

FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM

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

VOL. II
FROM THE MID-FIFTH TO THE FIRST CENTURY BC



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

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INTRODUCTION

As was stated in our first volume, the aim of *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* is to present the main 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. For a more detailed statement of our aims and for an account of the background of our undertaking, the reader is referred to our introduction to that volume; at this place, only some basic facts of importance for the user will be repeated. In addition, we shall be more specific than earlier on some points particularly raised by the present selection of texts.

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: this is true especially for the literary sources. In the case of the documentary material—the inscriptions and papyri—a more active editorial policy has sometimes proved necessary, so that the texts we present are at places not identical with those of any of the previous editions, but the result of our scrutiny of the material at our disposal, including published photos, and of our evaluation of the suggestions put forward by scholars in the field.

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. Moreover, we have deliberately omitted a number of other texts, namely those judged to contain no independent historical information (such as numerous topical mentions of the Blemmyes in Greek and Roman literature). 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 ((67), (69) etc.) distinguish these categories of evidence from the source texts proper which bear bold numbers without brackets (68, 71 etc.).

We have tried to avoid the use of unclear, idiosyncratic, or controversial historical and geographical terms in our commentaries. "Nubia" is used in its widest historical sense and not as a geographical term (except for "Upper Nubia" and "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" denote the indigenous 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 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 whenever the classical sources we are commenting on use this notoriously vague term themselves; in these texts, reference normally is to the Nile Region south of Egypt.

Though this is in the end a team-work, a certain division of labour has been both necessary and natural. The selection of sources was made by László Török (LT), who also wrote the historical comments. Richard Holton Pierce (RHP) translated the Egyptian texts, hieroglyphic as well as Demotic and (in Vol. III) Coptic. Tormod Eide (TE) and Tomas Hägg (TH) produced the Greek and Latin translations and are also responsible for the "Introductions to source" preceding those texts and for the philological notes to the translations. These translations were also subjected to thoroughgoing discussion among TE, TH, and RHP, so the initials added there denote only who made the first draft—and had the final say. The Meroitic sources, finally, are treated by LT (of course, no consecutive translation of these can be provided).

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. The translated text extracts, of various genre and function, can be interpreted and used for historical conclusions with some confidence only if their respective nature and context are properly understood.

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.

The *documentary sources in Greek and Latin* 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, as well as giving the basic bibliographical guidance for those who wish to go further. For practical reasons, different procedures have been chosen for the reproduction of the texts themselves. Sometimes, for the benefit of the modern reader, we have divided the text (and the translation) into its structural parts; sometimes, particularly in the case of very fragmentary texts, we have deemed it necessary instead to follow, line by line, their original disposition on the stone or papyrus.

We have not, however, found it advisable, for our purpose, to try to indicate in any more precise way the probable extent of the lost parts of fragmentary texts; most lacunas, short or long, are simply marked with three dots in square brackets: [...].

For the *Egyptian texts* a somewhat different format has been adopted. All the information that would correspond to what is given about the Greek and Latin 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 "Transliteration and Translation" and the "Comments" there is sometimes inserted a "Note to the Translation" which contains further information, some of which would, in the case of the Greek and Latin sources, be found in the "Introduction to source". 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 was discussed in the "General Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts" in Vol. I; additional information, especially concerning the Demotic texts, is supplied below under the heading "A Further Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts".

The treatment of *Meroitic texts* is another matter; the text is here immediately followed by the "Comments", in which translation of those parts that admit a rendering is integrated. See further below, "A General Note to the Meroitic Texts".

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, 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 this volume.

The final section, *Contents of FHN III-IV*, gives a preview (adding some basic bibliographical information) of what source texts will be treated in the next volume. 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 interpretative analyses by others supplementing our comments, may be included in the fourth and last volume, together with the relevant indices.

We already extended the corresponding invitation in Vol. I and are very grateful to the colleagues and friends who have taken the time and trouble to send us their observations and suggestions.⁹⁴ Some of this expert advice has

⁹⁴By the time the present volume was handed over to the printers, the following reviews of Vol. I were known to us: Inge Hofmann in *Orientalia* 64, 1995, 473-474; J.G. Manning in *Bryn Mawr Review* 96.4.3. Among those who have sent us personal communications, we wish to thank, in particular, Prof. Stanley Burstein (Los Angeles) and Dr. Adam Lajtar (Warsaw) for their detailed and constructive criticism.

been taken *ad notam* already in the preparation of the present volume, other changes will be made in Vol. III, as may be seen from the preview of its contents. We wish to express our sincere thanks to all who have contributed to making this collection as useful a tool as possible for future research.

Bergen in March, 1996

Tormod Eide Tomas Hägg Richard Holton Pierce László Török

A General Note to the Meroitic Texts

The Kushite royal and temple inscriptions were written in Egyptian hieroglyphic until the 3rd-2nd century BC. In the course of the 2nd century BC a hieroglyphic as well as a cursive script began to take shape in Kush, the former for the writing of monumental texts, and the latter for "private" inscriptions and administrative documents in the Meroitic language. Its 23 hieroglyphic signs were borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, while the 23 cursive signs, each corresponding to a hieroglyphic one (Fig. 1), show the impact of Egyptian "abnormal hieratic" (see, with the literature of earlier research, Priese 1973b). Unlike Egyptian script, however, Meroitic script includes vowel notations and constitutes a syllabic system in which every symbol represents a consonant plus the vowel *a*, except when followed by another symbol indicating the vowel *i*, *o*, or *e*. A symbol for the vowel *a* is only written at the beginning of a word (Hintze 1978, 93 f.). The earliest surviving Meroitic hieroglyphic inscription, the name of Queen Shanakdakheto in Temple F at Naqa (see (148)), can be dated to the late 2nd century BC; and the earliest preserved document in the

		a			i
		e			h
		i			h
		o			š (s)
		y			s (se)
		w			k
		b			q
		p			t
		m			te
		n			to
		ñ (ne)			d
		r			word divider

Fig. 1. The hieroglyphic and cursive forms of the Meroitic script with their phonetic values (after Hintze 1978, 93).

cursive writing (Hintze 1959, 36, fgm. of the offering table of King Tarekeniwal) similarly dates from the late 2nd century BC.

The Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive scripts were deciphered by F.Ll. Griffith (1909a, 1911, 1911a, 1912) on the basis of Meroitic royal names recorded in both Egyptian and Meroitic scripts. Griffith also succeeded in identifying important elements of the grammatical structure of Meroitic, and his analysis of the Meroitic funerary texts made possible the understanding of a number of words (among them numerous loan words from Egyptian) and of some phrases.

According to the testimony of loan words in Egyptian texts, the Meroitic language was spoken in Nubia in the period of the Egyptian New Kingdom (cf. Priese 1968b). While it is generally assumed that Meroitic was originally the spoken tongue of the population(s) of the Butana region and while it may perhaps also be supposed that its northward spread started in the Napatan period, the history of the language remains, for lack of documents, unknown. Meroitic is not a Hamito-Semitic ("Afro-Asiatic") language (Hintze 1955); it is an agglutinating language and has no genders. It was suggested that it is related to the "Eastern Sudanic languages" (Trigger 1964, 1973; cf. Thelwall 1989). At the same time, with great caution, the structural parallels between Meroitic and Old Nubian already assumed by Lepsius (1880, cxxi-cxxvi) were recently reconsidered by Hintze (1989) who came, however, to the conclusion that a genealogical relationship between Meroitic and Old Nubian cannot be demonstrated. He also pointed out that the present knowledge of the Eastern Sudanic Language Group does not allow the direct comparison of Meroitic with any individual language of the Group.

Although the Meroitic language remains, in spite of the efforts of F.Ll. Griffith and of scholars of the subsequent decades, so far undeciphered,⁹⁵ our understanding of the structure of the mortuary texts and of certain expressions in other types of inscriptions, as well as of certain grammatical structures, and our knowledge of a number of words (mostly titles, toponyms, theonyms, and terms of family relationships) make it nevertheless possible, and also necessary, to include here some of the more important Meroitic documents on account of their obvious historical value. While of course no consecutive translations can be provided,⁹⁶ we republish here on the basis of the Paris *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique* (REM) partly, or fully, the more important royal titularies and

⁹⁵Cf. Griffith 1909, 1911, 1911a, 1912, 1916, 1917, 1922; for the monumental undertaking of the Paris REM see the articles of J. Leclant, director of the project, further A. Heyler and others in issues 1 ff. of MNL; and cf. Hainsworth-Leclant 1978; for further research see esp. Hintze 1960, 1963, 1973a, 1974, 1977, 1979; Hofmann 1981; Priese 1968, 1971, 1973b, 1976, 1977a; Trigger-Heyler 1970; Zibelius 1983; for further literature see references in the studies listed above and see also Török 1988, 331 f., Bibliography 7a, b.

⁹⁶For tentative "translations" of monumental texts see Millet 1973 (REM 0094, cf. FHN III, 300); Hofmann 1981, 279 ff. (REM 1003, cf. 177).

inscriptions with notes on words and expressions the meaning of which can be established with a reasonable degree of certainty.

In the segmentation of the texts we follow the REM editions. In the transcription of the Meroitic cursive signs \tilde{n} is used and the transcription *ne* of the REM is not employed on account of the widely used transcription \tilde{n} in royal names (e.g., Tañyidamani). On the other hand, the transcription \tilde{s} used in earlier editions of Meroitic texts is replaced by the more recent transcription *s*; while instead of the earlier *s* we have, as also used in the REM, *se*. An uncertain reading of a sign is marked by an * before the sign.

As for the signs employed in Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive texts as word dividers, the three vertically arranged dots in "archaic" inscriptions will be marked „„ and the two vertically arranged dots in "transitional" and "late" inscriptions will be marked „ in the transcriptions presented in FHN II and III.

[LT]

A Further Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts

In this second volume of sources there appear some of the last texts currently known to have been written in Egyptian hieroglyphics in Nubia. Though they do not differ greatly in content from those that preceded them, they are, if possible, still more difficult to translate; and even an expert of Macadam's stature has characterized them as "barbarous and unsightly" (Macadam 1949, 81). The causes of this state of affairs were multiple, but the root cause was probably that the cultural tradition supporting the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs in Nubia, though waxing and waning as political conditions affected the flow of cultural information between Egypt and Nubia, progressively weakened and was ultimately displaced as indigenous Meroitic traditions emerged. In all likelihood, this process took place among the members of a minority elite that was dependent on the Nubian monarchy and temples and that included an important component of persons who had their education in Egypt or in a milieu in Nubia that maintained intimate ties with Egypt and whose members mastered the language spoken in Egypt.

Because the ancient Egyptian language was in continuous use in one form or another for over three thousand years and during that time underwent all the changes that normally manifest themselves in language, the student of ancient Egyptian has to distinguish between scripts and stages of language.

In terms of structure and vocabulary, Egyptian can meaningfully be roughly divided, in chronological sequence, into Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian, followed by Demotic and Coptic. Modern students are usually introduced to each of these separately, but the main cleavage among them groups Old and Middle Egyptian on one side and Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic on the other.⁹⁷ From its inception, what is now called Middle Egyptian became a classical standard, comparable to Latin in Western traditions, and was studied and used for culturally elevated purposes as long as the Pharaonic tradition survived. The spoken language continued to change, however; and as a consequence a cleft opened between this "traditional Egyptian" and current Egyptian that forced scribes to study the former as a language different from the latter. Of course, levels of proficiency varied; and, as was stated in the "General Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts" in FHN I, it is not always clear how closely the standards of later usage conformed to those of earlier times.

In terms of scripts, there were, first of all, the hieroglyphs, which in their fullest execution were discrete pictures, each conforming to the artistic canons of their day. They constituted, above all, a monumental script and, being characteristically employed to write important texts, they tended to encode the classical language. When the hieroglyphs were written in ink on papyrus, ostraca, and the like, the scribes tended to write them swiftly in simpler, cursive forms

⁹⁷Cf. Vernus 1979, 81–82, for a clear and succinct statement on this matter.

that exhibit differing standards of calligraphy over time. This cursive writing is referred to in modern literature as “hieratic”, using a term first employed by the ancient Greeks. It went its own way, and over the centuries the forms of the signs came to differ so much from the corresponding hieroglyphs that a scribe would have had to be specially trained to transcribe a hieratic into a hieroglyphic text. Since the hieratic script was also used to write mundane documents, it tended, although the medium of a learned elite, to embody more nearly current language. By the sixth century BC, there arose a script, itself derived from hieratic, that was so far removed from the hieroglyphs and from their hieratic counterparts that it was regarded as a separate script, now referred to in modern literature as demotic, again using a term borrowed from Greek.⁹⁸ This script became the vehicle for the latest phase of Pharaonic Egyptian and continued in use for the better part of a millennium. Both script and language were characteristically, though not exclusively, used for business and administrative purposes. Consequently, during the period when the texts in this corpus were written, there were three scripts, hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic, and two languages, Traditional and Demotic Egyptian, for fully educated scribes to master.⁹⁹

In Pharaonic Egypt student scribes began their education, not with hieroglyphs as modern students do, but with hieratic or demotic (Vernus 1990, 37). There may well have been scribes who went no further but applied their skills solely to the practical business of state and temple; but those who did advance to a higher education were initiated into the sanctities of the hieroglyphs. Indeed, proof of knowledge of the three scripts and the languages they embodied later became a legal prerequisite for priestly status.

As far as is known, a text that was to be memorialized in stone was first drafted on papyrus in a cursive script before it was sketched out on the stone that was to bear it. We are not well informed about procedures followed in Nubia; but if, as is likely, they were much the same as in Egypt, then as many as three persons might be involved: a scribal author to write the original, a lapidary scribe to transcribe the cursive text into hieroglyphs and transfer it to the stone, and a stone-mason to do the actual carving. It is also possible that one and the same person might on occasions have performed the first two or all three of these roles. Whatever the case in this regard, transcribing from a cursive exemplar to a hieroglyphic text required special knowledge that a docu-

⁹⁸On the emergence of Demotic see Vleeming 1981.

⁹⁹The famous Rosetta Stone, which belongs to the period covered by this volume, records a decree that was to be inscribed in both hieroglyphs (sš n mdw ntr, “the writing for words of god”, Rosetta Stone, hieroglyphic version, line 14 = sh md-ntr, demotic version, line 32 = τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, “the sacred characters”, Greek version, line 54) and demotic (sš n šꜣy, “documentary writing”, hieroglyphic version, line 14 = sh (n) šꜣt, demotic version, line 32 = τὰ ἐγχώρια γράμματα = “the native characters”, Greek version, line 54) as well as in Greek.

mentary scribe might lack or possess only imperfectly.¹⁰⁰ Thus, in addition to all the pitfalls alluded to in the *Note* in Volume I, a translator must also consider the possibility that signs carved on stone, and so often identified only at the expense of long scrutiny, are, in that state, corruptions of their exemplars. In a shrinking milieu, perhaps staffed predominantly by documentary scribes with little or no training in the hieroglyphs, the likelihood that such distortions might have been produced increases.¹⁰¹

Another problem that arises in the wake of the changes that took place in the Egyptian language concerns ancient orthography and modern transliteration. In general, Egyptian signs record the consonants in a word, but not the vowels; and the hieroglyphic signs and their hieratic and demotic equivalents were, fundamentally, very stable. There were, of course, variations in style and execution; but the basic set of signs remained the same as long as the Egyptian writing system existed. Moreover, the way words were written tended to remain stable as well; and particularly in hieratic and demotic writing it would appear that scribes tended to write words as groups of signs rather than to spell them out sign by sign.¹⁰² Insofar as scribal practice stabilized the writing both of the signs and of the words, it contributed to masking changes in pronunciation. But scribes were not uniform in this regard; some "modernized" their writing to a greater or lesser degree, others were more "conservative". Hence one and the same word may appear in different writings in different texts. In the majority of instances, experienced readers will recognize the underlying unity, but not always. Moreover, Egyptologists are not in full agreement about the phonemic and phonetic values of the alphabetic signs.¹⁰³ So what transliteration is one to adopt? Should one transliterate the signs that appear in the text strictly according to the standard values one has adopted for them? If one does this, then users for whom a transliteration ought to be helpful may have difficulty tracing transliterated words to the proper entries in dictionaries and lexica. For example, the Egyptian word for "god" is generally entered in reference works under the transliteration *nṯr*. In texts it is sometimes spelled out in full, but often it is abbreviated to a single sign. Most frequently this sign is the one generally held to be a cloth wound on a pole, but sometimes it is written with the sign that pictures a star. In early writings of the word for "god", the sign transliterated *ṯ* seems to have been pronounced *tsh*; but in later occurrences it undoubtedly had the value *t*, as is shown by instances in which the hieroglyph for *t* replaced it. The writings with the star-sign occur after the change from *tsh* to *t* had taken place, so a transliteration *ntr* would be appropriate. Furthermore,

¹⁰⁰On this subject see Vernus 1990, 35–53.

¹⁰¹For a documented instance of a scribe who knew hieratic but possessed an inadequate knowledge of hieroglyphs, see Zauzich 1992, 619–626.

¹⁰²On this see, most recently, Quack 1994, 51, referring to Brunner 1957, 66–69.

¹⁰³See Schenkel 1990, 24–57.

Coptic shows us that the word was pronounced *nûte* in late times; and other evidence confirms that the loss of final *r* occurred long before the Coptic period. Thus, a transliteration *nt* would be entirely appropriate for the period of our corpus, and in fact there are texts in Late Temples which include puns that only become evident when this transliteration is used. Clearly, a rigid policy of transliteration creates its own problems. The transliterations given in this corpus are inconsistent. Sometimes they point to standard entries in reference works, sometimes they directly reflect the translator's ideas about state of the text. In a few instances, a transliteration consistent with the text is followed by a pointer in parentheses to the common citation form. To have striven for consistency would have thrown up a host of problems to attempt to solve which would have prolonged the labor involved in preparing the Egyptian texts disproportionately to the gain one could reasonably anticipate. On the other hand, to have eschewed transliteration would have made it harder to recognize translator's errors and deprived some readers of useful guidance.

[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

ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
AHB	The Ancient History Bulletin, Calgary.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, Berlin-New York.
ANM	Archéologie du Nil Moyen, Lille.
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Leipzig.
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments. Wiesbaden.
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Toronto.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
BzS	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Vienna.
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Loose-Leaf Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities. Mainz.
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CRIPeL	Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille. Lille.
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History.
EAZ	Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
ÉtTrav	Études et Travaux, Warsaw.
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della Sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Pisa, Pisa.
FGrH	F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Leiden.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Durham N.C.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston.
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London.
Kêmi	Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Paris.
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.

LdÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Berlin/Wiesbaden/Mainz.
Meroe	Meroe. Istoriya, istoriya kultury, jazyk drevnego Sudana, Moscow.
MIO	Mitteilungen für Orientforschung, Berlin.
MNL	Meroitic Newsletter, Paris.
Nubica	Nubica, Internationales Jahrbuch für äthiopische, meroitische, und nubische Studien, Köln, Warsaw.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (ed.): <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , I-II, Lipsiae 1903-1905.
ÖAW Phil. -hist. Kl. Denkschr. Sonderbd.	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch- historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Sonderband, Wien.
PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.): <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca</i> , Paris 1857-1866 (repr. Turnholiti).
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart.
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, Le Caire.
RE	Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago.
SB	F. Preisigke et al. (eds.): <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , Strassburg, Wiesbaden.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Leiden, Amsterdam
STB	Sudan Texts Bulletin, University of Ulster.
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association, Decatur.
WZHU	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin.
YCS	Yale Classical Studies, New Haven.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig-Berlin.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

Other Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini, (year) after Christ (or of the Common Era, CE).
Bar.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery of Gebel Barkal (see Bibliography, Dunham 1957).
Beg. N.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery of Begarawiya North (see Bibliography, Dunham 1957).

Abbreviations

Beg. S.	Pyramid burial in the cemetery of Begarawiya South (see Bibliography, Dunham 1963).
BC	(year) before Christ (or before the Common Era, BCE).
Boston	
MFA	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Cairo JE	
(with Inv. no.)	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Journal d'Entrée.
cf.	confer, compare.
cm	centimetre(s).
col.	text column.
E	East.
ed.	edition, edited (by).
eds.	editors
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example.
et al.	et alii, and others.
f.	following (page).
fasc.	fascicle.
ff.	following (pages).
fgm.	fragment.
fig.	figure.
ibid.	ibidem, (at) the same place.
i.e.	id est, that is.
inscr.	inscription.
Inv.	Inventory.
Kawa	Kawa (inscr. from, see Bibliography, Macadam 1949).
Khartoum	
(with Inv. no.)	Khartoum, Sudan National Museum.
km.	kilometre.
Ku.	el Kurru (grave, see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
loc. cit.	locus citatum, the place cited (above).
N	North.
n.d.	no date.
No., no.	Number.
Nu.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery at Nuri (see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
op. cit.	opus citatum, the work cited (above).
P	Papyrus.
Pl.	Plate.
S	South.
TIP	Third Intermediate Period.
W	West.

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THE SOURCES

(67) Talakhamani. Evidence for reign.

The King's Son-of-Rê name is inscribed on his (badly preserved, but originally rather finely executed) granite funerary stela found *in situ* in the chapel of his pyramid grave Nu. 16 (Dunham 1955, fig. 161, now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, unregistered) and is also recorded in the Great Inscription of his successor Irike-Amannote at Kawa (71). According to 71 he was the direct predecessor of Irike-Amannote, who was, however, the son of King Malowiebamani (for this king see FHN I (55)). It may thus be assumed that Talakhamani was the younger brother of Malowiebamani (cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 149, genealogy) and inherited the throne from him according to the principle of collateral succession (cf. FHN I, *Comments* on (2), (19), (28), (37) and see Török 1995, Ch. 17.7). The succession Malowiebamani–Talakhamani is indicated not only by the text of 71 but also by a gilded electrum band with incised double cartouches of King Malowiebamani *Hpr-k3-Rc* (cf. FHN I, (55)) found in Nu. 16 (Dunham 1955, 208, fig. 161, in FHN I, 301 [comment on (55)] mentioned erroneously as found in a secondary position) and made originally for Malowiebamani but actually used by Talakhamani. His reign is dated to the second half of the 5th century BC on the basis of his place in the royal sequence.

[LT]

68 The plague in 430 BC starts in Aithiopia. Ca. 430-400 BC.

Thucydides 2.48.

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Introduction to source

Thucydides, Athenian general and historian, wrote a history of the so-called Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta 431-404 BC. He began writing immediately at the outbreak of the war (1.1.1), but the work was left unfinished, the narrative ending abruptly in the year 411. Passages show, however, that Thucydides lived to see the end of the war. The work, being thus written over a long period of time, shows signs of different stages of composition; and it is not always easy to see to which stage, "early" or "late", the various parts belong, and so to assess the degree of maturation and reflection behind them. For a short introduction to the problems connected with the genesis of Thucydides' history, the lexicon article by Wade-Gery (1970) is recommended; for fuller treatment see Luschnat (1970) and Appendix 2 in vol. 5 of Gomme-Andrewes-Dover (1945-1981).

Thucydides' history shows the influence of the intellectual climate in Athens in the age of the sophists, both in its language and style, in his scientific and non-religious attitude, and in his criticism of popular belief about the past and of earlier treatments of Greek history by poets or story-tellers (Thuc. 1.20-22). Thucydides himself claims to have scrutinized his sources with care whenever he could not rely upon autopsy, and to have sought to avoid his own subjective impression (1.22.2 f.).

The present text is from a lengthy digression in Book 2 on the plague that ravaged Athens in 430-29. Thucydides speaks here, as the text shows, from personal experience. For the numerous attempts at identifying the disease, and for Thucydides' possible indebtedness to the Greek medical writers of the fifth century, see Gomme in Vol. 5 of Gomme-Andrewes-Dover (1945-1981, 148-53), Hornblower (1991, 316 f.), and Morgan (1994).

Gomme-Andrewes-Dover (1945-1981) gives a historical commentary to the complete work of Thucydides (without the Greek text or translation). Hornblower (1991), the most recent commentary (also without the Greek text), of which only the first of two volumes (books I-III) has been published, is intended to be of service also for readers with little or no knowledge of Greek, in that the Greek lemmata include the English translation by B. Jowett (1881), of which the author is preparing a revised edition. For Book 2, from which the present text is taken, Rhodes (1988) is even more useful for Greekless readers,

because it offers an English translation facing the Greek text, and commentaries based on the translation. Of English translations of the complete work available today the one by Warner (1954) may be recommended (reprints 1972 and later include an introduction by M.I. Finley).

Dover (1973) offers succinct and expert introductions to the state of research regarding Thucydides' text, style and composition, his use of speeches, his trustworthiness etc.

Our text is based on the edition of de Romilly (1962) in the French bilingual series Collection des Universités de France.

Text

48 [1] Ἦρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. [2] Ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπινάϊως ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἦψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὐπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἥδη.

[3] Λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος γινώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀφ' οὗτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἄστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστα ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

Translation

48 [1] [The plague] started first, it is said, in Aithiopia south of Egypt, and then it spread both to Egypt and Libya, and to the greater part of the King's land.¹⁰⁴ [2] It struck the city of the Athenians suddenly, and seized first the people of Piraeus, so that they even claimed that the Peloponnesians had poisoned their cisterns (at that time there were not yet any springs in Piraeus). Later it reached the upper city too, and the number of dead then rose even more.

[3] Let each, be he doctor or layman, give his opinion about the probable origin of the plague and say what causes for such a change he thinks would be able to have the power to effect this upheaval.¹⁰⁵ I for my part shall describe how it

¹⁰⁴I.e. the Persian empire.

¹⁰⁵To many this sentence has seemed intolerably tautological, as the words here translated "be able to" and "have the power to" mean more or less the same thing, similarly the words for "change" and "upheaval" may seem repetitive. Consequently, there are editors and commentators who have suggested deleting some of the words as explanatory comments that have crept into the text during its transmission. Our translation is based on the assumption that the text as transmitted is sound, and that the verbosity reflects Thucydides' involvement in a matter of great importance to him.

developed, and, having been myself struck by the disease and having myself seen others suffer from it, I shall give an account which one can study and thereby, having some foreknowledge, readily recognize the disease should it ever strike again.

[TE]

Comments

The introduction to the best description of the symptoms and process of pestilence (the actual nature of the epidemic remains, however, debated, cf. Bengtson 1977, 229 and note 2; and recently: Morgan 1994) in classical literature is included here because it commences with the statement that the Athenian plague in 430 BC originally started in Aithiopia. Although there is no independent evidence to support Thucydides' information or to allow a demographic assessment of the consequences of the plague, at least its Egyptian origin seems probable in the light of the descriptions of the pestilence symptoms in PHearst 11,12 ff. and the London Medical P (cf. Goedicke 1984, 918; for the plague in Egypt see also Sticker 1910, 135 ff.). Greek writers usually localized the origins of plagues in Egypt. However, Strabo (17.3.10), referring to Poseidonius of Apameia (cf. Reinhardt 1953, 682), believed that plague often originated in Aithiopia and also tried to give a scientific explanation based on the dryness of that country. This view may derive from information concerning the observation made by the Egyptians that plague starts with the end of Inundation and is thus associated with the low Nile (the observation is reflected in hemerological literature, see the texts concerning I *pri* 1 as an unlucky day, Leitz 1994, 205 ff.). Cf. also FHN III, 241.

[LT]

(69) Irike-Amannote. Titles.

Sources: 1. Kawa Inscriptions IX (71), X (72), XI (73), XII (74); 2. shawabti figures from Nu. 12, Dunham—Macadam 1949, 11b, only Son-of-Rê name; 3. fallen blocks from chapel of Nu. 12, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 11c, Dunham 1955, figs 162, 164, Pl. LVI/D, E; 4. offering table from chapel of Nu. 12, Dunham 1955, fig. 164, only throne and Son-of-Rê names.

Titles/documents

1.

a. Horus name

K₃-nh_t H₃-m-W₃st
"Mighty-Bull Appearing-in-Thebes"

b. *Nebty* name

Ḥ_t-t₃w-nb
"Seizer-of-every-land"

c. Golden Horus name	Wꜥf-ḥꜣswt-nb(wt) "Subduer-of-every-land"	
d. Throne name	Nfr-ib-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful"	
e. Son-of-Rê name	ꜥrk-Imn-nwtj	
2.	3.	4.
a.	Ḥr-tꜣwj	
b.	Mry-Mꜣꜥt "Beloved-of-Maꜥat"	
c.	ꜥry-Mꜣꜥt	
d.	Nfr-ib-Rꜥ	Nfr-ib-Rꜥ
e.	ꜥrk-Imn-nwtj	ꜥrk-Imn-nwtj

Comments

As already pointed out by Macadam (1949 52 f.), the personal name of the King—which he read as Aman-note-yerike, and Priese first read as Arike-Amanote (Priese 1968, 186 f.) and later as Irike-Amannote (Priese 1973, 156, note 1)—probably means "Begotten-of-Amûn-of-Nô (Thebes = Dominion)" (for Meroitic *yerike*, "begotten of", in funerary inscriptions see Hintze 1963. For a reading of the name as Mani-note-yerike see Wenig 1980). Giving expression to the traditional concept of the ruler's divine sonship (see FHN I, *Comments* on 8, 9, 22), the name was probably assumed on his ascent to the throne and was not identical with Irike-Amannote's original personal name. Similarly to his Son-of-Rê name, Irike-Amannote's Horus name, modelled on a Horus name assumed by Piye after his Egyptian campaign (FHN I, (5) 9 a) and by Shebitqo on his ascent to the throne (FHN I, (15) 1 a), is emphatically associated with the notion of rule *in* Egypt which, under the actual circumstances, could only declare an intention to restore Kushite rule over Egypt. This assumption is also supported by the imperialistic tenor of the *Nebty* name (repeating the *Nebty* name adopted by Tuthmosis I on the obelisks erected in front of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak, Urk. IV, 93 [south side]) and the Golden Horus name which was based on one of the Golden Horus names of Ramesses II in the inscription on his (east) obelisk at Luxor (KRI II, 599; Beckerath 1984, XIX 3 G 9). Such an intention may also be indicated by the unusual throne name, which before Irike-Amannote occurred only in the titulary of Psammetich II (Beckerath 1984, XXVI 3 T 1;

Nfr-ib-R^c as the name of an obscure king of the Fourteenth Dynasty is disregarded here, cf. *ibid.*, XIV 23): the adoption of the throne name of a memorable enemy of Kush (see FHN I, (36), 41-43) cannot be explained as accidental or a consequence of ignorance but rather as an act of magical reversal of history.

The imperialistic titulary Irike-Amannote assumed on his ascent to the throne was maintained in his monuments erected at Kawa until the 25th+x regnal year (74). A largely different titulary (3, above) occurs in the inscriptions of the King's mortuary chapel, in which the aggressive overtone of the earlier titulary is no longer present. The new *Nebty* name repeats the unique *Nebty* name of Atlanersa (FHN I, (30)); while the new Golden Horus name, with its curious archaism (cf. the Horus and *Nebty* names of Userkaf, Fifth Dynasty, Beckerath 1984, V 1) and orthodox conservatism as to the concept of the king securing Equity, may have been based on a title of the Theban High Priest of Amûn Herihor as king.¹⁰⁶ The actual reasons for the change in the titulary remain obscure: at all events, the titulary recorded on the walls of the King's mortuary chapel indicates that a radical shift had occurred in Irike-Amannote's political ambitions late in his reign or that the inadequacy of the imperialistic policy suggested by his original titulary had been realized towards the end of his life.¹⁰⁷

[LT]

(70) Irike-Amannote. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

According to 71 Irike-Amannote was a son of King Malowiebamani (see FHN I, (55)) and the direct successor of King Talakhamani (see (67)), who was probably the younger brother of Malowiebamani. His reign is dated on the basis of his place in the royal succession and the dating of his pyramid burial Nu. 12 in the royal necropolis of Nuri to the second half of the 5th century BC (Dunham 1955, 1 ff., 211 ff.; Török 1988, 177). This speculative dating seems to be corroborated by the titulary Irike-Amannote assumed on his ascent to the throne. As suggested above in the *Comments* on (69), his titles indicate a policy aimed at the restoration of Kushite rule in Egypt. The revolts between 414-413 and 404 BC against the Persian occupiers¹⁰⁸ could have presented an opportunity for an

¹⁰⁶Karnak, Temple of Khons, forecourt, KRI VI, 724,6; Beckerath 1984, XX 10bis G 2; Grimal 1986, 301. Note that Atlanersa's whole titulary bore the stamp of Third Intermediate Period Theban inspiration, FHN I, 211, comment on (30).

¹⁰⁷Priese 1977, 358, however, suggests the titulary in the chapel might have been specially created for the "dead ruler" and assumes that similar "mortuary" titularies were also made for Akhratañ and Nastaseñ. While for Akhratañ no evidence seems to support such a possibility, a special titulary for Nastaseñ may be attested on a fallen block from his chapel at Nu. 15, see Dunham 1955, fig. 191.

¹⁰⁸Cf. Lloyd 1983, 286 f.; the rebellion of Inarus between c. 463-462 and c. 449 BC seems too early in the light of the relative chronology of the Kushite kings. For this rebellion see also Kienitz 1953, 69 ff.

intervention in affairs in Egypt: Egyptian rebels may have asked for Kushite aid. However, our sources are silent about an actual Kushite involvement.

According to 71 he was 41 years old when he succeeded Talakhamani on the throne, an age which appears to be consistent with the generation/age relations within the framework of collateral succession. The revolt of the *Rhrh* nomads living between the Nile and Atbara north of Meroe City after the death of Talakhamani and before the enthronement of Irike-Amannote, though its historicity should not be doubted only because it is described in 71 as a consequence of the chaos ensuing after the death of a king, seems nevertheless to have been a minor conflict. Still, according to 71, after his enthronement at Napata, while en route to Kawa and staying at *Kr̥n*, Irike-Amannote was also compelled to send his army to fight against Meded (Medja ?) nomads who were raiding the vicinity of *Kr̥n* (on the right bank, opposite modern Korti [?], cf. Macadam 1949, 59); the territories captured in the course of these conflicts, together with the families living there, were donated to the Temple of Amun at Pnubs (modern Tabo on Island Argo, cf. Jacquet-Gordon et al. 1969). No other events are known from his reign: the fragmentarily preserved inscriptions Kawa X-XII (72-74) record subsequent donations made to the Amûn temple at Kawa. Dunham supposed that the queen (whose name on her shawabti figures is unintelligible, cf. Dunham 1955, figs 198, 208) buried in Nu. 33 was a contemporary of Irike-Amannote (ibid., 216 f.); beyond this suggestion, no guesses can be made concerning his family. The style and tenor of his inscriptions at Kawa reflect a conscious traditionalism, although his enthronement record (71) also indicates changes in the accents and details of Kushite kingship ideology. His pyramid burial is one of the largest at Nuri (cf. Dunham 1955, fig. 162, Pl. LV, and Map); and finds from his mortuary chapel (ibid., Pl. LV/F) indicate a mortuary cult which may similarly have been co-determined by his unusually long reign.

Year 1

Source: Kawa IX=71.

Year 19

Source: Kawa XI=73.

Year 25+x=74.

[LT]

71 Inscription of Irike-Amannote from Years 1-2 (Kawa IX). Second half of the 5th cent. BC.

Inscribed as a graffito on the E wall, S side of the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T at Kawa. Macadam 1949, 50-67, Pls. 17-26.

Text and translation

(1) Ḥṣt-sp 1.t ḥbd 2 šmw sw 24

(1) First regnal year, second month of Summer, 24th day,

ḥr ḥm n

under the majesty of

Hr

Horus:

Kṣ-nḥt

"Strong-bull,

Ḥꜥ-m-Wṣt

Appearing-in-Dominion (Thebes)",

Nbty

Two-Ladies:

ṯt-tṣw-nb

"Seizer-of-every-land",

Hr-nb

Golden-Horus:

Wꜥf-ḥṣwt-nb

"Subduer-of-every-land",

(2) Nsw-bṯy

(2) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt:

Nfr-ḥb-Rꜥ

"Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful",

Sṣ-Rꜥ

Son-of-Rê:

ṯ-r-k-ṯmn-nṯwt ꜥnh dt

Irike-Amannote, may he live for ever,

mr(y) ṯmn-Rꜥ

beloved of Amen-Rê,

ḥr(y)-ḥb Gm-pṣ-ṯtn

who resides in Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

dṯ ꜥnh mṯ Rꜥ dt nhḥ

given life, like Rê, for ever and ever.

(3) ṯsk ṯrf ḥpr m ḥsw n ḥm=f

(3) Now it happened in the time of His Majesty

wn.ṯ[n] ḥm=f [ḥr ḥms] m ḥnw n snw nsw

that His Majesty was [sitting] among the king's brothers

m ḥwn(4)w nfr bnr mr(wt) m ḥwnw m rnpwt 41

being a recruit, sweet of love,¹⁰⁹ a youth of 41 years,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹Or: a popular person?

¹¹⁰Or: m ḥt-sp 41, "in Regnal Year 41 (of his predecessor)"?

m-ḥt pr bik r pt
after the falcon went forth to heaven;

in nsw T3-r-ḥ-Imn m<3ᵉ ḥrw>
namely, king Talakhamani, j<ustified>,

(5) m ḥnw nᵉḥt=f nt B3-r'-w3'
(5) in his palace of Meroe,

m-ḥt btšw (bšt) ḥ3styw sbiḥw R<h>rhs r ḥm=f
after the desert dwellers, the rebels of Re<h>rehes, revolted against His Majesty,

iw=sn (6) ḥr mḥt n sp3t tn
they being (6) on the north of this nome,

ḥ3k mnmnt ʿwt rmt nb gm=sn
capturing all the great and small cattle and people they found.

ḥᵉ.n mšᵉ nw ḥm=f ḥnᵉ (7) tsw n mšᵉ nw [ḥm=f] šm=sn m ḥnw ḥ
Then His Majesty's army together with (7) the commanders of His Majesty's
army went into the palace.

dd.in mšᵉ pn n tsw (8) nw ḥm=f
Then this army said to (8) His Majesty's commanders,

sbi ḥr m
"Why are we going about

iw=n [ḥr tn]m in ʿwt iwty mnḥw
[wan]dering like small cattle without a herder,

nn nb=(9)n m ḥr-in=n
without our (9) lord being in our midst,

iw ḥ3s[tyw sbi] r [— — —]
while the deser[t dwellers are rebelling] against [...]?

(10) ib=n r rdḯ n=f nst [n t3 p]n
(10) Our heart is (set) on giving him the throne [of] this [land].

rd.n s it=f [ʿImn] m ḥ[t n mwt=]f
because his father [Amûn] has (already) given it (to him) in his mother's
womb:

Sṛ Rṣ [ʔ-r-k-ʔmn-nṛwt] (11) ṣnh dt
the Son-of-Rê: Irike-Amannote, (11) may he live for ever.

nb=n p[w — — —] hr [— — —]
He is our lord [...] under [...]

[mn](12)h Mṣ-r-nfr-wṣ-y-b-ʔmn mṣṣ [hrw]
[excel](12)lent, Melêwiebamani, justifi[ed.]

[n]tf pw ṣnh [— — —]
[H]e it is that vivifies [...]

[ṣ](13)wt nb pgṣ [— — —] Tṣ-sti [— ... —]
all [small](13) cattle, ṣ — ṣ [...] Bow-land (Nubia) [...]

(14) Pth rh ṣhrw mi [Dḥwty — — —]
(14) Ptah, knowing plans like [Thoth ...]

[dd.in ṭsw nw ḥm=f n] (15) mṣṣ pn
[Then the commanders of His Majesty's army said to] (15) this army,

mṣṣ pw dd=tn nb
"All that you have said is true."

ḥṣ.n [— — —] mṣṣ [— m] (16) ḥnw-n=f
Then [...] army [— with](16)in it.

ṣm pw ḥr=sn n ṭsw ṣ — ṣ [— — —]
Off they went to the commanders ṣ — ṣ [...]

[— — — m h] (17)nw-n mṣṣ
[... in the mi](17)dst of the army.

rd.n=sn r ḥt nt ḥm=f [— — —] (18) nb ṭsw
They 'gave' to the palace of His Majesty [...] (18) lord of the lands.

dd.in ḥm=f n smr m ṣt n [— — —]
Then His Majesty said to a "friend" at the moment of [...]

[ib](19)=i] r mṣ it=i ʔmn-Rṣ [nb nswt Tṣwy]
[My heart] (19) is (set) on seeing my father, Amen-Rê, [Lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt)],

hr(y)-ib [Dw-]wṣb Tṣ-Nḥsyw
who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal) of Nubian-land.

[— —] ns(y)t [—] =f [nt](20)f pw
[— —] 'kinship' [—] of his, (20) it is his.

rd.n=f n=i [—]
because he has given me [—]."

dd.(i)n=sn n=f
Then they said to him,

rd n=k it=k 'Imn ' — ' =k nb ' — — '
"May' your father, Amûn, give you all your ' — ' ...

(21) bîst nfr îry n=i it=i ['Imn
(21) the beautiful wonder that my father, [Amûn,] performed for me

m] ibd [-] prt sw 19 nt ḥ=i m nsw
[in] the [-] month of Winter, day 19, (the day) of my appearance as king."

ibd 3 šmw sw '2' m [dẉst]
Third month of Summer, '2nd' day, in [the morning:]

ḥ̣̣̣.n îi=(22)sn r sṃw n [hm=f dd]
then they (22) came to report to [His Majesty, saying]

ḥstyw sḅiw nty hr ṃht n sp̣t tn
"(As for) the rebellious desert dwellers¹¹¹ who are on the north of this nome

nty îw=sn (23) btš r hm=f
and who have (23) revolted against His Majesty

îi=sn [—] sp̣t tn
they are coming [—] this nome

hṇ mṇnw ʿwt nb rmt ʿwt nb rmt ht (24) nb m-ʿ=sn nn rḥ dnw 'îry'
with all (their) large and small cattle, all (their) people, and all (their) (24) prop-
erty with them, the number thereof being unknown.

ḥ̣̣̣.n dd.n=sn in hm=f,
Then they said to His Majesty,

ḥswt pw nty m pḥr m sp̣t (25) tn
"It is the desert lands that are surrounding this (25) nome;

¹¹¹Or: the desert dwellers and rebels.

šš=sn r š'y
for they are more numerous than the sand."

[dd.ī]n ḥm=f
Then His Majesty said,

mī n=i īt=i īmn
"Come to me, my father Amûn.

rd.n=k n=i nsyt m mš'
for you have given me the kingship in truth.

(26) dī=k n=i ḥpš=k
(26) Give me your scimitar,

dī=k šfy=k [m] ḥnw ḥswt btšw nty m phr n spst tn
and put awe of you among the desert lands that are in revolt and that are surrounding this nome."

ḥ'.n rdt šm mš' (27) r ḥ'w ḥn'=sn
Then the army was sent (27) to fight with them,

wnn[=f] ḥms m ḥnw n ḥt=f nn šm=f r=sn
while he stayed in his palace without going against them.

ḥ'.n mš' (28) n ḥm=f īr ḥ'y ʿ [īm=s]n'
Then the army (28) of His Majesty made a great blood bath among them.

[— — —]
[...]

bh pw īr.n ḥstyw
Off fled the desert dwellers,

šš(29)=sn ḥr w'r=sn
running (29) away as fast as their legs could carry them.

wn.īn mš' īn ḥm=f ḥr šm sn m-ḥnt=sn
So His Majesty's army went 'after' them,

ḥr (30) sm:m īm=sn
making (30) a slaughter among them.

wn.[īn] nḥnw nb ḥmwt nbt nty m spst tn
Then all the young men and all the women who were in this nome

ḥr ḫt (31) ḥḳw nb mr=sn n mnmn [— —]nbt
 were seizing (31) all the plunder they wanted in cattle [— —] of all kinds.

wnn.in ḥm=f ḥꜥ ḥr=s (32) r ʿ wr m ḳd
 Then His Majesty was greatly exultant (32) because of it, saying,

ḫt=i Ḳmn [Rꜥ nb nswt Tꜣwy dī.n=f] mꜣ=i šf=f m hrw pn
 "My father Amen[-Rê, Lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt) has let] me behold his awesomeness on this day."

wn(33).(i)n tꜣ pn r ḳrw=f ḥr nhm [— — — m ḳd]
 Then (33) this entire land was cheering [... , saying,]

h]y nsw n mꜣwt
 "O new king!

nfr-ḥr (34) pw m wn mꜥ
 Handsome (34) is he indeed.

nn ms snnw[=f
 [His] like has not been born.

ḫt=f p]w Ḳmn
 Amûn i[s his father],

mwt=f pw Mwt
 Mût is his mother,

mwt=f pw (35) [Ḳst
 [Isis] (35) is his mother.

Ḳr pw m wn mꜥ
 He is Horus indeed!

nn ḥpr [— — —] m rk=f
 There does not happen [...] in his time."

ḫt-sp 1t ibd 3 šmw sw 19
 First regnal year, third month of Summer, 19th day.

(36) šm pw ḫr.n ḥm=f r Ḳw-wꜥb
 (36) Off went His Majesty to Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

[r ḫt ḫsst] ḫt=f Ḳmn-Rꜥ nb nst Tꜣwy
 [to do what] his father, Amen-Rê, Lord of the Throne(s) of Two-lands (Egypt), praises.

ḥꜥ.n (37) ph.n=f r Ḏw-wꜥb n [ibd] 3 š[mw sw 2]8

Then (37) he arrived at Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal) in the third [month] of Sum[mer, 2]8th [day].

šm pw ỉry.n ḥm=f r pr-nsw

Off went His Majesty to the royal residence

(38) rd n=f ʿndy nt ʿḥbʿ [n Tꜥsty]

(38) that he might be given the ʿceremonialʿ cap [of Bow-land (Nubia)].

šm pw ỉr.n=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt ỉt=f Ỉmn-(39)Rꜥ ḥr-ib Ḏw-wꜥb.

Off he went to the temple complex of his father, Amen-(39)Rê, who resides in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

dd.ỉn ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn

Then His Majesty said before this god,

ỉi.n.ỉ ḥr=k ỉt=ỉ šps ỉt nṯrw

"I have come before you, my noble father, father of the gods,

dỉ=k n=ỉ (40) nswt m nb Tꜥwy

that you may give me (40) the kingship as Lord of Two-lands (Egypt);

ntk pw nsw mn[h n] nṯrw rmtw

(for) you are the beneficent king of gods and men."

ḥꜥ.n dd.ỉn nṯr pn šps

Then said this noble god,

[dỉ=ỉ] n=k nswt (41) m nb Tꜥwy

"[I shall give you] the kingship (41) as Lord of Two-lands (Egypt),

dỉ.n=ỉ rsy mḥt ỉmnt ỉbt

because I have placed South, North, West, and East

[— —] nb ḥꜣswt ḥr ṯbwy[=k

every [— —] and the desert lands."

[ḥꜥ.n rd.n=f] (42) n=f ʿbw ʿꜥt

[Then he gave] (42) him a great offering,

m t ḥnkt kꜣw ỉpdw ḥt nb nfr

of bread, beer, bulls and birds, and every good thing.

rd.n=f ḥmw ḥmwt [— — —]

and he put man- and maidservants [...]

(43) sšrw nsw ʿšw nw T3-mh̄w Šmʿ ipdw ʿšw [m-b3h] ntr pn
 (43) abundant byssus of North-land (Lower Egypt) and of the South (Upper Egypt), and many (other) things before this god.

h3t-sp 2t ibd 1 3ht sw 9
 Second regnal year, first month of Inundation, 9th day.

hd pw [iry.n] (44) hm=f
 Downstream sailed (44) His Majesty,

hr grg sp3t nb ph.n=f r=sn
 (re)founding all the nomes nome after he arrived at them,

[hr shʿ] ntrw ntrwt nbw
 [and making] all the gods and goddesses [appear (in procession)].

ʿhʿ.n ph.n=f r sp3t tn K3-r-(45)t-n rn=s
 Then His Majesty arrived at this nome called Koro(45)ton.

ibd 1 3ht sw 17 n dw3yt
 First month of Inundation, 17th day, at dawn.

wn.in hm=f [m-hnw-n] ʿh=f
 Then His Majesty was [in] his palace.

h3 pw iry.n h3styw imnt (46) Mdd rn=sn
 Down came the western desert dwellers (46) called Meded.

ʿhʿ.n m3=sn nsw
 Then they saw the king.

bh3 pw ir=sn
 Off they fled

ʿk snd in hm=f (47) m ib=sn
 because fear of His Majesty entered (47) into their hearts.

wn.in mšʿ nw hm=f shs=sn m-ib=sn
 Then His Majesty's soldiers ran among them

wn=sn hr iry h3(48)yw ʿ3 im=sn
 while they made a great slaugh(48)ter among them,

nn rh dnw=sn
 their number being unknown,

nn rm.tw nhn m mš^c nw hm=f
without any youth in His Majesty's army being wept over.

(49) ibd 1 šht sw 26 n rwh.

(49) First month of Inundation, 26th day, in the evening.

ph.n hm=f r Gm-(pš-)Itn
As His Majesty arrived at Finding-(the)-Aton (Kawa),

šw hmwt hr nh(50)m n hm=f
the men and women were ch(50)earing His Majesty.

šm pw iry.n hm[=f r hwt-ntr] n it=f Imn-R^c Gm-(pš-)Itn
Off went [His] Majesty to the temple complex of his father Amen-Rê of Find-
ing-(the)-Aton (Kawa);

[dī.n]=f šb(51)w š m t hnkt
and presented a great (51) offering

m t hnkt kšw špdw [ht] nb nfr
of bread, beer, bulls and birds, and every good thing.

[rdī.n=f šh]^c ntr pn šps n hrw 3
[and caused this noble god to ap]pear (in procession) for three days.

[šh]^c[.n] dd [n=f ntr pn
[The]n [this god] said [to him,

rdī.n]=ī (52) n=k š nb rs mht imnt šbt
"I [have given] (52) to you every land, South, North, West, and East."

šh^c.n rd n=f pdt hn^c šsrw=s n biš
Then there was given to him a bow together with its arrows of bronze

— — —] mš^c
...] 'army'.

(53) šh^c.n dd n <n>=f ntr pn
(53) Then this god said to him,

rd n=k pdt pn ī-r-hn^c=k r b nb šm[=k] im
"This bow is given to you (to be) with you to every place where you go."

dd [n=f hm]=f
His [Majesty] said [to him],

(54) dī=k n=i ḥꜥ kī ḥr-tp t̃

(54) "May you give me a long life on earth,

rd.n=k n=i mī ḥr.n=k n nsw ꜥ-r-r [mꜥ ḥrw]

after you have given to me as you did for king Alara, [justified]."

ḥꜥ.n dd.[n=f n=f]

Then [he] said [to him],

(55) ḥr.n=i n=k ḥt nb nt m lb=k

(55) "I have (already) done for you everything that is in your heart."

ḏd.in ḥm=f n mšꜥ=f

Then His Majesty said to his army,

swꜥš it(=i) ꜥmn Gm-(pꜥ-)ꜥtn

"Do homage to (my) father Amûn of Finding-(the)-Aton (Kawa).

ibd 2 ꜥḥt (56) sw 1

Second month of Inundation, (56) 1st day.

ḥꜥ.n ph.n ḥm=f r spꜥt tn Pr-nbs rn=s

Then His Majesty arrived at this nome, called Pnûbs.

šm pw ḥr[y.n]=f r ḥwt-nꜥr n it=f (57) ꜥmn-Rꜥ ḥr-ib Pr-nbs.

Off he we[nt] to the temple complex of his father (57) Amen-Rê who resides in Pnûbs,

rd.n=f ḥbw ꜥ

presented a great offering

m t ḥnꜥt kꜥw ꜥpdw ḥt nb nfr n it=f ꜥmn

of bread, beer, bulls and birds, and every good thing.

rd.(58)n=f shꜥ nꜥr pn

and caused (58) this god to appear (in procession).

ḥꜥ.n dd n=f nꜥr pn

Then this god said to him,

rd.n=i n=k nsw nḥt

"I have given you a mighty kingship,

dī(=i) n=k t̃ nb rs mḥt imnt ibt

(even as) I give you every land, South, North, West, and East.

rd.(59)n=f <n=f> hrw 5 nt ḥꜥ
He (59) gave him 5 days of appearance (in procession),

dī=f
(even as) he gave:

ḥmw ḥmwt 12
man- and maidservants: 12,

ḥrt 1 hrd 1
ḥrd-roll of cloth: 1,

bī wšb ʿ 1
large bronze wšb-vessel: 1,

mnmn(t) (60) 40 m-b:ḥ ntr pn
and (head of) cattle: (60) 40, before this god.

ḏd.in ntr pn n ḥm=f
Then this god said to His Majesty,

dī=k n=i ḥwt it=w m-ʿ=i
"You shall give me the lands that were taken from me."

ḏd.in ḥm=f (61) m-b:ḥ ntr pn
Then His Majesty said (61) in the presence of this god,

rd.n=i n=k ḥt nbt r.it=w m-ʿ=k m hrw pn
"On this day I have given you all the lands that were taken from you,

rmṯ nb mitt
as well as all the people (attached to them)."

imy-rn=sn (62) wp-s
List of them, (62) details of it:

Gr-Ḳmn-st Skst Trḥt mhwyw M-w:r-s-w n ḥ-(63)sšst m-b:ḥ ntr pn
Gr-Ḳmn-st, Skst, Trḥt and families of *Mewaresew* as bearers (63) of sistra before this god.

ibd 2 ḥt sw 23
Second month of Inundation, 23rd day.

ḥnty pw <iry.>n ḥm=f r Gm-p:Ḳtn
Southwards sailed His Majesty to Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

rd.n=f ḥ(64)ṣ nṯr pn šps
and caused this noble god to (64) appear (in procession).

ḥms pw ṯr.n ḥm=f m sp:t tn
Here stayed His Majesty in this nome,

ḥr šḥṣ nṯr pn m ḥ'w'=f nb n ṯbd 2 ṯḥt
causing this god to appear (in procession) in every festival in the second month
of Inundation.

(65) dd.ṯn nṯr pn šps n ḥm=f
(65) Then this noble god said to His Majesty,

dī=k n=ṯ ṯḥwt r-ṯt=w m-ṣ=ṯ
"You shall give me the lands that were taken from me."

dd.(ṯ)n ḥm=f m-b:ḥ (66) nṯr pn
Then His Majesty said before (66) this god,

rd.n=ṯ n=k ṯḥwt rmt ṯt=w m-ṣ=k m hrw pn
"On this day I have given you all the lands and people that were taken from
you."

ṯmy-rn=sn wp-s
List of them, details of it:

M-rṯ-kṯ-r
Merakur,

(67) ṯ-r-t-kṯ-r
(67) Artakur,

ṯ-šṯ-w-m-t
Ashawmeta,

Gṯ-r-k-n
Garkan,

mḥw ṯ-r-m (68) Tṯy=ṯ-nb
families of Arma (68) and of My-mistress,

mḥw ṯ-rw-[— — —]
and families of Aru...]

bṯ kbw 1t
bronze: kby-vessel: 1,

ṭbw 3
ṭb-vessel: 1,

(69) s 25
(69) men: 25

ḥrt n šs-nsw 4
ḥrd-roll of byssus: 4,

prhk n Kmt 1
and Egyptian *prhk*: 1.

[ḥ]ḥ.n gm.n ḥm=f mł(t) n (70) ntr pn ṭt.n-s š'yw m 'ḥst-sp' 42
[Th]en His Majesty found the road of (70) this god after the sand had taken it in
regnal year 42,

nn šm ntr pn ḥr mł(t)[=f — ... —] (71) spst tn
without this god having gone upon [his] road [...] (71) this nome.

[ḥ]ḥ.n ḥm=f in 'drt n' mš'
[Th]en His Majesty brought 'a multitude of hands',

m ṭw ḥmwt ḥn' msw nsw wryw
to wit, men and women as well as royal children and chiefs.

(72) ḥr fšl š'yw
(72) to carry away sand;

wn ḥm=f ḥr fšl š'yw m drt=f ds
and His Majesty was carrying away sand with his hand(s) himself,

ḥst n mš' m (73) hrw š'w
at the forefront of the multitude for (73) many days,

ḥr ḥms ḥr pš rwd n ntr pn
staying on the 'stairway' of this god

ḥr ỉry [b:]klw [m-]bšḥ=f
doing [wo]rk before him

wn.n=f mł(t) (74) n ntr pn
(even) after he had opened up the road (74) of this god.

ỉbd 2 šḥt 'rky
Second month of Inundation, last day.

r[d.]n=f šh' ntr pn šps m wh₃

He ca[us]ed this noble god to appear (in procession) by night,

wnn mš' nb (75) rmt nb bs m drt'=sn¹

all the soldiers (75) and all the people (went) with torches in their hands.

[p]rr.n ntr pn

As soon as this god came out

wnn ntr pn hr phr nltwt=f

and as soon as this god went around his city,

wn.ln ntr pn (76) šps hr h' m hnw n mš' [pn] r ʿ wr

then this noble (76) god rejoiced very greatly in the midst of the multitude.

[— — —]

[...]

[wn]n hm=f hr f₃ (77) ʿwy=f m h'

In joy His Majesty was holding up (77) his arms,

ib=[f] 'm ršwt¹ m-b:ḥ lt=f ntr pn šps

[his] heart 'in joy¹ before his father this noble god.

irr tḥw hmwt hr nh(78)m m dd

and the men and women were che(78)ering, saying,

hnm s₃ [hn]' lt

"The son is united with (his) father!"

[wd₃.(i)n] ntr pn hr htp m ʿht=f

[Then] this god proceeded to rest in his palace.

ibd 3 (79) ḥt sw 1

Third month (79) of Inundation, 1st day.

rdl.n=f šh' ntr pn šps [m] dw₃w

At dawn he caused this noble god to appear (in procession).

phr.n=f nltwt=f

As he went around his city,

wnn [ntr pn šps] hr h' (80) r ʿ wr m hnw n tḥw hmwt

[this noble god] was rejoicing (80) greatly amid the men and women,

wnn ḥm=f ḥr fḥ ʿwy=f [m] ḥḥ m-bḥ nṯr pn (81) šps
while His Majesty was holding up his arms [in] joy before this noble (81) god,

īr ṯw ḥmwt [ḥr nhm]
and the men and women [were cheering].

[īw] pw [īr.n] nṯr pn r pr=f
[In came] this god into his house.

īs r[f — — —] n ḥm=f
No[w ...] of His Majesty

(82) īw sn-nsw ḥnwt n Kmt mwt-nsw [— ... —]
(82) while the King's sister, Mistress of Egypt, King's Mother [...]

wnn[=s ḥḥ.tw] m ʿw-īb ḥr (83) mḥ sḥ=sw
she was in a state of joy, happy to (83) see her son appearing as king

[— ... —] ʿI-r-k-ʿImn-niwt' (84) ʿnh ḏt
[...] ʿIrike-Amannote', (84) may he live for ever,

ḥḥ ḥr st-Ḥr mī Rḥ ḏt nhḥ
appearing upon the Horus-throne, like Rê, for ever and ever.

ībd 3 ʿḥt sw 7
Third month of Inundation, 7th day.

[— —] ḥm=f [— ... —] (85)=f
[— —] His Majesty [...] (85) he,

m.tn ḥr ḥt=tn ḥr [— ... —] ʿm ḏd'
"Look, you are on your bellies [...] ʿsaying',

m n=ī īt=ī ʿImn
"Come to me, my father Amûn.

ḏī=k (86) n=ī ḥst nb nty bdš [— ... —]
Give (86) me every desert land which is in revolt [...]

sdm=k [n]=ī
Listen to me.

rd=k nfr (87) ṯ pn m h(ṯ)w=ī
Let this land (87) be good in my time."

[— ... —] hr ır r[—]=k
[...] doing '—'[...] you.

'wn.in' [hm=f] hr 'h' [n]n ky hn=f (88) wp-hr=f w'w
'Then' [His Majesty] was standing without anyone else with him, (88) just he alone.

ın ʕ[wy] hr=f
The doors were closed upon him

hr 'nis' [— ... —] m dwʕw m mš[r
as he 'invoked' [...] at dawn and in the even[ing].

(89) nn wrhw=f sw m 'ntyw m] hrw 4
(89) without anointing himself with m[yrrh for] 4 days.

wn.ı[n mš' m ʕw] hmwt msw-nsw (90) smrw nb nt pr-nsw
Th[en the multitude of men] and women, royal children, (90) and all the "friends" of the royal residence

hr rd{.n=)sn hr ht=sn m-b:h ntr pn
were on their bellies in the presence of this god

ıw nn wrhw=sn (91) m 'nty
without having anointed themselves with myrrh.

wnn hr-tpw nw hm=f hr dwʕw [—]bw š[—]
The leading men of His Majesty were worshipping [—]' — ' [—]

r shtp ıb (92) n ntr pn n hm=f
in order to put at rest the heart (92) of this god for His Majesty

r rd sdm=f dd[t.n] hm=f nb
so as to make him listen to all that His Majesty said.

ıbd 3 ıht sw [—]
Third month of Inundation, [—] day.

[wn.in] 'hm'=f hr ır 'b:w (93) ʕty m-b:h ntr pn
[Then] His Majesty was making a great (93) offering before this god.

ın ʕwy m hwt-ntr tn [— ... —]
(while) the doors of the temple complex were closed [...]

[h' n hm=f hr 'k
Then His Majesty entered

wn]n=f hr dd ht nb nty (94) m ib=f
and said everything that (94) was in his heart.

ḥꜥ.n wn ʿswy m ḥwt-nṯr
Then the doors in this temple complex were opened,

d[d].n ḥm=f n smrw nt pr-nsw
and His Majesty said to the “friends” of the royal residence,

my(95)w i[s]wy n it=i ʾImn
Give (95) praise to my father Amûn

dī=f [— ... —
that he may give [...

ḥnh ʾw nn] ḥyt nbt (96) im=f
and a long life without] any illness (96) in it.

dī=f n=i ḥst nb nty b[dš — ... —
and that he may give to me every desert land which is in revolt [...

—] ḥm=f [— — —] ʾI-ḥ-b-ʾImn{imn} ḥnꜥ ḥmw-nṯr (97) ḥnꜥ sš-mḏt-nṯr šm
[n=s]n [— ... —] ḥwt-nṯr
...] His Majesty [...] Akhebamani together with the prophets (97) and the scribe
of the temple archives went [...] the temple complex,

dd [n=i ht] nb dd n=i it=i ʾImn (98) m ḥnw n mšꜥ nb n ḥm=f
“Tell [every]thing that my father Amûn said (98) in the midst of the entire army
of His Majesty [for me].”

š[m] pw ʾr[n=s]n hr dd [ht nb m ḥnw n mšꜥ] pn
Off [they went] telling [everything in the midst of] this ar[my].

wn.ʾn ḥm=f (99) ḥnꜥ smrw ḥnꜥ mšꜥ ʾnb n ʾ ḥm=f hr [— —] m spꜣt tn [— —]
ʾnṯr pn
Then His Majesty (99) together with the “friends” and the “entire” army “of” His
Majesty [— —] in this nome [— —] “this god”.

wn.ʾn ḥm=f ḥꜥ r ḥwt-nṯr (100) hr wdn m-bšḥ it=f ʾImn
Then His majesty entered the temple complex (100) and made offering before
his father Amûn.

wn.ʾn ʾḥmʾ[=f] hr ʾr snṯr ʾm fnd ʾ [ʾn it=f ʾ] nṯr pn
Then [His] ʾMajestyʾ performed (the rite of) burning incense ʾbefore the noseʾ
[ʾof his fatherʾ] this god.

[dd].in ntr pn dī=i n=k ʿnh nb
Then this god [said], "I am giving you all life."

(101) dd.in hm=f n smr[w nt] pr-nsw
(101) Then His majesty said to the "friends" of the royal residence

hnʿ [hm]w-ntr [hm]wt-ntr [wʿbw] hryw-hb
and the [pro]phets, [pro]phetesses, [*waab*-priests], and lector priests,

m ī(102)wy n it=i ʾImn
"Give pr(102)aise to my father Amûn.

wn[ʿh tnʿ] r tr n sntr m fnd [— —] nn iw=sn
'Dre[ss yourselves]' for the time of the (rite of) burning incense before the nose
[— —] without their coming.

dd=i m-(103)bḥ it=i ʾImn
I shall say be(103)fore my father Amûn,

dī=k iw=f n=i m wn mʿ
'Let him come to me in very truth.'

[— — —] mī dd=i m tḥ t
[...] according to what I am saying at this moment.

dī=[f] dd n=i rmt nb (104) ʿnh=k
May [he] cause everyone to say to me, (104) 'May you live!'

dī=f n=i ʿnh nb hr=f
May he give me all life under him!"

[wn.in s]mrw hr dwḥ hm [n] Sḥ-Rʿ ʾI-r-k-ʾImn-niwt
[Then the "fr]iends" began singing the praises [of] the Son-of-Rê: Irike-Aman-
note

m-bḥ it(105)=f ʾImn-Rʿ Gm-(pḥ)-ʾItn
before his (105) father Amen-Rê of Finding-the-Aton (Kawa)

dī=f n=f ʿnh nb dd wḥs nb snb nb ḥw-ib nb
that he might give him all life, all stability and dominion, all health, all happi-
ness

[— —] nb ḥḥ m ḥb-sd ʿšḥ-wr
all [— —], millions of *sed*-festivals, in very great numbers,

ḥꜥ ḥr st-Ḥr (106) mī Rꜥ ḏt nḥḥ

and appearing on the Horus-throne (106) like Rê for ever and ever.

is gm.n ḥm=f ḥy[w] wꜣw r 'w[ʒs'] m spꜣt tn

Now His Majesty found that (some) 'halls' were fallen into ruin in this nome.

ḥꜥ.n ḳd(107)iw.n=f sn n mꜣwt

So he (107) built them anew.

is ḥm=f 'ḥ' [— — —] nfr [— —] 'Imn' [— —]

Now His Majesty [...] good [— —] 'Amûn' [—]

['ḥꜥ.n'] (108) ['ii'] n=i inw n [— —]nw [— ... —] 'wt' [— — —]'nb ḥd']

['Then'] (108) the tribute of (the land of) [' — ']'nu ['came'] to me ... ['gold, silver']

(109) bꜣ ḥbsw irp 'n['ty']w '—' [— ... —]

(109) bronze, clothing, wine, 'myrrh' ...

[rd](110).n=f fkꜣw im=sn [— ... —]

he (110) [distributed] rewards from them [...]

(111) ʕt 1t tnw 5 gꜣty [— ... —]

(111) large [—]: 1, *dnit*-vase: 5, *gꜣty*-object: ...

(112) irp nfr 'rd sꜣrw m' [— —] bꜣ [— — —] ḥw 1'3' [— —]

(112) good 'soporific' wine - [— —] 'bronze' [...] ḥw-cloth: 1'3' [...]

[ibd 3 ʒḥt sw 1]6¹¹²

[Third month of Inundation, 1]6th day.

wn[.in ḥm]=f 'ḥ(113)ḳ r ḥwt-nṯr tn ḥr ir 'b[w ʕ —] nb [— ... —]

Th[en His Majesty] en(113)tered this temple complex making a [great] offering [—] all ...

(114) ḏd.in ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn

(114) Then His Majesty said before this god,

[— — —] n=i [— — —] ḥꜣswt [— — —]

"[— — —] 'to me' [...] desert lands [...]

iry n=i (115) mī ir=k n nsw K-š-t mꜣꜥ [ḥrw — ... —]

Act for me (115) as you acted for king Kashta, justif[ied ...]

¹¹²Cf. Priese 1972, 116.

ḏḏ nṯr pn
this god said,

rdi[.n=i n=k — ... —] (116) sw
“[I shall] give [you ...] (116) him.

ḏḏ=f n=f
and he said to him,

dī=i n=k t̄ [nb rs mḥt] imnt [iḥbt]
“I shall give you [every] land, [South, North], West, and [East].

rd=i n=k mī [dī]=i n nsw [K-š-t̄ m̄ hrw]
I shall give to you as I [gave] to king [Kashta, justified].”

(117) ḏḏ.īn nṯr pn šps īn ḥm=f
(117) Then this noble god said to His Majesty,

[— ... —] r pr-nsw ḥr ‘s’[—]‘nb’
“[...] to the royal residence ... [—] ‘all’.

ḏḏ.ī[n — —]ft’n’ (118) i-ḥr rd f̄ s ḥm-nṯr r pr-nsw
Then [His Majesty] said ‘ — ’ (118) cause that a prophet carry it to the royal residence,

ḏḏ [— ... —] ‘mn — tn’ r residence-nsw
say ... ‘this — ’ to the royal residence.

ḏḏ.(i)n nṯr pn
Then this god said,

nn f̄ sw (119) s nb r pr-nsw wp nsw ḏs=f
“No one shall (119) carry it to the royal residence except the king himself.”

[— ... —] pr r [— —] n ‘ḥwt’-nṯr [t]n
[...] go forth to [— —] of this ‘temple complex’

[—]=f ḥn̄=f s
‘he’ [—] together with him a man

(120) [-] sw [-] m ḥnw n m̄š̄=f
(120) [—] him [-] in the midst of his army.

īṯ.n [— ... —]
[...] took [...]

šm s'm'[rw — — —]'swy' (121) dd='t' <n=>tn
the "fri[ends"] went [...]' — ' (121) say ' — '

rd n=i it=i 'Imn [— ... —] hn'=k r [— — —]
my father Amûn give to me [...] together with you to [...]

—]'t'n hm=f ir 'mi'tt
—]' — ' His Majesty do 'likewise'.

(122) ibd 3 iht sw 23
(122) Third month of Inundation, 23rd day.

wnn[— ... —] 'rd r' [— — —] ntr pn hr [—] n hm=f m-bšh ntr pn
'Then' [...] ' — ' [...] this god ' — ' [—] 'to' His Majesty before this god,

(123) dî=k in=k ht nb 'm hpš [— ... —] I-r-k-Imn-niwt
(123) "May you cause and bring' everything 'through your might' [...] Irike-Amannote."

(124) rh dî.n hm=f m-bšh [ntr pn — ... —]
(124) List of what His Majesty gave before [this god ...]

(125) hn' 'nhys'n'[— ... —]
(125) together with ' — '[...]

(126) hm 24 hn' [— ... —]
(126) servants (male and female): 24, together with [...]

[RHP]

Comments

This inscription, found in 1930-1 by the Oxford University expedition under the direction of F.L. Griffith, was fairly well preserved (apart from damage to its lower part caused by fire in antiquity and by the fall of a column [Macadam 1949, 51]) when it was photographed and copied by the expedition but was seriously damaged by rainfall already before 1935 (ibid.). Its present condition is unknown. The text was carefully incised (with a number of signs being executed in sunk relief) in 126 vertical columns on the S half of the E wall of the Hypostyle Hall and occupied a surface of c. 1.10 x 7.227 m, i.e., almost the entire plinth zone from floor to relief base line and from the Pronaos Door to the SE corner of the Hypostyle, under the relief representing Taharqo "presenting the house to his owner", i.e., the Temple to Amûn of Kawa (cf. FHN I, 25). The columns were written from left to right (i.e., starting from the Pronaos Door).

The text records the enthronement of Irike-Amannote and his donations to the Temple of Amûn at Kawa. Section 1 of the text (cols 1-2) starts with the dating and the five-part titulary (cf. (69) 1) and section 2 (cols 3-6) continues with

the death of Talakhamani, Irike-Amannote's predecessor at Meroe City and the news of the rebellion of the *Rhrh* nomads. Section 3 (cols 6-21) describes the "election" of Irike-Amannote; section 4 (cols 21-35) the campaign against the rebels. Section 5 (cols 35-43) records Irike-Amannote's journey from Meroe City to Napata and his enthronement at Napata; in section 6 (cols 43-48) his journey to *Krtn* and a conflict with the Meded nomads are described. Section 7 (cols 49-55) records Irike-Amannote's arrival at Kawa and his enthronement in the Temple of Amûn, while section 8 (cols 55-63) describes his enthronement in the Amûn temple at Pnubs and lists the King's donations to this god. In section 9 (cols 63-81) he sails back to Kawa, celebrates a festival of Amûn of Kawa, makes donations, participates in clearing the avenue leading to the temple and, subsequently, causes a night and a day procession of the god. Section 10 (cols 81-92) records the visit of the Queen Mother to Kawa, and section 11 (cols 92-106) describes the concluding episode of the enthronement process. Finally, section 12 (cols 106-126) records donations to the Amûn Temple at Kawa and an encounter between the King and Amen-Rê of Kawa.

The inscription has been variously judged as imitating in style the Kawa texts of Taharqo (FHN I, 21, 22, 24, 25) and Anlamani (ibid., 34) and as reflecting the education of an individual scribe in a period when Egyptian was no longer the spoken language in Kush (Macadam 1949, xiii) or as having "still a rather clear language but a very bad epigraphy which presents quite fantastic aspects" (Leclant 1972, 131) or as being composed in "a bad, since no longer spoken, Egyptian" (Wenig 1980, 1181). It continues the tradition of the Kushite enthronement records (FHN I, 22 [Taharqo], 29 [Tanutamani], 34 [Anlamani], 37 [Aspelta]; for detailed comments on the genre see esp. FHN I, 225 ff., 246 ff.), presents a clear picture of the conceptual foundations of the Kushite kingship in the 5th century BC, and gives a description of the rites of enthronement.

In contrast to the rest of the known Kushite royal inscriptions (for Gebel Barkal see Reisner 1931, 80 ff.; for Kawa see Macadam 1949, passim, 1955, 62 ff.), which were written in those parts of the temples which were accessible to the public and could thus have been read aloud by the priests to the illiterate (cf. Bleiberg 1985/86 10; Török 1995a), 71 was engraved on one of the walls of the Hypostyle at Kawa and was therefore inaccessible. Its inaccessibility as well as the actual wall on which it was placed give further emphasis to the deepest layer of the text, i.e., the "record" of the King's mystic initiation by his divine father into the royal office. The inaccessibility of the inscription may, however, also reflect the increasing isolation of the Egyptian language in Kushite society. The place chosen for the inscription: under the relief representation of the *rd pr n nb=f*, "presenting the house to its owner"-episode of the temple inauguration rituals (cf. Montet 1964; Reymond 1969, 256 f.; Zibelius-Chen 1985 and *Comments* on FHN I, 25) may have been intended to link Irike-Amannote with Taharqo, the founder of the temple, a glorious predecessor, and to associate his enthronement record with the Hypostyle as the scene of Amûn's barque

procession (cf. Barguet 1962, 311 ff.; Stadelmann 1978, 176 ff.; Stadelmann 1979, 313 ff.), i.e., with the scene of the god's oracular announcements (cf. Assmann 1991a 108)—in this context the scene of the oracular legitimation of the king (cf. FHN I, 37 lines 16 ff., and see FHN I, 247 f. with literature, comment on (37))—and of subsequent episodes of the coronation (as is indicated by the enthronement records as well as by the Taharqo- and Aspelta Chapels in the Hypostyle Hall, Macadam 1955, 83 ff, Pls. XVII f. which may have been coronation chapels, cf. Barguet 1962, 316 ff.).

The events described in the text start with Irike-Amannote's succession and span the period from day 24 of the 2nd month of Summer (*šmw*), i.e., Payni 24, in his first regnal year to Year 2, day 23 of the 3rd month of Inundation (*šht*), i.e., Athyr 23: a period of five months. Obviously, the regnal year-number changed on day 1 of *šht*, i.e., on New Year's Day (and the anniversary of the accession was antedated on 1 *šht* of Year 1). In section 2 (for section 1 see (69) 1) the death of Talakhamani at Meroe City—where also Irike-Amannote was residing “amongst the Royal Brethren” (cf. FHN I, 21 line 9, 37 line 18)—is reported; chaos immediately arises (the coincidence may be noted here that Talakhamani's death occurs in the period of the Theban mortuary feast *ḥb nfr n int*, the “Beautiful Feast of the Valley”; for its celebration in the Late Period see Graefe 1985, 188). While the desert nomads (whom Harsiyotef was also to fight later, see 78) may really have invaded the settlements of the northern Butana on learning of the death of the ruler, their raid stands in the text for the threat of the annihilation of order in the world and the cosmos. The desperate state of mankind is expressed by the words of the army and its captains in section 3, which describes the King's “election” or legitimation in the human sphere (cf. *Comments* on FHN I, 34, 37). The “election” is dramatically presented in two subsequent scenes involving the army, the captains, Irike-Amannote, and the courtiers (on the similar, yet more complex dramatic construction with speeches, dialogues and choruses in FHN I, 37 see my comments, FHN I, 247). In the first scene the representatives of the army go to their captains in the Palace at Meroe and repeat the ancient complaint: “We are wandering as a herd without herdsman” (in New Kingdom Amûn hymns: Assmann 1983, 153; cf. FHN I, 37 lines 4 f.). In the second scene the captains go to Irike-Amannote, who seems to be there in the company of courtiers. Moved by what the army and its captains have said, he decides to go to see his divine father Amen-Rê of Napata. The legitimation in the human sphere concludes with the choir of the courtiers (and the army?) assuring Irike-Amannote of his predestination.

The world can only be saved when a new king ascends the throne. The legitimacy of Irike-Amannote as predestined son of Amûn and son of King Malowiebamani (note the patrilinear accent in the case of a collateral succession) is voiced by the army and then also by the courtiers. As opposed to a commonly held opinion in Nubian studies where the classical tradition (cf. FHN I, 65, 20 [1], in this volume 105-107, 142 5, 158) is largely misunderstood (cf., e.g., Priese

1978, 85; Wenig 1980, 1181; contra: Török 1986, 24 ff.; 1988, 127 ff., 225 ff.; n.d. Ch. 12, 14) and is treated without confronting it with the Egyptian New Kingdom concept of "election" (for the issue see the brief summary by Kuhlmann 1979), the "election" as described in section 3 is a preamble to the oracular decree in which Amen-Rê announces the legitimacy of the heir to the throne, accepts him as his son, and installs him in the royal office (for the form of the oracular decree see FHN I, 61, 248, *Comments* on (8), (37)) and can by no means be interpreted as an election from among candidates with equal chances. In the sentences placed in the mouth of the representatives of the army the traditional royal functions are briefly summarized: "he who nourishes..." (cf. FHN I, 38 1 f.; in this volume 84 2 f.), creator of life and justice, excellent of judgement.¹¹³ Presented as properties of the "good herdsman",¹¹⁴ these adjectives represent a condensed discourse on the royal office as it was understood in terms of the New Kingdom concept of the ruler's rôle in the maintenance of Equity and also as influenced by the Amûn theology of the late period.¹¹⁵

In the last "chorus" of the courtiers (col. 21) an allusion is made to a "wonder" performed by Amûn for Irike-Amannote in "the ... month of Winter, day 19 [of the first year]" (for the emendation see Macadam 1949, 55 note 38), which day is determined as the day of Irike-Amannote's appearance as King. While the use of the expression "wonder" indicates the influence of earlier texts in the Kawa temple,¹¹⁶ the date in the season of *pr.t* can only refer to a date before Irike-Amannote's actual succession: as section 1 reveals, Talakhamani died only in the 2nd month of Summer. In Macadam's view (1949, 55 note 38) we have here a reference to Irike-Amannote's co-regency with Talakhamani starting some time in the season of *pr.t*, i.e., c. 2 to 6 months before Talakhamani's death. While an actual coregency cannot be proved for lack of evidence (for the difficulties of the evaluation of evidence of coregencies see, however, Murnane 1977 31 f.), an "election" by the predecessor in a similar manner and similar tone to that of Shebitqo and Taharqo (FHN I, 21 9; 22 14) may well be imagined. If so, Irike-Amannote clearly backdated the beginning of his first regnal year to *šht* 1 (as also the beginning of Year 2 to was dated *šht* 1, instead of next *šmw* 28, i.e., the day of his "appearance as King" in Napata, see section 5); and in this way the "election" by Talakhamani falls within Year 1. It is worth stressing that we have here one of the infrequent cases where antedating

¹¹³For the association with Ptah and Thoth see 84 3; for its Memphite [and Ramesside] roots see Grimal 1986, 236 f., 345 f., 430 ff.

¹¹⁴For the history and complex meaning of the notion see Müller 1961.

¹¹⁵For the ideological background cf. also KRI I, 65.10 [Sethi I] "the good herdsman [*mnw nfr*] who provides for the life [*šnh*] of his army, father and mother to all"; for the "loving care" as political paradigm of the royal duties see Wilson 1951, 120.

¹¹⁶See FHN I, 24 23 [Alara's ascent to the throne as *bšt*; for the possible models of the whole sentence see *ibid.*, 21 12 and cf. Macadam 1949, 55 note 38.

the ascent to the throne to New Year is clearly attested (cf. Aldred 1969; Derchain-Urtel 1985; Gutgesell 1985).

Shortly after the events described in section 3, alarming news arrives at Meroe about the approaching nomads. In section 4 Irike-Amannote prays for Amûn's aid and sends his army against the nomads, while he remains in the palace (like Anlamani, whose text may have also served as a stylistic model for Irike-Amannote's account in a similar situation, FHN I, 34 17). This passage may suggest either that the land was under the direct rule of Amûn in the period between the death of a king and the enthronement of his successor (cf. Török 1995, Ch. 14), or that the army wasn't generally led into battle by the king himself (Shebitqo sent Taharqo as leader of his army to Palestine in 701 BC, see Kitchen 1986, § 128, 346). The victory over the rebels is celebrated as a proof of Irike-Amannote's divine sonship (according to the traditional Egyptian concept, both as son of Amûn and as incarnation of Horus). As is indicated by the epithet *nfr-hr*, "Fair-of-Countenance", the text eulogizes the King as guarantor of the proper functioning of the cosmos.¹¹⁷

Section 5 records the journey to, and the coronation at, Napata. After a journey of 9 days Irike-Amannote arrived there on day 28 of the 3rd month of Summer. On first receiving the Kushite skullcap-crown,¹¹⁸ Irike-Amannote proceeds to the Temple of Amûn and seems to be led directly to the sanctuary where, apparently in the course of a "Königsorakel", i.e., an intimate encounter with the god, he receives universal power.¹¹⁹

The "coronation" is followed by offerings and gifts to the god and the priesthood (?). Irike-Amannote stays more than one month (from Epiphi 28 to Thoth 9; note that also Nastaseñ would stay for more than one month at Napata after his coronation, 84 16 f., 22 f.) at Napata. There can be no doubt that the

¹¹⁷Cf. for the association of the epithet with Rê: Grimal 1986, 363 note 1027 and see also 387 note 1318 [on Ramesses III as *hrw-ib hr Mst m Nfr-hr*, "Horus who rejoices in Ma'at as He with the fair countenance"], with Atum: 382 note 1303, with Ptah: 386 note 1318, as royal epithet of Ramesides, e.g., 570 note 59.

¹¹⁸As is indicated by the cap-determinative; cf. also FHN I, 37 22 f. [termed *sdn*], in this volume: 78 11 f. [*sh(w)*], 84 43 [*sh(w)*] in the Palace (the text leaves no doubt as to the place where the cap-crown was kept, although *pr-nsu* may also stand for a sanctuary, cf. the Luxor temple [*tp.t-swt*] mentioned as *pr-nsu* in Horemheb's coronation text, Gardiner 1953 25; and note that the Amûn temple at Napata was similarly called *tp.t-swt*, see 78 18, 25, 26. The cap-crown, however, together with "all the crowns of the kings of Kush and their dominion-scepters" was kept, in Aspelta's time, in the sanctuary of the Amûn temple at Napata, see FHN I, 37 22 ff.

¹¹⁹For the "Königsorakel" cf. FHN I, 8 1-13, 29 33 f., 34 25 ff.; in this volume 84 30 f.; for the notion of the universal rule deriving from New Kingdom Egyptian kingship ideology see Grimal 1986 56 ff. A formal difference may be stated between two kinds of oracle received by a king. The first kind of oracle was received publicly from the divine image emerging in his barque [*hr*], "in appearance") in the outer sanctuary or in one of the courts of the temple. The second kind was received in the sanctuary without attendants from the "permanent" [*hpt*, "resting"] image of the god. For these issues in particular, and on Egyptian Third Intermediate Period concepts connected to oracles see Römer 1994, 135 ff.

main reason for this was the celebration of the New Year in the first month of the Inundation, between 30 Mesore and 4 Thoth, and the confirmation of royal power at the beginning of the 2nd regnal year (for the probable Egyptian models see Goyon 1972 19 ff.). He departed, as reported in section 6, on Thoth 9 (which would coincide with the last day of the rites of the confirmation of royal power according to PBrooklyn Mus. 47.218.50, see Goyon 1972, 42) for *Krṭn*. His journey is compared to the journey of Rê, in the course of which he re-creates life in the land and cares for the gods after the period of chaos (for the notion "setting in order each nome" in particular, and for the whole passage in general, cf. FHN I, 34 7 f.). He appears as creator and universal ruler when crushing the intruding Meded.¹²⁰

Section 7 describes the enthronement ceremonies at the Amûn temple at Kawa, where Irike-Amannote was received with the acclamation of the people in the evening of Thoth 26. After a three-day temple festival ordered by the King, Amûn of Napata granted him kingship and he received a bow and arrows from the god as an insignia of universal rule ("I give to thee every land..."). The subsequent dialogue between the King and the god, doubtless performed in the intimacy of the sanctuary as a "Königsorakel", further underlines the enthronement character of the Kawa ceremonies. In his prayer the King asks for kingship and refers to the kingship of the founder of the dynasty Alara (cf. FHN I, (2), 21 16 f., 24 23 f.; in this volume 84 8, 15 f.) and thus to dynastic continuity. The concluding sentence of the section directed by the King to his army may allude to a public announcement of Amûn's decree proclaiming Irike-Amannote's kingship (cf. FHN I, 8 1-13 with *Comments*, 29 32 ff. with *Comments*) as is reported in more detail in lines 96 ff. (see below, on section 11).

The association of Amûn of Kawa with the bow and the arrows and his presenting the King with these as royal insignia occurs for the first time in 71 and may be regarded as a Kushite feature. In Egypt Amûn is not associated with the bow, which is recorded as having a significance in the realm of kingship dogma only in the reliefs of Taharqo's Edifice beside the Sacred Lake at Karnak, where the God's Wife performs the rite of shooting arrows in order to purify the universe (in the rites of protection at the cenotaph of Kôm Djeme, Parker-Leclant-Goyon 1979, 61 ff.). While a connection between this rite and the original significance of the bow of the king of Kush can be assumed but not proved, the unfolding of the, in its tone and iconography rather un-Egyptian, warrior aspect of the Nubian Amûn is attested by the monuments of the subsequent centuries (cf. Onasch 1993 242 f.).

According to section 8, Irike-Amannote stayed only briefly at Kawa and left for Pnubs already on Paophi 1. After arriving at Pnubs he proceeded to the

¹²⁰For the Meded as a nomad Beja tribe living in the area between the Nile and the Red Sea cf. Adams 1979; Updegraff 1988, 55 ff., and see also 78 78, 81, 85, 89; 84 61, 64 f.

Temple of Amûn of Pnubs, "his father", where the god was "caused to be made to appear", i.e., his statue was brought on its barque from the sanctuary to the hypostyle where he proclaimed Irike-Amannote's universal kingship probably by oracular decree (the procedure conforms with the canonical form of "Königsorakel" received from the divine image emerging in his barque from the sanctuary; for the standard contents of the "speech" directed by the god to the king [confirmation of the king's divine sonship; granting of universal kingship] cf. Römer 1994, 147). As a manifestation of reciprocity (cf. FHN I, 144, 155 f., *Comments* on 21, 22), Irike-Amannote donates captured territories and families to Amûn of Pnubs. While this donation—like that made later to Amûn of Kawa (see section 9)—attests to the landed properties of the temples as well as to the attachment of tribal units to the temples for the performance of services of the cult (cf. Priese 1978, 82), the location of the territories (for a tentative identification of *Skst* with Tangussi [= Segasam of Juba, cf. FHN III, 186] see Priese 1984, 494) and the ethnic identity of the families remain obscure. It also remains undecided whether the lands in question were all captured from the *Rhrhs* and/or the Meded (cf. Macadam 1949, 61 note 110).

In section 9 the King returns to Kawa on 23 Paophi in order to celebrate the feast of Amûn of Pnubs which thus corresponded in date with the Opet festival (cf. Murnane 1981). Furthermore, a close connection between the rites of the Opet festival at Karnak (cf. FHN I, 9 25 f.) and the festival of Amûn of Kawa is indicated by the fact that also the latter included a nocturnal procession which was performed on the eve of a great daytime procession (see FHN I, 9 26 on the *hb ʾpt grh*, "Feast of Opet by Night" and *hb mn-m-Wst*, "festival [of] Abiding-in-Dominion [Thebes]"). The great emphasis laid on the King's participation in the feasts and the culmination of the nocturnal festival with the jubilant words of the crowd, "The son is united with his father", recall the close association of kingship and the Opet festival in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt (cf. Murnane 1981, 576; for Horemhab's [Dyn. 18] coronation as "part" of the Opet festival see Gardiner 1953).

The enthronement process continues in section 10. The Queen Mother is reported to visit Kawa in order to see, as Isis saw Horus, her son crowned as King upon the throne of Horus (cf. FHN I, 22 17 ff.; 35, 22 ff.) Subsequently (section 11), the King enters the sanctuary and is closeted with the god without any attendants (cf. FHN I, 29 8; 34 25 ff.; in this volume 78 10 ff.; 84 14 f.). He spends four days and four nights there (as later Nastaseñ, 84 30 f.). Meanwhile, the royal family, the army, the "chief men of His Majesty" and the crowd are at prayer. The mystic union of the King with his divine father—which is splendidly rendered in the description of Piye's "beholding his father Rê" in his sanctuary at Heliopolis (FHN I, 9 100 ff.)—seems in this particular case to represent a variant of the rite of *smn ʾwʿ*, "affirming the heir" (cf. Goyon 1972, 46 ff.; for its connection with the enthronement rites Derchain-Urtel 1985, 530). This rite is followed by an offering, whereafter the King returns to the sanctuary and a

"Königsorakel" follows. At the King's emergence from the sanctuary, orders are given to proclaim publicly (i.e., before the army, the courtiers and the people [?]) what Amûn said to the King, i.e., to read the oracular decree in which Amûn granted kingship to Irike-Amannote (cf. FHN I, 8 1-13, 29 32 f.). At this proclamation are also present the enigmatic Akhebamani (judging by the name perhaps a royal prince?), the prophets, and the scribe of the temple archives. The unfortunately badly damaged columns 92-100 seem to have described an event similar to the experience of Alexander the Great at Siwa (cf. Kuhlmann 1988, 129 ff., 151 ff.).

In the concluding section 12 the text records temple restoration work ordered by the King, and further donations and revenues. In columns 112-126 the badly damaged inscription records another dialogue between the King and the god, occurring probably in the intimacy of the sanctuary. The dialogue is about the reaffirmation of Irike-Amannote's kingship and closes with a procession of the divine image from the temple to the royal palace. The procession itself is preceded by an oracle: first, the King expresses his wish (since, as also earlier in the text, it is the King who decides about festivals and processions in cases when a festival is not fixed in the calendar) that (the image of) the god be carried by a prophet (?) to the palace, whereupon Amûn "says" that "no one shall carry it to the royal residence except the King himself" (col. 119). Finally, on Athyr 23 the King appears once more in the presence of the god with donations.

An analysis of the text as to its genre—it is usually defined with some vagueness as an "enthronement record"—cannot be carried out here, but is reserved for FHN IV. It may be noted, however, that, however greatly the style of 71 was influenced by the earlier monumental texts of Taharqo and Anlamani at Kawa and by other earlier texts existing in other Kushite temples and known to the author(s) of 71, this latter text is more homogeneous than earlier Kushite royal texts insofar as it has an almost day-book character. The eulogies of the king, his prayers, and the theological discourses usually delivered by different participants in the enthronement procedure, play a far more important rôle in texts like, e.g., FHN I, 37, which present a more direct reproduction of the enthronement procedure as a ritual drama (FHN I, 247, comment on 37). In 71, eulogies, prayers, and discourses on reciprocity between King and god are not rendered in the same detail throughout the text: while the legitimation in the human sphere (section 3) seems only slightly condensed, the individual "coronations" at Napata, Kawa and Pnubs are described very briefly. On the other hand, reports on the conflicts with the *Rhrhs* and Meded as well as the descriptions of the festivals arranged by the King and his religious activities, e.g., clearing the avenue of the Kawa temple, are meticulous; and the text on the whole shows rather clearly the synthesis of two sources: the written tradition of the enthronement rites, and an actual day-book or annalistic practice. This latter lends the inscription a rather unusual flavour of "historicity" (for

the issue see recently Hallo 1990; Hoffmeier 1992), which does not, however, alter the fact that the text as a whole is notwithstanding a discourse on order in the cosmos and the world, i.e., on the King's divine sonship, on royal duties, and on Equity created in the framework of vertical reciprocity (god-king-men). 71 (as also 78 and 84) is connected to the "Königsnovelle" tradition by the presence of the oracular moments throughout the narrative (for the "Königsnovelle" see Hermann 1938; for the significance of the "indirekte Orakelwiedergabe" in the "Königsnovelle"-genre see recently Shirun-Grumach 1993, xiii ff., 121 ff.).

[LT]

72 Donation text of Irike-Amannote (Kawa X). Second half of the 5th cent. BC. Inscribed as a graffito on the S face of the N jamb of the door between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T at Kawa. Macadam 1949, 68-69, Pls. 27-28.

Text and translation

(1) [ḥst-sp x ibd y z sw k]

(1) [xth regnal year, yth month of z, kth day].

ḥr ḥm n

under the majesty of

Hr

Horus:

K3-nḥt

"Strong-bull",

Hḥ-m-W3st

"Appearing-in-Dominion (Thebes)",

(2) Nbty Ḳt-t3w-nb

(2) Two-Ladies: "Seizer-of-every-land",

Hr-nb Wḥf-ḥ3swt-nb

Golden-Horus: "Subduer-of-every-land",

Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-Rḥ

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rḥ-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful",

(3) Ḥ3-Rḥ Ḳ-r-k-[Ḳ]mn-niwt

(3) Son-of-Rḥ: Irike-Amannote,

[ḥh] dt

may he live for ever,

mr(y) [Ḳ]mn-[R]ḥ ḥr(y)-ib Gm-p3-Ḳtn

beloved of [A]men-[R]ḥ, who resides in Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

(4) dī ʿnh mī Rʿ dt nh
(4) given life, like Rê, for ever and ever.

dd.in hm=f m-bʿh ntr pn ʿšps
Now His Majesty spoke before this noble god

(5) n it=f Imn-Rʿ hr-ib Gm-(pʿ-)Itn
(5) (even) to his father Amen-Rê, who resides in Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),

{mr dī ʿnh mī Rʿ dt nh
{beloved, given life, like Rê, for ever and ever.

dd.in hm=f m-bʿh [it=f] (6) Imn-Rʿ Gm-(pʿ-)Itn dd
Now His Majesty spoke before [his father] (6) Amen-Rê of Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa)}, saying,

dī(=i) <n=>k
“(I) give <to> you:

ʿitʿ 27 ʿ—ʿ ʿwr-ḥkʿtʿ
ʿbarleyʿ 27 ʿwere-hekatʿ-*measures*

b(d)t 9 ʿ—ʿ ʿḥkʿtʿ
spelt 9 ʿ—ʿ ʿhekatʿ-*measures*

in ʿitʿ b(d)t (7) n ḥt
as ʿbarleyʿ and spelt [—] in ʿhekatʿ-*measures* (7) <of> ʿthe best qualityʿ

ʿitʿ 25 ʿ— —ʿ ʿḥkʿtʿ
ʿbarleyʿ ʿ— —ʿ, 25 ʿhekatʿ-*measures*

b(d)t 9 ʿ—ʿ n ʿḥkʿtʿ
spelt 9 ʿ—ʿ in ʿhekatʿ-*measures*

in ʿitʿ bdt
as ʿbarleyʿ and spelt.

ī nty nb 72 n wr ḥkʿt
ʿamounting in all toʿ 72 ʿwere-hekatʿ-*measures*

īr=f smʿ [r] (8) ip nb nfr
He prayed [ʿforʿ] (8) every good ʿthingʿ,

ᵐḥ ᵐnfr ᵐsnb ᵐnfr ᵐw-ib ᵐnfr¹²¹
 '—' life, '—' health, and '—' happiness

n Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-Rḥ

for the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful",

(9) Sṯ-Rḥ ṯr-k-ṯmn-niwt ᵐḥ dt nhḥ

(9) the Son-of-Rê: Irike-Amannote, may he live for ever.

[RHP]

Note to the translation

The astute observations by K.-H. Priese (1968a, 42–47) greatly advanced the interpretation of this text.

[RHP]

Comments

The text (measurements unknown) was inscribed in vertical columns starting from the E edge of the jamb; **73** starts immediately after the last column of **72** and leaves the W quarter of the jamb free. Together with the figure of a crio-sphinx in sunk relief (Macadam 1949 Pls. 27 f.), **72** and **73** were cut on three blocks of dark red sandstone which were later additions (in the course of restoration work) to the light yellow sandstone masonry of the Taharqo building (Macadam 1949, 68). These graffiti as well as **96** above them and **74** on the face of the opposite door jamb were inscribed on wall surfaces which were at the border between the public and non-public parts of the temple, yet still outside the door that protected the inaccessible interior rooms of the sanctuary. The short text of **72** records a donation (regnal year lost) of Irike-Amannote (with full titulary, cf. (**69**) 1) offered to Amûn of Kawa under solemn circumstances. In return, he receives from the god a confirmation of his royal power (for the significance of "[all] life, [good] health, and [great] happiness [from himself (i.e., Amen-Rê), and the appearance on the throne of Horus like Rê for ever]" as an allusion to the secret gifts which the king receives from his divine father at the enthronement and which enable him to act as guarantor of cosmic order and life of mankind see Kuhlmann 1988 152).

[LT]

¹²¹The sign here transliterated *nfr*, "beautiful", is a variant of sign no. 127 in Daumas 1988, 98. Possible alternative values are *hḥ* and *k3*. In the light of other occurrences of this formula (see, e.g., below p. 87) one would expect a sign for *nb*, "all". Perhaps an underlying paleographical similarity between the hieratic form of the hieroglyph written here and a sign one of whose values was *nb* induced the scribe to produce the text as we have it.

73 Donation text of Irike-Amannote from Year 19 (Kawa XI). Second half of the 5th cent. BC.

Inscribed as a graffito on the S face of the N jamb of the door between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T at Kawa. Macadam 1949, 70-71, Pls. 27-28.

Text and translation

(1) [h3t-]sp 19 ibd 4 prt [sw] 3

(1) Nineteenth [regnal] year, fourth month of Winter, 3rd [day]

m-b3h hm=f n (*sic*)
before his majesty of

Hr K3-nht Hc-m-W3st
Horus: "Strong-bull", "Appearing-in-Dominion (Thebes)",

(2) Nbty <1t->t3w-nb
(2) Two-Ladies: "Seizer-of-every-land",

Hr-nb Wcf-h3swt-nb
Golden-Horus: "Subduer-of-every-land",

Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-Rc
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rc-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful",

(3) S3-Rc 1-r-k-Imn-niwt
(3) Son-of-Rc: Irike-Amannote,

cnh snb dt
may he live and be healthy for ever,

mr(y) 1mn-Rc hr(y)-ib Gm-p(i)-1tn hr¹²² dt
beloved of Amen-Rc, who resides in Finding-the-Aton (Kawa), for ever.

(4) S3 1mn-Rc 1-r-k-Imn-niwt
(4) The son of Amen-Rc, Irike-Amannote,

iw=f s'nh m3 1mn
he vivifies like Amûn,

iw=f kd m3 P(5)th
he builds like P(5)tah,

¹²²For 33c.

iw=f rh mī Dhwtj
he is wise like Thoth.

iw šm n=<s>n nsw n t3 w3(6)ʿ—¹²³
The '— of the' king went 'to the — (6) —'.

