FROM THE FJORDS TO THE NILE

Essays in honour of Richard Holton Pierce on his 80th birthday

edited by

Pål Steiner, Alexandros Tsakos and Eivind Heldaas Seland

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY

© Archaeopress and the authors 2018

Cover image: Aswan 1970. Photo by Richard Holton Pierce

Contents

Fieldwork in Dorginarti. From the archive of Pierce's family.

Preface

On October 24th 2015, Richard Holton Pierce celebrated his 80th anniversary. It was an occasion for friends and colleagues to come together for a conference reflecting his wide research interests, 'From River to Sea through Desert and Text', at the University of Bergen.

Richard H. Pierce has spent his life at the university. He obtained his PhD in Egyptology at Brown University in 1963, after which he worked as an epigrapher and field supervisor in Sudanese Nubia. Pierce was engaged at Brown as an instructor in Egyptology from 1964 to 1966, and then as a fellow in classical Greek at the University of Bergen, where he was also given a professorship in Egyptology in 1971. In a short but significant period at the University of Khartoum in 1976 as Visiting Professor of Archaeology (acting also as chairman of the department) he directed surveys in the Shilluk region of South Sudan.

Richard Holton Pierce is primarily an Egyptologist with profound knowledge of all the phases of the Egyptian language from hieroglyphics to Coptic, as well as Latin, Greek and Arabic. He works with traditional Egyptological fields, in particular demotic papyrology and inscriptions. Perhaps it is characteristic that among his contributions stands out a work that has become not only a standard reference, but also a vital handbook for students of a field that has profited much from Pierce's work, Nubiology: the seminal work *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum, Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth century BC and the Sixth century AD*, compiled in four volumes in collaboration with Tormod Eide, Tomas Hägg and László Török.

However, Egyptology is a marginal field in Norway. Thus, Pierce's long-standing engagement with Egypt and Nubia has been accompanied by interest in other areas often considered peripheral by students of the ancient world. Pierce has offered his competences to an array of students and scholars in a wide variety of fields, from classical philology to art history and digital humanities. His knowledge and interests extend beyond Egypt's geographical and historical borders. He has been involved in extensive fieldwork in Egypt and Nubia. He and his wife participated in the Aswan High Dam campaign. But he is also among the very few people in the world to have conducted archaeological research in South Sudan. Since the 1990s he has collaborated with the Department of Biology at the University of Bergen in studies of the longue durée of the cultural landscape of the Eastern Desert.

Most importantly, Pierce established and expanded collections of material relating to regions such as the Eastern Desert of Egypt and Sudan, the Aksumite and Early South Arabian civilizations, and the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in the pre-Islamic period. This has provided Bergen with an infrastructure for the study of these 'people without history' that has enabled several major research projects and a substantial body of scholarship from a corner of the world that arguably has few comparative advantages for the study of these regions.

Many have profited from Pierce's long-standing and passionate engagement with university life. In fact, he translated this experience into inspiration for research that he offered unreservedly to his students and colleagues. Also typical of Pierce has been his effort to make knowledge available in the most up-to-date form possible; hence his devotion to digital humanities, deriving undoubtedly from his way of visualizing research through endless diagrams that can be found in his personal archive.

Perhaps it is this amazingly rich repository of a life's devotion to finding out not only what we know but also (or even mainly) how we get to know it that is Pierce's most important contribution to future generations – a repository that the University of Bergen is determined to manage and promote, together with the very rich collection of publications that Pierce either ordered through the libraries or bought himself and donated to his academic home in Bergen.

Pierce has acted as co-supervisor, in many cases informally and institutionally unrecognized, for a large number of research students in archaeology, classics, Egyptology, religion, history, statistics and linguistics, several of whom have contributed to this book. Colleagues who ask for advice are never turned down. Beneficiaries will recall how manuscripts are returned with markups and comments, with different colours for sources or data, statements and arguments, references to scholarship and so on. These have proved to be important lessons in reading as well as writing academic texts to many of his students, as no unreferenced or unfounded statement would go through the process unnoticed. The sometimes less-than-perfect English of Norwegian and other non-native speakers is patiently corrected and improved, references provided to scholarship and source material that the author might have overlooked. Ideas for how arguments and perspectives could be developed are suggested. This takes place in a manner that leaves the author feeling good about his or her work even in light of the shortcomings that have been pointed out. In this way, Pierce has contributed and continues to contribute to the quality and internationalization of Norwegian research not only within his own field, but also within subjects that fall within his wide field of interest.

The Conference

On October 26th, friends and colleagues of Richard Holton Pierce gathered at the University of Bergen to celebrate the day with the conference 'From River to Sea through Desert and Text'. Reflecting the breadth of Pierce's research interests, the conference was sectioned under three main headings: 'Along the river', 'The desert and the sea' and 'Papyri, books and the Internet'. A number of the talks are presented in this book. Besides the papers found in this volume, presentations at the conference were given by colleagues in a range of fields in which Pierce has been engaged. Topics rcovered the archaeology of the Red Sea hills by Gábor Lassány, the climate of the Eastern Desert by Knut Krzywinski, tree cultivation in the Eastern Desert by Gidske Andersen, Bronze Age contacts across the Red Sea by Nils Anfinset, the incorporation of societies along the Nile in the Bronze Age by Henriette Hafsaas Tsakos, the modern economic history of Sudan by Anders Bjørkelo, explorers of the Syrian Desert by Jørgen C. Meyer, and qualitative and quantitative textual criticism by Odd Einar Haugen, and the senet game by Espen Aarseth.

Nubians move from the margins to the center of their history

László Török
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

THE STUDY OF THE KINGDOM OF KUSH
BEFORE AND AFTER THE *FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM*

> [R]eaders should be aware that the case is not closed.
> (Burstein 2003: 142)[1]

For a whole decade between 1991 and 2000, I was a participant in the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* project where I had the privilege of working together with Richard Holton Pierce, Tormod Eide and our late friend Tomas Hägg.[2] I remember the many hours we spent together working on the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (*FHN* I-IV) as some of the most stimulating and blissful I have experienced as a student of Nubian history. 'Throughout the nineties we have published one large volume of texts, translations, [philological and historical] comments and bibliography every second year, ending up with page 1375.'[3] The four volumes present all textual sources of the history of the Middle Nile Region from the eighth century BC to the sixth century AD that were available up to 1998. Ever since the publication of Volume I, the *Fontes* have continued to give momentum to the study of ancient Kush and support the process in the course of which 'Nubians move from the margins to the center of their history and become its principal actors' (Burstein 2003: 142).

As a beginner in Nubian Studies in the 1960s, I could turn for a modern general history of the Middle Nile Region to Anthony Arkell's *A History of the Sudan* (1955), to some chapters in Sir Alan Gardiner's *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961) or to Walter Emery's *Egypt in Nubia* (1965). I read Arkell's fatalistic portrayal of post-New Kingdom Nubia with bewilderment:

> the [E]gyptianized kingdom [of Kush was] running gradually downhill to a miserable and inglorious end. There were interludes of prosperity when contact with the outside world was free and friendly, and new inspiration and energy (the effect of new ideas from outside) were infused into the kingdom. (Arkell 1955: 138)

The vision of an ancient African kingdom's total dependence on ideas borrowed from outside was first outlined one generation earlier by George Andrew Reisner (Manuelian 1999), the founding father of twentieth century Nubian Studies.[4] Reisner reconstructed the history of the Middle Nile Region in terms of archaeological cultures identified with different peoples. He described 'progressive' periods, which he connected to the influx or domination of the superior Hamitic race, that is, of Egypt. The progressive periods alternated with periods of political and cultural decline, which Reisner (1919) explained as a consequence of the immigration of Negroid peoples from the interior of Africa.[5] Reisner (1919; 1920a) declared that Kushite society was ethnically stratified, consisting of a native aristocracy, an Egyptian professional middle class and a native proletariat. He also postulated that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was of foreign, Libyan, origin (Reisner 1919: 247; cf. Dunham and Macadam 1949; Griffith 1922: 68f.).[6] After excavating the Kushite royal cemeteries of El Kurru (Dunham 1950), Nuri (Dunham 1955), Gebel Barkal

---

[1] R. H. Pierce on the interpretation of an often-discussed passage (lines 9-12) in Piankhy's Great Triumphal Stela, FHN I: 113.
[2] The way for the project was prepared by their 'Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History' published between 1979 and 1984 in the Sudan Text Bulletin; see Eide *et al.* (1979; 1980; 1984).
[3] For the genesis of the project, see Hägg (2004: 14f.).
[4] For the study of ancient Nubia before Reisner, see Török (2011).
[5] Reisner (1923: 16) also argued that '[t]he tradition of Egypt became fixed as the traditions of [Kush]. This is the basis on which rests the whole history of the culture of [Kush]. The civilization was Egyptian, not native, and the subsequent history is one of loss, not of gain, of the gradual fading of the traditions of the arts and crafts and of the knowledge of the Egyptian language and the sacred texts'.
[6] Eduard Meyer (1928: 38ff.) believed that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty directly descended from the family of the High Priests of Amun of Thebes. Cf. Budge (1928: 25f.); Drioton and Vandier (1936: 513).

