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The Reign of Amannote-erike: Analyses of Identity and Kingship

Elizabeth Andrea Eltze

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History, the University of Auckland, 2018.

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Name of degree	Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History
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Abstract

This thesis examines the creation and display of identity in the extant textual evidence attributed to fifth century B.C.E. Kushite king, Amannote-erike. It investigates the social identity of Napatan Kushite kingship, and Amannote-erike's self-identification and propagandistic displays in response to that identity. To do this, this thesis analyses the extant textual evidence from Amannote-erike's reign, located at Temple T at Kawa: the 'Great Inscription' (Kawa IX), and three short 'donation' inscriptions (Kawa X, XI, and XII). The identities exhibited by Amannote-erike are often necessarily formulaic, since the composition of his texts adhered to established ancient Kushite practices surrounding decorum. This use of decorum situated Amannote-erike within the continuum of Kushite kingship. However, this thesis argues that there are nevertheless inconsistencies in these texts that could provide insight into his personal identity and the ambiguous circumstances surrounding his accession.

There is currently no comprehensive study with Amannote-erike as its focus. This thesis addresses this deficiency to some degree. Examining Amannote-erike's extant textual evidence alerts the modern scholar to aspects of Kushite royal representation that had changed after Aspelta's reign and those which had not. Besides indicating which parts of 'accepted' decorum may have changed, and which had not, this suggests which aspects of royal presentation were of consequence to Amannote-erike himself. This evidence could reveal to us the personality and, possibly, the identity of Amannote-erike. This in turn allows us to reach conclusions regarding his display of his context, religious framework, and the influence of personality on these depictions that are significant to studies of this period in northeast African history. Furthermore, close analysis of Amannote-erike's texts signifies shifts in Kushite decorum that translate into later Kushite/Meroitic vocabularies of royal self-representation.

Dedication

To my parents, Deryck and Vicki Eltze, and in loving memory of memory of Denis Eltze.

Acknowledgements

A whole-hearted thank you to everyone who made the successful completion of my doctoral thesis possible.

My deepest appreciation to the University of Auckland for their financial assistance. I was tremendously fortunate receive a University of Auckland Doctoral Scholarship, and my thanks go to the University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts (PBRF), and the Discipline of Classics and Ancient History for their financial support and for facilitating my research and conference activities. My thanks, too, to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for their financial assistance and support during my research in Germany.

Most sincere thanks go to my supervisors, Professor Anthony Spalinger and Frau Professor Angelika Lohwasser, the advice and guidance of whom has been indispensable and greatly appreciated.

Particular thanks to Alexey Vinogradov for his consultations and generosity.

Within the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland, I must thank a number of people for their help, their encouragement, and for the opportunities provided to me: Associate Professor Lisa Bailey, Professor Malcolm Campbell, Dr. Jennifer Hellum, Dr. Maxine Lewis, and Professor Matthew Trundle. Thanks, too, to Josanne Blyth and Rosalind Henshaw for their administrative assistance and encouragement.

On a personal note, my heartfelt thanks to my friends and family who put up with me during the thesis process.

Thank you to all of the postgraduate students (past and current) in Classics and Ancient History for their friendship, companionship, support, commiserations, and advice throughout my PhD journey. Particularly, huge thanks to Dr. Lawrence Xu-Nan, Dr. Susan Thorpe, Bryant Ahrenberg, Dr. Caroline Crowhurst, Ben Earle, Ashley Flavell, Nicola Rawnsley, Aaron Schroder, and Simon Underwood.

Special mention and expressions of gratitude to Anna Christine Chilcott, Katrina Edwards, and Dr. Christina Robertson for their invaluable assistance in proofreading my thesis. Thanks to Catherine Carr and Andrea Edwards for their encouragement and support. To other friends abroad, thank you for your friendship and helpful academic discussions, especially Wojciech Ejsmond, Julia Hamilton, Marta Kaczanowicz, Uroš Matic, and Piotr Witkowski.

A number of museums and archives around the world assisted me in my research. Special thanks to the staff at the Ashmolean Museum and the Griffith Institute in Oxford, the British Museum, the Sudanese Archive at the University of Durham, the Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich, Germany, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation:	***Citation:***
Ä&L	*Ägypten und Levante*
AA	*American Anthropologist*
AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)
AAR	*African Archaeological Review*
ACF	*Annuaire du Collège de France*
Adah	*Adah: The Journal of the Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum*
AegMon	*Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia*
Am.Ethnol.	*American Ethnologist*
Am.Polit.Sci.Rev.	*The American Political Science Review*
Annu.Rev.Sociol.	*Annual Review of Sociology*
AltorForsch	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
B.C.E.	Before Common Era
BCÉ	*Bulletin de liaison du groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne*
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
BSÉG	*Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève*
BSF	*Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*
BSFÉ	*Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*
CahKarn	*Cahiers de Karnak*
CArchJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*
C.E.	Common Era
CRIPÉL	*Cahiers de recherches de l'institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille*
CSSH	*Comparative studies in society and history*
Curator	*Curator: the Museum Journal*
Curr.Anthropol.	*Current Anthropology*
Curr.Dir.Psychol.Sci.	*Current Directions in Psychological Science*
Dossiers	*Dossiers: histoire et archéologie*
EgArch	*Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society*
ÉT	*Études et Travaux*
FHN	*Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
Historia	*Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*

IBAES	*Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie*
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JAH	*Journal of African History*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAR	*Journal of Archaeological Research*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
J.ARCHAEOL.METHOD.TH.	*Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEgH	*Journal of Egyptian History*
JES (J)	*Journal of Egyptian Studies (Japanese)*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
Kawa I, Text	Macadam (1949), *The Temples of Kawa, Volume I: The Inscriptions (Text).*
Kawa I, Plates	Macadam (1949), *The Temples of Kawa, Volume I: The Inscriptions (Plates).*
Kawa II, Text	Macadam (1955), *The Temples of Kawa, Volume II: History and Archaeology of the Site, Texts.*
Kawa II, Plates	Macadam (1955), *The Temples of Kawa, Volume II: History and Archaeology of the Site, Plates.*
Kêmi	*Kêmi: Revue de philologie et archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*
KMT	*KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*
KRI	Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MittSAG	*Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
NubLett	*Nubian Letters*
Nuri	Dunham, *Nuri. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush 2*
O.A.D.	*Oracular Amuletic Decrees*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
PAM	*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*
Philos.Top.	*Philosophical Topics*
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RÉCAPO	*Revue d'études des civilisations anciennes du Proche-Orient*
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*

SNR	*Sudan Notes and Records*
StudAeg (B)	*Studia Aegyptiaca* Budapest
Studi di egittologia	*Studi di egittologia e di papirologia: rivista internazionale*
Urk.	Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*
VA	*Varia Aegyptiaca*
Wb	A. Erman, and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*
WoAr	*World Archaeology*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Transcription/Translation Symbols:

[ ] = Modern restorations

( ) = Words supplied

< > = Words or signs omitted by ancient scribe and inserted by me

(?) = uncertain translation

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

Introduction

This thesis analyses the creation and display of identity[1] in the extant texts of Amannote-erike, who ruled Kush for approximately twenty-five years in the second half of the fifth century B.C.E.[2] This is a historical study of the social identity of Napatan Kushite kingship and its accompanying performative displays in a variety of media, and of Amannote-erike's self-identification and associated propagandistic behaviours in response to that identity. Considerations of aspects of Kushite royal decorum and the reasons behind kings' self-representations are key to this thesis. Moreover, Amannote-erike's existing textual evidence could reveal to us his personality and, possibly, his identity.[3] It is this 'identity' that signifies the man himself, the man as king, and the man in response to his social and international pressures. While recent scholars have addressed certain aspects of Amannote-erike's reign,[4] there is currently no comprehensive study focusing on Amannote-erike. Critically, Amannote-erike is the Kushite king for whom we have the most extant and reliable evidence after the reign of Aspelta[5] and prior to the reign of Harsiotef,[6] making him an important, albeit obscure figure in the Napatan Kushite royal continuum. Therefore, this thesis aims to address the dearth of scholarly attention on Amannote-erike to a certain degree. In essence, this work will define the creation and display of the ideal Kushite king as characterised within Amannote-erike's socio-historical and temporal context, and his self-identification as king and individual within that continuum.[7] To do this, this thesis analyses the only extant textual attestations regarding Amannote-erike's reign, namely four inscriptions located at the site of Temple T at

[1] I define 'identity' as used in this thesis in my methodology chapter.
[2] For example, TÖRÖK (1997a), 378-383. The length of his reign is evidenced by the date given on Kawa XII (see Chapter 11 of this thesis). Amannote-erike's name, reign, and his associations within the ancient Kushite familial relationships will be addressed where relevant throughout this thesis. Please note: any reference to "Chapter" or "Appendix" refers to the Chapters and Appendices within this thesis, unless otherwise noted.
[3] I define 'personality' in its broadest sense within this thesis, as "reflecting the sum total of a person's distinctive and characteristic style of interacting with and adapting to the social environment." MCGRATH (2012), 61.
[4] Among others, KORMYSHEVA (1993); *IDEM* (1998), and *IDEM* (1999b); TÖRÖK (1997a)*; IDEM* (2002), and, especially, VINOGRADOV (1992); *IDEM* (2008); *IDEM* (2011), and *IDEM* (2015).
[5] Late 7th-early 6th centuries B.C.E. TÖRÖK (1997a), 358.
[6] *Circa* early 4th century B.C.E. TÖRÖK (1997a), 383.
[7] Amannote-erike occupied a position of concrete power as well as social prestige. This thesis examines his displays of identity with this in mind.

Kawa: the 'Great Inscription' (designated Kawa IX by Macadam), and three short 'donation' inscriptions (Kawa X, XI, and XII).[8]As supplemental data, several fallen blocks found at his pyramid at Nuri (Nuri XII) are also mentioned.[9]

In this introduction, I briefly outline the goals of this thesis, followed by a summary of the relevant current scholarly context. Next, I provide a theoretical framework that sets out key concepts and methodologies fundamental to my arguments, as well as outlining the parameters of this thesis. The main analytical sections of this work will follow, which use close textual analysis to examine the extant texts from Amannote-erike's reign.[10] This textual analysis is divided into eleven chapters. Chapters 1-10 analyse Amannote-erike's most significant text, his so-called[11] 'Great Inscription'. Chapter 1 introduces Amannote-erike's socio-historical and temporal context, his reign, and the materials that will provide the evidence base for the hypotheses within this thesis.[12] The analysis will then progress through the 'Great Inscription' chronologically as it is presented within that inscription (from its beginning to its end), in Chapters 2-10. Chapter 11 examines the three brief 'donation' texts at Kawa that are attributed to Amannote-erike. These three will be addressed together as a group, since it seems that their composition, style, and aims were similar to each other, and distinct from those of the 'Great Inscription'. Finally, a summary and some hypotheses regarding the analysed texts, along with concluding remarks, are presented. These remarks will focus on what the examination of all of

[8] DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 139-149. DUNHAM and MACADAM list 'Aman-nēte-yerike' as number 11. See *IBID*, plate XV, 142, and family tree on 149. See also VON BECKERATH (1999), 272-273, where he lists Amannote-erike as number 22 of the Kushite kings, and where his name is transcribed as "Arikamaninote." A cartouche that KENDALL attributed in 1986 to Amannote-erike at Gebel Barkal was discovered the following year to be a cartouche bearing Taharqa's nomen. KENDALL (1988), 16.

[9] Amannote-erike's remaining archaeological data is so scarce and fragmentary as to be useless to this type of examination, and there are currently no extant images of Amannote-erike. Thus, archaeological and pictorial evidence are excluded from my considerations. Here, 'data' is to be understood as the input for a mode of analysis, to be identified, generated, and then interpreted. This is the information provided by Amannote-erike's texts that I have analysed.

[10] Appendix 1 provides images of all of these texts, both photographs *in situ* at Kawa, and hand copies. These images are adapted from *Kawa I, Texts*, and *Kawa I, Plates*. Please refer to Appendix 1 for the original hieroglyphs if necessary throughout the discussions in my thesis.

[11] By modern scholars.

[12] I provide detailed discussions regarding these matters in each relevant section of the analysis of Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' (Kawa IX).

Amannote-erike's textual data could indicate to us, and makes assessments regarding the conclusions that this thesis can reach regarding Amannote-erike's creation and display of identity.

The main questions that this thesis seeks to answer are both historical and biographical: who was Amannote-erike? What were the circumstances surrounding his accession to the throne? How did his self-identification within the framework of Kushite kingship affect the way that he was represented in his official documents? What can we truly reveal about him, his reign, and his motivations from the extant evidence?[13] Are there glimpses of a personal identity revealed within his official texts? What impact, if any, may these self-representations have had on the self-representations of kings who succeeded him? Alongside a transliteration, translation,[14] and commentary on all Amannote-erike's texts, this thesis presents a meticulous examination of these data, and provides suggestions and hypotheses regarding their importance, their sociohistorical context, and their validity as evidence. This analysis will show how Amannote-erike created and displayed his Kushite royal identity as a group identity, and highlights discrepancies in his evidence that arguably could indicate an unconscious exhibition of an individual identity. Supporting evidence will be drawn, where necessary, from the existing scholarship on ancient Kush, ancient Egypt, and other relevant ancient cultures.

[13]Some of these questions are impossible to answer conclusively. However, the judicious application of logic, considerations from the ancient Egyptian context, and socio-political frameworks from modern African civilisations, as well as the theoretical frameworks outlined in my methodology, should allow us to consider analysing Amannote-erike (and other ancient kings) in a new light. My intention is to open up new pathways for examining the ancient Sudan.

[14] Unless otherwise noted, all transliterations and translations of these texts are my own, and are presented at the end of this thesis in Appendices 2 and 3.

Literature Review

The sources referred to here and in the bibliography at the end of this thesis are not to be considered an exhaustive list of publications regarding all aspects of the ancient Sudan. Rather, this chapter serves to situate this thesis within the broader framework of contemporary studies of ancient royal Kushite kingship, ideology, and identity within the context of the latter part of the first millennium B.C.E. It also does not aim to address comprehensively the totality of modern scholarly research regarding the ancient Sudan. For example, this thesis will not discuss the so-called hybridisation of Egyptian/Nubian identities more than necessary, since this complex topic is beyond the scope of this current work.[15] The royal Egyptian roots of much of the Kushite royal ideology are taken as implicitly understood. Therefore, key references will be made only where they are relevant to this study.

The majority of the scholarly work thus far regarding ancient Kush/Nubia has been primarily archaeological. Eighteenth- and nineteenth century explorers and adventurers from Europe tend to be the earliest sources of textual and archaeological material from ancient Kush. Their success in finding ancient Kushite material was considerable, but their interpretations of these items, not to mention their excavation practices, were questionable.[16] Lepsius carried out the first comprehensive, scientific archaeological surveys and textual recordings of an academic nature in the Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century.[17] Ancient Kush/Nubia was largely ignored by academia until the beginning of the following century, when extensive excavations were undertaken by, in particular, Reisner[18] and Dunham of Harvard University, Griffith and

[15] Among many others, the works cited in my bibliography of S. SMITH, EMBERLING, and FITZENREITER.
[16] A prime example of this is Queen Amanishakheto's treasure, found at Meroë in 1837 by FERLINI. See FERLINI (1837). FERLINI'S 'excavation' procedures were primitive, essentially taking monuments apart stone by stone. MARKOWITZ and LACOVARA (1996), 1.
[17] LEPSIUS (1970-1972a), and *IDEM* (1970-1972b).
[18] See bibliographic entries under REISNER in my bibliography. For comprehensive bibliographic references for all of the scholars that I refer to, please see the bibliography at the end of my thesis. This bibliography is by no means exhaustive, but it is substantial and provides a starting point for further research.

Macadam of Oxford, and Garstang of Liverpool.[19] Moreover, much of the material culture excavated during this period in the early- to mid-twentieth century has not been addressed in detail, nor published. Recent archaeological excavations of various sites in the Sudan that are relevant to this thesis include the works of S. Smith,[20] Welsby,[21] and Kendall.[22] The analysis and intensive historiographic study of the Napatan-Meroitic cultures of Kush became prevalent as a field of research in the middle of the twentieth century, with scholars such as Shinnie[23] establishing the trend. Hoffman,[24] Priese,[25] Trigger,[26] and Leclant[27] continued in this vein, producing ground-breaking scholarship on ancient Kush. Some of these sources are now outdated, but have provided an admirable platform on which later scholars have been able to build their research.

Certain recent scholars, particularly Rilly,[28] have made significant steps in the study of the Meroitic language. However, the Meroitic language has not proven relevant to this thesis since all of Amannote-erike's texts were written in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs.[29] Macadam published the initial translations of these texts.[30] More recently, Pierce published his translations of these texts in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*.[31] Peust provided brief grammatical notes on Kawa IX in his work *Das Napatanische*.[32] Sargent recently published

[19] Refer to my bibliographic entries under DUNHAM, GRIFFITH, and MACADAM in the bibliography to this thesis. See also among others, GARSTANG, SAYCE, and GRIFFITH (1911); BAGH (2015); TÖRÖK (1997b), and *IDEM* (1997c). Many of GRIFFITH'S excavation notes from the Sudan have not yet been published. GRIFFITH is most relevant to this thesis, since he oversaw the excavations at Kawa. My sincere thanks to the staff at the Griffith Institute in Oxford for their kind assistance in my research there during my initial thesis research period.
[20] For example, S. SMITH (2003); IDEM (2007), and IDEM (2008).
[21] For example, WELSBY (1996); IDEM (2002), and *IDEM* (2005).
[22] Among others, KENDALL (1988); *IDEM* (1999), and *IDEM (*2002).
[23] Among others, SHINNIE (1967), and *IDEM* (1996).
[24] For example, HOFMANN (1971); *IDEM* (1977a), and *IDEM* (1977b).
[25] For example, PRIESE (1972), and *IDEM* (1981).
[26] Among others, TRIGGER (1976), and *IDEM* (1978).
[27] For example, LECLANT (1965); *IDEM* (1975-1976); *IDEM* (1982), and *IDEM* (1985-1986).
[28] Among others, RILLY (2007); *IDEM* (2008), and *IDEM* (2014).
[29] However, I have borne in mind the context of the Meroitic language and its potential influence in royal Kushite documents such as those of Amannote-erike.
[30] *Kawa I, Texts*, 50-72. For plates relevant to these, see *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 17-30. I have collated these and presented them in Appendix 1 for ease of reference.
[31] *FHN* II, 396-434.
[32] PEUST (1999), *passim*.

an extensive translation and grammatical discussion of Kawa IX. [33] These are all useful reference items, and have been consulted where necessary. However, it is essential to the integrity of this thesis that my own translations of Amannote-erike's texts were used in this analysis. These transliterations and translations can be found in the appendices to this thesis.

Török has been a preeminent contributor to the field of Nubian studies for many years, and has written significant works surrounding the history, literature, politics, and royal society of the Napatan-Meroitic civilisations.[34] Many of his works have been seminal, and remain the standard reference works in the field. However, while his work is comprehensive in its compilation and collation of most of the extant evidence, it leaves scope for more in-depth analysis. Török's work provides the basic framework of elite Kushite society at this point in history and provides us with evidence for information regarding the socio-political situation at the time: foreign relations, cultural heritage, religious practices and conventions, traditions surrounding the succession, and so forth. However, Török does not address the potential meaning or agenda behind what is found in the historical records, and what this implies concerning individual kings as men in Kush at this time. Furthermore, while touching on the issue of the ideology of kingship as a whole, Török also does not address the manner in which the identity of each king was constructed in public documents.

Other noteworthy scholarship addressing ancient Kushite heritage, kingship, and religion include (among others) the works of Kormysheva,[35] Pope,[36] Gozzoli,[37] Morkot,[38] Breyer,[39] and – especially regarding the significant topic of women in ancient Kush, among other

[33] SARGENT (2004), especially 219-257.
[34] For example, TÖRÖK (1995a); *IDEM* (1997a); *IDEM* (1997b), and *IDEM* (2002).
[35] For example, KORMYS(C)HEVA (1993), and *IDEM* (2010).
[36] Among others, POPE (2014a), and *IDEM* (2014b).
[37] For example, GOZZOLI (2009), and *IDEM* (2017).
[38] For example, MORKOT (1999), and *IDEM* (2000).
[39] For example, BREYER (2003a), and *IDEM* (2009).

meaningful research topics – Lohwasser.[40] However, these individual subjects have not been addressed in relation to each other (especially in textual representations by Kushite kings) in the context of a holistic creation of a royal Kushite identity. Additionally, current studies examining the ramifications of socio-political contexts for each king, his reactions within those frameworks, and how these might be analysed through close readings of language and textual representations, do not exist. The use of current textual analytical lenses such as critical discourse analysis and intentionality (among others) to analyse ancient Sudanese texts is effectively non-existent. This thesis aims to rectify this, while exploring whether or not these modern methodologies are a valid lens through which to analyse ancient African textual evidence.

Gozzoli's[41] and Jurman's[42] studies on archaism in Kushite texts during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (and beyond) are somewhat relevant to this thesis. They indicate the degree to which archaic forms of native ancient Egyptian royal identity creation and publication were used and appreciated by later cultures, which had based their rulership on ancient Egyptian models, such as the Kushites. However, Gozzoli does not deal with the influence of narratology upon later Kushite texts, nor with the potential influence of native Kushite forms of rulership. Gozzoli,[43] Grimal,[44] and Eyre[45] present the principal studies regarding the examination of ancient texts (primarily Egyptian texts) and their implications regarding the creation of a royal ideology. However, there is currently no study of a royal Kushite text that deals intimately with the pertinent questions at the core of this thesis: Why might a certain phrase have been used? What might the language used by the Kushite king in each text tell us about perceptions of his status within his political framework? What impression was being created? For whom?

[40] Among others, LOHWASSER (2001a); *IDEM* (2001b), and *IDEM* (2017).
[41] For example, GOZZOLI (2003a); *IDEM* (2003b), and *IDEM* (2010a).
[42] JURMAN (2010), and *IDEM* (2015).
[43] See entries for GOZZOLI in my bibliography.
[44] For example, GRIMAL (1980), and *IDEM* (1986).
[45] See especially EYRE (2013).

To what effect? What can this tell us about royal ideology, its creation and its display within a Kushite context, and how does that inform hypotheses regarding the identity of each king?

Grimal addressed in detail correlations between the Egyptian king, the state divinity, and other key gods, in association with royal prowess and dominion.[46] These conceptualisations are, to a certain extent, applicable to the Kushite monarchs. Recent publications by Lohwasser,[47] Fitzenreiter,[48] Revez,[49] and Pope[50] in particular have gone a long way to addressing critical elements of Kushite royal ideology and self-representation. These include questions of the Kushite king's affiliation with the gods with which he has chosen to represent himself, his hypothesised piety on a personal level, his depiction of that piety within publicly presented official texts, his potential motivations for those depictions, and their place within the Kushite political framework. These crucial aspects of Kushite identity creation and royal ideology, however, require further examination specifically in Amannote-erike's context and this thesis will address these in more detail.

Vinogradov[51] has recently undertaken the majority of the current research into Amannote-erike. Vinogradov's work has been invaluable in the research for this thesis and has inspired a number of ideas. However, Vinogradov's analyses have not addressed the creation of an individual identity, germane to the king of Kush in the period relevant here. Additionally, he has not comprehensively explored Amannote-erike's reign as part of a greater creation of the ideology of Kushite kingship, nor what it could mean on a larger scale. Vinogradov's focus has been concerned with certain aspects of Amannote-erike's reign, rather than addressing all textual representations of this king holistically.

[46] GRIMAL (1986).
[47] Again, refer to the entries listed under LOHWASSER.
[48] Among others, FITZENREITER (2005), and *IDEM* (2014).
[49] For example, REVEZ (2000); *IDEM* (2014a), and *IDEM* (2014b).
[50] For example, POPE (2014a), and IDEM, (2014b).
[51] For example, VINOGRADOV (1992), and *IDEM* (1999a).

The majority of the extant scholarly works on ancient Kush thus far have addressed abstract or historical conceptions of Kushite kingship: politics, state religion, warfare, building projects, and trade. However, they do not present a rounded, holistic hypothesis regarding the self-conceptualisation of ancient Kushite kings, nor of their creation of their identities, and the impact that those identities had on the ideology of Kushite kingship. This thesis intends to build on a platform of the above-mentioned works to contextualise Amannote-erike socially, geographically, and historically, facilitating arguments surrounding his individual context, his motivations, and the consequent engendering of his public identity. This will assist the development of a comprehensive insight into Amannote-erike's individual milieu, how he responded to that context, how he presented himself to the public and why, and what it would have meant to be king on a personal level, factors that are lacking in modern scholarship at this time.

Key Concepts and Methodology

This chapter outlines the basic concepts used in my forthcoming analyses, including how this thesis defines 'identity' and its creation and display by Amannote-erike.[52] Among others, aspects such as language as part of a group's identity practice, and language as rhetoric will be reviewed. This foundation represents the methodologies informing this thesis' conceptual framework. This framework includes several different theoretical approaches and is primarily based on historical and biographical investigations. In order to answer the historical and biographical questions[53] outlined in its introduction, this thesis will begin by enacting a close textual analysis, with a focus on the deeper analysis of Amannote-erike's creation and display of identity in a broad biographical sense. These will be couched within considerations of his historicity and socio-historic context, but will also be refined by incorporating key modern methodologies from the literary and anthropological disciplines.[54] These are critical discourse analysis,[55] liminality,[56] and key language-meaning theories,[57] including semiotics.[58] Throughout this thesis, these will be juxtaposed with scholarly works on ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern identity, in order to forge a qualitative foundation for the study of Amannote-erike's texts.[59]

[52] In both modern and ancient frameworks.
[53] These aspects would have been fundamental to the text's composition/commission in the first place, and theories regarding these considerations should be integral factors in our studies of those ancient texts as historians.
[54] One vital aspect of this theoretical framework that has been foremost in my mind is that these theories are modern and hence to be used with extreme caution in the analysis of the ancient world. Nevertheless, while these theories are modern, the basic factors embodied by them (power relations, propaganda, societal discourse, and so forth) are elemental human aspects that – apart from minor variations – do not age or change, no matter the culture or the era that is examined.
[55] Besides others referenced below, WODAK (2014), and VAN DIJK (2008).
[56] For example, CHAUVET (2011); GRIFFIN (2015); HAYS (2013); RZEUSKA (2011), and THOMASSEN (2014). I will not introduce the concept of liminality here, but outline it where it is most relevant in Chapter 11.
[57] For example, CRICK (1976).
[58] For linguistic perspectives, see for example, DANESI (2018), and MANNING (1987). For an anthropological perspective, see FIRTH (1973).
[59] Methodologies such as hermeneutical phenomenology (see, for example, MARBACH (1993)) and intentionality (refer to, among others, SIMCHEN (2012), and KRIEGEL (ed.) (2013)) have some relevance to my study, but have not proven to be necessary as principal investigative lenses in my examinations.

Amannote-erike's texts as literature

This thesis considers Amannote-erike's texts as 'literature.' Eyre defines 'literature' within an ancient Egyptian context as a text that "…has an author, an audience, and requires in some sense a performance."[60] Furthermore, Eyre considers publicly displayed official ancient Egyptian royal texts ('propaganda')[61] as literature, since they inevitably had a performative aspect.[62] These texts glorified the king who was the central character of the narrative.[63] In essence, the reality of the king's purported deeds did not matter.[64] It was the narrative and its performative nature that were important.[65] The narrative could be, and was expected to be

> …programmatic, by listing the deeds and behaviour that public opinion expects of him, and praising him as their performer. In this way it can advise, even argue, and not just publicize royal policy.[66]

Since ancient Kushite texts present with almost the same characteristics as the ancient Egyptian texts referred to by Eyre, this thesis considers ancient Kushite texts as literature for the purposes of the forthcoming analyses. This thesis therefore adheres to Eyre's definitions and parameters of what constitutes 'literature' of ancient north-east Africa. The performance of what 'public opinion' expected of a king is a cornerstone of royal decorum,[67] in both ancient Egypt and ancient Kush. It would be pointless for any king to publicly display an identity that would not win him favour with the audience, whether a human public or a deity,[68] or that would not reinforce that audience's positive opinion of him. Thus Amannote-erike's

[60] EYRE (1993), 115. It is not the intent of this thesis to examine the origins or the extent of such 'literature' in ancient Egypt or in ancient Kush. These topics are beyond the scope of this thesis. For discussions regarding this, I suggest, among others, EYRE (1993), and *IDEM*, (2013).
[61] See more below.
[62] EYRE (1993), 115.
[63] EYRE (1993), 116.
[64] EYRE (1993), 116.
[65] EYRE (1993), 116.
[66] EYRE (1993), 116.
[67] As addressed below.
[68] Addressed below.

texts, as publicly displayed narrative performances of events[69] in which the audience would expect to see a 'proper' king taking part, are essentially propagandistic literature.

Authorial intent and agency

Next, we should consider these elements of Amannote-erike's texts: why were they composed, how were they meant to be understood, and what was the message that the author wished to preserve for posterity?[70] We can presume there must be an authorial intent in the composition of any text.[71] For the narration of events, historic or fictional, one must infer a narrator.[72] That narrator is the one who chooses what to narrate and what to ignore, as well as judging and interpreting the events at hand.[73] The narrator's point of view indicates to the researcher the interest and mores of the historical narrator and can give important clues as to their identity, both social and individual. In ancient royal Kushite texts, the ancient narrator is central to any analysis, especially when the attitudes and choices of the narrator are vital to the recognition of the identity revealed within that narrated text. The identity of the narrator of a given ancient text is always a critical factor in analyses of ancient texts, as is authorship. In pragmatic terms, the 'true' author of monumental royal Kushite texts would always have been a scribe. Nevertheless, without the king being idealised and lauded through the rhetoric or decorum demonstrated within his texts, he would be unable to establish his legitimate social position and reign effectively.[74] Therefore, one can hypothesise that each king would have had a personal investment in the composition of his text. The Kushite king, like the ancient Egyptian

[69] Whether 'real' or not is immaterial.
[70] Meaning authorial intent. See, for example, the discussion of Icherneferet on his stela, in HAYS (2009), 15.
[71] After all, if there is no intent, why compose a text at all? References made by an author or composer, using the chosen words are formed through a conscious decision-making process, embodying and displaying a specific mental outlook. See the discussions in SIMCHEN (2012), 53-59. The intention behind those references may not be obvious in any politically motivated text, especially not texts as ancient as the ones relevant to this thesis. However, within the framework of political machinations and reasonable hypotheses regarding the agendas behind the composition of these texts, we can, to a certain extent, infer the intention behind the words used in the composition of Amannote-erike's texts.
[72] WIATER (2005), 3. That narrator is the one who chooses what to narrate and what to ignore, as well as judging and interpreting the events in question. *IBID.*
[73] WIATER (2005), 3.
[74] HOFFNER (2013), 139.

or Neo-Assyrian kings, was the implied or "ideological author"[75] of his monumental text, even though in practical terms he would not have been the 'real' author. The Kushite king as ideological author of his text is implicit in sections where the king speaks in the first person.[76] The king's calculated construction of his self-representation on his monuments and in his monumental texts promoted a dialogue[77] between himself as the textual composer, and the text's intended audience.[78] The deliberate composition of these communications of the king's identity would naturally reveal elements of his personal agenda. This was his authorial intent. Essentially, it is immaterial if a scribe was the 'real' author rather than the king; the significance of the document loses nothing.[79] The king's personal influence on the composition of the text, and his presence within the narration as the main agent of action, would inevitably display his choices and mores. In the case of Amannote-erike's texts, it was his intent that is being emphasised and displayed. In every way except for the practical, the king *was* the author of the text.[80] As such, his identity was exhibited in the composition of the document.

Amannote-erike thus had agency[81] over the manner in which he chose to represent himself in the composition of his texts.[82] 'Agency' is defined as the "awareness of our self as an actor who makes choices about what to do..."[83] These choices include whether to act within approved, extant societal frameworks or whether to defy those norms.[84] Agency as a concept reflects the relationship between an individual and the "dominant structures" of his[85] society

[75] LIVERANI (2016), 80.
[76] LIVERANI (2016), 80.
[77] BRYAN (1996), 167.
[78] BRYAN (1996), 167.
[79] BAL (2009), especially 16-31.
[80] This is not to be understood as an 'autobiography' in the modern sense, but instead an "autobiographical performance." See discussions in GILMORE (2001), 135.
[81] M. SMITH (2007), 414.
[82] Within the constraints of royal protocol and within the context of any interaction with anyone that was not Amannote-erike.
[83] ROUNDS (2006), 136. 'Agency' here is to be understood in anthropological terms. See also HAYS (2009), 16.
[84] ROUNDS (2006), 136-137.
[85] This is equally true for women and for people of other genders as for men. I have chosen to employ the masculine pronoun here for the sake of convenience.

and contemporary world. Agency includes how that individual interprets himself within that context and how he responds to it, as well as his display of that response: "how an individual maintains, changes, or ignores the structures of the society within which he is embedded."[86]

Agency is important in the context of royal Kushite identity. It would have dictated whether a given king decided to follow the textual and monumental norms and tropes of the kings who had gone before him, or whether he would change those 'structures' (decorum), altering what it meant to be represented as king to better suit his personal objectives. In light of this, one wonders to what extent Amannote-erike used agency to exercise his authorial intent within the composition of his texts. Hays discusses the dichotomy of Icherneferet in ancient Egypt, who, in the composition of his stela, worked within the societal structure by repressing his own identity, but also had agency in his public display of his deeds.[87] Arguably, Amannote-erike worked in a similar vein. He had agency and displayed that agency as an individual king, who enacted great deeds. However, he also worked within the societal constructs of established Kushite decorum in his displays. Thus, like Icherneferet, he also suppressed his own identity - if imperfectly, as will be revealed in the course of this thesis' analyses. As Hays declares, "His act of agency is to maintain this structure of his society."[88]

Audience

Next, we should consider the audience for whom the texts were specifically made to be consumed.[89] An original, bipartite intended audience can be posited for Amannote-erike's

[86] HAYS (2009), 16. An 'agent' is an individual who "does something" and 'agency' is essentially "the capacity and office of action." *IBID.*
[87] HAYS (2009), 16. The non-royal Icherneferet is a very different case to the royal displays of Amannote-erike. However, regarding the limitations of how much 'personal' agency can truly be displayed in texts, they are comparable.
[88] HAYS (2009), 27.
[89] I will not make any suggestions regarding those audiences who have incidentally consumed the text. In this category, I include myself and other modern scholars. I am sure that Amannote-erike would have been delighted that his texts have lasted until today and are appreciated by us. However, one cannot imagine that he would have composed these texts specifically for us. It is interesting to consider that, if the text is for the god's eyes or for the eyes of the elite populace, how does our modern interpretation square with authorial intent?

texts. The gods and future rulers can be considered as one audience (the 'ideal recipient'), and the general populace as the other.[90] It has been said that the Kushite populace – like ancient Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian populaces – would not have been able to access most royal documents for a number of reasons. They would not only have been illiterate, but the texts themselves would have been widely inaccessible given their location within temples and other sanctums.[91] The symbols referenced within the document must have been understood to have an impact, namely reinforcing the king's legitimacy and right to rule.[92] If the general population was illiterate and unable to access Amannote-erike's texts, this implies that only Amun-Rē,[93] Amannote-erike's royal successors, and high-ranking priests would have been able to see and potentially read them. This suggests that they were the ones who he had to convince of his legitimacy. The Kushite royal documents could be seen as a corpus through which the values and ideologies[94] of the royal Kushite identity were proclaimed. Amannote-erike's texts thus situate him within the traditions[95] or decorum of this group, and confer that broader sense of legitimacy onto him.

Alternatively, if Amannote-erike had intended to broadcast his legitimacy to the public at Kawa, he may still have done this through his inscriptions, if not in the same manner as he communicated with the god or the human elites. Amannote-erike was an individual who exhibited himself in his public performances. Since the Kushite king was the most elite person within his community, and the earthly son of Amun-Rē (and thus the representative of the Kushite people in the presence of Amun-Rē), he implied within his texts a personal engagement with the community.[96] He had to persuade the public of his superiority and his

[90] LIVERANI (2016), 81.
[91] LIVERANI (2016), 81.
[92] This is where semiotics comes into play. This analytical tool will be detailed below.
[93] Amun and Amun-Rē seem to function in a similar capacity in Kushite royal textual contexts. I have used the names Amun and Amun-Rē somewhat interchangeably in this thesis, since this seems to reflect the contemporary Kushite practice.
[94] Again, as with Assyrian kings. See among others, LIVERANI (2016), 81.
[95] For detailed discussions regarding the geneses of tradition and the differences between the concepts of 'custom' and 'tradition,' see among others, HOBSBAWM (1983), 1-8.
[96] GILMORE (2001), 135.

right to rule by means of his text.[97] As de Roos states, "The audience must be persuaded of the rightness of the political deed…"[98] Liverani postulates that the masses would have been made aware of the contents of the royal texts in a variety of ways: "oral, ceremonial, visual, etc."[99] This makes sense: a legitimising text would reasonably be intended to reach as many people as possible. I therefore suggest that Amannote-erike's texts were propagandistic displays to be appreciated by everyone at Kawa: Amun-Rē, royalty, elite priests, and general public alike.

Kushite Decorum

This thesis, for the most part, will follow Baines in considering royal Kushite 'decorum.'[100] Baines defines ancient Egyptian decorum as:

> …a set of rules and practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form. It can be related to other constraints on action and reports on action, as when a king says that he killed his opponents while his follower says that he kept them alive… and was probably based ultimately on rules or practices of conduct and etiquette…[101]

Baines' definition of decorum is applicable to royal Kushite textual, representational, and monumental practices.[102] There was a certain set of acceptable, prescriptive representational guidelines for Kushite kings, including language use, imagery, divine associations, and

[97] LIVERANI (2016), especially 81, makes a convincing argument regarding the general populace as an intended recipient.
[98] DE ROOS (2001), 404.
[99] LIVERANI (2016), 81.
[100] For example, BAINES (2007), especially 3-30, and *IDEM*, (2015). BAINES is working within an ancient Egyptian context that will be somewhat different to the required considerations to the Kushite context. Furthermore, the term 'decorum' is also problematic. The exact definitions and parameters of this term are unclear and it is a difficult topic to pin down. However, since there is no better terminology currently available with which to discuss matters pertaining to the accepted, prescribed and formulaic patterns of royal representation in both ancient Egyptian and Kushite sources, the term 'decorum' must suffice.
[101] BAINES (1990), 20, considers this within a religious framework.
[102] While BAINES (1990), 21, argues that hierarchy and decorum are separate entities, it seems reasonable that they can be perceived as complementary concepts in the context of kingship and its representational practices.

phraseologies.[103] It was within these established frameworks of self-representation that they presented themselves in their official texts, images, and monuments. This was what Kushite kingship 'looked like'. This decorum was the Kushite royal understanding of how they should portray themselves to the universe.

Amannote-erike learned how a king should act and display his actions for posterity, and how to display legitimacy and authority as a ruler by viewing the monuments and texts of his royal predecessors.[104] Memory, both cultural and individual, plays an enormous part in this consideration.[105] This is especially relevant in royal Kushite conceptualisations surrounding significant ancestors, such as Alara.[106] The engendered royal identity of Amannote-erike's predecessors helped to shape his royal identity: "…understanding…only comes from looking backwards."[107] The extant archaeological remains associated with Amannote-erike also indicate this. He indubitably built his pyramid at Nuri since his predecessors had built theirs at that site. There is also no doubt that he included shabtis within his funerary assemblage since that is what Kushite kings had always done.[108]

[103] It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss the Egyptian or non-Egyptian nature of these vocabularies.
[104] One learns how to act in a future scenario from understanding how one has acted previously, or from the ways in which others with whom one identifies oneself have acted. See, for example, ROUNDS (2006), 136.
[105] A number of recent scholarly works regarding memory have been produced internationally. I refer to these within the main sections of my thesis, where relevant.
[106] I address this in detail within Chapters 2-10.
[107] ROUNDS (2006), 136. Interestingly, Kushite rulers referred very seldom to the land of Kush in their texts. TÖRÖK (1997a), 3. In none of Amannote-erike's texts does he ever refer to himself as 'Kushite,' 'Nubian,' 'Napatan,' or 'Meroitic'. Following TÖRÖK'S suggestion that Kush was seldom mentioned in their texts since the Kushites considered their land to be the only one of consequence (see *IBID*), it is likely that the Kushite kings (including Amannote-erike) did not refer to themselves since they could have considered themselves simply as 'the people'. Thus, they would not have to specify *which* people they were. Moreover, it is possible that Amannote-erike did not refer to himself by any of these designations since it may have been taken for granted that the consumers of his text would be Kushites and would understand that he was a Kushite, with all the associated cultural contexts.
[108] Only one shabti attributed to Amannote-erike remains, however. The exact function of shabtis in an ancient Kushite context may be somewhat different to their perceived use in ancient Egyptian royal burials. For discussions of this, see HOWLEY (2017).

Identity in ancient world studies: an introduction

The piecing together of ancient identities is a subtle and complex process.[109] Various ancient cultures constructed their identity and the identities of groups outside of their communities in different ways.[110] The challenges involved in this analysis are manifold. Not least of these challenges lies in the consideration that modern scholars will always have an incomplete understanding of ancient cultures, and anachronistic interpretation is always a concern. In recent years, many scholars studying the ancient world have turned their attention to the creation, display, and alteration of identity (usually group identity) in the ancient world.[111] These studies have attempted to determine ancient civilisations' understanding and expression of their own cultural heritage and the exhibition of outside groups' characteristics to enhance their own identities.[112] The examination of ancient identities can mostly be attributed to modern researchers attempting to conceive of the origins of "the enterprise of human self-understanding."[113] For the most part, however, this scholarship has been focussed on studies of ancient Greece[114] and Rome.[115] To a lesser extent, studies have also been conducted on the cultures of ancient Mesopotamia,[116] and Egypt[117] as well as a scant handful of major works on ancient Kush.[118] However, a solid scholarly tradition regarding the creation and representation of identity within an ancient African context is yet to be established, with a few modern scholars beginning to work on this complex issue.[119] This thesis will focus on the currently extant works that deal with identity formation and its exhibition in texts and monuments in

[109] GRUEN (2005), 7.
[110] GRUEN (2005), 7.
[111] For example, GRUEN (2005); MALKIN (ed.) (2001a), and WALLACE-HADRILL (2008).
[112] GRUEN (2005), 7.
[113] MARTIN and BARRESI (2006), 2.
[114] There is an extensive collection of modern research regarding this topic. See among others, MALKIN (ed.) (2001a). The focus of modern academics on Greece and Rome in this regard is perhaps logical, given that Western concepts of the self and of individual identity seem to have first come to the fore in ancient Greece. Per MARTIN and BARRESI (2006), 2.
[115] Especially WALLACE-HADRILL (2008).
[116] For example, DERCKSEN, KOUWENBERG, KRISPIJN, and VAN SOLDT (eds.) (2001), and COLLINS and MICHALOWSKI (eds.) (2013).
[117] Among others, RYHOLT and BARJAMOVIC (eds.) (2016), and VALBELLE (1993).
[118] Foremost of which are the studies by S. SMITH, especially S. SMITH (2003).
[119] For example, S. SMITH (2003); *IDEM* (2014c); S. SMITH and BUZON (2014a), and *IDEM* (2014b).

ancient Egypt and the ancient Near East, since these are arguably the most relevant to the development of these factors in ancient Kush.

Identity and its relevance to this thesis

As a foundation for the concept that literature and texts provide an important insight into cultural ideologies, this thesis will base its considerations on Jolles[120] and Assmann[121] among other sources.[122] While these theoretical frameworks have been employed in the analysis of Amannote-erike's extant evidence, it is not the intention of this thesis to provide an in-depth narratological, cognitive, or linguistic dissertation regarding these aspects specifically. They are used here simply as tools; as lenses through which to closely examine identity creation and display of Amannote-erike, his reign, and his potential agenda.

The concept of an 'identity' is one that is a fundamental feature of being human.[123] A major problem regarding identity as a concept in research today is the overuse of the term to such an extent as to almost make it meaningless.[124] Thus, the concept of identity is often taken for granted in the social sciences.[125] This thesis aims to be more specific about the definition of 'identity' here and its applicability to studies of ancient Kush. I will adhere to Rodas' definition that 'identity' is essentially the reflexive perception of the 'self' as recognised within one's contemporary social context.[126] The public dissemination of that constructed identity is "a symbolic performance by which the individual is shown to be socially significant".[127] This "symbolic performance" is formed through one's response to the world

[120] JOLLES (1958).
[121] Please refer to the entries listed under ASSMANN in the bibliography to this thesis, especially ASSMANN (1992).
[122] As a basis for identity creation in general, I consulted JÖRISSEN (2000).
[123] See, among many others, JÖRISSEN (2000), especially pages 9-24, and SÖKEFELD (1999), 417-448. Identity is essentially the focus of any social sciences or Humanities areas of academic study, since these disciplines are "primarily concerned with the ways in which human beings understand themselves and others." EDWARDS (2009), 20.
[124] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 3-4.
[125] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 3.
[126] RODAS (2015), 103. Also discussed in a broader context in GRAD and ROJO (2008), *passim*.
[127] RODAS (2015), 103.

that one inhabits, namely a "structure – a place to act, a way to act, and a reason to act."[128] 'Structure' includes the societal forces that are enacted upon one by one's immediate environment and community. The framework of Kushite royal decorum and its associated methods of public display, discussed above, is one such structure.[129]

The formation of one's identity and the transmission of the aspects of that identity construct to the society in which one lives is of paramount significance to any community member.[130] By putting on a 'social skin' within his official texts and choosing the ways in which he was represented, the Kushite king can be said to have been identifying himself with the ideological group that is the institution of Kushite kingship. Any interaction of the Kushite king with any other party can be considered to be a "public performance,"[131] even when he is said in texts to have only been in contact with Amun. The instant that this 'performance' was seen by anyone who was not Amannote-erike,[132] the way in which his identity was expressed "becomes concretized in a way that produces a socially-recognized role."[133]

The context in which that identity was displayed is critically important. Within one's own group, the display of one's individual identity is a societal discourse that establishes one's belonging within the group and communicates one's authority within the group.[134] 'Identity work,' from its base in anthropological studies, embodies the methods by which humans build their individual identities as a part of the societal or cultural group that they inhabit.[135] The social significance of an individual's identity can arguably be said to be even more relevant when a person in a position of power or authority, such as Amannote-erike, creates and

[128] ROUNDS (2006), 136.
[129] As alluded to in the paragraph outlining 'agency'.
[130] JÖRISSEN (2000), 22-23; SÖKEFELD (1999), especially 417-419, and ROUNDS (2006), 133. VALBELLE (1993) provides a valuable basis for examining identity creation and display of ancient Egyptians in Pharaonic Egypt.
[131] Per BAINES (2006).
[132] This concept is equally valid in the context of any Kushite king (or indeed any king), but for the purposes of this thesis, it is only Amannote-erike that is relevant.
[133] M. SMITH (2007), 415. This refers back to the concept of 'agency'.
[134] If a position of power and/or wealth is held. See GEFOU-MADIANOU (1999), 414.
[135] ROUNDS (2006), 137.

displays their identity within the group context. It is vital that the ruler's constructed identity as the person of highest social position is maintained through its dissemination in a variety of media within their community.[136] Therefore, the display of this identity must be presented in terms and symbols (language) understandable to that group.

Language and identity

A critical part of identity and its display is language: "…language is central to the human condition..."[137] 'Language' can be defined as

> …a communication system composed of arbitrary elements which possess an agreed-upon significance within a community…they are connected in regular ways… [and it] is used for communicative purposes by a group of people who constitute the speech or language community.[138]

The pivotal role of language in the conceptualisation of meaning is now widely recognised.[139] Language is fundamentally humanity's method of "articulating meaning in the world."[140] It is a method of communicating with others, whether orally or textually, with the intention of disseminating meaning and understanding.[141] As Gadamer states, "Sein, das verstanden werden kann, ist Sprache."[142] People of any culture can express and understand themselves and others through language. Ricœur asserts that texts provide the "*sens idéal*" of meanings

[136] Among many others, BAINES (2006), 261- 302, and SPALINGER (2011a).
[137] EDWARDS (2009), 20.
[138] EDWARDS (2009), 53.
[139] FIGAL (2012), 525, and 531-532. Essentially, this is hermeneutics, as perceived in linguistics, and in the study of ancient texts. For an extensive discussion regarding hermeneutical phenomenology, see FIGAL (2012). While it seems that, traditionally, hermeneutical phenomenology has been considered applicable to religious texts and wisdom literatures, I consider ancient official texts to be cut from similar cloth. The fundamental "sense of spirituality" of hermeneutics is diffused in ancient literatures (see MAINGUENEAU (2013), 121). After all, many of these texts are in some way religious (or claiming to be), or displaying piety and/or promoting the wisdom of either the god or the king as central character. Hermeneutics are relevant to ancient texts (especially Kushite texts, in this case) and can be successfully applied in their study.
[140] HATAB (2017), 117. HATAB discusses this matter at length in *IBID*, 117-181.
[141] HATAB (2017), 117.
[142] See GADAMER (1986), 478, and FIGAL (2012), 532-535.

framed within language.[143] A text is composed with the goal of being understood; the proof of this is the existence of the text itself.[144] Hence, Amannote-erike's commissioning of his textual compositions inherently reveals a being and an understanding of that being that was represented through language.[145]

Identity and language are inseparable.[146] Language and its function in the creation of memory and history is an inestimable tool for the creation and display of identity of an individual who writes, composes, or commissions a given text.[147] Words as "instruments of ideology" in history serve to preserve that history and its associated societal aspects.[148] As Courtine asserts, "…language is the fabric of memory…its historical means of existence."[149] The scholarly analysis of a civilisation's use of language is central to the proper understanding of that culture and is especially relevant to the study of ancient cultures.[150] Assmann argues that a written document of any type that demonstrates relevant information about the community that created it has the ability to create and display that group's identity.[151]

[143] RICŒUR (1986), 157, cited in FIGAL (2012), 536-537.
[144] FIGAL (2012), 539. As such, a text that intends to communicate with a reader (whose identity is immaterial to this consideration) must be composed in language that can be understood. This means that the reader must have some sort of background knowledge about what is composed, *i.e.*, the symbolic meaning system in which the rhetoric is couched, to be able to decipher the meaning provided by the author. We can therefore consider Amannote-erike's 'language' a sign system that has meaning and should be considered using the analytical tool of semiotics. See below.
[145] Even though that language may not have been Amannote-erike's native, spoken tongue (see below), the choice of language and its expression concedes information to us. As part of my considerations, I will keep in mind CARR'S concerns about history expressed in language as narrative and its probable disjunction from the reality of the events that it described. See CARR (2012), especially 484.
[146] EDWARDS (2009), 20.
[147] See the extensive discussions in EDWARDS (2009).
[148] TOURNIER (1992), 9, cited in PAVEAU (2013), 132.
[149] COURTINE (1994), translation cited in PAVEAU (2013), 135.
[150] RILLY (2014), 1169. As imperfect as our modern understandings of those ancient cultures may be. One of the determining factors of 'group' or ethnic identity is often still thought to be a shared language among the members of that community. This largely appears to be because of residual attitudes from the days of nationalism ideologies. See SCHWARTZ (1995), 3. It is not the intention of this thesis to enter into any in-depth assessments of ancient Kushite language as a part of Kushite group identity, nor its engagement with other language groups outside of the Kushite region. Also, discussions of theories regarding ancient Kushite 'nationalism' will not be broached. These aspects are not the point of this current investigation. The main point of relevance is that a language spoken by a particular group binds that group together in communication, however loosely affiliated those bonds might be.
[151] ASSMANN (1999), 7, and EDWARDS (2009), 15-33.

By extension, written documents would also act in an identity forming capacity for an individual.[152] The intricacies of linguistic expression and the choices regarding narration exhibited by an individual during a text's composition necessarily yield information about the composer and their milieu.[153] The vocabularies of elite, especially royal, expression in the composition of public and monumental texts (*i.e.*, decorum)[154] are of particular significance. These vocabularies provide evidence of the self-awareness and frameworks of self-referential ideologies with which those rulers perceived themselves and established their identities publicly. This will be a fundamental consideration regarding Amannote-erike's choice of language, phraseology, and so forth in his texts.

The composition by Amannote-erike (and other Kushite kings) of their monumental and official texts in Egyptian, using the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic script, is representative of using a foreign language as an 'official' language.[155] This use of a foreign language that had been adopted into understandings of how a Kushite king should display themselves in official texts was an essential factor in the formation of Kushite kingship and its identity. An individual's choice to use one language over another in a given context indicates to us the presence of a diachronic power negotiation within an ancient text. Kushite kings appear to have had an inherent understanding of ancient Egyptian (especially written in Egyptian hieroglyphs) being associated with socio-historical factors related to power.[156] The language used in the composition of Amannote-erike's documents is ancient Egyptian, with grammatical uses hearkening back to Middle Egyptian texts.[157] However, ancient Egyptian

[152] See discussions in RILLY (2014).
[153] Again, agency comes into play here, as do semiotics (see below).These factors include what is said, what is not said, the use of simile and imagery, as well as rhetoric, social status, religious inclination, and political motivations. See also ELTZE (2014). This oversimplification must suffice here.
[154] See above.
[155] For example, HOWLEY (2013), (presentation).
[156] To paraphrase WALLACE-HADRILL (2008), 63.
[157] Refer to *Kawa I, Text*, 50-72. For discussions regarding archaism, see, among others, DER MANUELIAN (1994), 154, 173, and 194-195, and JURMAN (2015), *passim*.

was not the spoken language of everyday life in ancient Kush.[158] The Egyptian language never subsumed the original spoken Kushite language within Kush. The Kushite people maintained their original language, which appears to have been the forerunner of the Meroitic language.[159] The hieroglyphs in Amannote-erike's texts[160] have often been regarded as being of poor quality.[161] Macadam went so far as to call the hieroglyphs in Kawa XII "barbaric."[162] However, the presumption that the Egyptian hieroglyphs, and hence, the ancient Egyptian language, used in these compositions are inferior and limited is misguided, as this invites researchers to make an immediate and seemingly logical assessment: a limited command of a language must mean a people of limited faculties.[163] Instead, this "imperfect"[164] use of Egyptian language should be perceived as an enactment of Kushite elite identity. Rather than being a flaw in the Kushite cultural context,[165] this could be appreciated as an enriched language. It seems to have been a language that in itself was an aspect of 'Kushite' group identity,[166] one that shaped the Kushite world[167] by displaying a localised royal identity unique to their experience. The use of ancient Egyptian and its hieroglyphs in the ancient Kushite world would only have been appropriate for the very highest echelon of society: the king. By using this language that was only for exploitation by the king, any individual appropriated for himself the relational identity of the king.[168] Indeed, Kushite rulers may have chosen ancient Egyptian as the language in which to inscribe their texts, since there may have been an

[158] RILLY (2014), 1172, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 49 and 53. As also addressed by SCHWARTZ (1995), 13, in any ancient society the speech used commonly "is of course irrecoverable…moreover, the written material is obviously difficult to use as evidence for spoken language, since in some cases writing may reflect no more than scribal practice."
[159] See PEUST (1999); RILLY (2014), 1172; SARGENT (2004), 3, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 49 and 53.
[160] Those of Harsiotef and Nastasen, among others.
[161] *Kawa I, Text*, 51, 68, and 71. As is known, by Amannote-erike's reign, ancient Egyptian was only seldom used in Kush, and then exclusively in royal texts and on temples. This is sometimes interpreted by scholars as a kind of loss (see among others, *Kawa I, Text*, 71, and *FHN* II, 421), or a paucity in the Kushite understanding of the Egyptian language.
[162] *Kawa I, Text*, 71.
[163] As suggested in a modern context, specifically in the use of English by Chinese immigrants in the USA. See TAN (2014), 31.
[164] TAN (2014), 31.
[165] In that they imperfectly copied an archaised Egyptian template.
[166] An elite identity, but nevertheless an aspect of a unique identity.
[167] As also suggested in the so-called "imperfect" English use by TAN'S Chinese mother when in America. TAN (2014), 30-31.
[168] Per DEVOS (1995), 23.

inherent cultural association between that language and the Kushite royal cult.[169] The Kushite kings' "unusual"[170] manner of phraseology in the vocabulary of the the ancient Egyptian language within their texts may have been an expression of their religious conceptualisations, frames of legitimation, and cultural world view, *i.e.*, royal rhetoric.

This use of Egyptian language and hieroglyphic script in official royal Kushite texts inevitably entailed the employment of the corresponding ancient Egyptian monarchical rhetoric. However, the Kushite use of ancient Egyptian rhetoric does not automatically presume their appropriation of an Egyptian royal identity over their own native elite identity.[171] The ancient use of rhetoric in royal ideological displays on documents intended for public dissemination is well known.[172] The use of rhetoric in texts of ancient kings can sometimes be misleading, in that one is tempted to interpret the rhetoric within the documents of any king as an indication of his personal characteristics.[173] Instead, rhetorical speech within royal texts should be considered as an indication of the display of a royal ideological identity.[174] The *raison d'être* of rhetorical speech in official royal documents is to show the innate superiority of the ruler.[175] Certainly, the royal conventions of canon and rhetoric are observed. However, the dichotomy of rhetoric as royal ideology and hypothesised glimpses of an individual personality, and how these two seemingly disparate aspects of the royal person work together in Amannote-erike's texts, are important here.

[169] For discussions regarding associations of language with religion, see among others EDWARDS (2009), 100-125.
[170] Unusual to us, that is.
[171] S. SMITH (2003), 11.
[172] See, among others, HOFFNER (2013), and VERNUS (2016).
[173] HOFFNER (2013), 137.
[174] HOFFNER (2013).
[175] HOFFNER (2013), 138.

Presentations of the body as identity

The body is "a major focus of social representation."[176] It is the epitome of the individual and is therefore the locus of any human's interactions with others around it.[177] This manifests a central force in the creation of human identity. The manipulation of presentations of the body – in artistic representations and in the flesh – is the most immediate and discernible method to create and display identity.[178] In this way, the individual human body becomes "the locus of identity formation."[179] In a Kushite royal context, this bodily manipulation of identity could also be said to be manifest in art and in texts.[180] Moreover, in his decisions about how to present himself, and by extension, how not to show himself using the factors outlined by decorum within official texts, art, and monuments, a king exhibited what was appropriate for the Kushite elite society at that time. This allows modern researchers to speculate to an extent regarding the personal choices of the king. The "public projections" of the identity of any individual are necessarily different from how they would identify in a private sphere.[181] This makes it even more interesting that there are no extant pictorial representations of Amannote-erike. The hypotheses presented in this thesis could provide the answer to the question of what, if anything, Amannote-erike's lack of imagery might indicate to us as scholars.

[176] BAINES (2007), 6.
[177] BAINES (2007), 6. Archaeological remains are thus agents of identity. However, considering the paucity of extant material evidence for Amannote-erike's reign, and since the evidence that does remain does not reveal any details about his identity, the archaeological record will not be analysed in this thesis. I will only briefly mention it where relevant. The majority of Amannote-erike's extant archaeological evidence is represented by items found in the foundation deposits during the excavation of his pyramid at Nuri. Only one of the items found in Nuri XII's excavations has Amannote-erike's name inscribed on it (his shabti). I have examined the items from Nuri XII that are held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and intend present an article regarding these items at a later date. They did not provide any information that was relevant to this thesis, and therefore I have not included them. Many other items from Nuri XII have been registered at the Sudan National Museum (see HINKEL and ABDELRAHMAN (2002), 83, 88-89, 92, and 106). They also do not have direct bearing on this thesis, and have therefore been omitted.
[178] FISHER and DIPAOLO LOREN (2003), 225.
[179] FISHER and DIPAOLO LOREN (2003), 225.
[180] Presumably, in the king's bodily person as well. However, since Amannote-erike's mummy is not currently in evidence, this point is moot and can only be speculated upon.
[181] M. SMITH (2007), 414.

Propaganda

I regard the texts relevant to Amannote-erike as inherently valuable within an identity creation framework.[182] I consider any and all activities carried out by this king to have been intentional in creating and exhibiting either his individual identity or his understanding of his position within the group identity of 'Kushite kingship.'[183] These texts are representative of vocabularies of Kushite royal decorum, and hence propaganda.[184] Amannote-erike's interplay between himself as a human with an ego, and his contemporary world by means of his texts, provided an insight into the tensions surrounding his creation and understanding of his identity. As Dodd states, "Subjectivity and world, the human being amidst environs, are to be understood as both mutually exclusive but at the same time inclusive, interwoven with each other in an economy of reality and irreality."[185] Thus, Amannote-erike's display of his identity in his constructed materials was part individual identity, part royal (group) identity, and part necessary fiction. This tension was often created unknowingly.[186] The ego that created the item and the ego that was represented in the item are by no means separate and distinct, but instead portrayed an amalgamated personality.[187]

Propaganda, as an element of royal 'fiction' or decorum,[188] is inherently an extension of the human ego and inevitably obscures some parts of the reality of an individual ruler's identity. Nevertheless, seemingly counter-productively, when that same propaganda deals with one individual ruler, it will by the nature of its composition reveal aspects of the subject's *id*.[189] The individual's choices of what is said, what is not said, which aspects of decorum are

[182] Per CRONIN in the context of the human mind. CRONIN (2017), x.
[183] Amannote-erike's membership within this group: his experience of the 'we' represented by himself included into the Kushite royal continuum. See CARR (2012), 493-494. Some of the aspects revealed in this process would have been intentional and some would not. However, the act alone of the creation of these materials reveals intention.
[184] 'Propaganda' is but one problematic term used in this thesis that has unforutunate overtones in today's society. I address this further, below.
[185] DODD (1997), 73.
[186] DODD (1997), 100-102.
[187] DODD (1997), especially 101.
[188] In general, within the human elite continuum throughout time, but especially for Kushite royalty.
[189] Similar to the discussion in DODD (1997), 65-66, and 73-74.

adhered to and which are not during the composition of his texts, to name but a few aspects, are thus important. Therefore, despite the fact that much of Amannote-erike's extant texts appear to be so formulaic as to be useless for any analyses that deal with identity, they are actually tremendously useful; one might even argue that they are indispensable.[190]

Van Dijk, among others, eloquently addresses the challenges of examining the abstractions of societal power relations from text, images, or speech.[191] These will therefore not be detailed here, though some relevant points should be mentioned. As Wodak states, "As discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power."[192] Power in Amannote-erike's context can certainly be construed as the individual, royal power that he embodied. However, that individualised power had its rooting in the institutionalised associations of the power of Kushite kingship. Per van Dijk, "Power in this sense should not be defined as the power of a person, but rather as that of a social position and as being organized as a constituent part of the power of an organization."[193] Traditions in cultural discourses, such as using Egyptian language and hieroglyphs as a statement of Kushite royal identity and ideology, are known to have ideological value within relationships of power.[194] As such, these ideological symbols are key factors in textual manipulation[195] of the culture that values them.[196] This is fundamentally the definition of 'propaganda.'[197]

[190] If nothing else, for instance, the formulaic nature of sections of these texts indicate the creation and display of power relations in fifth century B.C.E. Kush.
[191] VAN DIJK (2008), especially 1.
[192] WODAK (2014), 303.
[193] VAN DIJK (2008), 12.
[194] WODAK (2014), 303.
[195] In Amannote-erike's case. Originally, there probably would have been oral and pictorial programmatic manipulations in play as well.
[196] VAN DIJK (2008), 211.
[197] See LASSWELL (1927), 627-628, and LASSWELL, LERNER, and SPEIER (eds.) (1979-1980).

The term 'propaganda' is modern, but its basic principles and aims are ancient.[198] Furthermore, propaganda when displayed upon monuments can be considered a feature of a ruler's "public ceremonial performance,"[199] an essential part of both ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite royal ideology.[200] Manipulation (propaganda) has the implication of relational dominance within social groups.[201] While this manipulation, as perceived in Amannote-erike's texts, is unquestionably reflective of his dominance over his immediate social group and his enforcement of that identity, this thesis does not consider his dominance and his manipulation of his texts inherently 'bad,' as van Dijk does.[202] In Amannote-erike's case, as in most cases in ancient Egypt and Kush, the manipulation found in royal discourses was primarily established by decorum, and was indicative of the royal persona, its power, and its corresponding identity. However, it should be remembered that the manipulation of real or perceived power and of textual/actual representation *was* the ultimate goal of Amannote-erike's texts.

Working methodologies

The core concepts on which this thesis is based have been delineated. Next, the methodologies used in the analyses for this thesis must be addressed. Close textual analysis, as a historical and philological tool, forms the main basis of these considerations. However, another two methodologies adopted from literary studies and anthropology have been juxtaposed with close textual analysis, to provide a holistic examination of Amannote-erike's identities as

[198] For example, historical and literary texts as 'propaganda' of the ancient Egyptian king are attested from the Old Kingdom. See among many others, BLEIBERG (1985-1986); GRIMAL (1986); POSENER (1969), and SIMPSON (1996).
[199] See BAINES (2006), especially 275-290.
[200] The king's propagandistic, public display on monuments and in texts of his divinely superhuman nature and his having the ideal qualities of a ruler allowed him to establish his right to rule. See among many others, POSENER (1969), 121, 128-130, and 139; ASSMANN (1999b), 7, and *IDEM* (2006). This was an essential feature of the ancient Egyptian (and ancient Kushite) political framework and was a fundamental factor in creating legitimation for any king. His public display of the vocabulary of established royal propaganda in reference to himself placed him within the royal continuum and reinforced his authority over the territory and its people to a wide audience, both earthly and divine. See for example, SIMPSON (1996), 435-445.
[201] VAN DIJK (2008), 212.
[202] VAN DIJK (2008), 221-213, and 228-230.

represented in his texts. The predominant literary methodology used alongside close textual analysis is critical discourse analysis. [203]

'Discourse' within the context of critical discourse analysis is considered as "social practice" presented in language used in writing and in speech.[204] The main aim of critical discourse analysis is to explain how human beings are able to communicate to other humans meanings that are complex, usually by means of textual communication.[205] In this regard, it works hand-in-hand with semiotics[206] within this thesis. Despite recent philosophical differences that have grown between linguists and historians regarding the usefulness of critical discourse analysis in historical examinations,[207] this methodology is still invaluable to modern scholars of the ancient world, particularly where textual evidence is the main resource. This is because these are often the only interaction we have with the ancient civilisations we study. Ancient textual interactions communicate with us, providing a discourse. [208] Critical discourse analysis allows historians to examine the "constructed nature" of the text at hand through exploring the ancient "linguistic perspective."[209]

[203] I use critical discourse analysis as it is understood in the social science disciplines of rhetoric and anthropology. 'Literary discourse analysis' as an extension of critical discourse analysis allows us to understand both the literary work and the 'literary fact' embodied within that work. MAINGUENEAU (2013), especially 113. Literature as a discourse can be considered an activity in itself but also is an active participant in "the world it is supposed to "reflect"." MAINGUENEAU (2013), 113-114. As such, we can think of texts as anchored historically in the culture and the socio-temporal framework in which they were composed. Importantly, texts that are composed in societies such as ancient Kush where only a small population was literate are even more indicative of significant societal mores. For estimates regarding ancient Egyptian literacy levels, see for example, BAINES (2007), 33-116. BAINES suggests approximately one per cent of the population during the Old Kingdom. *IBID*, 67. As MAINGUENEAU (2013), 114, asks: "Words and the right to speak are interlocked: where can words legitimately come from, who do they claim to address, according to what means, what time, what place?" A text attests to the milieu in which it was created. MAINGUENEAU (2013), 116. This is no different today as it would have been in ancient Kush. For example, the composition of an official royal text was itself an act of royal legitimation.
[204] WODAK (2014), 303.
[205] ENSINK and SAUER (2003), 1.
[206] See below.
[207] For example, discussions in PAVEAU (2013), 127-130.
[208] See ENSINK and SAUER (2003), especially 1.
[209] PAVEAU (2013), 128.

Additionally, critical discourse analysis allows us to analyse the creation and display of identity, partly through the "*problematization* [*sic*] of identity."[210] It highlights the relationship between social constructs of power, domination, cultural traditions, and the associated constructions of identity, both individual and group.[211] Identity in general appears to be situational.[212] Within this, considerations of the available choice and opportunity of individuals in a given cultural context to form and exhibit identity are pertinent.[213] For example, had Amannote-erike had the choice of displaying his kingship in another framework besides the decorous Kushite version of kinship/kingship,[214] would his exhibited identity have looked different? Here, considerations of 'framing' and 'perspective' come into play.[215] As the agent of his own identity creation and display, Amannote-erike still would have had to have operated within social constructs and understandings encapsulated within Kushite royal decorum. This situates him within the continuum of Kushite kingship at that point in time and indicates what choices he would have had to make to create a semi-personalised text while working within the 'acceptable' royal Kushite demonstrative context. Since there is only one extant architectural monument exclusively ascribed to Amannote-erike (his pyramid at Nuri),

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[210] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 4.
[211] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 4 and 7-8. See *IBID*, 4-9 for extensive discussions on the "strong" identity of the self versus "weak" identities that are fluid and multiple within the same person.
[212] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 4.
[213] GRAD and ROJO (2008), 17-18.
[214] Text written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, *et cetera*.
[215] 'Framing' and 'perspective' are basic factors that need to be considered in critical discourse analysis of texts. 'Framing' can be defined as "an overall sense of the function of the discourse in the social situation." ENSINK and SAUER (2003), 2. In Amannote-erike's texts, this can be considered to be primarily legitimising and propagandising functions relevant to his accession as king. 'Framing' regarding the above-mentioned phenomena is salient to the communication of meaning and knowledge. ENSINK (2003), 63. See the discussions in *IBID*, *passim*, and ENSINK and SAUER (2003), 1-21. ENSINK identified two 'types' of frame that are relevant. The 'cognitive frame' is essential to any linguistic communication that contain basic, general knowledge about the human world and objects in it. The 'interactive frame' allows the users and consumers of a given language to "identify the context of language activity" which allows them to produce and consume communications of any kind that make sense. ENSINK (2003), 63. In Amannote-erike's examples, the 'cognitive frame' can be considered to be the decorum exhibited by Kushite kings in general in their texts and monuments, while the 'interactive frame' can be considered as the individual (socio-historically contextualised) expressions and phraseologies used by Amannote-erike specifically to create and display his kingship and his individuality. 'Perspective' alludes to the point of view from which the content of a text is displayed. ENSINK and SAUER (2003), 2. 'Perspective' is ubiquitous in any discourse, especially those that explicitly provide the point of view of the individual central to its composition (in the case of this thesis, that of Amannote-erike). ENSINK and SAUER (2003), 10. It is usually the result of a deliberate choice by the text's composer or its commissioner. In Amannote-erike's case as commissioner of his texts, this 'perspective' can be considered to be his point of view as a newly crowned king, and also his point of view of his identity display within Kushite kingship as a whole – but absolutely and unequivocally from his point of view. It was *his* agenda that was recorded and displayed for posterity.

and there are no extant pictorial images of him known at this time, critical discourse analysis of his texts through language is the only sensible way to be able to decipher his creation and display of his identity.

