

ALBERT RECKITT ARCHAEOLOGICAL LECTURE

Kush: An African State in the First Millennium BC

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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE NILE REGION, i.e., the Nubian Nile Valley south of Aswan at Egypt's southern frontier, and the Butana steppeland between the Nile and Atbara rivers in the northern Sudan (see Map), is closely intertwined with the history of pharaonic Egypt. For some writers the Region was a natural extension of Egypt;¹ others regard it as a corridor to Africa.² In recent times, students of Middle Nile history tend to view ancient Nubia as Egypt's rival in Africa.³ Indeed, the native kingdom of Kerma was a rival, and then a formidable enemy of Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period (1785–1540 BC).⁴ By the middle of the fifteenth century BC Kerma was crushed by the Eighteenth Dynasty and Egyptian domination was established as far south as the Fourth Nile Cataract.⁵ The Egyptian government in Nubia was not of a colonial type.⁶ Nubia was incorpo-

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¹ For the history of Egypt's southern expansion see recently Zibelius-Chen 1988.

² Adams 1977.

³ O'Connor 1993; cf. also Morkot 1994.

⁴ Cf. B. J. Kemp in: Trigger, Kemp *et al.* 1983 160 ff.; Bonnet (ed.) 1990.

⁵ Cf. O'Connor 1983 255 ff.

⁶ Cf. B. J. Kemp: 'Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt'. in: P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds): *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Cambridge 1987 7–57; P. J. Frandsen: 'Egyptian Imperialism'. in: M. Trolle-Larsen (ed.): *Power and Propaganda*. Copenhagen 1979 167–190; Säve Söderbergh and Troy 1991 12. These, and further, recent

rated into the Egyptian redistributive system, while the native social structure and even some political institutions were included in the administration of the land.⁷ Internal problems forced Egypt to withdraw from Nubia by the end of the New Kingdom in the 1060s BC.⁸ Three centuries later the Middle Nile Region re-appeared in Egyptian history in the role of the restorer of political and national unity.⁹ Between the middle of the eighth century and 656 BC, kings from the Middle Nile Region controlled first much, then all of Egypt and ruled it together with their native kingdom. They constitute the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty¹⁰ also called Ethiopian, Kushite, or Nubian.¹¹ After the loss of Egypt to

analyses of the archaeological and textual evidence seem to support the model of conquest-acculturation outlined for the New Kingdom by S. Tyson Smith: 'A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia'. *GM* 122 (1991) 77–102, rather than the repeated attempts to interpret Egyptian imperialism from an anthropological aspect as a colonial exploitative system; cf., e.g., W. Y. Adams: 'The First Colonial Empire: Egypt in Nubia 3200–1200 B.C.' *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History* 26 (1984) 36–71. In spite of his refusal of the old viewpoint of colonial exploitation, Tyson Smith nevertheless suggests that Egypt's relations with Nubia were ultimately driven by economic (not ideological) considerations which spanned the entire system and connected with external systems (*ibid.* 89 f.). I am not disposed to believe, either, that the analysis of the historical evidence would make sense only if it leads to the creation of a model.

⁷ Cf. O'Connor 1983 255 ff.; O'Connor 1991; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991 210 ff.; Török 1994. For the international redistributive context cf. in the first place Liverani 1990. —The case of New Kingdom (and later) Nubia is not considered by Trigger who makes generalising statements, e.g., 'while local people often continued to play a role in such administrations [i.e., in the government of territories conquered by early 'territorial states'], especially at the village level, no semi-autonomous state was permitted to threaten the control of the central government.' Trigger 1993 12.

⁸ For the end of Egyptian domination see recently K. Jansen-Winkel: 'Das Ende des Neuen Reiches'. *ZÄS* 119 (1992) 22–37. —More recently, Zibelius-Chen (1994) suggested that Upper Nubia was abandoned already a century earlier, under Ramesses III. I am, however, not convinced by her arguments and prefer to accept the traditional date of the withdrawal.

⁹ For a nationalist tradition connected in Egypt to the memory of Kushite rule cf. A. B. Lloyd: 'Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt'. *Historia* 31 (1982) 33–55.

¹⁰ I accept here the chronology of the Egyptian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as suggested by Kitchen 1986. For a general history of the period and for further literature see O'Connor 1983 242 ff., 357 ff.; Redford 1992 343 ff.

¹¹ In this study the name Kush is used to designate the native kingdom emerging in the Middle Nile Region after the end of the New Kingdom Egyptian domination in that region and occupying the territory from the First Cataract at Aswan in the north to the Butana Region in the south. Chronologically, the term Kingdom of Kush spans the period from the 8th c. BC to the 4th century AD (in earlier literature: Napatan and Meroitic periods). The name of the first ruler of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Kashta, means probably 'the Kushite' (cf. J. Leclant: *Kuschitenherrschaft. LÄ III* 893–901 893). Kush appears as the name of the ancestral kingdom of Piye in the text of his Sandstone Stela from Gebel Barkal (Khartoum

the Assyrians, the Kushite dynasty withdrew to the Middle Nile Region. The kingdom of Kush preserved its unity and political independence until the fourth century AD.¹²

While Egyptologists of our day tend to minimalise the political and intellectual success of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in the reunification of Egypt,¹³ students of Kushite history, in turn, frequently belittle Egypt's impact on the cultural developments in post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Kush. In this paper I shall try to avoid both extremes: I do not intend to describe Kush as a Nilotic imitation of Egypt, and I do not want to 'become an apologist for the ancient people whose culture and history constitute my discipline', either.¹⁴ Recently, Middle Nile studies have ceased to be a shapeless by-product of Egyptology, but are still largely ignored by Ancient History. This paper is intended to promote the definition of the place of Middle Nile studies within Ancient History by examining the problem of the emergence of the kingdom of Kush. The discussion of the present state of research will be preceded by a survey of previous works in this field, in the conviction that the present academic extraterritoriality of Middle Nile studies is explained by the course of earlier researches. Such a survey may also offer some lessons for the historian of modern historiography: the interdependence of historian and history is unusually clearly reflected in Middle Nile studies.¹⁵ The unfolding of Middle Nile studies is a story which may

1851, around or after 747 BC, FHN I No. 8 main text line 3) and the term Kush is also used by later rulers to denote their political realm (the Queen Mother as Mistress of Kush: Malotrar, mother of Senkamanisken, 2nd half of 7th c. BC, on a New Year seal from Thebes, B. Letellier: 'Un souhait de Bonne Année au faveur d'une reine kouchite'. *RdE* 29 [1977] 43–52 44; Nasalsa, Aspelta's mother, late 7th c. BC, Aspelta Election Stela, FHN I No. 37 cinctre line 1 and Aspelta Adoption Stela, FHN I No. 39 cinctre; Atasamalo, Harsiyotef's mother, early 4th c. BC, stela Cairo JE 48864, Grimal 1981a Pl. X cinctre; Pelkha, Nastasen's mother, around 336/5 BC, Berlin 2268, H. Schäfer: *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*. Leipzig 1901 cinctre. Aspelta's ancestors as 'kings of Kush': Aspelta Election Stela, FHN I No. 37 lines 12 f.; 'crowns of the kings of Kush' *ibid.* line 22, 'chief scribe of Kush': Aspelta Adoption Stela, late 7th c. BC, FHN I No. 39 line 6.

¹² For the later history of Kush see Török 1988a.

¹³ For the current trends in Egyptology in the evaluation of the cultural developments in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Egypt cf. Leahy 1992 223–240; Redford 1922 343 ff. with note 125; P. Der Manuelian: *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. London-New York 1994 xxxv ff., 387 ff.; for a balanced view of the Kushite contribution to Egyptian unity see O'Connor 1983 242 ff.

¹⁴ I paraphrase here a warning uttered by Redford 1992 xxiii.

¹⁵ For the context of historical problem, historian and historiography cf. A Momigliano: 'New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century'. *History and Theory* Suppl. 21 (1982) =

be regarded as paradigmatic for colonial archaeology as well as for historiography based on rescue archaeology, and, in more general terms, it is paradigmatic for the study of peripheral cultures.

In the following I shall thus discuss two topics. The first is the course of Middle Nile studies in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. I shall give a brief survey of the changing horizons of research from nineteenth-century evolutionism to modern neo-historicism. These horizons will be confronted with the different images of the native Kushite state produced in the course of the last century or so. In the second part of the paper I shall present an overview of the intellectual foundations of the Kushite state. Both issues can be introduced most conveniently with a generalising remark made by Sir Alan Gardiner in 1935 on the inscriptions which constitute the basis of the second part of the present paper. The great Egyptologist introduced an article on the military strategy of Piye, the second ruler of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, with the following sentences:

For 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 who ruled Egypt, either wholly or in part, during the latter half of the eighth and the first half of the seventh centuries before the Christian era. Perhaps it was the foreign blood of an energetic and warlike race that caused them, despite a deep devotion to Pharaonic tradition, to commemorate upon their triumphal stelas a wealth of picturesque details and manifestations of personal temperament entirely absent from the vainglorious annals of earlier times.¹⁶

'Neue Wege der Altertumforschung im 19. Jahrhundert', in: *Wege in die Antike Welt*. Berlin 1991 108–176; M. I. Finley: 'Generalizations in Ancient History', in: *The Use and Abuse of History*. Harmondsworth 1987 60–74. From the aspect of 'archaeological history': Trigger 1989 1 ff. and *passim*. For a brief review of the development of Middle Nile archaeology from the late nineteenth century to the late 1970s see B. G. Trigger: 'Reisner to Adams: Paradigms of Nubian Cultural History', in: J. M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster 1982 223–226.—For the course of more recent researches cf. J. Leclant: *Égyptologie. Leçon inaugurale* 84. *Collège de France*. Paris 1980; id.: 'Méroe et Rome'. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 29–45.

¹⁶ A. H. Gardiner: 'Piankhi's Instructions to His Army'. *JEA* 21 (1935) 219–23, 219. In Gardiner's view Piye's instruction in his Great Triumphal Stela, lines 9 ff., to let the foe concentrate his forces was a high-flown rhetoric rather than a factual command. Gardiner's interpretation is also accepted by Kitchen 1986 § 325. Grimal 1981a 31 note 61 interprets, however, the instruction as evidence for a strategy that intends to avoid the hazards of guerilla warfare and identifies its New Kingdom antecedents. Cf. also A. Spalinger: 'The Military Background of the Campaign of Piye (Piankhy)'. *SAK* 7 (1979) 273–301. For the

Gardiner formulates here, however casually, one of the two basic judgments usually passed by traditional Egyptology on Kushite culture. A sharp distinction is made between the cultural identity of the 'energetic and warlike' Kushite rulers and traditional Egyptian culture, though the 'deep devotion' of the first towards the latter is duly recognised. As a consequence of their 'alien descent', the Kushites do not fit well, or do not fit at all into the continuum of Pharaonic tradition—notwithstanding the fact that they ruled Egypt for almost one century, adopted Egyptian religion, language, writing, and material culture also in their native country. The reason is their 'foreign blood' and different 'temperament': but Gardiner does not go deeper into the analysis of this temperament and its indigenous cultural context. By contrast, other Egyptologists before and also after Gardiner focused their attention on the Egyptian concepts and ways of expression adopted by the Kushites. They came to the conclusion that the acculturation of the Kushite dynasty was necessitated by the political legitimation of their rule in Egypt and their subsequent adherence to a borrowed Egyptian culture was the result of an inherent conservatism.¹⁷ Both interpretations of the Kushite mind: the 'energetic, warlike' 'foreign blood', so reminiscent of the evolutionist commonplace of the barbarian invader, as well as the 'inert conservative', have their roots in nineteenth-century Egyptology and their racist background is rather obvious.

text of the Great Triumphal Stela, the chronology and political context of Piye's Egyptian campaign in 728 BC see Grimal 1981a, for the most recent translations see M. Lichtheim: *Ancient Egyptian Literature III. The Late Period*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1980 68–80; Grimal 1981a; R. H. Pierce in: FHN I No. 9. For a recently suggested alteration of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty chronology according to which Piye's Egyptian campaign would have taken place about 709 BC see L. Depuydt: 'The Date of Piye's Campaign and the Chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty', *JEA* 79 (1993) 269–274. For arguments against Depuydt's suggestion see, however, Grimal 1981a 216 f.: Leahy 1992 235 with note 79.