(Chapman and Dunham 1952; Dunham 1957) and Meroe (Dunham 1957), the temples of Napata (Dunham 1970) and the elite cemeteries at Begarawiya West and South (Dunham 1963), he drew an 'episodic', i.e., ethnically, politically and culturally discontinuous, history of Kush. His general conclusion was that

> 'Wretched Nubia' was at first a part of Egypt. After the First Dynasty it was only an appendage of the greater country, and its history is hardly more than an account of its use or neglect by Egypt. (Reisner 1910: 348)

As for Sir Alan Gardiner, he explained the Kushite rulers' success in a patronizing manner by their 'fresh blood' and 'deep devotion to Pharaonic tradition' (1935: 219), and rejected Reisner's theory of their Libyan origins (1961: 340). Gardiner (1935: 219) remarked with obvious disdain that

> [f]or those whose life is devoted to the study of Egyptian texts it is somewhat humiliating to find that some of the most interesting hieroglyphic inscriptions are not really Egyptian at all, but emanate from the Nubian kings of alien descent[.]

When writing his *Egypt in Nubia*, Walter Emery was already confronted with the unexpected richness and complexity of the finds made in the first years of the UNESCO Nubian campaign. Nevertheless, his work did not go beyond Reisner's episodic history, and according to Adams (1977: 4) he too described

> a series of disconnected scenes performed by different actors. If there was any thread of continuity in his picture of Nubia, it was an Egyptian and not an indigenous one.

The archaeological discoveries made by the UNESCO Nubian Campaign between 1959 and 1969 (Adams 1992; Trigger 1994; Vercoutter 1995; Török 1995b; 1997a: 20ff.) prompted the self-definition of Nubian Studies as a new branch of knowledge that is not an appendage to any other discipline. Arriving from a wide variety of epistemological backgrounds, the post-Campaign generation of Nubian scholars set out interdisciplinary agendas. Radicals of the generation turned against the 'uncritical acceptance of Egyptological assumptions and their incorporation into new work' (Morkot 2003: 152). The result was frequently an uncritical rejection of essential methods and information deriving from the study of the very civilization that was, in some way or other, omnipresent in ancient Nubia. A more important, lasting result of the Nubian Campaign was the resolute shift from Reisner's 'episodic' history to William Adams' 'continuous narrative of the cultural development of a single people' (Adams 1977: 5). Adams' model of ethnic and cultural continuity was based almost entirely on archaeological sources, however. The evidential unbalance of Adams' magisterial *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (1977) reminded his readers of the necessity of a coordinated treatment of material and textual sources.[7] As a result, from the 1980s several groundbreaking studies were published on various historical problems.[8] Returning to the Reisnerian image of the interface of Egyptian and Nubian culture, several authors dealt with the nature of the New Kingdom domination and with Nubia's 'Egyptianization'.[9] Torgny Säve-Söderbergh (1991), Lana Troy (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991), Robert Morkot (1991; 1995), Stuart Tyson Smith (1995; 1997; 2003) and others argued that the administration (Reisner 1920b; Habachi 1979; Gasse and Rondot 2003; Mahfouz 2005; Müller 2013)[10] introduced in Nubia was not a colonial system (cf. Adams 1984: 36-71; for a different approach, see Kemp (1978)) excluding mutual benefit (cf. R.J. Horvath 1972; Frandsen 1979; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: 10 ff.; Smith 1995; 2003; Kemp 1997). To recall the basic facts, the conquered territory was placed under the authority of a viceroy with the title 'King's Son', beginning with Thutmose IV 'King's Son of Kush'. It was divided into two administrative units, viz., Wawat between the First and Second Cataracts and Kush between the Second and Fourth Cataracts. A 'Deputy of the

---

[7] Not without extremism: Török (1987).
[8] For an initial coordination of the archaeological and textual evidence in the study of Kushite cultures, see Hintze and Hintze (1966). See further the essays presented by Priese, Hintze and Trigger in Hochfield and Riefstahl (eds) 1978. For more explicit attempts at a neo-historical approach, see Desanges (1978), Török (1977; 1984; 1986; 1987; 1988a 1988b 1989; 2002), O'Connor (1993) and cf. Burstein (2000; 2003).
[9] For the New Kingdom conquest of Nubia, see Trigger (1976), Zibelius-Chen (1988), Smith (1995), Bryan (2000), Smith (2003) and Bonnet (2004a; 2004b).
[10] For further literature, see also Török 2009: 171 ff.

King's Son' administered them each.[11] Nubia was incorporated into the Egyptian redistributive system in such a way that the conquered native political structures were integrated into the political and economic administration together with their chiefs and elite (cf. Morkot 1991; 1995; 2000: 69 ff.; Török 2009: 157-283). The substructure of production and local redistribution was to a large extent based on the social structure of the indigenous pre-conquest polities. The authority of the territorial princes extended over special tasks such as the maintenance of order in the native communities, the collection and delivery of the tribute, and the maintenance of temples of 'Nubian' gods (Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1979; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991; Morkot 1991; 2000: 81 ff.; Török 2009: 263 ff.).[12] They were regarded as vassals of the pharaoh. The annual delivery of the Nubian tribute was a feast of mutual legitimation (Smith 2003: 184 ff.). On the whole, the involvement of the native elite decreased rather than increased the costs of domination. The mediatory position of the princes between the Egyptian overlords and the native communities secured the possibility of the latter to preserve much of their traditions and resulted in different degrees of Egyptianization in the different social milieus (Török 2009: 263 ff.). The recurrent rebellions of Irem, an Upper Nubian chiefdom,[13] give an idea of the risks of the system and the dimensions of the native princes' playfield.

The decline of the late Ramesside state in the first half of the eleventh century BC brought about the withdrawal of Egypt (Leahy 1990; Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 22-37; 1995; J. van Dijk 2000). The Egyptian professional class and its literacy disappeared together with the viceregal administration (cf. Török 2009: 288 ff. and the literature cited there; and see Dodson (2012: 139 ff.) and Müller (2013)). The towns as elements of the Egyptian political and economic structure collapsed, but as settlements they were not necessarily depopulated (cf. Spencer 2012: 21-28; Spencer, Woodward and Macklin 2012; Spencer, Stevens and Binder 2014: 88 ff.). The majority of the Kushite urban centres would develop at sites of New Kingdom temple-towns. The next three centuries saw two opposed processes: first, the rapid disintegration of the viceregal realm into smaller native polities, and then their reintegration into one vast polity extending from the Fourth Cataract region to Lower Nubia.

Elite and 'middle-class' cemeteries started in the late New Kingdom and used up to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period and beyond demonstrate the continuity of indigenous traditions, which were amalgamated with Egyptian elements during the New Kingdom domination. I refer especially to Debeira East (Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1989) in Lower Nubia north of the Second Cataract and to Sanam (Lohwasser 2012), El Kurru (Dunham 1950) and Hillat el-Arab (Liverani 2004; Vincentelli 2006) in Upper Nubia. Robert Morkot also calls our attention to

> the importance of a continuous tradition of kingship/rulership in Kush that can be traced back to the A-Group phase (pre-3000 BCE)

arguing that

> such a continuous tradition (which was exploited by Egyptians during the New Kingdom) (...) resulted in the emergence of independent states and power holders soon after the Egyptian withdrawal (Morkot 2001: 246).

The spatial distribution of the cemeteries of the post-New Kingdom period (Williams 1990; 1992; cf. Török 2009: 285 ff.) indicates that the native polities emerging after the Egyptian withdrawal were mostly

---

[11] For the administration of New Kingdom Nubia, see Säve-Söderbergh (1941); Habachi (1979); Gasse and Rondot (2003); Török (2009: 169 ff); Müller (2013).

[12] Contrarily, Redford suggests that 'The coming of the empire meant the imposition of an administration from without in which Nubians had no special place, and local autonomy was the exception rather than the rule' (Redford 2004: 44).

[13] The Irem of New Kingdom texts seems to have been identical to the Yam appearing in Old Kingdom evidence; see Zibelius (1972: 78 ff., 84 f.) According to Priese (1974: 7-41), Kemp (1983 129 f.) and Goedicke (1988), Irem may be located in the Kerma region. The identification of the Kerma region as the site of Yam-Irem should be preferred to the location of Irem in the northern Butana (i.e., the northern part of the 'Island of Meroe') suggested by O'Connor (1987: 99-136) and Darnell (1986: 17-23), which was also accepted in Török (1997a: 94 f). For the princes of Irem, see also Zibelius-Chen (1988: 77 f.), Morkot (2000: 73, 89 f.) and Török (2009: 166 ff.).

identical to the subordinate territorial/political units of viceregal Nubia.[14] A wide range of imported objects discovered at the cemeteries mentioned a moment ago indicates increasing contacts between the successor polities and the establishment of trade and gift exchange with Egypt and with African regions (Török 1997a: 109 ff.; 2009: 298 ff.; and see Kendall 1999a).