ḏd.n ḥm=f (n) smrw nb nt pr-nsw dd
His Majesty spoke to all the "friends" of the royal residence, saying,

i.dī it 'wʿ [— —] (7) 'wr(t)-ḥk3' n mšʿ nb 't3' i[-]n nn '—'
"Give barley 'one [— —]' (7) 'were-hekat'-measures to all the army ' ... '
[RHP]

Comments

For the place of the text see 72, *Comments*. Measurements unknown. The text, dated Pharmuthi 3 of the 19th regnal year and consisting of the King's full titulary (cf. (69) 1), is somewhat damaged and the exact meaning of its second part, which is introduced by a brief, but powerful eulogy of the King (cf. 71, *Comments* on section 3), remains obscure. Only so much seems clear, namely, that the donation was preceded by a public vow by Irike-Amannote made before the courtiers and the army (?).

[LT]

74 Donation text of Irike-Amannote from Year 25+X (Kawa XII). Second half of the 5th cent. BC.

Inscribed on the N face of the S jamb of the door between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T at Kawa. Macadam 1949, 71-72, Pls. 29-30.

Text and translation

(1) ḥ3t-sp 25+x ḥbd 2 3ḥt sw 10

(1) Twenty-fifth+x regnal year, second month of Inundation, tenth day,

ḥr ḥm [n
under the Majesty [of

Hr K3-nḥt Ḥʿ-m-](2)W3st
Horus: "Strong-bull", "Appearing-in-](2)Dominion (Thebes)",

Nbty [It-]t3w-nb
Two-Ladies: "Seizer-of-every-land",

¹²³Or: iw šm.n 'sšwʿ-nsw nʿt W3w3tʿ?

Hr-nb Wḥf-ḥꜣswt-nb
Golden-Horus: "Subduer-of-every-land",

Nsw-bꜣty [Nfr-ib-Rḥ
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: ["Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful",

dꜣ ḥnh mꜣ Rḥ dꜣ] (3) nhḥ
given life like Rê for ever] (3) and ever,

stp
the chosen one,

nsw nfr mnw n Gm-(pꜣ-)ꜣtn
a king whose monuments are beautiful in Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

Psdt ꜣ— ꜣ sꜣ ꜣmn mr(y) ꜣmnRḥ (n) Gm-(4)(pꜣ-)ꜣtn
ꜣ— ꜣ the Ennead, son of Amûn, beloved of Amen-Rê of Finding-(4)(the-)Aton
(Kawa),

Sꜣ Rḥ ꜣr-k-ꜣmn-niwt ḥnh dꜣ
Son-of-Rê: Irike-Amannote, may he live for ever,

ḥnty s ḥḥ
foremost of a million men

m [ꜣꜣ nꜣ] ꜣb=f r ꜣr ḥnw n nꜣrw nb
in ["the greatness of"] his desire to make a residence for all the gods,

dꜣ ḥnh dd wꜣs nb ḥr=f
given all life, stability, and dominion from him,

(5) [ꜣw-]ꜣb nb ḥr[=f]
(5) all [happi]ness from him,

[ḥḥ ḥr] s["t"] n Hr dꜣ
and [appearing on] the thro[ne] of Horus for ever.

dd.n ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ [nꜣr] ꜣpn
His Majesty said before 'this' [god],

dꜣ(=ꜣ) <n=>k rnn ꜣwꜣ 141 ꜣtꜣ 220 ꜣḥꜣtꜣ
"(I) am giving <to> you calves: long-horned oxen, 141 (head), (and) 'barley' 220
'hekat'-measures

(6) [— ... —] ꜣšmꜣ nꜣ [— —] nꜣꜣ ꜣmn (n) Gm-(pꜣ-)ꜣtn
(6) [...] 'to me', Amûn (of) Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa).

ỉ nṯrw nb nṯrwt nb n ʿ—
O all gods and goddesses of ...

(7) [— ... —] ʿ— —] ʿ— ʿ [— ʿ Ỉmn-Rʿ (n) Gm-pʿ-Ỉtn
(7) ...] Amen-Rê (of) Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

ỉ.ỉr pʿ Rʿ (8) [— ... —] ʿ— ʿ [—] ʿỉr=wʿ [—] ỉ.ỉr=f m [—] pʿ
Prê did (8) ... ʿthey didʿ ... he did ʿinʿ [—] the

(9) [— ... —] đđ ỉ Ỉmn-Rʿ (n) Gm[-pʿ-Ỉtn ... —]
(9) ... saying, “O Amen-Rê (of) Finding-the-Aton (Kawa),

(10) [— ... —] n ʿ— ʿ=k Ỉmn-Rʿ [— ... —]
(10) ... your ʿ— ʿ, Amen-Rê ...

(11) [— ... —] ʿnhʿ [— ... —]
(11) ... ʿlifeʿ ...

(12) [— ... —] ʿ— — ʿ [— ... —]
(12) [— ... —] ʿ— — ʿ [— ... —]

(13) [— ... —]
(13) [— ... —]

[RHP]

Note to the translation

Egyptian monuments of all periods abound with texts that refer to donating cattle to temples and sacrificing them to gods, and ancient pictures often show the animals in procession, garlanded for festival offering. There are also a number of Nubian sources, like this one, that contain similar references; and a further link between Egypt and the Sudan is to be found in the practice of artificially deforming the horns of cattle. In reliefs at Karnak in Egypt from the time of Thutmose IV, for example, long-horned oxen (*ỉwʿ*) and short-horned-cattle (*wndw*) are pictured in procession, and it is the long-horned oxen that have their horns artificially deformed. Two important articles, one by Leclant (1956), the other by Letellier (1994), provide a good starting point for following up the network of links between Egypt and Nubia that involves cattle in ritual contexts.

[RHP]

Comments

This inscription is larger (measuring 1.05 x 1.24 m) and finer in execution than 72 and 73. It is inscribed in sunk hieroglyphs in vertical columns starting from the W edge of the jamb (thus unlike 72 and 73, where the signs [as well as, curi

ously, the crio-sphinx beneath the inscriptions] face the interior of the sanctuary), thus facing the Forecourt. The text dates to a regnal year higher than 25, Paophi 10, consists of a full titulary (cf. (69) 1) and a fairly long eulogy of the King, and records donations made to Amen-Rê of Kawa; from col. 6, however, the inscription is badly damaged.

The adjective "the chosen one" opening the eulogy refers to the divine origins of Irike-Amannote's kingship (standing doubtless for "elected by Amûn"; cf. the epitheta of Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period rulers in Grimal 1986, 201 ff.) and, as indicated by the next epithet "whose monuments are beautiful in Finding-the-Aton (Kawa)", to his actual enthronement in the Kawa temple. As pointed out by Macadam (1949, 72 note 4), the latter epithet was copied from the S wall, E half, of the First Court where it occurs as Taharqo's epithet in a scene showing Taharqo being conducted by Monthu or Khonsu (?) and Atum into the presence of Amen-Rê (Macadam 1955, 69, Pl. Xb). The scene is labelled "Amen-Rê, the goodly procession to Gematon [Kawa]", and may in some way refer to an earlier stage of Taharqo's enthronement (at Napata?), or else to his coronation at Kawa, the more so since Amen-Rê makes the following speech: "[I give] thee the Delta, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, like Rê, for ever" (Macadam 1955, 69). The theme of divine election is also hinted at in the following epithets. Being elected "foremost of a million men" is a variant of a recurrent New Kingdom epithet (cf. Grimal 1986, 204 ff.) and is coupled with the notion of the King's "desire" to build temples, i.e., to fulfill his royal duty towards the gods and their cults, also in one of Taharqo's Kawa inscriptions (FHN I, 25 6 f.). In terms of reciprocity, Irike-Amannote is granted kingship by Amen-Rê of Kawa with the words referring to the King's secret knowledge (cf. 72, *Comments*, end).

[LT]

(75) Baskakeren. Evidence for reign.

Baskakeren's titulary is not preserved. His filiation and family relations are unknown: Dunham's suggestion (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143; Dunham 1955, 218) that he was son of Malowiebamani (cf. FHN I, (55)) is without any foundation. To judge by the diminutive size (12.30 x 12.30 m) of his pyramid, his reign was short and perhaps also insignificant (the pyramid graves of Analma'aye [Nu. 18, cf. FHN I, (46)], Nasakhma [Nu. 19, *ibid.*, (54)], and Talakhamani [Nu. 16, (67) in this volume] are of a similarly small size; and their owners too may be regarded as having had brief and insignificant reigns). He was nevertheless, as indicated by finds of gilded electrum finger-caps and rosettes from his plundered grave (Macadam 1955, 219), buried in a proper manner. His granite mortuary stela (now Khartoum 1859; *ibid.*, fig. 169, Pl. LXIX/C) is inscribed with a short formula in neatly incised Egyptian hieroglyphs.

[LT]

(76) Harsiyotef. Titles.

Sources: 1. 78; 2. Kawa, Temple T, "Dais Room" (Room D), Throne name and Son-of-Rê name (Kawa L) in a graffito representing the King offering a necklace and pectoral to Amûn of Kawa, Macadam 1949, 91, Pl. 37, Macadam 1955, Pl. XXI/b; 3. Son-of-Rê name on a fallen block from chapel of Nu. 13, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 28d, Dunham 1955, fig. 170; 4. Son-of-Rê name on the back of a usurped sandstone heart scarab from Nu. 13, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 28a, Dunham 1955, fig. 171.

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
a. Horus name	Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Npt "Mighty Bull, Who-appears-in-Napata"	
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	Nḏ-nṯrw "Who-seeks-the-counsel-of-Gods"	
c. Golden Horus	Wfti-ḥꜣswt-nbt "Subduer, Given-all-the-desert-lands"	
d. Throne name	Sꜣ-mrꜣ-Imn "Beloved-son-of-Amûn"	sꜣ-mrꜣ-Imn
e. Son-of-Rê name	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f
	3.	4.
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f

Comments

Harsiyotef's titulary conveys a strong connection with the sanctuary of Amûn at Napata, which played a greater rôle in his ascent to the throne than required in the succession of most of his ancestors and successors. At the same time, great emphasis is laid in it on the concepts of dynastic tradition and continuity. The Horus name repeats the Horus name assumed by Piye (FHN I, (5) 1), while the *Nebty* name contains an allusion to the intricate notion of *nḏtꜣ* connected to the concept of the king's divine sonship and especially to *Ḥr-nḏ(tꜣ)-ḥr-ṯt.f*, "Horus-champion-of-his-father" (Greek Harendotes), the prototype of royal succession and guarantor of Osiris' resurrection (from the Pyramid Texts; cf. Meeks 1977, 965), a royal and solar god. It seems to indicate, like the Golden Horus and the Son-of-Rê names, a difficult case of succession, in which Harsiyotef was compelled to emphasize by the means at his disposal his sonship, his status both as heir and incarnation—perhaps against another heir of a similar de

scent, but actually more unambiguously predestined for succession. This impression is further strengthened by the adoption of the Golden Horus name of the King's second predecessor Irike-Amannote (cf. (69) 1), especially as the revival of the Golden Horus name of a king's penultimate predecessor is otherwise unparalleled. The throne name conveys the concept of divine sonship as well as Harsiyotef's indebtedness to Amûn of Napata. His Son-of-Rê name was obviously adopted on his ascent to the throne and gives expression to the concept of the king as the incarnation of Horus.

[LT]

(77) Harsiyotef. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Although his legitimacy had to be established in a less self-evident manner than customary, Harsiyotef reigned for an unusually long period: indeed, the thirty-five years attested in his Annals (see 78), beyond which he still continued to occupy the throne for an unknown period, represent the longest recorded reign in Kushite history. Judging by the number of punitive expeditions and armed conflicts listed in 78, his reign was eventful and, in view of the geographical and political range of the expeditions and conflicts, can also be judged as a period of expansion and empire-building. No absolute dates are known or can be inferred from the Annals; in the framework of the traditional relative chronology based on Reisner's speculations, Harsiyotef is dated to the first third of the 4th century BC (Dunham 1955, 3; Török 1988, 178).

According to 78, Harsiyotef was the son of queen *Ts-m-nfr* (traditionally Kushiticized as Atasamalo, cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143) who bore the traditional titles usually found in titularies of Queen Mothers: *mw.t nsw sn(.t) nsw hnw.t n Kš*, "king's mother, royal sister (=wife), mistress of Kush" (cf. FHN I, 37, *Comments*). The identity of his father is unknown, though Harsiyotef's own titles (cf. (76)) seem to indicate that he was the son—even if not the predestined heir—of a king. Reisner's suggestion, also repeated by Dunham and Macadam (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143; Dunham 1955, 221), that he would have been a son of Irike-Amannote, cannot be proved. His wife *B-h-y-r-y* (rendered by Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 as Batahaliye), a *sn.t nsw hm.t (nsw) 3*, "royal sister (=wife), great royal wife", is depicted in the lunette of 78. Dunham-Macadam (1949, 149) make him the father of Kings Akhratañ ((79)) and Nastaseñ ((82)-84), a hypothesis which cannot be substantiated.

78 lists Harsiyotef's donations to different sanctuaries in the land, thus giving a useful overview of cults in 4th century BC Kush; the donation of timber originating from *Irkr.t* (Zibelius 1972, 87 s.v. *jrkrk*: perhaps a district of Punt) and subsequently gilded in Napata indicates the range of commercial contacts. In Years 2, 18 and 23, thus fairly regularly, punitive expeditions are led against the *Rhrh* nomads because they invaded the Island of *Brwt* (i.e., the "island of Meroe", the area of the northern Butana, cf. Zibelius 1972, 106 f.). The pattern is

the same as in 71 (see *Comments* there). In Years 3, 5 and 6 the King fights the *Mddt* (Meded nomads?). In Year 11 an expedition is sent against rebels laying siege on the town of *ḫm.t*, probably identical with Mirgissa (cf. Zibelius 1972, 94 f. s.v. *jqn*), while in Years 16 and 35 wars are reported in the Lower Nubian region between the First and Second Nile Cataracts. These three last-mentioned expeditions suggest control over Lower Nubia at least as far as Mirgissa by Year 11, on the one hand, and repeated attempts to gain control of the territory adjacent to Egypt and thus a revival of interest in an area from which Kush had withdrawn after (and as a result of?) the campaign of Psammetich II in 593 BC,¹²⁴ on the other. The new policy of expansion may have been initiated by Irike-Amannote (for his aggressive titulary see (69), *Comments*) and have culminated in the political renaissance of the 3rd century BC and the re-settlement of Lower Nubia in the 2nd century BC (cf. (114), (128), (131), 132-135).

Harsiyotef was buried in Nu. 13 (Dunham 1955, 221-224); while his mother was buried in Nu. 61 (*ibid.*, 232-235, her cartouche on an offering table fragment from the thieves' debris *ibid.*, fig. 180) and his wife in Nu. 44 (*ibid.*, 228-231, for her mortuary stela from chapel, now Boston MFA 21.3231, *ibid.*, fig. 177; Leprohon 1991, 123-126).

Year 35

Source: Cairo JE 48864=78.

[LT]

78 Annals of Harsiyotef from Year 35. First half of the 4th cent. BC.
Cairo JE 48864. Grimal 1981, 40-61, Pls. X-XXV.

Text and translation

TEXTS ACCOMPANYING THE SCENE AT THE TOP OF THE STELA

BENEATH THE SUNDISC AT THE TOP OF THE LUNETTE

(the royal cartouche, reading vertically from right to left, framed by two uraeus serpents hanging from the central sundisc, the one on the right wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, the one on the left wearing the crown of Upper Egypt):

Hr-s-It=f

"Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiyotef).

(a single column, dividing the lunette in half, reading right to left):

¹²⁴Cf. FHN I, 41-43, 64; for an Egyptian presence during the Saite and Persian periods [c. 7th to late 5th centuries BC] at Dorginarti at the N end of the Second cataract see Heidorn 1991, 1992.

ḏd-mdw in (Imn-Rē)
Utterance by (Amen-Rē),

di(=i) n=k ḥnh w3s nb ḏd nb snb nb 3w-ib nb
“(I) am giving to you all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all happiness.

di(=i) n=k rnpwt nhh dt
(I) am giving you an eternity of years for ever.”

THE RIGHT-HAND-SCENE

UNDER THE OUTSPREAD RIGHT-HAND WING OF THE SUNDISC
(one line, reading right to left):

Bḥdty ntr 3 nb pt di ḥnh
The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, given life.

IN FRONT OF AND ABOVE A CRIOCEPHALIC AMEN-RE, STANDING, FACING RIGHT
(two lines, reading from left to right):

(1) ḏd-mdw in Imn.Rē nb <nswt T3wy>
(1) Utterance by Amen-Rē, lord <of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt)>.

ḥr(y)-ib (2) D̄w-wʿb
who dwells in (2) Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

di ḥnh ḏd w3s
given life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING, STANDING, FACING LEFT, OFFERING
(two columns, reading left to right):

(1) Nsw-blty S3-mr(y)-Imn
(1) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Beloved-son-of-Amûn”,

(2) S3-Rē Hr-s3-ît=f
(2) Son-of-Rē: “Horus-son-of-his-father” (Harsiotef).

ABOVE A QUEEN, FACING LEFT, STANDING BEHIND THE KING, HOLDING A SISTRUM
IN HER RIGHT HAND
(two columns, reading left to right):

(1) mwt-nsw sn(t)-nsw ḥnwt n Kš Ts-m3-nfr
(1) King’s mother, king’s sister, mistress of Kush, Tshis-ma-nufe.

THE LEFT-HAND-SCENE

UNDER THE OUTSPREAD LEFT-HAND WING OF THE SUNDISC
(one line, reading left to right):

Bḥdty ntr ʿ nb pt di ʿnh

The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, given life.

IN FRONT OF AND ABOVE AN ANTHROPOMORPHIC AMEN-RE, STANDING, FACING
LEFT

(two columns, reading from left to right):

(1) ḏd-mdw in ʿImn.Rʿ nb nswt Tʿwy

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

(2) ḥnt(y) ʿpt-swt di ʿnh

(2) foremost of Karnak, given life.

ABOVE THE KING, STANDING, FACING RIGHT, OFFERING

(two columns, reading right to left):

(1) Nsw-bity Sʿ-mr(y)-ʿImn

(1) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Beloved-son-of-Amûn",

(2) Sʿ-Rʿ Hr-sʿ-it=f

(2) Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef).

ABOVE A QUEEN, FACING RIGHT, STANDING BEHIND THE KING, HOLDING A
SISTRUM IN HER LEFT HAND AND POURING A LIBATION WITH HER RIGHT
(one column, reading left to right):

(1) sn(t)-nsw ḥmt-nsw ʿ B-h-y-r-y

King's sister, great king's-wife, Beheyrey.

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥt-sp 35 ibd 2 prt sw 13

(1) Thirty-fifth regnal year, second month of Winter, 13th day,

ḥr ḥm (n)

under the majesty of

Hr Kʿ-nḥt Hʿ-m-Np(t)

Horus: "Mighty-bull, Who-appears-in-Napata",

Nbty (2) Nḡ-ntrw

Two-Ladies: (2) "Who-seeks-the-counsel-of-the-gods",

Hr-nb Wḡf.ti ḡdīt ḡḡswt nbt

Golden-Horus: "Subduer, ḡGiven-ḡall-the-desert-lands",

Nsw-bīty Sḡ-mr(y)-ḡImn

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Beloved-son-of-Amūn",

Sḡ-Rḡ nb Tīwy

Son-of-Rē, Lord of Two-lands (Egypt),

nb ḡ(w)

Lord of Appearances,

(3) nb ḡr ḡt

(3) Lord of Performing Rituals,

sḡ Rḡ n ḡt<=f> mr(y)=f

son of Rē of his body, whom he loves,

Hr-sḡ-īt=f ḡnh ḡt

"Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever,

mry ḡImn-Rḡ nb nswt Tīwy ḡr(y)-īb <ḡw->wḡb

beloved of Amen-Rē, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt), who dwells in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

dī=n n=f (4) ḡnh ḡd wḡs nb snb nb ḡw-īb nb

We (the gods) have given him (4) all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, and all happiness,

mḡ Rḡ ḡt

like Rē, for ever.

dīt-st ḡḡ dī n=ī¹²⁵ ḡImn (5) Npt p(ḡ)=ī ḡt nfr pḡ tḡ Nḡs

Behold, Amūn (5) of Napata, my good father, gave me the land of Nubia

ḡḡ-mtw-ī.(6)ḡr-mr=ī p(ḡ)=ī pḡ-sh

from the moment (6) I desired my crown

ḡḡ-mtw-mḡ ḡ-r=ī ḡrt=f r nfr

and his eye looked favorably on me.

¹²⁵For: tw-s ḡr dī n=ī?

(7) dd=w n=i i dd

(7) They spoke to me, saying,

h(i)y hwt-ntr n Imn n Npt hr t wsht (8) n mht

"The temple complex of Amûn of Napata has collapsed in the court (8) of the north."

snd=i

I was afraid,

šnw=i w^c rmt i^w i dd

and I questioned an old man, saying,

i^h t(9)w

"What is thi(9)s?"

dd=f n=i i dd

He spoke to me, saying,

wh^h p(i)=k drt iry=i kdiw (10) iry=i wd³ =f

"Let your hand be active. I (= you) shall build. (10) I (= you) shall make it sound."

dit-st i=i m-b^h Imn Npt p(i)=i i(11)t nfr i dd

Behold, I went before Amûn of Napata, my (11) good father, saying,

my dit n=i p³ sh n p³ t Nhs

"Give me the crown of the land of Nubia."

dd (12) n=i Imn Npt

(12) Amûn of Napata said to me,

idi n=k p³ shw n p³ t Nhs

"To you is given the crown of the land of Nubia.

di=i (13) n=k p³ 4 k^chw n p³ t dr^w=f

I give (13) to you the 4 corners of the land in its entirety.

di(=i) n=k p³ mw nfr

(I) give to you the good water (i.e. the inundation).

di(=i) n=k (14) pt mw hw³ nfr

(I) give you (14) a sky of good rain.

di(=i) n=k sb^w nb hr tbwy(15)=k

(I) give you every rebel under your (15) sandals.

š(3)b i.îr îl hr (i)st=k bn îw=f nfr

The enemy that comes against you will not fare well.

š(3)b (16) mtw=k i.îr šm hr (i)stw=k bn îw=f hpr p(3)=f (17) hpš rdwytw=f

The enemy (16) of yours that goes against you, it will not be, (neither) his (17) might (nor) (17) his 'feet'.

m3=i îrf H3py 3 i.dî n=i 3Imn p3(18)=i ît nfr

Now I saw a great Inundation which Amûn, my (18) good father, gave to me,

îw 3h3.tw=i m hnw 3Ipt-swt n 3Imn Npt (19) m hnw p(3)=f p3-îm3yw

while I was standing in the Harem of Amûn of Napata, (19) inside his 'tabernacle'.

hr-m-s3 n3y šm(=i) i.îr 3Imn(20)-R3 nb hr-îb Gm-(p3-)-3Itn

After this I went to Amen-(20)Rê, the lord dwelling in Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),

đd.n=i hr đd n=i 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said to me.

šm(=i) i.îr 3Imn-R3 nb (21) hr-îb Pr-nbs

I went to Amen-Rê, the lord (21) dwelling in Pnubs (Tabo)

đd.n=i hr đd 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said.

šm=i i.îr B3stt (22) T3-r-t

I went to Bastet (22) of Tare.

đd.n=i hr đd 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said.

mtw đd=w n=i i đd

When they said to me,

h(3y)(23)=f hr hwt-n3r 3Imn T3-r3-'3n3-nsw

"Let him (23) go down to the temple complex of Amûn of Tara'on³ensi."

đd rmt bn îw=w mnk kđiw (24) 3nw 3sp-sn³

people said, "They have not completed constructing (it) (24) yet!"

kde=i dî=i sš mnk i 3bd 4

I (re)built (it) and had (it) inscribed, (the work) being finished within four months.

wn mꜣ=ỉ (25) rrf rꜣ-pr ỉpt-swt ỉmn Npt
When, however, I saw (25) the temple, the Karnak of Amûn of Napata,

ỉw mn nbw hr-r=f
without any gold on it,

dỉ=ỉ (26) hr rꜣ-pr ỉpt-swt
I put (26) on the temple, Karnak,

wp-s(t) ht nbw dbn 40 ỉrw nbw pg 51(27)20
specification, 'total': gold, *deben*-weight 40; making: gold, thin sheets, (27) 5120.

mtw dd=w n=ỉ ỉ dd
When they spoke to me, saying,

ỉw=f šnw pr-snw n nbw
"It lacks a shrine of gold."

(28) ỉ.ỉr=ỉ ỉn=f pꜣ ht šndt ỉ-r-kꜣ-r-t
(28) I brought the acacia wood of Arkure.¹²⁶

ꜥnw ỉr=ỉ (29) dỉ=ỉ ỉn ỉ Npt
Furthermore, I (29) had (it) brought to Napata.

dỉ=ỉ dỉt nbw hr p(ꜣ)=f hrwy 2 nbw dbn (30) 40.
I had gold put on its two faces: gold, *deben*-weight (30) 40.

dỉ=ỉ dỉt m hnw n p(ꜣ)=f pr-ḥd nbw dbn 20
I had put in its treasury: gold, *deben*-weight 20,

ỉrw nbw 100
making: gold, (*deben*-weight) 100.

(31) ỉ ỉmn Npt
(31) O Amûn of Napata,

dỉ=ỉ (32) n=k tgr n ḥḥ (33) ỉmyꜣ [— —] dbn 4
I gave (32) to you a neck-ring (33) ỉꜣꜣ [— —], *deben*-weight 4,

twtw n (34) ỉmn nỉwty nty msny (35) n nbw
an image of (34) Amûn the city (god) which is made by the *meseney*-process (35)
in gold,

¹²⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 87.

hn^c 3 ntr [-] (36) n nbw nty msny '2'
together with 'divine triad(s)' [-] (36) of gold, which are made by the *meseney*-
process, '2'

(37) hn^c R^c nty msny 1t
(37) together with a (statue of) Rê, which is made by the *meseney*-process, 1;

(38) hn^c 'nh¹ n nbw 3
(38) together with 'mirror(s)' of gold, 3;

hn^c (39) wd³ n nbw 2
together with (39) pectoral(s) of gold, 2;

hn^c i-(40)b-r³-k³-r³ n nbw 13(41)4
together with b(40)eads of gold, 13(41)4;

hn^c h^d dbn 100;
together with silver, *deben*-weight, 100;

hn^c m(42)hn n h^d 1t
together with a vessel (42) for milk of silver, 1;

hn^c h-3-(43)r³ n nbw 1t
together with a *hara*-(43)vessel of gold, 1;

hn^c s-k³-r³ (44) <n> h^d 5
together with a *sekara*-bowl (44) of silver, 1;

hn^c h-3-r³ (n) h^d (45) 1t
together with a *hara*-bowl of silver, (45) 1;

hn^c mhn (n) h^d 1
together with a *mehen*-bowl of silver, 1;

hn^c (46) i-3-r-k h^d 1t
together with a (46) rhyton, 1;

hn^c (47) mnw 1;
together with (47) a *menu*-vase, 1;

lrw 9
making 9 (vessels of silver);

hn^c k³-(48)r³ b³ 4
together with *ka*(48)*ra*-vessels, bronze, 4;

ḥnꜥ m-gꜣ-t-m-(49)y bꜣḥ ʿ5ʿ
together with *megatem*(49)*iy*-vase(s), bronze, ʿ5ʿ;

ḥnꜥ ʿḥn-ḥr-mꜣwʿ bꜣḥ (50) 2
together with vase(s) ʿwith a lionʿs-faceʿ, bronze, (50) 2;

ḥnꜥ ḥr(y)-sty bꜣḥ 2
together with 5-branched candlesticks, bronze, 2;

ḥnꜥ (51) ḥꜣw(t) bꜣḥ 1
together with (51) an offering-table, bronze, 1;

ḥnꜥ s-kꜣ-rꜣ bꜣḥ (52) 15
together with *sekara*-bowls, bronze, (52) 15;

ḥnꜥ pꜣ-dnw bꜣḥ 5
together with ʿ—ʿs, bronze, 5;

ḥnꜥ (53) pꜣ-ꜥšy ʿꜣ bꜣḥ 2
together with (53) the great ʿcauldronʿ, bronze, 2;

ḥrw 32
making 32 (vessels of bronze);

ḥnꜥ (54) ʿntyw dbn 200
together with (54) myrrh, *deben*-weight, 200;

ḥnꜥ sntr (55) kꜣ-r-r 3
together with incense, (55) *karer*-vessels, 3;

ḥnꜥ bꜣt kꜣ-r-r 5
together with honey, *karer*-vessels, 5;

(56) ḥr kt ʿn
(56) And moreover another (matter):

šꜣꜥ mtw [ḥ.ḥr] (57) ḥꜣy Pr-pꜣ-ḥꜣ-rnpt
When The-house-of-the-thousand-years (57) collapsed,

ḥr=ḥ (58) kd n=k
I (58) (re)built (it) for you;

wꜣḥ=ḥ n=k (59) pꜣ=f wḥꜣwt
and I erected for you (59) its columned hall.

kd=i (60) n=k ihy n iw; mhw (61) 154

I built (60) for you its stall for long-horned oxen, 154 (61) cubits (square ?).

[ʿmʰ]=i wʿ hwt-ntr ist(y)t (62) šriw iw wn h(ʰ)y

Whether I [ʿsawʿ] a temple complex (62) (or) a small chapel which was fallen into ruin,

šn(63)=i i dd

I (63) inquired, saying,

ih ti

“What is this?”

dd.n=i i (64) dd

and I spoke, (64) saying,

iw is nsw Kmt kdiw(65)=i n=k

“Behold, (as) king of Egypt, I (65) (re)built (them) for you,

di=i di htp-ntr

and I had divine offering given.”

hr (66) ʿn

And more(66)over:

di=i n=k ʿiwʰ 500

I gave you ʿlong-horned oxenʿ, 500 (head);

di=i (67) n=k irt mhn 2 mnw (68) sp-sn

and I gave (67) you milk, *mehen*-jugs, 2, day (68) after day.

di=i m=k dwʰw s; 10

I gave you worshipers, phyles, 10;

di=i n=k (69) h(ʰ)k t; 50 hmt 50 ir (70) 100

I gave you (69) prisoners, male 50, female 50, making (70) 100.

i ʿImn Npt bn iw ip (71) n=k

O Amûn of Napata, (although) you have (71) no account,¹²⁷

ink ʿhʿ =iʰ di n=k p(ʰ) nty srs(72)r

it is I ʿmyselfʿ who gave you what is requir(72)ed.

¹²⁷“Keep no account”?

ḥr dit-st
And, behold:

ḥt-sp 2 ḥbd 3 prt sw 23
Second regnal year 2, third month of Winter, 23rd day.

ī(73)w=f ḥty sbīw
he ca(73)me, (to wit,) a leader of rebels,

ns(s)=f (74) R-h-r-h-s;
that it might do (what) harm (it could), (74) (to wit, the land of) Rehrehsa¹²⁸.

īw ʿš¹(75)ʿ ʾImn nȳ=f ḥpšwy
But Amūn (75) cut his forces to pieces,

dī(76).tw r=ī
and they were delivered (76) into my hands.

ī.īr=ī knw īrm=f
Against him I performed mighty deeds

(77) ḥd[b]w m mȳ sp-sn
(77) and made a slaughter as well!

ḥt-sp 3 ḥbd 2 prt sw 4
Third regnal year, second month of Winter, 4th day.

īr=ī knkn(78)w īrm sbīw Mddt
I fought (78) with the rebels of (the land of) Metete,¹²⁹

īr=ī ḥȳ=f (79) m mȳ
and I slaughtered it (79) as well.

mtw=k ī.īr n=ī
(But) you it was that acted for me.

ḥt-sp 5 ḥbd 2 šmw sw 12
Fifth regnal year, second month of Summer, 12th day.

Sȳ-Rʿ (80) Hr-sȳ-īt=f
(of) the Son-of-Rê: (80) "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef),

¹²⁸Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 100 and 106 below.

¹²⁹The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 81, 85, and 89 above.

‘nh wḏḥ snb ḏt
may he live, be prosperous and healthy for ever.

ir=i ḏit šmī=f pḥ=i mšc pḥ=i ḥtr (81) ḥr sbīw Mddt
I sent my infantry and my cavalry (81) against the rebels of Metete.¹³⁰

iry=w ḥr dmywt 3 1-n-r-wḥ-(82)rḥ-t r knknw irm=f ḥḥy=f ‘šwt
They acted against 3 towns of Anrewa(82)re¹³¹ to fight against it and (made) a great slaughter of it.

(83) iry=w ḥḥk p(ḥ)=f nb sp-sn
(83) They even took its lord prisoner

ḥḥy=f Sḥ-wr-ḥ-rḥ-gḥ-(84)-¹-tī
and killed him, (to wit) Sawearaga¹-(84)-¹ta.

ḥḥt-sp 6 ḥbd 2 šmw sw 4
Sixth regnal year, second month of Summer, 4th day.

Sḥ-Rc Hr-sḥ-it=f ‘nh ḏt
(of) the Son-of-Rc: “Horus-son-of-his-father” (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

ir=i ‘š-s(gp) (85) n ‘šwt ḥr Mddt
I called (85) to many (to march) against Metete.¹³²

ir=i knknw irm ḥr dmy
I fought with <...> in a town,

(86) ir=i ḥḥy=f ‘ḥ m-šs sp-sn
(86) and I made a very great slaughter of it as well.

ir=i ḥḥk (87) p(ḥ)=f iw(ḥ) p(ḥ)=f ‘wndw¹ p(ḥ)=f ‘ḥ
I took captive (87) its long-horned oxen, its ‘short-horned cattle’, its donkeys,

p(ḥ)=f swḥ (sr) p(ḥ)=f ‘nh
its sheep, its goats,

p(ḥ)=f (88) bḥk p(ḥ)=f bḥkt
it male slaves (88) its female slaves,

p(ḥ)=f ...
its ...

¹³⁰The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 85, and 89 of this text.

¹³¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 83.

¹³²The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 81, and 89 of this text.

p(ɜ)=k šft nfr

Your awesomeness is good.

ntk i.ɪr n=i

It was you that acted for me.

(89) hbw n=i wr Mddt i dd

(89) The chief of Metete¹³³ sent to me, saying,

ntk p(ɜ)=i ntr

"You are my god.

ink p(ɜ)=k bɜ(90)k

I am your ser(90)vant.

ink šhmt

I am a woman.

my i-r=i

Come to me."

dɪ=f in n=i pɜ ɪdnw m d(r)t (91) wɛ s

He had the 'deputy' brought in the hand (91) of a man

swɜ=i

that I might withdraw.

ɪi=i i-ir ɪmn Npt p(ɜ)=i ɪt nfr

I came to (you) Amun of Napata, my good father,

(92) dɪ=i n=k ɪwɜ ɛšɪt

(92) that I might give you many (head of) long-horned oxen.

hɜt-sp 11 ɜbd 1 prt sw 4

Eleventh regnal year, first month of Winter, 4th day.

dɪ=i šmɪ=f p(ɜ)=i (93) mšɛ hr ɛ-k-nɜ-t

I sent my (93) army against Akne¹³⁴

ɪ-tɜbw p(ɜ)=i bɜk Gɜ-sɜ-ɪw

on account of my servant Gasau,

¹³³The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 81, and 85 of this text.

¹³⁴Pliny's Acina? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 101.

(94) wp-st rn=w B-r-g; hn̄ S3-ḫmn-s3

(94) Specification, their names: Braga and Saamanisa.

ph Swnt

(When) Aswan was reached,

ir=f k(95)nw i-r3-m=f

he¹³⁵ did b(95)attle with it.

h3y=f B-r3-g; hn̄ S3-ḫmn-s3 (96) p(3)=w nb sp-sn

He slaughtered Braga and Saamanisa, (96) their lords!

p(3)=k šft nfr ntk i.ir n=i

Your awesomeness is good.

p(3)=k šft nfr ntk i.ir n=i

You (yourself) it was that acted for me.

h3t-sp 16 3bd 1 3ht sw 15

Sixteenth regnal year, first month of Inundation, 15th day.

(97) ir=i dīt šmī p(3)=i mš̄ hn̄ htr hr sbīw M-h-ḫw=f

(97) I sent my army and cavalry against the rebels of Mekhuf .

(98) iry knknw i-r3-m p(3)=i mš̄

(98) Battle was done with my army,

h3y=f sw

It slaughtered it.

h3k=w (99) tp-ḫ3w=w

They captured (99) their cattle.

h3t-sp 18 3bd tpy prt sw 13

Eighteenth regnal year, first month of Winter, 13th day

S3-R̄ Hr-s3-it=f ʿnh dt

(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

ḫw (100) sbīw R-h-r-h-s3 wp-st rn=f Hr-w3 p(3)=w nb (101) m-ḫnw B3-r3-w3-t

Rebels of Rehrehsa¹³⁶ (100) came—specification, his name: Kharawe—(101) (all the way) into Birawe (Meroe).

¹³⁵Or: it. The reference of the pronoun is ambiguous and may refer either to Gasau or to the army.

¹³⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 74 and 106 of this text.

dī=i wrd n=f
I 'made him weak'.

p(i)=k šft nfr
Your awesomeness is good.

p(i)=k (102) ḥpš nḥty
Your (102) scimitar is mighty.

ḳnnw(=i) i-r3-m=f
(I) fought with him.

ir=i ḥy=f (103) ḥy ʿ
I slaughtered him, (103) a great slaughter.

ir=i rktw=f
I defeated him.

ntk i.ir n=i
(But) you it was that acted for me,

mtw ḥstyw (104) dwn=f ḥr-ib grḥ
and the desert dwellers (104) rose up in the middle of the night

i-r=f wʿr=f
and he fled.

ḥst-sp 23 3bd 3 (105) šmw sw 29
Twenty-third regnal, third month (105) of Summer, 29th day

S3-Rʿ Hr-s3-it=f ʿnh dt
(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

iw=f p3 wr ḥst Rh-rh-s3 (106) I-r3-w3
He came, (to wit) the chief of the desert people Rehrehsa,¹³⁷ (106) Arawe,

i-r3-m p(i)=f 'nb sp sn' m-ḥnw B3-r3-w3-t
with his 'lord' (right) into Birawe (Meroe).

dī=i ḳn(107)w i-r3-m 'ḥy=f ḥy ʿ
I had battle (107) joined and had him slaughtered a great slaughter;

'rk.tw n=f'
and he was defeated

¹³⁷Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 74 and 100 of this text.

ʿdwn(108)w n=fʿ
and (108) was driven off.

dī=i ḥȳ=f Šȳ-y-kȳ-rȳ
I had him killed, (to wit) Shaykara,

īw=f īī īr=f (109) srsr īm=f
when he came (109) to plead for himself.

p(i)=k šft nfr
Your awesomeness is good.

p(i)=k ḥpš knw
Your scimitar is victorious.

pȳ wr (110) ʿr-gsʿ[=ī] īry šwȳ=f
The chief (110) ʿat [my] sideʿ made him withdraw.

īr=f p(i)=ī mšʿ p(i)=ī ḥtr wḏȳ
He made my army and my cavalry safe.

ḥȳt-sp (111) 35 ȳbd tpy prt sw 5
Thirty-fifth (111) regnal year, first month of Winter, 5th day

Sȳ-Rʿ Hr-sȳ-īt=f ʿnh ḏt
(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

īr=i ḥbw n=f ʿImn (112) Npt p(i)=ī īt nfr ī ḏd
I sent to him, (i.e.) Amûn (112) of Napata, my good father, saying,

īn mtw=i ḏīt šmī p(i)=ī (113) mšʿ ḥr ḥȳst Mḥty
"Shall I send my (113) army against the desert land Mekhty?"

īr=f ḥbw n=i ʿImn Npt ī (114) ḏd
He sent to me, (i.e.) Amûn of Napata, (114) saying,

my ḏīt šmī=f
"Let it be sent!"

īr ḏīt=i šmī=f nȳ ʿsīȳ(115)wrdʿ s 50
I sent it, the ʿmutila(115)torsʿ, men: 50,

ḥnꜥ nꜥ ḥtr nꜥ 4 ḥꜣswt Mḥtī nty (116) Tkꜥtꜥt
together with the cavalry 'of the four desert lands of¹³⁸ Mekhty which (116) is
(in)' Taqotshe;

ḥꜣy=f w
and it slaughtered them.

bn-pw=w ḥꜥ im=w
They did not leave (any) among them.

bn-pw=w dīt (117) rꜣ-wꜣt im=w
They did not give (117) way among them.¹³⁹

bn-pw=w dīt rd.wy=w
They did not 'let them take to their heels'.

bn-pw=w dīt=w (118) dꜣdꜣ=w
They did not 'give (118) their heads'.

bn-pw=w tꜣ pꜣt
They did not <...> the bow.

ir=w ḥ(ꜣ)k p(ꜣ)=w nbt
They captured their lord.

(119) šꜥ-mtw dꜣd=w n=i (120) i dꜣ
(119) They spoke to me, saying,

ḥꜣy ḥwt-nṯr
"A temple complex has collapsed

n ꜣbd 3 prt (121) hrw n Pth
in the third month of Winter, (121) the Day of Ptah."

kꜣiw=i n=k
I (re)built (it) for you.

(122) kꜣiw=i ḥwt-nṯr Nbw-(123)ꜥnh
(122) I built the temple complex Gold-(123)of-Life,

nty ḥt pr 6
the 'main building of which has' six chambers,

¹³⁸If one supplies the preposition r, "to, against", then the force is sent "against Mekhty"; and this is more in keeping with what is written in lines 113–113.

¹³⁹Or: They offered them no escape.

nty ḥt w(124)ḥ; 4 'n
the 'main building of which has' 4 co(124)lums as well.

š;(125)ṣ mtw ḏḏ=w n=i ḥ (126) ḏḏ
They (125) spoke to me, (126) saying,

ḥ;y pr n nsw
"The royal residence has collapsed,

mn (127) nty šmī s m-ḥnw
there not being (127) any place into which people go."

kd(128)ḥw=i pr n nsw pr(129)w n Npt pr 60
I (re)buil(128)t the royal residence and chamber(129)s in Napata, chambers, 60,

dī=i (130) kd p; sbty 'n
I had (130) the enclosure wall surround (it) as well.

(131) kdīw=i T;-r;
(131) I built Tara,

(132) k'ḥ 1t mḥw 50
(132) one side being 50 cubits,

(133) ḥr 4 k'ḥ mḥw 200 (134) 'n
(133) making four sides, cubits 200, (134) as well.

dī=i dg; n=k šn(135)w 6
I had 6 palm (135) groves planted for you

ḥnṣ šnw n ḥ(136)rr 1t
together with a vine(136)yard (with each),

ḥr 6 ḥry Npt
making 6 in Napata.

(137) dī=i n=k t; šnwt nfr(138)w ḥry B;-r;-w;-t ḥr 6
(137) I gave you the beautiful palm groves (138) in Birawe (Meroe), making 6.

(139) dī=i w;ḥ ḥtp-ntr 'grḥ' (140) wṣ
(139) I had founded a divine offering, for one (140) 'night',

ḥt 115 'ḥk;t'
barley: 115 'hekat'-measures;

bd̥t 38 (141) ḥk̥st̥
spelt: 38 (141) ḥekat̥-measures,

ir̥ it̥ b̥d̥t̥ 153 (142) ḥk̥st̥
making barley and spelt (together): 153 (142) ḥekat̥-measures.

ḥr̥-d̥i-st̥ mn̥ (143) p̥ d̥my̥ ḥnk̥ t̥(144)m̥ ḥr̥ ir̥ wp̥
And, behold, there was no (143) town (where) I did (144) not do work

iw̥ (145) mn̥ p̥(̥)s̥=i̥ d̥b̥ ḥr̥=f̥
and on which my finger was not.

ḥ(146)r̥-d̥i-st̥ d̥i̥ ḥ̥=i̥ Ws̥ir̥ (147) [ḥr̥ ḥt̥]ty̥
And, (146) behold, I had Osiris appear in procession (147) [in Yôt]taye,

d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ (148) Ws̥ir̥ ḥr̥ B̥-r̥-r̥-w̥-t̥
I had Osiris appear in procession (148) in Birawe (Meroe),

d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ (149) Ws̥ir̥ ḥn̥ ḥst̥ ḥr̥ M̥-r̥-t̥-t̥
I had Osiris appear in procession (149) together with Isis in Maratae,

(150) d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ Ws̥ir̥ 4 ḥn̥ ḥst̥ (151) ḥr̥ G̥-r̥-r̥-t̥
(150) I had four Osirises together with Isis appear in procession (151) in Garere,¹⁴⁰

d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ (152) Ws̥ir̥ ḥst̥ Ḥr̥ ḥr̥ S̥-h̥-r̥-s̥-t̥
I had Osiris, Isis and Horus (152) appear in procession in Sehrase,

(153) d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ Ws̥ir̥ ḥn̥ ḥmn̥-ḥ(154)ḥty̥ ḥr̥ S̥-k̥-r̥-g̥-t̥
(153) I had Osiris together with Amaniabti appear in procession (154) in Sekarage,

(155) d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ Ḥr̥ ḥr̥ K̥-r̥-t̥-t̥
(155) I had Horus appear in procession in Karate,¹⁴¹

d̥i̥(156)=i̥ ḥ̥ R̥ ḥr̥ M̥-ḥ-t̥
I (156) had Rê appear in procession in Mahae,

d̥i̥=i̥ (157) ḥ̥ Ḥn̥-ḥr̥ ḥr̥ ḥr̥-t̥-t̥-n̥-y̥-(158)t̥
I had (157) Onuris appear in procession in Aratanay(158)e,¹⁴²

d̥i̥=i̥ ḥ̥ Ws̥ir̥ ḥr̥ N̥pt̥
I had Osiris appear in procession in Napata,

¹⁴⁰Cf. Zibelius 1972, 170.

¹⁴¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 163-164.

¹⁴²Cf. Zibelius 1972, 88.

(159) *dī=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 2 ḥr N-h3-n3-t*

(159) I had two Osirises appear in procession in Nehane,¹⁴³

(160) *dī=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 1st ḥr Pr-gm-t*

(160) I had Osiris and Isis appear in procession in House-of-Finding (Kawa),

dī(161)=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 3 ḥr Pr-nbs dt

and I had (161) three Osirises appear in procession in Pnubs (Tabo), for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

Harsiyotef's Annals, inscribed in 161 horizontal lines (front: lines 1-30; left side: 31-73; verso: 74-118; right side 119-161) on the four sides of a granite stela measuring 215 x 70 x 34 cm, was discovered in the First or Outer Court (room 501) of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata) and removed in 1862 to Cairo (Reisner 1931, 83 no. [53]; PM VII 218). The text was first published by Mariette (1867, Pl. 11) and then edited in the Urk. (III, 2, 113-136).

The lunette is decorated with two symmetrically rendered, incised scenes in the tradition of Taharqo's Kawa V stela (FHN I, 22; note the inversed arrangement of the directions. On 78 Amûn of Napata stands in the right half of the lunette with his back to the inscription column in the centre of the lunette, while on 22 Amûn of Kawa, depicted in the left half of the lunette, turns outwards from the axis of the lunette and thus looked towards the N when the stela stood at its original place in the Forecourt of Temple T at Kawa in front of the E wall facing S. On the assumption that the directions of the ram-headed Amun of Nubia [i.e., of Kawa at Kawa and of Napata at Gebel Barkal], i.e., looking "from the S" towards the N, and of the human-headed Amun of Thebes looking "from the N" towards the S, respectively, were *de rigueur*, we must suppose that, if magnetic N was observed, 78 originally stood with its front turned towards the main temple entrance; and since "local" N at Napata is almost identical with magnetic S, it may be supposed that if "local" N was observed, the front of the Harsiyotef stela faced the interior of the temple. An orientation according to "local" N is supported, and thus the above-suggested original placement of 78 is apparently corroborated by FHN I, 9 which probably stood in the First Court of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal with its front turned towards the temple entrance; for in its lunette Amûn of Thebes looks from the "local" N towards the "local" S. It is seemingly contradicted, on the other hand, by FHN I, 8, found in the First Court of the same temple, fallen from a position in which it had been standing facing the same temple entrance [cf. Reisner 1931, 82, 88 f.; Dunham 1970, Plan V, socket 1 in B 501] but with Amûn of Napata turning towards "local" S. However, the place where 8 was found could not

¹⁴³The area of Korti (Macadam), Dongola el-Aguz (Sauneron and Yoyotte), or Adu on the Island of Sai (Arkell)? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 139.

have been its original one; for the First Court was built only after Piye's Egyptian campaign, while 8 dates from early in his reign).

From the extended wings of the sundisc are suspended uraei crowned with the White (above the scene with the Theban Amûn) and the Red crown (above the scene with the Nubian Amûn), respectively; these protect the Son-of-Rê name of Harsiyotef. The right-hand scene in the lunette shows Harsiyotef wearing the Kushite skullcap-crown with the double uraeus on his brow (cf. Török 1987, 4 ff. Type A I), broad necklaces, a royal kilt and an animal tail, but wearing no sandals. He offers a pectoral and necklace to the ram-headed Amûn of Napata. He is followed by his mother *Ts-m-nfr* (in the modern literature rendered usually as Atasamalo) who wears a skullcap with one uraeus and a streamer,¹⁴⁴ a tight-fitting ankle-length skirt, a coat, and sandals, shakes a sistrum, and performs a libation offering. The left-hand scene depicts the King in the same attire, offering a pectoral and necklace to the human-headed Amûn of Thebes. He is followed by his wife *B-h-y-r-y* (in the modern literature rendered usually as Batahaliye) wearing a skullcap with one uraeus and with the plumes and sundisc of Hathor (cf. Török 1987, 22 Type B XVII), an ankle-length skirt, a coat tied over her left shoulder and sandals. She shakes a sistrum and performs a libation. The two scenes show the ruler in the full possession of his royal power: the offering of the pectoral and necklace is, e.g., the concluding scene of the relief cycle depicting Taharqo's enthronement in Temple T at Kawa (Macadam 1955, Pl. XXII/b; for the significance of pectoral offering cf. Frandsen 1987; Török 1994, 19 f.). The message of the iconography is reinforced by the utterance of Amûn of Napata and Amûn of Thebes in the inscription column between the two figures of the god (cf. 72, *Comments*) which hints at the secret knowledge received by the king at his enthronement which enables him to maintain the functioning of the cosmos and the world.

Section 1 (lines 1-4) records the date of the inscription and Harsiyotef's five-part titulary ((76) 1). Section 2 (lines 4-8) records Harsiyotef's "legitimation", while section 3 (lines 8-10) records a "counsel" received by Harsiyotef. In section 4 (lines 10-17) Harsiyotef visits Amûn of Napata who promises him the kingship; an omen is also described. In section 5 (lines 17-22) the enthronement of Harsiyotef at Napata, Kawa, Pnubs, and Trt is recorded. In section 6 (lines 22-71) the King's temple building activity and donations made to Amûn are recorded. Section 7 (lines 72-118) presents the list of his wars. In section 8 (lines 119-130) we read about two further construction works initiated, as it seems, by oracles; and section 9 (lines 131-145) records the King's plantations and summarizes his building activities. Finally section 10 (lines 146-161) records a number of festivals caused by Harsiyotef in different sanctuaries of the land.

¹⁴⁴This is the earliest attested example of this type of crown appearing as an equivalent of a male crown seen on relief representations of Taharqo in the Gebel Barkal Amûn temple, cf. Török 1987, 22 Type B XVII and 12 f. Type A IV, respectively.

The text of the stela is dated to the second month of *pr.t* 13 (Mechir 13) of the thirty-fifth regnal year and is written from the perspective of a long and eventful reign. Nevertheless, the introductory sections (3-5, lines 8-22) record the circumstances of Harsiyotef's succession and the process of his enthronement; and the annalistic sections (6-10, lines 22-161) record his building activities, wars and religious activities, principally, if not exclusively, from the perspective of legitimacy. The introductory sections clearly indicate a case of succession where the predestination was far from being obvious, and they record Harsiyotef's ascent to the throne as the result of a "deal" between him and Amûn of Napata, while the rest of the text presents the proofs for the positive results of this deal: the fulfillment of the reciprocity between the two partners. Sections 3-5 attest to the survival of both the principal elements of the legitimacy concepts (divine sonship, reciprocity between god and king) and the legitimating rituals ("election" and enthronement in the course of a "coronation journey", including the oracular decisions of the god and the repeated "Königsorakel" rites) of earlier times (cf. FHN I, 29, 34, 37; in this volume 71) and to the use of textual records concerning these concepts and rites by the author of the text of 78. The text of 78 is based, in addition to using such records—which existed, as may be assumed, partly in the form of monumental royal inscriptions of the types of the above-mentioned ones—mainly on documents of annalistic type(s): it would seem that the author drew information from separately kept temple annals and royal annals. Hence the structuring of the text. The temple building and donations and religious festivals are related in a different detail and also with the use of a different stylistic repertory than the wars and occur on separate blocks. Furthermore, the wars are recorded according to a strictly chronological system and most of them are described "historically", which is not uniformly the case of the rest of the topics treated in the inscription.

Unlike other royal inscriptions of a related character, 78 does not record a legitimization of the heir in the human sphere (cf. FHN I, 21 7 ff.; 22 14 f.; 34 5 ff.; 37 3 ff.; in this volume 71 3 ff.). Though in a retrospective written 35 years later an omission of details might occur without any ulterior motive, both the titulary of Harsiyotef (see (76), *Comments*) and the manner of his divine election suggest that his legitimization had not taken the usual course but started instead with what seems to have been a solicited oracle. In section 2 the King himself says that the land was given to him by Amûn of Napata "from the moment I desired my crown"; and his divine election is expressed, remarkably, by the sentence: "and his (i.e., Amûn's) eye looked favorably on me". Section 3 relates that Harsiyotef was "spoken to"¹⁴⁵ and told that Amûn of Napata was granting him the land of Nubia (*T3-nḥsy*, the ancient Egyptian term for Nubia, not frequently used in Kushite inscriptions, cf. 91).

¹⁴⁵For the expression cf. Wb IV, 409 and see also Ray 1976, 55 text 13 line 8; the context is obviously oracular, see below.

In a manner not more closely defined, and by unspecified person(s), the King is told that the temple complex of Amûn of Napata, "the court of the north",¹⁴⁶ has collapsed. That this communication is an oracle is revealed by Harsiyotef's reaction: he is afraid, being presumably shocked by the encounter with the divine, and asks "an old man" to explain the meaning of his dream¹⁴⁷ just as he would react later in his reign when he learned about the bad state in which other temples were (see Section 8). The answer of the "old man" is rather cryptic: he urges Harsiyotef to construct a building and to "make it whole"; the first expression usually occurs in the context of the royal duty to build temples of the gods in 78 as well as in earlier texts (cf. FHN I, 29 19, 22; 37 13, 15, 17, 19). Beyond doubt, the counsel relates to the "collapsed" temple building. The most striking feature of the oracle is, however, that it requires explanation: i.e., it is not a "Königsorakel" which has the nature of a revelation and does not need to be interpreted¹⁴⁸ but the sort of oracle that is usually received by a "commoner"—which is in a remarkable contradiction with the actual contents of the oracle, viz., the royal duty of temple restoration.

Thus both the "legitimation" and its interpretation are uncommon. Nevertheless, apart from the non-royal type of the solicited oracle, the "counsel" received by Harsiyotef represents a remote echo of the dream of the future Thutmose IV, another ruler whose succession was probably not entirely regular (cf. Bryan 1991, 38 ff.), as it was described in his Sphinx Stela (Urk. IV, 1539-1544; Zivie 1976, 125 ff.; cf. Hermann 1938, 13; Bryan 1991, 144 ff.). Harsiyotef was taken into the presence of Amûn of Napata, where he received a "Königsorakel" (Section 4) in which the god promised him universal kingship. However, also this "Königsorakel" needs confirmation in the form of a miraculous omen: this is a *ḥꜥpy ʕ*, a "great flood", a good Inundation which occurs while Harsiyotef is "taken" by Amûn to his "tent" or tabernacle in the temple at Napata (i.e., while still in the temple following the "Königsorakel", as is clearly indicated by the statement in the introduction to section 5), called this time *ḥpt-swt* (cf. 71, *Comments*, on section 9; for the interpretation of this passage see also Grimal 1986, 219 with note 690). While the association of Inundation with legitimate rule does not require any explanation here (see in detail FHN I, 22, *Comments*), it may be noted that the oracle was in all probability purposefully arranged to take place on the eve of the Inundation.

Section 5 presents a brief record of the enthronement at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs and in the Temple of Bastet at Trt. It would seem that Harsiyotef's repeti-

¹⁴⁶This may be identical, if N is understood here as "local" north, with room 520 of the Gebel Barkal temple, the so-called "dais room", Dunham 1970, Plan V, which was probably one of the scenes connected to the enthronement process as is indicated by the reliefs in the corresponding room in Temple T at Kawa, see Macadam 1955, Pls. XX-XXI.

¹⁴⁷For the practice of temple *incubatio* as a means of soliciting an oracle and for the dream interpretation by expert priests cf. Ray 1976, 135; Vernus 1985, 747; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 281 ff.

¹⁴⁸Cf. Schlichting 1981, 557 f.; for the practice of oracle interpretation see Ray 1976, 135 f.

tion of what “Amûn of Napata had spoken” to the Amûns of Kawa and Pnubs and to Bastet of Trt refers here to “Königsorakel” received at the stations of the coronation journey; it may also refer at the same time to the oracular decree the King received at Napata (cf. FHN I, 8, *Comments* on lines 1-13; 29, *Comments* on lines 32 ff.; in this volume 71, *Comments* on section 7). The identification of Trt with the Cadata/Radata of the Bion toponym list (where, according to Pliny, a golden cat [=the goddess Bastet] was worshiped, cf. 108) in the region of Napata is rather probable (cf. Hofmann 1971, 24; Zibelius 1972, 179 f.). The visit took place as the last episode of the coronation journey. Remarkably, the last episode of the traditional New Kingdom Egyptian enthronement rites is the suckling of the king (see Leclant 1961, 260 ff.; Török 1995, Ch. 13). The association of Bastet with royal legitimacy is also attested to by the epithet *s3-Bstt* in Piye’s late titulary (FHN I, (5) 10).

Section 6 presents a long list of temple restorations and donations (for the Puntite (?) origin of the timber used for the temple of *Pr-šnw*t [Grimal 1981, 104: the Amûn temple at Napata] see (77)). Apparently, all were carried out at the sanctuary of Amen-Rê at Napata, including the restoration of the “House of Million Years”, the traditional designation of royal mortuary cult temples in New Kingdom Egypt (and the name of the Ramesseum in Thebes West, *hwt nt h3 m rnpwt hnmt W3st*, “House-of-Million-Years-United-with-Thebes”, cf. Stadelmann 1979, 178 f.). Since in New Kingdom Egypt (for Thebes see Stadelmann 1979, 1985) the royal mortuary cult was associated with the cult and the temples of Amûn, the House of Million Years at Napata may be identical with the great Amûn temple itself, but, more probably, designates a part of it.

Section 7 lists Harsiyotef’s wars:

1. Date of beginning of conflict	2. foe	3. scene	4. description
Y. 2, III <i>p</i> rt 23	<i>Rhrhs</i>	N Butana (?)	stereotype
Y. 3, II <i>p</i> rt 4	<i>Mddt</i>	E Desert (?)	stereotype
Y. 5, II <i>šmw</i> 12	<i>Mddt</i>	at ʾInrw3r.t (?)	detailed
Y. 6, II <i>šmw</i> 4	<i>Mddt</i>	E Desert (?)	detailed
Y. 11, I <i>p</i> rt 4	<i>rebels</i>	ʿqn3.t (Mirgissa?)	detailed
Y. 16, I <i>šht</i> 15	<i>Mh3w</i> f	Lower Nubia	stereotype
Y. 18, I <i>p</i> rt 13	<i>Rhrhs</i>	at Meroe City	detailed
Y. 23, III <i>šmw</i> 29	<i>Rhrhs</i>	at Meroe City	detailed
Y. 35, I <i>p</i> rt 5	<i>Mh3w</i> f	Lower Nubia	detailed

It emerges from the dates in columns 1-3 that the majority of the conflicts (five campaigns) started in the season of *p*rt and these were directed mostly against the nomads in the N Butana (*Rhrhs*) or E of the Nile in the Kawa re

gion (*Mddt* = Meded?); one expedition, however, went in *I prt* to Lower Nubia. Three campaigns started in the season of *šmw*, two of them against the Meded (?) and one against the *Rhrhs*; while only one campaign started, against rebels in Lower Nubia, in the early part of *šht*. It would thus seem that some campaigns were deliberately initiated in a season better suited for warfare, and it may perhaps also be suggested (on the assumption that in the early 4th century BC there was a discrepancy of c. 9 months between the calendrical and the natural years) that the majority of the expeditions started after the season of the Inundation. This is especially interesting in the case of the campaigns to Lower Nubia (Years 11, 16, 35), which were thus carried out at the time of low Nile. As to the significance of the calendrical dates, the campaign in early *šht* in Year 16 against the *Mddt* may also be interpreted as a "ritual war" after the New Year.

Column 4 refers to the type of comment added to the basic annalistic data in the inscription. The different amounts of detail may indicate that the royal archives contained yearly records of varying meticulousness but may also indirectly indicate that some campaigns were minor, and perhaps less successful, affairs and therefore recorded retrospectively only in a stereotypical manner while other campaigns were on a larger scale. In some of the reports the details are embellished with traditional formulae of great antiquity. E.g., in Year 6 the vanquished chief of the *Mddt* seeks for peace with the words: "I am a woman", recalling Piye's Great Triumphal Stela (FHN I, 9 149 f.). It is difficult to decide whether, and when, the King led an expedition in person, unless it is stated clearly, as in the case of the Lower Nubian campaign of Year 11, that the King sent his "servant" Gasau against the rebels. The wording of the reports on the campaigns in Years 5 and 6 against the *Mddt*, in Year 11 against the rebels laying siege to the town of *ḳnṣ.t*, and in Years 16 and 35 against rebels in Lower Nubia is rather clear as to the absence of Harsiyotef from the fighting. Some of the reports abound in details: the narrative on the war in Year 35 seems, e.g., to contain a passage (lines 116-118) on a surprise attack. The language is, however, rather too poetical, and the interpretation of the passage remains doubtful.

The conflict of Year 11 is particularly interesting as regards a Kushite presence in Lower Nubia. The possession of the town of *ḳnṣ.t*, if identical with Mirgissa, indicates not only control of the territory as far north as the Second Cataract but also of the territory between the Second and First Cataracts. The defeated rebels fled to *Swn.t* (Aswan), i.e., to Egyptian territory, which indicates Egyptian participation in or support for their attempt to destroy Harsiyotef's position at *ḳnṣ.t*. The name of one of the leaders of the rebels, *S-ṯmn-s*, may be that of a local chief with an Egyptianized or Kushiticized cultural background.

The conflicts not only indicate an increasing Kushite presence in Lower Nubia but also describe a recurrent problem in internal politics, viz., the position of the apparently wealthy cattle-breeding nomads on the fringes of the kingdom (the *Mddt*) and within its borders (the *Rhrhs*). In Years 18 and 23 the *Rhrhs* had to be fought at the City of Meroe; and, remembering that they had to

be pacified by Irike-Amannote before he could start his coronation journey to Napata (71 5 ff., cf. Macadam 1949, 54 note 12), there can be no doubt that they had been living for a long time on the Island of Meroe N of Meroe City and thus were Kushite subjects. The recurrent conflicts indicate not only that they may have been difficult subjects, but also that their wealth in cattle represented a source of (prestige) income for the Kushite ruler also beyond the—presumably—legally established tribute or taxes.

Section 8 records two building campaigns. Both were prompted by what seem to be oracular “commands” of the god: they are introduced like the oracle in Section 3 with the words: “They spoke to me saying”. The first concerned the restoration of a temple called *Nbw-n-p3-ḥnḥ* (Grimal 1981, 105: *Nwb-n-p3-ḥnḥ*). The oracle is dated to the third month of *pṛt*, the day of Ptah, i.e., Phamenoth 1, originally the day of a local Ptah feast at Memphis which by the New Kingdom was a national feast celebrated at Thebes as *Pth m ḥb.f n ḥi pt*, “Ptah-in-His-Feast-of-Lifting-the-Sky”, and later, as a consequence of the assimilation of Ptah with Amûn, as *Imn m ḥb.f n ḥi pt*, “Amûn-in-His-Feast-of-Lifting-the-Sky”. It cannot be decided, however, whether the feast in Kush was inspired by earlier (Twenty-Fifth Dynasty) contacts with Thebes or was taken over from a later Egyptian festival calendar (cf. Altenmüller 1975, 177). The second, undated, oracle initiates the restoration of the *pr-n-nsu* at Napata, a royal palace (which is obviously not identical with Harsiyotef’s residential palace) and of sixty houses (the latter were also provided with an enclosure wall: hence presumably priest’s houses in a temple temenos?). Section 9 records donations of gardens in the neighbourhood of Napata and Meroe City and of garden products to Amûn of Napata. The donation of gardens at Meroe City indicates a wide dispersion of landed estates of the individual sanctuaries in the land.

Finally, Section 10 records without dates, festivals of gods celebrated throughout the country: of Osiris in *[It]tḏ.y.t* (Sedeinga in Lower Nubia N of the Third Cataract, cf. Vercoutter 1961, 101 note 2; Zibelius 1972, 97), Osiris in the City of Meroe, Osiris and Isis in *M-r3.tḏ.t* (Defeia in the Khartoum area, Vercoutter 1961, 97 ff.; Zibelius 1972, 125; the temple was probably built or restored by Aspelta, for his sphinx from Defeia see Vercoutter 1961), four festivals of Osiris and Isis in *G3rr.t* (?), a festival of Osiris, Isis and Horus in *Shr3s3.t* (Vercoutter 1961, 101 note 2: Sakolkhe of Ptolemaios; Zibelius 1972, 151: unidentifiable), Osiris and Amûn in *Sk3r3g3.t* (Sakolkhe of Ptolemaios = Saco[1]a of Juba at the junction of Nile and Atbara, in the N Butana, cf. FHN III, 186; Zibelius 1972, 152), Horus in *K3r3.tḏ.t* (unidentified), Rê in *Mš3.t* (= *Mḥt*, Abu Simbel, Zibelius 1972, 126 f.), Onuris in *Ṛtḏn3j.t* (unidentified), Osiris in Napata and in *Nḥn3.t* (Macadam 1949, 79: in the region of Korti; Zibelius 1972, 139: on the island of Sai?), Osiris and Isis in *Pr-gm.t* (Kawa) and Osiris in *Pr-nbs* (Pnubs). This geographical distribution is not without interest:

Between the First and Second Cataracts:	Abu Simbel
Between the Second and Third Cataracts	Sedeinga
	Sai (?)
Between the Third and Fourth Cataracts	Tabo
	Kawa
	Napata
	<i>Nḥn3.t</i> (?)
Northern Butana	<i>Sk3r3g3.t</i>
	Meroe City
Khartoum area	Defeia

[LT]

(79) Akhratañ. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

1. Statue from the Amûn temple (B 500) at Gebel Barkal (Napata), now Boston MFA 23.735, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 141; Dunham 1970, 23, fig. 16. 2. Son-of-Rê name on a block from chapel of Nu. 14, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 141; Dunham 1955, fig. 188.

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
Horus name	<nbw> K3-nḥt Ṭmꜥ Nḏ-it=f "Mighty-Bull Whose-arm-is-powerful Protector-of-his-father"	
Throne name	Nfr-ib-Rꜥ	
Son-of-Rê name	ḥ-rtn	ḥ-rtn

Evidence for reign

Akhratañ's filiation and family relationships are unknown. Dunham and Macadam (1949, 141) suppose that he was a son of Harsiyotef (Dunham 1955, 241: elder son), but their suggestion remains unsubstantiated by any evidence. His fine black granite statue from the Amûn temple at Napata (see above, document 1) as well as his (unexcavated) sandstone masonry pyramid with its large dimensions (Dunham 1955, 241) indicate a reign of some importance and prosperity. His reign is dated to the middle of the 4th century BC on the basis of the chronological position of his burial Nu. 14 within the Nuri cemetery (Dunham 1955, 241-243).

Comments

The Horus name—curiously preceded by the sign for the Golden Horus name—is based on an epithet of Horus of Edfu as warrior god (cf. Barta 1977, 34) that also occurs as an epithet of the king as triumphant warrior (for Ramesses II

see Grimal 1986, 568 with note 46; in general cf. Wildung 1975, 15). The direct model for the title may, however, have been the Horus name of Nectanebos I (Beckerath 1984, XXX H 1-4). If so, Akhratañ's assumed chronological position would also be supported by a *post quem* (Nectanebos I reigned between 380-362 BC). It cannot be entirely excluded that Akhratañ also assumed the latter's Golden Horus name (see the fragmentary titulary in document 2, and cf. Beckerath 1984, XXX G 1-2). His Throne name repeats the Throne name of his third predecessor Irike-Amannote (see (69) 1-4) which indicates Akhratañ's descent from Harsiyotef who similarly emphasized the notion of dynastic continuity with Irike-Amannote (cf. (77), *Comments*).

Akhratañ's Gebel Barkal statue, though far smaller (height with head and feet missing 0.855 m), was carved in the tradition of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and early Napatan period royal cult statues from Gebel Barkal (cf. Dunham 1970, Pls VII-XXII, note the archaizing belt with cartouche); but its flat, smooth modelling and lack of anatomical detail also indicate the impact of contemporary Egyptian sculpture.

[LT]

(80) Amanibakhi. Evidence for reign.

Amanibakhi's (*Imn-bḥi*) titulary is not preserved, and his filiation and relationships are unknown. Though his burial at Nuri could not be identified, his round-topped granite mortuary stela (see 81) and granite offering table (Dunham 1955, 272, fig. 213 B) found in a secondary use in "Church 100" in the territory of the Nuri cemetery strongly indicate that he had been buried in this royal necropolis. He is allotted a place in the royal sequence between Akhratañ and Nastaseñ in an entirely hypothetical manner, though the character of his monuments does not contradict a dating to the second half of the 4th century BC (cf. Hintze 1959, 24).

[LT]

81 Mortuary stela of Amanibakhi. Second half of the 4th cent. BC (?).
Boston MFA 21.3236. Leprohon 1991, 127-130.

Text and translation

LUNETTE

In front of Isis, under outspread wings of sundisc (one column, reading from right to left):

(1) Ḥst

(1) Isis

In front of Osiris, under outspread wings of sundisc
(two columns, reading from right to left):

(1) Wsir ḥnt(y) (2) Ḳmnt(yw)

(1) Osiris, Foremost (2) of the Westerners

In front of King, under outspread wings of sundisc
(one column, reading from left to right):

(1) Ḳmn-bḥ

(1) Amani-bakhi

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

(1) ḳd-mdw Ḳn Wsir Nsw-bity Ḳmn-bḥ mꜣ ḥrw

(1) Utterance by the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt Amani-bakhi, justified:

(2) Ḳnḥ.nḥ=Ḳ m-dḲ=Ḳ

(2) I 'have' brought 'in my hand'.

Ḳnḥ.nḥ=Ḳ Wsir s(3)[-]ḥn=Ḳ ḥḥ

I 'have' brought Osiris (3) ' — — — '

dḲ=k Ḳ W-r-ḥs'-n-dy (4) ḥr sꜣw=k

May you cause *Wrḥs'ndy* to enter (4) protecting you

ḥr(5)=f n=k sbyw=k

that he may (5) overthrow for you your enemies

(6) ' — ' Ḳw m ḥsf n-dḲ Ḳw'=k

(6) ' ... ' you.

[RHP]

Comments

The round-topped granite stela (height 56.5 cm, width 40.0 cm, depth 21.8-24.0 cm) was found in a secondary position (together with the King's granite offering table, Dunham 1955, 272, fig. 213/B) in "Church 100" at Nuri. The scene in the lunette shows the figures of the King on the right (facing left), protected by the outstretched wings of the sundisc, wearing an ankle-length tunic and a coat tied over his right shoulder (for the origins and development of the dress see Török 1990) and, separated from the King by an offering table loaded with loaves of bread, the mummiform Osiris and, behind him, Isis. The god wears an *atef*-crown and a broad collar, and holds a crook and a flail. The goddess wears on her head the *st* sign and is clad in a tight-fitting robe. The neatly engraved text reproduces traditional formulae in a language judged by Leprohon

(1991, 127) to be “largely unintelligible ... written in the pseudo-Egyptian often found in Sudanese stelae from this period”; a view which is not entirely shared by the editors of the FHN.

[LT]

(82) Nastaseñ. Titles.

Sources: 1. Stela from Year 8, Berlin Ägyptisches Museum 2268 (=84), Schäfer 1901, 96. Only Son-of-Rê name: 2. on the silver handle of a bronze mirror Khar-toum 1374, from Nu. 15, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145; Dunham 1955, fig. 193. 3. Shawabti figures from Nu. 15, Dunham 1955, fig. 203.

Titles/documents

	1.	2. and 3.
a. Horus name	K3-nḥt Mr-Psdt Ḥ-m-Npy “Mighty Bull, Beloved-of-the Ennead, Appearing-in-Napata”	
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	Nebty	
c. Golden Horus		
d. Throne name	K3-ḥḥ-Rḥ “Rê-is-a-living-ka”	
e. Son-of-Rê name	N-ī-s-t3-s-nn	N-ī-s-t3-s-nn

Comments

The structure of the titulary and the majority of the individual titles are unusual, the more so because the titulary introduces a text of truly monumental character and the anomaly indicates an attempt at the autonomous use of concepts and language. At the same time, however, an—at least temporary—abandonment of the tradition of the five-part titulary seems obvious too.

In the Horus name is also included the traditional utterance about the enthronement at Napata first assumed as Horus name by Piye (cf. FHN I, (5) 1) and resurrected by Harsiyotef (in this volume, (76) 1). There are no *Nebty* and Golden Horus names (the epithet *Ḥr k3 ptpt t3y=f sbḥw ḥr dbw* following in line 1 the Son-of-Rê name was believed by Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145 and, after them, Beckerath 1984, Anh. 27 G., to have been intended to be a Golden Horus name, but it is more probably the first phrase in the eulogy of the King). Though the throne name is unique, its structure is not unusual and apparently had been based on a traditional Kushite throne name type consisting of the element *k3-Rḥ* (see FHN I, (52), *Comments*).

[LT]

(83) Nastaseñ. Evidence for reign.

While the name and identity of Nastaseñ's father remain unknown, his mother, Pelkha, is represented in the lunette of Nastaseñ's Annals (84) where she bears the titles "mother of the king, royal sister, mistress of Kush". The second of these titles seems to indicate that she was the wife of a king; consequently, Nastaseñ was the son of a ruler (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 145 suggest Harsiyotef; but Harsiyotef and Nastaseñ are separated from each other by two or three ruler generations). In the lunette of the Annals Nastaseñ's wife, queen Sekhmakh, is also represented, bearing the titles of a "king's daughter, king's wife, mistress of Egypt". Besides 84, from his reign only objects from his burial Nu. 15 (Dunham 1955, 246-250), among them a splendid bronze mirror with inscribed (cf. (82) 2) silver handle,¹⁴⁹ and the burial itself, have survived. The burials of Pelkha and Sekhmakh could not be identified, but the latter's grey granite funerary stela (Khartoum 1853) was found in a secondary position built into a Meroitic wall in room 551 of the great Amûn temple (Khartoum 1853, Dunham 1970, 34, Pl. XXXIV, bottom lines of hieroglyphic text cut off, only an unintelligible photograph published; a better photograph: Wenig 1978, Cat. 73). It was in all probability carried over as building material from the cemetery of Nuri on the opposite bank of the Nile.

The only surviving textual document of Nastaseñ's reign, i.e., his Annals (=84) from his eighth regnal year, lays special emphasis on the King's close dynastic ties with Harsiyotef. As to their conceptual accents, structure, and style, the documents of Harsiyotef and Nastaseñ represent a rather homogeneous and special unit within the continuum of Kushite royal monuments. They may be regarded, even if they stand alone in a cultural vacuum—for only very few monuments of other sorts are preserved from the reign of either ruler—as documents of a new imperial era of prosperity and territorial expansion. Though the new era is intellectually anchored in earlier Kushite tradition, a shift of accents can be observed in the enthronement rituals and in the genre of the monumental royal texts: the prominence of warfare not only suggests a conscious emphasis on the concept of legitimacy "proved" by triumph, but primarily indicates an offensive policy. As suggested above (see (70)), this policy was probably initiated by Irike-Amannote and was necessarily directed against Egypt, as its direct (and first?) target was the control of the poorly populated but strategically important Lower Nubian area which was part of Kush until the early 6th century BC when it came under Egyptian control (cf. FHN I, (36), 41-43, 64). By the 4th century BC, however, Egyptian supremacy seems to have given way to some political independence for the local "princes".

¹⁴⁹Dunham 1955, 249, fig. 193, Pl. XCII/B-F; it closely follows a handle type with bold relief images of four goddesses [Shabaqo, Boston MFA 21.318] or the Theban triad+the king [Amaninatakilebte, Wenig 1978, Cat. 115]; on Nastaseñ's mirror handle: the Theban triad+Hathor.

In different ways, both Harsiyotef and Nastaseñ strongly emphasize their connection with Irike-Amannote, though wisely embedding it in the concept of dynastic continuity from Alara. Harsiyotef's Annals also convey the impression that the period after Irike-Amannote's reign was one of troubled internal politics. Harsiyotef himself seems to have enforced his succession; and dynastic conflicts, or at least radically changing interpretations of individual successions and their legitimacy are also suggested by changes in the royal burial grounds. While Irike-Amannote, Baskakeren, Harsiyotef, Akhratañ, Amanibakhi, and Nastaseñ were buried in the traditional royal necropolis of Nuri opened by Taharqo (see FHN I, (19)), there was a ruler whose name is not preserved and whose reign is hypothetically dated between Harsiyotef and Akhratañ (Dunham 1957 6)—but could be dated with equal justification before Harsiyotef or after Akhratañ—who was buried at el Kurru, in the cemetery of the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ancestors and the kings and queens of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Dunham 1950). Since his pyramid Ku. 1 is one of the largest of the Kushite royal pyramids (and Ku. 2, the pyramid of his queen, is the largest in the section of the queens at el Kurru), the significance of the change of the royal burial place for one single generation by this anonymous ruler cannot be underestimated. Just as the move from Nuri to el Kurru is suggestive of a re-emphasis of dynastic continuity with the earliest great kings as well as of a conflict or discord with the house of the immediate predecessors buried at Nuri, so too is the return to Nuri in the next generation indicative of the physical or ideological disruption of the line of the king of Ku. 1 and the restoration of the line of his immediate predecessor. The "episode"—in fact, judging by the size of Ku. 1 and 2, by no means a brief or poor one—of the reign of the king of Ku. 1 is a chapter in the story of Harsiyotef's succession and, in broader terms, in the story starting with Irike-Amannote's new, aggressive policy.

For lack of evidence, the course of the story remains only vaguely understood. Looking at it from the perspective of Egypt, however, we find that it was part of a broader context. Irike-Amannote's aggressive titulary assumed on his ascent to the throne (see (69) 1, (70)) indicates a political intention generated by information arriving in Kush about the struggle going on in Egypt between the Persian rulers and the "nationalist" rebels whom Amyrtaeus led into revolt in 404 BC. After the death of Darius II, Amyrtaeus (probably a Hellenized form of *Imn-ḏr-dī-s*, cf. Meulenaere 1973, 253), the only king of the Twenty-Eighth Dynasty (404-399 BC), was recognized all over Egypt, except in Elephantine where the Jewish colony accepted his rule only from 400 BC (Kraeling 1953, 283). Jewish opposition to the anti-Persian party might well have involved Kushite support, sympathy, or intent to exploit the instability in Egypt. The Twenty-Ninth Dynasty (399-380 BC) entered the scene with violence (Kienitz 1953, 78 f.) and ruled over a country that was disturbed by a constant, bitter struggle for power (cf. the Demotic Chronicle, for literature see Kaplony 1974; for dynastic conflicts see Traunecker 1979, 432 ff.). The Thirtieth Dynasty (380-343 BC) was

confronted in the beginning with internal opposition, and then by the threat of Persian re-occupation. Egypt escaped invasion in 373, and the next thirty years were those of a renaissance of Pharaonic culture, though far from being free from internal trouble.

In 343 BC the Persians invaded the country; and the last king of the Thirtieth Dynasty, Nectanebos II, fled to Upper Egypt (for the history of the period cf. Lloyd 1983, 340 ff.) where he apparently managed to maintain his rule for another two years. There he might have received Kushite support or tried to involve Kush in his cause as is indicated by the story recorded by Diodorus 16, 51, 1 (=84a) that he fled from the army of Artaxerxes to Aithiopia. Diodorus' story derives from the work of the 4th century BC historian Ephorus and, hence, is given credence by Burstein (1989a, 225 f., contra Török 1989, 70) who also interprets Nectanebos's Nubian flight, as does earlier literature (cf. Lloyd 1983, 346, according to whom the flight to Nubia followed Nectanebos's two year stay in Upper Egypt), as a sign of a good relationship between the last king of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the ruler of Kush.

The flight of Nectanebos II to Nubia is connected in the literature (Kienitz 1953, 135; Hintze 1959, 17 ff.) with an event in Nastaseñ's first regnal year (see 84 39 ff.), viz., Nastaseñ's campaign against Kambasawden, identified as the Egyptian "Gegenkönig" Khababash in the time of Arsēs (?) and Darius III around 338/7-335 BC,¹⁵⁰ who appeared with a fleet in Lower Nubia. After his victory over Kambasawden, Nastaseñ is recorded as having conquered lands between *Krtpt* (?) and *Trdpht* (?) in Lower Nubia and as having taken Kambasawden's cattle. On the assumption—unsupported by any independent evidence—that Nectanebos's flight to Nubia and the Kambasawden conflict in 84 coincided, these latter details suggested to writers on the period that, if Kambasawden and Khababash were identical, then Khababash would have been a prince of Lower Nubia who "would have eventually come into conflict with Nastasen by espousing the interests of Nectanebos II and then having himself proclaimed pharaoh" (Grimal 1992, 381). The Egyptian evidence concerning Khababash (Kienitz 1953, 135, 185-189; Meulenaere 1975; Spalinger 1978; cf. also Johnson 1984, 111; Huss 1994, 11) strongly suggests his Libyan origin and Lower Egyptian background (for the circumstantial evidence of the Satrap Stela [Urk. II, 11 ff.; Bianchi 1983] concerning the pre-Macedonian date of his reign see the remark in Török 1989, 70). But if he was not a Nubian prince, he must either have been taken into the protection of a Lower Nubian prince, or have himself conquered territories in Lower Nubia after his expulsion from Egypt. Finally, the possibility must also be taken into consideration that Khababash was not identical with Nastaseñ's opponent Kambasawden (for this last-mentioned interpretation of

¹⁵⁰For the identification: Hintze 1959, 17 ff.; for the chronology of and evidence for Khababash's reign Kienitz 1953, 135, 188; for a dating to 343-338/7 BC see Spalinger 1978, 142 ff.; a different, less probable dating to 333-331 BC: Welles 1970.

the evidence see also Katznelson 1966, 89 ff.; Spalinger 1978, 147). Be this as it may, knowledge of the power relations during the sad decade of the second Persian occupation of Egypt (343-332 BC) and the subsequent years may have further convinced the ruler of Kush that the policy initiated by Irike-Amannote and Harsiyotef and aimed at a complete occupation of Lower Nubia was correct and that the times were opportune.

Ever since Hintze's suggestion that Kambasawden might be identical with Khababash (Hintze 1959, 17 ff.), Nastaseñ's chronological position has been made dependent on Khababash's, whence it is generally supposed that Nastaseñ's Year 1 is to be dated to the time around Khababash's last year, i.e., 336/5 BC (thus also Török 1988, 178). As demonstrated above, the case is not unambiguous; and I prefer here to disregard Khababash's dating and to assign Nastaseñ a place in the royal chronology in more general terms in the second half of the 4th century BC, with a preference for the last third of the century.

In 84 Nastaseñ records the wars of the first eight years of his reign: their number is large, and they reflect a difficult period in which the territorial integrity of the kingdom inherited from Harsiyotef had to be defended against rebelling local princes in Lower Nubia and rebels and invading nomads in the South. Following Kambasawden's defeat (see above), Nastaseñ made donations to temples in the Lower Nubian towns *T3-r3m-nw-t* and *S3-k3-s3-k3-d1-t* (?) which indicates the existence of cult institutions of an Egyptianized or Kushiticized type in that area. Subsequently, expeditions were sent against the territories of *Mhndqnnntt* (?), *R3-b3-rw* (?), *Ikrr* (?), and *Irrs*. In the course of the last-named campaign the prince of *Mht*, i.e., Abu Simbel (Zibelius 1972, 86) was taken prisoner, thus this conflict is again to be localised in the Lower Nubian area. Furthermore, campaigns were sent against the *Mhšrhrt* (?), the *M3-y-k3* (?) and the well-known *Mdd* (Meded) nomads living E of the Nile (cf. 71, *Comments*) and invading, like their ancestors in the previous centuries, the area of Kawa.

[LT]

84 Stela of Nastaseñ from Year 8. Second half of the 4th cent. BC.
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum 2268. Urk. III.2, 137-152.

Text and translation

UNDER WINGED SUNDISC (one column, reading right to left)

N-ı-s-t3-s-ne
Nastasen

Bhdt(y) ntr ı nb pt di ınh w3s
The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, given life and dominion.

LEFT HALF

TITLE OF HUMAN-HEADED AMÛN

ʾImn-R^c nb nswt Tıwy ḥnt(y) ʾIpt-swt
Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt), foremost of Karnak,

ḏi ʿnh ḏd wꜣs nb m̄ R^c ḏt
given all life stability, and dominion, like Rê, for ever.

ḏd mdw
Utterance:

ḏi.n(=i) n=k tꜣw nb ḥꜣswt pḏt psḏt
I have given you all lands, desert countries, and the Nine Bows,

dmꜣ ḥr tꜣwy=k
bound together under your sandals,

m̄ R^c ḏt
like Rê, for ever.

THE KING

Nsw-bıty Kꜣ-ʿnh-R^c
The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Rê-is-a-living-ka",

Sꜣ-R^c N-ı-s-tꜣ-s-n
Son-of-Rê: Nastasen.

IN FRONT OF KING

rd wḏꜣ n ıt=f
Giving a pectoral to his father.

BEHIND THE KING

TITLE OF QUEEN

sn(t)-nsw mw(t)-nsw ḥnwt Kꜣ P-r-ḥꜣ
The king's sister, king's mother, Mistress of Kush, Pelkha.

ʿḏi.n=s' pꜣ sh m Npy
She gave the diadem in Napata

ḏḏ smn.n it=s k3 n p3 ḥ3 Hr-ḥty

because her father established the shrine of the headcloth of Rê-Harakhty.

ir sšš=s n=k

Playing her sistrum for you.

RIGHT HALF

TITLE OF RAM-HEADED AMÛN

Imn Npt hr-ib <ḏw->w'ḃ ntr 3 ḥnt T3-Stt

Amûn of Napata, who dwells in <Pure->mountain (Gebel Barkal), the great god, foremost of Bow-land (Nubia).

ḏi=f ʿnh w3s nb ḏt

He gives all life and dominion for ever.

ḏḏ mdw

Utterance:

ḏḏ mdw

Utterance:

ḏi.n(=i) n=k ʿnh w3s nb ḏḏ nb snb nb 3w(t)-ib

I have given you all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and happiness.

ḏi.n(=i) <n=>k rnpwt nhḥ ḥ3 hr st-Hr ḏt

I have given you endless years appearing on the throne of Horus for ever.

rd(t) wḏ3 n it=f

Giving a pectoral to his father.

ḏi(=i) ir n=k nbw dbn n ibd ... sp 4

I had made for you a *deben*-weight of gold in (Repeat) four times.

s3(t)-nsw ʿhm(t)ʿ-nsu ʿhnwtʿ Kmt S-ḥ-m3-ḥ

The king's daughter, king's 'wife, mistress' of Egypt, Sekhmakh.

ʿ — — p — — ʿ

...

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥ3t-sp 8 3bd tpy prt sw 9

(1) Regnal year 8, first month of Winter, 9th day,

ḥr

under

Hr K₃-nh_t Mry-Psdt H'-m-Npy

Horus: Mighty bull, Beloved-of-the-Ennead, Appearing-in-Napata,

Nbty

Two-Ladies:

S₃-R' N-l-s-t₃-s-ne

Son-of-Rê: Nastasen,

Hr

The Horus,

k₃ ptpt t₃y=f sbi_w hr tb(wy)

the bull who tramples those who rebel against him under (his) sandals,

p₃ (2) m₃ ' in lry 'm₃'m₃t

the (2) great devouring lion,

smn t₃{wy} nb

who establishes every land,

s₃ 'Imn

son of Amûn;

py=f hpš '3

whose scimitar is great;

lry wsh t₃ nb

who widens every land;

s₃ n₃ ntrw

son of the gods;

sdr

the powerful one

'nty h-b' t₃ (3) nb ntrw

'who — ' every (3) land and the gods;

lry rh{t} mdt nbt mi Dhwt_y

who knows every word like Thoth (does),

nty <m> m'sy-rdwy

who is one whose feet are on the move;

lry kd t₃ nb mi Pth

who builds every land like Ptah (does);

lry s'nh irt nb mi 'Imn

who vivifies every eye (i.e. person) like Amûn (does);

sꜥ ʾst
son of Isis;

sḏr
the powerful one,

gm nꜥ nṯrw ʾry (4) ms
‘whose birth (4) the gods decided’;

ḥw Tꜥwy
who protects Two-lands (Egypt);

Sꜥ-Rꜥ N-ʾs-tꜥ-s-ne
Son-of-Rê: Nastasen.

sꜥ ʾmn
the son of Amûn,

smꜥ m pt
who ‘puts (things) in order’ in heaven,

tꜥ=ʾ rh{t}=tn
I have (hereby) informed you,

Nsw-bꜥty Kꜥ-ḥ-Rꜥ
(I) the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Rê-is-a-living-ka”,

Sꜥ-Rꜥ nb Tꜥwy N-ʾs-tꜥ-s-ne ḥ dt
Son-of-Rê, Lord of Two-lands (Egypt): Nastasen, may he live for ever,

ḏd=f
he says,¹⁵¹

ʾw wn=ʾ pꜥ šr nfr m B-r-wꜥ-t
When I was “the good son” (= crown prince ?) in Barawe (Meroe),

ʾry (5)=f ḥ ʾ-r=ʾ ʾmn Npy pꜥy=ʾ ʾt nfr ḏd
he (5) called to me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father, saying,

ʾmy n=k
“Come!”

ḏi=ʾ ḥ=w ʾsnwʾ-nsw nty ʾw wn m B-r-[wꜥ]-t ḏr
I had all the royal brethren who were in Barawe (Meroe) summoned,

¹⁵¹For: “I say”.

dd=ī <n=>w dd
and I spoke <to> them, saying,

īm-tñ s(6)y whḥ s r3-m=n wp n p3y=n sr
Come, g(6)o, (and) look for 'him' with us (i.e., me), 'namely,' our prince!"

dd=w <n=>ī dd
They spoke <to> me, saying,

bn īw=n siy r3-m=ī¹⁵²
"We should not go with you."¹⁵³

ntk p3y=f šr{nw} nfr
It is you that are his "good son".

īr=f mr n=k īmn Npy (7) p3y{tw}=k it nfr
He wanted you, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, (7) your good father."

dī=ī th3m dw3
I had (people) summoned early the next day,

ph=ī r ī-s-d-r-s-t
and I reached Asterese.¹⁵⁴

dī=ī sdr sw p=ī ʿbʿb
I had my '—' pass the night

sdm=f (read: =ī) ʿ-m3-l3 m Npy
He (for: I) heard '—' from Napata.

dd=w
They said,

ī(8)w=f mdynt t3 nb{t}
"He (8) he shall '—' every land."

hrp=ī dw3w
I arose early at dawn,

ph=ī T3-kī-t
and I reached Teqi.

¹⁵²Read: =k.

¹⁵³Text: "me".

¹⁵⁴An otherwise unknown oasis in the Bayuda Desert (Priese 1963, 24, n.2). Abu Tuleih? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 92-93.

sw pꜣ mꜣ ʕꜣ pr-šꜣ rd nsw P-(nh) ꜥ-lꜣ-rꜣ m-n=f
It is the great 'place', 'the garden', in which king Pi(anch)y Alara grew up.

iw wn pꜣ=i d(r)t ꜣbt (9) hr st nhm gm pꜣy Pr-Imn
When my left hand was (9) on the place '— — —', this House of Amûn,

lry=w il nty=i rmw hwt-ntr Imn Npy dr=w
they came to me, (to wit) all the people of the temple complex of Amûn of Napata,

ntwttyw rmw ʕ{t} nb{t}
the people of the city, all the notables.

md=w rꜣ-m=i
that they might speak with me.

(10) dd=w <n>=i dd
(10) They spoke to me, saying,

lr=f nš n=k ʕt n pꜣ Tꜣ-Stl Imn Npy pꜣy{tw}=k it nfr
"He 'has made subject' to you the 'rulership' of the Bow-land (Nubia), (to wit) Amûn of Napata, your good father."

iw dd=w rm nb
while everybody said,

iw=f mnw n dnw
"Where will he moor?"

(11) dd=i <n>=w dd
(11) I spoke to them, saying,

slꜣy 'dꜣ' itrw
"Go, cross the river.

my srsr=tn n=f (corrected to =i?) Imn Npy pꜣy{tw}=i it nfr
Pray glorify for him (= me?) Amûn of Napata, my good father.

mšꜥ-tn slꜣy šn-tn i-ir ꜥ(12)mn Npy
Go, be off, (and) 'make obeisance' to A(12)mûn of Napata."

ti=i msh hr m mnw pꜣ itrw 'hr' Pr-Rꜥ
I 'went' down into a river-boat 'to' the House of Rê.

ti=i slꜣ 'hr' htr ʕꜣ
I went off on a great horse

ph<=i> r Pr-ḡ
and I reached the Great House.

ir=w (13) šn i-r=i rmt ḡ h(m)-ntr Imn ḡr=w
They (13) 'made obeisance' to me, (to wit) all the notables and priests of Amûn.

iry=w smḡ i-r=i rḡ nb
They blessed me, (to wit) every mouth.

ti=i si hry
I had (everyone) go up

(hr) wn sbḡ ḡ
and opened the great portals.

iry=w iry <n>=i pḡ wn iw (14) iry pḡ=i srh 'ḡt nfr'
They made for me ' — ' to (14) make my titular ' — ',

sḡ Ipt-swt Pr-nbw
making Karnak and the House of Gold great.

ḡḡ=i n=f Imn Npy py=i it nfr mdt=i pḡ wnwn nb(t) m ḡt=i
I told him, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father, my affairs, all that was in my heart;

iw sdm (15) rḡ-m=i Imn Np pḡ=i rḡ
and Amûn of Napata (15) listened to me, (i.e. to) my speech.

dḡ.n=f <n>=i Imn Npy pḡ=i it nfr
He gave <to> me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father,

ns(yt) n pḡ tḡ n Stḡ
the kingship of the Bow-land (Nubia),

pḡ hry nsw Hr-sḡ-it=f
the crown of king "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef),

(16) nḡt nsw P-(nḡ)-I-lḡ-rḡ
(16) and the power of king Pi(ankh)y-Alara.

ḡbd 3 ḡḡt sw 'rky'
Third month of Inundation, last day.

dḡ=i ḡ Imn Npy pḡ=i it nfr
I had Amûn of Napata, my good father, appear (in procession)

îî (r) bl r3-pr ʕ
and come outside the great temple.

dî=f <n>=î ns(yt) p(ʕ) t3 St(y) ʔ-r3-t (17) ʔpdt psdtʔ p3 ʔd(b)ʔ 2 p3 4 kʕhw
He gave me the kingship of the Bow-land (Nubia), Are, (17) the Nine Bows, the
Two Banks (of the Nile), and the Four Corners (of the Land).

dd(=î) py=î mdt nfr y-r-m{t}=f P3-Rʕ
I spoke my good speech with him, (to wit) Prê;

dd=î n=f ʔImn Np t3 mdt
and I spoke to him, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, this speech,

ntk p3 nty îw(18)=k îry sw <n>=î
"You are the one who (18) did it <for> me.

îr=f sɖm <n>=î t3 nb rm nb
You (text: he) made every land and every people listen <to> me.

dî=k ʕ r=î m B3-r3-w3-t
You had the call (go out) for me from Barawe (Meroe),

îî=î î-îry-n=k
that I should come to you.

dî=k šn{n}=f <n>=î ʕ n p3 T3-St(y)
You made it 'subject' to me, (to wit) the rulership of the Bow-land (Nubia)

î(19)w bw rdî sw rm m nsw
for (19) men did not make him (for: me) king

h3w py=f 24
on the day, its 24th;

dî.n=k n=î ʕt.
(rather) you gave me rulership."

îw wn rmw sɖr hnʕ rmw ʔ— —ʔw nb{t} ʔhrʔ w3t
When all the powerful men and ʔ—ʔ men were ʔonʔ the road,

hnhn(=î) (20) hf(t)-ʔhrʔ Rʕ
I danced (20) before Rê,

ph(=î) hr st ʔ—ʔ
(I) reached the place ʔof sacrificeʔ.

ṛṭṛ(=i) iwṣ 2

(I) 'took' two (head of) long-horned oxen.

sṛ(=i) ḥr(y)

(I) went up,

ḥms(=i) ṛḥrṛ bdy (n) nbw

(and I) sat down upon the throne of gold

m ṛpt-swt (n) nbw <m> ḥyḃ(t) m hrw pn

in the Karnak of gold, <in> the shade, on this day.

ḏd=w rmw nb ḏd

They spoke, (to wit) all the people, saying,

(21) iw=f ṛy nfr mdt (n) rmw nb{t}

(21) "He will make things good for everybody.

dṛ=f n=f ṛmn Npy ṣt ṛḥ wḏṣ snb n pṣ Tṣ-St(y)

He gave to him, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, the rulership—life, prosperity, health—of the Bow-land (Nubia).

Sṣ-Rṣ N-ṛ-s-tṣ-s-ne sṛ ḥr(y)

The Son-of-Rê: Nastasen is gone up

ḥms ḥr bdy (n) nbw m ḥyḃ(22)(t) m hrw pn

and is seated on the throne of gold, in the shad(22)e, on this day.

iw=f ṛy nsw ḥms nmm m B-rṣ-wṣ-t

He will be king, dwelling and '—' in Berawe (Meroe)."

ṣbd 1 prt sw 12

First month of Winter, 12th day.

tṛ=ṛ mṣṣ ḥd ṛ-ṛr ṛmn Pr-gmt pṣy=ṛ ṛt (23) nfr.

I had (us) go and sail downstream to Amûn of House-of-finding (Kawa), my (23) good father.

dṛ=ṛ ḥṣ ṛmn Pr-gmt

I had Amûn of House-of-finding (Kawa) appear (in procession)

ṛṛ ṛ-b-ṛ-rṣ Pr-ṣ

and come outside the Great House.

ḏd(=i) pṣy=ṛ mdt nfr ṛ-rṣ-m=f pṣ-Rṣ

(I) spoke my good speech with him, (to wit) Prê,

dî.n=f <n>=î ns(yt) (24) n Sty
after he gave <to> me the kingship (24) of Bow(-land),

dî=f <n>=î pî 'd(b) 2 'l-l-t 'pdt psdt' p=f 'pdt' sdr
He gave <to> me the Two Banks (of the Nile), Ale, 'the Nine Bows', and his powerful bow.

dd=f <n>=î hr dd=f <n>=î 'Imn Npy pîy=î ît nfr
He spoke <to> me according as he (already) spoke <to> me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father.

sîy(=î) hry hms (25) hr bdy nbw
(I) went up and sat (25) on the throne of gold.

sîy=î î-lr 'Imn Pr-nbs, py=î ît nfr
I went to Amûn of Pnubs (Tabo), my good father.

h' 'Imn Pr-nbs
Amûn of Pnubs (Tabo) appeared (in procession)

îî b-lî-î Pr-î
and came outside the Great House.

dî.n=f <n>=î 'st pî 'Tî-Sty p=f (26) 't/h'riw sdr
He gave <to> me the rulership of the Bow-land (Nubia) and his (26) powerful 'aegis'.

dd(=î) py=î mdw nfr rî-m Pî-R'
(I) spoke my good speech with Prê.

sîy(=î) hry hms hr bdy nbw
(I) went up and sat on the throne of gold.