¹⁷ Cf. A. Scharff, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I. 613 ff.; H. von Zeissl: *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ägyptischen 'Spätzeit'*. Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1955 77 ff. For well-balanced overviews of the issue of Kushite traditionalism in Egyptological literature cf. J. Leclant: *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne*. Cairo 1965 (esp. 330 ff.); K.-H. Priese: 'The Napatan Period', in: *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan I. The Essays*. Brooklyn 1978 75–88; Grimal 1981a; O'Connor 1983 242 ff.; cf. also B. V. Bothmer and H. de Meulenaere et al.: *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*. Brooklyn 1960; Russmann 1974.—On the other side, D. B. Redford goes in his magnificent *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. Mississauga 1986 315 as far as to call Piye 'a humorless traditionalist [with whom] custom and law weighed heavily'.

From the late eighteenth century onward, several learned European travellers visited the Middle Nile Region.¹⁸ Initially, they were attracted by the tradition of the blameless Ethiopians in classical literature and expected to discover the ruins of a fabulous civilisation.¹⁹ The fascination of Utopian Ethiopia quickly faded, however, as an effect of the discovery of the monuments of the Egyptian occupation of Nubia.²⁰ With the publication of the magnificent plate volumes of the Prussian expedition led by Carl Richard Lepsius in 1842–5²¹ the young discipline of Egyptology was presented with a Middle Nile Region that could be regarded as a colonial extension of Egypt and its monuments as welcome additions to the records of Egyptian history. The monumental ruins and texts preserved from the centuries of Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian domination did not give much description of the indigeneous population, depicting it symbolically as a vanquished barbarian enemy and its princes as Egyptianised natives. It was only with the discovery of hieroglyphic

¹⁸ On the early travellers see Budge 1928 74 ff.; Shinnie 1967; Adams 1977 2, 70; A. M. Ali Hakem: 'A History of Archaeological Research in Nubia and the Sudan', in: *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan I. The Essays*. Brooklyn 1978 37–45 37 f.; I. Gamer-Wallert and K. Zibelius: *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan) I. Forschungsgeschichte und Topographie*. Wiesbaden 1983 13 ff.

¹⁹ For Ethiopia in the classical tradition see L. Kákosy: 'Nubien als mythisches Land im Altertum'. *Ann. Univ. Scient. Budapest. Sectio Historica* 8 (1966) 3–10; H. Braunert: *Utopia, Antworten griechischen Denkens auf die Herausforderung durch soziale Verhältnisse*. Kiel 1969 8; F. M. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1970 1 ff., 101 ff.; J. Ferguson: *Utopias of the Classical World*. London 1975 16 ff.; Török 1988a 124 f.

²⁰ Students of Middle Nile history still tend, however, to assign more authenticity to accounts of classical authors on Ethiopia than would appear justifiable in the light of modern analyses of the works of these authors. For the controversial interpretations of the Ethiopian logos of Herodotus see the comments by T. Eide and the present writer on FHN I Nos 56–66; for the ongoing debate on the relevance of 'hypercriticism' practiced by the present writer (Török 1986, Török 1988a, Török 1989) cf. the survey presented by J. Desanges: 'Bilan des recherches sur les sources grecques et latines de l'histoire de la Nubie antique dans les trente dernières années'. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 363–378 and cf. S. M. Burstein: "'Kush and the External World": A comment'. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 225–230. For an excellent synthesis of the sources and researches on the later phases of Kushite history see recently S. M. Burstein: 'The Hellenistic Fringe: The Case of Meroë'. in: P. Green (ed.): *Hellenistic History and Culture*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1993 38–54.

²¹ *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition I–VI*. Berlin 1849–1859. Text I–V. Leipzig 1897–1913.

inscriptions erected by native post-New Kingdom rulers, i.e., the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty who also ruled Egypt and their descendants, that Egyptologists were confronted with the problem of indigenous cultural phenomena.²² As mentioned above, the iconographical and inscriptional evidence of the New Kingdom domination indicated, however faintly, the existence of an Egyptianised native elite. The character, intensity, reasons, and consequences of this Egyptianisation, and its wider context were, however, not analysed as it was taken for granted that it could only have been forced and formal. The rule of the Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt was, on the other hand, viewed in the context of the 'decline' of post-New Kingdom Egypt.²³ The adoption of Egyptian writing, monumental style and intellectual concepts by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the Egyptianised appearance of the Kushite culture of the subsequent centuries were thus interpreted under the impact of three misconceptions: viz., the projection of the experience of nineteenth-century colonialism into ancient history, the misunderstanding of the processes of acculturation, and the ignorance of Late Period Egypt. These, originally rather technical, misconceptions received ideological dimensions through the growing impact of Darwinian evolutionism. Darwinian evolutionism not only seemed to make scientifically credible the inequality of races.²⁴ Its biological determinism also offered strong support to the emerging culture-historical theory in the terms of which creativity was the privilege of a few superior races and cultural changes were brought about by migration and diffusion. On the basis of his interpretation of the linguistic evidence, Lepsius suggested in his *Nubische Grammatik*²⁵ that the indigenous peoples of Africa belonged to two major stocks, namely the Hamitic and the Negro populations. While in the first the great civilising force of the continent was identified, the Negro populations, among them the

²² The Great Triumphal Stela of Piye (FHN I No. 9), Tanutamani's Dream Stela (FHN I No. 29), Aspelta's Election, Banishment, and Adoption Stelae (FHN I Nos 37–39), the Harsiyotef Stela (Cairo 48864, Grimal 1981b 40–61) and smaller stela fragments (e.g., FHN I No. 10, Piye) were discovered in 1862 in the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal and most of them were published and discussed before long by Mariette, Maspero and de Rougé (for the find and the first publications cf. PM VII 217 f.; Leclant 1973).

²³ For a modern analysis of the New Kingdom and a social history of the Third Intermediate Period cf. Kitchen 1986 Part 4; O'Connor 1983 222 ff.; P. Vernus: *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès. La crise des valeurs dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire*. Paris 1993 159 ff.

²⁴ Cf. Trigger 1989 110 ff.

²⁵ C. R. Lepsius: *Nubische Grammatik, mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrikas*. Berlin 1880.

inhabitants of the Middle Nile Region, were described as inert,²⁶ primitive, and culturally dependent on inspirations and influences received from a Hamitic population, i.e., from Egypt.²⁷ This dull and pessimistic theory²⁸ was introduced into the cultural history of the Middle Nile Region by Wallis Budge who published his first comprehensive history in 1907.²⁹ His views were accepted by his contemporaries and determined the outlook of the next generations of Nubian scholars too, all the more as the archaeological evidence which increased with a dramatic speed from the early years of the twentieth century was interpreted by scholars who were educated in the tradition of Ethnic Prehistory, a tradition which emerged from culture-historical archaeology and which survived in world archaeology well into the 1950s.

Systematic archaeology unfolded in the Middle Nile Region under the circumstances of rescue work: the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia was necessitated by the enlargement of the dam built in 1898–1902 at Aswan.³⁰ The men responsible for the organisation and execution of the survey and the subsequent excavations, Arthur Weigall³¹ and George Andrew Reisner, laid the foundations of modern excavation data recording.³² For the first time, the purpose was to

²⁶ 'Stagnation' was still viewed as a feature of ancient African cultures in the 1960s, cf. the criticism directed against W. Y. Adams: 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology I'. *JEA* 50 (1964) 102–120 by B. G. Haycock: 'The Place of the Napatan-Meroitic Culture in the History of the Sudan and Africa'. in: Yusuf Fadl Hasan (ed.): *Sudan in Africa. Studies Presented to the First International Conference Sponsored by the Sudan Research Unit 7–12 February 1968*. Khartoum 1971 26–41 26 ff.

²⁷ Romantically, and of course erroneously, the superior Hamites were also believed to have been pastoralists and the inferior Negroes agriculturalists.

²⁸ It was only sporadically challenged by naturalists with a more profound knowledge of contemporary tribal groups, cf. Trigger 1989 113.

²⁹ E. A. W. Budge: *The Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments*. London 1907.

³⁰ On the Survey see Adams 1977 71 ff.

³¹ A. Weigall: *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*. Cairo 1907.

³² The purpose of their work was defined as follows: 'The Archaeological Survey of Lower Nubia has been undertaken (1) for the purpose of ascertaining the value and extent of the historical material buried under the soil, and (2) for the purpose of making this material available for the construction of the history of Nubia and its relations to Egypt. The questions on which it is hoped to throw light concern the successive races and racial mixtures, the extent of the population in different periods, the economical basis of the existence of these populations, the character of their industrial products and the source and degree of their civilization'. G. A. Reisner: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907–8*. Cairo 1910; quoted by Emery 1965 39. Following Reisner, who directed the first season's works, the Survey was continued by C. Firth, who, like Weigall, was trained in Egypt by Petrie (cf. Emery 1965 39 f.). For his work see C. Firth: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1910–11*. Cairo 1927.

collect data for the history of the indigenous populations of the Middle Nile Valley. Reisner's intention was, however, first of all to establish a typochronology that would correspond with the current ideology of culture-historical archaeology in the sense that it was represented in Egyptology by Flinders Petrie, who also provided the precious tool of typological seriation.³³ Accordingly, efforts were concentrated on the excavation of burials³⁴ which were expected to furnish sufficient artefact material for typology as well as for museum purposes, and anthropological material on the basis of which the work outlined by Reisner could be carried out. For Reisner was assisted by the physical anthropologists Grafton Elliot Smith, Wood Jones and Douglas Derry, who were all adherents of the migration theory in general³⁵ and of the racist theory of Hamitic superiority and Negro inferiority, in particular.³⁶ From the standpoint of physical anthropology, it was not difficult for them to recognise significant racial differences in the skeletal materials connected to the individual typochronological groups identified by Reisner. They provided him thus with a biological argument when he reconstructed Middle Nile history as a process of cultural decline that was cyclically interrupted by invasions, immigrations and cultural influences from the Hamitic north, i.e., Egypt. Smith gave expression to the viewpoint not only of the Survey team but also of the great majority of contemporary Egyptologists and historians of the Eastern Mediterranean when writing that

the smallest infusion of Negro-blood immediately manifests itself in a dulling of initiative and a drag on the further development of the arts of civilization.³⁷

It must be said here that subsequent physical anthropological investigations³⁸ failed to verify any significant racial differences in the skeletal material ranging from the prehistoric to the Christian period. Smith's

³³ W. M. F. Petrie: *Diospolis Parva*. London 1901.—For a synthesis of Petrie's theoretical conclusions see his *The Making of Egypt*. London 1939.

³⁴ 151 cemeteries and over 8,000 individual graves were investigated, cf. Adams 1977 71.

³⁵ On the Australian-born Smith's diffusionist ideas see Trigger 1989 152 f.

³⁶ On Smith see Adams 1988 91 ff. According to Emery 1965 40 the selection of these experts was 'singularly fortunate'. Emery, however, never gave up his belief in the migration theory and, as Adams (1977 4) has noticed, his *Egypt in Nubia* 'could have been written by Reisner himself'.

³⁷ In: *Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 3. Cairo 1909 25, quoted by Adams 1977 92.

³⁸ A. Batrawi: *Report on the Human Remains*. Cairo 1935; more explicitly also against the theories of Smith, Jones, and Derry: id.: 'The Racial History of Egypt and Nubia'. *JRAI* 75 (1945) 81–101, 76 (1946) 131–156.

view of the biological determination of cultural development reinforced, however, Reisner's prejudice.³⁹ Nevertheless, as a result of the First Archaeological Survey a remarkably precise and comprehensive cultural typology was created and Reisner's culture-historical periodisation provided a firm basis for all subsequent archaeological work.⁴⁰

After his work in Lower Nubia and the investigation of the archaeological typochronology of the Lower Nubian sequence, Reisner turned to the task of establishing the historical chronology of the post-New Kingdom period and excavated between 1916 and 1923 the royal cemeteries of Kush.⁴¹ After two seasons spent at the post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty necropoleis of Nuri and Gebel Barkal,⁴² he suggested that the rulers of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—whose political and cultural achievement could in no way be belittled—were of foreign, Libyan, origin.⁴³ Extending this assumption to the whole of the society, Reisner also suggested that Kushite society was ethnically stratified, consisting of a native aristocracy, a professional middle class of Egyptian origin and a native proletariat.⁴⁴ The royal burial sequence suggested to him a

³⁹ Biological determinism was complemented with an elementary ecological determinism emphasising the poor subsistence capacity of the Middle Nile as compared to Egypt, see, e.g., Reisner *op. cit.* (note 32) 348.