At its most basic level, semiotics, as appreciated within linguistic and anthropological[216] spheres can be defined as:

> the discipline [of] studying the meanings, uses, and functions of signs and sign systems—a "sign" being defined as anything (a word, gesture, facial expression, and so on) that stands for something other than itself, to someone, in some capacity.[217]

The analysis of how an author intentionally conveys meaning to a reader by means of the signs, symbols or words that they use is at the heart of semiotics.[218] 'Signs,' in the context of this thesis, are to be understood as the hieroglyphic words or phrases encountered in Amannote-erike's texts. These "indicate groups and social relations"[219] that would have been perceived and appreciated as representing a group's identity by those who read the texts.[220] Moreover, semiotics aims to elucidate the meaning at the heart of what is said by distinguishing speech as a performative action from rigid linguistic rules within a given document.[221] As such, it is an ideal mode of examination with which to assess the hypothetical meanings found in Amannote-erike's texts. Semiotics also introduces concepts centred on intentionality[222] and of intrinsic subjectivity, which are of vital consequence in this thesis,[223]

[216] FIRTH (1973), *passim*, discusses this.
[217] DANESI (2018). I chose to adhere to this most basic of definitions of semiotics, as it is used in anthropological studies.
[218] MANNING (1987), 25.
[219] MANNING (1987), 27.
[220] MANNING (1987), 27. I have already made some suggestions regarding the hypothesised, intended audience for Amannote-erike's texts.
[221] MANNING (1987), 29.
[222] 'Intentionality' as a concept is a complicated concept addressed in detail by many scholars, especially in the field of linguistics. See, for example, KRIEGEL (2013); SIEGEL (2016), and SIMCHEN (2012).
[223] SIMCHEN (2012), among others, outlines the theory of the intentionality of words.

and which can be examined within the context of Amannote-erike's texts. Here 'intentionality' is understood as someone's (in this case, either Amannote-erike or the composer of his texts) deliberate creation and display in a public forum of their ideology in response to events and circumstances surrounding them in their every-day life.[224] Critically, the aspect of 'intrinsic subjectivity' that manifested in Amannote-erike's texts is significant.[225] The intentionality of any communication (written or verbal) is conditional to the experience of the one who does the communicating.[226] This again refers to authorial intent. Amannote-erike's texts do not tell us how things were at the time of their composition. They describe what things were like for *Amannote-erike*[227] at the time of the texts' composition: what *he* thought was appropriate and relevant to his identity and his position within the institution of Kushite kingship that he should inscribe for posterity, in essence, his agenda.[228]

Parameters of this thesis

It is the intent of this thesis to focus on one individual king, Amannote-erike, and the comprehensive analysis of his extant textual evidence.[229] In the process of these analyses, this thesis touches on certain key topics regarding the ancient Kushite royal context that are relevant to this study in a peripheral way. These topics include: the Egyptian 'influence'[230] on ancient Kush and its cultural identity (royal and non-royal),[231] questions surrounding Kushite ethnic identity as a whole, and that of its elites, as well as the associated issues surrounding

[224] Per KRIEGEL (2013), 2.
[225] KRIEGEL (2013), 6, and 11-12.
[226] LOAR (1987), 89-124, especially 89.
[227] Per LOAR (1987), *passim*. The 'human factor,' which should always be remembered and applied in considerations of any ancient text.
[228] While this may, at first glance, seem obvious, it is sensible to tease out the intricacies of his intentions, and at whom these representations were intended to be aimed (and why).
[229] Especially building on VINOGRADOV'S work. For example, VINOGRADOV (1992); *IDEM* (1999a); *IDEM* (2008), and *IDEM* (2011).
[230] 'Influence' is a loaded term that implies that the ancient Egyptians were superior in nature, giving a strong colonialist impression. The use of the term 'influence' in this thesis is not intended to imply Egyptian superiority, but rather to describe processes of cultural exchange/interaction
[231] Among many others, EMBERLING (1997); S. SMITH (1991b); *IDEM* (1998); *IDEM*, (2003); SPALINGER (1979), *passim*; *IDEM* (1981), *passim*; TÖRÖK (1997a), *passim*; *IDEM* (1999), *passim*; *IDEM* (2002), *passim*, and WEGLARZ (2017).

their theorised 'adoption' of ancient Egyptian traditions,[232] Kushite chronology,[233] Kushite matters of religion,[234] and the socio-political and economic aspects of the so-called late Napatan/early Meroitic periods.[235] Since many recent scholars have comprehensively dealt with these issues, they will not be addressed in detail here and will be mentioned in this thesis only where they are directly relevant to Amannote-erike and his context.[236] Also outside the scope of this thesis are ancient Kushite identity (both group and individual) outside of the kingship context,[237] ancient Nubian ethnicity,[238] and the "Us" versus "Them"[239] aspect of group and individual identity perception. These are problematic concepts that would each require a doctoral thesis to be properly examined. Furthermore, highly complex (and contentious) issues such as nationality and nationalism in the ancient world,[240] especially pertaining to ancient Kush/Nubia, are not relevant to this thesis and will therefore not be addressed. Moreover, I aim to move away from Egypt-centric considerations of Kush, allowing the study of ancient Kush to continue to develop on its own, rather than remaining an adjunct of ancient Egyptian studies as it has been.

There are unquestionably limitations forced onto this thesis by pragmatic considerations. For example, some aspects of an individual's identity can never be fully expressed in their public displays, and some aspects may be attributed to them by outside observers that were never intended by the individuals themselves.[241] This should be kept in mind during the analyses

[232] I suggest the following works, among others, DEVOS (1995), 15-47; EMBERLING (1997), 295-344; GRUEN (2013), and S. SMITH (2003).
[233] See, for example, BRADLEY (1984); KITCHEN (2006), and ZIBELIUS-CHEN (2006)
[234] Among others, KORMYSHEVA (1990); *IDEM* (2010); KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), and YELLIN (1995)
[235] Among others, see GRUNERT (2007); SAYED (2007); TÖRÖK (1979), and *IDEM* (1984).
[236] See also among others, LOHWASSER (1995); *IDEM* (1997); *IDEM* (1998) ; *IDEM* (2000b); *IDEM* (2001a); *IDEM* (2001b); POPE (2014a); *IDEM* (2014b); *IDEM* (2015); S. SMITH (2014b); *IDEM* (2014c); S. SMITH and BUZON (2014a); *IDEM* (2014b); TÖRÖK (1979); *IDEM* (1984) ; *IDEM* (1995a); *IDEM* (1995b), and *IDEM* (1997a).
[237] Among many others, EMBERLING, WILLIAMS, INGVOLDSTAD, and JAMES (2014); S. SMITH (2015); S. SMITH and M. BUZON (2014a); S. SMITH and M. BUZON (2014b), and TÖRÖK (1995b).
[238] To name a few examples, see EMBERLING (1997); RILLY (2014); S. SMITH (2003), and *IDEM* (2014c).
[239] References can be found in S. SMITH (2003). For references in this regard relevant to the Classical world, see GRUEN (2011); MALKIN (ed.), (2001a), and *IDEM* (2001b).
[240] For example, GRUEN (1992).
[241] Given the ancient context of these individuals, they are no longer available to confirm or deny these aspects attributed to them. See M. SMITH (2007), 415.

contained within this thesis.[242] This work does not attempt to prove Amannote-erike's true nature conclusively. To name but one example, at the conclusion of this work, we will still not know if he favoured the facial scarification seen in later Meroitic royal representations which displayed a uniquely Kushite identity.[243] This intimate level of self-identification and expression is virtually impossible to discern through the study of 'official' royal texts that follow decorum, or through funerary architecture. In much the same vein as the ancient Egyptian kings, the Kushite king's publicly displayed identity was dominated by ideologies of legitimate kingship rather than the exhibition of a personal identity.[244] Furthermore, while scholars have learned enough of the ancient Egyptian language to be able to read and understand Amannote-erike's hieroglyphic texts as literal language, it should always be remembered that the language has been learned in a vacuum, without culturally specific knowledge and 'insider information'. Therefore, we can never fully appreciate exactly what is meant or alluded to, nor the nuances that might be in play.[245] It is also true that the identity of the 'self' as appreciated within a modern, Westernised framework is not an altogether appropriate scheme for the understanding of an ancient individual. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the attempt cannot be made to tease out the constructions of identity that might be present and that could enlighten us. Rather than seeking to uncover the exact characteristics of Amannote-erike's personal identity ('who he really was'), this thesis aims to characterise and clarify what an 'appropriate' ancient Kushite king's identity would have looked like, according to Amannote-erike's self-representations, and how he positioned himself within that perception.

[242] However, this should not be a reason not to examine identity creation and its display within Amannote-erike's texts.
[243] For example, the scarification exhibited by Amanishakheto on her pyramid chapel reliefs.
[244] VERNUS (2016), 332.
[245] For example, EDWARDS (2009), 55.

Lastly, there are problems surrounding modern connotations attached to some of the terms employed in this thesis. The highly charged term 'propaganda' is one example.[246] Even the word 'culture' has associated with it modern connotations which are impossible to ignore.[247] However, since no terminologies currently exist which do not carry such modern connotations, I am obliged to use these contentious terms to address key matters within this thesis.

[246] As mentioned above. The modern connotations attached to these terms and their accompanying prejudices are insidious but inescapable. They can influence our scholarly reading and understanding of both connotative and denotative words and phrases that we encounter in examining a culture so separated in time and space from our modern (primarily) Western European scholarly context. I will highlight these problematic terms where necessary.

[247] See WALLACE-HADRILL'S (2008), 28-35, discussion of this.

Chapter 1: An introduction to Amannote-erike, his 'Great Inscription,' and its context

Amannote-erike acceded to the Kushite throne in the second half of the fifth century B.C.E.[248] Based on the date given on Kawa XII,[249] he had a significant reign, ruling for approximately twenty-five years.[250] Dunham and Macadam hypothesised that Amannote-erike was the nephew of Talakhamani, whom he succeeded,[251] and the son of Malowiebamani.[252] In the *circa* 200 years[253] between Tanutamani's reign at the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and Amannote-erike's reign, the ways in which kings represented themselves in official texts were undergoing some small but significant alterations.[254] Some key aspects, such as their use of the Egyptian-style five-fold titulary, remained quite similar to the way they had been enacted before.[255] Many kings appear to have deliberately copied key titular names of their predecessors, perhaps in an attempt to invoke the legitimacy and power of their forebears. Nevertheless, certain aspects of royal representation that appear to have been standard within official texts and art – in essence, part of earlier Kushite representational decorum – were undergoing small shifts in focus and in subject matter.[256] For example, the focus of key Kushite royal texts after the reign of Aspelta regarding warfare tended to have as their focus local battles against invading local African tribes, rather than grandiose ambitions towards the liberation of Egypt from northern foreign powers *á la* Piankhy or Tanutamani.[257]

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[248] *FHN* II, 398. HOFMANN, (1971), 12, suggests a date of *circa* 431 B.C.E.
[249] A donation text of Amannote-erike's at Taharqa's Temple T.
[250] See Kawa XII, in Appendix 3 of this thesis, and *FHN* II, 398 and 432.
[251] DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 142.
[252] TÖRÖK (1997a), 387. Also, the brother of Baskakareñ. DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 142. Baskakareñ eventually succeeded Amannote-erike after his death, but very little is known about him. *FHN* II, 435. Baskakareñ's name and royal affiliation are only primarily known because of the inscription on a stela discovered in his pyramid chapel at Nuri (Nu. XVII). The stela is at the Merowe museum, accession Number 4 (Khartoum Number 1859). See DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 143.
[253] Encompassing, among others, the reigns of Atlanersa, Senkamanisken, Anlamani, the royal mother Nasalsa, Aspelta, and Talakhamani. See, for example, WILDUNG (1996), 206; MORKOT (2000), 157, and SARGENT (2004), 2.
[254] This is appreciable in texts during and after Amannote-erike's reign. See among others *FHN* II, *passim*; PEUST (1999), and SARGENT (2004).
[255] See among others, JURMAN (2015), 177-214.
[256] I discuss these throughout this thesis in response to the evidence suggested by the sources.
[257] Despite the assertions in TÖRÖK (1997a), 378-379. For one thing, Amannote-erike's texts do not refer to Egypt, nor to any foreign lands to the north at all. The only northern regions referred to are the regions within

Amannote-erike's name[258]

As mentioned previously, in none of Amannote-erike's texts were he or any of his subjects referred to as 'Kushite' or 'Meroitic' or by any other 'group'[259] or 'nationality' signifier. Speculations regarding this matter would be spurious, and go beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, only Amannote-erike's personal names and his titulary as a royal entity[260] are considered relevant to this thesis. Naming traditions and names are crucial elements associated with language,[261] which in itself is an integral feature of the shaping of identity within any group or individual. Personal names are important as identifiers.[262] However, their social significance goes far deeper than that.[263] For example, certain names given to children reflect either a religious significance or a characteristic that the name giver hopes to bestow on the child.[264] Within this context, language use and identity in the phenomenon of the Kushite king's name, specifically the naming practices associated with Amannote-erike, will be examined.

Kushite territories and firmly in Kushite hands during his reign, for example, the important Kushite coronation journey sites of Kawa and Gebel Barkal. There is a notable and significant difference in focus apparent in the royal texts of the late Napatan and Meroitic periods in Kush. This differing focus on Kushite military interactions with smaller, local groups as opposed to an 'outward' looking foreign military policy is clear in the battles that are displayed in royal texts after Aspelta's reign. Lands outside of the Kushite regions are not mentioned in these later Napatan texts at all, nor with a recorded intention of a planned Kushite invasion of them. For works that address the Kushite military policy against nomadic people from the desert regions pre- and post-Dynasty 25, see (for example), discussions in BARNARD (2009a); *IDEM* (2009b); EDWARDS (1996), 17 and *passim* (regarding the Meroitic civilisation as a Sudanic community and its context); *IDEM* (1998), 181 and 190-191; JESSE (2013), and *IDEM* (2014). For discussions regarding the foreign military policy of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see (among others) LOBBAN (1999); SPALINGER (1978); *IDEM* (1979); *IDEM* (1981); TÖRÖK (1997a), 131-188, and WELSBY (2005), especially 52-53. WELSBY'S article in particular shows that there were permanent military defences throughout the Kushite lands, not only to the north. This indicates that, while the Kushites may not have been on high alert all the time, attack was anticipated from all regions and not only from forces in control of Egypt and areas to the north at various times.

[258] I provide a comprehensive discussion regarding Amannote-erike's titular names in Chapter 2.

[259] For example, EDWARDS (2009), 36-39.

[260] I argue that this royal identity is a type of group identity. This is not to be understood as an argument regarding Kushite identity as a whole, but pertaining only the elite, ruling classes encapsulating the kings of Kush.

[261] SCENTERS-ZAPICO (2014), 1-2.

[262] EDWARDS (2009), 34.

[263] EDWARDS (2009), 35-36.

[264] EDWARDS (2009), 35-36.

The use of names to describe an individual or an item creates a relationship with that person or item, engendering and perpetuating an "empowering ability."[265] This is recognisable in many myths, where the importance and magical nature of the 'true name' is a central theme.[266] The process of naming creates meaning.[267] These meanings have direct bearing on the creation and exhibition of identity. Names are inextricably connected to identity, and in the most elemental of ways, humans are identified through names and naming traditions.[268] In many cultures, one's name is believed to embody a deep meaning, and the act of creation is often inextricably linked with the practice of naming the creation.[269] Indeed, Fitzenreiter states that history can be constructed as an event (or events) associated with names.[270] Simply put, one's name is one's identity.[271] As Filipovic states, "the term for you is what situates you in the world."[272] In the context of the ancient world, one's name was integral to identity formation on multiple levels. This is especially appreciable in an ancient Egyptian and Kushite context.[273] Within the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, the establishment of one's true identity in the presence of the gods in the Hall of Judgement was critical.[274] Therefore, the first and most important step in this examination of the creation and display of Amannote-erike's identity as both a king and as an individual within his texts must necessarily begin with the rendering of his name.[275] The

[265] SCENTERS-ZAPICO (2014), 1.
[266] A classic example of this within an ancient Egyptian context is the famous story of Isis helping Rē after she learns his true name. Papyrus Turin 1993 [5] vs. 6, 11-19.5. For naming practices in ancient Egypt, see especially VERNUS, *LÄ* IV, 326-333.
[267] SCENTERS-ZAPICO (2014), 1.
[268] SCENTERS-ZAPICO (2014), 2. In many cases in our modern world, foreign names and accents may allow certain people to "interpret us in negative ways and this can damage our self-esteem and respect for our culture". *IBID*, 2-3. This does not seem to have been the case for the Kushites. From Kushite evidence, especially after the reign of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, there is no indication of loss of self-esteem, nor a loss of respect for the Kushite language or culture. Indeed, the opposite would seem to be the case. This suggests that the Kushites were never culturally or linguistically belittled by, or discriminated against, by the ancient Egyptians.
[269] For example, LEPROHON (2013), 5.
[270] FITZENREITER (2005), 1. FITZENREITER refers specifically to the Ras-Tafari List, but the principle applies almost universally.
[271] FILIPOVIC (2014), 26.
[272] FILIPOVIC (2014), 26. It is thus perhaps a little ironic that we today have so little choice regarding the names that we are given; our last names are the products of centuries of development, and our first names are usually chosen on our behalf by others.
[273] For the significance of names in ancient Egypt, see especially VERNUS, *LÄ* IV, 320-341.
[274] For example, see VERNUS, *LÄ* IV, 322-326, and HAIKAL (2010), 195.
[275] See, for example, VERNUS (1986), and LEPROHON (2013), 5. Like LEPROHON, to quote SHAKESPEARE, "…the king's name is a tower of strength…" (*Richard III*, Act V, Scene 3, cited in *IBID.*) This concept of the king's name being part of his authority is an ancient and important consideration. An ancient Egyptian or Kushite king's use of his royal titulary was a public statement of his identity and its accompanying authority. For examples of

writing of Amannote-erike's 'Son of Rē' name is consistent over all texts and evidence[276] thus far extant and attributable to him.[277]

The rendering of this 'Son of Rē' name 'Amannote-erike' has been somewhat controversial.[278] Initially, Griffith and Macadam transcribed it as "Aman-nēte-yerike".[279] Dunham[280] transcribed it similarly, and Reisner interpreted it as "Amanherinutarik".[281] Priese proposed a reading of "Arike-Amanote" in his 1968 article in *MIO*,[282] but later amended this to "Irike-Amanote" citing that he had failed to notice the unique orthography of the initial vowel "I" in the writing of the name.[283] In recent years, the scholarly convention has been to render the name as a variation on "Irike-Amannote," as favoured by Török.[284] Peculiarities of the Meroitic language suggest 'Amannote-erike' as the most sensible transcription.[285] I have therefore elected to follow Rilly's recommended transcription of 'Amannote-erike'. The name Amannote-erike is an example of apparent native Kushite, specifically Meroitic, naming customs. The name 'Amannote-erike' probably means "Begotten-of-Amun-of-No".[286] This indicates the assimilation of the Meroitic language in official royal Kushite naming traditions in the use of the Meroitic *yerike* "begotten of".[287]

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the rendering of Amannote-erike's Son of Rē name within a cartouche, as found in Kawa IX, see Appendix 1, Figures I, VI, and X.

[276] Including his offering table, the sole shabti attributable to him, both found at Nuri XII (see *Nuri*, 214 and plate LXXIII, and image of Amannote-erike's shabti in the plates of *IBID*), and BONNET and VALBELLE'S discovery of Amannote-erike's throne name "Nefer-ib-rē" on two blocks at Doukki Gel. BONNET and VALBELLE (2006), 38.

[277] The 'Great Inscription' (Kawa IX), Kawa X, XI, and XII, and his inscriptions at Nuri XII. See also MACADAM'S note in Kawa I, Text, 52, regarding the spelling of Amannote-erike's names across all four Kawa texts. I present theories in Chapter 2 regarding Amannote-erike's identities as represented by his names in this thesis; specifically, his new, self-designated names – the titulary or "Great Name" – appropriated when he acceeded to the throne. See also among others, LEPROHON (2013).

[278] MACADAM discusses Amannote-erike's names in *Kawa I, Texts*, 52-53, note 3.

[279] *Kawa I, Texts*, 50-72, *passim.*

[280] DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 142.

[281] *Kawa I, Texts*, 52-53, note 3. See also the discussions in FLÉCHELLE (2004).

[282] PRIESE (1968), 186-187.

[283] PRIESE (1973), 156, note 1.

[284] See among others, TÖRÖK (1997a), *passim.*

[285] RILLY, personal communication. This transcription is encountered in RILLY (2012), 77, 89, and 90, among others. I thank Professors GRZYMSKI and RILLY for discussions at the 12th International Conference for Meroitic Studies in Prague on the shortcomings of modern rendering of this name.

[286] Kushite 'No' = 'Thebes', or 'Dominion'. *FHN* II, 397, and PEUST (1999), 221.

[287] Personal communication with RILLY in October 2016, and *FHN* II, 397. In funerary inscriptions, see for example, HINTZE (1963), 1-29. In doing this, Amannote-erike also invokes the authority of being the legitimate

Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' at Kawa: an introduction

Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription'[288] was discovered at Kawa – located between the third and fourth Nile cataracts and near to the area of modern Gebel Barkal[289] – by the Oxford excavation team led by Griffith in 1931.[290] Macadam published the inscription along with other materials from the Kawa excavations in 1949.[291] Macadam designated the 'Great Inscription' as Kawa IX.[292] The text remains *in situ*, as it is not inscribed on a stela and is therefore effectively impossible to move. It is inscribed onto the eastern wall (south side) of the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T, which was dedicated to Amun and originally built by Taharqa of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[293] The text is below a scene in which Taharqa is depicted presenting the temple to Amun.[294] The 'Great Inscription' is the most substantial, best preserved, and the most informative of Amannote-erike's texts.[295]

Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs that appear to emulate the constructions found in classicised Middle Egyptian.[296] The unorthodox manner in which the hieroglyphs are used[297] indicates that the Egyptian hieroglyphic script was fading from use.[298] Furthermore, when all four of the Kawa texts of Amannote-erike are analysed, it seems that different scribes had inscribed them and that the hypothesised levels of education in

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and begotten son of Amun of Thebes by incorporating this concept into his Son of Rē name. For example, *FHN* II, 397.

[288] Hereafter referred to as the 'Great Inscription', or Kawa IX.

[289] TÖRÖK (1997a), map 1.

[290] *Kawa I, Texts*, xiii.

[291] *Kawa I, Texts*, 50-72, and *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 17-30. Refer also to Appendix 1.

[292] *Kawa I, Texts*, 50-67.

[293] *Kawa I, Texts*, 50.

[294] See cf. *FHN* I, 25, *Kawa I, Texts*, 50, and *FHN* II, 420.

[295] I have used the hand copies of the hieroglyphic text of the 'Great Inscription' and the 'donation' texts as they were published in *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 17-30 for my translations. This is not ideal, as certain areas of the restored text published by MACADAM appear to be quite different from the originals. VINOGRADOV (1999a), addresses the squeezes made by MACADAM'S excavation team in 1935. The squeezes are kept at the Griffith Institute in Oxford, and were in good condition when I viewed them there in April 2016. I would like to thank the staff at the Griffith Institute for their hospitality and their patience regarding my research undertaken in 2016. However, I have been unable to obtain good photographic copies of the squeezes (which would be the most complete and accurate representation of the 'Great Inscription'), due to funding challenges. Hence, my translations are not as precise as I would have liked.

[296] For a discussion of this, see, among others, SARGENT (2004), 219-257, and the 'archaism' discussed by JURMAN (2015), 179-180 and DER MANUELIAN (1994), especially 75.

[297] Also in the shorter 'donation' texts, addressed in Chapter 11 of this thesis.

[298] See *Kawa I, Texts*, xiii and PEUST (1999), 71-81.

Egyptian language and script across those four texts varies considerably.[299] The idea that four different scribes composed the texts is enhanced by the fact that the three 'donation' texts appear to be scarcely more than graffiti.[300]

Kawa IX is of vital importance to scholars of the late Napatan and early Meroitic periods in ancient Kush. Historically, it is invaluable, as it not only is the hitherto first documented mention of the city of Meroë in an official royal text, but also it attests that Amannote-erike had his official residence at Meroë.[301] The text describes Amannote-erike's first great battle against a group called the "Rehrehs" who appear to have controlled the northern area of the Island of Meroë.[302] This battle evidently took place before Amun confirmed Amannote-erike as king.[303] After defeating the Rehrehs, Amannote-erike is depicted in the text as travelling to Napata to be officially and ritually 'chosen' as king by Amun, as his early Napatan ancestors had been.[304] Vinogradov outlines many of the challenges facing researchers who wish to analyse Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' in his article "In Search of Kawa IX".[305] The relevant area of Temple T at Kawa is no longer accessible to researchers, and has heavily deteriorated since its original discovery in 1931.[306] Hence, we are obliged to rely on squeezes and hand copies of the text.[307] From my brief personal observations, Vinogradov is correct that certain hieroglyphs reflected in the squeezes held at the Griffith Institute do appear to be rendered quite differently in the version of the text published by Macadam.[308] As matters stand now, researchers who wish to make their own translation of this text must (for the most part)

[299] *Kawa I, Texts*, 51.
[300] See details of these in Appendix 3, and in Chapter 11.
[301] *Kawa I, Texts*, 54, note 11.
[302] *Kawa I, Texts*, 54, note 12.
[303] See this episode in the Appendix 2, columns 5-6, which imply that the rebellion of the Rehrehs took place before Amannote-erike's accession to the throne as sole ruler.
[304] I address this in detail during my analyses of the text.
[305] VINOGRADOV (1999a), 305-311. VINOGRADOV summarises the surprising amount of information regarding the Kawa excavations that is currently available for examination at the Griffith Institute, including photographs, notebooks, squeezes, and personal correspondence. *IBID*, *passim*.
[306] VINOGRADOV (1999a), 308.
[307] VINOGRADOV (1999a), 305.
[308] VINOGRADOV (1999a), 305 and 307-308. See for example, *IBID*, 309, footnote 11.

rely on the hand copy published by Macadam, until an improved, more complete text edition can be collated and published.

The 'Great Inscription'[309] itself as an artefact is of much interest. Its existence, where and when it was composed, its positioning within Temple T, the language and phraseology used within the text and the absence of pictorial representations of Amannote-erike in association with this important document are all highly significant aspects for historians.[310] While some questions surrounding these factors cannot be answered, there is sufficient context that allows certain hypotheses to be presented here in response to such questions. Moreover, the evidence that does exist presents information regarding the group identity of royal Kushite society at the time of the text's composition: socio-economic status, foreign affairs, accepted mores within that group, and so forth. Within the parameters of these indications of group identity, or 'decorum', one can arguably situate Amannote-erike's individual identity as ruler. To be the successful ruler of one's society and to be able to display this rulership status without opposition, one must adhere to and display certain accepted modes of self-presentation and decorum.[311] Through examining Kawa IX as an artefact, we are thus able to examine how the ruler identifies his status and his individual personage within the construct of the group's ideology of what is acceptable for a leader to look like, acceptable (and indeed, expected) self-representations, and how it is acceptable for a man who would be ruler to act.[312]

[309] The full transliteration and translation for this text is in Appendix 2. I note that, due to the constraints of space, a full philological breakdown and analysis of the entire text of the 'Great Inscription' is not possible here, as much as one would be desired. Instead, key areas of the inscription, where distinct and significant passages show how the identity of the king was created and displayed, will be addressed. The analyses of these passages will progress from the beginning of the inscription, and move column by column through it until its conclusion.
[310] See Introduction, and REVEZ (2014), 542.
[311] See Introduction.
[312] Refer to my Introduction.

A picture paints a thousand words – so where is it?

To begin with, why did Amannote-erike place his 'Great Inscription' where he did?[313] This was the most important and defining document of his monarchical career. It is highly significant that Amannote-erike did not compose this, his coronation text, on a free-standing stela, as did most of his predecessors and his successors.[314] On a practical level, one should consider the physical difficulty of carving such an extensive text as the 'Great Inscription' into such an awkward space onto the temple wall underneath already existing reliefs. This may have necessitated the removal of layers of sand from underneath Taharqa's relief work. This unorthodox positioning would have created a problem regarding Amannote-erike's pictorial representation.[315] Due to the text's length and its arrangement within the physical confines of the temple wall, as well as its precise location directly below the images of Taharqa and Amun-Rē, no room remains for the insertion of a relief or other pictorial depiction of Amannote-erike. It seems to make more sense to have composed the text on a stela, complete with pictorial depiction of Amannote-erike within a lunette. This would have allowed the full expression of the king's expression of his authority and its accompanying ideology. Pictorial representations are one of the essential tenets of ancient Egyptian and Nubian kingship, especially in communities where the majority of citizens were illiterate. As Braun discusses, images ultimately "make" history.[316] Therefore, one wonders why Amannote-erike chose not to immortalise himself in an image associated with his 'Great Inscription.' Unfortunately, modern scholars can only speculate regarding his motivations for these choices of textual positioning and the lack of artistic imagery. Since these choices were made, however, one might be able to make some informed suggestions regarding their significance, and what these

[313] On the bottom part of the wall at Taharqa's Temple T, underneath the already existing depiction of Taharqa. See above and Appendix 2, 1.
[314] Of particular note are his two major Napatan period successors, Harsiotef and Nastasen.
[315] Within an ancient Egyptian context, the theory of *Bild* and *Kult* as being inseparable within religion and within the ideology of kingship is highly significant. See ASSMANN (1991), 50-63. Considering the aspects of ancient Egyptian cultural heritage present in Kush at this time, the fact that there is no image of Amannote-erike on his 'Great Inscription' is more critical than might be appreciated at first. Thus, his positioning of the text beneath whatever image was above it must necessarily be of importance to the king's projection of his idealised identity, as it pertains to his *Kult*.
[316] BRAUN (2009), 35-49.

choices could represent about Amannote-erike's choices as an individual displaying his kingship.

On the one hand, inscribing the inscription on the temple wall instead of on a free-standing stela may have given an impression of permanence to the text. This would create a juxtaposition of the text with the stability and sanctity of the temple as a holy edifice, thus reinforcing the divine aspect of the displays of Amannote-erike's deeds and his identity as an ideal king as he perceived it. Moreover, a locality associated with spatial memory such as Temple T would have virtually guaranteed the maintenance of Amannote-erike's memory. This would certainly be a sensible motivation for the positioning of this text. Another reasonable explanation could be that Amannote-erike wanted to align himself symbolically with the most prolific and arguably significant Napatan ruler at Kawa: Taharqa.[317] Taharqa was unmistakably the Kushite king who had built or repaired the most temples, who had made the most donations to those temples, who had presented himself as the richest of the rulers, and who left the most inscriptions.[318] Therefore, it may have seemed to Amannote-erike that, by situating himself in the same holy place and ceremonial context as this great early Napatan king, he appropriated for himself the prestige and authority inherently held by Taharqa. Furthermore, by exactly juxtaposing his text below the image of Taharqa, perhaps Amannote-erike identified his ideal pictorial rendering of a ruler with the physical image of Taharqa. That is, the image of Taharqa was what Amannote-erike himself may have perceived as what an ideal ruler should look like, and he wished to associate himself with the perception of that ideology.

[317] TÖRÖK also suggests this in his "Comments" on PIERCE'S translation of Amannote-erike's text in *FHN* II, 421-422.
[318] To date, more archaeological and inscriptional evidence is extant for the reign of Taharqa than any other Twenty-Fifth Dynasty king. Those inscriptions were arguably also of the best quality of any from the early Napatan reigns.

An interesting alternative for hypotheses regarding the positioning of the text presents itself when one closely examines the reliefs above Kawa IX. As indicated in the Temple T reliefs,[319] the 'Great Inscription' extends into a section of the wall[320] below a much-damaged scene depicting a goddess embracing Taharqa.[321] The scene is difficult to discern, but by observing the feet of the figures visible in the line drawing, the indication is given that Taharqa was standing extremely close to the body of the goddess, which is usually only the case in a suckling scene. This argument is corroborated by Macadam's analysis of the scene, where he states that, within the relief, a god presents Taharqa to a goddess "…from whom he is (probably) receiving the breast."[322] If this is the case, then it may have been of less importance for Amannote-erike to position his 'Great Inscription' below the image of Taharqa specifically. Instead, it may have been of more significance to inscribe his statements regarding his coronation and his victories below an image of Taharqa being suckled by a goddess, considering the central importance of a goddess suckling the king to Kushite royal ideological traditions. This proximity of the 'Great Inscription' with the imagery of the goddess nursing the sacral[323] figure of Taharqa could have been perceived as utilising an already extant image to reflect the interplay of Amannote-erike's 'authentic' or 'real' image and, potentially, his appropriation of an image that reflected his 'iconic' or 'ideal' image.[324]

There was already a long established "*Bild theologische*"[325] conceptualisation of Kushite royal iconography, idealised ideology, and hence, identity. I would therefore argue that Amannote-erike's representation of his text below the deeply culturally ingrained, and theologically significant, legitimatising image of a past Kushite king being suckled by a goddess would be an important statement of Amannote-erike's self-identification within the context of Kushite

[319] *Kawa II, Plates*, plates XVI and LI.
[320] Hypostyle Hall, south end of the southern half of the East Wall.
[321] *Kawa II, Plates*, plates XVI and LI.
[322] *Kawa II, Text*, 83, and *Kawa II, Plates*, plate XVI b, right (very faint).
[323] For example, MORENZ (2014), 29.
[324] Per MORENZ (2014).
[325] MORENZ (2014), 32.

royal identity and its understandings of what constituted a ruler with legitimate claim to the throne.

Chapter 2: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part I: the titulary and eulogy[326]

The titulary

The royal name was a crucial factor in the establishment of the royal institutional identity, and an individual identity, in both ancient Egyptian and Kushite monarchical ideologies. Therefore, discussion of Amannote-erike's chosen titular names can provide valuable insight into the creation and display of his individual identity and the collective identity of the Kushite monarchy as a whole. Amannote-erike presented in his 'Great Inscription' his adoption of the traditional five-fold titulary[327] of the ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite kings.[328] His titulary[329] reads:

Horus name: 'Mighty Bull (who) appears in Thebes'[330]
Two Ladies name: '(One who) seizes all lands'
Golden Horus name: '(One who) subdues all foreign (or hill) lands'[331]
King of Upper and Lower Egypt name: *Nfr-ib-Rꜥ*,[332]
Son of Rē name: Amannote-erike, (who) lives forever [333]

[326] Please note: these divisions of the 'Great Inscription' into 'parts' are my own to facilitate putting my analysis into chapters and are not original to the text.
[327] LEPROHON (2013), 1.
[328] As also presented within his donation inscriptions at Kawa, and presented in the funerary chapel at his pyramid at Nuri (Nuri XII). See *Kawa I, Text*, 51, 68 70, and 71, and *Nuri*, 211 and figures 162 and 164. The titulary found on the blocks at Nuri was different to the titulary found in the 'Great Inscription' and within the donation texts. I address this on 52-58.
[329] Adapted from Appendix 2, columns 1-2.
[330] It is interesting that the Horus name here uses the Egyptian rendering for Thebes '*wꜣst*', rather than the Kushite 'No', as appears in Amannote-erike's Son of Rē name. This would seem to suggest that the rendering of the name "Mighty Bull (who) appears in Thebes (*wꜣst*)" was simply a copy of the name as it appeared within inscriptions already in existence at the time of the composition of Amannote-erike's texts. This name as rendered within those inscriptions must already have been appreciated by the king and whoever composed the royal texts as having royal and divine significance.
[331] Regarding the Kushite adoption of titular names, especially the 'Golden Horus' name, see SPALINGER, (2015b), 349.
[332] The royal Egyptian name "*Nfr-ib-Rꜥ*" (Nefer-ib-rē) appears for the first time *circa* 1650 B.C.E. (Dynasty 14), and then is only used again by Psammetichus II of Dynasty 26. See LEPROHON (2013), 77 and 165-166. For a brief discussion on 'archaisms' of names and titularies during Egypt's Third Intermediate period and beyond, see JURMAN (2015), 191-195.
[333] For PIERCE's translation of these names, see *FHN* II, 400.

As Török notes, Kushite kingly titularies "created an individual proclamation."[334] The titulary[335] that a king chose upon his accession to the throne was a prominent indication of the identity that that king wished to present, and was a powerful symbol of authority. This automatically established the new king's legitimacy to rule and broadcast his "special relationship with the divine world."[336] Embedded within each "individual proclamation" was an understanding of royal Kushite ideology as a whole, and an individualised perception of each king's place as a separate entity within that ideological framework. These could potentially reveal an indication of personal piety, or of a wish to be known as an excellent warrior, for example.[337] In essence, the choice of names within the king's titulary, as chosen by each king, reflected the personage (royal and personal) that that king wished to have associated with himself and publicly displayed.[338]

Amannote-erike's titulary may initially seem to be Egyptian-inspired. Török argues that Amannote-erike appropriated a Nebty name of Thutmosis I (from Karnak), and one of the Golden Horus names of Ramesses II (from Luxor).[339] This may seem like a simple case of mimesis, perhaps as an attempt to associate himself with the power and legitimate kingship of these great Egyptian rulers.[340] However, while Amannote-erike's Nebty name and his Golden Horus name do seem similar those of Thutmosis I and Ramesses II, respectively, the hieroglyphs used in his titulary are not identical to the hieroglyphs used in these Egyptian names proposed by Török.[341] Additionally, both of the sources for these names are located at Thebes and Karnak. It seems unlikely that Amannote-erike would adopt the names of these

[334] TÖRÖK (1997a), 207.
[335] As with the ancient Egyptian titulary. LEPROHON (2013), 1.
[336] LEPROHON (2013), 1.
[337] For a discussion regarding the types of names that could be chosen by monarchs to display different identities and types of royal ideology, see LEPROHON (2013), 5-6.
[338] See LEPROHON (2013), 1, 5-7 and 9-19.
[339] TÖRÖK, *FHN* II, 397-398.
[340] TÖRÖK, *FHN* II, 397-398.
[341] Thutmosis I's Nebty name from his obelisk erected in front of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak (see *Urk* IV, 93, south side), and Ramesses II's Golden Horus name from his eastern obelisk at Luxor (see *KRI* II, 599).

particular kings that are only inscribed within two different temples within Egypt itself.[342] If he were to choose one of the names of Ramesses II (for example), surely he could choose one that would be readily available from any of that Egyptian monarch's temples in Kush. It makes no sense that it was specifically this Golden Horus name – inscribed only on Ramesses II's east obelisk at Luxor – should be the one to be chosen. Furthermore, Török asserted that this titulary was a display of Amannote-erike's "aggressive" policy of returning Egypt to the Kushite rule.[343] However, this is doubtful. There is no evidence to indicate that Amannote-erike planned or undertook an incursion into even the southern-most reaches of the Egyptian territories. Moreover, there is no evidence concerning the theory that Amannote-erike may have been involved in the Egyptian revolt against the Persians (*circa* 414-404 B.C.E.).[344]

The alternative interpretations I will suggest may provide an insight into the individual identifications of Amannote-erike within the context of late Napatan Kushite kingship, using the lens of Napatan naming practices. Amannote-erike's Horus name, Nebty name, and Golden Horus[345] name reflect name constructions and naming practices with a militaristic flavour. Amannote-erike's choice of the titular names of 'One who seizes all lands' and 'One who subdues all foreign lands' are very topical to his context at the time of his accession to the Kushite throne, especially considering his newly-won defeat of the Rehrehs and his seizure of lands that had been 'threatened' by these "foreigners." There is no reason why these names with their nuances of militaristic imagery could not simply reflect Amannote-erike's own martial ambitions. Equally, there is no reason why those martial ambitions could only be aimed at *Egyptian* territories. These names could be a reflection of Amannote-erike's adoption

[342] There is no evidence to suggest that Amannote-erike or any of his court would have had access to any Egyptian territories, let alone sufficient access to be able purposefully locate and copy a specific Egyptian titular name.
[343] TÖRÖK (1997a), 378-379, and *FHN* II, 398. There is no evidence for this. TÖRÖK acknowledges this, saying that his earlier assertion in *FHN* II, 398 (that Amannote-erike's assumption of his Throne name was politically motivated and thus indicated his "imperialist" tendencies towards Egypt) was probably incorrect, seeing as Amannote-erike retained this Throne name in his 'funerary titulary'. TÖRÖK (1997a), 202, note 53.
[344] Suggested in TÖRÖK (1997a), 379. TÖRÖK has also admitted this, stating "[there is]…no evidence for a Kushite military undertaking south of the First Cataract." *IBID*, 379.
[345] Regarding the Golden Horus titular name, see SPALINGER, (2015b).

of titular nomenclature that would fit with his ambitions in Kush. If he only held power in a certain sector of the Kushite territories and had ambitions to rule over all Kushite regions, his aim of seizing "all lands" could indicate his intention of seizing all *Kushite* lands. He may even have had expansionist ambitions towards the areas to the south, west, and east of his contemporary Kushite boundaries.[346] The use of these grammatical structures as names, signifying a subjugation of "foreigners" and the seizure of land, are not so unusual or complex that scribes working in the royal Kushite court could not have chosen or composed them independently of the direct Egyptian sources located at Thebes/Karnak.[347]

Next, Amannote-erike's Horus name[348] was indeed the Horus name of Thutmosis III, suggesting that Amannote-erike, by incorporating this name into his titulary, was echoing ancient Egyptian traditions of the appropriation of authority through names. However, there is another possibility. In the context of Kushite kingship, *Kꜣ-nḫt ḥꜥ-m-wꜣst* was the Horus name of both Piankhy[349] and Shabitqo[350] of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[351] It seems more probable that Amannote-erike identified himself with these 'ancestors' from Kush, and men for whom he would have had the largest frame of reference, rather than this ancient Egyptian king who would have been far removed temporally, spatially, and culturally, from Amannote-erike's

[346] This concept is supported by details later in the 'Great Inscription' that report Amannote-erike's re-establishment of the nomes of a variety of unnamed gods ("all the gods and goddesses"). This suggests that at the time of his accession, these one-time Kushite territories may have fallen from the Kushite military grasp, and that Amannote-erike had ambitions to retrieve them from the groups that had appropriated them.
[347] As with most contemporary inscriptions, one must suppose that there was a corpus of Egyptian hieroglyphic textual (and monumental) references, including names, for scribes to work from to compose royal documents, particularly as Egyptian, as addressed, had not been a spoken language for some time in Kush. Considering the legacy, if not actual presence of Egyptian artists and scribes from Memphis brought to Kush by Taharqa (see among others, TÖRÖK (1987a), 148), the physical presence of a corpus, or library, of standard Egyptian hieroglyphic formulae for royal documents would be a reasonable assertion. If this were the case, Amannote-erike (or his scribe) could have selected from a number of 'Egyptian-inspired' formulaic names or cobbled a name together that suited his context and his desired display of identity. See also REVEZ (2014), 542.
[348] *Kꜣ-nḫt ḥꜥ-m-wꜣst* = "Mighty bull (who) appears in Thebes".
[349] On his Letti obelisk and extensively within temple B501 at Gebel Barkal, (to name but two examples). His Horus name of *Kꜣ-nḫt ḥꜥ-m-Npt* as it appears on his Kadakol obelisk appears to be modelled on this name as well. See also TÖRÖK, *FHN* I, 54.
[350] Inscribed at Karnak. Nile level record, Shabitqo's third regnal year. See for example, *FHN* I, 128.
[351] Also, TÖRÖK, *FHN* II, 397. Presumably, they may have copied this Horus name from texts of ancient Egyptian kings such as Thutmosis III. However, in the context of this thesis, the source of inspiration for Amannote-erike's rendering of his chosen Horus name is more important than where these early Napatan kings would have sourced their inspiration.

reign.[352] It seems reasonable that these ancient early Napatan kings would have been his reference for what rulers should be, how they should look and act, and what he should aspire to in his own rulership. Again, as in his apparently purposeful association of himself with Taharqa, hypothesised above, this could indicate that Amannote-erike's self-identification within the totality of Napatan rulership was with the greatest kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

If Amannote-erike had intentionally imitated the titulary names of ancient Egyptian kings as Török asserted, he certainly did not copy them. Nor did he copy the names that one might expect him to if he intended to display Egyptian-style, warrior-king names, such as those of Thutmosis III, or of Ramesses II, as attested within Kush.[353] Indeed, the exact copying of only Thutmosis III's Horus name, also appropriated by kings of the Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, can hardly be argued to be an indication of his intent to return Egypt to the Kushite rule, nor of his alleged "imperialistic policy" towards Egypt in particular.[354] It seems more likely that Amannote-erike's focus was on seizing his immediate neighbours and consolidating the territory that he already held, rather than indulging grand schemes of retaking Egypt for the Kushite throne.

During the excavation of Amannote-erike's pyramid at Nuri, the sandstone funerary chapel's stairway was found to contain some fallen, inscribed stones[355] that appear to have belonged to a fallen pylon.[356] These lintel blocks are invaluable, as they provide an inscription presenting

[352] The reigns of Piankhy and Shabitqo would have been far removed temporally from the reign of Amannote-erike, being some 250 years or so earlier. Yet it seems more probable that Amannote-erike would have had more access to, and frames of reference for, these early Napatan kings and their artefacts, rather than yet even earlier Egyptian New Kingdom kings and their artefacts.
[353] To name but two examples.
[354] As TÖRÖK asserted in *FHN* II, 397-398.
[355] Including a piece of a lintel, and two moulded corner blocks. See *Nuri*, 211 and figure 164 on 214.
[356] *Nuri*, 211.

Amannote-erike's titulary.[357] This titulary is significant, as it shows his titular names had changed between the composition of his inscriptions at Kawa and his burial at Nuri.[358] Amannote-erike's titulary from these blocks appears to read:[359]

Horus name[360]: [partially lost] *-mꜣꜥt*
Two Ladies name: *mr<y>-mꜣꜥt*
Golden Horus name: *ỉrr-mꜣꜥt*
Bity nb-tꜣwy name: *Nfr-ỉb-Rꜥ*
Son of Rē name: Amannote-erike

This changed titulary is only attested from these stone blocks.[361] It is interesting that Amannote-erike no longer employs the *nsw-bity* ("King of Upper and Lower Egypt") Throne Name title in his titulary, but instead refers to himself as "*bity nb-tꜣwy*".[362] He retained the name itself (*Nfr-ỉb-Rꜥ*) unchanged from his earlier titulary.[363] One might reasonably expect a title of "*nsw-bity nb-tꜣwy*" in a eulogistic section of a royal text, or within a titulary. However, this is the only known attestation of the title of "*bity nb-tꜣwy.*"[364] The photographic plates from the excavations indicate that only *bity*[365] is present, without space for *nsw* [366] to precede

[357] *Nuri*, 211 and figure 164 on 214. This inscription is so fragmentary that besides the discussion provided here regarding the altered titulary of the king, no valid or examinable information regarding Amannote-erike's identity can be gleaned from it. I have therefore decided not to include it as part of my corpus.
[358] For a side-by-side comparison of these two titularies, see *Nuri*, figure 164, 214, and the discussion by DUNHAM in *IBID*, 211.
[359] *Nuri*, 211, 214 and figure 162.
[360] Amannote-erike's Horus name is presented within a serekh, surmounted by a Horus falcon wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. This is highly unusual, given that the connections between the Kushite Dynasties preceding Amannote-erike's reign were mostly with Upper Egypt and the monarchically and religiously important site of Thebes/Karnak. The use of the serekh in Egypt was ancient, venerable already in the Ramesside period. This may potentially be what led TÖRÖK in *FHN* II, 398 to suggest Amannote-erike's archaism here. See my arguments, below.
[361] For examinations such as these, MACADAM'S and DUNHAM'S hand copies are not wholly reliable or infallible. I have closely examined and compared the photographic images of these titularies as published in *Kawa I, Plates*, Plate 17-30, and in *Nuri*, Plate LVI, D-E, to ensure that this is, in fact, an attestation of Amannote-erike and not another king. If the Nuri blocks did belong to another Kushite king, this would immediately solve the 'problem' of a different titulary. However, as bad as the images of the hieroglyphic texts in both publications are, close examination seems to indicate that the spelling of the name "Amannote-erike" is consistent over all the Kawa evidence and the blocks from Nuri, indicating that these Nuri blocks do indeed belong to him.
[362] *Nuri*, 214, figure 162, and photographic plate LVI.
[363] The reasons for this retention of the name *Nfr-ỉb-Rꜥ* are, as so much else, unknown.
[364] To my knowledge.
[365] GARDINER'S sign L2. GARDINER (2012), 477.
[366] GARDINER'S sign M23. GARDINER (2012), 482.

it, either vertically or horizontally.[367] According to the *Wörterbuch*, *bity* can be written alone, without *nsw* and still refer to a king.[368] However, the *Wörterbuch* does not indicate the use of just *bity* in conjunction with the title of *nb tꜣwy*.[369] Moreover, *bity*, when associated with kings, seemed to refer mainly to the king of Lower Egypt.[370] This reference to Lower Egypt reinforces the depiction of a Horus falcon wearing the Red Crown in Amannote-erike's new Horus name. This is a peculiar title for Amannote-erike to use to identify himself. It would make more sense – considering the Kushite socio-historical and religious context and the historic, royal relationship with Thebes/Karnak – to identify himself as *nsw* or King of Upper Egypt.

The alteration in Amannote-erike's titulary regarding this new title is a fascinating development. This new royal title could suggest a new form of display for the identity of the Osiris Amannote-erike. For example, if the royal title *nsw-bity* referred not to the physical landscape of Upper and Lower Egypt, but rather to the king's purview over the physical and metaphysical landscapes,[371] then Amannote-erike's identification as '*bity*' suggests an emphasis on his divine purview. To expand upon this, the full title of *bity nb-tꜣwy* might suggest Amannote-erike's personal identification within his divine purview in the metaphysical realm of the Two Lands. This highly religious connotation of the title *bity* is not unique to Amannote-erike. As Otto addresses, the significance of the title *bity* in a religious context can be seen in texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in Hatshepsut's Speos

[367] *Nuri*, plate LVI.
[368] *Wb I*, 434-435.
[369] *Wb I*, 434-435.
[370] *Wb I*, 434-435. For an in-depth discussion regarding the title *bity* in an ancient Egyptian context, see OTTO (1960). *IBID*, 146, suggests that the title of *bity* during the Ptolemaic Period in Egypt (in conjunction with other kingly titles) apparently began to represent a generalised royal title that was imbued with the associations with all of Egypt and all Egyptian divinities. However, Amannote-erike's reign was much earlier than the Ptolemaic dynasties, with his reign being roughly congruent with the first Achaemenid dynasty in Egypt. Therefore, one cannot suggest that this practice indicates Amannote-erike's connection with, or copying of, Ptolemaic Egyptian royal practices.
[371] Based on work done by GOEBS, for example in GOEBS (2003), especially 240. Personal conversation with BOUCHARD, 14 June 2017 in Münster, Germany.

Artemidos inscription.[372] In Otto's opinion, this specifically religious use of the title in Hatshepsut's inscription expresses the beginning of a new "stark religiös fundiertes geschichtliches Selbstbewußtsein…"[373] Moreover, textual representations[374] by (among others) Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, indicate an understanding that the *bityw* of Egypt were the 'true' or 'effective' kings, and thus to be distinguished from the general 'earlier kings' or simply *nsw*.[375] These strongly religiously inspired, and memory-centric,[376] expressions of royal self-identity are also apparent in Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela'.[377] Piankhy referred to himself as both *nsw* and *bity* while referring to the Egyptian kinglets who submitted to him only as *nsw*.[378] The impression is gained that the title of *bity* is a more significant one than that of *nsw*. This was Piankhy's self-expression on his own stela. It makes sense that he would present himself and his royal identity as the most important within this text. Otto, too, is of the opinion that Piankhy's self-representation as *bity* is comparable with the highly significant self-representations of Hatshepsut, mentioned above.[379]

Another alternative could also be considered. Assmann outlines conceptualisations of the deceased Osiris symbolising "*Jenseits*" and the living Horus symbolising "*Diesseits*".[380] These conceptualisations were fundamental to the *Totenkult* of the deceased king.[381] Osiris' associations with the title of *bity* appear after the Middle Kingdom in Egypt.[382] When a king transitioned – through the process of death – from the living Horus[383] (*Diesseits*) to the dead

[372] OTTO (1960), 151.
[373] OTTO (1960), 151.
[374] See, for example, the Tombos stela of Thutmosis I (*Urk*. IV, 85); a dedicatory inscription from the Montu temple at Karnak of Thutmosis III (*Urk*. IV, 1670); and the Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmosis III (*Urk*. IV 1240).
[375] See discussion regarding this in OTTO (1960), 151-152.
[376] By this, I mean referring back to ancestors and the achievements of the past for legitimation. See also OTTO (1960), 152.
[377] *Urk*. III, 18.
[378] For example, in the lunette of the 'Triumphal Stela' (Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089). See also *Urk* III, 18 and OTTO (1960), 150-151.
[379] OTTO (1960), 151.
[380] ASSMANN (1991), 118.
[381] ASSMANN (1991), 118.
[382] See OTTO (1960), 146-147.
[383] "*Nsw*"- see OTTO (1960), 148.

Osiris (*Jenseits*), not only would his physical and divine conditions have changed, but his identity also would have transitioned. By creating and displaying a new titulary in his funerary chapel, Amannote-erike could have been displaying his alterations of state. He was physically and metaphysically now an aspect of the past, of memory, and of the next world. He was Osiris, *bity*, and thus represented *Jenseits*. The recognition of this change in state through the alterations of his names[384] seems appropriate for a deceased king, and the display of this new identity – along with its new title of *bity* instead of *nsw-bity* – upon his funerary chapel, seems plausible. Another argument in this vein could be made that the emphasis within the 'new' titulary on *mꜣꜥt*, which seems to have inspired Török's assertions regarding archaism,[385] may have been Amannote-erike's attempt to identify himself with *mꜣꜥt* in both a symbolic and concrete way. The three names that were altered in the chapel block inscriptions (the Horus, *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names) all present with variations on a theme of association with *mꜣꜥt*.[386] This reasonably could be theorised to ensure his indisputable association with Order/Truth in the next world.

Török suggests that the change of titulary was in response to Amannote-erike's failed 'ambitions' to reclaim Egypt for the Kushite throne.[387] As addressed above, though, Török's suggestions regarding Amannote-erike's supposed "imperialist" tendencies as reflected in his titulary are tentative at best, and should be approached with caution. Török's further assertions regarding the 'new' titulary of Nuri XII are also somewhat dubious.[388] His conclusion that

[384] I have discussed the significance of names, *passim*.
[385] *FHN* II, 398.
[386] PIERCE and TÖRÖK, in *FHN* II, 396-397, interpreted the new Horus name as found in the fallen chapel blocks as ending in an element that reads "*ḥr-tꜣwy*". I cannot find where they have found this in the texts and photographic evidence cited by them in *Nuri*. I can only presume that they have interpreted (and misread) the title of "*bity nb-tꜣwy*" as part of the new Horus name. However, this is strange, since the new Horus name appears nowhere near the title of *bity nb-tꜣwy* as they appear on the blocks reconstructed by DUNHAM. The new Horus name, while admittedly damaged, does appear to incorporate *mꜣꜥt* into the end of the name. See *Nuri*, figures 162 and 164.
[387] See *FHN* II, 398. However, TÖRÖK does not mention the *bity nb-tꜣwy* title in the chapel blocks, and completely dismisses any discussion regarding Amannote-erike's alleged (by TÖRÖK) use of Userkaf of the Fifth Dynasty's Horus and *Nebty* names as "curious archaism." *IBID.*
[388] *FHN* II, 398.

Amannote-erike appears to have hastily changed his titulary at the end of his reign due to "a radical shift…in Irike-amannote's [*sic*] political ambitions…or … the inadequacy of the imperialist policy"[389] seems unfounded and improbable. The question remains of why he would do such a thing. If Amannote-erike went to his grave still asserting that he was the "One who seized every land," then what difference would it make? Why would he suddenly decide to tell the 'truth' of his political and military shortcomings by changing his titulary within his mortuary context? Furthermore, this hypothesised change of titulary due to foiled political ambitions does not explain the change of the *nsw-bity* title to *bity nb-tꜣwy*. The ultimate reason for this change of titulary is unknown[390] and any theories in this regard are impossible to either prove or disprove. Possibly, as Priese suggests, at the time of the king's death, a new "mortuary titulary" would be complied for him.[391] However, this is problematic, since we do not currently have evidence for a 'specialised' mortuary titulary in relation to any other Kushite kings – only Amannote-erike.

Unfortunately, it is unlikely that we will ever know the precise reasons for the changes in Amannote-erike's titulary. Royal titularies that change over time are certainly not unique to Amannote-erike. Yet, as has been shown here, some factors in his titular changes require examination. Possibly this change in titulary could indicate a problem regarding his hold on power in the Napatan region. Conversely, it may have nothing to do with politics and perhaps had religious motivations associated with *mꜣꜥt*, or this may have been a way of presenting his identity within the context of the afterlife. This latter idea may be reinforced by the physical context of the titulary. The blocks displaying Amannote-erike's new titulary were originally part of the door lintel. Chapter 11 of this thesis will address doors as liminal spaces in more detail, but suffice it to say here that doorways as "in-between," transformative spaces have

[389] *FHN* II, 398.
[390] As also noted in *FHN* II, 398.
[391] PRIESE (1977), 358.

great significance.[392] Hence, the display of Amannote-erike's changed titulary within the physical context of such a transformative architectural zone[393] suggests a transformation in his self-identification. The importance of these two different titularies for the creation and display of Amannote-erike's identity, during and after his lifetime, as an individual and within the continuum of Kushite kingship is critical. He would have chosen and identified with both of these titularies at some time in his life. This could represent the significance of names within Kushite royal ideologies and the importance to one's individual identity of having an appropriate name for one's context. Alternatively, it could provide us with an insight into *Amannote-erike's* perceptions of the significance of having an appropriate name for his context, which is arguably even more exciting.

Eulogy: Beloved of Amun-Rē of Kawa

Column 2 of the 'Great Inscription'describes Amannote-erike as "Beloved of Amun-Rē, (who) is in the midst of Gempaaten (Kawa)."[394] The notion of the king's being beloved by a major state deity (especially Amun/Amun-Rē) was standard in both ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite royal texts. The interesting point here is that it is specifically Amun-Rē of Kawa that was mentioned within this section. Even though this is to be expected, given that the 'Great Inscription' was inscribed at Kawa, it is interesting[395] that Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal was not invoked as well. Amannote-erike did eventually mention this preeminent deity in the 'Great Inscription,' but only in column 19, which deals with Amannote-erike's coronation journey. It is thus tempting to hypothesise that it was Amun-Rē of Kawa that was most significant to Amannote-erike. Furthermore, it could be asserted that Kawa was more important than Gebel Barkal as a cult centre during this period, or, more significantly, Kawa may have been more

[392] See also CHAUVET (2011); GOEBS (2003); GRIFFIN (2015); HAYS (2013); RZEUSKA (2011), and THOMASSEN (2014).
[393] THOMASSEN (2014), 91, and GRIFFIN (2015), especially 1115.
[394] Appendix 2, 2.
[395] As also in Taharqa's Kawa stelae.

important than Gebel Barkal to Amannote-erike.[396] If this were the case, one might further hypothesise that Amannote-erike came from an elite family that was local to the Kawa area.[397] This could suggest a group identity that would have been inherent to him. Moreover, this could indicate why certain phraseologies were used and references were made within the 'Great Inscription'.[398] An intimate understanding of the local group identity and its display would necessarily present differently in an official text commissioned by a native[399] ruler to that of a ruler from another locality.[400] He would ensure that his connection to those local areas and their concomitant traditions and beliefs would be emphasised within his public displays within that region. Indeed, it is altogether possible that he might not have been able to present himself as anything other than a man of the local area, especially if he wished to garner and maintain any support from local priests or potentates.

[396] I discuss this in detail, where relevant, in my upcoming chapters.
[397] See Chapters 7 and 8.
[398] I discuss these in detail, *passim*.
[399] I stress that I use the term 'native' as in 'autochthonous' rather than in the colonial, often pejorative, sense.
[400] There is no tangible evidence for this. However, the above conclusions seem reasonable, if hypothetical.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part II: columns 3-18

A recruit in the company of the king's brothers

Columns 3-4 situate the reader in the context of Amannote-erike's legalised accession to the throne,[401] which took place in his first regnal year. At this point, he did not yet seem to have been officially recognised as king. The recording of Amannote-erike's presence within the highest elite group of the king's brothers indicated his high social status and his legitimate eligibility to be chosen as king.[402] A key element of the construction of elite group identity within the Kushite context was the belonging to a group to which all potential kings belonged: the group identified as "*snw nsw/nswt*" or "*snw njswt*."[403] Each heir to the Kushite throne appears to have been 'elected' into rulership from this pool of eligible "king's brothers," elite men (royalty) of a roughly equal status.[404]

The significance of genealogy to this group identity and to the identity of the individual who eventually acceded to the throne cannot be overstated.[405] Genealogy represented a social identity for the individual, along with incorporating alliances and bloodlines or heritage.[406] An unbroken line or heritage from the 'correct' family line suggested a high legitimacy (as the legitimate heir of the deceased king) to inherit the throne.[407] 'Legitimation' in this context is essentially the establishment and claiming for oneself the ownership of a position of power through the creation and display of an unassailable and specific identity associated with the

[401] Appendix 2, columns 3-4.
[402] The succession practices of the Kushite elites have been the focus of a number of academic works. Therefore, I will not address them in detail here. See, among others, HOFMANN, (1971), 11-15; LOHWASSER (2000b), especially 86-87; REVEZ (2014a), especially 214, and SAITO (2015), *passim*.
[403] LOHWASSER (2005), 149, and REVEZ (2014b) 537-544.
[404] See also discussions regarding *snw nswt* "king's brothers" as males of the same status and the same generation in a family line: blood brothers and cousins, in SAITO (2015), especially 240-242.
[405] This is a complex issue and will not be addressed in detail here. Many works regarding Kushite genealogy have been published. See, among others, HOFMANN (1971); LOHWASSER (2001b); *IDEM* (2005); SAITO (2015), and TÖRÖK (1997a), *passim*. I mention some remarks regarding this in Chapter 9.
[406] FITZENREITER (2005), 6.
[407] FITZENREITER (2005), 9. Whether or not this was truly the case or propagandistic fiction will probably never be established. What is of the essence is Amannote-erike's appreciation that it was this type of self-representation within an official text that would secure for posterity his identification as the rightful heir to the throne. This appears to be a reflection of his understanding of what the identity of a rightful king should look like.

ownership of that power position.[408] Furthermore, within the context of Kushite kingship, the 'election' provided a beginning point of power for each king to reference, an "initial act"[409] or "*Initialhandlung*"[410] that formed the platform for a Kushite king's inceptive claim of legitimacy to the throne. As Revez asserts,

> …the divine election process of a newly crowned king constitutes a unique act that belongs to the initial rites of transmission of royal power; its objective is to establish *mꜣʿt* and to set up kingship.[411]

In Amannote-erike's case, his depiction of himself together with other king's brothers (intimating his connection with the 'correct' family branch) situated him within a genealogical context that facilitated his rightful selection and legitimation as king, and identified him within that framework.[412] This might be especially relevant if Amannote-erike was not truly, actually from the 'correct' ruling family line.[413]

Interestingly, Hofmann suggests that only some Kushite kings mentioned their election within their texts since their accession was out of the ordinary, and they therefore wished to enhance their expressions of legitimacy.[414] Hofmann uses the example of Amannote-erike as a case in point, particularly mentioning that the 'Great Inscription' established Amannote-erike's election as king in three separate ways, thus truly impressing on the reader his legitimacy: his designation by his predecessor,[415] his being chosen by Amun,[416] and his selection by the army

[408] FITZENREITER (2005), 6-7.
[409] REVEZ (2014a), 220.
[410] ASSMANN (2006), 208-210.
[411] REVEZ (2014a), 220.
[412] HOFMANN regards the nature of this expression as a *topos*, but it is my opinion that the principle still applies. HOFMANN (1971), 12.
[413] Further considerations in this regard will be presented in later sections referring to the great Kushite 'ancestors,' Alara and Kashta.
[414] HOFMANN (1971), 11-12.
[415] If, as has been speculated, there was a co-regency between Amannote-erike and Talakhamani. See, among others, HOFMANN (1971), 12-13, and VINOGRADOV (1992), 635-641.
[416] Among others, HOFMANN (1971), 13, and VINOGRADOV (2011), 129-136. It would have been understood that a leader could not be chosen without the god's approval, but the reference to Amun's choice reinforces the choice by the elites. HOFMANN (1971), 13.

(discussed further, below).[417] There is no direct evidence for Amannote-erike's hypothesised co-regency with Talakhamani.[418] Surely someone who was co-regent already and who might fully expect to have all the attributes of kingship already associated with him, would not add all of these legitimising elements into his text.[419] He would probably also not have been required to participate in another coronation ceremony at Napata.[420] Vinogradov points out that, until the army decided to give the throne to Amannote-erike, he did not actually appear to have been in possession of it.[421] This leaves the impression of someone who was perhaps not truly of the 'correct' family lineage, someone who acceded to the throne under strange circumstances (in a similar manner to Aspelta), and who wished to use every possible propagandistic tool available to him to emphasise his identity as the rightful ruler within his official text.

The mention of Amannote-erike's being a "recruit" in a similar vein to Taharqa on his stela Kawa IV[422] reveals that Amannote-erike was a man with military experience. The title of "recruit" with its phraseology implying youth, appears to have been a common title and referred to "the uncrowned heir to the throne."[423] In column 4, Amannote-erike continued the display of his identification with the *topos* of the king's ideology as a young, virile man. His depiction as a "youth"[424] suggested that he was young, vigorous, and strong, lending an aura

[417] Among others, HOFMANN, (1971), 13 and VINOGRADOV (2011), 129-136. I am inclined to agree with this theory.
[418] As MACADAM suggests, among others. *Kawa I, Text*, 55, note 38 and 57, note 59, discussed in detail in VINOGRADOV (1992), 635-541.
[419] VINOGRADOV (1992), 637.
[420] VINOGRADOV (1992), 637.
[421] VINOGRADOV (1992), 637. I discuss this below.
[422] Stela Kawa IV (Sudan National Museum, Khartoum, 2678). See also *Kawa I, Text,* 17, note 14 and 53, note 6.
[423] *Kawa I, Text*, 17, note 14. See also *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 22, and Appendix 1, Figure VI, end of column 3 for the hand-copy (note the use of *ḥwn*).
[424] Appendix 2, end of column 3, "*ḥwn*". The semantics of *ḥwn* and *ḥwnw* as used in these texts are complex. See, for example, the discussions in *Wb* III, 52-54, especially 52 where it discusses the use of *ḥwn* as both a "young man" and with a military connotation. Relevant here, as MACADAM states, this was a common title of the Kushite crown prince. *Kawa I, Text*, 17, note 14 and 53, note 6. The discussion in GARDINER (2012) 479, regarding *rnpi*, being an amalgamation of (GARDINER'S sign number M4) with (GARDINER'S sign number A17), as "young" or "vigorous" is not helpful in solving this issue.

of strength and stability to his person and his rulership ability.[425] However, there is some confusion regarding this small area of hieroglyphs, which appear to read that Amannote-erike was a "youth," aged forty-one years, when he acceded to the throne.[426] There is a problem with the beginning of this clause, since the use of the preposition *m* is unusual.[427] Macadam asserts that Amannote-erike was indeed forty-one years of age when he acceded to the throne.[428] This is troublesome for a number of reasons. First, the age of forty-one does not conjure up the image of youth.[429] Second, a major issue here is that the inscriptional positioning of the integer "1" in the hieroglyphic text seems to have gone awry. It appears in the middle of the four Egyptian numerals '10' ( )[430], instead of after them, which is not common in either Egyptian or Kushite texts.[431] It is possible, though unlikely, that this is merely scribal error.