îî(=î) hry î-lr 'Imn Npy (27) pî=î ît nfr
I came (back) up to Amûn of Napata, (27) my good father.

îbd 2 prt sw 19
Second month of Winter, 19th day.

[dî=î h'] (28) 'Imn Np
[I had] Amûn of Napata (28) [appear (in procession)]

îî bl-r Pr-î
and come outside the Great House.

ḏḏ py=ī mdw nfr r3-m=f (29) P3-R^c
I spoke my good speech with him, (29) (to wit) Prê.

ḏḏ=ī <n>=f ī.ḏḏ=f <n>=ī
I told him what he had said <to> me,

mdw nfr ḏr 'Imn P3-gmt 'Imn P3-nbs ntrw (30) ḏr
(i.e.) all the good words of Amûn of House-of-finding (Kawa), Amûn of Pnubs (Tabo), and all (30) the gods.

hnhn(=ī)
(I) danced,

ph(=ī) ḥr st '—'
(I) arrived at the place of '—',

'ḫ'(=ī) īw3 2
(I) 'took' two (head of) long-horned oxen.

si(=ī) ḥry m p3 'im(s)'w
(I) went down into the 'tabernacle',

sḏr(=ī) grḥ 4
(I) spent four nights,

īry(=ī) p3 (31) '—' nb{t} ḥrw 4
and (I) did all the (31) '—' for four days.

siy(=ī) ḥry
(I) went (back) up,

ph(=ī) ḥr st '—'
(I) reached the place of '—',

'ḫ'(=ī) īw3 2
and (I) 'took' two (head of) long-horned oxen.

'k(=ī) m ḥwt-nṯr
(I) entered the temple complex

ḥms=ī (text: =f) ḥr p3 sk3 m (32) Pr-š3 nbw
I (text: he) sat on the throne in (32) the House-of-'—' of gold.

sw 24
The 24th day (of the month).

siy(=i) hry i-ir Bstt hr(yt)-ib T-l-t py=i mwt nfr
(I) went up to Bastet who dwells in Tele,¹⁵⁵ my good mother.

di.n=s <n>=i 'nh iwt ʕ nfr mn(d) (33) 'iby'
She gave <to> me life, a long beautiful old age, and (her) 'left (33) breast'.

di.n=s sw <n>=i m kn 'nh nfr
She gave it <to> me in the beautiful *ken-ankh*-garment.

di.n=s <n>=i tȳ=s n-l sdr
She gave <to> me her powerful '—'.

ii=i m Npy
I came (back) into Napata.

sw 29
The 29th day (of the month).

di=i hr (34) 'Imn Npt
I had Amûn of Napata (34) appear (in procession).

di.n=f <n>=i pt nbt t nb pȳ y-l nb rm nb
He gave <to> me the whole heaven, the whole earth, the whole river, and all the people.

siy(=i) hry
(I) went up,

hms(=i) hr bt nbw
and (I) sat on the throne of gold.

di=i hry n=k pȳ km (35) 4 'Imn Np hr Npy
I had made <for> you the (35) 4 gardens, O Amûn of Napata, in Napata

iw wn rmw 36 m hn=w (text: =f)
with 36 people in them (text: it).

di=i n=k
I gave you:

sntr kȳ-l-rȳ (n) bi ʕ 3;
incense, large *kulura*-vessels of bronze: 3;

¹⁵⁵In the Wadi Abu Dom?, cf. Zibelius 1972, 179-180; cf. lines 64 and 65.

bit k3-r3 4
honey, *kurara*-vessels: 4;

ntyw 3 hk3t
(and) myrrh, 3 ¹*hekat*-measures;

(36) twtw n Imn (n) P3-gm-It3 nbw 1
(36) image of Amûn of Finding-the-Aton (Kawa), gold: 1;

‘n –’ n Hr n nbw 2
‘—’ of Horus of gold: 2, *deben*-weight 3;

msdy h3d 3
mesed-vessels, silver: 3;

k3-d3 n h3d 3;
kutsha-vessels of silver: 3;

ipt n h3d 7
apot-vessels of silver: 7;

dmd 12 (sic), dbn 134.
total, 12 (correct to: 13), *deben*-weight 134;

k3-l3-r3 b33 3 2
kulara-vessels, bronze: 2;

h3(37)yt n mhr irt hmt 13
cups (37) for milk-jugs, copper: 13;

hnt n hnkt hmt 2
beer jars, copper: 2;

h3-l3 b33 6
hala-vessels, bronze: 6;

k3s b33 12
kus-vessel, bronze: 12;

msd hmt 6
mesed-vessel, copper: 6.

di3 i3 r n=k Imn m ipt 3bd tpy šmw sw 3rky
I had made over to you, O Amûn in Opet, (in) the first month of Summer, last day:

iw s(38)b '—' 2 'h₃' 2 dmd 4
 long-horned oxen, castra(38)ted, '—': 2; '—': 2; total 4;

'—' '—' 2 'h₃' 2 dmd 4
 '—'-cattle, '—': 2; '—': 2; total 4;

'—' nw '—' 1 'h₃' 1 dmd 2
 '—'-cattle, '—': 1; '—': 1; total 2;

bnw sm [—] m [—] 'rnpṭ'
 benu-cup '—' [—] '—' [—] 'year',

hy-r₃-b-t-b₃ b₃ 16
 khiralatba-vessel, bronze: 16;

th b₃ 2
 tekh-vessel, bronze: 2;

rb b₃ 10
 reb-vessel, bronze: 10;

b(39)t₃ b₃ 2
 baa(39)tsha -vessel, bronze: 2;

ip 'hk₃' hmt 2
 ape-vessel, '—', copper: 2;

īl H-m-b₃-s₃-w-d-n-'—'
 Kambasawden'—' came.

dī(=i) sy '—' pḏt m Ḍ₃-r₃-t
 (I) had a 'force' of bowmen go from Tshare.¹⁵⁶

h₃y ʕ
 Great slaughter.

<t₃(=i)> p₃=f '—' nb
 <(I) seized> all his '—'

h(₃)k(=i) w₃ n ḏ nb (n) p₃ w(r)
 (I) captured all the transport ships of the chief.

dī(=i) <n>=f h₃y
 I inflicted a slaughter on him.

¹⁵⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 190.

tʒ(=ɨ) pʒ=f tʒwy nb (40) dybn nb ɨwʒ nb mn<mn> nb

(I) seized all his lands, (40) all domestic animals, all long-horned oxen, all herds,

nty s'nh irt nb

nty s'nh irt nb 'tʃ(i)' n Kɜ-rɜ-tp-t 'ʂɛ' Tɜ-lɜ-w-dy-t
all that sustained eyes (i.e. people), from Kuratape¹⁵⁷ to Tarawdie¹⁵⁸.

all that sustained eyes (i.e. people), from Kuratape¹⁵⁷ to Tarawdie¹⁵⁸.

di(=i) sw n p: nt k:k:

I gave him/it to that which '—'

iw h3y n-im{t}=f

since slaughter was in it;¹⁵⁹

iw s(41)enr ir n-im{t}=f

'in order to' let (41) live 'the people in it'

iry=i thnw n n' w'et

I made rescue for ' — — '

di=i sw m T3-r3-m-nw-t iw3 hw 12

I gave it 'in' Taramnue,¹⁶⁰ (to wit) protected long-horned oxen: 12 (head),

p n 'Imn Np iw.in=w hr m Np

the property of Amûn of Napata, which they brought down from Napata.

3bd 4 (42) 3ht sw 26

Fourth month (42) of Inundation, 26th day,

hɜw msw Sɜ-Rɛ N-i-s-tɜ-s-ne

the birthday of the Son-of-Rê: Nastasen:

di(=i) sw m S3-k3-s3-k3-dy-t iw3 n md 3 6

(I) gave it in Sakusakudie,¹⁶¹ (to wit) '—' long-horned oxen: 6 (head),

p n 'Imn Npt p3=i it nfr iw=w i' hr Np (43)

the property of Amûn of Napata, my good father, coming from Napa(43)ta.

3bd 4 3ht ʻ(rky)

Fourth month of Inundation, last day (of the month),

¹⁵⁷Cf. Zibelius 1972, 164; cf. lines 43-44.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Zibelius 1972, 180.

¹⁵⁹ Or: in order to slaughter in it.

¹⁶⁰Cf. Zibelius 1972, 176.

¹⁶¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 152.

h:w (n) dît sw p: sh n Sî-R^c N-î-s-tî-s-ne
the day (of) giving it, (to wit) the *seh*-crown, to the Son-of-Rê: Nastasen.

dî=i îry n=k Îmn Np ktkî 'îî' 12 'hktî'
I had made (over) to you, Amûn of Napata, 'at once', 'barley': 12 'hekat'-measures,

ndwt wîd srk tî (n) Kî-lî-(44)tp-t š^c Tî-rî-l-k-t
and fresh *netshu*-plants and *serek*-plants from Kulatepe¹⁶² to Taralqe.¹⁶³

dî=i îry n=k Îmn Np pî=i îî nfr hîbs hr Tî-k-tî-t-t
I had made (over) to you, Amûn of Napata, my good father, (an endowment for) lamps in Taqtæ.¹⁶⁴

dî(=i) îny n=k h(î)k
(I) had booty brought to you:

îwî 300 mnmn 300 'îî' 200
long-horned oxen: 300 (head); livestock: 300 (head); 'men': 200.

Îmn Np (45) pîy{t}=k {w} hps 2 nty hpr py{t}=k šf nfr
O Amûn of Napata, (45) your two arms are what did (it), your awe is good.

dî=i n=k Îmn Np Rtk Wps m'—'k-gî-wî (r) dr
I gave you, O Amûn of Napata, all of Reteqe¹⁶⁵ and Wepes¹⁶⁶ in '— — —'.

py{t}=k{w} t-k-lî pîw (46) tî hmt dmd 110
Your 'share (of the booty)' :s: (46) men and women, total: 110.

hr kt 'n
And another (matter) again:

îry=i dî sî t(î) pdt hr sbyw M-hî-n-d-k-nn-t-t
I had the archers go against the rebels of Mekhindekennete.¹⁶⁷

îry=w knkn rî-m{t}=f
They did battle with him.

¹⁶²Cf. Zibelius 1972, 164; cf. ln. 41.

¹⁶³Cf. Zibelius 1972, 176.

¹⁶⁴Cf. Zibelius 1972, 182.

¹⁶⁵Cf. Zibelius 1972, 145.

¹⁶⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 104.

¹⁶⁷Cf. Zibelius 1972, 127-128.

ḥꜣy ʕ

Great slaughter.

<ṭꜣy(=i)> pꜣy.{t}=f {n} pꜣ (47) wr ꜥꜣ-y-ꜥꜣ-kꜣ

<(I) captured> its (47) chief, Ayonku.

dꜣ(=i) ḥ(ꜣ)k ḥmt nb dbnt nbt nbw ʕꜣ

(I) took all the women, all the cattle, much gold:

iwꜣ 209659 mn(mn) 505349 ḥmt (48) 2236 iḳyt n Kꜣ-tꜣ-r-dy-t 322 ꜥꜣkꜣtꜣ

long-horned oxen: 209,659 (head); livestock: 505,349 (head); women: (48) 2,236; sesame of Kutardie:¹⁶⁸ 322 ꜥꜣhekatꜣ-measures.

dꜣ(=i) dꜣt sw n pꜣ kꜣkꜣ iw ꜣr shꜣ-ꜣnw tꜣ nb¹⁶⁹

I had it given to the ꜥꜣ—ꜣ in order to ꜥꜣ—ꜣ every land.

dꜣ(=i) ʔry n=k ꜥꜣmn Np ḥꜣbs ḥꜣr Kꜣ-tꜣ-l-(49)dy-t iḳyt 12 <ꜥꜣhekatꜣ>.

I had made for you, Amûn of Napata, a (donation of) lamps at Kutal(49)die,¹⁷⁰ sesame: 12 <ꜥꜣhekatꜣ-measures>.

dꜣ(=i) ʔry n=k ḥꜣr-st bꜣꜣ ʕꜣ 2

I had made for you 2 large bronze lamps,

dꜣ(=i) ꜥꜣꜣ=w ḥꜣr rꜣ-p(r) Wꜣst

and had them set up in the temple of Dominion (Thebes).

ꜥꜣmn Np pꜣy(=i) ꜣt nfr

O Amûn of Napata, my good father,

dꜣ(=i) ʔry n=k ktkt ꜣt 6 ꜥꜣhekatꜣ ḥꜣr Kꜣ-tꜣ-l-dy(50)-t

I had barley, 6 ꜥꜣhekatꜣ-measures, given to you ꜥꜣat onceꜣ in Kutaldi(50)e.¹⁷¹

dꜣ(=i) wn rꜣ-pr n iwꜣ n nbw iḳ p(ꜣ) n ꜥꜣmn Np pꜣ(=i) ꜣt nfr

I had the temple of the Long-horned Bull of Gold, the ꜥꜣimageꜣ, the one of Amûn of Napata, my good father, opened.

kt ʕn

Another (matter) again.

¹⁶⁸Cf. Zibelius 1972, 164; cf. ln. 48-49, 49-50.

¹⁶⁹This passage, which is in part repeated below in line 40, is particularly difficult to construe and interpret.

¹⁷⁰Cf. Zibelius 1972, 164; cf. ln. 48, 49-50.

¹⁷¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 164; cf. ln. 48, 48-49.

dī=ī sī t(s) pđt hr sby R-bḥ-lḥ Ḥ-kḥ-(51)lḥ-kḥ-r-ʿoʿ-t
I had the bowmen go against the rebel(s) of Rebala¹⁷² and Aku(51)lakuʿoʿ.¹⁷³

dī=ī ḥḥy ʿ
I caused a great slaughter.

ʿḥʿ(=ī) pḥ w(r) Lḥ-b-ʿoʿ-d-n
(I) seized the chief, Lubʿoʿden,

pḥy=f <ḥt> nbt n nbw ʿšḥ nn ḥp
all his property in abundant gold, beyond reckoning,

ḥwḥ 203,216 mn(mn) 603,107 ḥmt nb
long-horned oxen: 203,216 (head), livestock: 603,107 (head), all the women,

pḥ nty (52) ḥw=w sʿnh ḥr n-ḥm=w nb
and all that (52) by which a person is kept alive.

dī=ī sw pḥ w(r) <n> Ḥmn Np py=ī ḥt nfr
I gave him, (to wit) the chief, to Amun of Napata, my good father.

py{tw}=k ḥpš sdr py{t}=k s-lḥ nfr
Your arm is strong, your 'counsel' good.

ḥr ʿn
And again:

dī=ī msh ʿš (53) ʿšḥ hr sbyt Ḥ-r-r-sḥ
I sent many (53) levies (lit.: calls) against the rebel country Arrasa.¹⁷⁴

dī=ī ḥḥy ʿ
I caused a great slaughter.

dī=ī ḥḥ pḥ wr n Mḥ-ḥḥ-t Ḥ-b-s-ʿoʿ.
I had the chief of Mahae,¹⁷⁵ Absʿoʿ seized.

ḥ(s)k(=ī) ḥmt nbt dybnty nbt
(I) captured all the women, all the domestic animals,

nbw dbn 1212
gold, *deben*-weight: 1,212,

¹⁷²Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144.

¹⁷³Cf. Zibelius 1972, 95.

¹⁷⁴The region of Abu Simbel, cf. Zibelius 1972, 86.

¹⁷⁵Abu Simbel ?, cf. Zibelius 1972, 126-127.

iwꜣ 22120 (54)

long-horned oxen: 22,120 (54) (head);

ḥmt nbt mn(mn) 55200

all the women, and livestock: 55,200 (head).

dī(=i) sw pꜣ wr py=f{r} šb <n> Ḳmn Np pꜣy=i it nfr

I gave it, (to wit) the chief and his property, <to> Amûn of Napata, my good father.

py{tw}=k rn ꜣ nfr pꜣy={tw}=k šf nfr

Your great name is good, your awesomeness is good.

kt ꜣn

Another (matter) again.

dī(55)=i sī=f tꜣ pꜣdt ḥr sbyt M-ḥ-š-r-ḥ-r-tī

I (55) had it, (to wit) the bowmen, go against the rebel land of Makhsherkhar-ta.¹⁷⁶

dī=i ḥꜣy ꜣ

I caused a great slaughter.

dī=i tꜣ pꜣ wr pꜣ nty iw=f{r} sꜣnh irt n-īm=f nb{t} ḥmt nbt

I had the chief and all that by which he sustains people and all the women seized.

dī=i 's'w ḥr-r=i

I put it under me (i.e, took possession of it).

ḥ(ꜣ)(56)k(=i) iwꜣ 203146 mnmn 33050

(I) cap(56)tured long-horned oxen: 203,146 (head); livestock: 33,050 (head).

Ḳmn Npy pꜣy=i it nfr

Amûn of Napata, my good father,

pꜣy{tw}=k ḥpš sdr py{t}=k rn ꜣ nfr

your arm is strong, your great name is good!

kt ꜣn (57)

Another (matter) again. (57)

¹⁷⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 128.

di=i sî ʿš ʿš; hr sbyṭ M̄-y-ʿoʿ-k̄-t

I had many levies (lit.: calls) go against the rebel country of Mayʿoʿkue.¹⁷⁷

ir=f šny n=i sbyṭ hr nh̄ n S̄-r̄-s̄-r̄-t

It resisted me, the rebel country, at the Sycomore-of-Sarsare.¹⁷⁸

di=i knkn r̄-m{t}=f

I caused fighting with it.

di=i ḥy ʿ

I caused a great slaughter.

(58) iry=i ṭ py=f wr T̄-m̄-ḥ-y-ti

(58) I had its chief, Tamakheyta, seized.

di=i ḥ(i)k py=w ḥmt nbt dybnt nb

I caused to be plundered all their women, all the domestic animals,

nbw dbn 2000 iw̄ 35330 mn(mn) 55(59)526

gold: 2000 *deben*-weight, long-horned oxen: 35,330 (head), livestock: 55,(59)526 (head),

p̄ nty iw̄=w s̄nh̄ ir n-im{t}=f ḏr

(in short) all that by which people are sustained.

di=f <n>=i ʾImn Npy p̄y=i it nfr ṭ nb{t}

He has given me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father, every land.

p̄y=f ḥpš sḏr

His arm is strong.

p̄y=f šfy nfr

His awesomeness is good.

(60) p̄y=f rn ʿ nfr m̄ pt

(60) His great name is good like heaven.

ir=f iry <n>=i ʾImn Npy p̄y=i it nfr

He has done (all these things) for me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father.

hr kt ʿn

And another (matter) again:

¹⁷⁷Cf. Zibelius 1972, 120.

¹⁷⁸Cf. Zibelius 1972, 151.

iry=w pn^c nkt n Ṿmn ḥr-ib P₃-gm-Ṿ(61)tn
 They overturned property of Amûn who dwells in The-finding-A⁽⁶¹⁾ton
 (Kawa),

<Ṿbys¹ nsw Ṿnh wḏ₃ snb Ṿ-s-p-l-t₃>
 <a 'votive offering' of king—life, prosperity, health!—Aspelta>.

p₃-wn Ṿš Ṿš₃ wḏ₃ n p₃y=Ṿ s-r-ḥ₃-š₃ ḥ₃tyw
 Then many calls went out to my 'elite troops'

{Ṿbys¹ nsw Ṿnh wḏ₃ snb Ṿ-s-p-l-t₃} ky m₃
 {a 'votive offering' of king—life, prosperity, health!—Aspelta}—another place
 —

Ṿ dy-b₃-w sbyt M-dy-y-t
 to 'punish' the rebel land Mediye.¹⁷⁹

d₃=w gm(62)=f nkt <n> p₃y=Ṿ Ṿbys¹
 They had (62) it found, (to wit) property from my 'votive offering'.

s₃ mtw=f iry <n>=Ṿ Ṿmn Npy p₃y=Ṿ Ṿt nfr
 '——' it was he that acted <for> me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father.

d₃=Ṿ n=f Ṿmn Pr-gm-Ṿtn p₃y=Ṿ Ṿt n(63)fr
 I gave (it) to him, (to wit) Amûn of House-of-Finding-Aton (Kawa), my good
 (63) father.

dd=f <n>=Ṿ Ṿmn Pr-gm-Ṿtn p₃y=Ṿ Ṿt nfr
 He said <to> me, (to wit) Amûn of House-of-Finding-Aton (Kawa), my good fa-
 ther,

d₃=Ṿ n=k p₃y=Ṿ tḏy (read: pḏt) nh₃t r-nm{t}=f pḥty
 "I gave you my bow, there being might in it—(and) strength.

d₃=Ṿ n=k sby nb m skrw (64) ḥr ṫbwty=k
 I gave you every rebel land as prisoners (64) under your sandals.

ḥr kt Ṿnw
 Yet another (matter) again:

iry=w ṫ=f sbyt M-dy-y-t
 They took it, (to wit) the rebel land Mediye,¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹The land of the Medjay?, cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137; cf. ln. 64.

¹⁸⁰The land of the Medjay?, cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137; cf. ln. 61.

nkt n ḥt wḏḥ n Bst ḥr-ḥb Trt
(namely) property consisting of things that come to Bastet who dwells in Tarae,¹⁸¹

ḥbys nsw ḥn wḏḥ snb (65) ḥ-s-p-l-t
a 'foundation' of king, l.p.h., (65) Aspelta.

ḥi=w pȳ=i (read: nȳ=i) ḥbys
They came, (to wit) my 'votive offerings'.

ḏi=i n=s Bst ḥr-ḥb Tȳ-r.t pȳ=i (read: tȳ=i) mwt nfr
I gave (them) to her, Bastet who dwells in Tarae,¹⁸² my good mother.

ḏl.n=s=f (sic) <n>=i pȳ=s snw ḥ{t} nfr
She gave it <to> me, (namely) her great and beautiful '—',

ḥwt ḥt nfr '—' (66) pȳ=s šf nfr ḏḏ
a great, beautiful old age, '—' (66) her beautiful awesomeness, saying,

pȳ{tw}=k wḏḥt pȳw
"It is your protection,

pȳ{tw}=k '—' pȳw
it is your '—'."

sȳ mtw=f ȳry <n>=i ḥmn Npy pȳ=i ḥt nfr
'——' it was he that acted <for> me, (to wit) Amûn of Napata, my good father.

sȳ mtw(67)=f ȳry nfr pȳ=i ḥbys
'——' it was (67) he that made my 'votive offering' good.

pȳ=f ḥpš sdr
His arm is mighty.

ḥr i ḥmn Np pȳ=i ḥt nfr
And as for (you), O Amûn of Napata, my good father,

tȳ mdt pȳ nty ḥw=k ḥš rȳ
the matter, that which you 'silence',

b(68)w ȳry=s dy
does (68) not happen.

¹⁸¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 179; cf. lines 32 and 65.

¹⁸²Cf. Zibelius 1972, 179; cf. lines 32 and 64.

hr in-iw snw r3=k '—'
And if your '——' mouth '——',

bn-di=w snhw lrt n-im=f hr pt
'they do not have that by which people gain sustenance under the sky'.

[RHP]

Note to the translation

With the stela of Harsiyotef and Nastasen, a cleft begins to open between the documents written in Egyptian in the Kingdom of Kush and those written in Egypt itself. The forces operating to produce this chasm have been variously assessed. At one extreme is the view that the scribes in Sudan were incompetent in Egyptian, at the other is the view that this was a conscious and intentional movement away from Egyptian standards. For example, is the peculiar grammar of some of the sentences in this text a reflection of Meroitic word order, or is it better to see it as an indication that the verb with a suffix pronoun as its subject was reinterpreted as a morphological unity, a conjugated verb in the sense of Greek and Latin?

L. Green's study of Egyptian words for dancing based on an examination of their determinatives provides some information that can be adduced to support the interpretation of the verb *hnhn* in lines 19 and 30 as meaning "to dance" (Green 1983, 34).

[RHP]

Comments

This beautifully carved granite stela (height 1.63 m, width 1.27 m, thickness 0.298 m) was found in 1853 at New Dongola (in the Letti Basin, from where the fragment of a granite obelisk of Atlanersa [cf. FHN I, (30)] also originates) by Count W. von Schlieffen and presented to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV by Abbas Pasha. The stela was deposited in the Königliche Museen (later Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum). Its text, with a German translation, was first published by Heinrich Schäfer (1901) and then included by him in the *Urk.* (III,2 137 ff.); it was subsequently published by Budge (with an English translation, Budge 1912, 140 ff.) and longer passages from the text were also translated into German by K.-H. Priese (Priese 1963).

It seems highly probable that the stela comes from the Temple of Amûn at Gebel Barkal (Napata), as is indicated by the representations and texts in the lunette: the inscription was dedicated to the Amûn of Thebes and the Amûn of Napata in the same manner as other monumental stelae found in that temple (cf. FHN I, 29, in this volume see 78). The hieroglyphic text is engraved in 68 horizontal lines (26 lines on the front and 42 lines on the back of the stela). The top of the round-topped stela is bounded by the winged sundisc from which extend two uraei. The uraeus above the right-hand scene with Amûn of Napata

wears the Red Crown, while its pendant over the left-hand scene with Amûn of Thebes wears the White Crown. The two uraei enclose the cartouche of Nastaseñ. The two scenes are divided in the centre of the lunette by two vertical columns of inscription recording identical utterances by Amûn of Thebes and Amûn of Napata concerning Nastaseñ's kingship. In the right-hand scene the King stands before the ram-headed Nubian Amûn. He wears the Kushite skullcap-crown, a diadem with one uraeus above his brow and streamers (the uraeus is crowned with the Double Crown of Egypt), a broad collar, armlets and bracelets and is dressed in a pointed kilt. From his belt hangs an animal tail. He wears no sandals. The King approaches the god, offering him a pectoral and a necklace. He is followed by his wife Sekhmakh. She wears a diadem with streamers and has one uraeus above her brow and the Hathor crown superstructure with two tall plumes on her head. She is clad in an ankle-length tunic and a coat and holds a sistrum in her right hand while pouring out a libation from a vessel in her left. In the left-hand scene the King stands in front of the human-headed Theban Amûn. He is dressed as in the opposite scene, but wears a diadem with a double uraeus and offers a necklace and a pectoral. He is followed by his mother Pelkha dressed like Sekhmakh but wearing a skullcap with diadem and streamers and one uraeus; she shakes the sistrum and performs a libation offering. The iconography closely follows the lunette scenes on 78, and we can also draw the same conclusions as to the assumed original place of the stela in the Gebel Barkal temple (see 78, *Comments*, introduction). The significance of the scene does not require special explanation here (see 78, *Comments*; for the meaning of the sistrum I refer to *Comments* on FHN I, 37). The text accompanying the representation of Pelkha seems to allude to her descent from a king, who is associated here with the "shrine of Rê-Harakhty" (according to Schäfer 1901, 89 this may designate the chapel in which the royal crowns were kept; and he refers to Aspelta's Election Stela, cf. FHN I, 37. See, however, in this volume 78, *Comments* on section 5 of the text). We may perhaps detect here a faint echo of the ancient concept of legitimation by the female line of succession which had still been fully vindicated in the enthronement of Aspelta c. two and a half centuries earlier (see FHN I, 37, *Comments*).

Section 1 (lines 1-4) consists of the dating, the King's titulary, and a eulogy of him. Section 2 (lines 4-11) records Nastaseñ's legitimation in the human sphere; section 3 (lines 12-22) describes the coronation in Napata. In section 4 (lines 22-25) the coronation at Kawa is recorded, while section 5 (lines 25-26) describes the coronation at Pnubs. In section 6 (lines 26-32) the King's return to Napata and rites performed there are recorded, while section 7 (lines 32-33) records a coronation ceremony performed subsequently at Trt. Section 8 (lines 33-39) describes Nastaseñ's return to Napata and a final act in the enthronement process and records donations made to Amûn of Napata. Section 9 (lines 39-46) records the campaign against *Hmbswtñ* and its aftermath. Section 10 (lines

46-67) describes Nastaseñ's subsequent wars against seven different enemies. The final Section 11 (lines 67-68) presents a brief eulogy of Amûn.

The connections between Nastaseñ's Annals and Harsiyotef's stela from Year 35 (see 78), as to composition, style, and conceptual background, are obvious. It seems, however, that the later text, although its author(s) recounted the events of a period of only eight years, had to be based on a rather poor and incomplete archival material for the "historical" part of the narrative. The wars, in contrast to Harsiyotef's campaigns, are undated. The only dates mentioned in connection with the war against *Hmbswtñ* clearly derive from the archive of the temple to which the King made donations from the war booty, and not from the daybooks that recorded the course of the conflict itself. Like these two dates, also the rest of the dates that are recorded in the inscription are connected to events in the temples. It would thus seem that the two main archival sources from which the author(s) of 84 drew their informations, i.e., the temple archives and the daybooks of the royal court, were kept according to different standards.

Section 1. The text is dated to the first month of *pṛt* 9 in Year 8, thus indicating that the erection of the stela coincided with, and was probably part of, the celebration of the anniversary of the King's coronation (for the dates of the enthronement process see below). Here the titulary consists only of the Horus and the Son-of-Rê names; while the Throne name occurs first in section 2, which may be explained as reflecting a different attitude towards the royal titulary prevailing in Nastaseñ's time. Such a development should not necessarily be regarded as a sign of the disappearance of the Egyptian-type five-part titulary and of the concepts connected with it or of an increasing isolation of Kush from Egypt. The lack of Golden Horus and *Nebty* names is characteristic of the titularies of the Persian conquerors (Twenty-Seventh Dynasty); no *Nebty* name is recorded for Nephertites I, no Golden Horus and *Nebty* names for Psamuthis (Twenty-Ninth Dynasty); and while the kings of the Thirtieth Dynasty had full titularies, Khababash assumed only throne- and Son-of-Rê names (cf. Beckerath 1984, XXVIII-XXXI A). The incomplete Egyptian titularies of the period preceding Nastaseñ's reign may perhaps explain the incomplete titularies of Irike-Amannote's successors. Harsiyotef's titulary represents an exception; yet his reign in all probability coincided with the Egyptian Thirtieth Dynasty, and his complete titles might have followed the contemporary Egyptian example as another attempt at counterbalancing his enforced succession. His example was not followed by his successors, for also the rulers of the second Persian occupation had incomplete titularies, until Aktisanes (see (86)) was again confronted with models provided by the full Egyptian titularies of the early Ptolemaic period.

While the titulary itself is incomplete, it is accompanied by a long eulogy of the King of a type encountered in inscriptions of Taharqo (cf. FHN I, 21 1 ff., 22 1 ff.) Tanutamani (28 1 ff.), and Aspelta (38 1 ff.) but which has a, albeit second-

hand, Ramesside flavour (cf. Grimal 1986, 403 ff. and see also FHN I, 21, *Comments* on section 1 of the text) and which, lending him divine adjectives, stresses the King's power as triumphant warlord. Some traditional elements originate, on the other hand, from the repertoire of the Theban and Napatán Amûn cult: the King is, e.g., swift of stride (cf. FHN I, 24 23). Other epithets repeat phrases from the traditional Kushite discourse on the King's rôle as creator, guarantor of universal order and nourisher of mankind (cf. FHN I, 9 14 ff.; 37 15 f. and see Török 1995, Ch. 19.3-19.6). The structure of the eulogy was based on models also used in the time of Irike-Amannote (see 71 4 f. and cf. Grimal 1986, 236 f.). The epithets concerning the King's divine sonship are similarly archaizing: Nastaseñ is son of Isis, like Ramesses II (KRI II, 786.15; Grimal 1986, 158 note 470) and Piye (FHN I, (5) 5, 6).

The opening of section 2 illuminates one of the functions of the monumental royal inscriptions and also gives a precise definition of the genre of their great majority: it announces that in the following "The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, *K3- ϵ nh-R ϵ* , the Son-of-Rê, Lord-of-Two-Lands, Nastaseñ, may he live for ever, *he says*". The text is thus a royal speech (cf. FHN I, 8 1: *P- ϵ nhly dd=f*, "Piye speaks"; see also Bleiberg 1985/86, 10; Török 1995a, note 94) which was destined to be re-recited for the illiterate people by the priests of the temple where the stela was erected in the accessible forecourt.

The legitimation in the human sphere is realized in the course of a journey from Meroe City to Napata. The "Come!" addressed by Amûn of Napata to Nastaseñ may have been the first in a series of oracles received before the arrival at Napata, thus demonstrating that the first phase of the enthronement process, which earlier had been enacted in a "dramatic" form and in which the divine will came to expression through the purposeful interaction of the human vehicles of the divine will (cf. FHN I, 247), is now steered by oracles and omens. This remarkable change in the structure and conceptual basis of the legitimating process seems to have been initiated by Harsiyotef's irregular legitimation where the road to the throne was opened by a solicited oracle and a subsequent *omen* (see 78, *Comments*). The motif of "searching" (for the heir) indicated in lines 5-6 is not oracular, but it does anticipate the god's oracular gesture in "finding" his son and heir (see FHN I, 248). The second oracle is received by Nastaseñ en route to Napata during the night—it is thus a dream, perhaps the result of an *incubatio*—spent at *Isdrst*, an unidentified place on the desert road leading from Meroe City to Napata (cf. Zibelius 1972, 92 f.). The next station is *T-k3* (Zibelius 1972, 182: *T3-q3-t*), the birthplace of Alara (judging by its location opposite Napata on the left bank, it is probably identical with Sanam) where Nastaseñ apparently visited the Temple (of Amûn, Bull of Nubia [cf. PM VII, 198 ff.]?) after (?) which he stayed in a palace on the "starboard side" of the processional avenue (such a topographical context seems to be referred to by the phrase "my left hand..."; cf. O'Connor 1992; Török 1995, note 443). There he received representatives of the "people" who urged him to accept the kingship

for which he is qualified by his divine sonship. It remains unknown, whether he also received an oracle at *T-ḳ*: the association of the place with the founder of the dynasty, Alara, would seem suggestive of such an event.

Section 3 records the first phase of the enthronement rituals in the Amûn temple at Napata. Nastaseñ is received at the temple gate by an acclaiming crowd of grandees and Amûn priests. He enters the temple and proceeds directly—but probably not before undergoing the purification ceremony to which lines 13 f. may allude—to the sanctuary where he receives a “Königsorakel” (see 71, *Comments*) and the kingship of Nubia (the traditional Egyptian term *Tḥ-stl* is employed) from his divine father. Dynastic tradition both in terms of Nastaseñ’s direct political and dynastic ancestry and in the sense of the origins of the Kushite kingship is emphasized in the utterance of the god, who grants the King the crown (i.e., the Kushite skullcap) of Harsiyotef and the power of Alara. The utterance is modelled on a traditional formula also employed in earlier texts, although not in a similarly condensed form but rather as a part of the overall discourse on legitimacy (see Irike-Amannote, 71 12, 54, 114 ff.). Especially as it is rendered in 84, the formula presents a striking view of a continuity anchored in two different forms of the “past” (decidedly at variance with the Egyptian concepts of “close” and “remote” past; cf. Gundlach 1986).

The divine utterance is followed by the emergence of the god from the sanctuary, doubtless on his processional barque, and the public announcement of his decree concerning Nastaseñ’s kingship which is here defined, most remarkably, both in concrete geographical and in mythological terms. While Nubia and Aloa (?) mark the rule over Kush, the Nine Bows, the two banks of the river, and the four corners of the world refer to universal kingship. The special mention of Aloa (Alwah), if *Ḳrt* is correctly identified with the region of Soba in the Khartoum area (cf. Zibelius 1972, 87 f.), is remarkable and may reflect a recent expansion of Kushite control in that region which already seems to have been controlled to an extent by Aspelta (cf. 78, *Comments* on Section 10 of the text). The procession of Amûn is dated IV *ḥt* 1. The date is important: it might occur that the date of the public announcement of the legitimation through “Königsorakel” would be regarded as the date of the appearance as king. That this is not the case will be revealed by a later remark, made in lines 43 f., that Nastaseñ received the crown on the last day of IV *ḥt*. In fact, the enthronement rites at Napata are not concluded with the above-discussed procession. On an unspecified day or days, Nastaseñ subsequently has an intimate encounter with his divine father; he performs a dance before Amen-Rê at a public festival (though the King’s ceremonial *hnhn* dance has ancient Egyptian roots, it does not occur in any earlier Kushite enthronement record; for the dance cf. Brunner-Traut 1985, 226 with notes 7, 8); performs offerings; ceremonially mounts the steps of the “golden throne” in *Ḳpt-swt* (i.e., the Amûn temple at Napata); and is acclaimed. It would seem that the “appearance [as king]”, i.e., the act of *ḥt* (usually translated as “enthronement”, “coronation”, “ascent to the throne”,

"epiphany"; cf. Barta 1979, 532) is identical with the mounting of the steps of the throne and appearing seated on the throne. This act may well have occurred on the last day of IV *šht*. The King leaves Napata only twelve days later, on I *pṛt* 12. Although the day of his arrival at Napata was not precisely recorded (presumably it occurred on the day of the public proclamation of his legitimization by the god on IV *šht* 1), the enthronement rituals must have taken place there during at least the whole fourth month of *šht*. The first twelve days of *pṛt* may have been a period of festival after the "appearance as king" (whereas it may be noted that in Egypt, and presumably in Kush as well, IV *šht* was the period of the Khoiak festival, concluding on IV *šht* 30 with the erection of the *djed*-pillar; on this day was celebrated the burial of the dead Osiris in the Netherworld while I *pṛt* 1 was the feast of Horus' ascent to the throne, cf. Alliot 1954, 561 ff.). This timetable corresponds rather closely with Irike-Amannote's timetable, whose enthronement rites at Napata started on III *šmw* 28 and lasted till I *šht* 9. He too received the crown and the "Königsorakel" on the day of his arrival; and a series of further (undescribed) rites followed in the course of the following fourth month of *šmw*; while the beginning of I *šht* in all probability was filled by the New Year rites. Curiously, we do not find in the record of Nastaseñ's enthronement at Napata any hint at his birthday, which fell—as we shall learn in Section 9—on IV *šht* 26, thus a few days before his "appearance as king".

Section 4. On I *pṛt* 12 the King leaves for Kawa by boat. Arriving at Kawa, he receives a "Königsorakel" from the god who emerges from the sanctuary in his barque. Amûn of Kawa grants Nastaseñ universal kingship, as is especially emphasized in the text, with the same words as did Amûn of Napata, and gives him his mighty bow (this insignia first occurs in Irike-Amannote's enthronement record, see 71 52 and *Comments*). The enthronement ceremonies are concluded with Nastaseñ's appearance on the "golden throne" at Kawa.

In Section 5 the King's undated journey to Pnubs is reported, where Amûn of Pnubs grants him a "Königsorakel" in a similar manner as at Kawa, and gives him his *hṛiḥw* (aegis?, determinative: animal hide). Subsequently, the King appears on the "golden throne".

As recorded in Section 6, Nastaseñ returns from Pnubs to Napata and on II *pṛt* 19 a procession of the Amûn of Napata takes place in the course of which—probably in the framework of a "dialogue" consisting of the King's report on his enthronement at Kawa and Pnubs, his prayer, and an oracular answer of the god—his kingship receives conformation. The rites continue with a *hnhn* dance before the god (cf. above, on Section 3) and the offering of two oxen. After this the King descends to a subterranean room (?) where he spends four days and four nights. As this rite takes place after the King's return from the coronation journey to Kawa and Pnubs, we have reasons to believe that it derived from the Egyptian New Kingdom rite of *smn iḥw*, the "affirming the heir". The same rite took place in the course of Irike-Amannote's enthronement process

at Kawa, after he had been “crowned” at Kawa and Pnubs (see 71 87 ff., and see *Comments* on Section 10 of the text). 71 also informs us that during these four days and four nights the ruler was closeted with the god without any attendants. The scene of the rite at Napata is enigmatic: it is called *wḏi*, a word of unknown meaning (could it derive from *wḏi.t*, the place where the dead meet Amen-Rê in New Kingdom texts? cf. Wb. I, 403). After four days Nastaseñ emerges from the scene of his intimate encounter with his divine father, sacrifices two oxen to him, enters the temple and mounts the steps of the “golden throne”. The “golden throne” was thus in the temple.

This episode is followed (Section 7) by another coronation episode at Trt in the Bastet temple which was also visited by Harsiyotef (see 78 22; for its identification with Radata in the Fourth Cataract area see *ibid.*, *Comments*). The journey to Trt starts on II *pṛt* 24. At Trt Bastet gives to Nastaseñ many years of life, and sucks him (for the rites at Trt see 78, *Comments*). From Trt Nastaseñ returns to Napata (Section 8) where the final episode of the enthronement process takes place on II *pṛt* 29: Amûn of Napata emerges from his sanctuary on his processional barque and reaffirms Nastaseñ’s universal kingship. The King appears once more seated on the “golden throne”. The description of this ceremony concludes with the donation of gardens and a vineyard in Napata and gardens in Meroe to Amûn of Napata, as well as of various incenses, golden statues and temple vessels. A second donation of sacrificial animals and temple vessels is dated to I *šmw* 30, i.e., three months after the final episode of the enthronement.

Section 9 describes the campaign against Kambasawden in Lower Nubia. The problem of Kambasawden’s identity was discussed above in (83) where it was also shown that his identification with the Egyptian usurper Khababash is not sufficiently supported by the evidence. Only so much emerges clearly from the text, that Kambasawden possessed a fleet, which was captured after Nastaseñ’s army—despatched from a place called *Ḏi-ri-t* which Priese identified with ed Dirr between Maharraqa and Qasr Ibrim in Lower Nubia (Priese 1984, 488)—had slaughtered his men. Following the decisive battle, Nastaseñ takes Kambasawden’s land and cattle and makes donations to the temples (?) in *Ti-ri-m-nw.t* and *Si-k3-s3-k3-d3.t* (?) from the possessions of Amûn of Napata, thus indicating thus that these temples (?) had unjustly suffered in the course of the conflict, or that the inhabitants of these places had supported him against the rebels. The donation to the second-named place is dated to the King’s birthday, IV *šḥt* 26. This date and the next date, which introduces the utterance on the donation of the occupied lands to Amûn of Napata, i.e., the reference to the anniversary of the day—the last day of Khoiakh, i.e. IV *šḥt* 30—indicate that the war against Kambasawden was fought towards the end of Year 1. The bulk of the booty, animals, men and women, is donated to Amûn of Napata.

Section 10 records other wars in the period between the end of Year 1 and the date of the erection of the stela in Year 8. Of these, only two can be localized

with some probability. In the course of the campaign against *Irrs* the prince of *Mht*, i.e., Abu Simbel (Zibelius 1972, 86), is taken prisoner; and the opponents in two later conflicts, the *Mdd* or Meded nomads, are known to have lived in the desert E of the Kawa region. In one case Nastaseñ punished them because they looted the Temple of Amûn at Kawa. Another time they came into the possession of some valuables from the treasury of the Bastet temple at Trt; this affair does not seem to have been solved by force of arms but through negotiations (?). The booty collected after each successful campaign is precisely listed. The amounts of gold and cattle are astonishing, but perhaps not entirely impossible, provided that the foes were cattle-breeders whose wealth in cattle had a prestige character, which was perhaps not unlike the wealth in the Kushite kingdom itself.

The text concludes with an epigrammatic utterance (Section 11) on the concept of order in the world, according to which (1) nothing can exist which is not said (?) by Amûn and (2) without Amûn's creative word (?) there would be no nourishment for mankind. Here we discern once more a remote, but distinct echo of the Amûn theology of Third Intermediate Period Egypt as it was adopted by the Kushites (cf. FHN I, 26, *Comments*); if our interpretation of the passage is correct, we also have here a remarkable allusion to the concept of the god's creative word (for its occurrence in Kushite texts cf. Török 1995, Ch. 21).

[LT]

84a Nectanebos II's flight to Aithiopia. 4th cent. BC.

Ephorus in Diodorus Siculus 16.51.1.

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Introduction to source

The historian Ephorus of Cyme (in Aeolis, Asia Minor) is the author of what may be called the earliest Greek universal history, covering the period from after the Trojan war—disregarding the mythical past—down to his own time, ca. 340 BC. The work is known only from the use later writers made of it, in particular the geographer Strabo (on whom see FHN III, 187) and Diodorus Siculus for his books 11-16. On Diodorus in general see 167, for his use of Ephorus in book 16 see Sordi (1969, XII-XXX; Greek text of Diodorus, Book 16, with introduction and notes in Italian).

Text

Τότε δὲ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Βουβάστου παράδοσιν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρεδόθησαν τοῖς Πέρσαις. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μέμφει διατρίβων ὁ βασιλεὺς Νεκτανεβῶς καὶ θεωρῶν τὴν τῶν πόλεων <ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν> ὁρμὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὑποστῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κινδύνους. Ἀπογνοὺς οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλαβὼν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.

Translation

Then, after Boubastos had surrendered, the remaining cities were struck with fear and surrendered to the Persians by common consent. King Nectanebos, however, who spent his time in Memphis watching the cities' eagerness to surrender,¹⁸³ did not dare to risk a battle for his supremacy. Renouncing his kingship, he took the greatest part of his possessions and fled to Aithiopia.

[TE]

Comments

The passage, quoted here from Diodorus' excerpts from Ephorus' universal History, closes a lengthy description of Artaxerxes III's conquest of Egypt in 343 BC. After the invasion of the Delta, Nectanebos II, the last native ruler of Egypt (see, however, (83) and 84, *Comments*, on Khababash) withdrew to Memphis; but after the surrender of Bubastis, he was forced to give up the capital as well and fled to the south. According to Grimal (1992, 380 f.) a document dated to Year 18 of Nectanebos II from Edfu indicates that for a time he was able to establish an independent rule in Upper Egypt; and Grimal also assumes that Khababash was a Lower Nubian prince who, by first giving refuge to Nectanebos and then declaring himself Pharaoh, came into conflict with Nastaseñ. While such a reconstruction of the events is rather clearly contradicted by the evidence (see (83) and 84, *Comments*), Aithiopian support for Nectanebos seems rather likely if one takes into consideration that Ephorus wrote his History in the years around 340 BC.

It must be noted, however, that the motif of the flight of a Pharaoh from foreign invaders to Aithiopia also occurs in connection with Manetho's Amenophis (on this account, Diodorus 16.51.1 was judged irrelevant by Török 1989, 70; Ephorus' trustworthiness was defended, probably correctly, by Burstein 1989a, 225 f.). According to Burstein (*ibid.*), who sees in Manetho's Amenophis story a reflection of the actual events connected with Nectanebos' flight, the reason for the conflict between Nastaseñ and Khababash was that the latter feared Nectanebos' return to Egypt from Nubia with Aithiopian support. This

¹⁸³"To surrender" translates a supplement to the text of the manuscripts made by Fischer (1896), supported by a parallel expression in ch. 54.2. This supplement is also adopted by Sherman (1963).

suggestion depends, again, on the identification Kambasawden-Khababash, which is, however, rather improbable (see (83)).

[LT]

85 Alexander and Queen Candace. Hellenistic period.

Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 3.18; 3.21.1-3; 3.22.2-5, 7-8.

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| Burstein 1989 | S.M. Burstein: <i>SEG</i> 33.802 and the Alexander Romance. <i>ZPE</i> 77, 275 f. |
| Haight 1955 | Pseudo-Callisthenes: <i>The Life of Alexander of Macedon</i> . Trans. & ed. E.H. Haight. New York. |
| Kroll 1926 | <i>Historia Alexandri Magni</i> (Pseudo-Callisthenes). <i>Recensio vetusta</i> . Ed. W. Kroll. Berlin. |
| Merkelbach 1977 | R. Merkelbach: <i>Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans</i> (Zetemata, 9). 2. Aufl. unter Mitwirkung von J. Trumpf. München. |
| Merkelbach 1989 | R. Merkelbach: <i>Der Brief des Dareios im Getty-Museum und Alexanders Wortwechsel mit Parmenion</i> . <i>ZPE</i> 77, 177-280. |
| Reardon 1989 | <i>Collected Ancient Greek Novels</i> . Ed. B.P. Reardon. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London. |
| Snowden 1983 | F.M. Snowden, Jr.: <i>Before Colour Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks</i> . Cambridge, MA-London. |
| Stoneman 1991 | <i>The Greek Alexander Romance</i> (Penguin Classics). Trans. R. Stoneman. Harmondsworth. |
| Stoneman 1994 | R. Stoneman: <i>The Alexander Romance: From History to Fiction</i> . In: J.R. Morgan & R. Stoneman (eds.): <i>Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context</i> . London-New York, 117-129. |
| van Thiel 1974 | <i>Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L</i> (Texte zur Forschung, 13). Hrsg. und übers. von H. van Thiel. Darmstadt. |
| Wolohojian 1969 | <i>The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes</i> . Trans. from the Armenian version by A. M. Wolohojian. New York-London. |

Introduction to source

The Life of Alexander of Macedon (Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ, the title given in some manuscripts) or the *Alexander Romance*, as it is generally called nowadays, is a composition that merits both these designations, but is not adequately characterized by either. Its outer form is that of a biography: it follows

its hero, Alexander the Great (356-323 BC), from conception to burial, and recounts the events of his life in what purports to be the chronological order. On the other hand, what is actually told about him sometimes has little or no relation to historical fact: it is an historical novel, or a heavily romanticized biography, with many imaginative and fantastic accretions to the historical core.

Both authorship and date of composition are unknown. The ancient ascription to the historian Callisthenes, who followed Alexander on his campaign and was executed for alleged treason, is manifestly wrong. The oldest version which we are able to reconstruct on the basis of the surviving Greek manuscripts—called “Recension A”—may be as late as ca. AD 300 (cf. Merkelbach 1977). But certain parts of it no doubt originated already in the decades following Alexander’s death; and some scholars even believe that the main traits of the Romance took form already at that stage, probably in early Hellenistic Alexandria and as a manifestation of Egyptian nationalism (cf. Stoneman 1991 and 1994).

Among the constituent parts are a number of letters to and from Alexander which may have formed an independent novel-in-letters before they were incorporated into the Romance.¹⁸⁴ Be that as it may, while not being authentic, these letters seem to belong to the older material in the Romance, and their contents sometimes to have some claim to historicity. Thus, in the Candace episode, narrated in Book III, Chapters 18-24, the letters in Ch. 18 would seem to be the core, to which was subsequently added a novelistic intrigue in the course of which Alexander actually meets the Queen of Meroe (for a source-critical analysis of the episode, see Merkelbach 1977, 146 f.; cf. also van Thiel 1974, 190 f.). Our extract contains the exchange of letters (Ch. 18) and some descriptive parts of the following narrative (from Chs. 21-22) which may have been culled from the original collection of letters (thus Merkelbach 1977, 146).

Our text and translation are based on W. Kroll’s edition of Rec. A, but exclude most of its supplements. It is true that this recension has obvious lacunas in the text and that the later recensions and the early versions in other languages sometimes exhibit a fuller and more coherent story; but it is difficult to separate original elements from gratuitous supplements, and it seemed best, for the present purpose, to present the oldest version as far as possible in its pure state, only adding in the footnotes some supplements based on the later sources.

Rec. A was translated into English by E. H. Haight (1955). Rec. B is most conveniently available in the edition of MS. L by H. van Thiel, with a parallel German translation; this edition also forms the basis of the English translation by K. Dowden in Reardon (1989, 650-735). The English translation by R. Stone-

¹⁸⁴The amalgamation of this novel-in-letters with the postulated historical narrative source may have taken place earlier than Merkelbach (1977) believed, cf. Burstein (1989); or there may have been some letters of a similar type already in the narrative source, as Merkelbach (1989, 280) suggests.

man (1991) follows mainly Rec. B, but in places incorporates parts from Rec. A and other sources. The translation by A. Wolohojian (1969) renders the Armenian fifth-century version of the Romance.

Text

18 [1] Οὕτως γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει ἐπῆγε τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ τὰ Σεμιράμεως βασιλεία· ἐπιθυμητικῶς γὰρ αὐτὰ εἶχε θεάσασθαι· ἦν γὰρ καθ' ὅλην τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιφήμεστα. (lacuna) [2] Ἐβασίλευε δὲ τῆς πόλεως γυνὴ ἔχουσα κάλλος ὑπερήφανον, μέσης ἡλικίας τυγχάνουσα, Σεμιράμεως τῆς βασιλίδος <ἀπόγονος>. Πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν Ἀλέξανδρος περιέχουσαν οὕτως:

[3] “Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλίσση Κανδάκη τῇ ἐν Μερῳῇ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τυράννοις χαίρειν. Παραγενάμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἱερέων <καὶ>¹⁸⁵ εἶδον ὑμῶν τάφους καὶ οἰκητήρια δηλοῦντα ὅτι χρόνον τινὰ ἐκυριεύσατε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀμμων μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐστράτευσε, μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον πάλιν χρηματίσαντος Ἀμμωνος ἀνελύσατε εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. [4] Διὸ ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ <τὸ> ξόανον τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἀγάγετε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια, ἵνα θύσωμεν αὐτῷ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλεσθε ἔρχεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ, συμμίζαντες ἐν τάχει ἐν Μερῳῇ συμβουλευσώμεθα. Πέμψατε ἡμῖν ἐνθάδε ἃ ἂν φαίνεται.”

[5] Ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Κανδάκη·

“Βασίλισσα Κανδάκη Μερῳῆς καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τύραννοι βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαίρειν. Τότε μὲν ἔχρησεν Ἀμμων στρατεύειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, νῦν δὲ μήτε αὐτὸν κινεῖσθαι μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπιβαίνειν εἰς αὐτήν, τοὺς δὲ παραγινομένους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι καὶ χρῆσθαι ὡς πολεμίοις. [6] Μὴ καταγῶς δὲ τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν· ἐσμέν γὰρ λευκότεροι καὶ λαμπρότεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λευκοτάτων. Ὑπάρχομεν δὲ εἰς πλῆθος σκυτάλαι <π’>¹⁸⁶ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας κακοποιεῖν. Ὅρθῳς δὲ ποιήσεις Ἀμμωνα θεὸν προτιμῶν. [7] Κομίζουσι δέ σοι οἱ παρ’ ἐμοῦ πρέσβεις χρυσᾶς πλίνθους ὀλοσφυρήτους ρ’, Αἰθίοπας ἀνήβους φ’, ψιττακοὺς σ’, σφίγγας σ’ καὶ τῷ Ἀμμωνι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θεῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου στέφανον διὰ σμαράγδων καὶ μαργαριτῶν ἀτρήτων, ἐσφραγισμένους ὀρμαθοὺς ι’ <...> γλωσσοκόμια ἐλεφάντινα π’. [8] ἔστι δὲ τὰ πεμφθέντα θηρίων γένη παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐλέφαντες τν’, παρδάλεις τ’, ῥινοκέρωτες π’, πάνθηρες δ’, ἐν γαλεάγρας κύνες ἀνθρωποφάγοι ρ’, ταῦροι μάχιμοι τ’, ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντων ρ’, δοραὶ παρδάλεων τ’, ῥάβδοι ἐβένινα

¹⁸⁵The transmitted text is obviously defective; the simplest expedient is to insert a conjunction between the two finite verbs, as suggested by Kroll (1926) in his critical apparatus.

¹⁸⁶We hesitantly follow Kroll in accepting the reading found in Rec. B; Rec. A has σκυτάλην only (without a numeral).

αφ'. [9] Πέμψον οὖς βούλῃ τοὺς παραληψομένους ταῦτα εὐθέως καὶ γράψον ἡμῖν, ὅτε ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης κεκυρίευκας." ...

21 [1] ... ὁδεύων δὲ ἐθαύμαζε τὰ ποικίλα ὄρη τῆς κρυσταλλοφόρου τὰ φθάνοντα μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων νεφῶν καὶ τὰ δένδρα τὰ ὑψητέηλα καρπῶν καταγέμοντα, οὐχ ὡς παρ' Ἑλλῆσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἴδια θαύματα. [2] Μηλέαι γὰρ ἦσαν χρυσίζουσαι <...>¹⁸⁷ ὥσπερ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλῆσι κιτρίων, καὶ βότρυες σταφυλῆς, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι δραγμὸν ἓνα χωρῆσαι, καὶ ῥοιαὶ¹⁸⁸ τῶν βαλάνων ἔχουσαι περίμετρον, ὡς πεπόνων μείζονες.¹⁸⁹ [3] Πλεῖστοι δὲ δράκοντες περὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐνείλουντο καὶ σαῦροι ἰχθυόων μείζονες πίθηκοί τε οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντες τῶν παρ' Ἑλλῆσιν ἄρκτων ἄλλα τε ζῶα μυρία ποικίλα τῇ χροῇ καὶ ξένα τῇ μορφῇ. ...

22 [2] Ἐβλεπε δὲ τὰ βασίλεια λάμποντα χρυσορόφοις στέγεσιν καὶ πετρῶδεσι τοίχοις. Στρωματὰ δὲ ἦσαν, σθηρικῆς ὑφάσματα τέχνης, χρυσοῦ δεδημιουργημένα, κλιντήρες δὲ οὐνιώνων¹⁹⁰ καὶ βηρύλλων τὰς βάσεις ἔχοντες. Τὰ δὲ ἀνάκλιντρα ἱμαντοδέτοις κολλήμασιν ἐπτυγμένα τράπεζαί τε ἐλεφαντίνοις ἥλοις ἠλωμένοι ... ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἀριθμεῖσθαι. [3] ἄρματα δὲ δρεπανηφόρα τετορνευμένα ἐκ πορφυρίτου λίθου σὺν τοῖς ἡνιόχοις καὶ πῶλοις, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς δρόμον ὁρμᾶν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου λίθου [χρώματος] γλυφέντες τοῖς ποσὶ συμπατοῦντες τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ταῖς προβοσκίσιν εἰλίσσοντες τοὺς ἀντιδίκους. [4] ὅλοι τε ναοὶ σὺν τοῖς κίοσιν ἐκ μιᾶς ψήφου γεγλυμμένοι, καὶ βαρβάρων θεῶν ἀγάλματα τοῖς ὁρῶσι μετὰ τινος φόβου ἐκφαίνοντα τὴν ὄψιν εἰς τὸ αἵματηρόν, δοκοῖ τε οὐρανομήκεις <εἰς> τὸ ὕψος ἐστεγασμένοι ὅσα πλατάνοι ἢ κυπάρισσοι. [5] κατάρρυτος δὲ ποταμὸς χρυσοῦ φέξ ὕδωρ διαβλύζων, ἄλλο γένος Πακτωλοῦ καὶ † συγκεείμενον δένδρον στιχηρὸν πίπερος ἤκμασεν ὁπώραν. ...

... [7] Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς λαβοῦσα τῆς χειρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον Κανδάκη ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ κοιτῶνας διαυγεῖς ἐξ ἁερίτου λίθου, ὥστε τὸν ἥλιον διὰ τῶν μαρμάρων ὑπονοεῖν ἔνδοθεν ἀνατέλλειν· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τρίκλινος ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἄσηπτα καὶ ἄκαυστα ἀπὸ πυρός. [8] Οἰκία δὲ ὠκοδόμητο οὐ παγεῖσα τὸ θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μεγίστοις τετραγώνοις [καὶ] ξύλοις πηχθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τροχῶν συρομένη ὑπὸ εἴκοσιν ἐλεφάντων· ὅπου δὲ ἐπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς πόλιν πολεμῆσαι, εἰς αὐτὴν κατέμενεν.

¹⁸⁷Lacuna suspected by Kroll to account for the following genitive; its exact location is uncertain.

¹⁸⁸Kroll's correction for κάροια A (but we do not follow him in inserting τὸ before τῶν).

¹⁸⁹πεπόναι μείζονες A, πεπόνων μείζων Kroll, who also suggests that ὡς may be a corruption of τῶν. We prefer to keep μείζονες, as referring to ῥοιαί.

¹⁹⁰Reading suggested by Kroll on the basis of the Armenian version; A has ὀνίων, Müller conjectured (on the basis of Latin versions) ὀνύχων, "of onyx".

Translation

18 [1] After Alexander had written this letter to Aristotle,¹⁹¹ he led his army to Semiramis' palace.¹⁹² He earnestly desired to see it, for it was very famous in the whole country and in Greece. <...>¹⁹³ [2] A woman ruled over the city, she was extremely beautiful, in the prime of life,¹⁹⁴ and <a descendant> of Queen Semiramis.¹⁹⁵ To her Alexander sent a letter with the following contents:

[3] "King Alexander greets Queen Candace of Meroe and the rulers subject to her. When I came to Egypt, I learned from the priests there and saw graves and houses of yours showing that you¹⁹⁶ had ruled over Egypt for some time and that Ammon had gone to war together with you.¹⁹⁷ But after a short time, again at Ammon's oracular bidding, you departed for your own city. [4] That is why I am sending this letter to you: bring Ammon's shrine and image to the frontier, so that we may sacrifice to him. If you do not want to come with him, then let us consult together forthwith in Meroe. Send word to us here what you have decided."

[5] And Candace wrote him back:

"Queen Candace of Meroe and the rulers subject to her greet King Alexander. On that occasion, Ammon proclaimed that we should march against Egypt, but now he tells us not to move him or to let anyone else approach the city. Those who come to us we are to ward off and treat as enemies. [6] Do not despise our colour, for we are whiter and more brilliant in our souls than the

¹⁹¹A long letter on Alexander's adventures in India, 3.17.9-42. The Candace episode is obviously misplaced in the Romance; it belongs logically to Alexander's early visit to Egypt and the Oracle of Ammon (1.30.2-7), but is now placed after his Persian and Indian campaigns (Merkelbach 1977, 146).

¹⁹²The author has confused Semiramis' palace (=Babylon) with that of Candace (= Meroe). It is evident from the following letters that we are not in Mesopotamia, but in a country bordering on Egypt, *i.e.* Aithiopia. It is possible that the confusion has to do with the existence of a Babylon in Egypt as well (cf. LdÄ 1.4, 1973, 592).

¹⁹³There is obviously a lacuna here in Rec. A. The Armenian version, Ch. 225, may give an idea of what originally stood in the text (Merkelbach 1977, 146): "For the city was walled around by natural rocks; it was three stadia long and wide, and it was enclosed by 120 doors. The outside of these doors was decorated with iron and copper, for there was much iron in their land. And the whole city was made up of stone residences" (trans. Wolohojian 1969, 131).

¹⁹⁴The Greek words used here (μέσης ηλικίας τυγχάνουσα) literally mean "being of middle age"; but obviously the connotation is a positive one, which our translation attempts to bring forth.

¹⁹⁵This presentation of Queen Candace is probably defectively transmitted; other versions have more details (her name, that she was a widow, had three children etc.).

¹⁹⁶The corresponding verb is in the plural, so the reference is not to Candace personally, but to "you the Aithiopians" (as it is also in the preceeding pronoun "(of) yours", and further on till the end of the paragraph).

¹⁹⁷Cf. Herodotus 2.29.7 (FHN 56): "They (=the people of Meroe) go to war whenever this god (=Zeus) bids them through oracles, and wherever he bids them."

whitest among your people.¹⁹⁸ We are as much as 80 *skytalai*¹⁹⁹ ready to do harm to those who attack." <...>²⁰⁰

"You will do right to honour Ammon before other gods. [7] My ambassadors are bringing you 100 ingots of solid gold, 500 Aithiopian youths, 200 parrots, 200 apes (*sphinx*),²⁰¹ and for our god Ammon, protector of the Egyptian frontier, a crown of emeralds and unpierced pearls, 10 chains bearing seals <...> 80 ivory caskets. [8] The species of wild beasts sent by us are 350 elephants, 300 leopards, 80 rhinoceroses, 4 panthers,²⁰² 90 man-eating dogs in cages, 300 fighting-bulls, 90 elephant tusks, 300 leopard skins, 1500 staffs of ebony.²⁰³ [9] Send at once whom you want to pick up these gifts, and write to us when you have conquered the world." ...

21 [1] ... On his way (to Meroe) Alexander marvelled at the many-coloured mountains of rock-crystal,²⁰⁴ reaching up to the clouds in the sky, and at the trees with their lofty foliage, laden with fruit. They were not like those of the Greeks, but wonders of their own; [2] for the apple trees glinted gold like the <fruits of> the lemon trees among the Greeks, and there were bunches of grapes that you could not hold in one hand, and pomegranates with the circumference of ...,²⁰⁵ larger than melons. [3] Large numbers of snakes were

¹⁹⁸Snowden (1983, 103) gives this and other examples of a tradition in classical thought that distinguishes between "outer blackness and inner whiteness".

¹⁹⁹The basic meaning of the Greek word σκυτάλη is "staff"; it occurs in various figurative senses, but the one obviously needed here—the designation for a military unit of some kind—is not registered in the standard lexica. Translators put forward various suggestions: "phalanxes" (Haight), "Reiterregimenter" (van Thiel), "squadrons" (Wolohojian, Dowden), "flame-throwers" (Stoneman). The figure 80 is not in MS. A, but in B and other versions.

²⁰⁰Merkelbach (1977, 146) reasonably suggests that Candace's (first) letter ended here. There was then a reply by Alexander, omitted by Pseudo-Callisthenes, in which Alexander stated that Ammon had acknowledged him as his son and prophesized that he would become master of the whole world (cf. the end of Candace's [second] letter). Candace gives in and sends another letter, as follows. Without the supposition of an intervening letter, Candace's change from firm resistance to acquiescence is difficult to explain.

²⁰¹That the word *sphinx* here refers to a kind of ape considered typical of Aithiopia, is evident from other classical authors: Agatharchides fr. 73 Müller, Strabo 16.4.16, Pliny *NH* 8.72, Aelianus *NA* 16.15.

²⁰²The numbers for the various commodities given in the different manuscripts, recensions and versions vary greatly. Here, some editors (including Kroll 1926) prefer to read 4000 panthers instead of 4, which involves only a minute difference in the Greek writing of these numerals.

²⁰³For similar lists of Aithiopian gifts or tributes in classical authors, cf. Herodotus 3.97.3 (FHN 57) and Athenaeus 5.35 (201a).

²⁰⁴Our translation is based on the supposition that the word λίθου "stone" (in the genitive case) is to be understood after τῆς κρυσταλλοφόρου: "of rock-crystal [stone]". Rec. B instead puts in the word γῆς "land", meaning "of the Crystal Country" (thus Stoneman). This may be the original reading, but it seems more probable that it is a trivializing conjecture of some scribe or redactor.

²⁰⁵The Greek text of Rec. A has τῶν βελάνων, "acorns", which obviously does not fit the context; but the whole passage is corrupt (cf. the notes to the text), so this word may be an intrusion or

wrapped around the trees, and (there were) lizards bigger than ichneumons,²⁰⁶ apes no smaller than the bears among the Greeks, and countless other animals of various colours and strange shapes. ...

22 [2] He saw (in Meroe) the palace shining with golden ceilings and stone walls. There were beds with silken covers, wrought in gold, and couches with feet of pearls and beryl. The head-rests were held together with thongs of leather,²⁰⁷ and tables studded with ivory pegs ...²⁰⁸ so that they (*i.e.* the votive statues?) could not be counted because of their great number. [3] There were scythed chariots wrought out of porphyry with their charioteers and horses (represented) so that they seemed to be starting to run, and elephants carved from the same stone, trampling the enemy under foot and twirling their adversaries with their trunks. [4] And there were whole temples carved, columns and all, from a single stone, and statues of barbarous gods with a murderous appearance which inspired a measure of fear in onlookers, and beams roofed over as high up in the sky as plane trees or cypresses. [5] A river was flowing there, gushing forth water mingled with gold, like another Pactolus.²⁰⁹ ...²¹⁰

... [7] The next day Candace took Antigonos (=Alexander) by the hand and showed him translucent bed-chambers made of a diaphanous²¹¹ stone, with the result that one could tell from inside, through the marble, when the sun was rising. And there was a dining hall in there of incorruptible wood, which cannot rot or burn. [8] A house had been built not with its foundation fixed on

corruption—or a deliberate change after καὶ ποτὰ “and pomegranates” had been corrupted into κάποια = κάρυα: “nuts having the circumference of acorns” (but then the following “larger than melons” became absurd). Rec. B has solved the crux in its own way: “nuts having the circumference of melons”.

²⁰⁶On the Herpestes ichneumon or “Pharaosratte”, 65 cm. long and with a tail of 45 cm., see LdÄ 3.1, 1977, 122 f.

²⁰⁷This is an interpretative rendering of what one might translate literally: “were wrapped with bindings of leather thongs”.

²⁰⁸There seems to be a lacuna of some lines here. Again, the Armenian version gives an idea of what may have fallen out in Rec. A: “and there was the offering of work made of turquoise. And the columns were Numidian, the capitals of which were of shiny black Indian wood. And there were votive statues of men made of fine copper; and these could not be counted because of their great number” (trans. Wolohojian 1969, 136). Rec. B at this place also speaks of “countless bronze statues” (Stoneman).

²⁰⁹A river in Ancient Lydia (today Sart Çayı in Western Turkey) which carried a mixture of gold and silver (*elektron*).

²¹⁰The transmitted Greek text gives no coherent meaning at this place. Haight’s rendering (1955, 113) may well capture the general meaning: “There were rows of pepper trees, hung with ripe fruit.”

²¹¹The Greek adjective used here, ἀρίτης, derived from ἀήρ, “air”, obviously denotes a quality opposite to “dense”, *i.e.*, using the appropriate English technical term, “rare” (= “characterized by wide separation of component particles”, Webster); but since the translation “rare stone” might give readers the wrong impression, we have chosen the less literal rendering “diaphanous”.

the ground, but affixed to huge square timbers, and it was drawn on wheels by twenty elephants. Wherever the king went to attack a city, he stayed in this.

[TH]

Comments

According to Agatharchides of Cnidos (see 144), Aithiopia was not penetrated by the Greeks before Ptolemy II. Nevertheless, there existed in Hellenistic literature a tradition concerning the activity of Alexander in Aithiopia, as is indicated by 85, as well as by Lucan, *Phars.*, 10.272 ff., Johannes Lydus, *De mens.*, 4.107 and by Arrian's (*Anab.*, 7.15.4) reference to an Aithiopian embassy to Alexander in 324 BC. On this basis, Burstein suggested that Callisthenes led an expedition to Aithiopia in Alexander's reign (Burstein 1976); this suggestion remains, however, far too hypothetical (cf. Desanges 1978, 247; Desanges 1992, 367; Burstein 1993, 41). Only so much seems certain, that Arrian's data (*Anab.*, 3.2.7) concerning the stationing of an Egyptian frontier force at Elephantine corresponds with reality (cf. also Winnicki 1978, 88).

In view of the presumed date and Alexandrian origin of the Alexander Romance (see *Introduction to source*), it may well be supposed that the occurrence in it of Candace as queen of Meroe goes back to the lost work of Bion of Soloi (see 105, and cf. 106-109); while other details of the "letters" exchanged between Alexander and Candace reflect knowledge of Herodotus' description of Aithiopia (cf. FHN I, 56, 57). Other information, e.g., on Aithiopian gifts and tribute, could have been taken from other, now lost, Hellenistic literary works dealing with Egypt's southern neighbour.

The iconographical and textual evidence (cf. Hofmann 1977a and see (175), (177), (212)) leaves no doubt as to the actual significance of the Kushite word behind the Grecized "Candace": it was a title and not a personal name. Its meaning is, however, debated: the word is usually interpreted as designating the "Queen Mother" or "Mother of the [reigning] King" (Haycock 1965; Wenig 1967; Wenig 1978a; Priese 1978). For lack of sufficient evidence it cannot be decided whether this interpretation should be preferred to Hofmann's suggestion (Hofmann 1977a) that the word *candace* derives from Meroitic *kdis*, *kdite*, *kdiw* (?) "sister" and hence would have meant "[king's] sister" (cf. also Hofmann 1981, 288 f.), or to Millet's idea that Meroitic *k-tke* meant "female (living?) hand", a title that would have been a derivative of an epithet of the Meroitic ruler (Millet 1973, 39 f.; in terms of this hypothesis it would be more logical, however, to trace back the Meroitic title to the title *drt ntr* [*n Imn*], "hand of the god [of Amûn]" of the Theban God's Wife of Amun, cf. Troy 1986, 188 B/32). The first ruling queen of Kush is attested in the late 2nd century BC (see (148), (149)), which also supports the view that the origin of the title *candace* could not have been the title of a ruling queen.

In its general tenor, 85 18 [3] f. recalls the Herodotean topos about the antiquity of the Aithiopians (see FHN I, 61 and cf. 142); but, in more concrete terms,

it is based on the information Herodotus (FHN I, 60, 63) also conveyed about the rule of the Kushite kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt and about the Amûn oracles (cf. FHN I, 56, 59). The description of the land of Meroe in 21 [1] ff. contains information from now lost Hellenistic work(s) describing Aithiopian flora and fauna; while 22 [2]-[8] can be regarded as a novelistic text that also includes minor details of ethnographic origin (such as the head-rests of beds held together with thongs of leather) and exotically exaggerated descriptions of early Hellenistic buildings for royal receptions. The throne (?) room on wheels may go back on the wheeled throne of the Persian rulers described by Herodotus as *diphrophoroumenoi* (Herodotus 3.146; cf. Alföldi 1950, 542); but it may also reflect knowledge about the triumphal procession of Ptolemy II in Alexandria (cf. 144, 145) in which the image of Dionysos, with whom the king was identified, appeared on the back of an elephant in a cart (Athen., Deipn., 5.200) and in which twenty-five elephant-drawn chariots also participated (ibid., 5.200, 202). Most remarkably, in one of the chariots drawn by elephants there was a golden effigy of Alexander flanked by the images of Victory and Athena (ibid., 202).

[LT]

(86) Aktisanes. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: 1. Lost building inscription from Nuri (87); 2. Khartoum 5227, sandstone slab from the forecourt (B 501) of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal with Throne- and Son-of-Rê names, Dunham 1970, 34, Pl. XXXVII; 3. Khartoum 5225, door jamb (?) from Gebel Barkal with Throne- and Son-of-Rê names, Macadam 1947, 93 f.

Titles/documents

	1.
a. Horus name	K3-nḥt Mry-Mṣṣt "Mighty-Bull", "Who-loves-Ma'at"
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	Wr[-mnw m pr it=f Imn] n Npt "[Whose-monuments-]are-great-[in-the-house of-his-father-Amûn-]of-Napata"
c. Golden Horus name	Ṣr s'nhw rḥyw "Who-vivifies-the-rḥyt-people"
d. Throne name	Mn-Mṣṣt-R' Stp.n.-Imn "Rê-is-One-whose-Ma'at-endures", "Chosen- of-Amûn"
e. Son-of-Rê name	G3t3sn

	2.	3.
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.	Mn-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp.n-ꜥmn	Mn-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Stp.n-ꜥmn Mrj-[ꜥmn] "Rê-is-One-whose-Maꜥat-endures", "Chosen-of-Amûn", "Beloved-of-[Amûn]"
e.	Gꜣtꜣsn	Gꜣtꜣ[sn]

Evidence for reign

Owing to a lack of evidence, the time between Nastaseñ (see (83)) and Arkamaniqo (see (114)) is one of the least-known periods of Kushite history. The royal names and titles listed here as belonging into this period are attested on stray blocks and inscription fragments and are, without exception, allotted a place in the relative chronology of the kings of Kush on a hypothetical basis; their sequence is similarly problematic. *Gꜣtꜣsn* is regarded by Goedicke (1972) and Morkot (1991, 216 f.) as a ruler of the period following the Egyptian withdrawal from Nubia at the end of the New Kingdom (cf. FHN I, 1, (2), *Comments*); while Macadam (1947) and Prieše (1977) dated him to the late Napatan or early Meroitic period (i.e., around the 4th-3rd centuries BC). The latter has tentatively identified this king with the Aktisanes of Hecataeus of Abdera (see 88). This suggestion is accepted here because *Gꜣtꜣsn*'s titulary has "Neo-Rameside" elements in a rendering which indicates actual prototypes from the Late Period and the early Ptolemaic period. Both the mention of *Gꜣtꜣsn*—if the identification is correct—in Hecataeus' work and his Horus name, which copies Philip Arrhidaeus' (323-316 BC) Horus name, point to a dating of the King to the last decades of the 4th century BC, and, at the latest, to the period of Ptolemy I's reign; an *ante quem* for the beginning of his reign is provided by 88, which was probably written before ca. 305 BC. Hofmann (1978, 33 ff.), who discussed Meroitic chronology before the publication of Prieše's paper, suggested that King [Aktisanes] *Mn-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Rꜥ* was buried in Bar. 14. Since, in fact, the royal cemetery of Nuri seems indeed to have been closed around the last third of the 4th century BC (the last identifiable royal burial being there Nu. 15, Nastaseñ), *Gꜣtꜣsn*'s burial probably belonged to the earliest royal burials at the Gebel Barkal necropolis and may be suspected to have been in one of the anonymous pyramid tombs in the southern part of the cemetery (cf. Dunham 1957, 22 ff.; Hofmann 1978, 30 ff.).

Comments

Horus names containing the expression *Kꜣ-nḥt Mry-Mꜣꜥt* and an additional epithet occur frequently in Ramesside (Ramesses II, Amenmesse, Siptah: Beckerath 1984, XIX/3, 5, 7) and Third Intermediate period titularies (Siamun, Osorkon II, Takeloth II, Shoshenq III: Beckerath 1984, XXI/6, XXII/5, 6, 7; Bonhême

1987, 88, 151 f., 182, 115 f., respectively); while *K3-nḥt Mry-Mṣrt* stands alone as a Horus name in the titularies of Thutmosis I, Ramesses II, Queen Tewosret, and, in the Third Intermediate Period, Osorkon II and Shoshenq III (Beckerath 1984, XVIII/3, XIX/3, 8, XXII/5, 7; for Osorkon II and Shoshenq III see also Bonhême 1987, 152, 116, respectively). The latter Horus name also appears in a later titulary, which might have served as direct model for *Gtṯsn*'s Horus name; viz., in Philip Arrhidaeus' titulary (Beckerath 1984, Argeaden 2). A similar style is discernible in the throne name of *Gtṯsn*, which originates in one of Ramesses II's throne names (Beckerath 1984, XIX/3 T 9) and was apparently adopted through the mediation of the throne name of Ptolemy I Soter (Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 1). The *Nebty* name is not preserved, though behind the epithets appended to it Priese (1977, 360 ff.) again sees Ramesside prototypes also employed in TIP eulogies. The Golden Horus name similarly contains a list of epithets, suggesting the influence of Ramesside models, the first of which also occurs in TIP titularies and eulogies (cf. Herihor in the Khonsu temple at Karnak: Grimal 1986, 232; Tanutamani in FHN I, 29 14 f.) and could also have been modelled upon Anlamani's *Nebty* name *Sṇḥ-ibw-tṣwy*, "Nourisher-of-the-Hearts-of-Two-Lands (Egypt)" (FHN I, (33)). The whole of the name, however, presents an abbreviated discourse on the King's divine sonship and has, as Priese has shown (1977, 364 ff.), its roots in Kushite documents of the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period; while he also points out early Ptolemaic parallels to the last epithet (Ptolemy IV: "saving shield behind Edfu", Priese 1977, 365 f.; the notion was also closely associated with Amûn in the New Kingdom and the TIP, cf. Grapow 1983, 172).

Apart from 87, no monument is preserved from *Gtṯsn*'s reign. The mention of him in Hecataeus' work (see 88) indicates a contact with early Ptolemaic Egypt which was of a nature that necessitated presenting the Aithiopian king to the Ptolemaic Egyptian public as a positive figure. The Egyptian contact is also indicated by the fine style of 87, as far as one can judge from so small a fragment; and the King's building activity at Gebel Barkal, probably in the great Amûn temple itself, is attested by the same inscription.

[LT]

87 Temple building inscription of Aktisanes from Nuri. Ca. 300 BC.

Priese 1977, figs. 1, 2.

Text and translation

(1) [Ḥṣt-sp x ibd y z sw] 20

(1) [xth regnal year, yth month of zth season,] 20th [day].

ṇḥ ḥm n

(Long) live the majesty of

Hr (2) [K3-nḥt Mry-Mꜣt
Horus: (2) ["Mighty-bull", "Who-loves-Maꜣat",

Nbtj Wr(3)[-mnw-m-pr-ỉ=f-Ỉmn] n Npt
Two-Ladies: "He-whose(3)[-monuments-]are-great[-in-the-House-of-his-father-
Amûn-]of-Napata"

Ws(4)[r rnpwt 3 nḥtw]
Whose-(4)[years-are-]-abun[dant, Whose-victories-are-great],

Rꜥ ms nṯr(5)[w grg tꜣwy
Rê, who gave birth to the gods, (5) [who founded Two-lands (Egypt)],

sh]b r-prw (6) [— ... —] P3-Rꜥ
who makes the temples festive (6) [...] Prê,

ỉr Mꜣ(7)[t n Psdt]
who makes Maꜣ(7)[at for the Ennead],

Hr-nbw ỉr sꜣnḥy rḥy(8)[(t) mỉ ỉt=f Ỉmn
Golden-Horus: "Who vivifies the lapwing-people, (8) [like his father Amûn,

s]wḏ3 ḥm=f ỉw(9)[=f ḏḏ
who safe]guards His Majesty, (even as) (9)[he says,

ỉnk pꜣy]=k ỉt nfr nḥtw=k (10) [— —
"I am yo]ur good father, who protects you (10) [— —

— Ỉst] wrt mwt nṯr pš(11)[(š).tỉ n-ḥr=k
... while Isis], the great, the mother of the God, is spre(11)[ad out upon you,

s3=ỉ prt nṯr](y)t prt m ḥt=ỉ
my son, divi]ne [seed] that is come forth from my body

ỉ(12)[— — — —] ḥ3=k n ỉ[k]mw (13) [— ... —]
"-(12)[...] behind you as a shield (13) [...]"

Nsw-bity nb Tꜣwy nb ḥꜣw
King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Lord of Two-lands (Egypt), lord of diadems,

(14) [— ... —] Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Rꜥ
(14) [...] "Rê-is-one-whose-Maꜣat-endures", "Chosen-of-Amûn",

S3-Rꜥ (15) [— — G-3-tỉ-s-n — —
Son-of-Rê: (15) [— — Aktisanes — —

ir.n=f m] mnw(16)[=f n it=f Imn-Rē
what he made as his (16) [monument for his father Amen-Rē,

nb nswt Tıwy hnt İpt-s]wt hr-ib pı (17) [Dw wıb
lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt), foremost of Karnak, who dwells in
the (17) Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal):

İrt n=f hwt-nıtr mıı m İnr] n bıı [— ... —] n 40 [
making for him a new temple complex of] grit[stone ...] of 40 [...]

[RHP]

Comments

The red sandstone block,²¹² measuring 3.82 m (height) x 0.31 m (width) x 0.20 m (depth), was discovered by the Lepsius expedition on May 31 1844 at Nuri, presumably in the vicinity of Nu. 6; and the relief decoration and inscription on its front was drawn by M. Weidenbach. The block was left at the site and has been seen no more. Weidenbach's unpublished drawing was re-discovered by Karl-Heinz Priese who published it with a detailed and fascinating commentary (Priese 1977).

The block, as drawn by Weidenbach, represents the left half of a jamb-shaped architectural member; the measurements of the fragment also indicate that it was sawn off from a thicker block of stone and used secondarily in this form as building material at Nuri. The text itself, which was inscribed in horizontal lines under a relief representation (showing the human-headed Theban Amûn facing right and wearing a tall feather crown and, on the lost right half of the block, probably the King facing left and standing before the god), leaves no doubt as to the block's original context: it was an inscription erected in some temple building at Napata and commemorated a construction executed during the reign of King Aktisanes (*Gıtsn*). A pendant relief, with the continuation of the text, or another, parallel, text, and showing the King before the ram-headed Amûn of Napata, may be imagined to have existed on a matching door jamb.

[LT]

88 Aktisanes. Ca. 320-305 BC.

Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus Siculus 1.60-61.1. FGrH 264 F25.

Source bibliography

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Texte établi par P. Bertrac et traduit par Y. Vernière.
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²¹²For the regular use of yellow or grey-brown sandstone in the New Kingdom buildings at Napata, as opposed to the red sandstone used for Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and later structures, see Reisner 1931, 76 ff.

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Introduction to source

Hecataeus of Abdera²¹³ (Thrace), ethnographer/historiographer with a philosophical bent, belongs to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. His date is inferred from the information that he was a pupil of the sceptic philosopher Pyrrho, and the statement (Diodorus Siculus 1.46.8) that he was in Egypt (Thebes) during the reign of Ptolemy I.

Hecataeus is reported to have written books *On the Poetry of Homer and Hesiod*, *On the Hyperboreans*, and on the history of Egypt (the title is variously given). None of his works are preserved under his name, but his book on Egypt is believed to be the basis for the greater part of the first book of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothèque* or *World history* (i BC), which deals with the theology (chs. 11-29), geography (30-41) history (42-68), and customs (69-98) of Egypt. The reasons for ascribing Diodorus' sections on Egypt to Hecataeus were first set out in detail by Schwartz (1885), then, with some modifications, in his important RE-article

²¹³ In some ancient sources and modern literature the island of Teos is given as his place of origin. He is to be distinguished from Hecataeus of Miletus, the fore-runner of Herodotus (see FHN I, 56).

on Diodorus (Schwartz 1905). Schwartz, who considered Diodorus an unoriginal and thoughtless compiler, believed practically the whole of Diodorus, Book 1, to be copied (sometimes in abbreviated form) from Hecataeus. He was in the main followed by Jacoby (1912), who in his great collection of Greek historical fragments reproduces virtually the whole of Diodorus 1.10-98 under Hecataeus' name (Jacoby 1940), indicating passages or remarks believed to be insertions by Diodorus himself, cf. also his discussion in the commentary volume (Jacoby 1943, 75-87).

In more recent years there has been a greater appreciation of Diodorus' own contribution to his work, both in style and thought (see 167 for a general introduction to Diodorus); and the theory, widely accepted earlier, of Diodorus' dependence on Hecataeus has been questioned. The shift was introduced by Spoerri (1959), who argued that Diodorus' cosmogony and account of the origin of civilization and religion (chs. 7-13) reflect theories current in Diodorus' time, and that the ascription to Hecataeus is mistaken (but his scepticism with regard to Hecataeus' importance for Diodorus is extended also to the rest of Book 1, see p. 205). Burton (1972) admits the possibility that Diodorus in Book 1 also has used authors considerably later than Hecataeus and that some passages may be his own contribution. Her views are adopted by F. Chamoux's 'Introduction générale' in Bertrac-Vernière (1993, XXVIII f., cf. also Vernière *ibid.* 13 f.). Murray (1970, 144 f., n.6), on the other hand, agrees in the main with Jacoby's conclusions. He points to evidence that Hecataeus' book on Egypt was written between 320 and 315 BC, or before 305 at the latest (143 f.), a date argued further by Murray (1973).

In spite of these uncertainties we give the present text under Hecataeus' name, but caution readers that the accuracy with which Hecataeus is reproduced cannot be determined.

Hecataeus' work on Egypt belongs to the utopian or romantic genre of ethnography and historiography popular in the Hellenistic age (Jacoby 1912, 2755); for the idealizing tendency and elements of Ptolemaic propaganda see further *ibid.* 2760-65, Jacoby (1943), Murray (1970, 166 f.). For a general account of the nature of Hellenistic ethnography see Dihle (1962).

The present text, which precedes the section on Egyptian kingship (chs. 69-73) is from the historical account of the Egyptian kings (42-68). Both these sections are marked by an ethical tendency which Murray (1970) believed to be Hecataeus' own contribution. In addition to Egyptian priestly sources Hecataeus probably also used earlier Greek accounts, notably Herodotus (Murray *ibid.*), in the historical section.

Our text is based on the edition of Bertrac-Vernière (1993).

Text

60 [1] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα συχνοὶ τῶν διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν
τινες οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν ἀναγραφῆς ἄξιον. Πολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον γενεαῖς

Ἄμασις γενόμενος βασιλεὺς ἦρχε τῶν ὄχλων βιαιότερον· πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐτιμωρεῖτο, συχνοὺς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστέρισκε, πᾶσι δ' ὑπεροπτικῶς καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ὑπερηφάνως προσεφέρετο. [2] Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος οἱ πάσχοντες ἐκαρτέρουν, οὐ δυνάμενοι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πλεῖον ἰσχύοντας· ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀκτισάνης ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, τότε τοῦ μίσους καιρὸν λαβόντες ἀπέστησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι. [3] Διόπερ ῥαδίως αὐτοῦ χειρωθέντος ἢ μὲν Αἴγυπτος ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλείαν, ὁ δ' Ἀκτισάνης ἀνθρωπίνως ἐνέγκας τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπεικῶς προσεφέρετο τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις. [4] ὅτε δὴ καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἰδίον τι περὶ τοὺς ληστάς, οὐτε θανατώσας τοὺς ἐνόχους οὐτε ὀλοσχερῶς ἀφείς ἀτιμωρήτους. [5] συναγαγὼν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐν ἐγκλήμασιν ὄντας κακουργίας, καὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν δικαιοτάτην ποιησάμενος, ἤθροισεν ἅπαντας τοὺς καταδεδικασμένους, ἀποτεμὼν δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μυκτῆρας κατώκισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς ἐρήμου, κτίσας πόλιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος τῶν οἰκητόρων Ῥινοκόλουρα προσαγορευθεῖσαν.

[6] Αὕτη δὲ κειμένη πρὸς τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ παρήκοντος αἰγιαλοῦ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην δίαιταν ἀνηκόντων ἐστέρηται. [7] περιέχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν χώρα πλήρης ἄλμυρίδος, ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ τείχους ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὕδωρ ἐν φρέασι, καὶ τοῦτο διεφθαρμένον καὶ παντελῶς τῇ γεύσει πικρόν. [8] Κατώκισε δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ὅπως μήτε τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευθέντας βίους διατηροῦντες λυμαίνωνται τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, μήτε κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμιξίας ἀγνοοῦμενοι λανθάνωσιν.

[9] Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἐκριφέντες εἰς χώραν ἔρημον καὶ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν χρησίμων ἄπορον ἐπενόησαν βίον οἰκεῖον τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνδείας, ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν πάντα μηχανᾶσθαι. [10] Καλάμην γὰρ κείροντες ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας, καὶ ταύτην σχίζοντες, λῖνα παραμήκη κατεσκεύαζον, ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ἰστάντες τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρτύγων ἐποιοῦντο· φέρονται γὰρ οὗτοι κατ' ἀγέλας μείζονας ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους· οὓς θηρεύοντες ἤθροιζον πλῆθος ἱκανὸν εἰς διατροφήν ἑαυτοῖς.

61 [1] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐγγώριον βασιλέα Μένδην, ὃν τινες Μάρρον προσονομάζουσιν.

Translation

60 [1] After this king²¹⁴ a great many of the successors to the throne achieved nothing that deserves to be written down; but many generations later Amasis became king and ruled the people by rather violent means: on many he in

²¹⁴Probably Amenemhat II, see Burton (1972) on 59.1. In Herodotus (2.111) his name is Pheros or Pheron, i.e. Pharaoh.

flicted punishment in transgression of the law, a great number he deprived of their property, and towards all he behaved with contempt and in a generally arrogant manner. [2] Up to a certain point his victims put up with this, being in no way able to defend themselves against those with greater power; but when Aktisanes, the king of the Aithiopians, went to war against him, then the majority took the opportunity of their hatred²¹⁵ and revolted. [3] He was therefore easily vanquished, and Egypt fell under the rule of the Aithiopians. Aktisanes, however, bore his good fortune humanely and treated his subjects fairly. [4] Thus he devised a special way of dealing with robbers in that he neither had the guilty killed nor let them go completely unpunished. [5] For after having assembled from the whole country those who had been accused of a crime and having arranged a completely fair investigation of them, he gathered together all those who had been convicted, had their noses cut off and settled them way out in the desert where he founded a city called Stump-noses (Rhinocoloura) after the fate of the inhabitants.

[6] This city, situated at the border between Egypt and Syria, not far from the seashore that passes along there, is bereft of almost all the necessities of human life. [7] The surrounding country is all saline soil, and inside the walls there is only a little water in wells, and even that is brackish and quite bitter to the taste. [8] He settled them there in order that they should not treat innocent people outrageously by continuing the kind of life they had led formerly and also that they should not pass unnoticed when mingling with other people.²¹⁶

[9] Still, thrown into a desolate country that offered almost nothing that could be of use, they contrived to find a way of life that was adapted to their impoverished environment, as nature forced them to think out all kinds of remedies for their lack of resources. [10] Thus they cut reeds in the neighbouring district, split them, and manufactured long nets;²¹⁷ placing these along the shore for many stades they made catches of quails; for these birds come in from the ocean in great flocks. By hunting these they collected a sufficient amount to feed themselves.

61 [1] When this king died the Egyptians regained their power and made their countryman Mendes king, he whom some call Marrhos.

[TE]

²¹⁵Some editors and translators adopt Dindorf's correction of the participle λαβόντες (nominative plural masculine) to λαβόντος (genitive singular neutre) to make it agree with "hatred". This would give the more natural sense "their hatred seized the opportunity".

²¹⁶The last sentence ("that they should not pass unnoticed") is of course the motive for the mutilation, not for the settling of the offenders in a far-away place. This inaccuracy may indicate that Diodorus was abridging his source.

²¹⁷The Greek word for "nets" used here (λίνα, plur.) is the word for "flax", and for things made out of flax (cord, thread, net, cloth). The nets described were probably made with flax, the split reeds being used for the support or framework of the nets; see *Comments* below.

Comments

The Aithiopian king Aktisanes appears in Hecataeus's story as the opponent of Amasis, the penultimate ruler of the Twenty-Sixth, Saite, Dynasty. Amasis was regarded in Egyptian tradition as a usurper and traditionally described in a hostile manner (Säve-Söderbergh 1946, 69 f.; Meulenaere 1951, 85 ff.; 1973a, 181) ever since Herodotus (2.162, 172 ff.). He also appeared as a hero of tales about bibulous kings (as indicated by Herodotus' story, which was based on several sources also including such tales, cf. Goedicke 1979, 495). No conflict between Egypt and Kush during the reign of Amasis (570-526 BC) is recorded in the preserved evidence; and a Demotic papyrus fragment from 529 BC attests peaceful contacts between the two countries (see FHN I, 51, *Comments*). While Hecataeus seems to follow the literary pattern set by utopian treatises on Aithiopia and especially by Herodotus' "Aithiopian logos" (FHN I, 65) in contrasting a tyrant with a blameless Aithiopian, he may well have used a Kushite royal name known to his contemporaries in order to underline the historicity of his story about Amasis. That the story is chronologically unrealistic is also indicated by its end, where Mendes is made successor of Aktisanes in Egypt (on Hecataeus and his sources see recently Burstein 1992).

The association of Aktisanes with justice is determined by the utopian pattern, and it may seem that the portrayal of Amasis as an abuser of law is included only in order to provide contrast. Curiously, however, Amasis was also known in Egyptian tradition as a law-giver (on his actual law reform see 1953, xvii ff.; Lloyd 1988, 220 ff.): thus Hecataeus or his source(s) either suppressed that tradition here, or followed Herodotus in depicting Amasis' shifting career from the rebellion against his lawful predecessor to the restoration of Egypt to her former grandeur.

The variety of Hecataeus' sources is revealed, however, by the ethnographic detail concerning the "long nets" with which the Stump-noses caught birds. While it cannot be excluded that the description of the nets may have been based on actual information from Aithiopia; the nets themselves seem to have been of the same type as the nets used in Egypt for catching the bird *p^{ert}* (*Coturnix coturnix*, a species of *Phasianidae*, cf. Martin 1986, 1051; Guglielmi 1986). The association of the Stump-noses with such an occupation may indicate an Egyptian source in the background of this passage; for in Egypt bird catchers were, besides always being mentioned together with fishermen (whence perhaps the association of the sea with bird catching in the story), regarded with very little respect (cf. Martin 1986, 1052).

[LT]

(89) **Aryamani. Titles.**

Source: Kawa XIV (91).

- a. Horus name $K_3-n\dot{h}t$ $Mry-R^c$
 "Mighty-Bull, Beloved-of-Rê"
- b. *Nebty* name
- c. Golden Horus name
- d. Throne name $Wsr-M_3^c t-R^c$ $Stp-n-R^c$
 "Rê-is-One-whose-Ma^cat-is-mighty, Chosen-of-Rê"
- e. Son-of-Rê name $S_3 n \dot{I}mn$ $\dot{I}ry-\dot{I}mn$, Epithet: $Mry-\dot{I}mn$
 "Son-of-Amûn, Aryamani"
 Epithet: "Beloved-of-Amûn"

Comments

Like Aktisanes' titulary, Aryamani's titles are of an archaizing character and go back to Ramesside models. Both his Horus and Throne names derive from the titulary of Ramesses II (Beckerath 1984, XIX/3 H 3; T 9-11); but in the TIP $K_3-n\dot{h}t$ $Mry-R^c$ was also adopted as a Horus name by Osorkon I (Beckerath 1984, XXII/2 H 3; Bonhême 1987, 143), while $Wsr-M_3^c t-R^c$ appears without an epithet as the Throne name in the titularies of Amenemope (Beckerath 1984, XXI/4; Bonhême 1987, 78), Osorkon III (Beckerath 1984, XXIII/4; Bonhême 1987, 172 f.), Takeloth III (Beckerath 1984, XXIII/5; Bonhême 1987, 189 f.), and Rudamun (Beckerath 1984, XXIII/6; Bonhême 1987, 202). The frequency of this Throne name in the TIP also explains its adoption by Piye (see FHN I, (5) 2, 3, 10, 13). $Wsr-M_3^c t-R^c$ with the epithet $Stp-n-R^c$ is to be found in the titularies of the Twenty-Second Dynasty kings Shoshenq III and Pimay (Beckerath 1984, XXII/7, 8; Bonhême 1987, 118, 198). The TIP flavour of the Horus and Throne names is also characteristic of the Son-of-Rê name in which the replacement of $S_3 R^c$ with $s_3 \dot{I}mn$ and the epithet $Mry-\dot{I}mn$ written in the cartouche recalls the Son-of-Rê name of the Theban High Priest of Amûn and king Herihor (Bonhême 1987, 32). The above-quoted titularies have, however, also influenced the style of the titles assumed by the early Ptolemies: Alexander the Great, Philippus Arrhidaeus and Ptolemy I Soter were $Stp-n-R^c$ $Mry-\dot{I}mn$ (Beckerath 1984, Argeaden 1 T 1-4; 2 T 1-4; Ptolemäer 1 T 1-3). Aryamani's titulary thus seems to have been composed under the influence of Ramesside prototypes as they were conveyed by TIP—including Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—and early Ptolemaic titles and epithets. Although a TIP date for the whole of the titulary cannot be ruled out, its actual context in 91, i.e. within a text judged to be late or post-Napatan both by Macadam (1949, 78) and Priese (1977, 350), suggests a much later dating.

[LT]

(90) Aryamani. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

The name and titles of King Aryamani are attested in the text of Kawa Stela XIV (cf. (89) and 91) which with its “poor Egyptian” (Macadam 1949, 78) induced a generally accepted dating of this king, together with Aktisanes ((86)-(88)), Kash(...) ((93)), Irike-Piye-qo ((94)) and Sabrakamani ((95), 96) who are likewise associated with Ramesside-type titularies and inscriptions in “poor Egyptian”, to the period around or after Nastaseñ (Macadam 1949 72 ff.; Hintze 1959, 23; Wenig 1967, 42; Priese 1977, passim; Hofmann 1978, 30 ff. etc.). This dating is not accepted, however, by Goedicke and Morkot (see (86)), who regard these kings as rulers of Kush in the “dark period” after the Egyptian withdrawal from Nubia under Ramesses XI. Until new evidence emerges to support this latter view, a late dating appears preferable on account of the Egyptian of their inscriptions and of the early Ptolemaic affinities of their titles.