⁴⁰ The Survey also resulted in the discovery of the splendid remains of the late and terminal periods (commonly termed Meroitic period) of the native Kushite kingdom. Significantly, the period was termed 'Romano-Nubian', whereas the emphasis was laid on the assumed Romano-Egyptian origins of the culture of the period and not on its chronological position. Cf. D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley: *Areika*. Philadelphia 1909; C. L. Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver: *Karanòg. The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*. Philadelphia 1910; C. L. Woolley: *Karanòg. The Town*. Philadelphia 1911; F. Ll. Griffith: *Karanòg. The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablul and Karanòg*. Philadelphia 1911. For works and surveys at Meroitic sites beyond the area of the Lower Nubian Survey see J. Garstang *et al.*: *Meroe City of the Ethiopians*. Oxford 1911; F. Ll. Griffith: *Meroitic Inscriptions* I, II. London 1911, 1912; J. W. Crowfoot: *The Island of Meroe*. London 1911.

⁴¹ For the history of the excavations see Dunham 1950 7 ff.

⁴² Dunham 1955, Dunham 1957.

⁴³ G. A. Reisner: 'Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan IV. The First Kingdom of Ethiopia'. *SNR* 2 (1919) 41–44.—In 1941 A. M. Brues, physical anthropologist at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, identified the fragmentary skulls of Shebitqo (ca. 702–690 BC) and of two pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty individuals from el Kurru as belonging to 'the so-called Predynastic Egyptian type, the basic white stock of Egypt' and stated that they were not 'touched by any Negroid influence', see Dunham 1950 118 f. With good reasons, the most recent examination of the skeletal material from el Kurru did not venture a race identification, cf. L. A. Beck: 'Demographic Data for Human Skeletons Recovered from el-Kurru'. Preprint of paper submitted at the *Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies*. Berlin 1992.

⁴⁴ *SNR* 2 (1919) 35–67.

long process of cultural decline determined by the inherent weakness of a native empire.⁴⁵

The Reisnerian picture of the inevitable degeneration of a Hamitic political-ideological structure implanted into a poor African environment was maintained almost to our day. In the course of the subsequent decades a diligent and, as to its methods, increasingly refined archaeological work continued to add new features to the cultural typology established by Reisner. The new finds were nevertheless fitted into the framework of the same general historical theory. New researches on monuments of Third Intermediate Period Egypt further strengthened the conviction of students of Middle Nile history that the native Kushite state was of purely Egyptian origins. Eduard Meyer believed that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty directly descended from the family of the High Priests of Amûn of Thebes and their state was a 'theocracy'.⁴⁶ Meyer's idea—a variation on Reisner's Libyan theory—was accepted by most contemporary and later writers. Whether they were supposed to have been of an Egyptian, Libyan, or native descent, the kings of the Dynasty came in either reconstruction from nothing. The period after the end of the Egyptian colonial rule in the 1060s BC was depicted as a dark age from which Kashta, the first known ruler of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, emerged around the middle of the eighth century BC as lord of a vast empire without any preparation. Ironically, Reisner, the discoverer of the cemetery of the nameless ancestors of the Dynasty at el Kurru,⁴⁷ described, correctly, their burials as relics of a non-Egyptianised native Nubian mortuary religion, while, at the same time, he identified the owners of the same graves ethnically as Libyans. The conquest of Egypt by the Dynasty was explained entirely as a consequence of Egypt's degeneration: Kush was denied any political initiative. It also seemed

⁴⁵ The excavators of the first important Meroitic assemblages in Lower Nubia, analysing a cultural horizon which they believed to have been shaped by the lasting cultural influence of Roman Egypt, concluded that 'if a short-lived and unstable black empire has occasionally extended its limits to within view of the Mediterranean, it has ultimately been repelled all along the line': D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley: *Areika*. Philadelphia 1909 2. It is interesting to note that it was the same David Randall-MacIver, a pupil of Petrie in Egypt, who first demonstrated that the ruins of Great Zimbabwe were of Bantu origin, cf. *Mediaeval Rhodesia*. London 1906 and Trigger 1989 133 f. His different attitude towards the Nubian culture may exemplify the confusing effect of the strong presence of a great civilisation in the realm of a peripheral culture.

⁴⁶ E. Meyer: *Gottesstaat Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten*. (SPAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 28). Berlin 1928 38 ff.: cf. Budge 1928 25 f.; E. Drioton and J. Vandier: *Les peuples de l'orient and méditerranéen II. L'Égypte*. Paris 1936 513.

⁴⁷ Dunham 1950.

evident to Reisner's contemporaries that the expulsion of the Kushites from Egypt was brought about simply by their ineptitude and not by a series of international conflicts.⁴⁸ The history of the subsequent centuries appeared to have been determined by the interaction of two opposite forces: the lack of creativity of the Kushite race and the civilising influence of the superior neighbour. As put by Anthony Arkell,

... the egyptianized 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.⁴⁹

No lessons were drawn from the remarkable work of two Egyptologists excavating in the same period as Reisner in Nubia. In 1925 Hermann Junker came, on the basis of assemblages from the end of the Kushite kingdom and the early post-Kushite kingdom (called then, in the terms of Reisner's typochronology, X-Group), to the conclusion that, as opposed to the current migration theory, Nubia was inhabited by the same population during these periods.⁵⁰ Georg Steindorff went even further when he abandoned the principle of ethnic periodisation altogether.⁵¹ If noticed, their rejection of culture-historical commonplaces based on biological determinism could have been used as a new and revolutionary paradigm, for it derived entirely from an independent analysis of archaeological assemblages. But it was not noticed at all. No wonder: no Egyptologist or archaeologist working in the Middle Nile Region in the late 1920s and the 1930s had cared for either the new social anthropology or environmental functionalism, although the new researches interpreting agriculture as a turning point in human history or the investigation of the process of transition from tribal to state

⁴⁸ Budge 1928 38 f. on the destruction of Thebes by Assurbanipal's army in 663 BC: 'It was reserved for the Nubian converts and dupes of the priests of Amen to bring upon Thebes such [a] wholesale destruction'.

⁴⁹ A. J. Arkell: *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821*. London 1955 (2nd edn 1961) 138.

⁵⁰ *Ermenne. Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von Ermenne (Nubien) im Winter 1911-1912*. Wien 1925 85.

⁵¹ *Aniba I*. Glückstadt 1935 1 ff. Steindorff's periodisation of Middle Nile Region history into Early, Middle and Late Nubian was adopted later by Trigger 1965 and the authors of the monumental series of the *Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications* edited by T. Säve-Söderbergh.

organization⁵² might have changed their views on Hamites and Negroes, on the superiority of pastoralism, and thus also on the origins of the Kushite state.⁵³

Between 1929 and 1934 a Second Archaeological Survey of Lower Nubia⁵⁴ was necessitated by a second enlargement of the Aswan Dam. As in the First Survey, the efforts were concentrated on the excavation of mortuary remains.⁵⁵ As determined first of all by the narrow perspective of Ethnic Prehistory and only in the second place by financial considerations, the excavation of settlement sites continued to be neglected. Consequently, the little that was said about the social history of ancient Kush was no more than a paraphrase of earlier misconceptions. These simplistic views sharply contrasted with the richness of the archaeological evidence itself. They could also have been contradicted by the now widely known hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Kushite kings discovered by Reisner and others. But nobody has studied them without bias.⁵⁶ The first comprehensive history of the Region which could also draw on the archaeological evidence brought to light by the Second Survey and more recent excavations in the Sudan presented a fine review of material culture. A. J. Arkell's book,⁵⁷ from which I have already quoted a significant sentence, was published in the second year of Sudanese independence and it intended, in the spirit of noble patronage, to make available 'to the Sudanese . . . all the

⁵² Cf. A. Moret and G. Davy: *From Tribe to Empire: Social Organization among Primitives and in the Ancient East*. London 1926 (translated into English by V. G. Childe); V. G. Childe: *The Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory*. London 1928.

⁵³ The knowledge of Durkheimian sociology would, however, not have changed as if automatically the belief in migration and diffusion as the only explanations of cultural change: the less so as it did not even change Childe's attitude towards these theories, cf. V. G. Childe: *New Light on the Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory*. London 1934; Trigger 1989 247 ff.

⁵⁴ W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan: *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1921–1931*. Cairo 1935; *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*. Cairo 1938.

⁵⁵ Cf. Adams 1977 86.

⁵⁶ The texts found prior to Reisner's work at Gebel Barkal were also published in translation by H. Schäfer: 'Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre'. *ZÄS* 33 (1895) 101–113; id.: *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*. Leipzig 1901; E. A. W. Budge: *Annals of Nubian Kings*. London 1912; for the publication of the inscriptions found by Reisner and later expeditions see Leclant 1973 and cf. recently FHN I.

⁵⁷ *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821*. London 1955.

knowledge which has been accumulated . . . about their past history'.⁵⁸ Indeed, it presented a significant selection of the evidence, but failed to find the way out from the cul-de-sac of colonial history.

The last important summary of Middle Nile history drawn from the viewpoint of an Ethnic Prehistorian was Walter Emery's *Egypt in Nubia*.⁵⁹ The title of this brilliant survey of the archaeological evidence clearly indicates the author's ideological outlook. It appeared, however, in the middle of the epochal work of the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia and was overshadowed by its spectacular discoveries. The Campaign was necessitated by the building of the Aswan High Dam, as a consequence of which the monuments and archaeological sites of Lower Nubia were to be covered for ever by the waters of a permanent lake (Lake Nasser in the Map).⁶⁰ The Campaign has not only dramatically increased the archaeological evidence; it also replaced Ethnic Prehistory with new paradigms.

A careful analysis of the archaeological evidence originating from the largest survey action of this century convinced the scholars who entered the Middle Nile scene with the Survey that the succession of archaeological cultures in the region should be interpreted as 'successive stages in the cultural development of the same people'.⁶¹ The viewpoint of the leading personalities of the Campaign and the authors of the first post-Campaign syntheses was determined by their training in American cultural anthropology,⁶² and/or their closeness to the theory of New Archaeology⁶³ which also explains their refusal of any Egypto-

⁵⁸ In the Foreword by Sir Harold MacMichael.—Arkell's summary of the history of the kingdom of Kush repeated the clichés of Budge and Reisner, with an additional accent laid on the Egyptianising effect of the cult of Amûn in Kush. This latter aspect of Kushite culture became another cliché in the brief notes on Kush usually appended to histories of Egypt; authors with little or no personal experience of the impressive archaeological evidence from the Middle Nile Region tended to put the cliché in a strikingly hostile manner. E.g., in John Wilson's view '(Piye's) culture was a provincial imitation of earlier Egypt, fanatical in its retention of religious form' (J. A. Wilson: *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*. Chicago 1951 292).

⁵⁹ Emery 1965.

⁶⁰ For the Campaign see, with further literature, W. Y. Adams: 'The Nubian Archaeological Campaigns of 1959–69: Myths and Realities, Success and Failures'. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 3–27; A. J. Mills: 'The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal', *ibid.* 29–31; T. Säve-Söderbergh: 'The International Nubia Campaign: Two Perspectives', *ibid.* 33–42; F. Wendorf: *The Campaign for Nubian Prehistory*, *ibid.* 43–54.

⁶¹ Adams 1977 5.

⁶² Adams 1977 8 ff., 665 ff.