Therefore, I propose some alternatives. First, it is possible that Amannote-erike actually was forty-one years of age and the composer of his text may simply have copied exactly the phraseology in Taharqa's Kawa text, using his *topos* of *ḥwn* as "youth".[432] This implies that it was the wording of the *topos* that was of ideological significance and not the 'truth' of how relatively young or old Amannote-erike may truly have been.[433] Second, though less credibly, it is possible that the use of the preposition *m* to begin the clause may have been a local

[425] See also REVEZ (2014b), 541. HOFMANN sees his age as quite high, and argues for the possibility that this might mean that Talakhamani may have been Amannote-erike's brother (both of them thus sons of Malowiebamani). See HOFMANN (1971), 12. Alternatively, SAITO indicates that Amannote-erike was most likely Talakhamani's nephew. SAITO (2015), 241.
[426] *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 22, and Appendix 1, Figure VI, columns 3-4.
[427] MACADAM interprets the use of *m* as erroneous; it is the preposition *n* that is meant. *Kawa I, Text*, 53, note 6.
[428] *Kawa I, Text*, 17, 53, note 6. See Appendix 1, Figure VI to examine this. It would be a weak argument for me to assert that Amannote-erike gave his real age of 41 years in this text but still attempted to represent himself as a 'youth' since this would imply virility. My thanks to Frau Doctor Annik WÜTTRICH and Frau Doctor Anke BLÖBAUM for their consultation on this matter in Münster, Summer 2017.
[429] This may simply be because of today's youth-centric culture affecting my observations in this regard.
[430] GARDINER'S sign number V20 (GARDINER (2012), 524).
[431] Appendix 1, Figure VI. The integer appears after two of the 10's (GARDINER'S sign number V20. GARDINER (2012), 524) and before the other two.
[432] Refer to Kawa IV, line 7 and Kawa V (Copenhagen, ÆIN 1712), line 19.
[433] The orthography in this section of hieroglyphs is strange and we should question whether not the king actually was forty-one years old at this time. I think that he would have been younger than 41. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable that even though he is considered to be a young man, he would at least have been at an age where his military and life experiences would still provide him with sufficient wisdom to rule.

Kushite development in the language.[434] Third and possibly most plausibly, I suggest that there may have been an irregularity [435] in the transcription of the hieroglyphs. The inscription is damaged in this critical section of text.[436] There may originally have been two separate thoughts represented here that have become conflated into one due to this damage. I mean that instead of the original reading "a youth of 41 years," there may have been one segment that ended with "youth" and then a new separate sentence that began with *m rnpt* 41… ("In year 41…") subsequent to that.[437] A second alternative to this is that the first sentence may have ended by providing the king's age of twenty-one years (…a youth in[438] 21 years, "*m rnpt* 21") and a second, subsequent sentence was meant to begin with "regnal year 20…".[439] The second may simply either have been left out, or the first may have been misread as the second one, both due to scribal error.[440] If Amannote-erike's age is to be read as 41, the placement of the integer 1 is strange. If his age was twenty-one and inscribed as such, and the following numeral of 20 actually referred to the next sentence in the text, this would explain the odd placement of the integer 1. These hypotheses are possibly more fruitful than a debate regarding whether or not the age of forty-one is truly young enough to be touted as "youth".

Within these two columns, a mental picture is conjured up of Amannote-erike as an idealised ruler: the 'chosen one' from the elite pool of eligible candidates for the kingship (the "*primus inter pares*"),[441] a man with military experience, who had the vigour to be a strong ruler. These

[434] Neither of the examinations of PEUST nor SARGENT seem to bear this out, though.
[435] As opposed to a full-blown error by the transcribers of the inscription.
[436] See Appendix 1, Figures I and VI.
[437] Possibly year 41 of Talakhamani's reign?
[438] If we follow Macadam's assumption of *m* having been substituted for *n* here. *Kawa I, Text,* 53, note 6.
[439] Perhaps year 20 of Talakhamani's reign?
[440] By this, I mean that it may have been after the inscription of the king's age that the scribe took a break from his work and may not have paid as much attention as he should have when recommencing. He presumably would have been following a text composed on a leather roll or papyrus by someone else as a template. He may have seen *ḥ3t*/*rnpt* (GARDINER'S sign M4. GARDINER (2012), 479), on the wall, and would have seen on his template, and may have assumed that it was the same sign. So instead of two, he only inscribed one.
[441] REVEZ (2014b), 542.

representations echo the established traditions and *topoi* found in other ancient Napatan accession texts.[442] The use of these tropes in his text suggests that Amannote-erike was aware of his societal group's expectations of the identity, and representational qualifications of an ideal king. His personal identification of himself as such a ruler was reflected in his placement of himself within that established royal ideology and decorum.

The City of Meroë

Column 5 of the 'Great Inscription' is of great historical significance, since this represents the earliest Kushite textual mention of the royal residence at the city of Meroë:[443] "In the Residence of his palace of Meroë…"[444] In Amannote-erike's original, the toponym is given as "*Bꜣ-rʿ-wꜣ*," translated by modern scholars as 'Baruat'.[445] Harsiotef's stela refers to the city by the same name as Amannote-erike's text.[446] Within the context of Kawa IX, the precise identity of the male owner of the palace (*ʿḥt=f*) was unclear, being immediately preceded by the name of Talakhamani, but the phraseology seems to suggest that the owner of the palace was Amannote-erike.[447] Nevertheless, the implications of Amannote-erike's mention of the royal palace at the city of Meroë are numerous, and important.

Sayce remarks that Meroë (as "Baruat") is present in the inscriptions of Harsiotef and Nastasen.[448] In his initial comments regarding the excavations at Meroë, Sayce mentions that

[442] See, for example, Taharqa's stela Kawa IV, line 9; Taharqa's stela Kawa V, line 14, and Aspelta's 'Election' stela (Cairo JE 48866), lines 18-19.
[443] Although, as I address below, archaeological sources indicate that Meroë had been a significant city for centuries prior to this. See also discussions in POPE (2014a), 5-33.
[444] Appendix 2, 2; *Kawa I, Texts*, 54, note 11, and TÖRÖK (1997b), 2, note 7.
[445] Appendix 2, 2, column 5, and *Kawa I, Texts*, 54, note 11.
[446] Harsiotef's stela (Cairo JE 48864), line 101.
[447] This again poses questions regarding Amannote-erike's position as Talakhamani's heir. If the palace was already 'his', this implies that he was already perceived as king. On the other hand, this could simply be a turn of phrase; a convention that dictated that one should write 'his palace' rather than simply 'the palace'. This is another question that must remain unanswered.
[448] SAYCE (1910), 53. Harsiotef is said to have built a temple at Meroë, and Nastasen is said to be "a native of the place [Meroë]." *IBID*, 54. SAYCE discusses neither Amannote-erike nor Kawa IX, since Griffith only discovered the 'Great Inscription' much later, in 1930-1931. See *Kawa I, Text*, v.

there were Meroitic inscriptions in the Sun Temple at Meroë that refer to the city as "Mer"[449] and "elsewhere the name is written M-r-ʿ-wa-a [*sic*]."[450] Interestingly, while the Kushite capital city had clearly been at Meroë for some time, and evidence has been found at Meroë for Talakhamani, Amannote-erike's immediate predecessor,[451] there does not seem to be any evidence pertaining to Amannote-erike's reign at the city itself. This is surprising, considering the relatively extensive reign that he had.[452]

The topic of the movement of the Kushite capital city[453] from Napata, near to modern-day Gebel Barkal, to Meroë (farther south between the fifth and sixth cataracts) is an interesting one. It had previously been the scholarly consensus that such a move of the Kushite capital city had indeed occurred,[454] generating current scholarly terminology of 'Napatan' and 'Meroitic' used when referring to the earlier and later stages of the Kushite Dynasties. The previous, widely-accepted theory of Napata as the original royal capital may have originated with Sayce, who claimed in 1910 that Napata was the "first capital" of Kush.[455] The previously accepted date of the 'movement' of the capital from Napata to Meroë, as Reisner argued pre-1919, was relatively late: *circa* 308 B.C.E.[456] Later hypotheses regarding the date

[449] For an in-depth discussion regarding this, see POPE (2014a), 13, note 53.
[450] SAYCE (1910), 54. TÖRÖK mentions SAYCE'S reference to the city as "Mer", but states that this writing of "Mer" apparently was found in the text of a stela of Aspelta, found at the site of M250 (the so-called Sun Temple). This stela and its relevant inscription have apparently vanished after the interruptions in the excavations in 1914. See TÖRÖK (1997b), 1. This is most unfortunate, as this inscription would then be the earliest mention of the royal residence at Meroë, which would attest to a long tradition of the capital city's existence at Meroë.
[451] A fragment of a sandstone architectural element with the cartouche of Talakhamani was found at site M295 at Meroë (§ 974: inscription 97=295-1), in TÖRÖK (1997b), 243. POPE (2014a), 33, states that Meroë is mentioned in Kawa IX since that is where Talakhamani was killed by the Rehrehs.
[452] Presumably, any monuments or inscriptions that were associated with Amannote-erike were destroyed for some reason - perhaps not with the deliberate idea of erasing his name or his memory, but perhaps just in the usual course of urban/civic building and renovation projects. Nevertheless, the total absence of any indication of his presence at the city is striking, considering the extant evidence for Talakhamani. There are, however, extensive problems regarding the excavation history of Meroë as HINKEL and SIEVERTSEN (2002), *passim*, and POPE (2014a), 5-8, discuss.
[453] As TÖRÖK (2018), 9, among others notes, one cannot really speak of a Kushite royal 'court' as we would understand the concept. I use this term several times in my thesis, but use it with the meaning of the king and his entourage, rather than the idea of a "central capital". *IBID.*
[454] Among others, HOFMANN (1971), 49 and 65-73.
[455] SAYCE (1911), 1, and *IDEM* (1910), 56.
[456] H.F.C. SMITH (1955), 20.

of this 'move' extended over a period *circa* 550-450 B.C.E.[457] Henry Smith's opinion is that the move to Meroë occurred before the reign of Amannote-erike.[458] Considering that Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' dates to the first year of his reign,[459] if indeed such a move to Meroë had occurred, it must have happened either immediately before his reign[460] or very early in his reign.

The exact reasons for the hypothesised permanent move of the seat of royal power to Meroë are still not satisfactorily explained. Some modern scholars have argued that this move from the northern areas of Nubia was due to aggressive invasions by Psammetichus II in 593 B.C.E.,[461] which were carried out on a systematic basis,[462] and a Persian attack on Napata in 591 B.C.E. Essentially, the conclusion was that the Kushites had defensively retreated away from Egypt.[463] However, there are problems regarding this theory. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence for such a drastic defensive move, textually or archaeologically.[464] Also, as Török indicates, the physical dimensions of the kingdom would have made it improbable to shift the burial place of the kings to a location further from Egypt.[465] Perhaps the reasons are not necessary to theorise, since there may not have been a move at all.

Key sections of Herodotus' *Histories* were used as evidence for theories regarding the movement of the Kushite capital city. Herodotus, when writing of ancient "Aithiopia"[466] in

[457] H.F.C. SMITH (1955), 25. TÖRÖK, (1987a), 143-144, also briefly discusses the problematic nature of these theories.
[458] H.F.C. SMITH (1955), 21.
[459] Appendix 2, column 1.
[460] During Talakhamani's reign, or during the hypothesised co-regency of Talakhamani and Amannote-erike. REVEZ (2014b), 542, and VINOGRADOV (1992), 635-641.
[461] Among others, HOFMANN (1971), 70, and GOZZOLI (2017), 45.
[462] Among others, GOZZOLI (2017), 45; the Edfu fragment discussed by HABACHI (1974), 325-326, and Necho II's 'ships list' from Elephantine as discussed in (for example), JANSEN-WINKELN (1989), 31.
[463] TÖRÖK (1987a), 144.
[464] Neither on the part of the Egyptians, nor on the part of the Kushites.
[465] And by extension, the seat of government, as argued by previous scholars. See TÖRÖK (1987a), 144, and HOFMANN (1971), 71.
[466] HERODOTUS II, 29.

circa 450 B.C.E., spoke of Meroë, but did not speak of Napata at all.[467] Herodotus stated that Meroë was the "Mother City" of all the "Aithiopians".[468] Henry Smith argues that just because Herodotus mentioned Meroë as a "mother city" does not necessarily mean that "he means 'seat of the central government'…"[469] However, since Meroë was the largest and most significant Nubian city that Herodotus had heard of, there is equally no evidence to suggest that it was not, and had not always been, the capital ruling city of the Kushites. Herodotus may not have heard of the capital city of Napata, since, as Priese (among others) posits, Napata may never have been the capital city of Kush.[470] Even Macadam states that Amannote-erike's mention of Meroë in his 'Great Inscription' "…confirms the suspicion that the Napatan monarchs resided at Meroe [*sic*] before the commencement of the Meroitic kingdom."[471] If Meroë was known as the "Aithiopian" capital but Herodotus was unaware of the existence of Napata, then either the shift to the new capital city must have already taken place, or there never actually was a capital city *per se* at Napata, but instead a major religious and political centre.[472] If the move of the Kushite royal capital city had been undertaken due to threats from the north, it would have made no sense to keep their major, highly religiously significant centre of Amun at the very locality that was threatened.[473] Evidence shows that Napata was

[467] HERODOTUS II, 29. See also H.F.C. SMITH (1955), 22-23.
[468] HERODOTUS II, 29. DIODORUS SICULUS recounts that the city of Meroë was established and settled by Cambyses, and named in honour of his mother, named Meroë. See DIO, Book I, 33. As doubtful as this is, the fact that DIODORUS mentions the Kushite city as "famous" indicates that it was already well known in the greater ancient Mediterranean context.
[469] H.F.C. SMITH (1955), 23.
[470] PRIESE (1996), 207. Furthermore, GOZZOLI discusses Meroë on 58-59 regarding textual evidence from the reign of Psammetichus II that states that the army of the Egyptian king burned the "*Kwr*" (a Kushite title of the king – GOZZOLI (2017), 58, and SAUNERON and YOYOTTE (1952), 185-187) in his Residence at Iruwa. GOZZOLI'S footnote 43 (58) notes that "Iruwa" was read as *mrw* = "Meroë" in ZIBELIUS (1972), 62 and 106-107. This identification of the city as Meroë cannot be proven through archaeological or original Kushite sources, and is therefore doubtful. GOZZOLI (2017), ff 43, 58. It seems most likely that, since the same textual evidence from the reign of Psammetichus II later describes finding the Kushite king, probably Aspelta, again, that this Residence at Iruwa was not Aspelta's palace, but may have been the Residence of a local opponent of Aspelta's for the kingship of Kush. GOZZOLI (2017), ff 43-47, 58-59. Indeed, as GOZZOLI notes, Psammetichus II's army burning this unnamed ruler within his Residence may have helped Aspelta secure total control over Kush. KENDALL (1991), 308, suggests that this burned Residence may be equated with B1200 at Gebel Barkal.
[471] *Kawa I, Text*, 54, note 11.
[472] Also a critical geographical location in Kushite royal ideology.
[473] Even though Psammetichus II's aggressions were not a permanent fixture, if his incursions against the Kushites were as punitive as some scholars have suggested, it makes no sense to move the capital city but not a major ideological site central to Kushite kingship. See also the Nastasen stela in this regard.

still a vitally important Kushite ideological centre during Nastasen's reign, and beyond.[474] Kushite rulers throughout the later course of history continued to derive power from Amun (who was always located within the Amun sanctuary at Napata/Gebel Barkal), and from the locality of Gebel Barkal which "continued to flourish in the course of the next centuries."[475]

Since there is no real evidence for the Kushite kingdom's capital ever moving,[476] the capital may have been at Meroë all along.[477] Yet, if so, it is interesting to speculate, Meroë (as the Kushite capital) was not mentioned in any texts before Amannote-erike. Perhaps it had been, but the sources have either not yet been found, or have been destroyed.[478] Nevertheless, it is surprising if the capital was at Meroë that the coronation journey only took kings northwards, to Gebel Barkal and other northern temples.[479] This could indicate that while the power of kingship was stabilised and tenable in the southern Kushite territories,[480] royal power and authority may have required re-establishment and stabilising in another form in the north, where local groups were far from the capital and the royal thumb, under the newly crowned king at the time of his coronation.[481]

Moreover, the site of Meroë seems to have long been an important location,[482] not least because of its natural resources, including iron ore.[483] Evidence of extended building work at Meroë is extant as early as the eighth century B.C.E.,[484] and the city seems to have already

[474] See, for example, lines 5-7, and lines 9-16 of the Nastasen stela (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Neues Museum, Berlin, accession number 2268) and as evidenced by the extensive Meroitic construction projects extant at Gebel Barkal.
[475] TÖRÖK (1997b), 33.
[476] TÖRÖK (1997b), 34.
[477] AL-HAKEM argues (AL-HAKEM (1975), 121-127, cited in POPE (2014a), 12), when one addresses the evidence, it is the more sensible conclusion that the Kushite capital city was never actually moved from Napata to Meroë.
[478] The absence of extant evidence of this does not necessarily mean that there never was any to begin with; equally true, though, is that the arguments here do not necessarily mean that there was not.
[479] To date, no mention of a ruler travelling to the south from Meroë on a coronation journey has been found.
[480] Since the king had direct power and influence in the south.
[481] My sincere thanks to Frau Professor LOHWASSER for her suggestions in this regard.
[482] At latest, by the reign of Piankhy. MORKOT (2000), 155.
[483] See, among others, GARSTANG (1911), 21, and GRZYMSKI (2014), 8-10.
[484] BURSTEIN (1995), 136, and SHINNIE (1967-1968), 282.

been an important royal site by at least the early Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[485] Another important factor to note is that there is no evidence for a discernible change in kingship ideology nor the myth of state at any point in the Kushite royal historical context.[486] One might reasonably expect that a significant change of the capital city, such as the hypothesised movement from Napata to Meroë would encourage, perhaps even demand, an alteration in the display of kingship - particularly from the king that took the crucial step of enacting that move.

Capital cities where rulers reside need residences suitable for rulers. As has been indicated in examinations of other ancient civilisations – not to mention more modern cultures, especially those of medieval Europe – the royal palace often marked the centre of the city and represented the focal point of authority in the territory.[487] As such, the palace would have been the living quarters of the king, the embodiment of the power and might of both the king and his kingdom, acted as the official venue for state events, receptions, and ceremonies, and was the locale for rituals surrounding the royal cult.[488] Thus, it would make sense for the Kushite royal palace to be adjacent to, if not part of, the temple complex. If there were a number of such concomitant palace/temple precincts scattered throughout the Kushite territories, it seems sensible that they would all adhere to a similar plan and formation, considering their functions would be essentially the same. If this were the case, it seems reasonable that activities focused on ceremonies that reflected the intersection of state and religion, such as coronation rites, would have taken on similar forms. These activities would therefore have influenced the architecture that held them and would have dictated the necessity for identical forms of palace

[485] See POPE (2014a), 13, citing AL-HAKEM, and an inscribed block of Anlamani's discovered near M295 (see also GRZYMSKI and SALIH (2003), 52 and figure 11). See also the cartouches of Aspelta discovered at the site (TÖRÖK, (1997b), 28, and *IDEM* (1997c), figures 123-124: inscriptions 67a, 67b, 68, and 71), and the 'Sun Temple' (M 250) associated with Aspelta, now lost (SAYCE (1911), 4, and PORTER and MOSS VII (1951), 239). Refer to MORKOT (2000), 155, BURSTEIN (1995), 136, and BRADLEY (1984), 197-203, and 207-208.
[486] TÖRÖK (1997b), 33.
[487] See, among others, PFÄLZNER (2009), 165.
[488] Also pointed out in PFÄLZNER (2009), 165.

and temple precinct throughout Kush. However, the variations in style and in appearance of the palaces within Kush seem to indicate that they had alternate functions and that they were not all the same. Another factor to consider is the fact that an edifice that could be interpreted as a 'true', continuously occupied, palace or royal residence has never been found at the site of Napata/Gebel Barkal,[489] whereas at least three such palaces have been identified at Meroë.[490]

Schellinger recently pointed out that the edifice thought to be a Napatan Period palace at Gebel Barkal (B1200) appears to be "the only Nubian building designated as a palace to have a rectangular instead of a square-shaped plan."[491] This suggests that it may not have adhered to the same functions as other palaces in Kush. Furthermore, while B1200 had what appears to be a designated kitchen area and staircases that may have led to a second level containing residential areas, not to mention its close proximity to Temple B500 of Amun,[492] this does not necessarily mean that it was occupied on a full time basis. It may simply have been used when a king was in residence during his coronation journey.[493] Interestingly, as Schellinger notes, although Amannote-erike attests to the presence of a Residence at Kawa, which would make sense given the extended periods of time that he spent there, an edifice readily identifiable as a palace has also not yet been located at Kawa.[494] This leads to some fascinating theories. Possibly, it may not have been a Napatan Period practice to build palaces within temple precincts in areas that were not the capital, even at significant sites. Since the capital and the

[489] The buildings currently identified as palaces at Gebel Barkal (B100, B1200, B1500, and B2400) notwithstanding. The intricacies of Kushite/Meroitic palaces are beyond the scope of this thesis. I have mentioned some here simply in response to the necessary comments for the points I wish to make that are relevant to Amannote-erike. For an extensive discussion of Meroitic palaces, see KENDALL (2016); MAILLOT (2016), and SCHELLINGER (2017), among others.
[490] Buildings M294, M29, and M750. See GRZYMSKI and SALIH (2003), 51, and MAILLOT (2015), 80.
[491] SCHELLINGER (2017), 219. MAILLOT (2015), 80-82 also discusses the difference in the Meroitic Period palace B1500's architectural plan in comparison to other Kushite palaces, suggesting that B1500 might have been an innovation in palace building according to the Hellenistic patterns encountered in the Meroitic period.
[492] SCHELLINGER (2017), 219.
[493] See also the discussions on the matter of Residences versus palaces in POPE (2014), 18, note 93. Thus, B1200 should be considered with caution when addressing the topic of a long-existing Napatan Period palace at Gebel Barkal.
[494] SCHELLINGER (2017), 220. GRIFFITH'S and MACADAM'S "Eastern Palace" was probably named as such due to Amannote-erike's mention of the *pr-nswt* at Kawa, and its adjacency to the temple. Modern scholars refer to it as a palace (see *Kawa II, Text*, 115) but it is uncertain that this is a palace. SCHELLINGER (2017), 220.

court appear to have been at Meroë, it would have been most practical to have the palace, representing the royal residence as the seat of authority and governance, near to the temple of Amun, representing the focus of divine power and the influence of the priesthood. This might not have been the accepted practice in sacred spaces that were not in constant use. Maillot suggests two main "functional models" regarding palaces within the Meroitic context:[495] first, the "ceremonial" palace would have been built specifically in relation to the Amun temple at the focus of that locality, to the right side of the Amun temple's entrance,[496] and second, the "administrative residence" where there would have been larger residential and storage areas.[497] Perhaps the latter edifices of permanent, residential palaces have never been located at either Gebel Barkal or Kawa since they did not need them. Perhaps there was a community nearby that was permanently settled and that functioned as a 'work pool' of priests and servants for the occasions when kings visited the site (state ceremonies, feasts, and coronations). Perhaps, then, a fully functioning palace with storage areas and kitchens was unnecessary, since advance parties of a king's entourage would make their imminent arrival known. Then, members of this work pool could organise the king's temporary, ceremonial Residence near to the temple, perhaps a large tent, which would be in keeping with the king's military image. Alternatively, it is equally possible that there was a ready-made, functioning palace elsewhere, in close proximity to the temples for royal ceremonial visits, but far enough away that the sanctity of the divine precinct was not intruded upon by the everyday activities of a royal household. Perhaps when the king visited these areas, he simply travelled from the palace to the temple when and as necessary, the procession to and from the temple precinct providing an opportunity for royal pomp and display of his authority.

[495] MAILLOT (2015), especially 83-85. See MAILLOT'S whole article for an extensive analysis, and also MAILLOT (2016).
[496] MAILLOT (2015), 83. I understand this as the right side when facing the temple.
[497] MAILLOT (2015), 83. However, MAILLOT states that, with the currently extant evidence remaining of Meroitic palaces, we cannot say that any of these palaces definitely did or did not function as both ceremonial and residential edifices. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that the palaces located at Meroë were the 'official' residential palaces in the Kushite context. For example, MAILLOT (2105), 83-84, and TÖRÖK, (1997a), 518 and 522.

Most relevant for this discussion is why Amannote-erike was the first Kushite king of whom we know to mention this important capital city and his Residence there.[498] He must have had motivations for including his reference to Meroë as his place of residence within his text. I suggest several hypotheses regarding these motivations. First, this reference to Meroë may depict Amannote-erike's adherence to a hither-to unknown trope of his predecessors in mentioning the capital city in their texts. This would indicate that there actually had been some history of mentioning Meroë as the Kushite capital in texts that we have not yet found. Considering the long-established practice of 'copying' the texts of ancestors,[499] this would be a reasonable suggestion. If this were the case, the reference to Meroë as Amannote-erike's capital city could be his association of himself with his forebears, placing himself within, and identifying himself with, their past authority and their group identity as rulers. Second, by textually placing himself at the locality of Meroë, Amannote-erike established himself as a 'local.' His self-association with the capital of Meroë can be viewed as a statement regarding his dynastic and local origins and emphasises his identity as a member of the 'correct' branch of the ruling family.[500] In Sayce's words, Amannote-erike, like Nastasen, could possibly be considered "a native of the place."[501] This is especially relevant if Meroë had been the seat of royal power all along. Amannote-erike would therefore be identifying himself with the age-old locality of Napatan Kushite monarchical power. Third, Amannote-erike's mention of his inhabiting the palace at Meroë could emphasise his expression of his belonging within a specific space associated with the royal family, and hence, its legitimising power. It is possible that his mention of Meroë represents another indication that there may have been a dispute regarding Amannote-erike's legitimate accession.[502] Possibly, mentioning Meroë was another

[498] POPE suggests that Meroë may have been mentioned by Amannote-erike since it was here that Talakhamani was killed by the Rehrehs. POPE (2014), 33.
[499] See, for example, the theories that Amannote-erike was copying texts of Aspelta or Anlamani in TÖRÖK (1997a), 379.
[500] This would fit in with the association of Amannote-erike with Alara, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 7. See also LOHWASSER (2005), 151-152.
[501] SAYCE (1910), 54. My later discussions make this seem unlikely, however.
[502] Scholars usually interpret unusual topics presented in ancient sources as attempts at legitimation, when there might be a complication in the royal succession, for example, in the texts of Taharqa and Aspelta. My thanks again to Frau Professor LOHWASSER for her suggestions to me in this regard.

weapon in Amannote-erike's arsenal of textual legitimising techniques. These aspects would appear to support theories regarding the significance of genealogy and heritage to the Kushite royal succession and to its display of those expressions of identity. By representing himself as the lawful inhabitant of the palace at the capital city, Amannote-erike both physically and ideologically established himself as the royal Resident in the Residence, legitimised beyond reproach.

Amannote-erike, defeater of the Rehrehs?

Columns 5-6 describe the incursion of the "Rehrehs" during the first year of Amannote-erike's reign. The language used in this segment is unclear in its meaning. *m-ḫt* in column 5 indicates the temporal, and thus consequential, marker "after,"[503] suggesting that word of Talakhamani's death reached Amannote-erike after Amannote-erike's defeat of the Rehrehs. As suggested previously, this could mean that Amannote-erike was a military man who had lead the army to this victory, but had not yet achieved 'full' kingly status. The events that transpire subsequently in the text indicate that Amannote-erike was not yet king, that the army had not yet chosen him as the king, and that he, himself, did not actually go forth against the Rehrehs,[504] but instead journeyed to Napata to be officially 'chosen' as king by Amun while his army took care of the invasion. The interpretation of this event is crucial, as this incursion of the Rehrehs is a central element to the establishment and display of Amannote-erike's identity as both a king and an individual.

Regarding Amannote-erike's display as a king who defeated the invaders, Revez states that the king's "annihilation of enemies" appears to have been a method by which the king not only maintained earthly peace for his territory, but also maintained *mꜣʿt*.[505] As such, this could be

[503] Appendix 2, column 5.
[504] This is typical and appears to have been a *topos* in royal Kushite texts. See, for example, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela' where the king does not go forth to battle until around halfway through the text, and Harsiotef's stela.
[505] REVEZ (2014a), 220. I address this in the context of temple reconstruction in Chapter 8.

interpreted[506] as a trope by which each new king stamped his authority onto his reign, a way in which he textually created an identity for himself as 'saviour' of the land and reinforced his legitimacy to rule. However, the concept of the ruler as a mighty warrior does not seem to be quite the same within the ancient Kushite context as within the Egyptian context. Even Piankhy, who famously did not join his army in Egypt until after the festivals at Thebes were completed, was depicted as a strong military leader, although not in any way 'typically' an Egyptian, New Kingdom, bellicose king.[507] Török states that it does not seem "that the army was, as a rule…led into battle by the [Kushite] king."[508] Zach states that "royal dogma" seems to have dictated that while the king was officially the leader of the army in battle, no one expected him to be present on the battlefield in person.[509] Nevertheless, military activities and the ruler's identity as a mighty warrior were still important to Kushite royal ideology. There is plenty of evidence, in artistic and textual depictions, of Kushite rulers portrayed as powerful military leaders, subduing opponents and capturing enemies.[510] In Amannote-erike's case, Kawa IX explicitly states that he remained in the palace at Meroë, and then travelled to Napata for his coronation while his army went forth against the Rehrehs.[511] As Hoffman mentions, this episode does not seem to be a *topos* for reflecting the traditions of 'ritual anarchy' present in a land after the death of the incumbent king, but seems rather to be the recording of a historical event.[512] Possibly, the critical moments of Amannote-erike's election, and his necessary coronation rituals, prevented him from accompanying his army on campaign.

Török compares the action (or, rather, inaction) of Amannote-erike personally against the Rehrehs in this invasion episode[513] to the events recorded in Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela,

[506] From an ancient Egyptian perspective.
[507] 'Triumphal Stela' lines 29-31.
[508] TÖRÖK (1997a), 379.
[509] Given the title of '*pḳr*' or similar. ZACH (2014), 557-558.
[510] This is especially true in the Meroitic period. For example, the relief of Amanishakheto with her bow and her bound prisoners depicted on her funerary chapel at Begarawiya North 6.
[511] TÖRÖK (1997a), 379.
[512] HOFMANN (1971), 12.
[513] This is addressed further, below.

where Anlamani was in a similar position.[514] These are not the actions of Kushite rulers trying to imitate the warrior-kings of the Egyptian past, such as Thutmosis III or Ramesses II.[515] Amannote-erike could have taken the opportunity to represent himself as such, if his intentions were so inclined. If he did see himself as an aggressive warrior, he could certainly have presented himself as a bellicose king in his text. He could have presented himself as head of the army against the Rehrehs.

Alternately, there may have been an earlier Rehreh incursion that Amannote-erike personally repelled as leader of the army in his position of, and in his identity of, 'king's brother.'[516] Then, news of Talakhamani's death reached him when he returned to the palace at Meroë, whereupon the army chose him officially as king. If he had been at the head of the army against the Rehreh incursion prior to his election as king, then this would agree with the use of *m-ḫt* "after" in the text. After all, it was the accepted representational ideology of a king's brother[517] to be represented as a military man who physically led the army into battle.[518] Amannote-erike may consequently have remained at Meroë and later made the coronation journey while sending his army out against a second Rehreh incursion.[519] Since he was newly chosen as king and, since his accession may not have been completely legitimate, it may have been most prudent at that point for him to embark on his coronation journey rather than heading out immediately in person against the Rehrehs. This is especially true if he had just completed a successful campaign against them. Possibly, tradition, his precarious legitimacy

[514] TÖRÖK (1997a), 379. See Kawa VIII (Copenhagen, ÆIN 1708), lines 16-20.
[515] See references above, and ELTZE, Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Meroitic Studies in Prague, September 2016, forthcoming.
[516] These are interesting hypotheses, but nowhere in the text of Kawa IX does it explicitly say who the leader of the army in either of these incursions was. Indeed, in column 5 where the rebellion of the Rehrehs against "his Majesty" is mentioned, it is not even certain whether "his Majesty" refers to Talakhamani (the deceased king) or Amannote-erike (as the newly chosen king).
[517] The discussion regarding the Kushite title of *pḳr* as either "prince" or "military leader" is especially relevant here, as discussed in the Meroitic context in ZACH (2014), 557-571. I should state that Amannote-erike never referred to himself as a *pḳr* in any of his texts. This is a presumption on my part and may be incorrect.
[518] ZACH (2014), 557-571.
[519] This is not as far-fetched as it may seem, since there is at least one other incursion by the Rehrehs mentioned in the 'Great Inscription'. See Appendix 2, columns 21-35,

to the throne, and his contemporary political atmosphere dictated that he should journey immediately to Gebel Barkal and the other coronation journey temples to be officially accepted as king. This was probably a far more pressing priority than putting down an incursion of a group that he knew his army could subdue easily. Thus, his coronation journey was of principal significance.[520] This is not something he would record in his official text.

If this were the case, then a clearer hypothesis of the seemingly confusing events in the text presents itself. One wonders if these theories reflect approaches by Kushite royalty to specific identities and how those identities were represented in official texts. First, perhaps this episode in Kawa IX was a propagandistic glossing over of why Amannote-erike decided to go to Gebel Barkal instead of going on campaign with his army. Second, one could suggest that in this regard, Amannote-erike may have been attempting to identify himself with and display a kind of Piankhy-esque attitude, depicting himself as prioritising religious festivals and offerings to the god over his personal participation in battle. These might indicate Amannote-erike's conscious display of these identities within the social construction of the identities of Kushite rulers, and his manipulation of them in his text was indicative of his personal agenda.[521]

The Army's Election of Amannote-erike

Columns 6-18 depict Amannote-erike's selection as king of Kush by the army and its commanders.[522] This is a highly significant episode in the context of Kushite kingship, and has been addressed by numerous scholars.[523] The discussion here, therefore, will not attempt to

[520] This could be the case again later, when Amannote-erike sends his army away from his side, to battle the Meded near *K3rṯn*. (Appendix 2, columns 45-48). While he was in the vicinity, I would argue that his diplomatic and political manoeuvres in that area at that time were more critical to his rulership than his personal involvement in defeating an interloping tribe in his territory.
[521] Intentionality is relevant here.
[522] See Appendix 2.
[523] Among others, HOFMANN (1971), 12-13, VINOGRADOV (1992), 635-641; *IDEM* (2008), 105-109, and *IDEM* (2011), 129-136.

elucidate this episode conclusively, but will examine the implications for identity and its creation (group or individual) that can be discerned in an analysis of this section.[524]

Verhoeven, speaking of Aspelta's 'Election' stela, notes that the lack of a chosen ruler is "a clear illustration of the «herd without its herdsman» topos [*sic*]".[525] The presence of this *topos* in column 9 of Kawa IX suggests that this was an entrenched trope within Kushite ideologies of kingship, being understood to indicate the identity of the ruler on official texts as a 'herdsman' of the people. Török notes that this expression of Amannote-erike's kingship must have had New Kingdom Egyptian origins.[526] While this may be the case, we should consider that this conceptualisation of a king's position as leader and protector of his people might also have originated naturally within the Kushite cultural context. Conceivably, any agrarian society that has herds of stock as the focal point of its activities, and as the focus of its understandings of wealth and prestige, could create the concept of the people being represented as a herd, and a ruler or a deity representing the one that is responsible for the well-being of that herd. Indeed, Müller, for example, refers to the Biblical conceptualisation of Yahweh as the "herdsman/shepherd" of the Jewish people.[527] Hence, while New Kingdom Egyptian kings may have expressed themselves in this fashion, there is no reason why the Kushite kings may not also have identified themselves within the ideological framework of herdsman of their people, separately from Egyptian conceptualisations.[528] Amannote-erike's reference to this *topos* of kingship in Kawa IX can be perceived as his statement of his self-identification within the group representational identity (and its associated vocabulary) of Kushite kingship, but possibly could also be appreciated as a self-identification with Aspelta, a

[524] Furthermore, the brief reference here in column 14 to Thoth and Ptah in juxtaposition with Amannote-erike will be address in detail in Chapter 11.
[525] REVEZ (2014a), 214, citing VERHOEVEN (1998). Regarding the king as a 'herdsman' of his people in an ancient Egyptian context, see among others MÜLLER (1961), 126-144, and BLUMENTHAL (1970), 323. To name but one New Kingdom example, see *KRI* I, 65, 6 (Seti I, Kanais Inscription, Text A, line 6).
[526] *FHN* II, 423.
[527] MÜLLER (1961), 126-127.
[528] I admit that perhaps this phraseology *did* come from Egyptian kings, considering that the text of Kawa IX was essentially composed in a language (and using a script) that was foreign to the Kushites.

great Kushite king of Amannote-erike's past, who used a similar phraseology in his creation of legitimation.

This episode of Amannote-erike's depicts a group of warriors who are loyal to the king-to-be (the "Host of His Majesty")[529] being unmistakably instrumental in installing Amannote-erike as the new king.[530] The role of the army in, especially, later succession practices, is depicted in a variety of primary sources.[531] Column 10 records that a group of warriors proclaimed that it was Amun's wish that Amannote-erike should be king. The implication is that they were endorsing the god's decision, made while Amannote-erike was in his mother's body (*i.e.* womb),[532] and were simply confirming Amannote-erike's rightful place as ruler. This suggests that Amannote-erike already had some familial or genealogical claim to the throne of Kush.[533] However, there are some problems with this idea. To name but one, in Macadam's hand copy, *m* "in"[534] has been inserted before *ḥt* "body".[535] However, in the photographic plate, there is no way of telling what sign was before *ḥt* in the original inscription.[536] The damage is too severe. Thus, the traditional interpretation of this being the section where the army states that Amannote-erike had been chosen while in his mother's womb is to be approached with caution. Perhaps Macadam inserted *m* to try to make this highly fragmentary section fit into the Kushite propagandistic trope of the king being chosen before his birth. Amun's choice of the king while in his mother's womb is not unique to

[529] VINOGRADOV (2011), 129-130.
[530] See Kawa IX, column 10, and VINOGRADOV (2011), 129. The entire episode of Amannote-erike's election as king seems to extend from column 10 to column 20.
[531] For example, the discussion in MORKOT (2000), 291-292. Within the Napatan Dynasties, it seems as though only the texts of Aspelta and Amannote-erike mention the army's role in the king's election.
[532] Appendix 2, column 10. I discuss this further below.
[533] Addressed above, and see VINOGRADOV (2011), 130.
[534] GARDINER'S sign number G17. GARDINER (2012), 469.
[535] GARDINER'S sign number F32. GARDINER (2012), 465. Appendix 1, Figure VI.
[536] Appendix 1, Figure I.

Amannote-erike, and is encountered in, for example, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela.'[537] This seems to be accepted vocabulary in Kushite texts promoting the newly crowned king's sacral and human legitimacy. Thus, it is probable that Amannote-erike's text uses this established legitimising vocabulary in the depiction of his accession to the throne to further drive home his similarities to powerful, 'ancestral' kings that had a completely legitimate claim to the throne - a claim that Amannote-erike may not necessarily have had.

When examining the original squeezes of the 'Great Inscription,' both Vinogradov and I were struck by the inconsistency of Macadam's published text versus the original hieroglyphs.[538] The section published by Macadam[539] that reads "His father [Amun] appointed him [while in the womb [of] his mother], the son of Reʿ, [Aman-Nete-yerike,] [*sic*] (11) may he live for ever," is actually substantially reconstructed.[540] The only legible hieroglyphs in Macadam's hand copy read: *rd.n s ỉt.f* […]...*m ḫ* […]…*f sȝ rʿ* […] *y ʿnḫ ḏt*.[541] This is hardly sufficient to be able to accurately restore what has been lost. Next, if one addresses the grammatical structure of the reconstructed text, the remaining hieroglyphs do not fit. As Vinogradov notes,[542] if the verb *rd* (*rdi*) is used as Macadam would have it, as "to appoint," then, while *s* may represent the masculine singular third person direct object *sw* "him", there remains the syntactical problem of the convention of *rdi* "to appoint" usually taking on a prepositional phrase describing the condition of the appointment, for example *m nsw* "as king," or that it is more usually used in conjunction with *r* when used in the sense of "to appoint".[543] This was not the case here, as no such prepositional phrase is in evidence, complicating matters

[537] In Piankhy's case, it was the egg, not the body or womb. 'Triumphal Stela', line 2. The notion of the king being preordained for rulership by the god while yet unborn is also prevalent in the ancient Egyptian context, particularly in the case of Senwosret I. For example, BLUMENTHAL (1970), 268-269.
[538] VINOGRADOV, (2011), 131.
[539] *Kawa I, Text*, 51 and 54, note 24.
[540] See VINOGRADOV, (2011), 131.
[541] *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 22, and Appendix 1, Figure VI. However, fragments III and IV after squeeze I.6 of the Kawa squeezes (as they appear in VINOGRADOV (2011), 131) show that there does not seem to be any trace of *m* there, nor in the later tracings. See *IBID*, 131 and 133.
[542] VINOGRADOV (2011), 133.
[543] See, for example, HOCH (1997), §77, 93-94. Alternatively, *rdi* could refer to the giving of the throne, and *s* could be a dependent pronoun referring to the throne itself.

further.[544] What is clear is that the circumstances surrounding Amannote-erike's accession to the throne are more complex than initially thought.[545]

Amannote-erike's election as king by the army and its commanders and not the priesthood or court officials is interesting.[546] As Kormysheva discusses, many Kushite royal texts speak of the *smrw* "officials"[547] taking part in the king's election.[548] It is even more interesting that Amannote-erike should choose to display his election by the army in his official text.[549] Amannote-erike's connection to, and influence on, the military at this time must have been considerable for the army to act so boldly, and for this to be so openly depicted within his official text.[550] First, this indicates the potential power and social influence that the military may have had in ancient Kush.[551] Second, the choice by this dominant group of Amannote-erike as king suggests not only his influence among these powerful men, but also his being known to them on a personal level, perhaps as a 'brother in arms' in battle. This seems to corroborate the assertion that Amannote-erike may have been a skilled military leader or *pḳr* before he became king.[552] The army would therefore have been assured of the kind of king they were getting: someone who was simpatico to them and, perhaps, someone who they could

[544] VINOGRADOV'S consideration of this phrase as a continuation of the previous one is commendable but does not really solve the problem. VINOGRADOV (2011), 133-134. VINOGRADOV also addresses the idea that it might be the king's human father who is being said to have given the throne to Amannote-erike. *IBID*, 134. However, this would be highly unusual, given that it was the king's mother who was named on these texts in the most cases; his father was apparently never named in official royal texts. *IBID*.
[545] VINOGRADOV (2011), 129.
[546] HOFMANN (1971), 13. Also discussed in *FHN* II, 422, where it is said that it was a combination of the army and courtiers that chose Amannote-erike. ZACH points out this choice of the king by the army echoes the reports of ancient Greek authors that refer to "Ethiopian" succession practices. See HERODOTUS III, 20,1-2 and NIKOLAOS OF DAMASCUS [late 1st century B.C.E.] (cited in STOBAEUS, *Florilegium* 4.2), both cited in ZACH, (2014), 559.
[547] In Amannote-erike's case, the *smrw* are mentioned in his text, but only much later and they have no role in his election as king. Their context seems quite different. See Chapter 9.
[548] KORMYS(C)HEVA (hereafter referred to as KORMYSHEVA), (1993), 253-257.
[549] KORMYSHEVA addresses the issue of the *ṯsw* referred to within this segment of the 'Great Inscription' and their role in Amannote-erike's election, in KORMYSHEVA, (1993), 254-255.
[550] Aspelta based his power on the army; the next Kushite inscription to mention this practice is Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription'. See ZACH (2014), 558.
[551] Very much like what is discussed by ZACH (2014), 557-571.
[552] Possibly, again, Amannote-erike was not of the 'correct' lineage to inherit the throne and thus had to be legitimised through other methods, like Taharqa, as JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), suggests. Amannote-erike's true legitimacy is very difficult to establish since the text is so fragmentary. ZACH (2014), 559. This idea is borne out in REVEZ (2014b), 541.

control. Indeed, as Vinogradov asserts, the "real 'king-maker' here appears to be 'His Majesty's host'…"[553] However, besides the heirs incumbent needing to have been royally born, their legitimation as king "…was based to a significant degree on their military capabilities and acceptance by the army from the beginning of the Kushite kingdom…"[554] This again suggests that Amannote-erike was a military commander before his accession and thus already intimately connected with the army. Moreover, extant evidence in textual and pictorial representations reflects that "we may consider the supreme military commanders (whatever title they bore) the real power behind the throne from that time, making these men a type of king/queen maker."[555] Finally, the army's addressing of Amannote-erike as the "Son of Rē" leans heavily in the direction of outright propaganda. The whole text is, naturally, propagandistic. But the fact that Amannote-erike chose not only to display his choice by the army but also to point out the army's somewhat hasty justification of their choice – that the god had ordained it, and that Amannote-erike is the son of another major deity associated with the ideologies of kingship – is important. It smacks of legitimation piled upon legitimation of Amannote-erike, to confirm the point that he (and only he) should be identified as the rightful, divinely ordained ruler.

Note: Columns 16-18 appear to describe the army's official handing over of the palace and the kingship to Amannote-erike. However, these columns, which would have made for very interesting analysis of Amannote-erike's self-representation, through his being characterised by the army, are so fragmentary as to be almost useless.[556] Any assertions made using these fragments would be necessarily unsubstantiated.[557] Macadam did not attempt a reconstruction of these lost segments, nor did Pierce.[558] Thus, it seems unwise to attempt to fill in the gaps in

[553] VINOGRADOV (2008), 109.
[554] ZACH (2014), 568.
[555] ZACH (2014), 568.
[556] See Appendix 2.
[557] TÖRÖK's comments notwithstanding. *FHN* II, 423.
[558] See *Kawa I, Text*, 51-52, and *FHN* II, 402.

the text, or to try to analyse what might be in the missing sections. One might suggest that this damaged portion of Kawa IX may be Amannote-erike's eulogy, since this would coincide with the textual template followed by ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite kings in coronation accounts, among others.[559]

[559] However, this is unsubstantiated. I address the eulogy or encomium in Amannote-erike's context in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part III: columns 19-30

Amannote-erike states his intention of visiting Amun of Gebel Barkal

Columns 19 and 20 are damaged, but provide enough information to indicate that Amannote-erike, as newly "elected" king, stated his intention of visiting the temple and sanctuary of Amun-Rē at Gebel Barkal.[560] This reference demonstrates the significance of Napata and the cult of Amun-Rē at Gebel Barkal to the identity and ideology of Kushite kingship, and to the granting of royal power. Admittedly, the small section that survives does not provide much information that can be used to assess the identity creation or display of Amannote-erike himself. However, when Amannote-erike states his intention of going to see Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal, his companions[561] actively wanted Amun-Rē to give Amannote-erike the kingship, stating: "May your father Amun give to you…"[562] Possibly, Amannote-erike chose to recount this episode in his text to display a reaffirmation of the army's desire to have him as king. On the other hand, the fact that his companions were expressing their wish, not their certainty, that Amun-Rē give Amannote-erike the kingship, this is possibly an indication that everything was not yet completely settled. He could, perhaps, still not have been granted the kingship. If this were the case, Amannote-erike could have been subtly expressing his position as a candidate to the throne who was not guaranteed the position as king, perhaps as a result of his not truly belonging to the 'correct' lineage within the family line.[563]

A 'Beautiful Wonder'

Possibly one of the most commented-upon episodes in Kawa IX is found in column 21. Here, Amannote-erike mentioned "the beautiful wonder ('*bi3t nfrt*') that my father, Amun, made for

[560] Appendix 2. Amun-Rē's epithet here is damaged. MACADAM restored it as "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands." *Kawa I, Text,* 52 and 55, note 34. However, within the damaged area indicated on MACADAM'S line drawing, the epithet 'Lord of Napata' could fit in as well. Appendix 1, Figure VI. In this context, either could be correct.
[561] The mysterious "they" referred to in the text.
[562] Appendix 2, column 20. This brings to mind Nasalsa's speech on Aspelta's 'Election' stela (especially in the lunette).
[563] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003).

me".[564] The word *nfrt* in this expression can be, and has been, translated as "perfect,"[565] as in the context of Taharqa's stela Kawa V. In either translation, whether 'beautiful' or 'perfect,' this adjective indicates that this was an event of considerable significance to Amannote-erike, and to his public expression of the event. Nevertheless, the word *bi3t* "wonder" is critical.[566] *Bi3t* and its exact meaning should be examined.

The term *bi3t*, or as written in native ancient Egyptian texts, "*bi3it*,"[567] has been the focus of many scholarly discussions, especially within an ancient Egyptian context. Von Beckerath translates *bi3t* as "*Wundertaten*" (*i.e.* with positive connotations) performed by the god Amun, in his article regarding the establishment of a temple for Amun at Karnak.[568] Graefe goes into considerable detail to pin down the exact nuances of this term within ancient Egyptian texts.[569] Graefe examines the possibility that *bi3t* could mean a 'wonder' that is performed by a god, or could be thought of as a 'sign' originating in the divine world.[570] In this examination, Graefe notes that the *bi3wt* that he studied appear to have been perceived as surprising and unexpected events, but not necessarily 'impossible' occurrences.[571] He argues that *bi3t* should, theoretically, not be interpreted as a divine wonder or a 'sign from god' since, in the ancient Egyptian conceptualisation of the world, the presence of gods and their divine influences were everyday occurrences.[572] Hence, the actions of a deity would cease to be surprising or wonderful, precluding these actions being considered as 'wonders'.[573] Graefe also addresses the understanding of *bi3t* as an omen.[574] The term 'omen' is perhaps not ideal, as it appears to have similar connotations to 'wonder' in that certain modern preconceptions regarding the

[564] Appendix 2.
[565] See *FHN* I, 152.
[566] GOZZOLI (2009) provides an examination of Taharqa's *bi3wt*.
[567] *bj3jt* in the German tradition.
[568] VON BECKERATH (1981), 45.
[569] GRAEFE (1971), 133-139.
[570] GRAEFE (1971), 133. Again, with positive connotations.
[571] GRAEFE (1971), 133.
[572] GRAEFE (1971), 133-134, citing POSENER (1960), 49, including note 4, and 56.
[573] GRAEFE (1971), 133-134.
[574] GRAEFE (1971), 136.

term are inevitable.[575] 'Omens' may not have been understood in the same way by ancient Egyptians or ancient Kushites.[576] Also, it should be acknowledged that the word *bi3t* could at times – often with regard to non-royal persons – have negative connotations within its original hieroglyphic context, no matter how it is translated into a modern language.[577]

Graefe suggests that an alternative translation for 'wonder' could be 'revelation'.[578] Furthermore, he proposes that *bi3t* could be considered a kind of 'special occasion' version of a 'sign from god' whereby a deity capable of providing oracles, uses some kind of visible 'sign' to make themselves understood by humanity.[579] He states that under certain circumstances – typically those associated with the king – the perception of *bi3t* as an 'oracle' within a text is undeniable.[580] This is most noticeable in instances where a king was chosen to accede to the throne, for example in Thutmosis III's choice as king by the oracle of Amun.[581] In the ancient Egyptian context, an 'oracle'[582] (especially an oracle enacted by Amun of Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period) is thought to have exhibited a specific terminology that would have been perceived by all consumers of that event, whether the experience was in person or if someone encountered it in writing in an official document.[583] However, in these cases, the god was conventionally 'consulted' in public, and his oracle enacted in front of a wide audience.[584] Graefe prefers the interpretation of *bi3t* as a very specific type of oracle, namely the manifestation of an understanding between a god (usually

[575] GRAEFE (1971), 136.
[576] GOZZOLI (2009), 248, prefers 'omen'.
[577] See, for example, Amenemope (21, 13), and O.A.D. (II.21/22/a/), C.1, 90 ff and L. 6 verso, 89. See also RÖMER (1994), 150-151.
[578] GRAEFE (1971), 136.
[579] GRAEFE (1971), 137.
[580] GRAEFE (1971), 137.
[581] The inscription of Thutmosis III at Karnak, on the southern, external wall of the edifice built by Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. See *Urk.* IV, 157-159 (for the term "*bj3jt*", see 159, 2). Refer also to a similar event indicated in the inscription of Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge.
[582] KRUCHTEN (1997), 60-61, discusses the term *bi3*(*y*)*t* with regard to oracles.
[583] KRUCHTEN (1997), 55-64.
[584] KRUCHTEN (1997), 60-61. As we have seen, this is not the case in Amannote-erike's text. In his example, the army stated that it is so, without a public 'revelation'. Perhaps it would have been considered sufficiently public to establish the 'oracle' in writing upon an official document.

Amun) and a king.[585] This 'understanding' would be linked to the king's accession and his displays of legitimation. Indeed, Graefe states that the "überwiegende Mehrheit der *bj3jt* bestätigt oder sichert den Herrschaftsanspruch des Königs."[586] Hence, this can be understood as an integral facet of royal ideology and a king's identification within that ideology. Thus, the understanding of *bi3t* [587] as a type of 'oracle'[588] that confirms kingship is a critically significant royal ideological concept.[589] I suggest that it is exactly this connotation that is to be understood by the reader in the use of *bi3t* in Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription'.

Thus, it appears that the verb *bi3i*[590] had an inseparable association within ancient Egyptian kingship ideologies with the gods' transmission of royal power over the earthly realm.[591] The god's 'doing' of the *bi3t* was inherently connected to the procession of Amun in ancient Egypt. From the beginning, the enactment of a *bi3t* by Amun was connected with his appearance and his physically coming forth from the temple.[592] While such an initial physical manifestation of Amun is not attested in the 'Great Inscription', it seems reasonable that a similar ideological system may have been in place in Kush. In any event, whether the word is translated (in English) as either 'wonder' or 'oracle' appears to be immaterial in Amannote-erike's case. The critical point is that this was to be perceived as the manifestation of the "göttlichen Gnade für die Herrschaft."[593] Thus, Amannote-erike's display of his reception of Amun-Rē's active, divine approbation upon his accession to the throne can be appreciated as set within a deeply

[585] GRAEFE (1971), 135.
[586] GRAEFE (1971), 135.
[587] As RÖMER addresses, within the framework of royal legitimation texts, *bi3t* should not be considered an infinitive verb, but rather a feminine "*Verbalsubstantiv*". RÖMER (1994), 142-153. In column 21 of MACADAM'S hand drawing (and on the published photograph) there does not seem to be a feminine *t* ending on the noun *bi3*. However, the adjective *nfrt* that follows and complements the noun does have a feminine ending, suggesting that the noun should be understood as feminine. Alternatively, since the quadrant in which the adjective *nfrt* is inscribed has the feminine *t* at the top, directly beneath "*bi3*," it might be argued that that *t* was to be understood as belonging to both words.
[588] *Contra* GRAEFE, RÖMER does not believe that *bi3t* should be considered as a type of synonym for 'oracle,' since the word does not seem to play any substantial role in the "*Orakelprotokollen*". RÖMER (1994), 152.
[589] RÖMER (1994), 142. For the entire discussion on *bi3t*, see *IBID*, 142-153.
[590] From which the *Verbalsubstantiv* of *bi3t* is derived.
[591] RÖMER (1994), 144.
[592] RÖMER (1994), 145. Again, the inscription of Thutmosis III at Karnak.
[593] RÖMER (1994), 146.

ingrained Kushite social and linguistic inheritance regarding the transmission of legitimacy and royal power. It was an integral factor in Amannote-erike's expression of his identity as rightful Kushite ruler, hearkening back to Taharqa.

In a Kushite royal context, *bi3t* was used in a variety of contexts in several of Taharqa's stelae from Kawa.[594] Römer presents a convincing argument regarding the four 'wonders' performed for Taharqa that are mentioned in stela Kawa V, line 10.[595] Römer suggests that these four wonders (occurring in Taharqa's year 6) were not major Inundations, but that these actually refers to the major events that were important to Taharqa's legitimation that Amun had enacted for him, mentioned a few lines earlier in Taharqa's text.[596] Through Taharqa's reference to these four 'wonders' performed for him, he indicated in textual form his conceptualisation of "die Erweisung einer ganz besonderen Gunst" of Amun's for Taharqa.[597] The fact that Taharqa refers to *four* of these wonders[598] enacted specifically for him indicated that he wished to present himself as more favoured by Amun and more fortunate than any of his ancestors had been – even Alara.[599]

Taharqa's ancestor Alara is a central figure in his Kawa texts and in Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription'.[600] He was a highly significant ancestor to both rulers, featuring prominently in their framing of their ideological representations of themselves.[601] Both Taharqa and Amannote-erike appear to have formed their sense of self-identity as rulers of Kush through references to Alara and their conceptualisations of his accession, his relationship with Amun,

[594] See Kawa V, line 10 (regarding four 'wonders', often thought to be four major inundations in Taharqa's year 6); Kawa VI (Sudan National Museum, Khartoum 2679), line 22 (in the context of Amun's choosing him as king in his mother's womb), and Kawa VI, line 23 (in the context of asking Amun to "look upon" his sister).
[595] RÖMER (1994), 145.
[596] RÖMER (1994), 145, 148, footnote 75, and 168. See similar conclusions in LECLANT and YOYOTTE (1952), 22f, cited in RÖMER (1994), 148.
[597] RÖMER (1994), 149.
[598] GOZZOLI (2009), 242.
[599] RÖMER (1994), 149.
[600] I address this in detail in Chapter 7.
[601] See my discussion in Chapter 7.

and his reign. Taharqa's mention in his stela Kawa VI of the *bi3t* that Amun performed for his ancestor, Alara, was an important factor in his royal self-representation and ideology.[602] This *bi3t* was undoubtedly that Amun made Alara king of Kush, especially since it seems to have worked against the machinations of Alara's political opponents at the time.[603] In Alara's case, his *bi3t* seemed to have been understood as the revelation of a surprise event (*i.e.*, Alara's being chosen as ruler) to his contemporaries.[604] In this case, the 'surprise' was that while Alara was Amun's choice as ruler, he was clearly not expected by his contemporaries to become ruler, and was actively conspired against in his quest for kingship.[605] In essence, Amun's *bi3t* conferred royal power and its associated legitimacy to Alara, facilitating his unassailable right to rule.[606] Alara's probably apocryphal expression of his being chosen by Amun as a *bi3t* represented a clear statement on the divine origins of his power[607] and his identification as a ruler.

Amannote-erike's use of *bi3t* is interesting on many levels.[608] First, by using this specific terminology, Amannote-erike could have been imitating Taharqa's texts, also located in Temple T at Kawa.[609] This seems to be the conclusion reached by most modern scholars: Amannote-erike's use of the *bi3t* phraseology in the context of his election as king indicated his desire to associate himself with the texts (and thus the legacy) of Taharqa as a great ruler and ancestor.[610] Macadam is of the opinion that there could be no doubt that Amannote-erike was imitating Taharqa in this regard.[611] This may be the case, given the close physical proximity of Taharqa's texts and Amannote-erike's inscription, mentioned above.

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[602] RÖMER presents discussions regarding this. See RÖMER (1994), 148-149, and POPE (2014a), 46.
[603] RÖMER (1994), 149.
[604] RÖMER (1994), 149.
[605] RÖMER (1994), 149.
[606] TÖRÖK (1997a), 126.
[607] TÖRÖK (1997a), 126.
[608] See also *FHN* II, 423, note 116.
[609] Stelae Kawa V and Kawa VI. See *Kawa I, Text*, 22-41.
[610] For example, *Kawa I, Text*, 55, note 38; GOZZOLI (2009), 239-240, and TÖRÖK, *FHN* II, 423.
[611] *Kawa I, Text*, 55, note 38. VINOGRADOV (2011), 130, *contra* this, suggests that this interpretation could simply represent MACADAM'S searching for a better understanding of the text.

Furthermore, considering the significance of and reference to Alara in both of these kings' textual representations of their lineage, it would be reasonable to suggest that by using this *bi3t* phraseology, Amannote-erike was referencing both Taharqa and Alara as ancestors who could legitimise his reign. Moreover, by mentioning the *bi3t* performed for him by Amun, like Taharqa, he may have been referring to the fact that Amun considered him the most favoured of his contemporaries. As it had for centuries, Amun's approbation would have conferred to Amannote-erike both royal power and its associated divine legitimacy. This representation in Kawa IX would have imbued Amannote-erike with connotations of legitimised kingship, establishing him within the framework of Kushite royal ideology, and would have identified him solidly with the royal heritage signified by Amun and the royal ancestors. It is fascinating that, while Amannote-erike's predecessors of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty seem to have associated themselves in many ways with New Kingdom Egyptian kings to establish their authority and legitimacy, Amannote-erike did not appear to imitate ancient Egyptian New Kingdom kings, their vocabularies of kingship, or their ideology directly. Instead, he appears to be looking to his native Kushite, ancestral kings for inspiration. The impression is given that Amannote-erike situated his self-identification as a ruler and an elite individual within the framework of Kushite kingship and its associated mores, specifically with regard to Taharqa and Alara.[612]

[612] The 'Great Inscription' also refers to another Kushite royal ancestor, Kashta. I address this in Chapter 10. There does not seem to be any Kushite tradition of referring to a *bi3t* in Kashta's context, however.

Macadam suggests that the date[613] of the 'wonder' performed for Amannote-erike was *prt*, day 19, of his accession to the throne.[614] The relevant section of text has been damaged on the original, and Macadam's hand copy must be relied upon in this case.[615] The significance of this section to the identity of the king is surprisingly relevant. Considering the implications of what a dating of Amannote-erike's election as king in winter, but his actual accession only occurring the following summer, would mean to his expression of his kingship and his identification of himself within the ideologies of Kushite kingship, this should not be taken lightly. Moreover, if this reconstructed date of *prt* is correct, this could support theories regarding a co-regency between Talakhamani and Amannote-erike.[616] Török, for example, proposes that if *prt* is indeed the correct reading, and if this were evidence for a co-regency, it would mean that Amannote-erike "clearly backdated the beginning of his first regnal year to *ꜣḫt* 1 and in this way… [his] "election" by Talakhamani falls within Year 1."[617] Török then suggests that this is evidence of "antedating the ascent to the throne [at]…New Year."[618] However, he goes on to state that such cases of "antedating" are very infrequent.[619] Therefore,

[613] Solving the problem of Kushite chronology, and issues surrounding temple festival dates, and civil dating is beyond the scope of this thesis. A good starting point for readers interested in this is ZIBELIUS-CHEN (2006). KORMYSHEVA (1998), 77, mentions that, while there is a wealth of ancient Egyptian material regarding festivals, calendars and so forth, the Kushite evidence regarding these matters is scarce and patchy. Ascribing ancient Egyptian practices regarding calendars to the Kushites may be a solution in this regard. See, for example, EL-SABBAN (2000); SCHOTT (1950); SPALINGER (1996), and *IDEM* (2015a). However, there is no guarantee that the Kushites observed calendrics or even festivals in exactly the same manner as the Egyptians did. See, for example, LOHWASSER'S comments regarding the Kushite New Year in LOHWASSER (2014), 235-236, and KORMYSHEVA'S observation regarding the absence in Kushite texts of the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley" in KORMYSHEVA (1998), 87-88. This may be especially true for later periods of Kushite history relevant to my thesis, when Egyptian 'influences' were removed in time from Amannote-erike's contemporary Kushite practices.

[614] *Kawa I, Text*, 52 and 55, note 38. TÖRÖK adheres to this in *FHN* II, 423. MACADAM does not mention which month of *prt* he thought it might be. Again, I do not aim to definitively answer the question of the Kushite chronologies in this thesis. Rather, I aim to point out that 'solving' the chronological problems with this segment of Kawa IX is virtually impossible, through addressing the problems with the squeezes and the transcription of Kawa IX, and discussing the possible alternatives briefly.

[615] Appendix 1, Figure VI. As VINOGRADOV also encountered, neither the tracings nor the squeezes are helpful in resolving this matter. VINOGRADOV (2008), 107-108.

[616] For example, TÖRÖK in *FHN* II, 423. TÖRÖK acknowledges the difficulty of proving a co-regency, citing MURNANE (1977), 31f. Nevertheless, TÖRÖK states that such a co-regency (with Talakhamani having 'elected' Amannote-erike to be his successor) "may well be imagined." *FHN* II, 423. I do not agree with this opinion, as this is insufficient evidence on which to base a conclusion of the existence of a co-regency.

[617] *FHN* II, 423.

[618] *FHN* II, 423-424. LOHWASSER (2014) examines the evidence for the relative importance of the New Year's festivals in Kush. This article shows that New Year's rituals were apparently carried out in Kush, especially regarding temple openings or dedications. Nevertheless, it does not seem as though the same critical importance of the Egyptian New Year and its festivals was observed in Kush (see conclusions in *IBID*, 235-236).

[619] *FHN* II, 423.

the question should be asked as to why Amannote-erike would do such a thing. Furthermore, why would he display such "antedating" in his 'Great Inscription'? What might such a display achieve? These questions are impossible to answer, and any answers that might occur to a researcher do not make sense ideologically nor within the context of royal Kushite display.

Considering that the opening lines of the 'Great Inscription' state that it recounted the events from Amannote-erike's regnal year 1, second month of Shemu, day 24, this would mean that the 'wonder' had occurred approximately sixty-six days before Amannote-erike's election as king by the army.[620] Either that, or the 'wonder' would have taken place almost a full year later, which makes no sense at all. Indeed, neither of these options makes sense if one examines them from a royal ideological angle. First, there is no point to Amannote-erike displaying that this 'beautiful wonder' that the god had performed for him was very much in anticipation of his election; why bother to announce the election at all, if the god had already chosen him as king? Neither is there sense in displaying this in retrospect of his election, almost a year later. Ideologically, it is more reasonable for the 'wonder' to be as close to the actual day of election as possible. If one abandons the idea that there was a co-regency between Amannote-erike and Talakhamani,[621] then Amun's 'wonder' performed for Amannote-erike sixty-six days before his election as king makes no sense either.[622] Furthermore, this entire hypothesis depends on whether or not Macadam was correct in his reconstruction and interpretation of the damaged sign in column 21 as *prt*. If his theory is not correct, then the argument falls apart. It seems sensible, then, to turn to an alternative suggestion. Vinogradov's discussions regarding this date are reasonable.[623] Vinogradov's suggested reconstruction of *hrw* "day" rather than Macadam's *prt* "winter" in this section, while not ideal, seems to be the most sensible option. It makes far more sense for the 'wonder'

[620] VINOGRADOV (2008), 106.
[621] Apparently now the scholarly consensus.
[622] VINOGRADOV (2008), 106.
[623] VINOGRADOV (2008), 105-109.

to have occurred on the ninth day of Amannote-erike's reign, rather than any alternative dates.[624] The display in his text of this early date in his reign promoted Amannote-erike's identification as the favoured one of Amun, situating him in his strongest ideological and political position, within the lineage of favoured kings, along with Taharqa and Alara.

The king calls upon Amun in his time of need

In column 25, Amannote-erike called upon Amun in response to an invasion of his territory.[625] Amannote-erike's reaction to the news of the invasion of his territory was subdued. A subdued reaction to news of battle seems to align with Kushite royal decorum. For example, Piankhy was initially amused and not angry when given news of the coalition between Tefnakht and Namlot.[626] Far from "raging like a panther"[627] or preparing to go to war, Amannote-erike's first action was to call upon Amun for assistance.[628] This section reads:

> Come to me, my father Amun![629] You gave to me the kingship in truth. Give to me your strength! Place your awe among the rebellious foreign lands that are encircling this nome![630]

The apparently usual practice of Kushite kings not going into battle in person has been addressed. The nature of the king's imploring the god for his help and his strength is of interest.[631] Török compares Amannote-erike's prayer to Amun for his help and strength, and

[624] VINOGRADOV (2008), 109.
[625] Columns 21–24, describing this 'invasion', do not reveal anything regarding the identity or representation of the king, and will not be explored further. On the 'invasion', which may not truly have been an 'invasion' but rather nomads looking for somewhere to settle and on the move with all their animals, goods, and chattels, see VINOGRADOV (2015), 573-584.
[626] See 'Triumphal Stela,' line 6.
[627] For example, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' lines 23 and 31. An established New Kingdom Egyptian trope. See for example, the discussions in SPALINGER (1982), 118-119.
[628] Column 25 in Appendix 2.
[629] This phraseology is reminiscent of Aspelta's 'Election' stela, line 23.
[630] For a more literal translation, see columns 25-26 in Appendix 2.
[631] We could see parallels for this in an Egyptian context in the royal oracles from Amun. See for example, Sheshonq I's oracle (in the Ramesside style) mentioned by VERNUS (1975), 19-20.

his subsequent action of remaining at Meroë while sending his army off to fight against the intruders, to the reported actions of Anlamani under similar conditions.[632]

Many depictions of kings addressing Amun/Amun-Rē directly, and requesting boons or favours exist in the Kushite royal context.[633] For example, in one of Taharqa's Karnak inscriptions, he prayed to Amun to guide him, to send rain during his reign, and to let his children live, among other requests.[634] Further examples can be found in Anlamani's 'Enthronement' account, where he beseeched the god to deter anyone who might plot against him, and to send him a good Inundation,[635] and in Aspelta's 'Election' stela, where Aspelta asked Amun for his favour and to give him the crown of Kush.[636] Indeed, the phrasing of Amannote-erike's adjurement of Amun, "Come to me…" is an almost exact copy of Aspelta's "Come to me..." request in his 'Election' stela.[637] Perhaps this was not as common a practice as using Amun's name in an oath or a declaration, as in texts of both ancient Egyptian and Kushite kings.[638] However, it was still a clear representation of the king's intimate relationship with Amun. Here, Amannote-erike expressed publicly his request to Amun for victory, in the full expectation that his divine father would fulfil this request. This neatly situates Amannote-erike within the continuum of Kushite kingship. His employment of these established royal ideologies indicated his knowledge of the critical importance of displaying royal Kushite

[632] TÖRÖK (1997a), 379. TÖRÖK refers to his translation of Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela in *FHN* I, number 34, line 17.
[633] Taharqa, for example, was said to receive everything from Amun that he requested of him. (Stela Kawa V, line 6). The ancient Egyptian practice of the king directly addressing the god in requesting something can be seen in, for example, Ramesses II's year 5 "Battle of Qadesh," 'Poem,' lines 92-123. See *KRI* II, 5-7. However, Ramesses II's tone here is far less respectful than the tone used by Amannote-erike in his beseeching of the god.
[634] Taharqa, Peristyle Court, north of Pylon VI at the Amun Temple at Karnak. For example, *FHN* I, 181-188.
[635] Again, among other requests, not least of which is to "have regard" for his mother. Stela Kawa VIII, lines 25-27. See *FHN* I, 216-224.
[636] Aspelta's 'Election' stela, lines 23-27. See also *FHN* I, 241-243. It was not only the king who could address the god directly, but, as seen in Aspelta's 'Election' stela, the army commanders, the priests, and the palace officials could make requests of Amun as well. Lines 17-19. However, in most texts, it seems more usual that it was the king that had direct interactions with Amun, and who was permitted to make the most demands of him.
[637] Compare 'Great Inscription', column 25 with Aspelta's 'Election' stela, line 23. Nasalsa requested the same of Amun in her position as king's mother.
[638] For example, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' lines 24 and 92.

decorum within his text in order to be fully accepted as legitimate ruler by the god, the elites, the priests, and the population.

