

FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE
NILE REGION
BETWEEN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BC
AND THE SIXTH CENTURY AD

VOL. I
FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY BC



Edited by
Tormod Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce
and László Török

Fontes
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INTRODUCTION

The aim

The aim of *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* is to present the textual sources, both literary and documentary, for the history of the Middle Nile Region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD, in their respective original languages as well as in new English translations, each accompanied by an historical commentary. A selection has of course been necessary, but we have striven to include all available texts which seemed to have a special relevance for historical research. The scholarly translation and the historical commentary are the core of the work, whereas the publication of the texts themselves makes no claim to originality: it is only meant as a service to the users, considered necessary in view of the unavailability of several old source publications, especially in the Sudan, and hopefully useful also for archaeologists who want to consult *FHN* in the field.

The translations are framed by philological introductions and notes intended, if applicable, to place the individual texts into their wider *literary* contexts and to substantiate our interpretation of difficult passages, indicating also where a choice between textual variants may influence the translation in an important manner. The commentary following the translations presents historical analyses and provides information about the *historical* context, both for the specialist and the non-specialist reader.

The scope of the collection is inevitably limited to *published* texts. We regret that we had to omit several texts in various languages discovered in the last few decades but unfortunately still withheld from general use. There are, however, also deliberate omissions. Thus we decided to leave out, with a few exceptions, the hieroglyphic texts which have only an indirect bearing on Middle Nile history (the inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt) as well as the hieroglyphic texts accompanying temple reliefs. The same goes for a number of texts containing no independent historical information (however, some funerary texts are included as evidence of cultural connections). On the other hand, the names (titles) and the evidence for the reigns of the rulers of Kush are discussed separately, as important sources of political history, cultural contacts, and chronology. Bold numbers in bold brackets ((2), (3) etc.) distinguish these latter categories of evidence from the source texts proper which bear bold numbers without bold brackets (42, 43 etc.).

The chronological limits are marked, on the one hand, by the emergence of the post-New Kingdom Kushite state in the 8th-7th centuries BC, on the other, by the emergence of the post-Meroitic kingdoms in the course of the 4th-6th centuries AD. Consequently, the earliest text published in Vol. 1 is the Kadi-

malo inscription of the 8th century BC (1); the latest sources to be published in Vol. 3 reflect the circumstances prevailing in the region in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

When we wrote the commentaries, we tried to avoid the use of unclear, idiosyncratic, or controversial historical and geographical terms. "Nubia" is used in its widest historical sense and not as a geographical term (except for Upper Nubia, Lower Nubia). The geographical term "Middle Nile Region" includes Lower and Upper Nubia as well as the central Sudan and is not employed in a (chronologically or politically) definite historical meaning. The terms "Kush" and "Kushite" are used to denote the native state that emerged after the withdrawal of the New-Kingdom Egyptian provincial administration under Ramesses XI and lasted until the second half of the 4th century AD. They thus include the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and the so-called Napatan and Meroitic periods as well.

The geographical and political term "Aithiopia" (in its Greek spelling, to avoid confusion with modern Ethiopia) is used in our commentaries whenever the classical sources we are commenting on use this notoriously vague term themselves; in these texts, reference normally is, generally speaking, to the Nile Region south of Egypt. We have considered—but resisted the temptation—to translate Greek *Aithiopia*/Latin *Aethiopia* by "Nubia"; no doubt, such a rendering would in many cases be illuminating, and it would automatically preclude confusion with Ethiopia; but there are also cases where it is potentially misleading.

The background

The last few decades have witnessed a spectacular unfolding of Nubian studies as an academic discipline in its own right. A wealth of information already began being accumulated in the course of the First and Second Archaeological Surveys of Nubia (1907-11, 1929-34), a process culminating in the UNESCO Nubian Campaign (1959-69) and the major excavations conducted in the Middle Nile Region before and after the building of the High Dam at Aswan, and continued through the archaeological work conducted and coordinated more recently by the Sudan Antiquities Service. Refined methods in archaeological survey and excavation and more sophisticated data processing and modeling have brought about a new understanding of Middle Nile cultures from Prehistory to the Middle Ages.

At the same time, however, it has been increasingly felt that the archaeological investigation of the Middle Nile Region is far ahead of historical research. One important reason for this situation is the failure of excavators to publish the newly discovered textual monuments expeditiously. The significance of the publication of Meroitic texts was realized, it is true, at the very outset by Jean Leclant who created, with the *Meroitic Newsletter* and the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique*, the bases for all subsequent research in the field of Meroitic

language. And in 1979 a special periodical was started for the publication of new textual finds in other languages, the *Sudan Texts Bulletin* (STB). Significantly, the editors of this periodical, Ali Osman and Robin Thelwall, also realized the need for new critical editions of already published texts. However, while the computerized work on the Paris *Répertoire* was limited to texts in Meroitic and the sources dealt with in the STB referred mainly to the post-Meroitic history of the Middle Nile Region, sources dating from earlier periods continued to receive little attention (except perhaps for Egyptian hieroglyphic texts predating the end of the New Kingdom).

If the slow and still incomplete incorporation of the new documentary texts into the historical synthesis has its obvious, partly external reasons, the same cannot be claimed with regard to the many mentions of various aspects of Middle Nile history in the works of Greek and Roman authors of Classical Antiquity. Still, these sources seem not to be sufficiently known to many modern students of the region. And if they are, they are frequently misunderstood, due to the use of long outdated editions or translations, or of second-hand references.

A new era in the use of Classical sources in Nubian studies started, however, with the publication of Jehan Desanges' *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (Rome 1978). The progress of critical studies concerning the "external evidence" preserved from Antiquity fortunately coincided with a renewed interest in the Kushite texts written in Egyptian. This research is not, however, sufficiently coordinated and problem-oriented; and its results do not easily reach either the archaeologists working in the field or the future archaeologists studying the cultures of the Middle Nile in universities in the Sudan and abroad.

Therefore, it seemed to us that a source collection presenting scholarly translations based on modern textual editions might give an impetus to coordinated historical research, providing the specialist, the specialist-to-be, and the non-specialist with a basic tool for their various enterprises. These expectations could be met only partly by László Török's source collection *Der meroitische Staat 1. Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum* (Berlin 1986), with its limited scope and reliance on earlier translations of varying quality. It is clear that a reliable presentation of texts ranging from Egyptian to Coptic, from Meroitic to Old Nubian, from 6th century BC Greek graffiti to Latin historians and Byzantine Greek inscriptions, can be achieved only as a result of the cooperation of a team of experts.

As it happened, since the middle of the 1970's members of the Department of Classics at the University of Bergen had been engaged in the interpretation of Greek, Latin and Coptic sources for the history of Nubia in Late Antiquity; and some of the products of their studies had been published in the STB. So, when László Török advanced the idea of a joint project, with the aim of producing a concise collection of all the ancient textual sources relating to Middle

Introduction

Nile history, it was at once favorably received; and the project soon received the necessary financial support of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Bergen. Thus, work could be started in 1991 with the participation of Tormod Eide (TE), Tomas Hägg (TH), Richard Holton Pierce (RHP), Bergen, and László Török (LT), Budapest. Work on the first third of the collection was terminated in January, 1994.

In the completed work, TE and TH are responsible for the Greek and Latin translations, RHP for the Egyptian (in Vol. 1 Egyptian hieroglyphic, in Vols. 2-3 also Demotic and Coptic sources). The Meroitic sources in Vols. 2-3 will be treated (of course, no translation of these can be provided) by LT, who is also the author of the historical commentaries in all three volumes. Each translation and commentary is signed with the initials of the individual translator or commentator. In the case of the Greek and Latin sources, however, the translations have been subjected to thoroughgoing discussion between TE, TH, and RHP, so the initials added denote only who made the first draft—and had the final say. The Egyptian texts had to be RHP's sole responsibility because the other members of the team lacked the relevant linguistic competence. Finally, the historical comments signed by LT are a different matter altogether; they contain much in the way of data and analyses which could not be discussed by the group, and necessarily reflect a more personal view of both the nature (reliability etc.) of the sources and the historical context.

The use

Each source text is presented in such a way that it may be consulted separately; but the translation itself is only part of the whole, and it is necessary, in order to assess it correctly, to read the entry in its entirety, including the introduction and notes, and to follow up the internal references that are supplied. For instance, the several extracts from the work of Herodotus have one common "Introduction to source", placed with the first extract (56), but of course also relevant for the others. This needs stressing: the translated text extracts, of various genre and function, can be confidently interpreted and used for historical conclusions only if their respective nature and context are properly understood.

To help users towards such an understanding, the entries are structured in the following way. For the *Greek and Latin literary sources*, there is first a "Source bibliography", listing selected works that illuminate the nature and context of the literary work from which the extract is taken. The "Introduction to source" attempts to present to readers not familiar with Greek and Latin literature the basic facts about the particular author and his work; but there is also discussion of special source problems, with references to the scholarly debate, which may also be useful for people with a prior working knowledge of Classical texts in general. Consultation of the footnotes to the translations is likewise important since they indicate, among other things, the places where the translation given is open to doubt for various (textual or interpretational) reasons.

There one may sometimes find the reason why our translation differs from those previously quoted in discussions of Nubian history.

The *documentary sources in Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic* are presented in a corresponding way, explaining in the introduction the historical context and function or genre of the inscription or papyrus/parchment text in question.

For the *Egyptian hieroglyphic texts* a somewhat different format has been adopted. All the information that would correspond to what is given about the Greek and Latin literary sources in the "Source bibliography" and most of that which would appear in the "Introduction to source", are included in the historical "Comments". Between the "Text and Translation" and the "Comments" there may be inserted a "Note to the Translation" which contains further information, some of which would, in the case of the Greek and Latin literary sources, be found in the "Introduction to source". Such a note is not provided for every translation, but only for those where it was necessary to supplement the information given in the "Comments" with regard to purely philological matters. This difference in part reflects the less developed state of the literary analysis of the Egyptian texts from the Sudan, and in part the greater uncertainty inhering in the translations. The nature of the problem is discussed in the "General Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts" below.

The historical *comments* are similarly structured for all the various types of text. They discuss the historical implications of each text, with ample references to handbooks and scholarly works. To follow up these references, given in the form: Author's name, year of publication, and page (e.g., Adams 1977, 262 f.), the reader has to turn to the alphabetic *Bibliographical list* at the beginning of the volume. At the same place, there are also lists of other abbreviations used in the book.

The final section, *Contents of FHN II-IV*, gives a preview (adding some basic bibliographical information) of what source texts will be treated in the following volumes. Readers are kindly asked to submit to the editors suggestions for other texts that they think should be included, as well as corrections and supplements to those published here. Such material, as well as (possibly) interpretative analyses by others supplementing our comments, might be included in the fourth and last volume, together with the relevant indices.

Bergen in January, 1994

Tormod Eide Tomas Hägg Richard Holton Pierce László Török

A General Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts

Whereas translations from ancient Greek are founded on an unbroken tradition of knowledge about that language and on a vast body of modern scholarship reaching back to the Renaissance, all that is currently known about ancient Egyptian has been recovered from the wreckage of an extinct tradition through the efforts of a small number of modern scholars whose work began early in the last century. In the field of lexicography Egyptologists have been obliged to establish the basic meanings of even very frequently occurring words, not to mention their connotations and metaphorical uses. Moreover, like modern Arabic and Hebrew ancient Egyptian was built up on a system of consonantal roots and inset vocalic patterns which enabled native speakers to dispense with writing out the vowels. Modern scholars for whom those patterns are largely inaccessible sometimes experience great uncertainty in identifying word classes and forms that are not obviously signaled by consonantal morphology, word order, and other syntagmatic associations.

Ancient Egyptian was a vehicle for communication for more than three thousand years, and more than four thousand if one includes Coptic, its latest phase written in an alphabetic script founded on the Greek alphabet reinforced with additional signs to cover phonetic values particular to Egyptian. During this vast extent of time all aspects of the language exhibited observable variation, even within corpora of texts which for practical purposes can be treated as synchronous and coherent, and in the long run underwent profound changes. At least one diachronic state of the language (Middle Egyptian so called) became a classical standard (which Pascal Vernus has aptly termed Traditional Egyptian, *Égyptien de tradition*) and was therefore employed to write certain types of texts (especially royal and religious) long after it had been replaced by other states of the language for current communication (Vernus 1990: 155–208).

This association of particular forms of language with particular genres of text is by no means unfamiliar among other languages but poses special problems for the study of Egyptian. We are not well informed about how the classical language was transmitted from generation to generation and consequently about how well it was understood and how subtly exploited. Insofar as it was used to express clichés and recurrent subject matter, the problem is not experienced as acute; but when it is used to write texts that are novel in content (as in the great triumphal stele of Piye (9)), the translator is forced to judge how much of the full range of nuances in the classical language the ancient scribes have preserved in the Traditional Egyptian of their time. In some cases, one can see that the scribes have drawn upon contemporary grammatical constructions to convey meanings that in the light of our current knowledge would have been

expressed otherwise by masters of the classical language. In other cases, there is reason to suspect that scribes have used classical constructions differently from the way in which they were originally used. Such problems are particularly likely to arise in relation to the verb system and to contexts in which the translator must make a choice about the formal relationship between clauses, i.e. whether they are paratactically or hypotactically related. For example, translations including such subordinating conjunctions as “after”, “when”, and “because” are interpretive and imply relations of sequence and causality which, in the light of our current knowledge of Egyptian, may have been inferred from the context rather than have been required by undisputed rules of grammar.

To complicate matters still further, the translator must take into account that Traditional Egyptian too exhibits local and temporal variants. As regards any given text from Nubia written in Egyptian subsequent to the end of the New Kingdom, we do not know for certain whether it was written by a native speaker of Egyptian or by someone whose mother tongue was another. In either case, the writer will have been trained to use the literary forms of Egyptian; but the nature of any interference from the writer’s own language can have differed. Some of the texts included in later volumes show clear signs that the scribes who wrote them had a weaker grasp of the classical language than their predecessors, but this may as well have been due to their level of education as to a difference in language background. Subsequent to the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, there were sometimes prolonged periods during which relations between Egypt and Kush were severely strained or hostile and during which it might therefore have been difficult for Kushite patrons to obtain the services of the best Egyptian scribes. In some texts written during the Meroitic Period there emerge features that are consistent with a hypothesis that the writers were conversant in Meroitic, and the probability that they were native speakers of Meroitic thus increases.

Many of the Egyptian texts included in this volume have already been the subject of thoroughgoing philological analyses and have been translated to a high standard, and consequently there is little in the translations offered here that can fairly be called original. In an effort to assure that my translations did not neglect the achievements of my predecessors I created computer files in which I included all the translations which I knew of and which were accessible to me. I segmented each text into syntagmatic units, usually at the phrase level, and then arranged the different translations of each unit, preferably in chronological order, in such a way that they could be readily compared. Where I have seen no reason to deviate from already existing translations—and there is a substantial consensus across the whole range of renderings from syntagm to syntagm—I have adapted my wording to reflect this fact so as to make it plain to users who have need to compare my translations with others they have used where there is no substantial difference among them. I have found

that this procedure has revealed much to me about the consequences developments in Egyptian philology have had for our understanding of texts, and it has also increased my respect for the accomplishments of pioneers in the field. The gains appear to be incremental rather than being great leaps forward.

Egyptian texts contain many stock formulations, particularly in religious contexts; and this is mirrored in conventional renderings in modern translations. I experience the meaning of some of these renderings as being as obscure as the originals. In spite of the fact that such formulae often recur in abundance over hundreds of years, their elucidation is a thorny task and one which I do not pretend to have advanced. Consequently, I have tried to hold myself to such conventional renderings as are widespread so that users will be able to recognize them across the spectrum of translations of any given text and not be tempted to overinterpret insignificant variations.

As stated above, the segmentation of the texts was first undertaken to facilitate a comparison of previous translations. It also reflects an understanding of the formal structure of the texts and thus follows a long-standing tradition in the presentation of hieroglyphic transcriptions which is still followed by some contemporary scholars such as Grimal in his publication of the Piye stela. My segmentations are not based on any metrical analysis of the kind Junker carried out for Coptic hymns or which Fecht developed for Egyptian. I have not attempted to analyze the texts included in this collection according to any such principles.

We have decided to preserve the segmentation of the texts into syntagmatic units in our printed text because it facilitates comparisons between transliterations and translations and because we have considered the general gain in clarity for readers worth the resultant increase in space and printing costs.

The transliterations are at times inconsistent in that in some instances they have been given in a standard form that can be readily found in dictionaries while in others they more closely adhere to the orthography of the text at hand. The choices have been made on the basis of the needs of the moment, and in the absence of any rigorous, universally accepted standard for transliteration I make no apology for proceeding as I have, though I cannot say I am entirely satisfied with the result.

As in most languages Egyptian personal and geographical names are meaningful; and I have opted to translate them where I could. This presupposes that Egyptian scribes were sometimes conscious of those meanings and exploited them for rhetorical effect so that the names had not always been reduced to the status of empty pointers. There is much evidence to support this conclusion, though each occurrence must be evaluated on its own merits. Wherever possible more familiar or current locally used names are supplied in parentheses or in footnotes. At the very least the use of translated names shows the variety of labels used to denote what in context can be regarded as the same point of reference.

In order to achieve as great consistency as possible in my translations, especially across contexts where the underlying texts are the same or closely related, I created a KWIC concordance of all my translations and then used it for thorough comparison. It should, therefore, be possible for users to recognize most parallel passages and thus appreciate the great force of tradition that flows through these texts.

Over the last years translation theory has made an important contribution to raising our level of consciousness with regard to the complexities latent in the translation process. The translations of texts in Egyptian given here are constrained by the specific goals of our enterprise as stated above. To meet the assumed needs of the heterogeneous target group we have had in mind I have adopted a style that drifts toward the literal end of the continuum that extends between an iconic, formulaic translation and a freely interpretive rendering. This has resulted in a text that on occasions so closely mirrors the structure of its source as to be painfully inelegant. In this respect what is offered must be seen to be rudimentary, not to say primitive, when measured by the rising standards stimulated by the advances in translation studies mentioned above. I anticipate that substantial improvements will be suggested as these translations are subjected to critical review, and I wish them welcome.

Lastly, the user should be conscious of the fact that the translations from Egyptian could not benefit from the collected expertise of our team in the way that the translations of Greek texts could. What has been lost will become evident to anyone who compares the two.

[RHP]

The following signs have been used in the transliteration and translation of Egyptian:

- [] Enclosing damaged words or parts of words restored by modern writers.
- ⸗ Enclosing words the reading or translation of which is open to question.
- () In transliterations, enclosing words not written by the scribe but probably present in the spoken language; in translations, enclosing words added by the modern writer to clarify the sense.
- < > Enclosing words omitted in error by the scribe.
- { } Enclosing words to be deleted.

In the transliteration of Egyptian we have used Peter Der Manuelian's copyrighted DyPalatino font, which we purchased from him in 1993.

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Series

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ANM	Archéologie du Nil Moyen, Lille.
AnzAlt	Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, Innsbruck.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin.
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ASAE	Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude, IFAO, Le Caire.
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.
Cat. Gén.	
Mus. Caire Caire.	Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Le Caire.
CRIPeL	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille, Lille.
FHN	Fontes Historiae Nubiorum, Bergen.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
HÄS	Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien, Hamburg.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
Kêmi	Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Paris.
Kush	Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum.
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
LdÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden.
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Berlin/Wiesbaden/Mainz.
Meroitica	Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Bereich Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, Berlin.

MIFAO	Mémoires (publiés par les membres) de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.
MIO	Mitteilungen für Orientforschung, Berlin.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Fribourg-Göttingen.
OLA	Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta, Loewen.
Or.	Orientalia, Nova Series, Roma.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
RA	Revue Archéologique, Paris.
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie, Le Caire/Paris.
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
REG	Revue des Études Grécques, Paris.
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Amsterdam.
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
STB	Sudan Texts Bulletin, University of Ulster.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig-Berlin.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.

Other Abbreviations

Abt.	Abteilung.
AD	Anno Domini, after Christ.
BC	before Christ.
Beg. S.	Begarawiya South (grave, see Bibliography, Dunham 1963).
cf.	confer, compare.
cm	centimetre(s).
Diss.	Dissertation.
E	East.
ed.	edition.
ed.	edited (by).
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example.
et al.	et alii, and others.
f.	following (page).
fasc.	fascicle.
fig.	figure.
ff.	following (pages).
Fs	Festschrift.
ibid.	ibidem, (at) the same place
i.e.	id est, that is.
inscr.	inscription.
Inv.	Inventory.

Abbreviations

Kawa Kawa	(inscr. from, see Bibliography, Macadam 1949).
km	kilometre.
Ku.	el Kurru (grave, see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
ms.	manuscript.
N	North.
n.d.	no date.
No., no.	Number.
Nu.	Nuri (grave, see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
op.cit.	opus citatum, the work cited (above).
P	Papyrus.
Pl.	Plate.
rev.	revised.
S	South.
W	West.

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THE SOURCES

1 Kadimalo inscription. Semna West. 8th century BC.

Temple of Dedwen and Sesostris III, façade, beside the entrance on west, second register. Grapow 1940, 24-41; Dunham-Janssen 1960, 10; cf. PM VII, 145 Façade (1)-(2).

Text and translation

SCENE TO LEFT OF INSCRIPTION

TO THE RIGHT: THE GODDESS ISIS.

TEXT IN FRONT AND ABOVE ISIS (in four columns, reading from left to right):

(1) ḏḏ{n}.in ṯst mwt nṯr ṯrt (2) Rꜥ ḥnwt nṯrw nbw

(1) (Thus) says Isis, the Mother of the God, the Eye (2) of Rê, the Mistress of all the Gods,

t(i=i) (3) šḥtp ṯb n ḥmt-nsw wr sṯt-nsw K-3-(4)[t-y-m-l, 'mꜣꜥ ḥrw']

"I have put (3) at rest the heart of the king's wife and king's daughter Ka(4)[dimalo, 'justified']."

FACING ISIS: QUEEN KADIMALO.

TEXT IN FRONT AND ABOVE KADIMALO (in two columns, reading from right to left):

(1) ḥmt-nsw wrt sṯt nsw wrt K-3-t-y-(2)mꜣ-l 'mꜣꜥ ḥrw'

(1) The great king's wife and great king's daughter Kadi(2)malo, 'justified':

ṯm šsp 's[šn']

"Pray, receive the(se) 'lotuses'."

TEXT IN FRONT OF KADIMALO (one column, reading from right to left):

ḥmt-nsw wrt Nsw-bṯy sṯt-nsw

The great king's wife of the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt and king's daughter.

BEHIND THE QUEEN A FEMALE FIGURE (facing right):

ʿsɜ wɔɟt nb n ʿnɥ tɜ

...

MAIN TEXT

(1) hɜt-sp 14 <ɜbd> 2 prt sw 9

(1) Regnal year 14, <month> 2 of winter, day 9 of the month.

ɔd.ɪn ɥm=f n ɥmt-nsw wrt sɜt-nsw K-ɜ-t-y-m-l, ʿmɜ ɥrw

His Majesty said to the great king's wife (and) king's daughter, Kadimalo, 'justified',

ʿtw.n tn

"We are raised up,

ɪw bn tw.n bɜky m ɥnw nɜw bɜkw n ʿImn

although we are not serving among the servants of Amûn,

ɪw wn (2) ɥf(ty)

there being (2) an enemy,

ɪw mn ɪw dɪt ɥprw mdt ʿnfr tɜ rnpt ɪ.ɥpr r=n

and ——— to cause a 'good' thing (in) the year which has happened to us,

ʿImn dɪt ɥpr sw ɪ-r-r=w

'Amûn' causes 'it' to happen 'to them',

ɪw bn mn=w dɪt ɥpr n=n

there not ... causing to happen for us,

ɪw wn wr ʿ ——— ʿ=f ʿhr ——— ʿ mtw=f

there being a chief ' ... him ... in his possession',

ɪry ʿImn ʿ — — — ʿ (3) rɥy(t) ɪm=ɪ ɥʿf — —

Amûn does ... (3) the lapwing-people ... me ...,

ɪr bɜk n ʿImn pɜ ɪrw

performing service for Amûn, 'the one who acts',

ɪw bwɔw=ɪ shɜy tɜ mdt ɪ.ɥpr r=ɪ m tɜ rnpt

I having not called to mind the event that happened to me in this year,

m-dr ɥn.n ʿImn ɪw ʿɥɜ

when Amûn nodded his approval (in an oracle) for (my) 'accession',

ʃh3w¹ — — p3 (4) ʃwʃnyw¹ ʃtw [— —]w=n
 'call to mind¹ the (4) ʃ ... ¹ (fore)fathers [— —] us

ʃinyw n=ʃ m-ht sp sn
 hasten to me thereafter (twice)

ʃw=ʃ ʃr=f m dww nbw
 I doing it in the mountains of gold

hr-ʃ.ʃr=ʃ ʃm:m¹ m t3 rnpt
 Then I know in this year,

ʃy nht.tw hk3y [— —] ʃn hmt wrt
 O powerful of magic [— —] by the great wife

(5) ʃ — ¹ 30 n wry [— —]
 (5) ... thirty chiefs [— —]

bʃn p3 pr-ʃ pp m hpš=f
 'It is a bad thing for¹ the Pharaoh to ʃ—¹ with his scimitar.

ʃswt nfr snd ʃrm hʃ phwy r hʃt hrwy mʃ kd ʃwʃ¹ [—]
 'Mark you, fear and retreat are good, back to front, all rebels being repelled¹,¹

n3y [—] ʃw ʃ.(6)šsp.n=w ʃr=f
 Those [—] which (6) they received, he made.

hr-ʃ.ʃr [—] t3 rnpt hr t3 mdt ʃ.hpr ʃ-r=ʃ
 Then ... this year concerning the event that happened to me.

hr-ʃry n3yʃ=w¹ ʃtw ʃwnw sndw=n hrwy nb wnw hms
 'As for¹ their (fore)fathers who were afraid of us, every (potential) rebel who was quiescent,

ʃw=w nfr [ʃrm n3y=]w hmt
 they were all right together with their wives.

(7) nfry ʃry bʃn m-ʃdʃ¹ p3 ʃ-¹ bw ʃr=f m3m ʃm=f
 (7) It is a good thing to do harm ʃ — ¹ he does not know;

bʃn ʃry bʃn m-ʃdʃ¹ rhy(t) ʃw=f 3m
 it is a bad thing to do harm ʃ — ¹ the lapwing-people when it knows

¹Cf. line 11.

iw=f r 'dit' p3 nty 'nh
It will ' — ' him who is alive.

pti n p' [— — —]y bin
Behold, we ... evil.

(8) iw=w 'nh
(8) while they are alive.

bin iry nfr
It is a bad thing to do good,

'd3 'iwy' p3 dd 'i. ' [-]irw i.ir 'nh iry nfr
'iniquity falsehood' the statement which was made ... life/oath ...

istw nfrt n 'Imn k3y
Behold, it is good for Amûn ...

iw bn t3y=f st iwn3
although it is not his place.

hr-iry p3 nty iry imn kty st
As for the one who does ... another place,

hr 'pw' [—] š' (9) p3 iht
... up to (9) the present.

iw ns-sw hy' — ' n3y=w / i it
it belonging to the '... ' of their/my fathers,

istw bin hrpw t3y hrpw n 'Imn m mnt
Behold, it is bad to drive this hrp-cattle of Amûn daily;

nfr š'tw n t3 hrpw n 'Imn [— —] 'M3'-k-3-(10)r-š3
(but) it is good to slaughter 'for' the hrp-cattle of Amûn [— —] 'Ma'ka(10)rasha

iw i.iry n3w n rmt nb n niwt shwr M3-k-3-r-š3 m mnt
All the townsmen are to curse Makarasha daily.

iw dmy.n=f m3 kd 'ds
he having '... 'ed likewise totally ...

iw b-pwy [— —]=f
'it not having' [— —] him.

The Sources

b̥n (11) p̥w r ɰty=f m̥ kd p̥ʳ̥ p̥w r ɰty p̥ m̥š̥
evil (11) reaching his heart in the manner of reaching the heart of the army

p̥ ɪr nfr n t̥ dr=f
he who does good to the whole land

b̥n [— —] nty ʳ- (12) — ʳw[-]sw[-]i[-]ʳnʳ (13) r[-]ʳ-ʳ[— -]
bad ... who ... (12) ... (13) ...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The “translation” offered here is best described as a set of glosses and guesses, for in fact I do not understand this text. Grammatically, insofar as I can persuade myself that I have identified genuine syntagms, the text appears to be a specimen of the second (Late Egyptian to Coptic) major division of the Egyptian language, Vernus’ *Égyptien de la Second Phase* (cf. e.g. Vernus, 1979, 81-82). In this respect it fits into the series of Early Napatan inscriptions which Priese (1970: 24-25) characterizes as being written in Late Egyptian and which he terminates with the Great Triumphal Inscription of Piye (9). When the epigraphic study of this text R.A. Caminos carried out is published in his volume on Semna, we may reasonably expect to have a much more secure foundation upon which to construct an interpretation (James 1993, 233).

[RHP]

Comments

The text and the accompanying scene (see below) were superimposed on an original scene on the façade of the temple erected by Tuthmosis III. Although Queen Kadimalo and the anonymous king of the text cannot be identified with any historical person attested in independent sources, the style and certain details of the text indicate a Third Intermediate Period date; and the Meroitic name of the former (*kdi-mlo*= “good lady”, cf. M.F.L. Macadam in Dunham-Janssen 1960, 10) associates the document with the Middle Nile Region. The dating of the monument to the late or rather the post-New Kingdom period and its association with Kushite history are generally accepted; but, owing to the impossibility of a coherent translation, no historical interpretation was offered (cf. Grapow 1940; Morkot 1991).

The scene (Grapow 1940, Pls II, III) represents Queen Kadimalo and a princess before Isis. The Queen wears a vulture headdress surmounted by a tall plumed superstructure with sundisc and with ribbons hanging down at the back; she wears a transparent double robe with short sleeves, broad collar necklace and armlets. In her right hand she holds an *im̥t* or *ɰts* scepter (cf. Troy 1986, 189f.) and in her left a flail. Similarly to the smaller figure behind her, she also wears a steloform ear pendant of a type known from representations of Kushite queens of the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period (cf. Török 1987, nos 31,

59, 64f., 75f., 87a, 89, 91, 109). Her figure is protected by the vulture goddess Nekhbet wearing the *atef* crown and extending her wings over the Queen's head. Between the figures of the goddess and the Queen are represented three offering stands of which two are turned towards the Queen and one is turned towards Isis (note the direction of the spouts of the libation vases and of the lotus chalices). Thus, while offering a lotus to the goddess (see text in front and above figure of Kadimalo), the Queen too is a beneficiary of offerings. The iconographical indication of her being deceased at the time of the carving of the scene and inscription is also supported by her epithet *mꜣꜥ(t) ḥrw*, "justified" (cf. Wb II, 17, [16-18]; W. Erichsen, *Acta Or.* 6, 272; Caminos 1964, 89 note 3; B. Gessler-Löhr GM 116 [1990], 25-43).

The text, which has so far resisted all attempts at a coherent translation, starts with a dating to the 14th regnal year, 2nd month of the winter, day 9 of an anonymous king who refers to himself as His Majesty (col. 1) and Pharaoh (col. 5) and records his speech directed to the great king's wife and king's daughter, Kadimalo. Describing conflicts of an obscure nature connected with rebels, gold mines, and Amûn's *ḥrp*-cattle, the king seems to seek the aid of the (deceased) Queen, referring to her powerful magic (col. 4, end). Grapow (1940, 41) compared the language of the inscription to that of the Nesikhons Papyrus (PCairo 58032, Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire I, 132; B. Gunn JEA 41 [1955], 83-105), a decree for Amûn in which Pinodjem II, Nesikhons' surviving husband, tried to secure that his deceased wife did him no harm from the Nether world (cf. Černý 1962, 39, 199). Though the affairs are obviously different, the two texts are based on similar interpretations of magic and reflect the same concept of the deceased acting in the sphere of the living as an intermediary or as a dangerous force.

Though carved on the façade of a temple, the genre of the text is only partly monumental. The dating, the narrative sections, the allusions made to the opponent's falsehood (col. 8) and the recurrent moralizing phrases (cols 5, 7, 8, 9) reflect knowledge about the patterns of New Kingdom royal inscriptions, yet the impact of magical texts is also obvious. Although the relief depicts Queen Kadimalo being protected by the vulture goddess of Upper Egypt and in possession of the traditional royal regalia of late New Kingdom queens and dressed in their style (cf., e.g., with representations of Nefertari Merytmot, wife of Ramesses II, at Abu Simbel, Desroches-Noblecourt-Kuentz 1968, Pl. 33; in Tomb 66 in the Valley of the Queens at Thebes: Lange-Hirmer 1967 Pl. LVI) and although the presence of the princess may also have been meant to convey the concept of female duality (cf. Troy 1986, 107ff.), her name is nevertheless not written in a royal cartouche, even though her titles are royal. These ambiguities reflect a milieu which was intellectually under the influence of Upper Egypt and particularly of Thebes but at the same time also indicate isolation.

The historical setting can be determined only hypothetically. The appearance of an independent king and a queen in Lower Nubia is imaginable in the later reign of Ramesses XI when, in regnal year 19, the former Viceroy of Kush

Panahesy, who revolted in Year 17 against his king, was forced to retreat to Lower Nubia (see recently Jansen-Winkel 1992) where he established his own rule. The independence of Lower Nubia from Thebes was, however, only temporary; and after Panehesy's death it seems to have been governed again by Viceroys of Kush appointed by the rulers of the Twenty-First, Twenty-Second, and Twenty-Third Dynasties (cf. Habachi 1979; Bierbrier 1977). The last Viceroy of Kush, Pamiu, is attested around 775-750 BC (Aston-Taylor 1990, 147f.; D.A. Aston JEA 77 [1991], 99f.); and his office may have become extinct as a direct consequence of the appearance of a new power in Nubia. By the reign of Kashta (ca. 760-747 BC, cf. 4) the regions of Napata and Meroe were united into a kingdom; and at an, unfortunately undatable, point in his reign Kashta appeared in Upper Egypt and claimed Egyptian kingship (cf. (3), 4). Queen Kadimalo, a lady originating, according to her name, from the region of the Meroitic-speakers in the South, may be brought into connection with the northward advance of the young Kushite kingdom that prepared Kashta's appearance in Upper Egypt. It is of course impossible to decide whether she was the daughter of a king of Kush and the wife of another king of Kush, in which case she would have belonged to the family of one of Kashta's immediate predecessors or of Kashta himself, or whether she descended from the Kushite royal family but was the wife of a Lower Nubian king. Whoever Kadimalo's husband may have been, the unnamed king of the Semna inscription claims to have been legitimated through an oracle by Amûn (col. 3, end) according to Egyptian kingship dogma which was also adopted by the Kushite dynasty (cf. Török n.d.).

[LT]

(2) Alara. Evidence for reign.

Alara is the first member of the dynasty of the kings of Kush whose name is preserved to us. He is first mentioned in the text of the funerary stela of queen Tabiry, who was his daughter by Kasaqa, and wife of Piye (see 11). He is mentioned again as a brother of Taharqo's grandmother in inscriptions Kawa IV, lines 16 f. and VI, lines 23 f. (see 21, 24), in the second half of the 5th century BC in the stela of Irike-Amanote, Kawa IX, line 54 (see FHN, vol. 2), and finally, in the last third of the 4th century BC, in the Harsiyotef Stela (see *ibid.*).

Piye's predecessor was his father Kashta (as indicated by the Nitocris Adoption Stela, Caminos 1964 and by the titulary of Piye's sister-wife Peksater, a daughter of Kashta, see the Abydos doorjamb published by Schäfer 1906, 49 and Wenig 1990, 341 f.). Thus Alara was in all probability Kashta's predecessor (cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 141 no. 5; Kitchen 1986 § 120 f., 122, 142, 320). It was repeatedly supposed that the succession in the dynasty of the kings of Kush was collateral, i.e., that the king was followed on the throne by his younger brother whose successor would then be the son of the elder brother and so on (cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949; Leclant 1979, 893; Kitchen 1986, § 120 f.). Accordingly, it

was also supposed that Alara and Kashta were brothers (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 149; Priese 1972, 21; Kitchen 1986, § 120 and Table, see also Table 11; Wenig 1979]; etc.). Such a relationship is not attested directly, however, but can be assumed if we identify Taharqo's unnamed grandmother (see 21, 24), Alara's sister, with Kashta's sister-wife Pebatma (for her Abydos inscription, now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum E 3922, see Wenig 1990, 341 f.). Nevertheless, collateral succession was not exclusive in the Kushite dynasty but alternated with a patrilinear succession (for interpretations of the evidence see Priese 1981, who reconstructs a version of the "matrilinear" system in which the kings married their sisters and the sons of the eldest sisters were the legitimate heirs to the throne; Morkot 1992, who sees alternating reigns of scions of a "matriclan" and a "patriclan"; and Török n.d., who suggests the succession alternated between scions of two branches of the dynasty, i.e., those of Piye and Shabaqo, and also reconstructs a concept of legitimacy through descent from a female line, cf. below, 37 and 39 and see especially comments to section 5 [lines 19-21] of 37).

In the funerary stela of Tabiry (11), which was carved during the reign of Piye, Alara's name is written in a royal cartouche. In Kawa IV and VI he is mentioned as *wr*, Chieftain; but at the same time his name is written in a royal cartouche and preceded by the royal title *S3-R3*, Son of Rê. These texts refer to an act in which he dedicated his sister, Taharqo's grandmother, to Amûn in order to secure legitimacy for her descendants. Though, as evidenced by the continuity of the royal cemetery of el Kurru (cf. Dunham 1950) where Alara's ancestors and successors were buried, Alara was not the first ruler of his line, the Taharqo inscriptions nevertheless portray him as the founder of the dynasty of the kings of Kush who also became rulers of Egypt. The act in which he committed his sister to Amûn signals a religious as well as a political orientation towards Egypt and indicates the establishment of a new system of succession; all these changes mark the end of the tribal state and the emergence of a kingdom. The change also comes to expression in the double perspective of Taharqo's references to Alara in the Kawa texts: he is viewed there from the perspective of his actual rank as chieftain of a tribal state and at the same time from the perspective of his descendant Taharqo who derives his kingship from Alara and hence bestows upon him a cartouche and the *S3-R3* title. It is the memory of Alara as founder of the dynasty that is evoked again in royal inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

[LT]

(3) Kashta. Throne name.

From stela fragment Cairo JE 41013 (see 4). Leclant 1963 74 f.

Note to the translation of royal names

The translation of Egyptian royal names is not without problems; and the translations which appear throughout this volume should be used with cau-

tion. Even with regard to some of the most well known names there is no consensus among specialists about their meaning. There is, however, broad agreement that genuinely Egyptian names, as opposed to foreign names that came into use in Egypt, do have a meaning that conforms to the rules of Egyptian grammar and lexicography. In general it is to be expected that a royal name somehow refers to the king who bore it; and wherever I have been able to, I have given preference to a translation which explicitly refers to the king rather than one which contains a general programmatic or theological statement.

K. Jansen-Winkel's recent study (1994) of exocentric compounds in Egyptian is important for a philological understanding of the nominal constructions that frequently occur in royal names and epithets. *Participium conjunctum* constructions are also relevant in this context (Pierce 1972, 21-24).

[RHP]

Kashta's throne name was read by Beckerath (1984, 108 XXV.2) as Mꜣ-Rꜥ, by Leclant (1963, 74 f.) as Mꜣt-Rꜥ, and by Priese (1970, 17) as Nj-Mꜣt-Rꜥ. Here this last reading is accepted, and the translation "The Possessor of Truth/Equity (Maꜣat) is Rê" is proposed (for the translation see also Iversen 1988, 83 f.; yet, according to H.G. Fischer, GM 108 [1989], 21-29 [p. 27] the adjectival phrase refers to the king). While the personal name of the king probably means "the Kushite" and thus emphasizes his origins, the throne name shows that he assumed (an) Egyptian-style royal title(s). It is unknown, however, whether this titulary was complete or consisted only of his personal name and throne name and whether it was composed on his ascent to the throne in Kush or only in connection with his appearance in Upper Egypt (see also 4). The throne name "The Possessor of Truth/Equity is Rê" seems to support this latter possibility, for it would seem programmatic for a king ascending to the throne of Egypt in troubled times and for a foreigner who seeks legitimacy through accepting and emphasizing the central idea of traditional Egyptian kingship dogma (cf. Assmann 1990). The throne name is borrowed from the titulary of the Twelfth Dynasty pharaoh Amenemhat III (Beckerath 1984, 66 XII.6), points towards the archaizing intellectual atmosphere of Third Intermediate Period Egypt, and indicates a Theban authorship. Priese (1972, 17) pointed out that the phonetic writing of Mꜣt in the throne name can also be found in the throne name of Osorkon III of the Twenty-Third Dynasty. As observed by Bonhême (1987, 173), in titularies of Amenemope (Dyn. 21), Osorkon II and Pimay (Dyn. 22), and Pedubastis I (Dyn. 23), only the ideographic form of Mꜣt is attested; in titularies of Sheshonq II (Dyn. 22), Iuput I/II, Osorkon III and Takeloth III (Dyn. 23; the latter two were contemporaries of Kashta) both ideographic and phonetic writings occur, while in Rudamun's (Dyn. 23) and in Piye's (=son and successor of Kashta, and more or less contemporary with Rudamun) cartouches only the phonetic writing occurs. Bonhême finds this vacillation between the two

principal orthographies characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period. It would seem, however, that the phonetic writing reemerged (for Ramesside forerunners see Sethos I, PRollin 206, 209, Year 2, LR III, 12 VIII/C, E; Ramesses II, PBerlin 3047, Year 46, KRI II, 803; Beckerath 1984, 90 XIX. 3 T 11; Ramesses III, pHarris I, 3.2, Beckerath 1984, 94 XX.3 T 3. Note that these occurrences are in manuscripts and not in monumental inscriptions, while the phonetic form also occurs in monumental inscriptions of the above-mentioned Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty rulers) in the late Twenty-Second Dynasty in the titulary of Osorkon III and alternated in monumental inscriptions of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty with the ideographic form; and finally in the few preserved monuments of Rudamun only the phonetic form is attested. These observations on the orthography of the word Mꜣt thus speak for the Theban authorship of Kashta's throne name. Yet, it is also interesting to note that it was Amenemhat III who built out Egypt's southern frontier at Semna after his predecessor Sesostris III had conquered Lower Nubia. His name and throne name could also be read in Nile level inscriptions at Semna East (Kumma) as well as in his temple in Kuban (Dunham-Janssen 1960, inscr. RIK 9, 112, 116-118, 119a; PM VII, 83 f.) and the alternative cannot be excluded that this choice of Kashta's throne name also implied an allusion to Amenemhat III's historical memory (Mꜣt was usually, but not exclusively, written phonetically in Amenemhat III's monumental inscriptions, cf. LR I, 320 ff., and it is rendered phonetically in the above-quoted Lower Nubian inscriptions too). Yet also another association may well have been evoked by the throne name: it could have alluded to Maꜣt, daughter of Rê, as mediator (cf. Assmann 1990, 202 f.) and thus to the probable source of Kashta's legitimacy in Egypt, viz., to his daughter Amonirdis I, God's Wife of Amûn Elect, as mediator between him and Amen-Rê, the divine father of the Egyptian king (see 4).

Kashta's affiliation is unknown. His burial Ku. 8 (Dunham 1950, 46 f.) in the cemetery of el Kurru, a necropolis of native princes started several generations before Kashta and used continuously until Shebitqo (cf. (16). Shebitqo's successor Taharqo was buried elsewhere [cf. (19)]; yet the fact that Taharqo's successor Tanutamani was buried, as last ruler of his line, at el Kurru, cf. (28), indicates that he was descendant of a family of chieftains ruling over the Napata area. (According to Reisner [cf. Dunham 1950], six generations of chieftains were buried at el Kurru before Kashta and thus burials would have been started here around 900 BC. Kendall 1982, 21 ff., attempted to date the earliest graves around the end of the New Kingdom, a suggestion withdrawn in Kendall 1992. A revision of the cemetery chronology was undertaken in Török n.d., Ch. 6, 7, where a "long chronology" [twelve generations before Kashta] is proposed in terms of which the necropolis would have been started around 1000 BC. Cf. also Török n.d.a) Kashta probably married his sister Pebatma (relationship indicated by her title *snt nsw ḥmt nsw* in the inscription of statue Cairo 42198, see Troy 1986, 175 25.2) who, in the inscription on her Abydos stela, bears (Schäfer 1906, 50; Wenig

1990, 335) the following titles: *ihyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw snt nswt sꜣt nswt mwt ntr n dwꜣt ntr*, “sistrum-player of Amen-Rê, King of the Gods, king’s sister, king’s daughter, mother of the Divine Adoratrix (=Amonirdis I)”. Pematma is probably identical with Alara’s unnamed sister mentioned in **21** and **24** (see also **(2)**). Kashta was father of Piye (indirect evidence provided by the Nitocris Adoption Stela, see Caminos 1964) and Shabaqo (filiation attested via Amonirdis I who was daughter of Kashta and sister of Shabaqo: see statue Cairo 565 from the Osiris Nebankh chapel at Karnak, Leclant 1965, 96), further of Peksater (Wenig 1990, 341 f., married to Piye), Khensa (Leclant-Yoyotte 1952, 35 note 5), and Amonirdis I, God’s Wife of Amûn of Thebes (Leclant 1965, 356 ff.). To judge by her name, Nefrukekashta (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145 [52]) too was probably a daughter Kashta’s (married to Piye).

[LT]

4 Fragment of a dedication stela of Kashta from Elephantine. Before ca. 747 BC. Cairo JE 41013. Leclant 1963, 74 ff. and fig. 1.

Text and translation

(three columns, reading vertically from left to right)

(1) *Nsw-bꜣty Ny-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*

(1) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, “He-who-belongs-to-Rê’s-Order”,

(2) *Sꜣ-Rꜥ Nb-Tꜣwy Kꜣ-š-t*

Son-of-Rê, Lord of Two-lands, Kashta,

(3) *ꜥmryꜥ ꜥnh ꜥt*

beloved, living for ever,

(two columns, reading from right to left)

(4) *Hnm-Rꜥ* (5) *nb Šbꜣw* (6) *ꜥSt[t] nb(t) ꜣbꜣ[w ...]*

(4) Khnum-Rê, (5) Lord of Cold-water (the First Cataract), (6) and Satis, Lady of [Elephantine].

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The participle *mry*, “beloved”, in column 3 governs the gods named in columns 4-6. This construction is formulaic and translates as “beloved of Khnum-Rê, Lord of Cold-water (the First Cataract), and Satis, Lady of [Elephantine]”.

[RHP]

Comments

The monuments of Kashta from his lifetime are not numerous: besides 4, his presence in Egypt is evidenced by an aegis of Mut inscribed in his name (Leclant 1963, 78 ff. and figs 2-5). The other occurrences of his name in Upper Egypt are on monuments of his family and date from after his death (for the evidence see LR IV, 5-12; Leclant 1965, 356 ff.). His reign is dated indirectly by the reign of his son and successor Piye to the period before ca. 747 BC (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 120-123, Tables 4 and *4); and it is supposed that he was buried in the royal cemetery of el Kurru in the mastaba (?) or pyramid-on-mastaba (?) grave Ku. 8 (Dunham 1950, 46 f.; for the type of his burial cf. Kendall 1992; Török n.d. Ch. 6). A fragment of a faience offering table with his name probably originates from this grave (Dunham 1950, fig. 7/c and Pl. XXXII/C). The inscription fragment 4 comes from a stela dedicated by Kashta to Khnum-Rê, Lord of the Cataract, to Satet, Lady of Elephantine and, probably, to the third associated deity, the goddess Anuket. While the dedication to Khnum-Rê expresses Kashta's claim to Lower Nubia, sovereignty of which was traditionally associated with the god of the First Cataract, his titles *Nsw-bity Ny-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Sꜣ-Rꜥ nb-Tꜣwj*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'The Possessor of Truth is Rê', Son of Rê, Lord of the Two Lands" (cf. (3)) reveal his claim to kingship over Egypt.

Kashta's reign is currently reckoned at ca. 14 years, i.e., ca. 760-747 BC. This estimate is, however, only guesswork (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 122). Owing to the lack of sufficient chronological data, also the identification of Kashta's Egyptian contemporaries poses difficulties. According to a recently proposed and likely chronology (Aston-Taylor 1990, 143-146, cf. also Spencer-Spencer 1986, 200), he would have been a contemporary of Rudamun (ca. 754-736) and presumably also of Osorkon III (ca. 784-756) and Takeloth III (ca. 761-754, coregent of Osorkon III ca. 761-756). It appears that the disappearance of the office of the Viceroy of Kush, the Egyptian governor of Lower Nubia, can be dated to Kashta's reign: the last Viceroy, Pamiu, is attested ca. 775-750 BC (Aston-Taylor 1990, 147-149); and his death is dated to ca. 760-740 (D.A. Aston, JEA 77 [1991], 99 f.). The end of the (probably not much more than nominal) rule of the Twenty-Third Dynasty over Lower Nubia may have been caused by the Kushite advance evidenced by the Kadimalo inscription at Semna West (see 1) and by Kashta's monument from Elephantine. With the complete lack of direct evidence, it remains obscure when and under what circumstances Kashta's claim to sovereignty over Egypt was made. The above-mentioned counterweight suggests a traditional legitimation *in Egypt* in terms of iconography: on it Kashta is represented being suckled by the goddess Mut, thus receiving the royal office (for the nursing of the king as an episode in the enthronement rites see Leclant 1960, Leclant 1961). Mut may also hint at an association with the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes. Under the Twenty-Third Dynasty the role of the God's Wife became crucial both in the government of Upper Egypt and the ideology of royal legitimacy (cf. Sander-Hansen 1940; Gitton-Leclant 1976; Troy

1986). By the 8th century BC, the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes, a virgin priestess, was selected from among the royal princesses and endowed with outward trappings of royalty (adopted a "female Horus name", wrote her names in cartouches, and governed the Theban domain with the help of an administration of her own; cf. Sander-Hansen 1940, 29 ff.; Leclant 1965, 374-386; Gitton-Leclant 1976, 795 ff.; Graefe 1981). She was installed by the king and adopted by her predecessor, and it was this practice that secured the legitimacy of Kashta's successors in Egypt. Shepenupet I, Osorkon III's daughter, was her father's principal representative in Thebes (Kitchen 1986, § 318); and her presence secured his legitimacy in terms of kingship dogma. Kashta's daughter Amonirdis I was adopted by Shepenupet I, Amonirdis I adopted Piye's daughter Shepenupet II, and Shepenupet II adopted Taharqo's daughter Amonirdis II (for the evidence see Caminos 1964; Gitton-Leclant 1976). It is tempting to suppose that already Kashta's legitimacy in Egypt was secured in this way, i.e., through the adoption of his daughter by Shepenupet I. The possibility of Amonirdis I's installation at Thebes in Kashta's lifetime was considered by von Zeissl (1955, 68 f.), Leclant (1961, 80; hesitatingly: 1965, 357 ff.), Priese (1970, 19 ff.), and Baer (1973, 20); others maintain that Amonirdis I was appointed only by Piye (Kees 1964, 158 ff.; Kitchen 1986, § 321; Redford 1986, 314). It is worth noting that Rudamun's successor Peftjauawybast seems to have ruled in Heracleopolis and not in Thebes (Aston-Taylor 1990, 146 f.) and that descendants of Osorkon III, Takeloth III, Rudamun and Peftjauawybast lived peacefully in Thebes under Kushite rule in the course of the century following Kashta's appearance (cf. Aston-Taylor 1990, 147). Furthermore, Piye seems to have stationed army contingents at Thebes already before his campaign in Year 21 (see 9). These facts may be explained as consequences of a settlement between Kashta and the Twenty-Third Dynasty (cf. Redford 1986, 313 ff.); but the validity of this assumption can be judged only when relevant evidence becomes available.

[LT]

(5) Piye (Piankhy, Py). Titles.

Sources: 1. Sandstone Stela, Khartoum Museum 1851 (8); 2. Gebel Barkal Amûn Temple B 502 columns, LR IV, 52 (3); 3. Gebel Barkal Amûn Temple B 520, altar, LD Text V, 270 (bottom); 4. Great Triumphal Stela (9); 5. PLeiden F 1942/5, M. Malinine, RdE 5 (1946), 119 ff.; 6. Dakhla lesser stela, J. Janssen, JEA 54 (1968), Pl. XXVa; 7. Louvre stela C 100, J. v. Beckerath, MDAIK 24 (1969), 58 ff. (identified as monument of Piye by Beckerath, op. cit., the identification is accepted by Grimal 1986, 318 note 1022; Kitchen 1986, § 598, but rejected by Yoyotte 1989, 119 ff., who attributes the stela to an otherwise unknown king Iny of the Twenty-Third Dynasty); 8. Letti obelisk (7); 9. Gebel Barkal Amûn Temple B 501, G.A. Reisner, ZÄS 66 (1931), 96 f.; 10. Gebel Barkal Amûn Temple B 500, abacus,

LR IV, 3 (III); 11. Gebel Barkal Temple B 801, abacus, G.A. Reisner, JEA 4 (1917), 258 and Pl. XXXIV; 12. Mummy bandage BM 6640, D.B. Redford, JARCE 22 (1985), fig. 1; 13. Statuette Louvre inv. no. not available, Beckerath 1984, 109 XXV.3 T 3; 14. Shawabti from grave Ku. 17, Dunham-Macadam 1949, Pl. XVI/61

Titles/documents

1.
 - a. Horus name Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Npt
Strong-Bull, "Appearing-in-Napata"
 - b. *Nebty* name Wꜣḥ-nsyt mꜣ-Rꜥ-m-pt
"Whose-kingship-endures Like-Rê's-in-Heaven"
 - c. Golden Horus Dsr-ḥꜥ Šḥm-pḥty
"Whose-appearances-are-holy, Whose-might-is-powerful"
 - d. Throne name Nb-Tꜣwy ('Wsr-Mꜣt-Rꜥ)
"Lord-of-Two-lands" ("Rê-is-One-whose-Order-is-strong")
 - e. Son of Rê name Nb ḥꜥ(w) Mry-ꜣmn P-ꜣ-nḥy
"Lord-of-crowns, Beloved-of-Amûn", Pi(ankh)y
2. 3.
- a.
- b.
- c.
- d. Wsr-Mꜣt-Rꜥ Wsr-Mꜣt-Rꜥ
"Rê-is-One-whose-Order-is-strong"
- e. P-(nḥ)y
Pi(ankh)y
4. 5. 6.
- a. Ḥtp-m-nꜣwt.f
"He-who-rests-in-his-city"

The Sources

b.

c.

d.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| e. | Ep. Mry-ꜥmn
"Beloved-of-Amûn" | Sꜣ-ꜥst
Ep. mry-ꜥmn
Son-of-Isis, | Sꜣ-ꜥst
Ep. mry-ꜥmn
Beloved-of-Amûn" |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|

7. (connection with Piye disputed)

- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | Smꜣ-tꜣwy
"Uniter-of-Two-lands" |
| b. | Msi-ḥmwꜣt
"Creator-of-crafts" |
| c. | Sꜣš-ḳnꜥw
"Multiplier-of-gallant-warriors"
(for the translation cf. Yoyotte 1989, 129 f.) |
| d. | Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ
"Enduring-are-the-manifestations-of-Rê"
(or: "Rê-is-enduring-of-manifestations",
or: "Rê-is-One-whose-manifestations-endure") |
| e. | Py |

8.

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| a. | Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Wst
"Strong-Bull, Appearing-in-Thebes" | Kꜣ-tꜣwy=fy
"Bull-of-his-Two-lands" |
| b. | Ḥḳꜣ-Kmt
"Ruler-of-Egypt" | Kꜣ
"Bull" |
| c. | Ḥr-nb Sꜣ-Rꜥ P-(ꜥnh)y
"Golden-Horus, Son-of-Rê", Pi(ankh)y | |

- d. Nbtj K3... Hk3-Km
- e. P-(nh)y
- 9.
- a. K3-nht H-m-W3st
"Strong-Bull Appearing-in-Thebes"
- b.
- c.
- d. Mry-Imn Snfr-R
"Beloved-of-Amûn" "Whom-Rê-Makes-Beautiful"
- e. Ep. Mry-Imn P-(nh)y
10. 11. 12.
- a.
- b.
- c.
- d. Wsr-M3t-R Snfr-R Snfr-R
"Whom-Rê-Makes-Beautiful"
- e. S3-Bstt Ep. Mry-Imn
"Son-of-Bastet", Ep. "Beloved-of-Amûn"
13. 14.
- a.
- b.
- c.
- d. Wsr-m3t-R P-(nh)y
- e. P-(nh)y

Comments

The earliest known titulary of Piye (1 a-d) is preserved on his Sandstone Stela erected in the Amûn Temple at Napata (8). It was modeled upon the titles of Tuthmosis III as they stood in the protocol of his great victory stela in the New Kingdom temple of Amûn at Napata, the predecessor and nucleus of the sanctuary enlarged by the Kushite rulers (Boston MFA 23.733, Reisner-Reisner 1933, 26; Leprohon 1991, 139-143). While Tuthmosis III's Horus name was "Strong Bull, Appearing (= crowned) in Thebes", Piye assumed the expressive "Strong Bull, Appearing in Napata". His *Nebty* and Golden Horus names imitate more closely this particular model (1 b, c).

Though the Horus names assumed in the course of his reign (1, 4, 7, 8, 9 a) as well as the *Nebty* (1, 7, 8 b) and Golden Horus names (1, 7, 8 c) also convey political and religious messages, his three (?) different throne names (2, 3, 10, 13 d; 9, 11, 12 d; 7 d [?]) are more significant for political history. The earliest throne name is Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ, which occurs on Piye's early (though not precisely datable) extension of the Amûn Temple at Napata (2 d) and on a statuette (13 d), and which was probably inscribed in the now erased cartouche on the Sandstone Stela (1 d). Though Ramesside in origin (Ramesses II, Beckerath 1984, 90 XIX.3 T 1-15; Ramesses III-VIII, Bonhême 1987 263), the direct model was probably the throne name of a Twenty-Second or Twenty-Third Dynasty king (Amenemope, Bonhême 1987, 77 ff., Osorkon II, Shoshenq III, Pimay; and Pedubast I, Osorkon III, Takeloth III, Iuput II, see Beckerath 1984, 101 XXII.5 T 1-6, 102 XXII.7 T 1-7, XXII.8 T 1-4; 105 XXIII.1 T 1-3, XXIII.4 T 1-4, XXIII.5 T 1-4, 106 XXIII.7 T 1-2; cf. Bonhême 1987, 263 and for Sheshonq IV [?] op. cit. 124 ff.). The most likely model may, however, have been provided by Takeloth III's titulary; for it was this alone (disregarding here the two other cases, Iuput II [?] and Rudamun, from chronological reasons) in which the expression Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stood without an epithet (see Bonhême 1987, 127). In this case, on Piye's ascent to the throne his titles would have been edited partly on the basis of Tuthmosis III's titles as they were recorded in the stela announcing his triumph over Nubia (!) and partly following the model of the titulary of the contemporary ruler of Egypt. After his successful campaign of Year 21 (cf. 9) Piye assumed the throne name Snfr-Rꜥ (9, 11, 12 d), created apparently for him and reflecting the impact of Old Kingdom prototypes (cf. Beckerath 1984, 64 XI.6 T 2* = Mentuhotep III; Bonhême 1987, 223), and added the epithet "Son of Bastet" (10 e) thus announcing his rule over Lower Egypt (Bastet was goddess of Bubastis, home of the Twenty-Second Dynasty; for the submission of Osorkon IV see 9), alongside his other epithet "Beloved of Amûn" which already occurred in the Sandstone Stela (1 e). What would be exceptional in Egyptian royal titularies, Piye is believed to have changed his throne name a second time (provided that document 7 is in fact a stela of his), assuming Mn-hꜣpr-Rꜥ (two subsequent throne names: Pepi I, Siptah, Ramesses IV; three [?]: Apophis, see Beckerath 1969, 58) and thus adopting Tuthmosis III's throne name (Beckerath 1984, 84

XVIII.6 T 1, T 4. Yoyotte 1989, 120 f., does not regard document 7 with this throne name as monument of Piye; his opinion is shared also by Leahy 1992, 238 f.). The name was probably meant to give powerful expression to the ontological unity of the king with the sun god (cf. Beckerath 1984, 30 who proposes the translation “[der] bleibend [ist] in Bezug auf das Wesen des Re ”, with reference to W. Barta, ZÄS 109 [1982] 85). The chronological position of Mn-hpr-R^c as the latest throne name would be indicated by a faience necklace composed of name plaques inscribed alternately with Mn-hpr-R^c, i.e., the throne name of Piye, and Dd-k^c-R^c, i.e., the throne name of his second successor Shebitqo, see Dunham-Macadam 1949, 147 no. 69; Beckerath 1969, 59. Priebe 1972, 24, suggests, however, that the original throne name was Mn-hpr-R^c, which was then changed, still before Year 21, to Wsr-M^ct-R^c and, after Year 21, to Snfr-R^c. Finally, Yoyotte 1989, 121 note 49, regards the cartouche with Mn-hpr-R^c in the necklace as an amulet and not a royal name.

The changes in Piye’s titularies and the multiplication of certain titles in the same document reflect in general the developments in the realm of royal protocols of the Third Intermediate Period (cf. Bonhême 1987). Already his earliest titulary suggests the impact of those based on a revival of Old and Middle Kingdom royal titles that occurred in Egypt under Osorkon III and Sheshonq V (cf. Yoyotte 1989, 126 ff. and Leahy 1992, 238 f.). In particular, however, the repeated change of the throne name follows from the increasing power of the king over Egypt. It may also be observed that in the composition of the earliest titulary the models were not accidentally selected: the most influential model in the Amûn Temple at Napata (where we may suspect the “authors” created the titulary at the enthronement), i.e., the stela of Tuthmosis III, was edited in order to give expression to Piye’s consciousness of having been crowned king of Egypt (see 1 d) in Napata (1 a). The earliest throne name, however, also evidences the influence of the titulary of the contemporary Twenty-Third Dynasty ruler Takeloth III. The titulary on the Sandstone Stela, as a whole, expresses the idea of a political continuity since Tuthmosis III and also conveys an ideology according to which Piye was a legitimate heir of the great Egyptian king in *both* countries. The completed task is manifested by the new Horus names assumed after the campaign of Year 21: “Strong Bull Appearing in Thebes” (8, 9 a) and “Bull of His Two Lands” (8 a) as well as by the *Nebty* name “Lord of Egypt” (8 b) and, if document 7 belongs to Piye, by the Horus name “Uniter of the Two Lands” (7 a), the *Nebty* name “Creator of Crafts (which associates him with Ptah, as founder of temples and would stress Piye’s role as creator of sanctuaries and sacred images; cf. Yoyotte 1989, 129) and finally the Golden Horus name “Multiplier of Gallant Warriors” (7 b, c).

[LT]

(6) Piye. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Piye was son of Kashta, as is indicated by the circumstantial evidence of the Nitocris Adoption Stela (Camino 1964) and of the titulary of his wife Peksater (daughter of Kashta and sister-wife of Piye, cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145 no. 54). He married his sisters Abar (mother of Taharqo, cf. Barkal Temple B 500, LD V, 7c), Peksater (Wenig 1990, 338), Khensa (statuette Louvre E 3915, Leclant-Yoyotte 1952, 35 note 5), and Nefrukekashta (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145 no. 52) further Alara's daughter Tabiry (see 11). Three sons of Piye are attested: Khaliut (see 41), Taharqo (who was a brother of Shepenupet II who, in turn, was Piye's daughter, see the Nitocris Adoption Stela, Camino 1964; Leclant 1985, 166 and note 219), and Piye-Har (Leclant 1961, 261 ff.). We also know of his daughters Shepenupet II (Leclant 1965, 359 ff.), Tabekenamun (married to Taharqo, statue Cairo JE 49167, Troy 1986, 176 no. 25.8), Naparaye (married to the same, offering table from Ku. 3, Khartoum 1911, Dunham 1950, Pl. XXXI/B), Takahatamani (married to the same, statue Cairo JE 42202, Troy 1986, 176 25.10), and Arty (married to Shebitqo, statue Cairo JE 49157, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 16).

Piye's reign and his monuments are discussed in great detail by Leclant in his article on Pi(anchi) in *LdÄ IV* (1982), 1045-1052, in Kitchen's monograph (1986, § 321, 324-331) and in Grimal's work on 9. He was buried in the first real pyramid grave at el Kurru (Ku. 17, Dunham 1950, 64-66). For the chronology of events under his reign cf. also comments on 9. The absolute regnal years 747-716 BC (Kitchen 1986, Table *4) are tentatively calculated on the basis of circumstantial evidence discussed by Kitchen 1986, § 140-150, 462-468. See also below, on Year 31. Recently, Depuydt (1993, 270 f.) suggested a minimal chronology for the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in terms of which Piye's reign would be dated 728-706 BC.

Year 4 (?)

Source: Berlin 1068 (10).

Year 21

Sources: Great Triumphal Stela, line 1 (9); Papyrus Leiden F 1942/5, R.A. Parker, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 111-114.

Year 22

Source: Papyrus Vatican 10574, M. Malinine, *RdE* 5 (1946), 119-131; R.A. Parker, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 111-114.

Year 24

Source: Dakhla, lesser stela, J. Janssen, *JEA* 54 (1968), 165-172.

Year 20+X

Source: mummy bandage British Museum 6640, D.B. Redford, JARCE 22 (1985), fig. 1.

Year 31 (?)

Source: a minimum of 31 regnal years is assigned to Piye in the literature on the basis of external evidence discussed by Kitchen 1986, § 114. The correlation with the kings of Sais (Year 21 of Piye=Year 1 of Tefnakht; Year 8 of Tefnakht =Year 1 of Bocchoris; Year 5 of Bocchoris=Year 1 of Shabaqo) implies ca. 10 years between Piye's Year 21 (9) and Year 1 of his successor Shabaqo ((14)). A shorter chronology was suggested by Redford 1985, 5-15 and Depuydt 1993 (cf., however, Grimal 1981, 216 f. and see Leahy 1992, 235 with note 79).

[LT]

7 Obelisk of Piye from Kadakol in the Letti Basin (east bank). After 747 BC. Khartoum 426. Breasted photos 3078-3081; J. Breasted, AJSL 25 (1908), 40; PM VII, 192.

Text and translation

(on the side that can be seen in the available photograph, one column, reading from left to right, but with the bottom covered by sand)

(1) K3-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-W3st

(1) Strong-bull, Appearing-in-Dominion (Thebes),

Nsw-blṯy Nbty ḥꜥꜣ Kmt

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Two-ladies, Ruler-of-Black(land) (Egypt),

S3-Rꜥ P-(ꜥnh)-y

Son-of-Rê, Pi(ankh)y:

ỉr.n.f m mnw=f n ỉt=f Ỉmn-Rꜥ nb [(rest covered by sand)

what he made as his monument for his father Amen-Rê, lord of [...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

E.W. Castle (1993, 99-120) has recently published a lengthy and detailed study of the dedication formula ỉr.n=f m mnw=f. I have not followed his rendering in my translations, primarily because I remain uncertain about his application of the concept of "emphasis" in relation to the syntax of this formula.

[RHP]

Comments

The text of the obelisk consists of the titulary of the king and is identical with source (5) 8 above. The inscription is listed here under a separate source number on account of its importance as the probable monument of a no longer extant temple building of Piye in the area of modern Kadakol in the Letti Basin on the east bank of the Nile. For the significance of small obelisks erected in temples see comment on 32.

[LT]

8 Sandstone Stela of Piye from the Temple of Amûn at Napata. Around or after 747 BC.

Khartoum 1851. Reisner 1931, 89-100, Pls V f.

Text and translation

SPEECH OF THE GOD AMEN-RE (in thirteen columns, reading right to left):

(1) ḏd-mdw n ꜥImn nb nswt Tꜣwy

(1) Utterance of Amûn, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,²

dhꜥn wꜥb

he who appoints and is pure,

ḥꜣr (2) sꜣ=f mr=f [Mr-ꜥImn P-(ꜥnh)y]

to (2) his son, whom he loves, ["Beloved-of-Amûn", Pi(ankh)y,]

ḏd=ꜥ r=k m (3) ḥꜣt n(t) mwt=k

"I said of you (while you were still) in (3) your mother's womb

ꜥw=k r ḥꜣꜣ n Km(t)

that you were to be ruler of Black(-land) (Egypt).

(4) rḥ=ꜥ tw m m(yw)

(4) I knew you in the semen,

wꜥn=k (5) m swḥꜣt

while you were (5) in the egg,

ꜥw=k r (6) nb

that you were to be (6) lord.

ꜥr.n=ꜥ šsp.n=k wrꜣ

I made you receive the Great (Double) Crown

²On this epithet of Amun of Karnak and the various forms of this god associated with it see Pamminger 1992.

sh^ε (7) R^ε m sp tp(y) nfr
which Rê caused (7) to appear on the first good occasion.

it hr s(8)mn^h s₃=f
(Inasmuch as) a father makes (8) his son excellent,

ink wd n=k
it is I who decreed (the kingship) to you.

nm pš=f r-^hn^ε=k
(So) who shall share it with you?

ink nb pt
(9) For I am the Lord of Heaven.

d₃=i n R^ε d₃=f (10) n msw=f m n^{tr}w r-mn (11) rmt
(As) I give to Rê, (so) he gives (10) to his children, from gods to (11) men.

ink dd n=k nt-^ε
It is I that gives you the (royal) charter.

nm pš=f s (12) r-^hn^ε=k
(So) who shall share it (12) with you?

n wd k(y) nsw
No other (can) decree (who is to be) a king.

(13) ink d₃ sw/ns(yt) n mr=i
(13) It is I that grants 'kingship' to whomever I will."

SPEECH OF THE GODDESS MUT (in one column, reading from right to left)

(1) dd-mdw n Mwt nb(t) pt
(1) Utterance of Mut, Lady of Heaven,

šsp n=k ^hw m-^ε Imn
"Receive unto yourself the crowns from the hand of Amûn."

r^h=i ib ^r — ¹=f
I know the mind of his ^r—¹.

dd=f r=k ^εn^h^r.n n¹=k m nswt
He says of you that you 'shall' live as king.

SPEECH OF THE GOD KHONS (in one column, reading from right to left):

The Sources

(1) ḏd-mdw n Ḥnsw 'mds'

(1) Utterance of Khons *Medes*,

šsp n=k iʿrty m-ʿ it=k Ḥmn

"Receive the two uraei from the hand of your father Amûn."

BEHIND THE GOD KHONS

ʿnh ḥz=k dt'

'Life surrounds you for ever.'

SPEECH OF KING (in nine columns, reading from left to right):

(1) [Sḥ Rʿ nb ḥw Mr-Ḥmn P-(ʿnh)y] ḏd=f

(1) [The Son-of-Rê, lord of diadems, "Beloved-of-Amûn", Pi(ankh)y, says,

ḏi n=i Ḥmn Npt (2) iʿ ḥkz n ḥst nb

"Amûn of Napata has granted me (2) to be ruler of every foreign country.

pḥ nty tw.i ḏd n=f ntk wr iʿw=f r wr

He to whom I say, 'You are chief!', he is to be chief.

pḥ nty tw.i (3) ḏd n=<f> bn ntk wr inḥ b(w)-iʿr=f iʿ wr

He to whom I (3) say, 'You are not chief!', he is not chief.

ḏi n=i Ḥmn m Wst iʿ ḥkz n Kmt

Amûn in Dominion (Thebes) has granted me to be ruler of Black-land.

pḥ nty tw.i (4) ḏd n=f iʿ ḥʿ iʿr=f ḥʿ

He to whom I (4) say, 'Make (your formal) appearance (as king)!', he shall make (his) appearance.

pḥ nty tw.i ḏd n=f m iʿ ḥʿ b(w) iʿr=f ḥʿ

He to whom I say, 'Do not make (your formal) appearance (as king)!', he does not make (his) appearance.

pḥ nty (5) tw.i ḏi ḥr=i r=f nb mn kî-n-ḥf pḥy=f dmî

(As for) (5) every one to whom I grant my favor, there is no way to seize his town

iʿw (6) bn sw m.drt=i inḥ

(even though) (6) it is not in my hand.

nṯrw iʿrw nsw

Gods make a king,

rmṯ iʿrw nsw

men make a king,

(7) ỉn Ỉmn ỉr wỉ
(but) (7) it is Amûn that has made me.

pỉ nty b(w)-p(w) nỉ hỉt(y)w ỉr=f ỉnw n=ỉ
Whoever of these princes does not pay tribute to me

Wrt-hỉkỉ (8) ỉr' [—]r—'n[-]nt[— —]ỉ'ỉ
She-whose-magic-is-great (8) ...

ABOVE KING

P-ỉ-(ỉnh)y
Pi(ankh)y

BEHIND KING

sỉ ỉnh n-hỉ=k mỉ Rỉ dt
Protection and life are behind you as (they are behind) Rê for ever.

MAIN TEXT (in thirty lines, reading from right to left):

(1) ỉnh
(1) (Long) live

Hr Kỉ-nhỉt Hỉ-m-Np(t)
Horus: Mighty-bull, Who-appears-in-Napata,

Nbty Wỉh-nsyt mỉ Rỉ m pt
Two-Ladies: Whose-kingship-endures-like-(that-of)-Rê-in-heaven,

Hr-nbw Dsr-hỉ shm-phỉty ỉnh hỉr nb n mỉ=f mỉ ỉhty
Golden-Horus: Whose-diadems-are-holy, Whose-strength-is-powerful, at seeing
whom every one lives like He-of-the-horizon,

Nsw-bỉty nb Tỉwy [P-ỉ-(ỉnh)y]³
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Lord of Two-lands, [Pi(ankh)y]

Sỉ Rỉ nb hỉ(w) (2) [Mry-Ỉmn P-ỉ-(ỉnh)y]⁴
Son-of-Rê, lord of diadems, (2) ["Beloved-of-Amûn", Pi(ankh)y],

nỉr nỉr	nsw nsww	hỉkỉ hỉkỉw
the Good God,	king of kings,	ruler of rulers,

³*Apud* Priese 1970: 24, n. 36: Mn-hỉpr-Rỉ, which I translate as "Rê-is-One-whose-manifestations-endure".

⁴*Apud* Priese 1970: 24, n. 36: PIYE-mrj-Jmn.

The Sources

ity it tsw nb
the sovereign who seizes all lands,

sḥm p̣ḥty
whose power is mighty,

whose *atef*-crown [is on] his head,

hsf mshm=f
who repulses (threats) by his might,

ᑭᓃᓴᓱᓐ ᓄᓐ ᑭᓃ ᓃᓱᓱᓐ
whose form is beauteous like (that of) Rê in heaven,

ʰhʷ mɨ ɬty dɨ=f sw (3)
 'who appears' like He-of the-horizon 'when' he gives ... (3)

ʿ—ʾ w3s b3wt m ʔm3t=f/ʔm3 3t=f ʃc ʾnʾ m[————] rhyt [-] Dḥwty [—]=sn r
 nsyt
 ʿ—ʾ, dominion, wonders ʿof his working untilʾ ... Thoṯh ... them for kingship,

w ^e w ^{ty}	swsḥ K(ʒ)š
one alone,	who expands Kush,

dī ḥryt=f m nb{t} ḥswt
fear of whom is put into the lords of foreign countries,

n wn 'b' wr (4) sh=sn r3=sn [———
there being no boasting of great men (4) who ... their mouth(s)
...