⁶³ On the relationship between Trigger 1965 and L. Binford's work (esp. 'Archaeology as Anthropology'. *American Antiquity* 28 [1962] 217–25; 'Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Cultural Process'. *ibid.* 31 [1965] 203–10); see, in hindsight, Trigger 1984 *passim* and esp. 370, 379.

centrism in historical interpretation. Yet the majority of the Egyptologists participating in the Campaign were also prepared to devote equal attention to both participants of the Egyptian-Nubian interaction in the course of Middle Nile history. The method of New Archaeology proved to be a useful tool in the interpretation of the archaeological material as evidence of ethnic and cultural continuity and as a testimony of indigenous cultural developments, and it enabled a better appreciation of settlement history too.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the methods of New Archaeology proved far less satisfactory in the shaping of the general attitude of archaeologists towards the written evidence of Middle Nile history. The unbalance of even the most influential syntheses as Bruce Trigger's *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*⁶⁵ and William Adams's *Nubia Corridor to Africa*⁶⁶ follows from their lukewarm interest in the historical record. The tendency of New Archaeology to produce models⁶⁷ on the basis of the material vestiges of ancient life alone and in ignorance of its monumental and verbal messages⁶⁸ influenced the views on the Kushite state in a negative manner. The traditionally presumed economic profit gained by New Kingdom Egypt from the Middle Nile Region was overemphasised and some scholars

⁶⁴ The idiosyncrasies of investigations based exclusively on technological aspects may also cause serious misunderstandings in secondary literature. According to D. W. Phillipson's otherwise excellent synthesis in *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*. London 1977 88 'it was iron which eventually formed the economic basis of Meroe'. His approach also echoes a current idiosyncrasy in New Archaeology: 'it is unfortunate that so much of the effort of Meroitic specialists has been devoted to excavating temples and royal graves, to preparing detailed chronological lists of rulers, and to attempting to understand the inscriptions, that relatively little research has been done which throws light on the everyday life of the ordinary people or on the basic economy which supported the Meroitic state', *ibid.* 90. — The role of iron in Meroe is usually overemphasised; for a theory according to which iron industry led to an ecological catastrophe in the region of Meroe City see S. Wenig and M. Fitzenreiter: *Musawwarat es Sufra. Berliner Ausgrabungen im Sudan*. Catalogue of exhibition, Naturhistorisches Museum Nürnberg. Nürnberg 1994 13.

⁶⁵ Trigger 1965.

⁶⁶ Adams 1977. — For the implications of New Archaeology in historical archaeology cf. C. Renfrew: 'The Great Tradition Versus the Great Divide: Archaeology as Anthropology?' *AJA* 84 (1980) 287–298; A. M. Snodgrass: 'The New Archaeology and the Classical Archaeologist.' *AJA* 89 (1985) 31–37.

⁶⁷ I.e., models 'that would explain changes in the archaeological record in terms of the internal responses of a system to a wide variety of factors', see Trigger 1984 379.

⁶⁸ For the implications of the distinction between *Spuren* and *Botschaften* see J. Assmann: 'Gebrauch und Gedächtnis. Die zwei Kulturen des pharaonischen Ägypten'. in: A. Assmann and D. Harth (eds): *Kultur als Lebenswelt und Monument*. Frankfurt am Main 1991 135–152 135 ff.

even painted a Marxist image of exploitation,⁶⁹ though agrarian development under the Egyptian impact and the advantages of integration into the Egyptian redistributive system had to be admitted.⁷⁰ It was only later researches based on the textual evidence that were to demonstrate that Egyptian expansion was equally strongly determined by ideological reasons,⁷¹ that Egypt was 'at the economic level . . . really self-sufficient' and that the patterns of international redistribution, self-sufficiency and interdependence were more complex than previously assumed.⁷² The idea of the foreign ethnic origins of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was abandoned. With excellent intuition, Trigger suggested that the emergence of the Dynasty from virtually nothing 'may reflect a knowledge of statecraft derived from Kerma or other yet unknown Nubian prototypes'.⁷³ The existence of a native political tradition could, however, only be postulated at the cost of the Egyptian factor: assuming that political ideology is necessarily hypocritical, Trigger also believed that

As rulers of Kush, the Nubian kings may have behaved in a manner quite alien to their Egyptian self-image. Politically and culturally, their monuments were concerned with validating their claim to be the rightful rulers of Egypt, while their written records were probably composed for them by Egyptians. These records may reflect an ideal better than they do reality.⁷⁴

As a result of the interest in manifestations of indigenous cultural processes, a clearer picture of social stratification⁷⁵ and institutions has been established. Significantly, in his pioneering history of the Middle Nile Region, William Adams came to the conclusion that cultural changes cannot be understood without an appreciation of the underlying

⁶⁹ Adams 1977 229 ff.; Trigger 1976 110 ff.

⁷⁰ Adams 1977 231.

⁷¹ Zibelius-Chen 1988; cf. also Lorton 1974; D. O'Connor: 'The Locations of Yam and Kush and Their Historical Implications'. *JARCE* 23 (1986) 27–50 46 ff. For the evidence of New Kingdom policy in the Middle Nile Region T. Säve-Söderbergh: *Ägypten und Nubien*. Lund 1941 remains fundamental.

⁷² Liverani 1990 224 ff.; for the Middle Nile Region cf. Morkot 1991 299 f.; id.: 'The Economy of Nubia in the New Kingdom'. in: F. Geus (ed.): *Nubia Thirty Years Later. Society for Nubian Studies, Eighth International Conference. Pre-Publication of Main Papers*. Lille 1994.

⁷³ Trigger 1976 150.

⁷⁴ *Ibid* 147.

⁷⁵ For lack of systematic excavations of Kushite settlements, the tribal model of a two-class society composed of a 'tiny hereditary ruling élite' and a 'vast peasantry' suggested by B. G. Haycock, *SNR* 49 (1968) 13 was only theoretically extended into a three-class model also including a 'progressive, urbanized middle class' by Adams 1977 288 ff. Adams explained 'urban' development from the prosperity of trade with Egypt (and within the land?). For the towns see below, p. 22.

cognitive changes.⁷⁶ For a better understanding of the higher spheres of cultural development, however, a more profound interest in a re-analysis of the textual record would have been necessary. The archaeologists of the Campaign- and post-Campaign era failed altogether to consult the primary sources themselves. Instead, they accepted the second-hand clichés that were current since Wallis Budge's day in histories of Egypt and Nubia and continued, for example, to believe that the king of Kush was elected by 'king-makers' and that there existed a tradition of ritual regicide in Kush.⁷⁷ The treatment of the textual evidence as an illustration of the archaeological finds⁷⁸ facilitated the acceptance of ethnoarchaeology⁷⁹ among the younger generations of archaeologists trained in the Sudan. Ethnoarchaeology arrived here as a by-product of New Archaeology.⁸⁰ Recently it has given strong support to one of the main currents in the historiography of the region, namely, to the 'nationalist archaeology'⁸¹ which is enthusiastically promoted by Sudanese scholars who want to promote the creation of a new national identity with the help of the 'lessons' of the past.⁸²

In the second part of this paper I shall briefly discuss the results of

⁷⁶ Adams 1977 665 ff., esp. 673 ff. He found the best theoretical support for his Nubian discoveries in R. Redfield's *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*. Ithaca 1953. Good arguments could also have been found in R. A. Rappaport: 'The Sacred in Human Evolution'. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 2 (1971) 23–44. The change in orientation of the most influential archaeologists of the Campaign is also reflected in Trigger 1989.

⁷⁷ Cf., e.g., Trigger 1976 143; Adams 1977 259 f.; and see also the historical summary presented by P. L. Shinnie: 'The Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia, c. 660 BC to c. AD 600', in: J. D. Fage (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa* II. Cambridge 1978 210–271 216, 221 ff., 236 f.

⁷⁸ Adams 1977 6 sees a sort of conflict in the confrontation of the two kinds of evidence: 'Although textual evidence is essential to my story at many points, I have had to draw in every case on translations whose reliability I am unable to judge. On the other hand, as an experienced field archaeologist as well as a student of comparative cultures I believe that I can "read" things in the archaeological record which are unintelligible to most philologists. At any rate I place greater trust in archaeological evidence than I do in textual evidence in reaching my own historical conclusions'. However, the problem is in the acceptance of outdated interpretations rather than in the use of uncontrolled translations of ancient texts.

⁷⁹ Cf. T. Kendall: 'Ethnoarchaeology in Meroitic Studies'. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 625–745.

⁸⁰ Cf. Trigger 1989 294 ff.

⁸¹ Cf. Ali Osman Mohamed Salih: 'Nationalist Archaeology. The Case of the Sudan'. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 225–236.

⁸² The aim is to reach a 'long awaited political stability and development', see Ali Osman op. cit. (note 81) 225 f. He suggests that there is a causal interconnection between the knowledge of the past and the shaping of the future and the politically conscious goals of 'nationalist archaeology' are clearly defined by him: 'Since the Mahdist revolution, the Sudan has witnessed different forms of political change and different approaches to nation building. However, in most of these stages the model of the Mahdist revolution was either

recent researches on the Kushite state. The majority of the works under review are based on the re-assessment of the written evidence and generally reflect a conscious distance from the historical models that have emerged during the past decades from interpretations of the archaeological evidence. If they fit into a theoretical framework at all, recent researches may be defined mostly as products of the neo-historicism whose unfolding we witness from the late 1970s. A neo-historicism that is adapted to the special conditions of the Middle Nile Region has been defined in the studies of the present writer, who has tried to present, or inspire, a systematic re-assessment of the archaeological find material on the basis of a contextual treatment of the textual and material evidence.⁸³ The limitations of recent researches are explained by the fact that the re-discovery of the textual record and the intensified attention given to the international context of Middle Nile history occurs in a period when there is no longer a chance to conduct systematic, problem-orientated excavations and when the formative role of historical and archaeological schools is replaced by occasional expeditions⁸⁴ and international conferences.⁸⁵

copied or taken as the main reference. The examples of such changes during the ancient, the medieval, and post-medieval periods of the country and the people are very hazily remembered but never really explored. The result is the political instability and deterioration we live in today' (ibid. 226). For parallel developments in other African countries see Trigger 1989 376.—This is not the place, to discuss the epistemological backgrounds of the highly controversial hypotheses concerning the impact of Africa on the history of the Aegean put forward by M. Bernal: *Black Athena 2. The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*. New Brunswick 1991. For the critical response see *The Challenge of Black Athena. Arethusa Suppl.* 22 (1989); and cf. S. M. Burstein in: *Classical Philology* 88 (1993) 157–162.

⁸³ For the term 'neo-historicism' in archaeology cf. Trigger 1989 337 ff.—For its occurrence as research method in Middle Nile Studies see L. Török: 'To the History of the Dodekaschoinos between ca. 250 B.C. and 298 A.D'. *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 76–86; id.: 'The Economy of Kush: A Survey of the Written Sources'. *ZÄS* 111 (1984) 45–69; Török 1987; Török 1988a; Török 1992; and cf. the aims of the FHN project (FHN I Nos 8–12).

⁸⁴ For archaeological activities in the Sudan see the annual reports published in *Orientalia* 40 (1971) ff. by J. Leclant and *Orientalia* 55 (1986) ff. by J. Leclant and G. Clerc: 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan'.

⁸⁵ For the conferences of the International Society for Nubian Studies see K. Michalowski (ed.): *Nubia. Récentes recherches*. Warsaw 1975; *Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly 2–6 Juillet 1975*. *BdE* 77 (1978); J. M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster 1982; M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986; T. Hägg (ed.): *Nubian Culture Past and Present. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* 17. Stockholm 1987; (ed.) 1992; Ch. Bonnet (ed.): *Études nubiennes. Conférence de Genève II. Communications*. Genève 1994.—For the International Conferences for Meroitic Studies see *Meroitica* 1 (1973); 6 (1982); 7 (1984); 10 (1989). For a comprehensive bibliography of Meroitic studies published before 1984 see Török 1988a 291–338. See also Davies (ed.) 1991.

Before coming down to the discussion of the Kushite state, a word is needed about the evidence⁸⁶ and its original functional context in the life of the state. Our principal sources are royal inscriptions erected between the late eighth and the late fourth centuries BC.⁸⁷ From the twelve long and well-preserved texts that serve as a basis for the study of Kushite kingship, five are enthronement records,⁸⁸ three are historical or annalistic,⁸⁹ two are legal texts,⁹⁰ one text records a temple foundation⁹¹ and the genre of one further inscription⁹² cannot be determined. The central theme of all of them is, however, connected to the Great Tradition of the Kushite myth of the state: each text consists of a discourse on the legitimacy of royal power as manifestation and guarantee of the reciprocity between god and king, king and men.⁹³ The discourse may be part of a royal speech,⁹⁴ or woven into the dramatically construed record of enthronement rites,⁹⁵ or it appears in the context of a royal decree. The texts give expression to a world view that was decisively influenced by concepts of the Amûn religion of Late Period Egypt in terms of which the legitimacy of the state is created by a god who is not only the divine father of the king but is also viewed as

⁸⁶ Cf. Macadam 1949; Leclant 1973 (with earlier literature); K.-H. Priese: 'Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch I'. *MIO* 14 (1968) 165–191; id.: 'Der Beginn der kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten'. *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 16–32; id.: 'Zur Sprache der ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch'. *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 99–124; Grimal 1981a; Grimal 1981b. A new edition, with translations, philological and historical comments, of the entire written historical record was initiated by FHN I in 1994.

