

II. 12 THE CHRONOLOGY OF NUBIAN KINGDOMS FROM DYN. 25 TO THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF MEROE

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The era of the independent kingdom of Kush in Nubia is broadly divided into four parts:

1. Pre-Dyn. 25, i.e. the epoch of the preliterate rulers of el-Kurru with approximately 6 reigns up to and including Alara, known from their tombs in the necropolis of el-Kurru (ca. 885/835 BC¹ to ca. 765 BC).²
2. Dyn. 25, simultaneously a segment of Egyptian history—and differing from Manetho and Egyptological tradition—plus the Kushite Kashta (Gen. 1) as its first king, since he secured the Thebaid by having his daughter Amenirdis I adopted by the Egyptian God's Wife Shepenupet I, daughter of Osorkon III.³ Thus his daughter succeeded Shepenupet in her official role at Thebes. The Assyrians effectively ended the dynasty, and Psammetichus I expelled the last Kushites at the time of Tanwetamani (ca. 655 BC).
3. The Napatan Period, subdivided into an Early Napatan Period (Atlanersa (Gen. 7) to Malowi-Amani (Gen. 19),⁴ ca. 653 until the mid-5th century BC) and the Late Napatan period, from Talakhamani and including the so-called Neo-Ramesside rulers with 5 kings up to Sabrakamani⁵ (mid 5th century to early 3rd century BC).

¹ See T. Kendall, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 97. A long chronology (most recently L. Török, *Meroitica* 14 (1999), 149ff.) no longer seems tenable after Kendall's article.

² Conventional dates reckoned back from the Tang-i Var inscription (see below) with the accession of Shebitku in 707: Shabaka, 15 years (highest known date: statue of *ḥy*, BM 24429: Leclant, *Enquêtes*, 15ff.); Piankhi, 31 years inferred; Kashta (= Manetho's Ammeris Aithiops), 12 years assumed; Alara, 20 years presumed; plus roughly 50 to 100 years for the five reigns between Alara and the foundation of the el-Kurru necropolis. (For the reinstatement of the reading Piankhi, see C. Rilly, *BIFAO* 101 (2001), 351ff.)

³ So R. G. Morkot, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 195f., contra Kitchen, *TIP*³, § 122, who assumes that Amenirdis I was installed by her brother Piankhi.

⁴ I prefer this transcription to Malowiebamani (Macadam, Kawa I, 54 (25), with  reproducing Meroitic -b indicating a plural). I suppose instead that  is a phonetic determinative, derived from Egyptian *wj* (*Wb* I, 246).

⁵ Contrast Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 64ff.

4. The Meroitic Period with the Early Meroitic period from Arkamaniqo/Ergamenes I (Gen. 33) up to Queen Sanakadakhete (ca. early 3rd century until late 2nd century BC), the Middle Meroitic period (late 2nd century BC to late 1st or early 2nd century AD), followed by the Late Meroitic Period (late 1st or early 2nd century AD until the end of the Meroitic kingdom).⁶

In the southern part of the kingdom, the post-Meroitic Period follows⁷ with off-shoots of Meroitic culture surviving the end of the Kingdom between 330 and 370 AD (when the royal necropolis at Begerawiya North and the West cemetery at Begerawiya were finally abandoned)⁸ and the Ballana culture (so-called X-Group) in Lower Nubia with royal necropoleis at Qustul and Ballana which are beyond the chronological range concerning us here.

This historical division into four periods ultimately depends on linking the seriation of the tombs in the royal necropoleis of the kingdom to other monuments and epigraphic data. Individual rulers are numbered according to their relative positions in a scheme of generations (Gen.), especially since existing royal tombs cannot be assigned in every case to specific named rulers, and since some known rulers cannot yet be associated with any tomb. The cemeteries are el-Kurru (Ku.), Nuri (Nu.), Gebel Barkal (Bar.), Begerawiya South (Beg. S., with only two kings' tombs but other royal and non-royal burials), Begerawiya North (Beg. N.) and Begerawiya West (Beg. W., used by lesser members of the royal family and commoners). The excavator Reisner⁹ established a typology, based on the architectural evolution of the tombs, and he identified tomb groups.¹⁰ Reisner's archaeological seriation of the tombs,

⁶ Török, *Meroe City—An ancient African capital: John Garstang's excavations in the Sudan* (London, 1997), 13–14.

⁷ As viewed from a political perspective; see Török, in: Welsby, *Research*, 142ff. Whether the cultural aspect of the transitional phase should be described as "post-pyramidal" (P. Lenoble, *SARS Newsletter* 3 (1992), 9ff.; idem, *MNL* 25 (1994), 113f.; idem, in: Welsby, *Research*, 157ff.), remains open.

⁸ The end of the Meroitic state and the abandonment of the royal cemetery in Beg. N. ca. 360/370 AD was approximately contemporaneous with the military campaign of the Axumite king Ezana against the Noba, unless Ezana's conversion to Christianity was earlier, around 330 AD. If so, the demise of Meroe will have been prolonged, from 330 to 360/70 AD. See Török's summary of the issues, in: Welsby, *Research*, 142ff.

⁹ G. A. Reisner, "Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston excavations at Nuri: the kings of Ethiopia after Tirhaqa", *HAS* II (1918), 1–64; idem, *SNR* 2 (1919), 35–67, 237–253; idem, *JEA* 9 (1923), 34–77, 157–160.

¹⁰ Török summarizes Reisner's criteria in: *ANRW* II 10, 169ff.

which envisioned a continuous succession of 5 plus 68 rulers, 850 BC to 355 AD,¹¹ was revised by Dunham when he published the excavations.¹² Further revisions¹³ were undertaken by Macadam¹⁴ and, for the Meroitic material in particular, by Hintze¹⁵ and Wenig.¹⁶ The last also drew on the iconography of the tomb chapel reliefs which provides information about the tomb-owner (king, queen, prince), resulting in the elimination of some pyramid owners from the list of reigning monarchs, but also on additional criteria for sequencing and thus dating tombs. Wenig's research eliminated Reisner's First Collateral Meroitic Dynasty of Napata, and integrated its rulers into the main line. The problem of the Second Collateral Dynasty of Napata, however, cannot be considered resolved. To include it, too, in the main line as Wenig proposes, seems justified, by demonstrable kinship relationships between pyramid owners in Barkal and Begerawiya North, aside from the fact that most of the rulers of the 1st century BC (to which the tombs belong) are attested both in the north and in Meroe. But if so, temporary changes in the royal burial grounds must be assumed, which could perhaps be explained in the context of the contemporaneous political situation.¹⁷

While Napatan internal chronology can generally be considered reliable,¹⁸ despite some specific problems and questions,¹⁹ the same cannot

¹¹ The seriation, attempted by K. Grzymiski, *Meroitica* 7 (1984), 222ff., using computer-aided quantitative analysis is generally considered unsuccessful.

¹² RCK I, II, IV, V. RCK IV, 6f.: 5 plus 72 rulers.