[... — — — ...] 'irty'
...

shd d'r=sn štɜ mɜ hr
dh[n]
who illuminates their secret thoughts, who sees what is hidden,

(5) r̥h̥ ɪmn d̥i ʔnh̥] m̥ɪ
[R̥ʔ] d̥t
(5) who knows what is concealed given life] like [R̥ê] for ever.

[hʰst-sp] 3 [ʒbd x — sw — ...
[Regnal year] 3, [month x of season y, day z.]

(6) ɪw[.n.tw r ɔd n ɪm=f
(6) [One] came [to say to His Majesty ...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

This text fits well into Priese's (1970, 24-25) series of Early Napatan inscriptions (cf. 1). All the translations in this book give the king's name as *Pi(ankh)y*. This is not meant to imply a rejection of Priese's (1968, 166-175) well argued case for

reading the Napatan name as *Piye*. The translations serve as a pointer for non-specialists to the identity of the two names inasmuch as in studies prior to Prieše's the royal name appears universally as *Piankhy* or some variant that is based on the same modern interpretation of the hieroglyphs. As Prieše was well aware, the relation between the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and the Napatan royal name is a complex one; and it may well be that contemporary and later native Egyptian speakers actually pronounced the name in accordance with what would have been a traditional Egyptian interpretation of its orthography even though the scribes responsible for formulating it had subtly adapted the hieroglyphic writing to the underlying Napatan name.

[RHP]

Comments

In the lunette the King was represented before the enthroned ram-headed Amen-Rê and Mut and Khonsu standing. The divine figures are executed in raised relief and so was also that of Piye, but the latter was erased and replaced at a later time, which cannot be determined today, by a smaller figure in sunk relief. In the erased surface above the head of the secondary royal figure a cartouche of Piye is incised; the secondary royal figure wears the Kushite skullcap-crown and diadem with two uraei (cf. Russmann 1974, 28 ff.; Török 1987, 4-11) and is shown presenting a pectoral and a necklace. The enthroned Amûn holds out to the King the Red Crown of Lower Egypt in his left hand and the Kushite skullcap-crown with one uraeus at the front in his right hand (see Reisner 1931, Pl. VI). Appearing *in lieu* of the Upper Egyptian White Crown, the skullcap in Amûn's hand indicates the associations between these two crowns (cf. Russmann 1974, 29), but it may also refer in subtle iconographical terms to the actual rule of the Kushite Piye over Upper Egypt.

It was suggested by Prieše (1972, 25) that the now badly damaged line 30 of the text contained a dating to (Year) 3, Month (X of Season Y, Day Z). The reconstruction of the mutilated signs in this sense is, however, unlikely. The composition of the titulary (cf. (5), 1 a-d) nevertheless indicates a date before the Egyptian campaign of Year 21, and the contents of the text suggest a date in the early part of the reign. Prieše also suggested (1972, 24 f.) that the language of the monument indicates a date before the Great Triumphal Stela (9), which marks the beginning of a new stylistic development in Kushite inscriptions.

The preserved text represents a fragment of a summary of the ideological bases of Kushite kingship at Piye's ascent to the throne and reflects the intellectual orientation of the priesthood of Amûn of Napata at the middle of the 8th century BC, a period of Kushite history about which our knowledge is limited. While it is only the successful campaign of Year 21 of Piye that is conventionally regarded as the source and beginning of the "Egyptianization" of Kushite kingship ideology, intellectual life, and arts, the Sandstone Stela clearly already articulates a Kushite version of the Egyptian state myth. The theological dis-

course of the text is fortunately combined with the announcement of concrete political ideas. The titles of the king (see (5), 1 a-e) are composed according to the tradition of Egyptian royal protocols of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, and the five “names” or titles formulate a complex program. The Horus name announces an unheard-of claim: the “appearance”, i.e., enthronement in Napata of a Nubian sovereign as Horus on the Throne of the Two Lands. As a model the titles of Tuthmosis III in his great triumphal stela standing in the same temple were taken into consideration; yet, instead of a simple “updating” of the model, Piye’s titulary as a whole united three different attitudes and procedures: it *imitated* the *Nebty* and Golden Horus names of Tuthmosis III; *paraphrased* his Horus name; and *replaced* his throne name with a throne name consciously selected from another (contemporary) source (see (5), comments). The combination of the three procedures reflects an editing process that characterizes conscious political thinking.

The Horus title reveals that Piye’s enthronement took place in Napata, presumably in the sanctuary of Amûn where the stela was also erected. Unfortunately, the actual nature of the text cannot be established; and it is thus uncertain whether it also contained an enthronement record.

The speech of Amûn inscribed in columns 1-13 above the divine figures in the lunette discourses in hymnic style upon the king’s divine sonship. This passage represents a divine decree in which the god grants kingship to his son whom he “elected” to this office already “in the egg”. The sentence in cols 6 f. on the origin of the double diadem alludes to the eternity of kingship and designates the ruler as guarantor of order in cosmos and in the state (cf. Brunner 1964). The concept entirely conforms to the New Kingdom ideology of the king’s divine sonship and predestination (cf. Grimal 1986, 120 ff.; Török n.d., Ch. 14) and attests the rediscovery and resurrection of the traditional Egyptian kingship dogma of the imperial period, which, as opposed to the contemporary Egyptian concept of kingship, appeared to provide a more solid foundation of power (cf. in detail Török n.d., Ch. 21). The decree (wḏ) as a whole is not a purely theological abstraction but records the proclamation of the king’s legitimacy by the god as an actual ritual of the enthronement (cf. Kuhlmann 1988, 129 ff., 151 ff.). The divine acceptance of legitimacy was announced in the form of an oracle, and a written decree may have accompanied this announcement (cf. the experience of Alexander the Great in the Amûn sanctuary at Siwa, which may also in other respects be compared with the Kushite “election” procedure; see Kuhlmann 1988, 144 ff.).

In Prieše’s view, the speech of the king (cols 16-24) gives an overview of Piye’s ambitions in Egypt, indicating first (col. 18) his ambition to achieve supremacy over the Libyan chiefdoms (1972, 27, with tentative identification of the sign for wr, chief, as meaning Great Chiefs of the Libu and the Ma), and then (cols 18-22) over the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty rulers in Lower and Middle Egypt (note the Ramesside flavor of the kingship “of every

land", cf. Ramesses II and III at Karnak, Grimal 1986, 577 note 95). Cols 17-23 as a whole give expression, as Priese (1972, 27 f.) noted, to a double perspective: on the one hand, Piye declares himself legitimate ruler of Egypt, while, on the other, also accepting the *status quo* of Egypt's political map and promising its maintenance (cols 21 f.). This concept harmonizes well with what we have said about Kashta's presumed Egyptian policy (see 3, comments, end) and would be in agreement with the balance of power created as a result of the campaign described in 9.

From the main text only the titulary (see 5, 1 a-e) and the first phrases of Piye's eulogy are preserved (lines 25-30). The king is represented here as the universal ruler, who maintains cosmic order and secures order in the state as well. He is enabled to fulfill this role by his secret knowledge (cf. Taharqo's Hymn to the Morning Sun in the Edifice by the Sacred Lake of Karnak, Parker-Leclant-Goyon 1979, 39; and see Assmann 1983, 48 f.; Assmann 1990, 205 f.), and this traditional concept is clearly reflected in the preserved fragments of lines 28-29. Again, "the monarch who seizes all lands; mighty of power" (line 26) paraphrases an epithet in Ramesses II's titulary (cf. Grimal 1986, 688 note 719).

[LT]

9 Great Triumphal Stela of Piye, Year 21. Ca. 727 BC.

Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089. From the Amûn Temple at Napata. Grimal 1981.

Text and translation

TEXTS ACCOMPANYING THE SCENE AT THE TOP OF THE STELA

SPEECH OF THE GOD AMEN-RE (in two columns, reading right to left):

(1) [dd-mdw ï]n Ìmn-R^c nb nswt T₃wy

(1) Utterance by Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

hnt Ìpt[-swt] (2) [hr-ib] Dw-w^cb

foremost of Karnak, (2) who dwells in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

(3) di.n(=i) n=k [...] m_i ït=k [...]

(3) "I have given you ... like your father"

IN FRONT OF THE GODDESS MUT (one column, reading from right to left):

(1) 'Mwt' nb(t) Ìšr

(1) Mut, Lady of Asheru (a sacred lake south of the Temple of Karnak)

IN FRONT OF PI(ANKH)Y (two columns, reading from right to left):

The Sources

(1) Nsw-bꜣty Sꜣ-Rꜥ (2) P-(ꜥnh)-y

(1) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, the Son-of-Rê, (2) Pi(ankh)y

FACING PI(ANKH)Y, TWO REGISTERS

IN THE UPPER REGISTER

ABOVE A WOMAN STANDING IN FRONT OF THE KING WITH HER RIGHT HAND RAISED
(one column, reading from left to right):

(1) ḥmwt nsw

(1) The king's wives⁵

IN FRONT OF THE WOMAN (one column (reading from left to right):

(1) dd-mdw

(1) Utterance:

ḥtp r=k Hr [nb ꜥh ...]

"Be appeased, O Horus [lord of the palace ...]

n šr nsw Wn

Let the king not despise the Hare Nome."

ABOVE A MAN, STANDING, WITH A SISTRUM IN HIS RIGHT HAND, HOLDING THE LEAD OF
A HORSE IN HIS LEFT (one line, reading left to right):

(1) Nsw N-mꜣ-r-t

(1) King Nimlot⁶

IN THE LOWER REGISTER: THREE MEN, PROSTRATE, FACING LEFT, EACH WITH A URAEUS
ON HIS BROW

ABOVE THE FIRST (one line, reading from left to right):

(1) Nsw Wꜣ-sꜣ-r-k-n

(1) King Osorkon

ABOVE THE SECOND (one line, reading from left to right):

⁵As Yoyotte (1961, 162 n. 1) correctly observed, this picture conflates two events related in the stela: the surrender of Nimlot (lines 33-35) and the submission of the northern rulers (lines 57-58). If the plural "wives" is not an orthographic slip, then the woman, who is unnamed here, would symbolize both Nimlot's wife, who is named in the text (line 34), and all the other women who sought to appease Pi(ankh)y's wrath.

⁶Nimlot is placed behind the woman and depicted on a somewhat smaller scale, thus emphasizing his humiliation.

- (1) Nsw ꜥw-wꜣ-p-t
(1) King Yewepet

ABOVE THE THIRD (one line, reading from left to right):

- (1) Nsw P=f-tꜣw-ꜥwy-Bꜣst
(1) King Pef-tjau-awy-bast

ON THE LEFT, BEHIND MUT, TWO REGISTERS

IN THE UPPER REGISTER: TWO MEN, PROSTRATE, EACH WEARING A FEATHER ON HIS HEAD

ABOVE THE FIRST (two columns, reading from right to left):

- (1) wr ꜥ n M (2) ꜣ-kꜣ-n-šꜣ
(1) The great chief of the Ma, (2) Akanosh

ABOVE THE SECOND (two columns, reading from right to left):

- (1) wr ꜥ n M (2) Dd-ꜥmn-ꜥ(w)=f-ꜥnh
(1) The great chief of the Ma, (2) Djedamenefankh

IN THE LOWER REGISTER: TWO MEN, PROSTRATE

ABOVE THE FIRST, WHO WEARS A SIDELOCK (one line, reading from right to left):

- (1) ꜥꜣry-pꜥt Pꜣ-dꜣ-ꜥsꜣt
(1) [The hereditary prince, Petees]e

ABOVE THE SECOND, WHO WEARS A FEATHER ON HIS HEAD (one line, reading from right to left):

- (1) ꜥꜣty-ꜥ Pꜣ-t-n-f-y
(1) Count Patjenfy

ABOVE THE THIRD, WHO WEARS A FEATHER ON HIS HEAD (one line, reading from right to left):

- (1) ꜥꜣty-ꜥ P(ꜣ)-mꜣ
(1) Count Pemui

MAIN TEXT

- (1) ꜥꜣt-sp 21t ꜥbd 1 ꜥꜣt
(1) Regnal year 21, first month of the season of Inundation,

ḥr ḥm n
under the majesty of

Nsw-bity Mr(y)-Imn P-(ḥn)y, ḥn dt
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Beloved-of-Amûn”, Pi(ankh)y, may he live
for ever.

wḏ ḏd(w) ḥm=f
A decree which His Majesty uttered:

sdm m ir(.t).n=i m-ḥw-r tp(yw)-ḥ(wy)
“Listen to what I have done in excess of (my) predecessors.

ink nsw tit ntr šsp ḥn n Itm
I am the king, image of a god, living likeness of Atum,

pr(y) m ht mtnw m ḥk3
that came forth from the womb marked as a ruler,

snḏ(w) n=f wrw r=f
whom those greater than he (would) fear,

rh(w).[n it=f] (2) s3(w). mwt=f
whose father knew (2) and whose mother recognized

iw=f r ḥk3 m swht
that he would be ruler (while he was still) in the egg—

ntr nfr mr(y) ntrw
the god perfect, beloved of the gods,

s3 Rḥ ir{t} m ḥwy=f
the Son-of-Rê, who acts with his two arms,

Mr(y)-Imn P-(ḥn)y
‘Beloved-of-Amûn’ Pi(ankh)y.”

iw.n.tw r ḏd n ḥm=f
One came to inform His Majesty

iw wn wr n Imntt ḥst(y)-ḥ wr m Ntr T3(y)=f-nht
(that) the Prince of the West,⁷ the count and chief in Divinity⁸, Tefnakht,

⁷For a general survey in the light of ancient Egyptian historiography see Redford 1986, 296-332, especially 321-331.

⁸Perhaps Buto or a place near to it.

m <————>⁹

was in the Nome of the <Harpoon>,

m K3-<ḥ3st>

in the Nome of the Bull<-of-the-Desert>,¹⁰

m Ḥꜣpy

m [— — —]

(3) m ʿnw

in Inundation,¹¹

in [— — —]

(3) in *Anu*,¹²

m Pr-nb

in House-of-(Hathor)-the-Golden-One,

m ʾInb-ḥd

and in White-wall (Memphis).

ḏt.n=f ʾImnt(yw) ʾm-ʾmī-kd=f

(That, in sum,) he had seized the entire West

m pḥww r ʾt-T3wy

from the coastal marshes to Seizer-of-Two-lands,¹³

ḥnty m mšʿ ʿš3

sailing south with a numerous army,

T3wy dmd m-ḥt=f

Two-lands being united, following him,

ḥst(yw)-ʿ ḥk3w-ḥwwt m tzmw m ʾry-rdwy=f

the counts and rulers of compounds being (like) dogs at his heels

n ḥtm.n sbty [nb ʿ3wy =f/sn mʾ] (4) spwt nw Šmʿ

(That) not [a] fortress [in] (4) the nomes of the South had closed [its gates] (against him);

Mr-tm

(That) Meidûm,

Pr-šḥm-ḥpr-Rʿ

the House-of-Sekhemkheperre-(Osorkon I),¹⁴

⁹The 7th nome of Lower Egypt.

¹⁰The 6th, Xoite, nome of Lower Egypt.

¹¹Roughly the later 5th, Saite, and 4th, Prosopite, nomes of Lower Egypt.

¹²The marshy zone near Kôm al-Ḥisn.

¹³Probably al-Lisht.

¹⁴Located in the region of Gurob, cf. Yoyotte 1961, 123, note 5, and 135.

The Sources

Hwt-ntr-Sbk
the Temple-compound-of-Sobek,¹⁵

Pr-mdd
House-of-the-bull's-eye,¹⁶

Tkñš dmy nb{t} n Imntt
Diknâsh— (in short) every town in the West—

sš{s}(n)=sn ꜥwy n snd=f
had opened its gates in fear of him.

ꜥn=f sw r spwt ꜥbtt
(That) he had (then) turned back against the nomes of the East,

wn=sn n=f mî nn
and (that) they had opened to him like the aforementioned:¹⁷

Hwt-bnw Tꜥy=w-dy{t}
the Compound-of-the-Phoenix (Hardai), Their-enclosure (al-Hibah),

Hwt-nsw
Compound-of-the-king (ꜥIzbat Sawâris),

Pr-nb-tp-ih
and House-of-the-lady-of-the-chief-of-the-cow (Atfih).

mk ['sw hr'] (5) gwꜥ r Nn(y)-nsw
(And that now) he was (5) 'closing in' on Royal-Child.¹⁸

ir.n=f sw m sd-m-rꜥ
(That) he had surrounded it,

n(n) rd(t) pr pr(y)w n(n) rd(t) ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ(y)w
without allowing comers-out to come out or allowing enterers to enter,

hr ꜥꜥ mî rꜥ nb
fighting every day.

hꜥy.n=f sw m phr=s nb
(That) he had measured it in its entire circumference—

hꜥt(y)-ꜥ nb rh sꜥw(t)=f
every count knowing his (sector of its) wall—

¹⁵Crocodilopolis of the Classical sources, the modern Madinat al-Fayyûm.

¹⁶Oxyrhynchus of the Classical sources, the modern Baḥnâsa.

¹⁷On the geography and toponyms of the following cf. Kessler 1981b, 269-272.

¹⁸Herakleopolis Magna of the Classical sources, the modern Ihnâsiya al-Madina.

dy=f s nb hms(w) hr p(s)š(t)=f
(and that he had caused every man to sit at his section;

m hst(yw)-^c hkꜣw-hwwt
namely, the counts and rulers of compounds.

h^c.n sdm(.n) ['sw hm=f'] (6) m wr-ib
Now [His Majesty] heard [it] (6) joyfully,

sby ib=f ꜣw(w)
laughing, his heart swelling (with pride).

wn nn (n) wrw hst(yw)-^c imy(w)-rꜣ-mš^c nt{t}(yw) m nwwt=sn
(But) these princes, counts and generals who were in their towns

(hr) h(ꜣ)b n hm=f mꜣ r^c nb m dd
kept sending to His Majesty every day, saying:

in-ꜣw gr.n=k r smh Tꜣ-šm^cw spꜣwt nw(t) Hn-(n)hn
"Have you 'stopped in order to neglect' South-land, the nomes of Khen-nekhen
(Upper Egypt),

Tꜣ(y)=f-nht m it n hr=f
(even though) Tefnakht is pushing forward his conquest

n gm=f hsf-^c=f
and has encountered no repulse?

Nmꜣrt [— — —] (7) hst(y)-^c n Ht-wr{t}

(as for) Nimlot [— — —] (7) the count of *He-wô*,¹⁹

iw shnn.n=f sbtt n Nfrws
he has torn down the wall of Nefrusy,²⁰

whn.n=f nwt=f ds=f
he has torn down (the walls of this) town of his himself

m snd n it{n}=f sw
in fear that he (Tefnakht) might capture it

¹⁹Location uncertain, cf. F. Gomaà, *LdÄ* II.8 (1977), 1157-1158.

²⁰The exact location of Nefrusy is not yet established. For further information see D. Kessler, *LdÄ* IV.4 (1980), 383-5. The translation follows Kessler's interpretation according to which Nimlot razed the walls of Nefrusy to prevent its being used as a base for attacking his main citadel of *He-wô*.

The Sources

r gwꜣ r kt nīwt
so as to close in on another town.

mk sw šm r wn m īr(y)-rd(wy)=f
And now he has gone off to be his (Tefnakht's) footman.

wi{z}n.n=f mw n ḥm=f
He has betrayed His Majesty

ḥꜥ=f ḥn(ꜥ)=f mī wꜥ m [— — —] (8) spꜣt nt 'Wꜣbwy'
and now stands with him (Tefnakht) like one of [— — —] (8) the Nome of the Two
Scepters²¹

dī=f n=f fꜣ(z)w
because he (Tefnakht) gives him rewards—

r dd(yt) īb=f
according to his (Nimlot's) heart's desire—

m ḥt nb gm(w).n=f
out of everything that he (Tefnakht) has found.

ḥꜥ.n h(z)b.n ḥm=f n ḥꜥt(yw)-ꜥ īmy(w)-rꜣ-mšꜥ nt{t}(yw) ḥr Kmt
Then His Majesty sent to the counts and generals who were in Black(-land) (Egypt)—

t(z)z Pwꜣrmꜣ	t(z)z L-ꜥ-mr-s-k-ny
commander Pawerem,	commander 'Lemersekeny,

ḥnꜥ t(z)z nb nw ḥm=f nt{t}(y) ḥr-'īb' Kmt
and all the commanders of His Majesty who were in Black(-land) (Egypt),

z(b)y m sk	tz ḥꜣ
"Advance in order of battle!	Join battle!

phr	'gwꜣ' r=s
Surround (it)!	Close in on it!

(9) h(z)k rmt=s mnmn(t)=s ḥꜥyw=s ḥry-tp ītr(w)
(9) Capture its men, its cattle, and its boats on the river!

m rdt pr ḥwtyw r šḥt
Don't let the cultivators come out to the fields!

²¹The 19th, Oxyrhynchite, nome of Upper Egypt.

m rdt sk3 sk3w
Don't let the plowers plow!

gw3 r-ḥnt-n Wn
Close in on the Hare Nome!²²

ḥ3 r=s m3 rḥ nb
Fight against it daily!"

ḥḥ.n=sn (ḥr) 3r m3tt
Then they acted accordingly.

ḥḥ.n ḥm=f (ḥr) zb(t) mšḥ r Kmt
Then His Majesty dispatched an army to Black(-land) (Egypt),

ḥr ḥn n=sn wr (zp sn)
enjoining upon them (this) very important (injunction):

3m=tn h(3tt) m (10) grḥ m šḥr n ḥbḥ
"Don't attack by (10) night in the manner of one who plays a game,

ḥ3 tn ḥft m3
(but rather) fight 'when you can see'.

sr n=f ḥ3 m w3(w)
Attack him (the enemy) when (you are still) far off!

3r dd=f sin n mšḥw trt-ḥtr n kt n3wt
If he says, 'Wait for an army and chariotry (that are) in another town',

3ḥ ḥms=tn r 3w mšḥ=f
then sit (patiently) until his army comes;

ḥ3=tn ḥft dd(t)=f
and (then) fight when he says (he is ready).

3r wn gr(t) nḥw=f m kt n3wt
Moreover, if his auxiliaries are in another city,

(11) sin.tw n=sn
(11) wait for them,

ḥt(yw)-ḥ nn 3n(w).n=f r nḥw=f
(I mean) those counts which he has brought for his auxiliaries,

Tḥnw mšḥw n mh-3b
and the Libyans, the elite troops,

3my sr.tw n=sn ḥ3 m tp(y)-ḥ dd
(and then) attack them first, saying,

²²The 15th, Hermopolitan, nome of Upper Egypt.

The Sources

n rḥ=n ʿš(w) n=f m snh(y) mšʿ
'(You there)—for we do not know to whom one should speak as musterer of the army,

nḥb ḵnw tp(yw) n iḥ(w)=k
yoke up (your) war-horses, the best of your stable,

ī-(12)īr(t) sk m ʿḥṣ
and (12) take your battle stations!

rḥ.n=k ʾImn pṣ nṯr (i)wḏ n
For you (are about to) know (what it means that) Amûn is the god who has sent us.'

īr spr=tn r ḥnw n Wṣt ḥft-ḥr-n ʾIpt-swt
When you reach Dominion (Thebes) opposite Karnak,

ʿḵ=tn m mw wʿb=tn m ītr(w)
enter into the water, purify yourselves in the river,

wnḥ=tn m ʾtp-mrʾ
and dress yourselves — —

šrm pḏt sfḥ ʿḥṣw
Lay down (your) weapons! Loosen (your) arrow(s)!

m ʿbʿ (13) m nb pḥty
Don't boast (13) of being a possessor of strength;

n(n) wn pḥty n t(n)r m-ḥm=f
for there is no strength for the mighty without him (Amûn).²³

īr=f zṣw-ʿ m nḥt-ʿ
He makes the weak strong,

īw ʿšw dī=sn zṣ n ʿndw īw wʿ īt=f z ḥṣ
many fleeing before a few, and one conquering a thousand men.

ntš tn m mw nw ḥṣw=f
(So) sprinkle yourselves with the water of the cups of his altars!

sn=tn tṣ ḥft-ḥr=f
Kiss the ground before him!

²³The abruptness of this passage and its failure to introduce Amûn formally suggest that it may have been quoted from another source.

ḏd=(14)tn n=f ʾimy n=n wʾt
Say (14) to him, 'Give us the way,

ḥʾ=n m šwt ḥpš=k
that we may fight in the shadow of your strong arm.

ḏmw wḏw.n=k ḥpr ḥd=f
(As for) the (force of) recruits you have sent, may its victorious attack come about;

nhdh n=f ʿšw
and may many tremble before it."

ḥʿ.n rd{t}.n=sn <'st¹> ḥr ḥt=sn m-bʾḥ ḥm=f <'m ḏd¹>
Then they placed themselves on their bellies before His Majesty, (saying,)

ʾn rn=k ʾr=f n=n ḥpš
"It is your name that makes strength of arm for us,

sh=k <m> mny(t) mšʿ=k
your counsel being the mooring post of your army,

t=k m ḥt=n ḥr wʾt nb
your bread being in our bellies on every road,

ḥnḳt=k (15) (ḥr) ʿḥm ʾb=n
and your beer (15) quenching our thirst.

ʾn ḳn=k ḏi n=n ḥpš
It is your valor that gives us strength of arm

nr.tw n shʾ rn=k
(because) one is frightened when your name is called to mind.

n km.n mšʿ t(ʾ)z=f m ḥmt(y)
(For) an army does not attain success, if its commander is a prick.

n.m mʾt{t}(y)=k ʾm
Who is your equal therein?

ntk nsw nḥt ʾr(w) m ʿwy=f(y)
You are a mighty king who acts with his two arms,

ʾm(y)-r n{w} ḳʾt ʿḥʾ
an overseer of the work of war."

n^c(yt) pw ỉr{t}.n=sn m (16) ỉd(r^t)
Off they sailed, (16) traveling northwards.

spr=sn r Wst
(When) they arrived at Dominion (Thebes),

ỉr{t}.n=sn mỉ ddt<.n nbt> ỉm=f
they acted according to everything which His Majesty said.

n^c(yt) pw ỉr.n=sn m ỉd(r^t) ỉr ỉtr(w)
Off they sailed (again), traveling northwards on the river.

gm(.n)=sn ỉ^cw ỉn(w) ỉw m ỉnt(r^t) ỉr mš^c ỉnw t(ỉ)zwt
They found a numerous fleet coming southwards carrying troops, oarsmen, and commanders—

ỉn nb n{t} Tỉ-mỉw
all the forces of North-land—

<pr> m ỉ^cyw nw rỉ^c
equipped with the weapons of war.

(17) r ỉ^cỉ r mš^c ỉm=f
(17) to fight against the army of His Majesty

ỉ^c.n ỉr ỉy(t) ỉt ỉm=sn
Then a great blood bath was made among them,

n rỉ tnw
the number (of the dead) being unknown.

ỉ(ỉ)k mš^c=sn ỉn^c ỉ^cw=sn
Their army was captured together with their ships

ỉn(w) m skrw-ỉn ỉ(w) ỉry ỉm=f
and was brought as living-prisoners to the place where His Majesty was.

ỉmt pw ỉr{t}.n=sn r-ỉnt Nny-nsw
On they advanced to Royal-Child,²⁴

ỉr sr ỉ^cỉ
challenging battle.

rdt rỉ ỉtyw-ỉ ỉn^c nsw nw Tỉ-mỉw
List of the counts and kings of North-land:

²⁴*Cf. note 18 supra.*

is nsw Nmꜣrt
‘namely’, king Nimlot

hn(ꜥ) (18) nsw ꜥwwꜣpt
together with (18) king Yewepet;

wr n M Ššꜣnꜥ n Pr-Wsꜣr-nb-Dd(w)

the chief of the Ma, Sheshonq of the House-of-Osiris-lord-of-*Djedu*²⁵

hnꜥ wr ꜣ n M Dd-ꜥmn-ꜥw=f-ꜥnh n Pr-Bꜣ-nb-Ddt
together with the great chief of the Ma, Djedamenefankh of House-of-the-Ram-lord-of-*Djede*²⁶

hnꜥ sꜣ=f sms(w) nt{t}(y) m (i)m(y)-r n Pr-Dꜥwty-wp-Rꜥwy
together with his eldest son, who was commander of House-of-Thoth-who-Separates-the-Two-Combatants;²⁷

mšꜥ n (i)r(y)-p(ꜥt) Bꜣk-n-nfy
the army of hereditary prince Bakennefy

hnꜥ sꜣ=f sms(w) wr n M (19) Ns-nꜣ-ꜥisw¹ m Hsbw
together with his eldest son, the chief of the Ma, (19) Nesnayisu in Bull-of-*Heseb*;²⁸

wr nb ꜣ(w) mꜥt nt{t}(y) m Tꜣ-mꜥw
(and) all chiefs who wore the feather who were in North-land;

hnꜥ nsw Wꜣ-sꜣ-r-k-n nt{t}(y) m Pr-Bꜣst hnꜥ ww n Rꜥ-nfr
together with king Osorkon, who was in House-of-Bastet²⁹ together with the District of *Rê-nofet*,³⁰

hꜣt(yw)-ꜥ nb hꜣꜣw-hꜣwwt
(‘in short’) every count and rulers of compounds

hr ꜥmntt hr ꜣbtt ꜥww hr(yw)-ꜣb
in the West and the East and the islands between (the Delta);

dmd(w) hr mw wꜥ m ꜣry-rdwy
(all) being joined with one accord as footmen

n wr ꜣ n ꜥmntt
of the Great Chief of the West,

hꜣꜣ-hꜣwwt Tꜣ-mꜥw
the ruler of compounds of North-land,

²⁵Busiris of the Classical sources, modern Abû Sîr Banâ.

²⁶Mendes of the Classical sources, the modern Tall ar-Rubꜥ.

²⁷Hermopolis parva of the Classical sources, the modern al-Baqliah.

²⁸The 11th nome of Lower Egypt.

²⁹Bubastis of the classical sources, the modern Tell Basta.

³⁰Phernouphitês, near Tall Tibilla. For a discussion see Redford 1986, 317 n. 127.

The Sources

ḥm-ntr Nīṯ nb(t) Zṣw (20) sm n Pth Tṣy=f-nḥty
the prophet of Neith, Lady of Sais, (20) sm-priest of Ptah, Tefnakht.

pr(t) pw ṯr.n=sn r=sn
Forth they went against them.

ḥꜥ.n=sn (ḥr) ṯr ḥṣy(t) ʿt ṯm=sn wr(t) r ḥt nb
Then they made a great blood bath among them, greater than anything.

ḥḳ ḥꜥw=sn ḥr ṯtr(w)
Their fleet was captured on the river.

ḏṣ(t) pw ṯr{t}.n spy
Over crossed the remnant,

(ḥr) m(i)n(y) ḥr ṯmntt m h(ṣ)w Pr-pgṣ

mooring on the west (bank) in the vicinity of House-of-Peg.

ḥḏ rf tṣ ḏwṣ (sp sn)
At first light, at the crack of dawn ,

ḏṣ.n mšꜥ n ḥm=f (21) (i)r=sn
His Majesty's army crossed over (21) against them.

ṣbh mšꜥ n mšꜥ
Army mingled with army.

ḥꜥ.n smṣ(.n)=sn rmt ṯm=sn ʿšṣ smsm n(n) rh ṯnw
Then they slaughtered many men among them and innumerable horses.

nhdh (ḥr) ḥpr m spy
Trembling arose among the rest;

wꜥr=sn r Tṣ-mḥw m shṯ ḳt ḳsn(t) r ḥt nb
they fled toward North-land from the great blow, worse than anything.

rh ḥṣy(t) ṯrt n-ṯm=sn
List of the (victims of) the blood bath made among them:

rmt s [—]
men, individuals: ...

(22) [——— <w>]ꜥr vacat nsw Nmṣrt m ḥnt r rsy ḥft ḏḏ.tw n=f
(22) King Nimlot fled southwards after one told him,

Ḥmnw m ḥnt {nfr} (ḥr)wy(t) m-ꜥ mšꜥ n{w} ḥm=f
 “Ogdoad-town³¹ ‘is confronted’ with hostility at the hands of His Majesty’s army;

ḥꜥk rmt=f mnmn(t)=f
 its men and cattle have been captured.”

ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜥk.n=f r-ḥnt-n Wnw
 Then he entered into Hare-town,³²

mšꜥ n{w} ḥm=f ḥr(y)-tp ḥtr(w) ḥr mry(t) (23) nt Wn
 (while) His Majesty’s army was (still) on the river on the riverbank (23) of the Hare Nome.³³

ꜥḥꜥ.n sdm(.n)=sn sw šn.n=sn Wn ḥr ifdw=s
 Then they heard it; and they surrounded the Hare Nome on its four sides,

n(n) rd(t) pr pr(yw)
 without letting the comers-out come out,

n(n) rd(t) ꜥk ꜥk(w)
 (and) without letting the enterers enter.

h(ꜥ)b.n=sn r smi(t) n ḥm n Nsw-bity Mr(y)-Imn P-ꜥnhy di(w) ꜥnh
 They sent to report to the Majesty of the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt Meriamûn
 Pi(ankh)y, may he be given life,

m hd nb ir{t}.n=sn m nḥtw nb n ḥm=f
 concerning every victorious attack which they had made, being every victory of His Majesty.

ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥm=f ḥꜥr ḥr=s mi ꜥby
 Then His Majesty raged on account of it like a panther:

in-ḥw rd{t}.(24)n=sn sp spy m mšꜥ nw Tꜥ-mḥw
 “Have (24) they allowed a remainder of the army of North-land to remain,

(ḥr) rdt pr pr(yw) im=sn r sdd wdy(t)=f
 allowing comers-out from them to come out to relate his campaign,

(ḥr) tm rdt mwt=sn r sk(yt) ph(wy)=sn
 and not causing them to die in order to annihilate their survivors?

³¹Hermopolis magna of the Classical sources, the modern al-Ashmûnain.

³²Another name for Hermopolis magna of the Classical sources, the modern al-Ashmûnain.

³³Cf. note 22 *supra*.

The Sources

ḥn̄=ī mr (wī) R̄ ḥz(y) wī it̄=ī Ḳmn
As I live, as Rê loves me, and as my father Amûn favors me,

īw=ī r ḥd(yt) ḏs=ī
I shall sail north myself,

whn̄=ī (25) īr(w).n=f
that I may overthrow (25) what he has done,

ḏī=ī ḥt(y)=f ḥ̄ r ḥt nh̄
that I may cause him to leave off fighting forever.

īr ḥr s̄ īr īrw nw Wp-rnpt
After the ceremonies of the New Year have been performed,

wḏn̄=ī n it̄(=ī) Ḳmn m ḥb=f nfr
I shall offer to my father Amûn on his beautiful festival,

īr=f ḥ̄=f nfr n{w} Wp-rnpt
when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year

wḏy=f (wī) m ḥtp r m̄ Ḳmn m ḥb nfr n{w} Ḳb Ḳpt
that he may send me in peace to see Amûn in the beautiful festival of the Feast of Opet.

sh̄=ī sw m s̄sm(w)=f (26) r Ḳpt-rsy
I shall cause him to appear in his sacred image (26) (on his way) to Harem-of-the-South (Luxor)

m ḥb=f nfr n{w} Ḳb Ḳpt grh
in his beautiful festival of the 'Feast of Opet by Night'

m Ḳb Mn-m-W̄st
and on the festival "Abiding-in-Dominion (Thebes)",

īr(w) n=f R̄ m sp tp(y)
which Rê made for him on the first occasion.

sh̄=ī sw r pr=f
I shall cause him to go in procession to his house

ḥtp(w) ḥr ns(t)=f hrw s̄k ntr
resting on his throne on the day of 'Making the God Enter',

ḥbd 3 ḥt 'ssw' 2
in the third month of the season of Inundation, day 2.

dī=i dp T3-mḥw dp(t) ḏbʿw=i
(Then) I shall cause North-land to taste the taste of my fingers.”

ḥʿ.n mšʿ wn(w) dy hr (27) Kmt (hr) sdm p3 ḥʿr ir(w).n ḥm=f r=sn
Then the army which was here in (27) Black(-land) (Egypt) heard the rage in which
His Majesty was against them.

ḥʿ.n=sn ḥ3 r W3sb Pr-mdd
Then they fought against House-of-the-bull’s-eye³⁴ in the Nome of the Two
Scepters,³⁵

it=sn sw mī gp n mw
they took it like a torrent of water.

h(3)b=sn hr ḥm=f
They sent (report of this) to His Majesty,

n ḥtp ib=f hr=s
(but) his heart was not put at rest because of it.

ḥʿ.n=sn (hr) ḥ3 r T3-dhn(yt)-wr-nḥtw
Then they fought against The-Crag-Great-of-Victories.

gm=sn sw mḥ-ti (28) m mšʿ m kn(w) nb nw T3-Mḥw
They found it full (28) with an army made up of every brave soldier of North-land.

ḥʿ.n ir.t(w) iwn n ms r=s
Then a ‘movable tower’ was made against it,

shnn s3w=s
its wall was overthrown,

ir ḥ3y(t) ʿt im=sn n rh tnw
(and) a great blood bath was made among them, the number (of dead) being
uncountable,

hnʿ s3 n wr n M T3=f-nḥti
(and among the dead) was the son of the Chief of the Ma Tefnakht.

ḥʿ.n h(3)b=sn n ḥm=f hr=s
Then they sent (again) to His Majesty concerning it,

³⁴Oxyrhynchus of the Classical sources, the modern Bahñâsa.

³⁵The 19th, Oxyrhynchite, nome of Upper Egypt.

The Sources

n ḥtp ḥb=f r=s
(but still) his heart was not put at rest because of it.

ḥḥ.n=s n (ḥr) ḥḥ r Ḥwt-bnw
(29) Then they fought against Compound-of -the-Phoenix.

wn ḥnw=s ḥk mšḥ n{w} ḥm=f r=s
Its 'fortress' was opened; the army of His majesty entered into it.

ḥḥ.n h(ḥ)b=sb n ḥm=f
Then they sent to His Majesty (again),

n ḥtp ḥb=f r=s
(but even now) his heart was not put at rest because of it.

ḥbd 1 ḥt 'ssw' 9
First month of the season of Inundation, day 9.

ḥy(t) pw ḥr.n ḥm=f m ḥd(yt) r Wḥst
Down went His Majesty, sailing north to Dominion (Thebes),

ḥts.n=f Ḥb 'Imn m Ḥb-'Ipt
and he celebrated the festival of Amûn in the Feast of Opet.

nḥ(yt) pw ḥr.n ḥm=f m (30) ḥd r dmy nt Wn
Off sailed His Majesty (30) northward to the harbor of the Hare Nome.

pr(y) ḥm=f m snyt nt wḥ
His Majesty's coming forth from the cabin of (his) bark,

nḥb m smsm ṯz(y) m-m wr(r)yt
yoking with horses and mounting on a chariot.

šf(y)t ḥm=f <ḥ>r ph Styw
The awesomeness of His Majesty reached the Asiatics,

ḥb nb ḥr sdḥw=f
every heart trembling at him.

ḥḥ.n ḥm=f (ḥr) pr(yt) m ḥḥ r (31) msdd mšḥ=f
Then His Majesty came storming out to (31) 'vent his anger on' his army.

(ḥr) ḥḥ r=s(n) mḥ ḥby
raging against it like a panther, (saying,)

in iw mn(t)-n-ḥ=tn nn wdf wpwt(=i)
 “Is this delaying (in) my business the way of your fighting?

in tr ḥts phw(y)
 ‘Indeed, is the end come

dd(y) sndt=i m T3-mḥw
 (when) fear of me (needs to be put) into North-land?’

ir n=sn šḥt kṣt ksn(t) m ḥw(yt)
 Make against them a very severe blow in striking.”³⁶

ir{t}(.n)=f im3(w) ‘<ḥ>’r imnt rsy Ḥmnw
 He pitched (his) tent on the west, south of Ogdoad-town,

(ḥr) gw3 r=s (32) mī rḥ nb
 while closing in on it (32) daily.

ir{t} trry r ḥbs sbty
 A (counter-)wall was built to cover the (city-)wall.³⁷

t(3)s b3k r šḥy sttw ḥr st(yt)
 A ‘platform’ was built up to raise the archers as they shot arrows

ḥ3ḥw ḥr ḥ3ḥ n(w)
 and the ‘catapults’ as they cast stones,

ḥr sm3 rmt im=sn mī rḥ nb
 (thus) slaying men among them daily.

ḥpr.n hrww iw Wnw šḥw3=s n fnd
 After (some) days Hare-town ‘stank’ to the nose,

g3w m ḥnm(33)=s
 being without its (33) usual (fresh) scent.

ḥ3ḥ.n Wnw (ḥr) rdt=s{w} ḥr ḥt=s
 Then Hare-town placed itself on its belly,

(ḥr) snmh ḥft-ḥr-n Bity
 beseeching before the King-of-Lower-Egypt,

³⁶The tone is sharp. Pi(ankh)y, more freely rendered, says, “Is this your idea of fighting, to drag your feet? Has it come to the point when fear of me needs to be put into North-land? Strike a really hard blow against them!”

³⁷On this passage (line 32) see Darnell 1991, 75.

The Sources

ipwtyw (hr) pr(yt) (hr) h(3yt)
envoys coming out and descending,

hr ht nb nfr-m3
bearing everything good to the eye,

nbw	3t nb(t) šps(yt)	hbsw m pds
gold,	all sorts of fine stones,	clothing in a chest,

h3 wn(w) hr tp=f
(and even) the crown which had been on his (Nimlot's) head,

i3r3(r)t dd(yt) šfyt=f
the uraeus which causes awe of him,

n(n) 3b n hrww 3šw hr snmh n wrrt=f
ceaselessly for many days, beseeching his (Pi(ankh)y's) diadem.

h3.n rdy{t} iw (34) hmt=f hmt-nsw s3t-nsw Ns-tnt
Then was caused (34) that his (Nimlot's) wife, the king's wife and king's daughter
'Nestjent' come

r snmh n hmwt-nsw ipwt-nsw s3wt-nsw snwt-nsw
to beseech the king's wives, king's concubines, king's daughters, and king's sisters.

rd{t}.n=s <sy> hr ht=s m pr hmwt-nsw hft-hr-n hmwt-nsw
She placed <herself> on her belly in the house of the king's wives before the king's
wives, (saying,)

m3<t>n n=3 hmwt-nsw s3wt-nsw snwt-nsw
"Come to me, king's wives, king's daughters, and king's sisters.

shtp=tn Hr nb{t}-h3 wr b3w=f 3wy m3-hrw=f
May you placate Horus, lord of the Palace. Great is his might. How great is his
'justification'.

imy (35) [— — —]	mk sw [... (36) sw
Grant (35) [— — —]	behold, he ... (36) ...

mk 3 — — iw=s — 3 — — —	(37) n=f
behold [— — — —]	(37) 3'to him'.

phr[=f] (i)rf n dw3[w] — — — ... — — —
that [he] may serve the one who adores [...

(38) ... (39) ... (40) ...

(38) ... (39) ... (40) ...

(41) — — — — — ʿns.n=fʿ m ʃht — — — — —] dwʒ [-]f

(41) ...

(42) ...] ḥmwt-nsw snwt-nsw [...] n ḥr ḥt=sn

(42) ...] royal wives, royal sisters, [...] on their bellies.

(43) m-bʃḥ [...] ḥm.ʿwtʿ-nsw [...] ḥkʒ n Ḥwt-wrt

(43) before [...] royal wives [...] the ruler of Domain-of-the-Great-Goddess

(44) ... n ḥft n ḥkʒ

(44) ... before the ruler

(45) ... m (46) ... ʿmʿ ḥkʒ

(45) ... ʿinʿ (46) ... ʿrulingʿ

(47) ... (48) ... (49) ʿ — — ʿ ...

(47) ... (48) ... (49) ...

(50) w r b(w) ḥr ḥm [— —] ʿ.n=f ḥm n [— — — ... — — —]

(50) ...

(51) mwt=k

(51) ʿyour motherʿ.

nm sšm tw (sp sn)

Who is it that led you? Who is it that led you?

nm ʾr sšm tw nm sšm tw

Who, then, has led you? Who has led you?

... (52) ʿ-ʿ n=k wʒ(t) n ʿnḥ

... (52) the road of life.

ʾn ʾw ʾs ḥ(w)y p(t) m šsr

ʿBut shall heaven rain with arrows?ʿ

wnn=ʾ [— — — —]

I am [— — — —]

(saying,)

(53) rsyw m ks(w) mḥtyw (m-dd)

(53) the southerners as bowers along with the northerners,

ʾmy n m{-m} šwt=k

ʿPlace us in your (protective) shadow.ʿ

ʾs wn=s bʾn sw [— — — —] (54) ḥr ḥtpw=f

... (54) bearing ʿhisʿ tribute.

The Sources

ḥmw pw ib
The heart is a rudder

s'g3=f nb=f n-ntt m b3w ntr
that capsizes its owner 'like' one possessed,³⁸

m33.n=f ht m kbb
when he sees fire in a cold place.

n(n) ɪw mɜ(w) m-ɪt=f
There is no old person who is seen with his father,

sp(ɜw)t=k mħ{ty}(w) m nħn
(for) your nomes are full of young men."

ḥṯ.n rd(y).n=f sw ḥr ḥt=f m-bḥ ḥm=f <m-dd>
Then he placed himself on his belly before His Majesty, <saying>,

[ḥtp r.k] (56) Ḥr nb ʿḥ
 [“Be appeased,] (56) Horus, lord of the Palace.

in b3w=k ir s<t> r(=i)
It is your might that has done it to me.

ink w^c m ḥmw-nsw ḥtr m b³kw r pr-ḥd
I am one of the king's servants who reckons taxes for the treasury

... (57) 'their tribute'.

ir.n=(i) n=k m-hw r=sn
I have done for you in excess of them."

ḥḫ<.n> mṣ<.n>=f ḥd nbw ḥsbḏ mfkṣt ḥsmn ʿṣt nb(t) ʿšṣ(t)
Then he gave silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, bronze, and many types of fine
stones.

(58) ʔh̥.n m̥h pr-ħd m̥ ɪnw pn
(58) Then the treasury was filled with this tribute.

in.n=f ssmt m wnmy<=f>
(Then) he brought a horse with his right hand,

sšš(t) m i3by<=f> sšš(t) nt nbw ḥsbḏ
(and) a sistrum in his left, a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.

³⁸Lit. "in the power of the god".

ḥꜥ.n shꜥ(.n) (59) <ḥm=>f m ḥ=f

Then His Majesty was made to appear (59) (in procession) from his palace.

(ḥr) wḏꜣ r Pr-Dḥwty-nb-Ḥmnw

going to the Temple of Thoth, Lord of Ogdoad-town.

smꜣ.n=f iwꜣw wndww ꜣpdw n it=f Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw

He sacrificed long-horned-cattle and short-horned cattle and birds to his father Thoth, Lord of Ogdoad-town,

Ḥmnyw m (60) Pr-Ḥmnyw

and to the Ogdoad in the Temple of the (60) Ogdoad.

wn.ın mšꜥ n{w} Wn ḥr nhm ḥnw ḏd=sn

Then the army of the Hare Nome was raising its voice in a song of joy, as they said,

nfrw(y) Ḥr ḥtp m (61) nıwt=f

"How beautiful is Horus who rests in (61) his city,

sꜣ Rꜥ P-ꜥnhꜣ

the Son-of-Rê, Pi(ankh)y.

ır=k n=n ḥb-s(d)

May you make for us a *sed*-festival

mı ḥw(y)=k Wn

according as you protect the Hare Nome."

wḏꜣ pw ır.n ḥm=f r (62) pr n nsw N-mꜣ-r-t

Off went His Majesty to (62) the palace of king Nimlot.

šm.n=f ꜥt nb(t) nt pr-nsw prwy-ḥḏ=f wḏꜣw=f

He entered every room in the palace, his treasury, and his magazines.

rd{t}.n=f stꜣ{.n}.tw (63) n=f ḥmwt-nsw sꜣwt-nsw

He caused that (63) the king's wives and king's daughters be dragged to him.

wn.ın=sn (ḥr) swꜣš ḥm=f m ḥt ḥmwt

Then they did homage to His Majesty after the manner of women,

n ḏꜣ.n ḥm=f ḥr=f r(64)=sn

but His Majesty did not turn his face toward (64) them.

wḏꜣ pw ır.n ḥm=f r ıḥ(w) nw ssmwt wḏꜣw n{t} nfrw

Off went His Majesty to the stables of the horses and barns of the colts.

mꜣ.n=f [—] (65) shꜥkr=sn ḏd=f

(When) he saw (65) 'that they were allowed to hunger', he said,

ʕnh=i mr(y) w(i) Rʕ hwn fnd=i m ʕnh

"As I live, as Rê loves me, and as my nose is rejuvenated with life.

ksn.w(y) nn hr ib=i (66) shkr smsmw=i r bt nb ir(w).n=k m kf ib=k
how much more evil is this in my heart, (66) (that) my horses have been made to
hunger, than any (other) evil you have done in the meanness of your heart.

mtr n=i tw snd(yt) n=k gs(y)w(67)=k

The fear of your (67) neighbors for you has revealed you to me.

in iw hm.n=k šwt ntr hr=i

Did you not know that the shadow of god is upon me?

n wh(y) n=f sp=i

'My deed is not fruitless for him'.

h ir(w) s n=i (68) ky n rh=i

Would that he who did it to me were (68) another, whom I did not know.

n ts=i sw hr=s

Then I 'would not blame' him on account of it.³⁹

ink ms(w) m ht

(Although) I am one born in the womb,

shpr m swht ntr

(nevertheless I am also one) who came into existence in a divine egg,

mtwt (69) ntr im=i

(inasmuch as) the seed (69) of the god (is) in me.

w3h k3=f n ir{t}=i m hm=f

As his *ka* flourishes, I do not act without him.

ntf wd(w) n=i ir(t)

He it is that orders me to act."

ʕhʕ.n sip(y.n) ht=f r pr-hd

Then his property was reckoned to the Treasury

(70) šnwt=f r htp-ntr nt Imn m Ipt-swt

(70) and his granaries to the divine income of Amûn in Karnak.

³⁹There is an embittered tone throughout the text with regard to Nimlot's defection.

iy(t) pw ır.n h̄k̄ n Nny-nsw P=f-t̄w-ʿwy-B̄st
In came the ruler of Royal-Child, Pef-tjau-awy-bast,

hr ınw (71) r Pr-ʿ
bearing tribute (71) to Pharaoh:

<m> nbw h̄d ʿt nb(t) m smsm (ssmwt) m stp n ih(w)
gold, silver, every (kind of) precious stone, and the best horses of the stable.

rd.n=f sw hr ht=f m-b̄h̄ hm=f dd=f
He placed himself on his belly before His Majesty and said,

ınd hr=k Hr (72) nsw nht k̄ hd k̄w
“Hail to you, Horus, (72) mighty king, Bull attacking bulls!

šd wy dw̄t md.kwy m kkw
The netherworld is carrying me off, and I am submerged in darkness,

dd(y) n=i h̄(73)dd hr=f
(I) upon whom the light (73) is (now) shining!

n gm.n=i mry n hrw ksn
I did not find a friend on the day of distress,

ʿh̄.t(y).f(y) m hrw n ʿh̄
(one) who would stand (by me) on the day of battle;

ʿwp ntk p̄ nsw ʿnht kfy(74).n=k kkw hr=i
but you, O ʿmightyʿ king, you have (74) driven the darkness from me.

iw=i r b̄k hn(ʿ) hrt=i
I shall serve (you) together with my property,

Nn(y)-nsw htr(ty) (75) r ʿryt
Royal-Child being tributary (75) to your hall,

twt is Hr-hty hr(y)-tp ihm̄w-sk
(for) you are Harakhty, head of the imperishable stars!

wnn=f wnn=k m nsw
As long as he is, you (too) shall be king.

n sk=f (76) n sk=k
(Even as) he is immortal, (76) (so too) are you immortal,

The Sources

Nsw-bity P-(nh)y, nh dt
O King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Pi(ankh)y, living for ever!"

hd pw ir.n hm=f r wpt mr r-gs R3-(77)hnt
North sailed His Majesty to the entrance of the canal beside (77) Canal-mouth;⁴⁰

gm.n=f Pr-shm-hpr-R
he found House-of-Sekhemkheperre-(Osorkon I)

swt=f ts(w) htm=f htm(w)
with its ring-wall raised, and its gate locked,

mh m kn nb n{t} T3-mhw
filled with all (kinds of) fighters of North-land.

h.n hm=f (hr) h(3)b n=sn m-dd
Then His majesty sent to them, saying,

nhw m mwt (sp sn)
“(O you) who live in death! (O you) who live in death!

šw3 (78) [] hwrw nhw m mwt
(You) wretches (78) [] miserable! (O you) who live in death!

ir zš it n(n) wn n=i
If an instant passes without (your) opening to me,

mk tn m ip(w) hrw gm hr.ty
look, you are among the number of the enemy slain;

hr(yt)-db pw n nsw
and that is something ‘repugnant’ to the king.

m šn sbtyw nw nh=tn r sm3 m nmt nw hrw pn
Don’t close the gates of your life to join with the chopping block of this day

m mr mwt r msdd nh
Don’t love death so as to hate life.

(79) [‘m’ - —]nh hft-hr-n t3 dr=f
(79) [‘don’t’ li]fe before the whole land.”

⁴⁰Al-Lâhûn, at the entrance to the Fayyûm.

ḥꜥ.n h(ꜥ)b.n=sn n ḥm=f r-dd
Then they sent to His Majesty, saying,

mk šwt ntr ḥr tp=k
“Look, the shadow of god is over you;

sꜥ Nwt dꜥ=f n=k ꜥwy=f
the son of Nut gives you his two arms.

kꜥ ḥb=k ḥpr ḥr-ꜥ
Your heart’s plan comes into being at once,

mꜥ pr m rꜥ n ntr
like what comes forth from the mouth of a god.

mk sw ms.tw=k m ḥr ntr mꜥ=n m rꜥ-ꜥwy=k
Truly, you are born as the face of a god, as we see by your activity.

mk nꜥwt=k ḥtmw=f
(Just) look at your city, his fortress.

(80) [—————] r ꜥ=k
(80) [— — — — —] you

ḥm ꜥk ꜥk(w) ḥm pr pr(w)
Let those who wish to enter enter; let those who wish to leave leave.

ḥrr ḥm=f <m> mrr=f
Let His Majesty do as he wishes.”

ḥꜥ.n=sn <ḥr> pr ḥn(ꜥ) sꜥ n wr n M Tꜥ=f.nḥt
Then they came out together with a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht.

ꜥk pw ḥr.n mšꜥ nw ḥm=f r=s
In went His Majesty’s army.

n smꜥ.n=f wꜥ m rmt nb gm.n=f (81) [ḥm]
without slaying (any)one among all the people it found (81) [there].

[— — — —]w ḥnꜥ sdꜥwtyw r ḥtm ḥšt=f
[“There came” — —] and treasurers to seal its property,

sꜥp prw-ḥd=f r Pr-ḥd
its treasures were assigned to the Treasury,

The Sources

šnwwt=f r ḥtp-nṯr n ḫt=f Ḳmn-Rꜥ nb Nswt Tꜣwy
and its granaries to the endowment of his father, Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of
Two-lands.

nꜥ(yt) pw ḫr.n ḥm=f m ḥd
Off sailed His Majesty to the north,

gm=f Mr-tm Pr-Skr-nb-šḥd ḥtm.n=s ḫw(tt) ph=s
(where) he found that Meidûm, the House-of-Sokar-lord-of-Sehedj, had closed (its
gates) (even though) it had not been attacked

dī.n=s ḥꜥ m ḫb=s
because it had set fighting in its heart.

šsp (82) sn [— —]
[— —] seized (82) them,

[— — -] sn snd šfyt ḥtm.n=s rꜣ=sn
fear ['seized'] them, awe sealed their mouth(s).

ḥꜥ.n h(ꜣ)b.n <n=>sn ḥm=f m ḥd
Then His Majesty sent to them, saying,

m.tn wꜣt sn m-ḥr=tn stp=tn r mrr=tn
“Look, two ways are before you; you may choose as you will.

wn ḥḥ=tn ḥtm mwt=tn
open and you will live; (remain) close(d) and you will die!

n sn ḥm=ḫ ḥr nḫwt ḥtm.tw
For My Majesty will not pass by a closed city.

ḥꜥ.n wn.n=sn ḥr-ꜥ
Then they opened at once;

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f r-ḥnw-n nḫwt tn
and His Majesty entered into this town

mꜥ.n=f (83) ḥbt [— — — — —] Ḳmḥy ḥnt Šḥd
and made (83) offering [— — — — —] Menhy foremost of Sehedj.

sḫp pr-ḥd=f šnwwt=f
Its treasury and its granaries were assigned

r ḥtp-nṯr n Ḳmn m Ḳpt-swt
to the endowment of Amûn in Karnak.

ḥd pw ṯr.n ḥm=f r ṯt-Tṯwy
North sailed His Majesty to Seizer-of-Two-lands

gm.n=f sbty ḥtm
(where) he found the ramparts closed

ṯnbw mḥ m mšḥ ḵn nw Tṯ-mḥw
and the wall filled with the valiant troops of North-land.

ḥḥ.n sn=sn ḥtmw
Then they opened the fortresses

rd{t}.n=sn ḥr ḥt(84)=sn ṯm-bḥḥ' [ḥm=f
and placed themselves on their (84) bellies 'before' [His Majesty

dd.n=sn n] ḥm=f
and said to] His Majesty,

wḏ n=k ṯt=k ṯwḥ(t)=f
"Your father has decreed his inheritance to you.

ntk Tṯwy	ntk ṯmy(t)=sn	ntk nb ntt ḥr-sṯ tṯ
Yours is Two-lands.	Yours is (all) therein.	Yours is all that is on earth."

wḏ pw ṯr.n ḥm=f
In went His Majesty

r dṯt mḥ ḥbt ḥt n ntrw ṯmyw nṯwt tn
to have a great offering presented to the gods who are in this city:

m ṯwṯw wḏdw ṯpdw	ḥt nb nfr wḥb
even long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, fowl,	everything good and pure.

ḥḥ.n sṯp(.n) pr-ḥḏ=f r pr-ḥḏ
Then its treasury was assigned to the Treasury,

šnwwt r ḥtp-nṯr (85) n ṯt=f ṯmn[-Rḥ nb nswt Tṯwy]
and its granaries to the endowment (85) of his father Amen[-Rê lord of the Thrones of Two-lands].

[ḥd pw ṯr.n ḥm=f r] ṯnb.ḥḏ
North went His Majesty to White-wall (Memphis).

ḥḥ.n h(ṯ)b.n=f n=sn m-dd
Then he sent to them (the Memphites), saying,

The Sources

imy ḥtm imy ḥꜣ
“Don’t close (yourselves in)! Don’t fight,

ḥnw Šw m sp tp(y)
O Residence of Shu in the beginning!

ḥk ḥk=f
He that would enter, let him enter.

pr pr=f
He that would come out, let him come out.

n ḥsf.tw šmw
Those who would depart shall not be hindered.

wḏn=i ḥbt n Pth n ntrw imyw Ḳnb-ḥḏ
I shall present an offering to Ptah and to the gods of White-wall (Memphis).

drp=i Skr m Štyt.
I shall sacrifice to Sokar in *Shetit*.

mꜣ=i Rsy-Ḳnb=f
I shall behold South-of-His-Wall (Ptah).

ḥḏ=i m ḥtp
I shall sail north in peace.

(86) [— — — — —]w Ḳnb-ḥḏ ḥḏ snb
(86) — — —] of White-wall (Memphis), safe and sound.

n rm.tw nḥnw
One will not bewail children.

mꜣ m rf tn spꜣwt tp rsy
Why, just look at the nomes of the South!

n smꜣ.tw wꜥ nb im
Not a single person has been slain there,

wp sbꜣw wꜣ ḥr ntr
except for rebels who blasphemed god—

ir.t(w) nmt m ḥꜣk-ibw
they were slaughtered as dissenters.”

ḥꜥ.n ḥtm(.n)=sn ḥtm=sn
Then they closed their fortress

dī=sn pr mšꜥ r nhw m mšꜥ nw ḥm=f
and sent out a force against some of His Majesty's troops,

m ḥmw ḥmyw-r ḳdw ṣḳd.t
even artisans, overseers of builders, and sailors

(87) ḥ - [— — — —] mryt nt Ḥnb-ḥd
(87) who had come [— — —] the harbor of White-wall (Memphis).

īs wr pf n Sꜣw spr r Ḥnb.ḥd m whꜥ
Now that chief of Sais⁴¹ arrived at White-wall (Memphis) by night,

ḥr ḥwn n mšꜥ=f ḥnw=f
issuing orders to his soldiers and sailors,

tp nb n mšꜥ=f tp rmt 8000
all the best of his army, 8000 men,

ḥr ḥwn n=sn wr (sp sn)
ordering them very earnestly,

mk Mn-nfr mh m mšꜥ m tp nb nw Tꜣ-mḥw
"Mark you, Memphis is filled with all the best troops of North-land

it bdt pr nb
and (with) barley, emmer, and all kinds of grain,

šnwwt ḥr ngsgs
(its) granaries are overflowing,

ḥꜥyw nb nw (88) [rꜣ-ḥt —]
every type of weapon (88) [of war ...].

— — ḥy s]bty
A [high] wall [surrounds it];

ḳd tsm(t) wr(t) m irt n ḥmwt rh.t(i)
a great battlement has been built, a work of skilled craftsmanship.

itr(w) m phr ḥbt
The river flows around the east (side of Memphis),

⁴¹Modern Sâ al-Ḥagar.

n gm.tw ʕ₃ ʔm
fighting cannot be found there.⁴²

mdwt dy mh(w) m ʔw₃w
The cattle pens here (in Memphis) are full of long-horned cattle;

pr-ḥd ʕpr(w) m ḥt nb
the treasury is supplied with everything,

ḥd nbw ḥmt ḥbsw snṯr bīt sft
silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, resin.

šm=i dī=i ḥt n wrw Mḥw
I will go and give things to the chiefs of the North.

wn=i n=sn sp₃wt=sn
I will open their nomes for them.

ḥpr=i m (89) [— —
I will become (89) [— —

— — —] hrw r ʔi=i
— — —] days until I come (back)."

ḥms pw ʔr.n=f ḥr ssmt
Up he mounted on a horse,

n nḥty.n=f wr₃yt=f
(for) he did not 'trust' his chariot.

ḥd pw ʔr.n=f m snd n ḥm=f
North he went in fear of His Majesty.

ḥd t₃ rf dw₃ (sp sn)
At first light, at the crack of dawn,

spr ḥm=f r ʔnb-ḥd
when His Majesty arrived at White-wall (Memphis),

mn.n=f ḥr mḥt=s
he moored on its north

gm.n=f mw <ʔ>ʕr(w) r s₃w(t).
and found the water risen to the walls

⁴²*I.e.*, cannot take place there.

ḥꜥw mn(iw) r (90) [prw nw] Mn-nfr.
and the ships moored to (90) [the houses of] Memphis.

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f mꜣ s m nḥt
Then His Majesty saw it was strong,

sbty ḥy m ḳd n mꜣw
the wall (having been) raised by new construction,

ṯsmw ʿpr m nḥt
and the battlements manned in strength.

n gm.tw wꜣt nt ʿḥꜣ r=s
No way of attacking it was found.

wn.ḏn s nb ḥr ḳd rꜣ=f m mšꜥ nw ḥm=f
So everybody in His Majesty's army spoke his piece

m tp-rd nb n ʿḥꜣ
about some plan of attack.

s nb ḥr ḳd
Some said,

ḏmy gwꜣ (91) [— — — —] mk mšꜥ=s ʿšꜣ
“Let us besiege (91) [— — — —] Look, its troops are numerous.”

kt-ḥt ḥr ḳd
Others said,

ḏr stꜣ r=s shy.n sꜣtw r sꜣw(t)=s
“Make a ramp against it!⁴³ Let us pile up the ground to its battlements.

snḥ=n bꜣk
Let us bind together a platform,

sḥꜥ=n ḥt-ṯw ḏr=n ḥtꜣwt m ḳrw r=s
let us erect masts and set sail from the (town) limits against it.

psš=n sw m(i) nn r gs=s nb
Let us divide it likewise on each side of it,

⁴³On this passage (lines 91-92) see Darnell 1991, 73-84.

m trtr hn^c (92) [— — —] hr mht=s
 'with a counterwork' together with (92) [— — —] on its north,

r ts(t) stw hr s3w(t)=s
 so as to raise the ground 'over' its battlements,

gm=n w3t nt rdwy=n
 that we may find a way for our feet."⁴⁴

h^c.n hm=f h^cr hr=s m3 3by dd
 Then His Majesty raged about it like a panther, saying,

nh=i mr=i hr R^c hs w3 it=i Imn
 "As I live, as Rê loves me, as my father Amûn favors me,

gm.n=i hpr nn hr=s m wd nt Imn
 I have found that this is happening to it according to the command of Amûn.

nn pw dd rmt (93) [nb nw Mhw —] hn^c sp3wt rsy
 It is this that [all] the people (93) [of the North —] together with the nomes of the South say,

wn=sn n=f m w3w
 'Let them open to him while he is yet afar!

n rd3.t.n=sn Imn m 3b=sn
 (But) they did not place Amûn in their hearts

n rh=sn wd(w).n=f
 and did not know what he had commanded.

3r.n=f sw r rd3t b3w=f
 He (Amûn) made him (Pi(ankh)y) in order to display his (Amûn's) might

r d3t m3.tw 3fyf=f
 and to let his glory be seen.'

3w=i r 3t(t) s(t) m3 gp n mw
 (So) I shall seize it like a cloudburst.

3w wd n=i (94) [3t=i Imn]
 (even as) [my father Amûn] (94) has commanded me."

⁴⁴*I.e.*, so as to gain a foothold.

ḥꜥ.n rdt.n=f wḏt ḥꜥyw=f mšꜥ=f r ḥꜥ r mryt nt Mn-nfr
Then he sent his fleet and his army to attack the harbor of Memphis.

in.n=sn n=f ḏꜥyw nb mḥn nb shry nb
They brought to him every ḏꜥy-ship, every ferry-boat, every *shry*-ship,

ḥꜥw mḏ ḥꜥ=sn wn mn r mryt nt Mn-nfr,
and the ships, as many as they were, which were moored in the harbor of Memphis,

ḥꜥtt mn m pr=sn
with the(ir) prow-ropes fastened to its houses.

(95) [— -]ꜥw¹ nds rm=f m mšꜥ nb n ḥm=f
(95) [— —] a common soldier who wept among all the troops of His Majesty.

nꜥḏ ḥm=f r sk ḏs=f ḥꜥw mḏ ḥꜥ=sn
His Majesty came to line up in person the ships, as many as they were.

wḏ ḥm=f n mšꜥ=f
His Majesty commanded his army, (saying,)

n ḥr=tn r=s snb sꜥww
“Forward against it! Mount the walls!

ḥꜥ prw ḥr(y)-tp ḏtr(w)
Enter the houses on the river!⁴⁵

ir ḥꜥ wꜥ im=tn ḥr sꜥw
When one of you enters onto the battlement,

n ḥꜥ.tw m ḥꜥ(w)=f
let no one stand near him.

(96) [— -]ꜥn¹ ḥsf tn tꜥt
(96) [— -] no hostile troop may repulse you.

ḥꜥ pw gr
(For) it would be vile

ḥtm=n Šmꜥ
if we should put our seal on the South,

⁴⁵Cf. Darnell 1991, 82 and n. 43.

The Sources

mnì=n <m> Mḥw
and land <in> the North,

ḥmsì=n m Mḥy-Twy
(only to) sit fast in Balance-of-Two-lands (Memphis)!"

ḥꜥ.n iṯ Mn-nfr mī gp n mw
Then Memphis was seized like a couldburst,

smꜣ rmṯ im=s ḥꜣw
and many of the people in it were slain

ḥnꜥ in m skr-ḥḥ r b(w) ḥr ḥm=f
or brought as living captives to the place where His Majesty was.

ir m(97)[-ḥt tꜣ ḥ]d sn-nw n hrw ḥpr
Now (97) [after the land li]ghtened and the second day came,

rdt.n ḥm=f šm rmṯ r=s ḥr ḥw(t) rꜣw-pr n nṯr
His Majesty sent people to it, protecting the temples of the god.

nꜣ<t>ꜣf dꜣr-ḥ ḥr ḥmt nṯrw
It was he who held his arm upraised over the sanctuaries of the gods,

drp kbḥw dꜣdꜣt Ḥwt-kꜣ-Pṯḥ
made libations <to> the Council of Compound-of-Ptah's-ka (Memphis),

swꜥb Mn-nfr m ḥsmn snṯr
cleansed Memphis with natron and incense,

dꜣt wꜥbw r st rdwy=sn
and installed the priests in their places.

wdꜣ ḥm=f r pr (98) [Pṯḥ]
His Majesty proceeds to the House (98) [of Ptah].

ir (w)ḥb(w)=f m pr-dwꜣ(t)
His purification is performed in the House-of-Morning.

ir.t n=f nt-ḥ nb ir(wt) n nsw
Every rite that is performed for a king is performed for him.

ḥk=f r ḥwt-nṯr
He enters the temple-compound.

irt ʿṣbt ʿṣt n it=f Pth-rsy-ṯnb=f
Making a great offering to his father Ptah-South-of-His-Wall

m ṯwṣw wndww ʿpdw ḥt nb nfr
even short-horned cattle, long-horned cattle, fowl, everything good.

wdṣ pw ṯr.n ḥm=f r pr=f
Off went His Majesty to his (own) house.

ḥʿ.n sdm(.n) spṣwt nb ntt m ww n Mn-nfr
Then all the nomes in the district of Memphis heard (what had happened),

Ḥry-p(ṣ)-dmṯ Pny(99)-nṣ-ṯwʿ P(ṣ)-bḥn-n-Bṯw Tṣ-wḥy-Bṯt
and Hraipetime, Peny(99)naewaa, The-Tower-of-Beyu, (and) the Settlement-of-Beyit⁴⁶

sn=sn ḥtmw wʿr=sn m wʿr
open their strongholds and flee in flight.

n rh.tw b(w) šm=sn ṯm
No one knows the place where they have gone.

ṯi pw ṯr.n nsw ṯw-wṣ-p-t ḥnʿ wr n M ʿkṣ-n-š
In came king Yewepet and the chief of the Ma Akanosh

ḥnʿ ṯry-pʿt Pṣ-dṯ-ṯst (100) ḥnʿ ḥṣtyw-ʿ nb nw Tṣ-mḥw
and the hereditary prince Peteese (100) and all the counts of North-land,

ḥr ṯnw=sn r mṣ nfrw ḥm=f
bearing their tribute, to see the beauty of His Majesty.

ḥʿ.n ṣṣp(.n) prw-hd ḥnʿ šnw(wt) nw Mn-nfr
Then the treasuries and granaries of Memphis were assigned

r ḥtp-nṯr n ṯmn n Pth n Psdt ṯmyw Ḥwt-kṣ-Pth
to the endowment of Amûn, of Ptah, and of the Ennead which is in Compound-of-Ptah's-ka (Memphis).

hd ṯrf tṣ dwṣ (sp sn)
At first light, at the crack of dawn,

wdṣ ḥm=f r ṯṣbt
His Majesty proceeded to the East.

⁴⁶See 23 below.

The Sources

ir ʕbt n ʔtm m Hr-ʕh
An offering was made to Atum in Battle-field⁴⁷,

(101) Psdt m Pr-Psdt imht ntrw im=s
(101) the Ennead in House-of-the-Ennead, and the cavern of the gods in it:

m iw3w wndww 3pdw
even short-horned cattle, long-horned cattle, and fowl,

d3=sn ʕnh wd3 snb
that they might give life, prosperity, and health

n Nsw-bity P-ʕnhy ʕnh dt
to the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Pi(ankh)y, may he live for ever.

wd3 hm=f r ʔwnw
His Majesty proceeded to On (Heliopolis),

hr dw{t} pf n Hr-ʕh
on that mountain of Battle-field

hr mt nw nt Sp(3) r Hr-ʕh
on the avenue of Sep (leading) to Battle-field.

wd3 hm=f r im3w nt{t}(y) hr imnt ʔty.
His Majesty proceeded to the pavillion, which is on the east of Ity.

ir (w)ʕb(w)=f
His purification was performed,

swʕb=f m ib (102) Š-kbh
he was cleansed in (102) the Pool-of-Kebeh,

ʔ(y) hr=f m ʔtr(w) n{t} Nwn
his face was bathed in the River-of-Nun,

ʔ(y) Rʕ hr=f im
wherein Rê bathes his face.

wd3 r Šy-k3-m-ʔwnw
Proceeding to the High-Sand-in-On (Heliopolis).

irt ʕbt ʕt hr Šy-k3-m-ʔwnw
Making a great offering upon the High-Sand-in-On (Heliopolis)

hft-hr-n Rʕ m wbn=f
before Rê at his rising:

⁴⁷Qasr ash-Shamʕ at al-Fustât in Old Cairo.

m ihw h̄dw irtt ʿntyw sntr h̄w (103) nb ndm st(y)
even white cattle, milk, frankincense, incense, every (103) sweet-smelling plant.

Going in state to the House of Rê,

ṣḳ r ḥwt-nṯr m ỉw (sp sn)
entering the temple-compound singing praises,

hr(y)-hbt hr(y)-tp dw3 ntr hsf shdyw
the chief lector-priest adoring the god and repulsing rebels,

irt pr-dw3(t)
performing (the ritual) of the House of Morning,

t(3)s sdb swʿb=f m snṯr kbḥw
fastening on the *sedeb*-garment, cleansing him (Pi(ankh)y) with incense and libations,

ms n=f 'nhw nw Hwt-bnbn
presenting to him the garlands of the Compound-of-the-Pyramidion,

in n=f ʎnhw t̥z (104) hnd r sšd wr
bringing him 'amulets', ascending (104) the steps to the great window,

r m3 Rē m hwt-bnbn
to behold Rē in the Compound-of-the-Pyramidion,

nsw ds=f 'h' m w'w
the King himself standing alone,

sd swy sn ṣwy
breaking the (seals of) the bolts, opening the double doors,

m33 it=f R' m Hwt-bnbn dsr
 beholding his father Rê in the holy Compound-of-the-Pyramidion,

m'ndt n R' <m>sktt n 'Itm
the Morning Bark of Rê and the Evening Bark of Atum,

in 3wy wñ sñ
closing the double doors, applying the clay,

db'et (105) m htm n nsw ds=f	hn n w'bw
sealing (105) with the king's own seal,	giving orders to the priests,

ink sꜥp.n=i ꜥtm

"I have examined the seal.

n ꜥꜥ.n ky r=s m nsw nb ꜥꜥ.t(y).f(y)

No other shall enter into it of all the Kings who shall arise."

rdt.n=sꜥn ꜥr ꜥt=sꜥn m-bꜥꜥ ꜥm=f m dd

They placed themselves on their bellies before of His Majesty, saying,

r mn wꜥꜥ n sk ꜥr mry ꜥwnw

"Abide and endure, without perishing, O Horus, beloved of Heliopolis!"

ꜥꜥ m ꜥꜥ r Pr-ꜥtm

Entering the House of Atum,

šms ꜥnty (106) n ꜥt=f ꜥtm ꜥpri wr ꜥwnw

following the image (106) of his father Atum-Khepri the Great One of Heliopolis.