⁸⁷ **1:** Piye, Sandstone Stela, around 747 BC, FHN I No. 8. **2:** Piye, Great Triumphal Stela, c. 728 BC, FHN I No. 9. **3:** Taharqo, Kawa IV, c. 685 BC, FHN I No. 21. **4:** Taharqo, Kawa V, c. 685 BC, FHN I No. 22. **5:** Tanutamani, Dream Stela, c. 664 BC, FHN I No. 29. **6:** Anlamani, Kawa VIII, late 7th–early 6th c. BC, FHN I No. 34. **7:** Aspelta, Enthronement Stela, end of 7th or early 6th c. BC, FHN I No. 37. **8:** Aspelta, Banishment Stela, end of 7th or early 6th c. BC, FHN I No. 38. **9:** Aspelta, Adoption Stela, end of 7th or early 6th c. BC, FHN I No. 39. **10:** Irike-Amanote, Kawa IX, Late 5th c. BC, Macadam 1949 51–67. **11:** Harsiyotef, Annals, early 4th c. BC, Grimal 1981b 40–61. **12:** Nastasen, Annals, after 336/5 BC, H. Schäfer: *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*. Leipzig 1901.

⁸⁸ **6, 7, 10, 11,** and **12** (cf. note 87).

⁸⁹ **2, 4,** and **5** (cf. note 87).

⁹⁰ **8** and **9** (cf. note 87).

⁹¹ **3** (cf. note 87).

⁹² **1** (cf. note 87).

⁹³ For the structure of the sources see Török (in press, *a*) Ch. 11.

⁹⁴ E.g., Piye speaks (P-[nh]y ddd=f) in **1** (cf. note 87), FHN I No. 8 p. 57.—For the royal inscription as record of speech see E. Bleiberg: 'Historical Texts as Political Propaganda During the New Kingdom'. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7 (1985/86) 5–14 10.

⁹⁵ The fullest examples: **7** and **12** (cf. note 87).

the exerciser of direct royal power.⁹⁶ Moreover, in this world view the king, 'being reduced to the necessity of gaining god's favour and by this fact being subject to god's judgement of his actions as everybody else, has to recourse to the virtues of piety, too'.⁹⁷ The Kushite conquerors of Egypt swiftly realised, however, that their vast empire with its wide variety of ethnic and political formations could not be governed on the basis of Amûn's direct kingship and especially not under the circumstances of a desperate struggle for political unity. In an ingenious manner, they revived the traditional ideology of Ma'at, in the terms of which the proper functioning of the cosmos and the life of mankind depended on the continuous acting of the king, and amalgamated it with Amûn theology into a homogeneous world view.⁹⁸ In this framework, the king was enabled to fulfil his duties in providing for the gods, securing life, welfare and justice for everybody without distinction and caring for the mortuary cult of the dead by the secret knowledge which he received from his divine father in the course of his enthronement, which was (also) a sort of mystic initiation.⁹⁹ The royal inscriptions presented theologically complex images of the king's charismatic acts, and the inscriptions themselves were destined to 'act' as most elevated, explicit and central manifestations of political thought in their quality as monumental messages about the king's secret knowledge.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion of the evidence see Török (in press, *a*).—For the development of the ideology of the kingship of Amun in Egypt see the fascinating study by J. Assmann: *Politische Theologie zwischen Ägypten und Israel. Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung Themen* LII. München 1992 and cf. also S. Breuer: 'Kulturen der Achsenzeit. Leistungen und Grenzen eines geschichtsphilosophischen Konzepts'. *Saeculum* 45 (1994) 1–33 esp. 14 f.

⁹⁷ J. Assmann: 'State and Religion in New Kingdom Egypt'. in: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt. Yale Egyptological Studies* 3. New Haven 1989 55–88 79.

⁹⁸ For Egyptian kingship ideology in the New Kingdom and the Late Period see N.-C. Grimal: *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*. Paris 1986; Assmann 1990. For the king as chief of the redistributive organisation cf. also Liverani 1990 233 ff.

⁹⁹ For the concept of secret and magic knowledge see J. Assmann; *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Glückstadt 1970 56 ff.; Assmann 1990 205 ff.; Assmann 1991 61 ff. For the enthronement as initiation see id.: 'Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt'. in: W. K. Simpson (ed.): *Religion in Ancient Egypt*. New Haven 1989 135–159 141 f.

¹⁰⁰ This is clearly indicated by a passage in Piye's Sandstone Stela, main text lines 4 f. (I, cf. note 87) and, later, by Taharqo's Hymn to the Morning Sun in Karnak (R. A. Parker, J. Leclant and J.-Cl. Goyon: *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Providence-London 1979 39; J. Assmann: *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*. Mainz 1983 48 f.) and it is hinted at by the rite which traditionally concludes the coronation and in the course of which the king receives the secret gifts of 'all life, stability, and welfare and the appearance on the throne of Horus like Rê forever' from his divine father Amûn (cf. Kuhlmann 1988 158 f.).

The texts formulated the ideology of order, and so were at the same time also destined to convey a *knowledge* of the order in the cosmos and in the state. Therefore, they were inscribed in those parts of the greatest Amûn sanctuaries of the land which were accessible to the people and they were recited by the priests to the non-literate public.¹⁰¹

As we have seen, earlier historiography described the native Kushite state as a structure whose inevitable decline is determined by the inner contradiction between the institutions borrowed from pharaonic Egypt and an inert African society. This view was based on two misconceptions, viz., that the Egyptianisation of the Kushite state was no more than a superficial imitation of disconnected concepts which could not, and were not intended to, interact with traditional Kushite concepts; and, secondly, that the native social structure did not render possible the development of a government with a centralised hierarchy. Recent investigations contradict both statements. According to David O'Connor,¹⁰² the Middle Bronze Age kingdom of Kerma already represented an advanced stage of state development. Its population of about 200,000 was socially stratified in a manner that is comparable to contemporary Egypt, while the state entity incorporated formerly independent chiefdoms or principalities which seem to have continued to exist as territorial units within the governmental hierarchy. The state was supported by religious institutions,¹⁰³ a bureaucracy, and an army.¹⁰⁴ The interpretation of Middle Bronze Age Kerma as an 'early state' is also supported by its similarity to other, better-known 'archaic state' formations in, e.g., Peru, China, Mesopotamia and the Aegean.¹⁰⁵ A number of the political units incorporated into the Kerma state continued to constitute governmental units after the Middle Nile Region

¹⁰¹ It seems that only **10** (cf. note 87) has been inscribed in an inaccessible part (i.e., the hypostyle) of the Kawa temple. For the original place of the monumental texts from the Amûn Temple at Napata (Gebel Barkal Temple B 500) see G. A. Reisner: 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal'. *ZÄS* 66 (1931) 76–100 80 ff.; for the Kawa inscriptions see Macadam 1949 *passim*.

¹⁰² O'Connor 1991 146 ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. Bonnet (ed.) 1990 66 f.; for the site of Kerma as capital of a centralised monarchy see Ch. Bonnet: *Kerma. Territoire et métropole*. Paris 1986.

¹⁰⁴ These features satisfy the criteria of the 'early state' formulated by H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg: 'Was There Ever A Median Empire?' in: *Achaemenid History* III. Leiden 1988 197–212; for earlier views on these, and related, criteria see H. J. M. Claessen—P. Skalnik (eds): *The Early State*. The Hague 1978; *The Study of the State*. The Hague 1981.

¹⁰⁵ For a fascinating review of the *status quaestionis* see Breuer 1990.

was conquered by New Kingdom Egypt.¹⁰⁶ It may be supposed that some of these units survived the collapse of the Egyptian domination and formed the bases of the post-Egyptian native state formations along the Middle Nile.¹⁰⁷ The rapid emergence of successor states may be explained as a consequence of the survival of the native élite, the continuity of most 'urban' settlements which had functioned during the Egyptian rule as temple-towns, i.e., centres of territorial administration and redistribution, and with the continuity of the rural communities.¹⁰⁸ During the course of the three centuries following the Egyptian withdrawal, the successor states were gradually united into a vast political entity extending from the Butana region in the Northern Sudan—a territory which was never controlled by Egypt¹⁰⁹—to the southern frontier of Egypt at Aswan.

The process of unification is clearly reflected by the archaeological evidence from the ancestral cemetery of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at el Kurru.¹¹⁰ The principal actors in the unification process were buried in this cemetery¹¹¹ from about the end of the eleventh century BC.¹¹² The

¹⁰⁶ O'Connor 1983 263 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991 7; O'Connor 1991 147 ff.; O'Connor 1993 61 ff.—For the ideological bases and economic consequences of the political relations with vassal princes cf. Liverani 1990 230 ff. For the Egyptian terminology of the different degrees of influence: *bāk*-paying lands (extension of Egyptian administration); *inw*-paying lands (independent or vassal kingdoms); *bišt*-providing lands (beyond the reach of Egyptian conquest) see *ibid.* 256 f.; and cf. also for the notion of Pharaoh giving 'breath of life' to foreign princes as political guarantee and as agreement Lorton 1974 142 ff.—The significance of the differences between the individual kinds of tributes is not acknowledged by Trigger 1993 71.

¹⁰⁷ It is suggested in Morkot 1992 and Morkot 1994 that there existed in the Middle Nile Region a continuous tradition of kingship/rulership from the A-Group (3rd millennium BC). For the A-Group chiefdoms see also H. S. Smith: 'The Development of the 'A-Group' Culture in Northern Lower Nubia'. in: Davies (ed.) 1991 92–111.

¹⁰⁸ Török 1994.

¹⁰⁹ For its hypothetical identification with the Irem of Egyptian sources see D. O'Connor: 'The Location of Irem'. *JEA* 73 (1987) 99–136.

¹¹⁰ In R. Morkot's view (Morkot 1991, Morkot 1994) the fertile Dongola Reach between the Third and Fourth Cataracts was granted a vassal status during the New Kingdom, which might better explain the emergence of the el Kurru chiefdom. Karola Zibelius-Chen (1994) suggests, by contrast, that the region of Napata was abandoned under Ramesses III as far north as Kawa, from where, however, the Egyptians withdrew to the region of Amara under or after Ramesses VI and she draws a parallel between the abandonment of Upper Nubia and the withdrawal from Palestine (cf. also Redford 1992 290).

¹¹¹ Dunham 1950.

¹¹² Reisner dated the earliest burial to about 860–840 BC and distinguished the burials of five ancestral generations before Piye (see Dunham 1950 *passim*). On the basis of a re-assessment of the cemetery material, the present writer suggested that its typo-chronological sequence spans fourteen generations preceding Piye, see L. Török: 'The Long Chronology of the

inventory of their graves and the alterations occurring in their burial rites reveal the expanding range of their contacts and power. About the end of the tenth century BC three radical changes coincided in the cemetery: the funerary ritual was partly Egyptianised; the mound superstructure of the tomb was complemented with a mortuary cult chapel and an enclosure wall; and the name of the tomb owner was eternalised in Egyptian hieroglyphs.¹¹³ These changes throw light on a turning point in the career of the el Kurru chiefdom at which a demand for a coherent ideology of regency had manifested itself. The ideology of power cannot be conceived without creating a continuity with the past, for the concepts of legitimacy and political unity issue from the concept of continuity.¹¹⁴ While the princely tomb with its mortuary cult chapel and temenos wall was thus intended to function as a sanctuary of ancestor cult, the Egyptian elements in the funerary rites suggest that the el Kurru chiefs also understood the significance of the theological image of political continuity that was offered by Egyptian mortuary religion.¹¹⁵ The Egyptianisation of the mortuary cult required, of course, the establishment of an Egyptian-type cult temple, whose role as an institution of the clericalised state must have been decisive in the further development of the el Kurru chiefdom.

The unification of the state formations along the Middle Nile could be interpreted as another case of the expansion and integration process which characterises, as a rule, the development of archaic states.¹¹⁶ It cannot be forgotten, however, that the state formations at the Middle

El Kurru Cemetery'. *Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies*. Berlin 1992 (preprint); Török (in press, a) Ch. 7. This 'long chronology' is strongly contested by T. Kendall: 'The Origin of the Napatan State I. The Evidence for the Royal Ancestors at El Kurru'. *Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies*. Berlin 1992 (pre-publication of main paper).