¹³ On the typology for the last 20 generations, see F. Hinkel, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 105ff.; idem, *ZÄS* 109 (1982), 27ff.; 127ff.; idem, *Bulletin du Centenaire*, Supplement BIFAO 81 (1981), 379ff.

¹⁴ Kawa I and II; idem, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 23 (1966), 42–71.

¹⁵ *Studien*, 33 and *Meroitica* 1 (1973), 127–144; 5 plus 67 generations.

¹⁶ *MIO* 13 (1967), 1–44 and *Meroitica* 1 (1973), 147–160; 5 plus 73 rulers; idem, *Africa in Antiquity* II (Brooklyn, 1978), 16f. and *Festschrift für Steffen Wenig zum 65. Geburtstag* (Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie. Sonderheft Sudan, 1999), 181–182; 6 plus 76 rulers.

¹⁷ Summary: Hintze, *Meroitica* 1 (1973), 135ff., with discussion of the conceivable historical scenario; see also Wenig, *Meroitica* 1 (1973), 152ff.

¹⁸ Even in view of new data from the field, such as the finds at Gebel Barkal, with Bar. P-26 from the mid-6th century BC. This tomb is decorated with an astronomical ceiling: F. Berenguer, *Kush* 17 (1997), 108ff.; eadem, in: Welsby, *Research*, 55–63. Berenguer refers to P-26 as a royal tomb. It has only two chambers, yet contains a *serekh* with a name; there were no foundation deposits.

¹⁹ The difficulties concern, e.g., the assignment of Nu. 20 and the position of Amanibakhi (Gen. 26) in the sequence; the stela from his chapel and an offering table were discovered in Nuri (RCK II, 269, fig. 213; R. J. Leprohon, *CAA Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 3, 127), but no tomb can yet be assigned to him. The sequence and relative chronology of the Neo-Ramesside rulers are also problematic, but according to their

be said of the Meroitic material, where the situation is significantly more complex. In a fundamental review, Hofmann underscored the necessity of systematically utilizing Hellenistic and Roman imports in the tomb inventories for dating purposes,²⁰ but her work leads to a number of controversial problems, the most important being Hofmann's attribution of royal pyramids to persons whom she considers ruling kings. She bases her attributions on offering tables with royal benediction formulas K, L, and C', but the offering tables were not found in the royal necropolis itself. Furthermore, royal benediction formulas could also presumably have been used for members of the royal family.²¹ Török discusses the chronological issues in the context of the publication of the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*.²² A further difficulty in ascribing pyramids to known rulers ignores the fact that some pyramids were torn down (e.g., Beg. N. 53) or built over in antiquity.

Wenig's proposal that stylistic elements be given more attention, and Hofmann's call for a more systematic examination of imports among the funeral deposits were virtually ignored, because the poorly preserved tomb chapels at Begerawiya have been inadequately explored archaeologically. The challenges presented by interdisciplinary research essential for dating the imports and evaluating their chronological and geographical distribution in the Mediterranean are also considerable. Nevertheless the results of the clearance, reconstruction, and documentation of the pyramids of Meroe undertaken by Friedrich Hinkel and Janice Yellin and others, should eventually produce new evidence relevant to chronological issues.²³

The relative chronology of the royal tombs, epigraphic sources, and other monuments furnish the foundations for establishing the sequence of the kings of Kush. Since the mechanism of succession remains unclear,

titularies and the language of the texts (for which see now C. Peust, *Das Napatanische: ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends* (Göttingen, 1999), 70–71) they belong at the end of the Napatan period. According to Morkot, in: *Centuries of Darkness*, P. James et al., eds., (London, 1991), 216f., the Neo-Ramesside rulers should be assigned to the period before Dyn. 25; more cautious idem, *The Black Pharaohs* (London, 2000), 146–150; see further below.

²⁰ Hofmann, *Chronologie*, passim (p. 192: 6 plus 69 rulers).

²¹ Hintze, *Studien*, 62–63; Rilly, *MNL* 28 (2001), 81.

²² See the paragraphs for the reigns under discussion in FHN I–III.

²³ Hinkel began studying the pyramids in 1976; there are 169 relief scenes at his disposal compared to 52 previously available; see Hinkel in: K. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of ancient Egypt* (London, 1999), s.v. Meroe; idem, *Meroitica* 7 (1984), 310ff.

and since succession from one generation to the next is paralleled by collateral succession among brothers and cousins, it is virtually impossible to project life spans and lengths of reigns from a change of sovereign. Genealogies established for individual sovereigns are largely based on circumstantial evidence or on conjecture about possible rules of succession; they are rarely certain and apply only to specific cases.²⁴ For example, Assyrian sources designate Tanwetamani as the son both of Shabaka²⁵ and of Taharqa's sister.²⁶ His presumed mother is Qalhata, who should accordingly have been Taharqa's sister and Shabaka's consort. Her titles define her only as *mwet nswt*, *snt nswt*, *hmwt n t3-stj* and possibly *z3t nswt* (?),²⁷ but not *hmt nswt* which is, however, not among the titles of any Kushite royal mother documented to date. Either these women were not royal wives, or the title *hmt nswt* was deemed irrelevant for them, possibly because it was considered a lower ranking title, for even in those cases where the husband may have been king, he was dead at the time his son was proclaimed king. The reconstruction of kinship ties is rendered even more difficult since it is not known whether the Kushites employed the terminology in a literal sense, or whether terms such as *snt* "sister" and *sn* "brother" had broader connotations.²⁸ For the period after Aspalta, who traced his maternal line back seven generations,²⁹ there is either very little genealogical or historical information, or none at all. The evidence and conjectural data suggest only that fully adult men ascended the throne.³⁰

²⁴ For a current, reliable study, see Morkot, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 218–219, comparing idem, in the Preprint of the *7th International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Part 3, Appendix*, 1992, 1–39 and especially Morkot's remarks on the royal succession in Dyn. 25, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 202–209.

²⁵ Egyptologists, except M. A. Leahy, *GM* 83 (1984), 43ff., consistently consider Shabaka in error for Shebitku. However, it is improbable that the Assyrians erred in the filiation of their opponent, citing a king who had been dead for 43 years.

²⁶ See R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (BIWA), 24 (A II 22 B II 10) and 214f.

²⁷ A. Lohwasser, *Meroitica* 19 (2001), 180f.

²⁸ Cf. D. Apelt, *Meroitica* 12 (1990), 23ff.

²⁹ In his coronation stela: N. Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire: JE 48863 et 48866* (Cairo: MIFAO 106, 1981), 30, 12–31, 3. The cartouches were all defaced. For one possible reconstruction and the problems it entails, see Morkot, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 196–200 and my review of *Meroitica* 15, *OLZ* 98 (2003), 441.

