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László Török

MEROE

SIX STUDIES ON THE CULTURAL IDENTITY
OF AN ANCIENT AFRICAN STATE



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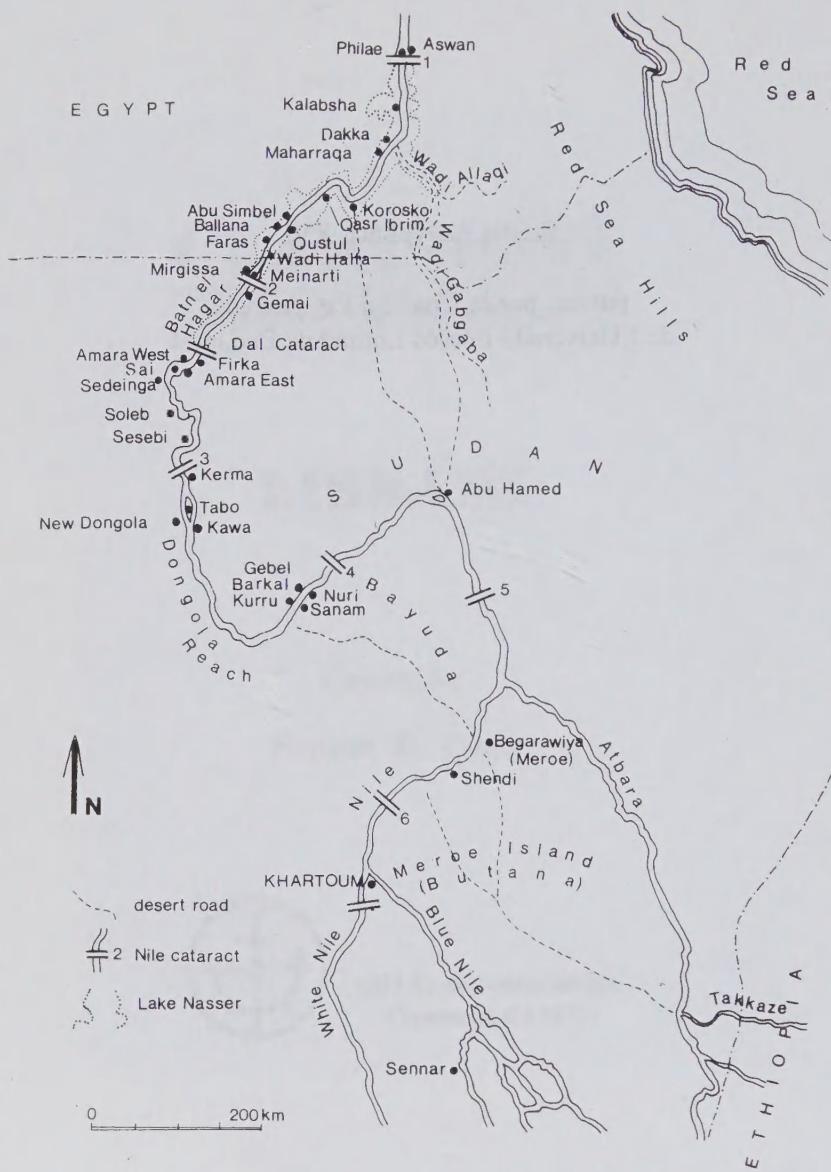
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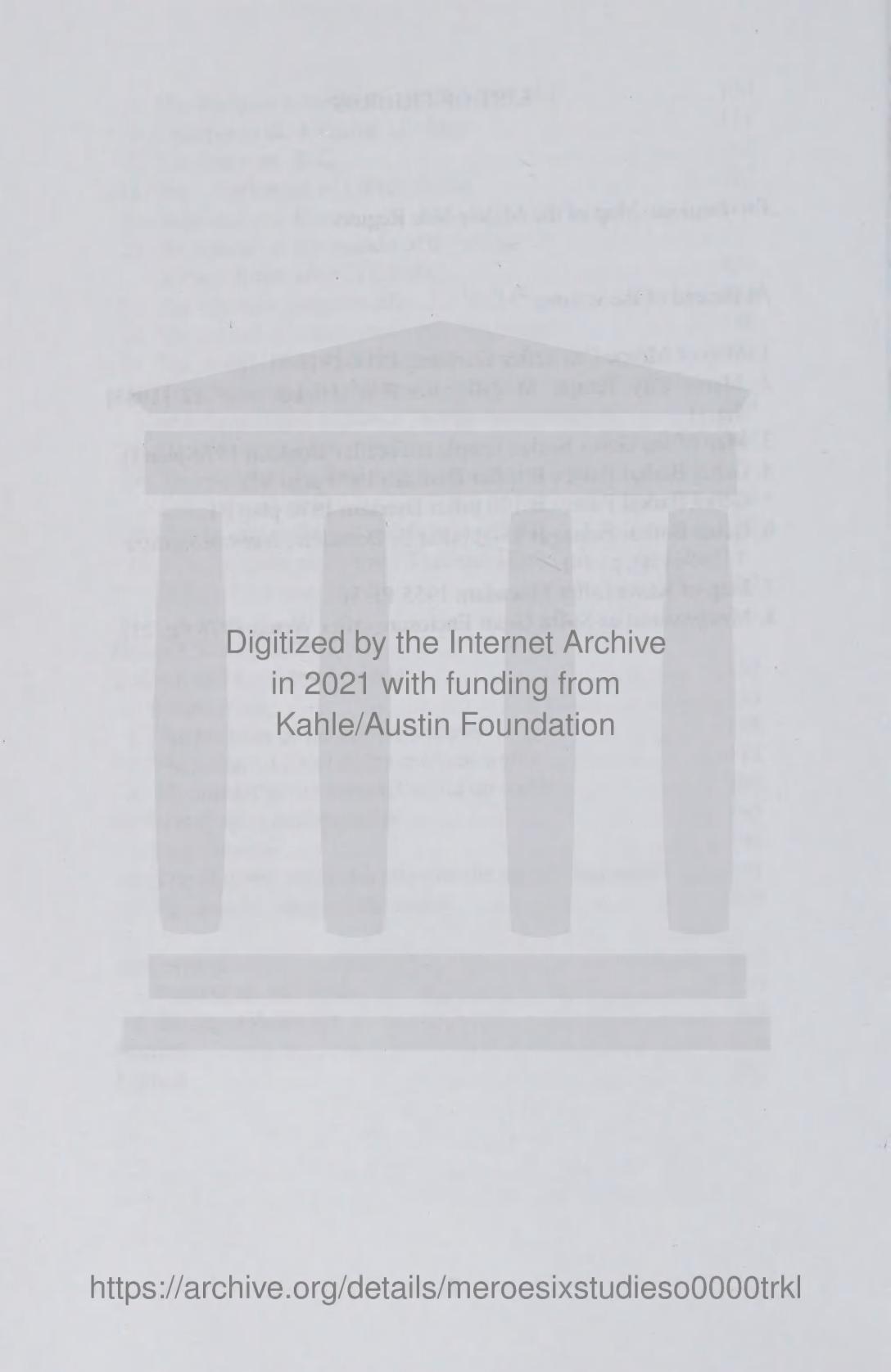
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PREFACE

The six papers united in the present volume were written in the course of the 1980s. Five of them (here Chapters II-VI) were originally published between 1987 and 1992, while Chapter I was originally written in 1988 for a *Festschrift* in honor of Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif which could, however, not be published. They were intended to give an overview of the actual state of research on the textual and archaeological evidence of Middle Nile history between the seventh century B.C. and the late fourth century A.D., i.e., in the period of the Kushite kingdom (in the literature usually divided into a Napatan, 7th to 3rd c. B.C., and a Meroitic, 3rd c. B.C. to 4th c. A.D., period). They reflect the shift of scholarly interest occurring after the end of the period of rescue archaeology: with the conclusion of the UNESCO Nubian Campaign and in the possession of the lessons of the first important publications on the surveys and rescue excavations carried out between 1959 and 1969, students of the Middle Nile cultures entered a new phase of Nubian Studies and were confronted with the necessity of the integration of their field into Ancient History. The chapters of this volume reflect, on the one hand, the present writer's interest in the critical re-analysis of the textual evidence and in the re-assessment of archaeological chronology. On the other, they demonstrate his efforts to understand the cultural identity of the Middle Region through the investigation of the Kushite state structure and the political and cultural contacts of the Region with Egypt.

The six papers are published here in a more or less revised form: Chapter II, IV, and V present abbreviated versions of the original papers, in order to avoid repetitions and, in cases, also because I am no more fully in agreement with what I have written in the omitted sections. Changes to Chapter I, III, and VI are less substantial: I have corrected a number of mistakes and misprints, but otherwise their text corresponds more closely with the original versions. New

literature was included into the footnotes only when it seemed absolutely necessary.

The textual sources were used on the basis of the critical editions that were available before 1990. In the meantime, the first volume of *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century B.C. and the Sixth Century A.D. (Vol. I. From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century B.C.)*, edited by T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce and L. Török, Bergen, 1994) has been published. References to more recent literature and important additions to the topics discussed on the following pages are also to be found in the pre-prints of the acts of the *Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies*, Berlin 1992 and the *Eighth International Conference of the International Society for Nubian Studies*, Lille-Paris 1994 (the latter were assembled by F. Geus under the title *Nubia Thirty Years Later*. Lille 1994). Throughout the book and especially in the first chapter I speak about the 1909-1914 excavations at Meroe City as known only from brief preliminary reports. My comprehensive publication of the documents and finds of John Garstang (now in the collection of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies of the University of Liverpool) will hopefully precede the printing of this volume (*Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan*, London).

I am in debt to Professors László Kákosy and Ulrich Luft for including this volume as an "Introduction to Middle Nile studies" into the series *Studia Aegyptiaca*. Words of appreciation must also go to Professor Richard Holton Pierce (Bergen) for inspiration in the writing of Chapter III, Professors Torgny Säve-Söderbergh (Uppsala) and Tomas Hägg (Bergen) for help and advice in the writing of the original version of Chapter IV, and to Drs Timothy Kendall (Boston) and Patrice Lenoble (then in Khartoum) for their magnanimous assistance during my journey in the Butana in 1988-89 which enabled me to complete the original version of Chapter VI. I wish to thank Mrs Judit Solti and Miss Marianna Szücs, who have produced the camera-ready manuscript of this book.

Budapest, October 1993 and Bergen, February 1995.

L. Török

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

I. HISTORY OF RESEARCH IN THE MIDDLE NILE REGION

Aithiopia¹ and its peoples have attracted the imagination of classical writers ever since the Homeric period. However scarce the actual contacts of the classical world with the Middle Nile Valley were, and, consequently, however utopistically coloured the image of Aithiopia in Greek and Roman literature was bound to become, it was first of all the descriptions of the ancient writers that have helped the early 19th c. learned travellers to understand what they have encountered in the Sudan. Another key to the apperception of the marvellous ruins they have discovered was found in the Egyptian features thereof. The interpretation of the classical sources and the analysis of the Egyptian features of the ancient Sudanese cultures continued to play a key role in the exploration of the past of the Middle Nile Valley and there is still no consensus, as to the actual value of the individual sources and the form, extent, and importance

¹ In this chapter I shall use, alongside with the geographical terms Middle Nile Valley, Upper and Lower Nubia, Northern and Central Sudan, Bayuda, Butana, which do not require any further explanation, also the traditional name Island of Meroe meaning the territory between Nile and Atbara as far south as the Khartoum region; furthermore the ancient names of the country. These are: Kush (of the pharaonic texts), Aithiopia (of the Greek literature, describing both the utopic land of the black race and the actual Kingdom of Meroe south of Egypt), Meroe (of the Latin literature, deriving from the native name of Meroe City attested already in Napatan texts of the 6th c. B.C.). It is, however, uncertain, by what name(s) did the ancient Sudanese describe their own country. Their kings styled themselves since Kashta "King of Upper and Lower Egypt". Of course, this title signified the royal power *per se*, and was not destined to designate the territory of the ancient Sudan, and did not suggest, at least in the later Napatan and in Meroitic times, a claim over Egypt. In other contexts, however, monumental inscriptions from the 8th to 5th c. B.C. refer to the Kingdom as "Kush". As to the terms of chronology and periodisation, "Napatan" will mean the period between the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and c. 300 B.C.; "Meroitic" the period between c. 300 B.C. and c. 360-370 A.D.

of the Egyptian inspirations and influences in the individual phases and territories of Sudanese culture.

It is therefore necessary to introduce the chapters dealing with the phases of Sudanese history with a survey of the more important textual sources and of their contents. This survey will be preceded by a review of the archaeological work carried out in the Sudan since the days of the early travellers: these surveys may not only give an information of the actually possessed archaeological and textual source material, but may also reveal, however summarily, the changing possibilities and trends of research. Geographically, the surveys will extend from Aswan, the northern border of the ancient Sudan at the times of its greatest extension, to the Khartoum area in the South; and chronologically from the end of New Kingdom Egyptian domination around 1070 B.C.² till the early post-Meroitic period, i.e., c. the middle of the 5th c. A.D.³

1. The archaeological evidence

The initial phase was limited on the recording of the visible monuments. The volumes published in 1823-27 by Frédéric Cailliaud⁴ greatly contributed to the interest of early Egyptologists towards the Sudan where they now began to expect to find important monuments relating to the history of pharaonic Egypt. The first expedition with conscious scholarly aims, led by Champollion-le-Jeune and Rosellini in 1828-29, concentrated its attention on the geography and the pharaonic temples of the Valley north of the Second Cataract. The next expedition, which was the most important one of the 19th c. and the results of which still belong to the bases of our knowledge, was the Prussian Expedition directed by the great Lepsius. It was destined to record systematically the historical monuments of the entire ancient Egyptian realm, including the Middle Nile Valley. Thank to the meticulous work of the members of the expedition and to the insight of Lepsius himself, the material

² Kitchen 1973 Table 1.

³ See II 5. below.

⁴ *Voyage à Meroe I-II*. Paris 1823; *Voyage à Meroe, à Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazogl dans le midi du royaume de Sennar, au Syouah et dans les cinq autres oasis I-IV*. Paris 1826-1827.

collected between 1842 and 1845 and published in five folio volumes between 1849 and 1859 rendered serious historical researches possible. Lepsius' *Denkmaeler*, and then the great hieroglyphic texts discovered in 1868 at Gebel Barkal, began to shape the image of a Napatan-Meroitic culture greatly dependent on pharaonic Egyptian influence, but also consisting of clearly discernible native elements. The latter were, however, not very favourably interpreted, and the view of the scholars was not considerably changed by the findings of E.A.W. Budge who repeatedly visited the Sudan (which became in 1898 a condominium of Britain and Egypt) between 1897 and 1905. Budge has not only studied the existing monuments and the hieroglyphic inscriptions known in his days and published his observations, further a history of the ancient Sudan;⁶ he was also the first to start archaeological excavations. Yet it must be added that Budge was chiefly interested in acquiring material for the British Museum and he failed to keep even the not very developed methodological level of contemporary excavations in the Near East, and in this way his work unfortunately resembles the earlier activity of the treasure hunter Ferlini.⁷ A decisive turning point was the creation of the post of an antiquities official and the appointment of J.W. Crowfoot who started, with excellent instinct, the recording of the ancient sites in the Butana.⁸ A similarly important turning point is marked by the travels of A.H. Sayce which resulted directly in the starting of the excavations at Meroe City directed by J. Garstang between 1909 and 1913 and, in an indirect way, in the excavations to be carried out in the subsequent decades by F.Ll. Griffith; for Griffith, the great pioneer of Meroitic studies, was invited by Garstang to participate as the epigraphist of his team in the excavations at Meroe City. Griffith immediately realized, similarly to

⁵ C. R. Lepsius: *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* I-V. Berlin 1848-1858; Text ed. E. Naville: *Fünfter Band, Nubien, Hammamat, Syrien und Europäische Museen*. Bearbeitet v. W. Wreszynski. Leipzig 1913.

⁶ E.A.W. Budge: *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments* I-II. London 1907; *Annals of Nubian Kings*. London 1912; *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*. London 1928.

⁷ The discoverer of the Amanishaketo treasure. For the discovery cf. H. Schäfer: *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten. Königliche Museen zu Berlin*. Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung I. Berlin 1910; Wenig 1978 Nos 182-184 with lit.

⁸ J.W. Crowfoot: *The Island of Meroe*. London 1911.

Sayce and Garstang, that the cultures of the ancient Sudan were not the mere degenerated versions of the contemporary Egyptian cultures, and he was attracted above all by the linguistic and historical problems posed by the monuments inscribed in the Meroitic language. After the inscriptions found at Meroe City, Griffith systematically collected and studied the Meroitic textual material of the entire Middle Nile Valley.

Garstang's work at Meroe City was the first large-scale excavation at a settlement site in the Sudan. The importance of this particular site lies not only in the fact that it was inhabited continuously from the early Napatan period till post-Meroitic times, but is further increased by the presence of a royal palace complex, of temples and royal as well as non-royal cemeteries. It presented thus theoretically ideal conditions for researches concerning political, social and art history, religion, burial customs, and the development of material culture. Owing to the skills of his workmen, to the highly efficient organization of the digging, and to technical innovations in rubbish transport, Garstang succeeded in the uncovering of a considerable part of the royal enclosure, of the adjacent Amun Temple, of isolated temple buildings (Temple 600: Isis Temple; Temple 250: so-called "Sun Temple"; Temple 6: Apedemak Temple; Temple 1000), of palaces and workshops, and of three cemeteries ranging chronologically from the 1st c. A.D. (?) to post-Meroitic times. As obvious from the preliminary reports,⁹ the buildings and the other finds gave a sufficient basis for the establishment of a periodisation and an absolute chronology as well, and allowed the analysis of the more important trends within the individual periods. Unfortunately, the excavations were stopped by the First World War and Garstang's plans concerning the excavation of the entire settlement and the conservation and restauration of every building that can be saved and presented as a comprehensible monument of Sudanese history could not be realized. Although the preliminary reports are extremely condensed, it seems that Garstang's general chronology and description of the phases of the life of Meroe City are basically

⁹ J. Garstang - A.H. Sayce - F.Ll. Griffith: *Meroe, City of the Ethiopians*. Oxford 1911; J. Garstang: Preliminary Note on an Expedition to Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 3 (1911) 57-70; Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 4 (1912) 45-71; Third Int. Report... *LAAA* 5 (1913) 78-83; J. Garstang - W.S. George: Fourth Int. Report... *LAAA* 6 (1914) 1-21; J. Garstang - W.J. Phythian-Adams: Fifth Int. Report... *LAAA* 7 (1914-16) 1-24.

correct, even if subsequent researches and finds doubtless will alter many details of the picture sketched by him. As to the unpublished details of the excavations, around 1000 photographs taken during work are kept in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies in Liverpool, where also a large collection of small finds, mainly pottery, is housed. The documents and the finds will be published in the near future by this writer. Further objects from the Garstang excavations are to be found in the Liverpool Museum;¹⁰ the Petrie Museum, University College London; the British Museum London; the Musées Royaux, Brussels; the Ägyptisches Museum, Munich; the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; and the Khartoum National Museum. All these objects are worth publishing. Although their original contexts cannot be reconstructed on the basis of Garstang's field notes (we may not forget that the field records in the early years of the century were not what we expect to-day from the archaeologist), the find material reveals many important features of the culture of the Napatan and Meroitic periods.

Concurrently with the astonishing finds that were being made in the South at Meroe City, systematic salvage archaeology was going to take shape in Lower Nubia. Its initiator was the great American archaeologist G.A. Reisner and it was made necessary by the first enlargement of the original Aswan Dam. The First Archaeological Survey of Nubia was carried out between 1907 and 1911 and it investigated the sites and cemeteries of the Nile Valley from Shellal at the First Cataract to Wadi es Sebua, a place 95 miles farther upstream. The Survey excavated 151 cemeteries (with 8239 graves) and identified about half a dozen settlements, of which, however, only one was excavated. On the basis of the observations made in the course of the Survey Reisner was able to establish the first comprehensive description of Nubian archaeological cultures, upon which the majority of later works on the history of Nubia were built.¹¹ The attention of the Survey was concentrated in general on the mortuary remains and in particular on the investigation of Nubian

¹⁰ For their list see P. Bienkowski - E. Southworth: *Egyptian Antiquities in the Liverpool Museum. I. A List of the Provenanced Objects*. Warminster 1987.

¹¹ G.A. Reisner: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908 I. Archaeological Report*. Cairo 1910; and see C.M. Firth: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1909-1910*. Cairo 1915; id.: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1910-1911*. Cairo 1927.

prehistory. These disproportions can be explained chiefly by the methodology of the Ethnic Prehistory of the period (to which we shall return in Chapter I.3, below), further with the Egyptological backgrounds of the experts who were involved in the Survey. They were partly brought about also by Reisner's and Firth's conviction according to which the later historical phases would be sufficiently documented in the literary evidence. This opinion was further encouraged by the architectural and epigraphic survey of the Nubian temples from the pharaonic, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods, which was carried out concurrently with the Archaeological Survey and the results of which were published in the excellent volumes of the *Temples Immergés de la Nubie*.¹² Later archaeological work inherited from the First Survey not only the precious tool of cultural typology and the standard forms of data recording developed for the first time by Reisner,¹³ but also the unjustifiable priority of the digging of graves over the excavation of settlement sites.

In 1907 the Pennsylvania University Expedition (C.L. Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver) started its work in the Amada-Aniba area; in 1908-1909 it surveyed the Christian churches of the Faras region (this work was extended by Somers Clarke to a pioneer survey of church architecture between Cairo and Khartoum¹⁴); and in 1909-1910 investigated the pharaonic fortress of Buhen.

As was already mentioned above, F.Ll. Griffith started his Meroitic studies at Meroe City in 1909. Between 1910 and 1912 he conducted on behalf of the University of Oxford excavations at one of the most important Lower Nubian sites, Faras. A settlement inhabited already in New Kingdom times, Faras was one of the Meroitic viceregal centres and later seat of the bishop of Pachoras. Griffith's excavations clarified its general topography and highlighted several phases of its long history. The most important result was apparently the exploration of the large Meroitic necropolis. The grave typology and chronology proposed by Griffith was abandoned for a period by modern Nubiology, but recent discoveries seem to put

¹² A.M. Blackman: *The Temple of Dendur*. Cairo 1911; id.: *The Temple of Derr*. Cairo 1913; H. Gauthier: *Le temple d'Amada I-II*. Le Caire 1913-1926; id.: *Le temple de Kalabchah*. Le Caire 1911-1927; G. Roeder: *Debot bis Kalabsche, Tempel und Inschriften I/II*. Kairo 1911; id.: *Der Tempel von Dakke I-II*. Kairo 1930.

¹³ Adams 1977 71.

¹⁴ *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*. Oxford 1912.

forward again good arguments in favour of Griffith's high dating (2nd-1st c. B.C.) of the beginning of the Meroitic settlements at Faras in particular, and in Lower Nubia in general.¹⁵ Together with the finds of the Pennsylvania Expedition from Karanog,¹⁶ the pottery from Faras strikingly demonstrated the unexpectedly high artistic level of Meroitic ceramics and indicated through the intriguing iconographical and decorative patterns the complicated nature of the intellectual backgrounds of this art. Unfortunately, neither from Karanog, nor from Faras was the entire find material published, and the context of the published finds was not fully explained, either. In view of the conspicuous Egyptian elements in Meroitic pottery painting and of the abundance of Egyptian imports, both sites only deepened the conviction of Nubian scholars that Lower Nubia developed under the decisive influence of Egypt. As hardly any pottery was published from the Meroe City excavations, the seeming absence in the South of wares and styles that have characterized Lower Nubia gave birth to the myth of the basic differences between the northern and southern parts of the Meroitic kingdom.¹⁷

The 1910s were years of extraordinary activity: besides the surveys and excavations mentioned above, in 1911/12 the Vienna Academy of Sciences Expedition under the direction of H. Junker explored the Toshka-Arminna area in Lower Nubia; the Sieglin Expedition (G. Steindorff) the pharaonic fortress and the C-Group cemetery at Aniba; and, in the southernmost region of the Meroitic realm, the Wellcome Expedition (1911-1914) investigated a number of villages and cemeteries at Gebel Moya south of Khartoum. The results of the latter excavations were published only in 1949 and, for lack of comparable material, it is still somewhat doubtful, whether the Gebel

¹⁵ F.Ll. Griffith: Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Faras, Nubia. *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-F. Champollion*. Paris 1922 565-600; Oxford Excavations in Nubia XXVI-XXIX: The Pre-Meroitic Historical Gap in Lower Nubia; Meroitic Kingdom; Blemmyes and Nubians; XXX-XXXIII: The Meroitic Cemetery at Faras. *LAAA* 11 (1924) 115-125, 141-180; XXXIV-XXXIX: X-Group Graves and Contracted Burials; Suppl. Remarks on the Meroitic Cemetery. *LAAA* 12 (1925) 57-172; XL-XLII: Meroitic Antiquities at Faras and Other Sites. *LAAA* 13 (1926) 17-37; XLIII-XLVIII: A Symbol of Isis-Worship. *LAAA* 13 (1926) 49-93.

¹⁶ C.L. Woolley - D.Randall-Maclver: *Karanog: The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*. Philadelphia 1910.

¹⁷ For this problem see Adams 1976 and, recently, Török 1987a.

Moya finds really display a "southern" variant of Late Meroitic, or should they be viewed within a far broader chronological framework.¹⁸ Junker, although his Meroitic and post-Meroitic cemeteries did not differ typologically from those discovered by Reisner and Firth, arrived at different typological and historical conclusions. Having not discovered any significant cultural differences between the Meroitic and post-Meroitic assemblages, he did not see reasons to postulate a major ethnic change at the end of the Meroitic period in Nubia. Junker's view represents, albeit not quite consciously, the break with Ethnic Prehistory, which explained cultural changes of any importance in terms of ethnic changes.¹⁹ It remained for a long time unaccepted by Nubian scholars, but it is not quite certain, that its unquestioned acceptance in modern literature should not be challenged just in the case of the Meroitic - post-Meroitic transition.

The excavation of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan temple, palace(?) and cemetery of Sanam by Griffith also belongs to the outstanding activities of the early 1910s.²⁰ The year 1913 marks the beginning of the second period of Reisner's work in the Sudan. He returned to Nubia as Director of the Harvard University and Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, and in the possession of an excavation licence covering practically all important sites in the Northern Sudan. In 1913/16 he excavated the site of Kerma, in 1915/16 the Meroitic and post-Meroitic cemeteries at Gemai,²¹ in 1916/19 the royal cemetery at El Kurru and Nuri,²² the temples and royal cemeteries at Gebel Barkal,²³ and between 1922 and 1925 the royal necropolis at Meroe City (Begarawiyah North, South and

¹⁸ F. Addison: *Jebel Moya. Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan*. London - New York - Toronto 1949; cf. F. Addison: Second Thoughts on Jebel Moya. *Kush* 4 (1956) 4-18.

¹⁹ H. Junker: *Ermenne. Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von Ermenne (Nubien) im Winter 1911-1912*. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschr. 61/1. Wien 1925.

²⁰ F.L. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII: Napata, Sanam Temple, Treasury and Town. *LAAA* 9 (1922) 73-121.

²¹ O. Bates - D. Dunham: *Excavations at Gammai*. HAS 8 = Varia Africana 4 (1927).

²² D. Dunham: *El Kurru. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush* (henceforward RCK) I. Boston 1950; id.: *Nuri*. RCK II. Boston 1955.

²³ Dunham 1957; id.: *The Barkal Temples. Excavated by George Andrew Reisner*. Boston 1970.

West).²⁴ Finally between 1924 and 1932 he investigated the pharaonic fortresses in the Batn el Hagar. Although Reisner's finds were published *in extenso* only several decades after the excavations as a result of the invaluable work of his collaborator Dows Dunham, he published a series of preliminary reports. The importance of these short papers was, and remains, considerable: for they constitute the backbone of Napatan-Meroitic chronology.²⁵ His reconstruction of the royal succession from the earliest pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal generation (which he dated to the years around 900 B.C.) to the end of the Late Meroitic dynasty (put by him to the years around 350 A.D.)²⁶ is a masterwork of cemetery analysis, for it was built mainly on observations concerning the changes of a great number of features of the royal burials and anchored only to a very few fixed dates. Although to a great extent of a speculative character, Reisner's chronology proved to be reliable to a high degree and subsequent discoveries and researches concerning individual details of the sequences and absolute chronological data caused only small changes thereof.²⁷

Already as early as 1929-1934 a Second Archaeological Survey of Nubia was necessitated by a second enlargement of the Aswan Dam. It extended from Wadi es Seba to Adindan at the Sudanese-Egyptian frontier and was directed by W.B. Emery and L.P. Kirwan. As pointed out by W.Y. Adams,²⁸ this Survey was in its methods and

²⁴ Dunham 1957; id.: *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*. RCK V. Boston 1963.

²⁵ G.A. Reisner: The Barkal Temples in 1916. *JEA* 4 (1917) 213-227; Excavations at Napata, the Capital of Ethiopia. *BMFA* 15 (1917) (No. 89) 25-34; The Barkal Temples in 1917. *JEA* 5 (1918) 99-112; The Barkal Temples in 1919. *JEA* 6 (1920) 247-267; Historical Inscriptions from Gebel Barkal. *SNR* 4 (1921) 59-75; Excavations in Egypt and Ethiopia 1922-1925. *BMFA* 23 (1925) (No. 137) 17-29; Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. *ZÄS* 66 (1931) 76-100; *ZÄS* 69 (1933) 73-78; a last communication under the same title was edited by Reisner's daughter: M.B. Reisner: Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. *ZÄS* 70 (1934) 35-46.

²⁶ G.A. Reisner: The Royal Family of Napata. *BMFA* 19 (1921) (Nos 112-113) 21-38; The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline. *JEA* 9 (1923) 34-77; The Pyramids of Meroe and the Candaces of Ethiopia. *BMFA* 21 (1923) (No. 124) 12-27.

²⁷ Cf. Dunham 1957 7; Hintze 1959; Wenig 1967; Hofmann 1978; Török 1988a Ch. III.3.

²⁸ Adams 1977 76.

results similar to the First Survey. It investigated first of all cemeteries: in total 783 Meroitic and post-Meroitic graves were excavated at 49 sites. The Survey also investigated, besides the Middle- and New Kingdom fortress at Kubban, a Meroitic town site at Wadi el Arab.²⁹ But the most important discoveries were made at Qustul and Ballana, the necropoleis of the post-Meroitic rulers of Lower Nubia.³⁰ The astonishing richness of the graves at Qustul and Ballana changed at once the picture of the post-Meroitic period as a poor and unimportant postlude to Meroitic history. The lack of Meroitic features in the burial rites, however, convinced anew the scholars that the post-Meroitic culture must have arrived together with a new people in Lower Nubia. Emery identified the new people with the Blemmyes,³¹ but the improbability of this hypothesis was repeatedly shown by L.P. Kirwan,³² W.Y. Adams,³³ and other writers who have similarly advocated the identification of the carriers of the post-Meroitic, or, as it was called until recently in literature, X-Group or X-Horizon culture, with Nubian-speakers.³⁴

Qustul and Ballana were dated by the excavators and by the majority of later writers to the period between the early 5th and the late 6th c. A.D., although this dating was refused on the basis of good art historical arguments already by F.W. von Bissing,³⁵ who

²⁹ W.B. Emery - L.P. Kirwan: *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1921-1931*. Cairo 1935.

³⁰ W.B. Emery - L.P. Kirwan: *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*. Cairo 1938.

³¹ Ibid., and *Egypt and Nubia*. London 1965.

³² A Survey of Nubian Origins. *SNR* 20 (1937) 69-105; Studies in the Later History of Nubia. *LAAA* 24 (1937) 69-105; The Oxford University Excavations at Firka. London 1939; The Ballana Civilization. *Bull. Soc. Roy. de Géogr. d'Égypte* 25 (1953) 103-110; Comments on the Origins and History of the Nobatae of Procopius. *Kush* 6 (1958) 69-73; The X-Group Enigma. in: E. Bacon (ed.): *Vanished Civilizations*. London 1963 33-55; Axum, Meroe, and the Ballana Civilization. *Studies in Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*. Boston 1981 115-119; The X-Group Problem. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 191-204.

³³ Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology I. *JEA* 51 (1965) 160-169; Continuity and Change in Nubian Cultural History. *SNR* 48 (1967) 1-32; Adams 1977 Ch. 13; Kush and the Peoples of Northeast Africa. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 9-13.

³⁴ For the problem and its literature see Török 1988c.

³⁵ Die Funde in den Nekropolen von Kostol, Ballana und Firka am II. Nilkatarakt und ihre zeitliche und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung. *AA* 1939 569-581; Die

proposed instead a late 4th to late 5th c. A.D. range. Von Bissing's view was recently accepted by Sir Laurence Kirwan,³⁶ and was demonstrated in greater detail in a comprehensive treatment of post-Meroitic culture by the writer of these lines.³⁷

In 1929 the Oxford Excavations were resumed by Griffith (and continued after his death by L.P. Kirwan until 1936) at Kawa, where pharaonic and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to Meroitic temples were excavated, and at Firka, where important post-Meroitic burials were unearthed. While the latter site was published already in 1939³⁸ the discoveries made at Kawa, including the extremely important Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan texts, were made available only in 1949 and 1955.³⁹

During the Second World War archaeological work had to be suspended. In 1950 a new era began in Sudanese archaeology: for it was in this year that the Sudan Antiquities Service inaugurated its regular excavations. In 1953 excavations were carried out at Tanqasi, a late or post-Meroitic cemetery site that was to give the name of a new culture which is now regarded to have been contemporary with the post-Meroitic culture of Lower Nubia.⁴⁰ The beginning of the new era is also marked by the creation of the periodical *Kush* and the publication of its first issue in 1953. *Kush* has functioned as the central organ of archaeological communications for a long period of time and has greatly contributed to the general

kunstgeschichtliche Bedeutung der neuentdeckten Nekropolen im Gebiet des II. Nilmakarakes. *Miscellanea Gregoriana*. Vatikan 1941 9-28.

³⁶ The X-Group Problem. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 191-204.

³⁷ L. Török: The Art of the Ballana Culture and Its Relation to Late Antique Art. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 85-100; An Archaeological Note on the Connections between the Meroitic and Ballana Cultures. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 361-378; *A Contribution to Post-Meroitic Chronology: The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia*. Meroitic Newsletter 24. Paris 1985 (= *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 58 [1984] 201-243, publ. 1987); The Chronology of the Qustul and Ballana Cemeteries. in: M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986 191-197; and see the monograph quoted in note 34.

³⁸ See note 32.

³⁹ Macadam 1949; M.F.L. Macadam: *The Temples of Kawa II. History and Archaeology of the Site*. London 1955.

⁴⁰ L.P. Shinnie: Excavations at Tanqasi. *Kush* 2 (1954) 66-85; cf. further H.N. Chittick: Notes on the Archaeology of the Middle Nile Region. *Kush* 2 (1954) 94-95; A New Type of Mound Grave. *Kush* 5 (1957) 73-77; H. Jacquet-Gordon - Ch. Bonnet: Tombs of the Tanqasi Culture at Tabo. *JARCE* 9 (1971/72) 77-83.

acceptance of Sudanese archaeology and history as an organic part of the research of the ancient world. Besides Sudan Antiquities Service, further British, and French excavations at pharaonic and prehistoric sites, between 1957 and 1970 also a team of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (GDR) under the direction of F. Hintze was active in the Butana, carrying out first a reconnaissance survey,⁴¹ and then excavating Musawwarat es Sufra. In the course of the exploration of this latter site a building complex of unique artistic value and dating from the Napatan and Early Meroitic periods was clarified. The importance of the temple buildings at Musawwarat, among them the late 3rd c. B.C. Apedemak (or Lion) Temple with its extraordinary reliefs, became obvious already from the preliminary reports and publications of the German team,⁴² but the final publication, which was started in 1971 with the 2nd volume (Plates) on the Lion Temple, will certainly bring further surprises. The Musawwarat excavations, alongside with other excavations of the 1950s and 1960s, have introduced in the Sudan the most developed methods of modern excavation and recording. The refinement of the methods was promoted at the same time by the High Dam Campaign.

⁴¹ F. Hintze: Preliminary Report of the Butana Expedition 1958. *Kush* 7 (1959) 171-196.

⁴² Hintze 1962; F. Hintze: Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Musawwarat es Sufra 1960-1961. *Kush* 10 (1962) 170-202; Musawwarat es Sufra. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Institute of Egyptology, Humboldt University, Berlin, 1961-1962 (Third Season). *Kush* 11 (1963) 217-226; 1963-1966 (Fourth-Sixth Seasons). *Kush* 15 (1968) 283-298; Musawwarat es Sufra. Vorbericht... (siebente Kampagne). *WZHU* Gesellsch.-sprachwiss. R. 20 (1971) 227-245; F. Hintze - U. Hintze: *Alte Kulturen im Sudan*. Leipzig 1966 (also in English edition); F. Hintze - U. Hintze: Einige neue Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts f. Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Musawwarat es Sufra. in: KuGN 49-65; F. Hintze - U. Hintze - K.-H. Priese - K. Stark: *Musawwarat es Sufra I,2. Der Löwentempel*. Tafelband. Berlin 1971; U. Hintze: The Graffiti from the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 135-150; K.-H. Otto: Zur Klassifikation der meroitischen Keramik von Musawwarat es Sufra (Republik Sudan). Vorläufige Ergebnisse. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 1 (1967) 1-32; id.: Die Drehscheibenkeramik von Musawwarat es Sufra. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 221-226; S. Wenig: Das Gebäude II A in Musawwarat es Sufra. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 183-187; L. Török: Ein christianisierter Tempelgebäude in Musawwarat es Sufra (Sudan). *Acta Arch. Hung.* 26 (1974) 71-103; cf. also S. Wenig: Die Darstellungen am Löwentempel von Musawwarat es Sufra. *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 22 (1981) 29-38.

The building of the new Aswan Dam and the creation of Lake Nasser necessitated a survey, excavation, and monument relocation program unparalleled in the history of modern archaeology. Its demands as to finances, scientific and technical personnel and organisation were far beyond the resources of either of the Egyptian or the Sudanese Governments. Thus the UNESCO appealed to the conscience of the world, pointing out the fact that the endangered monuments and archaeological sites belong to the common heritage of mankind and do not "merely" constitute the relics of the past of the peoples of Egypt and the Sudan. In response to the appeal more than 40 expeditions were sent from countries of Europe, America, and Asia. In the Egyptian part of the investigated area, i.e. between Dabod and Ballana, 29 sites and/or areas were explored and/or excavated, while in the Sudanese part thereof, i.e., between Faras West and Kulb, further 28 sites and/or areas were investigated. In view of the large number of sites, and of the fact that only a part of the work is published so far, it is impossible to give here an account of the results of the UNESCO Campaign of the years 1959-1969. The Annual Egyptological Bibliography since the early 1960s and more recently the bibliography published in the *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* (Vienna) show a slow, but constant progress in the publication and give a good orientation, as to the character of the sites published so far. On the other hand, the International Society for Nubian Studies regards as one of its basic aims the encouragement of publication activity, and this consideration is also reflected in the topics around which its meetings are organized.

The completion of the High Dam meant the end of Lower Nubia. Fortunately for the historian, however, the end is not complete insofar as one single site, and actually the site of an extraordinary character: Qasr Ibrim, was not flooded and continues to be excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society.⁴³

⁴³ Preliminary reports: J.M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1963-1964. *JEA* 50 (1964) 3-5; 1966. *JEA* 52 (1966) 9-12; December 1966. *JEA* 53 (1967) 12-18; 1974. *JEA* 61 (1975) 5-27; J.M. Plumley - W.Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim 1972. *JEA* 60 (1974) 212-238; J.M. Plumley et al.: Qasr Ibrim 1976. *JEA* 63 (1977) 29-47; R.D. Anderson - W.Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim 1978. *JEA* 65 (1979) 30-41; W.Y. Adams - J.A. Alexander: Qasr Ibrim 1980 and 1982. *JEA* 69 (1983) 43-60; cf. W.Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim: An Archaeological Conspectus. in: J.M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster 1982 25-33.

The richness of the finds made in Lower Nubia revived the discussion about two basic questions of ancient Sudanese history. Firstly, it helped to draw a more detailed picture of Egyptian-Meroitic connections and deepened the impression of cultural differences between Nubia and the Northern Sudan. Secondly, it raised again the question, that was discussed already by Griffith, about the pre-Meroitic gap in Lower Nubia and the problem of the date of the Meroitic resettlement of the area north of the Third Cataract. Both the problem of the differences between the two parts of the Meroitic kingdom and the issue of the Lower Nubian resettlement were repeatedly investigated during the last decades. The most important stages of the debate are marked by the fascinating studies of W.Y. Adams,⁴⁴ who also contributed by paradigmatically important excavations at Meinarti⁴⁵ and at Qasr Ibrim⁴⁶ (where he succeeded as field director J.M. Plumley, and preceded J. Alexander and M. Horton) to the study of Meroitic Lower Nubia.

In Upper Nubia and the Northern Sudan the activity of the Sudan Antiquities Service and the foreign missions continued under favourable conditions ever since the completion of the UNESCO Campaign. On account of the great number of the excavations conducted in the period under review and the fact that their majority is still unpublished, I must refrain from an exhaustive list and appreciation. I emphasize, instead, the special importance of some of them.

From the point of view of Napatan-Early Meroitic continuity and the investigation of Early Meroitic culture significant results were presented by the Tabo (ancient Pnubs) excavations of the Henry M. Blackmer Foundation,⁴⁷ the Italian-French excavations conducted by Michela Schiff Giorgini and Jean Leclant at Soleb and Sedeinga,⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Adams 1976, 1977, 1985 and also see here Ch. IV. 20.

⁴⁵ W.Y. Adams: Sudan Antiquities Service Excavations at Meinarti, 1963-1964.

Kush 13 (1965) 148-176; Settlement Pattern in Microcosm: The Changing Aspect of a Nubian Village during Twelve Centuries. in: K.C. Chang (ed.): *Settlement Archaeology*. Palo Alto 1968 174-207; Adams 1977 360, 397ff.

⁴⁶ See note 43 and W.Y. Adams: Primis and the "Aethiopian" Frontier. *JARCE* 20 (1983) 93-104.

⁴⁷ H. Jacquet-Gordon - Ch. Bonnet - J. Jacquet: Pnubs and the Temple of Tabo on Argo Island. *JEA* 55 (1969) 103-111; Ch. Maystre: *Tabo I. Statue en bronze d'un roi meroïtique* Musée National de Khartoum, Inv. 24705. Genève 1986.

⁴⁸ M.S. Giorgini: Soleb. *Kush* 6 (1958) 82-98; ead.: Première campagne de fouilles à Sedeinga, 1963-1964. *Kush* 13 (1965) 112-130; ead.: Sedeinga, 1964-1965. *Kush* 14 (1966) 144-161; ead.: *Soleb II. Nécropoles*. Firenze 1971; J. Leclant: La nécropole de l'Ouest à Sedeinga en Nubie soudanaise. *CRAIBL* 1970

the excavations of V. Fernandez, Universidad Complutense Madrid at Abri,⁴⁹ and the researches of the French Archaeological Unit of the Directorate General of Antiquities and National Museums of the Sudan in the Shendi and Khartoum areas.⁵⁰ As to the Late and post-Meroitic periods, the following excavations deserve special mention: the research at the 1st c. A.D. royal palace in Wad ban Naqa directed by Thabit Hassan Thabit;⁵¹ the University of Khartoum excavations at Meroe City conducted by Ahmed M. Ali Hakem, P.L. Shinnie and R.J. Bradley;⁵² the Italian excavations at Gebel Barkal under the direction of S. Donadoni;⁵³ and the surveys of Ahmed M. Ali Hakem in the Butana, at Sarurab and Bauda⁵⁴ and of Khidir Abdelkarim Ahmed on the Island of Meroe.⁵⁵ Interesting results can be expected from T. Kendall's reconnaissance at Gebel Barkal.

Of a unique importance were the monumental survey carried out by F.W. Hinkel and the survey and excavations of the Sudan Antiquities Service team, led by A. Vila, south of the Dal Cataract, the

246/276; id.: *Les verreries de la nécropole meroïtique de l'Ouest à Sedeinga (Nubie soudanaise)*. in: K. Michalowski (ed.): *Nubia. Récentes recherches*. Varsovie 1975 85-87.

⁴⁹ V. Fernandez: Excavations at the Meroitic Cemetery of Emir Abdallah (Abri, Northern Province, the Sudan). Some Aspects of the Pottery and Its Distribution. *MNL* 20 (1980) 13-22; *La cultura alto-meroïtica del Norte de Nubia*. Ph. D. thesis, Madrid Universidad Complutense 1983; Early Meroitic in Northern Sudan: The Assessment of a Nubian Archaeological Culture. *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 43-83.

⁵⁰ See F. Geus: *Rescuing Sudan Ancient Cultures*. Khartoum National Museum 1984.

⁵¹ J. Vercoutter: Un palais des "candaces" contemporain d'Auguste (fouilles à Wad-ban-Naga, 1958-1960). *Syria* 39 (1962) 263-299.

⁵² P.L. Shinnie - R.J. Bradley: *The Capital of Kush I. Meroe Excavations 1965-1972*. *Meroitica* 4. Berlin 1980; R.J. Bradley: Varia from the City of Meroe. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 163-170.

⁵³ Cf. S. Donadoni: Scavi dell'Università di Roma (Cattedra di Egittologia) in Egitto e in Sudan (1964-1975). *Quaderni della Ricerca Scientifica* 100 (1978) 273-276; S. Donadoni - S. Bosticco: Scavi Italiani al Gebel Barkal. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 291-301; and see in J. Leclant's reports: Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan. *Orientalia* 35 (1966) ff.

⁵⁴ A. Mohammad Ali Hakem: Meroitic Settlement of the Butana (Central Sudan). in: Ucko, Tringham and Dimbleby (eds.): *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism*. London 1972 639-646; University of Khartoum Excavations at Sarurab and Bauda, North of Omdurman. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 151-155.

⁵⁵ *Meroitic Settlement in the Central Sudan. An Analysis of Sites in the Nile Valley and the Western Butana*. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 8. Oxford 1984.

results of which latter were published in the series *La prospection archéologique de la Vallée du Nil, au sud de la cataracte du Dal (Nubie soudanaise)*.⁵⁶ Finally mention must be made of the documentation and publication of the 1st c. A.D. Naqa Apedemak Temple by I. Gamer-Wallert and K. Zibelius, University of Tübingen,⁵⁷ a work that has set the standard of similar future works and demonstrated their extraordinary usefulness. From among the current work I mention as one of great importance the research of P. Lenoble at Late and post-Meroitic tumulus cemeteries in the Shendi area.⁵⁸

The above list of field work is by no means exhaustive and cannot be regarded as a critical survey, either. It merely wanted to emphasize the importance and source value of the individual sites. The trends behind the archaeological activity since the times when Budge first undertook diggings at some pyramids of Barkal and Begarawiyah, are, however, fairly obvious. The interest of the late-19th century scholars turned first of all to the royal monuments and temples, and, understandably, hieroglyphic inscriptions. Another aim was the finding of objects for the museums that have sponsored their work. However ambiguous the archaeological methods that have resulted in the finding of the desired objects were, the significance of the increasing presence of findings from the ancient Sudan in the museums of the world should not be underestimated: for they have not only inspired further treasure hunting, but also generated the development of archaeology, of academic interest towards the Sudan, and revealed more and more of the genuine features of the ancient cultures of the country. Systematic archaeological work began with

⁵⁶ Vols I-XI Paris 1975-1979; further volumes on individual sites are currently published by A. Vila since 1982 as additions to the Prospection. For Hinkel's work see note 68, below.

⁵⁷ I. Gamer-Wallert - K. Zibelius: *Der Löwentempel von Naq^a in der Butana (Sudan)* I. *Forschungsberichte und Topographie*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Beihefte Reihe B 48/1. Wiesbaden 1983; J. Brinks: II. *Die Architektur*. TAVO Reihe B 48/2. Wiesbaden 1983; K. Zibelius: III. *Inschriften*. TAVO Reihe B 48/3. Wiesbaden 1983; Gamer-Wallert 1983.

⁵⁸ F. Geus - P. Lenoble: Fouilles à Gereif Est près de Khartoum. *MNL* 22 (1983) 9-20; F. Geus - F. Hinkel - P. Lenoble: Investigations postméroïtiques dans la région de Shendi, in: M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986 81-86; P. Lenoble: Trois tombes de la région de Meroé. *ANM* 2 (1987) 89-119; id.: Commentaires archéologiques del Kadada à Soudan cetrale) au passage du Méroïtique au Postméroïtique. *ibid.* 166-174.

the First Archaeological Survey, i.e., with G.A. Reisner, who developed consciously not only his technical tools, viz., the methods of digging and recording, but also created, as a result of his Lower Nubian activity, an indispensable archaeological-typological basis. When turning his attention towards the South, he began the systematical excavation of those sites which promised the best information on political history, the higher spheres of culture, and where one could expect long chronological sequences. Reisner's interest in the royal burial places, royal tombs or palaces, and monumental temples was in accordance with the views of history of his period and it would be totally unjust to blame him for his disinterest towards the relics of the lower strata of society. The selectivity that is apparent, in the opposite sense, in our modern, social-historically or anthropologically determined interest is much more biased. Our predecessors did not expect important information from the graves and houses of the poor; by contrast, we are fully aware that the bulk of the information on political history and chronology is in the "royal" monuments.

Evidently, also Garstang was greatly interested in the research of political history, yet his preliminary reports and unpublished notices reveal first of all an excellent sense for the specific aesthetic value of the so far entirely unknown ancient Sudanese art and material culture. Griffith was first of all a philologist. Still, his presentation of the Faras cemetery displays the same remarkable sense for typology and classification that has also characterized the publications of Reisner and Firth. The interest of the archaeology of the period towards classification is well visible also in the Nubian publications of Woolley and Randall-MacIver.⁵⁹

The Second Archaeological Survey was, as mentioned above, similar in character to its predecessor. Concentrated first of all on mortuary remains, it enriched almost exclusively our knowledge of artefact types and its contributions to the researches concerning the life and intellectual achievements of the ancient Nubians was rather small. Yet this statement does not hold true for the exceptional undertaking of the excavation and publication of the Qustul and Ballana necropoleis, even if the rigidly typological system of the publication must be partly responsible for the fact that subsequent

⁵⁹ C.L. Woolley - D. Randall-MacIver: *Areika*. Philadelphia 1909; *Karanòg. The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*. Philadelphia 1910.

writers on post-Meroitic Nubia totally refrained from the investigation of the inner chronology of the cemeteries and their finds.⁶⁰

While the character of the UNESCO Campaign was, evidently, determined by the necessities and possibilities of rescue archaeology, its works were carried out in the sign of modern excavation and recording methods. Emphasis was not exclusively on classification and typology of the archaeological finds and phenomena, but, more heavily, on stratigraphy and the observation and interpretation of contexts. Excavations as e.g. at Arminna West,⁶¹ Meinarti,⁶² in the Faras area (the concession of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition),⁶³ and at numerous other sites⁶⁴ demonstrate that the special environmental conditions of the Nile Valley may render the task of the archaeologist more difficult, but by no means can they be made responsible for missing stratigraphical observations.

Archaeological research of the last one or two decades in Upper Nubia and the Central Sudan are to a high degree problem-oriented in the sense as it was formulated in a penetrating paper by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif and delivered at the Brooklyn "Africa in Antiquity" symposium.⁶⁵ The University of Khartoum excavations at Meroe City were concentrated on the area outside the Royal Enclosure, in order to investigate the stratigraphy of the settlement and revealed the habitation continuity from the 7th c. B.C. to post-Meroitic times. They brought furthermore important data in connection with the iron manufacture in Late and post-Meroitic times.⁶⁶ Current researches carried out by the Directorate of

⁶⁰ For the problem see literature quoted in notes 34, 37.

⁶¹ B.G. Trigger: *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West*. New Haven - Philadelphia 1967.

⁶² See note 45.

⁶³ Cf. T. Säve-Söderbergh: Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Archaeological Survey between Faras and Gamai, January-March 1962. *Kush* 10 (1962) 76-105; Nov. 1961-March 1962. *Kush* 11 (1963) 47-69; Nov. 1962-March 1963. *Kush* 12 (1964) 19-39; T. Säve-Söderbergh - G. Englund - H.-A. Nordström: *Late Nubian Cemeteries*. SJE 6. Solna 1981.

⁶⁴ See Adams 1977; for all excavations and their bibliography see, however, J. Leclant's annual reports in *Orientalia*.

⁶⁵ Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif 1979.

⁶⁶ P.L. Shinnie - J.F. Kense: Meroitic Iron Working. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 17-28; R.F. Tylecote: Metal Working at Meroe, Sudan. *ibid.* 29-42; see also H.

Antiquities and National Museums in the Khartoum area, by the French Archaeological Unit in the Shendi and Khartoum areas, and by an Italian-Sudanese team in the Gash Delta⁶⁷ were started with the aim, to explore so far unknown territories and the archaeological heritage of so far unknown groups and strata of Meroitic and post-Meroitic society. Beyond doubt, Sudanese archaeology has overcome by now the one-sidedness of rescue archaeology and its strategy displays a proportionate interest towards all territories and spheres of the Napatan-Meroitic culture. Modern archaeological strategy is also well exemplified by the admirable undertaking of F.W. Hinkel, who started in 1977 the publication of an archaeological map of the Sudan,⁶⁸ which, when completed, will be of an immense value for the future archaeological work.

The archaeological exploration of the Sudan unfolded an increasingly complex and intense research activity in a number of the branches of cultural history. In view of the large volume of the professional literature on ancient Sudanese settlement history, architecture, plastic arts, iconography, minor arts, burial customs, etc., on topics the investigation of which was built first of all on the archaeological find material, no review of the results of the past more than 80 years can be given here. Some syntheses deserve, however, special mention because they not only visualize the high level of the archaeological researches, but also contain, even if in an indirect way, hints at future tasks and trends. Of a key importance is W.Y. Adams' monumental pottery handbook,⁶⁹ preliminary versions of which have served as indispensable field manuals since the early 1960s.⁷⁰ The importance of researches in the field of history of

Amborn: *Die Bedeutung der Kulturen des Niltals für die Eisenproduktion im subsaharischen Afrika*. Wiesbaden 1976.

⁶⁷ R. Fattovich: The Problem of Sudanese-Ethiopian Contacts in Antiquity: Status Questionis and Current Trends of Research. in: J.M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster 1982 76-86; R. Fattovich - M. Piperno: Archaeological Researches in the Gash Delta, Kassala Province (1980-1981 Field Seasons). in: M. Krause: *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986 47-54.

⁶⁸ *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan. Fasc. I. A Guide to Its Use and Explanation of Its Principles*. Berlin 1977; *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan. Survey of the State of Progress. Études Nubiennes*. IFAO Bibl. d'Étude 77 (1978) 121-128.

⁶⁹ *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia I-II*. Kentucky 1986.

