EGYPT BETWEEN KUSH AND ASSYRIA

The Perspective of Tanutamani, King of Kush

by Mattias Karlsson
Egypt between Kush and Assyria: The Perspective of Tanutamani, King of Kush


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Symbols and abbreviations

Symbols

[ ] enclosing reconstructed text
[-] a single sign missing
[---] more than one sign missing
( ) marking scribal “error”: writing missing
{} marking scribal “error”: writing redundant or faulty
§ signifying text section
I (etc.) signifying column or volume 1 (Roman numerals)

Bibliographical abbreviations

AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
Achet Achet, Schriften zur Ägyptologie
ADAW Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
ÄgAbh Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄgFo Ägyptologische Forschungen
AOAT Alter Orient und altes Testament
Archaeologia e storia Archaeologia e storia della civilità egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico
ÄUAT Ägypten und altes Testament
ÄWb. II Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II (see Hannig 2006)
ÄZ Ägyptologische Zeitschrift
BIFAO Bulletin de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale
B. TAVO Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B
CdE Chronique d’Égypte
CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CMAA Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology
CRIPEL Cahier de recherches de l’institut de papyrologie et d’égyptologie de Lille
CRSA Comptes rendus des séances de l’académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
EQÄ Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie
FHN (I) Fontes historiae nubiorum (I) (see Pierce 1994)
FHN II Fontes historiae nubiorum II (see Eide 1996)
GM Göttinger Miszellen
HÄB Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik
HL Hannig-Lexika
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JE A Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JSSEA Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KAW Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt
LÄ Lexikon der Ägyptologie (see Helck et al. (eds.) 1975-92)
LÄS Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
1. Introduction

1.1 Topic, aims, and previous research

This thesis centres on the ideology of Egypt’s Kushite 25th dynasty (753-656) and on how Tanutamani (664-656), king of Kush, portrays his relations to Kush, Egypt, and other lands (among them Assyria?) in the texts and images on his Dream Stela (see Figs. 1-10). On this stela, Tanutamani narrates that he in a dream was promised dominion over the whole of Egypt, and that he, proceeding from Kush, conducted a military campaign northwards that fulfilled this dream (Breyer 2003: 66-213).

In the first half of the seventh century BCE, Egypt was politically weak and fragmented, caught between the two great powers of the day – Kush and Assyria – that competed for domination over Egypt. The Kushite ruler Piy (753-721) partly incorporated Egypt into his Kushite state, thus introducing Egypt’s 25th dynasty. The Kushite kingdom later came into conflict with the expansionist Neo-Assyrian empire, and Assyrian troops under Esarhaddon (680-669) finally managed to conquer Egypt in 671 BCE (Kuhrt 1997: 634-36, Morkot 2000, Redford 2004: 65-92).

When Tanutamani, who was a son of Shabaqo (721-707/6) and/or a son of a sister of Taharqo (690-664), took the throne in 664 BCE, Lower Egypt was controlled by Assyria. Upper Egypt was at least partly allied with the Kushite state, not the least due to the Kushite control over the powerful office of God’s Wife of Amun in Thebes (occupied by a Kushite princess) and the alliance with the influential official Mentuemhat of the same city. Upon coronation, Tanutamani with his army sailed northwards and managed to take control of much of Lower Egypt, probably killing Nekau I (672-664), Assyria’s main vassal, in the process. This campaign triggered a response from Ashurbanipal (668-631), king of Assyria. In the same year, the Assyrians conquered Egypt, going as far south as Thebes which was sacked. Tanutamani fled to Kush. The Kushite state probably did not try to reconquer Lower Egypt again, although it kept some influence in Upper Egypt due to the God’s Wife of Amun in Thebes. The son of Nekau I, Psamtek I (664-610), took the initiative and subsequently made himself king of all Egypt as well as distanced himself from Assyria by 656 BCE. His daughter Nitocris was adopted as the future God’s Wife of Amun in the same year. Tanutamani died in, or shortly after, 656 BCE, as solely a king of Kush (Kuhrt 1997: 634-36, Breyer 2003: 327-51, Redford 2004: 86-147).

1 The dates of Kushite reigns follow Kahn 2001, using the new evidence in the Tang-i Var Inscription (Redford 1999). The dates of Egyptian reigns follow Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 310-12. The range of regnal years (664-656) for Tanutamani tells of when this ruler also was a king of Egypt. For a full but concise discussion on the chronology of the period, see the study by Kitchen (2009 [1972], ch. 10).
2 The writing of Egyptian and Kushite personal names follow Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 310-12. The same holds true for the writing of divine and geographical names.
3 Assyria is at best only indirectly referred to in the stela text (see subsection 2.5.2).
4 For a fuller description of the historical context, see section 1.3.
5 According to Assyrian annals, which express these possibly conflicting versions (see Böger 1996: A II 22 / B II 10). Dunham and Macadam (1949: 149) propose that Tanutamani was the son of Shabitqo (707/6-690). Török (1994: 191-92) suggests that (in relation to Tanutamani) Shabaqo was father, Shabitqo brother, and Taharqo cousin, while Atlanersa (Tanutamani’s successor) was a son of Taharqo. For fuller discussions regarding the descent of Tanutamani, see Leahy 1984 and Breyer 2003: 15-17.
6 Some scholars, beginning with Schäfer (1897), suppose (contra e.g. Breyer 2003: 12-13) a prior coregency with Taharqo, citing dates on the stela and reliefs in the Osiris-Ptah chapel (see section 1.2).
7 It may be suspected that the loss of Egypt led to discontent and a rebellion towards Tanutamani’s rule. However, there are no signs of his name being erased, his successors followed the same path.
The overarching aim of this thesis is to contribute to studies on the royal ideology of Egypt’s Kushite 25th dynasty. The preciser aim is to portray how Tanutamani describes and depicts his relations (of power) to Kush, Egypt, and other lands (among them Assyria?) in the texts and images on his Dream Stela, while focusing on the concepts of local (authority over Kush), regional (authority over Kush and Egypt), and universal (authority over the whole world) rulership. Finally, a secondary or parallel aim is to contribute to the transcription and translation of the stela text.

Concerning previous research, some of the literature are publications of the Dream Stela – with or without much commentary. The two works that stand out with regard to extensive commentary are those by Onasch (1994) and Breyer (2003). The former book, “Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens”, mainly deals with Assyrian sources and has historical reconstruction as its focal point, however. The latter book, “Tanutamani. Die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld”, is extensive but has a wider focus (thus “Umfeld”) and moreover centres on the literary aspects of the text. The present thesis focuses almost entirely on the Dream Stela and highlights ideology. A still relevant text publication (with practically no commentary) is the one by Pierce (1994) in an anthology of Nubian historical texts. Starting from the work by Mariette (1865), the stela has also been published by Maspero (1868), Brugsch (1877), Chabas (1883), Schäfer (1883), Chabas (1883), Schäfer (1883), Breasted (1906), Budge (1912), Akmar (1924), Roeder (1961), and Grimal (1981). The lastly mentioned work does not contain a translation but it does contain a collated copy of the stela (see Figs. 1-8), thus in a way outdating the one by Devéria in the study of Mariette 1889 (see Figs. 9-10).

Some studies focus on aspects of Tanutamani and his reign. The descent of the said ruler is centred on by Leahy (1984), and the king’s name is dissected by Struve (1926). The context of the Dream Stela, namely its provenance, is discussed by Reisner (1930), while the content of the stela, i.e. the literary aspects of its inscription, is highlighted by Shirum-Grumach (1982). The mortuary area of the king, namely his pyramid in El-Kurru, is explored in writing by Gasm es-Seed (1985).

Other studies deal with Kushite royal ideology, in parts or as a whole. Török (1995, 2002) discusses the ideology and world view of the Kushite state and culture in two books. Grimal (1986) centres on propagandistic aspects in Kushite royal inscriptions, notably the terminology of the texts, while Russmann (1974) investigates the visual representations of the kings of the 25th dynasty. Kushite ideology and history are the main topics in the books of Morkot (2000) and Redford (2004). Ideology and history in the reign of Taharqo, Tanutamani’s nearest predecessor, are explored in the books of Dallabor (2005) and Pope (2014). The special study on Kushite royal statuary by Bonnet and Valbelle (2007) may also be mentioned here.

Relations between Kush, Egypt, and Assyria are centred on in other works. The presence of Kushites and Assyrians in Egypt is explored by von Zeissl (1944). Spalinger (1974b) often discusses the said relations in his articles from the 1970’s, focusing on the Assyrian conquests of Egypt. The conflict between Kush and Assyria culturally and politically, and there was a continued contact with the north (Saite Egypt) (Morkot 2000: 302). In other words, Tanutamani’s departure from the Kushite throne was probably undramatic.

For a discussion on these terms central for this study, see section 1.2.

In this thesis, the terms Nubia(n) and Kush(ite) are used as synonyms, as is common in scholarly literature in the English language (Dallabor 2005: 5). The Graeco-Roman term Aethiopia has been avoided. For a concise discussion of the relevant terminology, see e.g. O’Connor 1993: 3.

The name of the stela (Dream Stela / “Stèle du songe”) was coined in this work (Breyer 2003: 51).

For an overview of stela publications, see notably Breyer 2003: 47-57.
is the topic of a book by Picchi (1997). The articles by Kahn (2004, 2006) and Zamazalová (2011) likewise highlight the interaction between these two states.

1.2 Material and method

Based on a date reference in the stela (l. 3) and on logical reasoning, the Dream Stela can be dated to the first regnal year of Tanutamani, namely to 664 BCE. The Dream Stela was rediscovered in 1862 CE, reportedly by an Egyptian officer. It was found together with four other stelae made by Nubian kings, among these the famous Triumph Stela of Piy (JE 48862). The said officer informed Mariette (head of the Bulaq Museum in Cairo) of the find, and the stelae were then shipped to this museum, arriving as late as 1864, the Dream Stela receiving the museum number JE 48863. The stelae were apparently found in the so-called “Tempel B 500”, i.e. the great temple of the god Amun of Napata at Gebel Barkal, in modern Dongola province (Breyer 2003: 42-47). Preciser provenance is not at hand, although the later excavator of the temple Reisner (1930: 84-89) suggested court B 501 as the likely location.

With regard to its external appearance, the Dream Stela is made of greyish granite. The stone is slightly worn and damaged. Following the measurements of Grimal (1981), it is 132 cm high and 72 cm wide. It is rounded at the top, forming a so-called lunette. In the lunette on the front side of the stela, there are images and captions, framed by a winged sun disk at the top. The iconography consists of two scenes, one oriented to the left and the other to the right, divided by hieroglyph “pillars”. In the lunette on the back side, the text in hieroglyphs (written from right to left) gives lines 20-25. Below the said two scenes, there are the first 19 lines of the text. On the back side, there are 23 more lines, making a total of 42 lines. The script used is Egyptian hieroglyphs (and the language used is Middle Egyptian) (Breyer 2003: 58-65).

Regarding the actual content (textual and visual) of the stela, the visual scene to the right shows the king (with a royal woman behind him) offering to Amun of Napata, while the scene to the left depicts the king (with another royal woman behind him) offering to Amun of Thebes. Concerning the textual content, some publishers of the text have not divided the text into sections (e.g. Budge 1912). Others have done this, either based on literary style (Breyer 2003: 253-67) or narrative stages (e.g. Schäfer 1905: 57-77). However, it seems to me that the most efficient way to divide the text into sections is to centre on where the action takes place, at least after the captions and the titulary when the actual narrative starts. With regard to the literary genre of the text, there are affinities to the “Königsnouvelle”, with its focus on the king as recipient of divine inspiration or as protagonist of the related decision-making

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12 It is unlikely that Tanutamani commissioned the triumphal monument that the Dream Stela in essence is after the conquering of the whole of Egypt by Assyrian troops in 664/663 BCE.
13 This dating seems to be generally accepted in Nubian studies. In line with this, Török and Pierce (1994: 193), implicitly or explicitly, also favour this dating in their FHN-comments.
14 The remaining three are the “Harsiyotef Stela” (JE 48864), the “Banishment Stela” (JE 48865), and the “Enthronement Stela of Aspelta” (JE 48866). The “Nastasen Stela” (JE 48884), now in Berlin (Berlin 2268), may also have been placed in Gebel Barkal (Breyer 2003: 42, n. 5). In terms of chronology, the stelae thus range from the eighth (Piy) to the fourth (Nastasen) centuries BCE.
15 Breyer (2003: 222-23) characterizes the language as “gutem Mittelägyptisch” with only a few examples of influences from Late Egyptian, such as the occasional use of definite articles. For a brief discussion on some elements of the grammar of the stela text, see Breyer 2003: 227-29.
16 Breyer (2003: 231-35) divides the stela text into two main parts: before and after the dialogues.
17 An exception to this principle would be in the very long section on “Tanutamani in Lower Egypt”, when the narrative stages of warfare (ll. 16-26) and peace (ll. 26-42) can create a point of separation.
process (Hermann 1938, Osing 1980, Shirum-Grumach 1993). As is often the case in Egyptian literature, there is alternation of genres and styles within the text.18

Turning to other primary sources that have been preserved from the reign of Tanutamani, there are two headless, about two metre high, statues in black diorite or granite of Tanutamani from the temple of Amun of Napata, now in Toledo (see Fig. 11) and Khartoum (see Dunham 1970: pl. 11). A statue head in quartzite of Amun from the temple of Sanam, now in Oxford, has also been preserved (see Wenig 1978: fig. 84). There are also statues of Tanutamani (with heads intact) from the recent excavations at Kerma preserved (see Bonnet and Valbelle 2003: figs. 12-13). A chapel to Osiris-Ptah(-neb-ankh) located outside central Karnak, begun by Taharqo and completed by Tanutamani, contains reliefs portraying deities and the said kings (see Figs. 13-14 and Mariette 1889: figs. 79-87). A porch and kiosk in the temple of Amun of Napata can also be dated to Tanutamani (Hakem 1988: 122-24). Finally, the said ruler’s pyramid (Ku 16) in el-Kurru should be mentioned. The pyramid (c. 8 m²) and adjoining chapel (both probably of sandstone) have few remains but the two underground chambers are preserved and carry wall and roof paintings that e.g. depict deities, symbols, and Tanutamani (see Fig. 12 and Dunham 1950: pls. 17-19).

As for Tanutamani and non-Kushite (but contemporary) sources, the Assyrian conquest is narrated in the annals of Ashurbanipal (see Borger 1996: A II 22-48). A relief scene from Ashurbanipal’s palace in Nineveh visually tells of Assyria attacking Egypt (see Barnett 1976: pl. 36). These (and all of the above) sources will merely add to the discussion based on the Dream Stela, i.e. the source base proper.20

Concluding this discussion on the primary sources, the underlying assumption of this thesis project is that the Dream Stela to a considerable extent is “propaganda”, requiring a “decoding” in the source analysis. It would be reductionist to view the stela and its content as solely propagandistic, however. Religious, historical, and literary aims should also be considered. The stela was set up in a temple and the deities have prominent roles in the narrative. An aim consisting of narrating a story, of historical narration, can also be suggested. There may also have been a focus on creating an outstanding literary and iconographical piece through the stela. I would nevertheless consider the propagandistic aim as the most important one. Religion can function as a mere political tool, it is unlikely that the king sought an objective his position and actions to the contemporary world, of creating and using “ideological state apparatuses” (Althusser 1971). The Dream Stela is essentially about ideology, a point confirmed not the least by the idealized picture of Tanutamani on the stela.22

18 A literary piece can convey not only high-flown poetic elements but also crude direct speech (Shirum-Grumach 1982). Breyer (2003: 253-67) distinguishes four styles in the stela text: hymnic, “orational”, “semi-orational”, and prose, sorting these under the headings poetry, prose, and verse.

19 This work presents drawings. For a selection of photographs, see e.g. Leclant 1976: figs. 103-05.

20 There are also posture sources on Tanutamani and his reign in hellenistic (Palyaenus’ Strategemata, see Hopfner 1922: 342 / vii 3) and biblical (Nahum, see Nah. 3, 8-9 in the Old Testament) texts. Lastly, an unpublished Nubian king list arguably mentions Tanutamani (Breyer 2003: 433-35).

21 For a presentation of sources by or on Tanutamani beside the stela, see Breyer 2003: 352-445. Breyer here also brings up graffiti (on stones from the Luxor temple, focusing on the appointment of priests in the relevant reign) and non-monumental sources (royal funerary goods) linked to Tanutamani.

22 Although the level of literacy in Kush probably was very low (even lower than in Egypt) and royal texts were presented in a foreign script and language (Egyptian), royal texts were often publicly placed and an oral transmission (in translation) may be presumed (Török 2002: 331-34, 367, 395-98). Literary elements of the Dream Stela text tell that “it was written (also) for oral performance” (Török 2002: 406). Also, the art was still accessible, and the monument as such must have served to inspire awe.
The results of this thesis project will be derived from art and philology analyses. While proceeding from the preciser aim, a critical analysis or close reading of the texts and images will be conducted. Regarding image interpretation, the methods are bipartite. On the one hand, interpretation will be made from the captions (which describe the scenes). On the other hand, the iconography will be grasped by focusing on art historical aspects such as proportion and perspective. These aspects will e.g. tell, due to size and position respectively, how powerful each of the depicted agents are. The hieroglyphs, in their roles as determinatives, can serve as visual signifiers of semantics in that they classify words, thus linking image and idea. Concerning text interpretation, the philological analysis entails close attention to matters of semantics, morphology, and syntax. The semantic range of a word is naturally rewarding to explore, while morphology and syntax are of course vital for a tenable understanding of the text, e.g. conveying tense and sentence structure. On another level, it also entails paying attention to dialect, register, and style. In other words, the dialect (archaic or colloquial), the register (formal or informal), and the style (poetic or plain prose) can all say something regarding the propagandistic messages of the text.

The analysis seeks to identify ideological motifs and themes regarding Tanutamani, Kush(ites), Egypt(ians), and other lands and peoples. The concepts regional, local, and universal rulership are central in the classifying of the identified ideological motifs and themes. Tanutamani appears as a regional ruler when the sources explicitly state him as ruler of Egyptian animate and inanimate agents and objects, and when he adopts Egyptian cultural expressions. Tanutamani appears as a local ruler when the sources explicitly state him as ruler of Kushite animate and inanimate agents and objects, and when he displays Kushite cultural expressions. The said ruler appears as a universal ruler when the sources explicitly state him as the ruler of animate and inanimate agents and objects of the whole world or distant lands (such as Assyria(ns)), and when he adopts cultural expressions of distant lands.

As already stated, the contributing to the transcription and translation of the stela text is a secondary or parallel aim of this study. The contributing part mainly consists of a revising of the transcription and translation of Pierce (1994) in FHN (the latest treatment in English that I know of), effectively leading to a new treatment in English of the stela text. The said contributing secondarily consists of a translating of the stela text into Swedish, updating the aged Swedish translation of Akmar (formerly Andersson) from 1924. In the transcription process, I proceed from the collated copy in Grimal 1981. Secondarily, I consult the copy in Mariette 1889. In this way, I

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23 In my text interpretation, I follow the Middle Egyptian grammar of Englund (1995), derived from the analysis of Polotsky. I use the dictionaries AWb. II (Middle Kingdom vocabulary) and Wb. I-VI.

24 The belonging of identified cultural expression is discussed in the analysis chapter. Determining true origins is of course not unproblematic, but classifying (e.g.) the was-sceptre and the wish formula “life-prosperity-health” as examples of Egyptian cultural expressions need not be controversial.

25 Judging from Breyer (2003: 57), who calls Pierce’s translation “clumsy” and following Breasted 1906 and Budge 1912, there is room for improvement. If that is the case, then this latest translation in English of the Dream Stela is in need of an update. Pierce (1994: 207) himself makes a single comment in connection to his treatment, saying (almost apologetic) that “the somewhat stilted language of this text reveals an unsuccessful attempt to emulate the great Triumphal Stela of Pt(ankh)y”.

26 My Swedish translation closely follows my English one, and the two sets of transcriptions are identical. A few critical comments to Akmar’s Swedish translation are added in the footnotes.

27 As noted by Breyer (2003: 54), the copy by Grimal has flaws. For example, the signs are crudely drawn, and it is sometimes difficult (or even impossible) to identify the signs. In contrast, the copy by Devéria is a masterpiece in terms of beauty and clarity (although arguably incorrect at times). In light of all his criticism, it is noteworthy that Breyer did not produce a copy of his own in his study.
strategically consult the earliest and latest copy of the stela.\textsuperscript{28} I use the traditional way of transcribing, i.e. with a modest use of dots, equal signs, and special signs, due to readability and the unclear relevance of some special signs.\textsuperscript{29} In the translation process, I pay attention not only to Pierce’s translation but also to the other modern translations of the stela, i.e. those of Onasch (1994) and Breyer (2003), both in German. Whenever I substantially diverge from Pierce’s translation, I comment on this in the footnotes. In the choice between literal and figurative translations, my intent was to favour the former but without making my translation unreadable.

In the presentation of my transcription and translation, I dissect one hieroglyphic line at a time, with transcription above translation. In order to enhance readability, the translation is set in bold print. My English translation and its transcription are (subdivided) in the six discussion sections and (undivided and in their entirety) in the first appendix, while my Swedish translation is to be found in the second appendix.\textsuperscript{30}

1.3 Historical and ideological background

Before the art and text analyses of the following chapter, a historical and ideological background needs to be given. I will begin by devoting some paragraphs to the historical background, and then conclude by sketching the ideological background. In line with the preciser aim, the polities of Kush, Egypt, and Assyria are centred on. As already stated, Egypt was at this time weak and fragmented politically, being in the Third Intermediate Period (1068-748), far from the times of the New Kingdom (1550-1069) when Egypt was not only unified but also in control of the Levant (at least Palestine) and Nubia (down to the fourth cataract). The 22nd (945-715), 23rd (818-715), and 24th (727-715) dynasties, all centred in the delta and composed of Libyan chiefs, co-existed in the second half of the eighth century BCE. Upper Egypt, with Thebes as its most important city, seems to have been relatively independent, in practice being ruled by the high priest of Amun and the God’s Wife of Amun, although it at least from time to time (especially in the 21st and early 22nd dynasties) used the regnal years of northern rulers in its dating systems and agreed to adopt northern princesses to the office of God’s Wife of Amun. It was also, especially in the early Third Intermediate Period, common with intermarriages between northern and southern ruling families (Yoyotte 1961, Gomaà 1974, Kitchen 2009 [1972]).

In modern-day Sudan, the kingdom of Kush and the 25th dynasty seem to have emerged in the nine or eighth century BCE after the end of the colonial era of Egypt’s New Kingdom followed by a time period of decline in terms of archaeological remains.\textsuperscript{31} The Kushite kingdom, centred on the city Napata (Gebel Barkal) near the fourth cataract (see Fig. 15), had ambitions to rule over Egypt (i.e. the land north of

\textsuperscript{28} Copies can also be found in Maspero 1868, Schäfer 1905, Budge 1912, and Akmar 1924.

\textsuperscript{29} Coincidentally, this is also the preference of Pierce in his transcription. This minimalist approach, I believe, resists research fashion and eases communication between generations of scholars. At the other end of the scale, Breyer, who follows the complex transcription system worked out by Schenkel (1988), excels in the use of dots, equal signs, and (especially) special signs (such as č and ĩ). As for signs, I naturally follow the sign list and code system of Gardiner (1994 [1957]).

\textsuperscript{30} As for appendices, the section in the annals of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal where Tanutamani is spoken of is presented in a third appendix, in transliteration, transcription, and translation.

\textsuperscript{31} The rise of the Napatan kingdom is obscure. The evidence from the royal cemetery at el-Kurru (a main source) can give only preliminary conclusions. Opinions diverge on the points of continuity or change and internal or external impulses, with the image of a drastic change (a decline) and of low external (Egyptian) impulses often relying on a racist framework. What is clear is that fairly complex, indigenous cultures had existed earlier: the A-group, C-group, and Kerma (Morkot 2000: 129-44).
the first cataract) as well. In mid eighth century BCE, the Kushite ruler Kashta, heir to Alara who is viewed as the founder of the kingdom, seems to have enjoyed some kind of authority in Elephantine (Aswan) on the Egyptian side of the border. However, it was his successor Piy that managed to conquer (significant parts of) Egypt. This ruler narrates on his Triumph Stela how he seized Upper Egypt and Memphis, as well as causing delta rulers to subjugate. Especially the 24th dynasty, centred at the western delta city of Sais, was an adversary, especially under one of its rulers named Tefnakht. Piy’s conquests turned out to be only temporary and Kushite influence came to be largely limited to Upper Egypt. It was up to his successors Shabaqo, Shabitqo, and Taharqo to varyingly renew or consolidate Kush’s hold of Egypt (O’Connor 1993: 58-84, Morkot 2000, Redford 2004: 58-85).

In the second half of the eighth century BCE, the Neo-Assyrian state (934-612) developed into an empire, controlling much of the Ancient Near East. Its imperialist expansion resulted e.g. in the subjugating of virtually all of the Levant (including Palestine). Egypt have always had commercial and geopolitical interests in Palestine, and when Kushite kings, the new masters of Egypt, through Shabaqo and/or Shabitqo began to foment opposition to Assyrian rule in the Levant, the relations between Assyria and Kush turned into outright war. Egypt was here squeezed between the said great powers. The army of Sennacherib (704-681) clashed with Egyptian-Kushite auxiliary troops at Eltekeh in Palestine in 701 BCE, but Egypt avoided being conquered at this time. In 674 BCE, the army of Esarhaddon made a failed attempt at conquering Egypt (Kuhrt 1997: 634-36, Morkot 2000, Redford 2004: 86-92).

Three years later, in 671 BCE, the troops of this ruler eventually managed to conquer (at least northern) Egypt. Egyptian vassals were appointed, Assyrian officials installed, and taxation duties determined. The said vassals rebelled not long after, encouraged by the Kushite king Taharqo who conquered Memphis. Esarhaddon then marched to subdue the rebellion but died on route. It was left to his son Ashurbanipal to quell the uprising in 667 BCE. The rebel kings were punished. Nekau I, king of Sais, was eventually pardoned, and reinstalled in Assyrian vassalage. Three years later, in 664 BCE, the history repeated itself. Tanutamani conquered most parts of Egypt and killed Nekau I (who belonged to those who rejected Kushite rule) in the process. Ashurbanipal’s army came back the same year and conquered Egypt, including Thebes which was sacked. Tanutamani, just like Taharqo before him, escaped to Kush. At Tanutamani’s death in, or shortly after, 656 BCE, Atlanersa took the Kushite throne (Kuhrt 1997: 634-36, Morkot 2000, Redford 2004: 86-147).

