

(76) Harsiyotef. Titles.

Sources: 1. 78; 2. Kawa, Temple T, "Dais Room" (Room D), Throne name and Son-of-Rê name (Kawa L) in a graffito representing the King offering a necklace and pectoral to Amûn of Kawa, Macadam 1949, 91, Pl. 37, Macadam 1955, Pl. XXI/b; 3. Son-of-Rê name on a fallen block from chapel of Nu. 13, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 28d, Dunham 1955, fig. 170; 4. Son-of-Rê name on the back of a usurped sandstone heart scarab from Nu. 13, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 28a, Dunham 1955, fig. 171.

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
a. Horus name	Kꜣ-nḥt Ḥꜥ-m-Npt "Mighty Bull, Who-appears-in-Napata"	
b. <i>Nebty</i> name	Nḏ-nṯrw "Who-seeks-the-counsel-of-Gods"	
c. Golden Horus	Wfti-ḥꜣswt-nbt "Subduer, Given-all-the-desert-lands"	
d. Throne name	Sꜣ-mrꜣ-Imn "Beloved-son-of-Amûn"	sꜣ-mrꜣ-Imn
e. Son-of-Rê name	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f
	3.	4.
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f	Ḥr-sꜣ-it.f

Comments

Harsiyotef's titulary conveys a strong connection with the sanctuary of Amûn at Napata, which played a greater rôle in his ascent to the throne than required in the succession of most of his ancestors and successors. At the same time, great emphasis is laid in it on the concepts of dynastic tradition and continuity. The Horus name repeats the Horus name assumed by Piye (FHN I, (5) 1), while the *Nebty* name contains an allusion to the intricate notion of *nḏtꜣ* connected to the concept of the king's divine sonship and especially to *Ḥr-nḏ(tꜣ)-ḥr-ṯt.f*, "Horus-champion-of-his-father" (Greek Harendotes), the prototype of royal succession and guarantor of Osiris' resurrection (from the Pyramid Texts; cf. Meeks 1977, 965), a royal and solar god. It seems to indicate, like the Golden Horus and the Son-of-Rê names, a difficult case of succession, in which Harsiyotef was compelled to emphasize by the means at his disposal his sonship, his status both as heir and incarnation—perhaps against another heir of a similar de

scent, but actually more unambiguously predestined for succession. This impression is further strengthened by the adoption of the Golden Horus name of the King's second predecessor Irike-Amannote (cf. (69) 1), especially as the revival of the Golden Horus name of a king's penultimate predecessor is otherwise unparalleled. The throne name conveys the concept of divine sonship as well as Harsiyotef's indebtedness to Amûn of Napata. His Son-of-Rê name was obviously adopted on his ascent to the throne and gives expression to the concept of the king as the incarnation of Horus.

[LT]

(77) Harsiyotef. Evidence for reign. Regnal years.

Although his legitimacy had to be established in a less self-evident manner than customary, Harsiyotef reigned for an unusually long period: indeed, the thirty-five years attested in his Annals (see 78), beyond which he still continued to occupy the throne for an unknown period, represent the longest recorded reign in Kushite history. Judging by the number of punitive expeditions and armed conflicts listed in 78, his reign was eventful and, in view of the geographical and political range of the expeditions and conflicts, can also be judged as a period of expansion and empire-building. No absolute dates are known or can be inferred from the Annals; in the framework of the traditional relative chronology based on Reisner's speculations, Harsiyotef is dated to the first third of the 4th century BC (Dunham 1955, 3; Török 1988, 178).

According to 78, Harsiyotef was the son of queen *Ts-m-nfr* (traditionally Kushiticized as Atasamalo, cf. Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143) who bore the traditional titles usually found in titularies of Queen Mothers: *mw.t nsw sn(.t) nsw hnwt n Kš*, "king's mother, royal sister (=wife), mistress of Kush" (cf. FHN I, 37, *Comments*). The identity of his father is unknown, though Harsiyotef's own titles (cf. (76)) seem to indicate that he was the son—even if not the predestined heir—of a king. Reisner's suggestion, also repeated by Dunham and Macadam (Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143; Dunham 1955, 221), that he would have been a son of Irike-Amannote, cannot be proved. His wife *B-h-y-r-y* (rendered by Dunham-Macadam 1949, 143 as Batahaliye), a *sn.t nsw hm.t (nsw) 3*, "royal sister (=wife), great royal wife", is depicted in the lunette of 78. Dunham-Macadam (1949, 149) make him the father of Kings Akhratañ ((79)) and Nastaseñ ((82)-84), a hypothesis which cannot be substantiated.

78 lists Harsiyotef's donations to different sanctuaries in the land, thus giving a useful overview of cults in 4th century BC Kush; the donation of timber originating from *Irkr.t* (Zibelius 1972, 87 s.v. *jrkrk*: perhaps a district of Punt) and subsequently gilded in Napata indicates the range of commercial contacts. In Years 2, 18 and 23, thus fairly regularly, punitive expeditions are led against the *Rhrh* nomads because they invaded the Island of *Brwt* (i.e., the "island of Meroe", the area of the northern Butana, cf. Zibelius 1972, 106 f.). The pattern is

the same as in 71 (see *Comments* there). In Years 3, 5 and 6 the King fights the *Mddt* (Meded nomads?). In Year 11 an expedition is sent against rebels laying siege on the town of *ḫm.t*, probably identical with Mirgissa (cf. Zibelius 1972, 94 f. s.v. *jqn*), while in Years 16 and 35 wars are reported in the Lower Nubian region between the First and Second Nile Cataracts. These three last-mentioned expeditions suggest control over Lower Nubia at least as far as Mirgissa by Year 11, on the one hand, and repeated attempts to gain control of the territory adjacent to Egypt and thus a revival of interest in an area from which Kush had withdrawn after (and as a result of?) the campaign of Psammetich II in 593 BC,¹²⁴ on the other. The new policy of expansion may have been initiated by Irike-Amannote (for his aggressive titulary see (69), *Comments*) and have culminated in the political renaissance of the 3rd century BC and the re-settlement of Lower Nubia in the 2nd century BC (cf. (114), (128), (131), 132-135).

Harsiyotef was buried in Nu. 13 (Dunham 1955, 221-224); while his mother was buried in Nu. 61 (ibid., 232-235, her cartouche on an offering table fragment from the thieves' debris ibid., fig. 180) and his wife in Nu. 44 (ibid., 228-231, for her mortuary stela from chapel, now Boston MFA 21.3231, ibid., fig. 177; Leprohon 1991, 123-126).

Year 35

Source: Cairo JE 48864=78.

[LT]

78 Annals of Harsiyotef from Year 35. First half of the 4th cent. BC.
Cairo JE 48864. Grimal 1981, 40-61, Pls. X-XXV.

Text and translation

TEXTS ACCOMPANYING THE SCENE AT THE TOP OF THE STELA

BENEATH THE SUNDISC AT THE TOP OF THE LUNETTE

(the royal cartouche, reading vertically from right to left, framed by two uraeus serpents hanging from the central sundisc, the one on the right wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, the one on the left wearing the crown of Upper Egypt):

Hr-s-It=f

"Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiyotef).

(a single column, dividing the lunette in half, reading right to left):

¹²⁴Cf. FHN I, 41-43, 64; for an Egyptian presence during the Saite and Persian periods [c. 7th to late 5th centuries BC] at Dorginarti at the N end of the Second cataract see Heidorn 1991, 1992.

ḏḏ-mdw in (Imn-Rꜥ)
Utterance by (Amen-Rê),

ḏi(=i) n=k ḥnh wꜣs nb ḏḏ nb snb nb ꜣw-ib nb
“(I) am giving to you all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all happiness.

ḏi(=i) n=k rnpwt nhḥ dt
(I) am giving you an eternity of years for ever.”