ꜥꜥ.n nsw Wꜥ-sꜥ-r-k-n r mꜥꜥ nfrw ꜥm=f

King Osorkon came to behold the beauty of His Majesty.

ꜥꜥ rf ꜥꜥ dwꜥw (sp sn)

At first light, at the crack of dawn,

wꜥꜥ ꜥm=f r mryt ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥyw=f

His Majesty proceeds to the harbor at the head of his ships,

ꜥꜥ r mryt nt Kꜥ-km

crossing over to the Harbor of Black-Bull,⁴⁸

ꜥrt ꜥmꜥ(w) n ꜥm=f ꜥr rsyt Kꜥ-hny ꜥr ꜥꜥt (107) nt Kꜥ-km

pitching His Majesty's tent on the south of Keheny, on the east (107) of Black-Bull.

ꜥꜥ pw ꜥr.n nn n nsw ꜥꜥtyw-ꜥ nw Tꜥ-Mꜥw

In came those kings and counts of North-land,

wrw nb ꜥꜥ mꜥt ꜥꜥty nb wr nb rꜥ-nsw nb

all the chiefs who wear the feather, every vizier, every chief, every king's acquaintance,

m ꜥmnt m ꜥꜥt m ꜥww ꜥryw-ꜥb

from the West, from the East, and from the Isles-in-the-midst,

⁴⁸The 10th, Athribite, nome of Lower Egypt.

r mꜣ nfrw ḥm=f
to behold the beauty of His Majesty.

wn.ḥn iry-pꜣt Pꜣ-dꜣ-Ḳst rdt sw ḥr ḥt=f m-(108)bꜣḥ-ḥ ḥm=f dd=f
The hereditary prince Petiese placed himself on his belly (108) before His Majesty and said,

m r Kꜣ-km mꜣ=k Ḥnty-ḥty
"Come to Black-Bull that you may behold Khentykhety,

ḥw t=k Ḥwyt
that Khuyet (the Protectress) may protect you,

smꜣ=k ꜣbt n Hr m pr=f
that you may make offering to Horus in his house,

m ḥwꜣw wndww ꜣpdw
even short-horned cattle, long-horned cattle, and fowl,

ꜣk=k r pr=i
and that you may enter my house.

sn n=k pr-ḥd=i dwn<=i> tw m ḥt ḥt=i
My treasury is open to you. I shall hold out to you my father's property.

dꜣ n=k nbw r drww ḥb=k
I shall give you gold, to the limits of your desire,

(109) mfkꜣt twt n-ḥr=k
(109) malachite being heaped up before you,

ssmwt ḵnw m tp n ḥḥ ḥꜣwtyw m šmmt
many horses, even the best of the stable and the foremost of the stall."

wdꜣ pw ḥr.n ḥm=f r pr Hr-Ḥnty-Ḥty
Off went His Majesty to the house of Horus Khentykhety.

mꜣ ḥwꜣw wndww ꜣpdw n ḥt=f Hr-Ḥnty-Ḥty nb Km-wr.
Causing short-horned cattle, long-horned cattle, and fowl to be offered to his father Horus Khentykhety, lord of Great-black-bull.⁴⁹

wdꜣ ḥm=f r pr n iry-pꜣt Pꜣ-dꜣ-Ḳst
When His Majesty proceeded to the house of the hereditary prince Peteese,

⁴⁹Another name for the 10th, Athribite, nome of Lower Egypt.

The Sources

ʕb=f n=f m ḥd nbw (110) ḥsbd mfkʕt ʕḥw wr m ḥt nb
he (Peteese) presented him with silver, gold (110), lapis lazuli, and malachite, a great
heap of everything,

ḥbsw sšr-nsw m tnw nb
clothing of royal linen of every number,

štyw šḥn.ti m pʕkt ʕntyw mrḥt m ḥbḥb
couches laid with fine linen, frankincense and ointment in jars,

ḥtrw m ṭyw ḥmwt m ḥwty nb n ḥ=f
horses, even stallions and mares, all the foremost of his stable.

swʕb.n=f sw m ʕḥ nṯr
He (Peteese) purified himself by a divine oath

ḥft-ḥr nn n nsw wrw ʕw nw (111) Tʕ-mḥw
before these kings and great chiefs of (111) North-land, (saying,)

wʕ nb ḥm ḥp=f smsmw=f ḥmn.n=f šw=f (šyt)
“(As for) every one therein, if he conceals his horses (or) hides his due,

kʕ mwt=f n mwt n ḥt=f
then may he die the death of his father.

kʕ.n=ḥ nn r wfʕ=tn bʕk ḥm
I have formulated this that you may support this humble servant

m ḥ=tn nb m-ʕ=ḥ
in all that you know about me.

kʕ dd=tn ḥmn.n=ḥ r ḥm=f m ḥt nb (112) n pr ḥt=ḥ
So you shall say if I have concealed from His Majesty (anything) of all the property
(112) of my father’s house,

nbw ḥw m ʕt m ḥpwt nb
(be it) gold ‘ingots’, precious stones, (or) any kind of vessel,

mnfyw(t) m ḥry-drty ‘nbw’ m ḥry-ḥḥ
armbands ‘of gold’, neckbands,

bbw stwr(w) m ʕt sʕ(w) nw ʕt nb
collars wrought with precious stones, amulets for every limb

mḥw n tp šky n msdr ḥkrw nb n nsw
headbands, earrings, all the adornments of a king,

ḥnw nb nw wꜥb nsw m nbw ʕt nb
all the vessels for a king's purification in gold and precious stones.

nn r ʕw ʕb.n=i (113) m-bꜥḥ
This whole range of things I have presented (113) in the Presence,

sꜥr-nsw ḥbsw m ḥꜥ m tp nb n nꜥyt=i
garments of royal linen by the thousands of the best of my weaving-room,

ḳw=i rh.kw ḥtp=k ḥr=s
knowing that you will be satisfied with them.

wꜥꜥ r šmmt	stp=k <r> mrr=k	m smsm nb ʕbb=k
Proceed to the stall,	and choose as you will	of all the horses you desire."

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f (ḥr) irt m mꜥtt
Then His Majesty did so.

dd.in nn n nsww ḥꜥtyw-ꜥ ḥr ḥm=f
Then said these kings and counts to His Majesty,

wꜥꜥ(y) n r nꜥwwt=n wn=n (114) prw-ḥꜥ=n
"Dismiss us to our cities so we (can) open (114) our treasures,

stp=n r mrr ʕb=k
choose according to what your heart desires,

ḳn=n n=k tp(y)w nw šmmwt=n	ḥꜥwty nw smsmw=n
and bring to you the best of our stalls,	the foremost of our horses."

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f (ḥr) irt m mꜥtt
Then His Majesty did so.

rh rn irt
List of the names thereof:

nsw Wꜥ-sꜥr-k-n m Pr-Bꜥst ww n Rꜥ-nfr
King Osorkon in House-of-Bastet, the district of *Rê-nofer*,

nsw ʕw-wꜥ-p-t m Tnt-rmw Tꜥ-ꜥn
King Iuput in Fish-town⁵⁰ and *Taan*,

⁵⁰Leontopolis of the Classical sources, modern Tell al-Muqdâm.

The Sources

ḥꜣty-ꜥ Dd-Imn-ıw=f-ꜥnh (115) m Pr-Bꜣ-nb-Dd(t) Tꜣ-šnwt-Rꜥ
Count Djedamenefankh (115) in House-of-the-Ram-lord-of-*Djede* and Granary-of-Rê,

s3=f smsw imy-r mš' m Pr-Dḥwty-Wp-Rḥwy 'nh-Hr,
his eldest son, the general in House-of-Thoth-who-Separates-the-Two-Combatants,
Ankh-Hor,

ḥṣty-ʿ ʔ-kʔ-n-š m Tb-nṯr m Pr-hby m Smʔ-Bḥdt
 Count Akanosh in Divine-calf,⁵¹ in House-of-^aShe-who-is-in festival^o,⁵² and in *Sema-*
behdet.⁵³

ḥṣty-ꜥ wr n M Pꜣ-t-n-f m Pr-Spd m Šnwt-n-ꜥInb-ḥd
the count and chief of the Ma Patjenfy in House-of-Soped⁵⁴ and in Granary-of-White-
wall.⁵⁵

(116) ḥṣty-ꜥ wr n M P(ꜣ)-mꜣ m Pr-Wsṛ-nb-Dd(w)
 (116) the count and chief of the Ma Pemui in House-of-Osiris-lord-of-*Djedu*,

h̥ty-ʿ wr n M Ns-n-ʿisw¹ m Ḥsbw
the count and chief of the Ma Nesnayisu in Bull-of-Heseb,

ḥṣty-ꜥ wr n M Nḥt-Ḥr-n3-šnwt m Pr-grr
the count and chief of the Ma Nakthorneshnu in House-of-the-Frog,⁵⁶

wr n M P-n-t3-wrt wr n M P-n-t3-bhnt
the chief of Ma Pentawere, the chief of Ma Pentibekhene,

hm-ntr Hr nb Hm (117) P(3)-d³-Hr-sm³-T₃wy

the prophet of Horus lord of *Khem*,⁵⁷ (117) Petehorsomteus,

ḥꜣty-ꜥ Ḥw-rꜣ-bꜣ-sꜣ m Pr-Shꜣmt nbt Sꜣw Pr-Shꜣmt nb(t) R-ḥ-s-sꜣ-wy
the count Horbes in the House-of-Sekhmet, Lady of Sais, and the House-of-Sekhmet,
Lady of *Rehessawi*,

ḥꜣty-ꜥ Dd-ḥy-iw m Ḥnt-nfr
count Djedkhiyu in *Khentnofer*,

⁵¹Sebennytyos of the Classical sources, modern Samanûd.

⁵²Isidopolis of the Classical sources, modern Behbeit el-Hagar.

⁵³Diospolis inferior of the Classical sources, modern Tall al-Bâlamûn.

⁵⁴Modern Saft al-Hinnah.

⁵⁵Modern Shuna Yussef?

⁵⁶The Phagroriopolis of the Classical sources.

⁵⁷Letopolis of the Classical sources, modern Ausîm.

ḥṣty-ḥ P3-b3-s m Hr-ḥ3 m Pr-Hḥp(y)
count Pabasa in Battle-field and in House-of-the-Inundation,⁵⁸

ḥr inw=sn nb nfr (118) [—] ṛnbw¹ ḥ[d —
bearing all their good tribute (118) [—] ṛgold¹, sil[ver —

[— — — —] ṛṣtt¹ ṣḥn.ti m p3kt
[— — — —] ṛcouches¹ laid with fine linen,

ḥntyw m (119) ḥb[ḥb — — — — — — —]
myrrh in (119) ja[rs — — — — — — —]

ṣ3w nfr ḥtrw (120) [— — — — —]
as goodly dues; horses (120) of —————

[ṛr ḥr s3] nn iw.n.tw r dd (121) n [ḥm=f]
[After] this, one came to say (121) to [His Majesty],

[— — — — — — — —] sw inb (122) [— —
[“ — — — — — — — —] ... wall (122) [— —

di=f ḥt m pr-ḥd[=f — — — ḥr-tp] ṛtr(w)
and has set fire to [his] treasury [and to the ships] upon the river.

sdr.n=f Msd (123) m mšḥ s[]b[]f — —
He has garrisoned Mesed⁵⁹ (123) with soldiers ṛ — ṛ — — ”

ḥḥ.n rdt.n ḥm=f šm ḥ3w=f
Then His Majesty caused his warriors to go

(124) ḥr m3 ḥpr im m mnfy(t) n ṛry-pḥt P(3)-di-ṛst
(124) and see what was happening there to the troops of hereditary prince Peteese.

iw.n.[t]w r smi (125) n ḥm=f m-dd
One came to report (125) to His Majesty, saying,

sm3=n rmt nb gm=n im
“We slew every person we found there.”

wn.in ḥm=f rdt sw n f3(126)(3)w n ṛry-pḥt P(3)-di-ṛst
Then His Majesty gave it as a reward (126) to the hereditary prince Peteese.

⁵⁸Probably the modern Atar el-Nabî, 2 km south of Old Cairo.

⁵⁹The modern Tall Mustai, also called Tall Umm al-Harb.

The Sources

ḥ^c.n sḏm(.n) sw wr n M T3=f-nḥtī
Then the chief of the Ma Tefnakht heard it,

rdi (127) iw wp(wty) r b(w) hr hm=f
and (127) a messenger was caused to come to the place where His Majesty was,

m swnswn m-dd	http r=k
with cajolery, saying,	"Be appeased!

n m33.n=ī hr=k m (128) hrw nw šp(t)
I cannot behold your face in (128) the days of shame,

n ḥ=ī ḥh=k
(for) I cannot stand before your flame.

nr=i n šfyt
I dread your awesomeness.

is ntk Nwbt(y) hnt T3-rs(y) Mnt(w) (129) k3 nht-^c
Indeed, you are Nubti, foremost of South-land (Upper Egypt), Montu, (129) the bull of
mighty arm!

ir niwt nb di=k hr=k r=s
As for any city toward which you turn your face,

n gm.n=k bk im
you will not be able to find this humble servant <there>

r p_h.n=1 iww nw W₃d-(130)wr
before I have reached the islands of the (130) sea.

lɪw=ɪ sɪd.kwɪ n bɔw=k ɦr mɪd, p=f nɪ ɦr ɦft(y) r=ɪ
in fear of your might, saying, 'His flame is hostile to me!'

in iw n kb(b) (131) ib n hm=k m nn ir.n=k r=i
Isn't (131) your Majesty's heart cool (even now) because of these things you have done
to me?

ink is hry-db(w) mʷ
Indeed, I am one truly repugnant.

n šh=k wī r d̄r bt̄
(Even so) do not smite me according to (my) crime.

h̥y m (132) ʔwsw	rh m kdt
Weigh with (132) the balance,	judge by weight

imy sšp.t(w) ht=i r pr-ḥd
Let my property be received into the Treasury,

m (138) nbw ḥnꜥ ʿt nb ḥwtwyw is nw smsmw ḏbꜣw m ḥt nb
even (138) gold and every precious stone, even the foremost of the horses, a requital
consisting of everything.

imy iw n=i i(139)pwty m sn
Let a messenger (139) come to me quickly

dr=f snḏt m ib=i
that he may drive out fear from my heart!

kꜣ prt=i r ḥwt-nṯr m-ḥr=f
Then I shall go to the temple-compound in his presence,

swꜥb=i m ʿnh (140) nṯr
and I will cleanse myself by a divine (140) oath."

rdt.n ḥm=f šm ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp P(ꜣ)-di-Imn-nst-Tꜣwy imy-r mšꜥ P-wꜣ-r-mꜣ
His Majesty sent the chief lector-priest Peteamennesettowe and the general
Pwarema;

fkꜣ(141).n=f sw m ḥd nbw ḥbsw ʿt nb šps
and he (Tefnakht) (141) presented him (Pi(ankh)y) with silver, gold, clothing, and
every noble precious stone.

pr.n=f r ḥwt-nṯr
After he (Tefnakht) had gone forth to the temple-compound

dwꜣ.n=f nṯr
and worshiped the god,

swꜥb(142).n=f sw m ʿnh nṯr m ḏd
he (142) cleansed himself by a divine oath, saying,

n th(y)=i wḏ-nsw
"I will not transgress the King's decree.

n wꜣn=i (143) ḏdwt ḥm=f
I will not thrust aside (143) what His Majesty says.

n ir=i iw r ḥꜣty-ꜥ m ḥm=k
I will not do harm to a count without your knowledge.

irt=ỉ m dd(144)(wt) nsw
I will act according to what (144) the king says.

n th(y)=ỉ wd.n=f
I will not transgress what he has decreed.”

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f hr(y)-ib hr=s
Then His Majesty was satisfied with it.

ỉ.n.tw r dd (145) n ḥm=f
One came to say (145) to His Majesty, (saying,)

ḥwt-nṯr Sbk sn=sn ḥtm=s
“The Temple-compound-of-Sobek, they have opened its stronghold.

Mtnw rdt hr ḥt=s
The (capital of) the Nome-of-the-Knife⁶⁰ is placed upon its belly.

n wn (146) spꜣt ḥtm.tw r ḥm=f m spꜣwt nw Rsy Mḥt
Not a nome (146) is closed against His Majesty of the nomes of the South and the North,

imnt ibt ww hr(y)-ib hr ḥt=sn n snd(t)=f
the West and the East and the Islands in the Midst being upon their bellies in fear of him,

hr (147) rdt mꜣ ḥt=sn r b(w) hr(y) ḥm=f
(147) causing their property to be presented at the place where His Majesty is.

mỉ ndt nt ḥ
like subjects of the palace.”

ḥd rf tꜣ dwꜣ (148) (sp sn)
At first light, at the crack (148) of dawn,

ỉ.n nn n ḥꜣw sn nw Rsy ḥꜣw sn nw Mḥt m iꜣrwt
those two rulers of the South and the two rulers of the North came wearing their uraei

r sn tꜣ n bꜣw (149) ḥm=f
to kiss the ground to the might (149) of His Majesty,

⁶⁰Modern Atfīḥ, in the 22nd, Aphroditopolite, nome of Upper Egypt.

The Sources

is gr nn (n) nsww ḥṣtyw-ḥ nw T3-mḥw iḥ r m3 nfrw ḥm=f
Now these kings and counts of North-land came to behold His Majesty's beauty,

rdwy(150)=sn m rdwy ḥmwt
their (150) legs being the legs of women.

n ḥk.n=sn r pr-nsw
They could not enter the royal residence

ḏr ntt wnn=sn m ḥm'w (151) ḥn' wnm-rmw
because they were uncircumcised (151) and fish-eaters,

bwt pw nt pr-nsw
and this is an abomination to the royal residence.

is nsw N-m3-r-t ḥk(152)=f r pr-nsw
But King Nimlot entered (152) the royal residence

ḏr ntt wnn=f m w'b n wnm=f rmw
because he was clean and did not eat fish.

ḥḥ.n ḥmt (153) r rdwy=sn
The three (others) stood (153) on their feet,

w' m ḥk pr-nsw
but (just) the one entered the royal residence.

ḥḥ.n ṣtp ḥḥ'w m ḥd nbw ḥmt (154) ḥbsw
The ships were laden with silver, gold, copper, (154) clothing,

ḥt nb nw T3-Mḥw m'w nb n Ḥ3r ḥ3w nb n T3-nṯr
everything of North-land, every product of Syria, and all the aromatic woods of
God's-land.

ḥnt(y) (155) pw iṯr.n ḥm=f iḥb=f 3w
South (155) sailed His Majesty, his heart swelling (with joy),

gswy=f nb ḥr nhm
while the banks on both sides of him were shouting.

imnt iḥbt šsp=sn sr
West and East took up the advance report,

ḥr (156) nhm m h(3)w ḥm=f ḥnw nhm ḏd=sn
(156) shouting around His Majesty; singing and shouting, saying,

pꜣ ḥꜣꜣ t(n)r (sp sn) (157) P-ḥꜣꜣ pꜣ ḥꜣꜣ t(n)r
 "O mighty ruler, O mighty ruler, (157) Pi(ankh)y, O mighty ruler,

ḥw=k ḥi.tw ḥꜣꜣ.n=k Tꜣ-mḥw
 You have come after you established (your) rule over North-land,

ḥr=k kꜣw (158) m ḥmwt
 You make bulls (158) into women.

ndm ḥb n mwt ms tī tꜣ stī ḥm=k
 Happy the heart of the mother who bore you and the man who begot you!

ḥmyw ḥnt ḥrt n=s ḥw ḥdt (159) ms kꜣ
 The valley dwellers adore her, the cow (159) that bore the bull!

ḥw=k r nhḥ nhḥt=k mn(w)
 You shall be forever, your might abiding,

pꜣ ḥꜣꜣ mr(y) Wꜣst
 O Ruler, beloved of Dominion (Thebes)."

[RHP]

Note to the translation

During the last half century there have been many important contributions to advancing our understanding of this text. In particular the work of three scholars, Jean Yoyotte, Karl-Heinz Priese, and Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, has been fundamental for my understanding; and I urge those who wish to penetrate the veil which my interpretation has drawn across the original text to consult their work.

Pi(ankh)y's stela is a work of great and varied artistry. Its dramatic movement flows along three parallel but integrated lines in that it records at one and the same time a royal progress through the course of the inundation of the Nile, a cultic pilgrimage, and an expedition of conquest. It weaves together a variety of genres, from encomiastic poetry to terse military records, into an almost operatic performance. Subtly differing styles of language bring out contrasts, as between Tefnakht's cajoling speech to his forces in Memphis before he abandons them and Pi(ankh)y's incisive discourse as he initiates his bold plan to seize the city. The continuity of the text as a whole is sustained by narrative passages that use forms typical of earlier literature (e.g. ḥꜣꜣ.n, x pw ḥr.n). Although, as previous studies such as Grimal's have shown, the text abundantly exploits earlier sources,⁶¹ it still stands apart as a work of literature in Egyptian

⁶¹Grapow (1924, 38 n. 4, 44 n. 3, 45 n. 9, 51 n. 5, 64 n. 7 and 8, 73 n. 4, 76 n. 2, 77 n. 2, 78 n. 5, 96 n. 7, 104 n. 7, 131 n. 7 and 8, 143 n. 12, 146 n. 9, 154 n. 3, 165 n. 8, and 169 n. 10, referred to here according to the reprint of 1983) frequently cited passages in Pi(ankh)y's stela among examples that illustrate traditional imagery in Egyptian texts.

and merits a thorough-going, unified literary analysis that lies beyond the scope of this book.

I concur with Priese's view that the perspective of this text is Theban (Priese 1970, 30-32),⁶² and I am therefore disposed to believe that it was a product of the best scribal tradition available at what had become the great shrine city of its day. There has, however, been a fair amount of discussion about how fully the writer(s) mastered the classical (Middle Egyptian) language and consequently about how strictly its rules of grammar can be applied to this text (Leahy 1984a, 205 n. 29). The creativity the text reveals at least indicates that whoever wrote it mastered the standards of the language employed and was not forced to fall back on contemporary language when stock phrases and recurrent constructions could not be pressed into service to express what was intended.

The historicity of the main line of the narrative is borne out by its consistency with the other contemporary sources available to us, but the literary and ideological concerns manifest in the text require great subtlety when interpreting its details. A case in point is the often discussed passage (lines 9-12) in which Pi(ankh)y instructs the expeditionary force he is sending from Kush to Egypt. Some carefully considered interpretations (*e.g.*, Gardiner 1935) have assessed it as essentially bombastic, others (*e.g.*, Grimal 1981) as the utterance of a practised tactician. In this instance, I follow the latter; but readers should be aware that the case is not closed.

[RHP]

Comments

Ever since its discovery in 1862, this monument has been the subject of scholarly comment (beginning with de Rougé 1863; Mariette 1867, Pls I-VI) and elicited admiration; and it continues to be re-translated and re-analyzed in our day. The most recent translations and analyses by Lichtheim (1980, 66-84) and especially Grimal (1981, 2 ff.) also present an overview of earlier literature on the stela and give a detailed discussion of the narrative, its language and historical and philological context. Detailed historical commentaries were also presented by Yoyotte (1961) and Kitchen (1986, § 325-327); and political and military aspects were recently discussed by Spalinger (1979) and Kessler (1981). The analysis of the narrative presented in Grimal's monumental work (1981) renders a detailed discussion thereof superfluous, though several problems regarding the language and historical implications of this inexhaustible text remain unsolved even after Grimal's efforts. The following comments are only intended to explain the main course of the events.

⁶²The wealth of information the text contains about the political and cultic geography of Egypt also supports this conclusion.

The lunette relief gives a pictorial summary of the outcome of the events described in the main text of the stela, i.e., it represents Piye's triumph in the wars he fought under Amûn's protection. We see on the left Amûn enthroned with Mut standing behind him and Piye before him, all facing right. In front of Piye King Nimlot of Hermopolis leads up a horse; Nimlot is shown shaking a sistrum in order to pacify Piye and is accompanied by his queen shown with her right arm raised in the gesture of adoration. In the lower register are the figures of Kings Osorkon IV, Iuput II, and Peftjauawybast, kissing the ground in front of Piye. Behind the group of deities and Piye, in two registers, are the prostrate figures of the hereditary prince Peteese and the chiefs of the Libyan Ma Patjenfy, Pemui, Akanosh, and Djedamenefankh, kissing the ground.

The narrative is advanced by the dating of the text to the month of Akhet of regnal year 21, which is identified with the absolute date ca. 727 BC in the professional literature; and the events of Year 20 described would thus have occurred in ca. 728 BC (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 114 f.; Grimal 1981, 216-219). According to the minimal chronology put forward by Depuydt (1993, 270 f.), however, the Egyptian campaign occurred in 709 BC. The period covered by the text is roughly one year (cf. Grimal 1981, 219, 295). The monument is termed a royal decree (*wḏ*) and starts with a statement on Piye's divine sonship and predestination (lines 1 f.) where, however, a unique remark on the knowledge of his parents concerning his divine sonship is added (cf. Grimal 1986, 117. On the text as a royal decree but composed in the dramatic-literary style of a *Königsnovelle*, see op. cit. 297 f.). This is paraphrased again in lines 158 f., but there his mother is also compared to Hathor ("the cow that bore the bull"). The unity of divine father and his son, the king, is repeatedly emphasized in the text (on the god's shade above him: lines 67 f., cf. Baines 1985, 74), the latter being the god's living image (line 1; Grimal 1986, 129 note 359 translates "divine emanation") and the living likeness of Atum (for the latter cf. the analogous epithets of Ramesses II, Merenptah, Ramesses III, Grimal 1986, 148). His divine nature is recognized by his submissive opponents and allies (see line 75). These concepts introduce the statements on the king's acting *as Rê* in the course of the conflicts described. In line 127 the king's dreadful "flame" associates him with the sun god whose daily victory over Apophis, Chaos, Iniquity, is won with the help of Ma'at, the flaming Equity, *Nsrt*, the uraeus at his brow (lines 127-129, cf. Grimal 1986, 79; and cf. the image of Ramesses II in the Qadesh Poem, a monument that is conceptually related to the Great Triumphal Stela; cf. Lichtheim 1976, 63; for the analysis of the Qadesh Record see the recent study by Ockinga 1987).

In Year 19 Piye is at Napata when he receives reports of the southward expansion of Tefnakht's chiefdom in the western Delta and of his alliance with other chiefs; the allies are reported to have besieged Herakleopolis, the seat of Piye's ally Peftjauawybast (lines 2-5). Yet the king orders action only at the news of King Nimlot's defection (lines 6-8). His troops stationed in Upper Egypt (line 8) are sent north to recapture Hermopolis, Nimlot's capital; and he also sends

north a force from Kush with orders to let the enemy concentrate his forces and, when reaching Thebes, to submit to Amûn (lines 8-14).

The precise date of these events cannot be determined; also their course is condensed. The initial situation is determined by Tefnakht's expansion to the border of the Hermopolite nome (cf. Kessler 1981, map) and the submission of the chiefs of the territory occupied by him; yet this situation was earlier acknowledged by Piye (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 324). Kessler (1981, 138 ff.) reconstructs in great detail the course of the combined military efforts of Tefnakht and Nimlot against the kingdom of Herakleopolis and assigns Nimlot a far more significant role than the text of the stela would indicate (and he refers to the lunette relief where the *leader* of the defeated enemies is Nimlot).

Piye's action is carefully staged in the stela text as a *bellum justum* through the dramatic sequence: 1. Report on Tefnakht's aggression, 2. The "princes, counts and generals who were in their towns" (and who were not Piye's subjects, cf. Kessler 1981, 243) allegedly ask Piye to intervene "every day", 3. Piye hesitates, 4. but decides to act after learning of Nimlot's "defection". In Kessler's view Piye's actual objective was to crush Hermopolis, the northern neighbor of his Upper Egyptian domain (op. cit., 244 f.). The action of the troops sent north from the Thebaid and the dispatch of the fleet from Kush are coordinated. In lines 16-23 two river battles near Herakleopolis between the fleets of Piye and the allied enemies (listed in lines 17-19) are described. The second battle is followed by a land assault. Though the coalition besieging Herakleopolis suffers defeats, Piye's victory is not decisive. He is thus forced to make the decision to lead an army to Egypt himself; in the ca. three months between the decision and his arrival in Thebes (cf. Spalinger 1979, 299; Kessler 1981, 249 note 109) his forces occupy three fortresses (Kessler 1981, 249: Oxyrhynchos, Hardai, el Hibeh) and prepare the capture of Hermopolis (Kessler 1981, 249 f.).

Piye's campaign is described in classical terms as a series of submissions by the King's foes as the King proceeds northwards and not as a report of conflicts; only two major military actions, i.e., the capture of Hermopolis and Memphis, are described as such (cf. Grimal 1981, 224; for an analysis of Piye's tactics see Spalinger 1979 *passim* and esp. 286). The narrative thus describes a process of political and ideological legitimation of Piye's rule in Egypt (ibid.). The most outstanding "external" feature of the narrative structure is thus determined by the theological concept of Piye's progress starting from the south at the New Year and proceeding north, restoring order, taking into possession, and "giving life" to the land, while satisfying the gods. An association of the royal progress with the Inundation thus seems fundamental, as in later Kushite royal texts (cf. 17, 29).

The king departs from Napata after the celebration of the rites of the New Year (of Year 20); this timing is ideologically highly significant, for the festival of the New Year was a confirmation of royal power (cf. Goyon 1972). Of a similar ideological significance is the next station on his progress at Thebes three

months later, where he celebrates the Opet festival of Amûn (2nd Akhet to 3rd Akhet, day 2) (lines 25 f.). After this, he proceeds to Hermopolis, tightens the siege until Nimlot surrenders, enters the town and performs offerings in the temples of Thoth of Hermopolis and of the Ogdoad (lines 29-60). By these acts, as also revealed by the hymn with which he is greeted by the army of Hermopolis (lines 60 f.), his legitimacy is acknowledged. The following episode (lines 62-69) in Nimlot's stables where Piye is angered by Nimlot's neglect in allowing his horses to starve during the siege is usually interpreted as a manifestation of the individual character of the Kushite pharaoh (cf. Breasted 1909, 545; Wilson 1957, 293; Adams 1977, 262 f.; on expression of "personal temperament" in Kushite inscriptions in general: Gardiner 1935, 219). Though the narrative repeatedly mentions horses, partly because of the actual role they played in Kushite warfare in which the use of cavalry seems to have been developed long before this tactic was employed in Egypt (for the evidence see Török 1991, 195-197), the mentions are nevertheless mainly motivated by the traditional image of Pharaoh. New Kingdom rulers displayed an aristocratic love of horses, but Piye's concern for the stables—a traditionally royal institution—also presents a proof of his fulfillment of a royal duty (cf. also Špalinger 1979, 283, who, however, only sees the military value of the animals).

Herakleopolis is thus relieved; and Piye receives, still in Hermopolis, Peftjauawybast's homage (lines 70-76, cf. Grimal 1981, 227) in which the King is described again in the classical terms of Egyptian New Kingdom kingship ideology.

On his way north towards Memphis Piye receives the surrender of House-of-Sekhemkheperre (cf. Grimal 1981, 227), Meidum, and Illahun (lines 77-85). The capture of Memphis (lines 85-96. Note that in line 88 allusion is made at the semi-insular position of Memphis, which is confirmed by Herodotus, II, 99; Strabo, XVII, 1,32 and is also indicated by recent geoarchaeological investigation, see the preliminary report by Jeffreys-Giddy 1992) is followed by Piye's visit to the Ptah Temple (the ceremonies described here (line 98) are those of an enthronement proper; for the *pr-dwꜣ[t]*, House-of-Morning, cf. A.M. Blackman, JEA 5 [1918], 148-165) and by the submissions of other local Memphite garrisons (line 98 f.) and then of Iuput II of Leontopolis, of the Chief of the Ma Ākanosh, and of the hereditary prince Peteese of Athribis-Heliopolis (lines 99 f.). As a prelude to the subsequent episode at Heliopolis, Piye is purified in the sacred lake of the Pool-of-Kebeh (for the localization see Gessler-Löhr 1983, 229 f.) in the "River-of-Nun" "wherein Rê bathes his face". This purification in the course of which Piye is "caused to be son of the sun god" (cf. A.M. Blackman, PSBA 40 [1918], 91) belongs to the coronation rites performed in the Rê sanctuary at Heliopolis, which also include the tying-on of the *sdb*-garment, presumably a Kushite item of apparel belonging to the royal regalia (cf. Török 1990) and culminate in the most impressively described intimate encounter of the King with his divine father (lines 100-105). This latter moment of the rites, which is de-

scribed for the first time here, would later be a canonical part of the Kushite enthronement ceremonies; yet it appears originally to have been connected with a similar New Kingdom coronation rite (cf. Goyon 1972, 23 ff.). The submission of Osorkon IV (line 106) immediately follows and is probably part of the ceremonies connected with the enthronement (cf. Grimal 1981, 268 f.).

The submissions continue during Piye's further progress to the eastern part of the nome of Athribis with the homage of fifteen local rulers. This episode is introduced by Peteese's homage and speech (lines 107-110) in which he summons Tefnakht's fifteen allies to swear allegiance to Piye (lines 111-114). These are listed in hierarchical order and according to zones (lines 114-117): Osorkon IV (representing the Twenty-Second Dynasty, which had already surrendered earlier); Iuput II (Twenty-Third Dynasty, which had already surrendered earlier); Djedamenefankh and Ankh-Hor (Ma Chieftdom of Mendes); Akanosh (Chieftdom of Sebennyos, which had already surrendered earlier); Patjenfy (Chieftdom of Per-Soped = Saft el-Henneh); Pemui (Chieftdom of Busiris); Nesnayisu (Chieftdom of Bull-of-*Heseb*, approximately identical with the 11th Lower Egyptian nome, see Grimal 1981, 156 note 470); Nakhthorneshnu (Chieftdom of Per-Gerer, in the eastern Delta, cf. Yoyotte 1961, 133, with note 7); the Chiefs of the Ma Pentawere and Pentibekhene (not localized); Pediharsomtous and Horbes (Letopolis); Djedkhiyu (Khentnofer = the south of the Memphite nome); and Pabasa (Battle-field = modern Old Cairo, and House-of-Hapy = Atar el-Nabi in the region of Heliopolis, cf. Grimal 1981, 136 note 398, 157 note 476).

In the meantime Tefnakht raised an insurrection at Mesed (west of the Damietta branch of the Nile, on the northern edge of Peteese's realm, cf. Kitchen 1986, § 326; Grimal 1981, 230 ff.). The revolt was swiftly crushed (lines 120-126). Tefnakht announces his submission (line 127); his message is rendered in the text of the stela in the form of a eulogy of Piye in classical terms (lines 127-140). Yet Tefnakht himself does not personally pay homage to the Kushite; and a compromise is agreed according to which Tefnakht gives his solemn oath of allegiance in the presence of the lector-priest of Amûn of Thebes Peteamennesettowe and of general Pwarema (lines 140-144). The agreement between Piye and Tefnakht leads finally to the end of the last resistance in the Fayyum (Per-Sobek) and at Atfih (lines 144-146).

The last reported political act is the homage of the two rulers of the South (Nimlot and Peftjauawybast) and the two rulers of the North (Osorkon IV and Iuput II) (lines 147-154). Only Nimlot, however, is allowed to enter Piye's palace (at Athribis); the other three are excluded as ritually impure because "they were uncircumcised and fish-eaters" (lines 150 f.). The four rulers represent the conquered parts of Egypt. Tefnakht of Sais retains his independence in the Western Delta (and would shortly assume the royal title, cf. Kitchen 1986, § 332; Bonhême 1987, 228-232). Piye's triumphant return to Thebes is briefly reported

(lines 154 f.) and the inscription closes with the hymn already mentioned in connection with the hymn in line 1.

[LT]

10 Fragments of a stela of Piye (?). Ca. 744 BC (?).

Berlin 1068 (now lost). Urk. III, 78 f.; Cairo JE 47085, G. Loukianoff, *Ancient Egypt* 1926, Pl. opp. p. 88, Priese 1972, 29.

Text and translation

- (1) ... mšꜥ] n ꜥ — ꜥ [(2) ...]ꜥ — ꜥ n nbw r ḥr=f ḥw sꜥ-ꜥn [...
 (1) ... the arm]y of (king) [... (2) ...]ꜥ — ꜥ of gold before him, ꜥ — ꜥ being [...

- (3) ... r ꜥpt n 3bd 2 3ḥt ḥst-sp 4 ḥr [ḥm] n [...
 (3) to Opet in the second month of the season of Inundation. Regnal year 4 under the majesty of [...

- (4) ...] wdnw ʿšꜥw m b3ḥ=f ḥd [(4) ...] numerous offerings in his presence. Northwards sailed [...

- (5) ... m]šꜥ n p(3) t3 mḥw [...
 (5) ... ar]my of the Land of the North [...

[RHP]

Comments

The granite stela fragment Berlin 1068 belonged to the material discovered by the Lepsius expedition and was supposedly found at Gebel Barkal (cf. Grimal 1981, xv). A. Erman (*ZÄS* 29 [1891], 126) identified it as fragment of a Kushite inscription; and G. Loukianoff (*Ancient Egypt* 1926, 88 f.) claimed that it was a fragment of the same inscription from which Cairo JE 47085 also originates. While on the Berlin fragment the name in the cartouche was destroyed, in the Cairo fragment Piye's name is preserved. Somewhat hesitatingly Yoyotte (1951, 220 no. 25*bis*) and Priese (1972, 28 f.) attributed the original inscription to Piye. Grimal (1981, xv), by contrast, notices that the granite material is similar to that of the Nastasen inscription (see FHN, vol. 2) and judges the paleography and language of the fragments to be "later" than those of the Great Triumphal Stela (9). He does not, however, mention the reason for Priese's hesitation, viz., the possibility that, since the name Piye is not preceded in the Cairo fragment by the royal title, it may also be part of a personal name of the type "he belongs to Piye" (Priese 1972, 28 f.).

In Priese's interpretation (1970, 29 f.), the Berlin fragment may be part of a speech of the king similar to that in 9, lines 25 f., announcing his intention, to participate in the Opet festival of Amûn in Thebes. The speech is followed by the mention of Year 4 (cf. (6)) and of an offering and a subsequent northward

progress of the king. In Priese's view, the Cairo fragment belongs to a later section of the narrative and records Piye's actual participation in the Opet festival. If the attribution of the fragments is correct, they may be interpreted as evidence of a journey to Thebes in the early part of Piye's reign, i.e., around 744 BC (or around 725 BC, according to Depuydt 1993), and would strongly support the view according to which Piye's claim to the kingship of Egypt as expressed in the Sandstone Stela (8) was based on his actual control over Thebes already established by the time of his ascent to the throne (cf. comments to 3 and 4).

[LT]

11 Funerary stela of Queen Tabiry from grave Ku. 53 at el Kurru. Before ca. 716 BC.

Khartoum 1901. Dunham 1950, figs 29, 30.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

BEFORE A WOMAN, STANDING, FACING LEFT (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ḥmt-nsw T3-b-(2)ṛ-y

(1) The king's wife, Tab(2)iry.

BEFORE A GOD, SEATED, FACING RIGHT (one column, reading from right to left)

(3) Wsṛ

(3) Osiris.

BEFORE A GODDESS, STANDING BEHIND OSIRIS (one column, reading from right to left)

(4) Ṛst dī ṅḥ

(4) Isis, giving life.

MAIN TEXT (nine lines, reading from right to left)

(1) ḥtp-dī-nsw n Wsṛ ḥnty Ṛmntt nṛ ʿ (2) nb Ṛbt

(1) A gift which the king gives for Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, the great god, (2) lord of the East,

dī=f t ḥnkt snṛ ṅntīw

that he may give bread, beer, incense, and myrrh

(3) n ḥmt-nsw ʿt sṛ Ṛ-l-r sṛ n (4) K3-s-k-t

(3) to the great king's-wife, daughter of Alara, daughter of (4) Kasaqa,

ḥmt-nsw ʿst tpyt n ḥm=f P-ḥnh-y di ḥnh
first great king's-wife of His Majesty Pi(ankh)y, given life,

(5) T3-b-ir-y t3 ʿst ḥstiw
(5) Tabiry, the great (lady) of the foreigners,

ʿw(6)d3 s¹ rn m-s3 mr s P(ḥnh)y
... (6) ... after Pi(ankh)y 'loved her'¹

(7) Ws3r ḥmt-nsw T3-b-ir-y mry
(7) The Osiris, the king's-wife Tabiry, beloved.

(8) 3nk mry it ʿn3-ir-y n mn
(8) I am beloved of (my) father ...

(9) nh3pn¹ n3-ir-y
(9) ...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The meaning of lines 5 to 9 of this text eludes me. In the light of the traditional form of the introductory offering formula one might reasonably expect that these lines conceal some further stock phrases, but the determinatives indicate the presence of personal names. If so, they may be of Napatan rather than Egyptian origin.

[RHP]

Comments

The queen was a daughter of Alara, who receives the royal title in the text of the stela (cf. comments on (2)), and his wife Kasaqa, and wife of Piye whom she predeceased. This may be the reason why she had not become mother of an heir to the throne, for in other respects her titulary indicates an exalted status in the harem (cf. Troy 1986, 107). A later possessor of the title "first great wife of His Majesty", Takahatamani, a wife of Taharqo, belonged to the female adoption line which played an essential role in the legitimacy of Alara's and Kashta's descendants (cf. comments to 37 and see Török n.d., Ch. 17.2, 17.6). The model of the title was the titulary of Henttawy A, wife of Pinodjem I, High Priest of Amûn of Thebes under the Twenty-First Dynasty, or, what is more probable, that of Queen Mutnodjmet, wife of the Twenty-First Dynasty ruler Psusennes I (for these see Troy 1981, 172 f., 21.6 and 21.9).

[LT]

(12) Shabaqo. Titles.

Sources: LR IV, 13 (I), 14 (VIII), 15 (X), (XI), (XIIA,B), 16 (XIV), (XVI); and see Beckerath 1984, 108 XXV.4.

Horus name	Sbq-ṯwy (cf. J. Leclant 1983, 499 and 505 note 8) “He-who-blesses-Two-lands”
<i>Nebty</i> name	the same
Golden Horus name	the same
Throne name	Nfr-k3-Rꜥ “Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-beautiful”
Son of Rê name	Šbk Epithet: mry-ꜥmn “Beloved-of-Amûn”

Comments

The titles exemplify the archaizing tendency in Third Intermediate Period royal titularies, the identical Horus, *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names reflect the style of Old and Middle Kingdom titularies (see the exemplars of the x+ṯwy type of name listed in Bonhême 1987, 282). The throne name is similarly archaizing (cf. Bonhême 1987, 58) but also occurs in the titulary of Ramesses IX (Beckerath 1984, 96 XX.8 T 1) and, what is probably far more significant, in the titularies of the Twenty-First Dynasty king Neferkare Amenemnisu (Bonhême 1987, 57 f.) and of the Twenty-Third Dynasty ally of Piye, Peftjauawybast (op. cit., 217).

The insertion of the epithet “Beloved of Amûn” into the name cartouche was current already before Ramesses II (cf. Bonhême 1987, 268) and usual in the Third Intermediate Period (Psusennes, Beckerath 1984, 98 XXI.3 E 1; Siamun, op.cit., XXI.6 E 1; Sheshonq IV, op. cit., 105 XXIII.3 E 1). The model was, however, presumably Piye’s epithet in the name cartouche (mry-ꜥmn is written in the cartouche already in the Sandstone Stela, cf. 8), which followed, in turn, probably the model of Sheshonq IV’s example.

[LT]

(13) Shabaqo. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Shabaqo was son of Kashta (filiation attested *via* the God’s Wife of Amûn Amonirdis I, daughter of Kashta and sister of Shabaqo, as recorded on the statue Cairo 565, Leclant 1965, 96) and younger brother and successor of Piye (cf. (6)). Only one of his wives, Kalhata (of unknown parentage) is recorded (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 146 no. 63). His attested sons are: Shebitqo (cf. (16), on

the basis of the Manethonian tradition, see Manetho, ed. Waddell, 167-169; Priese 1981, 51; Leahy 1984, 44), Tanutamani (cf. (28), cf. Leahy 1984, 44), and the Theban High Priest of Amûn Haremakheth (Kitchen 1986, § 157); and of his daughters we know Istemkheb, who was married either to Shebitqo or to Tanutamani (see her Abydos coffin, Leahy 1984, 43) and Piankharty (Piye-ere), who was married to Tanutamani (cf. 29). His legitimacy was secured both through his being son of King Kashta and younger brother of King Piye, yet it seems that he ascended in fact the throne according to the rule of the collateral succession.

A rule of min. 15 years is indicated by the inscription of the statue BM 24429 (see below). It is argued on the basis of Assyrian evidence (see Kitchen 1986, § 115) that it was Shabaqo who, after developments of an, unfortunately, unknown nature in Egypt and connected with the anti-Assyrian policy of Sais (cf. Spalinger 1973; Kitchen 1986, § 333-336), was forced to “reconquer Egypt” in his 2nd regnal year which is dated by Kitchen (1986, § 340) to 715 BC and to 712 BC by Spalinger (1973). The connection between the Assyrian data referring to events in 712 BC and Shabaqo’s conquest of Lower Egypt is, however, disputed by Depuydt (1993, 271 ff.) who dates the latter event to 705 BC. (The expression “reconquer Egypt” is used by Leclant 1983, 499 as well as by Kitchen 1986, § 340, although there is no evidence to show that the parts of Middle and Upper Egypt controlled by Piye from Year 21 onwards had really been lost. Eventually, Memphis came under Tefnakht’s control; but, like his successor Bakenranef/Bocchoris, he ruled from Sais. Memphis also accepted Bakenranef’s control, as indicated by the occurrence of his name in connection with the death of an Apis bull in his 6th regnal year; but this bull had already been buried by Shabaqo. The memory of a conflict between Bakenranef and Shabaqo which ended with the establishment of Kushite rule in Sais is preserved in the Manethonian story according to which the former was captured and burnt alive by the latter; cf. Kitchen 1986, § 338, 340 and is evidenced by the commemorative scarab Toronto 910.28.1 [15] recording Shabaqo’s victory in the Delta.) The absolute regnal years 716-702 BC assumed by Kitchen (1986, Table *4) were disputed by Spalinger (1973, 101: 713-701 BC) and, most recently, by Depuydt (1993, 271: 706-692 BC). For an account of his reign and an overview of his monuments see Leclant 1983 and Kitchen 1986, § 339-344. For his pyramid burial Ku. 15 at el Kurru see Dunham 1950, 55-57.

Year 2

Sources: commemorative scarab Toronto Royal Ontario Museum 910.28.1 (14), G. Maspero, ASAE 7 (1906), 142; LR IV, 16 f. (XVI); Karnak, Nile level record no. 30, Leclant 1965, 5 § 1A-C; Beckerath 1966, 47, 52 no. 30; donation stela from Pharbaitos Louvre E 10571, Yoyotte 1961, 126, 140, 172; Serapeum inscription, J. Vercoutter, Kush 8 (1960), 62-76 65 ff.

The Sources

Year 3

Source: donation stela from Sefeta/Bubastis, Shehata Adam, ASAE 55 (1958), 307.

Year 4: stela Moscow, Pushkin Museum Iae1a (5646), Hodjache-Berlev 1982, 165, fig. 108.

Year 6

Source: donation stela from Buto New York, Metropolitan Museum 55.144.6, D. Meeks in: State and Temple Economy, OLA 5-6, Louvain 1979, 673.

Year 7

Source: abnormal hieratic papyrus Louvre E 3228c, M. Malinine, RdE 6 (1951), 159, Pl. 1.

Year 10

Source: as Year 7, M. Malinine, Archives de l'histoire du droit oriental 5 (1950), 61 ff. no. 34.

Year 12

Source: Wadi Hammamat inscription no. 187, Graefe 1981, 70.

Year 13

Source: abnormal hieratic papyrus Louvre E 3228b, M. Malinine, BEHE 300 (1953), 3 ff.

Year 14

Sources: Apis stelae SIM 2686 and 3117, J. Vercoutter, Kush 8 (1960), 69 f.

Year 15

Source: statue of Iti, British Museum 24429, Leclant 1965, 15 ff., Pl. 5.

[LT]

14 Commemorative scarab of Shabaqo. Ca. 715 BC (?).

Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 910.28.1.

Text and translation

(1) [ḥꜣt-sp x ḥr

(1) [Regnal year x under

Hr Sbꜣ-Tꜣwy

Horus: "He-who-blesses-Two-lands",

(2) Nbtj] Sbk-twy

(2) Two-Ladies: "He-who-blesses-Two-lands",

Hr-nb Sbk-twy

Golden-Horus: "He-who-blesses-Two-lands",

(3) Nsw-bity Nfr-k3-R

(3) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-beautiful",

S3-R Š3-b3-k3 dī ʿnh

Son-of-Rê: Shabaqo, given life,

(4) mry ʾImn r nsw nb ḥpr dr w3ḥ (5) t3

(4) more loved by Amûn than any king who has existed since the founding (5) of the land.

sm3.n=f sbw r=f

He has slain those who rebelled against him

m Šm Mḥw (6) m ḥ3st nb

in the South and the North, (6) and in every foreign country.

ḥrw-šʿy bdš(7)w r=f

The Sand-Dwellers who rebell(7)ed against him

ḥr n šʿ(t)=f

are fallen down through fear of him,

ḥi=sn (8) ds=sn m skrw-ʿnh

They come (8) of themselves as prisoners.

n(9)dr.n wʿ snnw=f im=sn

Each one has (9) seized his fellow among them,

ḥr ʾir.n=f (10) 3ḥt n ʾit=f

because he (the king) has performed (10) benefaction for <his> father (Amûn),

n ʿ3(t) n(t) mr=f sw

so greatly does he love him.

[RHP]

Note to the translation

Yoyotte (1956 and 1958) has persuasively dispelled doubts that have been raised about the authenticity of this scarab and has marshaled parallels from earlier

sources which show that its text was firmly anchored in a well established tradition of royal phraseology.

[RHP]

Comments

The issue of scarabs with a “historical” text commemorating an important event during the rule of a pharaoh was introduced in the New Kingdom and scarabs of this sort found their way to remote areas (e.g., Kanaan, cf. Giveon 1984, 973), a fact which may be relevant to their function. The Shabaqo scarab records the outcome of the conflict in the Delta which may have been the actual reason of his journey to the North in Year 2. The defeat of the Sand-dwellers may refer to the restoration of border security in the Sinai (Kitchen 1986, § 340). The donation stelae from Years 2 (from Pharbaitos, erected by the local Chief of Ma Patjenfy), 3 (from Bubastis), and 6 (from Buto) are evidence of Shabaqo’s successful control of the former domain of the kings of Sais Tefnakht and Bakenranef; and his victories are also commemorated in the dedicatory text on the Fourth Pylon of the great Amûn Temple in Karnak, in which he states that the victories were “decreed” for him by his father Amûn (Leclant 1951, 107, 110 ff., Pl. 4; Kitchen 1986, § 340).

[LT]

(15) Shebitqo. Titles.

Sources: 1. Karnak, Quay, Nile level record no. 33 from Year 3 (17), Beckerath 1966, 53 no. 33; 2. statue from Memphis, LR IV, 29 (III); 3. as 1; 4. donation stela from Year ? (see (16)) New York Metropolitan Museum 65.45, D. Meeks in: State and Temple Economy, OLA 5-6, Louvain 1979, 616 note 44, 637.

Titles/documents

1.

a. Horus name	Dd-ḥꜥw Dd-ḥꜥt “Whose-appearances-endure” “	Kꜣ nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Wst Mighty-Bull Who- Appears-in-Thebes”
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	ꜣ-šfjt-m-tꜣw-nb(w) “Whose-renown-is-great- in-all-lands”	Shꜣy-Mꜣt mry-Tꜣwy “Manifesting-Equity, Beloved-of-Two-lands”
c. Golden Horus name	ꜣ-ḥpš ḥwj-pdt-9 “Whose-strength-is-great Who-smites-the-Nine-Bows”	Hrw-ḥr-nḥtw “Satisfied-with- Victory”

d. Throne name	Dd-kꜣw-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-enduring-of-Kas"		
e. Son of Rê name	with Epithet Mry-ꜣmn "Beloved-of-Amûn"		
	2.	3.	4.
a.	Dd-hꜣw Šbtk "Whose-appearances-endure", Shebitqo		
b.		Dd-hꜣw-nbtj	
c.			
d.			Dd-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One- enduring- of-Kas"
e.	with Epithet Mry-Pth "Beloved-of-Ptah"		

Comments

The multiplicity of Horus, *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names fits well into the style of Third Intermediate Period titularies; and the titles of Shebitqo reflect in general the archaizing trend of the post-New Kingdom period (cf. Bonhême 1987, 237-248). The Horus name "Whose-appearances-endure" was probably inspired by the Horus name of the Fifth Dynasty Memphite (see also the remark below on the epithet in 2 e) king Isesi. Yet the rest of his titles was inspired by more recent models and conveyed an imperialistic political program: the Horus name, "Strong Bull, Appearing-in-Thebes", gives expression to the concept of rule over Egypt and repeats the traditional Horus name of the period from Tuthmosis I to Amenophis III (Bonhême 1987, 259 note 2) and the Horus names of the Twenty-Second Dynasty kings Osorkon II, Takeloth II, Shoshenq V (including the High Priest of Amûn of Thebes Harsiese I, Beckerath 1984, 103 XXIIA.5 H) and of the Twenty-Third Dynasty pharaoh Osorkon III. Significantly, it was the last named who, as the last of his line, assumed this title, indicating again that from the period of Takeloth III it was the Kushite sovereigns Piye and then Shabaqo and Shebitqo who were in reality "Appearing", i.e., crowned, "in Thebes" (for the titles quoted see Beckerath 1984, 101 XXII.5 H 6; 102 XXII.6 H; XXII.9 H 2; 105 XXIII.4 H). The rest of the titularies was adopted

from the titles of Tuthmosis III (1 b attested: obelisk from Heliopolis now in London, Beckerath 1984, 84 XVIII.6 N 4; 1 b *bis* attested: obelisk in Constantinople, op.cit. N 3; 1 c and 1 c *bis* attested: Lateran obelisk, op.cit. G 5,6). As pointed out by Kitchen (1986, § 345), the aggressive message of these titles was determined by the unavoidable conflict with Assyria. The epithet “Beloved of Amûn” was presumably modeled on Piye’s epithet in the cartouche, while the other epithet “Beloved of Ptah” announces that Shebitqo was fully recognized in Memphis and also reflects the ideological ties of the dynasty with the ancient capital.

[LT]

(16) Shebitqo. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Shebitqo was son of Shabaqo (see (13)). Of his wives only Arty, a daughter of Piye (statue Cairo JE 49157, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 16), and Istemkheb (? Leahy 1984, 43, cf. (13)) are attested. He succeeded his father on the throne, thus following the principle of the Egyptian-type patrilinearity. His highest attested regnal year is 3; and, on a speculative basis and with the use of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Kushite references (the latter in Kawa stelae IV and VI, see 21 and 24), Kitchen assigned to him the absolute dates 702-690 BC (1986, § 126-129) while Depuydt (1993, 271), pointing out the misinterpretation of stela New York Metropolitan Museum 65.45, suggested the absolute dates 692-690 BC. As described in Taharqo’s Kawa inscriptions (see 21, 22), early in his reign Shebitqo was confronted with an Assyrian threat and decided upon an aggressive policy: he summoned Taharqo with an army from Kush to Egypt and sent him to Palestine to fight the Assyrians. The campaign concluded, after the initial defeat of the Egypto-Kushite army and its local allies at Eltekeh and a series of maneuvers, with the retreat of both the Assyrians and the Egyptians (for the campaign see Kitchen 1986, § 346; Kitchen 1983). Shebitqo was buried under pyramid Ku. 18 in the ancestral cemetery at el Kurru (Dunham 1950, 67-71).

Year 3

Source: Karnak Nile level inscription no. 33 (17).

Year ?

Source: donation stela New York, Metropolitan Museum 65.45, D. Meeks, in: Temple and State Economy, OLA 5-6, Louvain 1979, 616 note 44, 673.

[LT]

17 Karnak, Nile level record, Year 3 of Shebitqo. Ca. 700 BC (?).
Beckerath 1966, 53 no. 33; Beckerath 1993 7.

Text and translation

(1) ḥꜣt-sp 3t ꜣbd 1 šmw (sw) 5
(1) Regnal year 3, first month of Summer, (day) 5

ḥr ḥm n
under the Majesty of

Ḥr Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Wꜣst
Horus: "Mighty-bull, Who-appears-in-Dominion (Thebes)"

Nsw-bꜣty
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt

Nbty (2) Dd-ḥꜥ
Two-Ladies: (2) "Whose-appearances-endure",

Ḥr-nb Dd-kꜣw-Rꜥ

Golden-Horus: "Rê-is-One-whose-*kas*-endure",

Sꜣ-Rꜥ mr=f Šꜣ-bꜣ-tꜣ-kꜣ
Son-of-Rê, whom he loves: Shabataka,

mry ꜥmn nb nst Tꜣwy
beloved of Amûn, lord of the thrones of Two-lands,

(3) sk rf ḥꜥ ḥm=f m nsw m ḥwt [n]t ꜥmn
(3) Now (when) His Majesty appeared as king in the compound of Amûn

rdt.n=f n=f [ḥ]ꜥ(4)=f n Tꜣwy
he (Amûn) granted him that he (4) appear to Two-lands

mꜣ Ḥr ḥr nst Rꜥ
like Horus on the throne of Rê.

[dꜣ] n=f ꜣt=f ꜥmn wr
His father, Amûn the Great, granted him

(5) Ḥꜥp(y) [ꜥ]ꜣ wr [— — -] wr Ḥꜥp(y)
(5) a very great Inundation, (blank) that the Inundation be great

m ḥ(ꜣw)=f
in his time:

(6) (mh) 20 [šsp] 2
(6) 20 (cubits) and 2 [spans].

[RHP]

Comments

Records of the highest water level at the inundation are preserved at Semna and Kumma in Lower Nubia from the Thirteenth Dynasty onward; the preserved Nile level records at Karnak date from the period of the early Twenty-Second through the early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. They usually record the Nile level in a brief formula (cf. Beckerath 1981). The Nile level records from Year 2 of Shabaqo (Beckerath 1966, 52 no. 30), from Year 3 of Shebitqo, and from Year 6 of Taharqo (op.cit., 53 nos 34, 35) differ, however, from the rest with their more complex contents. Instead of simply giving the level data of a certain regnal year, these inscriptions also make a statement concerning the legitimacy of the actual ruler. In 17, Shebitqo's enthronement in the great Amûn Temple in Thebes is presented in close and determining connection with the inundation. Piye's northward progress had started at the New Year; and its description in the Great Triumphal Stela (9, see comments) associated the notions of New Year, legitimacy, and inundation. The association of legitimacy with inundation is a recurrent feature, in an even more explicit form, of later Kushite royal texts (see Taharqo, Kawa V [22]; Taharqo stela from the Dahshur road [23]; in general for Taharqo's inscriptions from Year 6 see Vikentief 1930; for scarab Louvre N 632 of Taharqo "beloved of Hapy, lord of products and provisions" see Leclant-Yoyotte 1949, 37 ff.; for his Karnak inscription from Year 14-17 [?] see 26; the offering of sacred water to Amen-Rê by the king at the New Year, i.e., at Inundation, occurs in Taharqo's inscription on his Quay Ramp in front of the First Pylon of the great Amûn Temple in Karnak, see Traunecker 1972, 232 ff.; see further Anlamani, Kawa VIII [34]; the Harsiyotef stela [see FHN vol. 2]. For the roots of this concept see Grimal 1986, 264-270). According to 17, Shebitqo did not go to Egypt before his third regnal year, yet this does not necessarily mean that he would have been crowned as sole ruler in Thebes only after more than two years of coregency with Shabaqo (thus Spalinger 1973, 98; *contra*: see Leclant-Yoyotte 1952, 15-27; Kitchen 1986, § 132-137; Beckerath 1993, 8).

[LT]

(18) Taharqo. Titles.

Sources: 1. Gebel Barkal, Mut Temple B 300, LD V, 8; 2. *ibid.*, LD V, 12b; 3. ZÄS 87 (1962), 3; 4. Gebel Barkal, Amûn Temple, altar from B 506, LD V, 13.

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
a. Horus name	ḳ3-ḥꜥw “Whose-appearances are-lofty”	ḳ3-ḥꜥw Thrq “Whose-appearances -are-lofty”, Taharqo
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	ḳ3-ḥꜥw “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”	
c. Golden Horus	Ḥw-Tꜣwy “Protector-of-Two-lands”	
d. Throne name	Ḥw-Nfrtm-Rꜥ “Nefertum-Is-Protector-of-Rê” or: Ḥw-(wꜥ)- Nfrtm-Rꜥ “Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”	
e. Son of Rê name	Taharqo	

Comments

Taharqo's Horus and *Nebty* names were created on the model of Shebitqo's archaizing Horus name (see (15) 1, 2 a). His throne name refers to Nefertum; member of the Memphite triad who in temple inscriptions frequently had the epithet “Protector of the Two Lands” (cf. Leclant 1965, 343 f.), which appears in Taharqo's titulary as his Golden Horus name (“Protector of the Two Lands” was taken as Horus name by Sebekhotep III of the Thirteenth Dynasty, cf. Beckerath 1984, 70 XIII.21 H 1,2). The name fits well, however, into the style of Third Intermediate Period Horus names containing references to the Two Lands, cf. Bonhême 1987, 221-223). The titulary is broadly archaizing and reflects the milieu in which it was created: Taharqo was crowned in Memphis (Kawa V, line 15, see 22).

A block found at Sanam (PM VII, 201) and inscribed with the *Nebty* name Sꜥnh-tꜣwy and the Golden Horus name Ḥw-tꜣwy of an unknown ruler is supposed (Bonhême 1987, 222; Wolf 1990, 213 f.) to be fragment of Taharqo's protocol. If so, a second *Nebty* name would be attested here for the King, one which was, while almost entirely unparalleled in Third Intermediate Period titularies in Egypt (only Herihor, Twenty-First Dynasty, is attested to have assumed several *Nebty* names, Bonhême 1987, 28-30), not quite exceptional in Taharqo's own dynasty (for Piye see (5), for Shebitqo (15)).

[LT]

(19) Taharqo. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Taharqo was son of Piye and his sister-wife Abar (see (6)). Abar was probably member of the female succession line recorded in Aspelta's Election Stela (37) and her titulary was modeled upon the titles of the God's Wife of Amûn Amonirdis I, cf. for her titles Kawa V [22], line 16; Gebel Barkal, Mut Temple, Robisek 1989, 17, 113; and see Török n.d., Ch. 17.4). He succeeded Shebitqo on the throne. Shebitqo was son of his father's younger brother and he "loved (Taharqo) more than all his brethren and all his children and (...) preferred (Taharqo) to them" (Kawa V [22], line 14). This sentence contains allusions to both the collateral and patrilinear succession principles; but, since no children of Shebitqo's are attested, it seems that only its first half corresponded to the actual situation in which Taharqo, an able man of about 32 years (cf. with data in his stela Kawa IV [21], lines 7-10 and Kawa V=22, lines 13 f., 19) and trained in military and state affairs since his youth (he was 20 when summoned by Shebitqo to Egypt, see comments to (16)), was preferred as heir apparent to Tanutamani, Shebitqo's younger brother, probably a mere child at that time. Taharqo married his sisters Tabekenamun, Naparaye, Takahatamani (see (5)), as well as Atakhebasken (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 no. 19) and ...salka (cartouche and titles on the now destroyed pylon of Gebel Barkal temple B 700, PM VII, 214) whose parentages are unknown. Three (?) sons of Taharqo are attested (Atlanersa, mother: ...salka: Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 no. 21 [cf. (31)]; Nes-Anhuret and Nes-Shu-Tefnut, mother[s] unknown: Kitchen 1986, § 351 with note 862). His daughters were the God's Wife of Amûn Elect Amonirdis II (Leclant 1965, 363 ff.), Yeturow (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 148 no. 79), and Khalese (in a scene on the now destroyed pylon of Barkal temple B 700, PM VII, 214).

The absolute dates of his reign, i.e., 690-664 BC, are fixed by sufficient evidence which was analyzed in detail by Kitchen (1986, § 128-137). Details of the history of his reign have been discussed in a great number of studies, of which it may suffice to refer here to the masterly summaries of Leclant (1985) and Kitchen (1986, § 349-354, both with references). Nevertheless, a monographic discussion of his reign is an unfulfilled desideratum of Egyptology as well as Nubian studies. On his monuments in Kush and Egypt see the overview presented in the above-mentioned works; for his temples in Nubia see recently the unpubl. Berlin dissertation of P. Wolf (1990). Taharqo was buried in the royal cemetery of Nuri, opposite Gebel Barkal/Napata on the left bank, which was probably started with his

burial (Nu. 1, Dunham 1955, 6 ff.) and was apparently opened as the necropolis of *his* dynasty (while his successor Tanutamani, who was Shabaqo's son and Shebitqo's younger brother, would be still buried at el Kurru, Taharqo's son and second successor Atlanersa was buried at Nuri).

A list of the dated inscriptions of Taharqo from regnal year 2 to 26 (47 inscriptions) was presented by Spalinger (1978, 44-47. To Year 21 add: donation

stela from Thebes commemorating a private chapel, Graefe-Wassef 1979, fig. 1). The dated inscriptions from Kush, with the exception of the historically less informative ones, are included into this volume (see 21, 22, 24, 25).

[LT]

20 Taharqo, building inscription in the Mut Temple at Gebel Barkal/Napata. After 690 BC.

Room B 303, upper frieze. Dunham 1970, fig. 3.

Text and translation

FIRST BUILDING INSCRIPTION

(one line, reading from left to right)

(1) ḥḥ Hr k(3)-ḥw

(1) (Long) live Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Nbty k(3)-ḥw

Two-Ladies: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Hr-nb Ḥw-T3wy

Golden-Horus: "Protector-of-Two-lands",

Nsw-bity nb T3wy nb ir ht Ḥw-(w3)-Nfrtm-R

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Lord-of-Two-lands, Lord of performing rituals: "Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)",

S3-R nb ḥw T3-h-r-k ḥḥ dt

Son-of-Rê, Lord of Appearances: Taharqo, living for ever.

ir.n=f m mnw f n mwt=f Mwt Npt

What he made as his monument for his mother Mut of Napata:

kd=f n=s hwt-ntr n m3w m inr ḥḥ nfr rwd

he rebuilt for her a temple-compound of beautiful, fine, white sandstone.

is gm.n ḥm=f hwt-ntr tn kd m inr m-ḥ <tpyw->ḥ m k3t nds

Now His Majesty found this temple-compound built from stone by the ancestors (but) in humble workmanship,

wn.in ḥm=f rdt kd.tw hwt-ntr tn m k3t mnḥ n dt

(but) then he had this temple-compound built in excellent, enduring workmanship,

dỉ ʿnh w3s [mỉ] Rʿ
(that he might be) given life and dominion like Rê.

SECOND BUILDING INSCRIPTION

(One line, reading from right to left)

(1) ʿnh Hr k(3)-hʿw
(1) (Long) live Horus: “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”,

Nbty k(3)-hʿw
Two-Ladies: “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”,

Hr-nb Hw-T3wy
Golden-Horus: “Protector-of-Two-lands”,

Nsw-blty nb T3wy nb ỉr ht Hw-(wỉ)-Nfrtm-Rʿ
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Lord-of-Two-lands, Lord of performing rituals,
“Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”,

S3-Rʿ nb hʿw T3-h-r-k ʿnh dt
Son-of-Rê, Lord of Appearances: Taharqo, living for ever.

ỉr.n=f m mnw=f n mwt=f Mwt nb(t) pt hnwt T3-sty
What he made as his monument for his mother Mut, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of
Bow-land:

kd=f pr=s
he built her house

s3=f hwt-ntr=s m m3w m ỉnr hđ nfr rwd
and enlarged her temple-compound, renewed in fine, white sandstone.

dỉ=s n=f ʿnh nb hr=s dd nb hr=s w3s nb hr[=s ...
that she might give him all life from her, all stability from her, and all dominion from
[her].

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The epithets of the goddess Mut in these two inscriptions, “of Napata” (Npt) and
“Lady of Heaven” (nb pt), may involve a word play. The texts seem to mirror one
another.

[RHP]

Comments

The Mut Temple B 300 (also referred to in literature “Typhonium” or “large rock-temple of Amûn”, PM VII, 208) was built at the southern slope of the Sacred Mountain of Amûn at Napata, to the south-west of the great Amûn Temple B 500. Its orientation is almost identical with that of the Amûn temple; and its inner rooms (bark room and side rooms, *Opfertischsaal*=B 303 [PM VII, 209: Third Hall]) are carved into the rock of the Gebel. The ruins of the temple were cleared by G.A. Reisner in 1919 (Dunham 1970, 12), who also discovered traces of an earlier sanctuary (with a different orientation) under the forecourt. Blocks of this older building were reused in the foundations of B 300; and the “re-building” thereof by Taharqo is also alluded to in the building inscription. The iconographical program of the reliefs of the inner rooms was analysed recently by Robisek (1989). On the west wall of B 303 the King offers Maꜣat to Amûn-Re of Thebes and Mut. He is followed by his mother Abar who is shaking the sistrum and whose titles are “Great of Praises, Mother of the King, Sister of the King, Lady of the South and the North, Noblewoman” (Robisek 1989, 17, 66). On the opposite east wall the King, followed by his wife Takahatamani, offers wine to the ram-headed Amûn of Napata. She bears the titles “Noblewoman, Great of Praises, Lady of All Women, Sister of the King, Wife of the King Whom He Loves” (Robisek 1989, 20, 65). Abar is thus associated here with Taharqo’s rule over Egypt, while Takahatamani is connected with Kush. Abar’s titles show the impact of the titulary of Amonirdis I, God’s Wife of Amûn (cf. Troy 1986, 177 GW.4), and also Takahatamani’s titles indicate that, like Abar, she was member of the female line of succession of Kushite queens referred to in Aspelta’s Election Stela (see 37). The mother of Taharqo’s son (?) and second successor Atlanersa was, however, Queen ...salka (see (6), (19)). It would thus seem that it was Takahatamani who was originally predestined to become the mother of the heir apparent, as is evidenced by the titles in B 303 which give expression to the cultic and political aspects of a queen elevated to the role of the vehicle of succession. For unknown reasons, however, she did not become Queen Mother; and her original role seems to have been transferred first to Queen Naparaye (who died in the possession of the corresponding titles, see her offering table from grave Ku. 3, Dunham 1950, Pl. XXXI/B) and then to Queen ...salka. These data suggest that the Mut Temple was completed in the earlier part of Taharqo’s reign.

[LT]

21 Stela of Taharqo from Year 6 from Kawa (Kawa IV). Ca. 685 BC.

From the first court of the Amûn Temple in Kawa (Temple T). Khartoum 2678. Macadam 1949, 14-21, Pls 7 f.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

BELOW SUNDISC

Bḥdty ntr ꜥ nb pt
The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven.

SCENE ON RIGHT

ABOVE KING (four columns, reading left to right)

(1) ntr nfr nb Tꜥwy nb ir ḥt
(1) The good god, lord of Two-lands, the lord of performing rituals:
(2) Tꜥ-h-r-k (3) dī ḥnh dd wꜥs nb (4) mī Rꜥ dt
(2) Taharqo, (3) given all life stability, and dominion (4) like Rê, for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading left to right)

rdt irp n it=f Imn ir=f dī ḥnh
Giving wine to his father Amûn, that he may be granted life.

BEHIND KING (one column, reading left to right)

sꜥ ḥnh nb ḥꜥ=f mī Rꜥ dt
All protection and life are behind him, like (they are behind) Rê, for ever.

ABOVE AMEN-RE (one line and one column, reading right to left)

(1) Imn-Rꜥ Gm-Itn (2) ntr ꜥ nb pt
(1) Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa), (2) the great god, lord of heaven.

IN FRONT AND ABOVE AMEN-RE (one column, reading right to left)

dd-mdw dī.n(=i) n=k ḥnh wꜥs nb
Utterance: "I have given you all life and dominion."

ABOVE A GODDESS

ʕnkt

Anukis.

COLUMN BOUNDING SCENE AT LEFT (reading from right to left)

dd-mdw dī.n=i n=k ʕnh wʕs nb dd nb ʕwt-ib nb mī Rʕ dt

Utterance: "I have given you all life and dominion, all stability, all happiness, like Rê, for ever."

SCENE ON LEFT

BELOW SUNDISC (reading left to right)

Bḥdty ntr ʕ nb pt

The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven.

ABOVE KING (four columns, reading right to left)

(1) ntr nfr nb Tʕwy nb ir ḥt

(1) The good god, lord of Two-lands, the lord of performing rituals:

(2) Tʕ-h-r-k (3) dī ʕnh (4) mī Rʕ

(2) Taharqo, (3) given life, (4) like Rê,

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading right to left)

sk ḥdt n it=f ʕmn

Offering a white loaf to his father Amûn,

ir=f dī ʕnh

that he may be granted life.

BEHIND KING (one column, reading right to left)

sʕ ʕnh nb ḥʕ=f mī Rʕ dt

All protection and life are behind him, like Rê, for ever.

ABOVE AMEN-RE (one line and one column, reading left to right)

(1) ʕmn-Rʕ Gm-ʕtn

(2) ntr ʕ nb pt

(1) Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa), (2) the great god, lord of heaven.

IN FRONT AND ABOVE AMEN-RE (one column, reading left to right)

dd-mdw dī.n(=i) n=k ʕnh wʕs nb

Utterance: "I have given you all life and dominion."

ABOVE A GODDESS

ʕnkt
Anukis.

COLUMN BOUNDING SCENE AT LEFT (reading from left to right)

dd-mdw dī.n=i n=k ʕnh w3s nb dd nb 3wt-ib nb mī Rʕ dt
Utterance: "I have given you all life and dominion, all stability, and all happiness,
like Rê, for ever."

MAIN TEXT (twenty-seven lines, reading from right to left)

(1) h3t-sp 6t hr hm n
(1) Regnal year 6 under the majesty of

Hr k(3)-hʕw
Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Nbty k(3)-hʕw
Two-Ladies: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Hr-nbw Hw-T3wy
Golden-Horus: "Protector-of-Two-lands",

Nsw-bity Hw-(wi)-Nfr-tm-Rʕ
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)",

S3 Rʕ T3-h-r-k ʕnh dt
Son-of-Rê: Taharqo, may he live for ever,

mr M3ʕt m3ʕ rdt (2) n=f Imn M3ʕt
truly beloved of Maat, to whom (2) Amûn has given Maat,

ʕnh dt
may he live for ever.

ist hm=f m nb rnp
Now His Majesty is lord of rejuvenation,

pr-ʕ kn wʕw nsw shm iwty mity=f
active, a unique hero, a strong king without his like,

h33 mī Itm⁶³ mrw(t)=f (3) hr phr t3w
a ruler like Atum, love of whom (3) pervades the lands,

⁶³Or: mī(ty) Itm, "likeness of Atum".

mî R^c ḥ^c=f m pt
like (the love of) Rê (does), when he appears in the sky,

sî R^c mî Īn-ḥr
a son of Rê, like Onuris,

nswyt=f m ḥḥ mî Tî-twⁿⁿ
whose kingship consists of a million years, like Tatennen('s),

wn (4) nmtt wsh tbwy
whose stride (4) is quick, whose sandals are broad,

hb šsr=f šhm=f wrw
who sends forth his arrow that he may have power over chiefs,

ptpt dww m-sî ḥrw(5)=f ḥ³ ḥr ḥpš=f
who tramples evil under foot in pursuit of his (5) enemies, with ḥbelligerence in his strong arm¹,

smî ḥfnw
who slaughters hundreds of thousands,

wⁿⁿ ḥr nb g(3)g(3)w n mî=f
at the sight of whom every face is astonished,

ḥ^c n=f bw nb m ḥ^c=f (6) ḥ³ m ib=f r^c nb
at whom everyone rejoices when he appears (6) with belligerence in his heart every day,

n whs.n=f
without being indolent,

ḥmwt=f pw šnw ḥr bîkw rî-ḥt
his craft being to command the work of battle,

rn=f phr m tîw ḥr (7) ḥîst nb
his name circulating in the (low) lands and on (7) the desert plateaus

m kn n ḥpš=f kn
through the valiance of his valiant strong arm.

