditional chronology, adding that in this book I prefer the new chronology suggested by Dan’el Kahn after the reassessment of the Tang-i Var inscription. Kahn also convincingly argues against the various hypotheses of co-regencies in this period.

58 For the evidence, see Aston Taylor 1990.
60 Spencer Spencer 1986 201.
61 For the Wadi Gasus graffito see Leclant 1965 383; Kitchen 1986 175ff.
63 See recently Zibelius-Chen 2006a 289ff.; Hornung Krauss Warburton (eds) 2006 496.
64 Kahn 2001.
66 I am grateful to Dan’el Kahn for the knowledge of his manuscript Divided Kingdom, Co-regency or Sole Rule in the Kingdom[s] of Egypt-and-Kush? (now published in Ägypten und Levante 16 [2006] 275 291). See also D. Kahn: Was There a Co-Regency in the 25th Dynasty? MittSAG 17 [2006] 135 141.
Table H. Alternative Chronologies, Kashta to Taharqo

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<tr>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Kahn's suggestion</th>
<th>Addition to Kahn's suggestion</th>
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<tr>
<td>Alara</td>
<td>c. 780 760 BC</td>
<td>c. 795 775 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashta</td>
<td>c. 760 747 BC</td>
<td>c. 775 755 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piankhy</td>
<td>c. 747 716 BC</td>
<td>755 (?)-721 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shabaqo</td>
<td>c. 716 702 BC</td>
<td>722/721 707 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shebitqo</td>
<td>c. 702 690 BC</td>
<td>707/706 690 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taharqo</td>
<td>690 664 BC</td>
<td>690 664 BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At his ascent to the throne of Kush, Piankhy assumed a five-part Egyptian-style titulary modelled partly upon the titles of Thutmose III as they appeared on his Gebel Barkal stela of Year 47 in which the Egyptian conqueror announced his victories in Asia and declared Nubia’s surrender (cf. Chapters II.4, IX.1, 2.3.2). The titulary and the more manifestly formulated text of Piankhy’s early Sandstone Stela (see below) declared the Nubian king’s claim over the kingship of Egypt. He adopted Thutmose III’s Nébty name “Whose-kingship-endures-like-Re’s-in-Heaven” and Golden Horus name “Whose-appearances-are-holy, Whose-might-is-powerful” in an unaltered form. Thutmose’s Horus name “Strong-Bull, Appearing [= Crowned]-in-Thebes” was changed, however, into “Strong-Bull, Appearing [= Crowned]-in-Napata” in order to announce a momentous reversal of history. As the title powerfully manifests, the place of Thebes, where the Egyptian conqueror of Kush had been crowned, was now taken by Napata, where the Kushite ruler of Egypt is crowned. Furthermore, Piankhy also adopted the throne name Wsr-M#t-R#, “Re-is-One-whose-Order-is-strong”, suggesting a program of the restoration of traditional order and also indicating that Piankhy regarded himself as a legitimate successor of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty kings Pedubast I, Osorkon III and Takelot III whose throne names he thus imitated.

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67 On the columns of Inner Court B 502 of Temple B 500 at Napata built in Piankhy’s early reign; on the Sandstone Stela (?), and on a statuette of unknown provenance, FHN I No. (5) 1d, 2d, 13d.
68 Bonh•me 1987 s. v. The direct model was Takelot III’s titulary, in which Wsr-Mšt-Rš stood similarly without an epithet, cf. ibid. 127. For the changes introduced subsequently in Piankhy’s titulary cf. FHN I No. (5).
The incompletely preserved text of Piankhy’s Sandstone Stela contains a speech of the king about his double kingship in Egypt and Nubia. It reads as follows:69

Amun of Napata has granted me to be ruler \((hk\dot{2}s)\) of every foreign country.
He to whom I say, ‘You are chief!’ , he is to be chief \((wfr)\).
He to whom I say, ‘You are not king!’ , he is not king \((wfr)\).
Amun in Thebes has granted me to be ruler of Black-land \((hk\dot{2}s n Kmt)\).
He to whom I say ‘Make (your formal) appearance (as king)!’, he shall make (his) appearance.
He to whom I say ‘Do not make (your formal) appearance (as king)!’, he does not make (his) appearance. [É]
Gods make a king \((nsw)\), men make a king, (but) it is Amun that has made me.

In the speech Piankhy announces his Egyptian policy.70 First he indicates his ambition to achieve supremacy over the Libyan chieftains, then over the kings of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties in Middle and Lower Egypt. His seemingly non-exclusive view of kingship is part of a double perspective: on the one hand, he declares himself legitimate ruler of Egypt; on the other, he accepts Egypt’s political map as it is and promises its preservation.71

The Sandstone Stela was erected in Piankhy’s early reign, probably in his Year 3 \((c. 752\, BC)\). However fragmentarily preserved, the quality of the text is obvious. Its sophisticated discourse on Egyptian kingship demonstrates the author’s imposing knowledge of the Egyptian myth of the state, also including traditional conceptions of the imperialistic ideology of the New Kingdom. The thorough knowledge of the actual political situation in Egypt is also apparent. On the whole, Piankhy’s titulary, the Sandstone Stela, and the building works started in his early

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70 In the lunette, the ram-headed Amun holds out the Red Crown and the Kushite scullcap-crown to Piankhy with the words: ‘I said of you (while you were still) in your mother’s womb that you were to be ruler of Black-land (Egypt). I knew you in the semen, while you were in the egg, that you were to be lord. I made you receive the Great (Double) Crown which Re caused to appear on the first good occasion. (Inasmuch as) a father makes his son excellent, it is I who decree (the kingship) to you. (So) who shall share it with you? For I am the Lord of Heaven. (As) I give to Re, (so) he gives to his children, from gods to men. It is I that gives you the (royal) charter. (So) who shall share it with you? No other (can) decree (who is to be) a king. It is I that grants [kingship] to whomever I will.
reign at the great Amun temple at Napata (Temple B 500) all indicate
the existence of intellectual as well as more practical political/material
contacts with Thebes contacts, which may best be explained by the
Kushite presence in Thebes since Amenirdis I’s installation as God’s Wife of Amun Elect. The discourse on Piankhy’s kingship seems to have
been consistent with the form of decentralization of Egypt, which
was not only accepted but institutionalized as a form of government.
The political picture that emerges as the Third Intermediate Period pro-
gresses is one of a federation of semi-autonomous rulers, nominally sub-
ject (and often related) to an overlord-king. This is perhaps an example
of the impact of the Libyan presence on the administration, since such
a system can be seen as consistent with the patterns of rule in a semi-
nomadic society such as theirs.72

Amenirdis I’s Theban residence implied a more substantial Kushite
military presence as well. Fragments of a monumental granite stela
from Gebel Barkal73 record a journey of Piankhy in his Year 4 (c. 751
BC) to Thebes where he attended the Opet Festival. The annual Opet
Festival was closely associated with the royal investiture and the ritual
renewal of the divine kingship. The king was accompanied by his army
and the stela text also refers to the (m)ṣ n p(s) Tṣ mhw, army of the
Land of the North, indicating some military conflict with (a) Delta
power(s). This is also suggested by the war reliefs in the inner court
of the great Amun temple at Napata, which date from Piankhy’s early
reign.74

It remains unknown if, and to what extent, Piankhy realized the
threat represented by the advance of the Assyrians towards Lower
Egypt. In 745 BC the throne of Assyria was usurped by Tiglath-Pileser
III who proved to be an organizational genius and a master strategist,
worthy of comparison with Hannibal or Scipio.75 In the course of the
subsequent decade Tiglath-Pileser III destroyed Damascus and reduced
Israel; in 732 BC conquered Gaza where he appointed the chief of an

72 Taylor 2000 345. Cf. also K. Zibelius-Chen: Theorie und Realität im K. nigtum
73 Berlin 1068, now lost, Uuk. III 78f. and Cairo JE 47085, FHN I No. 10.
74 Kendall 1986 89, 10. Morkot 2000 173ff. presents the unlikely hypothesis that
the military actions referred to in the Sandstone Stela and the stela fragments referred
to above (FHN I No. 10) are all part of the great Egyptian expedition recorded in
the Great Triumphal Stela from Year 21 (FHN I No. 9) and that the Triumphal Stela
might be a second record of the [same] campaign which the king erected at the
completion of the temple around Year 21.
75 Redford 1992 341.
Arab tribe as vassal gatekeeper over Egypt. Sitting in Egypt, Tefnakht, chief of the Me(shwesh) (c. 740–735 BC), later king of Sais (c. 735–720 BC), viewed the Assyrian advance from a closer distance. He must have recognized it as a parallel to the Kushite advance from the south and thus as one of the principal factors that determined his own policy of inevitable expansion. Tefnakht extended his control first over the western Delta and the area of Memphis, then made advances towards Upper Egypt. In his Year 19 (c. 736 BC) Piankhy received the news at Napata that Tefnakht and his allies besieged Herakleopolis, the city of Piankhy's ally Peftjauawybast; and then he also learnt that another ally of his, Nimlot (or Nimrod) of Hermopolis defected to Tefnakht. The ensuing events are recorded in Piankhy's Great Triumphal Stela erected in Year 21 (c. 734 BC) in the great Amun Temple at Napata. First the king sent north his troops stationed in Upper Egypt to recapture Hermopolis and also dispatched an army from Kush; then, after defeats suffered at Herakleopolis, he decided to lead an army to Egypt himself. He left Napata after the celebration of the rites of the New Year in his Year 20 (c. 735 BC) and arrived three months later at Thebes to celebrate there the Opet Festival. As a result of the subsequent military campaign, the local rulers accepted Piankhy's authority over Egypt. The narrative of the Great Triumphal stela which is doubtless one of the most splendid royal inscriptions ever composed in hieroglyphic Egyptian was repeatedly analysed and commented upon as an historical source as well as a literary work. Thus it may suffice here to stress that Piankhy returned after the conquest to his southern kingdom from where he controlled the semi-autonomous Egyptian princes. The maintenance of the power structure formulated in the Sandstone Stela was, however, not without serious risks. Inevitably, Piankhy's successor Shabaqo (c. 721–707 BC) had to face

76 H. -U. Onasch 1994 5 f.
77 Only after the end of the campaign of Piankhy, cf. Kahn 2006a 60.
81 Cairo JE 48862, 47086–47089, FHN I No. 9.
the renewed expansionism of Tefnakht⁸⁴ and his successor Bakenranef (Chapter XIII.5).

4. Lower Nubia in the Double Kingdom of Egypt and Kush (c. 755–656 BC)

4.1. The Archaeological Map

Thanks to a re-examination of the mortuary evidence by Bruce Williams,⁸⁵ the archaeological map of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Lower Nubia is no longer as empty as it was before the 1990s. Williams identified about forty Twenty-Fifth Dynasty-Napatan period sites between Aswan and Semna. The distribution of the sites indicates changes in the settlement pattern caused by the increasing aridity of the climate (cf. Chapter XI.2). The aridity caused a diminishing of arable land, a decrease of the permanently settled population, and an increase of people returning to semi-nomadic patterns of subsistence. Concentrations of permanent settlement sites could be identified at the traditional Egyptian/Nubian border in the First Cataract region (Shellal), at the strategic point of the entrance to the gold-mines of the Wadi Allaqi, in the region of Aniba-Qasr Ibrim, in the Qustul-Faras region, in the region of the Second Cataract, and in the Amara region.

According to Williams,

[t]he several different types of burial indicate that cultural differences existed in the Nile Valley during this period. The bed burial and other Kushite features⁸⁶ occur in the form seen in the Kushite homeland. Other types, such as the cleft/boulder burial, occur in Lower Nubia, the [Second] Cataract Region, and Upper Nubia at least as far south as Sai (tomb of this kind probably vary widely in date). The circular and sand-pit grave types occur less often in the northern areas (Qustul⁸⁶ Argin, and Abri) and at Sanam⁸⁶.

Noting that the character of the grave goods does not always show the same clear distinctions as seen in the burial practices, Williams supposes that this was due to the close geographical proximity of the various traditions.⁸⁷

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⁸⁵ Williams 1990.
⁸⁶ Williams 1990 44f.
⁸⁷ Ibid. 45.
4.2. The Limits of Egyptianization

While geographical proximity may indeed have played a role in the transformation of the traditional contexts of burial type/grave inventory, the atypical contexts observed by Williams seem to have been determined by a more comprehensive acculturation process starting from the royal and religious centres of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Kush and coupled with the process of the organization of centralized administration, production and redistribution. Between the reigns of Piankhy (c. 755–721 BC) and Taharqo (690–664 BC) the kings of Kush were also rulers of Egypt for almost a whole century. The organization of their native kingdom, a young state, which came into existence not long before Piankhy’s time, had to be coordinated with the establishment and maintenance of their authority in Egypt.

The cultural consequences of the political uni cation with Egypt were enormous. The seemingly pure Egyptianess of the cults, state ideology, architecture, arts and material culture emerging in Kush over the course of the second half of the eighth and the rst half of the seventh century BC completely misled the pioneers in Nubian studies as to the actual nature of the Egyptianization of Kush. The earlier generations of writers on the history of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty maintained that the Egyptianization of Nubia was part of a political-ideological playacting by which the Kushite rulers tried to legitimate their kingship in Egypt. The denial of the inner-directedness of the acculturation of Kush also implied that in the view of these scholars it amounted to no more than an import of ready-made ideas, experts, and objects: an import that had been rendered possible only by Piankhy’s access to the riches of Egypt after his military expedition in Year 20. From Reisner in the 1910s to Emery in the 1960s, writers on ancient Nubia viewed the Kushite culture of the eighth to fifth centuries BC as an elite pretension that was condemned to decline and aberration from the very moment when contact with the model was interrupted. It was only in the 1960s that this strongly prejudiced vision of acculturation was replaced by new research paradigms.

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89 For the process, see Adams 1977 65–98.
It was suggested in the foregoing (Chapter XIII.3) that the appearance of Kashta on the scene of Egyptian politics was encouraged by Thebes. The impact of Thebes is obvious in the development of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kingship ideology, religion, arts, and material culture. Thebes, however, was not the sole font of the knowledge necessary for the creation of a political power that was able to govern the double kingdom of Kush and Egypt. Acquainting the Kushites with the cultural behaviour of archaism emerging after the fall of the New Kingdom, the Theban priests presented the Kushites with a precious tool for creating a double identity, i.e., a mutually relevant interpretation, propagation and practice of regency in each half of the double kingdom. Within this context, the trend of archaism meant the revival of the imperial concepts of kingship in Egypt;90 in Kush it meant the acquisition of Egyptian media of self-articulation and cultural codification and the integration of Egyptian kingship ideology and religion into indigenous kingship traditions and cults.