Reintegration started from a post-New Kingdom polity in the Dongola-Napata Reach.[15] It was ruled by a line of princes who resided at El Kurru in the neighbourhood of Napata in a walled settlement (cf. Kendall 1999a: 47 ff.; Emberling and Dann 2013: 43 ff., Fig. 1). Reisner carried out some sondages at the settlement site, but these remained unpublished.[16] The El Kurru chiefdom owed its leading role to its direct access to gold-producing areas and to its geographical situation that secured control over the caravan route(s) connecting Egypt with the interior of Africa. Its princes were buried in a necropolis close to their residence first in tumulus, then in tumulus-on-mastaba (?) and finally in pyramid-on-mastaba tombs. From Piankhy onwards, the kings and queens of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would also be buried in pyramid tombs in the same necropolis (Dunham 1950). Notwithstanding recurrent doubts (Edwards 2004: 118 ff.), we may conclude from this that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings considered themselves, and probably were in fact, descendants of the El Kurru princes.

I cannot enter here the debate about the dating of the El Kurru cemetery. As a logical working hypothesis I continue to rely on its 'long chronology'[17] according to which the first prince was buried in the first quarter of the tenth century BC, i.e., some 60 or 70 years after the Egyptian withdrawal.[18] In terms of the 'long chronology' there were 12 generations of princes buried at El Kurru between the first quarter of the tenth and the middle of the eighth century BC. Only the princes of the eleventh and twelfth generations, Alara (*Irwrw*, Zibelius-Chen 2011: 63 ff.) and Kashta (*K3št3*, Zibelius-Chen 2011: 261 f.),[19] are known by name.

The 'Long Chronology' of the Ancestral Cemetery at El Kurru

tomb	owner	estimated dates BC
Ku. Tum. 1	prince	*c.* 995–975
Ku. Tum. 4	prince	*c.* 975–955
Ku. Tum. 5	prince	*c.* 955–935
Ku. Tum. 2	prince	*c.* 935–915
Ku. Tum. 6	prince	*c.* 915–895
Ku. 19	prince	*c.* 895–875
Ku. 14	prince	*c.* 875–855
Ku. 13	prince (?)	*c.* 855–835
Ku. 11	prince	*c.* 835–815
Ku. 10	?	*c.* 815–795
Ku. 9	Alara	*c.* 795–775
Ku. 8	Kashta	*c.* 775–755

[14] An alternative to this scenario was suggested by Robert Morkot (2001: 246) who argued that by the late Ramesside period the Upper Nubian region between the Third and Fourth Cataracts was already under the control of native princes: Egypt 'withdrew in the face of rising indigenous powers'. While it cannot be decided how nominal it was, viceregal control is attested at Napata in the reign of Rameses IX (1125-1107 BC), and it remained intact in Lower Nubia until the reign of Rameses XI. The withdrawal from Nubia occurred in parallel with the withdrawal from Palestine (cf. Redford 1992: 289 ff.).

[15] For the emergence of the Kingdom of Kush, see also Zibelius-Chen (1996: 195-217).

[16] For recent fieldwork at El Kurru, see Emberling and Dann (2013) and Emberling *et al.* (2015).

[17] 'Long' chronologies were suggested by Kendall (1982), Ali Hakem (1988: 240 ff.) and Török (1997a: 88 ff., 109 ff.; 1999; 2009: 298 ff.). For the 'short chronology' of the El Kurru cemetery and of the El Kurru chiefdom, see Kendall (1999a; 1999b). Morkot (2000: 142 ff.; 2003: 161 ff.) argues two alternative models. The first is that the cemetery comprised two groups of graves, the earlier dating from the period of the New Kingdom domination and representing the indigenous chiefdom in the region, and the later, after a hiatus, including the burials of the kings of Kush. The second model is based on a radical reduction of the dates for the New Kingdom (cf. James *et al.*, 1991: 204 ff.).

[18] The 'long chronology' of El Kurru received further support from the study by Budka (2014) of the ceramic finds connected to pot-breaking ceremonies from Ku. Tum. 6 and Ku. 19. With reference to recently found parallels from Abydos/Umm el-Qaab, Budka (2014: 651) concludes that '[t]he sherds from Abydos are safely dated to the Libyan Period, in particular to the late 10th and 9th centuries (*c.* 950-800 BC) (...) Thus, the parallels from Abydos could also support a date of the [El] Kurru pieces within Török's 'long' chronology of the cemetery' (cf. also Dodson 2012: 142 f.).

[19] The current interpretation of the name as 'The Kushite' is contested by Vinogradov (2003-2008).

The 12 burials present an archaeological narrative recounting the slow, inner-directed process of the El Kurru chiefdom's political and cultural transformation into a kingdom in the course of which the traditional native tomb types and mortuary rites were amalgamated with, rather than replaced by, elements of contemporary Egyptian mortuary religion.[20] From the early ninth century BC onwards the tombs were complemented with an offering niche or a small mortuary cult chapel and enclosed within a walled precinct. An advanced stage of the reintegration of the post-New Kingdom polities was reached around the middle of the ninth century BC when the round tomb superstructure was replaced by a rectangular pyramid-on-mastaba supersstructure.[21] The new type was modelled on the Eighteenth Dynasty period tombs of the indigenous princes of Teh-khet in Lower Nubia.[22] The enclosed princely tomb with its mortuary cult chapel functioned as a place of ancestor cult and played an essential role in the process of establishing a religious image of political continuity (Török 1999).

In the 'mythical history' of Kush as it was formulated under the reign of Taharqo, Alara appears as a king and dynasty founder who concluded a covenant with Amun of Kawa.[23] In terms of the covenant the god raised up the descendants of Alara's sister as kings (*nsw.w*) in return for their commitment to him.[24] Thanks to recent excavations at Kawa and Napata[25] we now know that Alara's devotion to Amun of Kawa was part of the revival of the New Kingdom temple cults of the two great Nubian gods of Kush, viz., Amun of Kawa and Amun of Napata.

Similarly to Alara, his successor Kashta[26] (*c.* 775-755 BC) also plays the role of the founder of the kingdom and appears in Kushite historical memory as a perennial source of royal legitimacy. In the late fifth century BC, King Irike-Amannote would receive from Amun of Kawa 'long life like Alara' and 'every land South, North, West and East like Kashta'.[27] In the fourth century BC, King Nastasen visited Alara's birthplace on his coronation journey to Napata where the god confers 'the power of King Pi(ankh)y-Alara' on him.[28] Associating themselves with Alara and Kashta, Irike-Amannote and Nastasen connected their kingship to the very beginnings of the 'mythical history' of Kush.

At one point of his regency Kashta dedicated a stela at Elephantine to the gods of the First Cataract[29] on which he bears the Egyptian royal title *nsw-bity*, 'King-of-Two-lands' and the Throne name *Ny-M3ꜥt-Rꜥ*, 'He who belongs to Re's Order'.[30] The latter name was modelled on the Throne name of the Twelfth Dynasty pharaoh Amenemhat III (Beckerath 1984: 66 XII.6), who established Egypt's southern frontier at Semna after his predecessor Senusret III conquered Lower Nubia (*FHN* I: 43 ff.). The adoption of a name associated with the Middle Kingdom conquest of Nubia proclaimed nothing less than the political programme of a reversal of history.

In Karl Jansen-Winkeln's (2003: 157 f.) view, the El Kurru princes became involved in Upper Egyptian matters during the warlike conflicts that started in Year 11 of Takeloth II,[31] i.e., around 850 (Kitchen 1995) or 823 BC (Dodson 2012: 192), and lasted to the beginning of the reign of Osorkon III, i.e., around 787 (Kitchen) or 791 BC (Dodson). The latter date is very close indeed to the inception of Alara's reign in Nubia.[32] We also know that Kashta's daughter Amenirdis (I) was adopted as God's Wife of Amun Elect

---

[20] For the different readings of the narrative, see Kendall (1982: 21 ff.), Ali Hakem (1988: 240 ff.), Kendall (1999a) and Török (2009: 304 ff.).

[21] Ku. 13; for its description see Kendall (1999a: 25 ff.).

[22] For the Debeira cemetery, see Säve-Söderbergh and Troy (1991: 182 ff., Figs 44, 45); see also Török (2009: 263 ff.).

[23] For Alara's memory, see the different interpretations in Zibelius-Chen (1997: 86 ff.), Vinogradov (1999), Jansen-Winkeln (2003), Blöbaum (2006: 140 ff.) and Török (2009: 314 ff.).

[24] Stelae of Taharqo from Kawa, Khartoum 2678, *FHN* I No. 21 lines 16-20; Khartoum 2679, *FHN* I No. 24 lines 23-25.

[25] For the pre-Piankhy Kushite temple-building activities at Napata (temple B 800 nucleus, attributed to Alara, and temple B 800-first, attributed to Kashta), see Kendall (2002; 2014).

[26] *FHN* I No. 3.

[27] Graffito inscription on the east wall of the hypostyle, Kawa, Temple T. *FHN* II No. 71, columns 54 and 116, respectively.

[28] Berlin 2268, *FHN* II No. 84, lines 8, 15-16. For the name form *P-(ꜥnḫ)-Il3rꜥ*, see Zibelius-Chen (2011: 66 ff.).