¹¹³ For Kurru Tumulus 6 see Dunham 1950 21 f. and T. Kendall: *Kush. Lost Kingdom of the Nile, Catalogue of A Loan Exhibition From the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, September 1981–August 1984 Brockton Art Museum*. Brockton 1982 Cat. 2.

¹¹⁴ Cf. B. J. Kemp: *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of A Civilization*. London-New York 1989 20 ff.

¹¹⁵ For the probability of a Theban influence behind the appearance of the Egyptian rite in question, i.e., the 'breaking the red pots' (sd dsrwt) see Török 1994. For the rite see J. van Dijk: 'Zerbrechen der roten Töpfe'. *LÄ VI* 1389–1396; for a late New Kingdom representation of the rite in Theban Tomb TT 44 see B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I.1. *The Theban Necropolis 1. Private Tombs*. Oxford 1960 84 (11).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Breuer 1990 63 ff.

Nile—even though their origins ultimately go back to actual chiefdoms—came into existence through the collapse of Egyptian suzerainty. In other words, they may, at least partly, be regarded as subordinate territorial governmental units of a centralised state which emerged as independent states under the compulsion of the sudden removal of the central authority. These successor states inevitably relapsed into a less developed structure of social and economic organisation, when, with the collapse of the Egyptian domination, the strongest pillars of administration, i.e., the cult temples and their professional personnel, ceased to exist. There can be no doubt that the re-integration of the Middle Nile Region was determined from the very outset by the dysfunctions of the fragmented successor states.¹¹⁷ The process must also have been stimulated by the fact that the old-new élite was in the possession of the experience of imperial administration and inherited the fragments of a socio-economic structure that were created by the same imperial administration and which functioned best on an imperial scale. It would furthermore seem that the unification process was also stimulated by the necessity of the Region's re-integration into international redistribution. The re-appearance of trade goods from the Middle Nile region in contemporary Assyrian and Western Asiatic evidence was recently pointed out by Robert Morkot,¹¹⁸ who also suggested, probably correctly, that the expansion of the el Kurru chiefdom and especially its expansion towards south, i.e., the Butana through which the exotic African wares passed north, was (also) determined by the demands of international trade.¹¹⁹

The process of political unification was still remembered in post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty times. It is recorded in the enthronement inscriptions of the seventh to fourth centuries BC that the coronation rites were repeated in the Amûn temples of three centres of the kingdom—Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs¹²⁰—and, by the fourth century, also in the Bastet temple of an unidentified town.¹²¹ The multiple coronation of the

¹¹⁷ For the situation after the collapse of the Egyptian government cf. K. A. Bard and R. L. Carneiro: 'Patterns of Predynastic Settlement Location, Social Evolution, and the Circumscription Theory'. *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989) 15–23; O'Connor 1991.

¹¹⁸ Morkot 1994.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Anlamani, late 7th c. BC, inscription Kawa VIII, FHN I No. 34; Irike-Amanote, 2nd half of the 5th c. Kawa IX, Macadam 1949 Pls 17–26; Harsiyotef, 1st half of the 4th c., Grimal 1981b Pls XX–XXV; Nastasen, after 336/5, Urk. III, 2 137–152.

¹²¹ Harsiyotef and Nastasen, cf. note 120.

king¹²² reflects the governmental practice of an ambulatory kingship.¹²³ At the same time, the memory of the original political structure of the Region before the unification appears as part of the discourse on royal legitimacy.¹²⁴

The birth of the unified kingdom can be dated to the first third of the eighth century BC.¹²⁵ In a remarkable manner, the Kushites themselves were also conscious of the fact that the integration of the chiefdoms along the Middle Nile meant a change of seminal significance in their life. The memory of the political unification was elevated into the sphere of the myth of the state by the eighth century BC. Though described apparently in purely theological terms as a covenant between a deity and a ruler, it has also been concretely fixed in time through the identification of the ruler in question with the person of Alara, i.e., the predecessor of the first king of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹²⁶ As opposed to the Egyptian myth of the state in which the origins of the kingship go back to the kingship of the gods, the Alara story gives a historical explanation. It thus represents a remarkable example of causal

¹²² The assumed multiple coronations of Pharaoh in the New Kingdom (cf. A. Gardiner: 'The Coronation of King Haremhab'. *JEA* 39 [1953] 13–31 23) too might have reflected the unity of the land, but cannot be regarded as models of the Kushite concept, cf. Török (in press, *a*) Ch. 13.

¹²³ See in detail Török 1992*a*.

¹²⁴ The enthronement process started usually at Meroe City in the Butana with the initial demonstration of the heir's legitimacy, but no actual coronation is recorded at this place. Certain features of the archaeological evidence can be interpreted as indicative of a unification of the Butana region with the el Kurru chiefdom by means of dynastic inter-marriage (see Török in press, *b* Ch. 2.1, cf. note 125). No coronations seem to have taken place in centres north of the Third Cataract either, which may be interpreted as a consequence of a different, i.e. violent, unification of Lower Nubia with the el Kurru chiefdom. On the one hand, Lower Nubia seems to have remained under Egyptian control between the end of the New Kingdom and c. 750 BC (cf. K. Zibelius-Chen: 'Überlegungen zur ägyptischen Nubienpolitik in der Dritten Zwischenzeit'. *SAK* 16 [1989] 329–345; Török (in press, *a*) Ch. 2) and was doubtless conquered from Egypt around 750 BC. On the other, campaigns against dissident chiefdoms in Lower Nubia were recorded in the 4th c. BC (11, 12, cf. note 87) and Lower Nubia was, significantly, governed by a Viceroy during the Meroitic period (cf. Török 1988*a* 245 ff.).

¹²⁵ For an analysis of the archaeological evidence see Török (in press, *b*) Ch. 2.1.

¹²⁶ Alara is attested in the funerary stela of his daughter Tabiry, a wife of Piye (FHN I No. 11) and evoked as dynasty founder, besides the Taharqo inscriptions cited below in note 128, in 10 and 11 (late 5th and early 4th c. BC, respectively), cf. note 87. While he is described as *wr s3-R*, the chief, Son of Ré, in the Taharqo inscriptions, indicating thus both his actual rank and his charismatic role as ancestor of the royal dynasty, his name was, however, written in a cartouche already under the reign of Piye, see FHN I No. 11.

thinking and highlights the Kushite sense of history.¹²⁷ According to the preserved early seventh century BC variant of the covenant legend,¹²⁸ Alara committed his sister to Amûn, i.e., installed her as priestess of the god. In the terms of the covenant, the god granted kingship to the descendants of Alara's sister in return for their loyalty. The implications are obvious: the priestly office of the royal lady—besides indicating the existence of a cult temple—followed from the adoption of the Egyptian concept of the ruler's divine sonship and thus of the Egyptian-type patrilinear inheritance.¹²⁹ Later sources¹³⁰ also reveal that, through her priestly office, Alara's sister has been distinguished as the first member of a female succession line of adoptive mothers and daughters who were royal wives and destined to become Queen Mothers.¹³¹

The framework of Kushite kingship ideology had been determined, as has already been indicated, by the combination of the Theban Amûn theology with the more traditional Egyptian concept of the king as sustainer of order in the cosmos and the state. At the same time, the concepts of royal succession and the legitimating role of the Queen Mother were strongly influenced by a special institution of Late Period Egypt, namely, the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes. In the centre of this institution stood a royal princess who was installed in her office by her father the king and was at the same time the adoptive daughter of her predecessor. The power of the Twenty-Third Dynasty in Upper Egypt was secured in a charismatic manner by the God's Wife of Amun of Thebes. Similarly, the legitimacy of Kushite suzerainty in Egypt was

¹²⁷ For the notion of causal thinking see F. Junge: 'Kausales Denken'. *LÄ* III 371–377; Assmann 1990 209 f. —For the differently motivated dynastic conscience of the Ramessides see D. B. Redford: *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. Mississauga 1986 190 ff. —For another case of historical thinking in the Kushite evidence see Török 1992b 555–561. —For the intricate problem of the sense of history in the Egyptian evidence see Redford op. cit. and, recently, J. Assmann: 'Der Einbruch der Geschichte. Die Wandlung des Gottes- und Weltbegriffs im Alten Ägypten'. *Frankfurter Allg. Zeitung* 265, 14. November 1987 = Assmann 1991 288–302; W. W. Hallo: 'The Limits of Scepticism'. *JAOS* 110 (1990) 187–199; J. K. Hoffmeier: 'The Problem of "History" in Egyptian Royal Inscriptions'. in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia Atti I*. Torino 1992 291–299.

¹²⁸ 3 (cf. note 87) lines 16 f.; cf. also Kawa VI (Taharqo) lines 23 f., FHN I No. 24.

¹²⁹ For the context of the office see Török (in press, a) Ch. 18.

¹³⁰ 7 and 9 (cf. note 87); for the evidence of the titles of the queens see Török (in press, a) Ch. 17.

¹³¹ The line is attested from Alara's sister Pebatma (?) to Aspelta's wife (?) Kheb; the list can be reconstructed, though at some points only hypothetically, on the basis of 7 and 9 (cf. note 87); see my comments on 7 in FHN I 247 ff.; on 9 *ibid.* 266 ff. For the analysis of the additional evidence (first of all the titles of the queens) see Török (in press, a) Ch. 17.

established in the middle of the eighth century BC through the adoption of Amonirdis I, daughter of Kashta, the first king of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, by Shepenwepet I, daughter of Osorkon III of the Twenty-Third Dynasty. During the course of the subsequent century the Egyptian legitimacy of Kashta's descendants continued to be supported by the office of their daughters as God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes.¹³² The above-mentioned female succession line indicates that the Kushites adopted the charismatic concept of the God's Wife in a sense that it functioned as a restrictive mechanism in patrilinear inheritance. Moreover, as we shall see, royal princesses received a role in this way also in the governmental structure.

The Egyptian concepts of royal power and patrilinear succession were adopted together with a rich complex of religious concepts and rituals, and, evidently, cults and cult institutions of Egyptian deities. The actual context of the Egyptian concepts was by no means arbitrary. The orientation of the Kushite interest towards certain aspects of Egyptian religion and kingship dogma was determined by the original political situation in which powerful circles in Thebes began to look at the emerging kingdom of Kush as a possible tool for the re-unification of their disintegrated state.¹³³ Having accepted the daughter of the king of Kush in Thebes as God's Wife of Amûn Elect, a Kushite political intervention in Upper Egypt has been rendered completely legitimate. No doubt, it must have been obvious to Kashta and his successors that their success depended not only on their military power, but, to a decisive extent, on their appearance as legitimate pharaohs. In a remarkable manner, however, while accepting the complex ideological conditions under which their suzerainty could be established, they did not conceal their Kushite identity in Egypt¹³⁴ and did not risk their legitimacy at home either. Realising the necessity of a homogeneous ideology of power in the framework of which their rule both in Kush and in Egypt was charismatically founded, they sought to accommodate their indigenous traditions of legitimacy in an Egyptian-style imperial ideology and to maintain it with the support of cult temples of Egyptian deities. Conse-

¹³² C. E. Sander-Hansen: *Das Gottesweib des Amun*. Copenhagen 1940; M. Gitton and J. Leclant: *Gottesgemahlin*. *LÄ* II 792–812; L. Troy: *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Uppsala 1986. Cf. also R. A. Caminos; 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela'. *JEA* 50 (1964) 71–101 and my comments on 9 (cf. note 87) in *FHN* 1 265 ff.

¹³³ For Kashta see J. Leclant: 'Kashta, pharaon, en Égypte'. *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 74–81; *FHN* I Nos (3), 4 (with earlier literature).

¹³⁴ For the iconographical evidence see Leclant *op. cit.* and Russmann 1974.

quently, they turned with due attention towards the cult institutions in Egypt and created on Kushite soil the foundations of the cults of Egyptian deities: first of all the Nubian and the Theban forms of Amûn as divine sources of their power in the two countries.¹³⁵ Kushite dynastic traditions such as the collateral¹³⁶ and matrilinear¹³⁷ succession principles were re-justified in Egyptian terms.¹³⁸ In the course of the second half of the eighth century BC under the reigns of Kashta and Piye the Kushite traditions of legitimacy and succession were fitted into the conceptual frameworks provided first by Thebes and then by Memphis.¹³⁹ The

¹³⁵ Explicitly in 1 (cf. note 87) centre: 'Amûn of Napata has granted me to be ruler of every foreign country . . . Amûn in Dominion [Thebes] has granted me to be ruler of Black-land [Egypt]' (transl. R. H. Pierce).