Archaism was in both Kush and Egypt a normative procedure in which the historical past was mythologized and at the same time pragmatically included into the context of the historical present.91 In a highly remarkable manner, the creation of the Egyptianized self-identity of the kingdom of Kush also generated an archaising interest in the past of the Nubian region itself. Monuments of the Egyptian domination were re-used, copied, excerpted and fitted into seemingly eclectic contexts with the aim of articulating the present as the embodiment of the ideal continuity with an ideal past that was created from a selection of normative elements. Though we almost completely ignore the decoration of the New Kingdom temples at Napata, it is certain

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that at least three of them, namely, the great Amun temple B 500, the hemispeos of Mut B 300, and the hemispeos of Hathor-Tefnut B 200 were restored by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to their original cults. This also presupposes the study and interpretation of their reliefs and texts. Besides signs of the re-interpretation of the theology of the deities worshipped in these temples, we also find obvious correspondences between the New Kingdom and Kushite iconographical formulations and epithets of these deities, suggesting that the antiquarian studies were also supported by surviving religious traditions in the local population. As repeatedly indicated in the foregoing, the temple cults of Amun in New Kingdom Nubia integrated local native cults: at Napata it was the cult of a ram god dwelling in Pure-mountain and associated with water in general and the Nile flood in particular (cf. Chapter X).

4.3. The Great Amun Temple at Napata and the Sacred Geography of Piankhy’s Realm

Piankhy initiated construction works at the great Amun temple (B 500) of Napata in the early years of his regency. Though little was preserved, and could be documented, from the decoration program of the Piankhy edifice by the time when Reisner started its excavations, it is worth repeating here what we know about it. The reliefs recorded from the interior of the early forecourt+hypostyle B 502 may be placed in two different iconographical contexts. The local west half of the court was decorated with battle- and triumphal scenes, the local east half with bark procession(s) and cult scenes. I connect the battle scenes on the inner faces of the Second Pylon and the local western end of the

92 Dunham 1970 41ff.; with the more recent literature: TR k 2002a 54ff.
93 Dunham 1970 12; with the more recent literature: TR k 2002a 73ff.
94 Dunham 1970 10f.; PM VII 208 (as temple of Amun); for the actual cult see Kendall 1990 7; Wolf 1990 81ff. and see TR k 2002a 73ff.
95 Cf. TR k 2002a 54ff., 73ff.
96 For the finds of Reisner, see Dunham 1970.
97 Cf. TR k 2002a 56ff.
98 The temple is oriented towards the Nile which flows at Napata approximately from north to south. Accordingly, in the discussion of its iconographical program I refer instead of magnetic north, south, east and west to Nile north, south, east and west as local north, local south, local east, and local west, because the program was originally conceived with an ideal Nile in the mind which flows always from south to north independently from the actual geographical reality.
local south wall of the court with the expedition of Piankhy against (a) Delta power(s) in his fourth regnal year, i.e., around 751 BC (see Chapter XIII.3). While greatly relying upon New Kingdom iconographical models available in Lower Nubia, these reliefs also include forms of fighting (e.g., spearing of the enemy with a spear entering the foe’s body almost vertically; mounted cavalrymen), which are unknown in New Kingdom war representations.

The interior face of the towers of the Second Pylon and the local western end of the local south wall were decorated with scenes in several relief registers (originally to a total height of c. 9.10 m; with the roof at a height of c. 11 m). The inner face of the local south pylon tower was decorated with the figure of the king with a prisoner and with scenes in five registers. The two top registers depicted battle scenes; in the register below, boats (presumably of the army sailing to Egypt) were represented. A broader relief band below these contained horse figures led by grooms; the bottom register shows figures of sacrificial oxen and offering stands. The register showing horses led by grooms continued on the local south wall. From the local north pylon tower two registers of battle scenes were recorded. Similarly to the inner face of the local south tower, a monumental figure of Piankhy holding a captive was represented at the outer end of the wall. It may thus be inferred that the local western half (as far east as the transversal axis marked by the local north and south doors) of B 502 was decorated, according to the tradition originating in the

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90 Recorded by Linant de Bellefonds, Wilkinson, Bankes and Lepsius in the nineteenth century (cf. Spalinger 1981 gs 3.5) and in J.H. Breasted’s photographs taken in 1907 (now in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, cf. Spalinger 1981 g.2). The fragments surviving Reisner’s excavation, who left the walls exposed to erosion by wind-blown sand, were documented by Kendall 1986 gs 9, 10.

100 Though accepting Reisner’s dating of the reliefs to Piankhy’s early reign, Spalinger 1981 49ff. cannot decide whether the reliefs refer to the great expedition or to other military expeditions before or after (!) that date. He also sees a similarity between the helmet of the vanquished enemy in the B 502 reliefs and the helmet type worn by the Assyrian army between Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC) and Sennacherib (705–681 BC). Though also repeated by Redford 1992 356f. note 185, this similarity is far from being obvious.


102 Kendall 1986 g.9; 1990 20.

103 Kendall 1986 g.9.

104 Kendall 1986 14.

105 Spalinger 1971 50f., gs 3.5; Kendall 1986 g.10.
iconographical program of Ramesside forecourts,\textsuperscript{106} with historic battle scenes and symbolic images of the king as conqueror and universal ruler.

Remarkably enough, Piankhy’s triumphant army is shown moving from the outer ends of the walls towards the door. The monumental figures of the king smiting his enemies stand close to the outer wall ends and turn, accordingly, towards the door. The unusual direction of the ruler and his soldiers emphasize the divine aspect of Piankhy in a similar manner as it would be indicated in the lunette scene of the Great Triumphal Stela recording the campaign of Year 20, in which Amun, Mut and the king look in the same direction and receive together the submission of the Egyptian princes.\textsuperscript{107} In the temple the sacrificial oxen represented in the bottom register, when moving towards the interior of the temple, move not only towards the gods but also towards the king.

The local eastern half of B 502 was decorated with ritual scenes\textsuperscript{108} and the local eastern half of the local south wall with a scene representing the emergence of the bark procession of Amun of Napata from the sanctuary and its adoration by a thurifying priest. The priest was followed in this scene by Piankhy as High Priest, his wife,\textsuperscript{109} and attendants.\textsuperscript{110} The cult scene on the eastern wall as well as the bark procession belong to the canonical repertory of the hypostyle hall decoration.

The relief program of the two halves of B 502 and the arrangement of its columns similarly indicate that it united a forecourt with a hypostyle.\textsuperscript{111} This fusion of functions points towards the inner halls of Rameses II’s Nubian rock temples (Chapters X.1.5.1 Ð 1.5.5) as likely models, something, which may well be relevant for the iconographical program too.\textsuperscript{112} Accordingly, it seems probable that the eastern half

\textsuperscript{106} Arnold 1962 110.
\textsuperscript{107} Grimal 1981 Pl. V.
\textsuperscript{108} Piankhy before Amun and Mut, \textit{PM} VII 220 (36); Kendall 1999a 75.
\textsuperscript{109} For the figures of the king and the queen see Kendall 1999a Fig. 19. K.-H. Priese: Nicht ägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der König von Kusch. Meroitische Lehnum Wörter in den ägyptischen Texten, \textit{MIO} 14 (1968) 165 191 and Lohwasser 2001 175 suggest that the name of the queen could have written both as Peksater and Pekereso. The two names belong, however, to two different queens, see Rilly 2001 358ff.; Zibelius-Chen 2006b 132.
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{PM} VII 219 (32) (33).
\textsuperscript{111} For the complex function of New Kingdom hypostyle halls unifying features of the forecourt with those of the hall of appearances cf. Refai 2000 \textit{passim} and esp. 215 219.
\textsuperscript{112} Cf. Arnold 1962 110.
of the local north wall was decorated with another bark procession. As to the probable sources for the iconography of B 502, it is especially interesting to note that the war scenes penetrated the interior of the rock temple of Beit el-Wali as far as the columned hall preceding the naos where they alternate with offering- and jubilee scenes\(^{113}\) (cf. Chapter X.1.5.2).

Monumental constructions of Piankhy in Kush are known only from Upper Nubia,\(^ {114}\) viz., from Napata (great Amun temple, palace B 1200, pyramid tomb Ku. 17 at el Kurru) and Sanam where he built an enormous magazine, which was part of an administrative centre. The large quantity of raw elephant tusks, faience and alabaster objects, gemstones, copper alloy, and clay sealings (with names of Piankhy, Shabaqo, Taharqo, Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta) recovered from the magazines indicate that revenues and commercial wares arrived here from great distances and were stored under the supervision of the royal administration.\(^ {115}\) The magazines were associated with a monumental palace building and with the temple of Amun of Sanam. The raw elephant tusks attest the continuity of the trade of African elephant ivory along the Nile.\(^ {116}\)

Shabaqo built a shrine at Kawa from which only column drums reused in Temple B are preserved.\(^ {117}\) Both Shabaqo and his successor Shebitqo sponsored several buildings in Egypt, such as the Sed Festival gate at the Ptah temple in Karnak,\(^ {118}\) a kiosk in front of Luxor temple,\(^ {119}\) a forecourt added to the Small Temple at Medinet Habu,\(^ {120}\) porches

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\(^{113}\) PM VII 23ff. (6) (9), (23) (32); Arnold 1962 110 note 2.

\(^{114}\) The provenance of the obelisk fragment Khartoum 426 (FHN I No. 7) found at Kadakol in the Letti Basin is uncertain: it may be supposed that it comes from a so far unidentified temple near the find spot.

\(^{115}\) For the excavations at the so-called Treasury of Sanam, see Griffith 1922; for more recent field work and finds, see I. Vincentelli: Some Clay Sealings from Sanam Abu Dom. in: Gratien (ed.) 2007 371–378.


\(^{117}\) Macadam 1955 46, Pl. XLII/d; T r k 2002a 140ff.

\(^{118}\) PM II 197.


\(^{120}\) PM II 464ff.; Arnold 1999 47ff.
and a chapel in the Ptah temple at Memphis\textsuperscript{121} (Shabaqo); and additions to the Osiris-Heqadjet chapel at Karnak\textsuperscript{122} (Shebitqo). According to Dieter Arnold, these buildings introduced three new forms into Egyptian temple architecture, viz., the freestanding kiosk in the forecourt of the temple or in some distance from it; the kiosk adjoining the temple front with its rear wall; and the porch constituted by several rows of columns, similarly adjoining the temple front but with a completely open front.\textsuperscript{123} All these forms seem to have been determined functionally by the increasing importance of the meeting of the people with the deities emerging from their sanctuaries.

So far no royal monuments of Piankhy, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo are known from Lower Nubia. The firm Kushite control of the area is indicated, albeit indirectly, yet clearly enough by Kashta’s appearance in Upper Egypt and then his successors’ authority in Egypt. The ideological integration of the land and its population into the kingdom of Kush as well as the double kingdom of Kush and Egypt is attested by a particularly interesting monument, viz., the complex of the abacus inscriptions in Piankhy’s aforementioned forecourt + hypostyle B 502 in the great Amun temple at Napata.

The sophisticated program of the royal and divine names and epithets inscribed on the four sides of the abaci in B 502 was reconstructed elsewhere.\textsuperscript{124} Here it may suffice to say in general that the abaci presented monumental “litanies” structured by the royal titulary, first on the level of movement from the exterior world towards the god’s dwelling and, secondly, on a more special level that was defined by the ritual and symbolic significance of the two halves of B 502. The actual litany texts starting from the temple entrance and from the temple interior, respectively, consisted of lists of epithets of the type “beloved of god/goddess NN”, which visualized the king as sustainer of the cults of the land on the one hand, and, on the other, described in a concentrated form his legitimation by these deities. Inscribed on the abaci supporting the roof of the temple, the central theme of these texts was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} J. Leclant: Schabaka. LÄ V (1983) 499 513 501 ff. Donations for the temple of Bastet at Bubastis, Horus and Wadjet at Buto, and Hormerti at Horbeit/Pharbaitos indicate building works at these sites too, cf. D. Meeks: Les donations aux temples dans l’Égypte du Ier millénaire avant J.-C. in: Lipinski (ed.) 1979 605 687 672 ff. Nos. 25-4-3, 6, and 2, respectively.
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Leclant 1965 47 ff.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Arnold 1999 44.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Tørsk 2002a 58 ff.
\end{itemize}
the reciprocity between the gods and the ruler as the builder of their temples.\textsuperscript{125}

The abacus program of B 502, as concerns the role of the royal titulary, recalls, e.g., Rameses II's temple at Derr (Chapter X.1.5.4) where in the Second Pillared Hall (i.e., the hypostyle) the side faces of the architraves were inscribed with the king's extended titulary concluding with the temple dedication formula while the soffits were inscribed with his Horus-, Nebyt-, Throne- and Son of Re names. All these texts start from the architrave end, which is closer to the naos. They thus present the titulary developing from the naos end of the hall towards its entrance.\textsuperscript{126} The same direction of the titulary is prevalent in the symmetrical building inscriptions in the Hall of Offerings (room B 303) in Taharqa's Mut and Hathor-Tefnut temple at Gebel Barkal.\textsuperscript{127}

The theonyms and divine epithets on the abacus sides parallel with the longitudinal axis of B 502 present a concise description of the sacred geography of the double kingdom of Kush and Egypt. On the preserved abaci of the south half of the hypostyle, deities associated especially with Nubia appear, on those of the north half deities associated with Egypt. In the southern half we find the following epithets: \textit{mry}\textsuperscript{[mry]} \textit{Jnj-hrt hry-ib Tš-Sty}, \textit{beloved-of}-Onuris, residing-in-Nubia (abacus A south);\textsuperscript{129} \textit{mry} \textit{[É]} \textit{nt (?)} \textit{sst-R' hry-ib Tš-Sty}, \textit{beloved-of-[É ]nt},\textsuperscript{130} daughter-of-Re, residing-in-Nubia (abacus A north); \textit{mry-Ddwn ġnty Tš-Sty}, \textit{beloved-of-Dedwen}, foremost-of-Nubia (abacus F south); \textit{mry-Īmn-R' Gm-ītn}, \textit{beloved-of-Amun-Re-of-Gematon} [Kawa] (abacus E north);\textsuperscript{131} \textit{mry-Īmn-R' nb Ps-nbs}, \textit{beloved-of-Amun-Re-lord-of-Pnubs} [Kerma] (abacus E south); \textit{[mry]} \textit{sst [É ] ġnt-Tš-Sty}, \textit{beloved-of}-Isis-the-great(?)\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Mistress-of-Nubia} (abacus D south); further \textit{[mry]}-Św \textit{sš-R'}, \textit{beloved-of}-Shu,

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. Grimal 1986 519ff.
\textsuperscript{126} Blackman 1913 66ff., 73f.
\textsuperscript{127} FHN I No. 20.
\textsuperscript{128} On abacus H only the beginning of the southern side inscription is preserved: \textit{Sv[É ]}, which I cannot interpret.
\textsuperscript{129} Reference to the preserved abaci according to Dunham 1970 g 40; Trnk 2002a Pl. II.
\textsuperscript{130} Tefnut? cf. abacus C, below.
\textsuperscript{131} Due probably to the sculptor's error, this is the only abacus inscription which is reading from the inner (naos) end of the hall towards the outer (pylon) end.
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{wrt}, the great?
\textsuperscript{133} For Isis \textit{wrt} as divine mother of the king, an aspect probably emphasized within the context of the abacus inscriptions of B 502, cf. Bergman 1968 155ff.
son-of-Re (abacus C north) and [mry]-Tjmt sst-R', [beloved-of]-Tefnut, daughter-of-Re (abacus C south). The following epithet was recorded in the northern half: mry Hr nd-it=f, beloved-of-Horus-avenger-of-his-father (abacus G south).