³⁰ Arike-Amanote, e.g., states that he was 41 years of age (Kawa IX, l. 4). Tanwetamani, Shabaka's son, may have been in his mid-40's. If Taharqa left Nubia in 701 as a 20 year old (Kawa V, l. 20) to participate in the battle of Eltheke (K. A. Kitchen, in: *Fontes atque pontes: eine Festgabe für Helmut Brunner* (Wiesbaden: ÄUAT 5, 1983, 249ff.), then he may have been about 31 when he ascended the throne; Sabrakamani (Kawa XIII. l. 2) gives his age as 39 (?).

Similarly, it is not known whether the ruling sovereign influenced the nomination of a crown prince, if indeed such an institution existed (no source preserves a term for it).³¹ Kawa Stelae IV, 7ff. and V, 13ff. state that Shebitku appreciated Taharqa more than any of the other royal “brothers”, but this need not necessarily imply that Shebitku considered Taharqa crown prince.³² On the other hand, the Assyrian sources report that in 671 BC, Esarhaddon captured Taharqa’s *crown prince* Ushanahuru.³³ But other Assyrian sources refer only to *his son*.³⁴ Kushite sources, and particularly the election stela of Aspalta, appear to testify against the practice of designating a successor.

The only reign in more than twelve centuries of Kushite history whose length and absolute dates are known is Taharqa’s (690–664 BC), fifth king of Dyn. 25 and eleventh (?) sovereign of Kush. The dates and lengths of his predecessors’ reigns, especially those of his immediate predecessor Shebitku (who had ascended the throne by 707 as the Tang-i Var inscription shows—see further below) and the others back to Alara (the first Kushite ruler whose name is known),³⁵ must be reckoned from this point, as well as those of his successor Tanwetamani and the later Early Napatan rulers up to Aspalta. All other dates for Kushite rulers, particularly pre-Dyn. 25, but also those of the Napatan period after Aspalta, are estimates. There is a single certain date for the entire Meroitic period: 10 April 253 AD, in regnal year 3 of Teqorideamani (Beg. N. 28).³⁶ All other year dates of this period are based on logical deductions from indirect testimony and historical considerations, frequently deriving from Classical sources. Some of these

³¹ I doubt that *ḥwn* “youth” was such a designation (as Macadam suspected, *Kawa* I, 53 [6]). Taharqa, e.g., travelled to Egypt in the middle of the *ḥwnw nfrw* (plural), according to *Kawa* IV, l. 8. The Adoption stela, l. 4, describes Psammetichus II as *jtj jw^c Gb dmd psšwy m ḥwn*, and even Amasis is *ḥwn nfr*. Cf. also Zibelius-Chen, in: T. Kendall, ed., *Nubian Studies 1998* (Boston, 2004), 468.

³² As Macadam assumed, *Kawa* I, 17 (19).

³³ See R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, *AfO* Beih. 9 (1967), 99.

³⁴ In Chronicle 1 (A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* [Locust Valley, 1975], 85) there is only a reference to his (i.e., Taharqa’s) son and brother. See also J. Börker-Klähn, *Altworderasiatische Bildstelen* (Mainz, 1982) Nos. 217, 218. Whether the Zincirli stela also depicts Ushanahuru is uncertain. According to Börker-Klähn, *ibid.*, No. 219, the person wearing an uraeus could be Taharqa; however, Taharqa was not himself captured by Esarhaddon.

³⁵ For the nameless predecessors of Alara and their chronological classification, see Kendall, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 3–117.

³⁶ Demotic graffito of Pasan (Ph. 416).

estimates are well founded while others are conjectures. As a rule, neither the accession dates of Kushite kings nor their reign lengths are known, and only rarely can they be inferred.

The reign of Taharqa (Gen. 5) depends upon the absolute dates of Dyn. 26 and those of its first king, Psammetichus I, whose first regnal year falls in 664 BC.³⁷ The stela Louvre 192 from the burial of an Apis bull in the Serapeum mentions that it was born in Taharqa's year 26 and enthroned in the same year on 9/IV/*peret*; the bull died on 20/IV/*shemu* in year 20 of Psammetichus I, having lived 21 years. In our calendar, the bull's death occurred on February 25, 644, and its enthronement on September 11, 665. Accordingly, Taharqa's year 26 is the Egyptian year which lasted from February 6, 665 to February 4, 664, when he died in the course of his 27th regnal year, having reigned 26 full years between 690 and 664 BC.³⁸

The virtually certain sequence of Taharqa's predecessors in Dyn. 25 is supported by the relative chronology of their pyramids, their inscriptions, and their representations. Assyrian synchronisms, together with the Tang-i Var inscription, show that Shebitku (Gen. 4) was already king in 707, or at the latest in 706. After Yamani of Ashdod fled by sea from the Assyrians in 711 and had dwelt "like a thief" in "the area of Egypt at the border by/to Kush", he must have been handed over to the Assyrian king Sargon II by the king of Meluhha/Kush in the year 706 at the latest. According to the Tang-i Var inscription and the version from Malatya,³⁹ this king is Shebitku. There is no evidence in favour of a supposed vice-royalty in Kush with Shebitku regent for Shabaka ruling in Egypt, nor for suggesting a coregency between the two kings, theorized to salvage the old chronology with its "anchor date" of 712 for the postulated campaign of Shabaka against or into

³⁷ Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 41, 84–88.

³⁸ Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 91. According to Beckerath, *SAK* 29 (2001), 1 his first year began antedating on 12 February 690 BC.

³⁹ G. Frame, *Orientalia* 68 (1999), 40 [20]; N. Na'aman, *NABU* 3 (1999), 63 [65]. For the chronological implications and interpretation of the historical/political events, see B. U. Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit* (Fribourg, 1999, OBO 170), 200ff.; K. Dallibor, *Der antike Sudan* 11 (2001), 41ff.; D. Kahn, *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 1ff. and above all, A. Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur*, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (Helsinki 1998), 124ff. who reached the same conclusion about the date of Yamani's extradition before the Tang-i Var inscription was made public. Note that D. B. Redford, *Orientalia* 68 (1999), 58ff. and K. A. Kitchen, in: Bietak, ed., *SCIEM Haindorf 1996/98*, 50f., as well as Beckerath, *SAK* 29 (2001), 1ff., are sceptical of the value of these new sources.

Egypt.⁴⁰ Consequently, D. Kahn rejects such ideas.⁴¹ A division of power is documented neither for Piankhi nor Taharqa. That the Assyrians would have referred to the junior, less powerful ruler, is improbable. And why indeed should they not have mentioned both rulers of Egypt and Kush in their propaganda? It is more logical to suppose that Shebitku at his accession handed over Yamani, after he had spent some time in Egyptian-Kushite territory. Such an act might be viewed as a friendly gesture, since Yamani was an outlaw in Assyrian eyes, while in Egypt he could have stirred up trouble, perhaps seeking political support against the Assyrians. Both domestic and foreign policy could thus have provided motives for his extradition. Simultaneously, it might have served as a warning for the Delta princes to keep them in line. This scenario is, however, pure speculation, since neither the place of Yamani's sojourn nor what he did is known. Regardless, Shebitku did not want Yamani on his territory, and he failed to find asylum for him elsewhere, although committing himself to the anti-Assyrian alliance at Eltekeh shortly thereafter (701). Here, the petty rulers stood in battle array beside the Kushite army and their allies, as the Assyrian king Sennacherib specifically states;⁴² the Delta rulers were thus still to be reckoned with, despite more than 30 years of Kushite rule in Egypt.