Kush probably did not return as a conqueror of Egypt after 664 BCE, although the God’s Wife of Amun was Kushite and Tanutamani’s regnal years were used for

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32 As pointed out by O’Connor (1993: 2-4), the area between the first and sixth cataracts can not be viewed as homogenous, geographically, culturally, or ethnically. At least Lower, Upper, and Southern Nubia can be distinguished. A successfully centralizing ruler would manage to unite the whole area.

33 The firm position of Kush in Upper Egypt was not the least due to an alliance with the strong man of Thebes, Mentuemhat, who was married to Wedjarenes, a granddaughter of Piy (Morkot 2000: 297).

34 According to the historical reconstruction (using Assyrian sources) of Kahn (2001: 13), Shabaqo supported the anti-Assyrian ruler of Gaza in 720 BCE. The troops of Shabaqo’s field-marshall were then defeated on the brink of Egypt by Sargon II (721-705). In 712 BCE, Shabaqo harboured the fleeing ruler of Ashdod from Assyria. Shabitqo later, c. 706 BCE, extradited this ruler to Assyria, in a gesture of good will. When Assyria struggled, Shabitqo came to join the anti-Assyrian coalition in Palestine that culminated at Eltekeh in 701 BCE. To this picture should be added the claim that a “king of Egypt”, probably Osorkon IV (730-715) of Bubastis, sent diplomatic gifts to Sargon II in 716 BCE.

35 Based on some foreign and later sources (see section 1.2), Morkot (2000: 297-98) and Breyer (2003: 327-33) believe that Tanutamani (named Tementhes in these sources) returned and made an attempt to recapture Memphis from the hands of Psamtek I at some point after 663 BCE.
dating in Thebes until 656 BCE. In the same year, Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtek I, was adopted as the future God’s Wife of Amun, and the regnal years of the said ruler were centred on. Psamtek I had also managed to free himself from Assyrian domination. Egypt, once again unified, entered the Saite period (664-525) under the 26th dynasty. Later Saite foreign policy appears to have favoured Assyria while being hostile towards Kush. Egyptian troops under Nekau II (610-595) fought alongside Assyrian ones (notably at Carchemish 605 BCE) in the latter’s war with the Medes and Babylonians around 610 BCE, while Psamtek II (595-589) fought and devastated Kush far to the south in 593 BCE. The capital of Kush was eventually moved down to Meroe near the sixth cataract (Breyer 2003: 327-51, Redford 2004: 139-47).

Concerning Kushite royal ideology, many aspects of it are unclear, especially with regard to internal, worldly affairs. The Kushite rulers used the Egyptian language and script for their official inscriptions, and the focal point in these is the king’s relationship with the deities rather than on his relationship with the people and land of Kush. Having said that, Kushite royal ideology presents the king as in charge of the military, temples, and bureaucracy. Vassals or officials administered the provinces on his behalf. The Kushite pantheon was dominated by Osiris and Isis in the mortuary sphere, and Isis, Amun, and Apedemak in the worldly sphere. The said Egyptian deities were adapted to the Nubian cultural milieu. Apedemak, a lion-headed god, seems to have been of Nubian origins. The prosperity of the land, located along the Nile and dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry, was thought of as dependent upon the king’s good relationship with the deities. The Kushite kings were buried in stone pyramids with adjoining mortuary chapels. Although these were inspired by Egyptian culture, they display certain local traits, such as their modest dimensions, sharp slopes, and flat capstones (O’Connor 1993: 70-84, Morkot 2012).

Regarding the aspects of Kushite royal ideology that were related to foreign policy, the natural centre point was Egypt. The rulers of Kush viewed Egypt as their legitimate possession. Their claim is expressed in multiple ways in the said state’s official inscriptions, iconography, and architecture. Most importantly, the Kushite kings adopted the Egyptian five-part royal titulary, and the double uraei on the king’s crowned forehead also spoke of the said claim. Art and architecture, which was at least partly strongly Egyptianized (e.g. in the shape of pyramids and temples), are also witnesses of the Kush kingdom’s strong links to Egypt. The religious bonds, in the sense of distinct gods and goddesses, between Egypt and Kush have already been mentioned. In short, the rulers of Kush saw Egypt as part of their natural inheritance. The expelling of Tanutamani and his troops from Egypt by the forces of Ashurbanipal did not change this, and it is likely that the above described Nubian campaign of

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36 For a publication and discussion of the “Nitocris Adoption Stela”, see Caminos 1964.
37 Psamtek I was initially an Assyrian vassal (Spalinger 1976), even having an Akkadian name (Nabû-šēzibboni) (see Borger 1996: A 117), meaning “Nabu (a Mesopotamian god), save me!” He probably fled to Assyria after his father was killed, returning with Ashurbanipal’s army (Morkot 2000: 295).
38 Initially, the relations between Late Nubian Kush and Saite Egypt seems to have been peaceful, e.g. in their respecting each other’s positions in Thebes (Morkot 2000: 299-302). An initially tense relation between Saite Egypt and Assyria can be seen in Ashurbanipal’s narrations of Psamtek I using troops from Gyges, the king of Lydia, to free himself from Assyria (see Borger 1996: A 114-15).
39 Although the native language can be discerned in the Egyptian texts (Priese 1968, 1972, Peust 1999), it did not come fully into expression until the invention of the Meroitic script which consisted of alphabetic signs that were derived from Egyptian hieroglyphic signs (O’Connor 1993: 82, fig. 6.4).
40 As for pyramids and local traits, royal horses were lavishly buried at el-Kurru. At least one of these can (through an inscribed necklace) be linked to Tanutamani (Kendall 1982: 32, Dallibor 2005: 8). Also, at least the tomb of Shabitqo hints at the Kushite custom of bed-burials (Morkot 2000: 228).
41 For discussions on this titulary and these uraei, see subsections 2.2.2 and 2.1.2 respectively.
Psamtek II can be interpreted in this light (Redford 2004: 65-147). The myth of the Kushite state was centred on the concept of order and on the adapting of Egyptian ideas on the role of temples and kingship (Török 1995, 2002: 40-258, 331-413).

Kushite royal ideology in its foreign policy aspects clashed completely with the corresponding ones in Egypt and Assyria. According to Egyptian royal ideology, Egypt was at the centre, with Asia and Nubia in the periphery. Both these areas represented Chaos and had to be controlled to defend Order. Telling of this idea is of course the depictions of the pharaoh smiting individuals with Asiatic and Nubian (and Libyan) characteristics. Although Nubia (especially Lower Nubia) was Egyptianized in the New Kingdom, e.g. with the building of Egyptian temples, and although Nubia (governed by an Egyptian viceroy) was seen as a part of the Egyptian state, it was Egypt that was supposed to rule Nubia, not vice versa (Hornung 1992, Redford 2004: 1-10, 38-57). Neo-Assyrian state ideology carried a notion of divine warfare, where the deities, mainly the god Ashur, had ordered the Assyrian king to conquer the whole world, thus implementing the theoretical world dominion of the Mesopotamian deities. In other words, the Assyrian king should be the sole ruler of the world under the aegis and direction of the deities (Holloway 2001). This imperialist ethos naturally collided with the expansionist notions of Egyptian and Kushite propaganda.

\[42\] The Assyrian point of view is conveyed (e.g.) in the annals of Ashurbanipal. The section in which this king’s dealings with Tanutamani are focused on is presented in app. 3 of this study.
2. The perspective of Tanutamani throughout the stela

This chapter contains the analytical part of this thesis. Focusing on the precise aim on how Tanutamani describes and depicts his relations (of power) to Kush, Egypt, and other polities (among them Assyria?) on his stela, the chapter has six sections, two of these highlighting the non-narrative parts\(^{43}\) of the stela, and the four others centering on the narrative parts of the stela. The non-narrative parts are subdivided according to form or content, while the narrative ones are subdivided according to geography.\(^{44}\)

2.1 The non-narrative parts I: the texts and images in the lunette

This first non-narrative section focuses on the texts and images on (the front side of) the lunette. The two scenes depict the king, with royal women behind him, offering to two forms of the god Amun. The captions convey either presentations of the depicted agents, the rendering of direct speech from the mouths of the deities, or brief explanatory notes on the illustrated actions from the hands of the royal members.

2.1.1 Sources

![Figure 1: The lunette of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pl. 1).](image)

Left scene, next to the god:
1. \( \text{inm-r}^\text{e} \ n\sb{b} \ ns(w)t \ t3wy \ hr(y)-ib \ ipt-sw t \)
2. \( \text{Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands}^{45}, \text{who resides in Karnak.} \)
3. \( \text{Utterance: “(I) have given you all life and dominion.”} \)

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\(^{43}\) Primarily the titles, epithets, and captions. The visual evidence can of course be understood as narrative in essence, although I interpret the scenes on the stela more as “heraldic” and “frozen” in character. In other words, the scenes in question are so standard that they are actually emblematic.

\(^{44}\) The non-narrative parts can hardly be subdivided in another way than according to form or content, as shown e.g. by the corresponding analyses of Schäfer (1905: 57-58) and Breyer (2003: 448-53).

\(^{45}\) \( \text{FHN} \) (e.g. p. 193), i.e. Pierce 1994, has the awkward phrase “Two-lands” throughout.
3. Utterance: “(I) have given you every land, all foreign countries, the Nine Bows, gathered under your sandals for ever.”

   Left scene, next to the king:
4. nsw-bity nb tpwy b3-k3-r$^e$
4. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands: Ba-Ka-Re,
5. s3 r$^e$ nb h$^w$ t3-n-w3-ti-imn
5. the son of Re, lord of the crowns: Tanutamani,
6. mr(y) imn
6. beloved of Amun,
7. di(y)$^50$ n$h$ dt
7. given life for ever,
8. di(t)$^51$ m$j(y)$ n it=f$^52$ imn ir=f di(t) n$h$
8. giving Maat to (his) father Amun, so that he (Amun) may give life.$^53$

   Left scene, next to the royal woman:
9. sn(t) nsw h$^m$ t n(t) kmt
9. The king’s sister, (king’s) wife, mistress of the black (land),
10. [p(y)-]j-r$^y$$^55$
10. [Ply-]iry,
11. irt s$s$(St)
11. shaking the sistrum.

   Right scene, next to the god:
12. imn-r$^r$ nb n$s(w)t$ tpwy h$^r(y)-i$b (d$w-$)w$^b$
12. Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal.
13. dd mdw di.n(=i) n=k h$^r$.ti m nsw-bity h$^r$ st h$^r$.n$^56$ n$h(y)y$ w mi r$^e$ dt
13. Utterance: “(I) have caused you appearing as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, for ever.”
14. dd mdw di.n(=i) n=k ‘n$h w$z$s nb
14. Utterance: “(I) have given you all life and dominion.”

$^{46}$ FHN (e.g. p. 194) consistently does not have added stative endings. In this thesis, I consistently add these endings, thus distinguishing stative forms from predicative infinitives.

$^{47}$ Erroneously, FHN (p. 194) gives h$^r$ instead of the correct h$^r$ (sign T 28).

$^{48}$ In contrast to FHN (pp. 194-95), which mixes past and present tense in the translation of this phrase that occurs several times in the captions, I consistently use past tense.

$^{49}$ The translation of this title is omitted in FHN (p. 194).

$^{50}$ The transcription in FHN (pp. 194-95) often lacks passive endings for these participles.

$^{51}$ FHN (e.g. p. 194) consistently does not add the infinitive ending -t for finally weak verbs.

$^{52}$ This form is written with only one horned viper (sign I 9) throughout the stela text.

$^{53}$ The final part of this sentence is complex. I agree with FHN (p. 194) in seeing ir=f as causal, although I interpret di(t) as an infinitive. Breyer (2003: 81-83) also identifies the principle do ut des. The copy by Grimal (1981) illustrates (probably erroneously) r (sign D 21) rather than ir (sign D 4).

$^{54}$ The word nsw is actually written only once, although FHN (p. 194) makes use of it twice. Breyer (2003: 83), unconvincingly, seeks to explain the lack by pointing to a honorary transposition. It is grammatically awkward with a genitival construction of three words without any genitival adjective.

$^{55}$ Grimal (1981), who has collated the stela, also reads ‘n$h. For an exhaustive discussion concerning the various reconstructions of the name in question, see Breyer 2003: 23-31.

$^{56}$ The hieroglyphic text actually gives n$t$ (genitival adjective), as picked up upon in FHN (p. 195). However, this can be seen as a mere expression of archaism, to be neglected in transcription. Breyer (2003: 69) refers to this form as an example of a “hypercorrection” on the part of the scribe.

$^{57}$ Contextually, the word “caused” seems to be a better choice than “given” of FHN (p. 195).
Right scene, next to the king:
15. nsw-bity nb t3wy b3-kj-ri
15. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands: Ba-Ka-Re,
16. sj ri nb h‘w t3-n-w3-ti-imn
16. the son of Re, lord of the crowns: Tanutamani,
17. mr(y) imn
17. beloved of Amun,
18. d(y) ‘nh mi ri
18. given life like Re,
19. dit wj3(w) n it(=f)
19. giving an amulet \(^{58}\) to (his) father.

Right scene, next to the royal woman:
20. sn(t) nsw hn(w)t n(t) tj-st(y)
20. The king’s sister, mistress of bow land,
21. k-l-h-tj\(^{59}\)
21. Qalhata,
22. irt ss(St)
22. shaking the sistrum.

2.1.2 Analysis

This initial analysis section is divided according to type of source, with the art analysis followed by the philological one. As in all coming analysis sections, the discussion revolves around the concepts of regional, local, and universal rulership.

The iconographic elements of the lunette tell much of Egyptian cultural influence and of the Kushite king as a regional ruler, with Egypt and Kush as his joint dominion. Firstly, the motif and style of the visual composition present Tanutamani as an Egyptian ruler. The \textit{motif}, consisting of the king offering to deities while being accompanied by his most influential royal women, is well-attested in native Egyptian art tradition.\(^{60}\) Also the \textit{style} of the composition speaks of Egyptian art elements. This is most apparent in the representation of the royals and gods, e.g. with the special renderings of the eyes and torso, and in the use of “social perspective” whereby size corresponds to rank (Robins 1997: 19-24, 210-29).\(^{61}\) The portraits of 25th dynasty kings were inspired by the art of the Old Kingdom (Russmann 1974: 22-23).\(^{62}\)

There are also several \textit{symbols} which are represented in the scenes in the lunette that tell of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler. Both gods hold the ankh-sign (S 34) in one of their hands, a symbol of the gift of life. They also both hold the was-sign (S 40), alluding to dominion, in their other hand. Both of these symbols are of course well-established in Egyptian art. The uraei (as such), i.e.


\(^{59}\) FHN (p. 195) fails to denote the sign/sound value \(k\) (emphatic \(k\), sign N 29) here.

\(^{60}\) Tanutamani is also depicted as the high-priest of Egypt in the reliefs on the Osiris-Ptah chapel at Karnak, e.g. as he worships the deities Amun, Mut, and Osiris-Ptah (see Figs. 13-14).

\(^{61}\) It should be noted, though, that there are some characteristics of Kushite and Late Period art when it comes to the rendering of human beings, such as rounded heads, short noses, pronounced nose-wings, full lips set near the nose, chubby cheeks, short chins, and thick necks (Robins 1997: 216-18).

\(^{62}\) A statue of Tanutamani (see Fig. 11) also indicates this (Breyer 2003: 364), on account of the broad-shouldered and muscular torso and the crudely shaped boan-musculature (Russmann 1974: 22-23). Parallels to Assyrian art (particularly on musculature) are possible but unlikely (Morkot 2000: 286).
the cobras, on the king’s and royal women’s foreheads are of course also indicative of the Egyptian visual arts. The royal women hold two other Egyptian symbols in their hands, namely the sistrum (used by priestesses in the cult) and the characteristically shaped libation vase (used for offerings). Moreover, the winged sun disc (decorated with uraei) that hovers over the offering scenes also tells of Egyptian iconography (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 34, 67, 271-72, 302-05, Bonnet 2000 [1952]: 424-26).  

Furthermore, the clothing (including decorations worn on the body) of the depicted agents is telling of Egyptian cultural influence and of the Kushite king as a regional ruler. The gods’ two-plumed crown (and the one god’s ram’s head) are speaking of Egyptian origins, in their representing the god Amun (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 31-32). The (usekh-)collar illustrated around the necks of all six agents is another Egyptian type of clothing, already attested in the art of the Old Kingdom (Brovarski 1997). The bull’s tail worn by all male agents is also indicative of Egyptian visual arts, attested as far back as the Early Dynastic Period, at least as part of royal regalia (Wilkinson 1999: 161-62). Kushite royal ideology defines the king as a bull in his ruling of Egypt (Morkot 2000: 197-204). The actual clothing also tells of Egyptian inspiration. The gods are typically depicted with a plain, tightly fitting kilt and with some sort of tightly fitting, artful clothing around the torso. The king (depicted twice) wears another kind of typically Egyptian piece of textile, namely the apron-kilt, characterized by its protruding, triangular front piece (Hall 1986, Mendoza 2017).

There are, however, also iconographic elements that speak of Kushite traditions and of Tanutamani as a local ruler. There are e.g. insignia that express Kushite origins. The double uraei on the king’s forehead are typically Kushite (Hofmann 1971: 45). In contrast, native Egyptian rulers have a single uraeus on their foreheads. According to photographic evidence of the stela (Priese 1978: fig. 53), the double uraei in the lunette wear the red and white crowns on their reptile heads, seemingly telling of the ideas of a dominion over Lower and Upper Egypt respectively and of the symbols of Wadjyt and Nekhbet (patron deities of these regions) being expressed (Russmann 1974: 40, Török 1987: 6-7). Nevertheless, it is also possible to interpret this duality as signifying dominion over Egypt and Kush (Hintze 1962: 45), not the least since also the royal women who are depicted in the lunette wear (single) uraei, implying multiple meanings of the uraei (Breyer 2003: 63). Telling of complexity, the kings of the 25th dynasty wear no, one, or two uraei (who not consistently wear the crowns) on their foreheads (Russmann 1974: 36).

As for insignia and decorations on the king’s head, the royal cap crown is another Kushite feature (Hofmann 1971: 45). Consisting of a tightly fitted cap of unknown

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63 As for symbols, the paintings inside the king’s tomb at el-Kurru, e.g. with Egyptian deities and hieroglyphs, sun discs, ba-birds, scarabs, and star-draped ceilings (see Fig. 12), are also indicative of Kush indebted to Egyptian iconography. The pyramid itself also talks of cultural influence.

64 It should be noted, though, that the ram’s head may also have been adapted under the influence of a Nubian ram god (Kendall 1997: 76-78), thus modifying the Egyptianness of this manifestation. On the same note, the royal body ornaments with ram’s heads, attested e.g. on the statuary of Tanutamani (Breyer 2003: 364), form a typically Kushite iconographic detail (Gamer-Wallert 1983: 123). Images of Tanutamani sometimes display him with a necklace of one central and two flanking ram’s heads with solar discs, ear-rings with ram’s heads, and ram’s horns around his ears (Hofmann 1971: 48).

65 They are Kushite markers in their being so often present on the foreheads of Kushite rulers. Russmann (1974: 39-42) shows that there are Egyptian precedents of the double uraei, notably on the foreheads of queens and the god Monthu and in association with symbols of the god Osiris.

66 Tanutamani is himself depicted wearing the white and red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively in the relief program on the walls of the Osiris-Pth chapel (see Fig. 14).

67 In the sense of its frequent use by the Kushite rulers. Russmann (1974: 32) once again sees Egyptian precedents, in particular through attestations as royal regalia in the New Kingdom.
material (presumably of some fine metal), complemented by a diadem of a sort (on which the double uraei seem to be attached), and decorated with two long ribbons that hang down from the back side of the crown, it does not closely resemble any Egyptian crown (Török 1987: 4-13), although delineations in the crown have parallels in the Egyptian blue crown (Breyer 2003: 62). Both women also wear this headgear, but then without the ribbons and with only one uraeus attached to the diadem.

The iconographic elements in the lunette tell of Kushite court culture and of Tanutamani as a local ruler also in terms of clothing. The dresses worn by the two female individuals express the Kushite cultural milieu. In contrast to the Egyptian tradition of women’s clothing (Hall 1986, Robins 1993: 181-83), Tanutamani’s female companions wear dresses of a cloak character, alien to Egyptian fashion. It is also possible that the strings that hang down from the front of the dresses represent foxes’ tails, then a female counterpart to the king’s bull’s tail (Lohwasser 1999: 586-601). The sandals worn by the king and one of the royal women can also be seen as signs of local traditions. Sandals were used by priests in the cult also in Egypt, but the Kushite king is comparatively (in relation to Egypt) often portrayed with sandals in his visual propaganda (Breyer 2003: 364). There is no clear pattern as to royal women and sandals, other than sandals being a marker of high status at court (Lohwasser 1999: 592-93). The relative frequency of arm/bracelets on the king, of amulets and jewellery, in Kushite art is also a local feature (Russmann 1974: 25, Morkot 2000: 287). The objects that the king offers to Amun of Napata may be identified with the Napatan Amun amulet and bead-necklace of Kushite art (Dallibor 2005: 14).

There are not any direct clues to visual features that bring to mind the Asiatic or Assyrian part of the world, so Tanutamani cannot be said to evoke a universal rulership or to be influenced by the Asiatic cultural milieu in the lunette scenes.

Moving on to the philological analysis, there is much evidence of Egyptian cultural influence and of the Kushite king as a regional ruler also in the textual parts of the lunette. Firstly, and focusing on the text as such, the inscription on the Dream Stela was composed in (Middle) Egyptian, a fact which naturally indicates considerable dependence. Moreover, the script used was the Egyptian hieroglyphic script.

Tanutamani presents himself as the legitimate political leader of Egypt, not the least through some of his titles. He is introduced as “the king of Upper and Lower Egypt” or “He of the Sedge and the Bee” (nsw-bity) in captions (cll. 4, 13, 15). Moreover, he is referred to as “the lord of the two lands” (nb tjwy) in captions (cll. 4, 15). These are both well-established Egyptian royal titles, telling of the traditional dual kingship so pivotal in Egyptian royal ideology (Leprohon 2013). The role as “uniter of the two lands” was a vital part of Kushite propaganda (Morkot 2000: 179-96). Also a title of one of the royal women, Piy-iry, is illuminative. She is referred to as “the mistress of the black (land)” (ḥn(w)t n(t) kmt), thus alluding to dominion over a united Egypt (cl. 9), with the colour of black representing fertility and order, as opposed to the colour of red symbolizing the opposite (Robins 1997: 14).

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68 Notably, the mentioned blue crown is actually the only Egyptian royal crown that has not been attested on the heads of the Kushite kings of the 25th dynasty (Russmann 1974: 27).

69 The iconographic details of ponytails and bodily corpulence of royal women in Meroitic art (Hofmann 1971: 49, 54) are however not expressed in the visual arts in the lunette, nor do the Kushite close-cut hairstyle or the crowns with special plume arrangements appear (Morkot 2000: 249-50, 288).

70 As for cultural influence in terms of script and language, walls inside Tanutamani’s pyramid contain (corrupt) sections of the Book of the Dead, written in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Breyer 2003: 425).

71 In contrast, royal mortuary texts simply speak of “the king” (nsw) (Breyer 2003: 412). Just like the pyramid itself (in its special Kushite form), this tendency can be viewed as expressing local rulership.
The king in question is also presented as the *religious* leader, or high-priest, of Egypt in the lunette text. This can be seen in various ways, such as in the presence of names of Egyptian deities in the king’s titles. The throne name *ḥr stḥ nṯ rf* mentions the sun-god Re (cll. 4, 15), and so does the introduction to the birth name *šy ḫr* (cll. 5, 16). The Egyptian, falcon-headed, and kingship-associated god Horus is referred to when Amun of Napata states that he has placed Tanutamani “on the Horus-throne of the living” (*ḥr stḥ nṯ ḫr*yj*). Amun of Thebes is worshipped and supportive in relation to Tanutamani. In an explanatory note, the depicted king gives “truth” (*mȝr*;cll. 8), while the mentioned divinity in his turn declares that he has given “life” (*nh*) and “dominion” (*wȝs*) to the king (cll. 2). Moreover, the Kushite king is referred to as “beloved of Amun (of Thebes)” (*mȝr*yj*), indicative of his protected status in relation to this Egyptian godhead (cll. 6). The king’s depicted and described (cll. 8) giving of *mȝr* includes the representation of an image of the said Egyptian goddess, symbolizing the cosmic order and concepts like truth and justice, in the king’s hand, in her being offered to Amun of Thebes. The deities in question – Re, Horus, Amun, and Maat – all belong to the Egyptian pantheon (Quirke 1992).

The notions of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler are also seen in the way this king is described as an offspring of Egyptian deities and in the way the king is equated with Egyptian deities. Tanutamani is here “the son of Re” (*šy ḫr*) (cll. 5, 16). He is also described as having *Amon--Re* (of Karnak) as his father (*ḥr*; cll. 8). The said ruler is likened to Re in the contexts of his ruling Egypt and of his being granted life (cll. 13, 18). Whatever the nature of these images of royal “deification”, an Egyptian world is clearly evoked in these royal claims.

Effects of Egyptian cultural influence may also be suggested in the relative stress on women in the lunette. Although it is certainly wrong to suppose gender equality in ancient Egypt, women seem to have held a strong position in Egyptian society, at least if comparing with contemporary and neighbouring cultures such as ancient Greece and Assyria. Women (not the least the queen and other royal women) are often represented in Egyptian art, side-by-side with male individuals (Robins 1993: 190-91). As for the Dream Stela, the king’s wife Piy-iry is presented in text and image on the left, while the king’s mother Qalhata is presented on the right. Just like the Egyptian king’s mother played an important role in Egypt (Troy 1986), the Kushite king’s mother (*kandake*) held considerable power, not only in areas of succession

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72 Tanutamani is also protected by Egyptian deities in art. Reliefs from the Osiris-Ptah chapel depict him being embraced by the deities Amun, Monthu, and Osiris-Ptah (Mariette 1889: figs. 80, 82-83), as well as being placed under the wings of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet (Mariette 1889: figs. 84, 87).

73 Tanutamani is also closely related to female deities. The inscriptions from the king’s pyramid at el-Kurru present him as the son of Nut and as the brother of Nephys (and Isis). As any other deceased (Quirke 1992: 154-55), the king is termed “Osiris (wsȝr)” (Tanutamani) (Breyer 2003: 426, ll. 1-2).