¹³⁶ For collateral inheritance and its earlier literature see J. Leclant: 'Kuschitenherrschaft'. *LÄ* III 893–901.

¹³⁷ The idea of matrilinear succession in the Kushite dynasty was first put forward by G. A. Reisner: 'Inscribed Monuments From Gebel Barkal'. *ZÄS* 66 (1931) 99. A special matrilinear succession order in which the kings married their sisters and the sons of the eldest sisters were the legitimate heirs to the throne was suggested by K.-H. Priese: 'Matrilineare Erbfolge im Reich von Napata'. *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 43–53. Morkot 1992 suggested the possibility that succession alternated between a 'matriclan' and a 'patriclan'. The present writer tries to explain in Török (in press, a) Ch. 12 and 17.7 the actual occurrences of collateral inheritance after the introduction of Egyptian-type divine sonship (and hence of pure patrilinearity) in the context of concrete historical and dynastic situations, while he interprets the role of the Queen Mother and the current emphasis on female succession in the sources as a restrictive system created on the models of New Kingdom queenship and the Theban concept of the God's Wife of Amûn. It cannot be completely excluded, however, that the adoption of these latter-named models was to an extent determined by a duality of patri- and matrilinearity frequently observed at an advanced stage of the development of archaic states, cf. K. Ekholm: 'External Exchange and the Transformation of Central African Social Systems', in J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands: *The Evolution of Social Systems*. Gloucester 1977 115–136 123 ff.; Breuer 1990 63 ff.

¹³⁸ The duality of Egyptian patrilinear and Kushite collateral succession was justified with the help of the Egyptian concept of 'election' by god, a notion which is traditionally misunderstood by students of Kushite history as a result of their acceptance of the Utopian tradition in classical literature. For a re-assessment of the evidence of the 'election' of the king of Kush see Török (in press, a) Ch. 14.

¹³⁹ The impact of Memphis is manifested, e.g., in the royal titularies (cf. Török [in press, a] Ch. 20). For the Memphite influence on religious concepts see the so-called Memphite Theology which was probably not only copied but also conceived under Shabaqo. For the text see H. Junker: *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*. *APAW* 1941 *Phil.-hist. Kl.* 6. Berlin 1941; M. Lichtheim: *Ancient Egyptian Literature I. The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1975 51–57, for its date cf. R. B. Finnestad: 'Ptah, Creator of the Gods. Reconsideration of the Ptah Section of the Denkmal'. *Numen* 23 (1976) 81–113; F. Junge: 'Zur Fehldatierung des sog. Denkmals memphitischer Theologie oder Der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistesgeschichte der Spätzeit'. *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 195–204.—For a fascinating review of the remarks on the origins of the Kushite state in Greek sources see S. M. Burstein: 'The Origins of the Napatan State in Classical Sources'. *Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies*. Berlin 1992 (preprint).

combined political rule of the Kushites in Egypt and at home received thus a common conceptual foundation which effectively satisfied the demands of an empire. The highest intellectual achievement of the Kushite myth of the state was that it established a politically effective and ideologically faultless amalgamation of Late Period Amûn theology—the ‘theology of will’ and its moral expectations of the king—with the revived imperial ideology of royal power. The much misinterpreted and belittled Kushite conservatism proves in fact to have initiated a significant change in the development of Egyptian political ideology which also remained effective in Egypt after the fall of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁴⁰

So far we have reviewed the elements of the ideology of power which enabled the legitimate ruling of the king and marked out his duties. What do we know about the institutions of government? As already mentioned, the coronation of the king was repeated in three principal Amûn sanctuaries of the land. This tradition reflects, as I have indicated above, the memory of earlier independent political units and, at the same time, implies the actual governmental practice of an ambulatory kingship in which the central authority moves around in the land. By the first half of the seventh century BC (under the reign of Taharqo) the kingdom was divided into territorial units with temple-towns in their centres. The most important centres were built around sanctuaries of the Nubian Amen-Rê at Napata, Sanam, Kawa and Tabo (see Map). The establishment of a governmental and redistributive structure resting upon the temples and their priesthood was doubtless modelled on the system encountered in Egypt by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings, but it may also have been stimulated by the memory and remnants of the New Kingdom government of Kush: otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why the majority of the new temple-towns were established at the sites of New Kingdom temple-towns.¹⁴¹

Owing to the nature of the textual record, further details of governmental institutions are seldom indicated. A late seventh-century BC text on the installation of a princess into a priestly office¹⁴² records an

¹⁴⁰ For the kingship ideology of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty as rooted in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kinship dogma see the interesting study of D. A. Pressl: ‘Zur Königsideologie der 26. Dynastie. Untersuchungen anhand der Phraseologie der Königsinschriften’. *SAK* 20 (1993) 223–254.

¹⁴¹ For Napata, Kawa, Sedeinga, Semna West, Buhen, Aniba/Faras, and Qasr Ibrim see PM VII 149 f., 184 ff., 208 ff. and cf. I. Hein: *Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*. Wiesbaden 1991 105 f., Karte 7.

¹⁴² 9 (cf. note 87).

adoption practice similar to the adoption of the Theban God's Wife of Amûn.¹⁴³ It also gives an idea of the functioning of the royal council and, besides other administrative officials, also attests to the existence of six or seven territorial units of the land's government in which economic administration was placed under the authority of 'overseers of the king's seal', i.e., treasurers. Five of these officials were connected to concretely localised, individual royal residences¹⁴⁴ suggesting thus that the royal domains centred around the residences corresponded with the territorial governmental units of the land. There can be no doubt that, similarly to the Egyptian New Kingdom practice which served here as a model, the residences were situated in the temple-towns.¹⁴⁵ The unity of royal and temple economy, the administrative and economic role played in the redistribution by the temple-towns, and the clericalisation of government are attested for the entire history of the Kushite state.¹⁴⁶

The territorial units were also held under the tight control of central authority with the help of an ideological device which derived from the institution of the God's Wife of Amûn of Thebes. Royal sisters, among them actual royal wives, were appointed as priestesses at the four main Amûn sanctuaries of the land, Napata, Sanam, Kawa, and Pnubs.¹⁴⁷ Their office was intended to secure the legitimacy and continuous renewal of royal power in those territorial centres of the land which appear in the myth of the state as centres of formerly independent political units. Furthermore, the place of the territorial units in the myth of the state and in dynastic ideology appears to have been co-determined by the existence of provincial lineages of the

¹⁴³ See also 6 and 8 (cf. note 87) and cf. my comments on FHN I Nos 34, 38, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the place-names cannot be identified.

¹⁴⁵ As is also indicated by the enthronement records, cf. 6, 7, 10, 12 (note 87). For the Egyptian model cf. W. Helck: *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*. Leiden-Köln 1958 77–88; J. J. Janssen: 'The Role of the Temple in the Egyptian Economy during the New Kingdom', in: E. Lipinski (ed.): *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II*. Leuven 1979 505–515; G. P. F. van den Boorn: *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. London-New York 1988 61 f.

¹⁴⁶ For the Meroitic period see L. Török: *Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia. A Study in Territorial Administration of the Late Meroitic Kingdom*. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 5. Budapest 1979; for the archaeological evidence cf. Török (in press *b*) Ch. 2.7. The increasing 'secularization' of the administration during the course of the Late Meroitic period (AD 2nd–4th centuries) is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁴⁷ 6, 9 (cf. note 87).

royal family emerging from intermarriages between surviving local chieftains' families and members of the royal family.¹⁴⁸

The king was the maintainer of justice. He performed this duty in the framework of the reciprocity between god and king and king and men and according to the concept of vertical solidarity.¹⁴⁹ Law was of divine origins and its most elevated manifestation was the divine decree which installed the king in his royal office. These divine decrees were written legal documents issued in the course of oracular procedures which constituted a canonical episode of the enthronement rites performed in the main Amûn sanctuaries. Oracular decrees were, however, issued by the priesthood of Amûn of Napata (and perhaps other Amûn temples) in other legal cases too.¹⁵⁰ We have thus reasons to suppose that the Kushite jurisdiction was modelled, at least as to the prominence of oracles, upon the Egyptian practice of the Late Period.¹⁵¹

The royal documents present a theological, and hence static and formal, discourse on the king as sustainer of the life of his subjects,

¹⁴⁸ Such a possibility is also suggested by the fact that the founder of the new royal dynasty which came to power in the first third of the third century BC consciously stressed his family origins in the region of Meroe City, as opposed to the origins of the previous dynasty in the more northern el Kurru region. The new dynasty was founded by Arkamaniqo, the Ergamenes (I) of Agatharchides (in Diodorus, III, 6), a contemporary of Ptolemy II, who transferred the royal burial ground from the Napata region to Meroe City, where he was buried, together with his immediate successor, in the last available section of a cemetery which was used by the local aristocracy from the reign of Kashta (?) or Piye (for the cemetery see D. Dunham: *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe*. Boston 1963; for the two royal burials [tombs Beg. S. 6 and 5] in question see Dunham 1957). The violent end of the previous dynasty is rather clearly indicated in the Ergamenes story of Agatharchides/Diodorus, which is, however, traditionally misinterpreted as evidence for the 'separation of church and state' in ancient Kush (e.g., Adams 1977 311). For the interpretation of the story within the context of the Herodotean tradition, contemporary Hellenistic ethnography, Ptolemaic propaganda and actual Kushite events and historical traditions see Török 1988a 133 ff.; Török 1992b.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Assmann 1990 238 ff.

¹⁵⁰ See 8 (note 87), in which the discovery and punishment by King Aspelta of a most atrocious abuse of the oracle of Amûn by the priesthood of the Great Amûn Temple at Napata is described. For the interpretation of the text see my comments in FHN I 256 ff. This document also attests the strict royal control of oracular practice.

¹⁵¹ The divine oracles concerning royal legitimacy closely follow the Egyptian concept and ritual established during the New Kingdom; the direct source seems, however, to have been the Theban Amûn Temple. Cf. Kuhlmann 1988 *passim* and 158 f. For the Egyptian oracular practice see L. Kákosy: Orakel. *LÄ* IV 600–606. For the Kushite evidence see Török 1994, Török (in press, a) Ch. 14, 15 and see my comments in FHN I 208, 227 f., 248, 257 f.—The punishment (execution by fire) of the priests misusing the oracle in 8 similarly seems to have reproduced an Egyptian capital punishment (cf. A. Leahy: 'Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt'. *JESHO* 27 [1984] 199–206).

guarantor of order in the cosmos as well as in the society. Occasional hints at dysfunctions and at their remedies indicate, however, that the traditional concepts of justice were not empty and disconnected words. The fact that traditional native concepts inherited from the period of tribal organisation were carefully re-formulated in Egyptian religious terms and were fitted into a homogeneous myth of the state suggests that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty undertook systematic efforts to create a codification of the state structure.¹⁵² In these efforts they were led by the cleverly appreciated necessity of finding a common language, in the figurative as well as the practical sense of the word, with the great civilisation they were going to be politically united with.¹⁵³

The textual record from the subsequent centuries provides ample evidence for the repeated updating of the myth of the state.¹⁵⁴ While the sources of modifications, changes and innovations can be identified in most cases in concepts taken over from contemporary Egypt, we have no reasons to doubt that the application of the models was directed by a pragmatic apperception of concrete situations.¹⁵⁵ As a result of their acculturation, the Kushites were able to establish a territorial government with Egyptian-type administrative units centred around royal residence-temple compounds. The functioning of the centralised state

¹⁵² Judging on the basis of the conceptual and formal complexity of the inscriptions from Napata from the early reign of Piye onwards, we may assign a decisive role to the priesthood of Amûn of Napata. It would seem that the intellectual milieu of the Napatan sanctuary was strongly under the influence of Thebes already under Piye and possibly even before his reign, which would be rather self-evident given the traditional associations between the Theban and Napatan Amûn temples (cf. recently P. Pamminger: 'Amun und Luxor—Der Widder und das Kultbild'. *BzS* 5 [1992] 93–140). The chronology and form of the actual contacts could, however, be sufficiently understood only in the knowledge of Reisner's unpublished finds from Gebel Barkal and of data from new excavations.