Aryamani’s filiation and family relations are unknown. On the basis of stylistic and archaeological considerations, Macadam also assigned Kawa XV (92) to Aryamani. If this attribution is correct, the highest attested regnal year of the King is 24. Because this is such a long reign, Wenig (1967, 42) and Hofmann (1978, 35) assigned to him as his burial place Bar. 11, the largest pyramid of the southern section of the Gebel Barkal royal necropolis, a suggestion somewhat better founded than the previous ones made by Dunham (1957, 6: Bar. 14) and Hintze (1959, 23: Bar. 7; 1962, 19: Bar. 15). Macadam also suggested that the uninscribed reliefs of Temple B at Kawa date from Aryamani’s reign (Macadam 1949, 77, 79; Macadam 1955, 20 f.). The iconography and style of these reliefs indicate, however, a dating to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period (cf. Török 1995, Ch. 16).

Years 3-9

Source: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708=91.

Years 9-24

Source: British Museum 1777 (fgm. A), Kawa XV (fgm. B)=92.

[LT]

91 Donation stela of Aryamani, Years 3-9 (Kawa XIV). Early 3rd cent. BC.

From the first court of Temple A at Kawa. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1708. Macadam 1949, Pls. 32-33.

Text and translation

LUNETTE

IN FRONT OF KING, FACING RIGHT (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) nb T3wy Wsr-M3t-R^c Stp-n-R^c

(1) Lord of Two-lands (Egypt), "Strong-is-the-Ma^cat-of-Rê, Chosen-of-Rê",

(2) nb hpš

Imni-r-y

(2) Lord of the scimitar,

Aryamani.

BEHIND KING (reading right to left):

s3 {n} ʿnh {n} h3<=f> m3 R^c nhh dt

The protection of life (be) about <him>, as (it is about) Rê, for ever and ever.

BEFORE THE SEATED FIGURE OF AMEN-RÊ (two (?) columns, reading left to right):

[...] ʿhb-sd¹

[...] ʿsed-festival¹.

IN FRONT OF MUT, STANDING BEHIND AMEN-RÊ

(one column, reading left to right):

dd-ʿmdw¹ (i)n Mwt nbt pt

Utterance by Mut, mistress of heaven.

IN FRONT OF KHONSU, STANDING ON A DAIS BEHIND MUT

(one column, reading left to right):

dd-ʿmdw¹ (i)n Hnsw-m-W3st

Utterance by Khonsu-in-Dominion (Thebes).

MAIN TEXT (seventeen lines, reading from left to right)

(1) [h3]t-sp 3 3bd 1 sw [-]

(1) Third regnal-year, first month of Inundation, [—] day.

ʿnh Hr

K3-nht mr-R^c

(Long) live Horus: "Strong-bull, beloved-of-Rê",

Nbty ʿ—¹[...]

Two-ladies: ʿ—¹[...]

[Nsw-bity ...]

[King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: ...]

S3-n-Imn

Imni-r-y

Son-of-Amûn: [A]ryam[ani],

ḥnh wḏḥ snb ḏd wḥs
may he live, be prosperous, be healthy, endure, and exercise dominion,

mī Rḥ ḏt
as Rê (does), for ever.

(2) i ḥmn-Rḥ Gm-(pḥ-)ḥtn
(2) O Amen-Rê of Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),

ḥnk pḥy=k ḥbḥk
I am your 'servant'

[— — p]ḥy=k ḥḥprw=k
[— — y]our creations of you,

pḥy=k mnḥw (3) nfr
your good (3) shepherd

nḥy=k mnḥḥ ḥmn ḥr — — ḥyḥsḥ [— — —] ḥ — ḥ ḥḥ wr ḥps
your 'excellence ...' very great, noble,

i ḥmn-Rḥ Gm-(pḥ-)ḥtn
O Amen-Rê of Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),

ḏi(=i) n=k ḥ ḥn mḥwḥ pḥ pr ḥryt
(I) gave to you the ḥ — ḥ the house of ḥ(cultic) action'

(4) ḥw ḥy=k ḥ ... ḥ
(4) your ḥ — ḥ being ḥ ... ḥ

ḏi(=i) n=k n ḥbh
(I) gave to you ḥ — ḥ

r ḥr n=k ḥ — ḥ ḥm=s
in order to make for you ḥ — ḥ in it,

r ḏbh ḥnh wḏḥ snb m-ḥ=k
in order to pray for life, prosperity, and health from you.

ḏi(=i) n=k ḥ — — (5) — — ḥ
I gave to you ḥ — — (5) — — ḥ

mtw=k pḥ [— — —]ḥ — — — ḥ
yours (is) the [— — —]ḥ — — — ḥ

šꜥ mtw=k di <n=i> ḥꜣy (n) pꜣ Tꜣ-Nḥsy
 'until' you gave <to me> the headcloth of Nubian-land.

(6) 'pꜣ=k — — — '
 (6) 'your — — — '

ī Imn-Rꜥ (n) Gm-(pꜣ-)Itn
 O Amen-Rê (of) Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa)

' — ' [— — —] 'pꜣ dd ī.īr n=k dhꜣntiꜣ'
 ' — ' [— — —] 'the statement that ' — ' made for you

īmy ptr'<=i>' pꜣ(7)'y=k' ḥꜣr
 Let '<me>' behold (7) 'your' face.

bw ḥꜣr wdn n=k pꜣ 3 'ḥꜣw'
 'Is it not a fact that the 3 'oxen' are offered to you?'

' — '[— ... —]' — ḥꜣw dit mn=w sk'[-]'sw' 9
 '...'

šꜥ <m> ḥꜣt rnpt <r> pḥ rnpt
 starting <from> the beginning of the year <until> the end of the year

mtw nb n pꜣ [—] (8) ['nḥ] wdꜣ snb 'ḥꜥ 'ꜣw'
 'and the lord of the' [—] (8) [life], prosperity, health, (and) long life.

ntk pꜣ nsyt [— ... —]' — 'īm [—]' — — —]
 Yours is the kingship [...]

ī Imn-Rꜥ nb ' - Gm-(pꜣ-)Itn'
 O Amen-Rê, Lord 'of Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),'

di.n(=i) n=k [—] (9) [-]' — ' 6 'pꜣ' [—]' — '
 I gave you [—] (9) [-]' — ' 6 ' - ' [—]' — '

šꜥ <m> ḥꜣt rnpt <r> pḥ rnpt
 starting <from> the beginning of the year <until> the end of the year

'īr n - ḥꜣb' [— ... —]' — — — 'nfr wr šꜣs
 'make festival' [— ... —]' — — — 'very beautiful and noble.

'tw=k dit nt pꜣy=w — ' 'nḥ wdꜣ snb
 '... ' life, prosperity, and health

(10) ' — 'm' — — ḥt i wdn — ' [— — —] ' — ' ḥnh wdḥ snb 'ḥḥ' [ḥw]
 (10) ' ... ' life, prosperity, health, '(and) [long] life'.

[— ... —] ' — — ' ḥt-sp 21 ḥbd 2 (11) ḥt sw 19
 [...] ' — — ' 21st regnal year, second month (11) of Inundation, 19th day,

ḥw=i dī 'mh' n=k ḥnkt 10
 I causing to be given to you beer, 10 jugs;

'hr pḥ — 6' [šḥ <m> ḥt rnpt <r>] pḥ rnpt
 ' ... ' [starting <from> the beginning of the year] <until> the end of the year,

mtw=k dī n=i ḥnh wdḥ snb 'ḥḥ' [ḥw — — —]
 and you gave to me life, prosperity, health, and 'a [long] life [...]

ḥi nbt i. [—] (12) šḥ <m> ḥt rnpt <r> pḥ rnpt
 every ' — ' which [—] (12) starting <from> the beginning of the year] <until>
 the end of the year.

'dī(=i)' n=k ḥd nmst 2 n ḥr n ḥnkt
 '(I)' gave to you silver, 2 *nemeset*-vessels, for making beer

' — ' [— ... —] kī nsy(t) 'm-ḥ=k'
 ' — ' [...] lofty 'of' kingship 'from you'.

(13) dī(=i) n=k nmms(t) 1
 (13) (I) gave you a *nemeset*-vase.

ḥt-sp 8t (n) pḥ nsw 'sḥ Rḥ n ḥt=f' 'Imnī-r-y [— ... —]
 Eighth regnal year of the king, the Son-of-Rê of his body, Aryamani [...]

' — ' kḥ 2 ' — 80' [— —]
 ' — ' two bulls, ' — ' 80 [— —]

dī(=i) n=k ' — — '
 (I) gave you ' — — '

ḥt-sp 9t [—]
 Ninth regnal year [—]

There are the remains of four more lines (14-17), but these contain only the barest traces of writing and not a single word that can be identified with assurance.

Note to the translation

In Macadam's *editio princeps* (1949, 78), he declared this text to be largely unintelligible; and the present translation reflects a similar assessment. Macadam attributed this state of affairs to the author of the text having been a native speaker of Meroitic "whose knowledge of Egyptian was poor, and whose script poorer" (loc. cit.). Strictly speaking, we do not know whether the author and the person who actually wrote the text on the stela were the same or, if not, how much control the author may have exercised on the work of the writer. I suspect that some of our problems arise from the fact that the text was written in a cursive hand, the signs of which were difficult to transcribe into hieroglyphs. In the present case, the author's text may well have been quite intelligible before it passed through the hieroglyphic filter onto the stone.

[RHP]

Comments

This partly preserved sandstone stela (1.61 x 1.3 x 0.21 m, with its lower portion missing) was found lying on its face on the floor of the first court of Temple A, between the W wall of the court and the W column row where it was secondarily used as part of a floor built around the 1st century BC (cf. Macadam 1955, Pl. 21). Its original place is unknown. The round-topped stela is inscribed, under a lunette scene in flat raised relief, in horizontal lines with an Egyptian text judged by Macadam "barbaric" (1949, 76). From the originally c. 20 lines of the text (see Macadam 1949, 76 f. on the condition of the stela when discovered, and on its subsequent breaking) 13 are preserved to various extents.

The top of the stela is bounded by the winged sundisc. The scene in the lunette represents an enthroned human-headed Amûn of Thebes facing left. The god wears a tall plumed crown with sundisc and streamer. Behind him stand Mut, wearing the Double Crown of Egypt, and Khonsu. In front of each member of the Theban triad is an offering stand with a libation vase and a lotus flower. The King stands, facing right, before the deities and offers them incense. He wears a Kushite skullcap-crown (apparently without a diadem, uraei and streamers) and a bell-shaped skirt with a sash tied in front²¹⁸ and an animal tail suspended from his belt; he also wears sandals. Above his head and cartouches hovers a vulture. Between the King and Amûn three sacrificed oxen are represented. The names of the King and the gods are incised on rectangular raised tablets which are, as remarked by Macadam (1949, 76), similar to those in funerary chapel reliefs in the royal cemetery of Beg. N. at Meroe. The whole of the scene seems to bear the influence of mortuary offering scenes.

²¹⁸As observed by Macadam 1949, 77, the dress is similar to the royal dress represented on the E and W walls of the sanctuary of Temple B at Kawa, see Macadam 1955, Pl. VII; for the dating of these reliefs to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period and a discussion of them see Török 1995, Ch. 16.

The text is partly incised and partly executed in sunk relief. It starts with a dating to Year 3 and the King's protocol (see (89)) and with a prayer to, or eulogy of, Amen-Rê of Kawa, which renders the lunette scene with the representation of Amûn of Thebes somewhat curious. The preserved epithets of Amûn recall FHN I, 25 5; in this volume 71 20 and, on the whole, are indebted to earlier Kushite texts (for the "good shepherd" cf. FHN I, *Comments* on 37 4 f.). The rest of the inscription records building activities, among them the erection or restoration of a "house of [cultic] action" which Macadam (1949, 79) identifies, probably wrongly, with Temple B. It may be noted that the expression used to denote the temple (cf. Macadam 1949, 79 ad line 4, with reference to Wb. V 25 [1]) seems to have been used only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which gives further support to our late dating of Aryamani. In line 13 a Year 8 and a Year 9 can be read. Like FHN I, 24 represents a continuation of Kawa III (Macadam 1949, 4 ff., Pls. 5-6), i.e., of the record of the donations of Taharqo made between Years 2 and 8, 91 is continued by a new stela erected around Year 24 (92).

[LT]

92 Fragments of a stela of Aryamani, Years 9-24 (?) (Kawa XV). Early 3rd cent. BC.

From the first court of Temple A at Kawa. Fragment A: British Museum 1777 (in two fragments); Fragment B: left at the site (in two pieces). Macadam 1949, Pl. 34.

Text and translation

FRAGMENT A (six columns, reading from right to left):

(1) [...] 'k3 3' [...]

(1) [...] 'three bulls' [...] (traces of numbers)

'mtw=k dît n=î' 'nh wḏḥ snb

'and you give me' life, prosperity and health.

n ḥt-sp [

in regnal-year [...

(2) [...] '13' n šbd 4 šht sw 26

(2) [...] '13' in the fourth month of Inundation, 26th day:

'ḥ3 100 — — '

'100 lotuses, — — '

ʔdʒ¹-wʔb 4¹

ʔtsha¹-waab-oxen, 4 (head);

ʔdʒ¹-wʔb 7

ʔtsha¹-waab-oxen, 7 (head);

hnkt 14

beer, 14 (jugs).

ʒbd 2 ʔprt¹ sw 29

Second month of ʔWinter¹, 29th day:

ʔdʒ¹-wʔb 7

ʔtsha¹-waab-oxen, 7 (head);

hnkt [...

beer, [...

(3) [...]

(3) [...]

ʒbd 4 prt sw 29

Fourth month of Winter, 29th day:

ʔdʒ 5¹

ʔtsha-oxen, 5 (head)¹;

hnkt ʔ14¹

beer, ʔ14¹ (jugs);

ʒbd 2 ʒmw sw 21

Second month of Summer, 21st day:

ʔdɪ=ɪ n=k¹

ʔI gave you¹

nbw [—]

gold, [—];

dʒ¹-wʔb 7

tsha-waab-oxen, 7 (head);

hnkt ʔ14¹

beer, ʔ14¹ (jugs);

mtw=k dlt n=i 'nh wq: snb
and you gave me life, prosperity, and health.

šbd 2 šmw (sw) 28
Second month of Summer, 28th day:

[...] (4) [...]
[...] (4) [...]

šbd 3 [šmw] sw [—]
Third month of [Summer], [—] day:

ṛdš'-w'ḃ 5
ṛtsha'-waab-oxen, 5 (head);

ḥnkt ṛ14'
beer, ṛ14' (jugs);

ṛ — '
ṛ — '

ṛdš'-w'ḃ 5
ṛtsha'-waab-oxen, 5 (head);

ḥnkt ṛ14'
beer, ṛ14' (jugs);

ḥt-sp ṛ23'
ṛTwenty-third' regnal-year:

šbd 1 šht sw <1>
First month of Inundation, <1st> day:

p(š) ḥb n 'Imn (n) ṛGm-p;-ṛtn'.
The festival of Amûn of ṛFinding-the-Aton (Kawa)ṛ.

šbd 2 šht sw 28
Second month of Inundation, 28th day:

rnn 20
calves, 20 (head);

ṛ — ' 6
ṛ — ', 6;

ʿkʰ [...] (5) [...]
ʿbull(s)ʰ, [...] (5) [...]

šbd 2 šht sw 9
Second month of Inundation, day 9:

ʿkʰ nʰ p(ʰ) ḥb
ʿbulls forʰ the festival:

ʿ — ʰ 23
ʿ — -oxenʰ, 23 (head);

ʿkʰ 26
ʿbullsʰ, 26 (head);

mtw=k dīt nʿ=ī ʿnh wḏḏ snbʰ
and you shall give ʿme life, prosperity and healthʰ

[— —] ʿ — — ʰ [... (6) ...]
[— —] ʿ — — ʰ [... (6) ...]

FRAGMENT B (four columns and eight lines, reading from right to left):

COLUMNS:

(1) [... mtw=]ʿk dīt nʿ=ī ʿnh wḏḏ snb.
(1) and you shall give ʿme life, prosperity and healthʰ

(2) [... dī]ʿ=ī n=k nbw ʿ — ʰ
(2) [...] ʿTʰ [give] to you gold, ʿ — ʰ

(3) [...] ʿ — — ʰ
(3) [...] ʿ — — ʰ

(4) [...] ʿ — ʰ
(4) [...] ʿ — ʰ

LINES:

(5) ...] ʿ — — ʰ nb ʿkʰwʰ [...
(5) ...] ʿ — — ʰ all, ʿbullsʰ [...

(6) – (12) (barest traces of numbers)
(6) – (12) (untranslatable traces)

Note to the translation

With regard to the significance of these texts Macadam (1949, 81), who first edited them, remarks, "Barbarous and unsightly as these inscriptions are, they are unique of their kind and represent the only examples of Sudanese Egyptian so far known from their period. The Barkal pyramids of the kings of this age are uninscribed. The sanctuary of Temple B at Gematen, which we believe to be of the same date, while it is covered with reliefs, provides nothing in the way of inscription beyond a few name-labels ... "

[RHP]

Comments

This deep red sandstone stela was found in pieces in the SE corner of the fore-court of Temple A. It originally measured ca. 1.47 x 1.08 x 0.29 m, and was clumsily inscribed with an Egyptian hieroglyphic text in columns (fgm. A) and in columns and lines (fgm. B). Macadam (1949, 80), judging **92** by its style, attributed it to King Aryamani, which also seems to be supported by the contents of the text, which apparently records royal offerings and donations between Year 9 (?) and Year 23 (?). The structure of the preserved text is simple: the individual sections repeat the same formula: 1. date; 2. destination: donation to Amûn; 3. the donation; 4. purpose of the donation: the god is expected to give the King life, prosperity, and health. The formula is an utterly reduced discourse on the concept of reciprocity between god and king. According to line 4, the Feast of Amûn of Kawa was celebrated on I *šyt* 1, thus indicating that the tradition of the inauguration of the Amûn temple (Temple T) of Kawa at the New Year, i.e., on the first day of the first month of the season of Inundation in ca. 680 BC (see FHN I, **25** 1 ff.), was reverently maintained.

[LT]

(93) Kash(...). Evidence for reign.

King Kash(...) is attested by a fragmentary cartouche impressed on a gold leaf (length ca. 7 cm) belonging originally to a wooden casket (?) and discovered in Temple A at Kawa (Macadam 1949, 90, Pls 35, 38). The cartouche probably enclosed the King's Son-of-Rê name, which is only partly legible, and the epithet *Mry-Imn*. This name type suggests a dating of this otherwise completely unknown ruler to the period between Aktisanes (cf. **(86)**) and Sabrakamani (cf. **(95)**). The attempts that have been made to assign a burial place to Kash(...) are not supported by any evidence (Hintze 1962, 19: Bar. 7; Hofmann 1978, 66 [regarding the name as belonging to a queen]: Bar. 8; Török 1988, 178: Bar. 15).

[LT]

(94) Irike-Piye-qo. Evidence for reign.

King Irike-Piye-qo is attested in an inscription erected by his successor Sabrakamani (Kawa XIII, see 96). His filiation and family relations are unknown. The name contains the components *Piye*, written as the name of his great predecessor (see FHN I, (5)) and meaning perhaps "king" in later Kushite usage,²¹⁹ and *Irike*, which in Meroitic (*yerike*) has the meaning "begotten of". Accordingly, following Macadam's suggestion (*ibid.*), Irike-Piye may be interpreted as "Begotten of the King". The name is complemented with the element *-qo*, which occurs in a great number of Kushite royal names as well as in the preserved non-royal name material of the Meroitic period (for the evidence, and the grammatical ambiguities connected with the use of *-qo* as a suffix see Hofmann 1981, 52 ff.). Its meaning is obscure.

As a consequence of the dating of Sabrakamani's inscription to the first half of the 3rd century BC (see (90)), his predecessor Irike-Piye-qo is allotted an approximate date in the early 3rd century BC. His burial place is unknown. In the literature various graves in the Gebel Barkal necropolis have been associated with him (Dunham 1957, 6: Bar. 18; Hintze 1959, 23 and Hofmann 1978, 35: Bar. 15; Hintze 1962, 19: Bar. 11; Wenig 1967, 42: Bar. 14); all these attributions are, however, mere guesswork.

[LT]

(95) Sabrakamani. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Source: Kawa XIII (96).

Throne name	H ^c -m-[N]p(t) "Appearing-in-Napata"
Son-of-Rê name	Sbrk-Imn

Evidence for reign

Sabrakamani's reign is attested only by his Kawa inscription (96) which belongs to a small group of texts from Kawa generally dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC (cf. (90)). He has a place in the relative chronology of the rulers only insofar as he mentions his predecessor Irike-Piye-qo (see (94)) in his inscription. The suggestions concerning his burial place are completely hypothetical (Dunham 1957, 6: Bar. 7; Hintze 1959, 23: Bar. 18; Hintze 1962, 19: Bar. 14; Wenig 1967, 42: Bar. 15; Hofmann 1978, 68 and Török 1988, 178: Bar. 7).

²¹⁹Cf. Macadam 1949, 73; for names of Kushite queens consisting of the element *Pj* see Leclant 1982, 1047 f. note 1.

Comments

Sabrakamani's Throne name was apparently modelled on the Horus name assumed first by Piye on his ascent to the throne in Napata (FHN I, (5) 1a) and imitated centuries later by Harsiyotef ((76) 1a) and, in an extended form, by Nastaseñ ((82) 1a). The notion "appearance as king" as the basis for a Throne name is completely unusual (in connection with Rê [e.g., *H^cy-nfr-R^c*], however, it occurred in some Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period throne names, cf. Beckerath 1984, V/5, XIII/24, XIV/25 [?]); and it may reflect a certain ignorance on the part of the creator(s) of Sabrakamani's titulary as to the traditions and conceptual background of the royal titulary.

[LT]

96 Inscription of Sabrakamani (Kawa XIII). First half of the 3rd cent. BC.

Kawa, Amûn temple (Temple T), doorway between the First Court and Hypo-style Hall, S face of N side of passage. Macadam 1949, Pls. 27, 31.

Text and translation

(1) [...] ^r — — — — — ¹ hm=f [...

(1) [...] ^r — — — — — ¹ His Majesty [...

(2) [... hw]n nfr <bnr> mwrt

(2) [...] a beautiful [you]th, whose love <is sweet>,

m [h]wn m¹ rnpwt 3^r9¹ [— —]

being ^ra [y]outh of¹ 3^r9¹ years, [— —]

(3) [...]

(3) [...]

^rm s¹ ¹I[mn]¹ P-(^cnh)-i-r-k-k m¹ h^c hrw

^rnamely the son of¹ A[mûn] Pi(ankhi)-yerike-qo, justified,

m [h]nw ^ch{pn}=f [—]

in {this} his palace. [—]

dd.in ^r—¹ (4) [...]

Then said ^r—¹ (4) [...],

nb=n ^rpw¹ S¹-R^c ¹Imn-s-b¹-r-k ^cnh dt mr [—] ^r—¹

Our lord ^rhe is¹, the Son-of-Rê, Sabrakamani, may he live for ever, ^rbeloved of¹ [—] ^r—¹

(5) [...] ^r—¹-k¹-i mr [— —]

(5) [...] ^r—¹-ka-i, beloved of [— —]

ʿrh.n kyʿ [—] ʿinʿ Sṣ-Rṣ ʿImn-s-bṣ-r-kʿ
 'knew another' [—] 'by' the Son-of-Rê 'Sabrakamani'

(6) [...] rmt nb s 39

(6) [...] every man, 39 men,

idl(=i) ḥwt nb wp-st Š;ʿ —
 (and) (I) give all lands; specification thereof: Shaʿ —

(7) [...] n pr-nsw [...]

(7) [...] of the palace [...]

(8) [... ʿImn-]Rṣ (n) Gm-(pṣ)-ʿItnʿ [...]

(8) [... Amen-]Rê of Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa) [...]

(9) [...] ʿ — — — — ʿ dbn 12 ʿ — — —

(9) [...] ʿ — — — — ʿ 12 *deben*-weight ʿ — — —

(10) [...] ʿ — ḥ 4318 n ʿPsdtʿ

(10) [...] ʿ — ʿ 4,318 *kha*ʿ for the 'Ennead'

(11) [...] ʿ — ʿ nb nt ʿpr nʿ Gm-ʿItn Pr-nbs [—]

(11) [...] ʿ — ʿ every of the 'temple of' Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa) and Pnubs [—]

(12) [...] ʿkṯ nʿ Nsw-[bṯy] Ḥ-m-[N]p(t)

(12) [...] 'long for' the King-of-Upper-[and-Lower-Egypt]: "He-who-appears-in-[Na]pata",

Sṣ-Rṣ ʿImn-ʿ[ṣ-bṣ-r-k]
 the Son-of-Rê: [Sabrak]ʿamani'

(13) [...]

(13) [...]

[RHP]

Comments

The text was incised in vertical columns above the two donation texts of Irike-Amannote Kawa X (72) and XI (73). As observed by Macadam (1949, 74), its position seems to indicate a date later than Kawa X and XI, for it occupies a much less convenient place than the latter, which were written at arm level. At the time of discovery some red paint was still preserved in the dividing lines (Macadam 1949, 72). To judge by the contents of columns 1 and 2 and by the position of col. 13, beyond which there is no more space on the surface of the wall of the passage, the inscription originally consisted of only 13 columns.

The structure of the inscription was probably similar to that of Kawa IX (71), as to its introductory part, consisting of a dating, a condensed description of Sabrakamani's legitimation in the human sphere and of his enthronement at Kawa (?); this introduction is followed by a list of donations. The text seems to have closed with an utterance concerning Amûn of Kawa (and Pnubs?) granting universal kingship to Sabrakamani in return for his gifts.

In col. 1 there is no space for a five-part titulary, only for a dating and Sabrakamani's Throne and Son-of-Rê names; col. 2 seems to have contained an introductory sentence similar to that in col. 3 of 71: "Now it happened in the time of His Majesty that His Majesty was sitting among the king's brothers", for the continuation, i.e., the statements concerning the king's age at the time of his predecessor's death, and the death of the predecessor in his palace, are identical in the two texts. Instead, however, of a detailed narrative as in 71, the Sabrakamani inscription continues with a very brief description of his legitimation. Since the text is much destroyed from col. 6 onwards, no analysis of these sections can be presented; we may note, however, the virtual conformity of the procedure as it might have been summarized in 96 with the practice as rendered, though in greater detail, in 71.

[LT]

97 An Aithiopian attack on Elephantine. Papyrus letter. 3rd cent. BC.
SB I 5111, III 6134.

Source bibliography

Bevan 1968

E. Bevan: *The House of Ptolemy: A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. Chicago. [Revised reissue of the 1927 edition.]

Sachau 1911

E. Sachau: *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*. Leipzig.

Introduction to source

This letter to Ptolemy II is preserved on a fragmentary papyrus (Sachau 1911, No. 48 + Pl. 39) found in Elephantine and dated by W. Schubart on paleographical grounds to the first half of the 3rd century BC. We reproduce the text as it is presented in Sachau (and in SB), with one exception mentioned in a footnote to the translation.

There is an English translation, with brief comments, in Bevan (1968, 77).

Text

- 1 [Βα]σιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. Περταῖος Ἀρνού[φιος ...]
- 2 [..]φ..[..] κατέβησαν Αἰθίοπες καὶ ἐ[πολιόρκ]ησαν ...]
- 3 [.....] φρακτεύω ἐγὼ καὶ δύο ἄδελφοὶ στ[αθμόν(?) ...]
- 4 [.....]σ[.]ν ἐπὶ βοήθειαν καὶ ἀνείλομεν[...].

Translation

- 1 To [Ki]ng Ptolemy, greeting. Pertaioi, son of Arnou[phis ...]
- 2 [...] the Aithiopians came down an[d l]aid sieg[e to ...]
- 3 [...] I, together with two brothers, am constructing defences [...]²²⁰
- 4 [...] to the rescue and we killed (?)²²¹ [...]

[TH]

Comments

On the basis of the dating of the papyrus to the first half of the 3rd century BC (see *Introduction to source*), the letter is associated (Bevan 1927, 77) with the large-scale and highly successful Aithiopian expedition of Ptolemy II around 274 BC mentioned by Theocritus (Id. 17, 87) and Agatharchides (in Diodorus, 1,37.5=144; for the great triumphal procession of Ptolemy at Alexandria after the war see Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, 197 ff.; Rice 1983). It may also be interpreted as indicating that the fortification of Elephantine was insufficient in the period it refers to (for the archaeological evidence of the Late Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman city walls see Kaiser et al. 1982, 274, fig. 1). It would be mistaken, however, to identify the conflict hinted at in 97 as the reason for Ptolemy II's Aithiopian campaign or to see the whole reason for it in frontier skirmishes even if the pretext—in line with the ancient tradition of *bellum iustum*—for the military action was Kushite activity in the frontier region (the propagandistic explanation survives in Book I of Agatharchides' "On the Erythraean Sea", F 17, see Burstein 1986, 17; 1989, 51; 1993, 42). It would seem that Kush reacted to the news of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great and the changes in Egypt during the first decades of the new rule by strengthening her position in Lower Nubia and with incursions into Egyptian territory. A punitive action directed against Nubia already around 319/8 BC by Ptolemy I seems to be referred to in the Satrap Stela (Urk. II, 11 ff., Huss 1994, 93 f.).

While it may well also have included the pacification of the frontier area after a century of Kushite expansion towards the north (cf. (77), (83)) and possibly also have been intended to curb the tendency of Upper Egyptian "nationalists", to avail themselves of Kushite aid against the Ptolemaic rule (see, for the subsequent period, 133, 135), the Aithiopian campaign of Ptolemy II seems nevertheless to have been motivated primarily by the need to have secure access to African war elephants. Ptolemy II was now cut off from India, which up to this

²²⁰At the end of line 3, the editors suggest the supplement $\sigma\tau[\alpha\theta\mu\delta\nu(?) \dots]$, "st[ation?]". We find this too uncertain to be brought into our text, especially since it does not seem to fit the syntax. Schubart (in Sachau 1911) also (tacitly) disregards this supplement when he tentatively reconstructs the text: "Nimmt man ein nicht belegbares $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ an, so muß dies in einem Nebensatz stehen; der Sinn dürfte etwa sein: Während ich mit meinen Brüdern ein Schanzwerk ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$) mache, kamen die ... zu Hilfe, und wir töteten...."

²²¹Bevan (1968, 77) translates "we took up ..." which, in view of the fragmentary state of the text, is equally possible.

time had been the source of war elephants, and their numbers in the Ptolemaic army had fallen to a critical level in the course of the first third of the 3rd century, because by then the beasts Ptolemy II inherited from his father were too old. The Kushites, masters of the territories south of the Fifth Cataract where the African elephants lived, did not know how to train them and were certainly unprepared for their long-distance transport. The elephant supply could thus only be secured if Egyptian experts (cf. 120, 121) could travel and practice unhindered their profession of capturing the animals in Aithiopia, and if the enormous task of the transport could be based on Ptolemaic trading stations to be established along the Red Sea coast within, or close to, Aithiopian territory (cf. Fraser 1972 I, 179 f.; Scullard 1974, 123 ff.; Hofmann 1975, 53 ff.). Accordingly, it was necessary to intimidate Kush from the very outset (cf. Török 1987a, 153; Burstein 1993, 46). On the other hand, peace in the frontier area could best be maintained by the annexation of Lower Nubia as far south as the Second Cataract (see Theocritus, Id. 17,86 f. on Ptolemy II "cutting off a part of Black Aithiopia"; cf. Burstein 1993, 42). The principal reason for the conquest of Lower Nubia was, however, the acquisition of the gold mines in the Eastern Desert (see 146). The Egyptian territorial expansion is commemorated, though in an indirect way, by the list of Lower and Upper Nubian nomes bringing tribute to Isis inscribed in the temple of the goddess at Philae (112; for a similar inscription from the reign of Ptolemy VI see 137).

[LT]

98 Buhen, South Temple, Greek graffito. 4th-2nd cent. BC.
SB I 302. Caminos 1974, Pl. 96.2.

Source bibliography

Caminos 1974

R.A. Caminos: The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen.
Vol. 1. London. (Archaeological Survey of Egypt.
Memoir 33.)

Introduction to source

In column 39 of the South Temple in Buhen—now in the rebuilt temple in the court of the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum—"near the lower end of the upper drum, facing north and west, is a Greek graffito, incised in large characters, which occupies a space about 1.42 m. wide and 45 cm. high" (Caminos 1974, 79). It has been variously dated from the 4th to the 2nd century BC.

Our text, based on the facsimile of the inscription in Caminos (1974, Pl. 96.2; translation and bibliography p. 79), is virtually identical with Sayce's text as reproduced in SB I 302.

Text

- 1 Πασιμέ-
- 2 νης Κυρηναῖος : B.
- 3 Ἰάσων Κυρηναῖος . A

Translation

- 1 Pasime-
- 2 nes of Cyrene : B.
- 3 Jason of Cyrene . A²²²

[TH]

Comments

The place where the graffito was incised, viz., the lower part of a column in the forecourt of the temple,²²³ indicates that at that time the building was not sanded up and was probably in use as a sanctuary. Built originally by Hatshepsut on the site of a Twelfth Dynasty temple and dedicated to Horus of Buhen, later extended by Thutmosis III (PM VII, 133), the South Temple (so named in order to distinguish it from the Temple of Isis, North Temple, at Buhen) was restored and altered by Taharqo (Caminos 1974, 3, 58 ff., 85 f.). The use of the temple during the Ptolemaic occupation is attested by 98 and 99, and in the subsequent period, when a part of Lower Nubia was again under the sovereignty of the kings of Kush, by a Meroitic graffito with archaic lettering (REM 0086, cf. Török 1984, 177 type X.1).

Being unable to date the visit of Pasimenes and Jason from Cyrene with any precision, we cannot decide whether they passed Buhen with Ptolemy II's invading army (see 97, *Comments*), were tourists and/or explorers of Aithiopia in the ensuing period of good contacts between Egypt and her southern neighbour, or were perhaps members of an elephant hunting expedition (cf. Préaux 1957, 310; Hofmann 1975, 68), or, as is the most likely, were soldiers belonging to a military detachment stationed in Buhen (such an identification is not contradicted by the suggestion put forward by Bingen 1973, 144 f., that the writers of the Buhen graffiti are identical with the [Jas]on and Pasimenes, similarly of Cyrene, who left behind a graffito in the Paneion at El Kanais on the ancient road leading from Edfu to the gold mines at Barramiye in the Eastern Desert). In fact, Buhen seems to have been the site of an Egyptian frontier fort after the annexation of Lower Nubia by Ptolemy II (cf. Burstein 1993, 43. For soldiers from Cyrene in the garrison at Elephantine in the 2nd c. BC see Winnicki 1978, 95).

[LT]

²²²The significance of the letters B and A following the names and ethnica is unknown. They may be figures, 2 and 1, respectively.

²²³Note that Caminos' numbering of the forecourt columns is not identical with the numbering used in PM VII, 133 ff., where column c = Caminos' column 39.

99 Buhen, South Temple, Greek graffito. 3rd cent. BC.

SEG XXVI 1720. Masson 1976, 311, fig. 3.

Source bibliography

Masson 1976

O. Masson: Nouveaux graffites grecs d'Abydos et de Bouhen. CdE 51, 305-313.

Introduction to source

On a sandstone block from the South Temple at Buhen was found a Greek graffito, consisting of three lines with one word in each. It is now in the rebuilt temple in the court of the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum. The letters are between 1.2 and 4 cm high. The inscription is placed between two painted figures, see *Comments*.

The inscription was first published by Masson (1976, 311-313), who dates it in the 3rd century BC.

Text

Μελάγιππος | Νουμηνίου | Βαρκαῖος

Translation

Melanippus, son of Numenius, from Barke.²²⁴

[TH]

Comments

The graffito was incised on a wall decorated with painted ritual scenes: to the left of the three lines of inscription, the upper half of a figure wearing a skull-cap with a fillet and one uraeus and a tall plumed crown superstructure on a flat base are visible. He is represented spearing an enemy (or enemies) whose figure(s) was (were) painted on the block beneath, now lost. As clearly indicated by the streamer which hangs down in an unnatural, angular manner from the fillet, the figure is divine and not royal, as suggested by Masson 1976, 311 (for the canonical representation of the royal streamers see Török 1987, figs 1-37; for the divine streamer see, at random, *ibid.*, fig. 38).

The block was found in a secondary position, built into the gateway connecting the E front of the temple with the S pylon tower of the temenos wall and giving access in the Meroitic (?) period to the temple entrance (cf. PM VII, 132, plan; Caminos 1974 I, Pl. 9). Presumably it originates from one of the screen walls (?) or a chapel (?) added by Taharqo to the pharaonic temple building. To judge by the painted decoration, it comes from an interior (which cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the surviving archaeological evidence, cf. Caminos

²²⁴Barke was an important city in Cyrenaica (Libya); it lost its importance when Ptolemais was founded some time before 267 BC (cf. SEG XXVI, No. 1838).

1974, I 58, 85 f.), which seems to have been more or less intact, but perhaps not in proper use, at the time when the graffito was incised by Melanippos from Barke, possibly a soldier of the Ptolemaic garrison stationed at Buhen like the authors of 98.

[LT]

100 The earliest Hellenistic writers on Aithiopia. Ca. 300 BC and later.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.183. FGrH 666 T1.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Introduction to source

For a general introduction to Pliny the Elder, Roman administrator, general, and encyclopedist (born AD 23), and his *Naturalis historia*, see FHN III, 195. None of the works Pliny refers to here are preserved today, and most of the writers are known only or mainly through Pliny's use of them (Dalion [cf. 101, 102], Aristocreon, Simonides the Younger, Basilis). Artemidorus of Ephesus (ca. 100 BC) was a traveller and geographical writer much used by later authors. Timosthenes (3rd cent. BC) wrote a work *On harbours* in the form of a 'peri-plus' (sailor's handbook), likewise known only through quotations in later authors. For Eratosthenes, mathematician, astronomer, and geographer (3rd cent. BC), see 110, and for Bion see 105.

Our Latin text is based on Jacoby (1958), Nr. 666, T1.

Text

Simili modo et de mensura eius varia prodidere, primus Dalion ultra Meroen longe subvectus, mox Aristocreon et Bion et Basilis, Simonides minor etiam quinquennio in Meroe moratus, cum de Aethiopia scriberet. Nam Timosthenes, classium Philadelphi praefectus, sine mensura dierum LX a Syene Meroen iter prodidit, Eratosthenes $\overline{\text{DCXXV}}$, Artemidorus $\overline{\text{DC}}$, Sebosus ab Aegypti extremis $\text{XVI} \cdot \overline{\text{LXXXV}}$, unde proxime dicti $\text{XII} \cdot \overline{\text{L}}$.

Translation

In a similar way they [*i.e.* travellers] have given varying reports on its [*i.e.* Aithiopias] measurements²²⁵. The first was Dalion, who sailed far beyond Meroe, then Aristocreon, Bion, and Basilis; Simonides the Younger even stayed for five years in Meroe while he was writing on Aithiopia. Timosthenes, who commanded the fleets of Philadelphus, reported that the journey from Syene to Meroe took sixty days, but provided no measurements; Eratosthenes

²²⁵Meaning, as the sequel seems to show, measurements of the distance Syene-Meroe.

says 625 miles, Artemidorus 600; Sebosus says that from the northernmost part of Egypt it is 1675 miles, a distance given by the authors just mentioned as 1250.²²⁶

[TE]

Comments

Contacts between Egypt and Aithiopia were frequent during the period between the military expedition of Ptolemy II Philadelphos around 274 BC (see **144** and **97**, *Comments*) and the beginning of the Upper Egyptian revolts of Hor-Wennofer and Ankh-Wennofer (207/6-186 BC, see **133**, **135**). The commercial contacts necessitated a good knowledge not only of the trade routes but also of the environment and people of Aithiopia; in addition to the authors and users of the more practical descriptions of the country and the travel itineraries, however, Hellenistic ethnographers too took a great interest in the circumstances of Egypt's southern neighbour. Among the travellers who arrived in the wake of the explorers, elephant hunters, tradesmen, artisans and ambassadors, itinerant philosophers and adventurers might also have visited and studied Aithiopia. In turn, they all may have left behind there a smattering of knowledge about the Mediterranean world which added to the significant Hellenistic element in the Kushite art of the 3rd to 1st centuries BC (cf. Burstein 1970, 98 f.; 1993, 43 ff.; Török 1988, 269 ff.; 1989, 59 f., 71 f.). In his work quoted here, however, Pliny was only interested in descriptions concerned with the topic of his natural history. Some of the data he collected, although in some cases of such a contradictory and irrelevant nature as, e.g., the distances quoted in **100**, will be repeated here partly on account of the political-historical information hidden in it, and partly because it provides important details for the investigation of Meroitic settlement history.

[LT]

101 A piece of zoological lore. Ca. 300 BC.

Dalion in *Paradoxographus Vaticanus* 2. FGrH 666 F1.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Ziegler 1949

K. Ziegler: *Paradoxographoi*. RE 18.2A, 1137-1166.

Introduction to source

This text is from a collection of ancient wonder-tales referred to as *Paradoxographus Vaticanus*, from a 15th century manuscript in the Vatican containing

²²⁶The distances are variously given in the manuscripts.

among other works 67 paradoxographic excerpts (Ziegler 1949, 1162f). The text given here is based on Jacoby (1958) 666 F1.

For Dalion cf. 100 and 102.

Text

Δαλίων φησὶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπία θηρίον γίνεσθαι κρ<οκ>ότταν καλούμενον, τοῦτο ἐρχόμενον πρὸς τὰς ἐπαύλεις κατακούειν τῶν λαλουμένων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παιδίων. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐρχόμενον λαλεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐξερχόμενα τὰ παιδιά καταβιβρώσκονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Translation

Dalion says in the first book of his *Aithiopica* that there is in Aithiopia a beast called cr(oc)otta.²²⁷ This animal approaches the enclosures²²⁸ to listen to people talking, and particularly to hear the names of the children. Approaching during the night it utters the names, and when the children come out it devours them.

[TE]

Comments

The brief description of the habits of the “crocotta”—i.e., the striped African and Asian hyena²²⁹—from the lost work of Dalion (cf. 100), however fabulous it sounds, seems to preserve a piece of ethnographic knowledge based on actual information collected in Aithiopia. The “enclosures” may well refer to the enclosures of round huts in an Upper Nubian village as represented, e.g., on a 1st c. BC painted table amphora from Faras (grave 1087, Griffith 1924, Pl. XLVIII/7; for the dating see Török 1987a, 193 ff.) and on the bronze bowl from the Karanog grave of the 3rd c. AD Lower Nubian viceroy Malotoñ (Wenig 1978, Cat. 196; for Malotoñ see FHN III, 269). The notion of the protection of children from the hyena reflects the frightening image of this animal in Egyptian New Kingdom-Late Period beliefs (cf. Störk 1977). The striped hyena may also have played a role in Meroitic folk tales, as is suggested by a painted vase from the 1st century AD decorated with scenes of an animal fable (Žabkar-Žabkar 1982, fig. p. 46; Hofmann 1988). The story about the hyena which “utters” the child’s name in order to have power over it might have belonged to the sort of tale intended to protect a child by frightening it away from danger, but it also may have re

²²⁷The manuscript reading is κρότταν; the reading κοροκότταν has also been suggested.

²²⁸The Greek term used here (ἐπαύλις) is not a common word, and may have been chosen by Dalion to give an ethnographic flavour to the narrative. Possibly it refers to an enclosure like that now called a *zariba* in Arabic.

²²⁹Cf. the inscription accompanying the representation in the Nile mosaic from Praeneste, Meyboom 1995, 116 ff.; Meyboom suggests that the word preserves the Aithiopian term for the animal.

flected a belief that the name and the person are inseparable and that possession of the name suffices for possession of the person (cf. also Leitz 1994, 287). For further information on the hyena in ancient folklore see Witek-Brakmann (1993).

[LT]

102 On the ethnography of Aithiopia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Ca. 300 BC.
Dalion in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6. 194-195. FGrH 666 F3.

Source Bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Rackham 1942

Pliny: Natural History, trans. H. Rackham. Vol. 2, Libri III-VII. London-Cambridge, MA (Loeb Classical Library).

Introduction to source

For a general introduction to Pliny the Elder, Roman administrator, general, and encyclopaedist (born AD 23), and his *Naturalis historia*, see FHN III, 195. For Dalion cf. 100 and 101 in this volume.

Our Latin text is based on Jacoby (1958), Nr. 666, F3.

Text

[194] Ab ea vero parte Nili, quae supra Syrtes maiores oceanumque meridianum protendatur, Dalion Vacathos esse dicit, pluvia tantum aqua utentes, Cisoros, Logonporos ab Oec(h)alibus dierum V itinere, Usibalchos, Isbelos, Perusios, Ballios, Cispios. [195] reliqua deserta, dein fabulosa: ad occidentem versus Nigroe, quorum rex unum oculum in fronte habeat, Agriophagi pantherarum leonumque maxime carnibus viventes, Pamphagi omnia mandentes, Anthropophagi humana carne vescentes, Cynamolgi caninis capitibus, Artabatitae quadrupedes ferarum modo vagi; deinde Hesperioe, Perorsi et quos in Mauretaniae confinio diximus. Pars quaedam Aethiopum locustis tantum vivit, fumo et sale duratis in annua alimenta; hi quadragesimum vitae annum non excedunt.

Translation

[194] Dalion says that along the part of the Nile that stretches beyond the Greater Syrtes and the southern ocean there are the Vacathians, who live only on rainwater, the Cisorians, the Logonporians, who live five days' journey from the Oechalicians, the Usibalchians, Isbelians, Perusians, Ballians, Cispians. [195] The rest is uninhabited, he says, and further on are fabulous regions: Towards the west live the Nigroes, whose king has only one eye, (placed) in his forehead, the Wild-animal-eaters (Agriophagi), who live mainly on meat from panthers and lions, the All-eaters (Pamphagi), who devour anything, the Man-

eaters (Anthropophagi), who live on human flesh, the Dog-milkers (Cynamolgi), who have dogs' heads, the Artabatitans,²³⁰ who roam around on all fours like animals; then the Hesperians, the Perorsians, and those whom I have said live on the confines of Mauretania. Some of the Aithiopians live solely on locusts, which they preserve by smoking and salting so as to have food through the year; these people do not live beyond the age of forty.

[TE]

Comments

This passage from Dalion's work as excerpted by Pliny is included here in order to reveal the extremes to which information—which derived to a great extent from second-hand sources and from reports of travellers who could not directly communicate with the local people—could be distorted in Hellenistic ethnography. The interest of Dalion and his contemporaries was caught by the great variety of peoples living beyond the Greek world and by the opportunity their curious appearance, ways of life, customs and habits provided for philosophical discourse. A certain amount of data on the ethnography of Aithiopia collected by Pliny in Book 6 of his *Naturalis historia* (177-197) preserves, however indirect and garbled, information concerning peoples living on the southern confines of ancient Aithiopia. As argued by Kendall (1989, 690 ff.), a part of the monstrosities derives in fact from misunderstood reports on facial mutilations. While the peoples with flat faces, or without upper lips etc., described in 6.187 f. become, if we accept Kendall's interpretation, less absurd, those listed in 102 clearly belong, at least in the form as Dalion characterizes them, to the world of fable and parable.

The Cynamolgi or Dog-milkers are treated as a separate people from the Cynocephales or the people who have dogs' heads in Agatharchides, *On the Erythraean Sea*, 61 (cf. Burstein 1989, 107 f.). They are important for an assessment of the "reality" of Dalion's description; for, as is shown by Ctesias' "Indica" (early 4th century BC, cf. Jacoby 1922; FGtH, 3C1, 688 F 46a-b), they were originally described as fabled inhabitants of India and were then "arbitrarily transferred to Africa" (Burstein 1989, 107 note j) obviously already by Dalion's source or perhaps by Dalion himself (Burstein op. cit., loc. cit. does not consider 102 as indicative of the date of the emergence of the Cynamolgi as an Aithiopian tribe). It remains obscure, however, whether it was Dalion or Pliny or a third author between them who united the Dog-milkers with the Cynocephales.

[LT]

²³⁰Rackham (1942) 482 suggests that the real name was Tettarabatitae (which in Greek could be understood as "Four-walkers").

103 On the geography of Aithiopia. 3rd cent. BC.

Aristocreon in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.59. FGh 667 F1.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Rackham 1942

Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham. Vol. 2, Libri III-VII. London-Cambridge, MA (Loeb Classical Library).

Introduction to source

For a general introduction to Pliny the Elder, Roman administrator, general, and encyclopaedist (born AD 23), and his *Naturalis historia*, see FHN III, 195. For Aristocreon cf. 100 and 104.

Our Latin text is based on Jacoby (1958) No. 667 F1.

Text

Dicionis Aegyptiae esse incipit [Nilus] a fine Aethiopiae Syene; ita vocatur paeninsula M passuum ambitu, in qua castra sunt, latere Arabiae. Et ex adverso insula est IIII Philae, DC p. a Nili fissura, unde appellari diximus Delta. Hoc spatium edidit Artemidorus, et in eo CCL oppida fuisse; Iuba CCCC p.; Aristocreon ab Elephantide ad mare DCCCL.

Elephantis insula intra novissimum catarracten IIII p. et supra Syenen XVI habitatur, navigationis Aegyptiae finis, ab Alexandria DLXXXV p.: in tantum erravere supra scripti. Ibi Aethiopicae veniunt naves: namque eas plicatiles umeris transferunt, quotiens ad catarractas ventum est.

Translation

It [the Nile] becomes part of Egyptian territory on the Aithiopian border at Syene; that is what a peninsula one mile in circumference is called, in which there is a military camp, on the Arabian side. On the other side, four miles away, is the island of Philae, 600 miles from where the Nile branches, which is the reason for the name Delta, as I have said.²³¹ This is the distance reported by Artemidorus, who further said that there were 250 towns along that reach; Iuba says this distance is 400 miles; Aristocreon says 750 miles from Elephantis to the sea.

The island of Elephantis, 4 miles north of the last cataract and 16 miles south of Syene, is inhabited; it marks the end of Egyptian navigation, at a distance of 585 miles from Alexandria; this shows how mistaken the writers men

²³¹I.e. by forming the shape of a triangle (when viewed from the Mediterranean), like the Greek letter delta (Δ), as Pliny has explained in ch. 48.

tioned above have been. To this place Aithiopian boats come;²³² they can be folded and transported on the shoulders each time one arrives at the cataracts.

[TE]

Comments

In the passage quoted here Pliny excerpted geographical data from Aristocreon and compared the distances given by him with distance data of Artemidorus of Ephesus (who wrote a geography of the world in which Aithiopia was described on the basis of Agatharchides' *On the Erythraean Sea*, cf. Bunbury 1883 II, 61 ff.; Fraser 1972 I, 549 f.; Burstein 1989, 38 f. and see 142) and Juba (cf. FHN III, 186).

In the periods when the works of Artemidorus and Juba were written, and also when Pliny himself was writing, the political border between Egypt and Aithiopia was not at Syene (Aswan) but further south (from about 274 BC at the Second Cataract; from the late 2nd century BC onwards at Hieria Sycaminos [cf. Török 1988, 274]; see 141, 156, 163-165). Aristocreon, however, wrote his—now lost—work around the end of the 4th century or in the early 3rd century BC (cf. Heibges 1912, 852), and could thus speak of Syene as the political border and also in the sense of the ancient notion of the border between the two countries which among the Egyptians, in profane as well as religious texts, was traditionally put at Syene or Elephantine opposite Syene (cf. Sethe 1901; Desanges 1969, 141 note 5). It cannot be decided, however, whether Aristocreon in fact visited Aithiopia as Pliny says (cf. 100).

For the situation of the Ptolemaic and Roman military camp "of Syene on the Arabian side", i.e., the east bank of the Nile, see Winnicki 1978, 96 f.; Speidel 1988, 773 f. The island of Philae was of course on the "other side" insofar as it was west of Syene; the distances are all incorrect. The most important information provided by the text is the remark about the Aithiopian boats coming to Elephantis (=Elephantine), doubtless as a trading centre.

[LT]

104 On the geography of Aithiopia. 3rd cent. BC.

Aristocreon in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.191-192. FGrH 667 F3.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

²³²Reading *veniunt* with some manuscripts; Jacoby (1958) prints the reading *veneunt* ("are sold"). The reading *conveniunt* ("assemble"), printed by Rackham (1942), seems to have arisen out of the desire to accommodate the verb to the adverb of place *ibi* ("there", not "thither"); but *ibi veniunt* ("come there") is not peculiar in the Latin of Pliny's time.

Introduction to source

For a general introduction to Pliny the Elder, Roman administrator, general, and encyclopaedist (born AD 23), and his *Naturalis historia*, see FHN III, 195. For Aristocreon cf. 100 and 103.

Our Latin text is based on Jacoby (1958) No. 667 F3.

Text

[191] Aristocreon Libyae latere a Meroe oppidum Tollen dierum V itinere tradit, inde dierum XII Aesar oppidum Aegyptiorum qui Psammetichum fugerint; in eo prodente se CCCC habitasse; contra in Arabico latere Diaron oppidum esse eorum. ...

Insula in Nilo Sembritarum reginae paret. [192] Ab ea Nubaei Aethiopes dierum VIII itinere—oppidum eorum Nilo inpositum Tenupsis—, Sesambri, apud quos quadrupedes omnes sine auribus, etiam elephanti; at ex Africae parte tptoenbani thonenpani, qui canem pro rege habent, motu eius imperia augurantes, Harusbi oppido longe ab Nilo sito, postea Archisarmi, Phalliges, Marigarri, Chasamari.

Translation

[191] Aristocreon relates that on the Libyan side [of the Nile] the town of Tollen lies at a distance of five days' journey from Meroe; from there it is twelve days' journey to Aesar, the town of the Egyptians who fled from Psammetich, a town of 3000 inhabitants; opposite, on the Arabian side, is the town of Diaron, which belongs to them. ...

There is an island in the Nile, belonging to the Sembrites, which is under the rule of a queen. [192] From this island it is eight days' journey to the Aithiopian Nubians (*Nubaei*)—their town, Tenupsis, is situated on the Nile—, and the Sesambrians, among whom all quadrupeds lack ears, even the elephants; on the African side are the ...²³³ who have a dog as king, from whose movements they divine its commands, the Harusbians, who live in a town situated far from the Nile, further the Archisarmians, the Phalliges, the Mari-garrians, the Chasamarians.

[TE]

Comments

Aristocreon, as indicated by this excerpt from his lost work, also studied Herodotus' description of Aithiopia (see FHN I, 56). While, however, the journey from Meroe to the Deserters took 56 days according to Herodotus, Aristocreon knows only of a 17 days travelling distance. The towns of Aesar and Diaron belonging to the invented (Herodotus?) people of the Deserters (for the classical tradition on these see FHN I, 56, *Comments*, end) are unidentifiable

²³³For ptoenbani thonenpani in the Latin text editors have suggested various ethnic names.

(for the arguments against the identification of Diaron/Daron with Daro in one of Ezana's 4th century AD inscriptions [FHN III, 297] by Lloyd 1976, 127 see FHN I, loc. cit.). So too is their island with its queen. Tenupsis occurs in the form Tenessis in Strabo, 16.4.8. Also the latter author places Tenessis in the neighbourhood of the Sembritae (i.e., the Deserters), but he assigns the queen to the Deserters as their ruler. So it seems that Strabo's source was close to the source(s) used by Aristocreon; consequently, it may also be supposed that Aristocreon's Tenupsis (as is also indicated by the sequence of the description: Aesar on the W bank, Diaron and all that is described after it on the E bank or towards the E) denotes the *Hinterland* of the Red Sea coast.

[LT]

105 On the name *Candace*. 3rd cent. BC.

Bion of Soloi in Schol. Act. Apost. 8.27. FGrH 668 F1.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Schwartz 1897

E. Schwartz: Bion von Soloi. RE III.1, 483.

Introduction to source

Among the ancient comments (*scholia*) on the Acts of the Apostles 8.27 ("And behold, an Ethiopian, a eunuch, a minister of the Candace, queen of the Ethiopians...", see FHN III, 194) is preserved an explanation of the name *Candace*. The authority to which the commentator refers is Bion of Soloi, a little known writer of (probably) the early 3rd century BC who was the author of a lost historical work entitled *Aithiopika* and consisting of several "books". According to Pliny (NH 6.183), Bion had visited Aithiopia himself, and to judge from the quotations preserved in Pliny (cf. below, 108), his work contained a fairly detailed geographical description (Schwartz 1897).

We follow the text given by Jacoby (1958, 280 f.).

Text

Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν. Οὕτω Βίων ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰθιοπικῶν· "Αἰθίοπες τοὺς βασιλέων πατέρας οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσι, ἀλλ' ὥς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασιν· ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην."

Translation

Candace is what the Aithiopians call every mother of a king. Thus Bion in the first book of his *Aithiopika*: "The Aithiopians do not reveal who are the fathers of their kings, but these are traditionally regarded as sons of the sun. The mother of each king they call *Candace*."

[TH]

Comments

The first part of Bion's statement reflects a knowledge of the Egyptian concept of the king's divine sonship, a dogma which was fundamental to the Kushite kingship ideology too (for Egypt see Grieshammer 1976; for Kush, Török 1995, Ch. 15), as well as of the king's Son-of-Rê name that was assumed on his ascent to the throne in both countries (for these issues see the royal titularies in FHN I, II *passim* and see, e.g., FHN I, 37). For the title Candace see 85, *Comments* in this volume).

[LT]

106 On the name *Candace*. 3rd cent. BC (?).

Bion of Soloi (?) in Ps.-Oecumenius, *Commentary on Act. Apost.* 12, ad 8.27. PG 118, 161d.

Source bibliography

Baldwin 1991

B. Baldwin: Oikoumenios. In: A.P. Kazhdan (ed.): *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 3. Oxford, 1518.

Beck 1959

H.-G. Beck: *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. München. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII.2.1.)

Introduction to source

Oecumenius (Oikoumenios) was a Christian theologian and exegete in 6th-century Byzantium, whose best known work is a commentary on the Apocalypse of the New Testament (Baldwin 1991). Other exegetical works have also been attributed to him, though with little or no foundation. The commentary to the Acts of the Apostles from which our extract is taken, probably belongs to the late 8th century AD and thus has nothing to do with Oecumenius (Beck 1959, 417 f.).

Such Byzantine exegetical works built on an unbroken tradition of commentaries on the Biblical texts; and the fact that our anonymous 8th-century theologian provides concrete information about ancient Aithiopia does not mean that he himself had access to an ancient work like the *Aithiopika* of Bion of Soloi (on whom see 105), which is likely to be the ultimate source for the information: long after the *Aithiopika* itself had been lost, quotations from it were transmitted from commentator to commentator to explain, as we can see in 105, the famous passage in the Acts of the Apostles 8.27 on the Aithiopian eunuch who was a minister of Candace.

Since this text is not included among the Bion fragments in FGrH, we reproduce it according to PG 118, 161d.

Text

Γυναῖκες δὲ ἦρχον ἐκείνης τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ὧν καὶ ἡ Κανδάκη κατὰ διαδοχὴν μία, ἣς ὁ εὐνοῦχος ὑπῆρχε ταμίας τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ πατέρα Αἰθίοπες οὐκ ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασιν· ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην.

Translation

Women ruled that Aithiopia (referred to in the Acts), and (this) Candace was also one in their line of succession; and the eunuch was her keeper of the royal treasuries. It should be known that *Candace* is what the Aithiopians call every mother of a king since the Aithiopians do not refer to the father, but these are traditionally regarded as sons of the sun. The mother of each king they call *Candace*.²³⁴

[TH]

Comments

See **85** and **105**, with *Comments*. For Act. Apost. 8.27 see FHN III, **194**.

107 On Aithiopian kingship. 3rd cent. BC.

Bion of Soloi in Athenaeus 13.20, 566c. FGrH 668 F2.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Jacoby 1958 | F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil C. Leiden. |
| Kaibel 1887-90 | G. Kaibel: Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistarum libri XV. Vol. 1-3. Lipsiae. |
| Gulick 1961 | Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists. With an English translation by C.B. Gulick. Vol. 1-7. London-Cambridge, MA. |

Introduction to source

Athenaeus, born in Naucratis in Egypt and later working in Rome, lived around AD 200. There survives by his hand a very extensive work entitled *Deipnosophistai*, "The Learned Banquet". It has been characterized as "an encyclopedia in the form of a dinner conversation" and is a mine of information on ancient literature, history, and culture because in their conversation the thirty scholars who participate in the symposium quote extensively from earlier authors, most of whose works are otherwise lost to us. The accuracy of the histori-

²³⁴The explanation given here, without mention of the source, is almost identical, word for word, with the quotation from Bion in **105**. The singular "father" (πατέρα) for "fathers" (πατέρας) is probably just a transmission or printing error.

cal information thus transmitted is of course dependent on what the ultimate literary source is in each case.

In Book 13 (of a total 15), ch. 20, the conversation has turned to the topic "beauty". Homer's Helen and her divine beauty are mentioned, then King Priam's remark to Helen as they look down from the city walls of Troy and catch sight of Agamemnon (*Iliad* 3.169 f.): "I have never seen anyone so beautiful and majestic, he looks like a king." This, by association, leads to the short note on Aithiopian kingship.

The authority to whom Athenaeus refers in this case is Bion of Soloi, on whom see 105.

We follow Jacoby's (1958, 281) text. The only critical edition of Athenaeus' whole work is by Kaibel (1887-90). His text is also the basis of the Loeb Classical Library edition by Gulick (1961, first publ. 1927-41); our extract is in Vol. 6, 58 f.

Text

Καθίστων δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς καλλίστους βασιλέας, ὥς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἀθάνατοι καλοῦμενοι Αἰθίοπες, ὥς φησι Βίων ἐν Αἰθιοπικοῖς.

Translation

Many even used to make the most beautiful men their kings, as the so-called immortal Aithiopians do to this day, according to Bion in his *Aithiopika*.

[TH]

Comments

The above-quoted passage in Athenaeus' work is in the Utopian tradition and gives only a brief summary of Bion's remarks on Aithiopian kingship. While other remarks of Bion (cf. 105 and 106) reflect some knowledge of certain Kushite (and/or Egyptian?) concepts of kingship, 107 was based entirely on Herodotus' work (for the election of the most beautiful man as king cf. FHN I, 65 20 [2]).

[LT]

108 Itineraries. 3rd cent. BC.

Bion of Soloi in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.177-178; 180-181; 191; 193. FGrH 668 F4-6.

Source bibliography

Jacoby 1958

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil C. Leiden.

Rackham 1942

Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham. Vol. 2, Libri III-VII. London-Cambridge, MA (Loeb Classical Library. 352)

Introduction to source

For a general introduction to Pliny the Elder, Roman administrator, general, and encyclopaedist (born AD 23), and his *Naturalis historia*, see FHN III, 195. For Bion cf. 105 in this volume.

Our Latin text is based on Jacoby (1958) No. 668 F4-6.

Text

[177] Nos ... oppida, quo traduntur ordine, utrimque ponemus a Syene. [178] Et prius Arabiae latere gens Catadupi, deinde Syenitae; oppida Tacompson, quam quidam appellarunt Thaticen, Aramam, Sesamos, Andura, Nasarduma, Aindoma Come cum Arabeta et Bogghiana, Leuphitorga, Tautarene, Emeae, Chiindita, Noa, Goploa, Gistate, Megadale, Aremni, Nups, Direa, Patigga, Bagada, Dumana, Radata—in quo felis aurea pro deo colebatur—, Boron, in mediterraneo Mallo proximum Meroae. Sic prodidit Bion. ...

[180] Ex Africae latere tradita sunt eodem nomine Tacompsos altera sive pars prioris, Mog(g)ore, S(a)ea, Aedosa, P(e)lenariae, Pindis, Magassa, B(h)uma, Lint(h)uma, Spintum, Sidop(t), Gensoe, Pindic(i)tor, Ac(h)ug, Orsum, Suara, Maumarum, Urbim, Mulon—quod oppidum Graeci Hypaton vocarunt—, Pagoarta(s), Zamnes—unde elephantini incipiant—, Mambli, Berressa, Coetum. Fuit quondam et Epis oppidum contra Meroen, antequam Bion scriberet deletum.

[181] Haec sunt prodita usque Meroen, ex quibus hoc tempore nullum prope utroque latere exstat: certe solitudines nuper renuntiavere principi Neroni missi ab eo milites praetoriani cum tribuno ad explorandum, inter reliqua bella et Aethiopicum cogitanti. ...

[191] Bion autem Sapien vocat quod ille Aesar, et ipso nomine advenas significari. Caput eorum in insula Sembobitin, et tertium in Arabia Sinat. Inter montes autem et Nilum Simbarri sunt, Phaliges, in ipsis vero montibus Asachae multis nationibus. Abesse a mari dicuntur dierum V itinere; vivunt elephantorum venatu. ...

[193] Bion et alia oppida in insulis tradit, a Sembobiti Meroen versus dierum toto itinere XX: proximae insulae oppidum Seberritarum sub regina et aliud Asara, alterius oppidum Darden; tertiam Medoen vocant, in qua oppidum Asel; quartam eodem quo oppidum nomine Garroen. Inde per ripas oppida Nautis, Madum, Demadatin, †Secandum, Collocat, Secandef, Navectabe cum agro Psegipta, Candragori, Arabam, Summaram.

Translation

[177] We ... shall list the towns on both sides [of the Nile] in the order given by my sources, beginning from Syene. [178] First on the Arabian side is the people of the Catadupians, then the Syenites; the towns of Tacompson, which some have called Thathice, Aramam, Sesamos, Andura, Nasarduma, Aindoma Come with Arabeta and Bogghiana, Leuphitorga, Tautarene, Emeae, Chiindita,

Noa, Goploa, Gistate, Megadale, Aremni, Nups, Direa, Patigga, Bagada, Dumanā, Radata—where a golden cat²³⁵ used to be worshiped as a god—, Boron, and, in the interior, Mallo, close to Meroe.²³⁶ This is what Bion writes. ...²³⁷

[180] On the African side these places are reported: Tacompsos (another town of the same name as the one previously mentioned or a part of it), Mog(g)ore, S(a)ea, Aedosa, P(e)lenariae, Pindis, Magassa, B(h)uma, Lint(h)uma, Spintum, Sidop(t), Gensoe, Pindic(i)tor, Ac(h)ug, Orsum, Suara, Maumarum, Urbim, Mulon—a town which the Greeks have called Hypaton—Pagoarta(s), Zamnes—from that point on there are elephants—, Mambli, Berressa, Coetum. There was once also a town Epis opposite Meroe, but it had been destroyed before Bion wrote, as he says.

[181] These are the names given as far as Meroe, but today²³⁸ almost none of these towns exists on either bank; at least the praetorian guards under the command of a tribune sent on an exploratory mission by the emperor Nero, who was contemplating, among other wars, also one against Aithiopia, recently reported to him that these places were deserted. ...

[191] Bion, however, gives the name of Sapes to the town which he [Aristocreon] calles Aesar and says that this name itself means “new-comers”, that their chief town is Sembobitis, on an island, and that they have a third town Sinat in Arabia. Between the mountains and the Nile are the Simbarrians and the Phaliges, but in the mountains themselves the Asachans, who consist of numerous tribes. They are said to live at a distance of five days’ journey from the sea; and they make their living by hunting elephants. ...

[193] Bion also mentions other towns situated on islands, from Sembobitis to Meroe, altogether a journey of 20 days: there is on the nearest island the town of the Seberritans, ruled by a queen, and another called Asara, and on the next island a town called Darden; a third island they call Medoe, in which there is a town called Asel; a fourth island is called by the same name as its town, Garroe. Further on along the banks there are the towns of Nautis, Madum, Demadatin, †Secandum, Collocat, Secand†, Navectabe with the territory of Psegipta, Candragori, Arabam, Summaram.²³⁹

[TE]

²³⁵The Latin word *felis* is used not only of cats, but also of other small carnivorous animals, such as the marten and the polecat; the Greek word used by Bion may well have been *gale*, “weasel” or “marten”. The adjective *aureus* may mean “(made) of gold” or “gilded”, or refer to the colour only (“golden”, “bright yellow”).

²³⁶*Meroae* (the dative case) is an emendation of the manuscript reading *Meroe* (the nominative case), which would give the sense “and inland Meroë, near Mallos”, so Rackham (1942); the case of *Mallo* cannot be determined morphologically.

²³⁷For the passage omitted here see FHN III, 186.

²³⁸I.e. in Pliny’s time.

²³⁹Several of the names in this list suspiciously resemble Latin words, and the manuscripts show variations in spelling. The context seems to indicate that the names are in the nominative case, but some of the endings look like Latin accusatives.

Comments

The itineraries of Bion—i.e., his lists of place-names given in a geographical order, from N to S, on the “Arabian side” of the Nile, i.e., the E bank and the “African side”, i.e., the W bank—were compiled on the basis of data collected by travellers and were meant to serve travellers who undertook the adventurous task of journeying to the interior of Aithiopia. Although the place-names, as they are preserved in various spellings and merged with each other or ignorantly dissected in the various manuscript copies of Pliny’s work, may appear utterly unrealistic (and so they did to most earlier writers on the history of the Middle Nile Region), they represent in fact an extremely valuable source. Thanks to the investigations of Karl-Heinz Priebe (Priebe 1973; 1973a; 1975; 1976; 1984), the majority of the Aithiopian toponyms recorded by Bion and other Hellenistic and Roman writers can be identified with toponyms in Hieroglyphic, Demotic, Meroitic, Coptic, Arabic sources as well as with modern place-names. Consequently, 108 and related sources serve as a firm basis for research into the settlement history of the Middle Nile Region (cf. Priebe op. cit.; for an evaluation of the settlement history and the recent literature on this subject see conveniently Török 1988, 205 ff.). **Table A** below presents a coordinated overview of Bion’s E and W bank lists with eventual earlier, and (if identifiable) modern names of the settlements. It is based on Priebe 1984 (for diverging identifications see, however, Török 1986, Nos 29, 59, 63, 81; for a confrontation of the itineraries of Bion with those of Juba [FHN III, 186], the Petronius expedition [ibid., 204], and the Neronian expedition [ibid., 206] see Török 1988, 209-13).

[LT]

Table A

<i>East bank</i>	<i>West bank</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Meroitic</i>	<i>Modern</i>
<i>1. Between the First Cataract and Maharraqa</i>				
Catadupians;				
Syenites		Swnw		Aswan
Tacompson	Tacompson	T3-q-m3-p-s		Maharraqa
Thaticen				Maharraqa
<i>2. Between Maharraqa and the Second Cataract</i>				
	Mogore	M- ϵ -h-r		Ikhmindi
	S(a)ea		Sye/Siye	Mediq
Aramam		l-s-m-l		Wadi el Arab/ Šaturma
Sesamos/Sesamum	Sedosa (?)		Sdose	Wadi el Arab/ es Sebu’a
	Plen			

Andura	Ariae (?) or Sapele (?)	ḏ-s-pṣ-ṣw ḏ-n-r-wṣ-r'	Sapele (?) Adere/Dor	Shablul (?) ed Dirr
	Ariae (?)		Nlote	Aniba/Karanòg
	Pindis		Pedeme	Qasr Ibrim
	Magassa			Masmas (?)
Andumana(s)		ṣ-ḏ-w-mn	Adomn	Arminna
I(n)doma		ṣḏ-m.t		Abu Simbel
Curambeta/ come Arabeta (?)			Qrbe	Abu Hoda (?)
Bogghi		M-ḥṣ (?)	Beqe/Boqḥ	Ballana
Analeu (?)			Amod	Qustul
Phitor[...?]		Phrse	Phrse	Faras
Tantarene			Tketore	
	Buma	B(w)hn		Buhen
	(A)lintuma	(i)-ṣ-n-tm		Abka West
<i>3. Between the Second and Third Cataracts</i>				
	Spintum			region of Semna ?
	Sidopt			region of Sonqi ?
Emeae		Mi-w / Mṣ-wṣ-ṣ		Firka
	Gensoe			Ginnis
	Pindi(mis?)		Pedeme	Amara West
Chiindita				
Noa / Ataea		Hw.t-Ty	Atiye	Sedeinga
Golpoa/Goploa		Hṣ-b-ḏ.t		
	Citior/Citora			
Gistate				
Megada				
Gale				
	Achug/Gugo			Koka
<i>4. South of the Third Cataract</i>				
Aremni			Arme	Kerma
	Orsum (?)			
(P)nups		Pr-nbs		Tabo
Direla				Agada (?)
Patigga		Pr-gm-ḏtn		Kawa
	Suara			Sor-tod
	Maumarum			Sagaba (?)
	Urbim			Urbi
	Mulon			Ḥandak

The Sources

Bagada			Megauda
	Pago		el Baga
	Artas/Arte		Argi
	Zamnes		Tamba(narti)/
			Tergis (?)
	Mambli		Ganetti (?)
Dumana			Duffar (?)
	Beressa		
	Coetum	K ₃ -rw-t(?) -n(?)	Korti
Cadata/R(h)adata			

5. Between the Fifth Cataract and Meroe City

Boron		
Mallo		‘Aliab (?)
	Epis	

6. Places south of Meroe City

Summarum		Sobore	Shendi (?)
Arabam	i-r(-i)b(-i)-k-rw-b		Wad ban Naqa
Gori			Qerri
Candra			Kadaro
Secande/Secandum		Skdi	Saqadi
Darden			
Asara/Aesar			
oppidum Se(m)beritarum			Shamfur (?)

[LT]

109 The geography of Aithiopia. 3rd cent. BC.

Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2 (p. 1096.6-1097.13 Meineke).

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Introduction to source

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (Libya) is the first systematic and scientifically based geographer of the Hellenistic world. He was born in 276 BC (or earlier) and died at the age of 82. Though he studied both in his native Cyrene and in Athens, most of his life and career is connected with Alexandria in Egypt and the learned institution created and supported by the Ptolemaic kings, the Museum (*Mouseion*). He was a literary critic, as well as a poet himself. He is said by Suetonius to have been the first to call himself a "philologist" (*philologos*), but this designation should not be taken in its modern restricted sense. In fact, Eratosthenes was one of the most versatile of the scholars and scientists of 3rd century Alexandria, writing not only on literary topics such as Old Attic Comedy, but also on mathematics, astronomy, chronography, philosophy, and—most importantly—on *geographia* (a word possibly coined by him), "description of the earth", and *geometria*, "measurement of the earth".

As a geographer, Eratosthenes strives to establish a scientific basis for his description of the earth. In contrast to his contemporaries, he rejects the authority of Homer in geographical matters (cf. Romm 1992, 185-187) and tries to arrive at a more exact knowledge through critical examination of the reports of actual travellers to distant countries, such as those who followed Alexander the Great on his campaigns. He is not known to have been a field explorer himself, but obviously made extensive use of the rich collections of the Alexandrian library. One special interest of his, as will be seen in the present extract, is the measurement of distances between places and even of the circumference of the earth; and, seeing the nature of the data and instruments at his disposal, "modern scientists are always amazed how near he came to the truth" (Pfeiffer 1968, 165).

For a description and discussion of Eratosthenes' work, see Pfeiffer (1968, 152-170); for an assessment of his achievement, cf. also Fraser (1970).

Like all his other writings, Eratosthenes' *Geographica* (in 3 books) is preserved in fragments only. Later geographers often criticize him, but use his work frequently, with or without acknowledgement of their source. The present fragment owes its survival to the fact that the Greek writer Strabo (ca. 64/63 BC - after AD 23) quotes it at the beginning of the last book of his *Geography*, devoted to Egypt and Nubia as well as to Libya and Mauretania. As is generally the case with "quotations" in ancient works of literature, we cannot expect the kind of literal reproduction of the source that we are used to in modern scholarship; but we have no specific reason to believe that the information conveyed here does not derive from Eratosthenes, whom Strabo names both before and after the quotation (17.1 *fin.*: 'Here we must first present Eratos

thenes' views"; 17.3 *init.*: "This, then, is what Eratosthenes says"). On Strabo generally, see FHN III, 187.

Since there exists no modern critical edition of Strabo's Book 17, we have taken Meineke's Teubner text of 1853 as our point of departure but have also consulted the critical notes in Kramer's edition (1852) and in the Loeb Classical Library edition (Jones 1949). Any deviations from the text of Meineke are indicated in the notes to the translation. There is a complete English translation in Jones (1949).

Text

Φησὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν χιλίους σταδίους διέχειν τὸν Νεῖλον, παραπλήσιον ὄντα τῷ γράμματι τῷ Ν κειμένῳ ἀνάπαλιν. Ῥυεῖς γάρ, φησὶν, ἀπὸ Μερόης ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους ὡς δισχιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους, πάλιν ἀναστρέφει πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν δύσιν ὡς τρισχιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους, καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀντάρας τοῖς κατὰ Μερὸν τόποις καὶ εἰς τὴν Λιβύην πολὺ προπεσὼν καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους φέρεται πεντακισχιλίους μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν καταράκτην μικρὸν παρεπιστρέφων πρὸς τὴν ἑω, χιλίους δὲ καὶ διακοσίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλάττω τὸν κατὰ Σὺνῃν, πεντακισχιλίους δὲ ἄλλους καὶ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν.

Ἐμβάλλουσι δ' εἰς αὐτὸν δύο ποταμοί, φερόμενοι μὲν ἔκ τινων λιμνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω, περιλαμβάνοντες δὲ νῆσον εὐμεγέθη τὴν Μερὸν· ὣν ὁ μὲν Ἀσταβόρας καλεῖται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑω πλευρὸν ῥέων, ἄτερος δ' Ἀστάπους· οἱ δ' Ἀστασόβαν καλοῦσι, τὸν δ' Ἀστάπουν ἄλλον εἶναι, ῥέοντα ἔκ τινων λιμνῶν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας καὶ σχεδόν τι τὸ κατ' εὐθείαν σῶμα τοῦ Νείλου τοῦτον ποιεῖν· τὴν δὲ πλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς θερινοὺς ὄμβρους παρασκευάζειν.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα καὶ τοῦ Νείλου σταδίοις ἑπτακοσίοις Μερὸν εἶναι πόλιν ὁμώνυμον τῇ νήσῳ· ἄλλην δ' εἶναι νῆσον ὑπὲρ τῆς Μερόης, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ Αἰγυπτίων φυγάδες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου, καλοῦνται δὲ Σεμβρίται, ὡς ἂν ἐπήλυδες· βασιλεύονται δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικός, ὑπακούουσι δὲ τῶν ἐν Μερὸν.

Τὰ δὲ κατωτέρω ἑκατέρωθεν Μερόης παρὰ μὲν τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Μεγάβαροι καὶ Βλέμμιες, Αἰθιόπων ὑπακούοντες, Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ὁμοροὶ· παρὰ θάλατταν δὲ Τρωγλοδύται· διεστᾶσι δὲ εἰς δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Μερὸν Τρωγλοδύται τοῦ Νείλου.

Ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ Νείλου Νοῦβαι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, μέγα ἔθνος, ἀπὸ τῆς Μερόης ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων, οὐχ ὑποταττόμενοι τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ κατὰ πλείους βασιλείας διειλημμένοι.

Translation

He [Eratosthenes] says that the Nile is at a distance of a thousand stadia²⁴⁰ west of the Arabian Gulf and is shaped like the letter N written the other way round. For it flows, he says, northwards from Meroe about 2 700 stadia, then turns again towards the south and the winter sunset for about 3 700 stadia. Having arrived at regions approximately corresponding to that of Meroe and having advanced far into Libya, it makes a second turn and flows northwards 5 300 stadia to the great cataract, turning slightly aside towards the east. It then flows the 1 200 stadia to the smaller cataract at Syene, and another 5 300 to the sea.

Two rivers discharge their water into it, flowing from some lakes in the east and enclosing Meroe, an island of considerable size. One of them is called Astaboras and flows on its eastern side, the other Astapous; but some call it Astasobas, saying that the Astapous is another river flowing from some lakes in the south, and that this river makes up almost the whole straight part of the Nile; its flooding is caused by the summer rains.

Beyond the confluence of the Astaboras and the Nile, at a distance of 700 stadia, lies the city of Meroe, with the same name as the island. There is said to be another island beyond Meroe which is occupied by the fugitives from Egypt who defected in the time of²⁴¹ Psammetich. They are called Sembrites, as being immigrants. Their ruler is a woman, but they are subject to Meroe.²⁴²

To the north, on each side of (the island of) Meroe, live along the Nile and towards the Red Sea the Megabaroï and the Blemmyes, who are subject to the Aithiopians but are neighbours of the Egyptians; and along the sea live the Troglodytes.²⁴³ There is a distance of about ten or twelve days' journey between the Troglodytes opposite Meroe and the Nile.

To the left of the course of the Nile, in Libya, live the Nubai, a large tribe, beginning at Meroe and continuing as far as the bends of the river. They are not subject to the Aithiopians but are divided into several separate kingdoms. ...

[TH]

²⁴⁰The exact measure of the Eratosthenian *stadion* is a matter of dispute; recent writers on the subject suggest 157.7 m, 166.7 m, and 184.98 m.

²⁴¹Like Jones (1949, 4 n. 2) we here retain the reading of the manuscripts (see Kramer ad loc.), ἐπὶ "in the time of", instead of accepting with Meineke the conjecture ἀπὸ (as in Herodotus 2.30.3, FHN I, 56).

²⁴²Some change the text here to make it agree with Strabo 16.4.8 (FHN III, 189), substituting ἐπαρχούσης for ὑπακούουσι; the ensuing text might be rendered "to whom Meroe too is subject". But this emendation is rather drastic, and Strabo probably followed different sources at the two places. In addition, if one decides to harmonize the two passages, it is not self-evident that it is 17.1.2 that should be changed, since it agrees with Herodotus (2.30.5, FHN I, 56): "... they gave themselves over to the king of the Aithiopians".

²⁴³For the name Troglodytes or Trogodytes, see FHN I, 66, Comments.

Comments

Eratosthenes' description of Nubia was based on data collected in the Middle Nile Region by explorers and travellers of various professions who visited Aithiopia during the decades following Ptolemy II's military expedition around 274 BC (see 97, *Comments*; 144).

The correctness of his description of the course of the Nile from Meroe to Syene (Aswan) is astonishing indeed, even if the actual orientations do not correspond exactly with our modern map. The distances are, of course, not precise either. It is noteworthy, however, that the description is given from S to N, i.e., in a downstream direction and thus as if from an "Aithiopian perspective". The "big cataract" is identical with the Second Cataract, which represented the greatest obstacle to Nile traffic. The Butana region between the Nile and the Atbara is generally described as an island in ancient literature. Eratosthenes' Astaboras is identical with the Atbara, while the Astapous is called to-day Blue Nile and the Astasoba of the anonymous author(s) quoted by him is the White Nile (cf. Schäfer 1895).

The use of ethnographic literature found by Eratosthenes in the Alexandrian library is reflected in some of his less exact remarks. The island beyond (i.e., south of) Meroe inhabited by the Deserters derives from Herodotus (2.30; see FHN I, 56). The Deserters or Sembrites also occur in other works dependent on early Hellenistic Alexandrian geography and ethnography (in this volume see 104). The placing, on the other hand, of the Megabaroï and the Blemmyes east of the Nile and the Trogodytes along the Red Sea coast in the Eastern Desert between the Egyptian frontier and the latitude of Meroe City seems realistic if we accept that these names designate different (groups of) Beja tribes (cf. Updegraff 1988, 62 f.). The—at times challenged—supremacy of the kings of Kush over them was touched upon in the *Comments* on FHN I, 34, 50, and in this volume on 71, 76, 84. The name Nubai seems to designate a nomadic people, apparently one of the Nubian-speaking peoples some of which were settled in the Upper Nubian Nile Valley already as early as the New Kingdom (cf. Priese 1973 *passim*; 1978, 76). The Nubai living west of the Nile in the 3rd century BC will appear in the historical record in the 4th century AD as invaders in the Butana and Upper Nubia (cf. FHN III, 297).

[LT]

110 On the reasons for the Nile flooding, 3rd cent. BC.

Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.5 (p. 1101.18-31 Meineke).

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* generally see 109. The present passage is not as clearly marked by Strabo as a quotation from Eratosthenes as that in 109; but there are still good reasons to believe that Eratosthenes, who

became attached to the library of Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is his source here as well.

Text

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι στοχασμῷ τὸ πλεόν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον αὐτόπται γεννηθέντες ἤσθοντο ὑπὸ ὄμβρων θερινῶν πληρούμενον τὸν Νεῖλον, τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ἄνω κλυζομένης, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄρεσι, παυσασμένων δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων παυομένην κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν πλημμυρίδα· τοῦτο δ' ὑπῆρξε μάλιστα δῆλον τοῖς πλέουσι τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον μέχρι τῆς κινναμομοφόρου καὶ τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι χρεῖαι παρώξυνον ἐκεῖσε ἄνδρας προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέας τοὺς Πτολεμαῖους. Οὗτοι γὰρ ἐφρόντισαν τῶν τοιούτων, διαφερόντως δ' ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθείς, φιλοιστορῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος διαγωγὰς ἀεὶ τινὰς καὶ τέρψεις ζητῶν καινότερας.

Translation

The ancients understood, mostly by guessing, as later generations by becoming eyewitnesses, that the Nile is filled by summer rains when Upper Aithiopia is being deluged, especially in the most distant mountains; and when the rains cease, the flooding gradually ceases. This became particularly evident to those who sailed on the Arabian Gulf as far as the Cinnamon-producing country and to those who were sent out to hunt elephants, or whenever some other needs urged the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt to detach men thither. For these kings took an interest in such things, in particular Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, who favoured research and because of his frail body always sought to find some distractions and novel amusements.

[TH]

Comments

Strabo here discusses the problem of the inundation of the Nile and presents the views of a number of writers on it, presumably as a result of literary research he had conducted before he accompanied his protector Aelius Gallus, Prefect of Egypt, on his Nile voyage (cf. Honigmann 1931, 91 and see FHN III, 187). The knowledge conveyed by the above-quoted passage, which probably derives from Eratosthenes' lost work (see *Introduction to source*), reflects the discoveries made by the explorers of the early Hellenistic period who visited Aithiopia in the course of the first half of the 3rd century BC. The ancient Egyptians did not see any causal connection between the rains in Aithiopia and the Nile inundation; it is only Taharqo's inscription from Year 6 (see FHN I, 22 9) that comes close to an association of the two as coincidental phenomena (cf. Zivie 1983, 204). Herodotus denied altogether the occurrence of rain in Aithiopia (2.20-22). Strabo, however, believes that the fact that "the summer rains are

the cause of the risings [of the Nile]" was already known to Homer, and then to Aristotle and Callisthenes as well (17.1.5). While reflecting a correct understanding of the connection between the summer monsoon rains and the inundation, Eratosthenes' description is rather sketchy as to the whole of the process of inundation. The remark on the reasons for the intellectual interests of Philadelphus, the probable founder of the Library of Alexandria (cf. Fraser 1972 I, 320 ff.) and a great ruler whose long reign abounded in success, is certainly idiosyncratic.

[LT]

111 On the name *Meroe*. 3rd cent. BC.

Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.5 (p. 1102.6-12 Meineke).

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source*, see 109.

Text

Καμβύσης τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατασχὼν προῆλθε καὶ μέχρι τῆς Μερόης μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦνομα τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει τοῦτο παρ' ἐκείνου τεθῆναί φασιν, ἐκεῖ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀποθανούσης αὐτῷ Μερόης· οἱ δὲ γυναῖκα φασί· τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν οὖν ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῇ τιμῶν τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

Translation

When Cambyses had occupied Egypt, he even advanced as far as Meroe with the Egyptians; and it was indeed he, it is said, that gave this name to both island and city, because his sister Meroe died there. Some say it was his wife; anyway, he conferred the name on it to honour that woman.

[TH]

Comments

This passage from Eratosthenes' work is included here in order to illustrate the etymologies of names that frequently occur in works of ancient authors. The origin of the legend concerning the name of the city of Meroe is obscure and there existed variants of it. While, according to Eratosthenes, it was captured by Cambyses and renamed by him after his sister or wife (probably a reflection of Ptolemaic brother-sister marriages), Diodorus (1.33) believes that it was founded by the Persian king and named after his mother.

In fact, Meroe City existed already by the 7th century BC (cf. Shinnie-Bradley 1980; Török n.d.). The first known occurrence of the place-name *B3-r-w3* in a Kushite document is in the great Kawa inscription of Irike-Amannote (see 71 5) written in the second half of the 5th century BC (Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 26 mention a [now lost and unillustrated] fragment of a stela of Aspelta from Temple M 250 at Meroe City with the place-name *M3r* [?], which, if the reading

is correct, would be the earliest attested occurrence of the toponym); however, in the form Μερών the name was already known to Herodotus (FHN I, 56). In Meroitic texts it occurs in the form *Bedewe*. The kingdom of Kush was known in the Roman world as kingdom of Meroe.

[LT]

112 The Nubian nome list of Ptolemy II. Philae, Temple of Isis. After ca. 274 BC.

Inscribed in the standards of figures of nomes bringing tribute to Isis, base zone, Room I, S, W, N sides. Urk. II, 12.27.

Text and translation

- (1) Snmwt
- (1) *Senemut* (Biga Island)

- (2) Ḥwt-ḥnt
- (2) Nearer-compound (Philae)

- (3) Pr-mrt
- (3) House-of-^rthe-margin-of-the-desert^r

- (4) Bꜣkt
- (4) Taxer (Quban, Contra Pselchis)

- (About six nomes missing.)

- (5) ꜥtꜥy (= ꜥtꜥt)²⁴⁴
- (5) *Atefat* (Sedeinga)

- (6) Tꜣ-wꜣd
- (6) ^rGreen^r-land

- (7) Pꜣ-nbst
- (7) House-of the-zizyphus-tree (Pnubs)

- (8) P-t-tn-^rḤr²⁴⁵
- (8) *Patana*

- (9) Nꜣpt
- (9) Napata (Gebel Barkal)

²⁴⁴*ꜥtꜥt* was a source of flint, cf. Aufrère 1991, 565 and note 41.

²⁴⁵For Pr-gm-^rtn, Kawa?

(10) *Mi-r-w3-i*

(10) Meroe

(11) *Ph(w)-Kns(t)*

(11) Farthest-Upper-Nubia

[RHP]

Comments

The list of the Nubian nomes bringing tribute to Isis of Philae is not completely preserved: the figures and names between *Bikt* (Quban) and *Itft.t* (Sedeinga) are destroyed. Similar representations of conquered territories and peoples bringing their tribute belonged to the iconographical program of New Kingdom temples (cf. Drenkhahn 1967). While the representational schemes do not vary significantly, the meaning of individual lists might have differed; and it cannot always be decided whether an actual list referred to wares arriving in the framework of trade or of gift exchange, as special gifts, or as real tribute (cf. Janssen 1975, 163 f.). The same uncertainty prevails as to the actual contents of Ptolemy II's Philae list; only so much seems certain that it was carved after the Aithiopian campaign in ca. 274 BC.

Although the nome names correspond to Nubian toponyms the majority of which are identical with Egyptian settlements of the New Kingdom period and could thus have been adopted from a tribute list of New Kingdom date, the settlements on the list existed in the time of Ptolemy II as well. The name of Meroe, however, could not have occurred in any New Kingdom list. Consequently, the Philae list seems to have been composed on the basis of the knowledge of actually existing settlements of some importance and not merely copied from an earlier temple relief. The the list may also have been carved in connection with the donation of the income from the Dodecaschoenus, i.e., the land between the First Cataract and Takompso, to the Isis temple (cf. Urk. II, 116.9-13; Hölbl 1994, 78 f.).

At the time when the list was carved on the walls of Room I of the Philae temple, all toponyms from *Snm.t* (Biga) to *Bhn* (Buhen) were in Egyptian territory, i.e. in Lower Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts occupied by Ptolemy II. Kush proper is represented by *Itft* (Sedeinga), *T3-w3dt* (unknown, Hofmann 1975, 71 identifies it with the site of New Dongola), *P3-nbst* (Pnubs), *Gm-p3-Itn* (Kawa), *Nipt* (Napata), *Mi-r-w3-i* (Meroe), i.e., the actual major centres of the kingdom during the centuries before, and after Ptolemy II's time. The term *Ph-Knst* (*Kns.t*, *Kenset*) usually signified in New Kingdom texts the territory south of Egypt, i.e., Nubia in general terms, while in Ptolemaic and Roman texts it seems to denote a "nome" south of Meroe, i.e., it has the meaning of the "farthermost part" of the kingdom of Kush. There are no indications that it would be exactly equivalent to an administrative unit of Meroe, and it occurs

in the inscriptions of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra with the general meaning "Nubia" (Hintze 1962, 27 f.; Hintze et al. 1993, 81; for Kenset see Žabkar 1978).

[LT]

(113) Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes I). Titles.

Sources: N wall, mortuary chapel of Beg. S. 6, Dunham 1957, fig. B/14; offering table Khartoum 27, Sayce 1909, 193, Pl. 25/1; PM VII, 257; Hofmann 1978, 39.

Throne name	Hnm-ib-Rꜥ "The heart-of-Rê-rejoices"
Son-of-Rê name	ꜥrk-k-ꜥmn

Comments

Owing to a lack of other evidence than the cartouches inscribed in his mortuary chapel reliefs, it cannot be decided whether Arkamaniqo assumed a five-part titular or only cartouche names on his ascent to the throne (for the probability of the latter and the tradition of "incomplete" titularies see (82) and 84, *Comments*).

The Throne name imitates, in a very remarkable manner, that of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty king Amasis; no other occurrence thereof is known. An explanation for this is suggested in (114).

(114) Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes I). Evidence for reign.

King Arkamaniqo's filiation and family relations are unknown. His dating is established on the basis of his identification with the Ergamenes occurring in Hellenistic literature and on the basis of Agatharchides' remark (see 142) that this Ergamenes was a contemporary of Ptolemy II (285/82-246 BC). He is, accordingly, allotted a place in the relative royal chronology in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC (cf. Hofmann 1978, 37 ff.; Török 1988, 178).

Arkamaniqo's reign is attested in Kush solely by his pyramid burial Beg. S 6 (Dunham 1957, 27 ff.), the first royal burial in the region of Meroe City, where his cartouches are inscribed in the mortuary cult chapel (see (113)). Since, however, he is identified with the King Ergamenes who, according to Agatharchides (in Diodorus 3.6, see 142), was a contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Arkamaniqo-Ergamenes I (for Ergamenes II see (128), (129)) is generally regarded in the literature as a sort of "heretic" king who, by means of a royal coup d'état, put a violent end to the "rule" of the priests of Amûn of Napata, thereby separating state and church, and removed the centre of the kingdom also geographically from the sphere of these priests by transferring the "capital"

from Napata to Meroe (e.g., Hofmann 1971, 77; Adams 1977, 305, 311; Hofmann 1978, 41; Hintze 1978, 94 f.).

The interpretation of Agatharchides' Ergamenes story as a royal revolt against the suffocating power of the priesthood of Amûn over the institutions of the kingship can be seen to be wrong if one realizes the unbroken continuity of Kushite kingship ideology with the cult of Amûn of Napata at its centre and the continuity of Napata as one of the capitals of the land (and not *the* capital: for the existence of several capitals at the same time see Török 1992) during and after the reign of Arkamaniqo. The Ergamenes-story more likely reflects another kind of discontinuity: viz., the coming to power of a new dynasty. While Arkamaniqo did not in fact "transfer the capital", he did transfer the royal burial ground from the neighbourhood of Napata, i.e., from the area that was traditionally connected with the founders of the kingdom of Kush who originated from there (cf. FHN I, (2)), to the neighbourhood of Meroe City. His actual tomb, Beg. S. 6, which is situated at the lower edge of the hill occupied by Begarawiya South Cemetery, a necropolis where aristocrats and royal wives had been buried since Kashta's and Piye's reigns (cf. Dunham 1963), can most likely be interpreted as an interment in his ancestors' burial place. Otherwise, the burial of a ruler in a low-lying, peripheral part of a non-royal cemetery would be more than unusual: indeed, Arkamaniqo's second successor opened a new royal burial ground (i.e., Beg. N.) close to Beg. S. on the top of another hill (see (117)). The Ergamenes-story in Diodorus also hints at the violent circumstances of the emergence of the new dynasty, though transferring it into the realm of the Herodotean motif of the massacre of priests.

Arkamaniqo's Throne name lends further support to the above-sketched interpretation: the adoption of the Throne name of Ahmes/Amasis, who did not hide from his contemporaries the fact that he violently deposed his predecessor (for his stela from Year 1 see Meulenaere 1973a, 181), indicates that the Kushite king deliberately and pointedly associated himself with an Egyptian king who was known to posterity as a usurper. Significantly, the most important features of Amasis in Herodotus' description, i.e. that he was a usurper in the beginning, and a "lover of the Greeks" later (2.178), may also be extracted from Agatharchides' Ergamenes-portrait. While other elements of the Ergamenes-story come in fact from different tales in Herodotus (see 142, *Comments*), this parallelism is more likely to be historical, and is part of the parallelism felt and brought to expression by Arkamaniqo himself (for a detailed discussion of such an interpretation of the data see Török 1992a).

In accordance with the terminological consensus in the literature, yet laying stress on the fact that with Arqamani a new dynasty of southern origins had emerged, and not that the capital of the country was transferred from Napata to Meroe, we shall henceforth use *Meroe* and *Meroitic* when speaking of the kingdom of Kush.

[LT]

(115) Amanislo. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Sources: 1. Secondary cartouches on the granite lion statues of Amenophis III ("Prudhoe lions") transferred by Piye (?) or Amanislo (?) from Soleb to Gebel Barkal, British Museum 1, 2, Dunham 1957, fig. B/9c; 2. Beg. S. 5, mortuary cult chapel, N and S walls, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 3/F, H. (It was suggested that a fragmentarily preserved Son-of-Rê name found on a column drum at Semna might be that of Amanislo: Dunham-Janssen 1960, fig. 4, Pl. 88/b. On account of its uncertain reading, this name is not listed here.)

	1.	2.
Throne name	ḥnḥ-nfr-ib-Rꜥ "Neferibrê-lives"	ḥnḥ-nfr-ib-Rꜥ "Neferibrê-lives"
Son-of-Rê name	Imn-isl	Imn-isl mrl-Imn Epithet: "Beloved-of-Amûn"

Evidence for reign

Amanislo's filiation and family relations are unknown. It was speculated that the owner of Beg. S. 4, Kanarta Sar...tiñ, who bears the title "Mother of Pharaoh" (on an unpublished offering table, the reading of which could not be checked, see Dunham 1957, 186, fig. 121), was the wife of Arkamaniqo and the mother of Amanislo (cf. Dunham 1957, 9; Hofmann 1978, 43; for her iconography as Queen Mother see Török 1987, 43). If this is correct, the Year 20 + X in a badly damaged inscription on the N wall of Kanarta Sar...tiñ's funerary cult chapel (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. III/A) may refer to the regnal year of Amanislo in which his mother was buried (cf. Hofmann 1978, 43 f.). His place after Arkamaniqo in the relative chronology of the rulers of Kush was suggested on the basis of the location of his pyramid grave Beg. S. 5 in the Begarawiya South Cemetery (cf. Dunham 1957, 6, 37). If in fact he reigned for more than twenty years, Amanislo may hypothetically be dated to the middle decades of the 3rd century BC.