74 The issue of the Egyptian king’s divinity is complex, and I will not dissect it in this thesis, partly because of its complexity (requiring more space), partly because it is not in line with the precisier aim.

75 However, the women in the lunette are negatively affected by the “social perspective”, in their being unrealistically small in relation to both the king and the gods (who are of equal size).

76 The meanings of the two names are unclear, as noted by Breyer (2003: 22-31) in his discussing these royal women. Dunham and Macadam (1949: 144) have suggested that the woman buried in a pyramid at Nuri (Nuri 59) was another wife of Tanutamani, but this is far from certain (Breyer 2003: 31-32).

According to Leahy (1984: 43), a second sister-wife of Tanutamani was a certain Istmkh. Morkot (2000: 301-02) suggests that the God’s Adorer Amenirdis II, who had been sidestepped by Psamtek I at the death of the God’s Wife of Amun Shemepnepu II in favour of his own daughter, went back to Kush and married the Kushite king, i.e. Tanutamani or one of his closest successors.
both women are called “the king’s sister” (sn(t) nsw) (cll. 9, 20), a fact that underscores similarities with Egyptian traditions. In her tomb at el-Kurru (Ku 5), Qalhata is portrayed with a vulture head-dress, symbolizing the Egyptian tutelary goddess Nekhbet (see Morkot 2000: fig. 113). Tanutamani is portrayed as an Egyptian ruler also in a paradoxical way. Amun of Thebes declares that this ruler, among other things, is in charge of “the Nine Bows” (pdl psdt) (cl. 3), the eternal enemies (e.g. Nubia) of Egypt (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 203-04). The king’s mother, Qalhata, is presented as a head of state over “the bow land” (ty-st(y)) (cl. 20), explicitly making the link between Kush and bows. This term can also refer to the first Upper Egyptian nome (Helck 1974: 68-71), but it is unlikely that Qalhata is thus connected to the Aswan-area. Rather, her dominion over Nubia (bow land) complements Piy-iry’s dominion over Egypt (black land). There are also expressions of the Kushite cultural milieu and of Tanutamani as a local ruler. This is especially evident in the king’s role as the high-priest of Amun at Gebel Barkal, if ignoring the latter’s Egyptian origin. Amun of Napata is worshipped and supportive in relation to Tanutamani. In an explanatory note, the depicted king gives an “amulet” (wdj(w)) to this god (cl. 19), while Amun at Gebel Barkal says that he has given “life” (nh) and “dominion” (w3s) to the king (cl. 14). Moreover, the king is referred to as “beloved of Amun (of Napata)” (mry(y) mn), indicative of his protected status in relation to this Kushite godhead (cl. 17). Amun at Gebel Barkal is also the one who grants Egypt to Tanutamani, in his saying, “(I) have caused you appearing as king of Upper and Lower Egypt” (dy.n (= i) n=k h(y)((ti) m nsw-bity) (cl. 13). Amun of Napata is probably the one referred to in the king’s birth name, spelled out as Amani in the cuneiform rendering of the name. The meaning of the preceding part of the royal name is obscure, not the least since it seems to be expressed in the poorly understood Napatan language (Breyer 2003: 32-38).

Tanutamani is also a local ruler, and revealing his Kushite origins, in a certain claim of royal “deification” that was inscribed in the lunette part of the Dream Stela. He is here described as having Amun at Gebel Barkal as his father (iit) (cl. 19).

Apart from the already discussed clothing of the royal women on the stela, there is also textual evidence of a Kushite flavour on the propaganda in the lunette, with regard to the depicted royal women. As noted above, the king’s mother, Qalhata, is referred to as “mistress of the bow land” (hn(w)t n(t) ty-st(y)) (cl. 20). This title is not only a prerogative of the Kushite king’s mother (Breyer 2003: 19), but it also tells of local rulership, here exercised by a royal woman. The bow metaphor can, along with the ram imagery and the el-Kurru pyramid, tell both of local and regional traits.

Finally, there are also some examples of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, then in charge also over Asiatics and Assyrians. Amun of Thebes addresses the king, saying that “(I) have given you every land, all foreign countries, the Nine Bows, gathered

77 For a theory on Kushite succession rules that focuses on matrilinearity, see Priese 1981. For a (still influential) theory on fratrilinearity, see Dunham and Macadam 1949. The evidence suggests that neither of these theories, nor patrilinearity, can fully explain the said rules (Morkot 1999).
78 The temple at Gebel Barkal was built by the state of New Kingdom Egypt (Quirke 1992: 174). Tellingly, the name of the Karnak temple in Thebes (ipt-sw) was also given to the said temple, in the Napatan language. The god is referred to as Amanape/Manapa in Meroitic (Peust 1999: 217-19).
79 The divine name is spelled out as (di-a-ma-né-e) (see Borger 1996: A II 22).
80 There is also some confusion regarding the writing of the name, due to the first sign (read UR / taš / tân) that renders the name in cuneiform writing (Borger 2003: 431-32 / sign 828). On this, see Breyer 2003: 32-38. Several scholars, among them Struve (1926: 65-66), von Zeissl (1944: 47), and Onasch (1994: 155), read taš, to be understood as rendering Taltamané, following a phonological principle in Akkadian. It is difficult to make sense of such a reading. Reading tân is arguably the best alternative.
under your sandals for ever” \((\text{\textit{d}i.n(=i) n=k \text{\textit{tjw} nb(w) \text{\textit{hjswt} nb(\textit{wt}) p\text{\textit{d}t ps\text{\textit{d}t dm\text{\textit{d}t}}.ti \text{\textit{hr (}\text\textit{t\textit{by}=k d\textit{t}}} \text{\textit{cl}}. 3)\). In other words, Tanutamani has dominion over all “lands” \((\text{\textit{tjw}},^81\text{“foreign countries”} \((\text{\textit{hjswt})}, \text{and “the Nine Bows”} \((\text{p\text{\textit{d}t ps\text{\textit{d}t}}}}. The term \text{\textit{hjst} is of course much associated with the Asiatic Hyksos-rulers, and the Nine Bows not only tell of Nubians but also of Asiatics (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 136-37, 203-04).

2.1.3 Summary

This section has centred on the images and inscriptions in the lunette. The images consist of two scenes which portray the king, with his wife and mother behind him, offering to the gods Amun in Karnak and at Gebel Barkal. The texts are captions: either explanatory notes, direct speeches, or presentations of the depicted agents.

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant inscriptions, while revising the transcription and translation in \textit{FHN} (=Pierce 1994). My translation largely follows the one in \textit{FHN}. Nevertheless, what can be seen as an error was detected and corrected (c11. 2-3).^82 An omission and an unjustified addition of words were confronted (c11. 4, 9). Competing interpretations on meaning were suggested (e.g. cl. 19), and the sometimes stilted translation of \textit{FHN} was updated in one area (cl. 1). My transcription diverges somewhat more from \textit{FHN}, mainly due to varying transcription principles. In line with this, unexpressed endings were added in my transcription (e.g. cl. 3). Still, outright errors were detected and corrected (e.g. cl. 3), and an omission in \textit{FHN} of a word was confronted (cl. 9).^83

The second subsection highlights evidence in the lunette of the local, regional, and universal rulership of Tanutamani. The king primarily presents himself as a \textit{regional} ruler, ruling Egypt and Kush. The iconography is Egyptian in motif and style (e.g. in the rendering of agents), and several pieces of clothing and decorations worn on the body (e.g. the apron-kilt and the bull’s tail) are distinctly Egyptian in origin. The inscription was made in (Middle) Egyptian and with Egyptian hieroglyphs. Titles speak of Tanutamani as the political leader of Egypt (e.g. \text{\textit{nsw-b\textit{ity}}}), and the said ruler’s interaction with Egyptian deities defines him as the high-priest of Egyptian cults. Tanutamani is “deified” in relation to Egyptian deities (Re and Amun). The relatively prominent role (in their being present) of women in the lunette likewise indicates Egyptian cultural influence. Lastly, Tanutamani is, like any other Egyptian king, presented as dominating the bow lands, not the least referring to Nubia.

The evidence in the lunette gives some examples of the notion of Tanutamani as a \textit{local} ruler, ruling primarily Kush. In the iconography, the double uraei on the king’s forehead, and the royal cap crown (worn in modified form also by the two women) tell of the Kushite character of Tanutamani’s authority. Also his use of sandals in the cult and the women’s clothing (possibly including fox’s tails) speak of Kushite ideas on kingship and queenship. In the inscriptions (as well as in the art), Tanutamani appears as the high-priest of the local god Amun at Gebel Barkal. The said ruler is also presented as “deified” in relation to this godhead. Finally, the king’s mother is referred to as “the mistress of the bow land”, which is a uniquely Kushite title.

^81 Breyer (2003: 76-77) argues that the term \textit{tjw here refers only to “civilized countries”, i.e. to Egypt (in its duality). This seems unlikely to me, firstly because of the textual context (which focuses on foreign lands), and secondly due to the idea that Egypt’s duality would not be given in plural (-\textit{w})}. It must be noted, though, that numerus seems to be generally diffuse in Napatan (Peust 1999: 235).

^82 I regard the varying translation of Amun-speech in \textit{FHN} (pp. 194-95), “I have given / I give you all life and dominion”, as an error. There is no reason for a change in tense in this context.

^83 For all my major objections to the treatment in \textit{FHN}, see subsection 2.1.1 and its footnotes.
There is only slight evidence of the notion of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, then including dominion also over Asiatics and Assyrians, in the lunette. The iconography does not tell of this idea, while the texts simply refer to Tanutamani granted authority over all “lands”, “foreign countries”, and the “Nine Bows” by Amun in Karnak.

2.2 The non-narrative parts II: the titulary (lines 1-3)

This second non-narrative section centres on the titulary of Tanutamani. The three lines of hieroglyphs convey either titles and epithets (nominal constructions or infinite verb constructions) or what I call “titulary statements” (finite verb constructions).

2.2.1 Sources

Figure 2: Lines 1-3 of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pl. 1).

1. nṯr nfr hr(w) m pr(t) = f (i) t(m pw n rḥyw(t)) nb{t} ḥbw hḥ3 ṑḥ(y)w ity iḥ t3 nb{t} nḥt ḫps m hr(w) ḫ3 ḫs-hī m hr(w) [ḥwt] 8⁶⁶

1. The good god (already on) the day when he came forth, he is Atum for the lapwing-people, lord of the two horns, ruler of the living, sovereign who seizes every land, strong-of-arm 8⁶⁷ on the day of battle, who faces (the enemy) on the day of

2. n hr ḫ ṑ nb{t} ḫnw m mnt ḫ3 phty mi m3i-ḥs(y) m3 ḫ nb ml ḫnt(y)-ḥsr t ḫ3 w3ḏ-wr m-s3 ph s(w) in ph(wy) n ph [sw it] 8⁹⁰

2. close [combat], lord of bravery like Monthu, great-of-strength 9⁰ like a wild 9¹ lion, true-of-heart 9² like Foremost-of-Hesret, who crosses the Green after him who has attacked him, who brings an end of him who has attacked [him]; he [seized]

3. n=f t3 pn nn ḫ3 nn wn ḫ ḫ m ḫs(t)=f nsw-bḥty bḥ3-kṣ-r ṯ t ḫ3-n-wy-ti-imn mr(y) ṯτ npt

3. this land without fighting, without there being resistance to him. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-Ka-Re, the son of Re: Tanutamani, beloved of Amun of Napata.

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8⁴ The t-ending (sign X 1) is written after nb and not after rḥyw. FHN (p. 195) ignores this problem.
8⁵ All transcribers (FHN, p. 196, Onasch 1994: 132, Breyer 2003: 452) seem to view ḫḥ as an infinitive (adding an y or y) despite the lack of an ending and the need for a personalizing form (a participle).
8⁶ Using the reconstruction (the verb hw) in FHN (p. 196).
8⁷ The translation “whose arm is mighty” in FHN (p. 196) is difficult to justify grammatically. As noted by Breyer (2003: 87), this form is an “adjektivierter adjektivsatz der substantiviert gebraucht ist”.
8⁸ Following Breyer (2003: 452), it seems unwarranted to suppose the compound preposition r-hī here, as in FHN (p. 196). This construction needs only n hr, the latter word in noun-form.
8⁹ Using the reconstruction (the pronoun sw and the verb it) in FHN (p. 196).
9⁰ The translation “whose strength is great” in FHN (p. 196) is awkward grammatically (see n. 87).
9¹ The wording “wild-eyed” (due to the eye determinative?) in FHN (p. 196) makes little sense. The other translators both give “grimmiger Löwe” (Onasch 1994: 133, Breyer 2003: 453).
9² The translation “whose heart is true” in FHN (p. 196) is awkward grammatically (see n. 87).
2.2.2 Analysis

This second analysis section focuses on a philological analysis of the titular part (i.e. ll. 1-3) of the text on the Dream Stela. The discussion revolves around Tanutamani and the concepts of local, regional, and universal rulership.

There is much evidence for Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a *regional* ruler in the titulary of the stela text. Tanutamani presents himself as the leader of Egypt e.g. through using typically Egyptian ruler titles. The titles “son of Re” (*s3 r*) and “king of Upper and Lower Egypt” (*nsw-bity*) reappear in the titulary (l. 3). Tanutamani is also referred to as Egyptian “ruler” (*hk3*) and “sovereign” (*ity*) in relation to all humans and lands (l. 1). Lastly, the Kushite ruler is spoken of as “the good god” (*ntr nfr*) (l. 1), a standard title in Egyptian titulary (Leprohon 2013). It is doubtful whether the title “lord of the two horns” (*nbnty bwy*) refers to the king (l. 1). More likely, it serves to describe the god Atum (whom the king is equated with).93

Another expression of the idea of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, ruling Egypt and Kush jointly, is to be found in the said ruler’s adoption of the Egyptian five-part titulary. However, only two of the five titles which the titulary proper consists of are attested on the Dream Stela. The birth name or nomen (*s3 r*) is Tanutamani and has already been commented on. The throne name or prenomen (*nsw-bity*) is, as mentioned, *b3-k3-r*. The meaning of this name is unclear, and Breyer (2003: 39) even suggests that the first two components may be in Napatan. Although it is hard to get a good translation, the words *b3* (“soul”) and *k3* (“life force”) are not alien to the Egyptian language, neither are they uncommon elements of royal title-names. These two titles are, just as expected, illustrated within cartouches on the stela. The Horus-name of Tanutamani is attested on other monuments (the royal statues from Gebel Barkal, the head of Amun, and in the reliefs from Karnak),94 and is *w3ḥ mrwt* (“durable of love”), a title-name which also Amenhotep I (1525-1504), Thutmose III (1479-1425), and Amenhotep III (1390-1352) carried (Leprohon 2013). A stone block from the city Sanam,95 dated to Tanutamani by Dunham and Macadam (1949: 147), gives the Two Ladies-title (*nbty*) as *šnḥ t3wḥ* (“he who makes the two lands live”) and the Golden Horus-title (*hr nbw*) as *ḥw t3wḥ* (“he who protects the two lands”).

Tanutamani is also portrayed as an Egyptian ruler through linking his “deification” with Egyptian deities. The already mentioned title “son of Re” (*s3 r*) tells of a divine son-ship of the king (l. 3), whether literally or metaphorically understood. He is explicitly described as a god in the mentioned title “the good god” (*ntr nfr*) (l. 1).96 This status did he have “(already on) the day when he came forth” (*hr(w) m pr(t)=f*), i.e. supposedly from his birth.97 At other times, Tanutamani is equated with Egyptian deities. It is told of him that “he is Atum” (*⟨i⟩tm pw*), i.e. the primeval creator god (l. 1). With regard to the king’s warfare qualities, he is likened to the falcon-headed war god Monthu (l. 2). With regard to his intellectual capacities, he is likened to the ibis-

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93 Breyer (2003: 86-87) seems to say that this title refers to the king. Inconsistently, he then mentions that when a deity is describes thus, the ending –*wy* is used, while the royal ending is –*ty*. Anyway, it is more common for the king to be likened to Atum or to be the son of this god (Grimal 1986: 379-81).

94 These primary sources were all mentioned in section 1.2.

95 For the publication of this block inscription, see Griffith 1922: pl. 26, no. 13.

96 It should be noted here that an outright deification is not expressed, but rather the idea of the Kushite king in his role as a god, taking on the office as Horus upon earth (Grimal 1986: 125). Similarly expressed, the Kushite ruler was not a “Gottkönig” but rather a mediator between deities and humans, by the right of his (divine) office, the “sakrale Königtum” (Hofmann 1971: 40-44).

97 See also Breyer (2003: 85) who rejects the other connotation that centres on a deity’s celebrative procession. The textual context in question firmly supports the connotation “ever since he was born”.
headed wisdom god Thoth, here referred to as “Foremost-of-Hesret” (ḥnt(ȝ)-ḥsrt) (l. 2). The king as divinely incarnated may be hinted at in the throne nameḥȝ-kȝ-ṛȝ, although this remains speculative in light of the uncertain meaning of this name.

Egyptian cultural influence and the idea of Tanutamani as a regional ruler can also be seen in the claim that the said ruler is the legitimate head of the Egyptian people. In his equation with Atum, Tanutamani is presented as in charge of “‘the lapwing-people’ (rḥwȝw(t)) (l. 1). The age-old symbol of rekhyt-bird could, depending on the context, represent either the enemies of Egypt or Egypt’s loyal subjects (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 244). The present context, with its allusions to the origins of Egyptian kingship, arguably favours the latter interpretation of the term.

There are only a few indications of Kushite origins and of the notion of Tanutamani as a local ruler in the titulary part of the stela. Right at the end of the titulary, the said ruler is described as “beloved of Amun of Napata” (mrȝ(y) nn wn pt) (l. 3). It is possible that the portraying of Tanutamani as a “wild lion” (mȝi-ḥsȝ(y)) (l. 2) alludes to him having the qualities of the Kushite god Apedemak, who was associated with lions and warfare (Quirke 1992: 174, Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 35).

In the titulary, there are several examples of the idea of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, generally or specifically. As for the former, two royal epithets present the king as “ruler of the living” (ḥkg ȝnhȝwȝw) and as “sovereign who seizes every land” (ity ḫt ḫȝ nb tȝ) (l. 1). In light of the latter’s clear universalism and parallel position, the former epithet should probably also be seen as an expression of universalism.

There are arguably also attestations of the notion of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, with a specific, foreign people and land in mind. I would interpret a reference to the Assyrians in the king’s extended epithet “he who crosses the Great-Green after him who has attacked him, (and) who brings an end of him who has attacked [him]” (ḏȝ ḫȝd-wr m-ṣȝ ṣ(w) ṣ(w) in ṣ(w) ṣ(w) n ṣ(w) ṣ(w)) (l. 2). If accepting the idea that a specific enemy is referred to here, what other enemy beyond the Mediterranean (“the Great-Green”) would be mentioned? Assyria was Tanutamani’s main foreign enemy, greatly threatening his position in Egypt (Morkot 2000, Redford 2004).

The state of war with Assyria may also be indirectly expressed in the emphasis on the king’s military qualities in the titulary. In contrast, Tanutamani’s taking hold of Egypt is phrased in the statement that “he [seized] this land without fighting, without there being resistance to him” ([iṯ] n=f ḫȝ ṣn ḫȝ ṣn ṣw ḫȝ ṣw ṣ(w) ṣ(w)) (ll. 2-3).

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98 This epithet of Thoth mentions Hesret, the necropolis of the Middle Egyptian city of Hermopolis, a main cult-centre of the god in question (Wh. 3III, p. 168, Breyer 2003: 88-89).
99 It can be translated “the ba and ka of Re”, if ignoring the problematic genitival construction, and if leaving the semantical plausability aside. Clayton (1994: 190) attempts the translation “glorious is the soul of Re”. It is not immediately clear how Ḫȝ can be adjectival. The rendering of Ḫȝ with the ram-sign (E 10) rather than the normal ba-sign (G 53) is in line with the already noted ram worship in Kush.
100 As noted by Breyer (2003: 89) in his commentary section, mjȝ-ḥsȝ(y) was an Egyptian god who came to be associated with Apedemak in Merotic times (Zabkar 1975: 62-70).
101 Practically all of Syria and Palestine was controlled by the Assyrian empire at this time (Redford 2004). That the crossing refers to Libya or the Aegean world is unlikely, given the historical context. As noted by Breyer (2003: 90), Ḫḏȝ-.wr originally denoted the delta (Friedman 1975), but given the date of the stela and the universalism in its titulary, such an identification is unlikely here. Moreover, Tanutamani states that Egypt was conquered without any resistance (nn ḫȝ ṣn ṣw ḫȝ ṣw ḫȝ ṣ(w)) (l. 3). Also, the term refers to the Mediterranean in particular (AWb. H. II, p. 610). No definite answer to this question can be reached. Breyer (2003: 90) does not discuss Assyrians at all in his comment.
102 In other words, Assyria was the arch-enemy of Kush, all through the first half of the seventh century BCE (Spalinger 1974a-b, Picchi 1997, Kahn 2006), and especially under the long reign of Taharqo, who saw three Assyrians kings come and go on the throne (Kahn 2004, Dallibor 2005, Pope 2014).
2.2.3 Summary

This section has centred on the titulary part of the text on the Dream Stela. The titulary in question belongs to the king. The titulary components are either actual titles and epithets or what I call “titulary statements” (finite verb constructions).

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant text, while revising the transcription and translation in FHN (=Pierce 1994). My translation largely follows the one in FHN. Still, what can be seen as errors were detected and corrected (e.g. l. 1). Competing interpretations on meaning were suggested (e.g. l. 2). My transcription diverges somewhat more from FHN, mainly due to varying transcription principles. An unexpressed ending and a marking of an obvious grammatical error in the text were added in my transcription (ll. 1, 3).

The evidence in the titulary largely speaks of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, in control of a union of Egypt and Kush. Several royal titles that the said king uses are of Egyptian origins. Tanutamani adopted the Egyptian tradition of a five-part titulary proper. Two of these (sȝ rˁ and nsw-biṯy) are attested on the stela, a third (ḥr) on other monuments, and the remaining two may be attested on yet another monument. Tanutamani is also presented as an Egyptian ruler in his linking his “deification” with Egyptian deities. He is “descended” from them (Re), equated with them (Atum), and likened to them (Monthu, Thoth). Finally, the said ruler is portrayed as in charge of the Egyptian people (referred to as “lapwings”).

There is little evidence for a Kushite character of the titulary and of Tanutamani as a local ruler. The said ruler is referred to as “beloved of Amun of Napata” (mr(y) imn npt). It is possible (but speculative) that the reference to Tanutamani as a “wild lion” (mȝḥ(s)ȝ) speaks of an equation of him with the Kushite lion god Apedemak.

Some evidence in the titulary part tells of the notion of Tanutamani as a universal ruler. In a general sense, he is “ruler of the living” (ḥḳȝnḫ(y)w) and “sovereign who seizes every land” (ḥty ḥt tȝ nb[t]). In a specific sense, he may be portrayed as pacifying a certain people and land across “the Great-Green” (wȝḏ-wr). The historical context and the semantics of the term suggest that a reference to Assyria and its king, who arguably were the main antagonists of the 25th dynasty, is made here.

2.3 The narrative parts I: Tanutamani in Kush (lines 3-9)

This first narrative section focuses on Tanutamani in Kush. This geographically defined narrative stage has two main components: firstly a description of the dream and its interpretation, and secondly the coronation of the king at Gebel Barkal.

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103 I e.g. see the grammatically unfit translation “whose arm is mighty” of FHN (p. 196) as an error.  
104 For all my major objections to the treatment in FHN, see subsection 2.2.1 and its footnotes.
2.3.1 Sources

Figure 3: Lines 3-9 of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pl. 1).

3. In regnal year 1, when he appeared as king [---]

4. In regnal year 1, when he appeared as king [---]

5. “Why has this happened to me?” Then they (the courtiers) replied to him, saying, “The southern land is yours (already), (now) seize for yourself the northern land. The Two Ladies are apparent on your head, and the land shall be given to you in its breadth and its length, [there being none]

6. other that shall share (it) with you.” When His Majesty appeared on the throne of Horus in this year, His Majesty came forth from the place where he had been, as Horus came forth from Khemmis. When he came forth from [---]

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105 The transcription in FHN (p. 196) gives only ḫ, as opposed to Onasch (1994: 132), Breyer (2003: 452), and the dictionaries (ÄWb. II, pp. 1652-53). A dual ending in the feminine can be proposed, in light of the number of serpents (2) and the expected gender of these (see subsection 2.3.2).

106 FHN (p. 196) inconsistently transcribes iµn(y) but translates “right”. The phonetic complement of the owl (m, sign G 17) and the arm-determinative (sign D 41) make the reading wnµ(y) the best choice.

107 This verb is incorrectly transcribed as nḥs in FHN (p. 197). The presence of the tense marker .n is sometimes (as in this case) ignored in FHN (p. 197). In this thesis, the tense marker in question is not reconstructed, but it is transcribed whenever present. Overall, the general confusion in the stela text with regard to sḏm.n=f, the role of the morpheme iw, and the tense forms in negated sentences is pragmatically accepted in my transcription.

109 The translation “saw a dream” in FHN (p. 196) is arguably too literal.

110 As noted by Breyer (2003: 452), adding an n (thus creating the suffix-pronoun of the 3rd p. pl.) would make the construction grammatically (and semantically) logical, contra FHN (p. 197).

111 The verb is not active, as suggested in FHN (p. 197), but passive, thus requiring an ending.

112 I avoid the awkward translation “South/North-land” used in FHN (e.g. p. 197).

113 I consistently translate the verbal construction sḏm pw ir.n=f as a normal circumstantial form. FHN (p. 197) translates it stiltedly, as an archaism (Priese 1972), such as in this case: “forth came His Majesty…” Translating the language stiltedly only here and there does not make any sense.
7. (i)\( w \, n = f \, h h \, h f n \, p h r (w) \)114 \( m-s=f \, d d. \, n \) \( h m = f \) \( n \) \( m \) \( f \) \( m \) \( s \) \( f \) \( t \) \( s(t) \)115 \( m \) \( i b = f \) \( s d w \) \( h m \) \( (t) \) \( i w(t) \) \( p w \) \( i r. \) \( h m = f \) \( r \) \( n p t \) \( n n \) \( w n \) \( 'h f' \) [m]

7. millions came to him, and hundreds116 of thousands followed after him. His Majesty said, “Look, the dream is true!117 It is something beneficial for him who places it in his heart, (but) makes conditions bad118 for him who ignores it.” His Majesty went off to Napata, there being none who stood [in]

8. \( h s(t) = f \) \( s p r \) \( p w \) \( l m = f \) \( r \) \( h w t - n t r \) \( n t \) \( i m n \) \( n p t \) \( h r(y) - i b \) \( d w - w't b \) \( w n \) \( h m = f \) \( i b = f \) \( n f r (w) \) \( m - h t \) \( m s = f \) \( i t ( = f ) \) \( i m n - r^\# \) \( n b \) \( n s (w) t \) \( t y w w \) \( h r(y) - i b \) \( d w - w't b \) \( i n . t w \) \( n = f \) \( 'm h y \) \( n \) \( n t r \) \( p n \)

8. his way. His Majesty arrived at the temple-compound of Amun of Napata, who resides in Gebel Barkal. His Majesty’s heart was happy119 when he saw (his)120 father Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal, and garlands were brought to him for this god.