Furthermore, Hornung asserts that, within the ancient Egyptian context, human beings "live[d][639] in a world in which the gods are invisibly but powerfully active."[640] In particular, the activity of gods on behalf of a king played a highly significant role regarding kingship and its legitimation. The political influence of the gods and their representative on earth cannot be overstated. Hornung states that the "Egyptians sense the superior will and efficacy also in political life…The kings of the New Kingdom and Late Period require divine aid to lead their campaigns."[641] Thus, as examined by recent scholars, the relationship between the king and the gods (especially Amun) is of vital importance to kingship in Egypt and, by extension, Kush. A king's adjurement of one particular god is of critical significance: "In the act of worship, whether it be in prayer, [or] hymn of praise…the Egyptians single out one god, who for them at that moment signifies everything."[642] To some extent, this has been interpreted as personal piety, in its definition as man's (or the king's) "surrendering himself entirely into [the] god's hands."[643] However, there are some significant problems with this assessment when applied to Kushite royal ideologies.

The representation within Kushite royal texts[644] of an apparent level of personal connection between kings and, especially, the state god Amun, is attested throughout the extant corpus. To some extent, this has been interpreted as piety on the part of each relevant king. For

[639] Square brackets are mine.
[640] HORNUNG (1983), 197. For an extensive discussion of ancient Egyptians and their relationship to the gods, see *IBID*, especially chapter 6, 197-216. Another work that addresses personal piety in the ancient Egyptian context is FECHT (1965). This work addresses non-royal piety and is thus not relevant for my thesis.
[641] HORNUNG (1983), 211.
[642] HORNUNG (1983), 236. HORNUNG wrote on the ancient Egyptian religious experience and not the Nubian religious experience. However, given how little evidence is extant for the 'true' nature of Kushite religious systems (and how much of that evidence appears to be based on Egyptian systems) it seems reasonable to argue that the Kushite context ran along similar lines to HORNUNG'S assertions for Egypt, and that the Kushite royal religious experience (and its public expression) may have been similar to the Egyptian experience.
[643] HORNUNG (1983), 196.
[644] As in New Kingdom Egyptian texts.

example, Hornung cites the 'Sandstone Stela' found at Gebel Barkal.[645] The king represented in that text stated that "Gods make a king and men make a king, but Amun has made me…"[646] It seems clear that this king considered Amun to be superior to other gods. The fact that this supremely august god acted on behalf of this Kushite king was couched within religious terminologies, but is unmistakably politically orientated. The king was legitimised above all others through Amun's choosing him as king. Moreover, Piankhy's apparent piety in his 'Triumphal Stela' indicated either that Piankhy himself was apparently very religious, or that the person who composed the text of the 'Triumphal Stela' was religious.[647] Goedicke argues heavily for Piankhy's personal piety and religious convictions.[648] However, it seems far more likely that these presentations of Piankhy's 'piety' regarding Amun were part of a schema of royal propaganda that would have been relevant to both the Kushite and Egyptian elites, one that would have used religious representations for political ends.[649] Indeed, religion was often used in Piankhy's text and seems to be politically motivated: "Although only the religious aspect is emphasized…there are political aspects to the event which are difficult to overlook."[650] Moreover, it should be remembered that the text cannot truly reveal the king's personal beliefs, just his ideologically appropriate image of piety and its display.

This history of kings' use of "religious performance and its political consequences"[651] within Kushite royal texts and images is indicative of their understandings of the ways in which kingship was represented. This suggests that there was a set of acceptable tropes inherent to Kushite kings up to and including Amannote-erike that could be referenced when composing a

[645] HORNUNG (1983), 236. The 'Sandstone Stela' is usually attributed to Piankhy's early reign (for example REISNER (1931), 90), but it is now thought to belong to an earlier Kushite ruler. This is discussed in a forthcoming publication by LOHWASSER and SÖRGEL, referred to in TÖRÖK (2018), note 43, and in LOHWASSER'S summary in the Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Meroitic Studies in Prague, September 2016, forthcoming.
[646] HORNUNG (1983), 236.
[647] GOEDICKE (1998), 211.
[648] GOEDICKE (1998), 211-216.
[649] Also in GOEDICKE (1998), 209. This is also evident in the Katimala Inscription. Among others, GRAPOW (1940); CAMINOS (1994), and DARNELL (2006).
[650] GOEDICKE (1998), 209.
[651] GOEDICKE (1998), 215.

monumental text. Displaying the *topos* of the king's relationship with Amun as an affirmation of authority was an ancient tradition in Kush. Amannote-erike would have had access to texts of a variety of rulers, from a variety of periods that would have displayed this *topos*.[652] This was the 'correct' way of indicating kingship and its association with both the divine and human political spheres, and hence, embodies decorum.[653] Thus, when Amannote-erike entreated Amun to allow his army to succeed, it may well have been a genuine prayer by a man who had a real belief in divine intervention in human affairs. Nevertheless, in light of all the other elements of propaganda that Amannote-erike exhibited in Kawa IX, it seems more likely that his use of this trope of religious display was primarily politically, not religiously, motivated. Both the composers and the consumers of royal texts would have understood what it meant when they saw it. Amannote-erike's *not* displaying this type of legitimising ideology within his official text would certainly make no sense. Thus, his 'piety' probably was a reflection of his understanding of the politically motivated ways in which a king should be depicted in a text: having a special and intimate relationship with his state god, and holding the god's particular favour.

Next, Amannote-erike reminded Amun that he chose him to be king: "You gave to me the kingship in truth". This not only served to refresh the god's memory as to the identity and legitimacy of his chosen son, but also to reiterate Amannote-erike's divine selection and legitimacy as ruler to the readers of the text. This solidification of Amannote-erike's identity as rightful ruler at this precarious time in his reign, soon after his accession to the throne and under threat of a perceived major invasion from a foreign people, was important, indeed necessary, to ratify his position and his uncontested rulership. His emphasis on his identity as Amun's chosen king was thus critical. Amannote-erike's connection with the god – as his son and representative on earth – and its associated identities were thereby confirmed and re-

[652] To name but one example, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela' at Gebel Barkal.
[653] As outlined in my introduction

established on his monumental text. Likewise, his association with great kings who had come before him was identified in his use of the highly charged royal trope of a direct address to the god. His situating himself within the over-arching system of royal identity was unmistakable.

Amannote-erike's 'charity'?

The end of column 26 and the beginning of column 27 depict Amannote-erike sending the Kushite army against the foreign invaders, and state that Amannote-erike remained at the palace at Meroë.[654] As discussed, his remaining behind in the palace while his army saw to military matters would have been appropriate and expected of a Kushite king. The army seemed to have been effective enough without the king as their leader, and had the favour and the awe of Amun on their side. The expulsion of these intruders was comprehensive: Amannote-erike's army is said to have "made a great slaughter"[655] among them. The devastation was so complete that every person in the land, "all of the young men[656] and all of the women who were in this nome seized all of the plunder that they desired of cattle..."[657] This implies that none of the 'invaders' were left alive to protect their livestock. As Vinogradov argues, the army's permitting these people to seize livestock could be an indication of a "deliberate, perhaps customary, public act rather than merely a spontaneous, accidental occurrence."[658] It is interesting that it is the young men and the women that benefited from this; no adult men were mentioned as taking cattle in this episode.[659] Vinogradov makes suggestions regarding the reasons for this; therefore, these will not be discussed here.[660] These considerations aside, this section of text portrays Amannote-erike as a

[654] Columns 26-27 in Appendix 2. This closely parallels texts of Thutmosis II in particular, as do other episodes within Amannote-erike's Great Inscription. However, as mentioned previously, it is outside the scope of this thessi to discuss these Egyptian "influences".
[655] A royal Egyptian textual *topos* relating to the king/army in battle. For example, among others, in Thutmosis III's Gebel Barkal stela, *passim*.
[656] VINOGRADOV (2015), 576-577, has "infants ([*n*]*ḫnw*)". I prefer the translation of "young men" which gives the impression of youths, perhaps pre-pubescent boys, who are more capable of handling cattle than infants would be. *IBID* accedes that in the Kushite context, "young man" is a better translation.
[657] Appendix 2.
[658] VINOGRADOV (2015), 576.
[659] Also discussed in VINOGRADOV (2015), 576.
[660] VINOGRADOV (2015), 578-580.

generous king, allowing valuable chattels to be taken freely by his people. Technically, these spoils of war should have gone to the king's treasury, to the army, or to an estate of Amun.[661] This distribution of wealth could be an indication that such division of the spoils of battle was common in ancient Kushite society. As Edwards[662] and Fuller[663] discuss, property redistribution among the weaker members of society by rulers may have been established royal practice in the "Sudanic model,"[664] rather than so-called 'charity'.[665] The distribution of valuable goods to the public by elites reinforced their status and prestige while displaying their apparent generosity.[666] This was a critical factor in social and political interactions within a Kushite context.[667] Yet if this were the case, one would expect to have encountered earlier attestations of this practice in royal Kushite texts. Perhaps it was such an obvious procedure that none of them thought to record it. However, it may have been because it was such a ubiquitous royal practice that Amannote-erike employed it consciously within Kawa IX, with his ultimate agenda firmly in mind.[668] If he was using every legitimising and propagandistic strategy available to him to inculcate his right to rule, his inclusion of another entrenched cultural tradition among legitimate rulers seems sensible. Alternatively, this could represent Amannote-erike's depiction of himself within his official text as a ruler who allowed his people, specifically the 'weaker' members of society, to gain material possessions through his largesse. Moreover, this could be another indication of the dubious nature of his legitimacy as king. If one were cynical, one might be tempted to suggest that Amannote-erike's 'generosity' here leaves the impression of bribery on a society-wide scale: property given to the general populace in return for their favour and for their acceptance of him as king. Additionally, this incident portrayed the competence of Amannote-erike's army, indicating not only the army's

[661] VINOGRADOV (2015), 575.
[662] EDWARDS (1996), 39-47, especially 46-47.
[663] FULLER (2003), especially 174.
[664] FULLER (2003).
[665] VINOGRADOV's "charity".
[666] EDWARDS (1996), 40-41.
[667] EDWARDS (1996), 40-41.
[668] Again, intentionality is relevant here.

prominence in Amannote-erike's text, but also their centrality to his retention of his position as king. Their success was his success. Within this episode, the representation of the efficacy of Amannote-erike's army, and his allowing the inhabitants of his territory to take war booty for themselves, suggest that Amannote-erike wished to represent himself as a ruler who had at his disposal a great and powerful army, who had the favour of the god Amun, and who was a beneficent, generous ruler of his people.

Chapter 5: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription part IV: columns 31-43

The king rejoices at his army's victory

The end of column 31 and the entirety of column 32 report that Amannote-erike was exceptionally pleased by his army's success.[669] It also seems that the acquisition of the foreigners' cattle by the youths and women of his territory pleased him: "His Majesty exulted on account of it doubly greatly…"[670] It seems natural that a king would be pleased by his army's victory. The victory of his troops would have confirmed his role as a military leader and the wisdom of the army's having chosen him to rule, since he was proving to be an effective king. Not only his army's success, but also his allowing the general populace to take cattle, proved his efficacy.

Column 32 continues, revealing what the king said after exulting at his troops' success: "My father, Amun-Rē… has caused me to see his might on this day." [671] This statement could be seen as public confirmation of Amun's favour and support of Amannote-erike. Its inclusion within his inscription was again Amannote-erike's assertion of his intimate familial connection with the state god, evoking Amun's approval of his selection as king by causing the victory of Amannote-erike's army. In practice, everyone involved in the battle, as well as the wider community who appropriated cattle after this battle, would have "seen the might" of Amun.[672] However, it is Amannote-erike's experience of and reception of the favour and "might" of Amun that is of significance to his position as ruler, and to his creation and display of his identity as rightful king and ordained son of the state god. The battle episode and the army's victory against the foreign invaders was a clear propagandistic statement of the 'rightness' of Amannote-erike's accession to the throne. Interestingly, no mention was made at this point of

[669] SPALINGER (1982), 93 mentions this brief conclusion of military activities.
[670] Appendix 2.
[671] "*šf=f*". See Appendix 2. *FHN* II, 405, gives a translation of "awesomeness". MACADAM has "might". *Kawa I, Text*, 56, note 53. I follow MACADAM in this regard.
[672] This is irrespective of whether or not one believes in divine intervention.

Amannote-erike's presenting offerings to Amun in thanks for his assistance in overcoming his enemies. The text merely states that the king rejoiced[673] and that the people took the foreigners' cattle. It is curious, considering that Amannote-erike did not yet physically have the Kushite crown, that he would not present offerings of gratitude to Amun after this victory. It may simply be that Amannote-erike intended to travel to Gebel Barkal for his coronation, and to offer to Amun of Napata there: a dual offering of thanks for this victory and for his being chosen as king. However, if this were the case, it seems peculiar that this offering was not expressly stated in the text. Presenting offerings in gratitude for the god's favour is considered a trope in ancient Egyptian royal texts.[674] This apparently does not seem to be the case in the Kushite context.

The King's eulogy by the people of the land

Until this point in the 'Great Inscription,' the Kushite people's approval of Amannote-erike as king had not been expressed. Columns 33-35 present a eulogy by the people of Kush in praise of Amannote-erike.[675]

The literary trope of the king's eulogy is an ancient one in both contexts of ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite royal texts.[676] These eulogies can essentially be defined as a "rhetorical presentation" on behalf of the king, presented in a textual medium.[677] These "rhetorical presentations" are songs of praise to the king, and a presentation of epithets of his might, his divinity, and his grandeur. Praising the ruler in an official context and the performance of

[673] And the people of the land – see below.
[674] By modern scholars. For example, HORNUNG (1983), 203.
[675] Appendix 2. This does not appear to be only the people of Meroë, where Amannote-erike still resided at this point, but apparently included *all* of the people of Kush. This praise of the king by the land's people has parallels to New Kingdom eulogies, such as Thutmosis III's Gebel Barkal stela, lines 46-50. However, it seems more likely that this *topos* may have been copied from earlier Kushite kings' documents within Kush, rather than from Egyptian sources.
[676] For a general summary of the king's eulogy in the ancient Egyptian sphere, see for example ASSMANN (1977), 39-46, and SPALINGER (2003).
[677] SPALINGER (2006), 97. An analysis of the origins of the ancient Egyptian royal eulogy is beyond the scope of my thesis, but are discussed in, among others, *IBID*, 107-109, along with the problems surrounding the 'actual authorship' of these types of texts.

praise singing is a common occurrence in many African[678] cultures, even today. As Spalinger states, "so long as there was a ruler, there must have been address of praise…"[679] Modern scholars assert that New Kingdom Egyptian royal eulogies[680] usually appeared near the beginning of a text, just after the king's titulary, and consisted of a series of "attributive phrases" that functioned as kings' epithets.[681] The study of ancient Egyptian and by extension, Kushite, royal eulogies or encomia can help us to analyse their performative nature within texts.[682] This "performance aspect"[683] is clear in Amannote-erike's text. The eulogy augmented the "royal presence"[684] in a historical context (the contemporary timeframe in which Amannote-erike lived), within a geographic context (the physical landscape in which Amannote-erike ruled), and, finally, within Kawa IX's literary schema. The "performative aspect" is further enhanced by the fact that it was 'the people' who were supposed to have made praises to the king.[685] By using the people as the mouthpiece for these praises, Kawa IX's composer effectively presented not only a royal eulogy, but also indicated the wholesale approval of the Kushite populace regarding their new king. While it seems that the use of the 'people' to pronounce the king's eulogy was assuredly propagandistic, or at least, ideologically rhetorical in nature, there is evidence that the king could be and actually was praised in set eulogistic forms in texts and possibly in oral performances, too. One such

[678] In other cultures too. It is arguably most evident in Africa, however.
[679] SPALINGER (2003), 417. Again, while this refers to ancient Egyptian practices, it seems reasonable to attribute similar practices to Kushite kingship and its ideology.
[680] The royal eulogy, while an ancient practice, truly came into its own in the New Kingdom, especially during the Nineteenth Dynasty.
[681] SPALINGER (2006), 88. Regarding Nineteenth Dynasty texts, the eulogy seems to be considered to be closely bound to the royal titulary and together they form a specifically defined portion of the text. See MADERNA-SIEBEN (2003), 77.
[682] SPALINGER (2006), 87. SPALINGER addresses the royal eulogy within the ancient Egyptian context and not the ancient Kushite context. However, once again, since much of the Kushite literary record (its forms, vocabulary and so forth) that is currently extant follows ancient Egyptian forms, it seems reasonable that similar conceptualisations and associations would apply for Kushite kings.
[683] SPALINGER (2006), 87.
[684] SPALINGER (2006), 90.
[685] It is uncertain whether these praises were performed in real life, as the afore-mentioned 'praise singing' in modern African cultures is performed on ceremonial days before a large audience. SPALINGER (2006), 111-113, also addresses this problem of 'real life' performance. However, I argue that it may not have been necessary for these praises to have been performed 'live'. It seems reasonable that the mere fact that they existed, within Amannote-erike's official royal text, being representative of official royal rhetoric, may have been sufficient for the king's purposes. There may have been an official praise singing performance to an audience but it probably would not have been based on the short eulogy represented in Kawa IX.

example is an inscription found at Gebel el-Silsileh, composed by the vizier Panehsi who eulogises his king, Merneptah.[686] The 'people's eulogy' of Amannote-erike is also similar to eulogistic sections found on Thutmosis III's Gebel Barkal stela.[687] Spalinger notes that in Thutmosis III's text, the king's speeches are complemented by parallel speeches attributed to the *smrw* (officials) and the public.[688] In Amannote-erike's case, this is shown where the 'people' present their eulogy of the king directly after the king's speech of praise to Amun after his army's victory, also working in parallel with each other.

Amannote-erike's eulogy, while seemingly based upon ancient Egyptian rhetorical eulogies, did not adhere firmly to their forms. Amannote-erike's epithets do not follow directly on from his titulary, and are instead found roughly a third of the way into the bulk of the text. A great number of centuries, not to mention a great deal of geographical space, separated the New Kingdom and its eulogistic tropes from Amannote-erike's reign. It is to be expected that some rearrangements or re-interpretations of literary forms would have taken place in the intervening time and space. Kawa IX's composer may also not have known the 'rule' that a eulogy should appear directly after the titulary at the beginning of a text, and may simply have added one where it felt appropriate. Moreover, Amannote-erike's eulogy is dissimilar to traditional New Kingdom/Ramesside forms of royal eulogy since it does not consist of "a historical narrative commencing with *ist*."[689] Nevertheless, for the most part, this section of Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' fits within the framework of the royal eulogy, not least since it displays a variety of "attributive phrases" which identify the king and present his idealised image within the ideology of Kushite kingship.

Importantly, this eulogy had as its theme the individuality[690] and identity of the ruler to whom it refers. The epithets presented by the people in Amannote-erike's case speak clearly to the

[686] RADWAN (1976), 187-189.
[687] Especially lines 48-50.
[688] SPALINGER (2006), 97.
[689] SPALINGER (2003), 416.
[690] MADERNA-SIEBEN (2003), 77.

identity that he wished to portray. In particular, the emphasis on his divine heritage as a display of his royal identity and his legitimation as ruler is a central motif. As with Ahmose's stela at Karnak, among others, Amannote-erike's inscriptional eulogy does not mention his human (biological or earthly) father.[691] Instead, the emphasis is on his divine parentage, especially Amun as his father.[692] It was a common epithet of kings in monumental and official texts to be referred to as the son of a divinity. In an ancient Egyptian context, the king was the son of a male deity.[693] Amannote-erike's representing Amun as his divine father in this inscription at Kawa was appropriate to the inscriptional locality, the temple of Amun at Kawa.[694] It seems sensible to promote one's self as the offspring of a certain god within the temple of that god.[695] It is curious that Amannote-erike presented himself within the temple of Amun of Kawa as the son of Amun, but he did not specify that he was the son of Amun of Kawa (*Ỉmn-gm-Ỉtn*) in this eulogy.

Divine mothers of the king do not appear to be represented in royal Egyptian epithets.[696] When a female deity was referred to in connection with an Egyptian king, it was a specific aspect of that goddess that was attributed to the king, for example, raging like Sekhmet, rather than her being represented as his mother.[697] Amannote-erike's eulogistic representation of two separate, female divinities as his mother appears to reveal a specifically Kushite understanding of royal self-representation. Amannote-erike is named as son of both Isis[698] and Mut.[699]

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[691] SPALINGER (2006), 90-91.
[692] SPALINGER (2006), 90-91.
[693] Section II, 152-178 of GRIMAL (1986), especially 174-178, discusses a king's representation as the son of a male deity at length. Kushite kings as sons of Amun have been addressed, *passim*. See also SPALINGER (2006), 90-91. For a discussion of Amun in all his aspects, see *LGG* I, 305-341.
[694] SPALINGER (2006), 90-91.
[695] For a discussion regarding a god (usually Amun) as a king's father (*it*), see GRIMAL (1986), 166-174.
[696] Technically, it seems that all the ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses were considered the divine parents of the ruling Egyptian king. However, only a very few seem to have been expressly said to have been the father of the king, such as Amun, Rē, and Atum. GRIMAL (1986), 152.
[697] Isis is technically a king's mother in the same way that any king is technically the embodiment of Horus in the Isis-Horus mythologies. But outside of the mythological sphere and legends, the goddess was not expressly said to be the Egyptian king's mother.
[698] For a general discussion regarding Isis, see *LGG* I 61-67.
[699] *LGG* III, 251-271. Bastet of Tar was important during the *Krönungsreise* of later, newly crowned Kushite kings, and especially relevant to Harsiotef and Nastasen. LOHWASSER (1997), 32. (See Harsiotef's stela, line 22, and Nastasen's stela, lines 32-33). It is interesting that she was not named here as one of Amannote-erike's divine

Amannote-erike's legitimising display was then elaborated upon, in his being named "Horus in very truth".[700] This is another *topos* represented in Kushite royal decorum from at least Taharqa's reign and speaks to the importance attributed to the Isis-Horus[701] myths as a template for legitimate kingship. In light of this representation of the rightful Kushite king as Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, within the ancient Egyptian mythologies of royal ideology and identity, an interesting development in Kushite decorum was that a lawful king only referenced his divine mother, Isis. This demonstrates the inherent, venerable traditions in Kush regarding female family members' centrality to the inheritance of legitimate rulership, and the established Kushite textual decorum relating to this.[702] No 'real,' biological human father of any Kushite king is ever mentioned in any of their texts. As Saito affirms, "…the biological father does not play an important role in matrilineal succession…"[703] Indeed, neither does the deceased divine father-king, Osiris.[704] Considering the importance of the mythological Isis-Horus relationship for Kushite kings' legitimation, the omission of a major player in those mythologies, Osiris, is noteworthy. The significance of royal women and divine mothers of Kushite kings was more important to the position of kingship and its ideology than that of fathers.[705] This not only reinforces theories of Kushite matrilineal succession practices, but also justifies why no royal human Kushite fathers were named in official texts as part of the king's legitimation propaganda. Amannote-erike followed this decorum in Kawa IX, omitting mention of his human father, but mentioning his biological mother.[706]

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mothers, nor was he recorded as visiting Tar during his coronation journey. Amannote-erike probably did not mention Bastet of Tar since she was not yet an integral part of the kingship ideologies during his reign. For a general discussion of Bast/Bastet, see *LGG* II, 739-743). For discussions regarding Bastet in Kush, see KORMYSHEVA (1996), 143-144 and LOHWASSER (1997), 32.

[700] Appendix 2.

[701] But not of the Osiris-Isis-Horus myth. The new Kushite king's biological father (as the deceased king Osiris in the legitimation mythologies) was always anonymous and unmentioned in official texts. See also SAITO (2015), 242. For a general discussion regarding Horus, see *LGG* V, 230-299.

[702] I address this in detail in Chapter 9.

[703] SAITO (2015), 242.

[704] An important indication of Kushite textual decorum. Although Amun was referenced as any Kushite king's divine father, he was never mentioned within the context of the Horus-Isis mythologies.

[705] The Kushite kings were Amun's sons. But that mythological relationship was different to the father-son 'heirship' relationship expressed in the Isis-Osiris-Horus mythologies in Egypt.

[706] See Chapter 9. This is further evidence of Amannote-erike's adherence to Kushite royal decorum, reflecting (for example) Aspelta's 'Election' stela.

The journey to Gebel Barkal and what happened there

The episode from the end of column 35, up to column 43, depict Amannote-erike finally making his coronation journey to Gebel Barkal and his interactions there with Amun of Gebel Barkal.[707] His arrival in the Napata/Gebel Barkal area[708] indicates that this region was under his control at this time, at least sufficiently for him to travel there in safety as part of his official coronation journey. His uncontested authority in this area at this time is debatable, but he appeared to have been able to travel there without opposition to receive the approbation of Amun of Gebel Barkal.[709] This episode is highly significant within Kushite royal ideologies, and presents to us many aspects of both accepted royal representations within a general kingship context, and representations that could have been significant to Amannote-erike as an individual king.

The dating of this episode is of interest. The journey to Gebel Barkal seems to have been undertaken sixteen or seventeen days after the incursion and repulsion of the previously mentioned 'invaders', and a full twenty-six days after Amannote-erike's election to the throne by his military. This is not because of long journey times required for the king and his court to move from Meroë to Gebel Barkal.[710] Indeed, this section indicates that the king only *began* his journey to Gebel Barkal from Meroë on the date of 3 Shemu, day 19, not that he had reached Gebel Barkal on that date. This seems curious, especially considering the small clues scattered throughout Kawa IX that suggest that Amannote-erike may not have been the truly legitimate heir to the throne. One would expect that a newly chosen king with a tenuous grasp on his power base would hasten to claim the crown and solidify his position as king, rather than wait almost an entire month before his official coronation. The hypothesised reasons are

[707] Appendix 2.
[708] Appendix 2, columns 36-37.
[709] Amannote-erike's control over the areas farther north than the Napata/Gebel Barkal/Kerma region is questionable. However, since he was able to record his interactions with Amun at Gebel Barkal, one presumes that such interactions actually did take place, and that their completion was relatively straightforward.
[710] See below.

impossible to prove, but fascinating to discuss. Possibly Amannote-erike did not feel the pressure to immediately go to Gebel Barkal and stake his official claim as king as a result of the strong support he had from the military and its leadership. This idea is supported by the fact that the military, on at least two occasions since his election as king, already had indicated their prowess against enemies attempting to invade Kushite territories. While these military victories had 'saved' the Kushite lands, the army's might (associated as it was with Amannote-erike and his position as king), would have served as a powerful warning to any who may have wished to stand against Amannote-erike for the right to rule, or to attempt to usurp the kingship from him. The support of the military must therefore have been no small prop. The blatant display of this military support and its socio-political implications, along with Amannote-erike's self-identification as a ruler who would take advantage of this power base, is an interesting indicator of the social positioning of the military, of the king's personage, and of his understandings of his ideological situation within the ranks of Kushite society.

The next section refers to Amannote-erike's arrival at the Residence at Gebel Barkal to receive the "*ʿndy*-crown of ceremonies of Bow-land."[711] Once the royal entourage arrived at Gebel Barkal, Amannote-erike went to the Royal Residence, where he received the *ʿndy*-crown. Kushite royal decorum would have dictated that Amun gave the crown to Amannote-erike. Therefore, it is interesting that Amannote-erike was not said to have gone to Amun's *temple* to receive the crown officially, but instead received it while in the Residence. The hypothesised

[711] Appendix 2. I address the significance of the term *t3-sti* "Bow-land" and Nubian/Kushite associations with bows, arrows, and archery in Chapter 6. The dates of this episode are interesting. Based on this section, and a basic mathematical calculation based on the previous lines of Kawa IX, it would have taken the king and his entourage *circa* nine days to travel from the palace at Meroë to the cult centre at Gebel Barkal. This is a distance of just over three hundred kilometres, according to rough calculations made on Google Maps, 3:16 pm, 11/09/2017. POPE (2014a), 12, corroborates this. Considering that the Nile's current would have run in the opposite direction for a certain portion of the journey, along with other factors, nine days seems like a reasonable amount of time for a king, with all his court and officials, a military guard of some kind, pack animals and supplies, to travel by river from Meroë to Gebel Barkal. For Classical estimates of distances in Kush and between Kush and Egypt (including that of Pliny), see among others, *FHN* II, 541-542, 546-548, 560-561, and 704. For recent scholarly estimations of possible travel times over the distances between Napata and Memphis, and Napata and Thebes (for example), and logistical considerations in ancient Egypt and Kush, see (among others), SAUNERON and YOYOTTE (1952), especially 168; VON BECKERATH (1985), 74; KITCHEN (2006), especially 293, and POPE (2014a), 39-40, and 182-185.

existence of a permanent Royal Residence at the site of Gebel Barkal is controversial.[712] Admittedly, the remains of what appears to be a Meroitic-period palace at Gebel Barkal are incontrovertible.[713] However, a 'palace' in the sense that Europeans would appreciate such an idea (a constantly populated and fully staffed year-round occupied abode per our modern conceptualisations surrounding what constitutes a palace or 'royal residence'), does not seem to have existed there. Instead, there may have been a monumental edifice at Gebel Barkal that was only staffed and occupied at times of great ceremony, such as the new king's coronation.[714] Kendall suggests that the Residence may have been used for coronation purposes,[715] given the location within this edifice of what appears to be a dais that may have been used for such ceremonies.[716] Hence, the Residence at Gebel Barkal may not have been a 'true' Residence (in that it was a residential edifice), but rather may have been a building that was not sanctified as a temple, where the king stayed while performing ceremonies, and where official events took place.[717]

Column 38 presents an especially interesting example of Kushite royal ideology with the Kushite royal crown as its focal point.[718] The typical crown that Kushite kings were depicted wearing upon stelae and official monumental scenes was almost always the 'cap crown' with two uraei which sat neatly on the ruler's forehead, and with two streamers hanging down the back of the neck.[719] Certain traditional Egyptian crowns were shown being worn by Kushite rulers (both Napatan and Meroitic), but these were depicted less often and only in certain

[712] I addressed the issue of identifying a palace or 'Residence' at Gebel Barkal in Chapter 3.
[713] See Chapter 3.
[714] Discussed in person with Frau Professor LOHWASSER in Münster, Germany, Summer, 2017.
[715] KENDALL (1990), 13, following REISNER (1920), 264, and *IDEM* (1931), 79.
[716] For example, KENDALL (1991), 307.
[717] At first, this may not seem relevant to discussions of identity. However, this analysis of the hypothesised true nature of the Residence at Gebel Barkal speaks not only to the fact or fiction of there ever having been a royal capital at Gebel Barkal/Napata, but also speaks to the ways in which Kushite royalty would have appreciated their architecture and its function within the sacred/profane framework. Therefore, the choice of certain kings to associate themselves with a particular edifice and its associated functions within their texts is an indication of their identification within the context of their royal ideology, and of their individual choices, suggesting identity.
[718] The seminal work on Kushite crowns is TÖRÖK (1987b). See also POMPEI (2010), 495-502. For an outline of Kushite crowns represented in royal images relevant to the coronation, see LOHWASSER (1995), 163-185.
[719] Among others, TÖRÖK (1987b), and LECLANT (1965), 324.

contexts.[720] The exact circumstances surrounding such contexts remain unclear. Additionally, the reasons for Kushite rulers being depicted wearing those specific Egyptian crowns, and not their 'cap crown' or another crown that may have been more authentic to Kushite ideologies of kingship, are uncertain.[721] However, interestingly, Kushite crowns specifically referred to within texts addressing the significant coronation ceremony have thus far only been attested in the later Napatan period, starting with the reign of Aspelta.[722] These four crown types are designated (in chronological order according to their appearances in texts): *sdn*, *ʿndy*, *sḫ*, and *ḥ3*(*y*).[723] Fascinatingly, these four Kushite crown types are referred to primarily in the texts of Amannote-erike, Harsiotef, and Nastasen.[724] This is surely not a coincidence. It seems reasonable to assert that there was something happening to Kushite royal self-representations in a public medium at this time, perhaps beginning with the reign of Aspelta. While previous Kushite kings had been rendered in artistic representations simply wearing the cap crown with uraei, Aspelta appears to be the first king who expressly referred to the *sdn*-crown in an official written document as well as being depicted wearing it in an image.[725] Moreover, he mentioned it no fewer than three times in his 'Election' stela[726] and used as the determinative for this word an image that appears to be the traditional Kushite cap crown with uraeus.[727] Likewise, none of the other crown types mentioned above seems to have appeared in any Kushite texts before Aspelta's reign.[728] Of particular significance is that Aspelta's coronation

[720] TÖRÖK (1987b), and POMPEI (2010), 495.
[721] See also POMPEI (2010), 495.
[722] Between the 7th century B.C.E. and the 3rd century B.C.E., dates following TÖRÖK (1995a), appendix, table IV.
[723] TÖRÖK (1987b), 5, and KORMYSHEVA (1994), 195. The Kushite crowns *ʿndy* and *sḫ* mentioned in texts are different to any Egyptian royal terminology for crowns, and do not correlate to any known Egyptian regalia terminologies. POMPEI (2010), 495. TÖRÖK (1987b), 5, asserts that *ḥ3*(*y*) and *sdn* as names for crowns are derived from Egyptian crown designations.
[724] TÖRÖK (1987b), 5, and POMPEI (2010), 495. The crown type *sdn* appears in Aspelta's 'Election' stela; *ʿndy* is referred to in Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription', column 38 (for example, *FHN* II: 400ff.); the crown type *sḫ* is referred to in both Harsiotef's stela (see, *FHN* II: 438ff.) and Nastasen's stela (see, *FHN* II: 471ff.); and the crown type *ḥ3*(*y*) is referred to in Nastasen's stela (see *FHN* II: 471ff.).
[725] *FHN* I: 232ff, and POMPEI (2010), 495.
[726] Once in line 22, and twice in line 23.
[727] POMPEI (2010), 495, and figure 1, 496.
[728] TÖRÖK (1987b), 5.

text referred to the Kushite *sdn*-crown as being on an ideological par with the double crown of Egypt (*sḫmty*)[729], saying on line 23:

> ...Yours is the *sdn* of your brother… Anlamani...It shall remain on your head as the double crown (*sḫmty*) remains on your head...[730]

It is reasonable to suggest that Aspelta paved the way for his successors to refer to indigenous crown types with which they were acquainted, and which they perceived on an autochthonous level to be of comparable status to the double crown of Egypt.[731] This proposes a potential change in Kushite kingship ideologies, public presentations of crowns, and the manner in which the king referred to himself and his regalia in official written texts beginning in this period. Both Harsiotef and Nastasen are depicted upon their stelae's lunettes wearing the *sdn*-crown, so it was of significance to Kushite royal identity at least until the end of the fourth century B.C.E.[732] However, these kings do not refer to this crown specifically in their texts. What does seem clear is that the *sdn*-crown, or possibly several *sdnw*,[733] was held in a temple or shrine near the image of Amun, and ceremonially presented to the newly acceded king[734] by a priest acting in the role of Amun during the coronation.[735]

The *ʿndy*-crown type represents a rather more complex situation. It only seems to have been mentioned in Amannote-erike's Kawa IX inscription.[736] Macadam argues that it is the same crown cited by other names in other Kushite texts, for example, the above-mentioned *sdn*-

[729] *Wb* IV, 250.
[730] Translation from *FHN* I, 242. See also POMPEI (2010), 495.
[731] Being the ultimate symbol of Egyptian royal authority and legitimation.
[732] No pictorial renderings of Amannote-erike currently exist, as I discussed in Chapter 2. Thus there are no pictorial depictions of Amannote-erike wearing any type of crown.
[733] POMPEI (2010), 497.
[734] POMPEI (2010), 497, notes that the *sdn*-crown was considered as collectively "belonging to the kings of Kush". Thus, it could be an essential element of Kushite constructs of a royal identity and the display of that identity.
[735] POMPEI (2010), 497.
[736] Also observed by POMPEI (2010), 497.

crown from Aspelta's 'Election' stela.[737] However, if this *was* the same crown, and if Amannote-erike had based his text on Aspelta's 'Election' stela (among others), it would make more sense for him to name this crown *sdn* as it is in Aspelta's text, rather than giving a different name for the same crown in Kawa IX. This crown was probably referred to by a different name simply because it was a different crown, with a different ideological function.[738] The determinative used for *ʿndy* is a simple bag-like cap, tied behind with a knot.[739] A second, subsequent determinative appears to represent a looped cord ( ).[740] As there is no accompanying pictorial evidence with this inscription, it is impossible to tell if this *ʿndy*-crown was truly this shape, as indicated by its determinatives.[741] Nevertheless, it seems from the textual context that Amannote-erike's *ʿndy*-crown was held at the royal Residence and not at a temple or within a shrine.[742] Perhaps this type of crown was only used during the king's coronation ceremony, or during temple dedication ceremonies within Kush, hence its association with the "ceremonies of Bow-Land".[743] Nevertheless, Amannote-erike's mention of these ceremonies in connection with the crown in his text appear to have automatically associated him with the *ʿndy*-crown's inherent authority and its identification with legitimate rulership.[744]

It was only after his acquisition of this crown that Amannote-erike proceeded to the temple of Amun-Rē at Gebel Barkal, where he finally addressed the god in person.[745] This section, while

[737] *Kawa I, Text*, 56-57, note 60.
[738] *Kawa I, Text*, 56-57, note 60. TÖRÖK (1987b), 5, considers these as variants of a similar *type* of crown, but certainly not the same crown.
[739] *Kawa I, Text*, 56-57, note 60, and Appendix 1, Figure VII, column 38.
[740] Appendix 1, Figure VII, column 38. GARDINER'S sign number V6. GARDINER (2012), 522. Also mentioned in POMPEI (2010), 497.
[741] POMPEI (2010), 497 also reached this conclusion.
[742] See discussions above regarding the nature of the 'Residence' at Gebel Barkal.
[743] In light of the fact that it only ever seems to be mentioned in texts or depicted in artistic representations in connection with the Kushite king's coronation at Gebel Barkal, or in temple dedication scenes such as Taharqa's at Kawa.
[744] Again, these hypotheses are near impossible to corroborate with the currently extant evidence, but are a useful exercise.
[745] See Appendix 2, columns 39-40 for Amannote-erike's address to the god.

important in the 'Great Inscription' as a coronation account, in reality could be considered as Amannote-erike paying lip service to the god. By displaying these events, Amannote-erike ticked an ideological box that displayed within his propagandistic text that he had visited Amun-Rē in person and thus gained an aura of legitimacy around his rulership. However, in real terms, Amannote-erike had already been chosen as king and had already acquired the crown itself without any intervention from Amun-Rē. When one closely analyses the text of Kawa IX, Amannote-erike almost accidentally revealed that the kingship was granted and given by men, and displays of associations with Amun were for embellishment and for decorum's sake.[746] It seems that Amannote-erike's political, earthly practice of kingship was of importance, rather than kingship on a cosmic or divine level.

A Kushite ruler's religious connection with Amun was an entrenched part of royal ideology. It would have been unheard of for a king not to display his position his relationship with Amun/Amun-Rē within an ideological framework. It would have indicated a fundamental misunderstanding of a central aspect of Kushite royal social structure. However, from the indications gleaned above, and since Amannote-erike named Amun-Rē as "king of gods and men,"[747] it seems that displaying Kushite conceptualisations regarding a king, rather than those regarding a god, were most significant to Kawa IX's composer when he referred to Amun-Rē and his influence. This is borne out in the god's returning address to Amannote-erike in the successive line of text. Amun-Rē's reply was surprisingly brief, but covered all the necessary political requirements:

> I give to you the kingship as the Lord of the Two Lands. I have placed south, north, west and east… all foreign lands beneath your two sandals.[748]

[746] Arguably, this could be said to be true for many ancient Egyptian and Kushite royal texts!
[747] Appendix 2, column 40. Instead of, for example, "Lord of gods and men".
[748] Appendix 2, column 41. This statement reflects Amun's words represented in the lunettes of Kushite royal stelae, especially those found at Gebel Barkal, and seems to be typical of Amun's speech to the king.

Amun-Rē did not present an overt and exaggerated display of his divine nature, nor any kind of emphasis on the relationship between himself and Amannote-erike. Expressions of his generosity as a donor and supporter of Amannote-erike's rulership were truncated. There was no suggestion of Amun-Rē giving Amannote-erike divine power, or military might, or *mꜣʿt*, for example. He simply handed the kingship of the Two Lands[749] and the dominion of the foreign lands over to Amannote-erike.[750]

To date, no evidence (inscriptional, pictorial, or monumental) of Amannote-erike has been discovered at Gebel Barkal. Perhaps Gebel Barkal was not truly within the territory under Amannote-erike's control at the time of his coronation or, more likely, the site of Napata/Gebel Barkal may simply not have been as important to Amannote-erike as other sites in the Kushite territories,[751] and he simply may never have commissioned any texts or monuments there. Furthermore, the above-mentioned brevity of address and the relative paucity of divine gifts to the king suggest that it did not appear to matter what was said by or given by Amun to Amannote-erike in the text. The mere fact that it was recorded that Amannote-erike visited the state god and was textually displayed as receiving the kingship, and hence, an implicit approval, from Amun would have been sufficient for Amannote-erike's political needs. This suggests that there may have been a move – in Amannote-erike's reign at least – towards a royal expression of and emphasis on a more terrestrially-focused ideology, and less prominence being given to Amun as the sole source of the king's position, authority, and identity.

[749] The exact nature of which "Two Lands" these are is unknown and debatable. Following PEUST (199), 234-235, and SARGENT (2004), 224, it seems that already in the Egyptian New Kingdom (and hence Kushite royal texts via the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty), that *tꜣwy* although written as a dual, actually implied many (*i.e.*, plural) lands.
[750] Again, this seems to be a *topos* in Kushite texts, and these brief interactions have parallels in brief interactions between Amun-Rē and a variety of Kushite kings, including Harsiotef and Nastasen.
[751] I address this further in Chapter 6.

After many days, Amannote-erike finally gave offerings to Amun and his estate.[752] While he indeed gave offerings to Amun-Rē after receiving the crown, and after meeting with Amun-Rē face to face at Gebel Barkal, the list of offerings is surprisingly abrupt and does not itemise which offerings were intended as thanks for the kingship, and which were as thanks for the defeat of Amannote-erike's enemies.[753] This offering list seems to be standardised, and consists of relatively basic items.[754] Here we find no gold, no silver, no electrum, precious or semi-precious stones nor other prestige items besides byssus and servants. It seems curious that gold of some description, at least, does not seem to be listed here considering Kush was a major supplier of gold for Egypt. Perhaps it was not considered necessary for the king to give gold to the god at this point in his career. Perhaps it might be an indication that Amannote-erike's territory did not, at this juncture, extend to the major gold-rich areas of the regions south of Egypt. We will probably never know the truth, but these points are interesting to consider. Another consideration is the substantial gift given by Amannote-erike to Amun of furniture.[755] This is a curious item to find in a royal offering list to a god and his temple estate, and could indicate the importance of furniture in general to ancient Kushite society. Indeed, considering the age-old Nubian funerary practice of burying a deceased reclined on a bed,[756] it could reinforce the traditional ideological prominence to the Kushite culture of furniture ownership – even for the state god.

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[752] Again, it is curious that the king did not give offerings of thanks to Amun when his army defeated the incursion of foreigners, nor did he give offerings in thanks for his election as king in Meroë but it is possible that these offerings given at Gebel Barkal were implied to have included those offerings. However, this does not fit with previous examples of a victorious king offering to his god and divine father. It is more usual that very specific offering lists would have been drawn up and inscribed within the temple as a sign of gratitude for Amun's favour.

[753] See Appendix 2, column 43. The word *ipdw* "furniture" in the original hieroglyphs seems clearly rendered. Appendix 1, Figures II and VII. Both *Kawa I, Text*, 56, and *FHN* II, 407 simply translate *ipdw* as "articles" or "other things". This seems like an equivocation. I have chosen to adhere to *Wb* I, 70, translation of *ipdw* as "furniture". Appendix 2, column 43. This is a somewhat unusual reading, since this word is rare in Egyptian sources, even though it is attested in New Kingdom texts. However, it is completely possible that *ipdw* meant something very different in the Kushite language/context. I have no suggestions as to what this might be except to assert that these were luxury items.

[754] Adapted from Appendix 2: "…a great offering, consisting of bread, beer, bulls, and fowl, every good thing…he gave male and female servants, plentiful byssus of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt, and plentiful furniture…"

[755] Allowing my translation of "furniture". See footnote above.

[756] For example, WELSBY (1996), 81-83.

Amannote-erike "establishes" the nomes and their divinities

The end of column 43 records that Amannote-erike left Gebel Barkal on day 9 of the first month of Akhet, *circa* 17 days after his arrival there.[757] It seems that Amannote-erike and his court had remained at Gebel Barkal and celebrated the New Year there. It is of interest that any New Year's celebrations that may have taken place were not mentioned in the 'Great Inscription,' nor did his coronation take place on that highly significant date.[758] The length of time that he remained at Gebel Barkal after any potential New Year's celebrations is singular. Again, one might imagine that a newly crowned king would wish to establish and secure his rule throughout the land as soon as possible after his official coronation at Gebel Barkal, and would not wait for a full eight days after the New Year. Possibly, it may have taken that long to organise the logistics of this journey with his officials and court. Equally possibly, the king may simply not have been in a hurry to move on. He may have had full confidence in his position as king and in the widespread military support of his appointment and hence would not have experienced any urgent pressure to continue his *Krönungsreise*.[759] Alternatively, it might be that Amannote-erike was obliged to remain in the Barkal region for that length of time to firmly establish his authority. While he may have been a northerner, *i.e.* a local from Kawa, perhaps it was at the critical religious and political site of Gebel Barkal that he would have had to have worked the hardest to confirm his rulership and authority. The priesthood of

[757] TÖRÖK (1992) is seminal in this regard. Many scholars have disagreed with TÖRÖK'S conclusions, but these arguments have framed our concepts of the Kushite coronation journey. The intricate details of the Kushite coronation journey and its associated rites and practices are beyond the scope of my thesis. I will therefore not discuss these in detail, but will mention certain matters regarding the Kushite royal ideology of the coronation journey's significance and the trope of its display in Kushite royal official texts, where they are relevant to Amannote-erike. For detailed discussions, see (among others) TÖRÖK (1992); *IDEM* (1997a), *passim*; *IDEM* (2002), *passim*; POPE (2014a), *passim*; WENIG (1992); KORMYSHEVA (1998), *passim*, and LOHWASSER (2014), 231.

[758] I have addressed the relative importance, or lack thereof, of the New Year to the Kushites. *FHN* II, 424-425, stresses that both Amannote-erike and Nastasen would have spent a considerable amount of time at Gebel Barkal with the express purpose of celebrating the New Year's festival there. This may be, but keeping in mind the relative importance of the New Year to Kushite cultural practices (suggested in LOHWASSER (2014), and in WENIG (1992), 139), the validity of this is debatable.

[759] Which had begun at Meroë and then had progressed to Gebel Barkal for his 'official' coronation. TÖRÖK'S (1992), assertions of a so-called 'ambulatory kingship' are valid to some extent. However, I agree with WENIG (1992), 138, where he states (*contra* TÖRÖK) that it seems unlikely that the Kushite king would have been crowned in every town/temple precinct that he visited, since it appears that a) the crowns were held at Gebel Barkal as usual practice, and b) the king was only ever expressly said to have received the crown at Gebel Barkal, and not at other localities.

Amun/Amun-Rē at Gebel Barkal would have been among the strongest and most wealthy religious groups in Kush. Moreover, their authority at Gebel Barkal would have meant that their political support of any king was critical for his sustained rulership. Amannote-erike's extended stay at Gebel Barkal may reflect the length of time he needed to complete successful political negotiations with the Amun priesthood there for their support of him, and to establish his authority in that region.[760]

Thus, on 9 Akhet 1, Amannote-erike travelled north by river. Column 44 describes Amannote-erike's activities on his northern procession: he "established" every nome when he arrived there and he caused all of the nome divinities to appear in procession.[761] The exact nature of Kushite nomes[762] at this time is unclear. Török suggests that the Kushite nome system may have followed an Egyptian schema, possibly introduced into Kush by Taharqa.[763] Török then proposes that larger nome regions that had an Amun sanctuary may have been further divided into smaller regional nome units, with the main Amun temple that was visited by the king on his coronation journey, as the capital of each nome.[764] Török also indicates that, prior to Harsiotef's reign at the very least, an established nome system for the region north of the third cataract cannot be determined from extant textual sources.[765] Ptolemaic Egyptian sources indicate that there was an Egyptian schema[766] for delineating and naming their contemporary Meroitic Kushite "territorial units".[767] Whatever their contemporary Kushite nome-naming practices may have been, and whatever the ways in which local Kushites divided up these territories, each new king's coronation journey took a specific, unchanging route northwards

[760] WENIG (1992), 137-138, suggests a similar idea.
[761] *Kawa I, Text*, 58, note 74. See also SARGENT (2004), 233.
[762] As POPE (2014), 86, discusses, within the 'Great Inscription,' the word *sp3t* "nome" is used with some flexibility and ambiguity.
[763] TÖRÖK (1984), 56. There does not seem to be definitive evidence of this, however.
[764] TÖRÖK (1984), 56.
[765] TÖRÖK (1984), 56.
[766] Whether or not the Kushites in Kush used the same schema for delineating and naming nomes is unknown and debatable. TÖRÖK (2009), 387 states that the Ptolemaic Egyptian names for these Kushite nomes appear to consist "of traditional names without an actual settlement historical relevance." *IBID.*
[767] Among others, TÖRÖK (1979), 70-82; *IDEM* (1984), 58; *IDEM* (2009), 386, and HAYCOCK (1972), 236-237.

from Meroë: Gebel Barkal-*K3rṯn*-Kawa-Pnubs.[768] The nomes in this context were territorial regions that may have been divided according to religious and economic factors.[769] The exact nature of these regions, their names, geographical compositions, their inhabitants, and other aspects are beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, it is sufficient to acknowledge that these nomes were important religious, political, and economic entities that each king was obliged to visit during his coronation journey to legitimately acquire the kingship in Kush.

The display of Amannote-erike's re-establishment of these unnamed nomes could be interpreted in a number of ways. First, instead of referring to his establishment of nome territories, it could reflect his renovation of already existing temples and other religious edifices within each nome that had fallen into disrepair.[770] This appears to agree with the fact that he is said to have caused all the deities within those nomes to appear in procession. It seems reasonable that a celebratory divine procession would be held after the renovation of a religious building. For example, Bonnet and Valbelle assert that Amannote-erike may have instigated the complete rebuilding and refurbishment of the temple at Doukki Gel.[771] Modern scholars recognise the establishment and re-establishment of temples as a propagandistic device in a number of ancient cultures.[772] The renovation or building of temples during a king's reign was an important aspect of his identity as rightful king, and his building activities were a concrete display of this identity in his capacity as bringer of order to the physical world.[773] Nevertheless, an alternative interpretation could be considered. Perhaps Amannote-erike travelled to smaller nomes that had historically been under Kushite rule, but which no longer were under direct Kushite control, with the intent of establishing his authority through

[768] The royal inscriptions often include other nomes, frequently unnamed, as in Amannote-erike's case. Other texts mention other nomes by name, for example, Harsiotef and Nastasen mention the nome of *ṯ3r*. However, the four localities mentioned above appear to have been the core, non-negotiable points on the coronation journey.
[769] See discussions in TÖRÖK (1979), *passim*; *IDEM* (2009), 386-387, and *IDEM* (1984), *passim*, among others.
[770] As BONNET and VALBELLE (2006), 38, allude to regarding ancient Pnubs (Doukki Gel). I discuss the significance of a king's restoration projects throughout his territory in Chapter 8.
[771] BONNET and VALBELLE (2006), 38. Amannote-erike's throne name 'Nefer-ib-rē' was found on two blocks at Doukki Gel. *IBID*.
[772] For example, KORMYSHEVA (2010), 57. See more regarding this in connection with Kawa in Chapter 8.
[773] KORMYSHEVA (2010), 57, and in Chapter 8.

acquiring the express support of the communities living in those areas. This could have been achieved through political alliances with the military and elites of those areas, and/or through political and religious agreements reached with the priesthoods of the deities relevant to those regions. Thus, the processional appearances of those regional deities may have been a combined political display by Amannote-erike and the relevant regional elites to indicate that coalitions had been agreed upon, and that the deities were in favour of the new king's authority. One wonders exactly which nomes these were that Amannote-erike "established." This is of particular concern since the subsequent sections of text detail explicitly the nomes that he reached and established *after* he had already been to these nameless nomes, and these sections all begin with the temporal marker *ḥ.n* "then".

The subsequent section of Kawa IX reports an event that occurred in the nome of *K3rṯn*, apparently while Amannote-erike was there on day 17 of 1 Akhet.[774] It seems that whichever nomes Amannote-erike established at this time could physically either not have been large, nor far away from either Gebel Barkal or *K3rṯn,* as the short amount of time between events would not allow them to be so. Alternatively, *ḥ.n* in this case may not refer to a temporal marker.[775] Instead, it may simply stand for an introduction to a new point in a list, or enumeration, of the nomes relevant to Amannote-erike's journey.

[774] Thus, eight days after leaving Gebel Barkal. I discuss this event in Chapter 6.
[775] See also discussion in SARGENT (2004), 65.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part V: columns 44-53

The K3rṯn nome and the Meded

At the end of column 44, Amannote-erike reached the nome called *K3rṯn*.[776] The consensus among modern scholars places this location near modern-day Korti.[777] Column 45 goes on to describe a significant event that occurred while Amannote-erike was in his palace[778] at *K3rṯn*. On the morning of day 17 of 1 Akhet, a nomadic group called the Meded,[779] "foreigners" from the West, arrived at *K3rṯn*.[780] The Meded, in addition to the afore-mentioned Rehrehs, appear to have been constant, or traditional, enemies of the Kushite kings due to their recurring mention in late Napatan royal texts.[781] Battles against the Rehrehs and the Meded appear to have been *topoi*, part of Kushite decorum of textual representations of a ruler bringing order to his territories.[782] From the description in Kawa IX, it does not seem that the Meded had truly intended an 'invasion,' or to attack Amannote-erike, or, indeed, had any kind of military capabilities. In fact, the text explicitly states that they ran away as soon as they saw Amannote-erike, or, more likely, when they realised that the palace and its surrounding buildings were occupied. Ostensibly, this is because "terror of His Majesty"[783] entered their hearts, but in practice, anyone who accidentally stumbled on a compound occupied by the supreme ruler of a land and his court, together with his personal army, would probably turn

[776] Usually transliterated by modern scholars as '*Krṯn*'. See, for example, TÖRÖK (1997a), 380. For a discussion of this place name, see (among others) *Kawa I, Text*, 58, note 75, and ZIBELIUS (1972), 163-164, and SCHELLINGER (2017), 117-118.
[777] Among others, SAUNERON and YOYOTTE (1952), 183, note 4; ZIBELIUS (1972), 164, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 380.
[778] Here, the phrase *ḥ=f* "his palace" is used, and not "Residence". This implies that there was been an established, permanent royal dwelling in this locality and not a ceremonial building as speculated to have existed at Gebel Barkal.
[779] Presumably a local nomadic group. For discussions regarding who this group might be, see, for example, SARGENT (2004), 109; ZIBELIUS (1972), 57-58, and 133, note 97, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 40-41, 380, 385-7 and 393. TÖRÖK (1997a), 41 and 380, and KORMYSHEVA (2010), 56, state that this group was the Medjay.
[780] See SARGENT (2004), 109.
[781] A conceptual 'traditional' royal enemy that was ideologically important to mention in texts, such as the 'Nine Bows' (for example) in ancient Egyptian documents. See the Harsiotef and Nastasen stelae and also TÖRÖK (1997a), 385-387 and 393.
[782] As TÖRÖK (1997a), 385, states, these depictions in Harsiotef's stela (for example) are to be considered stereotypes.
[783] Supposedly, just of the king himself, as an individual.

tail and flee as the Meded did. The next section tells us that Amannote-erike's army pursued the Meded and slaughtered them all.

Amannote-erike arrives at Kawa – for the first time[784]

In the evening of the ninth day after the defeat of the Meded at *K3rṯn*, Amannote-erike and his entourage arrived at the city of Kawa.[785] There was likely a permanent settlement at Kawa at this time, since the text refers to inhabitants – both men and women – who were cheering the king's arrival.[786] These men and women cheering at Kawa were no doubt depicted as acclaiming Amannote-erike's arrival for propagandistic purposes, as encountered many times in Kushite royal texts.[787] However, Kawa IX does not report that the inhabitants of Gebel Barkal, of *K3rṯn*, nor of any of the other nomes that he established, had celebrated Amannote-erike's arrival in this fashion. Thus, it is possible that there was some special meaning intended here by displaying the joy of Kawa's citizens at Amannote-erike's approach. It is feasible that the people of Kawa were welcoming home a local son: a potentate born and raised in the Kawa locality who had left and journeyed to Meroë to be considered for the position of king, and who had returned home having 'made good'.[788] Furthermore, the text does not state exactly *which* men and women were cheering Amannote-erike's approach to Kawa. Possibly, the cheers may have arisen from local elites: essentially, Amannote-erike's family members and wider peer circle, if he were a Kawa local.[789] It would make sense for this group to celebrate vociferously their family member's return in glory to his 'home town'. His

[784] This is Amannote-erike's first visit to Kawa of several depicted in Kawa IX. I suspect that this visit was made at this point purely since it was the 'correct' sequence of the coronation journey.
[785] Presumably, Amannote-erike and his court left *K3rṯn* the day of or the day after the defeat of the Meded.
[786] Appendix 2, column 49. For discussions regarding permanent settlements at Kawa, see for example WELSBY (2002), 29-45; *IDEM* (2014a), 48-58; *IDEM* (2014b), and *IDEM* (2015), 71-79. Regarding establishments of temple precincts with governors including during the Egyptian New Kingdom, see among others, KAWAI (2015) 309-322 (especially 313, 316-318, and 320-321), and YOYOTTE (1950), 193.
[787] Among others, Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' lines 60-61 and 155-159, and Tanutamani's 'Dream Stela,' lines 14-15.
[788] See below, and discussions in Chapter 8.
[789] See below, and Chapter 8.

success would be their success; having a ruling Kushite king in the family could only increase the status and prestige of the entire society.

The extensive nature of the descriptions of interactions between Amannote-erike and Amun-Rē of Kawa (Gempaaten) displayed subsequently[790] appear to substantiate the conceptualisation of the Kawa locality having specific and meaningful connotations for Amannote-erike.[791] At Kawa, Amannote-erike proceeded immediately to the temple of "his father, Amun-Rē" of Kawa.[792] This is unlike the coronation episode at Gebel Barkal, where Amannote-erike went first to the Residence to receive the crown. One intriguing aspect of this episode is that the offerings that Amannote-erike gave to Amun-Rē of Kawa seem to be poorer than those that he had given to Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal. For example, while Amannote-erike gave neither gold nor jewels of any kind to either god, Kawa IX does not record his giving any furniture or any byssus to Amun-Rē of Kawa. Nevertheless, Amannote-erike celebrated Amun-Rē in procession for a longer period of time than had been described at Gebel Barkal, namely three days. Moreover, Török states that Amannote-erike's sojourn at Kawa appears to have coincided with the festival of Amun-Rē of Kawa, apparently the same highly significant date as the Opet Festival at Thebes and seemingly its ideological equivalent.[793] Kormysheva notes that this festival of Amun-Rē of Kawa appears to be an established, annual festival celebrated at Kawa,[794] and therefore, would have been very important for Amannote-erike to observe during his time there. This is particularly true if Kawa had significance to him and his family line.[795] Amannote-erike's presence at Kawa on

[790] Among others, KORMYSHEVA (2010), 56-57.
[791] As KORMYSHEVA (1998), 89, concludes, the rites of the Amun festivals at each regional temple precinct appear to have consisted of individual, local traditions and practices. Thus, the rites at Kawa would have been specifically enacted at Kawa and would have been understood there as localised customs. Therefore, if there were a special connection between Amannote-erike and the site of Kawa, these rites and their enactment would have had tremendous significance to him.
[792] Appendix 2, column 50.
[793] TÖRÖK (1997a), 224 and 226. In an ancient Egyptian context, consider Ramesses II's visit to Luxor for the Opet festival celebrations on the occasion of his coronation.
[794] KORMYSHEVA (1998), 85.
[795] See Chapter 8.

this most holy of days for Amun-Rē of Kawa cannot be an accident. His coronation rites during this important festival would have been a clear statement of his legitimate rulership, his acceptance by Amun-Rē of Kawa, and his display of an intimate relationship with that god and with Kawa. Thus, there seems to be a genuine connection between the god of Kawa and Amannote-erike. He is depicted as interacting more with Amun-Rē of Kawa, and the god is shown as interacting far more, and on a much more personal level, with him than Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal. Columns 50-52 describe Amun-Rē's address to Amannote-erike, and his granting of all the lands to Amannote-erike's rulership.

Amun-Rē of Kawa's Bow and Arrows

Columns 52 to 53 record a momentous and symbolic event in the granting of kingship to Amannote-erike: 'Then [the god][796] gave to him a bow together with its arrows of bronze…' The association of Nubians/Kushites with archery seems to have been ancient[797] and was especially emphasised by the Kushites themselves in royal legitimation ceremonies during the late Napatan period and in the Meroitic period.[798] Within the context of ancient Kush, the bestowal of a bow and arrows to a king implies an ancient symbol referencing the Kushite prowess as archers.[799] Besides the ancient Egyptians, other peoples of the ancient Mediterranean appreciated the Kushites as consummate archers.[800] The Kushites themselves

[796] Square brackets are mine.
[797] Particularly from an ancient Egyptian perspective. The ancient Egyptian evidence provides the most complete and detailed record that we currently have for Nubians/Kushites before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (among others, GOEDICKE (1998), 217). For archaeological evidence of Nubians/Kushites as archers within Egypt, see among others the Eleventh Dynasty burial of "Iqr" (identified by his remains as Nubian) who was buried with two bows and five arrows at Dra Abu el-Naga. GALÁN (2009), 33-35. See also discussions in ZIELIŃSKI (2015), 791-801.
[798] For example, LENOBLE (1999), 125-144, and KORMYSHEVA (2010), 236, and the evidence provided by, among others, Arnekhamani's reliefs at the Apedemak temple of Musawwarat es Sufra, where Arnekhamani is shown wearing royal regalia and carrying a bow. TÖRÖK (1997a), 439.
[799] Among others, works discussed in VINOGRADOV (2000), 223-234.
[800] For example, giving an ancient Greek perspective, HERODOTUS discusses the "Aithiopians" in Book III:21-22, and Book VII:69. See TÖRÖK (2014), especially 34, 38, 107, and 116-117.

referred to the land of Kush as "*t3-sti*".[801] Both textual and archaeological evidence for Kushite archers is extant throughout their history, but is especially prevalent in its later periods.[802]

In light of this, Amun-Rē of Kawa's presentation of a bow and arrows to Amannote-erike within his 'Great Inscription' is especially meaningful. If the "bronze" of which the arrows are said to have been composed referred simply to the arrowheads, this suggests that the bow was a functional, utilitarian item that the king may have been expected to use in military encounters. Alternatively, since the arrows that Amannote-erike received are "arrows of bronze", one wonders if they were wholly constructed from bronze and thus ornamental. If that were the case, then the bow that Amannote-erike received would likely have been ceremonial as well. Török suggests that this depiction of Amun-Rē of Kawa as a donor of weapons of war to the newly crowned king was a reflection of the gradual increase in local Kushite elements making their way into contemporary official texts.[803] Alternatively, perhaps this was Amannote-erike's emphasis on his own military prowess and influence, further accentuating his connection to Amun-Rē of Kawa and to that locality. Possibly, previous Kushite kings did not report such an event in their coronation ceremonies either because it did not happen, or because the emphasis on their connection with Amun-Rē of Kawa was not of concern.

[801] See Chapter 5, where Kawa IX refers to Amannote-erike being given the *ʿndy*-crown of *t3-sti*. See also Nastasen's stela, lines 23-26, among other references to *t3-sti* in Kushite texts. As VINOGRADOV discusses, though, the translation *á la* PIERCE (for example, the translation of Kawa IX's column 13, in *FHN II*, 402 and Column 38, 406) as "Bow-land" is problematic, given its ancient Egyptian connotations. See VINOGRADOV (2000), 223-234, and also POPE (2014a), xix. Since this episode in Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' deals specifically with the conferring of a bow and arrows by Amun-Rē of Kawa to Amannote-erike, I adhere to the interpretation of VINOGRADOV and POPE in reading *t3-sti* as "land of the *st*-bow" for the sake of accuracy.
[802] See among other evidence, those cited by VINOGRADOV (2000), 226-228, and LENOBLE (1999), 125-144. Per the evidence of Meroitic iron arrowheads held at, among others, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (item numbers: Æ1118 and Æ1119), shown in BAGH (2015), 56. See also the variety of stone Nubian archers' rings held in museums around the world, including the selection held at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, for example, the Post-Meroitic item numbers Æ1312, Æ1110, Æ1111 and Æ1112. BAGH, (2015), 43-44. Also the two examples MAP 1974:419/11 (Meroitic) and MAP 2010:70/32 (Post Meroitic) at the Poznań Archaeological Museum, Poznań, Poland. CHŁODNICKI, BAGIŃSKA and POLKOWSKI (2015), 195 and 243, respectively.
[803] TÖRÖK (1997a), 226. Specifically regarding the "unusual warrior aspect of the Nubian Amûn…" *IBID.*

Another critical consideration is the "oracular decree concerning his legitimacy"[804] that Amannote-erike received along with the bow and arrows from Amun-Rē of Kawa:

> Then this god[805] said to him, 'One gave to you this bow (so that it may be) with you to every place wherein you go.[806]

First, this implies that the god bestowed military might and dominion onto Amannote-erike, symbolised by the bow and arrows. Second, the bow and arrows could act as a symbol of the authority and military power given to Amannote-erike by Amun-Rē of Kawa and specifically *only* by Amun-Rē of Kawa.[807] Török states that it appears that Amannote-erike's recording of this donation of an official bow from Amun-Rē of Kawa is the first recorded episode of this event in any extant Kushite evidence, textual or pictorial.[808] One wonders if earlier kings had indeed recorded such an episode but such evidence has been lost, or whether this display had special relevance for Amannote-erike himself, hence his documentation of the event. There may have been a special connection between the presentation of a bow[809] to a newly crowned king at his coronation ceremonies, by Amun-Rē of Kawa specifically, during and after the reign of Amannote-erike.[810] As Török suggests, the importance of Amun-Rē of Kawa giving a new king a bow appears to be part of the different coronation rites performed by the Kushite kings on their *Krönungsreise*, with "different regalia" received from local versions of the state god at every station on the coronation journey's route.[811] Thus, the bow and arrows could be a part of a king's coronation regalia, like the crowns that he received.[812] New kings, from

[804] TÖRÖK (1997a), 226.
[805] Amun-Rē of Kawa.
[806] Appendix 2, column 53.
[807] TÖRÖK (1997a), 439, note 196, and KORMYSHEVA (1998), 84.
[808] TÖRÖK (1997a), 226, and *FHN* II, 425.
[809] Whether ceremonial or functional or both is impossible to answer at this stage.
[810] For example, Nastasen's stela, mentioned above, and Arnekhamani. In his Apedemak Temple reliefs, Arnekhamani is presented to Amun of Kawa, who presents the newly crowned king with a bow at his coronation. Among others, TÖRÖK (1997a), 439, and SCHELLINGER (2017), 183.
[811] TÖRÖK (1997a), 231, especially note 196; KORMYSHEVA (2010), 236, and POPE (2014), 37-38, especially note 19.
[812] TÖRÖK (1997a), 439, note 196.