îs(t) ḥm=f m Tî-stt
Now when His Majesty was in Bow-land (Nubia)

m ḥwn nfr snw-nsw bnr mr(wt)
as a recruit,⁶⁴ a king's brother, sweet of love,

ḥw pw ḥr.n=f m (8) ḥd r W3st
up he came sailing (8) northwards to Dominion (Thebes)

m-kb ḥwnw-nfrw
in the midst of recruits

hb.n ḥm=f nsw Š3-b3-k3 m3ḥ ḥrw m-s3=sn r T3-sty
for whom His Majesty, King Shebitku, justified, had sent to Bow-land (Nubia),

wnn=f (9) ḥm ḥnḥ=f
in order that he (Taharqo) might be (9) there with him (Shebitku),

mr.n=f sw r snw=f nb
because he (Shebitko) loved him (Taharqo) more than all his (other) brothers.

sw3y=f r sp3t tn nt Ḥmn Gm-p3-Ḥtn
He passed by way of this district of Amûn of "Finding-the-Aton" (Kawa)

snsn=f t3 r rwty ḥwt-ntr
so that he might kiss the earth at the double doors of the temple-compound

ḥnḥ (10) m3ḥ n ḥm=f ḥd r-ḥnḥ=f
together with (10) the army of His Majesty that had sailed north with him.

gm.n=f ḥwt-ntr tn kd.tw m db3t
He found that this temple-compound had been built in brick

pḥ.n k33t (11) ḥrw tp-ḥwt=s
and that 'the sand-hill (11) around it' had reached its roof,

“ m ḥt
it (the roof) being covered with earth

r tr n rnpt snd.n ḥpr ḥ(w)t
in a season of the year (when) the occurrence of rainfall was feared.

wnn ḥb n ḥm=f w3 r (12) ḏw ḥr=s
His Majesty's heart was fallen into (12) sorrow about it

r ḥḥ ḥm=f m nsw
until His Majesty appeared as king,

⁶⁴Lit.: "a handsome youth".

ḥꜥ <m> Nsw-bity
appearing <as> King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt,

smn nbty tp =f
the uraei fixed on his head.

ḥpr rn=f m Hr k(ꜣ)-ḥꜥw
(But) as soon as his name became Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

shꜣ.n=f ḥwt-ntr (13) tn
he remembered this (13) temple-compound,

mꜣ(t).n=f m ḥwn
which he had seen as a recruit,

m rnpt tp(yt) nt ḥꜥ=f
in the first year of his appearance (as king).

dd.in ḥm=f n smrw=f
So His Majesty said to his "friends",

mk ib=ꜣ r kꜣ ḥwt-ntr (14) n it=ꜣ ꜥImn-Rꜥ Gm-pꜣ-ꜥItn
"Mark you, my mind is (set) on (re)building the temple-compound (14) of my father,
Amen-Rê of "Finding-the-Aton" (Kawa)

ḥr ntt wnn=s kꜣ.tw m ḏbt ꜥ.tw m shꜣt
because it is built of brick (only) and covered with earth.

nn r.f (15) nfr ḥr ibw
(That it is in this condition) is not (15) a good thing in (people's) minds.

wn ntr pn m st tn
This god has been in this place

n rh ꜣrt.n ḥyt
without it being known what the rain has done.

ntf pw swdꜣ rꜣ-pr pn
(But) he it is who has kept this temple safe

r ḥpr ḥꜥ=ꜣ m nsw
until my appearance as king took place,

(16) rh.n=f ntt ꜣr.n n=f mnw sꜣ=f ꜣm=ꜣ wtt.n=f
(16) because he knew that I, his son whom he engendered, 'would make' a monument
for him.

The Sources

THE COVENANT BETWEEN ALARA AND AMEN-RE

hn.tw n=f mwwt nt mwt=i

The (fore)mothers of my mother were ordained for him

(17) in sn=sn wr Š-R̥ I-r-r-i ('á-lû-l) m̥ hrw m dd

(17) by their brother, the chief, Son-of-Rê: Alara, justified, saying,

ntr pn rh ntt hr mw=f

"O you god who knows who is loyal to him,

hyhy iw n š n=f

swift, who comes to him who calls upon him,

(18) m̥=k n=i r ht n 'mwwt'=i

(18) look upon the womb of my 'mothers' for me

smn=k msw=sn tp t̥

and establish their children on earth.

ir=k n=sn m̥ ir.n=k n=i

Act for them (even) as you acted for me,

d̥i=k spr=sn r bw-(19)nfr

and let them attain (19) what is good."

sdm.n=f n ddwt=f (i)r=n

He (the god) hearkened to what he (Alara) said about us,

šh̥.n=f w̥i m nsw m̥ dd.n=f n=f

and raised me up as king, (even) as he (the god) had told him (Alara).

nfr.wy is irt n irt

How good it is to act for him that acts,

kb (20) is ib n irt n ir n=f

(for) (20) the heart of him that acts for him that acts is satisfied."

dd=sn hft hm=f

They said to His Majesty,

wn m̥t pw ddwt=k nb

"All that you say is a fact.

s̥=f im=k smnh mnw=f

You are (indeed) his son who embellishes his monument."

rd̥i hm=f (21) šm m̥š̥=f r Gm-It̥n

His Majesty sent (21) his army to "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa)

hnꜥ ʾswt ʿšwt ḥmw nfrw n rh tnw=sn
together with numerous gangs (of workmen) and good craftsmen, the number of
which is unknown,

imy-r-kꜣt im ḥ(22)nꜥ=sn r ḥrp kꜣt m rꜣ-pr pn
an overseer of works being (22) there with them to direct the work in this temple,

ʾs ḥm=f m ḥnw ʾnb-ḥd
while His Majesty was (still) in White-wall (Memphis).

ḥꜥ.n kꜣd ḥwt-nꜥr tn m inr ḥd nfr n rwd
Then this temple-compound was built of good, white, solid stone,

mn(23)ḥ.tw rwd.tw ʾr.tw m kꜣt nhḥ
excel(23)lent, solid, made with enduring work,

ḥr=s r imnt pr m nbw whꜣḥw m nbw
facing west, its house of gold, its columns of gold,

ꜥrw (24) ʾrw m ḥd
the ... (24) thereof being of silver,

kꜣd bhꜣnw=s sꜥḥ dwꜣw=s
its pylons being built, its doors set up,

ḥt.tw ḥr rn wr n ḥm=f
it being inscribed with the full name of His Majesty,

wd mnw=s ʿš (25) m tꜣ
its numerous trees being planted (25) in the earth,

šd šw=s ḥnꜥ ḥwt-ḥsmn=s
its lakes excavated, together with its Compound-of-Natron,

mḥ.tw m dbḥw=s nw ḥd nbw (26) ḥmt
it being filled with its requirements in silver, gold, and (26) copper,

nn rh tnw ʾrw
the number whereof is not known,

rdꜣ ḥtp nꜥr pn m ḥnw=s ʾḥ mnḥ dt
this god being caused to rest in it, splendid, beneficent, for ever.

(27) ʾsw m nn m ʿnh wꜣs
(27) The reward for this is life, dominion,

ḥꜥ ḥr st Ḥr dt
and appearance on the throne of Horus, for ever.

[RHP]

Note to the translation

M.F.L. Macadam translated the texts from Kawa to a very high standard, and his publication underpins the translations of those texts in this volume. They should be the starting point for further investigation of their contents and interpretation.

In this text and again in **24** I have characterized the way Taharqo represented the relationship between Alara and Amen-Rê as a “covenant” even though the god’s commitment to the relationship comes to expression in deed rather than word. What I wish to bring out is that Taharqo claimed that Alara’s specific act had brought into being a special and binding relationship between Alara and the god and that Taharqo saw the effects of that relationship as enduring throughout generations. It is also noteworthy that no words are put into the god’s mouth in these texts; rather Taharqo interprets subsequent success as a consequence of the god’s “hearkening” to Alara. This way of looking at events can also be read out of Taharqo’s reaction to his own setbacks as expressed in **26**. These too seem to be attributed to the god’s influence, though again no explicit words to this effect are put into the god’s mouth.

[RHP]

Comments

In the double-scene of the lunette Taharqo is represented before the ram-headed Amen-Rê of Kawa and Anukis. In the left-hand scene the King offers bread and wears the White Crown of Egypt. The goddess has her usual tall headdress. In the right-hand scene Taharqo offers wine and wears the Kushite cap-crown (for the crown see Russmann 1974, 28 ff.; Török 1987, 4-11; Leahy 1992) and the goddess is shown wearing the Double Crown. The main text contains the following sections: 1. eulogy of the King, lines 1-7; 2. the King recalls his journey north to Egypt in ca. 702 BC (cf. **(16)**) when he was summoned by Shebitqo and remembers how he had noticed that the temple of Amûn at Kawa needed repair, lines 7-11. 3. After his coronation in Memphis the King declares his intention to restore the temple and gives his reasons, referring to his ancestor Alara, lines 12-20. 4. Lines 20-27 report the rebuilding of the temple.

The whole narrative and especially lines 21-26 leave the impression that in Year 6 the building of the new stone temple replacing the old, sanded-up (cf. lines 10 f.) brick structure (which quite recently, in Year 6, might also have suffered from heavy rainfall, cf. Kawa V=22, line 9) was already finished. However, stela Kawa VII (25) from Year 10 indicates that in Year 6 the work was only in progress (Kawa III, Macadam 1949, 4-14, Pls 5 f. from Years 2-8 records the donations made in the course of these regnal years, yet it does not give evi-

dence of the chronology of the building activity) and were not completed before Year 10 (for the building chronology see now Wolf 1990, 125-131).

1. After Taharqo's full titulary (cf. (18) 1 a-e) the eulogy affirms that the King's power derives from Amûn and that his actions are like the actions of Rê, i.e., like the sun god's journey in his day bark which creates and maintains life on earth (cf. Grimal 1986, 365 with note 1217). Taharqo is also associated with Onuris and Tatenen as creator gods. The association with the latter also points towards the concept of "Tatenen of numerous jubilees" emphasized in Ramesside royal documents (cf. Grimal 1986, 390-392) but also may be connected with the Memphite cult of Ptah-Tatenen (cf. Schlögl 1980, 79 ff.; H. Schlögl, *LdÄ* VI [1985], 238 f.) The King is also given an epithet of Amûn, quick of stride and broad of sandals (for trampling enemies, cf. Macadam 1949, 16 note 7). The eulogy culminates in praise of the King as warrior in a Ramesside style (cf. Grimal 1986, 705 f. with notes 822-833).

2. In lines 7-9 the decisive episode of Shebitqo's reign is recalled when, as a youth of 20 years (see Kawa V=22, line 17 and cf. (16); Kitchen 1986, § 128 vi), Taharqo was summoned by his cousin (for the family relations of Shebitqo and Taharqo see (13), (15), (19)) to Thebes at the head of an army. As in 22, line 14, it is emphasized that Shebitqo had sent for Taharqo because "he loved him more than all his (i.e., Shebitqo's) brethren" (in 22 also sons), thus indicating that Taharqo's appointment as army leader (for his role in the expedition of 701 BC and the battle of Eltekeh see Kitchen 1986, § 128, 346 and see also Kitchen 1983) was connected with his being proclaimed heir apparent.

3. In this section (parallel: Kawa VI=24, lines 22 f.), embedded in the context of reciprocity between god and King, a concept of traditional Egyptian kingship ideology (cf. Assmann 1990, 191 f.; for the context of this particular reciprocity in the general concept of solidarity and reciprocity see Assmann 1984), the historical event of Alara's "commitment" of his sister to Amen-Rê is recounted in a mythologized form. This event is represented as a covenant concluded between Alara and the god, according to the terms of which the god grants kingship to the descendants of Alara's sister—who is Taharqo's grandmother—in return for their loyalty. The conceptual setting in the Third Intermediate Period "theology of will" (for the issue see Assmann 1989, 72 ff.) and, more closely, in Theban concepts connected with the legitimating power of the God's Wife of Amûn is clearly indicated by the epithets used in the characterization of Amûn: he it is who recognizes him that is loyal to him and he it is who comes to him that calls to him. The "commitment to Amûn" of a female member of the royal family is to be understood in the sense of the concept of the God's Wife of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period as a mediator between god and king and a legitimating force (cf. Troy 1986 53 ff., 70, 99 ff.; see also Sander-Hansen 1940; von Zeissl 1955; Gitton-Leclant 1977; for the origins see Gitton 1975): the queen as priestess of the cult of Amûn and of the royal cult plays an essential role in the renewal and maintenance of royal power.

Through their titularies, certain queens of the generations from Kashta to Aspelta attest not only the tradition of the Theban interpretation of the role of the queen as God's Wife but also fit into a succession line of adoptive mothers and daughters (see 37, 39). At the beginning of this line stands Alara's sister; and her "commitment to Amûn", i.e., installation into the office of a priestess of the royal cult, is highlighted in Taharqo's texts as the foundation of his dynasty (for supporting evidence see (2)). Alara's sister, Taharqo's grandmother, may be identified with Pebatma, Kashta's wife (cf. comment to (2)) who was buried in Abydos (tomb D 48; cf. Wenig 1990, 335) and possessed the titles "Sistrum-Player of Amen-Rê, King of the Gods, Sister of the King, Daughter of the King, Divine Mother of the Divine Adoratress (=Amonirdis I)" (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. E 3922; cf. Leclant-Yoyotte 1952, 36; Troy 1986, 175 25.2 and 176 25.11, note that Troy's Pebatma and Piebtetemery are one and the same person).

The Alara story ends with a classical rendering of the concept of reciprocity between god and king (lines 19 f.), which also serves as an introduction to a statement on Taharqo's legitimacy, illuminating it as a closed circle of reciprocities: the god recognizes the King as his son, in return for which the King repairs the god's monument (the temple), in return for which again the god grants the King "appearance upon the throne of Horus for ever" (lines 20; 26 f.).

4. The participation of Memphite craftsmen in rebuilding of Temple T is also attested by features of the iconographical program of the temple reliefs (cf. W.S. Smith: *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. Harmondsworth 1981). Vestiges of the "numerous trees", i.e., of a palm garden were discovered during the 1930-31 and 1935-36 excavations (Macadam 1955, 58-60, 221 f., 225-227, Pls 6, 19, XLIV/e,f) in front of the pylons and south of the temple.

[LT]

22 Stela of Taharqo on the high Nile in Year 6 from Kawa (Kawa V). Ca. 685 BC.

From the first court of the Amûn Temple in Kawa (Temple T). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712. Macadam 1949, 22-32, Pls 9 f.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

ON LEFT

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from left to right)

Bḥdt(y) nṯr ʿ nb pt

The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven.

BEHIND AMEN-RE (one column, reading left to right)

ḏd mdw ḏi.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw-ib nb mī Rꜥ ḏt
 Utterance: “I have given you all life and dominion, all health, and all happiness, like Rê, for ever.”

ABOVE AMEN-RE (one line, reading from left to right)

Imn-Rꜥ Gm-Itn
 Amen-Rê of “Finding-(the)-Aton” (Kawa).

ABOVE KING (six columns, reading from right to left)

(1) nṯr nfr nb Tꜣwy (2) Ḥw-(wī)-Nfrtm-Rꜥ
 (1) The good god, lord of Two-lands: (2) “Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”,
 (3) Sꜣ-Rꜥ n ḥt=f (4) Tꜣ-h-r-k (5) ḏi ḥḥ nb mī Rꜥ (6) ḏt
 (3) bodily Son-of-Rê: (4) Taharqo, (5) given all life, like Rê, for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) sk ḥḏt n it=f Imn ir=f ḏi ḥḥ
 (1) Offering a white loaf to his father Amûn that he may be granted life.

ABOVE KING’S MOTHER (two columns, reading right to left)

(1) mwt-nsw (2) I-bꜣ-rw
 (1) The king’s mother, (2) Abar.

IN FRONT OF KING’S MOTHER (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) ir sšst n it=s ir=s ḏi ḥḥ
 (1) Shaking the sistrum for her father that she may be granted life.

ON RIGHT

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from right to left)

(1) Bḥdt(y) nṯr ꜣ nb pt
 (1) The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven.

BEHIND AMEN-RE (one column, reading left to right)

(1) ḏd mdw ḏi.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ wꜣs nb ḏdt nb ꜣw-ib nb mī Rꜥ ḏt
 (1) Utterance: “I have given you all life and dominion, all stability, and all happiness, like Rê, for ever.”

ABOVE AMEN-RE (two columns, reading from right to left)

The Sources

(1) ʾImn-Rʕ nb nswt T3wy (2) nb pt

(1) Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, (2) lord of heaven.

ABOVE KING (six columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ntr nfr nb T3wy (2) Hw-(wi)-Nfrtm-Rʕ

(1) The good god, lord of Two-lands: (2) “Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”,

(3) S3-Rʕ n ht=f (4) T3-h-r-k (5) d3 ʿnh nb m3 Rʕ (6) dt

(3) bodily Son-of-Rê: (4) Taharqo, (5) given all life, like Rê, (6) for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) ʾr d3t ʾrp n ʾt=f ʾImn ʾr=f d3 ʿnh

(1) Performing (the ritual of) giving wine to his father Amûn that he may be granted life.

ABOVE KING’S MOTHER (two columns, reading right to left)

(1) mwt-nsw (2) ʾ-b3-rw

(1) The King’s mother, (2) Abar.

IN FRONT OF KING’S MOTHER (one column, reading from left to right)

(1) ʾr sššt n ʾt=s ʾr=s d3 ʿnh

(1) Shaking the sistrum for her father that she may be granted life.

MAIN TEXT

(1) h3t-sp 6t

(1) Regnal year 6

hr hm n

under the majesty of

Hr k3-hʕw

Horus: “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”,

Nbty k3-hʕw

Two-Ladies: “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”,

Hr-nb Hw-T3wy

Golden-Horus: “Protector-of-Two-lands”,

Nsw-b3ty Hw-(wi)-Nfrtm-Rʕ

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”,

<ntr nfr

<the good god,

s3 ʾImn-Rʕ

son of Amen-Rê,

tyt 3ht nt ʾtm

splendid image of Atum,

prt wꜥbt pr ḥnt=f
the pure seed that came forth in front of him,

ḳmꜣ.n Rsy-ḥnb=f nfrw=f
whose beauty "South-of-his-Wall" created,

ms.n Mwt nbt pt
to whom Mut, Lady of Heaven, gave birth,

wꜥ ntry pr m ḥꜥw ntr
unique in (his) divinity, who came forth from the god's flesh,

Bḏty nn ḥpr mity=f
a King-of-Lower-Egypt whose like has not come into existence before,

dmd.n Psdt r rnn=f r snḳ=f r ḥnm=f
to nurse, to suckle, and to gladden whom the Ennead assembled,

ḏt Tꜣwy wꜥf pḏtyw psdt
who seizes Two-lands, who subdues the Nine Bows,

Nsw-bḏty
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt,

Hr tmꜣ-ꜥ
Horus, whose arm is mighty,

nb Tꜣwy
lord of Two-lands,

nb ḏr ḥt>
lord of performing rituals >

Sꜣ-Rꜥ Tꜣ-h-r-ḳ ꜥnh ḏt
Son-of-Rê: Taharqo, may he live for ever,

mr(y) Mꜣꜥt mꜣꜥ rdt n=f Ḳmn Mꜣꜥt
truly beloved of Maat, to whom Amûn has given Maat,

ꜥnh ḏt
may he live for ever.

sk ḥm=f mr ntr pw
Now His Majesty is one who loves god,

The Sources

(2) wrš=f m hrw sdr=f m grh
(2) so that he spends his time by day and lies by night

hr hh 3hwt n ntrw
seeking what is of benefit for the gods,

hr kd r3-prw[=sn] mrh
(re)building [their] temples if they have fallen into decay,

hr ms sšmw=sn mī sp tp(y)
"giving birth" to their statues as on the first occasion,

hr kd šn'w=sn hr sdf (3) h3wt
building their storehouses, endowing (3) their altars,

hr sm' n=sn htp-ntr m ht nb
presenting to them endowments of every kind,

hr irt wdhw=sn m d'm hd hmt
making their offering-tables of fine gold, silver, and copper.

is gr htp ib n hm=f m irt n=sn 3hwt r' nb
Well, then, because His Majesty's heart is satisfied by doing for them what is
beneficial every day.

wnn t3 pn hr b'hw (4) m rk=f
This land has been overflowed (with abundance) (4) in his time

mī wnn=f m hw Nb-r-dr
as it was in the time of the Lord-of-all,

s nb sdr r šsp n(n) dd hw n=ī r-s(y)
every man sleeping until dawn, without saying, "Would that I had!", at all,

M3't bs.tw m-'ht t3w'
Maat being introduced throughout the countries,

isft ddm m s3t
and wrong being pinned to the ground.

wnn (5) b3wt hpr m rk hm=f
Wonders (5) have been happening in His Majesty's time

m h3t-sp 6 nt h'f
in the sixth regnal year of his appearance,

n p3.tw m3 m3tt 3ry dr rk 3myw-3st
the like thereof has not been seen since the time of those of old,

n 3 n mr sw 3t=f 3mn-R3
so greatly did his father Amen-Rê love him.

wnn hm=f hr (6) db3 3p m-3 3t=f
His Majesty had been (6) praying for an inundation from his father

3mn-R3 nb nswt T3wy
Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

hr tm rd 3pr šw3 m rk=f
in order to prevent dearth happening in his time.

3s gr 3t nb pr hr spty hm=f
Well, then, everything that comes forth upon His Majesty's lips,

d3d3 3t=f 3mn 3pr=sn hr-3w
his father Amûn makes it happen at once.

3pr.n tr n 3wt (7) H3p
When the time for the rising (7) of the Inundation came,

wnn=f hr 3wt m b(w) wr r3 nb
it continued rising greatly each day

3r.n=f hrww 3šw hr 3wt m m3 1 r3 nb
and it passed many days rising at the rate of one cubit every day.

3k.n=f dww T3-rsy
It penetrated the hills of South-land,

3hr-tp1.n=f 3wt T3-m3w
it overtopped the mounds of North-land,

wnn t3 m Nww m nn
and the land was (again) Primeval Waters, an inert (expanse),

nn tn (8) m3wt r 3tr
without land being (8) distinguishable from river.

3wt.n=f m m3 21 šsp 1 db3 2 gs r dm3t n W3st
It rose to a height of 21 cubits, one palm, and 2 1/2 digits at the harbor of Dominion
(Thebes).

The Sources

rdt.n ḥm=f inn.tw n=f gnwt nt tp(yw)-^c
His Majesty had the annals of the ancestors brought to him,

ḥr mḥ H^cp ḥpr m ḥs=sn
to see the inundation(s) that happened in their time(s),

n gm.tw mitt iry im
and the like thereof was not found therein.

(9) is gr ḥwt pt m T3-sty
(9) Well, then, the sky (even) rained in Bow-land (Nubia);

stih.n.n=s dww r dr=sn
and adorned all the hills.

wnn s nb nw T3-sty b^ch m ḥt nb
Every man of Bow-land (Nubia) was inundated with an abundance of everything,

wnn Kmt m ḥb nfr
Black(-land) (Egypt) was in beautiful festival,

dw3-ntr=sn n ḥm=f
and they thanked god for His Majesty.

wnn ib n ḥm=f nfr r ḥt nb
His Majesty's heart was happier than anything

m ir(t.n) [n=f i]t[=f] (10) Imn
about what [his fa]ther (10) Amûn did for him,

ḥr rd mḥ^c ḥtp-ntr n ntrw nbw
causing endowments to be presented to all the gods,

ib=f 3w m ir n=f it=f
his heart being joyful at what his father did for him

<ir n=f Imn
<what Amûn did for him,

ir=f di nḥ dd w3s nb
that he might be granted all life, stability, and dominion,

ḥ^cw ḥr st Hr mî R^c dt>
and appearing on the throne of Horus, like Rê, for ever.>

sw ḥm=f ḏd=f
So His Majesty said,

ir n=i it=i Imn-Rḥ nb nswt T3wy
“My father Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, has performed for me

b3w tn fdwt nfrrt m ḥnw rnpt wḥt
these four perfect wonders within a single year,

m ḥ3t-sp 6 nt ḥḥ=i m nsw
the sixth regnal year of my appearing as king.

[n p3t m3] (11) m3tt ḏr imyw-ḥ3t
[Never had] (11) the like [been seen] since those that were aforetime.

iw.n ḥḥp m it-k3w
The inundation came as a cattle-thief,

bḥ.n=f t3 pn r 3w=f
and flooded this whole land,

nn gm m3tt=f ḥr s3w m rk ḏrtyw
its like not being found in (any) writings in the time of the ancestors,

nn ḏd sdm=i m-ḥ it=i
nor it being said, ‘I heard (of the like) from my father.’

rdi.n=f (12) šḥt nfrrt.t r 3w=s
It (the inundation) made (12) the entire countryside good,

sm3.n=f ḥdkḳw imywt-t3 wn m ḳb=s
it killed off the vermin and snakes that were in it (the countryside),

ḥsf.n=f wnm n s3nhmw r=s
it kept off the devouring of the locusts from it (the countryside),

nn rdi.n=f ḥw3 rsw
and it prevented the (scorching) south winds from stealing (the harvest).

(13) ḥw3.n=i šmmw r šnwty nn tnw 3ry
(13) So I was able to reap a harvest into granaries, the size of which was incalculable,

m šmḥ mḥw
consisting of Upper Egyptian barley, Lower Egyptian barley,

prt nb rd hr-s; t;
and every (other kind of) grain that grows on the surface of the earth.

ii.n(=i) is m T3-sty m kb snw nsw
As I said, I came from Bow-land (Nubia) in the midst of the king's brothers

ts.n hm=f (14) im
whom His Majesty had levied therefrom,

wnn=i hn=f
that I might be with him

mr.n=f wi r snw=f nb{t} r msw{t}=f nb
because he loved me more than all his (other) brothers and more than all his children.

tn.kw(i) r=sn hr hm=f
I being distinguished from them by His Majesty,

phr n=i ibw p't
the hearts of the *pat*-people serving me,

mrt=i hr=i hr-nb
and love of me being with all men.

(15) šsp.n=i h' m Inb-ḥd
(15) I received the diadem in White-wall (Memphis)

m-ḥt hr bik r pt
after the falcon went up to heaven

wḏ n=i it=i Imn
and my father Amûn had ordered for me

dī tsw nb ḥst nb hr tby=i
that every land and every foreign country be placed under the soles of my feet,

rs r 'Rthw-k3bt'	mḥt r kb(16)ḥ-Hr,
south to 'Retehu-Kabet',	north to Qeb(16)eh-Hor,

ibbt r wbn R'	imnt r ḥtpt=f im=[s
east to the rising of Rê,	and west to the place in which he sets.

ist mwt=i] m T3-sti
Now my mother] was in Bow-land (Nubia);

m snt-nsw bnr mrwt mwt nsw ꜥ-bꜣ-r/ꜣa-bi-ru ꜥnh.ti
namely, the king's sister, sweet of love, the king's mother, Abar, may she live.

is grt ꜥhrn¹(17)=i hr=st m hwn n rnpt 20
Moreover, I had departed from her as a recruit of twenty years

m iw=i hnꜥ hm=f r Tꜣ-mhw
when I came with His Majesty to North-land.

ꜥhꜥ.n iw.n=s m hꜥd r mꜣ=i m-ht hn(18)ty rnpwt
Then she came sailing north to see me after a period (18) of years.

gm.n=s wꜥi hꜥ.kw(i) hr st Hr
She found me appearing on the throne of Horus,

šsp.n(=i) hꜥw n Rꜥ
after I had received the diadems of Rê,

hnm.n(=i) Wꜣdty m tp=i
and was wearing the uraei on my head,

nꜥrw nbw m sꜣ hꜥw=i
all the gods being the protection of my body.

wnn=s hꜥꜥ.tw r ꜥꜣ (19) wr m-ht mꜣ nfrw hm=f
She was exceedingly (19) joyful after seeing the beauty of His Majesty,

mꜣ mꜣ ꜥst sꜣ=s Hr hꜥ hr st it=f Wsir
(just) as Isis saw her son Horus appearing on the throne of his father Osiris

m-ht wnn=f m hwn m hnw ꜥh-bꜣt
after he had been a youth in the nest of Khemmis.

(20) wnn Šmꜥ Mhw hꜣst
(20) The South and the North and every foreign country

dhn=sn tꜣ n mwt nsw tn
were bowing to the ground for this king's mother

iw=sn m hb r ꜥꜣ wrw=sn m ꜥb šr=sn
they being in great festival, both great and small,

nhm=sn n mwt nsw tn (21) m ꜥd
as they acclaimed this king's mother, (21) saying,

The Sources

iw ʾst šsp.n st Hr m mwt-nsw
“Isis—when Horus received her—was like the king’s mother

hnm.n=s s3=š
after she had (re)joined her son.

Nsw-bʿty T3-h-r-k ʿnh.tw dt
O King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Taharqo, may you live for ever,

mr ntrw,
beloved of the gods,

wnn=k ʿnh.tw r nhh m wd n it=k [ʾ]mn
you are going to live forever by the command of your father Amûn,

ntr (22) mnḥ mr mr sw
the (22) excellent god who loves him who loves him,

rh ntt hr mw=f
who knows him who is loyal to him,

rdt mtw mtw=k m htp
and who caused your mother to (re)join you in peace

m3=s nfrw ʾr.n=f n=k
that she may see the beauty he has made for you.

nsw nh̄t ʿnh.tw snb.tw
O mighty king, may you live, and be healthy,

m3 ʿnh Hr n mwt=f ʾst
(even) as Horus lives for his mother Isis.

wn=k h̄t.ti hr st Hr dt nh̄h
May you appear on the throne of Horus for ever and ever!”

[RHP]

Note to the translation

I have included between angular brackets passages that are present in the parallel texts Macadam (1949, 24-26) reproduced.

Comments

In the double-scene in the lunette the king is represented wearing the Kushite cap-crown (cf. Russmann 1974, 28 ff.; Török 1987, 4-11) and offering bread to the ram-headed Amen-Rê of Kawa (left side) and wine to the human-headed

Amen-Rê of Thebes (right side). In both scenes he is accompanied by his mother Abar wearing diadem with uraeus and a tall feather superstructure in the left-hand scene and vulture headdress and tall feather superstructure in the right-hand scene. In both scenes she plays the sistrum. The main text starts 1. with an eulogy of Taharqo (lines 1-4). This is followed 2. by a description of the extraordinary inundation of Year 6 and its consequences (lines 5-13). Finally, in lines 13-22, 3. a description is given of the Queen Mother's visit to Memphis and of the feelings of the Queen Mother, the King, and the attendants at the visit.

1. **22** is the most completely preserved version of the account of the exceptionally high Nile in Year 6. Three other versions were inscribed on stelae erected at Coptos, Matanah (Vikentieff 1930), and Tanis (Leclant-Yoyotte 1949, 31 f. and Pl. II); these texts do not differ essentially from each other or from the Kawa version (see the collation of the Kawa, Coptos, Matanah, and Tanis versions in Macadam 1949, 24-26 and cf. Leclant-Yoyotte 1949, 36). From the Kawa eulogy are omitted the following epithets of the Coptos and Matanah versions: "the good god, son of Amen-Rê, glorious symbol of Atum, the pure seed which came forth from him, whose beauty 'South-of-His-Wall' created, whom Mut, Lady of Heaven, bore, the sole divine being who came forth from the god's flesh, a King of Lower Egypt the like of whom has not (previously) come into existence, to nurse and to suckle and to delight whom the Ennead assembled together; he who has seized the lands, who has curbed the Nine Bows, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus, mighty of hand, the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Achievement". This set of epithets not only presents a particularly well-formulated and emphatic rendering of the concept of divine sonship (on the Ramesside models of the notion of "coming forth from the god's flesh" and on its versions in **9**, line 1, and in an inscription Shebitqo's on the façade of the Osiris-Hekadjet Chapel in Karnak see Grimal 1986, 101 with notes 252 f.). It also accentuates Taharqo's legitimacy in Egypt, particularly in Lower Egypt, and associates him with Ptah of Memphis ('South-of-His-Wall'), and it may have been these special links that have determined both the presence of these epithets in the versions erected in Lower Egypt and their absence in the Kawa version.

The actual epithets in **22** emphasize, in the first place, the fulfillment of the royal duty to maintain the cults, temples, and priesthood; and as a consequence of Taharqo's "religiosity", it is stated that his reign restored the Golden Age (on "each man sleeping..." as paradigm of Golden Age see Assmann 1990, 228; and cf. Otto 1969). Embedded in the framework of reciprocity (the god recognizes the king as his son and elevates him on the throne—the king cares for the gods—the gods secure abundance), a concept that spans the entire inner structure of the text, this brief statement culminates in the utterance "Equity (= Ma'at) was introduced throughout the lands and Inequity (= Isfet) was pinned to the ground" (line 4) and gives a concentrated discourse on the traditional Egyptian

dogma of kingship. In its terms, the enthronement of the king is a singular creative act of the gods by which the continuous activity of the king is set to motion. He is caused “to bring forth Equity (Maʿat)” and in so doing, to cause Maʿat to secure order in the world and secure the offerings of the gods. On the analogy of the universal rule of Rê, the functioning of the king keeps the processes of cosmos and state moving (cf. Assmann 1990, 191 f., 200 f., 206 ff.).

2. The extraordinary inundation of Year 6 is the theme, as indicated above, of a number of monumental inscriptions and was also commemorated on scarabs (see Louvre N 632, Leclant-Yoyotte 1949, 37-42); and the Nile level of 21 cubits, 1 palm and 2 1/2 fingers (line 8) given in **22** as measured at the quay of Thebes is actually confirmed by Taharqo’s Nile level inscriptions at that place (Beckerath 1966, 53 nos 34, 35; the first is the highest inundation level recorded there. Cf. Macadam 1949, 29 note 25; Beckerath 1966, 48). The extraordinary rainfall which is brought, quite remarkably, also in **22**, line 9, into connection with the flood, seems to have been responsible also for the partial (?) destruction of early Meroe City, which was built on alluvial islands (cf. Bradley 1982 and 1984). It is worth noting here that Herodotus, II, 20-22 does not know about rainfall in Ethiopia [i.e., Kush] and refutes the theoretical possibility of a relationship between rainfall and inundation, a detail not irrelevant for an evaluation of the quality of his information concerning Ethiopia: see Introduction to sources **56-66**; cf. also Lloyd 1976, 102 f.). The event is, however, embedded into the conceptual framework of a manifestation of the King’s legitimacy. The inundation and its consequences are termed a “wonder”, bjꜣt; and wonders of this sort (cf. Grimal 1986, 264-270, 506-508) demonstrate the creative power of the King which was conferred upon him by the gods.

The “four goodly wonders” of line 10 are the consequences of the inundation (which came “as a cattle-thief”; the originally negative expression was used in this period in a positive sense, see Macadam 1949, 29 note 31): a good cultivation everywhere, the destruction of rodents and vermin, the warding-off of locusts, and the prevention of the south wind blighting the crops (Kitchen 1986, § 349; Macadam 1949, 18 f. note 30 identifies the four wonders with the inundation, the rain in Nubia, the coronation of Taharqo, and the visit of his mother on the basis of the mistaken assumption that Taharqo was coregent of Shebitqo for ca. 6 years; consequently, Year 6 with *all* the events described—i.e., the four wonders—would have been the year of Shebitqo’s death and the first year of Taharqo as sole ruler).

3. Once it is clear that the inundation of Year 6 is in fact an event that occurred ca. six years after Taharqo’s ascent to the throne in Memphis, the narrative in lines 13-22 one cannot regard—as Macadam (1949, 18 f.) did—as a chronological continuation of the narrative in section 2. On the contrary, section 3 recalls the past, from Taharqo’s proclamation as heir apparent by Shebitqo in 702 or 701 BC (cf. **(16)**) through his enthronement in Memphis following Shebitqo’s death in ca. 690 BC till the visit of his mother Abar in Egypt.

The visit of the Queen Mother re-enacts the Chemmis legend (cf. Altenmüller 1974) and associates her reaction with the joy of Isis (for this see Bergman 1968, 141 ff.) when “beholding the beauty of His Majesty even as Isis saw her son Horus crowned upon the throne of his father”.

The Abar episode in the texts recording the inundation of Year 6 does not constitute a part of the “historical” narrative of the central section of the inscription. In fact, it belongs to the discourse on kingship which underlies the “historical narrative”—which, in turn, is meant to demonstrate and prove the correctness of the concepts that are illuminated by the discourse. The text, as a whole, thus treats the “historical” events described as manifestations of Taharqo’s legitimacy. The ceremonial visit of the Queen Mother occurred six years earlier as part of the enthronement rites (for analogs see Kawa VIII=34, lines 22 ff.; Kawa IX, lines 82 ff., see FHN, vol. 2) and in 22 it closes, as the final episode of the coronation, the monumental circle of causal interconnections and reciprocities between the gods and the King; between the initial action of Taharqo’s divine father (= endowment of royal power on his son) and the continuous action of the King (= continuous repetition of the creation).

[LT]

23 Stela of Taharqo on the race of his soldiers, from the Dahshur road. Ca. 685 BC. Altenmüller-Moussa 1981, 63-65 and fig. 2.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

ON RIGHT

(2) [Hr ꜥꜣ-ḥꜣw] (1) mry [...] Bꜣkt

(2) [Horus: “Whose-appearances-are-lofty”, (1) beloved of [...] of Bright-eye (Egypt).

(3) [Nḥbt] dꜣ=s ḥḥ wꜣs nb

(3) [Nekhbet], may she grant all life and dominion

(4) sꜣ-[Rꜥ Tꜣ-h-r-ꜥ

(5) mry Psdt

(4) (to) the Son-of-[Rê: Taharqo, (5) beloved of the Ennead,

(6) nb Tꜣwy Ḥw-(wꜣ)-[Nfrtm-Rꜥ]

(6) lord of Two-lands: [Nefertum-and-Rê-]protect-(me)”,

(7) [dꜣ] ḥḥ [nb dꜣ wꜣs nb]

(8) snb nb

mꜣ Rꜥ

dꜣ

(7) [given all] life [and dominion]

(8) and all health,

like Rê,

for ever.

SCENE ON LEFT HALF

- (2) [Ḥr k3-ḥꜥw] (1) mry [...]
 (2) [Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty], (1) beloved of [...]
- (3) [nb] T3wy: Ḥw-(wì)-[Nfrtm-Rꜥ]
 (3) [lord] of Two-lands, ["Nefertum-and-Rê-]protect-(me)",
- (4) [W3dt dī=s] [ꜥnh] w3s nb
 (4) [Edjo, may] she [grant] all [life] and dominion
- (5) s3-Rꜥ [T3-h-r-k] (6) [mry Psdt]
 (5) (to) the Son-of-Rê: [Tahar]qo, (6) [beloved of the Ennead],
- (7) [dī ꜥnh nb dd w3s nb]
 (7) [given all life and all stability and dominion]
- (8) [snb nb mī Rꜥ dt]
 (8) [and all health, like Rê, for ever].

MAIN TEXT

- (1) [Ḥ3t-sp ? 3bd ?] šmw ḥr ḥm n
 (1) [Regnal year x, yth month] of Summer under the majesty of

Ḥr: k3-ḥꜥw
 Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Nbty: k3-ḥꜥw
 the Two-Ladies: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Ḥr-nb Ḥw-T3wy
 Golden-Horus: "Protector-of-Two-lands",

Nsw[-bity Ḥw-(wì)-Nfrtm-Rꜥ]
 King-of-Upper-and-[Lower-Egypt: "Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)"],

- (2) [S3 Rꜥ] T3-h-r-k
 (2) [the Son-of-Rê]: Taharqo,

mry B3st ḥr(yt)-ib Bwgm dī ꜥnh dt
 beloved of Bastet, who dwells in *Bugem*, granted life, for ever.

wḏ ḥm=f smnt [wḏ]
 His Majesty commands fixing [a stela]

(3) [ḥr] sṣ ḥst imntt ḥr imy-wrt nt ḥnw
(3) at the back of the western desert to the west of the Residence

irt rn=f m st-[gst
and making its name “(Stela of the) mara[thon

nt](4) [mšʕ Sṣ Rʕ Tṣ-h-r-k ʕnh dt
of] (4) [the troops of the Son-of-Rê, Taharqo, may he live for ever”.

wḏ ḥm=f phrr mšʕ=f ts(y)w n=f rʕ nb
His Majesty (further) commands that his troops that are levied for him run every
day⁶⁵

[m sṣ](5)=sn diw
[namely,] their (5) five [platoons].

ḏd.in ḥm=f n sw
Then His Majesty said to the men,

nfrwy ir n=i it=i Imn
“What a fine thing it is my father Amûn has done for me,

nn ḥpr [mitt n] (6) nsw nb
[the like] never having happened (before) [to] (6) any king.

rdi.n=f ḥsk n pdwt
He has granted beheading the people of the bow,

pdt psdt tmṣw ḥr tbwy=i
the Nine Bows being tied up under the soles of my feet.

bṣk n=i šnt Itn
What the sundisc encircles serves me,

nn (7) rkʷ=i m ʕft pt
there being no (7) opposition to me in what the heaven covers.

nn ḥs(y) m k(ṣ)b mšʕ=i
nor any coward among my troops,

sṣw-(8)ʕ m ts(y)w=f
nor any (8) weaklings as my commanders.”

⁶⁵Cf. Decker 1991, 105-107.

ḏs nsw wḏꜣ=f
(As for) the king in person, when he proceeds

r bꜣ(ꜣ) r mꜣ nfrw mšꜥ=f
to (Camp) *Bia* to see the splendid condition of his troops,

(9) [iḡw=sn] mꜣ iḡw(yt) tꜣww
(9) [they come like the coming of the winds,

mꜣ ḏrtyw ḡwyw ḏnḡwy¹ m ḏnḡw(10)=sn
like kites who beat (the air) with their (10) wings.

mšꜥ n mḡ-ib m-ꜥb ḡkt(kṯ)¹
(Even) an elite force in in the company of ḡ...¹

nn tn(y)=sn r=sn
is not better than they.

nsw (11) ḏs=f mꜣ Mntw
The king (11) himself is like Montu,

nḡtw nn mity=f m k(ꜣ)b mšꜥ=f
a strong man, without his like among his troops.

rḡ ḡt pw kn (12) m kꜣt nb
He is a knowledgeable person, capable (12) in every (kind of) work,

snnw n Ḍḡwty
a second Thoth.

nsw ḏs=f ḡr ssmwt r mꜣ pḡrr (13) mšꜥ=f
The King himself was ḡon horseback¹⁶⁶ to view the running (13) of his troops.

pḡrr=f ḡnꜥ=sn ḡr sꜣ ḡst ḡnb-ḡd
(When) he ran with them on the back of the desert of White-wall (Memphis)

m wnwṯ ṡḡtp.n=s
in the ninth hour of the night.

pḡ=sn [Mr-](14)wr m wnwṯ wbn
they reached the Great Lake (Lake Qarun) in the first hour of the day

ꜥnn=sn r ḡnw m wnwṯ mkt-[nb=](15)s
and (then) returned to the Residence in the third hour of the (15) day.

⁶⁶Or: "was drawn by horses".

[tny].n=f tpyw ỉm=sn
He [distinguished] the first of them

rdỉ.n=f wnm=sn swr=sn Ỉnꜥ mšꜥ n mỈ-Ỉb
and let them eat and drink with the elite force.

tny.(16)[n=f ntyw] Ỉr sỈ=sn
[He] (also) (16) distinguished [those who] (came) after them

ỈkỈ.n=f st m Ỉt nbt
and rewarded them with every (kind of) thing—

Ỉst rf Ỉm=f mr.n=f kỈt ỈỈ rdỈ(t) n=f
for, you see, His Majesty (really) liked the work of battle that was given to him.

nỈr=f mr.n=f [sw] (17) [m Nwn]
His god (already) loved [him] (17) [in the Primeval Waters],

stp.w sw m Ỉt n mswt=f
choosing him in the womb before he was (even) born.

(r)ỈỈ=f n=f ỈỈỈ wỈs nb
May he grant him all life and dominion

ỈỈ(yt) Ỉr st Ỉr đt
and appearing on the throne of Horus, for ever.

rn n Ỉst tn ntt wd Ỉr=s ỈỈr-n-[bỈỈ]

The name of this desert on which this stela (stands) is “(Camp)-*Bia*-Street”.

[RHP]

Comments

The top of the stela is bounded by the hieroglyphic sign of the sky below which the outstretched wings of the winged sundisc protect two symmetrically represented titularies. Under the right wing tip is inscribed the name of the Upper Egyptian Horus of Edfu, under the left tip was inscribed the name of the Lower Egyptian goddess Uto. Each half of these symmetrical titulary friezes contains four elements. The left side lies in the realm of Uto: (1) Taharqo’s Horus name KỈ-ỈỈỈ, epithet: “Beloved of (...); (2) “Lord of the Two Lands” plus throne name Ỉw-(wỈ)-NỈrtm-RỈ; (3) “May (Uto) give (all life), all welfare to the Son of Rê, (Tahar)qo, (Beloved of the Ennead)”; (4) “(Given all life, stability, and welfare like Rê, for ever)”. The right side lies in the realm of Horus of Edfu: (1) as (1) left, epithet: “Beloved of Baket” (Baket is a mythical name for Egypt as the eye of Rê; what is meant is apparently “[Rê, Lord of] Baket”, see Altenmüller-Moussa 1981, 62); (2) “(Nekhbet), may she give all life and welfare to the Son (of

Rê Tahar)qo, Beloved of the Ennead"; (3) as (2) left; (4) as (4) left (for the titles see (18) 1 a, d). The fragmentarily preserved lunette was reconstructed by Altenmüller and Moussa (1981, 60-63) on the basis of the similar lunette of Kawa III (Macadam 1949, 5 and Pls 5 f.). They also noted that in the right-hand title series the sequence of the Throne and Son of Rê names was reversed probably in order to emphasize Taharqo's southern origin.

The stela was erected ca. 5 kms west of the pyramid of Pepy II on a desert road used for maneuvers of the Egyptian army under Taharqo and Psammetich I (cf. Altenmüller-Moussa 1981, 80), leading from Memphis *via* Dahshur to the Fayyum (cf. op.cit., 81-83). It commemorates an, in itself, minor event of Year 6 (for the suggested dating see op.cit., 79 f.) which has no bearing on Kushite history. It gives, however, a vivid picture of Taharqo's official image and also contains hints at features of Kushite kingship ideology that stand out from the general conceptual context of the stela. The text can be divided into the following sections (Altenmüller-Moussa 1981, 76-78):

1. The main text started with the now destroyed dating. On stylistic grounds the first editors suggested a dating to Year 6. Kitchen (1986, § 529) puts forward, more cautiously, a dating "to the king's early years". The titles of the King, and an epithet according to which the King is "Beloved of Bastet of Bugem", associating Taharqo with the Eye of Rê who returned from Nubia to Egypt and thus placing Taharqo's southern origins into a theological perspective, are preserved from the introductory section. In section 2, lines 2-5, in a retrospective order, it is reported how the King ordered the erection of the stela and how he ordered his army to carry out daily training in running. Section 3, lines 5-8, records Taharqo's speech to his army, in which he gives a discourse on his divine sonship and the origins of his power and proclaims his universal rule as the source of his army's merits. In lines 8-12, section 4, Taharqo inspects the camp of Bia (identical with P3-bhn-n-BiW, the Fortress of Biou near Memphis of 9, line 99); the valor of the soldiers and their ruler is proclaimed in a manner that reveals stylistic models mostly of Ramesside date (cf. Grimal 1986, 703-715). Section 5, lines 12-16, reports a race of the soldiers. The concluding sixth section (lines 16-17) announces once more Taharqo's divine sonship.

In lines 12 f. the King is reported to have followed the race hr ssmwt, which may mean that he was driven in a chariot (so Altenmüller-Moussa 1981, 72 f. note aa) but may perhaps also be translated as "on horseback", a possibility supported by the apparently greater importance of cavalry in the Kushite army as opposed to Egyptian practice (cf. Kendall 1982, 32 and Grimal 1981, 715 note 875 on the horse burials at el Kurru; and see Török 1991, 195-197).

[LT]

24 Stela of Taharqo from Years 8-10 from Kawa. Donations; the story of Alara's covenant with Amûn (Kawa VI). Ca. 680 BC.

From the first court of the Amûn Temple of Kawa (Temple T). Khartoum 2679. Macadam 1949, 32-41, Pls 11 f.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

RIGHT HALF

BEHIND KING

- (1)] dt
(1) ...] for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING

- (1) sk ḥdt n ït=f Ìmn
(1) Offering a white loaf to his father Amûn,

(2) ïr=f dï ḥnh
(2) that he may be granted life.

ABOVE AMEN-RE

- (1) [Ìmn-Rē ḥry-ib Dw]-wḥb,
(1) [Amen-Rê, who dwells in Pure-]mountain (Gebel Barkal).

BEHIND AMEN-RE

- (1) [dd-mdw] dï.n(=i) n=k ḥnh wḥs nb snb nb mï Rē dt
(1) [Utterance:] "I have given you all life and dominion and all health, like Rê, for ever."

LEFT HALF

IN FRONT OF KING

- (1) — — n ït=f Ìmn
(1) [...] to his father Amûn,

(2) ïr=f] dï ḥnh
(2) [that he may be] granted life.

BEHIND AMEN-RE

The Sources

(1) ḏd-mdw] dī.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ wꜣs nb ḏd nb ꜣw-ib nb ḏt

(1) [Utterance:] “(I) have given you all life and dominion, all stability, and all happiness, for ever.”

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥꜣt-sp 8

(1) Regnal year 8.

Nsw-bity Ḥw-(wī)-Nfrtm-Rꜥ

The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)”,

Sꜣ Rꜥ Tꜣ-h-r-k ḥḥ ḏt

the Son-of-Rê: Taharqo, may he live for ever:

īr.n=f m mnw=f n īt=f Īmn-Rꜥ nb Gm-Ītn

what he made as his monument to his father, Amen-Rê, lord of “Finding-(the)-Aton” (Kawa):

ḥmt	ḥtp	1
copper, altar:		
ḥmt	kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ ḥr ꜣꜥny	2
copper, kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ-vessel, supporting two apes:		2;
[]w	[-]10 [
[...]:		‘10’;
[] (2) 54
(2) [...]		54;
ḥmt	ḥꜣ-rnpt	50
copper, “millennium”-vessel:		50;
ḥmt	dnīṯ	50
copper, dnīṯ-vessel:		50;
ḥmt	sft	50
copper, knife:		50;
ḥmt	ꜥš	5
copper, ꜥš-vessel:		5;
ḥmt	ꜥš ḥy	1
copper, tall ꜥš-vessel:		1;

ḥmt	ḳb ʕt	4
copper, large	ḳby-vessel:	4;
ḥmt	ḥ-r3-s3	10
copper, ḥrs-vessel:		10;
ḥmt	sššt	1
copper, sistrum:		1;
ḥmt	[—] (3)	1
copper, [—](3)a-vessel:		1;
ḥmt	šfd	3
copper, šfd-vessel:		3;
ḥmt	t3t	3
copper, pair of tweezers:		3
ḥmt	ḥs	7
copper, ḥst-vessel:		7;
ḥmt	d3d3t	1
copper, d3d3t-vessel:		1;
ḥmt	gš	5
copper, g3š-vessel:		5;
wḥ3 n ḥr-st		1
column for brazier-stand:		1
ḥmt	mn(4)t	1
(4) copper, smelting brazier:		1;
ḥmt	ḥdwyṯ	5
copper, lamp:		5;
ḥmt	ḥwy	3
copper, ḥwt-vessel:		3;
ḥmt	nḥmt	1
copper, ḥ...ṯ:		1;
ḥmt	ḥg:n	1
copper, ring-stand:		1;

The Sources

ḥmt ʿ	1
copper, ʿ- <i>vessel</i> :	1;
ḥmt w-š3-3-m	1
copper, wšm- <i>vessel</i> :	1;
ḥmt ʿg:n n ḥ3	1
copper, ring-stand for an altar:	1;
(5) ḥmt ḥmt n pḥd	1
(5) copper, 'tool for chopping':	1;
ḥmt ḥkn	1
copper, hoe:	1;
ḥr n ḥmt	281
making: copper: <i>deben</i> :	281,
ḥr n dbn	7815
making <i>deben</i> :	7,815;
ḥyrd	8
ḥrd-roll of cloth:	8;
d3t	57
(roll of) d3t-cloth:	57;
ṭṭf	2
(roll of) ṭṭf-cloth:	2;
ḥt n bnri (6)	15
mast of date palm wood: (6)	15;
ḥfd	4
(roll of) ḥfd-cloth:	4;
nwt n nwḥ	104
threads of yarn:	104;
ḥt n nbs	56
pole of zizyphus wood:	56;
ʿnty šw	15
'...' of dried resin:	15;

ḥḏ ʿ n ḥr wpš 1
silver, “arm” for performing the ceremony of sprinkling: 1;

ḥmt st-mnt 2
copper, st-mnt-vessel: 2;

ḥr n db(7)n 1545
making *deb(7)en*: 1, 545;

ḥny dbn 550
‘orpiment’, *deben*: 550;

ḥr.n Nsw-bḥty T3-h-r-k ʿnh dt
(all of) which the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Taharqo, may he live for ever,
(had) made

n ḥt=f Ḥmn-Rʿ nb Gm-Ḥtn
for his father Amen-Rê, lord of “Finding-(the)-Aton” (Kawa),

ḥr=f dī ʿnh nb
that he may be granted all life,

ḏd w3s nb
all stability and dominion,

snb nb 3wt-ib nb
and all health and all happiness,

mī Rʿ dt nhḥ
like Rê, for ever and ever.

(9) ḥ3t-sp 9
(8) Regnal year 9.

Nsw-bḥty T3-h-r-k ʿnh dt
The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Taharqo, may he live for ever:

ḥr.n=f m mnw=f n ḥt=f Ḥmn-Rʿ nb Gm-Ḥtn
what he has made as his monument for his father Amen-Rê, lord of “Finding-(the)-
Aton” (Kawa):

nbw dbn 651
gold, *deben*: 651;

nbw snb 1 ḥr n dbn 9
gold, ‘fan’: 1, making *deben*: 9;

The Sources

ḥḍ			dbn	3200
silver,			<i>deben</i> :	3,200;
ḥḍ	drt n (9) snb	1		
silver, 'fan'- (9) handle:		1;		
ḥḍ	šw iw spwt=w n nbw	2		
silver, šw-vessel with gold rim:		2;		
ḥḍ	tf 'r'r m nbw	1		
silver, '—' wrought in gold:		1;		
ḥḍ	tk	2		
silver, lamp:		1;		
ḥḍ	b' n imy-wnwt	1		
silver, hour-priest's palm-staff:		1;		
(10)	ḥw	1	n ḥḍ nbw	
(10)	fan:	1,	of silver and gold;	
ḥmt	šw	2		
copper, šw-vessel:		2;		
ḥmt	ḳbt	1		
copper, ḳby-vessel:		1;		
ḥmt	ḥḥyt [ḥwt]	10		
copper,	altar:	10;		
	mḥ sy pns=s	1		
	'water-vase':	1;		
	prt 'wnw	1000		
	seeds of cypress:	1000;		
ḥmt			dbn	1(11)3456
copper,			<i>deben</i> :	1(11)3,456;
ḥḍ	n smn	2	ir n ḥḍ	dbn 200
				dbn 4 ḳdt4 gs
silver, geese:		2,	making <i>deben</i> of silver,	200,
			(and) 4 <i>deben</i> , 4 <i>kite</i> , and one half;	
ḥmt	ḥwt	10		
copper, ḥwt-vessel:		10;		

sšny	<1>
"lotus"-vessel:	<1>;
hn	147
hnw-vessel:	147;

ir=f di ʿnh dd w3s mi Rʿ dt
that he may be granted life, stability, and dominion, like Rê, for ever.

(12) h3t-sp 10
(12) Regnal year 10.

Nsw-bity T3-h-r-k ʿnh dt
The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Taharqo, may he live for ever:

ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Imn-Rʿ nb Gm-Itn
what he has made as his monument for his father Amen-Rê, lord of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa):

nbw	dbn	15
gold,	deben:	15;
wšb	dbn	500
「—」,	deben:	500;
kny	dbn	106
^a orpiment ^o ,	deben:	106;
hsbd n sš	dbn	2000
lapis lazuli for painting,	deben:	2000;
(13) mnḥ	<dbn>	500
(13) wax,	<deben>:	500;
štḥy	dbn	100
「—」,	deben:	100;
ṭḥn	k3-r-t	10
faience,	krt-vessel:	10;
ins	mnḥt	100
bright red linen, mnḥt-fabric:		100;
idmṯ	mnḥt	200
idmṯ-cloth, mnḥt-fabric:		200;

The Sources

g3-r3-bw iw=w inh 3
 'plaited' cloth with 'embroidered edges': 3;

r3-d-n-y (14) kw 5
 ladanum, cakes: 5;

nbw pgš 60
 gold, thin (plates) for engraving: 60;

nbw h3st=f dbn 300
 gold, '(as it comes from) its foreign country', *deben*: 300;

ht nbt š3wt nn rh tnw iry m š mr šndt
 and all (kinds of) wood in abundance, the amount thereof being unknown: cedar,
 juniper, and acacia.

sth3n n3wt=f r 3w=s (15) m šnyw nbt
 His whole city was made verdant (15) with all (kinds of) trees.

rdi n=f
 There were appointed to him

k3ryw r=s m stpw nw D3ds
 gardeners for it (the temple), the best of *Djesdjes*

mitt irw m rmt nw T3-mhw
 and the like thereof, people of North-land.

kd hwt-ntr=f w3.t r mr (16) hw m inr nfr n rwd
 His temple-compound, being in a state of (16) ruin, was (re)built with fine sandstone

m-ht gm.n sw hm=f kd.tw m tb
 after His Majesty found it built of brick

ph.n k3yt tp-hwt=st
 and that the sand dune had reached its roof.

kd.n=f sw m inr
 He (re)built it in stone

m kt mnht n p3(17).tw m3 mitt
 of excellent workmanship, the like (of which) has never (17) been seen before

dr ntrw r hrw pn
 since (the time of) the gods until this day.

ir.n=f sw m inr nfr rwd mnḥ
He has made it of fine, high quality sandstone,

sḥꜥ whꜥw ḥtꜥ m nbw nfr r ꜥrw=sn m ḥd
the columns being set up, overlaid in beautiful gold, their 'inlays' of silver,

ḳd bhꜥw=s m (18) irt r nfr
its pylons built with (18) well executed work,

sḥꜥ sbꜥw=s m ꜥš mꜥꜥ ḳr m ḥmt Stt
its door being set up in true cedar, the bolts being of Asiatic copper,

ḥt.tw ḥr rn wr n ḥm=f
(the whole) being inscribed with the Great Name of His Majesty

m-ꜥ sšw nb{t} ḳrw dbꜥw=sn
by all sorts of skilful-fingered scribes,

ḥt.tw m-ꜥ ḥmw (19) nfrw sni=sn irt.n tp(yw)-ꜥ
and inscribed by good craftsmen (19) who (sur)passed what the ancestors had done,

swꜥd šnꜥ=s sdfꜥ ḥꜥwy=st
its storehouse is stocked and its altars provisioned (with food-offerings).

mḥ.n=f st m wdḥw
He has filled it with offering-tables

nw ḥd nbw ḥmt Stt ꜥꜥt nb mꜥꜥt n rḥ tnw=sn
of silver, gold, Asiatic copper, and every (kind of) genuine costly stone, the quantity of which is unknown.

mḥ.n=f m (20) mrw ꜥšꜥw{t}
He has (also) filled <it> with (20) numerous servants

rdi.n=f ḥmwꜥt r=s m ḥmwꜥt wrw nw Tꜥ-mḥw
and appointed maidservants for it, being wives of chiefs of North-land.

ḥm irt m irt nw nwt tn
Wine is trodden from the vines of this city,

ꜥšꜥ=st r Dsdꜥs
it being more abundant than (that of) *Djesdjes*,

rdi.n=f ḳryw r=sn
He has appointed gardeners for them,

The Sources

m k̄ryw nfrw (21) nw Mntyw Stt
being good gardeners (21) of the *Mentiu*-nomads of Asia.

mḥ.n=f ḥwt-ntr tn m wꜥbw r=s
He has filled this temple-compound with priests for it,

m s rh r=s
being men who know their spells,

m msw wrw nw t̄ nb
the children of the great ones of every land.

mḥ.n=f pr=f m ḥnw r sšš n ḥr=f nfr
He has filled his house with female musicians to shake the sistrum before his beautiful face.

ir.n (22) ḥm=f nw n ʕ n mr=f it=f Imn-Rꜥ nb Gm-Itn
His Majesty (22) did this because he loved his father Amen-Rê of “Finding-(the)-Aton” (Kawa) so greatly.

ḥr rh.n=f mnḥ=f ḥr ib=f
and because he knew that he (the king) was favored in the opinion of him

ḥḥ iw n ʕš n=f
that is swift, who comes to him that calls upon him,

ḥr b̄st ir.n=f n{=f} mwt=f m ḥt
because of the wonder which he worked for his mother in the womb

n ms=s
before she gave birth.

ḥn.tw n=f mwt n mwt=f
(For) his mother’s mother was committed to him

in sn=st wr S̄-Rꜥ I-r-r (23) [m̄ʕ ḥrw] ‘m dd’
by her brother, the Chief, the Son-of-Rê, “Alara”, (23) [justified,] saying,
[or: by her elder brother ...]

THE COVENANT

i ntr mnḥ ḥḥ iw n ʕš n=f
“O beneficent god, swift, who comes to him that calls upon him,

m̄=k n=i r sn(t)=i ḥmt ms ḥnʕ=i m ḥt wꜥt
look upon my sister for me, a woman born with me in one womb.

ir{.n}=k n=s mî ir.n=k n îr n=k
Act for her (even) as you acted for him that acted for you,

n bîst nn s hr îbw n nhd r=s in kîwyw
as a wonder, unpremeditated, and not 'disregarded' by reflective people.

shm=k n=i wîwî dw r=i
(For) you put a stop to him that plotted evil against me

s'h(24)ç.n=k wî m nsw
after you set (24) me up as king.

ir=k n sn(t)=i mîtt n nw
Act for my sister in this wise (too).

stn{.n}=k msw=s m tî pn
Elevate her children in this land.

dî=f spr=f r bw nfr hç m nsw
Let them attain prosperity and appearing as king

mî ir.n=k n=i
(even) as you have done for me."

sdm.n=f n ddt=f nbt
He hearkened to all that he said

n dî mîç r md=f nb
and did not <fail to> pay heed to his every word.

rdî=f n=f sî=f snw=f
He appointed for him his son,

Sî Rç Tî-h-r-k çnh dî nsw (25) [...]
the Son-of-Rê: Taharqo, may he live for ever, a king (25) [...]

r s[h]î rn=f r smnh mnw=f
to com[memor]ate his name, to embellish his monuments,

r srwd twt=f r ht rn=f hr rî-pr
to maintain his statues, to inscribe his name on the temple,

r nîs rn n mwwt=f tp(ywt)-ç
to call out the names of his foremothers,

The Sources

r smn n=sn prt-hrw
to establish funerary offerings for them,

r dı n=sn ħmw-k3 ‘šw šps m ħt nb

and to give them numerous *ka*-servants, rich in all things.

l̄r=f d̄i ʔnh nb m̄i R̄ ɔt
May he be granted all life, like Rê, for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

On the left, now badly destroyed, side of the lunette Taharqo was represented before the ram-headed Amen-Rê of Kawa; on the right-hand scene the King offers bread to Amen-Rê of Napata. Lines 1-14 of the main text continue the record of donations of Years 2-8 in Kawa III (Macadam 1949, 4-14, Pls 5 f. It may be noted here that the donations in Year 8 include "1 bronze statue of the King smiting foreign countries", "every kind of timber, acacia, cedar, and persea", "the children of the chieftains of the Tjehenu", thus suggesting military campaigns reaching the Phoenician coast. Cf. Redford 1993, 354 f., and see below). The list of Year 10 includes cedar, juniper and acacia (line 14), true cedar and Asiatic copper (line 18) and gardeners of the Mentiu-nomads of Asia (lines 20 f.). After the list of donations the story of the re-building of the temple follows; in lines 15-21 of **24**, lines 7-16 of **21** are paraphrased. In lines 22-25 the Alara story of **21**, lines 16-20 is repeated. The version of **24** is somewhat longer and seems to draw more from the common model that was also used for this passage in the version written some years earlier. As a preamble to the discourse on reciprocity which serves as a conceptual framework for the whole of the Alara story as part of Taharqo's demonstration of legitimacy (see comments to **21**), a sentence of Alara's speech is cited (line 22: "for he recognized ... that called to him"). The birth of Taharqo as son of Amûn is called bît, wonder. Also occurring in the description of the events of Year 6, the use of the expression seems to have been determined by the notion of direct connection between god and king in the sense of creation (cf. Grimal 1986, 506-508): the god "creates" his son in the womb of the mother; the King "creates" abundance.

In lines 23 f. a slightly extended speech of Alara is recorded (cf. 21, lines 17-19). In line 25 a remark is added to the enumeration of Taharqo's duties towards Amûn on his duty towards his female ancestors, i.e., towards the maintenance of their mortuary cult. Unusual here is the emphasis on *female* ancestors; yet this particular duty of Taharqo's is associated with the aspect of the female succession line as it is apparent in the Alara story. The mortuary cult of his mother's mother (and mother) may be confronted with the conceptual background of the cenotaph erected by Ahmose (Eighteenth Dynasty) for his "mother's mother" Tetisheri in Abydos (stela Cairo CG 34002, Urk. IV, 27,16,

Vandersleyen 1985). The analogy is the more significant in that the impact of early Eighteenth Dynasty queenship on the ideology of the “queenship” of the Theban God’s Wife of Amûn is obvious: the first queen to bear the title “Wife of the God of Amûn” was Ahmose’s mother Ahhotep I (Troy 1986, 161 18.2); and the cult of Ahmose’s wife Ahmose Nefertari considerably influenced the queenship ideology of subsequent centuries (op.cit., 107 ff.).

[LT]

25 Stela of Taharqo from Year 10 from Kawa on the inauguration of the new Amûn temple at Kawa (Kawa VII). Ca. 680 BC.

From the first court of the Amûn Temple of Kawa (Temple T). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1713. Macadam 1949, 41-44, Pls 13 f.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP

SCENE ON THE RIGHT

ABOVE KING (one line, reading from left to right)

(1) ntr nfr nb T3wy T3-h-r-k d3 ʿnh

(1) The good god, lord of Two-lands: Taharqo, given life.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column reading from left to right)

(1) d3 šʿt n it=f

(1) Giving a šʿt-loaf to his father.

BEHIND KING (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) s3 ʿnh h3=f m3 Rʿ

(1) Protection and life surround him, like (they do) Rê.

BEFORE AMEN-RE (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) ʾImn-Rʿ nb nswt T3wy

(1) Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands.

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from right to left)

(1) Bḥdt(y) ntr ʿ3

(1) The Behdetite, the great god.

DIVIDING SCENES (one column, reading from right to left)

The Sources

(1) dī ʿnh dd w3s ʿw(t)-ib mī Rʿ

(1) Giving life, stability, dominion, and happiness, like Rê (has them).

SCENE ON LEFT

ABOVE KING (one line, reading from right to left)

(1) ntr nfr nb ʾr ht T3-h-[r-k dī ʿnh]

(1) The good god, lord of performing rituals: Taha[rqo, given life.]

IN FRONT OF KING (one column reading from right to left)

(1) sk ḥdt n ʾt=f

(1) Offering a white loaf to his father.

BEFORE AMEN-RE (one column, reading from left to right)

(1) ʾmn-Rʿ Gm-ʾtn

(1) Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa).

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from left to right)

(1) Bḥdt(y) ntr ʿ3

(1) The Behdetite, the great god.

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥ3t-sp 10t tp(y) ʾht (sw) 1

(1) Tenth regnal year, first month of the season of Inundation, day 1,

ḥr ḥm n

under the majesty of

Ḥr k(3)-ḥ3w

Horus: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Nbty k(3)-ḥ3w

Two-Ladies: "Whose-appearances-are-lofty",

Ḥr-nbw Ḥw-T3wy

Golden-Horus: "Protector-of-Two-lands",

Nsw-b3ty Ḥw-(w3)-Nfrtm-Rʿ

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Nefertum-and-Rê-protect-(me)",

S3-R^c T3-h-[r-k dī ʿnh mī R^c dt]
Son-of-Rê: Taha[rqo, given life, like Rê, for ever.]

(2) sʿh^c wpš rd pr n nb=f
(2) Setting up, sprinkling, presenting the house to its owner.

Nsw-bīty T3-h-r-k ʿnh dt
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Taharqo, may he live for ever,

ỉr.n=f m mnw=f
what he made as his monument:

ḥwt-nṯr nt ỉt=f ʾImn wr
the temple-compound of his father Amûn, the great,

ḥr-ỉb <Gm->ʾItn,
who dwells in “<Finding>-(the)-Aton” (Kawa),

ḥws.tw m (3) ỉnr m mnw n dt
built up in (3) stone as an eternal monument,

ỉnbw sʿh^c wḥ(3)w mn rwd r nhḥ
the walls raised, the columns set firm and enduring for ever.

ỉw gr wd.n ḥm=f
His Majesty also commanded

rdỉ ḥntỉ ʿš m^c (4) n Ḥnt-š
that true cedar (4) of Khentesh (Lebanon) be transported southwards

r sʿh^c šnw=f m ḥwt-nṯr tn
in order to set up his trees in this temple-compound

ỉrt.n ḥm=f n ỉt=f ʾImn
which His Majesty had made for his father Amûn,

rdt r bḥnw [n ḥwt-nṯr] ỉrt.n ḥm=f
being placed at the pylons [of the temple-compound] which His Majesty had made.

(5) ntf šd mw kbḥ ḥ3wt
(5) He it was that dug out the cool water of the altars

shṯp ỉb n ʾImn wr
which satisfy the heart of Amûn the Great.

ir.n=f šn't n htp-ntr
He made a storehouse for the endowments

irt.n hm=f n it=f
which His Majesty made for his father,

m [— — —] 'k=f
consisting of [...] and his bread.

(6) isk rf ir hm=f nsw pw kn
(6) Now as for His majesty, he is a heroic king,

nfr šrw ndm spw
whose counsels are good and whose deeds are pleasing.

stp.n sw it=f Imn m [— — —]
His father Amûn chose him from among [— — —]

m rh.(7)=f ib =f r kd hwt-ntr
because he (7) knew that his heart was disposed to temple-compound building

r smnh r3-prw
and embellishing sanctuaries.

sk hm=f r d[mî — — — —]
Now His Majesty was at the 'town' [...]

[dd.n=f n] 'smr'w=f
[So he said to] his ["friends"].

ir (8) nf rh.n hm=i m hwt-ntr tn
"As for (8) what My Majesty knows in this temple-compound

<n>t it=i Imn Gm-I[tn — — — —]
of my father Amûn of "Finding-(the)-A[ton" ...]

iw irt.n hm=i (9) pr it=i Imn wr
My Majesty (re)made (9) the house of my father Amûn the Great,

kd m [inr — — — —]
built in [stone ...]

hr hm=f r mn (10) r nh
under His Majesty to endure (10) for ever;

mr(y) Pth ʿiw¹ [— — — — —]sn r irt
beloved of Ptah ʿ¹[...] them to do

m¹ (11) šʿ.n hm[=f — — — — —] nbw [— — — — —]
as (11) [His] Majesty had begun [...] gold [...]

rdt ḥtp ntr ʿim
caused the god to rest therein.

(12) [— — — — —] dt ʿkd m dbʿt
(12) [...] for ever, built in brick

(13) [— — — — —] ʿntt¹ r-gs wn m dbʿt
(13) [...] ʿwhich¹ is beside what was in brick

(14) [— — — — —] ʿn sʿ nd¹ hr ʿt=f
(14) [...] ʿof a son who protects¹ his father

ʿr.n=f n ʿr n=f
He acted for him that acted for him

(15) [— ... —] ḥʿ m Nsw-bʿty hr st Hr dt
(15) [...] appearing as King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt upon the throne of Horus,
for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

In the double scene of the lunette Taharqo is represented offering to Amen-Rê. On the left scene he offers bread to the ram-headed Amûn of Kawa; on the right scene a šʿt-loaf to the human-headed Amûn of Thebes. In both scenes the King wears a wig and one uraeus on his forehead.

The main text reports the opening rites of the new temple of Amûn at Kawa. Section 1 (line 1) gives the date which indicates that New Year was chosen for this important act. Section 2 (lines 2-5) is introduced by a sentence summarizing the rites connected with the opening of a new temple. The three terms of sʿḥ, “setting up” (Wb IV, 53 [2-6], [7-9]), wpš, “sprinkling” (op.cit. I, 305 [18]), and rd pr n nb=f, “presenting the house to its owner” (op.cit. I, 513 [8]) indicate the performance of ceremonies also known from relief representations (Zibelius-Chen 1985). The representations (see Montet 1964) depict ten subsequent rites as a continuous series from the king’s departure from the palace to the site of the future temple till the “presenting the house to its owner (the god)”; yet, as also evidenced by 25, the first seven rites were performed before, and the last three after the actual building work. It appears that the “presenting of the house” was represented in the Hypostyle of the Kawa Temple itself (Macadam 1949, 43; Macadam 1955, 83 and Pl. XVI/a,b). The scene appears to be

the concluding scene of the cycle representing the great bark procession of Amûn at the consecration of the temple; this interpretation is based on the place where the relief with “presenting of the house” stood, for it was the actual place where this act was performed, following the “Festival of Entering” [ḥb n ʿk] in the Edfu temple, see Reymond 1969, 256 f.. To the final rite of “presenting the house” appears to have belonged the erection of the cult image (for Soleb see Sanaa Abd-el-Azim el-Adly: Das Gründungs- und Weiheritual des ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. Diss. Tübingen 1981, 191, quoted by Zibelius-Chen op.cit., 385). This latter episode of the rites is perhaps hinted at in line 11, “the god was made to rest therein...”, i.e., in the sanctuary. In connection with the installation of the divine image, the universal kingship of the temple builder was usually proclaimed (Zibelius-Chen op.cit., 385); the last two lines bear witness to the performance of this ceremony also at the conclusion of the opening rites of the Amûn Temple at Kawa in the early part of Taharqo’s tenth regnal year (in Soleb the opening rites took ca. one month, see Zibelius-Chen op.cit.). [LT]

26 Taharqo, inscription in the peristyle court north of Pylon VI of the Amûn Temple in Karnak. Around 674 BC.
Vernus 1975, 29 f.