9. \( 'h f . n \) \( h m = f \)121 \( s h f \) \( i m n \) \( (n p) t \) \( i r = f \) \( n = f \) \( 's h b (w) t \) \( 's (w t) \) \( w j h = f \) \( n = f \) \( n b \) \( w^\# \) \( k j w \) \( 3 6 \) \( h (n) k t \) \( 's \) \( 4 0 \) \( s w \) \( 1 0 0 \)

9. Then His Majesty caused Amun of Napata to appear (in procession), and he made for him great offerings, and he presented him with 1 nb-jar122, 36 bulls, as well as 40 ash-vessels and 100 shu-vessels of beer.

2.3.2 Analysis

This third analysis section focuses on a philological analysis of the first narrative part (i.e. ll. 3-9) of the text on the Dream Stela. The action takes place in Kush. The discussion revolves around the concepts of local, regional, and universal rulership.

As previously, the greater part of the evidence tells of Egyptian cultural influence and of the notion of Tanutamani as a regional leader, with his authority rooted in both Egypt and Kush. The idea of Tanutamani as the political leader of Egypt is reinforced by his use of the Egyptian ruler title “His Majesty” (hm=f) (e.g. l. 4). The dream interpreters123 centre on the idea that Tanutamani until that point only had ruled over Upper Egypt, or “the southern land” (tz-rsy), and that an extended dominion including also Lower Egypt, or “the northern land” (tz-mhfw), will be realized (l. 5).124

114 The reading phr (sign F 46) is uncertain. The copy of Devêria hints at this reading, while the one of Grimal renders r r. FHN (p. 197) and Breyer (2003: 454) read phr, while Onasch (1994: 134) gives pr (sign O 1). Possibly, influence from the writing of phr in Hieratic is seen here (Breyer 2003: 224).

115 As noted by Breyer (2003: 454), seeing the s (as well as the s after hm) as part of a dependent pronoun rather than the suffix-pronoun = s fits better grammatically, contra FHN (p. 198). The forms preceding s should not be infinitives (which carry direct objects in suffix-form) but participles.

116 FHN (p. 197) erroneously gives “tens of thousands”. The sign (I 8) clearly depicts a frog (100 000). This translation does not mean that I regard the dream as being realized already at this stage. As observed also by Breyer (2003: 105-06), the dream is realized when the whole of Egypt is seized.

117 The translation “makes matter worse” of FHN (p. 198) seems, for some reason, to imply a previous unfortunate state of things. After all, the dream focused on in the relevant text was a good one for Tanutamani and not a nightmare. Consequently, there is no condition that can deteriorate.

118 FHN (p. 198) instead gives “His Majesty was glad hearted”. It seems to me that it is the heart that is the subject of the sentence and that the title in question is merely honorary transposed.

119 Unexpressed prepositions in front of predicative infinitives are not added in my transcriptions.

120 According to FHN (p. 198), also the nb-jar contains beer. However, the word meaning beer is placed after the word for bulls and is thus separated from nb. The contents of the nb-jar are thus unclear. Breyer (2003: 113-14) proposes that the jar itself was the precious thing in question.

121 The interpreters (unidentified in the text) were probably specialized priests (Breyer 2003: 284).

122 Breyer (2003: 97) proposes that the southern land refers to Nubia (and the northern land to Egypt) because of the unexpected writing tz-rsy instead of the expected tʃ-ʃm’. This is unlikely. The dream can not say that the northern land (tʃ-mhfw), i.e. Egypt (?), was not in Kush’s control at all. It would be odd
Kushite ruler will then be in charge of a unified Egypt, an ideological theme with ancient roots and expressed through the term of sm3 (t3wy) (Wilkinson 1992: 80-81). This unification is centred on in the dream interpretation statement that Tanutamani will not share power over Egypt with any other ruler ([n[n] ky ps=f fhn=f=k) (ll. 5-6). The narrations of dreams are not uncommon in royal inscriptions from Egypt and the wider Near East, with the dream of Thutmose IV (1400-1390) at the feet of the sphinx in Giza as a famous example (Zibelius-Chen 1988, Shirum-Grumach 1993).125

Also the close connections with Egyptian deities express the notion of Tanutamani as the legitimate ruler of Egypt. It is probably no coincidence that the god Horus, so associated with Egyptian kingship and with the king as office-holder (Quirke 1992: 52-69), is the one focused on in the references to Tanutamani’s establishing on the throne. To begin with, Horus-Tanutamani is stressed in the reference to the time “when His Majesty appeared on the throne of Horus in this year” (wn hm=f ḫḥ(ḥ) hr st ḫḥ(.w) ḫḥ n ḫḥ n ḫḥ n rṣn ḫḥ ḫḥ n ḫḥ n ḫḥ n rṣn ḫḥ (l. 6). Furthermore, the king’s seizing of the throne is likened to when “Horus came forth from Khemmis” (pr ḫḥ m ḫḥwḥ) (l. 6), a mythological event alluding to the time when the young Horus, from his place of refuge in the marshes, went out to take the kingship from his uncle and usurper Seth (Quirke 1992: 61). In his coming forth to kingship, it is said that “millions came to him (Horus-Tanutamani), and hundreds of thousands followed after him” ((i)w n=f ḫḥ(ḥ) ḫḥn pḥy(ḥ) w m-sȝ=f) (l. 7). This passage evokes the mythological “Followers of Horus” (smps ḫḥ), even if this term primarily refers to royal ancestors (Frankfort 1948: 90-91). In the iconography of Tanutamani, the upper body of the said ruler is covered by the crossed wings of a pair of falcons, thus stressing Horus (Hofmann 1971: 48, Russmann 1974: 25, 44).126

Egyptian insignia, mentioned in the present text, likewise refer to Egyptian cultural influence and of the notion of Tanutamani as a regional leader, in his having dominion over (the whole of) Egypt as well. The dream interpreters say that “the Two Ladies are apparent on your head” (iwm nḥtḥ(.tt) m tḥ=t=k), and then go on to say that Tanutamani will be the sole ruler of all of Egypt (l. 5).127 The nbty are the Two Ladies, i.e. the snake-goddess Wadjyt (patroness of Lower Egypt) and the vulture-goddess Nekhbet (patroness of Upper Egypt) (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 201). They are on the king’s head (tp), embodying the double uraei (iʾrτt) of the Kushite king. The dream interpreters link the two snakes (ḥḥw) on either side of Tanutamani with the southern and northern land, which in their turn are linked to the Two Ladies, and from there to the insignia on the king’s head.128 The nbty and the snake imagery naturally relate to Egyptian notions (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 201, 262-63).129

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122 As for the impact of Egyptian culture upon Kush, Breyer (2003: 107) suggests that the king’s comment to the dream interpretation (about the heart) was inspired by the Maximes of Ptahhotep.

125 For a discussion on royal dreams in Egypt and beyond, see Breyer 2003: 270-82.

126 For Tanutamani and Horus, the pyramid of the said ruler highlights “the sons of Horus”, e.g. through the heads (representing these deities) of the king’s canopic jars (see Dunham 1950: pl. 37).

127 An oracular announcement following a royal temple incubation is effectively conveyed through the mouths of these dream interpreters (Grimal 1986: 509-12, Zibelius-Chen 1988: 290).

128 As observed also by Breyer (2003: 94), it is noteworthy that the snakes in the dream are only implicitly equated with the king’s uraei, due to the use of a general term for snakes, i.e. ḫḥw. It is also noteworthy that this general term here seems to be masculine in gender (in lacking a t-ending), in contrast to the proper word for uraeus (iʾrτt) and the female sex of the two patron deities.

129 As for the impact of Egyptian culture upon Kush, Breyer (2003: 107) suggests that the king’s comment to the dream interpretation (about the heart) was inspired by the Maximes of Ptahhotep.
Finally, the dating system used is regnal years, referred to as hšt-sp. This is in line with Egyptian custom, and departs from the system used by the 25th dynasty in non-monumental inscriptions, when calendar months are centred on (Barta 1979: 40).

Tanutamani clearly presents himself as a local ruler as well, having dominion over Kush, first and foremost. The said ruler is above all portrayed as the high-priest of Kushite cults, more specifically of the cult of Amun of Napata. After having his dream interpreted, Tanutamani goes to Napata and joyfully enters the temple-compound of Amun in Napata (ll. 7-8). It is then said of him that “His Majesty caused Amun of Napata to appear (in procession)” (“įf-n ḫm=f šf(w) imn (np)t”) (l. 9). In connection with this, the said ruler “made for him (Amun of Napata) great offerings” (ir=f n=f ‘šb(w)ť ‘f(w)), consisting of a golden vessel, sacrificial bulls, and two types of beer (l. 9), presumably to be used in the festivities surrounding the event (Breyer 2003: 111). An added local flavour is given by the reference to “shu-vessels of beer” (l. 9). As noted by Breyer (2003: 114), the word šw(-beer) is only used in Kushite inscriptions (Wb. IV, p. 433). Garlands (‘nhy), handed by the priests (?), were given by the king to Amun (l. 8). The narrative passage in question has generally been linked to the topic of coronation (and selection) of the king in the Kushite/Meroitic state (Hofmann 1971: 11-22, Kormysheva 1994, Lohwasser 1995, Breyer 2003: 235).

As for Tanutamani and Kushite deities, the said ruler is “deified” when referring to Amun of Napata, defined as “lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal” (nb ns(w)tt štwy hrty)-ib ḡw-wˁb), as his father (it) (l. 8).

Tanutamani is also presented as a local ruler in his being the head of the Kushite people and the unchallenged ruler in Kush. In one passage, it is said that “there being none who stood [in] his way” (nn wn tš [m] hs(t)=f) (ll. 7-8), in the context of Tanutamani going to Napata, probably departing from Meroe which is likened to Khemmis (Török 2002: 410-11),131 to see its patron deity. As observed by Breyer (2003: 109), the connotation of hostile, active resistance (not existing in this case) is confirmed by a parallel passage. Tanutamani’s accession is thus uncontested.132

There are not any direct references that bring to mind the Asiatic or Assyrian part of the world, so Tanutamani can not be said to evoke a universal rulership or to be influenced by the Asiatic cultural milieu in this textual part on events in Kush.

2.3.3 Summary

This section has dealt with the first narrative part of the stela text, which has Kush as its setting, and tells of a dream envisioned by Tanutamani regarding his relations to Egypt. After Tanutamani received his (favourable) interpretation, he goes to Napata for a coronation event, including processions and offerings, at Gebel Barkal.

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant text, while revising the transcription and translation in FHN (=Pierce 1994).

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130 Both Onasch (1994: 132) and Breyer (2003: 452) give hšb(t) sp. It is unclear what this reading is based on. Neither the hoe-sign (U 6) nor the palm branch-sign (M 4) permit such a reading, and the dictionaries do not have such an entry (AWb. II, pp. 1771-74). In his comment, Breyer (2003: 92-93) rather dwells on the second component and on the reading of the following stroke-like sign (Z 1).

131 Morkot (2000: 295) diffusely suggests that Tanutamani instead went to Napata from Egypt. It seems like the view on which land Tanutamani had as his primary base decides the interpretation. Still, I would say that a linking of Khemmis with Meroe (both in marshland areas) is indicative.

132 Breyer (2003: 103, 302) refers to an unpublished reconstruction by Schenkel which says that Tanutamani went forth from his palace, then appearing as the uncontested leader of Kush. This reconstruction would only reinforce the notion of the king being accepted by his subjects. Pointing to a text analogy, Breyer believes that the said subjects mainly were soldiers (part of the mšʾ).
My translation largely follows the one in FHN. Nevertheless, what can be seen as errors were detected and corrected (e.g. l. 7). Competing interpretations on meaning were suggested (e.g. l. 7), and the sometimes stilted translation of FHN was updated at times (e.g. l. 4). My transcription diverges somewhat more from FHN, mainly because of differently chosen transcription principles. Unexpressed endings and the marking of an obvious grammatical error in the text were added in my transcription (e.g. ll. 4-5), in contrast to FHN. Moreover, outright errors were corrected (l. 4), and difficult verb constructions left unresolved in FHN were resolved (e.g. l. 5).

Much of the evidence that the first narrative part provides speaks of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, ruling over Egypt and Kush jointly. In the interpretation of Tanutamani’s dream, Lower Egypt (tȝmḥw) is promised him, with the implication that he will soon be ruling over a unified Egypt, having no rival along the Nile river. His close relations to Egyptian deities, here the kingship-god Horus, also manifest Tanutamani as the ruler of Egypt. The said ruler ascends to the Horus-throne, he is likened to the young Horus going out to take the kingship away from his usurping uncle Seth, and it is stated that a multitude followed him during these events, alluding to “the Followers of Horus”. The snakes that appear in the dream are associated with the Two Ladies, i.e. to the firmly Egyptian goddesses (over the Nile delta and valley) Wadjyt and Nekhbet. Finally, Tanutamani makes use of the Egyptian dating system, thus proceeding from “regnal years” (ḥȝt-sp).

There are also comparatively much evidence that tells of Kushite traditions and of Tanutamani as a local ruler. First and foremost, Tanutamani is acting as the high-priest of Amun of Napata who resides in Gebel Barkal. After having received his dream interpretation, the said ruler gets coronated, and has the truthfulness of his dream interpretation confirmed, by the said god. A procession is set in motion, and offerings are made, in relation to the cult of the god. Another sign of the local rulership of Tanutamani is the linking of his “deification” to Amun of Napata, by defining this godhead as his father. Tanutamani is also presented as the head of the Kushite people, when claiming that no mortal challenged his right to the throne.

There are not any direct references to the Asiatic or Assyrian part of the world attested, nor are there any expressions of claims of dominion in relation to the world at large, so Tanutamani can not be said to evoke a universal rulership or to be influenced by the Asiatic cultural milieu in the first narrative part of the stela text.

2.4 The narrative parts II: Tanutamani in Upper Egypt (lines 9-16)

This second narrative section deals with Tanutamani in Upper Egypt. It can be divided into three narrative stages: one playing out in Elephantine, another in Thebes, and yet another along the Nile in Middle Egypt. Religious activities are highlighted in the said cities, while the king’s praise from subjects is the topic in Middle Egypt.

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133 I e.g. see the translation “tens (instead of hundreds) of thousands” in FHN (p. 197) as an error.
134 When I refer to my resolving difficult constructions in this thesis, I simply mean that I present a tenable interpretation, not that I present a definite solution. When I refer to unresolved constructions, I allude to passages in FHN where there are not even attempts towards a tenable interpretation.
135 For all my major objections to the treatment in FHN, see subsection 2.3.1 and its footnotes.
2.4.1 Sources

Figure 4: Lines 9-16 of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pl. 1).

9. ḫḏ pw ir.n ḥm=f r ṭȝ-mḥw{t'} r mȝ3(y) it(=f)
9. His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land to see (his) father, 136
10. ṣṃ n=f r ṭnw spr pw ir.n ḥm=f r ṭȝ-hi{n} ḥn=f dȝ3 r ṭȝ spr pw ir.n=f r ḥwtnfr nt ḥnm-r' nb ḫḥ(w){t'}
10. whose name is hidden (even) from the deities. His Majesty arrived at Elephantine (nome). Then His Majesty sailed across to Elephantine (city). He arrived at the temple-compound of Khnum-Re, lord of the Cataract,
11. rd[y].n=f sḫ(w) ṭnw pn ir=t(w)137 n=f ṭȝ-bt sȝ3(t) rd[y].n=f t h(n)kt n ṭnw kṛty shṭp n=f ṣṃ nntt=f ḫḥ pw ir.n ḥm=f r niw tȝst nt ṣm n ḥm=f
11. and caused that this god appeared (in procession). One (the king) made a great offering to him, he gave bread and beer to the deities of the Two Caverns, and he appeased Nun in his cave. His Majesty went downstream to the City, Dominion of Amun (Thebes). His Majesty
12. dȝ3 {pw'} r ḫḥ(y) n tȝst138 ṭȝ Эт r ḥwtnfr ṣm-tȝ ṣm(w) tȝ wy irf ḥm (n) sn'{t-wr ṣm'} ṣwnt ḥwtnfr ṣm-tȝ ṣm-tȝ
12. sailed to the foremost (part) of139 Thebes. His Majesty entered the temple-compound of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. The servant of the ‘Great Foundation’ came out together with the hour-priests of the temple-compound of Amun-Re,
13. ṣb ns(w)t tȝ wy in.n=sn n=f nȝh n ṣm n=r= ṣwnt ḥm=f ib=f ḥ"(w) m-hṭ mȝ3=f ḥwtnfr tn ṣw(t).n140 s=sḥ imn-r' ṣb ns(w)t tȝ wy ir=t(w) ḫb sȝ3 m tȝ dr=f ḫḥ
13. lord of the thrones of the two lands, and they brought him garlands for he whose name is hidden. His Majesty’s heart was joyful when he saw this temple-compound. He caused Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, to appear (in procession), and one created a great festival in the whole land.

136 The translation in FHN (p. 198) of “North sailed His Majesty to North-land to see his father” is awkward in the extreme, due only in part to the translator’s decision how to render ṣḏm pw ir.n=f.
137 FHN (p. 199) just gives irf. I suspect that we here have the impersonal pronoun (used for the king) ṭnw, meaning “one”. It can not be a simple passive morpheme, because the subject then is a noun.
138 This passage is very confused. The sentence constructions ṣw=t and ṣḏm pw ir.n=f can not co-exist, so I read the boat sign (P 1) as ḫḏ and (more importantly) interpret pw as a scribal error.
139 The form ḫḥ(y) needs to be a noun due to the following genitival adjective, contra FHN (p. 199).
140 The interpretation ṣw.n=f in FHN (p. 199) is unlikely. Instead, the form ṣw=t, or more likely, the narrative verb construction ṣw.in=f (here with the i reconstructed) can be suggested.
14. *pw ir n hm=f r t3-mhw[t] wn imnt(y)it ḫbt(y)t ḫr nhm ḫnw nhm dd=sn ii tw*141 m ḫtp kȝ=k m ḫtp r sʾnh t3wy
14. His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land, while the western (bank) and the eastern (bank) expressed shouts of joy. They cried out,142 “Welcome in peace, your ka being in peace, to make the two lands live,
15. *r sʾḥ r3(prw nty(w) w3[t]w. w r343 w3s r snn ḫnw=sn m sšm=sn r rdt ḫtpw-nṭr n nṭrw nṛtw prt-ḥrw n ḫnw*
15. to restore the temples that are fallen into ruin, to (re)establish their (cult)images to their (former) condition, to give endowments to the gods and goddesses and funeral offerings to the spirits of the transfigured dead,
16. *r ṭw b r sʾḥ ir(t) (i)ḥt nbt n[t]w (t) (i)ḥt-nṭr wnn144 m ṭb=sn r ḫȝ145 ḫpr=sn m ḫn*
16. to put the wab-priest in his place, (and) to deal with everything concerning the god.” Those whose hearts wanted to fight, they turned into rejoicing.

2.4.2 Analysis

This fourth analysis section centres on a philological analysis of the second narrative part (i.e. ll. 9–16) of the text on the stela. The action takes place in Upper Egypt. The discussion revolves around the concepts of local, regional, and universal rulership.

The evidence, which this text section on events in southern and Middle Egypt provides, speaks almost entirely of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a *regional* ruler, ruling both Kush and Egypt. This may come as no surprise in consideration of the setting, away from both Kush and Assyria. Anyway, the people of Middle Egypt who greet the northward-sailing146 Tanutamani define the said ruler as an Egyptian ruler in their urging him “to make the two lands live” (*r sʾnh t3wy*) (l. 14). Tanutamani implicitly appears as the political leader of Egypt in his undisturbed journey on land and water, being recognized as the proper authority. The visits by Tanutamani in Elephantine and Thebes (and later Memphis) form a part of an Egyptian version of the Kushite coronation journey, in which the cities and temples of Napata, Kawa, Pnubs, and Tare were visited (Breyer 2003: 235–48). With Egypt as the location of this coronation journey, the king’s regional rulership is stressed.

Tanutamani is clearly presented as the head of the Egyptian people.147 (The people) on the western (bank) (*imnt(y)it*) and the eastern (bank) (*ḫbt(y)it*) in Middle Egypt cheerfully acknowledge and welcome Tanutamani as their master in their expressing “shouts of joy” (*ḥnw nhm*) and in their crying out that he is “welcome in peace, your ka being in peace” (*ii tw m ḫtp kȝ=k m ḫtp*) (l. 14). It is also said that

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141 The dependent pronoun *tw* should be kept separate from the imperative, contra *FHN* (p. 200).
142 The translation in *FHN* (p. 200), “were shouting songs of joy, as they said”, is odd. Either the people on both sides of the Nile shout, sing, or speak (say) – not all these things, at the same time.
143 *FHN* (p. 200) neglects this preposition (so vital for the understanding) in its transcription.
144 One expects a suffix-pronoun or a subject-noun directly after this form. None of the transcribers (*FHN*, p. 200, Onasch 1994: 136, Breyer 2003: 458) have made such a reconstruction, however. A solution is to identify a participle-form (in gemination) of the verb *wni* (see also Breyer 2003: 133–34).
145 The transcription of *FHN* (p. 200) incorrectly gives *ḥf* rather than *ḥȝ* (sign D 34).
146 Tanutamani has sailed *northwards*, and not to the north, when reaching Elephantine. This distinction is clear when considering the fact that the same phrase is used when the king departs from Thebes (l. 14). In other words, “the northern land” (*t3-mhw*) in question still denotes Lower Egypt and the delta.
147 As noted by Breyer (2003: 284–304), the Egyptian (or Kushite) people do not come a cross much on the stela. Beside Tanutamani and the deities (the protagonists), the general population, the priesthood, the courtiers, and the delta rulers are the agents or figurants in the stela’s texts and images.
potential enemies turned into supporters, when persons “whose hearts wanted to fight, they turned into rejoicing” (w mn ib=sn r’hj hpr=sn m h(3)) are referred to (l. 16). Arguably, this particular group of people may be identified as soldiers in areas and districts not fully under Kushite control or leaning towards delta rulers. For some reason, these soldiers lay down their weapons and surrender to the Kushite king.148

Egyptian cultural influence and the idea of Tanutamani as a regional ruler are also manifested in the presentation of the said ruler as the high-priest of Egyptian cults. When Tanutamani reaches the first cataract and Elephantine, he acts as the high-priest of its patron deity, the ram-headed god Khnum(-Re). After having sailed across to the island-city of Elephantine and having entered the temple-compound of Khnum, Tanutamani “caused that this god appeared (in procession), (and) one (the king) made a great offering to him” (rdi.n=f š3(w) ntr pn ir=t(w) n=f ‘3bt ‘f(t)) (ll. 10-11), thus treating this god as Amun of Napata. Egyptian mythology taught that the region of the first cataract was the source of the life-giving Nile (Quirke 1992: 48). This belief is expressed also in the present text section, when it is said that Tanutamani “gave bread and beer to the deities of the Two Caverns, and he appeared Nun in his cave” (rdi.n=f t h(n)kt n ntrw krtv shtp.n=f nwn m 1ph=f) (l. 11). Both the locality of Two Caverns and the god Nun are closely linked to Egyptian cosmogony (Quirke 1992: 25, 48).

The deities of the Two Caverns are either the local triad of Khnum and the goddesses Satet and Anuket or the Nile deities (Breyer 2003: 119). The downstream progress of a pious Tanutamani, starting from the first cataract and the Two Caverns, in a way likens him to the blessed, prosperity-bringing inundation (Török 2002: 364).

Tanutamani also presents himself as the high-priest of Amun of Thebes. The next stop on the said ruler’s river-bound journey is Thebes. This city had a uniquely elevated status in the Kushite double kingdom (Pope 2014).149 Arriving at Karnak, the temple-compound of Amun(-Re), Tanutamani is welcomed by “the servant of the ‘Great Foundation’” (hm (n) snt-wr)150 and “the hour-priests” (wnwt) of Karnak (ll. 11-12), thus being recognized as the higher cultic authority. The priests hand garlands for the king to present to the god, and Tanutamani joyfully “caused Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, to appear (in procession)” (wn.(i)n=f š3(w) imn-r=t nb nṣ(w)t t3w(y) and “created a great festival in the whole land” (ir=t(w) ḫb ‘3 m t3 dr=f) (l. 13). In short, Tanutamani appears as the undisputed cultic authority of Upper Egypt.151 Török (2002: 411) even suggests that Tanutamani is enthroned (again) in Karnak. The people from the river banks of Middle Egypt allude to his priestly role, in their urging Tanutamani to reinstall the cultic order, both in relation to the deities and with regard to the spirits of the dead (ll. 15-16), who also needed offerings (Quirke 1992: 106).

Also the linking of the “deification” of Tanutamani with Egyptian deities speaks of Egyptian cultural influence and of the said ruler as a regional ruler. The text section

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148 Perhaps due to military weakness (if accepting the surrendering imagery). The propagandistic angle would naturally focus on the majestic appearance of Tanutamani in his uniting of the two lands. In his analysis, Breyer (2003: 302-03) rather refers to these individuals as part of the general population.

149 Assyrian annals even refer to Thebes as “the city of his (Tanutamani’s) kingship” (al sarrūtiša) (see Borger 1996: A II 35), indicative of the unique status of this city in Tanutamani’s state.

150 This profession title is unclear in its meaning. I have retained the translation in FHN, which points to a person in charge of the economic base of the temple-compound. Breyer (2003: 124, 290), however, identifies this individual as “Diener-des-Großen-Plans” (servant of the primeval mound-like Karnak) and as one of the four “prophets” of Amun of Thebes. It is interesting to note that neither the first prophet (a Kushite prince named Harkhebi), nor Mentuemhat (the mayor of the city as well as the fourth prophet), nor Shepenput II (the Kushite God’s Wife of Amun) are mentioned. Breyer (2003: 290) convincingly speculates that this has to do with the text’s aim of focusing on the king.