THE RIGHT-HAND-SCENE

UNDER THE OUTSPREAD RIGHT-HAND WING OF THE SUNDISC
(one line, reading right to left):

Bḥdty ntr ꜣ nb pt ḏi ḥnh
The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, given life.

IN FRONT OF AND ABOVE A CRIOCEPHALIC AMEN-RE, STANDING, FACING RIGHT
(two lines, reading from left to right):

(1) ḏḏ-mdw in Imn.Rꜥ nb <nswt Tꜣwy>
(1) Utterance by Amen-Rê, lord <of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt)>.

ḥr(y)-ib (2) Ḏw-wꜥb
who dwells in (2) Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal)

ḏi ḥnh ḏḏ wꜣs
given life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING, STANDING, FACING LEFT, OFFERING
(two columns, reading left to right):

(1) Nsw-blty Sꜣ-mr(y)-Imn
(1) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Beloved-son-of-Amûn”,

(2) Sꜣ-Rꜥ Hr-sꜣ-ît=f
(2) Son-of-Rê: “Horus-son-of-his-father” (Harsiotef).

ABOVE A QUEEN, FACING LEFT, STANDING BEHIND THE KING, HOLDING A SISTRUM
IN HER RIGHT HAND
(two columns, reading left to right):

(1) mwt-nsw sn(t)-nsw ḥnwt n Kš Tꜣs-mꜣ-nfr
(1) King’s mother, king’s sister, mistress of Kush, Tshis-ma-nufe.

THE LEFT-HAND-SCENE

UNDER THE OUTSPREAD LEFT-HAND WING OF THE SUNDISC
(one line, reading left to right):

Bḥdty ntr ʿ nb pt di ʿnh

The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, given life.

IN FRONT OF AND ABOVE AN ANTHROPOMORPHIC AMEN-RE, STANDING, FACING
LEFT

(two columns, reading from left to right):

(1) ḏd-mdw in ʿImn.Rʿ nb nswt Tʿwy

(1) Utterance by Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt),

(2) ḥnt(y) ʿpt-swt di ʿnh

(2) foremost of Karnak, given life.

ABOVE THE KING, STANDING, FACING RIGHT, OFFERING

(two columns, reading right to left):

(1) Nsw-bity Sʿ-mr(y)-ʿImn

(1) King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Beloved-son-of-Amûn",

(2) Sʿ-Rʿ Hr-sʿ-it=f

(2) Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef).

ABOVE A QUEEN, FACING RIGHT, STANDING BEHIND THE KING, HOLDING A
SISTRUM IN HER LEFT HAND AND POURING A LIBATION WITH HER RIGHT
(one column, reading left to right):

(1) sn(t)-nsw ḥmt-nsw ʿ B-h-y-r-y

King's sister, great king's-wife, Beheyrey.

MAIN TEXT

(1) ḥt-sp 35 ibd 2 prt sw 13

(1) Thirty-fifth regnal year, second month of Winter, 13th day,

ḥr ḥm (n)

under the majesty of

Hr Kʿ-nḥt Hʿ-m-Np(t)

Horus: "Mighty-bull, Who-appears-in-Napata",

Nbty (2) Nḡ-ntrw

Two-Ladies: (2) "Who-seeks-the-counsel-of-the-gods",

Hr-nb Wḡf.ti ḡdīt ḡḡswt nbt

Golden-Horus: "Subduer, ḡGiven-ḡall-the-desert-lands",

Nsw-bity Sḡ-mr(y)-Imn

King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: "Beloved-son-of-Amūn",

Sḡ-Rḡ nb Tḡwy

Son-of-Rê, Lord of Two-lands (Egypt),

nb ḡḡ(w)

Lord of Appearances,

(3) nb ḡr ḡt

(3) Lord of Performing Rituals,

sḡ Rḡ n ḡt<=f> mr(y)=f

son of Rê of his body, whom he loves,

Hr-sḡ-it=f ḡnh ḡt

"Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever,

mry Imn-Rḡ nb nswt Tḡwy ḡr(y)-ib <ḡw->wḡb

beloved of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt), who dwells in Pure-mountain (Gebel Barkal).

dī=n n=f (4) ḡnh ḡd wḡs nb snb nb ḡw-ib nb

We (the gods) have given him (4) all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, and all happiness,

mḡ Rḡ ḡt

like Rê, for ever.

dīt-st ḡḡ dī n=ī¹²⁵ Imn (5) Npt p(ḡ)=ī ḡt nfr pḡ tḡ Nhḡs

Behold, Amūn (5) of Napata, my good father, gave me the land of Nubia

ḡḡ-mtw-ī.(6)ḡr-mr=ī p(ḡ)=ī pḡ-sh

from the moment (6) I desired my crown

ḡḡ-mtw-mḡ ḡ-r=ī ḡrt=f r nfr

and his eye looked favorably on me.

¹²⁵For: tw-s ḡr dī n=ī?

(7) dd=w n=i i dd

(7) They spoke to me, saying,

h(i)y hwt-ntr n Imn n Npt hr t wsht (8) n mht

"The temple complex of Amûn of Napata has collapsed in the court (8) of the north."

snd=i

I was afraid,

šnw=i w^c rmt i^w i dd

and I questioned an old man, saying,

i^h t(9)w

"What is thi(9)s?"

dd=f n=i i dd

He spoke to me, saying,

wh^h p(i)=k drt i^{ry}=i kdiw (10) i^{ry}=i wd³ =f

"Let your hand be active. I (= you) shall build. (10) I (= you) shall make it sound."

dit-st iⁱ=i m-b^h Imn Npt p(i)=i i(11)t nfr i dd

Behold, I went before Amûn of Napata, my (11) good father, saying,

my dit n=i p³ sh n p³ t³ Nh^s

"Give me the crown of the land of Nubia."

dd (12) n=i Imn Npt

(12) Amûn of Napata said to me,

idi n=k p³ shw n p³ t³ Nh^s

"To you is given the crown of the land of Nubia.

di=i (13) n=k p³ 4 k^chw n p³ t³ dr^w=f

I give (13) to you the 4 corners of the land in its entirety.

di(=i) n=k p³ mw nfr

(I) give to you the good water (i.e. the inundation).

di(=i) n=k (14) pt mw hw³ nfr

(I) give you (14) a sky of good rain.

di(=i) n=k sb^w nb hr tbwy(15)=k

(I) give you every rebel under your (15) sandals.

š(3)b i.îr îl hr (i)st=k bn îw=f nfr

The enemy that comes against you will not fare well.

š(3)b (16) mtw=k i.îr šm hr (i)stw=k bn îw=f hpr p(3)=f (17) hpš rdwytw=f

The enemy (16) of yours that goes against you, it will not be, (neither) his (17) might (nor) (17) his 'feet'.

m3=i îrf H3py 3 i.dî n=i 3Imn p3(18)=i ît nfr

Now I saw a great Inundation which Amûn, my (18) good father, gave to me,

îw 3h3.tw=i m hnw 3Ipt-swt n 3Imn Npt (19) m hnw p(3)=f p3-îm3yw

while I was standing in the Harem of Amûn of Napata, (19) inside his 'tabernacle'.

hr-m-s3 n3y šm(=i) i.îr 3Imn(20)-R3 nb hr-îb Gm-(p3-)-3Itn

After this I went to Amen-(20)-Rê, the lord dwelling in Finding-(the-)Aton (Kawa),

đd.n=i hr đd n=i 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said to me.

šm(=i) i.îr 3Imn-R3 nb (21) hr-îb Pr-nbs

I went to Amen-Rê, the lord (21) dwelling in Pnubs (Tabo)

đd.n=i hr đd 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said.

šm=i i.îr B3stt (22) T3-r-t

I went to Bastet (22) of Tare.