[29] Cairo JE 41013, Leclant (1963); *FHN* I No. 4.

[30] For the orthography of *M3ꜥt* in the name, see Bonhême (1987: 173) and Török (in: *FHN* I 43 f.).

[31] Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, inscribed on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak. See Caminos (1958), Jansen-Winkeln (2007: 161-68 [20.7], 186-96 [22.21]) and Ritner (2009: 348-377).

[32] The last attested holder of the title ,King's Son of Kush' was Pamiu, the consort of a daughter of Takeloth III (Kitchen: 764-757 BC, Dodson: 768-753 BC) (Aston and Taylor 1990: 147 f.). According to Jansen-Winkeln (2003: 158 note 51), there was no actual competence behind the title.

by Shepenwepet I, the reigning God's Wife of Amun,[33] daughter of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty king Osorkon III. By this adoption Kashta was 'legitimated' in a most ingenious manner as ruler in Upper Egypt. His reception at Thebes can hardly be interpreted as anything other than an attempt made by the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty[34] at the curbing of Egypt's political fragmentation. It remains unknown, however, whether Kashta's entry was initiated by Thebes and prepared by diplomatic negotiations or whether it was preceded by a demonstration of Kushite military power. Only so much is certain, i.e., that Kushite units would be stationed in Upper Egypt by the early reign of Kashta's direct successor, Piankhy.[35]

In the discussion following one of the papers presented in June 2015 at the Münster conference *Prayer and Power. The God's Wives of Amun in Egypt during the First Millennium BC,*[36] Professor Angelika Lohwasser referred to her ongoing study of a text, which may to some extent lift the blanket of fog over the beginnings of Kushite presence in Egypt. The text in question is the much-quoted Sandstone Stela found by Reisner at his excavation of the great Amun temple at Napata.[37] As is well known, the Son of Re name of the king who erected the stela was erased both in the lunette scene and in the main text, of which only a part of the first six lines is preserved. In the lunette scene the king is shown[38] before Amun of Napata, who presents him with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and the cap crown of Kush. His Horus, *Nebty*, Golden Horus and Throne names can be read on the first line of the main text. The Horus name *Kȝ-nḫt Ḫꜥ-m-Npt*, 'Strong Bull appearing[39] in Napata' (Blöbaum 2006: 366), is a paraphrase of *Kȝ-nḫt Ḫꜥ-m-Wȝst*, 'Strong Bull appearing in Thebes', i.e., the Horus name of Nubia's New Kingdom conqueror, Thutmose III,[40] whose great triumphal stela from Year 47[41] could be studied at Napata.[42] The *Nebty* and the Golden Horus names: *Wȝḥ-nsyt mi-Rꜥ-m-pt*, 'Whose kingdom endures like Re's in heaven' and *Dsr-ḫꜥ sḫm-pḥty*, 'Whose appearances are holy, whose might is powerful' (Blöbaum 2006: 367), respectively, are similarly paraphrases of names of Thutmose III as they had been inscribed on his great stela seven centuries earlier.

Considering first Thutmose III, and after some hesitation, Reisner (1931: 89 ff.) attributed the stela to Piankhy.[43] His hypothesis entered the literature, also including the *Fontes*, as a fact. In Angelika Lohwasser's view, however, the erased Son of Re name can by no means be reconstructed as Piankhy. Besides pondering an attribution to Thutmose III, which is inspired doubtless by the titulature, she also considers that the erased name can be reconstructed as Alara or Kashta. I cannot resist the urge to speculate about the effect of this possibility on our image of the emergence of the Double Kingdom of Egypt and Kush.[44]

I quote the dialogue of the god with the king in the lunette scene of the Sandstone Stela in Professor Pierce's translation (*FHN I*: 57):

THE ORACLE OF AMUN-RE OF NAPATA

'I said of you (while you were still) in your mother's womb
that you were to be ruler of Egypt (*ḥḳȝ n Kmt*)
I knew you in the semen, while you were in the egg,
that you were to be lord.

---

[33] For the issue, see the literature quoted in *FHN* I No. 4; Ayad (2009); cf. Yoyotte (1961).
[34] To be distinguished from Manetho's Twenty-Third Dynasty, cf. Aston and Taylor (1990); Leahy (1990: 186 ff.) and Dodson (2012: 113 ff.).
[35] Cairo 48862; 47086-47089, Great Triumphal Stela line 8, Grimal 1981; *FHN* I No. 9; Jansen-Winkeln (2009).
[36] Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 25-27 June 2015.
[37] Khartoum 1851, *FHN* I No. 8; cf. Gozzoli (2009: 51 ff.). For a description and a recent photograph, see W. V. Davies in Welsby and Anderson (2004: 162 f. Cat. 146).
[38] The original raised relief figure of the king was erased and replaced at a later time by a smaller sunk relief figure.
[39] I.e. crowned.
[40] *FHN* I Nos 5, 8, line 1.
[41] MFA 23.733, URK IV 1227-1243, 8; Cumming (1982: 1 ff.); Klug (2002: 193 ff.); Gozzoli (2009: 59 ff.).
[42] The name may also contain an allusion to the regency of the Twenty-Third Dynasty, however: namely, Alara's and Kashta's contemporary, Osorkon III, bore the Horus name 'Strong Bull appearing in Thebes' (Beckerath 1984: 105 XXIII.4).
[43] The problem of the attributions suggested so far (Thutmose III, Alara, Kashta) will be discussed in a forthcoming publication by Angelika Lohwasser and Anne Sörgel.
[44] For the literature on the beginnings of Kushite rule in Upper Egypt, see Priese (1970), Jansen-Winkeln (2003: 156 ff.), Exell and Naunton (2007: 98 ff.) and Dodson (2012: 113 ff.).

I made you receive the Great (Double) Crown [of Egypt] (...)

it is I who decreed (the kingship) to you

(so) who shall share it with you? (...)

No other (can) decree (who is to be) a king (*nsw*).

It is I that grants kingship to whomever I will.'

SPEECH OF KING

Amun of Napata has granted me to be ruler of every foreign country.

He to whom I say, 'You are chief (*wr*)!', he is to be chief.

He to whom I say, 'You are not king!', he is not king.

Amun in Thebes has granted me to be ruler of Black-land [Egypt].

He to whom I say, 'Make (your formal) appearance (as king)!' he shall make (his) appearance.

He to whom I say, 'Do not make (your formal) appearance (as king)!', he does not make (his) appearance.

(As for) every one to whom I grant my favor, there is no way to seize his town

(even though) it is not in my hand.

Gods make a king, men make a king,

(but) it is Amun that has made me.

The dialogue presents a political structure, which, at first sight, may look like a discourse on New Kingdom domination in Nubia as viewed from the aspect of the conqueror. But this resemblance is illusory: the terminology speaks clearly against it. As aptly stated by Jeremy Pope (2014: 280), the masterfully formulated text portrays Kushite rule in Egypt as 'superordinate to the Libyan [period] system of provincial *wr.w* [chiefs, chieftains] and *nsw.w* [kings]'. Assuming that Lohwasser's study proves the attribution of the Sandstone Stela to Alara or Kashta, we may conclude that by the first quarter of the eighth century BC the ruler of Kush possessed excellent information about the actual political situation and the conditions of legitimate rule in Egypt. The formulation of the inscription does not leave much doubt, either, that it was first-hand information. He was not merely in contact with the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty, he was actually present in Upper Egypt and felt prepared to do as the oracle of Amun of Napata[45] had ordered him, namely, to extend his rule over the whole of Egypt.

A dating to '[regnal] year 3' in the preserved part of the main text (Priese 1970: 25) introduced a now lost report starting with the words *iw.ntw r ḏd n ḥm=f*, '[One] came [to say to His Majesty]',[46] a standard formula introducing various types of narratives in the Egyptian 'king's novel', first of all accounts of wars (cf. Hermann 1938; Jansen-Winkeln 1993; Loprieno 1996; Hofmann 2004).[47] The lunette scene points in the latter direction: Amun presents the king with the skullcap-crown of Kush with *one* uraeus and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. Since the skullcap-crown with *one* uraeus may appear in lieu of the Upper Egyptian White Crown,[48] in the lunette scene it may well have referred to the king's actual rule over Upper Egypt. The Red Crown, however, may hardly indicate more than the god's *promise* that he will make the king successful in Lower Egypt too. In the opinion of Robert Morkot,[49] the text on a granite stela fragment from Napata, now in Berlin,[50] is from the record of a Kushite king's journey to Egypt in his fourth regnal year. The king attends the Opet festival in Thebes, after which his army encounters the 'army of the Land

---

[45] For the role of the oracle of Amun in Kushite royal investiture, see Török (1997a: 216 ff., 241 ff., 268 ff.), and cf. Graefe (1971: 137 ff.) and Römer (1994: 142 ff.).

[46] *FHN* I No. 8 main text line 6.

[47] For the king's novel genre in Kushite texts, see Török (2002: 342 ff.).