151 Cultic authority over the whole of Egypt may even be hinted at in the phrase m t3 dr=f.
begins by narrating that “His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land to see (his) father” (ḫḏ pw ṭnr n ḫm=f r ṭy-mḥwš(i) t r m3(j) i(f=e)) (l. 9), i.e. Amun of Thebes.

Tanutamani also appears as a regional ruler in his descriptions of Egypt and things Egyptian as the natural focal points. Amun of Thebes is e.g. “the lord of the thrones of the two lands” (nb ns(w)t ṭywy) (l. 12), not sharing authority over Egypt with any Kushite deity. Thebes is simply referred to as “the city” (niwt) (l. 11), thus outranking any Kushite city. Lastly, Khnum is “lord of the cataract” (nb ḫkhḥ(w)tti) (l. 10), thus putting the (Egyptian) first cataract above the other (Kushite) five cataracts in terms of hierarchy. This Egypto-centrism speaks of Tanutamani as a regional ruler.

There is not any direct evidence in this text section on events in Upper Egypt that can support the notion of Tanutamani as a local ruler, with the said ruler appearing as focused on relations with Kushite deities or on ruling over his native Kush.

There is not any direct evidence in the text section that speaks of Tanutamani as a universal ruler or of contact with Asia or things Asian either. However, I would suggest that there is indirect evidence of contact with the Assyrians and thus of the theme Tanutamani as universal ruler. The people on the river banks of Middle Egypt allude to neglections in the cult, in their urging Tanutamani “to restore the temples that are fallen into ruin, to (re)establish their (cult)images to their (former) condition, to give endowments to the gods and goddesses and funeral offerings to the spirits of the transfigured dead, to put the wab-priest in his place, (and) to deal with everything concerning the god” (r sḫẖ r(j)-prw ṭny(w) ṭy(w). w r ṭyš r ṭmn ḫmwn=sn m ṭšm=sn r ṭdt ḫtpw-ḥnṯ r n ṭṛ(w) n ṭṛ(t) prt-ḥrw n ḫḥw t ṭrd(t) ṭf h r ṭš=f r ṭr(t) (i)ḥt nb t n(w) ṭ(j) ṭḥt-ḥnṯ) (ll. 15–16). I interpret these urgings as references to the results of continuing warfare between the Kushites and Assyrians on Egyptian soil. The descriptions of the alleged ravages on Egypt by the Hyksos naturally come to mind (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 136–37), making up a distant parallel. This interpretation is speculative but certainly plausible. Middle Egypt had been exposed to Assyrian troops as recent as in 667 BCE (Onasch 1994: 147–61), and it is easy to imagine that the following years of unrest had prevented the cultic life of Egypt to return to its former glory. 153

2.4.3 Summary

This section has dealt with the second narrative part of the stela text, which centres on a triumphant journey by Tanutamani and his retinue through southern and Middle Egypt. He stops at Elephantine and Thebes and pays his respect to the local deities, and is met with cheering from the people on the river banks of Middle Egypt.

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant text, while revising the transcription and translation in FHN (=Pierce 1994). My translation largely follows the one in FHN. Nevertheless, what can be seen as an error was detected and corrected (l. 14). 154 Competing interpretations on meaning were suggested (e.g. l. 12), and the sometimes stilted translation of FHN was updated in one area (l. 9). My transcription diverges somewhat more from FHN, mainly because of varying transcription principles. Unexpressed endings and the marking of obvious grammatical errors in the text were added in my transcription (e.g. ll. 11–12),

152 According to Assyrian sources, more precisely the annals of Ashurbanipal, which even suggest that the Assyrian army went as far south as Thebes (see Borger 1996: E §10 13-21).
153 It is noteworthy that Breyer (2003: 129-33) fails to discuss the potentially specific, historical background to this passage in his comments, focusing instead (mostly) on philological aspects.
154 I regard the translation in FHN (p. 200) which conveys the impression that the people on the river banks of Middle Egypt simultaneously shout, sing, and speak as an error.
in contrast to *FHN*. Furthermore, outright errors were corrected (e.g. l. 16), and an omission of a word was confronted (l. 15). Difficult verb constructions which are left unresolved in *FHN* were resolved in my transcription (e.g. l. 11).  

Almost all of the evidence provided by the present text section speaks of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a *regional* ruler, ruling both Kush and Egypt. Tanutamani is referred to as the one who will make the two lands live, and his ability to travel unhindered along the Nile valley manifests his role as the political leader of Egypt. The Egyptian people, in the shape of the people on the river banks of Middle Egypt, express their recognition of him as their legitimate leader, disregarding any ideas of making resistance or be allied to the northern political sphere. Tanutamani is also an Egyptian ruler in that he presents himself as the high-priest of Egyptian cults, in this case first and foremost of Khnum in Elephantine and of Amun in Thebes. Processions, offerings, and festivals are made in their honour. In Elephantine, the king makes offerings also to the cosmogony god Nun, and priests of the Karnak temple-compound in Thebes receive Tanutamani in their recognizing him as high-priest. The people of Middle Egypt view the said ruler as the reinstallor of the cultic order. The king links his “deification” to an Egyptian deity, with Amun of Thebes as his father, and conveys a Egypto-centric perspective through his choice of terms and titles.

There is not any direct evidence in this text section on events in Upper Egypt that can support the notion of Tanutamani as a *local* ruler, with the said ruler appearing as focused on relations with Kushite deities or on dominating Kush proper.

There may however be some indirect references to the idea that Tanutamani will repair damages on the cultic life of Upper Egypt brought about by warfare with the Assyrians on Egyptian soil, like early New Kingdom-rulers repaired sanctuaries claimed to have been destroyed by the Hyksos. This identifying of references to the impact of the Assyrian state on Egypt is speculative but certainly plausible. In his correcting the Asiatics, Tanutamani appears as a *universal* ruler.

2.5 The narrative parts III: Tanutamani in Lower Egypt I (lines 16-26)

This third narrative section focuses on Tanutamani in Lower Egypt and warfare. It can be divided into four narrative stages: the seizing of Memphis, the following thanksgiving rituals for the Memphite deities, the speaking of the king’s plans for building in the temple of Amun of Napata, and the futile sieges of delta cities.

2.5.1 Sources

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155 For all my major objections to the treatment in *FHN*, see subsection 2.4.1 and its footnotes.
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Figure 5: Lines 16-26 of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pls. 1-2).

16. *spr (pw) ir.n hm=f r mn-nfr pr(t) pw*

16. **His Majesty arrived at Memphis.**

17. *ir.n nȝ msw bds(t) r hȝ bnw hm=f *(†)* wn hm=f irt hȝyt *(†)* im=sn n n* rḥ (=tw) *(†)*

17. **The brood of weakness came out to fight His Majesty. His Majesty made a great blood bath among them, (so that) one did not know the number (of the dead). After His Majesty seized Memphis, he entered the temple-compound of**

18. *ptḥ-rsy-inb=f ir=f *ȝbt n (it)=f ptḥ-skṛ shtp=f shmt r mrr(t)=s wn hm=f ḥb=f ḫw.w* r ir(t) mnw n it (=f) imn npt ir=f ḫw ḫr=s

18. **Ptah-south-of-his-wall, made an offering to his (father) Ptah-Sokar, and appeased Sakhmet with what she desires. His Majesty’s heart wished to make monuments for (his) father, Amun of Napata, and made a decree about it**

19. *r tj-st(y) r ḫd n=f ḫy(t) n(t) mȝw(t) n*{t} gm=tw s(y) *(†)* ḫd(t,i) m rk tp(y)-t{(w)} rd.n

19. **(and sent it) to bow land to build for him a new porch that one has not found being built since the time of the ancestors. His Majesty caused that one may build it in stone, one may overlay (it) with gold,**

20. *tmš(w)=s m ēš kšp=

20. **its beams** *(†)* **being of cedar wood, one may cense**

21. *tw (sy) m ntwy n pwt(t) tˈyw yrty tˈ m ēš m kr-

21. **(it) with myrrh of Punt, the double doors thereof being of electrum, (and) the two doorbolts**

22. *-ty m ṭḥ(s)τ[y] tˈ ḫd n=f ḫt ḥyt n pr(t) r hȝjτ t r ir(t) ērτ=

22. **being of copper** *(†)* **He (also) built for him another porch for going outside to produce his (Amun’s) milk**

23. *f n mnmmnw(t)=f *ȝṣw(y) t *(†)* m ḫbˈ w ḫw *(†)* šnw mḏw nn rḥ dnw bḥsw

156 The whole phrase *r hȝ bnw hm=f* is omitted in the transcription of FHN (p. 200).

157 Contra FHN (p. 201), it makes better sense grammatically to revise the negation and reconstruct the impersonal pronoun *tw*. The resulting translation will not make much of a difference, though.

158 Contra FHN (p. 201), it makes better sense grammatically to revise the negation, identify the impersonal pronoun *tw*, and regard the *s* (sign S 29) as the beginning of a dependent pronoun (*sy* or *st*). Similar constructions can be identified in some of the following clauses (see ll. 19-21).

159 The translator in FHN (p. 201) has simply given up here, rendering [..]. For a discussion of this unclear term, see Breyer (2003: 143-44), who arrives at the translation “Gebälk”.

23. from his many herds, being tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens, without knowing the number of all yearling
calves any given cow has seems to be expressed here (Breyer 2003: 149).

24. calves of their mothers. Thereafter His Majesty sailed downstream to fight the chiefs of the northern land.

25. Then they went inside their walls like [—–] into their holes. So His Majesty spent many days because of them, without a single one

26. of them coming out to fight His Majesty.

2.5.2 Analysis

This fifth analysis section focuses on a philological analysis of the third narrative part (i.e. ll. 16-26) of the stela text. The action takes place in Lower Egypt. As usual, the discussion revolves around the concepts of local, regional, and universal rulership.

Much of the evidence tells of Egyptian cultural influence and of the notion of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, with his authority based both in Egypt and Kush. The said ruler appears as the political leader of Egypt e.g. in his possessing Memphis (mn-nfr) (l. 17), the age-old royal city which is connected with the notion of the unification of the land and which functioned as the capital in the Old Kingdom (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 180-81). Tanutamani’s possession of the city thus associates him with this glorious (Egyptian) past.

The said ruler is also manifested as a traditional Egyptian leader in his using the derogatory term “bow land” (t3-st(y)j) for Nubia in the context of his sending a decree concerning construction work in Napata (l. 19).

Tanutamani is also presented as the military leader of Egypt, not the least in his seizing of Memphis, which confirms his position as the head of the Egyptian state (l. 17). From that base, the king takes to the delta proper in order to fight the various (Libyan) chiefs (wrw, literally “the great ones”) who oppose Tanutamani and instead are allied with Assyria or seek independence for themselves. These enemies behave just like the enemies of the Egyptian king always behave, i.e. cowardly (Loprieno 1988). Instead of facing Tanutamani man-to-man, they run away from him and hide within the fortified walls of their respective cities, in their “going (went) inside their walls” (“k. n=sn ‘k r inbw(t)=sn” (l. 25). The chiefs of the delta flee like rats (?).
“into their holes”\(^1\) (r b(j)b(jw)t\(t\)=sn) (l. 25). Their cowardice is stressed by Tanutamani in his stating that “not a single one of them came (coming) out to fight His Majesty” (\(nn\ pr(t)\ w\$ {n}’ (i)m=sn r’\ḥy\ hm’\ hm=f\)) (ll. 25-26).\(^2\)

As is the case in this stela text, Tanutamani is also portrayed as the high-priest of Egyptian cults. The local deities of Memphis are honoured by the king. After having seized Memphis, Tanutamani enters the temple-compund of Ptah-south-of-his-wall (\(ptḥ-rṣy\-in\=b=f\)) (ll. 17-18), which supposedly contained shrines not only for the city’s patron god Ptah but also for the other members of the local triad, i.e. Sakhmet and Nefertem.\(^3\) Inside the temple-area, Tanutamani is said to have “made an offering to his (father) Ptah-Sokar” (\(ir=f ‘3bt n (i)t=f pṭḥ-skṛ\)) (l. 18), i.e. to the hypostasis form of the two Memphite gods Ptah and the (Saqqara-)necropolis god Sokar. Tanutamani also piously boasts about having “appeased Sakhmet with what she desires” (\(shtp=f sḥmt r mṛr(t)=s\)) (l. 18), presumably with offerings of meat, judging by the ferocious nature of this lion-goddess. In short, Tanutamani is manifested as the upkeeper of the Memphite cults, fully in line with Egyptian royal ideology.

Egyptian cultural influence and the notion of Tanutamani as a regional ruler is also attested in the said ruler linking his “deification” with Egyptian deities, in this case by referring to Ptah-Sokar as his father (l. 18), thus to a divine son-ship.

There is substantial evidence also of the Kushite cultural milieu and of the idea of Tanutamani as a local ruler. After having satisfied the Memphite deities, Tanutamani turns his thoughts to Amun of Napata, in his saying, “His Majesty’s heart wished to make monuments for (his) father, Amun of Napata, and made a decree about it” (\(wn\ hm=f ib=f jw.\ w\ r\ ir(t)\ mnn\ n\ it(=f)\ imn\ nip\ ir=f\ wḏt\ hr=s\)) (l. 18). The Egyptian royal duty “to make monuments” (\(r\ ḫmt\ mnn\)) for the deities (Björkman 1971) is here directed towards a Kushite god. Two different monuments for Amun of Napata at Gebel Barkal are spoken of, namely two “porches” (\(ḥywt\)).\(^4\) One of these is defined by its luxurious building components (e.g. gold), the other one is defined by its procession-function and cattle-passage (ll. 19-24).\(^5\) The theme “heroic priority”\(^6\) in relation to royal ancestors and sacred building activities is expressed when Tanutamani argues that his new, luxurious porch is of a kind “one has not found being built since the time of the ancestors” (\(n\{n\’\ \(gm=t\(w\ y\(k\(d\(t\(t\)\ m\ rk\ tp(y)\}-\(w\))\)) (l. 19).\(^7\) All in all, Tanutamani presents himself as the high-priest of the Kushite state.

The local character of Tanutamani’s rulership is also conveyed by the said king’s claim of being the son of Amun of Napata (l. 18). Whatever the nature of this descent claim, Tanutamani portrays himself as a faithful son in providing for his father.

There is some evidence in the present text section that speaks of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, in the sense of his controlling material and human resources of distant regions. As for the former, the luxurious porch, discussed above, is to be censed with “myrrh from Punt” (\(ntyw\ n\ pwnt\)) (l. 19), coming from east Africa (Shaw and

\(^{1}\) The added note that “His Majesty spent many days because of them” (\(wn.\ in\ hm=f\ ir(t)\ hrw\ ‘ṣjw\ hr=sn\)) (l. 25) probably serves to point to the great patience and well-considered actions of the king. Alternatively, as suggested by Breyer (2003: 154-55), the king spent his days by the fortresses.

\(^{2}\) Although Nefertem is not mentioned by Tanutamani, this god was spoken of by other Kushite rulers. As noted by Morkot (2000: 230), the titulary of Taharqa explicitly refers to this god.

\(^{3}\) Both of these are probably archaeologically attested in court B 502 of the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal (Hakem 1988: 122-24). The addition of colonnaded porches (especially at the entrances to temples) seems to be a distinct Kushite feature with regard to temple architecture (Morkot 2000: 233).

\(^{4}\) As for the latter, Breyer (2003: 148-49) sees a centre for temple herds and milk production.

\(^{5}\) This term is used in the analysis of Assyrian propaganda, referring to actions from the hands of the king that are extraordinary and unique, thus simply outstanding, in character (Gelio 1981).

\(^{6}\) Breyer (2003: 141-42) here sees a direct reference to Alara, the founder of the Kushite dynasty.
were in Egypt (and vice versa) is well
Egypt, and that Tanutamani left (idkâ qabal šu nišīpe troops, the sons of Assyria, inside Memphis, he
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this word. The use of the enemy
ellassu Heliopolis into his stro
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Assyria
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Nekau I, would have be
pressed against their city walls. The Assyrian
by Tanutamani (Onasch 1994: 157),
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–
171
The identity of this group – soldiers from the delta or Assyria – is unknown. Looking at the term msw bdš(t), the basic meaning of the first word is “children”, while the latter word177 is translated as “Schwäche” (weakness) (ÄWb. II, p. 829). The two words combined result in “Kinder der Schwäche” (children of weakness) (ÄWb. II, p. 829). The term (when rendering the verb bšṯ as bdš)178 is e.g. used to refer to the enemies of the sun-god, the offspring of Apophis (Wb. I, p. 479, Wb. II, p. 140). Without discussing the term, Pierce (FHN, p. 200) translates “children of rebellion”.179 Onasch (1994: 139, 155-56) translates “die Kinder der bdš.w” and leaves it open whether delta or Assyrian soldiers are referred to. Breyer (2003: 135, 459) translates “Schwächlingsbrut” and sees the king’s opponents as delta troops.
My own translation of the term is “brood of weakness”. Considering the highly biased textual context, the translation “brood” is more fitting than the neutral “children”.180 The verb bdš, meaning “to be weak” (ÄWb. II, p. 829),181 and here nominalized through the abstract-ending -t, is established in dictionaries as complementing msw. With regard to identifying the group, I would suggest that both the delta and Assyria are alluded to in the term. The “brood” would refer to the joint delta-Assyrian forces. Assyrian annals suggest that an Assyrian garrison was stationed in Memphis around this time, and that this force was besieged by Kushite troops led by Tanutamani (Onasch 1994: 157),182 like the Memphites of the stela text were pressed against their city walls. The Assyrian-friendly ruler of Sais and Memphis, Nekau I, would have been one part of the delta troops. The “weakness” would refer to Assyria – the Apophis of the story. Describing international rivals as weaklings is

176 Judging from Assyrian sources, Tanutamani may have departed from the city Heliopolis, situated just to the north-east of Memphis. Ashurbanipal in his annals (see Borger 1996: A II 23) names Heliopolis as a fortress of Tanutamani, in his telling that “he (Tanutamani) made Thebes and Heliopolis into his strongholds, and he gathered his forces” (Nî Ḫum ana Dannûtiša ʾiskun upāḥhira ellassû). This passage directly precedes the reference to Tanutamani’s attack on Memphis.

177 The reading and writing of this word create confusion. The copy of Devéria erroneously gives n instead of š, thus forming a bdn. Both the copies of Devéria and Grimal give the kneeling, back-bound enemy-sign (A 13) as the determinative to bdš, instead of the fatigue man-sign (A 7) normally used for this word. The use of the enemy-sign may be grasped as referring to the combination of msw and bdš.

178 The word bšṯ means “to be rebellious” (Wb. I, p. 479). As noted by Breyer (2003: 135), the said writing tendency is attested from the 19th dynasty and New Kingdom onwards (Wb. I, p. 479).

179 Similarly, Morkot (2000: 295) translates “the sons of revolt” and does not talk of any Assyrians.

180 However, as observed by Breyer (2003: 135), the word msw has, at least when standing on its own, a slightly negative connotation from the language stage of Late Egyptian onwards (Wb. II, p. 139).

181 Borghouts (1973: 129, n. 12) instead opts for “to be tired” in his translation of the term.

182 Ashurbanipal states (see Borger 1996: A II 24-26) that, “to fight against my (Ashurbanipal’s) troops, the sons of Assyria, inside Memphis, he (Tanutamani) arranged his battle; he enclosed these people, and he cut off their escape routes” (ana mitihuši ummnānūtiya marī mari Aššur ša qereb Mempi ṭakā qabaršu nisši štâunu ʾēširma ʾishbâta muṣṣâṣun). The continuation (A II 27-31) does not tell of an outcome but describes that Ashurbanipal was informed about the siege, that he and/or his army went to Egypt, and that Tanutamani left (abātu N) Memphis (from within the walls?). The idea that Assyrians were in Egypt (and vice versa) is well-established (von Zeissl 1944, Zamazalová 2011).
standard propaganda, used not the least in Assyrian annals (Fales 1991: 135-38). My interpretation of msw bdš(t) is speculative but surely plausible. The roles would then be reversed in relation to the relief scene from Ashurbanipal’s palace at Nineveh where the Assyrian army successfully besiege an Egyptian city containing Kushite soldiers and a mainly Egyptian population (see Brunner 1952-53: 258).

2.5.3 Summary

This section has dealt with the third narrative part of the stela text, which has Lower Egypt as its setting and warfare as its overall theme. Actionwise, it centres on the seizing of Memphis, on cult activities and temple construction for Memphite deities and Amun of Napata respectively, and on the king’s besieging of delta cities.

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant text, while revising the transcription and translation in FHN (=Pierce 1994). My translation largely follows the one in FHN. Still, reconstructions were attempted where FHN simply gives up (e.g. l. 20), and competing interpretations on meaning, words, phrases, and clauses were suggested (e.g. l. 17). My transcription diverges somewhat more from FHN, mainly because of varying transcription principles. Unexpressed endings and the marking of obvious scribal errors in the text were added in my transcription (e.g. ll. 16-17), in contrast to FHN. An outright error was corrected (l. 26), and a number of omissions of words were confronted (e.g. l. 17). Difficult verb constructions unresolved in FHN were resolved (e.g. l. 17), and reconstructions were attempted where FHN simply surrenders (e.g. l. 20).

There are numerous examples of Egyptian cultural influence and of the notion of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, having control of both Egypt and Kush, in the present text section. Tanutamani appears as an Egyptian leader in his possessing the age-old city Memphis (associated with Egyptian kingship), and in his reference to Nubia as “bow land”. The said ruler presents himself as the military leader of Egypt in his seizing Memphis and in his attacking delta cities. He also acts as the religious leader of Egypt in his offering to the local, Memphite deities Ptah-Sokar and Sakhmet. Finally, Tanutamani’s linking of his “deification” to Egyptian deities, in this case Ptah-Sokar, who is described as his father, speaks of him as a regional ruler.

A large part of the present text section focuses on the Kushite cultural milieu and on Tanutamani as a local ruler, having dominion over Kush, first and foremost. The said ruler appears as the high-priest of the cult of Amun of Napata, in his making of monuments (like no other had done before him) for this god. From his position in Memphis, Tanutamani orders the construction of two porches for the said god in Gebel Barkal, one defined by its luxurious building components and the other defined by its function related to milk production, the temple herd, and processions. Also Tanutamani’s linking of his “deification” to Kushite deities, in this case Amun of Napata, who is referred to as the king’s father, tells of him as a local ruler.

Some evidence also speaks of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, controlling human and material resources from the whole world (or from distant lands, such as Asiatic ones). In the building of one of his porches, myrrh from Punt, cedar from Lebanon, and Asiatic copper are used. The group of people called “the brood of weakness” (n3 msw bdš(t)), who fought against Tanutamani at Memphis only to be utterly defeated, may allude to joint delta-Assyrian forces (msw) and to Assyria (bdš(t)).

183 For all my major objections to the treatment in FHN, see subsection 2.5.1 and its footnotes.
2.6 The narrative parts IV: Tanutamani in Lower Egypt II (lines 26-42)

This fourth narrative section centres on Tanutamani in Lower Egypt and peace. It can be divided into four narrative stages: Tanutamani’s return to Memphis, the arrival and surrendering of delta rulers, the return and tribute delivering of the delta rulers, and a benediction-ending. The language is often poetic and rendering direct speech.

2.6.1 Sources

Figure 6: Lines 26-42 of the Dream Stela (adapted from Grimal 1981: pl. 2).

26. hnty pw ir.n hm=f r inb-hd wmn=f sndm(.w) mḥt=f w3(w)ȝ(w) sh hmḥ

26. His Majesty sailed upstream to White-wall (Memphis) and rested in his palace, while conceiving of a plan with

27. ib=f r rdt phr. mȝw=f r trr(y){tt} ḫr=sn ḫd.in irf [---] ii.tw r smi n=f m ḫd iw

nn ȝw ii.(w) r ḫ(w)

\[184\] Contra FHN (p. 202), transcribing wmn=f is better than to read the obscure form wnn=f.

\[185\] The copy of Grimal again gives ḫr, while that of Devéria again indicates phr (see n. 114).

\[186\] One suggestion is to reconstruct hm=f here, as in FHN (p. 202) and Onasch 1994: 140. Breyer (2003: 460) gives ḫw=f. What is clear is that the courtiers are the ones next in line to speak.
27. his heart, through which his army could go around the embankments. Then, indeed, [---] said, one came to report to him, saying, “These chiefs\(^{187}\) have come to the place
28. where His Majesty is, O [sovereign], our lord.” Then His Majesty said, “Have they come to fight? (Or) have they come to serve (me)? (If the latter) I [will cause that] they shall live from this moment.” Then they said
29. before His Majesty, “They have come to serve, O sovereign, our lord.” Then His Majesty said, “(My) lord is with me, this noble god, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal, the great god, the perfect one, whose name is known, who is watchful
31. [---] just like Re radiates from the horizon. He found them placed on their bellies, kissing the ground before him. Then His Majesty said, “Look, it is true what he said
32. [---] about me, and [---] happened. It was the decree of the god that it should happen. As Re lives for me and loves me, as Amun praises me in his temple, as I saw this noble god, Amun
33. [---] sentence, having an unlikely elevation in status.
34. As suggested by Breyer (2003: 462). Without trying to dissect this problematic construction.
34. of Napata, who resides in Gebel Barkal, when he was standing by me, he said to me, “(I) guide you on every road, without your saying, ‘I wish I had assistance!’ I shall foretell you tomorrow before it has [arrived].

35. *iw=i mi hm {t|t} hr šyw {--} ḫm ṣḥḥ hr šyw ḫm=f nn [hr --] dw3{w} n=i iw nḥtw=k ḫf n wšb=sn n=f m dd mk nṯr pn

36. I am like the Majesty(?) over Fate. 199 [---] a craftsman who knows about the fate of His Majesty. There will not [---] worship me. Your victories will come.’ ”

Then they answered him, saying, “See, this god, 37. *sr=f n=k ḫt śr=k=f n=k [phwy] 200 m nṯr mk nn ḫr pr(t) m r(j)=f ṭy nb=n ʿlf pw ir{t}. n 201 (i)r(y)-pto(t) ḫt(y)-5 n pr-spdw ḫ3-krr ṭ mdt dd=f

38. he has foretold you the beginning, and he has brought about a good [ending] for you. See, the god does not take back what has come forth from his mouth, 202 O sovereign, our lord.” The hereditary prince and count of House-of-S科普 (Saft el-Henneh), Paqruru, rose up to speak, and said, 39. *bk*y n=n=k mi īwty w强迫 mi dd=k r=s m sp tp(y) ḫr(w) swn=f 204 m nsw wn.in ib n ḫm=f ḫy(y,w) m-hṭ sd[m=f mdt tn rdi{t}.