đd.n=i hr đd 3Imn Npt

and told about what Amûn of Napata said.

mtw đd=w n=i i đd

When they said to me,

h(3y)(23)=f hr hwt-ntr 3Imn T3-r3-'3n3-nsw

"Let him (23) go down to the temple complex of Amûn of Tara'on³ensi."

đd rmt bn îw=w mnk kđiw (24) 3nw 3sp-sn³

people said, "They have not completed constructing (it) (24) yet!"

kde=i dî=i sš mnk i 3bd 4

I (re)built (it) and had (it) inscribed, (the work) being finished within four months.

wn mꜣ=ỉ (25) rrf rꜣ-pr ỉpt-swt ỉmn Npt
When, however, I saw (25) the temple, the Karnak of Amûn of Napata,

ỉw mn nbw hr-r=f
without any gold on it,

dỉ=ỉ (26) hr rꜣ-pr ỉpt-swt
I put (26) on the temple, Karnak,

wp-s(t) ht nbw dbn 40 ỉrw nbw pg 51(27)20
specification, 'total': gold, *deben*-weight 40; making: gold, thin sheets, (27) 5120.

mtw dd=w n=ỉ ỉ dd
When they spoke to me, saying,

ỉw=f šnw pr-snw n nbw
"It lacks a shrine of gold."

(28) ỉ.ỉr=ỉ ỉn=f pꜣ ht šndt ỉ-r-kꜣ-r-t
(28) I brought the acacia wood of Arkure.¹²⁶

ꜥnw ỉr=ỉ (29) dỉ=ỉ ỉn ỉ Npt
Furthermore, I (29) had (it) brought to Napata.

dỉ=ỉ dỉt nbw hr p(ꜣ)=f hrwy 2 nbw dbn (30) 40.
I had gold put on its two faces: gold, *deben*-weight (30) 40.

dỉ=ỉ dỉt m hnw n p(ꜣ)=f pr-ḥd nbw dbn 20
I had put in its treasury: gold, *deben*-weight 20,

ỉrw nbw 100
making: gold, (*deben*-weight) 100.

(31) ỉ ỉmn Npt
(31) O Amûn of Napata,

dỉ=ỉ (32) n=k tgr n ḥḥ (33) ỉmyꜣ [— —] dbn 4
I gave (32) to you a neck-ring (33) ỉꜣꜣ [— —], *deben*-weight 4,

twtw n (34) ỉmn nỉwty nty msny (35) n nbw
an image of (34) Amûn the city (god) which is made by the *meseney*-process (35)
in gold,

¹²⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 87.

hn̄ 3 n̄tr [-] (36) n nbw nty msny '2'
together with 'divine triad(s)' [-] (36) of gold, which are made by the *meseney*-process, '2'

(37) hn̄ R̄ nty msny 1t
(37) together with a (statue of) Rê, which is made by the *meseney*-process, 1;

(38) hn̄ 'nh̄' n nbw 3
(38) together with 'mirror(s)' of gold, 3;

hn̄ (39) wd̄ n nbw 2
together with (39) pectoral(s) of gold, 2;

hn̄ i-(40)b-r̄-k̄-r̄ n nbw 13(41)4
together with b(40)eads of gold, 13(41)4;

hn̄ h̄d dbn 100;
together with silver, *deben*-weight, 100;

hn̄ m(42)hn̄ n h̄d 1t
together with a vessel (42) for milk of silver, 1;

hn̄ h̄-(43)r̄ n nbw 1t
together with a *hara*-(43)vessel of gold, 1;

hn̄ s-k̄-r̄ (44) <n> h̄d 5
together with a *sekara*-bowl (44) of silver, 1;

hn̄ h̄-(45)r̄ (n) h̄d (45) 1t
together with a *hara*-bowl of silver, (45) 1;

hn̄ mhn̄ (n) h̄d 1
together with a *mehen*-bowl of silver, 1;

hn̄ (46) i-b̄-r̄-k̄ h̄d 1t
together with a (46) rhyton, 1;

hn̄ (47) mnw 1;
together with (47) a *menu*-vase, 1;

lrw 9
making 9 (vessels of silver);

hn̄ k̄-(48)r̄ b̄ 4
together with *ka*(48)*ra*-vessels, bronze, 4;

ḥnꜥ m-gꜣ-t-m-(49)y bꜣḥ ʿ5ʿ
together with *megatem*(49)*iy*-vase(s), bronze, ʿ5ʿ;

ḥnꜥ ʿḥn-ḥr-mꜣwʿ bꜣḥ (50) 2
together with vase(s) ʿwith a lionʿs-faceʿ, bronze, (50) 2;

ḥnꜥ ḥr(y)-sty bꜣḥ 2
together with 5-branched candlesticks, bronze, 2;

ḥnꜥ (51) ḥꜣw(t) bꜣḥ 1
together with (51) an offering-table, bronze, 1;

ḥnꜥ s-kꜣ-rꜣ bꜣḥ (52) 15
together with *sekara*-bowls, bronze, (52) 15;

ḥnꜥ pꜣ-dnw bꜣḥ 5
together with ʿ—ʿs, bronze, 5;

ḥnꜥ (53) pꜣ-ꜥšy ʿꜣ bꜣḥ 2
together with (53) the great ʿcauldronʿ, bronze, 2;

ḥrw 32
making 32 (vessels of bronze);

ḥnꜥ (54) ʿntyw dbn 200
together with (54) myrrh, *deben*-weight, 200;

ḥnꜥ sntr (55) kꜣ-r-r 3
together with incense, (55) *karer*-vessels, 3;

ḥnꜥ bꜣt kꜣ-r-r 5
together with honey, *karer*-vessels, 5;

(56) ḥr kt ʿn
(56) And moreover another (matter):

šꜣꜥ mtw [ḥ.ḥr] (57) ḥꜣy Pr-pꜣ-ḥꜣ-rnpt
When The-house-of-the-thousand-years (57) collapsed,

ḥr=ḥ (58) kd n=k
I (58) (re)built (it) for you;

wꜣḥ=ḥ n=k (59) pꜣ=f wḥꜣwt
and I erected for you (59) its columned hall.

kd=i (60) n=k ihy n iw; mhw (61) 154

I built (60) for you its stall for long-horned oxen, 154 (61) cubits (square ?).

[ʿmʰ]=i wʿ hwt-ntr ist(y)t (62) šriw iw wn h(ʰ)y

Whether I [ʿsawʿ] a temple complex (62) (or) a small chapel which was fallen into ruin,

šn(63)=i i dd

I (63) inquired, saying,

ih ti

“What is this?”

dd.n=i i (64) dd

and I spoke, (64) saying,

iw is nsw Kmt kdiw(65)=i n=k

“Behold, (as) king of Egypt, I (65) (re)built (them) for you,

di=i di htp-ntr

and I had divine offering given.”

hr (66) ʿn

And more(66)over:

di=i n=k ʿiwʰ 500

I gave you ʿlong-horned oxenʿ, 500 (head);

di=i (67) n=k irt mhn 2 mnw (68) sp-sn

and I gave (67) you milk, *mehen*-jugs, 2, day (68) after day.

di=i m=k dwʰw s; 10

I gave you worshipers, phyles, 10;

di=i n=k (69) h(ʰ)k t; 50 hmt 50 ir (70) 100

I gave you (69) prisoners, male 50, female 50, making (70) 100.

i ʿImn Npt bn iw ip (71) n=k

O Amûn of Napata, (although) you have (71) no account,¹²⁷

ink ʿhʿ=iʰ di n=k p(ʰ) nty srs(72)r

it is I ʿmyselfʿ who gave you what is requir(72)ed.

¹²⁷“Keep no account”?

ḥr dit-st
And, behold:

ḥt-sp 2 ḥbd 3 prt sw 23
Second regnal year 2, third month of Winter, 23rd day.

ī(73)w=f ḥty sbīw
he ca(73)me, (to wit,) a leader of rebels,

ns(s)=f (74) R-h-r-h-s;
that it might do (what) harm (it could), (74) (to wit, the land of) Rehrehsa¹²⁸.