Shebitku's reign can be calculated at a minimum of 17 years, 707–690. Africanus gives him 14 and Eusebius, 12. By contrast, his highest known date from Egypt is year 3.⁴³ His involvement in the Near East can only be grasped by studying Assyrian and Old Testament sources, as is also true for Taharqa.⁴⁴

The accession of Taharqa's successor in 664 is certain. According to the Dream Stela ll. 6f.,⁴⁵ Tanwetamani (Gen. 6) proceeded to Egypt in his first year, passing through Napata and Elephantine on the way to reclaim the Delta which had been lost to the Assyrians in 667. Indirect confirmation comes from Assyrian sources which refer to the change of rulers, noting that Tanwetamani made Thebes and Heliopolis his major bastions. Assyrian sources report that Tanwetamani was

⁴⁰ So, Beckerath, *SAK* 29 (2001), 4–5.

⁴¹ *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 6–7.

⁴² E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, *AfO* Beiheft 26 (1997), 59.

⁴³ Nile Level mark No. 33 in Karnak; Kitchen, *TIP*³, § 126.

⁴⁴ On Assurbanipal's battles against Taharqa and Tanwetamani, see the edition of textual sources by Borger (n. 26), 210–215.

⁴⁵ Grimal (n. 29), 7, 11f.

expelled from Thebes shortly thereafter (probably within only a matter of months).⁴⁶ With the installation of Nitocris as God's Wife in Thebes by Psammetichus I ca. 655, Tanwetamani's rule in Upper Egypt ended. There is no hint of how long he continued to rule Kush. Using Greek sources, Burstein⁴⁷ plausibly argues that Tanwetamani did in fact return once to Memphis, where he fought Psammetichus I who had engaged the aid of Carian mercenaries. Tanwetamani was buried in the royal necropolis at Kurru, in Ku. 16.

Psammetichus I fortified Elephantine and campaigned in LN,⁴⁸ but the identity of his Kushite opponent is not certain; chronologically, it could be either Atlanersa or Senkamanisken.⁴⁹ With the withdrawal of the Kushites from Egypt, Nubia sank into obscurity. Until the mid-4th century AD, which marks the end of the Meroitic kingdom, there were at least another 61 kings, but dated monuments are associated with few of them. Synchronisms with Egypt provide chronological fixpoints solely for the early Meroitic Period. Otherwise, there exists only Reisner's relative chronology, based on the typological criteria of the royal tombs and emended since only in some specific cases. Estimates of average reign lengths have been made, working with the number of kings between accepted fixpoints of the absolute chronology and by comparison with Egyptian data of different periods; but these remain hypothetical. The proposed dates are merely suggested reference points indicating approximate positions, by contrast to Egyptian chronology for the LP, which is certain after 664 BC.

The sequence of kings for the generations following Tanwetamani until Malonaqen (Gen. 12), based on archaeological seriation and inscriptions, is reasonably reliable. The succession Atlanersa—Senkamanisken follows from the addition of the latter's name to the barque stand of Atlanersa (MFA 23.728).⁵⁰ Senkamanisken also completed Temple B 700 at Barkal, begun by Atlanersa. Since the succeeding kings Anlamani⁵¹ and Aspalta⁵² were both children of Nasalsa, it is clear that they were

⁴⁶ Borger (n. 26), 214 (B § 13, II 10–17).

⁴⁷ *JSSSEA* 14 (1984), 31ff.

⁴⁸ L. Habachi, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 323ff.

⁴⁹ A fragment of an offering table belonging to Senkamanisken was found in Memphis: Zibelius-Chen, *Meroitica* 15 (1999), 712.

⁵⁰ Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 32 (15); cf. also Reisner, *ZÄS* 66 (1930), 91–92.

⁵¹ Kawa VIII, representation in the lunette and ll. 22f.

⁵² Stela of Madiqen from year 3, representation in the lunette, and on the stela of Khaliut. For the latter, see M.B. Reisner, *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 40 (13).

brothers. Indirect evidence correlates Aspalta with Psammetichus II who campaigned against Nubia in 593, his 3rd regnal year.⁵³ Traces of destruction at Napata which affected the monuments of Kushite rulers up to and including Aspalta (with later monuments untouched) are associated with Psammetichus's incursion. Ash layers were found in the corresponding levels of Palace 1200 and in Temple B 500. Fires were likewise confirmed in the temple and "treasury" at Sanam, where the latest royal name found is Aspalta's. The chronological position of Aspalta thus inferred⁵⁴ was confirmed by the discovery of statues of Taharqa, Tanwetamani, Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspalta in a cachette in the temple precinct at Doukki Gel (Kerma),⁵⁵ all showing deliberate damage (including the removal of royal insignia).

Generations 11 to 27, following Aspalta, span about three centuries, from the second quarter of the 6th century to the end of the 4th century BC (ca. 570–315 BC). Burials have been confirmed for 15 of the 17 kings postulated. One tomb (Ku. 1), with a very large pyramid, is still unattributed, as is Ku. 2, presumably the burial of the consort or mother of Ku. 1's owner. The temporary return from Nuri to the old royal necropolis at el-Kurru may reflect a brief change of dynasty. King Amanibakhi's mortuary stela and his offering table were discovered reused in Nuri 100,⁵⁶ but the king's pyramid has not yet been identified. He is tentatively placed before Nastasen (Gen. 27).⁵⁷ Only a few royal monuments are known in this sequence before Nastasen, and those citing regnal years are quite rare. The highest known year for Aspalta is 3. For Arike-Amanote year 25+x is attested⁵⁸ and from Kawa

⁵³ For stelae of the king at Shellal, Karnak, and Tanis, see P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past* (London 1994), 337ff. Psammetichus II ascended the throne on 19/I/595 BC (W. Barta, *ZAŚ* 119, 1992, 89); his campaign in year 3 thus took place in 593 BC.

⁵⁴ Most recently, Kendall, *Kush* 17 (1997), 232ff.; but cf. Török, *FHN* I, 230–231, who considers the evidence insufficient for concluding that the Egyptian army reached and destroyed Napata. Török thinks that the destruction could have resulted from a natural disaster or local political conflicts, in which case the survival of the Khaliut stela undamaged and in situ is remarkable. Unfortunately it bears no date. Also undamaged are the stela of Madiqen (dated to year 3; perhaps originally erected in Sanam), the inscriptions on the sphinx of Defeia, and the tomb and sarcophagus of Aspalta. Thus Aspalta could hardly have been the victim of persecution, as frequently claimed.

⁵⁵ For the find, see C. Bonnet, *Genava* 51 (2003), 267ff.; D. Valbelle, *RdE* 54 (2003), 199.