38. you. Let us serve you like those who are without anything, as you said concerning it on the first occasion, (on) the day when you became 205 king.” Then His Majesty’s heart was joyful after he heard this speech, and he gave 39. n=f n=sn t ḫnk(t) (i)ḥt nḥt nṯr(t) ir m-ḥt ḫr(w) sw3{w} ḫr nn 206 rdi{t}. n=sn ḫr ḫr=sn [-] ḫr=n sn w强迫 n dy ir=n 207 ṭ hr m ṭy nb=n ḫd.in

39. them bread, beer, and every good thing. Now, when some days had passed after this, they placed themselves on their bellies [-] and said, “What are we doing here, O sovereign, our lord?”

40. ḫm=f m dd m dd.in=sn ḫḥt ḫm=f ʃm=n r niw(w)t=n sn shnw=n m nṛwv=sn ʃy=y=n ḫy=n n ḥy=n ḥw n.sn.in sn=f (rdv) ṣm=sn

40. Then His Majesty spoke, saying, “What (do you mean)?” 208 Then they said before His Majesty, “Let us go to our cities that we may command (our) subjects and bring our dues to the Residence.” So His Majesty (caused that) they may go 41. r niw(w)t=sn sn wn.in=sn m niwyw wn wn r ḫytv(t) ḫr ḫd mh[t] yw ḫy ḫnty r b(w) ḫr ḫm=f ḫr 209 (i)ḥt nḥt nṯr(t) n{w}{t} ṭy ʃm{t} ḫ ḫw nb(w){t}

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199 FHN (p. 204) gives up on the first noun and inconsistently translates the latter as “command”.

200 As reconstructed by Breyer (2003: 464). The reading iw.tw n m (FHN, p. 205) fails to make sense.

201 The reading ur.i in FHN (p. 205) is obscure. Evidently there is a sdm pw ir.n=f here.

202 FHN (p. 205) omits the word “mouth” in its translation.

203 These probably erroneous additions are uncritically accepted in FHN (p. 205).

204 FHN (p. 206) does, inexplicably, give sif=f=k. Both the copies of Devéria and Grimal have swn=f=k.

205 I view this form simply as the causative of the existential-verb wni. Breyer (2003: 467) seems to be too literary in his translation, “dem Tag deiner Proklamation zum König”.

206 This initial clause (ir m-ḥt ḫr(w) sw3{w} ḫr mn) is especially common in Kushite royal inscriptions (Priesse 1972: 122–23), in this way telling of a local imprint.

207 FHN (p. 206) gives ir n ḫr m. It makes no sense with three prepositions (?) in a row. The translation in FHN, “Why are we here?” simply ignores the presence of the signs ir (D 4) and n (N 35).


209 FHN (p. 206) again (see n. 47) gives ḫr instead of the correct ḫr.
41. (back) to their cities. Then they were as those who (truly) live. (And from that time on) the southerners have been sailing downstream, the northerners upstream, to the place where His Majesty is, with every good thing of the southern land and every (kind of) provison

42. nw tš-mbw[f] t r štp t ib210 n ḥm=f wnn nsw-bity b3-k3-r ṣ3 ṣ= t3-n-w3-ti-imn ‘nh-wd3-snb ḫruby l. ḥr ḥr dt

42. of the northern land, to satisfy His Majesty’s heart; while the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-Ka-Re, son of Re: Tanutamani, may he live, be prosperous, and healthy, appears211 upon the throne of Horus for ever!

2.6.2 Analysis

This final analysis section focuses on a philological analysis of the fourth narrative part (i.e. ll. 26-42) of the stela text. The action takes place in Lower Egypt. As usual, the discussion revolves around the concepts of local, regional, and universal rulership.

The evidence is dominated by attestations of Egyptian cultural influence and of the notion of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, with his authority based both in Egypt and Kush. The said ruler insightfully refers to Memphis as “White-wall” (inh-hd) (l. 26).

This city, much linked to Egyptian kingship, is now a capital of the Kushite king. As for naming, Tanutamani also makes use of a number of distinctly Egyptian royal titles, such as nb, ḥm, ʿty, nsw-bity, and ṣ3 ṣ=r (ll. 36, 42), displaying his Egyptianness.

Tanutamani is also the military leader of Egypt, partly in his role as orchestrating attacks on enemies, partly in his making plans of warfare.212 As for the latter, this ruler is “conceiving of a plan with his heart, through which his army could go around the embankments” (w3(w)j3(w) sh ḥn i= ḥ r ṣd t pḥr mš= w=f ṣ3 ṣ= r(y){tt} ḥr= s nb213 (ll. 26-27) with regard to siege warfare and the resisting delta cities.214 The king may here liken his intellectual power to that of Ptah (planning creation) with these words.215 In their warrior role, Kushite kings associate themselves with the Egyptian god Onuris, i.e. the desert hunter and warrior who is presented (suitable enough) as a conqueror from the south in a myth that centres on Sakhmet in Nubia (Töör 2002: 151).

Tanutamani also appears as the religious leader of Egypt in the present text section. The said ruler’s elevated status in relation to Egyptian deities is e.g. expressed in the king’s lyrical and appreciating wording that “as Re lives for me and loves me, as Amun praises me in his temple” (‘nh n= i mr wi r ṣ=f ḥs wi imn m pr= f)216 (l. 33). Thus, the supported status of Tanutamani in his role as the high-priest of Egypt is stressed.

Egyptian cultural influence and the idea of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, having dominion over both Egypt and Kush, is also articulated in the said ruler’s linking his “deification” with Egyptian deities. In departing from his palace, Tanutamani is

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210 FHN (p. 207) gives ‘in instead of the correct ‘ib (sign F 34).
211 The translation in FHN (p. 207), for some reason, adds “in glory” here.
212 In the local sphere, the Kushite king is closely associated with the army in Kushite royal inscriptions. The Kushite army appear as a crucial power faction (more so than the Kushite priesthood), even influencing royal succession in an official and formal way (Hofmann 1971: 14, 32-36).
213 Breyer (2003: 159-61) translates ‘rr(y)/tt(y) as “Sturmwall”; thus seeing the word as referring to a siege instrument on the part of the attacker. He also claims that the term is a Semitic loanword which alludes to Assyrian warfare techniques. In any case, the military leadership of Tanutamani is expressed.
214 In practice, the king’s predicament derives from failed warfare. Breyer (2003: 233-34) actually suggests that Kushite propaganda was more tolerant than the Egyptian one towards admitting failure.
215 An argument in support of this (speculative) interpretation is the Memphite context of the narration. For the “Memphite Theology” on the “Shabaqo Stone”, see Lichtheim 2006 [1973]: 51-57.
216 Breyer (2003: 191-95) interprets this passage as conveying an “assertorischer Eid”.

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manifested “just like Re radiates from the horizon” (\(mi \text{ psd r}^{e} m \text{ ght}\)) (ll. 31-32), in the text’s employing of a classical New Kingdom phrase (Török 2002: 412). In the concluding blessing formula, the said king is hoped to “appear(s) upon the throne of Horus for ever” (\(ht(w) hr st hr dt\)) (l. 42). In one cryptical passage (l. 38), the Kushite king and his coronation seem to be associated with the moment of creation, the \(sp tpy\) (Quirke 1992: 23-30). Tanutamani is here closely linked to Egyptian cosmogony.

The king as giver of life (and in extension as creator) is a typically Egyptian propaganda theme (Grimal 1986: 241-51, Liverani 2001: 160-65).\(^{217}\) Tanutamani often uses this theme in this text section. After having being informed by the courtiers\(^{218}\) that the delta rulers have arrived, the Kushite king asks them if these rulers have come to serve, and says that “[I will cause that] they shall live from this moment” (\(frd\) = \(i *\text{nh}=sn\ m\ t\ j\ t\)) (l. 28), if that is the case. The spokesperson of the delta rulers, Paqruru of Per-Soped\(^{219}\) exclaims that “you (the king) kill whom you will, and (you) let live whom you will, (for) no one will reproach a lord because of a just deed” (\(sm\ = k\ mr(r)=k\ s\ nh(=k)\ mr(r)=k\ nn\ db\ = tw\ r\ nb(t)\ hr\ m\ ȝ\ ty\)) (l. 37). The delta rulers in unison plead to Tanutamani that he should “give us life, O lord of life, (for) there is no life without you” (\(imi\ = n*n\ nb\ t\ = n\ nn\ nn\ nh\ hm\ = k\)) (ll. 37-38).

When eventually recognized as trustworthy servants of their new master, the Kushite ruler, “they are (were) as those who (truly) live” (\(wn.\ in\ = sn\ m\ m\ ȝ\ ny\ w\)) (l. 41).\(^{220}\) In other words, Tanutamani is portrayed as the one in charge of life and death.\(^{221}\)

Also the idea of the merciful king is a recurring theme in Egyptian propaganda.\(^{222}\) In the present text section, this theme is expressed when the king allows the submissive delta rulers to return home alive (despite initial resistance by their locking up their gates), without any guarantee that they will fulfill their promise of delivering their dues to the Kushite king. It is said here that “His Majesty (caused that) they may go (back) to their cities” (\(wn.\ in\ = m\ f\ (rdt)\ s\ m=sn\ r\ niw(w)=n\ sn\)) (ll. 40-41). Tanutamani is here a merciful ruler, a (judicious) forgiver of trespasses.

Another typical Egyptian propaganda theme is the absolute loyalty of officials to the king (Parkinson 2002: 266-72).\(^{223}\) This theme is expressed repeatedly in this text section.\(^{224}\) Just as prescribed, “the chiefs” (\(wr\)\(w\)) of the delta come to Memphis and the king in order to surrender their (illegal) autonomy (ll. 27-28). Tanutamani in his asking his courtiers, implicitly says that the role of royal officials is “to serve” (\(r\ h\ y\ k\)) and not “to fight” (\(r\ h\ y\)) (l. 28). The proper subordinate role of royal officials is also

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\(^{217}\) The examples that follow are all text-based. Visually, Tanutamani holds the ankh-sign in the reliefs of the Osiris-Ptah chapel (Mariette 1889: figs. 80, 82-84), thus being in the position of granting life.

\(^{218}\) Egyptian courtiers may be referred to here, not the least since those who are mentioned are clearly not officials but courtiers proper (Onasch 1994: 151, 156). This pro-Kushite figure effectively functioned as a buttress against Assyrian influence, as well as enabling trade with the north-east. Paqruru may have been related to the Kushite royal house. His predecessor, Patjenfy, recognized Piy, Shabaqo, and Shabitqo as his overlords (Morkot 2000: 226, 296). The image of Tanutamani as having subdued all delta rulers is almost certainly false (Breyer 2003: 301-02).

\(^{220}\) As for transformations, it is noticeable that Amun changes from being someone whose name is hermetically hidden (\(imn\ rm=f\ r\ ntr\ w\)) (l. 10) to being “he whose name is known” (\( Fr\ rm=f\)) (l. 29). I suspect that this change has a deeper meaning, with Amun revealed once the dream had come true.

\(^{221}\) Tanutamani is an Egyptian ruler also at death, in his possessing a pyramid-tomb, ushebtis, offering tables, canopic jars, and scarabs. The ushebtis carry their typical message of their working in the tomb-owner's place in the afterlife (Breyer 2003: 436-39). All this tells of royal rulership.

\(^{222}\) As exemplified in the royal pardoning of Sinuhe. For this tale, see Lichtheim 2006 [1973]: 222-35.

\(^{223}\) Expressed e.g. in the “Loyalist Teaching”. For this teaching, see Lichtheim 2006 [1973]: 125-29.

\(^{224}\) In his language analysis, Breyer (2003: 167-75) detects word choices dependent upon whom the speaker is, using the terms of “Honorativität, pejorative Konnotationen, (and) Selbstniedrigung".
expressed in the delta rulers humbly waiting for the king at the palace gate, just as any ordinary petitioner (I. 31). When Tanutamani arrives, he “found them placed on their bellies, kissing the ground before him” (gm. n=f st rd[t]t(y.w) hr h[t]=sn sn.(w) t3 n-hft-hr=f) (I. 32). The delta chiefs submissively refer to Tanutamani as “O sovereign, our lord” (ity nb=n) (e.g. I. 39). They plead for their lives, and they promise to serve the king “like those who are without anything” (bzk.n n=k mi ḫwty w’) (II. 37-38).

In the social milieu of the Egyptians, reciprocity was pivotal (Assmann 2006: 58-91). The officials had the obligation to be absolutely loyal towards the king, but they should also get something back from this relationship. The Egyptian propaganda theme which focuses on the king providing for his officials is expressed in the passage which says that “His Majesty’s heart was joyful after he heard this speech (of the officials), and he gave them bread, beer, and every good thing” (wn.in ib n hm=f ḫy.(w) m-hṛ ṣdm=ƒ mdt t[r]d[t], n=f sn i ḫn.(t) (i)ḥt nbt nfr(t)) (II. 38-39). The offering formula (II. 226) may be alluded to here, as if to convey the message that the fates of royal officials in the afterlife are dependent upon the king’s benevolence.

The officials, in their turn, give income to the king, yet another propaganda theme in Egyptian royal ideology, fully in line with the pivotal principle on reciprocity (Assmann 2006: 58-91). It is said that, ever since the surrendering of the delta, “the southerners have been sailing downstream, the northerners upstream, to the place where His Majesty is, with every good thing of the southern land and every (kind of) provision of the northern land, to satisfy His Majesty’s heart” (wnn rṣwy[t] ḫr ḫd mh[k]t(y.w) hr ḫnty r b(w) ḫr hm=f ḫr (i)ḥt nbt nfr(t) iḥw(y.t) t3-ṣm[t]t] dḥjw nb(w) ft(y.w) t3 mh[w(t)] r slhp ib n hm=f) (II. 41-42), telling of the income-giving of the officials. In one sense, all roads lead to the king and the residence with regard to dues and taxes.

Finally, the wish formula (nḥ-ḥḏs-snb), speaking of “life, prosperity, and health” for the king (AWb. II, p. 534), that Tanutamani makes use of at the end of his stela text expresses Egyptian cultural influence and of the said ruler as a regional ruler.

There are at least some expressions of the Kushite cultural milieu and of Tanutamani as a local ruler in the present text section. In the king’s lyrical praising of Amun of Napata, he exclaims that this god is not only great, noble, perfect, and omniscient, he is also “the lord of the thrones of the two lands” (nb ns(w)t ḫw(y.w)) (I. 29). This Kushite god is then a prominent god also over Egypt. The delta rulers also express their devotion to Amun of Napata, saying that “this god, he has foretold you the beginning, and he has brought about a good [ending] for you” and that “the god does not take back what has come forth from his mouth” (mk nṯrs pn sr=f n=k ḫṣ tšrk=f n=k [ḥʾḥḥw(m)] m nṯr mk nn ḫw nṯr ḫr pr(t) m r(y)=f) (II. 35-36), in this way recognizing the omnipotence and omniscience of the Kushite god in question.227

Not only the notion of Amun of Napata as an “imperial” god tells of Tanutamani as a locally based ruler, but so does the presentation of Tanutamani as the high-priest of Kush. The said ruler and Amun of Napata stand in a special relationship with one another. Amun of Napata, who is referred to by Tanutamani as “(my) lord” (nb(=i)) (I. 29), says that “(I) guide you (the king) on every road, without your saying, ‘I wish I had assistance!’” (ḥn nb(=i) m sšm=k ḫr wšt nb(t) nn dd=k ḫš n=i ḫw(y.w)), that he is “a craftsman who knows about the fate of His Majesty” (ḥm rḥḥ ḫr šw ḫm=f), and that

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225 The palace gate also functioned as a place where justice was administered. The waiting delta rulers can then be understood as “sinners” awaiting the verdict for their crimes (Breyer 2003: 187).

226 This offering formula, or ḫp-dt-bs, typically speaks of bread, beer, etcetera, to be consumed by the deceased from the offering table of (usually) Osiris, god of the afterlife (Franke 2003).

227 According to Török (2002: 363), the frequency of speeches in Kushite forms of the genre “king’s novel” is in itself a marker of local characteristic, telling of “the Kushite mind”.

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“your (the king’s) victories will come” (ἰὸν ἄνήκω) (ll. 34-35). In another gesture, Tanutamani defines Amun of Napata as he “who is watchful over him whom he loves, who gives bravery to him who is loyal to him, without misleading him who is under his governance, without leading astray him whom he leads” (ῥσ-τπ ἡρ μρ=ἴ ἰδ κν ητγ ἡρ μηἱ=ἴ τη γ ηστγ ησ τμ ἱη=ἴ αἱ=ἴ σ)[=ἴ τι] (ἰ. 29-30). The Kushite god makes (the king’s) dream(s) come true. Tanutamani, his servant, expresses this idea by exclaiming that “what he says to me by night, I shall see by day” (μκ ἰἱ(ἰ)=ἴ μ ηή ἰῦ(η)=ἴ μ ἡτ(η)) (ἰ. 30-31) and that “it was the decree of the god that it should happen” (ωδτ ἤτ(η) ἰη πηρ ης(η)) (ἰ. 33). The overall message of the stela may be to stress the will and power of the said god (Breyer 2003: 270).

There are not any direct references that bring to mind the Asiatic or Assyrian part of the world, so Tanutamani can not be said to evoke a universal rulership or to be influenced by the Asiatic cultural milieu in this part on events in Lower Egypt.

2.6.3 Summary

This section has dealt with the final narrative part of the stela text, which has Lower Egypt as its setting and peace as its overall theme. Actionwise, it centres on Tanutamani’s return to Memphis, the arrival and surrendering of delta rulers, the return and tribute delivering of the delta rulers, and a benediction-ending.

The first subsection conveys a commented transcription and translation of the relevant text, while revising the transcription and translation in FHN (=Pierce 1994). My translation largely follows the one in FHN. Still, what can be seen as an error was detected and corrected (ἰ. 35). Omissions and an unjustified addition of words were confronted (ἰ. 31, 36, 42). Reconstructions were attempted where FHN simply gives up (e.g. ἰ. 28). Competing interpretations on meaning were suggested (e.g. ἰ. 27), and the sometimes stilted translation of FHN was updated (ἰ. 30). My transcription diverges somewhat more from FHN, mainly because of varying transcription principles. Unexpressed endings and the marking of obvious scribal errors in the text were added in my transcription (e.g. ἰ. 26, 32). Outright errors were corrected (e.g. ἰ. 38). Difficult verb constructions unresolved in FHN were resolved (e.g. ἰ. 31), and reconstructions were attempted where FHN simply gives up (e.g. ἰ. 28).

Much of the evidence in the relevant text section tells of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler, having control of both Egypt and Kush. Names (of Memphis) and titles (royal) with Egyptian origins speak of this fact. Tanutamani is presented as the military leader of Egypt, in his thinking out plans through which his siege-warfare in the delta can be successful. He is also presented as the religious leader of Egypt, in his role as high-priest, supported by Egyptian deities.

228 Breyer (2003: 197-201) daringly reconstructs the later part of the passage as, “Ich bin wie die Majestät über das Schicksal, dein Beistand, einer, der kundig ist und eingeweiht in das Schicksal seines Dieners. Wer mich preist, wird nicht zu Fall gebracht werden. Dein Sieg möge kommen!”

229 The latter sentence may (once again) give an adapted quote from the Maximes of Ptahhotep (Breyer 2003: 191). This would reinforce the impression of Kush under Egyptian cultural influence.

230 Although this is somewhat far-fetched, the king’s dominion over Per-Soped (Paqruru’s nome) may imply power over Asiatics, on account of the Asiatic origins of the god Soped (Schumacher 1988). Also, Per-Soped was situated in the eastern delta, on the road to Asia (Breyer 2003: 203-04).

231 In the sense of it containing the wish formula ἰ-π-ἱ discussed above. As noted by Breyer (2003: 213), the ending is not a mere titular, since it gives ἐπη, making it into a “Pseudoverbalsatz”.

232 I regard the inconsistent translation (varyingly as “command” and “fate”) in FHN (pp. 204-05) of the word ἱη, attested twice in one and the same passage, as an error.

233 For all my major objections to the treatment in FHN, see subsection 2.6.1 and its footnotes.
Tanutamani also links his “deification” to Egyptian deities, in his alluding to Re, Horus, and Egyptian cosmogony in the context of referring to his own supreme position. Several typically Egyptian propaganda themes that are expressed in the stela text likewise tell of Egyptian cultural influence and of Tanutamani as a regional ruler. Tanutamani appears as the giver of life and as the merciful king. In relation to his officials (here the surrendering delta rulers), other propaganda themes say that the king provides for his officials and that the officials ensure the steady flow of taxes and other dues to the royal residence. The propaganda theme of the absolute loyalty of the officials towards the king is also attested. Finally, the wish formula “life-prosperity-health” (l-p-h) is used in the stela text, thus telling of Egyptian cultural influence.

There is also substantial evidence which speaks of the Kushite cultural milieu and of Tanutamani as a local ruler in the present text section. The “local” god Amun of Napata is presented as an “imperial” god, in his having control of the thrones of the two lands (Upper and Lower Egypt) and in the surrendering delta rulers’ humble recognition of his omnipotence and omniscience. Tanutamani is also portrayed as the high-priest of Amun of Napata, in his enjoying a close and special relationship with the god in question. Tanutamani (as well as the Kushite/Egyptian courtiers of Memphis) here, in lyrical terms, praises the constant support that he has received from the god, and he reiterates words of support from the god, delivered through oracles.

There are not any direct references to the Asiatic or Assyrian part of the world attested, nor are there any expressions of claims of dominion in relation to the world at large, so Tanutamani can not be said to evoke a universal rulership or to be influenced by the Asiatic cultural milieu in this final narrative part of the stela text.
3. Conclusion of the study

This chapter ends the discussion part of this thesis. It firstly gives a section with a general summary concerning the layout (topic and aims) and results of this study. It secondly gives a section with reflections on the reached results, set in a wider context.

3.1 General summary

This thesis has centred on how Tanutamani, king of Kush, describes and depicts his relations to Kush, Egypt, and other lands (among them Assyria?) in the texts and images on the Dream Stela. It complements previous studies on Tanutamani, which focus on historical or literary aspects. In the first half of the seventh century BCE, Egypt was politically weak and fragmented and with the two great powers of the day – Kush and Assyria – competing for control over it. On the Dream Stela, Tanutamani narrates how he had a dream in which the god Amun said that the whole of Egypt would soon be his, freeing it from Assyrian influence. After seizing Memphis, and when delta rulers arrived at Memphis in order to submit, the dream was realized.

The overarching aim of this thesis was to contribute to studies on the royal ideology of Egypt’s Kushite 25th dynasty. The preciser aim was to portray how Tanutamani describes and depicts his relations (of power) to Kush, Egypt, and other lands (among them Assyria?) in the texts and images on his Dream Stela, while focusing on the concepts of local (authority over Kush), regional (authority over Kush and Egypt), and universal (authority over the whole world) rulership. A secondary or parallel aim was to contribute to the transcription and translation of the stela text. Traditional art historical and philological analyses were used, identifying ideological motifs and themes, and classifying these according to the said rulership categories.

Regarding the results from the pursuing of the secondary aim, the thesis carries a commented transcription and translation of the whole stela text, while revising the transcription and translation of FHN (=Pierce 1994) – the latest treatment known to me of the stela text in English, effectively leading to a new treatment of the text. I accept the transcription of FHN in most cases, and I largely follow its translation.

My transcription diverges from that in FHN on occasion, partly because of varying transcription principles. My transcription differs through consistently added endings (for stative, passive, etc.) within parantheses, and through the consistent marking of obvious grammatical errors within wavy-shaped parentheses. Outright errors were corrected, and omissions of words as well as the occasional unjustified addition of words in FHN were confronted. Difficult verb constructions left unresolved were resolved, and reconstructions were attempted where FHN simply surrenders.

My translation, on the whole, follows the one in FHN. Nevertheless, I found and corrected some points of translation that could be viewed as “errors”, and I confronted several omissions of words or unjustified additions of words.

234 My approach may be criticized for being prescriptive. However, it is impossible to avoid interpretative considerations when transcribing. Moreover, a scholar should not leave problems unresolved (and hurl out grammatically abnorm constructions in print) but discuss these and suggest solutions. It must be said, though, that FHN occasionally, but far from consistently, add endings, mark scribal errors, resolve difficult verb constructions, and attempt reconstructions.

235 Contra Breyer (2003: 57), who dismisses the translations in FHN and (in particular) the one by Onasch (1994). His own translation can, in its turn, be criticized for being too figurative (see e.g. p. 102) and for giving bits of translation that the author actually fabricates (see e.g. p. 139). The translations of Pierce and Breyer represent opposite poles in terms of literal/figurative and caution/boldness.
Reconstructions were attempted where *FHN* simply surrenders. At times, competing interpretations with regard to meaning, words, phrases, and clauses were suggested, and alternative translations in response to the, by own admission (*FHN*, p. 207), occasionally too literal and stilted translations of *FHN* were put forward. As for translations, a Swedish translation of the text is given in the second appendix. It closely follows my English one, and its accompanying transcription is identical.  

Concerning the results from the pursing of the preciser aim, focusing on Tanutamani’s relations to Kush, Egypt, and the rest of the world (including Assyria) as expressed on the stela, the terms regional, local, and universal ruler(ship) were pivotal in the analysis. The sources mostly speak of the said ruler as a regional ruler, sometimes of him as a local ruler, and occasionally of him as a universal ruler. With regard to Egyptian cultural influence and the notion of Tanutamani as a *regional* ruler, the visual arts in the lunette convey Egyptian motifs and styles. Several symbols (such as the ankh-sign) and most clothing (e.g. the king’s apron-skirt) likewise tell of Egyptianization. The language and script used on the stela are Egyptian. Also the cultural goods of the Egyptian dating system, the Egyptian wish formula “life-prosperity-health” (l-p-h), and the tendency to put things Egyptian in the centre (e.g. Thebes being “the city”) speak of Tanutamani as a regional ruler.