Amanislo's cartouches on the Soleb lions, the most splendid lion sculptures ever made in New Kingdom Egypt, indicate—irrespective of the question of whether it was he or a predecessor that transferred them to Napata/Gebel Barkal—restoration activity on a rather grand scale. As it seems (see Kendall 1991, 309), they were re-erected flanking the entrance avenue of Palace B 1200 (the ancient royal ceremonial palace contemporary with the early Temple B 800) which connected the Palace with the sanctuaries built into the lower part of the cliff (B 200, 300, 1100, cf. Kendall 1991, fig. 1). The restoration of the royal palace which was used by the kings during their coronation ceremonies at Napata by the successor of Arkamaniqo, the—wrongly—supposed hero of the

coup d'état against the priests of Amûn of Napata (see (114), *Comments*), certainly speaks against any breach with Napata and supports the above-suggested interpretation of the Ergamenes-story (see (114), *Comments*; 142, *Comments*).

Amanislo appears as Amonasro in Auguste Mariette's libretto for Verdi's *Aida*.

[LT]

116 Earliest Greek source for the Blemmyes. First half of the 3rd cent. BC.
Theocritus 7.111-114.

Source bibliography

Gow 1952

Theocritus, edited with a translation and commentary by A.S.F. Gow. Vol. 1-2. Cambridge.

Dover 1971

Theocritus: Select Poems, edited with an introduction and commentary by K.J. Dover. Basingstoke-London.

Introduction to source

The poet Theocritus was a native of Syracuse in Sicily, but came to Alexandria, the centre of learning and literature in the Hellenistic age, where he seems to have been under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. His poems also show familiarity with the island of Cos, the setting of the poem from which the present text is taken.

Theocritus owes his literary fame to his being regarded as the founder of the pastoral or bucolic genre. His pastoral poems typically depict the charm and daily life of the Greek countryside, with shepherds exchanging songs about love, Pan and the Nymphs. The present text is from such a poem. The lines quoted here, which give the earliest mention of the Blemmyes in Greek literature, belong to one of the songs contained in the poem: the singer asks Pan to assist a friend in a love affair, and lists the ills he wishes upon Pan in case he refuses his assistance.

The fullest commentary on Theocritus is Gow (1952), with Greek text and English translation. The shorter commentary by Dover (1971) is also much to be recommended.

Text

εἷης δ' Ἡδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὥρεσι χεῖματι μέσσω
 Ἔβρον πᾶρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν Ἄρκτω,
 ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιόπεσσι νομεύοις
 πέτρα ὑπο Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὁρατός.

Translation

In midwinter may you [Pan] be in the mountains of the Edonians,²⁴⁶
 turned towards the river Hebrus, near to the Great Bear,²⁴⁷
 and in summer may you herd your flock among the most distant of the
 Aithiopians,
 beneath the rock of the Blemmyes, whence the Nile can no longer be seen.

[TE]

Comments

Theocritus owed his knowledge of the existence of a people called Blemmyes to the early 3rd century BC Greek explorers of Aithiopia (cf. 100). He correctly associates them with the "most distant" Aithiopians (a reminiscence of the utopian character of the blameless Aithiopians living on the periphery of the known world), and their "rock" may derive from a definition of the habitat of the Blemmyes given by Theocritus' source in relation to one of the Nile cataracts (cf. Updegraff 1988, 62). For the Blemmyes in earlier sources see FHN I, 34, 50, in this volume 71, 76, 84, 109.

[LT]

(117) Amanitekha. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Source: cartouches on block from S wall relief of the (destroyed) mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 4, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 4/D; Beckerath 1984, Anhang h.

Throne name	ʿMn ¹ -ḏb-R ^c "Rê-is-One-whose-heart-ʿendures ¹ "
Son-of-Rê name	ʿImn-tlḥ

Evidence for reign

King Amanitekha was the first ruler of Kush to be buried in the North Cemetery at Meroe-Begarawiya. Though his tomb Beg. N. 4 (Dunham 1957, 52 f.) receives a great importance through its position, the tomb itself was of a rather small size and seems to have had only two subterranean chambers, as opposed to the canonical three of the great majority of the earlier and later tombs of rulers (for the destruction of the tomb caused by E.A.W. Budge's excavation see

²⁴⁶The Edonians, a people of Thrace, represent the extreme North, where the winter is cold, contrasted in the following with the extreme South, represented by the Aithiopians, where the summer is dry and hot.

²⁴⁷I.e. the constellation, the notion being that the closer one gets to the extremities of the earth, the shorter the distance to the celestial bodies; cf. 142 (Agatharchides in Diod. Sic. 3.2.1): "the region closest to the sun" (of the Aithiopians).

Dunham 1957, 53). His filiation and family relations are unknown, and the dating of his reign to the second half of the 3rd century BC is suggested on the basis of the location of his tomb in the necropolis (cf. Hofmann 1978, 46 ff.).

Comments

The poor preservation of Amanitekha's cartouches does not allow an analysis of his Throne name which may have been a Kushite construction modelled upon a related TIP (Twenty-Third Dynasty ? or Piye ? see FHN I, (5) 7d) Throne name (*Mn-ḥpr-R*) rather than an imitation of the identical Throne name of the obscure Fourteenth Dynasty Menibre (Beckerath 1984, XII/40) or of the Lower Egyptian contemporary (?) of Piye Menibre (Beckerath 1984, XXVB/e).

It is worth noticing that the three earliest rulers of the new dynasty buried in the area of Meroe City (cf. (114), *Comments*) had throne names containing an utterance concerning *ib R*. Though titles consisting of this element (FHN I, (33), Anlamani, *Nebty*; (35), Aspelta, Golden Horus) already occurred in earlier Kushite titularies, it is the two occurrences of the Throne name *Nfr-ib-R* in the titularies of Irike-Amannote ((69)) and Akhratañ ((79)) that concern us here; for these too are connected with the first three generations of an apparently new dynasty (cf. (79), *Comments*). It was pointed out above ((113), *Comments*) that *Ḥnm-ib-R* in Arkamaniqo's titulary indicates a deliberate association of Arkamaniqo with Amasis in order to allude to his founding of a new dynasty by violent means. While the traditional notion of *Mn-ib(-R)* in itself points towards the association of Rê's enduring favour with the King's valiance (cf. Brunner 1977, 1160; Grimal 1986, 709 f.), the re-emphasis of the concept of *ib-R* appears to have been intended first of all to manifest a political link between Irike-Amannote and his descendant Akhratañ and Arkamaniqo and his descendants.

[LT]

(118) King [...] Šsp-ḥnḥ-n-Imn Stp.n-R. Titles.

Source: on three fragments of a stray block from the area of the chapel of Beg. N. 16 (but not belonging to it), Wenig 1971, fig. 3.

Horus name	K3-nḥt [.....] "Mighty Bull, [.....]"
Golden Horus name	Tk-twy iri-[i]ḥ[t] "He-who-illuminates-Two-lands (Egypt), He-who-does-what-is-useful"
Throne name	Šsp-ḥnḥ-n-Imn, Epithet: Stp.n-R "Living-likeness-of-Amûn", Ep. "Chosen-of-Rê"

Comments

The Golden Horus name found on the stray blocks from the area of Beg. N. 16 was doubtless modelled on Ptolemy III Euergetes' Golden Horus name *Wr-pḥty iri-šw(t) nb-ḥ3bw-sd-mi-Pth-T3nn ity-mi-R** (Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 3 G); a title referring to the king's duties towards his divine father (cf. Grimal 1986, 167 ff. with notes 500-512, examples from Ramesses II to Pinodjem I) and to his piety and creative role, it was formed in Egypt on the basis of New Kingdom concepts and models (cf. for Ramesses XI and Herihor: Grimal 1986, 520 f. with note 372).

It is more difficult to point out the actual model(s) for the King's Throne name (without Epithet). Besides a New Kingdom example: viz., Thutmose III's *Nebty* name *Šsp-ṛnh-n-Itm ḥpr-m-Ḥpry ḥtp-b3w-Itmw-ḥr-M3t=f* (Beckerath 1984, XVIII/6 N 5), one also may quote, as a perhaps somewhat more probable prototype, Piye's epithet *Šsp-ṛnh-n-Itm* (FHN I, 9 1). The Epithet *Stp-n-R** occurred in the Throne names of Alexander the Great, Philip Arrhidaeus, and Ptolemy I (Beckerath 1984, Argeaden 1, 2; Ptolemäer 1), and it similarly had models in New Kingdom (cf. Grimal 1986, 201 ff.) and TIP Throne names (Bonhême 1987, 266 f.).

[LT]

(119) King [...] Šsp-ṛnh-n-Imn Stp.n-R*. Evidence for reign.

The style of the titulary (see (118)) in general indicates a date contemporary with the early Ptolemies; in particular, the Golden Horus name suggests that the King, whose Son-of-Rê name is not preserved, was, in his early reign, a contemporary of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-222 BC). His filiation and family relations are unknown, and the association of King *Šsp-ṛnh-n-Imn Stp.n-R** with a particular tomb at Beg. N. (Wenig 1967, 43; 1971, 268; Beg. N. 8) remains hypothetical.

[LT]

120 Letter to Egyptian elephant hunters on the Red Sea coast. 224 BC.

PPetrie II 40(a), III 53(g). Wilcken, Chrest. 452.

Source bibliography

- | | |
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Introduction to source

This papyrus letter was found in the Fayyum in Egypt; and the name of the sender, Manres, points to the Fayyum as its place of origin (Wilcken 1912, 534). So, as Wilcken remarks, if the letter ever reached the elephant hunters, they must have brought it back home again.

The text was first published by Mahaffy (1893, 135 f., with supplementary material in Mahaffy 1894, 8, and Mahaffy-Smyly 1905, 149; no photo provided). It was reedited in Wilcken's *Chrestomathie*, in which there is also a discussion of its historical implications. We mostly follow Wilcken's text (1912, 533-535, No. 452, with bibliography and comments) which is based on inspection of the original. An improved reading in line 19 and a new supplement in line 20 are due to Witkowski (1913, 23-30), who also had included the letter in the second edition of his collection of private papyrus letters (Witkowski 1911, 39-42, No. 24).

Text

Μανρής Νεκτενίβι Ἄτιβει²⁴⁸ Πετο[σίρει] | Ἀμφίτει (?) Α...νει Ὠρου²⁴⁹
 Τεω[] | Ἐριεῦτι Σονθώντι²⁵⁰ Πετ[] | Α...τι Πετεχῶντι Α...[]⁵ Ὠρωι
 Πακερεῦτι Ἰέρωνι[] | [...]... τοῖς τ' [ἄλλοι]ς πολίταις | πᾶσι χαίρειν. Εἰ
 ἔρρωσθε | πάντες, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι, [ύγι]αίνο[με]ν δὲ καὶ αὐτοί. Παραγεν-
 ὁμε[νος] (lacuna of at least one line)¹⁰ ἤμ[ιν][σιν] | οἱ[.....]..ικ..[] | Μή
 οὖν ὀλιγοψυχήσητε, | ἀλλ' ἀνδρίξεσθε, ὀλίγος | γὰρ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐστίν,
 ἐτοιμά¹⁵ζεται γὰρ ἡ διαδοχὴ | καὶ οἱ κ[υνηγοὶ] ἐπιλεγεμένοι | εἰ[σὶ οἱ]

²⁴⁸Written above the line; according to Witkowski (1913, 23), it should rather be inserted *before* Nektenibi and possibly be read Ἀρίβει.

²⁴⁹Written above the line.

²⁵⁰Reading by W. Clarysse as reported in Peremans-van't Dack (1975, 225, No.4506), replacing Mahaffy's (1893) σον.εωτι and Wilcken's (1912) Σον.ώνει.

μέλ[λο]ντες παραγενέσθαι [με]τὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. | Παρέσται δὲ ὑμῖν] καὶ
ἐξ Ἡ²⁰ρώων πόλε[ως πορ]εῖα²⁵¹ | συντόμως ἄγοντα .. πυρῶν | καὶ ἡ ἐλε-
φαντηγὸς] ἡ ἐν Βερηνίκῃ τέλος ἔχει καὶ αὐτὴ (lacuna of perhaps several
lines) | γράψατέ μοι, τί[ς παρ' ὑ]μῖν ²⁵ τιμὴ ἐγένετο τοῦ σίτου, | ἀφ' οὗ ἡ
ἐλεφαντηγὸς κατεποντίσθη καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν] | ἐντείνεσθε, ἕως ἂν
ὕγιαί|νοντας ὑμᾶς ἴδωμεν. ³⁰ Ἑρρω(σθε). (Ἑτους) κδ | [Φαῶ]φ[ι] κ.

Translation

Manres greets Nektenibis, Atibis, Peto[siris], Amphitis (?), A[...]nis son of Horos²⁵² (?), Teo[...], Herieus, Sonthoys, Pet[...], A[...], Petechons, A[...], (5) Horos, Pakereus, Hieron²⁵³ [...] and all his o[ther] compatriots. If you are all well, it is fine, and we too are in good health ourselves.

When [...] ²⁵⁴ came here [...] (10) us [...].²⁵⁵ Do not be fainthearted, but keep up your spirits. You have only a little time left, (15) for your relief is being made ready, and the hunters who will come with the *strategos* are (already) selected. There will also shortly come to you from (20) Heroonpolis [frei]ghters carrying [...] ²⁵⁶ of wheat, and the elephant ship in Berenice is ready too [...] ²⁵⁷

Write to me what (25) price the grain reached at your place after the elephant ship sank. Do your very best, so that we may see you in good health. (30) Farewell. Year 24(?),²⁵⁸ [Phao]ph[i] 20.

[TH]

Comments

Though the letter was written by Egyptian subjects and sent from a place under Egyptian supremacy to the Fayyum in Egypt, it has, though indirectly, a bearing on Kushite history. In the course of the 3rd century BC Ptolemaic interest in the

²⁵¹Reading and supplement by Witkowski (1913, 24), replacing Wilcken's Παρέσσονται --- [...]εῖα. Mahaffy (1893) in the editio princeps also read παρεσται, but Smyly in Mahaffy-Smyly (1905, 149) preferred παρέσσονται and was followed by Wilcken.

²⁵²Although Wilcken (1912, 535, note on line 1) states: "Vatersnamen sind nicht hinzugefügt", this is the natural way to interpret *Horos* in the genitive written above the line after A...νει; and it is so interpreted also in the list of hunters in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (Peremans-van't Dak 1952, 236, No. 4466).

²⁵³Apparently the only Greek name in the list. Witkowski (1913, 23) doubts the reading and instead suggests Ι.ρᾶνι.

²⁵⁴Lacuna of one line, i.e., room for two or three words.

²⁵⁵Another two lines in which only a few letters are visible. Obviously, somebody has arrived in Fayyum bringing a message from the elephant hunters, which expressed their misgivings and impatience.

²⁵⁶Figure indicating the quantity missing (earlier attempts to read the figure as 1800 or 48 artabas are rejected by Wilcken 1912, 535).

²⁵⁷Lacuna of several lines.

²⁵⁸Wilcken (1912, 535) notes that the reading of the last figure is not quite certain and that the whole papyrus should be thoroughly checked once more.

eastern trade (for a discussion of Ptolemaic commercial policy see Fraser 1972 I, 176 ff.) resulted in the re-opening of the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea (at Pithom), in an Egyptian expansion along the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea, in the establishment of harbours from Suez to the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, and in the organisation of the capture of African elephants on Aithiopian territory. The beasts were captured by Egyptian experts, and their transport was carefully organised from a port under Ptolemaic supremacy (Ptolemais Theron) on the Red Sea to a harbour further north (Berenice Trogodytica) whence they went overland (via el Kanais, cf. 98, *Comments*) to Edfu and then to Memphis and Alexandria (for the organisation of the elephant capture and transport see in detail Desanges 1970 [where also the evidence for the, rarely used, alternative transport route on the Nile is discussed]; Fraser 1972 I, 176 ff.; Hofmann 1975, 98 ff., with literature).

The fragmentarily preserved text of 120 informs us about the organisation of the elephant hunters under the command of a strategos (on his one-year tenure see Kortenbeutel 1931, 41; Hofmann 1975, 98) and about how the hunters stationed in the hunting foundations were provisioned and about the elephant transport. Grain for the hunters' stations was shipped from Heroonpolis (=Pithom) in Egypt via the Red Sea canal re-opened by Ptolemy II and the Red Sea to Berenice (Trogodytica) where it was probably transferred to an elephant-transporting boat. This latter sort of vessel seems to have transported grain on the way back from Berenice after the delivery of the elephants coming there from the south; unless, as reported in 120, it sank en route with the heavy and problematic cargo of elephants (for the risks involved in the transport of the beasts and the frequent catastrophes see Agatharchides Fgm. 85a, Burstein 1989, 140 ff.; and cf. Hofmann 1975, 100 f.). The issue of the price of wheat raised in the letter also indicates that the elephant hunters living in the stations at the Red Sea had to acquire their grain supplies from what they were paid (on its amount in 223 BC see 121).

[LT]

121 Payment of elephant hunters. 223 BC.

PEleph 28. Wilcken, Chrest. 451.

Source bibliography

Wilcken 1912

L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Band 1: U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil, 2: Chrestomathie. Leipzig-Berlin.

Introduction to source

This papyrus letter was found in Elephantine in Egypt. Neither sender nor addressee gets his actual place of residence specified.

We follow Wilcken's (1912, 532 f., No. 451) reedition of the text which is based on inspection of the original.

Text

Μνήσαρχος [Ἀντ]ιπάτρῳ χαίρειν. Ἐπεστάλκαμεν | Πανίσκῳ διαγράψαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ τραπέζης | Δημητρ[ί]ῳ γραμματεῖ τῶν δ[ι'] Ἀνδρονίκου κυνηγῶν | ὥστε τοῖς ἀναξυγνύουσι μετὰ Πειθολάου ἀνδράσι σλα |⁵ ὁψώνιον ἀπὸ Ἀρτεμισίου ἕως Πανήμου μ(ηνῶν) γ (τάλαντα) β Ἄωξ, | ἀνταναιρουμένου δὲ τοῦ προδοθέντος τοῖς προλαποσταλεῖσιν εἰς μ(ῆνα) Ἀρτεμ[ίσι]ον²⁵⁹ (δραχμῶν) ξ τὰ λοιπὰ (τάλαντα) β Ἄω. Συν- χρημάτισον | οὖν καθότι γέγραπται. | Ἐρρωσο. (Ἔτους) κε Θῶυθ κᾶ.

|¹⁰ (2nd hand) Ἀπολλωνίδει. Συνχρημάτισον καθότι γέγραπται. | (3rd hand) Ἐρρωσο. (Ἔτους) κε Θῶυθ κᾶ.

Translation

Mnesarchos greets [Ant]ipatros. We have sent word to Paniskos²⁶⁰ to pay from the bank in Arsinoë²⁶¹ to Demetrios, the scribe (*grammateus*)²⁶² of the hunters²⁶³ of Andronikos,²⁶⁴ so that the 231 men who are marching with Peitholaos²⁶⁵ (5) will have their pay from Artemisios to Panemos: 3 months, 2 talents, 1860 (drachmas). Deducted what was already given for the month Artemisios to those sent in advance, 60 drachmas, the rest is 2 talents, 1800 (drachmas). Process in accordance with what is written. Farewell. Year 25, Thot 21.

(10) (2nd hand) To Apollonides. Process in accordance with what is written. (3rd hand) Farewell. Year 25, Thot 21.

[TH]

Comments

This letter is included here in order to complement the information presented by 120. The fairly substantial payment (4 silver [?] drachmas per day, cf. Hofmann 1975, 99, with references to earlier literature on the amount indicated in 121) to the elephant hunters, who were Egyptians (or Egyptian Greeks), carried out their work in Aithiopian territory, and were entirely, as it seems, under the

²⁵⁹The last three words were written above the line.

²⁶⁰A royal bank director (*trapezites*) in the Apollinopolite nome in Egypt, known from another papyrus (PEleph 15).

²⁶¹According to Wilcken (1912, 533), probably a village in the Apollinopolite nome.

²⁶²Wilcken (1912, 533) translates *Intendant*, "quartermaster".

²⁶³Probably the name of special troops sent to the Red Sea coast to hunt elephants.

²⁶⁴According to Wilcken (1912, 533), the preposition used here (διὰ) denotes Andronikos as the recruiting officer, rather than as the commander of the troops.

²⁶⁵Probably identical with the Pytholaos mentioned by Strabo (16.4.15, 774c) among the leaders of the elephant expeditions.

command of their Egyptian strategos, was carefully arranged by their employers.

[LT]

122 The failure of Philopator's elephants in the battle of Raphia. Ca. 150 BC.
Polybius 5.84.3-7.

Source bibliography

- Paton 1923-27 Polybius: The Histories. With an English translation by
W.R. Paton. Vol. 1-6. London-Cambridge, MA (Loeb
Classical Library.)
- Pédech 1977 Polybe: Histoires, Livre V. Texte établi et traduit par P.
Pédech. Paris. (Collection des Universités de France.)

Introduction to source

The historian Polybius, born ca. 200 BC, was a native of Megalopolis in the Peloponnesus (Greece). As a leading politician in the so-called Achaean League he was among a thousand Achaeans deported to Rome after the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) as hostages on account of their policy during the war. In Rome, however, Polybius became a friend of the leading families; in particular he became attached to Scipio Africanus as adviser and travelling companion and accompanied him on his military expeditions to Spain and North Africa.

Polybius thus writes from personal experience in political and military matters at the highest level, both Greek and Roman. His work is a general history, the main theme being Rome's rise to world power from 220 BC (Second Punic War) to 146 BC (destruction of Carthage and Corinth). It consisted of 40 books, of which about one third has survived (the first five books and part of the sixth, the remainder in excerpts).

In his work Polybius frequently expresses his views on history and his intentions as a historiographer. His work is "pragmatic history", dealing with the actual events and actions (contrasted 9.2.1 with histories dealing with "genealogies, myths, colonizations, kinship ties, and founding of cities") intended to give instruction to men of action, not enjoyment to the many. Thus Polybius' work stands apart from the sensational, romantic, or "tragic" histories that are characteristic of the Hellenistic age.

The present extract is from Polybius' description of the battle of Raphia (Palestine) during the Fourth Syrian War (217 BC).

The most recent edition of Polybius' Book 5 is by Pédech (1977), on which we have based our text. In English translation Polybius is available in the Loeb Classical Library (Paton 1922-27).

Text

84 [3] Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τῶν ζώων μάχη τοιαύτη τις· συμπλέξαντα καὶ παρεμβalόντα τοὺς ὀδόντας εἰς ἀλλήλους ὥθεϊ τῇ βίᾳ, διερειδόμενα περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἕως ἂν κατακρατήσαν τῇ δυνάμει θάτερον παρώσῃ τὴν θατέρου προνομήν· [4] ὅταν δ' ἅπαξ ἐγκλῖναν πλάγιον λάβῃ, τιτρώσκει τοῖς ὀδοῦσι καθάπερ οἱ ταῦροι τοῖς κέρασιν. [5] Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου θηρίων ἀπεδειλία τὴν μάχην, ὅπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς Λιβυκοῖς ἐλέφασιν· [6] τὴν γὰρ ὀσμὴν καὶ φωνὴν οὐ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπεπληγμένοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φεύγουσιν εὐθέως ἐξ ἀποστήματος τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ἐλέφαντας· ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι. [7] Τοῦτων δὲ διαταραχθέντων καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν τάξεις συνωθουμένων τὸ μὲν ἄγλημα τὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πιεζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐνέκλινε, ...

Translation

84 [3] ... For the method of fighting of the animals [i.e. the elephants] is in general terms as follows: They thrust their tusks against each other and lock them, whereupon they push with their great might, struggling to gain ground, until one of them has overpowered the other and pushed aside its trunk. [4] Once it has turned its adversary so as to attack it from the side, it gores it with its tusks like bulls do with their horns. [5] Most of Ptolemy's animals, however, shied away from the battle, as is usually the case with Libyan²⁶⁶ elephants; [6] they cannot stand the smell and sounds of the Indian elephants, but are actually terrified by their size and strength, it seems to me, and immediately flee from them even before they come close. [7] This is also what happened on this occasion. When these [elephants] had been thrown into confusion and were pushed back onto their own lines Ptolemy's Guard came under pressure from the animals and gave way. ...

[TE]

Comments

Ptolemy IV Philopator's army fought the decisive battle in the fourth Syrian war against Antiochus III at Raphia on the border between Egypt and Palestine ca. 33 km SE of Gaza on 22 June 217 BC (cf. Volkmann 1959, 1682 ff.). Although Antiochus III lost the battle, the superiority of his Indian elephants over Ptolemy's African beasts was, as described by Polybius, obvious; and the experience gained at Raphia (cf. also Diodorus 2.16; Aelian, NA 2.11) discredited African elephants as beasts of battle and led to a rapid decline in their import from Aithiopia. Within a decade the relations between Aithiopia and Egypt turned hostile; and the Upper Egyptian revolt against the Ptolemies, which enjoyed an Aithiopian support (see 133, 135), rendered commercial contacts completely impossible for a time.

[LT]

²⁶⁶I.e. African.

123 Mention of Blemmyes in 220/19 BC.

PHauswaldt VI, Spiegelberg 1913 and Lüddeckens 1960.

Text and translation

IN A STANDARD DEMOTIC LEGAL INSTRUMENT DOCUMENTING A MARRIAGE:

(1) ...

(1) ... (Dating formula for September/October 219 BC) ...

ḏḏ Brhm n ms n Kmy

Said (the) Blemmy of birth in Black(land) (Egypt),

Hr-m-ḥb

s; Hr-pa-ʾst

mwt=f Wn-is

Horemheb, (who is) son of Horpaêse, (and) whose mother is Wenêse,

(2) n šhmt

(2) to (the) woman

Ta-is ta H'-ḥr

mwt=s T3-ʾrt-ḏrt

Taêse, (who is) daughter of Khahôr, (and) whose mother is Taîretshôret:

ir=y t=t (n) hmt ...

I have taken you to wife.²⁶⁷ ...

Note to the translation

This text is readily accessible in Lüddeckens (1960, 52-55), who gives abundant references to his predecessors. On p. 238 he offers comments on the ethnic designation Blemmy and a further reference to demotic Pap. Rylands 16, dated April 5, 152 BC (pp. 89-92), which records another marriage of a Blemmy born in Egypt to an Egyptian lady.

[RHP]

Comments

The marriage settlement in PHauswaldt VI records the marriage of a Blemmy, Harmais, to an Egyptian woman. As pointed out by Zyhlarz (1940-41, 6 ff.) and Updegraff (1988, 59 f.), both Harmais and his father Harpaesis have in their names the element *Hr* which is characteristic for Blemmy names occurring in documents of later centuries too (Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984 = FHN III 331-343 *passim*; Török 1988a, 64 ff.). Another marriage settlement of a later date, PHauswaldt XV (Spiegelberg 1913), concerns Harmais' son Pabus who is said there, however, to be a *Mḥbr*, i.e., a Megabaros (cf. Möller 1918). Thus it seems that the

²⁶⁷Lit.: I have made you as wife.

Megabaroï, who are customarily mentioned together with the Blemmyes in ancient literature (cf. 109), were a people that constituted a branch of the Blemmy complex living E of the Nile between the latitude of the Egyptian frontier and the Fifth Cataract. In the Ptolemaic period Blemmyes came as military settlers to Egypt (for policemen originating from the Eastern Desert throughout Egyptian history see, with literature, Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 139 f.; Bietak 1982) where they married Egyptian women. Their descendants appear for generations in legal documents as Blemmyes (cf. 136 and Updegraff 1988, 60 f.) or, curiously, as Persians (by this period the term "Persian" has no ethnic connotation: it is used to indicate persons of military descent, see Pestman 1994, 91).

[LT]

(124) Arnekhmani. Titles.

Sources: 1. Bronze head from Kawa, British Museum 63585, Macadam 1949, Pl. 38 No. XLIV; 2. Musawwarat es Sufra, Apedemak temple, S front, Hintze 1962, 23 No. 4, Hintze et al. 1993, fig. 27 (=126); 3. Ibid., N front, Hintze 1962, 23 No. 5, Hintze et al. 1993, fig. 36 (=126); 4. Ibid., W front, Hintze 1962, 22 f. No. 1; 5. Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, Room 516, columns, Hintze 1971, 241 figs 20, 21.

Titles/Documents

	1.	2.
Throne name	Hpr-k3-R ^c "Re-is-one-whose-ka-comes-into-being"	Hpr-k3-R ^c
Son-of-Rê name	ʾrnh-ʾImn Mri-ʾImn Epithet: "Beloved-of-Amûn"	ʾrnh-ʾImn ʾnh-dt Mri-ʾImn Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Amûn"
	3.	4.
Horus name	K3-nht Mri-M ^c t "Mighty Bull, Beloved-of-Ma ^c at"	
Throne name	Hpr-k3-R ^c "Re-is-one-whose-ka-comes-into-being"	Hpr-k3-R ^c
Son-of-Rê name	ʾrnh-ʾImn ʾnh-dt Mri-ʾImn Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Amûn"	ʾrnh-ʾImn ʾnh-dt Mri-ʾIs.t Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis"
	5.	
Son-of-Rê name	ʾrnh-ʾImn ʾnh-dt Mri-ʾImn Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Amûn"	

Comments

In Arnekhamani's surviving monuments the King's Horus, Throne, and Son-of-Rê names are attested; it is uncertain whether he ever assumed a five-part titulary. While his Horus name is attested only on one of the walls of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra (3) and while his Throne name occurs both on the Kawa head (1; for the head see Wenig 1978, Cat. 133) and on the walls of the Apedemak temple (2, 3, 4) in the same form, the Epithets added in the cartouche of his Son-of-Rê name vary significantly. As argued by Hintze (1962, 14 f.), the King's Son-of-Rê name was successively altered at least twice. The earliest form was Arnekhamani *Mri-Imn* (1), which was expanded into Arnekhamani *nh-dt Mri-Imn* before, or during the building of the Apedemak temple (2, 3, 5). At a later time, however, this name form was again altered; and on the restored W front of the same temple the King's Son-of-Rê name is Arnekhamani *nh-dt Mri-'Is.t* (4).

The Horus name *K3-nht Mri-Mst* occurred rather frequently in New Kingdom and TIP titularies (Thutmose I, Ramesses II, Queen Tawosret, Osorkon II, Shoshenq III, Beckerath 1984, XVIII/3, XIX/3, 8, XXII/5, 7) and was also adopted by Philip Arrhidaeus (Beckerath 1984, Argeaden 2). The Epithet *Mri-Imn* appeared in the Throne names of Ptolemy I and II (Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 1, 2); Ptolemy III, however, added the epithet *nh-dt Mri-Pth* to his Son-of-Rê name in the cartouche. While the change from *Mri-Imn* to *nh-dt Mri-Imn* may indicate the influence of Ptolemy III's titulary, the second change, viz., to *nh-dt Mri-'Is.t* occurred in all probability under the impact of Ptolemy IV's titulary: for Philopator adopted this epithet at the beginning of his reign.

These alterations to the Son-of-Rê name thus strongly indicate that Arnekhamani's reign started in the time of Ptolemy III (246-222/1 BC) and continued into the period of Ptolemy IV (221-205 BC). In Hofmann's view (1978, 55 f.), the unfinished interior of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra (the fields for inscriptions were left blank) would indicate that Arnekhamani died before the end of its construction and the collapse of the original W front. She also concludes that the W front of the Apedemak temple was only restored by Arnekhamani's successor Arqamani (Ergamenes II) *nh-dt Mri-'Is.t*, who would have added his own epithet to Arnekhamani's Son-of-Rê name. While we have no convincing explanation for the unfinished interior (unless we accept Hintze's suggestion that the inscriptions were painted), Hofmann's hypothesis would imply an otherwise unattested practice.

[LT]

(125) Arnekhamani. Evidence for reign.

King Arnekhamani's reign is dated to the period around 221 BC on the basis of the Epithets in his Son-of-Rê name (see (124), *Comments*). While the name of his wife, who is represented in the reliefs of the Apedemak temple at Mu

sawwarat es Sufra (see Hintze et al. 1971), is not preserved, his son bears the name *Irky* and the titles "Priest of Isis of *Ipbr-ꜥnh* (Musawwarat es Sufra) and *Irbyklb* (Wad ban Naqa?)" (Hintze 1962, 25 Nos 9 f.=127; for the place-names see *ibid.*, 20 f.) in the same temple and is identified with Arnekhmani's successor on the throne King Arqamani (Ergamenes II, see (128), (129)).

The preserved monuments from his reign, the Apedemak temple (Hintze 1962; Hintze et al. 1971; Hintze et al. 1993) and parts of the Great Enclosure (for preliminary reports on the excavations see Hintze 1971), and a royal palace-temple complex (for its function see Török 1992, 121 ff.) at Musawwarat es Sufra, belong to the most significant achievements of Kushite culture. While the participation of Egyptian artists in the planning and execution of the Apedemak temple and the impact of Philae on its inscriptions (cf. Onasch 1984, 139; 1993) are obvious, the relief representations testify to the emergence of Kushiticized Egyptian cults (Arensnuphis, cf. Wenig 1974) and the cults of Kushite deities (Sebiumeker, *ibid.*; Apedemak, cf. Žabkar 1975) as well as to changes in kingship ideology. The developments in religion and kingship ideology indicate an archaizing tendency,²⁶⁸ determined probably by the necessity of legitimating a new dynasty. At the same time, however, the accentuation of the warrior and desert-hunter character of Amûn of Napata, Apedemak, Arensnuphis, and Sebiumeker and their association with the ideology of kingship seem to have been determined by the cultural traditions and milieu of the Butana region, whence the family of the new rulers originated (cf. (113), (114), 142, *Comments*). At the same time, in the emphasis laid on the warrior aspect of the images of the ruler and the principal gods of the pantheon one may recognise the imprint of a period of conflicts (for specific developments in arts as, e.g., the inclusion of the elephant in the iconography of triumph see Török 1988, 270 f.).

Arnekhmani is supposed to have been buried in Beg. N. 53 (Dunham 1957, 57 f., cf. Hintze 1962, 17; Wenig 1967, 43; Hofmann 1978, 54 ff.).

[LT]

126 Apedemak hymn from the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra. Ca. 221 BC.

South front, Hintze 1962, fig. 9 No. 11; Hintze et al. 1993, figs. 30a-30b.

Text and translation

INSCRIPTION 11 SUPPLEMENTED BY INSCRIPTION 12
(in columns, reading right to left):

²⁶⁸For the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty roots of the Apedemak cult see Török 1990; for Arensnuphis see Wenig 1974 and Török 1990; 1995a Ch. 16.

(1) dd-mdw (i)nd-ḥr=k Ḳprmk nb Ṭwṣrk
(1) Utterance: Hail to you, Apedemak, Lord of Ṭwṣrk;

nṯr ʿ
Great God, nb Ḳpbr-ʿnh
 Lord of Ḳpbr-ʿnh,

(2) nṯr mnḥ ḥnt(y) Ṭṣ-sti
(2) Beneficent God, Foremost of Bow-land (Nubia),

mṣl rsyt [ws]r ḥpš
Lion of the South, Whose scimitar is strong,

nṯr ʿ ḥi n ʿš (3) n=f
Great God, Who comes to him who calls (3) upon him,

rmn sšṯ ḥ(3)p ḥbr²⁶⁹
'Bearer' of the secret, (Whose true) being is concealed,

īwt(y) mṣ=f in ḥr nb ḥr s(4)[—] n ṭw ḥmwṯ
without his being seen by anybody. Who performs (4) [—] for men and women,

īwt(y) ḥsf<=f> m pt ṯ
without <his> being repelled in heaven (or on) earth.

ḥr ḥrt n s nb {m r} (5) m rn=f pfy n rs wḏ
Who makes food for all people, (5) in this his name of "Sound Guardian".

wtdt (for: wdy ?) ḥh=f r ḥft(6)=f
Who 'shoots' his fiery blast against his (6) enemy;

m [rn]=f pfy n ʿ-pḥty
in this his name of "He-whose-might-is-great";

smṣ{t} sbiṯw m t(7)[—]
Who slaughters rebels with (7) '—';

[—]'t'r'-[—]'rḥy' thyt (for: thy) nb r=f
'... ' all who transgress against him

ḥr swt n <n>ty n(8)[— ... —]
Who makes places for those who (8) [...]

[— —] n ʿš n=f nb
[Who —] for everyone who calls upon him;

²⁶⁹For: ḥpr.

nb ḥsw ʕ šfi(t)=f
 Lord of praises, Awe of whom is great,

ʿr-nʿf [— —] ʿiʿbi m ḥnw n Kn{n}s.t
 ʿ — [— —] ʿ — ʿ within *Kense* (Upper Nubia);

kn nʕš m wt (for: wḍ ?)
 Brave and strong in ʿcommandʿ:

li n=k ḥk(s)[w — —]
 so that there come to you the ruler[s — —]

[RHP]

Comments

The S front of the Apedemak temple is decorated with a monumental one-register sunk relief representing King Arnekhamani and Prince Arka adoring (King) and censuring (Prince) six male gods: the lion-headed Apedemak, the human-headed Theban Amûn, Sebiuemker, Arensnuphis, Horus and Thoth. The text published here under 126 accompanies Apedemak's majestic figure; he is depicted wearing a *hemhem*-crown and carrying a bow and arrows in his right hand and with his left extending a scepter decorated with his own image towards the King. He also holds the end of a rope by which a prisoner is bound in his right hand. In his right hand the prisoner carries a fillet with one uraeus, apparently indicating that he is a rebel prince (Hintze 1962, Pl. V).

While the great majority of the inscriptions carved on the walls of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra were directly modelled on Egyptian texts from the TIP, the Late Period, and the early Ptolemaic period, or were composed on the basis of Egyptian texts (Hintze 1962, 21 f.), the Apedemak hymn, though it also includes notions and concepts adopted from Egyptian religious texts, may be regarded as genuinely Kushite (*ibid.*). As was shown by Hintze (1962, 22, 28 ff.) in his analysis of the hymn and by Žabkar, who investigated it in the context of the god's iconography (1975, 13 ff. and *passim*), the borrowed elements originate from epithets of lion gods or gods in the form of a lion who are distinguished in their Egyptian context as deities "of southern (i.e., Nubian) origin".

Apedemak is in the hymn lord of *Twʕirk*, probably identical with Naqa (Hintze 1962, 20), and *Ibpr-ṇḥ*, identified with Musawwarat es Sufra, which indicates that his most important cult places were in the Butana and which also seems to suggest that his (temple) cult originated in this region. His "southern" origin is also stressed by his association with Kense (cf. 112, *Comments*). His associations with the cult of the Nubian Amûn and the early phases of Kushite kingship ideology are hinted at by the epithet "who comes to him who calls upon him" (cf. FHN I, 21 17, 24 22). At the same time, this epithet also seems to indicate that the cult of Apedemak took shape in the milieu of a well-educated

priesthood which had access to ancient Kushite religious texts (for the possible pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty origins of Apedemak see Török 1990).

[LT]

127 Isis hymn from the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra. Ca. 221 BC. South front, Hintze 1962, fig. 21 No. 26; Hintze et al. 1993, fig. 29.

Text and translation

INSCRIPTION 26 (four columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḏd-mdw	īnd-ḥr=t	īst
(1) Utterance:	Hail to you,	Isis,
nṯrt	(2) mwt nṯr	km{ī} [nfrw=s]
Goddess,	(2) Mother of a god,	Who created [her perfection],
[Wḏst]	(3) wrt ḥkšt	nb(t) ḥꜥw m [—]
Edjō, ²⁷⁰	(3) Whose magic is great,	Lady of crowns in the [—],
(4) ḏsr st=s m wī m ḥḥ		
(4) Whose seat is prominent in the (Solar) Bark of a Million Years. ²⁷¹		

Note to the translation

The lacunae have been filled using the fully preserved parallel texts from Philae.

[RHP]

Comments

The goddess Isis is represented in the S front relief of the Apedemak temple protecting King Arnekhamani (Hintze 1962, Pl. IV). Though she is associated in the Musawwarat temple with Apedemak as his consort and forms a triad with him and Horus (in which Apedemak replaces Osiris, cf. Žabkar 1975, 9, 14), the hymn accompanying her figure is entirely based on an Isis hymn from Philae (cf. Hintze 1962, 43 ff.) known from the Kiosk of Nectanebos as well as from the Mammisi (Ptolemy II or III). The adoption of this particular hymn was doubtless promoted by its close association with kingship dogma: Isis as *km3 nfrw=f* (in the text is only *km3[...]* preserved, Hintze's emendation *km3 nfrw=s* [1962, 44] was based on the already corrupted models from Philae; for the reconstruction of

²⁷⁰Edjō, lit.: the Green, the name of a cobra-goddess.

²⁷¹The Bark of a Million Years, i.e. the bark in which the sun sails across the sky. Does the *m* (for: *n*) indicate that the text was reinterpreted here: "in the (Sun's) bark *for* millions of years"?

the original *kmḥ nfrw*=f see Onasch 1990, 51 note 12), “she who creates his (i.e., the King’s) beauty” refers to the goddess as source of royal power (cf. Bergman 1978, 186 f.).

[LT]

(128) Arqamani (Ergamenes II). Titles.

Sources: 1. Philae, Arensnuphis temple, S enclosure wall; the same, Dakka, Ergamenes chapel, Dunham 1957, fig. D/24G; 2. Kalabsha, Arensnuphis temple (now on Elephantine), Beckerath 1984, Anhang 37; 3. Beg. N. 7, chapel, N wall, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 4/E; 4. Ibid., coffin-bench, Dunham 1957, fig. D/24D (a): front, (b) front, (c) front, (d) S side; 5. Ibid., W wall, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 5/B.

Titles/Documents

	1.
Throne name	Drt-ḥnh-Ḳmn, Epithet: Tt-Rḥ “Living-hand-of-Amûn”, Ep. “Image-of-Rê”
Son-of-Rê name	Ḳrk-Ḳmn, Epithet: ḥnh-dt Mrî-Is.t Arqamani, Ep. “Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis”
	2.
Horus name	Drt(t)-ntr-n-pr=f kḥ-ḥ i[.....]=f Stp.n-Ḳmn-r-swḥ-b-tw “The-God’s-hand-in-his temple, whose-arm-is- [raised] [...], chosen-of-Amûn-to-purify-the-lands”
Throne name	Drt-ḥnh-Ḳmn, Epithet: ? “Living-hand-of-Amûn”
Son-of-Rê name	Ḳrw-Ḳmn, Epithet: ḥnh-dt Arkamani, Ep. “Living-forever”
	3.
Horus name	Kšy ntry-ḥpr Wp-š(t) ntr-ḥpr “The Kushite, Whose-coming-into-being-is divine”
Son-of-Rê name	Ḳrq-Ḳmn, Epithet: ḥnh-dt Mrî-Is.t Arqamani, Ep. “Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis”
	4.
Son-of-Rê name (a)	Ḳrq-Ḳmn, Epithet: ḥnh-dt Mrî-Is.t Arqamani, Ep. “Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis”
Son-of-Rê name (b)	Mkltk
Son-of-Rê name (c)	Mkltk Ḳstrk (?)
Son-of-Rê name (d)	Ḳstrk

5.

Son-of-Rê name

ʾIrq-ʾImn, Epithet: ʿnh-qt mri-ʾIs.t

Arqamani, Ep. "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis"

Comments

The three preserved Horus names of Arqamani are without analogues in Egyptian or Kushite titularies, though the element *Ntr(y)-hpr* in the two Horus names occurring in the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 7 (3) appears in Egyptian Horus names (Sesostris III, Beckerath 1984, XII/5). It seems to have arrived here through TIP mediation (cf. Bonhême 1987, 88 f., 147). One of the Horus names in Beg. N. 7, *Kšy Ntr-hpr*, is particularly interesting since it emphasizes Arqamani's being "the Kushite" and connects it with his divine quality as well as with his function as performer of the rituals. The notion of the ruler's being a manifestation of divinity, his divine quality (Blumenthal 1970, 95), is also prevalent in the Epithet *tlt R* (1) appended to the Throne name at Dakka and Philae (cf. Grimal 1986, 128 ff.; for the limits of the king's divine quality see, however, Ockinga 1984, 122 ff.; Schade-Busch 1992, 80; the issue as far as Kushite kingship dogma is concerned requires a new investigation, cf. Onasch 1990, 68 ff.).

Arqamani's Throne name at Philae and Dakka (1) and his Horus name at Kalabsha (2) qualify him as "Living hand of Amûn" and as "Hand of the god", respectively. It seems that the title corresponds only formally, and not at all as to its content, with the identical earlier, New Kingdom and TIP, title of certain queens and God's Wives of Amûn and thus with the concept of the god's hand as means of self-creation (with reference to Amûn and Rê see Troy 1986, 16, 23). Instead, the title "Living hand of the god" stresses the ruler's function as lord of rituals, and, as the Horus name in Kalabsha says, purifier and sustainer of his land. In this sense, the notion conveyed by the Throne name at Philae and Dakka and the Horus name at Kalabsha seems to have been associated with *Ntry-hpr* as well as *Tlt-R*. It was suggested (Millet 1973, 39 f.) that the Son-of-Rê name *Mkltk* in Beg. N. 7 (4) might be the Meroitic equivalent of the Egyptian "Hand of the god". In the present state of our knowledge of the Meroitic language, however, neither this view, nor its refutation (Hofmann 1981, 288 f.) is fully convincing. We are also unable to explain why a different Son-of-Rê name occurs in the mortuary cult chapel; and it is also obscure why it should be a translation of the King's Horus name.

In sum, it would seem that the titles discussed so far were determined primarily by the concept of the ruler as high priest of the cults. One is tempted indeed to bring the general tenor of these titles into connection with the career of Arqamani before his succession: if he is in fact identical with Prince Arka, "King's Son, Priest of Isis of *ʾpbr-ʿnh* (Musawwarat es Sufra?) and *ʾrbiklb* (Wad ban Naqa?)" in the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat (Hintze 1962, 25, Nos 9 f.), his education as a priest may have influenced the composition of his titu-

lary. On the other hand, it cannot be accidental that he appears as purifier of the land at Kalabsha: the titles may also well have had the intention of giving expression to the notion of "restoring order" in Lower Nubia after the expulsion of the Ptolemies. The observance of ritual purity was, remarkably, an issue emphasized by Piye when he contrasted himself with his Egyptian enemies (FHN I, 9 97 and esp. 150 ff.), whereas the political meaning is obvious (cf. also Baines 1995, 36).

Unlike the titles discussed so far, the Epithet added to Arqamani's Son-of-Rê name at Philae, Dakka, and Beg. N. 7 (1, 5) has nothing unusual in it, being modelled on the Epithet in the Son-of-Rê names of Ptolemy IV Philopator (Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 4) and Arnekhamani (see (124) 4). For the writing of Arqamani's Son-of-Rê name in (2) see Priese 1968, 184 f.

[LT]

(129) Arqamani (Ergamenes II). Evidence for reign.

Since Arqamani is probably identical with the Prince Arka represented in the company of King Arnekhamani in several reliefs of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra (cf. Hintze et al. 1971), he is generally considered to have been the son (also indicated by his title "King's Son", see Hintze 1962, 25 Nos 9 f.) and successor of Arnekhamani (Hofmann 1978, 57, rejects such a family relation; in view, however, of the known Kushite succession principles [cf. Török 1995, Ch. 12, 17.7], this type of representation can only indicate a father-son relationship). The direct succession is also indicated by Arqamani's adoption of the Epithet *ṛnh dt Mrī-Is.t* in the Son-of-Rê name of Arnekhamani, which the latter has, in turn, assumed in his later reign (cf. (124), *Comments*). It is also supported by the fact that Arqamani as well as his successor Adikhalamani (see (131), 132) were active in the Dodecaschoenus (i.e., Lower Nubia between Syene/Aswan and Takompso/Maharraqa).

For the appearance of Arqamani as a builder of sanctuaries on Philae (continuation of the building of the temple of Arensnuphis started by Ptolemy IV, PM VI, 210 f.; for the building chronology see Winter 1981), Dakka ("Chapel of Ergamenes", i.e., the core of the temple of Thoth of Pnubs, the building of which was, however, likewise started by Ptolemy IV, PM VII, 46 f.; for the chronology see Winter 1981) and Kalabsha (predecessor sanctuary of the Mandulis temple, cf. Arnold 1975; Henfling 1978, 295, unpublished) can only be explained as brought about by the revolt in Upper Egypt and the secession of the Thebaid between 207/6-186 BC which apparently presented Meroe with the opportunity to re-conquer the Triacontaschoenus, which had been occupied by Ptolemy II around 274 BC (cf. 97, *Comments*; 144). Such a chronology of Arqamani's and Adikhalamani's activity is also strongly supported by the fact that their buildings were completed after the end of the revolt and the restoration of Ptolemaic power in the Triacontaschoenus by the successors of Ptolemy IV (for

Philae see Borchardt 1906, 365; Winter 1981, 512, for Dakka PM VII, 40 ff.; for Debod *ibid.*, 1 ff.).

The unusually strong religious tone in Arqamani's titulary (cf. (128)) may also be interpreted as a political program: in the re-conquered Triaschoenus, the King intends to appear as the restorer of the ancient cults and hence of the integrity of the country. While thus appearing as an opponent of Ptolemy IV, the adoption of the latter's epithet "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis" seems to give expression to the claim that it is Arqamani, and not Ptolemy IV, who is the rightful "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis" (significantly, the Upper Egyptian rebel Hor-Wennofer assumed the same epithet on his coronation at Thebes in 205 BC, see Pestman 1965, 158; Zauzich 1978a; Clarysse 1978).

The occurrence "together" of the cartouches of Arqamani and Adikhalamani, on the one hand, and of Ptolemy IV, on the other, on sanctuaries in the Dodecaschoenus gave rise to the notion of a "Meroitic-Egyptian cooperation" or even "condominium", a rather strange idea which was widely accepted in the literature (cf., e.g., Alliot 1951, 1952; Emery 1965, 225; Trigger 1965, 120 f.; Shinnie 1967, 41; Wenig 1975; Huss 1976, 179 ff.; Adams 1977, 335; Hintze 1978, 96). The idea of "cooperation" in the building of temples could only be maintained in ignorance of the building history of the actual sanctuaries. Winter's research (for a summary of his work which is still unpublished in detail see Winter 1981) has demonstrated that the activities of Ptolemy IV, Arqamani, Adikhalamani, and the later Ptolemies can be associated with individual building periods which are datable according to the changes in control of the Dodecaschoenus before (Ptolemy IV), during (Arqamani and Adikhalamani) and after the secession of the Thebaid (Ptolemy V and successors). Furthermore, a "condominium" seems a nonsense in the context of the administration of a province; and it is also difficult to imagine how the financial maintenance of the temples in question would have looked in the framework of such an arrangement (cf. Török 1980 77 ff.; Török 1988, 271 ff.).

Arqamani was buried in the pyramid tomb Beg. N. 7 (Dunham 1957, 63 ff.). The preserved (N, W and S) side walls of his mortuary cult chapel show a strong influence from Philae (cf. Yellin 1979); at the same time, however, the King is shown in the N and S wall reliefs receiving mortuary offerings in the company of his wives, like Anlamani (Nu. 6, N wall, Dunham 1955, Pl. XX/A; Török 1987, fig. b, 2nd half of the 7th century BC, cf. FHN I, (33)), the anonymous king buried in Ku. 1 (S wall, Dunham 1955, Pl. 5/A, B; Török 1987, fig. e, early 4th century BC) and Nastaseñ (Nu. 15, S wall, Dunham 1955, Pl. LXII/D; Török 1987, fig. d, last third of the 4th century BC, cf. (83)), but unlike his immediate predecessors Amanislo (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 3/F, G, cf. (115)) and Amanitekha (*ibid.*, Pl. 4/D, cf. (117)) who are depicted in their mortuary chapels under the protection of a goddess. Thus, one of the main features of the cultural milieu emerging with the new dynasty of Arkamaniqo (cf. (113), (114)) and especially with the reign of Arnekhamani, viz., an articulation of tradi-

tional concepts, frequently of an archaizing character, through the employment of expressive means borrowed from Egypt, continues to be prevalent during Arqamani's and Adikhalamani's reigns (cf. (130), (131)).

[LT]

(130) Adikhalamani. Titles.

Sources: 1. Debod, Temple of Amûn of Debod and Isis of Philae, Griffith 1912, 32; Beckerath 1984, Anhang 38; Philae, Stela of Adikhalamani (=132), Farid 1978, Pl. 9; 2. Beg. N. 9, chapel, S wall, Dunham 1957, fig. E/40.

Titles/Documents

	1.
Throne name	Tit-n-R ^c Stp-nṯrw "Image-of-Rê, Chosen-of-the-gods"
Son-of-Rê name	Idhr-Imn, Epithet: ṅḥ-dt Mri-Is.t Adikhalamani, Ep. "Living-forever-beloved-of-Isis"
	2.
Son-of-Rê name	Tabirqa (?)

Comments

The Throne name is composed of two epithets, the first of which also occurs in Arqamani's Throne name in Philae and Dakka (see (128) 1); while the second, *Stp-nṯrw*, is enough of a commonplace in the divine origins of royal power to have been formulated independently from any prototype. However, it cannot be overlooked that *Stp-nṯrw* was also assumed as Golden Horus name by Amasis of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (LR IV, 114 IV B, on a stela from Elephantine; 121 XXVII, offering table from Abydos; 123 XLIII, provenance ?; XLV A, naos from Athribis; cf. also Traunecker 1979, 408 ff.). Since Arkamaniqo, the first ruler of the dynasty to which Adikhalamani also belonged, modelled his Throne name upon Amasis' Throne name in order to emphasize a parallelism between himself and an earlier Egyptian usurper (see (113), *Comments*), we have good reason to suppose that Amasis' titulary could be found in some archives in Meroe and was repeatedly used as a prototype.

The Epithet in the Son-of-Rê name repeats a model provided by epithets assumed by Adikhalamani's two predecessors Arnekhamani and Arqamani (see (124) 4 and (128) 3-5). The occurrence of a different Son-of-Rê name in the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 9, if this burial is correctly attributed to Adikhalamani (cf. (131)), would repeat the case of Arqamani (see (128) 4).

[LT]

(131) Adikhalamani. Evidence for reign.

On account of his activity at Dabod (see PM VII, 1 ff.) which occurred in a sanctuary the construction of which was started by Ptolemy IV (for the building chronology see Winter 1981) and on Philae (cf. 132), Adikhalamani's reign is dated to the period of the Upper Egyptian revolt between 207/6-186 BC, in which the rebels were supported by the contemporary kings of Meroe, i.e., Arqamani and Adikhalamani (cf. 133, 135) and during which Lower Nubia was cut off from Ptolemaic central authority. This situation was exploited by Meroe, which temporarily re-established its rule over the stretch of the valley between the First and Second Cataracts.

Hofmann (1978, 58 f.) put forward the interesting, but unlikely and unproved suggestion that Adikhalamani was an independent Lower Nubian ruler (*Kleinkönig*) in the period of Ptolemy IV and Arqamani. Even if Hofmann could not have known the publication of Adikhalamani's Philae stela (132), it is curious that she did not realize the complete improbability of a situation in which the ruler of Meroe, to whose kingdom Lower Nubia belonged some 80 years earlier, and the *Kleinkönig* of Lower Nubia would peacefully build sanctuaries in Lower Nubia in the same period and put their respective cartouches on their walls—in Hofmann's hypothesis, they even would have done so concurrently at the same place, i.e., on Philae.

Adikhalamani's identification as ruler of Meroe, as was already suggested by earlier writers (e.g., Reisner 1923, 75; Hintze 1962, 16 f.; Winter 1981; Török 1980; 1988, 179), seems beyond doubt also for another reason. In his Debod chapel—which would deserve a separate investigation—he is “Beloved of Apedemak” (Hintze 1973; the name of the god is written here as *P3-ir-mky*, “the Protector”, which seems to be an Egyptian pseudo-etymology of Meroitic Apedemak, transcribed *Ip̄rmk* in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra). Since the cult seems to have been restricted to the southern parts of the kingdom of Meroe, as is strongly argued by Hofmann (1978, contra Žabkar 1975), this epithet indicates that the centre of his realm is in the south and not in Lower Nubia.

According to Hintze (1962, 16 f.; cf. also Wenig 1967, 43) he was identical with Tabirqa (?), the owner of Beg. N. 9 (Dunham 1957, 66 f.). This suggestion receives strong support from the fact that Beg. N. 9 directly follows in time Beg. N. 7, the tomb of Arqamani; and as the succession of the two rulers appears beyond doubt, also the attribution of Beg. N. 9 to Adikhalamani appears likely indeed.

[LT]

132 Fragment of a stela of Adikhalamani from Philae. Ca. 207/6-186 BC.
Farid 1978, Pl. 9.

Text and translation

LUNETTE

SCENE ON LEFT SIDE OF LUNETTE:

IN FRONT OF THE KING'S FACE (two columns, reading right to left):

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (1) nb T3wy: | Tît-R ^c | Stp-n-ntrw | |
| (1) Lord of Two-lands: | Image-of-Rê | Chosen-of-the-gods; | |
| (2) nb h ^c w: | Idhr-Imn | nh dt | mr Ist |
| (2) Lord of crowns: | Adikhalamani, | may he live for ever, | beloved of Isis. |

IN FRONT OF THE KING, BELOW HIS ARMS (two columns, reading right to left):

- (1) hnk irp n it=f mwt=f
(1) Offering wine to his father and his mother
- (2) ir{n}=f di nh
(2) that he may be granted life.

BEHIND KING (one column, reading right to left):

- (1) s3 nh w3s h3=f 'n'[b m3 R^c dt]
(1) 'All' protection, life and dominion are behind him, [as (they are behind) Rê, for ever.]

IN FRONT OF KHNUM'S CROWN (three columns, reading left to right):

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| (1) Hnm-R ^c | nb Snmwt | |
| (1) Khnum-Rê, | Lord of Senemut (Biga Island), | |
| (2) shn nfr | (3) n Hwt-Hr | |
| (2) the good consort | (3) of Hathor. | |

IN FRONT OF KHNUM'S LEGS (one column, reading left to right):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) nhp(=i) | pr=k m '1[— —] |
| (1) (I) am working at the potter's wheel | that you may come forth from '1 [— —] |

IN FRONT OF HATHOR'S CROWN (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) Hwt-Hr <nbt> Snmwt irt R^c
(1) Hathor, <Lady of> *Senemut* (Biga Island), Eye of Rê,

(2) nb(t) pt	ḥnwt ṯw-rk
(2) Lady of heaven,	Mistress of Final-island (Philae).

IN FRONT OF HATHOR'S LEGS (one column, reading left to right):

(1) dɪ.n(=i) n=k h^{cc} r^c nb [— —]
 (1) (I) have granted to you joy every day [— —]

IN FRONT OF A CRIOCEPHALIC MUMMIFORM GOD (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) P3-nty--n-p(3)-1w-w'b ntr šps
(1) The-one-who-is-on-the-pure-island, the noble god,

hnt(y) st dsrt wr šf(y)t
who is before the holy place, whose awesomeness is great,

mr Mə't — ' [— —]
beloved of Ma'at, ' — ' [— —]

(2) dɪ.n(=i) n=k ʔhʔ kɜ [— —]
 (2) (I) have given you a long life [— —]

SCENE ON ON RIGHT SIDE OF LUNETTE:

IN FRONT OF THE KING'S FACE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) nb T3wy:	T3t-R3	Stp-(n)-ntrw
(1) Lord of Two-lands (Egypt):	Image-of-Rê	Chosen-(of-)the-gods;

(2) nb ḥw:	Idhr-Imn	nh dt	mr Ist
(2) Lord of crowns:	Adikhalamani,	may he live for ever,	beloved of Isis.

IN FRONT OF THE KING'S ARMS (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) *ir(t) sntr kbh n it=f* (2) *mwt=f*
 (1) Performing censuring and libation for his father (2) and his mother

ir{n}=f di 'nh
that he may be granted life.

BEHIND KING (one column, reading left to right):

(1) sꜣ ʿnh wꜣs hꜣ=f nb mꜣ Rꜥ [dꜣt]

(1) All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, as (they are behind) Rê [for ever.]

IN FRONT OF OSIRIS' CROWN (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) Wsꜣr nꜣr ʿꜣ nb ʾw-wꜣb

(1) Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Pure-island (the Abaton),

(2) nb ʾw-rꜣ

nb Hnt-tꜣ

(2) Lord of Final-island (Philae), Lord of 'Fore-land'

IN FRONT OF OSIRIS'S LEGS (one column, reading right to left):

(1) dꜣ.n(=i) snꜣ=k m hꜣst nb

(1) (I) have put fear of you in every foreign land.

IN FRONT OF ISIS' CROWN (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) ʾst dꜣ ʿnh nb ʾw-wꜣb ʾw-rꜣ

(1) Isis, who gives life, Lady of Pure-island (the Abaton) and Final-island (Philae).

IN FRONT OF ISIS' LEGS (one column, reading right to left):

(1) dꜣ.n(=i) n=k pꜣty mꜣ sꜣ(=i) [Hꜣr]

(1) (I) have granted you power (just) as (I once did to my) son [Horus].

IN FRONT OF A HIERACOCOEPHALIC MUMMIFORM GOD (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) Pꜣ-nty--n-p(ꜣ)-ʾw-wꜣb

(1) The-one-who-is-on-the-pure-island,

nꜣr šps

the noble god,

hnt(y) Dꜣw-kꜣ

who is before Lofty-mount (Qaw el-Kebir),

ḥmn-rn=f m st sgr

whose name is hidden in the Place-of-silence,

(2) dꜣ.n(=i) n=k nsyt ʿꜣt

(2) (I) have given you a great kingship.

[RHP]

Comments

This stela fragment (material not stated in the publication) was found during the dismantling operations, among reused blocks from a temple of Amasis and Nectanebos I under the pavement of the Hypostyle of the Isis temple. It measures 0.43 (height) by 0.74 (width) by 0.18 (depth) m. While of the stela text itself only the traces of the first horizontal line remained, the lunette is almost completely preserved. The top is bounded by the winged sundisc. In the right half of the lunette Adikhalamani is depicted offering incense and libation to Osiris lord of the Abaton, Philae and *Hnt-t3* (for *Hnty-t3* as Domain of Khnum on the one hand and, on the other, as a designation for the southern parts of Nubia in association with Hathor-Tefnut see Meeks 1980, 48 with note 11), Isis, and the hawk-headed god *P3 nty n p3 lw-w'b* (identical with the god *'ntywy* worshiped in the 10th Upper Egyptian nomos, local god of *Tbw* and *Dw k3* [Qaw el-Kebir, see Brunner 1973, 300], whose original duality is indicated by the two different forms on the stela; the god was identified in the Ptolemaic period with Antaios. His appearance in the context of the Adikhalamani stela may have been determined by the cult of Osiris of *Dw-k3* also attested at Philae; in the Ptolemaic temple of Osiris at *Dw-k3*, Qaw el-Kebir, a dedication to Antaios was found, see Beinlich 1983). The King wears the Double Crown of Egypt. In the left half he is shown offering wine to Khnum-Rê, Hathor, and the ram-headed *P3 nty n p3 lw-w'b*. Here he wears a Blue Crown with ram's horns supporting uraei and Ma'at-feathers, and a superstructure composed of a sundisc flanked by uraei and supported by ram's horns.

In the inscriptions accompanying the offering scenes Adikhalamani appears as son of Osiris and Isis and thus as heir of Osiris on his throne, from whom he receives universal kingship. The same is granted by *P3 nty n p3 lw-w'b* in both his forms. The representations in the lunette reflect a cult milieu belonging purely to Philae without any apparent Meroitic feature. The "Egyptianness" of the lunette relief is also obvious as regards the regalia, especially the Blue Crown and its superstructure, which are never worn by a Kushite ruler in Kush (cf. Török 1987). Significantly, the only surviving analogy to Adikhalamani's iconography in the left half of the stela can be found in Arqamani's chapel in Dakka (interior N wall, Arqamani offering a collar to Amen-Rê of the Abaton, Roeder 1930, Pl. 84; Török 1987, type A XI No. 73) where, however, the relief program was originally conceived for Ptolemy IV and was later usurped by Arqamani (cf. Winter 1981). It cannot be excluded, however, that the unusual epithet of Osiris, "Lord of *Hnty-t3*", hints at Hathor who is associated on the one hand with Khnum and especially with Arensnuphis as a form of Khnum (cf. Meulenaere 1977) and, on the other, with the legend of Hathor-Tefnut's return from Nubia (into which Arensnuphis is incorporated through his association with Onuris, cf. Winter 1973), allusions to which frequently occur in Dakka and other Lower Nubian sanctuaries (cf. Junker 1911, 47 ff.). An assimilation of Arensnuphis to Osiris would occur later in the late 1st century BC Dendur

temple (cf. Winter 1973, 248). In this indirect manner, a southern association for the deities in the lunette is established, giving a nice example of how the archives on Philae were used by the Egyptian priests working for Meroitic kings (for the inscriptions of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra from the same aspect see Hintze 1962, 22, 28 f.; 126, *Comments*).

The signs remaining from the main text are not legible, except for *ntrw*, "...] gods [...", at the end of the first line. It is thus impossible to determine the genre of the text: it might have been historical as well as a record of temple donations. [LT]

133 An episode of the Upper Egyptian revolt. 187 BC (?).

PBerlin Dem. 15527, Zauzich 1978.

Text and translation

(1) hrw Hr š Krd

(1) The voice of Horos son of Kolluthos

m-b:ḥ (2) Ns-p:ȳ=w-tswy Hnm-m-ḥt Wsir-[wr] (3) n3 w'bw Hr-wr
before (2) Spotus, Khnumemakhe, and Osoroeris, (3) the priests of Haroeris:

ī ty p3 Rē (4) ky p3=w ḥt

O may Rē make (4) their lives long!

ḥpr ībt 3 prt sw 17

On the 17th of the third month of Winter (Phamenoth)

(5) ty=y īy r Pr-īw-rk

(5) I came to Philae

(6) īrm Gm=w-ḥp s3 Pa-rḫ

(6) with Komoapis son of Parates,

Pa-tswy (7) s3 Pa-ḥy

Patus (7) son of Pakhois,

Pa-nfr s3 Gm=w-ḥp

and Panuphis son of Komoapis,

(8) dd īw=n wšt

(8) that we might worship

īw=n (9) ḥt īrm=tn

and that we (9) might visit you.

dd=w n=n

They (the people on Philae) said to us,

(10) šm=w n=w r rsy r p; t; Nhs

(10) "The are gone off south to Nubia."

(11) in šm=s r h; t;=tn

(11) Did you (really) think

(12) dd bn-šw=n ir p; rwš (13) t; nty šw=tn hn=s h;w (14) r-hr=tn

(12) that we wouldn't be (more) worried (13) (about) how you were than (14) you (yourselves would be)?

šw=n snt n Hnm (15) n h;w r-hr=tn 'n

We fear Khnum (15) more than you (do) too.

st-tb; (16) nb r.šp=n n p; šwn

Every (16) misfortune we received on the voyage,

(17) š.šr=n šr=w tb; n; mtw (18) rn=w

(17) we endured them because of the matters (18) in question

r dīt wq; n;=n ntrw

in order to preserve our gods.

(19) š.šr p;y bk ph r-r=k

(19) When this letter reaches you,

(20) 'šmn²⁷² r p;=tn šrpy

(20) come (back) to your temple!

(21) p;y=tn š;w my wq;=f

(21) Your life's breath, may it be preserved!

(22) m-šr šr wš n š; r Pr-w' b (23) n p; grh.

(22) Don't stop coming to Pure-house (the Abaton) (23) in the night!

m-šr dīt (vo., 1) h;tb; p; ntr (2) r w' gy

Don't let (vo., 1) the god be 'slain' (2) in some way (or other)!

šn=y (3) N; nfr-šb-R' p; hm-ntr Hnm

I have asked (3) Nanufabrê, the prophet (*hont*-priest) of Khnum

²⁷²Or read: šm tn ?

tbꜣ (4) pꜣ wꜣy (n) nꜣ ṛpyw
about (4) the welfare of the temples.

(5) mn ꜥꜣ nb
(5) There is no damage.

ṛr=y ꜥꜣ (6) r Sw n rhy n sw 15
In the evening of the 15th I reached (6) Syene;

ṛr=y (7) nꜣ mtw n Sw n sw 16
and I did (7) the business in Syene on the 16th.

(8) bn-pw=y srf r ṛ r ꜥꜣ (9) ṛrm=tn
(8) I did not spare any time in coming to visit (9) you,

ṛw=y ḥrp (10) r ṛ r Pr-(ṛw-)rk n ꜥꜣ hrw
(but) got up early (10) to come to Philae today

ꜥꜣ (11) ṛw=y ꜥꜣ ṛrm=tn
so that (11) I might visit you

ṛw=s (12) (n) ḥꜣꜥ=y
as it was (12) in my heart (to do).

ṛr=tn ṛp (13) n-ṛm=n r ḥy
(But) you account (13) us an enemy.

(14) nꜣ-nfr ḥꜣꜥ=n ṛ-ṛ (15) ꜥꜣ nꜣr ḥw r-ḥr=tn
(14) (In fact,) we are better disposed toward (15) the god than you (are).

ṛr=tn (16) nw r ꜥꜣy bk
As soon as you (16) see this letter,

m-ṛr hrr (17) r ꜥꜣ=tn ṛpy
don't delay (coming back) (17) to your temple.

sh Ḥr
Horos wrote (this)

(18) ḥꜣt-sp 18 ṛbt 3 prt sw 17
(18) in regnal year 18, third month of Winter (Phamenoth), day 17.

(19) ṛ-ṛr-ḥr (vacat) nꜣ wꜣbw Ḥnm
(19) For (space for seal) the priests of Khnum.

[RHP]

Comments

The letter PBerlin Dem. 15527 addressed by a certain Horos, son of Kolluthos, to three priests of Haroeris was probably found during the excavations conducted by Rubensohn and Zucker on Elephantine in 1906-1908.

133 hints in even more general terms at the support rendered by Meroe to the Upper Egyptian rebels between 207/6 and 186 BC than **135** and the Greek literary tradition preserved in Photius, Bibl. 250, 20 (=145). If it is correctly dated to the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, i.e., to April 23 187 BC (for doubts see Zauzich 1978, P. 15527, remark p. 3), it reveals that during the reign of the usurper Ankh-Wennofer the temples in Syene/Aswan and Philae were not inaccessible to an official (? i.e., Horos) arriving there on temple inspection (?). Horos, after having carried out his task at Syene, wants to see three priests of Haroeris, viz., Spotus, Khnum-em-akhet, and Osoroeris, but, to his great surprise, he learns that they had left for Nubia: not very far from Elephantine, however, for they came home every night. It would appear that the reason for their hasty departure was an involvement in the revolt, as is indicated by Horos' enquiry concerning the situation of the Khnum temple at Elephantine. He is assured by a priest of the said temple that his sanctuary hasn't suffered any damage. If such an interpretation of the letter is correct, it may also be stated that the three priests were involved on the usurper's side and sought refuge in the land of his supporter, the king of Meroe (cf. **134**).

The Upper Egyptian revolt (Sethe 1917; Préaux 1936; Pestman 1965) started in Year 16 of Ptolemy IV Philopator (in this year Edfu was already under the control of the rebels); and, on capturing Thebes in 205 BC, the leader of the rebels, Hor-Wennofer (*Hr-wn-nfr*, cf. Zauzich 1978; Clarysse 1978) was crowned king. His acceptance by the Theban priesthood as legitimate ruler is indicated by his epithet "Beloved of Amûn" (for his documents see Pestman 1965). Hor-Wennofer, whose latest recorded regnal year is 6 (reigned thus 205-199 BC), was succeeded by his son (?) Ankh-Wennofer (*ꜥnh-wn-nfr*) who reigned for 14 years (199-186 BC) and whose rule was finally crushed in Year 19 of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, on 23 Epeiph (27 August) 186 BC. (For evidence for at least two temporary restorations of Epiphanes' rule in the Thebaid in his Years 7 [199 BC] and 15 [191 BC] see Pestman 1965; Skeat 1973, 170 f.)

The Upper Egyptian revolt presented an excellent opportunity for Meroe to re-conquer Lower Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts. It appears likely that no progress beyond the First Cataract was intended and the border between the Meroitic kingdom and the kingdom of Hor-Wennofer and Ankh-Wennofer was secured by some sort of agreement, which also resulted in the participation of Meroitic troops on Ankh-Wennofer's side in the fight against the Ptolemaic expedition led by the general Comannos (cf. **135** and Helck 1977).

The military support received from Meroe does not necessarily imply that, as suggested by Sethe (1917, 42 ff.; accepted by Alliot 1951, 423 f.; Pestman 1965, 160 f.; Huss 1976, 183), Hor-Wennofer and Ankh-Wennofer were themselves

Nubians. Their Upper Egyptian activity was a part—apparently the most successful part—of a nationwide revolt against Ptolemaic rule which had its roots, supporters, and leaders in Egypt and which also continued after Ankh-Wennofer's fall (cf. Sethe 1917, 49; Volkmann 1959, 1699 ff.). While the rebels obviously welcomed Meroitic aid, their "nationalist" aims would hardly have encouraged a foreign intervention.

[LT]

134 Second Philae Decree of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The participation of Meroites in the Upper Egyptian revolt. 185/4 BC.

Urk. II, 217-230.

Text and translation

(The hieroglyphic transliteration and translation are in plain text, the demotic in italics)

hrw pn	shꜣ
<i>hrw i[ypn]</i>	<i>wt</i>
On this day,	a decree (made by)
<i>On th[is] day (there was)</i>	<i>a decree</i>

iw imyw-rꜣ rꜣ-prw	hmw-ntr]
<i>i[ir nꜣ mr-šnw]</i>	<i>irm nꜣ hm-n[trw]</i>
the superintendents of the temples,	the prophets]
<i>which was made by the lesonis-priests</i>	<i>and the prophets</i>

[hryw-sšꜣ
(omitted?)
the keepers of the secrets,
(omitted ?)

wꜣbw-ntr	ꜣꜣ r bw dsr	smꜣr nꜣrw m st.t=sn
<i>[irm nꜣ] wꜣb[w]</i>	<i>nti šm (r) pꜣ nti wꜣb</i>	<i>r ir mnh n [nꜣ nꜣrw]</i>
the priests	who enter the sacred place	and adorn the gods with
		their garments
<i>[and the] priest[s]</i>	<i>who go to the pure place</i>	<i>to clothe [the gods],</i>

[hnꜣ sš] (3) mdw-ntr
[irm nꜣ shw] mdꜣy-[nꜣtr]w
[and the scribes] (3) of the god's words,
[and the scribes] of the [god]s' words,

hn^c tyw pr-^cnh
 irm n3 shw pr-^cnh
 and the personnel of the House of Life,
 and the scribes of the House of Life,

hn ^c n3 kyw w ^c bw	m itrtȳ Šm ^c Mhw
irm n3 kyw w ^c bw	n [n3 irpyw n Kmy]
and the other priests	from the shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt,
and the other priests	of [the temples of Black(-land) (Egypt)]

nty m p3 sbty n ʾlksdrs
 [— ... —]
 who are in the Wall-of-Alexander (Alexandria),
 [...]

(i) ^c b=sn	iw shdt nt ʾlst
[(ʾ.)ir tw	r ht-ntr n ʾlst
they being gathered	at the sanctuary of Isis,
[who are gathered	at the temple-complex of Isis

hn ^c ntrwy snwy	hn ^c ntrwy mnhwȳ
irm n3 ntrw snw	irm n3 ntrw] mnh[w]
and of the two Gods Brotherly,	the two Gods Beneficent,
and the Gods Brotherly	and the Gods] Benefice[nt],

hn^c ntrwy mr-<it>
 [irm n3] ntrw mr-it]=w
 and the two Gods Father-loving,
 [and the] Gods Who-love-]their[-father],

hn ^c ntrwy pr	nbw Bikt
irm n3 nt]rw ntȳ pr	nbw Bk[y]
and the two Gods Forth-coming,	the Lords of Bright-eye (Egypt),
and the Gods Who-come-forth,	the Lords of Bright-e[ye] (Egypt),

hft smiw=s n hm=f
 [— ... —]
 after it was reported to His Majesty
 [...]

m r3 mh-ib n hm=[f]
 [— ... —]
 by (lit.: in the mouth of) the confidant of His Majesty,
 [...]

mr nsw
[— ... —]
the beloved of the King,
[...]

ḥr(i) ḥrp nfrw
[ḥry] n n3 ḥyplgs(w)
the commander-in-chief of the cavalry,
[commander] of the cavalry-commanders (hipparchoi)

ḥrsd3nyks	p3 ḥrsd3nygws
(4) [ḥrstnks]	s3 ḥrstnks]
Aristonicus,	son of Aristonicus,
(4) [Aristonicus,	son of Aristonicus]

m 'st' 3wmnws
(r-)db3 3[mns]
'about' Eumenos,
about Eu[menos],

nty 3myw 3my-3bw tp nw ḥm=f	m dd
nti ḥn[w] n3 'c'n'[w]	[dd
who is among the Top Favorites of His Majesty,	saying,
who is among the 'Favorites,	[saying,

ḥ3.n=f	m (4) T3-rs
ḥpr [m]llḥ	ḥ3r=f] — ...
'He (Eumenos) has campaigned	in (4) South-land (Upper Egypt),
There took place a [batt]le]	that he fought (lit.: made) [— ...

m ww n W3st
...
in the district of Dominion (Thebes),
...

ḥn' sb'i'w	ḥft nṯrw
ḥrm sb3	n n3 nṯrw Ḥr-wn-nf(r)
against the rebel,	the enemy of the gods.
with the rebel	against the gods, Hurgonaf(or),

'3sk m'wt s3 [n ḥ]ft
...
Now, the son of the enemy (leader) is dead,
...

hn ^c tsw	n[t] Nḥsw	dmḏ=sn hn ^c =f
irm p ₃ mš ^k	n n ₃ Ḳgšw	(i.)ir twtw irm=f
together with the band	of Nubians	who had joined him;
together with the army	of the Kushites	that was joined with him,

ʿs¹m₃.n=f sn
 ḥw=f[h]d[b=w]
 he (Eumenos) has slaughtered them
 he (Eumenos) having [sl]augh[tered] them

3 m m snti pn	[ʿ]ʿnh ¹
ḥw=f dī t ʿh ^c p ₃ sīb (n) rn=f	ḥw=f ʿnh
and seized that insurgent	alive
ha[ving] arrested the rebel named	alive.

k₃=sn
 ḥw=w dd
 they (the priests) said:
 they (the priests) saying:

m-^c nty wnn Nsw-bity S₃-R^c Pt[wlm]y[s] [ʿnh dt mr-Pth]
 (n-)drt [ḥpr=f r-ḥr-ir Pr-₃ Ptlwmys ʿnh dt mr Pth]
 Whereas the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, the Son-of-Rê, Pt[olemaio]s,
 [may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah],
 Whereas it has come to pass that King Ptolemaios, may he live for ever,
 beloved of Ptah,

s₃ n Nsw-bity Ptlwmys hn^c ḥk₃t nb T₃wy ʿrsirn₃ ntrwy mr-₃t
 ...
 the son of the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt and the ruler, the Lady of Two-
 lands (Egypt), Arsinoe, the two Gods Father-loving (Philopatores),
 ...

hn^c ḥmt=f ḥk₃t nb T₃wy Klīwp₃tr₃ ntrwy pr
 [irm t₃] Pr-₃(t) Glw[ptr₃ t₃=f] ḥmt n₃ n[trw ntī pr]
 and his wife, the ruler, Lady of Two-lands, Cleopatra, the two Gods Forth-going
 (Epiphaneis),
 [and the] Queen Kleo[patra, his] wife, the Go[ds who go forth,]

ḥr ir(t) ḥt nb nfr m [id]bw Hr hn^c imy(5) t=sn
 mdt nfrt ʿšy n n₃ irpy[w] (n) Kmy [irm] n₃ ntī hn=w
 have been doing every good thing in the 'Riverbanks-of-Horus' (Egypt) and
 what is on them
 has been doing many good deeds for the temples of Egypt [and] those in them

hn^c wn m hnt i³w(t)=sn mnht r i³w=sn
[t³=w] i³w (5) [hri dr=w]

and those who are in charge of their excellent offices in their entirety,
[and their] offices (5) [above, all of them]²⁷³

r 'ib=sn' mn^h hr ntrw ...
[r h³t=w mn^h h³(t) n³ ntrw] ...
their hearts being well disposed toward the gods, ...
[their hearts being well disposed toward the gods,] ...

i³w=sn s'r spr m-b^h hm=f n i³bd 4 šmw sw '3' dd
[i³w=w dbh] m šs [...] [...]
(and whereas) they laid a petition before His majesty, saying:
[(and whereas) they beseeched] earnestly [...] [...]

hf^c=k sn[t³ pn
[...] n p³ ml^h i³.ir=w i³rm=f
"You have taken [that] insurg[ent
[...]

m]'wnnf' 'ir h(n)^c=f'
[— —] n p³ ml^h i³.ir=w i³rm=f
— —] ' — — made with him'
[— —] in the battle they fought (lit.: did) with him

[h³]t-sp '19' i³bd 3 šmw (11) [sw 23]
n hst-sp 19 i³bd 3 šmw sw 23
(in) the '19th' [regnal] year, third month of Summer, (11) [23rd day],
in the 19th regnal year, third month of Summer, 23rd day

[i³w]=f [-]'m' [-]
i³w=f^cn^h
he [being] 'alive'.
he being alive.

[sm³]=sn 's³=f'
i³w=w hdb 'n' [p³=f šri — ...
They [killed] 'his son'
they having killed [his son — ...

[—]k³[—] sbi³w
...
[—]' — ' [—] rebel
...

²⁷³Or: 'their high offices'.

hn^c 'pdt' nt Nh[s]w 'sbi' hn^c=f
 ... (l.)lr] twtw irm=f
 together with the force of Nubian archers that went with him
 ... that was] joined with him,

iw=sn in im=f [iw] st nty r hm=f <im>
 iw=w in im=f r p; m^c ntì lw Pr-₃ im=f
 they bringing him [to] the place <in> which His Majesty was.
 they bringing him to the place in which His Majesty was,

[i]w=f snh m b(i)[i]
 iw=f[s]n[h n hmt]
 he being bound in irons (lit.: copper).
 he being [bo]un[d in irons (lit.: copper)].

rdi ir s n=f wd; wr n spr r=f
 [...] rmt bdw m [...]
 Let there be granted that there be done for him the great salvation of what is petitioned for him
 There was granted doing it for him; namely, the great salvation of what was petitioned for him
 [...] ' — — ' [...]

mì ir n sbiw nn wn tp-^c m [— ... —] r r³ 's'[p]w
 [...] hst n₃ rmw (r.)wnw bks n n₃ ' — — '
 as was done for those rebels who were previously in [...] ' — — '
 [...] with regard to the people who revolted among the ' — — '

[RHP]

Note to the translation

On the discussion about the reading of the names of the rebels see Meulenaere-Clarysse 1978 and Zauzich 1978b.

[RHP]

Comments

The bilingual (hieroglyphic and Demotic) First and Second Philae Decrees of Ptolemy V Epiphanes were carved on the E front of the Mammisi (PM VI, 228 [225] F.; Urk. II, 198-230; Müller 1920). The First Decree is the later one dated to Year 21 (187/6 BC) and is a slightly modified version of the Rosetta Decree (196 BC). The Second Decree is dated to Year 19 (185/4 BC) and presents a report about the crushing of the Upper Egyptian revolt. Like the First Decree it was badly damaged by superimposed reliefs of Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysos;²⁷⁴ and for

²⁷⁴PM VI, 228; in earlier literature: Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos; in the following we shall use the old numbering but also give, in brackets, the new numbering of the Ptolemies put forward, af-

this reason only the passages mentioning the Meroites participating in the revolt are quoted here (Winter 1982, 1028 mentions the unpublished Cairo stela 27/11/58/4 with a parallel text of the hieroglyphic variant). A demotic graffito from Aswan (Bresciani-Pernigotti-Foraboschi 1978, 141 no. 43) attests that Syene /Aswan was held by Meroitic forces between the tenth and sixteenth regnal years of Ptolemy V (ca. 195-189 BC; for the text see FHN IV, Addenda).

While in the hieroglyphic text, according to the Egyptian tradition, the leader of the rebels is not named, and the rebels are referred to with the word *sbī* (in Greek texts on the revolts under Ptolemy IV and V: ἄσεβεις, or ἀποστάντες, cf. Sethe 1917, 42; Huss 1994, 96) signifying the mythic enemy of the gods (for the association of the political opponents with Seth cf. Koenen 1959; Onasch 1976, 150 f.). After the Upper Egyptian revolt was crushed, the land of the Meroites would be identified with the land of the enemy of Horus and Rē in the inscriptions of the Edfu temple (Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, 178, 194 with note 2; Onasch 1977, 333).

As the text of the decree reveals, the report on the events in the Thebaid was presented to Ptolemy V in Alexandria by Aristonikos on Mesore 3 (September 6) 186 BC, ten days after the victory of Comannos (in the hieroglyphic text *mnws*) over Ankh-Wennofer, who is named in the demotic variant of the decree as “the enemy of the gods Ankh-Wennofer” (Urk. II, 221,8). Doubtless for propagandistic reasons, and not as a statement on ethnic identity, in the Demotic variant his name is also appended with the determinative of foreign peoples (Urk. II, 217,10; 221,8; 228,9). In addition he is qualified as the foremost of the rebels in Egypt (Urk. II, 221,9, Demotic, (l.)*ir ir hst n bks hnw Kmī*, see Sethe 1917, 44); his activity in Upper Egypt is characterized as a series of crimes against temples and their priesthood, and he is accused of forceful extortion of tribute and abuse of irrigation works (Sethe 1917, 45).

The manner of the Meroitic participation is indicated by the qualification of the Nubian army in the hieroglyphic as well as in the Demotic versions with the expression “who they have united themselves with him (i.e., Ankh-Wennofer)”. While Ankh-Wennofer’s son is killed in the final battle, Ankh-Wennofer himself is, after his army of Nubians has been defeated, taken prisoner on Epiphi 23 (August 27 186 BC) and brought to Alexandria where Aristonikos pleads for amnesty for him.²⁷⁵ The subsequent fate of Ankh-Wennofer remains unknown. After all these preliminaries, the text records the royal decree that the taxes from Upper Egypt, which could not be collected up to Year 19, are

ter the elimination of Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator from their list, by Chauveau 1990; cf. also Huss 1994, 10 [not accepted by Hölbl 1994].

²⁷⁵Huss 1994, 119 with note 300 suggests that the Egyptian priesthood was in the position of exerting a certain influence on Ptolemy V in the defense of the “nationalist” rebels; but he also notes that in the text of the Second Philae Decree it is the army officer Aristonikos and not a priest who asks the king for mercy. In the reading of Müller [1920, 75] the Decree does not tell about a plea for amnesty but simply reports that Ankh-Wennofer was killed.

relinquished. It is decided furthermore that statues of the king as "Lord of Victory" (*Ptwlmys nb kn[.t]*) should be erected in all sanctuaries of the land; in the lunettes of the copies of the Decree to be put up in the temples the king was to be represented in the act of the killing an enemy; and, finally, the day of the delivery of the triumphal report by Aristonikos as well as the day of the victory over the rebels was to be celebrated in the temples every year (Sethe 1917, 47).

[LT]

135 Sehel, Famine Stela. Incomes from the Dodecaschoenus. Early 2nd cent. BC (?).

Barguet 1953.

Text and translation

EXCERPT FROM MAIN TEXT (columns 23-32, reading right to left):

ḥtp-dī-nsw n Ḥnm-R*

An offering which the king gives to Khnum-Rê,

nb Kbhṯ ḥnt(y) T3-stt

Lord of Cool-water (the cataract region), foremost of Bow-land.

m ṯsw nn r.ṯr=k n=ī

As reciprocity for what you have done for me

ḥnk(=ī) n=k ṯmnt=k m Mṯnw ṯbt=k Bḥ

I am making a donation to you that your west(ern border) be *Manu* (and that) your east(ern) (be) *Bakhu*,

m ṯbw ʿnfrʿyt r ʿKmstʿ

from Elephant-town (Elephantine) right up to (Ta)kompos,

m ṯtrw 12 ḥr ṯmnt ṯbt

being (i.e. extending for) 12 leagues on (both) west (and) east,

m šḥt m mrw(24)w m ṯtwr

whether fields or desert (24) or river, in short every place in these leagues.

ṯmy-s nb

All who are in it,

ḥbs=<s>n²⁷⁶ ṯḥt

both those who till the soil

²⁷⁶Or: ḥbs(.tī.)<s>n, "who shall till"?

hn̄ s̄nh̄ ḥtbiw
and those who give (new) life to 'what lies dormant'

iṛi ḥm (= ḥmt) hn̄ mswt nb wn ḥnt ṯtrw ṯpw
by irrigating the river-banks and the new lands that are in these leagues,

mḥ.tw šmw=s(n) <r> wd̄t=k
their harvests shall be put into your granary

m ḥw r p(25)š=k wn ḥnt ṯwb
over and above your sha(25)re which is in Elephant-town (Elephantine).

wḥ̄-rmw nb grgw nb
(As for) all fishermen, all hunters,

ḥmw šḥt ṯpdw hn̄ bḥs nb
all who net and snare birds and game

šḥt m̄yw nb ḥr ḥst
and all who trap lions in the desert,

šd=i st m r-10 m sbw m nn r ṯw=sn
I tax them one tenth of the catch of all these

bḥsw nb ms ḥmwṯ ḥnt ṯtrw ṯpw
(and I demand) all the young animals to which the females in these leagues give birth in [their entirety].

(26) dī mḥtmw m ṯšriw (= ṯšrw) nb mnw n r̄ nb
(26) The branded animals shall be given in all burnt offerings and daily sacrifices.

hn̄ dī r-10	m nbw	ṯbw	hbn
And there shall be given one tenth	of the gold,	ivory,	ebony,

ndm	sty	ḥrds (= ḥrst)	shrt	dīw
carob wood,	ochre,	carnelian,	seheret-mineral,	tiu-plants,

nfw	ḥt nb
nefu-plants,	and all (kinds of) wood,

ḥt nb ṯn Nḥsyw (n) Ḥnt-ḥn-nfr <r> Kmt
(i.e.) everything that the Nubians of Beyond-the-final-frontier (Nubia south of the border with Egypt) bring to Egypt,

hn̄ s nb (27) šm ' <hr> 'wy' imytw=sn
and every man (27) who goes '— among' them.

nn wn tt nb hr wđ mdw hnt nn swt
The are no officials (empowered) to give orders in these places

hr šd ht m-m=sn
(or) to tax (any)thing among them.

r (=iw) nh ht r- r-pr=k
since everything is protected for your temple.

hnk n=k šht tfy hr inrw šht nfr
This country with (its) stones and arable land is donated to you.

nn dt im 'hpr — — — ' ht nb (28) im=f
There is no person there 'who ... ' anything (28) in it.

r (=iw) sndm sšw n=k-imy
But there shall reside there scribes that belong to you

hr rdiw nw rsi r iryw-
and agents of the south to be record-keepers,

šsr ht nb rdì n kryw
announcing everything to be given by the *kiry*-workers

hn̄ msprtyw hn̄ wr-hmw hn̄ [hm]ww nbw
and the 'metal-workers' and the master craftsmen, and the goldsmiths,

hn̄ 'hn'rw (29) hn̄ Nhsyw hn̄ ist 'prw
and the 'prisoners', (29) and the Nubians, and the crew of Apiru,

hn̄ hy (=h̄) nb ir=sn r 'rk nn inrw
and all the convicts who are to complete work on these stones,

m nbw hđ hmt tih (= dhti) '—'yw d-3-w-w3-rw ht 'hm
in gold, silver, copper, lead, ' ... ', firewood (or charcoal?),

ht rd.n s nb hr k̄t hr=sn r db(št)(30)=w
(in short) the things given by every man who works on them for their (30) dues,

m r-10 m nn irw
namely, one tenth of all these.

hn' rd(t) r-10 m 'swt ššw

And there shall be given one tenth of the precious stones and the stones from the quarries

inw m gs=s hrw

that are brought from up in the mountains,

inrw hr šbt

(i.e.) stones from the east.

hn' wn mr hš tnw nbw ḥd hmt 'swt n mš't

And there shall be an overseer who measures the amount of gold, silver, copper, and truly precious stones,

ḥt r.š gnwtw r ḥwt nbw

(i.e.) the things which sculptors requisition for the "compound of gold"

(31) <r> ms 'hmw

r s'h' šspw wn sh;

(31) in order to produce sacred images and to restore statues that are damaged

hn' tbh nb nn sw im

and any (other) necessities which are not there.

rdi ḥt nb ḥnt wḏt r mswt m whm

Let everything be put into the storehouse for restoration,

iw rh ḥt nb wn w(š)s ḥnt ḥwt-nṯr=k

when everything that is fallen into ruin in your temple complex is known,

r wn=s mī šhr m sp tpy

so that it may be as it was in the Beginning.

(32) sphr wt (= wd) tn hr 'h'yt 'm' bw ḏsr m šš

(32) Inscribe this decree on a stela in a sacred place in writing

hr nty ḥpr mī l.'dd'

because (it) happened as was said²⁷⁷

hr 'ny

(and) on a writing board

wn mdw-nṯr m r-pr sp sn hr=f

so that the divine decree may be in the temple twice concerning it (the donation).

psg m grg m sb'yt

He who spits (on it) is in the wrong (and destined) for punishment.

²⁷⁷Or: "it shall happen as has been said".

imyw-r3 n w'bw imyw-r3 s nb nw hwt-ntr

The overseers of *waab*-priests and the overseer of each man of the temple-complex

r 'ir(t)' mn rn=i m hwt-ntr Hnm-R' nb bw sdr nhh

'shall cause' my name to abide in the temple-complex of Khnum-Rê, Lord of Elephant-town (Elephantine), forever mighty.

[RHP]

Comments

The text of the so-called Famine Stela was carved in thirty-two columns on the surface of a rock at the S end of the island of Sehel, an island N of Philae in the region of the First Cataract. Above the text is a relief scene depicting King Djoser of the Third Dynasty before the deities of the Cataract region, Khnum, Satet, and Anuket. Though dated to Djoser's reign and purporting to be a decree of this king, the inscription and relief scene were in fact carved at a much later date, probably in the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (Barguet 1953, 33 ff.; Wildung 1969, 90; Lichtheim 1980, 94 f.). The creation of such a fictitious decree was doubtless motivated by the donation of the Dodecaschoenus, i.e., the Nile Valley stretch between Syene/Aswan and Takompso (for the toponyms cf. 108, *Comments*, Table A; for the history of the Dodecaschoenus cf. Sethe 1901; Desanges 1969) to the Temple of Isis of Philae by Ptolemy V after the crushing of the Upper Egyptian revolt in 186 BC and the re-occupation of this territory after it had been seized from Meroe (cf. 137). That donation annihilated the ancient rights of Khnum of Elephantine, who had earlier been the owner of the taxes levied on the river trade and the royalties of the mines of the Dodecaschoenus (for the donation of Ramesses III see Sethe 1901, 26 ff.). Wildung 1969, 88 ff. argues that this decree is a Ptolemaic re-edition of an early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty edition of a Third Dynasty text and reconstructs the text history as follows: the original text by Djoser had been intended to give expression to Djoser's claim to authority over the area from Gebel el-Silsile to Aswan; the early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty re-edition indicated Saite rule over Lower Nubia after the fall of the Kushite Dynasty; and the final re-edition conveyed Ptolemy V's claim to be the legitimate ruler of the Dodecaschoenus re-conquered from the Meroites. While the text reveals the great care with which the authors of both successive re-editions handled their *Urtexte* and even amended them (cf. Wildung 1969, 90 F.), its special bias, viz., the defense of Khnum's priority against the expanding cult of Isis of Philae, expressed in terms of religious concepts, and, more realistically, in the reassertion of his ownership of the Dodecaschoenus, shows that the the priests of the temple of Khnum were its authors.

From the text only the donation dated to Djoser's reign is translated here, because it gives a picture of the composition of the incomes expected from the Dodecaschoenus and, in this way, reflects its resources. Though it may be sus

pected that the donation preserves fragments of the prototypes, its re-edited form is indicated, e.g., by the definition of the extension of the Dodecaschoenus with reference to Takompso, a toponym first occurring in the TIP (for the documents of Taharqo's sanctuary of Amûn of Takompso see Winter 1982, 1025 with note 19).

The donation is embedded in a longer narrative of literary character, telling about a famine lasting seven years (a motif originating perhaps in the Old Testament, cf. Zibelius 1977) caused by a series of bad inundations. The distressed king laments the horrible state of his land and turns for advice to the chief lector-priest of Imhotep who, after consulting his sacred books, tells the king about the origin of the inundation at Elephantine and about Khnum's power over this place. He also informs the king about the wealth of the region (of the Dodecaschoenus) belonging to Khnum. After this, the king sees Khnum in his dream and receives the god's promise concerning the end of the famine. In return, Djoser makes his donation of the incomes of the Dodecaschoenus to him.

[LT]

136 Mention of Blemmyes around 180 BC.

PDodgson, Griffith 1909 100-109 and Cenival 1987 3-11.

Text and translation

(1) *ibd* 4 *ḥt* *sw* 21

(1) Fourth month of Inundation, 21st day.

dd *n=i* *pḥrd* *r.ms=w* (n) *Yb* (2) *Ns-pḥmdy* *sḥ* *Pḥ-dī-ir-ḥms-nfr*

The Child(-God) who was born (in) Elephant-town (Elephantine), (2) Espmêti, son of Petarhensnûfi, spoke to me,

iw=y (n) *rḥw* (3) (n) *Hnm* *Stt* *ʿnk*

as I was at the gates (3) of Khnum, Satis, and Anûkis,

iw=y *ḥḥ* (n) *tḥ* *nti* *iw=w* *whḥ* *st*

waiting for what they would demand (i.e., the will of the gods)

(4) (n) *pḥ* *nti* *iw=w* *gm* *n=f* *bwt*

(4) (from) him against whom they find a sacrilege,

iw=s *dīt* *st* (n)-*d(r)ḥ=i*

since they put it²⁷⁸ in my hand(s),

²⁷⁸An oracular response?

dd (5) ỉr syhyh=f

saying, (5) "Chastize him!" (as follows):

ĩnk Wsỉr Ns-pỉ-mty šỉ Hĩnm

"I am Osiris Espmêti, son of Khnûm.

(6) r.ddy st (n) Ptrỉ sỉ Pỉ-šỉỉ-(n)-pỉ-wr

(6) Tell Petra, son of Pshenpoêr,

bn-pw=y dít ƣš=w rn=k (7) pỉ rn r-dỉ n=k tỉ=k mw

'I did not let them utter your name, (7) the name your mother gave you.

ỉw=w ƣš rn=k dd Ptrỉ'ỉ' (sỉ) (8) Pỉ-dỉ-ỉr-ĩms-nfr rn=k

They shall call your name Petra, (8) (son of) Peteharhensnûfi, your (new) name,²⁷⁹

(n)-tw²⁸⁰ gm=y hỉt=k

because I have found out your innermost thoughts (lit.: heart). ..."

Lines 9 to 20 go on to record the culprit's noisy, quarrelsome, and above all drunken behavior that disturbed the god's sleep and provoked his wrath. Among other abominations, says the text,

(20) ỉwy=k tỉ 'swt' r bnr ỉr pỉ mĩg n hỉt-rnpt

(20) "You threw the 'cover' out with the 'wine' of 'the beginning of' the year,

(21) ỉ(w)=k swr ỉrm nỉ Brhw

(21) while you were drinking with the Blemmyes,

dd pỉ ƣm ỉpr (22) rwhe r-ỉr=y ỉw=y hrỉe

saying, 'Herdsman, night (22) has come upon me while I have been partying.

sny pỉ nw (23) (n) pỉ kbỉ r-ỉw=f r-ỉr=y

The time (23) for the libation has passed while it (the night) was upon me.' ..."