[48] Russmann (1974: 29). I cannot follow Timothy Kendall in supposing the White Crown, simulated the shape of Gebel Barkal' (Kendall 2002: 49; cf. T. Kendall: Egypt and Nubia, in: Wilkinson (ed.), 2007: 401-416, 410 f.).

[49] Kind oral communication, Münster, June 27, 2015.

[50] Berlin 1068, *FHN* I No. 10.

of North', [*m*]*šꜥ n p(ꜣ) tꜣ mḥw*, that is, the army of some Lower Egyptian power. Morkot attributes the text to Kashta, and not to Piankhy, as was suggested by Priese (1970: 28 f.) and by the editors of the *Fontes*. But even if the inscription fragment records Kashta's actual presence in Lower Egypt, this presence was temporary at the most (Cf. Pope 2014: 258 ff.).

Kashta's successor, Piankhy, assumed the Throne name *Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*, 'Re is One whose Order is strong'. Thus, he appropriated the Throne name of Takeloth III of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty (Payraudeau 2009). Takeloth III's Theban regency started in the early years of Kashta's reign and ended sometime in the early years of Piankhy. We know about Takeloth's successor, Rudamun, that he left Thebes in Piankhy's early reign (Dodson 2012: 113 ff.). He, as well as his successors, Peftjauawybast and Iuput II, resided now as *nsw.w*, kings, in Herakleopolis in Middle Egypt (Naunton 2010: 125) but, until the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, descendants of their dynasty continued to live in Thebes and were buried there (Aston and Taylor 1990; cf. Naunton 2010: 126).

The moving of the Twenty-Third Dynasty from Thebes to Herakleopolis indicates that the establishment of the Kushite control of Upper Egypt that started with the adoption of Amenirdis I as heiress to the God's Wife was now accomplished. Rudamun and his successors remained allies, or rather vassals, of Piankhy, similarly to numerous kings and chiefs in Middle and Lower Egypt. Sais in the western Delta emerged, however, as a rival, and its ruler Tefnakht expanded his power first over the western Delta and the area of Memphis and then made advances towards Middle Egypt (Kahn 2006; 2009). In his 19th regnal year, *c.* 736 BC, Piankhy received the news at Napata that Tefnakht had besieged Herakleopolis. Soon he also learnt that another ally of his, viz., Nimlot of Hermopolis, had defected to Tefnakht. The ensuing events were recorded on Piankhy's Great Triumphal Stela erected at Napata in Year 21, *c.* 734 BC.[51] First, Piankhy's troops stationed in Upper Egypt were sent north to recapture Hermopolis. Then the king dispatched an army from Kush with orders to let the enemy concentrate his forces. After celebrating at Napata the rites of the New Year, Piankhy led personally an army to Egypt. Reaching Thebes he celebrated there the Opet festival of Amun, after which he directed the campaign from one victory to another. As a result, the majority of the local rulers of Middle and Lower Egypt, except for the western Delta, became his vassals.

The Great Triumphal Stela presents a detailed discourse on the political geography and power relationships of the Double Kingdom of Kush and Egypt. The nuances of political hierarchy are explained with the help of devices that may appear indirect to us but that were direct enough for contemporaries. The first device is not textual. Namely, the lunette scene (Grimal 1981: Pls I, V) provides a pictorial summary of the outcome of the events. We see on the left Amun of Napata enthroned with Mut standing behind him and Piankhy before him, all facing right. In front of Piankhy, Nimlot, king of Hermopolis, leads up a horse. He is shown shaking a sistrum in order to pacify Piankhy and the divine couple. Nimlot is accompanied by his queen, who is shown with her right arm raised in a gesture of adoration. In the lower register are the figures of Osorkon IV, king of Bubastis, Iuput II, king of Leontopolis and Peftjauawybast, king of Herakleopolis, kissing the ground in front of Piankhy. Behind the group of the deities and Piankhy, in two registers, are the prostrate figures of the hereditary prince (*iry-pꜥt*) Peteese and the chiefs (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ*) of the Libyan Ma Patjenfy, Pemui, Akanosh and Djedamenefankh, kissing the ground. It is the lunette relief that first alerts the reader of the inscription that Piankhy's chief adversary was in fact Nimlot, not Tefnakht. The latter gives his oath of allegiance by message, not personally, and retains his independence. He is absent from the lunette scene.[52]

The other device is terminological. The hierarchical structure of the government, (re-)established as a result of the campaign, is indicated in a subtle manner by the phraseology of the text in which the title *n(j)swt*, 'king', is employed not only for Piankhy but also for Nimlot, Osorkon IV, Iuput II and

---

[51] Cairo 48862; 47086-47089, Grimal (1981); *FHN* I No. 9; Jansen-Winkeln (2009).
[52] In the stela text, Tefnakht comes forward as a protagonist from the evil's mythical sphere in *indirect reports* – even his surrender is told in the same indirect story-within-the-story manner – while Nimlot is directly present in it in the same manner as he is in the lunette relief. On Nimlot's significance see Kessler (1981: 232 ff.).

Peftjauawybast. By contrast, the terms *n(j)swt-bity*, 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt', *pr-ꜥꜣ*, 'Pharaoh' and *ḥm=f*, 'His Majesty', remain reserved for Piankhy (Grimal 1981: 248 ff.).

Both the Sandstone Stela and the Great Triumphal Stela depict a government and an administration that are radically different from the New Kingdom state. As pointed out by Karen Exell and Christopher Naunton (2007: 102), first of all 'it is not possible to speak of a 'court''. It also becomes clear that the Double Kingdom had no central capital. The move of the royal residence from Napata to Memphis under Shabaqo[53] does not replace the regional centres. It adds one to them. At the local level, the Double Kingdom was governed and administered by local rulers – here the model was the Kushite rule over Twenty-Third Dynasty Thebes. While the Sandstone Stela presents a theological formulation of the governance of the Double Kingdom, the Great Triumphal Stela provides two clear-cut, pragmatic snapshots of Egypt, the first taken just before Piankhy's campaign, the second just after its conclusion. The actual significance of the two inscriptions comes to light in its full complexity in Jeremy Pope's 2014 monograph on *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo* (Pope 2014), a seminal work pioneering a new historical approach to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

In agreement with Christopher Naunton (Naunton 2000; 2004; 2010; cf. Exell and Naunton 2007), Pope (2014: 279, cf. 278) observes that

> [a]t Thebes, the Kushite house left in place much—if not all—of the civil administrative elite (…) and forged marriage alliances with the local aristocracy[.]

Pope also further argues in Exell and Naunton's (2007: 104) line of reasoning, according to which

> [the Kushite] pharaoh was (…) content to leave the mundane business of running the country to those individuals and systems already in place[.]

Expanding his research over the entire territory of the Double Kingdom, Pope (2014: 278) demonstrates that in Middle Egypt the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty

> not only countenanced officials of Saite affinity but may actually have utilized the intermarriages of such tribal lineages as a valuable means of regional integration across the Double Kingdom. Instead of replacing local aristocracies with centralized institutions, the Kushites appear to have used links between the former as a substitute for the latter.

In conclusion, Pope (2014: 278) states that

> [s]imilar strategies were employed in variable combinations in Lower Egypt, Middle Egypt, [and] Upper Nubia[.]

In the core region of the Double Kingdom, that is, in the Dongola-Napata Reach,

> [a]uthority appears (…) to have been dispersed across a number of kin groups; there is (…) little pyramidal hierarchy of governmental positions; (…) offices which might otherwise be equated with the king's unique deputy are found divided among several individuals (…) coronation in Upper Nubia was not a singular event binding across the realm, but a series of interdependent events each conferring localized authority[54] (…) the [coronation journey] initially passed through Memphis, Napata, and Kawa, before its contraction [after the fall of the Double Kingdom] to the Dongola-Napata Reach. (Pope 2014: 276 f.)

---

[53] His earliest Egyptian monument is from Year 2: Memphis, Serapeum (Vercoutter 1960: 65 ff.; cf. Jurman 2009: 122 f.). Here I cannot enter the ongoing discussion over Michael Bányai's (2013) suggestion that the sequence Shabaqo-Shebitqo should be reversed. For a recent contribution to the discussion, see Broekman (2015).

[54] On the issue Pope refers throughout his book to Török (1992; 1997a).

The coronation journey was interpreted by me as a theological commemoration and confirmation of the federal origins of the Kingdom of Kush. I suggested that the Kushite myth of the origins of the state reflected an actual form of governance that I classified with the 'ambulatory kingships' of the ancient world (Cf. Török 1992; 1995a: 65 ff.; 1997a: 230 ff.). By contrast, Pope (2014: 276) points out that another model, namely the 'segmentary state', which was first introduced by David Edwards (1996; 1998; 1999; 2004) into the Nubiological discussion,[55] bears

> in its emphasis upon national administrative absence, 'reflexive communication', and especially the political functions of the king's ritual circuit, (...) a striking similarity to the 'ambulatory kingship' [for segmentary states] (...) 'are (...) essentially federal in nature'. (Pope 2014: 291, quotation from Fallers (1973: 82))

Considering the political history of the Butana region south of the core of the Double Kingdom, Pope demonstrated the improbability of the theory according to which the city of Meroe was the ancestral seat of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. He also argued against the theory that the Butana region would have been annexed right at the Dynasty's inception. Contesting the evidence of a now lost bronze statuette identified by me as Taharqo (Török 1997b: 29, 32, 260, Pls 210-211; Pope 2014: 23 ff.) and revising the find material from Meroe City, which I dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period, Pope (2014: 276) suggests that

> the earliest evidence of royal construction in the region, the earliest textual evidence to Meroe, and the earliest evidence of royal filiation among those interred at the site all appear during the late 7th century BC[.]