Tanutamani appears as the *political* leader of Egypt, e.g. in his taking Egyptian royal titles (e.g. *nsw-bity*). The Egyptian five-part royal titulary is adopted. The whole of Egypt is promised the king in his dream. The age-old city Memphis, insightedly referred to as “White-wall” and linked to Egyptian kingship, is made into a political centre. He is presented as the leader of the Egyptian people (rhywt). The people on the river banks in Middle Egypt call upon him to make the two lands live (again). The Egyptian propaganda theme on the absolute loyalty of royal officials is expressed, as well as the Egyptian propaganda theme on the reciprocal relationship between king and officials, in terms of material resources. The Egyptian propaganda themes of the king as giver of life and of the merciful king are also attested. Tanutamani is also described as the *military* leader of Egypt, in his pacifying the people (e.g. soldiers) on the river banks of Middle Egypt, in his seizing Memphis and attacking delta cities, and in his planning for military actions against the “cowardly” delta rulers. He is presented as treading upon the Nine Bows, i.e. the eternal enemies of Egypt.

Tanutamani is also portrayed as the *religious* leader of Egypt. In his role as high-priest of all Egyptian cults (here the deities of Elephantine, Thebes, and Memphis), he provides offerings, arranges for processions, and institutes festivals, while the divine support and protection of Tanutamani are stressed. The said ruler links his “deification” to Egyptian deities, notably Amun, Re, and Ptah. He is here defined as their son or being equated or likened with them. Tanutamani is closely associated with Horus, taking to and sitting upon the throne of Egyptian kingship. He is even linked to Egyptian cosmogony. In short, the king is, to a great extent, a regional ruler.

Unsurprisingly, also the Kushite cultural milieu and the notion of Tanutamani as a *local* ruler are expressed on the stela. As for iconography, the royal insignia of the double uraei and of the cap crown (worn in modified form also by the two women depicted in the scenes) tell of local rulership. The same can be said of the womens’

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236 Moreover, the section in the annals of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal where Tanutamani is spoken of is presented in the third appendix, in transliteration, transcription, and translation.

237 When trying to speak of the relative strength of the three rulership categories in *quantitative* terms, I would estimate that the collected, full evidence (weighing in both qualitative and quantitative aspects) tells of Egyptian cultural influence (i.e. of the king’s regional rulership) to c. 75%, of Kushite traditions (i.e. of the king’s local rulership) to c. 20%, and of a universal rulership of Tanutamani to c. 5%. 

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clothing, with the wife and mother of Tanutamani wearing typically Kushite dresses. As for the text, the said ruler is presented as the religious leader of Kush, not the least in his role as high-priest of the state god Amun of Napata. He makes offerings and arranges processions for this god, while receiving support and protection from this divine master. In a gesture of thanksgiving after having seized Memphis, the king orders two monuments (porches) of outstanding quality or function to be constructed in Napata, at Gebel Barkal. Amun of Napata appears almost as an “imperial” god, in his conquering Egypt and in his praise from the subjugated delta rulers. Tanutamani links his “deification” with the said Kushite god, who is stated as his father. The relatively prominent position of royal women may tell of a Kushite character, although this argument is ambiguous. Tanutamani appears as the head of the Kushite people in his being unopposed in the context of his coronation in Kush.

Also the idea of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, having dominion over the whole world or distant lands, is attested on the stela. In the captions of the lunette, Amun of Thebes is said to hand every land imaginable to Tanutamani for him to rule. In the main text, the said ruler is also referred to as “ruler of the living” and “sovereign who seizes every land”. He is said to cross “the Great-Green” (the Mediterranean?) after his enemies, possibly referring to a historically specific enemy – the Assyrians. The Assyrians (more precisely their onslaught in Egypt) may also be referred to in the lamenting by the people on the river banks in Middle Egypt of the ruined state of cultic life in Egypt, urging Tanutamani to restore it. The “brood of weakness” (msw bdšš(t)), the people who are savagely defeated at Memphis, may refer to Assyria and the joint forces from the delta and Assyria, although this is somewhat speculative. The historical context and the allusions to Assyrian troops in Memphis still speak in favour of such an interpretation. Myrrh from Punt (east Africa), cedar from Lebanon, and Asiatic copper, mentioned as of use in Tanutamani’s temple building projects, further tell of Tanutamani as a universal ruler, here controlling distant lands.

The classifying of the identified ideological motifs and themes was not always straightforward. For example, the nature of Amun of Napata and the phenomenon of royal pyramids can be seen both as evidence of the king’s Egyptian (regional) and Kushite (local) rulership. In the said cases, I placed most weight on the local character of the said god (e.g. with its focus on rams) and on the age-old Egyptian tradition of pyramid building (thus downplaying the local characteristics of Kushite pyramids). At other times, different aspects of certain ideological features were found to evenly belong to varying rulership categories. The bow concept can both be viewed as part of traditional Egyptian propaganda (“the Nine Bows”) and of a positive, Kushite self-defining (“mistress of bow land”). The clothing of the royal women tells of Kushite traditions, while their instruments (sistra and libation vases) speak of Egypt.

3.2 Reflections and conclusions

Finally, a few reflections and conclusions based on the results of this study are called for. I will here point to two interesting patterns, namely the thoroughly Egyptianized propaganda and the lack of direct references to Assyria and the Assyrians.

Regarding the firstly mentioned pattern, it is striking how the texts and images on the Dream Stela are permeated by Egyptian cultural goods. After all, Tanutamani was the ruler of Kush. The fact that Kush was the primary base of Tanutamani does not
come across clearly on the stela. The circumstance that it is natural for the Kushite king to refer to things Egyptian when narrating events in Egypt and his seizing of the Egyptian throne does not fully explain the highly Egyptianized propaganda in question. Moreover, the local character of the state god Amun of Napata, the royal cap crown, and the royal double uraei can (as pointed out already) be problematized. The Kushite dynasty from Napata (i.e. Egypt’s 25th) was greatly inspired by Egyptian kingship dogma (Török 2002: 412). In fact, its rulers saw themselves as the legitimate occupants of the Egyptian throne (Kitchen 2009 [1972]). Later in the history of the Napatian-Meroitic state, Egyptian influences recede, notably in the reign of the Meroitic-based ruler Arakakamani (295-275), who seems to have worked against the Egyptianized Napata and Egyptian-styled regalia (Hofmann 1971: 76-77).

Although it would be wrong to view the results of this study (as well as the general evidence) as proof of the Kushites adopting things Egyptian wholesale, the cultural debt can not be ignored. The recognizing of this cultural debt need not tell of a colonial-racial discourse, however. There must of course be a middle way between identifying Nubia as the origin of Egyptian civilization and seeing Nubia as static, passive, and ignorant, totally dependent upon Egypt for cultural impulses. The Kushite-Meroitic elite did not absorb but (selectively) adapt Egyptian cultural influences into the local cultural fabric (O’Connor 1993: 83-84), and the preserved texts from Nubia indicate an underlying “Kushite mind”, with Egyptian cultural goods used as a medium in order to define the native culture (Török 2002: 1-6). Telling of the complexity in the mentioned adaptation process, the concepts articulated in Kushite state ideology were derived from Kushite traditions, the power ideology of the Theban God’s Wife of Amun, the Third Intermediate Period Amun theology, as well as the New Kingdom kingship ideology (Török 1994: 225).

Concerning the secondly mentioned pattern, it is also striking that Assyria and the Assyrians are not directly referred to in the texts and images on the Dream Stela. As discussed in the thesis, they are at best indirectly referred to, mainly in Tanutamani’s narration of cult destruction in Middle Egypt (ll. 15-16). Veiled references may be

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238 As already noted, the regional rulership category dominates quantitatively. Qualitatively, the worship in Napata does not differ substantially from that in Egypt, for example. The Kushite Amun of Napata is praised in the same manner as the Egyptian deities of Elephantine, Thebes, and Memphis.

239 Interestingly, the title “king of Egypt” (nsrw kmt) seems to have become a generic title for “king” in later Kushite texts, as evidenced e.g. in the annals of Harsiyotef (404-369) (Török 2002: 360, n. 120). The indigenous name for “king” in Kush/Meroe seems to have been gøre (Török 1997: 213).

240 Instead, southerly Meroe (distant from Egypt) and a new royal dress, which may have been inspired by the Neo-Assyrian court dress (!) (Hofmann 1971: 52-53), were promoted by Arakakamani. Török (2002: 449) associates this ruler with a new dynasty and with the Hellenism of early Ptolemaic Egypt.

241 At least not in my case. I agree with Dallibor (2005: xv-xvi) in his identifying a traditional way of viewing Nubian culture in Egyptology, namely as Nubia passively absorbing Egyptian culture in its belonging to black Africa. As for race, it is revealing that several authors of text books on ancient Nubia have felt the need to mention the Kushites’ skin colour. Morkot (2000), Redford (2004), and Bonnet & Valbelle (2007) all talk of the Nubian pharaohs as black in their book titles, although I in no way accuse them of racism. Still, this strange emphasis on skin colour is indicative. Breyer (2003) uses the derogatory (also in German?) term “negroid” (e.g. on p. 373) and cracks an insensitive and coarse joke about Tanutamani, Martin Luther King Jr. (both having a dream), and Memphis in Egypt and Tennessee (p. 7). Clearly, Nubian studies still have a lot of colonialist baggage to dispose of.

242 For the former approach, see Williams (1986) in seeing the A-Group cemetery in Qustul as the first pharaonic-styled cemetery along the Nile, the ancient historian Agatharchides (as quoted by Diodorus Siculus) who viewed Nubia as a utopia (see FHN II, no. 142), and Bernal (1991) who traces the roots of Egyptian and western civilization to black Africa. For the latter approach, see the above footnote which speaks of an old racially and colonially charged discourse in Egyptology.
found in the titulary where the said ruler talks of crossing the Mediterranean after his enemies (l. 2), and in Tanutamani’s name for his adversaries at Memphis (l. 17). Still, these references are just indirect and veiled. The silence can be understood at least in two different ways. On the one hand, it is natural that the arch-enemy constitutes a taboo and that a (frequent) mentioning of him (irrespective of how he is described) in a sense would elevate him. The silence serves to belittle the other side. Kushite royal inscriptions in general avoid referring to Assyria (Redford 2004: 91). On the other hand, the lack of direct references may be explained by the Asiatic essence of the arch-enemy. Asiatic lands formed a territory marked by chaos, lying outside of civilization, as recognized by the Egyptian world view. Assyria simply belonged to the barbaric Nine Bows, to be avoided or crushed (Loprieno 1988, Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 203-04). Still, boasting about having defeated “uncivilized” lands and peoples is far from unattested in Egyptian propaganda. I suspect that a referring to Assyria would bring to mind the military inferiority of the Kushites in relation to Assyria and its mighty army. The ambitions of the Kushite state had repeatedly been thwarted by the Assyrians. As a matter of fact, there are inscriptions of Taharqo, the predecessor of Tanutamani, which suggest (although only implicitly) that the Kushites saw themselves as failing in relation to the Assyrian empire. The author(s) of the stela text knew that Assyria was associated with Kushite shortcomings, and that is probably why this enemy formed a taboo.

As implied by the title of this thesis, Egypt in the first half of the seventh century BCE was pushed between Kush and Assyria, the great powers of the day. The Dream Stela conveys the Kushite perspective, in which Egypt was the natural part of the state that was ruled from Napata in Kush, and in which Tanutamani and the other Kushite kings of his day saw themselves as restoring the greatness of Egypt, under the aegis of the Egyptian-Kushite god Amun (Kitchen 2009 [1972]). Also Assyrian state ideology legitimized control over Egypt, here by referring to the will of (above all) the god Ashur which said that the Assyrian king should be the ruler of the whole world and thus implement the theoretical world dominion of the Mesopotamian deities (Holloway 2001). In the second half of the seventh century BCE, the unified and independent Egyptian state returned under the Saite 26th dynasty. Once again, Egyptian state ideology could, from a position of real geopolitical power, dismiss the “wretched Nubians” and “miserable Asiatics” of the hostile-chaotic Nine Bows.

243 The “sand-dwellers” (ḥw-tšw) who are referred to as adversaries to Shabaqo in the said king’s commemorative scarab text (FHN I, no. 14, l. 6) were probably Sinai beduins (Kitchen 2009 [1972]). The terms ṣtyw and ṣty (“Asiatic(s)”), used by Piy (FHN I, no. 9, l. 30) and Taharqo (FHN I, no. 24, ll. 18-19) in referring to enemies and product-origin respectively, may mean something similar or be too general. Hannig (ÄWb. II, pp. 2379-80, 2393) talks of Asiatic copper (ṣty) and Asiatic beduins (ṣtyw).

244 Examples are in fact numeros. Just to name a few, Merenptah (1213-1203) tells of his defeating the Libyans, while Rameses II (1279-1213) narrates his battle at Kadesh against the Hittites and their allies. For translations of these texts (in excerpts), see Lichtheim 2006 [1973]: 57-78.

245 Looking at all clashes between Kushite and Assyrian troops, only the one in 674 BCE can be seen as a Kushite victory. Still, that battle was defensive in character, avoiding a conquest. The Assyrians were victorious in 671, 667, 664, and perhaps also in 701 BCE. The conquest attempt in 669 BCE was averted simply because the Assyrian king died on route (Kuhrt 1997: 634-36, Kitchen 2009 [1972]). In a text from Karnak (see Vernus 1975), Taharqo says (l. 15) (in the translation of Breyer 2003: 234) that “[---] es gibt (sonst) [nie]manden (gemeint: außer Amun), der sie (die Assyrer!) abwehrt” (𝑓- - - - - - - - 𝑚𝑛 𝑝(𝑠) 𝑛𝑡𝑦 𝑖𝑣=𝑓 ‘𝑚𝑑 𝑤). This passage, and a following one which may refer to Kushite prisoners of war in Assyrian hands, may speak of Kushite humility (Breyer 2003: 233-34).
Bibliography


Appendices/index

App. 1: The Dream Stela in transcription and translation (English)

CAPTIONS:

Left scene, next to the god:
1. Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Karnak.
2. Utterance: “(I) have given you all life and dominion.”
3. Utterance: “(I) have given you every land, all foreign countries, the Nine Bows, gathered under your sandals for ever.”

Left scene, next to the king:
4. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands: Ba-Ka-Re,
5. the son of Re, lord of the crowns: Tanutamani,
6. beloved of Amun,
7. given life for ever,
8. giving Maat to (his) father Amun, so that he (Amun) may give life.

Left scene, next to the royal woman:
9. The king’s sister, (king’s) wife, mistress of the black (land),
10. [Piy-]iry,
11. shaking the sistrum.

Right scene, next to the god:
12. Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal.
13. Utterance: “(I) have caused you appearing as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, for ever.”
14. Utterance: “(I) have given you all life and dominion.”

Right scene, next to the king:
15. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands: Ba-Ka-Re,
16. the son of Re, lord of the crowns: Tanutamani,
17. mr(y) inn
17. beloved of Amun,
18. di(y) ‘nḥ m r
19. given life like Re,
19. giving an amulet to (his) father.

Right scene, next to the royal woman:

20. sn(t) nw n(w) m n(t) t3-st(y)
20. The king’s sister, mistress of bow land,
21. Qalhata,
22. iron st(s)št
22. shaking the sistrum.

TITULARY:

1. nṯr nfr ḫr(w) m pr(t)=f (i)tm pw n rḥyw(t) nb{t}غم bkw3 ’nb(y)w ity iṯ t3 nb{t} nḥt ḫpš m ḫr(w) ’ḥ3 ḫs-ḥr m ḫr(w) }ḥwt
1. The good god (already on) the day when he came forth, he is Atum for the
lapwing-people, ruler of the two horns, sovereign who seizes
every land, strong-of-arm on the day of battle, who faces (the enemy) on the day of

2. nḥ nb{t} knw m mnṭ ’ʒ pḥṭy mi mṣi-hṣ(ty) mṣf ib m ḫnt(y)-ḥsrt dʒ wḏ-dwr m-s3 ḫḥ
s(w) in ḫw(w) n ph [sw ḫt]
2. close [combat], lord of bravery like Monthu, great-of-strength like a wild lion,
true-of-heart like Foremost-of-Ḥesret, who crosses the Great-Green after him
who has attacked him, who brings an end of him who has attacked [him]; he
[seized]

3. n=f t3 pn nn ’ḥ3 nn wn ’ḥf m ḫs(t)=f nsw-bṭy bʒ-kṛ-rṣ s3 rṣ t3-n-wʒ-tί-imn mr(y) ym
npt
3. this land without fighting, without there being resistance to him. The king of
Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-Ka-Re, the son of Re: Tanutamani, beloved of
Amun of Napata.

TANUTAMANI IN KUSH:

3. ḫṣ-fp l nt sḥf=f m nsw [---]
3. In regnal year 1, when he appeared as king [---]
4. mṣ.n ḥm=f ḫsw(t) m ḫḥ ḫṣjw 2 ṣw ḫr ṭmn(y) =f ky ḫr iʒb(y) =f nḥs pw ir.n ḥm=f
n{t} gm.n=f st dd.n [ḥm=f]
4. His Majesty envisioned a dream in the night: two serpents, one on his right,
the other on his left. His Majesty woke up but did not find them. [His Majesty]
said,
5. nn r=i ḫr m ’ḥf .n ṭmn=s(n) n=f m ḫd iw n=k t3-rṣy iṯ n=k t3-mḥw iw ḫbty ḫf(.tί) m
ṭp=k rdi(w) n=k t3 m ʒw=f ḫwš=f [nn]
5. “Why has this happened to me?” Then they (the courtiers) replied to him,
saying, “The southern land is yours (already), (now) seize for yourself the
northern land. The Two Ladies are apparent on your head, and the land shall be
given to you in its breadth and its length, [there being none]
6. ky ḫṣš=f ḫṣk=f kw tn ḫr m ṭmn pt pr(t) pw ir.n ḥm=f m b(w) wnn=f
im m ḫr m ḫbš pr.n=f m [---]
6. other that shall share (it) with you.” When His Majesty appeared on
the throne of Horus in this year, His Majesty came forth from the place where he
had been, as Horus came forth from Khemmis. When he came forth from [--]
7. (i)w n=f lhḥ hḥn phr(t).w m-s[2]f dd.n hm=f is mȝ _ATTACHMENT= p(os)w n di s(t) m ib=f
sdw n hm s(t) iw(t) p(os)w ir.n hm=f r npt nn wn ‘ḥw’ [m]
7. millions came to follow him. His Majesty said, “Look, the dream is true! It is something beneficial for him who
places it in his heart, (but) makes conditions bad for him who ignores it.” His
Majesty went off to Napata, there being none who stood [in]
8. hs(t)=f spr pw ir.n hm=f r hwt-ntr n men npt hr(y)=ib dw-w♭ b wn hm=f ib=f nfr.(w)
m-ḥt mȝ=f ḫt=f i(f)=f imm-ɾ w nb ns(w)t ḫtwy hr(y)=ib dw-w♭ b in.w w n=f ‘nhn n ntr pn
8. his way. His Majesty arrived at the temple-compound of Amun of Napata,
who resides in Gebel Barkal. His Majesty’s heart was happy when he saw (his)
father Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel
Barkal, and garlands were brought to him for this god.
9. ḫ̄ w n hm=f sḥf imm (np)t ir=f n=f ‘ḥb(w)t ˁ ḡ(wt) wḥb=f n nb w f 36 h(n)kt ‘s 40
şw 100
9. Then His Majesty caused Amun of Napata to appear (in procession), and he
made for him great offerings, and he presented him with 1 nb-jar, 36 bulls, as
well as 40 ash-vessels and 100 shu-vessels of beer.

TANUTAMANI IN UPPER EGYPT:
9. ḫ̄ w n hm=f r ṭ3-mḥw[t] r mȝt(y) i(f)=f
9. His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land to see (his) father,
10. imm rn=f r ntrw spr pw ir.n hm=f r ḫt n hm=f ḫd r ḫw spr pw ir.n=f r hwt-
ntr n hmn=ɾ nb kḥh(w){t}
10. whose name is hidden (even) from the deities. His Majesty arrived at
Elephantine (nome). Then His Majesty sailed across to Elephantine (city). He
arrived at the temple-compound of Khnum-Re, lord of the Cataract,
11. ṭ3 t pw’ r ḫt(y) n wṣt’k pw ir.n hm=f r ḫw ntr n imm-ɾ nb ns(w)t ḫtwy iw irf hm
(n) snt-wr ḫn wnh ḫtw-ntr n imm-ɾ
11. and caused that this god appeared (in procession). One (the king) made a
great offering to him, he gave bread and beer to the deities of the Two Caverns,
and he appeased Nun in his cave. His Majesty went downstream to the City,
Dominion of Amun (Thebes). His Majesty
12. ḫd [pw’] r ḫt(y) n wṣt’k pw ir.n hm=f r ḫw ntr n imm-ɾ nb ns(w)t ḫtwy irf hm
(n) snt-wr ḫn wnh ḫtw-ntr n imm-ɾ
12. sailed to the foremost (part) of Thebes. His Majesty entered the temple-
compound of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. The servant of the
‘Great Foundation’ came out together with the hour-priests of the temple-
compound of Amun-Re,
13. nb ns(w)t ḫtwy ir=f sn=f ‘nhn n imm rn=f ḫn wnh ḫn d=sn ii tw m ḫtp
kȝ=k m ḫt r sn̂ nh ḫtwy
13. lord of the thrones of the two lands, and they brought him garlands for he
whose name is hidden. His Majesty’s heart was joyful when he saw this temple-
compound. He caused Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, to appear
(in procession), and one created a great festival in the whole land.
14. pw ir.n hm=f r ṭ3-mḥw[t] wn imnt(y)t iȝb(y)t ḫr nhm ḫw nhm dd=sn ii tw m ḫtp
kȝ=k m ḫt r sn̂ nh ḫtwy
14. other that shall share (it) with you.” When His Majesty appeared on
the throne of Horus in this year, His Majesty came forth from the place where he
had been, as Horus came forth from Khemmis. When he came forth from [--]
7. (i)w n=f lhḥ hḥn phr(t).w m-s[2]f dd.n hm=f is mȝ _DETACHMENT= p(os)w n di s(t) m ib=f
sdw n hm s(t) iw(t) p(os)w ir.n hm=f r npt nn wn ‘ḥw’ [m]
7. millions came to follow him. His Majesty said, “Look, the dream is true! It is something beneficial for him who
places it in his heart, (but) makes conditions bad for him who ignores it.” His
Majesty went off to Napata, there being none who stood [in]
8. hs(t)=f spr pw ir.n hm=f r hwt-ntr n men npt hr(y)=ib dw-w♭ b wn hm=f ib=f nfr.(w)
m-ḥt mȝ=f ḫt=f i(f)=f imm-ɾ w nb ns(w)t ḫtwy hr(y)=ib dw-w♭ b in.w w n=f ‘nhn n ntr pn
8. his way. His Majesty arrived at the temple-compound of Amun of Napata,
who resides in Gebel Barkal, and garlands were brought to him for this god.
9. ḫ̄ w n hm=f sḥf imm (np)t ir=f n=f ‘ḥb(w)t ˁ ḡ(wt) wḥb=f n nb w f 36 h(n)kt ‘s 40
şw 100
9. Then His Majesty caused Amun of Napata to appear (in procession), and he
made for him great offerings, and he presented him with 1 nb-jar, 36 bulls, as
well as 40 ash-vessels and 100 shu-vessels of beer.

TANUTAMANI IN UPPER EGYPT:
9. ḫ̄ w n hm=f r ṭ3-mḥw[t] r mȝt(y) i(f)=f
9. His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land to see (his) father,
10. imm rn=f r ntrw spr pw ir.n hm=f r ḫt n hm=f ḫd r ḫw spr pw ir.n=f r hwt-
ntr n hmn=ɾ nb kḥh(w){t}
10. whose name is hidden (even) from the deities. His Majesty arrived at
Elephantine (nome). Then His Majesty sailed across to Elephantine (city). He
arrived at the temple-compound of Khnum-Re, lord of the Cataract,
11. ṭ3 t pw’ r ḫt(y) n wṣt’k pw ir.n hm=f r ḫw ntr n imm-ɾ nb ns(w)t ḫtwy iw irf hm
(n) snt-wr ḫn wnh ḫtw-ntr n imm-ɾ
11. and caused that this god appeared (in procession). One (the king) made a
great offering to him, he gave bread and beer to the deities of the Two Caverns,
and he appeased Nun in his cave. His Majesty went downstream to the City,
Dominion of Amun (Thebes). His Majesty
12. ḫd [pw’] r ḫt(y) n wṣt’k pw ir.n hm=f r ḫw ntr n imm-ɾ nb ns(w)t ḫtwy irf hm
(n) snt-wr ḫn wnh ḫtw-ntr n imm-ɾ
12. sailed to the foremost (part) of Thebes. His Majesty entered the temple-
compound of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. The servant of the
‘Great Foundation’ came out together with the hour-priests of the temple-
compound of Amun-Re,
13. nb ns(w)t ḫtwy ir=f sn=f ‘nhn n imm rn=f ḫn wnh ḫn d=sn ii tw m ḫtp
kȝ=k m ḫt r sn̂ nh ḫtwy
14. His Majesty sailed downstream to the northern land, while the western (bank) and the eastern (bank) expressed shouts of joy. They cried out, “Welcome in peace, your ka being in peace, to make the two lands live,
15. r sḥḥ r(t)-prw nty(w) w3{w}.w r wṣ$s r snn ẖ$mw=sn m sš$m=sn r rdt ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nṯrw prt-ḥrw n ḥḥw
16. to restore the temples that are fallen into ruin, to (re)establish their (cult)images to their (former) condition, to give endowments to the gods and goddesses and funeral offerings to the spirits of the transfigured dead,  
16. r ṭd(t) w$b r ṭ=fr ṭ ir(t) (i)ḥt nbt n{w}(t) (i)ḥt-nṯr wmn m ḫs=sn r ẖḥ3 ḫ$r=sn m hḥc
16. to put the wab-priest in his place, (and) to deal with everything concerning the god.” Those whose hearts wanted to fight, they turned into rejoicing.