Note to the translation

I have followed Griffith's courageous practice with regard to the passages above (Griffith 1909, 103) and have tried to "translate every legible word in spite of the nonsense that results". Users of this corpus will discover that I have not infrequently proceeded in the same fashion elsewhere.

[RHP]

²⁷⁹In the interpretation of this passage I follow Thiessen 1994, 94-95.

²⁸⁰For *r ntt*, cf. Cenival 1987, 5.

Comments

As argued by Roeder (1959, 333 ff.), this papyrus, which Černý (1958, 203) dated to around 180 BC, records protocols of trials of men for violently disturbing the peace on the island of Philae. The one referred to here concerns a certain Petra son of Pshenpoêr, whom an oracle finds guilty of having desecrated offering wine dedicated to Osiris in a drinking party in which also Blemmyes had participated. As stressed by Updegraff (1988, 60), the importance of this data lies in the fact that in it we find men of Blemmyan origin as part of a mixed multi-ethnic society. The interpretation of the drinking of the wine of Osiris, which must have been illegally appropriated, as a crime leaves no doubt as to the nature of the party: it is clearly not the banquet of a religious association,²⁸¹ as Bonnet (1952, 172-3) maintained, and thus the drunkenness of the culprits is not of the normally accepted kind (cf. Brunner 1985). For further remarks on this text see Bresciani (1988).

[LT]

137 The Nubian nome list of Ptolemy VI. Philae, Temple of Isis. Ca. 163-145 BC. Junker 1958.

Text and translation

The two registers consist of processions in which the king and queen lead fecundity figures, who symbolize places in Nubia and bear offerings characteristic of them.

WEST WALL

FIRST PANEL OF THE REGISTER

TEXT IN FRONT OF KING PTOLEMY VI (four columns, reading from right to left):

(1) Nsw-bity ꜥwꜥ-n-Ntrwy-prwy

(1) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-ꜥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ꜥry-mꜥt-Rꜥ-ꜥmn

Who-exercises-the-Maꜥat-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) Sꜥ-Rꜥ Ptwlmys ꜥnh ꜥt mr-Pth

(2) Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah.

(3) Ntrwy Mr-mwt

(3) The Two Gods Philometor.

²⁸¹For the archaeological evidence for such associations from Meroitic Nubia see Millet 1984, 114 f.

TEXT BEHIND KING PTOLEMY VI (one column, reading from right to left):

(1) ʕnh w3s h3=f m3 Rʕ dt

(1) Life and dominion are behind him as (they are behind) Rê for ever.

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

(1) hk3t nb T3wy Kl3wptr3

(1) The Mistress, the Lady of Two-lands (Egypt), Cleopatra.

TEXT BEHIND KING PTOLEMY VI AND QUEEN CLEOPATRA

(two columns, reading from right to left):

(1) 3l.wy=n hr=t ʔst

(1) We are come to you, Isis,

d3 ʕnh nbt ʔ3t-wʕb

Giver of the water of life (the inundation), Lady of Pure-mound (the Abaton),

hnwt nb ʔw-rk hk3t h3swt rsy

Mistress, Lady of Final-island (Philae), Ruler of the Southern Countries.

3n=n (2) n=t ʔšmʕ Mhwt

that we may bring (2) to you Upper and Lower Egypt

hw=<n> n=t ʔhrwʔ

We have struck down 'rebellion' for you

d3=t (text =f) n=t 3w-3b n sn=t W33r

that you may give joy to your brother Osiris

ʔr nʔ rdt m m3ʕ-hrw

... in justification

d3=t n=f [—]

and that you may give to him [—].

SECOND PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) 3l.n Nsw-b3ty ʔwʕ-N3trwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr ʾIry-mʾt-Rʿ-ʾImn
Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri, Who-exercises-the-Maʿat-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) ʾn=f n=k ḥt nb nfr wʿb

(2) that he may bring to you everything good and pure

(3) r kbḥ ʾm tp sw 10 nb n(n) ʾr ʾby

(3) to make offering therewith at the beginning of every (ten-day) week, without cease.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Snmt²⁸²

Biga Island

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) ʾi.n Nsw-bity ʾwʿ-n-Ntrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr ʾIry-mʾt-Rʿ-ʾImn
Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri, Who-exercises-the-Maʿat-of-Rê-Amûn,

ḥr=k Wsir Wn-nfr ntr ʿ nb [—]

unto you, Osiris Onnophris, the great god, lord of the Abaton,

ʾn=f ʿnʾ[=k] (2) ʾrtt ʾmyt bḥ

that he may bring ʿtoʾ [you] (2) milk ʿ — — ʿ

nḏm

sweet,

ʾmy ʿmndwyʿ

what is in the two breasts,

pr m ḥst

and comes from *Hesat*,

bʿḥ=k (text: =f) ʾm

that you (text: he) may be inundated with it,

ʿnh=k (text: =f) ʾm m ḏt ḏt

and may live therefrom for ever,

rnp=ḥʿw=k [ʾm]

and that you limbs may be rejuvenated in it.

²⁸²For an alternative identification of Snmt as the narrow frontier area between Egypt and Nubia and the fortress there see Jaritz 1993, 115–119.

THIRD PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) *ii.n S3-R' Ptwlmys 'nh dt mr Pth*

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) *in=f n=t smr nw T3-(3)stî*

(2) that he may bring to you *semer* of Bow-(3)land (Nubia)

r di[t] k3t nb im=f

to give every work with it.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Bhn

Buhen

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) *ii.n S3-R' Ptwlmys 'nh dt mr Pth*

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

hr=t Tftnt 'wrt nb 'îst-w'b'

unto you, Tefnut, the great, Lady of Pure-mound (the Abaton),

hr [sw3š] (2) [-]w hm=s

[worship]ing (2) your (text: her) majesty

iw Hw Sî hr km3 n=s sns

while Authoritative Utterance and Perception formulate worshipful words for her,

r tpyw dw hr nhm hr-h3t=s

and those who are on the mountain shout acclamations before her.

FOURTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) *ii.n Nsw-blty 'Iw'-n-Ntrwy-prwy*

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Hpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

'Iry-m3't-R'-Imn

Who-exercises-the-Ma'at-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) ḥr=t Hwt-Hr wrt nb Snmt

(2) unto you, Hathor, the great, Lady of *Senemet* (Biga Island)

(3) ḥn=f n=t mfg (= mfk:t) m ḥ(w)n=f mꜣ

(3) that he may bring to you turquoise in its true color

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Tꜣ-wꜣdt

'Green'-land

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) ḥn Nsw-bity ꜥwꜣ-n-Nṯrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ꜥry-mꜣt-Rꜣ-ꜥmn

Who-exercises-the-Maꜣat-of-Rê-Amûn,

ḥr=t Hwt-Hr wrt nb Snmt

unto you, Hathor, the great, Lady of *Senemut* (Biga Island),

ḥn=f n=t ꜥrdwy snḥꜣ

that he may bring to you ' — — — '

(2) kdt tfy ḥp(r)=f ḥr-ḥꜣt

(2) that form (in which) it was aforetime,

ḥft ḥw ḥm=s m B-gm

after her majesty came from *Bugem*,

r (= ḥw) Šw ḥr-ḥꜣt=s

while Shu was before her,

ḥr ḥb n kꜣ=s r ꜥnfr nfrꜣ wr

dancing for her *ka*-spirit 'very beautifully'.

FIFTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) ḥn Sꜣ-Rꜣ Ptḥlmꜣs ꜥnh dt mr <Pt>ḥ

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

ḥr=k Ḥr-p(ḥ)-ḥrd
unto you, Horus-the-child (Harpocrates),

(2) ḥn=f n=k (3) swḏd-tp
(2) that he may bring to you (3) 'top quality —'

m ḥnw 'nw' Tḥ-sti
as products of Bow-land (Nubia).

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Pḥ-nbs
Pnubs (Tabo)

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) ḥl.n Sḥ-Rḥ Ptḥlmys ḥnh dt mr Pth
(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

ḥr=k Ḥr-p(ḥ)-ḥrd sḥ Ḥst nb Ḥt-rk
unto you, Horus-the-child (Harpocrates), son of Isis, lord of Final-island (Phila-
lae),

ḥn=f <n=>k [— — —]
that he may bring <to> you [...]

(2) is Nfryw ḥr 'shkr'
(2) while the Nfryw-Apes adorn ('your') limbs,

ḥbyw sr r ḥwt=sn t[— — —]
panthers 'and giraffes — — ' [...].

SIXTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) ḥl.n Nsw-bity Ḥwḥ-n-Nṯrwy-prwy
(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-
Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr Ḥry-mḥt-Rḥ-Ḥmn
Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri, Who-exercises-the-Ma'at-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) ḥn=f n=t bks ḥr mn=f
(2) that he may bring to you magnetite from his mountains,

(3) pr ìm hr đw nw T3-stì

(3) come forth from on the mountain of Bow-land (Nubia).

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

P-t-n-3-t

「 — 」

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) ìl.n Nsw-bìty Ỉwꜥ-n-Ntrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ỉpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

Ỉry-Mꜥt-Rꜥ-Ỉmn

Who-exercises-the-Maꜥat-of-Rê-Amûn,

hr=t Hwt-Hr wrt nb Snmt

unto you, Hathor, the great, Lady of *Senemut* (Biga Island),

[— —] (2) sꜣt Rꜥ m st tn

[— —] (2) daughter of Rê, in this place,

ìn=f n=t ỉbw wꜥb wdn hr rmn=sn

that he may bring to you pure ivory,²⁸³ proffered on their arms,

đhđhw [— —]

(while) the đhđh-apes [— —].

SEVENTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) ìl.n S3-Rꜥ Ptwlmys Ỉnh đt mr <Pt>Ỉ

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) ìn=f n=t nbw hr mn=f

(2) that he may bring to you gold from his mountain

m Ỉ n{t} Ỉnt-Ỉn<-nfr>²⁸⁴ n Ỉfnw

from the land of “Beyond-the-final-frontier”.

²⁸³On pure ivory see Aufrère 1991, 596 with references.

²⁸⁴Text: Ỉnt-Ỉn-Ỉpr.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Nipt
Napata

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (four columns, reading right to left):

(1) *il.n S3-Rc Ptwlmys ʿnh dt mr Pth*

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

hr=t ʾIst [— ... —]
unto you, Isis [...]

(2) *dsr st hnt ʾIst-wʿb*

(2) whose place is holy, on Pure-mound (the Abaton).

iw n=s Nḥsw m hms hr [— —]

while the Nubians come to her, coming humbly, bearing [— —]

[—] (3) *kmw htr hr b3k [—] m nwb [—]*

the [—] (3)-people taxed with the dues [—] in gold [—]

(4) *il=sn m hd ʾtp imʾ [...]*

(4) they come sailing downstream ʾ— —ʾ [...]

rdi dr.tw m hmt

ʾcausing one to be rich in copper.ʾ

EIGHTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) *il.n Nsw-bity ʾIwʿ-n-Ntrwy-prwy*

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Hpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

Iry-mʿt-Rc-Imn

Who-exercises-the-Maʿat-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) *hr=t ʾIst*

(2) unto you Isis,

in=f n=t (3) ḥsb(d) hr mn=f

that he may bring to you (3) lapis-lazuli from on his mountain.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Mi-r-w3-t
Meroe

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) il.n Nsw-bity ꜥwꜥ-n-Nṯrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ꜥry-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ-ꜥmn

Who-exercises-the-Maꜥat-of-Rê-Amûn,

ḥr=t ꜥst nb P(3)-ḳt-rk

unto you, Isis, Lady of The-final-island (Philae),

in=f n=t ꜥt nb (2) špss

that he may bring to you every (kind of) noble (2) precious stone,

ḥsbd ḥnm[—] mfk(t) bks ḥts ꜥr

lapis-lazuli, red jasper, turquoise, magnetite, *ḥts*-mineral, (and) ꜥr-stone.

NINTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading right to left):

(1) il.n S3-Rꜥ Ptwlmys ꜥnh dt mr Pth

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) ḥr=t ꜥst

(2) unto you Isis,

in=f n=t (3) ꜥrt špss Ph(w)-Knst

that he may bring to you (2) noble stones of Farthest-Upper-Nubia

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Ph(w) Knst

Farthest Upper Nubia.

BEHIND THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (two columns, reading right to left):

(1) il.n S3-Rꜥ Ptwlmys ꜥnh dt mr Pth

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

ḥr=t ʾst dī ʿnh nb ʾst-wʿb

unto you, Isis, giver of the living-waters (the inundation), mistress of Pure-mound (the Abaton),

(2) [— ... —]rḥwʾ

(2) [...]r—ʾ

EAST WALL

FIRST PANEL OF THE REGISTER

TEXT IN FRONT OF KING PTOLEMY VI (four columns, reading from left to right):

(1) Nsw-bity ʾwʿ-n-Nṯrwy-prwy

(1) The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ʾry-mʿt-Rʿ-ʾmn

Who-exercises-the-Maʿat-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) Sʿ-Rʿ Ptwlmys ʿnh dt mr-Pth

(2) Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(3) Nṯrwy Mr-mwt

(3) The Two Gods Philometor,

TEXT BEHIND KING PTOLEMY VI (one column, reading from left to right):

(1) ʿnh wʿs ḥʿf mī Rʿ dt

(1) Life and dominion are behind him as (they are behind) Rê for ever.

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

(1) ḥkʿt nb Tʿwy Kḥwptrʿ

(1) The Mistress, the Lady of Two-lands, Cleopatra.

TEXT BEHIND KING PTOLEMY VI AND QUEEN CLEOPATRA (two columns, reading from left to right):

(1) ʾl.wy=n ḥr=k Wʿsr

(1) We are come to you, Osiris,

nṯr ʿʿ nb Wʿby

great god, Lord of Purity (the Abaton),

ʾn=n n=k ḥt nb nfr wʿb nḏm

that we may bring to you all things good, pure, and sweet,

(2) r kbḥ ḥm tp sw 10 nb

(2) in order to make offering therewith at the beginning of every (ten-day) week.

st ḥpw mr ḥst nb ḥw-rk

This is the place Isis, Lady of "Final-Island" (Philae), loves,

m ḥmwb n sn=s m Snmt

in '—' for her brother Osiris on *Senemut* (Biga Island),

'shr nšn' r=f

driving 'evil' away from him.

SECOND PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥl.n Sṣ-R' Ptḥlmys ḥnh dt mr <Pt>ḥ

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) ḥr=k Wsir

(2) unto you Osiris

ḥn=f n=k Ḥwt-ḥnt

that he may bring to you Nearer-compound (Philae)

'hr ḥt nb nfr w'ḥ'

bearing all things good and pure.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Ḥwt-ḥnt

Nearer-compound (Philae)

THIRD PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥl.n Nsw-bṯy ḥw'-n-Nṯrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pṯḥ-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ḥry-mṣ't-R'-Ḥmn

Who-exercises-the-Ma'at-of-Rê-Amûn,

ḥr=t ḥst nb ḥt-rk

unto you, Isis, Lady of Final-island (Philae),

in=s n=t B3kt hr 3wt (2) nb 3pss
that she may bring to you Taxer (Quban) bearing every (kind of) noble (2) precious stone,

ir.t(w) kt nb im=sn
with which one does every (kind of) work,

Hr B3kt tm3- hr shr hftyw=t (text: =k) hr 3t-w3b
while Horus of Taxer (Quban), the one whose arm is strong, casts down your enemies on Pure-mound (the Abaton).

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading left to right):

(1) 33.n Nsw-bity 3w3-n-Ntrwy-prwy
(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-3pr	3ry-m33t-R3-3mn
Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,	Who-exercises-the-Ma3at-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) hr=t 3st nb 3t-rk
(2) unto you Isis, Lady of Final-island (Philae),

in=f (3) n=t B3kt hr ht nb
that he may bring (3) to you Taxer (Quban, Contra Pselchis), bearing everything.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

B3kt
Taxer (Quban, Contra Pselchis)

FOURTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) 33.n S3-R3 Ptwlmys 3nh dt mr Pth
(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

hr=k Hr-p(3)-3rd s3 3st
unto you Horus-the-child (Harpocrates)

in=f n=k (text: nb) 3bw w3b m3-kd=f
that he may bring to you pure ivory 'in its natural form',

(2) hr in ht nw Stt
(2) bearing things of Bow(-land) (Nubia):

ṣbw ḥr ḥt=sn ḥbn ḥr ph=sn
ivory in front of them and ebony behind them,

bnwt n p(ṣ) ḏw ḥrt
and *bnw*-stone from the mountain of the high country.

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥ.n Sṣ-Rṣ Ptḥlmṣ ṣnh ḏt mr Pḥ

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemy, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) ḥr=t Ḥwr-Ḥr nb Snmt

(2) unto you Hathor, Lady of *Senemut* (Biga Island),

(3) ḥn=f n=t Mṣm

(3) that he may bring to you *Miam* (Aniba),

ḥr ḥt nb
bearing everything.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Mṣm
Aniba

FIFTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥ.n Nsw-bṯy Ṣwṣ-n-Nṯrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pḥ-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

Ṣry-mṣṣ-t-Rṣ-Ṣmn

Who-exercises-the-Maṣat-of-Rê-Amûn,

ḥr=t Ḥwr-Ḥr nb Snmt

unto you, Hathor, Lady of *Senemut* (Biga Island),

ḥnwt nb pr-ms ḥnt st wrt

mistress, lady of the Mammisi, foremost of the great seat,

(2) ḥn=f n=t Mḥyt ḥr ḥt nb r ḥr-ḥb=sn

(2) that he may bring to you *Mehîṯ*, bearing every thing 'in their midst':

ṭw df ḥkḳ nbs
 '—', '—', '—', zizyphus.

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥn Nsw-bṯy ṯwꜥ-n-Ntrwy-prwy

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Heir-of-the-Gods-Epiphanes,

Stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr

Chosen-of-Ptah-Khepri,

ṯry-mꜥt-Rꜥ-ṯmn

Who-exercises-the-Maꜥat-of-Rê-Amûn,

(2) ḥr=t ṯst nb ṯt-wꜥb

(2) unto you Isis, Lady of Pure-mound (the Abaton),

(3) ḏsr st=s ḥnt ṯt-rḳ nb ḥswt rsyw

(3) (she) whose seat is sacred, foremost of Final-island (Philae), Lady of the southern countries.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Mhyt

Mehîṯ

AT THE END OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) ḥn Sꜥ-Rꜥ Ptwtlmys ꜥnh ḏt mr Pth

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

ḥr<=t> ṯst nb ṯw-rḳ nb ḥswt rsy

unto you Isis, Lady of Final-island (Philae), Lady of the southern countries,

ḥn=f n=t ḥswt Nh(2)sw

that he may bring to you the countries of the Nu(2)bians,

ḥr ḥt nb pr m Tꜥ-Wꜥwꜥt

bearing everything that comes forth from *Wawat*-land (Lower Nubia):

nbw ḥḏ ḥmt ḥsbd mꜥ mfk mꜥ

gold, silver, copper, real lapis-lazuli, real turquoise.

SIXTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading left to right):

(1) *ii.n S3-R' Ptwlmys 'nh dt mr Pth*

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah,

(2) *hr<=t> 'Ist*

(2) unto <you> Isis

in=f n=t (3) snn nw T3-Sti

that he may bring to you (3) green feldspath of Bow-land (Nubia).

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Nhr

Nahor

AT THE END OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) *ii.n S3-R' Ptwlmys ['nh dt mr Pth]*

(1) Here comes the Son-of-Rê: Ptolemaios, [may he live for ever, beloved of Ptah],

hr=t 'Ist nb 'Iw-rk

unto you Isis, Lady of Final-island (Philae),

in=f n=t ph nw Stt

that he may bring to you Farthest Bow(-land) (Nubia),

[—]=f n=t '3w nb [—] m [-]

he [—] for you very (kind of) precious stone [—]'-'[—]

m inw m 'w 'Iwntyw

as produce, on the arms of the Trogodytes.

SEVENTH PANEL OF THE REGISTER

IN FRONT OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE (three columns, reading left to right):

(1) *ii.n Nsw-bity* (left blank)

(1) Here comes the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt (blank),

(2) *hr[=t] 'Ist*

(2) unto [you] Isis,

in=f n=t (3) hts špss

that he may bring to you (3) the noble *hts*-mineral

<r> ir k:t nb <im>
<to> do every work <therewith>.

THE NAME OF THE FECUNDITY FIGURE ON THE STANDARD ON ITS HEAD:

Itfyt
Atefit

AT THE END OF THE SCENE (two columns, reading left to right):

(1) 'll.n' (blank ?)
(1) Here comes (blank ?),

[hr=t Is]t di 'nh nb It-w'bt hnw't nb Tw-<r>k
unto you Isis, giver of the water of life, Lady of Pure-mound (the Abaton),
mistress, Lady of Final-island (Philae)

(2) [— ... —] nb ms n dww
(2) [...] all, that are brought forth by the mountains,

h'nk=sn m hr=t r' nb
that they may be donated in your presence every day.

[RHP]

Comments

This procession of nome-figures, led by Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II, is carved in the base register of the West Entrance of the First Pylon of the Isis temple at Philae (PM VI, 217 [95], [96], [100]). In more general terms, the representation of the Nubian nomes bringing their tribute to Isis may most likely be associated with the victory over the Upper Egyptian revolt in 186 BC (see 133, 134, and cf. 135) as a result of which the Triacontaschoenus, i.e., the Lower Nubian Nile Valley stretch between Syene/Aswan and the Second Cataract was re-occupied by Egypt. More closely, the nome procession may be brought into connection with the crushing of the smaller, new, rebellions in Upper Egypt between 168-163 BC (cf. Diodorus, 31, fgms 15a, 17c; Uebel 1962 159 ff.; Skeat-Turner 1968, 206 f.) and the reliefs were probably executed on the occasion of one—probably the earlier—of the journeys made in late 163 and in 158 BC by Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II to Upper Egypt (cf. LD IV, 23). The nome procession is also connected with the donation of the Dodecaschoenus to the Isis temple, which is recorded in a stela erected in 157 BC in front of the Isis temple (LD IV, 27b; Hölbl 1994, 166).

The list is almost identical with Ptolemy II's Nubian tribute list carved about one century earlier on the walls of Room I of the same temple (see 112). Ptolemy VI's list is better preserved and contains four toponyms which are

missing from the earlier list: viz., *Mꜣꜣm* (Aniba), *Mḥyt* (Abu Simbel, cf. Zibelius 1972, 126 f.), *Nhr* (?), and *Bhn* (Buhen). On the other hand, *Pr mr.t* (Parembolē), a place in the neighbourhood of Debod, which was listed in 112, does not occur in 137. For the nome-names and the significance of the list cf. 112, *Comments* and see also 138, 141.

[LT]

138 Debod, building inscription of Ptolemy VI Philometor. 172-170 BC (?).
OGIS I 107. SB V 8461.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Dittenberger 1903 | W. Dittenberger: <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . Vol. 1. Lipsiae. |
| Zucker 1911 | F. Zucker: <i>Von Debod bis Bab Kalabsche</i> . Vol. 2. (Les temples immergés de la Nubie.) Le Caire. |
| Zucker 1912 | F. Zucker: <i>Von Debod bis Bab Kalabsche</i> . Vol. 3. (Les temples immergés de la Nubie.) Le Caire. |

Introduction to source

On the second gateway (pylon) of the temple of Isis in Debod there is carved the following building inscription. Our text follows that of Dittenberger (1903, 186 f., No. 107, with a bibliography of earlier publications of the inscription). Zucker (1912, 1), on inspection, found nothing to correct in Dittenberger's text; for a picture of the pylon, see Zucker (1911, Pl. 4).

Text

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμ[αίου καὶ βασι]λίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, [τῆς ἀδελφῆς] | καὶ γυναικός, θεῶν Φιλο[μητό]ρων, Ἰσιδι καὶ συννάοις θεοῖς τὸ πρό-
πυλον].

Translation

On behalf of King Ptole[my and Qu]een Cleopatra, his [sister] and wife, the gods Philo[meto]res, (was dedicated) [this propylon] to Isis and [the gods] who sha[re the temple].

[TH]

Comments

After the final crushing of the revolts in the Thebaid (cf. 137, *Comments*) and the re-conquest of the Triacontaschoenus from Meroe construction was resumed at the Isis temple of Dabod. Here work on a chapel was started before 207/6, i.e., the date of the secession of the Thebaid, by Ptolemy IV and was continued thereafter by the Meroitic king Arqamani (see 129). The chapel was ex

tended into a temple by Ptolemy VI, whose building inscription **138** commemorates the completion of the propylon probably around 172-170 (Huss 1994, 24).

[LT]

(139) King [...]mr[...]t. Evidence for reign.

According to Lepsius (LD Text V, 303) in the mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 8 (Dunham 1957, 68 ff.) a fragmentarily preserved royal name was found in one of the wall reliefs, of which only the signs [...]mr[...]t were legible. The location of Beg. N. 8 in the cemetery as well as the style and the iconography of the mortuary cult chapel reliefs (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 5/C, D; see especially the representation of the queen behind the figure of the enthroned King receiving mortuary offerings, cf. **(129)**, *Comments*, end) indicate a dating of King [...]mr[...]t to the decades after Arqamani's reign.

[LT]

140 Provisions requested from Nubia for Philae. 149/8 BC.

SB VIII 9737. I. Philae I 12bis. I. Prose 19.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| A. Bernand 1969 | A. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae. Vol. 1: Époque ptolémaïque. Paris. [=I. Philae I.] |
| A. Bernand 1992 | A. Bernand: La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Vol. 1-2. Paris. [=I. Prose.] |
| Bingen 1994 | J. Bingen: Épigraphie grecque d'Égypte: la prose sur pierre. CdE 69, 152-167. |
| Segre 1939 | M. Segre: Epigraphica V. Frammento di ἐντευξις. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie 33, 325-332. |

Introduction to source

This fragmentary inscription is written on a dark granite stela. Only the left half of the lower part of the stela has been preserved, constituting a rectangle 26 cm high and 28 cm wide; the letters are 1 cm high. The stela is known to have been brought from Aswan to Cairo, and is now in the Græco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Inv. No. 22690); that it originally came from Philae is a conjecture based on its contents (line 8 Mandulis, line 9 Philae).

The inscription was first published by Segre (1939). We mainly follow the text given by A. Bernand (1969, 126-137, No.12bis, with translation and comments; also 1992:1, 56 f., and 2, 56 f., No. 19), correcting it in a few places²⁸⁵ on

²⁸⁵Line 2 γενηθείση for Bernand's γεν(ε)θείση, line 4 κατὰ μῆνα for Bernand's μῆνα, line 5 κερα[μίων ...] for Bernand's κεραμίων[- -], line 14 να for Bernand's καὶ ἵνα, line 16 ε[ὐτύχει] for Bernand's Εὐ[τύχει], line 17 (ἔτους) for Bernand's ἔτους. Segre (1939, 325) is correct in all

the basis of the photos Bernand himself prints of the stone and of a squeeze (1969, Pl. 35), and also suppressing some of the proposed supplements.²⁸⁶ It should be noted, however, that much of the translation is still based on modern supplements—probably as much as half of each line is missing on the stone. Thus, whereas the general structure of the text may be correctly restored, no weight should be put on any details in the bracketed parts of the translation.

Text

- 1 [...]ΕΙΕΙ[...]
- 2 . καὶ ἐν τῇ γεννηθείσῃ χρειαι, προσ[όδων ..., τὸν τότε ὄν-]
- 3 τα τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπάρχοντα Φοι[... παρακαλέσας(?) ... ὁ στρα]-
- 4 τηγὸς ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν κατὰ μῆν[α σύνταξιν ἐπιδοθῆναι(?) ... σίτου]²⁸⁷
- 5 ἄρταβῶν τριάκοντα, οἶνου κερα[μίων ...]
- 6 ἐρίων ὀλκῆς τάλαντα δύο δια[...]
- 7 ταξαμένοις, ἵν' ἔχωμεν εἰς τάς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐν τῷ τοῦ
- 8 Μονδουλεύου θεοῦ μεγίστου [ἱερῶι καὶ εἰς τὰλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐν
- τοῖς κατὰ]
- 9 Φίλας τόποις ὑπὲρ τε σοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ
- τῶν προγό-]
- 10 νων σου· νυνὶ δε προαιρούμε[νοι τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀνα-]
- 11 νεῶσαι, δεόμεθά σου, εἰ δοκ[εῖ, προστάξαι ... τῷ συγγενεῖ]
- 12 καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ ὅπως Φ[... γράψῃ, ἵνα διατηρῇ ἡμῖν]
- 13 κατὰ μῆνα τὰ προκεί(με)να μηθὲν π[αραλείπων φροντίδος μητ' εὐνοίας
- καὶ ἱ-]
- 14 να ἡμῖν κατακολουθῇ τοῖς ἔτι [πρότερον ἐπικεχωρημένοις ...]
- 15 καὶ νῦν προστεταγμένοις· τού[του δὲ γενομένου, ἐσόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ]
- 16 τὸ ἱερὸν πεφιλανθρωπημένοι. ε[ὐτύχει].
- 17 (ἔτους) λγ, Μεχ[εῖρ ...]

these places (but a couple of the mistakes were introduced in his supplemented version p. 330). A. Bernand *I. Prose* (1992:1, 57) reproduces his mistakes from *I. Philae I*; cf. the comments in Bingen (1994, 154 f.).

²⁸⁶E.g., we have not adopted A. Bernand's supplement of two lines before line 1: [Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρῃ θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι] | [χαίρειν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ἐν Φίλαις Μονδουλεύου θεοῦ μεγίστου. ἐπειδὴ], "[To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, the gods Philometores, greetings from the priests of Mandulis of Philae, the greatest god. Whereas ...]". As Bingen (1994, 154 f.) points out, the text is addressed to the king in the singular.

²⁸⁷Segre, followed by Bernand, also supplies μὲν after σίτου; but there is no δὲ after οἶνου in line 5 to warrant that supplement.

Translation

[...] and in the shortage which arose when [our] rev[enues ...]²⁸⁸ the *strategos* [summoned(?) ...]²⁸⁹ Phoi[...]²⁹⁰ who was then] governing the Aithiopians, and arranged [to be given] to us a month[ly subvention] (5) of thirty artabas [of grain, ...] jars of wine, [...] two talents weight of wool,²⁹¹ [...] so that we should have it for th[e sacrifices and libations in the temple] of Mandulis, the greatest god, [and for the other customary rites in the] region of Philae on behalf of you and [the queen and] your [children and ancest]ors.

(10) Now that we are proposi[ng to re]new [the sacrifices and libations], we ask you, if you see f[or it, to order ..., the kinsman] and secretary of correspondence (*hypomnematographos*), to [write to] Ph(?)[...]²⁹² so that he keeps up] the monthly subvention [to us] mentioned above without f[ailing either in attention or goodwill] and so that he abides by what [has] already [been undertaken ...]²⁹³ (15) and what has now been decreed.

[If this happens, we and] the temple [will have] profited from your benevolence. F[arewell]. Year 23, (in the month) Mech[air].

[TH]

Comments

In 150 BC the Triacontaschoenus, i.e., the reach of the Nile Valley between the First and Second Cataracts, which was re-occupied by Egypt after the Upper Egyptian revolts were crushed (cf. (129), (131), 132-135, 137, *Comments*), was fused into one administrative unit with the Thebaid (Bevan 1927, 294 f.) under the authority of the strategos and later the epistrategos of the Thebaid. As 140, an unfortunately very fragmentary text, indicates, the "Aithiopian", i.e., non-Egyptian population of the area south of Philae was subordinate to an official

²⁸⁸Segre (1939, 330), followed by Bernand, supplies προσ[όδων δεομένων ἡμῶν], "when [our] rev[enues failed]", but stresses the purely conjectural character of the supplement.

²⁸⁹Segre (1939, 330), followed by Bernand, supplied παρακαλέσας, apparently in the meaning "appealed to" (Bernand: "fit appel à"). As an alternative, if the relations between the two parties were less friendly, he suggested ἐπαναγκάσας, "forced". We hesitantly keep παρακαλέσας as a possible supplement, but render it "summoned" in accordance with our general interpretation of the context and of the relationship between the *strategos* and the ruler of the Aithiopians in the Triacontaschoenus (cf. *Comments*). It should be noted, however, that at this crucial point in the inscription, its fragmentary state precludes any certainty about the actual relationship between the two rulers.

²⁹⁰As Segre (1939, 329 n. 2) remarks, the last letter of this name preserved on the stone need not be an I; it may as well be part of an M or N or any Greek letter beginning with a vertical stroke.

²⁹¹The *artaba* corresponds roughly to 30 litres, the *talent* to 40 kilos.

²⁹²Segre (1939, 330), followed by Bernand, guesses that the same person is referred to here as in line 3 and thus supplies Φ[οι...]. The Φ, however, is uncertain ("quasi sicuramente conservato", says Segre 1939, 329); and anyway so is the identification of the two persons; cf. the supplement τότε, "then", in line 2, which would indicate a change of ruler (or, possibly, of Phoi... 's own position, as Segre himself suggests).

²⁹³Segre (1939, 330), followed by Bernand, also supplies ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, "by him", consistently with the dubious supplement Φ[οι...] in the preceding line.

who was himself probably an "Aithiopian" and subordinate to the strategos. The "Aithiopians" are mentioned in general terms in the text, i.e., it is not specified whether all non-Egyptian communities in the Triacontaschoenus or only a part of them are meant. The mention of their own governor without a further specification favors, however, the first possibility. They are, according to 140, obliged to deliver regular provisions to the Temple of Mandulis at Philae, a sanctuary built by Ptolemy V Epiphanes (for its remains see Dewachter 1970; for the monuments of the cult of the local god of Talmis and the controversial views concerning his origin see Henfling 1980) and in all probability also to other temples in the Triacontaschoenus. The provisions: grain, wine, and wool, indicate mainly agricultural communities.

The importance of 140 lies in the fact that it attests the existence of and also gives an idea about the size and the political organisation of, a non-Egyptian, "Aithiopian", i.e., in general terms Meroitic, population in Lower Nubia. It seemed until quite recently that the surveys and excavations in the Triacontaschoenus, also including the UNESCO Campaign between 1959-1969, had failed to bring new discoveries that would alter the traditional statement that Lower Nubia was largely uninhabited between the Napatan period and the 1st or 2nd century AD (for a summary of the views see Adams 1976). However, the analysis of the Lower Nubian toponyms (see 108, *Comments*), the re-analysis of the historical sources (cf. Török 1979; 1986, 69 ff.; 1987a, 159 ff.; 1988, 273 ff.), new excavations producing archaeological evidence for the existence of settlements from the 3rd century BC onwards (see Fernandez 1983; 1984), a more independent analysis of earlier and new finds (Williams 1985; 1991), and a new chronology of Meroitic painted pottery also including the re-dating of its early phases to the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC (Török 1987a, 188 ff.; 1987b; cf. also Török n.d.) has resulted in a re-assessment of Lower Nubian settlement history.

It could be stated that, contrary to earlier views, Lower Nubia was inhabited, however sparsely, ever since the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period (cf. 78, 84 and see also Török 1995, Ch. 2-4). The Bion itinerary from the early 3rd century BC (108) lists a number of settlements which went back to earlier, New Kingdom and/or Twenty-Fifth Dynasty antecedents, and which apparently also constituted the bases for a re-settlement program carried out during the reigns of Arqamani and Adikhalamani, i.e., the period of the Meroitic re-occupation of Lower Nubia after a period of Egyptian domination (cf. 85, *Comments*, (129), (131)): at least, the considerable size of the non-Egyptian population living in the Triacontaschoenus, as is indicated by 140, points to the result of such a re-settlement process. It also would appear that it was not only a strategic consideration but also the density of settlement in Lower Nubia and the nature of the communities in which the non-Egyptian population lived that brought about the unification of the government of the Triacontaschoenus with the administration of the Thebaid. Finally, the proportions of the "Aithiopian" ethnics in the area may also explain the apparent similarities between the administration of the

Triacontaschoenus and the government of other external territories occupied by the Ptolemies (see Mooren 1977, 127 ff.).

[LT]

141 Towns founded by Ptolemy VI in the Triacontaschoenus. Ca. 151-145 BC.
OGIS I 111. SB V 8878. IThSy 302. É. Bernand 1992, No. 14.

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Introduction to source

The present inscription is written on a granite stele of unknown provenance²⁹⁴ (now in the Louvre, Réserve Napoléon, MA 1676). It was first published by Strack (1897, 251; 1976, 37: No. 95), then republished with a commentary (in Latin) by Dittenberger (1903, 190 f., No. 111). The text in SB V 8878 reproduces that of Dittenberger. It has, in recent years, been republished twice, each time with bibliography, critical notes, French translation and extensive commentary (A. Bernand 1989, 260-266 + Pl. 144, No. 302, and É. Bernand 1992, 45-51 + Pl. 12, No. 14).

Our text mainly (exception: line 30) follows that of É. Bernand (1992), which is practically identical with that of A. Bernand (1989; differences only in lines 16 and 20). The two Bernands, in turn, apart from minor changes in the delimitation of supplements, differ from Dittenberger (1903) only in accepting a couple

²⁹⁴The assumption of earlier editors from Strack (1897) to A. Bernand (1989) that this inscription, like IThSy 303, derives from Es-Sehel (Setis) halfway between Elephantine and Philae, has recently been contested by Heilporn (1990; SEG XL 1577), who instead argues for Elephantine or Syene.

of supplements suggested by Wilcken in an important review (1906, 323; cf. Dittenberger 1905, 542f.) and by others (lines 16, 17, 20).

Text

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω καὶ βασιλίσση | Κλεοπάτραι τῇ ἀδελ[φῇ, θε]οῖς
 Φιλομήτορ[σι], | καὶ τοῖς τούτων τέκνοις καὶ Ἀμμωνι | τῷ καὶ Χνού[βει
 κ]αὶ [Ἡ]ραι [τῇ κ]αὶ Σάτει |⁵ καὶ Ἑστίαι [τ]ῇ[ι καὶ] Ἀνούκ[ει] καὶ
 Διονύσῳ | τῷ καὶ Πετεμπαμέντει κ[α]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | θεοῖς
 ὑπὲρ Βοήθου τοῦ Νικοστράτου | Χρυσσαορέως, τοῦ ἀρχισωματο-
 φύλακος | καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [κτί]στου τῶν ἐν τῇ[ι]¹⁰ Τριακοντα-
 σχοίνῳ πόλεων Φιλομητορίδ[ος] | καὶ Κλεοπάτρας,
 εὐ[ν]οίας ἔνεκ[εν] | ἧς ἔχων διατελ[εῖ] πρ[ό]ς τε τὸν βασιλέα | καὶ τὴν
 βασίλισσαν κ[αὶ] τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, |
 Ἡρώιδης Δημοφώντος Περ[γα]μηνὸς |¹⁵ τῶν διαδό[χ]ων καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐ[π]
 ἄ]νδρῶν | καὶ φρούραρχος Συήνης καὶ [γερ]ροφύλαξ | καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω
 τόπων [τεταγμένος] καὶ | προφήτης τοῦ Χν[ού]βεως κ[αὶ] ἀρχ[ιστολιστ]ῆς |
 τῶν ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ [καὶ Ἀβάτῳ] καὶ Φίλαις |²⁰ ἱερῶν
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [ἱερε]ῖς [πεντ]αφυλίας | τοῦ Χνόμω Νεβιῆβ [καὶ θεῶν
 Ἀδελφῶν καὶ] | θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν [καὶ θεῶν Φιλο]πατόρων | καὶ θεῶν Ἐπι-
 φανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος | καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων,
 οἱ τῇ[ν] σύνοδον |²⁵ συνεσταμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐν Σήτει ἱερό[ν,] | ὅπως
 ἄγωσι[ν] εἰς τιμὴν Πτολεμαίου τε τοῦ | βασιλέως κα[ὶ] τῇς [β]ασιλίσσης[ς]
 καὶ τῶν | τέκνων αὐτῶν ἐνιουσίας ἐ[ο]ρ[τ]ὰς κα[ὶ] | τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν
 [τῇ Βοή]θου |³⁰ κατὰ τὸν κείμενον [συνοδικ]ὸν νόμο[ν] |
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπ[ο]γράφονται].

Translation

To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra his sister, the gods Philometores, and their children, and Ammon alias Chnubis, and Hera alias Satis, (5) and Hestia alias Anukis, and Dionysos alias Petempamentis, and the other gods,

on behalf of Boethos, son of Nikostratos, from Chrysaoris (Caria in Asia Minor), chief of the bodyguard (*archisomatophylax*), governor (*strategos*) and founder of the cities Philometoris and Cleopatra in the (10) Triacontaschoenus,

because of the good will he always shows t[o the king] and queen and th[eir children],

(from) Herodes, son of Demophon, from [Perga]mon, (15) *diadochos*,²⁹⁵ leader of men,²⁹⁶ commandant of Syene, defender of the [wicker-work barrier]

²⁹⁵A court official.

²⁹⁶A. Bernand (1989, 265), referring to M. Holleaux in *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 3 (1942) 1-14, translates "officier à la disposition", explaining: "C'est un officier sans commandement effectif". This seems unlikely in the context, and is in fact a misrepresentation of what Holleaux actually wrote in his contribution entitled "ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΞΩ ΤΑΞΕΩΝ". It is to this latter title Holleaux ascribes the indicated sense, whereas he agrees with Wilcken and others in

(?) (*gerrophylax*),²⁹⁷ [in charge]²⁹⁸ of the Upper Topoi, priest (*prophetes*) of Ch[nubis], ke[eper of the sacred] vestments (*archistolistes*) in the temples of Elephantine, [the Abaton] and Philae,

(20) and the other [pries]ts [of the five-fold o]rder²⁹⁹ of Chnomo Nebieb (Khnum, the great lord of Elephantine) [and of the gods Adelphi and] gods Euergetae and gods Philopatores and gods Epiphaneis and god Eupator and gods Philometores,

who have (25) organized the cult association in the temple [in Setis], in order that they may celebrat[e in the honour of Ptolemy] the King and the Queen and their children y[early] festivals and the birthda[y of Boe]lthos (30) in accordance with the law [concerning cult associat]ions³⁰⁰ (currently) in force.

They [have signed] their names below.

[TH]

Comments

The inscription of unknown provenance (but doubtless from the Thebaid and probably from Philae; for its dating cf. Thomas 1975, 91 f.; Huss 1994, 114 n. 270) records a dedication to Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II (Cleopatra III in

describing the ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν as "un officier de troupe, de grade plus ou moins élevé, spécialement affecté, semble-t-il, au commandement de l'infanterie" (p. 3).

²⁹⁷Reading [γερ]ροφύλαξ as suggested by Schubart (1910) after the discovery at Maharraqa (Hiera Sykaminos) of another (fragmentary) inscription (SB I 1918) in which the same Herodes of Pergamon appears carrying (in the extant parts of the inscription) the titles "[le]ader of men", *gerrophylax* and "[in charge of the D]odecaschoenus". The new title *gerrophylax* is explained by Schubart (156): "γέρον ist ein Geflecht und kann auch einen geflochtenen Schild bedeuten; hier aber muß man jedenfalls an eine aus Flechtwerk hergestellte Verschanzung denken, an einen Verhaue, der aus Faschinen gebaut ist. Das paßt weniger zu Syene und Philä als zur Südgrenze, der Gegend von Hiera-Sykaminos, eben der Stelle, von der unsre Inschrift [the one newly discovered in 1910] stammt." Thus the earlier suggestions by Strack and Dittenberger: [ὄρ]οφύλαξ, "[frontier] guard", and by Wilcken (1906, 323): [ὄρε]οφύλαξ, "[desert] guard", need not be considered any more. A. Bernand (1989, 265) now adduces another support for the title *gerrophylax*, the abstract noun γερροφυλακία, in a newly discovered inscription from Philae (IThSy 320, 12; SEG XXVIII, 1978, 1484; dated 116 BC); and É. Bernand (1992, 47) reports that the second ρ is in fact visible on our stone. So what remains is to give a credible explanation (and satisfactory translation) of the title; *pace* Schubart, it seems unlikely that a compound with -φύλαξ should denote the means of defence, rather than (as in the other titles cited) *what* is defended or guarded.

²⁹⁸With the supplement [τεταγμένως] suggested by É. Bernand (1992, 47) instead of [ταχθεῖς] of the earlier editions which he finds too short for the lacuna.

²⁹⁹Reading [ἱερε]ῖς [πεν]ταφυλίας with É. Bernand (1992, 302) who reports that αφ is visible on the stone before [...]υλίας, as read by Strack. The supplement [ε' φ]υλίας had already been suggested by W. Otto in Wilcken (1906, 323). A. Bernand (1989, 261 f.) prints (by mistake?) the text [ἱερεῖς τῆς πεν]ταφυλίας, while reporting in his critical notes that the stone has ... ΙΑΦΥΛΙΑΣ.

³⁰⁰Reading [συνοδικ]ὸν νόμο[v], as suggested by Wilcken (1906, 323), instead of [βασιλικ]ὸν νόμο[v] "with the [roy]al law (currently) in force", which is Strack's supplement, adopted and defended by Dittenberger (1905, 542f), A. Bernand (1989, 266) and É. Bernand (1992, 51). Wilcken doubts that the feasts of this cult association would have been regulated by a "royal" law. His supplement is now also supported by Huss 1994, 49 n. 99.

the new numbering; cf. Huss 1994, 10) made on behalf of Boethos, strategos of the Thebaid and the Triacontaschoenus (for his career see Thomas 1975, 36 f. [as "military strategos" with authority on Egypt's southern border, 91 f.]; Mooren 1975, Nos. 053, 0062, 00139, 00229; Mooren 1977, 87, 115 f.), by Herodes, commandant of Syene/Aswan (for his career see Mooren 1975, Nos. 0149, 0215, 0221, 0022, 0069; for his civil and priestly functions cf. Huss 1994, 73 ff.; for similar dedications from the Philae area, including also further inscriptions set up on behalf of Boethos, cf. Maehler 1970; Maehler 1992).

From the viewpoint of the present collection of sources we are interested in the mention of Boethos' foundation of cities in the Triacontaschoenus. Although the sites of the cities of Philometoris and Cleopatra cannot be identified, it may be that Boethos in fact re-founded and re-named already existing settlements. It was suggested (Griffith 1924, 118; cf. also Haycock 1972, 235 f.) that they lay at Dakka and Buhen, i.e., opposite the entrance to the Wadi Allaqi (cf. 146) and at the southern border of the Triacontaschoenus, respectively.

The strategic significance of these sites is obvious. It would appear, however, that by this time effective Ptolemaic control was restricted to the Dodekaschoenus; and in this case the (re-)founded cities can only be identified with places north of Hieria Sykaminos. This is also confirmed by Herodes' titulary as it appears in another inscription mentioning him (SB I 1918, see above the footnote to the translation of the title *gerrophylax*).

[LT]

142 Description of Aithiopia. 2nd cent. BC.

Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.2.1-7.3.

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Introduction to source

Agatharchides of Cnidus (SW Asia Minor), born around 200 BC, is the author of histories of Asia (in 10 books) and Europe (in 49 books), a book *On the Red Sea*, besides works of which only the titles are known (Schwartz 1894). None of these works has been preserved under his name; our knowledge of them rests on the use other authors made of them: Diodorus Siculus (for whom see 167, *Introduction to source*), the geographer Strabo (1st cent. BC, see see FHN III, 188), and Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (9th cent. AD, see 145). These authors, however, reproduce Agatharchides' text fairly accurately, but allowed himself to leave out passages which he found irrelevant to his purpose. Diodorus is more inclusive; on the other hand, he does not copy his sources word by word, but seeks to avoid stylistic unevenness by adapting them to his own manner of writing (Palm 1955, 15-55). He may not have copied Agatharchides directly, but through the intermediary of the geographical writer Artemidorus of Ephesus (1st cent. BC), the author of a work on Mediterranean countries and peoples which included extensive excerpts from Agatharchides (Burstein 1989, 22; Bommelaer 1989, XII-XIII).

The precise relationship between the texts of Agatharchides and Diodorus cannot be determined today. Our excerpts from Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* that have

been shown with some certainty to originate from Agatharchides we present under Agatharchides' name in order to place them in their proper chronological order. We do not thereby imply that the passages translated here reproduce word by word what Agatharchides wrote. Diodorus probably adapted the text to his own manner of writing, and may have added elements from other sources. (Artemidorus, the probable or possible intermediary between Diodorus and Agatharchides, is known to have copied his sources faithfully.)

Agatharchides belongs to the great compilers of Hellenistic historiography. For Egypt and Aithiopia, however, his writings are considered of original value. As secretary to the diplomat and scholar Heracleides Lembus he had close contacts with influential persons at the court of Ptolemy VI. Diodorus Siculus claims to have had access to the royal archives, *basilika hypomnemata*;³⁰¹ "Some of my information I have obtained from the royal *hypomnemata*, some from what I have heard from eye witnesses" (3.38.1); but his knowledge of these *hypomnemata* is most probably derived from Agatharchides (Pere-mans 1967; Sacks 1990, 85 f.).

Desanges (1993) discusses the sources for the present text and the following (143) and their implications for our understanding of the way Greek geographical writers organized the geographical space of Aithiopia and its population. For an evaluation of Agatharchides' ethnographical excursions in general and his scientific and philosophical background see Dihle (1962, 213-26) and Burstein (1989, 26-29). His value as a source derives from the importance of the documentary material he consulted rather than from autopsy (Burstein 1989, 17).

Our Greek text is based on the edition of Diodorus by Bommelaer (1989), but textual problems are discussed in the notes wherever the variations affect the sense.

Text

2 [1] Αἰθίοπας τοίνυν ἱστοροῦσι πρώτους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων γεγονέναι, καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τούτων ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι φασιν. "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήλυδες ἐλθόντες, ἀλλ' ἐγγενεῖς ὄντες τῆς χώρας δικαίως αὐτόχθονες ὀνομάζονται, σχεδὸν παρὰ πᾶσι συμφωνεῖται· ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν οἰκοῦντας πιθανόν ἐστι πρώτους ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐξωογονῆσθαι, προφανὲς ὑπάρχει ἅπασιν· τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον θερμασίας ἀναξηραίνουσης τὴν γῆν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν ἔτι [δὲ] κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν καὶ ζωογονούσης, εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ἐγγυτάτω τόπον ὄντα τοῦ ἡλίου πρῶτον ἐνεγκεῖν φύσεις ἐμψύχους.

³⁰¹ The royal archives may have been kept in the Library of Alexandria, which was itself part of the palace complex of the Ptolemaic rulers. On the role this institution played in the policy of those kings see, most recently, Erskine (1995).

[2] Φασὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς πρώτοις καταδειχθῆναι θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ πομπὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ τᾶλλα δι' ὧν ἄνθρωποι τὸ θεῖον τιμῶσι· διὸ καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐσέβειαν διαβεβοῆσθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δοκεῖν τὰς παρ' Αἰθίοψι θυσίας μάλιστα εἶναι τῷ δαιμονίῳ κεχαρισμένας. [3] Μάρτυρα δὲ τούτων παρέχονται τὸν πρεσβύτερον σχεδὸν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ποιητῶν θαυμαζόμενον παρ' Ἑλλήσι. Τοῦτον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλιάδα παρεισάγειν τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μετ' αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἀποδημοῦντας εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν πρὸς τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἀπονεμομένας αὐτοῖς κατ' ἔτος καὶ εὐωχίαν κοινὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψι,

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο.

[4] Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας φανερώς αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι τὰς χάριτας, μηδέποτε δεσποτείας ἐπήλυδος πείραν λαβόντας· ἐξ αἰῶνος γὰρ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ μεμενηκέναι καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίᾳ, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ δυνατῶν ἐστρατευκότων ἐπ' αὐτούς, μηδενὸς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καθικομένου.

3 [1] Καμβύσῃ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλῃ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντα τὴν τε στρατιὰν ἀποβαλεῖν ἅπασαν καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις κινδυνεῦσαι· Σεμίραμιν δέ, τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπιβολῶν καὶ πράξεων διωνομασμένην, ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας προελθοῦσαν ἀπογῶναι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος στρατιάν· τοὺς τε περὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπιόντας ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην μόνους τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου μὴ καταπολεμῆσαι διὰ τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ δυσκράτητον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἑαυτῶν ἀποίκους ὑπάρχειν, Ὀσίριδος ἡγησαμένου τῆς ἀποικίας. [2] Καθόλου γὰρ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν Αἴγυπτον λέγουσιν οὐ χώραν, ἀλλὰ θάλατταν γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν· ὕστερον μέντοι τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἰλὺν καταφέροντος ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον προσχωσθῆναι. Ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα ποταμόχωστος ἐνεργεστάτην ἔχειν ἀπόδειξιν τὴν γινομένην κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νείλου· [3] καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος αἰεὶ νέας ἰλῦος ἀθροιζομένης πρὸς τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καθορᾶται τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἐξωθούμενον τοῖς προσχώμασιν, ἡ δὲ χώρα τὴν αὖξησιν λαμβάνουσα.

Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν νομίμων τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπάρχειν Αἰθιοπικά, τηρουμένης τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας παρὰ τοῖς ἀποικισθεῖσι. [4] Τό τε γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεοὺς νομίζειν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς μάλιστα σπουδάζειν καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα πράττειν Αἰθιόπων ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὰς τε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ιδέας καὶ τοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων τύπους Αἰθιοπικοὺς ὑπάρχειν· [5] ἰδίῳ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίοις ὄντων γραμμάτων, τὰ μὲν δημῳδῇ προσαγορευόμενα πάντας μανθάνειν, τὰ δ' ἱερὰ καλούμενα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς

Αἰγυπτίοις μόνους γινώσκειν τοὺς ἱερεῖς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις μανθάνοντας, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν ἅπαντας τούτοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς τύποις.

[6] Τὰ τε συστήματα τῶν ἱερέων παραπλησίαν ἔχειν τάξιν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι· καθαρεῦν γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν ὄντας, ὁμοίως ἐξυρηνμένους καὶ τὰς στολὰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν τοῦ σκήπτρου τύπον ἀροτροειδῆ καθεστῶτα, ὃν ἔχοντας τοὺς βασιλέας χρῆσθαι πῖλοις μακροῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος ὀμφαλὸν ἔχουσι καὶ περιεσπειραμένους ὄφεσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἀσπίδας· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ παράσημον ἔοικε συνεμφαίνειν ὅτι τοὺς ἐπιθέσθαι τολμήσαντας τῷ βασιλεῖ συμβήσεται θανατηφόροις περιπεσεῖν δῆγμασι. [7] Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα λέγουσι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικίας, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν κατεπεῖγει γράφειν.

4 [1] Περὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καλουμένων ἱερῶν ῥητέον, ἵνα μὴδὲν παραλίπωμεν τῶν ἀρχαιολογουμένων. Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν τοὺς μὲν τύπους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν ὁμοίους ζώοις παντοδαποῖς καὶ ἀκροτηρίοις ἀνθρώπων, ἔτι δ' ὄργανοις, καὶ μάλιστα τεκτονικοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τῶν συλλαβῶν συνθέσεως ἢ γραμματικῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον ἀποδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐμφάσεως τῶν μεταγραφομένων καὶ μεταφορᾶς μνήμη συνηθλημένης. [2] Γράφουσι γὰρ ἱέρακα καὶ κροκόδειλον, ἔτι δ' ὄφιν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱέραξ αὐτοῖς σημαίνει πάντα <τὰ> ὀξέως γινόμενα, διὰ τὸ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο τῶν πτηνῶν σχεδὸν ὑπάρχειν ὀξύτατον. Μεταφέρεται τε ὁ λόγος ταῖς οἰκείαις μεταφοραῖς εἰς πάντα τὰ ὀξέα καὶ τὰ τούτοις οἰκεῖα παραπλησίως τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

[3] Ὁ δὲ κροκόδειλος σημαντικὸς ἐστὶ πάσης κακίας, ὁ δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς δίκης τηρητῆς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος φύλαξ. Τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐκτεταμένους ἔχουσα σημαίνει βίου πορισμόν, ἡ δ' εὐώνυμος συνηγμένη τήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν χρημάτων.

[4] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τύπων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. Ταῖς γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστοις ἐνούσαις ἐμφάσεσι συνακολουθοῦντες, καὶ μελέτη πολυχρονίῳ καὶ μνήμη γυμνάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς, ἐκτικῶς ἕκαστα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀναγιγνώσκουσι.

5 [1] Τῶν δὲ παρ' Αἰθίοψιν νομίμων οὐκ ὀλίγα δοκεῖ πολὺ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφέρειν, καὶ μάλιστα <τὰ> περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν βασιλέων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους προκρίνουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν καταλεχθέντων, ὃν ἂν ὁ θεὸς κωμάζων κατὰ τινα συνήθειαν περιφερόμενος λάβῃ, τοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος αἰρεῖται βασιλέα· εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ προσκυνεῖ καὶ τιμᾷ καθάπερ θεόν, ὥς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου προνοίας ἐγκεχειρισμένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[2] Ὁ δ' αἰρεθεὶς διαίτη τε χρῆται τῇ τεταγμένη κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἄλλα πράττει κατὰ τὸ πατριον ἔθος, οὐτ' εὐεργεσίαν οὔτε τιμωρίαν ἀπονέμων οὐδενὶ παρὰ τὸ δεδογμένον ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμιμον. Ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων θανάτῳ περιβάλλειν, μηδ' ἂν καταδικασθεὶς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τις φανῇ τιμωρίας ἄξιος, ἀλλὰ πέμπει τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινα σημεῖον ἔχοντα θανάτου πρὸς τὸν παρανενομηκότα· οὗτος δ' ἰδὼν τὸ σύσσημον, καὶ παραχρηῖμα εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθὼν, ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεθίστησι. Φεύγειν δ' <ἐκ> τῆς ἰδίας χώρας εἰς τὴν ὁμορον καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πατρίδος λύειν τὴν τιμωρίαν, καθάπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὐδαμῶς συγκεχώρηται. [3] Διὸ καὶ φασὶ τινα, τοῦ θανατηφόρου σημείου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιβάλλεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας φεύγειν, αἰσθομένης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῇ ζώνῃ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ σφιγγούσης, ταύτῃ μηδὲ καθ' ἓνα τρόπον τολμῆσαι προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας, αὐτὸν δ' ἀγχόμενον καρτερῆσαι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ὀνειδῇ καταλίπη μείζω.

6 [1] Πάντων δ' ἐστὶ παραδοξότατον τὸ γινόμενον περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῶν βασιλέων. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Μερόην οἱ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβοντες ἱερεῖς, μεγίστην καὶ κυριωτάτην τάξιν ἔχοντες, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτοῖς ἔλθῃ, πέμπουσιν ἄγγελον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, κελεύοντες ἀποθνήσκειν. [2] Τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ταῦτα κεχρηματικῆναι, καὶ δεῖν τὸ πρόσταγμα τῶν ἀθανάτων ὑπὸ θνητῆς φύσεως μηδαμῶς παροραθῆναι. Καὶ ἐτέρους δ' ἐπιφθέγονται λόγους, οἷους <ἂν> ἀπλῆ διανοίᾳ προσδέξαιτο φύσις ἀρχαία μὲν καὶ δυσεξαλείπτῳ συνηθείᾳ, λόγον δ' οὐκ ἔχουσα τὸν ἐναντιωθησόμενον τοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαίοις προσταττομένοις. [3] Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους ὑπῆκουον οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ βίᾳ κρατηθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας τοὺς λογισμοὺς κατισχυόμενοι. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν δευτέρον Πτολεμαῖον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰθιόπων Ἐργαμένης, μετεσχηκῶς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας, πρῶτος ἐθάρρησε καταφρονῆσαι τοῦ πράγματος. [4] Λαβὼν γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιον παρήλθε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄβατον, οὗ συνέβαινε εἶναι τὸν χρυσοῦν ναὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξε, τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καταλύσας διωρθώσατο πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν.

7 [1] Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ βασιλέως νόμιμον, καίπερ ὃν παράδοξον, διαμένειν ἔφασαν ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. Ἔθος γὰρ ὑπάρχειν λέγουσι τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν, ἐπὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος πηρωθῇ δι' ἡνδικοτοῦν αἰτίαν, ἅπαντας τοὺς συνήθεις συναποβάλλειν τοῦτο κατὰ προαίρεσιν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνειν τοῦ βασιλέως πεπηρωμένου τὸ σκέλος ἀρτίποδας εἶναι τοὺς φίλους, καὶ μὴ πάντας ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις συνέπεσθαι χωλοὺς ὁμοίως. [2] ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συμπενεθεῖν μὲν καὶ [τὸ] συλλυπεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων τε καὶ κακῶν κοινωνεῖν τὴν βέβαιον φιλίαν, τῆς δ' εἰς τὸ σῶμα λύπης ἅμοιρον γίνεσθαι. Φασὶ δὲ σύνηθες εἶναι καὶ τὸ συντελευτᾶν ἐκουσίως τοὺς ἐταίρους

τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν θάνατον ἔνδοξον καὶ φιλίας ἀληθινῆς μάρτυρα.

[3] Διότι μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπιβουλὴν γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίοσι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥς ἂν τῶν φίλων ἀπάντων ἐπ' ἴσης προνοουμένων τῆς τ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ νόμιμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν ἐστὶ τοῖς τὴν μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν οἰκοῦσι καὶ νεμομένοις τὴν τε νῆσον τὴν Μερόην καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν πλησίον Αἰγύπτου.

Translation

2 [1] Now, they relate³⁰² that of all people the Aithiopians were the earliest, and say that the proofs of this are clear. That they did not arrive as immigrants but are the natives of the country and therefore rightly are called autochthonous is almost universally accepted. That those who live in the South are likely to be the first engendered by the earth is obvious to all. For as it was the heat of the sun that dried up the earth while it was still moist, at the time when everything came into being, and caused life, they say it is probable that it was the region closest to the sun that first bore animate beings.

[2] They further write that it was among them that people first were taught to honour the gods and offer sacrifices and arrange processions and festivals and perform other things by which people honour the divine. For this reason their piety is famous among all men, and the sacrifices among the Aithiopians are believed to be particularly pleasing to the divinity. [3] As a proof of this they refer to the probably oldest and certainly most admired poet among the Greeks; in the *Iliad* [1.423 f.] he describes Zeus and the other gods with him as going to Aithiopia for the sacrifices that are given to them annually and for the common feast among the Aithiopians themselves:

*For Zeus went to the blameless Aithiopians by the Ocean
yesterday for a meal, and all the gods went with him.*

[4] They also say that their piety towards the divine has clearly earned them the favour of the gods, since they have never experienced domination from abroad; in fact, they have always kept their freedom and lived in peace with one another, and although many mighty enemies have marched against them, none has succeeded in his plan.³⁰³

3 [1] They say, for instance, that Cambyses made an expedition against them with a great force, but lost his whole army and also came in the greatest danger

³⁰²The Greek verb used here, *historein*, is the Herodotean term for inquiry, empirical investigations, and earlier translators have seen here a reference to works by historians. The use of this verb in post-classical Greek, however, seems to us not to warrant this interpretation here.

³⁰³Reading ἐπιβουλῆς with the best manuscripts (and Bommelaer 1989); Vogel (1888) and Oldfather (1935) read ἐπιβολῆς, "hostile attempt", "assault" (though Oldfather seems to translate ἐπιβουλῆς: "succeeded in his undertaking").

himself. And Semiramis, widely known for the greatness of her designs and deeds, did not penetrate far into Aithiopia before she abandoned her campaign against this whole nation. When Heracles and Dionysos marched against the whole world with their followers, it was only the Aithiopians beyond Egypt that they did not subdue because of the piety of the men and the impossibility of the undertaking.

They [i.e. the Aithiopians³⁰⁴] say that the Egyptians are settlers from among themselves and that Osiris was the leader of the settlement. [2] They say that the whole of what is now Egypt was not a country, but sea at the time when the world first was formed. Later, however, as the Nile, when rising, carried down the mud from Aithiopia, Egypt was little by little accumulated. That the whole of their country has been heaped up by the river is most clearly shown by what is happening at the mouth of the Nile: [3] as ever new mud is amassed every year at the mouths of the river, one sees the sea being forced back by the deposits and the land increasing correspondingly.

The customs of the Egyptians, they say, are for the most part Aithiopian, the settlers having preserved their old traditions. [4] For to consider the kings gods, to pay great attention to funeral rites, and many other such things, are Aithiopian practices, and also the style of their statues and the form of their writing are Aithiopian. [5] The Egyptians, it is explained, have their distinctive systems of writing,³⁰⁵ one named 'common', that everybody learns, another called 'sacred', that only the priests among the Egyptians know, who learn it from their fathers as a secret tradition. Among the Aithiopians, however, everybody uses these signs.

[6] Also the way the priestly colleges are organized is said to be almost the same in both nations. For all who have to do with the cult of the gods, they maintain, are [ritually] pure: the priests are shaved in the same way, they have the same robes and the type of scepter shaped like a plough, which also the kings have, who use tall pointed felt hats ending in a knob, with the snakes that they call asp (*aspis*) coiled round them; this last feature seems to indicate that those who dare to attack the king will meet their fate through lethal bites. [7] The Aithiopians also relate many other things about their antiquity and their settlement of Egypt, about which there is no pressing need to write.

4 [1] About the Aithiopian writing which is called 'sacred'³⁰⁶ among the Egyptians, however, I should say something, in order not to omit anything of

³⁰⁴The use of the reflexive pronoun in the Greek text ("from among themselves") makes it clear that "they" here refers to the Aithiopians.

³⁰⁵Reading *ἰδίῳν ... γραμμάτων* with the manuscripts (and Bommelaer 1989). Vogel (1888) and Oldfather (1935), following an emendation by F. A. Stroth (1784), read *διττῶν... γραμμάτων*, "two systems of writing".

³⁰⁶By translating "sacred" we follow the text of Bommelaer (1989), who adopts a suggestion by J. Jouanna. Other editors read "hieroglyphic" with one of the manuscripts (the others omit the word altogether: "the so-called Aithiopian writing among the Egyptians"). In all other instances

what is said about their history. Now it so happens that their characters resemble animals of all kinds, extremities of the human body, and also tools, in particular those of the carpenter. For it is not by the collocation of syllables that their writing expresses the underlying meaning, but by the image of the things that are drawn and by conveyance of meaning through common exercise of memory. [2] For they draw e.g. a hawk, a crocodile, a snake, and, of the human body, an eye, a hand, a face, and so on. Now a hawk to them signifies everything that is rapid, since this animal is probably the fastest of birds. This idea is then appropriately conveyed to all that is rapid or closely related to rapidity, more or less as I have said.

[3] The crocodile signifies all kinds of evil, the eye is a guardian of justice and protector of the whole body. Of the extremities, the right hand, with its fingers extended, signifies providing a livelihood, while the left hand, with closed fist, signifies guarding and protection of property.

[4] The same principle applies also to the other signs, those derived from the body, from tools and from everything else. By paying attention to the image of each sign, and training their minds through practicing and memorizing for a long time, they read with fluency all that is written.

5 [1] Of the customs among the Aithiopians not a few appear to be very different from those of other peoples, especially as regards the election of kings. The priests first select the best candidates from among themselves, and from among these selected men the multitude then chooses as king him whom the god seizes³⁰⁷ while being carried about in a procession in a traditional manner. They then immediately prostrate themselves before this man and honour him as a god, in the belief that the rule has been placed in his hands through the providence of the divinity.

[2] Having been chosen king, he leads the kind of life that is prescribed by the laws and in general acts according to ancestral tradition, bestowing upon no man either benefit or punishment contrary to the rules established among them from the beginning. It is customary among them that none of the subjects be put to death by the king, not even when a man who is sentenced to death clearly deserves the punishment. Instead, the king sends one of his servants to the transgressor with a death sign; and when the man sees this signal, he immediately withdraws to his own house and ends his life. To flee one's own country to a neighbouring country and pay the penalty of changing one's fatherland, as is done among the Greeks, is in no way permitted. [3] Thus it is told that a man, when the death-bringing sign was sent to him by the king, attempted to flee from Aithiopia; but when his mother, upon learning this,

Diodorus refers to this writing as "the sacred", and this reading is also supported by the 15th Century Latin translation made by Poggio Bracciolini.

³⁰⁷The verb used here (λαμβάνειν) is the common Greek word for "take hold of", "grasp"; in the situation described, however, the meaning seems to be "take possession of" (in a religious sense). This use of the verb is paralleled elsewhere in Greek literature (see note in Bommelaer 1989).

tightened her belt around his neck, he dared in no way to resist with his hands but allowed her to strangle him to death in order not to bring an even greater shame upon his family.

6 [1] The strangest thing, however, is the circumstances that surround the death of their kings. In Meroe the priests who busy themselves with the worshipping and honouring of the gods, the highest and most powerful class in the society, send a message to the king whenever it occurs to them, ordering him to die. [2] This is an oracle sent them by the gods, they pretend, and a command from the immortals must in no way be neglected by a mortal being. They also give other reasons likely to be accepted by simple minds brought up in the old and ingrained traditions and lacking a reason for protesting against arbitrary commands. [3] In former times the kings were subject to the priests, without being vanquished by arms or any force at all, but overpowered in their minds by just this kind of superstition. At the time of Ptolemy II, however, Ergamenes, king of the Aithiopians, who had received instruction in Greek philosophy, was the first who dared disdain this command.³⁰⁸ [4] With the determination worthy of a king he came with an armed force to the forbidden place where the golden temple of the Aithiopians was situated and slaughtered all the priests, abolished this tradition, and instituted practices at his own discretion.

7 [1] As to the custom concerning the king's friends, however, curious though it is, I was told that it has been preserved up to our age. They say that it is the practice among the Aithiopians, when the king has had a part of his body mutilated for some reason or other, that all those who are closest to him lose that part also, deliberately; for instance, they regard it shameful, if the king has a leg mutilated, that his friends are swift of foot and accompany him when he goes somewhere without all of them limping like him. [2] Just as faithful friendship means to share sorrows and pains, and to partake in all good and bad things alike, so it is thought out of place not to have physical pains too in common. They say it is also customary that the kings' companions voluntarily die together with them and that this way of death is honorable and a proof of true friendship.

[3] For this reason one does not easily conspire against the king among the Aithiopians, as all his friends take care of his safety and their own in the same measure. These customs, then, prevail among the Aithiopians who live in the capital and those who dwell in the island of Meroe and the region close to Egypt.

[TE]

³⁰⁸"Command" translates *προστάγματος*, an emendation by P. Wesseling (editor of Diodorus, Amsterdam 1745); Bommelaer (1989) returns to the manuscript reading *πράγματος*, "thing", "matter".

Comments

Diodorus' rendering of Agatharchides' description of Aithiopia is quoted here *in extenso* in order to give a good example of the Aithiopia-image in Hellenistic ethnography in general and in Alexandrian literature in particular (on Agatharchides see most recently Dihle 1994, 86 ff.). It depicts the land and its inhabitants on the basis of the Greek tradition reaching back to the Homeric picture and organically incorporates its utopian features which also influenced Herodotus' Aithiopia-image (cf. FHN I, 56-66).

The historical discourse starts with a statement about the Aithiopians being an autochthonous people and an explanation of this fact by their closeness to the Sun (cf. Dihle 1962, 210 f.); and the piety of the utopian people is given historical dimensions through the—entirely fictitious—description of Cambyses', Semiramis', Heracles' and Dionysos' futile campaigns against their country (for the narrative sequence: description of Aithiopians—description of the Nile, cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 5.282, 287; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincitus* 807-809; for Herodotus' Cambyses story see FHN I, 65). The notion of the Aithiopian origins of Egyptian culture also reflects the utopian view of the connection between the Sun and the genesis of culture and leads to the ethnographic layer of the tradition (cf. Dihle 1962, 211 ff.), which, as regards this particular issue, may well have absorbed an Aithiopia-image that emerged in Ptolemaic Egypt and that depicted the southern country in a "nationalist" manner (cf. Lloyd 1982) as the home of traditional religious values that were regarded as lost in Egypt (cf. the role of the Kushites in the Demotic Petubastis story [the episode concerning Inaros' armour], Krall 1903, 19 ff.; Spiegelberg 1910, 43 ff.; Bresciani 1969, 655 ff.; for the topos of the greater antiquity of Aithiopian culture see also Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 42; *De sacr.*, 2; *Philops.*, 4; *De astrol.*, 3 f.; Heliodorus, *Aithiopica*, passim [cf. FHN III, 274]).

The analogies drawn by Agatharchides between Egyptian and Aithiopian customs are doubtless based on realistic information, even if the commentary concerning the Aithiopian origins of Egyptian traditions and also a part of the explanations are incorrect and indicate an Egyptian rather than an Aithiopian source. While the observations concerning kingship, funeral rites, and style of statues are of a generalizing nature, the description of the writing systems shared by the Aithiopians and the Egyptians refers to Egyptian Demotic ("common") and hieroglyphic ("sacred") writing. As is well-known, the Kushite royal- and temple inscriptions were written in Egyptian hieroglyphic until the 3rd-2nd century BC; and in the course of the 2nd century BC a hieroglyphic as well as a cursive script began to take shape in Kush for the writing of monumental texts (in hieroglyphs) and "private" inscriptions and administrative documents (in cursive writing) in the Meroitic language. The 23 hieroglyphic signs were borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, while the 23 cursive signs, each corresponding to a hieroglyphic one, show the impact of the Egyptian "abnormal hieratic" (see, with the literature of earlier research, Priese

1973b). It is more than doubtful, however, that Agatharchides could have been informed about the existence of the Meroitic cursive writing, since its earliest surviving example (Hintze 1959, 36, fgm. of the offering table of King Tarekeniwal) dates from the late 2nd century BC (according to Wenig 1980a, 104 it was developed in the course of the 3rd century BC, but he cannot present dated examples). Agatharchides' commentary on the types of hieroglyphs reveals an ignorance of the actual use of this script.

In the most-quoted sections of the description of Aithiopia (3.5-7) Agatharchides, and/or his sources, amalgamate Herodotean motifs with more recent information of various sorts. As shown by Dihle in a fascinating study (Dihle 1962, 223 ff.), Agatharchides focused his interest as an ethnographer on the problem of how it is possible for people to maintain traditions and customs which cannot be explained on the basis of common sense and which, though they have a negative impact on human actions, can nevertheless be maintained merely because they are in accordance with certain religious concepts. The Ergamenes story is intended to demonstrate such a case, and at the same time to present an example of the superiority of Greek philosophy to such traditions since it is the Greek education of Ergamenes that enables him, as a cultural hero, to put an end to the tyranny of the priests: the reader is confronted with a victory of λογισμός (reasoning) over δεισιδαιμονία (superstition). Agatharchides' motivation is in this sense also formulated with sufficient clarity in 3.6.2-3.

The story has a distinct Herodotean layer: the massacre of the priests recalls a frequent motif in Herodotus (also occurring in the story of the Aithiopian king Sabacos, 2.137, cf. FHN I, 63, *Comments*; see furthermore Hdt. 7.39; for the motif see Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979, 76 ff.). The motif of the election of the most handsome man as king (cf. FHN I, 65 20 ff.) is, however, transferred to the realm of the Aithiopians living beyond Meroe (3.9). The Ergamenes story is introduced, instead, with a description of the oracular confirmation of royal legitimacy. The information on this practice may have derived from Egypt as well as from Meroe (cf. 71, 78, 84, *Comments*); but its amalgamation with the motif of the kingship of a person selected from among the priests points towards a tradition also preserved by Plato (*Politicus*, 290d-e) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 9.354B, Griffiths 1970, 130 f.). According to the latter, in Egypt "kings were chosen from among the priests or warriors, the latter class being held in respect and honour for its bravery, the former for its wisdom. A king chosen from among the warriors instantly became a priest".

This tradition (see again, in a more detailed rendering complemented with Herodotean motifs, in 3.9.4) doubtless derives from genuine information and points, as we suppose to have been the case among Agatharchides' sources, to a "nationalist" discourse on Egyptian kingship (cf. Török 1986, 28 f.). The identification of Ergamenes—who was, according to Agatharchides, a contemporary of Ptolemy (II Philadelphos)—with the historical Arkamaniqo ((114), for the iden

tification see Hintze 1962, 16 f.; Priese 1968, 184 ff.) highlights, however, the historical elements in the story which I accordingly interpreted as consisting of information about a violent dynastic change in the kingdom of Meroe (Török 1992a; and see (114)). While such an interpretation is supported by the evidence of Arkamaniko's burial place, it remains obscure what elements of the story can, besides the basic statement on some sort of violent change brought about by the King, be brought into connection with Meroe, and what elements were added to this core in Egypt. Such an addition may be the motif of suicide, also occurring in Herodotus' Sabacon story (2.137), which may reflect knowledge about a form of ancient Egyptian capital punishment employed in the—in the sources, understandably, very rarely indicated—cases of conspiracy against Pharaoh (cf. Weber 1977, 989 f.; Schlichtling 1984, 829 f.; Zibelius-Chen 1990, 356).

[LT]

143 On Aithiopian tribes. 2nd cent. BC.

Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.8-10.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 142.

Text

8 [1] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν παμπληθῆ, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τὴν παραποτάμιον τοῦ Νείλου κατοικοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νήσους, τὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμορον τῆς Ἀραβίας νεμόμενα, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς μεσογείοις τῆς Λιβύης καθιδρυμένα. [2] Οἱ πλείστοι δὲ τούτων καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντες ταῖς μὲν χρόαις εἰσὶ μέλανες, ταῖς δὲ ιδέαις σιμοί, τοῖς δὲ τριχώμασιν οὖλοι. Καὶ ταῖς μὲν ψυχαῖς παντελῶς ὑπάρχουσιν ἄγριοι καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες ἐμφαίνοντες, οὐχ οὕτω δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς ὥς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν· ἀνχημεροὶ γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς ὅλοις σώμασι τοὺς μὲν ὄνυχας ἐπὶ πολὺν παρηγμένους ἔχουσι τοῖς θηρίοις παραπλησίως, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιланθρωπίας πλείστον ὅσον ἀφεστήκασιν. [3] Καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ὀξεῖαν προβάλλοντες, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδευομένων εἰς βίον ἡμέρον οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔχοντες, μεγάλην ποιοῦσι πρὸς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔθνη τὴν διαφορὰν.

[4] Καθοπλίζονται δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀσπίσιν ὠμοβοίλαις καὶ μικροῖς δόρασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀκοντίοις ἀναγκύλοις, ἐνίοτε δὲ ξυλίνοις τόξοις τετραπήχεσιν, οἷς τοξεύουσι μὲν τῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες, ἀναλωθέντων δὲ τῶν οἰστῶν σκυτάλαις ξυλίναις διαγωνίζονται. Καθοπλίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὀρίζοντες αὐταῖς τεταγμένην ἡλικίαν, ὧν ταῖς πλείστας νόμιμόν ἐστι χαλκοῦν κρίκον φέρειν ἐν τῷ χεῖλει τοῦ στόματος.

[5] Ἐσθῆτι δὲ τινες μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς οὐ χρῶνται, γυμνήτα βίον ἔχοντες δι' αἰῶνος καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὰ καύματα ποριζόμενοι βοήθειαν αὐτουργὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραπεσόντος· τινὲς δὲ τῶν προβάτων τὰς οὐράς ἀποκόπτοντες ἐκ

τῶν ὀπισθεν καλύπτουσι διὰ τούτων τὰ ἰσχία, καθάπερ αἰδῶ ταύτην προβαλλόμενοι· ἔνιοι δὲ χρῶνται ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν κτηνῶν, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ περιζώμασι μέχρι μέσου τὸ σῶμα καλύπτουσιν, ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν πλέκοντες, ὥς ἂν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προβάτων ὄντων μὴ φερόντων ἔρια διὰ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς χώρας.

[6] Τροφῇ δὲ χρῶνται τινὲς μὲν λαμβάνοντες τὸν γεννώμενον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι καρπὸν, ὃς αὐτοφυῆς ἀνατέλλει περὶ τε τὰς λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ἐλώδεις τόπους, τινὲς δὲ τῆς ἀπαλωτάτης ὕλης τοὺς ἀκρεμόνας περικλῶντες, οἷς καὶ τὰ σώματα σκιάζοντες περὶ τὰς μεσημβρίας καταψύχουσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ σπείροντες σήσαμον καὶ λωτόν, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ταῖς ῥίζαις τῶν καλάμων ταῖς ἀπαλωτάταις διατρεφόμενοι. Οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς τοξείαις ἐνηθληκότες τῶν πτηνῶν εὐστόχως πολλὰ τοξεύουσι, δι' ὧν τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἔνδειαν ἀναπληροῦσιν. Οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων κρέασι καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ τὸν πάντα βίον διαζῶσι.

9 [1] Περὶ δὲ θεῶν οἱ μὲν ἀνώτερον Μερόης οἰκοῦντες ἐννοίας ἔχουσι διττάς. Ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αἰώνιον ἔχειν καὶ ἀφθαρτον τὴν φύσιν, οἷον ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, τοὺς δὲ νομίζουσι θνητῆς φύσεως κεκοινωνηκέναι καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ κοινὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίαν τετευχέναι τιμῶν ἀθανάτων. [2] τὴν τε γὰρ Ἰσιν καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέα καὶ Δία σέβονται, μάλιστα νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τούτων εὐεργετεῖσθαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. Ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν καθόλου θεοὺς οὐ νομίζουσιν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὡς πολεμιώτατον ὄντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς βλασφημήσαντες φεύγουσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλώδεις τῶν τόπων.

[3] Παρηλλαγμένοις δ' ἔθεσι χρῶνται καὶ περὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς τελευτώντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν βάλλοντες ἀφιάσιν, ἀρίστην ἡγούμενοι ταφήν ταύτην· οἱ δὲ περιχέαντες ὕελον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις φυλάττοντες νομίζουσι δεῖν μήτε τῶν τελευτώντων ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὰς ὅψεις τοῖς συγγενέσι μητ' ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοὺς προσήκοντας τῷ γένει τῶν προσφκειωμένων· ἔνιοι δ' εἰς ὀστρακίνας σοροὺς ἐμβάλλοντες κατορύττουσι κύκλῳ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις γινόμενον ὄρκον μέγιστον ἡγοῦνται.

[4] Τὰς δὲ βασιλείας ἐγχειρίζουσιν οἱ μὲν τοῖς εὐπρεπεστάτοις, τύχης ἡγούμενοι δῶρα ἀμφοτέρω, τὴν τε μοναρχίαν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐπιμελεστάτοις κτηνοτρόφοις παραδιδόασιν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς μόνους ἄριστα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων φροντιοῦντας· ἔνιοι δὲ τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις τοῦτο τὸ τίμιον ἀπονέμουσιν, ἡγούμενοι μόνους τούτους ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς ὄχλοις δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα τῆς εὐπορίας· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τοὺς ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέροντας αἰροῦνται βασιλεῖς, κρίνοντες τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ πλεῖστον δυναμένους ἀξίους εἶναι μόνους τυγχάνειν τῶν πρωτείων.

10 [1] Τῆς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον χώρας τῆς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ κειμένης ἐστὶ τι μέρος τῷ κάλλει διαφέρον· τροφὰς τε γὰρ φέρει δαηπλεῖς καὶ ποικίλας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν καυμάτων ὑπερβολὰς ἔχει βοηθείας εὐθέτους τὰς ἐν

τοῖς ἔλεσι καταφυγὰς· διὸ καὶ περιμάχητος οὗτος ὁ τόπος γίνεται τοῖς τε Λίβυσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες διατελοῦσι. [2] Φοιτᾷ δ' εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων ἐκ τῆς ἄνω χώρας, ὥς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ τὴν δαψίλειαν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς νομῆς· ἔλη γὰρ θαυμαστὰ παρεκτείνεται τοῖς χεῖλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πολλῆς καὶ παντοίας ἐν αὐτοῖς φυομένης τροφῆς. [3] Διόπερ ὅταν γεύσωνται τοῦ θρύου καὶ τοῦ καλάμου, διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς τροφῆς μένει καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δίαιταν καταφθείρει· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καταναγκάζονται φεύγειν [εἰς] τούτους τοὺς τόπους, ὄντες νομάδες καὶ σκηνῖται τὸ σύνολον τῷ συμφέροντι τὰς πατρίδας ὀρίζοντες.

[4] Αἱ δ' ἀγέλαι τῶν εἰρημένων θηρίων τὴν μεσόγειον χώραν ἐκλείπουσιν διὰ σπάνιν τροφῆς, ἅτε συντόμως τῶν φυομένων ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντων αὐαينوμένων· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν λειψυδρίαν τῶν πηγαίων καὶ ποταμίων ὑδάτων σκληρὰς καὶ σπανίους συμβαίνει τὰς τροφάς.

[5] Ὡς δέ τινες φασιν, ὅφεις θαυμαστοὶ γίνονται τό τε μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κατὰ τὴν θηριώδη καλουμένην χώραν· οὗτοι δὲ περὶ τὰς συστάσεις τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἐλέφασιν, καὶ τραπέντες εἰς ἀλκὴν περιπλέκονται ταῖς σπείραις εἰς τὰ σκέλη, καὶ πέρας ἕως τούτου συνέχουσι βιαζόμενοι καὶ σφίγγοντες τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἕως ἂν ἀφρίσαντα τὰ θηρία πέσῃ διὰ τὸ βάρος. Ἐπειτ' ἀθροιζόμενοι τὸ πεσὸν σαρκοφαγοῦσι, ῥαδίως ἐπικρατοῦντες διὰ τὴν δυσκινήσιαν τοῦ ζώου.

[6] Ἀπολειπομένου δ' ἀπορήματος, διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν οὐ συνέπονται τοῖς ἐλέφασιν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην παραποταμίαν διώκοντες τὰς συνήθεις τροφάς, φασὶ [δὲ] τοὺς τηλικούτους ὅφεις τὴν μὲν ἐπίπεδον τῆς χώρας φεύγειν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι ταῖς <εἰς> τὸ μήκος ἀνηκούσαις καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις τοῖς τὸ βάθος ἔχουσι συνεχῶς ἐναυλίζεσθαι· διόπερ τοὺς συμφέροντας καὶ συνήθεις τόπους μηδαμῶς ἐκλείπειν, αὐτοδιδάκτου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς φύσεως οὔσης ἅπασιν τοῖς ζώοις.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοσαῦτα λέγομεν.

Translation

8 [1] There are also numerous other Aithiopian tribes; some live along both sides of the river Nile and on the islands in the river, others dwell in the regions that border on Arabia, others again have settled in the interior of Libya. [2] The majority of these tribes, in particular those who live along the river, have black skin, snub-nosed faces, and curly hair. Of character they are quite savage, and show their wild nature not so much by their temper as through their habits: they are squalid all over their bodies, have extremely long nails just like wild animals, and are as far removed as possible from kind behaviour to each other. [3] Speaking in a shrill voice, and lacking totally the strivings of other peoples towards a civilised life, they exhibit a great difference from our habits.

[4] Some of them are armed with shields of raw oxhide and short javelins, others with spears without a thong, sometimes also with wooden bows four cubits [1m 80] long, with which they shoot by bracing the foot against it; when all their arrows have been spent, they continue fighting with wooden clubs. They also arm their women, defining for them a military age. It is customary for most of these women to have a bronze ring through one of their lips.

[5] As to clothing, some of them have none at all, but live naked all the time; only against the burning sun do they provide themselves protection by whatever means is at hand. Some cut the tails off the behind of their sheep and cover their hips with them, letting it hang down in front like private parts. Some also use the hides of their animals, others cover the body as far as the waist with girdles which they plait from the hair of the animals, as the sheep among them have no wool because of the special nature of the country.

[6] For food some gather the plants that grow in water and sprout spontaneously in lakes and marshy places, others strip branches off the tenderest kind of tree, with which they also shade and cool their bodies during the midday heat. Others again sow sesame and lotus, while some nourish themselves with the softest roots of reeds. Not few of them are also trained in archery and shoot with great accuracy many of the birds with which they satisfy the needs of the body. But most of them live all through their life on the meat, milk, and cheese that their cattle give them.

9 [1] About the gods the Aithiopians who live beyond Meroe have two different notions. They believe that some of them have an eternal and indestructible nature, for instance the sun and the moon and the whole universe; others, they think, have a share in mortal nature and have through their virtue and charity toward all men obtained immortal honours. [2] Thus they worship Isis and Pan, and in addition Heracles and Zeus, believing that these gods, in particular, are the benefactors of the human race. A few of the Aithiopians believe that there are no gods at all; therefore they utter words of abuse against the sun as their greatest enemy at sunrise, and flee to the marshy parts of the region.

[3] They also have strange customs as regards their dead. Some get rid of them by throwing them in the river, regarding this the finest burial. Others pour glass around the dead and keep them in their houses, believing that the traits of the deceased ought not to be unknown to their kinsmen, and that family members ought not to forget their close relatives. Some also put them into clay coffins and bury them around their temples, and an oath sworn by these they consider the strongest of all.

[4] Kingship is by some entrusted to the most goodlooking, since they regard both, kingship and good looks, as gifts of chance. Others hand the rule over to those who are the most careful cattle-keepers, in the belief that only they will provide for their subjects in the best way. Some also assign this honour to the richest, thinking that only they are able to assist the multitude since they have

the means ready at hand. There are also those who elect as kings the men who excel in courage, judging those who are ablest in war the only ones who deserve to obtain the chief rank.

10 [1] In the Libyan part of the country along the Nile there is a region of special beauty; it produces plentiful and varied food, and against excessive heat it offers the refuge of the marshes as convenient relief. Therefore this territory is disputed between the Libyans and the Aithiopians, and they constantly fight wars over it. [2] But also numerous elephants come from the interior to frequent this region, according to some because of the richness and pleasantness of the grasslands, since wonderful marshy meadows stretch along the riverside, where plenty of food of all kinds is growing. [3] So when they have got the taste of the rush and the reeds, they stay on because of the sweetness of the food, and destroy the livelihood of the people. For this reason the inhabitants are forced to flee this territory, being nomads and tent-dwellers, and on the whole define their homeland by what is most opportune.

[4] The herds of wild animals just mentioned leave the interior of the country for want of food, since all that grows on the ground withers away quickly; for because of the excessive heat and lack of water in wells and rivers, the food becomes hard and scarce.

[5] As some say, there are snakes of wondrous size and number in the so-called "wildlife country", and these attack the elephants at the watering places. When the elephants turn to resistance, they entangle their legs in their coils and keep on forcing and squeezing with their fetters until the animals fall foaming to the ground by their weight. Then they gather to devour the fallen beast, overcoming it easily because of the animal's inability to move.

[6] But we are still left with the question as to why the snakes in the pursuit of their habitual food do not follow the elephants to the river region mentioned above; they explain that snakes of this size avoid the flat ground and constantly dwell close to the mountains, in the ravines that are of some size and the caves that have depth. That, they say, is why they never leave these advantageous and habitual places, since it lies in the nature of all animals to follow their instincts in such matters.

So this is as much as we have to say about the Aithiopians and their country.

[TE]

Comments

Agatharchides displays an interest in the religion of foreign peoples; and his attitude, in keeping with which he gives an objective description of what he learns from his sources without condescension or scandalized comments, contrasts remarkably with, e.g., Herodotus' style (cf. Dihle 1962, 221 f.). As pointed out by Dihle, he regards the improbable custom of self-mutilation of the king's friends in Aithiopia as a tradition which constitutes an organic part of a social

context; yet, at the same time, he also indicates that such a context is inferior to the rational way of the life of a society that is guided by Greek philosophy. His remark in 3.9.1 about the “atheists” living beyond Meroe contains a “rationalistic” explanation of the emergence of gods from the powers of the nature. The description of the various modes of burial (3.9.3) reflects Egyptian customs and beliefs; the “burial” in the river may refer to the Egyptian concept of the deification of the drowned (cf. Strauss 1975, 18 f.).

[LT]

144 Ptolemy II in Aithiopia. 2nd cent. BC.
Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 1.37.5.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 142. This particular extract is from Diodorus’ account of the Nile (1.32-41.9) for which Agatharchides is believed to be the ultimate source, see Burton (1972, 21-25) for a recent discussion. Agatharchides’ digression on the Nile was also used by the geographer Strabo (17.2.1-3), see FHN III, 187.

Text

Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἄχρι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου προσ-
αγορευθέντος οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπερέβαλον εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν,
ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσανέβησαν· οὕτως ἄξενα
πάντα ἦν τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνα· τοῦ δὲ
προειρημένου βασιλέως μεθ’ Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν πρώτου
στρατεύσαντος ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἀκριβέστερον ἀπὸ
τούτων τῶν χρόνων.

Translation

From the earliest times down to Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus not only had no Greeks penetrated into Aithiopia, they had not even come as far as to Egypt’s borders, so inhospitable in every way were these regions and so downright dangerous. But the above-mentioned king, with a Greek army, was the first who made an expedition into Aithiopia; and from that time knowledge about this country has been more accurate.

[TE]

Comments

Though Agatharchides’ remark on Ptolemy II’s Aithiopian campaign around 274 BC and its consequences is correct (cf. 97-100, *Comments*), his claim that no Greeks penetrated into Aithiopia before Philadelphos’ reign may be disputed on account of the presence of Greek mercenaries in the army of Psammetich II in 593 BC (cf. FHN I, 41-43). The reference to the dangers and inhospitality of

the region beyond Philae may, however, reflect the memory of conflicts between Egypt and Aithiopia before and after Ptolemy II's reign (cf. 133-135, 137). [LT]

145 Ptolemy II in Aithiopia. 2nd cent. BC.

Agatharchides, *On the Red Sea* 1.20

Source bibliography

Henry 1974

Photius: Bibliothèque. Vol. 7. Texte établi et traduit par R. Henry. Paris. (Collection Byzantine.)

Treadgold 1980

W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC.

Introduction to source

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* in general see 142. The present extract is from Agatharchides' work *On the Red Sea*, of which substantial portions have been preserved by Photius, classical scholar and Patriarch of Constantinople (9th cent. AD). Parts of the work are also quoted by Diodorus Siculus (cf. 146) and Strabo.

The so-called *Bibliotheca* of Photius consists of a collection of excerpts from ancient Greek authors or summaries of their works, in all 280 sections of various length from a wide selection of texts, pagan and Christian. Many of the works excerpted are otherwise lost; particularly for Greek historical and geographical literature of the Hellenistic age the *Bibliotheca* is an invaluable source. For an introduction to the *Bibliotheca* see Treadgold (1980).

Our text is based on the French bilingual edition of Photius' *Bibliotheca* by Henry (1974). All preserved portions from Agatharchides' *On the Red Sea* are available in English translation in Burstein (1989), where also an analysis of the nature and the value of the work is found.

Text

Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος, φησὶν, εἰς τὸν κατὰ Αἰθιοπῶν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πεντακοσίους συνέλεξεν ἵππεῖς, ὧν τοῖς προκινδυνεύειν μέλλουσιν καὶ καθηγουμένοις, τὸ πλῆθος οὖσιν ἑκατόν, ὀπλισμοῦ περιέθηκε τρόπον· στολὰς γὰρ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἀνέδωκε πιλητάς, ἃς οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην προσαγορεύουσι κάσας, ὥστε πᾶν κρύπτειν τὸ σῶμα πλὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

Translation

Ptolemy, he [Agatharchides] says, selected from Greece five hundred cavalrymen for the war against the Aithiopians. Those of them who were to run the greatest risks and act as leaders, one hundred in number, he dressed in a kind of armour; for he distributed both to them and to their horses coats made of

felt, which the people in that region called *kases*, made to cover the whole body except the eyes.

[TE]

Comments

Kortenbeutel (1931, 42) and Desanges (1978, 281 f.) regard this passage as a reference to the final act in the Upper Egyptian revolt of 207/6-186 BC (see 133, 134, *Comments*). On account of its context in Agatharchides' work, viz., in a speech of an adviser of Ptolemy II delivered to his sovereign on the reasons for the war against Aithiopia (see Verdin 1983; Burstein 1989, 25; Desanges 1992, 368), it must, however, be connected with the Aithiopian campaign around 274 BC (cf. 97-100, 144, *Comments*). As Burstein (1989, 52 note 3) pointed out, *kases* was in reality a Persian term of a possibly Semitic origin.

[LT]

146 The Nubian gold mines. 2nd cent. BC.

Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.12.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 142.

Text

12 [1] Περὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμορούσης Ἀραβίας τε καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τόπος ἐστὶν ἔχων μέταλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα χρυσοῦ, συναγομένου πολλοῦ πολλῇ κακοπαθείᾳ τε καὶ δαπάνῃ. Τῆς γὰρ γῆς μελαίνης οὗσης τῇ φύσει καὶ διαφυσῶς καὶ φλέβας ἐχούσης μαρμάρου τῇ λευκότητι διαφερούσας καὶ πάσας τὰς περιλαμβομένας φύσεις ὑπερβαλλούσας τῇ λαμπρότητι, οἱ προσεδρεύσαντες τοῖς μεταλλικοῖς ἔργοις τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐργαζομένων κατασκευάζουσι τὸν χρυσόν. [2] Οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καταδικασθέντας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλωτισθέντας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους διαβολαῖς περιπεσόντας καὶ διὰ θυμὸν εἰς φυλακὰς παραδιδόμενους, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοὺς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἀθροίσαντες παραδιδόασιν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ μεταλλείαν, ἅμα μὲν τιμωρίαν λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν καταγνωσθέντων, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων μεγάλας προσόδους λαμβάνοντες.

[3] Οἱ δὲ παραδοθέντες, πολλοὶ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, πάντες δὲ πέδαις δεδεμένοι, προσκαρτεροῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις συνεχῶς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός, ἀνάπauσιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν λαμβάνοντες, δρασμοῦ δὲ παντὸς φιλοτίμως εἰργόμενοι· φυλακαὶ γὰρ ἐκ στρατιωτῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ταῖς διαλέκτοις διαφόρως χρωμένων ἐφεστήκασιν, ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι δι' ὁμιλίας ἢ φιλανθρώπου τινὸς ἐντεύξεως φθεῖραί τινα τῶν ἐπιστατούντων.

[4] Τῆς δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐχούσης γῆς τὴν μὲν σκληροτάτην πυρὶ πολλῶς καύσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες χανύνην προσάγουσι τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν

κατεργασίαν· τὴν δὲ ἀνειμένην πέτραν καὶ μετρίῳ πόνῳ δυναμένην ὑπείκειν λατομικῷ σιδήρῳ καταπονοῦσι μυριάδες ἀκληροῦντων ἀνθρώπων. [5] Καὶ τῆς μὲν ὅλης πραγματείας ὁ τὸν λίθον διακρίνων τεχνίτης καθηγείται καὶ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ὑποδείκνυσι. Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην ἀποδειχθέντων οἱ μὲν σώματος ῥώμῃ διαφέροντες τυπίσι σιδηραῖς τὴν μαρμαρίζουσιν πέτραν κόπτουσιν, οὐ τέχνην τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ βίαν προσάγοντες, ὑπονόμους δὲ διακόπτοντες, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἡ διάφουςις ἢ τῆς ἀποστιλβούσης πέτρας.

[6] Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς διώρυξι καμπὰς καὶ σκολιότητας ἐν σκότει διατρίβοντες λύχνους ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων πεπηγμένους περιφέρουσι· πολλαχῶς δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῆς πέτρας ιδιότητας μετασχηματίζοντες τὰ σώματα καταβάλλουσιν εἰς ἔδαφος τὰ λατομούμενα θραύσματα· καὶ τοῦτο ἀδιαλείπτως ἐνεργοῦσι πρὸς ἐπιστάτου βαρύτητα καὶ πληγὰς.