⁷⁰ W.Y. Adams: An Introductory Classification of Meroitic Pottery. *Kush* 12 (1964) 126-173; Progress Report on Nubian Pottery I: The Native Wares. *Kush*

architecture does not need to be emphasized here: I mention here works of A.M. Ali Hakem,⁷¹ S. Wenig,⁷² and F.W. Hinkel.⁷³ The latter also has great merits in the preservation of the ancient architectural monuments.⁷⁴ Researches on iconography are only partly built on archaeological data, still, their importance must be emphasized here⁷⁵ because they concern the particular territory of the transition between material culture and intellectual culture. Owing to the fact that Napatan and Meroitic religious iconography developed under the decisive impact of Egyptian religion, iconographical researches began very early and its results belong to the highest achievements of Nubian studies.⁷⁶ Art historical studies, frequently in

15 (1967-1968) 1-50 (publ. 1973); II: The Imported Wares (unpubl.); Pottery Wares of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods at Qasr Ibrim (ms).

⁷¹ A. Mohammad Ali 1971.

⁷² Gedanken zu einigen Aspekten der kuschitischen Tempelarchitektur. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 381-408.

⁷³ Die meroitischen Pyramiden: Formen, Kriterien und Bauweisen. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 310-331; Gedanken und Bemerkungen zum Thema "Meroitische Architektur". *ibid.* 290-309; Pyramide oder Pyramidenstumpf? Ein Beitrag zu Fragen der Planung, konstruktiven Baudurchführung und Architektur der Pyramiden von Meroe. *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 105-124; 109 (1982) 115-138. For architecture see further L. Török: Traces of Alexandrian Architecture in Meroe: A Late Hellenistic Motif in Its History. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1976) 195-138; *id.*: Zur Datierung des sogenannten römischen Kiosks in Naqa. *AA* 1984 145-159 (a revision of the dating and stylistic analysis presented in the pioneer study of Th. Kraus: Der Kiosk von Naga. *AA* 1964 834-867); L. Török: Meroitic Architecture: Contributions to Problems of Chronology and Style. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 351-366; *id.*: Meroe, Arts. in: *Grove's Dictionary of Art*. London (in press).

⁷⁴ Cf. F.W. Hinkel: *Auszug aus Nubien*. Berlin 1978; Pyramiden im Sudan. Der königliche Nordfriedhof von Meroe. *Das Altertum* 26 (1980) 77-88, etc.

⁷⁵ Cf. Wenig 1978; L. Török: Meroe, Arts. in: *Grove's Dictionary of Art* (in press).

⁷⁶ For the status of research see e.g. Gamer-Wallert 1983; Török 1987b; S. Wenig: Die meroitische Stauengruppe CG 684 im Ägyptischen Museum zu Kairo. *MNL* 3 (1969) 13-17; *id.*: Bericht über die archäologischen Arbeiten... Begarawiya (Meroe). *WZHU Gesellschafts u. sprachwiss. R.* 20 (1971) 267-273; *id.*: Arensnuphis und Sebiumeker. *ZÄS* 101 (1974) 130-150; Wenig 1978; *id.*: Das Verhältnis von Wandrelief und Raumfunktion am meroitischen Amuntempel von Naqa. *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*. Boston 1981 200-210 etc.; J. Yellin: *The Role and Iconography of Anubis in Meroitic Religion*. Ph.D. thesis Brandeis Univ. 1978; *ead.*: A Suggested Interpretation of Relief Decoration in the Type B Chapels at Begarawiyah North. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 157-164; *ead.*: Abaton-Style

connection with iconographical research, contribute not only to the understanding of the processes in ancient Sudanese cultures and of the nature of the contacts with the external world, but may also be extremely useful from the point of view of chronology.⁷⁷ To the elementary tasks of archaeological classification and typology - the bases of which were built by the above-mentioned pioneers in the early decades of the century and reassessed in 1967 by I. Hofmann⁷⁸ - also belongs to the identification and dating of imported artefacts. This work requires in the case of the ancient Sudan specific researches in the fields as e.g. Egyptology, classical archaeology, Byzantinology and Coptic studies: it is thus no wonder that our present knowledge of the nature and extent of the influx of foreign objects in the course of the history of the Sudan is rather incomplete.⁷⁹

Milk Libation at Meroe. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 151-155; L.V. Zabkar: *Apedemak Lion God of Meroe: A Study in Egyptian-Meroitic Syncretism*. Warminster 1975. - Researches on Twenty-Fifth Dynasty iconography are frequently regarded as purely Egyptological studies that do not directly belong to the research of the ancient Sudan. Yet this view is obviously mistaken. Cf. J. Leclant: *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne*. IFAO Bibl. d'Étude 36. Le Caire 1965; E. Russmann: *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*. Bruxelles 1974.

⁷⁷ See in general Wenig 1978; id.: Meroitic Painted Ceramics. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 129-134; L. Török: Two Meroitic Studies: The Meroitic Chamber in Philae and the Administration of Nubia. *Oikumené* 2 (1978) 217-237; id.: Remarks on the Meroitic Chamber in Philae. *Études Nubiennes*. IFAO Bibl. d'Étude 77 (1978) 313-316; Török 1987a Appendix: A Chronology of Meroitic Pottery Painting 188-229; id.: Meroitic Painted Pottery: Problems of Chronology and Style. *BzS* 2 (1987) 75-106; Török 1988b 2 Excursus: Representation of the Enemy in Kushite Art; id.: Meroitic Art: Informations and Illusions. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) (= Ch. II in this volume).

⁷⁸ I. Hofmann: *Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswan bis Sennar vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der christlichen Epoche*. Hamburg 1967.

⁷⁹ Hofmann 1978 Appendix; Török 1988b Appendix: A Working List of Imported Objects Nos 1-242; R. Morkot: *Ethiopia: Greek Conceptions and the Impact of Hellenism* (ms); Török op.cit. (note 34).

2. The written evidence

Political and - to an extent - social history, institutions of the state and of the cults can be understood only with the help of textual sources. Our written evidence consists of Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, Greek and Latin literary texts and documents, Egyptian texts, and inscriptions and documents written in the Meroitic language in Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive scripts. In the following I shall briefly review these sources and comment in the necessary cases upon their source value. It must be mentioned, however, that a detailed critical survey of all Twenty-Fifth Dynasty texts is to be found in Kitchen's monograph,⁸⁰ and further indispensable comments on these, and on Napatan texts can be found in the important works of Macadam,⁸¹ Leclant,⁸² and Priese.⁸³

2.1. The hieroglyphic texts

The pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period of the history of the independent Sudanese kingdom(s) or chiefdom(s) is only indirectly referred to in fragmentary inscriptions of Shoshenq I written between 945 and 924 B.C.⁸⁴ Shoshenq I seems to have sent a military expedition to, and/or established diplomatic and trade contacts with the native chiefdom(s) existing at that time in the Napata region. Yet it must be added here that these highly ambiguous data are not the earliest evidence suggesting the existence of some native power in Upper Nubia. It was shown recently by T. Kendall⁸⁵ that some of the earliest burials at El Kurru contained besides Twentieth Dynasty faience also a native ceramic ware whose decoration strongly indicated that at these particular burials the Egyptian ritual known as the breaking of red pots was performed. This would suggest the

⁸⁰ Kitchen 1973.

⁸¹ Macadam 1949.

⁸² See note 76.

⁸³ Priese 1978; K.-H. Priese: Matrilineare Erbfolge im Reich von Napata. *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 44-53. Cf. further id.: Zwei Wörter in den "spätägyptischen" Inschriften. *ZÄS* 95 (1968) 40-47; Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kush. *MIO* 14 (1968) 165-191; Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten. *ZÄS* 98 (1970) 16-32; *Articula. ÉtTrav* 7 (1973) 155-162.

⁸⁴ Kitchen 1973 293 notes 284f., cf. BAR § 723.

⁸⁵ T. Kendall - S.K. Doll: *Kush. Lost Kingdoms of the Nile. A Loan Exhibition from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Brockton/Mass. 1982 21ff.

presence of priests with expert knowledge of Egyptian ritual. Consequently, it seems rather probable that El-Kurru can be interpreted as the burial place of the predecessors of Alara *already* from a time around the end of the New Kingdom, and not only for the six generations preceding Piye, as was thought by Reisner. However, a thorough revision of the chronology of El Kurru is unthinkable without the publication of all finds. In any case, a new, and longer El Kurru chronology would present a good opportunity to fill - at least theoretically - the post-New Kingdom gap.⁸⁶

A number of highly informative texts is preserved from the period between the emergence of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the early 3rd c. B.C.:

a/ Fragmentary stela of Kashta (c. 760-747 B.C.) from the Khnum Temple at Elephantine. He is wearing the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *nj-m3t-Rˁ*, son of Ra", indicating that he was regarded by some powerful group(s) (the Theban priesthood?) in Upper Egypt as a likely candidate, to re-unite Egypt.⁸⁷

b/ Sandstone stela of Piye (in earlier literature Piankhi) from the Amun Temple (B 500) at Napata (Gebel Barkal), dating from the early period of his reign (c. after 747 B.C.). The text alludes explicitly at the king's political ambitions: Amun of Napata grants him rule of every land, and Amun of Thebes grants him rule of Egypt.⁸⁸ As pointed out by Kitchen,⁸⁹ the style of the text as well as Piye's Horus-name "Strong Bull, Appearing in Napata" consciously paraphrase the Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis III.⁹⁰

c/ The Great Stela of Piye from the Amun Temple (B 500) at Gebel Barkal with the description of his campaign against the Delta princes and of his coronation at Memphis. Dated Year 21, i.e. 727 B.C.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Cf. B.J. Kemp: Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt. in: P.D.A. Garnsey - C.R. Whittaker: *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Cambridge 1978 7-57, 26ff.

⁸⁷ J. Leclant: Kashta, pharaon, en Égypte. *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 74-81; Kitchen 1973 § 320. - For the hieroglyphic texts see now T. Eide - T. Hägg - R.H. Pierce - L. Török: *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* I. Bergen 1994; II-IV (in preparation).

⁸⁸ G.A. Reisner: Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. *ZÄS* 66 (1931) 76-100, 89ff.

⁸⁹ Kitchen 1986 § 321.

⁹⁰ Tuthmosis III is there "Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes".

⁹¹ N.-C. Grimal: *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire*. MIFAO 105. Le Caire 1981.

d/ From the reign of Shabaqo in Egypt (c. 716-702 B.C.) several inscriptions are preserved,⁹² no monumental text survived, however, in Nubia.⁹³

e/ No monumental texts were found from the reign of Shebitqo (c. 701-690) in the Sudan.⁹⁴

f/-l/ Several records are preserved from Taharqo's reign (c. 690-664 B.C.) both in Egypt and in the Sudan. His early youth and his ascension to the throne after Shebitqo's death⁹⁵ are recorded in the inscription Kawa V. The text relates to the prosperity of the first 6 years of his reign, the coronation, and the visit of the queen mother which is compared to the relationship of Isis to her son Horus.⁹⁶ Copies of the text were erected in Egypt at Tanis, Koptos,⁹⁷ and Mataana.⁹⁸ In the same Year 6 the king decided the rebuilding of the Kawa temple. The decision was recorded in Kawa IV.⁹⁹ Kawa VI and VII commemorate the dedication of the rebuilt sanctuary in Year 10.¹⁰⁰ The evidence for Taharqo's reign in Egypt and for the conflict with Assyria was examined recently by Kitchen.¹⁰¹

m/ Tanutamani (c. 664-653 B.C.) recorded his ascension to the throne in his so-called "Dream Stela" which also tells that the reconquest of Egypt and the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt were promised him in an oracular dream. The text relates furthermore his coronation in Napata and the successful (but only temporary) reconquest of Egypt.¹⁰² Tanutamani's monuments in Egypt and the evidence concerning the end of the Nubian rule in Egypt were surveyed by Kitchen.¹⁰³

⁹² Kitchen 1986 §§ 340-343.

⁹³ For small objects with his name see PM VII 192, 202, 273.

⁹⁴ For small objects see PM VII 183.

⁹⁵ A coregency with Shabaqo was assumed by Macadam 1949; it was refuted with good reasons by Leclant and Yoyotte (*BIFAO* 50 [1952] 17-27) and Kitchen 1986 § 348 and note 833.

⁹⁶ Macadam 1949 22-33.

⁹⁷ Tanis: BAR 456f. JE 37488; Koptos: Cairo JE 48440.

⁹⁸ Cairo JE 38269.

⁹⁹ Macadam 1949 14-21.

¹⁰⁰ Macadam 1949 32-44.

¹⁰¹ Kitchen 1986 §§ 352-354.

¹⁰² BAR 468ff.

¹⁰³ Kitchen 1973 §§ 354f., 359.

n/ In Kawa VIII¹⁰⁴ Anlamani (c. 623-593 B.C.) records his succession (using the terms of the Egyptian concept of the king's divine birth); the coronation journey through the provinces; an expedition against Blemmyan tribesmen etc.

o/-r/ From Aspelta's reign (late 7th c. B.C. - early 6th c. B.C.) four texts survived in the Sudan. The "Election Stela" from Year 1¹⁰⁵ tells that Aspelta was elected from among the royal princes by the army and the high officials of the land, but his legitimacy was proved and proclaimed by Amun of Napata (i.e., by his priesthood) after his "descent" from seven successive generations of queens was demonstrated.¹⁰⁶ Then he received from Amun the diadem¹⁰⁷ and the sceptre of his predecessor. In Year 2 the king excommunicated priests of Amun of Napata (?) on account of their intention of regicide (?).¹⁰⁸ In Year 3 he installed Henuttakhebit as priestess of Amun (the princess was adopted as her successor in the office by Madiqen, sister of King Anlamani). In the so-called Khalut Stela¹⁰⁹ Aspelta records the (re-)burial of Prince Khalut, a son of Piye and a brother of Taharqo.

s/-u/ Three inscriptions of Psammetich II recorded his war against Nubia in 593 B.C.¹¹⁰ It is doubtful whether his army did in fact reach Napata, or penetrated only as far as south as Sai Island.¹¹¹ In the latter case the campaign does not date the reign of Aspelta.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Macadam 1949 46-50.

¹⁰⁵ Cairo JE 48866, Grimal 1981, English translation: J.A. Wilson in: J.B. Pritchard: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1955 447ff.

¹⁰⁶ For the adoptive relations between these generations of princesses cf. Török 1986 No. 14 note d.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Török 1987b 4ff., 35ff.

¹⁰⁸ Cairo JE 48865, Grimal 1981; German translation: H. Schäfer: Die sog. "stèle de l'excommunication" aus Napata. *Klio* 6 (1906) 287-296 289ff.

¹⁰⁹ M.B. Reisner: Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. *ZÄS* 70 (1934) 33-46.

¹¹⁰ Shellal: H.S.K. Bakry: Psammetichus and His Newly-Found Stela at Shellal. *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967) 225-244; H. Goedicke: The Campaign of Psammetich II against Nubia. *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 187-198.; translation M. Lichtheim: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings III. The Late Period*. Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1980 84ff.; Török 1986 No. 12; Karnak and Tanis: Sauneron - Yoyotte 1952; Török 1986 Nos 13a-b.

¹¹¹ J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 6 (1958) 158; Török 1986 Nos 12-13 b.

¹¹² As suggested by Dunham 1957 2 and Hintze 1959 21 and as accepted ever since in literature.

v/ Towards the end of the 5th c. B.C. King Irike-Amanote (in earlier literature Amanote-yerike) recorded his succession in Kawa IX.¹¹³ The text tells about his descent from Amun, the (probably rather ceremonial than practical) role of the army in the election,¹¹⁴ the coronation in Napata, the coronation journey through the provinces etc. The text also mentions Kashta, referring thus to dynastic traditions.

w/ In Year 35 (early 4th c. B.C.) Harsiyotef recorded his rather mysterious succession (the crown was promised him in a dream, i.e., his legitimacy was pronounced probably by an oracle), the religious festivals celebrated during his reign in sanctuaries from the Khartoum area to Lower Nubia, and 9 campaigns, among them expeditions against Lower Nubian tribes in Years 11, 16, and 35. As a result of the latter three expeditions the rule of the Napatan kingdom seems to have been extended over the scarcely populated Lower Nubian Nile Valley, which was controlled by local chieftains since the campaign of Psammetich II (?).¹¹⁵

x/ The annals of Nastasen¹¹⁶ from the late 4th c. B.C. relate in great detail the "election" of the King by Amun of Napata, his journey from Meroe through *Isdrst* - the birth place of Alara, the founder of the dynasty - to Napata, his coronation there, further at the nomos capitals Kawa, Pnubs and *Trt*(?), and, during the subsequent years of his reign, wars against *Hmbswdn* and against unidentified tribes. *Hmbswdn* was identified by Hintze¹¹⁷ with Khababash, the last native king of Egypt who fled from the Persians to Lower Nubia in 336 or 335 B.C., where he probably allied with local chieftains and threatened Napatan rule.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Macadam 1949 51-67.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the Darius Decree of 495/4 preserved on the *verso* of the Demotic Chronicle, where it is described that when laws are framed the king must consult the warriors, the priests and the scribes. W. Spiegelberg: *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibl. Nat. zu Paris*. Leipzig 1914, A.B. Lloyd: The Late Period. in: B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp et al.: *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*. Cambridge 1983 309.

¹¹⁵ Cairo JE 48864, Grimal 1981.

¹¹⁶ Berlin Ägyptisches Museum 2268, German translation: H. Schäfer: *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*. Leipzig 1901; K.-H. Priese in F. Hintze: *Nubien und Sudan im Altertum. Sonderausstellung des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*. Berlin 1963 23-27.

¹¹⁷ Hintze 1959 17ff.

¹¹⁸ For this interpretation see Török 1986 No. 24 note a; Török 1987a 151.

y/-z/-zz/ From three very fragmentarily preserved texts in Kawa¹¹⁹ the text of King Sabrakamani, Kawa XIII, attests the survival of the legitimacy concept of earlier royal inscriptions. In Kawa XIV and XV(?) a king *Ss n̄h n Imn stp n R* is attested,¹²⁰ whose name seems to refer to the early Ptolemaic period and to the copying of Ptolemaic-style names in the Early Meroitic period, where these inscriptions probably belong.¹²¹

Owing to the fact that they present a "first-hand" evidence of Kushite kingship ideology, religiosity, and political events, above Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan texts belong to our most valuable sources. Accordingly, they were frequently quoted ever since their discovery and were repeatedly reinterpreted. Yet there is hardly any detail of the kingship concepts reflected in them about which there would be a consensus in literature. The earlier opinion, according to which the texts were more or less empty repetitions of notions borrowed from Egypt, and moreover, successive copies of each other, is now abandoned - but it is still much debated, how far can the individual texts be regarded as actual reflexions of a developing and changing kingship ideology; how far and in which particular details do they reflect Egyptian and Sudanese concepts, etc. It seems that none of the extreme opinions e.g. on the patrilineal, or collateral, or matrilineal succession deducted from the same inscriptions can be fully accepted. It is rather obvious that the texts do not describe the different features of the same unaltered ideology, it is therefore mistaken to write about the Napatan kingship ideology in general.¹²²

From the later centuries of Meroitic history only very few hieroglyphic inscriptions are preserved and it seems that the royal inscriptions from the late 2nd c. B.C. onwards were written exclusively in the Meroitic language. The 3rd c. B.C. inscriptions of

¹¹⁹ Macadam 1949 Inscr. XIII-XV 73-81.

¹²⁰ Wenig 1967 9, 43; id.: Bericht über die archäologischen Arbeiten an den Pyramidenkapellen des Nordfriedhofes von Begarawiya (Meroe). *WZHU Gesellsch.-sprachwiss. R.* 20 (1971) 267-273 269.

¹²¹ However, H. Goedicke, *AJA* 76 (1972) 89 and R. Morkot: Post-Pharaonic Nubia: Reassessing the Evidence (ms) suggest that this king was contemporary with the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Their view is based on the paleography of the Kawa inscription.

¹²² Cf. J. Leclant: Kuschitenherrschaft. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III 893-901; I. Hofmann: *Studien zum meroitischen Königstum*. Bruxelles 1971; Priese 1978; Hintze 1978; Török 1986; Török 1987b; Török 1988a.

the Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat¹²³ are of religious contents and reflect a strong Philaean influence. The small temple inscriptions of the Kings Arqamani and Adikhalamani at Philae (Arqamani), Dakka (Arqamani), and Dabod (Adikhalamani) date from the period between 207/6 and 186 B.C. They are traditionally regarded as the proofs of a "peaceful cooperation" and a "condominium" of Egypt and Meroe in the Dodekaschoinos.¹²⁴ In fact, however, the names of Ptolemy IV and Arqamani and Adikhalamani were not written at the same time on the walls of the above mentioned sanctuaries. The occurrence of the Meroitic royal names reflect the Meroitic occupation of the territory during the Upper Egyptian revolt, which was actively supported by Meroe.¹²⁵

2.2. Greek and Latin texts

The earliest mentions of the land beyond Egypt can be found in Homer's work and reflect a mythical country inhabited by the blameless and pious Aithiopians. The utopic view of the remote Aithiopians living by the streams of Ocean at the farthestmost place where gods were born became in later Greek utopy identical with the elevated moral standards and with the undisturbed happiness of the children of uncorrupted Nature.¹²⁶ Herodotus (who visited Egypt between 449 and 430 B.C.¹²⁷) writes in his Book 2,29 about an Egyptianized kingdom with the capital Meroe located about two months' journey south of Syene/Aswan. In Book III,17-25 he describes a fictitious expedition of Cambyses against the Macrobian (long-living) Aithiopians, who are according to him the tallest and most handsome men on earth. In view of the vast literature on Herodotus in general, and on the different aspects of the Aithiopian

¹²³ Hintze 1962.

¹²⁴ E. Bevan: *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. London 1927 245ff.; and in more recent literature e.g. Hintze 1978 96. Adams 1977 334ff. accepts this view somewhat hesitatingly.

¹²⁵ B.G. Haycock: Landmarks in Cushite History. *JEA* 58 (1972) 225-244 233; Hofmann 1978 53ff. (supposing, however, that Arqamani and Adikhalamani reigned only in Lower Nubia); L. Török: *Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia*. Budapest 1979 93ff.; E. Winter: Ergamenes II, seine Datierung und seine Bautätigkeit in Nubien. *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 509-513.

¹²⁶ Cf. F.M. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge/Mass. 1970 1ff., 101ff.

¹²⁷ A.B. Lloyd: *Herodotus Book II. Introduction*. Leiden 1975 68.

story in particular, I can only briefly mention that scholarly opinion greatly diverges as the reality of the description of the Cambyses expedition and the institutions of the Aithiopians is concerned, but also the correctness of the geographical data in Book II is disputed.¹²⁸ Herodotus' account of the election of the tallest and handsomest Aithiopian as king belongs obviously to the utopian tradition, as does also his Sabacos (the historical Shabaqo) story in Book II, 137ff. and 152. This latter story might also have been influenced by the "nationalistic" traditions of the Upper Egyptian priests who are in all probability the source of Herodotus' knowledge of Egyptian and Aithiopian concepts of kingship. His view of the ideal ruler, as personified by the Aithiopian king, and of the charismatic kingship, as exemplified by his description of various Egyptian and Aithiopian rulers, exerted a decisive influence on later classical writers.

In the course of the 3rd c. B.C. several travellers visited Aithiopia and collected geographical, ethnographic, and historical information. A part of their knowledge survived in contemporary and later works of various kinds. Regrettably, the detailed descriptions of Philon, Dalion and Aristocreon from the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246 B.C.) did not survive, and only fragments from the work of Bion came down to us. The most important of these latter is a list of place-names along the Nile from Syene/Aswan and in the Island of Meroe,¹²⁹ for it attests, as shown in a fundamental study by K.-H. Priese,¹³⁰ to the existence of settlements, military and caravan stations along the Nubian Nile Valley in the 3rd c. B.C. at places which occur in New Kingdom, Napatan, and then in later Latin and in Meroitic texts as well.

¹²⁸ For the extremes of the opinions in Nubian literature see Priese 1978 85; A.B. Lloyd: *Herodotus Book II. Commentary*. Leiden 1976 ad II,29; S.M. Burstein: Herodotus and the Emergence of Meroe. *The SSEA Journal* 11 (1981) 1-5; id.: "Kush and the External World": A Comment. *Meroitica* 10; and *contra* the acceptance of Herodotus without far-reaching criticism: I. Hofmann - A Vorbichler: *Die Äthiopenlogos bei Herodot*. Wien 1979; Török 1986 24ff.; 120ff.; Török 1988a, 1988b; see further the stimulating study of J.G. Gammie: Herodotus on Kings and Tyrants: Objective Historiography or Conventional Portraiture? *JNES* 45 (1968) 171-195 175f., 180ff., 195.

¹²⁹ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* (ed. Mayhoff), 179ff. = FGrH 668 F 1-6.

¹³⁰ K.-H. Priese: Die Orte des mittleren Niltals in der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des christlichen Mittelalters. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 484-497.

From the work of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Alexandrian librarian between c. 275 and 194 B.C., there are fragments preserved in Strabo's work,¹³¹ of which the mentioning of independent Noba chiefdoms situated to the west of the Island of Meroe deserves to be quoted here. Agatharchides wrote his treatises on Asia and on the Red Sea some 50 years later; excerpts concerning Aithiopia survive in Diodorus, III,5f., 9, III,12, 15-20, 38,1; in the work of the late 1st c. B.C. author Nicolaus Damascenus;¹³² and in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, 250,20 and 24.¹³³ He was an influential Hellenistic ethnographer, and was first of all interested in the extreme forms of human condition, and analysed physical, psychological, medical, political observations in order to explain the strange phenomena in the life of remote peoples.¹³⁴ The data he employed when proving the relevance of his rational ethics were in many instances more paradigmatic than realistic. This may be also the case of the Ergamenes story,¹³⁵ which is apparently indebted to Herodotus' Sabacos-figure and charismatic Aithiopian kingship as well as to a remote echo of Egyptian "nationalism" - but is above all an expression of the superiority of Hellenistic philosophy, ethics, and, in general, civilisation over barbarism.¹³⁶ In this story he preserved furthermore a figure borrowed from the lost work of Hecataios of Abdera (a contemporary of Ptolemy I, c. 322-316 B.C.)¹³⁷ who appeared there under the name of the historical king Actisanes (= *Ktsn*).¹³⁸

¹³¹ XVI, 4, 4ff.; XVII, 1, 2.

¹³² FGrH 90 F 104.

¹³³ For further small fragments see Strabo XIV, 2, 15; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XII, 5; Photius, *Bibl.*, 213; E. Schwarz: Agatharchides. *PWRE* I/1. His source value is in my opinion unduly overestimated by S.M. Burstein: The Ethiopian War of Ptolemy V: An Historical Myth? *BzS* 1 (1986) 17-23.

¹³⁴ Cf. A. Dihle: Zur hellenistischen Ethnographie. *Fondation Hardt... Entretiens VIII*. Vandouvres-Genève 1961 205-232.

¹³⁵ Diodorus, III,6.

¹³⁶ Cf. Hofmann - Vorbichler op. cit. (note 128).

¹³⁷ FGrH 264, cf. A.B. Lloyd: Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Historia* 31 (1982) 33-55. The remarks concerning Meroe in O. Murray: Hecateus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship. *JEA* 56 (1970) 141-171 must be read with caution.

¹³⁸ Priese 1977 343-367. - On the Ergamenes story see recently L. Török: Amasis and Ergamenes. in: U. Luft (ed.): *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy*. *Studia Aegyptiaca* XIV (1992) 555-561.

The geographical, ethnographical, and historical informations about Aithiopia were collected chiefly as a by-product of practical intelligence that was required for the establishment of diplomatic and trade contacts. Trade contacts were stopped by the Upper Egyptian revolt in 207/6 B.C. and were taken up again only on a very small scale around the middle of the 2nd c. B.C. Yet newer informations of considerable value seem to have been gathered only in the first years of Roman rule in Egypt and then in the period of intense Egyptian (Roman)-Meroitic contacts following the war in 29-21/20 B.C. Diodorus, Strabo, and Nicolaus Damascenus possessed personal experience: the first-named met Meroitic envoys in Egypt; Strabo visited Syene/Aswan in the company of his friend, Aelius Gallus, the second Roman praefect of Egypt; and Nicolaus was court historian to the last Cleopatra. Plinius received first-hand information from Nero's centurions who have visited Meroe and saw the map drawn by them. Still, their accounts must be used with proper caution and critical analysis of every detail, because their descriptions of the war are not only condensed but are also politically biased, and their treatment of Meroe and her institutions is influenced by earlier literary works. In Book XVII,1-2 Strabo reports Agatharchides' geographical data and remarks on the Aithiopian kingship. The latter passage went back partly on Herodotus. Also Diodorus relies heavily on Agatharchides' work, and his description of the election of the king in his Book III,5 is indebted to Herodotus. Although consisting of realistic details of the collateral system of royal succession through the king's sister, also the fragment preserved from Nicolaus' work repeats Herodotus' data mediated by Hekataios of Abdera and Agatharchides.¹³⁹ The war with Rome is related by Strabo, XVII,1,54, Cassius Dio, LIV,5,4-6, Plinius, Naturalis Historia, VI,181f., and these accounts are complemented with the trilingual (Egyptian, Greek and Latin) inscription of Caius Cornelius Gallus dated April 17 29 B.C. in Philae,¹⁴⁰ further by a passage in Augustus' autobiography, the *Res Gestae*.¹⁴¹ While the great majority of the scholars accept literally these accounts, some writers expressed doubts as to the geographical limits of the Roman penetration into

¹³⁹ In more detail see Török 1986 Nos 25, 30, 34, 38-40, 43-46.

¹⁴⁰ E. Bernand: *Les inscriptions gréco-romaines de Philae* II. Paris 1969 No. 128; Török 1986 Nos 57f.

¹⁴¹ Translation: P.A. Brunt - J.M. Moore, Oxford 1967 26.

Meroe and the actual extent of Roman victory as well as to details of the course of the events and the ensuing situation in Meroe.¹⁴²

After Plinius Meroe was only scarcely mentioned in classical literature. The account of Philostratus on "silent trade" at Hiera Sycaminos, i.e., the Egyptian-Meroitic frontier,¹⁴³ written before 217 A.D. but relating the life of the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana who lived in the 2nd half of the 1st c. A.D., is entirely utopian.¹⁴⁴ The same can be said about Heliodorus' novel "Aithiopika":¹⁴⁵ remote Meroe, having lost her attraction as trade partner for Rome after the emergence of Axum,¹⁴⁶ became in classical literature once more an utopian country located at the extremes of the world.

2.3. Sources of the history of Lower Nubia

The Valley stretch between Syene/Aswan and Hiera Sycaminos/Maharraqa has repeatedly changed masters in the course of times. As it seems, the entire valley to the north of the Second Cataract was only scarcely populated during the Napatan period and in the early part of the Meroitic period, and its Meroitic re-population started only in the 3rd c. B.C.¹⁴⁷ Lower Nubia was, at least partially, ruled by Napata already as early as in the reign of Harsiyotef (see above). Under the early Ptolemies the Dodekaschoinos was Egyptian, but was taken by Meroe during the Upper Egyptian revolt. It seems rather likely that it was in this period that the population that occurs

¹⁴² I. Hofmann: Der Feldzug des C. Petronius nach Nubien. *ÄuK* 189-205; Török 1986 No. 60; Török 1987a 162f; for a supposed Roman garrison at Qasr Ibrim after 21/20 B.C.: W.Y. Adams: Primis and the "Aethiopian" Frontier. *JARCE* 20 (1983) 93-104; *contra*: Török 1987a 163ff.; id.: Augustus and Meroe (= Ch. IV.19 in this volume.)

¹⁴³ Philostratos, *Vita Apoll.*, VI.2.

¹⁴⁴ L. Török: The Economy of the Empire of Kush: A Review of the Written Evidence. *ZÄS* 111 (1984) 45-69; Török 1986 No. 87.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. T. Hägg: *The Novel in Antiquity*. Oxford 1983 54-73; but also see V. Vycichl: Heliodors Aithiopika und die Volksstämme des Reiches Meroe. *ÄuK* 447-458.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. H. Kortenbeutel: *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*. Diss. Berlin 1935.

¹⁴⁷ This high dating is not generally accepted in literature, where a 1st-2nd c. A.D. dating still predominates. For the high dating see the arguments presented by Priese op. cit. (note 130); Fernandez op. cit. (note 49); without an unambiguous absolute dating: B. Williams: A Chronology of Meroitic Occupation below the Fourth Cataract. *JARCE* 22 (1985) 149-195. For a pottery chronology supporting the literary data speaking for the high dating: Török 1987a 154 ff.

in later Egyptian documents as "Aithiopians" was settled here. From around the middle of the 2nd c. B.C., however, Lower Nubia was under Ptolemaic rule as far as the Second Cataract, yet the "Aithiopians" living in the south of Aswan were under the immediate authority of their own eparch, i.e. tribal(?) chief.¹⁴⁸ This administration still prevailed in 115 B.C.¹⁴⁹ The Aithiopian, i.e. Meroitic, population is also mentioned around 145 B.C. by Agatharchides,¹⁵⁰ and the hieroglyphic "Famine Stela"¹⁵¹ corroborates what is also indicated by the above-mentioned Greek inscription from 149/8 B.C. at Philae, *viz.*, that this population was mainly occupied in agriculture. No signs of Ptolemaic authority can be found in the 2nd half of the 2nd c. B.C. south of Hiera Sycaminos. The earliest Meroitic viceroys of Lower Nubia (i.e., of *Akiñ* between Hiera Sycaminos and the Second Cataract) occur in Meroitic funerary texts that can be dated probably to the early 1st c. B.C.¹⁵² According to the Samos treaty concluded with Augustus in 21/20 B.C. the Dodekaschoinois belonged to Rome but its local government seems to have been, at least partly, in the hands of local dignitaries of Meroitic origin. The demotic texts preserved in the temples of the Dodekaschoinos¹⁵³ reveal an administration which maintained connections with the Meroitic rulers to an increasing extent from the mid-2nd c. A.D. onwards. They represent at the same time extremely important sources of the political history of 3rd c. A.D. Meroe. In 298 A.D. Diocletian ceded the Dodekaschoinos to Meroe.¹⁵⁴

The textual sources to the subsequent history of Lower Nubia are conveniently collected, and discussed in great detail in a number of

¹⁴⁸ A. Bernand: *Les inscriptions gréco-égyptiennes de Philae* I. Paris 1969 No. 12bis; Török 1986 No. 52.

¹⁴⁹ OGIS I 168 = M.-Th. Lenger: *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*. Bruxelles 1980 No. 59 (Kalabsha).

¹⁵⁰ Diodorus, XVII, 1,52f.

¹⁵¹ P. Barquet: *La stèle du famine à Séhel*. Le Caire 1953.

¹⁵² REM 0543, 0521.

¹⁵³ F.L. Griffith: *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus I-II*. Oxford 1935-1937; A. Burkhardt: *Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos: Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Gaffiti*. Meroitica 8. Berlin 1985.

¹⁵⁴ Procopius, De Bello Persico, I,19,27-37. For the circumstances of the frontier withdrawal see L. Castiglione: Diocletianus und die Blemmyes. *ZÄS* 96 (1970) 90-103; L. Török: A Contribution to Post-Meroitic Chronology: The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 58 (1984) 201-243 217ff.

recent papers and monographs.¹⁵⁵ Some documents deserve special mention at this place. In recent years a great number of Greek, Coptic, Latin, and Meroitic texts came to light at Qasr Ibrim. A mid-5th c. A.D. letter in Greek, written by Phonen, king of the Blemmyans, to Aburni, king of the Nubians and successor of the well-known king Silko,¹⁵⁶ reveals an episode of decisive importance in the Nubian-Blemmyan conflict around the time when the authority of the Nobatian kingdom between Aswan and the Third Cataract was established.¹⁵⁷ From the middle decades of the 5th c., after the final expulsion of the Blemmyes from the Valley,¹⁵⁸ seem to date three different letters in Sa²adic Coptic addressed by three different persons to a certain Tantani, "phylarchos of the nation of those who belong to the Anouba", i.e., to a tribal chief in the Nobatian kingdom, who apparently conducted negotiations with Byzantine Egyptian officials in the matter of an alliance.¹⁵⁹

2.4. Meroitic documents

The earliest preserved Meroitic text was written around the turn of the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. under the reign of Queen Shanakdakheto.¹⁶⁰ The Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive scripts were used for five, or

¹⁵⁵ A.M. Demicheli: *Rapporti di pace e di guerra dell'Egitto Romano con le popolazioni dei deserti africani*. Milano 1976; J. Desanges: *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*. Rome 1978; R.T. Updegraff: *A Study of the Blemmyes*. Ph.D. thesis Brandeis Univ. 1978; Török op. cit (notes 34 and 154). For detail questions see F. Hintze: Meroitic Chronology: Problems and Prospects. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 127-144 141; L. Török: Inquiries into the Administration of Meroitic Nubia I-II. *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 34-50; id.: Bemerkungen zum Problem der "römischen" Gräberfelder von Sayala (Nubien). *Acta Arch. Hung.* 30 (1978) 431-435.

¹⁵⁶ OGIS I No. 201 (Kalabsha).

¹⁵⁷ T.C. Skeat - E.G. Turner - C.H. Roberts: A Letter from the King of the Blemmyes to the King of the Nubians. *JEA* 63 (1977) 159/170. Improved reading and translation: J. Rea: The Letter of Phonen to Aburni. *ZPE* 34 (1979) 147-162.

¹⁵⁸ For the chronology of the Blemmyan occupation (c. 394 A.D. to the middle of the 5th c. A.D.) see Török op.cit. (note 154).

¹⁵⁹ J.M. Plumley: Preliminary Remarks on Four 5th Century MSS. from Qasr Ibrim. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 218-221.

¹⁶⁰ F. Hintze 1959 36ff.

perhaps six centuries.¹⁶¹ The language is undeciphered as yet, but the texts can be read after F.LI. Griffith has established the value of the signs. Thank to his ingenious efforts, the structure of the funerary texts and the meaning of a number of words and expressions as well as the significance of several grammatical forms are clarified and the funerary texts can be understood almost entirely, while we are able to get some insight into the meaning of texts of other character, too. Griffith has also edited the Meroitic texts known in his day and/or discovered by himself.¹⁶² Important new contributions were published by F. Hintze,¹⁶³ A. Heyler,¹⁶⁴ K.-H. Priese,¹⁶⁵ N.B. Millet,¹⁶⁶ B.G. Haycock,¹⁶⁷ R. Thelwall,¹⁶⁸ Abdelgadir M.

¹⁶¹ The latest hieroglyphic inscr. was found in the pyramid of the mid-3rd c. A.D. king Teqorideamani. S. Chapman - D. Dunham: *The Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroe and Barkal*. RCK III. Boston 1952 Pl. XXI.

¹⁶² F.LI. Griffith: A Meroitic Funerary Text in Hieroglyphic. *ZÄS* 48 (1910) 67-68; *Karanòg. The Meroitic Inscriptions from Shablul and Karanòg*. Philadelphia 1911; The Inscriptions from Meroe. in: J. Garstang et al.: *Meroe. The City of the Ethiopians*. Oxford 1911; *Meroitic Inscriptions II. Soba to Philae and Miscellaneous*. London 1912; Meroitic Studies I, II, IV, V. *JEA* 3 (1916) 22-30, 111-124; 4 (1917) 159-173; 11 (1925) 218-224; Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Faras, Nubia. *Recueil... J.-F. Champollion*. Paris 1922 565-600; The Meroitic Inscriptions in: G. Roeder: *Der Tempel von Dakke I*. Kairo 1930 375-378.

¹⁶³ Hintze 1959; Die Struktur der "Deskriptionssätze" in den meroitischen Totentexten. *MIO* 9 (1963) 1-29; Some problems of Meroitic Philology. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 321-336; Meroitische Verwandschaftsbeziehungen. *MNL* 17 (1974) 20-32; Beiträge zur meroitischen Grammatik. *Meroitica* 3. Berlin 1979 11-91, 181-201.

¹⁶⁴ L'invocation solennelle des épitaphes meroitiques. *RdE* 16 (1964) 25-36; Note sur les "articles" meroitiques. *GLECS* 11 (1966-1967) 105-134; Essai de transcription analytique des textes meroitiques isolés. *MNL* 5 (1970) 4-8; 6 (1971) 2-59; comments in: B.G. Trigger: *The Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Arminna West*. New Haven - Philadelphia 1970.

¹⁶⁵ K.-H. Priese: Notizen zu den meroitischen Totentexten. *WZHU Gesellsch.-sprachwiss. R.* 20 (1971) 275-285; Zur Entstehung der meroitischen Schrift. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 273-306; Notizen zu den meroitischen Totentexten II. *Meroe* (Moscow) 1 (1977) 37-59.

¹⁶⁶ Writing and Literacy in Ancient Sudan. in: A.M. Abdalla (ed.): *Studies in Ancient Languages of the Sudan*. Khartoum 1974 49-58; The Meroitic Texts in A.J. Mills: *The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim*. London 1982. See also: *Meroitic Nubia*. Ph.D. thesis Yale Univ. 1968 (the funerary texts from Gebel Adda).

¹⁶⁷ The Problem of the Meroitic Language. in: R. Thelwall (ed.): *Aspects of Learning in the Sudan*. Ulster 1978 50-79.

¹⁶⁸ Linguistic Approach to the Identification of Meroitic. *MNL* 16 (1975) 21-28.

Abdalla,¹⁶⁹ I. Hofmann,¹⁷⁰ B.G. Trigger,¹⁷¹ and other scholars. Language research was greatly facilitated by the *Repertoire d'Epigraphie Méroïtique* (REM), the edition of which is connected to a computer analysis programme under the direction of J. Leclant and his collaborators (after the untimely death of A. Heyler Prof. Leclant's collaborator was M. Hainsworth).

The latest edition of the *Repertoire* (1976) contains 830 texts.¹⁷² These consist of documents of the following types:

a/ Royal inscriptions dating from the period between the 2nd c. B.C. and the late 4th c. A.D.

A/ Tanyidamani Stela, REM 1044 from Gebel Barkal. Temple donations(?).¹⁷³

B/ Votive tablet of Tañyidamani from the Lion Temple at Meroe City with short dedications to Apedemak and Amun, REM 0405.

C/ Inscription of King Teriteqas, Queen Amanirenas, and Prince Akinidad in the Thot Temple at Dakka, REM 0092, attesting probably a Meroitic occupation of the Dodekaschoinos.

D/ - E/ Great stelae of Queen Amanirenas and Prince Akinidad from a small sanctuary at Meroe City, REM 1003, 1039 (the latter is badly damaged). Apparently historical texts, their interpretation as an account of the war with Rome in 29-21/20 B.C. is based upon the identification of the Meroitic place-name *Arme* of the text with Rome.

F/ Great stela of Queen Amanishakheto and Prince Akinidad from Qasr Ibrim, British Museum Inv. 1420, unpublished. Probably a record of temple donations (?).¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ *Meroitic Personal Names*. Ph.D. thesis Durham Univ. 1969; Examples of Incremental Repetition in Meroitic Personal Names. *ÄuK* 17-40; and *Meroitica* 3 (1979) 155-180; but see on the names also M. Hainsworth: L'onomastique méroïtique. *Acts of the 1st Int. Congr. of Egyptologists Cairo*. Berlin 1979 277-283; id.: Recherche sur la segmentation automatique des anthroponymes méroïtiques. *MNL* 20 (1980) 23-27.

¹⁷⁰ *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik*. Wien 1981.

¹⁷¹ Meroitic and Eastern Sudanic: A Linguistic Relationship? *Kush* 12 (1964) 188-194; Meroitic Language Studies. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 243-272, 337-352; The Classification of Meroitic. *Ägypten und Kusch* (see note 138) 421-435; op. cit. note 164.

¹⁷² Numbered from 0001 to 1179, yet the numbering is not current.

¹⁷³ Cf. F. Hintze: Die meroitische Stele des Königs Tañyidamani aus Napata (Boston MFA 23.736). *Kush* 8 (1960) 125-162.

G/ "Obelisk" of Queen Amanishakheto from the Peristyle Court of the Amun Temple at Meroe City. REM 1041 is only the publication of the first lines with an invocation of Amun.

H/ Dedication text of King Teqorideamani on a statue base from the Apedemak Temple at Meroe City, REM 0409.

I/ Dedication text with a list of cults in Lower Nubia and in the South of King Yesbokheamani from the Apedemak Temple at Meroe City, REM 0407.

J/ Historical (?) inscription of King Kharamadoye in the Mandulis Temple at Kalabsha (now New Kalabsha), REM 0094. The language of the text does not seem to differ greatly from the bulk of Meroitic texts, and it consists of usual titles and theonyms. Nevertheless, it is believed to date from the early (?) post-Meroitic period.¹⁷⁵

b/ Mortuary texts

One-third of the Meroitic texts is carved on offering tables and funerary stelae. As a rule,¹⁷⁶ they consist of an Invocation of Isis and Osiris (occasionally of other deities as well); a Nomination with the name of the deceased, names and titles of his/her mother and father; a Description of the titles and cursus honorum of the deceased and of his/her most important relatives; and finally a Benediction. The royal offering tables consist of a condensed version of the same structure.¹⁷⁷ The funerary inscriptions enable us to investigate the family structure of the Meroitic upper and middle strata, the family relationships, highlight several aspects of religion, cults, administration, economy, and political history.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Cf. J.M. Plumley: Pre-Christian Nubia (23 B.C. - 535 A.D.). Evidence from Qasr Ibrim. *ÉtTrav* 5 (1971) 8-24 fig. 8.

¹⁷⁵ N.B. Millet: *Meroitic Nubia*. Ph.D. thesis Yale Univ. 1968 203ff., 269ff.

¹⁷⁶ F.L. Griffith: *Karanòg*. Philadelphia 1911; F. Hintze: Die Struktur... (see note 163). For the cursus honorum see N.B. Millet: Social and Political Organisation in Meroe. *Journées Int. d'Études Méroïtiques* 10-13 Juillet 1973 Paris (preprint).

¹⁷⁷ Hintze 1959.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. literature quoted in note 175, further - with literature -: Török 1979; id.: Some Comments on the Social Position and Hierarchy of the Priests on Karanog Inscriptions. *ÄuK* 401-420; A.M. Abdalla: Meroitic Funerary Customs and Beliefs: From Texts and Scenes. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 61-104; id.: Meroitic Social Stratification. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 23-84.

c/ Ostraca, papyri, texts on wood, graffiti

Apart from some vessel inscriptions and texts on sherds (ostraca), further the temple graffiti,¹⁷⁹ the majority of these, mostly shorter, texts remained unpublished and unstudied, although their investigation certainly would seriously contribute to language research (for the texts are less stereotype than the funerary inscriptions) as well as to the history of economy, administration, and the religion.

2.5. Sources on the end of Meroe

There can be found in a number of texts in different languages references to the circumstances and date of the end of the Meroitic kingdom. Axumite royal inscriptions in Greek and erected in Meroe City¹⁸⁰ or in Greek, Sabaean, and Old Abyssinian and erected on Axumite territory¹⁸¹ in the course of the last century of Meroe's existence attest Axumite campaigns against Meroe and the penetration of Noba tribes in the Meroitic heartland. The Noba penetration seems to have been the main cause of the decline of Meroe, although it would appear that the settlement of the Noba on Meroitic territory was, at least partly, a consequence of a foederate policy (in the same manner as Rome encouraged the settlement of barbarians within the borders of the Empire).¹⁸² The inscriptions of Ezana suggest that the end of the Meroitic kingdom occurred around 360-370 A.D.¹⁸³ This dating is also confirmed by Lower Nubian evidence.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ F.Ll. Griffith: Meroitic Studies V. *JEA* 11 (1925) 218-224; N.B. Millet: Some Meroitic Ostraca. *Ägypten und Kusch* (see note 138) 315-324; Macadam 1949 93-117; L. Török: Meroitic Religion: Three Contributions in A Positivistic Manner. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 156-182.

¹⁸⁰ T. Hägg: A New Axumite Inscription in Greek from Meroe. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 436-441.

¹⁸¹ Adulitana II: Cosmas Indicopleustes (ed. Wolska-Conus), 165 D; the Ezana inscriptions: E. Littmann: *Sabäische, griechische, und altabessinische Inschriften*. Deutsche Aksum Expedition IV (= DAE). Berlin 1913. English translation of DAE 11: L.P. Kirwan: The Decline and Fall of Meroe. *Kush* 8 (1960) 163-173.

¹⁸² Cf. F. Hintze: Meroe und die Noba. *ZÄS* 94 (1982) 191-204; S.M. Burstein: The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 220-221; Török 1987a 182ff.

¹⁸³ For the evidence in detail see Török 1988b.

¹⁸⁴ For the evidence see Török op. cit. (note 154).

3. Sources and historical theories

The first great period of archaeological exploration coincided with the flourishing of Ethnic Prehistory. By the end of the 19th c. historians and archaeologists "began to assume that human beings were naturally conservative and that particular patterns of behaviour were closely associated with, or even biologically innate in, particular ethnic groups".¹⁸⁵ Consequently, archaeological finds were interpreted in terms of the theory according to which culture, race, and language were strictly interdependent. Cultural changes were explained with the movements of peoples and with their intermingling.

In Africa Ethnic Prehistory was also strongly influenced by colonialism, whose prejudices were expressed in the particular case of Nubia mainly in terms of an Egyptocentrism. In Reisner's opinion Nubia "was only an appendage of the great country [i.e., of Egypt], and its history is hardly more than an account of its use or neglect by Egypt."¹⁸⁶ (It is worth noticing that the more recent view according to which Nubia constituted the "external proletariat" of pharaonic, then Greek and Roman Egypt, is obviously related to this interpretation.) Reisner ascribed the "progressive" periods of Nubian history - under which he meant the A-Group, the C-Group periods and the emergence of the dynasty of Piye - to the influx of Egyptians, Libyans, and Beja, thus of "Hamites", and believed - together with many other scholars of the early 20th c. exploration¹⁸⁷ - that the decline of the same periods was brought about then by the incursion of racially and culturally inferior Negroid peoples from the South.¹⁸⁸ While he measured progress and decline on standards of pharaonic Egyptian culture, others, especially the anthropologists Elliot Smith and D.E. Derry, presented a much simpler and much more mistaken ethnic theory according to which the Negroid peoples were agriculturalists and the carriers of an inferior culture, while the Hamites were pastoralists and carriers of a superior culture. This obviously erroneous "ethnic" determinism was pushed aside by H.

¹⁸⁵ Trigger 1982 223.

¹⁸⁶ G.A. Reisner: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908*. Cairo 1910 348.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. e.g. D. Randall-MacIver - C.L. Woolley: *Areika*. Philadelphia 1909 2.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Elliot Smith in *Archaeological Survey... Bulletin 3*. Cairo 1909 25.

Junker already in 1925, when he emphasized, as first in Nubian studies, the phenomena referring to an ethnic and cultural continuity in the Meroitic and post-Meroitic periods;¹⁸⁹ and it was a large step in the same direction when G. Steindorff proposed a periodization of Nubian history in only three phases: Early, Middle and Late, abandoning thus the principles of ethnic changes.¹⁹⁰ Steindorff's periodization was adapted later by B.G. Trigger as well as in the publications of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Nevertheless, Arkell in 1955¹⁹¹ and Emery in 1965¹⁹² continued to stress the discontinuities in the archaeological evidence and explained most periods of Nubian history in terms of ethnic changes. While there can be no doubt as to the total irrelevance of a rigidly employed Ethnic Prehistory, especially with racist overtones, we must receive, however objective they are, with some caution also the views of Junker and Steindorff. Where Ethnic Prehistory overemphasized the signs of discontinuity, Junker and Steindorff underestimated the significance of cultural changes.

Archaeological theory underwent great changes during the 1940s and 1950s and, mainly under the influence of V. Gordon Childe and Grahame Clark, cultural changes began to be explained as results of diffusion and/or internal developments in the life of societies. The study of societies as systems changing through time¹⁹³ constitutes the theoretical basis of the work of B.G. Trigger, who changed in a radical manner the general view of Nubian history with his *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* in 1965, and to some extent influenced also the work of W.Y. Adams in the 1960s and 1970s. In his *Nubia Corridor to Africa* Adams suggests that Nubian history is characterized by a major ethnic continuity throughout the course of times and even also in periods when written languages did not reflect the spoken languages in individual regions. He summarized his view of the relation between Egypt and the ancient Sudan, and the historical role of the latter as follows: "from being Africa itself, Nubia became a transition zone, or rather the transition zone, between the civilized world and Africa. The narrow green strip of the

¹⁸⁹ See note 19.

¹⁹⁰ *Aniba* I. Glückstadt 1935 1ff.

¹⁹¹ A.J. Arkell: *A History of the Sudan*. London 1955, 2nd ed. 1961.

¹⁹² W.B. Emery: *Egypt in Nubia*. London 1965.

¹⁹³ V.G. Childe: *Archaeology as a Social Science*. London 1947.

Middle Nile Valley, from Khartoum to Aswan, was the corridor through which men, things and ideas passed from one world to the other, and within which they met and mingled. The dwellers in this corridor became in every sense middle men - racially and culturally as well as economically. Their unique position between the black and the white world has persisted down to modern times.¹⁹⁴

There can be hardly any doubt that the model of continuously evolving social systems explains much more logically the phenomena observed by the archaeologist. As stressed by Trigger, however, some ethnic movements do not show up clearly in the archaeological record;¹⁹⁵ in other words, it is not some sort of culture-historical theory that may explain the causes of actual changes and processes, or that is entitled to postulate rigid categories of change and continuity - especially in the stage of research where we are still very far from the assessment of *all available* date. On the contrary: we shall be able to understand the laws of actual processes of Nubian history only when we can describe these processes themselves in enough detail. It may be said in general about Nubian studies, that theoretical explanations always preceded the establishing of a sufficient data basis and/or the critical analysis of the source material. To an extent, it is also true for the assumption of Nubia's historical role as corridor to Africa.

In recent years Nubian literature frequently returned to the question of the place and the role of the ancient Sudan in the contemporary world, and to the problem of the genuineness of its culture. As a more or less deliberate opposition against Egyptocentrism of earlier research, several scholars stressed the "Africanness" of the ancient Sudanese culture, or of individual achievements and features thereof. The term is, however, highly problematic, first of all because it was never defined clearly and unambiguously, and because we know next to nothing about the Africa to which the Nubian corridor is supposed to have led in Antiquity. Still, detail studies concerning ancient Sudanese institutions, social relations, iconography, etc. will certainly result in the definition of traits and developments that can be regarded as genuinely Sudanese: but the results are tied to certain conditions. For it must be realized above all that developments in the Sudan were connected to Egypt in an extremely intricate manner, and the

¹⁹⁴ Adams 1977 20.

¹⁹⁵ Trigger 1982 225.

explanation of the origins of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing features of an individual phenomenon or object is *not* a matter of theoretical prejudices. For lack of space, I refer to the - unfortunately, not very numerous - studies dealing with this issue in more detail.¹⁹⁶ I merely stress here the - however unconscious - bias of the theoretical stress laid on Africanness: for it is Ethnic Prehistory in disguise.