īw ṣ¹(75)ṣ Ṣmn nṣy=f ḥpšwy
But Amūn (75) cut his forces to pieces,

dī(76).tw r=ī
and they were delivered (76) into my hands.

ī.īr=ī knw īrm=f
Against him I performed mighty deeds

(77) ḥd[b]w m mīty sp-sn
(77) and made a slaughter as well!

ḥt-sp 3 ḥbd 2 prt sw 4
Third regnal year, second month of Winter, 4th day.

īr=ī knkn(78)w īrm sbīw Mddt
I fought (78) with the rebels of (the land of) Metete,¹²⁹

īr=ī ḥy=f (79) m mīty
and I slaughtered it (79) as well.

mtw=k ī.īr n=ī
(But) you it was that acted for me.

ḥt-sp 5 ḥbd 2 šmw sw 12
Fifth regnal year, second month of Summer, 12th day.

Sṣ-Rṣ (80) Hr-sṣ-īt=f
(of) the Son-of-Rê: (80) "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef),

¹²⁸Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 100 and 106 below.

¹²⁹The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 81, 85, and 89 above.

ʿnh wḏḥ snb ḏt
may he live, be prosperous and healthy for ever.

ir=i ḏit šmī=f pḥ=i mšʿ pḥ=i ḥtr (81) ḥr sbīw Mddt
I sent my infantry and my cavalry (81) against the rebels of Metete.¹³⁰

iry=w ḥr dmywt 3 ʾl-n-r-wḥ-(82)rḥ-t r knknw irm=f ḥḥy=f ʿšwt
They acted against 3 towns of Anrewa(82)re¹³¹ to fight against it and (made) a great slaughter of it.

(83) iry=w ḥḥk p(ḥ)=f nb sp-sn
(83) They even took its lord prisoner

ḥḥy=f Sḥ-wr-ḥ-rḥ-gḥʿ-(84)-ʿ-ti
and killed him, (to wit) Sawearagaʿ-(84)-ʿta.

ḥḥt-sp 6 ḥbd 2 šmw sw 4
Sixth regnal year, second month of Summer, 4th day.

Sḥ-Rʿ Hr-sḥ-it=f ʿnh ḏt
(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

ir=i ʿš-s(gp) (85) n ʿšwt ḥr Mddt
I called (85) to many (to march) against Metete.¹³²

ir=i knknw irm ḥr dmy
I fought with <...> in a town,

(86) ir=i ḥḥy=f ʿ m-šs sp-sn
(86) and I made a very great slaughter of it as well.

ir=i ḥḥk (87) p(ḥ)=f iw(ḥ) p(ḥ)=f ʿwndwʿ p(ḥ)=f ʿ
I took captive (87) its long-horned oxen, its 'short-horned cattle', its donkeys,

p(ḥ)=f swḥ (sr) p(ḥ)=f ʿnh
its sheep, its goats,

p(ḥ)=f (88) bḥk p(ḥ)=f bḥkt
it male slaves (88) its female slaves,

p(ḥ)=f ...
its ...

¹³⁰The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 85, and 89 of this text.

¹³¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 83.

¹³²The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 81, and 89 of this text.

p(ɜ)=k šft nfr

Your awesomeness is good.

ntk i.ɪr n=i

It was you that acted for me.

(89) hbw n=i wr Mddt i dd

(89) The chief of Metete¹³³ sent to me, saying,

ntk p(ɜ)=i ntr

"You are my god.

ink p(ɜ)=k bɜ(90)k

I am your ser(90)vant.

ink šhmt

I am a woman.

my i-r=i

Come to me."

dɪ=f in n=i pɜ ɪdnw m d(r)t (91) wɛ s

He had the 'deputy' brought in the hand (91) of a man

swɜ=i

that I might withdraw.

ɪi=i i-ir ɪmn Npt p(ɜ)=i ɪt nfr

I came to (you) Amun of Napata, my good father,

(92) dɪ=i n=k ɪwɜ ɛšɪt

(92) that I might give you many (head of) long-horned oxen.

hɜt-sp 11 ɜbd 1 prt sw 4

Eleventh regnal year, first month of Winter, 4th day.

dɪ=i šmɪ=f p(ɜ)=i (93) mšɛ hr ɛ-k-nɜ-t

I sent my (93) army against Akne¹³⁴

ɪ-tɜbw p(ɜ)=i bɜk Gɜ-sɜ-ɪw

on account of my servant Gasau,

¹³³The land of the Medjay? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 133-137, and lines 78, 81, and 85 of this text.

¹³⁴Pliny's Acina? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 101.

(94) wp-st rn=w B-r-g; hn̄ S3-ḫmn-s3

(94) Specification, their names: Braga and Saamanisa.

ph Swnt

(When) Aswan was reached,

ir=f k(95)nw i-r3-m=f

he¹³⁵ did b(95)attle with it.

h3y=f B-r3-g; hn̄ S3-ḫmn-s3 (96) p(3)=w nb sp-sn

He slaughtered Braga and Saamanisa, (96) their lords!

p(3)=k šft nfr ntk i.ir n=i

Your awesomeness is good.

p(3)=k šft nfr ntk i.ir n=i

You (yourself) it was that acted for me.

h3t-sp 16 3bd 1 3ht sw 15

Sixteenth regnal year, first month of Inundation, 15th day.

(97) ir=i dīt šmī p(3)=i mš̄ hn̄ htr hr sb̄w M-h-ḫw=f

(97) I sent my army and cavalry against the rebels of Mekhuf .

(98) iry knknw i-r3-m p(3)=i mš̄

(98) Battle was done with my army,

h3y=f sw

It slaughtered it.

h3k=w (99) tp-ḫ3w=w

They captured (99) their cattle.

h3t-sp 18 3bd tpy prt sw 13

Eighteenth regnal year, first month of Winter, 13th day

S3-R̄ Hr-s3-it=f ʿnh dt

(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

iw (100) sb̄w R-h-r-h-s3 wp-st rn=f Hr-w3 p(3)=w nb (101) m-ḫnw B3-r3-w3-t

Rebels of Rehrehsa¹³⁶ (100) came—specification, his name: Kharawe—(101) (all the way) into Birawe (Meroe).

¹³⁵Or: it. The reference of the pronoun is ambiguous and may refer either to Gasau or to the army.

¹³⁶Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 74 and 106 of this text.

dī=i wrd n=f
I 'made him weak'.

p(i)=k šft nfr
Your awesomeness is good.

p(i)=k (102) ḥpš nḥty
Your (102) scimitar is mighty.

ḳnnw(=i) i-r3-m=f
(I) fought with him.

ir=i ḥ3y=f (103) ḥ3y ʿ3
I slaughtered him, (103) a great slaughter.

ir=i rktw=f
I defeated him.

ntk i.ir n=i
(But) you it was that acted for me,

mtw ḥ3styw (104) dwn=f ḥr-ib grḥ
and the desert dwellers (104) rose up in the middle of the night

i-r=f wʿr=f
and he fled.

ḥ3t-sp 23 3bd 3 (105) šmw sw 29
Twenty-third regnal, third month (105) of Summer, 29th day

S3-Rʿ Hr-s3-3t=f ʿnḥ dt
(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

iw=f p3 wr ḥ3st Rh-rh-s3 (106) I-r3-w3
He came, (to wit) the chief of the desert people Rehrehsa,¹³⁷ (106) Arawe,

i-r3-m p(i)=f 'nb sp sn' m-ḥnw B3-r3-w3-t
with his 'lord' (right) into Birawe (Meroe).

dī=i ḳn(107)w i-r3-m 'ḥ3y=f ḥ3y ʿ3'
I had battle (107) joined and had him slaughtered a great slaughter;

'rk.tw n=f'
and he was defeated

¹³⁷Cf. Zibelius 1972, 144, and lines 74 and 100 of this text.