Amannote-erike's reign onwards,[813] apparently received a bow as part of their official regalia from Amun-Rē of Kawa, and only from him. This leads to speculation on whether the region of Kawa was of particular note for the excellence of its archers, or whether it was simply since this locality had significance to royal legitimation. Nastasen recorded Amun-Rē of Kawa's donation of the bow to him in his official text,[814] and after his reign, the bow appeared as a trope in royal depictions. This suggests that the god's gift of the bow to a new ruler was thereafter a significant royal display of identity, probably as an ideological aspect of the ruler's prowess in battle.[815] The reliefs on the Aspelta kiosk at Kawa provide corroboration that one of Amun-Rē of Kawa's purviews was to equip the king as a ruler and a warrior. Here, Amun-Rē of Kawa gave Aspelta a dagger or short sword, as a symbolic representation of his ideological identity as rightful king and his prowess as a warrior.[816] Amun-Rē of Kawa may therefore have enacted a specifically war-like function in royal Kushite ideologies. He may have embodied the warrior aspect of the Nubian Amun, and may have been associated in local lore with the rightful ruler's victory on the battlefield. Indeed, Török[817] indicates that the pylon reliefs of Temple B at Kawa depict the king[818] assuming the characteristics of a Kushite warrior/hunter god, which seem to cement this royal conceptual juxtaposition of the locality of Kawa with the Kushite king's warrior identity. Whatever the true function of the bow and arrows may have been, the important point here is that Amannote-erike deemed these items consequential enough to record his receiving them in his official text.[819]

The presentation by Amun-Rē of Kawa to Amannote-erike of these items was an important display of his approbation and support of his chosen king. The two main elements of this

[813] Curiously, the mention of receiving the bow from Amun-Rē of Kawa is absent in Harsiotef's stela, even though his coronation journey account mentioned his visit to Kawa. Harsiotef's stela, line 20.
[814] Nastasen's stela, lines 23-24, and line 63.
[815] See, for example, KORMYSHEVA (2010), 236.
[816] KORMYSHEVA (1994), 198, and *Kawa II, Plates*, plate XVIII a.
[817] TÖRÖK (1997a), 195.
[818] For discussions regarding Temple B, see *Kawa II, Text*, 45-52.
[819] However, this seems to be part of Kushite royal textual decorum.

episode are clear: the first hitherto recorded appearance of the Bow-Giving ceremony and the prominence of the accompanying oracular decree. If one considers these factors together within the context of the 'Great Inscription', the resulting impression is that Amannote-erike again employed every tool of decorum and local influence available to stamp his legitimacy as king, and his might as a warrior-king, into the minds of the Kawa elites and priesthood.

Chapter 7: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part VI: columns 54-64

Legitimation and memory: the ancestor Alara

Column 54 depicts an episode representing a vitally important statement regarding Kushite systems of memory and royal legitimation. Amannote-erike requested Amun-Rē of Kawa to grant him "a long life on earth, and may you give to me as you have given to king Alara, true of voice."[820] Alara seems to have been the ultimate progenitor of the Kushite royal lineage that eventually became the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and its successors.[821] Modern scholars estimate Alara's reign in Kush to date to the first half of the eighth century B.C.E.,[822] prior to the unification of Egypt and Kush under Kushite rule.[823] He is currently the earliest known ruler of Kush attested within local written sources.[824] Alara's name is of semantic interest. The writing of his name as found in the texts of his successors indicates an orthography that reflects both a local Kushite name and a convention of spelling that name in Egyptian language.[825] Vinogradov suggests that the etymology of 'Alara' was derived from the Egyptian language and may be based on a moniker that has at its root 'Ireru' or 'Irery,' meaning "snarler" or "roarer," potentially reminiscent of a lion.[826] Pope presents an analysis of Alara's nomen as it appears in Taharqa's stelae Kawa IV and VI[827] and provides a succinct

[820] Appendix 2.
[821] See, for example, ABDALLA (1989), 877, and VINOGRADOV (2012), 156-157.
[822] Among others, VINOGRADOV (2012), 156, and TÖRÖK (1995a), table IV. TÖRÖK ascribes pyramid Kurru 21 to Alara. *IBID.*
[823] VINOGRADOV (2012), 156.
[824] TÖRÖK (1997a), 112. A number of academic works focus on Alara in one context or another, for example VINOGRADOV (1999b), 81-94, and JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 141-158. For discussions about Alara and his significance to the Kushite royal family line (especially that of Taharqa and Amannote-erike), see (among others) *IBID*, 61, 88-90,112, 123-126, 144, 234-235, and 255-260, and VINOGRADOV (2012), 156.
[825] VINOGRADOV (2012), 156. Considering the current poor state of knowledge regarding the pronunciation or expression of the signs used in the writing of Alara's name, it is possible that the name could be read as 'Aruru,' 'Alala,' or any number of similar constructions. *IBID.* Modern scholars transliterate the name in several differing ways: *'I-r-rꜣ*,' *'I-r-r-I*,' or *'I-r-r*' among others. POPE (2014a), 44-45.
[826] VINOGRADOV (2012), 156. This name may reflect either that Alara identified himself as being as fierce as a lion in battle, or could reflect that the lion was already an important royal ideological image, worthy of being used as a mighty ruler's sobriquet. Assuming that this was not a name given to this man by a parent or an elder upon his birth. If that were the case, the name might suggest to us a fascinating glimpse into ancient Kushite naming traditions.
[827] POPE (2014a), 44-49.

discussion of the orthography of the nomina.[828] Additionally, Pope discusses Morkot's suggestion that this was also the identity of the elusive *Ỉry* of stela Kawa XIV.[829] If Morkot's hypothesis is accurate, this implies that *Ỉry*/Alara's temple at Kawa would have been one of the largest edifices built at Kawa, second only to Taharqa's Temple T, and certainly would have been the earliest.[830] This proposes some significant historical implications, especially regarding the importance of Kawa to the familial group that would eventually become the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty[831] and its later successors in Kush.

The preservation of Kushite social and royal memory through references to Alara, and his identity as a ruler and as an embodiment of 'records' of royal familial descent, are important to later texts for legitimation purposes.[832] It is interesting that, while Alara's name is written in a cartouche from its earliest attestations, it seems that he was only considered as a 'true' king (as perhaps understood in Egyptian terms) by his later successors.[833] Vinogradov proposes that later Kushite rulers may have 'raised' Alara to the position of king to add weight to their own legitimising claims to the throne.[834] The nature of the concomitant significance of Kawa and the legitimising traditions of kingship embodied by a king's purported descent from Alara is emphasised by Jansen-Winkeln.[835] He suggests Alara's position as a "tribal chieftain"[836] during the period of time that encapsulated the Egyptian Third Intermediate Period as a solution to the problem of Alara's exact title.[837] The main point of significance to this thesis is

[828] POPE (2014a), 45.
[829] Stela Kawa XIV (Copenhagen, ÆIN 1709). POPE (2014a), 45-46. *Contra* this, see VINOGRADOV (1999b), 84, note 6.
[830] MORKOT (1993), 190, cited in POPE (2014a), 45.
[831] POPE (2014a), 45-46.
[832] Among others, MORKOT (2000), 157 and VINOGRADOV (1999b), 81-94. BOUCHARD (2016) comprises a study of Alara as a figure of Kushite royal legitimising memory. *IBID*, 26-27, briefly summarise key works on Alara's place in the royal Kushite ideology of "legitimacy by descent," *á la* VERNUS, cited in *IBID*, 27, note 38,
[833] VINOGRADOV (2012), 156.
[834] VINOGRADOV (2012), 156. Also suggested by PRIESE (1970-1972), 21, cited in VINOGRADOV (1999), 87.
[835] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 141-158.
[836] For example, in JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), *passim*. This is my translation of the German phrase, "*Stammesfürsten*," that is relatively common in discussions on this topic. I take exception to this inaccurate phraseology, which has potential for pejorative connotations in today's world, but have been unable to find better terminologies.
[837] This argument is not relevant to my thesis, however, and I will not address it in detail. See discussions, especially, of VINOGRADOV (1999), 81-94.

that the accession of Alara to the Kushite throne and the oracle regarding his choice as ruler by Amun-Rē appeared to have been a complete surprise to everyone.[838] Evidently, it was not a foregone conclusion that Alara was the immediate and rightful heir to the throne; perhaps he was not of the 'correct' family line at that time.[839] Thus, his being chosen as king was perceived as a *bi3t*, a miracle that his descendants could emulate or reference when taking power in their turn. This is especially true if they were also not of the 'correct' family line to inherit the throne. If Alara were the Kushite ruler that had established a strong Kushite military presence, and that had initiated the first steps to what would eventually lead to the Kushite conquest of Egypt, it is no wonder that Kushite rulers that succeeded him would reference his memory and his authority.[840] If Morkot's theory regarding the identification of Alara with *Irˀy* is correct, it is probable that Kawa had special significance to him.[841] Alara may have been the leader of an elite group that originated in the Kawa area, making Kawa his 'tribal'[842] capital, and thus an area of significance to all descendant members of Alara's family line. Taharqa and Amannote-erike seem to qualify in this regard.

The references to Alara by Taharqa, Aspelta, and Amannote-erike indicate that this man – whether a real or apocryphal historical figure – was perceived as a great ancestor. This affiliation was critical to royal Kushite legitimation of that specific family line, representing royal legitimation through familial lines and a localised tradition of inheritance of authority at Kawa.[843] Kawa seems to have already been an important cult site prior to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[844] The region around Kawa, within the Gebel Barkal basin, had huge potential for agriculture, and the Kawa settlement seems to have played a great political role during the

[838] As JANSEN-WINKELN suggested, as much of a surprise as Hatshepsut's being chosen as king. See JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 149, notes 13 and 14.
[839] I hesitate to use the term 'usurper' but this is the inevitable conclusion.
[840] This does not necessarily mean that Alara himself ruled over any part of Egypt, but that he laid the groundwork for the rulers who succeeded him to conquer Egypt. See JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 158.
[841] See MORKOT (2000), 150, and 156-157.
[842] I take exception to the term 'tribe,' again due to potentially negative modern connotations regarding being backward or uncivilised associated with it, but cannot suggest a suitable alternative.
[843] See discussions regarding Kawa in Chapter 8.
[844] POPE (2014a), 47-49.

third to first millennia B.C.E.[845] Evidence for Kawa as an important cultic site and significant temple town is plentiful, from the time of the New Kingdom Egyptian 'occupation' onwards.[846] Török suggests that part of Kushite royal ideology as a whole is based on the "conceptualised memory of the federation of polities centred around Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs…."[847] These important temple cities were built in the middle of territories that were apparently independent political entities before their unification under rulers from el-Kurru.[848] Evidence provided by royal Kushite reports of the coronation journey shows that the newly acceded king never failed to visit all of these towns.[849] This indicates that they had a roughly equal status in importance as localities of Kushite royal ideologal significance.[850] Thus, we can appreciate Kawa as having been at least as important as Napata/Gebel Barkal in royal ideologies and political considerations. It seems fair to suggest that local memories of independence and local conceptualisations of rulership associated with that independence might have become interwoven with the wider-reaching Kushite royal ideologies under the el-Kurru rulers. Hence, conceptualisations of kingship as appreciated through the lens of local identity would have influenced the perception of different kings, originating from various polities within those regions. It seems sensible that a ruler from a certain region would have had an affinity for that region; he would favour his homeland. Although a king was ruler of a large geographic region, he would identify most closely with his autochthonous group identity, and understandably would wish to be most generous to that group. Thus, to a king who originated from the local, Kawa branch of the royal family, Kawa may have been more critical than Gebel Barkal to his royal conceptualisations of political supremacy and royal authority.

[845] TÖRÖK (1997a), 33. For rough population density estimates at Kawa over different periods, see *IBID*, 45-47.
[846] Regarding the importance of the site of Gematen during the late New Kingdom and early Napatan periods, see, for example, WELSBY (2017). See also evidence from Temple A at Kawa, of Tutankhamun's building works (*Kawa II, Text*, 32-34), and the discussion regarding the site in *IBID*, 8-18, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 111.
[847] TÖRÖK (1997a), 123.
[848] TÖRÖK (1997a), 175.
[849] Among others, Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela, Kawa IX, Harsiotef's stela, and Nastasen's stela. See also TÖRÖK (1997a), 221.
[850] See TÖRÖK (1997a), 178.

Jansen-Winkeln states that Taharqa was the first descendant king that legitimised himself though his associations with the site of Kawa and with Alara's heritage.[851] Indeed, Taharqa's building projects for Amun-Rē of Kawa are said to be established because of "seiner besonderen Beziehung zu diesem Gott."[852] This argument is equally relevant to discussions regarding Amannote-erike, since Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' refers to Alara as a *nswt* "king."[853] This echoes Taharqa's stelae Kawa IV and VI, which refer to Alara using an ancient Egyptian-style vocabulary of kingship, naming him *sꜣ Rꜥ*.[854] This suggests that Alara may have been understood throughout the history of Kushite royal traditions as a legitimate king, and a legitimising force for his descendents at Kawa in particular.

Most noteworthy to the discussion of Alara's importance and his association with Kawa to Kushite rulers is the apocryphal pact made between Alara and Amun-Rē of Kawa regarding the inheritance of the rulership through royal Kushite women.[855] Many modern scholars have discussed this fascinating topic.[856] It is sufficient for this section to summarise briefly this event as it pertains to the rightful heritage of the Kushite kingship and the display of a ruler's identity as a successor of Alara's 'House'. Alara was said to have made a pact with Amun-Rē[857] that helped him to prevail over a rival to the Kushite throne and to become king. Furthermore, this ensured the retention of the rulership of Kush for his family through the line of royal Kushite women: the king's sisters' offspring were to become the rightful heirs to the throne.[858] In return for these favours bestowed upon him by the god, Alara gave his sisters as

[851] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 141-158, especially 153-155.
[852] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 151.
[853] Appendix 2, column 54. See also VINOGRADOV (1999), 81.
[854] Taharqa's Kawa stelae also refer to Alara as *wr*. In the context of Taharqa's stelae Kawa VI and VI, MACADAM interpreted *wr* as "chieftain" (see *Kawa I*, *Text*, 16, 36, and 121-123). However, (among others) CLÉRE (1951), 179, VI 22; VINOGRADOV (1999), 86-91, and JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 143-144, appear to prefer the translation of *wr* as "eldest brother".
[855] Among others, VINOGRADOV (2012), 156; *IDEM* (1999), 81-94; JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 141-158, and CLÉRE (1951), 174-180.
[856] For example, VINOGRADOV (1999), particularly 84-85. I discuss this further in Chapter 9.
[857] This is understood as the Egyptian version of Amun-Rē. VINOGRADOV (2012), 156. This may have been a political pact between Alara as an ambitious leader, and the politically powerful priesthood of Amun-Rē based at Kawa. *IBID*, among others.
[858] Among others, VINOGRADOV (2012), 156 and JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 141-158.

priestesses to Amun-Rē of Gematen (Kawa).[859] The significant motif here is that Alara signified the beginning of, and the "transfer of supreme power," and royal authority in Kush.[860] His ultimate successors publicly displayed this ancient pact as part of their programmes of propaganda on their monumental texts, and chose to associate themselves with Alara, his ur-kingship[861] in Kush, and the ancient divine promise of support at Kawa with the purpose in mind of establishing their right to supreme authority.

Taharqa in particular seemed to perceive a special connection between himself and his familial line, as represented by Alara, with Kawa and its god. Taharqa heavily emphasised his relationship with Alara at Kawa.[862] Taharqa revealed in his stela Kawa VI that Kawa was a particularly important geographical site for his "dynastic forbears".[863] He can also be perceived as elevating Kawa's status during his reign.[864] Kawa's importance to Taharqa's royal ideology was corroborated not only by his references to his restoration project at Kawa and to his ancestor Alara in connection with Kawa,[865] but also very concretely by his extensive temple building projects there. Taharqa firmly established his connection with Alara as his human ancestor but, importantly, did so in the presence of Amun-Rē of Kawa, within his temple. Moreover, as Pope notes, there may not have been an official stop at Kawa on the coronation journey prior to the reign of Taharqa, as there is no evidence for such a sojourn during the reigns of Piankhy, Shabitqo, or Shabaka.[866] Hence, if Taharqa established a coronation journey 'stop' at Kawa, the deep connection between Taharqa and Kawa is immediately established.

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[859] Among other Amun temples including those at Doukki Gel and Sanam. For example, as evidenced in Aspelta's 'Adoption' stela at Sanam (which mentions the appointment of the king's sister, Madiken, to the Amun temple there). See also *FHN* I, 266. This is uncertain, but the wording of Taharqa's stela implies this. See VINOGRADOV (1999), 84, note 7.
[860] VINOGRADOV (2012), 157.
[861] A "semi-mythological progenitor" in the words of VINOGRADOV (2012), 157.
[862] Especially stelae Kawa IV and VI, and MORKOT (2000), 284. I also discuss this below.
[863] POPE (2014a), 46. For later evidence of this, see, for example, Amun-Rē of Kawa's significance in the lunette of Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela (Kawa VIII), lunette and lines 2 and 6-7.
[864] POPE (2014a), 49-58, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 179.
[865] Stelae Kawa IV and VI.
[866] POPE (2014a), 55.

As modern scholars have noted, the presence of, and rich decoration of the extended temple precinct of Amun at Kawa, indicates that this site was a central and ideologically important site for Kushite kingship from at least Taharqa's reign.[867] Macadam states that Taharqa not only had a special personal affection for the site of Kawa, but that it was this preference for Kawa that induced his extensive and "ostentatious"[868] building activities there.[869] The apparent emphasis on Kawa's significance to Kushite kings seems to be especially true concerning the king's coronation at Kawa. Taharqa's building projects and his emphasis on his relationship with Alara not only reinforced the significance of memory and its incorporation within the sacred space at Kawa, but were also politically astute[870] moves on Taharqa's part. His connection of himself with the physical sacral space of Kawa, and his positioning of himself within the ideologies of Kushite kingship and its identity, legitimised and enhanced his rightful position as ruler. In this respect, I assert that Amannote-erike attempted to do precisely the same thing.

This is corroborated by the fact that it was specifically at Kawa that Amannote-erike chose to inscribe his 'Great Inscription' and not at the highly religiously charged coronation site of Gebel Barkal. This suggests that Amannote-erike perceived Kawa as being so important to himself personally, to his family line, his traditions of inheritance of royal authority and his divine right to rule, that *this* was where he chose to record his monumental text. Gebel Barkal unquestionably had significance to all Kushite kings and their kingship but possibly was not recognised by Amannote-erike or his family as being of the same consequence as Kawa. If Amannote-erike was indeed of the same family line as Alara and Taharqa, as seems likely, it makes sense that he would affiliate himself concretely with the site of Kawa, and that he would place his text beneath the image of Taharqa presenting the temple to Amun-Rē of

[867] Among others, *Kawa II, Text*, 14, and SCHELLINGER (2017), 220.
[868] *Kawa II, Text*, 14.
[869] *Kawa II, Text*, 14.
[870] MORKOT (2000), 284.

Kawa. Amannote-erike's request to Amun-Rē of Kawa to give him a reign as long as that of Alara (*circa* 29 years)[871] attests that Alara's reign was considered seminal to the establishment of Kushite royal ideology and that the length of such a reign was considered remarkable.[872] The importance of Kawa, and its local form of the god Amun-Rē, was implied in the emphasis placed on the narrated interactions between both Taharqa and Amun-Rē of Kawa, and Amannote-erike and Amun-Rē of Kawa.[873]

Alara's significance as "eldest brother"[874] who inherited the Kushite kingship, and who became the progenitor of a royal dynasty, was no small matter.[875] Thus, the mention of Alara in Amannote-erike's monumental text is meaningful. Amannote-erike's reference to Alara intimately associated him with Alara and his family line. Whether or not Amannote-erike truly *was* a real or 'blood' member of that historical ruling family lineage is unknown, but the fact that he either associated himself, or chose to represent himself within his text as being a member of that illustrious family, is highly significant. Amannote-erike perceived the connection between himself and Alara as consequential to his presentation of himself as rightful and legitimate king. Moreover, this appears to reveal that Amannote-erike would have appreciated that representing himself as Alara's ultimate heir, to acquire the accompanying prominence of the 'House of Alara' and its royal prestige, was invaluable to propagandistic presentations as rightful king and authorised ruler of the Kushite territories.

Amannote-erike not only concretely associated himself with Taharqa through his textual references and his physical placement of his text in Taharqa's Temple T, but also mentioned

[871] MORKOT (2000), 157, proposed this length of reign for Alara. As MORKOT suggests, if the *'Iry* mentioned on stela Kawa XIV (*Kawa I, Text*, 76-77) is to be equated with Alara, this inscription shows his reign lasted for at least 29 years. See also POPE (2014a), 43-47.
[872] MORKOT (2000), 157.
[873] See JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 145, note 3, and POPE (2014a), 85, note 240.
[874] See VINOGRADOV (1999), 85-91 and Alara is also referred to on Khartoum stela SNM 1901 as Kasaqa's husband and Tabiry's father. See POPE (2014a), 20, note 108, citing DUNHAM (1950), figure 29.
[875] Again, MORKOT (2000), 157.

their common ancestor, Alara, within his 'Great Inscription.' He stressed his connection with Amun-Rē of Kawa, with Kawa, and with Alara and Taharqa within his monumental text. Furthermore, since this text was placed exactly on an unmovable part of the temple itself, situating it solidly within the sacred landscape's space, Amannote-erike entrenched himself within the physical and cultural landscape of Kawa and kingship.[876] Through this, he indelibly identified himself with those rulers and the legitimate kingship represented by them. Moreover, Amannote-erike later apportioned to himself the epithet that Taharqa had held: '[one] beautiful-of-monuments of Gematen'.[877] Therefore, perhaps it is this type of royal ideological display, and the king's identification of himself within the context of those ideologies that drove Amannote-erike to literally juxtapose himself with Taharqa and Taharqa's influence at Kawa, and by extension Alara and his heritage at Kawa.

The closing lines of column 55 reaffirm the position of Amun-Rē of Kawa as the king's divine father. Here, Amannote-erike exhorted his army to praise the god and honour him: 'Then his Majesty said to his army: 'Honour my father, Amun of Gempaaten![878]' It is interesting that it is specifically the army that is addressed and not the people in general. The army's approbation of Amun would complement the centrality of Amun-Rē of Kawa as the warrior-aspect of the Nubian Amun to Amannote-erike's displays of legitimacy in Kawa IX. It may also have been politically important to record his ordering the army to honour the god. This may have been Amannote-erike's attempt to reinforce to the army (ultimate source of his power and his election as king) that he was the correct choice to rule, and that they should continue to bolster his rulership since he had the support of Kawa's warrior god.[879]

[876] For discussions regarding the relationship between temples, cultural memory, and sacred landscapes, see among others TÖRÖK, (1997a), 314-326.
[877] *Kawa II, Text*, 16.
[878] See Appendix 2. The original hieroglyphs read "Gematen"; I have inserted '*p3*'.
[879] Amannote-erike did not undertake any building work at Kawa at this point. As important as Kawa may have been to him, personally and politically, it would be more sensible for him to complete his coronation journey, ensuring that the whole land was stabilised and under his control. He could then to return to Kawa to restore and establish buildings, rather than doing so before his legitimacy as king was established in all Kushite nomes.

The 'Krönungsreise' continues to Pnubs

The next nome city that Amannote-erike visited was Pnubs, where he arrived on day 1 of 2 Akhet. The texts of Harsiotef and Nastasen corroborate that this was the correct sequence of the Kushite coronation ceremonial route (Gebel Barkal-Kawa-Pnubs). Kawa IX does not indicate that Amannote-erike had hurried to Pnubs after the festivities at Kawa. If the king had made celebrations for Amun-Rē for three days and had still reached Pnubs within five days of having first arrived at Kawa, this means that Pnubs must have been easily within a day or a day and a half's travel of Kawa. Hence, these two cities could not have been far away from each other. The exact location of the city of Pnubs has recently undergone some examination. I agree with the conclusions of Török,[880] Wolf,[881] Bonnet and Valbelle,[882] Valbelle,[883] and Rocheleau[884] that equate Pnubs with the site of modern-day Doukki Gel/Kerma.[885]

Amannote-erike's text indicates the relevance of the nome and city of Pnubs within a later Kushite royal framework.[886] Bonnet and Valbelle suggest that Amannote-erike may have extensively refurbished the temple at Pnubs during his reign.[887] The 'Great Inscription' records the offerings that Amannote-erike gave to Amun-Rē of Pnubs. These offerings are more numerous, richer, and better denoted than the offerings given to the temple precincts of either Gebel Barkal or Kawa.[888] After going to the temple of Amun-Rē of Pnubs, Amannote-erike presented the god with similar offerings to those he had given to Amun-Rē of Kawa, namely

[880] TÖRÖK (1997a), 123, 140, note 114, and 175, *contra* his comments in *FHN* I, 227 and 284, which equate Pnubs with Tabo.
[881] WOLF (1990), 118-120.
[882] For example, BONNET and VALBELLE (2018).
[883] For example, VALBELLE (2003); *IDEM* (2008), especially 191, and *IDEM* (2017), 123.
[884] ROCHELEAU (2008), 60-61.
[885] The recent publication of the excavations of the Egyptian temple of Panebes (Doukki Gel) is welcome. See BONNET and VALBELLE (2018). For other, earlier hypotheses regarding the location and the nature of Pnubs see, among others, *Kawa I, Text*, xv and 61, note 99; JACQUET-GORDON, BONNET, and JACQUET (1969), *passim*; MAYSTRE (1967-1968), 199; SAUNERON and YOYOTTE (1952), 169, and ZIBELIUS (1972), 57-58. KORMYSHEVA (1999a), 285, suggests that textual mentions of Pnubs as an appellation of the god Amun-Rē may not actually refer to a location. However, I adhere to VALBELLE, *et al*, that Pnubs was a locality.
[886] KORMYSHEVA (2010), 63. Harsiotef's stela, lines 21 and 161, and Nastasen's stela, line 25, confirm this.
[887] BONNET and VALBELLE (2006), 38.
[888] Also noted by KORMYSHEVA (2010), 63.

"bread, beer, bulls, fowl, and every good thing" and caused the god to appear in a processional celebration. Again, though, he did not offer any precious jewelled items, nor byssus or furniture.[889] Here, Amun-Rē of Pnubs did not offer Amannote-erike the same favours as Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal or of Kawa had done. Instead, he offered more. Amun-Rē of Pnubs specified that it was a "powerful kingship" that he gave to Amannote-erike, along with dominion over "south, north, west, and east."[890] Because of this extra favour, Amannote-erike gave the god yet more offerings.[891] The context of the text suggests that these offerings were already in the king's possession, ready and waiting to be donated to Amun-Rē, since they are strikingly specific. This was not a booty list, but a list of gifts given by the king that appear to have been in his possession all along during his coronation journey. Why these specific and generous offerings that Amannote-erike already had were only given at this juncture to Amun-Rē of Pnubs is unknown, especially if Kawa was his birthplace, and I posited above that he should have been most generous to his own 'hometown' and his own god.[892] One might speculate that this was because Pnubs had a major significance to the coronation journey, especially regarding political strength of Kushite rulers.[893] Alternatively, it is possible that the priesthood of Amun-Rē of Pnubs was especially influential; therefore the king would necessarily have to be more generous to this god's temple precincts should he wish to gain the favour of the priesthood.[894] A third, intriguing theory is that, considering the relative geographical proximity between Kawa and Pnubs,[895] Amannote-erike may have had some familial or political connections with the military or the elite inhabitants of Pnubs, perhaps within the priesthood of Amun-Rē itself. Therefore, there may have been some accord struck between Amannote-erike as a hopeful candidate to the Kushite throne and his allies in Pnubs,

[889] At least, not at this point.
[890] In that order. Appendix 2, column 58.
[891] See the list on my following page.
[892] Though, this view in influenced by is my modern, Western logic.
[893] Again, this is indicated by the references to Pnubs in the texts of Harsiotef and Nastasen. This would also be reinforced by Amannote-erike's temple rebuilding project at Pnubs, if BONNET and VALBELLE (2006), 38, are correct.
[894] This is pure speculation but plausible nonetheless.
[895] See discussion regarding dates and the king's travel, above.

for their support of his candidacy as king, possibly made before his going to Meroë and his election as king there.[896] If it were the case that elites or priests at Pnubs had given their prior support to Amannote-erike's election as king, it makes sense for him to have been prepared with rich offerings to be given to the temple at Pnubs, as an expression of his gratitude or to retain their favour, on his return there during his coronation journey. Column 59 indicates Amannote-erike's causing a festival procession for the god that lasted for five days, whereupon he gave Amun offerings of twelve servants, a roll of cloth/linen, a great bronze *wšb*-vessel, and forty head of cattle.

In column 60, Amun-Rē of Pnubs addressed Amannote-erike, exhorting him to return to him "the lands that were seized from [his] hand." These lands that were 'lost' and then 'returned' to the god may simply be of a symbolic nature; there need not have been any physical territory lost or reclaimed.[897] Perhaps this episode simply records the previous loss, in practical terms, of economic sustenance and services of the Pnubs temple, which Amannote-erike restored as part of his royal obligations as the new king. Whether or not this reflected 'real life' events is immaterial. Zibelius suggests something similar, in that this could largely be understood as apocryphal,[898] and part of Kushite royal textual decorum. In any event, Amannote-erike was depicted as returning these lands and their inhabitants to the god. One wonders if these might not be the unnamed and unmapped nomes that Amannote-erike "established" on his journey between Gebel Barkal and *K3rṯn*. The inhabitants of those lands are listed in the text,[899] and at least some of them were given to be sistrum-bearers in the temple of Amun-Rē at Pnubs. It is

[896] Again, this is reasonable speculation.
[897] Exactly which lands these were is unknown, as is the dating of this 'seizure'. The loss of any Kushite territories to outside groups during the reigns of either Talakhamani or Amannote-erike is undocumented. Besides, it seems that the lands were taken from the *god*, and not from the *king*.
[898] ZIBELIUS (1972), 58.
[899] It is curious that they are mentioned here, but no mention had been made in the text earlier of living captives being taken in the course of Amannote-erike's journey. Surely, such an event would have been detailed in Kawa IX. Had these people journeyed from Meroë with Amannote-erike? If so, then why are they noted as being inhabitants from the lands that the king was returning to the god? Unfortunately, this is a curiosity that will probably never be satisfactorily clarified.

possible that all of these individuals were donated to the temple precinct as workers.[900] It seems that the requisite Kushite coronation journey had its end at Pnubs, and hence the king's obligatory journey ended there.[901] The successive travel that Amannote-erike undertook reflects the sites that he visited were chosen of his own volition, for personal reasons. Examinations of these journeys and their associated events could reflect intimately the text's depiction of Amannote-erike's individual goals and motivations, and by extension, could present an indication of the king's own identity and his display thereof.

[900] Also, *FHN* II, 399.
[901] Also apparently in the Harsiotef and Nastasen stelae. See *FHN* II, 443 and 481.

Chapter 8: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part VII: columns 65-80

Amannote-erike returns to Kawa and gives offerings Amun-Rē

Two distinct, major events regarding Amannote-erike's display of identity occur in columns 65-78. First, Amannote-erike returned to Kawa and celebrated more festivals of Amun-Rē of Kawa. The second was the vitally important episode of Amannote-erike's restoration of the Kawa temple. These two events will be addressed separately, as they represent integral aspects of royal and individual identity display.

Twenty-two days after Amannote-erike's arrival at Pnubs, in month 2 of Akhet, day 23, he returned to Kawa. Upon his return, he celebrated another festival of Amun-Rē of Kawa. The statement that Amannote-erike "caused this god to appear in his every festival in the second month of Akhet" suggests that this month was ceremonially significant to Amun-Rē of Kawa. Furthermore, if the god celebrated his "every festival" within the final seven days of that second month of Akhet as implied in the text, those seven days must have been religiously and politically important. They must also have been very busy days for the king. Amannote-erike is noted as remaining in the Kawa nome, presumably at the city of Kawa, for a considerable amount of time during and after these ceremonies. His remaining at Kawa is significant, but it is the array of offerings that he provided for the god and the temple precinct that are of particular interest at this point.

The episode begins in column 65, where Amun-Rē addressed Amannote-erike. He exhorted Amannote-erike to return to him the lands that had been taken from him, in the same way as Amun of Pnubs had done.[902] Again, exactly which lands had been taken, when, and by whom is unknown. Nevertheless, as with Amannote-erike's interaction with Amun-Rē of Pnubs, he

[902] Chapter 7.

claimed to have returned to Amun the areas that were taken from him. As before, this may be a ceremonial or symbolic return, with no actual territory necessarily having been reclaimed. The list of the peoples that were 'returned' to Amun-Rē of Kawa – and the rich offerings given to the god alongside them – seem to be the most relevant section of text, as the listing of these is detailed and specific. Amannote-erike gave entire groups, described as *mhɜwyw* "families,"[903] to Amun-Rē, presumably to work in the temple precincts. As before, there was no indication of where these 'families' came from, and how Amannote-erike had transported them during his coronation journey. Whoever they were, they were considered as donations: valuable enough to be listed in the offerings alongside such precious items as byssus, but items of property nonetheless.[904] The group of twenty-five individuals given to Amun-Rē listed simply as "men" is puzzling. One wonders who these men were and where they came from, especially since their 'family' is unnamed. Perhaps they were lower-ranking men from Amannote-erike's army, or staff that had been part of his entourage during the journey from Meroë, to be transferred to the staff at the Kawa temple upon the king's arrival there. The inanimate offerings listed alongside these peoples were clearly valuable, yet the words used to describe them are uncommon.[905] Indeed, they seem to be unknown in any Egyptian hieroglyphic dictionaries, and the temptation is to ascribe origins for these words to the native Kushite language. Despite these matters being unclear, Amannote-erike's generous offerings to Amun-Rē of Kawa and his extensive celebrations are indicative of a special relationship between Amannote-erike and this manifestation of Amun-Rē. Amannote-erike's public display of this relationship and its propagandistic connotations were critical aspects of Kushite royal ideology, playing huge roles in his display of decorum. Furthermore, considering Amannote-erike's hypothesised intimate ties with Kawa, the textual trope of building

[903] See Appendix 1, Figure VIII, for hieroglyphs. This spelling seems to be a variant of *mhwt* "family". *Wb* II, 114.
[904] The 'families' named here (the "Arma", the people of "My-Mistress" (?) [*FHN* II, 411] and the "Aru") do not seem to be from any currently known areas. Not one of PEUST, SARGENT, or *FHN* II note where these peoples may have come from, nor is there mention of them in ZIBELIUS (1972).
[905] A *kbw*-vessel, *ṯbw*-vessels and 1 *prhk*.

restoration and construction at that site may have been of particular significance to him. This concept is borne out by the following episode in Kawa IX, which shows Amannote-erike's very personal involvement in the repair of Amun-Rē of Kawa's temple.

The repair of the Kawa Temple

Subsequent to his return to Kawa, Amannote-erike claimed to have undertaken clearing and repair projects for the temple of Amun-Rē (Taharqa's Temple T). This episode is described in a lengthy and detailed passage in columns 69-74 that begins:

> Then his Majesty found the road of this god. The sand had seized it (*it̲.n=s*) in regnal year 42, without this god going upon his road...[906]

The first question that springs to mind is exactly whose regnal year 42 it was in which the temple road had fallen into disuse. Within the context of the 'Great Inscription', it seems logical to suggest that it was Talakhamani, Amannote-erike's immediate predecessor. This implies that no religious festivals had taken place at Kawa, including the appearance of the god in procession, for at least forty-two and a half years,[907] allowing the sand to build up on the processional route. This episode signifies Amannote-erike's self-representation as a pious ruler who put right what had deteriorated before his benign rulership had begun.[908] The construction projects of any ruler connect them in a concrete way with the landscape, both sacred and secular.[909] They also provide a physical reminder of a ruler's authority when they

[906] Appendix 2.
[907] Allowing for the recorded 42 years of Talakhamani's reign and roughly six months for Amannote-erike's election as king, his accession to the throne, to begin his coronation journey and to allow him sufficient time to organise the logistics surrounding a large renovation schema at Kawa. Possibly this means that Talakhamani was not a member of the royal family line from Kawa, since he had apparently neglected the region.
[908] In a Semitic royal narrative context, the representation of the previous ruler having allowed the god's temple to fall into disrepair was an indication of his unfit rule and that the new king (in whose narrative this situation was presented) was shown to be a better and more pious ruler by restoring the temple. HONIGMAN (2014), 96. I address this in detail below. In a similar vein, in an ancient Egyptian context, one need look no further than Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela.
[909] HILL, JONES, and MORALES (2013), 22-23.

are not in the presence of the viewer.[910] The correlation of temple building, establishment, or repair with narratives of royal ideological legitimation has a surprisingly complex presence in ancient world studies, especially those of ancient Egypt and the Near East.[911] There was a widespread ideological equivalence in the ancient world between a king's establishment of his dominion and his establishment of construction works within his domain. In the ancient Egyptian context, building and renovation of temples was a traditional mechanism for a newly crowned king to demonstrate his authority, his worth, his responsibility to the land, and his divine connection to the deities that he honoured.[912] As Warburton states, "building a temple was a highly ritualized activity."[913] A ruler's erection of buildings dedicated to the gods was understood as a symbolic renewal of the establishment of the world and the reinstatement of order on earth.[914] Furthermore, construction and reconstruction projects provided sovereigns with a concrete means of connecting with the past by linking them to the legitimising power of their royal predecessors.[915] The inscriptions recorded within those edifices also allowed rulers to communicate with the generations of potentates that followed.[916] These practices were foundational to kingship and its accompanying displays in Egypt from the earliest times[917] until the Graeco-Roman period, and beyond.[918] These elements of royal display, among others, would have been similar within the ancient Kushite context.[919] During the Egyptian New

[910] HILL, JONES, and MORALES (2013), 22-23.
[911] Palaces and temples, among other edifices.
[912] Among others, JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 153. The divine birth myth and papyrus Westcar also indicate that the king was specifically appointed to care for the gods.
[913] WARBURTON (2012), 126.
[914] See, for example, BARTA (1975), 83-84, and WARBURTON (2012), 128-129. This conceptualisation was not only evident in ancient Egypt. Within an ancient Judaic context, for example, the representation within a narrative of the foundation of a temple by any ruler was significant within the text. It drove events forward by divinely legitimising the protagonist of the piece, providing him with an epiphany sent by the Judeo-Christian God that ordained his rulership and subsequent events. See especially HONIGMAN (2014), 95-96.
[915] HILL, JONES, and MORALES (2013), 14-15, and KORMYSHEVA (1998), 80 for a Kushite context. Here, I have elected to use non-specific gender terms since, particularly within the Meroitic context, the relevant ruler could have been a woman or a man.
[916] For example, even under the reign of Augustus in Egypt (believed to be the period under the Romans when Egyptian religion was most persecuted), there is evidence for Augustus' establishment and renovation of temples focused on Egyptian religion within Egyptian territories. HILL, JONES, and MORALES (2013), 14-15.
[917] For example, the temple doorposts found at Hierakonpolis inscribed with the cartouche of Khasekhemwy. BARTA (1975), 83-87.
[918] See DUNDAS (2002), 433-448.
[919] For example, TÖRÖK (2002), 40, and KORMYSHEVA (1998), 80.

Kingdom, particularly the reigns of Thutmosis III and Ramesses II, Kush/Nubia became an area of concentrated building activity for the Egyptians.[920] These Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside building works were highly significant in terms of a visible Egyptian 'colonising' presence, and the establishment of physical displays of their dominion of Kushite/Nubian territories. Equally important was their significance as tangible representations of kingship, divine approbation, and the establishment of royal authority within a territory as part of legitimate Egyptian kingship and its display.[921] The currently extant evidence suggests that it might have been from these Egyptian examples and practices that the Kushite elite formed similar conceptualisations of royal building works and their associations of authority and order.[922] At the time of a Kushite ruler's accession to the throne, it seems to have been an accepted part of Kushite royal decorum that they would undertake a building project, and/or a renovation project at one or more of the Kushite temple precincts.[923] The renovation and endowment[924] of temples on a ruler's accession was appreciated as the "fulfilment of the royal duty."[925]

By doing so, a king[926] confirmed that he was rightful heir to the throne, *i.e.*, Horus,[927] by re-establishing *mɜʿt* in his territories.[928] Adams proposes an alternative interpretation, suggesting that a king[929] renovated temple precincts at the request of priesthoods located at those precincts.[930] Adams uses this supposition to assert that this was evidence of the priesthood's

[920] Among many others, HEIN (1991), *passim*; *IDEM* (1994), *passim*, and SCHADE-BUSCH (1997), 211.
[921] Discussed in detail by SCHADE-BUSCH (1997), 211-223, and HEIN (1991).
[922] TÖRÖK, (2002), 282. For discussions regarding temples and sacred landscapes within Kushite cultural and historical memory, see among others TÖRÖK, (1997a), 314-326.
[923] Among others, TÖRÖK (1997a), 315, and *IDEM* (2002), 259-330, especially 282 and 285-290.
[924] As TÖRÖK (1997a), 316-317, indicates, while many types of agricultural land were bequeathed to temples over centuries (Taharqa's presentation of a vineyard to the temple of Amun at Kawa, for example. Stela Kawa VI, line 20), the actual property location and 'conditions' are unclear. It is uncertain if these areas of land were located within temple precincts or elsewhere, possibly in more regularly occupied, secular areas of these localities, the existence of which has been hypothesised previously in this thesis.
[925] TÖRÖK (1997a), 315.
[926] *I. e.*, Amannote-erike. I will return to gender-specific male pronouns, since I am dealing with ideologies immediately relevant to Amannote-erike's case.
[927] See discussions by YELLIN (1995), 244, SCHELLINGER, (2017), 172 and REVEZ (2010), 60-71.
[928] See also REVEZ (2010), 47-71.
[929] In general.
[930] ADAMS (1974), 45.

subservience to the monarchy in Kush/Nubia.[931] This assertion seems tenuous. However, it cannot be denied that royal renovations of temples and the reporting of such activities in official texts, was beneficial for both parties. The priesthood gained a newly renovated temple and fresh endowments, and the king gained public approval and the support of an influential priesthood, and their relevant god.[932] Such practical displays of religious 'devotion' were "in fact inseparable from state ideology."[933]

The royal ideology of the newly enthroned Horus had certain physical and practical expectations associated with it. In concrete terms, a new king materially needed to display his wealth, his influence as a ruler, and his authority through building works. The king had to be seen by both the divine and earthly worlds as a potent and effective monarch.[934] He needed to be an active ruler, to "fulfill his obligations as king vis a vis the gods and humankind..."[935] The god may have chosen a king ritually, but to be fully effective as a king in the eyes of both gods and men he "must accomplish [tangible] deeds."[936] Within the ancient Egyptian and Kushite contexts, these "deeds" are known to have included building and refurbishing of temples and donating to them goods, services, and staff.[937] A new king thus established himself as benefactor and saviour of both sacral and secular worlds.[938] As Lohwasser asserts, these construction activities were a substantial component of the Kushite ruler "becoming king" rather than his later, stable state of "being king".[939] Furthermore, not only was the physical act of temple building or restoration an imperative action for a newly acceded Kushite king, but his being recorded as doing so was equally necessary. The documented representation of

[931] ADAMS (1974), 45.
[932] The display of these projects in official texts established that king's greatness for future rulers and provided the basis for later political propagandising.
[933] Quote from ADAMS (1974), 45.
[934] LOHWASSER (2001b), 72-73.
[935] LOHWASSER (2001b), 72.
[936] LOHWASSER (2001b), 72.
[937] LOHWASSER (2001b), 72-73.
[938] Bringing *mꜣʿt* to the universe.
[939] LOHWASSER (2001b), 73. I address another indispensable factor in this process of Amannote-erike's 'becoming king,' namely his being acknowledged as ruler by his mother, in Chapter 9.

temple building or refurbishment can be appreciated as an integral part of Kushite royal textual decorum.[940] This programme of extensive royal building projects and the practice of recording such pursuits is especially apparent in the reign of Taharqa, who undertook more building and renovation projects in both Egypt and in Kush than had any of his predecessors.[941]

Taharqa's references to his building and renovation projects at Kawa in his Kawa texts followed the ancient Egyptian template of using such projects as propaganda, emphasising "der engen, besonderen, ja einzigartigen Beziehung zwischen König und Gott."[942] This is demonstrated in Pope's analysis of Taharqa's Kawa renovation projects.[943] The richness and enormity of the scale of Taharqa's building and restoration projects can be gleaned from analysing the accounts provided by Kawa stelae III, IV, VI, and VII.[944] Taharqa presented the link between himself, Alara, and Amun-Rē of Kawa as "the pretext for this renovation."[945] This enhanced the propagandistic connection between Taharqa as rightful heir to the throne and the royal legitimation embodied at Kawa by the myth of Alara's pact.[946] Taharqa's renovations at Kawa served as another reminder of his divine sonship and of his earthly authority, and his decorative programme reinforced the theme of the connection between king and god at Kawa.[947]

These factors neatly mirror the performances narrated in Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription,' suggesting that similar motivations were in play. Amannote-erike's continuation of this practice of restoration and building works instigated by the new king, and his recording of this

[940] See LOHWASSER (2001b), 72-73.
[941] Or his successors, for that matter. See more below.
[942] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 153.
[943] POPE (2014a), 52-58.
[944] POPE (2014a), 52.
[945] POPE (2014a), 55-56.
[946] Addressed in Chapter 7.
[947] KORMYSHEVA (1998), 78, and Chapter 7.

in his official text, was a statement of his adherence to official Kushite decorum and propaganda. Furthermore, the particular reverence shown by Amannote-erike towards Kawa and its temple precinct, reinforces the theory that Amannote-erike and his familial line had intimate ties with that area, socially, religiously, and politically. It seems that Amannote-erike, in his representation of similar renovation projects at Kawa to those of Taharqa was demonstrating with emphasis[948] the intimate relationship between Amannote-erike as rightful ruler, Taharqa, and their deific benefactor, Amun.

The next section of text is incredibly evocative and seems to expose an aspect of Amannote-erike's personal identity:

> Then his Majesty brought a team[949]…together with royal children and leaders, to carry the sand away. His Majesty carried sand away with his hands, himself,[950] at the head of the team for many days…

It is fascinating that Amannote-erike was shown as physically involved in this restoration project. Not only did he take a deep personal interest, but he was recorded as apparently doing physical labour himself, getting his hands dirty with the repair team. At first, this seems to be pure rhetoric, an expected part of royal decorum. Anything that a king put into motion could be said to have been done by him, but in practical terms, it could have been done without his personal, physical involvement. For example, it was an Egyptian New Kingdom textual trope

[948] Especially since, in Amannote-erike's case, he was recorded as removing sand with his very own hands.
[949] The word used is *mšꜥ* "army". However, as noted in Appendix 2, in this context of building rather than battle, a translation of "team" seems more sensible than "army".
[950] To name two parallels in Kushite royal representations: first, in Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' line 104, Piankhy is alone, by himself, in the temple precinct of Rē at Heliopolis. See also *FHN* I, 100. The second is the depiction in Taharqa's Dahshur Road stela, where Taharqa is said to be physically in attendance, watching the race of his army (lines 12-13). See also *FHN* I, 161. The emphasis in both texts implies that the king was truly personally present. Both of these events seem to be significant to the kings that recorded them, indicating the importance of their representing themselves as physically present. Thus, in Amannote-erike's case, I argue that this renovation event at Kawa was of sufficient importance for him to ensure its inclusion in his official text, with his representation as physically being involved in the project.

to display a king as being at the forefront of the action, acting on his own.[951] However, I argue that this is not the case, here in Kawa IX. As addressed, there appears to have been a real and intimate connection between Amannote-erike, his 'branch' of the Kushite royal family, and the Kawa region that was exhibited through his connection to Alara, Taharqa, and Amun-Rē of Kawa. These aspects and their associated rhetoric, when blended together with the emphasis encountered in the text ("His Majesty carried sand away with his hands, *himself* …"), suggests a personal investment by Amannote-erike in this restoration project, physically as well as politically. This seems so much so that it is plausible that he could have actually been a part of the physically labouring work force or at the very least was present during these events, in person. This is a suggestive depiction of Amannote-erike, reflecting a narrative blending of his identities as a man and as a king. As part of textual decorum, the representation of his restoration of the temple was expected. However, he may have also felt such a personal, familial connection with the locality that his physically labouring to improve it (and the textual recording of this action) was equally, and personally, important. This hints at some degree of individual identity becoming perceptible in the text of Kawa IX. His physical involvement in the repair of the Kawa precinct, moreover, not only enhances and legitimises his choice as sovereign by Amun-Rē and by the army, since he is doing the 'right' thing, but directly associates him with the restoration project. This representation within the narrative of Amannote-erike's intimate involvement in the temple building is arguably a crucial part of his legitimising programme.

The final day of 2 Akhet: The great ceremony, and the army and people of Kawa rejoice

Columns 74-78 describe the events subsequent to Amannote-erike's temple restoration. On the final day of 2 Akhet, Amannote-erike again orchestrated an appearance by Amun-Rē of Kawa,

[951] For example, in Thutmosis III's Gebel Barkal stela, especially lines 4-5. Whether or not the king 'really' was personally there or at the vanguard of events is immaterial.

this time at night.[952] An evocative image of the god's effigy coming forth in the light of torches held by multitudes of the army and of the people is created. This must have been a deeply impressive sight and certainly would have made a great impression on the crowds of people viewing it. The god's barque circling its way around the city in the darkness and torchlight must have been a dramatic and rather profound spectacle, emphasising to the viewers that Amannote-erike was indeed magnificent to create such a pageant on Amun's behalf. Amannote-erike probably intended this to be part of his propagandistic display, impressing his greatness and divine approbation onto the people of Kawa. Thus, as Revez says, a mass "exultation in favor of the pharaoh-to-be works as a mode of collective recognition…"[953] of Amannote-erike's legitimacy as the heir apparent, "…who is equated to Horus in Chemmis."[954]

Additonally, month 2 of Akhet was the period in which the Opet festival was observed in Egypt and in Kush.[955] For example, Piankhy recorded his sojourn in Kush during this important religious festival, while he sent his army into Egypt.[956] Piankhy also mentioned the ceremonial appearance of Amun by night as a rite of his Opet festivities.[957] Moreover, this nocturnal procession had parallels to the rituals observed in the Karnak Opet festival rites.[958] This affirms that Amun's Opet festival was highly significant to the Kushites as well as the Egyptians. Rulers had enacted the Opet festival since Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty.[959] Its rites

[952] The significance of the god's appearing by night is unclear. Perhaps it was to witness a celestial event of some kind, or to symbolise that Amannote-erike's rule was bringing Amun-Rē out of the darkness of his temple and into the light. It may be as simple as the ceremony being more impressive by darkness and torchlight, rather than in the light of day, or perhaps the ceremony had to take place at a certain time of day to be fully efficacious. This suggestion seems supported by the fact that the next ceremony of the god was performed on the next day, at dawn. TÖRÖK (1997a), 318-320, also discusses the significance of a king's 'causing' of festivals at temples. Regarding the incorporation of the festival calendar into the Kushite civil calendar, see for example KORMYSHEVA (1998), 77.
[953] REVEZ (2010), 64.
[954] REVEZ (2010), 64.
[955] For example, SCHOTT (1950), 84-87.
[956] 'Triumphal Stela', lines 25-26.
[957] 'Triumphal Stela', line 26. See also *FHN* I, 77.
[958] TÖRÖK (1997a), 226-227.
[959] Among many others, see GABOLDE (1986); SCHOTT (1950), 84-88; SPALINGER (1995), 278-281; *IDEM* (2015a), *passim*, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 155.

that renewed the king's connection to Amun and his royal authority had great significance in both Egypt and Kush.[960] Kormysheva mentions the correlation of the Kawa festival with the traditional Egyptian Amun festivals.[961] Considering its numerous mentions, the nocturnal procession may have had a particular relevance to these important religious displays.[962] Amannote-erike sojourned at Kawa during the festival of Amun-Rē of Kawa, reinforcing both the renewal of his connection to this god and establishing his legitimacy as ruler.[963] It was also at this pivotal ideological moment that Amannote-erike's mother arrived at Kawa.[964] These critical ideological events are essential to Amannote-erike's construction of his legitimacy and his identity.

It is interesting that Amun-Rē is said to be "rejoicing" in the midst of the army in column 76. Kormysheva notes that the specifically stated presence of warriors at this festival appears to be a particularly Kushite characteristic.[965] It seems that there can be little doubt that in practice it would have been the army, Amannote-erike's men, that would have caused this 'rejoicing' by the god in his shrine, no doubt manoeuvring the barque to suit themselves (physically and metaphorically). The depictions of Amannote-erike's actions in columns 76-77 are interesting. These lines record him as having "…held up his two arms in rejoicing. His heart was in joy in the presence of his father, this august god."[966] This display of an action that seems to go against the decorum of a king partaking in a politico-religious ceremony is intriguing. Other Kushite kings had not recorded this level of physical enthusiasm during religious activities in their texts. They had participated in such activities, observing the necessary solemnity and

[960] For example, KORMYSHEVA (1998), 84-89 (especially considerations regarding Amannote-erike), and TÖRÖK (1997a), 278-279.
[961] KORMYSHEVA (1998), 78. KORMYSHEVA also mentions that the royal annals recorded at Kawa (including Amannote-erike's annals) are among the best sources for information regarding Kushite festivals and their associated rites. *IBID*, 77-78.
[962] For example, KORMYSHEVA (1998), 85.
[963] Briefly addressed above. See KORMYSHEVA (1998), 85.
[964] About which, see Chapter 9, and (among others) KORMYSHEVA (1998), 79, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 227.
[965] KORMYSHEVA (1998), 86. Although, in the Luxor temple reliefs, there do appear to be soldiers present at the ancient Egyptian Opet festival celebrations there.
[966] Appendix 2, columns 76-77.

pomp appropriate for that context, but none of them seems to have represented themselves in such an exuberant manner. One might say that this is simply Amannote-erike 'window-dressing,' and this apparent physical display of Amannote-erike's celebration during the god's procession was probably recorded within his official text as a propagandistic tool. As such, this illustrated Amannote-erike's inability to stop himself from a physical display of his joy, thus emphasising his personal relationship with Amun-Rē of Kawa.[967] Surely, if this kind of 'window-dressing' was expected, and was part of royal Kushite religio-political textual decorum, it would be blatant in the texts of other Kushite kings. Instead, I propose that this display could indicate an individual and very strong personal reaction to the pomp and ceremony of the divine procession. Amannote-erike may well have been caught up in the celebrations and in the spirit of the people's and the god's rejoicing. The unconscious and unbidden physical display of Amannote-erike's celebration represented in his official text provides the impression of a passionate king. Here, we might be able to see a small glimpse of Amannote-erike's identity as an individual. As with his personal involvement in the removal of sand from the Kawa temples, we might have an indication of his own, personal identity or personality creeping into his official text.

Columns 79-80: Royal and divine celebrations

Columns 79-80 depict yet another procession for Amun-Rē of Kawa, on the first day of 3 Akhet.[968] These two columns illustrate the rejoicing of both Amannote-erike and Amun-Rē. Within these columns, there are two main points relevant to this study that should be mentioned. First, Amun-Rē is said to have rejoiced among the people of Kawa, indicating that the cult statue[969] may have been paraded through the streets, or was carried through a public

[967] I am not saying that this is not possible at all. I am suggesting that there is arguably more happening here than first meets the eye.
[968] See Appendix 2. KORMYSHEVA (1998), 87, also notes that most royal Kushite texts that depict the coronation journey and the celebration of the Opet festival at Kawa (in particular) date these rituals to the season of *3ḫt*, probably indicating that this would have been the most favourable time of year in which to sail on the Nile.
[969] Or, at least, its sacred barque.

area. This hints at some of the practices associated with Kushite ceremonies and their divine affiliations, in that Amun-Rē's (very) public celebration was considered to be of such significance that 'commoners' were permitted to view the cult statue on this momentous occasion. This also suggests that the priesthood of Amun-Rē of Kawa must have approved of Amannote-erike, to have participated in allowing the cult statue to be so widely displayed. Second, Amannote-erike was again said to have "held up his two arms in rejoicing in the presence of this august god."[970] These recorded visual displays and encouragements by Amannote-erike were an inspiration to the crowds of Kawa to cheer and to praise both the king and their god.[971] All of this was said to have pleased Amun-Rē and he returned, satisfied, to his residence. This is a clear statement within the narrative of Amannote-erike's rightful position as Amun's chosen king.[972] He restored the god's home and received both the divine approval of Amun-Rē of Kawa during his momentous festival, and the earthly approval of the people of Kawa, all within a public arena.

[970] Appendix 2, column 80.
[971] SPALINGER notes this gesture, indicating a representation of the king's emotion, in a forthcoming article regarding ancient North African kings and depictions of their emotions.
[972] KORMYSHEVA (1998), *passim*.

Chapter 9: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part VIII: columns 81-113

The king's mother and the king's sister

Columns 82-84 depict a highly important occurrence within the Kushite royal context. At this point in the narrative, the king's mother appeared at Kawa as a legitimising agent for Amannote-erike's rulership:

> The king's sister, the Mistress of Egypt, the king's mother, came... She was joyful of heart…seeing her son...Amannote-erike, who lives forever, who appears upon the throne of Horus…

Regrettably, the name of this esteemed woman is no longer extant. We are also not certain exactly which king's sister she was.[973] In the context of hypothesised Kushite matrilineal practices, she probably would have been either the previous king, Talakhamani's, sister,[974] or a sister of Malowiebamani, or alternatively, a close female family member of both.[975] If this were the case, Amannote-erike would have the combined authority[976] of both previous kings bequeathed to him through the agency of their mutual sister/cousin, who was Amannote-erike's mother. Her title of *snt nsw,* and the political significance of this position of 'king's sister' in Kushite royal legitimation and in the legitimation of Amannote-erike in particular, is critical,[977] since it seems that the 'king's mother' was chosen from the collective group of 'king's sisters'.[978]

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[973] It is uncertain that she was a 'sister' *per se*. As SAITO (2015), 233, states it is unclear that ancient peoples would have understood kinship terminologies as we understand them today. Also, these kinship terms might have been used differently in Kush to the way they were used in Egypt. For SAITO'S discussion of *sn* as "brother/cousin (male)" and *snt* as "sister/cousin (female)", see *IBID*, 233-234, note 8. RILLY presents extensive research on Meroitic familial designations. See RILLY (2007), *passim*; *IDEM* (2008), 211-214, and RILLY and DE VOOGT (2012), *passim*. These works are seminal, yet unfortunately cannot assist with this issue within my thesis.
[974] See DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 142-143; TÖRÖK (1997a), 387, and VINOGRADOV (2009), 163-168, if 'sister' is the correct interpretation, here.
[975] Per SAITO (2015), *passim*. See discussion in Chapter 1 about hypothesised familial relationships between Malowiebamani, Talakhamani, and Amannote-erike.
[976] See more below.
[977] See REVEZ (2010), 64-66, and POPE (2014a), 222-224.
[978] LOHWASSER (2000b), 93-94 and 99, and REVEZ (2010), 65.

The topic of royal women, especially the 'king's sister' and 'king's mother', their titles, and their political relevance in ancient Kush, especially to royal succession practices, is a fascinating one that has been addressed by a number of recent scholars, most notably Lohwasser.[979] As a result, these matters will not be considered in detail here, but certain key points must be mentioned that are relevant to Amannote-erike's context.[980] Amannote-erike was probably not Talakhamani's son, but his nephew.[981] The Kushite succession was not dependent on a deceased king's eldest son inheriting the throne.[982] Instead, the succession depended on a new king's familial heritage through his mother's relationship with the previous ruler.[983]

The idea that succession in Kush was matrilineal was suggested by Priese[984] and furthered by Lohwasser, among others.[985] In essence, in matrilineal societies, the power to bestow office lies with a woman, usually the incumbent leader's sister.[986] A successor to the throne did not need to be the deceased king's eldest son, only a male family member ratified by the deceased leader's sister. The precise amount of political power that Kushite royal women actually held within their own right is debatable, as Lohwasser notes.[987] Nevertheless, this feminine counterpart of the king was considered essential to the appropriate schema of royal activities and representation.[988]

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[979] Among others, LOHWASSER (1998), 135-146; *IDEM* (2001a); *IDEM* (2001b), 61-76; *IDEM* (2006a), 281-294; *IDEM* (2010), 781–783; *IDEM* (2013a), 27–30, and *IDEM* (2017), 121-136. Other examples include AYAD (2009), 29-49; GOZZOLI (2010b), 483-494; PRIESE (1981), 49-53; SAITO (2014), and *IDEM* (2015). For a general overview of women in ancient Nubia, see HAYNES and SANTINI-RITT (2012).

[980] The cases of sole rule by women as appearing in the Meroitic period (*circa* 50-10 B.C.E. and beyond) would not be applicable here. Instead, it is only the political and cultural position of the queen/king's mother/king's sister during the time period encompassing the proto-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and the later Napatan period (represented by Amannote-erike's reign) that will as relevant to my thesis.

[981] Chapter 4, and SAITO (2015), 241.

[982] About which, see below. See also SAITO (2015), 234-236.

[983] SAITO (2014), *passim*, and *IDEM* (2015). As also discussed in connection with Alara in Chapter 7.

[984] PRIESE (1981), 49-53.

[985] LOHWASSER (2001b), 64-66. SAITO recently published a useful paper in this regard. SAITO (2015), especially 242-243.

[986] LOHWASSER (2001b), 64.

[987] LOHWASSER (2001b), 62. The relative power of 'secondary' royal wives as opposed to that wielded by the 'chief' royal wife is unknown. To my knowledge, there did not seem to be a distinction between the 'chief' wife and any other wives, all simply being named *ḥmt nswt*.

[988] LOHWASSER (2001b), 62, and *IDEM* (2000a), 63-74.

As addressed previously, one of the key tenets of Kushite kingship and its ideology was the significance of genealogy and belonging to the 'correct' family line to accede legitimately to the throne. Central to this conceptualisation was the person of the king's sister/king's mother. As Lohwasser indicates, it is an "interesting phenomenon" that Kushite genealogical and group identities were associated with, and indicated by, royal women.[989] The royal female title of 'Mistress of Egypt' as attributed to Amannote-erike's mother is known to be one of the royal female titles present in Kushite texts that were derived from Egyptian male titles, and is "analogous to king's titles expressing dominion."[990] Pope discusses the "sociopolitical and even territorial"[991] nature of the title 'Mistress of Egypt' and similar titles (*ḥnwt* [+*n*] + toponym)[992] as found in Kushite documents.[993] These titles are complementary to those of kings and indicate a certain authority, if only nominal.[994] Furthermore, the terminologies associated with genealogy (mother, father, son, daughter, *et cetera*) also describe a chain of "temporal succession".[995] This "succession" is particularly important in Kushite royal displays of legitimacy.[996] The representation of a newly crowned ruler as a member of an unbroken familial line that can be traced through his mother to the ultimate ancestor Alara was a pivotal factor in Kushite royal group identity, and the traditions and practices associated with it.[997]

Taharqa referred to Alara as his ancestor and to Alara's pact with Amun regarding the women of the Kushite royal family line within his official texts.[998] This ideology of Alara as the bestower of ultimate authority within the group identity of Kushite kings cannot be overstated,

[989] LOHWASSER (2005), 149.
[990] LOHWASSER (2001b), 62.
[991] POPE (2014a), 223.
[992] POPE (2014a), 223.
[993] POPE (2014a), 223.
[994] LOHWASSER (2001b), 62. Again, the power wielded by these women may only have been ceremonial at best. *IBID.*
[995] FITZENREITER (2005), 3.
[996] Refer to Chapter 7 regarding Alara.
[997] See RÖMER (1994), 148-149, and POPE (2014a), 46.
[998] See Chapter 7.

especially in conjunction with representations of royal women in royal texts.[999] The position of 'king's mother' in the royal Kushite context was thus pivotal, and of extreme political magnitude.[1000] A newly crowned king had to be acknowledged or witnessed by his mother during the coronation ceremonies or very soon afterward.[1001] These two human individuals represented the divine players in the succession mythologies surrounding Horus and Isis.[1002] The relationship of legitimation enacted between a newly acceded king and his mother was associated with the Isis-Horus myths of royal heirship and lawful right to rule.[1003] Hence, it is in keeping with ancient Kushite royal decorum requirements that Amannote-erike presented his mother in his official text.[1004] Whether or not she actually made a physical appearance during the festivities at Kawa is immaterial.[1005] The mere fact that she was depicted in Kawa IX as being present at Kawa to 'witness' Amannote-erike completes the necessities of the ideological context of Kushite royal identity and its public display.[1006] This would recall to anyone who read the 'Great Inscription' both Taharqa's reference to Alara and his *bi3t* that was performed by Amun-Rē for Alara,[1007] and Amannote-erike's asserted association with both Alara and Taharqa, reinforcing Amannote-erike's propagandistic programme of public

[999] Chapter 7. Most significantly presented in Aspelta's 'Election' stela. See discussions in, among others, LOHWASSER (2001b), 64-66; *IDEM* (2005), 147-154, and KORMYSHEVA (1999b), 239-251.
[1000] Discussed in LOHWASSER (2001a), *passim*; *IDEM* (2001b), *passim*, and REVEZ (2010), 64-66.
[1001] LOHWASSER (2001b), 68, and KORMYSHEVA (1998), 79.
[1002] See KORMYSHEVA (1998), 79 and 89; LOHWASSER (2001b), 68; REVEZ (2010), 61-71, and TÖRÖK (1997a), 224-227.
[1003] LOHWASSER (2001b), 68, and REVEZ (2010), 61-71.
[1004] LOHWASSER (2001b), 68-69.
[1005] LOHWASSER (2001b), 69. There is no direct evidence that Amannote-erike's mother appeared to 'witness' him specifically at Kawa, since this section of the text is damaged. It is arguable, therefore, whether or not this event actually took place, or that it took place at Kawa. However, for a number of reasons, I argue that it did occur, and at Kawa. First, Kawa seems to have had intimate and intrinsic importance to Amannote-erike, as addressed previously. Second, the amount of space damaged in the text does not allow for the narration of Amannote-erike's travel to another location (perhaps Gebel Barkal?) for his mother to be able to 'witness' him there. Third, Anlamani's 'Enthronement' account (stela Kawa VIII), lines 9-28 (see also *FHN* I, 220-224), seems to indicate that his mother, Nasalsa, did indeed "witness" him as king at Kawa specifically. This may indicate a tradition of such events at Kawa.
[1006] It is interesting that she is depicted as officially visiting Amannote-erike at Kawa, and not at Gebel Barkal, considering Gebel Barkal's importance as a coronation site. Possibly this further indicates the significance of Kawa to Amannote-erike's family line.
[1007] From context, it does not seem that Amun-Rē's *bi3t* performed for Alara took place at Gebel Barkal, nor does the currently extant evidence suggest that this event was recorded there by Alara or any of his successors. This *bi3t* only seems to be referred to at Kawa. It seems that this event was Kawa-centric, since it seems that it was specifically Amun-Rē of Kawa that sealed this accord with Alara. Hence, Gebel Barkal would have had nothing to do with it. See, for example, the evidence in Taharqa's stela Kawa VI, lines 22-25.

displays of his legitimacy.[1008] The approval of his mother served as a public political statement of his unassailable right to rule.[1009] Once this formality had been taken care of, Amannote-erike would have textually displayed that he had the approval and support of the army, of the priesthood, of the god, and that he also had the support and endorsement of his mother, ratifying his rulership beyond a doubt. Amannote-erike's allusion that he was from the 'correct' family line, namely the bloodline that passed to him from his mother, through Taharqa, and back in time to Alara, was a vitally important factor in his royal self-representation and ideological claim to the throne.[1010]

If the matrilineal structure of Kushite elite society as suggested by Priese and Lohwasser *et al* is correct, then it was essential that Amannote-erike's mother be represented as physically present during Amannote-erike's coronation ceremonies to bestow symbolically his royal authority to him.[1011] Indeed, it would be bewildering if there were not a representation of the king's mother present within this text. Thus, Amannote-erike's depiction of his mother joining him at Kawa did not represent an event or a practice unique to him. Rather, this incident regarding the royal mother should be understood as highly significant decorum fundamental to Kushite political power, which had been the case since at least the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[1012] These considerations serve to situate Amannote-erike firmly within the continuum of Kushite kingship, representing his understandings of royal Kushite identity and its concomitant, requisite public displays and mythologies, and his perception of his position within them.

[1008] See Chapter 7.
[1009] LOHWASSER (2001a), and *IDEM* (2001b), especially 69.
[1010] RÖMER (1994), 148-149, and POPE (2014a), 46.
[1011] See LOHWASSER (2001b), 68-69. No speech by Amannote-erike's mother was recorded in the 'Great Inscription,' unlike the speech of Nasalsa on Aspelta's 'Election' stela. *IBID*, 68. There may originally have been a short speech that is now lost.
[1012] For a detailed outline of this concept, see among others, LOHWASSER (2001b), 68-69.