Although he did not formulate any theoretical interpretation of Sudanese history in his already-quoted 1979 paper, the practical program sketched by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif is the *sine qua non* not only of the progress of the studies concerning individual periods and fields of intellectual and material culture, but also of the further investigation of the theoretical issues which were presented in such a fascinating manner by Trigger, Adams, Hintze, and many other scholars, whose works could be but mentioned, and not duly appreciated, in the above survey.

¹⁹⁶ F. Hintze: Elemente der meroitischen Kultur. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 101-105; Gamer-Wallert 1983. - For the contribution of the history of Meroitic religion see e.g. Chr. Onasch: *Das meroitische Pantheon. Untersuchungen zur Religion in Kusch.* Diss. Berlin 1978 (ms); id.: Zur Struktur der meroitischen Religion. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 135-142; for types of Egyptian influence in arts see L.Török: Meroe. Arts. *Grove's Dictionary of Art* (in print).

II. INFORMATIONS AND ILLUSIONS

The title of this contribution may have made the impression that my intention was to produce ideas that contradict to the Hauptreferat of Professor Hintze.* I hurry to assure the reader that - although it will be my concern to set forth reservations concerning the application of numerical methods in our field - I do not intend to contradict the numerical methods themselves demonstrated in the Hauptreferat. This would be unsound and entirely unjustifiable.

In the following I shall discuss a number of historical and art historical informations obtained through traditional investigations. These informations will be confronted with some simple quantitative observations concerning the same data. Then I shall go to an entirely subjective evaluation of some trends in Meroitic studies. Both parts of the paper are intended, after all, to express one and the same idée fixe, according to which proportionate progress in Meroitic studies is nowadays unluckily influenced by two major illusions. The first is that Greek and Roman authors on Meroe are better guides in the reconstructing of Meroitic social and state structure than the internal sources - however ambiguous and difficult to interpret the latter may appear. A second danger lies in the strange idea occurring again and again in the backgrounds of interpretative studies: this is the idiosyncrasy that Meroitic research can go ahead even if we disregard some traditional research methods and fields. This second illusion is most frequently manifested in the discredit of art historical analysis. Implicit in this discredit is that things presenting themselves for art historical analysis do not belong to the group of things which are objects of historical and archaeological examination. This idiosyncrasy makes frequently the impression as if measurable

* F. Hintze: On Mathematical Methods in Archaeology. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 401-421.

aspects of Meroitic culture had a priority before its qualitative aspects. Under the spell of this illusion we are ready to forget the fact that we are not dealing with artifacts of a prehistoric society, even if the amount and composition of the available information remind us of the work of the prehistorian.

Perhaps I exaggerate the role and the importance of above illusions. Nevertheless, it seems to me that they are not some reminders of a previous obsolete stage of Meroitic studies - the less so that similar illusions are generally present in archaeological research of our days. If I suggest now to turn our attention to these illusions, I do so at such a point of progress in Meroitic studies where we can equally state a crisis and a methodological revolution: a point not dissimilar to the stage that was reached by prehistory at the turn of the sixties and seventies, when New Archaeology declared war on old archaeology accusing it with the production of "imitation history books" (D.L. Clarke: *Analytical Archaeology*. London 1968 11 and passim; the most enlightening criticism of the initial phase of New Archaeology was written by M.I. Finley: *Archaeology and History. Daedalus* 100 [1971] 168-186). As to the case of prehistory, it was for a time unclear, whether was the methodological revolution a solution of the crisis or merely another sign of it.

I suppose that most of my readers know and use Inge Hofmann's book *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie* (St. Augustin b. Bonn 1978) discussing the chronology of the royal burials of the period after Aryamani, i.e. from the late 4th c. B.C. on. I frequently wondered already after having read the chronological papers of the First Meroitic Conference, how much alteration is still necessary and imaginable in the chronologies established by Reisner, Dunham, Hintze and Wenig¹ and the investigation of Hofmann raised for me anew the question: how and where could one find an "exact" and independent means, to diagnosticate the weak points thereof? The alterations and re-dating proposed by Hofmann were based on arguments as e.g. differing hypotheses on the provenance of certain offering tables, on re-dating of individual objects found in the burials, on re-interpretation of chapel reliefs, or were supported by newly discovered or re-interpreted synchronisms with cultures beyond

¹ Dunham 1957 2-19; Hintze 1959 17-33; Wenig 1967 1-44; Wenig 1978 16f. The statistical study of pyramid sizes by F. Hintze (see below) uses Wenig's 1978 ruler list.

Meroe. All these alterations seemed, after all, to be subordinate to an accidentality, for they were not the eventual consequences of some discovery, according to which, let us say, the typology of the burials could be improved or the natural growth of the cemeteries better understood. The typology established by Reisner and Dunham as well as their evaluation of the topographical characteristics of the cemeteries were left untouched also by Hofmann. Regarding the badly plundered condition of most tombs and the obviously irregular growth of several cemetery sectors, it is clear that any revision based on archaeological and philological investigation has but limited chances, simply because traditional investigation is unable to grant that we shall inevitably come across all problems that require revision. (These remarks should not be understood as a criticism of any of the above-mentioned chronologies!)

Here I must stop in order to explain, why do I speak at all about the chronology of Meroitic rulers in the context of Prof. Hintze's paper?

Evidently, no art historical analysis can stand without dating. Without having understood their position in time, monuments of art as well as archeological artifacts are totally a-historical phenomena and are in this way irrelevant even for proper aesthetic analysis. Regarding the scarceness of chronological fixpoints in the relation of Meroitic art monuments, one of the principal chances to establish relative and absolute chronologies (apart now from dating based on authentic connections with datable import) is still the analysis on the basis of the royal and aristocratic necropoleis and of the monuments provided with royal names. To stress the importance of obtaining absolute chronological data from every possible source: this may appear superfluous fuss. I doubt, however, that the futility of the analysis without chronological foundations is always duly recognised in Meroitic studies. Let me quote a personal frustration of mine in this field - I quote it, it must be confessed, in the hope that perhaps this time I can provoke a discussion. I have tried to demonstrate many years ago, that a series of Classical-influenced buildings and art monuments in the southern part of the Meroitic kingdom and, above all, in Meroe City, predate the bulk of Roman import objects found in Lower Nubia. Consequently, we have every reason to believe that the orientation of Meroe towards Roman Egypt and towards her late Hellenistic - early imperial Roman culture during the

first half of the 1st century A.D. was a process initiated by the court and the priesthood. We can furthermore suppose that the role and impact of the commerce is merely a consequence of this general trend and not vice versa (Comment in: W.Y. Adams: Meroitic North and South. A Study in Cultural Contrasts. *Meroitica* 2 [1976] 95-102; Traces of Alexandrian Architecture in Meroe: A Late Hellenistic Motif in its History. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 [1976] 115-138). My arguments went unnoticed, but I am still convinced that the problem of the Meroitic North and South is not solved without a meticulous dating of processes and phenomena in the South and in the North (for my attempts at the dating of key monuments and of imports of key importance see L. Török: Meroitic Architecture: Contributions to Problems of Chronology and Style. *Meroitica* 7 [1984] 351-366; Zur Datierung der sog. römischen Kiosks in Naqa/Sudan. *AA* 1984 145-159; further my *Hauptreferat "Kush and the external world"* written for the 5th International Conference on Meroitic Studies [partly reprinted below, Ch. V]).

I hope, it will be excused that I tried to explain the actuality of dating problems by subjective examples. Now I return to the question of the chronology of the rulers. As said above, the revision of the chronology of their burials suffered always from being forced to set out from art historical and archaeological considerations, and only in rare cases could revision have been undertaken by the help of newly discovered historical data (as e.g. the case of Nastaseñ). Recently an excellent and in its essence extremely simple means was proposed by Professor Hintze in his *Die Größen der meroitischen Pyramiden*. in: *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham*. Boston 1981 91-98, which easily enables us to trace weak points in the cemetery chronologies. In his study Professor Hintze analyses the pyramid sizes at Barkal and at Meroe.²

² The lentifer analysis undertaken by K. Grzymski: Seriation of the Royal Pyramids at Begarawiyah North. Preliminary Discussion. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 222-228 is based on Charts I and II containing the architectural features of the royal burials of Dunham op. cit. (see note 1), but disregards just the pyramid sizes. It seems to me that the - in many cases historically impossible - alterations in the ruler chronology proposed by Grzymski go back to the narrow basis of the analysis. A misunderstanding of the historical situation is represented by the following statement: "how it was possible that such an obviously late ruler (i.e. Yesbokheamani, dated generally to the end of the 3rd century A.D., L.T.) could have left inscriptions at Qasr Ibrim and Philae?... Török proposed some

It is astonishing that even the first glance at the table in the paper showing the measurements can provide the reader with a starting point for a revision - on the condition, however, that one must forget old prejudices about the supposed direct connection between pyramid size and length of reign, between pyramid size and rank and perhaps also the prejudice about the connection between pyramid size and general situation (wealth etc.) of the kingdom. Instead, we have to regard size classes and the relationship between individual pyramid sizes and average pyramid size of groups to which a certain burial should or should not belong. In this way the weak points can easily be traced in the form of "unfitting" data. Professor Hintze discussed from the point of view of chronology three such cases, Beg. N. 14 (Teriteqas), Nu. 30 (unknown queen) and Nu. 54 (unknown owner) (op. cit. 95). To these cases I add in the following some further cases of revision, in order to demonstrate the closeness of information and illusion in this particular investigation.

Beg. S. 24 is known for the Attic rhyton found there (MFA. 21.2286, D. v. Bothmer: *Amazons in Greek Art*. Oxford 1957 222). The rhyton, which is decorated with representation of battles between Persians and Greeks in which, curiously, it is the Persians that are winning, is signed by the potter Sotades. Sotades was in earlier literature considered to have been active around 400 B.C. (v. Bothmer op. cit. 222; J.D. Beazley: *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters* I. Oxford 1963 201). Accordingly, in Dunham's opinion the rhyton was deposited between ca. 398 and 355 (!) B.C., according to Hintze around 369-340 B.C. (Dunham: 1963 383; Hintze op. cit. [see note 1] 23f.). In the meantime experts learnt more about Sotades and his environment and now date the Meroe rhyton (and a closely related rhyton found at Memphis in Egypt) to the years around 470 B.C. Even if we agree with the (in my opinion unnecessarily long) interval supposed between the date of the rhyton and the date of its being deposited, Beg. S. 24 cannot be later than the 420s. But a still earlier date seems equally probable, for it is likely that the rhyton arrived in Meroe in some connection with the Kushite soldiers who fought in

historical explanations; however, if one accepts the possibility that Yesbokheamani ruled before Tequerideamani (sic!) possibly at the very beginning of the third century A.D., then the whole problem becomes non-existent". Cf. my Inquiries into the Administration of Meroitic Nubia I-II. *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 34-50; *Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia*. Budapest 1979 106f.

the army of Xerxes between 486 and 465 B.C., adhering to their "African" custom to paint their body half white, half red before entering battle, as it is recorded by Herodotus, VII, 69. They could be soldiers of the Persian army in no other way than having been "presents" to Xerxes from the king of Kush. As said above, the paintings of the rhyton reveal that it was made for the Persian market, thus it might have been sent by Xerxes or his satrap in Egypt to Meroe among other presents returning Kushite presents. If so, it is also likely that Beg. S. 24 is not considerably later than ca. 465 B.C. However, its pyramid size stands nearer to the average of Hintze's Periode 2.4.D, i.e. his Generations 17-29, than to the average of his Generations 15-20, to which it would chronologically belong. We have here either a sort of contradiction between size and sequence, or the burial chronology of this part of the South Cemetery must be further clarified. The latter possibility is also supported by the fact that in the traditional burial chronology (see Hintze op. cit. Tables A 12 and A 13) sizes around 6,75 m, i.e., the pyramid size of S. 24, occur scattered instead of occurring in close groups.

Beg. N. 36 is attributed by Hintze as well as by Wenig to king Aryesbokhe and dated to ca. 215-225; while Bar. 4 is attributed by them to the ruler of Generation 46, i.e. dated to the period between ca. 90 and 50 B.C. However, we find in the inventory of these burials several objects of Egyptian origin and of *late Augustan* date. Diagnostic among these are glass vessels, especially carinated opaque red bowls of Isings' form 2.³ As it is well-known, this vessel form was in great fashion in the Augustan age and it does not seem to have survived - at the latest - the age of Nero (as to the opaque red glass vessels; the survival of the form in other materials is another question). This means that Bar. 4 cannot be dated as early as 90-50 B.C., further that Beg. N. 36 must be regarded as roughly "contemporary" of Bar. 4. However, the two burials do not follow

³ For these vessels see E.M. Stern: A Glass Bowl of Isings' Form 2 from the Tomb of an Ethiopian Candace. *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 58 (1977) 63-72. This study is somewhat disproportionate because of the confidence of Dr. Stern with which she accepts the hypothetical attributions of pyramids to individual ruler names, so the identification of the owner of Bar. 4 with the Candace described by Strabo as foe of Rome. This confidence leads to an overestimation of the chronological implications of the fact that the glass vessels in question occurred in Bar. 4; in this way the author proposes the alteration of the interpretation of the origins of Isings' form 2.

immediately each other, as is indicated by differences in their burial equipment and supported by their sizes, which belong to two distinctly different groups; with 15,65 m Bar. 4 to the size group extending from N. 13 (Naqyrinsan) to N. 2 (Amanikhabale), with 6,34 m Beg. N. 36 to the size group extending from N. 22 (Natakanani) to N. 34 (Hintze: Tamelordeamani, Török: Ariteñyesbokhe). Thus the chronological difference is ca. 5 ruler generations, and if my chronological sequence is correct, this difference warns us again to date a burial as contemporaneous with the objects in its equipment (a warning, I am aware, narrowing the validity of all my datings!). It must be noticed that Bar. 4 was attributed by Hofmann to Queen Amanirenas (Hofmann 1978 99f.), an attribution that can be doubted as to the person, but not as to the date (I tentatively attributed the burial to King Teriteqas).

As said above, Beg. N. 36 was supposed to have been the burial place of the 3rd century A.D. King Aryesbokhe. Attribution and dating were based on an offering table with his name discovered in the neighbouring N. 16, where a further offering table bearing the name of King Amanitaraqide was found (REM 0816 and 0815, respectively). Hintze and Wenig supposed that the latter was the owner of N. 16 and that he reigned in the period after Natakanani, i.e. in the second half of the first century A.D. (see note 1 above). The offering table of Amanitaraqide is of an earlier palaeographical type than the table of Aryesbokhe, but the difference in my opinion cannot be interpreted as a proof for a difference in time larger than one century! In fact, the differences in the lettering do not seem to support any significant chronological difference, and this is unambiguously supported by the close affinities between imports in the two burial equipments. Nevertheless, N. 16 is an "Ausreisser", as to pyramid size, although we find such "Ausreisser" in considerable quantity in Hintze's Tables (N. 9, Bar. 2, N. 14, N. 1, N. 16, N. 40, N. 32).

Wenig attributed *Bar. 6* to Queen Nawidemak (Wenig 1967 43). The attribution was based on the cartouche of the Queen in the chapel. The burial was dated - independently from the reading of the name which was only later established - by Dunham, Hintze and Wenig to the period around 50 B.C.; Hofmann, however, dated it somewhat later, between ca. 50 and 29 B.C. But also her dating is hypothetical, for it results from the dating of other rulers whom she

believes to have been identical with the rulers mentioned in classical sources as foes of Rome between 29 and 21/20 B.C. (Hofmann 1978 90ff.). In Bar. 6 Reisner discovered the base fragment of a red-brown ceramic vessel (Török 1988b Appendix No. 44) which belonged in all probability to an Eastern A *sigillata* crater being an imitation of an Arretine crater of early or middle Augustan date. Judging from the probable date of the imitation vessel, Bar. 6 does not seem later than the first half, or the middle of the 1st century A.D. It must be stressed, that the pyramid size fits very well both into the chronological environment proposed by Hintze and Wenig and into the environment preferred by Hofmann - that these chronological groups are, similarly to the environment preferred by myself, not really closed, as to sizes occurring in them.

As owner of Bar. 9 was formerly regarded Prince Akinidad, whom Hintze believed to have been actual ruler between ca. 18 and 3 B.C. (Hintze 1959 27). Wenig did not include Akinidad into his ruler list, and since it was this latter list that served as basis for Hintze's pyramid size analysis, Bar. 9 does not figure in the Dunham *Festschrift*. Hofmann proposed that it was the burial place of King Aqrakamani, who ruled according to her around 50 A.D. (Hofmann 1978 112f.). The tomb inventory contained - together with Eastern A plates - a fine hard red miniature Eastern A bowl produced ca. between 30 and 70 A.D. Accordingly - and since the burial is typologically beyond doubt a royal burial - Bar. 9 must be included into the list of the burials of the rulers. Its place in the chronology in the second half of the 1st century A.D. is suggested not only by the inventory but also the pyramid size, 7,10 m.

In this way Bar. 9 upsets the picture according to which after Nawidemak (Bar. 6) no reigning queen or king was buried at Barkal. Moreover, it poses a problem in connection with Bar. 10, too. In his earlier works Hintze regarded this latter burial as the pyramid of a reigning queen of the Second Meroitic Dynasty of Napata (see already G.A. Reisner: The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline. *JEA* 9 [1923] 34-77, 73ff.; Hintze 1959 27), but as his collateral dynasty is no more believed to have existed, the burial is simply left out from recent chronologies. However, this burial is not only from the typological point of view to be considered as burial of a reigning queen, the definition is supported also by a find made in its chapel. The find in question is a sandstone statue

group covered originally with gold sheets representing a queen sitting between the libating Isis and Nephtys, wearing royal dress, scullcap and diadem with double uraeus (Boston MFA Eg. 2786 and see Török 1988a). It must be added that the size of the pyramid Bar. 10 is 7,00 m, thus almost identical with the size of Bar. 9; further that the latest burials in the Barkal Cemetery are not these: there are also late 1st(?) and early 2nd(?) century or even later burials (RCK IV 154-163, Bar. 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 17, 16, the reasons of this chronological sequence proposed by Dunham are, however, not quite clear for me).

As it seems, above examples demonstrate not only the excellent possibilities consisted in the analysis of pyramid sizes, but they also reveal some features which make us meditate on the actual limits of this particular analysis. A part of above examples can doubtless be explained by the smallness of groups within or without which individual attributions were made and within or without which individual datings must move. Some examples where pyramid size and the chronological position of the burial inventory cannot be reconciled point either to eventual faults in the burial classification or rather to the possibility that the actual chronological sequence within closed size groups is, and remains, to be established (in the absence of written evidence) through traditional art historical and archaeological investigation. A further important lesson is that neither large groups of identical sizes can be forcedly construed, nor can we artificially decrease the number of the changes of the royal burial place from Meroe to Barkal and back - just on the contrary.

Remaining still at the problem of dating, I go now to the contribution of the cemeteries at Meroe City to the dating of Meroitic fine pottery, more precisely, to the date of the beginnings of its production.

Although we find in the literature occasional hints at the possibility that Meroitic luxury wares can be dated as early as the 1st century A.D., there is no unambiguous statement as to the appearance or the distribution of the earliest production. Individual vessels from different sites and find complexes tend, in general, to be dated exclusively to the 2nd century and later. As Adams has put it, "the origins of the late Meroitic pottery industry are an enduring mystery. It seems to spring into being full-born, with an astonishing profusion of vessel forms (and) ... without any recognizable antecedents either

in Nubia or abroad" (W.Y. Adams: Ceramics. in: *Africa in Antiquity I. The Essays*. Brooklyn Museum 1987 127-133, 129).

Unfortunately, it is not very much what the cemeteries at Meroe offer to the solution of the problem, but it is still not without important lessons. As it seems, the earliest burials containing Meroitic fine pottery are Beg. N. 6 and Meroe West 139, 284, 306 and 308. In Beg. N. 6, the tomb of Queen Amanishakheto, who ruled around the beginning of our era, there was one single hard red ware cup found, but the Meroe West cemetery tombs contained dozens of yellow- or red-slipped painted and impressed (stamped) cups and bowls. These latter burials belong typologically to Dunham's Generations 50 to 60; on a burial-typological basis no precise dating is possible. But glass finds, especially a series of mosaic beads of the type produced during the 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. in Egypt indicate a 1st century A.D. general date at the latest for the whole of the group. A more precise date is, however, suggested by a fine red ware bowl on pedestal foot with polished red slip and stamped decoration from W. 306.

Eastern A ware craters of an analogous type were found, as already mentioned above, in Bar. 6, in W. 316, further two fragments were found at Meroe City (exact provenance unknown). One of these bears the name stamp ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ and is kept in the Reserve Stores of the Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool (Inv. 47.48.218). The other - probably not stamped - vessel fragment is in the Garstang Collection of the Oriental School of the University of Liverpool (Inv. 951). In the excavation reports of John Garstang and in the reports of the recent excavations carried out at Meroe City we find frequent mention of "sigillata fragments", which may in many cases cover Eastern A wares of a similar date. This is indicated also by a plate fragment from the so-called Royal Baths, now in the Reserve Stores (Inv. 49.47.804) bearing the name-stamp ΜΙΝΔΙC. This stamp occurs on a plate fragment found by the Sieglin Expedition in Alexandria (R. Pagenstecher: *Sieglin Expedition II*. Leipzig 1913 102) proving unambiguously that wares from the Hellenistic East arrived in Meroe via Egypt. I quote finally as exemplars of Eastern A import the above mentioned plates and miniature bowl.

There can be hardly any doubt that the Meroitic fine crater from W. 306 is the imitation of an Eastern A crater, which in turn imitates an Arretine vessel (cf. e.g. J.W. Hayes: *Roman Pottery in the Royal*

Ontario Museum. Toronto 1976 No. 54, ca. A.D. 10-25). The Meroitic imitation shows a certain distance from the model, but the distance is not significant and it does not contradict to the assumption that the fine pottery complexes of these tombs represent the first phase of the new ware, the stylistic features of which point to a group of models of Augustan to mid-first century dates. For there is not only one single closed circle of models to be assumed: besides Eastern A sigillata of Augustan date also other sources seem to reveal themselves. I hesitatingly mention some of them, for the problem needs detailed investigation based, first of all, on the unpublished Meroe City material. Egyptian models have certainly played a considerable role. The style and formal repertoire of the Memphite black pottery (of which a handsome exemplar occurred in W. 127) as well as the impact of late Hellenistic Pergamene relief ware (1st century B.C. exemplars in Bar. 2: MFA 24.753) and that of the late Hellenistic and early imperial Egyptian faience are obvious. Finally I mention a highly interesting source visualized by a relief-decorated fine Meroitic cup from W. 308 and by its technical and stylistic analogy, a stamped yellow thin-walled ware known from Ventimiglia and from the Western Mediterranean, but this fine hard, thin-walled impressed mid-first century ware is known also from more northern provinces (cf. Hayes op. cit. No. 41, dated ca. 40-80 A.D.). The way of the creating of Meroitic luxury pottery style from these (and possibly further), more or less distant, sources is for the time being obscure. It is difficult to imagine, although it must have been the case, that it was created as amalgam of several different models. It is evidently not irrelevant from this aspect that the models were at the same time made or present in Egypt - and from the late 1st century B.C. on also in Meroe, as it seems, in Meroe City. The place, where the beginnings of such an industry can be supposed, is in all probability the royal residence. The new industry produced in the initial phase luxury items of high value and required from the very outset a refined technology. The assumption on the place of the industry is indirectly, but in my opinion very logically, supported by the picture shown by Meroitic architecture, sculpture, minor arts and religion after the beginning of our era (or, more precisely, beginning with the end of the war with Rome). Syntheses similar to the style and technology of Meroitic fine pottery are discernible in other areas of culture, too.

Further support receives this assumption from the Meroitic fine vessels unearthed by Garstang in Meroe City. The whereabouts of these vessels is for the time being unknown. Photographs in the Oriental School of the University of Liverpool show that the formal and stylistic variety of them surpasses by far the variety of Meroitic fine wares, as we know them from other sites. Before the publication of the photographs in question it would be bold to argue at length about the centre of production, thus I merely remark that it is worth considering - just from the statistical point of view - what is in this case indicative of the place of production: the greater variety or the bigger quantity of vessels?

The publication of the finds made by Garstang would be a great step towards the understanding of the genesis of Meroitic fine pottery. Besides this chance there is another urgent desideratum in pottery studies. This would be the continuation of the work initiated by St. Wenig in his Brooklyn lecture on Meroitic painted ceramics (Meroitic Painted Ceramics. *Meroitica* 5 [1979] 129-134). He distinguished there individual painters and individual patterns used by different (probably small) groups of potters. He christened his painters "cartoonist", "prisoner painter", "antelope painter" and "academic school" (which latter seems rather to have been a style fashionable during a longer period). This analysis represents a first attempt in Meroitic studies to employ art historical methods in examination of pottery decoration. Although the study was regarded by Wenig himself modestly as a treatment of pottery "from the aesthetic point of view" (*ibid.* 129), in fact it is clear that an orthodox art historical analysis is necessarily an investigation that goes far beyond the limits of aesthetic appreciation. For this kind of investigation is meant to lead to nothing else than the solution of problems as origin, chronology, classification, function, distribution etc. of the decorated pottery.

The comparison of this investigation with the study of Greek vase painting, however immodestly, presents itself. Despite considerable (and self-evident) differences in historical origins, function and artistic niveau, art historical analysis leads in both cases to relative chronology. Dating of individual vessels, with the help of fortunate find circumstances, can be solved before the relative chronology is established; in fact, it is these individual fixed dates that anchor the inner chronology in time. Individual dates of this kind were proposed

above, exploiting the chances inherent in the coincidences of royal chronology with imports on the one hand and Meroitic pottery on the other.

The mention of the Garstang Collection and the expression of my hope that the importance of the investigation started by Wenig will be adequately recognised, were intended to introduce the short and subjective concluding section of this paper.

If I look back at the studies on different Meroitic topics I have put on paper in the last decade or so, I have the impression that I have dealt again and again with the same small amount of historical and archaeological informations, which I tried to re-interpret now from this, then from another aspect - and I did so not because of some headstrong idiosyncrasy, but because I was forced to do so by a special feature of Meroitic studies. This is not the scarcity of data at disposal, due to the destruction of sites, neglect of research and the like, but the fact that the amount of information on which we all have to base our activity, increases very slowly. In fact by no means in the tempo that would theoretically be possible by the quantity and quality of archaeological works carried out in Egypt and the Sudan (of the discrepancy between the extent of work and publication of information can everybody be ascertained who carefully follows J. Leclant's *Fouilles et Travaux* in the *Orientalia* on the one hand and the literature on the other). According to an estimation made on the basis of the literature available for me, in the late sixties-early seventies about 40% of the publications on Meroitic topics dealt with previously unpublished information. In recent years more than 80% of the literature are re-interpretative studies in which we find only scattered or absolutely no data which were unknown before. This upward tendency of re-interpretation is only partly a consequence of the fact that it was only in recent years that Meroitic studies have begun definitely to take the shape of a selfstanding branch of historical science - it is much more the consequence of the lamentably poor influx of information.

The consequences of this situation and of the ensuing trend must be drawn (I have tried in vain to start a survey of unpublished information in order to solve the problems indicated above, cf. my *Old Discoveries and the Future of the Meroitic Studies*. *Meroitica* 7 [1984] 552-553). Before we set forth to re-interpret all our informations, this time by means of more developed and more

objective analyses, we must pose the question, how could we at the same time broaden the basis on which our efforts are carried out. I see the impressive development of working tools, I am deeply impressed by the possibilities offered by the numerical methods - *but I am worried by the small amount of material we can analyse today and I do not see, what shall we analyze tomorrow.*

STATE STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

III. AMBULATORY KINGSHIP AND SETTLEMENT HISTORY

1. Archaeological strategies and Meroitic history

The distinctive assets and liabilities of archaeology as a source¹ are well-known and do not need to be discussed here in detail.² A theoretical introduction appears unnecessary also because Meroitic studies represent a special case and other papers deal more competently than I could do with the history of archaeological research in our domain and with the factors that have determined its unusual methods and perspectives. The study of the history of the Middle Nile Valley is made possible mainly by sources which were discovered under the condition of rescue archaeology. Our work not only reflects the limitations imposed upon the evidence by evident limitations of rescue work. It also bears inevitably, even if only indirectly, the stamp of widely differing theoretical and methodological approaches of subsequent generations of archaeologists who came to work in Nubia since the first survey.³ The change in strategies and goals since the early years of the century is enormous. Yet, it would be unwise to overlook the fact that the contemporary idea of Nubian history contains a far greater amount of information and opinions inherited from Ethnic Prehistory than we are usually ready to realize.

¹ Cf. A. Snodgrass: Archaeology. in: M. Crawford (ed.): *Sources for Ancient History*. Cambridge 1983 137-184.

² See J. Leclant: Les recherches archéologiques dans le domaine méroitique. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 19-60, 61-66; Adams 1977 71-98, cf. also B.G. Trigger: History and Settlement in Lower Nubia. In the Perspective of Fifteen Years. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 367-380.

³ Trigger 1982.

More significant, but far less generally recognized than the controversial attitudes of the former generations, is the diversity of strategies and goals in present-day archaeology of the Middle Nile Valley. The fact that there is no clear consensus as to the priorities and also the methods of archaeological research fails to attract the attention of our community. Occasional surveys of archaeological strategies are more concerned about discrepancies between the perspective of the supposed homogeneous archaeological approach on the one hand, and the perspectives of the historian and the art historian, on the other.⁴ I feel that these discrepancies are mostly only virtual⁵ and it is not the historian's and the art historian's perspective that is incompatible with the perspective of the archaeologist. It seems that the conflict is rather between the archaeologist as historian on the one side and the actual state of the investigations concerning textual sources, on the other. It may not be overlooked that all comprehensive histories of Nubia and all significant treatments of individual periods of Nubian culture were written by archaeologists who were duly critical in their use of the archaeological evidence but who accepted with confidence a considerable part of a corpus of the historical interpretations of the textual evidence that is long outdated. It would thus seem that what we need to do is not to discuss the differences between the perspectives of the (mostly fictitious) historian, art historian and archaeologist – but to continue to confront the archaeological evidence with the textual sources as they appear in the mirror of modern critical interpretation. As I have tried to show at other places,⁶ Nubian literature still prefers to accept information on Meroe from classical authors at face value while

⁴ Adams 1987.

⁵ Eg. Adams 1987 criticizes my study on the "Meroitic North and South" as a typical example of the historian's perspective, in which "fixed datum points that must be used in mapping the past are known events, personages, and dates, as these are preserved for us in textual records ... It may be said as a general rule that for the historian the archaeological evidence, no matter how numerically compelling, must always be brought into accord with the human testimony that is preserved in the textual record" (*ibid.* 285, *contra* Török 1987a). This is unjust not only because I never believed that the – utterly old-fashioned – attitude could be applied in Meroitic studies. The paper that was criticized on this account by Adams was in fact an attempt, to support the textual evidence with a new chronology of Meroitic pottery painting which was established, needless to say, not on the basis of the textual evidence.

⁶ Török 1984d, 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c.

critical studies – which are duly accepted by scholars working in other areas of ancient history who are similarly interested in the same sources – have clearly defined the limits within which the individual pieces of information can be accepted.

Recent investigations have clearly demonstrated that a traditional text interpretation may be erroneous not only because it does not stand the test of modern source criticism but also because it is in conflict with the archaeological evidence, too. A good example is provided by the issue of early Meroitic settlement in Lower Nubia. Historical sources suggest the existence of settlements as early as the 3rd c. B.C. at sites that already occur in New Kingdom texts,⁷ but it was denied on the basis of the seeming absence of archaeological material that would be datable to the period before the 1st or even 2nd c. A.D.⁸ It turned out, however, that the problem can be resolved if the ceramic evidence is re-dated: and indeed, the 2nd/1st c. B.C. dating of ceramic wares from the early graves at Faras and from other Lower Nubian sites⁹ is now also supported by stratigraphical evidence from Qasr Ibrim¹⁰ as well as by studies of Egyptian Hellenistic pottery.¹¹

The contribution of settlement archaeology to social history is, evidently, of a decisive importance. The differences observed between Lower Nubian settlements (which are traditionally regarded to be sufficiently known) and the urban centres in the south (which are admittedly only very scarcely known)¹² led not only to the postulation of a basic diversity in settlement patterns but also to the hypothesis of a basic difference in political and social structure.¹³ While the new interpretation of Meroitic pottery chronology may bring about

⁷ Priese 1984.

⁸ Adams 1976; 1977 345ff.; cf. also 1988 28.

⁹ See Fernandez 1985 576-696.

¹⁰ Cf. Adams n.d.; and see also P. Rose – P. Rowley-Conwy: Qasr Ibrim Regional Survey. Preliminary Results. *ANM* 1989 121-126, 123f.

¹¹ Cf. literature in Török 1987a, 1987c.

¹² It would seem, however, that our knowledge of Lower Nubian settlement history is far from being satisfactory. Trigger 1965 and the paper by the same scholar quoted above give a clear picture of the limits of our information. It must be realized that the few Meroitic settlements in Lower Nubia that were completely excavated were never published. Excavations at other settlements are known only from preliminary reports.

¹³ Adams 1976.

considerable changes in the general picture of the settlement history in the North, it does not appear to influence the views on settlement history in the Meroitic heartlands. As to the North, the re-interpretation of the textual evidence represents a challenge, to revise pottery chronology. It is perhaps not entirely senseless to repeat this procedure in the South, either. In the following I shall try to confront a set of textual data with a set of archaeological data. My intention is to present new data that may highlight a neglected aspect of Kushite political structure. But, however indirectly, the following is also intended to present an example of the interdependence of "historical questions" and "archaeological answers".

My current work on the publication of John Garstang's excavations at Meroe City¹⁴ has necessarily confronted me with various consequences of one of the main features of the work of a generation of archaeologists whose methods and perspectives were shaped in a total independence from Petrie's contemporary activity. This feature is, to use a short and not very politely-sounding description, the lack of concern – and also sense – for context. Although the undisputable aim of the excavations at Meroe City was to collect archaeological information that would allow to understand and describe the processes of development and decline in Meroitic culture, the only contextual aspect that was recognized was a (mostly vague) attempt at establishing a cultural/chronological sequence. Garstang's disinterest in horizontal interconnections between settlement phenomena – which occur thus almost totally isolated from each other in his records – may also explain his total lack of interest in vertical stratigraphy (or vice versa). It would seem that the irrelevant picture of Meroe City as a settlement that appears in our literature is first of all determined by this methodological failure of the

¹⁴ The work was rendered possible by two subsequent grants of the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation, for which I again take the opportunity to express my gratitude. Thanks are due to Prof. A.F. Shore, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, who granted me access to the records and finds kept in his institute and who facilitated in every way my work there. I am also indebted to the Norwegian Research Council for a generous grant which enabled me to work on the manuscript of the publication at the Klassisk Institutt of the University of Bergen from October 1989 till March 1990.

excavator's work. Yet, the preliminary reports¹⁵ were very definite – and, it must be added with due respect for Garstang's remarkable historical perspective, that in many cases his conclusions, however undocumented they appear, nevertheless prove to be correct in the light of the unpublished finds. Thus the published information on Meroe City could have served as basis for settlement historical analysis and the fact that it did not may perhaps be explained by an archaeological maximalism on the part of subsequent writers on Meroitic urban development.

Garstang's unpublished records and finds give an insight into what he had no intention to investigate – and show that in spite of all his interest in cultural processes he looked at the town excavated by him as a conglomerate of isolated and independent realities. In the following I shall discuss – and give a pre-publication of – a group of his finds that has an apparently direct bearing on the issue of the plurality of Napatan royal residences and hence on the problem complex of political organisation in Napatan and early Meroitic times.

2. The capitals of the Napatan kingdom: the textual evidence

According to general opinion, the early Napatan kingdom had one capital in the neighbourhood of the Sacred Mountain of Amun at Gebel Barkal.¹⁶ Although opinions differ, as to the localization of the actual royal residence, there seems to be consensus as to the character of the capital which is understood as an urban settlement around, or at, the most important Amun sanctuary of the kingdom and the royal residence and in the proximity of the royal burial place. It is also regarded as the centre of administration. As it appears, the best arguments for this model are provided by the inscriptions of the Napatan rulers Anlamani,¹⁷ Aspelta,¹⁸ Irike-Amanote,¹⁹

¹⁵ J. Garstang *LAAA* 3 (1910) 57-70; 4 (1912) 45-71; 5 (1913) 73-83; 7 (1914-1916) 1-24; J. Garstang et al.: *Meroe City of the Ethiopians*. Oxford 1911; J. Garstang – W.S. George *LAAA* 6 (1914) 1-21.

¹⁶ Cf. Adams 1977 270f., 305f.

¹⁷ Kawa VIII. Macadam 1949 46ff.

¹⁸ Cairo J.E. 48866, Grimal 1981 21ff.

¹⁹ Kawa IX. Macadam 1949 50ff.

Harsiyotef,²⁰ and Nastaseñ²¹ recording the events of their enthronement. These texts describe among other episodes of the legitimisation and enthronisation process also the ruler's "coronation journey" to the Amun temples at Napata, Kawa, Pnubs and their visits of other sanctuaries en route. In view of special emphasis given to the role of Amun of Napata in the concept of legitimacy on the one hand, and to the actual ceremonies performed in his sanctuary at Gebel Barkal, on the other, these texts are regarded as records of the coronation at Napata. The subsequent journey through the nomoi is interpreted as an appearance of the new king in the main centres of the kingdom in order to "create order in all provinces" after the period of Chaos that has started with the death of his predecessor.²²

As to the actual character and political functions of the other settlements visited during the coronation journey, also including Meroe City from where the journey usually starts,²³ the writers on Kushite history do not offer precise definitions. The existence, and relative importance, of Meroe City is of course not denied, ever since the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and early Napatan graves of the West and South Cemeteries were excavated by Reisner.²⁴ The fact that members of the royal family were buried here from the reign of Piye onwards also implied the presence of a population probably engaged in the maintenance of funerary cult temples, and recent excavations²⁵ revealed indeed that the earliest "civil" settlement under the North mound dates to the period of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, or is possibly even earlier.²⁶ The discovery of the name of Aspelta and other early Napatan kings on objects at Meroe City and reported by Garstang²⁷ was viewed in connection with texts concerning the Nubian campaign of Psammetic II²⁸ and served as basis for the assumption that the capital of the kingdom was moved from Napata to Meroe already

²⁰ Cairo J.E. 48864, Grimal 1981 40ff.

²¹ Berlin 2268.

²² Cf. Priese 1978 85.

²³ Inscriptions of Irike-Amanote and Nastaseñ.

²⁴ Dunham 1963 3ff., 357ff.

²⁵ Shinnie – Bradley 1980; cf. Bardley 1984.

²⁶ Bradley 1984 197ff.

²⁷ *LAAA* 4 (1912) 49; for the fragments of a stela of Aspelta from M. 250 see Garstang et al., op. cit. (note 15) 26.

²⁸ H.S.K. Bakry *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967) 225ff.; Sauneron – Yoyotte 1952 161ff.

under Aspelta.²⁹ Yet this hypothesis did not explain the subsequent role of Napata and was not generally accepted in literature, which continues to maintain that the capital was transferred to Meroe in conjunction with the transfer of the royal burial place in the course of the 3rd c. B.C.³⁰

It is nevertheless curious, why did not prompt the above-summarized descriptions of the coronation journey the question about the actual reasons of the appearance of early Napatan royal names at Meroe City and about the actual reasons of the stay of the king at Meroe City at the beginning of the coronation journey.

The festivals held by Anlamani in the temple of Kawa: the "First Festival of Amun" and the "Festival of the King" as well as the visit of his mother in this period in Kawa in order "to find her son crowned like Horus upon his throne ... even as Isis saw her son Horus crowned upon earth"³¹ give a fairly unambiguous hint that also at this late station of the coronation journey, and after the ceremonies performed at Napata, ceremonies might have taken place whose enthronisation character is obvious. In the late 5th c. B.C. Irike-Amanote was elected by the army and acknowledged as legitimate son of Amun (by the priesthood) at Meroe City, and was subsequently crowned with the Kushite skullcap at Napata.³² It is also stated in his inscription that his predecessor died in the "Palace of His Majesty" at Meroe City.³³ Irike-Amanote proceeded from Napata to Krtn³⁴ where he stayed in his palace. Then he went to Kawa where he participated in a festival of Amun, in the course of which Amun-Re of Gematon proclaimed him "ruler of every land, the South, the North, the West, and the East" and received a bow from the deity, obviously as an insignum of royal power. The king furthermore asked the deity to grant him what was granted to King Alara. This last momentum clearly refers again to a confirmation of legitimacy. The last station of the journey is in the sanctuary of Amun of Pnubs, who confers upon the king "the kingdom and ... every land, the South, the North,

²⁹ F. und U. Hintze: Einige neue Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Musawwarat es Sufra. *KuGN* 49-65, 63.

³⁰ Cf. Adams 1988 27.

³¹ Macadam 1949 47.

³² *Ibid.* 56.

³³ *Ibid.* 51.

³⁴ *Ibid* 58; identified with modern Korti: Zibellius 1972 163f.; Priese 1984 495.

the West, the East". The endowment of royal power by Amun of Pnubs is followed by a festival.³⁵ The same pattern is repeated in Nastaseñ's inscription written around 327 B.C.³⁶ The informations presented by these texts are complemented by further records of enthronement. A detail from Harsiyotef's record deserves here special mention: he remarks that at his arrival at Napata he found the royal palace fallen into disuse so that "none could enter there".³⁷

Two consequences may be drawn:

1. There were coronation ceremonies performed at each station of the coronation journey, also including Meroe City. The king received royal power as if anew at every station from the Amun worshipped in the actual sanctuary (and also from other deities connected to the concept of kingship at other places).³⁸

2. There were royal residences in every settlement which was visited in the course of the coronation journey.

Both statements imply, also independently from each other, that the Napatan kingdom had more than one capital. The towns of Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs are not distinguished from each other in terms of differences between their functions and relationship with royal power. On the contrary, each Nubian Amun worshipped in their sanctuaries is bound to reaffirm the royal power as if independently. From the aspect of present investigation the possible origins and explanation of this tradition are not important. An explanation that would maintain that the subsequent coronations are "merely symbolic" would be certainly irrelevant, for the dividing line between the political significance of "real" and "symbolic" coronation is totally illusory and is construed with modern notions in mind. But if the king has a residence at different places of his kingdom, and if royal power is conferred upon him in a series of coronation ceremonies performed in the course of a coronation process at all these places, then this king is ruler of a kingdom whose actual political power form can be defined as ambulatory kingship.

³⁵ Macadam 1949 60.

³⁶ Cf. Török 1988a 142ff.

³⁷ Macadam 1949 54.

³⁸ E.g., Harsiyotef and Nastaseñ from Bastet.

3. Meroe as one of the Napatan capitals: The archaeological evidence

The idea that Meroe City was a royal residence already in early Napatan times was put forward by Garstang on the basis of finds inscribed with the names of Aspelta, Aramatelqo, and Malonaqēñ. In fact, he discovered a far larger inscribed material than he referred to in the preliminary reports. A considerable number of inscribed sandstone blocks was unearthed at spot M 293, immediately north of building M 294 (Fig. 1). Although the fragments do not allow the reconstruction of texts of any coherence or length, there is no doubt whatsoever that they come from the context of temple walls. One or two of the longer text fragments also reveal that a part of the blocks originate from a part of a temple building where inscriptions of a triumphal character were placed. The largest group consists of blocks from walls erected by Malonaqēñ,³⁹ but two blocks display the cartouche of Aspelta.⁴⁰ Furthermore, there were found also blocks of door jambs inscribed with the cartouches of Amani-nataki-lebte.⁴¹ According to the records in Liverpool, two door jamb fragments were found in an original architectural context. It is unclear, however, whether they were inscribed with the name of Aspelta, or Malonaqēñ, or Amani-nataki-lebte – for door jamb fragments with the names of each ruler are eventually to be found among Garstang's copies of the inscribed blocks. Further inscribed stone material was discovered under the walls of M 294. It contains fragments with the names of Malonaqēñ⁴² and Malowiebamani (?).⁴³

A still far larger number of inscribed objects was found at two different places under M 294. The first, situated under the central part of the building, was described as a chamber with masonry walls and seems to have been part of a ruined sandstone building. It was here that Garstang has found two early Napatan vessels containing gold nuggets and pieces of jewelry, among them three necklace

³⁹ L. Török: *Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan* (forthcoming). Henceforth: Török n.d. Inscr. Nos 77, 82, 85, 91-94, 109.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 71, 74.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* find No. 293-a.

⁴² *Ibid.* Inscr. No. 99.

⁴³ Inscr. No. 100.

spacers inscribed with the names of Aramatelqo⁴⁴ and Malonaqen.⁴⁵ The second place is called in the preliminary report a "rubbish pit"⁴⁶ yet it appears that it was in fact a sort of cachette in which a considerable quantity of faience statuettes of deities and votive objets – mainly sistra and ankh symbols – was carefully buried. Their majority is inscribed for Senkamanisken,⁴⁷ Aspelta,⁴⁸ Queen Nasalsa,⁴⁹ Aramatelqo,⁵⁰ Malonaqen,⁵¹ Karkamani,⁵² and Si'aspiqo.⁵³ The texts on the sistra and the ankh signs reveal that the objects were presented by the kings (and in the attested case by a queen) to Amun in the course of the festival of the New Year.⁵⁴

The dedication of votive sistra seems to refer to an inspiration from Saite Egypt,⁵⁵ yet ultimately goes back to a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty tradition.⁵⁶ Their presence puts forward two likely conclusions: there was a temple of Amun at Meroe City where the objects were offered to the deity; and, secondly, they seem to attest the presence of the ruler at Meroe City in the period of the New Year.

The celebration of the New Year and the beginning of the inundation was, as is well-known, one of the festivals that stood in an especially close relationship with the pharaonic concept of kingship and there are no special reasons to believe that the Napatan kingship ideology differed in this point from the Egyptian ideology concerning the king's role in securing his land's fertility. It may be supposed

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 12, 16.; cf. also Wenig 1978 No. 101.

⁴⁵ Török n.d., Inscr. No. 21.

⁴⁶ *LAAA* 4 (1912) 49.

⁴⁷ Török n.d. Inscr. Nos 36, 65a.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 18, 40b, 67, 68.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Inscr. No. 23.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 10, 20, 26, 30, 34, 37, 38, 42, 48, 49, 52a, 53.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 19, 39, 51, 52, 57, 60.

⁵² *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 44, 46, 47.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Inscr. Nos 13, 14.

⁵⁴ The fact that the inscriptions refer to the New Year was already mentioned by Garstang in *LAAA* 4 (1912) 49 and A.H. Sayce *ibid.* 59. I am indebted to Prof. R.H. Pierce, Klassisk Institutt, University of Bergen, for his comments on the inscriptions and for his kind permission to refer to them. For the offering of faience ankh signs see J.-C. Goyon: *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Novel An*. Le Caire 1972 20, 54, 86.

⁵⁵ Cf. I. Nagy *BullBAHongr.* 48-49 (1977) 49-70; Chr. Zivie: Sistrum in *LdÄ* V 959-963.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

furthermore that the votive sistra and ankh symbols also stood in connection with another aspect of the New Year festival. In New Kingdom Egypt New Year's Day was the traditional coronation day, and the anniversary of the coronation was celebrated on this day even if the actual enthronisation did not take place on a New Year's Day.⁵⁷ If these assumptions are not wrong, it would also follow that the celebrations of the New Year festival and of the coronation anniversary at Meroe City were also determined by the fact that the coronation journey started, as it would seem as a rule, from Meroe City. It was put forward earlier in this paper that the coronation journey started only after an initial episode of the enthronisation process, as is clearly indicated by the inscriptions of Irike-Amanote and Nastaseñ.

Moreover, it is tempting to add to our original hypothesis concerning the significance of the series of coronation episodes that the coronation journey from Meroe City to Napata, Kawa, Pnubs (and to other important sanctuaries en route) pre-formed in a way the actual routine of the ambulatory court: a routine in which the country was governed in the course of a perpetual journey across the country – a journey which was paced by a traditionally fixed festival calendar.

As mentioned above, a part of the inscribed objects was found in a masonry "chamber" under the central part of M 294, furthermore that inscribed door jamb fragments were discovered in their original architectural context at spot M 293. It was this latter spot where the great majority of inscribed sandstone blocks was found. Also further architectural remains were recorded by Garstang that clearly attest that this area was occupied by an early Napatan temple. At spot M 298 a complex of two or three columned halls was (partly) unearthed. Their character is revealed by an almost complete foundation deposit of early Napatan type.⁵⁸ Still farther north M 292 (Fig. 1), the remarkable chapel where the bronze head of Augustus was found, was erected, re-built several times, over Napatan foundation walls that seem to belong to the same building as the complex M 298. The northern end of the building in question seems to be indicated by the room complex M 296. The early Napatan temple seems to have

⁵⁷ M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel: Thronbesteigung. in: *LdÄ* VI 529-532; M. Gutgesell: Thronbesteigungsdaten. *Ibid.* 532-535.

⁵⁸ Török n.d. find No. 298-1.

occupied thus the eastern part of the Enclosure area between M 294 and M 296. The fallen blocks at M 293 and perhaps also the burial of the temple equipment⁵⁹ seem to indicate that the building was, at least partially, pulled down deliberately. The date of its abandonment is obscure, for excavations in the southern half of the Enclosure area were very superficial. The columned halls M 298 were re-built several times before they were turned into a workshop area. In the level of the early workshops (?) a votive plaque of Amanislo was found, which may hint at an abandonment of this part of the temple around the middle of the 3rd c. B.C. or thereafter. M 292 survived, however, as a separate chapel of a special character until the very end of the Meroitic settlement and may be interpreted as an indication of the importance of the original sanctuary.

Evidence from other parts of the settlement suggests that the period of the late 3rd and the 2nd c. B.C. brought considerable structural changes. It appears that the building of the Amun temple M 260 was started in this period,⁶⁰ and also the building of the Enclosure Wall can be dated to this time. It is certainly not a mere accident that the final abandonment of the early Napatan temple would fall into this period. On the other hand, the building of the new Amun temple – which follows, however, the Kawa-Sanam type – is more or less contemporary with the erection of the building complex M 194-195 in the southwestern part of the Enclosure. The latter contained two room complexes, of which M 194 was arranged around an exedra, M 195 around a large water tank. The architecture of the exedra points towards a Hellenistic inspiration and the building seems to have been connected, accordingly, with the notion of ancestor worship. The complex of the water tank is typologically related in an obvious manner with Egyptian Late Period and Ptolemaic sacred lakes. The tank was supplied with water through a vaulted aqueduct. The form of the aqueduct and the type of the water supply as well as the remains of the original sculptural decoration and of a kiosk overlooking the tank similarly indicate that M 195 was a water sanctuary.⁶¹ It was filled with water directly from the river (or from a

⁵⁹ The character of the cachette objects is highlighted by fragments of alabaster ointment jars with dedication inscriptions of Aspelta, *ibid.* Inscr. No. 1.

⁶⁰ As opposed to my speculative dating in *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 351ff.

⁶¹ The identification is discussed in great detail in Török n.d. See also Török in: Adams 1976 97f.; *id.*: *Meroitic Architecture: Contribution to problems of*

temporary channel) in the period of the rise of water level after New Year and was in all probability the scene of ceremonies performed in the presence of the ruler during the period of inundation. It may thus appear that a part of the original functions of the now abandoned early Napatan temple was taken over by M 195. Some time in the late (?) 1st c. B.C., however, the original aqueduct was abandoned and a new water supply system was built, which was no longer intended to supply the tank directly and automatically with the river water. On the contrary, it carried water that had to be provided with the help of some water-lifting device. The re-shaped and altered sculptural decoration of the sanctuary hints similarly to an altered cult practice.

The building history of M 195 provides a further support for Rebecca Bradley's fascinating theory according to which "the position of the Nile relative to the site has changed ... since the city was founded. The original settlement in the area was in part on unstable alluvial islands in a braided channel. The two mounds (i.e., the North and the South Mounds, cf. Fig. 1, L.T.) and the 'Royal City' would thus represent the remains of the original islands. The sterility of the dividing and surrounding areas would be due to their having been under water for a large portion of the city's history".⁶² The chronology proposed by Bradley for the gradual moving-away of the Nile bed from the city in a western direction and for the gradual silting-up and final disappearance of the Nile channels also corresponds closely with the changes observed in M 195. The water sanctuary, which could in the 2nd c. B.C. still be provided with water directly from the river or a channel at the time of high water level, was deprived from its supply in the late (?) 1st c. B.C. and had to be given up as a water sanctuary at all in the course of the 1st c. A.D.

Bradley's reconstruction of the settlement as consisting of islands divided by (temporary?) channels may also explain the situation of the early Napatan temple, which may thus have been built facing a west-east running channel whose silting-up later determined its abandonment. According to Bradley's theory, M 260 was built facing a channel, too. The silting-up of this latter branch of the supposed

chronology and style. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 351-366 360ff.; F. Vlach: Meroitisch-hellenistische Plastik aus den sogenannten königlichen Bädern. *Ibid.* 573-576.

⁶² Bradley 1982 167.

channels rendered possible the building activity started to the east of the Amun temple M 260 in the course of the late 1st c. A.D.

4. Temples and palaces

Garstang was, unfortunately, apparently uninterested in the discovery of the early Napatan royal residence at Meroe City, whose existence he nevertheless postulated in the preliminary reports. It can be surmised, however, that the Napatan royal palace(s) stood in the Enclosure area and in the proximity of the early temples. The erection of M 294 over the ruins of the early temple may be interpreted as evidence of a topographical tradition. It may be actually under the walls of the neighbouring M 295 where the site of the early Napatan palace(s) may be suspected. For both M 294 and M 295 were themselves royal palaces: their close typological connections with the palace of Amanishakheto at Wad ban Naqa⁶³ and with the recently discovered residence of the co-regents Natakanani and Amanitore at Gebel Barkal are clear indications for such an identification. Yet they are not earlier than the 2nd or 1st c. B.C. and the history of earlier buildings under their walls remains obscure until more candid excavations are started at this site.

The actual topographical relationship between the early temple (dedicated probably to Amun) and the early palace(s) is thus unknown. Their proximity did not mean, however, that they constituted a closed architectural unit. In other words, the palace was not *in* the temple. With one exception, all known examples to be surveyed in the following are from the architectural point of view no temple-palaces. The Kushite pattern of topographical closeness and architectural separatedness of temple and palace has, however, a number of variants.