Text and translation

Vernus I:

INSCRIPTION AT THE EXTREME EASTERN PART OF THE WALL
(C and J2 = fig. 1 to 4 and 11)
(in columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ... [nṯr pn šps	nb nṯrw nbw
(1) ... [this noble god,	lord of all the gods,

ʿImn-Rʿ nb nswt T3wy ḥn]ty ʿIpt-swt
Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who is befor]e Karnak,

b3 šps wbn m ḥrt
the noble *ba* that rises in heaven,

[šṯ ms]w	ʿšḥ ḥprw
[whose imag]es [are secret],	whose appeareances are numerous,

n rḥ.tw bs=f	ir pt
whose (true) form is unknown,	who made the sky,

twꜣ s n bꜣ=f
who raised it (the sky) for his *ba*,

hnp Tꜣwy [m] rn=f
who has marked Two-lands with his name,

šhm šps mryty šfyty
the noble power, beloved, prestigious,

wsr m ḥꜣw=f ḥnb fꜣw
mighty in 'his appearances', 'lord of respect',

šhm ḥpr
whose manifestation is mighty,

ḥpr ḥprw nb m ḥpr=f
through whose manifestations all manifestations manifest themselves,

ḥtn wr ḥꜣy (2) [psdt=f
great solar disc that darts forth (2) [its rays,

dꜣ=f sw ḥnh ḥr nb
when he gives himself, everyone lives,

dꜣy ḥrt] n wrd[.n=f] dwꜣty sp sn
he who crosses the heavens] tirelessly early in the morning,

nt-ꜣ=f mn nhḥ
whose rite(s) endure on and on,

ḥꜣw wr ḥty ḥnh m Mꜣꜣt
great elder, the sovereign who lives in Maat,

wr wrw ꜣn ꜣw
great(est) of the great, grand(est) of the grand,

wr wr sw r ntrw
the great one who is greater than the (other) gods,

ḥw wsr=f ḥn [ph n d]t
whose might comes as far as the extent of eternity carries,

ḥꜣw šꜣ ḥpr
the elder who was first to come into existence,

The Sources

ỉt T3wy m nḥtw=f
he who siezes Two-lands by his victory,

nḥh	s(3)[bb dt]	...
the continuing,	he who passes (3) through eternity	...

ỉt ỉtw	mw]t mwwt
father of fathers,	mother of mothers,

stn sw [r] psdt
he who raises himself above the Ennead,

by3yty sr ỉyt b(w) ḥprt
the oracle who foresees what is coming before it happens,

k3t[=f nḅ n]ḥh dt
whose work is to assure cyclical eternity and infinite duration,

Nsw-ḅity Ỉmn-Ṛ
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Amen-Rê,

nb nswt T3wy
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

nb pt t3 mw đww
lord of heaven, earth, water, and mountains,

ḥ[r]=f n s3=k mr=k
(thus) he says; namely, your son whom you love,

Nsw-ḅity (— —) |
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: (cartouche empty),

S3 Ṛ (— —) |
Son-of-Rê: (cartouche empty),

Ỉmn-Ṛ nb nswt T3wy [mry — —]
[beloved of] Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

ỉ[ẉ] n 'T3wy'
[the herita]ge of 'Two-lands',

đỉ ʿnḥ nb đđ w3s nb
given all life, all stability and dominion,

snb nb 3w-ib nb mî R^c dt
all health, all happiness like Rê for ever.

(4) ...] 'mdt' mî 3=s
(4) ...] 'an affair' according to its importance.

dî=k n=i 'T3wy' stp=k wî m-hnw=[sn
You gave me 'Two-lands', you chose me among [them,

dî=]k dd=w T3wy=i is
(and) you caused them to say—my Two-lands as well,

"î.îr Imn îr pr-3 n p(3) nty mr=f sw
"According to what he desires, Amûn makes a pharaoh."

dî=k gm=i s dd
You caused me to discover this:

p(3) (î.)dî=k 3k=f p[... rmt
that he whom you caused to enter [... ...] mankind.

îwn b(w) rh=w s hr=i
although they had not known it about me.

î (5) [Imn ...
O (5) [Amûn ...

î p(3) nty b(w) îr=f h3^c t3 (î.)îr=f îw=s n gs
O, you who do not abandon what he has done while it is half (done).

î Imn m [— — =]k n.îm=w
O Amûn, don't [— —] you among them.

îw=k sdm=w n=i
You shall listen to them for me,

mtw=k [—] (6) ... b]înt
and you shall [—] (6) ... e]vil.

m-îr dît 3k=i r mdt îw msd=k s
Don't let me enter upon an affair which you hate.

p[(3) — -]=i
...

The Sources

m-ir dît ir=i p(3) nty ms[d=k s —] (7) ...] m-di=k
Don't let me to do what [you ha]te ... (7) ...] with you.

hr-r-m (= hr-i-r-m) [in]k ntt ink p(3y)=k šri
As for me, I am your child,

iw ntk 'i.[wt̥t hp]rt nbt'
while you are the one who 'engendered' all [that comes into existence].

mn nkt iw [— —] (8) ...] hnw n 'Imn n3y
There is nothing which ... (8) ...] the residence of Amûn this is.

sr=k n=i nn iw b-r-^ctw=k dît h^c=i
You predicted this for me (even) before you had had me crowned.

(9) ...] H^cpy 3 n p(3)y=i h3w
(9) ...] a great Inundation in my time.

3w n=i t3 pt iw=s ^cd iw=s 'š3' (10) [m h3w
Make the sky thick for me, abundant (10) [with rain ...

n]n ink sw iwny
...] it does not belong to me;

im̥i st hr=i dr=w
place them under me, all of them,

'iw' (11) [... ... i.]nw r=f [— - 'r 'I]mn'
... (11) [... ... lo]ok at him [... with respect to A]mûn;

ntf p(3) (i.)ir nf[r— (12) ... n]hm wi r šnw
he it is that does well ... (12) ... save me from sorrow,

n]hm wi r mdt bint nb im̥i dd=w r-r=[i]
save me from every evil affair, let them say of [me ...

(13) ...] t hnkt k3 3pd iw h3ty=i ndm
(13) ...] bread, beer, oxen, birds, my heart being sweet.

im̥i f3=i n=k nkt nb n p(3) nty '—'[—]
Cause me to carry to you all of that which ...

(14) ...] mr ir p(3) nty b(w)-p(w) pr-3 nb ir=f
(14) ...] do what no pharaoh had (ever) done,

iw=i m-di=k n b3k iw=k šn n(=i) n3 [—]
I being your servant, you repelling for me the ...

(15) ...] 'm'n p(3) nty iw=f 'md=w
(15) ...] there is none who will keep them away.

i Imn p(3) (i.)ir=i n p(3) t3 Nhs i.'d3' [—]
O Amûn, what I did in the Land of Nubia, grant ...

(16) ...] '—' imi ir=i sw n p(3y)=k inw n p(3) t3 n H3r i.'md r-r=k
(16) let me do it with your tribute from the land of Khor which is turned away from you.

i Imn (17) [...] '—' i hmwt imi 'nh n3(y)=i hrdw
O Amûn, (17) [...] '—' my wives. Let my children live.

'md n=i p(3) mwt r=w nhm wi r-r [- —]
Turn death away from them for me. Preserve me from ...

(18) ...] n r3=w mtw=k pn'=w r-d3d3=w h'=w
(18) ...] of their mouths, and turn them over upon themselves.

hry (i.)ir di 'nh p(3y)=f b3k 'i' [- —] (19) ...] 'iw' nb sp sn
It is the master who causes his servant to live (19) ...] '—' all (twice).

i Imn mn p(3) nty iw=f w3h n=k šh
O Amûn, there is no one who gives you orders;

ntk p(3) nty w3h (20) [šh] '—' p(3) nty iw=k dd n=i
it is you that gives (20) orders] that which you say to me,

m-šm n.im=k sp sn iw=i šm 't3' [—]
"Go forth!" (twice) I shall go forth ...

(21) ...] i Imn mn irt bint n t3 mdt i.ir=k i p(3) nty [—]
(21) ... O Amûn, there is no doing evil in the affair you have done concerning that which ...

Vernus II:

GREAT INSCRIPTION OF TAHARQO

WESTERN PART OF WALL

(H. Fa, I, K = fig. 6, 8, 9 and 12)

(in columns, reading from left to right)

(1) - (5) almost entirely destroyed

(6) [—] ḥnw tȝy=ī šmmt

(6) [—] in my stall.

m(y) ʕḥ=ī m ḥnw=w iw=ī [...
Let me stand among them, while I [...

(7) [—] dī=k n=ī

(7) [—] which you gave me.

m(y) dr=f k(ȝ)s sw m(y) nfr=f m(y) [...
Let it be strong, hold it together, let it be perfect, let [...

(8) [—] Nḥs

(8) [—] Nubia.

m(y) in=ī sw n=k n p(ȝ) tȝ Nḥs [— ... Ḳš
Let me bring to you from Nubia ... Kush.

ī Ḳmn m(y) īr [— -] īr n=k bȝk h(ȝ)b nȝy=ī ...
O Amûn, let [— -] be a servant for you, send [my ...

(9) [—] w nkt nb nt(y) īi n=k n p(ȝy)=k tȝ-nḥs

(9) [—] every thing that comes to you from your Nubia,

p(ȝ)y=k [... kȝw dšrw

nȝ(y)=k ḥrpw

n[ȝy=k mȝ-ḥd

your [... red cattle,

your ḥrp-cattle,

y[our oryxes,

nȝ(y)=k ḥn ȝby ...

(10) [— — nȝ(y)=k kȝwk

your panther skins

(10) [— — yo]ur dom-palm fruit,

p(ȝy)=k stī p(ȝ)y=k š ʕ wʕb nȝʕy=ʕ[k — -]
your ochre, your pure sand, yʕou[rʕ — -]

nȝ bʕ k(ȝ) n mȝmȝ [...
the long dom-palm fronds [...

(11) [— — n]ȝ mnwt n p(ȝ)y=k ḥtp-nṯr [...

(11) [— — t]he daily offerings of your endowment [...

BLOCK K

... ī]ȝw n=ī ḥpš n nȝ ʕrmṯʕ

...] extend to me the power over the people

ʕȝw n=īʕ [...

ʕdnṯʕ

extend to me [...

...] a ʕdnṯʕ-vase.

ī Ḳmn ȝȝw n=ī ʕk

O Amûn, extend me bread.

ī Ḳmn [...

O Amûn ...

....] m ỉw H[py ...
 .] let the Inunda[tion] come [...

Vernus: III

INSCRIPTION OF TAHARQO

TEXTS FOR SCENE ON THE WESTERN PART OF THE WALL
 (D, G, A = fig. 5, 7 and Pl. IV)

ABOVE KING

] r ỉrt=f nb sp sn ỉw ỉ[nỉ]
 ... with respect to everything that he did (twice), ...

Nsw-bỉty () |
 The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: " (blank) ",

Sỉ-Rỉ () | dỉ ỉnh wỉs dỉ
 Son-of-Rỉ: " (blank) ", given life and dominion for ever,

[Nhbt] hđt Nhn ỉnh s'(nb)'
 Nekhbet, the white of Nekhen, ...

BEHIND KING (one column, reading ...)

ỉm dỉ=ỉ ỉn st n=k
 Let me have them brought to you,

ỉw hỉt=ỉ ndm m nỉ ỉr=k n=ỉ] 'nb'
 while my heart is sweet because of all you have done for me.

m ỉw=ỉ] r hỉr(y)] hỉr=k 'm šmỉ=ỉ r hỉr(y)' hỉr=k
 Let me come up to you. Let me go up to you

[— —] r ỉrt n=ỉ hỉpr [— — —] p(ỉ) nt(y) nỉ-nỉr[=f] [- —]
 ... to do for me happen that which is good ...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

Even in its fragmentary state it is evident that this text may contain some unusual elements. Taharqo begins by expressing the traditional view that Amûn gave him the kingship, but then turns to beseeching the god, who, he says, does not leave what he has started half done, not to let him, Taharqo, embark on

anything hateful to the god. This and other allusive utterances indicate that Taharqo's affairs were not prospering and that by implication the god is at least indirectly the cause of the king's setbacks. The king seems to be saying that all he had been doing was to follow the god's orders and that it was up to the god to let him put things right again. In the text as preserved the king does not go so far as explicitly to acknowledge any fault on his own part, but the earnestness with which he begs the god's support suggests that he may at least have been uneasy about his own role. The text stands in striking contrast to Taharqo's other texts translated in this volume and is in its own way fully as remarkable as the triumphal stela of Pi(ankh)y.

[RHP]

Comments

This badly damaged inscription (formerly attributed to Shoshenq I by M. Müller, cf. Vernus 1975, 1 f.) was carved on the reverse of the blocks of Tuthmosis III's Annals (op.cit., 27 f.) in the proximity of the granite naos constructed by Tuthmosis III for Amen-Rê "king of the gods, the elder who was first to come into existence" (cf. col. 2 of the text) and of a number of significant oracular decree inscriptions (for the connection of the text with the particular Amûn statue cf. Kruchten: 1986, 344 f.). It was reconstructed, edited and commented on in a masterly article by Vernus (1975, 26-66) who dated it, on the basis of the initiative of the King described in line 16 concerning the restitution of the tribute of Khor in Palestine to Amûn of Thebes, to the period between Years 14 and 17 of Taharqo (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 352, 530 f.). The text is included here because it was written in a period of Taharqo's reign from which no monumental texts are preserved on Kushite territory (for rock inscriptions of a different character in Nubia see F. Hintze, MIO 7 [1959/60], 330-333), and because it offers a discourse on kingship ideology with overtones that seem to reflect the dramatic political changes beginning with Esarhaddon's attempt to invade Egypt in 674 BC (Kitchen 1986, § 352; for the second, successful attempt ending with the occupation of Memphis in 671 BC; for the subsequent re-establishment of Taharqo's rule in Egypt; for the invasion led by Assurbanipal in 667/6 and the formal submission of the Delta and Upper Egypt including Thebes; and finally for the ensuing events until Taharqo's death in his 26th regnal year in 664 BC see op.cit., § 353).

The preserved part of the text starts with an Amûn hymn (columns 1-3) going back to the same prototype which also transpires in the Nesikhons papyrus (PCaire 58032, see also comments to 1), the oracular decree for Pinodjem (PCaire 58033, Golenischeff 1927, 196) and other Third Intermediate Period documents (Vernus 1975, 32 note a) and which gives a magnificent summary of the Theban Amûn theology of the post-New Kingdom period (cf. Meyer 1928, 11-21). The central concept of the hymn is the direct kingship of Amûn (see especially the statements about the god as "the oracle who foresees the future before it

happens, whose activity is to assure cyclical eternity and infinite duration, King of Upper and Lower Egypt..."; on this issue see Assmann 1976, 774 f.; Assmann 1989, 72 ff.) who entrusts "the heritage of Upper and Lower Egypt" to his son King Taharqo. In the following section (columns 4-21) a monumental prayer of the King is recorded in which he asks the god for aid in his effort to regain the tribute from Khor (Palestine), i.e., to help him reverse the current of events concerning Egypt's position in Palestine and the Assyrian threat. The King does not argue on the basis of reciprocity between god and king, i.e., the traditional concept that was in the foreground of the ideological discourses of his earlier inscriptions (see comments to 21-25). Instead, he refers first to the fact that he *was* given the kingship over Egypt by the god, he *was* chosen by the god, and that therefore the god *is* now compelled to render him aid. Remarkably, the King also argues by reminding the god, "you who do not abandon what he has done while it is half (done)" (line 5). This latter remark comes closest to a reproach meant to remind the god to act with consistency according to the rules of universe (cf. Otto 1951; Grieshammer 1979, 79-92); yet the general tenor is that of pious supplication with reference to the fact that everyone, the King included, is at the god's mercy (cf. Assmann 1989, 72 ff.). Taharqo furthermore refers in his supplication (col. 9) to the extraordinary inundation "in his time" (i.e., in Year 6, cf. 22, lines 5-13 and comments) as a testimony of Amûn's favour. When confronted with the emphasis put on the concept of reciprocity in earlier documents, the series of statements made in columns 17-21 is striking in its humility. The King asks to be protected by the god from the slander of men, for "it is the master who causes his servant to live", referring thus to the (threatened) order of the world (for the origins of the notion in wisdom literature see Vernus 1975, 47 note aas). He also argues that there is no one who gives orders to Amûn, for it is the god who gives (everybody) orders, so much so that whatever the god orders the King, he would do it forthwith (columns 19 f.).

Further supplications are preserved on the western part of the wall of the court, in which the King's donations from Nubia are enumerated; the King continues to pray for Amûn's favour, for bread and inundation from the god.

[LT]

(27) Tanutamani. Titles.

Sources: for the Horus name see the name inscriptions on the statues of the King from the Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, Dunham 1970, 17 no. 4 fig. 7 (Toledo [USA] Museum, 49.105) and op.cit., no. 5 fig. 8 (Khartoum 1846); on the Amûn head from Sanam, F.Ll. Griffith, LAAA 9 (1922), 86 Pl. XIII/1,2 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1922.157); and in the inscriptions of the Osiris-Ptah-Nebankh chapel in Karnak, Leclant 1965, 111-113 § 31 fig. 23. For the throne name see 29.

The Sources

Horus name	W3ḥ-mrwt “Whose-love-endures”
Throne name	B3-k3-Rꜥ ?
Son of Rê name	T3-n-w3-tl-Imn Tanutamani

Comments

The Dream Stela (see 29) and the above-quoted inscriptions preserve only the Horus, Throne, and Son of Rê names of Tanutamani. A complete lack of the *Nebty* and Golden Horus names in certain Third Intermediate Period protocols (Twenty-First Dynasty: Pinodjem; Twenty-Second Dynasty: Horsiese, Takeloth II, see Bonhême 1987, 257) seems to be accidental and due rather to the hazards of the survival of monuments. On the other hand, the titularies of the kinglets Thotemhat (Kitchen 1986, § 331: Nimlot’s successor after Piye’s campaign in ca. 728 BC, cf. 9) and Gemenef-Khons-Bak (op.cit., § 357 and Table 23 B: local king of Tanis after 700 BC [?]) may actually have consisted only of Horus and cartouche names (Bonhême 1987, 257). It appears, however, that titularies composed of only these three names were in this period completely exceptional; and the two last mentioned cases were obviously determined by a status which cannot be compared with that of Tanutamani who possessed every right to assume a five-part royal titulary in Egypt as well as in Kush.

Dunham and Macadam (1949, 147 no. 76e) attributed a block inscribed with the *Nebty* name Sṇḥ-T3wy and the Golden Horus name Ḥw-T3wy from Sanam (PM VII, 201) to Tanutamani. For lack of any supporting evidence, these names are not regarded here as belonging to Tanutamani’s protocol. It seems more likely that the block is fragment of a titulary of Taharqo (see (18), comments).

The Horus name follows typologically the Horus and Golden Horus names of Amenophis I, Tuthmosis III, and Amenophis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. Leclant 1965, 351 note 1; Beckerath 1984, 83 XVIII.2 G; 84 XVIII.6 N 1,2; 85 XVIII.9 H 3).

[LT]

(28) Tanutamani. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Tanutamani was probably a son of Shabaqo (on the basis of the Rassam Cylinder of Assurbanipal, cf. Kitchen 1986, § 150. Kitchen opts, however, to prefer the doubtful evidence of Cylinder B which makes Tanutamani “son of his [= Taharqo’s] sister”; but see now Leahy 1984, 44) and Queen Kalhata (see 29, lunette, columns 20-22). He married his sisters Piankharty (Piye-ere) (see 29, lunette, columns 9 f.) and Istemkheb (? , cf. Leahy 1984, 43). No children of his

are attested. He followed his cousin Taharqo on the throne. His succession corresponds to an extent with the collateral principle insofar as he was a younger brother of Shebitqo whom he should have followed, according to this principle, directly on the throne. That he was in fact preceded by Taharqo who was “preferred to the brothers” of Shebitqo (cf. **(18)**, **21**, lines 8 f., **22**, line 14) may have been a consequence of his tender age at the time when, around 702 BC, Shebitqo needed a grown-up and mature crown prince and army leader (cf. **(16)**); yet Taharqo’s proclamation as heir apparent in his quality as Piye’s son also may have been determined by a reemphasis of patrilinearity. If we regard Taharqo’s succession as a case of patrilinear inheritance, the return with Tanutamani’s succession to collateral inheritance may indeed be puzzling; for while there is no issue of Shebitqo attested, Taharqo had a son (Atlanersa) who eventually ascended to the throne after Tanutamani. Again, the explanation may be the tender age of Atlanersa at Taharqo’s death, which occurred at the time of crisis (for the political situation around 665-664 BC in Lower Egypt ruled now by the Assyrian vassals Necho of Sais [Sais and Memphis] and the latter’s son Psammetich [Athribis] see Kitchen 1986, § 130 f., 353. For the problem of the alternating succession principles in Kush and the ideological and practical motivation of individual cases of succession see Török n.d., Ch. 12).

The absolute date of Tanutamani’s ascent to the throne is fixed on the basis of Serapeum Stela 192 which indicates that Psammetich I, whose reign started in 664 BC (see R.A. Parker, MDAIK 15 [1957], 208-212; E. Hornung, ZÄS 92 [1965], 38 f.), counted his regnal years in direct continuation of those of Taharqo. Hence, Psammetich did not recognize the reign of Tanutamani which ran concurrently with his from 664 BC (see Kitchen 1986, § 138). Tanutamani’s latest date in Upper Egypt is Year 9 (see below), and it occurred later in the same regnal year (656 BC) that Psammetich I was recognized in Upper Egypt where his legitimacy was secured by the adoption of his daughter Nitocris as God’s Wife of Amûn Elect by the reigning God’s Wife of Amûn Shepenupet II (Piye’s daughter) and the God’s Wife of Amûn Elect Amonirdis II (Taharqo’s daughter) (see Caminos 1964 and cf. **(3)**). After the loss of Upper Egypt, Tanutamani continued to rule Kush for an unknown period. He was buried in the ancestral cemetery of el Kurru in grave Ku. 16 (Dunham 1950, 60-63).

The circumstances in Egypt at the time of his ascent to the throne and the ensuing events are indicated in his Dream Stela (see **29**). After his coronation in Napata Tanutamani went to Thebes and subsequently invaded Memphis and the Delta and eliminated the Assyrian vassal Necho (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 354). He was recognized by the Delta chiefs (see **29**, line 36). The Assyrian reaction was swift, however, and in 664/3 Memphis was recaptured by an army of Assurbanipal. Tanutamani fled to Kush and the Assyrians plundered Thebes in a manner that became proverbial (op.cit., § 355). Though until 656 BC the rule of Tanutamani was recognized in Upper Egypt and monuments were dated to his regnal years, the actual extent of his power in Egypt is unknown. The au-

thority of Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of Amûn (on his person and monuments see Leclant 1961a, *passim*, esp. 259 ff.) and of the God's Wife of Amûn Shepenupet II after 664/3 seems unlimited; and the importance of the former remained extraordinary even after Psammetich I was officially recognized in Thebes. Together with him, high dignitaries appointed by kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—including Shabako's grandson Harkhebi, High Priest of Amûn of Thebes (tenure ca. 660-644 BC, cf. Kitchen 1986, § 157, 351, 364 f., Table 13 A)—continued to remain in their offices under Psammetich (cf. Parker 1962, for Harkhebi as High Priest in 651 BC=Year 14 of Psammetich I).

Year 1

Source: **29**.

Year 3

Source: inscribed block from Luxor, Berlin 2096, Leclant 1965, 141 § 41 Ba.

Year 4

Source: Luxor graffito published by L. Vittmann, SAK 10 (1983), 329 note 11.

Year 8

Source: stela from the Theban region, Cairo JE 37888, Leclant 1965, 187 f. § 49 Bc.

Year 9

Source: block in Luxor with genealogical inscription, L. Vittmann, SAK 10 (1983), 327 and figs 1, 2, Pl. 20/a.

[LT]

29 Dream Stela of Tanutamani on his enthronement and Egyptian campaign, from the Amûn Temple at Gebel Barkal. Ca. 664 BC.

Cairo JE 48863. Grimal 1981a, Pls I-IV.

Text and translation

UNDER THE WINGED SUNDISC

ON LEFT

AMEN-RE OF KARNAK (three columns, reading right to left)

(1) ꜥmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy ḥr(y)-ib ꜥpt-swt

(1) Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Karnak.

(2) ḏd mdw

(2) Utterance:

dỉ.n(=ỉ) n=k ʿnh w3s nb

"I have given you all life and dominion."

(3) dd mdw

(3) Utterance:

dỉ.n(=ỉ) n=k t3w nb h3swt nb pdt psdt dmd hr tbtty=k dt

"I have given you every land, all foreign countries, the Nine Bows, gathered under your sandals for ever."

THE KING (four columns, reading left to right)

(4) Nsw-bỉty

nb T3wy

B3-k3-Rʿ

(4) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, Lord of two-lands: *Ba-ka-Rê*,

(5) S3-Rʿ nb hʿw T3-n-w3-tỉ-Ỉmn

(5) The Son-of-Rê, lord of crowns: Ta-n-wa-ta-amani,

(6) mr(y) Ỉmn

(7) dỉ ʿnh dt

(6) beloved of Amûn,

(7) given life for ever,

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading left to right)

dỉ M3(t) n ỉt=f Ỉmn

ỉr=f dỉ ʿnh

(8) giving Maat to his father Amûn,

that he may be granted life.

THE QUEEN (three columns, reading left to right)

(9) sn(t) nsw hmt nsw hnwt n Kmt (10) P-(ʿnh)-ỉ-rʿyʿ

(9) The king's sister, king's wife, mistress of Black(-land) (Egypt), (10) Pi(ankh)y-ere,

(11) ỉrt sš(št)

(11) shaking the sistrum.

ON THE RIGHT

AMEN-RE OF GEBEL BARKAL (three columns, reading left to right)

(12) Ỉmn-Rʿ nb nst T3wy hr(y)-ỉb <Dw->wʿb

(12) Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

(13) dd mdw

(13) Utterance:

The Sources

dỉ.n(=ỉ) n=k hꜥ m nsw-bỉty

"I have given you appearing as King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt

hꜣ st-Hꜣ nt ʿnhw mỉ Rꜥ dt

on the Horus-throne of the living, like Rê, for ever."

(14) dd mdw

(14) Utterance:

dỉ.n(=ỉ) n=k ʿnh w3s nb

"I give you all life and dominion."

THE KING (four columns, reading from right to left)

(15) Nsw-bỉty nb T3wy B3-k3-Rꜥ

(15) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, lord of Two-lands: *Ba-ka-Rê*,

(16) Sꜥ-Rꜥ nb hꜥw T3-n-w3-tỉ-Ỉmn

(16) the Son-of-Rê, lord of the crowns: Ta-n-wa-ti-amani,

(17) mr(y) Ỉmn (18) dỉ ʿnh mỉ Rꜥ

(17) beloved of Amûn, (18) given life like Rê.

IN FRONT OF THE KING (one column, reading from right to left)

(19) dỉt wđ3 n ỉt=f

(19) Giving a pectoral to his father.

KING'S SISTER (three columns, reading from right to left)

(20) sn(t) nsw hnwt n T3-stỉ (21) K-l-h-t3

(20) The king's sister, mistress of Bow-land (Nubia), (21) K-l-h-ta.

(22) ỉrt sš(št)

(22) Shaking the sistrum.

MAIN TEXT

(1) ntr nfr hrw m pr=f

(1) The good god (already on) the day when he came forth,

Ỉtm pw n rhyt

he is Atum for the lapwing-people,

nb ʿbwy

lord of two horns,

hꜣ3 ʿnhw

ruler of the living,

ỉty ỉt t3 nb{t}

sovereign who seizes every land,

nḥt ḥpš m hrw ḥḥ
whose arm is mighty on the day of battle,

ḥs(y) ḥr m ḥrw¹ [ḥw-](2)-n(y)-(r)-ḥr
who faces (the enemy) on the day of close combat,

nb knw mī Mnt
lord of bravery like Montu,

ḥ pḥty mī mš-ḥs
whose strength is great like (that of) a wild-eyed lion,

mš^c ib mī Ḥnty Ḥsrt
whose heart is true like (that of) Foremost-of-Hesret (Thoth),

dḥ wḏ-wr m-sḥ pḥ-s(w)
who crosses the Great-Green after him who has attacked him,

in ph n ḥḥ¹[-sw]
who makes an end of 'him who has attacked' [him];

[it](3).n=f tḥ pn nn ḥḥ
He (3) [seized] this land without fighting,

nn wn ḥḥ^c m-ḥs=f
without there being resistance to him.

Nsw-bity Bḥ-kḥ-R^c
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: *Ba-ka-Rê*,

Sḥ-R^c Tḥ-n-wḥ-ti-Imn,
the Son-of-Rê: Ta-n-wa-ti-amani,

mr(y) Imn Npt
beloved of Amûn of Napata.

ḥt-sp tp(y)t n ḥḥ^c=f m nsw [- —]
In regnal year 1, when he was made to appear as king [- —],

(4) mḥ.n ḥm=f rsw(t) m grḥ
(4) His Majesty saw a dream in the night,

ḥf 2	wḥ ^c ḥr imn(t)=f	ky ḥr isb(t)=f
two serpents,	one on his right,	the other on his left.

nḥs pw ṯr.n ḥm=f nn gm.n=f st
Up woke His Majesty but did not find them.

ṯdd' [ḥm=f]
His Majesty said,

(5) nn r=i ḥr m
"Why has this happened to me?"

ḥḥ.n wḥm=s n=f m dd
Then reply was made to him, saying,

ṯw n(y)=k T3-rsy ṯt n=k T3-mḥw
South-land is yours (already), (now) seize for yourself North-land.

ṯw nbty ḥḥ m tp=k
The Two-Ladies are apparent on your head,

rdi n=k t3 m 3w=f ws[h]=f
and the land shall be given to you in its breadth and its length.

[nn] (6) ky psš=f ḥnḥ=k
there being none other that shall share (it) with you."

wn ḥm=f ḥḥ ḥr st Ḥr m rnpt tn
After His Majesty had appeared on the throne of Horus in this year,

pr pw ṯr.n ḥm=f m b(w) wnn=f ṯm
forth came His Majesty from the place where he had been,

mṯ pr Ḥr m Ḥbyṯ
as Horus came forth from Khemmis.

pr.n=f m [—]
When he came forth from [—],

[i](7)w n=f ḥḥ ḥfn phr m-s3=f
millions came to him, and tens of thousands followed after him.

dd ḥm=f
His Majesty said,

ṯs m3ḥ pw rsw
"Look, the dream is true!

ḥ pw n dī-s m ḥb=f
It is something beneficial for him who places it in his heart,

sdw n ḥm-s
(but) makes matters worse for him who forgets it."

ḥw pw ḥr.n ḥm=f r Npt
Off went His Majesty to Napata,

nn wn ḥꜥ [m] (8) ḥs=f
there being none who stood [against] (8) him.

spr pw ḥr.n ḥm=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt Ḥmn Npt ḥr(y)-ḥb Ḍw-wꜥb
There arrived His Majesty at the temple-compound of Amûn of Napata, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

wn ḥm=f ḥb=f nfr
His Majesty was glad hearted,

m-ḥt mꜣ=f ḥt=f Ḥmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy ḥr(y)-ḥb Ḍw-wꜥb
after he saw this father, Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

ḥn.tw n=f ḥnhy n nṯr pn
and garlands were brought to him for this god.

(9) ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f (ḥr) ḥꜥ Ḥmn Npt
(9) Then His Majesty caused Amûn of Napata to appear (in procession),

ḥr=f n=f ḥbt ḥꜥ
and he made for him (Amûn) a great offering,

wḥ=f n=f nb wꜥ kꜣ 36 ḥnkt ḥꜥ 40 ṣw 100
and he presented him (Amûn) 1 'nb-jar of beer', 36 bulls, 40 ḥꜥ-vessels and 100 ṣw-vessels of beer,

ḥd pw ḥr.n ḥm=f r Tꜣ-mḥw
North sailed His Majesty to North-land

r mꜣ ḥt=f (10) ḥmn rn=f r nṯrw
to see his father, (10) whose name is hidden (even) from the gods.,

spr pw ḥr.n ḥm=f r ḥbw
There arrived His Majesty at Elephantine.

ḥꜥ.n ḥm=f ḏꜣ r ʔbw
Then His Majesty sailed across to Elephantine.

spr pw ʔr.n=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt Ḥnm-Rꜥ nb Šbḥt
There he came to the temple-compound of Khnum-Rê, lord of the Cataract

(11) rdḏ.n=f shꜥ nṯr pn
(11) and caused that this god be made to appear (in procession),

ʔrt n=f ʔbt ʔꜣ
a great offering being made to him,

rdḏ.n=f t ḥnḳt n nṯrw Šrty
gave bread and beer to the gods of the Two-caverns,

shṯp.n=f Nwn m tpḥt=f
and propitiated Nun in his cave.

ḥd pw ʔr.n ḥm=f r nṯwt Wꜣst nt ʔmn
North went His Majesty to the city, Dominion (Thebes) of Amûn.

wn ḥm=f (12) ḏꜣ pw r ḥnt n Wꜣst
and His Majesty (12) sailed over into Dominion (Thebes).

ḥꜣ pw ʔr.n ḥm=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt ʔmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy
In went His Majesty to the temple-compound of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands.

ʔw ʔrf ḥm <n> snṯ wr
The servant of the "Great 'Foundation'" came

ḥnꜥ wnwt ḥwt-nṯr nt ʔmn-Rꜥ (13) nb nst Tꜣwy,
together with the hour-priests of the temple-compound of Amen-Rê, (13) lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

ʔn.n=sn n=f ʔnhꜣ n ʔmn rn=f.
and they brought him garlands for Him-of-the hidden-name.

wn ḥm=f ʔb=f ḥꜥ m-ḥt mꜣ=f ḥwt-nṯr tn
His Majesty was glad at heart after he saw this temple-compound.

wn.n=f shꜥ ʔmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy
He caused Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands to appear (in procession),

irt ḥb ʕ m tḥ dr=f
while a great festival was made in the whole land.

ḥd (14) pw ir.n ḥm=f r Tḥ-mḥw
North sailed (14) His Majesty to North-land,

wn imnt iḥbt ḥr nhm ḥnw (n) nhm dd=sn
while the West and the East were shouting songs of joy, as they said,

ii.tw m ḥtp k3=k m ḥtp
“Welcome in peace, your *ka* being in peace,

r sḥnh Tḥwy
to make Two-lands live,

(15) r sḥḥ r3-prw nty w3ww w3s
(15) to raise up (again) the temples that are fallen into ruin,

r smn ḥmw=sn m sšm=sn
to (re)establish their images to their (former) condition,

r rdt ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nṯrwt
to give endowments to the gods and goddesses,

prt-ḥrw n iḥ(16)w
and voice-offerings to the spirits (16) of the transfigured dead,

r (r)dt wḥb r st=f
to put the priest in his place,

r irt ḥt nbt nw ḥt-nṯr
(and) to perform everything of the god’s rituals.

wnn m ib=sn r ḥḥ ḥpr=sn m ḥḥ
Those in whose hearts it was to fight, they entered a state of rejoicing.

spr <pw> ir.n ḥm=f r Mn-nfr
There arrived His Majesty at Memphis.

pr pw (17) ir.n n3 msw bdšt
Out came (17) the children of rebellion to fight His Majesty.

wn ḥm=f irt ḥyt ʕ im=sn
His Majesty made a great blood bath among them,

nn rḥ tnw=sn
their number (i.e. of the dead) being unknown.

wn ḥm=f ḥt Mn-nfr
After His Majesty seized Memphis,

ḥk=f r ḥwt-ntr nt (18) Pth rsy-ḥnb=f
he entered the temple-compound of (18) Ptah South-of-his-wall,

ḥr=f ḥbt n <ḥt>=f Pth-Skr
made an offering to his father Ptah-Sokar,

shṭp=f Shmt r mrr=s
and propitiated Sakhmet according to what she desires.

wn ḥm=f ḥb=f ḥw r ḥr mnw n ḥt=f Ḥmn Npt
His Majesty was proud to make monuments for his father, Amûn of Napata,

ḥr=f wd ḥr=s (19) r T3-sti
and made a decree about it (19) (and sent it) to Bow-land (Nubia)

r ḥd n=f hy(t) n m3w
to build for him a new porch

nn gm.tw=s ḥd m rk tp-ḥ
such as was not found built in the time of the ancestors.

rd.n ḥm=f ḥd.tw=s m ḥnr ḥt.tw m nb
His Majesty had it built in stone, overlaid with gold,

VERSO

(20) ṭms=s m ḥš k3p(21).tw m ḥnty n Pwnt
(20) its ṭ .. ṭ being of cedar, cens(21)ed with frankincense of Punt,

ḥwy ḥry m dḥm
the double doors thereof being of electrum,

kr(22)ty m ṭḥty
(and) the two door(22)bolts being of ṭ .. ṭ.

ḥd=f n=f kt hyt n pr r-ḥ3
He built for him another porch for going outside

r ḥr ḥrtt(23)=f n mnmn(t)=f
to make his (23) milk from his many herds,

m ḏbꜥw š(n)tw mḏw
being tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens,

nn rh ṯnw (written dnw) bḥsw (24) rnp(yw) nw mwt=sn
without reckoning the number of yearling (24) calves of their mothers.

ir-ḥr-sꜣ-nn ḥd pw ir.n ḥm=f
Thereafter north sailed His Majesty

r ḥꜣ ḥnꜥ wrw nw Tꜣ-mḥw
to fight the chiefs of North-land.

(25) ḥꜥ.n=sn ḥꜥ r inb=sn mḏ [- —]ṯrṯn [- —] r b(ꜣ)b(ꜣw)=sn
(25) Then they went inside their walls [like ...] into their holes.⁶⁷

wn.in ḥm=f ir hrw ḥꜣw ḥr=sn
So His Majesty spent many days on them,

nn pr wꜥ n-(26)(i)m=sn r ḥꜣ ḥnꜥ ḥm=f
without a single one of (26) them coming out to fight His Majesty.

ḥnty pw ir.n ḥm=f r ṯnb-ḥd
Southwards sailed His Majesty to White-wall (Memphis)

wn.n=f sndm m ḥt=f wꜣ(w)ꜣ sh ḥnꜥ (27) ib=f
and relaxed in his palace, thinking out plans with (27) his heart,

r rdt phr mšꜥ=f r trr(y)t ḥr=sn
so as to cause his army to go around⁶⁸ embankments on them.

ḏd.in irf ḥm=fṯ [-] iy.tw r smḏ n=f m ḏd
Then, indeed, 'His Majesty' said [-] one come to report to him, saying,

iw nn ḥw ii r b(w) (28) ḥr ḥm=f
"These grandees are come to the place (28) where His Majesty is,

[ity] nb=n
[O sovereign], our lord."

ḏd.in ḥm=f
Then His Majesty said,

⁶⁷Cf. Darnell 1991, 85-91.

⁶⁸Or: spr, "reach to".

The Sources

in iw i=sn r ḥ
“Have they come to fight?
in iw i=sn r b:k [—]=i
(Or) have they come to serve [..] me?

ḥ=sn m t:t
(If the latter) they shall live from this moment.”⁶⁹

ḏd.in(29)=sn ḥft ḥm=f
Then they (29) said before His Majesty,

i=sn r b:k ity nb=n
“They have come to serve, O sovereign, our lord.”

ḏd.in ḥm=f
Then His Majesty said,

iw nb(=i) ḥn=i ntr pn šps Imn-Rḥ
“(My) lord is with me, this noble god, Amen-Rê,

nb nst T3wy ḥr(y)-ib Dw-wḥb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

ntr ḥ mnḥ rḥ rn=f
the great god, the beneficent one, whose name is known,

rs-tp (30) ḥr mrr=f
who is vigilant (30) over him whom he loves,

dd kn n nty ḥr mw=f
who gives bravery to him who is loyal to him,

nn th3=f nty ḥr šḥrw=f
without misleading him who is under his governance,

nn tnmm n šsm n=k (for =f) sw⁷⁰
without leading astray him whom he leads.

mk ḏd=f n=i m grḥ (31) m3=i m hrw
Mark you, what he says to me by night, (31) I shall see by day.”

ḏd.in ḥm=f [wn] irw tnw n t:t
Then His Majesty said, “Where are they at the moment?”

⁶⁹Or: “that they may live from this moment”.

⁷⁰Or: nn tnmm.n šsm.n=f sw.

ḏd.n=sn ḥft ḥm=f ḥw=w dī ḥꜥ r ḥꜥryt
Then they said before His Majesty, “They are here at the gate.”

pr pw ḥr.n ḥm=f (32) m ḥꜥ=f [— —]ꜥꜥꜥ
Forth went His Majesty (32) from his palace ...

mī psd Rꜥ m ḥt
even as Rê radiates from the horizon.

gm.n=f st rdt ḥr ḥt=sn sn tꜥ n ḥft ḥr=f
He found them placed on their bellies, kissing the ground before him.

ḏd.in ḥm=f
Then His Majesty said,

ḥs mꜥ pw pꜥ dḥs.n=f (33) mdt [— —] ḥr=ḥ ḥꜥ.n r[-]⁷¹ ḥpr
“Look, it is true what he said (33) about me, and it happened.

wḏ n nṯr pw ḥpr=s
It was the decree of the god that it should happen.

ḥnh n=ḥ mr wī Rꜥ ḥs wī Ḥmn m pr=f
As Rê lives for me and loves me, as Amûn praises me in his house,

m mꜥ=ḥ nṯr pn šps Ḥmn (34) Npy ḥr(y)-ib Dꜥw-wꜥb
as I saw this noble god, Amûn (34) of Napata, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

m wnn=f ḥꜥ r=ḥ ḏd=f n=ḥ
when he was standing by me, he said to me,

[-]nn m sšm=k r wꜥt nb
“... conduct you on every road,

nn ḏd=k ḥꜥ n=ḥ ꜥꜥꜥ
without your saying, ‘I wish I had a ꜥ .. ꜥ.’

sr[-]=ḥ n=k dwꜥw [-]n.tw=f
I shall foretell you tomorrow ‘before’ it ‘comes’.

(35) ḥw=ḥ mī ḥm ḥr šꜥwꜥ— f kꜥ
I am like a ꜥ ... ꜥ on your ꜥ command ꜥ.

⁷¹Restore r[ḥ]?

The Sources

hm rḥ ḥr šw hm=f
a craftsman who knows about the 'fate' of His Majesty.

nn 'ḥr' [—]w dwṣw n=i iw nḥtw=k
There shall not ... adore me. Your victories shall come."

ḥḥ.n wšb=sn n=f m dd
Then they answered him, saying,

mk nṯr pn (36) sr=f n=k ḥt
"Mark you, this god, (36) he has foretold you the beginning,

sṛḳ=f n=k 'iw'.tw n m nfr
and he has brought about a happy outcome for you.

mk nn ḥnw nṯr ḥr pr m r=f
Mark you, the god does not go back on what has come forth from his mouth,

ity nb=n
O sovereign, our lord."

ḥḥ pw irt.in iry-p't ḥty-ḥ n Pr-Spdw Pṣ-krr r mdt
Up rose the hereditary prince and count of House-of-Soped (Saft el-Henneh), Pekrur,
to speak,

dd=f
and said,

(37) sm=k mr=k sḥḥ=k mr=k
(37) "You kill whom you will, (and) you let live whom you will,

nn dbḥ.tw r nb{t} ḥr mṣ't
(for) no one will reproach a lord for a just deed."

ḥḥ.n wšbwt=sn n=f m sp wḥ dd=sn
Then they replied to him in unison, saying,

imy n=n ḥḥ nb{t} ḥḥ nn ḥḥ ḥm(38)=k
"Grant us life, O lord of life, (for) there is no life without (38) you.

bṣk=n n=k mṣ iwty wḥ
Let us serve you like those who are without anything,

mṣ dd=k r=s m sp tp(y)
as you said concerning it on the first occasion,

hrw šh^c=k m nsw
on the day when you appeared as king.”

wn.in ib n hm=f h^cy m-ht sdm=f mdt tn
Then His Majesty’s heart was joyful after he heard this speech,

rdi(39).n=f n=sn t hnkt ht nbt nfr
and he gave (39) them bread, beer, and every good thing.

ir m-ht hrw sw3 hr nn
Now when some days had passed after this,

rdi.n=sn hr ht=sn [—] dd.n=sn,
they placed themselves on their bellies and said,

iw=n dy ‘ir n’ hr m ity nb=n
“Why are we here, O sovereign, our lord?”

dd.in (40) hm=f m dd m
Then His Majesty spoke, saying, “Why (indeed)?”

dd.in=sn hft hm=f
Then they said before His Majesty,

šm=n r niwt=n
“Let us go to our cities

shnw=n mri[=n]
that we may command our subjects

f3y=n b3k=n r hnw
and bring our dues to the Residence.”

wn.in hm=f <dit> šm=sn (41) r niwt{n}=sn
So His Majesty <let> them go (41) (back) to their cities,

wn.in=sn m ‘nhyw
and they were (left) alive.

wnn rsyw hr hd
(And from that time on) the southerners have been sailing northwards,

mhyw hr hnty r b(w) hr hm=f
the northerners southwards, to the place where His Majesty is,

The Sources

ḥr ḥt nbt nfr nw T3-Šmꜥ
with every good thing of South-land

ḏf3w nb (42) nw T3-Mḥw
and every (kind of) provision (42) of North-land,

r štp ḥb n ḥm=f
to propitiate His Majesty's heart;

wnn Nsw-bity B3-k3-Rꜥ
while the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: *Ba-ka-Rê*,

S3-Rꜥ T3-n-w3-ti-Imn ʿnh wd3 snb
Son-of-Rê: Ta-n-wa-ta-amani, may he live, be prosperous, and healthy,

ḥꜥ ḥr st Hr dt
appears in glory upon the throne of Horus for ever!

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The somewhat stilted language of this text reveals an unsuccessful attempt to emulate the great Triumphal Stela of Pi(ankh)y (9 above).

[RHP]

Comments

In the double-scene of the lunette Tanutamani is represented wearing the Kushite skullcap-crown with diadem, streamers and the double uraeus above the brow (cf. Rusmann 1974, 28 ff.; Török 1987, 4-11). In the left-hand scene he offers Ma'at to the human-headed Amûn of Thebes. He is accompanied by his wife Piye-ere who wears a skullcap with one uraeus (cf. Török 1987, 20 f.), shakes a sistrum and offers a libation. Her title "Mistress of Egypt" associates her with the Theban god in the context of Tanutamani's legitimacy in Egypt, for which she cares as mediator between king and god in her capacity as priestess. The title ultimately derives from the similar title of Egyptian New Kingdom queens as Wives of the God, and directly from the titulary of the Theban God's Wife of Amûn who secured the legitimacy of the Kushite kings in Upper Egypt both in theological and in political terms (cf. 4, comments). Its actual prototype may have been the titulary of Amonirdis I; and it also occurs in the titularies of Abar (Gebel Barkal Mut Temple, Robisek 1989, 17, 66), Khensa (offering table from el Kurru, Ku. 4, Dunham 1950, fig. 11/k), Naparaye (offering table from el Kurru Ku. 3, Dunham 1950, Pl. XXXI/B), and Takahatamani (on statue Cairo JE 42202, Leclant 1965, 121; Troy 1986, 176 25.10): all of them queens belonging to the female succession line (cf. 37 and Török n.d. Ch. 17.6). In the right-hand scene Tanutamani offers pectoral and necklace to the ram-headed Amûn of

Napata and is accompanied by his mother Kalhata who wears skullcap with one uraeus, shakes the sistrum and offers libation. Her title associates her with the Nubian Amûn and with her son's land of origin.

The main text is 1. introduced with a eulogy of the King (lines 1-3). Section 2 (lines 3-6) reports his dream and its interpretation. Section 3 (lines 6-10) gives a condensed description of his enthronement; 4. lines 10-13 record Tanutamani's journey to Thebes. 5. lines 14-16 describe the joy of Egypt over the King's presence and give an indirect picture of the state of affairs in Egypt in ideological terms. Lines 16-24 report 6. the capture of Memphis and subsequent donations. In 7. lines 24-27 the successful Delta campaign and the King's return to Memphis; in 8. lines 27-39 the submission and homage of the vanquished foes are reported. Finally the last 9. section records the peace treaty concluded between Tanutamani and the subdued chiefs (lines 39-42).

1. The eulogy depicts the King in terms of traditional Egyptian kingship concepts as they appeared in New Kingdom monuments. He is son of the god who is similar for men to the creator god Atum (cf. on a similar epithet of Sethi I: Grimal 1986, 380 f. note 1297). The military overtone of most epithets is obvious and follows from the context of the subsequent narrative (lines 15-39).

2. The frequently quoted story of Tanutamani's dream probably records a temple incubation i.e. a special form of oracular announcement (cf. Ray 1976, 135; Vernus 1985; Grimal 1986, 509-512; Zibelius-Chen 1988, esp. 290). In the dream Tanutamani saw two serpents, which were explained by his unnamed attendants, probably the priests responsible for dream interpretation, as the uraei of the crown. From this interpretation follows, as one may expect in the case of a question put before the god, the suggestion of a decision in the style of an oracular pronouncement: "(now) seize for yourself North-land" (Middle and Lower Egypt). The dream episode would be repeated as part of the ritual episodes preceding enthronement in Harsiyotef's (lines 8-10) and Nastasen's (lines 7 f.) inscriptions (see FHN, vol. 2), so it cannot be excluded that Tanutamani's dream too occurred before his enthronement in Napata. This would be also supported by the sequence of the narrative, in which the dream episode precedes the enthronement episode. This interpretation of the chronology of events may be contradicted only by the introductory statement of the oracle, "South-land (i.e., Kush? and/or Upper Egypt) is yours (already)"; though this can also refer to Tanutamani's inheritance and not to an already performed enthronement. (In Schäfer's (1897) view, the dream occurred when Tanutamani was already crowned king of Kush.)

3. This section appears to be a condensed and rather poetic rendering of the "election" and enthronement of Tanutamani. The first episode presumably occurs at Meroe City, whence the heir apparent, like Horus from Chemmis (cf. 22, comment to section 2 of inscription), emerges to journey to Napata where his legitimacy is recognized (lines 7 f.). There he "sees" his father Amûn, an expression which may signify also here the intimate encounter of the king with

the god as a rite of enthronement (see, e.g., Piye in Heliopolis, 9, lines 103 ff.; Anlamani in Kawa, 34, line 6). The rites alluded to in this section would thus be a/ the recognition of the heir apparent's legitimacy by the people (legitimation in the human sphere, proclamation of the oracular omen: "millions came to him..."; "look, the dream is true..."; "none stood [against] him...", lines 6 f.). b/ recognition by Amûn of Napata (intimate encounter; temple festival, lines 8 f.).

4. No enthronement is described; yet both the processions of Khnum in Elephantine and of Amûn in Thebes emphasize Tanutamani's legitimacy in Nubia and in Upper Egypt, respectively.

5. The King's northward progress from Thebes is a process of taking-into-possession the land and creating order in it by fulfilling the monarch's traditional duties towards the gods, their priesthood, and men. The fallen state of Middle and Lower Egypt is indirectly indicated by the statements about the rebuilding of temples and the re-establishment of the gods' images to their former condition. The traditional concept of the King as source of life (cf. Grimal 1986, 241-251) stands in the foreground. A confrontation of this section (and of other discourses on kingship in the text) with Taharqo's Karnak text (see 26) may illuminate the differences between the revived Ma'at-centered New Kingdom kingship ideology of the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers, which was maintained—as attested by 29—in Napata, on the one hand, and the Third Intermediate Period Theban Amûn theology which again became dominant in Egypt at the moment of crisis, on the other.

6.-9. The inscription records the events of the campaign summarily in clichés. The accent is laid on the restoration of order in terms of the annihilation of rebels and the donations made to the gods. The focus of the operations is the recaptured Memphis, where Tanutamani receives the homage of the surrendering chiefs. At this moment (see lines 31 f.), the King acts as Rê (a classical New Kingdom phrase is here employed, cf. examples cited by Grimal 1986, 369 note 1232). He explains his victory as the fulfillment of a divine plan (it was decreed by Amûn), again in the spirit of traditional kingship dogma, and quotes the words of Amûn of Napata which were spoken to him when he "saw" the god. Here reference is doubtless made to the encounter with the god in the course of the enthronement (see above, comment to section 3 of the inscription); and it may be supposed that Amûn's words are quotations from the oracular decree which was publicly announced after this particular episode of the enthronement rites in Napata (cf. comment to 8, lines 1-13). The speech of the surrendering chiefs led by Pekrur, hereditary chief of Pi-Soped (Saft el-Henneh, cf. Kitchen 1986, § 328; occurring in 9, line 115, cf. Grimal 1981, 156 note 468) illuminates the King again as creator and giver of life (cf. Grimal 1986, 250).

[LT]

(30) Atlanersa. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: Gebel Barkal, Temple B 700, in Pylon scene, LR IV, 54 III; F.Ll. Griffith, JEA 15 (1929), Pl. V (only Horus name); granite altar from room 703 of same temple, LR IV, 53 f. (6. I); G.A. Reisner, JEA 5 (1918), fig. 2, Pl. XIV; obelisk fragment from Dongola, Cairo 17027, LR IV, 54 (6. III); Ch. Kuentz: Obélisques. Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire. Le Caire 1932, Pl. XV (Horus name missing).

Horus name	Grg-ṯwy "Founder-of-Two-lands"
<i>Nebty</i> name	Mry-Mṣṯ "Beloved-of-Ma'at"
Golden Horus name	Smn-hpw "Who-establishes-the-laws"
Throne name	Hw-k3-Rḥ "Protected-by-the-Ka-of-Rê" or: "The-ka-of-Rê-protects-(me)" or: "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-protected"
Son of Rê name	Atlanersa

Evidence for reign

Atlanersa was probably son of Queen ...salka, who appears in the (now destroyed) pylon scene of Atlanersa in Temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal (see above) as Queen Mother and of King Taharqo (cf. the discussion of Macadam 1949, 129). He was the successor of King Tanutamani; and his reign may thus be dated to the second half of the 7th century BC (cf. (28)). He was married to his sisters Yeturow and Khalese. In the B 700 pylon scene the former has the titles "wife of the king, daughter of the king, sister of the king, mistress (?) of Egypt" while the latter is styled "noblewoman, lady of the ṯmṣt-sceptre (?), singer (?), great daughter of the king". According to her titulary, Khalese was member of the female succession line and destined to become the mother of the crown prince. In fact, she did not fulfill this function; and it was Queen Malotrar, a third wife of unknown parentage, who became Queen Mother, mother of Atlanersa's heir and successor (shawabti figures and heart scarab from her grave at Nuri, Nu. 41, Dunham 1955, fig. 31. For the New Year seal Louvre E 10302 [from Thebes?] inscribed for Malotrar "mistress of Kush" see Letellier 1977). He erected Temple B 700 which was completed by his successor Senkamanisken (PM VII, 213-215; for foundation deposits Khartoum 2392 and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

24.1065-66 see G.A. Reisner, JEA 4 [1917], Pl. XLV/3). The obelisk fragment found at Dongola (Cairo 17027) was reused as a column in a local church (PM VII, 213) and may originate from a temple of Atlanersa in this area where also a red granite column fragment of Merenptah (Nineteenth Dynasty) was discovered (ibid.). Atlanersa was the second ruler to be buried in the Nuri cemetery opened by Taharqo, which may again speak for his direct descent from this king (Dunham 1955, 32-35, Nu. 20).

Comments

The titulary suggests Theban prototypes of the Third Intermediate Period. The Horus name "Founder of the Two Lands", though already occurring in the titulary of the Thirteenth Dynasty King Neferhotep I (Beckerath 1984, 70 XIII.22 H 1-3), goes back rather to the epithet type "son of Amûn/Atum whom he placed on his throne to be founder of the Two Lands" attested first in the Horus name of the High Priest of Amûn/King Herihor (Twenty-First Dynasty) in the Khons Temple in Karnak (Bonhême 1987, 145) and then in the Horus name of the Twenty-Second Dynasty king Osorkon I (op.cit., 143, son of Atum, on a donation stela from Heliopolis). The epithet "beloved of Ma'at" occurs in the Horus names of Siamun (Twenty-First Dynasty, op.cit., 87 f.), Osorkon II (Twenty-Second Dynasty, op.cit., 151 f.) and Sheshonq III (Twenty-Second Dynasty, op.cit., 113-116).

It has been suggested (Sauneron-Yoyotte 1951, 201 with note 3, on the basis of 56) that Psammetich I sent an expedition to Nubia. If so, this expedition occurred either in the reign of Atlanersa or of his successor (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 366). Yet both the assumed expedition and the garrison supposedly established by Psammetich at Elephantine as a border defense (de Meulenaere 1951, 38-40; Kitchen 1986, § 366) lack supporting evidence.

[LT]

(31) Senkamanisken. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: statue from Gebel Barkal Amûn Temple B 500, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 23.731, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 147 no. 67c; obelisk fragment from Temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal (=32) (all names); destroyed pylon of the same temple, F-Ll. Griffith, JEA 15 (1929), Pl. V (only Horus name); altar of Atlanersa from the same temple, LR IV, 53 (5. I); G.A. Reisner, JEA 5 (1918) 104, fig. 2 (Throne and Son of Rê names); shawabti figures from Nuri grave Nu. 3, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 147 no. 67a (Throne and/or Son of Rê names).

Horus name

Sh(r ?)-Tꜣwy
"Pacifier¹-of-Two-lands"

Nebty name	[Ḥ]-ḥr-mꜣt [“Who-appears-]in-Maꜣat”]
Golden Horus name	Wsr-pḥty “Whose-strength-is-mighty”]
Throne name	Shpr-n-Rꜥ
Son of Rê name	Senkamanisken

Evidence for reign

Senkamanisken completed Temple 700 at Gebel Barkal the construction of which was started by Atlanersa. The occurrence of their names in this temple indicates, as does the typological and topographical relationship between their pyramid graves at Nuri (Atlanersa: Nu. 20; Senkamanisken: Nu. 3, Dunham 1955, 32-35, 41-48), chronological proximity. Hence, it is supposed that Senkamanisken was Atlanersa's son and successor (Macadam 1949, 129) and also that he was married to Queen Nasalsa and was thus father of Anlamani and Aspelta (for Nasalsa's descendants see 34, 37, 39). Evidence of his building activity is preserved at Sanam (secondary block in pylon of Temple of Amûn, Bull of Nubia, PM VII, 199 [3]) and Napata (for Temple 700 see above and PM VII, 213-215; for the granite altar [?] from temple B 800 see PM VII, 213). Votive objects inscribed with his name were also found in a deposit probably connected with the early Amûn temple at Meroe City (unpublished, cf. Török 1992, 115 f. and note 47. For the archaeological evidence of the temple see op.cit., 115-118). The absolute dates of his reign cannot be determined. Absolute regnal years given conventionally to rulers of the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period (e.g., Shinnie 1967, 58 etc.) follow the speculative chronology of Reisner (1923). Reisner's chronology was, besides using a handful of synchronisms, based on the typological analysis of the royal burials and he assigned shorter or longer reigns to the individual rulers according to the size and richness of their burials, while taking an average of ca. 15 years per reign was taken as a starting hypothesis. In Egyptological literature (see, e.g., recently Lloyd 1975, 1976, 1988; Kitchen 1986; Redford 1993 etc.) Kushite regnal years appear as if they were based on completely secure and exact chronological evidence from which precise year dates can be deduced. Thus the absolutely erroneous impression is conveyed that if there is any Ancient World chronology where no year date is accompanied by a question mark it is the Kushite royal chronology between the 8th century BC and the AD 4th century. Accepting a proposal of I. Hofmann made in connection with the post-3rd century BC sections of Reisner's chronology (Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie. St. Augustin b. Bonn 1978), the speculative and misleading “exact” regnal years are omitted here. Nevertheless, an average of

ca. 15 years per reign is still assumed; and on this basis Senkamanisken is dated to the second half of the 7th century BC.

Comments

The Horus name is probably based on the Horus name (Shrw-ṭwy) of Antef I (Eleventh Dynasty, Beckerath 1984, 63 XI.2 H) and Ammenemes VI (Thirteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 68 XIII.7 H) and thus still reflects the archaizing tendency of earlier Kushite and Egyptian Third Intermediate Period titularies. Belonging to the type x+ṭwy (cf. Bonhême 1987, 222-224), it points towards a Theban inspiration of the Third Intermediate Period. The *Nbty* name reflects, in turn, the ideological concept of the New Kingdom according to which the king maintains order in the cosmos and in the human sphere by “bringing forth” Equity (=Maꜣt) (cf. 22, comment on section 1 of the inscription). The prototype of the throne name was probably late Ramesside (Ramesses V: Beckerath 1984, 95 XX.4 T 6,7); and it may be presumed that also the Golden Horus name was modeled on the same source. It seems as if the (nearly) contemporary Egyptian royal titularies were ignored (for Psammetich I and Necho II cf. Beckerath 1984, 111 f. XXVI.1,2) and the archaizing tendency of Senkamanisken’s titulary followed the Kushite archaism developed at an earlier time and was not based on recent Egyptian inspiration (e.g., the archaizing throne name of Psammetich I).

[LT]

32 Fragment of an obelisk of Senkamanisken from Temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal.
Second half of the 7th century BC.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (unregistered). Dunham 1970, 33 no. 19, fig. 29.

Text and translation

(one column, reading from left to right)

(1) ...]

(1) ...]

Nbty Ḥꜣ-]ḥr-Mꜣt
the Two-Ladies: “Appearing]-on-behalf-of-Maat”,

Ḥr-nb [Wsr-pḥty
Golden-Horus: [“Whose-strength-is-mighty”,

Nsw-bity Shpr-n-Rꜥ
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Sekheperenrê,

Sꜣ-Rꜥ nb ḥꜣ S-[n-kꜣ-Imn-s-k-n ...
the Son-of-Rê, Lord of crowns: S[enkamenisken ...

(one column, reading from left to right)

(2) ...] ʿImʿn Npt [hr(y)]-ʿibʿ [...] st wr [...

(2) ...] Amûn of Napata [who resides in [...] the great seat [...

(one column, reading from right to left)

(3) ...]

(3) ...]

S₃[-R^c] S-n-k₃-ʿImn-s-k-n

the Son-[of-Rê:] Senkamenisken,

rh=î s(w) m ht

I knew him in the womb

n ms(y)t=f

before he was (even) born,

îw [...

... [...

(one column, reading from right to left)

(4) ...] nb m îb=f

(4) ...] all [...] in his heart.

dî(=î) n=f hpš m hrw [pn ...

I gave to him the scimitar on [this] day ...

[RHP]

Comments

The small black granite obelisk (the fragment measures 19 x 19 x 95 cm) was found in the “court” (room 702) of the temple, in disturbed debris at the entrance to the pronaos (Reisner 1918, 108). It belonged to a type which emerged in the Ramesside period and in which the obelisk form was no longer connected exclusively to the concept of the interdependence of the Sun God and the King (cf. Martin 1981, 542 f.). New Kingdom and later obelisks could be dedicated to other deities, and on royal obelisks the inscriptions emphasized the royal names. Small obelisks were erected in interiors of sanctuaries (Martin 1977, 184 f.); but the actual place where the Senkamanisken obelisk stood in B 700 is unknown. It seems that the four columns of inscription were arranged in pairs on the opposite faces; two columns contain statements concerning Amûn of Napata and the other two columns statements relating to the King. The divine sonship of the latter is announced in a traditional manner (“I knew him in the womb...”, cf. 8, lunette, column 2; 9, lines 1, 67-69, 79; 24, line 24) which also reflects the concept of the King’s predestination (cf. Grimal 1986, 114-124).

[LT]

(33) Anlamani. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: **34**, line 1; statue from Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 23.732, Dunham 1970, 23 no. 10 fig. 13. Only cartouche names: statue from Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, Khartoum 1845, op.cit., no. 11 fig. 14; granite sarcophagus from Nuri grave Nu. 6, Khartoum 1868, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 14c; diverse objects from his burial, Dunham 1953, figs 37, 39.

Horus name	Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-mꜣꜥt "Strong Bull, Appearing-in-Maat"
<i>Nebty</i> name	Sꜥnḥ-ibw-tꜣwy "Nourisher-of-the-Hearts-of-Two-lands"
Golden Horus name	Hr(y)-ḥr-Mꜣꜥt "Who-is-satisfied-with-Maat"
Throne name	ꜥnḥ-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose- <i>ka</i> -lives"
Son of Rê name	Anlamani

Evidence for reign

Anlamani was son of Queen Nasalsa (for the evidence see **(31)**, **34**, lunette, and lines 22-25) and, supposedly, of King Senkamanisken (cf. **(31)**) and the elder brother of Aspelta (the difference in age is assumed on the basis of the succession). He was married to his sister Madiken (cf. **39**). The parentage of three further wives of Anlamani, Asata (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 17), Artaha (op.cit., no. 15) and Maqmalo (op.cit., 145 no. 46), is unknown. Nasalsa, who appears in **34**, line 22 with the titles "mother of the king, sweet of love, mistress of all women", survives Anlamani and continues to play an essential role in the securing of her younger son's legitimacy (see **37**, **39**). Anlamani had a daughter, Kheb (cf. **39**); but no male issue is attested. Besides his Kawa inscription (see **34**), his reign is evidenced by fragments of a red granite naos (?) from Sanam (F.Ll. Griffith, LAAA 9 [1922], 86 and Pl. XI/1,2) and two monumental statues from the Amûn Temple B 500 in Napata (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 23.732, Dunham 1970, 23 no. 10 and Pl. XIX; Khartoum 1845, op.cit. no. 11 and Pl. XX). He was buried at Nuri in grave Nu. 6 (Dunham 1955, 56-62). His reign dates approximately to the late 7th century BC.

Comments

Anlamani's Horus name evokes the classical New Kingdom concept of the king who, with his enthronement, "brings forth" Equity and maintains order in the cosmos and in the human sphere (cf. (31), comments) and recalls the Horus name of the Eighteenth Dynasty ruler Amenophis III (Beckerath 1984, 85 XVIII.9 H 1; cf. Priese 1977, 357). The *Nebty* and Throne names seem to have been formulated in the archaizing style (cf. the *Nebty* name and the Horus names of Mentuhotep II, Eleventh Dynasty, Beckerath 1984, 63 XI.5 H 1; Amenemmes V, Thirteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 68 XIII.4 H; and the throne name of Amenemmes VI, Thirteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 68 XIII.7 T 1,2. For the throne name see Ankhkare, Fourteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 75 XIV.26 T) of the Third Intermediate Period. Remarkably, it is close to the Horus name (Sṁḥ-twy, see Bonhême 1987, 221 f., for the names of type x+twy of the period see op.cit., 222 f.) of the enigmatic kinglet Gemenef-Khons-Bak (cf. (27), comments) who is supposed to have been a local ruler in Tanis ca. after 700 BC. The Golden Horus name, which can be compared to Rudamun's (Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty, ca. 757-754 BC, cf. Kitchen 1986, Table *3) *Nebty* name (Bonhême 1987, 201 f.), also points towards the style of Third Intermediate Period titularies.

[LT]

34 Enthronement stela of Anlamani from Kawa (Kawa VIII). Late 7th century BC. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709. From the first court of the Amûn Temple of Kawa (Temple T). Macadam 1949, 44-50, Pls 15 f.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP OF STELA IN A LUNETTE

IN LEFT HALF

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from left to right)

(1) [Bḥdt(y)] ntr ʕ nb pt

(1) [The Behdetite,] the great god, lord of heaven.

TO RIGHT ABOVE AMEN-RE (two (?) columns, reading from left to right)

(1) [—] ʕmn-Rʕ (2) [Gm-pʕ-ʕtn]

(1) [...] Amen-Rê (2) [of "Finding-the-Aton" (Kawa)].

BEHIND AMEN-RE (bounding scene, one column, reading from left to right)

The Sources

(1) *ḏḏ mdw*

(1) Utterance:

d[ī.n(=ī) n=k] ḥnh wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣwt-ib nb mī Rꜥ ḏt

"I have gi[ven you] all life and dominion, all health, all happiness, like Rê, for ever."

ABOVE KING FACING AMEN-RE (three columns, reading from right to left)

(1) [Nsw-bity] ḥnh-kꜣ-Rꜥ

(1) [The-King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt]: "Rê-is-One-whose-*ka*-lives",

(2) Sꜣ-Rꜥ ꜥn-r-ꜥImn

(3) *dī ḥnh ḏt*

(2) Son-of-Rê: Anlamani, (3) given life for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) *dī Nwt (sic) n ꜥt=f ꜥImn ꜥr=f dī ḥnh*

(1) Giving Nut⁷² to his father Amûn that he may be granted life.

ABOVE KING'S MOTHER (two columns, reading from right to left)

(1) *mwt nsw* (2) N-s-r-sꜣ

(1) The king's mother, (2) Nasalsa.

IN FRONT OF KING'S MOTHER (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) *ꜥr sšꜥt n ꜥt=s ꜥr=s dī ḥnh*

(1) Shaking the sistrum for her father that she may be granted life.

IN RIGHT HALF

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC (one line, reading from right to left)

(1) [Bḥdt(y) nꜥr ꜥ]ꜣ nb pt

(1) [The Behdetite, the grea]t [god], lord of heaven.

BEHIND AMEN-RE (bounding scene, one column, reading from right to left)

(1) *ḏḏ mdw*

(1) Utterance:

⁷²Nut, erroneously written for Maat.

dỉ.n(=ỉ) n=k ʿnh w3s nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb mỉ Rʿ dt
 “I have gi[ven to you] all life and dominion, all health, all happiness, like Rê, for ever.”

IN FRONT OF [KING] (one column, reading from left to right)

(1) [...] ỉr=f dỉ ʿnh
 (1) [...] that he may be granted life.

ABOVE KING’S MOTHER (two columns, reading from right to left)

(1) mwt nsw (2) N-s-r-s3
 (1) The king’s mother, (2) Nasalsa.

MAIN TEXT

(1) [h3t-sp — 3bd - — sw -] hr hm n
 (1) [Regnal year x, month y of season z, day k] under the Majesty of

Hr K3-nht Hʿ-m-M3t
 Horus: “Strong-bull”, “Appearing-in-Maat”,

Nbty Sʿnh-ibw-T3wy
 Two-Ladies: “Nourisher-of-the-hearts-of-Two-lands”,

Hr-nb Hr(y)-hr-M3t
 Golden-Horus: “Who-is-satisfied-with-Maat”,

Nsw-bity ʿnh-k3-Rʿ
 the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Rê-is-One-whose-ka-lives”,

S3-Rʿ Ỉ-n-r-Ỉmn (2) [ʿnh dt]
 Son-of-Rê: Anlamani, (2) [may he live for ever],

mr(y) [Ỉmn-Rʿ nb nswt T3wy]
 beloved [of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands],

ʿm3ỉ hr(y) Hnt(y) hr(y)-ib Gm-p3-Ỉtn
 the lion over the ʿSouth-country¹, who resides in “Finding-the-Aton” (Kawa),

dd.ỉn hm=f n smrw ỉm(y)w ht=f (3) [— — — — —]w
 His Majesty said to the “friends” who were in his entourage (3) ...

m rdỉ sm3.tw s m h3w=ỉ wpw sbỉw
 “Let no one be slain in my time except for rebels

The Sources

kmꜣ (4) [— — — — —] m dd rꜣ] wꜣ r nb
 who create (4) ... [Let no mouth utter] a curse against the lord,

m ꜣd ḥꜣr m rdt dd s ꜣgꜣy m h(5)[(ꜣ)w=ꜣ
 Do not afflict the widow, let no man speak slander in (5) my time."

dd.n=sn ḥft ḥm=f
 They said to His Majesty,

[ntk] sꜣ tp(y) n (ꜥ)tm ms(t)yw =f
 "You are] the first('born') son of Atum, his child,

ḥr(y)-tp tꜣw ḥnt(y) ꜣnhw
 the top man of the lands, the foremost of the living.

mꜣ.n=f tw m ḥt n mwt=k n pr=k
 He (Amûn) saw you in your mother's womb before you came forth.

(6) [— — — — —] ꜣ — ' tꜣw
 (6) ... lands."

dd.n=f n=sn
 He said to them,

ꜣb=ꜣ r mꜣ ꜣt=ꜣ nb{t} nꜥrw ꜥmn-Rꜥ Gm-pꜣ-ꜥtn
 "My heart (is set) on seeing my father, the lord of the gods, Amen-Rê of "Finding-the-Aton" (Kawa)."

dd.n=sn
 They said to him,

ḥs=f (7) kꜣ=k rdt[=f] n=k nsy[t]
 "(Because) he (7) praises your ka, [he] bestows the kingship upon you

[s]ḥr=f ḥft(y)w=k nbw m tꜣ pn
 and overthrows all your opponents in this land."

ḥd.n=f m ꜣbd 2 prt
 He sailed northwards in the second month of Winter,

ḥr gr(g) spꜣt nb ḥr ꜣr ḥwt n nꜥr nb
 (re)founding each district, doing good for every god,

(8) ḥr rdt fꜣꜣw n ḥmw-nꜥr [wꜣ]bw n ḥwt-nꜥr nb spr=f r=s
 (8) giving rewards to the prophets and [pri]ests of every temple-compound at which he arrived.

wn{n}.in sp:t nbt h^c m hsf=f
Every district was in a state of rejoicing on meeting him,

hr nhm hr dw3-ntr hr ksi
shouting, thanking god, and bowing down.

(9) ph.n=f Gm-p3-It[n m bbd 2 pr]t sw 29
(9) He reached "Finding-(the)-At[on]" in month 2 of Wint]er, day 29.

rdt.n=f hm-ntr 3-nw r hwt-ntr n(t) ntr pn
He gave a Third Prophet to the temple-compound of this god,

n ir s tp(y)w-^c
(something which) the ancestors had not done.

fk3.n=f (10) sw m h[t m dd]
He rewarded (10) him pro[perty, saying,

[ir] iswt tn rdt(=i) n=k
"As for] this office which I gave you,

n(y)-s(t) mh3w=k r nhh dt
it belongs to your family for ever and ever."

rdt.n=f h^c Imn Gm-(11)[p3-It[n — — r] hb tp(y) n Imn
He caused Amûn of "Finding-(11)[(the)-Aton" ...] to appear (in procession) [at] the First Festival of Amûn,

in (for: m) hrw n{t} hb in-sw¹
being the day of the festival of the 'king'.

rdt.n=f n=f hb m t hnkt k3w 3pdw
He gave him a festival of bread and beer, bulls and birds,

irp (12) [— — — —]^r — ¹ im(y)w-pr m sp:t tn
wine (12) [...] ... 'servants' in this district,

hr hb m hrw m grh h3t 7 n h^c n ntr
making festival by day and by night, (for) the seven days of the appearance of the god.

(13) [—]^r-¹m^r-¹[— — p]n
(13) [...] ... [... th]is.

hs sw k3=k
"May your *ka* praise him,

Sꜣ-Rꜥ ꜥꜣ-n-r-ꜥꜣmn ꜥꜣnh ꜥꜥt
the Son-of-Rê, “Anlamani”, may he live for ever.”

dꜣ=k ꜣr=f ꜣꜣ n ꜣb sd
Let him make millions of sed-festivals.

shr(14)[=k] ꜣ[ft](y)w=f nbw [m] mwt m ꜥꜣnh
Overthrow (14) all his opponents, dead and living.

rdt.n=f ꜣm-nꜥꜣ ꜣmt-nw
(For) he has given (you) a Third Prophet

rdt.n=f ꜣꜥ=k r ꜣb tp(y) n ꜥꜣmn
and caused you to appear (in procession) at the First Festival of Amûn,

n ꜣr s Nsww Bꜣtyw ꜣꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣr-(15)[ꜣꜥt
(something which) the Kings-of-Upper-Egypt and the Kings-of-Lower-Egypt who
came into being be(15)[fore] had not done.