ʿdwn(108)w n=fʿ
and (108) was driven off.

dī=i ḥy=f Šy-k-r;
I had him killed, (to wit) Shaykara,

īw=f ī īr=f (109) srsr īm=f
when he came (109) to plead for himself.

p(i)=k šft nfr
Your awesomeness is good.

p(i)=k ḥpš knw
Your scimitar is victorious.

p; wr (110) ʿr-gsʿ[=i] īry šw=f
The chief (110) ʿat [my] sideʿ made him withdraw.

īr=f p(i)=i mšʿ p(i)=i ḥtr wd;
He made my army and my cavalry safe.

ḥt-sp (111) 35 ʾbd tpy prt sw 5
Thirty-fifth (111) regnal year, first month of Winter, 5th day

S-Rʿ Hr-s;it=f ʿnh dt
(of) the Son-of-Rê: "Horus-son-of-his-father" (Harsiotef), may he live for ever.

īr=i ḥbw n=f ʾImn (112) Npt p(i)=i īt nfr ī dd
I sent to him, (i.e.) Amûn (112) of Napata, my good father, saying,

īn mtw=i dīt šmī p(i)=i (113) mšʿ ḥr ḥst Mḥty
"Shall I send my (113) army against the desert land Mekhty?"

īr=f ḥbw n=i ʾImn Npt ī (114) dd
He sent to me, (i.e.) Amûn of Napata, (114) saying,

my dīt šmī=f
"Let it be sent!"

īr dīt=i šmī=f n; ʿsl;(115)wrdʿ s 50
I sent it, the ʿmutila(115)torsʿ, men: 50,

ḥnꜥ nꜥ ḥtr nꜥ 4 ḥꜣswt Mḥtī nty (116) Tkꜥtꜥt
together with the cavalry 'of the four desert lands of¹³⁸ Mekhty which (116) is
(in)' Taqotshe;

ḥꜣy=f w
and it slaughtered them.

bn-pw=w ḥꜥ im=w
They did not leave (any) among them.

bn-pw=w dīt (117) rꜣ-wꜣt im=w
They did not give (117) way among them.¹³⁹

bn-pw=w dīt rd.wy=w
They did not 'let them take to their heels'.

bn-pw=w dīt=w (118) dꜣdꜣ=w
They did not 'give (118) their heads'.

bn-pw=w tꜣ pꜣt
They did not <...> the bow.

ir=w ḥ(ꜣ)k p(ꜣ)=w nbt
They captured their lord.

(119) šꜥ-mtw dꜣd=w n=i (120) i dꜣ
(119) They spoke to me, saying,

ḥꜣy ḥwt-nṯr
"A temple complex has collapsed

n ꜣbd 3 prt (121) hrw n Pth
in the third month of Winter, (121) the Day of Ptah."

kꜣiw=i n=k
I (re)built (it) for you.

(122) kꜣiw=i ḥwt-nṯr Nbw-(123)ꜥnh
(122) I built the temple complex Gold-(123)of-Life,

nty ḥt pr 6
the 'main building of which has' six chambers,

¹³⁸If one supplies the preposition r, "to, against", then the force is sent "against Mekhty"; and this is more in keeping with what is written in lines 113–113.

¹³⁹Or: They offered them no escape.

nty ḥt w(124)ḥ; 4 'n
the 'main building of which has' 4 co(124)lums as well.

š;(125)ṣ mtw ḏḏ=w n=i ḥ (126) ḏḏ
They (125) spoke to me, (126) saying,

ḥ;y pr n nsw
"The royal residence has collapsed,

mn (127) nty šmī s m-ḥnw
there not being (127) any place into which people go."

kd(128)ḥw=i pr n nsw pr(129)w n Npt pr 60
I (re)buil(128)t the royal residence and chamber(129)s in Napata, chambers, 60,

dī=i (130) kd p; sbty 'n
I had (130) the enclosure wall surround (it) as well.

(131) kḏiḥw=i T;-r;
(131) I built Tara,

(132) k'ḥ 1t mḥw 50
(132) one side being 50 cubits,

(133) ḥr 4 k'ḥ mḥw 200 (134) 'n
(133) making four sides, cubits 200, (134) as well.

dī=i dg; n=k šn(135)w 6
I had 6 palm (135) groves planted for you

ḥnṣ šnw n ḥ(136)rr 1t
together with a vine(136)yard (with each),

ḥr 6 ḥry Npt
making 6 in Napata.

(137) dī=i n=k t; šnwt nfr(138)w ḥry B;-r;-w;-t ḥr 6
(137) I gave you the beautiful palm groves (138) in Birawe (Meroe), making 6.

(139) dī=i w;ḥ ḥtp-ntr 'grḥ' (140) wṣ
(139) I had founded a divine offering, for one (140) 'night',

ḥt 115 'ḥk;t'
barley: 115 'hekat'-measures;

bd̩t̩ 38 (141) ʿḥk̩st̩
spelt: 38 (141) ʿhekat̩'-measures,

ir̩ it̩ bdt̩ 153 (142) ʿḥk̩st̩
making barley and spelt (together): 153 (142) ʿhekat̩'-measures.

ḥr̩-d̩l̩-st̩ mn̩ (143) p̩ d̩my̩ ḥnk̩ t̩(144)m̩ ḥr̩ ir̩ wp̩
And, behold, there was no (143) town (where) I did (144) not do work

iw̩ (145) mn̩ p̩(s̩)=i̩ db̩ ḥr̩=f̩
and on which my finger was not.

ḥ(146)r̩-d̩l̩-st̩ d̩l̩ ḥ̩=i̩ Ws̩r̩ (147) [ḥr̩ ḥ̩t̩]ty̩
And, (146) behold, I had Osiris appear in procession (147) [in Yôt]taye,

d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ (148) Ws̩r̩ ḥr̩ B̩-r̩-w̩-t̩
I had Osiris appear in procession (148) in Birawe (Meroe),

d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ (149) Ws̩r̩ ḥn̩ ḥ̩st̩ ḥr̩ M̩-r̩-t̩l̩-t̩
I had Osiris appear in procession (149) together with Isis in Maratae,

(150) d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ Ws̩r̩ 4 ḥn̩ ḥ̩st̩ (151) ḥr̩ G̩-r̩-r̩-t̩
(150) I had four Osirises together with Isis appear in procession (151) in Garere,¹⁴⁰

d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ (152) Ws̩r̩ ḥ̩st̩ Ḥr̩ ḥr̩ S̩-h̩-r̩-s̩-t̩
I had Osiris, Isis and Horus (152) appear in procession in Sehrase,

(153) d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ Ws̩r̩ ḥn̩ ḥ̩mn̩-l̩-(154)ḥ̩ty̩ ḥr̩ S̩-k̩-r̩-g̩-t̩
(153) I had Osiris together with Amaniabti appear in procession (154) in Sekarage,

(155) d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ Ḥr̩ ḥr̩ K̩-r̩-t̩l̩-t̩
(155) I had Horus appear in procession in Karate,¹⁴¹

d̩l̩(156)=i̩ ḥ̩ R̩ ḥr̩ M̩-ḥ̩-t̩
I (156) had Rê appear in procession in Mahae,

d̩l̩=i̩ (157) ḥ̩ Ḥn̩-ḥr̩ ḥr̩ ḥ̩-r̩-t̩l̩-n̩-y̩-(158)t̩
I had (157) Onuris appear in procession in Aratanay(158)e,¹⁴²

d̩l̩=i̩ ḥ̩ Ws̩r̩ ḥr̩ Np̩t̩
I had Osiris appear in procession in Napata,

¹⁴⁰Cf. Zibelius 1972, 170.

¹⁴¹Cf. Zibelius 1972, 163-164.

¹⁴²Cf. Zibelius 1972, 88.