The Amun temple M 260 was doubtless the most important sanctuary at Meroe City and the most likely scene of the initial episode of the enthronisation process from the 2nd century B.C. onwards. The royal palaces of the period between the erection of this sanctuary and the 2nd century A.D. stood in the walled Enclosure

⁶³ J. Vercoutter: Un palais des "candaces" contemporain d'Auguste (fouilles à Wad-ban-Naqa, 1958-1960). *Syria* 39 263-299.

area. They were thus at the same time connected to, and separated from the temple (Fig. 1). A different form of spatial connection occurs in the late 1st c. B.C. temple-palace ensemble M 250. Here the two buildings are situated within the same temenos. The palace, where the king stayed only during the short period of the temple festival, is in an obvious ideological and functional connection with the temple. Nevertheless, the ruler does not "dwell" in the temple itself (Fig. 2).

Slightly different is again the connection between M 260 and the royal palace M 750, built after the turn of the 1st c. A.D. (Fig. 1). The palace is oriented to the processional road leading to the temple. In this case the excavation also revealed a third element that should belong to a temple-and-palace complex. This is the granary building M 740 within the temenos of the temple built at the same time as the palace. The ensemble of temple, palace, and storehouses reflects an economic policy that has its analogies in pharaonic Egypt but which is also clearly reflected in Late Meroitic textual evidence.⁶⁴

Returning to the problem of the early Napatan temple-palace complexes, we may conclude that all known examples are characterized by the fact that their connection is expressed through proximity and orientation, yet they are not built in the form of a homogeneous unit. The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the early Napatan palace at Sanam stood in the close proximity of the large storehouse labelled Treasury,⁶⁵ yet in a distance of 500 m from the Amun temple erected by Taharqo. For lack of sufficient evidence it is impossible to say whether the royal palace at Napata of the inscriptions should be identified with the Sanam palace or should it be assumed to have stood on the opposite bank, close to the Great Temple of Amun of Nubia. It is also doubtful whether the Sanam palace and the Treasury were used after Aspelta or not.⁶⁶ At Gebel Barkal (Fig. 3) the palace building B 1200 (Fig. 4) appears to be of Napatan date, yet its building history is unknown. B 100 is, by contrast, of Meroitic date (Fig. 5) and its typological connections with the palace in the temenos of M 250 are obvious. Also B 1500, the recently discovered monumental palace of Nakatamani and Amanitore (Fig. 6), seems to indicate that the royal residences of Napata are to be sought for, at

⁶⁴ See Török 1979.

⁶⁵ F.L. Griffith *LAA* 9 (1922) 67-124, 75f., 144ff.

⁶⁶ See the evidence *ibid.*

least after the early Napatan period, in the neighbourhood of the Great Amun Temple.

The topography of other stations of the coronation journey is even less known than that of Meroe City and Napata. At Kawa only temple buildings (and their immediate surroundings) (Fig. 7) were investigated in the centre of the town. It is worth noting, however, that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and early Napatan complex of Taharqo's Temple T and of temples A and B constitutes a model of the ensemble of M 260 and the 1st c. A.D. temples facing its processional avenue. Furthermore, the high altar and the kiosk in front of Temple T seem to have influenced the architecture (and, evidently, the function) of the area in front of the main temenos gate of M 250 (Fig. 2).

5. The Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra as royal palace

The data surveyed so far indicate that the pattern of architecturally separated temples and royal palaces in the "capitals" remained unchanged throughout the Napatan and Meroitic periods. However, we must refrain from generalisations of this kind. It is not just the early Napatan royal palaces of Meroe City that are presently unknown; also the localization of the Napatan residences at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs is entirely obscure. The records of the coronation journey also mention further settlements and sanctuaries visited in the course of the enthronisation. They may have represented different patterns. Moreover, it should also be realized that it was not only the settlements mentioned in the Napatan royal inscriptions that may have had royal residences inhabited temporarily by the ambulatory court. In all probability Naqa, which can be identified as an important settlement with temples built from the late 2nd c. B.C. – among them temples of Amun of Napata and Apedemak –, can also be counted among these settlements. Wad ban Naqa⁶⁷ had a royal palace, built probably by Queen Amanishakheto, in the proximity of an Isis temple.⁶⁸ The ensemble – with a temple in an obvious

⁶⁷ See note 63.

⁶⁸ For the temple see PM VII 263.

connection with the concept of Meroitic queenship⁶⁹ – would seem to conform the pattern in Meroe City and Napata.

Another remarkable building suggests that there were indeed other patterns, too. The ensemble of the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra (Fig. 8) was identified by its excavator F. Hintze as a temple complex and pilgrimage center.⁷⁰ The centre of the unusual edifice is occupied by a four-columned hall (in literature labelled Central Temple; in Fig. 8 marked A) surrounded by a colonnade and approached by a number of ramps at all four sides. The hall has five entrances and a deep wall niche opposite the main entrance and a further wall niche in the centre of the south interior wall. The columns in front of the main front bear reliefs which depict the episodes of the "election" and enthronisation of the king.

The unusuality of the edifice, which was enlarged into a labyrinth of courtyards and room complexes situated on podiums and approached through long ramps and interconnected with corridors in the course of the Napatan and early Meroitic periods, prompted a number of different explanations for its function. Its identification as a pilgrimage center composed of several temples and temporary dwellings for the worshippers is justified apparently by building 300 (marked B in Fig 8), which is beyond any doubt a cult temple, and by hundreds of graffiti of secular and religious character and incised on all available wall surface.⁷¹ Besides building 300, however, there is no absolutely clear evidence of temple buildings in the vast complex and hence it cannot be ruled out that the Great Enclosure should be regarded as one of the temporary royal residences. While the central hall with its five entrances cannot be explained without great difficulties as a cult building, it has features that suggest that it was a throne room. The same function may be ascribed to building 200 (marked C in Fig. 8) which was modelled obviously on the central room complex. The column scenes in front of the central hall as well as the character of surrounding rooms indicate a royal, and not a

⁶⁹ Cf. Török 1987b 22ff.

⁷⁰ Cf. F. Hintze – U. Hintze op. cit. (note 29), with further literature. The Great Enclosure was tentatively identified as a "temple-palace" in my article on Meroitic art for Grove's Dictionary of Art (in print) and, at the same time, by Patrice Lenoble in his description of the monuments of the Butana (in print). I am indebted to Dr. Lenoble for informations and an insight into his unpublished ms.

⁷¹ For the graffiti see U. Hintze: The Graffiti from the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 135-150.

divine dwelling. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the central hall was re-built several times between the first and the last building periods of the complex at the same place, yet every time with a slightly modified orientation. It is tempting indeed to compare this curious sequence of buildings with the New Kingdom tradition according to which each new king built a new residence after his ascension. Unless no other reasons for the subsequent re-buildings can be given, an ideologically, and not practically, determined reason seems very likely. Another feature of the building in its early Meroitic phase that suggests an identification as royal residence is the long corridor leading from the west side of the ambulatory of the central hall to the chapel-like room with a window overlooking the western courtyard. Isn't this window an early Meroitic "Window of Appearance"? (Marked W in Fig. 8.)

If the identification of halls "A" and "C" as throne rooms is not mistaken, the Great Enclosure can be regarded as a temple palace which, remarkably, would stand ideologically closer to the pharaonic concept of royal palace than any other Kushite pattern – but which has otherwise only the remotest connections with Egyptian Late Period architecture and whose most outstanding feature is its genuineness. Before its final publication, however, we must refrain from further speculations about the actual building history and from detailed investigations concerning the iconology of the complex. Some features thereof are, however, rather unambiguous and must be briefly mentioned here. For it is not only the actual architecture and details, e.g. the elephant-shaped wall terminal and the sculptured column bases, that are Meroitic inventions. The column reliefs in front of the central hall and the reliefs of the Apedemak Temple outside the Enclosure⁷² show, as if in *statu nascendi*, the emergence of a new complex iconography of royal power, which is doubtless only a pictorial reflection of a process of change and crystallization in the realm of kingship ideology.⁷³ The scope of this ideological development is clearly indicated by the manner in which the cults of the Nubian deities Apedemak, Arensnuphis, Sebiumeker, and of the Nubian Amun are integrated into kingship ideology in the relief cycles and in the sculptures that adorned the walls of the buildings at

⁷² F. Hintze et al.: *Musawwarat es Sufra Band I, 2, Der Löwentempel. Tafelband*. Berlin 1971.

⁷³ See Hintze 1978, and in more detail recently L. Török: The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe. Remarks on Its Origins and Significance. *ANM* 4 (1990) 151-202.

this site.⁷⁴ And it cannot be regarded as merely accidental that this process reached the point of its clearest articulation just at Musawwarat es Sufra.

The unusual character of Musawwarat es Sufra certainly has its bearing upon settlement history, too. For it is only one of the sites in the Butana with remains of monumental architecture which might well have been links in the chain of settlements along which the ambulatory court journeyed along the kingdom.

6. Concluding remarks

In recent years some of the problems listed in an 1978 paper by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif⁷⁵ as the most urgent research priorities of Sudanese archaeology came in the most fortunate way closer to their solution. Without any attempt at completeness, I mention here as of extraordinary importance the excavations at Qasr Ibrim, the research connected to the issue of early Meroitic settlement in Lower Nubia, and excavations in the Khartoum area at early Meroitic⁷⁶ and post-Meroitic sites.⁷⁷ This research, as well as survey works in the Fourth Cataract area and in the Dongola Reach, or the fascinating work at Gebel Barkal,⁷⁸ emerged as the consequence of a well-considered archaeological strategy. While it justifies the hope that Meroitic research has realized the imperative necessity of an efficient strategy, there are also less encouraging facts that cannot be silently overlooked.

Since the early years of this century an enormous wealth of information has been accumulated about the Meroitic history and culture of the Middle Nile Valley. Yet no more than one third of it is actually published and known. According to some purists, an excavation should not be published by any other person than the excavator. Obviously, this demand cannot be realised in the case of Nubia; and it would be an unnecessary self-limitation if we should

⁷⁴ See note 73.

⁷⁵ The Future of Sudanese Archaeology. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 23-29.

⁷⁶ Cf. F. Geus: *Rescuing Sudan Ancient Cultures*. Khartoum 1984.

⁷⁷ Cf., with earlier literature of the excavations, P. Lenoble: Le Tumulus à enciente d'Umm Makharoqa, près d'El-Hobagi. *ANM* 3 (1989) 93-120.

⁷⁸ Cf. T. Kendall: *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey: 1986 Preliminary Report*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, May 23 1986.

refrain on the basis of an otherwise utterly logical consideration from the publication of Garstang's or Reisner's finds. Attempts to publish excavations carried out before the Great War certainly would persuade any of us that there are only extremely slight possibilities of understanding a room, a building, a settlement on the basis of their site records. But it will also become clear that every single piece of unpublished inscription and every artefact may open entirely unexpected perspectives.

The amount of unpublished material in proportion to the number of scholars engaged in Meroitic studies is depressing. This disproportion would doubtless require a carefully balanced strategy were it to be redressed – a strategy which can only be based on a survey of unpublished material. For this material is not only inhomogeneous, as to its character, but also contains vitally important, and not so very important materials. There can be hardly any doubt as to the significance, e.g., of the inscribed material from Qasr Ibrim. But who will be able to publish this enormous quantity?

A recent paper of D. Welsby concludes with an illuminating discussion of research strategies and the optimal relationship between research and rescue excavations.⁷⁹ While the statements he makes also apply to Meroitic studies, I emphasize here once more the absolute necessity that on the part of the Society for Nubian Studies every effort be made to support and facilitate the publication of the dormant information. The importance of a strategy in this respect is the more obvious when one considers that new large-scale archaeological survey activities will certainly increase the amount of unpublished information just as the UNESCO Rescue Campaign once did.

⁷⁹ D.A. Welsby: Archaeology and History: Their Contributions to our Understanding of Medieval Nubia. in: Ch. Bonnet (ed.): *Études Nubiennes*. Genève 1992 127-136.

IV. POLITICAL HISTORY

1. North versus South from Firth to Adams

Profound differences between the history and culture of the northern and southern parts of the Kushite empire, i.e. between Lower Nubia on the one hand and Upper Nubia and the Northern Sudan on the other, were stated already by Firth (1915 21ff.) and Griffith (1924 115ff.) when they were confronted with the Napatan and Early Napatan hiatus in Lower Nubia. As formulated later by Adams, "in the south we have presumed continuity of occupation ... from the late Napatan times until the final dissolution of the Kushite empire ... In the north, by contrast, we have almost no archaeological remains from the Napatan times or from the first half of the Meroitic period" (Adams 1976 12). The undeniable fact that there were only few traces of human occupation verified from the period between the late New Kingdom and the 1st century B.C. in Lower Nubia, invited several historical explanations. In Griffith's view Lower Nubia was not totally depopulated, but the previous "Egyptian rule meant the enslavement of the Nubians or at least the destruction of their initiative, and it is obvious that a prolonged famine or a succession of raids along a narrow valley could annihilate civilisation ... We seem driven to conclude that the land went out of cultivation and the inhabitants were reduced to a few nomads in extreme poverty. Sheltering in ruins or in huts ... they wandered from place to place in search of pasture for their goats ... and buried their dead, if at all, under a light covering of sand and stones in the desert, from which the hyena would drag the bodies and devour them" (Griffith 1924 118f.). Another, seemingly more realistic hypothesis was put forward in a later work by Griffith (1927 242); this hypothesis was then accepted by Adams: "a decline in the average level of the Nile had

rendered Lower Nubia unfit for irrigation" (Adams 1977 242). However, also Adams had to admit that geological evidence does not support the hypothesis of a generally low Nile in the last millennium B.C. (Butzer 1959 113; Fairbridge 1963; Trigger 1970 355). Nevertheless, he did not abandon the idea of a hydraulic crisis and refused to accept Trigger's suggestion in its consequences, viz. that "the major cause of the abandonment of Lower Nubia that began in the New Kingdom must be sought in the political and cultural sphere" (Trigger 1970 355). Though granting that "the most obvious difference in the Meroitic occupation in Lower Nubia and in the steppe-lands is a chronological one" (1976 12), Adams nevertheless paints in his fascinating *Meroitic North and South* (originally read in Berlin in 1971 and published, together with critical responses and a detailed answer of the author, in 1976) the image of a Meroitic empire that was constituted of two different parts of differing economic and social structure and cultures.

Differences as assumed by Adams between the North and the South can be summarized as follows (I quote the table of Hintze 1976 54, without noting here, however, my disagreement as to individual characterizations):

differences in	south	north
state organisation	ancient theocracy, godking, small ruling elite, governing bureaucracy and priesthood	secular feudalism, hereditary local officials in only distant connections- with the royal family
social system	privileged rulers, dispossessed subject pharaonic order of society	prosperous peasantry and bourgeoisie
symbols of the state authority	temples and royal tombs	fortresses and palaces
religion	state deities Amun and Apedemak	dominant cult of Isis
pottery and artefacts	ancient Egyptian tradition	exclusive Graeco- Roman influence

Although his respondents have presented a good number of data and arguments against the majority of the above postulates, in his answer (1976 119-175) as well as in his comprehensive history of Nubia, Adams has maintained them in an almost entirely unaltered form. He repeatedly stressed the following: a/ "the whole spectrum of seemingly cultural differences ... cannot be the result of sampling errors" (1976 122); b/ "there were many temples in use in the south but few in the north (1976 127); c/ the lack of Napatan and Early Meroitic remains in Lower Nubia must be regarded as a fact, thus the sources mentioning here Napatan and Early Meroitic activities "need to be reconciled with the archaeological facts" (1976 129), i.e. must be discarded. d/ "There was no appreciable farming population in Lower Nubia during the last millennium B.C., therefore ... the interest in the region which was manifested from time to time by the Kushite and Egyptian kings can only have been strategic and not economic or political in the ordinary sense" (1976 132). e/ The main population movement to Lower Nubia came in the first – second centuries A.D. (1976 138f.). f/ The reoccupation of Lower Nubia was rendered possible by introduction of the saqia wheel (1976 141f.). g/ Trade with Egypt was responsible for the prosperity in the North "but not for its basic subsistence which was derived ... from farming and animal husbandry" (1976 143). h/ The material culture and especially the pottery within it is different in the North and in the South (1976 144ff.). i/ "The existence of a bureaucratic-military state machinery along more than 1 000 km of the Nile Valley" is unlikely (1976 148). j/ "Royal authority was not an important consideration in the government of the Meroitic north" (1976 154) and "Lower Nubia ... was ruled *de facto* by a few great families" (1976 155). k/ Graeco-Roman influence determined the culture of the North, while the South "remains culturally pharaonic" (1976 161ff.). l/ Lower Nubia was populated by a Meroitic-speaking elite and a Nubian-speaking general populace (1976 168ff.) but the latter had "previously been living in Meroitic territory farther up the Nile and as a result were already 'Meroiticized' before their arrival in the north (1976 168)."

I repeat here the theses of Adams' *Meroitic North and South* in such great detail because they present us with a highly impressive synthesis of the archaeological material known so far. But the bias of this synthesis is obvious, especially in cases where the archaeological evidence seems to contradict to written sources, or when the

fragmentary archaeological evidence tempts to create historical hypotheses which are, however, not consequently confronted with the concepts and perspectives of the Napatan and early Meroitic times. In the following chapters of this paper I shall not return to problems which I regard as solved by the respondents (see Haycock 1976, Hintze 1976, Millet 1976, Priese 1976, Shinnie 1976, Török 1976, Trigger 1976) or by other writers (e.g. Säve-Söderbergh 1970, 1981). But since the present paper is meant to give a sketch of Meroitic history as "prehistory" to Christian Nubia, it can by no means avoid the problem of North versus South – and this problem was best diagnosed and formulated by Adams.

2. The actuality of the problem North versus South

In the following I shall survey the data bearing relation to a/ Napatan activities in Lower Nubia, b/ contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt and their impact on Early Meroitic culture, c/ Early Meroitic presence in Lower Nubia, d/ Meroitic administration, e/ post-Meroitic developments. As far as possible, I shall try to investigate the problem South versus North in a comprehensible manner; however, due to its key importance in literature, the question of the resettlement will remain in the foreground.

It must be stressed in advance that the scope and the value of the investigation is unfortunately limited by the fact that it had to be based on data the quantity of which has not increased to any considerable extent in the last decade. New information as rendered e.g. by Bonnet 1978, Fernandez 1983, 1984, Gamer-Wallert 1983, Geus 1984, Khidir Abdelkarim Ahmed 1984, Strouhal 1984 are extremely important, but they cannot fill the gap caused by the fact that parts, or the whole of the excavations carried out at Meroe City, Wad ban Naqa, Musawwarat es Sufra, Gebel Barkal, Tabo, Sedeinga, Meinarti, Gebel Adda, Ash-Shaukan, Qasr Ibrim, etc. are still unpublished. Evidently, historical investigations based upon archaeological evidence always run the risk that new discoveries will alter, destroy or ridicule the results. But this sort of the unforeseen is both inevitable and natural, while the consciousness of existing but inaccessible knowledge is frustrating. Moreover, it can also promote disproportionately theoretical approaches. In the following I shall

deal with conceptual issues that are not independent from the specific nature of our data basis.

3. History of Kush and the time concept of prehistoric archaeology

It frequently occurs in literature on Kush, ever since the work of the pioneers, that chronologically and geographically discontinuous data are connected with each other by means of theoretical generalizations. In the early days of Nubian studies it was Egyptian history that served as the source of conceptual models; in the first decades of the century Ethnic Prehistory and its unfortunate variant operating with the contrast African/Egyptian provided Nubian studies with explanations for cultural processes. Ethnic Prehistory gave way later to cultural anthropology and New Archaeology. In recent years we can observe the spread of even newer methods. Both the application of numerical methods, and the use of e.g. E. Boserup's model (1965) or the models of the hierarchical arrangement of settlements (cf. Khidir Abdelkarim Ahmed 1984 238ff.), ought to realize the proportion of published data/unpublished data, the lack of object type chronologies on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the models originating in the investigation of, and intended to serve, prehistoric archaeology, cannot be applied indiscriminately to *historic* periods. But prehistoric archaeology is present in another form, too, in Nubian studies, for the use of chronologically remote data in the reconstruction of continuous processes in the sign of evolution must, at least partially, originate in the time concept of earlier prehistory. As put by D.P. Dymond, "the historian is commonly concerned with relatively short periods of time, and can work quite satisfactorily within the age-span of a single individual or generation ... The archaeologist by contrast is hardly ever able to find evidence which makes sense in terms of a single human life; his evidence ... only begins to have significance in terms of the life of a total society or community, usually over a long period of time" (Dymond 1974 82).

With some generalization, one could say about the current view of Kushite history that it is determined by the idea of a long and slow evolutionary processes initiated, modified, and stopped by events of a violent character. If slowness of historical and cultural processes is

explained, literature first of all names the conservatism of Kushite society as the main reason. It would be difficult to decide which is more responsible for the notion of "Kushite conservatism": the comparison with ancient Egypt, or the time concept of the prehistorian. The reconstruction of slowly unfolding, long evolutionary processes received further support from the – generally well-founded – criticism of the concept of change in Ethnic Prehistory. Surprisingly enough, the periodization of the history of Kush remained nevertheless largely unaltered, even after Reisner's culture "groups" explained by major invasions of successive peoples, i.e. his culture history of Nubia in racial terms, was abandoned (cf. the illuminating study of Trigger 1982). As it seems, invasions are improbable, but events which initiated, in the earlier interpretations, invasions, are still believed to have brought about new chapters of Kushite history. Evidently, here generalizations would be unsound, but concrete cases are bound to be scrutinized.

I find first of all problematic the current division between Napatan and Meroitic. As formulated by Hintze, "around 300 B.C. a series of decisive changes took place. Among these, the transfer of the royal cemetery from its traditional site near Napata to a site in the vicinity of the capital, Meroe, should be mentioned first because of its great historical significance, ... following the transfer, the Meroites turned their political interest more to the southern part of the kingdom ... As a result of this turn, Meroitic elements entered the markedly Egyptianized official culture of the state and court" (Hintze 1978 89). It must be objected that however significant the shift of the royal burial place appears to be, it was still not followed by any drastic decrease of importance of Napata. Moreover, there were also other changes of the royal burial place – before Taharqo it was at El Kurru; from Taharqo at Nuri; from Tanutamani at El Kurru again; from Atlanersa at Nuri again; the successor of Harsiyotef was buried at El Kurru again; after him three generations again at Nuri; from Aktisanes to Sabrakamani at Napata. The first ruler to be buried at Begarawiya South was, around 240 B.C., Arkamaniqo, also his successor was buried here, then the rulers of Amanitekha to Horus *k3-nht* (...) were buried at Begarawiya North; the following five generations at Napata; the next six generations again at Begarawiya North. Then two generations again at Napata and finally, from the first half of the 2nd century A.D. till the end of the kingdom, the

rulers were buried at Begarawiya North. It is highly probable that the royal burial place had a certain political significance. However, for the time being we cannot tell in which case was the choice determined by dynastic change or momentary motifs of dynastic or religious policy.

It is impossible to form a judgement on the actual Meroitic way of thinking as to the strategic security of the site of Napata, or as to the considerations of how "close" Napata was to Egypt – but, in view of the actual dimensions of the kingdom, it is hardly probable that the shift of the burial place from Napata to Meroe City was intended as getting "farther away from Egypt". The less so since the decades around 240 B.C. were a period of extremely fruitful contacts with Egypt, and from the point of view of these contacts it is somewhat surprising that Hintze would connect the transfer of the royal burial place with a conscious opening towards the southern part of the kingdom. The interpretation quoted above sets an Egyptianized official culture against a native Meroitic culture that was characteristic for the south, and, as it seems, the lower strata of the society.

The change from Napata to Meroe City, when interpreted as more or less conscious turning towards the sources of native culture, recalls Ethnic Prehistory. It seems to me that the emergence of Meroitic culture was a process which cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the data that stand at present at our disposal, or on the basis of some conceptual model. Although it is obvious that the process was decisively promoted by the influence of contemporary Egyptian culture, which seems to have awakened the Kushites to the necessity of articulating their own concepts, we are still unable to explain the actual ways and means by which Egyptian influence arrived and became effective.

4. Kushite conservatism?

The archaeological time-concept regards it possible to connect two chronologically remote phenomena in the life of a society with each other, and if this phenomena do not represent a contradiction, or suggest an intercurrent catastrophe, it is ready to draw a line of evolution between the two. If two chronologically remote phenomena

are closely related to each other the prehistorian speaks about conservatism or lagging evolution. Societies as that of Kush may appear especially conservative: the Kushites, similarly to the Egyptians, in all probability believed in a concept of order in which chaos could be avoided only through eternal repetition and the maintenance of cyclicalism. From the aspect of the prehistoric thinking, Kushite religion, *Königsdogma*, iconography, etc. doubtless appear as manifestations of slow evolution and conservatism. It cannot be left out of consideration, however, that evolution and change in the realm of economy, material culture and arts does not necessarily influence the sphere of the concept of order and the forms as this concept is manifested. E.g. *Königsdogma* is a façade which is practically unchanged for a millennium in Kush, or for a much longer time in Egypt, but in fact it has screened essential changes. As a conclusion, we may perhaps state that it is misleading to give generalizing characterizations of societies or of their individual life sections, especially on the basis of chronologically discontinuous data. In the following I shall discuss Trigger's powerful reconstruction of Napatan history as an example of the treatment of the data on the basis of a concept which is greatly indebted to the prehistorian's time concept and model evaluation.

5. Kush as a model case for cultural diffusion

The reconstruction to be discussed here was published in a paper on the problem of inter-societal transfer of institutions, where Trigger intended to show that "not only traits and innovations, but also major institutions and the whole cultural subsystems may be transferred from one culture to another ... political and economic development in the recipient culture had to reach a critical level before the integration of foreign institutions became possible or desirable. The adopted institutions in turn became important catalysts in promoting further development of the social system" (Trigger 1978 227). This theoretical reconstruction of the diffusion of cultural subsystems is doubtless valid in general, even it sounds no less abstract than the social theory with which it is related but the economic determinism of which it neglects. It is less evident, however, that the general theoretical reconstruction should be visualized by the example of Kush.

6. The structure of the Napatan kingdom

In Trigger's words "control of Egypt provided these rulers [i.e. the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty] with resources to consolidate further their own position in Upper Nubia. Either voluntarily or by compulsion many Egyptian priests, administrators, artists, and craftsmen were resettled in Nubia ... This period also saw the development of a state-controlled economy modelled along Egyptian lines and no doubt administered by Egyptian or Egyptian-trained bureaucrats ... By creating an elite culture, patronized by and centering on the royal court, the Kushite kings ensured that their developing society was consolidated into sharply-differentiated upper and lower segments. This was done in imitation of the class-structured society of Egypt" (Trigger 1978 226f.). This reconstruction invites remarks concerning its data basis. We know indeed of Memphite artists brought by Taharqo to Kawa (Inscr. Kawa IV lines 20f.). Their memory still survived in the Hellenistic age, as a remark of Pliny, made on the basis of some lost source, attests (Pliny N.H. VI,186). The resettlement of priests, administrators and craftsmen is not improbable, either, but there are for this only very scarce proofs, if any. An Egyptianized culture – especially if we want to interpret it as a proof for the diffusion of cultural subsystems – outside Egypt, needs not necessarily be maintained by resettled priests, artists, etc. In the times around the campaign of Psammetich II, in a period of profound hostility, inscriptions on the sarcophaguses of Aspelta and Anlamani demonstrate that the priests in Napata were still able to procure contemporary Egyptian religious texts (cf. Doll 1982). This fact warns us that culture under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the early Napatan kings must not be understood as the result of a single monumental resettlement of experts. As to the administration of the country, indirect data in Napatan inscriptions (Anlamani, Kawa VIII, on the installation of his sisters as sistrum players of Amun in the four great Amun temples of his country; Aspelta, stela Louvre C 257 from the 3rd year, on the installation of princess Henuttakhebit) do not allow us to form a judgment on the actual proportions of Egyptianized and non-Egyptian features of the administration, which, as a whole, is entirely unknown to us. It is not much less difficult to obtain a picture of the economy (cf. Török 1984d). Our uncertainty is

only increased by the fact that the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty system is absolutely unknown.

While it would be unsound to doubt that the deliberate borrowing of ideological concepts (as the Egyptian *Königsdogma*; Egyptian religious cults), of institutions, of themes and forms of arts, of technologies, constituted an essential trait of the nascent Kushite culture, I am sceptical towards the assumption of a conscious copying of a social system. The more so that the basis in Kush would have rendered such an adoption extremely difficult, if not impossible. Social structure in Egypt was determined by an ethnically and socially homogeneous peasantry constituting the great majority of the populace. By contrast, the populace of Kush consisted, besides settled agriculturalists, of a wide spectrum of seminomadic peoples on different levels of social organisation. To transform this socially as well as ethnically inhomogeneous structure in order to force it into an Egyptian model would have required the standardisation of subsistence forms and modes of production – a task far beyond the perspectives of the age. The notion "sharply differentiated upper and lower segments" originates apparently again in our view of prehistoric societies.

7. Towards newer working hypotheses

I have dealt above with the theoretical reconstruction of the early Kushite state in Adams' and Trigger's view in order to visualize the limits inherent in our data basis. I hope that it became clear that the assumption of basic differences in the development of the two halves of Kush is only one of the hypotheses into the structure of which, theoretically, all data "would fit". Trigger's view of the Napatan culture cannot be complemented with Adams' reconstruction of Meroitic society and culture in the South and in the North. Although both reconstructions are indebted to concepts of prehistory and anthropological archaeology, they are divergent as to their attitude towards the written evidence. Nevertheless, they meet at the point where Adams and Trigger share the opinion that "the attempt to explain archaeological data in terms of continuously evolving social systems had provided a far more satisfactory understanding of these data than we had before" (Trigger 1982 225). It must be realized,

however, that only because the paradigm of constantly evolving social systems may be true for better documented cases, it must not be automatically true for Kush. It *may* be true that there existed direct lines of evolution between data divided from each other by centuries, but this assumption cannot be proved by the validity of the paradigm of evolution itself, but only by sufficient data along the imaginary line.

As it seems, the hypotheses of Adams and Trigger can serve as the basis for a third working hypothesis, if we divide the territory of Kush according to a more complicated pattern instead of contrasting the South to the North; and we abandon the prehistoric time concept. It seems desirable to investigate the administrative subdivision of the country as it can be traced in inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the Napatan period, further in texts of later times on the one hand, and on the other, to try to investigate the development of those territorial units – the Meroitic heartland, the Napatan area, the Blemmy territory, the territories of Nubian-speakers under Kushite supremacy, Lower Nubia etc. – which were the original territorial and ethnic constituents of the nascent Kushite state. These investigations require a careful and positivistic analysis of the data at our disposal and the establishment of a more detailed chronology of Kushite culture.

8. Napatan activities in Lower Nubia, the 6th and the 5th c. B.C.

The history of the 6th-5th c. Kushite empire is only very fragmentarily documented. After the Nubian campaign of Psammetich II in 593 B.C. (cf. Shellal Stela, Bakry 1967; Tanis inscr. Saunerion – Yoyotte 1952, 161f.; cf. further Goedicke 1981) – which is usually interpreted in literature as a catastrophe that annihilated the settlements from Aswan to Napata – relations between Egypt and Kush were hostile. Contacts beyond the sphere of the political were nevertheless maintained. Trade contacts are attested by finds from royal burials of the period as well as by a papyrus recording a trade caravan with military escort to Kush (PBerlin Dem. 13615 from 529 B.C.). Saite Egyptian influence can be observed in the realm of religion, too, as documented by the texts of two royal sarcophagi (Doll 1982), by the development of the inscriptions and

scenes on the walls of the royal funerary chapels (Yellin 1984), or by the development of the offering tables (cf. Abdalla 1982). As it seems, contacts became more intense and rather friendly by the early 5th c. B.C.: Herodotus records (VII, 69) that some time between 486 and 465 there were Kushite mercenaries fighting in Xerxes' army. Since they originated from the southern fringes of Kush, they must have arrived in the ranks of the Persian army through official contacts between the two empires and not as volunteers (cf. Kienitz 1953 130f.). The famous rhyton of the potter Sotades discovered at Meroe City (Meroe S 24., Dunham 1963 figs 212-215) seems to have been one of the official presents received by the Napatan royal family in the 460ies from Xerxes or from his Egyptian satrap (for the new dating of the rhyton see Török 1988b, Appendix No. 1). We may perhaps suppose that it was the unfolding of profitable trade contacts with Egypt under Dareios I and Xerxes that made the kings of Kush realize that the route through Lower Nubia was not safe enough. Although the territory was only very sparsely populated, probably mostly by small nomadic tribes (cf. Herodotus II, 29), it was politically a sort of no man's land where caravans, unless they were provided with considerable military escort, were delivered to brigands. Security of trade along the Lower Nubian Nile Valley could evidently be best maintained through political control of the territory. We read attempts at the seizure of Lower Nubia for the first time in Harsiyotef's annals (Cairo Stela JE 48864, Grimal 1984). According to this text, the king sent in his eleventh regnal year, i.e. around 410 B.C., an army to Akiñ, i.e. to Lower Nubia, in order to "punish his rebellious slaves". The expression allows perhaps the supposition that this expedition was preceded by some earlier campaign(s).

The submission of the Lower Nubians living south of Aswan was obviously not quite successful, for Harsiyotef was forced to send expeditions repeatedly in his 16th and 35th regnal years against revolting chieftains, among them the "prince" of Abu Simbel. From the wording of the narrative we may with some probability infer that the king also tried to some extent "Napatanize" the occupied territory. The inscription records that he celebrated a festival in the temple of Re at Abu Simbel, implying that the Napatan policy set out to establish symbols of authority which also could serve as centres of civilizing. Nevertheless, the forces stationed in Lower Nubia must have been insufficient, as demonstrated by the recurring difficulties.

Five decades after Harsiyotef's last expedition King Nastaseñ had to fight again for the possession of the territory (Nataseñ Stela, Berlin 2268, cf. Priese 1963). The Lower Nubian chieftains allied this time with the last native king of Egypt, Khababash, who had fled to Lower Nubia from the Persians in 336 or 335 (for the date see Kienitz 1953 188; Hintze 1959 177ff.). While the Lower Nubian support was apparently the last chance for Khababash, the chieftains probably tried to get rid of Kushite control through the alliance. (For a tentative reconstruction of the events see Török 1988b). Nastaseñ defeated Khababash and his allies and, as recorded in his annals, compensated two Nubian temples for damages which they had suffered during the war. Unfortunately the temples cannot be identified (*trmnt abd skskdt*, cf. Zibellius 1972 63, 176, 152). They were perhaps situated at places where garrisons had also been stationed since the campaign of Harsiyotef(?). The apparently total lack of archaeological remains from the period, however, implies a very small local populace and small Napatan garrisons. But as to the latter we must take into consideration the probability that they were situated at places where there would exist military stations throughout the Napatan and Early Meroitic periods; thus the early buildings were probably destroyed by later enlargements. It is also rather obvious, that the repeated difficulties occurred because of the insufficiency of the garrisons, and not because of the force of the natives.

9. The Napatan kingdom in the 5th and 4th cent. B.C.

Our sources cannot answer the question as to why the control of Lower Nubia was insufficient: was the country not strong enough, or did the kings regard the territory as not too important? We know almost nothing of the resources of the kingdom in these times. Inscriptions of Irike-Amanote (Kawa IX, last third of the 5th c.), Harsiyotef and Nastaseñ mention the towns where the traditional coronation ceremonies were performed: Meroe City, Napata, Kawa, Pnubs (Tabo on Argo Island), *tṣr* (a place on the route from Meroe to Napata?). The territory described by these towns was, however, extended already under Aspelta towards the south, as indicated by the sphinx of this ruler discovered at Defeia (Vercutter 1961). Harsiyotef

gave a list of the places in the temples of which he celebrated festivals during his reign, naming thus Sedeinga, Meroe City, Napata, *nht(?)*, *mrty* (at modern Khartoum, see Zibelius 1972 125), *grtt(?)*, Kawa, Pnubs, *shrst* (modern Mutmir), *skrgt* (modern Mutmir? cf. Priese 1984 496), Abu Simbel and *jrtnyt(?)* (Harsiyotef Stela, Cairo JE 48864, Grimal 1981, cf. for the toponyms Zibelius 1972 62f.). Without the help of archaeological data we cannot decide whether the places listed by Harsiyotef and situated beyond the limits of the traditional central territory controlled by the kings of Kush prior to Aspelta, were established and/or controlled since Aspelta, or were established through later territorial expansion. It is similarly obscure whether they mark a slow extension process or a sudden expansion through war(?). Preliminary communications on recently discovered Napatan and Early Meroitic cemeteries in the Khartoum area and in the Western Butana indicate that mortuary customs were already considerably standardized in the early Napatan period from the region of the Second Cataract to the Khartoum area. It seems furthermore that this early expansion of Napatan culture can be interpreted in terms of political expansion and not as cultural diffusion (cf. for the recent excavations Geus 1984; for a survey of the Western Butana see Khidir Abdelkarim Ahmed 1984 21ff., 183. ff.).

10. First contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt

Ktsn, Nastaseñ's successor on the throne, appears under the name Aktisanes in Hekataios' work, written before or around 300 B.C. (lost, preserved in Diodorus I, 60 70ff., FGrH 264 F 1-6; for the date cf. Fraser 1972 II, 719f. note 7), where he plays a similar role as Herodotus' king Sabacos played (Herodotus II, 137ff., 152) and which will be played by Agatharchides' Ergamenes (in Diodoros III,6): the role of the *Kulturheros*, who, coming under the influence of Greek moral raises his country from its barbarous circumstances. Although Hekataios was obviously influenced by Herodotus' work, and his noble Aithiopian was shaped after Sabacos, the actual name, which is that of a contemporary Meroitic ruler, indicates that he was also inspired by some knowledge of contacts with Meroe. These contacts must have been rather peaceful, otherwise the Meroitic king

could not appear in such a sympathetic light. However, we know that Egypt's southern frontier was provided with a considerable force ever since the Macedonian conquest (Arrian, *Anabasis III*, 2, 7ff.; for papyrological evidence see Winnicki 1978 88). Relations seem then to have deteriorated around the frontier after the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Shortly before 274 B.C. there were conflicts at Elephantine (SB 5111). In literature it is generally maintained that c. 274 a Ptolemaic army penetrated into Nubia and annexed the territory between Aswan and the Second Cataract, i.e. the Triakontaschoinos or Land of Thirty Miles. The view is supported by the description of a *Pompé* held in Alexandria by Ptolemy II Philadelphos where 600 elephant tusks, 2000 logs of ebony and 60 kraters of gold and silver were carried by tribute bearers and where 100 elephants were marched up (Callixeinos in Ath. V, 25, 196A-203b). These tributes are interpreted as war booty acquired in Meroe. In a recent book E.E. Rice (following Fraser 1972 II 343 n. 97) suggested that the feast described by Callixeinos was not a triumphal procession after a war but a festival connected with the Olympian cults and the cults of deified heroes associated with the Ptolemaic dynasty (Rice 1983; cf. also Morkot n.d.). However, the appearance of Aithiopian elephants, gold and exotic goods in Egypt at this time attests a sudden unfolding of trade connections with Meroe, and this is corroborated by the creation of stations of elephant supply along the routes on the Egyptian east cost, in the Trogodytica, i.e. in the coastal strip from Suez to Ptolemais Theron, and then to the south as far as the Bab el Mandeb (cf. Desanges 1978 250ff.). It would appear that while the elephant trade required the free movement of Egyptian hunters and traders in Meroitic territory (the Meroites did not catch elephants alive), and thus this item belonged to commerce proper, the Nubian gold did not arrive in Egypt through commercial channels. The gold was more likely secured through the annexation of the Triakontaschoinos. That the gold mines of the Wadis Allaqi and Gabgaba were worked for the Ptolemies we know from Agatharchides (in Diodorus III, 12). It is thus very probable that the contacts between Egypt and Meroe under Ptolemy II were indeed introduced by a military campaign, which resulted in the intimidation of Meroe and the seizure of the gold-mining areas at the southern frontier of Egypt.

11. Meroitic Lower Nubia in the 3rd cent. B.C.

With the Egyptian occupation of the Triakontaschoinos a good part of Harsiyotef's and Nastasen's results was lost. Bion's itinerary of the Egyptian Nile Valley (in Pliny N.H., VI, 178, 180, 193) between Syene/Aswan and Coetum/Korti in the vicinity of Napata, compiled on the basis of personal experience and other itineraries written under Ptolemy II Philadelphos, demonstrates that there existed a rather dense chain of stations along the river north as well as south of the Egyptian frontier at Maharraqa. Remarkably enough, the majority of these stations can be identified with toponyms which occurred as early as the New Kingdom, and which appear later in Meroiticized form in Late Meroitic inscriptions (for the identifications see Priese 1984). It is probable that the thirteen places recorded by Bion on the east bank and the nine on the west bank between Tacompson/Tacompso, i.e. the Egyptian frontier, and Buma/Buhen at the Second Cataract were small caravan stations provided with some military force. By contrast, the majority of the place-names recorded south of Buhen must have covered real settlements. In the region of the Second Cataract Amanislo restored(?) a temple around the middle of the 3rd c. B.C. (Semna, see Dunham – Janssen 1960 32 Pl. 88b), and 3rd c. B.C. habitation is attested at such places e.g. Dawki Dawi, Amir Abdallah, Soleb, Kerma(?), Tabo(?), Kawa and Sanam (cf. Fernandez 1984 65ff. with literature).

12. The Early Meroitic miracle of the 3rd cent. B.C.

The 3rd century B.C. sees an imposing growth of the Meroitic kingdom. It is perhaps not entirely mistaken to suppose that the economic and cultural development was mainly inspired and determined by the contacts with Egypt. The first decades of the contacts following the 270s are characterized by the direct adaptation of elements from contemporary Egyptian culture. During the second half of the century a process unfolded in the course of which Meroitic concepts were articulated by Egyptian expressive means (the best examples are to be found in the realm of religion and arts), and specific Meroitic needs were satisfied through the borrowing and amplification of Egyptian inventions. The best example for this latter

class of phenomena is the Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive writing. Modern literature has painted a comprehensive picture of this epoch on the basis of the rich artistic, and the less satisfying written evidence (see first of all Haycock 1972 and Hintze 1978 for history, Adams 1977 294ff. for archaeology, Wenig 1978 for arts of the period; for the writing see Priese's illuminating paper [1973]. For religion see Hintze 1962, Yellin 1978, 1979, Millet 1984; for the *Königsdogma* see Leclant 1965, Hofmann 1971, Priese 1978, 1981, Török 1986, 1987b; for the royal chronology cf. Hofmann 1978). Nevertheless, this disproportionate evidence does not render a reconstruction of economic and social processes possible.

13. Lower Nubia and the Upper Egyptian revolt: the beginning of a new era

There can be no doubt that the Upper Egyptian rebels enjoyed Meroe's support from the beginning of the revolt against Ptolemaic rule (cf. the remarks in the Second Philae Decree, Urk. II. 217,9 224,2 and Müller 1920 75f.; see further the demotic papyrus Zauzich 1978 no. 15527 and the demotic graffito in Aswan published by Bresciani 1978 141). It is logical to suppose that Upper Egyptian "nationalistic" circles counted on Meroitic support because they were led by the living memory of the close contacts of the Theban Amun cult with Napata (for this problem cf. Török 1988b) while Meroe grasped the opportunity to re-occupy the Triakontaschoinos and the gold mines. It seems that Meroe had reached her goal in the early phase of the secession of the Thebaid, i.e. around 206 B.C. (for the history of the revolt see Alliot 1951). But it is equally probable that the alliance brought about the immediate stopping of the elephant trade.

Between 207/6 and 186 the Meroitic king Arqamani continued the building of the temples of Toth at Dakka and of Arensnuphis at Philae (both started by Ptolemy IV), and his successor, king Adikhalamani, erected a chapel that was dedicated to Amun of Dabod at Dabod (for their building history see Winter 1981). It is rather likely that the sanctuaries of Dakka and Dabod mark the beginnings of resettlement started by the Meroities. It goes back on the resettlement between 206 and 186 that in 149/8 there were

"Aithiopian", i.e. ethnically Meroitic of more southern origin, communities living in the Dodekaschoinos. They were obliged to pay tribute in kind to Mandulis of Philae and had their own eparch, i.e. tribal chief (Greek inscr. Bernand 1969 I no. 12bis). In 115 B.C. Aithiopian communities are recorded to have been obliged to pay taxes to the Chnum of Elephantine (OGIS I 168 = SB 8883 = Lenger 1980 no. 59). Their existence can also be attested by 3rd c. B.C. handmade, decorated pottery vessels found at several Lower Nubian sites (cf. the types in Fernandez 1983); however, the analysis of this material is not yet accomplished.

14. Lower Nubia after 186 B.C.

After the crushing of the Upper Egyptian revolt Ptolemy VI re-occupied the Triakontaschoinos (cf. Alliot 1952). The conquered territory was organized as an administrative unit and governed probably in the fashion of the administration of Ptolemaic external possessions (for this question see Mooren 1977 127ff.). In the territory two cities, Philometoris and Cleopatra, were founded around 145 B.C. The Greek inscription recording their foundation (OGIS 111) uses, interestingly, the word re-founder instead of founder (cf. Török 1986 no. 53) which further strengthens the assumption expressed by Griffith (1924 118) that the "new" towns lay at Dakka and Buhen. As we have seen, it is likely that the Meroites had already begun resettlement of Dakka before 186; and it is thus also likely that the basis of the re-foundation of Buhen was similarly an already existing Meroitic community. This is corroborated also by the Meroitic hand-made decorated pottery found in 1909/10 in the vicinity of the pharaonic fortress, both in houses and in graves (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911 128 Pl. 69). The development of the settlements during the 2nd c. B.C. in the Triakontaschoinos under Ptolemaic domination, further in the territory between the Second and the Third Cataracts, can be reconstructed to a certain extent on the basis of the pottery. It is likely that besides Dakka and Buhen, Faras also played a significant role already around the middle of the century, as is clearly indicated by the pottery material unearthed by Griffith in its cemetery. Lower Nubia, as a whole, is described shortly before 145 B.C. by Agatharchides (in Diodoros

XVII, 1 52f.; for the date of the narrative cf. Fraser 1972 I 174 539) as a territory inhabited by Aithiopians i.e. Meroites. In view of the belonging of the territory to Egypt, which must have been known to Agatharchides, this remark on the populace may safely be interpreted as an evidence of a resettlement prior to 186 B.C.

Conditions of the Dodekaschoinos in the period after 186 are further highlighted by the text of the Famine Stela (Barguet 1953), written by priests of Chnum of Elephantine in the reign of Ptolemy V (?). Probably as an answer to the donation of the Dodekaschoinos to Isis of Philae by Ptolemy IV Philopator (cf. Sethe 1901 3), they raised a claim on the incomes of the same territory. Their claim was perhaps supported by some very ancient privilege which they were granted by kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. (As already mentioned above, in 115 B.C. they had in fact received a confirmation of the privilege from Ptolemy IX Soter II). In the text of the Famine Stela we read about taxes to be imposed on agricultural activities, mining and on commercial traffic on the Nile.

15. The Meroitic kingdom in the 2nd cent. B.C.

Recent excavations between the Second and the Third Cataracts at Dawki Dawi (Vila 1977 53f.), Amir Abdallah (Fernandez 1983, 1984), and Soleb (Schiff Giorgini 1971); at Kerma south of the Third Cataract (Bonnet 1978, 1980); at Kadada on the Nile on the level of Meroe City (Geus 1984); at Sarurab (Ahmed M. Ali Hakem: University of Khartoum Excavations at Sarurab and Bauda, North of Omdurman *Meroitica* 5 [1979] 151-155) and Gereif East (Geus and Lenoble 1983; Geus 1984) in the Khartoum area, have considerably modified our ideas of Early Meroitic culture. Above all, they have demonstrated that burial rites and pottery types were already standardized in the 3rd c. B.C. from the Khartoum area to the Second Cataract. Moreover, they have provided research with proofs for the supposition of Addison, according to which the hand-made vessels with red or black (mostly burnished) slip and incised decoration first noticed at Meroe City, then identified e.g. at Faras, Buhen and later Gebel Moya, were manufactured in a few pottery workshops. Moreover, they have clearly demonstrated that there was an equally standardized manufacture of wheel-made pottery in the 2nd century

B.C., products of which can now be identified at such sites as Faras, Gemai etc. in old excavation materials.

The excavations in the south of the kingdom seem to indicate a Napatan – Early Meroitic cultural continuity. The northern sites do not attest a similar continuity, at least not in the form of cemetery or site continuity. For the time being also the internal chronology of the Early Meroitic complexes is somewhat obscure and the extent of the investigations does not allow us to form a clear picture of the first century of Early Meroitic development. As it seems, the unfolding of the production of the wheel-made Early Meroitic pottery and of the sites from where it originates cannot be dated earlier than to the decades after 200, more probably after 186 B.C., i.e. after the end of the Upper Egyptian revolt. But it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that the development in question was brought about by the stopping of the trade with Ptolemaic Egypt in 206 B.C. The loss of the profit from export must have confronted the Meroitic kingdom with the imminent possibility of an economic crisis. Losses could perhaps be recovered by the seizure of the gold mines of the Dodekaschoinos. It is unlikely, however, that between 206 and 186 gold could be sold to Egypt, and after 186 the mines anyhow returned to Egypt. The crisis of trade might have promoted the more intensive agricultural production: as we know, intensification of cultivation meant in antiquity first of all the expansion of the cultivated area. It is well-imaginable that after 206, in the course of a more or less state-directed expansion of the cultivation, a number of new settlements were created in the Western Butana, in the Khartoum area and in the region between the Second and the Third Cataracts. Further development of these was necessitated by the circumstance that the bulk of commercial contacts with Egypt was not restored after 186: first of all, Ptolemaic interest in African elephants ceased. Other items, as e.g. exotic wares, were perhaps traded again and in return Meroe received, as it seems, decorated pottery and other luxury wares. It appears that around the middle of the 2nd c. B.C. contacts were vivid again, as can be inferred from buildings at Musawwarat and Meroe City.

16. Changes in the kingship ideology

For the first time in Kushite history, around 130 B.C. the throne was occupied by a woman, Queen Shanakdakheto. (She was dated originally by Reisner 1923 75f. between 150-125; Dunham 1957 6f. changed the date to c. 177-155; Hintze 1959 33 to 180-170. Later Wenig 1967 43 proposed 145-125, which he changed, without new arguments, to 170-150, see Wenig 1978 17. Hofmann 1978 77ff. proposed a dating before 117/6 B.C. In my relative chronology I have proposed a date in the last third of the 2nd c. B.C. on the basis of the fixed dates in preceding and later generations, see Török 1988a). Literature usually stresses the importance of the female members of the royal family (see first of all Hintze 1978; Priese 1978, 1981; Wenig 1967, 1978), maintaining that the Kushite concept of legitimacy prescribed a matrilineal order of succession. Admitting that the role of the royal ladies, perhaps as a consequence of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty preliminaries, had some unusual features, I am nevertheless inclined to believe that in kingship ideology they did not differ from what we can expect from the mother, the sister, or the wife of the contemporary Egyptian ruler (for details see Török 1986, 1987,2). Matrilinearity appears to have been more significant in the aristocracy (cf. Hintze 1974). There are signs for a system in which offices were inherited according to matrilinearity. However, there are also signs for patrilineal inheritance and for appointments not fitting into either model. In the case of the interpretation of the monuments referring to the order of succession within the royal family, we should perhaps pay more attention to the female members of the Egyptian royal family in the Late Period and in Ptolemaic times. As to the aristocracy, it cannot be forgotten that the Meroitic upper stratum meant no more than a few hundred persons in a generation, within which matrilinearity is not necessarily a legal notion, but (also?) a descent recording system. Two preserved representations of Queen Shanakdakheto (Chapman 1952 Pl. 7A; Wenig 1978 no. 138) emphasize her connection with a man who "crowns" her. As it seems, the queen's legitimacy was secured by this man, whose identity cannot be established. Nine generations later Queen Amanishaketo will be represented in the same manner (Chapman 1952 Pl. 16B).

In literature on the Early Meroitic kingship (cf. Hintze 1978) the royal iconography after Arnekhamani, i.e. the last third of the 3rd c. B.C., is analysed as an expression of Meroitic concepts which in the course of time get more and more detached from Egyptian concepts of kingship (cf. also Millet 1973). The appearance of the trio king-queen-crown prince as early as on the Lion Temple at Musawwarat may in fact suggest an un-Egyptian development. As far as iconography is concerned, the individuality cannot be denied. However, as to the underlying ideology, it must be realized that the unity of the royal family can be explained in a very satisfying manner through the example of the development of Egyptian dynastic ideology during and after the reign of Ptolemy II. Similarly, the appearance of a queen on the throne may be prepared by influence from the direction of the Ptolemaic House, and that it was not self-evident in Meroe is clearly indicated by the iconography of Shanakdakheto.

17. The first century B.C.

During the 2nd, and the first decades of the 1st c. B.C., the Dodekaschoinos is firmly in Ptolemaic hands. Large-scale temple building activities at Dakka between 145-116, repeated enlargements and restorations of the temples at Dabod between 145 and 116 and between 80 and 51 and at Kalabsha between 116 and 80 indicate that the government attached a great importance to the area (for the buildings see PM VII 3ff., 20, 40ff.). South of the line of Maharraqa, however, there are no express signs of Ptolemaic authority to be found after the middle of the 2nd c. B.C.

I have suggested above that the bulk of the population in Ptolemaic Triakontaschoinos descended from a populace settled here by kings of Meroe in the period between 206 and 186. It is hardly possible to say more about the origins of this populace. So much is conspicuous that they possessed a Meroiticized culture when they arrived in Lower Nubia. As mentioned in the introduction, according to Adams' impressive and highly probable hypothesis Lower Nubia was resettled with Nubian-speakers. However, he dated the resettlement to the Late Meroitic period, i.e. the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (Adams 1876 21ff., 165ff.). In a recent paper Fernandez has suggested that

the populace buried from the 3rd c. B.C. onwards at Amir Abdallah was Nubian-speaking (Fernandez 1984 65ff.). Consequently, communities with identical traits would equally have been of Nubian-speaking origins. Toponym analyses have led Priese to the conclusion that there were Nubian-speakers living in the Dongola area from as early as the New Kingdom (Priese 1976 82ff.). It seems to me, however, that while the resettlement of Lower Nubia with a populace composed mainly of Nubian-speakers is very probable, it is extremely difficult, or even impossible, to identify the material culture of Nubian-speakers after they have lived in Meroitic territory and adopted Meroitic culture. It was suggested that the characteristic hand-made, red/black slipped pottery with incised decoration would be indicative of Nubian-speakers. In view of the distribution of this pottery, however, I prefer to refrain from its ethnic identification.

The earliest datable pottery at Faras and at some other sites are imports from Egypt made in the decades between c. 160 and 140 B.C. (see Török 1987a 188-207). A few decades later there appear at Faras Early Meroitic wheel-made and hand-made pottery wares.