Indeed, the first Kushite king whose name appears in inscriptions from Meroe City (Török 1997b: 26, Figs 120, 123, Pls 117, 118; Pope 2014: 21 ff.), viz., on ritual and votive objects associated with the renewal of royal power on New Year's Day (Török 1997b: 25 ff.), is Senkamanisken, second successor of the last ruler of the Double Kingdom. But trial excavations have uncovered at the city of Meroe building remains carbon-dated to as early as 900-750 BC (Grzymski 2005: 57; 2010; cf. Bradley 1984). Though the early settlement remained unexcavated, its later history suggests that it was the centre of a polity, which owed its importance and wealth to the control of a caravan route leading to the interior of Africa. Its annexation to the Kingdom of Kush by the immediate successors of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was inspired by

> the experience of Kushite expansion into Egypt [which] influenced the strategy and structure of Kushite governance in Upper Nubia (Pope 2014: 194, cf. 279)

and it was systematically prepared by contacts between the kingdom and the Meroe region in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period, including intermarriages. As a conclusion to my sketchy overview, let me briefly mention one or two examples.

The iconography of Abalo, the mother of Taharqo, suggests that she descended not from the El Kurru dynasty but from a princely/elite family of the Meroe region. Evidence of this is presented by a significant piece of the royal costume, the tasselled cord, which derives from the lasso of a southern hunter/warrior god (Török 1990: 151 ff.; cf. Török 2002: 150 ff.). This special insignia appears on the royal costume first[56] in representations of Taharqo and Abalo in the reliefs of Kawa Temple T.[57] Southern family connections of the dynasty are indicated moreover by the representation of Taharqo's lesser queens who are depicted wearing a special 'African' plumed headdress.[58] Its variants would reappear in representations of the queens of Atlanersa and Aspelta in the later seventh century BC.[59]

---

[55] For the 'segmentary state', see Southall (1956; 1999).
[56] Provided that there were no earlier, now lost, representations of this insignia.
[57] Macadam (1955: Pls XVb (king), XXI/a (king and queen)), cf. Török (2002: 112 f.).
[58] Macadam (1955: Pl. LXIV/e, f). For the headdress, see Lohwasser (2001: 42 f., 53, 222 ff.).
[59] For representations of Aspelta's queens on the walls of the Aspelta Shrines in the Amun temples of Kawa and Sanam, see Lohwasser (2001: 222 ff.).

The annexation of the Butana Steppe could not occur, however, before the annexation of the medial region between the Fourth Cataract and the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara. The annexation of the region can be dated to the reign of Taharqo, as indicated by an Amun temple excavated recently at Dangeil south of the Fifth Cataract, where fragments of colossal granite royal cult statues of Taharqo, Senkamanisken and Aspelta were recovered (Anderson and Ahmed 2008; 2009; 2014). They are comparable to the statuary from the cachettes discovered in the great Amun temple at Napata (Dunham 1970) and in the Amun temple at Dokki Gel (Kerma) (Bonnet and Valbelle 2004). This attests to the political/governmental/administrative significance of the ancient site at modern Dangeil.

Abbreviations

Berlin.	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin.
FHN	I. Eide et al 1994.
FHN	II. Eide et al 1996.
FHN	III. Eide et al 1998.
FHN IV.	Eide et al 2000.
URK IV.	Sethe 1933.

References

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

Adams, W. Y. (1984). The First Colonial Empire: Egypt in Nubia 3200–1200 B.C. *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quarterly* 26: 36-71.

Adams, W. Y. (1992). The Nubian archaeological campaigns of 1959–1969: Myths and realities, success and failures. In: C. Bonnet (ed.) *Études Nubiennes. Conférence de Genève. Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Études Nubiennes 3-8 septembre 1990.* I. *Communications Principales*: 23-27. Genève.

Anderson, J. R. and Ahmed, S. M. (2008). The Kushite Kiosk of Dangeil and Other Recent Discoveries. *Sudan & Nubia* 12: 40-47.

Anderson, J. R. and Ahmed, S. M. (2009). What Are These Doing Here Above the Fifth Cataract?!! Napatan Royal Statues at Dangeil. *Sudan & Nubia* 13: 78-86.

Anderson, J. R. and Ahmed, S. M. (2014). Early Kushite royal statues at Dangeil, Sudan. In: J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1): 613-619. Leuven: Peeters.

Arkell, A. J. (1955). *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821.* 2nd ed. 1961. London: Athlone Press.

Aston, D. A. and Taylor, J. H. (1990). The family of Takeloth III and the 'Theban' Twenty-third Dynasty. In: A. Leahy, *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 BC*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies: 131-154.

Ayad, M. F. (2009). God's Wife, God's Servant. The God's Wife of Amun (*c.* 740-525 BC). London: Routledge.

Bányai, M. (2013). Ein Vorschlag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie in Ägypten. *Journal of Egyptian History* 6: 46-129.

Beckerath, J. von (1984). *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen. MÄS 20.* München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Blöbaum, A. I. (2006). *'Denn ich bin ein König, der die Maat liebt'. Herrscherlegitimation im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Phraseologie in den offiziellen Königsinschriften vom Beginn der 25. Dynastie bis zum Ende der makedonischen Herrschaft* (Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia 4). Aachen: Shaker.

Bonhême, M.-A. (1987). *Les Noms Royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermediaire.* Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.

Bonnet, C. (2004a). *Le Temple Principal de la Ville De Kerma et son Quartier Religieux. Avec la Collaboration de D. Valbelle, Contribution de B. Privati.* Paris: Errance.

Bonnet, C. (2004b). Un Ensemble Religieux Nubien Devant une Forteresse Égyptienne du Début de la XVIIIe Dynastie. Mission Archéologique Suisse à Doukki Gel – Kerma (Soudan). *Revue d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie* 57: 95-108.

Bonnet, C and Valbelle, D. (2004). Kerma, Dokki Gel. In: D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson (eds) *Ancient Treasures. An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*: 109-112. London: The British Museum Press.

Bradley, R. J. (1984). Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7: 195-211.

Broekman, G. P. F. (2015). The Order of Succession between Shabaka and Shabataka: A Different View on the Chronology of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. *Göttinger Miszellen* 245: 17-31.

Bryan, B. R. (2000). The eighteenth dynasty before the Amarna Period (*c.* 1550–1352 BC). In: I. Shaw, ed, *The Oxford History of Egypt*: 218-271. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Budge, E. A. W. (1928). *A History of Ethiopia Nubia & Abyssinia.* London: Methuen & Company.

Budka, J. (2014). Egyptian impact on pot-breaking ceremonies at El-Kurru? A re-examination. In: J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies (*British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1): 641-654. Leuven: Peeters.

Burstein, S. M. (2000). A New Kushite Historiography: Three Recent Contributions to Nubian Studies. *Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin* 75: 190-197.

Burstein, S. M. (2003). Three Milestones in the Historiography of Ancient Nubia. Review Article. *Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin* 78: 137-142.

Caminos, R. A. (1958). *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon.* Rome: Pontificium Institum Biblicum.

Chapman, S. E. and Dunham, D. (1952). *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal.* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush vol. 3). Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Cumming, B. (1982). *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty I.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Darnell, J. C. (1986). Irem and the Ghost of Kerma. *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 94: 17-23.

Desanges, J. (1978). *Recherches sur l'Activité des Mediterranéens aux Confins de l'Afrique.* Rome: Ecole Française.

Dijk, J. van (2000). The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom. In: I. Shaw, *The Oxford History of Egypt*: 272-313. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dodson, A. 2012. *Afterglow of Empire: Egypt from the Fall of the New Kingdom to the Saite Renaissance.* Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Drioton, E. and Vandier, J. (1936). *Les Peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen II. L'Égypte.* Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France.

Dunham, D. (1950). *El Kurru.* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush vol. 1). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Dunham, D. (1955). *Nuri.* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush vol. 2). Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Dunham, D. (1957). *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal.* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush vol. 4). Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Dunham, D. (ed.), (1963). *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë. Excavated by the Late George Andrew Reisner.* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush vol. 5). Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Dunham, D. (1970). *The Barkal Temples. Excavated by George Andrew Reisner.* Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Dunham, D. and Macadam M. F. L. (1949). Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35: 139-149.

Edwards, D. N. (1996). *The Archaeology of the Meroitic State. New Perspectives on Its Social and Political Organisation* (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 38). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Edwards, D. N. (1998). Meroe and the Sudanic Kingdoms. *Journal of African History* 39: 175-193.