¹⁵³ The Nubian acculturation to Egyptian norms after the Egyptian domination was interpreted in a similar manner by O'Connor (1993 81 ff.): 'The Nubians' selective adaptation of . . . Egyptian gods and ideas, of artistic conventions and artifact styles [may be considered] as the discovery of a vocabulary through which the Nubians could express their world view in a way that had not been possible or desired throughout much of the Bronze Age'.

¹⁵⁴ For the evidence see Török (in press, *a*) *passim* and esp. Ch. 19–21.

¹⁵⁵ For the mechanisms of the articulation of Kushite concepts through expressive means taken over from Egypt see Török 1989. For the royal titles as evidence of political and ideological orientation see Török (in press, *a*) Ch. 20. For the impact of Egyptian texts see, e.g., S. K. Doll: *Texts and Decoration on the Napatan Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*. Ph.D. Dissertation Brandeis University. University Microfilms Ann Arbor 1978; N.-C. Grimal: 'Bibliothèques et propagande royale à l'époque éthiopienne'. *Livre du Centenaire, MIFAO* 104. Cairo 1980 37–48. For the influence of Egyptian cults and religious concepts see J. Yellin's recent survey (Yellin 1994).

authority was secured by the balanced relationship between these units and the dynasty. The stability of the state was maintained with the help of a coherent world view based on the concepts of reciprocity and solidarity, and this world view also defined the concepts of order and jurisdiction. Of course, we cannot always tell how far the actual practice corresponded with the principles, when, why, and how the principles have dysfunctioned, why they were abandoned or violated. Yet, while we have absolutely no reasons to accept the traditional view according to which the history of Kush was a process of decline cyclically interrupted by infusions of new energy from Egypt¹⁵⁶—the archaeological and textual evidence provides ample examples of inner-directed cultural processes¹⁵⁷—we cannot fail to notice the fact, either, that Kushite concepts continued to be articulated by means of an Egyptian, or an Egyptianised vocabulary throughout the entire history of the kingdom. It may also be observed that the great periods of prosperity and intellectual upswing were initiated with treaties¹⁵⁸ following disastrous armed conflicts with Egypt, such as the campaigns of Psammetich II in 593 BC,¹⁵⁹ of Ptolemy II around 274 BC,¹⁶⁰ or the war with Roman Egypt between 24 and 21/20 BC.¹⁶¹ The recurrent conflicts with Egypt and the disloyalty of the élite families of the Lower

¹⁵⁶ Cf. above p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ For the Early Meroitic renaissance cf. the general survey presented by F. Hintze: 'The Meroitic Period'. in: *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan I. The Essays*. Brooklyn 1978 89–105. For the history of Meroitic culture see Török 1988a; for cultural connections with the external world Török 1989; for architecture, sculpture and minor arts see S. Wenig: *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan II. The Catalogue*. Brooklyn 1978; for individual monuments cf. F. Hintze et al.: *Musawwarat es Sufra I. Der Löwentempel*. Berlin 1971 (*Tafelband*), 1993 (*Textband*); for urban architecture cf. Török 1988a (note 125) Ch. 2.5.2; for vase painting cf. Török 1987 139–229 188 ff.; B. B. Williams: *Meroitic Remains from Qustul Cemetery Q, Ballana Cemetery B, and A Ballana Settlement*. Chicago 1991; for kingship ideology see Török: 1986; id.: *The Royal Crowns of Kush. A Study in Middle Nile Valley Regalia and Iconography in the First Millennia BC and AD. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 18*. Oxford 1987; id.: 'The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe. Remarks on Its Origins and Significance'. *Archéologie du Nil Moyen 4* (1990) 151–202.

¹⁵⁸ For the scope of the term cf. M. Liverani: 'Terminologia e ideologia del patto nelle iscrizioni reali assire'. in: L. Canfora, M. Liverani and C. Zaccagnini (eds): *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma ideologia funzione*. Rome 1990 113–147.

¹⁵⁹ For the evidence see FHN I Nos (36), 41–43, 64.

¹⁶⁰ Diodorus, I, 37, 5; J. Desanges: *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*. Rome 1978 252 ff.

¹⁶¹ For the different interpretations of the evidence on the conflict see L. Török: 'Augustus and Meroe'. *Orientalia Suecana 38–39* (1989–90) 171–90.

Nubian frontier area¹⁶² may have contributed to the growing emphasis laid during the course of time on the warlike character of the dynastic god Amûn, to the emergence of Nubian warrior gods, and to the association of these with kingship ideology. The increasing aggressivity of the pantheon and the royal image reflects a sense of increasing danger.¹⁶³ The fall of the kingdom after eleven hundred years of an existence without visible disruptions was the consequence of major changes in the surrounding world. The crisis of Roman Egypt in the third and fourth centuries AD deprived Kush of her principal trade partner and delivered her northern provinces to the incursions of barbarians.¹⁶⁴ The end was also prompted by the emergence of Ethiopia in the south-eastern neighbourhood, bringing about a mass movement of peoples towards the central territories of Kush¹⁶⁵ and, finally, it was actual

¹⁶² For punitive expeditions against Lower Nubian princes see **11** (early 4th c. BC); for their alliance with the Egyptian king Khababash who was expelled by the Persians in 336/5 see **12** (cf. note 87).

¹⁶³ The first occurrence of the warrior aspect of Amûn seems to have been in the cult of Amûn of Kawa. Amûn of Kawa presents the king with a bow in the course of the enthronement rituals, see **10** (late 5th c. BC) and **12** (around 336/5 BC, cf. note 87). For the iconographical evidence see Chr. Onasch: 'Die religiöse Bedeutung des Tempels'. in: F. Hintze et al.: *Musawwarat es Sufra* I.1. *Der Löwentempel Textband*. Berlin 1993 228–267 242 f. The reason of the association of Amûn with the bow is obscure (in Egypt, no such association is attested). An explanation for the granting of a bow to the king may perhaps be sought for in the role of the rite of shooting arrows in order to purify the universe, cf. Goyon's comments on the representation of the God's Wife of Amûn in the scene of the rites of protection at the cenotaph of Kôm-Djeme in the Edifice of Taharqo by the Sacred Lake of Karnak, in Parker, Leclant and Goyon op. cit. (note 100) 61 ff.—For the Nubian warrior-hunter gods Arensnuphis and Sebiuameker cf. S. Wenig: 'Arensnuphis und Sebiuameker. Bemerkungen zu zwei in Meroe verehrten Göttern'. *ZÄS* 101 (1974) 130–150; for the Nubian lion god Apedemak see Onasch op. cit. *passim*; I. Gamer-Wallert: *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan)* III.1, 2. *Die Wandreliefs*. Wiesbaden 1983; for their place in kingship ideology cf. L. Török: 'The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe. Remarks on Its Origins and Significance'. *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 4 (1990) 151–202.

¹⁶⁴ For the end of the kingdom see Török 1988b 33 ff.; R. T. Updegraff: 'The Blemmyes I: The Rise of the Blemmyes and the Roman Withdrawal from Nubia under Diocletian'. in: W. Haase (ed.): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II. 10.1. Berlin-New York 1988 44–97 (with Additional Remarks by L. Török 97–106).

¹⁶⁵ For a hypothetical reconstruction of processes see Török 1988b 41 ff.; for the recently discovered archaeological material of the Late and early Post-Meroitic periods in the southern part of the kingdom see P. Lenoble: "'A New Type of Mound-Grave (continued)": le tumulus à enceinte d'Umm Makharoqa, près d'el Hobagi'. *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 3 (1989) 93–120; id.: 'El Hobagi'. in: B. Gratien and F. Le Saout (eds): *Nubie. Les cultures antiques du Soudan, à travers les explorations et les fouilles françaises et franco-soudanaises*. Lille 1994 223–232; id.: *Du Méroïtique au Postméroïtique dans la région méridionale du Royaume de Méroé. Recherches sur la période de Transition*. Thèse de

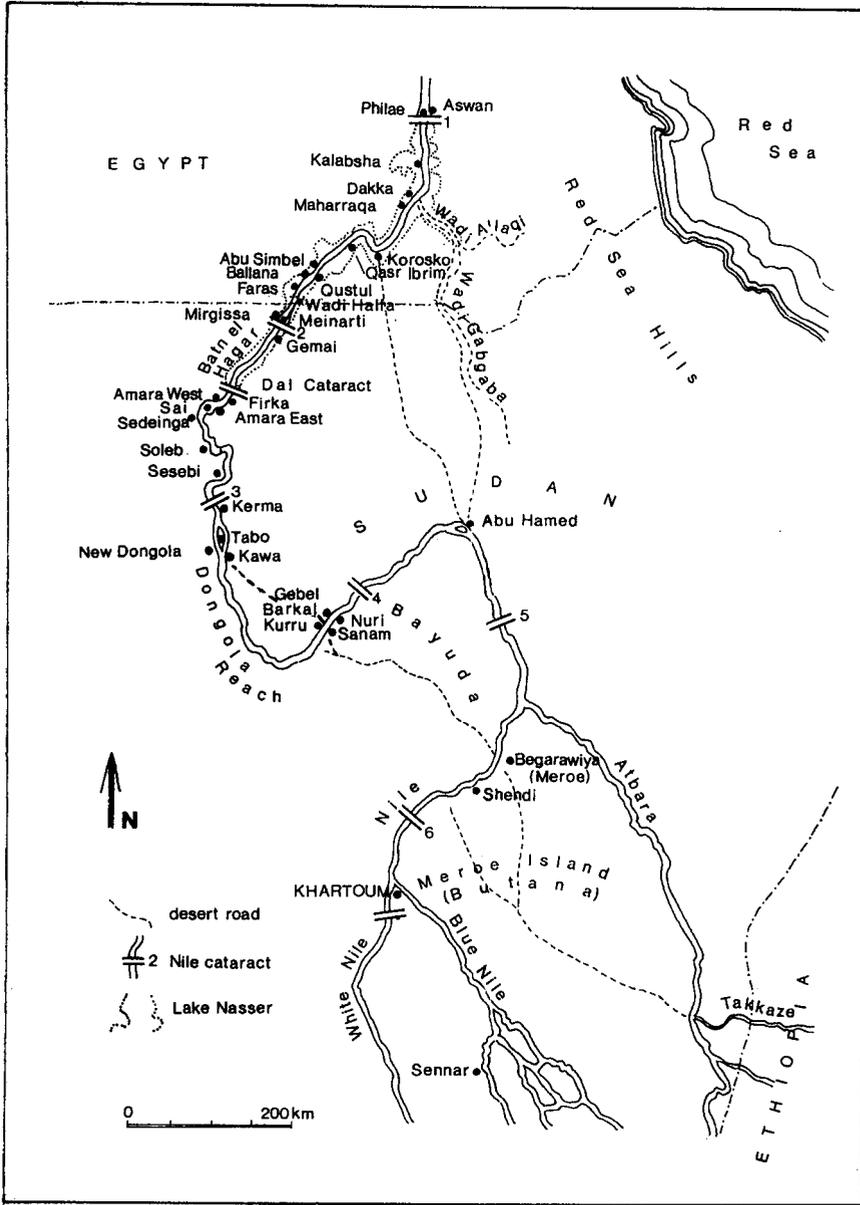
Ethiopian invasions that destroyed her political unity.¹⁶⁶ The land disintegrated again into smaller state formations which claimed to be descendants of Kush but quickly discarded her political and cultural legacy. Yet, this disintegration could also be reversed and newer efforts to create a political and cultural integration, which proved so successful during the eleven centuries of the history of the kingdom of Kush, re-emerged again and again in the course of the subsequent centuries. The attraction of the political integrity of the ancient Middle Nile Region for present-day students of history in the Sudan is indeed understandable. It is not quite irrelevant, however, to ask which aspects of the ancient discourse on unity are presented today as the venerable traditions of a multi-ethnic society.

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l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne 1994 Vols III, IV. *Tombs de la région de Méroé. El Hobagi III et VI* (unpubl. ms.).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. S. M. Burstein: 'The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology'. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 220–221; T. Hägg: 'A New Axumite Inscription in Greek from Meroe'. *ibid.* 436–441; Török 1988b (note 164) 37 ff.—For the range of internal changes brought about by changes in the international context cf. the interesting study of J. A. Tainter: *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge 1988 esp. 91 ff.



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