18. The resettlement of Lower Nubia

The motivation of the individual phases of the resettlement is obscure. I have supposed above that the late Napatan preliminaries were politically motivated. Military and caravan stations at the early Ptolemaic period served the purposes of a large-scale commerce. The early popular resettlement between 206 and 186 seems to have been politically motivated, which does not exclude, however, that the newly established Meroitic province was going to play a role in the economic structure of the kingdom as well. As it seems, after 186 the Triakontaschoinos was inhabited by a small population of "Meroitic" origin.

The bulk of resettlement occurred later. In Adams' opinion "it took place within a relatively brief period, towards the close of the Meroitic era" (Adams 1976 137), i.e. c. in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. As to the date of the major resettlement phase, a 1st c. B.C. dating is much more probable, as is strongly suggested by the ceramic evidence. The question of its course is more complicated. Purely strategic reasons – which are sometimes suggested in literature as

initial motives – usually do not indicate the civil resettlement of areas which can also be maintained by garrisons. According to Adams the land-rush, as he calls the resettlement in his 1976 study, was rendered possible by the introduction of the saqia wheel which enabled the irrigation of most of the Lower Nubian floodplain and thus opened the area for a lucrative agriculture. It occurs to me that the resettlement could not have been decided in the moment when the saqia became known in Meroe. More probably, this revolutionary invention appeared at some point in a general process of expansion of the cultivated land, and accelerated it to a considerable extent. The data at our disposal would not allow, and I do not feel competent, to discuss here the problem of whether the 2nd-1st century agricultural expansion process – which I have briefly discussed in an earlier chapter of this paper – was necessitated by a demographic pressure or not. I prefer to elide this question also because it is heavily burdened with controversial models of modern prehistory, which now begin to appear also in Meroitic studies (for a critical, but in my opinion still not sufficiently cautious use of such models see Khidir Abdelkarim Ahmed 1984). It must be kept in view that the Early Meroitic period is not a prehistoric period: it must be data which allow us to investigate Meroitic demographic conditions and changes, not models that provide isolated data with an artificial hinterland.

We may perhaps suppose that the imposing growth in the Early Meroitic period was in some way interconnected with the growth of individual settlements as well as with an increasing density of towns and villages. Moreover, it would also seem that the agriculturally cultivated territory was extended both in the northern and southern parts of the kingdom. We have supposed that the decline of the trade with Ptolemaic Egypt after 206 B.C. brought about a further expansion of the cultivated area. Some time in the 1st c. B.C., probably in the first quarter, there appears in Lower Nubia the office of the *pešto* i.e. a viceroy indicating thus that the resettlement reached a point where the local administration that has existed so far was no longer adequate. The first known *pešto* (REM 0543) was the son of a prophet, thus he came probably from the class of career bureaucrats. The funerary inscription (REM 0521) of the second known *pešto* who was buried similarly at Faras (however, not in grave 2903 as written by Godlewski 1972 190; the funerary table REM 0521 was found reused in this late grave) indicates a more elevated social origin

and also a growth in importance of the viceregal office. At the end of the century the office of the Lower Nubian viceroy is occupied by a member of the royal family. However, the case of Akinidad is unique and may have been in connection with the situation after the war with Rome and the ensuing reorganisation of Lower Nubia.

Although the find material of the Faras cemetery indicates that the administrative centre of Lower Nubia was in the 1st c. B.C. at this place, we are entirely uninformed about the settlement of the early period. It seems that the viceroys were buried only for some generations – perhaps only prior to the end of the 1st c. B.C. – at Faras, later they were buried at Karanog. The reasons for the transfer are unknown, since the importance of Faras as an administrative centre does not seem to decrease, as is demonstrated by the titles in connection with this place in later Meroitic texts. More information on life in Lower Nubia can be expected from the excavations which are in progress at Qasr Ibrim.

In spite of the scarce and disproportionate evidence, I am convinced that 1st c. B.C. Lower Nubia differed from the Meroitic heartland only insofar as a relatively young province with an unimportant previous history, i.e. without determining traditions, would differ from the parts of the country which were already inhabited for centuries. Further differences might have resulted from the greater homogeneity of subsistence forms in Lower Nubia, the population being there almost exclusively engaged in agriculture. Differences occurred perhaps also in the ethnic composition; however, as it is clear from the archaeological evidence, the resettled Lower Nubian populace was no less Meroiticized than the rest of the country. Finally differences appear in literature, first of all in Adams' theses, which are brought about, in my opinion, by the fact that, for lack of a precise cultural chronology, several phenomena are contrasted to each other which do not belong into the same period of Meroitic history.

19. Augustus and Meroe

The only vulnerable point of the frontiers of Egypt was at the First Cataract of the Nile, in the region of the so-called Dodekaschoinos or

Land of the Twelve Miles¹ (see Frontispiece). The ownership of the Dodekaschoinos caused conflicts between Egypt and Meroe ever since the early 4th century B.C.² It belonged during the last decades of Ptolemaic rule to Egypt,³ but in 30 B.C.⁴ was occupied by Meroe. One of the first tasks to be resolved by Egypt's first Roman praefect, C. Cornelius Gallus,⁵ was therefore the establishment of a safe frontier district in the region and the settling of relations with Meroe. Meroe was regarded in Egypt as a difficult neighbour and as a country rich in gold and exotic wares; thus the settlement was not without importance. It was reached through a series of encounters that took almost ten years between 30 and 21/20 B.C. The story is told by Strabo,⁶ Pliny⁷ and Cassius Dio⁸ and further documented by inscriptions of Cornelius Gallus⁹ and Augustus himself.¹⁰ Apart from doubts concerning details, Meroitic scholars generally accept this, from the point of view of Meroitic studies, uniquely rich and

¹ For the literature on the history of the region see J. Desanges: *Le statut et les limites de la Nubie romaine*. *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 139-147; id.: *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*. Rome 1978 279ff.; L. Török: To the History of the Dodekaschoinos between ca. 250 B.C. and 298 A.D. *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 76-86.

² According to his annals, King Harsiyotef (first half of the 4th c. B.C.) subjected a number of chiefdoms in Lower Nubia and his expeditions in connection with these chiefdoms reached the area of the First Cataract. See his inscription Cairo Mus. 48864, N.-C. Grimal: *Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire*, JE 48863-48866, *Textes et Indices*. Le Caire 1981.

³ For the data supporting this view (which is, in my opinion without proper arguments, frequently rejected in literature on Lower Nubia), see Desanges 1978 (note 1) 285ff.

⁴ See below.

⁵ PIR II 326ff., No. 1369; A Stein in: *PWRE* IV. 1342 No. 164; O. W. Reinmuth in *Bull. Am. Soc. of Papyrologists* 4 (1967) 75f.; G. Bastianini: *Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto del 30^a al 299^p*. *ZPR* 17 (1975) 263-328 263ff.

⁶ Strabo, XVII, 1, 54 (H.L. Jones LoebCIL).

⁷ Pliny N. H., VI, 181f. (FGrH 673 F 163d).

⁸ Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4-6 (E. Cary, LoebCIL).

⁹ Trilingual inscr. from Philae, now Cairo Mus. JE. 9295. Latin text: CIL III (suppl.) 14147. Greek text: E. Bernand: *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae II. Haut et Bas Empire*. Paris 1969 No. 128 (together with the Latin text). Hieroglyphic text: H. Schäfer: Zur Inschrift des C. Cornelius Gallus. *ZÄS* 34 (1896) 91; U. Wilcken: Zur trilinguen Inschrift von Philae. *ZÄS* 35 (1897) 70-80.

¹⁰ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 26, 5 (P.A. Brunt, J.M. Moore, Oxford 1967 26).

comprehensible, first-hand evidence.¹¹ The bias of the Roman interpretation of the Meroitic war was recently analysed by Inge Hofmann¹² and by myself, but our attempts were unfavourably received.¹³ When I return here to the issue, it is because I regard the discussion initiated by Hofmann as unfinished and because I hope that my readers will share the view of the eighteenth-century German writer Lichtenberg, according to whom it is first of all common opinion, and matters taken by everybody as settled, that deserve our closest scrutiny.¹⁴ Finally it appears that the war of Augustus against Meroe and the resulting establishment were in some respects an organic continuation of Ptolemaic policy towards Meroe; therefore this episode of the history of Roman Egypt may be of some interest for the students of ancient history.

In the following I shall give a short chronological account of the war. It will be based on the texts and inscriptions referred to above, the deliberate and undeliberate limits of which I shall try to point out. The criticism of the sources has the aim to give an idea of the vanity of round and comprehensive reconstructions of the war of Augustus against Meroe, and to define, or at least circumscribe, its probable significance within the course of Meroitic – Ptolemaic – Roman contacts. Then I shall proceed to a discussion of some features of the Augustan Peace in the Twelve Mile Reach and to the interpretation of

¹¹ E.g. P.L. Shinnie: *Meroe. A Civilization of the Sudan*. London 1967 43ff.; F. Hintze: *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroe*. Berlin 1959 25f.; id.: The Meroitic Period. in: *Africa in Antiquity I. The Essays*. Brooklyn Museum 1978 89-105.

¹² I. Hofmann: Der Feldzug des C. Petronius nach Nubien und seine Bedeutung für die meroitische Chronologie. in: *ÄuK (Fs Hintze)*. Berlin 1977 159-205. – The degree of Roman success was doubted by F.Ll. Griffith: Meroitic Studies IV. *JEA* 4 (1917) 159-173; C. Préaux: Sur les communications de l'Ethiopie avec l'Egypte hellénistique. *CdÉ* 27 (1952) 257-281, 266f.; F.M. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity. Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge/Mass. 1971 132ff.; but cp. also M. Rostovtzeff: *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² II. Oxford 1957 676 no 56.

¹³ Török 1988b = Ch. V in this volume; for objections see S.M. Burstein: "Kush and the External World": A Comment. *Meroitica* 10 (1988) 225-230 226f.

¹⁴ I have borrowed the quotation from Hofmann 1977 (note 12) 189. It reads in the German original: Die gemeinsten Meinungen und das, was jedermann für ausgemacht hält, verdient oft am meisten untersucht zu werden. – In writing this paper I was stimulated by said, and other, papers of Prof. Hofmann; I hope, she will excuse me that I also have appropriated her motto.

two art objects connected to the person of Augustus and found in Meroe. Finally I shall try to illustrate through the fate of one of the latter the ambiguity of the Meroitic attitude towards Rome in the 1st century A.D.

Shortly after the annexation of the province, Egypt's first praefect, C. Cornelius Gallus, friend of Octavian and Vergil,¹⁵ poet of renommée,¹⁶ was confronted with an insurrection in Upper Egypt.¹⁷ It was explained by Strabo as a consequence of the imposing of the *laographia* i.e. poll-tax, a burden unknown to Egyptians under the Ptolemies.¹⁸ The rising could in fact have been triggered by the appearance of Roman tax collectors, but it was probably prepared already in the turbulent period before 30 B.C.; moreover it was not independent from the next conflict to be faced by Cornelius Gallus. The latter occurred in connection with the Meroitic-Egyptian frontier, that lay at the southern end of the raising Thebaid. There can be no doubt that the pacification of the frontier region was decided in the moment when the scheme of the military defence of Roman Egypt was created. Yet the inscription erected by Cornelius on April 17, 29 B.C. in Philae commemorates the victory over the insurrection and the pacification of the frontier together, and in a way which suggests either that the Theban revolt was prompted by a Meroitic advance, or that the Meroites were encouraged by the insurrection in Upper Egypt.¹⁹ The praefect relates that he crossed the First Cataract with his army,²⁰ received the envoys of the Meroites in Philae, admitted their king to protection and appointed a *tyrannos* of the Triakontaschoinos or the Thirty Mile Reach, being a district in

¹⁵ Ps.-Prob., *Verg. ecl. praef.*, 328 (Hagen); *Vergil.*, *Georg.* B 4; *Cassius Dio*, LI 9f.; *Plut.*, *Ant.* 79; *Suet.*, *Aug.* 66, 1.

¹⁶ G. Luck: *Die römische Liebeselagie*. München 1961 47ff.; for a recently found contemporary ms of his elegiacs see R.D. Anderson – R.G.M. Nisbet: Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim. *JRS* 69 (1979) 125-155.

¹⁷ Strabo, XVII, 1, 53 records before the rising in the Thebais an insurrection in Heronopolis, at the eastern edge of the Delta; its causes are unknown.

¹⁸ Strabo, XVII, 1, 53; for the poll-tax and its consequences see H.I. Bell in: *CAH* X. Cambridge 1966 302f.

¹⁹ The remarkable sequence of the narrative hints at this possibility. Gallus records: 1) he crossed the First Cataract and penetrated into a territory which was inaccessible for armies before his day; 2) subjugated the whole Thebaid; 3) received the envoy of the Aithiopians in Philae.

²⁰ However, the frontier was not at the First Cataract, but at the southern end of the Dodekaschoinos, cp. notes 1 and 3.

Meroe, or, as the Latin version of the trilingual inscription puts, *tyranno Triacontaschoeni in fine Aethiopiae constituto*. The pacification thus went beyond the actual Egyptian border at Hiera Sycaminos, the southern end of the Dodekaschoinos. The appointment by the Roman praefect of a tyrant over the whole territory between the First and Second Cataract means no less than the forcible establishment of a vassal chiefdom. Military success of Cornelius Gallus must also explain what he records with these words: *legatis regis Aethiopium ... auditis, eodem rege in tutelam recepto*. The vassal Triakontaschoinos and the protection of the Meroitic king were beyond doubt the first steps towards the establishment of a client-kingdom and, eventually, the later annexation of the whole of the kingdom of Meroe.

These aims may explain, why we don't find the terminology of *bellum iustum* in the accounts of Cornelius Gallus and Augustus.

Although the vainglorious tone of his trilingual inscription forecasts Gallus' hybris which will lead to his disgrace and suicide, there can be no doubt that in the Triakontaschoinos he acted according to Octavian's orders and in the spirit of Roman frontier policy of the day. The inscription reveals that at the same time he was aware of the way the Ptolemies had solved the same frontier problem. The region had been conquered by Meroe in the early 4th century B.C.,²¹ but occupied in ca. 274 B.C.²² by the second Ptolemy, who must have considered its ownership to be the only safe basis of contacts with Meroe.²³ Meroe succeeded, however, in reconquering it for two short periods in the course of the late third and early second century B.C. (between 207/6 and 186²⁴ and between 181 and 165/5).²⁵ Remarkably, Meroitic success was secured both times by

²¹ See note 2.

²² Diodorus, I, 37, 5; for the date cp. Theocritus, Idyll., XVII. 87; cp. further Ath., V, 25, 196a-35, 203b.

²³ Large-scale commercial contacts, centered around the import of Aithiopian elephants to Egypt, could not be maintained without this kind of initial intimidation of Meroe, especially since the commerce could not have been carried out without establishing traders' settlements on, and near to, Meroitic territory.

²⁴ For the data see the recent survey and analysis by E. Winter: *Ergamenes II, seine Datierung und seine Bautätigkeit in Nubien*. *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 509-513; further Török op. cit. (note 13) and Török 1986 sources Nos 29ff.

²⁵ See note 24.

rebellions in Upper Egypt. After 165/4 the Triakontaschoinos was for some five decades firmly under Ptolemaic rule. As it seems, the administration of the region was unusual insofar as it was based on Aithiopian communities subordinate to an Aithiopian epoch,²⁶ who was controlled presumably by the strategos of the neighbouring Thebaid. This establishment must have been due to the ethnic composition of the region, i.e. to the presence of a non-Egyptian²⁷ majority of southern origin. It can be presumed that the native organisation continued its existence also after the late 2nd century B.C. when Ptolemaic control seems to have been restricted on the Dodekaschoinos. We have good reason to believe that Cornelius Gallus found the territory to be inhabited by a similarly composed population. Although there were also other patterns according to which the government of the pacified Triakontaschoinos could have been constructed, the institution of a native tyrant and the – at least nominal – double, Roman and Meroitic, authority was (to an unfortunately unknown extent)²⁸ a revival of the Ptolemaic administration.

It is needless to stress that the establishment intended not only to obtain security at the frontier, but also control of the trade in the adjacent Red See region on the one hand and ownership of the gold-mining area of the Wadis Allaqi and Gabgaba, on the other.²⁹ Firm control over the Triakontaschoinos meant furthermore that the shortest and safest desert road from Meroe City to Lower Nubia and Egypt ended at Korosko in the vassal territory. Later developments will nevertheless have demonstrated to Augustus (as to the Ptolemies) that all these advantages could also have been achieved with much less effort and without entertaining the ambition of maintaining a

²⁶ A. Bernand: *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I. Époque Ptolémaïque*. Paris 1969 No. 12bis, 149/8 B.C., cp. also OGIS I No. 168 = SB 8883, from Aswan, incomes of Chum received from the Aithiopians of the Dodekaschoinos, 115 B.C.

²⁷ For the ethnic history of the region cp. Adams 1976 11ff.; id. Kush and the Peoples of Northeast Africa. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 9-13. However, his dating of the "resettlement of Lower Nubia" must be regarded with caution: since Adams does not accept the evidence of Lower Nubian toponyms preserved in the lists of Bion, Juba and in the Ptolemaic nomos lists at Philae, he dates it much too late. For the issue see Ch. IV. 13-15, 17, 18 above and cf. Török 1984d, 1988a.

²⁸ Cp. also Desanges 1978 (note 1) 143.

²⁹ See Strabo XVI, 4, 22: Desanges 1978 (note 1) 143.

vassal chiefdom that deeply disturbed Meroitic interest or even of preparing the way towards a client-kingdom or a province Meroe. But in order to realize this fact, he had first to fight a difficult war and also change his entire foreign policy. Yet around 29 B.C. the vassal Triakontaschoinos and the development inherent in its establishment were most logical. The menace of barbarian countries along the frontiers could, according to Republican policy, be prevented only by annexation; this maxim was to be repeated also long after Augustus had begun to enforce what we call summarily, and with frequent misunderstanding, his Peace.³⁰

After his success in the south, Cornelius lost his sense of proportion, assumed royal air, thus impardonably offending Octavian who accepted full royal honours in Egypt. He started to set up statues of himself throughout Egypt.³¹ A head in Cleveland³² is probably a fragment of one of these and may illustrate by its size and style that he was justly accused of *hybris*. But, when analysing the reasons for his disgrace,³³ it cannot be forgotten that Augustus declared the *renuntiatio amicitiae* only in the spring of 27, i.e. after the Restoration of the Republic, when he received the cognomen Augustus and unlimited power over a vast *provincia* including Egypt. It is likely that the disgrace was also prompted by plans of Augustus concerning the government of Egypt. However, between the summer of 27 and the summer of 25 he was occupied in Spain and seems not to have dealt with affairs of, and around, Egypt, apart from routine matters. In the summer of 25 he ordered Aelius Gallus, second

³⁰ Relevant literature is too large to be quoted here; see the surveys of D.H. Meyer: *Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung*. Köln – Graz 1961; W. Schmitthenner (ed.): *Augustus. Wege der Forschung* Bd. 128. Darmstadt 1969; further H.S. Jones in *CAH* X. Cambridge 1966 127-150; F.E. Adcock *ibid.* 596-601. – For the extremes of the interpretation see R. Syme: *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford 1939, 1952²; and on the other hand H.E. Stier: *Das Friedensreich des Kaiser Augustus*. Bremen 1950.

³¹ Moreover, he eternalized his achievements in inscriptions on the pyramids of Gizeh and on the obelisk now in Rome, Piazza di Montecitorio. See Cassius Dio, LIII, 23, 5.

³² G. Grimm: Zu Marcus Antonius und C. Cornelius Gallus. *JdI* 85 (1970) 158-170, fig. 1. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. No. 66.20, from Egypt.

³³ Cp. W. Schmitthenner: Augustus' spanischer Feldzug und der Kampf um den Prinzipat. in: Schmitthenner op. cit. (note 30) 404-485 470f.

perfect of Egypt,³⁴ to launch an expedition against Arabia Felix.³⁵ To a certain extent this expedition, insofar as it also concerned the Red Sea trade, was an extension of the scheme to which the pacification of Meroe belonged. At the same time³⁶ a new praefect was appointed in the person of C. Petronius.³⁷ Aelius Gallus left first for Arsinoe to prepare the expedition,³⁸ and from there – after some months – to Leuke Kome. He took with him almost half of the forces stationed in Egypt.³⁹ Following his withdrawal Meroitic troops crossed the First Cataract, ravaged Philae, Syene and Elephantine, and carried off prisoners and statues of Augustus. In a later phase of the war they were asked by Petronius about their motives: the answer was that they were mistreated by the nomarchs, i.e. tax-collectors.⁴⁰ This detail suggests that the case was in reality a popular rising in the vassal Triakontaschoinos. Also Strabo's description of their primitive equipment and insufficient army organisation speaks for the hypothesis that the first act of the war was an insurrection against vassalage. Petronius appeared within some weeks⁴¹ with 10 000

³⁴ PIR² I. 27f. No. 179, Strabo XVII, 1, 29; 46; Cassius Dio, LIII, 29, 3-8; Plin., N. H., VI, 160; Josephus, Ant. Iud., XV, 317; cp. J.G.C. Anderson in: *CAH* X. Cambridge 1966 247-253; H.v. Wissmann: *Die Geschichte des Sabäerreiches und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus. ANRW* II 9 1. Berlin – New York 1976 308-544.

³⁵ Strabo, XI, 4, 22-24.

³⁶ For the date of his appointment cp. Jos., Ant. Iud., XV, 307; Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4; J.G.C. Anderson in: *CAH* X. Cambridge 1966 241; cp. also Schmitthenner op. cit. (note 23) 430¹²⁸.

³⁷ For his person and chronology cp. the remark in P.A. Brunt: The Administrators of Roman Egypt. *JRS* 65 (1975) 124-147 142 (contra S. Jameson: Chronology of the Campaigns of Aelius Gallus and C. Petronius. *JRS* 58 (1968) 71/84, 71f.).

³⁸ For the history of the abortive expedition see Anderson op. cit. (note 36).

³⁹ Before 23 B.C. there were stationed 16 800 men in the three legions and 5 500 men in auxiliary forces in Egypt. Ca. 8 000 men were taken to Arabia, see Anderson op. cit. (note 36) 250.

⁴⁰ Strabo, XVII, 1, 54. For the nomarchs as tax-collectors in late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt see I.D. Thomas: Aspects of Ptolemaic Civil Service. The dioketes and the nomarch. In: H. Maehler – V.M. Strocka (eds.): *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*. Mainz 1978 187-194 194.

⁴¹ According to Jameson op. cit. (note 37) the expedition of Aelius Gallus started in the spring or summer of 26; this is unlikely on account of Jos., Ant. Iud., XV, 9, 2, cp. Desanges 1978 (note 1) 308 and does not fit in the chronology of Augustus between 27 and 24, cp. Schmitthenner op. cit. (note 33) 442ff. – The march of Petronius from Alexandria to the First Cataract took only some weeks;

infantry and 800 cavalry, drove out the invaders and, pushing on towards south, met the army sent from the south by the queen who ruled together with her son⁴² at Pselchis/Dakka. Here he destroyed the Meroitic forces, advanced to Primis/Qasr Ibrim which he took. According to Strabo, Pliny and Cassius Dio he marched then to Napata; this detail seems to be supported by the *Res Gestae*, too. According to these sources Napata was conquered and destroyed, in spite of the fact that, as Strabo relates, the queen offered to give back the prisoners and the statues of the emperor. On the way back Petronius refortified Primis and provided it with a garrison of 400 men and food for two years.⁴³ On his return to Alexandria he dispatched one thousand Meroitic war prisoners to Augustus, who, so Strabo, had recently returned from Spain to Rome.

The actual success of the expedition was presumably humbler than put by the sources. The following details indicate that they described an ideal development of the war in the terms required by the expansionist spirit of contemporary literature⁴⁴ and demanded by popular propaganda. According to Pliny⁴⁵ Petronius took the towns of Pselchis/Dakka, Primis/Qasr Ibrim, Boccin/Ballana,⁴⁶ Forum Cambusis/Faras,⁴⁷ Atteniam/Mirgissa,⁴⁸ Stadissim, where the

if Aelius Gallus withdrew the forces from the Cataract region in the summer of 25, then the Meroic attack could occur already in the late summer – early autumn and Petronius could arrive in the autumn of the same year.

⁴² They were identified by Hintze op. cit. (note 11) 1959 25 with Amanirenas and Akinidad. Hintze's reconstruction of the events in Meroe and of the ruler chronology after 29 B.C. was partly rejected by Hofmann 1978a 92ff. I have identified the queen of the conflict and her son with Queen Naytal and King Aqrakamani, respectively, of the demotic inscription Dakka 15/17, see Török op. cit. (note 1) and id.: op. cit. (note 27) 60.

⁴³ The existence of the garrison in the years preceding 21 B.C. is attested by a rich archaeological material, unearthed by the excavations of the EES in recent years, to which also belong numerous papyri. The finds are, with a few exceptions (see note 16) unpublished. The study quoted in note 16 also mentions a papyrus in Greek, found together with the Gallus ms, and dated 22/21 B.C. – For the archaeological finds see recently the preliminary excavation reports of J.M. Plumley, W.Y. Adams et al. in *JEA* 60 (1974) 30-59, 212-238; 61 (1975) 5-27; 63 (1977) 29-47; 65 (1979) 30-41; 69 (1983) 43-60.

⁴⁴ For a thorough analysis see Meyer op. cit. (note 30).

⁴⁵ Pliny N. H., VI, 181f.

⁴⁶ Priese 1984 484-497 s. v.

⁴⁷ Ibid. s. v.

⁴⁸ Ibid s. v.

rushing waters of the Nile deafen those who live in the neighbourhood, i.e. Saras at the Second Cataract.⁴⁹ To these he adds: and Petronius also sacked Napata. The list creates the impression that it was in reality the Triakontaschoinos that was reconquered; the addition of Napata stands there inorganically, the more so as all our sources are silent as to how Petronius overcame the difficulties of the further distances? If he took the desert road (the fearfulness of which was known to every reader of Herodotus), he had to return from Stadissim. Travel along the Nile was practically impossible.⁵⁰ The relevant sentence of the *Res Gestae* only supports our doubts: "At my command and under my auspices two armies were led almost at the same time into Aithiopia and Arabia Felix: vast enemy forces of both peoples were cut down in battle and many towns captured. Aithiopia was penetrated as far as the town of Napata which adjoins Meroe; in Arabia the army advanced into the territory of the Sabaean to the town of Mariba".⁵¹

Yet the Arabian campaign was a failure.⁵² Mariba is an unimportant town and not identical with the capital of the Sabaean,⁵³ as Augustus would like to make us believe, and Napata does not adjoin Meroe. Aelius Gallus failed because he was unable to conquer a barren country of roadless deserts. As to Petronius, a sentence of Cassius Dio, slightly varying a sentence also to be found in Strabo's account,⁵⁴ is highly significant: after the capture of Napata he "found himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, [thus he] withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him".⁵⁵ It is tempting to believe that this decision was really made in the region of the Second Cataract, after the Triakontaschoinos was secured. In this way the *Res Gestae* would allude at two failures that had identical causes, circumstances and

⁴⁹ Török 1979 8f., 16.

⁵⁰ For conditions of the travel in Aithiopia in antiquity cf. A.B. Lloyd: *Herodotus Book II. Introduction and Commentary* II. Leiden 1976 117, 121.

⁵¹ For the traditional interpretation of the Aithiopian relation of the sentence see Burstein 1979 103ff.

⁵² See Anderson op. cit. (note 36) 250ff.

⁵³ Cf. J.G.C. Anderson in *CAH X*. Cambridge 1966 877.

⁵⁴ Strabo, XVII, 1, 4 (Jones): "he turned back again with the booty, having decided that the regions farther on would be hard to traverse".

⁵⁵ Cassius Dio, LIV, 5, 4-6.

outcome. Considerations concerning the length of the expedition further support this hypothesis. The Meroitic attack on Syene, Elephantine and Philae could have started shortly after the withdrawal of half of the Roman forces by Aelius Gallus, an event that can be dated to the summer or autumn of 25 B.C. As to the end, Augustus, who allegedly received the Meroitic prisoners in Rome at his return from Spain, departed from Cantabria in the winter of 25, but, delayed by illness, he arrived in Rome in the spring of 24.⁵⁶ However, the Temple of Janus was closed already in the late winter of 25.⁵⁷ Although the closing was ordered in connection with the Cantabrian victory, i.e. the end of the war in Spain, we may assume that it also meant the end of the war in Meroe. At this time Augustus was expected in Rome, and it is rather likely that Petronius sent the news of his victory and dispatched the prisoners to Rome before the actual arrival of the emperor. Accordingly, the expedition from Alexandria and back lasted at the maximum 6 or 7 months, at the minimum 4 or 5, and the latter variant is the more probable. Yet the march from Syene to Napata alone would have taken more than two months.⁵⁸ The expedition as recorded by Strabo could be managed in 6 or 7 months, though only under extremely favourable conditions; while 4 or 5 months would by no means have been sufficient for anything more than the occupation of the Triakontaschoinos.

The accounts do not leave any doubt as to the nature of the outcome: The vassal Triakontaschoinos was not restored. It seems that the territory was annexed to the Empire.⁵⁹ The fragments of a miniature *tropaeum* representing Nubian prisoners⁶⁰ belong perhaps to the commemorations of the event. Two years later, however, in the

⁵⁶ According to Cassius Dio, LIII, 28, 1 he was near to Rome on January 1 of 24: his presence in the City can be attested between 6-12 June 24, cf. Schmitthenner op. cit. (note 33) 459 note 238.

⁵⁷ Cf. CAH X. Cambridge 1966 135, Schmitthenner op. cit (note 33) 455.

⁵⁸ Cf. note 50 and Hofmann op. cit. (note 12) 198ff.

⁵⁹ Jameson op cit. (note 37) suggests that after Petronius' first expedition the entire kingdom of Meroe was annexed. This seems to be based on the credence given to the sources about the capture of Napata. However, we do not know of any military safeguarding of the annexed country, apart from Primis/Qasr Ibrim, which unambiguously figures in the sources and is the only garrison established by Petronius on the territory that formerly belonged to Meroe.

⁶⁰ Berlin Staatliche Museen Misc. 10485-86; K.A. Neugebauer: Aus der Werkstatt eines griechischen Toreuten in Ägypten. *Fs Schumacher*. Mainz 1930 236 Pl. 23; F.S. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity*. Cambridge/Mass. 1970 132ff., fig. 84.

late winter of 22⁶¹ the queen of Meroe approached Primis with her army, but Petronius arrived there before her. The queen did not risk battle and sent envoys to negotiate. These envoys were escorted to Augustus⁶² who stayed on Samos. Since he spent the winter of 21/20 on the island, it seems probable that the encounter of Petronius and the Meroitic army occurred some time in the spring or summer of 21. At this point Strabo inserts one of his most pointed allusions at the barbaric intellectual niveau of the Meroites, saying that when Petronius bade them to go to Caesar, they asserted that they did not know who Caesar was and where to go to find him. All previous Meroitic actions show a fairly clear knowledge of what was going on in Egypt; Strabo's remark is in accordance with his interpretation of the conflict as justified self-defence of the Empire against the barbarian menace.

Negotiations on Samos resulted in the following: Augustus remitted the tribute imposed upon the Meroites and gave up the region south of Hiera Sycaminos. On the other hand, he fully annexed the region north of this point, i.e. he restored the Ptolemaic frontier at the southern limit of the Dodekaschoinos. The vassal chiefdom of the Triakontaschoinos and presumably the idea of the client-kingdom of Meroe, too, were given up. They proved to be unprofitable and certainly also untenable. Nevertheless, real political power relations are to be judged on the basis of the annexation of the Dodekaschoinos and not on an apparent compromise. The terms in the Samos treaty are determined by the new foreign policy of the emperor which we usually interpret as the manifestation of the *Pax Augusta*. As opposed to Republican policy, which still dominated around 29, wars in the late 20s were intended to ensure security within the existing frontiers;

⁶¹ This dating follows from the fact that Cassius Dio records the wars in his annals under the year of their end; he recounts the war of Petronius among events of the year 22 B.C. However, this date seems too early in view of the fact that the envoys of the queen of Meroe met Augustus on Samos where the emperor stayed in the winter of 21/20. Since there were no armed conflicts preceding their journey to Samos, the period 22-winter 21/20 is too long for Petronius' march from Alexandria to Primis, for preliminary talks with the Meroites before he sent them forth to the emperor, and for the latter's journey to Samos. It may perhaps be supposed that Cassius Dio is not correct as to the date or that the envoys were first sent to Rome, whence they had follow the emperor to Samos.

⁶² This was a consequence of it being the right of Augustus to make treaties with foreign countries. This right doubtlessly goes back to the authority received in 27 B.C. Cp. H.S. Jones in: *CAH* X. Cambridge 1966 140f.; Strabo, XVII, 3, 25.

they were defensive, not expansive.⁶³ Augustus regarded world hegemony as achieved and not as something yet to be realized. Although this policy was not consistent with popular expansion, which he prudently met half-way in his *Res Gestae*, Augustus tried to conduct events in this spirit and did not let popular aggressiveness prevail. This is exemplified in the sphere of religious ideology by the dedication of the standards recovered from the Parthians in 20 B.C. to Mars Ultor, whom Augustus declared on this occasion to be the preserver of peace.⁶⁴ Yet security within the frontiers means in practice appropriate frontiers: the occupation of the Dodekaschoinos, which was mainly inhabited by Meroites, is indeed a very good example of *Pax Augusta* on its practical level.

Augustan policy in the Dodekaschoinos was tactful and circumspect insofar as it did not disregard the ethnic composition and the past history of the region.⁶⁵ It may be illustrated by two cults that were especially supported by the emperor.

Mandulis, a decidedly non-Egyptian deity, seems to have been introduced there between 207/6 and 186 B.C. by the Meroitic king Arqamani, who dedicated a chapel for him in Kalabsha.⁶⁶ Around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. there was a temple of Mandulis in Philae.⁶⁷ The latter was supported by the Meroites living in the

⁶³ For the policy of the late 20s see Meyer op. cit (note 30) 3ff.

⁶⁴ Ibid. with sources and further literature.

⁶⁵ The military safeguarding of the territory evidently took priority over the civil administration. Unfortunately, Roman forces in the Dodekaschoinos after 21/20 are only imperfectly known (cp. Anderson op. cit. [note 36] 243f. 246), especially because the mud brick forts along the west bank of the river Nile were merely noted by archaeological surveys before the building of the first and second Aswan Dam but not measured or excavated. Cp. U. Monneret de Villard: *La Nubia romana*. Roma 1941.

⁶⁶ D. Arnold: *Die Tempel von Kalabscha*. Kairo 1975 6; M. Dewachter: *La chapelle ptolémaïque de Kalabsha*. Fasc. 2. Le Caire 1970 2f.

⁶⁷ A. Bernard op. cit. (note 26) No. 12bis; B. Porter – R.L.B. Moss: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* VI. Oxford 1939 202f., 254. The origin of the deity is obscure, the professional literature generally maintains that he was originally a Blemmy deity, but it is in fact a hypothesis that is improveable. He was regarded both as god of the west, which would speak against a Blemmy origin; and as god of the east, which would support it. It is significant that he appears for the first time in a temple that was built by a Meroitic ruler. He became the local deity of this temple (i.e. Kalabsha), although it seems that later his cult spread not from there, but from Philae (certainly as a consequence of Ptolemaic policy in the

Dodekaschoinos, and its foundation was in all probability connected with the native administration maintained by the Ptolemies. The Kalabsha chapel was magnificently enlarged by Augustus, but at the same time the figure of the deity was essentially re-shaped. On the one hand, he was genealogically connected to Horus (in the first generation), Isis and Osiris (in the second generation);⁶⁸ on the other, he was, through an *interpretatio Graeca*, identified with Apollo.⁶⁹ Thus his cult became affiliated to the great Egyptian cults of Philae, was drawn nearer to those of the Egyptians settled in the region, and could at the same time also meet the religious demands of the Roman military forces stationed there.

The temple of Dendur was dedicated by Augustus to the deified brothers Peteisis and Pahor sons of Quper.⁷⁰ Their historicity is very likely and it is also likely that Quper was none other than the tyrant appointed in 29 B.C. by Cornelius Gallus.⁷¹ If this assumption of Cyril Aldred⁷² is right, the cult of Peteisis and Pahor not only attests the promotion of another specifically Nubian cult but also gives a good illustration of the prudence of Augustan policy. For, if we are not mistaken, the cult was not only meant to flatter the Meroites of the Dodekaschoinos but also explicitly to remind them of the political reality and warn them against illusions; moreover it would lend a religious expression to the connections between conqueror and conquered, between past and present.⁷³ It is to be regretted that Aldred's hypothesis cannot be proved and that we do not know, by

Dodekaschoinos) to Aujala, Dendur and Maharraqa. — For literature on Mandulis see E. Henfling: *Mandulis*. in: *LdÄ* III 1177-1179.

⁶⁸ Henfling op. cit. (note 67) 1178ff.

⁶⁹ H. Gauthier: *Le temple de Kalabchah I*. Le Caire 1914 214 No. 4(a).

⁷⁰ A.M. Blackman: *The Temple of Dendur*. Cairo 1911; E. Bresciani: *Dendur*. in: *LdÄ* I 1063 f.

⁷¹ According to F.L. Griffith: *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus*. Oxford 1937 73, the father and his sons fought against the Meroitic invasion into the Egyptian Dodekaschoinos in 30 B.C. and Augustus rewarded their pro-Egyptian and pro-Roman behaviour with the cult. This hypothesis cannot be proven. Similarly undemonstrable is the assumption of Bresciani op. cit. (note 70) 1064 that the temple was built over a grotto housing the cult of a local "saint" since the 26th (?) Dynasty.

⁷² C. Aldred: *The Temple of Dendur*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978 30f.

⁷³ Aldred op. cit. (note 72) fig. 22.

what kind of priesthood and for what kind of demands the archaeologically attested oracle in the temple was managed.⁷⁴

I turn now to the two art objects discovered in Meroe City, which are connected to Augustus. The first is the famous monumental bronze head⁷⁵ which originally belonged to a cuirassed statue. The portrait belongs to the Primaporta type.⁷⁶ With the exception of Inge Hofmann,⁷⁷ scholars of Meroitic history generally maintain that the statue belonged to the booty taken by the Meroites in Syene in the autumn of 25 B.C. This opinion disregards the view of iconographical literature on Augustus, in which ever since Kähler's study on the Primaporta statue⁷⁸ the development of the type is dated to the period between ca. 27-25 and 23 B.C. Recent research by U. Hausmann⁷⁹ has demonstrated that it emerged first on coin series issued in the East in 27/26 in connection with the Restoration of the Republic, but did not become dominant before 25-23. Even if we suppose an earlier date for the distribution of the Primaporta portrait type than suggested by Hausmann,⁸⁰ it seems unlikely that an

⁷⁴ Aldred op. cit. (note 72).

⁷⁵ British Museum 1911.9.1.1.

⁷⁶ The opinions on the origin of the statue are diverse. L. Castiglione: *Kunst und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten*. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 15 (1967) 107-152 109; G. Grimm: Ein Kopf des Ammon-Sarapis aus Elephantine. *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 141-144 143 and H. Jucker: *Römische Herrscherbildnisse aus Ägypten*. *ANRW* II 12 2. Berlin – New York 1981 667-725 680f. attribute it to an Alexandrian atelier. V. Poulsen: *Glyptotheque Ny Carlsberg. Les portraits romains* I. Copenhague 1962 27f. and Zs. Kiss: *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*. Varsovie 1984 34f. stress the Hellenistic character of the portrait but do not exclude a Roman origin.

⁷⁷ Hofmann op. cit (note 12) 200.

⁷⁸ H. Kähler: *Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta*. Köln 1959.

⁷⁹ U. Hausmann: Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts. *ANRW* II 12 2. Berlin – New York 1981 513-598 571ff.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 571f. – I cannot, however, follow Hausmann op. cit. 576f. in his assumption that the Meroe City head belonged to a statue that was made after the Primaporta statue around 17 B.C. This dating is based on his view that the statue was set up in Meroe after the Samos peace treaty. It is dangerous, however, to date the head (and, consequently, the development of the Primaporta type) on the basis of the historical circumstances supposedly connected to it. It is entirely obscure where it was set up, whether only in Egypt, or in Egypt and also in Meroe, or only on conquered Meroitic territory, and in what condition it found its way to the chapel in Meroe City, as a complete statue or only as a fragment. The existence of the head (or of the complete statue) in

example of it existed in Syene as early as 25 B.C. It is perhaps nearer to the truth that the head belonged originally to a statue which was erected after the re-occupation of the Triakontaschoinos by Petronius, some time between 25 and 22. If so, it could have been set up in the fortress of Primis/Qasr Ibrim⁸¹ where we may suppose the existence of a *sacellum* and where the statue could receive the homage of the troops and the submissive natives.

The other object, a fine gilded silver drinking vessel was unearthed in the pyramid of the 1st century A.D. ruler King Amanikhabale.⁸² The repoussé decoration consists of the representation of an enthroned king in a judgement scene, in front of him a basket, an executioner with an axe, two children clutching the knees of a supplicating woman, a gesturing man and a chopping block behind him. The scene was interpreted as an episode in the Hellenistic legend about Bocchoris (the historical Bakenranef),⁸³ who was characterized

the region of Meroe is only a supplementary argument for the late distribution of the type, and only if the late distribution is supported by independent iconographical arguments. Furthermore, I am unconvinced by Hausmann's suggestion that the statue was presented to Meroe as a sign of reconciliation and was, accordingly, set up in Meroe City. There are two circumstances speaking against this assumption. Augustus was not only Roman emperor, but, in Meroitic terms, king of Egypt. It is unlikely that the statue of the king of Egypt would have been set up in Meroe, the presumable character and function of royal images in Meroe could hardly have permitted it. But also from the Roman point of view it would have been a great risk, in view of the cultic significance of the statue of the emperor, to deliver it to conditions in Meroe, a country that was shortly before still regarded as barbaric foe. — For principles of the treatment of the statues of emperors see H. Kruse: *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche*. Paderborn 1934 (reprint 1968) 9ff., 51ff.

⁸¹ With a different dating first proposed by J.M. Plumley: Pre-Christian Nubia. *ÉtTrav* 5 (1971) 7-24.

⁸² Boston Museum of Fine Arts 29.971. On the context of the find see Dunham 1957 106 Pl. LIII/A-D. For the dating of the pyramid see Hofmann op. cit. (note 42) 103ff. Hintze op. cit. (note 11) 1959 33 dated the reign of Amanikhabale between 65-41 B.C. S. Wenig: *Nochmals zur 1. und 2. Nebendynastie von Napata*. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 147-160 157 between 50-35; which is, in view of the presence of the cup in his pyramid, untenable. Hofman op. cit. loc. cit. proposed a date in the first half of the 1st c. A.D.

⁸³ C. Vermeule: Augustan and Julio-Claudian Court Silver. *Antike Kunst* 6 (1963) 33-40; id.: *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*. Cambridge/Mass. 1968. 125ff., 137ff.

by Diodorus as great law-giver.⁸⁴ In the face of the King C. Vermeule discovered the features of Augustus, as they appear on cistophori issued in eastern mints in 19/18 B.C.⁸⁵ It seems to me that if we are allowed at all to make such comparisons,⁸⁶ a better analogy can be found on the eastern *aureus* issued probably in commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C.⁸⁷ Since the identity of the king with Augustus must remain hypothetical and since the actual scene does not occur among the preserved Bocchoris legends, also the idea that the scene hints at the Augustan solution of the conflicts between Meroe with Egypt and Rome must remain hypothetical.⁸⁸

The bronze head was found buried in a pocket of clean sand in front of the flight of steps leading to a chapel in the Royal Enclosure.⁸⁹ This chapel was of considerable antiquity⁹⁰ and was rebuilt in conjunction with the burying of the head. At the same time its interior was decorated with mural paintings.⁹¹ The style and the

⁸⁴ Diodorus I, 79, 94.

⁸⁵ Vermeule op. cit. (note 83) 1968 134f., fig. 68; H.A. Grueber: *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*. London 1910 (repr. 1970) II 551 No. 311.

⁸⁶ In the case of the Hoby cups Vermeule op. cit. (note 83) 1968 134ff. suggested that mythological figures represented on them bear the features of members of the Julio-Claudian House; his interpretation was rejected, as exaggerating resemblances between coin portraits and profiles on the cups and also as iconographically improbable. Zs. Kiss: *L'iconographie des princes julio-claudiens au temps d'Auguste et de Tibère*. Varsovie 1975 107ff. seems, hesitatingly however, to accept Vermeule's identifications at least as far as Germanicus is concerned. – For the opinion contra Vermeule see U. Hausmann in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 223 (1971) 107-108.

⁸⁷ J.P.C. Kent – B. Overbeck – A.U. Stylow: *Die römische Münze*. München 1973 96 No. 140 pl. 36 (= RIC 60 var.)

⁸⁸ For the iconography of the cup see recently T. Gesztesy: Zur Frage der Darstellungen des sog. Salomourteils. *Acta Class. Debrecen* 25 (1989) 73-84 84.

⁸⁹ J. Garstang: Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 4 (1912) 45-71 50f.

⁹⁰ J. Garstang: Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 5 (1913) 73-83. 82; id. Fifth Interim Report... *LAAA* 7 (1914-1916) 1-24 8.

⁹¹ For the paintings see P.L. Shinnie – J. Bardley: The Murals from the Augustus Temple, Meroe. in: *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honour of Dows Dunham*. Ed. W. Simpson – W.H. Davis. Boston 1981 167-172.

details of the iconography date these latter and, consequently, the burying of the head to around the middle of the 1st century A.D.⁹² Photographs and watercolours made by the excavators allow a partial reconstruction of the figure of a prince⁹³ and of a scene in which a king and a queen, accompanied by princes, adore deities.⁹⁴ The two enthroned male deities (two forms of Amun) have warrior qualities, which are stressed by the decoration of their footrests.⁹⁵ The burying of the Augustus head must have had a hostile magic significance, and the connection between this magic act and the particular chapel could not have been by chance. However, these data are all that we know of the building.⁹⁶

Art and culture in general after the Samos treaty show a dependence on Roman Egypt.⁹⁷ The import of objects of art, of architectural plans, religious texts, artists and workmen leads not only to borrowings, imitations and adaptations but also to the synthesis of Meroitic traditions with Roman cultural elements.⁹⁸ Contacts with Roman Egypt around and after the middle of the 1st century A.D. seem to have been especially manifold.⁹⁹ Between 61 and 63 even envoys from Nero are received as friends by the king in Meroe City.¹⁰⁰ Yet the burying of the Augustus head in front of a chapel of triumphal character occurred just in this period. The act of

⁹² For the dating see Shinnie – Bradley op. cit. (note 91) and (on the basis of the iconography of the prisoners under the footrests of the enthroned deities) Török 1988b Excursus: Representations of the enemy in Kushite art.

⁹³ Shinnie – Bradley op. cit. (note 91) fig. 4.

⁹⁴ Shinnie – Bradley op. cit. (note 93) figs 1-3, further see Ahmed Mohammed Ali: *The Nature and Development of Meroitic Architecture*. Ph. thesis Cambridge 1971 (ms) 48ff. with a drawing, and photographs neg. 377-382 in the Garstang Collection, University of Liverpool, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies.

⁹⁵ For their iconography see my study quoted in note 92.

⁹⁶ Cf. Shinnie – Bradley op. cit. (note 91).

⁹⁷ See in more detail my study quoted in note 13 and literature cited there.

⁹⁸ See note 97.

⁹⁹ Cf. Desanges op. cit. (note 1) 1978 321ff.

¹⁰⁰ Plin., N. H., VI, 181, 184ff.; XII, 19; Seneca Q. H., VI, 8, 3f.; Cassius Dio, LXIII, 8, 1. – For the date of the expedition cf. W. Schur: *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*. Leipzig 1923 52; Desanges op. cit. (note 1) 1978 325; Hofmann op. cit. (note 42) 132ff. – Similarly to these writers, I disagree with F. Hintze, who in op. cit. (note 11) 1959 29 suggests that Nero sent two expeditions to Meroe.

hostility celebrated with a ritual burying of the portrait appears to reveal another, deeper-lying stratum of Meroitic political awareness. It was certainly not the usual burial of damaged sculpture: this is rendered improbable by the presumable origin and the object of the representation. More likely it was done in revenge for the occupation of the Triakontaschoinos, the ensuing loss of the Dodekaschoinos and was perhaps intended to prevent similar catastrophes by magically binding the representative of the greatest known foreign kingdom.

Roman writers when describing the outcome of the war with Meroe not only put arguments of *bellum iustum* into the foreground but also stress Augustus' clemency.¹⁰¹ His policy in the Dodekaschoinos was indeed tactful. As an involuntary consequence, we tend to believe that the advantages of Augustan Peace were extant and evident for both partners. The head buried in front of the chapel in the Meroitic Royal Enclosure grants a rare glimpse into Meroitic perceptions and warns us that ideology concerning the external world and practical contacts maintained therewith only rarely tally with each other.

20. On Adams' interpretation of the status of Qasr Ibrim after 21/20. B.C.

W.Y. Adams suggested in a recent study that Qasr Ibrim reverted to Meroitic control in 100 A.D. In his opinion the fortress was a Roman garrison until this date, although it was situated almost 100 kms south of the actual Roman frontier.¹⁰² Moreover, the Roman garrison was established as "successor" to a Ptolemaic garrison which would have existed here during the late Ptolemaic period. These suggestions are based on the archaeological material found in the rubbish deposits along the southern rampart of the Qasr Ibrim fortress, dating approximately from the period between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., and interpreted by Adams as direct proofs for the political situation of the site.

¹⁰¹ In spite of the fact that there is a rich and fascinating literature on aspects of Meroitic history around 30-20 B.C., the problems touched upon in the present paper require further investigation. The bias of the Roman sources underlying my study could not be discussed in detail; for a more detailed discussion see my monograph mentioned above in note 24.

¹⁰² Adams 1983.

There can be no doubt that the evaluation of the finds, which are presumably of an Egyptian origin in their majority, is correct. But one may certainly object to the conclusion that the overwhelming presence of Egyptian-made pottery and artefacts in the 1st c. B.C. refuse material proves political occupation. We find that a considerable part of the 1st century B.C. pottery material unearthed in the Faras cemetery is similarly of Egyptian origin, which suggests rather logically that the import of wheel-made pottery from Egypt was also after the end of the Ptolemaic control beyond Hiera Sycaminos cheaper than the transport from far-away southern manufactures. Ceramic production in Lower Nubia between the 1st century B.C. and the end of the Meroitic period is currently overestimated in literature; in fact we have no real reasons to suppose that Late Meroitic painted luxury wares were produced in Lower Nubia – actually, it would appear more probable that they were manufactured in some royal centre(s). Returning to Qasr Ibrim, the political implications of the papyrus fragments published so far are clear: they arrived here between 29 and 21/20, and it is also very probable that the pieces of Roman military garment date from the same period.¹⁰³ But I cannot accept as an argument for the long duration of the Roman occupation the *quantity* of the unpublished(!) papyri, which are apparently not yet read.¹⁰⁴ It is rather depressing for the historian, to be confronted with a textual material which, as written evidence, is disregarded and unpublished, but is used instead in the quality of artefacts which are fit for being used as quantities in statistics – whereas, curiously enough, the statistical evaluation is meant to support an historical hypothesis.

The hypothesis concerning the status of Qasr Ibrim is further explained by following remarks of Adams: "beginning in the second century A.D. there was a wholesale repopulation of Lower Nubia ... The immigrants were mostly Nubians, moving northward from the upstream territories of the Empire of Kush. Finding the Dodekaschoinos already occupied by Egyptians and Romans, they established themselves on the vacant lands farther to the south, including those in the immediate vicinity of the (Roman) outpost at

¹⁰³ For the papyri see Weinstein and Turner 1976; Anderson, Parsons and Nisbet 1979.

¹⁰⁴ For a statistical evaluation of the quantity of the texts in different languages in order to estimate the length of Roman occupation see Adams 1982.

Primis ... After the Nubian resettlement, the administrative frontier at Hiera Sycaminos became also an ethnic frontier ... It seems, then, that Qasr Ibrim was a military outpost on alien soil, beyond the limits of Roman colonization and administration ... To explain this seeming anomaly, we have to consider what was the purpose of Ptolemaic and Roman military activity in Lower Nubia. It was evidently not directed primarily against the empire or the people of Kush ... The Kushites were surely not perceived as offering a serious threat to the security of Egypt ... A more immediate and more formidable threat was posed by the Blemmye (Beja) tribes of the Red Sea Hills".¹⁰⁵

To begin with the last sentences of the quotation, it seems to me that the conflicts at the southern Egyptian frontier in Ptolemaic and Roman times were rather conflicts between Kush and Egypt. Ever since Harsiyotef the nature of Kushite ambitions is clearly expansionist, and military conflicts, as far as they are recorded, occurred between the forces of the two powers. The threat posed by the Blemmyes is undeniable. However, it concerns first of all Meroe, and Upper Egypt begins to suffer from their raids only after the collapse of the Meroitic Kingdom.

We have seen that Egyptian inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period refer to the population of the Dodekaschoinos as to "Aithiopians", i.e. non-Egyptians of southern origins. Demotic texts recording administrative measurements, legal transactions, temple business and acts of piety of the inhabitants on the walls of the temples of the Dodekaschoinos and dating from the Augustan age and from the following decades demonstrate that the population is still mainly non-Egyptian, since the name material of the priests and administrators is Nubian or Meroitic.¹⁰⁶ The cults introduced by Augustus at Dabod¹⁰⁷ and at Kalabsha reveal a religious policy determined by the political goal, to satisfy the demands first of all of a non-Egyptian population, and only in the second place those of the Roman military and of an Egyptian minority.¹⁰⁸ There were no considerable ethnic discrepancies between the Dodekaschoinos and the rest of Lower Nubia: the resettlement of Lower Nubia beginning with the Meroitic

¹⁰⁵ Adams 1983, 99.

¹⁰⁶ See Griffith 1937, Burkhardt 1985.

¹⁰⁷ Peteisis and Pihor, for their identity cf. above, IV. 19.

¹⁰⁸ For the cults cf. Blackman 1911; E. Bresciani "Dendur" in: *LdÄ* I, 1063 f.; Aldred 1978; Gauthier 1914; E. Henfling: "Mandulis" in: *LdÄ* III, 1177-1179.

occupation after 206 B.C. brought Meroticized Nubian-speakers – and a number of Meroites – to both parts of Lower Nubia, south as well as north of Hiera Sycaminos. The existence of a Meroitic and Meroticized Nubian-speaking population would have been an argument against an idea that wanted to establish an outpost at Qasr Ibrim. Although it can be imagined that this idea might have emerged among the terms of the Samos treaty, it is difficult to see what its actual reason could have been. It is more logical to suppose a frontier garrison behind the frontier than at a distance of almost 100 kms outside of the country and at a distance of almost 100 kms from the end of the Roman road! In fact, it seems that the Roman frontier garrison was stationed at Dakka. No Roman forces are attested south of Maharraqa after 21/20.¹⁰⁹ The Roman frontier is attested at Hiera Sycaminos.¹¹⁰ On the basis of the above I am convinced that the existence of a Roman military outpost at Qasr Ibrim cannot be proved, unless new written evidence unambiguously attests it.