Three abaci the original position of which is not known were also recorded by Lepsius. One of them was inscribed with the cartouche names P-(nh)y ss-Bstt mry-Imn (west / front) and Wsr-Ms't-R' (east / back) and the epithets mry Tmwt nb ïwmt, beloved-of-Atum, lord-of-Heliopolis (south) and [mry] Mntw-R' nb Wst, [beloved-of]-Montu-Re, lord-of-Thebes (north). Accordingly, this abacus seems to have belonged to the northern half of the court (either in row 3 of the forecourt half or in row 5 of the hypostyle half). Another abacus bearing the inscriptions 'nh Hr-nht (west / front) and [mry] Jnj-hrt hry-lb Ts-Sty, [beloved-of]-Onuris, residing-in-Nubia (north, the other sides of the abacus were destroyed) belonged to row 2 in the southern half of the front part of the Hypostyle. Finally, a partly destroyed abacus bore the epithet [mry] Pt.h ïhnty Ts-Sty, [beloved-of]-Ptah, foremost-of-Nubia on the north face. It belonged probably to the northern part of the court, and was one of the abaci the epithets on which established equilibrium through cross-reference between the two halves of the room by placing a northern deity who is called king of Two-lands in Egypt into the role of the divine ruler of Nubia.

The principal message in the abacus texts is obvious: they convey the discourse on the role of the king in the maintenance of the cults and the legitimation he receives from the deities in return. However, knowledge of the location and texts of eight in part, badly damaged abaci from the forty-six columns of the hall does not allow much more than to state that the abacus inscriptions displayed a north-south symmetry in conformity with the general rules of the grammar of temple iconography. It may also be assumed that they were formulated to establish equilibrium between the two halves of the columned hall. Further conceptual interconnections between the individual abacus inscriptions inevitably remain obscure. We have a glimpse of the nature of such.

134 LD V 14a d; Dunham 1970 g. 40 abacus I.
135 LD V 14e,f; Dunham 1970 g. 40 abacus J.
136 LD Text V 271; Dunham 1970 g. 40 abacus K.
correspondences from the association of Amun of Pnubs with Amun of Kawa on abacus E and of Tefnut with her brother-consort Shu on abacus C (and perhaps with Onuris on abacus A). It is also rather likely that Shu and Tefnut appear on abacus C in the south-eastern corner of the Hypostyle because they were deities who, in other contexts, support the sky, i.e., the four corners of the temple roof.\footnote{Cf. D. Kurth: \textit{Den Himmel Stützen. Die “Tw3 pt”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche}. Bruxelles 1975 79f.}

It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding the vaguaries of preservation, the recorded abacus inscriptions refer with apparent consistency to deities who would be among the principal figures of the Kushite pantheon as represented in the more completely preserved monuments of Taharqo, Piankhy’s third successor. Besides the highly significant presence of Amun of Pnubs (Kerma) and Amun of Kawa in the temple, which was the residence of Amun of Napata, also Onuris, the saviour from the south appears on two abaci as residing in Nubia. On another abacus, Piankhy is legitimated by Shu and his sister-spouse, Tefnut. The twin children of Atum were associated with the kingship in a cosmological sense. In the New Kingdom, the Heliopolitan myth of Shu was developed in similitude to the Onuris legend, making the god bring back Tefnut, the sun-eye from Nubia to Egypt. The Kushite re-emphasis of Shu and Tefnut as gods of kingship would be reflected in the name of Taharqo’s son Nes-Shu-Tefnut, which refers to his parents as a divine brother-sister couple.\footnote{Cf. Tšršk 1997a 256.}

The presence of Dedwen (and perhaps of Horus-avenger-of-his-father) in the abacus program indicates the integration of Lower Nubia into the sacred geography of Piankhy’s lands. On the lost abaci there also may have appeared names of other deities associated traditionally with Lower Nubia, such as, e.g., Hathor. The cult of Dedwen survived the end of the New Kingdom in the temple of Dedwen and the deified Senusret III at Semna (Chapter X.1.2.2): this temple was in use in the time when the Kadimalo monument was made (Chapter XII.4). Some time between 690 and 664 BC Taharqo built a brick temple south of it, with a bark stand dedicated to the deified Senusret III.\footnote{Dunham-Janssen 1960 12f., 32ff.; Wolf 1990 26ff.} Similarly to Taharqo’s other Nubian temples, the Semna temple of Senusret III was enriched with an ancient statue (viz., a seated Osiride statue of
King Wegaf Khutawyra, Thirteenth Dynasty) functioning probably as mediator of prayers in the public area of the temple.

While in Piankhy’s abacus inscriptions as well as in Taharqo’s Mut temple B 300, where he was associated with Onuris, Dedwen probably occurred as a deity of Lower Nubia, in Napatan times the god also had a cult in Napata. In Aspelta’s Election Stela (end of the seventh century BC) Napata is described as the town named Pure-mountain, the god in which is Dedwen, the foremost in Bow-land (Nubia), he is a god of Kush.

4.4. Lower Nubia under Taharqo

In its accents, Taharqo’s Lower Nubian building activity recalls the Eighteenth Dynasty period of the (re-)creation of Nubia’s sacred geography (Chapter X.1.2 4). 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.

Taharqo’s splendid Nubian building activity started at Kawa with the temple of Amun of Kawa, a deity whose cult emerged from a pre-New Kingdom native local cult and who incorporated features of Khnum, Lord of the [First] Cataract, also worshipped in the Second Cataract Region (cf. Chapters IX.2.3.3, X.1.2.2). Works at Napata started with the extension of the Amun temple B 500, the restoration of the New Kingdom hemispeos of Hathor-Tefnut (B 200), and the erection of the Mut temple B 300; and then with the building of Sanam temple on the opposite bank of the Nile. Taharqo’s building activity at Napata represents an ambitious continuation of Piankhy’s program of developing the town into a monumental complex of sanctuaries centered theologically and spatially around the great temple of the ram-headed Amun of Napata. The conceptual similarity of Napata to

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141 Khartoum 65 67, PM VII 149.
142 Robisek 1989 46f.; T r k 2002a 78, Pl. III. In Ptolemaic Philae Dedwen would be represented as a form of Arensnuphis, i.e., the Nubian form of Onuris, see E. Otto: Dedun. LÄ I (1974) 1003 1004.
143 FHN No. 37, line 2.
144 Macadam 1949; 1955; for the iconographical programme and the cult, see T r k 2002a 80 128, 282ff.
145 Cf. the building inscription in B 300, FHN I No. 20.
Karnak seems to have been central to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty builders, but of course it did not mean a physical copying of actual buildings or building ensembles. The great Amun temple was theologically connected to the Sanam temple of Amun, Bull of Bow-land (apparently a hypostasis of Amun-Re-Kamutef of Medinet Habu) and the royal cemetery opened by Taharqo at Nuri in a manner that resembles the relationship between Luxor Temple, the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, and the royal tombs of Thebes West.\footnote{Trl 2002a 34ff. In his remarkable discussion of the theological connections between the holy mountain of Napata and Nuri Kendall notes (a less important part of) my association of Sanam with Nuri but avoids the associations between Sanam and the great Amun temple of Gebel Barkal, see T. Kendall: Why Did Taharqa Build his Tomb at Nuri? Preprint of paper presented at the Eleventh International Conference of Nubian Studies Warsaw, August 27—September 2, 2006.}

Amun-Re of Sanam called Bull of Bow-land (Nubia) was represented as a human-bodied and human-headed god wearing the double-feather crown and perhaps also as a colossal cobra.\footnote{Cf. the fragments of two granite cobra statues found by Griffith (1922 87, Pl. XIV) in a secondary position.} He displays features of Amun-Kamutef worshipped in the Small Temple at Medinet Habu. The identification of Kamutef, Bull-of-His-Mother, with the Bull of Nubia is apparently also supported by an incompletely preserved inscription on a New Kingdom statue re-erected in the Sanam temple, viz., the fragment of a royal epithet, which read originally beloved of Kamutef and was recarved in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Period (or later?) into beloved of the Bull of Nubia.\footnote{Griffith 1922 87, Pl. XVI/3, 4.} Emphasizing the fact that Shabaqo\footnote{Pyton, PM VII 464 ff.; Leclant 1965 145 ff.} as well as Taharqo\footnote{Leclant 1965 145 ff.} carried out works in the Small Temple and that the latter also erected a granite statue of Amun-Re Kamutef in the form of a cobra in the Luxor temple,\footnote{M. el Saghir: Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel. Mainz 1992 (2nd edn. 1996) 52 ff.} it may suffice to mention here only one or two relevant features of the Amun cult at Medinet Habu. The Amun of the Small Temple was identified with the Kamutef serpent, who was the forefather of the eight primeval creator gods of Hermopolis and the father of the Earth-Maker serpent, the actual creator of the world, who, in turn, was also identified with Amun of Luxor. During the course of the Decade Festival, into which also Taharqo's Edifice by the Sacred Lake of Karnak was
Amun of Luxor visited every ten days the Small Temple as the mythological tomb of Kamutef and the Ogdoad. During the course of these visits Amun was regenerated by merging with his own primordial form, the chthonic Amun manifest in the Kamutef. Subsequently, by performing mortuary services, he was assimilated into the Ogdoad and appeared as Amun of Luxor the second also called Horus son of Isis who resided at Medinet Habu apparently to initiate the cycle again and again. Thus, the Medinet Habu cult not only integrated Amun into the mortuary religion of Western Thebes: during the Decade Festival Amun of Luxor was also regenerated and the king received new creative powers.

South of Napata Taharqo probably built a temple of Amun of Napata at Meroe City in Upper Nubia north of Kawa the monumental temples at Tabo and Kerma-Dokki Gel this latter started perhaps by Shabaqo may be dated to his reign and regarded as sanctuaries of Amun (the Dokki Gel temple was the temple of Amun of Pnubs/Kerma). The Upper Nubian temples were thus dedicated primarily to local forms of Amun whose cults go back on pre-New Kingdom native cults and the New Kingdom reinterpretation of the same. The special dualism of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan period Nubian Amun cult viz., every Nubian Amun god shared his temple with Amun of Thebes recalls in general terms the Nubian Amun cult of the New Kingdom period. More concretely, the cult dualism of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Amun temples derived from a duality of the Amun cult in New Kingdom Nubia as it is attested to in Tutankhamun’s Temple A at Kawa where, in the symmetrical central scene of the naos, the king makes offering to Amun of Thebes and

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153 Bell 1997 177 f.
155 Cf. T r k 1997b 25 f.
156 Blocks with Shabaqo s cartouches: Valbelle 1999 84 f.
Amun of Kawa and it is the latter from whom he receives rule over all countries and every foreign land,\textsuperscript{158} Amun of Thebes being obviously connected to his regency in Egypt (cf. Chapter X.1.4). A similar conception occurs on Piankhy’s Sandstone Stela in both the text (Chapter XIII.3) and the lunette scene.

Besides fulfilling the royal duty of erecting and restoring temples and caring for the cult of the gods, Taharqa’s constructions in Upper Nubia served the creation of local centres of government, production and redistribution in the form of temple-towns, i.e., urban settlements, which in all probability were intended to perform a similar socio-economic role as certain temple-towns of post-New Kingdom Egypt.\textsuperscript{159} A confrontation of the distribution of the Nubian buildings of his predecessors with the geographical pattern of Taharqa’s constructions reveals the systematic development of already existing settlements, the revival of abandoned or impoverished ones, and the creation of new settlements. The geographical density of the settlement chain thus created was determined by the political significance, economic capacity and strategic importance of the individual territorial units of Nubia in which they were situated.

The Amun temples of Meroe City, Sanam, Napata, Kawa, Tabo (?) and Kerma-Dokki Gel were erected in centres of territories, which seem to have been independent polities before they were integrated within the el Kurru chiefdom.\textsuperscript{160} Building activities north of the Third Cataract, besides strategic considerations, were determined primarily by the existing settlement patterns and the traditions of the still inhabited larger centres; yet the sacred geography re-established under

\textsuperscript{158} Macadam 195540, Pl. V/a.


\textsuperscript{160} Trk 1992. I have based this hypothesis on the texts relating the multiple coronations of the Napatan kings, cf. Trk 1997a 215ff. A careful lecture of the texts may convince us that the distinction made by Steffen Wenig between the rites at Napata as a real coronation and at Kawa and Pnubs as symbolic investitures misses the point. Cf. S. Wenig: Kommentar zu Trk: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History [= Trk 1992]. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 137-140 and \textit{contra} Trk n.d. (What is symbolic in such a context?)
Taharqo constitutes an organic, albeit special, part of the overall Nubian scheme.

As already mentioned before, a new sanctuary of the deified Senusret III was erected in the neighbourhood of the Thutmoside temple of Dedwen and Senusret III at Semna. In the inner fort of Buhen the temple of Horus of Buhen (South Temple, cf. Chapter X.1.2.2) was restored and extended, maintaining thus the continuity of the cult of an ancient Nubian Horus god (cf. Chapters IV.1, VII, IX.1, X.1.2.1).

At Qasr Ibrim a small temple was dedicated to Amun. The wall painting on the northeast, main, wall of its sanctuary represents Taharqo before Amun-Re; the painting on the north-west wall shows the king before Amun and Horus of Aniba. With the latter scene another traditional Horus cult received reemphasis at a civil, military, and religious centre the importance of which would be maintained and even increased through the Napatan, Meroitic, Post-Meroitic, Christian and Ottoman periods. It may thus seem that in Lower Nubia the associations between Amun, royal legitimacy and authority and the governmental structure were not placed in the foreground to the same extent as in Upper Nubia. The predominance of Amun is nevertheless obvious. Taharqo also dedicated a shrine to Amun of Takompso (Greek Hiera Sycaminos, modern Maharraqa) on the island of Philae, i.e., in the region of the traditional border between Egypt and Nubia. This dedication indicates the existence (or rather the foundation by Taharqo) of the cult of a local Amun at Takompso, who was worshipped as lord of the Lower Nubian region south of the First Cataract. It is worth noting that Taharqo’s construction(s) was (were) the earliest building(s) on the island of Philae.