ꜣs]w m nn rdt n=f ꜣt=f ꜥꜣmn-Rꜥ
[the rewa]rd for this is that his father Amen-Rê,

nb nswt Tꜣwy mꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, the lion over the South-country,

ꜣꜣ(y)-ꜣb Gm-pꜣ-ꜥꜣtn
who resides in “Finding-the-Aton” (Kawa),

ꜥꜣnh nb{t} ꜣꜣr=f
has given him all life from him (Amûn),

snb nb{t} ꜣꜣr=f (16) [ꜥꜥ wꜣs ꜣwt-ꜣb] ꜣꜣr=f,
all health from him, (16) [all stability, dominion and happiness] from him,

ꜣꜥ ꜣꜣ st ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ nt ꜥꜣnhw mꜣꜣ Rꜥ ꜥꜥt
and appearance on the throne of Horus of the living, like Rê, for ever.

rdt.ꜣn ꜣm=f šm mšꜥ=f r ꜣꜣst B-w-rꜣ-h-ꜣ-y-w

His Majesty caused his army to invade the foreign country *Bu-la-h-a-u*,⁷³

(17) [smr] tp(y) nt ꜣm=f m ꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ
(17) the chief [“friend”] of His Majesty being the commander thereof;

⁷³For a useful discussion of this toponym set in the wider context of the history of the settlement of the Middle Nile Region see Behrens 1981, 33, who concluded that the inhabitants of this country were a sub-tribe of the Beja.

n šm ḥm=f r=s
(but) His Majesty did not go go against it (Bu-la-h-a-u)

ḥms m ḥ=f
(rather) remaining in his palace,

ḥr wḏt šḥrw m-ḥt (18) [—]ḥ—ḥ n Rḥ
issuing orders after (18) [..] .. of Rê

m-ḥt nsy=f
after he was king.

ḥr ḥy(t) ḥt im=sn n ḥt tnw (19) ḥry
A great blood bath was made among them, the number (19) thereof (of the dead)
being unknown.

[ḥḥ.n ḥt.n]=ḥsnḥ s fdw
[Then] they (the soldiers) [seized] four men,

ḥn=sn m škr-ḥnḥ
and they were brought as living captives.

ḥkz=sn ḥmwt=sn nb(w)t msw=sn nb{t} ḥwt (20)=sn [nb ḥt=s]ḥnḥ nb
They (the soldiers) gained control of all their women, all their children, [all] their (20)
small cattle, and all their property.

rdt.n=f st r ḥmw ḥmwt n nṯrw nbw
He (the king) appointed them to be man- and maidservants of all the gods.

wnn t pn ršw m ḥw[=f]
(So) this land was joyful in [his] time,

(21) n(n) ḏd ḥ[ḥ n=]ḥ r-s(y)
(21) without anyone saying, 'Would that I had!', at all,

s nb sḏr r šsp
every man sleeping until dawn,

n(n) ḥstyw bdšw m rk=f
there being no rebellious desert dwellers in his time,

n ḥ n mr s ḥt=f Ḥmn
so greatly did his father Amûn love him.

(22) ỉs mwt-nsw N-s3-r-s3 ʿnh.tỉ dt m kb snwt-nsw

(22) Now the king's mother Nasalsa, may she live for ever, was in the midst of the king's sisters,

mwt-nsw ndm mrwt hnwt hmwt nb(w)t

(she) the mother of the king, sweet of love, mistress of all women,

rdt.n hm=f šm smr(23)w r ỉn.tw=s

so His Majesty had "friend(23)s" go to fetch her.

gm.n=s s3=s hʿ mỉ Hr hr-tp srh=f

(When) she found her son effulgent like Horus on his throne,

wn=s hʿ.tw wr ʿ m-ht m3=s nfrw hm=f

and she was exceedingly joyful after she saw His Majesty's beauty,

mỉ m3 ỉst s3=s Hr hʿ hr (24) t3

(just) like Isis (was when she) saw her son Horus effulgent on (24) earth.

rdt.ỉn hm=f snwt=f hmwt fdw n ntrw r sššyw

His Majesty gave his sisters, four women, to the gods, to be sistrum-players:

wʿt n ỉmn n Npt

one to Amûn of Napata,

wʿt n ỉmn-Rʿ Gm-ỉtn

one to Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa),

wʿt n ỉmn P3-nbs

one to Amûn of Pnubs,

wʿt n ỉmn-Rʿ k3 n T3-stỉ

and one to Amen-Rê, bull of Bow-land (Nubia),

hr ỉrt sšš m-(25)b3h=sn

in order to shake the sistrum be(25)fore them,

hr dbh ʿnh wd3 snb ʿhʿ kỉ n nsw rʿ nb

requesting life, prosperity, health, and a long life for the king, every day.

dd.ỉn hm=f

His Majesty said,

ỉ ỉmn-Rʿ Gm-ỉtn

"O Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa),

h3h nmтт

swift of stride,

ỉw n ʿš n=f

who comes to him who calls upon him,

dỉ=k n=ỉ ʿnh 3w nn šnw (26) ỉm=f

grant me a long life, without any sickness (26) in it;

šm=k n=i wsw dw
turn back him who plots evil against me,

m=k mwt=i smn=k msw=s tp t
have regard for my mother and establish her children on earth,

d=k n=i H^cp(y) wr nfr m šmmw
grant me a great Inundation, good in harvest,

(27) h^cyt t nn šnw im=f
(27) a great flood without trouble in it,

d=k nfr t pn m hsw=i
and let this land be good in my time."

h^c Imn-R^c Gm-Itⁿ iw=f h^c m-b^h=f
Amen-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa) appeared as he (the king) stood before him,

d ntr pn hr=f (28) r=f
and this god turned his face (28) to him

ir=f t t h^c hr sdm ddwt=f nb
and spent a long time standing listening to all that he said

d=f n=f nh dd w^s nb hr=f
and gave him all life, stability, and dominion from him (Amûn),

snb [nb] hr=[f] swt-ib nb hr=f
[all] health from him, and all happiness from him,

h^c hr st Hr mⁱ R^c dt
and appearing on the throne of Horus, like Rê, for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

In the partly damaged double-scene of the lunette Anlamani is represented offering, in the company of the Queen Mother Nasalsa, to the ram-headed Amen-Rê (of Kawa) who has horns, sundisc and uraeus and tall plumes. In the left-hand scene the King wears the Kushite skullcap-crown with streamers and a diadem with two uraei and the tall feather crown superstructure of Onuris (cf. Russmann 1974, 33 ff.; Török 1987, 17 f., 69) and offers Ma^cat. The Queen Mother wears a skullcap with one uraeus and a crown superstructure with the two plumes and horns plus sundisc of Hathor (cf. Török 1987, 22, 72 f.); and she

is shaking the sistrum. In the right-hand scene the god has a sundisc, uraeus, and four tall plumes; while the King wears the atef-crown of Osiris (op.cit., 16 f., 68 f.) and carries his flail. The representation of the Kushite king wearing Osiris' insignia is not frequent and is usually associated with the rite of ḥwt bḥsw, "the Driving of the Calves" (cf. Kurth 1985) which is the first enthronement rite performed in the temple after legitimization in the human sphere has been accomplished and the one in which the king was assimilated to Horus at the burial of his father Osiris. This rite was thus connected with the concept of divine sonship (see *ibid.*). Taharqo was represented in the Mut Temple at Gebel Barkal wearing the atef-crown in the presence of Amûn of Thebes (LD V, 10; cf. Leclant 1965, 332 note 2). The insignia of the Queen Mother are the same as in the left-hand scene.

The main text starts 1. (lines 1-2) with the dating (destroyed) and the five-part titulary (cf. (33), Titles) and 2. (lines 2-7) a dialogue between Anlamani and his entourage. Section 3 (lines 7-8) describes the King's journey to Kawa; section 4 (lines 9-16) reports the events of the first part of his stay there. In section 5 (lines 16-21) the second part of his stay is recorded: the campaign against the Bulahau (i.e., Blemmyans, cf. also 50). Section 6 (line 21) contains a brief discourse on the restoration of the Golden Age. Section 7 (lines 22-23) reports the main event of the third part of the stay at Kawa, viz., the visit by the Queen Mother. 8 (lines 23-25) records the appointment of the four royal sisters to priestly offices. Section 9 (lines 25-28) records the final part of the stay at Kawa, viz., the encounter with Amûn of Kawa.

The text belongs to the genre of Kushite enthronement records which was developed under Egyptian influence received in the course of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. The concepts articulated in texts of this genre were, however, of manifold origins: they were adopted from Kushite traditions of earlier periods, from the power ideology of the Theban God's Wife of Amûn, from Third Intermediate Period Amûn Theology, and from New Kingdom kingship ideology. The various conceptual elements were united into a homogeneous kingship ideology in the course of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and were, as the individual texts reveal, constantly modified and re-edited in the subsequent centuries as a consequence of changing circumstances (see for the issue Török n.d., Ch. 11, 21). An enthronement record was destined to manifest the ruler's legitimacy which he received from his divine father. With the description of the King's "appearance" on the throne of Horus, the text proclaims the continuous functioning of the King "as Rê" "for ever" and makes it "eternally" present. Thus the text was itself destined to act as most elevated, explicit, general, and central manifestation of what we call political thinking (cf. Assmann 1990, 46 ff.).

Later texts (Irike-Amanote, Kawa IX, Macadam 1949, 51-67; Harsiyotef, Cairo JE 48864, Grimal 1981a, 40-61; Nastasen, Berlin 2268, Schäfer 1901, see FHN, vol. 2) are more detailed and explicit about the process of enthronement which was

a journey in space and time. 34 gives a detailed account only of the final part of the journey, i.e., though it summarizes briefly some of the earlier parts extending from the episode after Anlamani's enthronement in Napata through the ceremonial journey from Napata to the arrival at Kawa, it dwells at greater length only on the series of episodes that occurred at Kawa. Omitted are thus a. the description of the initial legitimation in the human sphere (usually performed at Meroe City); b. the journey to Napata; c. the enthronement rites performed in the Amûn Temple in Napata; d. the enthronement rites performed in the Amûn Temple at Pnubs (=Tabo on Argo Island, see for the identification Jacquet-Gordon et al. 1969) which took place *after* the Kawa episode; e. the return to Napata (for an analysis of the enthronement inscriptions from the aspect of the sequence of the rites see Török n.d., Ch. 13; Török n.d.a).

Section 2 is a prologue to the central theme of the text, and at the same time presents an abbreviated version of the initial legitimation in the human sphere (cf. 21, lines 7 f.; 22, lines 14 f.; 37, lines 3 ff., 17 f.) which is, however, embedded here into a discourse on the restoration of the Golden Age (lines 4 f.; cf. Grimal 1986, 45 f.). Section 3, in which Anlamani journeys north, reveals that by this time he had already been crowned king at Napata, for only as king is he able to "re-found each district". It is stated that he manifested his legitimacy and royal power by "doing good to every god" (cf. Grimal 1986, 513-537).

Sections 4-9 present a record of a sequence of rites. Though it is debated (see S. Wenig, in: Bonnet 1992) that Anlamani and his successors were crowned not only at Napata but also at Kawa and Pnubs (as suggested by Török 1992, 113-118; Török n.d., Ch. 13; Török n.d.a, where also an explanation in the "federal" origins of the Kushite state structure is offered), all essential features of the enthronement rites are present. Following an initial donation to Amûn of Kawa, a festival of Amûn is celebrated, in the course of which the god appears in procession. The date of the festival corresponds with the date of the New Kingdom festival of Amûn at Thebes (Macadam 1949, 48 note 25). A speech of persons unknown (given the context, probably the priests of the temple) recorded in lines 13-16 proclaims Anlamani's universal kingship and concludes with the significant utterance on the divine gifts of "all life, all health, all stability, prosperity and happiness and appearance on the Horus-throne of the living, like Rê, forever". It may seem that, while a description of the King's prayer for kingship and the ensuing coronation is omitted, the speech stands for the public announcement of the divine decree proclaiming Anlamani's divine sonship and investiture into the royal office. The concluding divine utterance hints at the "secret gifts" from the god which enable the king to act as guarantor of cosmic order and to nourish and judge mankind (cf. 8, comments, end; and see Kuhlmann 1988, 152) and it belongs organically into the context of coronation. The next episode, in which an expedition is sent against rebellious nomads (for the identification of the Bulahau with Blemmyans of the Red Sea Hills see Macadam 1949, 49 note 37 and cf. also 50), though its historicity is probable,

stands for the ceremonial annihilation of the enemy (cf. Grimal 1986, 652-682). The result of this victory over the threatening Chaos is, again, the return of the Golden Age (for lines 20 f. cf. 22, comments; Grimal 1986, 45 f.). A third episode of the investiture at Kawa is the visit of the Queen Mother which is described in the same theological terms as the visit of Queen Abar in Memphis after Taharqo's coronation (see 22, comments to section 3 of the text) and has doubtless the same legitimating significance.

The visit of the Queen Mother also fits into the context of legitimacy through the female succession line to which Nasalsa belonged (cf. 37) and the investiture of the royal sisters as priestesses of Amûn in the Amûn temples of Napata, Kawa (=Gematen), Pnubs (=Tabo on Argo Island) and in the sanctuary of Amen-Rê, Bull of Bow-Land (=Sanam) also points towards the religious role of the royal women in the renewal of royal power (cf. Troy 1986, 131-150). The sanctuary in Napata is the place of the "initial" or "principal" coronation and in later texts also Pnubs would be a scene of enthronement ceremonies. Though the actual position of Sanam is obscure, it may nevertheless be assumed that the four sanctuaries represent governmental centers of a clericalized state (for the role of temple-towns in the governmental structure of New Kingdom Nubia see Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1979; Morkot 1987; for the hypothesis of a similar system created under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Kush see Török n.d.a). The investiture of royal sisters (the one appointed in Sanam is identical with the principal [?] wife Madiken, cf. 39) in governmental centers may be interpreted as a political institution both in terms of royal legitimacy and actual governmental power modeled on the basis of the example provided by the Theban "divine state of Amûn" under the regency of the God's Wife of Amûn.

The text concludes (section 9, lines 25-28) with the description of a final episode of the enthronement ceremonies (this episode may occur in later texts also at other points of the complete sequence). This section records the King's great prayer in which he asks Amen-Rê to grant him royal power in terms that reflect the textual tradition of a Kushite concept of kingship whose elements were encountered in a somewhat more complete rendering in texts of Taharqo. The concept of legitimacy through the female ancestor in line 26 appears to derive from the Alara story (see 21, lines 16-20 and comments; 24, lines 7-16); and the special emphasis on legitimacy through inundation is a common feature of discourses on kingship ever since the times of Piye (cf. 9, comments; 17, 29 with comments). As a whole, the prayer is indebted to the piety of the Amûn theology of the Third Intermediate Period (cf. comments to 26), which indicates again that this part of the text goes back to the same prototype which was used also for the Alara story in 21 and 24. The prayer is uttered apparently in the sanctuary where the King is closeted with the god without attendants (cf. with the analysis of the tradition concerning the Siwa oracle of Alexander the Great, Kuhlmann 1988, 129 ff., 151 ff.; and see 29, line 8; Kawa IX, lines 19, 39 ff.; Harsiyotef Stela, lines 10 ff.; Nastasen Stela, lines 14 f., for the latter three texts see

FHN, vol. 2) and the god's answer is oracular ("this god turned his face to him", lines 27 f.). The "Königsorakel" behind the closed doors of the sanctuary, similarly to the case of Anlamani, may be repeated at subsequent stages of the enthronement rites in the same sanctuary, but it is also performed anew at each station of the enthronement, and, as indicated above, may be repeated when the king returns from the journey to Napata (Nastasen Stela, lines 30 f., see FHN, vol. 2). The answer of the god, as recorded briefly in line 28, may again be a quotation from the oracular decree proclaiming Anlamani's divine sonship and investiture (cf. 8, comments to lines 1-13; 29, comments, end).

[LT]

(35) Aspelta. Titles.

Sources: Election Stela, Cairo JE 48866=37; statue from Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 23.730, Dunham 1970, 23 no. 12 fig. 15 (complete titulary); sarcophagus from Nuri grave Nu. 8, Dunham 1955, figs 58-68; objects from Nu. 8, op.cit., figs 53-56 (only cartouche names); mortuary stela Boston 21.347, Leprohon 1991, 118-122 (only Son of Rê name).

Horus name	Nfr-ḥꜥ "Whose-appearances-are-beautiful"
<i>Nebty</i> name	Nfr-ḥꜥ "Whose-appearances-are-beautiful"
Golden Horus name	Wsr-ḥb "Whose-heart-is-strong"
Throne name	Mry-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-loved"
Son of Rê name	Aspelta

Comments

The titulary is composed of remarkably archaizing names and is in its style more homogeneous than the titularies of Aspelta's immediate predecessors. The Horus and *Nebty* names paraphrase the Horus and throne name of the Fifth Dynasty pharaoh Neferefre (Beckerath 1984, 55 V.5 H, T 1); the Golden Horus name is adoption of the Horus name of Chephren of the Fourth Dynasty (op.cit., 53 IV.4 H; yet see also as epithet of Sethi I, Nineteenth Dynasty, Qasr Ibrim, rock stela, Grimal 1986, 661 note 576; and of Ramesses II, Nineteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 495 note 261). The throne name shows finally the impact of prototypes of the First and Second Intermediate Periods (Merikare, Ninth/Tenth

Dynasty, Beckerath 1984, 62 IX/X.f T; Sebekhotep VIII and Merikare, Thirteenth Dynasty, op.cit., 71 XIII.32 T and 72 XIII.47 T, respectively). In its homogeneous archaizing, Aspelta's titulary stands apart also from the titularies of the Twenty-First to Twenty-Third Dynasty rulers, which display a different, perhaps more complex, archaizing (but see also the negative judgment on the archaizing of Third Intermediate Period titularies in Bonhême 1987, 246-248 and esp. 247 f.: "l'archaïsme dans les protocoles, il est une imitation souvent maladroite des styles antérieurs sur les plans de l'épigraphie et de l'orthographe..., archaïsme sans doute *plus proche d'une absence d'originalité que d'un souci de retour à l'antique*" [my Italics]; an opinion I cannot fully share). Viewed in the context of the intellectual complexity of the inscriptions connected to his reign, and especially in the knowledge of the highly interesting texts on the sarcophagi of his predecessor Anlamani and of himself (Khartoum 1868, Parker-Leclant-Goyon 1979, Pls 31-33; Boston Museum of Fine Arts 23.729, Dunham 1955, figs 58-68; cf. S. Doll 1978; Doll 1982; Grimal 1980), the titulary does not seem to have emerged from an absence of originality and been determined by the limitations of an accidental textual tradition. On the contrary: the sarcophagus texts attest the presence of a rich archival material which contained versions of the same text and in which also the knowledge of fairly recent Theban texts can be pointed out (e.g., quotations from the Book of Gates [Hornung 1992] appear in them in a context which is known from only one source, viz., the sarcophagus of Pedamenophis [Theban Tomb 33; cf. for the connection Yellin 1989, 22 f. Pedamenophis was buried under the early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, but started his career under Taharqo or Tanutamani, cf. Bianchi 1982]). It is to be emphasized, however, that the archival collection of texts put together at Napata under the reigns of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings could not have contained a ready-made Third Intermediate Period pattern for a homogeneously archaizing five-part titulary. The creation of Aspelta's titulary can only be explained by the presence of texts registering far earlier models too, from which a selection of names was made apparently with full consciousness.

[LT]

(36) Aspelta. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Aspelta was son of King Senkamanisken (?) and Queen Nasalsa and younger brother and successor of King Anlamani (for the evidence see (31), (33), 37, 39). He married his niece Kheb, a daughter of Anlamani and Queen Madiken (see 39). The parentage of three further wives of Aspelta (Asata, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 17; Artaha, op.cit., no. 15; Maqmallo, op.cit., 145 no. 46) is unknown. It is presumed (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 142 no. 12, 143 no. 30) on the basis of Kheb's title "the king's mother" (Dunham 1955, fig. 95) that King Aramatelqo was his son with Kheb. Arguing on the basis of the chronological range represented by the statues and statue fragments discovered in a cachette

north of the First Pylon of the Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal (cf. PM VII, 221) and in the annex rooms of Temple B 800, it was suggested (Dunham 1957, 2; Hintze 1959, 21) that Psammetich II's Nubian campaign of 593 BC (see 41-43) occurred under Aspelta's reign. The statues were all buried in a broken condition at B 500 and smaller fragments of the same statues, together with various temple furniture fragments, were disposed in B 800 (cf. Reisner 1920, 251 f.). The buried monumental statues ranged from Tanutamani to Aspelta, but also the fragment of the statue of a viceroy of Amenophis IV was found in the cachette at B 500 (Reisner 1931, 81 no. *17; Dunham 1970, 17 no. 1). In Dunham's and Hintze's view, the damage of the statue series ending with the monumental image of Aspelta would prove the willful destruction of the Amûn Temple by the invading army of Psammetich II; and the absence of monuments of later rulers from the cachette would date the destruction to Aspelta's reign. (Such a chronological break does not occur in another temple cachette found [but not identified as such] by Garstang under the early Amûn Temple at Meroe City in which temple furniture composed of objects dating from Senkamanisken to Si'aspiqo [cf. (31) and (53)] was buried: see Török 1992, 116). Though the finds of the cachette and B 800 doubtless indicate some sort of catastrophe and cannot be interpreted as a usual case of removal of statues and votive furniture from an overcrowded temple, and though the date of the catastrophe may indeed be fixed around the reign of Aspelta, the connection of the catastrophe with the events of 593 BC remains nevertheless hypothetical. The condition in which the statues were found indicates that they were damaged rather accidentally (the faces are not uniformly damaged and the names are not erased, which would be expectable if a willful destruction of royal images were carried out by Egyptians) by a collapsing roof (in the published evidence the collapse of the main temple walls erected by Piye and Taharqo is not attested, cf. Dunham 1970, Plan V). Such a catastrophe caused by fire may of course be also connected to an invading enemy. Whatever may have caused the catastrophe, it seems to have occurred in any case in Aspelta's lifetime, for his cartouches were erased by some internal opponents after his death from all those monuments of his in the Amûn Temple which were in a direct connection with his legitimacy (see below).

Aspelta's reign can thus not be dated with certainty as concurrent with Psammetich II's early reign; as fifth successor of Taharqo (690-664 BC), however, he may be assumed to have ascended to the throne about sixty years after Taharqo's death, i.e., around the end of the 7th century BC. A prosperous reign is indicated by the intellectual complexity of his surviving inscriptions, by the quality of the monuments erected in his time, and, last but not least, by the richness of his grave inventory (cf. Dunham 1955, 78-102; Kendall 1982, cat. 43-50). Yet his reign was with some probability troubled by a foreign invasion; and was doubtless overshadowed by internal controversy the actual nature of which, however, remains obscure. In Year 2 (see 38) a crime of a probably politi-

cal nature occurred in the Amûn Temple in Napata; and at a later time the names of the King were erased on two major stelae (the Election Stela=37 and the Banishment Stela=38) erected by him in Year 1 and 2, respectively, in the Amûn Temple in Napata. In the lunette scene of the Banishment Stela also the King's figure was erased, but it was restored at a later time, without, however, restoring also his names (cf. Grimal 1981a, Pl. VIIIa). On the Election Stela also the face of the Queen Mother, her cartouches, and the cartouches of Aspelta's female ancestors were erased, what seems to indicate that not only his memory, but also the claim of legitimacy *of his line*, at least as to the *female succession line*, was condemned. While also a granite stela of his erected in the precinct of Temple M 250 (in literature, wrongly, "Sun Temple") at Meroe City was smashed to tiny fragments (cf. Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 26; unpublished fragments in the Garstang collection of the Univ. of Liverpool, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies), his Adoption Stela (=39) at Sanam (? cf. PM VII, 218) from Year 3 remained undamaged. What is even more remarkable, the monumental Khaliut Stela (=40) was left undamaged and survived the subsequent centuries at its prominent original place in front of the (local) south tower of the First Pylon of the same Amûn Temple in Napata where Aspelta's other monuments were damaged (cf. M.B. Reisner 1934, 35 f.). It would seem that the damnatio was extended on the central document of Aspelta's legitimacy as ruler, viz., on his enthronement record, further on a special document recording a plot in the Amûn Temple. The nature of the destroyed Meroe City stela is unknown; and it is of course possible that there were also many other documents that met damnatio but of which we have no knowledge. On the other hand, damnatio was not extended on the pious foundation concerning the mortuary cult of Khaliut, a son Piye's, and on the document recording the investiture of Queen Kheb into a priestly office at Sanam. The preservation of the Khaliut Stela and the remarkable fact that Aspelta ostentatiously cared for the mortuary cult of a son of his eighth predecessor generated the hypothesis according to which Aspelta usurped the throne from an elder line descending from Khaliut. In view of the evidence concerning the succession of Alara's and Kashta's descendants and of the data concerning the female succession (cf. 37, comments), this hypothesis is very unlikely. It would seem rather that the explanation is hidden partly in the mutilated text of the Banishment Stela (see 38, comments), and provided partly by the fact that in the Election Stela those details were erased which justified Aspelta's dynastic legitimacy: the names and face of his mother, the name of his brother and predecessor, and the list of his female ancestors.

Aspelta's building activity is evidenced by a chapel built into the Hypostyle of the Amûn Temple (Temple T) of Kawa (Macadam 1955, 89-92, now Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1936.662); a similar shrine erected in the Hypostyle of the Sanam temple (Griffith 1922, 107-110); by blocks excavated by Garstang at Meroe City at the site of the early Amûn Temple (unpublished, cf. Török 1992, 115 f.;

Török n.d.b, inscr. 71, 74). The original Temple M 250 at Meroe City (Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 25 f.) appears to have been erected by him (cf. op. cit.; Hinkel 1985). Stray relief blocks (unpublished, from J. Garstang's excavations in the collection of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, Univ. of Liverpool; see Török n.d.b) from this latter site and also from other temple sites at Meroe City display a strong impact of Piye's war reliefs (now destroyed) in the Amûn Temple at Gebel Barkal (cf. Török 1991, 196). Aspelta was buried in grave Nu. 8 (Dunham 1955, 78-102). The text of his mortuary stela Boston 21.347 was copied from Theban sarcophagus texts of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty period (Leprohon 1991, 119 f., referring to Doll 1978, 370).

Year 1

Source: Cairo JE 48866=37.

Year 2

Source: Cairo JE 48865=38.

Year 3

Source: Louvre C 257=39.

[LT]

37 Election Stela of Aspelta from Year 1, from the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal.
Around the end of the 7th century BC.

Cairo JE 48866. From the outer court of the Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal.
Grimal 1981a, Pls V-VII.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP

SPEECH OF KING'S MOTHER (five columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ḏd mdw ỉn snt nsw mwt nsw ḥnwt Kš [N-s-r-s]

(1) Utterance by the king's sister, the king's mother, mistress of Kush, [Nasalsa]:

ỉỉ.n(=i) ḥr=k ỉmn-Rē nb nst Tꜣwy

"I am come to you, Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

ntr 𓇓

the great god,

(2) ḥnty ỉpt=f

(2) who is in front of his harem,

rh rn=f

whose name is known,

ḏỉ kn <n> nty ḥr mw=f

who gives bravery <to> him who is loyal to him,

The Sources

smn=k sꜣ=k mry=k (3) [ʔI-s-p-r-t] ʔnh dt
 establish your son whom you love, (3) [Aspelta], may he live for ever,

m ʔt tp(y)t nt Rꜥ wr=f ʔm=s (4) r ntrw nb
 in the highest office of Rê, that he may be great(er) in it (4) than all gods.

sꜣꜣ=k rnpwt=f n ʔnh hr-tp ʔ<t>ʔ mʔ ʔtn Npt.
 Make numerous his years of life on ʔ<earth>ʔ like Aton of Napata.

(5) dꜣ=k n=f ʔnh wꜣs nb hr=k snb nb hr=k ꜣwt-ʔb nb hr=k
 (5) Give him all life and dominion from you, all health from you all happiness
 from you,

hꜥ hr st Hr dt
 and appearing on the throne of Horus for ever."

SPEECH OF AMEN-RE OF NAPATA (eight columns, reading from right to left)

(1) dd mdw ʔn ʔmn Npt
 (1) Utterance by Amûn of Napata:

sꜣ(=ʔ) mry (2) [ʔI-s-p-r-t]
 "My beloved son, (2) [Aspelta],

dꜣ=ʔ n=k hꜥ (3) n Rꜥ nsyt=f hr nst ʔt
 I give you the crown (4) of Rê, his kingship on ʔyourʔ father's throne.

(5) smn.n=ʔ Nbty m tp=k
 (5) I have fixed the Two-Ladies on your head

mʔ smn pt hr shnt fdw
 (even) as heaven is fixed on four posts,

(6) ʔnh.tꜣ wsr.tꜣ mꜣ.tꜣ rnp mʔ Rꜥ (7) dt
 (6) you being alive, strong, renewed, youthful, like Rê (7) for ever,

tꜣw nb hꜣswt nb dmd hr (8) tꜣwy=k
 every land and every foreign country collected under (8) your sandals."

IN FRONT OF MUT (two columns, reading from right to left)

(1) dd mdw ʔn Mwt nb pt
 (1) Utterance by Mut, Lady of Heaven,

dꜣ=k (2) ʔnh wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw(t)-ʔb nb dt
 "Grant (him) (2) all life and dominion, all health, all happiness, for ever."

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥꜣt-sp 1 3bd 2 prt (sw) 15 ḥr ḥm
(1) Regnal year 1, 2nd month of Winter, day 15, under the majesty of

Hr Nfr-ḥꜥ
Horus: “Whose-appearances-are-beautiful”,

Nbty Nfr-ḥꜥ
the Two-Ladies: “Whose-appearances-are-beautiful”,

Hr-nb Wsr-ib
Golden-Horus: “Whose-heart-is-strong”,

Nsw-bity nb Tꜣwy [Mr-kꜣ-Rꜥ]
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, lord of Two-lands: [“Rê-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-loved”],

Sꜣ-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw [I-s-p-r-tꜣ]
Son-of-Rê, lord of crowns: [Aspelta],

mry ꜥmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy ḥr-tp Dw-wꜥb
beloved of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who is upon Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

isk irf (2) mšꜥ nw ḥm=f r ꜣw=f m ḥnw dmi Dw-wꜥb rn=f
Now (2) His Majesty’s entire army was in the town named Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

ntr imy=f Ddwn ḥnty Tꜣ-sty
the god in which is Dedwen, the foremost of Bow-land (Nubia),

ntr pw n Kš
—he is a god of Kush—

m-ḥt mn bꜣk ḥr srḥ(3)=f
after the Falcon had settled on his (3) throne.

isk wn tsw nt mḥ-ib m-kꜣb mšꜥ nw ḥm=f s sꜣsw
Now there were trusted commanders in the midst of His Majesty’s army, six men,

iw wn tsw nt mḥ-ib imyw-rꜣ ḥtm s sꜣsw
while there were (also) trusted commanders and overseers of fortresses, six men.

isk irf wn (4) imyw-r3 md3t nt mh-ib s s3sw
Moreover, there (4) were trusted overseers of documents, six men,

isk wn sryw imyw-r3 htmw nt pr-nsw s sfh
while there were officials, overseers of seals of the estate of the king, seven men.

h3n dd=sn n mš3 r 3w=f
Then they said to the entire army,

m3 n šh3=n (5) nb=n
“Come, let us cause our lord (5) to appear (in procession),

m3 idt (< idr) nn hw3w=sn
(for we are) like a herd of cattle without their drover.”

wn.in mš3 pn mht wr sp-sn hr dd
Then this army was very very concerned, saying,

iw nb=n d3 hn3=n nn rh3=n sw
“Our lord is here with us, (but) we do not know him!

h(6)3 rh3=n sw k3=n hr=f
(6) Would that we might know him, that we might enter under him

b3k=n n=f m3 b3k T3wy n Hr s3 3st
and serve him, as Two-lands served Horus son of Isis,

m-ht htp=f hr nst it=f Wsir
after he rested upon the throne of his father Osiris,

d3=n 3w n W3dty(7)=f
and give praise to his (7) Two Uraei.

h3n dd.in w3 n snnw=f im=sn
Then one said to his companion among them,

nn rh3 sw b(w)-nb wp(w) R3 pw ds=f
“There is no one that knows him, excepting it is Rê himself.

wnn=f hr hsr{=f} dw nb ir=f n b(w) nb nty iw=f im
He drives away all evil from him in every place in which he is.”

h3n dd.in (8) w3 n snnw=f n.im=sn
Then one said (8) to his companion among them,

iw R^c htp=f m nht iw stn=f sw m-hr-ib=n
 "Rê rests in (the Place of) Life, he will crown him from amongst us."

h^c.n dd w^c n snnw=f n-îm=sn
 Then said one to his companion among them,

m^c pw
 "That is right.

wp(wt) pw nt R^c dr hpr (9) pt
 It has been the work of Rê since heaven (9) came into being

dr hpr stnw nswt
 and (ever) since crowning the king came into being.

rdt.n=f sw n s₃=f mr=f
 He has (always) given it to his son whom he loves

hr nty t(w)t(w) pw n R^c nsw îmy nhtw
 because the king among the living is the image of Rê.

în rdî sw R^c m t₃ pn m mr grg t₃ pn
 Rê is the one who places him in this land in the desire that this land be set in order."

h^c.n dd.în (10) w^c n snnw=f n-îm=sn
 Then one (10) said to his companion among them,

iw R^c n k₃=f m-n pt iw nst=f šw m hk₃
 "Rê will not enter heaven, while his throne is bereft of a ruler,

iw îwt=f dî mnht m-^cwy=f
 (for) his excellent office is (still) here in his hands.

rdî.n=f sw n s₃=f mr=f
 He has given it to his son whom he loves

hr nty R^c rh hr dd îr=f h₃pw nfrw hr nst=f
 because Rê knows that he will make good laws on his throne."

(11) wn.în mš^c pn r 3w=f hr mht hr dd
 (11) Then this entire army was concerned, saying,

nb=n dî hn^c=n nn rh=n sw
 "Our lord is here with us, (but) we do not know him!"

The Sources

wn.în mšꜥ nw ḥm=f ḏd r ʾw=sn m rʾ wꜥ
Then His Majesty's entire army said with one voice,

igr wn ntr pn ʾImn-Rꜥ
"But there is (still) this god Amen-Rê,

nb nst Tʾwy ḥr(y)-ib Dw-wꜥb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

ntr pw n Kš
—he is a god of Kush.

m (12) n šm=n ḥr=f
Come, (12) let us go to him.

nn ir=n mdt m-ḥm=f
We cannot accomplish anything without him;

nn nfrt mdt iry m-ḥm=f
(for) an affair carried out without him cannot be good,

mꜣrt sp m-ꜥ ntr
while an event in the hand of the god is successful.

ntr pw n nsyw n Kš ḏr rk Rꜥ
He has been the god of the kings of Kush since the time of Rê.

ntf ššm n
It is he that guides us.

wnn (13) nsyw nw Kš m-ꜥwy=f
(13) The kings of Kush have (always) been in his hands.

rdi.n=f n sʾ mr=f
He has (always) given (it) to (his) son whom he loves.

dī=n i(ʾ)w n ḥr=f sn=n tʾ ḥr ḥt=sn
Let us give praise to him, kiss the ground on their (sic) bellies,

ḏd=n m-ḥft-ḥr=f ii=n ḥr=k ʾImn
and say in his presence, 'We are come to you, O Amûn,

dī=k n=n nb=n r sꜣnh=n
that you may give us our lord to vivify us,

r ẓd r3w-pr n nṯr nṯrt nb nw T3-rsy T3-mḥw
to build temples for all the gods and goddesses of South-land and North-land,

r w3ḥ ḥtp(14)nṯr=sn
and to institute their endow(14)ments.

n ṯr=n mdt m-ḥm=k
We cannot accomplish anything without you.

ntk pw sšm n
It is you that guides us.

n mṣrt mdt ṯry m-ḥm=k
An affair carried out without you cannot be fortunate.”

ḥṣ.n dd.ṯn mšṣ pn r 3w=f ḥrw nfr pw m šs m3 ḥḥ n sp
Then this entire army said, “This is truly a very good statement indeed!”

šm pw ṯr.n n3 tsw nw ḥm=f (15) ḥnṣ n3 smrw nw pr-nsw
Off went His Majesty’s commanders (15) and the “friends” of the palace

r ḥwt-nṯr nt ṯImn
to the temple-compound of Amûn.

gm=sn ḥmw-nṯr wṣbw 3w ḥṣw r rwty ḥwt.nṯr
They found the prophets and the major *wâb*-priests standing outside the temple.

dd=sn n=sn
They said to them (the priests),

ṯw m nṯr pn ṯImn-Rṣ ḥr-ṯb Dw-wṣb
“O may this god Amen-Rê, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal) come

r rdt di=f n=n nb=n r sṣnh=n
to cause that he give us our lord, to vivify us,

r ẓd r3w-pw (16) n nṯrw nṯrt nb{t} n T3-rsy T3-mḥw
to build temples (16) for all the gods and goddesses of South-land and North-land,

r w3ḥ ḥtp-nṯr=sn
and to institute their endowments.

nn ṯr=n mdt m ḥm nṯr pn
We cannot accomplish anything without this god.

ntf sšm n
It is he that guides us.”

ꜥk pw ỉr.n n3 Ỉmw-ntr wꜥbw Ỉw r Ỉwt-ntr

In went the prophets and the major *wâb*-priests into the temple-compound

ỉr s nb n ỉr wꜥb=f sntr=f
that every man might perform his purification and his censuring.

ꜥk pw ỉr.n n3 ts(17)w nw Ỉm=f Ỉnꜥ n3 sryw nt pr-nsw
In entered His Majesty’s commands(17) and the officials of the palace

r Ỉwt-ntr
into the temple-compound,

rdt.n=sn Ỉr Ỉt=sn m-b3Ỉ ntr pn dd=sn,
placed themselves on their bellies before this god, and said,

Ỉỉ=n Ỉr=k Ỉmn-Rꜥ
“We have come to you, O Amen-Rê,

nb nst T3wy Ỉr(y)-Ỉb Dw-wꜥb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

dỉ=k <n=>n nb r sꜥnh=n
that you may give us a lord to vivify us,

r kđ r3-pr n ntrw nw T3-rsy T3-mỈw
to build temples for the gods of South-land and North-land,

r w3Ỉ Ỉtp-ntr
and to institute endowments.

Ỉt (18) mnỈ m-Ỉwy=k
That (18) beneficent office is in your hands.

dỉ=k s n s3=k mr=k
Give it to your son whom you love.”

Ỉhꜥ.n w3Ỉ=sn snw-nsw m-b3Ỉ ntr pn
Then they placed the king’s brothers before this god,

nn Ỉt=f wꜥ Ỉm=sn
(but) he did not take one of them.

w3ḥ m sn-nw n sp sn-nsw
Placing a second time the king's brother,

s3 Ḳmn ms n Mwt nb(t) pt
the son of Amûn, the child of Mut, Lady of Heaven,

S3-Rḫ [Ḳ-s-p-r-t3] ḫnh dt
the Son-of-Rê: Aspelta, may he live for ever.

ḫḫ.n dd.in ntr (19) pn Ḳmn-Rḫ nb nst T3wy
Then this (19) god, Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, said,

ntf pw nsw nb=tn
"It is he that is the king, your lord.

ntf pw sḫnh=tn
It is he that vivifies you.

ntf pw kd r3-pr nb n T3-rsy T3-Mḥw
It is he that builds every temple of South-land and North-land.

ntf w3ḥ ḫtp-ntr=sn
He is the one who institutes their endowments.

ḫt=f pw s3=i S3-Rḫ [— — —] m3ḫ ḫrw
His father was my son, the Son-of-Rê, [...], justified;

mwt=f sn(t)-nsw mwt-nsw ḥnwt Kš
and his mother is king's sister, king's mother, mistress of Kush,

(20) S3t-Rḫ [— — —] ḫnh dt
(20) the Daughter of Rê, [...], may she live for ever,

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw
whose mother (again) was king's sister,

dw3t-ntr n Ḳmn-Rḫ nsw ntrw n W3st [— — —] m3ḫ ḫrw
divine adoratrix of Amen-Rê, king of the gods of Dominion (Thebes), [...], justified;

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw [— — —] m3ḫ ḫrw
whose mother (again) was king's sister [...], justified;

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw [— — —] m3ḫ ḫrw
whose mother (again) was king's sister [...], justified;

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw [— — —] mꜥ hrw
whose mother (again) was king's sister [...], justified;

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw [— — —] (21) mꜥ hrw
whose mother (again) was king's sister [...], (21) justified;

mwt=s sn(t)-nsw hnwt n Kš [— — —] mꜥ hrw
whose mother (again) was king's sister, mistress of Kush, [...], justified;

ntf nb=tn
It is he that is your lord."

wnn nꜣy tsw nw hm=f hnꜥ sryw n{t} pr-nsw
Then those commanders of His Majesty and the officials of the palace

hr rdt=sn hr ht=sn m-bꜥh ntr pn
placed themselves on their bellies before this god,

hr sn tꜥ wr sp-sn
kissing the ground over and over again,

hr rdt iꜥ(w) n ntr pn
and giving praise to this god

hr (22) knw ir=f n sꜥ=f mr=f
because of (22) the mighty thing he did to his son whom he loves,

Nsw-bity [I-s-p-r-tꜥ] ꜥnh dt
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: [Aspelta], may he live for ever.

ꜥk pw ir.n hm=f iꜥ hnꜥ m-bꜥh it=f
In entered His Majesty to appear before his father,

Imn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜥwy
Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

gm.n=f sdn(w) nb nsw n Kš hnꜥ wꜥs=sn
and found all the crowns of the king's of Kush and their dominion-scepters

wꜥh m-bꜥh ntr pn
set before this god.

wnn hm=f dd m-bꜥh ntr (23) pn
His Majesty kept saying in the presence of this (23) god,

mꜥ n=iꜥ Imn-Rꜥ
"Come to me, Amen-Rê,

nb nst T3wy hr(y)-ib Dw-wꜥb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

dī=k n=i ʾst dī mnḥ
that you may here give me the office, the beneficent one,

nn sw m ib=i
(even though) it was not in my heart,

n ʿ mr=k
through the greatness of your love,

dī=k n=i sdn r mr ib=k ḥnꜥ w3s
and that you may give me the crown according to your heart's desire, together with
the dominion-scepter.

ḥꜥ.n dd.ʾn ntr pn
Then this god said,

ʾw n(y)=k sdn n sn=k
"Yours is the crown of your brother,

Nsw-bity [ʾI-n-r-ʾImn] mꜥ ḥrw (24) {mꜥ ḥrw}
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: [Anlamani], triumphant (24) {triumphant}.

mn=f m tp=k
It shall remain on your head

mī mn šmty ḥr tp=k
(even) as the double crown remains on your head,

ʾw w3s=f m ḥfꜥ=k
his dominion-scepter being in your grasp

šhr=s ḥftyw=k nb
so that it may overthrow all your enemies."

ḥꜥ.n ḥꜥ.ʾn ḥm=f m — — — [ʾI-n-r-ʾImn] mꜥ ḥrw
Then His Majesty appeared in [— — — Anlamani], triumphant.

rdī n=f w3s m ḥfꜥ=f
the dominion-scepter being placed in his grasp.

wn.ʾn ḥm=f rdt sw ḥr ḥt=f m-b3ḥ ntr (25) pn
Then His Majesty placed himself on his belly before this (25) god,

ḥr sn t3 wr sp-sn dd=f
kissing the ground over and over again, and said,

mī n=i Imn-Rē
“Come to me, Amen-Rê,

nb nst T3wy ḥr(y)-ib Dw-wḥb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

nṯr smsw bnr mrwt
eldest god, whose love is sweet,

sdm sprw n=f m 3t d[— — — —]n[—]
who hearkens to him who petitions him at once [— — — —]

dī=k ʿnh dd w3s nb
that you may grant life, stability, and all dominion,

snb 3w-ib nb mī Rē dt
health and all happiness, like Rê (has), for ever,

3w ʿ nfr
and a long, good old age,

(26) dī=k s(i) [-]wnw m h3(w)=i
(26) that you may grant that ... be sated in my time

nn rdt.n=k sdr [—] im=f
without ‘your letting .. lie down in it’,

dī=k [—]r n’[— — —]sw[— -]r’[— — —]=sn m ḥf
that you may grant ... them as a serpent,

dī=k mrt m-ḥnw Kš
that you may put love in Kush—

šf(27)(yt) pw T3-mḥw [- — —] nty iw ib=f
this is (27) the awe of North-land ... which he desires—

dī=k mrt m^{r-ʿ}[-]s[— — — —] iw=w^{r-ʿ}[— - — —]
and that you may grant love ... they being ... ”

dd.3n nṯr pn [— — —]=k r 3w=sn
Then this god said, “[...] you, all of them,

nn ḏd=k ḥ n=i r=s r nhḥ ḏt
without your saying, ‘Would that I had’, about it, for ever and ever.”

(28) pr pw ḥr.n ḥm=f [- —] ḥwt-ntr r-ḥnw mš=f
(28) Out came His Majesty [from] the temple-compound into the midst of his army,

mḥ wbn [Rḥ m pt]
(even) as [Rê] shines [in heaven].

wn.in mš=f r ʒw=f ḥr nhm wr sp-sn
Then this entire army raised a very loud cry

ʿm -ʿ[— — -] ḥb=sn ndm r ʒ wr
... , their hearts being exceeding glad,

ḥr rdt ḥw n ḥm=f ḏd=sn
giving praise to His Majesty, and said,

(29) ḥ m ḥtp ʿnbʿ[- — — —]rʿ[-]
(29) “Welcome, ‘lord’ [- — — —]rʿ[-]

ʿdī[- — —]ʿhrʿ[— — — —]=n mḥ rnpwt Ḥr
— — — —]rʿ[-] like the years of Horus

m-ḥnw mš=k ḥ.ti ḥr st Ḥr mḥ Rḥ ḏt
in the midst of your army, appearing on the throne of Horus like Rê, for ever.”

rnpt tn nt ḥḥ ḥm=f ḥm=f
In this year of His Majesty’s appearance:

ḥḥ.n wʒḥ.n=f ḥbw (30) [— — — —]=sn
then he instituted festivals (30) [— — — —] them

[— — —] prt [— ... —] ʿḥmʿ=f [— ... —]
[...] winter [...] his ‘majesty’ [— ... —]

ʿḥr.tw r-rʿ ḥnk(t) [—] ʿ—ʿ 40 šw 100 dmd ḥnk(t) 140
... beer, ..-jugs, 40; shu-jugs, 100; total: beer 140.

[RHP]

Comments

The lunette scene shows, under the extended wings of the sundisc, the enthroned ram-headed Amûn of Napata accompanied by Mut, Lady of Heaven; the King, and the Queen Mother. (For the Theban background of the epithet of

Mut as mistress of sky, consort of Amen-Rê King of the Gods, see Brunner 1964, 119; Leclant 1965, 247, 301; Altenmüller 1977. The epithet was associated with the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes and the throne name mryt Mwt, "Beloved of Mut", of Shepenupet I [Troy 1986, 177 GW 3] was adopted by Piye's wife Khensa in the form mryt Mwt nbt pt, "Beloved of Mut Mistress of Heaven" [in cartouche, Dunham 1950, fig. 11/h right; Kendall 1982, Cat. 9].) The divine figures and the figure of the King, who is kneeling in front of Amen-Rê, are facing right. Facing left, stands the Queen Mother in front of the group of the deities and the King and shakes the sistra (note the unusual detail of the *two* sistra, stressing the central feature of the Queen Mother as priestess and pointing towards titles of Theban God's Wives consisting of the word sistra in dual: Shepenupet I, Troy 1986, 177 GW.3 B 3/13 and B 3/14; Amonirdis I, op.cit. GW.4 B 3/14; Shepenupet II, op.cit., GW.5 B 3/15; Ankhnesneferibre [daughter Psammetich II's, thus perhaps contemporary with Aspelta], op.cit., 178 GW.8 B 3/13). Amen-Rê wears tall plumes and one uraeus; Mut the Double Crown; the King the Kushite skullcap with the double uraeus at his brow and he carries crook and flail in his right and an ankh in his left hand. The Queen Mother was wearing a skullcap with diadem and streamers and one uraeus which seems to have been crowned, like Mut, with the Double Crown (? cf. Grimal 1981a, Pl. V). At a later time (probably after Aspelta's death) the names of the King, of his brother in lines 2 and 4, the names of the King's mother and of his female ancestors were erased. In the lunette scene also the face of the King's mother was destroyed (cf. (36)).

The postures of the King kneeling in front of the god and facing in the same direction, and of the god extending his left arm over the head of the King indicate that the scene presents a variant of the enthronement episode in which the King is "crowned personally by Amen-Rê" (cf. in the titulary of Ramesses II, Grimal 1986, 220) and presented by him to the Ennead or to the Souls of Pe and Nekhen (cf. Leclant 1961, 262. If the context is disregarded, the scene can easily be mistaken for a representation of the king "protected by the god". For such cases, however, see Leclant 1961, 262 with note 1). In the coronation cycle of the northern sideroom of the sanctuary of Taharqo's Amûn Temple (Temple T) at Kawa the kneeling Taharqo is presented to the latter and to an Inmutef-priest (Macadam 1955, Pl. XXII/c; cf. with the analogous scene of Tuthmosis III in the temple of Dedwen at Semna West, PM VII, 148 [20]). This scene is a pictorial rendering of the legitimation by the god performed in the solitude of the sanctuary which appears in the enthronement records in the form of the dialogue between king and god, i.e., the former's prayer for universal kingship and the latter's oracular decree (cf. 29, line 8; 34, comments, end). While the left side of the scene is modeled on the iconographical type represented by the Kawa relief, the right side points towards a modification of the concept of legitimation insofar as the presentation turns towards the Queen Mother. The association of the presentation by the god with the Queen Mother was meant to give expres-

sion to the causal interconnection between the Queen Mother's acting as priestess and the god's granting kingship to her son, as is clearly indicated in the accompanying inscriptions. In the columns in front of the Queen Mother her prayer is recorded for her son's universal kingship; the text is modeled on the pattern of the royal prayer for universal kingship (cf. lines 25-27 of the same inscription). The answer of the god grants Aspelta universal kingship and renewal of his power "like Rê forever".

The two halves of the scene and the accompanying texts can be read as a pictorial narrative recounting three successive episodes: 1. The Queen Mother recites a prayer of mediation in which she asks the god to grant kingship to her son Aspelta; 2. As an answer, the god performs the coronation of the King and presents him to the world; 3. The Queen Mother plays as priestess of the royal cult the sistra before the king and his divine parents Amûn and Mut and acts as agent of the renewal promised by the deity (for the significance of the sistra cf. Troy 1986, 83-89).

The main text starts 1. with the date and the King's full titulary (cf. (35)) (line 1). Section 2 (lines 2-14) presents a long prelude to the oracular decision of Amûn of Napata concerning the person of the successor Anlamani's. The death of Anlamani is stated in lines 2 f. and 4 f. In section 3 (lines 14-16) the representatives of the people decide to put the matter before Amen-Rê of Napata, and in section 4 (lines 16-18) they are led by the priests into the presence of the god whom they present first the "king's brothers" and then Aspelta alone. Section 5 (lines 19-21) records the legitimation of Aspelta by Amen-Rê. The short section 6 (lines 21 f.) describes the joy of the representatives of the people; section 7 (lines 22-27) records the dialogue of the king and the god in the solitude of the sanctuary: the prayer of the former for universal kingship and the latter's decree. In the final section 8 (lines 28-30) the King is presented to the people; the description of a festival concludes the narrative.

Sections 2-3 give a detailed description of Aspelta's legitimation in the human sphere represented in general by "His Majesty's entire army" (for an interpretation of the expression *mšꜥ nw ḥm=f* as "His Majesty's court" see, however, Grimal 1986, 213 note 664) and in particular by the six commanders of the army, by the six overseers of fortresses, the six overseers of documents, and the seven (for six?) overseers of seals of the royal estate (=royal treasurers). The commanders and high officials probably stand for the units of the governmental structure (hence their number). At the death of the predecessor (=Anlamani) Aspelta and his entourage stay in Napata, i.e., the Pure Mountain which in line 2 is described curiously as the dwelling place of Dedwen the Foremost of Bow-Land (=Nubia) who "is a god of Kush" (Dedwen was worshipped at several places in New Kingdom Nubia and in the Semna temple of Dedwen and the deified Sesostri III Tuthmosis was represented receiving his inheritance [=kingship] and his rule over the foreign lands from Dedwen; also in the Theban Amûn Temple the king is granted the rule over foreign lands by Dedwen

and Sobek [cf. Kemp 1978, 10 f.]. The Semna cult of Dedwen appears to have been transplanted to Napata by Taharqo: he is known to have restored the Semna temple, and the only known Kushite representation of Dedwen is in his Mut Temple B 300 at Napata [in Room 307 Taharqo followed by Mut offers milk to Amûn of Kawa, bread to Dedwen and Ma'at to Rê-Harakhte, Robisek 1989, 45 ff.]).

The death of Anlamani delivered the world to the threat of Chaos and annihilation. The state of mankind is described in the powerful sentence in lines 4 f. ("Come, let us cause our lord... [for we are] like a herd of cattle without their herdsman") which reproduces a current phrase of New Kingdom hymns (cf. Assmann 1983, 153) and this sentence opens the discourse on divine sonship and universal kingship scattered in the subsequent lines and rendered in a dramatized form as series of speeches, dialogues, and choruses ("They [the officials] said to the entire army..." (line 4); "Then one said to his companion..." [lines 7 f., 9 f.]; "Then this entire army was concerned, saying..." [line 11]). The future king's person is "unknown" ("we do not know him...") before he is "elected", i.e., legitimated by his divine father Amen-Rê, and elevated to the throne. The king's "becoming Horus", i.e., his other, future-oriented, aspect of divine sonship as heir and avenger of Osiris (cf. 38, line 2; for similar statements in Kushite texts see 29, lunette, column 12; lines 6, 42 and see Grimal 1986, 51 with note 44) is stressed next (lines 6 f.). The elements of universal kingship listed are of a traditional New Kingdom flavor: the kingship exists since the creation of the world ("It has been the work of Rê since...", lines 8 f.), the king is the god's son and the enthronement of the king is creation ("...that this land be set in order", line 9), and it is stated thus with impressive clarity that the King is incarnation of Rê as far as his royal office is concerned (see also the words of the Queen Mother in the lunette, columns 2 f. on the "highest office of Rê"; cf. Grimal 1986, 182 f. with note 545). The relationship between god and king is illuminated in theological terms; the dialogue recorded in lines 8-14 discourses on god's knowledge of the actions of all men whereas god's commands and knowledge are put in the same context as in texts of the Ramessides (cf. Morenz 1990, 61) and in Piye's Great Triumphal Stela (cf. 9, line 69 ["I do not act without him. He is that orders me to act"]).

In lines 1-16 thus the divine legitimation is prepared in the form of a liturgical drama (the notions drama, dramatic are used here in the sense as they were treated by Bleeker 1967, esp. 40 ff.) in which statements on the concepts of divine sonship and royal power are recited. The dramatically construed sections 2-3 lead the persons who stand for the legitimation in the human sphere to the Amûn Temple where the "god of the kings of Kush since the time of Rê" (line 12) resides. They ask the god in a prayer (section 4, lines 16-18) to give his oracular decision; mediation between the people and the god is rendered by the prophets and major w'ḥb-priests who receive the supplicants at the temple gate (line 15).

At the temple gate the final episode of the legitimation in the human sphere begins. The priests and the representatives of the people enter the temple; together with them enter obviously the “king’s brothers” too, including Aspelta himself. They (or perhaps only the “king’s brothers”?) are purified and place, in a most dramatic manner, the “king’s brothers” before Amen-Rê, who does not “take one of them”; and then place Aspelta before the god, who accepts him as his son, and recognizes him as king. The scene should be understood as oracular announcement in front of the assembled princes of the royal family, the court, and the priesthood in the temple but outside the sanctuary from where the divine image emerged in procession to listen to the plea and to give sign of his will. The procedure is obviously based on the tradition of the Theban Amûn oracle: early in Ramesses II’s reign, a new High Priest in the person of Nebwenenef was “elected” by the god in a similar manner. First the pharaoh named several persons but the god was “not satisfied with any of them”, but then named the (absent) Nebwenenef whom Amen-Rê accepted (K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 44 [1907], 30 ff.; Meyer 1928, 9). Yet already Tuthmosis III had been selected out by Amûn in the Karnak temple in a similar manner from the midst of his entourage in order to be granted kingship (Urk. IV.64, 158; Roeder 1960, 202 f.): the divine image, carried by the priests on his bark and manipulated by them, gave an appropriate sign (see, e.g., the cases of Setnakht, Twentieth Dynasty, Elephantine Stela lines 4 f., Drenkhahn 1980, 62, 64; Menkheperre, High Priest of Amûn of Thebes, Twenty-First Dynasty, Banishment Stela, J. v. Beckerath, *RdE* 20 [1968], 11, 19; cf. Kákosy 1982).

Sections 5-8 record the divine legitimation in four episodes. The sequence is: 5. divine decree on legitimation, 6. thanksgiving of the representatives of the people, 7. Aspelta’s prayer for kingship and Amen-Rê’s answer, 8. Aspelta’s public appearance as king, acclamation (and festival). It seems that the four episodes can be divided into three moments, the first belonging still to the oracle episode, the second being the King’s intimate dialogue with the god and his legitimation in the divine sphere, and finally the third being the “epiphany” of the King. Section 5 (lines 19-21) appears to reproduce the divine decree of legitimation which was probably given a written form by the priests as it is indicated by the tradition concerning Alexander the Great’s “Königsorakel” in the Amûn Temple of Siwa (cf. 8, comments to columns 6 f. of lunette). After uttering three statements on the King as source of life in the land, builder of the gods’ temples, and responsible for their cults, Amûn of Napata proclaims that Aspelta’s father was his son, and then names Aspelta’s female ancestors (lines 19-21). The first proclamation emphasizes the patrilinear succession concept according to divine sonship and the Egyptian principle adopted, albeit not always maintained, by the Kushite dynasty early under, or perhaps somewhat before the beginning of, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (cf. (2)). The second proclamation adds to the patrilinear legitimacy of Aspelta the statement that he is legitimate heir also on account of his descent from a female succession line.

The list of his female ancestors consisted of seven names in cartouches and the titles of the owners of these names. The names were, however, erased (cf. (36)) and thus the reconstruction of the list is hypothetical. The identity of the two persons at the top of the list is, however, unproblematic: the first is certainly Queen Nasalsa; and the second, as owner of the titles "Divine Adoratrix of Amen-Rê, King of the Gods of Thebes" is most likely identical with Taharqo's daughter Amonirdis II, God's Wife of Amûn Elect (Macadam 1949, 126 f.; Priese 1972, 23) who never succeeded to the office of the actual God's Wife (*hmt ntr*) and could thus be mentioned posthumously (she is *mꜣt hrw*, "justified" in the list) only as *dwꜣt-ntr* (Amonirdis II, together with her adoptive "mother" the God's Wife of Amûn Shepenupet II was compelled to adopt Nitocris, daughter of Psammetich I, in 656 BC as God's Wife of Amûn Elect, by which act the legitimacy of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty was established in Upper Egypt and the Kushite rule came to an end there; cf. Caminos 1964; Kitchen 1986, § 364). Though it was suggested that Amonirdis II may actually have married a member of the Kushite dynasty after 656 (literature on her: Leclant 1965, 366 note 1), it seems, in view of the evidence of her Theban activity (cf. Leclant 1965, 91 ff., 106 ff., 366 f.), that she remained for an unknown period of time in Thebes and retained her office and with it her virgin status. If so, Nasalsa could only have been her adoptive daughter in the sense of the adoption into a priestly office in the cult of Amen-Rê (for the adoption practice see Caminos 1964, 78). To determine the date of adoption somewhat more closely, the investiture dates of the Kushite God's Wives should be reconsidered. If one accepts the view in which the God's Wives were not necessarily appointed by their fathers (cf. 3, comments) and thus regards Amonirdis I (daughter Kashta's) to have been invested by Piye (Kitchen 1986, Table 13 B, tenure: 740-700 BC [estimated dates!]), Shepenupet II (daughter Piye's) by Shabaqo (ibid. tenure: 710-650 BC [estimated dates!]), it also must be supposed that Amonirdis II was a late child Taharqo's and could be installed by him only as late as around 670 BC (ibid.). In this case she would have been born around 690-680 BC and could have adopted Nasalsa, who was born around 650-630 BC, at an advanced age. Taking the alternative view, which is preferred here, according to which the God's Wives of Amûn were appointed as a principle by their fathers, we have the following chronology: Amonirdis I was invested by Kashta (c. 760-747 BC) before 747 BC; Shepenupet II was installed by Piye (747-716 BC) before 716 BC; Amonirdis II was installed by Taharqo (690-664 BC) after 690. In this case, intervals of about 30 years (!) would have divided the individual appointments from each other and Nasalsa could still have been adopted by a more aged Amonirdis II.

Writers on the list assumed that the seven names stand for seven ruler generations (Priese 1972, 23; Morkot 1991, Table 9:1); hence, it is suggested that it reaches back two generations before Alara. The Alara story (cf. 21, comments on section 3 of the text) warns, however, that the starting point of the female succession list is in fact Alara's unnamed sister, whom we have tentatively identi-

fied with Kashta's wife Queen Pebatma. A review of the titularies of Kushite queens from Pebatma to Nasalsa may decide, which royal names may have stood originally in the now empty five cartouches (not counting here Nasalsa and Amonirdis II)?

The divine decree on the King's female ancestors was in all probability composed on the basis of archival material consisting of the texts of the relevant investitures and adoptions. Its precision cannot be seriously doubted; and the empty cartouches may, at least hypothetically, be filled with names of queens on the basis of what we know from other sources about the priestly titles of individual Kushite queens. From the evidence eight female titularies stand out as the only likely candidates. The owners of these are as follows (going backwards in time): Nasalsa (wife of Senkamanisken, mother of Anlamani and Aspelta) "sweet of love, lady of all the women" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (37, line 20 and lunette; 39, lines 9 f.; 40, line 13); Khalese (wife of Atlanersa) "mistress of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, noblewoman, eldest daughter" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Griffith 1929, Pl. V); ...salka (wife of Taharqo, mother of Atlanersa) "great one of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, noblewoman" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Griffith 1929, Pl. V); Naparaye (Taharqo's wife) "great one of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, Lady of the Two Lands, noblewoman" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Dunham 1950, Pl. XXXI/B); Takahatamani (wife of Taharqo) "sweet of love, lady of all the women, mistress of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, Lady of the Two Lands, noblewoman" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Robisek 1989, 20, 65); Abar (wife of Piye, mother of Taharqo) "sweet of love, great of praises, Lady of the Two Lands, noblewoman" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Leclant-Yoyotte 1949, 32; Robisek 1989, 17, 66); Khensa (wife of Piye) "sweet of love, lady of all the women, great one of the ḫts-scepter, great one of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, mistress of the ḫmꜣt-scepter, Lady of the Two Lands, noblewoman" (also sistrum-player before Amûn) (Dunham 1950, figs 11/j,k); Pebatma (wife of Kashta, mother of Piye [?]) "sistrum-player of Amen-Rê King of the Gods" (Wenig 1990, 335).

As opposed to the rest of the preserved female titularies (see Troy 1986, 175 f.; Török n.d., Ch. 17), these titularies display a strong impact of the titles of the God's Wives of Amûn of Thebes (and occasionally of New Kingdom queens' titles as God's Wives) and have obvious associations with the notion of the queen as priestess of Amûn and priestess of the royal cult (cf. Troy 1986, 73-114). The occurrence of a Divine Adoratrix in the list on the one hand, and the title of one of the above-mentioned queens, Khalese, of an "eldest daughter" (sꜣt wrt), which is a periphrasis for "adoptive daughter" (M. Malinine, GLECS 6, 13 f., quoted by Caminos 1964, 78 ad line 3 of the Nitocris Stela), on the other, warn that not only the titles themselves derive from the Theban institution of the God's Wife, but that also the relationship between the owners of the titles is similar to the relationship between the God's Wives of Amûn: viz., they stand

in an adoptive relationship with each other—quite independently from their actual family connections, as will be illuminated by 39.

The list, being read still backwards in time, would thus consist of the following members of a female succession line: 1. Nasalsa, 2. Amonirdis II, 3. Khalese, 4. ...salka, 5. Takahatamani (or perhaps Abar or Naparaye), 6. Khensa, 7. Pebatma. In the following diagram the relationship of the female ancestor list with the royal generations is shown:

- (1) KASHTA = Pebatma
- (2) PIYE = Khensa (= Abar ?)
- (3) SHABAQO -
- (4) SHEBITQO -
- (5) TAHARQO = Takahatamani (= Naparaye ?) = ...salka
- (6) TANUTAMANI -
- (7) ATLANERSA = Khalese; Amonirdis II
- (8) SENKAMANISKEN = Nasalsa
- (9) ANLAMANI son of Nasalsa (= Madiqen, see 39)
- (10) ASPELTA son of Nasalsa (= Kheb, see 39)

If the members of Aspelta's female legitimacy line are correctly identified among the queens with the said type of titulary, the relationship between patrilinearity, matrilinearity and collateral inheritance may also be better illuminated (see Török n.d., Ch. 17.7). Not going here into details, it deserves nevertheless mention that in Shabaqo's line (Shabaqo, Shebitqo, Tanutamani) no such titles occur. Provided that the members of the female succession line as God's Wives and priestesses were predestined to become mothers of crown princes and to act as restrictive agents in patrilinear succession (cf. Troy 1986, 122-143), Shabaqo's succession is a return to collateral succession. That Shabaqo's succession was not previewed and the succession of his descendants was not prepared, may well explain the contrast between his, and his sons' untitled queens on the one side, and the two properly titled wives of Piye and the three properly titled wives of Taharqo, on the other. Yet, similarly to the later collateral successions of Taharqo, Atlanersa and Aspelta, also Shabaqo's case may have been determined by reality (age of the predestined heir, or lack of heir in the patriline) rather than by ideology; and there is of course no reason to suppose violently illegitimate cases of succession, the less so, that *every Kushite king was the son of an earlier king*. On the other hand, however, the strong emphasis on the election motif in the enthronement texts may follow from the necessity of giving a theological foundation to deviations from the direct patrilinear inheritance (as is also attested for late Ramessides; see in detail Török n.d., Ch. 14; in connection with the "election" of Ramesses VII by his "kinsmen" see V. Condon: Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Turin CG 54031. Berlin 1978, 17). To sum up this excursus on patrilinearity *versus* matrilinearity, it may be concluded that legitimization through the female succession line was destined to secure patrilinear inheritance in a re-

strictive sense within a dynasty which had a vivid tradition of collateral inheritance too and in which legitimacy was restricted, and at the same time complicated, by the tradition of princes marrying not only one but several of their own sisters.

The divine decree concerning Aspelta's legitimacy was proclaimed publicly in front of the assembled court and priests and the proclamation is followed by the thanksgiving of the representatives of the people and thus the legitimation in the human sphere is complete. In section 7 (lines 22-27) the intimate encounter of Aspelta with his divine father is performed. Aspelta, who finds "all the crowns of the kings of Kush and their dominion-scepters set before this god", prays for universal kingship. He receives it from the god together with the crown of his brother Anlamani.

While in the course of the legitimation in the human sphere the kingship of Kush was described in the terms of traditional New Kingdom kingship dogma, the prayer Aspelta's in lines 25-27 also contains elements of Third Intermediate Period piety ("Amen-Rê... sweet of love, who listens to him who petitions him at once...") referring to the direct kingship of the god (for *bnr mrwt*, "sweet of love", as royal epithet in the New Kingdom see Grimal 1986, 613-616 with note 320), a notion prevalent also in documents of Taharqo (e.g., 24, line 22) and repeating a phrase of Third Intermediate Period Amûn hymns (cf. Hassan 1928, 157-193 [CG 58038]; Meyer 1928, 11 f.; Leclant 1965, 272; Assmann 1989, 78 ff.; Assmann 1990, 235). Yet, in lines 26 f. Aspelta's prayer returns once more to the New Kingdom concept of the king's acting as Rê, for which he receives the love of mankind as a continuous legitimation (for love of the king cf. Moftah 1985, 49 ff.; for Ramesside examples cf. Grimal 1986, 615-618). In the final episode of the enthronement he emerges from the temple "into the midst of his army, (even) as [Rê] shines in heaven".

[LT]

38 Banishment Stela of Aspelta from Year 2, from the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal. Around the end of the 7th century BC.

Cairo JE 48865. From the outer court of the Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal. Grimal 1981a, Pls VIII-IX.

Text and translation

SCENE AT TOP

BENEATH WINGED SUNDISC

(Reading from right to left)

Bḥdt(y) nṯr ʕ dī ʕnh

The Behdetite, the great god, given life.

The Sources

(Reading from left to right)

Bḥdt(y) nṯr ʿ3 dī ʿnh

The Behdetite, the great god, given life.

BEHIND KING

Magical symbols.

ABOVE KING (one column and one line, reading from right to left)

(1) nṯr nfr nb T3wy (2) [— — —] ʿnh dt

(1) The good god, lord of Two-lands (2) [— — —], may he live for ever.

IN FRONT OF KING (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) ḥnk mʿ(t) n Imn ʾir=f dī ʿnh mī Rʿ

(1) Presenting Maat to Amûn that he (the king) may be granted life like Rê.

ABOVE AND IN FRONT OF AMEN-RE (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) dd mdw dī.(=i) n=k ʿnh w3s nb

(1) Utterance: "I have given you all life and dominion".

(2) Imn-Rʿ nb nst T3wy ḥr(y)-ib Dw-wʿb

(2) Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

ABOVE AND IN FRONT OF MUT (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) dd mdw dī.n(=i) n=k snb nb

(1) Utterance: "I have given you all health."

(2) Mwt nb(t) pt ḥnwt nṯrw

(2) Mut, Lady of Heaven, mistress of the gods.

ABOVE AND IN FRONT OF KHONS (one column and one line, reading from left to right)

(1) dd mdw dī.n(=i) n=k 3wt-ib nb

(1) Utterance: "I have given you all happiness".

(2) Ḥnsw m W3st

(2) Khons in Dominion (Thebes).

BEHIND KHONS (one column, reading left to right)

(1) sš mꜥ n Psdt Ḥr nb ʔwt-ib

(1) the true scribe of the Ennead of Horus, lord of happiness.

MAIN TEXT (ten lines, reading from right to left)

(1) ntr nfr mṯw Rꜥ

(1) The good god, likeness of Rê,

ṯm šꜥ rḥ mnṯ

Atum of the beginning, who knows the mooring-post,

pḏ nmtt snnw ṯn

far striding, counterpart of Aton,

dd tꜥw r fnd nb sꜥnh=f rḥyt

who gives breath to every nose, that he may vivify the lapwing-people,

it m šḥm=f mṯ w(2)tt sw

who seizes by his power like the one who be(2)got him,

sšm ḥm=f r tꜥw sp

who leads His Majesty on every occasion,

spw=f nb mnḥ

his every venture being an excellent one,

sꜥ smsw nḏty it=f

eldest son who protects his father,

wšb (3) sp ḏbꜥ st=f

who answers (3) on the occasion of replacing (him = his father) (on) his throne,

Nsw-bṯy [Mr-kꜥ-Rꜥ]

the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: ["Rê-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-loved"],

Sꜥ Rꜥ [ṯ-s-p-r-tꜥ]

the Son-of-Rê: Aspelta,

mry ṯmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜥwy

beloved of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands,

ḥr(y)-ib ḏw-wꜥb

who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

ḏi ṥnh ḏt

given life for ever.

(4) ḥꜣt-sp 2 nt ḥꜣ=f

(4) In the second year of his appearance

ḥw ḥm=f ḥr nst Gb

His Majesty being seated on the throne of Geb,

wꜥ.n ḥm=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt ḥt=f

His Majesty proceeded to the temple-compound of his father,

Ḥmn Npt ḥr(y)-ḥb Dw-wꜥb

Amûn of Napata, who dwells in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

r šnꜣ m(5)ḥwt twy msd nṯr

to expell that fa(5)mily which the god hates,

ḏḏ.tw n=s Tm.p.s.y-p.r-d.t.ḥꜣ.y r ḏḏ

called (a Meroitic name ?), saying,

nn rdt (6) ꜣk=sn r ḥwt-nṯr nt Ḥmn-n-Npt ḥr(y)-ḥb Dw-wꜥb

“Don’t let (6) them enter the temple-compound of Amûn-of-Napata, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal),

ḥr mdt pfy bwt pw ḏḏ=f

because of that deed—it is an abomination (even) to utter it—

ḥr=sn m ḥwt-nṯr nt Ḥmn

which they did in the temple-compound of Amûn.

ḥr=sn (7) mdt nn wꜥ.n nṯr ḥr sw

They did (7) a deed which the god had forbidden⁷⁴.

ḥr=sn wꜣ(w)ꜣ m ḥb=sn

They made a plot in their hearts;

m smꜣ s n wn btꜣ=f

namely, killing a man who was innocent of any crime⁷⁵,

nn wꜥ.n nṯr (8) ḥr=f

without the god having decreed (8) doing it.”

rdt.n nṯr ḏḏ=sn m rꜣ=sn [—] sn

The god caused that they say with their (own) mouths, “[—] them!”,

⁷⁴Lit.: “had not ordered doing it”.

⁷⁵Lit.: “whose crime did not exist”.

n mr shpr ʔb(t)=sn
in a desire to bring about their suppression.

smʔ.n=f st ʔr m sb-n-sdt [— —]
He slaughtered them, (they being) made into a burnt-offering,

(9) r rdt snd ḥmw-nṯr nb wʔb nb
(9) to cause every prophet and every priest to be afraid

ʔk=sn ḥr nṯr pn šps
when they enter bearing⁷⁶ this noble god,

n ʔ n bʔw=f n wr n shm=f
through the grandness of his might, through the greatness of his power.

dd ḥm=f
His Majesty said,

“ʔr ḥmw-nṯr nb wʔb nb ʔr(.ty.)sn sp m rʔw-pr

As for every prophet and every *waab*-priest who shall do a misdeed in the temples,

[—] (10) st n(n) rdt ḥpr rdwy ḥr sʔtw
[destroy] (10) them, without allowing (their) feet to be on earth,

n(n) rdt smn ʔwʔw ḥr sʔ=sn
without letting their heirs be established after them,

ḥr nty n ʔpr ḥwt-nṯr m wḥʔw=s
in order that the temple-compound not acquire its/their sin.

grg=s pw šw=s ʔm
That is its foundation, its being free from it/them.”

[RHP]

Comments

In the lunette scene, beneath the winged sundisc, the King was represented facing right before the ram-headed Amen-Rê of Napata, Mut and Khons and offering Maʔat to Amûn. His figure, together with his name in the scene and in the main text, was erased but it was recut (unlike the name) at a later time. The

⁷⁶Lit.: “under”.

restored figure wears the Kushite skullcap with streamers and one uraeus at the forehead (cf. Grimal 1981a, Pls VIIIa, VIII).