21. The Meroitic kingdom after 21/20 B.C.

The second great period of Meroitic culture unfolded during the course of the century following the Samos treaty. Its achievements were, however, built on the basis of influences from late Hellenistic Egypt.

We may perhaps compare the circumstances after the war with Rome with the situation after the first encounter with Ptolemaic Egypt. The interest towards the commercial wares that Meroe could offer brought about not only a material prosperity, but it also necessitated the reorganisation of those parts of the state machinery and of the society which had to play a role in a well-managed and

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lesquier 1918. The assumption that there was a Roman garrison at Ibrim around 247 A.D. is based on the erroneous reading of the recto of Pap. Oxy. XII, 1511 by Marichal 1964, 109f, which was corrected by Fink 1971, no. 102.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Wilcken Chrest. no. 4, 13 B.C.; Bernand 1969 II, no. 142, 7 B.C.; no. 158(2), early 1st c. A.D.; CIG 5078 and CIG 5100 = Dakka "at the end of Egypt"; Plin., N.H., XII, 19 = "Syene finis imperii" (!); Bernand 1969 II, no. 161, 69/79 A.D.: the inhabitants of the Dodekachoinos declare themselves subjects of the Roman emperor; Ael. Arist., Or., XXXVI, 48f.: Philae and Dakka figure as frontier towns; CIL III, 14148, 103/105 A.D.: frontier at Maharraqa. – For the data cf. Török 1986 No. 69.

lucrative trade enterprise of nation-wide scale. The impact of the trade with Rome must have been the more comprehensive that the bulk of the wares exported by Meroe constituted exotic materials, products and animals, which had to be acquired from foreign territories.

Gold also might have figured in the trade, although the Lower Nubian mining area was in Roman possession. Adams has recently suggested that Lower Nubians exported their surplus agricultural products.¹¹¹ One of the main arguments for the differences between the North and the South, and for the relative independence of Lower Nubia from the central power is the observation that Lower Nubian sites of the Late Meroitic period are richer in the average than southern sites. However, in view of the nature of the archaeological exploration of the South, this argument appears to be based on an optical illusion. In another paper Adams maintains that "if there are good reasons for believing that the wealth of Kush was based upon the export of raw materials, there are even stronger reasons for believing that trade was largely if not exclusively a state enterprise".¹¹² If we suppose that Lower Nubia was able to produce large agricultural surpluses and that these surpluses were possessed by the local aristocrats, then we also may suppose that the surpluses brought a profit to Lower Nubian aristocrats and, to a smaller extent, to Lower Nubian peasants. However, the independence of Lower Nubian aristocrats from the king is unlikely in any period of Meroitic history, while it is highly probable that not only the trade was a royal monopoly, but also all agricultural land was theoretically in royal possession.¹¹³

The volume and quality of building activity in 1st c. A.D. Meroe are imposing. For lack of adequate data it must remain a guess that such a prosperity was rendered possible by the process of intensification of agricultural production that started in the 3rd – 2nd c. B.C., further by the participation of Meroe in the international trade of the early Roman empire.

As long as settlements like Qasr Ibrim, Gebel Adda, Ash-Shaukan and Meinarti are unpublished, we are unable to form an exact judgement on the development of Lower Nubian settlements. We are

¹¹¹ 1976, 20.

¹¹² Adams 1981 9.

¹¹³ Cf. Török 1984d.

especially uninformed as to the life and culture of the lower social strata, for the material known from such cemeteries as e.g. Faras and Karanog reflect the circumstances of the upper stratum and the artistic development of pottery and metal manufactures of the royal centre(s).

22. The period of Natakamani and Amanitore

The period of the coregents Natakamani and Amanitore¹¹⁴ around the middle of the 1st c. A.D. is relatively well-documented.¹¹⁵ The reliefs of their temple dedicated at Naqa to the lion god Apedemak, and recently published and analysed by Gamer-Wallert and Zibelius, render a deep insight into Meroitic religion and art around 50 A.D. The iconography of the representations highlights furthermore several important features of contemporary kingship ideology.¹¹⁶ It is worth noting here that the impact of late Ptolemaic concepts of the *Königsdogma* is still prevalent in the Naqa representations and, as it seems, the specially emphasized homogeneity of the trio king-queen-crown prince was, at least partly, inspired by Ptolemaic influence. It will be a task for further research, however, to investigate all factors that have played a decisive role in the extraordinary achievement of the few decades around 50 A.D.

23. The immigration of Noba tribes

Archaeological discoveries in recent times in the South make the impression that the 1st c. A.D. was a period of an apparently continuous expansion of the agriculturally exploited territory. A parallel process seems to have occurred in Lower Nubia, too. The expansion must have been interconnected with a population growth, like it had been the case in the Early Meroitic period. In the South the growth can perhaps be explained by the more or less continuous

¹¹⁴ For the interpretation of their reign as a coregency see Török 1987b 49ff.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the literature on their monuments in Hofmann 1978 115ff., Gamer-Wallert 1983; Gamer-Wallert and Zibelius 1983; Zibelius 1983; Török 1984c; for a general survey of the Meroitic art of the period see Wenig 1978: 65ff.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Gamer-Wallert 1983: *passim*; and Török 1987b.

immigration of Noba tribes from the west.¹¹⁷ Above I have repeatedly referred to Adams' illuminating hypothesis, according to which the new settlers of Late Meroitic Nubia were mostly Nubian-speakers. The hypothesis is doubtlessly valid also if we suppose that the resettlement started at an earlier date than suggested by Adams. It may furthermore be added that the population growth, to a certain extent, drew again and again, throughout the Late Meroitic period, from sources farther upstream, and that the last wave of Nubian-speakers seems to have arrived in Lower Nubia after the withdrawal of the southern Roman frontier in 298 A.D., in order to more densely resettle the Dodekaschoinos and to increase the defensive potential against the Blemmyes.¹¹⁸ However, in contrast to the thoroughly Meroiticized newcomers of the earlier periods, the Nubian-speakers arriving after 298 were much less accultured. Although we are only beginning to have an insight into the process apparently brought about by the immigration of Nubian-speakers during the Late Meroitic period,¹¹⁹ I would like to risk here the assumption that the last century of the Meroitic kingdom was characterized by a gradual discolouring of Meroitic culture that was caused by the increasing presence and weight of superficially accultured groups of population both in the Island of Meroe and in the North.

24. The improbability of "secular feudalism" in Lower Nubia and the problem of Lower Nubian independence

One of the most important differences stated by Adams between the Meroitic North and the South was the undeniable absence of standing monumental temples of Late Meroitic date in Lower Nubia. Opponents of the thesis developed on the basis of the seeming "secularity" of Lower Nubia have enumerated several temple buildings of Napatan and Early Meroitic date erected in Lower Nubia and referred above all to Late Meroitic inscriptions attesting cults, cult places, temple administration and an imposing number of priests.

¹¹⁷ For the problem see Hintze 1967; Adams 1976; 1979.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Török 1977b; 1978b; for the archaeological evidence of the resettlement after 298 cf. Fathi Afifi Bedawi 1976; Kromer 1967; Strouhal 1984.

¹¹⁹ Cf. with the historical hypothesis recently published by Burstein 1984 and Kirwan 1984.

As to the temples, Adams denied that they were in use in Late Meroitic times, an argument that seems to be highly subjective and not provable. As to the inscriptions about priests and temple organizations, he silently disregarded them anew, thus he maintained that Lower Nubia was in Late Meroitic times a province the religious life of which was different from that of the South insofar as it was centered around the cult of Isis of Philae i.e. a sanctuary in the neighbour country, while the Meroitic cults of e.g. Amun and Adepemak were absent. As to the absence of these latter – and other – Meroiticized Egyptian and Meroitic cults, it is sufficient to refer to the textual material which clearly contradicts Adams' suggestion.¹²⁰ Furthermore, it occurs to me that notions such as "secular feudalism" or "pre-feudalism" applied to Lower Nubia in the context of Adams' hypothesis are irrelevant or even ahistorical. Since the data provided by the inscriptions surveyed by Hintze and Haycock in their responses to Adams' thesis and analyzed by this writer¹²¹ speak for themselves, I do not dwell longer on the problem of the definition of the social character of Late Meroitic Lower Nubia. I should like to make, however one small remark on the historical implications of such definitions. In Adams' argumentation the existence or non-existence of temples figures, no doubt correctly, as a major index of the nature of royal authority in a province. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt in the point, either, that the Late Meroitic ruler has, similarly to his predecessors and to his Egyptian colleagues, "guaranteed, by main force, the continuance of ordered life".¹²² The ruler was, as clearly indicated by such representations as e.g. in the Early Meroitic temples at Musawwarat es Sufra or in the Late Meroitic temples at Amara, Naqa, Meroe City, a practical link between divine order and human beings. As to the validity of this concept we cannot be misled by any seeming particularities of Meroitic religion and iconography. It is similarly obvious that the Late Meroitic ruler, as well as his Napatan and Early Meroitic predecessors, was high priest. In principle he was the only person performing the ritual: the priests were merely his delegates. I do not see any possibility that in any part of the Meroitic kingdom and in any period of Meroitic history this dogma could have been ignored

¹²⁰ Cf. e.g. Hintze 1976; further Török 1977a; Hofmann 1978b.

¹²¹ Haycock 1976; Hintze 1976; Török 1977a; 1979.

¹²² Lloyd 1983 288.

for a longer time, or could be abandoned in a way as implied by Adams' hypothesis. It would be thus entirely anachronistic to imagine that new provinces and new settlements could have existed without an organized cult life in which the ruler acts as high priest through his delegates and by which order and fertility of the land are secured.

Lower Nubian funerary inscriptions¹²³ and demotic graffiti in temples of the Dodekaschoinos¹²⁴ attest the existence of mighty families holding for many generations high (or the highest) administrative titles both in the provincial government and in temple administration. The inheritance of the titles of a priestly nature¹²⁵ does not need to be commented upon here, for it is rather clear that it was established according to Egyptian rules, the more so, that in spite of the increasing Meroitic interference in the matters of the great sanctuaries of the Dodekaschoinos and of the Meroitic origin or citizenship of the administrators in question, the life of these sanctuaries continued to be determined by ancient prescriptions. The hereditary character of civil functions may refer to some successful separatistic tendencies. But the Lower Nubian inscriptions – especially the better understandable demotic graffiti – speak about these officials as officials of the king of Meroe.¹²⁶ Adams objected that they were that only nominally and quoted as proof a remark of Millet: "the royal-style titles of *pqr*, *pešte* and *gere-sm* were purely traditional and ... we are in fact dealing with a hereditary provincial vice-royalty free from royal appointment".¹²⁷ I miss here more powerful arguments, since the famous long demotic inscriptions at Philae and Dakka are absolutely unambiguous, as to the relation between local administration and the ruler and it is difficult to understand why it is necessary to propose hypotheses which contradict singularly clear contemporary narratives. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine, how it was possible in the times between the 1st to 4th c. A.D. to be independent or semi-independent from a king residing 1000 kms away, but at the same time to resist the only existing political and social alternative of the given age and of the

¹²³ See Millet 1968; 1973.

¹²⁴ See Griffith 1937; and Burkhardt 1985.

¹²⁵ It must be stressed here that e.g. the members of the Wayekiye family were not cult priests but administrators of the temple domains.

¹²⁶ Cf. Török 1979 91ff; Burkhardt 1985 77ff.

¹²⁷ Millet 1968 39f.

given place: i.e. to become a kingdom with its own king within its own frontiers. It is very difficult, or even impossible, to tell, how effective the royal control in an individual moment could have been, and it is similarly hopeless to try to form a judgement on attempts at independence that have failed. But the hypothesis of faked loyalty proposed by Millet and Adams is certainly unattestable and also highly anachronistic.

25. Late Meroitic administration

For lack of data we know next to nothing about the Late Meroitic administration of the southern parts of the kingdom, and only very little about that of the territory between the Second and Third Cataracts.¹²⁸ I have earlier supposed that the latter part of the kingdom had a more ancient system of administration than the system that we can observe in Lower Nubia north of the Second Cataract. As it is well-known, the province of Akiñ or Lower Nubia was governed by an official called in Meroitic *pešto*, a title originally signifying in Egyptian "king's son" and having in Meroitic context the character of a viceroy.¹²⁹ It seems that the office was already established in the early 1st c. B.C., and the latest attested viceroys occur in inscriptions of the 4th c. A.D.¹³⁰ In the 3rd c. A.D. several *pešto*-s are attested in a way that we may suppose that they were appointed for a certain period; their tenure was between 1 and 3 years around 250.¹³¹ The first viceregal seat was in Faras. However, the find material of the Karanog cemetery suggests that the seat was already transferred to the vicinity of this latter place (to Aniba?) some time in the late 1st c. B.C. or in the early 1st c. A.D.¹³²

Although the everyday functioning of Lower Nubian administration is invisible to us, the skeleton of the intricate bureaucratic system is visualized in an indirect way by the 1st to 4th c. A.D. funerary texts

¹²⁸ For the sources see Török 1979, 145ff.

¹²⁹ For the title see M.F.L. Macadam in *JEA* 36 (1950) 44; Hintze 1963 7; Hainsworth 1979 277; Török 1979 109ff; Hofmann 1981 nos 7, 127 with literature.

¹³⁰? REM 1063 from Arminna West.

¹³¹ Cf. Török 1979: 126f.

¹³² Cf. Török 1987a Appendix.

of dignitaries.¹³³ The titles of the civil and of the temple administration are arranged in the funerary texts according to the rules of hierarchy (cursus honorum). One can perhaps identify three classes of officials. These classes embrace a/ the highest provincial offices which occur exclusively in the careers of the *pešto*-s. It must be noticed here that the highest possible administrative rank is that of a *pqr*; *pešto*-s may be appointed to this function(?) or honorific title, which apparently removes its holder from Lower Nubia.¹³⁴ b/ Medium-rank offices held by "career bureaucrats" in civil administration, in military(?), and in the administration of royal and temple domains; and c/ local (village?) offices, middle and lower priesthood, offices in temple estates. The Lower Nubian priesthood appears in all classes. There are prophets (presumably second, third and fourth prophets) among the members of the families of *pešto*-s. There are furthermore also priestly families of both higher and of middle priestly ranks and there are finally priests of small sanctuaries and of the lower priestly class.¹³⁵ In the third class there were also officials in considerable number whose titles were qualified with toponyms. Their titles do not occur among those held by members of the higher classes. I have suggested elsewhere¹³⁶ that they signify local administrative offices (village offices) which originate perhaps in the early administration of the initial phases of the resettlement or in some tribal units. Such official titles are attested in connection with *Dor/Derr*, *Nlore/Aniba*, *Teñ/Shablul*, *Tmñ/Gezira* Dabarosa, *Amod/Qustul*, *Boq/ Ballana* and *Tnr*(?).¹³⁷ It is worth noting that these localities existed already, as attested by the Bion itinerary, in the Early Meroitic period, mostly on New Kingdom sites, and that they were situated approximately at equal distances from each other.

¹³³ For their analysis see Haycock 1967; 1980: 50-81; Millet 1968; 1973; Hofmann 1977b; Török 1977a; 1977b; 1979; 1984d.

¹³⁴ Cf. Török 1977b.

¹³⁵ For the titles see Hintze 1963; Hofmann 1981; for the interpretation of the funerary inscriptions as career records Millet 1973; for the hierarchy of priests Török 1977a. For the analysis of family structure and expressions for family relationships see Hintze 1963; 1974; a diverging opinion is suggested by Hofmann 1974, which I do not find convincing, cf. Török 1977a; 1979. For Lower Nubian family trees see also recently Abdalla 1984 49ff., with literature of earlier researches of the author.

¹³⁶ Török 1984d.

¹³⁷ For the toponym identifications see Priese 1984; Török 1979; 1988a.

26. The status of the Dodekaschoinos in the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D.

After the Samos treaty the Land of the Twelve Miles was under Roman supremacy. Its status changed officially in 298 A.D. when Diocletian withdrew the southern Egyptian frontier to Aswan.¹³⁸ However, the real status thereof had already begun to change at the end of the 2nd c. A.D. when a member of the Wayekiye-family is first attested in the high administration of the temples of the territory.¹³⁹ Later members of same family will be active through the 3rd c. till the early 4th in the administration of the domains of Thoth and Isis, and in the civil administration, as well as in the military stationed in the province of Akiñ.¹⁴⁰ As it was briefly mentioned above, Meroitic officials appeared also in the administration of the Dodekaschoinos in Ptolemaic times and in the five or six decades after the Samos treaty.¹⁴¹ Although there seems to have been a certain continuity in the administrative system of the Egyptian Dodekaschoinos, as to the existence of "Aithiopian" administrative units (tribal? village?), but we have no data as to the continuity of "upper class" families from the same long period of time. It is still imaginable that e.g. the Wayekiye-family was such a family, members of which acted as "eparchs" in Ptolemaic times and strategoi in the late 1st c. B.C. and the early decades A.D. For their ancient origins speaks the title *rp* or *rp i*, "hereditary chief" (of Takompso) held by several members in the 3rd c. A.D.¹⁴² The first known member, Sesen, appears first as lessonis priest of Isis at Philae,¹⁴³ while in another inscription he is styled as royal scribe of Kush. The same remarkably dualistic nature characterized the status of his descendants. On the one hand they were responsible for the finances of the sanctuaries at Dakka and Philae, which lay on Egyptian territory, but on the other hand they were officials of the

¹³⁸ Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, ed. Eide, Hägg and Pierce 1980 3ff.

¹³⁹ Ph. 223, 190/1 A.D.

¹⁴⁰ Millet 1968; 1973; Török 1979 26, 93ff; for the new version of their family tree see Burkhardt 1985 96; and Török 1986 No. 98.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Török 1984d; Burkhardt 1985 74ff.

¹⁴² Török 1979 32, 10ff., 104f.

¹⁴³ Ph. 223.

Meroitic ruler who gave them orders in Meroe City, and it seems that they were obliged to report to him regularly.¹⁴⁴ In her recent reconstruction of the history of the family Dr. Burkhardt interpreted the activity of Meroitic officials in Egyptian temples as a practical compromise which betrays the inability of Egypt to prevent Meroitic interference at the southern frontier. Although this interpretation is realistic, the data allow us to reconstruct a somewhat more detailed picture which shows a process of a take-over carried out by powerful non-Egyptian families in the Dodekaschoinos with the strong support of the Meroitic rulers. The process might have been at times rather peaceful and its effect a compromise, however difficult it is to imagine the actual political form of such a "condominium". At times, however, there occurred open conflicts, as around the middle of the 3rd c. A.D. I have assumed earlier that between c. 240/1 and 249 the Dodekaschoinos was in Meroitic possession.¹⁴⁵ My assumption was rejected by Hofmann and Burkhardt, although they did not offer any other satisfactory explanation of the demotic texts which have led me to my hypothesis.¹⁴⁶ It is furthermore worth considering that in 260 A.D. Tami, a Meroitic dignitary, who acted between 240/1 and 253 as tax collector(?) or director of the domains of the Isis of Philae in the Dodekaschoinos, reappears at Philae in the company of the *pešto* of Lower Nubia, Abratoye, in order to conclude some treaty with the Philaean priests and to install a prophet. The remarkable detail is this latter, for it was according to Egyptian law the privilege of the Roman praefect (in his quality as deputy of the emperor), to install a prophet.¹⁴⁷

In 253, 260 and in the mid-260ies three major Meroitic embassies to Philae were recorded.¹⁴⁸ Their records do not name the issues that were discussed at Philae and at ensuing meetings with civil dignitaries,¹⁴⁹ but it is rather probable that they concerned the status of the Land of the Twelve Miles. Perhaps also a common problem of Egypt and Meroe was discussed: the fateful appearance of the

¹⁴⁴ For the travels from and to Meroe City cf. Griffith 1937 *passim*; Török 1977b.

¹⁴⁵ Török 1979 91ff., for a criticism of my view see Hofmann 1981b.

¹⁴⁶ Ph. 416, 417, Dakka 30, 33.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Bernand 1969 II., nos 180f. and commentary.

¹⁴⁸ Ph. 416, Bernand 1969 II., nos 180f., REM 0097ff., for the date of the latter and the iconography of the accompanying drawings see Török 1978b.

¹⁴⁹ Including perhaps the praefect in Alexandria, cf. Ph. 416.

Blemmyes in the frontier area. In view of the fact that there are no military units attested after the 240s in the Roman Dodekaschoinos and that the exploitation of the Kertassi quarries seems to have been given up around 251 A.D.,¹⁵⁰ and taking into account the lamentable circumstances in the 2nd half of the 3rd c. in Egypt, it would seem that Egypt's very concern was no more the ownership of the Dodekaschoinos but the defence of the Thebaid from the Blemmyes and, at times, from Meroe herself. It is similarly imaginable that, although Meroe readily exploited the situation in which the Dodekaschoinos became obtainable, her joy was not without alloy, for she was now confronted with the warding off of the Blemmyan threat along an increased "frontier". It can be supposed on the basis of the archaeological finds made in the Sayala and Kalabsha regions, that new Meroitic settlements were created in the second half of the 3rd c. A.D. and after 298, in order to improve defence against the Blemmyes.¹⁵¹

27. The South in the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D.

In the South circumstances must have been affected by the spectacular emergence of the kingdom of Axum from the 2nd c. onwards. The bulk of the commerce of exotic African wares was apparently carried on by Axum in the early 3rd c.¹⁵² The ousting of Meroe from international trade obviously contributed to her gradual decline, which could not be considerably retarded by the export of gold, the less so, that the Lower Egyptian gold mining area was until 298 in Egyptian possession, and became afterwards a reason of conflict between Meroe and the Blemmyes. The growth of Axum probably caused a movement of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in the zone between the Meroitic heartland and Axum: a movement which, if we take into consideration the Axumite inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th c.,¹⁵³ had unpleasant consequences for Meroe. The early 3rd c. A.D. Axumite campaign directed against the Beja reached the

¹⁵⁰ See the last dated inscriptions at Kertassi in Zucker 1911 343.

¹⁵¹ For the finds see Kromer 1967; Fathi Afifi Bedawi 1976; Strouhal 1984; for their chronological position see Adams 1977; but cf. also Török 1978a; Strouhal 1984.

¹⁵² Cf. Kortenbeutel 1935.

¹⁵³ Cf. Adulitana II and the Ezana texts.

territory of the Meroitic kingdom.¹⁵⁴ We have no evidence of the Meroitic attitude towards Axum and towards the problems in the border zone in these times, it must thus remain a hypothesis that the immigration of Noba tribes from the west was encouraged in order to increase production as well as defensive capacity in the South.¹⁵⁵

28. Late Meroitic prosperity. Traditionalism in Late Meroitic society

Returning to earlier times, I quote here Adams' impressive summary of the development of late Meroitic culture: "the reoccupation of Lower Nubia and the Batn el Hajar ... seems to have been a mass popular movement, unencouraged by official policy, which was made possible by the introduction of the ox-driven waterwheel. The long-abandoned northern region became once again a flourishing agricultural province, supported not so much by long-distance trade in tropical products as by local commerce with the neighbouring Roman colonies in the Dodekaschoinos. In the last century or two of the Meroitic era the population and wealth of the north increased dramatically while those of the southern provinces declined ... In nearly all of its ideological bases, the civilization of Meroe remained faithful to the ancient traditions which had been handed down from Napatan and earlier times ... Art, architecture and popular religion alike hewed close to the canons laid down in the days of the pharaohs".¹⁵⁶ This view of Late Meroitic developments invites some comments. We have dealt above in more detail with the date and process of the reoccupation. Here it must be remarked that it could not have occurred "unencouraged by official policy", for it is hardly imaginable that in an ancient state major population movements, resulting in the resettlement of provinces, could have been realized without royal order. The Meroitic economy and administration certainly were not of the nature which would allow and survive spontaneous population migrations, and on such a scale. The immigration of groups from territories beyond the territory of Meroitic control is a different case. The penetration of the Noba

¹⁵⁴ Cosmas Indicopleustes, top. chr., II, 62 (Wolska-Conus), cf. Kirwan 1972a, 1972b; Desanges 1978, 345ff.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. recently Kirwan 1984.

¹⁵⁶ Adams 1977 379f.

tribes into the south-western frontier area and then the Meroitic heartland was probably to a certain extent encouraged, perhaps because manpower was needed, and perhaps also because it could not be hindered. In this respect the situation of the Meroitic kingdom may have been similar to that of the Roman Empire and we may risk the hypothesis that one of the main reasons of the decline of Meroe was her growing inability to Meroiticize and incorporate the populace admitted to her territory.

Lower Nubian prosperity appears in literature as a phenomenon unparalleled in the South. It seems to me that this opinion overlooks the fact that the archaeological evidence of this prosperity has only a very general chronology: Late Meroitic, or 2nd – 3rd c. A more detailed chronology, as the one I have tried to establish for the painted pottery,¹⁵⁷ would persuade us that there was no continuous development until a sudden and mysterious breakdown. On the other hand, Lower Nubian material culture and standard of material life cannot be properly compared with the South, for we do not know the South. A good part of the controversial hypotheses concerning Late Meroitic history originates in the fact that comparisons were made in different chronological and social horizons. Lower Nubian prosperity in fact shows a very wide range from the poor sites and cemeteries of the Batn al Hagar through the medium level communities like Meinarti, the upper-medium level settlements like Ash-Shaukan to the rich graves of the *pešto*-s and their families at Karanog.

Adams in the above quoted sentences makes a general statement on the conservative character of Meroitic culture. It seems to me, however, that processes in arts and religion (disregarding here the sphere of *Königsdogma*) were more complicated and only a small part of the seemingly "pharaonic" traits can be explained by some traditionally maintained faithfulness to forms and concepts of Napatan (and earlier) origins. "Pharaonic" stylistic and conceptual phenomena can be rather identified as signs of a constant intellectual subjection to Egypt. Kushite taste was apparently biased, for openness towards the "traditional" in Egyptian culture was never matched by Kushite openness towards Hellenistic and Roman phenomena in Egypt. But it is obvious that only the orientation

¹⁵⁷ See Török 1987a 188-208; further cf. L. Török: Meroitic Painted Pottery: Problems of Chronology and Style. *BzS* 2 (1987) 75-106.

towards Egypt was constant, and perhaps an elementary preference of the "pharaonic" remained unchanged; actual results of the cultural dependence were different in the different periods and situations. Behavioural patterns for the entire life-time of cultures can theoretically be constructed, but so much is certain: the little what is revealed of the nature of Meroitic culture from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 4th c. A.D. by the scarce and disproportionate data do not allow a linear development model. Furthermore one must realize that the Meroitic culture was not homogeneous – the more data we include into our analysis, the more layers, traditions, schools, ideologically, functionally, socially, and qualitatively diverging spheres of culture will become distinct. Evidently, the sine qua non of this analysis is chronology.

THE KUSHITE MIND

V. KUSH AND THE EXTERNAL WORLD

1. Introduction

Openness towards the foreigner, towards his way of living and thinking, belongs to the world of our ideas: we flatter ourselves that we could remain faithful to this old humanistic principle – despite the fact that in reality we live in a world echoing nationalistic ideologies, in a world where old racist idiosyncrasies flourish besides new racisms camouflaged as struggle of political systems and of social classes.

The attitude of ancient oriental societies towards their neighbours could hardly be called openness. The order of the world established by victory over Chaos at the expense of superhuman effort, is constantly endangered by everything new and by every change. The unknown, the strange, the foreign, menaces with a falling back into Chaos¹. Thus order depends to a great extent upon the defence of the frontiers, a royal duty of magical significance. Xenophobia of this origin is characteristic of Old Kingdom Egypt, as in Homeric Greece it is the degree of *Götternähe* or *Götterferne* and the relation to the order of Zeus that constitutes the basis on which the foreigner is judged.² The depth of xenophobia can be changed to a certain extent by expansion but cannot be totally eliminated, as is demonstrated by numerous texts and representations concerning first of all Nubia and the Nubians. It appears as if it were surmounted after the 18th Dynasty yet xenophobia becomes fanatic during the Late Period.³ Libyans and Kushites are, however, less hated – Libyans because of the revolts against the Persian rule were led by families of Libyan

¹ Weber – Schäfer 1976 I 16ff., 93.

² Cf. Od., VI, 119; IX, 174ff.; Schwabl 1962 1ff.

³ See e.g. L. Spycher: "Nationalgefühl" in: *LdÄ* IV, 355ff.

origin (Inaros and Amyrtaios), and the Kushites because they were associated with the memory of the 25th, Aithiopian, Dynasty. This memory survived in the (by priests deeply influenced) Egyptian mind as example of order and true piety towards the gods of the country. Changes in depth and form of xenophobia are nevertheless to be regarded with the utmost caution, for they sensibly follow changes in everyday political practice. Conflicts bring about sudden outbursts of xenophobia and there occurred enough conflicts in Upper Egypt during the Late Period that happened, interestingly enough, almost always to have been supported by Kushites.

If we have reason to suspect that neither official nor popular opinion on Kushites in Egypt was ever entirely free of a more or less open aversion, we also can have reason to suppose that the Kushite view of Egypt was not different. Kushite feelings towards Egypt prior to the 25th Dynasty are unknown to us, but it is not difficult to imagine that they were determined by concern for the magical integrity of their own country (or countries), and by remembrance of the colonial times. But if there was a temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal maintaining contact with the mother sanctuary at Thebes, as a not very improbable hypothesis suggests, there must have been kept alive an attraction towards the superior power and superior civilization, too – and kept alive by priests influencing a territory which happens to be the territory of a tribe from which the rulers of the 25th Dynasty emerged.

It is rather strange that no traces of the feelings of the conqueror can be found in the attitude of the 25th Dynasty rulers towards Egypt and Egyptians. On the contrary: they seem to feel at home, at the same time when they do not hide the facts that they are not Egyptians and that they regard their proper place of residence their southern country of origin. We do not know any intellectual details of this double identity, and we do not know, how far this attitude penetrated official propaganda in Kush. Propaganda perhaps regarded only those peoples as foreigners which were at war with the country. We shall deal with some discernible attitudes of these times in other contexts; let us now return to the theoretical problem underlying the present investigation.

Openness as an active as well as re-active attitude in contact with the foreigner has its roots in the unity of mankind: an idea meaning in its original form in Pythagorean philosophy rather the unity of the

wise, than unity of all men.⁴ It has lost its utopian inner limitations only within the unity of the Roman Empire. "We all owe to Rome's peaceful ways that the stranger treats other provinces as his homeland; that one may change one's country of residence; that to visit Thule and to reach remote parts which once inspired terror is now a sport; that we drink at our pleasure the waters of the Rhone or quaff the Orontes", writes Claudian at the end of the fourth century A.D.,⁵ summarizing the feelings of a citizen of the world, or to be more realistic, of a Roman citizen. Claudian's words do not leave any doubt as to the underlaying reality: the political and material unification of the Mediterranean world.⁶ Similarly to the Greek concept of the unity of mankind that was inspired by pan-Hellenism as well as by the ideal aristocracy of the wise, Roman world-citizenship also had an obvious shade of aggression, for it postulated likewise a dividing line between civilized and barbarian. But the barbarian was in most cases a political and not a racist notion, as it was amply demonstrated by Snowden (1971 *passim*) concerning first of all the black, i.e. Kushite, in Roman view.

Greek and Roman thinking, and – to a changing extent – practice in matters of the unity of mankind is clearly mirrored in literature and the arts: I shall return to this evidence in section 2 below. The idea of unity does not, evidently enough, determine all Greek and Roman contacts, and also contemporary descriptions of contact may serve and reflect political and economic intentions. Moreover, the role played by the foreigner and by the foreign country in a description is determined not only by the said intentions but also by the memory of former intentions as well as by philosophical and moral ideas connected already formerly to, and/or inspired by the actual encounter. The way the foreigner – in our case the Kushite – is mirrored in Egyptian, Greek and Roman thought is, consequently, above all an image in the Egyptian, Greek or Roman mind. Without fully (or at least as far as possible) understanding the Egyptian, Greek or Roman components of the image, there is no hope to discover in it anything genuinely Kushite. It must be realized that there is a large gap in ancient thinking between realism that governs e.g. the collecting of geographical data during an expedition and

⁴ Cf. Baldry 1962 177.

⁵ De cons. Stil., 3, 154ff.

⁶ Cf. Sherwin-White 1973 465.

prejudice that dominates observations concerning less useful facts: a gap excellently visualized by the dichotomy of data collected in Kush in the course of the early Ptolemaic political, scientific, commercial and elephant hunter expeditions and of the variations made on the same data in Hellenistic ethnography.

It is perhaps not entirely hopeless to try to understand the Greek and Roman attitudes towards Kush. Neither is it hopeless to analyse the changes in the Egyptian approach to Kush, although these latter are in fact more complicated than they appear at the first glance, and, besides, they are also less well documented than we tend to believe. The degree of our understanding of what Egypt or the Greek and Roman world saw in, or wanted from, Kush depends upon our comprehension of their motives and their actual ways of reflecting on their actually established or dreamed-of contacts with Kush. But this is only one side of the coin, and it is the other side: contacts with the world as experienced by Kushites, that this paper is supposed to explain.

I must stress, however, in advance that there are not direct and unambiguous Kushite documents of whatever sort pronouncing Kushite views on the external world and its inhabitants. What we have is a series of results of the most different kinds of encounters with the external world – or what we believe to be such results. The majority of these phenomena of political, religious, economic, industrial or artistic nature was never examined, dated and put into its proper context. The primary task of this investigation is, accordingly, first of all to establish an elementary data basis.

Supposing that we shall be able to follow the course of the contacts of Kush with the external world and identify the very effects of the same contacts, we shall still not have fully answered the question: what was the Kushite image of the world like? Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and men of other times and cultures of Antiquity reflected on their encounters with the foreign. Did the Kushite reflect on his encounters, be it even the veiled self-reflection of the Egyptian, Greek or Roman image of the external world? We have no reason to doubt that he did; however, the answer lies after all in the question itself insofar as reflection on an encounter basically supposes the capacity and demand of self-reflection.⁷

⁷ In analyses of culture transfer it is evident that one has to investigate the attitude of the giver towards the receiver; the image of the receiver in the mind of the

The philosopher distinguishes three elementary types of historical encounter: comprehensive acceptance of the other as "other", transformation of the self through the order, finally becoming self through the other (or, simply, awakening; cf. J. Derbolav: *Vom Wesen geschichtlicher Begegnung. Zschr. f. Pädagogik 2* [1956] 73-89). All three forms occurred in the course of the contacts of Kush with the external world. However, these basic types can only describe the results (or some results) of encounters but they cannot describe and explain their reasons. Every individual encounter must also be separately analysed, as to its probable reasons, in order to find the political, intellectual, emotional, religious etc. threads between the reasons and the Kushite phenomena caused by the encounter in question – whereas the accent lies on the attempt, to comprehend the process between reason and result.

Encounter postulates presence, and – if we go beyond the pedagogic encounter-models of Platon and Kierkegaard – also change (of whatever kind!) of at least two partners (cf. O.F. Bollnow in: B. Gerner (ed.): *Begegnung. Wege der Forschung 231*. Darmstadt 1969 163ff.). In many cases this mutuality is obvious. Concerning Kush and Egypt, Kush and the Hellenistic world, Kush and Rome, this is neither obvious nor is it suited for investigation. However one-sided the contacts of Kush with the world appear, as to their impact, we are still far from being able to draw historical conclusions, for the impression of one-sidedness may in cases be merely an optical illusion caused by insufficient data or insufficient understanding. Thus, we must insist on the question: what, if any, kind of influence

giver, and has to discuss the results of the influence exerted by the giver. There is, however, a further aspect which, curiously, never appears in studies on culture transfer. This is the problem: what was the image of the giver in the mind of the *receiver* like? In the case of present investigation, how did Kushites experience Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, Romans? Neglect of this aspect is comprehensible in the case of receiver cultures where the scarcity of data does not allow to see any feature of such an image. Less comprehensible are cases, where the receiver culture can be judged on the basis of own written sources or monuments of art. Neglect of this sort is universal in classical historical literature where Greek and Roman reflections on barbarians are frequently analysed, but where only political behaviour of the barbarian partners is dealt with. Typical for this rather old-fashioned one-sidedness is e.g. the recent essay collection with the very promising title: *Conoscenze etniche e rapporti di convivenza nell'antichità. A cura di M. Sordi. Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica 6*, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Milano 1979.

did Kush exert on her partners? The present paper will fail to give any satisfying comprehensive answer to this question. I shall try to explain why.

The above remarks have uttered or at least implied a complex of questions that turn perhaps the title of this *Hauptreferat* as it was formulated, I am afraid, too broadly, by the 4th International Conference on Meroitic Studies, into a somewhat less gigantic research program. They show also the limits of the investigation. Further limits will be felt below: both limits set by my incompetence in a number of research fields involved in the topic and set by the lack of sufficient data, or of data at all. Apart from these limitations there must be a self-imposed limitation, too: the discussion of many phenomena showing external influences must be omitted because of the volume of description and analysis they would require. I shall e.g. omit the discussion of a series of architectural monuments, even if there is no consensus in their interpretation⁸.

In the following I shall give three short surveys of the history of Kush between the times of the First Napatan Dynasty and the end of the Meroitic kingdom: from the aspect of the media of culture transfer; from the aspect of the changes in the image of Kush in the external world; and from the aspect of the contacts of Kush with the external world.

2. The problem of the culture transfer

"We are entirely uninformed about to whom, by whom and how the Egyptian culture was being transmitted in Nubia by the 8th c. B.C.", E. Russmann complains in a recent study on Kushite royal insignia.⁹ The complaint can be extended in time as well as thematically, concerning the whole realm of culture being transmitted from abroad to Kush, throughout her entire history. Our ignorance of the vehicles of culture transfer in antiquity is a more or less general handicap in historical studies – less tragically felt perhaps in archaeology where diffusion, commerce and the like as vehicles of culture transfer are still regarded with great optimism.

⁸ Cf. Hinkel 1984; Wenig 1975; 1978; 1984; but see also Török 1984a; 1984b.

⁹ Russmann 1979 52.

This is not the place and it is not in my competence, to deal in detail with the times of the 25th Dynasty. Here we are at most interested in the question of whether we can gather information about the role of the dynasty in establishing attitudes towards Egypt that are going to determine certain features of Kushite culture in the future. Studies on the Third Intermediate Period¹⁰ and on the Aithiopian Dynasty in particular¹¹ emphasize the archaizing tendency of Egyptian art of the period as a trend initiated by the Kushite pharaohs. We sometimes also meet in literature the view that the traditionalism of the Aithiopian Dynasty had its roots in the attempt to gain legitimacy by appearing more Egyptian than the Egyptians themselves and by showing more reverence towards the past glory of Egypt than the Egyptians themselves did. Regarding the way in which Kushite rulers display in buildings in Egypt their Nubian physical features and their Nubian royal insignia or as they describe their not entirely canonical private feelings,¹² Kushite archaism looks in fact less determined by attempts at a mimicried legitimacy.¹³ Instead, a more general current of the Late Period seems to take definite shape under the Kushite and then under the Saite rule, the nostalgia towards the magnificence and order of the past. The attempt to establish greatness and security by reproducing and imitating ancient forms is prevalent in Egypt ever since the rise of Libyan rule. Monuments of 25th dynasty culture preserved in Egypt and Nubia display a remarkable unity of style – as far as we are able to judge it on the evidence of the badly decimated material.

As the tomb of Montuemhat, Fourth Prophet of Amun and Count of Thebes under Taharqo, Tanutamani and Psammetich I, was decorated with relief scenes inspired by paintings in the tomb chapel of Menna, an official under Tuthmosis IV, so the temple of Taharqo at Kawa was decorated with the image of the King as sphinx trampling on Libyans copied after an image of Tuthmosis as a

¹⁰ First of all Kitchen 1986.

¹¹ V. Zeissl 1955; Leclant 1965; cf. also Russmann 1974; Trigger 1976 144ff.; Priesse 1978 78ff.

¹² So e.g. Taharqo the motifs of his participation in a desert race in the stela erected on the Dahshur road, see for the latter H. Altenmüller – A. M. Moussa: Die Inschriften der Taharqastele von der Dahshurstrasse, *SAK* 9 (1981) 57-84, 66ff.

¹³ Cf. also Russmann 1979 52.

triumphant sphinx in his tomb at Thebes.¹⁴ Monumental sculpture both in Egypt and in the south shows unmistakeably identical stylistic sources, in spite of occasional differences in the *niveau* of execution.¹⁵ On the other hand, we have reasons to believe that objects of archaizing style or with composite iconographic ancestry like the early 7th c. bronze bowl from tomb W 832 of the Meroe West cemetery (Dunham 1963 fig. 18; Török 1988b Appendix No. 3) were not all imports and/or made by Egyptians, but there was also a Nubian artistic production running parallel with the Egyptian production. While we can be certain that archaizing tendencies in Nubian art had different roots than Egyptian archaization, it seems rather probable that intellectual and artistic processes were in several respects analogous in Egypt and in Kush in the course of the century after Tanutamani's withdrawal under the 26th Dynasty.

A striking example of archaizing in Kushite art is (apart from examples in iconography discussed by me in Török 1988b 105-116) a recently published relief block from the pyramid chapel of King Aramatelqo¹⁶ depicting three men playing senet. The gaming scene is copied from an Old Kingdom model.¹⁷ Kendall supposes that the Old Kingdom model in question was first used in one of the chapels at El Kurru, now destroyed, during the reign of Shabaqo or under Shebitqo. We have no reason to believe that the priest(s) and craftsmen who were responsible for the decoration of Aramatelqo's chapel some one hundred and fifty years later were entirely ignorant of the antiquity and significance of the scene while they copied it from the chapel of a ruler of their glorious past.

How far this archaizing can be hypothetically extended into a more coherent ideological trend is difficult to say. It is even more difficult to decide whether this hypothetical tendency was determined by a process starting with the 25th Dynasty alone, or whether it was injected from time to time with fresh impulses from Saite Egypt. There are evidences of cultural contacts with Saite Egypt, it seems, however, that contacts were limited to the sphere of religion and maintained by the priesthood of some important temple(s). We are perhaps not quite wrong in supposing that the principal medium of

¹⁴ Cf. for the connections ESLP No. 15.

¹⁵ Cf. Russmann 1974.

¹⁶ Gen. 11. Nu. 9, ca. mid - 6th c. B.C., Kendall 1982 No. 51.

¹⁷ Kendall 1978 38.

contacts was the priesthood of the Amun sanctuary at Napata. The illuminating analysis of the great royal inscriptions erected there by Piye,¹⁸ Tanutamani¹⁹ and Aspelta,²⁰ started recently by N.-C. Grimal,²¹ clearly demonstrates that these royal stelae, with the Piye inscription as their principal model, are works of priests who had at their disposal continuously enriched and "updated" archives containing texts of various sorts. The basis of the archives was doubtless constructed under Piye whose triumphal inscription is a masterwork built up on the *Königsnovelle* tradition in a narrative manner which uses, according to the actual topic, alternately annalistic, descriptive and lyric styles and inserts sophisticated quotations from Sinuhe, from the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, from the Complaints of the Peasant, from Amenemope and other works.²² The same temple archives, in an updated form, stand in the background of royal and temple inscriptions of the subsequent century. The development of the archives is revealed by the magnificent texts on the sarcophagi of Anlamani (623-593) and Aspelta (593-568) using text selections from 18th Dynasty royal sarcophagus inscriptions, from 25th-26th Dynasty priestly coffins, from the Book of the Dead, from the Coffin Texts, from the Pyramid Texts etc. in a way which clearly shows that there were several versions of the same text available in the archives.²³

Contacts between Egypt and Kush under the 25th Dynasty were, evidently, determined by the realities of the movements of the kings and their court, by army expeditions, by the administration, by fluctuation of priests, craftsmen, merchants and adventurers. The building activity of Piye, Shabaqo, Shebitqo and Taharqo in Kush involved beyond doubt a multitude of Egyptian craftsmen and artists.²⁴ Taharqo rebuilt the temple at Kawa "causing to go to Gematen (i.e. Kawa)... numerous gangs and good craftsmen,

¹⁸ Cairo 48862.

¹⁹ Cairo 48863.

²⁰ Cairo 48865, 48866.

²¹ Grimal 1980; 1981a; 1981b.

²² Grimal 1980: 42.

²³ Doll 1982: 279f.

²⁴ A memory of which is perhaps to be found in the Hellenistic source used by Pliny, who makes the following remark on the "Island of Meroe": "in the days of the Ethiopian dominion (it) enjoyed great renown and ... was in the habit of maintaining ... 3000 artisans" (Pliny, N.H., VI, 186).

innumerable, an architect", all from Memphis.²⁵ These artists and craftsmen brought from Memphis – as visualized by the reliefs at Kawa – subjects and motifs of Old Kingdom royal reliefs. Besides contacts of this kind and independently from the central administration there also occurred special contacts such as e.g. embassies. The statue of Nesnebneteru, Chamberlain of the God's Wife at Thebes and Ambassador of the Divine Adoratress to the Land of Nubia²⁶ attests a diplomatic contact between the Temple of Amun at Thebes and Kush (perhaps the Temple of Amun at Napata?) at the time of Amenirdis I, daughter of Kashta.

As said above, contacts between Egypt and Kush during the Saite epoch seem to have been maintained by priests. We have reasons to suppose that the situation was rather drastically changed after the expedition of Psammetich II to Nubia. The year 593 B.C. seems to mark the beginning of tense relations. The intensity of anti-Kushite propaganda in Egypt may now be judged from the meticulously executed erasure of the names of the 25th Dynasty rulers throughout Egypt and from the erasure of the specifically Kushite details of the crowns in representations of the Aithiopian kings on temple walls restored or erected by them. These erasures were ordered by Psammetich II.²⁷ We may perhaps also encounter similar anti-Egyptian feeling in Kush. Changes must have been brought about again, in the opposite sense, by the conquest of Egypt by the Persians. As we shall see, it is this event that definitely turns Egyptian sympathy to the memory of the 25th Dynasty. The manner in which the 25th Dynasty will be remembered in Egypt has political and cultural implications especially in regard to contacts between Kush and Upper Egypt.

But vehicles of actual contacts are in this period unknown to us. A possible means of communication might have been secured by the conditions in the frontier area. The frontier area was not as totally empty as frequently described in literature, it was hardly a "no-man's-land", for "there were no empty lands... every frontier represented an encroachment of one people upon territory claimed

²⁵ Inscr. Kawa IV lines 20f.

²⁶ Now in Kiev Museum, see R. Moss: The statue of an Ambassador to Ethiopia at Kiev. *Kush* 8 (1960) 269-271.

²⁷ J. Yoyotte: Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II. *RdE* 8 (1951) 215-239; Sauneron – Yoyotte 1952 157ff.

and used (however lightly) by another".²⁸ This must have been more or less true for the territory of the Dodekaschoinos, too.

Objects indicate the possibility of diplomatic contacts between Egypt and Kush some time in the late 5th c. B.C. Their actual apropos and their forms remain, however, obscure. Embassies in Antiquity were occasional, no regular diplomatic connections existed: neither in the times we are dealing with here, nor in later periods.²⁹ We can suppose, although we cannot prove, that rulers sent embassies to their neighbours after their accession to the throne. Whether the Egyptian luxury objects discovered in the 6th and 5th c. royal tombs in Kush are of such origins or not, cannot be decided, especially because we are ignorant of the supposed but largely invisible trade between the two countries. Personal names such as *P3-nhsj* or *P3-k3s* in Egyptian documents of the period indicate that families of Kushite origin lived there. However, only few cases are known³⁰ and it is doubtful whether these settlers were able to transmit considerable cultural influence, especially to the country they had left.

In the decades before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great Kushite rulers repeatedly appear to have been involved in conflicts caused by their northward expansion. The inscriptions of Harsiyotef³¹ and Nastaseñ³² written in about the first third of the fourth century B.C. and at the end of the same century, respectively, hint at wars fought in Lower Nubia. According to the inscription Cairo 48864 Harsiyotef extended, at least temporarily, his country to Lower Nubia and sent an expedition as far as Aswan.³³ To the Egyptian implications of the Nastaseñ stela we shall return in section 2 below.

As also shown by the Aithiopian Story of Herodotus, knowledge about Kush was in Egypt determined first of all by the "nationalist" ideology of the 6th and 5th c. The tenor of the stories dealing with, or

²⁸ D.W. Meinig: Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion. in: A.R.H. Baker – M. Billinge (eds.): *Research Methods in Historical Geography*. Cambridge 1982 71-78, 77.

²⁹ See in general: E. Olshausen – H. Biller: *Antike Diplomatie. Wege der Forschung* 462. Darmstadt 1979.

³⁰ See Lüddeckens 1977.

³¹ Cairo 48864.

³² Berlin 2268.

³³ Cf. Priese 1978 80.

mentioning Kush remains also in Hellenistic times determined mainly by the same collection of moralising semi-historical stories, fables and prophecies, which already constituted the source material of the informers of Herodotus. But apart from the survival of unreal data of propagandistic motivation, there was also ample opportunity to collect realistic information since the penetration of the army of Ptolemy II into Nubia. The interest of early Ptolemaic Egypt directed towards Kush was inspired perhaps first of all by political caution which tried to prevent effective alliances between Egyptian resistance and Kush, and, to a similar extent, by commercial motives. Ptolemy II sent in 274 B.C. an army to Nubia. The military expedition³⁴ was soon followed by expeditions of a peaceful nature: scientists and elephant hunters set out towards the south in order to collect data on the routes, on the wealth, resources and conditions of the country beyond Aswan. They also studied the manners of its inhabitants. Their reports reached the Royal Archives in Alexandria, the material of which was used then by writers such as Agatharchides whose works were widely read and accepted in the following centuries. These travellers seem to have established something that might be called an Hellenistic presence in Kush. This presence, although far from being altruistic, was still of a peaceful and certainly constructive rather than merely exploitative nature. Third century B.C. Kush – especially as the second half of the century is concerned – is full of ideas and objects imported from Hellenistic Egypt. Due to the nature of the contacts, which were centred around the trade in elephants and exotic wares that require instruments of regular long-distance trade and that is carried out in both partner countries within the realm of royal monopoly, there must have been embassies delivering rich presents frequently on route, too. It must be borne in mind that international contacts of Hellenistic states were managed without constant or even periodically recurrent diplomatic institutions and actions.³⁵ It means that the absence of inscriptions and other texts referring to embassies to Kush or from Kush does not necessarily indicate absence, or spontaneity and an informal level of connection: for every traveller, leader of an expedition of elephant

³⁴ The success of which can be measured in the description of the *pompé* following it in Alexandria, Ath., Deip., V, 25, 196a-35 – 203b.

³⁵ See Olshausen 1979.

hunters or of a caravan can possibly administer an embassy without having been designated an ambassador.

Men like Simonides the Younger who, according to Pliny,³⁶ lived in Meroe for five years around the middle of the 3rd c. B.C., could exert a considerable influence. It would be wrong however, to suspect that Simonides or any other learned adventurer of the epoch was capable of overthrowing by their intellectual influence the old concept of Kushite kingship – for this is suggested in literature, whenever full credit is given to Diodorus's story about the *coup d'état* of Ergamenes/Arkamaniko.

There must have been also regular contacts with Upper Egyptian temples, maintained by the mediation of priests travelling to and from. This is obvious if we regard the richness and the complexity of the religious inspiration concerning cult forms, religious texts, iconography or temple architecture received e.g. from the sphere of Philae. A good part of this inspiration arrived via Lower Nubia, a territory which became by the early 2nd c. B.C. the scene of conflicts caused by discussion over the hegemony in the Triakontaschoinos. Building activity of Egyptian and Kushite rulers in the late 3rd century – generally interpreted as an activity which was carried out in a "peaceful co-operation" – was in fact a consequence of alternating Kushite and Egyptian dominations.

From the point of view of the present investigation there is, however, only one aspect of the fate of the Triakontaschoinos which is of interest. This is the increasingly intense presence of both countries in the area. The presence is seemingly constructive, insofar as temples are built, old sanctuaries renovated, which also means that there is a resident priesthood established; the resident priesthood means probably not only an intellectual media of the first rate, but also a promoter of agricultural development and of population growth in the territory. In the 2nd c. B.C. we find that the Land of the Twelve Schoenoi, although being under Ptolemaic supremacy, has an "Aithiopian" eparch³⁷.

During the second half of the 2nd c. and during the 1st c. relations between the two countries are less intense. Temple inscriptions at Edfu speak again about Nubia as the country of Seth, as in pharaonic

³⁶ N.H. VI, 183.

³⁷ Greek inscription in Philae, from 149/8 B.C., see Bernand 1969 I No. 12bis.

times, thus signalling a strong revival of anti-Kushite propaganda in Egypt.³⁸ This is certainly due to the troubles caused by the Upper Egyptian revolts which seem to have enjoyed strong Kushite support, which is perhaps to be explained by expansionist ambitions of the Meroitic rulers. Objects of Egyptian origin suggest, however, that trade contacts were still maintained. From the last decades of Ptolemaic rule we possess two important data referring to diplomatic communication. Diodorus met Nubian ambassadors, as he designates them, during his visit to Egypt between 60-56 B.C.³⁹ Somewhat later one notices about the last Cleopatra that she communicated with the Aithiopians and the Trogodytes in their own languages.⁴⁰ Our source is silent, however, as to the reasons why, and on what occasion it was necessary for the queen of Egypt to speak these languages. The anecdote goes back perhaps to Cleopatra's visit to the southern Egyptian frontier.

Roman interest as well as the Roman style of international communication brought about radical changes in the relations of Kush with Egypt, compared with previous times. Although the frequently quoted inscription of a certain Harpocras, written in 13 B.C. in Dakkeh, is in all probability a proscynema written by an Egyptian pilgrim, and not the record of a Kushite embassy to Egypt,⁴¹ embassies were otherwise certainly not rare. Luxury objects of Augustan date found in Kushite royal tombs and tombs of the Meroe West Cemetery are, even if they represent only a small remainder of what was originally present in the country and put into the tombs, good illustrations of the customary imperial presents sent by embassies of different kinds to the allied and protected courts.⁴² The influx of such objects continues during the following decades. Unfortunately, we are not always in the position to decide which object was sent as a present and which one was commercial ware. It seems, however, that certain special kinds of objects cannot be commercial goods. So e.g. silver vessels like the one from Beg. N. 2 in the royal cemetery at Meroe (Dunham 1957 Pl. LIII; Török 1988b Appendix No. 130; see also above, Ch. IV. 19) with its special

³⁸ Onasch 1977 333.

³⁹ Diodorus III, 11, 3; cf. Burton 1972 143; Burstein 1979 95, n.3.

⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Ant.*, XXVII, 3.

⁴¹ Török 1986 No. 67.

⁴² Cf. also Millar 1977 136ff.

iconography made in a court workshop or certain luxury glass vessels which during the 1st and 2nd c. did not yet belong to items of long-distance trade.