(159) *dī=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 2 ḥr N-ḥ3-n3-t*

(159) I had two Osirises appear in procession in Nehane,¹⁴³

(160) *dī=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 1st ḥr Pr-gm-t*

(160) I had Osiris and Isis appear in procession in House-of-Finding (Kawa),

dī(161)=ī ḥꜥ Wsīr 3 ḥr Pr-nbs dt

and I had (161) three Osirises appear in procession in Pnubs (Tabo), for ever.

[RHP]

Comments

Harsiyotef's Annals, inscribed in 161 horizontal lines (front: lines 1-30; left side: 31-73; verso: 74-118; right side 119-161) on the four sides of a granite stela measuring 215 x 70 x 34 cm, was discovered in the First or Outer Court (room 501) of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata) and removed in 1862 to Cairo (Reisner 1931, 83 no. [53]; PM VII 218). The text was first published by Mariette (1867, Pl. 11) and then edited in the Urk. (III, 2, 113-136).

The lunette is decorated with two symmetrically rendered, incised scenes in the tradition of Taharqo's Kawa V stela (FHN I, 22; note the inversed arrangement of the directions. On 78 Amûn of Napata stands in the right half of the lunette with his back to the inscription column in the centre of the lunette, while on 22 Amûn of Kawa, depicted in the left half of the lunette, turns outwards from the axis of the lunette and thus looked towards the N when the stela stood at its original place in the Forecourt of Temple T at Kawa in front of the E wall facing S. On the assumption that the directions of the ram-headed Amun of Nubia [i.e., of Kawa at Kawa and of Napata at Gebel Barkal], i.e., looking "from the S" towards the N, and of the human-headed Amun of Thebes looking "from the N" towards the S, respectively, were *de rigueur*, we must suppose that, if magnetic N was observed, 78 originally stood with its front turned towards the main temple entrance; and since "local" N at Napata is almost identical with magnetic S, it may be supposed that if "local" N was observed, the front of the Harsiyotef stela faced the interior of the temple. An orientation according to "local" N is supported, and thus the above-suggested original placement of 78 is apparently corroborated by FHN I, 9 which probably stood in the First Court of the Amûn temple at Gebel Barkal with its front turned towards the temple entrance; for in its lunette Amûn of Thebes looks from the "local" N towards the "local" S. It is seemingly contradicted, on the other hand, by FHN I, 8, found in the First Court of the same temple, fallen from a position in which it had been standing facing the same temple entrance [cf. Reisner 1931, 82, 88 f.; Dunham 1970, Plan V, socket 1 in B 501] but with Amûn of Napata turning towards "local" S. However, the place where 8 was found could not

¹⁴³The area of Korti (Macadam), Dongola el-Aguz (Sauneron and Yoyotte), or Adu on the Island of Sai (Arkell)? Cf. Zibelius 1972, 139.

have been its original one; for the First Court was built only after Piye's Egyptian campaign, while 8 dates from early in his reign).

From the extended wings of the sundisc are suspended uraei crowned with the White (above the scene with the Theban Amûn) and the Red crown (above the scene with the Nubian Amûn), respectively; these protect the Son-of-Rê name of Harsiyotef. The right-hand scene in the lunette shows Harsiyotef wearing the Kushite skullcap-crown with the double uraeus on his brow (cf. Török 1987, 4 ff. Type A I), broad necklaces, a royal kilt and an animal tail, but wearing no sandals. He offers a pectoral and necklace to the ram-headed Amûn of Napata. He is followed by his mother *Ts-m-nfr* (in the modern literature rendered usually as Atasamalo) who wears a skullcap with one uraeus and a streamer,¹⁴⁴ a tight-fitting ankle-length skirt, a coat, and sandals, shakes a sistrum, and performs a libation offering. The left-hand scene depicts the King in the same attire, offering a pectoral and necklace to the human-headed Amûn of Thebes. He is followed by his wife *B-h-y-r-y* (in the modern literature rendered usually as Batahaliye) wearing a skullcap with one uraeus and with the plumes and sundisc of Hathor (cf. Török 1987, 22 Type B XVII), an ankle-length skirt, a coat tied over her left shoulder and sandals. She shakes a sistrum and performs a libation. The two scenes show the ruler in the full possession of his royal power: the offering of the pectoral and necklace is, e.g., the concluding scene of the relief cycle depicting Taharqo's enthronement in Temple T at Kawa (Macadam 1955, Pl. XXII/b; for the significance of pectoral offering cf. Frandsen 1987; Török 1994, 19 f.). The message of the iconography is reinforced by the utterance of Amûn of Napata and Amûn of Thebes in the inscription column between the two figures of the god (cf. 72, *Comments*) which hints at the secret knowledge received by the king at his enthronement which enables him to maintain the functioning of the cosmos and the world.

Section 1 (lines 1-4) records the date of the inscription and Harsiyotef's five-part titulary ((76) 1). Section 2 (lines 4-8) records Harsiyotef's "legitimation", while section 3 (lines 8-10) records a "counsel" received by Harsiyotef. In section 4 (lines 10-17) Harsiyotef visits Amûn of Napata who promises him the kingship; an omen is also described. In section 5 (lines 17-22) the enthronement of Harsiyotef at Napata, Kawa, Pnubs, and Trt is recorded. In section 6 (lines 22-71) the King's temple building activity and donations made to Amûn are recorded. Section 7 (lines 72-118) presents the list of his wars. In section 8 (lines 119-130) we read about two further construction works initiated, as it seems, by oracles; and section 9 (lines 131-145) records the King's plantations and summarizes his building activities. Finally section 10 (lines 146-161) records a number of festivals caused by Harsiyotef in different sanctuaries of the land.

¹⁴⁴This is the earliest attested example of this type of crown appearing as an equivalent of a male crown seen on relief representations of Taharqo in the Gebel Barkal Amûn temple, cf. Török 1987, 22 Type B XVII and 12 f. Type A IV, respectively.

The text of the stela is dated to the second month of *pr.t* 13 (Mechir 13) of the thirty-fifth regnal year and is written from the perspective of a long and eventful reign. Nevertheless, the introductory sections (3-5, lines 8-22) record the circumstances of Harsiyotef's succession and the process of his enthronement; and the annalistic sections (6-10, lines 22-161) record his building activities, wars and religious activities, principally, if not exclusively, from the perspective of legitimacy. The introductory sections clearly indicate a case of succession where the predestination was far from being obvious, and they record Harsiyotef's ascent to the throne as the result of a "deal" between him and Amûn of Napata, while the rest of the text presents the proofs for the positive results of this deal: the fulfillment of the reciprocity between the two partners. Sections 3-5 attest to the survival of both the principal elements of the legitimacy concepts (divine sonship, reciprocity between god and king) and the legitimating rituals ("election" and enthronement in the course of a "coronation journey", including the oracular decisions of the god and the repeated "Königsorakel" rites) of earlier times (cf. FHN I, 29, 34, 37; in this volume 71) and to the use of textual records concerning these concepts and rites by the author of the text of 78. The text of 78 is based, in addition to using such records—which existed, as may be assumed, partly in the form of monumental royal inscriptions of the types of the above-mentioned ones—mainly on documents of annalistic type(s): it would seem that the author drew information from separately kept temple annals and royal annals. Hence the structuring of the text. The temple building and donations and religious festivals are related in a different detail and also with the use of a different stylistic repertory than the wars and occur on separate blocks. Furthermore, the wars are recorded according to a strictly chronological system and most of them are described "historically", which is not uniformly the case of the rest of the topics treated in the inscription.