Edwards, D. N. (1999). Meroe in the Savannah – Meroe as a Sudanic Kingdom? In: S. Wenig (ed.) *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin* (Meroitica 15): 312-320. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Edwards, D. N. (2004). *The Nubian Past. An Archaeology of the Sudan.* London-New York: Routledge.

Eide, T., Hägg, T. and Pierce R. H. (1979). Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (I). *Sudan Text Bulletin* 1: 3-12.

Eide, T., Hägg, T. and Pierce R. H. (1980). Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (II). *Sudan Text Bulletin* 2: 2-15.

Eide, T., Hägg, T. and Pierce R. H. (1984). Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (III). *Sudan Text Bulletin* 6: 1-25.

Eide, T., Hägg T., Pierce, R. H. and Török, L. (1994). *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* I. *From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC.* Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics.

Eide, T., Hägg T., Pierce, R. H. and Török, L. (1996). *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* II. *From the Mid-Fifth to the First Century BC.* Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics.

Eide, T., Hägg T., Pierce, R. H. and Török, L. (1998). *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* III. *From the First to the Sixth Century AD.* Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics.

Eide, T., Hägg T., Pierce, R. H. and Török, L. (2000). *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* IV. *Corrigenda and Indices.* Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics.

Emberling, G. and Dann, R. J. (2013). New Excavations at El-Kurru: Beyond the Napatan Royal Cemetery. *Sudan & Nubia* 17: 42-60.

Emberling, G., Dann, R. J., Mohamed-Ali, A. S., Therkildsen, R., Duffy, S. M., Yellin, J. W., Antis S. and Karberg T. (2015). In a Royal Cemetery of Kush: Archaeological Investigations at El-Kurru, Northern Sudan 2014–5. *Sudan & Nubia* 19: 54-70.

Emery, W. B. (1965). *Egypt in Nubia.* London: Hutchinson.

Exell, K. and Naunton, C. (2007). Administration. In: T. Wilkinson (ed.) *The Egyptian World*: 91-104. London: Routledge.

Fallers, L. (1973). Political sociology and the anthropological study of African polities. In: R. Bendix and C. M. Brand (eds) *State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*: 73-86. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Frandsen, J. P. (1979). Egyptian imperialism. In: M. T. Larsen (ed.) *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*: 167-190. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

Gardiner A. H. (1935). Piankhi's Instruction to His Army. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21: 219-223.

Gardiner, A. H. (1961). *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gasse, A. and Rondot V. (2003). The Egyptian Conquest and Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom: The Testimony of the Sehel Rock-Inscriptions. *Sudan & Nubia* 7: 40-46.

Goedicke, H. (1988). Yam – More. *Göttinger Miszellen* 101: 35-42.

Gozzoli, R. B. (2009). *The Writing of History in Ancient Egypt during the First Millennium BC (ca. 1070-180 BC). Trends and Perspectives.* (Golden House Publications Egyptology 5). London: Golden House.

Graefe, E. (1971). Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie *bj3*. PhD dissertation, University of Cologne.

Griffith, F. L. (1922). Oxford Excavations in Nubia–continued. *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* IX: 67-124.

Grimal, N.-C. (1981). *La Stèle Triomphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089.* Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Grzymski, K. A. (2005). Meroe, Capital of Kush: Old Problems and New Discoveries. *Sudan & Nubia* 9: 47-58.

Grzymski, K. A. (2010). La fondation de Méroé-Ville: Nouvelles données. In: M. Baud, A. Sackho-Autissier and S. Labbé-Toutée (eds) *Méroé. Un Empire sur le Nil*: 65-66. Milan: Officina Libraria.

Habachi, L. (1979). Königssohn von Kusch. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III: 630-640.

Hakem, A. M. (1988). *Meroitic Architecture. A Background of An African Civilization.* Khartoum University Press.

Hägg, T. (2004). Forty years in and out of the Novel. In: L. B. Mortensen and T. Eie (eds) *Tomas Hägg: Parthenope. Selected Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction (1969–2004):* 9-28. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Hermann, A. (1938). *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle.* (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien 10). Glückstadt: Augustin.

Hintze, F. (1978). The Kingdom of Kush: The Meroitic Period. In: S. Hochfield and E. Riefstahl (eds) *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* I. *The Essays*: 89-105. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Hintze, F. and Hintze U. (1966). *Alte Kulturen im Sudan.* München: Callwey 1966 (English edition 1968, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan.* Amsterdam: Grüner.)

Hofmann, B. (2004). *Die Königsnovelle. Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk.* (Ägypten und Altes Testaments 62). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Horvath, R. J. (1972). A Definition of Colonialism. *Current Anthropology* 13(1): 1-7.

James, P. J., Thorpe, I. J. Kokkinos, N., Morkot, N, and Frankish, J. (1991). *Centuries of Darkness. A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*. London: J. Cape.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (1992). Das Ende des Neuen Reiches. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 119: 22-37.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (1993). Die ägyptische 'Königsnovelle' als Texttyp. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83: 101-116.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (1995). Die Plünderung der Königsgräber des Neuen Reiches. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 122: 62-78.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (2003). Alara and Taharka: zur Geschichte des nubischen Königshauses. *Orientalia*, 72: 141-158.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (2007). *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil* II. *Die 22.-24. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jansen-Winkeln, K. (2009). *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil* III. *Die 25. Dynastie.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jurman, C. (2009). From the Libyan dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis. Historical problems and cultural issues. In G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée and O. E. Kaper (eds) *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*: 113-138. Leuven: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Kahn, D. (2006). Tefnakht's 'Letter of Submission' to Piankhy. *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 9: 45-61.

Kahn, D. (2009). The transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the reign of Tefnakht. In: G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée and O. E. Kaper (eds) *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*: 139-148. Leuven: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Kemp, B. J. (1978). Imperialism and empire in New Kingdom Egypt (*c.* 1575–1087 B.C.). In: P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds) *Imperialism in the Ancient World*: 7-57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemp, B. J. (1983). Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period *c.* 2686–1552 BC. In: B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*: 71-182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemp, B. J. (1997). Why Empires Rise. Review Feature, Askut in Nubia. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7: 125-131.

Kendall, T. (1982). *Kush, Lost Kingdom of the Nile: A Loan Exhibition from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sept. 1981 – Aug. 1984.* Brockton Art Museum.

Kendall, T. (1999a). The Origin of the Napatan State: El Kurru and the evidence for the Royal Ancestors. In: S. Wenig (ed.) *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin* (Meroitica 15): 3-117. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kendall, T. (1999b). A response to László Török's 'Long Chronology' of El Kurru. In: S. Wenig (ed.) *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin* (Meroitica 15): 164-176. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kendall, T. (2002). Napatan Temples: A Case Study from Gebel Barkal. Unpublished paper circulated at the Tenth International Conference of Nubian Studies, Rome, September 9-14, 2002.

Kendall, T. (2007). Egypt and Nubia. In T. Wilkinson, (ed.). *The Egyptian World:* 401-416. London: Routledge.

Kendall, T. (2014). Reused relief blocks of Piankhy from B 900: Toward a decipherment of the Osiris Cult at Jebel Barkal. In: J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1)*: 663-686. Leuven: Peeters.

Kessler, D. (1981) Zu den Feldzügen des Tefnachte, Namlot und Pije in Mittelägypten. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 9: 227-251.

Kitchen, K. A. (1995). *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC).* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Klug, A. (2002). *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III* (Monumenta Aegyptiaca VIII). Turnhout: Brepols.

Leahy, A. (1990). Abydos in the Libyan Period. In: A. Leahy (ed.)1990. *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 BC*: 155-200. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Leclant, J. (1963). Kashta, Pharaon, en Égypte. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 90: 74-81.

Liverani, I. (2004). Hillat el-Arab. In: D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson (eds) *Ancient Treasures. An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*: 138-147. London: The British Museum Press.

Lohwasser, A. (2001). *Die königlichen Frauen im antiken Reich von Kusch. 25. Dynastie bis zur Zeit des Nastasen* (Meroitica 19). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lohwasser, A. (2012). *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft. Archäologisches Inventar und funeräre Praxis im Friedhof von Sanam – Perspektiven einer kulturhistorischen Interpretation* (Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant I). Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Loprieno, A. (1996). The 'King's Novel'. In: A. Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*: 277-295. Leiden: Brill.

Macadam, M. F. L. (1955). *Temples of Kawa II. History and Archaeology of the Site*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Mahfouz, El-S. (2005). Les Directeurs des Déserts Aurifères d'Amon. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 56: 55-78.

Manuelian, P. der (1999). George Andrew Reisner. In: K. A. Bard (ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 661-662. London: Routledge.

Meyer, E. (1928). *Gottesstaat Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten.* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil-hist. Klasse 28). Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Morkot, R. G. (1991). Nubia in the New Kingdom: the Limits of Egyptian Control. In: W. V. Davies, *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*: 294-301. London: British Museum Press.

Morkot, R. G. (1995). The Economy of Nubia in the New Kingdom. *Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes* I. *Communications Principales. Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 17: 175-189.

Morkot, R. G. (2000). *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers.* London: Stacey Publ.