⁵⁶ *RCK* II, 269 fig. 213; for the stela, see also Leprohon (n. 19), 127ff.

⁵⁷ So now also Török, *FHN* II, 465.

⁵⁸ *Kawa* XII.

inscription IX, 4 it emerges that his predecessor was Talakhamani (Nu. 16). Thus the typological sequence postulated by Reisner has been confirmed by epigraphic evidence.⁵⁹ The mention of the ruler Malowi-Amani in Kawa IX, 12 demonstrates that he should be considered the immediate predecessor of Talakhamani.⁶⁰ The annals of Harsijotef (Gen. 23) fall in his year 35,⁶¹ and those of Nastasen (Gen. 27) in his year 8.⁶²

Archaeological remains confirm that after the campaigns of Psammetichus I, LN was subject to Egyptian hegemony. Even under the Achaemenids, in Dyn. 27, the fort at Dorginarti remained for some time under northern control. Kushites appear as tribute bearers in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis under Darius I, but their costume does not correspond to the Kushites' own imagery. On the statue of Darius I from Susa, *ḫ-nḥj* is listed among the occupied countries, along with Egypt and Libya. Cambyses is supposed to have attempted an invasion of (Upper) Nubia; and Xerxes deployed an Ethiopian contingent in his invasion of Greece.⁶³ The inscriptions of the Kushite kings Harsijotef and Nastasen reveal that they fought in LN, confirming that the region was then no longer subject to northern rule. Apparently, Kushite control extended northwards during the era of Egyptian independence from Persian rule, Dyns. 28–30 (404–342 BC). Harsijotef (Nu. 13) is thus placed around 404. It seems that Kushite kings also remained active in LN during the last phase of the Second Persian Period in Egypt, as Nastasen names *Ḥmbswḏn* as the enemy in LN.⁶⁴ Hintze, citing linguistic and historical arguments, equated this foe with the Egyptian rival king Khababash,⁶⁵ a proposal that strongly influenced the chronological position assigned to Nastasen and resulted in his being dated ca. 335–315 BC.⁶⁶ Although this identification of Nastasen's

⁵⁹ Macadam's proposal of a coregency between Talakhamani and Arike-Amanote was justly refuted by Vinogradov, *Atti I. VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia* (Turin, 1992/93), 635ff.

⁶⁰ So, too, Reisner *HAS* II (1919), 58.

⁶¹ L. 1: Grimal (n. 29), 42, 2.

⁶² L. 1: Peust (n. 19), 34.

⁶³ L. A. Heidorn, in: W. V. Davies, ed., *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from prehistory to Islam* (London, 1991), 206ff.; Morkot, in: *Achaemenid History Workshop 6* (Leiden, 1991), 324ff.

⁶⁴ L. 39; on the reading of the name, see most recently, Peust (n. 19), 210–211.

⁶⁵ *Studien*, 17–20.

⁶⁶ On Khababash, who should probably be dated to 343–332 BC, see recently F. Hoffmann, *Ägypten* (Berlin, 2000), 87 note 145. See also Peust (n. 19), 210–211. For the chronology of the Second Persian Period in Egypt, see D. Devauchelle, *Transseuphratène* 10 (1995), 35–43 (*non vidi*).

opponent (presumably a LN prince), is most assuredly inaccurate,⁶⁷ the position of Nastasen in the sequence is unaffected. In terms of the general time scale, placing him somewhere in this era seems to be entirely reasonable, given the dates proposed for the early Meroitic king Arkamani-qo and the insertion of the so-called Neo-Ramesside rulers after Nastasen.

The five “Neo-Ramesside” kings, Gen. 28–32, have been placed between Nastasen, the last king to be buried in Nuri (Nu. 15), and the first Meroitic king to be buried in Begerawiya South (Beg. S. 6). They are Aktisanes,⁶⁸ Ary(amani),⁶⁹ Kash . . . meri-Amun,⁷⁰ Arike-Pi(ankhi)-qo, and Sabrakamani.⁷¹ But using archaeological criteria, it is possible to associate only three of the five with burials, viz. the anepigraphic Barkal pyramids Bar 11, 14, and 15, which belong between Nu. 15 and Beg. S. 6, the first royal burial at Meroe.⁷² Ascribing the pyramids to specific Neo-Ramesside kings is, however, completely hypothetical. Moreover, these kings are viewed as a group and placed in the same period solely on account of their names.⁷³ Their proximity to Amanislo (Gen. 34), buried in Beg. S. 5, and their position before Arnekhamani *mrj-jmn* (Gen. 36), the builder of the Lion temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra may, however, be viewed as certain. Arnekhamani, buried in Beg. N. 53, was the last king to bear the epithet *mrj-jmn* (see below).⁷⁴ Amanislo and Amani-tekha⁷⁵ (Gen. 35) also used the epithet. However, it is not clear whether all five Neo-Ramesside kings form a single group in the period between Nastasen (Gen. 27) and Arkamani-qo (Gen. 33).

⁶⁷ Hintze identified the last part of the name as Meroitic *wte* (for *wte*, see now Rilly, MNL 27 [2000], 105 n. 5). It is, however, highly improbable that such a positive epithet would be attached to the name of an opponent; see A. S. Spalinger, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 147. Furthermore, Khababash was chiefly active in LE.

⁶⁸ For *Gtsn/Klsn* see K.-H. Priebe, in: *Fs Hintze*, 343ff. Beckerath, *Handbuch*², 275, “Atiaa-qo” is to be corrected; likewise, the mistaken data for H, G, and N names of Arike-Amanote (Beckerath, *Handbuch*², 273). Diodorus I, 60 records an Ethiopian king Aktisanes, who might be identical with *Gtsn/Klsn*. Diodorus took the name from Hekataios of Abdera, a contemporary of Ptolemy I, whose work must have been composed before 300 BC; thus Aktisanes should be dated to before 300, or at the very latest, before 282 BC.

⁶⁹ Kendall’s identification as Alara (*Meroitica* 15 [1999], 64) cannot be maintained.

⁷⁰ Cf. Beckerath, *Handbuch*², 275 Arkamanikasch . . . (?).

⁷¹ All but Aktisanes are documented only in Kawa. See Macadam, *Kawa* I, 72ff. (XIII, XIV, XV), 90 (XLV).

⁷² See Wenig, *MIO* 13 (1967), 1ff.

⁷³ I.e., the epithet *mrj-jmn* written in the cartouche with the nomen of Kash . . . , Ary(amani) and Sabrakamani.

⁷⁴ Priebe, in: *Fs Hintze*, 351ff. See also above, note 14.

⁷⁵ Probably restored correctly as Amani-tekha *mrj-jmn* by Beckerath, *Handbuch*², 277.