Unlike other royal inscriptions of a related character, 78 does not record a legitimization of the heir in the human sphere (cf. FHN I, 21 7 ff.; 22 14 f.; 34 5 ff.; 37 3 ff.; in this volume 71 3 ff.). Though in a retrospective written 35 years later an omission of details might occur without any ulterior motive, both the titulary of Harsiyotef (see (76), *Comments*) and the manner of his divine election suggest that his legitimization had not taken the usual course but started instead with what seems to have been a solicited oracle. In section 2 the King himself says that the land was given to him by Amûn of Napata "from the moment I desired my crown"; and his divine election is expressed, remarkably, by the sentence: "and his (i.e., Amûn's) eye looked favorably on me". Section 3 relates that Harsiyotef was "spoken to"¹⁴⁵ and told that Amûn of Napata was granting him the land of Nubia (*Tꜣ-nḥsy*, the ancient Egyptian term for Nubia, not frequently used in Kushite inscriptions, cf. 91).

¹⁴⁵For the expression cf. Wb IV, 409 and see also Ray 1976, 55 text 13 line 8; the context is obviously oracular, see below.

In a manner not more closely defined, and by unspecified person(s), the King is told that the temple complex of Amûn of Napata, "the court of the north",¹⁴⁶ has collapsed. That this communication is an oracle is revealed by Harsiyotef's reaction: he is afraid, being presumably shocked by the encounter with the divine, and asks "an old man" to explain the meaning of his dream¹⁴⁷ just as he would react later in his reign when he learned about the bad state in which other temples were (see Section 8). The answer of the "old man" is rather cryptic: he urges Harsiyotef to construct a building and to "make it whole"; the first expression usually occurs in the context of the royal duty to build temples of the gods in 78 as well as in earlier texts (cf. FHN I, 29 19, 22; 37 13, 15, 17, 19). Beyond doubt, the counsel relates to the "collapsed" temple building. The most striking feature of the oracle is, however, that it requires explanation: i.e., it is not a "Königsorakel" which has the nature of a revelation and does not need to be interpreted¹⁴⁸ but the sort of oracle that is usually received by a "commoner"—which is in a remarkable contradiction with the actual contents of the oracle, viz., the royal duty of temple restoration.

Thus both the "legitimation" and its interpretation are uncommon. Nevertheless, apart from the non-royal type of the solicited oracle, the "counsel" received by Harsiyotef represents a remote echo of the dream of the future Thutmose IV, another ruler whose succession was probably not entirely regular (cf. Bryan 1991, 38 ff.), as it was described in his Sphinx Stela (Urk. IV, 1539-1544; Zivie 1976, 125 ff.; cf. Hermann 1938, 13; Bryan 1991, 144 ff.). Harsiyotef was taken into the presence of Amûn of Napata, where he received a "Königsorakel" (Section 4) in which the god promised him universal kingship. However, also this "Königsorakel" needs confirmation in the form of a miraculous omen: this is a *ḥꜥpy ʕ*, a "great flood", a good Inundation which occurs while Harsiyotef is "taken" by Amûn to his "tent" or tabernacle in the temple at Napata (i.e., while still in the temple following the "Königsorakel", as is clearly indicated by the statement in the introduction to section 5), called this time *ḥpt-swt* (cf. 71, *Comments*, on section 9; for the interpretation of this passage see also Grimal 1986, 219 with note 690). While the association of Inundation with legitimate rule does not require any explanation here (see in detail FHN I, 22, *Comments*), it may be noted that the oracle was in all probability purposefully arranged to take place on the eve of the Inundation.

Section 5 presents a brief record of the enthronement at Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs and in the Temple of Bastet at Trt. It would seem that Harsiyotef's repeti-

¹⁴⁶This may be identical, if N is understood here as "local" north, with room 520 of the Gebel Barkal temple, the so-called "dais room", Dunham 1970, Plan V, which was probably one of the scenes connected to the enthronement process as is indicated by the reliefs in the corresponding room in Temple T at Kawa, see Macadam 1955, Pls. XX-XXI.

¹⁴⁷For the practice of temple *incubatio* as a means of soliciting an oracle and for the dream interpretation by expert priests cf. Ray 1976, 135; Vernus 1985, 747; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 281 ff.

¹⁴⁸Cf. Schlichting 1981, 557 f.; for the practice of oracle interpretation see Ray 1976, 135 f.

tion of what “Amûn of Napata had spoken” to the Amûns of Kawa and Pnubs and to Bastet of Trt refers here to “Königsorakel” received at the stations of the coronation journey; it may also refer at the same time to the oracular decree the King received at Napata (cf. FHN I, 8, *Comments* on lines 1-13; 29, *Comments* on lines 32 ff.; in this volume 71, *Comments* on section 7). The identification of Trt with the Cadata/Radata of the Bion toponym list (where, according to Pliny, a golden cat [=the goddess Bastet] was worshiped, cf. 108) in the region of Napata is rather probable (cf. Hofmann 1971, 24; Zibelius 1972, 179 f.). The visit took place as the last episode of the coronation journey. Remarkably, the last episode of the traditional New Kingdom Egyptian enthronement rites is the suckling of the king (see Leclant 1961, 260 ff.; Török 1995, Ch. 13). The association of Bastet with royal legitimacy is also attested to by the epithet *s3-Bstt* in Piye’s late titulary (FHN I, (5) 10).

Section 6 presents a long list of temple restorations and donations (for the Puntite (?) origin of the timber used for the temple of *Pr-šnwt* [Grimal 1981, 104: the Amûn temple at Napata] see (77)). Apparently, all were carried out at the sanctuary of Amen-Rê at Napata, including the restoration of the “House of Million Years”, the traditional designation of royal mortuary cult temples in New Kingdom Egypt (and the name of the Ramesseum in Thebes West, *hwt nt h3 m rnpwt hnmt W3st*, “House-of-Million-Years-United-with-Thebes”, cf. Stadelmann 1979, 178 f.). Since in New Kingdom Egypt (for Thebes see Stadelmann 1979, 1985) the royal mortuary cult was associated with the cult and the temples of Amûn, the House of Million Years at Napata may be identical with the great Amûn temple itself, but, more probably, designates a part of it.

Section 7 lists Harsiyotef’s wars:

1. Date of beginning of conflict	2. foe	3. scene	4. description
Y. 2, III <i>prt</i> 23	<i>Rhrhs</i>	N Butana (?)	stereotype
Y. 3, II <i>prt</i> 4	<i>Mddt</i>	E Desert (?)	stereotype
Y. 5, II <i>šmw</i> 12	<i>Mddt</i>	at ʾInrw3r.t (?)	detailed
Y. 6, II <i>šmw</i> 4	<i>Mddt</i>	E Desert (?)	detailed
Y. 11, I <i>prt</i> 4	<i>rebels</i>	ʿqn3.t (Mirgissa?)	detailed
Y. 16, I <i>š3t</i> 15	<i>Mh3w3f</i>	Lower Nubia	stereotype
Y. 18, I <i>prt</i> 13	<i>Rhrhs</i>	at Meroe City	detailed
Y. 23, III <i>šmw</i> 29	<i>Rhrhs</i>	at Meroe City	detailed
Y. 35, I <i>prt</i> 5	<i>Mh3w3f</i>	Lower Nubia	detailed

It emerges from the dates in columns 1-3 that the majority of the conflicts (five campaigns) started in the season of *prt* and these were directed mostly against the nomads in the N Butana (*Rhrhs*) or E of the Nile in the Kawa re

gion (*Mddt* = Meded?); one expedition, however, went in I *pṛt* to Lower Nubia. Three campaigns started in the season of *šmw*, two of them against the Meded (?) and one against the *Rhrhs*; while only one campaign started, against rebels in Lower Nubia, in the early part of *šḥt*. It would thus seem that some campaigns were deliberately initiated in a season better suited for warfare, and it may perhaps also be suggested (on the assumption that in the early 4th century BC there was a discrepancy of c. 9 months between the calendrical and the natural years) that the majority of the expeditions started after the season of the Inundation. This is especially interesting in the case of the campaigns to Lower Nubia (Years 11, 16, 35), which were thus carried out at the time of low Nile. As to the significance of the calendrical dates, the campaign in early *šḥt* in Year 16 against the *Mddt* may also be interpreted as a "ritual war" after the New Year.