4.5. The Fortresses in Lower Nubia and the Wadi Howar

The mud-brick fortress on the island of Dorginarti at the northern end of the Second Cataract, c. halfway between Wadi Halfa and

161 Randall-Maciver Woolley 1911 17, 50; Wolf 1990 26ff.
162 Reused relief blocks from the temple represent Taharqo embraced (elected) by Amun-Re and a ram-headed Amun, cf. E. Miller P. Rose D. Singleton: The Taharqo Wall Painting Program. Sudan & Nubia 11 (2007) 72 88 PIs XXVIII, XXIX.
164 For a barque stand and blocks with Taharqo’s names, see Wolf 1990 17ff.
165 See also the reused blocks from a gate of Taharqo, found during the dismantling of the temples of Philae, Arnold 1992 91.
Mirgissa, though dated traditionally to the Middle and/or the New Kingdom,\footnote{S. Clarke: Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses, JEA 3 (1916) 164 f.; Dunham 1967 177 f.; A. J. Hoerth: The Oriental Institute Report 1963–1964, Chicago 1964 15 f.; J. Knudstad: Serra East and Dorginarti: A Preliminary Report on the 1963 1964 Excavations of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Sudan Expedition. Kush 14 (1966) 165 186; Heidorn 1991 205. Reused blocks of Rameses I and IV were transferred probably from Buhen.} was usually left unmentioned in the discussion of Egyptian military presence in Nubia. Reluctance to classify Dorginarti with its irregular triangular ground plan and rectangular gate towers and bastions as a Middle/New Kingdom fortress was fully justiﬁed by Lisa Heidorn’s reexamination of the archaeological evidence from the salvage excavation conducted at the site by Richard Holton Pierce in 1964. Heidorn argued that the pottery and small ﬁnds from Dorginarti belong to Egyptian and Nubian types occurring in Third Intermediate Period through Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (1rst Persian Period, 525–404 BC) assemblages. She concluded that the fortress was occupied from the mid-seventh century BC to the end of the 5th; however, a late eighth-century to early seventh-century BC date for the original occupation\footnote{Heidorn 1991 205.} is not precluded.\footnote{Heidorn 1991 206.} Albeit identifying various ﬁnds datable to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period, Heidorn nevertheless discusses Dorginarti only within the context of an at least nominal northern control [of Lower Nubia] from the beginning of the Saite period down through sometime in the 5th century.\footnote{Recorded on stela MFA 29.2230 from Semna, see Dunham Janssen 1960 59 f.}

Considering the earliest ﬁnds from Dorginarti, the original fortress may as well be dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, most likely to the 1rst half of Taharqo’s reign (cf. Chapter XIII.4.4). It may be best interpreted in the context of the Taharqo chapel at Buhen, the restoration works directed by Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes at Semna fort,\footnote{SŠve-Sšderbergh in: SŠve-Sšderbergh-Troy 1991 319–323; Jesse 2006b 143.} the construction(s) associated with the cult of Amun of Takompso in northern Lower Nubia, and the fortress of Gebel es-Sahaba c. 8 km north of Wadi Halfa, another fortress with irregular ground plan, rectangular gate towers and bastions.\footnote{S ve-SŠve-Sderbergh in: S ve-SŠve-Sderbergh Troy 1991 319 323; Jesse 2006b 143.} Within this context Dorginarti may be viewed as a member of a chain of military posts intended to control the desert nomads as well as the inhabitants of the region between the First and Second Cataracts and protect the commercial route along the Nile. 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.

Also a third fortress with an irregular ground plan and rectangular gate towers and bastions, but this time built of dry-stone masonry, may be added to the list of fortresses erected probably in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period. It was discovered in 1984 at Gala Abu Ahmed c. 110 km to the west of the Nile in the Lower Wadi Howar. Recent sondages at the site171 produced objects datable to the period between the ninth and fourth centuries BC,172 among them a rather unusual quantity of fragments of faience New Year ßasks, a type dated traditionally to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (664–525 BC) but produced possibly already before the Saite period as well. Surface ßnds included sherds of ribbed Egyptian amphorae with a pink to red fabric and a green exterior surface, typical of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.173 Four calibrated radiocarbon dates range c. between 700–400 BC.174 The military importance of the fortress, which was built on a low terrace instead of the highest point of the area was not especially great, it is thus rather likely that, similarly to the aforementioned fortresses, Gala Abu Ahmed combined the function of a military post from where the inhabitants of the Western Desert were controlled with a caravan station along the more than 1,000 km long Wadi Howar, one of the most important routes leading to the regions of Kordofan and Darfur and the interior of Africa. We shall return to Gala Abu Ahmed as a trading station in Chapter XIII.6.

4.6. North and South: Similarities and Differences

Although the apparently homogeneous program of the development of the local units of the centralised government must have unfolded under radically different preconditions in Egypt and Nubia, the struc-tural and cultural integration of the two halves of the double kingdom reached a point in the rst half of Taharqo’s reign from where there was no way back into a de-Egyptianization in the moment when Kush was separated from Egypt (see below). The process of adaptation

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173 Jesse 2006b 139.
174 Jesse 2006b 143.
of the Kushite governmental and socio-economic structure to Egyptian norms, started by Alara and Kashta, was intertwined with, and dependent on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s attempt at reunifying Egypt. In the first quarter of the seventh century BC this process reached an apparently optimal stage with the development of the urban settlements centered around the great Amun sanctuaries south of the Third Cataract and the organization of Lower Nubia north of it.

The actual form of the government of Lower Nubia in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period remains unknown. The scarce habitation- and mortuary evidence does not necessarily indicate a different type of government than in the south of the kingdom, especially since we do not know what kind of temples and royal/administrative buildings, magazines etc. remained buried forever under the unexcavated layers of settlement sites such as Faras and Qasr Ibrim. Some sixty burial sites dating from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan periods were recorded between Soleb and the First Cataract. The estimated total of burials in them is about 450, which is greater than the number of Neolithic but far smaller than the number of Meroitic burials. The parallel occurrence of Egyptianized burials, with wrapped body, face mask, and bead net, as well as amulets and libation table but without embalming, canopic jars and shawabti figures and of traditional burial forms such as bed burial first with the body in contracted, then in extended position, burials of contracted bodies in shallow pits or round depressions, and burials in clefts in the cliffs above the Nile valley indicates a socially stratified population the mortuary religion of which displays features that may be compared to the mortuary evidence from the New Kingdom period (see Chapter XI.1).

Significantly, a similar dichotomy of acculturation and traditionalism can also be observed in the cemeteries of the south, especially in the large necropolis of Sanam. Similarly to Tabo and Kerma, also at Sanam where burials probably started before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (see Chapter XII.1) there were tombs with descending passages and inhumations in coffins and burials of bodies in flexed, contracted or extended position in simple rectangular shafts. While these

175 Williams 1990 37 ff.
176 Williams 1990 44.
178 Griffith 1923.
179 The two main types were regarded by Griffith 1923 84 erroneously as chronologically distinct: he dated the Egyptian-type burials to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period,
two main burial types clearly reflect the coexistence of the (partial) adoption of Egyptian mortuary religion with the maintenance of traditional mortuary concepts, the burials of both types share an identical complex of Egyptian-type funerary amulets. The lack in the Egyptian-ized burials of *shawabti* figures, inscribed stelae and offering tables indicates a selective acculturation on the one hand; on the other, the use of funerary amulets and the adoption of the extended position in traditional burials mark the limits between which Egyptian concepts and customs penetrated into the conservative native mortuary religion (see also Chapter XI.1).

The royal and administrative centres of Upper Nubia developed around Amun temple-royal residence compounds. Such a special, in many respects exclusive, association of royal authority with Amun of Thebes, Amun of Napata, and other (local) forms of Amun cannot be observed in Lower Nubia, where Taharqo reinforced the cults of two of the ancient Nubian Horus gods, viz., Horus of Buhen and Horus of Aniba, while he established the cult of Amun of Takompso in the region south of the traditional border between Nubia and Egypt. Yet this difference in accents does not mean general differences in theology and cult or in the social role of the priesthood. A marked difference strikes the eye, however, in a special area, viz., the cult of the colossal royal images. This is a cult form, which is strongly present in Upper Nubia and, as it seems, completely absent in Lower Nubia.

Colossal royal statues in front of the temples or in their forecourts functioned traditionally as intermediaries, channeled popular religiosity and pious contact between men and the gods. The religious significance of the statuary erected in the temple courts is highlighted by the votive sculptures of feet discovered in front of one of the two granite ram statues guarding the door of the Hypostyle of Temple T at Kawa,\(^{180}\) and representing Taharqo in the protection of the Amun

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\(^{180}\) In front of the ram (for the ram statue see the next note) at the northern side of the door, Khartoum 2691 (Macadam 1955 56, 71, 139, Pl. L/b) and Pitt-Rivers Museum B IV 168 (*ibid.* 56, 71, 139, Pl. L/b). Their Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or early Napatan date is suggested on the basis of Macadam 1955 Pl. L/b which gives the impression that they were found standing on the original court floor. On Third Intermediate Period graffiti representing pairs of feet on the roof of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, see H. Jacquet-Gordon: Deux graffitis de l’époque libyenne sur le toit du temple de Khonsou à Karnak. in: *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927–1976 I. Égypte pharaonique*. Le Caire 1979
ram. These votives indicate that private persons were allowed to perpetuate their adoring presence before a cult statue erected for popular worship in the temple court. It is not accidental that the actual cult statue represents the god of the temple protecting the king. The image of the king is a cult image, and at the same time an intermediary: the believer is protected by the deified king in the same way as the king is protected by the god. The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan hardstone royal statues resurrected an Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty cult form in which the cult statue of the deified ruler served as the intermediary of the personal piety of wider societal circles. The function of the royal statues as intermediary cult images is especially clearly indicated by statues of Senkamanisken from Napata and Dokki Gel in which the king appears as the High Priest who would make offerings before Amun on behalf of those who prayed to him. Similarly relevant is the inclusion of a queen mother into the cult program of the court of the Amun temple at Napata (see below). The queen in her similarity to Isis, mother of Horus, mediated between the people, her son the divine king and High Priest and the gods. In the inscription of the back pillar of the statue of Aramatelqo from Napata the king is called beloved of Amun-Re-Harakhte. The epithet associated Aramatelqo with Amun-Re-Harakhte who hears petitions, a god worshipped in a temple of Rameses II at Karnak to which Taharqo added a colonnade.

The return of hardstone royal sculpture of large or colossal size was one of the major feats of Kushite archaizing (cf. Chapter XIII.4.2).

167 183. On Egyptian and Nubian graffiti with feet in a broader religious historical perspective, see Castiglione 1970 and cf. below Chapter XV.2.1.
182 For an illuminating discussion of personal devotion in New Kingdom Egypt, see Kemp 1995.
183 In the Meroitic period the function of the colossal royal statues was inherited by monumental statues of the gods Arensnuphis and Sebiumeker guarding the temple entrance, e.g., at Tabo, Musawwarat es Sufr Temple 300, Meroe City temples M 600 and KC 102.
185 PM II 208 Ð 215.
186 Ibid. 209.
Complexes of monumental hardstone sculptures of kings and divinities are preserved from the Amun temples of Napata (B 500), Sanam, Kawa, and Kerma-Dokki Gel. In a highly significant manner, all of these complexes include reused Egyptian Middle and New Kingdom hardstone statuary. The inclusion of ancient statues and royal inscriptions into a new temple building program started with Piankhy who transferred colossal granite images of the hawk gods Sopdu and Nekheny in Soleb, a colossal uraeus and ten grey granite criosphinx statues from Amenhotep III's Soleb temple to the great Amun temple at Napata where he also re-erected Thutmose III's great stela from Year 47.

The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan hardstone statue complexes from the great Amun temple at Napata and Kerma-Dokki Gel show a rather similar composition. In both temples the same rulers, viz., Taharqo, Tanwetamani, Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta erected large-size, in several cases colossal, granite statues of the striding type. Tanwetamani had two statues at Kerma and at least two at Napata, Senkamanisken two at Kerma and at least three at Napata; Anlamani one at Kerma and at least two at Napata. Aspelta erected one statue at Kerma and at least one at Napata. (The number of statues from Napata remains uncertain on account of the many un-attributed sculpture fragments from this site.) At Napata, there also stood a striding statue of Queen Amanimalol holding a statuette of Horus, and two sphinx statues of Senkamanisken. While at Kerma the series closes with Aspelta, at Napata also a small seated statue of Aspelta's successor

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188 For Napata (temple B 500) and Sanam, see the literature in Turkk 2002a 282ff.; for Kawa, see Macadam 1955 Pl. LXXII; for Kerma-Dokki Gel, see Valbelle 1999 83ff., 86; ead.: Kerma, les inscriptions et la statuaire. Genava 51 (2003) 291–300; Bonnet Valbelle 2005.
189 PM VII 219 (34); Dunham 1970 25.
190 MFA 23.1470, Dunham 1970 25, g. 20, Pls XXIV/C, XXV.
191 MFA 21.11699, Dunham 1970 28, g. 21, Pl. XXVI.
192 Four of them were erected in front of Pylon II, i.e., Piankhy's earlier pylon and six in front of the later Pylon I. One criosphinx is still standing in front of Pylon II, four are standing in front of Pylon I. PM VII 216 (1) (6), 219 (22) (25).
193 The unidentifiable fragments include fragments of at least four heads. In Reisner's view they indicate the existence of another 10–12 royal statues, cf. Reisner 1931 83.
194 Khartoum 1843, preserved height 1.43m, Dunham 1970 21, Pls XVIIff.
195 Khartoum inv. no. unknown, Dunham 1970 33; Khartoum 1852, ibid. 33, g. 28, Pl. XXXII.
Aramatelqo wearing the heb-sed mantle\textsuperscript{196} and a striding figure of the mid-fourth century BC king Akhratane\textsuperscript{197} were erected.

At Sanam, Taharqo or one of his successors re-erected a black basalt seated statue of Piankhy wearing the heb-sed robe.\textsuperscript{198} The rest of the preserved hardstone statuary from this temple consists of reused Egyptian divine images and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty divine statuary.\textsuperscript{199} Taharqo erected hardstone statuary in the Amun temple at Kawa in the Re-Harakhte chapel\textsuperscript{200} and in the forecourt, and ram statues flanked the processional avenue of the temple. The statuary from the Re-Harakhte chapel consisted of a standing figure of the king holding an offering table,\textsuperscript{201} a portrait sphinx of Taharqo,\textsuperscript{202} and two baboons represented in the gesture of greeting the rising sun.\textsuperscript{203}

So far, no large-size statue of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or Napatan ruler has been found in Lower Nubia. It seems thus that this particularly impressive form of royal display and of the cult of the living ruler was not introduced there. The display of ancient statues, which supported the function of the temples as (symbolic) archives of self-identity and served as mediators of prayers was, however, not entirely unknown in Lower Nubia, either: the statue of the Thirteenth Dynasty King Wegaf re-erected in Taharqo's Semna chapel was already mentioned in Chapter XIII.4-3.