The main text, which is traditionally judged in literature as enigmatic and obscure, has a simple structure. It starts in lines 1-3 with an eulogy of Aspelta. In line 4 the King is reported to have visited the Amûn Temple in Napata in order to expel from the temple and punish a family because of a deed which the god had forbidden (lines 5-8). In lines 8-9 the discovery of the crime and its punishment are described; in line 9 the nature of the crime is revealed through the identification of the particular class of priests of the temple for whom the punishment of the crime is meant to serve as an eternal lesson. In lines 9-10 similar punishment is decreed for any similar crime in the future.

The eulogy is in traditional New Kingdom style and emphasizes the role of the king as creator like Rê. The expression "eldest son who protects his father" stresses the king's legitimacy (for Ramesside prototypes see Grimal 1986, 163-167) through association with Horus, heir and avenger of his father (cf. *op.cit.*, 61-66).

The narrative in lines 4-9 is almost epigrammatic in its concentration and brevity. A family of priests is expelled from the Amûn Temple and executed because they intended to bring about the death of an innocent man. (Morenz [1992, 58] sees in the case a reflection of the concept of evil in the world as a consequence of man's freedom to forsake God's will; and confronts the relevant passage in line 7 with a text on sarcophagus Cairo Cat. gén. 28085 [Lacau 1901, 220]: "I made every man like his fellow. I did not command that they might do evil, [but] it was their hearts that violated what I had said.") The way of their execution: they are burnt alive, is an apparently not very frequently employed capital punishment in Egyptian legal practice which, similarly to the definition of the intended victim as "a man who was innocent of any crime", points towards the high social position of the latter (four cases of execution by fire are mentioned, ranging in time from Sesostri I to the Twenty-Second Dynasty [the latter in an inscription of the High Priest of Amûn of Thebes Osorkon], by Helck 1977; cf. also with the Egyptian folk tale reproduced by Herodotus, II, 111 [commentary: Lloyd 1988, 41]; see further Leahy 1984a, and see also the Manethonian tradition on Bakenranef's execution by Shabaqo, (13)). It would seem that the conspiracy of the priests was revealed by the conspirators themselves; it is obscure, however, in which way did the god "cause" them to "say" it "with their (own) mouths".

In lines 7 f. the remark is made that the priests intended to kill an innocent man "without the god having decreed doing it", what may point towards an oracle. Such an assumption is clearly affirmed then by the solemn warning in lines 8 f.: "He (i.e., the King) slaughtered them (i.e., the conspirators) (they being) made into a burnt-offering, to cause every prophet and every priest be afraid when they enter bearing this noble god".

The conspirators belonged thus to the classes of the prophets (*ḥmw-ntr*) and *wꜥb*-priests who walk by the bark of the god and who carry it on their shoulders, respectively, in the course of the bark procession at which the god gives his affirmative or negative answer on questions, or decides between two alternatives put before him. As indicated, e.g., by 34, lines 27 f., a positive reaction of the god may have been indicated by turning the bark with his image towards the petitioner; more usually, the god moved forwards to indicate a positive, and backwards to indicate a negative answer. The bark could also easily be motioned towards one of two pieces of writing consisting of two opposite statements and placed before the god (cf. Černý 1962, 35-48; Kákosy 1981; Kruchten 1986, esp. 337-354). It would seem that somebody's innocence or culpability was decided by the oracle most conveniently in this way and it also seems likely that the case related in 38 belonged actually into this category.

In the Kushite royal documents oracles appear as divine decrees proclaiming the legitimacy of the king; these oracles are creative words of the god and it would be in the worst tradition of nineteenth century "rationalism" if one would assume that the oracles could be, and eventually were, easily "manipulated" by political rivals. The king's legitimacy was an issue of cosmic dimensions; and if it ever was really tampered with using an oracle, priests could hardly have played a role more important in the political game than that of the mere technical staff. Yet it seems that even in common issues put before an oracle the oracular decision corresponded closely with "civil" legal practice and in Egypt (cf. Lurje 1971, 81 ff.) the oracular decisions may have been prepared, as to their legal aspects, under the cooperation of the temple-*qenbet* (on the kinds of the legal councils termed *qenbet* see Helck 1978). Moreover, documents recording oracular decisions were occasionally signed, among other witnesses, also by members of the civil *qenbet* (Lurje 1971, 123 f.). Connected organically to the very bases of the functioning of the state, also the Amûn oracles in Kush may have been strictly controlled by the king, for which a case is presented in 38. Even if the actual matter remains obscure, it may be conjectured that oracles in Kush were not confined on the highest legal act of issuing the divine decree concerning the ruler's legitimacy but they also played a more general role in jurisdiction. For lack of documents it remains unknown, whether this special form of legal practice existed, like in Egypt, side by side with civil jurisdiction. While it is usually supposed that the conspiring priests of the Napatan temple were thus frightfully punished because they planned nothing less than regicide, it may also be assumed with equal probability that the misuse of the oracle was persecuted with such a consequence because it threatened Kushite legal practice at its bases and at the same time represented a most serious crime against god.

It may also be noted that the decree concerning the punishment of any similar crime in the future hints at the "hereditary" nature of priestly offices in the Amûn Temple at Napata (line 10).

[LT]

39 Adoption Stela of Aspelta from Year 3, from Sanam (?). Around the end of the 7th century BC.

Louvre C 257. Removed in 1862 from Gebel Barkal. Urk. III, 2, 101-108.

Text and translation

SCENE AT THE TOP

OVER AMEN-RE (two columns, reading from right to left)

(1) dd-mdw dī.n(=i) n=k dī ʿnh nb dt

(1) Utterance: "I have granted you 'given all life' for ever."

(2) ʾImn-Rʿ k3 n T3-sti

(2) Amen-Rê, Bull of Bow-land (Nubia).

ABOVE MUT (one line, reading from right to left)

(1) Mwt irt Rʿ nbt pt

(1) Mut, the Eye of Rê, Lady of Heaven.

IN FRONT OF MUT (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) dī ʿnh nb dt

(1) Given all life, for ever.

ABOVE KHONS (one column, reading from right to left)

(1) Hnsw dī ʿnh nb dt

(1) Khons. Given all life, for ever.

ABOVE KING (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) Nsw-bît Mr(y)-k3-Rʿ

(1) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-loved",

(2) S3-Rʿ ʾI-s-p-rw-t3

(2) the Son-of-Rê: Aspelta.

ABOVE KING'S MOTHER (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) sn(t)-nsw mwt-nsw hnwt Kš

(2) Nn-s-r-s3

(1) The king's sister and king's mother, the mistress of Kush, (2) Nasalsa.

ABOVE KING'S WIFE (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) sn(t)-nsw ḥmt-nsw n p(3) ʿnh (2) M-d-k-n
 (1) The king's sister and king's wife of the Living One, (2) Madiken.

ABOVE KING'S DAUGHTER (two columns, reading from left to right)

(1) sn(t)-sw s3t-nsw (2) ḥnwt ʿ3 Ḥb

(1) The king's sister and king's daughter, (2) the mistress of the land, *Kheb*.

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥ3t-sp 3 3bd 4 3ḥt (sw) 2ʿ4ʿ
 (1) Regnal year 3, fourth month of the season of Inundation, (day) 24,

ḥr ḥm n
 under the Majesty of

Ḥr Nfr-ḥꜥ
 Horus, "Whose-appearances-are-beautiful",

Nbty Nfr-ḥꜥ
 Two-Ladies, "Whose-appearances-are-beautiful",

Ḥr-nbw Wsr-ib
 Golden-Horus, "Whose-heart-is-strong",

Nsw-bity Mr-k3-Rꜥ
 the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rê-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-loved",

S3-Rꜥ ʿI-s-p-rw-ʿ3 ʿnh ɔt
 the Son-of-Rê: Aspelta, living for ever,

(2) mr(y) ʿImn k3 T3-Sti
 (2) beloved of Amûn, Bull of Bow-land (Nubia).

hrw pn {n} ʿi r ḥwt-ntr nt ʿImn-Rꜥ k3 T3-Sti
 On this day {of} coming to the temple-compound of Amen-Rê, Bull of Bow-land (Nubia),

ʿi.ʿr wrw nw ḥm=f
 which the officials of His Majesty did(; namely):

imy-r3-ḥtmw nt (3) pr-nsw ḥ3ty-ꜥ nw T3-Sti
 the overseer of the seal of (3) the king's house, the Count of Bow-land (Nubia),

imy-r3 [— —]w Rw-m-ʿImn
 and overseer of the [...] Ro-mi-amani;

imy-r3-htm nt pr-nsw n ʿdd ʾImn-t3-rw-h3(4)-k-nn
the overseer of the seal of the king's house of Atschet, Amani-to-ro-ha(4)-k-nen;

imy-r3-htm nt pr-nsw n W3dt [—]-3-ʾImn-s3-k-nn
the overseer of the seal of the king's house of Edjô, [—]-a-Amani-sa-k-nen;

imy-r3-htm nt pr-nsw ʾI-n3-w(5)3-s3-sw, K3-r3-ʾImn-t3-nn
the overseer of the seal of the king's house of I-na-w(5)a-sa-su, Ka-ro-Amani-to-nen;

imy-r3-htm nt pr-nsw n ʾHntʾ-d-š-r-t [- -]-s3-m-hy-nn
the overseer of the seal of the king's house of ʾKhentʾ-desheret, [--]-sa-m-khi-nen;

(6) imy-r3-htm nt pr-nsw hr-d3d3 N3-s3-t3-i--bw-s3-k-nn
(6) the overseer of the seal of the king's house, chief of the tribunal, Na-sa-to-i-bu-sa-k-nen;

hr(y)-sš {i}n Kš M-r3-b-y-w3-(7)ʾImn
the chief scribe of Kush, Ma-ra-b-i-wa(7)-amani;

sš-nsw imy-r3-šnwt Hnsw-i.ir-di-s;
the king's scribe and overseer of the granary, Khonsortais;

imy-r3-htm n W3-r-r nw T3-Sti ʾI-r-t3
the overseer of the seal of Wa-rer of Bow-land (Nubia), Arto;

sš-nsw n šnw(8)t T3-k3-rw-t3
the king's scribe of the granary, Ta-ka-ru-ta;

htmwn nt nsw P3-di-nbw
the sealer of the king, Petenub;

dmd s 11
a total of eleven men,

ii r hwt-ntr nt ʾImn-Rʿ k3 n T3-Sti
who came to the temple-compound of Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia).

iw=w dd hr hm (9) n Hr Pr-ʿ3
saying to the majesty (9) of Horus Pharaoh and

{i}n hm-ntr it-ntr nw hwt-ntr tn
to the prophets and god's-fathers of this temple-compound,

snt-nsw mwt-nsw n pꜣ ʕnh M-d-y-[k]-nn
(It is) the king's sister and king's wife of the Living One,

mwt=s snt-nsw mwt-(10)nsw hnwt n Ikš Nn-sꜣ-rꜣ-sꜣ
whose mother is the king's sister and king's (10) mother, the mistress of Ekoosh
(Kush), Nasalsa,

ỉ.dỉ Pr-ꜣ Imn-[—]-rw m-bꜣh ỉt=f Imn kꜣ Tꜣ-Stỉ r ỉhyt
that Pharaoh Amani-[—]ru placed before his father Amûn, the Bull of Bow-land
(Nubia) to be the sistrum-player,

ỉw=f (11) dỉt w-šꜣ-m n hꜣ m-ꜣ=s ỉbty
placing (11) a libation bucket of silver in her left hand,

ỉw=f dỉt sššt n hꜣ m-ꜣ=s ỉmnty
placing a sistrum of silver in her right hand,

r štp ỉb n nꜣr pn
to propitiate the heart of this god,

ỉw=f dỉt (12) n=s ʕk m-hnw hwt-nꜣr tn
while giving (12) her a maintenance in this temple-compound:

hr hrw	bꜣ	ʕꜣ	10
daily,	bia-bread,	ʕ...ʕ	10
	t	ʕꜣ	5
	bread,	ʕ...ʕ	5;
hr ỉbd	hnkt		15
monthly	beer,	(jars)	15;
hr rnpt		ỉwꜣ	(13) 3
yearly:		oxen	(13) 3;
ʕnty swʕ hb nb hnkt		šꜣ	ʕ2ʕ
		šw	2
... every festival: beer,		šꜣ-jug: ʕ2ʕ,	
		šw-jug: 2.	

m(ỉ) st n snt-nsw sꜣt-nsw hnwt tꜣ Hb
Give it (from now on) to the king's sister and king's daughter, the mistress of the
land Kheb,

sꜣt wrt n snt-(14)nsw ḥmt-nsw n pꜣꜥnh M-d-[k]-nn
the eldest daughter of the king's (14) sister and king's wife of the Living One,
Madiken.

nt-st šꜥ nhḥ dt
It is hers for ever and ever.

n(y)-st nꜣy=s ḥrdw
It is her children's.

n(y)-st nꜣ ḥrdw nꜣy(15)=s ḥrdw
It is her children's (15) children's,

iw=w mn r nhḥ dt
enduring for ever and ever,

iw bn iw=w šꜥd [n]-im=w r nhḥ.
without anyone cutting them off forever.

ir pꜣ nty iw=f smn (16) wꜣ tn m ḥwt-nꜥr nt Imn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Sti
As for the one who causes this decree (16) to endure in this temple-compound of
Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia),

iw=f ḥr ḥsw n Imn-Rꜥ
he enjoys the praises of Amen-Rê,

sꜣ=f mn ḥr nst=f
his son enduring on his seat.

ir pꜣ nty iw=f rmn(17)w wꜣ tn m ḥwt-nꜥr nt Imn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Sti
As for the one who remove(17)s this decree from the temple-compound of Amen-Rê,
the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia),

iw=f n šꜥd n Imn-Rꜥ
he is (destined) for the knife of Amen-Rê,

iw=f n hh n Shmt
he is (destined) for the fiery blast of Sekhmet,

nn sꜣ(18)=f mn ḥr st=f
his son not (18) enduring on his seat.

WITNESSES (fifteen)

m-bꜣḥ ḥm-nṯr 2-nw n ṯmn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Stꜥ Wꜣ-h-m-ny-ṯmn
Before the second prophet of Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia), Wa-h-m-ni-Amani.

m-bꜣḥ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n ṯmn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Stꜥ Tꜣ-nn-ṯmn
Before the third prophet of Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia), Ta-nen-Amani.

(19) m-bꜣḥ ḥm-nṯr 4-nw <n> ṯmn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Stꜥ Tꜣ-nn-bw-tꜣ
Before the fourth prophet of Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia), Ta-nen-bu-ta.

m-bꜣḥ sꜣ mdw-nṯr n ṯmn-Rꜥ kꜣ n Tꜣ-Stꜥ [—]n
Before the scribe of the god's words of Amen-Rê, the Bull of Bow-land (Nubia), [...].

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ <n> nṯr pn (20) Sꜣ-p-ꜣ-hy
Before the great priest of this god, (20) Sa-p-i-khi.

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ n nṯr pn Sꜣ-b-ꜥwrꜥ
Before the great priest of this god, Sa-b-ꜥwerꜥ.

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ n nṯr pn Pꜣ-dꜣ-ṯmn-ṯpt
Before the great priest of this god, Peteamenope.

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb (21) ꜣ n nṯr pn Nm-ḥy-y
Before the great (21) priest of this god, Nem-khi-i.

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ n nṯr pn Kꜣ-rꜣ-mwt
Before the great priest of this god, Ka-ra-mut.

m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ n nṯr pn Ḥntꜥ-rꜣ-hy-ꜥwrꜥ
Before the great priest of this god, Ḥhentꜥ-ra-hi-ꜥwerꜥ.

(22) m-bꜣḥ wꜥb ꜣ n nṯr pn Kꜣ-rꜣ-tꜣ-nn-ṯmn
(22) Before the great priest of this god, Ḥkaranenamaniꜥ.

m-bꜣḥ ḥry-tp n nṯr pn Ns-ṯn-ḥr
Before the chief of this god, Esonuris.

m-bꜣḥ ḥry-tp n nṯr pn Bs[-](23)[-]
Before the chief of this god, Bes[-](23)[-].

m-bꜣḥ ḥry-tp n nṯr pn Wn-nfr
Before the chief of this god, Onnophris.

m-bꜣḥ sš ḥwt-nṯr n nṯr pn Ns-Mwt

Before the scribe of the temple-compound of this god, Esmut.

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The text bears the marks of being a legal instrument of endowment and may perhaps record formulaic elements in wider use among notaries in Kush.

Comments

The relief of the lunette (see Schäfer 1895, Pl. IV) shows Aspelta offering Maꜣat to the human-headed Amen-Rê, Bull of Nubia (of Sanam). Behind the god stand Mut wearing the Double Crown, and Khonsu. The King wears skullcap and diadem with one (?) uraeus and streamers; above the skullcap emerge the tall feathers of Onuris (cf. Török 1987, 17 f.). He is accompanied by three queens. The first, Nasalsa, wears vulture headdress; the second, Madiken, skullcap with one uraeus crowned with an unidentifiable crown (the Double Crown?) and a superstructure with two tall plumes (for this see Török 1987, no. 130, queen of Atlanersa on the now destroyed pylon of Gebel Barkal temple B 700; for the significance of the two feathers as symbol of kingship see Troy 1986, 126-129). Finally the third, smaller, figure of Kheb is represented wearing skullcap with one uraeus crowned with the Double Crown (?) and, as a superstructure, two plumes (like Madiken?). The three female figures shake the sistrum and perform libation offering.

The inscription records the investiture of Kheb into a priestly office held formerly by Madiken (for Madiken's appointment see 34, lines 23-25) in the temple of Amûn, Bull of Nubia in Sanam. The main text consists 1. of a dating to Aspelta's third regnal year (line 1); 2. a full titulary of the King (line 1) (cf. (35)) complemented actually with the epithet "beloved of Amûn, Bull of Bow-land (= Nubia)" (for this type of epithet as expression of being elected for kingship by the god see Grimal 1986, 199 ff.); 3. the decree concerning Kheb's investiture (lines 2-18) with the list of the witnesses (lines 18-22).

According to the classical formula occurring in decrees on investiture into an office (cf., with examples, Helck 1973), the King is presented by the royal council a proposal concerning the appointment. The scene is the Amûn Temple at Sanam, where the King appears personally (cf. lines 8 f.), and where the council (?) and the investiture are attended by the assembled prophets and god's fathers of the temple (see line 9). The significance of the investiture is also revealed by the composition of the council which consists of six "overseers of the treasury" (= "overseer of the seal of the king's house") and further five high officials.

Although the titles "overseer of the seal of the king's house", "king's scribe", "overseer of the granary", "king's scribe of the granary" are familiar from New Kingdom and later Egyptian documents, their actual nature remains

rather obscure for lack of an independent Kushite evidence. However, it may be stated that seven (? erroneously for six?) “overseers of the king’s seal” appeared in Aspelta’s Election Stela (cf. 37, line 4) as representatives of the land, i.e., of the territorial units of its government; and in 39 the six overseers plus the five other officials stand for the units of its economic administration. Five overseers are connected to individual king’s houses. The place names are unidentifiable, but the connection of the title with concretely localized royal residences may suggest that the Kushite overseers of the treasury were in charge of the economy of the individual territorial units of the royal domains which were organized around the individual palaces. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suppose that the multiplication of the singular office of the New Kingdom overseer of the treasury, who was more or less an equal of the Vizier, may be explained by a governmental organization in which the territorial units were centered around temple-towns with royal residences (for the New Kingdom official see Helck 1958, 77-88; van den Boorn 1988, 61 f.). The significance of the rank of the overseers responsible for the royal “household” of the individual units is indicated by the title “prince of Bow-land (= Nubia)” of the first-named overseer of the list (for the determinative in his name, which is used in New Kingdom inscriptions as determinative of revered persons, see Schäfer 1895, 105; Gardiner 1957, 447 sign A 51). The presence of the highest economic officials of the land at the investiture of Kheb, moreover, their actual role in it may also suggest that Kheb’s revenues were not exhausted by the modest amounts of bread, beer, and oxen secured formerly to Madiken and now to her as a maintenance *in this temple* (see line 12), i.e., at Sanam but also further, more substantial, incomes might have been secured from domains that were outside the domain in which the Sanam temple was situated.

According to the council of the King, Queen Madiken, “king’s sister and king’s wife”, was appointed by King Anlamani into the office of a sistrum-player before Amûn, Bull of the Bow-land (of Sanam) (the title *ihyt n ’Imn-R* appears in the titulary of Pebatma, who is considered to have been the first member of Aspelta’s female succession line, see (3) and comments to 21, 24, 37). As indicated by Anlamani’s Kawa inscription (34, lines 23-25), Madiken, Anlamani’s wife, was appointed into this office at Anlamani’s enthronement, when also three further “king’s sisters” (i.e., further wives of the king) were appointed into parallel offices in the Amûn temples of Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs. Now, in Aspelta’s third regnal year, it is suggested that the office and the connected revenues be given to Kheb, who bears the titles “king’s sister, king’s daughter, the mistress of the land, the eldest daughter of the king’s sister and king’s wife of the Living One, Madiken” (line 14), and to her children, and children’s children. The proposal of the council also contains a detailed list of the revenues secured earlier for Madiken, and to be secured now for Kheb, in the Sanam temple and is concluded with the conventional formula concerning the inviolability of the decree. The wording of the decree text as well as the ap-

pendent list of witnesses indicate that the text inscribed on the stela and erected in the temple is the faithful copy of a legal document originally written on other material (papyrus) (for the genre cf. Helck 1974, 114 f.; Kruchten 1981, 219; Martin-Pardey 1985, 380; for the curse as feature of New Kingdom donation inscriptions see Helck 1975; for the invocation of Amûn in the curse see the last-quoted article; for the threatening aspect of Sekhmet cf. de Wit 1951, 317; Steinberg 1983, 327 f.; for her fiery blast cf. also the allusion in 9, lines 127-129).

The titles of the three royal women of the text are not quite identical. Nasalsa is king's sister, king's mother, mistress of Kush. She is not king's wife, which may be explained by the fact that at the time of the writing of 39 (but already also at the times when 34 and 37 were written) her husband King Senkamaniskén was not alive. The titles king's mother and mistress of Kush are coupled also in the cases of Qalhata (w. of Shabaqo, cf. 29) and Malotarl (w. of Atlanersa, Dunham 1955, fig. 31; Letellier 1977, 44). By contrast, Madiken is king's sister and king's wife, which seems to suggest that she married Aspelta after the death of her former husband King Anlamani. Finally Kheb is king's sister, king's daughter, mistress of the land and eldest daughter of Madiken. The second title refers probably to her being daughter of King Anlamani and the fourth title is a periphrasis for "adoptive daughter" (cf. Caminos 1964, 78 *ad* line 3 of the Nitocris Adoption Stela), which may only be explained by the fact that she succeeded, as related in the actual decree, into the priestly office of her mother Madiken in the latter's lifetime and with her consent, just like Madiken succeeded earlier her mother Nasalsa. The practice seems to conform entirely with the conceptual and legal principles of the adoptions into the office of the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes (cf. Caminos 1964). Her first and third titles, i.e., king's sister and mistress of the land, appear to qualify her as wife of Aspelta, even though the title king's wife itself is lacking. Yet the first title has as a rule this meaning; and the third title—usually in the forms "mistress of the Two Lands" or "Lady of Egypt"—occurs regularly in titularies of king's wives (cf., e.g., Khensa, w. of Piye, Dunham 1950, figs 11/j, k; Takahatamani, w. of Taharqo, Robisek 1989, 20, 65; Naparaye, w. of Taharqo, Dunham 1950, Pl. XXXI/B; Piankharty, w. of Tanutamani, 29).

The significance of the office of the king's wife as priestess of Amûn was discussed in the comments to 37. The text of 37 focused on the issue of legitimacy through the female ancestors and emphasized thus the role of the queens as members of a chain of mothers. The decree on Kheb's investiture illuminates another aspect of female duality, viz., that of the royal wife as priestess. Madiken's and Kheb's investiture occurred after the enthronement of their royal husbands, and this may well have been the case of Nasalsa too. Their priestly role in the renewal of the royal power of their husbands started with the reign of the latter; and it may be presumed that the continuity of royal power was paralleled with the continuity of the office of the queen as priestess of Amûn. In other words, just as the death of a king of the Twenty-Third or of

the Twenty-Fifth Dynasties did not force the incumbent God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes who was the daughter of the recently deceased ruler to renounce immediately her office to her adoptive daughter the God's Wife of Amûn Elect who was the daughter of the successor of her father, also the priestly office of the wife of a deceased king of Kush continued for a while. While Madiken was invested already at Anlamani's enthronement into Nasalsa's former office, Kheb was invested only in the third regnal year of Aspelta into her mother's former office. The time between this act and Anlamani's death seems, however, have been bridged over by Madiken's marriage to Aspelta. 39 indicates thus that in Kush the office of the king's wife as sistrum-player of Amûn was modeled on the institution of the Theban God's Wife of Amûn, as far as its "adoptive" succession system on the one hand, and its governmental role, on the other (cf. comments to 34), are concerned; yet the priesthood of the royal wife functioned, as is indicated by the connection of the time of the investiture with the husband's enthronement, similarly to the priesthood of New Kingdom queens (cf. Troy 1986, 97-102, 131-144).

[LT]

40 Stela of Aspelta on the mortuary cult foundation of Prince Khaliut, from the approach of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal. Around the end of the 7th century BC.

M.B. Reisner 1934, Pls IV-VIII.

Text and translation

MIDDLE OF SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

WINGED SUNDISC, OVER SERPENTS, CARTOUCHE OF ASPELTA

Ἰ-s-p-rw-t
Aspelta.

RIGHT SIDE OF SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

KHALIUT (FACING LEFT) BEFORE RE-HARAKHTY AND A GODDESS WITH HORNED SUNDISC

ABOVE RE-HARAKHTY (five columns, reading from right to left)

(1) ḏd-mdw in Rꜥ-Hr-ḥty — — —
(1) Utterance by Rê-Harakhty — — —

(2) Wsꜥr Ḥꜣ-rw-īw-t [mꜣ-ḥrw]
(2) Osiris Khaliut, [justified]

The Sources

iry.n=k (3) ḥprw [— — —] =k m t̃
 “You have taken (3) the forms [— — —] of you in the land.

iry.n=y n=k (4) ḥ n wrw
 I have made for you (4) the spirit-state of the great Ones,

(5) n ḥs̃ r nh̃h
 (5) without ... forever.

dy=i mn rn=k m t̃ ḥr̃ rhyt ir=w
 I will cause your name to endure in the land ḥamongḥ the lapwing-people ...

šmsw Wsir ḏt
 a follower of Osiris, for ever.

OVER KHALIUT (four columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ḏd mdw in ḥty-ḥ n K̃-n-d [s̃-nsw n ht]=f
 (1) Utterance by the Count of Kanad, [the king’s son of] his [body],

(2) Ḥ̃-rw-iw-t̃ m̃ḥ ḥrw [— — —]
 (2) Khaliut, justified. [...]

(3) [— ... —] (4) [— ... —]
 (3) ... (4)

LEFT SIDE OF SCENE AT TOP OF STELA

KHALIUT (RIGHT) FACING OSIRIS AND A SIMILAR GODDESS

OVER OSIRIS (five columns, reading from left to right)

(1) ḏd mdw in Wsir [— —] ḥty-ḥ n K̃-n-(2)d s̃-nsw Ḥ̃-rw-iw-t̃ m̃ḥ ḥrw
 (1) Utterance by the Osiris [— — —] Count of Kana(2)d, king’s son, Khaliut, justified:

ir.n=k ḥsñn m̃ (3) [—] ḥm̃ irw ñ [— —]
 ... (3) ... ḥin the forms ofḥ ...

(4) ḥ—ḥ ḥsh̃pr.n=iḥ msw (5) ḥ=k nb̃ ḥr-tp t̃
 (4) ... I have brought into being all (5) your children on earth.

OVER KHALIUT (four columns, reading from right to left)

(1) ḏd mdw in ḥty-ḥ n K̃-n-d
 (1) Utterance by the Count of Kanad,

sꜣ-nsw n ḥt=f (2) P-ꜥnhꜣ mꜣꜥ ḥrw
the king's son of his body, (2) of Pi(ankh)y, justified,

Ḥꜣ-rw-ḏw-t mꜣꜥ ḥrw
Khaliut, justified:

Wsꜣr (3) ḥntꜣ ḥmntyw ḏt ꜥ
"Osiris, (3) [foremost] of the Westerners, the great father,

ḏi=f n sꜣ=f mr=f snn=f Sꜣ-Rꜥ ḥs-p-rw-tꜣ
may he give to his beloved son, his image, the Son-of-Rê, Aspelta,

(4) [ꜥnhꜣ wꜣs] nb s[nb] nb
(4) all [life and dominion] and all hea[lth].

ḏi<=f> n=f ḥ—ḥnw
May <he> give him ...

[ḥꜥ ḥr] st Ḥr ḏt
[and appearing on] the throne of Horus for ever.

MAIN TEXT (A)

(1) ḏḏ mdw ḏn Wsꜣr ḥꜣty-ꜥ n Kꜣ-n-d
(1) Utterance by the Osiris, the Count of Kanad,

sꜣ n nsw P-ꜥnhꜣ mꜣꜥ ḥrw
the son of king Pi(ankh)y, justified,

Ḥꜣ-rw-ḏw-t, mꜣꜥ ḥrw
Khaliut, justified,

ḏw=ḏ ḥr-tp ꜣ wnn=ḏ m šms (2) n nꜥr nb
"While I was on earth, I was (always) a follower (2) of every god,

ḥpr-kwy ḥr mw=sn
being loyal to them,

ḥr ḏr ḥb n nꜥr ḥnsw ḥb nb nw pt ꜣ
making festival for god and king, on every festival of heaven and earth,

ḥr smꜣꜥ ꜣbt m t ḥnꜣt kꜣw ꜣpdw
presenting offerings of bread and beer, bulls and birds,

(3) n nꜥr ḏm(y) ḥrw=f
(3) to the god who was in his day.

The Sources

ir.n=i ikb m hbyw r tr=sn

I made mourning in the festivals at their (correct) times,

r štp ib n nrt tn ʾst wrt mwt ntr

in order to propitiate the heart of this goddess, Isis, the great, mother of the god.

nn ir=i grg bwt ntrw

(4) I did not make falsehood, the abomination of the gods.

nn ʿwzy=i rhyt

nn ʾry=i ʾsf(t)

I did not rob the lapwing-people. I did not commit a wrong.

n thw ib=i (5) r nh nt hwrw

My heart did not transgress (5) to the detriment of the humble.

n sm=i s m grg iw n hpr b(w)t=f

I did not kill a man on false premises when his crime had not happened.

n šsp=i fk(ʾ)w (6) hr ʾr ʾsf(t)

I did not take bribes (6) for wrong-doing.

n rd(=i) b:k r drt n nb=f

(I) did not deliver a servant into the hand(s) of his lord.

n nk=i hmt ʿ

I did not copulate with a married woman or a man.

n wdʿ=i mdt m grg

I did not decide a case wrongfully.

(7) n šht=i ʾpdw ntrw

(7) I did not net the gods' birds.

n sm=i ʿwt ntr

I did not slaughter the small cattle of the god.

n ʾt=i ht ntrw

I did not take the property of the gods,

wp(w) rdt ht n ntrw ntrwt nbt

rather giving property to all the gods and goddesses.

(8) iw dī.n=i t n hkr

mw n ib

hbs n hʾw

(8) I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked.

ir.n=i nn hr-tp t3 iw(=i) hr m(9)dnw ntrw
I did this on earth, being on the ro(9)ads of the gods,

hr.kwı hr b(w)t=sn hr-tp ph nfr
keeping away from their abomination for the sake of a good end

n msw hr s=i m t3 pn r nhh dt
for those who are born after me in this land for ever and ever.

(B I)

Wsir (10) hsty- n K3-n-d
The Osiris, (10) the Count of Kanad,

s3-nsw H3-rw-iw-tı m3 hrw dd
the king's son, Khaliut, justified, says,

i Hr-ıhty ntr šps hk3 Psdt
"O Horakhty, noble god, ruler of the Ennead,

b3 ınh n dt (d3i) hr(y)t (11) m hrt-hrw
living ba of eternity, who crosses heaven (11) every day,

hns dw3t m hnw n M3ty m grı nb

who traverses the Underworld in the (hall of) Two *Maats* every night.

rnptw nb 'ir' n=i m İgrt hr Wsir
(As for) all the years 'made' for me in the Realm of the Dead before Osiris,

rd{n}=k st (12) m rnptw hnt ınhw
may you grant them (12) as years before the living

n s3=k mr=k nty 'Hr' İ-s-p-rw-t3 ınh dt
for your beloved son, the 'Horus' Aspelta, may he live for ever.

d3=k n=f ıh3=k n pt
May you give him your heavenly life-time,

nsyt İtm (13) nst Gb
the kingship of Atum, (13) the throne of Geb

h3 m Nsw-bıty hr st Hr nt ınhw dt
appearing as King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt on the throne of Horus of the living
for ever,

hnꜥ mwt-nsw Nn-s-rw-s ꜥnh.ti
together with the king's mother Nasalsa, may she live,

mỉ ỉr.n Ỉst hnꜥ sꜣ=s Hr (14) m hnw n ʿTꜣwyʿ
as Isis did with her son Horus (14) in ʿTwo-landsʿ.

ỉw mnw=f r wbn snkty=k (for: stwt=k) ỉm
His monuments (are spread) as far as your rays shine

hr nty sꜣ pw ỉh n ỉt=f Wsir
because he is a son who is beneficial for his father Osiris,

ndty mwt=f (15) Ỉst
the protector of his mother (15) Isis.

(B II)

wꜣdwy n ntrw rmt
How fortunate it is for gods and men

r nty đr hꜥ hm=f wnn=f hr hh ỉhw(t)
that since His Majesty appeared he has been seeking what is advantageous

... ỉr.n=f n ntr nb ntrt nb
... and has acted for every god and every goddess.

hr ms (16) hm=sn
fashioning (16) their images,

hr ʿsꜥhꜥ ʿbꜣʿ=sn
ʿsetting upʿ their ʿoffering stonesʿ,

hr kd shm=sn
building their shrines,

hr sdf(ꜣ) hwt-ntr=sn m ht nb nfr
provisioning their temple-compounds with every good thing,

hr sꜥšꜣ (17) wdhw=sn m nb hd ʿhmtʿ
multiplying (17) their offering-tables in gold, silver, and ʿcopperʿ,

hr wꜣh n=sn htp-ntr
founding their endowments,

rdt prt-hrw n ỉhw
giving voice-offering to the glorious dead,

ḳd is n iwty is=sn
building tombs for those who have no tomb,

ḥr [t]r (18) s[ʿnn šmsw-Ḥrʿ] m mnw n k3=f
res[pecting] (18) the 'image of the follower of Horus^o] as the monument of his *ka*,

rdt s3=f ḥr nst=f
placing his son on his seat.

rdi.n=f t3w r fnd nb s'nh p't rhyt
He gave breath to every nose, vivifying the *pat*- and the lapwing-people.

n sdr (19) ib nb dw im=f m rkw=f
No evil thought (19) at all lies with him in his time.

ir.n=f shrw ikrw m t3 pn
He has made excellent plans in this land

m3 ir.n Hr m-ht h'3=f ḥr nst it=f Wsir
(even) as Horus did after he appeared on the throne of his father Osiris.

(20) rdt.n=f n=k M3't mr=k
(20) He has given you Maat, which you love,

shtp=f ib=k im=s r' nb
that he may propitiate your heart with it every day.

(C)

nb=3 R'-Hr-ḥty
O my lord, Rê-Harakhty,

s3.n=k nn
you know this

ir n=3 S3-R' (21) ʿI-s-p-rw-t3 'nh dt
which the Son-of-Rê, (21) Aspelta, may he live for ever, did for me.

ḳd[.n=f n=]3 mr m inr hḳ nfr rwd
[He] built [for] me a pyramid of fine, white sandstone.

sdf(3).n=f n=3 hwt nt hḥ (22) n rnpwt m ht nb
He provisioned a pyramid-compound of millions (22) of years with everything.

srwd.n=f rn=3 im
He made my name endure in it.

The Sources

sš3.n=f wđḥw=i m nbw ḥḏ ḥmt
He multiplied my offering-tables of gold, silver, [and copper],

dī=f n=i (23) <ḥ>spw r ms n=i ḥtpw [— — —] 'r nb'
giving to me (23) 'gardens' to bring forth flower-offerings [— — —] every day.

rdt.n=f n=i im(yt)-pr m b(3)kw
He gave me a house-document of servants.

smn.n=f p3(24)wt=i r nhḥ ḏt
He established my food-offerings for ever and ever

mī ir.n 'Hr' [n it=f Wsir]
(just) as 'Horus' did [for his father Osiris].

(D)

dd.n=i nn ḥft nb=i R'-Hr-ḥty
I have said this to my lord, Rê-Harakhty,

r nty ntk it (25) itw
that you are the father (25) of fathers,

ntk iw(y) šṭ3 mnḥ n ḏt
(and that) you are the secret, beneficent heir of eternity.

[dī=k n=]f nsyt=k šf(y)t=k pḥty=k
[Grant] him your kingship, your awesomeness, and your might.

sm3 ḥft(y)w=f nb mī sm3=k 'pp (26) m ḥrt-hrw nt r nb
slay all his enemies, (even) as you slay Apophis (26) every single day.

dī=k n=f 'nh ḏd w3s nb snb nb 3w-ib nb mī R' ḏt
Grant him all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all happiness, like Rê, for ever.

smn=k iw'=f
Establish his heir.

shpr=k (27) msw=f nb ḥr-tp ṭ3
Bring his (27) children into being on earth,

iw <nn> sk=sn r nhḥ ḏt
without their perishing, for ever and ever.

(E)

rḥt kbḥw ḥr.n Sṣ Rṣ Ḥ-s-p-rw-tṣ (28) ḥnh dt
List of the libation jars that the Son-of-Rê, Aspelta, (28) may he live for ever, made

n Wsir ḥsty-ḥ n Kṣ-n-d sṣ-nsw Ḥṣ-rw-ḥw-tṣ mṣḥ ḥrw
for the Osiris, the Count of Kanad, the king's son, Khaliut, justified,

r sdf(ṣ) ḥwt=f r nhḥ dt
so as to provision his tomb-compound for ever and ever,

mḥ ḥr.n Ḥr n ḥt=f Wsir.
(just) as Horus did for his father Osiris.

Lines 29-34 much damaged

(29) [— ... — m]hn 1
(29) [... m]ilk jug: 1;

nmst 4
water-jar: 4;

dšrt ṣ5ṣ
red-jars: ṣ5ṣ;

ḥnkṣ ṣ12ṣ
ḥnkṣ-jars: ṣ12ṣ;

[—]ḥṣṣ nn (30) [— ... —] ṣ12ṣ
...

ḥrf [—] m dṣtṣ
...

(31) [— ... —] sšr [nsw] mnḥ(t) ḥns(y) ṣ—ṣ[—]
(31) [...] royal linen; *menekhet*-fabric; red-linen ...

(32) [— ... —] ḥwt 4 dḥ mw ḥd:
(32) [...] altars: 4, provided with water and fat;

(33) [— ... —] ḥn[w]: 3 wṣḥ ḥšd 2ṣ dmd
(33) [...] ḥnw-jars; *wah*-seeds; *ished*-fruit: 2ṣ; total:

(34) [— ... —] dmd ṣ2000ṣ ṣ— — — — — ṣ
(34) [— ... —] total ṣ2000 ... ṣ.

[RHP]

Comments

The lunette scene, under a winged sundisc, is divided into two symmetrical halves. The right-hand scene represents Khaliut standing adoring before the hawk-headed Rê-Harakhty and a goddess wearing horned sundisc; the left-hand scene shows Khaliut in identical attire and wearing a full wig before Osiris and a goddess with horned sundisc.

The stela was erected by King Aspelta at a prominent place in front of the (local) south tower of the pylon of the great Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal (cf. (36)) and its text commemorates Aspelta's donations for the funerary cult of Khaliut, Mayor of Kanad (an unidentifiable place name), bodily son of King Piye: a prince who belonged thus to the generation of Aspelta's great-grandparents and died presumably long decades before his birth. The actual reasons of Aspelta's piety towards the son of his eighth predecessor are completely obscure. The text itself embeds it into a magnificent discourse on Aspelta's just kingship and puts thus the pious and dutiful maintenance of the memory of the ancestors into the theological perspective of ideal rule. The speeches and prayers of Khaliut "recorded" in the inscription may also be interpreted as an act of mediation for the renewal of Aspelta's kingship performed by a deceased whose innocence and purity is specially emphasized by his first speech (lines 1-9) which is based on the Negative Confession of Chapter 125 of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The unusual inclusion of the Negative Confession into a donation text may be interpreted as a reinforcement of Aspelta's legitimation by a deceased predecessor invested with exemplary moral qualities.

In the centre of the lunette inscriptions stands Khaliut's prayer to Osiris for Aspelta's eternal kingship (columns 1-4 over Khaliut's figure, left-hand scene). The main text starts 1. with Khaliut's Negative Confession based on Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, giving a high-minded discourse on the right conduct in life and on solidarity, concepts that are central to traditional kingship ideology: the more complete lists of the non-committed sins contain crimes against the cults, against ethics of humanity, against social and cosmic order and describe thus in an indirect form the Equity- or Ma'at-directed world order (cf. also van Es 1985). The list of the sins not committed by Khaliut is introduced by a series of direct utterances on Khaliut's loyalty towards the gods, the king, and the dead (lines 1-3), going back similarly to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead ("making festival for god and king" cf. with exemplars on Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to Ptolemaic sarcophagi quoted by Seeber 1976, 112 with note 450). The list itself is a radically abbreviated version of the New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty text versions (for these cf. literature quoted in van Es 1985 and 1985a), and the accent of the selection is laid in the first place on social order and in the second place on the maintenance of the cults (lines 1-9).

In the 2. section (lines 9-15) Khaliut prays for Aspelta's kingship and for the Queen Mother who appears together with the King as Isis did with Horus; the King's charge is identified with that of Atum (emphasizing thus the role of the

King as creator of life, cf. Grimal 1986, 380 note 1296 on 38, line 1) in New Kingdom style (cf. *op. cit.*, 443 note 16) and he is asked to be given the throne of Geb (for the association of Atum and Geb in this sense see *op. cit.*, 182, 192 note 570, Ramesside examples). The prayer focuses especially on the unity of King and Queen Mother in order to illuminate the former's divine sonship as hypostasis of Horus, heir of his father Osiris and protector of his mother Isis (for the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period models of this concept see Grimal 1986, 61-66). In section 3 (lines 15-20) the text gives a description of good rule according to traditional New Kingdom kingship ideology and lists the traditional royal duties of maintaining the cults, temples, and priesthood; caring for the mortuary cult of the predecessors; maintaining life, justice and order in society. The list culminates in the statement "he has given you (=the god) Ma'at, which you love, that he may propitiate your heart with it every day" (line 20), summarizing thus, again in the spirit of New Kingdom kingship ideology, the central role of the king in the maintenance of the processes of cosmos and society: the initial act of Aspelta's installation as king by the god and the maintenance of order by the King are illuminated in a causal interconnection. The discourse on kingship does not show any sign of Late Period piety (cf. comments to 26). In section 4 (lines 20-29) Aspelta's donations towards Khaliut's funerary cult are recorded, and in an inserted prayer to Rê-Harakhty (lines 24-27) Khaliut refers to the concept of reciprocity and asks the god to grant Aspelta in return for the listed donations victory over his enemies, eternal kingship, and the succession of his descendants. The epithets of Rê-Harakhty in the opening of the prayer indicate the impact of Theban sun-hymns of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty periods (for the "heir of eternity" as epithet of the morning sun see TT 194, Assmann 1983, 261 verse 1; for the epithet "secret and beneficent heir of eternity" as associated with the night sun-aspect of eternity see TT 34 [Montuemhat!], *op. cit.*, 57 text 41/verse 12 and cf. TT 279, *op. cit.*, 313 text 227/verse 8. For the Osirian aspect of eternity cf. J. Assmann: *Ewigkeit*. LdÄ II, 47-54. In the prayer Aspelta's kingship is thus associated with the eternal rejuvenation of the sun god). The association of the king with the sun-god killing Apophis every day illuminates the kingship as daily victory over Chaos.

Unfortunately, the part of the donation list in lines 29-34 is damaged and thus the impression made by the preserved list items, viz., that the great number of offering tables, the types of offerings (flower, food, milk), and the servants would refer to a pyramid chapel as place of daily cult in a Third Intermediate Period sense (cf. on TIP chapel-graves Assmann 1985, 671), may be false. It may, however, be supported by the word *ḥwt* used to describe Khaliut's "tomb-complex". In view of the place where the stela was erected, and of the association of the royal funerary cult with temples of Amûn in New Kingdom Egypt as well as in Kush (see the monumental royal cult statues erected in the great Amûn Temple at Gebel Barkal, cf. (36)), it may seem that Khaliut's funerary cult was maintained by the priests of the Amûn Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal;

and it may thus also be supposed that daily funerary cult offerings were (also) performed in the temple (for royal mortuary cult cf. Stadelmann 1985).

[LT]

41 Stela of Psammetich II from Year 3 on his Nubian campaign, from Shellal (near Aswan). 593 BC.

H.S. Bakry, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), Pls LVI-LIX; H. Goedicke, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 187, 189.

Text and translation

AT THE TOP FROM LEFT TO RIGHT (eight columns)

(reading from right to left)

mry W3dt di ʿnh snb w3s
Beloved of Edjô, given life, health, and dominion.

(reading from left to right)

Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-Rʿ ʿnh dt
The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful”, may he live for ever,

(reading from right to left)

Hr Mnḥ-ib-Rʿ di ʿnh
Horus: “Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-well-disposed”,

(reading from left to right)

mry S(3)tt nbt ʿbw
beloved of Satis, Lady of Elephantine,

(reading from right to left)

mry Hnm nb Šbh
beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract,

(reading from left to right)

Hr Mnḥ-ib-Rʿ di ʿnh
Horus: “The heart of Rê is well disposed”, granted life,

(4) ḥr pḥr bḥ=f

(4) moving around in its flood land,

ḥns ww=f

traveling its 'two districts',

mꜣ nhwt t nṯr ḥr sḥ=f

looking at the sycamores of the god's land on its 'mud bank',

ḥb=f ḥ (5) ḥr mꜣ b(w) nfr

his desire being to enter (5) and view beauty

mḥ nṯr ꜥ ḥr šns (for: ḥns) Nwn

like the Great God traversing the Primeval Waters.

ḥ.n.t (for: tw) ḥr dd n ḥm=f

One came to say to His Majesty,

mšꜥ (6) sb(y).n ḥm=k r Tꜣ-Sty

"The troops (6) which Your Majesty sent to Bow-land (Nubia)

pḥ=sn ḥst Pr-nbs

have reached the foreign country of Pnubs.

tꜣ pw šw m pgꜣ

It is a land that unsuited for a battlefield,

st šwt <m> ssm(t)

a place unsuited for horses.

ḥꜥ.n Nḥs(y)w n ḥ(ꜣ)st nb (ḥ)r=f

The Nubians of every foreign country rose up against him,

ḥb=sn 'm'ḥ 'm' kꜣns m-'—'=f

their hearts 'full of violence against him'.

hd=f šn/ḥn ḥm

His victorious attack ... there.

ꜣd m dḥ=s ḥbw r=f

Anger ... because they set their hearts against him.

(8) wn ḥm=f r kꜣt ḥꜣ

(8) His Majesty had decided on the work of battle;

(ḥ)b ḥꜣ

and when battle was joined,

dḥ ḥkw-ḥb sꜣ=sn

the rebels showed their backs,

nn wndw/nwdw ḥw (i)r=sn r-s(y)
without a weapon being drawn against them,

(9) n(n) wnḥ dṛt
(9) without (so much as a hand) being bandaged.

d3.tw m sšw=sn mī n(n)w
One crossed over ... like the Primeval Waters.

n(n) prw ṯš ʿ—ʿ m skṛ-ḥnḥ (10) 4200
... ... as prisoners: (10) 4200.

īr sp md (for: mdt)
A successful deed is done.

wnn īb n ḥm=f nfr īr ḥt nb
His Majesty's heart was happier (about this) than anything (else).

rdt.n ḥm=f (11) m3ṛ ʿ(3)bt ʿ3t m iw3 wndw
His Majesty gave (11) a great offering of short- and long-horned cattle

n nṛw nbw T3wy
to all the gods of Two-lands,

(12) wdn.t(w) r nṛw stp-s3 m ḥ
(12) and one made offering for the gods of the palace in the palace,

īr=f dī ḥnḥ dd w3s nb
that he may be given all stability and dominion,

snb nb 3wt-īb nb mī Rṛ dt
all health, and all happiness, like Rê, for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

The stela discovered at Shellal on the western bank near Aswan in 1964 and set up now at New Kalabsha (cf. H. Goedicke, MDAIK 37 [1981], 187) is a completely preserved version of a text known from two fragmentary stelae from Karnak (PM II, 37 [135]; Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, Pls I-II) and Tanis (now Cairo JE 67095, Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, Pls III-IV). It records the Nubian campaign of Psammetich II in his third regnal year, i.e., 593 BC. (We are informed about the composition of the units sent to Nubia by 42 and 43.) The three texts go back to a common source and give an identical description of the causes, course, and results of the campaign according to the traditional genre of the Königsnovelle. Eventual differences between the individual renderings are indicated by the

presence of geographical detail in the Tanis version which is absent from the Shellal stela (see below); and the deities invoked in the individual versions have local relevance (the invocations in the Tanis stela have a Lower Egyptian and also Tanite accent; in the Karnak stela Amen-Rê and Monthu are invoked, while the Shellal text invokes the gods of the First Cataract region). The actual reasons of the campaign are unknown; a Nubian aggression as indicated in the text may correspond with the historical reality but was more likely given only as traditional pretext in order to claim *bellum justum*. For lack of evidence, the Egyptian-Kushite relationship of the period between Tanutamani's withdrawal from Egypt in 664/3 BC (cf. (28)) and Psammetich II's early reign remains obscure, even if it is known that dignitaries appointed by the Kushite pharaohs in Thebes remained in office under Psammetich I's reign (see *ibid.*). Eventual conflicts in the border region of Lower Nubia are indicated by Herodotus, II. 30 (=56) already under the same ruler. Necho II (610-595 BC), successor Psammetich I's, sent a riverine expedition from Elephantine directed against Trogodytes (nomadic inhabitants of the desert between the Lower Nubian Nile and the Red Sea; Redford 1993, 462 has "Nubian bowmen"), but the inscription commemorating this undertaking is too fragmentary to give an idea of the geographical range of the campaign, in which also vessels transporting horses (for maneuvers on land) were sent upstream; yet it would seem that it could not go farther upstream than the Second Cataract (for the stela fragment of Necho II from Elephantine see Ch. Müller in: Kaiser et al. 1975, 83 f.; Junge 1987, 66 f.; Jansen-Winkel 1989, 31; Redford 1993, 462). A hostile policy against Kush under the subsequent reign of Psammetich II is revealed not only by 41 but is also attested by the erasure in Egypt of the names (see Yoyotte 1951) of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers on all their inscribed monuments and of their Kushite regalia (i.e., one of the two uraei of the diadem connected with the skullcap-crown and the long streamers of the diadem, see *ibid.* and Leclant 1965, Pls XIV, XVI, XXIII, XXV, XL, XLVI, L, LIII, LV, LXII, LXXIX, LXXXVIII etc.; for the erasure of the streamers cf. Leclant 1965, Pls XVI [?], XXV, LXXVII [?]) in all their representations. The memory of the campaign described in 40 and the Tanis- and Karnak stelae is also preserved in Herodotus' work (see 64).

In the lunette, from left to right, the King's throne name is confronted with the heraldic form of Wadjet, the goddess of Buto and mistress of the Lower Egyptian crown; his Horus name with the name of Satet, mistress of Elephantine; and again with the name of Khnum, lord of the Cataract; and his Son of Rê name with the heraldic form of Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of the Upper Egyptian crown. The main text starts 1. with the dating (line 1), 2. the titulary of Psammetich II (line 1) which is complemented with the epithets referring to the deities of the First Cataract-Lower Nubian region: beloved of Khnum, Satis, and Anukis, and with a brief eulogy (lines 2-3). In section 3 (lines 3-8) the King's stay in the region of Elephantine and the preliminaries of the campaign are described. The King's sightseeing tour in the bucolic landscape (in which Psam-

metich II travels like Rê traversing the Primeval Waters and is thus viewed as fulfilling his royal role as creator of life in the land) is interrupted by a message announcing that his army has reached “the hill-country of Pnubs” in Nubia. Though the place is not suited as a battle-field, the King is enraged over the “evil thoughts” of the Nubians. In section 4 he commands thus his army to wage battle; yet the enemy takes flight without fight and is partly massacred; also 4200 prisoners are taken (lines 8-10). The closing section 5 (lines 10-12) records the King’s satisfaction and thanksgiving offerings to the gods. In return, his kingship is confirmed.

Though the Nubians are called rebels, Psammetich’s claim of a *bellum justum* is probably unjustified, for it seems that it was him who started war by sending his army south. The dating of the stela (line 1) indicates that the season of inundation was consciously chosen for the campaign, for, as Goedicke suggests (1981, 188-190), during this season the First and Second Cataracts could, at least theoretically, be passed by boat. That in fact this was not the case with Psammetich’s army, is revealed by 41. The place name “hill-country of Pr-nbs (Pnubs)” is identified with Pnubs=Tabo on the island of Argo south of the Third Cataract (for the identification with the Pr-nbs of the Kushite inscriptions [cf. 21, 22, 24, 25, 34] see Kienitz 1953, 128 f.; Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, 163 note 3; for the identification Pnubs-Tabo see Jaquet-Gordon et al. 1969). In the above-mentioned Kushite texts, however, Pnubs is never written with the hill-country determinative and neither occurs it so in the Philae nomos lists of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy VI (cf. Junker 1958, 265 ff.) either, though in the latter two lists, in turn, Philae, Biggeh, Aniba, Abu Simbel and Buhen are written with this determinative. In Goedicke’s view (1981, 193) the “hill-country of Pnubs”, ḥst Pr-nbs, signifies a larger area with its center at Pnubs, and the “place unsuited for horses” would refer at the impassable Third Cataract. Both the Karnak stela and 41 name the region of Pnubs as the place where the Egyptians won their final victory. By contrast, the Tanis fragment presents a slightly different course of events. In its text the campaign is initiated by the news on the Nubians’ intention to attack Egypt, whereupon Psammetich II, who stays at Elephantine, sends an army against the land šs. This army reaches a locality called trgb, where the residence of the kwr is situated, and marches to the town of t̄ dhnt, where the enemy is massacred. The land šs is supposed by Sauneron-Yoyotte (1952, 176 note 1) and Zibelius (1972, 156-158) to be identical with šst of the Nubia-lists of Tuthmosis III on the Sixth and Seventh Pylons of the Karnak temple (cf. PM II, 88 [238]; 167 [496]) and with the šs ḥrt of the inscription on Neshor’s Elephantine statue (Dyn. 26, Louvre A 90, cf. Zibelius 1972, 60 VII C b 20) and with the royal residence mentioned in the 3rd century BC Debod inscription of the Kushite king Adikhalamani (cf. PM VII, 4 [20]) and see (131)); and they identify this place name, in turn, with the region of Sanam. The principal argument for this identification is apparently the mention of šst in Taharqo’s fragmentary Sanam inscription (cf. PM VII, 199 [4]-[5], [6]-[7]), yet the geographical context of this place name

in the Sanam text is just as undefined as in any of the above-named other texts. The connection of the place name with royal residence(s) does not necessarily imply that it cannot be identical with anything else than the royal residence at Napata/Sanam. Nevertheless, Sauneron and Yoyotte identified šst with Napata and/or the region of Sanam under the impression that Napata was the only royal residence in Kush. The place name trgb is unidentifiable and may mean simply "royal residence" (on the variants trgb/qrgb and their connection with the word kwr cf. Zibelius 1972, 178) what is reinforced by the passage in the stela itself: "they reached trgb, it was the residence of the kwr". The word kwr is known from later Meroitic texts to mean "king" (Mer. *qore*). As to t̄ dhnt, it seems to be identical with the nhnt of the stelae of Ary (Kawa XIV) and Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864) localized tentatively by Macadam in the Korti area (1949, 79), by Sauneron and Yoyotte (1952, 183) at Dongola el-Aguz, and by Arkell (1955, 145 note 2) with the hill Adu on the island of Sai. Arkell's suggestion was based on J. Vercoutter's identification of šst with the island of Sai (Kush 6 [1958], 158). In sum, the place names of both the Shellal/Karnak and the Tanis versions are problematic and allow two different reconstructions of the geographical extent of the campaign. 41 and the Karnak stela name Pnubs as the southernmost point reached by the Egyptians. No indication of any further advance towards the Napata region is indicated. The Tanis version indicates, if Vercoutter's identification of šs is correct, that the campaign ended at the island of Sai between the Second and Third Cataracts (cf. also 42). The contradiction between the two versions is puzzling and may perhaps be explained by a different degree of care with which the official campaign report was rendered for publication on monumental stelae set up at different places of Egypt. It is remarkable, however, that the place name Pnubs occurs in the Shellal/Karnak version which was written for an audience which probably knew where Pnubs was situated, while in the Tanis version, though in a greater detail, a geographical context is described which was probably unknown in Lower Egypt. The additional explanation missing from the other version concerning the kwr and his residence may be explained just with this ignorance of an exotic land. There can be no doubt that the individual stelae were edited for the actual places where they were erected. This is clearly indicated by the invocation of the local deities in 41 and in the Karnak fragment. Though, strangely, in the lunette of the Tanis stela Psammetich II is shown offering to Amûn, Mut, Khonsu and Monthu, i.e., to the Theban gods (see Montet 1946, Pl. III), the Theban accent of the scene is, however, counterbalanced by the introduction of the main text where after Amûn, Mut, Khonsu and Monthu also Hathor of Re-nefer (=the Tanis district, see Montet op. cit., 88 f.; Kitchen 1986, § 328 with note 710) and the Ennead of Tanis are invoked (Montet op. cit., 76 and Pl. III); moreover, Amûn is invoked as lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (of Thebes) and "lord of the fortress of the phoenix", i.e., of his domain in the eastern Delta (ḥt-

bnw in the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nomos, cf. Grimal 1981, 242 and Pl. II, for the mention in 9, lines 4, 29).

It may thus appear that the geographical extent and the success of the campaign were fairly limited: the army reached the island of Sai south of the Second Cataract, or, if the Shellal/Karnak version is preferred, Pnubs south of the Third Cataract. Neither version mentions Napata, the royal residence of Kush that was generally known in Egypt. If, as is generally supposed, Psammetich's army destroyed Napata (cf. (36)), why is such a victory left unmentioned, and the report concluded merely with the description of the Kushites' cowardice? Though only indirectly, the limits of the campaign are also indicated by the fact that Taharqo's cartouches were erased in the Horus (or Southern) temple at Buhen (see Caminos 1974, I 58), which was visited by the Greek and Carian mercenaries of Psammetich II's army. These erasures are, however, the southernmost documents of the systematic *damnatio memoriae* of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by Psammetich II (see Yoyotte 1951; for the issue see also (36)).

The limited success of the campaign may also explain the general erasure of all Kushite royal names and royal regalia on the walls of the temples of Egypt. Such a *damnatio memoriae* was, obviously, directed not so much towards the past, but rather against the existing enemy which could, apparently, be destroyed only magically since the probability of physical destruction in war appeared small. The vehemence of the erasures may be a direct consequence of the limited military success described so contradictorily and cursorily in the three stelae preserved to us (for the intellectual backgrounds of the erasures as "practical" measurement against the enemy cf. J. Assmann's (1992) recent analysis of the relationship between curses and law. It is thus doubtful whether Lloyd's view (1988, 164 f.) can fully be shared, according to which Psammetich II's Nubian campaign "was probably the major event of the reign".

[LT]

42 Abu Simbel, graffiti of soldiers of Psammetich II. 593 BC.

Bernand-Masson 1957, 1-20.

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Introduction to source

On the left leg of the colossal statue of Ramses II in front of the temple of Abu Simbel there were scratched, apparently in the year 593 BC, six Greek graffiti (a-f). Another one (g) was written below the left knee of a second colossus. The letters of the inscriptions are between 3 and 9 cm high. Dialect and script vary from graffito to graffito, since Greeks of various ethnic origins have each contributed his inscription. The main text (a) is in the Doric dialect, though the script may be characterized as mainly Ionic. Of the shorter graffiti, two were apparently written by Ionians from the west coast of Asia Minor (b, f), another two by Rhodians (c, g).

In constituting our text we have, with a few minor exceptions, followed the Greek text as printed in Meiggs-Lewis (1969, 12-13), which in turn largely follows the detailed documentation supplied by Bernand-Masson (1957, 1-20). There are English translations of all the graffiti in Fornara (1977, 28) and Murray (1993, 233 f.), and of graffito (a) in Meiggs-Lewis (1969, 12-13). The historical conclusions to be drawn from dialect and script are discussed in Jeffery-Johnston (1990, 340) and Murray (1993, 232-235).

Text

(a) βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίαν Ψαματίχο
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοῖ σὺν Ψαμματίχοι τῷ Θεοκλῶς
ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υῖς ὁ ποταμὸς
ἀνίη. ἀλογλῶσος δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμτο, Αἰγυπτίος δὲ Ἄμασις.
ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἄρχον Ἀμοιβίχο καὶ Πέλεφος Οὐδαμῶ.

(b) Ἐλεσίβιος ὁ Τήϊος.

(c) Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ἡο Ἰαλύσιο[ς].

(d) Πύθον Ἀμοιβίχου.

(e) [- - -] καὶ | Κριθίς ἔγρα<ψ>αν ἐμ[ε].

(f) Πάβις ὁ Φολοφόνιος | σὺν Ψαμματᾶ.

(g) Ἀναχσάνορ ἔ[γραφέ με] ἡο Ἰαλύσιος, *λόκα* βασιλ-
εὺς *ἔ*ελασε τὸν στρατὸν τὸ πρᾶτον, [Ποτασίμτο *ἡάμα*], Ψαμάτιχος.

Translation

(a) When King Psammetich had come to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psammetich, son of Theocles, wrote this. They got beyond Kerkis, as far as the river allowed. Potasimto led those of foreign speech and Amasis the Egyptians. Archon, son of Amoibichos, wrote us—and (so did) Axe of unknown parentage.⁷⁷

(b) Helesibios of Teos.

(c) Telephos of Ialysos wrote me.

(d) Python, son of Amoibichos.

(e) [- - -] and Krithis wrote me.

(f) Pabis of Colophon, with Psammatas.

(g) Anaxanor of Ialysos [wrote me], when King Psammetich first marched his army [with Potasimto].⁷⁸

[TH]

Comments

The graffiti were inscribed by Greek mercenaries taking part in the Nubian campaign of Psammetich II in his third regnal year (see 41). In accordance with the monumental evidence of the campaign, they refer to the King's stay at Elephantine at the time of the undertaking of his army and informs us about the composition thereof (i.e., about the Greek mercenaries under the command of Potasimto and the native contingents placed under the command of Amasis [for Potasimto see Ratié 1962; for Amasis see ESLP, Pls 48 f.]). The place-name Kerkis was tentatively identified by Sauneron and Yoyotte (1952, 189 f.) with a place in the Napata region, while Kienitz (1953, 128 ff.) and Hofmann (1971, 66 ff.) suggested that it should be identified with some locality north of the Second Cataract. This latter suggestion seems preferable on account of the additional

⁷⁷Literally "Axe of Nobody" (Οὐδάμο = Οὐδαμοῦ), or perhaps "Axe from Nowhere". Some (e.g., Bernard-Masson and Meiggs-Lewis) prefer to overlook this humorous touch and translate: "Pelekos, the son of Eudamos" (Οὐδάμο = ὁ Εὐδάμου).

⁷⁸This last graffito is difficult or impossible to read at two places, here marked with []. Each time there is space for just one or two words, and various efforts have been made to fill the lacunae. Bernard-Masson (1957, 13) suggest ἐ[βάδις] "went" or "marched" in the first line; but the space would also allow ἐ[γράφε με] (or the like), "wrote me", which seems preferable, cf. graffiti (a) and (c). In the second line Bernard-Masson (1957, 14) read Ἀμασις ἁμα, "Amasis at the same time", i.e., "together with Amasis "; whereas Fraser (1958, 108 f.) suggests "Ποτασίμτο ἁμα" "together with Potasimto", which contains the same central letters ΑΣΙ, but seems to fill the space better.

remark of the graffito (a) indicating that the Nile was navigable upstream as far south as Kerkis. From the perspective of Elephantine, i.e., the First Cataract region, this remark makes sense only if it refers to the Second Cataract. From this point, the army had to march on land. The graffiti do not give, however, any clear indication of the southernmost point reached in fact by the troupes of Pota-simto and Amasis (cf., however, 41).

[LT]

43 Buhen, Horus Temple, archaic Greek graffito.
SEG 26, no. 1719.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Masson 1976 | O. Masson: Nouveaux graffites grecs d'Abydos et de Bouhen. CdE 51, 305-313. |
| Jeffery-Johnston 1990 | L.H. Jeffery-A.W. Johnston: The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. Rev. ed. Oxford. |

Introduction to source

On a sandstone block from the Horus temple at Buhen, perhaps originally part of a wall erected by King Taharqo, was found the fragment of an archaic Greek graffito, consisting of ten letters, between 5.5 and 7 cm high. The first seven letters appear to be the last part of a Greek personal name, in that case in the Doric dialect; the remainder may be the beginning of an ethnicon or patronymicon.

The inscription was first published by Masson (1976, 310 f.), who also tentatively suggested a connection with the Abu Simbel graffiti (42). It was reproduced in SEG 26 (no. 1719), and Johnston in Jeffery-Johnston (1990, 476 f.) suggested the date 600-550 BC.

Text

[- - -]νορίδας ΕΛ[- - -]

Translation

[- - -]noridas⁷⁹ (of?) El[- - -]

[TH]

Comments

The graffito presumably records the visit of Psammetich II's Greek mercenaries to Buhen in the course of their return from the Nubian campaign recorded in 41. See the comments to 41 and 42. For name graffiti incised by Carians, probably mercenaries of Psammetich II participating in the same campaign, on the masonry of the Horus temple see O. Masson in: Masson et al. 1978, nos 50-55.

⁷⁹Masson (1977, 310) suggests [Anta]noridas, but notes that there are many other possibilities.

For the building context of the Greek graffito see Masson 1976; for the Carian graffiti cf. Caminos 1974, 55, 59, 71, Pls 65, 70.

[LT]

(44) Aramatelqo (Amtalqa of earlier literature). Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: for Throne name and Son of Rê name statue Berlin 2249, PM VII, 198; Priese 1974; silver cylinder sheath from Nu. 9, Dunham 1955, Pl. CIX/A; gold band from *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, fig. 91; gold spacer from Meroe City, Wenig 1978, Cat. 101. Only Son of Rê name: shawabti from Nu. 9, Dunham 1955, fig. 201; on faience objects of foundation deposit from *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, fig. 93.

Throne name Wꜣd-kꜣ-Rꜥ
 “Rê-is-One-whose-*ka*-endures”

Evidence for reign

On the basis of the situation of his pyramid burial Nu. 9 in the royal necropolis of Nuri, Aramatelqo is regarded to have been successor and son of Aspelta and if this hypothesis is not wrong, his reign may be dated to the first third of the 6th century BC (for the burial and burial equipment from Nu. 9 see Dunham 1955, 120-127). Queen Amanitakaye buried in Nu. 26 (Dunham 1955, 145) by King Malonagen (his name-plaque was found in the foundation deposit, see *op.cit.*, fig. 111) is regarded to have been Aramatelqo’s wife, and since she bears the title “king’s mother” (cartouche plaque in foundation deposit *ibid.*, Dunham 1955, fig. 111), she is also believed to have been the mother of King Malonagen (see (45)). Dunham and Macadam (1949, 141 [2], 143 [22], 145 [43], 146 [58]) also suppose that he was married to queens Akheqa (buried in Nu. 38, Dunham 1955, 129 f.), Atmatataka (buried in Nu. 55, *op.cit.*, 134-137), Malotasen (buried in Nu. 39, *op.cit.*, 131 f.) and Piankh-her (buried in Nu. 57, *op.cit.*, 138 f.). He is attested at Napata by a remarkable statue (Berlin 2249, Priese 1974) and at Meroe City by small objects (mainly temple votives) associated with the early Amûn temple (cf. Török 1992, 116 with note 50; Török n.d.b, inscr. nos 10, 20, 26, 30, 34, 37, 38, 42, 48, 49, 52a, 53. For the archaeological evidence of the early Amûn temple at Meroe City see *id.* 1992, 115-118).

Comments

Aramatelqo’s throne name repeats the throne name of an obscure Eighth Dynasty king (cf. Beckerath 1984, 59 VIII.b T). His Son of Rê name may have been adopted only at the ascension to the throne, for it refers to Horus (cf. Priese 1974, 226); yet, if Priese’s tentative translation of the non-Egyptian name (“*Welcher Sohn/Erbe/jüngere Erscheinungsform des Horus, der Edle [ist]*”, *ibid.*) is correct, it may rather have been given him at his birth and it may thus

have referred to his being son of the ruling king. His statue from Gebel Barkal (now Berlin 2249, Priese 1974) belongs to a special type representing the enthroned king wearing the robe associated with the sed-festival and known from remarkably numerous exemplars erected in Nubia (Sesostris III, Twelfth Dynasty, at Semna and Uronarti; Eighteenth Dynasty: Tuthmosis III at Semna and Gebel Barkal, Amasis I, Amenophis I [?], Amenophis III at Sai, for the evidence see Priese 1974, 219). In the inscription of the back pillar the king is called “beloved of Amen-Rê-Harakhty” (op.cit., 229). Amûn as form of Rê-Harakhty “who hears petitions” was worshipped in a temple erected by Ramesses II at Karnak (PM II, 208-215) to which Taharqo also added a colonnade (cf. Leclant 1965, 56-58). As sanctuaries of Amen-Rê-Harakhty may also be identified certain rooms in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temples in Kush (Kawa, Sanam, Tabo, cf. Priese 1974, 222 f.); and the god “who hears petitions” is prominent both in Aspelta’s Election (=38) and Khaliut (=40) stelae. The seated king wearing the “sed-mantle” represents the god-king “elected” by Rê-Harakhty in his form as Amûn, and the Aramatelqo statue following this iconographical type attests a closeness to the kingship dogma of Aspelta’s day as it was reflected by the above-mentioned two texts.

[LT]

(45) Malonaqen. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: for Throne name and Son of Rê name see the inscribed alabaster vessels from Nu. 5, Dunham 1955, fig. 106. Only Son of Rê name: shawabti figures from Nu. 5, Dunham 1955, fig. 201; foundation deposit *ibid.*, op.cit., fig. 108; votive cartouche from Kawa, Macadam 1949, 89 inscr. XLIII, inscribed blocks from Meroe City, Török n.d.b, inscr. 82, 85, 91-94, 109; votive objects *ibid.*, op.cit., inscr. 19, 39, 51 f., 57, 60.

Throne name Shm-k3-Rꜥ

“Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-powerful”

Son of Rê name Malonaqen

Evidence for reign

Malonaqen is believed (cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 144 [40]) to have been son of King Aramatelqo and Queen Amanitakaye. While the topographical situation of his burial Nu. 5 suggests indeed a chronological closeness to Aramatelqo, only so much is certain as to his filiation that in the foundation deposit of Nu. 26, the pyramid burial of the “king’s mother” Amanitakaye, also a name plaque of Malonaqen was found (see (44)). Votive cartouche plaques of his were found in the Amûn temple (Temple T) of Kawa (Macadam 1955, Pl.

CIII). Inscribed sandstone blocks found under building M 293 attest his building activity in the early Amûn temple of Meroe City (Török n.d.b, inscr. 77, 82, 85, 91-94, 109) and at the same site also votive objects similarly inscribed with his name were unearthed by Garstang (ibid., inscr. 19, 39, 51 f., 57, 60).

Comments

If Malonaqen's filiation suggested by Dunham and Macadam (see above) is correct, his reign can be dated to the first half of the 6th century BC. His throne name displays the same remarkable archaizing as the throne name of his predecessor (cf. (44)) and represents an imitation of the throne name of the Thirteenth Dynasty rulers Amenemhetsonbef (Beckerath 1984, 67 XIII.2 T 1) and Amenemmes V (op.cit., 68 XIII.4 T 1,2), yet it may perhaps also have been influenced by the throne name created for Osorkon I (Shm-hpr-Rꜥ, cf. Bonhême 1987, 147, 263).

[LT]

(46) Analmaʿaye. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Source: for Throne name and Son of Rê name see silver bowl found at secondary place in Nu. 10, Dunham 1955, fig. 117 no. 17-1-280; only Son of Rê name: shawabti from Nu. 18, op.cit., fig. 202 (13), on objects from foundation deposit ibid., op.cit., fig. 115.

Throne name	Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-beautiful"
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Son of Rê name	Analmaʿaye
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Evidence for reign

His descent and family connections are completely unknown; his place in the royal chronology after Malonaqen and before Amani-nataki-lebte was determined by Reisner on the basis of the topographical situation of his burial Nu. 18 in the royal necropolis of Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, 3). If this assumption is correct, Analmaʿaye's reign may be dated to the middle of the 6th century BC.

Comments

Analmaʿaye's throne name was perhaps modeled on the basis of Shabaqo's throne name (see (12)), who, in turn, had probably adopted this archaizing-style name from more recent sources. The archaizing style of the throne names of the rulers from Anlamani (see (33)) onwards is noteworthy. Since a similar preference for models found in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasty titularies can be observed in the titularies of the Saite rulers of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty

(664-525 BC), it may be presumed that developments in Kushite religion and kingship ideology were related to processes in Egypt on account of the common bases laid down in the course of the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Moreover, it would also seem that Kush was not entirely isolated from Saite Egypt and the creation of archaizing throne names based on Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasty prototypes—instead of the repetition of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty models—was also encouraged by the example of contemporary Egyptian titularies.

The lack of Horus, *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names from Aramatelqo (see (44)) through Malonaqen ((45)), Analma'aye ((46)), Amani-nataki-lebte and Si'aspiqo ((53)) till Malowiebamani ((55)) may give the impression of the regular adoption of titularies consisting only the cartouche names during this period. The preserved monuments of these kings belong, however, without exception to object types (shawabti, foundation deposit, small votives, one or two small vessels) which cannot be expected to bear a five-part titulary, and also the case of Amaniastabarqo ((52)) may serve as a warning before one would draw a false conclusion. It cannot be accidental that Malowiebamani's successor, King Irike-Amanote, is known again to have adopted a five-part titulary: but we are informed of this only thanks to the eventual preservation of a number of monumental inscriptions erected by him (see FHN, vol. 2).

[LT]

(47) Amani-nataki-lebte. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: Throne name and Son of Rê name see faience plaque from foundation deposit of Nu. 10, Dunham 1955, fig. 118 no. 18-3-930; silver cylinder sheath *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, Pl. CX/A. Only Son of Rê name: shawabti from Nu. 10, *op.cit.*, fig. 202 (14); silver mirror *ibid.*, Dunham-Macadam 1949, Pl. XV 9d (now Boston 21.338, cf. Wenig 1978, Cat. 115).