The Basilos, who incised his name on the base of the Amanishakheto "obelisk" in the court of the Amun Temple at Meroe City was perhaps an envoy or an artist arriving from Alexandria some time during this period.⁴³ The undated Klados, ambassador to Aithiopia, left perhaps during the same period his graffito as a curious tourist in the tomb of Ramesses V at Thebes on his way either to, or from Meroe.⁴⁴ It is not quite improbable that both names are in connection with the vivid contacts of the late Augustan and post-Augustan period, which we can estimate only on the basis of the import goods.

Contacts in the realm of religion are equally vivid. Inscriptions at Philae as e.g. Bernand 1969 II Nos. 142 and 158 describe the voyages of cult statues of Egyptian and Nubian gods on the Nile both southwards and northwards, proving thus that the ties between the Philaean sanctuaries and the temples of the Dodekaschoinos are again close. Contacts of a diplomatic nature as well as contacts of the Lower Nubian priesthood with Upper Egyptian temples were among the main sources of the clearly discernible Egyptian influence in 1st c. A.D. Meroitic culture. As to Egyptian elements in the cults, in forms of the popular piety, in temple texts, in minor art objects, the vehicles of culture transfer are rather evident, insofar as it can be supposed that the models were brought to Kush in the form of papyri, pattern books and minor art objects and that forms of piety were spread by pilgrims. There are, however, also manifestations of Egyptian influence that are less comprehensible, as to their actual origins. Such are first of all some architectural and plastic art complexes from the 1st c. B.C. and from the first decades of the 1st c. A.D. at Meroe City and at Naqa: at Meroe City (besides smaller buildings and parts of buildings) the complex of the so-called Royal Baths; at Naqa the well-known Roman Kiosk in front of the Lion Temple.⁴⁵ In their case we are confronted with monumental architecture and sculptural complexes made in close imitation of late

⁴³ Mention of the unpublished graffito was made by Ali 1971 264.

⁴⁴ For the graffito see J. Baillet: *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*. Le Caire 1926 242 No. 1094.

⁴⁵ See Török 1984b 360-365; 1984c; Kraus 1964.

Hellenistic models, but partly by local craftsmen whose particular background is clearly indicated not only by some misunderstandings of the presumable models, but also by stylistic features which seem to belong to the Kushite tradition. Alexandrian influence is obvious in the sculptures from the "Royal Bath" (in reality, a water sanctuary)⁴⁶ and in the "negro head" now in Copenhagen⁴⁷ while the statues of officials found at Naqa⁴⁸ and at Meroe City,⁴⁹ betray the impact of Egyptian Late Period types.

But even were we able to propose hypotheses as to the stylistic and iconographic origins of these (and other) buildings and sculptures of Egyptian late Hellenistic backgrounds, there is still a question of importance left unanswered. How could it happen that a Kushite ruler decided to erect an actual type of water sanctuary building or a room complex provided with an exedra, an architectural form that came recently into fashion in royal representation? By what means did he receive the information about current forms which certainly diverged from the traditions of Kushite royal representation? However far-fetched it would be to speculate about the relation between nymphaeum and exedra in the case of the model and in the case of the quasi-nymphaeum and quasi-exedra of the copy in Meroe City, the question cannot be fully avoided: who described, and how, these Hellenistic and Roman building forms and their significance so that the Meroitic ruler decided to erect a complex of water sanctuary and exedra? The complexity of the models copied directly or in somewhat altered form in Meroe is striking, and postulates a more than occasional and remote second-hand information.

A good part of this excellent information was – as indicated above – provided probably by embassies and by presents including not only objects but also craftsmen with their tools and patterns. Further information arrived *via* travellers like the centurions of Nero who visited the Meroitic ruler and his country ca. 61-63 A.D. They must have been learned men, for they were commissioned not only with

⁴⁶ Cf. F. Vlach: *Meroitisch-hellenistische Plastik aus den sogenannten Königlichen Bädern. Meroitica 7* (1984) 573-576; L. Török: *Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan* (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Wenig 1975 fig. 440.

⁴⁸ Cf. Bianchi 1979 69.

⁴⁹ Unpublished, mentioned by P.L. Shinnie: *Excavations at Meroe 1974-76. Meroitica 7* (1984) 498-504, 503.

collecting verbal data on conditions in Kush: the report they presented to the Emperor also contained a map which was later seen by Pliny.⁵⁰ Information of various nature could also have been collected and transmitted by Kushite pilgrims visiting the sanctuaries of Dakkeh and Philae.⁵¹ The majority of the Kushite pilgrims belonged to the upper strata of the society as shown by their extremely informative proscynemata written in the period between the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. and the end of the Meroitic kingdom. They certainly travelled with a great entourage and were probably also interested in obtaining luxury objects and information. The composition of certain longer texts written by Kushite pilgrims reveals special Kushite forms of piety as well as the special ways of reception of Philaean adoration forms in respect of the adoption of stylistic features of the verbal expression of piety.⁵² Other texts reveal that a good part of the Kushite pilgrimages was in fact nothing else than embassies appearing at Philae in the time of the great religious festivals.⁵³

Evidently, contacts were to a considerable extent carried out in the form of, and were dependent on, commerce. The influx of Egyptian goods, luxury objects as well as pottery (the latter also as containers of other goods) seems to have been uninterrupted during the last centuries of Kush,⁵⁴ although the volume and value of trade was perhaps smaller than it is usually estimated in literature. The importance of Kush as the source of exotic goods and raw materials decreases from the late 1st c. A.D. onwards, for African and Indian wares could easily be obtained without using the mediation or even territory of Kush and because an ascending new political power south-east from Kush had entered, by the 1st c., upon the scene of

⁵⁰ N.H., XII, 19; for the centurions as military engineers see R.K. Sherk: Roman Military Exploration and Military Maps. *ANRW* II. 1. Berlin-New York 1974 559f.

⁵¹ Curiously, Kushite pilgrims do not seem to have visited any other Egyptian sanctuaries; there is unfortunately no data on the basis of which we could decide whether there were official decisions in order to hinder Kushite pilgrimages to the interior of Egypt, or not.

⁵² For the texts of the Meroitic pilgrims in the temples of the Dodekaschoinos see Griffith 1937 and, recently, A. Burkhardt: *Ägypter und Meroiten. Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Grafitti*. *Meroitica* 8 (1985).

⁵³ For the date of the pilgrimages cf. Török 1977b 44f.

⁵⁴ See also Nos 190-242 of the Appendix in Török 1988b.

world trade. The fact that Rome's interest turns from Kush towards Axum must have meant a formidable problem for the Kushite economy. But, remarkably, there are no signs in Kushite culture suggesting that as a consequence of ebbing Egyptian interest also the orientation of Kush changed – on the contrary, it seems that there remained still several possibilities for the reception of intellectual influence from Roman Egypt.

Kush – or, to use the term of the age, Meroe, is rarely mentioned in Roman literature after the 1 c. A.D. and becomes in spite of the still existing communication between Egypt (especially Upper Egypt) and Kush an increasingly unrealistic place: Meroe is now again an utopian country. Re-identification with the bearer of superhuman moral qualities and of religious purity on the one hand, with a country where natural wonders are common on the other, is certainly one of the consequences of political and economic disinterest. Instead, data of a more realistic nature appear now in connection with a people living beyond the southern Egyptian border and partly under Meroitic supremacy, the Blemmyes. These barbarians begin to dominate the scene in the frontier area in the most disturbing manner by the late 2nd c. A.D. Late antique literature will deal rather frequently, if superficially, with them.⁵⁵

As already mentioned above, Meroitic dignitaries frequently made pilgrimages to temples in the Dodekaschoinos. At home they spread adoration forms which they encountered in Egypt; and the writers of the great 3rd c. embassy inscriptions⁵⁶ tried to combine the tradition of late Ptolemaic proscynema formulae with Meroitic piety forms. Pilgrims of less exalted social status seem also to develop syntheses of short Egyptian and Meroitic adoration texts.⁵⁷ Embassies to Philae⁵⁸ are sent directly from the capital and return to the king residing in Meroe City to report. Some embassies go to Alexandria. It is not unlikely that the southernmost Latin inscription, discovered in Musawwarat es Sufra by Lepsius,⁵⁹ was the proscynema of a 3rd or

⁵⁵ For the sources on the Blemmyes see first of all Updegraff 1978; cf. also Török 1988c.

⁵⁶ E.g. Ph. 416, 417.

⁵⁷ For the problem of the latter proscynema types see recently Török 1984a 173–181.

⁵⁸ See Burkhardt 1977; Török 1978b.

⁵⁹ CIL III 83.

4th c.⁶⁰ envoy from Alexandria or perhaps even from Rome. The strange appearance of the graffito – which paleographically resembles more hand-written texts of small scale than texts carved in stone and of larger scale – is perhaps due to the temple scribe writing proscynema in the sanctuary on behalf of the pilgrims and working this time on the basis of an unfamiliar model. Finally a brief mention of the late Meroitic *apote-leb Arome-li-s*, "envoys to Rome", must be made here. Men bearing this and related titles appear rather frequently in funerary inscriptions of the late Meroitic period in Lower Nubia. Some are designated as *apote Arome-li-s*, envoy to Rome, some as *apote-1/2* or *apote*, great ambassador or ambassador, but we also know owners of the title *apote qori-s*, ambassador of the king, and there is a dignitary bearing the title *apote Hlite-te*, but it is not known which country or city is to be identified with *Hlite*.⁶¹ Their field of activity is unknown. Their absence in inscriptions from Upper Nubia does not necessarily mean that they represent a specifically Lower Nubian institution which would further suggest the relative independence of the Lower Nubian viceroyalty from the central power, as students of Nubian history tend sometimes to believe. The geographical one-sidedness of the evidence is, as in so many other cases, a consequence of the disproportionate investigation.⁶² The *apote-leb* do not have priestly titles in their usual cursus, it is thus rather unlikely that they are exact equivalents of those administrators of the temple domains in the Dodekaschoinos whom we know from their demotic graffiti⁶³ and who appear in the combined function of quasi priestly administrators and regular envoys from Meroe to Egypt.

But even if it is impossible to give a precise definition of their actual official duties, their existence is in itself quite remarkable. It indicates regular and officially maintained contact – the grade of

⁶⁰ The paleography of the graffito would rather suggest the later date.

⁶¹ For the different envoys see REM 0095, 0096, 0121, 0123, 0124, 0129, 0265, 0302, 0370, 0371, 0373, 0375, 0386, 0387, 0597, 1003, 1049, 1066A, 1067, 1093.

⁶² For the problem see recently I. Hofmann: Übersetzungsvarianten der Suffixe -s und -te im Meroitischen. *Afrika und Übersee* 61 (1978) 265-278, 270f.

⁶³ See Griffith 1937.

nominality of which is, after all, rather irrelevant here.⁶⁴ It is very interesting furthermore that they are styled as if they were sent "to Rome", although they certainly did not go regularly further than Alexandria (if they went so far at all). The title reveals that in Meroe Egypt was identified with Rome, what is to be regarded as a remarkably loyalistic political pedantry.

3. The image of Kush in the external world

Old literature on Kush gives the impression that writers on the history of this country breathed freely only when at last they could turn for data to some classical author. Greek and Roman sources are, as a matter of fact, regarded also to-day without much criticism, while written and archaeological evidence from Kush appears as difficult and ambiguous. The reality of the data in classical sources is only in exceptional and extreme cases readily doubted, as e.g. in the case of "ethnographical" descriptions of peoples without head but eyes on the belly and the like. Critical attitude towards every kind of source must be self-evident; this is why I stress the necessity of a homogenous and logically employed source critical method both in the use of internal and external, e.g. classical, evidence.

I have stressed in section 1 above that the image of Kush in the Egyptian, Greek and Roman mind is first of all an image in the *Egyptian, Greek and Roman mind*, and that it must be approached and understood as such. Kush, as mirrored in these cultures, can be evaluated only in case if the genesis and role of any actual feature of this picture of Kush is investigated and understood *within* the structure of the actual foreign culture. Although we are very far from having all this work behind us, I risk nevertheless a review of Egyptian and classical tradition on Kush. This short review will be based on some pioneer investigations such as Kienitz 1953, Snowden 1971, Desanges 1978, Hofmann-Vorbichler 1979 and 1980, and reviews such as Onasch 1977. Whenever my views differ from those to be found in these studies, I rely on the comments in my collection

⁶⁴ The reality of titles known only from funerary stelae and no other – narrative – sources may always be doubted, but one does not go very far with this sort of scepticism.

of sources on Meroitic history.⁶⁵ The reason for the review is this: however little and unimportant fragments of Kushite reality are preserved in an Egyptian, Greek or Latin source, and however little the external world cared to see Kush objectively at all, there is still something from reality even in the fable: the fable may also have its functions; furthermore, the fable, be it more or less realistic in its building stones, was the Kush for many generations of Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and others.

In Homeric times Aithiopia (vaguely located by the streams of Ocean) was described as the place where gods were born and which is frequently visited by Zeus and the Olympians. Their visits are first of all motivated by the gods' fondness for the inhabitants of the country, for the Aithiopians are blameless and pious.⁶⁶ Homer's Aithiopians are the farthestmost people and as such they will be described in later times in terms of comparison with the northern Scythians.⁶⁷ Inhabitants of the place where the gods were born, friends of gods, the just Aithiopians became identical with the elevated moral standards and with the undisturbed happiness of the children of uncorrupted Nature living on the borders of the *oikumene*: in Greek utopia they stand for ideal primitivity.⁶⁸ Evidently, Herodotus uses the *topos* of the noble native when dealing with Aithiopia, the more so that this *topos* excellently serves the philosophical aims of the Cambyses-logos and the more so, that he received information in Egypt about Kush in such a manner that he felt confirmed about the utopian image borrowed from Greek tradition. Although he is able to give some authentic information of mainly geographic nature in his Book II, 29,⁶⁹ data of an historical or political nature about Kush are in his work misleading. Beyond doubt, the majority of the statements about Kush originally concerned Egypt, or belonged to the features of an ideal kingdom created by propaganda in Late Period Egypt: although Herodotus asked, and was told about Kush.

⁶⁵ Török 1986.

⁶⁶ II., 1, 423f., 23, 205-217; Od., 1, 22-25, cf. Ferguson 1975 16ff.

⁶⁷ Hesiodos in Strabo, VII, 3, 7.

⁶⁸ Cf. R. Vischer: *Das einfache Leben*. Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft No. 11 Göttingen. 1965; Braumert 1969 8.

⁶⁹ II, 29, 1.

As is well-known, foreign domination during the Late Period inspired the development of a rich and intricate "nationalistic" ideology with a literature about which it is sufficient to note here that the 25th Dynasty played a great role in it. The Kushite rule of Egypt was remembered in two opposed ways: on the one hand as determined by the anti-Kushite feelings of the Delta princes, first of all of the Saite monarchs. This hostility has its roots in the events under the 25th Dynasty and was subsequently further excited by propaganda in Egypt during the late 7th and early 6th centuries, as an answer to the absurd pretensions of Kushite kings continually employing full Egyptian royal titulature and also disturbing the frontier area.⁷⁰ Anti-Kushite propaganda was probably also directed against eventual conspiracies in the Thebaid. Hostility in this propaganda culminated after the Nubian expedition of Psammetich II. It occurred only after this conflict that the cartouches and the specifically Kushite details of the crowns in the representations of 25th Dynasty rulers on temple walls throughout Egypt were ordered to be erased. Legends like the story of the terrible death of King Bocchoris/Bakenranef, demonstrating Kushite barbarism, have their origin in these times.

On the other hand, however, there exists a basically different tradition in Upper Egypt where the memory of the 25th Dynasty could never be deintegrated. Pro-Kushite sentiment in Thebes, as developed and cultivated by the priesthood of Amun, was genuinely religious;⁷¹ indeed, the interpretation thereof as "nationalism" is certainly erroneous, for it disregards the determining factors and limitations of thinking in the period. Since the times of the 25th Dynasty could be remembered, without distorting the reality of the historical past, as times of glory, richness, and religiosity, it is also evident that the memory of the Kushite rulers was transformed into a sort of ideal universal scale. Ever since the end of the 25th Dynasty, but especially after the beginning of the first Persian domination, the ideology of the traditional Egyptian kingship: the ideology of a moralistically determined rule became more and more closely identified with the 25th Dynasty. As an increasingly disillusioned, embittered and nostalgic priesthood added newer and newer colours to the image in the memory, also the dividing line between imagined-

⁷⁰ Troubles in Upper Egypt are indicated e.g. by the story of the deserting soldiers of Psammetich I.

⁷¹ See the analysis of Kienitz 1953 56.

remembered and actually existing Kush became irrelevant. Kush became suitable to be associated with idealistic extremes: the more so that real Kush was in these times scarcely known, if at all.

The background of Herodotus' Cambyses-story could not be imagined without "data" received from Egyptian priests. Behind the crimes of Herodotus' Cambyses stands in reality one great crime of the Persian conqueror, namely the fact that he brutally decreased state contributions to temple finances, did not build any temple and even did not undertake any restoration work on any of the Egyptian sanctuaries.⁷² No wonder then that in Egyptian priestly tradition Cambyses is one of the greatest criminals: and this image excellently fitted into the concept to be expressed by the Aithiopian Logos, i.e. into the confrontation of a morally inferior political system, the Persian kingdom of Herodotus, with a just kingship, visualized thus by the Aithiopian state.⁷³ Aithiopia was for Herodotus, and, it must be remembered, for the entire Kush-tradition in Greek and Roman literature, just and morally superior on two accounts: as bearer of the utopian *Randvölker*-ideology and as bearer of the traditional Egyptian kingship ideology projected into the image of Kush by Egyptian priestly propaganda and later perhaps also by popular nostalgia.

Evidently, real information can sporadically add shades or details to this Kush-image, too; and also the intellectual life and the propaganda have their own processes of change and development and this fact also implies changes in the imaginary Kush. The development of the ideology using and shaping the image of Kush in Late Period Egypt cannot be followed here:⁷⁴ so much is, however, obvious that as time passes, sentiments like those expressed by the Bocchoris legend become fainter, while political ambitions originating in different traditions and flaring up in different parts of the country associate themselves more and more with the moral scale attributed pronouncedly with the 25th Dynasty. In early Ptolemaic times we meet remarkable coincidences, as e.g. in the ideology

⁷² Cf. Kienitz 1953 60f.

⁷³ For the problem in more detail see Hofmann – Vorbichler 1979 and 1980, where the relevant part of the immense literature on Herodotus and on the Aithiopian Logos is quoted and discussed.

⁷⁴ First of all because this progress is, after all, hardly known in its details to us.

revealed by the documents related to the family of the Shipmasters of Heracleopolis.⁷⁵

Similar to the dichotomy of the Aithiopia-image of Herodotus, an image which is geographically correct, but otherwise determined by an ideology, the Aithiopia-image of early Ptolemaic times is also a double image. Scientific explorers, military intelligence, reports of elephant hunters and traders provided Hellenistic science with data on Kush from the time of Ptolemy II onwards. Geographic data are in most cases authentic.⁷⁶ A good part of the information reached the Royal Archives in Alexandria where the material was available for writers like Agatharchides, works of whom survive in excerpts in Diodorus,⁷⁷ Nicolaus Damascenus,⁷⁸ in Photius' *Bibliotheca*⁷⁹ and in a series of second and third-hand quotations.⁸⁰ Ethnographic data in the works of Agatharchides serve a concept which has its roots in (partly quite contradictory) theories of psychology, ethics and culture genesis of his day and which does not require scientifically exact and precise information, but rather paradigms for the analysis of human beings and their behaviour in the extreme forms of the human condition.⁸¹ A good example of the complex nature of his data is presented by the story of King Ergamenes preserved in Diodorus, III, 6: a story still esteemed as authentic by the majority of Meroitic scholars. All basic elements of the story of the king, educated by Greek philosophers, abolishing after his accession the ancestral custom that empowered the priests to order the ruler to commit suicide⁸² are already present in Herodotus' Sabacos-story. Herodotus' Sabacos was a product of Egyptian "nationalism" and was further ornamented with the *lustratio* motif which was also elsewhere employed by Herodotus.⁸³ Ergamenes' actual role – as

⁷⁵ Cf. Kitchen 1986 § 198ff.; in general A.B. Lloyd: Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Historia* 31 (1982) 33-55.

⁷⁶ See first of all Priese 1984, for contrary opinions on the value of these data see literature quoted in Török 1986 § 4ff.

⁷⁷ Book III.

⁷⁸ FGrH 90 F 104.

⁷⁹ Book 250.

⁸⁰ Cf. Strabo, XIV, 2, 15; Josephus, *Ant. Iud.*, XII, 5; Photius, *Bibl.* 213; and E. Schwartz: Agatharchides in *PWRE* I, 1, 739ff.

⁸¹ For the problem see Dihle 1962 *passim*; Fraser 1972 I Chapter 10.

⁸² Hence the *ritueller Königsmord* of Frobenius and his followers.

⁸³ With differing moralistic overtones, due to the differing context.

well as that of Actisanes, who, although originating from a different, and perhaps more realistic source, is still in fact a double of Ergamenes – is in Diodorus' treatise the illustration of the triumph of Hellenism⁸⁴ over barbarism. Both Ergamenes and Actisanes are thus first of all *Kulturheroen*.⁸⁵ In Agatharchides' work, from which the figure of Ergamenes was taken, and in the other literary work (probably by Hecataios), from which the image of Actisanes was borrowed, the actuality of these *Kulturheroen* was rendered by the encounter of the Hellenistic world with Kush, i.e. by the contact established around 300 B.C. Both Actisanes and Ergamenes were actually existing kings of Kush,⁸⁶ who must have been known by name and given individual features because of some actual contacts with them which could also give them a personal note.

In order to form a judgement on the historical value of the Actisanes figure it is enough to remember that his features are in fact nothing more than a re-arrangement of the characteristics and deeds of Herodotus' Sabacos and Agatharchides' Ergamenes. Motifs of a somewhat differing origin and nature stand behind other, equally frequently cited, "data" borrowed by Diodorus from 2nd c. B.C. sources. The election of a priest in the office of king⁸⁷ and the description of how this king is then worshiped like a god, derives from Egyptian priestly tradition alluding both to Theban theocracy and to the pharaonic concept of kingship. The narrative of the election of the king in Diodorus repeatedly employs notions which paraphrase "law" and "justice" in a manner that reminds the reader of the so-called Demotic Chronicle, revealing thus that there existed a connection to the moralising "nationalistic" literature, especially to prophecies of the Late Period and of the Ptolemaic age in the work of the writer, whose Kush-image was the actual source of Diodorus, as regards Kush. It must be duly emphasized that we are not dealing here with fables: the ideology of the *Gottessohnschaft* for instance, as described by Diodorus, III, 5, is identical with the pharaonic concept shared also by the kings of Kush, as is clearly demonstrated by their

⁸⁴ I.e. of Hellenistic philosophy and ethics.

⁸⁵ Cf. Hofmann – Vorbichler 1979 *passim*.

⁸⁶ For Actisanes/*Ktsn* see Priese 1977; for the identification of Ergamenes with Arkamaniqo see Hintze 1978 75.

⁸⁷ Diodorus III, 5.

inscriptions.⁸⁸ That the source of Diodorus told these details about Egypt, and not about Kush, can perhaps be supposed, too, since exactly the same features were described earlier by Platon⁸⁹ and will be later mentioned by Plutarchos⁹⁰ in connection with Egypt.

Another significant tradition is connected with the system of succession. According to the 2nd c. B.C. writer Bion of Soloi⁹¹ the kings of Aithiopia pretend to be the sons of the sun; he adds furthermore, that their mother is always called Candace. As to the second half of the statement, I refer to a study of Inge Hofmann, who proves that Bion's generalisation is erroneous.⁹² The first half of the statement alludes to the title *sȝ R'* used both by Egyptian and Kushite rulers. According to Nicolaus Damascenus,⁹³ a writer who spent several years in the court of the last Cleopatra, and wrote ethnographic works, now largely lost,⁹⁴ the Aithiopians especially respect their sisters. It occurs in Aithiopia frequently, he says, that the throne is inherited by the children of the king's sister, and not by the king's own children. But, adds Nicolaus, if there is no logical heir in the royal family, of whatever grade, the people elect the handsomest man or the best warrior from among themselves. This remark served in a recent study of Priese⁹⁵ as a proof for the supposed matrilinear succession in Kush, although it is rather obvious from the additional second part of Nicolaus' remark that his source was in the circle of Herodotus,⁹⁶ Hecataios of Abdera, Agatharchides and Diodorus.⁹⁷ This is also suggested by the fact that the ethnographic knowledge of Nicolaus generally goes back to Agatharchides – but this is rather self-evident if we take into account Agatharchides' authority in Nicolaus' times.⁹⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. the texts of Piye (Great Stela), of Anlamani (Kawa VIII), of Irike-Amannote (Kawa IX).

⁸⁹ Platon, Pol., 290, d-e.

⁹⁰ Plutarchos, De Is. et Osir., 9, 354B.

⁹¹ Bion in *Schol. Act. Apost.*, 8, 27, see FGrH 668 F 1.

⁹² I. Hofmann: Zu den meroitischen Titeln *ktke* und *pqr*. *ZDMG Suppl.* III. 2. Wiesbaden 1977 1400-1409.

⁹³ FGrH 90 F 103m.

⁹⁴ Cf. FGrH IIc, Kommentar 255ff.

⁹⁵ Priese 1981.

⁹⁶ Herodotus III, 20.

⁹⁷ III, 9a.

⁹⁸ Cf. for this FGrH 90, FGrH 104.

In general, the majority of statements on Aithiopia has at least two layers: a realistic one consisting of a simple information, such as e.g. the name of a king (Actisanes, Ergamenes, or Sabacos) and some coordinates of the name (the Greek education of Ergamenes); in addition there is a layer composed from elements of the Egyptian kingship ideology and ornamented in most cases with propagandistic details. This latter layer can be enriched, as if automatically, with elements of Greek utopy and Hellenistic ethnography. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that occasionally also fragments of Kushite reality enter the second layer, as was perhaps the case with Nicolaus' remark on the sisters. But in the present investigation we must first of all realise the fact that 2nd or 1st c. B.C. writers could not have been in the position to be able comprehend Kushite institutions, traditions and manners. Proper understanding was probably rendered impossible from the very outset because of irrelevant information; but there were also basic differences between Hellenistic and Kushite and even Egyptian and Kushite kingship ideologies. Thirdly, if writers tried to gather data on Kush from learned Egyptians, they must have usually received information concerning pharaonic Egypt (or what the informants believed to have been pharaonic Egypt), and this illusionistic nature of the information is even more complicated by similarities between the pharaonic kingship concept and the actual – contemporary – Kushite kingship ideology. Finally our writers did not write annalistic history or scientific ethnography in the modern sense, they were more interested in philosophy and they were in search of arguments supporting theories of utopistic inspiration or sophistic tendencies – and, after all, everything that one could gather about Kush must have been suitable to have been turned into Utopy.

Chronologically the next group of data on Kush is to be found in works describing the conflict between Rome and Kush in the years 29 to 21/20. These descriptions were touched upon above in Chapter IV. 19. The rich literature on Strabo⁹⁹ makes it quite superfluous to deal here in detail with his remarks on Kush in which geographical reality is mixed with ethnographic data borrowed from Agatharchides, Eratosthenes and others. Data of a geographic nature preserved from

⁹⁹ See first of all W. Aly: *Strabonis Geographica IV. Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau und Quellen*. Berlin 1957.

2nd and 1st c. B.C. authors, and further excerpted from reports of the Petronius campaign and of Nero's intelligence by Pliny¹⁰⁰ were analysed in illuminating studies by Karl-Heinz Priese¹⁰¹ and were also discussed by the present writer.¹⁰² Similarly to the descriptions of Strabo and Diodorus, Pliny's remarks also depend on a literature which was deeply influenced by the views and the knowledge of the Hellenistic writers we have discussed above in this chapter.

The last signs of genuine interest in Kush seem to appear in the late 1st. c. A.D. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* already shows that there is no reason any more to collect new data on Kush, for the interest of world trade turns in this period slowly away from Kush, and towards Axum. Kush continues to figure in natural-historical literature,¹⁰³ in astrological works and also in fiction. This latter genre is best exemplified by the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus. With this novel the circle is closed: the image of Kush fades into Utopy again.

4. The impact of the external world on Kush

Although the period of the 25th Dynasty does not belong to our topic,¹⁰⁴ we must briefly mention some trends originating in it. Fortunately there is a rich literature on arts and culture of the period in Egypt as well as in Kush, rendering the analysis of these trends possible in several cases.¹⁰⁵ As already mentioned in Chapter I, the closeness of Kushite art to Egyptian art during the 7th and 6th c. B.C. is a consequence of identical cultural and intellectual processes which have their common roots under the 25th Dynasty; actual connections played, it seems to me, a less decisive role. We have seen above that archaizing tendencies were alive also long after the end of

¹⁰⁰ Plin. N.H., VI. 178ff.

¹⁰¹ Priese 1973 1974.

¹⁰² Török 1986 § 4ff., Nos 29, 59, 81.

¹⁰³ Cf. e.g. D. Bonneau: *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av. – 641 ap. J.-C.)*. Paris 1964; A. Deman: *Eschyle et les crues du Nil*, in: *Le monde grec. Pensée, Littérature, Histoire, Documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux*. Bruxelles 1975 115- 126.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Leclant 1965; Russmann 1974.

¹⁰⁵ Russmann 1974; Wenig 1975; J. Leclant: Kushites and Meroites, Iconography of the African Rulers in the Ancient Upper Nile. in: *Image of the Black in Western Art I*. New York 1976: 89-132; Wenig 1978. A popular survey is to be found in J. Leclant: Die Kunst von Meroe, in: J. Leclant (ed.): *Ägypten III. Spätzeit und Hellenismus*. München 1981: 233ff.

the 25th Dynasty. Moreover, there can be found proofs for the assumption that archaizing could also mean copying of Kushite artistic monuments, or literary texts of the past. Such copying could perhaps have been practised on a larger scale too: I have tried to demonstrate in another place¹⁰⁶ that the first building phase of the Temple of Amun and of the Temple of Isis at Meroe City were close copies of the Temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal as it looked after the extension and restoration by Piye and Taharqo. It deserves mention here, that the development of the royal pyramid type after the 25th Dynasty also rested upon an Egyptian inspiration, viz. on a pyramid type shaped in the times of the 18th to 20th Dynasties at Aniba.¹⁰⁷

Although contacts between Saite Egypt and Kush were politically hostile, Egypt still obviously exerted an influence in the realm of religion as documented e.g. by the texts on the royal sarcophagi¹⁰⁸ and by texts and scenes in royal burial chambers and mortuary chapels.¹⁰⁹ Further influence is visible in the development of the funerary offering tables.¹¹⁰

Development of arts during the 5th, and the greater part of the 4th c. B.C. is obscure: monuments of these times are only fragmentarily preserved and also their closer dating and stylistic analysis is so far unsolved. A rhyton of the Attic potter Sotades made around 470 B.C. and found under a pyramid of the Meroe South cemetery¹¹¹ is an isolated object which certainly did not exert influence on Kushite art, even if it is not the only item of pottery imported from Greece to Kush. For example, in the reserve stores of the Merseyside Country Museums I came across the rim fragment of a red-figured vase¹¹² found by John Garstang at Meroe City.

The situation changes after the expedition sent by Ptolemy II to Nubia. Vivid political, commercial and intellectual contacts bring not only material prosperity and, consequently, growing demand, increasing building activity, higher artistic level, but they also mean an import of artists and workmen. This latter sort of imported

¹⁰⁶ Török 1984c 351-356.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. S. Curto: Per la storia della tomba privata a piramide. *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 107-113, 111f.

¹⁰⁸ Doll 1982.

¹⁰⁹ Yellin 1980.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Abdalla 1982.

¹¹¹ Dunham 1963 figs 212-215; Török 1988b Appendix No.1.

¹¹² Inv. MRS 47.48.130.

productive force stands behind monuments discovered e.g. at Meroe City and at other sites of the Island of Meroe – unfortunately, a detailed analysis of these is not possible, for old excavations are similarly unpublished, as are also more recent discoveries.¹¹³ Nor can we discuss here the extremely rich architecture of Musawwarat es Sufra: its problems cannot be solved before the final publication of the individual buildings. Foreign influences both in architecture and sculpture of the 3rd c. B.C. building period at Musawwarat are rather obvious, as was also stressed in a cultural-historical survey by F. Hintze.¹¹⁴ But forms and motifs borrowed from Egypt are only elements in a synthesis of an extraordinary coherence: a synthesis representing perhaps the very zenith of Kushite art. Formal elements such as the podium on which the central Temple, and somewhat later further temples of the complex also, were built, look together with the long ramps and the peripteral arrangement of the sanctuary rather outlandish. So much so, that their Persian origin was suggested.¹¹⁵ Since the earliest podium was partly built of stones carved shortly before for another structure which was then not erected, probably because of a sudden change of plan; and since these stones were originally provided with Greek mason's marks,¹¹⁶ it seems to me that the planned but not realized building certainly, and the realized podium-building with probability, can be brought into connection with Ptolemaic models. Further evidence from the find material suggests that the structure in question is not earlier than the age of Ptolemy II, it is not unlikely, either, that the stylistic relation with the Egyptian temple type represented e.g. by the mortuary temple of Petosiris at Tuna el Gebel¹¹⁷ built around 330 B.C. is not accidental. It seems, moreover, that not only the podium-ramp complex could have been borrowed from Egyptian architecture, but other elements

¹¹³ For the preliminary reports of the Garstang excavations see literature in P.L. Shinnie – R.J. Bradley: *The Capital of Kush* I. *Meroitica* 4 (1980); this latter work covers the finds of a part of the excavations carried out by the authors. Further discoveries are mentioned in an unfortunately too condensed and not properly illustrated report: P.L. Shinnie: Excavations at Meroe 1974-1976. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 498-504; important data can also be extracted from R.J. Bradley: Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 195-211.

¹¹⁴ F. Hintze: Elemente der meroitischen Kultur. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 101-105.

¹¹⁵ Hintze 1979.

¹¹⁶ Hintze 1968 667f.

¹¹⁷ G. Lefebvre: *Le tombeau de Petosiris*. Le Caire 1923-1924.

of the complex at Musawwarat also follow Egyptian models,¹¹⁸ although these are independent from the whole of the rather chaotic ensemble which took shape apparently without a general plan during the fifth to second centuries B.C.

Expensive luxury wares from Ptolemaic Egypt occur in 3rd and early 2nd c. B.C. royal burials, and it is probable that these arrived in Kush through diplomatic contacts and not by trade.

But early Ptolemaic influence goes deeper than these objects may suggest. However loose and remote their contact with reality is, the stories about Actisanes and Ergamenes and related stories signal some changes of a more organic nature. It is first of all the realm of religion where signs of a vivid contact are discernible. Also the ideology of kingship absorbs Ptolemaic influence, although it must be stressed that analogous phenomena in Kushite and Ptolemaic kingship may also go back independently from each other to pharaonic Egyptian traditions which were revived by the early Ptolemies. Such an element is the distinguished role of the king's mother in, and after the coronation ceremonies.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately textual evidence is scarce, in spite of the large temple wall surfaces of the 3rd and 2nd c. which seem to have been destined to be profusely inscribed. Texts on the walls of the Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra display close contacts with Philae, and the temple built some decades later by Adikhalamani at Dabod is in fact an Egyptian temple as to its architecture, iconography and texts.¹²⁰

Late 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. buildings and reliefs in Kush show, as indicated above, strong Egyptian influence. The question therefore emerges of whether it was the whole complex of Hellenistic Egyptian art that influenced arts in Kush, or whether there were limitations, preferences, affinities acting as selective forces in orientation. The

¹¹⁸ Cf. St. Wenig: Gedanken zu einigen Aspekten der kuschitischen Tempelarchitektur. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 381-408, 396ff.

¹¹⁹ For the religion see C. Onasch: Zur Struktur der meroitischen Religion. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 135-142; for the ideology of the kingship see Hofmann 1971; Priese 1978; Hintze 1978; Török 1986.

¹²⁰ For Musawwarat see Hintze 1962 *passim*; for Dabod E. Winter: *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Österreichische Akademie d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschr. Bd. 98, Wien 1968 41f.

Doric column-shaped offering table support of prince Tedeqeñ¹²¹ was sculpted in a Meroitic workshop in which pharaonic and Hellenistic forms were used side by side. The red granite offering stand in Hellenistic style was carved by the master of the black granite offering table and of the stela belonging to the same burial, as is clearly indicated by technical and stylistic details of these carvings. Stela and offering table are inscribed in early Meroitic cursive.¹²² However, these objects suggesting a similar style amalgation as prevalent in contemporary Egypt are isolated and not sufficient to be interpreted as proofs. The standard burial equipment in royal and aristocratic tombs of the period is composed of objects in "purely" pharaonic style and of objects in Hellenistic style, imported from Egypt. Among the objects originating from Egypt we find expensive items like millefiori glass bowls, or glass inlays made in the workshops of Tanis and originally decorating some elaborate luxury object.

Excavations at Qasr Ibrim yielded an imposing quantity of Ptolemaic pottery. According to the excavators, Egyptian-made amphorae comprised ca. 45 % of the total ceramic complex at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period,¹²³ increasing steadily to ca. 80 % at the end of the Roman period.¹²⁴ Amphorae do not mean pottery import but that of wine, oil, etc. But pottery vessels of other kinds were also imported, as is suggested by the impact of Ptolemaic pottery types and styles on Kushite ceramic production. Unfortunately, the relationship between 3rd and 2nd c. Egyptian pottery on the one hand and early Meroitic pottery on the other is not investigated in such a way that we can draw general conclusions. The situation of the study of later pottery types and styles is somewhat better and allows us to conclude that by the 1st c. B.C. Kushite pottery was thoroughly influenced by late Hellenistic pottery styles in Egypt.¹²⁵ Hellenistic influence prepared the way towards the creation

¹²¹ 2nd c. B.C., from Meroe West Cemetery W 19, Dunham 1963 fig. 61b; Török 1988b Appendix No. 24.

¹²² Good illustration in Kendall 1982 Nos 69f.

¹²³ This means in all probability rather the first half of the 3rd c. B.C. when the Triakontaschoinos was established.

¹²⁴ W.Y. Adams: The 1980 Excavations at Qasr Ibrim: Implications for the History of Kush. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 415-420, 417f.

¹²⁵ For finds see Bradley 1984 199f.; for questions of style see first of all Wenig 1979; and see recently Török 1987a Appendix; Török 1987c..

of the most remarkable Kushite artistic achievement, the Meroitic fine painted and the Meroitic eggshell wares in the 1st c. A.D.

A prosperity comparable to the boom of the late 3rd c. B.C. occurs again shortly after the war with Rome in 29-21/20 B.C. The contacts are first visible in the form of luxury objects sent as presents to the south presumably in connection with the end of the conflict. The famous Bocchoris cup¹²⁶ is the most diagnostic present item and one of the most outstanding objects ever given to a king of Kush and preserved to our day. The silver vessel was made in a court workshop, probably at Alexandria and decorated with embossed representation of a scene from the legend of King Solomon-Bocchoris-Bakenranef, in which the king bears the features of Augustus himself. The scene is in all probability intended to symbolize Augustus' clemency, and as the act of clemency depicted in the decoration of the cup is connected to a Solomonic judgement it can also be supposed that the cup had a special message. This message was perhaps to give expression to the difficult situation of Augustus when he was forced to establish peace between Egypt and Kush, two "children" having equal rights to life. If this interpretation of the decoration is not entirely wrong, the question must still remain open of whether so much iconographic finesse was not wasted on the Kushite court. Further luxurious presents included millefiori glass produced in all probability in the Tanis workshop and rare opaque red glass vessels of Ising's Form 2 and other rare forms; richly decorated bronze vessels, furniture, serpentine vessels, silver ornaments, and North African lamps.

While the impact of these kinds and pieces of import remains obscure as long as our knowledge of the material culture of the period in Kush is so limited, it is rather obvious that changes in the pottery production are due to the import. Among imported pottery of Augustan (mostly early and middle Augustan) date there frequently occur Eastern Sigillata A wares, especially cups with special form and decoration revealing that they were made in imitation of early Augustan Arretine vessels. To this import belong exemplars unearthed at Meroe City by Garstang and by recent excavators,¹²⁷ on these latter, however, no exact judgement can be formed, since they were only mentioned but not published. Together with these Eastern

¹²⁶ See Ch. IV. 19, above, and Török 1988b Appendix No. 130.

¹²⁷ Cf. Bradley 1984 200ff.

Sigillata A wares also Pergamene wares were imported. It is rather obvious that these pottery wares served as the principal inspiration and starting point for the fine (eggshell) ware production. Forms, decoration types, and technical features within the Meroitic fine wares go back, apparently without exception, to forms, decoration types and technical features of Eastern Sigillata A and/or Pergamene wares made between the middle Augustan period and the middle of the 1st c. A.D. The earliest date of the Kushite production is, consequently, prior to the middle of the 1st c. A.D. and this is also confirmed by independent dating evidence discovered in early find complexes consisting of fine Meroitic pottery. But the question of the models is not as simple as indicated above, for there are also further ware types playing a role in the formation of the Meroitic fine pottery. The patterns employed in the relief decorations do not imitate the typical Eastern A and Pergamene relief decorations (stamp types); it is only the stamping of the surface for decorative purposes that was imitated. Instead, Meroitic stamp motifs are taken from the circle of pharaonic Egyptian or older Kushite motifs (religious symbols in most cases); and this circumstance points to a similar dichotomy of form versus decoration which we can observe in the case of the late Hellenistic and early Roman fayence industry in Egypt.

But Meroitic pottery is only one of the phenomena demonstrating the overall orientation of Meroe towards Roman Egypt. It must be emphasized here that, regardless of their place of manufacture, all imported objects must have arrived from Egypt. A striking proof of this is rendered by an Eastern Sigillata A ware plate stamped with the potter's (?) name *MIHAIC*. This name occurs, as far as I know, only on one further vessel, a plate discovered in Alexandria. Thus, however colourful the origins of the objects found in Kushite territory are, they do not demonstrate the spectrum of Kushite trade contacts – they visualize only the complexity of Egyptian commerce.

The orientation of Kushite culture towards Roman Egypt was by no means accidental: cultural orientation usually postulates orientation of the central power and of the temples, as I have tried to demonstrate earlier.¹²⁸ The centre of the artistic production is to be

¹²⁸ See Török 1976 *passim*. For the extremes of the reaction to my interpretation cf. Adams 1976 *passim* and, on the other hand, J. Desanges: *Quae ad mercandum pertinuerint inter Africam Romanam et medias Africæ regiones.*

sought for in Meroe City and perhaps in some further important centres (Napata, Sedeinga, Faras, etc.), but these latter can only be secondary to the principal royal residence with its self-evident possibilities and determining nature. In this respect it is also diagnostic that the earliest known Meroitic fine pottery wares as well as the widest spectrum of form types and decoration types within this pottery were found at Meroe City.¹²⁹ Moreover, it seems that the bulk of those foreign productions which served as models for imitation in Meroitic pottery (and in other artistic areas) was discovered at Meroe City. This would be in itself rather self-evident: however, it cannot be left out of consideration that we know neither the peripheral, nor the central areas of Kush to such an extent that we could form an exact judgement on the distribution of import and on the consequences of the distribution.

The orientation towards Roman Egypt is the most clearly displayed by architecture. Since I tried to analyze the key monuments from the point of view of their stylistic origin in earlier papers,¹³⁰ here I mention only very briefly the interesting fact that besides buildings revealing direct inspiration from Alexandria¹³¹ there are also edifices following directly Upper Egyptian models, like e.g. the so-called Roman Kiosk at Naqa which was built probably on the basis of models developed originally in Alexandria but significantly transformed in some remote centres.¹³²

The level of the production is uneven: while the so-called Sun Temple at Meroe City or the so-called Royal Bath¹³³ show a high level of craftsmanship, as far as their architecture is concerned, sculpture in the round of the period from the 1st c. B.C. to the 2nd c.

in: *Acta Omnium Gentium ac Nationum Conventus Latinis Litteris Linguae Fovendis*. Roma 1979 218-229, 226ff.

¹²⁹ This extraordinary variation spectrum must be realized as soon as one studies the photographic documentation and the finds of the Garstang excavations; for the opportunity to study these materials I am indebted to the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation, the British Academy, to Prof. A.F. Shore, Liverpool University, and to the Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool.

¹³⁰ Török 1976; 1984a; 1984b.

¹³¹ For a detailed investigation see L. Török: *Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan* (forthcoming).

¹³² For the building see first of all the stylistic analysis by Th. Kraus 1964 *passim*; for a different interpretation of the models and for a dating to around 60-70 A.D. see recently Török 1984c.

¹³³ A totally misleading, but unfortunately ineradicable name.

A.D. is of a much poorer quality, whereas it cannot be decided for the time being, whether does the quality show a constantly declining tendency or is this classification of the material false. Since the majority of the sculptures both from the Garstang excavations and the recent excavations of Shinnie and Bradley is still unpublished, I cannot discuss them in any detail here. F. Vlach expressed an opinion¹³⁴ in a preliminary report which seems to be rather near to my ideas on these sculptures.¹³⁵ It seems to me that both – not only stylistically but also chronologically distinct – groups of the Hellenizing sculpture found at Meroe City were executed mainly by Meroitic masters under the supervision of masters from Egypt, as it is suggested by such typical features as the use of painted plaster for finishing of the rather roughly carved local sandstone statues¹³⁶ or by the use of inlaid eyes.¹³⁷ The earlier group of sculptures is mainly composed of statues of men and women with a diadem-like headdress and displaying formal and stylistic features strongly resembling Egyptian sculptures of the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. The chronologically later group is iconographically much more colourful than the earlier group, and does not have the same Hellenistic accent. To its characteristic pieces belong a "Venus from Meroe", now in Munich,¹³⁸ a cuirassed figure,¹³⁹ an Apollon.¹⁴⁰ They can be dated both on the basis of their architectural context¹⁴¹ and their style to the first half of the 2nd c. A.D.¹⁴²

Similarly to Meroe City, also further sites of key importance are only superficially known and need archaeological investigation, like Naqa, where the temple of Apedemak was recently studied in great detail and published by I. Gamer-Wallert, K. Zibelius et al.¹⁴³ or Wad ban Naqa where a 1st c. A.D. palace was unearthed by Thabit

¹³⁴ F. Vlach: Meroitisch-hellenistische Plastik aus den sogenannten königlichen Bädern. Ein Arbeitsbericht. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 573-576.

¹³⁵ See Török 1976 *passim*; 1984b 360ff.

¹³⁶ Like in the case of the poorer part of the late Hellenistic and Roman statuary in Alexandria.

¹³⁷ For the latter cf. Bianchi 1979.

¹³⁸ *LAAA* 5 (1913) Pl. IX.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* Pl. X.

¹⁴⁰ *LAAA* 6 (1914) Pl. VI; Wenig 1978 fig. 67.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Török *op. cit.* (note 131).

¹⁴² Cf. Török 1976; 1984b 361f.

¹⁴³ In the time of the writing of this paper in press.

Hassan Thabit and Jean Vercoutter but published only in a preliminary form.¹⁴⁴ Both sites seem to have played a considerable role in the period around the 1st c. A.D., in the case of Naqa we have even reasons to suppose that the history of the site goes back to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C.¹⁴⁵ The important role of Upper Egyptian sanctuaries in the formation of the religious art and of the piety was recently analysed by Janice Yellin; her papers make it superfluous, to enter here this complex of problems.¹⁴⁶ However, it must be remarked that the confrontation of the results of religious-historial investigations with architectural and art monuments e.g. the temples of Naqa is hardly, or only is exceptional cases possible, because of the unsatisfactory state of archaeological investigation and publication.

Large-scale artistic activity seems to continue during the 2nd c. A.D.,¹⁴⁷ whereas we have more information about the situation in the north, due to the more intense archaeological investigation carried out there. This disproportion frequently has its consequence in the literature where we meet the opinion according to which the neighbourhood of Egypt resulted in the quicker development and deeper Egyptianization of the Lower Nubian territory and in the backwardness of the south. But the absence in the south of luxury objects is in all probability chance, even if it cannot be excluded that there could have been considerable differences in the intellectual *Gesamtbild* and in the composition of material culture in settlements of the south and of the north; however, the reasons of the differences must have deeper roots than the mere geographical distance and the mechanically effective neighbourhood with Egypt.

Objects probably originating from large-scale trade were found in big quantities in the masses of pottery discovered at Qasr Ibrim and other Lower Nubian sites. Trade of pottery has its limits, geographical distance must remain proportionate to value and profit. This is perhaps the reason, why is less Egyptian-made pottery of the average types to be found in the south. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries import of glass increases. While during the 1st c. A.D. glass represented an expensive present to the kings which arrived in the

¹⁴⁴ Vercoutter 1962.

¹⁴⁵ A cult at Naqa is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat.

¹⁴⁶ Yellin 1979 1982.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Adams 1976 *passim*; 1977 338ff.; Bradley 1984 203ff.

company of other luxury items as e.g. wine from Asia Minor or Rhodos¹⁴⁸ and further, unknown places of the Mediterranean area,¹⁴⁹ it becomes abundant later, its wider social and geographical distribution having been due to the development of the industry and the decline of prices. Although the possibility of Kushite glass production in this period and also during the 4th c. cannot be entirely excluded,¹⁵⁰ the close connection between the glass from Kushite sites and from Egyptian sites, first of all from the extremely rich find complex discovered at Karanis, strongly suggests the Egyptian origin of all(?) Lower and Upper Nubian glass finds.

Egyptian objects still appear in considerable quantities in 4th c. finds. Some of them represent a rare artistic value, like the blue glass flutes with painted figural decoration made around 330 A.D. in an Egyptian workshop and deliberately broken during the burial ceremony of a late Meroitic dignitary at Sedeinga. Flutes of this type were, as it seems, valued also in Lower Nubia. Fine cut glass – which did not belong to the mass-production mentioned above – seems to have been rather frequently presented to Meroitic officials of the last decades of the kingdom according to the custom in which the emperor and his praefects sent presents to allied and protected princes and their officials at certain occasions. Contacts are also visible in the form of the import of valuable inlaid caskets and in the continued influx of pottery from Upper Egyptian potteries. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, especially in the periods when the Dodekaschoinos belonged more closely than usual to the sphere of Kush, travels of ambassadors and pilgrims to the Dodekaschoinos were regular. Their experience of Egyptian piety might well have left its mark on Late Meroitic religiosity. A strange little detail deserves here mention: the latest datable proscynema in Meroitic cursive was written in Philae by nobody else than an Egyptian priest of Isis.¹⁵¹ The inscriptions made by these ambassadors and pilgrims, in Demotic in the temples of the Dodekaschoinos, and in Meroitic in

¹⁴⁸ Amphora mentioned by E.A.T.W. Budge: *The Egyptian Sudan* I. London 1907 174.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Desanges 1978 290f.

¹⁵⁰ The Meroitic origin of the luxury glasses found at Sedeinga is advocated by Leclant 1973.

¹⁵¹ See Török 1984a 177, No. IX 1, 180.

temples farther south, are the most important sources concerning political and religious contacts of the late Meroitic period.¹⁵²

Some concluding remarks present themselves here, even if I do not believe that above survey could have provided an opportunity to understand properly the general trends of Kushite external connections. It seems that all great flourishing periods of Kushite culture were in direct causal relationship with contact with Egypt: i.e. the great flourishing periods were produced by *extraordinary* contacts the essence of which is beyond the limits of the *always* present everyday communication with Egypt. The period of the 25th Dynasty resulted in a culture which did not live exclusively on borrowed ideas, forms, habits, texts etc., but possessed a sufficient creative force securing certain inner-directed development, too: we must take into consideration the Egyptianized priesthood and the temple archives, the workshops organised probably on Egyptian lines and employing for a period Egyptian masters who introduced models and methods. Above all, the 25th Dynasty created a kingship ideology and administrative institutions which demanded, determined and consumed the culture in question. It is thus no wonder that the development of the culture in Kush after the withdrawal of the Dynasty from Egypt is in many respects analogous to the development of the culture in Saite Egypt. However, towards the end of the Persian Domination the inner forces of the Kushite culture seem to be exhausted: one has the impression that the decline must have been a consequence of the fact that the country had for a long time not have an organic contact with Egypt.

The second great flourishing period began with the expedition of Ptolemy II around 274 B.C., but it cannot be excluded, either, that this initially bellicose contact had already preliminaries even prior to 330 in the form of conflicts caused by a northward expansion under Harsiyotef, further by the war against Khababash and his Lower Nubian allies(?); we may perhaps also suppose that before the Khababash affair there occurred troubles under the reign of Nectanebos II(?). Strangely enough, the contacts are now brought about by the expedition of Ptolemy II, i.e. by a war, but this fact does not seem to result inhibitions towards Egypt. We do not know, whether was it noticed in Kush that the dynasty of the Ptolemies was

¹⁵² For the Demotic inscriptions see recently Burkhardt 1985; for the Meroitic graffiti see my preliminary classification, Török 1984a 173-182.

not Egyptian and if yes, how did Kushites experience this fact. It is also unknown, whether was the common feature of the Ptolemaic and Kushite royal families noticed, viz. that they shared the custom of sister-marriage, this constant cause of scandal in the Hellenistic world in connection with the rulers of Egypt. Contacts seem to influence the entire realm of culture: including arts, religion, ideology of the kingship; furthermore, the contacts also had their impact on the way of life of the Kushite society. It is difficult to say how deep actually the transformation caused by Egyptian influence went: it seems that very deep and that the transformation was organic. We have reasons to believe that they were not exhausted in copying, imitating and artificially transplanting forms and manners. The essence of the transformations is revealed first of all by the invention of the Meroitic cursive script; in the arts by a particularly interesting mixed style; in religion by the emergence of new Meroitic deities and in the evolution of a series of Egyptian and Meroiticised Egyptian cults.¹⁵³

Certain processes caused by Egyptian influence had their own inner energies and could survive without newer Egyptian injections; it is thus impossible to see, when, how and why did contacts with Egypt decrease, for we have no unambiguous signs of the otherwise probable loosening of contacts. The decrease of intense communication with Egypt was first of all a consequence of Ptolemaic disinterest toward war elephants imported after 274 B.C. from Kush but loosing importance in the course of the 2nd c. B.C. It is interesting to note here that the figure of the elephant appears as companion of divine warriors in the religious iconography and also as a motifs in arts shortly after that Egypt established a large-scale elephant export from Kush to Egypt; it is perhaps not a mere optical

¹⁵³ For the birth of the new deities see e.g. St. Wenig: Arensnuphis and Sebiumeker. Bemerkungen zu zwei in Meroe verehrten Göttern. *ZÄS* 101 (1974) 130-150; L.V. Zabkar: *Apedemak. Lion God of Meroe: A Study in Egyptian-Meroitic Syncretism*. Warminster 1975; for the Meroiticisation of cults see e.g. I. Hofmann: Bemerkungen zum Gott Sabomakal. *BiOr* 34 (May/July) 1977 139-142, 141; a comprehensive study on Meroitic syncretism: Chr. Onasch: *Untersuchungen zur meroitischen Religion*. Unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Berlin; cf. Chr. Onasch: Zur Struktur der meroitischen Religion. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 135-142; for individual cults and connections with Philae see the illuminating studies of J. Yellin 1979; 1980; 1982; for historical aspects cf. Török 1984a.

illusion that this role of the elephant figure becomes insignificant with the ceasing of the elephant trade. This remarkable dependence on contacts with Egypt will be discussed on the basis of a striking example at another place;¹⁵⁴ a more detailed analysis of the iconography of the elephant in Kushite art is certainly a desideratum of research.