Translation

12 [1] In the farthest part of Egypt and the areas bordering on Arabia and Aithiopia is a region with many large gold mines, where gold is extracted in great quantity through much suffering and expense. The earth is naturally black, with strata and veins of marble that are remarkable for their whiteness, surpassing all shining substances in their brilliance. Those who have taken charge of the mining produce the gold through the great number of workers. [2] For the kings of Egypt collect those who have been condemned for a crime and prisoners of war, and even those who have fallen victim of false accusations and have been sent to prison because of [public] indignation, sometimes only the persons themselves, sometimes together with all their families, and deliver them to work in the gold mines. Thus they both inflict punishment upon the condemned and at the same time receive great revenues through their labours.

[3] Those who have been handed over, many in number, all in chains, toil with the work continuously both by day and all through the night, without a pause, and are carefully prevented from any means of escape; for they have set over them guards consisting of barbarian soldiers who speak a different language, so that nobody can corrupt any of the overseers by talking to him or appealing to human kindness.

[4] The hardest parts of the earth that contains the gold they burn with a great fire to make it it friable, and then proceed to work on it by hand. But the soft rock, which can be made to give way by a moderate effort, is broken with iron quarrying tools by countless wretched men. [5] The whole operation is directed by a specialist who knows the stone and guides the workers. Of those who have been consigned to this misfortune, the strongest strike the sparkling rock with iron hammers, without bringing any skill to the work, just brute force. They cut subterraneous passages, not in a straight line, but where the veins of glittering rock lead them.

[6] These men spend their time in darkness because of the twistings and turnings of the tunnels, and they therefore carry lamps attached³⁰⁹ to their foreheads. And frequently they contort their bodies according to the peculiarities of the rock, and throw on the ground the fragments that they break loose. This task they carry on unceasingly, under the heavy blows of the overseer.

[TE]

Comments

The mines, in which the work is described so brilliantly by Agatharchides (for his style cf. Dihle 1962, 213 ff.; Fraser 1972 I, 546, II, 786 note 219; Burstein 1989, 21 ff.), may be located in general terms in the important gold-mining area of the Wadis Allaqi and Gabgaba in the northern region of the Red Sea Hills opening from the Lower Nubian Nile Valley in the region of Takompso-Quban (cf. Vercoutter 1959; Gundlach 1976a, 735 f.; 1976b, 743 f.; Burstein 1989, 59 note 4; Klemm-Klemm 1994, 206 ff.). Their acquisition doubtless represented a major motivation for the northern expansion of the Kingdom of Kush in the course of the 5th and 4th centuries BC (cf. (70), (77), (83)) and in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (i.e., during the Upper Egyptian revolt, cf. (129), (131)) on the one hand, and for the Ptolemaic occupations of the Dodekaschoenus (around 274 BC, cf. 97, *Comments*) and then of the Triacontaschoenus (after 186 BC, cf. 135, 137, 138, 140, 141) on the other. The source used here by Agatharchides consisted, as to the methods of prospecting and mining, of a precise technical description. It was probably written in Agatharchides' time and thus refers to the methods of the 2nd century BC rather than to Ptolemy II's times; and the description of the appalling conditions added to it by Agatharchides indicates the latter's disappointment in the contemporary regime in Egypt which he condemned as a tyranny (cf. Fraser 1972 I, 543, II, 779 note 185).

[LT]

147 On burial customs among the Trogodytes. 2nd cent. BC.
Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.33.2.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 142.

Text

Ταφαῖς δὲ παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμέναις ἐπιχωριάζουσι· τοῖς γὰρ τῶν παλιούρων λύγοις δῆσαντες τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα προσάπτουσι τὸν αὐχένα τοῖς σκέλεσι, θέντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ πινος ἀναστήματος βάλλουσι λίθοις χειροπληθέσι γελῶντες, μέχρι ἂν ὅτου τοῖς λίθοις περι

³⁰⁹Reading πεπηγμένους, an emendation adopted by Oldfather (1935). The manuscripts (and Bommelaer 1989) have πεπραγματευμένους, 'fabricated'; Photius (cf. 145) has 'with lamps bound to (προσδεμένους) their foreheads'.

χώσαντες ἀποκρύψωσι τὰ σώματα· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αἰγὸς κέρας ἐπι-
θέντες ἀπολύονται, συμπάθειαν οὐδεμίαν λαμβάνοντες.

Translation

Their local burial customs are quite extraordinary. For they bind the bodies of the dead with withies of holly³¹⁰ and fasten the neck to the legs, and then place the corpse on some rise of ground or other and toss stones as large as can be held in the hand onto it while laughing, until they have heaped up enough stones to hide the bodies from sight. Finally they put a goat's horn there and leave, without feeling any pity.

[TE]

Comments

The burial customs attributed by Agatharchides to the Trogodytes (the original form of "Troglodytes", "Cave-dwellers"), who were first mentioned by Herodotus (FHN I, 66) and were located by Strabo (cf. FHN III, 189) in the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, and whose name is given in ancient literature to a number of primitive peoples of a nomadic character in other parts of the world as well (see FHN I, 66, *Comments*), may be regarded as an actual practice observed in the Egyptian Eastern Desert and in other parts of Africa (for literature see Burstein 1989, 113 note 2). Agatharchides' description may thus contain real information concerning the burials of nomads in the Red Sea Hills.

[LT]

(148) Queen Shanakdakheto. Son-of-Rê name.

Source: Naqa, Temple F, hieroglyphic inscriptions (name in Meroitic hieroglyphs) on the jambs of the altar niche, a) left jamb, Hintze 1959, fig. 6, Pl. IV/38, 39, b) right jamb, *ibid.*, Pl. IV/40.

a) *p wʿb nsw n S3-Rʿ Nb-T3wy Šnkdkhete dī ʿnh m rʿ nb [...]* *mri-M3ʿt (?) mī t [...]*

a) "The royal-*waab*-priest of the Son-of-Rê: Shanakdakheto, given life every day [...] 'beloved of Maʿat' like [...]

b) *S3-Rʿ Nb-T3wy Šnkdkhete [...]*

b) The Son-of-Rê, Lord of Two-lands (Egypt): Shanakdakheto [...]

Comments

The earliest royal name preserved in Meroitic hieroglyphs (cf. Introduction, General Note to the Meroitic Texts) was believed, on account of the title *S3-Rʿ*, to have been that of a king until Hintze (1959, 36 ff.) suggested, fully convinc-

³¹⁰The Greek name is usually identified with *Paliurus australis* in standard handbooks; this plant is not found in V. Täckholm, *Students' Flora of Egypt* (2nd edition, Beirut 1974).

ingly, that its owner was identical with the queen represented in Beg. N. 11 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 7/A, B) accompanied by a prince just as the builder of Temple F at Naqa also appears in the interior reliefs of this sanctuary (Hintze 1959, fig. 7, Pls VI-VIII). The titles *S3-R' Nsw-bt* also occur without feminine endings in a representation of Queen Bartare (Beg. S. 10, Dunham 1957, fig. C/23) and Queen Amanitore is similarly *S3-R' nb-h'(w)* and *Nsw-bt nb T3wy* on the bark stand from Wad ban Naqa (LD VI, 55a; FHN III, (212)).

[LT]

(149) Queen Shanakdakheto. Evidence for reign.

According to the surviving evidence, Queen Shanakdakheto is the first ruling queen on the throne of Kush. On the basis of the location of her pyramid Beg. N. 11 (Dunham 1957, 72 ff.) in the royal cemetery of Begarawiya North, she is dated approximately to the late 2nd century BC, a dating also supported by the style and iconography of her monuments.

Although her filiation and family relations remain unknown, representations of her in the mortuary chapel reliefs of Beg. N 11 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 7/A, B) and in a basalt statue group (Cairo CG 684, Wenig 1978, Cat. 135), probably originating from a mortuary cult temple (?) at the royal necropolis (for the provenance see Herzog 1977) and regarded as her mortuary cult statue, convey a rather clear statement about her legitimacy in the terms of iconography. In all three representations, a queen is depicted, wearing crowns associated with ruling kings (cf. Török 1987, Nos 120, 128, 143) and the three-part royal costume introduced in the 3rd century BC (see Török 1990), in the company of a man who is indicated by his simple diadem and costume to have been a non-ruling member of the royal house.³¹¹ With his right hand, he touches the streamers on the Queen's crown (Beg. N. 11) or the crown itself (Cairo CG 684), by which gesture—as is indicated by its original context in Egyptian iconography, viz., the legitimation of a king by a god (for a Kushite example see the lunette of Aspelta's Election Stela, cf. FHN I, 37)—he confers the royal power on the Queen (see Török 1987, 48 f.).

It would thus seem that the legitimacy of a ruling queen required a strong and constantly employed³¹² iconographical device which could easily be "read" and understood as a statement about a special dynastic relationship which secured her succession. It cannot be accidental that the same iconographical formula was employed by Amanirenas, the next ruling queen to follow Shanakdakheto on the throne of Meroe some one hundred years later (see (177)). The

³¹¹His elevated status is emphasized in the chapel reliefs in Beg. N. 11 by his royal-type necklaces and his three pairs of anklets decorated with a double royal cartouche; moreover, his coat is also fastened with a brooch in the shape of a double cartouche.

³¹²See also the reliefs of Shanakdakheto's Temple F dedicated to Amün at Naqa, Hintze 1959, Pls VI-VIII; cf. LD I 145; for the unusual iconographical program see Török n.d., Ch. 36.

actual relationship between Shanakdakheto and the prince represented in her company cannot be established; it seems probable, however, that he was a crown prince who died before he ascended to the throne, while Shanakdakheto was his daughter or wife who succeeded in vindicating his rights.

The—unfortunately badly damaged—reliefs of Shanakdakheto's Temple F at Naqa (cf. Hintze 1959, fig. 7, Pls III-VIII; Török n.d., Ch. 36) and the well-preserved decoration of her mortuary cult chapel Beg. N. 11 with their rich and in some respects innovative iconography and artistic quality as well as the architecture of the latter monument indicate a remarkable intellectual milieu. The mortuary cult chapel reliefs amalgamate knowledge of Egyptian prototypes with iconographic types apparently created in Meroe; for example, the representation of the specifically Meroitic funerary rite of the "neck dance" as part of a procession of musicians, singers, and dancers (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 8/B; for a similar representation on a late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD painted vase from Meroe City see Kendall 1989, fig. 2; the theme also occurs on an unpublished bronze vessel from one of the Hobagi mound graves, communication of Dr Patrice Lenoble).

[LT]

(150) Tañyidamani. Titles.

Sources: 1. Boston MFA 24.856, bronze cylinder from the Inner Court (B 502) of Amun temple B 500, Gebel Barkal, Dunham 1970, fig. 39, (hieroglyphic); 2. the same, REM 1140 (Meroitic cursive); 3. Boston MFA 23.736, Tañyidamani Stela from the approach of Amun temple B 500, Gebel Barkal, Dunham 1970, Pl. XXXIX; Hintze 1960; REM 1044A=152 (Meroitic hieroglyphic); 4. Ibid., in line 1, REM 1044B (Meroitic cursive); 5. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.258, Tañyidamani tablet from Meroe, Apedemak temple, REM 0405B=153 (Meroitic cursive); 6. Paris, Musée du Louvre 11157B, sandstone statuette of lion-headed god, provenance unknown, Griffith 1912, Pl. XLI/127, REM 0127 (Meroitic cursive).

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
Throne name	Tny-Imn	
Son-of-Rê name	Tñyi-Imn	Tñyidmni qo
	3.	4,5,6.
Son-of-Rê name	Tñyidmni, Epithet: wte lh̥te	Tñyidmni

Comments

In 1) the Throne and Son-of-Rê names are the same, but are differently written: the first is rendered with the Egyptian hieroglyphic signs *t-n* (*ñ*)-*y-d-Imn* (for

the replacement of signs of a similar appearance see, however, Hintze 1960, 141); in the latter *ʾmn* is followed by the figure of a lion which Hintze (*ibid.*) interpreted as a determinative with the meaning *tñyi*, Meroitic "lion".

The identity and the different renderings of the two names are curious, and they seem to indicate that in Meroitic there existed no equivalent of the five-part titulary traditionally rendered in Egyptian hieroglyphs. While Throne names and Son-of-Rê names rendered in Egyptian as well as in Meroitic hieroglyphs continue to be carved on royal monuments otherwise inscribed exclusively in Meroitic cursive (cf. FHN III, (191), (211), (212), (217), (227), (228), (259)), the abandonment of Egyptian hieroglyphic as the language and script of royal inscriptions and its replacement by the Meroitic language and script (for the texts the cursive script, for royal names, temple inscriptions, and, exceptionally, for royal mortuary offering tables, the hieroglyphic script) coincides with the disappearance of the five-part titulary. The last preserved Horus name, written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, occurs in the chapel of Beg. N. 20 dated to the first half of the 1st century BC (see (160)). The first example of the new, genuinely Meroitic, royal protocol can be found in Tañyidamani's Gebel Barkal stela (152 1): it consists of the title *qore*, i.e., the Meroitic word for "ruler" (Griffith 1916, 124), which also designates the reigning queens; and the "personal name" of the ruler.

That both the Egyptian hieroglyphic language and script and the five-part Egyptian titulary were abandoned at the same time cannot be accidental, even if documents such as (160) clearly indicate that individual rulers might occasionally assume an Egyptian titulary. The surviving evidence strongly suggests, however, that such cases were incidental and were apparently determined by archaizing trends which can also be recognized in the Egyptian hieroglyphic names of the coregents Natakamani and Amanitore (cf. FHN III, (211), (212)). The differently written, but otherwise identical Throne and Son-of-Rê names of Tañyidamani seem to represent the first, hesitating, attempt to create a Meroitic rendering of the royal titulary: while there is only one royal name—which, judging by the canonically recurrent element "Amani", Amûn, in the overwhelming majority of the Meroitic royal names, was nevertheless assumed on the ascent to the throne—it is used both as a Throne name and as a Son-of-Rê name. This duplication of the royal name seems to have been restricted to Tañyidamani and appears to be determined by the initial uncertainty caused by the fact that the ruling king could only have been referred to by the name that he assumed on his succession; this name was thus of a double nature, being once both a "personal name" and a "throne name". This uncertainty would disappear in later royal names, and the Egyptian hieroglyphic titles *Nsw-bît* and *Sr-R̥* are added to the cartouche name only in cases where there are in fact Egyptian throne names (for such cases see the list above); if there is no Egyptian throne name, the cartouche containing the Meroitic hieroglyphic

name may be complemented with the Egyptian hieroglyphs for *Nb-Tꜣwy* or the like.

While in 2) the name of the King ends with the enigmatic *-qo*, a name element also present in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty names (Shabaqo, Shebitqo, Taharqo), in 3) it receives a Meroitic epithet, viz., *wte lh̄te*. While *lh̄* seems to have the meaning "great, big" (Griffith 1911, 10, 23, 96 [note]; Hintze 1963, 18 No. 206); the meaning of *wte*, though it occurs in several other documents (cf. Hofmann 1981, 319), is obscure. Its context in Tañyidamani's cartouche as well as in other documents, however, favors Priese's (1977, 47 f.) suggestion that the word would have the meaning "life" (cf. also Zibelius 1983, 75 for a "translation" of the epithet as "dem *wte* gegeben ist/sei/werde"; one is tempted indeed to compare it to Egyptian *dī nḥ*).

[LT]

(151) Tañyidamani. Evidence for reign.

The filiation and family relationships of Tañyidamani are unknown. The dating of his reign, as immediate successor of Queen Shanakdakheto (see (148), (149)), to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC was suggested with reference to the early ("archaic", for a chronological analysis of Meroitic paleography see cf. Griffith 1911, 17 ff.; Hintze 1959, 67 f.) character of his Meroitic cursive inscriptions and on the assumption that he was buried in Beg. N. 12 (Dunham 1957, 74 f.), i.e., the pyramid grave of the generation following the burial of Queen Shanakdakheto, Beg. N. 11 (Hofmann 1978, 78 f.; Dunham 1957, 7; Hintze 1959, 33; Wenig 1967, 43, however, regarded Tañyidamani as identical with King Horus *Kꜣ-nḥt* [...], the owner of Beg. N. 20, see also (160)).

The earliest monumental royal inscriptions written in the Meroitic language and cursive script are preserved from Tañyidamani's reign; 152, though its text remains largely incomprehensible to us, indicates through the theonyms mentioned in it as well as through the representations in its lunette the continuity and unchanged importance in kingship dogma of the cults of Amûn of Napata and Amûn of Thebes and the existence of numerous other cults too. The votive tablet with inscription 153, which was found in the ruins of an Apedemak temple probably erected originally by Tañyidamani at Meroe City (cf. Török n.d., Ch. 4), bears witness to the continued importance of the cult of the lion-headed Nubian god (cf. 126) and, with its remarkably fine reliefs, indicates a cultural milieu in which an archaizing trend—using stylistic elements adopted from Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Early Napatan reliefs—is amalgamated with the influence of late Ptolemaic Egyptian art. The iconography of the representations is, however, distinctly Meroitic (on the tablet from Meroe City see also Wenig 1978, Cat. 121) like that of monuments from the late 3rd century BC (e.g., the reliefs of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra). If Beg. N. 12 is correctly identified as Tañyidamani's burial place, its splendid mortuary cult

chapel reliefs may also be quoted as examples of the trend indicated above (cf. Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 10).

[LT]

152 Meroitic stela of Tañyidamani from the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal. Late 2nd or early 1st cent. BC.

Boston MFA 23.736. REM 1044; cf. Hintze 1960 Pls XXXI-XXXIV (photographs and transcription); Dunham 1970, Pls XXXIX-XLII (photographs and reproduction of rubbings); Leprohon 1991, 144-148 (photographs).

Introduction to source

Found *in situ* standing in front of the S tower of the First Pylon of Temple B 500, opposite the Khaliut Stela (FHN I, 40), flanking the processional avenue of the temple.

For the script and language of the text see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction. The text of **152** is given here in its entirety because it is the earliest monumental royal inscription in the Meroitic language and is almost completely preserved.

Text

RECTO

CARTOUCHE IN LUNETTE: (150) 3.

MAIN TEXT

(1) qore,,, Tānyidamani aleqese,,, iblp Mni (2) si mde lw,,, terite,,,
 Amnp^{te*},*,*, tese lw,,, te (3) ritkto,,,
 qes,,, sorse,,, ipte,,, eqeḥm (4) de,,,
 nk[.]pom,,, kek,,, tqñ l,,, qes,,, iḥlḥto,,,
 ab(5)rse l,,, eked,,, kdise l,,, erk,,,
 esebe,,, nt[.]jk (6) Amnp,,, arreto,,,
 mk lte,,, ntkte,,, Amn(7)pte,,, eqeti še,,,
 eqeloḥe,,,
 Amnp,,, qoro (8) mrṯe,,, edḥñ 1,,, Mno 1,,, Am[np]te 1,,, Aqe(9)dise 1,,, Wos,,,
 ṯḥñ,,, mtot**i*wḥne 1,,, Amnp,,, qoro (10) aḥboroteñ 1,,, Amnb 1,,, [...] (11) **1*,,,
 Mne meke 1,,, Mkedo,,, pḥtotñ 1,,, Mt 1 (12) tepede,,, ḥtebeme**y*ose 1,,, Mk lte wi
 12 (13) aqḳibese **120*,,,
 (Am)np,,, apnewke,,, ame(14)ri,,, mrmse li,,, eqe [...]
 r mlote**y* (15) ete**pnk*,,, stn 10
 [...]tepi,,, tñ ten (16) we**kid*,,, eqesero(r),,, a**s***rlitoñ*,,,mse(,,,)
 (17) wte mro si,,,
 eqeti pḥe,,,
 mrḥi keñ,,, teri(18)tibre,,,

qore mdese 3,,, ti mhe,,, pteno 3 (19)apette 1,,, sber 1,,, dd 1,,,a[...],,
aripe[...](20)amote,,, mrm 8,,,
nmrolde,,, s qorese,,, mse 3 (21) ti mhe,,, pteno) 3,,, apette 1,,, sber 1,,, dd 1
(22) a[...]*bete leb,,, tbi (23) te[...].am(ote,,, mrm (9,,,)
[...]*ke,,, amotrro (24)ameloloke,,, imlotror,,, wtotrse 3,,, iddne (25) ssime,,,
Amnise 3,,,
areñ *l*i,,, eqeti phe,,,
a(26)tññ,,, ss mrte l,,, imlotror,,, wtotrse l,,, qo (27) leb,,, Amnp,,, idebh,,,
atr*hl l,,, *hrto
mk (28) abenbidpete wi,,, abenbk,,, e*phwñ,,, eph*w(29)ñ,,, i*phbh,,,
mrhdtose,,, hrph sem lo l,,, tre(30)k,,, adt wi,,, ipk,,, Amnp,,,
yotre mle wideto
(31) pmsen,,, eqelohe lh,,,
Ariteñyose l,,, mero(32)se li si,,, tesont,,, eqelohe lh l,,,
qo leb,,, (33) elbto,,,
Amnp,,, atoo lh,,, itwdto
nir,,, ket*p (34) wi,,, ibln Mnise l,,, yo*nphto
Aro,,, eqe (35) hrphñ wi*t,,,
qeper,,, ado l,,, tedeqe l,,, elh,,,
ihhtto

VERSO

(36) sede*w tbe t*he lw,,, qes molk,,,
seb (37) eqet*he *kwi,,,
itt*mito,,,
kelw,,, tbi ble (38) pqr qorise l,,, itnkk,,, ihlhto,,,
(39) seb l,,, ed kete,,, kek,,, dqnik,,, nmrok (40) yoto,,,
sbw wkete,,, qesñ,,,
kelw,,, ssm(41)rte l,,, holk,,,
tme,,, pkr tr qori(42)se,,, kdise lhe no l,,, qes,,, itnk (43) ihlhto,,,
seb l,,, ed kete,,, kek,,, yoto
(44) *wkete,,, adb wse li,,, ipl*e mo kete
(45) dqn*i *b*rñ,,, *sqtdon,,, kek,,, Amnp(46)te,,, mk shñ l,,, irhto,,,
idkthey,,, ar(47)mi Mnise,,, s qorose,,, Amnptese (48) yotkto,,,
edeke,,, adbite li,,, imli(49)ñ,,, ndeye lte,,, ynkteketo,,,
Amnp (50) kek,,, Sor,,, sberhi,,, ipleto,,,
mk,,, Sor (51) lhe ple,,, Amni s kdite,,, Wos*t sy*e(te) (52) Art syete,,, s wey,,,
senbote,,, [...] (53)te lise mdedewi k,,, es*h*te
s wey,,, senbote,,, [...]te lise medewi k,,, es*h*te
[.]ñbe[...] (54)ke,,, senbote,,, ptri lise,,, dq*n*i,,, ere tese,,,
Amnp,,, ne(55)*tese *mlo *l,,, *eqe[...]de[.]w*o
(56)seb,,, at[...] (57) kdi l,,, [...]w,,, q[...]me,,, q(58)ryone*w[...], mr tb
r ke lw,,, apeñ*se*bo (59) se wi,,, mrmr lw,,,

adenodorte [...]i[k|m]e (60) s Mni,,, esetesi,,, er,,, syt l,,, moste(61)[..]q,,, mrotese
 adose bose wi,,, mr (62) mr lw,,,
 s wey hlbe tke,,, s qr li (63) *p[...]se,,, attiw,,, alwi lh l,,, ere te (64) se,,,
 *ñte,,, Amnppte,,, pelhelq,,, [...] (65)[...]rte,,,
 npletno wi,,, trw[...] (66)[...]nide,,, tereqebte,,,
 d[...] (67)t,,, *b[.]k,,, hlbi wi,,, mdetese,,, p[...]

RIGHT SIDE

(68) *ahle qo leb (69) *a *500 tero l,,, am (70) w*kbhte,,,
 Am(71)npte,,, eqetid
 (72) attiw,,, alwi *l (73) dtrep[.] lw,,, hl (74) bi wido,,, edeto,,,
 (75) Amnp,,, nehose (76) dqni,,, bereqo*b (77) artroti,,, ah (78) plete,,, apreq(79)n,,,
 seb lñe noke (80) *k*e[.]ot,,, nbrtd (81) ado bese l,,, yo (82) plet,,, erew ke,,, (83)
 iplemh,,, sthñ,,, (84) bere ke,,, aqen (85) li,,, erese,,, mede (86) wi,,, yoto,,,
 s q*dte (87) lise,,, *sbe[.] be (88) re ke,,, a*roqi,,, (89) tm,,, qorte drte (90) aqqe,,, qorte
 (91) msyose,,, [.]eto,,,
 qor(92)te,,, tqeyose li (93)[.]rote,,, m*wetre li (94) qo leb troñe li (95) *wi,,, mke,,,
 [...]ed[.](96)td,,, *kdi l,,, emo[.](97)l,,, ntk *l,,, wb l me(98)dewite li,,, yod(99)r*pt,,,
 Amnp,,, *ñte (100) se l,,,
 seb,,, ayo*l (101) pe[.]bede li,,, mhø (102) ken,,, t[.]te,,, qes (103) l'h l [...]
 [...]se (104) l,,, (105)[...]a[...](106)[...](107)to,,,
 ere[...]de (108) yo [...] (h)l(bi)ñ,,, a(109)meloloke l,,, mse 3 (110) iphto,,,
 pwore,,, s (111) sor l,,, ameri 5 (112) *ip(h)*to,,,
 Amni l (113) d*e [...] iphto,,,
 pti (114) phe*te,,, p hol 8 (115) *iphto,,,
 qo leb de (116) bh,,,
 akli,,, [...]

LEFT SIDE

(117)[...]d[.]i,,, [...]
 (118) *A*m*n*p*te,,, a*t*to*mi[.] (119) itwd*to,,,
 ibereq*o (120) k,,, ilolto,,,
 dqen*i (121) w l,,, itrek,,, asr (122) deb 5000,,, npte wel (123) nlo l,,, akitkto,,,
 as (124) r meke,,, idñte,,, nd (125) kete,,,
 qo leb,,, Amn(126)pte,,, idebñi,,,
 seb,,, (127) *krte dse l *7 k,,, be (128) shto,,,
 kedd,,, npte (129) p lw,,, qes,,, ihl*hto,,,
 (130) tqñ l,,, abrse l,,, e (131) kedtd,,, kdise l,,, er (132) td
 ayot,,, Amnp (133) *ñte sem lo l,,,
 ese (134) be,,, Amni,,, elh,,,
 mr (135) de qorisew,,, s mde (136) se lw,,, inweto,,,
 qo (137) leb,,, edebñ,,,
 *krte (138) dse,,, hrphñe sem (139) lo l,,, tk lise,,, wdto (140) artde,,, krte d

(141) sete,,, tkk,,, aḥotoñ (142) qorte,,, drteyose (143) l,,, ek edeto,,,
 nh̄ror (144) wide l,,, ekedeto,,,
 k(145)di,,, stebese,,, dñt(146)ro,,, sh̄se li,,, ḥol *k (147) leb,,, as
 ḥdose,,, te(148)dd,,,
 qo leb,,, aḥro (149) te wideb wit,,, eked (150) bto,,,
 krte dse,,, hrp(151)ḥe sem lo l,,, tkto
 (152) qorte,,, dḥe leb,,, wi (153) debese,,, aroqi*t(154)m,,, tdḥseñ,,, wer(155)k,,,
 seb,,, erewese l*o (156) se wi,,, aw,,, i[...]*bh,,,
 (157) dqni,,, ibtd[...](158)q,,, hrw,,, [...]ki,,,
 a*to (159) sedew,,, *a*to mlo (160) qes,,, ḥol k,,,
 seb,,, (161) eqe*t*ḥ[...]

Comments

The granite stela, which measures 158 cm (height) x 53 cm (width) x 27 cm (depth), was inscribed on its recto and verso and its right and left sides with a Meroitic text in the Meroitic cursive script in horizontal lines divided by horizontal incisions. The front side of the lunette is decorated with the winged sundisc which is flanked by two uraei wearing the Red (left) and the White (right) crowns and which protects Tañyidamani's cartouche (see (150) 3). Beneath the winged sundisc and the cartouche, there is a double scene which is divided from the text of the stela by a frieze of four bound prisoners flanking four bows. While the winged sundisc and the prisoner frieze are executed in a flat sunk relief, the main scene is incised, except for one of the Amûn figures (left scene half) which is rendered in a flat sunk relief too, thus indicating that the rest of the lunette relief remained unfinished. The scene in the left half of the lunette shows the King offering wine and a necklace to the ram-headed Amûn who is accompanied by Mut. The King wears the Kushite skullcap-crown, a diadem with two uraei (wearing the Red and White Crowns) and streamers (see Török 1987, 4 ff.), a short robe with a fringed shawl and a tasselled cord across his right shoulder (see Török 1990), as well as armlets, bracelets, and sandals. In the right half of the lunette he is represented in the company of a lion and slaying an enemy who is at the same time also attacked by the lion. They are in the presence of the ram-headed Amûn, who holds a *was*-scepter in his left and extends towards the King a scepter in the shape of a snake crowned with a sundisc (for this scepter type, associated with Rê in his night journey, see Kaplony 1986, 1375 with note 30). In this scene the King is shown wearing a collar necklace, the tripartite Meroitic royal costume (cf. Török 1990) and the Kushite skullcap-crown with diadem and one uraeus crowned with the sundisc (?) and streamers, as well as armlets, bracelets, and sandals. In a remarkable manner and style, also the verso of the lunette is decorated with a figure of Tañyidamani in raised relief facing right and standing on a prisoner; he is flanked by the incised figures of the human-headed Amûn of Thebes (left) and the ram-headed Amûn of Napata who are touching his el

bows in the gesture of "election" and legitimation (cf. Török 1990; Wenig in: Hintze et al. 1993). The King wears the Kushite skullcap-crown with diadem and two uraei crowned with the Red and White Crowns and a crown superstructure with four tall feathers (usually associated with Onuris and Arensnuphis, cf. Török 1987, type A XIII), ram's head ear pendant(s), a broad collar necklace, armlets and bracelets. He is clad in a long tunic with a lion skin draped over his right shoulder and also wears ornate sandals. In his right hand he carries a palm leaf scepter, while with his left he touches the right shoulder of his divine father the ram-headed Amûn of Napata.

The two faces of the lunette summarize, in a highly traditional manner in powerful images, the basic concepts of Meroitic kingship ideology. The concepts of divine sonship, "election", and legitimation are depicted in the seemingly simple verso scene, which also incorporates the notion of the victory over the enemies, hints, by means of the animal skin, at the King's function as High Priest of the cults, and associates him through the feather crown with Arensnuphis, a Meroitic god who emerged in close association with kingship ideology in the course of the early Meroitic period (cf. Wenig 1974; Török 1990; Török 1995, Ch. 16). The two recto scenes are associated with the ruler acting as a victorious warlord who annihilates the enemies of order and receives eternal renewal of his kingship from Amûn as is indicated by the snake scepter (right half of lunette); the reciprocity between Amûn and his son the ruler is visualized in the left half of the lunette where the king offers wine and a necklace (for the context of the latter scene in coronation cycles cf. Frandsen 1987 and see Török 1994, 20).

The stela was erected in front of the First Pylon of the great Amûn temple at Napata, close to the gateway at the S side of the processional avenue: a site which indicates that its representations as well as text were destined to be seen and comprehended by the people. Owing to our present state of knowledge of the Meroitic language, the contents of the text remain obscure. The occurrence of names of gods, frequently coupled with toponyms, as well as the numerals seem to indicate lists of donations made to various sanctuaries; while the recurrent mentions of Qes, i.e., Kush and of high official titles may be interpreted as referring to a narrative framework such as wars and/or movements of the King through his land.

Remarks on words with known meaning are made below with reference to the lines of the text in which they occur.

1. *qore*=king; *aleqese* appears as introductory word, e.g., on the Amanishakheto "obelisk" from the late Amûn temple at Meroe City (178, cf. Hintze 1960, 142; Török n.d., Ch. 31), further in REM 0075, 0619B, 1003 line 16, and seems to signify "monument, inscription" (Hintze 1960, 142).
2. *Amûpte*=Amûn of Napata; for this writing of *Amnpte* see also REM 0664.
3. *Qes*=Kush; see also lines 3, 4, 36, 40, 42, 102, 129, 160.—For *eqe* as a "temporal prefix" in narrative texts see Hintze 1960, 143 f.

5. *kdi*=woman (Griffith 1911, 120; 1916, 123 f.).
6. *Amnp Arreto* (probably *Arre-se-lo*)=Amûn of Opet (Luxor) of Arere (Wadi es-Sebua?, cf. Török 1979, 19 f.). For *Amnp* see also lines 6, 7, 9, 27, 30, 33, 49, 55, 75, 99, 132.—In *mk lte* the word *mk* probably signifies “deity” (Griffith 1911, 34). *Amnpte*= Amûn of Napata, see also lines 45, 64, 70, 125.
8. The word *edhno/yidhno* is associated with numerals in inscriptions recording donations (?) or taxes (?), see Török 1984, 175 ff.; here it similarly introduces a list of some sort containing numerals appended to the following theonyms: *Mno*=Amûn (8); *Amnpte*=Amûn of Napata (8); *Aqedise*=Khonsu (identified on the basis of REM 0009, name in Meroitic hieroglyphs in the representation of the god) (8-9); *Wos*=Isis (9); *Amnp*=Amûn of Luxor (9); *Amnb*=Amûn of Nubs (?) (10); *Mne*=Amûn (11); *Mk*=“deity” (12).
17. *wte mrosi* cf. *wte-lhte* in (150) 3.
25. for *ssime* cf. the priestly title *ssimete*, Török 1977, 416.
26. *Imlotror*: probably a personal name.
29. *hrph(ñ)*: title frequently occurring in monumental texts as well as funerary inscriptions (cf. Hintze 1960, 148 f.) cf. also line 35.
38. *pqr qori-se*=“*pqr* of the king”, the highest attested official title in Meroitic inscriptions, see Török 1977a 34 ff.; cf. also lines 41 f.: *pkr tr qori-se*; for *pqr/pkr tr qori-se* as title of crown princes see REM 0005, 0017, 0020, 1044.
- 46 f. *Amnpte*=Amûn of Napata; *mk*=deity.
47. *Mni*=Amûn; *Amnpte*=Amûn of Napata.
51. *Wost* (?) *Sye(te)*=Isis of Sye (Sai); for the identification of the toponym see Priese 1984, 492 (Egyptian $\text{Š}^{\text{c.t}}$).
52. *Art Syete*=Horus of Sye (Sai); for the toponym cf. REM 0268, 1090, 1091.
53. *Medewi-k*=Meroe (City); for the suffix *-k* used with site-names see Griffith 1912, 30; for *Medewi* see also lines 85; 97 f.; for the writing *Bedewi* see, e.g., REM 0089, 0370, 0521, etc.
55. *Amnp*=Amûn of Luxor; *mlo*=good (cf. Griffith 1911, 41 note 1; for its use in the meaning of Egyptian *mš-hrw*, “justified”, see Priese 1971, 285 § 1.44).
59. *Adenodor-te*: unidentified toponym.
68. *qo*=“(living) person”, cf. Griffith 1917, 167; Hintze 1960, 148 ad line 26; Priese 1971, 279 § 1.22.1; *-leb*: plural of article *-l*; plural suffix (cf. Hintze 1963, 3; Priese 1971, 276 f. § 1.12, 1.13.1, 1.15.1).
108. *hlbiñ*: title of official, apparently mainly in Lower Nubia, cf. REM 0129, 0132, 0219 0518, 1025, 1090, 1091, and Hofmann 1981, 103.
- 108 f. *ameloloke*: title of official.
111. *Ssor*: priestly title, see Török 1977, 414 ff. (interpreted, with reference to Old Nubian *sol*, “book”, cf. Hintze 1963, 7, as equivalent to Graeco-Egyptian ἱερογραμματούς).
122. *Npte*=Napata, see also line 128.
124. *Meke*: theonym, cf. REM 1003.

138. *hrph(ñ)*: title of official, cf. REM 0081; attested, e.g., in 0247, 0501, 1088 as *hrphñ Phrs-te*, "*hrphñ in Faras*".

158 ff. *ato*=water (Griffith 1911, 23, 44 f.); *at mlo*=good bread (ibid., 49): the expression containing these words is related to the "Benediction" formulae A and B (cf. Hintze 1960, 160) of the mortuary offering table texts.

[LT]

153 Meroitic votive stela of Tañyidamani from the Apedemek temple at Meroe City. Late 2nd or early 1st cent. BC.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.258 (WAG 213); REM 0405; Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 62 ff., Pls I, LXIII; Wenig 1978, Cat. 121.

Introduction to source

This small dark red schist tablet, measuring 17.8 cm (height) x 9.1 cm (width) x 1.7 cm (thickness) was discovered in the Apedemek sanctuary (Temple M 6, see Török n.d., Ch. 4) at Meroe City. For the script and language of its inscription see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

OBVERSE

RIGHT COLUMN

[...]

(1)A(pe)(2)dem(k)

(3)Tñyi[.](4)dmni (5)pwrite (6)elhte

(7)dqri(8)to *mewi(9)to

*Mno (10)qo*re l (11)w,, ewke(12)nki,,

A(13)pedemki

LEFT COLUMN

[about 9 lines destroyed]

(10)w[...] (11)l,,, e[.] (12)k kte

(13)Ape(14)demki

OBVERSE

(1)*ato (2)w*t li

(3)eto*h(4)to,,,

*mk (5)dqri (6)*te

Comments

The Tañyidamani tablet is decorated on both sides with sunk reliefs of an exceptionally fine quality and high artistic niveau. The votive plaque is incompletely preserved: the upper left corner with part of the left inscription column

of the obverse and the King's crown, and with part of Apedemak's crown on the reverse, is missing. Also the bottom is broken off with the loss of the legs of the figures on both sides from knees down; the obverse is also damaged in the King's chest zone, and his right hand and left arm are completely lost. The obverse is decorated with the standing figure of King Tañyidamani turning right as if he were "facing" Apedemak on the reverse of the tablet. His right arm is raised, and in his right hand he holds a scepter (?) or extends it towards the god in the gesture of adoration (?), while with his left hand he holds the end of his fringed sash as is done in Meroitic enthronement cycles in the scene depicting the "tying-on" of the royal coat (see Török 1990, 158 ff.). He wears the *hemhem*-crown (cf. Török 1987, 15 f. Type A X) with streamers, ram's head ear pendant(s), necklaces, armlet(s) and bracelet(s), and is dressed in a patterned knee-length tunic and a medium-wide fringed sash. A tasselled cord (see Török 1990) is slung over his right shoulder. The royal sash is associated with the Nubian warrior and hunter gods, and especially with Apedemak (see Török 1990, 171 ff.). In the obverse relief of the Tañyidamani tablet the King is doubtless shown receiving the sash from Apedemak as insignia of royal power. The reverse relief shows the standing lion-headed god Apedemak turning left and extending the sign of life towards the King. He wears the *hemhem* crown, a collar necklace and a pectoral, as well as armlets and bracelets, and holds in his right hand a standard with his own image and a sheaf of durra (probably a symbol of fertility and abundance). He is clad in a haltered garment and a short apron.

The right text column in front of the King obviously gives his dedicatory "speech" which starts with the naming of the deity and contains the words *pwrite* and *elhte* which regularly occur in temple inscriptions in the contexts of utterances concerning things received from, and/or given to, deities (cf. Zibelius 1983, 41 ff.). Interestingly, it also contains the name of Amûn in an association with the word for "ruler": *Mno qore-l* (lines 9 f.). As to the brief text of the reverse, it appears to contain the words *ato*=water and *mk*=deity and may refer to a thing, here water, e.g., libation, given to/received by the god or possibly to water given by the god to the King (?).

[LT]

154 Mortuary inscription of Tsemereze from Faras. Late 2nd or early 1st cent. BC.

REM 0543.

Introduction to source

154 was found by F.Ll. Griffith in the course of the excavations conducted at the Meroitic cemetery at Faras in Lower Nubia (Griffith 1922; 1924, 141 ff.), the necropolis in which the "viceroys" of Lower Nubia, their officials, the local priesthood, and their families were buried between the late 2nd century BC and the 3rd-4th centuries AD (for the dating of the cemetery on the basis of grave

typology see Griffith 1924; for the ceramic evidence see Török 1987a, 188 ff.; 1987b; and see literature quoted in **140**, *Comments*). Like the great majority of the funerary stelae and offering tables inscribed in Meroitic cursive, **154** too was found without a grave context, and thus its dating can be established only on the basis of the features of the inscription itself. On the script and language see further the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

(1)*W*o*s*i,, (2)A*s*oreyi(3),,
Tsemere se qo,, pesto lo,,
(4)(Dsdye),, edh lo,,
ant(5),, Bleli,, erike lo,,
ato mlo,, (6)*elhte,,
at m(7)lo ihr(te),,
(8)Wosi,, Asoreyi,,

Comments

The paleographical character of Tsemere se's (REM 0543 suggests a reading of the name as Tsemereh) funerary inscription, the use of the early form *edh-lo* instead of the later form *tedh-lo* of the filiation word (cf. Hofmann 1981, 168 ff.), and the brevity of the text indicate an early dating, i.e., in or not long after the period in which the Tañyidamani inscriptions were written (see **(150)-153**).

The text consists of 3 of the 4 sections usually found in Meroitic non-royal funerary inscriptions (for the structure and symbols used here see Hintze 1959, 34 ff.; Hofmann 1981, 15 ff.):

I. Invocation of Isis (=Wosi) and Osiris (=Asoreyi);

II. Nomination: A) name of the deceased: *Tsemere se qo* (where *qo* probably has the meaning "is/was he", cf. Hofmann 1981, 52); the name is complemented with his title *pesto* (see below).

B) name of the mother of the deceased and the filiation word *edh* (with the suffix *-lo*) meaning "born by": *Dsdye edh-lo*, "born by Dsdye" (cf. Hofmann 1981, 168 ff.).

C) name of the father of the deceased and the filiation word *erike* (with the suffix *-lo*) meaning "begotten of; the name of the father is complemented with his title (see below): *ant Bleli erike-lo*, "begotten by the priest Bleli".

III. Description: in **154** missing.

IV. Benediction consisting of an utterance concerning funerary offerings (*ato mlo*=good water; *at mlo*=good bread, cf. Griffith 1911, 44 f., 49) and a concluding invocation of Isis and Osiris.

This structure, i.e., the sequence Invocation–Nomination–Benediction is characteristic for all non-royal funerary inscriptions from the Middle and Late Meroitic periods (i.e., 2nd century BC–4th century AD, the times when funerary inscriptions were erected in Meroitic cursive); but, almost without exception,

they also include a Description (III) presenting the titles of the deceased according to a rigidly set *cursus honorum* (see Millet 1981; Török 1977; 1979) and those of his relatives, listed according to the rules of the same system of *cursus honorum*. The royal funerary formulae on offering tables preserved from the same period (see Hintze 1959) likewise consist of three parts: Invocation–Nomination–Benediction, but the Nomination does not consist of titles, there is never a Description section, and the royal Benediction formulae differ from the ones employed by non-royal persons (ibid.).

By the simplicity and brevity of its text and the lack of a Description 154 seems to indicate rather clearly that the non-royal funerary inscription formula developed on the basis of the royal type. The addition of a Description points towards Late Period Egypt as a source of inspiration for the development of mortuary inscription formulae, but the detailed—and increasingly voluminous—recording of the offices held by the deceased and by his relatives bears indicate not only the existence of an intricate administrative system (see Török 1977, 1977a, 1979; Millet 1981; O'Connor 1993, 86 ff.) but also to a clearly articulated hierarchical structure within the governing elite and to a “social” consciousness which was central to the identity of the individual in this world as well as in the Netherworld.

Tsemere's title *pesto* is usually interpreted (see, with literature, Török 1977a, 1979) as deriving from the Egyptian *pꜣ sꜣ nswt*, “king's son” (cf. Griffith 1912, 47 note 5), a derivation doubted by Hintze (1973, 335) and Hofmann (1979, 63 f.). A different derivation was recently suggested by Professor Ulrich Luft (verbal communication) from the Egyptian title *pa-tꜣ-šꜣt-rꜣ*, “belonging to (i.e., the praeses of) the southern nome”, i.e., of the 1st Upper Egyptian nome of Elephantine, occurring in the Demotic PBerlin 13543 from the late 2nd century BC (114 BC [?], see Zauzich 1978, P. 13543 lines 2, 8; for the “southern nome”, *tꜣ-šꜣt-rꜣ*, see ibid., P. 13582 line 3 [488/7 BC]; P. 15522, line 5 [Ptolemaic]).

In Meroitic documents, as is also indicated by the occurrences of the title as *pesto Akiñ-te*, “*pesto* in Akiñ=Lower Nubia” (REM 0247, 0277, 0278, 0521, 1088; for Akiñ see Griffith 1925, 261), it designates a sort of governor who, as can be established on the basis of the Descriptions with *cursus honorum* (cf. Török 1977, 1977a, 1979; Millet 1981), occupied the highest post in the administration of Lower Nubia and was directly subordinate to the ruler only (see FHN III, 265, 271). The creation of his office was in all probability already anticipated in some form in the course of the organisation of the Lower Nubian part of the kingdom during the Meroitic re-occupation of the Triacostaschoenus in the period of the Upper Egyptian revolt (see (129), (131)). A complex “provincial” administration was then necessitated by the Meroitic northern expansion starting some time in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Although no literary sources are preserved to attest explicitly to a withdrawal of the southern limit of Ptolemaic control from the Second Cataract to the area of Takompso, i.e., the southern end of the Dodecaschoenus, archaeological finds from Lower Nubia and espe

cially from Faras indicate with sufficient clarity that Meroitic authority was established south of Takompso by the last third of the 2nd century BC (cf. Török 1987a, 159 f.). In the early phase of the development of the Lower Nubian government structure, the office of the *pesto* was, as is indicated by 154, not yet connected with the highest echelon of the elite but was rather an administrative post to which members of the professional bureaucracy, i.e., members of the priestly class, were appointed (for the social connections of the prophets in Meroitic documents see Török 1977): Tsemereze himself was the son of a prophet (for *ant* as deriving from Egyptian *ḥm-nṯr* see Griffith 1911, 57; Hintze 1963, 10 No. 51; Török 1977, 416).

[LT]

155 Mortuary inscription of *Hllḥror* from Faras. Late 2nd or early 1st cent. BC.
REM 0521.

Introduction to source

The mortuary inscription REM 0521 was found in the cemetery of Faras (Griffith 1924; 1925a). For its script and language see the General Note to the Meroitic texts in the Introduction.

Text

(1)Wosi (2)Soreyi
Hll(3)ḥror qo(,),
Arostekl,, d(ḥe) (4)lo,,
E[...]egetḥe erike (lo,),
sm (5)t lh lo,,
qoreñ lh lo,,
an,,(6)t,, Mnp,, (7)bedewi (8)te lise (9)lo,,
pesto(10),, akiñ te lo,,
wyeki*te (11)amodte lo,,
wyekite wi (12)tkw,, Sor,, dlitwkete(y) (13)te lo,,
aki(14)likw (15)ḥrimli,, (16)yirek(17)e lo,,
itebereke,, set (18)ki yiwdkē lo,,
mñ ke li,, mlo (19)lo,,
Wosi,, Soreyi,,
ḥ mlo l(20),, ḥol kte,,
(21)ato mḥe,, ḥte,,
(22)sso l,, qestki [...] lo,,
mḥo (23)br l,, kedekdili,, Are(24)detni,, Are lo,,
qor,, (25)mlo lo,,
mk l,, mlo lo,,
slḥ,, mlo lo,,

(26)ahrrb,, tktore te (27)li ahrrb,, amod te li (28)tereki,, tkbhe lo,,
qetede (29)li,, yedeykete lo,,

Comments

155 is dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC on the basis of its paleography and its use of the early form of the filiation words (*dhe* and *erike*, cf. **154**, *Comments*). That it is later than **154** is indicated by the more complete structure (for the types cf. **154**, *Comments*) which now also includes, following the Invocation and the Nomination, a Description with a list of *Hllhror*'s own titles and the titles of his relatives. The Benediction is followed in an unusual manner by what seem to be epithets and a complex consisting of toponyms.

2-4. *Hllhror* was son of *Arostekl* and *E[.]jeqethe*.

4-13. *Hllhror*'s titles include *smt-lh*, "great *smt*" (for *lh* see Griffith 1911, 10, 23, 96), *qoreñ-lh*, "great *qoreñ*"; *qoreñ* is an office the name of which was formed from the title *qore*, ruler (cf. Hofmann 1981, 62; Török 1979, 42 ff.), *ant Mnp Bedewi-te-li-se*, "prophet of Amûn of Luxor in Meroe (City)", *pesto Akiñ-te*, "pesto of/in Lower Nubia" (cf. **154**, *Comments*), *wyekite Amod-te*, "wyekite in Amod/Qustul" (for Meroitic Amod, Analeu in the Bion itinerary, see **108**, Table A and *Comments*). The list seems to contain offices held at the same time rather than occupied sequentially and listed as a *cursus honorum*.

19-22. Benediction, cf. Hofmann 1981, 195 f..

24-25. These lines appear to say that *Hllhror* was *mlo*, "good" (Griffith 1911, 41 note 1), with the *qor(e)*, "ruler", *mk*, "deity", and *s-lh*, "great person" (cf. Priebe 1971, 285; Hofmann 1981, 69, 93 f.).

26-28. *Tktore*=Aggeteri S of Sedeinga, cf. Citora in **108**, and see Török 1988, 210 f.; *Amod*=Qustul (see above, notes on lines 4-13). For an analysis of this verbal complex see Hintze 1979, 56; Hofmann 1981, 246 ff.

[LT]

156 Egyptian forces stationed at Philae. 118-116 BC.

SB I 3448. SEG VIII 788. I. Philae I 20.

Source bibliography

A. Bernand 1969

A. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae. Vol. 1. Époque ptolémaïque. Paris. [=I. Philae I.]

Introduction to source

This text was inscribed on an altar which was found built into a wall in the temple of Isis at Philae. The block is 46 cm high and 68 cm wide, and the letters

are 2.5 cm high. The last two lines seem to have been added later, by another hand, after the stone had been damaged³¹³ (A. Bernand 1969, 198).

Earlier publications from R. Lepsius onwards are specified in A. Bernand (1969, 197-205, No. 20), whose text we mostly follow, having checked it against the photos he provides (Pl. 41). He also supplies critical notes, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

Text

- 1 [Κολ]άνθαι, Πανὶ Εὐόδωι καὶ θε[ῶι]
- 2 [Σω]τήρι Δημήτριος ὁ συγγε[νῆς]
- 3 [καὶ ἐ]πιστράτηγος καὶ στρατ[ηγός]
- 4 [τῆς Θ]ηβαίδος καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆ[ς ...]
- 5 [καὶ αἱ ἐ]ν Πτολεμαίδι τεταγμέ[ναι δυνάμεις]
- 6 [πεζι]καὶ καὶ ἵππικαὶ καὶ ναυτικα[ῖ]
- 7 τὸν βωμὸν
- 8 [Ἄ]πο[λ]ωνίου τῶν διὰ - - δόχων³¹⁴
- 9 [Φ]ρο[ν]ράρχου Φιλῶν.

Translation

To [Kol]anthes,³¹⁵ to Pan Euodos³¹⁶ and to the [Sa]viour Go[d] this altar (was dedicated by) Demetrius, the kinsm[an and g]overnor general (*epistrategos*) and gover[nor] (*strategos*) [of the Th]ebais and secretary of th[e ...],³¹⁷ (5) and (by) the forces] statio[ned i]n Ptolemais, [inf]antry, cavalry, and nav[y], when [A]po[l]lonius, *diadochos*,³¹⁸ was [g]arrison com[m]ander (*phrourarchos*) of Philae.

[TH]

³¹³Apparently, the damage which prevented the continuous writing of διὰ - - δόχων in line 8, is of the same kind as that which made the beginnings of lines 1-6 unreadable. There is obviously the possibility that lines 8-9 are unconnected with the main inscription.

³¹⁴Bernand's text has the supplement [καὶ] at the end of the line; but this seems superfluous, once the [διὰ] supplied by some at the beginning of the line has been dropped and [Ἄ]πο[λ]ωνίου τῶν διὰ - - δόχων becomes the first part of a genitive absolute.

³¹⁵A little-known Egyptian god, whose name is attested in other (Demotic, Hieroglyphic, Greek) documents as well (A. Bernand 1969, 199-201).

³¹⁶This epithet probably means "of pleasant journey" (thus A. Bernand 1969, 201, "de la Bonne Route", referring to L. Robert), an apt name for a god worshipped by soldiers, as Pan was in Egypt during the Hellenistic period, apparently referring to his role as a protector of desert travellers.

³¹⁷Various supplements have been suggested: τῆ[ς συνόδου] "the cult association" (which Bernand adopts), τῆ[ς βουλῆς] "the council", or τῆ[ς δυνάμεως] "the force". The only thing which seems reasonably certain is that the Greek word missing is a feminine noun in the genitive case.

³¹⁸A court official.

Comments

Demetrios, epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid is identified by Mooren (1975, 94 No. 056) with the kinsman and epistrategos Demetrios (attested in Wilcken 1957, 162 I line 17, II lines 29, 31, III line 2 dating from February to July 117 BC), an official who was active in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Ptolemy VII of the new numbering, cf. Huss 1994, 10).

Koenen (1959, 103 ff.) suggested that the text of the altar erected in the court in front of the Isis temple at Philae attests the presence of forces concentrated at Philae after a revolt against Ptolemy VIII led by a certain Harsiese, who was crowned king in Upper Egypt, was crushed. The donations and building activity of Ptolemy VIII in the Dodecaschoenus (for the donation of a naos in Dabod and the building of a pronaos in Dakka see Roeder 1911, 118 ff.; PM VII, 5, 43 f.) as well as the units mentioned in 156 probably indicate a reinforcing of the Ptolemaic presence in the frontier area in the period following the revolt.

[LT]

157 Privileges granted to the temple of Khnum in Elephantine. 117-115 BC.

OGIS I 168, II and VII. SB V 8883. C.Ord.Ptol. 59. IThSy 244, II and VIII. I. Prose 24, II and VIII.

Source bibliography

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| A. Bernand 1992 | A. Bernand: La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Vol. 1-2. Paris. [=I. Prose.] |
| Dittenberger 1903-05 | W. Dittenberger: <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . Vol. 1-2. Lipsiae. |
| Lenger 1980 | M.-T. Lenger: <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> (C. Ord. Ptol.). 2nd ed. Bruxelles. |
| Marshall 1916 | F.H. Marshall: <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> . Vol. 4:2. Oxford. |
| Piejko 1992 | F. Piejko: The Relations of Ptolemies VIII and IX with the Temple of Chnum at Elephantine. <i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i> 29, 5-24. |
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| Strack 1976 | M.L. Strack: <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Ptolemaicae</i> . Chicago. [Reprint of the appendix of Strack 1897.] |
| Wilcken 1906 | U. Wilcken: Über W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> I. APF 3, 313-336. |

Introduction to source

On a large granite stela (365 x 50 cm.), found in Aswan and now in the British Museum, there is inscribed, in reversed chronological order, a series of ten Greek documents concerning the temple of Khnum in Elephantine. The middle part of each of the first 59 lines is in a good state of preservation, whereas lines 60-75 have been more severely mutilated. However, since the stone was cut up lengthwise and only the middle section is preserved (for a visual display of the disposition of the text on the stone and its state of preservation, see Strack 1897, 266 f.=1976, 52 f., and Marshall 1916, 201), the text of lines 1-59 too is in fact extremely defective, with perhaps as much as one third missing at the beginning of each line and one third at the end. As the letters are of different size in different parts of the inscription, the number of letters to supply varies between the lines. The display of the text below makes no attempt to indicate the extent of the missing portions.

This important and intriguing inscription was first published by A.H. Sayce in 1887 and has since appeared in various versions, some of which were based on new collations (see A. Bernand 1989, 194 f., and 1992:2, 64 f., for an annotated list of publications and discussions).

We reproduce, in their chronological sequence, documents VIII³¹⁹ and II. Regarding document II, we mainly follow the text³²⁰ edited by Lenger (1980, No. 59), who also gives a comprehensive bibliography and some comments. For document VIII, which is not included in Lenger (1980), we base our text on Dittenberger (1903, No. 168, lines 53-59), also taking account of suggestions in an important review by Wilcken (1906, 325-333; cf. Dittenberger 1905, 545-548), and on Marshall (1916, 198-202, No. 1066). Both texts have also been checked against A. Bernand (1989, 194-219, with facsimile Pl. 109 taken over from Marshall 1916, 200), whose readings we have adopted in a few places (lines 25, 55, 66).³²¹

Both texts have recently been treated by Piejko (1992, apparently without access to A. Bernand 1989), who tries to reconstruct the whole inscription. He provides extensive supplements, a full English translation, and a discussion of style and contents. A couple of his supplements have been adopted in our text, but we have not considered it proper in a collection of historical sources to follow him in his more hypothetical restoration work; nor have we adopted the majority of the supplements recorded or suggested in A. Bernand (1989, 1992).

³¹⁹Corresponding to Dittenberger's (1903) No. VII, since he did not distinguish lines 51-52 as a separate document.

³²⁰But we keep the continuous line numbering of Dittenberger (1903), Marshall (1916), A. Bernand (1989) and other editors of the whole inscription.

³²¹In two other places we have concluded, after comparing his apparatus criticus and the facsimile he provides, that his deviations from earlier editions are printing errors rather than improved readings (lines 53 and 59), in spite of their identical reappearance in A. Bernand (1992:1, 63-73, with abbreviated commentary in 1992:2, 64-67, No. 24).

Instead, in most instances, we prefer to present the text as fragmentary and incoherent as it appears today on the stone.

Text

VIII

- 53 [Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι τῇ ἀδελφῇ] καὶ
 βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι τῇ γυναικί], θεοῖς Εὐεργ[έταις, χαίρειν]
 54 [...] οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Σὺνῆν ὄρους· οἱ δὲ δια[λείπομεν εὐ[χόμενοι³²² ...]
 55 [...] ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑγιάν ἀπ[ονία]ν εὐγῆριαν ν[...]
 56 [...] ἐν Ἐλ[εφαντίνῃ] ἱεροῦ δεδοξασμένου ἐξ ἀρχαίων καὶ [...]
 57 [...] καὶ αὐστηροῖς τόποις παρορίοις τῇ Αἰθιοπία θ[...]
 58 [...] ἐρα³²³ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν μεγαλομερείας προήγμεθα προ[...]
 59 [...] θεῶ]ι Χνούμω Ν[εβιήβ], γεωργουμένης δ' εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἐλ[εφαντίνῃ] ἱερόν
 ..]

60-65 tiny fragments of text only

- 66 [...] Μεσορ[ῆς] ἔτους τρίτου καὶ πεντηκοστοῦ ...]

II

- 15 [Βασιλίσσα Κλεοπάτρα καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμ[αῖος] τοῖς ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ
 ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Χνούβω Νεβιήβ καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν]
 16 [Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ
 Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων καὶ θεοῦ νέου Φιλοπάτορος
 καὶ θεοῦ]
 17 [Εὐεργέτου καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτήρων χαί]ρειν. παραγεγονότες
 εἰς τοὺς καθ' ὑμ[ᾶς] τόπους ...]
 18 [...] δ' ἐπὶ τῆς συνορίας τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἔχο[ντες] ...]
 19 [...] κατὰ λόγον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα ...]
 20 [...] ν ἀνηκόντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. προστετά[χ]αμεν οὖν Φομμοῦτι τῷ
 συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῷ]
 21 [καὶ ἐπιστρατηγῷ ... παρὰ³²⁴ τὴν ὑπ]οκειμένην σύνταξιν διδομέν<η>ν
 κατ' ἔτος [...]
 22 [...] ἄν]ευ τιμῆς ἀρτάβας διακοσίας. ἐπιχωροῦμεν δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν
 ἀνάθεσιν ἧς ἡξιοῦτε στήλης ποι-]
 23 [ῆ]σασθαι ὑπέρ τε ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτ[ρας] τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπὶ
 τε τοῦ Χνουβιείου καὶ Σ[ατιείου] ...]
 24 [...] κατὰ τὴν] πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἐπὶ τὸ [...]
 25 [...] ἔρρωσ]θε. *vacat* ἔτους δευτέρου, Ὑπερβερεταίου [... Μεσορῆς] ...].

³²²Supplement by Piejko (1992).

³²³Dittenberger (1903, following Wilhelm) supplies: π[ε]ρά "beyond"; but an adjective in the comparative form is perhaps more likely before the genitive (cf. Piejko's [μνήμη ἐπιφανεστ]-
 ἐρα).

³²⁴Supplied by Wilcken (1906, 329), but not adopted in Lenger's text (1980).

Translation

VIII

(53) [To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister] and Queen Cleopatra the w[ife], to the gods Euergetae, greetings [from ... and] from those at the mountain of Syene.

We do not cease³²⁵ pr[aying (?) ... to give] (55) to [yo]u and your children health, freedom from t[oil],³²⁶ happy old age [...].

[...] temple in Elephantine held in honour from ancient times and [...]

[in the ...] and rugged places on the confines of Aithiopia [...]

of (?) your magnificence, we have been induced [...] ³²⁷

to [the go]d Chnumo N[ebieb] (Khnum the Great, lord of Elephantine), and of [the land] that is cultivated for the [temple] in El[ephantine ...].

(60)[...]

(65) [...] (in the month) Mesor[e], [fifty-]thi[rd] year (of the reign of Ptolemy VIII)³²⁸ [...]

II

(15) [Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolem]y to the priests in Elephantine of [Chnubo Nebieb and of the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae and the gods Philopatores and the gods E]piphaneis and the god Eupator and the gods Philometores and the god New Philopator and the god Euergetes and the gods Philometores Soteres, greeting.

Having arrived in yo[ur parts ...

and being] on the confines of the Aithiopians and hav[ing ...]

accordingly, to perform the custom[ary rites] to the gods [...]

³²⁵Accepting Piejko's (1992, 22 f.) suggestion οὐ διαλείπομεν for Strack's (1897) ὁ καταλείπομεν and Dittenberger's (1903, following Mahaffy) π[ολλ]ὰ εἶπομεν, adopted also by Marshall (1916, 200: "seems to me a certain restoration"), although Wilcken (1906, 333) too had rejected the reading π, opting for τ. A. Bernand (1989) prints: π[ολλ]ὰ εἶπομεν εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς, without (207) recording in his critical notes the source of the latter supplement.

³²⁶Accepting Marshall's (1916, 202) reading and supplement, also adopted by A. Bernand (1989). Piejko (1992) does not seem to be aware of Marshall's improved reading (or of his edition at all) and thus offers a supplement based on Dittenberger's (1903) old text: ὑγιεί[ον μορφῇ]ν, "heal[th, beaut]y".

³²⁷Though with only an exiguous basis in the letters actually preserved on the stone, Piejko's (1992, 12) reconstruction of this passage may be quoted to give an impression of what might have been the general drift of the text: "[Whereas the aforementioned] temple [in] Elephantine has been renowned from remote and [ancient times, and is counted to the first class of temples venerated throughout the Kingdom, we resident in the desolate] and rough places on the confines of Ethiopia, [infested with wild beasts and waterless, have resolved and have been] induced [to make some] prof[vision to render] more [conspicuous our gratitude and remembrance] of your magnificence." The description of Nubia supplied here has no more specific basis than general Greek descriptions of wild and desiccated areas (see Piejko 1992, 23 f.).

³²⁸I.e., in September, 117 BC.

(20) appertaining [...] to perform.

Thus, [we ha]ve ordered [Phommus the kinsman and governor and governor general [... in addition to]³²⁹ the stipulated³³⁰ subvention being given³³¹ each year [...

w]ithout payment two hundred artabas.

We [also] authoriz[e you to dedicate the stela you ask for, on behalf of us and Queen Cleopat]ra the sister in the temples of Chnubo and S[atis ...

in accordance with your] good will towards us and magnificently for the [...

(25) Farewel]l. Second year (of the reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX), (in the month) Hype[rberetaios ... Mesore ...].³³²

[TH]

Comments

This incompletely preserved inscription contains an “honorific decree” (cf. Piejko 1992, 13) formulated by the assembly of the priests of Khnum of Elephantine in order to commemorate the visit Ptolemy IX Soter II (in the new numbering Ptolemy VIII, cf. Huss 1994, 10) paid to Elephantine in August/September 115 BC (lines 1-14). To the honorific decree (1) are appended the texts of nine letters concerning the affairs of the Temple of Khnum: (2) Letter of Cleopatra III (in the new numbering Cleopatra IV, cf. Huss 1994, 10) and Ptolemy IX to the priests of Khnum concerning a subvention for the maintenance of the cult and permission (for the need to obtain special permission to erect of a stela in the temple precincts see Huss 1994, 58 note 162) to erect a stela commemorating this act (lines 15-25); (3) The request submitted by the priests for the endowment and the permission granted in the first letter (lines 26-31);

³²⁹There are two alternative interpretations of this passage (Wilcken 1906, 329; Lenger 1980, 176): either the two hundred artabas (of grain) are supplied *in addition to* (Wilcken’s supplement *παρὰ*) a yearly subvention earlier agreed upon; or there may be just one subvention *now* agreed upon which *states* two different commodities, as Piejko (1992, 10) suggests: “... we give each year [... x artabae of wheat without payment ... and] two hundred artabae [of barley?] without payment.” A. Bernand (1989) similarly supplies *κατὰ* and translates “selon la subvention définie”. We prefer the former alternative which seems to fit the structure of the text best.

³³⁰Wilcken (1906, 329) gives parallels for the use of *ὑποκεῖσθαι* meaning “festgesetzt, ausgesetzt sein”. Piejko (1992, 10), in accordance with his general interpretation of the passage, translates “below specified”.

³³¹Accepting Wilcken’s (1906, 329) conjecture *διδόμενῃν*. The stone has *ΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ*, which Lenger (1980) prints without making a choice between the different interpretations suggested. Strack (1897) reads *διδόμενον*, whereas Dittenberger (1903, following Mahaffy) prefers to divide the letters differently: *δίδομεν ὧν*, “we give of that which...”. Marshall reverts to *διδόμενον* (1916, 199: “a gen. absolute in parenthesis—‘there being given yearly...’”). Piejko (1992) prints (without comment) *δίδομεν ὧν*, and translates “Accordingly we give”; but the form *ὧν* for *οὗν* is unlikely here, and Wilcken’s conjecture again seems to be the best expedient. (A. Bernand 1989, 215, mistakes Wilcken’s conjecture, as accepted by Schroeter (1932, 93-99, Nos. 54-57), for a suggested (but false) *reading* and consequently never enters the real discussion.)

³³²I.e., in August/September, 115 BC. Both the Macedonian and the Egyptian name of the month was given.

(4)-(7) Four letters concerning *inter alia* the rights of the Khnum temple in the administration of the island of Pso (lines 32-52); (8) A petition to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (144-116 BC; in the new numbering Ptolemy VII) and Cleopatra III written by the priests of Khnum (lines 53-66). (9-10) Two very fragmentary letters. Here letter (8) (=Lenger 1980, No. 59) is presented first because it is an earlier document (dated September 117 BC) among the letters included in the framework of the decree; and it is followed by letter (2).

In letter (8) the priests emphasize the great antiquity, rank, and respectability of their temple, a notion frequently occurring in petitions of a similar nature (for analogues see Piejko 1992, 19 f. note ad lines 40-42; and cf. also 135) and emphasize in poetically exaggerated language the hardships inflicted upon them by living "on the confines of Aithiopia". This introduction is intended to support their request, to have the revenues imposed on the temple land alleviated (?). When compared to the Famine Stela (cf. 135), a fictitious decree written by the priests of the same temple in the early 2nd century BC in order to support their claim to the ownership of the incomes from the Dodecaschoenus, the petition directed to Ptolemy VIII indicates a changed situation in which claims of such a magnitude can no longer be asserted. It may be irrelevant that the document does not make any mention of the Dodecaschoenus as a real or potential source of any sort of income; but the special description of Elephantine as a place "on the confines of Aithiopia" seems to reinforce the evidence of settlement archaeology mentioned in the *Comments* on 154 (cf. also 140, *Comments*) and suggests that at this time the Dodecaschoenus was no longer under the firm control of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Letter (2) was written by Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III on the occasion of their visit in August/September 115. It decrees the establishment of a temple endowment corresponding to the request in letter (8).

[LT]

158 On Aithiopian kingship. Late 1st cent. BC.

Nicolaus of Damascus in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 4.2. FGrH 90 F103m.

Source bibliography

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Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Vol. II A. Berlin.

Wachsmuth-Hense
1884-1912

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Introduction to source

Nicolaus of Damascus, Greek historian and philosopher of the 1st cent. BC, wrote among other works a world history, in 144 books, from the earliest times to the end of the 1st century BC, a panegyric account of the early years of the

Emperor Augustus, and a “collection of strange customs” (*Synagoge ethon*) in the paradoxographic tradition. Only fragments of his works are preserved, as quotations in later authors. Extracts from the last-mentioned work, to which the present text belongs, are found in the *Florilegium* compiled for educational purposes by Ioannes Stobaeus (i.e. from Stobai in Macedonia) in the 5th century AD, in the section entitled ‘On Laws and Customs’ (*Peri nomon kai ethon*), vol. 4, p. 155-162 in Wachsmuth-Hense (1884-1912; for the present text see p. 157).

The historical fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus are collected by Jacoby (1926, 324-430), on whose edition (FGrH 90 F103m, p. 385) we have based our text.

Text

Αἰθίοπες τὰς ἀδελφὰς μάλιστα τιμῶσι· καὶ τὰς διαδοχὰς καταλείπουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν υἱοῖς. ὅταν δ' ὁ διαδεξόμενος μὴ ᾖ, τὸν κάλλιστον ἐκ πάντων καὶ μαχιμώτατον αἰροῦνται βασιλέα. ἀσκοῦσι δὲ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ἄθυροι δ' αὐτῶν αἰ οἰκίαι· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κειμένων πολλῶν οὐδὲ εἷς κλέπτει.

Translation

Aethiopians have a particular respect for their sisters; the kings do not leave the succession to their own but to their sisters' sons. When there is no successor, they choose as king the most handsome of all and the most warlike. They cultivate piety and righteousness. Their houses have no doors; and although there are many things left lying in the streets, no one ever steals them.

[TE]

Comments

The brief passage on Aithiopian kingship reflects several sources, among which Herodotus' work, which is responsible for the remark on the election of the most handsome and most valiant as king, can easily be identified (cf. FHN I, 65 20, and *Comments*). It can be interpreted as a completely misunderstood utopian rendering of the Egyptian and Kushite concept of the king's legitimation in the human sphere and his “election” by the gods (cf., e.g., FHN I, 34, 37, in this volume: 71). Priese (1981) interpreted the role of the royal sisters, as indicated by Nicolaus, as evidence for the prevalence of brother-sister marriages in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the subsequent Napatan and Meroitic dynasties, in terms of which the succession of the princes born by the eldest royal sister-wife were legitimated (Priese 1981, 50). The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty genealogy reconstructed by Priese on the basis of Nicolaus' remark is, however, contradicted by the available evidence (cf. Kitchen 1986, Table 11; Török 1995, Ch. 12, 17, 18, Table II). A female line of succession is, however, attested in the surviving evidence as a concept as well as an actual factor co-determining legitimacy and succession (cf. FHN I, 37, *Comments*); and therefore Nicolaus' remark may

in fact be regarded as information he received from a source describing—as it would seem, through a number of mediations—a feature of royal succession in Kush.

While Nicolaus' immediate source might have been Hecataeus of Abdera, Agatharchides, or another writer in the early Ptolemaic period (cf. Otto 1913, 85), the original information probably reflects a still earlier period. The reality of the original information is further enhanced by the precise formulation, which also contradicts Priebe's exclusively "matrilinear" reconstruction of the Kushite succession (cf. Török 1986, 37 ff.; 1988, 136), viz., that the throne was inherited frequently by the sons of king's sisters and not by king's sons. This indicates quite clearly that Nicolaus' remark goes back to information about a complex succession structure in which patrilinear descent was reinforced, complemented, and regulated by a female line of succession of queens who were, in a restricted and special sense, vehicles of succession but who were by no means the exclusive bearers of legitimation (cf. Török 1995, Ch. 17, 18).

[LT]

(159) *Nqyrjinsan*[...]. Evidence for reign.

King *Nqyrjinsan*[...] (cf. Beckerath 1984, Anhang 39 j) is attested by an incompletely preserved cartouche inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs on an offering table fragment found in Beg. N. 13 (Dunham 1957, fig. 48, Pl. XLI/D). Because of this find, Beg. N. 13 (Dunham 1957, 75 f.) is regarded as the burial place of *Nqyrjinsan*[...] (Dunham 1957, 7; Hintze 1953, 33; Wenig 1967, 43; Hofmann 1978, 78 f.; Török 1988, 179); and the king's reign is dated, on the basis of the location of this pyramid burial in the Begarawiya North necropolis, to the first half of the 1st century BC. The mortuary cult chapel reliefs of *Nqyrjinsan*(...)'s assumed pyramid burial (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pls 11/A, B, 12/A) show the strong influence of the chapel reliefs of Beg. N. 12 (Ta'nyidamani, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 10; cf. (151)). In the S wall relief (ibid., Pl. 11/B) the king (*Nqyrjinsan*[...]) is shown holding a bow, a royal symbol first mentioned as a gift from Amûn of Pnubs in Irike-Amannote's great Kawa inscription (71 49 ff.) and first depicted in a coronation cycle on column 9 in front of the throne room ("Temple 100") in the Great Enclosure, Musawwarat es Sufra (3rd century BC, Wenig 1974, fig. 13; for an interpretation see Török 1990, 158 ff. and fig. 21/4; Hofmann 1978, 78 erroneously maintains that the earliest representation of a ruler with bow is in Beg. N. 13). In royal images of subsequent generations the bow would appear as a regular feature of the iconography of rulers of either sex, and indicates a new emphasis of the ruler's quality as triumphant warrior and as desert hunter; qualities which associate him/her with the Nubian warrior/hunter gods.

[LT]

(160) King Horus K₃-nh̄t[...]. Evidence for reign.

The fragment of a Horus name reading Horus K₃-nh̄t[...], "Horus, Mighty-Bull [...]", was discovered on a block from the pylon of the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 20 (LD Text V, 295; Dunham 1957, fig. D/25). King Šsp-^εnh̄-n-Imn (see (118), Arnekhamani ((124) 3) assumed a Horus name with K₃-nh̄t in Meroe, and Mighty-Bull also appears in the titularies of Ptolemy IX Soter II (116-110, 109-107, 88-80 BC; Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 9 H 2; in the new numbering Ptolemy VIII; cf. Huss 1994, 10), Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (80-58, 55-51 BC; Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 12; in the new numbering Ptolemy XI) and Ptolemy XV (Caesarian) Philopator Philometor (41/36-30 BC; Beckerath 1984, Ptolemäer 13c H 4; in the new numbering Ptolemy XIV). On the basis of its location, Beg. N. 20, and hence the reign of its owner, are dated to the period directly following the reign of the owner of Beg. N. 13, who was identified with King Naqyrjinsan[...] (see (159)). Although we have no better chronological indices than the relative chronological order of the pyramid burials Beg. N. 11 (Skanakdakheto, see (149))–Beg. N. 12 (Tañyidamani, see (151))–Beg. N. 13 (Naqyrjinsan[...], see (159))–Beg. N. 20, the last one of the series may be dated hypothetically to the middle decades of the 1st century BC; and its owner seems to have been a contemporary of Ptolemy XII.

The only recorded relief (S wall) from the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 20 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 12/B) is rich in remarkable archaizing details (as, e.g., the horns of Amûn worn by the King at his temples, cf. Török 1987, 45 f.; for their significance cf. Russmann 1974, 27; Pamminger 1992, 111 ff.) as well as in innovations in the realm of the royal symbols (e.g., the double tasselled cord, cf. Török 1990, 168 f. and the lion figure guarding the King's coat, *ibid.*, 161 f.), indicating the continuity of the cultural trend observed in the monuments of the previous three royal generations (cf. (149), (151), (159)).

[LT]

(161) Aqrakamani. Evidence for reign.

King škr̄g-^εmn̄ (probably from Meroitic Aqrakamani) is attested by a Demotic inscription from Dakka (see 162) which is dated to his third regnal year. While the editor of the text, F.L. Griffith (1937, 23) dates it on paleographical grounds and in general terms to the 1st century AD, at the latest, according to a more recent suggestion (Török 1980, 80 f.) at Dakka an inscription could be dated with the regnal year of a Meroitic ruler only during the period of the Meroitic occupation of the Triacostaschoenus, i.e., 29 BC or the second half of 25 BC (cf. 166, *Comments*; FHN III, 190, 204, 205 and see Török 1989-1990). Without any detailed argument, Hintze (1959, 33) dates Aqrakamani to the beginning of the 2nd third of the 2nd century AD and allots him Beg. N. 40 as burial place. Hofmann (1978, 111, 113), dates 162 to around AD 50, and identifies Aqrakamani,

hypothetically, with the owner of pyramid Bar. 9 (a tomb dated by its inventory to the 2nd-3rd quarters of the 1st century AD, see Török 1989, 129 Nos 66-68).

[LT]

162 Dakka, inscription from the reign of King Aqrakamani. 29 or 25 BC (?).

Griffith 1937, 22 f. Dakka Nos. 15, 17; Burkhardt 1985, 98 f.

Text and translation

DAKKA 15

(1) ḥ pꜣy šy pꜣ ḥm-nṯrꜣ 3nw . . pꜣ yḫ n nꜣ Pr-ꜥw

(1) Copy of this ... of the Kings

irm ḥMꜣnꜣi	pꜣ mr-mšꜥ	pꜣ rḫ n Pr-ꜥ
and ḥMꜣenai,	the district-commissioner,	the agent of Pharaoh,

pꜣ rḫ n ꜥst	pꜣ wꜥb n ꜥst
the agent of Isis,	the <i>waab</i> -priest of Isis,

(2) ḥr tꜣy mdt nfr r.ḥr=f ḥnꜣ ꜥstꜣ

(2) 'under' this good thing that he did 'for Isis'

(n) tꜣ šbt n pꜣ tꜣw n Pr-ꜥ r šnḫ=f

(in) exchange for the breath of the King for his nostril,

ḏd nꜣ šmsw (n) tꜣ nṯrt ꜥt ꜥst nb Pr-ḥw-wꜥb Pr-ḥw-lḫ

namely, the services for the great goddess Isis, mistress of the Abaton and (of) Philae,

(3) tꜣ šbt n pꜣ ḥnh n nꜣ Pr-ꜥw	ḥn	šꜥ ḏt
(3) in exchange for the life of the Kings	again,	for ever.

sh sh (n) ḥt-nṯr n ꜥst Pr-ḥw-wꜥb Pr-ḥw-lḫ

Written by the scribe of the temple-complex of Isis of the Abaton and of Philae

Ḥr-m-ḥt sꜣ Pꜣ-dꜣ-Ḥr

Harmakhis son of Petehôr.

(4) mtw tꜣ knbt ꜥt ḥr ḥpꜣy sh n ḥwpꜣ . . . (5) pꜣ-hrwꜣ ...

(4) And the great council made 'this' writing of 'judgement ... (5) today'.

DAKKA 17

(1) ḥst-sp 3 ibd 4 prt 'rky'

(1) Third regnal year, fourth month of Winter, 'last day',

n Pr-ḥ ḥkr'g'-mnḥ
of King Aqragamane

irm tḥ Pr-ḥt Nyṯl
and the Queen Naytal,

tḥy=f mwt
his mother.

[RHP]

Comments

Following Griffith's suggestion (1937, 23), the two Demotic graffiti Dak. 15 and 17 are regarded as having been the two parts of one and the same inscription, Dak. 15 representing the main text and Dak. 17 its dating. It was suggested (see (161)) that Aqrakamani's Year 3 falls within the period of the Meroitic occupation of the Triacontaschoenus (cf. 163-165) in the second half of 25 BC. Another, perhaps more plausible dating (cf. (172)) would, however, be to the brief period of the popular revolt in the Triacontaschoenus before April 17, 29 BC (cf. 163-165).

If Dak. 17 can be dated to the period of the revolt in 29 BC or to the Meroitic occupation of the Triacontaschoenus in 25 BC and if Dak. 17 belongs, as suggested by Griffith, to Dak. 15, the latter graffito may indicate that during the brief occupation of the Triacontaschoenus the king of Meroe established some sort of government in the area. As it seems, he exerted his control over the temples of Philae and Dakka and their priesthood through a *mr mšc*, here translated "district-commissioner" in accordance with the duties of this official as indicated by the texts (cf. 180-185; this title was interpreted by Erichsen 1954, 256 f. and Burkhardt 1975, 75 as "strategos"; contrary to the opinion of these authors, however, in the case of the Meroitic *mr mšc* in the Dodecaschoenus priests too are attested as having been appointed to the office). The *mr mšc* also acted as *rḥ n Pr-ḥ*, *rḥ n ḥs*, "agent of the king, agent of Isis" and originally belonged, as is indicated by his title *wḥb n ḥs*, "priest of Isis", to the priesthood of an Isis sanctuary, probably that of Philae. While "agents" (*rdw*, occurring as *perite* [?] in Meroitic texts, cf. Griffith 1937, 295) of Isis frequently occur in graffiti written by Meroites (see *ibid.*), the title "agent of the king" is attested, except for 162, only in a 3rd century AD inscription at Philae (FHN III, 249). In this latter text the title occurs, remarkably, in the titulary of two Meroitic dignitaries who were "prophets of Isis, *qoreḥs* (for this Meroitic title cf. 155, comment on lines 4-13), agents of Isis, agents of the king of Kush, hereditary princes (?) of the land of Takompso, chiefs of the Triacontaschoenus, royal scribes of Kush", and who acted as deputies of the Meroitic ruler in a period of Meroitic rule in the formerly Egyptian Dodecaschoenus (cf. Török 1979, 100 ff.). The similar structure of the administrative domains represented by the *mr mšc* in 162 in the late 1st century BC (?) and by the princes of Takompso in the 3rd century AD is obvious and seems to indicate that the situations were similar as well.

The unusual character of the political situation indirectly described by 162 and FHN III, 249 is also indicated by the explicit association of these texts with Meroitic rulers and by the high titles of the officials mentioned in them. Otherwise, a number of Demotic graffiti record the activities of non-Egyptian officials titled *mr mšc* and "agents of Isis" as civil and temple administrators in the Dodecaschoenus during the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (see 181-185). Although there are long gaps in the evidence between document 140 dating from 149/8, representing the earliest reference to an "Aithiopian" ethnic administration in the region, and 162; and again between 185 from the middle of the 1st century AD and FHN III, 249 from the second half of the 3rd century AD, it nevertheless seems that there existed a continuous "native" administration in the Dodecaschoenus. It would also seem that there was no "parallel" Egyptian structure, probably because there was no, or only a very small, Egyptian population. The "native" administration of the Dodecaschoenus was, as a whole, subordinate to the governor of the Thebaid or was, in the periods of Meroitic occupation, subordinate to the king in Meroe, who, however, appointed as his "agent" an official from the ranks of the local professional bureaucrats.

As to its contents, 162 is an agreement (?) before the *mr mšc*; and it reflects, like other Demotic documents from the Dodecaschoenus dating from the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (for an analysis of the agreement formulae see Burkhardt 1984, 29 f., 69 f., 75 f.) an Egyptian legal practice closely connected with the temples and carried on by priests and temple officials (cf. 180, 182-185).

[LT]

163 Cornelius Gallus on his Nubian campaign: Latin. 29 BC.
Cairo 9295. CIL III suppl. 14147. OGIS II 654. I. Philae II 128a.

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Treu 1973

M. Treu: Nach Kleopatras Tod (P. Oxy. 2820). *Chiron* 3, 221-233.

Introduction to source

This famous trilingual inscription was discovered in 1896 in front of the temple of Augustus at Philae, where it had been reused, cut in two, in the foundations of an altar. The stela on which it was carved is of pink granite, measuring 153 x 108 cm. Beneath a pictorial representation in relief with hieroglyphic legends, there is first a hieroglyphic inscription in 10 mutilated lines (165), then the present Latin one in 9 lines, and at the bottom a Greek inscription also in 9 lines (164). The supplements in the middle of each line in the text given below try to retrieve what was lost when the stela was cut in two vertically.

The Latin inscription is more monumental than the Greek one (the Latin letters are 2.5-3.5 cm high, the Greek ones 0.9-1.2 cm). While conveying basically the same message, the two texts differ in details. The Latin version is most probably the original one, but the Greek text does not seem to be simply a translation; through minute manipulations (changes of word order, etc.) it gives the Greek-Egyptian reader an even more glorious picture of Gallus' own achievement than the official Latin version, which concedes the emperor a somewhat more prominent role.³³³ One is reminded of Gallus' tragic fate: perhaps because of his imprudent self-assertion in his position as prefect of Egypt, he was recalled by Augustus, but forestalled an impending trial for treason by committing suicide in 26 BC (cf. Boucher 1966; Treu 1973; Koenen-Thompson 1984, 141 f.).

The many earlier publications and discussions of the inscription are listed in É. Bernand (1969, 35-47, No. 128, with Pl. 94-97), whose text we follow. He also supplies critical notes, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

Text

C(aius) Cornelius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Gallu[s, eq]ues Romanus,

post reges | a Caesare deiui f(ilio) devictos praefect[us Alex]andreae et Aegypti primus, defectioni[s] | Thebaidis intra dies XV, quibus hostem v[icit bis a]cie, victor, V urbium expugnator, Bore[se]os, Copti, Ceramices, Diospoleos Meg[ales, Op]hieu,

ducibus earum defectionum inter[ce]p[ti]s, exercitu ultra Nili catarhacte[n] transd]ucto, in quem locum neque populo | Romano neque regibus Aegypti [arma s]unt prolata, Thebaide communi omn[i]um regum formidine subact[a],

³³³The commentary of É. Bernand (1969, 40-47) focuses on the differences between the Latin and Greek versions, perhaps overinterpreting them at places, as pointed out by Hauben (1976). For the only substantial difference (lines 7 f. contra 17), see the footnote to our translation of the Greek text (164). Cf. also the discussion in Treu (1973, 225f.), Koenen-Thompson (1984, 135-137) and Burstein (1988).

leg[atis re]gis Aethiopum ad Philas auditis, eo[dem] | rege in tutelam recepto,
tyrann[o] Tr[iacontas]choe(ni) in fine Aethiopiae constituto
die[is] | patrieis et Nil[o adiut]ori d(onum) d(edit).

Translation

Gaius Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, Gallu[s], Roman [kn]ight (*equus*);

first prefe[ct of Alex]andria and Egypt after the kings had been subdued by Caesar *Divi filius* (son of the Divine Iulius Caesar), victor over the revolte[d] Thebaid within fifteen days, during which he [twice] d[efeated] the enemy [in b]attle, and conqueror of five cities: Bore[sis], Koptos, Keramike, Diospolis Mag[na, Op]hion,

after having cau[gh]t the leaders of their revolts (5) and [brou]ght the army beyond the Nile Cataract, a region to which neither the Roman people nor the kings of Egypt ha[d mar]ched, and having subjected the Thebaid, the common horror of a[l]l the kings, given audience to ambass[adors from the ki]ng of the Aithiopians at Philae, received the sa[me] king under his protection, and installed a ruler (*tyrannus*) over the Tr[iacontas]choenus on Aithiopian territory,³³⁴

gave (this) gift to the ancestral go[ds] and to the Nil[e his help]er.³³⁵

[TH]

Comments

This much discussed (cf. É. Bernand 1969, 35 f.; see recently Burstein 1988; Bresciani 1989) hieroglyphic, Latin and Greek inscription of C. Cornelius Gallus, first Roman prefect of Egypt (from August 30 to 26 BC),³³⁶ friend of Augustus and Vergil, poet of renown³³⁷, dated to Pharmuthi 20 of Year 1 of Augustus, i.e., April 17, 29 BC, was set up to commemorate the crushing of a revolt in the Thebaid and a campaign to Lower Nubia and its consequences. Though the sequence of the three inscriptions on the stela is 1) hieroglyphic, top section (here 165), 2) Latin, middle section (here 163), 3) Greek, bottom section (here 164), we

³³⁴The reading *in fine*, here translated "on ... territory", is uncertain (cf. É. Bernand 1969, 38 f., for a multitude of earlier suggestions) and cannot be verified in the photo of the squeeze (ibid. Pl. 97). Mazzarino (1982, 312-320) argues for the reading *inde*, meaning "from this region" with reference to the ethnic origin of the *tyrannus*: the text would specify that the ruler of the Triacontaschoenus appointed for Aithiopia (*Aethiopiae*, *dativus commodi*) was himself from the Triacontaschoenus. Historically plausible as this interpretation is (cf. *Comments*), neither Mazzarino's literary parallels for the Latin usage nor his epigraphical arguments are quite convincing. A reading in line 8 which at the same time explained the Greek $\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$ in line 18 would be desirable.

³³⁵For an interpretation of the phrase "the Nile his helper", see Koenen-Thompson (1984, 137-141).

³³⁶Cf. Boucher 1966, 47, 501; Bureth 1988, 474 f. (with the list of classical sources on him); Bastianini 1988, 503.

³³⁷Cf. Luck 1961, 47 ff.; Anderson-Parsons-Nisbet 1979; Crowther 1983; Petersmann 1983; cf. also Geraci 1988, 399 note 71

present them here in a different order on account of the difficulties posed by the hieroglyphic version and in the conviction that it was the Latin text that was first composed and that served as the model for the Greek version. It should also be stressed that the three versions differ from each other on a number of points, the most radical differences occurring between the hieroglyphic version on the one hand and the Greek and Latin versions on the other (see also Wilcken 1897). These differences may be highly relevant from the point of view of the authorship of, and the different political considerations underlying, the individual versions; but their analysis does not belong to the concerns of the present publication.

The stela was carved from the material used for royal monuments and in their traditional shape. In the lunette, the outstretched wings of the sundisc protected the sunk relief representation of a triumphant horseman and a vanquished enemy; the figure of the victorious warrior is also protected by the names of the three principal deities of Philae and the three principal deities of Elephantine, inscribed in hieroglyphs arranged in vertical columns on his right and left sides, respectively. A horizontally carved hieroglyphic legend above his head identifies the horseman as "prefect of [Alexandria and of (?)] Egypt, [whose beautiful name is] *Krnrrwys*" (Bresciani 1989, 95 and figs. 1 a, b;), i.e., as C. Cornelius Gallus. As Wilcken already pointed out (1897, 78 ff.), the royal iconography of the relief and the tenor of the inscriptions, in which it is entirely the prefect himself and not his emperor who is praised as a victor, represent an early case of Gallus's hybris that led to his fall (for his monumental portrait statues erected in Egypt see Grimm 1970, with fig. 1; for his other monuments in Egypt Bureth 1988, 474 f.; Huzar 1988, 354; for the history of his disgrace cf. Schmitt-henner 1969, 470 f.).

The introduction of the Latin and Greek variants indicates the new situation ensuing after the Roman conquest of Alexandria and Egypt, the suicide of Cleopatra on August 12, the murder of Ptolemy XV (Caesarion; in the new numbering Ptolemy XIV, cf. Huss 1994, 10), the last Ptolemaic king somewhat later in 30 BC, the declaration of Octavian's (the later emperor Augustus) kingship on the first day of the Egyptian New Year (1 Thoth), and the appointment of the first prefect of Egypt (cf. Reinmuth 1954 2353 ff.; Hölbl 1994, 223 ff.). The reason for the victorious campaign led by Cornelius Gallus to Upper Egypt and commemorated in the texts of the stela was a revolt in the Thebaid. As recorded by Strabo (17.1.53, see FHN III, 190), the revolt was directed against the collectors of the new taxes imposed by the new ruler of Egypt (cf. also Montevocchi 1988, 460 ff.). It may appear that the sequence of the events was not due to chance: first the crushing of the revolt and the capture of the rebel-held towns of Borexis (?), Koptos, Keramiké (modern Medamud), Diospolis Megale (Thebes, modern Karnak) and Ophieion (Thebes, modern Luxor); then the campaign to Lower Nubia, and finally the reception of the Meroitic envoys. As happened earlier (cf. (129), (131), 133-137), the Upper Egyptian rebels might also

on this occasion have received help from Meroe; and in turn, Meroe in all probability tried to exploit first the opportunity presented by the troubled times in Egypt around 30 BC and then the Upper Egyptian revolt and to re-occupy the entire Lower Nubian Nile Valley as far north as the First Cataract at Syene/Aswan. The extent of the Upper Egyptian revolt is indicated by the towns captured: they are close to Thebes (the site of Boreasis, however, is unknown).

While Gallus' boasting that the whole of the Thebaid was not conquered by the Ptolemies and that the First Cataract not passable before him (cf. the similar statement made by Agatharchides in connection with Ptolemy II in 144) is completely unjustified and absurd, the measures he took in the conquered Lower Nubian area indicate quite clearly that he intended to restore the *Triacontaschoenus* as a special administrative unit attached to the Thebaid—as it had been after the re-conquest of Lower Nubia and the crushing of the smaller revolts in Upper Egypt between 168-163 by Ptolemy VI (cf. 137, 141)—in order to be able to block a Meroitic advance and to sever any links between Upper Egypt and Meroe as potential allies against the Roman rule. While the restoration of the Ptolemaic *Triacontaschoenus* followed naturally from the basic similarity of the situations during and after the revolts under the Ptolemies and the actual conflicts to be dealt with by Gallus, the re-establishment of a Ptolemaic governmental institution also corresponded to the general policy followed by Augustus in the course of the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman government in Egypt (cf. Geraci 1988, 387 ff.; Huzar 1988, *passim*).

The installation of a "tyrannos" over the *Triacontaschoenus*, although the identity of his person and the scope of his power remain obscure, appears to fit into the same picture; and the term "tyrannos" indicates a native chief of the type represented by the "Aithiopian" official governing the non-Egyptian population of Lower Nubia in 149/8 BC (see 140). According to a fascinating hypothesis put forward by Cyril Aldred (1978, 30 f.), he might have been identical with the Kuper, for the cult of whose deified sons Augustus erected the temple of Dendur.

While the model for the establishment of a buffer zone in a conquered territory was provided by the Ptolemaic *Triacontaschoenus*, its status as defined by the term *proxenia* in the Greek version ("public friend") also corresponded to Augustus' foreign policy in this period of his reign, which was in fact a continuation of Republican foreign policy (cf. Török 1989-1990). The Latin version "in tutelam recepto" is of course quite unambiguous as to the political reality of a vassal chiefdom and as to further plans concerning Meroe's fate. The establishment of a vassal chiefdom on a territory conquered from Meroe represented a first step towards establishing a client kingdom and later annexing the whole kingdom of Meroe (in the view of Burstein 1988 Meroe also accepted, with the establishment of the vassal *Triacontaschoenus*, the status of a protectorate and payed tribute). Such a current of events was, however, in reality promptly prevented by Meroitic opposition (see 166, FHN III, 190, 204, 205); and

any intention of annexation was abandoned when the new concept of Roman foreign policy emerged in the late 20s BC (cf. Meyer 1961 3 ff.).

It must be noted, however, that it is the issue of *proxenia* where the Greek and Latin versions differ the most radically. While in the Latin version the expression *eo[dem] rege* (i.e., the king of Meroe) *in tutelam recepto*, “received (their) king under his (i.e., Gallus’s!) protection” clearly indicates the establishment of a vassal kingdom, in the Greek text we read instead about negotiations conducted with the ambassadors of the king of Meroe, as a result of which *Gallus* was given the status of a public friend by the Meroitic ruler and not vice versa. Even though *proxenia*—a political notion unknown in Egypt and thus also to the contemporary readers of our text—signified a mutual obligation, the utterances of the Greek text remain nevertheless highly contradictory, a fact which can only be explained by the intention of the author(s) of the three versions, to accentuate the events differently for the different groups of people who read them. Note the addition of “the Roman people” to the “kings of Egypt” in the statement about Gallus’s being the first to bring an army beyond the (First) Cataract. The Thebaid as “common horror of all the kings” refers in all probability to the long series of revolts against the Ptolemies (cf. (129), (131), 133).

The thank-offering to the Nile puts Gallus again into the role of the ruler of Egypt (and he initiates here a tradition for his successors in the office, cf. Bonneau 1970). The epithet of the Nile, “helper”, repeats perhaps also an epithet of Neptune (cf. CIL XIV 3558, Aust 1894, 366) and, if so, refers to the Nile as having been “helpful” in the course of the boat journey of Gallus’s army to Upper Egypt.

[LT]

164 Cornelius Gallus on his Nubian campaign: Greek. 29 BC.

Cairo 9295. CIL III suppl. 14147. OGIS II 654. I. Philae II 128b.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 163.

Text

|¹⁰ [Γ]άιος Κορνήλιος, Γναίου υἱός, Γάλλ[ος, ἱππεὺς] Ῥωμαίων,
μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν | ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέων πρῶτος ὑπὸ
Καίσ[αρος ἐπὶ] τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασταθείς, τὴν Θηβαίδα ἀποστᾶσαν ἐν
πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις δις [ἐν παρ]ατάξει κατὰ κράτος νικήσας, σὺν τῷ
τοῦς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων ἐλεῖν, πέν[τε τε πό]λεις τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἐφ-
όδου, τὰς δὲ ἐκ πολιορκί[ας] | καταλαβόμενος, Βορῆσιν, Κόπτον,
Κεραμική[ν, Διόσπ]ολιν μεγάλην, Ὀφιῆον,

καὶ σὺν τῇ στρατίᾳ ὑ¹⁵περάσας τὸν καταράκτην, ἀβάτου στρα-
τίαις τῆς χώρ[ας] πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ σύμπασαν τῇ[ν] | Θηβαίδα
μὴ ὑποταγεῖσαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν [ὑποτάξ]ας, δεξάμενός τε πρέσβεις Αἰθι

ὅπων ἐν Φίλαις καὶ προξενίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβών, τύραννόν τε
τῆς Τριακοντασχοίνου τοπαρχία[ς] | μιᾶς ἐν Αἰθιοπίαι καταστήσας,
θεοῖς πατρ[ώ]οις, Νείλῳ συνλήπτορι χαριστήρια.

Translation

(10) [G]aius Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, Gall[us, Roman knight],

who after the destruction of the kings of Egypt was the first to be appointed
over Egypt by Caes[ar]; who twice in fifteen days defeated [in ba]ttle and by force
the revolted Thebaid, capturing the leaders of those arrayed against him, and
took fi[ve ci]ties, some by storm, others by siege: Boreasis, Koptos, Keramik[e,
Diospolis Magna, Ophieon,

and with the army (15) went beyond the Cataract, [the count]ry having before
him been impassable for armies, and [subject]ed the whole of the Thebaid
which had not been subjected by the kings, and received ambassadors from the
Aithiopians in Philae, and o[b]tained from the king the status of public friend
(*proxenia*),³³⁸ and installed a ruler (*tyrannos*) over the Triacontaschoenus, one
district of Aithiopia,

to the ances[tral] gods, to the N[ile] his helper, as a thank-offering.

[TH]

Comments

For the historical background and the differences between the renderings of the
events in 163 and 164 see 163, *Comments*. Note the addition of “the Roman
people” to the “kings of Egypt” in the statement about Gallus’ being the first to
bring an army beyond the (First) Cataract.

[LT]

³³⁸This, though seemingly implying a reversal of the roles stated in the Latin version (163), is
what the Greek actually says. Cf. Burstein (1988, 18, with refs. to earlier discussion of the impli-
cations) who translates: “he (sc. Gallus) accepted a proxeny from the king” and comments: “the
phrase in question actually implies that what was established at Philae was not friendship be-
tween Meroe and Rome but a personal tie between the king of Meroe and Gallus.” But the Greek
version distorts the historical facts here, Burstein argues, the Latin original rightly stating that
the Aithiopian king was received into Roman protection (*tutela*).