5. The End of the Double Kingdom

Though the achievements of Taharqo's reign may be ascribed to the intellectual and material resources set free by an efficient central gov-


\textsuperscript{197} Gri 192287, Pls XIII/3, XV, XVI/1,2.

\textsuperscript{198} An outstanding piece is the quartzite head of Amun of Sanam, Oxford 1922.157, which bears a title of Tanwetamani and shows similar features as the basalt sphinx head Brooklyn 05.316, E.R. Russmann: Two Royal Heads of the Late Period in Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Museum Annual 10 (1968–1969) 101–104; K. Mysliwiec: Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX. Mainz 1988 44.

\textsuperscript{200} Cf. Tr k 2002 109ff.

\textsuperscript{201} BM 1770, Macadam 1955 Pl. LXXIV; Wenig 1978 Cat. 77.

\textsuperscript{203} Kh. 2689, Macadam 1955 Pl. LXX/a,b; Copenhagen 1705, ibid. 97.
ernment, the balance between the governmental hierarchy operated by the ruler of the double kingdom and the local princes, which had remained largely intact ever since Piankhy’s great campaign was nevertheless delicate. In Thebes, Taharqo installed his daughter Amenirdis II as God’s Wife of Amun Elect early in his reign, and while the office of the High Priest of Amun was occupied by Shabaqo’s son Haremakhet Taharqo appointed his own son Nesi-Shu-Tefnut to the office of the Second Prophet of Amun. The key administrative offices in Upper Egypt were held by descendants of the great Theban families. In Lower Egypt the local dynasties continued to control their ancestral territories, and while it is likely that they were allowed to do so as delegates of the central government, the forms of their dependence remain unknown.

The empire of the New Kingdom could not be resurrected. The conquest of Samaria around 720 BC and subsequent interventions in Transjordania represented a momentous step in the Assyrian advance towards the Egyptian Delta. In 716 BC Osorkon IV of Tanis was forced to employ the diplomacy of gifts (significantly, of twelve great horses probably of Kushite breed) sent to Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) whose army was standing 120 miles from Tanis. As a reaction to Osorkon’s move, Shabaqo deposed him. The Assyrian advance as well as the continuation of Tefnakht’s ambitious policy by his successor Bak-enranef/Bocchoris at Sais made it an imperative necessity, to transfer the capital and royal residence of the double kingdom of Kush and Egypt from Napata to Memphis. To judge by his titulary, Piankhy’s successor Shabaqo (c. 721–707/706 BC) decided at his accession on an Egypto-centric policy and set up his court at Memphis. In his early

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205 Kitchen 1986 390ff.
206 The diverging interpretations and datings of the evidence relating to the events of the period and especially to the role of Osorkon IV of Dyn. 22 and his disputed identification with So of 2 Kings 17.4 cannot be discussed here. For an overview, see H.-U. Onasch 1994 5ff.
209 Horus-, Nebty- and Golden Horus names uniformly Sh(s)g-tawy, He-Who-blesses-Two-lands, in the style of Old- and Middle Kingdom titulatures (for the TIP revival of the x+tawy type, see Bonh•me 1987 282); Throne name Nfr-k3-R‘, Re-is-One-whose-ka-is-beautiful (cf. Pepy II, Dyn. 6; Rameses IX, Dyn. 20; and Amenemnisu, Dyn. 21). FHN I No. (12).
210 His earliest Egyptian monument is from Year 2: Memphis, Serapeum, Vercoutter
reign he crushed and executed Bakenranef and between Years 2 and 6\textsuperscript{211} gained control over the former domain of Sais as well as the region of Pharbitos.\textsuperscript{212} He also restored border security in the Sinai.\textsuperscript{213} The local dynasties were, however, not annihilated. Their rule was superimposed by a centralised government and in cases such as e.g. Tefnakht's and Bakenranef's Princedom of the West the formerly independent polities were put under the authority of a governor. Under Shebitqo and Taharqo these reverted, however, to their original dynasties. Though it would be ahistorical to suppose that the Kushites would also have had the option of a brutally consequent unification of Egypt with the removal of all local rulers, the inherent dangers of the political fragmentation became manifest in Taharqo's reign when the integrity of the central government received the first blows from the Assyrians.

In 712 BC Iamani of Ashdod revolted against Sargon II, but had to flee. He sought to take refuge with Shabaqo whose asylum he enjoyed until 707 BC. Shortly after Shabaqo's death Shebitqo extradited him to the Assyrian ruler.\textsuperscript{214} The titulary assumed by Shebitqo bears the stamp of the dynasty's ties with Memphis: his Horus name $Dd-hi\, w\textsuperscript{215}$, Whose-appearances-endure revives the Horus name of a Memphite king of the Fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{215} He also adopted the Son of Re name epithet $mry-Pt\, h\textsuperscript{216}$, Beloved-of-Ptah referring to the creator god of Memphis. He used this epithet alternately with Beloved-of-Amun,\textsuperscript{216} which accentuated his divine sonship and reinforced his Horus name, which indicated that he was (also) crowned in Thebes.\textsuperscript{217} The rest of the archaizing titulary conveys an aggressive message announcing the ruler's preparations for the unavoidable clash with Assyria.\textsuperscript{218} As recounted in two

1960 65ff. The adoption of the Throne name of Pepy II may, however, indicate that Shabaqo's titulary was composed in Memphis, what would mean that he was crowned there.

\textsuperscript{211} For donation stelae from Bubastis (Y. 3) and Buto (Y. 6) see Kitchen 1986 379.

\textsuperscript{212} Donation stela (Y. 2), Kitchen 1986 379.

\textsuperscript{213} Commemorative scarab ROM 910.28.1, \textit{FHV} I No. 14.

\textsuperscript{214} See recently Kahn 2001; 2004.

\textsuperscript{215} Isesi/Djedkara, Beckerath 1984 55 V8 H.

\textsuperscript{216} Epithet with Ptah: statue from Memphis; with Amun: Karnak Nile level record, Y. 3, \textit{FHV} I No. (15) 1, 3/e.

\textsuperscript{217} $K\, nht\, H\, m-W\, \tilde{s}\textsuperscript{216}$, Mighty-Bull-who-appears-[is crowned]-in-Thebes, Karnak Nile level record Y. 3.

Kawa inscriptions of his successor Taharqo from c. 685 BC, after Sargon II’s death Shebitqo summoned an army-force from Kush, which was placed under the command of Taharqo. Due presumably to the lack of a male heir and in view of the aggressive policy decided by the new ruler of the double kingdom, Taharqo was at the same time declared heir apparent. This also conformed, in turn, with the Egyptian tradition of the appointment of the crown prince as commander-in-chief of an expeditionary force. In support of Judah and an anti-Assyrian coalition of Phoenician and Philistine cities formed in 704-703 BC, Shebitqo decided to meet the army of Sennacherib. Though in 701 BC the Egyptian-Kushite army commanded by Taharqo was beaten by Sennacherib’s forces at Eltekeh, Sennacherib nevertheless retreated to Philistia and subsequently to Assyria, while Taharqo’s units returned to Egypt. The battle at Eltekeh could thus be interpreted as a victory for the double kingdom. The remaining years of Shebitqo’s reign seem to have passed without further conflicts.

Taharqo’s donation lists record the arrival of precious Asiatic goods at Kawa in Years 8 and 10, which attests to trade contacts and possibly military undertakings in the Levant around 683-681 BC. The first blow that shattered the image of imperial prosperity arrived in Year 17, 674 BC with the first attempt of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681-669 BC) at the conquest of Egypt as an answer on active Kushite foreign policy. It was prepared by a systematic advance in the coastal region allied with Taharqo, culminating in the destruction of Sidon and the surrender of Tyre and resulting in Assyrian control over Palestine.

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219 Kawa IV lines 7ff., FHN I No. 21; Kawa V, lines 13ff., FHN I No. 22.
220 In Taharqo’s words (Kawa IV, line 9 and V, line 14, trans. R.H. Pierce) Shebitqo summoned him that I might be with him because he loved me more than all his (other) brothers and more than all his children. These are traditional phrases of the election of a king by a god.
222 A war relief of the inner Court B 502 (on the Second Pylon, local north wall), known from 19th cent. drawings, cf. Kendall 1986.4.10, is supposed to commemorate this conflict, as the helmet of the vanquished enemy was identified as an Assyrian type emerging under the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and continuing into the 7th cent. BC by Spalinger 1981.49; Redford 1992.356f. note 185. The inner court war reliefs can, however, more probably be brought into connection with a conflict in Piankhy’s early reign, see Chapter XIII.4.3.
223 Macadam 1949 Nos Kawa III, VI (= FHN I No. 24).
224 Babylonian Chronicle No. 1, col. IV.6, Grayson 1975.14ff., 69ff.; H.-U. Onasch
Esarhaddon’s first invasion could be fended off, however, in March 673 BC at the northeastern frontier and Taharqo regained control over Philistia.\(^{225}\) A new Assyrian invasion force arrived in March/April 671 BC.\(^{226}\) After three battles fought in June/July at the frontier (?) in which, according to the Senjirli Stela,\(^{227}\) Taharqo was also wounded, the Assyrians took Memphis from where Taharqo fled, probably to the south. Memphis was apparently weakly defended and taken without a siege, for the Assyrians were able to capture several members of the royal family, including royal wives and the prince Nes-Anhuret. The latter is identified in the Senjirli Stela as Taharqo’s crown-prince. Adopting the title of king of Egypt,\(^{228}\) Esarhaddon also appointed local kings, deputies and plenipotentiaries, in part Assyrian and in part Egyptian, in the occupied Lower Egyptian area who resided in cities the Egyptian names of which he changed into Assyrian ones.\(^{229}\) The Assyrian vassals included almost all of the Lower Egyptian local dynasts.\(^{230}\)

The subsequent years would enter Egyptian historical remembrance as ‘that evil time’, the period of ‘the raging of the foreign lands’.\(^{231}\) Tragically, Egypt had to experience the unconquerable force of the Assyrian army and the weakness of her own arms, then both the fatal alienness of the Assyrian rule and the chaos brought about by its egotistic Egyptian vassals, and, above all, the impotence of the same king who had ruled not so long ago over a prosperous and united Egypt. The first momentous changes in the international Umwelt caused a deep cultural shock which is documented in a most impressive manner by an inscription of Taharqo engraved after 674 BC in the Karnak temple.\(^{232}\)

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225 For the evidence, see Kahn 2004.


228 EN.KUR.KUR = nb tsey, for the evidence see H.-U. Onasch 1994 35.

229 Tablet BM 121029, H.-U. Onasch 1994 34. See also the Ashurbanipal Annals, Prism E III.6ff.; H.-U. Onasch 1994 94f.

230 Preserved in the Annals of Ashurbanipal, Prisms A and C, H.-U. Onasch 1994 36ff.: the kings of Sais, Pelusium, Natho (? at Tell el Yahudiye and at Leontopolis), Spd (Saft el-Henneh), Athribis, Heracleopolis, Tanis, Sebennytos (Samanh d), Mendes, Busiris, Pr-jabw (?), Ḥnum (?), Terenuthis, Pr-Spdm-js.jyd (?), Hermopolis.


It presents a magnificent summary of the Theban theology of Amun's direct kingship, which is followed by a monumental prayer in which the king asks the god for reversing the direction of the events. In his supplication Taharqo goes to the theological extreme of reproaching the god for acting inconsistently and offending thus the rules of the universe. Both the reproach to god, which recalls the famous Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II and the relapse to a touchingly helpless form of the Theology of Will—the King speaks about himself in terms like it is the master who causes his servant to live, referring to Amun as the master and the ruler as his servant—reveal not only a sudden embarrassment at the unexpected threat from beyond the borders of the empire but also indicate the deep roots of the personal piety of the Third Intermediate Period and its survival behind the imperial concepts of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. As a whole the inscription represented a monumental effort to force the deity to cause the return of Equity.

Esarhaddon set out with his army for Egypt again in 669 BC, but he died en route. He was probably going to react to the eventual reestablishment of Taharqo in Lower Egypt and Memphis. The suggestion is less likely that Taharqo reoccupied Lower Egypt only after the death of Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon's successor Ashurbanipal (669–627 BC) invaded Egypt in 667/666 BC with devastating results. Taharqo's Egypto-Kushite army was defeated in a battle at Pelusium in the eastern Delta, whereupon the king, abandoning his troops and fleet, fled from Memphis to Thebes. The Assyrians pursued him to Thebes in a march of one month and ten days. By then the Assyrians were probably joined by contingents from the Delta kingdoms. The Assyrians did not encounter serious resistance and Taharqo was forced to retreat still farther south. Subsequently, Ashurbanipal received the

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235 For the events from 673 BC, see Kahn 2006b.
237 We know only that Taharqo's authority was acknowledged in Memphis in 667 BC, see Kahn 2006b 257ff.
239 For the complex evidence of the Ashurbanipal Annals see H.-U. Onasch 1994 61ff.
240 H.-U. Onasch 1994 38, 149.
formal submission of the local dynasts and dignitaries of the Delta, Middle and Upper Egypt headed by Nekau of Sais and including the Mayor of Thebes, Montuemhat as well as Nespamedu of Aswan.

Returning to Niniveh, Ashurbanipal left behind his vassals under the supervision of strong Assyrian army contingents. It may have been the manner in which they were handled by the Assyrian troops that made the vassal rulers of Sais, Mendes and Pelusium (and perhaps further dynasts)²⁴¹ to change their opportunistic mind. In 665 BC they made new overtures to Taharqo who remained, however, in Kush where he died in 664 BC without being able to regain control over the Egyptian half of his double kingdom.