The king sequesters himself with the god

Columns 84-94 relate how Amannote-erike sequestered himself with Amun-Rē for at least four days.[1013] The phraseology of this section is essentially formulaic and occurs frequently in official royal texts of both ancient Egypt and Kush.[1014] However, some of the events described in this section are worthy of examination. One of these interesting elements is the emphasis on the king being alone with Amun-Rē during his time in the temple. This is stressed by the repetition in columns 87-88: "His Majesty was standing, without another being with him. He was alone." While he was alone with Amun-Rē, Amannote-erike requested dominion over all lands, especially those that had rebelled against him. He also requested martial prowess and authoritative power. The impression given in this segment of the text is of a great counsel of war between Amannote-erike and Amun-Rē of Kawa: of communications between a son and his father, and of intense deliberations between a supplicant and his mentor. This is not unique to Amannote-erike, but is represented within texts of earlier Kushite kings.[1015] While this is not useful for investigations of Amannote-erike's individual display of identity, it again situates him within the continuum of Kushite kingship. He followed the decorum of his predecessors in this regard. While this happened, the text indicates that the royal family, their entourage,[1016] and the "foremost men of his majesty"[1017] remained outside the temple and prayed while Amannote-erike was with Amun-Rē. It is curious that neither the crowds of people waiting outside nor the king himself seem to have been appropriately 'cleansed' in the

[1013] The exact date of Amannote-erike's reappearance from his isolation within the temple complex is lost. However, the text states that he was alone for four days (Appendix 2, column 89).
[1014] The king's textual (apocryphal) interactions on a one-to-one basis with the god occurs in, to name but a few examples: Ramesses II's Qadesh inscription, P80-P165, *passim* (GARDINER (1960), 9-10; *KRI* II, 5-8, and the discussions in POSENER (1960), 78-80, and *passim*); Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' line 104; Taharqa's inscription at the Amun Temple at Karnak (in the peristyle court north of Pylon VI), *passim*; Harsiotef's stela, lines 10-17, and Nastasen's stela, especially line 5. Reliefs depicting one-to-one interactions between any number of Egyptian and Kushite kings and a variety of divinities on temples are ubiquitous.
[1015] The king's intimate communications with Amun-Rē were part of the Kushite decorum and textual examples are plentiful, including Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela', *passim*; Taharqa's stelae Kawa V and VI, *passim*; Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela, *passim*; Aspelta's 'Election' stela, *passim*, and Nastasen's stela, *passim*.
[1016] Here, it seems, are KORMYSHEVA'S *smrw*. I suggest that, since this context of the term *smrw* is different to the contexts of other Kushite kings referring to these individuals, in this case, *smrw* might be best not interpreted as "officials" (KORMYSHEVA (1993), 254), but instead as "followers," "companions," or "entourage".
[1017] Perhaps a reference to Amannote-erike's personal group of bodyguards? See also KORMYSHEVA (1993), 255-256.

presence of the god. The 'Great Inscription' indicates that neither party had anointed themselves with myrrh.[1018]

It is interesting that Amannote-erike was alone with Amun-Rē for such a long time. One imagines that making a request of Amun-Rē would take fewer than four days, even including the time used for making offerings. Perhaps this period was considered seemly by the tenets of Kushite kingship and its display in official texts, or was considered appropriate for a new king to spend with his divine father. As might be expected in the context of Kushite kings' representations of piety,[1019] at this point Kawa IX seems to stress Amannote-erike's piety, and his intimate relationship with Amun-Rē as his father and his god. What strikes one instantly is the contrast in this portrayal of the 'pious,' divine son Amannote-erike (the description of whom consists of around 10 columns of text), and the descriptions of some of his military campaigns that had been limited to less than half a column of text. It seems that, in the presence of Amun-Rē, it was more important to depict Amannote-erike communing with the god than expounding his exploits as a warrior and his suitability as a human king.[1020] This is Kushite religious propagandising on a monumental scale. However, it is naïve to suggest that Amannote-erike was simply communing with the god and praying for four full days.

Furthermore, it is doubtful that he was truly 'alone' with the god, or even by himself within the temple. It was doubtless at this point that Amannote-erike would have made direct contact with the highest echelons of Kawa's priesthood of Amun/Amun-Rē. One can reasonably conclude that the newly crowned king's first personal meeting with the priesthood of the state god would have been a momentous event within the context of his reign. As is never officially stated, but as can be presumed from evidence of modern monarchies and from political

[1018] Columns 89-91.
[1019] From as early as Piankhy's reign.
[1020] Perhaps in a comparable manner to Piankhy's self-representations in his 'Triumphal Stela'.

common sense, the importance of having a mutually beneficial and reciprocal agreement between a state leader and a priesthood representing the state god was paramount. Amannote-erike could not have authoritatively ruled without the endorsement of Amun/Amun-Rē's priesthood, and that religious group could not survive without the sanction of the king.[1021] Publicly, though, it would be the approval and support of Amun toward Amannote-erike that was displayed, as depicted in the succeeding columns of Kawa IX. Considering these aspects, it is reasonable that the king promised offerings and bequeathed endowments to the temple estates during his time sequestered 'with the god'. Indeed, columns 92-93 state that Amannote-erike made great offerings to Amun-Rē while he communed with him, and while "the doors of this temple were closed".[1022] Not only does this confirm the propagandistic, sacred and secret relationship between god and king, but also allows that no one of the general public would be privy to what really might have happened or have been discussed within the temple. Moreover, Amannote-erike's portrayal here as presenting offerings to Amun-Rē of Kawa was of two-fold importance. First, on a metaphysical level, Amannote-erike's display within his official text of offering to the god ensured his divinely given dominance over the lands. On a second, pragmatic level, Amannote-erike's generosity towards the priesthood in his offerings of goods to the temple precinct no doubt would have encouraged a feeling of goodwill and support on their part towards his reign. This is even more important considering the hypothesised links between Amannote-erike and the locality of Kawa. Indeed, he may even have had immediate family members within the Amun priesthood at Kawa. Thus, their support and approbation of his reign would have made him virtually unassailable. The priesthood of Amun at Kawa would logically have wished to have someone on the throne who was sympathetic to them, and who would promote the importance of their deity and themselves.

[1021] At least, not without considerable upheaval within the country. As an example, one need only consider the Amarna period in New Kingdom Egypt.
[1022] Appendix 2, column 93.

The composer of the 'Great Inscription' was aware of how a newly crowned king should behave within an official royal narrative, what his relationship with the god should be, and how this should all be represented within an official, propagandising text. Under no circumstances could the king have been portrayed as openly approaching Amun-Rē, or indeed his priests, for their support. Nor would it have been acceptable for Amun-Rē to receive Amannote-erike publicly here.[1023] For the mystique of rulership and authority to operate properly, Amannote-erike was obligated to display only secretive, privileged, and exclusionary behaviour. Only these representations in official documents would be appropriate. This representation of Amannote-erike was thus firmly within the accepted parameters of Kushite royal decorum.

Amannote-erike leaves the temple complex and reveals the god's approbation

Columns 94-98 describe Amannote-erike opening the temple doors after his period of 'isolation' with Amun-Rē and the events that followed. Much of what was done and said are standard, typically formulaic, and what one might expect in a royal inscription. Amannote-erike informed his entourage outside the temple that Amun-Rē of Kawa had heard his prayers and had promised him that which had been requested, assuring his continued health, his authority, and his recapture of foreign lands. Amannote-erike invoked Amun-Rē's name and commanded his followers to praise the god. He then instructed the waiting entourage to spread the word of Amun-Rē's approbation of him and his military plans to the army. However, one component of this episode stands out from the customary royal rubric: the mention of a new person, who has not been encountered previously, Akhebamani.[1024] Török suggests that this unknown individual might have been a royal prince,[1025] but does not expand on which (or, rather, what kind of) royal prince. Possibly, Török means that this was Amannote-erike's son

[1023] One could, for example, compare this with Aspelta's being sent alone into the presence of Amun-Rē to be chosen as king ('Enthronement' stela, lines 18-19) or to Nastasen's lone encounter with the god (Nastasen's stela, particularly line 5, lines 29-31, and lines 62-64).
[1024] See also *FHN II*, 427.
[1025] *FHN II*, 427.

or his brother.[1026] I suggest that this is too strong a conclusion to reach based on this fragmentary inscription, given that this was apparently the only place in the extant Kushite corpus where this individual was named. There is even the possibility that this may not be a male person. Judging by the name, this probably would have been a royal individual and could have been one of Amannote-erike's immediate (male?) family members. However, this may equally possibly have been royal ancestor of Amannote-erike's, perhaps a little-known ruler from the period between Aspelta and Amannote-erike. This may even be the name of Amannote-erike's previously anonymous, human father. It is regrettable that this name occurs directly after a much-damaged section of the text, and we will probably never know exactly who this individual may have been.

Amannote-erike burns incense for Amun-Rē of Kawa and praises him

Columns 99 to 105 describe Amannote-erike's actions after leaving the temple. He burned incense before Amun-Rē[1027] and received his approval again.[1028] Amannote-erike then commanded the priests and priestesses of all designations in the temple to clothe themselves in celebratory garments. The remainder of columns 101-106 report Amannote-erike's praising of Amun-Rē and the usual ovations to the king, wishing him life and dominion forever "like Rē,"[1029] among other attributes. There were further celebrations among the people during these occasions. These elements indicate additional textual formulism within the Kushite royal schema. The tropes of a king burning incense before Amun and receiving his approval, and the short royal eulogies spoken by the public, wishing the king a long life and a successful rulership, are ancient ideological *topoi* of kings from both Egypt and Kush. These elements are ubiquitous in royal texts and within reliefs on temples throughout these geographic regions. However, since they are so formulaic, the amount of real information that they provide to us

[1026] Or his cousin. Refer to SAITO (2015), *passim*.
[1027] Appendix 2, column 100.
[1028] Columns 99-105 in Appendix 2. For this episode, see column 100.
[1029] Appendix 2, column 106.

regarding Kushite identity creation, especially of the individual as represented by Amannote-erike, is limited. Nevertheless, these indicate again Amannote-erike's identification of himself within royal Kushite textual decorum.

Amannote-erike repairs and refurbishes other structures in the Kawa nome

Columns 106 to 113 are very fragmentary. In essence, they describe Amannote-erike's renovation of other temple edifices, simply described as "halls,"[1030] in the Kawa region, and his bestowal of new endowments to them.[1031] The offerings Amannote-erike gave to these 'halls' included gold, silver, bronze, and myrrh. It is strange that it is to these mysterious and unnamed "halls" that Amannote-erike gave precious materials like gold, silver, and myrrh, when he had not given these items to either Amun-Rē of Kawa or Amun-Rē of Gebel Barkal. It seems reasonable to infer from context that these 'halls' belonged to Amun-Rē of Kawa, which would explain Amannote-erike's rich donations to these 'halls'. However, since this section of text is damaged, this assertion is tenuous. One of the offerings that is of particular interest is a type of wine, called the "Good wine of sleep."[1032] This reference to this type of wine offering seems unique, and the exact variety and origins of this vintage are unknown.[1033] Unfortunately, speculation regarding these matters is not within the scope of my thesis.

[1030] Appendix 2, column 106.
[1031] I have already addressed the significance of Amannote-erike's renewal of sacred sites.
[1032] Column 112.
[1033] As intriguing as this reference is, considerations regarding Kushite viticulture and wine consumption are not relevant to my thesis. I will expand further on this topic, with a focus on this mysterious "good wine of sleep" in an upcoming article.

Chapter 10: Analysis of the 'Great Inscription' part IX: columns 114-126

Legitimation and memory: the ancestor Kashta

Columns 114-115 illustrate the next important element in Amannote-erike's creation and display of his royal Kushite group identity and his self-perception within that context. Here, a reference was made to another of his (alleged) ancestors associated with claims to royal legitimacy: the ancestor Kashta.[1034] Amannote-erike called upon Amun-Rē of Kawa[1035] to give foreign lands to him, and to "Act for me like you acted for king Kashta…"[1036]

While Amannote-erike did not specifically state that he considered Kashta to be his ancestor, his reference to Kashta in this address implies that either Amannote-erike perceived a familial connection with Kashta and his legitimising memory, or that it was important that he displayed such a reference in his official text. Kashta is the "first historically attested"[1037] ruler of Kush and the male ancestor who officially established the Napatan[1038] Dynasties.[1039] Modern scholars believe him to have been the first Kushite ruler to have Thebes under his power.[1040] Abdalla considers Kashta to be the key individual in the creation of a royal Kushite group

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[1034] KENDALL (among others) speculates that Kashta may have been Alara's brother, if Alara truly existed. KENDALL (1999), 45 and 58. See also *FHN* I, 41-42; LECLANT (1965), xxvi, and POPE (2014a), 13. However, this is debatable. The discussion regarding Kashta and all aspects of his reign are extensive, and I will therefore not address them all. I provide only the elements of Kashta's reign and his identity that are relevant to my thesis. For more information regarding Kashta, see *IBID*, *passim*; GAUTHIER (1916), 5-12; DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 144, ABDALLA (1989), 876-879, and WENIG (1980) *LÄ* Volume III, 353-354. Kashta's tomb is thought (per REISNER (1920), 63) to be at el-Kurru (Ku. 8). See REISNER (1921b), 23-25; DUNHAM (1950), *passim*, and KENDALL (1999), 96-97. Of particular interest is the bronze aegis of Kashta being suckled by a goddess, and an unprovenanced gold-and-glass necklace displaying cartouches with Kashta's name and his title of *nsw*, and, possibly, the name of one of his royal wives (*ḥmt nsw*), Tiye. See KENDALL (1999), 66, 115, and figure 18.

[1035] Whose sacred buildings Amannote-erike had just spent considerable time and effort renovating and endowing.

[1036] Appendix 2, columns 114-115.

[1037] For example, BREYER (2009), 170; LECLANT (1963), 74-81; PAYRAUDEAU (2014), 1598-1601, and VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 219. He apparently really existed as a ruler early in the "Napatan" Dynasties, as opposed to the semi-mythological personage of Alara. For considerations regarding Kashta's hypothesised building activities at Gebel Barkal (edifice B800) and at Kawa (Temple B) see KENDALL (1999), 73.

[1038] Again, this terminology is inaccurate, but must suffice for now.

[1039] Following ZIBELIUS-CHEN, POPE attributes the reigns of Kashta (and Piankhy) to Dynasty Twenty-Five. ZIBELIUS-CHEN (2006), 284, and POPE (2014a), ix. I follow this convention.

[1040] For example, MORKOT (2014b), 5. MORKOT notes that the evidence for this, namely a stela fragment from Elephantine Island and a damaged cartouche in the Karnak Priestly Annals, is unclear. *IBID*, 5-6. *Contra* this is the evidence discovered and examined by PAYRAUDEAU (2014), 1598-1601, and 1604-1611, that attests to Kashta's presence in Thebes and Upper Egypt.

identity for the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, and beyond.[1041] After much scrutiny, modern scholars have suggested that his name, written "*k3-š-t3*",[1042] is wholly Nubian in origin.[1043] Many modern scholars have addressed the grammatical intricacies of this name[1044] in both ancient Egyptian and Meroitic languages elsewhere.[1045] However, some small mentions should be made here regarding certain aspects of the name.[1046] One feature of this name that seems to be widely accepted is that the element *k3* (often written with [1047]) represents the toponym – or perhaps better, ethnonym – for "the land of Kush".[1048] Indeed, Abdalla translated this name as "one of Kush" or "he of Kush".[1049] It is interesting that Kashta's name in the 'Great Inscription' at first appears to be written with *k*[1050] and not with *k3*.[1051] The chief problem here is that the hieroglyphs within the cartouche at this critical point are badly damaged, as can be seen on the Kawa squeezes.[1052] This spelling of 'Kashta' suggests that equating the Kashta of Kawa IX with the Kashta that we understand as the founder of the 'Napatan' Dynasties could be problematic. Perhaps this refers to a different individual with a similar name, or perhaps the intervening years between Kashta's reign and Amannote-erike's

[1041] ABDALLA (1989), 876. For a holistic analysis of the meaning and interpretations of Kashta's name, see VINOGRADOV (2003-2008).
[1042] Among others, Appendix 2, column 115, and VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 219-239.
[1043] For example, ZYHLARZ (1961), 227, note 1; LECLANT (1963), 74-81; *IDEM* (1965), 70-72; GASMELSEED (1994), 135; VINOGRADOV (1999b), figure 2b, 91, note 46, and 94, note 59; *IDEM* (2003-2008), 219-239, and BREYER (2009), 170.
[1044] As VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 220, asserts, not even GRIFFITH, SAYCE'S colleague, seemed to be convinced by his opinion that 'Kashta' should be interpreted as 'the Kushite' (suggested in SAYCE (1911), 54.) This is especially since this interpretation implies that someone who is not Kushite is enacting the name, as BREYER (2009), 170, suggests, doubtless meaning the Egyptians.
[1045] See discussions in, among others, BREYER (2009), 170, and references quoted in note 11; RILLY (2007), 4 and 21; ZYHLARZ (1961), 227, note 1, and VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 219-239. For Meroitic writing of 'Kush' see for example, REM 1003 and REM 1044 in LECLANT (ed.) (2000), 1378-1381 and 1462-1467, respectively, and GRIFFITH (1917), 167, for the apparent similarity between Egyptian *k3* and Meroitic *qé*.
[1046] ZYHLARZ suggests that "*k3-š-t3*" should be interpreted from an ancient Egyptian language point of view, as "the *k3* is secret/hidden." ZYHLARZ (1961), 227, note 1. BREYER (2009), 170, does not rule out that Kashta may have been known by this appellation in Egypt. Alternatives to the reading of this name have been suggested (for example, those mentioned in VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 229-230), though the option I prefer is VINOGRADOV'S suggestion of "Invincible Bull". VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 232. As VINOGRADOV notes, this would be an entirely appropriate name for a Kushite ruler who had conquered Egypt. *IBID.*
[1047] GARDINER'S sign E1. GARDINER (2012), 458. VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 226. But by no means always. See examples referred to in *IBID*, 222, note 24.
[1048] RILLY (2007), 21 and VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 219.
[1049] See ABDALLA (1969), 259, and *IDEM* (1989), 876, cf. 875, and 878.
[1050] GARDINER'S sign V31. GARDINER (2012), 525.
[1051] See Appendix 1, Figure X. GARDINER'S sign E1. GARDINER (2012), 458.
[1052] For example, VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), figure 2.

reign had had a detrimental effect on the recording of Kashta's name. However, Vinogradov makes a compelling argument regarding this problematic initial sign of Kashta's name, according to his viewing of the squeezes and tracings made by the Oxford expedition.[1053] Vinogradov shows that it is possible and probable that the initial sign in Kashta's cartouche in the 'Great Inscription' was indeed *k3* and not *k* as Macadam copied it.[1054] Thus, the spelling of Kashta's name as it may have originally appeared in Kawa IX holds fewer problems than expected, and we might conclude that this is indeed the Kashta whom we know as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's progenitor.

One of the earliest historical documentations of Kashta is recorded on the Abydos stela of Pebatma, thought to be his wife.[1055] Kashta's name within a cartouche and with his royal titles of *s3-rˁ* and *nb t3wy* are attested on a stela fragment from Elephantine Island.[1056] Interestingly, his name as encountered within a cartouche, and with reference to his being a king (*nsw*), is primarily encountered in association with his female relations and especially within textual representations of his female descendants.[1057] He is frequently encountered as the father of Amenirdis I, God's Wife of Amun at Thebes.[1058] The currently extant evidence indicates that

[1053] VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), figures 1-3.
[1054] VINOGRADOV (2003-2008), 226-227.
[1055] This stela is held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (accession number E3922). See also WENIG (1990), 341-343. The theory that Pebatma (as Kashta's wife) must also have been Kashta's sister due to her title of *snt nsw* assumes the existence of only one Kushite king or ruler at this time. MORKOT (1999), 190. This is certainly not impossible, but is hardly a certainty, considering the traditions discussed in Chapter 9 regarding Kushite royal women and their titles.
[1056] Among others, MASPERO (1909-1910), 9-10, and GAUTHIER (1916), 5. This fragment is believed to be at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (accession number JE 41013). I am unaware of its exact current whereabouts, given the recent division of the Egyptian Museum and its collections into three new premises.
[1057] For example, the evidence from a doorjamb at Abydos of Peksater, Kashta's daughter (refer to DUNHAM and MACADAM (1949), 145 and SCHÄFER (1906a), 49). It is interesting that even though certain scholars of Nubiology suggest that Kashta may have been both Piankhy's and Shabaka's father, neither of these kings referred to Kashta as their father in their extant texts. One wonders if this was simply part of the Kushite royal textual decorum for rulers, discussed previously, to not name their male parent. For evidence of Kashta as Shabaka's father, see LECLANT'S discussion of statue Cairo 565 (from the Osiris Nebankh chapel at Karnak) in LECLANT (1965), 96. However, as MORKOT (1999), 208, indicates, there is no explicit evidence for Piankhy having been Kashta's son. There are only assumed affiliations of Kashta as Piankhy's father, for example, TÖRÖK in *FHN I*, 45, which cites as "indirect evidence" CAMINOS' arguments on the Nitocris 'Adoption' stela (CAMINOS (1964). However, in my opinion, CAMINOS' article is inconclusive at best.
[1058] Among others, on one of Amenirdis I's scarabs discussed in VINOGRADOV (1999), 93, note 58, and in all of the texts discussed in GAUTHIER (1916), 5-12, and POPE (2014a), 196, as well as *IBID*, note 25.

Amannote-erike was the first and only male descendant of Kashta's to explicitly mention him by name, as a king, within an official text. One wonders why this might be, especially since Amannote-erike's reign was a long time after Kashta's reign. One hypothesis is that this may be due to a familial connection between Amannote-erike and Kashta; perhaps they were from the same region at Kawa.[1059]

The next section records Amun-Rē's response, where he granted dominion of all lands to Amannote-erike: "'I give to you [every] land, south, north, west, and east; I give to you as I [gave] (?) to king…"[1060] It is tempting to see a connection between Amun-Rē, Kashta, and Amannote-erike that appears to be specifically regarding dominion over all lands, including foreign lands.[1061] I propose that since Kashta was apparently the first Kushite king to control a significant foreign territory, represented by Egypt, and since Amannote-erike was invoking Kashta's name in association with his dominion over foreigners, perhaps there may have been a distinct Kushite royal mythology focussed on Kashta as a semi-deified ruler over foreigners. Furthermore, I suggest that Amannote-erike mentioned Kashta exactly because of his close associations with the females of his family line, especially regarding his political associations, being understood in reference to his being the father of the first Kushite God's Wife of Amun at Thebes. If this were true, Amannote-erike would have neatly encapsulated two distinct legitimising traditions to bolster his claim to the throne: that of his association with a great dynastic ancestor in the personage of Kashta, and his direct links with the political authority held by the females of his family line, in Kush and abroad. Moreover, as Jansen-Winkeln suggests in the context of his discussion regarding Taharqa's textual relationship with Alara,[1062] Kashta may have represented to Amannote-erike an ideal of what a Kushite

[1059] This is speculative. I discuss this idea further, below, since it is so strange that Amannote-erike mentions Kashta, and is apparently the only male ruler to have done so.
[1060] As suggested in Appendix 2, considering the context, one presumes the king meant here is Kashta. JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 156-157 also discusses this.
[1061] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 156, point 2.
[1062] In that, apparently, Alara represented to Taharqa the epitome of how a powerful, legitimate king could, would, and should act and display himself.

ruler/king should be.[1063] Indeed, Kashta was represented in Kawa IX as a model example of Kushite power and authority over foreign dominions, paralleling the model rulership of semi-mythological Alara's earthly dominion in Kush.[1064] This seems especially relevant considering Kashta's status as the king that established widespread Kushite domination.[1065] This implies that Amannote-erike considered both these ancestor kings as equally authoritative and as representing complementary ideals of kingship and of its display.

Amannote-erike's representation of Kashta here, at Kawa, is thought-provoking. Perhaps this could further indicate the significance of Kawa to Amannote-erike, signifying a particular importance of the site to his family line, from Alara, through Kashta and Taharqa, down the centuries to Amannote-erike. This would provide one explanation as to why the 'Great Inscription' was inscribed here, at Kawa, rather than at Gebel Barkal, for example. Additionally, again because of this perceived familial connection, perhaps Amannote-erike placed the 'Great Inscription' directly under the representation of Taharqa presenting the temple to Amun-Rē of Kawa.[1066] This intimate self-association of Amannote-erike's with Taharqa and Amun-Rē of Kawa, as well as the close familial connection that Amannote-erike created within his text between himself, the women of his family line,[1067] and Alara and Kashta as legitimising ancestors, cannot fail to convey to the perceptive viewer Amannote-erike's heavily stressed propagandistic programme of legitimation and his self-identification within the established Kushite group identity. Interestingly, all these alternate factors within the composition of Kawa IX and its associated textual imagery[1068] indicate a composer[1069] who was not only *au fait* with Kushite royal dogma in general, but also with localised Kushite

[1063] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 156.
[1064] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 156.
[1065] JANSEN-WINKELN (2003), 156.
[1066] Again, considering the extensive size of Taharqa's temple complex at Kawa, Amannote-erike in theory could have placed his inscription anywhere. However, it was specifically here that he chose its placement.
[1067] Through the mention of his mother (the 'king's sister' and 'king's wife') and also through the connotations of royal women as a conduit for the royal inheritance as represented by Alara's pact and the mentions of Kashta in only his female family's members' texts.
[1068] Textual, not pictorial.
[1069] Amannote-erike himself, perhaps?

forms of identity display and ideals of self-representation. The composer's skilful manipulation of both of these sets of doctrines within the 'Great Inscription' is complex, and is suggestive of a great effort in pulling together every possible aspect of Kushite royal textual authority within one place.

Thus, there is an emphasis in Kawa IX on the vocabularies of Kushite royal associations within familial lines, on heritage, memory, localised inheritance, and legitimacy, especially in the sections of Kawa IX that refer to Alara and Kashta as great ancestors, as well as in the section that refers to Amannote-erike's mother. To explain this accentuation, especially regarding the mention of Kashta *and* Alara, three possibilities might be considered. First, Kashta, Alara, Taharqa, and Amannote-erike may have belonged to the same family line from Kawa and observed the same traditions through their familial culture. Second, while Amannote-erike may have descended from the familial line of Alara and Taharqa through his mother,[1070] I suggest that perhaps he was also descended from the 'other' royal Kushite family line (the one that had its incipience with Kashta), perhaps through his unnamed and unmentioned biological father.[1071] Third, and perhaps most cynically,[1072] one could suggest that Amannote-erike was simply referencing as many semi-mythological ancestors as he could, whether or not he was truly part of either family line, since that might have been part of Kushite legitimising decorum and he needed all the legitimation he could muster to retain his rulership.

I propose a final, highly speculative hypothesis. It should be contemplated whether Amannote-erike's reference to Kashta in Kawa IX and his lack of pictorial imagery (mentioned previously) may actually be related. The deliberations are straightforward. I noted above that

[1070] *I. e*., the 'correct' genealogical heritage of a legitimate king.
[1071] MORKOT (1999), 194, suggests a similar type of bipartite royal familial inheritance.
[1072] And speculatively. Yet the suggestion must be made.

Kashta is primarily referenced in the textual evidence of his female descendants. Moreover, I remarked that it is strange that Amannote-erike was the only male descendant of Kashta's to refer to him textually. I wonder, therefore, whether Amannote-erike indeed actually *was* the only male descendant of Kashta's to mention him in an official text. There is no reason why Amannote-erike can equivocally be said not to be female. First, there is no extant mummy attributed to Amannote-erike that is definitively male. Second, referring to a female ruler using male pronouns and male-centric rhetoric within an official text is certainly not unprecedented in the ancient North African milieu.[1073] This may also solve the conundrum of why there is no extant imagery of Amannote-erike. If this ruler were actually female, but royal decorum at the time had not yet developed into its later, more sophisticated imagery for sole female rulers *á la* the Meroitic queens, then it may have been a conscious decision to avoid any representational issues by not creating an image of the ruler. It is possible that the nexus of Amannote-erike's mention of Kashta, the lack of pictorial evidence, and all of the apparently heavy-handed propagandising in Kawa IX, might indicate that something highly unusual was taking place. Perhaps here we find an indication of the first instance of a sole female ruler in ultimate power within Kush itself, and potentially an indication of Amannote-erike's own individual identity.[1074] This theory is unsubstantiated. However, it goes some way to resolving some of the apparent oddities found in the 'Great Inscription'.

Amannote-erike's suprahuman nature

Columns 117 to 123 are badly fragmented. Only small pieces of text remain legible in these sections. However, within the sections that remain, there is enough narrative to suggest another hypothetical propagandistic ploy by the composer. In this case, the text hints at an emphasis on Amannote-erike's suprahuman identity.[1075] It describes him as the god's chosen

[1073] The most famous example being Hatshepsut.
[1074] I adhere to the convention of referring to Amannote-erike using male pronouns for the remainder of my thesis, since my theory is unsubstantiated.
[1075] It is debatable whether this referred to Amannote-erike's physical prowess. As in the episode where Amannote-erike is depicted as removing the sand from the halls at Kawa with his own two hands, he could be

human champion, whom Amun-Rē selected specifically to transport something to the royal Residence.[1076]

In column 117, Amun-Rē ordered Amannote-erike to move an object[1077] to the Residence. In column 118, someone, presumably a priest or one of Amannote-erike's advisors,[1078] stated that a *ḥm-nṯr* priest should be the one to convey this article. Amun-Rē overruled this suggestion directly: "No one will carry it to the royal Residence except the king himself."[1079] It is only his divine son, Amannote-erike, unparalleled among men and the god's representative on earth that was potent and trustworthy enough to transport this item. Perhaps this item was a piece of royal regalia, possibly a crown or a staff specifically associated with Kawa. Alternatively, it may have been an article that was identified with Amun-Rē of Kawa, perhaps a portable shrine or an icon. If it were one of these items, this confirmed Amannote-erike's superhuman identity as the only individual fit to carry items of magical or religious significance. He, as the god's chosen suprahuman champion, could come into contact with these potent items and carry them without magical harm. These items would probably have enhanced his potency as king and as a magical/spiritual being. The main point of interest here is his representation of his identity as an emissary of the god.

Column 123 – the final column sufficiently complete as to provide any information – illustrates Amannote-erike's physical stamina: "May you cause and bring everything by means of your strength (*ḫpš*)…"[1080] The over-arching objective of this segment was apparently the

intended to be portrayed as strong in body. However, since the text is so poorly preserved here, this idea cannot be confirmed.

[1076] Appendix 2, columns 118-121. The location, and which "Residence" is meant is unclear, as this information is destroyed. However, it seems reasonable that it may have been the Residence at Kawa.

[1077] Unfortunately, exactly what this item was unknown; there is a lacuna precisely where the object is described. See Appendix 1, Figures V and X.

[1078] Appendix 2. It seems unlikely that Amannote-erike would have suggested such a thing. If anything, he would have volunteered to carry this item himself. Indeed, considering that this is his text that expounds his might, authority and prowess, it seems highly unlikely that he would delegate to an underling the removal to the Residence of a god-given gift.

[1079] Appendix 2, columns 118-119.

[1080] Appendix 2, column 123.

focus on Amannote-erike's bodily vitality. He was a superhuman, and could achieve anything by means of his own physical power. Here, Amannote-erike was not the pious supplicant who communed alone with Amun for four days. Here, he was depicted as an individual of strength and stamina. Perhaps this served as a complement to the previous section, where Amun-Rē insisted on Amannote-erike's spiritual prowess in carrying a cultic (?) item on his behalf. Perhaps these columns work together in presenting to the reader a holistic image of the perfect suprahuman Kushite king: spiritually powerful as well as physically vigorous. He was thus the perfect candidate to rule. These factors would serve neatly in the context of Amannote-erike's propagandistic programme to remind the reader of precisely how eminently suited he was for the position of kingship.

The end of the 'Great Inscription'

The 'Great Inscription' ends shortly after this. The original inscription was much longer, but the remaining sections are lost. Column 124 indicates the beginning of a list of offerings that Amannote-erike gave to a deity.[1081] Which deity it is that received these offerings is unclear. There does not seem to be any indication of Amannote-erike's having left Kawa, where he apparently had been previous to this episode. Additionally, considering the apparently extensive nature of the original list of offerings,[1082] it seems reasonable that Amannote-erike was still at Kawa. A sensible suggestion is that he would therefore be offering to Amun-Rē of Kawa. Nevertheless, this is uncertain. Amannote-erike may have moved to another area in Kush, but the description of his journey was lost due to the extensive deterioration of this segment. Unfortunately, the text is so badly damaged that only two of the offerings remain legible from the entirety of the inscription on columns 124-126. These are *nḥysʿn* (?)[1083] and

[1081] Appendix 2.
[1082] The majority of the list is lost. Considering the extensive amount of space that this list takes up on the surface upon which Kawa IX was carved, though, it is justifiable to presume it was originally a lengthy offering list.
[1083] It is unclear exactly what these *nḥysʿn* are. Perhaps it is a garbled transcription of the Egyptian *nḥsy*? (*Wb* II, 303). Presumably, this word refers to a type of vessel or a type of table (the determinative is missing), given the suffix *ʿn*. For the translation of *ʿn* as "vessel" or "table," see *Wb* I, 187. I wonder if *nḥys* could refer to the material from which the unknown item was made. Or, since the root seems similar to the ancient Egyptian *nḥsy*

twenty-four servants. This offering consists of servants of both sexes, since determinatives for both male and female servants are present.[1084] The remainder of the 'Great Inscription' is unfortunately lost, and we can glean no further information from it.

for "South/Southern/Nubian" (*Wb* II, 303), this could indicate a vessel or a table that came from an area further south than Kush.

[1084] Appendix 1, Figure X.

Chapter 11: Amannote-erike's 'Donation' Texts (Kawa X, XI, and XII)

There are three 'donation' texts inscribed at Kawa ascribed to Amannote-erike's reign. Macadam designated these three texts Kawa X, Kawa XI, and Kawa XII.[1085] These documents represent the only other complete texts from Amannote-erike's reign besides Kawa IX. The inscriptions from the lintel blocks found at his tomb at Nuri are so badly damaged that only his titulary remains legible. Thus, apart from the considerations regarding his titulary referred to in Chapter 2, these blocks are useless for my analysis. Amannote-erike's three 'donation' inscriptions are considered by modern scholars to outline donations given to Kawa's temple complex in different years of Amannote-erike's kingship.[1086] As such, they present the kind of language and royal display that one might expect in formulaic records such as donation texts, and an investigation of their palaeography would not be of assistance in their analysis. Even so, the examination of these short and formulaic texts, using discourse analysis and liminality, is useful for this thesis. First, the choice of wording used in the composition of the text and the type of and quantity of offerings that Amannote-erike gave to the precincts during these periods of rulership indicate his position within the continuum of Kushite kingship and his display of his identity appropriate to that position. Second, the physical positioning of these inscriptions within the context of the temple evokes royal ideological conceptualisations that require examination. Third, the apparently 'informal' nature of these texts, as well as small inconsistencies in the language used in the texts and in the actual recipients of the donations, hint at inconsistencies in their composition, leading to the impression that perhaps these were not official donation texts commissioned by Amannote-erike.

[1085] *Kawa I, Text*, 68-72.
[1086] For example, *FHN* II, 399.

The context:

All three 'donation' texts were inscribed in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, and arranged with dividing lines between the columns of text.[1087] Macadam considers them to be graffiti,[1088] yet they are neatly positioned on their blocks and the hieroglyphs are relatively well-formed.[1089] Inscriptions Kawa X and XI were inscribed directly above an incised criosphinx, located on the south face of the north doorjamb between the First Court and Hypostyle Hall of Taharqa's Temple T at Kawa.[1090] This findspot and the association of the texts with the criosphinx should be considered.

Understanding the context of all three of these texts and criosphinx associated with Kawa X and XI is important. These texts and this image are inscribed on the inner sides of the doorjambs, facing each other across the threshold formed by the two jambs. Therefore, everyone moving through that doorway from the first court to the hall or *vice versa* would have seen them. Since these presumably were carved during Amannote-erike's reign, and would thus have existed *in situ* during a period when Temple T was extensively in use, this is no small consideration. Temple functionaries and priests at the very least would have been able to perceive these texts and their significance. One might argue that these texts and criosphinx were carved in that particular area simply because there was a blank, available wall space. However, were it simply a matter of blank space needed for composing an inscription, Amannote-erike could have erected a stela, or small edifice like Aspelta did by erecting a shrine, to provide more surface area for his inscriptions. Instead, I argue that the texts' inscription in exactly this place, in a prominent and metaphysically important architectural location, was an important and considered element of Amannote-erike's display of identity.

[1087] *Kawa I, Text*, 68-71, and Appendix 1, Figures XII-XV.
[1088] *Kawa I, Text*, 68 and 70. While MACADAM describes Kawa X and XI as graffiti, he does not delineate Kawa XII as a graffito. However, his comments in *IBID*, 71, suggest that this was his perception.
[1089] Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1090] *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27 and 28, and Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.

Doorways are liminal spaces. Liminality within the context of social and anthropological studies can roughly be considered to refer to "to any 'betwixt and between' situation or object."[1091] 'Spatial liminality' is most relevant to this thesis. This concept relates to physical, in-between spaces such as borders between countries, or, crucially here, to architectural border areas such as thresholds or doorways.[1092] This conceptualisation is arguably most pertinent in temple spaces, which are inherently ritual zones.[1093] The tension between these ritual spaces, including liminal doorway spaces, and the rites that were performed within them, can be considered to echo the tension between a king's complementary identities as earthly ruler of his territories, and divine son and high priest of Amun-Rē.[1094] As the rituals of kingly duty moved physically from the outside, public space of a temple (in this case, Temple T's forecourt) into the private, inner and sacred space of the Hypostyle Hall through the transitional zone of a doorway, so the king's identity transitioned from earthly ruler to high priest by passing over that same threshold. These zones represented the space between the known and the unknown, between the holy and the unholy.[1095] Furthermore, they embodied the metaphysical separation between one's identity and social position within one space, and the subsequent transcendental destruction and reconstruction within another architectural area of the building, of a different identity and societal position of that same individual.[1096] This transformed, constructed, and enhanced the identity of the entity who moved through that liminal zone. Individuals could reinvent themselves.[1097] Specifically, they could reinvent their identity to become someone who was able to save others from the uncertainty and dangers represented by liminal, in-between regions, either by guiding them through that space, [1098] or,

[1091] THOMASSEN (2014), 89.
[1092] THOMASSEN (2014), 91, and GRIFFIN (2015), especially 1115.
[1093] The study of liminality as applied to ancient Egyptian (and by extension, ancient Kushite) evidence has recently increased. For example, discussions in CHAUVET (2011); GRIFFIN (2015)); HAYS (2013), and RZEUSKA (2011).
[1094] For example, HAYS (2015), especially 166.
[1095] THOMASSEN (2014), 91, and GRIFFIN (2015), especially 1115.
[1096] Following THOMASSEN (2014), 92.
[1097] THOMASSEN (2014), 103-104.
[1098] THOMASSEN (2014), 103-104.

in the case of ancient Egyptian and Kushite kings, by overcoming danger through their authority and power.

This interplay of context, metaphysics, and the above-mentioned fluidity of identity is highly significant when represented within a liminal territory such as the relevant doorway at Kawa's Temple T. The placement of texts that display identity within doorways and other liminal spaces are not limited to Amannote-erike's case. This practice had precedents in temples built in Kush by Egyptian New Kingdom monarchs and officials, among others. For example, the practice of Egyptian officials carving their own dedicatory texts onto doorjambs and lintels seems to have been widespread at Buhen during the New Kingdom.[1099] The positioning and typology of Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts resemble these texts of Egyptian officials from Buhen, and appear to reflect the manner in which these individuals represented themselves and their kings.[1100] Amannote-erike's 'donation' inscriptions within this liminal zone may indicate that disclosing and celebrating his temple endowments was a way of transforming, constructing, and enhancing his identity as a ruler, a divine protector of his realm, and as an individual. Furthermore, the inscription of Kawa X and XI in particular in proximity to a criosphinx figure augmented this concept. The juxtaposition of Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts with the inscribed criosphinx should therefore be considered.

The association of criosphinxes of Amun/Amun-Rē with doorways was well established.[1101] The iconography of the criosphinx was an ancient one in Egypt that made its way into the

[1099] For example, H.S. SMITH, EMERY and MILLARD (1976-1979), 94-156. Buhen was the administrative seat for the Viceroys of Kush during the Egyptian New Kingdom. For example, SCHADE-BUSCH (1997), 219.
[1100] Among others, see CAMINOS (1974), *passim*; PAMMINGER (1993), *passim*, and H. S. SMITH, EMERY and MILLARD (1976-1979), especially 152-153, and 198-205, where a list of New Kingdom officials at Buhen, along with their text reference numbers, appears.
[1101] For example, GUGLIELMI (1994), *passim*, and TÖRÖK (2002), 266. There is plenty of evidence for this in Kush and Egypt. For example, reliefs on the south wall of the sanctuary at B300 (above the door to annex room B306) show Amun of Pnubs as criosphinx on a plinth. TÖRÖK (2002), 13. A criosphinx on a base with a false door motif under it, is found at the Sanam temple. TÖRÖK (2002), 169. See also BONNET and VALBELLE (2018), 83-85, for finds of ram figures sacred to Amun of Pnubs at Pnubs (Panebes).

Kushite/Nubian iconographic programme.[1102] Criosphinxes associated with doorways (carved in reliefs on temple walls and/or presented in three-dimensional statuary) are almost ubiquitous in both Egyptian and Kushite temples dating from the New Kingdom onwards.[1103] Representation of criosphinxes were thought to protect the king.[1104] Perhaps, considering the inherent danger of any liminal or 'in-between'[1105] space – *i.e.*, not controlled by the king or that did not follow *mꜣʿt* – criosphinxes were supposed to guard the king from any potential threats spawned by the perceived chaos of that border zone. Criosphinxes similarly characterised the relationship between a king and Amun/Amun-Rē.[1106] This was an important visual aspect of royal programmes of iconography, ideology, and propaganda.[1107] Furthermore, it seems that criosphinxes functioned as royal intermediaries, where the public could pray to a representation of Amun as a criosphinx to arbitrate on their behalf with either the king, or with Amun himself.[1108] Within reliefs from Tutankhamun's reign in Kush/Nubia, Amun/Amun-Rē of Kawa was often represented as a couchant criosphinx.[1109]

Criosphinxes juxtaposed with doorways abound at Kawa, and the criosphinx beneath Amannote-erike's texts Kawa X and XI is not a unique phenomenon.[1110] On the doorway, east wall, of the pronaos in Temple A, Tutankhamun was depicted giving offerings to a couchant criosphinx manifestation of Amun-Rē of Kawa.[1111] Taharqa's criosphinxes[1112] and a finely carved relief of a criosphinx thought to date from Taharqa's reign have also been found in

[1102] Among others, BELL (1985), *passim*; CABROL (1995), *passim*; GRIMAL (1986), *passim*, and TÖRÖK (2002), 266.
[1103] For example, BELL (1985); CABROL (1995); GUGLIELMI (1994), and TÖRÖK (2002), *passim*.
[1104] TÖRÖK (2002), 266-267, among others. As also represented in concrete form by Taharqa's criosphinxes found at Kawa. For example, British Museum EA1779.
[1105] Discussed above.
[1106] Among others, BELL (1985), 33.
[1107] Among others, GUGLIELMI (1994), *passim*, and TÖRÖK (2002), 266-267.
[1108] TÖRÖK (2002), 266 and 284.
[1109] BELL (1985), 31. Not only in Temple A at Kawa but also in the tomb of Huy. See *IBID*, 32, and plate I b.
[1110] In a variety of media. Apart from the reliefs addressed here, see also Taharqa's criosphinx British Museum EA1779, and the copper alloy inlays British Museum EA63590 and EA63591. The British Museum website attributes these to Khnum, but this should be Amun.
[1111] *Kawa II, Plates*, plate IV. See also TÖRÖK (2002), 145.
[1112] Refer to *Kawa II, Text*, 138-139. Item numbers: 0336 (British Museum 1779); 0337 (Merowe Museum Number 56; Khartoum Museum Number 2682); 0463 (Merowe Museum Number 55; Khartoum Museum Number 1581), and 0497 (Ashmolean Museum Number 1931.553).

doorway contexts at Kawa.[1113] The criosphinx associated with Amannote-erike's texts Kawa X and XI has Meroitic graffiti surrounding it, but this does not mean that it is contemporary with this graffiti, and may instead be contemporary with Kawa X and XI. For one thing, the carving of the criosphinx is deeper, and the rendering is more skilful and detailed than that of the Meroitic graffiti.[1114] Furthermore, its execution appears more in keeping with 'Napatan' styles of art than 'Meroitic' styles.[1115]

One might suggest that this criosphinx was original to Taharqa's decoration programme at Temple T.[1116] Alternatively, it may have been carved during any king's reign after Taharqa's. However, due to its style and the neat arrangement of Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts in relation to it, I argue that it may have been carved during Amannote-erike's reign. The texts were carved quite neatly onto blocks, as was the criosphinx, and unlike the Meroitic graffiti incised haphazardly around it, suggesting that the criosphinx, and Kawa X and XI were inscribed contemporaneously.[1117] If this were the case, this would be the only image of any kind extant from Amannote-erike's time as king. It seems appropriate that it is a criosphinx, since it is both the symbolic animal of Amun/Amun-Rē and an ideological, iconographic representation of kingship. If the criosphinx associated with Kawa X and XI was carved contemporaneously with them, perhaps this indicates that Amannote-erike or the composer of these texts was imitating the dogma surrounding the ideological and iconographical programmes of his royal predecessors at Kawa.[1118]

[1113] TÖRÖK (2002), 266-267.
[1114] Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1115] Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII. Also suggested by Frau Professor LOHWASSER in personal communications.
[1116] MACADAM considers both the texts and the criosphinx to be later than Taharqa's reign. *Kawa I, Text*, 68.
[1117] Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1118] This is speculative, but important to consider in the context of Amannote-erike's royal identity creation and display.

Temple donation texts:

The topic of temple donations in ancient Egypt and Kush is immense, and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, some relevant points must be made regarding donations and their function as part of the economic and religious responsibilities of these ancient kings, as apropos to Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts.[1119]

The modern scholarly analysis of ancient Egyptian offering lists[1120]– as represented on temple walls and within papyrus caches, among other media – is extensive.[1121] Modern scholars seem to presume that Kushite monarchs presented their offering lists in the same format, using the same media, with the same offering goods donated to a deity, as did ancient Egyptian kings. To some extent, this presumption is true.[1122] As seen on Kushite stelae that include a lunette,[1123] traditional offerings that a king presented to a god included wine,[1124] bread,[1125] a pectoral or necklace,[1126] or a stylised figure of *mꜣʿt* seated in a bowl.[1127] Images of kings offering these items and others including temple buildings, are also present within the decorative programmes of many Kushite temples. Taharqa's Temple T is an excellent example. It is curious to note that none of these items, nor any other items of value that one might expect a king to offer to a god in an orthodox offering inscription (such as gold, silver, milk, or incense, just to name a few) are present in Amannote-erike's three 'donation' texts. This is strange, considering that offering lists are believed to display a king's piety and his

[1119] Works that refer to ancient Egyptian offering stelae and temple offering lists include JANSSEN (1979); KRUCHTEN (1979); MEEKS (1979), and MENU (1995). Cf. BRYAN (2005), for discussions regarding temple donations at Thebes in the Third Intermediate Period, including the tenures of Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II as God's Wives.
[1120] Both private and royal.
[1121] Among many others, EL-SABBAN (2000); HARING (1997); SPALINGER (1996), and *IDEM* (2015).
[1122] To name but a few examples, Piankhy's offering lists on his 'Triumphal Stela'; Taharqa's offering lists on his Kawa stelae IV-VI, and Taharqa's lists and offering scenes evident in the decorative programme of Temple T at Kawa.
[1123] Which is the majority of them.
[1124] For example, Taharqa's stelae Kawa IV-VI, and the discussion in TÖRÖK (1997a), 288-289. For one of the most comprehensive discussion of wine offerings in ancient Egypt, see POO (1995).
[1125] As in Taharqa's stelae Kawa IV-VI. See TÖRÖK (1997a), 288-289. Regarding white bread as a divine offering in ancient Egypt, see STROOT-KIRALY (1989).
[1126] For example, Tanutamani's 'Dream Stela', and Nastasen's stela. TÖRÖK (1997a), 288-289.
[1127] For example, Tanutamani's 'Dream Stela.' Also TÖRÖK (1997a), 288-289.

loyalty and generosity to his divine father.[1128] In return, that king received the god's constant support and "confirmation of [his] royal power."[1129] Moreover, as neatly illustrated by Taharqa's reliefs at Kawa, offerings to the god were almost ubiquitously accompanied by an image of the relevant king physically presenting an offering to that god. As addressed previously, it is curious that an image of Amannote-erike is never present in association with his texts. He was not depicted pictorially presenting an offering to a god in any of these contexts. His absolute lack of pictorial representation is remarkable within the framework of ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite kingship.[1130]

The next point of contention are the offerings that *are* listed in Kawa X, XI, and XII. Manzo notes that the consumption of large amounts of food and beverages seems to have been a typical, but important aspect of Kushite social and ceremonial life within temple complexes.[1131] The economic and societal aspects of ancient Egyptian and Kushite temples and their festivals/feasts worked conjointly.[1132] Donations of goods to temples, and products produced by temple complexes, allowed the regular functioning of temples as economic entities.[1133] However, these products also allowed kings' facilitating of public feasting at temples on important occasions, which performed as a public, propagandistic display of their wealth, generosity, and benevolence in their identity as king.[1134] The donation of large amounts of grain, beverages, cattle, and other consumables must have been an essential part of a king's display of his largesse towards his god, his generosity to his people, and hence his legitimation. Among others, Dils[1135] and Emberling[1136] discuss that the provision of a bountiful offering feast of foodstuffs and beverages at ceremonial occasions was an essential

[1128] Among others, TÖRÖK (1997a), 295-296.
[1129] TÖRÖK (1997a), 295-296.
[1130] I discussed this in Chapters 1 and 10.
[1131] MANZO (2017), 136-137.
[1132] For example, MANZO (2017), 136-137; SAYED (2007), 301-302, and 305, and SPALINGER (1985).
[1133] Remunerating priests, *et cetera*. Refer to, for example, GRUNERT (2007); SAYED (2007), and SPALINGER (1985).
[1134] Among others, MANZO (2017), 136-138.
[1135] DILS (1993).
[1136] EMBERLING (2015).

part of ancient political practice.[1137] This display of wealth and generosity by a ruler was critical to the representation of his ability to care for his god and his people, and was a fundamental feature of ancient leadership identity and its creation.

Manzo also addresses the political significance of a ruler providing ceremonial feasts within a Meroitic Kushite context.[1138] He specifically mentions a graffito from Philae that recorded an apparently royally sponsored feast that lasted for eight days, held during the reign of Teqordeamani *circa* 250 C.E.,[1139] and the archaeological remains of what appear to be ritual feasting areas within first centuries C.E. Kushite borders.[1140] The shared group consumption of food and drink provided by a monarch on a large scale during public ceremonial celebrations "both in funerary and monumental ceremonial assemblages,"[1141] had considerable political and societal consequence.[1142] These public ceremonial feasts donated by a king[1143] "may have been crucial for the production and reproduction of social relations and identity."[1144] Public feasts had a critical role in societal identity and traditions specifically when associated with monumental buildings, since it may have been at these edifices that certain population groups, especially nomadic communities, gathered on important occasions.[1145] If this were the case with population groups within Kush, a meaningful celebration, such as his coronation, may have been a newly crowned Kushite king's one and only opportunity to introduce himself to the nomadic population and impress his authority and largesse upon them. He would have publically displayed and emphasised his identity as ruler by his provision of a celebratory feast to all attendees. Furthermore, as Manzo maintains, the

[1137] Among others, FIRTH (1973), 243-261, discusses the use and significance of food as symbolism in pre-industrial communities.
[1138] MANZO (2017), 136-138.
[1139] MANZO (2017), 136.
[1140] MANZO (2017), 136.
[1141] MANZO (2017), 136.
[1142] MANZO (2017), 136.
[1143] Including, but not limited to, the reversion of offerings that are known from Egyptian temples. Among others GRUNERT (2007), and SAYED (2007).
[1144] MANZO (2017), 136.
[1145] MANZO (2017), 137.

> communal ritualized consumption of food and drink…[would have] been functional to establish and maintain alliances among different groups in the context of composite states, and to consolidate different roles and ranks in the states themselves.[1146]

A Kushite king thus not only could have affirmed his identity as ultimate authority in Kush, establishing alliances with new groups by providing a feast at the celebration of his coronation, but could also have reaffirmed standing alliances with other groups already loyal to him, perhaps by showing them particular favour during festivities. The political value of a king's provision of these feasts thus cannot be underestimated.

Therefore, it seems reasonable for Amannote-erike to have commissioned the official inscription of texts depicting such politically important donations onto the temple walls. However, when the texts themselves are closely analysed, they reveal different intentions than those one might presume in light of the above considerations. When one scrutinises all of these factors, one wonders if Amannote-erike's three 'donation' texts actually were intended for the usual purposes of an official donation text inscribed by a king on an important monument. Indeed, closer examination indicates that it is likely that these 'donation'[1147] texts may not have been official texts after all.[1148]

Kawa X, the first 'donation' text

Macadam designated the first 'donation'[1149] text composed during Amannote-erike's reign Kawa X.[1150] It is located on the south face of the north doorjamb, starting on the eastern edge

[1146] MANZO (2017), 137-138.
[1147] As outlined above.
[1148] I address this below.
[1149] I have placed this adjective in inverted commas, since this term is not altogether accurate. I explore this in detail below. Note that MACADAM does not refer to these inscriptions as donation texts. *FHN* II, however, refers to them as such. Cf. *Kawa I, Text*, 68-72 and *FHN* II, 428-434.
[1150] Kawa X is nine columns long. *Kawa I, Text*, 68-69, and *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27 and 28. For my transliteration and translation of this text, along with translation notes, see Appendix 3a.

of the jamb, between the First Court and Hypostyle Hall of Temple T.[1151] The inscription's exact composition date is uncertain. The beginning is damaged, and the regnal date and titulary are lost. Macadam asserts that the inscription had originally begun with the royal titulary and the regnal date as one expects.[1152] This is reasonable.[1153] The text that remains legible begins with column 3 of the original inscription, presenting the end of the titulary: Amannote-erike's Son of Rē name. The majority of the inscription lauds Amannote-erike as Amun-Rē of Kawa's son. The language used is what one would expect of a text that speaks of a legitimate king, and his relationships with Amun-Rē and with Rē. As such, it represents a record of formulaic royal documents within both an ancient Kushite and Egyptian context. One such example is a stock phrase known throughout both ancient Egyptian and ancient Kushite royal textual history when referring to the living king: 'Given life, like Rē, forever to eternity.'[1154]

Within this text, the linguistic intricacies of the grain offerings represented in this text, and the exact nature of the "*wr ḥkꜣt*"[1155] measurements representing these offerings are interesting.[1156] Macadam argues against the offerings *it*[1157] and *bdt*[1158] as grain offerings, and against *wr ḥkꜣt* representing measures of these grains. He argues instead for these items being interpreted as uraei, given as votive items.[1159] This was probably motivated by the fact that the offering amounts have uraei as determinatives after the name of each item.[1160] The archaeological context would appear to support this suggestion. Model uraei made from bronze along with

[1151] *Kawa I, Text*, 68-69, and *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27 and 28, and *FHN* II, 428-430. The hieroglyphs are inscribed in vertical columns (reading top to bottom, right to left) and the measurements are unknown. *FHN* II, 430.
[1152] *Kawa I, Text*, 68, note 1.
[1153] See discussions in Appendix 3a.
[1154] Appendix 3a, columns 4 and 5.
[1155] See PRIESE'S (1968b), 42-47, discussion regarding these measurements.
[1156] Appendix 3a. Kawa XI also mentions these.
[1157] See PEUST (1999), 104 and 128
[1158] *bt* in the original hieroglyphs. See Appendix 1, Figure XIII; *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 28, and PEUST (1999), 95 and 105.
[1159] *Kawa I, Text*, 69.
[1160] *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 28.

moulds for making them, were discovered deposited as votive items in the Kawa temples.[1161] Possibly, these could have been called *wr ḥkꜣt*.[1162] As Macadam discusses, if these items are indeed votive uraei, apparently two different types of uraei were donated.[1163] However, based on just about every other donation text and on more traditional donation stelae of both Egypt and Kush, an interpretation of *it* and *bdt* as "barley" and "emmer" would make more sense.[1164] Moreover, Priese asserts that the use of a uraeus sign after numerical amounts as encountered here gives the definite impression that this sign is used as an expression of mass – mass, furthermore, associated with grain weights.[1165] Priese thus argues that these items measured in wer-hekats (*i.e*., with the uraeus determinative) are to be considered as plant or plant-based products.[1166] I have therefore interpreted these items as grain offerings,[1167] instead of votive uraei.[1168]

There is scholarly confusion regarding the exact amount of these grain donations.[1169] There are clearly two larger amounts of grain and two smaller amounts (of nine wer-hekat measures each) that were donated.[1170] Macadam renders the large numeral in column 6[1171] as "25".[1172] Török considers this large numeral as "27".[1173] However, neither Macadam's "25" in each of columns 6 and 7, nor Török's "27" in column 6 and "25" in column 7 add up (in addition to the above-mentioned two amounts of nine wer-hekat measures) to the given total within the

[1161] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 2.
[1162] See *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 2. Hereafter referred to as wer-hekat. MACADAM refers to them as "*wrt-ḥkꜣ*" in *IBID*, but in the hieroglyphs, *t* is definitely associated with *ḥkꜣ*, rather than with *wr*. Appendix 1, Figure XIII.
[1163] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, notes 4 and 7.
[1164] I do not agree with *FHN* II, 429 or PRIESE (1968b), 44 that interpret *bdt* as "spelt". "Emmer" seems to me to be the best translation. Unfortunately, neither PEUST (1999) nor SARGENT (2004) address these three Kawa 'donation' texts and therefore cannot assist in these considerations.
[1165] PRIESE (1968b), 43.
[1166] PRIESE (1968b), 41.
[1167] Following *FHN* II, 429.
[1168] PRIESE (1968b), 46-47 discusses how this development of the uraeus as a sign of weight may have developed from a misunderstanding of late abnormal hieratic. See also discussions in PEUST (1999), 187-188, and SARGENT (2004) 376, note 209.
[1169] For example, MACADAM'S discussion in *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 7.
[1170] Appendix 3a, columns 6 and 7.
[1171] Appendix 3a.
[1172] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note (3).
[1173] *FHN* II, 429.

text of "72" wer-hekat measures.[1174] When one examines the original text or Macadam's hand drawing,[1175] it seems that the numerals are written as five vertical strokes, followed by a dot and two successive vertical strokes, followed by three dots, which indicate a plural. If they were grouped in fives, as seems to be the case, this would equate to five vertical strokes separated from the next group of two vertical lines by a dot, demarcating the groupings clearly.[1176] This grouping of vertical numerals would then read, "5" [dot] "2," adding up to a total of "7". Thus, in my opinion, both numerals in columns 6 and 7 should be read as "27", which would then make the sum of the total items donated to the god by the king equal to "72" (27+9+27+9),[1177] solving the problem of the previously mentioned mathematical inconsistencies.

Amannote-erike only donated raw grains to the temple precinct. He did not donate grain and bread or beer, *i.e.*, processed grains. He may have given this donation to the complex during the season when the area was sparsely populated.[1178] From context, it does not seem that this donation was provided at the time of a specific festival. If the temple complex was only fully inhabited when a coronation took place, then it stands to reason that there was only a basic, skeleton crew working at the temple at that juncture, since Amannote-erike was already king and had been for some time.[1179] Therefore, donations of raw, unprocessed grains would make the most sense since they would last longer.[1180] Alternatively, possibly these grains may have been the only goods that Amannote-erike had access to at this time. If the unknown date of this donation were in the earlier years of his reign (as I suspect) then he may not have had

[1174] Appendix 3a, column 7.
[1175] *Kawa I, Text*, 69 (especially note 3), and Appendix 1, Figure XI.
[1176] Refer to Appendix 1, Figures XI and XIII, and *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 28.
[1177] (27+9) in column 6, plus (27+9) in column 7.
[1178] Once again, it seems plausible that the palace/temple complexes at Gebel Barkal *et al* may not have been fully staffed all year round. Instead, they may have been staffed seasonally, or for holy days, coronations and the like, as addressed in Chapter 3.
[1179] And would, presumably, have been ruling from the capital at Meroë.
[1180] FIRTH (1973), 255, suggests from an anthropological standpoint that raw food contributions represent "social co-operation," and that certain types of raw food offerings held a particular symbolic and cultural significance. Perhaps one (or both?) of these interpretations holds true for Amannote-erike's raw grain donations.

access to goods of a more luxurious nature. His control over the extended Kushite territories may not have been sufficient to allow him to provide offerings such as wine, incense, gold, servants, and so forth to be given to the temple during an occasion that was not a major festival.[1181] However, if one considers this from another point of view, and considering the generally arid nature of most of the Kushite region, the presentation of such large amounts of grain[1182] may actually have represented a very rich donation.

Amannote-erike's personal address to the god almost seems to be more important than the offerings themselves. Indeed, in a text hardly nine columns in length, the offerings are only mentioned in columns 6 and 7. The heaviest emphasis appears to be placed on Amannote-erike's pious nature as Amun-Rē's son on earth. His unparalleled status as one who may speak directly to the god was made clear by the repetitive nature of columns 4-6.[1183] Moreover, in columns 7-9 Amannote-erike made a prayer to Amun for, among others, "great life, great health, and great happiness".[1184] These requests for a long, healthy, and happy life suggest that this text was a eulogistic notation, rather than an official temple offering list such as one might find, for example, on Taharqa's stela Kawa III.[1185] Amannote-erike's establishment and renewal of the temple precinct and its endowments were also not accentuated in Kawa X, as Taharqa's endowments were highlighted in Kawa III. It therefore seems to be a misnomer to call this inscription a 'formulaic' donation text.

Kawa XI, the second 'donation' text

Amannote-erike's second 'donation' text, Kawa XI, was also inscribed on the south face of the north doorjamb between the First Court and Hypostyle Hall, and closely associated with Kawa

[1181] For example, his coronation or the New Year's festival.
[1182] 72 wer-hekat measures of combined emmer and barley.
[1183] MACADAM'S opinion that this repetition was "fatuous" and due to the scribe being unfamiliar with Egyptian language and hieroglyphs seems uncharitable. *Kawa I, Text*, 68.
[1184] Appendix 3a.
[1185] Stela Kawa III (Copenhagen, ÆIN 1707), providing short donation lists for years 2-8 of Taharqa's reign. See *Kawa I, Text*, 4-14.

X.[1186] The beginning includes the regnal date and Amannote-erike's full titulary.[1187] It is dated to Amannote-erike' nineteenth regnal year.[1188] Kawa XI is now seven columns long since the end of the inscription is lost. It is impossible to tell how much longer it may originally been from what remains, but it could not have been much longer, considering the limited surface area available within the doorjamb. After Amannote-erike's regnal date and titulary, Kawa XI presents sections that are typical of an official royal text, where the king was given the epithets of "Beloved of Amun-Rē" and "Son of Amun-Rē", and was said to "cause to live like Amun."[1189] However, in the subsequent section of Amannote-erike's eulogy, he was given two new and interesting epithets, being likened to two other Egyptian deities: "He builds like Ptah, he has wisdom like Thoth."[1190]

Ptah is very seldom attested in Kush,[1191] but some evidence of his worship does exist. The mummiform Ptah of Memphis was significant to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings, as evidenced by their building projects at Memphis and Karnak, and their donations to his cult.[1192] Harsiotef's stela alludes to the cult of Ptah as having had a temple in Kush that had collapsed.[1193] One of Piankhy's abacus inscriptions from Gebel Barkal in Hall B502 refers to Ptah, "foremost of Nubia".[1194] However, the extant evidence indicates that, within Kush itself,

[1186] My transliteration and translation of this text, along with translation notes, are in Appendix 3b.
[1187] Appendix 3b.

[1188] *Kawa I, Text*, 70-71; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27 and 28, and *FHN* II, 431-432. *rnpt/ḥ3t* (GARDINER'S sign number M4. GARDINER (2012), 479) is omitted in the original. See *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27 and 28. Plate 27 (photograph of the original) is too poor to properly make out what might be present in the original inscription. Thus, we must rely on plate 28, MACADAM'S hand copy of the text. MACADAM (*Kawa I, Text*, 70, note 1) argues that this should be read as *ḥ3t-sp*, because of the adherence of Amannote-erike's other texts to the Egyptian year-month-day dating system. *FHN* II, 431, follows this convention. However, the alternative suggestion that the round hieroglyphic sign presented in the original text is *hrw/sw* "day" (GARDINER'S sign number N5. GARDINER (2012), 485), and not "*sp*" is not impossible.
[1189] Appendix 3b, columns 3 and 4.
[1190] Appendix 3b, columns 4-5.
[1191] LOHWASSER (1997), 34.
[1192] LOHWASSER (1997), 34. Additionally, arguably, the evidence embodied by the Shabaka Stone (British Museum, EA498).
[1193] Harsiotef's stela, lines 120-121. See discussions in KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 66, and PEUST (1999), 58 and 347. The former location of this temple is unclear from the inscription's context.
[1194] TÖRÖK (2002), 90.

Ptah appeared extensively only in the iconographic programme at Kawa. Reliefs on the outside of the pylon of Taharqa's Temple T show Ptah as a mummiform human wearing a skull cap, as depicted in Egyptian sources.[1195] An inscription on a granite statue's head found at Kawa[1196] designated the depicted individual as "Ptah of Kawa".[1197] As Kuckertz and Lohwasser suggest, Ptah may have had his own cult that was unique and localised at Kawa.[1198] He was certainly associated with cultic activities at Temple T.[1199] In the second scene on the front, north side of the pylon doorway, Ptah appeared as Taharqa's father (*it=f*), one source of Taharqa's legitimacy and divine nature.[1200] This is exceedingly important, [1201] since Ptah thus occupied a place in Taharqa's ideological depictions that placed him on par with both Amun-Rē of Napata/Gebel Barkal and Amun-Rē of Kawa.[1202] Ptah is also depicted in Room H, seated and receiving *mꜣʿt* from Taharqa, escorted by Sakhmet.[1203] Ptah was furthermore included in the reliefs on Taharqa's shrine, originally positioned in the Hypostyle Hall.[1204] Within this iconographic programme, he was referred to as "Ptah-Nun" and appears in a family triad with Sakhmet and Nefertum. This manifestation of Ptah-Nun indicates the conceptual environment "in which the Memphite Theology[1205] was created."[1206] Significantly, it appears that this environment of conceptual creation was concentrated at Kawa.[1207] Ptah's iconographical and ideological presence and context at Kawa demonstrates his centrality to ideologies and identities surrounding kingship at that site.[1208] It is intriguing that Ptah seems to have been significant specifically at Kawa; precisely where it has been hypothesised that

[1195] Especially Memphite sources. See *Kawa II, Plates*, plate XXIII a, and KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 66.
[1196] *Kawa II, Plates*, plate LXXI a and b. See KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 66.
[1197] KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 66.
[1198] KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 66.
[1199] TÖRÖK (2002), 89.
[1200] TÖRÖK (2002), 89.
[1201] See TÖRÖK (2002), 89-92.
[1202] TÖRÖK (2002), 89.
[1203] TÖRÖK (2002), 89. Strangely, considering this apparent importance at Kawa, Ptah appeared not to have been incorporated into the Meroitic pantheon. LOHWASSER (1997), 34.
[1204] TÖRÖK (2002), 89.
[1205] *I.e.*, the religious inscription found on the Shabaka Stone.
[1206] TÖRÖK (2002), 90.
[1207] TÖRÖK (2002), 90, suggests that Kawa and Memphis had a special ideological connection through the Ptah cult, dating from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.
[1208] TÖRÖK (2002), 90-91.

Amannote-erike's and Taharqa's family line may have had its roots. Amannote-erike's identity in this segment of Kawa XI as "he [who] builds like Ptah" indicates the identification of Ptah with creation and building at Kawa, and Amannote-erike's association with those divine traits. These considerations reinforce the assertions made earlier in this thesis regarding the impact that the association of words and the act of creation, as represented by the Memphite Theology, may have had on Amannote-erike's creation and display of his identity at Kawa.

Thoth in his incarnation as a baboon was not often depicted in Kushite art.[1209] When he was shown as a baboon, he was escorting and protecting a scribe.[1210] The ibis-headed incarnation of Thoth seems to have been associated with the Kushite royal cult, and apparently had a special place in its ideological display in a number of media.[1211] Thoth as a human with an ibis head was depicted at least twice guiding Taharqa and Horus, as customary in ancient Egyptian scenes,[1212] in the decorative programme of Kawa's Temple T,[1213] and was represented pouring a libation before himself and the king in Kawa's Temple B.[1214]

The ibis-headed Thoth was also closely associated with the royal cult in Egypt, especially with coronation ceremonies of newly acceded kings, and was the "protector of kingship".[1215] Hence, his depiction on the walls of Temple T makes sense and – presuming similar kingship traditions in Kush as in Egypt – his inclusion in Amannote-erike's eulogy was judicious.

[1209] LWECZUK (1983), 46. For extensive discussions regarding Thoth in Nubia/Kush, see *IBID*, *passim*, and ZUMKLEY (2011), *passim*.
[1210] LWECZUK (1983), 46. Regarding Kushite forms of Thoth, see ZUMKLEY (2011), 109-110.
[1211] LOHWASSER (1997), 33-34. A statuette of Thoth as an ibis-headed human wearing the *hmhm*-crown was found at Gala Abu Ahmed. ZUMKLEY (2011), especially 107. The *hmhm*-crown was associated with the king's authority and regenerative powers in both Egypt and Kush. *IBID*, 112.
[1212] For example, A. SMITH (2005), 329.
[1213] *Kawa II, Plates*, plates XXII a and c, and LWECZUK (1983), 52.
[1214] *Kawa II, Plates*, plate VI b. Thoth's pouring libations in the king's presence was usually in conjunction with Horus in ancient Egyptian royal depictions. A. SMITH (2005) discusses the connection between Horus, Thoth, libations, and purification by water, with the king's legitimation in an Egyptian context. It seems reasonable that a similar type of tradition existed in Kush.
[1215] A. SMITH (2005), 335-336.