Throne name	ꜥ-ḥpr-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-manifestation(s)-are-great"
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Son of Rê name	Amani-nataki-lebte
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Evidence for reign

The filiation and family connections of Amani-nataki-lebte are completely unknown and his chronological position was determined by Reisner hypothetically on the basis of the topographical situation of his burial Nu. 10 in the royal necropolis of Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, 3). If this relative dating is correct, his reign can be placed in the second half of the sixth century BC. His building activity at Meroe City is attested by blocks originating from sandstone door-jambs

found by Garstang at the site of the early Amûn temple (see Török n.d.b, find no. 293-a) and by column fragments and a relief fragment inscribed with his cartouche and observed by Lepsius in a secondary position in the neighborhood of the later Amûn temple M 260 (LD Text V, 335; cf. PM VII, 237).

Comments

Amani-nataki-lebte's throne name appeared in the same form in the titulary of Amenophis II of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Beckerath 1984, 85 XVIII.7 T 1). Temples of Amenophis II stood at Amada, Buhen and Semna East and a fragment of a sphinx of his with throne name was discovered by Reisner in the debris at (or inside?) the second hypostyle of the great Amûn Temple at Gebel Barkal (Reisner 1931, 81 [*4]; Dunham 1970, fig. 18).

[LT]

48 Sandstone heart scarab of Amani-nataki-lebte from Nuri, pyramid grave Nu. 16. Second half of the 6th century BC.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 20.645. Dunham 1963, fig. 160.

Text and translation

(Eleven lines, reading from right to left)

(1) ḏd-mdw Wsîr nsw nb T3wy (2) Ḳmn-n(t)-ḳ-k3-rbtî mḳ ḥrw

(1) Utterance (by) Osiris, (2) the King, Lord of Two-lands Amaninatakilebte, justified,

îb=î (n) mwt=î sp-sn ḥty(3)=î n ḥpr(w=î)

"My heart (of) my mother, (say) twice, my heart of (my) forms,

m ḥḳ r=î m (4) mtr

do not stand up against me as (4) a witness,

m <s>ḥsf r=î m ḏḏḏ

do not cause me to be repelled in the council,

(5) Ḳm îr rḳw=k' r=î m-bḥ s3w-mḥt

(5) do not tilt yourself against me before the keeper of the balance.

(6) Ḳnt'k k3=î îmyw ḥt=î

(6) (For) you are my life force in my body,

Hnmw sw(7)ḏ ḳwt=î

the Khnum that makes (7) my limbs healthy.

The Sources

pr=k r bw nfr hn n=n im

Do you come forth to the good that is prepared for us there.

m (8) shnš rn=i n šnwyw ʾiry rmt (9) m ʿḥ

Don't (8) cause my name to stink for the the court that sorts people (9) into groups.⁸⁰

nfr n=n

(then) it will be good for us,

sw (ib) (n) wdꜥ-(10)mdw

and the heart will rejoice at the judge(10)ment.

m dd grg r=i r-gs ntr

Don't speak lies against me in the god's presence.

(11) ʾimšhw stn r [...]

(11) ...

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The text on heart scarabs follows that of Spell 30B of the *Book of the Dead*. In the course of being copied over centuries it underwent changes, some clearly random errors and omissions, others probably intentional, with the result that any given scarab may deviate substantially from the standard text. The present text is no exception inasmuch as it exhibits both omissions and deeper corruption, *e.g.* in line 11. In general, however, it adheres to the main lines of the Egyptian tradition. For a broad discussion of heart scarabs see Malaise (1978) and for their texts see especially his discussion on pp. 14-35.

[RHP]

Comments

Though Amani-nataki-lebte was buried in Nu. 10 (Macadam 1955, 154-157; identification made on the basis of his name inscribed on items of the foundation deposit and funerary equipment, see *op.cit.*, fig. 118, nos 18-3-930 f.; and cf. above (47) for objects listed as sources for titles), his heart scarab carved from dark brownish-yellow sandstone (and not a stone of the prescribed green color, cf. *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 30B; yet see, *e.g.*, the brown stone heart scarab Boston 1979.560, D'Auria et al. 1992, 223 f. cat. 176 b [A.M. Roth]) and measuring 12.7 x 8.5 cm was discovered in the stairway debris of Nu. 16, the burial of King Talakhamani who reigned some six generations after Amani-nataki-lebte. As it was found in the original filling of the stairway, it may be supposed that Nu. 10

⁸⁰Lit., "makes people into piles".

was already plundered at the time of the building of Nu. 16 (Dunham 1955, 207 f.). The inscription on the scarab is included here as an example of Kushite royal scarabs of the period and it is paralleled by heart scarab inscriptions of Queen Asata, a wife of Aspelta (Nu. 42, Dunham 1955, fig. 88), Queen Atmataka, a wife of Aramatelqo (found at secondary place in Nu. 47, Dunham 1955, fig. 130), King Analma'aye (see (46), Nu. 18, op.cit., fig. 114), King Si'aspiqo (see (53), Nu. 4, op.cit., fig. 134) and King Talakhamani (see FHN, vol. 2, Nu. 16, op.cit., fig. 160). The text is based on Chapter 30 B of the Egyptian Book of the Dead (for the occurrence of parts of this Chapter on royal and non-royal heart scarabs and pectorals in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period see Feucht 1971, 7-11). We find the same section of Chapter 30 B inscribed, e.g., on the pectoral of Paser, Theban Vizier under the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaohs Seti I and Ramesses II (Feucht op. cit., 65 no. 11 B).

[LT]

(49) Karkamani. Evidence for reign.

Karkamani's titulary is not preserved and there are no data concerning his filiation and family relationships. His chronological position as successor of Amani-nataki-lebte was suggested by Reisner on the basis of the topographical situation of his burial Nu. 7 in the royal necropolis of Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, 3). If this is correct, he might have reigned in the second half of the sixth century BC. Nu. 7 is identified as his burial place on the basis of the occurrence of a faience cartouche inscribed with the Son of Rê name Karkamani in the foundation deposit of this pyramid and by shawabti figures with the same name in its burial equipment (Dunham 1955, 161-164; foundation deposit: fig. 123, shawabti: fig. 202 [15]). His name is also attested on votive objects discovered by Garstang at the site of the early Amûn temple of Meroe City (Török n.d.b, inscr. nos 44, 46 f.).

[LT]

50 PRylands IX, 5/2-5, Petition of Petiese, mention of a Blemmyan. 513 BC. Griffith 1909 I-II, Pl. XXVII, III, 225.

Text and translation

d̥i p̥i '...' 'š=w r Ṛḥ-ms s̥i P̥i-d̥i-Hr-n-P̥ d̥d

The Governor had Ahmose, son of Peteharempe, summoned, saying,

m-šm n=k r (3) T̥i=w-d̥y ṛrm P̥i-d̥i-Ṛst

"Go off to (3) Teudjoi with Peteêsi;

ṛ.ṛn n=ṛ n̥y w'bw ṛ.ṛr ḥwy sty r p̥i=f 'wṛ

bring me those priests that set fire to his house."

ir Ṭḥ-ms hyn (4) hrww iw=f dd
Ahmose spent some (4) days, saying,

dī(=y) iī.k r rsī irm=k
“I am coming south with you,”

dī=w st̥s s ʿn
(but) he was withdrawn again.

ḥpr wʿ hrw Ṭḥ-ms p̥ ḥm-ntr-Ḥr iw r hry
(Then) one day Ahmose, the prophet of Horus, came down

(5) ʿš=f r Wḥ-ib-Rʿ-mr wʿ brhrm dd
(5) and summoned Wahibrê-mer, a Blemmy, saying,

m-šm r T̥=w-dy i.in n̥y wʿbw nt̥ iw P̥-dī-ʾst sm(6)y r.r=w
“Go to Teudjoi; bring those priests against whom Peteêsi is (6) complaining.”
[RHP]

Note to the translation

Wessetzky’s palaeographical interpretation of the demotic writing as *blhlm* plus the determinative of a man with blood streaming from his head (Gardiner 1957, 443, A 14) is persuasive and justifies including this text in our corpus. He first put forward this idea in an article in Hungarian (Wessetzky 1959) and used it in his own complete translation of the Petition of Peteêse (Wessetzky 1960, 139 and note, 158).

[RHP]

Comments

The Demotic PRylands IX was written in el-Hibe in 513 BC (cf. LdÄ IV [1982], 876) and contains Petiese’s petition by which he tried to regain his inherited priestly office in his home town. The brief passage quoted here is from a section where Petiese describes how he reported to the vizier that his priestly opponents had burned his house and how the vizier sent a man to bring the priests to Memphis. The name of the man the vizier sent was Wahibre-merire, and he is qualified in the text as Blemmyan (for the correct reading of the word read as *bll* by Griffith and translated by him [Griffith 1909 III, 70] as “blind man” as *blhm*, “Blemmyan”, see Wessetzky 1961). The reference to an officer in the service of the vizier in Memphis in the late sixth century BC, who belonged probably to the third generation of soldiers of Blemmyan origin and living in Egypt is included here in order to give an example of the migration of Blemmyan groups from the region of the Red Sea Hills towards the Egyptian-Kushite border area and their settlement in Egypt. Conflicts of Kushite rulers with nomadic Blemmyans living east of the Nubian Nile as described in lines

16-20 of the late seventh century BC Anlamani Stela (=34) and Kushite-Egyptian conflicts in Lower Nubia and the frontier area (see 41-43, 56) in the course of the reigns of Psammetich I, Necho II and Psammetich II (664-598 BC) may well have co-determined this northward migration process which, however, should not be understood as a general process of all Blemmyan tribes. (For the name Wahibremerire as consisting of the throne name of Psammetich I [Wḥ-ib-Rꜥ, cf. Beckerath 1984, 111 XXVI.1 T1, 2] and hence dating the immigration of the actual Wahibremerire's grandfather to the reign of Psammetich I see Updegraff 1978, 20; Updegraff 1988, 57-60).

[LT]

51 PBerlin Dem. 13615, on a caravan to Nubia in 529 BC.
Erichsen 1941/42, 57; for new fragments see Zauzich 1992.

Text and translation
Omitted.

Note to the translation

As early as 1969 Zauzich announced the discovery of new fragments belonging to this text, and he has recently reported (1992, 361-364) that his impending publication will embrace a much larger text than Erichsen published. The scattered corrections Zauzich has presented not only affect details in Erichsen's publication but also the entire tenor of the text. I have therefore concluded that, even though it was initially decided to include the text in our collection because of its obvious historical importance, it is premature to offer a translation even of what is already in print prior to Zauzich's publication. On the basis of what is now available it is not even possible to ascertain whether the convoy was a military, diplomatic, or commercial one. What emerges from what Zauzich has reported thus far is that the papyrus contained lists of soldiers and sailors attached to different ships, and in this respect it might cast some light on the Greek graffiti from Abu Simbel translated above (42). Perhaps the men who "sailed with Psammetich, son of Theocles" were attached to a ship in the manner of the people recorded in this text.

[RHP]

Comments

The papyrus concerns the military protection of a caravan traveling in Year 41, 4th month of the Inundation, of Amasis, i.e., in April 529 BC, to Nubia. The journey was, at least partly, made by boat and the number of the escort indicates the value of the goods transported. The presence of "men of the Pharaoh" may refer to the official character of the caravan (carrying diplomatic presents to the king of Kush?). The historicity of a contact between Amasis and contemporary Kush may be reflected by the fact that the unique throne name Ḥnm-ib-Rꜥ of

the usurper pharaoh Amasis was adopted by the third century BC Meroitic king Arkamaniqo, supposedly on account of a parallelism of their careers (on Arkamaniqo as first ruler of a new dynasty, further on the historical background of his description by Agatharchides in Diodorus, III,6 and on his throne name as evidence for the Meroitic actualization of “historical” knowledge see Török 1992a).

[LT]

(52) Amaniastabarqo. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: Horus , Throne and Son of Rê names see on golden cylinder sheath from Nu. 2, Dunham 1955, 169 no. 17-2-258 and Pl. CXI/A. For Son of Rê name only: mortuary stela Boston 17-2-1910B from secondary place (site Nu. 100), op.cit., fig. 211, Leprohon 1991, 113-117; shawabti figures from Nu. 2, op.cit., fig. 202 (16); beryl plaque, ibid., op.cit., fig. 128 no. 17-2-235; sheet gold, ibid., op.cit., fig. 128 no. 17-2-237.

Horus name	Swthj (?)
Throne name	Stp-k3-R ^c “Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-choice”
Son of Rê name	Amaniastabarqo

Evidence for reign

Amaniastabarqo’s filiation and family relationships are unknown. He is supposed to have been the successor of Karmani (cf. (49)) on the basis of the topographical situation of his burial Nu. 2 in the royal cemetery of Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, 3). If this hypothesis is not wrong, he may have reigned around the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. He was buried in the pyramid grave Nu. 2 (Dunham 1955, 168-171).

Comments

The Horus name may have the meaning “being mighty/great”, if it is correctly identified with the rare form of the word (see Beckerath 1984, 130 [17]) attested in the New Kingdom in the Abydos temple (see Wb IV, 77 [9]). The throne name seems to have been created specially for Amaniastabarqo in the spirit of the long tradition of Kushite throne names consisting of the element k3-R^c starting with Shabaqo’s throne name ((12); see further (15), (27), (30), (33), (35), (45), (46)). The text of his mortuary stela was copied from the mortuary stela Aspelta’s in Nu. 8, which itself went back to textual models copied from

Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Theban sarcophagi (stela Boston 21. 347, see Leprohon 1991, 118-122).

[LT]

(53) Siʿaspiqo. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: Throne name and Son of Rê name see libation jar Khartoum 1861 from chapel of Nu. 4, Dunham-Macadam 1949, Pl. XVI (70 b); granite offering stands from chapel (found at secondary site), Dunham 1955, fig. 135 top right; offering table found at secondary site built into the church Nu. 100, Dunham-Macadam 1949, Pl. XVI (70 e); Dunham 1955, fig. 133 left; Beckerath 1984, 131 (18) T 2. Only Son of Rê name: mortuary stela Khartoum 1858 from chapel of Nu. 4, Dunham 1955, fig. 212; shawabti figures, *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, fig. 202 (17); heart scarab, *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, fig. 134.

Throne name	Sgrḥ-ṭwy-Rē “Rê-is-the-Pacifier-of-Two-lands”
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Son of Rê name	Siʿaspiqo
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Evidence for reign

The filiation and family relationships of Siʿaspiqo are unknown. His chronological position as Amaniastabarqo’s successor was established hypothetically on the basis of the topographical situation of his burial in the royal necropolis of Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, 3). His name is also attested on votive objects found at the site of the early Amûn temple of Meroe City (Török n.d.b, inscr. nos 13, 14). His burial Nu. 4 was identified on the basis of the inscribed finds quoted above (Dunham 1955, 176-180).

Comments

The throne name revives a traditional name-type connected first of all to Horus and *Nebty* names (see Bonhême 1987, 222 f., 281 f.) and referring to the rule of the “Two Lands”. While names with -ṭwy in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty titularies (see (5) 1 d, 8 a [Piye], (12) Horus name [Shabaqo], (15) 1 b [Shebitqo], (18) 1 c [Taharqo]) doubtless possessed the connotation of rule in Egypt, later Kushite titles with -ṭwy may rather

be understood as referring to *the* land whose ruler the king of Kush actually was: i.e., Kush herself (cf. (30) Horus name [Atlanersa], (31) Horus name [Senkamanisken], (33) *Nebty* name [Anlamani]). Siʿaspiqo’s throne name may eventually have been modeled on the basis of Senkamanisken’s Horus name. Beckerath (1984, 131 [18] T 2) interprets as second Throne name the “name” Smn-ḥrt-nṯr inscribed on a faience cartouche plaque discovered in the foundation deposit of Nu. 4 (Dunham 1955, 177 and

fig. 136 no. 18-3-900, Pl. CXXIX/B row 5). Curiously, this is the only inscribed item of the foundation deposit, nevertheless, it does not seem to be a throne name but refers rather to a rite connected with the erection of the pyramid: smn is attested once in the Pyramid Texts with the meaning “Reinigungsmittel” (Wb III, 453 [1]), while hrt-ntr signifies “necropolis” (Wb III, 394 [10]). The text of his mortuary stela Khartoum 1858 was copied from Aspelta’s mortuary stela which, in turn, went back to Theban sarcophagus texts of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty period (Leprohon 1991, 119 f.).

[LT]

(54) Nasakhma. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Source: faience cartouche from foundation deposit of pyramid Nu. 19 inscribed with Son of Rê name, Dunham 1955, fig. 142 no. 17-4-996.

Son of Rê name Nasakhma

Evidence for reign

King Nasakhma’s reign is attested only by his burial Nu. 19 in the royal cemetery of Nuri (Dunham 1955, 184-187). He is regarded (Dunham 1955, 3) to have been Siʿaspiqo’s successor on account of the situation of his burial at Nuri. If this chronological assumption is correct, he may have reigned in the first half of the fifth century BC.

[LT]

(55) Malowiebamani. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: Throne name and Son of Rê name see on fragmentary electrum band found in secondary position in Nu. 16, Dunham 1955, fig. 161 no. 16-12-302. Only Son of Rê name: faience cartouche in foundation deposit of Nu. 11, Dunham 1955, fig. 151 no. 18-4-134; mortuary stela from chapel of Nu. 11, found in secondary position in church Nu. 100 (illegible except for name [?], left by Reisner at the site, Dunham 1955, 197); gray granite altar from Gebel Barkal temple B 800, Khartoum 5210, PM VII, 213; blocks found in the pronaos of the Sanam temple, op.cit., 201.

Throne name Hpr-k3-R
 “Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-manifest”

Son of Rê name Malowiebamani

Evidence for reign

Dated on the basis of the situation of his burial Nu. 11 (Dunham 1955, 194-198) in the royal cemetery of Nuri as successor of Nasakhma, i.e., to the middle of the fifth century BC (op.cit., 3), Malowiebamani is attested to have carried out some building work in the sanctuary of Amûn Bull of Nubia at Sanam and donated a granite altar to temple B 800 (see above). It is assumed, again on the basis of the topography of the Nuri cemetery, that the king's mother Saka'aye buried in Nu. 31 was Nasakhma's (see (54)) wife and Malowiebamani's mother (Dunham 1955, 199-202, name and title on shawabti, op.cit., fig. 208 [19]). Yet since the queens were buried in a separate part of the necropolis, the actual connections between the individual burials of kings and queens, if there is no independent supporting evidence, can be determined only within broader limits—while of course the relative chronology of the queens' burials as of a separate cemetery unit may be established in the same manner as that of the kings' burials.

Comments

The archaizing throne name (see Sesostri I, Beckerath 1984, 65 XII.2 T) fits with its style into the series of titularies discussed above (see (52)) and it would be frequently copied by Kushite rulers of the subsequent centuries (see Arnekh-amani, Natakamani, Teqorideamani, Ariteneyesbokhe, FHN, vol. 2, 3).

[LT]

56 On the Nile beyond Elephantine. Ca. 450-430 BC.

Herodotus 2.29-31.

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Introduction to source

Herodotus, born ca. 485 BC in Halicarnassus (today Bodrum) in SW Asia Minor, is the earliest Greek historian whose work has been preserved. For geography and genealogies Herodotus had forerunners, in particular Hecataeus from Miletus, whom he mentions by name. But the extent of his debts to earlier Greek writers cannot be determined today, for they are preserved only in a few bare fragments as quotations in other authors.

Herodotus' aim in composing his history he gives himself in his opening lines: "This is Herodotus the Halicarnassian's account of his enquiry, in order that human achievement shall not be forgotten with time, nor the great and marvelous exploits performed, both by Greeks and non-Greeks, disappear from fame, in particular the events that caused them to go to war with each other."

The Greek word here translated 'enquiry', *historie*, and the corresponding verb *historein*, 'enquire', 'investigate', are used throughout by Herodotus when speaking of his work. On the other hand, by setting himself the task of preserving the memory of the great deeds of men he seems to place himself in the tradition of Greek epic poetry, and kinship with epic is often noticeable in his work.

The war to which Herodotus refers is the Persian wars. They do not, however, enter into his account until the sixth of the nine books into which his history is traditionally divided (a division for which Herodotus is not responsible). The Persian wars are to Herodotus the culmination of a vast conflict between the East and the West, caused by Persian imperialism. The first five books are therefore in fact a history of the Persian Empire, from mythical times down to Darius (d. 486 BC). They contain numerous long digressions on the peoples with whom the Persians came into conflict: the Medes, the Lydians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Aithiopians and the Scythians. The account of the geography, culture, and history of Egypt is by far the most important, taking up the whole of Book 2. The most detailed commentary on this part of Herodotus' book is by Lloyd (1975, 1976, 1988).

The anthropological and ethnological interests of Herodotus range from religious beliefs, funeral rites, myths, and warfare to living conditions, marriage and sexual habits. Although he writes from the stand-point of a Greek, he is remarkably open to other cultures. Herodotus reports extensive travels to collect the information he wanted. In addition to Egypt, as this text shows, he claims to have visited southern Italy, the Black Sea region, Tyre (Lebanon), Babylon, and Cyrene (Libya). A (historical) commentary on the whole of Herodotus' work is given by How-Wells (1912).

It is difficult to evaluate Herodotus' work as a historical source because of the great diversity of its contents and our lack of knowledge of Herodotus' own sources. At times he strikes the modern reader as naive and credulous, at other times he seems to display the inquisitive spirit and critical attitude characteristic of the Greek intellectual milieu of his age. Modern judgments of his credi-

bility have accordingly varied greatly; to some he is a mere story-teller or even a charming liar, to others he has a theory of history and a perception of human experience that make him deserving of the title 'Father of History' which Cicero bestowed upon him. For an evaluation of Herodotus as historiographer see Momigliano (1958).

The most serious attack on Herodotus' trustworthiness, even his honesty, has been made by Fehling (1989), who in a detailed and well argued study of Herodotus' practice of source citation has made a powerful attempt to show that his alleged sources are often fictitious, fabricated by himself, as a literary device, to conform with the content of his report. Also the greatest part of his claims to autopsy are declared by Fehling to be false, prompted by the story-teller's 'I was there'-principle.

It would follow that the travels on which Herodotus purportedly collected his information must be treated as fiction. Fehling concludes that most or possibly all of Herodotus' travels did not take place at all. As for Egypt he finds Herodotus' mistakes so numerous and so serious that he cannot possibly believe that he visited the country; in support of his claim he cites Herodotus' statement that it never rains there (3.10.2), his description of the crocodile (2.68) and the hippopotamus (2.71), his description of the Egyptians as black-skinned and woolly-haired (2.104.2), and especially his ignorance of the arrangement of the pyramids (2.126.2).

As for Upper Egypt in particular Fehling's judgment is as follows: "A man who gives a wildly wrong length of time for the route from Heliopolis to Thebes, who declares that Egypt becomes broader again after four days' travel up river from Heliopolis (2.8.3), whose measurement for the narrowest part of the Nile valley would make it over fifty percent wider than the actual breadth of long stretches of the valley, who thinks Elephantine is a city and not an island and imagines that the city of Syene is further away, and who, on the other hand, does not offer a single correct detail on any locality whatsoever and says not a word about the monuments of Thebes—this man has never been in Upper Egypt, even if a conceivable explanation can be found for every statement he makes" (241f.).

According to Fehling, Herodotus' book is not a result of scientific research, but a literary work in which he assembled—from his memory—everything he knew, from whatever source. For the more remote periods Herodotus' account is based on written sources rather than oral tradition. "As for the historical details from Egypt and the Near East, it is possible that he obtained these orally. Nevertheless, their ultimate source is the written tradition of the cultures concerned" (294).

For a review of Fehling see Bichler (1990). The most comprehensive attempt to refute Fehling's theories is Kendrick Pritchett (1993).

Fehling is not the only scholar to doubt the veracity of Herodotus' visit to Egypt, see in particular Armayor (1980), who has arrived at conclusions similar

to those of Fehling, though through a different line of argument; for an attempt to reconcile Herodotus' measurements in Egypt with real distances see Oertel (1970), cf. Pierce (1971). In general, however, the view of scholars on Herodotus' trustworthiness and sincerity has been dominated by the influential lexicon article by Jacoby (1913); Jacoby rejects attempts at making Herodotus depend predominantly on written sources and believes that in most cases his references to local informants are real and show that he actually visited the places he describes (402f.). For Egypt see also Spiegelberg (1926) and Lüddeckens (1954). Lloyd (1975) examines the date of Herodotus' journey to Egypt, the season of the year and his itinerary (61-76) and concludes that in Upper Egypt Herodotus "traveled as far as Elephantine and either going or returning visited the Fayyûm where he saw the Labyrinth and Memphis. In the latter city he spent a great deal of time."

The primary basis for the text of Herodotus is made up of ten manuscripts from the 10th to the 14th Century. All these codices have errors in common that point to a common origin (archetype). Stein (1869) distinguished two families: the so-called Florentine family, with the oldest and best manuscript, Codex Laurentianus (denoted A) from the 10th Century, and a codex from the 11th Century which is very close to A (denoted B); and the Roman family (so named from a manuscript called Romanus or Vaticanus 123, from the 14th Century), where errors, omissions, and additions are more frequent than in the manuscripts of the Florentine family.

In addition to the manuscripts there are some 20 papyrus fragments containing texts from Herodotus written in the three first centuries of our era. The readings of these papyri side sometimes with the Roman family, more often with the Florentine family. They also show correct readings not found in any manuscript, indicating that the common source of the manuscripts is later than the papyri.

On the other hand, the papyri do not contain readings that separate them significantly from the manuscript tradition; they confirm the impression of the essential unity of all Herodotus texts we have today: the great majority of textual divergences are of a superficial kind, pertaining to orthography, dialect, and word order. Both manuscripts and papyri thus seem to have their ultimate origin in one ancient authoritative edition of Herodotus' work, probably from the 1st century BC (Legrand 1942, 186-88).

In constituting our text we have in the main followed Legrand's edition (1932-1954) in the French bilingual series Collection des Universités de France (the 'Budé-series'), but the readings given by Hude (1927) and Rosén (1987) have been noted wherever the variations affect the sense. For convenience we have added the section numbering as it appears in Hude's edition.

Of translations into English the one by de Sélincourt (1972) in the Penguin Classics series may be recommended. In the English bilingual series Loeb Classical Library Herodotus has been edited by Godley (1921-1924).

Text

29 [1] Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ιστορέων.

[2] Ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναντές ἐστι χωρίον· ταύτῃ ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ τὸ πλοῖον, οἷχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. [3] Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτό ἐστι ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ κατὰ περ ὁ Μαίανδρός ἐστι ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυώδεκά εἰσι οὔτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. Καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομφῶ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστι. [4] οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἥμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. Ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλῶσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. [5] Καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοπορίην ποιήσας ἡμερέων τεσσαράκοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλάι εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἶα τέ ἐστι πλέειν. [6] Διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὗτις ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβὰς δυώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσας καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομά ἐστι Μερὸή. Λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιοπῶν. [7] οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δέ, ἐπεὰν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεοπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ, ἐκεῖσε.

30 [1] Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὧσιν περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν. Τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοις τούτοις οὖνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν “οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεῖ”. [2] Ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχῳ βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἔν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι ἄλλῃ [δε] πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ· [3] ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμέο καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχῳ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. Τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. [4] Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὥς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοῦς

πατρῴους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας· τῶν δέ τινα λέγεται δείξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. [5] Οὗτοι ἐπεῖτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλεῖ. Ὁ δέ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἥσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιόπων· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. Τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθίοπες, ἥθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31 [1] Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους· ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφῶς φράσαι· ἔρημος γάρ ἐστι ἡ χώρα αὕτη ἀπὸ καύματος.

Translation

29 [1] From no one else was I able to learn anything [about the sources of the Nile], but this much in addition I learned by pressing my inquiries as far as possible: on the one hand I went as an observer all the way to the city of Elephantine, on the other I then investigated through hearsay⁸¹ the region beyond.

[2] 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.⁸² If the boat is torn away, it rushes off borne by the force of the current. [3] 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*.⁸³ Thereupon you will arrive at a smooth plain, where the Nile flows around an island; its name is Tachompso. [4] 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 flows into it. [5] 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. [6] 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. [7] The people there worship Zeus and Dionysos alone of the gods, and honour them greatly. They also have an oracle of Zeus. They go to war whenever this god bids them through oracles, and wherever he bids them.

⁸¹We have retained 'hearsay' as the accepted translation of the Greek *akoe*, but it should be understood that Herodotus uses the word in a neutral sense, with no pejorative undertone.

⁸²I.e. by hauling the boat by ropes from each riverbank, as one leads an unmanageable ox by ropes from two sides. For near contemporary sources referring to the cataracts, see Kraeling 1953, 25.

⁸³Ca. 126 km.

30 [1] From this city you will arrive at the Deserters (*Automoloi*) sailing again as long as it took to get from Elephantine to the capital of the Aithiopians. These Deserters are called Asmach, a word that translated into the Greek language means “they who stand at the King’s left hand”. [2] The defection to the Aithiopians by these 240 000 men of the Egyptian warrior class took place for the following reason: During the reign of Psammetich garrisons were established in the city of Elephantine on the Aithiopian frontier, and in Pelousian Daphnai another on the Arab and the Assyrian frontier, and in Marea on the Libyan frontier yet another. [3] Even in my time, under the Persians, the garrisons are just as they were in Psammetich’s time; for the Persians have military posts both in Elephantine and in Daphnai. These Egyptians, then, had been on guard for three years without anybody relieving them; so after deliberation they all by common consent defected from Psammetich and went to Aithiopia. [4] When Psammetich learnt this, he pursued them. Having overtaken them he begged them with many words and would not let them abandon their paternal gods, their children and wives. It is said that one of them pointed to his penis and said that where it was, there too they would have children and wives. [5] When these men arrived in Aithiopia, they gave themselves over to the king of the Aithiopians. He rewarded them in the following manner: Some Aithiopians had a disagreement with the king, so he ordered the Deserters to remove them and inhabit their land. Once they had settled among the Aithiopians, the Aithiopians learnt Egyptian customs and have become more civilized.

31 [1] So the Nile is known for the distance of four months of travel by boat and on land, not counting its course in Egypt; for that is how many months will be found to be used by someone who calculates the time it takes to travel from Elephantine to these Deserters. The river flows from west and the setting sun. From that point no one can offer a clear report, for there the land is a desert by reason of the intense heat.

[TE]

Comments

Herodotus’ description of the Nile south of Elephantine is introduced by a story about the sources of the river told to H. by a priest in Sais (2,28) judged by H. himself as jesting (on the Egyptian mythological tradition latent in the story see, however, the remarks of Lüddeckens 1962, 439 with note 20). The passage 2.29-30 is contrasted with this improbable story in order to replace it with a trustworthy description based on autopsy up to Elephantine and on questioning and hearsay about what lay beyond Elephantine. The reference to autopsy and informants is preceded by a claim that he made fruitless enquiries as to the sources of the Nile—a recurrent device used by H. to enhance the credibility of a particular story (see Fehling 1989, 102-104, 125 f.). H.’s journey to Upper Egypt has been repeatedly doubted (already in the 2nd century AD by Aelius Aristides,

XXXVI, 41-52; for the modern literature see Lloyd 1976, 115 ff. and Lüddeckens 1977; cf. furthermore Säve-Söderbergh 1946, 68-80; Momigliano 1960; Kaiser 1967; Armayor 1978; Fehling 1989, 100, 240-243). The description of the Nile beyond Elephantine consists of errors which could hardly be ascribed to imprecise information gathered at Elephantine, for false data start with the length of the First Cataract and the confusion of Takompso with Philae (for the latter see Lloyd 1976, 120). Such errors concerning the immediate vicinity of Elephantine point towards a source of a general nature, presumably a travellers' itinerary excerpted (orally) for H. at some point of his stay in Lower Egypt. The nature of his information is also hinted at in the remark made in 2,32.1-3 in which H. says that his knowledge of the exploration of the upper Nile came to him at fourth hand: he was in contact with people from Cyrene, who learnt from Ammonians (inhabitants of the Siwa Oasis, cf. 59) that the king of the Ammonians spoke with some Nasamonians (Lloyd 1976, 134: identical with the Libyan *ṭmḥw* of Egyptian sources) who knew about an expedition to the upper Nile region (see Fehling 1989, 98 f.).

"The distance one has to sail..." In reality, the length of the First Cataract is about 6 kms measured from Aswan; the four days of river journey cover the entire twelve schoinoi, i.e., the Dodekaschoinos of later sources (for *šḥt itrw* 12 of the Egyptian and for the Dodekaschoinos of Ptolemaic and Roman sources see Sethe 1901; cf. Desanges 1969).

"you will arrive at ... an island; its name is Tachompso." Tachompso at the southern end of the Dodekaschoinos is identical with the *T3-q-m3-p-s* of Egyptian late period texts and the Tacompso/Tacompson of the Bion (3rd century BC) and Juba (1st century BC) itineraries and lies close to the Hieria Sykaminos of the itinerary of the Neronian expedition (Priese 1984, 487, and see FHN, vol. 2, 3). The Bion itinerary has a locality called Tacompso both on the east and the west banks, and it may also be presumed that the island of Djerar near the two Tachompso was also called Tachompso (Lloyd 1976, 118 f.). This may explain the confusion of Tachompso with the island of Philae in H.'s source (it is Philae that Strabo, XVII, 1,49 says is inhabited by Egyptians and Aithiopians).

"Next to the island there is a great lake around which nomad Aithiopians..." Lloyd (1976, 121) attempts, perhaps somewhat forcedly, to interpret the "great lake" as "a broadening of the river as it passed on either side of the island" and explains the "nomads" who live according to H. along the Lower Nubian Nile as "Beduin such as the Medjay ... as distinct from the more cultured inhabitants of the valley" (1976, 121). While the desert east of the Nile was indeed inhabited by Blemmyan tribes (cf. 50), no independent evidence is known concerning (the presumably very sparse) settlement along either bank in Lower Nubia.

"Thereupon you arrive..." Lloyd (1976, 121-123) supposed that the four days' boat voyage from Elephantine to Tachompso was followed by a journey of forty days by land along the river. This section of the journey would have ended at

Abu Hamed, where one embarked again and arrived at Meroe City in twelve days. This reconstruction of the itinerary is of course possible, but appears somewhat awkward considering the usual itinerary in Antiquity which consisted of a voyage to Korosko whence the journey continued along the desert road to Abu Hamed, from where Meroe City could be reached at high Nile by boat. Arguing against the opinion in which H.'s Meroe would in fact be identical with Napata, Lloyd (1976, 124) suggests that whenever H. speaks about Meroe, he means the historical Meroe City because H.'s "Table of the Sun" (cf. 65) was archaeologically verified on that site. Reference is made to Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 25 ff. The fanciful identification of temple M 250, a chapel standing on a double podium, with H.'s "table of the Sun" was put forward by A.H. Sayce according to whom "here on the topmost terrace under the open sky was the altar on which were placed the meats offered to the deity". The building, however, as discovered by Garstang, is not earlier than the (late) first century BC; and its altar was in all probability placed within a conventionally roofed Egyptian-type sanctuary (for the archaeology of the building see Török n.d.b, § 27; for its original appearance see the preserved—but at present not visible—relief representation of M 250 on the W side of its lower podium, of which a drawing made on the basis of Garstang's photographs was published by Ahmed M. Ali Hakem: *Meroitic Architecture*. Khartoum 1988, fig. 29).

"Zeus and Dionysus...", i.e., Amun and Osiris. The statement, similarly to the one concerning the oracle of Amun, is doubtless realistic; yet the "alone" does not of course sound convincingly even if we know less of the cults of 5th century BC Meroe City (cf., however, Török n.d.b) than what the preserved evidence conveys of the richness of cults at Napata and, in general, in Kush prior to and in the times of H. (cf. PM VII, *passim*; and see references to cults in, e.g., 34, 37-40. According to Lloyd 1976, 125 Garstang also discovered the actual "throne from which the god [Amun] gave his [oracular] pronouncements" in the Amun temple [M 260] at Meroe City. In fact, the temple in question dates from the period between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD; for its archaeology see Török n.d.b, § 31).

"...you will arrive at the Deserters ... So the Nile is known the distance of four months of travel..." According to H., from Meroe City one had to travel another 56 days (equivalent to the journey from Elephantine to Meroe!) in order to reach the territory inhabited by the descendants of the 240,000 men who deserted from the garrison of Elephantine under Psammetich I. While admitting that the 56 days may be a misunderstanding on the part of H. (Lloyd 1976, 127 f.), Lloyd tries to locate the land of the Deserters with the help of Strabo, XVI, 4,8 and Pliny, N.H., VI, 191 ff. (on the territory of the Sembritae = the Deserters) in "the area between the Blue and the White Nile known today as the Gezira on the N. tip of which stands Khartoum" (op.cit., 127). According to Pliny the Sembritae inhabited Esar and Daron; Lloyd suggests that the latter is identical with the Daro of the 4th century AD Ezana inscription (see FHN, vol.

3). Daron is, however, identical with the Andaro of the Juba itinerary, modern Shaḏdinab (Darru), at the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara *north* of Meroe City (Priese 1984, 496). The number 240,000 is obviously fictitious and, as shown by Fehling (1989, 232), is in the style of H.'s invented quantities and completely un-Egyptian. The historicity of an actual conflict under Psammetich I at the Egyptian-Kushite border involving in some way the military stationed at Elephantine cannot be doubted *ab ovo*; yet the story of the deserters preserves most probably, as was suggested by de Meulenaere (1951, 43), the memory of the withdrawal of Kushite forces from Upper Egypt by Tanutamani (cf. comment to (28) and see 29). The meaning of the word "Asmach" is unknown. The Deserters appear under various names in later classical literature (Automoles, Mela, III, 85; Sembritae, Strabo, XVI,4,8; XVII,1,2; Plin., N.H., VI,191; Machloiones, Hesychius, s.v. Cf. Lloyd 1976, 128) which are equally obscure. A derivation of Asmach from Egyptian smhy, "left" (Wb. IV, 140 [10]-[15]) is highly doubtful, even if it appears to be supported by the military connotation ("they stand at the King's left hand" [in battle]) suggested by H. [LT]

57 On tribute levied by Cambyses on Aithiopia. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 3.97.2-3.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 56. This text belongs to Herodotus' description of the reign of Darius, and follows upon a survey of the Persian satrapies and the incomes from them (3.89-96).

Text

97 [2] Οἷδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, ... οἱ περί τε Νύσσην τὴν ἱρὴν κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς· [οὔτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοις σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλανταῖοι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτινται κατάγαια.] [3] οὔτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμέο, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσοῦ καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι.

Translation

97 [2] Now the following were not required to deliver any tribute, but did bring gifts: the Aithiopians along the Egyptian borders, whom Cambyses subdued

when he marched against the long-lived Aithiopians, ... who⁸⁴ live around the holy Nysa and celebrate the festivals for Dionysos. [These Aithiopians and their neighbours have the same kind of semen as the Callantian Indians, and they have subterranean dwellings.]⁸⁵ [3] These two peoples together used to deliver every second year, and still deliver in my time, two *choinikes* of unrefined gold,⁸⁶ two hundred logs of ebony, five Aithiopian boys, and twenty great elephant tusks.

[TE]

Comments

"Aithiopians along the Egyptian borders..." H. means the Kushites living in Lower Nubia south of the Egyptian border at Elephantine, and, in a wider sense, probably the whole of Kush.

"...whom Cambyses subdued." From 3,25,4 ff. (see 65) we learn, however, that Cambyses' (525-522 BC) Aithiopian campaign ended in failure. Though the historicity of the campaign on which H.'s "Aithiopian logos" (65) would have been based is, thanks to H.'s standing as a source concerning matters at the peripheries of Egyptological interest, generally accepted in Egyptological literature (e.g., see Kienitz 1953, 130 f.; Krauss 1978; D. O'Connor in: Trigger-Kemp et al. 1983, 268 f.) occasional doubts have also been expressed (Priebe 1978, 80; Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979 passim; Török 1986, 23 ff.; Török 1988, 125-129). Apart from H. and classical authors relying upon him (Strabo, VIII,139; Diodorus, II,3,3.1 etc.), the campaign is not attested by textual evidence; and the connection (as suggested by Kees 1919) of the toponym Forum Cambusis (marking the temples of Abu Simbel, see Priebe 1984, 489) occurring first in Plin., N.H., VI, 181 (see FHN, vol. 3) with an expedition of Cambyses lacks any foundation (cf. Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979, 130 f.).

"...have subterranean dwellings." Allusion to the cave-dweller Troglodytes described in 4,183,4 (66) as one of the fabulous peoples living along the desert

⁸⁴ The relative pronoun can hardly refer to "the long-lived Aithiopians"; Stein (1893), followed by Legrand (1939), suggested that a mention of the people referred to here has been lost (cf. below "These two peoples together"). Rosén (1987) does not suppose a lacuna. but puts a stop before the pronoun.

⁸⁵ Stein (1893) and Legrand (1939) bracket this sentence as an intrusion in the text at this point. In ch. 101 the remark on the colour of the semen ("same kind of", i.e. black, like the colour of the skin) is made of the Indians and the Aithiopians generally. The mention of "subterranean dwellings" applies more correctly to the Aithiopian "cave dwellers", *troglodytes* (IV.183). Rosén (1987) places the words here translated "Aithiopians and their neighbours" between parentheses, understanding them to be an explanation of the preceding pronoun. His text would give the following translation: "Those who live around the holy Nysa also celebrate the festivals for Dionysos. These (the Aithiopians and their neighbours) have the same...". The word for semen here, *sperma*, may also mean seed grain, and is so understood by some.

⁸⁶I.e. gold-dust: the *choinix* was a Greek dry measure, particularly for corn; the Attic *choinix* was the equivalent of 1.1 litre.

route leading from Thebes towards places beyond the known world (cf. Fehling 1989, 228 f.).

“...deliver every second year...” From the Kabrit stela (Posener 1936, 63-81, no. 9) of Darius I (521-486 BC) onwards, but not earlier, also Kush is listed in Persian registers of tribute-bringers (the best-known being the relief representation on the E façade of Xerxes’ apadana at Persepolis, Walser 1966, Pls 30, 81, 82; cf. Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979, 146 f.). In the view of Hofmann and Vorbichler (1979, 141-151) Kush (Nubia) as deliverer of tribute is taken over from the traditional Egyptian lists of subdued peoples.

[LT]

58 Aithiopians in Xerxes’ army. Ca. 450-430 BC.

Herodotus 7.69.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 56. This text belongs to Herodotus’ account of the mustering of Xerxes’ troops after the crossing of the Hellespont in 480 BC, with an enumeration of the contingents and a description of their equipment, arranged geographically.

Text

69 [1] Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσων· ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους ὁῖστοὺς σμικροὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶ ὄξυ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. Τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ μίλτῳ.

[2] Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου <τε> καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσὴν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο. Τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, ...

Translation

69 [1] The Aithiopians had leopard and lion skins fastened to themselves; they had bows made of palm wood, of great length, not less than four cubits, and in addition small reed arrows, with tips made of sharpened stone instead of iron, from the kind of stone they also use to engrave seals. They also had spears with horns of gazelles sharpened to a point as spearheads, and they had clubs with knobs. They go into battle with one half of their body smeared with chalk, the other half with ochre.

[2] The Arabians and the Aithiopians who live beyond Egypt were under the command of Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, Darius' favourite wife, of whom he had a statue made of hammered gold. So the Aithiopians beyond Egypt and the Arabians were under the command of Arsames, ...

[TE]

Comments

"The Aithiopians..." described as fighting in Xerxes' (486-465 BC) army go into battle painting their body half white and half ochre and carrying arrows with stone tips like Africans (cf. Zahan 1975). If there were in fact Aithiopians of this sort serving in Xerxes' army, they must have been recruited from the southern fringes of Kush. Actual contacts between Egypt under Xerxes' rule and Kush are indicated by the fine Attic plastic rhyton made and signed around 470 BC by the potter Sotades and found under pyramid Beg. S. 24 at the Meroe South Cemetery (Dunham 1963, 383, figs 212-215; for its dating see Török 1989, 118 f. no. 1). This rhyton and other works of Sotades (cf. Kahil 1972) were made for an oriental, i.e., Persian clientèle: the Meroe rhyton is decorated with scenes of battles between Greeks and Persians in which it is the latter that are victorious. The find of a related rhyton of Sotades at Memphis (ibid.) indicates what is also otherwise evident, that the Meroe rhyton came from Egypt and it is tempting to suppose that it was a diplomatic present sent to the king of Kush by Xerxes' Egyptian satrap. Kushite presents, among them Herodotus' soldiers, may have been sent north in exchange (cf. Török 1989, 69).

[LT]

59 Aithiopia and the Siwa oracle. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 2.42.3-4.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 56.

Text

42 [3] Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ὄϊων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφισι τεθῆναι· Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τέλος δέ, ἐπεῖτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι <τοιόνδε> [4] κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. Ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷ γάλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες.

Translation

42 [3] The Thebans and those who by their example abstain from [sacrificing] sheep, say that this law was laid down for them as the result of the following:

Heracles desperately wanted to see Zeus, who did not want to be seen by him. Finally, however, since Heracles insisted, Zeus contrived the following: [4] He flayed a ram, cut off the ram's head and held it out in front of him having covered himself with the fleece, and thus showed himself to Heracles. This is the reason why the Egyptians make Zeus' image with a ram's head, and from the Egyptians this custom spread to the Ammonians, who are colonists of Egyptians and Aithiopians and speak a language which lies between those of the two peoples.

[TE]

Comments

In this passage H. associates the oracle of Amun in the Siwa Oasis with the Theban Amun oracle on the one hand, and with a mixed Egyptian-Aithiopian population living allegedly in the Siwa Oasis, on the other. The text of 2.42.3-4 is an explanatory introduction to 2.42.6 where, in contradiction to the introduction, H. relates that the Thebans, though holding the rams sacred on the reason explained in 42.3-4 and thus not sacrificing them, nevertheless once in the year at the festival of Zeus (Amun) cut a single ram into pieces, flay it, put its fleece on the image of Amun and then bring an image of Heracles (probably Chonsu) near to it. As a conclusion to the festival, they bury the remnants of the sacrificed ram "in a sacred coffer". In Lloyd's view (1976, 192-200), H.'s account describes an existing ritual of the clothing of Amun's cult statue in the fleece of a ram and possibly also refers to the preliminaries of the Opet festival in which the bark of Chonsu was perhaps brought in procession into the Amun sanctuary. The sacrifice of rams would also be supported by the find of bones of ovidae in Karnak (op.cit., 194). (Charred bones and ashes buried in ceramic jars were found by Garstang at several sites in Meroe City, the most significant being a series of vessels along the SE front of temple M 250 [see Török n.d.b, § 27]; and there are further vessels buried in rows in the ground floor rooms of what may be identified as houses inhabited by priests of the Amun temple M 260 [ibid.]. These finds date approximately from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD. Garstang believed that the vessels contained human remains and regarded them, absurdly enough, as burials proper. No samples are preserved; and while it seems certain that the bones and ashes were remains of the sacrificial animals consumed by the priests, the species of the animals remains unknown.) The connections between the Amun cults in Thebes and Siwa cannot be denied and were known to Herodotus (see 4,181: "... the Ammonians ... follow the worship of the Zeus [=Amun] of Thebes; for ... the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram" [Godley 1957, 384 f.]; for the Siwa temple and its origins see Kuhlmann 1988); and the connections between the cults of the human-headed

Theban Amun and the ram-headed Amun of Napata are also well-known. If the “information” concerning the mixed Egyptian-Aithiopian population of Siwa derives from information suggesting the cult connections, the passage may indeed be regarded as fairly realistic (cf. with comments to 8, lines 1-13). The aitiological myth about Zeus and Heracles connected to it, as far as it refers to certain aspects of the Opet festival, also contains realistic elements; but H.’s knowledge of the oracular practice in Thebes is less than slight (see the fantastic story on the Theban origins of the Dodona oracle and the similarity of the oracular practices of the two sanctuaries in 2,54-57 and cf. Fehling 1989, 65 ff.); and he does not know anything about the Siwa Oasis except that there is an Amun oracle there (cf. Fehling 1989, 102, 132 on the pattern also used in 3,19.1 in the description of peoples living in the second circle of the world).

[LT]

60 On King Shabako. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 2. 137.1-4.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 56.

Text

137 [1] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὖνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. Ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίοπων βασιλέα. [2] Τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλλα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ’ ἕτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι·

[3] ὅπως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωυτῶν πόλι, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων. Καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· [4] τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δευτέρα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο.

Translation

137 [1] After him [Asychis] (I was told)⁸⁷ a blind man from the city of Anysis became king; his name was Anysis. During his reign the Aithiopians and their king Sabakos invaded Egypt with a great force. [2] This blind man then fled into

⁸⁷In Herodotus’ account of the successive kings in Egypt the sections are frequently introduced by the phrases “the priests said”, “the Egyptians said”, or “they said”. In two places, here and 141.1, no reference to source is given; but the sentence is in the accusative with infinitive construction that indicates reported speech. In Herodotus’ summary (2.142.1) he states that his source has been “the Egyptians and the priests” (i.e. at Memphis), see Fehling (1989), 72-74. On the whole question of Herodotus’ Egyptian sources see Lloyd (1975), ch. 3.

the marshes, and the Aithiopian reigned over Egypt for fifty years, during which time he performed the following:

[3] When some Egyptian committed a crime, he did not want to have any of them killed, but judged each according to the gravity of his crime, ordering the offender to heap up dykes in front of his home city. And in this way the level of the cities rose even higher. [4] For they were first raised by the men who dug the canals during the reign of Sesostris, then again in the time of the Aithiopian, and thus became very elevated.

[TE]

Comments

Anysis embodies, as suggested by Lloyd (1988, 90 f.), the kings of the Twenty-Third Dynasty (ca. 818-720 [?] BC, Kitchen 1986, Table *3); while Sabakos (Shabaqo) stands for the entire Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (cf. von Fritz 1967, 174). The fifty years' reign assigned by H. to Sabakos may correspond roughly (so Lloyd 1988, 91) to the duration of the reigns of Shabaqo, Shebitqo, and Taharqo (716-664 BC, cf. (13), (16), (19)). Indeed, Manetho listed only Shabaqo (Sabacon), Shebitqo (Sebichos), and Taharqo (Taracos) and assigned to them a total of 40 or 44 regnal years (in reality: ca. 716-664 BC, ca. 52 regnal years); so H.'s fifty years seem to follow from his ignorance of Tanutamani's reign, which started concurrently with the reign of the first Twenty-Sixth Dynasty king Psammetich I (see (28)). While on the point of ignoring Tanutamani H.'s source follows official Saite tradition, the positive judgement of Sabakos' personality and reign clearly contradicts the Saite tradition concerning the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and can rather be explained as inspired by classical *Randvölkerideologie*, which is also reflected by 65. (In 2,141, H.'s remark on Sethos [probably Shebitqo (cf. Lloyd 1988, 100)] shows, in turn, the impact of the Saite view of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; for here Sethos is claimed to have despised the Machimoi, i.e., the Egyptian warrior class which was mostly of Libyan extraction [cf. Lloyd 1975, 16 ff.]. A preference for Kushite warriors on the part of the Kushite rulers, especially in relation to Machimoi who fought against them in Lower Egypt, may of course be historical—as opposed to the rest of 2,141 where pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty events are confused with events occurring one century later, see Lloyd 1988, 99 ff.)

“... Sabakos invaded Egypt.” This invasion is apparently identical with the Lower Egyptian campaign in Year 2 of Shabaqo (see 14) in the course of which he eliminated Bocchoris/Bakenranef (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 340). There is no reason to believe, however, that, as suggested by Kitchen (ibid.) and others (see Lloyd 1988, 92), Shabaqo also “reconquered” Upper Egypt; for we have no evidence of a change in the balance of power as it was previously established by Piye (see 9).

“... heap up dykes ...” This is an aetiological explanation of the genesis of tell settlements, yet, as pointed out by Lloyd (1988, 94) and also reflects the traditional image of Pharaoh as builder of dykes and digger of canals.

[LT]

61 On the origin of the Aithiopians. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 4.197.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 56. This text belongs to Herodotus' digression on North Africa in connection with the Persian expedition into Libya.

Text

197 [1] Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσι τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι· καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφρόντιζον οὐδέν. [2] Τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων, τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορρῶν, οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

Translation

197 [1] These are the Libyans⁸⁸ that I am able to mention by name; most of them do not care anything about the king of the Medes (Persians) now, nor did they then. [2] I have one more piece of information on this land: four peoples share it, not more, as far as I know, and two of the peoples are autochthonous, the two others not; the Libyans and the Aithiopians are autochthonous, the former inhabit the northern, the latter the southern part of Libya; the Phoenicians and the Greeks, however, are immigrants.

[TE]

Comments

H. uses the term Aithiopia to denote the entire territory of Africa beyond Aswan/Elephantine, i.e., the southern frontier of Egypt (Lloyd 1976, 120); he regards its inhabitants as autochthonous and belonging to his peripheral peoples. These inhabit a second circle of the world, the middle circle being the known world, the second the region of fabulous peoples, and the third the unknown world. As shown by Fehling (1989, 96-104), the inhabitants of the second circle,

⁸⁸By 'Libya' ancient authors generally mean the whole of Africa west of the Nile. For a full survey of Herodotus' uses of the terms 'Libya' and 'the Libyans' see E. Honigsmann's article on 'Libye' in RE 13¹ (1926) 155-9.

i.e., the peripheral peoples, “can only be known through indirect information” (op.cit., 101).

[LT]

62 On Aithiopia and the Aithiopians. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 3.114.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 56. This text is taken from a digression on the riches of “the furthest parts of Asia and Libya”, following a survey of the incomes from the Persian satrapies and the peoples who pay no taxes but bring gifts (see 57).

Text

114 Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπία χώρα ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσὸν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφείας καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιώτατους.

Translation

114 To the south-west⁸⁹ Aithiopia extends toward the setting sun, the furthest inhabited country. This country produces much gold, huge elephants, all kinds of wild trees, and ebony; and the men there are very tall, handsome, and long-lived.

[TE]

Comments

This picture of a land of fabulous peripheral people (see 61) contains utopian (“... all kinds of wild trees ... the men are very tall, handsome, and long-lived ...”) as well as realistic features (“... much gold, huge elephants ...”). The abundance of gold, however, though presumably based on the generally (and especially in Egypt) known gold production of Nubia, also relates this passage to the description of other peripheral peoples’ riches. In 3,105.1-2 gigantic ants are said to guard India’s gold; and in 3,116.1 and 4,13.1 H. tells about the gold-guarding griffons of the Schythians (Fehling 1989, 192). The fabulous richness of Aithiopia is also described in 3,24.3 (65).

[LT]

⁸⁹Literally “as noon inclines”, an expression of time here used locally, “where the south turns (toward the west)” .

63 On the end of Kushite rule over Egypt. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 2.152.1.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see **56**.

Text

152 [1] Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὅς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὔτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαΐτεώ εἰσι.

Translation

152 [1] This Psammetich had earlier fled the Aithiopian Sabakos, who had killed his father Nekos. When the Aithiopian withdrew as a result of the dream he had had,⁹⁰ the Egyptians from the nome of Sais recalled Psammetich, who at that time was in exile in Syria.

[TE]

Comments

The end of the rule of the local ruler Nekos (Necho I, before 664 BC), an Assyrian vassal reigning in Memphis and Sais (cf. Kitchen 1986, § 354), occurred in the course of Tanutamani's Lower Egyptian campaign in 664 BC (see **(28)**, **(29)**). Spalinger (1982, 1165) and Kitchen (1986, § 354 with note 883) conjecture that Psammetich I fled at his father's death to Assyria whence he returned with the Assyrian army of Assurbanipal; but H. is alone in supporting this hypothesis. H.'s information, according to which Psammetich I was recalled by "the Egyptians from the nome of Sais", rests on a propagandistic beatification of the historical circumstances in which the first king of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty was put on his throne as vassal ruler by the Assyrians (cf. Kitchen 1986, §§ 355, 360-362). Tanutamani did not appear in the Saite tradition from which H.'s information concerning the history of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties originated (cf. **60**); Nekos' death is thus ascribed to Sabakos (Shabaqo), the ruler who represents the entire Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in H.'s work. Sabakos' dream is described in 2.139: according to H., Sabakos, while still in Aithiopia, was promised by an oracle to reign fifty years over Egypt (cf. **60**). Now having indeed ruled fifty years, he saw a dream in which he was counselled to gather together all Egyptian priests, and "cut them to pieces" in order to prolong his reign. This horrible advice the King interprets as a divine warning and so withdraws voluntarily to Aithiopia. The realistic elements in 2.139 are the oracular promise of fifty years of rule, which seems to rest upon information concerning the oracular decree the kings of Egypt and Kush received at their enthronement

⁹⁰Mentioned earlier, ch. 139.

(see comments to 8, 37); moreover the dream, insofar as it reflects H.'s knowledge of a rite of lustratio that could prolong a king's reign or give invincibility to an army (cf. 4,84; 7,39), may derive from a similar source. Yet this latter has absolutely nothing to do with Egypt or Kush (for the issue see the detailed analysis presented by Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979, 81-89). The text of 2.139 and of 2.152.1 describes Sabakos as a mythic ruler who is unable to act unjustly and against the will of the gods and also add to this picture of an idealized king of a peripheral people features that originate from contemporary Greek philosophy (Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979, 80 refer to Demokritos, H. Diels: *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Hamburg 1957, 68 B 102, 170, 191, 233).

[LT]

64 On the Nubian expedition of Psammetich II. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 2.161.1.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 56.

Text

161 [1] Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μούνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίνην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος.

Translation

161 [1] Psammis reigned over Egypt for only six years. He made a campaign into Aithiopia, died immediately afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Apries.

[TE]

Comments

On the campaign see 41-43. Psammetich II reigned in fact for five years and some months; Lloyd (1988, 167) suggests that H.'s error may be explained by a non-Egyptian dating practice and thus supposes that the source for this passage was not obtained in Egypt. H.'s knowledge of Psammetich II's reign is exhausted by the information conveyed in 64 and the mention of an unhistorical event (2,160; cf. Lloyd 1988, 164 f.). The dating of the Nubian campaign, which in fact occurred in the King's third regnal year, to a time shortly before his death, is erroneous (Lloyd 1988, 168 f., contradicting himself somewhat, states that this particular error does not necessarily refer to a Greek source because a similar error is made in the Demotic PRylands IX, 14/17 [Griffith 1909, 92 ff.] written in 513 BC [cf. 50] where it is said that Psammetich II died immediately after his Asiatic campaign [of 592 BC]. In view of the rather short reign, however, such an error may occur in later references, be they made in Greece or Egypt; and thus the case quoted by Lloyd does not necessarily imply that 64 would have been based on both Greek and Egyptian sources).

[LT]

65 The Aithiopian logos. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 3.17.1-25.7

For Source bibliography and Introduction to source see 56.

Text

17 [1] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ. [2] Βουλευομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὁψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι Ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθές, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν.

18 [1] Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ Ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι· Λειμὼν ἔστι ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἔοντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον· φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε· Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ Ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε.

19 [1] Καμβύσῃ δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. [2] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν.[...]

20 [1] Ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτὸν περιαιχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ Φοινικίου οἴνου κάδον. Οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. [2] Νόμοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς φασὶ κεχωρισμένοις τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιληίην τοιῶδε· τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν.

21 [1] Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὧν τοὺς ἀνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε· “Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεινός τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος.”

[2] Ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε· “Οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεινός γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα (ἤκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς) οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἔστι δίκαιος· εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρας ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην

ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ' ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται. [3] Νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε· 'Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιοπῶν συμβουλευεὶ τῷ Περσέων βασιλεῖ, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι [τὰ] τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθιοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι, μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἐωυτῶν.'"

22 [1] Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀνεῖς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι. Λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἴη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείην περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολερούς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα.

[2] Δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα, τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναί σφεα πέδας εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἐωυτοῖσί εἰσι ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι.[3] Τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπύκετο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὃ τι τε σιτέται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει. [4] Οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδῶκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκεῖσθαι. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτέομενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζῶουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζῶειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐωυτοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

23 [1] Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζόης καὶ τῆς διαίτης πέρι, <εἶπε> ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα ἐφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα.

[2] Θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη· ὄζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων. [3] Ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφί ἐστι ἀληθῶς οἶόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι.

[4] Ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέησι δεδέσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χάλκος σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον. Θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐθεήσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

24 [1] Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑάλου τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· [2] ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχήν-

ωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατὰ περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιοῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δέ οἱ περισταῖσι στήλην ἐξ ὑάλου πεποιημένην κοίλην (ἡ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται). [3] Ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν· καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερά ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. [4] Ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες πάντων τε ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25 [1] Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. Ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι. [2] οἷα δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὥς ἤκουσε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. [3] Ἐπεῖτε δὲ πορευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας.

[4] Πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. [5] Εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτὰδι ἣν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. [6] Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἓνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. [7] Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπείς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ. Ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβάς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

Translation

17 [1] Thereupon Cambyses determined to launch three campaigns, one against the Carthaginians, another against the Ammonians, and a third against the long-lived Aithiopians, who inhabit the part of Libya⁹¹ that borders on the Southern Ocean. [2] While he was making these plans he decided to send the navy against the Carthaginians, against the Ammonians picked troops from his land forces, and against the Aithiopians, in the first instance, spies to see if

⁹¹For the meaning of 'Libya' see 61, note 88.

the Sun's Table said to be among these Aithiopians really existed, and also to look into matters in general, under the pretext of bringing gifts to their king. 18 [1] This is roughly what is told about the Table of the Sun: On the outskirts of the city there is a meadow full of boiled meat from every kind of quadruped. During the night those of the citizens who at any moment are in office take care to place the meat there; during the day anybody who so wishes may go there and eat. The natives say that it is the earth itself that produces the meat each time. This, then, is what is told about the so-called Table of the Sun.

19 [1] As soon as Cambyses had decided to send the spies, he summoned from Elephantine, the city of the Fish-eaters, men who knew the Aithiopian language. [2] While they went to find these men, he ordered the navy to sail against Carthage. [...]

20 [1] After the Fish-eaters had come to Cambyses from Elephantine, he sent them to the Aithiopians, having instructed them what they were to say. They brought as gifts a purple robe, a necklace of gold, bracelets, an alabaster jar of myrrh, and a jar of Phoenician wine. The Aithiopians to whom Cambyses sent them are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men. [2] They are also said to have customs which set them apart from other peoples, especially the following concerning the royalty: the man among the citizens whom they find to be the tallest and to have strength in proportion to his height they find fit to be king.

21 [1] So when the Fish-eaters reached these people, they offered their gifts to their king and said the following, "Cambyses, King of the Persians, wishing to become your friend and protector (*xeinos*⁹²), sent us with orders to enter into negotiations with you and offers you these gifts which he too takes special pleasure in using himself."

[2] The Aithiopian, who had learnt that they came as spies, spoke to them in this vein, "Neither did the King of the Persians send you as bringers of gifts because he considers it important to become my friend (*xeinos*); nor are you telling the truth—for you have come as spies against my kingdom—nor is he a just man. For if he had been just, he would not have coveted another country than his own, nor would he reduce to slavery men who have done him no wrong. Now give him this bow and tell him this, [3] 'The King of the Aithiopians has a piece of advice for the King of the Persians. When the Persians can draw bows that are of this size as easily as this, then let him march against the long-lived Aithiopians with a superior force; but he should be grateful to the gods that up to now they have not put it in the minds of the children of the Aithiopians to acquire other land than their own.'"

⁹²Herodotus makes the Fish-eaters use the language of the Greek institution of "guestfriend-ship": *xeinos* is used of the relationship between men protected by the traditional customs of the guest/host-relationship.

22 [1] Having said this he unstrung the bow and handed it to them. He then took the purple robe and asked them what it was and how it was made. When the Fish-eaters had told him the truth about the purple and the dyeing, he said that they were deceptive and that their clothes were deceptive too.

[2] Secondly, he asked them about the gold objects, the necklace and the bracelets. When the Fish-eaters explained their use as ornaments, the king laughed; and, thinking they were fetters, said that they themselves had stronger ones than those. [3] Thirdly, he asked about the myrrh. When they told him how it was produced and used for anointing, he made the same comment as about the robe. When he came to the wine and was told how it was produced, he was quite enthusiastic about the drink and went on to ask what kind of food the king ate and what was the longest a Persian could live. [4] They told him that the king ate bread, explaining all about wheat and that the maximum lifetime laid down for a man was eighty years. To this the Aithiopian replied that it was no wonder they lived so short a time since they fed on manure; they would not even have been able to live that long if they had not restored themselves with this drink—and he drew the attention of the Fish-eaters to the wine, for in that respect his people were inferior to the Persians.

23 [1] When the Fish-eaters in turn asked the King about the Aithiopians' lifespan and food habits, he answered that most of them attained 120 years, that some surpassed even that, and that their food was boiled meat and their drink milk.

[2] When the spies expressed amazement at the number of years, he took them to a fountain with water which made people who bathed there glisten all the more, as if it had been a fountain of oil, and there was a smell from it as if from violets. [3] The water of this fountain was so thin (litt. 'weak'), the spies said, that virtually nothing would be able to float on it, neither wood nor things lighter than wood, everything sank to the bottom. This water, if it really was as described, could be the cause of their longevity, since they use it regularly.

[4] When they left the fountain, he led them to a men's prison where all were bound in fetters of gold; for among these Aithiopians copper is the rarest and most precious of all things. After having visited the prison, they also visited the so called Table of the Sun.

24 [1] Thereupon they finally visited the coffins of the Aithiopians, which are said to be made of a transparent material⁹³ in the following manner: [2] When they have dried the body, whether in the manner of the Egyptians or in some other way, they cover it with gypsum and decorate it all over with paint, imitating as far as possible the appearance of the deceased; then they place around it a hollow block made of the transparent material (this they dig up

⁹³The Greek word used here, *hyalos*, is the word used for alabaster, crystal, amber, and (first in Plato) for glass.

from the ground in great quantity, and it is easy to work). [3] Inside the block the corpse can be clearly seen, while causing no disagreeable smell or any other unpleasantness, and it leaves everything visible, just as the corpse is. The closest relatives keep the block in their houses for a year, bringing it all the first-fruit offerings and sacrifices; thereafter they take it away and set it up outside the city.

25 [1] After having visited everything, the spies departed home. When they had given their report, Cambyses became angry and immediately undertook a campaign against the Aithiopians, without either giving any orders for supply of food nor himself realizing that he was about to make a campaign to the farthest part of the world. [2] Being a madman and not in his senses he undertook the campaign as soon as he heard the report of the Fish-eaters, ordering the Greeks who were present to remain there, but bringing all his infantry with him. [3] When, during the march, he came to Thebes, he detached about 50,000 men from his army; and these he commanded to enslave the Ammonians and set fire to the oracle of Zeus, while he himself led the rest of his army against the Aithiopians.

[4] Before the army had completed one fifth of the journey all that they had by way of food was used up, and after the food there was a shortage of pack animals too because they were being eaten. [5] If then Cambyses on learning this had changed his mind and led his army back, he would have been a wise man in spite of his initial mistake; but in fact he paid no attention and continued his march forward. [6] As long as the soldiers could get anything from the ground, they survived by feeding on grass; but when they came to the sand, some of them committed an outrageous act: they chose by lot one man out of ten and ate him. [7] When Cambyses learnt this, the fear of cannibalism made him abandon the campaign against the Aithiopians. He marched back and arrived at Thebes having lost a great part of his army. From Thebes he went down to Memphis, dismissed the Greeks and sent them off by sea.

[TE]

Comments

In H.'s Aithiopian *logos* ethnographic lore on Aithiopia is fitted into the framework of historical data from the reign of Egypt's Persian conqueror Cambyses ([529] 525-521 BC). The memory of Cambyses' reign as preserved in H.'s work (cf. also 2,1; 3 *passim* and esp. 3,16, 27-38) is, as pointed out by Lloyd (1975, 109), mainly a result of Egyptian propaganda and gave H. an excellent opportunity to build up a splendid contrast between a ruthless, mad conqueror and a righteous peripheral people (for the righteousness of peripheral peoples cf. also *Iliad*, 13,6; Aeschylus, frgm. 329 M; Herodotus, 4.23.5 [Scythians]; 4.26.2 [Issedones]; Fehling 1989, 192 with note 11). The non-Egyptian (i.e., Greek) origins of the story have been discussed by several scholars (e.g., Hadas 1935, 113 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh 1946, 79; Lesky 1959; Herminghausen 1964, 31 ff.; Legrand

1967, 18-24, 28-32; Fehling 1989, 191 f.). In the view of Hofmann and Vorblicher (1979, *passim* and 172-179) "... enthält der Äthiopenlogos ein Mysteriengeschehen" (of Iranian origins); while Fehling regards it as an example of "ethnographic lore ... transformed into historical events" (1989, 191); and, demonstrating the disparate character of the three central parts of the story (1. Cambyses' embassy and message; 2. The answer of the Aithiopians; 3. The marvellous things in Aithiopia), he concludes that "this story had never had any independent existence in such a form; and hence any possibility of a Greek source for it is ruled out as well" (*op.cit.*, 192). The author of the composition is thus H. himself (similarly: Legrand *op. cit.*, 31).

"Thereupon Cambyses determined to launch three campaigns..." "Carthaginians" and "long-lived Aithiopians" stand here to signify the ambition of Cambyses to conquer the whole known and unknown world. In 3.13 a more realistic concern is indicated in the story about the peace with the Libyans, Cyreneans, and Barcans. Cyrene, which was regarded in Egypt as an increasingly dangerous neighbour in the course of the sixth century BC (see the summary by A.B. Lloyd in: Trigger-Kemp et al. 1983, 343-345) surrendered, according to H. (3.13), without resistance to Cambyses who also intended to secure Egypt's western border through effective control over the oases of the Libyan desert. It seems that H.'s source was fully aware that the campaigns against Cyrene and the Siwa Oasis were parts of the same political and strategic scheme, while the motivation of the Aithiopian campaign is clearly set apart ("... against the Aithiopians, in the first instance, spies ..."). Significantly, Cambyses offers the King of the Aithiopians his protection (i.e., wants to become his friend and protector, *xeinos*) in 21,1. The notion of protection in this sense corresponds with the Greek and not with the Egyptian practice (cf. for the latter issue: Zibelius-Chen 1988a, 158-163). At a later point in the narrative (3.25.1), Cambyses' motivation will be identified as separate from the (not explained by H., but historically verifiable) reasons for the campaigns against Carthage and Siwa: learning about the marvels of Aithiopia and the attitude of the king of the Aithiopians, he "... became angry ..." In the following (3.25.2-4) H. describes in great detail the consequences of a campaign that is motivated by madness, blind anger, and envy: the story is about the Cambyses who was not accepted as king of Egypt in Egyptian tradition, and not about the reasons for an actual expedition; and it illuminates H.'s view of the Persian rulers.

"... the Table of the Sun ..." The tale of the Table of the Sun was a Greek creation, emerging from the mythical tradition of the journeys of the Homeric gods to Aithiopia and from their feasts there (*Iliad*, 1.423 ff., 23.205 f.; *Odyssey*, 1.22, 4.83; Aischylus, *Prom.*, 790; cf. Lesky 1959, 27-38; Fehling 1989, 191 f.), and was motivated by the connection between the Sun and the Aithiopians (Mimnermus, 12.9-11; Aischylus, *frgm.* 323 M). For the archaeological discoveries brought erroneously into connection with the Table see comments to 56.

"... he summoned men who knew the Aithiopian language ..." According to 29.4 (see 56), "from Elephantine on, the country (i.e., Aithiopia) is inhabited by Aithiopians, and so is half of the island (i.e., Tachompso at the end of the Dodekaschoinos), while the other half is inhabited by Egyptians". While it is logical to employ explorers from Elephantine who could speak both the Aithiopian and the Egyptian languages, their identification as Fish-eaters (i.e., a fabulous people living between the Nile and the Red Sea, not mentioned elsewhere by H. but mentioned later by Strabo, 2.5.33) is confusing. The use of the Fish-eaters, foreigners who, from H.'s point of view, provide second-hand information, was regarded by Fehling (1989, 99 f.) as a device to mark the crossing of the boundaries of the known world and as a parallel to 4.24 (in which the Scythians are in contact with the Bald Men through seven interpreters and seven languages).

"... the Aithiopians ... are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men ... the man among the citizens whom they find to be the tallest and to have strength in proportion to his height they find fit to be king." In 3.20-24 the utopian land of the peripheral people is described. Upon their arrival in Aithiopia, the Fish-eaters are unmasked as spies at once and are lectured philosophically about the vanity and needlessness of conquest (cf. comments to 63, end) and about the inferiority of Persian culture (purple; gold ornaments; myrrh; diet and life expectancy of the Persian king). They learn about the marvels and richness of Aithiopia (longevity and its source; abundance of gold [cf. 62, comments]; burial customs). The passage on the coffins (24.1-3) in part reflects H.'s knowledge of (Egyptian) mummification, methods of cartonnage-making, and mortuary offerings and is in part fantastic (the blocks made of a transparent material: the description may nevertheless also reflect information [e.g., on outer sarcophagi and mortuary offerings] not included into the description of death, mummification and burial in Egypt given by H. in 2.85-88). Both the fountain and the coffins stress the god-like nature of the Aithiopians. The mocking of the King of the Aithiopians is directed against civilization, in which man has to fabricate everything he needs, as inferior to the natural way of life of the peripheral peoples. The only exception is (palm-)wine, which peripheral peoples drink moderately in the Greek tradition. It is excess that has catastrophic effects, as H. recurrently stresses (1.106; 1.207; 1.211 ff.; 2.121; 3.4; 6.84); and Cambyses himself is accused of being driven "to frenzy and madness" by wine (3.34).

"When they had given their report ..." The raving madness and hybris of Cambyses is punished with disaster. Armies starving on account of the hybris of Persian kings occur also elsewhere in H.'s work (4.131, Dareios; 8.115, Xerxes); and the motif of cannibalism may have been included here because at other places it occurs as a custom among peripheral peoples (1.216; 3.99; 4.26. Hofmann-Vorblicher 1979, 133 ff. would explain the latter detail as originating

from the identification of Cambyses with some ancient Persian cadaver-eating daimon). On this passage and the plants available see Keimer 1953, 372-375.

[LT]

66 An Aithiopian tribe. Ca. 450-430 BC.
Herodotus 4.183.4.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 56.

Text

183 [4] Οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. Σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄφεις καὶ σαύρας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν· γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

Translation

183 [4] The Aithiopian Troglodytes are the swiftest runners of all men of whom tales reach our ears. The food of the Troglodytes is snakes and lizards and similar reptiles. They use a language that does not resemble any other, rather they utter shrill sounds like bats.

[TE]

Comments

The Troglodytes or Cave-dwellers are located by Strabo, 17,1.2 (see FHN, vol. 2) between the Nile and the Red Sea. H. is the earliest author to mention them; in later Hellenistic and Roman works (see K. Jahn 1948) the ethnonym Trogodytai signifies primitive peoples of nomadic character, tribal features, frequently cave-dwellers (according to Jahn, op. cit., 2497 the original form of the name is Trogodytai, which was later “interpreted” and “corrected” into Troglodytai, i.e., Cave-dwellers) living at many different parts of the world. See also E.H. Warmington’s foreword to Murray 1967, 24.

[LT]

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