After receiving an oracular decree announcing his divine birth as son of Amun and his legitimate kingship in Kush and Egypt in the course of a temple incubatio,²⁴² Taharqo’s successor Tanwetamani (664–656 BC) sailed north with his army. After passing Elephantine, where Khnum acknowledged his power in Lower Nubia, he was ritually installed as king of Egypt in the great Amun temple of Thebes. Receiving the legitimation from Amun of Karnak, he began the reconquest of Egypt from the Assyrians and their vassals. His progress is described in his Dream Stela²⁴³ as a restoration of the land from the condition of Chaos in which the royal duty of maintaining the temples and cults was not being performed by anybody. Tanwetamani reached Memphis without meeting opposition in Upper Egypt, which seems to reflect the strong support he received from the Divine Adoratrice and the Kushite dignitaries installed in Thebes by his predecessors. The seizure of Memphis and then the defeat of Sais crushed the resistance of some of the Delta dynasts while others withdrew into their fortresses, which apparently had been left unattacked by Tanwetamani. Receiving the formal surrender of a fraction of the local dynasts, Tanwetamani reinstalled them in their ancestral territories under the condition that his overlordship remained acknowledged. In addition to the incompleteness of the reoccupation of the Delta and the centrifugal force necessarily inherent in the structure, which had been maintained ever since Piankhy, the

²⁴¹ The evidence is clear only in relation to the first three polities, cf. H.-U. Onasch 1994 151 ff.
²⁴³ FHN I No. 29.
escape of Nekau’s son Psamtek to Assyria also contributed indirectly to Tanwetamani’s failure, while his decision to rule his double kingship from the south, i.e., Thebes (?) and Napata and not from the northern capital of Memphis had a direct effect.

In 664/663 BC the news of Tanwetamani’s reoccupation of Memphis and the death of the Assyrian regent Nekau prompted Ashurbanipal to start an expedition to Egypt. On his arrival at the Egyptian border Tanwetamani, who must have judged his armed forces insufficient and his position in the Delta in any case weak, fled to Thebes. The Delta dynasts hastened to renew their status as Assyrian vassals. Ashurbanipal’s army pursued Tanwetamani and laid siege to Thebes, from where Tanwetamani fled to Kush. This time Thebes was not saved. The inconceivable happened: the city of Amun was sacked and burnt. The temple treasuries collected over the course of fourteen centuries were looted. The enormous shock caused by the experience of the vulnerability of Thebes greatly contributed to the eclipse of the ideology of Amun’s direct kingship in Egypt. In this respect, developments after the sack of Thebes went different ways in the Egyptian and the Kushite world-view: in Kush, Amun-Re remained central to the ideology of cosmic and terrestrial order.

As indicated by the restoration of the line of Nimlot in Hermopolis and Peftjauawybast in Herakleopolis, the government established by the Assyrians after the sack of Thebes was built on the basis of the power distribution prevailing in Piankhy’s reign. With Assyrian support, Athribis was incorporated into the kingdom of Sais. Psamtek I of Sais was recognised by the Assyrians as sole king of Egypt. While as a political reality Psamtek’s title as ruler of Egypt was initially restricted on the western Delta, Athribis, and Heliopolis, during the course of the next nine years he was able to enforce the definitive submission of the rest of the northern dynasts and expulse the Assyrian troops stationed in Egypt with the help of Gyges of Lydia. In 656 BC finally he was able to arrange for the adoption of his daughter Neith-iqeret (Nitocris) as God’s Wife of Amun Elect by the then reigning Kushite

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244 For the evidence, see H.-U. Onasch 1994 120ff., 156ff.; Kahn 2006b 264f.
245 Nahum 1 3.
246 Assmann 1996 373.
247 For the political geography of Egypt following Tanwetamani’s withdrawal, see Kitchen 1986 395ff.
248 For the evidence, see H.-U. Onasch 1994 158.
Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet II (Piankhy’s daughter) and God’s Wife of Amun Elect Amenirdis II (Taharqo’s daughter). 249

Before the installation of Psamtek’s daughter at Thebes, however, Upper Egypt kept allegiance to Tanwetamani in spite of his failure to prevent the sack of Thebes. Though it is doubtful whether he ever returned to Upper Egypt, the legitimacy of Tanwetamani’s kingship in the Amun domain had been preserved through the continuity of the office of the Divine Adoratrice. It appears that the actual political and economic power was exercised by the Fourth Prophet of Amun and Mayor of Thebes, Montuemhat. 250 Montuemhat was related to the Kushite royal family, which may explain his nominal acknowledgement of Tanwetamani’s legitimacy: from 663 to 656 BC official documents continued to be dated at Thebes with Tanwetamani’s regnal years. 251 With the establishment of close political ties between Sais and the ruler of Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt the position of the Amun domain radically changed, however. 252

By 656 BC, Amenirdis II, Taharqo’s daughter, completed her thirtieth year in the office of the God’s Wife of Amun Elect 253 and the time came that her successor be appointed. There could be little doubt in Thebes that an attempt to further vindicate the legitimacy of the Kushite dynasty by the appointment of a Kushite princess would call forth a Saite military action, against which no effective support could be expected from Tanwetamani. Negotiations conducted between Psamtek I and the pragmatic Montuemhat 254 secured the immunity of Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II, who, in return, adopted Neith-iqeret (Nitocris), daughter of Psamtek I, as God’s Wife of Amun Elect and relegated therewith definitively and according to traditional law the

249 Caminos 1964; for a new translation, see Manuelian 1994 297ff.
250 Montuemhat’s name occurred earlier with the designation šat Nē’ Prince of Thebes as the highest Theban political authority in the absence of the defeated Taharqo in the list of the Egyptian dynasts appointed in 667/666 BC as vassal rulers of their original territories under Ashurbanipal. See Ashurbanipal Annals, Prisms A and C, H.-U. Onasch 1994 118ff.
251 For the evidence, see Kahn 2006b 266, notes 90, 91.
252 Kitchen 1986 402ff.
253 For the presumed 30-years rhythm of the appointments, see FHN I 249; T r k 1997a 149ff. My estimated dates must of course be adjusted to the new chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Table H.
254 Cf. the indirect evidence of the Nitocris Adoption Stela, Caminos 1964, and the relief representation of Nitocris arrival in Thebes from the Mut temple (so-called Piankhy blocks ), cf. Leclant 1965 115; PM II 257ff. (9); Kitchen 1986 236ff.
legitimate kingship of Egypt from the dynasty of Kashta to the dynasty of Psamtek I. In Kahn’s words,

March 656, the date of Nitocris’ arrival in Thebes É [which] coincides with the eve of the Opet feast É might have the same connotations and intentions of Piankhy’s arrival in Thebes on the same date some eighty years earlier.

6. Lower Nubia after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty

6.1. Egypt in Lower Nubia (From the Campaign of Psamtek II to the Early Fourth Century BC)

Psamtek I, the Assyrian vassal ruler of Sais, who counted his regnal years from 664 BC, i.e., from Taharqa’s death, had successfully imposed his primacy over the entire Delta by his Year 8 (657 BC) and, having his daughter Neith-iqeret adopted as Divine Adoratrice Elect in 656 BC, he extended his legitimate authority over Upper Egypt too.

The reuni catio of Egypt and the consolidation of Psamtek’s rule was carried out largely through alliances with the local dynasts. In Thebes Montuemhat as well as Tanwetamani’s nephew Harkhebi, High Priest of Amun, retained their offices even after 656 BC. Contacts between the Theban and Napatan Amun temples were maintained during the later reign of Psamtek I and under his successor Nekau II (610–595 BC). The character of these contacts is demonstrated by the inscriptions on the granite sarcophagi of Anlamani (late seventh century BC) and Aspelta (late seventh–early sixth century BC) using spells from the Pyramid texts, the Coffin texts and the Book of the

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255 Political and cult continuity in Thebes was secured by the continuity of Montuemhat’s office as well as by the High Priesthood of Harkhebi, grandson of Shabaqo (still attested in 651 BC); Kitchen 1986 404. The length of Tanwetamani’s reign in Kush remains unknown. He was the last ruler to be buried in the ancestral necropolis of el Kurru (Ku. 16, Dunham 1950 60ff.) where his chariot horses were also interred (Ku. 219, 220, Dunham 1950 115f.).

256 Kahn 2006b 267.

257 The sweeping summary of Nubian history after the end of the Egyptian rule of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by Redford (Redford 2004 139f.) was written in a surprisingly guileless ignorance of the literature produced on the subject in the last decades.

258 Kitchen 1986 401f.

259 Kitchen 1986 402f.

260 Khartoum 1868, from Nu. 6, Dunham 1955 58; Doll 1978.

261 MFA 23.729, from Nu. 8, Dunham 1955 88 58 68; Doll 1978; 1982; R.J. Lep-
Dead as well as a wide selection of texts from Eighteenth Dynasty royal- and Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Theban priestly sarcophagi. The selection suggests the presence at Napata of a continuously enriched collection of Egyptian mortuary texts with versions for a number of basic texts or passages.

Herodotus (2.36) speaks about a mutiny of Psamtek I’s frontier garrison stationed at Elephantine and its subsequent defection to a place at a distance of 56 travel days from Meroe City in the southern part of Aithiopia. The fabulous descendants of these deserters appear under various names in the classical tradition. As opposed to the common opinion, Herodotus’ story does not preserve the memory of the withdrawal of Tanwetamani’s Kushite forces from Upper Egypt.

Relations between Egypt and Kush were structured in the interest of the international trade greatly encouraged by Psamtek I and his successor Nekau II whose Red Sea canal was intended, however, to facilitate commercial contacts with Punt avoiding the route along the Nubian Nile. Yet Nekau II also sent a riverine expedition from Elephantine against the nomadic Trogodytes, inhabitants of the desert between the Lower Nubian Nile and the Red Sea, which indicates efforts aimed at the control of the commercial road along the Nile too. The inscription commemorating this undertaking is too fragmentary to give a precise idea of the geographical range of the campaign, in which also vessels transporting horses (for manoeuvres on land) were sent


262 Doll 1978 371 and 1982 279 considers the two sarcophagi the most complete royal sarcophagi known.
263 FHN I No. 56.
264 Herodotus: Asmach; Pomponius Mela 3.85; Automoles; Strabo, 16.4.8, 17.1.2 and Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.191: Sembritae; Hesychius: Machloiones, cf. Lloyd 1976 128.
265 Cf. H. de Meulenaere: Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie. Louvain 1951 43. On the basis of an anecdote in the AD second century compilation of Polyaeus and a remark in the Hellenistic Jewish Letter of Aristeas (Ps.-Aristeas), S. Saumeron J. Yoyotte: Sur la politique palestinienne des rois sa•tes. Vetus Testamentum 2 (1952) 131 135 suggest that Tanwetamani suffered his decisive defeat at the hands of Psamtek I and not the Assyrians and that Tanwetamani and his successors maintained their claim to the throne of Egypt. Consequently, the Saite-Kushite relationship was throughout tense. S.M. Burstein: Psamtek I and the End of Nubian Domination in Egypt. in: Burstein 1995 147 154 argues for the correctness of Ps.-Aristeas’ source.
266 Diodorus 1.66.8, 67.9; Lloyd 1983 282ff., 329.
268 Redford 1993 462 translates Nubian bowmen.
upstream; yet it would seem that it could not go farther upstream than the Second Cataract.\textsuperscript{269} While we have no information about Nubian exports to Egypt, a picture of the character and quality of the imports and/or diplomatic gifts from Egypt can be formed on the basis of the metal,\textsuperscript{270} calcite\textsuperscript{271} and faience\textsuperscript{272} luxury vessels and faience amulets\textsuperscript{273} recovered from the tombs of Nuri, Begarawiya West and South.

Egyptian policy turned hostile in the early reign of Psamtek II (595–589 BC) whose army attacked the kingdom of Kush in Year 3, i.e., 593 BC. The campaign was commemorated in stelae erected at Tanis in Lower Egypt, Karnak in Upper Egypt, and Shellal close to the traditional border between Kush and Egypt.\textsuperscript{274} The Karnak and Shellal stelae name $h\dot{s}st$ Pr-nbs, the “hill-country of Pnubs (Kerma)” as the place where the Egyptian army won its final victory over the army of the king of Kush. According to the Tanis stela, the Egyptian army reached $Tr gb$ where the residence of the $kwr$ (i.e., the king of Kush) is situated, then marched to the town of $T\dot{s} d\dot{h}nt$ where the Kushite army was massacred. Most writers on the campaign locate these placenames in the region of Napata-Sanam primarily because they associate the damaged royal statues found in two cachettes at the great Amun temple of Napata (Chapter XIII.4–5) with a destruction of Napata by Psamtek’s army. The reign of King Aspelta is dated to this period maintaining that the series of royal images buried at Napata closes with him. I have argued earlier that Psamtek’s army reached only Sai (Tanis stela) or Kerma (Shellal/Karnak stelae),\textsuperscript{275} while Bonnet and Valbelle see in the recently discovered Dokki Gel statue cachette (which, unlike the Napata series, closes in fact with Aspelta, cf. Chapter XIII.4–5) an argument for the Egyptian destruction of both the Dokki Gel and Gebel Barkal.


\textsuperscript{270} E.g., Dunham 1963 gs 18/e (Beg. W. 832); Dunham 1955 g 55, Wenig 1978 Cat. 111 (gold vase inscribed for Aspelta’s funerary equipment, from Nu. 8).

\textsuperscript{271} Griffith 1923 Pl. XVI; Dunham 1963 g Q.

\textsuperscript{272} E.g., Griffith 1923 Pls XXXI–XXXII.


\textsuperscript{275} FHN I 284 ff.
sanctuaries. In any case, Psamtek’s army, if it reached in fact Napata, must have taken the desert road leading from the Third Cataract region to the Fourth Cataract region since the temples of Kawa escaped damages unlike Dokki Gel and Napata.

Lower Nubia inevitably suffered serious damages during the conflict. The negative change in the Egyptian attitude towards Kush as a part of Egyptian history and as a neighbour was demonstrated not only by the military action but also by the subsequent destruction of the names and special royal insignia of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings in their inscriptions and representations in Egypt. The systematic damnatio memoriae intended not only the erasure of the political memory of the Kushite rulers of Egypt, but with an utmost severity also the destruction of their existence in the other world. In general terms, it was a manifestation of a complete dissociation as well as a declaration of a state of hostility. It also may have been directed against the political ambitions of the Theban Amun priesthood, which preserved a positive memory of the Kushites. Yet such a damnatio memoriae was directed not so much towards the past, but rather against an existing enemy, which could, apparently, be destroyed only magically since its physical destruction in war has failed or was not complete.

The fortress of Dorginarti at the Second Cataract and Gala Abu Ahmed in the Lower Wadi Howar yielded rich assemblages of pottery and other artifacts produced in Saite Egypt. Consequently, Heidorn identified Dorginarti as a Saite fortress and the southernmost outpost of the Persian Empire (see Chapter XIII.4.5). It would seem likely indeed that Psamtek II’s expedition resulted in the Egyptian military control of Lower Nubia. One could even hypothesize that the valuable Twenty-Sixth Dynasty finds from Gala Abu Ahmed indicate the Egyptian control of the trade route along the Nile far beyond the Third Cataract and of the Wadi Howar at least as far as Gala Abu Ahmed. As to the owner of Gala Abu Ahmed, however, it must be noted that Psamtek II’s army hardly used the route along the Nile when marching to Napata. The Kushite control of the river between the Third and Fourth Cataracts, including the entrance of the Wadi Howar, is clearly indicated by Aspelta’s kiosk built after the campaign in Temple T at Kawa and the votive cartouche of Aspelta’s second successor

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276 Bonnet-Valbelle 2005 164ff.
Malonaqene from the same sanctuary. The faience New Year flasks discovered at Gala Abu Ahmed belong to an object type traded or sent to remote lands as part of elite gift exchange.