Peculiarities of writing and diction in the inscriptions of Sabrakamani and Arike-Pi(ankhi)-qo led Priese to date them earlier in the Napatan era, before Nastasen,⁷⁶ whereas Hofmann places Sabrakamani and Kash . . . amani in the Meroitic period (as Gen. 39 and 40), assigning them the later pyramids Bar. 7 and Bar. 9 in the north group at Gebel Barkal.⁷⁷ But this would imply that these two kings temporarily revived the tradition of using the epithet *mrj-Jmn* in their cartouches after a lapse of several generations. In the absence of additional arguments, this proposal does not seem very appealing. Positioning the Barkal pyramids 7 and 9 between the necropoleis of Nuri and Begerawiya led to the rejection of the idea of a First Collateral dynasty at Napata.

Typologically, the tombs Beg. S. 6 und Beg. S. 5 at Meroe immediately follow the pyramids of the southern group at Barkal. They belong to kings Arkamani-qo (Gen. 33) and Amanislo (Gen. 34). According to Diodorus III, 6, the Ethiopian king Ergamenes was a contemporary of Ptolemy II (285–246 BC) and the first to oppose the priesthood and their custom of ritual regicide. This information resulted in the identification of Ergamenes with Arkamani-qo, and thus to establish him approximately in the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century BC. The transfer of the royal necropolis from Barkal to Meroe in Arkamani-qo's reign also contributed to his identification with Ergamenes, as the move could have been related to the latter's opposition to the priesthood.⁷⁸

After Amanislo, the sequence of royal tombs at Meroe continues in the northern area of Begerawiya. Of 41 tombs, at least two must be assigned to princes, and one to a non-reigning queen. The uncertainty of ascribing tombs in this cemetery results from the use of two-chambered tombs for kings after the turn of the 2nd to the 1st century BC. Previously kings owned three-chamber tombs while two-chamber tombs were used for non-ruling members of the royal family. Since the non-ruling members continued to be buried in two-chamber tombs, it is difficult to identify the burial of a king when the reliefs in the tomb chapels have been destroyed, as is frequently the case; or when tomb stelae and offering tables are not preserved in situ. Furthermore, kings are usually not distinguished by the use of their title *qore* in the

⁷⁶ In: *Fs Hintze*, 352f.

⁷⁷ *Chronologie*, 65–66.

⁷⁸ F. Hintze, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat Es Sufra* (Berlin, 1962), 16f.

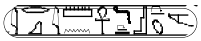
nomination of the funerary texts. The series of tombs in the northern cemetery was interrupted for three generations by a move to Barkal, but then the sequence was resumed and maintained in the north cemetery until the end of the Meroitic kingdom.

Associating individual pyramids with known kings to establish a chronological sequence is thus a particularly difficult task in this cemetery. The first tomb, Beg. N. 4, belongs to Amani-tekha who, distinguished by the epithet *mrj-ḥmn* in his cartouche,⁷⁹ follows Amanislo closely. The chronological position of Arnekhamani (Gen. 36), builder of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra, who has been assigned the destroyed pyramid Beg. N. 53, has been deduced from the repeated changes of epithet in his cartouche. *Mrj-ḥmn* he first altered to *nh dt mrj-ḥmn*, and then to *nh dt mrj-ḥst*. This last epithet naming Isis is used in Egypt only by Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC). Presumably Arnekhamani ascended the throne during the reign of Ptolemy III (246–221 BC), and subsequently changed his name, when Ptolemy IV became pharaoh.⁸⁰ Arqamani/Ergamenes II (Gen. 37; Beg. N. 7) and Adikhalamani/Tabirko⁸¹ (Gen. 38; Beg. N. 9) used the same epithet. They should therefore be successors of Arnekhamani, especially since Arqamani might be identical with the son of Arnekhamani who appears in the reliefs of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra.⁸² A chronological niche for Arqamani and Adikhalamani is easily defined, since both built in the Dodekaschoinos in LN,⁸³ and can only have done so (for political and chronological reasons) during the Theban secession between 207/6 and 186 BC.

⁷⁹ See above, note 75.

⁸⁰ Hintze (n. 78), 14f. The Egyptian rival king *Hr-wn-nfr* likewise takes the epithet *nh-dt mrj-ḥst* along with others at his coronation in Thebes, 205 BC, see W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit* (München, 2001), 446 and P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (Leiden, 1967), 44.

⁸¹ Possibly a mortuary name of Adikhalamani.

⁸² Hintze, (n. 78), 25 (10). However, Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 57, rightly argues that Prince Arka  cannot be Arqamani  (Dakke; RCK IV, fig. D no. 24 G) because the orthography of the name is quite different, but she does concede that his chronological position after Arnekhamani could be correct.

⁸³ Chapel of Ergamenes in the temple of Dakke (G. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, Cairo, 1911) and chapel of Adikhalamani in Debod (G. Roeder, *Debod bis Kalabsche*, Cairo, 1911); see also a stela of the latter in Philae (A. Farid, *MDAIK* 34 [1978], 53–56). For the alleged joint constructions of Meroites and Ptolemies in the Dodekaschoinos, see Török, *Handbook*, 210–211, 428–431.

The tombs continuing the archaeological sequence in the northern cemetery can be assigned to specific individuals only with difficulty. Relevant epigraphic material is generally lacking, and attributions on the basis of fragmentary and displaced offering tables can be no more than provisional. A ruling queen must have been interred in the pyramid Beg. N. 11 (Gen. 41), where the reliefs depict a woman with royal insignia. Shards with Demotic and Meroitic cursive characters have been found in the debris, supporting attribution of it to Sanakadakhete. The earliest known inscription in Meroitic comes from Temple F which she built in Naqa. An iconographic detail leads Hofmann to correlate the pyramid with the later part (after 145 BC) of the reign of Ptolemy VIII (170–163, 145–131, and again 127–116 BC).⁸⁴ A block from a pylon with traces of a Horus name with the component *k3-nḥt* comes from Beg. N. 20 (Gen. 44). Ptolemy IX (116–107 and 88–80 BC) and Ptolemy XII (80–57 and 55–51 BC) use *k3-nḥt* in their Horus names, suggesting to Wenig that the pyramid Beg. N. 20 belongs to the Meroitic king Taneyidamani, who is known from many monuments and must belong to this period.⁸⁵ However, Hofmann and Török consider him the immediate successor of Sanakadakhete, and therefore assign him pyramid Beg. N. 12 (Gen. 42).⁸⁶

After Beg. N. 20, the royal family moved the burial ground to Barkal for three generations, before returning to Begerawiya North for the remainder of Meroitic history. Only one of the three tombs at the latter site can be assigned, viz. Bar. 6 to the ruling queen Nawidemaka. Other identifications depend upon differing interpretations of the historical events that may have led to the transfer of the necropolis.⁸⁷ Since the assignment of the tomb group Beg. N. 11, 12, 13, and 20 is already hypothetical, and the sequence of kings accordingly contested, any interpretations amount to mere circular reasoning until new material comes to light.

Epigraphic documentation for three personalities—king Teriteqase, Kandake Amanirenase and Paqara Akinidada—at the temple of Dakke⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Chronologie*, 77–78.

⁸⁵ *MIO* 13 (1967), 43.