Morkot, R. G. (2001). Egypt and Nubia. In: S. E. Alcock, T. N. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison and C. M. Sinopoli (eds) *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History*: 227-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morkot, R. G. (2003). On the priestly origin of the Napatan kings: The adaptation, demise and resurrection of ideas in writing Nubian history. In: D. O'Connor and A. Reid (eds) *Ancient Egypt in Africa*: 151-168. London: Routledge.

Müller, I. (2013). *Die Verwaltung Nubiens im Neuen Reich* (Meroitica 18). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Naunton, C. (2000). The Priests and Officials at Thebes During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Naunton, C. (2004). Tebe durante la XXV dinastia. In: S. Einaudi F. Tiradritti (eds) *L'Enigma di Harwa: Alla Scoperta di un Capolavoro del Rinascimento Egizio*: 77-102. Milano: Anthelios.

Naunton, C. (2010). Libyans and Nubians. In: A. B. Lloyd (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*: 120-139. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

O'Connor, D. (1987). The Location of Irem. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73: 99-136.

O'Connor, D. (1993). *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Payraudeau, F. (2009). Takeloth III: Considerations on old and new documents. In: G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper (eds) *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–7 October 2007*: 291-302. Leuven: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Pope, J. (2014). *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo. Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt, c. 690-664 BC* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 69). Leiden: Brill.

Priese, K-H. (1970). Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 98: 16-32.

Priese, K-H. (1974). *rm* und *ꜥꜣm*, das Land Irame. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie des Sudan im Altertum. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 1: 7-41.

Priese, K-H. (1978). The Kingdom of Kush. The Napatan Period. In: S. Hochfield and E. Riefstahl (eds) *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* I: 74-88. *The Essays.* Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Redford, D. B. (1992). *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Redford, D. B. (2004). *From Slave to Pharaoh. The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Reisner, G. A. (1910). *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907–1908, vol. 1.* Cairo: National Printing Department.

Reisner, G. A. (1919). Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan IV. The First Kingdom of Ethiopia. *Sudan Notes and Records* 2: 35-67; 237-254.

Reisner, G. A. (1920a). Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia. *Harvard Theological Review* 13: 23-44.

Reisner, G. A. (1920b). The Viceroys of Ethiopia. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 28-55, 73-88.

Reisner, G. A. (1923). The Pyramids of Meroe and the Candaces of Ethiopia. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Art* 21 (124): 12-27.

Reisner, G. A. (1931). Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66: 76-100.

Ritner, R. K. (2009). *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Römer, M. (1994). *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Russmann, E. R. (1974). *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty.* Bruxelles: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

Säve-Söderbergh, T. (1941). Ägypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik. PhD dissertation, University of Lund.

Säve-Söderbergh, T. *et al.* (1989). *Middle Nubian Sites. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 4. Partille: Paul Åström.

Säve-Söderbergh, T. (1991). Teh-khet. The cultural and sociopolitical structure of a Nubian Princedom in Thutmoside times. In W. V. Davies (ed.) *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*: 186-194. London: British Museum Press.

Säve-Söderbergh, T. and L. Troy (1991). *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The Finds and the Sites* (The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications 5:2, 5:3). Partille: Esselte Studium.

Sethe, K. (1933). *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV*. 2nd edn. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Shaw, I. (ed.) (2000). *The Oxford History of Egypt.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, S. T. (1995). *Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC.* London: Kegan Paul International.

Smith, S. T. (1997). Ancient Egyptian Imperialism: Ideological Vision or Economic Expliotation? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7: 301-307.

Smith, S. T. (2003). *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire.* London-New York: Routledge.

Southall, A. (1956). *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons.

Southall, A. (1999). Segmentary state and the ritual phase in political economy. In: S. K. McIntosh (ed.) *Beyond Chiefdoms: Pathways to Complexity in Africa:* 31-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spencer, N. (2012). Insights into Life in Occupied Kush during the New Kingdom: New Research at Amara West. *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.* 23: 21-28.

Spencer, N., Stevens, A. and Binder, M. (2014). *Amara West. Living in Egyptian Nubia.* London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

Spencer, N., Woodward, J. and Macklin, M. (2012). Reassessing the Abandonment of Amara West: The Impact of a Changing Nile? *Sudan & Nubia* 16: 37-43.

Török, L. (1977). Inquiries into the Administration of Meroitic Nubia I-II. *Orientalia,* 46: 34-50.

Török, L. (1984). Economy in the Empire of Kush: A Review of the Written Evidence. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 111: 45-69.

Török, L. (1986). *Der meroitische Staat* I. *Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum* (Meroitica 9). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Török, L. (1987). The historical background. Meroe north and south. In: T. Hägg (ed.) *Nubian Culture Past and Present. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* 17: 139-229. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.

Török, L. (1988a). Geschichte Meroes. Ein Beitrag über die Quellenlage und den Forschungsstand. In: W. Haase (ed.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II: 107-341. 10.1. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Török, L. (1988b). *Late Antique Nubia. History and Archaeology of the Southern Neighbour of Egypt in the 4th–6th c. A.D.* With a Preface by Sir Laurence Kirwan. Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Acad. of Science.

Török, L. (1989). Kush and the External World. *Meroitica* 10: 49-215; 365-379.

Török, L. (1990). The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe. Remarks on Its Origins and Significance. *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 4: 151-202.

Török, L. (1992). Ambulatory kingship and settlement history. A study on the contribution of archaeology to Meroitic history. In: C. Bonnet (ed.) *Études Nubiennes. Conférence de Genève. Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Études Nubiennes 3–8 septembre 1990. I. Communications Principals*: 111-126. Genève.

Török, L. (1995a). *The Birth of An Ancient African Kingdom. Kush and Her Myth of the State in the First Millennium BC* (Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, Suppl. 4). Lille.

Török, L. (1995b). Kush: An African State in the First Millennium BC. *Proceedings of the British Academy 87*: 1-38.

Török, L. (1997a). *The Kingdom of Kush. Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Handbuch der Orientalistik Erste Abteilung. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 31). Leiden: Brill.

Török, L. (1997b). *Meroe City: An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan.* With contributions by I. Hofmann and I. Nagy I–II (Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 12*).* London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Török, L. (1999). The origin of the Napatan State: the long chronology of the El Kurru cemetery. In: S. Wenig, *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin* (Meroitica 15): 149-159. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Török, L. (2002). *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art. The Construction of the Kushite Mind (800 BC –300 AD)* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 18*).* Leiden: Brill.

Török, L. (2009). *Between Two Worlds. The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC – AD 500* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 29*).* Leiden: Brill.

Török, L. (2011). A periphery on the periphery of the Ancient World. The discovery of Nubia in the nineteenth century. In: G. Klaniczay, M. Werner and O. Gecser (eds) *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth-Century European Cultures*: 365-380. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Trigger, B. G. (1976). *Nubia under the Pharaohs.* London: Westview Press.

Trigger, B. G. (1978). Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic? In: S. Hochfield and E. Riefstahl (eds) *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* I. *The Essays*: 27-35. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Trigger, B. G. (1994). Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27: 323-345.

Vercoutter, J. (1960). The Napatan Kings and Apis Worship (Serapeum Burials of the Napatan Period). *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* 8: 62–76.

Vercoutter, J. (1995). The UNESCO 'Campaign of Nubia' in the Sudan. Success or Failure? *Discussions in Egyptology* 33: 133-140.

Vincentelli, I. (2006). *Hillat El-Arab. The Joint Sudanese-Italian Expedition in the Napatan Region, Sudan* (Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication Number 15*).* Oxford: Archaeopress.

Vinogradov, A. K. (1999). '[...] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the son of Rea, Alara [...]?. *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 20: 81-94.

Vinogradov, A. K. (2003–2008). Did the Name of Kashta Mean 'the Kushite'? Some Material for the Book of the Kings of Kush. *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* 19: 219-239.

Welsby, D. A. and Anderson, J. R. (eds) (2004). *Ancient Treasures. An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum.* London: British Museum Press.

Williams, B. B. (1990). *Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul: Cemeteries W and V. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition* VII. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Williams, B. B. (1992). *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan.* With a contribution by W.J. Murnane. *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition* VI. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Yoyotte, J. (1661). Les Vierges Consacrées d'Amon Thébain. *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 105 (1): 43-52.

Zibelius, K. (1972). *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hierogliphischen und hieratischen Texten.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Zibelius-Chen, K. (1988). *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien. Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren.* Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.

Zibelius-Chen, K. (1996). Das nachkoloniale Nubien: Politische Fragen der Entstehung des kuschitischen Reiches. In: R. Gundlach, M. Kropp and A. Leibundgut (eds) *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Sudan Past and Present)*: 195-217. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang.

Zibelius-Chen, K. (1997). Theorie und Realität im Königtum der 25. Dynastie. In: R. Gundlach and C. Raedler (eds) *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz 15.–17. 6. 1995* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 36.1*)*: 81-95. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Zibelius-Chen, K. (2011). *'Nubisches' Sprachmaterial in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten. Personennamen, Appellativa, Phrasen vom Neuen Reich bis in die napatanische und meroitische Zeit* (Meroitica 25*)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.