It is not irrelevant from the aspect of the function and status of both Gala Abu Ahmed and Dorginarti that, besides these two sites, analogous New Year flasks (or fragments thereof) were also recovered at Kawa (from the temple inventory) and Missiminia (from a tomb). Yet while the Aspelta kiosk at Kawa, the careful burial of the damaged royal statues and the restoration of the temple at Dokki Gel, and the Malonaqene votive from Kawa attest the Kushite control of the land south of the Third (or possibly the Second) Cataract after Psamtek II’s expedition, the lack of evidence indicating Kushite supremacy between the First and Second Cataracts in the times after 593 BC represents a powerful argument for the Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia and the presence of Egyptian military at Dorginarti.

The Egyptian control of the trade route north, and its Kushite control south of the Second Cataract deprived the inhabitants of Lower Nubia of the possibility to participate in, and profit from, long-distance trade between Egypt, Kush, and the interior of Africa. The exclusion of the Lower Nubian communities from the mediation of produces must have contributed to their impoverishment, population decrease and negative changes in the proportion of the settled/semi-nomadic/nomadic segments of the population. Exotic goods from the south arrived in Egypt in the framework of a trade organized on ‘state level’, similarly to the import of Egyptian luxury wares to Kush. The majority of the luxury wares arrived in Kush as diplomatic gifts rather than items of commercial exchange. The contemporary Kushite royal and elite burials (e.g., at Sanam) sufficiently attest to imports of this sort, also including the arrival of luxury commodities (see, e.g., the Egyptian amphora from the burial of the mid-sixth century King Analma’aye). A convoy is known to have travelled south on the Nile under the protection of a military escort in Year 41 of Amasis (529 BC).

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279 Macadam 1949 89 No. XLIII.
280 For a list, see Lohwasser 2004 156.
282 Nu. 18, Dunham 1955 8 114.
6.2. Kush in Lower Nubia

6.2.1. The First Half of the Fourth Century BC

Except for names and titularies, no textual evidence is known from the reigns of the ten rulers who followed Aspelta on the throne of Kush. Yet neither their archaeological evidence from Napata, Meroe City and the royal necropolis of Nuri, nor their titularies give the impression of isolation or economic, political and cultural decline. Their pyramid tombs display an adherence to early post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Napatan) mortuary religion and burial customs. Political continuity is indicated by the homogeneity of the royal necropolis. The concept of dynastic continuity from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was emphasized in the royal titularies. The general lack of Horus, Nebyt, and Golden Horus names represents the influence of the reduced Egyptian titularies occurring with Psamtek III, the last Twenty-Sixth Dynasty king, and with most Persian kings in the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty rather than an independent departure from the four-part titulary in an attempt to create a non-Egyptian type of titularies and introduce titles indicating native traditions of rulership. King Amaniastabarqo’s exceptional Horus name (Swtj, being mighty/great) represents an isolated attempt at such a departure, which would, however, not be accomplished before the Meroitic period.

Behind the legend of Cambyses’ (525–522 BC) disastrous invasion of Nubia also reflected in the later classical tradition, according to which the Persian ruler also conquered Meroe and gave the city its name, we may suppose the memory of Psamtek II’s Nubian expedition. The king of Kush sent ivory for the construction of Darius I’s

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284 For the evidence, see FHN I Nos (44), (49), (52), FHN II No. (67).
286 Dunham 1955.
287 See the throne names of Analma’aye, FHN I No. (46), Amaniastabarqo, ibid. No. (52), Si aspiqo, ibid. No. (53).
288 Except for Amaniastabarqo, FHN I No. (52).
289 Beckerath 1984 112ff.
290 Cf. Wb IV 77 (9).
293 Burstein 1995 155ff. The possibility of a military conflict in Cambyses’ reign is suggested by Morkot 1991c 327.
lowernubiaunderthetwenty-fifthdynasty (522–486 BC) palace at Susa and was listed as his southernmost subject. According to Herodotus (3.97.3), the Kushites presented the Persians with twenty large elephant tusks every third year. Besides Dareios I’s list of peoples, Kush also gures in Xerxes I’s (486–465 BC) lists as a people ruled by the kings of Persia. While the Persian evidence depicts a vassal obliged to pay tribute, the reality was probably commercial/gift exchange, coloured of course by the actual Persian domination in Lower Nubia. The passage of Herodotus (7.69) where the historian presents a realistic description of Aethiopian warriors originating from the southern confines of Kush ßghting in Xerxes I’s army may be interpreted in the same sense. For the Persian side of the gift exchange stands the ßne Attic plastic rhyton made and signed around 470 BC by the potter Sotades and found under pyramid Beg. S. 24.

The rhyton, similarly to other vessels by Sotades, was produced for a Persian clientèle and may be interpreted as a diplomatic gift sent to the king of Kush by Xerxes I’s Egyptian satrap.

While Kush does not seem to have exploited the Egyptian revolt occurring between Cambyses death and 519/8 BC, the subsequent anti-Persian revolts under Xerxes I (between c. 486–484 BC), Artaxerxes I (between c. 463/2–449 BC: the revolt of Inaros) and Darius II (between c. 414/3–404 BC) already considerably changed the perspectives of Kushite contacts with Egypt. The conßicts in Egypt were considered a chance for the Kushite reoccupation of the region between

296 MFA 21.2286; Dunham 1963 381, gs 212 215. For its dating to around 470, as opposed to earlier datings to around 400 BC, see K. de Vries: Attic Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire. AJA 81 1977 544 548 546; J.-G. Szilágyi in Térk 1989 a 118 Cat. 1.
297 L. Kahil: Un nouveau vase plastique du potier Sotades au Musée du Louvre, RA 1972 271–284. It is decorated with scenes of battles between Greeks and Persians in which it is the latter that are victorious.
299 For the Kushite-Egyptian contacts in the ßfth and fourth centuries BC, see Mortkot 1991c.
the First and Second Cataracts. In Herodotus’ great historical work written around 450–430 BC\(^{300}\) two lands of Aithiopia, i.e., Kush, are described: an Utopian Aithiopia, which extends toward the setting sun, the furthest inhabited country, and the real kingdom of Kush extending from Elephantine, the southernmost city of Egypt, to the city of Meroe. According to Herodotus,

As one goes further up river from the city of Elephantine the country rises, so there it is necessary to proceed with the boat securely bound on both sides just like an ox.\(^{301}\) If the boat is torn away, it rushes off borne by the force of the current. It takes four days to sail through this region, and the Nile is here sinuous like the Meander. The distance one has to sail in this way is twelve schoinoi.\(^{302}\) Thereupon you will arrive at a smooth plain, where the Nile Bows around an island; its name is Takompso. From Elephantine on, the country is inhabited by Aithiopians, and so is half of the island, while the other half is inhabited by Egyptians. Next to the island there is a great lake around which nomad Aithiopians live. When you have sailed through this lake you reach the course of the Nile which Bows into it. Then you disembark and travel along the river for forty days, for sharp rocks emerge in the Nile and there are many sunken rocks through which it is impossible to sail. After you have completed the journey through this region during these forty days, you embark onto another boat and sail for twelve days. Thereupon you arrive at a great city with the name of Meroe. This city is said to be the capital of all the other Aithiopians.\(^{303}\)

Though the description of the First Cataract region contains errors, which point towards a source of general nature such as a traveller’s itinerary excerpted for Herodotus orally and in a superficial manner at some point of his stay in Lower Egypt, the distance of twelve miles between Elephantine and Takompso (the Nile valley stretch that would appear in later sources as \(\Delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omega\chi\omicron\omicron\nu\sigma\), ‘The Land of Twelve Miles’),\(^{304}\) is correct.\(^{305}\) The text may be interpreted as a poorly informed description of Lower Nubia returned under Kushite supremacy; of a land partly inhabited by nomads. The Kushite reoccupation


\(^{301}\) i.e. by hauling the boat by ropes from each riverbank, as one leads an unmanageable ox by ropes from two sides.

\(^{302}\) Ca. 126 km.


\(^{304}\) Cf. Locher 1999 230ff.

\(^{305}\) *Contra* my overcriticism in *FHN* I 310.
was accomplished already during the revolt of Inaros between c. 463/2
449 BC, which also seems to conform with the archaeological evi-
dence dating the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the fortress
of Dorginarti to this period (cf. Chapter XIII.4.5).

The Egyptian revolts seem to have stimulated even greater ambitions
than the reoccupation of Lower Nubia, if we interpret correctly the tit-
ulary of King Irike-Amannote, who ascended the throne of Kush in the
time of the third revolt (between c. 414/3 404 BC). The personal or Son
of Re name of Irike-Amannote probably means Begotten-of-Amun-
of-Nô (Thebes). 306 Giving expression to the traditional concept of the
ruler’s divine sonship, the name was probably assumed at his ascent to
the throne and was not identical with Irike-Amannote’s original per-
sonal name. Similarly to his Son of Re name, Irike-Amannote’s Horus
name $K\tilde{n}ht \ H^c\text{-}m\text{-}Wst$, Mighty-Bull Appearing-in-Thebes, modelled
on the Horus name assumed by Piankhy after his Egyptian campaign
and by Shebitqo at his ascent, declares a claim to regency in Egypt. The
assumption of such a claim is also supported by the imperialistic tenor
of Irike-Amannote’s Nebty name $\ddot{J}t\text{-}ts\text{w}\text{-}nb$, Seizer-of-every-land 307 and
Golden Horus name $W\ddot{f}\text{-}h\ddot{z}\text{swt}\text{-}nb(\text{wt})$, Subduer-of-every-land. 308 Such
an intention seems also to have been indicated by the unusual throne
name $Nfr\text{-}ib\text{-}R’$, Re-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful, which occurred
before Irike-Amannote only in the titulary of Psamtek II. 309 The adop-
tion of the throne name of a memorable enemy of Kush cannot have
been accidental or a consequence of ignorance. It was an act of the
magical reversal of history.

Even though the political program announced in Irike-Amannote’s
titulary was never carried out and the intention of the restoration of
the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty’s double kingdom could hardly have been
more than a vainglorious pretension, Irike-Amannote’s inscriptions,
especially his Kawa inscription from Years 1 2 containing his enthron-
ment record, 310 are remarkable documents of a re-formulation of the

\begin{footnotes}
306 Macadam 1949 52 f.
307 Repeating the Nebty name adopted by Tuthmose I on the obelisks erected in front
of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak, Ušk. IV 93 (south side).
308 Based on one of the Golden Horus names of Rameses II in the inscription on his
(east) obelisk at Luxor, KRI II 599; Beckerath 1984 XIX 3 G 9.
309 Beckerath 1984 XXVI 3 T 1; $Nfr\text{-}ib\text{-}R’$ as the name of an obscure king of the
Fourteenth Dynasty is disregarded here, ibid. XIV 23.
310 FHN II No. 71.
\end{footnotes}
traditional Kushite myth of the state.\textsuperscript{311} No Lower Nubian affairs are mentioned in these texts, however. Kushite royal activity north of the Third Cataract is rst recorded in the rst half of the fourth century BC in the Annals of King Harsiyotef, Irike-Amannote's second successor.\textsuperscript{312}

According to Harsiyoyef's Annals,\textsuperscript{313} the legitimacy of his reign\textsuperscript{314} and Amun's favour was demonstrated by nine victorious military undertakings during the rst thirty-ve years of his regency. The annalistic sections of the stela record donations, building activities, military campaigns and festivals celebrated in various shrines of the land. In the case of the majority of the recorded events, the author(s) of the text relied on royal daybooks, war diaries, and temple journals.\textsuperscript{315} Table I presents an overview of Harsiyotef's wars:

Table I. \textit{Harsiyotef’s Wars}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conflict starts</th>
<th>foe</th>
<th>scene of the conflict</th>
<th>type of description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year 2 III prīt 23</td>
<td>Ṗhrhs</td>
<td>Northern Butana (?)</td>
<td>stereotype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 3 II prīt 4</td>
<td>Mddt</td>
<td>Eastern Desert (?)</td>
<td>stereotype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 5 II śmaw 12</td>
<td>Mddt</td>
<td>at ḫnwnw.t (?)</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 6 II śmaw 4</td>
<td>Mddt</td>
<td>Eastern Desert (?)</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 11 I prīt 4</td>
<td>rebels</td>
<td>ḡns.t (probably = Mirgissa)</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 16 I śḥt 15</td>
<td>ḵḥṣf</td>
<td>Lower Nubia</td>
<td>stereotype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 18 I prīt 13</td>
<td>Ṗhrhs</td>
<td>at Meroe City</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 23 III śmaw 29</td>
<td>Ṗhrhs</td>
<td>at Meroe City</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 35 I prīt 5</td>
<td>ḵḥṣf</td>
<td>Lower Nubia</td>
<td>detailed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five campaigns started in the season of prīt and these were directed mostly against the nomads in the Northern Butana (مصطفى) or east of the Nile in the Kawa region (Mddt=Medjay, cf. Chapter IV.2); one

\textsuperscript{311} Cf. T. r k 1997a 216ff.; 2002a 356ff., 439ff.

\textsuperscript{312} His Son of Re name ḫrs-š-sjtf, Horus-son-of-his-father, was obviously adopted on his ascent to the throne, and while it gives expression to the concept of the king as incarnation of Horus, thus indicating that its owner was a king's son, the deviation from the canonical Nubian Son of Re name-type which proclaims that the king is Amun's son, shows that he was not a king's son who had been predestined as heir.

\textsuperscript{313} Cf. FHN II Nos (76), (77).

expedition, however, went in I prt to Lower Nubia. Three campaigns started in the season of śmew, two of them against the Medjay and one against the Rehrehes, while only one campaign started against rebels in Lower Nubia in the early part of sīt. It would thus seem that some campaigns were deliberately initiated in a season better suited for warfare, and it may perhaps also be suggested (on the assumption that in the early fourth century BC there was a discrepancy of c. nine months between the calendrical and the natural years) that the majority of the expeditions started after the season of the inundation. This is especially interesting in the case of the campaigns to Lower Nubia (Years 11, 16, 35), which were thus carried out at the time of low Nile. As to the significance of the calendrical dates, the campaign in early sīt in Year 16 against the Mddt may also be interpreted as a ritual war after New Year.