Column 4 refers to the type of comment added to the basic annalistic data in the inscription. The different amounts of detail may indicate that the royal archives contained yearly records of varying meticulousness but may also indirectly indicate that some campaigns were minor, and perhaps less successful, affairs and therefore recorded retrospectively only in a stereotypical manner while other campaigns were on a larger scale. In some of the reports the details are embellished with traditional formulae of great antiquity. E.g., in Year 6 the vanquished chief of the *Mddt* seeks for peace with the words: "I am a woman", recalling Piye's Great Triumphal Stela (FHN I, 9 149 f.). It is difficult to decide whether, and when, the King led an expedition in person, unless it is stated clearly, as in the case of the Lower Nubian campaign of Year 11, that the King sent his "servant" Gasau against the rebels. The wording of the reports on the campaigns in Years 5 and 6 against the *Mddt*, in Year 11 against the rebels laying siege to the town of *ḳnṣ.t*, and in Years 16 and 35 against rebels in Lower Nubia is rather clear as to the absence of Harsiyotef from the fighting. Some of the reports abound in details: the narrative on the war in Year 35 seems, e.g., to contain a passage (lines 116-118) on a surprise attack. The language is, however, rather too poetical, and the interpretation of the passage remains doubtful.

The conflict of Year 11 is particularly interesting as regards a Kushite presence in Lower Nubia. The possession of the town of *ḳnṣ.t*, if identical with Mirgissa, indicates not only control of the territory as far north as the Second Cataract but also of the territory between the Second and First Cataracts. The defeated rebels fled to *Swn.t* (Aswan), i.e., to Egyptian territory, which indicates Egyptian participation in or support for their attempt to destroy Harsiyotef's position at *ḳnṣ.t*. The name of one of the leaders of the rebels, *S-Ḳmn-s*, may be that of a local chief with an Egyptianized or Kushiticized cultural background.

The conflicts not only indicate an increasing Kushite presence in Lower Nubia but also describe a recurrent problem in internal politics, viz., the position of the apparently wealthy cattle-breeding nomads on the fringes of the kingdom (the *Mddt*) and within its borders (the *Rhrhs*). In Years 18 and 23 the *Rhrhs* had to be fought at the City of Meroe; and, remembering that they had to

be pacified by Irike-Amannote before he could start his coronation journey to Napata (71 5 ff., cf. Macadam 1949, 54 note 12), there can be no doubt that they had been living for a long time on the Island of Meroe N of Meroe City and thus were Kushite subjects. The recurrent conflicts indicate not only that they may have been difficult subjects, but also that their wealth in cattle represented a source of (prestige) income for the Kushite ruler also beyond the—presumably—legally established tribute or taxes.

Section 8 records two building campaigns. Both were prompted by what seem to be oracular “commands” of the god: they are introduced like the oracle in Section 3 with the words: “They spoke to me saying”. The first concerned the restoration of a temple called *Nbw-n-p3-ḥnḥ* (Grimal 1981, 105: *Nwb-n-p3-ḥnḥ*). The oracle is dated to the third month of *pṛt*, the day of Ptah, i.e., Phamenoth 1, originally the day of a local Ptah feast at Memphis which by the New Kingdom was a national feast celebrated at Thebes as *Pth m ḥb.f n ḥi pt*, “Ptah-in-His-Feast-of-Lifting-the-Sky”, and later, as a consequence of the assimilation of Ptah with Amûn, as *Imn m ḥb.f n ḥi pt*, “Amûn-in-His-Feast-of-Lifting-the-Sky”. It cannot be decided, however, whether the feast in Kush was inspired by earlier (Twenty-Fifth Dynasty) contacts with Thebes or was taken over from a later Egyptian festival calendar (cf. Altenmüller 1975, 177). The second, undated, oracle initiates the restoration of the *pr-n-nsu* at Napata, a royal palace (which is obviously not identical with Harsiyotef’s residential palace) and of sixty houses (the latter were also provided with an enclosure wall: hence presumably priest’s houses in a temple temenos?). Section 9 records donations of gardens in the neighbourhood of Napata and Meroe City and of garden products to Amûn of Napata. The donation of gardens at Meroe City indicates a wide dispersion of landed estates of the individual sanctuaries in the land.

Finally, Section 10 records without dates, festivals of gods celebrated throughout the country: of Osiris in *[It]tḏ.y.t* (Sedeinga in Lower Nubia N of the Third Cataract, cf. Vercoutter 1961, 101 note 2; Zibelius 1972, 97), Osiris in the City of Meroe, Osiris and Isis in *M-r3.tḏ.t* (Defeia in the Khartoum area, Vercoutter 1961, 97 ff.; Zibelius 1972, 125; the temple was probably built or restored by Aspelta, for his sphinx from Defeia see Vercoutter 1961), four festivals of Osiris and Isis in *G3rr.t* (?), a festival of Osiris, Isis and Horus in *Shr3s3.t* (Vercoutter 1961, 101 note 2: Sakolkhe of Ptolemaios; Zibelius 1972, 151: unidentifiable), Osiris and Amûn in *Sk3r3g3.t* (Sakolkhe of Ptolemaios = Saco[1]a of Juba at the junction of Nile and Atbara, in the N Butana, cf. FHN III, 186; Zibelius 1972, 152), Horus in *K3r3.tḏ.t* (unidentified), Rê in *Mš3.t* (= *Mḥt*, Abu Simbel, Zibelius 1972, 126 f.), Onuris in *Ṛtḏn3j.t* (unidentified), Osiris in Napata and in *Nḥn3.t* (Macadam 1949, 79: in the region of Korti; Zibelius 1972, 139: on the island of Sai?), Osiris and Isis in *Pr-gm.t* (Kawa) and Osiris in *Pr-nbs* (Pnubs). This geographical distribution is not without interest:

Between the First and Second Cataracts:	Abu Simbel
Between the Second and Third Cataracts	Sedeinga
	Sai (?)
Between the Third and Fourth Cataracts	Tabo
	Kawa
	Napata
	<i>Nḥn3.t</i> (?)
Northern Butana	<i>Sk3r3g3.t</i>
	Meroe City
Khartoum area	Defeia

[LT]

(79) Akhratañ. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

1. Statue from the Amûn temple (B 500) at Gebel Barkal (Napata), now Boston MFA 23.735, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 141; Dunham 1970, 23, fig. 16. 2. Son-of-Rê name on a block from chapel of Nu. 14, Dunham-Macadam 1949, 141; Dunham 1955, fig. 188.

Titles/documents

	1.	2.
Horus name	<nbw> K3-nḥt Ṭmꜥ Nḏ-it=f "Mighty-Bull Whose-arm-is-powerful Protector-of-his-father"	
Throne name	Nfr-ib-Rꜥ	
Son-of-Rê name	ḥ-rtn	ḥ-rtn

Evidence for reign

Akhratañ's filiation and family relationships are unknown. Dunham and Macadam (1949, 141) suppose that he was a son of Harsiyotef (Dunham 1955, 241: elder son), but their suggestion remains unsubstantiated by any evidence. His fine black granite statue from the Amûn temple at Napata (see above, document 1) as well as his (unexcavated) sandstone masonry pyramid with its large dimensions (Dunham 1955, 241) indicate a reign of some importance and prosperity. His reign is dated to the middle of the 4th century BC on the basis of the chronological position of his burial Nu. 14 within the Nuri cemetery (Dunham 1955, 241-243).

Comments

The Horus name—curiously preceded by the sign for the Golden Horus name—is based on an epithet of Horus of Edfu as warrior god (cf. Barta 1977, 34) that also occurs as an epithet of the king as triumphant warrior (for Ramesses II