Moreover, this evidence from Kawa XI shows that Thoth's age-old Egyptian identity as the epitome of wisdom and mental acuity endured in Kush in the fifth century B.C.E. His purview as a deity who embodied both divine wisdom and royal protection is clear, and Amannote-erike's association of himself with those characteristics was a clear political and personal affirmation. His portrayal of being as wise as the deity who was the manifestation of supernatural wisdom and who guarded kingship was a powerful propagandistic declaration, and arguably an important statement of Amannote-erike's representation.[1216]

Offerings are again mentioned only in columns 6-7 of Kawa XI, and the only offerings that appear are one wer-hekat of barley.[1217] Additionally, even though it was apparently Amannote-erike who donated this barley, the text explicitly states that it is not to Amun-Rē of Kawa that he gave the barley, but to the army.[1218] Amannote-erike disclosed this intention to his "companions of the royal residence".[1219] Donations being given directly to the army is irregular and perhaps indicates again the considerable influence of the army on Amannote-erike's reign. This may again reflect his contemporary socio-political context, his intimate connection with the military, or his political reliance upon the army. Amun-Rē is not referenced in this segment, nor is he the recipient of Amannote-erike's donation. In fact, Amun-Rē was only mentioned twice in Kawa XI, both times as part of Amannote-erike's eulogy at the beginning of the text.[1220] Here, the paramount importance of the army and its support of Amannote-erike (a continuous thread throughout his texts) appears to be emphasised, such that Amannote-erike's provisioning of the army is presented as akin to making an official offering to a temple precinct. Therefore, as in the case of Kawa X, it seems

[1216] It seems reasonable to suggest that it is this particular aspect of Thoth's divine capacities that was of concern to the composer of Kawa XI, rather than his Egyptian role of scribe. LOHWASSER (1997), 34, notes that there are insufficient cases of Thoth's representation as a scribe in Kush to be able to assert anything of a concrete nature regarding his scribal purview there. Therefore, there is no basis for suggesting that it was Thoth's scribal role that was referenced here in Kawa XI. Besides, there are considerable conceptual and practical differences between being wise and being able to write.
[1217] See above regarding wer-hekats as a measurement of grain.
[1218] Appendix 3b, columns 6-7.
[1219] Appendix 3b, columns 6-7.
[1220] Directly after the titulary.

inaccurate to refer to Kawa XI as a formulaic, royal 'donation' text as modern scholars perceive them.

Kawa XII, the third 'donation' text

The third 'donation' text, Kawa XII, is dated to year 25[+?] of Amannote-erike's reign,[1221] and is inscribed on the north face of the south doorjamb (starting from the western edge of the jamb),[1222] between Temple T's First Court and Hypostyle Hall.[1223] Even though it is badly damaged, the remaining evidence suggests that it was originally at least twelve columns long.[1224] Several aspects of this text are of interest. First, it provides evidence of the apparently respectable length of Amannote-erike's reign. A regnal period of at least twenty-five years is substantial for any king, ancient or modern. Furthermore, if, as has been suggested, Amannote-erike was not the 'legitimate' king, then this regnal year evidences that he was successful not only in his programme of propaganda and authoritative display, but also in having a long life. It reinforces that he was successful in retaining the kingship against any interlopers and in firmly associating his individual identity within the Kushite royal continuum. Indeed, in column 4, Amannote-erike is referred to as "foremost of a million men," asserting his endurance and unequivocal nature as king of Kush.

Column 3 refers to Amannote-erike as "the one who is chosen".[1225] It seems reasonable to suppose that the choice alluded to is Amun-Rē of Kawa's choice of him as king. However, given that the text does not specifically say this, it is possible that this could mean Amannote-erike's election by either the god *or* the army. Subsequently, Amannote-erike is named as

[1221] My transliteration and translation, with translation notes, are in Appendix 3c. As mentioned in Appendix 3c, MACADAM'S hand copy (Appendix 1, Figure XV) shows that the year number is damaged. Only the numeral "20" is visible. I follow MACADAM'S convention of regnal year of 25 [+X]. *Kawa I, Text*, 71-72, especially note 1.
[1222] *FHN* II, 434.
[1223] See *Kawa I, Text*, 71-72; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 29-30, and *FHN* II, 432-435.
[1224] *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 30.
[1225] Appendix 3c.

"king whose monuments of Kawa are beautiful."[1226] This suggests that he undertook extensive building work at Kawa, as intimated within his 'Great Inscription'. Where these edifices were originally located, and what they were, is uncertain, since no evidence of these building works is extant. However, it is encouraging to have Amannote-erike's purported edifices alluded to within an alternate context to the 'Great Inscription'. This suggests that there were concrete buildings constructed during his reign, at least at Kawa, and that these constructions were not simply fictional edifices depicted in his coronation text.

In column 5, Amannote-erike pledged "141 young long horned bulls and 220 hekat-measures of barley"[1227] to Amun-Rē of Kawa.[1228] Amannote-erike apparently spoke these words directly to the god, in person.[1229] Thus, in this regard, Kawa XII appears to be a 'true' donation text. The incumbent king, Amannote-erike, spoke directly to his divine father and provided him with significant, costly offerings. Donations of cattle and grain are more typical of offerings that one would expect to be given to a deity. However, again it is strange that these are the only offerings donated. There was no mention of any kind of fowl, incense, precious metals, bread, or oils, for example. One also wonders from whence the 141 bulls may have been sourced. Perhaps this indicates that Amannote-erike, as king, had access to a large, private herd of cattle, of which he could dispose as he wished. If Amannote-erike or his army had seized these herds in a raid on their surrounding territories and then presented them to Amun-Rē, one would expect this victory to be recorded and displayed in this inscription.

Kawa XII seems to depict Amannote-erike as a devout king. His apparent piety to a number of deities was emphasised, more so than in Kawa XI, which mentions Amun, Amun-Rē, Ptah, and Thoth. In columns 6-7 of Kawa XII, Amannote-erike evoked Amun, Rē,[1230] Amun-Rē of

[1226] Appendix 3c, column 3.
[1227] Observations regarding the wording and orthography of these offerings are in the footnotes of Appendix 3c.
[1228] Appendix 3c, column 5.
[1229] Appendix 3c, column 5.
[1230] KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 65-66.

Kawa, the Ennead,[1231] Prē,[1232] Horus,[1233] and "all gods and all goddesses of [lost]".[1234] Moreover, this document revealed Amannote-erike's "desire to make a Residence for all the gods". This emphasis on so many gods in this text is a particularly interesting aspect. Certainly, Amun-Rē of Kawa remained a significant deity throughout; Kawa XII mentions him more often than any other deity. Nevertheless, in the earliest account of Amannote-erike's reign, Kawa IX, he only referred to the incarnations of the state gods Amun and Amun-Rē. Kawa X, apparently inscribed later than Kawa IX in his reign,[1235] referred to Amun-Rē and Rē. In Kawa XI, Amun, Ptah, and Thoth enter the king's sphere of reference in addition to Rē and Amun-Rē. Then, in the last and latest text extant from Amannote-erike's reign, Kawa XII, an array of deities were evoked.[1236] This seems curious. Perhaps this type of widespread display of support for the deities 'living' at Kawa intimates that Amannote-erike was losing control of his territories. Mentioning deities for whom he wished to make a home suggests that he sought the divine approbation of all these gods, and by extension, the political support of their priesthoods. Possibly, this was to reconsolidate and reinforce his authority over regions he had previously controlled without their assistance.[1237]

Some incomplete signs in column 8 could refer to either "water" or to "Napata".[1238] As alluded to in Appendix 3c, this possibly hints at Amannote-erike's libations of *mw*[1239] "water" for himself, or to the deities referred to in column 6, or to Amun-Rē of Kawa. Alternatively, it could refer to Amannote-erike's donations of water to a temple, or could be a reference to

[1231] Exactly which Ennead is unclear.
[1232] This is fascinating. To my knowledge, there is no tradition of the god Prē in Kush, especially not in connection with royalty, and not at this late date.
[1233] Among others, KORMYSHEVA (1996), 139-141, and KUCKERTZ and LOHWASSER (2016), 60-61. I discuss Amannote-erike as Horus, divine, legitimate king, in Chapter 8 specifically, and *passim* within this thesis.
[1234] Presumably of Kush. A nice catch-all for anyone he may have forgotten.
[1235] Presumably, as addressed above.
[1236] It is tempting to speculate whether this implies Amannote-erike was more religious in his old age.
[1237] This is speculative and cannot be corroborated.
[1238] GARDINER'S sign number N35. (GARDINER (2012), 490). The text is too damaged to tell to what exactly they refer. *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 30, and Appendix 1, Figures XIV and XV.
[1239] Refer to *Wb* II, 50-53, and AJA SÁNCHEZ (2012), 226-227.

Napata.[1240] If this were a reference to water, this may be similar to the "cool water" alluded to in Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela'.[1241] This would not take place in the same area as that referred to by Piankhy, as he was in Iunu (Heliopolis) during that particular episode,[1242] and Amannote-erike's territory did not extend into Egypt. However, there may have been at least one sacred site focused on water within Kush. Indeed, considering the arid nature of large regions of Kush, a site with a significant pool of water seems a reasonable area around which to focus ceremonial and religious celebrations. As Smith notes, the identification in ancient Egypt of water libations and the ablution ritual with coronation ceremonies is clear.[1243] Hence, if the signs in Kawa XII did refer to water, an allusion to Amannote-erike's coronation and practices of legitimation performed years previously may have been intended. Alternatively, this might refer to Amannote-erike's performance of a different ablution ceremony using water, possibly to renew and reinforce his rulership; perhaps something like a Kushite heb-sed festival. Conversely, if the hieroglyph here did not refer to water, it could also make sense for this to refer to Napata. The inscription may simply have mentioned Amun-Rē of Napata in connection with Amannote-erike. This would be appropriate, considering Amun-Rē of Napata/Gebel Barkal's status as Kushite state god, and considering the reference to so many other deities in this text. Therefore, this hypothetical mention of Napata would be appropriate within the context of Kawa XII.

Kawa XII now ends mid-column 12. The bottom of a cartouche remains, but the name within it is damaged beyond legibility. Only what appears to be *k*[1244] (possibly as represented in Amannote-erike's name) remains. Macadam suggests that this might be part of another

[1240] For the spelling of 'Napata' with (GARDINER'S sign number N35), see among others, ZIBELIUS (1972), 137-138.
[1241] Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' lines 101-102. See also, for example, the discussions in AJA SÁNCHEZ (2012).
[1242] Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela,' lines 101-102.
[1243] A. SMITH (2005).
[1244] GARDINER'S sign number V31. GARDINER (2012), 525.

inscription.[1245] Vestiges of what may be *ḫrw* are barely visible immediately after this cartouche, possibly a remnant of the epithet *mɜʿ ḫrw* "true of voice".[1246] If the name in the cartouche was Amannote-erike's, and if he was said to be *mɜʿ ḫrw*, then this hints that he was dead at the time of Kawa XII's inscription. This naturally presumes the continued use in fifth century B.C.E. Kush of the ancient Egyptian practice of naming a deceased king, or any deceased individual, "true of voice" after their death.[1247] At that date, within Egypt itself, it does not seem that this phrase was connected with deceased kings any more.[1248] This funerary meaning may already have "worn out" in Egypt during the New Kingdom,[1249] but it is not impossible that this practice would have continued independently in Kush, since Talakhamani, Alara, and Kashta, all of whom were deceased, were referred to in Kawa IX as being "true of voice".[1250] Alternatively, *mɜʿ ḫrw* in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period at least sometimes referred to the legitimate king, especially in his connection with Horus Behdety in his victory over Seth.[1251] It seems plausible that this ideology may have made its way south to Kush at some time prior to the Ptolemies in Egypt. Thus, if this remnant of hieroglyphs did once read *mɜʿ ḫrw*, it could refer to Amannote-erike's identity as rightful king, and his triumph over his enemies.[1252] This is highly debatable, and it is probable that this text does not refer to Amannote-erike as *mɜʿ ḫrw*, but instead alludes to something else entirely. This resonates with Macadam's opinion that the latter parts of the inscription in column 12 might be a section of another inscription, instead of the end of Kawa XII. Ultimately, there is insufficient evidence to draw any definite conclusions.

[1245] *Kawa I, Text*, 72, note 13.
[1246] *Wb* II, 15-17.
[1247] For example, ANTHES (1954), 21; GARDINER (2012), 50-51, and 567; HOCH (1997), 258, and WILSON (1997), 397.
[1248] For example, ANTHES (1954), 26.
[1249] Suggested by ANTHES (1954), 26.
[1250] Potentially unlikely, but certainly not impossible. After all, if Amannote-erike's textual composer was working from antiquated, forumlaic Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, they would not necessarily realise that using '*mɜʿ ḫrw*' for a dead individual was no longer the done thing.
[1251] Among others, WILSON (1997), 397.
[1252] WILSON (1997), 396-397.

Final thoughts

It is possible that these three inscriptions were official dedication texts commissioned by Amannote-erike during his reign and engraved into the stone doorjambs. The placement of these three texts, within the doorway between the First Court and Hypostyle Hall, and in association with the criosphinx figure, suggests Amannote-erike's mindful placement of these records within an important liminal architectural zone. This arrangement attests to Amannote-erike's concept of Kushite kingship, kingship ideology, and his identity as represented within the sacred space of Temple T.

Yet there are a number of peculiarities regarding Kawa X, XI, and XII as official royal 'donation' records. None of these texts mentions donations of fowl, milk, servants, bread, or other 'usual' temple donations that previous kings' texts have recorded.[1253] Such offerings might have been present in Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts originally, but have now been lost. However, considering the brevity of these texts and the detail exhibited in the delineation of the offerings that are present, one would imagine that some remnant of these items would be evident, if they had existed. Therefore, considering that there are actually very few donations recorded, perhaps an alternate term for these accounts should be employed, instead of 'donation' texts. It seems more accurate to refer to them as 'dedication' texts.[1254]

Moreover, the relatively rough nature of these three texts is peculiar considering the hypothesised importance of the sacred site of Kawa to Amannote-erike, and the apparent social importance of offerings and a ruler's display of those offerings within a political context. It seems extraordinary that Amannote-erike would commission a large, impressive, and well-written hieroglyphic text such as the 'Great Inscription' and then, later in his reign,

[1253] For example, lines 101-102 of Piankhy's 'Triumphal Stela' record his donation of items including fowl, bulls, and calves to the Ennead at Memphis. This is only one reference of many of such offerings made by Piankhy to a variety of deities at a variety of locations mentioned in his 'Triumphal Stela'.
[1254] For example, *á la* WORP and HOPE (2002), *passim*.

permit the official composition and inscription of three such simple texts as these dedication documents.[1255] Even more curiously, the dating of these texts do not appear to correlate to any specific, significant festivals in the temple calendar.[1256] Thus, one wonders why these particular donations were recorded for posterity, when surely Amannote-erike must have donated many other offerings to Kawa's temple complex during important festivals, such as the Opet or the New Year's festivals.[1257] It is possible that Amannote-erike really did make these relatively modest donations referred to by Kawa X, XI, and XII: to the temple of Amun-Rē, to the army, and to a variety of deities, respectively. However, even if this were the case, he may not have officially commissioned the recording of these donations on the temple walls.[1258] He may have considered these donations unworthy of "official" recording on a stela or on a purpose-constructed wall or shrine within the temple. Instead, it is possible that one of his associates, a priest, or a member of the temple staff, who had some education in writing, took it upon themselves to document these donations. If this were the case, one wonders what motivated their inscriptions of these texts. Perhaps, in a similar vein to rock inscriptions carved in the Sinai[1259] during the early Dynastic Periods of ancient Egypt,[1260] and in other locations during later periods,[1261] a faithful priest, or an associate of Amannote-erike's may have inscribed these texts onto the temple walls of their own volition, as a memorial or testimonial to Amannote-erike.

[1255] After all, these four texts are the only substantial evidence we have for his reign. His inscribed blocks from Nuri XII and the inscription found at Doukki Gel of his throne name are the only other hints of his existence. As stated earlier, no texts are recorded at Gebel Barkal. This may indicate that Kawa held the central place of Amannote-erike's religious and political focus, even during his later years.
[1256] From what is currently known regarding Kushite temple calendars. I mentioned this in Chapter 4.
[1257] It is odd that donations were not recorded every year, but only in specific years during Amannote-erike's reign. It is also strange that donations were not recorded more regularly, especially since both the New Year's festival and the Opet festival were annual events (to name but two important cultic events that must have been celebrated at Kawa). Presumably, the king would provide donations to the temple every year during these festivals at least.
[1258] If he had, this 'official' documentation, perhaps written on papyri or leather rolls, or possibly even recorded in Meroitic script, may now be lost.
[1259] For example.
[1260] For example, ABD EL-RAZIQ, CASTEL, TALLET, and GHICA (2002).
[1261] Among others, DARNELL (2004).

In this respect, one is reminded of the texts of Egyptian New Kingdom officials and viceroys at Buhen, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Again, the placement of these three texts within the doorjamb of Temple T, and the textual typology of Kawa X, XI, and XII echo similar characteristics embodied by these Buhen inscriptions, especially regarding identities of self-representation, and of representations of the kings who they served.[1262] If an anonymous individual (priest, scribe, official, or soldier) at Kawa inscribed these texts, this practice may have been to indicate their loyalty to Amannote-erike as a leader.[1263] Possibly, this was a tribute to Amannote-erike's leadership ideals, to his personal prowess, his popularity, and to his enactment of idealised kingship. If this were the case, and it was not Amannote-erike who commissioned these texts, one might therefore ask whose identity these texts display. I maintain that they still reflect the creation and display of Amannote-erike's identity as king - just not his *own* creation and display of his self-identification within the Kushite royal continuum. Kawa X, XI, and XII reflect a long and stable period in Kush under Amannote-erike's rulership, as well as relatively prosperous times for the temple complex at Kawa. These texts might therefore be considered a tribute to a generous and successful king in the latter years of his reign. This could provide an interesting insight into the perception and reception of Amannote-erike's identity by his subordinates, which manifested itself in an unbidden, public appreciation and display of his royal nature. His identity as a successful and ideal king was thereby exhibited by someone else, indicating that his programme of self-representation and identity within accepted Kushite social-political constructs had ultimately been successful during his reign.

[1262] Again, see among others, CAMINOS (1974), *passim*; PAMMINGER (1993), *passim*, and H. S. SMITH, EMERY and MILLARD (1976-1979), especially 152-153, and 198-205.
[1263] Similar to the loyalty shown to Amenhotep III by Merimes, and the texts dedicated to Amenhotep II by Paheqanisutemrataui in their inscriptions commemorating their respective rulers at the Third Cataract. See BUDKA (2005), especially 111-112, and 114.

Conclusion

"Pretender, usurper, rightful heir – the key word is "successful"…"[1264]

This thesis proposed to investigate the creation and display of identity within Amannote-erike's extant documents, and to analyse what those self-representations might reveal regarding aspects of his kingship. These features included his accession, his reign, his socio-political context, his self-identification within the framework of Kushite kingship, the potential for glimpses of a personal identity revealed within his official texts, and what impact, if any, these representations may have had on the self-representations of the kings who succeeded him. The examination of Amannote-erike's extant textual evidence was undertaken while considering it through a variety of methodological lenses, primarily historical and philological. As indicated in my methodology, language was a fundamental aspect of the textual creation and display of Amannote-erike's identity. As such, it has played a foundational role in the analyses provided in this thesis. The relative perfect or imperfect nature of the language used by Amannote-erike, namely ancient Egyptian language written in hieroglyphs, does not seem to have affected our perception of what Amannote-erike displayed through using that language. Rather, this thesis has demonstrated that the characteristics of Kushite royal decorum and rhetoric exhibited within the context of that use of Egyptian language and hieroglyphs are of more significance.

Close textual analysis, critical discourse analysis, and semiotics, as parts of its philological methodology, laid the foundations for this thesis' analytical exploration into the linguistic perspectives of Amannote-erike's texts. These were fundamental in teasing out the potential meanings of the elements found within Amannote-erike's texts, and in providing the basis for the pursuit of de-problematising his identity creation and display. As critical factors in

[1264] PETERS (1991), 375.

philological-historical research, these accentuated inherent relationships between established Kushite social constructs of power, domination, cultural traditions, and the associated constructions of identity,[1265] with Amannote-erike as an individual. In addition, complementary methodologies for textual examination such as intentionality were used to further focus the lens of my inquiries into Amannote-erike's texts. The value of hermeneutics to this thesis has been self-evident.[1266] Liminality was also shown to be an important methodological component in considering the placement of Amannote-erike's texts Kawa X, XI, and XII in a doorway, and hence in an in-between space correlating the altered states and identities of the king. Using liminality, Kawa X and Kawa XI's association with a criosphinx within this liminal space was interpreted as evidence of potentially transformative events being enacted and displayed within the architectural sphere during the latter stages of Amannote-erike's reign. These methodologies have therefore suggested ways to us for hypothesising what may have driven Amannote-erike to commission the representations of himself within his texts (his 'framing' of himself), and his ultimate, underlying agendas for these motivations. This has been of particular consequence in my examinations regarding Amannote-erike's relationship with, and self-identification within, Kushite royal decorum, propaganda, claims to legitimacy and power, and the maintenance and retention of his authority and sovereignty.

It is clear that more meaning can be extracted from what is written in Amannote-erike's texts than is discernible by taking the narrative at face value. In this, Ricœur's conceptualisation of the "*sens idéal*"[1267] of Amannote-erike's texts can be detected. Deeper and more subtle understandings of the Kushite royal experience and one man's identification within that experience are available to us through investigating the nuances of these texts. The

[1265] Per GRAD and ROJO (2008), 4 and 7-8.
[1266] Again, per GADAMER, language is being that can be understood. GADAMER (1986), 478, and FIGAL (2012), 532-535.
[1267] RICŒUR (1986), 157.

implications surrounding Amannote-erike's changed titular names are one such example. The hypotheses presented in this thesis using these modern methodologies have suggested new ways to view ancient north-east African kings. These new lenses may provide us with modern and unique methods for examining how these individuals operated, and identified themselves, within the accepted, established continuum of Kushite kingship.

Amannote-erike's identities revealed

We have seen that Amannote-erike's discourses are demonstrably revealing. Within his royal Kushite purview, Amannote-erike unquestionably exhibited himself and his dual identities as divinely chosen ruler and earthly human king. He was obliged to demonstrate publicly his innate superiority and his right to rule through established narratives and vocabularies presented in his texts. To achieve this, he successfully employed well-established vocabularies of kingship and propaganda as exhibited by ancient Egyptian and Kushite kings for centuries before his reign. Nevertheless, the analyses of Amannote-erike's adherence to decorum, as well as inconsistencies that deviated from that decorum within his texts, have expressed his identity.

From the examination of these texts, a very distinct programme of identity creation and display can be discerned. This thesis has demonstrated that Amannote-erike did not primarily seem to have reproduced specifically ancient Egyptian royal ideological culture for his legitimation as ruler and for his prestige. He indubitably referenced these practices since they represented established royal phraseology and decorum within Kush. Nevertheless, this thesis argued that he did so only in as much as this decorum was handed down to him through generations of Kushite kings, from Kashta and Piankhy onwards. The ancient Egyptian character that lingers in the formulaic entries within the 'Great Inscription' is arguably only because of its inheritance from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the strong influences of kings like Piankhy and Taharqa. Amannote-erike seems to have based his statements of kingship and

power on a self-constructed appreciation of, and association with, his greatest early Napatan predecessors.[1268] He seems to have textually made a symbolic departure from certain aspects of 'Egyptianised' Kushite traditions, and emphasised more heavily his own, native Kushite heritage - though whether consciously or unconsciously is debatable. This thesis demonstrated that Amannote-erike firmly entrenched himself in the traditions surrounding Kushite royal decorum, following the rules to the *n*th degree, and arguably exceeding them. Every aspect of his public dissemination of his legitimacy appears intricately planned and carried out in textual form at Kawa. The presumably conscious choices of what to include in these royal representations is fascinating. Notable examples include his highly significant mention of Meroë, and references to *both* Alara and Kashta as legitimising ancestors.

Moreover, it is often what is excluded in these instances that is as revealing as what is included. The lack of pictorial representation of any kind in conjunction with Amannote-erike's reign is the first example of such an omission. One cannot help but wonder if there is perhaps an image of him hidden forever inside his unexcavated burial chamber at Nuri. Another example is the absence of references to a favourable Inundation during his reign. As is known from, among others, the texts of Shabitqo,[1269] Taharqa,[1270] and Harsiotef,[1271] Kushite kings often placed great emphasis on the excellent Inundations provided to them by Amun-Rē during their reigns as part of their propagandistic, legitimising displays.[1272] Indeed, Anlamani specifically requested such an excellent Inundation from Amun-Rē as part of his petition for boons to make his reign successful.[1273] Considering that Amannote-erike seemed to have

[1268] The many Napatan kings between the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Amannote-erike's reign are not mentioned or alluded to, not even Anlamani or Aspelta, who were impressive rulers. This may be another indication of a schism in the rulership, where Amannote-erike was perhaps not the rightful, directly legitimate heir to the throne after Talakhamani's death and thus outside of the 'correct' line of succession.
[1269] Karnak, Nile Level Record, Year 3 of Shabitqo's reign. For example, *FHN* I, 128-129.
[1270] Taharqa's stela Kawa V, lines 6-13, and his inscription in the Peristyle court of the Amun Temple at Karnak (north of Pylon VI), lines 9-10. For example, *FHN* I, 150-152, and 185.
[1271] Harsiotef's stela, lines 13 and 17-18. See PEUST (1999), 55-56; SARGENT (2004), 349-350, and *FHN* II, 442-443.
[1272] For example, TÖRÖK (1995a), 128-130.
[1273] Anlamani's 'Enthronement' stela (Kawa VIII), lines 26-28. For example, SARGENT (2004), 161.

employed almost every other trope of legitimation and propagandistic royal identity creation and display, both apparently native Kushite and Egyptian by way of Kushite tradition, it is curious that he omitted this *topos*. Through its analysis of Amannote-erike's four extant texts, this thesis has argued that such omissions hint at inconsistencies within his accession and his reign, and has argued that such examples provide a sense of Amannote-erike's identity: the man behind the royal decorum.

Regarding the examination of Amannote-erike's individual personality, the practical limitations of this thesis are considerable. As noted previously, elements of an individual's identity can never be fully expressed within their public displays, since these are often necessarily artificially constructed. Moreover, due to the huge distance in time, in geography, and in cultural understanding that separate us from Amannote-erike, modern hypotheses regarding potential displays of his individual identity or personality must be approached with caution. It is highly improbable that I have established to any real degree Amannote-erike's personal identity ('who he really was'). Nevertheless, I argue that there have been some minuscule revelations found within his texts, primarily Kawa IX, that do not seem to belong within the established vocabularies of Kushite kingship, its decorum, and its public displays of propaganda. One such example is Amannote-erike's memorable claim to have personally removed handfuls of sand from Amun's temple at Kawa. I suggest that these tiny impressions of unusual self-representation provide us with some clues to the identity of the man himself.

What can the revelation of these identities through discourse suggest about Amannote-erike and his reign?

I have argued that the majority of Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' can be interpreted as an emphatic, vigorous announcement of his legitimacy, arguably even more insistent than most of his predecessors and his successors, incorporating into his text almost every royal textual trope at his disposal to exhibit his identity as legitimate king. I argue that both his

unequivocal accentuation of his legitimacy in his propagandistic displays, and his peculiar choice to omit elements of decorum that one would expect to be present in a royal Kushite discourse, indicate that his accession and the beginning of his reign may have occurred under irregular circumstances. As I have posited, the impression is given that Amannote-erike was likely not, ultimately, the rightful heir to the Kushite throne at the time of his accession.[1274]

Depictions of kings in royal discourses that deviate from traditional decorum are usually evidence of problematic accession, in that the text or image necessarily exhibits increased emphasis on legitimising rulership and make adjustments to compensate for this. Aside from Amannote-erike's context, one such example is the influence of the army in the accession of Aspelta.[1275] Kormysheva rightly notes that it is only in the Napatan texts of Aspelta and Amannote-erike that the *ṯsw* of the army were involved in the king's election.[1276] It seems reasonable to suggest that such specificities within these texts occurred because they were accurately recording extraordinary socio-historical situations at the time of each king's accession. As might be suggested in Aspelta's case, this intimates that Amannote-erike may not have been not the lawful, direct heir to the throne. He may instead have been from the 'incorrect' royal family line.[1277] At the time, there may have been no one suitable to rule from the 'correct' Kushite royal family line, or, more accurately, no one from the 'correct' royal line of whom the army approved. As suggested, Amannote-erike may have been a high-ranking member of the military before his election as king, and held special favour among the

[1274] This is debatable. Specific and unusual phraseology in a royal text is certainly not unique to Amannote-erike. Many Kushite kings have presented strange events in their texts that others do not exhibit. These include Tanutamani's dream, Aspelta's reference to his female ancestors (among others), and Harsiotef's 'oracle' from Amun-Rē of Napata. If this means that they were usurpers, then it would mean that all kings who left a peculiar account of their accession would be usurpers. While this cannot be ruled out, it seems unlikely. However, per JANSEN-WINKELN (2003) regarding Alara, Taharqa, and the dubious nature of that family line's accession to the throne, I propose that Amannote-erike's case represents a similar phenomenon.
[1275] See KORMYSHEVA (1993), 255.
[1276] KORMYSHEVA (1993), 255.
[1277] SAITO (2015), 241, suggests that Amannote-erike must certainly have been a member of the extended royal family. He must unquestionably have been royal to some degree. Otherwise, I suspect his accession would never have been upheld.

Kushite armed forces. Hence, they chose to support Amannote-erike's election to the Kushite throne for unequivocally politically motivated reasons, to gain power, wealth, and influence. Building upon this, the consistent lack of evidence for Amannote-erike's reign, not to mention his existence, in every other Kushite region besides Kawa and Nuri is significant. The suggestion that this indicates that the regions under Amannote-erike's control were not as extensive as those of other Kushite kings and therefore would not have included sites such as Gebel Barkal, is not feasible for a number of reasons. First, this would mean that Kushite kings who are only known from evidence of their burials at Nuri, for example, would not have had territorial control outside the region surrounding Nuri, which seems incredibly unlikely. Second, though it was a trope of Kushite royal textual decorum to record one's coronation journey to Gebel Barkal, it seems certain that Amannote-erike would never have been widely accepted as king if he had not actually journeyed to Gebel Barkal to receive the crown and the approbation of the priesthood there.[1278] Third, it seems implausible that he would have been able to retain his rulership for up to twenty-five years, if he had not had control of the areas that he had claimed. I argue that there is at least one alternative suggestion regarding the lack of his extant evidence: the rulers who succeeded Amannote-erike may have considered him anathema.[1279] This may have been for a variety of reasons, not least of which might have been his lack of a legitimate claim to the throne. Correspondingly, when power returned to the 'correct' ruling family line after his death, they may have considered his regnal period an aberration, even an abomination. Consequently, they may have deliberately destroyed his texts and monuments. Alternatively, they may have simply taken over the monuments and texts that were created in his reign. This latter practice was common in ancient Egypt and in Kush, even regarding rulers who were not anathema to their successors.

[1278] The lack of extant evidence for Amannote-erike's reign at Gebel Barkal/Napata notwithstanding.
[1279] There is no evidence for this, but it is a reasonable suggestion.

Whether or not Amannote-erike was a pretender to the Kushite throne, or not from the correct family line, is unclear and is not supported by any extant evidence. Any assertions on this matter must necessarily be hypotheses. Amannote-erike's methods of self-depiction unmistakably exhibit established tropes of monarchical identity and its public display, and may therefore not seem useful in examining these matters. Yet, as this thesis hypothesised, it is within the very use of these time-worn propagandistic *topoi* that some indication that Amannote-erike may have been a usurper can be found. As stated above, Kawa IX presents us with an abundance of legitimising tropes. It is possible that this is an example, as in Hamlet,[1280] of someone who doth protest too much. If Amannote-erike was truly a usurper, then one can immediately appreciate that he was a usurper that knew precisely who and what he was, and therefore went to extraordinary lengths to quash any doubt about his legitimacy.

Another hypothesis, presented in Chapter 10, is that Amannote-erike may have been a female ruler, which arguably might explain the emphatic use of legitimising tropes in Kawa IX, including the unorthodox reference to Kashta, and the lack of pictorial representation. If this were true, this could signify the presence of the first sole female ruler in ultimate power within Kush. One may argue that this is unlikely, considering the textual emphasis on, and continuous thematic thread of, Amannote-erike's selection as king by the army. However, there is no reason why royal women could not, or would not, have been supported by the army, or could not have been army leaders, especially if they showed an aptitude for it. There is certainly no evidence that Kushite royal women absolutely could not be members of the military. After all, Meroitic queens were represented as war leaders,[1281] and evidence from Classical writers records the presence of queens in the Meroitic army.[1282] Therefore, while this hypothesis

[1280] SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 2.
[1281] For example, the images of Amanishakheto spearing enemies in her funerary chapel reliefs.
[1282] For example, the queen of "Aethiopia" mentioned in Acts 8:27 in the Bible's New Testament, and Strabo's "Geography," 17.1.54.

remains purely speculative, it would account for some of the stranger points addressed within this thesis, and should be given due consideration.

As the quote at the beginning of this conclusion intimates, it does not matter if a ruler is a usurper, or the rightful heir; it only matters that they are successful. The evidence discussed in relation to Kawa XII has indicated that Amannote-erike reigned the combined Kushite territories for at least twenty-five years. By all reckoning, this certainly constitutes a successful reign. The little extant evidence concerning Amannote-erike appears to indicate that his programme of identity creation and display on a monumental scale was completely successful, if, perhaps, only during his own lifetime. We will probably never know if Amannote-erike was the rightful heir to the throne, a pretender, a usurper, or even a woman. What is abundantly clear is that he ultimately was successful.

Final thoughts

It is interesting that some features of Kushite royal ideology seem to have changed immediately subsequent to Amannote-erike's reign.[1283] Török calls attention to the fact that while Amannote-erike's texts reflect a deliberate and rigorous orthodoxy regarding Kushite royal ideologies and their display, the 'Great Inscription' in particular also demonstrates "changes [in style][1284] in the accents and details of Kushite kingship ideology" during Amannote-erike's reign.[1285]

The extant corpus of Kushite royal representations after Amannote-erike's reign indicates appreciable alterations in displays of identity from Kushite decorum found in the discourses of his predecessors. There were undeniably some later references to Kushite kingly decorum of

[1283] See *FHN* II, 399.
[1284] Square brackets are mine.
[1285] *FHN* II, 399.

their past, for example, in the artistic depictions of the king upon the lunettes of both the stelae of Harsiotef and Nastasen. However, the language and propagandistic vocabularies with which successive Kushite rulers framed their self-representations and their methods of self-depiction unmistakably indicate a shift in monarchical identity and its public display. I suggest that the reign of Amannote-erike, with all his accompanying displays, discourses, and understandings of identity, represents a paradigm shift in royal identities. Here, the beginning of a move towards what we consider as 'Meroitic' Kushite/Nubian royal decorum, self-representation, ideology, and identity may be discernible. Thus, this apparently transitional nature of Amannote-erike's reign makes it distinct and important. I propose that, within his self-identification and representation of his own perceived place in the overall sequence of Kushite kingship, he necessarily changed that sequence. In fact, Amannote-erike could arguably be identified as the end of one continuum of Kushite kingship, and the starting point for another. His self-identification and self-representations in his textual materials appear to have framed the ideologies and royal identities of his successors. He forever altered the ways in which Kushite kings identified and exhibited themselves, and deserves to be remembered as such within the Kushite textual canon.

Appendix 1: Figures

Images of Amannote-erike's 'Great Inscription' (Kawa IX):

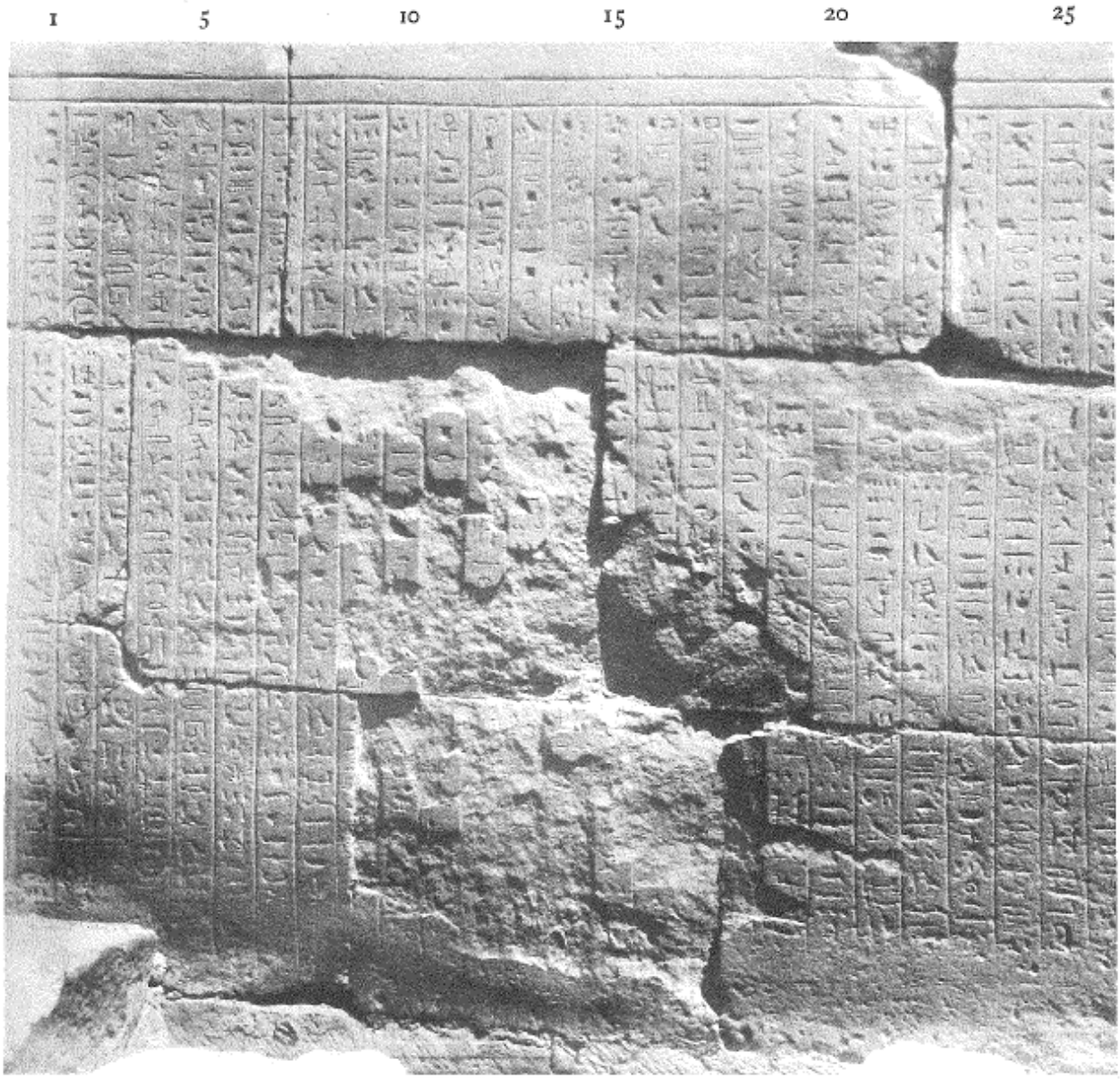

Figure I: Kawa IX, columns 1-25. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 17.

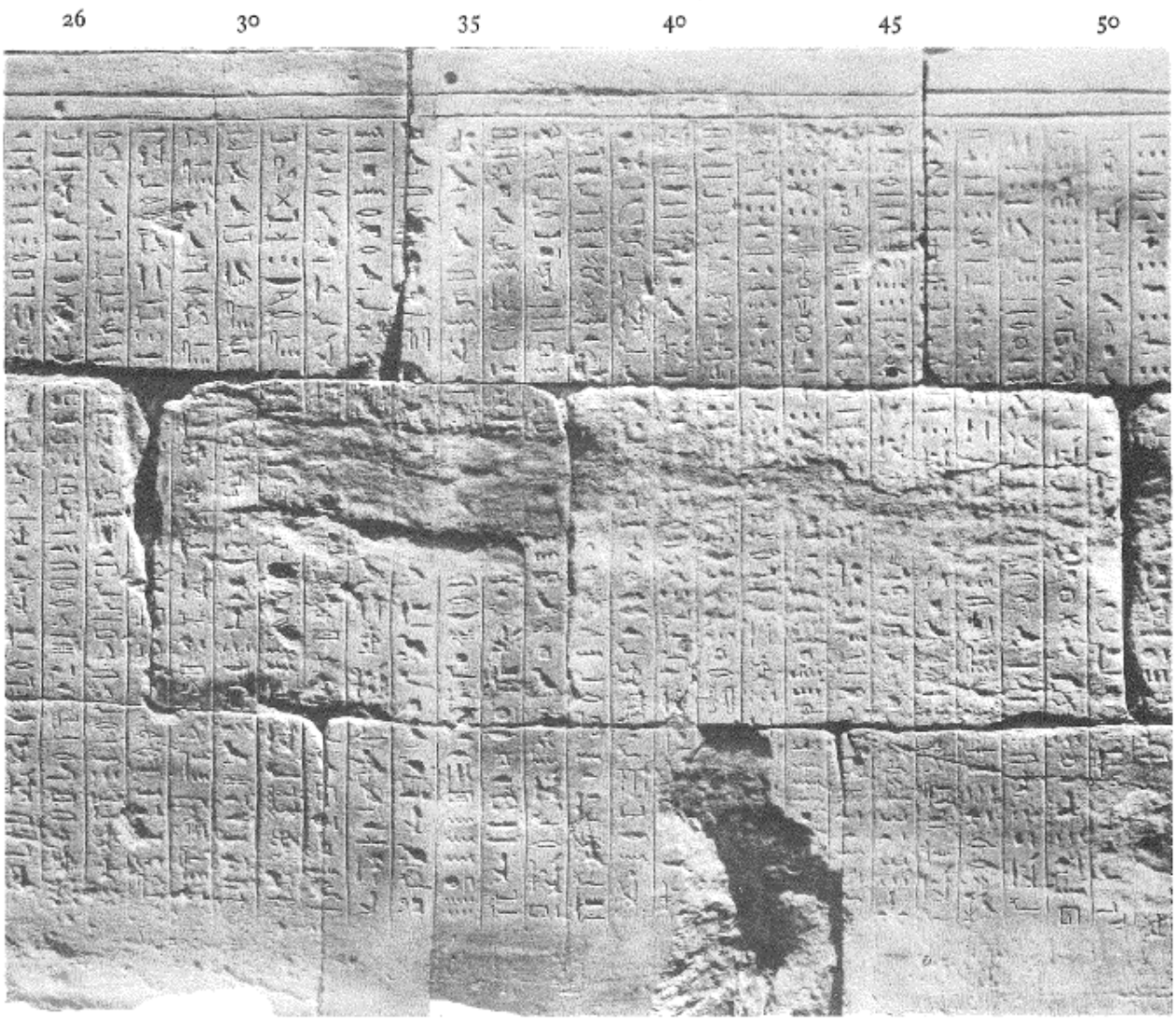

Figure II: Kawa IX, columns 26-50. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 18.

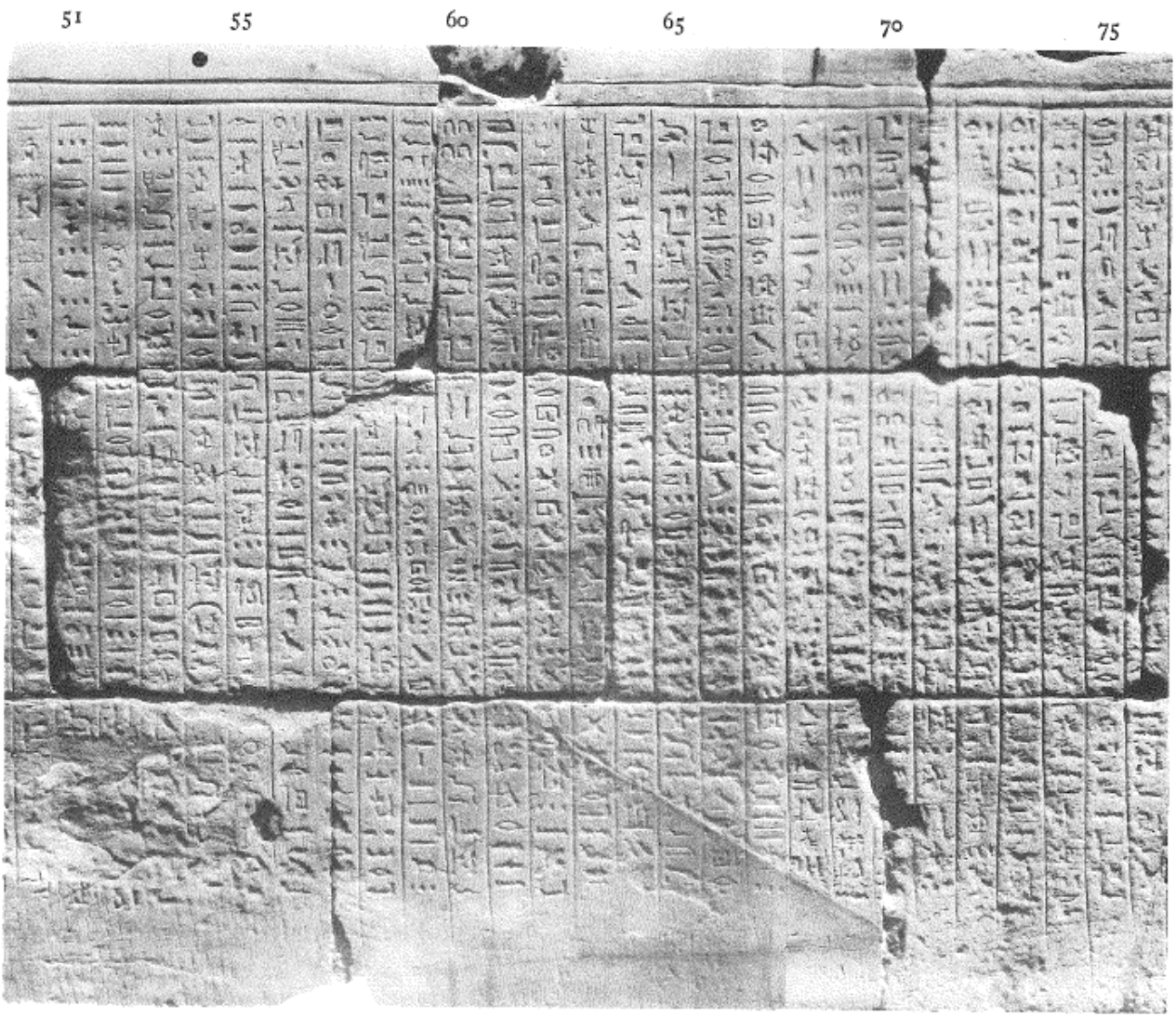

Figure III: Kawa IX, columns 51-75. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 19.

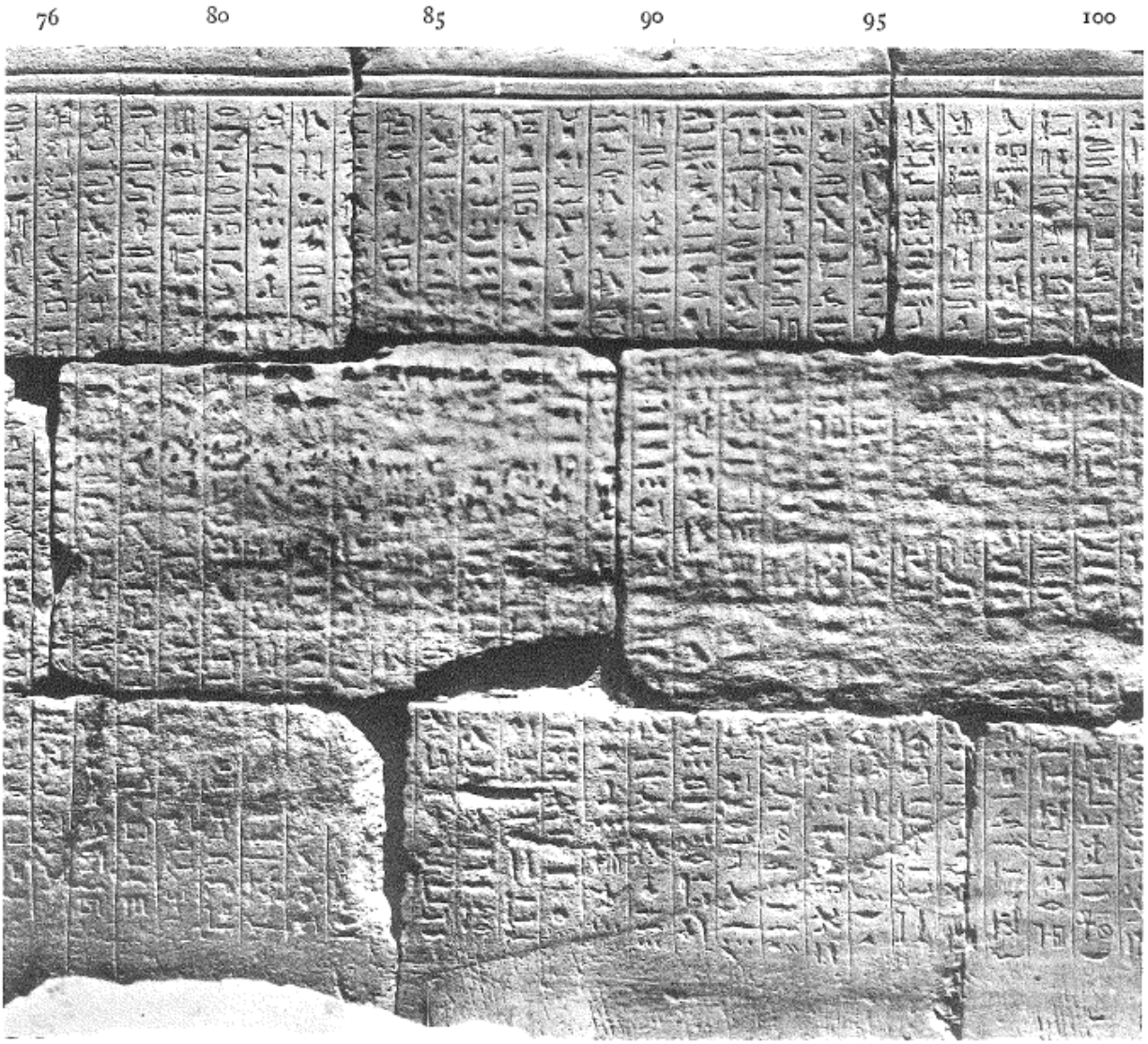

Figure IV: Kawa IX, columns 76-100. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 20.

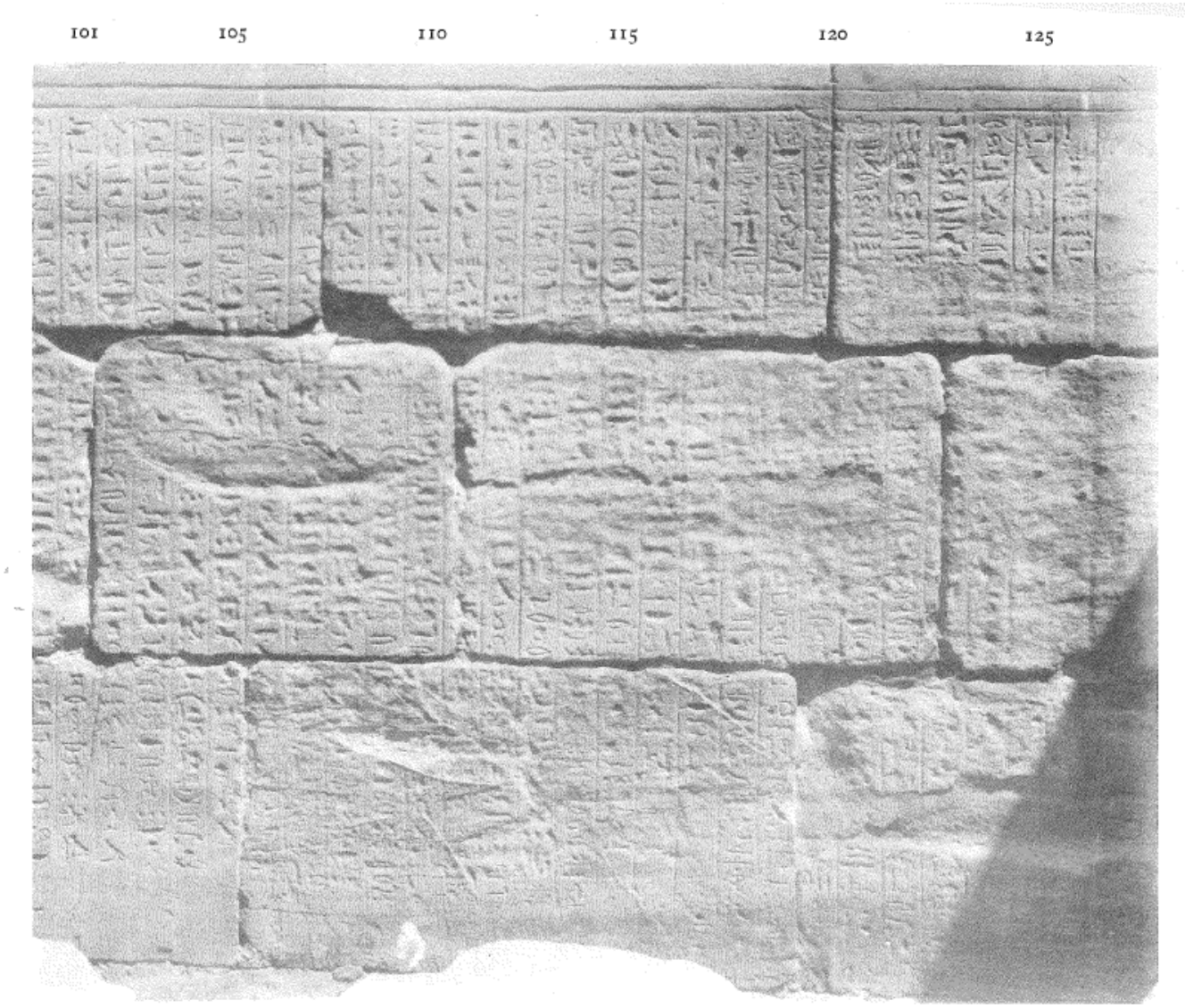

Figure V: Kawa IX, columns 101-126. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 21.

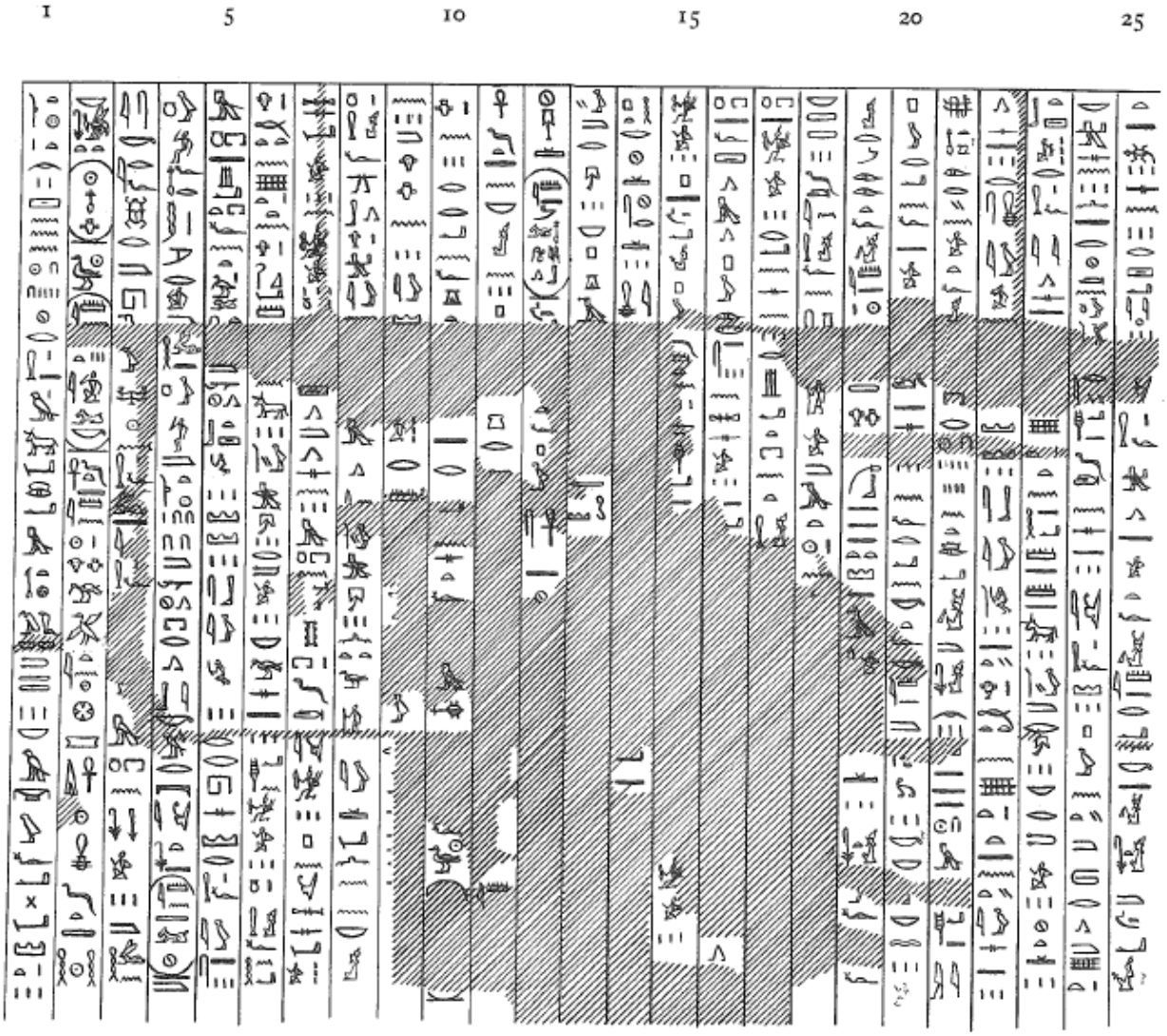

Figure VI: Kawa IX, columns 1-25 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 22.

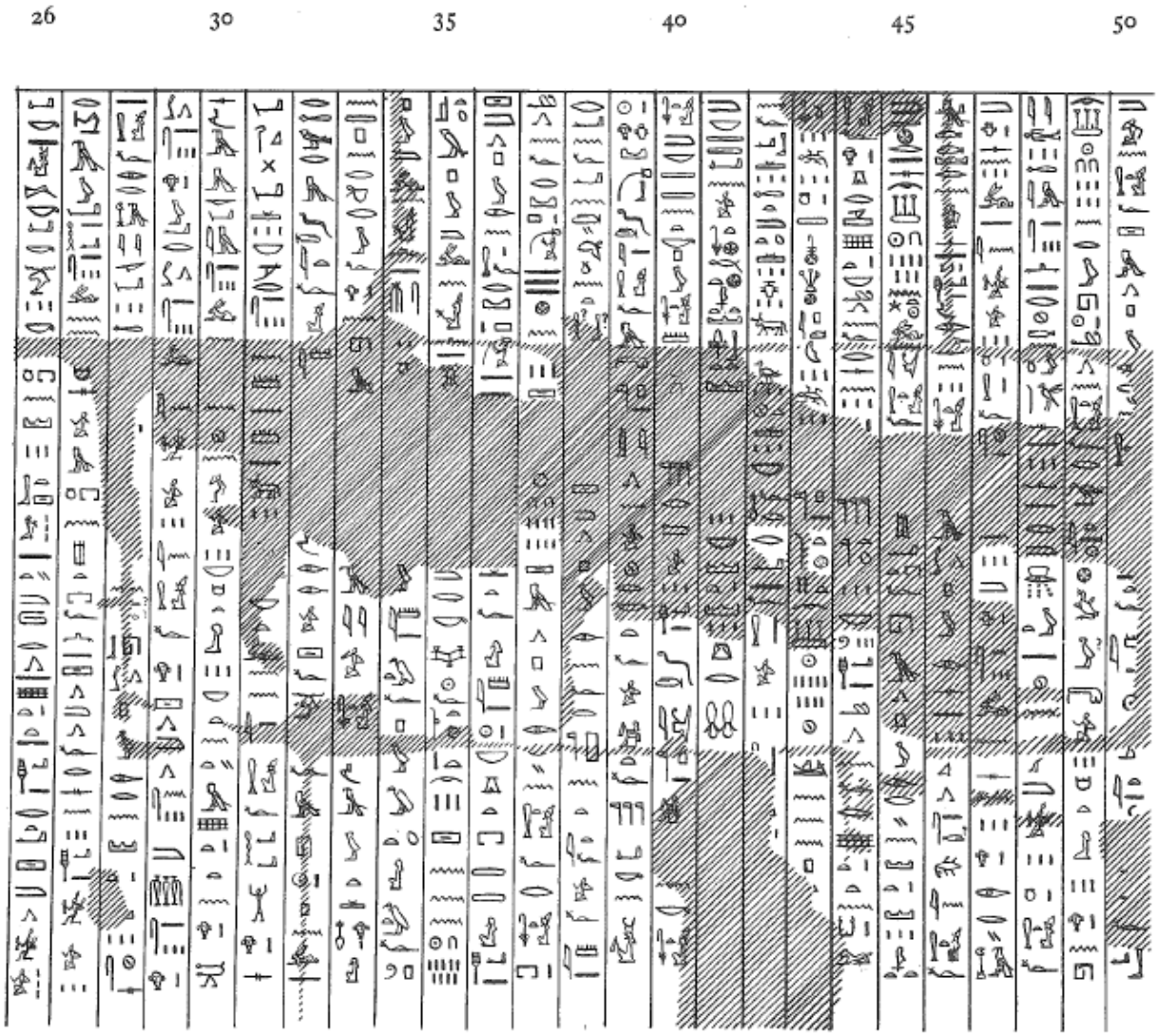

Figure VII: Kawa IX, columns 26-50 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 23.

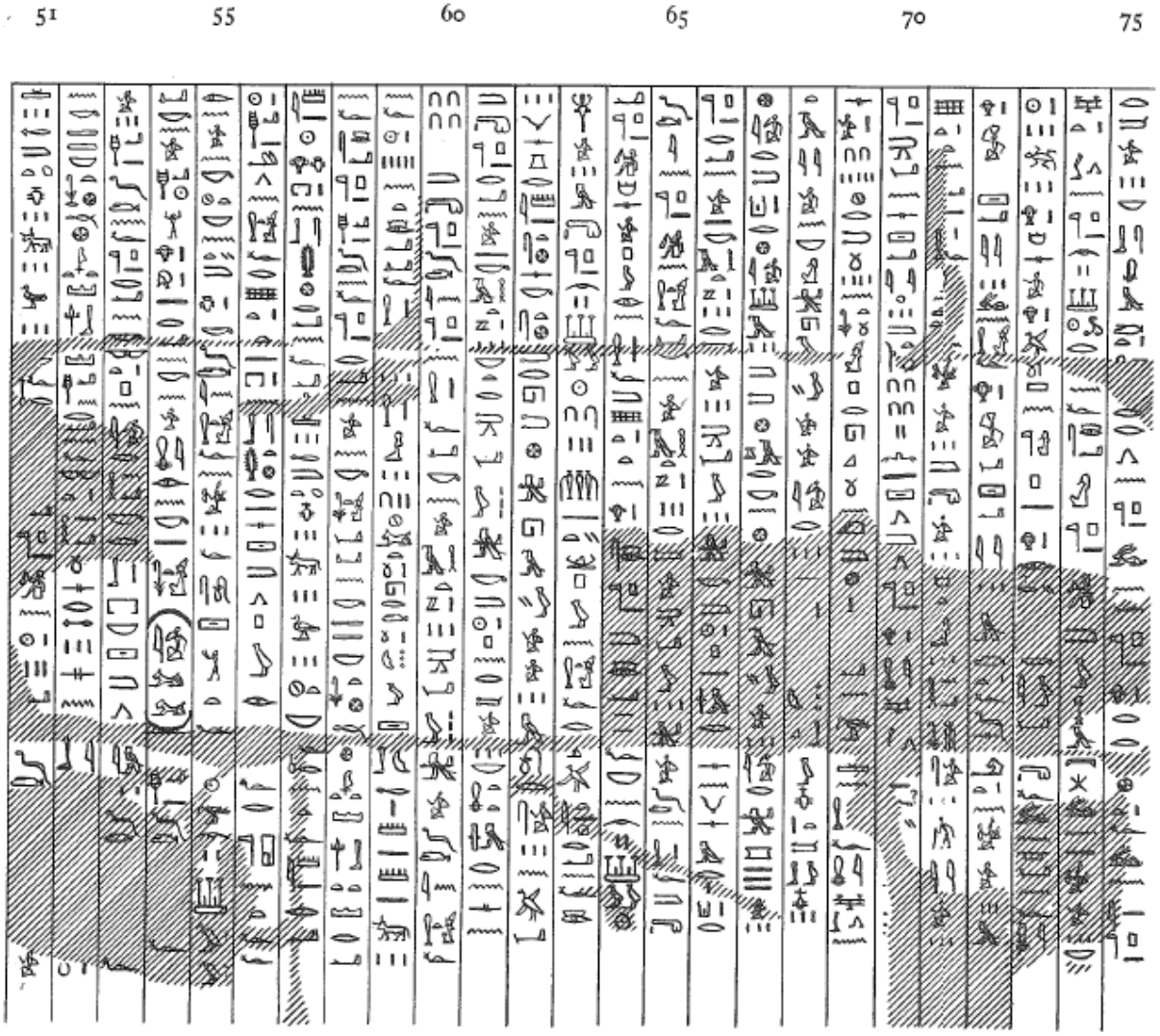

Figure VIII: Kawa IX, columns 51-75 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 24.

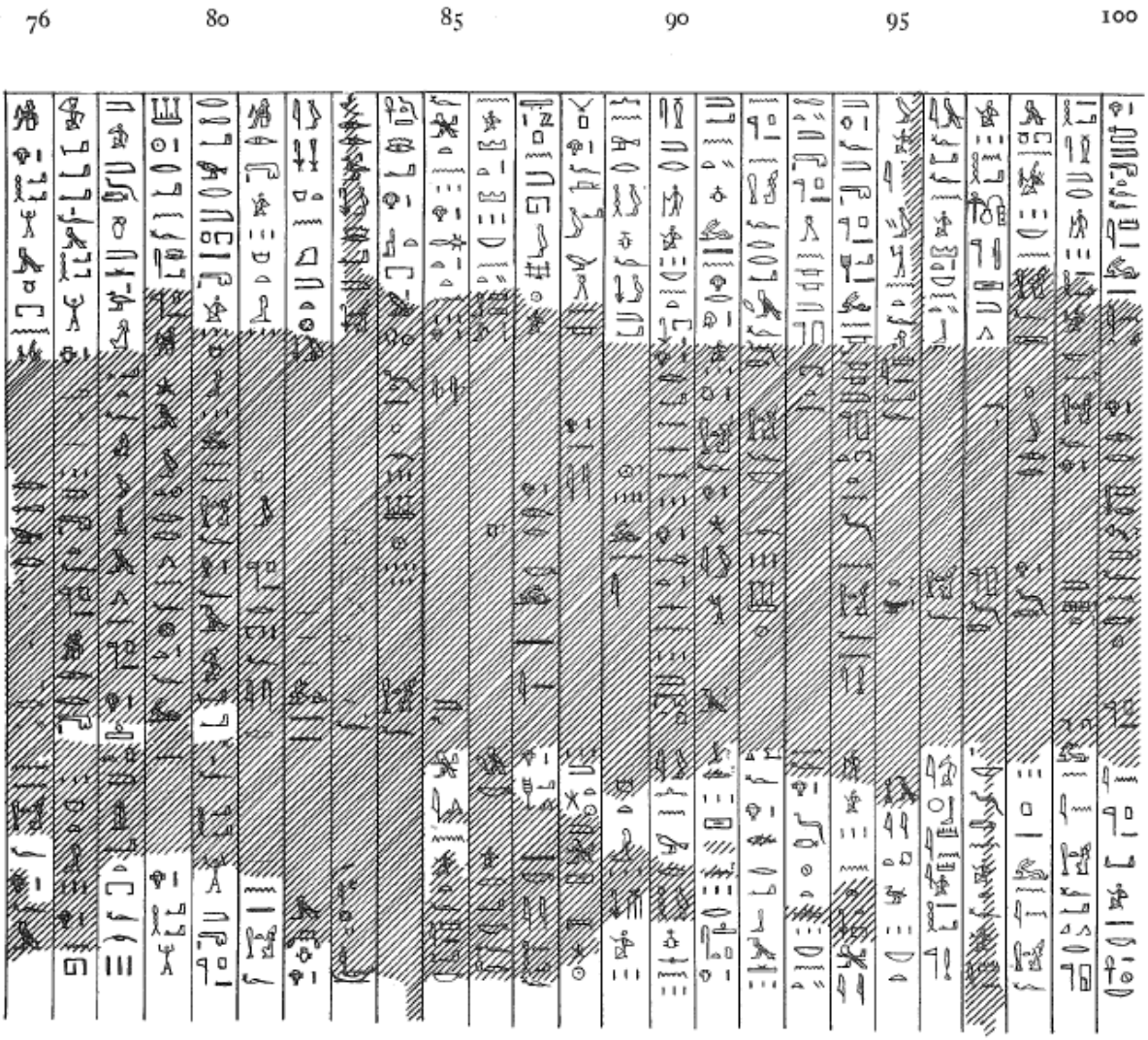

Figure IX: Kawa IX, columns 76-100 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 25.

