

The Double Kingdom under Taharqo

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The Double Kingdom under Taharqo

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

By
Jeremy Pope



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

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY,
CHRONOLOGY, ORTHOGRAPHY, AND MAPS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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