⁸⁶ Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 78. Török notes palaeographic details favouring Taneyidamani for Sanakadakhete's immediate successor, *Handbook*, 205; idem, *FHN* II, 664.

⁸⁷ But not, in my opinion, an active northern policy (cf. Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 66ff.), since the kings of Dyn. 25 had a decided northern policy with the seat of government in Egypt, yet were buried in Kush.

⁸⁸ *REM* 0092; *REM* 0093.

is chronologically very significant. Queen Amanirenase, who apparently reigned after the death of Teriteqase, is attested together with Akinidada in Kawa and in Hamadab.⁸⁹ Akinidada may be the son of the one-eyed Kandake mentioned by Strabo.⁹⁰ Akinidada is also named with the reigning queen Amanisakheto (Beg. N. 6) on a stela in Qasr Ibrim.⁹¹ These four individuals must have been not only contemporaries, but also apparently associated with historical events linked to a more aggressive northern policy, which led to the Meroitic conquest and pillage of Philae and Syene and provoked the conflict with the Romans, resulting in Petronius's campaign of 23 BC. With the peace of Samos 21/20 BC, both parties were satisfied with the Roman garrison's withdrawal from Qasr Ibrim while the Meroites recognized the border at Maharraqa.⁹² Only in 297 AD did Diocletian move the frontier back to Syene, but exactly how the Romans ruled LN during their years of sovereignty, and the degree to which the Meroites may have been involved, cannot be established with certainty. Demotic graffiti in the Dodekaschoinos, dating for the most part to the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, testify to the activities of Meroitic officials in the region. The cult of Isis at Philae was particularly important to them, and defensive actions against the aggressive and marauding Blemmyes will have been a common concern of Romans and Meroites. The Kharamadoye text in the Mandulis temple at Kalabsha is the last Meroitic inscription in the region;⁹³ it dates to the beginning of the 5th century AD.⁹⁴ Whether King Aqrakamani (*ʒqrg-ʒmnʒ*) should also be assigned to the period of conflict with Petronius remains unclear.⁹⁵ A Demotic inscription of a Meroite in Dakke belongs to his reign and that of his royal mother, the *pr-ʒt* Naytal (*Njtl*).⁹⁶

⁸⁹ REM 0628; REM 1039.

⁹⁰ Strabo 17, 1. 53f.; see FHN III, 828ff. (190).

⁹¹ REM 1141; cf. also REM 0705. 0706 in the temple T at Kawa.

⁹² Summary of the historical events according to Roman sources: Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush: the Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (London, 1996) 68ff.; Török, *Handbook*, 448ff.

⁹³ For the dates, see Török, FHN III, 1105f.

⁹⁴ That the Kharamadoye inscription might have been written in a language other than Meroitic (as Peust (n. 19), 75, maintains) is highly improbable. It is precisely positions such as -dik or -lw (which Peust cites as indicators of a different language) which are known Meroitic language morphemes, like the lexeme *qore* "king". A glance at the beginning of the inscription, which clearly reveals Meroitic diction as far as line 9, should have discouraged him from pursuing this proposal. For analyses of the inscription, see *Bibliographie REM* 0094 and Millet, *MNL* 30 (2003), 57–72.

⁹⁵ Török in: FHN II, 686 (161), without, however, going into A. Burckhardt's arguments in *Meroitica* 8 (1985), 76 and n. 12, where this graffito is assigned to the late 1st or early 2nd century AD.

⁹⁶ Dak. 17; cf. Burckhardt, *Meroitica* 8 (1985), 99.

After Amanisakheto come the great Meroitic builders Natakamani (Beg. N. 22) and Amanitore (Beg. N. 1) under whose reign a “Re-Egyptianization” in art and script occurred. The new excavations of the Berlin Egyptian Museum discovered two stelae of Amanisakheto in the temple of Amun at Naqa,⁹⁷ built by Natakamani and Amanitore, which may necessitate a reassessment of the sequence of these rulers, unless the two stelae actually come from an earlier building in Naqa,⁹⁸ or were perhaps shifted to the Amun temple and left there. Both stelae show the queen with Amesemi, once before Amesemi’s consort Apedemak (REM 1293), and once simply together (REM 1294). Studying details of the representations and the finds in the tombs, Hofmann⁹⁹ dates Natakamani to the 2nd half of the 1st century AD.

It is uncertain, although entirely plausible, that Sorakarora, who occasionally appears together with Natakamani and Amanitore and may have initially occupied the position of a *pqr(tr)*, should be placed in the sequence of rulers after Natakamani. A relief at Gebel Qeili shows Sorakarora with full royal insignia.¹⁰⁰

Links with the Roman Empire are lacking for the following epoch, and there are only a few kings attested in inscriptions and by offering tables. The small number of names which belong to known rulers, and those which have been proposed as names of rulers, are mere compilations in list form. Only the pyramids Beg. N. 17, 18, and 19¹⁰¹ and the late pyramid Beg. N. 28 (of Teqorideamani) can be associated by inscriptions with owners and their sequence established beyond doubt, following Beg. N. 16. Beg. N. 17, 18, and 19 date to the period from somewhat after the mid-1st century AD to the mid-2nd century. However, two offering tables were found in Beg. N. 16, one belonging to

⁹⁷ REM 1293 and 1294.

⁹⁸ Naqa may already have been documented in the stela of Nastasen as *trqqt*; see Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1972), s.v. *twrkt(t)* and *trqqt*.

⁹⁹ *Chronologie*, 128ff.; see also Török, *Handbook*, 461ff.; idem, *FHN* III, 898f.

¹⁰⁰ M. Zach (*GM* 136 [1993], 89ff.) considers Sorakarora a rival of King Natakamani; Hofmann (*Chronologie*, 128) removes him from the list of kings and assigns Beg. N. 15 to him; Török (*FHN* III, 910f.) considers him a ruling king since he wears a royal costume at Gebel Qeili; Zach (*GM* 145, 1995, 105ff.) concurs. See also Wenig (n. 16), 17; idem, *Fs Wenig* (n. 16), 182.

¹⁰¹ Amanitenamomide (Beg. N. 17), Queen Amanikhatashan (Egyptian hieroglyphs, Beg. N. 18), Tarekeniwala (Beg. N. 19, in the debris of which was found an offering table of Ariteneyesebokhe). Beg. N. 29 probably Takideamani, and certainly Teqorideamani (Beg. N. 18).