The last column of Table I refers to the type of the eventual comments added to the basic annalistic data. The different extents of detail may indicate that the royal archives contained yearly records of varying meticulousness but may also indirectly indicate that some campaigns were minor, and perhaps less successful, affairs and therefore recorded retrospectively only in a stereotypical manner while other campaigns were on a larger scale and recorded in more detail. In some of the reports the details are embellished with traditional formulae of great antiquity. E.g., in Year 6 the vanquished chief of the Mddt seeks for peace with the words: ‘I am a woman’, recalling Piankhy’s Great Triumphal Stela. It is difficult to decide whether, and when, the King led an expedition in person, unless it is stated clearly, as in the case of the Lower Nubian campaign of Year 11 when the King sent his servant Gasau against the rebels. The wording of the reports on the campaigns in Years 5 and 6 against the Mddt, in Year 11 against the rebels laying siege to the town of ‘qns.t, and in Years 16 and 35 against rebels in Lower Nubia is also rather clear as to the absence of Harsiyotef from the fighting.

The conflicts of Years 11 and 16 are particularly interesting as regards Kushite presence in Lower Nubia:

Eleventh regnal year, 1st month of Winter, 4th day.
I sent my army against Aqne (‘qns.t) on account of my servant Gasau, Speciﬁcation, their names: Braga and Sa-Amani-sa.
(When) Aswan was reached,

316 FHN I No. 9, lines 149f.
he did battle with it
he slaughtered Braga and Saamanisa, their lords!
Your (Amun) awesomeness is good.
You (yourself) it was that acted for me.

Sixteenth regnal year, 1st month of Inundation, 15th day.
I sent my army and cavalry against the rebels of Mḥȗw.f.
Battle was done with my army,
It slaughtered it.
They captured their cattle.317

The possession of the town of ‘qnṣ.t, i.e., Mirgissa, indicates the possession of the Nile valley as far north as the Second Cataract. Yet also an attempt at the control over the region between the First and Second Cataracts is indicated: the rebels were followed as far as Swen.t (Aswan), i.e., to Egyptian territory, where they were annihilated. This may indicate Egyptian participation in, or support for, their attempt to destroy Harsiyotef’s position at ‘qnṣ.t. The theophoric name of one of the rebels, Sa-Amani-sa (S-İmn-s) indicates an Egyptianized or Kushiticized cultural background and royal pretensions.

The conflicts also describe another recurrent problem of internal politics, namely, the powerful presence of wealthy cattle-breeding nomads on the fringes (the Mddt) and within the borders of the kingdom (the Rehrehes). In Years 18 and 23 the Rehrehes had to be fought directly at the city of Meroe, and, remembering that they had to be pacified by Irike-Amannote before he could start his coronation journey to Napata,318 there can be no doubt that they had been living for a long time on the Island of Meroe north of Meroe City and were thus Kushite subjects. The recurrent conflicts not only show that they were difficult subjects, but also indicate that their wealth in cattle represented a source of (prestige) income for the Kushite ruler also beyond the presumably legally established tributes or taxes. Cattle were also captured from the vanquished Lower Nubian rebels of Mḥȗw.f.

The territorial extension of the kingdom of Kush in the 1st half of the fourth century BC and the existence of settlements supporting cult temples beyond the great Amun sanctuaries of the earlier periods known from the textual and archaeological evidence and also mentioned in the Annals as scenes of independent coronation ceremonies is also indicated by a list of festivals celebrated by Harsiyotef during

318 FHN II No. 71, lines 5f.
the first thirty-five years of his reign. Table J gives the festivals in the sequence as they are recorded in the stela. It is far from certain, however, that the list was arranged in a chronological order.

Table J. Harsiyotef’s Festivals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Festival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>between the Second and Third Cataracts</td>
<td>[It]tle.t / Sedeinga³¹⁹</td>
<td>Osiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butana</td>
<td>Bt-tš-nš.t / Meroe City</td>
<td>Osiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum area</td>
<td>M-rš-tl-t / Defeia³²⁰</td>
<td>Osiris, Isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not known</td>
<td>Gš-rš-t.t / ?</td>
<td>4 Osiris gods (or 4 festivals), Isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not known</td>
<td>S-hš-rš-t.t / ?</td>
<td>Osiris, Isis, Horus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junction of the Nile and Atbara</td>
<td>S-kš-rš-gš-t / Saco[l]a³²¹</td>
<td>Osiris, Amaniabti (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not known</td>
<td>Kš-rš-tl-t / ?</td>
<td>Horus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between the First and Second Cataracts</td>
<td>M-hš-t.t / Abu Simbel³²²</td>
<td>Re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not known</td>
<td>Išš-šš-nš.t-y.t / ?</td>
<td>Omuris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Cataract region</td>
<td>Npt / Napata (Gebel Barkal)</td>
<td>Osiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the island of Sai (?) or downstream from Napata, left bank (?)</td>
<td>N-hš-nš-t / Sai or Korti</td>
<td>2 Osiris gods (or 2 festivals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between the Third and Fourth Cataracts</td>
<td>Pr-gn-t / Kawa</td>
<td>Osiris, Isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between the Third and Fourth Cataracts</td>
<td>Pr-nbs / Kerma</td>
<td>3 Osiris gods (or 3 festivals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth adding that Harsiyotef also donated timber originating from Ḥkšn, probably a district of Punt,³²³ to the great temple of Amun at Napata, which gives an idea of the range of trade contacts in his reign.

The list includes a shrine at Abu Simbel where a festival of Re was celebrated—one wonders whether this cult had anything to do with the

³¹⁹ Zibelius 1972 97.
³²¹ The itinerary of Juba, FHN III No. 186.
³²² Zibelius 1972 126f.
³²³ Zibelius 1972 87, s.v. Ḫkšn.
Ramesside Re-Harakhte cult and with the Great Temple; and if yes, who was it who resurrected this cult: Harsiyotef or rather the Lower Nubians? The pretentious name of the rebel Sa-Amani-sa and his possible contact with Egypt, the repetition of the revolts in Years 11, 16 and 35 all indicate that there could have existed some complex polity or polities in Lower Nubia, which tried to preserve its/their independence from Kush. As we learn from the text of a remarkable stela erected in the eighth regnal year of Harsiyotef’s third successor Nastasene, Lower Nubians revolted anew against Kushite supremacy in the second half of the fourth century.

6.2.2. The Second Half of the Fourth Century BC

In 404 BC, after the death of Darius II, Egypt regained her independence as a result of the successful revolt led by Amyrtaeus (Egyptian ëImn-Ir-dl-(s)(w)ë), the only pharaoh of the Twenty-Eighth Dynasty (404–399 BC). For more than sixty years Egypt was ruled by the native kings of the Twenty-Eighth, Twenty-Ninth (399–380 BC) and Thirtieth Dynasties (380–343 BC). The Twenty-Ninth Dynasty entered the scene with violence, however, and ruled over a country that was suffering from a constant struggle for power. In turn, the period of the Thirtieth Dynasty was overshadowed initially by internal opposition, and then by the threat of the Persian reoccupation. Egypt escaped Persian invasion in 373 BC, and the next thirty years represent a brief, yet highly remarkable renaissance of traditional pharaonic culture.
In 343/2 BC Persia successfully invaded Egypt and Nectanebos II, the last ruler of the Thirtieth Dynasty, fled to Upper Egypt where he managed to maintain his rule for about ten months. According to Ephorus’ account of the Persian occupation,

King Nectanebos, who spent his time in Memphis watching the cities eagerness to surrender, did not dare risk a battle for his supremacy. Renouncing his kingship, he took the greatest part of his possessions and fled to Aithiopia.

Since Ephorus wrote his universal history around 340 BC, his remark on Nectanebos’ flight to the land south of the First Cataract after his Upper Egyptian power collapsed may have rested on a reliable source. In the view of Kienitz, Nectanebos received the protection of Lower Nubian princes rather than the king of Kush. Kienitz connects Nectanebos’ flight with an event occurring some time before Year 8 (Year 1?) of Nastasene, namely, the campaign directed against the rebel Kambasawden. The latter was identified by Kienitz, Hintze and others with Khababash, king of Egypt around 337-336 BC. Accordingly, 336/5 BC, the last year of Khababash’s brief rule, was equated with Year 1 of Nastasene. Grimal suggested that Khababash was a Lower Nubian prince who would have eventually come into conflict with Nastase[ne] by espousing the interests of Nectanebos II and then having himself proclaimed pharaoh.

331 Ephorus of Cyme in Diodorus 16.51.1 (FHN II No. 84a), trans. T. Eide.
333 Kienitz 1953 107.
334 Hintze 1959 17ff.
335 Also including T r k 1988a 165.
Grimal’s ingenious reconstruction of the context is shattered, however, by the probable Libyan origin\(^{339}\) and Lower Egyptian background\(^{340}\) of Khababash as well as by the improbability of his identification with Kambasawden.\(^{341}\) An alternative was recently presented by I.A. Ladynin, who, while leaving undecided whether the identification can be maintained or not, considers Khababash to have come from Nubia in any case.\(^{342}\) The laconic account given in the Nastasene Stela of the conflict between Nastasene and Kambasawden runs thus:

Kambasawden came.  
(I) had a force of bowmen go from Tshare ($D₃-r₃-t₃$).
A great slaughter.
(I) seized all his
(I) captured all the transport ships of the chief.
I inflicted a slaughter on him.
(I) seized all his lands, all domestic animals, all long-horned cattle, all herds,
all that sustained eyes (i.e. people), from Kuratape to Tarawdie.
I gave him it to that which
since slaughter was in it;
(I) seized all the people in it
I made rescue for
I gave it (to) Taramnue ($T₃-r₃-m-nw-t₃$), (to wit) protected long-horned cattle: 12 (head),
the property of Amun of Napata, which they brought down from Napata.
Fourth month (of Inundation), day 26,
the birthday of the Son-of-Re: Nastasene:
(I) gave it in Sakusakudie ($S₃-k₃-S₃-k₃-d₃-t₃$), (to wit) long-horned cattle: 6 (head),
the property of Amun of Napata, my good father, coming from Napata.
Fourth month of Inundation, last day (of the month),
the day (of) giving it, (to wit) the seh-crown, to the Son-of-Re: Nastasene.
I had made (over) to you, Amun of NapataÉ [here follows the list of donations, including the occupied lands].\(^{343}\)

\(^{339}\) Cf. Spalinger 1978 147.  
\(^{340}\) Cf. the Satrap Stela, Urk. II 15, 12 17.  
\(^{341}\) Morkot 1991c 330f.  
\(^{342}\) I.A. Ladynin: Nectanebo in Ethiopia: A Commentary to Diod. XVI. 51.1. Unpubl. paper presented at the Eleventh International Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw 27 August – 2 September 2006. I am grateful to Dr. Ladynin for granting me access to the manuscript of his paper.  
\(^{343}\) FH⁻[VII No. 84, lines 39 43, trans. R.H. Pierce.}
It emerges from the text that Kambasawden possessed a fleet, which was captured after his men were slaughtered by Nastasene’s army. The army had been dispatched from Tšhare (Dš-rš-t), a place in Lower Nubia identified with ed-Dirr on the right bank between Aniba and Amada. After Kambasawden’s defeat Nastasene took his land and cattle and made donations to temples (?) or communities (?) in the unidentified Taramnue (Tš-rš-m-nw-t) and Sakusakudie (Sš-kš-sš-kš-dy-t) from the properties of Amun of Napata (a Lower Nubian temple of Amun of Napata?) perhaps as a recompense for damages or as a reward for cooperation.

While the assumed Egyptian connections remain obscure, the general impression given by the text is of a revolt led by a powerful Lower Nubian (Kambasawden has no title in the text) against the supremacy of the king of Kush. If so, it was a revolt the reasons and outcome of which do not seem to basically differ from earlier or later revolts. This is also reinforced by the chronicle of Nastasene’s other victories gained during the subsequent years of his regency. After the campaign against Kambasawden he sent expeditions against the territories of Mḥndqnntt, Rs-bš-rw, Ḥkr, and Ḫrs, Mḥšḥrti, the Mš-y-rš-kš-t and the Mdd (Medjay) nomads who were living east of the Nile and who invaded, similarly to their ancestors, the area of Kawa. The text gives the names of the vanquished chiefs (wrw) as well as detailed lists of the booty taken, which is always of unrealistic dimensions. E.g., in the case of Mḥndqnntt:

I had the archers go against the rebels of Mekhindekennete (Mḥndqnntt). They did battle with him; the slaughter was great.

(I) captured its chief, Ayonku (L-y-rš-kš).
(I) took all the women, all the cattle, much gold:
long-horned cattle: 209,659 (head); livestock: 505,349 (head); women: 2,236; sesame of Kutardie: 322 ‘hekat’-measures.

In the other cases the king takes long-horned oxen: 300 (head), livestock: 300 (head), men: 200 (Kambasawden); long-horned oxen: 203,216 (head), livestock: 603,107 (head), all the women, all that by which a person is kept alive (Rs-bš-rw, Ḥkr); gold, deben-weight: 1,212, long-horned oxen: 22,120 (head), all the women, and livestock: 55,200 (head) (region of Abu Simbel); the chief and all that by which he sustains people and all the women, long-horned oxen: 203,146 (head),

344 Priese 1984:488.
345 FHN II No. 84, lines 46-51, trans. R.H. Pierce.
livestock: 33,050 (head) (Mḥšḥrît), all their women, all the domestic animals, gold: 2000 deben-weight, long-horned oxen: 35,330 (head), livestock: 55,526 (head), in short, all that by which people are sustained (Mz-y-ṣ-h-ḥ-k3-t).

During the course of the campaign against Ḫrkkr also Absō3, the wr (chief, prince) of Mḥt, i.e., Abu Simbel, was taken prisoner and given as slave to a temple of Amun:

I had the chief of Mahae (Mḥ-h3-t), Absō3 (Ī-b-s-3) seized.
I captured all the women, all the domestic animals, gold, deben-weight: 1,212,
long-horned cattle: 22,120 (head);
all the women, and livestock: 55,200 (head).
I gave it, (to wit) the chief and his property, (to) Amun of Napata, my good father.346

The stereotyped descriptions of the campaigns against Kambasawden and the chief of Abu Simbel give the impression that the campaigns differed only in small details. A more significant difference is that Kambasawden is not described as chief or prince (wr) of a rebel country: he simply came; he had nevertheless lands and people in Lower Nubia that could be seized by Nastasene. Otherwise the text gives the impression as if the individual rebels whose names are also given were of an identical political status: viz., they were local chiefs who had certain authority over their people, but who all owed allegiance to the king of Kush who had the power to dispose over their lands and people. There is little, if any, political/legal difference indicated in the text between the semi-nomadic and nomadic peoples living on the eastern and southern fringes of the kingdom and the polity or polities in Lower Nubia. While the limits of their internal autonomy were strictly drawn, their traditional societal structure could nevertheless be maintained to the extent that they were induced again and again to make attempts at their separation from the kingdom of Kush.

346 FHN II No. 84, lines 53 f., trans. R.H. Pierce.