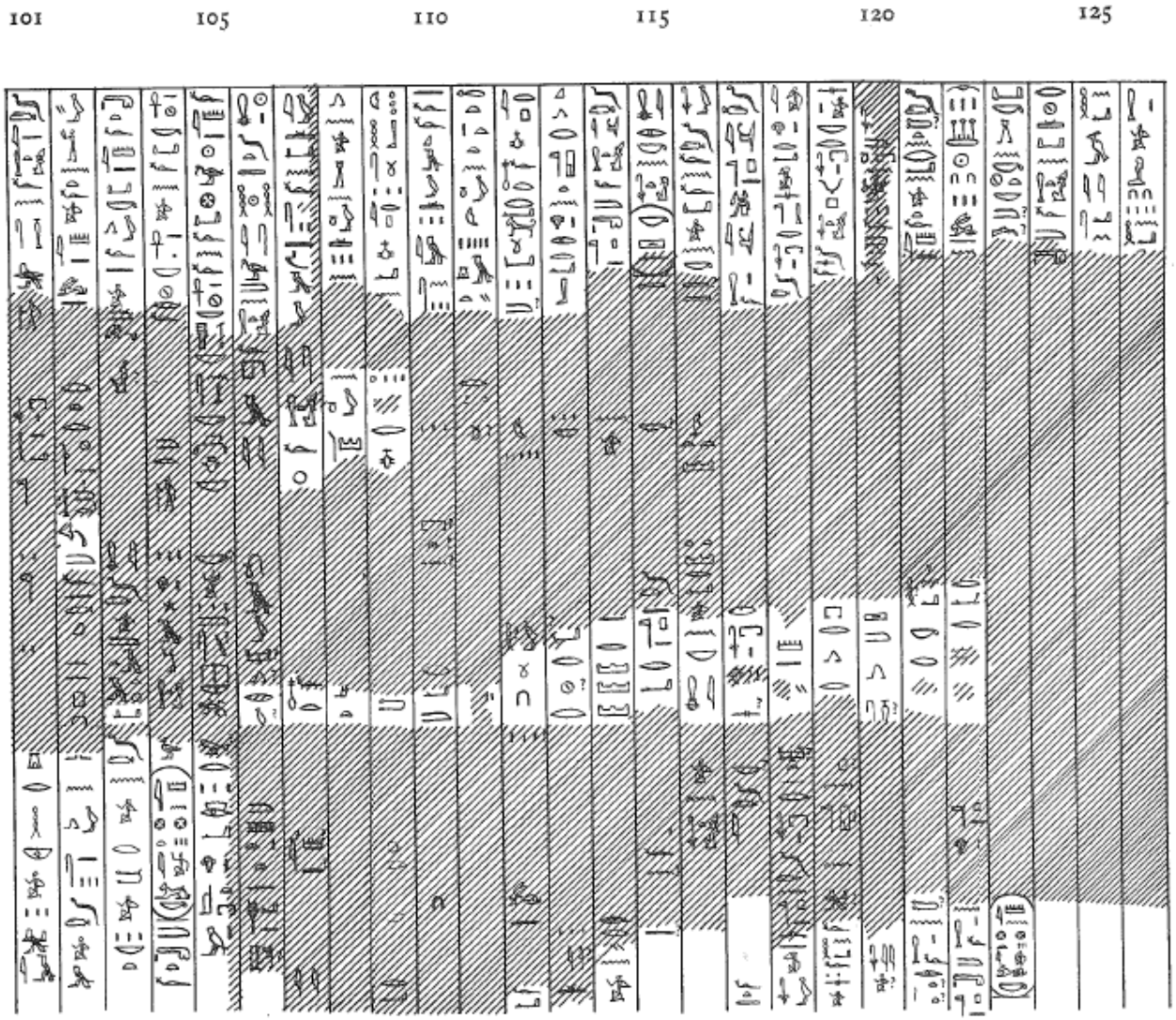

Figure X: Kawa IX, columns 101-126 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 26.

Images of Amannote-erike's 'donation' texts (Kawa X, XI, and XII):

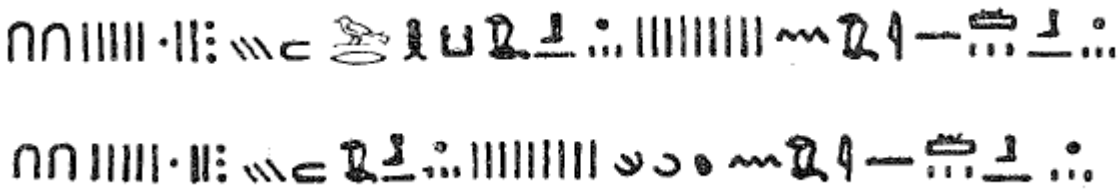

Figure XI: Kawa X, columns 6 and 7 (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Text*, 69.

Figure XII: Photograph of criosphinx, and Kawa X and XI *in situ* on doorjamb in Temple T, Kawa. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 27.

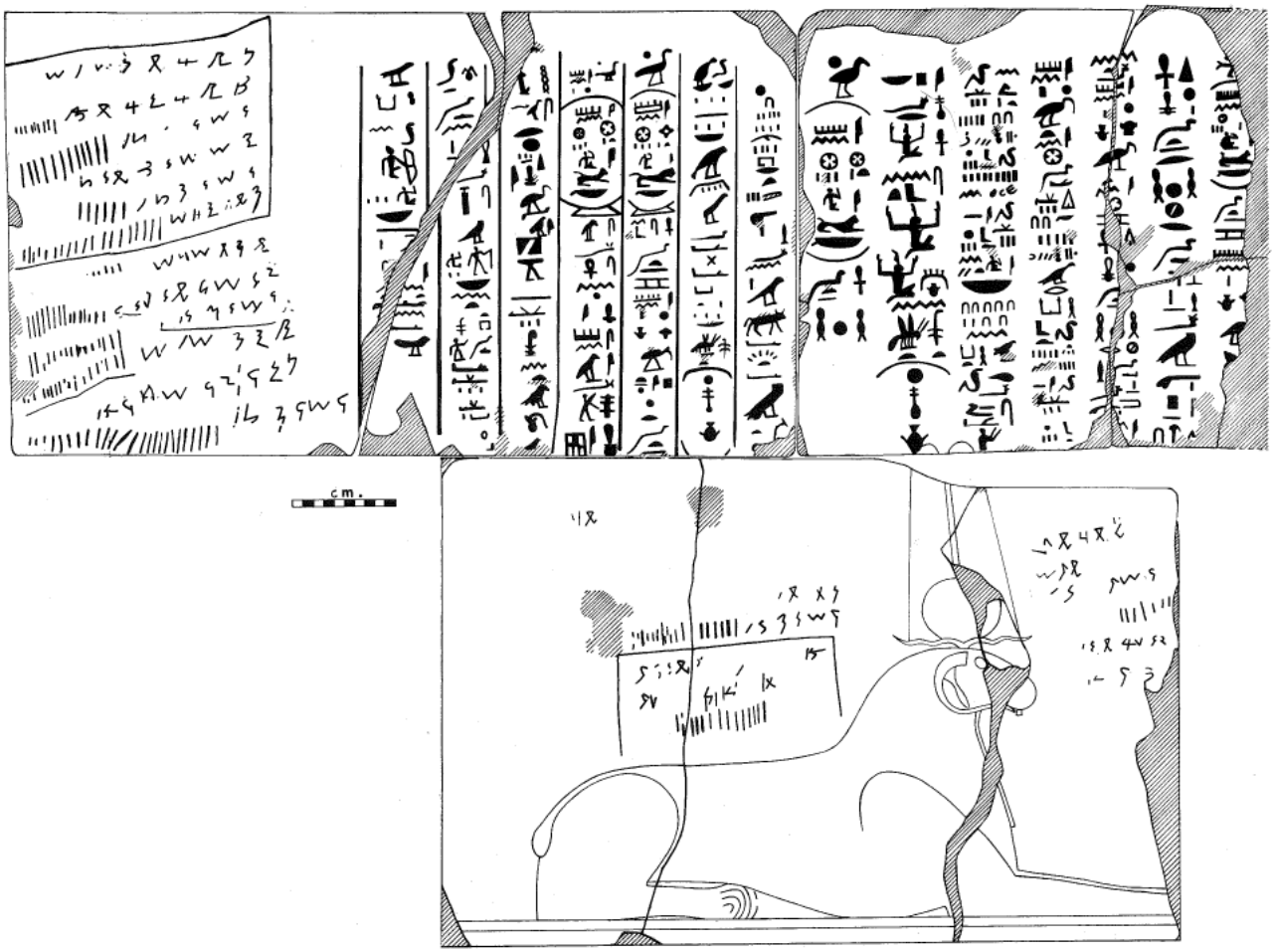

Figure XIII: Criosphinx, and Kawa X and XI (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 28.

Figure XIV: Photograph of Kawa XII *in situ*. Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 29.

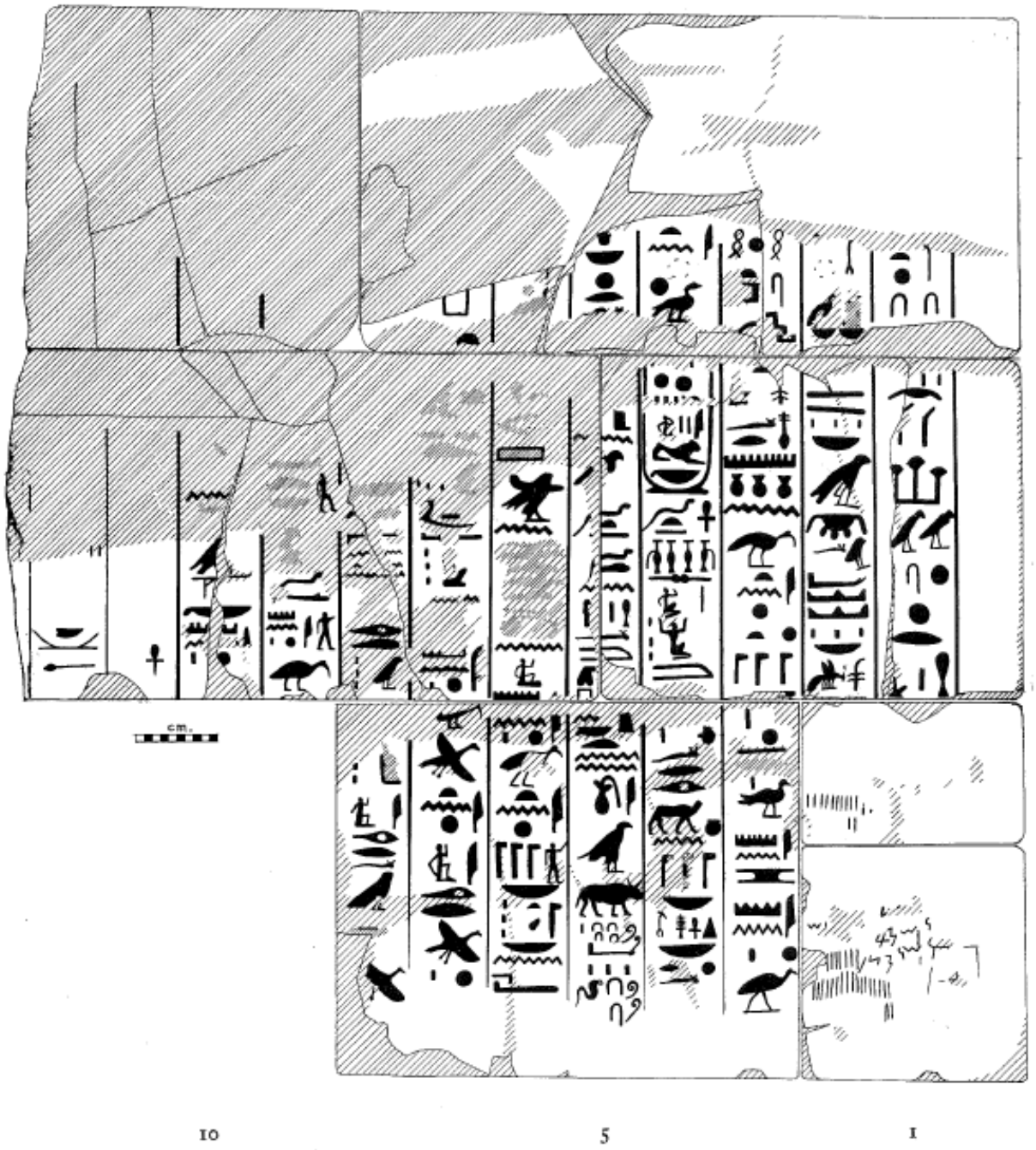

Figure XV: Kawa XII (hand copy). Adapted from *Kawa I, Plates*, plate 30.

Appendix 2: Transliteration and Translation of the 'Great Inscription' (Kawa IX)

Second half of fifth century B.C.E. (year 1-2 of the reign of Amannote-erike).[1286] Inscribed on the east wall, south side of the Hypostyle Hall, Temple T at Kawa, beneath an offering scene originally commissioned by Taharqa.[1287] *Kawa I, Text*, 50-67; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 17-26, and *FHN* II, 428-430. Hieroglyphs inscribed in vertical columns (reading top to bottom, left to right, 125 columns, lengths of the columns vary). Measurements: *circa* 1.10 metres x 7.227 meters.[1288]

Transliteration and Translation:

(Column 1):

ḥ3t-sp 1 *t<p> 3bd* 2 *šmw sw* 24

ḫr ḥm n

ḥr k3-nḫt ḫ-m-w3st

nbty iṯ-t3w-nb

ḥr-nbw wf-ḫ3swt-

Regnal year 1, (the) first (day), month two of Shemu (Summer), day 24:

Under the Majesty of

The Horus: 'Mighty Bull (who) Appears in Thebes'

The Two Ladies: '(One who) seizes all lands'

Golden Horus: '(One who) subdues all foreign (or hill) lands'

(Column 2):

nb

Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-r

s3 r'I-r-k-'Imn-niwt nḫ ḏt

mr<y> 'Imn-r ḥr<y>-ib gm-p3-itn

di nḫ mi R ḏt nḥḥ

[1286] I used the hieroglyphic, hand copy text in *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 22-26. See Appendix 1, Figures I-X.
[1287] Depicting presenting the temple to Amun. Cf. *FHN* I, 25. *Kawa I, Text*, 50, and *FHN* II, 420.
[1288] *Kawa I, Text*, 50.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefer-ib-Rē,

Son of Rē: Amannote-erike, (who) lives forever,

Beloved of Amun-Rē, (who) is in the midst of Gempaaten (Kawa),

Given life, like Rē, forever (and) eternity.

(Column 3):

ỉsk ỉrf ḫpr m ḥ3w n ḥm=f

wn.ỉn ḥm=f [lost]... *m ẖnw n snw nsw*

m ḥwn

Now it happened in the time of his Majesty

that his Majesty was among the king's brothers,

being a recruit

(Column 4):

w nfr bnr mr<wt> m ḥwnw m rnpwt 41

m-ḫt pr bỉk r pt

ỉn nsw t3-r-ḫ-ỉmn m<3ʿ ḫrw>

sweet of love, as a youth in 41 years,

after 'the ascending of the falcon to heaven'

by king Talakhamani, true of voice (?),

(Column 5):

m ẖnw n ʿḥt=f nt B3-rʿ-w3

m-ḫt btšw (*bšt*) *ḫ3styw sbỉw R<h>*(*?*)*rhs r ḥm=f*

ỉw=sn

in the Residence of his palace of Meroë,

after the rebellion of the desert dwellers (?), the rebels of Rerehs, against his Majesty, they being

(Column 6):

ḥr mḥt n sp3t tn

ḥ3k mnmnt ꜥwt rmṯ nb gm=sn

ꜥḥꜥ.n mšꜥ nw ḥm=f ḥnꜥ

upon the north of this nome,

capturing all of the cattle, small cattle (and) people (that) they found.

Then the army of his Majesty, together with

(Column 7):

ṯsw n mšꜥ nw ḥm=f šm=sn m ḫnw ꜥḥ

ḏd.in mšꜥ pn n ṯsw

The commanders of the army of his Majesty, they went into the interior of the palace.

Then this army said to the commanders

(Column 8):

nw ḥm=f

sḏi ḥr m iw=n [*ḥr tn* (*?*)]*m in ꜥwt iwty mniw*

nn nb

of his Majesty:

'Why are we going about wandering in the fashion of small cattle without a herder,

without our lord

(Column 9):

=n m ḥr ib=n

ỉw ḫ3s[lost] *r* ...[lost]

(being) in our midst,

while the desert dwellers (?)/foreigners...[lost]

(Column 10):

ib=n r rdi n=f nst [lost] *n*

rd.n s <i>t=f [lost] *m*(?)[1289] *ḫt* [lost]

s3-rˁ [*ʾI-r-k-ʾImn-niwt*]

Our heart[1290] is to give to him the throne [lost]

It being given (?) of his father [lost]... in the body [lost]...

Son of Rē, [Amannote-erike].

(Column 11):

ˁnḫ ḏt

nb=n p [lost]...*ḫr*...[lost] [I*mn*(*?*)]

(who) lives forever,

Our lord...[lost]...under...Amun (?) [lost]

(Column 12):

ḥ M3-r-nfr-w3-y-b-ʾImn m3ˁ[*-ḫrw*]

<n>tf pw sˁnḫ...[lost] ˁ (?)

[excellent] Malowiebamani, true [of voice]

He is the one who causes to live...[lost]

(Column 13):

wt nb pg3...[lost] *t3-sti*...[lost]

All (small) cattle, [lost] Bow-land (Nubia)...[lost]

[1289] This *m* is problematic. See discussion regarding columns 6-10 in Chapter 3.

[1290] Probably, a translation of 'desire' would work better here.

(Column 14):

ptḥ rḫ sḫrw mi [*ḏḥwty* (?)]

Ptah, who knows plans like [Thoth] (?) ...[lost]

(Column 15):

mšʿ pn

mɜʿ pw ḏd=tn nb

ʿḥʿ.n ...[lost]...*mšʿ…m…*

This army: 'It is true, all that you have said.'

Then [lost]...army [lost]...

(Column 16):

ḫnw-n=f

šm pw ir=sn n tsw...[lost]

its interior.

They went to the commanders...[lost]

(Column 17):

nw n mšʿ

rd.n=sn r ʿḥt nt ḥm=f ...[lost]

in the interior of (among?) the army.

They gave to the palace of his Majesty...[lost]

(Column 18):

Nb tɜw

ḏd.in ḥm=f n smr m ɜt n ...[lost]

Lord of the Lands.

Then his Majesty said to a companion in the moment of ...[lost]

(Column 19):

[*ỉb (?)=ỉ*] *r mȝȝ ỉt=ỉ ỉ'Imn-Rᶜ* [*nb nswt tȝwy* (?)/ *nb Npt* (?)]

ḥr<y>-ỉb [*ḏw*]-*wᶜb tȝ-nḥsyw*...[lost] *ns*(*y*)*t...=f...*[*nt* (?)]

[my desire is] to see my father, Amun-Rē [lost],[1291]

who is in the midst of Pure Mountain (Gebel Barkal) of Nubian-land

Kingship...his (?) [lost] ...his... [lost]

(Column 20):

f pw rd.n=f n=ỉ...[lost]

ḏd.[*ỉ*]*n=sn n=f*

Rd n=k ỉt=k ỉ'Imn...=k nb...[lost] [next few signs are virtually illegible]

He gave to me... [lost]

Then they said to him:

'May your father Amun give to you...[lost] all your... [lost]

(Column 21):

bỉȝ<t> nfrt ỉry n=ỉ ỉt=ỉ [*ỉ'Imn*]

[*m*] *ȝbd* 3 *šmw sw* 2[1292] *m* [lost]

ᶜḥᶜ.n ỉỉ

The beautiful wonder that my father, Amun, made for me

[1291] Possibly 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' or 'Lord of Napata'; either would be appropriate here.

[1292] MACADAM'S hand copy is unclear here. To me, the numeral in the hand copy (*Kawa I, Plates*, plate 22) is represented as two vertical stokes, but it almost seem as though they are joined at the top by a tiny horizontal line. If they were joined at the top, then this numeral should probably be read as '10' and not '2'. It is unclear if this is intentional, or an error on the part of the copyist, or a printing anomaly. As there is currently no way to solve this issue, I adhere to convention, using "2," following MACADAM, and the editors in *FHN* II, 403. '2' would work best with this context, given that the *bỉȝt* performed for Amannote-erike would have taken place 9 days after his accession to the throne (see discussion in Chapter 4), which would take us to 3 Shemu, day 3, close to the date discussed here.

...[lost] Peret, day 19, (?)[1293] of my appearance as king.'

Month 3 of Shemu, day 2, in [lost]

Then they came

(Column 22):

=sn r smiw n [*ḥm=f <r> ḏd* (?)]

ḫ3styw sbiw nty ḥr mḥt n sp3t tn

nty iw=sn

in order to report to [his Majesty, in saying] (?)

'The rebellious foreigners who are on the north of this nome

and they who have

(Column 23):

btš r ḥm=f

ii=sn...[lost] *sp3t tn ḥnʿ mnmnt ʿwt ṯrw nb rmṯ nb iḫt*

rebelled against his Majesty,

they are coming... [lost] this nome,

together with all cattle, small cattle, and animals, all people,[1294]all property

(Column 24):

nb m-ʿ=sn nn rḫ dnw iry

ʿḥʿ.n ḏd.n=sn in ḥm=f

ḫ3swt pw nty m pḫr m sp3t

with them, the number therein being unknown.'

Then they said to his Majesty:

'It is the foreign lands that are wandering about in this

[1293] See discussion in Chapter 4.

[1294] For a discussion regarding these 'people,' see VINOGRADOV (2015), 573, footnotes 7 and 8.

(Column 25):

tn ꜥš3=sn r šꜥy

[*ḏd.i*]*n ḥm=f*

mi n=i it=i ỉmn rd.n=k n=i nsyt m m3ꜥ

nome; they are more numerous than sand.'

Then his Majesty said:

'Come to me, my father Amun!

You gave to me the kingship in truth.

(Column 26):

di=k n=i ḫpš=k

di=k šfyt=k m ḫnw ḫ3swt btšw nty m pḫr n sp3t tn

ꜥḥꜥ.n rdi.tw šm mšꜥ

Give to me your strength!

Place your awe among[1295] the rebellious foreign lands that are encircling this nome!'

Then one caused that this army (might) go

(Column 27):

r ꜥḥ3w ḥnꜥ=sn

wnn[*=f* (?)] *ḥms m ḫnw n ꜥḥt=f*

nn šm=f r=sn

ꜥḥꜥ.n mšꜥ

in order to fight together with them, (while) [he] remained in the interior of his palace, without his going against them.

Then the army

(Column 28):

[1295] Lit: in the interior of.

n ḥm=f ir ḫ3y ꜥ3 [*im=s*]*n*(?)

...[lost]

bh3 pw ỉr.n ḫ3styw sḫs

of his Majesty made a great bloodbath[1296] [among them?].

A fleeing was made by the foreigners;

they running

(Column 29):

=sn ḥr wꜥr=sn

wn.ỉn mšꜥ ỉn ḥm=f ḥr šm=sn m-ḫnt=sn ḥr

upon their legs.

The army of his Majesty they went after them,

(Column 30):

sm3<m> ỉm=sn

wn.[*in* (?)] *nḫnw nb ḥmwt nbt nty m sp3t tn ḥr ỉṯ*

making a slaughter therein them.

All of the young men (and) all of the women who were in this nome seized

(Column 31):

ḥ3kw nb mr=sn n mnmn [lost] *nbt*

wnn.ỉn ḥm=f ḥꜥꜥ ḥr=s

all of the plunder that they desired of cattle...[lost]...all.

His Majesty exulted on account of it,

[1296] *Wb* III, 224. I used "bloodbath" here for *ḫ3y* (*ḫ3y*[*t*]) to differentiate it from *sm3* "slaughter,"used in a successive column.

(Column 32):

r ꜥ3 wr m ḏd

it=i ỉmn[*-Rꜥ nb nswt t3wy di.n=f* (?)]

m33=i šf=f m hrw pn

wn

doubly greatly, saying:

'My father, Amun-[Rē Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands has caused (?)] me to see his might (?)[1297] on this day.'

(Column 33):

(*.i*)*n t3 pn r ḏrw=f ḥr nhm*...[lost] ...[*m ḏd*] (?)

h3y nsw n m3wt

nfr-ḥr

Then this entire land was cheering… saying:

'O new king![1298] Beautiful of face

(Column 34):

pw m wn m3ꜥ

nn ms snnw[*=f it=f p*]*w* (?) *ỉmn*

mwt=f pw Mwt

mwt=f pw

is he in very truth.

Never was born his second.

Amun is his father (and) Mut is his mother.

Isis

[1297] Again, MACADAM translates *šf* as "might". *Kawa I, Text*, 56, note 53. I follow MACADAM here.
[1298] Lit: "king of newness." *Wb* II, 26.

(Column 35):

[*Ist* (?)] *ḥr pw m wn mɜˁ*

Nn ḫpr [lost]...*m rk=f*

ḥɜt-sp 1 *t<p> ɜbd* 3 *šmw sw* 19

is his mother.

He is Horus in very truth!

It does not occur… [lost] in his time.'

Regnal year 1, the first, third month of Shemu, day 19

(Column 36):

šm pw ỉr.n ḥm=f r ḏw-wˁb

[*r ỉrt ḥsst*] (?) *ỉt=fˊImn-Rˁ nb nswt tɜwy*

ˁḥˁ.n

His Majesty made a going to Pure Mountain (Gebel Barkal),

in order to make that which his father, Amun-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands praises. Then

(Column 37):

pḥ.n=f r ḏw-wˁb n [*ɜbd*] 3 *š<mw> <sw>* [2]8 (?)

šm pw ỉry.n ḥm=f r pr-nsw

He arrived at Pure Mountain (Gebel Barkal) in the third month of Shemu, day 28 (?)[1299].

His Majesty made a going to the Royal Residence.

(Column 38):

rd n=f ˁndy nt ḥb [*n tɜ-stỉ*] (?)

šm pw ỉr.n=f r ḥwt-nṯr nt ỉt=fˊImn-

[1299] See *Kawa I, Text*, 56-57, and note 59.

Given to him was the ꜥ*ndy*-crown of ceremonies (?) of Bow-land (Nubia).

He made a going to the temple of his father Amun-

(Column 39):

rꜥ ḥr<y>-ib ḏw-wꜥb

ḏd.in ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn

ỉi.n=ỉ ḫr=k ỉt=ỉ šps ỉt nṯrw

dỉ=k n=ỉ

Rē who is in the midst of Pure Mountain (Gebel Barkal).

Then his Majesty said in the presence of this god:

‘I have come before you, my august father, father of the gods,

(so that) you might give to me

(Column 40):

nswt m nb tꜣwy

ntk pw nsw mn[*ḫ n*] (?) *nṯrw rmṯw*

ꜥḥꜥ.n ḏd.in nṯr pn šps

[*dỉ=ỉ*] (?) *n=k nswt*

the kingship as the Lord of the Two Lands.

You are the one who is the excellent king of gods (and) men.’

Then this august god said:

‘I give to you the kingship

(Column 41):

m nb tꜣwy

dỉ.n=ỉ rsy mḥt ỉmnt iꜣbt

[lost]… *nb ḫꜣswt ḫr ṯbwy*[*=k*

[*ꜥḥꜥ.n rd.n=f*] (?)

As the Lord of the Two Lands.

I have placed south, north, west (and) east…[lost]

[lost]… all foreign lands beneath your two sandals.'

[Then he gave] (?)

(Column 42):

n=f ꜥbw ꜥ3t

m t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw ḫt nb nfr

rd.n=f ḥmw ḥmwt... [lost]

to him a great offering,

consisting of bread, beer, bulls (and) fowl, every good thing

(and) he gave male servants and female servants… [lost]

(Column 43):

sšrw nsw ꜥš3w nw t3-mḥw šmꜥ ipdw ꜥš3w [*m-b3ḥ*] (?) *nṯr pn*

ḥ3t-sp 2 *t<p> 3bd* 1 *3ḫt sw* 9

ḫd pw [*iry.n*] (?)

plentiful byssus of Lower Egypt (and) Upper Egypt (and) plentiful furniture[1300] [in the presence of] this god.

Regnal year 2, the first, month 1 of Akhet, day 9.

His Majesty made a sailing north,

(Column 44):

ḥm=f

ḥr grg sp3t nb pḥ.n=f r=sn

[*ḥr sḫꜥ<i>*] (?) *nṯrw nṯrwt nbw*

ꜥḥꜥ.n pḥ.n=f r sp3t tn k3-r

[1300] See *Wb* I, 70.

establishing every nome (when) he reached to them

[causing] all the gods (and) goddesses [to appear][1301]

Then he reached to this nome called *kꜣrṯn*[1302].

(Column 45):

-ṯ-n rn=s

ꜣbd 1 *ꜣḫt sw* 17 *n dwꜣyt*

wn.in ḥm=f [*m ḫnw n*] (?) *ꜥḥ=f*

hꜣ pw iry.n ḫꜣstyw imnt

Month 1 of Akhet, day 17, at dawn.

His Majesty was [in] his palace.

The Western foreigners, called

(Column 46):

Mdd (?) *rn=sn*

ꜥḥꜥ.n mꜣ=sn nsw

bhꜣ pw ir=sn

ꜥk snḏ in ḥm=f

the Meded, made a coming.

Then they saw the king.

They made a fleeing,

(because) terror of his Majesty entered

(Column 47):

m ib=sn

wn.in mšꜥ nw ḥm=fs ḫs=sn m-ib=sn

wn=sn ḥr iry ḫꜣ

[1301] 'Appear in procession,' most likely. See *Kawa I, Text*, 58, note 74, and *FHN* II, 407.
[1302] For discussions of this toponym, see *Kawa I, Text*, 58, note 75.

into their hearts.

Then the army of his Majesty, they ran among them.

They made a

(Column 48):

yw ꜥ3 im=sn

nn rḫ dnw=sn

nn rm.tw (?) *nḫn m mšꜥ nw ḥm=f*

great slaughter therein them, their number was not known.

There was not any youth in the army of his Majesty that was mourned.

(Column 49):

3bd 1 *3ḫt sw* 26 *n rwh*

pḥ.n ḥm=f r gm-<p3>-itn

t3w ḥmwt ḥr nh

Month 1 of Akhet, day 26 in the evening.

His Majesty arrived at Gem<pa>aten (Kawa).

The men (and) the women were cheering

(Column 50):

m n ḥm=f

šm pw iry.n ḥm[*=f r ḥwt-nṯr*] (?) *n it=f ỉmn-rꜥ gm-<p3>-itn*

[*di.n*]*=f ꜥb*

His Majesty…

His Majesty made a going [to the temple] of his father Amun-Rē of Gem<pa>aten (Kawa).

He [gave]

(Column 51):

w

ꜥ3 m t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw [*ḫt*] *nb nfr*

[*rdi.n=f sḫ*]*ꜥ nṯr pn šps n hrw* 3

[*ꜥḥ*]*ꜥ*[*.n*] *ḏd* …[lost] *i*

a great offering consisting of bread, beer, bulls, (and) fowl, every good thing.

[He caused] this august god [to appear in procession] for three days.

[Then] (?) said [this god to him:

'I gave]

(Column 52):

n=k t3 nbrs mḥt imnt i3bt

ꜥḥꜥ.n rd<.tw> n=f pḏt ḥnꜥ šsrw=s n bi…[lost]

to you every land: south, north, west, and east.'

Then one gave to him a bow together with its arrows of bronze… [lost] army.

(Column 53):

ꜥḥꜥ.n ḏd.n <n>=f nṯr pn

rd<.tw> n=k pḏt pn ir-ḥnꜥ=k r b nb šm[*=k*] *im*

ḏd …[lost] *=f*

Then this god said to him:

'One gave to you this bow (so that it may be) with you to every place wherein you go.'

His [Majesty] said [to him]:

(Column 54):

di=k n=i ꜥḥꜥ ki ḥr-tp t3

rd.n=k n=i mi ir.n=k n nsw Ỉ-r-r [lost]

ꜥḥꜥ.n ḏd [lost]…

‘May you give to me a long life on earth,

(and) may you give to me as you have given to king Alara, true of voice.’

Then [he] said [to him]:

(Column 55):

ỉr.n=ỉ n=k ḫt nb nt m ỉb=k

ḏd.ỉn ḥm=f n mšʿ=f

sw3š ỉt<=ỉ> ỉmn gm-<p3>- ỉtn

3bd 2 *3ḫt*

I have done for you every thing that is in your heart.’

Then his Majesty said to his army:

‘Honour my father, Amun of Gem<pa>aten!’

Month 2 of Akhet,

(Column 56):

sw 1

ʿḥʿ.n pḥ.n ḥm=f r sp3t tn Pr-nbs rn=s

šm pw ỉr [lost] *=f r ḥwt-nṯr n ỉt=f*

Day 1.

Then his Majesty reached to this nome, called Pnubs.

He made a going to the temple of his father

(Column 57):

ỉmn-rʿ ḥr<y>-ỉb Pr-nbs

rd.n=f ʿbw ʿ3

m t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw ḫt nb nfr n ỉt=f ỉmn

rd.

Amun-Rē who is in the midst of Pnubs.

He gave a great offering,

consisting of bread, beer, bulls, (and) fowl, every good thing, to his father Amun.

(Column 58):

n=f sḫˁ nṯr pn

ˁḥˁ.n ḏd n=f nṯr pn

rd.n=ỉ n=k nsw nḫt

dỉ<=ỉ> n=k tȝ nb rs mḥt ỉmnt ỉȝbt

rd.

He caused this god to appear (in procession).

Then this god said to him:

‘I gave to you a powerful kingship;

I gave to you every land, south, north, west, (and) east.’

(Column 59):

n=f <n=f> (?) *hrw 5 nt ḫˁ<ỉ>*

dỉ<.n>=f

ḥmw ḥmwt 12

ḫrt 1 *hrd* 1 *bỉȝ wšb ˁȝ* 1

mnmn<t>

He gave <to him> 5 days of appearance.

He gave:

12 male servants and female servants;

1 *ḫrd*- roll of cloth/linen

1 great bronze *wšb*-vessel;

(and) 40 cattle,

(Column 60):

40

m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn

ḏd.in nṯr pn n ḥm=f

di=k n=i ꜣḫwt iṯ=w m-ᶜ=i

ḏd.in ḥm=f

in the presence of this god.

Then this god said to his Majesty:

‘May you give to me the lands that were seized from my hand.’

Then his Majesty said

(Column 61):

m=bꜣḥ nṯr pn

rd.n=i n=k ꜣḫt nbt r iṯi=w (?) *m-ᶜ=k m hrw pn*

rmṯ nb mitt

imy rn=sn

in the presence of this god:

‘I gave to you every land that was seized from your hand on this day,

every person likewise.’

List of them,

(Column 62):

wp s

gr-ỉmn-st skst ṯrhṯ mhꜣwyw M-wꜣ-r-s-w n ṯꜣ-

its details:

gr-ỉmn-st

skst

ṯrhṯ (and) families of *M-wꜣ-r-s-w* as bearers

(Column 63):

sšš<w>t m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn

ꜣbd 2 *ꜣḫt sw* 23

ḫnty pw n ḥm=f r [*Gm*]*-pꜣ-itn*

rd.n=f ḫ

of sistra in the presence of this god.

Month 2 of Akhet, day 23.

His Majesty made a sailing southwards to [Gem]paaten (Kawa).

He caused to appear

(Column 64):

ꜥ nṯr pn šps

ḥms pw ir.n ḥm=f m spꜣt tn

ḥr sḫꜥ nṯr pn m ḫꜥw=f nb n ꜣbd 2 *ꜣḫt*

this august god.

His Majesty made a staying in this nome

(and) caused this god to appear in his every festival in the second month of Akhet.

(Column 65):

ḏd.in nṯr pn šps n ḥm=f

di=k n=i ꜣḥwt r iṯi=w (?) *m-ꜥ=i*

ḏd.in ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ

Then this august god said to his Majesty:

‘May you give to me the lands which were seized from my hand.’

Then his Majesty said in the presence of

(Column 66):

nṯr pn rd.n=i n=k ꜣḥwt rmṯ iṯi=w m-ˁ=k m hrw pn

imy-rn=sn wp s

m-rꜣ-kꜣ-r

this god:

'I gave to you the lands (and) people that were seized from your hand, on this day.'

List of them, its details:

M-rꜣ-kꜣ-r

(Column 67):

ỉ-r-ṯ-kꜣ-r ỉ-šꜣ-ꜣw-m-ṯ Gꜣ-r-k-n

mhꜣwyw ỉ-r-m

ỉ-r-ṯ-kꜣ-r

ỉ-šꜣ- ꜣw-m-ṯ

Gꜣ-r-k-n

ỉ-r-ṯ-kꜣ-r ỉ-šꜣ-ꜣw-m-ṯ Gꜣ-r-k-n

(and) families of Arma:

ỉ-r-ṯ-kꜣ-r [1303]

ỉ-šꜣ- ꜣw-m-ṯ

Gꜣ-r-k-n

(Column 68):

tꜣy=i-nb (?)

mhꜣwyw ỉ-rw- [lost]…

bi kbw 1 t<*p*>

ṯbw 3

[1303] Due to the difficulties with translating these names, I have chosen to leave them in transliterated form.

(and) *tʒy=i-nb*[1304]

(and) families of Aru... [lost]

1 bronze *kbw*-vessel

3 *ṯbw*-vessels

(Column 69):

s 25

ḫrṯ n šs-nsw 4

prhk n kmt 1

…[*ḥ*] (?) *ꜥ.n gm.n ḥm=f mi<t> n*

25 men

4 *ḫrd* rolls of byssus

(and) 1 *prhk* (?) of Egypt.

Then his Majesty found the road (?) of

(Column 70):

nṯr pn iṯ.n sy šꜥyw m ḥʒt-sp 42

nn šm nṯr pn ḥr mi<t> [*tn*] …[lost]

this god.

The sand had seized it in regnal year 42,

without this god going upon this road... [lost]

(Column 71):

spʒt tn

[*ḥ*]*ꜥ.n ḥm=f in ḏrt n mšꜥ*

m ṯꜥw ḥmwt ḥnꜥ msw nsw wryw

[1304] *FHN* II, 411, has “My-mistress”.

This nome.

Then his Majesty brought the hand of an army,[1305]

consisting of men (and) women, together with royal children and Great Ones,

(Column 72):

ḥr fꜣi šʿyw

wn ḥm=f ḥr fꜣ<.n> šʿyw m ḏrt=f ḏs

ḥꜣt n mšʿ m

to carry the sand away.

His Majesty carried sand away with his hands, himself,

(at) the head of the army/team[1306] for

(Column 73):

ḥrw ʿšꜣw

ḥr ḥms ḥr pꜣ rwd n nṯr pn

ḥr iry [*bꜣ*] (?) *kiw* [*m-*] (?)*bꜣḥ=f*

wn.n=f mi<t>

multitudes of days,

staying on the ‘stairway’ of this god

(and) making work products (possibly ‘projects’?) in his presence.

He opened (?) the road

(Column 74):

n nṯr pn ꜣbd 2 *ꜣḫt ʿrky*

r[*d*] (?) *n=f sḫʿ<i> nṯr pn šps m wḫꜣ*

wnn mšʿ nb

[1305] “Team” might be best in this context. *FHN* II, 412, has “multitude”.
[1306] As above.

of this god.

Month 2 of Akhet, final day.

He caused this august god to appear in the night.

All of the army

(Column 75):

rmṯ nb bs m ḏrt=sn

[*p*] (?) *rr.n nṯr pn*

wnn nṯr pn ḥr pḫr niwt=f

wn.i̯n nṯr pn

(and) all the people were with torches (?) in their hand.

(When) this god came forth

(and) this god encircled his city,

(then) this august god

(Column 76):

šps ḥr ḥ ʿʿ m ḫnw n mš ʿ [*pn*] (?) *r ʿ3 wr…*

[Lost]

[*wn*](?) *n ḥm=f ḥr f3*

was rejoicing in the interior of the army, very greatly.

[Lost]

His Majesty held up

(Column 77):

ʿwy=f m ḥ ʿʿ

ib=[*f*] (?) *m rš wt m-b3ḥ it=f nṯr pn šps*

i̯rr ṯ3w ḥmwt ḥr nh

his two arms in rejoicing.

His heart was in joy in the presence of his father, this august god.

The men (and) women were making cheering,

(Column 78):

m m ḏd

ḥnm sꜣ [*ḥn*]ˁ *it*

[lost]*...nṯr pn ḥr ḥtp m* ˁ*ḥt=f*

ꜣbd 3

saying:

‘The son is united together with his father!’

This god proceeded, being satisfied, in his palace.

Month 3

(Column 79):

ꜣḫt sw 1

*rdi.n=f sḫ*ˁ *nṯr pn šps* [*m*] *dwꜣw*

pḥr.n=f niwt=f

wnn [lost][1307] *ḥr ḥ*ᶜᶜ

of Akhet, first day.

He caused this august god to appear at dawn.

He encircled his city.

This august god was rejoicing

(Column 80):

r ˁꜣ *wr m ḥnw n ṯꜣw ḥmwt*

wnn ḥm=fḥr fꜣ ˁ*wy=f* [*m*] (?) *ḥ*ᶜᶜ *m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn*

[1307] *FHN* II, 413, restored [*nṯr pn šps*].

very greatly, in the interior of (probably “among”?) the men (and) women.

His Majesty held up his two arms in rejoicing in the presence of this august god.

(Column 81):

šps

ir ṯ3w ḥmwt [*ḥr nhm*] (?)

[lost] *pw* [lost] *nṯr pn r pr=f*

is r [lost] *n ḥm=f*

The men (and) the women made cheering.

This god made a coming into his house.

Now... [lost] of his Majesty.

(Column 82):

iw<.n> sn<t>-nsw<t> ḥnwt n kmt mwt nsw [lost]...

wnn [lost] *m 3w-ib ḥr*

The king’s sister, the Mistress of Egypt, the king’s mother, came...[lost]

She was in a state of being joyful of heart (?)

(Column 83):

m33 s3=sw [*sic*]

i-r-k-Imn-niwt

Seeing her son...[lost]

[Lost]... Amannote-erike,

(Column 84):

ꜥnḫ ḏt

ḫꜥ<i> ḥr st ḥr mi rꜥ ḏt nḥḥ

3bd 3 *3ḫt sw* 7 [lost]... *ḥm=f* [lost]

Who lives forever,

who appears upon the throne of Horus, like Rē, for ever (and) eternity.

Month 3 of Akhet, day 7.

[Lost]... his Majesty... [lost]

(Column 85):

=f mtn ḥr ḫt=tn ḥr [lost] *m ḏd*

m n=i ỉt=t ỉmn

dỉ=k

Him (?)

'Behold! You are on your bellies…[lost] saying:

'Come to me, my father, Amun!

May you give

(Column 86):

n=i ḫ3st nb nty bdš [lost]

sḏm=k [*n*] (?)*=i*

rd=k nfr

to me every foreign land which revolts…[lost]

Listen to me!

May you cause this land to be good

(Column 87):

t3 pn m h<3>w=i [lost]

ḥr ir r [lost]*=k*

wn.in [*ḥm=f*] (?) *ḥr ꜥḥꜥ n*[*n*] (*?*) *ky ḥnꜥ=f*

in my time.

[Lost]]…making…[lost] you.

His Majesty was standing, without another being with him

(Column 88):

wp-ḥr=f wꜥ.w

in ꜥ3[*wy*] *ḥr=f*

ḥr nis [lost] *m dw3w m mšr*

He was alone.

The doors were closed upon him,

Invoking…[lost] at dawn (and) in the evening

(Column 89):

nn wrḥw=f sw m ꜥ [lost][1308] *hrw* 4

wn.i [lost] *ḥmwt msw nsw*

Without his anointing himself in [myrrh for] 4 days.

[lost]…women, royal children

(Column 90):

smrw nb nt pr-nsw

ḥr rd=sn ḥr ḫt=sn m-b3ḥ nṯr pn

iw nn wrḥw=sn

And all the companions of the royal residence

placed themselves upon their bellies in the presence of this god

without anointing them

(Column 91):

m ꜥnty

wnn ḥr-tpw nw ḥm=f ḥr dw3w [lost] *bw š* [lost]

[1308] *FHN* II, 415, restored ꜥ[*ntyw m*].

r sḫtp ib

with myrrh.

The foremost men of his majesty were worshipping …[lost]

in order cause the satisfaction of the heart

(Column 92):

n nṯr pn n ḥm=f r rd sḏm=f

ḏd.tn ḥm=f nb

ȝbd 3 *ȝḫt sw* [lost]

[lost] *ḥm=f ḥr ir ꜥbȝw*

of this god for his Majesty;

In order to cause him to hear all that his Majesty had said.

Month 3 of Akhet, day…[lost]

His Majesty was making a great

(Column 93):

ꜥȝty m-bȝḥ nṯr pn

in ꜥȝwy m ḥwt-nṯr tn [lost]

[lost] *n=f ḥr ḏd ḫt nb nty*

offering in the presence of this god.

The doors of this temple were closed…[lost]

[lost]…saying everything that was

(Column 94):

m ib=f

ꜥḥꜥ.n wn ꜥȝwy m ḥwt-nṯr

ḏ[*d*]*.n ḥm=f n smrw nt pr-snw*

My

in his heart.

Then the doors of this temple complex were opened.

His Majesty said to the companions of the royal residence:

‘Give

(Column 95):

w i[*ȝ*](?)*wy n it=i ỉmn*

di=f [lost]

[lost] *ḫȝyt nbt*

Praise to my father, Amun!

May he give…[lost]

[Lost][1309]…any illness

(Column 96):

im=f di=f n=i ḫȝst nb nty b[*dš*] (?) [lost]

[lost] *ḥm=f* [lost]...*Ỉ-ḫ-b-ỉmn* (?) *ḥnᶜ ḥmw-nṯr*

therein it.

May he give to me every foreign land which…[lost]

[lost]…His Majesty…[lost] Akhebamani (?) together with the *ḥm-nṯr*- priests

(Column 97):

ḥnᶜ sš-mḏȝt-nṯr šm [lost]...*ḫwt-nṯr*

ḏd [lost] *nb ḏd n=i it=i ỉmn*

(and) the scribe of the temple archives went to…[lost]… temple

Say everything! Say that which was for me <by> my father Amun

[1309] *FHN* II, 416, reconstructed [ᶜ*nḫ ȝw nn*].

(Column 98):

m ḫnw n mšʿ nb n ḥm=f

š[*m*] (?) *pw ir*[*.n=sn*] (?) *ḥr ḏd* [lost]... ʿ *pn*

wn.in ḥm=f

in the interior (among?) of all the army of his Majesty!'

They made a going, telling …[lost] this army (?).

His Majesty,

(Column 99):

ḥnʿ smrw ḥnʿ mšʿ nb n ḥm=f ḥr [lost] *m sp3t tn* [lost] *nṯr pn*

wn.in ḥm=f ʿ*k r ḥwt-nṯr*

together with the companions, together with all the army of his Majesty…[lost] in this nome…[lost] this god.

His Majesty entered to the temple

(Column 100):

ḥr wdn m-b3ḥ ỉt=f Imn

wn.in ḥm[*=f*] *ḥr ỉr snṯr m fnḏ* [lost] *nṯr pn*

[*ḏd*] (?).i*n nṯr pn dỉ=ỉ n=k* ʿ*nḫ nb*

(and) made an offering in the presence of his father, Amun.

His Majesty making the incense (i.e. burning incense) in the nose of this god.

This god said:

'I give to you all life.'

(Column 101):

ḏd.in ḥm=f n smrw [lost] *pr-nsw*

ḥnʿ [*ḥm*] (?)*w-nṯr* [*ḥm*] (?)*wt- nṯr* [*wʿbw*] (?) *ḫryw-ḥb*

m ỉ3

Then his Majesty said to the companions of the royal Residence,

together with the *ḥm-nṯr*-priests, the *ḥm-nṯr*-priestesses, [*wꜥb*-priests] (?) and lector priests:

‘Give

(Column 102):

wy n ỉt=ỉ ỉmn

wn [lost] *r tr n snṯr m fnḏ* [lost] *nn ỉw=sn*

ḏd=ỉ m-

praise to my father, Amun!

Dress yourselves (?) for the time of the incense in the nose…[lost] without their coming.

I say in

(Column 103):

bȝḥ ỉt=ỉ ỉmn

dỉ=k ỉw=f n=ỉ m wn mȝꜥ

[lost] *mỉ ḏd=ỉ m tȝ ȝt*

dỉ [*=f*] (?) *ḏd n=ỉ rmṯ nb*

the presence of my father Amun:

“Cause him to come to me in very truth.”

[Lost]…like that which I say in this moment.

May [he] cause every person to say to me:

(Column 104):

ꜥnḫ=k

dỉ=f n=ỉ ꜥnḫ nb ḫr=f

[lost] *smrw ḥr dwȝ ḥm sȝ-rꜥ Ỉ-r-k-ỉmn-nỉwt*

m-bȝḥ ỉt

“May you live!”

May he give to me all life under him!’

[lost]…companions (?) were singing the praises (?) of the son of Rē, Amannote-erike,

in the presence of

(Column 105):

=f ỉmn-rᶜ gm-<pꜣ>-ỉtn

dỉ=f n=f ᶜnḫ nb ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw-ỉb nb

[lost] *nb ḥḥ m ḥb-sd ᶜšꜣ-wr*

ḫᶜ ḥr st ḥr

his father, Amun-Rē of Gem<pa>aten (Kawa)

(so that) he might give to him all life, all stability and dominion, all health (and) all happiness

[Lost]…all…millions of sed-festivals, in very great (numbers),

appearing upon the throne of Horus

(Column 106):

mỉ rᶜ ḏt nḥḥ

ỉs gm.n ḥm=f hꜣy wꜣw r w[*ꜣs*] (?) *m spꜣt tn*

ᶜḥᶜ.n kd

like Rē for ever (and) eternity.

Now, his Majesty found that (some) halls (?) had fallen into a state of being ruined in this nome.

Then

(Column 107):

ỉw.n=f sn n mꜣwt

ỉs ḥm=f ḫ [lost] *nfr* [lost] *ỉmn* [lost]

he built them anew.

Now, his Majesty…[lost]…good…[lost]…Amun

(Column 108):

[lost] *n=i inw n* [lost] *nw* [lost] *wt* [lost]... *nb<w> ḥḏ*

[Lost]…to me tribute of… [lost]…gold (and) silver

(Column 109):

biȝ ḥbsw irp ꜥn[*tyw*] (?) [lost]...

Bronze, clothing, wine, myrrh… [lost]

(Column 110):

n=f fkȝw im=sn [lost]...

[Lost] he …rewards therein them…[lost]…

(Column 111):

ꜥȝt 1 *t<p> tnw* 5 *gȝty* [lost]...

Large…[lost]; 1 *tnw*-vessel; 5 *gȝty* items (?)

(Column 112):

irp nfr rd sḏrw m [lost]...*biȝ* [lost] *ḥw* 13 [lost]

[lost][1310] 6

wn [lost] =*f* ꜥ

Good wine of sleep (?) in … [lost] bronze…[lost] 13 *ḥw*-cloths (?)

[Lost] 6[1311]

His Majesty

(Column 113):

k r ḥwt-nṯr tn ḥr ir ꜥ*b* [lost] *nb* [lost]...

entered to this temple, making a great offering [lost]… all…[lost]

[1310] *FHN* II, 418, restored a date of [*ȝbd* 3 *ȝḫt sw* 16].
[1311] Again, *FHN* II, 418, restored this as [*ȝbd* 3 *ȝḫt sw* 16].

(Column 114):

ḏd.ỉn ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn [lost]...

n=ỉ ḫꜣswt [lost]...*ỉry n=ỉ*

Then his Majesty said in the presence of this god:

[Lost]…to me…[lost] foreign lands [lost]…

Act for me

(Column 115):

mỉ ỉr=k n nsw k<ꜣ>-š-tꜣ[1312] *mꜣʿ*-[*ḫrw*] [lost]...

ḏd nṯr pn rdỉ [lost]...

like you acted for king Kashta, true of voice…[lost]

This god said:

'Give…[lost]…'

(Column 116):

sw

ḏd<.n>=f n=f

dỉ=ỉ n=k tꜣ [lost] *ỉmnt* [lost]

rd=ỉ n=k mỉ [*dỉ*] (?)=*ỉ n nsw* [lost]

Him.

He said to him:

'I give to you [every] land, [south, north] west, (and) [east] (?)

I give to you as I [gave] (?) to king…[1313]

[1312] For the spelling of this name, see discussion in Chapter 10.
[1313] Presumably, "king Kashta" but the rest of this line is lost.

(Column 117):

ḏd.in nṯr pn šps in ḥm=f

[lost] *r pr-nsw ḥr s* [lost] *nb ḏd.i* [lost] *ftn*

Then this august god said to his Majesty:

[Lost]… to the royal Residence upon…[lost]…all.'

Then [lost]…

(Column 118):

i-ḥr rd ƒ3 s ḥm-nṯr r pr-nsw

ḏd [lost] *mn tn r pr-nsw*

ḏd.<i>n nṯr pn

nn ƒ3 sw

Cause (?) that a *ḥm-nṯr*-priest carry it to the royal Residence,

Say…[lost] this [lost] to the royal Residence.'

Then this god said:

'No one will carry

(Column 119):

s nb r pr-nsw wp nsw ḏs=f

[lost] *pr r* [lost] *n ḥwt-nṯr* [*t*]*n* (?)

[lost]=*f ḥnꜥ=f s*

it to the royal Residence except the king himself.'

[Lost]…go forth to…[lost] of this temple

He [lost…] together with him, a man

(Column 120):

[lost] *sw* [lost] *m ḫnw n mšꜥ=f*

iṯ.n [lost]...*šm sm*[*rw*] (?) [lost] *swy*

[lost]…him [lost]…in the interior of (among?) his army

Seized… [lost]

The companions went…[lost]…

(Column 121):

ḏd=t <n=>tn

rd n=i it=i ỉImn [lost] *ḥnᶜ=k r* [lost]

[lost] *ṯn ḥm=f ir mitt*

Say to them (?):

'My father Amun gave it to me [lost]…together with you to [lost]…

[Lost]… Them (?)…His Majesty does likewise.'

(Column 122):

ȝbd 3 *ȝḫt sw* 23

wnn [lost] *rd r* [lost] *nṯr pn ḥr* [lost] *n ḥm=f*

m-bȝḥ nṯr pn

Month 3 of Akhet, day 23.

[lost]…give to …[lost] this god… [lost] to his Majesty in the presence of this god

(Column 123):

di=k in=k ḫt nb m ḫpš [lost] *ỉI-r-k-ỉImn-niwt*

'May you cause (and) bring everything by means of your strength…[lost] Amannote-erike.'

(Column 124):

rḫ di.n ḥm=f m-bȝḥ [lost] ...

List of that which his majesty gave in the presence of [this god] (?)… [lost]

(Column 125):

ḫnᶜ nḫysᶜn [lost]...

Together with *nḫysᶜn* (?)…[lost]

(Column 126):

ḫm 24 *ḫnᶜ* [lost]...

24 servants (male and female) together with…[lost]

[Remainder of the text is lost]

Appendix 3: Transliteration and Translation of Kawa X, XI, and XII

Appendices 3a, 3b, and 3c: Amannote-erike's 'donation' inscriptions (Kawa X, XI, and XII, respectively)

Appendix 3a: Kawa X

'Donation' text. Second half of fifth century B.C.E. (year [?] of Amannote-erike's reign). Inscribed on the south face of the north doorjamb (starting on the eastern edge of the jamb) between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall, Temple T at Kawa. See *Kawa I, Text*, 68-69; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27-28, and *FHN* II, 428-430. Hieroglyphs inscribed in vertical columns (reading top to bottom, right to left).[1314] Measurements: extant text is 0.42 metres x 0.42 metres.[1315]

Transliteration and Translation:

[lost]...*ḫr ḥm n*

ḥr kȝ-nḫt ḫᶜ-m-wȝst

nbty ỉṯ-tȝw-nb

ḥr nb<w> Wᶜf-ḫȝswt-nb

nsw-bity Nfr-ỉb-rᶜ]

[Regnal year, month and day lost]

[(Restored section): [1316]

Under the Majesty of

The Horus: 'Mighty Bull (who) Appears in Thebes'

Two Ladies: '(One who) seizes all lands'

Golden Horus: '(One who) subdues all foreign (or hill) lands'

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-ib-Rē]

[1314] *FHN* II, 430.

[1315] *Kawa I, Text*, 68. I have transliterated and translated from MACADAM'S hand copy (*Kawa I, Plates*, plate 28). See Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.

[1316] The remaining text begins with Amannote-erike's Son of Rē name. Regnal year, month, and day lost, is the titulary. MACADAM assumed that the inscription began with column 3 of the original inscription. I adhered to this convention and restored the titulary and beginning of the inscription as per MACADAM and *FHN* II.

Extant inscription:

(Top of column 3):

sꜣ-rᶜ i-r-k-[Ỉ]mn-nỉwt

[ᶜ*nḫ*] *ḏt mr <y>*[1317] *<Ỉ>mn-<rᶜ> ḥr<y>-ib Gm<-Ỉtn>*

Son of Rē: Amannote-erike,

(who) lives forever,

Beloved of Amun-Rē, (who) is in the midst of Gempaaten (Kawa)

(Column 4):

dỉ ᶜ*nḫ mỉ rᶜ ḏt r nḥḥ*

ḥr ḏd[1318] *ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn šps* (?)

Given life, like Rē, forever to eternity.

Then his Majesty spoke in the presence of this august god,

(Column 5):

n ỉt=fỈmn-rᶜ ḥr<y>-ib Gm-Ỉtn

mr<.w> dỉ ᶜ*nḫ mỉ rᶜ ḏt nḥḥ*

ḥr ḏd ḥm=f m-bꜣḥ[1319]

To his father Amun-Rē, (who) is in the midst of Gempaaten (Kawa),

(who is) beloved, (who is) given life, like Rē, forever (and) eternity.

Then his Majesty spoke in the presence

[1317] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 4.
[1318] For discussions of the orthography of this section, transcribed as *ḏd.in* in *FHN* II, 429, see *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 6.
[1319] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 7.

(Column 6):

ỉmn-rˁ Gm-ỉtn <r>ḏd

di<=i> <n=>k[1320] *ỉt* 27[1321] *…wr ḥkꜣt*

b<d>t 9 *…ḥkꜣt ỉn ỉt b<d>t*

of Amun-Rē of Kawa, saying:

"I give to you

Barley of 27[1322] wer-hekat measures (?)

Emmer of 9 wer-hekat measures (?)[1323]

As barley (and) emmer (?)

(Column 7):

n ḥꜣt ỉt 27[1324] *…ḥkꜣt*

b<d>t 9*… n ḥkꜣ ỉn ỉt b<d>t*

ỉ nty nb 72 *n wr ḥkꜣt*

ỉr<.n>=f smꜣˁ [*r?*]

Of the foremost (quality)

…27[1325] wer-hekat measures (?)

9… wer-hekat measures (?)

As barley (and) emmer

Which is all [i.e., in total] 72 wer-hekat measures (?)"

He made a prayer for

(Column 8):

ỉp nb nfr

[1320] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note I. There is much confusion regarding exactly what these offerings are. See discussion in Chapter 11.
[1321] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note (3), renders this numeral as "25"; *FHN* II, 429, has it as "27". These totals do not add up. See discussion in Chapter 11.
[1322] See footnote above.
[1323] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, notes (4) and (7).
[1324] See footnote above.
[1325] See footnote above.

ꜥnḫ kꜣ snbt kꜣ<t> ꜣw-ib kꜣ[1326]

n nsw-bity Nfr-ib-rꜥ

every good thing:

Great life, great health, great happiness

For the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-ib-Rē,

(Column 9):

sꜣ-rꜥ Ỉ-r-k-Ỉmn-niwt ꜥnḫ ḏt nḥḥ

The Son of Rē, Amannote-erike, who lives forever (and) eternity.

[1326] *Kawa I, Text*, 69, note 14.

Appendix 3b: Kawa XI

'Donation' text. Second half of fifth century B.C.E. (year 19 of Amannote-erike's reign). Inscribed on the south face of the north doorjamb between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall, Temple T at Kawa. See *Kawa I, Text*, 70-71; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 27-28, and *FHN* II, 431-432. Hieroglyphs inscribed in vertical columns (reading top to bottom, right to left).[1327] Measurements: extant text is 0.42 metres x 0.42 metres.[1328]

Transliteration and Translation:

(Column 1):

[*ḥ3t*][1329]*-sp* 19 *3bd 4 prt* [*sw*] 3

m-b3ḥ ḥm=f n

ḥr k3-nḫt ḫ-m-w3st

Regnal year 19, month 4 of Peret (winter), (day) 3

Under the Majesty of

The Horus: 'Mighty Bull (who) Appears in Thebes'

(Column 2):

nbty <iṯ>.w-t3w-nb

ḥr nbw wf-ḫ3sw-nb

Nsw-bity Nfr-ib-r

Two Ladies: '(One who) seizes all lands'

Golden Horus: '(One who) subdues all foreign (or hill) lands'

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-ib-Rē,

[1327] *FHN* II, 432.
[1328] *Kawa I, Text*, 70. See also Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1329] *ḥ3t* is omitted in the original. See discussions in Chapter 11.

(Column 3):

sȝ-rˁ ỉ-r-k-ỉmn-nỉwt

ˁnḫ <wḏȝ> snb ḏt

mr<y> ỉmn-Rˁ ḥry-ỉb Gm-p<ȝ>-ỉtn

ḥr ḏt

Son of Rē, Amannote-erike, life, prosperity, health, forever,

Beloved of Amun-Rē, (who) is in the midst of Gempaaten (Kawa) forever;

(Column 4):

sȝ ỉmn-Rˁ

ỉ-r-k-ỉmn-nỉwt

ỉw=f sˁnḫ mỉ ỉmn[1330]

ỉw=f ḳd mỉ

Son of Amun-Rē, Amannote-erike, (who) causes to live like Amun. He builds like

(Column 5):

Ptḥ ỉw=f rḫ mỉ ḏḥwty

ỉw šm n=<s>n nsw n tȝ wȝ…[lost]

Ptah, he knows (i.e., has wisdom) like Thoth.

The companions (?)/brothers (?) of the king went to the...

(Column 6):

rwḏ(?) ḥkȝt

ḏd.n ḥm=f <n> smrw nb nt pr-nsw <r> ḏd

ỉ dỉ<.ỉ> ỉt[1331] *wˁ* (?)

[1330] The orthography is peculiar, with an extra *ỉ* being found beside *mỉ*. This may be simply an unusual case of the second letter of the biliteral being spelled out.

[1331] For the problems surrounding this sign as "barley" or as a type of uraeus votive offering, see arguments in Chapter 11.

...strength of a/the uraeus (?)

His Majesty spoke to all of the companions of the royal residence, saying

"O! I give one (?)[1332]

(Column 7):

…wr(*t*)-*ḥkꜣ n mšʿ nb tꜣ Ỉ<m>n<-rʿ> nn di*(?)... *wr*(?) ….[lost][1333]

barley of one wer-hekat measure (?)[1334] to all of the army[Of the land (?) of Amun-Rē, which does not give...bad... [remainder lost][1335]

[1332] The signs here are unclear. It is uncertain if this should read *wʿ* "one", or if more numerals were originally inscribed below. Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1333] This section is significantly damaged. Appendix 1, Figures XII and XIII.
[1334] Again, see footnote above.
[1335] Note: this section in square brackets is speculation on my part, from the hieroglyphs remaining in the original. Neither MACADAM nor *FHN* II attempt to translate these last signs.

Appendix 3c: Kawa XII

'Donation' text. Second half of fifth century B.C.E. (year 25[+?] of Amannote-erike's reign). Inscribed on the north face of the south doorjamb (starting from the western edge of the jamb)[1336] between the First Court and the Hypostyle Hall, Temple T at Kawa. See *Kawa I, Text*, 71-72; *Kawa I, Plates*, plates 29-30, and *FHN* II, 432-435. Hieroglyphs inscribed in vertical columns (reading top to bottom, right to left). Measurements: extant text is 1.05 metres x 1.24 meters.[1337]

Transliteration and Translation:

(Column 1):

ḥ3t-sp 25[1338] [+X] *3bd* 2 *3ḫt sw* 10

ḫr ḥm

[<*n*> *ḥr k3-nḫt ḫ*ʿ*-m-*][1339]

Regnal year 25 [+X], month 4 of Peret (winter), (day) 3

Under the Majesty of

The Horus: 'Mighty Bull (who) Appears in

(Column 2):

w3st

nbty [*it̲*][1340]*-t3w-nb*

ḥr-nb<*w*> *w*ʿ*f-ḫ3swt-nb*

nsw-bity [*Nfr-ib-r*ʿ

di ʿ*nḫ mi rʿ d̲t*][1341]

Thebes'

[1336] *FHN* II, 434.
[1337] *Kawa I, Text*, 71, and *FHN* II, 434. See also Appendix 1, Figures XIV and XV.
[1338] Appendix 1, Figure XV, shows the the year number is damaged in MACADAM'S hand copy. Refer to discussion in Chapter 11. I follow the convention of MACADAM and of *FHN* II, providing a regnal year of 25 [+X].
[1339] Restored section in square brackets.
[1340] Restored section in square brackets.
[1341] Restored section in square brackets.

Two Ladies: ‘(One who) seizes all lands’

Golden Horus: ‘(One who) subdues all foreign (or hill) lands’

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Nefer-ib-Rē,

Given life like Rē, forever.]

(Column 3):

nḥḥ stp<.w>

nsw nfr mnw n Gm-<pꜣ>-ỉtn

psḏt ...sꜣ ỉmn mr<y> ỉmn-rᶜ <n> Gm-<pꜣ>-

... for ever, the one who is chosen,

The king whose monuments of Gem<pa>aten (Kawa) are beautiful...

The Ennead, son of Amun, beloved of Amun-Rē of Gem<pa>-

(Column 4):

ỉtn

sꜣ rᶜ ỉ-r-k-ỉmn-niwt ᶜnḫ ḏt

ḫnty s ḥḥ

m... ib=f r ir ḫnw n nṯrw nb

dỉ ᶜnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb ḫr=f

Aten (Kawa), son of Rē, Amannote-erike, (who) lives forever,

foremost of a million men in... his heart/desire to make a Residence

for all the gods, given life, stability and dominion upon him,

(Column 5):

[*ꜣw*][1342](?) *-ib nb ḫr<=f>*

...[*st*](*?*) *n ḥr ḏt*

ḏd.n ḥm=f m-bꜣh [*nṯr*][1343] *pn*

[1342] Restored section in square brackets.
[1343] Restored section in square brackets.

[*di=i n=*][1344]*k tnn*(?)/*rnn*[1345] *iw*ꜣ 141 *it* 220 *ḥk*ꜣ*t*

All happiness (?) upon him... the throne of Horus forever.

His Majesty said in the presence of this god:

"I give to you 141 young long horned bulls (and) 220 hekat-measures of barley[1346]

(Column 6):

[Lost]…*šm*ꜣ *n* [lost]... *n=ỉ ỉmn-r*ꜥ *<n> Gm<p*ꜣ*>-ỉtn*

ỉ nṯrw nb nṯrwt nb n [lost]...

...to me, Amun-Rē of Gem<pa>aten (Kawa)

O! All gods and all goddesses of...

(Column 7):

[Lost]…*t...m*ꜣ*...ỉmn-r*ꜥ *n Gm-p*ꜣ*-ỉtn*

*i.ir p*ꜣ *r*ꜥ [lost]…

...see... Amun-Rē of Gempaaten.

O! Prē made...

(Column 8):

[Lost]... *mw/Npt* (?) *ir=w* [lost]… *i.ir=f m* [lost]…*p*ꜣ

...water/Napata (?)[1347]...they made ... he made in ...the

[1344] Restored section in square brackets.

[1345] Both *Kawa I, Text*, 72, and *FHN* II, 433, have *rnn*, with *iw*ꜣ and hence translate "bullocks," or "calves," which is sensible in this context. However, the original looks like *tnn*, but this makes no sense. Possibly, this was a native Kushite word or phrase, but there is no evidence to substantiate this. Therefore, I adhered to convention and used *rnn*.

[1346] *Kawa I, Text*, 72, has "220 fully grown (bulls)", while *FHN* II, 433, has "barley 220 *hekat* measures." In line with earlier interpretations of offerings given to the temple, I think that the grain option makes the most sense, especially since the hekat measure hieroglyph is unmistakable in the original. Hence, I chose to follow *FHN*'s interpretation.

[1347] See arguments in Chapter 11.

(Column 9):

[Lost]… *ḏd i'Imn-rꜥ* (*n*) *Gm-<pꜣ>-'Itn* [lost]…

...saying "O! Amun-Rē of Gempaaten (Kawa)...

(Column 10):

[Lost]… *n* [lost]… [*nṯr*] (?)=*k'Imn-rꜥ* [lost]…

...to...your god (?) Amun-Rē

(Column 11):

[Lost]… *ꜥnḫ* [lost]…

...life...(Column 12):

[Lost]...[1348] *ḥrw* (?)...

...[cartouche] voice (?)... [Remainder lost]

[1348] Bottom of cartouche. The name is gone, but the bottom of what appears to be *k* (possibly part of Amannote-erike's name?) remains.

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