Amanitaraqide¹⁰² and the other to Arayesebokhe. Palaeographic and typological features allow earlier pyramid Beg. N. 16 to be ascribed to Amanitaraqide. Arayesebokhe is dated to a later period, since his offering table is typologically younger, and Beg. N. 36 is assigned to him, but there are significant discrepancies in his chronological position.¹⁰³ Furthermore, it is by no means clear that both these individuals were kings at all: no other monuments have yet surfaced for either.¹⁰⁴ The assignment of pyramids in the following period also remains entirely hypothetical. For the specific identification of the burials in Hofmann's 6th group of pyramids in Begerawiya North, which she dates from the mid-2nd century to the mid-3rd century, she relies on offering tables with royal benediction formulae found in the West necropolis at Begerawiya, on the assumption that they had been moved.¹⁰⁵ This clearly illustrates the difficulties and uncertainties surrounding the identifications of rulers and their relative chronological positions.¹⁰⁶

King Amanikhareqerema, who left us the "omphalos" (i.e., a naos) of Napata,¹⁰⁷ two ram statues¹⁰⁸ and a rounded stone with his name found at Naqa,¹⁰⁹ has as yet no tomb at all,¹¹⁰ unless Beg. N. 37 (Gen. 67)¹¹¹

¹⁰² His parents are *Mnhdoke* (B) and *Pisekr* (C). The facsimile *REM* 0816 has *Pisekdo* instead (C), but it is not possible to decide which reading is correct on the basis of the photograph. Pisekara appears in the king lists because kings' fathers are presumed to have been kings too, but this is by no means certain.

¹⁰³ For example, Török, *FHN* III, 912–914 places Arayesebokhe as Gen. 56 with Beg. N. 36 immediately after Amanitaraqide with Beg. N. 16. The same sequence appears in Török, *Handbook*, 205, but with Beg. N. 36 assigned to Amanitaraqide and Beg. N. 16 to Arayesebokhe. Hintze, *Studien*, 33 placed Amanitaraqide in Gen. 48 and Arayesebokhe much later in Gen. 60, while Wenig (n. 16), 17; idem, *Fs Wenig* (n. 16), 182) assumes Gens. 56 and 69, and Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 192, assigns them, respectively, to Gens. 52 and 63.

¹⁰⁴ See Rilly, *MNL* 28 (2001), 81.

¹⁰⁵ *Chronologie*, 155.

¹⁰⁶ For example, inserting Maloqorebara (Meroitic chamber in Philae, *REM* 0101 l. 1) in the king list is fraught with difficulties; cf. Török's discussion, *FHN* III, 1028f. Even if a royal name should be expected in *REM* 0101 (so Török) the context of the inscription (*idhe:Mloqorebr:qoretllhidemni* . . .) does not suggest that Maloqorebara should be considered a king. At our present understanding of the language *qoretllhidemni* / *qoretalahidemani* is to be read as *qorese-l llhidemni*.

¹⁰⁷ *REM* 1004.

¹⁰⁸ *REM* 0001 and *REM* 1151.

¹⁰⁹ *REM* 1282, with the writing *Mnhereqerem* (contra Rilly, *MNL* 28 [2001], 71 n. 1), see the figure, K. Kroeper & D. Wildung, *ANM* 9 (2002), 146 pl. VI a (inverted); G. & J. Hallof, *BzS* 7 (2000), 169ff.; C. Carrier, *MNL* 27 (2000), 2 and figs. 4–5.

¹¹⁰ Török, *Handbook*, 206 (Gen. 62).

¹¹¹ Wenig (n. 16), 17; idem, *Fs Wenig* (n. 16), 182.

or Beg. N. 41 (Gen. 56) is his.¹¹² Proposed dates range from the 2nd half to the end of the 2nd century. When doubts arose about the late dates for Amanikhareqerema, Rilly attempted to check the chronological position proposed for him by applying palaeographic criteria to the inscription on the stone REM 1282.¹¹³ To avoid circular reasoning, he relied on statistical analyses of the cursive royal inscriptions after Natakamani. His study includes 18 documents, analysed according to strict methodological criteria, while excluding archaeological and iconographic factors. Rilly concludes that the later dates for Amanikhareqerema should be reconsidered, since he may belong instead to the end of the 1st century.

We have almost no names for the kings reigning between Amanikhareqerema and those of around a century later. Many princes and queens were included in the king-list for the last centuries of the kingdom of Meroe, none of whom reigned autonomously. In the corpus studied by Rilly they are: Amanitaraqide, Arayesebokhe, Amanikhedolo, Mashaqadakhela, Temelordeamani, who may have been a half-brother of King Teqorideamani, Pat.rapeamani and Amanipilade.

A maximum list of kings after Natakamani (and Sorakarora?) would include 23 rulers with a total of 24 pyramids. In a minimal list, only the following individuals can be considered kings:

Amanikhareqerema, end 1st century AD
 Amanitenamomide (Beg. N. 17)
 Amanikhatashan (Beg. N. 18)
 Takideamani (?)
 Tarekeniwala (Beg. N. 19)
 Ariteneyesebokhe
 Teqorideamani (Beg. N. 28), accession 248/249 AD
 Yesebokheamani

Teqorideamani can be dated precisely; he is named in the Demotic graffito Ph. 416 of Pasan mentioning the third year of the ruler *Tqrrmn* and year 253 (in our reckoning) under Trebonius Gallus. The king's name, written in Meroitic Teqorideamani, was found in his pyramid, Beg. N. 28. We also possess an offering table REM 0829, dedicatory texts REM 0408 through REM 0410, and the graffito REM 1261 in

¹¹² Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 160.

¹¹³ *MNZ* 28 (2001), 71ff.

Meroe inscribed with his name. He may have reigned 20 years.¹¹⁴ The inscription of his official Pasan and those of other Meroites attest that the personnel of the Isis temple was partially under the authority of Meroitic officials. It is probably in this connection that the representations in the Meroitic chamber at Philae showing a Meroitic delegation should be understood.¹¹⁵ One of the successors of Teqorideamani was Yesebokheamani, who is attested in a dedicatory inscription on Hadrian's gate at Philae, where he is explicitly titled *qore*.¹¹⁶ He thus belongs most probably to the period of Roman withdrawal from the Dodekaschoinos.¹¹⁷ His lion statue was found in Qasr Ibrim in LN,¹¹⁸ and he is also known from a stela in the Apedemak temple at Meroe, with an inscription identifying him as king.¹¹⁹

The sequence of pyramids in Begerawiya North ends with Beg. N. 25. This tomb belonged to a queen who is depicted wearing royal insignia and sitting on a lion throne to receive an offering of incense.¹²⁰ The pyramid Beg. N. 25 represents the last burial in the royal necropolis at Begerawiya North, marking the end of the Meroitic kingdom.

¹¹⁴ Deduced by Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 168, based on Ph. 68, where year 20 of a Meroitic king is mentioned.

¹¹⁵ *REM* 0097–0111.

¹¹⁶ *REM* 0119 and *REM* 0120. On *qoro* < *qore-lo* see Rilly, *MNL* 26 (1999), 79ff.

¹¹⁷ See Török, *FHN* III, 1050; contrast Hofmann, *Chronologie*, 189.

¹¹⁸ Not in *REM*. See J. M. Plumley, *JEA* 52 (1966), 12, pl. 4, 3. The writing cannot be confirmed on the basis of the published photograph, but see Hallof, *JEA* 89 (2003), pl. 23.

¹¹⁹ *REM* 0407, l. 2 without the adjunct *amni* only as *yesebohe:qore*.

¹²⁰ *RCK* III, pl. 23.