A third and final flourishing period is introduced by the war with Rome. Exactly like it was the case after 274 B.C., after the peace treaty was concluded in 21/20, Kush was within the shortest possible time not only flooded with import objects from Egypt, but also displayed a sudden outburst of building activity which bears the stamp of Egyptian architecture of the late Hellenistic period. It is rather clear that the apparently very organic reception is due to the initial activity of foreign architects and/or craftsmen and to the import of architectural plans. And again exactly like after 274, also in this period we witness after the initial years of intense import, imitation and artistic transplantation the emergence of a genuine Kushite achievement which unifies foreign ideas with Kushite technique and Kushite details. Like three hundred years ago the own language was united with the Demotic signs and with a writing system of – for us – mysterious origin,¹⁵⁵ are now Eastern Sigillata A and Pergamene forms united with a specific Kushite ceramic technique and with Kushite decoration. In the amalgam there are furthermore inspirations of Memphite black pottery as well as of Egyptian faience. This ceramic style survives during the following centuries, and although there is no generally accepted chronology of Meroitic painted pottery, it cannot be doubted that survival did not mean mere repetition of 1st and early 2nd c. decorations. The progress within monumental art is different: both the volumen and niveau of production in architecture and sculpture show a tendency of decline. It must be added, however, that our idea of 2nd to 4th c. Meroitic art must be radically changed after the publication of sites as Sedeinga, Sai, Gebel Adda or Qasr Ibrim, the more so that the conditions for higher level artistic production seem to have been present if we judge Meroitic society of the period on the basis of the documents referring to institutions, administration and religion on the one hand, and on the basis of settlement forms, on the other.

¹⁵⁴ Török 1988b 105-116.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Hintze 1979.

Contacts with Augustan and with early first c. A.D. Egypt seem to have influenced the ideology of kingship, too. These problems were touched upon from different aspects in studies on royal iconography,¹⁵⁶ ideology,¹⁵⁷ the structure of succession¹⁵⁸ and the structure of the royal family.¹⁵⁹ Another territory where Egyptian influence is very clearly visible is popular religion where all doors seem to have opened themselves to the syncretism of Roman Egypt.¹⁶⁰

The problem of the impact of Kush on other countries and of her contacts with other countries than Egypt will not be discussed here. For the time being, there is no textual or archaeological evidence that would render possible or sensible such an investigation. As opposed to less cautious students of Nubian history,¹⁶¹ I am rather sceptical as to the possibility of such contacts and such an impact: for culture transfer postulates certain structural affinities and a social-economic basis that initiates contacts and grants the adoption of forms, ideas, and techniques.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Török 1987b, and see below, Ch. VI. 2.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. Hofmann 1971.

¹⁵⁸ Priese 1981.

¹⁵⁹ Török 1986.

¹⁶⁰ For the general trends see J. Leclant: Aspects du syncretisme meroïtique, in: *Le syncretisme dans les religions grecque et romaine*. Strasbourg 1973: 135-145.

¹⁶¹ E.g., ~~sec~~ P.O. Scholz: Kann die kuschitische Umwelt nur auf Ägypten und die Mittelmeerländer beschränkt werden? Randbemerkungen zu dem Hauptreferat von L. Török, Kush and the External World. *Meroitica* 10 (1988) 317-352.

VI. ICONOGRAPHY AND MENTALITY

1. Piye's horses

After the siege of Hermopolis and the surrender of Nimlot, Piye entered into Hermopolis and, after a visit in the sanctuaries of the city, inspected Nimlot's palace. The words of King Piye on the view that awaited him in Nimlot's stables are recorded as follows in his Great Triumphal Stela:¹ "His Majesty proceeded to the stables of his (i.e. Nimlot's) horses, and the quarters of the foals. When he saw that they have suffered from hunger, he said I swear, as Re^c loves me, and as my nostrils are rejuvenated with life, it is more grievous in my heart that my horses have suffered hunger, than any evil deed that thou hast done in the prosecution of desire". Besides this most famous passage, the text of the stela speaks repeatedly about horses: the King mentions the yoking of war horses, "the best of the stable", in his instructions to his army;² in line 21 "horses of unknown number" are killed in the battle at Per-Peg are mentioned. The kinglet of Heracleopolis, Peftjauawybast, when acknowledging his vassaldom to Piye, presents the King with valuables and stallions and colts (line 71). At the advance of Piye to Memphis, Tefnakht leaves hurriedly with the expectation of returning with a strong army that could defend the city from Piye's forces. According to line 89, "he mounted upon a horse, he asked not for his chariot, he went north in fear of His Majesty". Horses are also mentioned in connection with Piye's visit to the "hereditary prince" Padiese in Athribis. The prince

¹ Stela Cairo JE 48862. BAR 418-444; Grimal 1981. In the writing of Section 1 I have profited from conversations with Dr. T. Bács, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

² Lines 9-12. Cf. P. Kaplony: Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Königtum vor allem in der Spätzeit. *CdE* 46 (1971) 250-274, 261ff; Török: 1986 No. 3.

presents him there with "horses, both stallions and mares, all of the best of his stable" (line 110). In the remarkable peace treaty³ concluded with the Libyan chiefs in Athribis the latter open their oath with the following words: "He who shall conceal his horses or hide his goods, shall die the death of his father(?)".⁴ After the ratification of the oath, the chiefs are dismissed in order, as they say, to "open our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy (i.e. Piye's) heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses" (lines 113f). Finally, also Tefnakht's message of submission contains a sentence of similar meaning (line 138).

The importance of the horse is also emphasised in the relief scene carved in the top field of the stela:⁵ as a monumentally rendered "postlude" to the first-quoted scene in Nimlot's stables, the submissive king of Hermopolis is depicted here approaching Piye leading a horse with his left hand and carrying a sistrum in his right hand. In this context the sistrum was probably destined to calm the fury of His Majesty.⁶

In the depiction of Piye's Egyptian campaign on the walls of the collonaded court added by him to the Great Temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal (B 501) and on the inner façades of the south and north towers of the Second Pylon of this temple (B 502) we can also recognise the extended version of Nimlot's tribute (B 502, south tower⁷) as well as the representation of the horses presented as tribute in the manner as described in the Great Triumphal Stela (B 501, west section of north wall⁸).

How can the iconographical innovation of these remarkable tribute scenes be explained? Earlier writers in their comments on the Great Triumphal Stela presented an image of Piye as author of "the clearest and most rational account of a military expedition which has survived from Egypt. It displays... an appreciation of dramatic situations which is notable... the humane Piankhy... the lover of horses, remains a *man* far removed from the conventional companion and equal of the

³ For its "feudal" character see Spalinger 1979 288ff.

⁴ Spalinger 1979 translates "he will die after(?) his father has died".

⁵ Smith 1981 fig. 389.

⁶ Cf. Chr. Ziegler: Sistrum. in: *LdÄ* V, 959-963, 961.

⁷ Reconstruction of Kendall 1986 fig. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 8.

gods".⁹ Piye's "chivalry in battle, his austere avoidance of captured princesses, his delight in horses, his scrupulous performance of religious ritual, and his refusal to deal with conquered princes who were ceremonially unclean"¹⁰ were regarded as individual features and explained in a variety of ways as reflecting extraordinary morals, piety, naiveté, barbarism, ambition, pretentiousness etc. A recent analysis of the Great Triumphal Stela¹¹ has illuminated, however, the intricate pattern of traditional concepts that are interwoven with an imposing political realism in the background of Piye's ethics and piety. The almost perfect manner in which the historical and mythical dimensions of the King's actions and acting are projected into each other does not seem to leave much space for the "improvised" element of human personality. The correspondence between Piye's features and the timeless image of Pharaoh may in fact inspire misjudgements as, e.g. his summary characterisation as a "humourless traditionalist" with whom "custom and law weighed heavily".¹²

There is certainly no need to rehabilitate Piye from merciless verdicts like this. His inscriptions do not render possible an examination of his sense of humour. A closer look at the connections between certain passages of the Great Triumphal Stela and his Gebel Barkal reliefs, however, may contribute to our understanding of the complicated nature of his traditionalism – or more precisely, of the traditionalism of the King *and* the other, anonymous authors of the Stela.

In Spalinger's view¹³ Piye "is enraged at Nimlot, not for any reasons of charity but simply because of the economic value of the animals and the necessity of having healthy horses to wage war successfully". Thus: practical considerations instead of love and delight. The probable motivation of Piye's rebuke of Nimlot is, however, somewhat more complex. Its moral overtone cannot be

⁹ J.H. Breasted: *A History of Egypt*. London 1909 545; quoted by Adams 1977 262.

¹⁰ J. Wilson: *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*. Chicago 1957 293; quoted by Adams 1977 263.

¹¹ E.g. Grimal 1981; id., *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*. Paris 1986; cf. also Leclant, op. cit. (note 68), and literature in J. Leclant, "Pi(anchi)". in: *LdÄ* IV 1045-1052.

¹² D. B. Redford: *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*. Mississauga 1986 315.

¹³ Spalinger 1979 283.

denied: the neglect of the animals is condemned as a crime that is "more grievous ... than any deed that thou hast done in the prosecution of desire". Why? For the warlord, horses represented indeed a great value. It has been suggested¹⁴ that horse and chariot were known, and used in warfare, by Nubians as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty. Moreover, it has also been supposed that in this period horses were bred in Nubia and exported to Egypt.¹⁵ If so, the Kushite army may have had its own tradition of the use of the horse (we return to this issue below). In New Kingdom Egypt the breeding and training of horses was organized in the royal stables,¹⁶ and now independently of the question whether the Egyptian royal stable system was adopted in Kush or not, Piye's judgement on Nimlot in this matter suggested that he knew this system and defended it. Consequently, the passage under discussion was meant to stress another feature of the Kushite king which associates him with the ideal Pharaoh. It may be assumed, too, that his concern for horses also recalled the New Kingdom tradition of the kingly love of horses in general and the extraordinary skill of Amenophis II in their training, in particular.¹⁷

Turning now to the horse representations preserved in the Gebel Barkal Amun temple of Piye, they occur in two scene-types. To the first type belong war reliefs on the inner fronts of the towers of the Second Pylon: the upper registers of the (local) south tower are supposed to represent the siege and surrender of Hermopolis.¹⁸ The lower registers of the (local) north tower represent a battle (and massacre) of similar character.¹⁹ Fragments of two reliefs belonging to the second type are preserved on the (local) north wall of the collonaded court B 501 and on the above-mentioned (local) south tower, in the bottom register of its inside front. The first is a

¹⁴ Cf. D. O'Connor: New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period 1552-664 B.C. in: B.G. Trigger – B.J. Kemp – D. O'Connor – A.B. Loyd: *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*. Cambridge 1983 262; cf. also with P. Houard – J. Leclant: *Problèmes archéologiques entre le Nil et le Sahara*. Le Caire 1972 76ff.; for horse burials in Soleb see M. S. Giorgini: *Soleb II*. Firenze 1971 260ff.; and for the problem in general see L. Störk: Pferd. in: *LdÄ* IV 1009-1013, 1010.

¹⁵ Störk, op.cit. (note 14), loc.cit.

¹⁶ See the literature quoted in Störk, op.cit. (note 14).

¹⁷ W. Decker: *Die physische Leistung Pharaos*. Köln 1971 128ff.

¹⁸ Kendall 1986 fig. 9.

¹⁹ Ibid. fig. 10.

procession of horses that constitutes part of the tribute of the vanquished kings and princes; the second is similarly a procession of horses and is believed by Kendall to be an extended version of Nimlot's tribute as represented on the Great Triumphal Stela.²⁰

We do not know what was represented on the destroyed walls of the collonaded court and on the façades of Piye's pylons. The war relief fragments listed above suggest that the iconographical program was influenced by, or modelled upon, Ramesside war reliefs in Nubian temples and depicting Nubian campaigns. It is indicated, although in an indirect manner, by later monuments that the Ramesside iconographical model was rather faithfully adopted: the lower podium reliefs of Temple M 250 at Meroe City go back to an early Napatan relief cycle of a ruined temple at the same site which, in turn, represented – as far as it can be judged from the preserved remains – a complete rendering of the Ramesside-type Nubian war cycle.²¹ Moreover, the Meroe City cycle contains the depiction of a cavalry unit.²² Now the original Meroe City reliefs were probably modelled upon the Gebel Barkal reliefs depicting Piye's Egyptian campaign. In view of the fact that fighting on open fields was not characteristic of the tactics described in the Great Triumphal Stela, since the overwhelming majority of the action was of the siege nature,²³ the emphasis given to the chariots in the Gebel Barkal war scenes further indicates the traditional nature of these reliefs and their dependence on Ramesside prototypes.

The apparent traditionalism of the preserved war relief fragments is contrasted by the innovation of the horse processions of the tribute scenes. In these reliefs also the emergence of a new style is more conspicuous than in the war scenes. Under the strong influence of Old and Middle Kingdom models, the artists of the Gebel Barkal reliefs developed a new type of representation of the Kushite ethnotype. The tall, slender, long-legged human figure, with broad, straight shoulders, round head, and slightly stylised and idealized negroid face reflects, however, also an attempt at a naturalistic portraying of the

²⁰ Kendall 1986 17ff.

²¹ Török n.d. Chapter 27.

²² A drawing of the scene was published by Wenig: 1978 fig. 36.

²³ For an analysis of the tactics described in the Piye Stela see Spalinger 1979 *passim* and esp. 286.

existing ethnotype. The remarkably long-legged rangy form²⁴ of the horses displays the principles of the same style but it may also be supposed that the canon of the horse representations was similarly influenced by naturalistic observation as to the proportions of the figure.²⁵

It was mentioned above that the lower podium reliefs of temple M 250 at Meroe City, which go back *via* an early Napatan original temple presumably to Piye's Gebel Barkal war reliefs, contain a scene showing a cavalry "unit" of four cavalrymen. Their spears as well as the scenic context render it probable that they can be indeed identified as soldiers and not as messengers.²⁶ Unfortunately, the supposed Gebel Barkal model of the scene, if it existed at all, is now destroyed. We may nevertheless find some indications that cavalry tactics were not unknown in Piye's army. In one of the two preserved relief register fragments on the (local) north tower of the Second Pylon²⁷ a mounted soldier is represented. Kendall identified the figure as the fleeing Tefnakht at Memphis,²⁸ but this is improbable because the mounted figure is apparently one of the participants of a battle- and massacre scene.

The other example is less ambiguous as to the identity of the horseman but it comes from a later period. A block from Kawa, belonging originally to Taharqo's Amun Temple²⁹ (Temple T), depicts a part of a military procession (and not a battle scene, hence the lack of weapons) with a cavalryman and two infantrymen, wearing apparently the same costume that also occurs on fragments of 25th Dynasty – early Napatan war reliefs found at Meroe City.³⁰

²⁴ Smith 1981 395. The supernatural size of the horses in relationship to the human figures in the same reliefs deserves a separate study. The same disproportion occurs also in the war reliefs. In the Ramesside models of the latter, however, no such disproportion can be observed.

²⁵ Cf. Dunham 1950 111, on the skeletal material from the horse burials at El Kurru.

²⁶ Mounted figures in New Kingdom war reliefs represent messengers, who are depicted, as a rule, without weapons.

²⁷ Kendall 1986 fig. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1931. 551, Macadam 1955 Pl. Ib.

³⁰ E.g. Török n.d. find No. 750-11, fig. 52, University of Liverpool School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies (=SAOS) Inv. E 8635.

We may thus conclude that the appearance of horses in the text of the Great Triumphal Stela and in the reliefs depicting Piye's Egyptian campaign was motivated by two main factors. As to the text, the King's concern for good horses was emphasised in order to stress his association with the traditional image of Pharaoh who displays an aristocratic love of these animals but who at the same time, through his concern for the institution of the royal stables, also presents a proof of his fulfillment of a royal duty. As to the reliefs, the (preserved) war scenes were modelled upon New Kingdom cycles that depicted campaigns against Nubia. These scenes were thus traditional in the above sense, and, unlike the passages of the Stela text on horses, also historical. While the first factor is thus explained by the traditionalism of the founder of a new dynasty, the second factor had its roots in the trend of "naturalism" of the early 25th Dynasty. The royal concern for horses expressed in the Great Triumphal Stela was determined, the above-mentioned considerations apart, by the actual role played by these animals in Kushite warfare. Representations of cavalrymen may also indicate that the use of cavalry was developed in Kush long before this tactic was employed in Egypt.³¹ Yet, while the actual importance of cavalry remains obscure in Piye's period, the importance of chariot horses is expressed in a naturalistic and historical manner by the horse processions of the tribute scenes as well as by the burial of the royal chariot-horses of Piye (and, in the subsequent generations, of Shabaqo, Shebitqo and Tanutamani) at El Kurru.³²

2. The Meroitic royal costume and the associating mind

Reliefs ... royal mortuary chapels and in buildings at Musawwarat es Sufra – in the central building ("Temple 100"³³) of the Great Enclosure and on the walls of the Apedemak Temple – witness the

³¹ For cavalry in 4th c. B.C. Egyptian tactics see Diodorus, XV, 42, and cf. A.B. Lloyd: The Late Period, 664-323 B.C. in: B.G. Trigger et al. op.cit. (note 14) 309-348.

³² Dunham 1950 110ff; for the Egyptian-style trappings of the horses see also Kendall 1982 32f.

³³ For the identification of the Great Enclosure as palace and "Temple 100" as throne hall see Ch. III. 5, above.

emergence of a new type of royal costume in the course of the 3rd c. B.C. It was modelled, as to its tripartite composition, upon the Ptolemaic *Fransenmantel*-costume.³⁴ the Egyptian tunic, coat and shawl corresponded in the Meroitic costume with a Meroitic-type tunic, an asymmetrically shoulder-fastened wrap-over (in the following it will be termed similarly coat), and a sash (i.e., a cloth stripe or cord with suspended tassels and tied around the right shoulder and the chest) that gives the visual impression of a shawl. The Egyptian model was associated with the Ptolemaic concepts of the eternity of royal power and of ancestor cult. The Meroitic costume, while presumably also adopting the Ptolemaic associations of the robe, was composed of pieces which have carried their own traditional meaning.

The manifold associations of kingship ideology with the insignia and costumes of the ruler make the examination of the latter a gratifying task. In the absence of sufficient written evidence, we may learn a lot from the study of the royal costume about speculations of a theological and propagandistic nature and concerning the relationship between deities and ruler. Research into the history of the Meroitic state regalia also provide us with an opportunity to observe a recurrent mechanism of the Kushite mind. In the following I shall briefly review some moments of the development of the royal costume which indicate that in the Kushite mind objects were associated and identified with each other on account of their resemblances. Furthermore, objects of different nature and form were associated with each other and were replaced with each other because they occurred once in a common context. The creating of conceptual associations between phenomena of heterogeneous origins, form and function on this basis is a recurrent feature of the way of thinking of early societies. The associating habit of the Kushites, as far as it can be judged from the iconographical (thus, an indirect type of) evidence, was similar to the structure of associations one can observe in Egyptian religion. It is thus rather probable that the associating habit of the Meroites was similarly determined by the broader system

³⁴ Cf. R.S. Bianchi: The Striding Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt. in: H. Maehler – V.M. Strocka (eds): *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*. Mainz 1978 95-100; for the concepts associated with the *Fransenmantel* cf. E. Winter: Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln. *ibid.* 147-158, 153.

of a world-view in which the concept of order also materialised in the visually appreciable identity and diversity of phenomena.

The most important piece of the Kushite royal costume is a coat which is in reality an oblong sheet of textile fastened asymmetrically over the right shoulder. It seems that the putting-on and fastening of the coat constituted an episode of the enthronisation ceremonies already in the period of Piye.³⁵ The earliest iconographical evidence attesting this particular ceremony survives, however, from the 2nd half of the 3rd c. B.C. in the reliefs of the above-mentioned edifices at Musawwarat es Sufra.³⁶ According to these reliefs, the coat was fastened by means of knotting together *two long cords* which had tasselled ends and were fixed to the edge of the sheet of textile that constituted the coat. Some generations earlier, however, the coat was still fastened by means of *two short ribbons* with tasselled ends.³⁷ The sacral significance of these fastening devices is indicated by a miniature figure of the recumbent Nubian Amun-ram protecting the knot in a number of reliefs (and occurring also in the round on a later, late 1st B.C. – early 1st A.D. statuette).³⁸ These tasselled ribbons were introduced, in turn, in the early 3rd c. B.C. as replacements for *long ribbons* which were decorated in a traditional manner that had 25th Dynasty or even earlier origins³⁹ with applied golden rosettes.⁴⁰

The fashion of the asymmetrically shoulder-fastened royal coat goes back to 18th Dynasty prototypes⁴¹ and its fastening by means of ribbons was equally modelled upon Egyptian fashion: different types of wrap-overs, coats, and other robes had been fastened in this manner ever since Old Kingdom times.⁴² We also find a 19th Dynasty representation showing a coat fastened over the right

³⁵ Great Triumphant Stela, line 103; for the issue see Török 1990, 1987b 4f.

³⁶ "Temple 100", collonade, columns 8-10: R. Lepsius: *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien V*. Berlin 1859: 74a, b; S. Wenig: *Arensnuphis und Sebiumeker. Bemerkungen zu zwei in Meroe verehrten Göttern*. ZÄS 101 (1974) 130-150, fig. 13.

³⁷ Beg. S. 4, 5: Chapman-Dunham 1952 Pl. 3.

³⁸ Ibid. For the statuette representing Queen Nawidemak, see P.L. Shinnie: *Meroe. A Civilization of the Sudan*. London 1967 Pls. 29f.; for the divine figure protecting her tasselled cord: Török 1990 fig. 37.

³⁹ Cf. Wenig, op.cit. (note 22), fig. 21. (Tanutamani).

⁴⁰ Beg. S. 5, Chapman-Dunham 1952 Pl. 3.

⁴¹ Cf. Bianchi op.cit. (note 34); Török 1990 Section 7, with literature.

⁴² Cf., e.g. C. Vandersleyen: *Das alte Ägypten. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15*. Berlin 1975 figs. 241, 243, 245, 246, 276.

shoulder with four short tasselled cords.⁴³ Before we conclude, however, that the Meroitic royal coat and its different types of fastening were more or less accidental copies of Egyptian fashions, let us look at the other occurrences of one of the above-mentioned, and formally rather unusual, accessory, the tasselled cord.

In the Musawwarat es Sufra Apedemak Temple, Arensnuphis is depicted holding a long tasselled cord in his left hand.⁴⁴ The god is represented in the act of the killing of two gazelles and wearing a royal coat fastened by means of two long tasselled cords knotted over his right shoulder and flung back together with a doubly-wrapped-around royal sash. The royal robe of the deity indicates his eminent place in kingship ideology. The tasselled cord in his left is doubtless a descendant of the lasso of Onuris, ie. the Egyptian model of Arensnuphis. Onuris used the lasso as a hunter and, since Arensnuphis inherited Onuris's function as a desert hunter, so the lasso was presumably included in his iconography. In the Musawwarat relief the lasso is stylized, surprisingly enough, into a counterpart of the accessory that is fastening the royal coat.

In one of the scenes of the enthronisation cycle in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra⁴⁵ the ruler is presented with a tasselled cord by the Nubian god Sebiumeker. Although Sebiumeker was also endowed with attributes of the desert hunter and warrior, it is rather unlikely that he would be presenting the king with a lasso. His tasselled cord is more likely identical with the fastening accessory of the coat. These scenes attest what can also be surmised from other data, *viz.* that Sebiumeker belonged to the circle of deities who were regarded in the early Meroitic period as main sources of royal power.

In scenes showing King Arnekhamani before Amun in the reliefs of the Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra the ruler is wearing the traditional Egyptian priestly costume, yet in his belt there is twined a long tasselled cord.⁴⁶ The earliest known occurrence of this

⁴³ B. Mathieu: Un nouveau fragment du papyrus de Praemheb. *RdÉ* (1986) 155-159, fig. 156; Török 1990 fig. 4.

⁴⁴ Column scene 6/2/4. F. Hintze et al.: *Der Löwentempel Tafelband. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Archäologische Forschungen im Sudan, Musawwarat es Sufra. 1, 2.* Berlin 1971 Pl. 97.

⁴⁵ Column 9 scene 3, Wenig op.cit. (note 36) fig. 13; Török 1990 fig. 21/c.

⁴⁶ Hintze et al. op.cit. (note 44) Pl. 57.

remarkable fashion is in the robe of the high priests of Amun in the reliefs of Temple T at Kawa, which also include Taharqo and the Queen Mother (?) as high priest and priestess of Amun.⁴⁷ Analogous representations are furthermore known from Sanam.⁴⁸ It was obviously through the meditation of princes of Taharqo's family who were appointed into priestly offices in Thebes that the belt and tasselled cord ensemble became a part of the official costume of the prophets of the Theban Amun.⁴⁹ It was abandoned in Thebes only as a consequence of the dramatic deterioration of Egyptian-Kushite contacts under Psammetich II. In Kush, however, it survived as an exclusively royal accessory in the costume of the ruler as high priest of Amun.⁵⁰ From the formal point of view, the origin of the belt and tasselled cord ensemble is in the Ramesside fashion of the ornamental royal belt into which is twined an elegantly looped long, flowing ribbon.⁵¹ In Kushite iconography the be-ribboned belt appears as part of the triumphal falcon dress in a representation of Shebitqo in Karnak where the king receives a sword from Amun.⁵² Later examples are unknown, and, as indicated above, one generation later there appears a belt and tasselled cord ensemble, yet this time in the costume of Amun's high priests. However indirectly, the relationship between the two fashions is suggested by their mutual association with Amun. Yet the replacement of the ribbon with the tasselled cord may also have been determined more directly by the cord's own significance.

From a formal point of view, the cord and the belt were associated with each other already for long centuries. Belts of different sorts had been fastened by means of short tasselled cords or bead strings since Old Kingdom times⁵³ and the robe of the princess presenting the gold of Nubia on the throne of Setamun⁵⁴ was decorated with long tasselled cords. As the act of the fastening of the belt was endowed

⁴⁷ Macadam 1955 Pl. XVa, b, XXIa.

⁴⁸ F.L. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia. *LAAA* 9 (1922) Pl. XXVII/1.

⁴⁹ Török 1990 Sections 3f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ E.g. Ramses III, Tomb of Amunherkhepshef, Valley of the Queens No. 55. F. Hassanein – M. Nelson: *La Tombe du prince Amon-(Her)-Khepchef*. Le Caire 1976 Pl. XVII; Paris 1982 Pl. 233.

⁵² R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz: *Les temples de Karnak* II. Paris 1982 Pl. 233.

⁵³ For examples see Török 1990.

⁵⁴ Cairo CG 51113; *Toutankhamon et son temps*. Petit Palais, Paris 1967 No. 11.

with a symbolic significance in Egyptian tradition,⁵⁵ it cannot be excluded that the tasselled cord also had a symbolic value in Egypt as well.

In the late 3rd c. B.C. Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra the *signum* of Sebiumeker is ornamented with tightly spaced tassels together with a longer tasselled cord hanging down from the base of the god's image that constitutes the central feature of the *signum*.⁵⁶ An identical decoration appears on Apedemak's *signum* in the 1st c. A.D. Lion Temple at Naqa.⁵⁷ In both cases the suspended tassels and tasselled cords correspond with the cloth stripes of the Egyptian divine standards. The replacement of cloth stripes, i.e., ribbons, by tassels repeats the above-discussed development in the course of which the ribbons of the royal coat were replaced by tasselled ribbons and then tasselled cords. The appearance of the long tasselled cord in the *signum* of Sebiumeker and Apedemak corresponds in general with the same process, but seems in particular to have been determined by the special association of the tasselled cord with the deities who played a central role in kingship ideology.

In the sphere of physical appearance the cord and the ribbon were thus regarded as interchangeable. It seems, however, that the change was not reversible: for the ribbon was changed into a tasselled cord wherever it was possible, but the tasselled cord was never replaced by a ribbon. While short tasselled cords also existed in Egyptian fashion, their long version is a distinctly Kushite invention. The replacement of the Egyptian ribbon with this device appears thus to have been a sort of "Kushitization".

The ideological connotations behind this Kushitization cannot be fully explained at present, but the review of further iconographical data may contribute to their understanding. Royal representations made around the middle of the 2nd c. B.C. attest the inclusion of an additional tasselled cord into the state regalia. Besides the two cords fastening the coat there appears also a further long cord slung loosely over the right shoulder.⁵⁸ A possible explanation for this strange fashion is suggested by a representation of King Apries (?) from the Memphis palace, showing the ruler performing the rites of the Feast

⁵⁵ Cf. E. Staehelin: Knoten. in: *LdÄ* III. 459f.

⁵⁶ Hintze et al. op.cit. (Note 44) Pl. 46.

⁵⁷ Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 4b, 5a.

⁵⁸ Török 1990 Section 11.

of the White Hippopotamus.⁵⁹ The relief is modelled closely upon a representation of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, and both royal images contain a surprising and enigmatic detail, *viz.*, both kings are wearing over the left shoulder a cloth stripe that resembles a long shawl that is hanging down in front and at back to the ankles. The strange "shawl" was apparently connected to the ritual hunt and meant to be used in the tying-together of the legs of the wounded and captured hippopotamus. It is thus tempting to identify the loosely slung-over cord of the Meroitic ruler with the lasso of Arensnuphis. Yet, there is also an alternative explanation, according to which the additional cord was identical with the cord that was originally associated with the ruler's belt in his costume as high priest of Amun. This second possibility is supported by the appearance of *two* long cords flung over each shoulder in representations from the late 2nd c. B.C. onwards. In these latter representations the ruler is shown as a triumphant warrior,⁶⁰ and is also wearing the doubly-wrapped-around sash associated with Arensnuphis (see above) and Apedemak. It seems that in these royal images the ruler is thus associated with Amun, Apedemak, Arensnuphis and Sebiumeker (i.e. the main sources of Kushite royal power) at the same time; whereas the type of the representation (triumph) is complemented with attributes of the above-mentioned deities as warriors and hunters.

At this point of the investigation we must return once more to the 25th Dynasty preliminaries of the tasselled cord fashion. For this accessory also appeared in contexts other than the costume of the high priest of Amun. In two remarkable reliefs of the late 25th Dynasty Temple B at Kawa, Onuris is represented in a no longer completely Egyptian form. He is wearing a kilt (?) with suspended long cloth stripes (!) at front and instead of a belt he has a long tasselled cord tied around his waist.⁶¹ This cord is probably nothing other than his lasso; and if so, the reliefs attest that the lasso of the hunter-deity had been stylized into a tasselled cord already in this early period. Now it would follow from this that the cord twined in

⁵⁹ W.M.F. Petrie: *The palace of Apries (Memphis II)*. London 1909 Pl. VII; W. Kaiser: Die dekorierte Torfassade des spätzeitlichen Palastbezirkes von Memphis. *MDAIK* 43 (1987) 123-154, Fig. 10; id.: Zum *Hb Hdt* *MDAIK* 44 (1988) 125-134.

⁶⁰ Török 1990 Section 15.

⁶¹ Macadam 1955 Pls. VIa, VIIa.

the belt of the high priest of Amun in Taharqo's reliefs and in monuments from the subsequent centuries had a similar significance. It may appear unlikely that a lasso would have been associated with the costume of Amun's high priests. Yet, it must be remembered that the Nubian Amun also had the aspect of the warrior and hunter in Kushite religion.⁶²

Finally mention must be made of two Apedemak representations in the Musawwarat es Sufra Apedemak Temple. In both reliefs the human-bodied and lion-headed deity is shown holding his *signum* in his right hand. In one of the reliefs he is furthermore holding in his left a bow and, on a rope, a prisoner, and he is wearing a doubly-wrapped-around sash over a Kushite coat.⁶³ In the other relief⁶⁴ Apedemak is holding in his left hand a bow and a water skin (an attribute of the desert hunter and the warrior. It is also attested in the iconography of Amun and Sebiumeker⁶⁵). Furthermore, in both reliefs a long ribbon is tied around the elbows of the god (in the second relief only one ribbon is preserved at the right elbow). In the first relief the *signum* is decorated with one long suspended ribbon.

While the ribbon in the *signum* hints once more at the above-discussed process of the replacement of ribbons with tasselled cords, the archaic Kushite coat and the ribbons at the elbows indicate that Apedemak's iconography goes back to more ancient preliminaries than generally believed. The coat indicated a 25th Dynasty iconographical ancestor. The ribbons at the elbows of the god recall, in a rather astonishing manner, the animal tails tied to the elbows of Nubian chieftains in new Kingdom representations.⁶⁶ These tails belonged originally to the circle of magical signs associated with the power of animals and with the power of the hunter over the game. It may be supposed that the Nubian chieftains applied the tails not only as rank-symbols but as powerful magical symbols in the above-mentioned sense. We may perhaps also assume that the tails were not ignorantly copied in the painting in Kenamun's Theban tomb

⁶² For the evidence see, e.g. Kendall, op.cit. (note 32) fig. 57; Török 1990 Section 15.

⁶³ Column scene 2/2/4, Hintze et al., op.cit. (note 44) Pl. 81.

⁶⁴ Column scene 4/3/1, ibid. Pl. 89.

⁶⁵ For examples see Gamer-Wallert 1983 146f; Török 1990 Section 15.

⁶⁶ R. Drenkhahn: *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten*. Diss. Hamburg 1967 27.

representing a statue of Amenophis II dressed in the costume of his Nubian foes.⁶⁷

The circle of associations may be closed with a final link: with regard to the animal tails suspended from the elbow, mention must be made also of the animal tails suspended from the *ornamental belt* of the Nubian chieftains in the same New Kingdom representations. In view of the association of these magical symbols with the belt, we cannot be surprised if we find that in 25th Dynasty representations the belt also becomes associated with the hunter's lasso. It would seem "logical" that the replacement of the tails with the tasselled cord was determined on the one hand by a conceptual association of the belt with symbols connected to hunting, and, on the other, by the formal resemblances between ribbon and cord.

3. The generic image of the enemy

It has already been indicated in section 1 above that the artists of the reliefs of Piye's extensions of the Great Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal created a new image of the Kushite type. It has been shown in art historical literature that the tall, slender, long-limbed male figure with broad shoulders, vertically held columnar neck and round head is greatly indebted to Old and Middle Kingdom style and is thus a development that fits entirely into the general trend of Late Period art. Within a few decades, as attested by Taharqo's monuments, the new Kushite type was to receive all the features that were to survive, in the course of an intermittent process of archaizing, until the 4th c. A.D. in Kushite art as self-representation. The new type emerging in the Gebel Barkal reliefs was, however, not merely a revival of the ancient types of representation of the human figure in terms of stylistic development. For the rendering of the face, the artists of the Gebel Barkal reliefs turned to New Kingdom representations of the Nubian type and presented a slightly, yet distinctly idealised version thereof. The idealised Nubian facial type had been adopted already in early 25th Dynasty times as the "official" portrait type of the ruler.

It may appear thus rather surprising that besides the idealised Nubian type the other New Kingdom type of the southerner was also

⁶⁷ Theban Tomb 93; cf. Drenkhahn, op.cit. (Note 66) 27 with note 40, 63f.

adopted in Kushite art; for the Negro type of, e.g., the Memphite tomb of Horemheb and the Ramesside prisoner representations of Nubian temples also appears in 25th Dynasty and early Napatan relief fragments discovered in Meroe City. They are fragments of war reliefs of similar iconographical origins as Piye's Gebel Barkal reliefs, viz., they were modelled upon the Ramesside iconography of Nubian campaigns. In the Meroe City reliefs the Negro type plays the same iconographic role as the idealised Nubian type in the Gebel Barkal reliefs: it stands for *the* Kushite. Before we would venture into speculations about a supposed expression of ethnic differences between the inhabitants of the two regions, i.e. of the Napatan on the one hand, and the Meroe region, on the other, mention must be made of the fact that other 25th Dynasty and early Napatan war relief fragments from Meroe City clearly attest that the tradition of the Gebel Barkal idealised Nubian type existed in Meroe City, too.

This dichotomy of self-representation is rather enigmatic, especially if we consider that the two different ethnotypes occurred contemporaneously and in identical iconographical contexts in reliefs carved on the walls of the sanctuaries of Meroe City. The reasons must, however, remain unexplained for the time being. The brief mention of a remarkable occurrence of the Negro type may nevertheless contribute to the investigation of the Kushite concept of self-representation.

In the renaissance period of Late Meroitic culture in the 1st c. A.D. a considerable variety of triumphal representations were made on temple walls as well as on minor art objects. In addition an exceptional monumental work of art of this genre survives at Gebel Qeili engraved into a rock. In view of the archaizing character of this period of Kushite culture, which seems to have been determined by developments in the Middle Nile Region and by contacts with late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, it is not surprising that the enemy types represented in scenes of royal victory and in magical contexts (i.e. on bells) are identical (with one exception) with the traditional enemies of New Kingdom Egypt. It leaps to the eye, however, that from the catalogue of Egypt's enemies the southerner is not excluded: the traditional Negro type occurs as vanquished enemy of Kush, e.g., in the paintings of chapel M 292 at Meroe City and can also be recognised on the pylon of the Apedemak Temple at Naqa.

It is hardly imaginable that artist and beholder of these representations could not see the resemblances between the appearance and the costume of these images and their own appearance and costume. Still, there can be no doubt that they did not identify themselves with these images. There must have existed a mental reflex that prevented them from seeing a self-representation in these representations of vanquished southerners. The iconographical associations discussed in the second section of this chapter have already described certain results of the way of thinking in which this same reflex appears logical.

When copying Ramesside reliefs representing the victories of the Egyptian army over the Nubians, Piye's artists revealed a total lack of interest towards the actual historical aspects of the models. It was irrelevant for them that their actual historical theme and propagandistic message were the triumph over Kush; for they regarded these representations as representations of conflict, war, and triumph in a generic sense. Consequently, the representations of Egypt's enemies in these reliefs were looked upon as "enemy" in the same generic sense. The traditional New Kingdom depictions of the Philistines, Škrs, Wss, as well as those of the southerners, i.e., inhabitants of the Middle Nile Region, were adopted in Kushite art and regarded by Kushite public as ideograms for "enemy".

The adaptation of Egyptian models in a similar sense is a phenomenon that frequently occurs in the Kushite culture. In a way, it is a central feature of the relationship between Egypt and Kush. The frequently quoted, but usually misunderstood, example of the titulature of the king of Kush throughout the centuries of the Napatan and Meroitic periods reveals in a paradigmatic manner the essence of "generic borrowing": for, when a king of Kush called himself "King of Upper and Lower Egypt", he manifested himself as ruler of *his* country. In the absence of a separate title such as "King of Kush" or the like, the Egyptian royal title could not mean a claim for sovereignty over Egypt. It was used as title of the ruler in a generic sense. Borrowings of this sort are usually believed to have been the consequence of ignorance. It seems rather that they were manifestations of a mentality in which form and meaning corresponded with each other in a manner different from what nineteenth century rationalism would except. The iconographical data presented in this paper may warn scholars of Kushite art that in the

invisible space between Egyptian model and Kushite copy there is an autochthonous world-view. The proper understanding of Kushite art depends apparently on the appreciation of this view.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Periodicals and series

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANM	Archéologie du Nil Moyen
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
BIFAO	Bulletin de l' Institut français d' archéologie orientale
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMFA	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
BzS	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung
CdÉ	Chronique d' Égypte
CRAIBL	Comptes-rendus de l' Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CRIPEL	Cahier des recherches de l' Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille
DÖAW	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ÉtTrav	Études et Travaux
HAS	Harvard African Studies
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
LoebCIL	The Loeb Classical Library
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo
MIFAO	Mémoires (publiés par les membres) de l' Institut français d' archéologie orientale
MIO	Mitteilungen für Orientforschung
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth
MNL	Meroitic Newsletter
OGIS	W. Dittenberger: Orienti Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Leipzig, 1903-1905

OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
PWRE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
SJE	Publications of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition
SNR	Sudan Notes and Records
STB	Sudan Texts Bulletin
WZHU	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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FIGURES



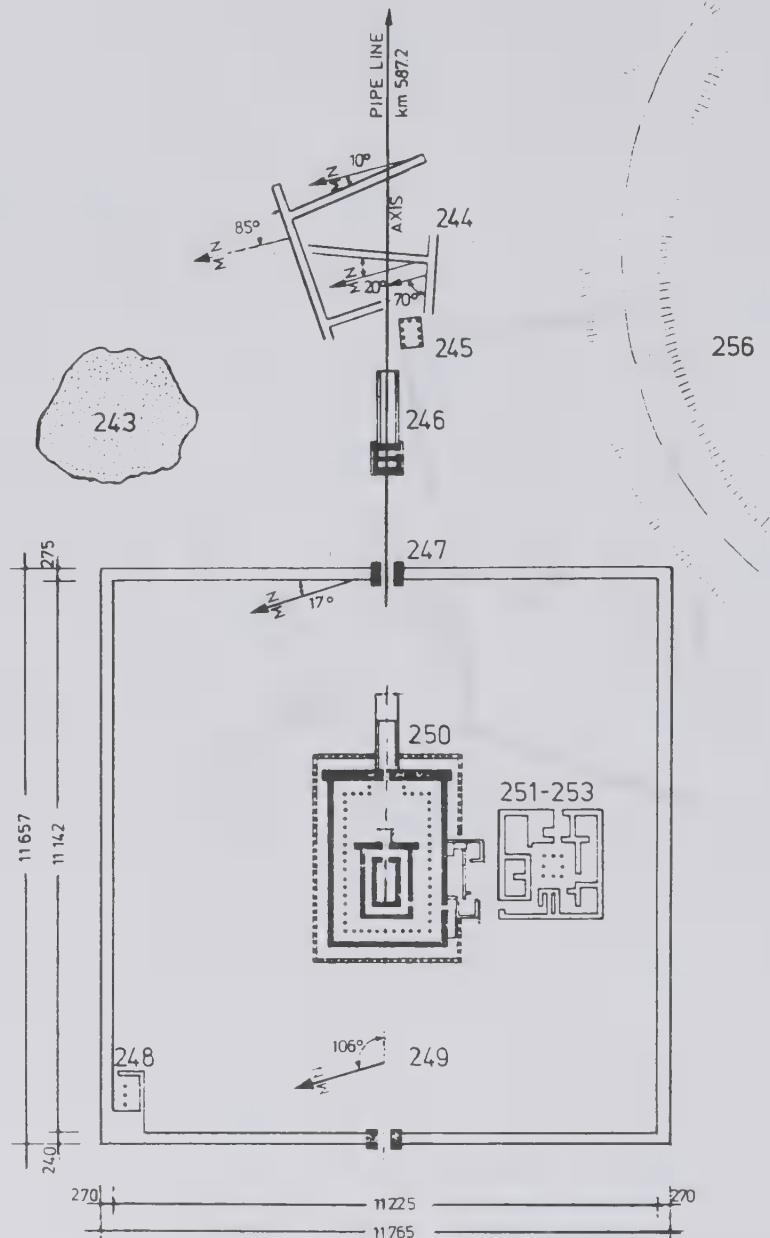


Fig. 2.

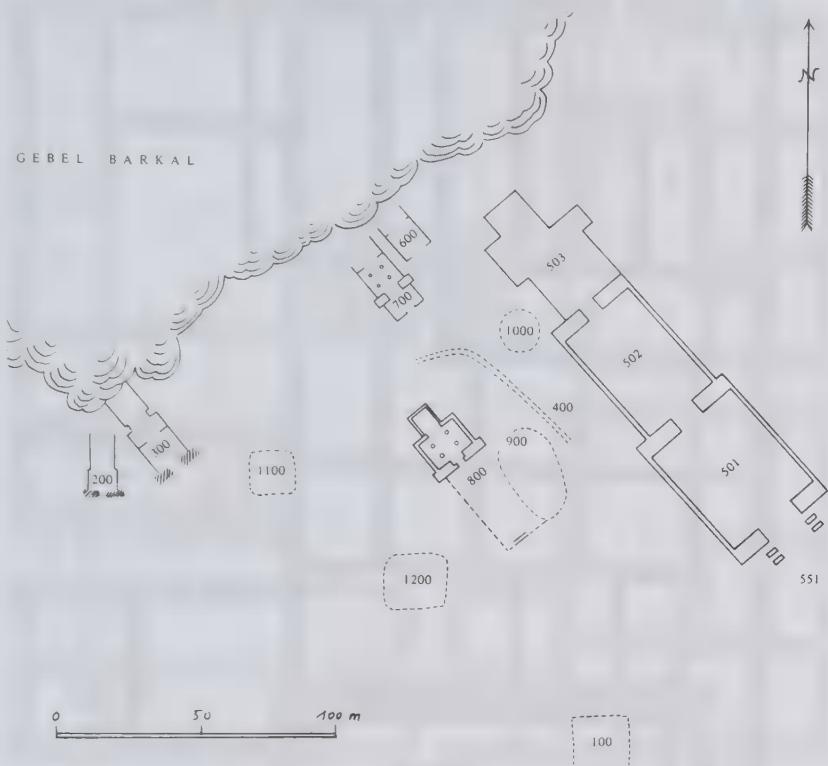
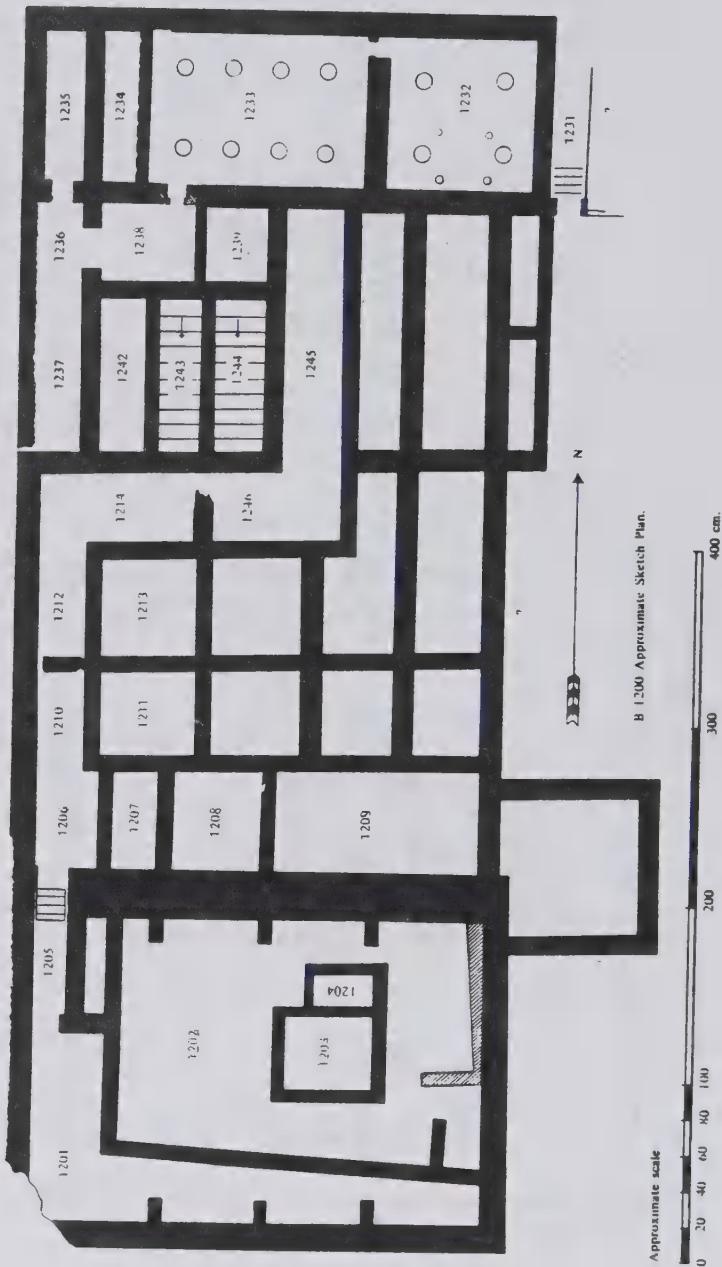


Fig. 3.



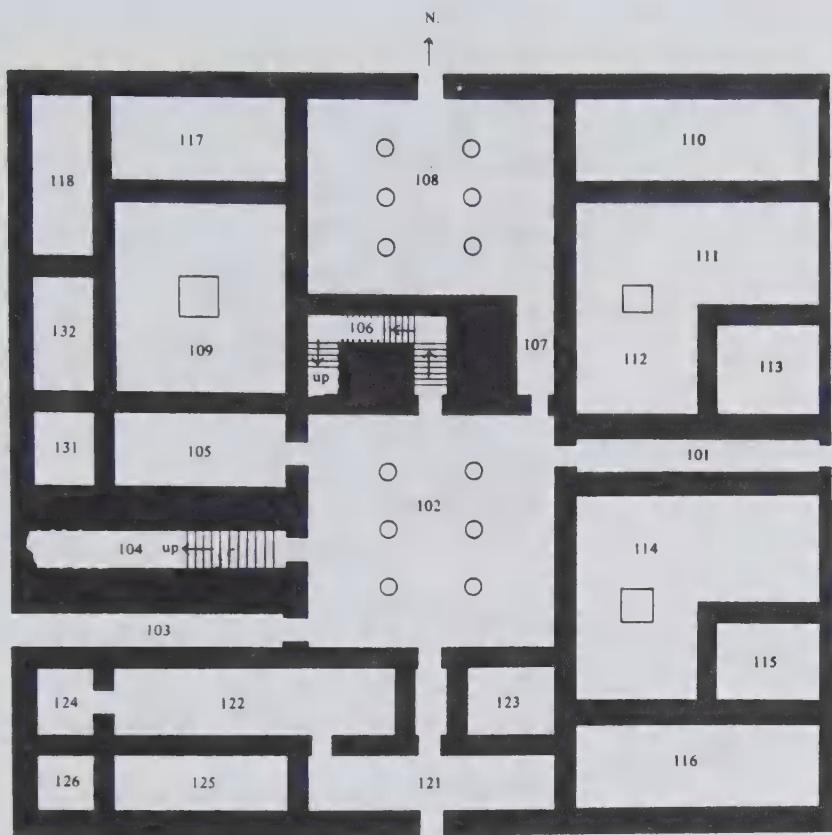


Fig. 5.

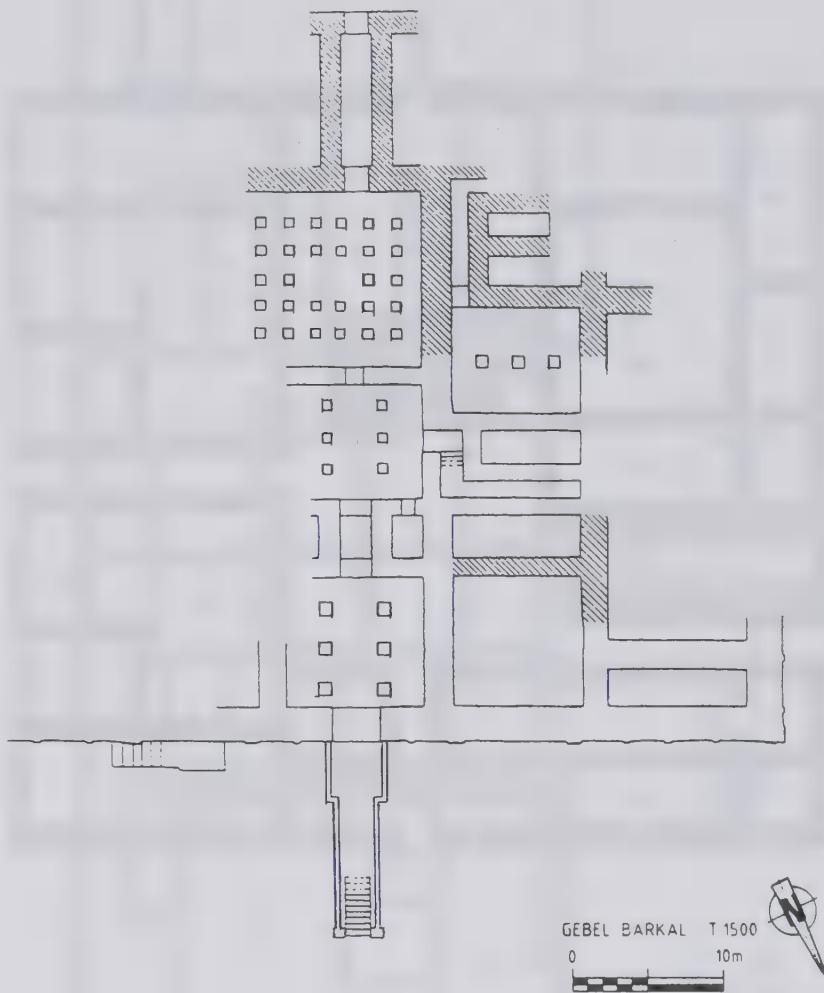
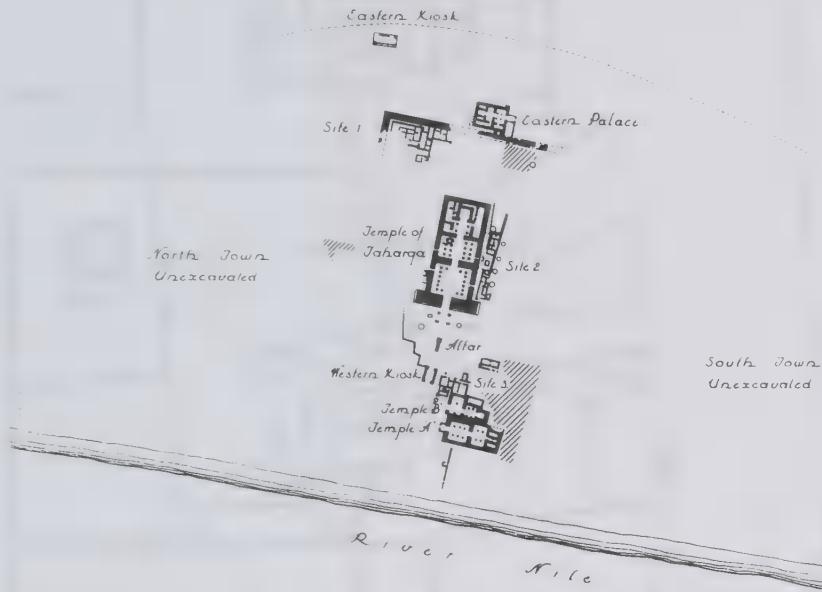


Fig. 6.



GENERAL SITE PLAN

Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

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