165 Cornelius Gallus on his Nubian campaign: Hieroglyphic. 29 BC.
Cairo 9295; Erman 1896.

Text and translation

LUNETTE

Upper register at the top of the lunette, of which perhaps a third is lost at the top and of which perhaps somewhat less than half of the right hand side is preserved:

THE WINGED SUNDISC, WINGS SPREAD, WITH PENDANT URAEI:

UNDER THE LEFT WING OF THE DISC (on the right of the stela) AND IN FRONT OF THE URAEUS, FACING RIGHT (one line, reading from right to left):

nb Msn ntr ꜥ nb pt sꜥb šwt pr [———

Lord of Float (Edfu), Great God, Lord of Heaven, Whose plumage is multi-colored, Who comes forth [...

LOWER REGISTER (of which a vertical strip in the middle was destroyed when the stela was sawn in two):

THREE COLUMNS ON THE LEFT OF THE CENTRAL SCENE (reading from right to left):

(1) ḏd-mdw in Wsꜥr ntr ꜥ nb ꜥt-wꜥbt

(1) Utterance by Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Pure-mound (the Abaton).

(2) ḏd-mdw in ꜥst wrt mwt ntr hnt ꜥt-wꜥbt

(2) Utterance by Isis the Great, Mother of the God, Preeminent in Pure-mound (the Abaton).

(3) ḏd-mdw in Hr Bꜥdt ntr ꜥ nb pt nb ꜥt-wꜥbt

(3) Utterance by Horus of Behdet, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Pure-mound (the Abaton).

THREE COLUMNS ON THE RIGHT OF THE CENTRAL SCENE (reading from left to right):

(1) ḏd-mdw in Hnm nb Kꜥḥ ntr ꜥ nb ꜥꜥ-Sty¹

(1) Utterance by Khnum, Lord of Cold-water (the First Cataract), the Great God, Lord of Bow-land (Nubia).

(2) ḏd-mdw in Spdt nb ꜥbt

(2) Utterance by Sopdu, Lord of Elephantine.

(3) *dd-mdw in ʿnkt hr-ib ʿibt*

(3) Utterance by Anukis who dwells in Elephantine.

OVER THE CHARGING RIDER IN THE CENTRAL PANEL OF THE LOWER REGISTER (one line, reading from right to left):

(1) *dd-mdw in wr n T3-mri ʿT3wyʿ [— —] Kṛnlȳs*

(1) Utterance by the chief of *Tomeri* (and of) Two-lands³³⁹ [— —] Cornelius.

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

(1) *ḥst-sp 1t ʿbd 4 prt sw 20*

(1) First regnal year, fourth month of Winter, twentieth day,

ḥr ḥm n

under the majesty of

Hr ḥwn nfr tm3-ʿ ḥk3 [ḥk3w —

Horus: The beautiful youth, whose arm is mighty, the ruler [over rulers

— — — —] K3srs ʿnh dt.

— — — —] Caesar, may he live for ever.

wnn wr ʿnbʿ T3wy ʿ — ʿ it m ʿ - ʿ (2) ʿwy - - ʿmʿ - ʿ3ʿ - ʿ

There is a chief, 'lord' of Two-lands (Egypt), ' — ʿ of arm, who seizes ' - ʿ (2) 'two arms — — — ʿ

swd3 B3kt bʿḥ T3-mri m nfrw=f

who makes Bright-eye (Egypt) flourish, who inundates *Tomeri* (Egypt) with his beauty.

snfr.n[=f -]tt[— — —]w

[He] embellished [-] ʿ - ʿ-land [...] ʿ - ʿ

ḥfʿ.n=f ḥ3swtyw ḥt mr pdt kn n m [- -]y (3) tnr mn[h]

He seized the foreigners ' — — ʿ brave ' — — ʿ (3) eager, excell[ent],

sky.n=f m nšn ḥw(y) ʿ-ʿ[- -]yw tn

after he wreaked havoc in fury, smiting the ...

ʿ-ʿ[— —]ʿirʿlw thmʿ- ḥst - ʿ mī Hr sr- bʿbʿ P3-ḥwnt³⁴⁰

' ... ʿ like Horus ' — — ʿ the prospector 'for metals' of Punt,

³³⁹Both *Tomeri* and Two-lands are names for Egypt.

³⁴⁰For this expression cf. Yoyotte 1952, 125–137, and in particular p. 128.

(4) d[—] Nhš Hnw m swšš (or: šw, or: twš) hn' 'irrw —' šš '— [— —]w
iw/rdrw [w]bn

(4) ' — ' Nubian ' — 'people in applause together with ' — — 'lands ' ... 'land
'to the limit'.

h[-]=f 'šbw nw ' — ' sm [-] (5) iw Mšnw ntt snš[-] Mwššw
He ' — — 'lands ' — ' (5) to *Manu* ³⁴¹ ' ... '.

s'hε.n=f hwt swšd [-]-ntr
He erected a (temple-)complex, causing the god's ' — ' to flourish,

s'ht'p [— —] '—
causing to be satisfied [— —]-images.

hnk.n=f šhw n ntrw krd (krty)
He donated lands to the gods of the Two Caverns³⁴²

s'hε=f mnw nt šh wr
while he erected a monument ' — most splendid'

(6) 'h'sb.n=f [-]'bt' nw tš hr '—bt=f hr-'rdi' šhw d[-] hnm wr dwš-ntr [— —] '
— ' ht

(6) He 'reckoned — of the land ... ', worshipping [— —] ' — — ' things.

bs Hp n kš=f
(because) Hapy (the Inundation) entered for his *ka*-spirit.

sšm.n=f '—'
He conducted ' — '.

isk dd.n=f snfr [-]mš[-] (7) '—w=f [—] n=f šht
Now, he 'persisted', beautifying ' — ... (7) ... '.

kd.n=f 'Tšwy' [— — — — —] iw sky
He built Two-lands (Egypt) [...] 'to destroy.'

hh.n=f ' — — ' nht-ε m hrw 'dmd —' iw '—'
He sought out ' — — ' whose arm is strong on the day of ' ... '.

(8) [—]' — — ' hr dbh ' — — — '.

(8) [—] ' — — beseeching — '.

³⁴¹ The mountains to the west where the sun sets.

³⁴² Mythical sources of the Nile.

sh̄tp.n=f wrw nw Kš
He pacified the chiefs of Kush,

sš'—' [— —] wrw p̄dt Mntyw
' — — [— —] the chiefs of the bowmen of the *Mentiu*-people.

swš n=f 1st-Rnn(w)
(The place) Isis-the-nourisher did him honor

wrw[=sn] m 1st-rk
when their chiefs were on Final-island (Philae).

'h'[-]'b'[-] (9) 'n'y't nw 'Hpry' 'h'nw n h̄t=sn
' — — ' (9) ' — — — — ' of their things

iw st 'nn'h[—]s'—' [— — — —]'—' 1st-w'b nw h̄p-h̄prw
to the 'place ... ' of Pure-mound (the Abaton) of the god whose form is hidden

h̄nt wrw nw T̄wy
before the chiefs of Two-lands (Egypt).

h̄tr [—] (10) 'b̄w (or: h̄)
Tax [—] (10) 'might (or: beneficence)',

d̄i=sn 1̄'k'f'yt=f '—'[-]'n'[-] wsr '— ... — '
that they may give ' ... '

m̄i [— — —] 'K̄sr' 'nh̄ d̄t
like [...] 'Caesar', may he live for ever.

Note to the translation

Lyons and Borchardt (1896, 471) report that the letters of the inscriptions were originally painted red and that the traces of paint offered some, though not very much, assistance in reading them; and Daumas (1952, 265) says the same about the hieroglyphs. At the outset the hieroglyphs were ineptly executed, presumably because the granite into which they are cut is very hard and made it difficult to to give the signs their distinctive forms; and they subsequently suffered severe damage. So the text is very difficult to read, and there are very few readings that are so secure as to warrant their being used to found a historical interpretation on their testimony alone.

As Bresciani (1989, 95) rightly observed, the normal "may he live for ever" is lacking after the name in the cartouche above the rider in the lunette. This strengthens the credibility of her reading of the name as Cornelius; but since she nowhere says whether this reading was taken from the stone or from a

photograph or squeeze, it is well to exercise some caution. It would certainly be a bold step to base a reading solely on the published photograph.

The panel in the lunette deserves a full study of its own. Bresciani's remarks (1989) are germane and deserve to be followed up.

There is no solid case for interpreting *T3-mri* as "Alexandria" as is sometimes done (cf., e.g., Bresciani 1989, 94).

[RHP]

Comments

For the historical background see 163, *Comments*.

[LT]

166 Augustus' war with Meroe. AD 14.

Res gestae Divi Augusti 26.5.

Source bibliography

Brunt-Moore 1967

Res gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus. With an introduction and commentary by P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore. Oxford.

Gagé 1977

Res gestae Divi Augusti ex monumentis Ancyrano et Antiocheno Latinis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi Graecis. Texte établi et commenté par J. Gagé. 3rd ed. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. Textes d'études. 5.) Paris.

Volkman 1969

Res gestae Divi Augusti. Das Monumentum Ancyranum. Herausgegeben und erklärt von H. Volkman. 3rd ed. (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen. 29/30.) Berlin.

Introduction to source

At his death in AD 14 the Emperor Augustus left behind a record of his "achievements" (*res gestae*) with instructions that the text be inscribed on bronze tablets to be placed in front of his mausoleum (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 101.4). Of this inscription no trace has been found; but in the 16th century inscriptions bearing copies of the Latin original and of a Greek version, both in a damaged state, were discovered in the temple of the Goddess Roma and Augustus in Ancyra (Ankara), in Roman times the capital of the province of Galatia (hence the name of *Monumentum Ancyranum* has been given to this copy of the *Res gestae*). In addition, fragments of other copies of the text, Greek and Latin, have been found later in different cities in Asia Minor, so that the text is now virtually complete, either through combining the various fragments or through reliable supplements on the basis of the parallel Greek and Latin texts.

Our text is based on the edition of Volkmann (1969), but we have omitted his use of varying type-faces to indicate the different origins of the readings, retaining only the brackets to show the lacunae in the Latin text of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The restorations in this extract can be considered secure because of the support of the Greek version; we have therefore left out the brackets in our translation. Also omitted here are the strokes, similar to an acute accent (so-called *apex*) used in Latin inscriptions to indicate long vowels.

References to the *Monumentum Ancyranum* are conventionally made by chapters, the chapter division following the inscription's arrangement of the text (the numbering is modern). We have for convenience also adopted the division into sections established by Gag   (1977). Superscript numbers refer to the lines of the columns (this extract belonging to col. 5). We have marked line breaks in the Latin text with vertical strokes.

The Latin text in its entirety, with an English translation and commentary, is given by Brunt-Moore (1967). A fuller presentation is offered by Gag   (1977), with both the Latin and the Greek text and notes (but no translation).

Text

Meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt | [duo] exercitus eodem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in Ar[a]biam, quae appel²⁰[latur] Eudaemon, [magn]aeque hos[t]ium gentis utr[iu]sque cop[iae] | caesae sunt in acie et [c]om[plur]a oppida capta: In Aethiopiam usque ad oppi|dum Nabata pervent[um] est, cui proxima est Meroe. In Arabiam usque | in fines Sabaeorum pro[cess]it exercitus ad oppidum Mariba.

Translation

By my command and under my auspices two armies were led at about the same time into Aithiopia and into the Arabia called (20) Felix, and great numbers of both enemy peoples were killed in battle and many towns were captured: In Aithiopia one came as far as the town of Nabata, to which Meroe is very close. In Arabia the army advanced as far as the town of Mariba on the borders of the Sabaeans.

[TE]

Comments

In the summer of 25 BC Augustus ordered Aelius Gallus, second Roman prefect of Egypt (26-24 BC, cf. Bureth 1988, 475), to launch an expedition against Arabia Felix. The expedition was motivated by the wealth of Arabia and the commercial capacity of the Red Sea and may be regarded as one of the last acts of an expansive foreign policy which was abandoned after the failure of the two campaigns described with an epigrammatic brevity in 166 (for the Arabian campaign see Strabo, 16.4.22-24, 17.1.53 [cf. FHN III, 190]; Cassius Dio, 53.29.3; Pliny, N.H., 6.160; Josephus, A.J. 15.317; and cf. Wissmann 1976; for its topogra

phy: Wissmann-Hoefner 1952; for its date [to be preferred to the chronology suggested by Jameson 1968]: Aly 1957, 165 ff.; Desanges 1988, 7 note 12). At the same time, a new prefect was appointed in Egypt in the person of C. Petronius (Josephus, A.J. 15.307; Cassius Dio, 54.5.4; Brunt 1975, 142; for his career see Bag-nall 1985; Bureth 1988, 475). Aelius Gallus went to Arsinoe to join in the preparations for the Arabian expedition, then proceeded, after some months, to Leuke Kome whence he departed for the expedition, taking with him almost the half of the forces stationed in Egypt (c. 8 000 of the 16 800 men in the three legions and the 5 500 in the auxiliary forces, cf. Anderson 1952, 250). Following Aelius Gallus' departure, armed Meroites crossed the First Cataract, attacked Philae, Syene/Aswan and Elephantine, and carried off prisoners and statues of Augustus (for the events in detail see 168, *Comments*; FHN III, 190, 204, 205).

The account Strabo presented of the reasons for the Arabian undertaking of Aelius Gallus in Book 16.4.22 (=167) gives the impression that the expedition against Arabia was planned together with an expedition against Meroe as part of a larger project. This is also confirmed by the introduction to 166: "At my command and under my auspices..." However, before the intended expedition against Meroe could have been properly prepared, the Meroites acted first, as it seems, directly on receiving the news about the withdrawal of considerable military forces from Egypt.

The *Res Gestae*, stating that Roman armies were led almost at the same time to Aithiopia and Arabia Felix, relates the two wars within the same sentence and as two analogous events, claiming that in both countries vast enemy forces were annihilated and numerous towns captured; Aithiopia was penetrated as far as Napata "to which Meroe is very close"; and Arabia as far as the town of Mariba in the territory of the Sabaeans. While the remarkable stylistic homogeneity of the two intertwined reports is usually noticed, the suggestion that the stylistic parallelism corresponds to an actual historical parallelism (Török 1986, 253; 1988, 277; 1989, 78 ff.) has not been accepted. According to Burstein (1989, 226 f.), in the *Res Gestae* failures are "not concealed by deliberate misstatements of fact but by silence". However, Burstein defends the historicity of the two statements made by Augustus in 166 in the belief that both the Arabian and the Aithiopian wars may be interpreted as successful. As to the Arabian undertaking, its failure was also described by Strabo (16.4.23-24), who laid the blame for it on treachery and on the enormous difficulties presented by a barren country of roadless deserts (cf. Anderson 1952, 250 ff.). In reality, Mariba was an unimportant town and not identical with the capital of the Sabaeans (ibid., 877); by mentioning it, however, Augustus intended to give the impression that the capital had been taken. Similarly, also the mention of Napata as a town "very close to Meroe" manipulates the facts in order to make people believe that even though the city of Meroe itself, with which Aithiopia was identified in Roman geographical knowledge, could not be captured, its region was nevertheless penetrated.

The historicity of 166 was already doubted by Inge Hofmann (1977, 198 ff.), who presented a detailed discussion of the topographical aspect of the Aithiopian expedition as reported by Pliny, N.H. 6.181 f. (=FHN III, 204), and came to the conclusion that Petronius could not have completed a journey to Napata from Alexandria and back again between the late summer or autumn of 25, when the Meroites attacked Philae, Syene, and Elephantine, and the late winter of 24 BC, when Augustus received the Meroitic prisoners on his return from Spain (Cassius Dio 53.28.1; cf. Schmitthenner 1969, 459 note 238; it is, however, also possible that the expedition was already concluded by the winter of 25, when the temple of Janus was closed in Rome, *ibid.*, 455).

Thus, while the expedition could have lasted 6-7 months at the most and 4-5 months at the least, the march from Syene/Aswan to Napata alone would have taken more than 2 months (cf. Lloyd 1976, 117, 121; Hofmann 1977, 198 ff.). Hofmann's suggestion that Napata was not in fact reached is also supported by the list of towns reported by Pliny to have been taken by Petronius: Pselchis (Dakka), Primis (Qasr Ibrim), Bocchin (Ballana), Forum Cambusis (Faras), Atteniam (Mirgissa, for the identifications cf. Priebe 1984) and Stadissim, identified with Saras (Meroitic Sdos) at the Second Cataract (Török 1979, 8 f., 16 f.). Still, according to Hofmann's discussion of the evidence, the sack of Napata was added as propaganda, but contrary to the facts, to the reports on the war, and in reality Petronius' army had to return from the Second Cataract region for the same reason that Aelius Gallus' army did from Arabia. The reasons of the return from Nubia are, however, given so as to convey the impression that they would have become imperative only after Napata had been reached: viz., that after the capture of Napata Petronius "found himself unable ... to advance farther, on account of the sand and heat" (Cassius Dio, 54.5.6, see FHN III, 205).

The above reconstruction of the events suggested by Hofmann (1977) and Török (1989-1990) is, however, opposed by Burstein (1979; 1989, 226 f.) and Desanges (1992, 369). While, as indicated above, their acceptance of the historicity of 166 is greatly influenced by their acceptance of the historicity of Augustus' statement concerning the Arabian campaign, the interpretation of the reports on C. Petronius' success seems in fact to depend on the evidence of the toponyms: for, according to Desanges, Bocchin is identical with the Bôgkhis of Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.) in the region of the Third Cataract, while Priebe (1984, 489) identified it with Ballana, a place north of the Second Cataract—an identification which is in accordance with the identification of the Stadissim of Pliny with a place at the Second Cataract (Török 1979, 8 f., 16 f.: Meroitic Sdos; Priebe 1984, 490: New Kingdom *T3'-s3-tj*, Ptolemaic Tasitia, modern Abka). It seems probable, however, that Stephanus' identification of Bôgkhis was based on a confusion of the Third Cataract with the Second Cataract.

While in Hofmann's interpretation Petronius' itinerary would be in accordance with a campaign led to Lower Nubia in order to reconquer and pacify the Triacostaschoenus between the First and Second Cataracts, it automatically

poses logistic problems if viewed as the itinerary of a campaign directed against Napata. A journey that would continue from the Third Cataract (if Stadissim is to be localized there!) on the Nile cannot be accommodated within the max. 6-7 months of the whole campaign from Alexandria to Napata and back. But wherever Stadissim was, if we want to believe that Petronius in fact captured Napata, we also must suppose that he took the desert road. In this case, however, he would have been forced first to turn back from Stadissim and travel north as far as the region of modern Korosko whence he could then take with his army the desert road to Abu Hamed—from where, however, he still had to reach Napata (a further distance of c. 200 km). But if this route had been taken, the 6-7 months would not have been enough to cover it; in 6-7 months one could reach Napata and return to Alexandria only if the *shortest direct* route were taken, without the detours indicated above.

Strabo records (17.1.53-54, FHN III, 190) that when Petronius asked the Meroites about their motives for attacking Philae, Syene and Elephantine, they answered that they had been mistreated by the nomarchs, i.e., tax-collectors (for the nomarch as tax-collector see Wallace 1938, 333 ff.; Thomas 1978, 194; Montevocchi 1988, 443). Considering this detail together with Strabo's description (ibid.) of their primitive equipment and more than insufficient "army" organisation, we may well conclude that the first act of the war between Augustus and Meroe was nothing other than a popular uprising in the Triacontaschoenus against the Roman vassallage established as a result of Cornelius Gallus' campaign; it seems, however, that a Meroitic army under the command of King Teritegas (cf. (172)) also departed from the south to give support to the rebels (cf. 163-165; for the further course of the war see 168, *Comments*; FHN III, 190, 204, 205).

[LT]

167 Diodorus Siculus on his sources for Aithiopia. 1st cent. BC.
Diodorus Siculus 3.11.2-3.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
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| Burton 1972 | A. Burton: Diodorus Siculus Book 1. A Commentary. (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain. 29.) Leiden. |
| Bertrac-Vernière 1993 | Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique, Livre I. Texte établi par P. Bertrac, traduit par Y. Vernière. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |

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- Schwartz 1903 E. Schwartz: Diodoros (38). RE V.1, 663-704. Stuttgart.

Introduction to source

Diodorus Siculus ("the Sicilian") of Agyrium in Sicily (1st cent. BC) lived in Rome, but also spent time in Egypt. His world history (*Bibliothèque*) in 40 books reached from mythical times to Caesar's Gallic Wars; the first six books dealt with the mythical past (prior to the Trojan War), books 7-17 with the period between the Trojan War and the death of Alexander the Great, 18-40 with the Hellenistic age. Books 1-5 and 11-20 are extant, the rest is known from fragments and excerpts by other authors.

Diodorus made use of a great many earlier historical and geographical writers and often acknowledges his sources. Most of these writers have since been lost, and the question of Diodorus' use of his predecessors has been the object of some controversy. The basic work on Diodorus' sources is the lexicon article by Schwartz (1903). Schwartz' low opinion of Diodorus' work as nothing but a series of excerpts has, however, been greatly modified in later years as scholars have become more appreciative of Diodorus' own contribution in sifting his enormous material, imposing his pattern on it, and giving the work his personal style (for Diodorus' style see Palm [1955]). As also the present extract shows, Diodorus did exercise his personal judgment on his sources and also relied on his own investigations.

For the sources of Book 1 in particular, see Burton (1972) 1-34 (cf. 88, *Introduction to source*); and for recent reappraisals of Diodorus in general, see Sacks (1990) and the "Introduction générale" by F. Chamoux in Bertrac-Vernière (1993, VII-LXXVI).

We have chosen to present the excerpts from Diodorus under the name of the source he used even when there may be some doubt on that point, and we discuss the relationship between Diodorus and his source in each case (for Ephorus see 84a, for Hecataeus of Abdera 88, for Agatharchides of Cnidus 142-147).

For an introduction to the manuscript tradition of Diodorus see P. Bertrac in Bertrac-Vernière (1993, LXXVII-CLXIV). In the English bilingual series Loeb Classical Library Diodorus was published by various editors 1933-67. In the French bilingual series Collection des Universités de France (the "Budé" series) publication is on-going; for Book 1 see Bertrac-Vernière (1993), for Book 3 Bommelaer (1989), on whose edition we have based the present text.

Text

11 [2] Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὁ τὰς γεωγραφίας συνταξάμενος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιος κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην βίβλον, καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικούντων, ἱστορηκότες τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν προειρημένων ἐν πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἐπιτυχάνουσι. [3] Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς καθ' ὃν καιρὸν παρεβάλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ἐνετύχομεν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ καὶ πρεσβεύταις ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας παροῦσιν εἰς λόγους ἀφικόμεθα. Παρ' ὧν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα πυθόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἐξελέγξαντες, τοῖς μάλιστα συμφωνοῦσιν ἀκόλουθον τὴν ἀναγραφὴν πεποιήμεθα.

Translation

11 [2] Agatharchides of Cnidus, however, in Book 2 of his history of Asia, and the geographical writer Artemidorus of Ephesus in his Book 8, and some others settled in Egypt have investigated most of what I have written above, and have hit the mark in almost everything. [3] For I have also myself talked to many of the priests during the time I visited Egypt,³⁴³ and came into conversation with not a few representatives³⁴⁴ who were present there from Aithiopia. It is on the basis of my careful questioning of these men and of my scrutiny of the writings of the historians that I have written this account in conformity with those in closest agreement.³⁴⁵

[TE]

Comments

On Diodorus' sources for Aithiopia cf. 142, *Comments*.

[LT]

168 Dakka, Greek votive inscription. 13 BC.

SB V 7944. SEG VIII 860. Wilcken, Chrest. 4.

Source bibliography

É. Bernand 1983

É. Bernand: *Inscriptions Grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie. Répertoire bibliographique des IGRR*. Paris.

³⁴³Diodorus' visit to Egypt took place in the 180th Olympiad (1.44.1; 46.7), i.e. 60-56 BC. The length of his stay cannot be determined precisely, but his language may indicate that it lasted for some time, maybe several years. For Diodorus' mentions of his visit to Egypt see Sacks (1990) 161 with note 1.

³⁴⁴The Greek word used here is also the word for ambassador, and is sometimes so translated, but it may also refer to e.g. commercial agents.

³⁴⁵Literally "those agreeing most"; it is not clear whether this means "where there is agreement between a majority of my sources" or "where the agreement is closest". The structure of the sentence may indicate that Diodorus tested his written sources against the oral information he had received, and gave preference to material on which the two types of sources were in agreement.

- É. Bernand 1994 *Réflexions sur les proskynèmes. Mélanges François Kerlouégan* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 515). Besançon, 43-60.
- Geraci 1971 G. Geraci: *Ricerche sul Proskynema. Aegyptus* 51, 3-211.
- Ruppel 1930 W. Ruppel: *Der Tempel von Dakke. (Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Vol. 3.)* Le Caire.
- Wilcken 1912 L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Band 1: U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil, 2: Chrestomathie.* Leipzig-Berlin.

Introduction to source

This inscription was found in the temple of Dakka (Pselkis) in the Dodecaschoenus. It belongs to the prolific epigraphic category of *proskynemata*, i.e., inscriptions carved in honour of a god by a traveller who passes his shrine or a pilgrim who has come expressly to pay homage to the god in question. The act of carving a *proskynema* implies a wish to have one's name eternally connected with the name of the god whose protection one seeks; the two names thus constitute the essence of the *proskynema*. But many *proskynemata* are much more elaborate; on the various formal patterns, see the detailed analysis presented by Geraci (1971) and the comments by É. Bernand (1994).

Our text and translation are based on Wilcken's edition (1912, 10 f., No. 4), which, using an improved transcript made by Lepsius, corrects and supplements the text presented by earlier editors. Especially important is the improved reading of the date which places the inscription in year 17 of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, i.e. 13 BC, instead of some time in the reign of Hadrian as supposed earlier. Ruppel (1930, 31-33, Gr. 42, with Pl. 25b), who republished the *proskynema* with translation and comments, presents a text substantially identical with that of Wilcken.³⁴⁶ For a recent bibliography to the text, see É. Bernand (1983, 84, No. 1359).

Text

- 1 'Αρποκράς ἤκω ἀναβαίνων μ[ε]τὰ Ε[...]
- 2 πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ Ταμίου γραμματέ[ως πρὸς]
- 3 τὴν κυρίαν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα]
- 4 ἐπόησα ὥδε παρ[ὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμ[ῇ ...]
- 5 κ[α]ὶ ἔμαντοῦ³⁴⁷ κ[α]ὶ Ἀνθούσης κ[α]ὶ Ἀλε-
- 6 ξα[ν]δρήας. (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσα(ρος) Μεχε[ῖρ ...].

³⁴⁶They differ only, in a couple of insignificant instances, in their delimitation of supplements.

³⁴⁷= ἔμαντοῦ.

Translation

I, Harpocras, travelling upstream t[o]gether with E[...] the ambassador and Tamias³⁴⁸ the scri[be] [to] our Lady the Queen (the goddess Isis), have come and made my ob[eisance] (*proskynema*) here befo[re] our Lord Herm[es ...] (5) b[o]th for myself a[n]d for Anthousa a[n]d for [Ale]xa[n]dria. In the year 17 of Caesar (Augustus), (in the month) Meche[ir...].

[TH]

Comments

Following the first act in the war between Rome and Meroe in 25-24 BC, i.e., the uprising in the Triacontaschoenus and its crushing by Petronius, the ruler of Meroe offered to give back the prisoners taken in Egypt and the statues of the Emperor (cf. FHN III, 190, 204, 205). On his way back to Alexandria, Petronius re-fortified Qasr Ibrim, the Lower Nubian fortress which played an important role in the first part of the war, and left it garrisoned with 400 men and provided with food for two years. Doubtless, this time the Triacontaschoenus was annexed to the Empire (though not the whole kingdom of Meroe, as suggested by Jameson 1968, 83; cf. Török 1989-1990, 177). Two years later, in late winter 22 BC (for the date see Török 1989-1990, 188 note 61) the Meroitic queen marched with her army to Qasr Ibrim where, however, C. Petronius arrived first. The queen did not risk battle and so negotiations were started some time in the spring or summer of 21 BC, after a period the events of which remain unknown to us. The queen's envoys were escorted to the island of Samos to meet Augustus, and a peace treaty was concluded there in the winter of 21/20 BC. Augustus relinquished the tribute that would be due to be imposed on the Meroites as a consequence of their defeat and gave up the stretch of the Nile Valley between Takompso and the Second Cataract: but fully annexed the region north of Takompso, i.e., he now drew the southern frontier of Egypt at the southern end of the Dodecaschoenus. While a territory of strategic and economic importance was thus incorporated into Roman Egypt, the vassal "chiefdom" of the Triacontaschoenus was given up, and the plans for the conquest of all of Meroe and the establishment of a client-kingdom of Meroe were, in the spirit of Augustus' new foreign policy, now abandoned (for the replacement of the expansive policy by a defensive foreign policy see Meyer 1961, 3 ff.; and see Whittaker 1994, 26 ff.).

Roman policy in the Dodecaschoenus was wisely tactful and cleverly continued to use the native administrative structure that already existed there from Ptolemaic times (cf. 140 and see 180-185). The Dodecaschoenus was administered by the governor (*strategos*) of the nome of Elephantine and Ombos, who was subordinate to the governor-general (*epistrategos*) of the Thebaid (cf. Bell 1952, 286). An imposing temple building and restoration activity took place

³⁴⁸Or: Tamios.

in the area (for the connections with local non-Egyptian cults cf. Török 1989-1990, 180 ff.); and, as is demonstrated by late 1st century BC-1st century AD Meroitic material culture and by changes in religion and kingship ideology occurring in this period (cf., e.g., Török 1989, 97 ff.), the contacts established between Roman Egypt and Meroe after the war were doubtless inspiring as well as economically lucrative.

168, a votive inscription from Dakka inscribed on the E thickness of the pylon entrance of the Thoth temple (Roeder 1930, Pl. 25/b), belongs to the evidence of the interest of Egyptians in the cults of the Dodecaschoenus and is also presented here in order to demonstrate once more (cf. Török 1986, 265 f.) that it does *not* contain the record of a Meroitic embassy sent by a Meroitic queen to Augustus, as was suggested by Wilcken (1912, 10 f.) and believed by Hintze (1969, 26) and Hofmann (1977b, 205). It is, instead, the monument of the pious visit of Harpocras, doubtless of Egyptian nationality, who arrived at Dakka in the company of E[...] and Tamias (or Tamios) from the north and performed an offering and wrote his *proskynema* (i.e., perpetuated by an inscription their prostrate presence before the god Hermes [Thoth] of Dakka; for the genre of *proskynemata* see Geraci 1971) for himself and for Anthousa and Alexandria (probably members of his family). While the nationality and the significance of the ambassadorship of E[...] remain unknown, Tamias/Tamios is apparently a priest of Isis of Philae, who is frequently referred to as "Lady the Queen" (cf. Bergman 1968, 152 f.). It would thus seem that Tamias/Tamios escorted the distinguished pilgrims Harpocras and E[...] (the latter may have been Harpocras' companion also in an official mission) on their excursion by boat (note the expression "upstream") to the temple of Dakka; his presence in the party might have been official and at the same time a customary gesture of courtesy.

[LT]

169 Philae as border between Egypt and the land of the Aithiopians. 7 BC.

I. Philae II 142.

Source bibliography

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

Introduction to source

Inscription, measuring 140 x 150 cm, on the south pylon of the temple of Isis on Philae, height of letters 40-60 mm. The top line is 7.25 m above ground level.

The epigram is written in the so-called elegiac metre, characteristic of this literary form, with alternating dactylic hexameters and pentameters. The text is predominantly in the Doric dialect.

We give the text of É. Bernand (1969, 78), but have added, on the basis of the photo he provides (Pl. 16), parentheses and dots to indicate letters that have been wholly or partly lost through damage to the stone.

Text

- Κατ(ιλιου)
- Καίσαρι ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι,
 Ζανὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς Ἑλευθερίαι,
 δεσπότηι Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίδος, ἄστρῳ ἀπάσας
 5 Ἑλλάδος, ὃς σωτὴρ Ζεὺς ἀνέτειλε μέγας,
 ἱερῶν ἐν πέτρῃ τῷ Κατίλιος ἀγνὸν ἔθηκε
 γράμμι, ἀπ' [Ἀλε]ξάν[δρου] δεῦρο μολῶν πόλιος,
 καὶ μέγαν ἐκ μεγάλων] Τουρράνιον, ἄνδρα δίκαιον,
 Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας φέρτατον ἀγεμόνα,
 10 στάλαι ἐνεστάλωσεν, ἵν' εἰς τόδε νάσω ἔδεθλον
 πᾶς ὁ μολῶν ὑμνῇ τὸν χθονὸς ὀλβοδόταν·
 ταὶ δὲ Φίλαι φωνεῦντι καλὸν πέρας Αἰγύπτιοι
 ἐμμί καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν γὰς ὄριον νεάτας.
 Κατλίου τοῦ καὶ
 15 Νικάνορος
 τοῦ Νικάνο[ρος].

(Ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος,
 Φαμενώθ ιβ,
 ἐπὶ Νείλου στρατηγοῦ.

Translation

- Cat(ilius?)³⁴⁹
 To Caesar, Lord of the sea and Master of the continents,
 Zeus Liberator, (born) of Father Zeus,
 Ruler of Europe and Asia, star of the whole
 5 of Greece, who rose great as Saviour Zeus,
 Catilius made the holy inscription on the sacred stone,
 having arrived here from the city of Alexander,
 and inscribed on the stone (the name of) the great Turranius of great
 ancestors, a just man,
 excellent governor of the whole of Egypt,
 10 in order that every visitor to this island shrine
 shall praise the benefactor of the land.

³⁴⁹The stone cutter seems to have begun by engraving the name of Catilius, but broken off after three letters. If Catilius' name was intended, the case cannot be determined. Catilius' signature is added at the end (ll. 14-16).

Philae calls out: "I am the beautiful border of Egypt
and the far-off limit of the land of the Aithiopians".
Of Catilius, also called

15 Nicanor,
son of Nicanor.

Year 23 of Caesar('s reign),
on the 12th of the month Phamenoth,
Neilos being strategos.

[TE]

Comments

In his *proskynema* (cf. 168) written in the form of an epigram Catilius refers to the traditional Egyptian notion of Philae as the southernmost point of Egypt and its southern border beyond which, independently of the actual political conditions in Nubia, there is another world in which no Egyptians, but only Aithiopians are living. The same notion occurs in Pliny's description (N.H. 12.19=FHN III, 208) according to which Syene/Aswan is *finis imperii*, "the end of the Empire"; while in fact the Dodekaschoenos was part of Egypt, as is attested, e.g., by FHN III, 210 and 220. 169, though in an indirect manner, thus indicating the special political status of the neighbouring territory inhabited by Aithiopians. This special status is also reflected, e.g., in the definition of the location of Dakka as lying, according to CIG 5078, "between Egypt and Aithiopia". (For the issue of "frontier" see also Whittaker 1994, 1 ff., 26 ff.)

[LT]

170 The visit of Aithiopian deities to Philae. Late 1st cent. BC-early 1st cent. AD.

I. Philae II 158 I-II.

Source bibliography

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de
Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

Introduction to source

Inscription with two epigrams on the south pylon of the temple of Isis on Philae, on the same wall as the epigram of 169. The second epigram is 3.10 m above ground level.

The epigrams are written in the same meter as the epigram of 169, but with some irregularities (instead of alternating hexameters and pentameters, the first epigram has two successive hexameters in vv. 5-6, the second likewise in vv. 5-6; v. 7 of the first epigram has two too many syllables).

We reproduce here the text of É. Bernand (1969, 128), who also provides a photo of the inscription (Pl. 8). The quality of this photo does not enable us to check the readings and indicate missing or damaged letters.

Text

- I. Ἦλθομεν Αἰγύπτιο πέρας, περικαλλέα νῆσον,
 Ἰσιδος Ἰναχίης γαῖαν ἐποψόμενοι,
 καὶ Νείλου βαθὺ χεῦμα, ὃς Αἴγυπτον πολύολβον
 αἰὲν ἔτος σῶζει Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαις.
 5 Χαῖρε, ἄνασσα φίλα, χαίροις θ' ἅμα καὶ σύ, Σάραπι,
 γαῖαν ἐναντιπέρα ναίων, Ἀβατον πολύσεμνον,
 καὶ πέμψαις ἡμᾶς σῶους ἐς Κρόνου ἐμπόριον.

ἄλλο.

- II. Νῆσον ἐ(ς), Αἰγύπτιο πέρας, περικαλλέα, σεμνήν,
 Ἰσιδος, Αἰθιόπων πρόσθεν, ἀφιζόμενοι,
 εἶδομεν ἐν Νείλῳ ποταμῷ νέας ὠκυπορούσας,
 ἄξιθέους αἱ ναοὺς ἡγάγον Αἰθιόπων
 5 γαῖαν ἐς ἡμετέρην, πυρηφόρον, ἄξιθέωρον,
 ἣν πάντες βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ σεμνύνουσιν.

Translation

- I. We are come to the limits of Egypt, to the fairest of islands,
 to behold the land of Isis, Inachus' daughter,
 and the deep stream of the Nile, which keeps Egypt prosperous
 year by year for the good fortune³⁵⁰ of Caesar.
 5 Hail, beloved mistress, and hail to you too, Sarapis,
 who dwells in the land across the water, most holy Abaton,
 and may you send us safely to Cronus' emporium.

Another:

- II. Having arrived at the island, the limits of Egypt, most beautiful, holy,
 (place) of Isis, in the face of Aithiopia,
 we saw in the river Nile fast-sailing ships
 which carried the Aithiopians' shrines, worthy of the gods,³⁵¹
 5 to our land, the wheat-bearing, worth a visit,
 which all mortal men on earth revere.

[TE]

³⁵⁰Or "through the good fortune"; the force of the dative εὐτυχίαις is not obvious.

³⁵¹Or "worth seeing".

Comments

170 records, in general terms and in a poetical style, the visits to Philae of the barks of Aithiopian deities, i.e., of deities worshiped in the sanctuaries of the Dodecaschoenus. In keeping with Egyptian tradition, the gods possessed sacred ships which in great solemnity carried their portable boatshrines and images on the Nile to other sanctuaries during certain festivals (cf. Kitchen 1973). Boat processions of this kind provided an opportunity for the entire population living between the two sanctuaries to participate in the festival. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the sanctuary of Isis was famous for the boat processions connected with the festivals celebrated there, and especially with the great Khoiakh festival that began in the fourth month of the season of Inundation (cf. Junker 1911, *passim*; Merkelbach 1963, *passim*; Stadelmann 1982, 1162). The visits of the "Aithiopian" deities to the Isis temple indicate the existence of a homogeneous cultural milieu in Lower Nubia which also included the sanctuaries of Philae. The particularly close relationship between the Aithiopians of the Dodecaschoenus and the cult of Isis at Philae (cf. FHN III, **210, 240, 265-267, 324**) may have its roots in the solemnly performed visits paid to Isis by the gods worshiped in their country; close connections between the cults of the same gods also existed in the less elevated and more practical sphere of temple administration (cf. **180-185**).

[LT]

171 Iunius Sabinus on the conquest of the Aithiopian tribes. Late 1st cent. BC.
I. Philae II 159.

Source bibliography

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
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Introduction to source

Epigram on the south pylon of the temple of Isis on Philae, on the same wall as the epigrams of **169** and **170**, and composed in the same meter.

The inscription has been rubbed away at the bottom left corner, see the photo offered by É. Bernand, whose published text we reproduce here (É. Bernand 1969, 138, Pl. 12).

Speidel (1988, 778-9) gives an English translation of the epigram and comments on military matters.

Text

- Ἰούνιος ἔνθα Σαβῖνος, ἔχων Ἰτυραιίδα πόρπαν,
 ἵκτο, Συηναίας ἐσμὸν ἄγων στρατιᾶς,
 ἃ παν(εο)ρτεύουσα νέοις ἐγάνωσεν ἰάκχοις
 Εἴσιν ἐκσῶζειν κόσμον ἐπισταμέναν.
 5 [Αἰθιοπῶν γὰρ? φ]ῦλα μεμηνότα Ῥωμυλίδαισι
 [νικάσας πολλ?]ᾶς ἦκεν ἔχων ἀγέλας.
 [- - - - - κατὰ?] μῶλον, ἐρεῖς, τότε Καί[σ]αρος ἀνὴρ,
 [- - - - - κ]αὶ στέφος ἀρμόσατο.

Translation

- Iunius Sabinus, with his Ityraid³⁵² *porpe*³⁵³,
 came here, leading a swarm of the Syene army,
 which in solemn festival with novel choruses glorified
 Isis, she who knows how to save the world.
 5 [For] [after having vanquished?] the tribes [of the Aithiopians?³⁵⁴] who
 raged against Romulus' descendants,
 he came here with his [many?] herds.
 [During?] the fray, you will say, then Caesar's man,
 [...] and fitted on his crown.

[TE]

Comments

The Greek epigram of Iunius Sabinus was carved into the relief representing Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (in the new numbering Ptolemy XI, see Huss 1994, 10) smiting his enemies on the outer front of the W tower of the First Pylon of the Isis temple at Philae (cf. PM VI, 214; E. Bernand 1969, 138), a place doubtless chosen consciously for a secondary inscription of a triumphal character but disguised as an adoration in which a Roman officer boasts of his role in the Petronius campaign. According to 171, Iunius Sabinus, though in rank no more than the prefect of one cohort, was commander of the entire force of three cohorts stationed at Syene/Aswan (Speidel 1988, 778 explains his authority by the close proximity of the three cohorts and their common tasks in the defence of the Thebaid and Lower Nubia), including the Ituraean cohort identified by Speidel with the *cohors Sabini* also attested to have been stationed at Dakka during the reign of Augustus (1988, 777 ff.). The epigram also indicates with sufficient clarity that Iunius Sabinus commanded his three cohorts in the war with Meroe

³⁵²I.e. belonging to the *cohors II Ituraeorum*, see É. Bernand (1969, 140).

³⁵³*Porpe* means a brooch or clasp. Various explanations of its use here, or corrections of the text, have been proposed, see É. Bernand (1969, 141 f.). Speidel (1988, 779) reads the first letter as a *kappa*, and suggests that κόρ<τ>α, "cohort", was meant, thus "with, i.e. commanding, the Ituraean cohort".

³⁵⁴Desanges (1988, 18 n. 67) considers "Trogodytes" here as an alternative to "Aithiopians".

under C. Petronius (see 166, 168, with *Comments*) and that he inscribed 171 after the conflict ended with the victory of the Romans, i.e., some time in the spring or summer of 21 BC.

[LT]

(172) Teriteqas. Evidence for reign.

Teriteqas is attested in two Meroitic cursive inscriptions as *Teriteqse qore*, King Teriteqas: in a graffito in the Dakka temple (=173) and in the text of a stela from Meroe City (=174). The graffito at Dakka, in which the name of the King occurs together with the names of the Candace Amanirenas (see (175)) and the *pqr* Akinidad (see (179)), could only have been written in a period when a Meroitic ruler could enter the Dodecaschoenus as the overlord of that territory; such periods were the Meroitic revolt in the Triaschoenus before April 17 29 BC (cf. 163-165) and the Meroitic occupation of the Triaschoenus in 25 BC (cf. 168, *Comments*; FHN III, 190, 204, 205). According to a reconstruction of the events suggested by Griffith (1917, 159 ff.), Monneret de Villard (1938, 14 f.), Macadam (1955, 22 f.) and Hintze (1959, 25 f.), the Dakka graffito was written in 25 BC in the course of the progress of the Meroitic military expedition (which came to the aid of the rebels, cf. 166, *Comments*) towards the region of the First Cataract, before the attack on Philae, Syene/Aswan and Elephantine was launched. It is supposed that Teriteqas died shortly afterwards; and in the description of C. Petronius' campaign, in the course of which he forced the Meroitic army to flee back from the First Cataract area to Dakka and there challenged it to battle, Strabo (17.1.53=FHN III, 190) already speaks of the "generals of Queen Candace" seeking refuge on a "neighbouring island". This Candace is, apparently, identical with Queen Amanirenas who assumed the title *qoro*, "ruler", after Teriteqas' death (see (175)).

Several pyramid tombs have been taken into consideration as possible burial places of Teriteqas, whose name, however, has not been found inscribed in any tomb at Meroe or Barkal (Dunham 1957, 7: Beg. N. 21; Hintze 1959, 27, Wenig 1967, 43, Hofmann 1978, 98 ff. and Török 1988, 180: Bar. 2; Wenig 1973, 157: Beg. N. 14). None of these guesses has so far been substantiated.

[LT]

173 Dakka, Meroitic inscription of Teriteqas, Amanirenas, and Akinidad. Late 1st cent. BC.

REM 0092.

Introduction to source

The eighteen lines of this Meroitic cursive inscription are contained in a royal cartouche clumsily engraved in an upright position and topped with a sundisc and two shu feathers (Griffith 1912, Pls XII, XIII) near to the top of the front of

the W pylon tower of the Thoth temple at Dakka (cf. PM VII, 41 ff.). For its script and language see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

(1)Teriteqse (2)qore,, Ren(3)se kdke,,
 (4)Akidd pqr (5)skte [...]
 (6)abrse (li) (ke)(7)deto
 kdise (li) ke(8)deto
 *a*s[...]
 a(9)brse (li) (ke)d(eto)
 (10)*kdi(se li ke)(11)de(to)
 [...](12)li
 abrse li *ke(13)deto,,
 kdise li a(14)redeto
 adb wi,, (15)wke*ñk*n,,
 aḥmo(16)r,, pelmosñyi
 a(17)ḥro qe*deti r,, (18)sek

Comments

Since the surface of the pylon on which 173 is engraved is undecorated and uninscribed, the inscription cannot be dated on the basis of its relationship to the building, and anyway the pylon itself is undated (cf. PM VII, 40 ff.; Bresciani 1974, 988). It must have been built, however, before 13 BC since 168 was inscribed in that year on the undecorated E thickness of the pylon entrance. An even earlier building date seems to be indicated by REM 0093 (see (179)), the Meroitic graffito of Akinidad, which was engraved into the surface of a relief (PM VII, 43 [3]) representing Isis and an unidentified king on the opposite, W, thickness of the pylon entrance.

The inscription contains the names of King (Meroitic *qore*) Teriteqas, the Candace (Amni)rense (for the full form of her name see 174, (175), 176; for the title Candace meaning probably "royal sister" see 85, *Comments*) and the *pqr* (for the title cf. 152, comment on line 38) Akinidad. The text following the royal names contains a series of identical structures consisting of the words *abr* meaning probably "man" (cf. Griffith 1916, 123; Hofmann 1981, 348) and *kdi* which doubtless means "woman" (Griffith 1911, 120; 1916, 123 f.; Priesse 1971, 279 § 1.23.2; Hofmann 1981, 348). The word *adb* in line 14 is supposed to signify "land" or "province" (Griffith 1916, 170; Hintze 1963, 24 No. 325; Hofmann 1981, 349); while *pelmos* in line 16 is a title borrowed from the Egyptian (*p3-mr-mšc*, cf. Griffith 1911, 9; 1912, 38, 51) where it originally had the meaning "general" (cf. Schulman 1964, 41 ff.). In 1st century BC and later Demotic texts (cf. Griffith 1937, 293) *mr-mšc* occurs, however, in a different meaning. Though the Demotic title is translated by Griffith as strategos, its holders are actually offi

cials who have a leading role in the government of the Dodecaschoenus and are active in the financial administration of the temples. The badly damaged letters after *deto* in line 8 were read as *as[...]* and supplemented as *As[oreyi]*, i.e., the invocation of Osiris, by the editors of the REM. The reading cannot be confirmed on the basis of Griffith's photograph (1912, Pl. XIII) and an invocation of Osiris in an inscription in the Thoth temple is inherently unlikely as well. It would thus seem that the text had no religious character; being neither a *proskynema* nor a dedication, it seems rather to have been an historical record.

[LT]

174 Stela of Teriteqas from Temple M 600 at Meroe City. Late 1st cent. BC.
Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, Pls XIX, LXVIII; REM 0412.

Introduction to source

This unusual oval, granite stela (measurements and present whereabouts unknown) was discovered in one of the rooms of Temple M 600 at Meroe City (for the building see Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, 17 ff.; Török n.d., Ch. 43). For the script and language of the text see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

BEHIND ISIS

(1)eke(2)te,, (3)Wos (4)wke,, (5)ltk (6)to

BEHIND KING

(1)eke(2)te,, *W(3)*s,, wi(4)*de l,, (5)etk(6)tete (7)wi,,
m(8)seq(9)nei*d (10)yi

BELOW SCENE

(1)Teriteqse,, qor*o
(2)Amnirense,, kd*ke
(3)Akinidd,, ss,, (4)[...]te lo

Comments

The front of the stela is decorated with a crudely incised scene representing King Teriteqas before Isis. The top of the stela is bounded by the winged sun-disc. Under the wings the frames for three vertical inscription columns for the "speech" of the goddess and another three for that of the King were engraved, but left uninscribed, obviously on account of the small space they provided. Instead, the utterances of the goddess and the King were clumsily inscribed behind their figures. The goddess occupies the left half of the scene and, turning right, she holds in her left hand a lotus scepter and extends a palm branch to

wards the King with her right hand; from the palm branch *ʿnh* signs are directed towards the King's nostrils. The King stands before the goddess and lifts his right arm in the gesture of adoration, while in his left hand he holds a uraeus (?) scepter. He wears the Kushite skullcap-crown with diadem and streamers; on his brow rears a uraeus wearing a tall feather crown. The King is clad in a short tunic and wears a sash and, slung across his right shoulder, a tasselled cord (for the costume see Török 1990). He also wears ornamental sandals. Between the goddess and the King stands, on top of a conical stand, a libation vessel with two ladles suspended from its rim.

While the inscriptions accompanying the two figures in the scene remain incomprehensible, in both of them we may recognize the name of the goddess Isis (*Ws* and *Wos*). It is worth noting that both inscriptions start with the word *ekete* (cf. Hofmann 1981, 311 f.). The text below the scene contains the names of the King (cf. (172)), the Candace Amanirenas (cf. (175)), and the *pqr* Akinidad (cf. (179)).

[LT]

(175) Queen Amanirenas. Evidence for reign.

Queen Amanirenas is attested in four inscriptions. In two of these, i.e., the Dakka graffito 173 and the Teriteqas Stela from Meroe City (see 174), she has the title *kdke*, Candace. In the inscription on a bronze naos from Temple T at Kawa (Macadam 1949, 100 No. 28, Pls 49, 50; REM 0628) and in the text of one of the Hamadab stelae (see 176) she has the titles *qore*, "ruler", and Candace. While in 173 and 174 she thus appears as the non-ruling partner (probably wife) of King Teriteqas, the latter two texts commemorate her rule after the death of Teriteqas (cf. (172)). According to a generally accepted interpretation of the documents in which her name is recorded (cf. *ibid.*), Amanirenas is thought to be identical with the one-eyed Candace who was C. Petronius' opponent in the war between Rome and Meroe between 25 and 21/20 BC (cf. Strabo 17.1.53 f.=FHN III, 190, and see 168, *Comments*). If Strabo's information concerning the family relationships of his Candace is correct, her son mentioned in Strabo 17.1.54 is probably identical with Akinidad, who occurs in all her known monuments (cf. 173, 174, 176, (179)).

Though her name is not attested in its mortuary chapel, the pyramid Bar. 4 (Dunham 1957, 86 ff.) is traditionally regarded as Amanirenas' burial place (Dunham 1957, 7; Hintze 1959, 27; Hofmann 1978, 99 f.; hesitatingly: Török 1988, 180); Wenig, however, suggested Beg. N. 21 (Wenig 1967, 43). The reliefs in the mortuary chapel of Bar. 4 represent a ruling queen wearing the Double Crown of Egypt (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 13/C) as well as the skullcap with double

uraei and a Hathor crown superstructure,³⁵⁵ which would not contradict the attribution of the pyramid to her. Also the preserved items of the grave inventory, including the fragments of fine glass vessels of types dated to the Augustan through Flavian-Neronian periods (see Török 1989, 124 f. Nos 31-37) seem to support such an attribution (the reservations voiced in Török 1989, 124 f. ad No. 36, 37 are not compelling).

[LT]

176 The Hamadab Stela of Amanirenas and Akinidad. Late 1st cent. BC.
British Museum 1650. Griffith 1917, Pls XXXI-XXXII; REM 1003.

Introduction to source

This stela of Queen Amanirenas and *pqr* Akinidad was discovered by John Garstang at the site of Hamadab, an unexcavated settlement 2 km S of the centre of Meroe City (cf. Garstang 1914-1916, 7 f., 14 f.), standing *in situ* on one side of the entrance of a small temple which belonged to an extensive sacral building complex (cf. Török n.d., Ch. 96). On the other side of the entrance was found another monumental stela erected by the same queen (in its badly damaged text, however, only Akinidad's name is preserved) which was left, on account of its poor preservation, at the site (REM 1039). 174 is a sandstone stela the height of which is 258 cm. Horizontal lines were engraved to frame 45 lines of inscription; the text actually occupies only 42 lines, however. The execution of the inscription is uneven, and especially in the lower part of the stela is hardly legible (cf. Garstang 1917, 162).

The largely damaged and lost top of the stela contained a double scene. In the left half of the lunette were represented the Queen and the *pqr* standing before a deity, probably Amûn, who was facing left; in the right half the Queen and the *pqr* were represented standing before a goddess, perhaps Mut, who was facing right. In both scenes the Queen wears an ankle-length tunic, a coat and sandals; the prince is apparently barefoot and is clad in a tunic and a coat. He carries a sceptre in the right-hand scene. Below these scenes a prisoner frieze with the representation of ten bound enemies lying on their bellies is preserved (cf. 152). The execution of the incised representations is remarkably clumsy.

For the script and language of the text see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

(1)Amnirense,, qore li,, kdwe li,, yitnidebhe l,,
qore(ñ)yi,, Aki(2)nidd,, pqrñyi,, pestoñyi,,

³⁵⁵Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 13/D (the drawing has, erroneously, both uraei wearing the White crown); cf. Török 1987, 22 Type B XVII.

pqr,, qorise l,, qor,, hrp̄he lw,, qes,, a(3)rmeyose li,,
qor,, hrp̄he l,, aḥro*se*¹l,, atbe,, tmot,, hrp̄he,, armi l,, (4)qes to,,
abrse l,, yekedi,, kdise l,, arse li,, *tk*k,, yemoqe,, qebese wi,, (5)yerki,,
armesye l̄he,, adḥite,, qeper,, abr 32,, kdi 135,, qo leb,, yed(6)ḥi,,
arbḥteke,, pqr li,, yedo,, qes li,, imloke,,
*trodeb,, abe*pb,, msed*e*¹l*ñ (7)ñro,, edeteq,, *mro*ñ*¹l,, *lro*ñ *lb*k*te,,
eqelbḥe,,
yedk,, aro bel,, s*kte,, qesto,,
qo(8)r,, hrp̄he l,, aḥro qese l,, atbe tmot,, hrp̄he l,, qes,, npto,,
aro bel,,
abrse (9)l,, yekedi,, kdise l,, arse li,, *tk*t,, emoqe,, qebese wi,, erk,,
*skte,, aro bel,, (10)adḥite,, perite,, abr 100,, kdi 100 [...], qo leb,,
apotebese,, *tk*k,, m*ki*ñ,, y (11)*q*o*r,, mki *weste l,,
abrse l,, yeked,, kdise l,, arese li,, *tk*k,, emoqe,, qebe(12)se wi,, yerki,,
apese,, *bmki,, wete l̄he,,
adḥite,, prite,, abr 58*, kdi 223,, qo (13)leb,, apote,, qebese,, yetkbḥi,,
yqo*¹l,, me*ḥ,, aleqe,, qesto,,
alle leb aberse (14)l,, yeked,, kdise l,, arse li,, *tk*k,, deqeb ese wi,, a*wete,,
etkbḥi,,
arkedni*, (15)*aqebese wi,, erbḥi,,
al*leb *s*o,, pertese,, qes,, qo leb wi,, hrphñ,, mle kse lke,,
(16)aleqese wide *¹o,, eqete*d*¹b*ḥ*¹i,,
seb,, q(o) leb witesee,, yesebe,, ns,, ns *¹l,,
qor,, a(17)*te,, eqepi,, mede wite l,, *a*y*o*s[...]*esbi,, *tk*k,, dd,,
(seb,,) qo leb,, witesee,, ye(18)*se*be qebese wite,,
sb *¹l,, mded wite li,, qor,, nl,, [...] *¹l,, yedḥbḥ,,
A*m*n[.] (19)*ñ,, qor,, mlo lḥ,, Amnp,, *pn*k*k,, aḥro,, hrp̄hte,, [...]b*w*ike,, *s
*wido,,
qo leb,, ye*b*e (20)*¹l,, yesebe witesee,, ns,, n*s *¹l,,
Amnp,, yiroḥ,, mdewi,, *n*s,,
seb,, krte li,, art(21)ḥnki,, teñke l,, tewwibḥ*e,,
seb,, meke,, adb*¹el̄he,, enoqe,,
seb,, mdeybe li,, *sq*tese(22)ñ li,, adblelḥ,, *lbrete,, qes li,, ḥolitke,,
seb,, seb l̄he,, eno wite,, w*lbrete,, ḥr(23)p̄heke,, s wido,, irḥḥi,,
seb wi,, eqese wi *¹l,, ekte,,
kdise lw,, abrse lw,, yemoqe (24)eqebese wit,, w*k̄bte,,
teñke l̄he,, etewwite,, m*mo li,, d*mbe li,, mdeweyi,, *m*pde[.](25)*yi,, *bi*k,,
wwi ke *w*¹i,, *kde y*e*k,, abri *k,, wi 3348
wwi ke wi,, erote,, tinñke (w) (26)likidbte,, ase*nte,, qer lise lw,, asr,, aḥidebḥ,, wi
1626
Akinidd (27)qo pqr lo pesto lo,,
pqri lke,, Mno,, n li,, eqe*ṭḥñ
ant,, Mno (28)tese lke,, Mno,, n li,, eqe*ṭḥñ,,

pqri li,, pesti li,, tbi tnideb (29)he,,
 qore bki,, npbiḥ,, amre,, *mḥr*I*oseñ,,
 Amni,, arrese (30)se,, prtēde,, ḥrpḥe,, wse l,, lk l,,
 seb,, krte li,, arthnoke wi (31)teñke l,, tewwibḥe,,
 seb,, meke,, adb *I*i lḥe,, enoqe,,
 seb,, mtey (32)be li,, *sq*tesēñ li,, adb*I*i lḥ,, *lbrete,, qes li,, ḥoliteke,,
 se(33)b,, seb lḥ,, eno wite,, w*I*lrte,, ḥrpḥe ke,, s wido,, ithḥi,,
 seb wi,, (34)eqese wi*t,, ekte,,
 kdise lw,, abrse lw,, emoqe qebese wi l,, w(35)*kbtē,,
 *pede kese lke,, ḥrpḥe ke,, qo leb,,
 wte dete,, Mk,, wite pid*e (36)lke,,
 qo,, l ḥrpḥe,, p*b*o li,, tkk [...],
 *wte dete *leb k,, a*ḥi l,, p l (37)ke,,
 wte dete,, Amnpte,, pide *lke,,
 *seb,, wrewḥe li [.]*p[...]*e*m (38)Mke no wi,, teñke l,, (l/t)br ke,,
 qorteb,, etkbḥe
 ḥr(ph)e,, w(39)se l,, tkt,, Amni,, arresese,, Amn(40)p,, nete se li,, *A*m*np,, pide
 lke,,
 qo leb,, (s/w)tedebte,,
 seb,, teñke lḥe,,
 wwi ke wi,, e (41)ro[.]te,, tinnki,, wlikidbte,, ase*nte,, qer lise (42)lw,, asr,,
 aḥideb*ḥ*e wi 1032*,*

Comments

Griffith (1917) interpreted the texts of the two Hamadab stelae as records of the war against Rome in 25-24 BC. In Vogliano's (1940, 69 ff.) and Hintze's view (1959, 25 f.) they record the initial episode of the war only, viz., the successful attack on Philae, Syene and Elephantine. This interpretation of the two inscriptions is based first of all on the occurrences in their text of the words *Arme* and *Qes*, which were identified as Rome and Kush. While Hofmann's (1981, 291 ff.) arguments against these identifications remain unconvincing, the restriction of the supposed contents of the narrative to the first episode of the war is improbable. Strabo's (FHN III, 190) account does not leave any doubt as to the unbroken course of the conflict from the Meroitic attack against the Egyptian towns through C. Petronius' counter-attack and the Meroitic defeat at Pselchis/Dakka to the expulsion of the forces of Queen Amanirenas from Lower Nubia (cf. 166, 168, *Comments*). Consequently, the erection of a Meroitic triumphal stela directly after the successful attack against Philae, Syene and Elephantine is improbable. It cannot be ruled out, however, as Hofmann did, that the two stelae were set up after the end of the war in 21/20 BC and that their text was formulated as a triumphal inscription, independently of the actual course and outcome of the conflict.

The text of 176 was analysed in great detail by Hofmann (1981, 288 ff.). Since her remarks, though they provide an excellent insight into a number of grammatical problems, do not render possible an historical reconstruction of the presumed contents of the text, in the following only the secure anthroponym and toponym identifications will be pointed out. References will be made to the lines of the text.

1.-2. Amanirenas has the titles *qore*, "ruler", and *kdwe* (= *kdke*), Candace (cf. 85, *Comments*). Akinidad, whose name and titles are introduced with the obscure compound *qore*(*n*?)*-yi* (cf. Hofmann 1981, 262 f.) that includes the word meaning "ruler", is *pqr* (cf. 152, comment on line 38), *pesto* (for the title as "viceroys" or "governor" of Lower Nubia see 154, *Comments*). The repetition in lines 2-3 of the title *pqr qori-se*, "*pqr* of the ruler" seems to belong to the opening sentence of the narrative part of the text.

2-3. The long sentence(s) beginning with the words *pqr qori-se-l qor hrph* *lw qes arme-yose-li* may, if the interpretation of the words *qes* and *arme* is correct, open the narrative on the conflicts with Roman Egypt.

4 and *passim*. *abr*=man (cf. Griffith 1916, 123); *kdi*=woman (Griffith 1911, 120).

5 and *passim*. In *qo-leb*, *qo* is interpreted to mean "living person" by Griffith (1917, 167), Hintze (1960, 148 ad line 26, here see 152) and Priese (1971, 279 § 1.22.1); *-leb* is the plural of the Meroitic "article" *-li/lo* (cf. Hintze 1963, 3; Priese 1971, 276 f. § 1.12, 1.13.1, 1.15.1).

13. *apote*=envoy, from Egyptian *wprwti*; cf. Griffith 1911, 10; Hintze 1963, 10 No. 49.

18-19. An utterance beginning (?) with the word *qor*, "ruler", and referring to *Amn*=Amûn, *Amnp*=Amûn of Luxor and containing the adverbs *mlo*=good (Griffith 1911, 41 note 1) and *lh*=great, big (ibid., 10, 23, 96).

20. *Amnp*=Amûn of Luxor; *Mdewi*=Meroe (?; but see Hofmann 1981, 309).

26 ff. With the name and titles of Akinidad, apparently a second part of the narrative is opened; while in the first part the mentions of men and women and quantities may perhaps have referred to captives or the like, the second part, beginning with mentions of *Mno*=Amûn and a prophet (*ant*; see 154, *Comments*), seems to refer to royal actions connected with cults.

As shown by Hofmann (1981, 326), a precise addition of the numbers of *abr*, man, and *kdi*, woman given in the course of the narrative is to be found in line 25. In this fact Hofmann sees a confirmation of the impression she received from the grammatical analysis of the text, viz., that both 176 and REM 1039 are donation texts. In her view this donation-text character excludes the presence of a historical narrative in the same inscription and, in support of her interpretation of 176, she also refers to parallel expressions occurring in 176 and 152 further in REM 0094 (FHN III, 300) which she also regards as "purely" dedication texts. However, donations may well be listed at the end of a historical narrative too; and the large numbers of men and women given in the text of 176 fit

much better into the context of a record of a war than of a donation text (for the usually small number of people “donated” to temples cf. 71).

[LT]

(177) Queen Amanishakheto. Evidence for reign.

Queen Amanishakheto’s reign is attested by 1) her cartouches on two blocks from Temple T at Kawa (Macadam 1949, 117, No. 106, Pl. 35; Dunham 1957, fig. A/7; REM 0706); 2) a granite stela discovered by Garstang in the forecourt of the late Amûn temple at Meroe City (REM 1041; for fragments discovered at later dates see Hintze 1960, 134); 3) her cartouches from the palace at Wad ban Naqa (Vercoutter 1962, fig. 12; REM 1055A); 4) an unpublished stela from Qasr Ibrim now in the British Museum (Plumley 1971, Pl. 8); 5) her cartouche on the pylon of Beg. N. 6 (REM 0055, 0056); 6) her presumed funerary offering table from Beg. N. 6 (Hintze 1959, 45 ff. Nos 8a-8b).

Her name occurs in the following forms:

- 1) *Mnsh̥te* (in Meroitic hieroglyphs)
- 2) *Am(ni)sh̥eto qor kd(ke)* (in Meroitic cursive)
- 3) *(Am)nish̥ete* (in Meroitic hieroglyphs)
- 5) *Amnsh̥eto qo mlo wi,,*
- 6) *Amnsh̥eto qore*.

The chronological position of her reign is indicated by the fact that her name occurs together with the name of Akinidad in Temple T at Kawa (see source 1 above: REM 0705) and in the unpublished Qasr Ibrim stela (source 4 above). Following Hintze’s (1959, 26) suggestion and accepting the consensus (cf. Hofmann 1978, 108 f.), she is regarded here as the direct successor of Amanirenas; and her reign is accordingly dated to the last years of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD.

According to the incompletely preserved offering table from Beg. N. 6 (see source 6 above), Queen Amanishakheto was the daughter of a lady called *Ar[...]th̥wit* (Hintze 1959, 48 regards her, without providing any evidence for his suggestion, as daughter of King Amanikhabale; for the latter see FHN III, (191)). It thus seems that she wasn’t the daughter of her predecessor Amanirenas (see (175)). Her title “Candace” in source 2 may indicate that she was a royal wife (cf. 85, *Comments*), so it also appears possible that she was, like Amanirenas, married to Teriteqas and that she became the successor of Amanirenas as ruler of Meroe because, for reasons which remain unknown to us, Akinidad wasn’t accepted as a legitimate heir to the throne (cf. (179)). The legitimacy of Amanishakheto was secured, like that of Queen Shanakdakheto, through a male member of the royal family. In the mortuary chapel reliefs of Beg. N. 6 she is represented being “crowned” by a prince (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 16/A,B) according to the iconographical pattern of Shanakdakheto’s representations (cf. (149)).

The prosperity of her reign is indicated by her building activity at Kawa (cf. Macadam 1955, 23 f.) and Wad ban Naqa (for the sumptuous building cf. Vercoutter 1962; Wenig 1978, 72) and attested by the splendid collection of jewels (see recently Priebe 1992, with earlier literature) discovered by Ferlini (1837) in a recess behind a "ba house entrance" (shaped as a naos front; cf. Priebe 1992, 16) on the front side of the pyramid of Beg. N. 6, close to its top. The exceptionally fine pieces include, besides remarkable Roman (?) and/or Roman Egyptian imports, a series of gold seal rings with the representation of the "divine birth" of the Queen and her legitimation by Amûn of Napata (cf. Török 1987, 39 ff.; Priebe 1992, 44 ff., figs 42-44). Amanishakheto is represented on the pylon of her funerary cult chapel Beg. N. 6 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 17) as a triumphant warrior spearing her enemies and wearing a royal costume which associates her with the Nubian warrior and hunter deities (cf. Török 1990, 168 ff.).

[LT]

178 Fragments of the Amanishakheto Stela from Meroe City. Late 1st cent. BC-early 1st cent. AD.

REM 1041.

Introduction to source

These fragments of a finely executed granite stela were discovered by Garstang in the W corner of the forecourt of the late Amûn temple at Meroe City (cf. Shinnie-Bradley 1980, 91, Pl. XXXVII; Török n.d., Ch. 31) and "restored", i.e., cemented in, *in situ* in the form of a small obelisk. At a later time, however, the "obelisk" was deliberately broken. Fragments of the stela were registered by Hintze (1959, 46, Pl. IX) and B.G. Haycock (unpublished) and unpublished fragments are also preserved in the collection of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies of the University of Liverpool (see Török n.d., Ch. 31).

For the script and language of the inscription see the General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

Text

FRAGMENT A

(1)(al)eqese,,, Am(ni)(2)sheto,,, qor,,, kd(ke l,,, (3)pe wide,,, m(lo) [...]li,,, arse li ke,,, (4)yithe,,,

*m*d*,*, dhi lw 1538 qo leb ede brht [...]

(5)[...]deqeni ke[...]

(6)[...]dtret[...]

(7)[...]qorte lh l[...]

FRAGMENT B

(1)[...]arse like [...]

(2)[...]Amnp[...]

- (3)[...]elḥt[...]
 (4)[...]abr wi 1032 kdi 2623 be qore lw[...]
 (5)[...]Aqedise[...]

FRAGMENT C

- (1)[...]epḥe mlo wi[...]
 (2)[...]akipl[...]
 (3)[...]akiple[...]
 (4)[...]epḥe qe[...]

FRAGMENT D

- (1)[...]akiplet[...]
 (2)[...]epḥle kdi[...]
 (3)[...]ihlh*t[...]
 (4)[...]deqeni ke wllkñyi[...]

FRAGMENT E

- (1)[...]imlet,,, deqeni wi lik[...]
 (2)[...]ḥt,,, aḥr l,,, ideḥ,,,[...]

Comments

A 1-2. To judge by the sequence of the word *aleqese* occurring, as a rule, in Meroitic texts in a context that suggests the meaning "monument" or the like (see comment on line 1 of 152) and the name and the titles of Amanishakheto, Fragment A appears to contain the introduction of the stela inscription or of a topical unit thereof.

A 3 ff. ; B 1 ff. appear to record events or royal acts concerning large numbers of people, both men (*abr*) and women (*kdi*) and Amûn of Luxor (*Amnp*) and Khonsu (*Aqedise*, see comment on line 8 of 152) are also mentioned.

[LT]

(179) Prince Akinidad. Evidence for career.

Prince Akinidad is attested at Dakka in two Meroitic cursive graffiti: 1) together with King Teritaqas and queen Amanirenas as Candace in 173; 2) alone in a graffito (REM 0093) inscribed on the W thickness of the pylon entrance of the Thoth temple (cf. PM VII, plan on p. 42) opposite 168; 3) on a stela from Meroe City Temple M 600 (=174) in the company of King Teriteqas and Amanirenas as Candace; 4) on a bronze naos from Kawa, Temple T (Macadam 1949, 100 No. 28, Pls 49, 50; REM 0628), together with Queen Amanirenas as ruler and Candace (cf. (175)); 5) on masonry blocks from Kawa, Temple T (British Museum 1774, Macadam 1949, 117 No. 105, Pl. 58; REM 0705), together with Queen Amanishakheto; 6) in the texts of the stelae from Hamadab, REM 1003=176 and 1039,

together with Queen Amanishakheto; 7) in the text of an unpublished stela from Qasr Ibrim (Plumley 1971, Pl. 8), together with Queen Amanishakheto; and 8) on masonry blocks from the cella of Temple M 250 at Meroe City (Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, Pl. LXII/2; REM 0402). His name and titles occur in these documents in the following forms:

- 1) *Akidd pqr* (Meroitic cursive)
- 2) *Akini(d)d pqr* (Meroitic cursive)
- 3) *Akinidd* (Meroitic cursive)
- 4) *Akinidd pqr qori-s pesto sew Qes-te* (Meroitic cursive)
- 5) *Akinidd* (Meroitic hieroglyphs)
- 6) *Akinidd pqr pesto pqr qori-s* (Meroitic cursive)
- 7) ?
- 8) *Akinidd qe pqr qori-s pesto* (Meroitic hieroglyphs).

To judge by the absence of any title in document 3 (=174), the stela from Temple M 600 at Meroe City seems to represent the earliest source for Akinidad's career. His occurrence in a royal donation text as one of the donors indicates that he is a member of the royal family; this is also suggested by the fact that in hieroglyphic inscriptions his name is written in a cartouche. Although his identification as a crown prince in the documents where he appears in the company of King Teriteqas and queen Amanirenas would seem likely, it is contradicted by his subsequent career: he never became a ruler, but continued to appear at the side of two successors of Teriteqas, Queen Amanirenas and Queen Amanishakheto. The ambiguity of his position, i.e. his royal context on the one hand, and his acting as an official on the other, is obvious. While royal princes without any visible role in the government of the kingdom are frequently represented from the late 3rd century BC onwards,³⁵⁶ Akinidad's office as governor of Lower Nubia (see below) is quite unusual. An explanation for his unusual career should, however, be sought for in the actual historical situation prevailing at the time of his appointment as *pesto*, and not, as was suggested by Hofmann (1977a; 1978, 96), by recourse to the hypothesis that he, and other men with the title *pqr*, were "Vezirs" of the kingdom and were of non-royal descent. Akinidad's royal descent seems beyond doubt if we accept the chronological outline sketched in the *Comments* on (172)-(179); for in its framework Akinidad must be identical with the son of the Candace mentioned by Strabo 17.1.54 (=FHN III, 190, cf. here (175), *Comments*).

The Dakka graffiti REM 0092 (=173) and 0093 were written in the course of the war with Rome after the successful Meroitic attack on Philae, Syene and Elephantine in 25 BC (cf. 166, *Comments*; (172)). In them Akinidad appears as *pqr*, a title already occurring in the Tañyidamani Stela (152 38: *pqr qori-se*, "pqr of the king") and attested from the 1st century AD in the titulary of princes of

³⁵⁶Cf. (128); for the evidence of the reliefs in the royal mortuary cult chapels see Chapman-Dunham 1952, *passim*.

royal blood (cf. FHN III, (213)) as well as in titularies of Lower Nubian *pesto*-princes, in whose careers this title represents the highest possible rank (cf. Török 1977a). While *pqr* may thus originally have had the restricted meaning of "royal prince" or the like, from the 2nd century AD onwards it could also be conferred upon high dignitaries of non-royal descent in the provincial administration (see *ibid.*, and Török 1988, 248 f.; owing to lack of data it remains unknown, whether the extension of the title to non-royal persons also meant that it was no longer used by royal princes).

Akinidad was *pqr* during the life of King Teriteqas; in the reign of Queen Amanirenas he was also *pesto* and *sew Qes-te*, "*sew in Kush (?)*".³⁵⁷ While the second title remains incomprehensible for us, in all probability the title *pesto* marks the office of the governor (in the literature frequently "viceroy") of Meroe's Lower Nubian "province", called in Meroitic documents Akiñ (cf. 155 9 f.), between the Egyptian frontier and the Second Cataract (cf. 154, 155, and see Török 1977; 1979, 109 ff.; 1988, 246 ff.). If the generally accepted chronological scheme is correct (cf. (172), (175), (177)), the appointment of Akinidad, a royal prince, as governor of Akiñ happened after the peace treaty between Augustus and the envoys of the Meroitic queen was concluded on Samos in 21/20 BC (cf. 168, *Comments*) and signals the importance for Meroe of the territory which formerly belonged to the vassal Triacostaschoenus created by Cornelius Gallus (cf. 163-165), the Meroitic re-organisation of which now became possible.

Besides the two Hamadab inscriptions (see 176) erected in the reign of Queen Amanirenas and the Qasr Ibrim stela set up under the reign of her successor Queen Amanishakheto, the rank and official realm of Akinidad is indicated most strikingly by his building activity. At Kawa he carries out restoration work (the extent of which can, however, not be defined) in the company of Queen Amanishakheto. His name is written there in a royal cartouche. His name and titles are also inscribed in cartouches on the relief blocks (Garstang-Sayce-Griffith 1911, Pl. XXXV/1) preserved from Temple M 250 at Meroe City (cf. FHN I, (36)) which was rebuilt by him in a most remarkable archaizing style (see Török n.d., Ch. 27). These cartouches, topped by the image of the bee from the title of the ruler, occupy the space between the figure of the god worshiped in the sanctuary (probably Amün; only a ram's horn and an uraeus are preserved from his crown) and the figure of Akinidad standing before the god and receiving life from him. Though represented without any regalia and wearing only a simple princely diadem over his natural hair, Akinidad nevertheless appears here in an iconographical context which normally is exclusively royal: in a temple relief, it could only be a ruler who, as high priest, performs the cult;

³⁵⁷Hofmann 1981, 291 f. doubts that *Qes* was the Meroitic equivalent of Egyptian *K3š/K3s/K3š1/Kwš/K3š1/K3w1*, although she refers to the Demotic graffito Philae 410 (FHN III, 249) written for a Meroite in which the land of Meroe is termed *T3 n Nḥs* as well as *K3š1*.

and it could only be an actual ruler who thus receives legitimacy and power from the gods.

[LT]

180 Dendur, Demotic inscription of Swny. 11/10 BC (?).

Griffith 1937, 33 f.: Dendur No. 1; Burkhardt 1985, 103 f.

Text and translation

(1) ḥst-sp 20t ḥ-ir-ḥr Swny
(1) Twentieth regnal year, in the time of Suny,

pꜣ mr-mšꜥ pꜣ rꜥ n ꜥst
the district-commissioner and the agent of Isis.

Pꜣ-ꜥhm (2) sꜣ Pꜣ-dꜥ-Wsi[r] pꜣ mr-šn ntꜥ dd
Pakhôm, (2) the son of Petosiris, the *lesonis*-priest, (it is) who says

n Pa-tꜣ-ꜥtnꜥ sꜣ Pꜣ-dꜥ-ꜥst pꜣ ḥm-nꜥr
to Patatenen, the son of Petisis, the prophet

ḥnꜥ nꜣ ḥl-ꜥyw (3) nꜣ rꜥw n Tꜣ-ḥst-d
and the elders (3) and the agents of *Tahatsh* (Dendur):

mn-mtw=y ꜥwywꜥ (4) r-ḥr=ꜥtnꜥ
I have no 'dispute' (4) with 'you'

ꜥꜥrmꜥ pꜣ ḥry Pa-Hr pꜣ nꜥr n Kꜥtꜥ
'and' the Lord Pahôr, the god of Korte.

[pꜣ] ꜥnhꜥ (5) r-ḥw.ḥr=ꜥkꜥ [ꜥꜥrꜥ] n=ꜥꜥ
[The] oath (5) which 'you' (sing.) shall ['take'] for 'me'

n pꜣ [ꜥhrwꜥ] [n tꜣ] mꜥt n Pr-ḥw-wꜥb
['today'] in the] midst of the Abaton,

dd ꜥnꜥ(6) ꜥ....ꜥ m-sꜣ pꜣy ḥꜥ dbn 1
saying, "—ꜥ(6) apart from that one *deben*-weight of silver,

bw ḥr=n dꜥ (7) ... n Tꜣ-ḥst-d
we do not pay (7) (anything) to *Tahatsh* (Dendur);

bw ḥr pꜣ ḥry (8) Pa-Hr dꜥ
nor does the Lord (8) Pahôr pay (anything)

(r-)ḏbꜣ tꜣ mtyt (9) n ꜥst nti iw=f rwšꜣ r-ī-īrt=s
in return for the '—' (9) of Isis which he cares for."

(10) ink ḥꜥt
(10) As for me myself,

n-dī īr=w n=l pꜣ ꜥnh (11) nti sh ḥri
when they have taken for me the oath (11) which is written above,

wy=y n.im=w (m-)bꜣh ꜥst
I 'shall be' far from them before Isis

(12) n tꜣ iswt n pꜣ tꜣw (13) n nꜣ Pr-ꜥw (14) šꜥ ḏt
(12) in requital for the 'breath' (13) of the kings, (14) for ever.

(15) sh Pꜣ-ꜥhm sꜣ Pꜣ-dī-Wsl(16)r pꜣ mr-šn
(15) Written by Pakhôm, son of Petosi(16)ris, the *lesonis*-priest,

(17) (n) ḏ(r)t=f ḥꜥ=f
(17) by his own hand.

Note to the translation

In the course of the Ptolemaic Period and subsequently during the early Roman Period the activities of the provincial governors called *strategoi*³⁵⁸ came increasingly to be concerned with civil rather than military affairs. At the same time there continued to be *strategoi* who were "generals" in the strict sense, and the provincial officials continued to control military and police forces. In an attempt to capture the composite role of the provincial *strategos* I have chosen to translate the word by "district-commissioner", thereby inviting a comparison with the role of the British Colonial Official in Sudan. I have also used this translation for the *mr-mšꜥ* in the Dodecaschoenus even though his status and role may not be the same as that of the provincial governor.

[RHP]

Comments

Inscriptions 180, 182-185 are selected from the monuments of the administration of the Roman Dodecaschoenus in the period between the reign of Augustus and the late 50s AD. While recording different agreements concluded between inhabitants of the region, formulated in the form of an oath (Burkhardt 1985, 29 ff.) in the presence of the *mr mšꜥ* of the Dodecaschoenus and inscribed on a temple wall according to contemporary Upper Egyptian legal practice (cf. Kaplony-Heckel 1963 and see the Demotic inscriptions Nos 57-65 in Philae,

³⁵⁸ Στρατηγοί is a Greek plural form. Στρατηγός, the original meaning of which was "leader of an army", is often translated "general".

Griffith 1937, 54 ff.; Burkhardt 1985, 123), these texts also bear witness to the pre-eminent role played by members of non-Egyptian elite families in the administration of the region.

The list of the attested non-Egyptian holders of the title *mr mšc* of the Dodecaschoenus ranges from Mn'e, 29 or 25 BC (?) (see 162) through Swny, 11/10 BC (?) (180), Slw, AD 10/11 (181), Rqe, AD 30 (182) to Able (also written Abli, Abia) who is attested between AD 48 and 57 or (if 184 dates from AD 64) between AD 48 and 64 (for the next occurrence of an agent of Isis in the preserved evidence see FHN III, 231).

Since the details of the legal transactions recorded in the texts do not directly concern the topics dealt with in FHN and require a special treatment by an expert in legal history (cf. Seidl 1929), it may suffice to point out, as to the sorts of the legal matters touched upon in 180, 182-185, that, however limited they are in number, they seem to include a range of issues involving family and inheritance law, cases of financial transactions, and leases similar to the far more extensive corpus of Ptolemaic (from about 200 BC) and early Roman Upper Egyptian Demotic temple oaths (cf. Kaplony-Heckel 1975, 1201 f.).

It would seem that the Demotic oaths taken by Meroites reflect the activity of the *mr mšc* as a sort of appellate judge.³⁵⁹ The official activity of the *mr mšc* as he appears in the texts quoted here is that of a civil servant who is, however, closely connected with the (probably first of all financial) administration of the domain of the Isis temple at Philae. His authority extends, as shown most clearly by the three documents of Abia (183-185), over the whole of the Dodecaschoenus. All known holders of the title *mr mšc* who are of non-Egyptian origin combine the office of *mr mšc* with that of *rt n Is*, agent of Isis;³⁶⁰ the earliest of them, who served during the reign of the Meroitic king Aqrakamani is, however, also a *rt n Pr-ε*, an agent of the king (see 162). The intertwining of the civil administration of the Dodecaschoenus with the administration of the domain of Isis apparently follows from the fact that the bulk of the land in the region was the property of the Temple of Isis at Philae (cf. 112, 137, *Comments*). At all events, the administration of the domains of other temples in the region was also under the authority of the *mr mšc*, as is indicated by 181, written by Slw, *mr mšc* and agent of Isis of Philae and of Thoth of Pnubs/Dakka.

180 was inscribed on the W end of the N wall of the pronaos, i.e., in the public part, of the temple of Dendur which was dedicated by Augustus to the deified brothers Peteisis (*P3-di-Is*) and Pahor (*B3-n-Hr*), sons of Kuper (*Qwpr/Qpr*),

³⁵⁹In the contemporary Demotic oaths Philae 57-61, Griffith 1937, 54-56, the oath is not ordered by the *mr mšc*, who is not mentioned at all, which may indicate that the cases mentioned in these texts were settled by a lower instance, a lay or a military tribunal (for the latter see graffito Ph. 58, Griffith 1937, 54, 29 AD); cf. Kaplony-Heckel 1975, loc. cit.

³⁶⁰For a *rt* (alternate transliterations: *rd* or *rt*) of Isis of Koptos between ca. AD 14 and 68, see the monuments of Parthenios published by Farid (1978). His Greek monuments translate *rt* by προστάτης.

who was perhaps identical, according to a fascinating suggestion put forward by Cyril Aldred (1978, 30 f.), with the Meroitic *tyrannos* appointed in 29 BC by Cornelius Gallus (cf. Török 1989-1990, 180 f.; and see also 163-165).

[LT]

181 Dakka, *proskynema* of Slw. 10/11 AD.

Griffith 1937, 25: Dakka No. 29; Burkhardt 1985, 99.

Text and translation

(1) rn=f mni dy (m-)bñ Dḥwty (n) P3-nbs p3 ntr ʕ
(1) His name endures here in the presence of Thoth of Pnubs (Tabo), the great god.

Slw3 p3 mr-mšc
Selwa, the district-commissioner (*strategos*),

p3 rṯ n ʔst	n Pr-wʔb (sic)	Pr-ʔw-lḳ
the agent of Isis	of Pure-house (the Abaton)	and Philae,

(2) p3 rṯ	ʔnʔ Dḥwty (n) P3-nbs	p3 ntr ʕ
(2) and the agent	ʔofʔ Thoth of Pnubs (Tabo),	the great god,

ntñ w3ḥ=f di ʔr=w t3 knḥ n p3 rn (n) n3 Pr-ʕw šc ʔnhʔ
(it is) who had them make the shrine in the name of the Kings for ever.

sh (n) ḥst-sp 40t
Written in the 40th regnal year.

[RHP]

Comments

181 is written in the form of a *proskynema* (cf. 168) and was thus intended to perpetuate the "praying presence" (cf. Geraci 1971) of its author before the god. The author of the graffito is Slw, a non-Egyptian dignitary who held the highest civil office in the early Roman Dodecaschoenus, i.e., that of the *mr mšc*, and was also responsible for the financial administration of the domains of Isis and of Thoth. The scope of his official activity is clearly indicated by his text, in which he says that the sanctuary of the Dakka temple (i.e., the inner sanctuary S of the "chapel" of Arqamani [cf. (129)]; PM VII, 42, 47 ff.) was built during his tenure and under his direction. The graffito was carefully inscribed beneath the cartouches of Augustus in the relief on the W half of the N wall of the sanctuary, between the heads of Isis and Augustus.

[LT]

182 Philae, Demotic inscription of Rqe. 30 AD.

Griffith 1937, 53; Philae No. 54; Burkhardt 1985, 105 f.

Text and translation

(1) ḥst-sp 16 ḥbd 4 šmw sw 19

(1) Sixteenth regnal year, fourth month of Summer, 19th day,

n Tybrys (2) Gysrs pꜣ nṯr pꜣ šr (n) pꜣ nṯr ʿ3

of Tiberius (2) Caesar, the god, the son of the great god.

Rḳi (3) pꜣ mr-mšꜥ pꜣ rḱ n ʾst ntḏ ḳd

Reki (3) the district-commissioner, the agent of Isis, (it is) who says

(n) Pꜣ-dī-Ḥr sꜣ (4) Ḥtr pꜣ 'whf'

(to) Petehôr son of (4) Hatre, the 'hair-dresser',

mī-nn Pꜣ-dī-ʾIr-nfr sꜣ Pꜣ-šr-(n-)(5)pꜣ-wr

(and) Petearnûfe son of Pshe(n)(5)poêr, likewise ('hair-dresser'),

mī-nn Ḥr-pa-ʾst sꜣ Pꜣ-šr-(n-)Mrꜣ

(and) Parpaêse son of Pshenmere, likewise ('hair-dresser'),

mī-nn Stm-n=ī-(6)Hnm sꜣ Pa-Hnm

(and) Setemnai(6)khnum son of Pakhnûm, likewise ('hair-dresser'),

nꜣ mr-ḥslw n ʾst (7) (n) Pr-wꜥb (sic) Pr-ḏw-lḱ

the overseers of singers of Isis (7) of Pure-house (the Abaton) and Philae

irm nꜣy=w ḥbrw

and their associates:

(8) tw=y wwy r-ḏr=twtn

(8) I have no claim against you

r pꜣ ḥpḏi (n) tꜣ (9) wpḏi n pꜣ 1/10 n pꜣ hw nb (n) pꜣ tꜣ

with respect to the right to (9) farm the tithe on any expense whatsoever

ntḏ ph (10) r-ḏr=twtn 'ḥn' tꜣ ḱḥ mḥḱ ['imntḱ'] (11) n pꜣ inḥyꜣ n pr-ḏbt [— — —]
which comes (10) to you in the north['west'] corner (11) of the 'enclosure' in the east [...]

(12) ḥnꜥ pꜣ 1/10 n pꜣ hw n rmt nb ntḏ ḏw=f (13) mšḱ n pꜣy=ī rn n tꜣ ḱḥ (14) (n) rn=s

(12) together with the tithe of the expense of every man who (13) inspects in my name in the corner (14) (in) question,

(n) ʔi (n) pʔ hrw	r hry	(15) (n) rnpt nb	šꜥ ɗt
from this day	forward	(15) each year	for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

The text of **182** was inscribed on the SW jamb of the great pylon of the Temple of Isis. For its historical background see **180**, *Comments*.

[LT]

183 Philae, Demotic inscription of Able. 48 AD.

Griffith 1937, 53 f.: Philae No. 55; Burkhardt 1985, 106 f.

Text and translation

(1) ʔt-sp 8t ʔbd 4 prt sw 21

(1) Eighth regnal year, fourth month of Winter, 21st day,

n Tbyrs Glwʔs Gysrs (2) Sbstʔ Grmnʔs ʔwtgre pʔ nʔr
of Tiberius Claudius Caesar (2) Augustus (*Sebastos*) Germanicus, Imperator
(*Autokratôr*), the god.

pʔ blʔ (3) r-ʔw-ʔr ʔble pʔ mr-mšꜥ pʔ rʔ n ʔst

The settlement (3) which Able, the district-commissioner and agent of Isis made

ʔrm Pʔ-šr-pʔ-hwtʔ (4) pʔ ssmsʔ
with Pshenphowt, (4) the *ssimeste*,

ʔrm nʔ rmtw Pʔ-ʔy-h
and the people of Peihoi

ʔn tʔ wsh	(5) ɗd
in the forecourt (of the temple),	(5) saying:

šꜥʔ=y wꜥ 'sp-snʔ ʔwle n pʔ tše n 'ʔstʔ

"I have separated out (lit.: cut off) one 'by one' ʔwle of (or: for) the nome of 'Isis':

wꜥ	n nʔ rmw (n) Pʔ-ʔy-hy
one	for the people of Peihoi;

[ky wꜥ]	(6) n pʔ mr-mšꜥ
[another one]	(6) for the district-commissioner;

wꜥ	n pʔ ʔhʔnʔti
one	for the <i>ʔhʔnʔti</i> -official;

[wʕ] n nʕ ʕmimi n ...
[one] for the ʕmimi-official of [—];

(7) n pʕ ʕʕʕ
(7) for the ʕʕʕ

iw ʕ wʕʕ n pʕ nfe
while ʕ oneʕ for the sailor

ʕwʕʕʕ n ʕpʕy=w msʕ (8) n ʕbrʕ (9-14) ...
and ʕoneʕ for ʕtheir — ʕ (8) for ʕbrʕ (9-14) ...

(15) ʕ wpt (n) ʕt-nʕr ...
(15) the work of the temple-complex ...

(16) ʕ wpt (n) ʕl-ʕ
(16) the work of an elder,

(n) ʕi (n) (17) pʕ hrw r ʕri ... (18) ...
from (17) this day onwards ... (18) ..."

(19) Pʕ-ʕhm Pʕ-di-Wʕr Pʕ-di-Hr
Pakhôm, Petosiris, Petehôr,

(20) ... pʕ mr-mʕʕ
(20) ... the district commissioner,

ʕnʕ pʕ ss(21)msʕ
and the ssi(21)meste,

ʕnʕ nʕ ʕl-ʕw
and the elders,

(22) pʕ [—] n Pʕ-ʕy-ʕy
(22) and the [—] of Peihoi.

Note to the translation

Once again the content of a text is elusive because the meaning and sometimes the correct reading of key words is unknown.

[RHP]

Comments

The text records an agreement concluded "in the forecourt (of the temple)" between Able, *mr mʕʕ* and agent of Isis, on the one hand, and Pshenphowt (*Pʕ-ʕr-pʕ-*

hwṭ), a “*ssimeste*”,³⁶¹ and the inhabitants of Peihoi (*P3-εy-ḥy*), on the other. It was inscribed in the doorway of the great pylon of the Temple of Isis, close to 182. For its historical background see 180, *Comments*.

[LT]

184 Kalabsha, Demotic agreement. 50 or 64 AD.

Griffith 1937, 37 f.; Kalabsha No. 4; Burkhardt 1985, 104 f.

Text and translation

(1) {n}nḥ hnw (i.)ṛr iy n-ṛr-ḥr pḥ nṛ (2) ʿ Mlwlw n ḥṣt-sp 10t

(1) The ‘agreements’ that came into the presence of the great (2) god Merûle (Mandulis) in the 10th regnal year.

wḥ Pa-Ḥnm (3) pḥ ssmṭ hn r pḥ nṛ

Pakhnûm, (3) the *ssimete*, ‘approached’ the god

î[‘rm’] (4) P3-šr-t3-šte [s3] S ...

to[‘gether with’] (4) Pshentshate [son of] S[—]

irm Wd3-Hr (5) [—]

and Wetsahôr (5) [—]

irm P3-sn-2 s3 P3-dī

and Psensnaw son of Pate

‘irm’ Gl3 s3 (6) P3-dī

‘and’ Gale son of (6) Pate

irm {n}nḥ ḥly-εw n Pr-Ḥr

and the elders of House-of-Horus,

(7) dd

(7) saying,

wḥ ‘Yt’ [s3 ‘G]le’ mwt

“‘Ayot’ [son of ‘Ga]le’ died

(8) iwtī mdt ‘mε’ n-m-s3 wε wštet

(8) without a ‘true’ word ‘except’ a prayer;

{n} (9)mtw P3-ʿwl’ pše r ‘dnit’ 2t

And (9) Peʿôl’ made a partition into two ‘portions’.

t3 i(10)he 2t wḥ P3-ʿwl’ [— —]

(As for) the two (10) stables, Peʿôl’ did [— —].”

‘sh’ (11) (n) ḥṣt-sp 10 tpī ‘šmw’ sw 24

‘Written’ (11) in the 10th regnal year, first month of Summer, 24th day.

³⁶¹Apparently a Meroitic title connected to an “economic” office; for a Meroitic *ssimete ktke-s*, “*ssimete* of the Candace” see Török 1979, 137; for further occurrences of the title see, e.g., REM 0085 (*ssimete Mni-s*, “*ssimete* of Amûn”; this, and similar cases contradict the interpretation of the title as “Kavalleriegeneral”, from Egyptian *mr ssmwt*, suggested by Hofmann 1981, 73), 0137, 0129, 0278, etc.

ʿshʿ P3-sn-2 (12) p3 ʿmrʿ [—] p3 ʿhrʿ pr-ʿnhʿ [— —]

ʿWritten byʿ Psensnaw, (12) the ʿoverseer ofʿ [—] and the ʿhead of the House of Lifeʿ [— —].

(13) ʿ — — ʿ p3 hm-ntr n-ir-hr (14) ʿbly p3 mr-mšʿ irm [— —]

(13) ʿ — — ʿ the *hont*-priest, in the presence of (14) Abli, the district-commissioner and [— —]

(15) [— —] n p3 ʿntrʿ [—]

(15) [— —] of the ʿgodʿ [—].

{n}mtw [— ... (16) ... —] glyl [...]

And [— ... (16) ... —] burnt offerings [...]

(17) [— ... —]

(17) [...]

Note to the translation

There is scarcely a word which is important for the interpretation of the structure and meaning of this text that is not open to well founded doubts. The lengths of the lacunae are also uncertain in some cases.

[RHP]

Comments

This agreement, concluded before Able, *mr mšʿ* and agent of Isis (cf. 183 and 185), was inscribed on a block from the Temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha; its original context is unknown. For the title *ssmsʿ*, Meroitic *ssimete*, see 183, *Comments*. For the historical background see 180, *Comments*.

[LT]

185 Dakka, Demotic inscription of Able. 57 AD.

Griffith 1937, 21 f.: Dakka No. 12; Burkhardt 1985, 97 f.

Text and translation

(1) heṭ (n) p3 ʿnh

(1) Text (of) the oath

i.ṛ s n3 wʿbw n ʿIst n Pr-ṛw-wʿb Pr-ṛw-lk

that the *waab*-priests of Isis of the Abaton and Philae

hnʿ (2) n3 wnw n ʿIst n Pr-ṛw-wʿb Pr-ṛw-lk

together with (2) the shrine-openers of Isis of the Abaton and Philae,

Pa-Hnm s3 Hr-pa-ʿIst s3 Pa-ʿhm

Pakhnûm son of Hôrpaêse son of Pakhôm

h _n (3) 'Hr' s ₃ [P ₃]-r'di-Wsir'	h[n ₃] ...
and (3) 'Hôr' son of ['Pe]tosiris',	and ...

hnꜥ Pꜣ-dꜣ-Ir-hꜣms-nfr sꜣ [—]-Ist
and Petearensnuphis son of [—]êse,

(4) and the company of the *waab*-priests of Isis and the shrine-openers of Isis

$r \nmid r=f$
are to take

n rmt Kṛt b'k n 'lst [n Pr-]iw-w'b (5) Pr-³w-lk
for the man from Korte, servant of Isis [of the Ab]aton (5) and Philae,

Hr-s-ʾIst sṣ Kṛ pṣ ḥm-nṯr ḥṣ (n) Kṛṭ
Harsiêse son of Kare, the first *hont*-priest of Korte,

irm n₃ hl-^c[ɜ]w (6) n Kṛt
and the el[de]rs (6) of Korte,

(n) hft-h(r) Dhwti (n) P;-nbs p; ntr 3
in the forecourt of Thoth of Pnubs, the great god,

(n) ɬt-sp 4t tpi ɬt sw 28
in the fourth regnal year, the first month of Summer, 28th day,

(7) of Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus (8) Imperator (*Autocrator*), the god,

i-ir-hr šbl^c pš mr-mš^c pš rṯ n ʾlšt dd
in the presence of Abla, the district-commissioner and agent of Isis, saying:

pɜ (9) [ʔr]kʂ¹ nb ntɪ ʔiɪ¹
(As for) all the (9) [ʔcult-]service¹ which 'comes',

r p; wrk r il (r) Pr-īw-lk r-r3=f
the '—' shall come to Philae, 'to its gate',

(10) ['mtw=w dīt' ...] n₃ rmtw (n) Kṛt lgn₃ 2t (n) p₃ wrk n 1st (n) Pr-īw-lk
 (10) [...] the men of Korte, 2 '— for' the '—' of Isis of Philae.

(11) [sh 'h̥m-n̥r n'] Wsir 'Ist
 (11) [Written by the 'hont-priest of'] Osiris and Isis,

Wn-nfr sꜣ Hr-wdꜣ sh (n) hwt-ntr n ʿIst (n) Pr-ḏw-wꜣb Pr-ḏ-lk
 Onnophris son of Harutsha, scribe of the temple-complex of Isis of the Abaton
 and Philae.

[RHP]

Comments

185 is the only one of the inscriptions recording oaths taken in the presence of a non-Egyptian *mr mšꜥ* of the Dodecaschoenus which belongs to the type using the formula *h pꜣ ʿnh*, "text of the oath" (Burkhardt 1985, 30, 70). It records an agreement concluded before Abla (see **183**, **184**) and was inscribed on the S face of the NW corner pillar of the pronaos of the Temple of Thoth at Dakka.

[LT]

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