TANUTAMANI IN LOWER EGYPT I:
16. spr (pw) ṭr n ḫm=fr mn-nfr pr(t) pw
16. His Majesty arrived at Memphis.
17. ṭr n n较强的 ms(w)$ ḡ$t(t) r rẖ3 ḫḥw ḫm=f wn ḫm=f iht ẖ$y$t ẖ$q(t) ḫ$m=sn n{t} ḥḥ(t)=tw ṯn$=sn wn ḫm=f iht(t) mn-nfr t$t $t=f fr ḥw$tw nṯr nṯ
17. The brood of weakness came out to fight His Majesty. His Majesty made a great blood bath among them, (so that) one did not know the number (of the dead). After His Majesty seized Memphis, he entered the temple-compound of
18. pth-rsy-inb=f iht=fr ṭ$q(t) n (i)tf=fr pḥ-skr sḥ$tp=f sḥ$mt r mrr(t)=s wn ḫm=f iht=fr ḫyw.w r iht(t) mw$rn n iht=f ṭw iht $hr=s
18. Ptah-south-of-his-wall, made an offering to his (father) Ptah-Sokar, and appeared Sakhmet with what she desires. His Majesty’s heart wished to make monuments for (his) father, Amun of Napata, and made a decree about it
19. ṭ$t(y) r ḡ$d n=f ḫy(t) n(t) mḥw(t) n{t} g$m=tw s(y) ḡ$k(t).t $m ṭk ṭp(t)y-ẖ(w) ṭd.n ḫ$m=f $ḥt=tw s(y) m iht=tw (sy) m nbw
19. (and sent it) to bow door for him a new porch that one has not found being built since the time of the ancestors. His Majesty caused that one may build it in stone, one may overlay (it) with gold,
20. ṭms(w)=s m t$较差 k$p=
20. its beams being of cedar wood, one may cense
21. ṭs (sy) m ntw$rn n pw$nt t$t ṭ$p(y)t $m ḡ$m kr-
21. (it) with myrrh of Punt, the double doors thereof being of electrum, (and) the two doorbolts
22. ṭ$t(y) ḡ$s(t) t$t y $k$d=f n=f ḫ$y t n pr(t) r-h$q(t) r iht=t
22. being of copper. He (also) built another porch for going outside to produce his (Amun’s) milk
23. f n mn$mw(t)=f ṭ$s$w(t) m ḡ$b$w ḡ$w ntw$nt md$w $n $ḥ$ d$n $b$hsw
23. from his many herds, being tens of thousands, hundreds, hundreds, and tens, without knowing the number of all yearling
24. ṭnp(y) ṭw nb(w) nw mw(w)t=sn iht $hr-s$b $n $ḥ$ $p$w $r$n $ḥ$m=f fr ṭ$h$ ḫ$m$ wr$w nw ṭ$s$m t$j-
24. calves of their mothers. Thereafter His Majesty sailed downstream to fight the chiefs of the northern land.
25. ṭ$f.n=sn ṭ$k w nbt(w)t=sn m $[---] r n [---] r b(z)b(jw)t=sn wn.in $ḥ$m=f iht(t) $hrw ṭ$s$w $hr=sn mn pr(t) w$ $nt
25. Then they went inside their walls like [---] into their holes. So His Majesty spent many days because of them, without a single one
26. (I)m=sn r 'ḥ3 mn' hm=f
26. of them coming out to fight His Majesty.

TANUTAMANI IN LOWER EGYPT II:

26. hnty pw ir.n hm=f r ḫb-hd wmn=f sn dm(.w) m 'ḥt=f w3(w)ȝ(w) sh ḫn
26. His Majesty sailed upstream to White-wall (Memphis) and rested in his
palace, while conceiving of a plan with
27. ib=f r rḏ tḥr mšw=f r tlr(y)ϊ tt= hr= sn ḫd.in irf [---] ii.tw r s mı n=f m ḫd ḫ n
'ȝw ii(.w) r b(w)
27. his heart, through which his army could go around the embankments. Then, 
indeed, [---] said, one came to report to him, saying, “These chiefs have come to
the place
28. hr hm=f [ity] nb=n ḫd.in hm=f ḫ n ḫ n= sn r 'ḥ3 in ḫ n= sn r bỹk [rd]=i 'ṅḥ=f sn m
tȝ ȝt ḫ d.in=
28. where His Majesty is, O [sovereign], our lord.” Then His Majesty said, “Have
they come to fight? (Or) have they come to serve (me)? (If the latter) I will cause
that they shall live from this moment.” Then they said
29. sn ḫt hm=f ḫ n= sn ḫ ḫ bỹk ity nb=n ḫd.in hm=f ḫ n nb(=i) 'ṅḥ=f i nṯ pr ṣps īm-ṙˁ nb
ns(w)t ȝtwv ḫr(y)-ib dw-ṫb nṯr 'ȝ mnb ṣh ṣr=f rs-tp
29. before His Majesty, “They have come to serve, O sovereign, our lord.” Then
His Majesty said, “(My) lord is with me, this noble god, Amun-Re, lord of the
thrones of the two lands, who resides in Gebel Barkal, the great god, the perfect
one, whose name is known, who is watchful
30. hr mrr=f ḫd ḫ n ṣn= sn ḫ ḫ ṣn= ṣn tȝ2= ṣn tȝw=f ṣn tnmm n sšm n(=k) (=f)
sw mk dd(t)=f n=i m ḫ r
30. over him whom he loves, who gives bravery to him who is loyal to him,
without misleading him who is under his governance, without leading astray him
whom he leads. See, what he says to me by night,
31. mȝ(n)=i m hr(w) ḫd.in hm=f [iwayne] iɾ=f ṣn(m) tȝ tȝ ḫ d.n= sn ḫt hm=f ḫ n= w dy
'īš(w) r ṣṬy ṣr(m) pw ṣn hr hm=f
31. I shall see by day.” Then His Majesty said, “Where are they at the moment?”
Then they said before His Majesty, “They are here, standing at the gate.” His
Majesty went forth
32. m 'ḥt=f [---] ḫr psd ṣn ḫt gm.n= ṣn ḫt rd(t) ḫ .w) hr ḫ t=f sn sn (.w) tȝ n-ḥt-hr=f
dd.in hm=f is mȝ pw pȝ jyis.n=f
32. from his palace [---] just like Re radiates from the horizon. He found them
placed on their bellies, kissing the ground before him. Then His Majesty said,
“Look, it is true what he
33. md[t [---] ḫr=i 'īš n r [---] ḫpr (.w) wdṭ n(t) nṯr pw ḫpr s(t) 'ṅḥ n=i m r wi ṣn ṣn wi
īm n m pr=f m mȝ=i nṯ r pn ṣps īm
33. said [---] about me, and [---] happened. It was the decree of the god that it
should happen. As Re lives for me and loves me, as Amun praises me in his
temple, as I saw this noble god, Amun
34. np(y) t ḫr(y)-ib ṣn wšb m wmn=f 'īš(w) r=i dd=f n=i [wn] n(=i) m sšm=k r wȝt
nb(t) nb=f ṣn dd=f k tȝ n=i 'rw(r) sr=i n=k dwȝw [ir.] n.tw=f
34. of Napata, who resides in Gebel Barkal, when he was standing by me, he said
to me, ‘(I) guide you on every road, without your saying, ‘I wish I had
assistance!’ I shall foretell you tomorrow before it has [arrived].
35. \(iw=i\ mi\ \text{hm}\{t\}\ hr\ \dot{s}\text{yw} \ [\text{-}\ f] k\ \text{hm}\ r\h\ hr\ \dot{s}\text{yw} \ \text{hm}=f\ nn\ [\text{hr} \ [\text{-}\] d\w\{w\} \ n=i\ iw\ nh\text{tw}=k\ \h[\h]\n\ w\w\=\sn\ n=f\ m\ \dd\ mk\ ntr\ pn\)

35. I am like the Majesty(?) over Fate. [---] a craftsman who knows about the fate of His Majesty. There will not [---] worship me. Your victories will come.’ ”

Then they answered him, saying, “See, this god,

36. \(sr=f\ n=k\ \h[\h]s't\ s'r=k=f\ n=k\ [\text{phwy}]\ m\ nr\ mk\ nn\ 'nw\ ntr\ hr\ pr(t)\ m\ r(3)=f\ ity\ nb=n\ 'h[\h]\ pw\ ir(t).n\ (i)r(y)-p'(t)\ h[\h]t(y)\ n\ pr-sp\ dw\ p3-krr\ r\ mdt\ \dd=f\)

36. he has foretold you the beginning, and he has brought about a good [ending] for you. See, the god does not take back what has come forth from his mouth, O sovereign, our lord.” The hereditary prince and count of House-of-Soped (Saft el-Henneh), Paqruru, rose up to speak, and said,

37. \(sm=\k=\text{mr}(r)=\text{k}\ s'n\h=\text{kr}\ m(r)=\text{k}\ nn\ \dd=t tw\ r\ nb\{t\} hr\ m\h\ 'tnf\ h. w\w\{w\}=sn\ n=f\ m\ sp\ \w\ \dd=sn\ imi\ n=n\ 'nh\ nb\{t\} 'nh\ nn\ 'nh\ \text{hm}=\)

37. “You kill whom you will, and (you) let live whom you will, (for) no one will reproach a lord because of a just deed.” Then they replied to him in unison, saying, “Give us life, O lord of life, (for) there is no life without

38. \(k\ b'y.k.n=n=k\ mi\ twy\ \w\ \dd=k\ r=s\ m\ sp\ tp(y)\ hr(w)\ swj=\text{w}\ n\ w\ w\ w\ i\ b\ n\ \text{hm}=\text{f}'\h\y(w)\ m\-\ht\ s\d=\text{f}\ mdt\ tn\ r\d\{t\}.

38. you. Let us serve you like those who are without anything, as you said concerning it on the first occasion, (on) the day when you became king.” Then His Majesty’s heart was joyful after he heard this speech, and he gave

39. \(n=f\ n=\text{sn} t\ \h[\h]\t(k(t)\ (i)ht\ nb\ nr\ t\ ir\ m-\ht\ hr(w)\ swj=\text{w}\ hr\ nn\ r\d\{t\}n.n=\text{sn} \ hr\ ht=\text{sn}\ [\-] \dd=sn\ iw=\text{f}'\d\ y\ d\ y\ \text{ir}=\text{n} \ hr\ m\ ity\ nb=n\ \dd=\text{in}\)

39. them bread, beer, and every good thing. Now, when some days had passed after this, they placed themselves on their bellies [-] and said, “What are we doing here, O sovereign, our lord?”

40. \(\text{hm}=\text{f}'\ m\ \dd\ m\ \dd=\text{in}=\text{sn}\ \h[\h]\t=\text{f}'\ \text{sm}=\text{n}\ r\ ni\w(w)\r=n\ \text{shnw}=\text{n}\ mr\i\w(=\text{n})\ f\y=\text{n}\ b'y=k=n\ r\ \text{hn}\ w\ \text{w}\ \text{in}\ \text{hm}=\text{f}'\ (\text{rd})\ \text{sm}=\text{sn}\)

40. Then His Majesty spoke, saying, “What (do you mean)?” Then they said before His Majesty, “Let us go to our cities that we may command (our) subjects and bring our dues to the Residence.” So His Majesty (caused that) they may go

41. \(r\ ni\w(w)\r=t\{n\}sn\ \text{wn}\ \text{in}=\text{sn}\ \text{m}'\h\yw\ \text{w}\ \text{n}\ s\y=\text{w}\\{t\} \ hr\ \h[\h]\d\ \text{m}\h\{t\}\ h\w\ \text{hty}\ \text{r}\ \text{b}(w)\ hr\ \text{hm}=\text{f}'\ hr\ (i)ht\ nb\ nr\ t\ y\ n\w\{w\}\ t\ 3=\text{sm}\{t\} \ df\y\ \text{w}\ \text{nb}(w)\{t\}

41. (back) to their cities. Then they were as those who (truly) live. (And from that time on) the southerners have been sailing downstream, the northerners upstream, to the place where His Majesty is, with every good thing of the southern land and every (kind of) provison

42. \(n\ w\ t3=\text{mh}\{t\} \ r\ s\h\ p\ ib\ n\ \text{hm}=\text{f}'\ \text{w}\ \text{n}\ s\w\ \text{hty} \ b'y=k=\text{k}-\text{r}\ h\ t3=n\ w\ t3=\text{ti}-\text{imn}'\h\w\ \text{w}\ \text{d}3=\text{snb}\ \h[\h]\w(w)\ hr\ sr\ st\ hr\ d\t\)

42. of the northern land, to satisfy His Majesty’s heart; while the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-Ka-Re, son of Re: Tanutamani, may he live, be prosperous, and healthy, appears upon the throne of Horus for ever!
App. 2: The Dream Stela in transcription and translation (Swedish)\(^{247}\)

BILDTEXTER:

Scenen till vänster, vid guden:
1. ỉmn-r² nb ns(w)t tyyw ḥr(y)-ib ipt-swt
2. Amun-Re, herren över de två ländernas troner, som bebor Karnak.

2. Yttrande: “(Jag) har givit dig liv och all makt.”
3. ỉd mdw di.n(=i) n=k tsy nb(sw) hyyw nb(wt) pdt psdq dmq(ti) ḥr tby=k dt

Scenen till vänster, vid kungen:
5. nsw-bity nb tyyw by-kj-3-r²
6. Kungen av övre och nedre Egypten, de två ländernas herre: Ba-Ka-Re,
7. ỉs r² nb ḫw t3-n-w3-ti-imn
8. son till Re, herren över kronorna: Tanutamani,
9. mr(y) imn
10. älskad av Amun,
11. di(y) ʿnh dt
12. given liv för evigt,
13. di(t) mˁ(t) n ʿt(=f) ỉmn ʿr=f di(t) ʿnh
14. givandet av Maat till (hans) far Amun, så att han (Amun) må ge liv.

Scenen till vänster, vid kungakvinnan:
15. sn(t) nsw ḫmt (nsw) ḫn(wt) n(t) kmt
16. Kungasystern, (kunga)gemålen, härskarinnan över ‘det svarta (landet),’
17. [Piy]-iry,
18. iṛ tšš(st)
19. skakandet av sistrum.

Scenen till höger, vid guden:
20. ỉmn-r² nb ns(w)t tyyw ḥr(y)-ib (dw-)=w²b
22. ỉd mdw di.n(=i) n=k ḫ(y) t sḥ ḫr nb ḫn(y)w mi r² dt
23. Yttrande: “(Jag) har låtit dig uppenbaras som kung av övre och nedre Egypten på Horus-tronen av de levande, likt Re, för evigt.”
24. ỉd mdw di.n(=i) n=k ʿnh w3s nb
25. Yttrande: “(Jag) har givit dig liv och all makt.”

\(^{247}\)As noted in section 1.2, this translation updates the translation of Akmar (1924: 79-85). (The main translation of Akmar (1924: 71-78) is in French.) Akmar’s translation (which is partial, excluding the lunette texts) is on the whole sound, but I still found a few areas that are problematic, namely the dated language (only to be expected), some imaginative reconstructions, occasionally odd word-choices, the addition of words that are not covered by the text, and some points of translation that may be considered as actual errors. I will exemplify the four later areas in the four following footnotes. Akmar (1924: 79) is defensive in his introducing his Swedish translation, writing “Certes, cette version ne sera pas un modèle qu’il faut copier sans discussion. On aura l’occasion de la critiquer, surtout parce que j’admetts, pour un mot ou autre, une valeur qui n’est pas actuellement dans l’esprit du dictionnaire.”
Scenen till höger, vid kungen:

15. nsw-bity nb t3wy b3-k3-r²

15. Kungen av övre och nedre Egypten, de två ländernas herre: Ba-Ka-Re,
16. s3 r² nb h²w t3-n-w3-ti-imn

16. son till Re, herren över kronorna: Tanutamani,
17. mr(y) imn

17. älskad av Amun,
18. di(y) 'nh mi r²

18. given liv likt Re,
19. dit w3y(w) n it(=f)

19. givandet av amulett till (hans) far.

Scenen till höger, vid kungakvinnan:

20. sn(t) nsw hn(w)t n(t) t3-st(y)

20. Kungasystern, härskarinnan över ‘båglandet’,
21. k-l-h-t3

21. Qalhata,
22. irt sš(št)

22. skakandet av sistrum.

TITULATUR:

1. ntr nfr hr(w) m pr(t)=f (i)tm pw n r³yw(t) nb{t} 'bwy h³y(w)y ity it t3 nb{t} nḥt
   h²pš m hr(w) 'h³ yš-hr m hr(w) [ḥwt]

1. God gud²⁴⁸ (redan) på dagen då han framkom, han är Atum för ‘tofsvipe-
   folket’, herren över de båda hornen, härskare över de levande, regent som
   erövrar varje land, stark-av-arm på dagen för drabbning, som siktar in sig (på
   fienden) på dagen för
2. n hr nb{t} kw m mnt 't3 pḥy mi m3i-hs(s) m³f ib mi lḥn(y)-hsrt dʒ w3y-wr m-s3 ph
   s(w) in ph(wy) n ph [šw it.]

2. när[strid], herre av tapperhet likt Monthu, stor-av-styrka likt ett vildeleon,
   sann-av-hjärta likt ‘främst av Hesret’, som färdas över ‘den stora gröna’ efter
   den som har attackerat honom, som gör slut på den som har attackerat
   [honom];²⁴⁹ han [erövrade]
3. n=f tʒ pn nn 'hʒ nn wn 'l fi hs(t)=f nsw-bity b3-k3-r² s3 r² tʒ-n-wʒ-ti-imn mr(y) imn
   npt

3. detta land utan kamp, utan att det fanns motstånd mot honom. Kungen av
   övre och nedre Egypten: Ba-Ka-Re, son till Re: Tanutamani, älskad av Amun av
   Napata.

TANUTAMANI I KUSH:

3. h³t-sp 1 nt slḥ=f m nsw [----]

3. Under första regeringsåret, när han framträdde som kung [----]
4. m3.n ḫm=f rsrw(t) m grḥ h³y(w) 2 w³ hr wnm(y)=f ky hr iḥ(y)=f nḥs pw īr.n ḫm=f
   n{nty} gm.n=f st ḫd.n [ḥm=f]

²⁴⁸ Akmar (1924: 79) here translates, “Den Rene och Gode”. The word “ren (pure)” is consistently tied
   to the word for “gud (god)” (ntr) (see e.g. also l. 11), thus exemplifying an odd word-choice.
²⁴⁹ Akmar (1924: 79) imaginatively reconstructs, “seglande hän över havet att förfölja sin motståndare
   och uppryckande [gränssstenarne för längst bort varande befolkade trakter]”.

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5. $nn = i$ hr $m$ ḫḏ $n$ whm = s(n) $n = f = m = k = t\_3$-rsy $i t = n = k = t\_3$mhw $i w = n b t y$ ḫ(t) = m $tp = k$ rd(tw) $n = k = t\_3 = m$ $\gamma = w$ $\gamma = f = nn$
6. ”Varför har det här hänt mig?” Då svarade de (hovfolket) honom, sägande,
   ”Sydlandet är (redan) ditt, erövra (nu) Nordlandet åt dig själv. ’De två damerna’ är uppenbara på ditt huvud, och landet ska ges till dig i dess bredd och längd, [utan att det finns någon]
7. $ky ps\_f = f = h m = k = w n = f = h (w) = h r = s t = hr = m = r n p t = n = t r (p) = w r = i n = n = m = f = b = m = w n n = f = m$

8. annan som ska dela (det) med dig.” När Hans Majestät uppenbarades på Horus-tronen i detta år, så kom Hans Majestät fram från platsen där han varit, såsom Horus kom fram från Khemmis. När han kom från [-] 9. $sw = f = h h = h f n = p h r (w) = m = s = f = d d n = m = f i s = m = f = p w = r s w (t) = 3 h t = w p = n = d = s (t) = m = i = m = f = s = d w = n = h m = s (t) = i w = t = w r = i n = n = m = f = r = n p t = n = w n = h = f = m$

7. miljoner kom till honom, och hundratusentals följde efter honom. Hans Majestät sa, ”Se, drömmen är sann! Den är något nyttigt för den som tar den till sitt hjärta, (men) något som gör situationen svår för den som ignorerar den.”
Hans Majestät kom fram till Napata, utan att det var någon som stod [i]
8. $hs(t) = f = s p r = p w = i n = m = h = f = r = h w - n t r = n = m = n = r = t h(y) = i b = d w = w = b = w n = m = h = f = i b = f = n f r (w) = m = h t = m = j = f = t = (f) = i m = n = t = n b = n s = w (t) = 3 w y = i h (y) = i b = d w = w = b = i n = t w = n = f = 3 n l y = n = n t r = p n$

8. hans väg. Hans Majestät anlände till tempelområdet tillhörande Amun av Napata, som bebor Gebel Barkal. Hans Majestäts hjärta var lyckligt när han såg (sin) far Amun-Re, herren över de två ländernas troner, som bebor Gebel Barkal, och blomsterkransar hämtades till honom för denne gud.²⁵⁰

9. ḫḏ $n = m = f = s = l = ḫ = i n n = (n) = t i r = f = n = f = 3 b = (w) = 3 = (w) = t = 3 h = f = m = n = n b = w = k = 3 = m = 3 h = (n) = k = t t = § = 4 0 = š = 1 1 0$

9. Då lät Hans Majestät uppenbara Amun av Napata (i procession), och han förrättade stora offer till honom, och han försåg honom med 1 nb-vas, 36 tjurar, samt (med) 40 ash-krus och 100 shu-krus (innehållande) öl.

**TANUTAMANI I ÖVRE EGYPTEN:**

9. $h d = p w = i n = m = f = r = t = m = m h w = (t) = m = j = (3) = i t = (f)$

9. Hans Majestät seglade nedströms till Nordlandet för att träffa (sin) far, 10. $i n n = r = f = n t r w = s p r = p w = i n = m = h = f = r = 3 b = (w) = h = n = m = f = d = z = r = b = s p r = p w = i r = n = f = r = h w - n t r = n = h m = r = n b = n s b = (w) = (t)$

10. vars namn är dol (även) för gudarna. Hans Majestät anlände till Elephantine (provinsen). Då seglade Hans Majestät över till Elephantine (staden). Han anlände till tempelområdet tillhörande Khnum-Re, herren över katakramrådet, 11. $r d i = n = f = s l = (w) = n t r w = p w = i n = t (w) = n = f = 3 b = (w) = t = (t) = r d i = n = f = t = h (n) = k = t = n = n t r w = k r t y = s h t = . n = f = n n m = t = h = f = h = d = p w = i r = n = m = h = f = r = n i w = t = w = s t = n i m n = w n = h = f$

11. och lät denne guden uppenbaras (i procession). Man (kungen) förrättade ett stort offer till honom, han gav bröd och öl till gudarna av de två hälorna, och

²⁵⁰ Akmar (1924: 80) here translates, “man bragte honom grönskande löv med tillönskan om långt liv för denne Rene Gud”. Much of the latter part of this sentence does not seem to be covered by the text.
han blidkade Nun i dennes grotta.\textsuperscript{251} Hans Majestät seglade nedströms till ‘staden’, området tillhörande Amun. Hans Majestät
12. $d3\ {pw'} r hnt(y) n w\, ws\, 'k\ pw\, ir\, n\ hm=f\ r\ hwt-ntr\ t\ imn-r\, nb\ ns(w)t\ tw\, i\, r\, hf\ hm\ (n)\ snt-wr\ hn'\ tw\, hwt-ntr\ t\ imn-r$

12. seglade till den främsta (delen) av Thebe. Hans Majestät trädde in i tempelområdet tillhörande Amun-Re, herren över de två ländernas troner. Tjänaren av ‘den stora stiftelsen’ kom ut tillsammans med timprästarna av tempelområdet tillhörande Amun-Re,

13. nb\ ns(w)t\ tw\, in.n=sn\ n=f\ 'nh\ n\ imn\ rn=f\ wn\ hm=f\ ib=f\ hvt\, (w)\ m-h\ m3=f\ hwt-ntr\ tw\, wn(.i)\ n=f\ s3'f\ imn-r\ nb\ ns(w)t\ tw\, ir=t(w)\ hb\ '3\ m3\ tr\ dr=f\ hfd$

13. herren över de två ländernas troner, och de hämtade blomsterkransar till honom för ‘han vars namn är dolt’. Hans Majestäts hjärta var jublande när han såg detta tempelområde, han lät Amun-Re, herren över de två ländernas troner, uppenbaras (i procession), och man inrättade en stor festival i hela landet.

14. $pw\, ir\, n\ hm=f\ r\ ts3-mh\ tw\, [t]\ wn\ imnt(y)t\ jsb(y)t\ hr\ nhm\ hnw\ nhm\ dd=sn\ ii\ tw\ m\ htp$

14. Hans Majestät seglade nedströms till Nordlandet, medan den västliga (flodstranden) och den östliga (flodstranden) uttryckte rop av glädje. De hojtade, “Välkommen i frid, din ka varande i frid, för att levdengöra de två länderna,

15. $r\ s3'f\ r'(3)-prw\ ntw(y)\ w3[=w].w\ w\ r\ w3$s\ r\ smn\ 'hmw=sn\ m\ sm=sn\ r\ rdt\ htp\, tw\, ntw\ ntrw\ m\ r=sn\ jw\ tw\ hwt$

15. för att restaurera tempen som fallit i ruiner, för att (åter)etablera deras (kult)bilder i deras (forna) tillstånd, för att ge förlänningar till gudarna och gudinnorna och gravoffer till de transfigurerade dödas själar,

16. $r\ rdt(t)\ w'b\ r\ s=f\ lfr\ n(t)\ i(t)\ ntw\ n\ ntw\ ntrw\ m\ r=sn\ r\ 'h3\ hpr=sn\ m\ h'$

16. för att (åter)insätta wab-prästen på sin plats, (och) för att ordna gudens alla angelägenheter.” De vars hjärta ville strida, de började (istället) jubla.

TANUTAMANI I NEDRE EGYPTEN I:

16. $spr\ (pw)\ ir\, n\ hm=f\ r\ mn-nfr\ pr(t)\ pw$


17. $ir\, n\ ns\ msw\ bs3(t)\ r\ 'h3\ hn'\ hm=f\ wn\ hm=f\ ir\ t\ h3yt\ '3(t)\ im=sn\ n\ n\ hlt(=tw)\ tw=sn\ w\ hm=f\ ir\ t\ mn-nfr[t]\ 'k=f\ r\ hwt-ntr\ n$


18. $pth-ry-sy-ib=f\ ir=f\ '3bt\ n\ (it)=f\ pth-skfr\ sht=\ f\ slmy\ t\ mn(t)\ mrr(t)=s\ w\ loh=f\ ib=f\ h\ w\ w\ r\ ir(t)\ mnr\ w\ n\ it(=f)\ inn\ kn\ ir=f\ wdt\ h\ r=s$

18. ‘Ptah söder om hans mur’, förrättade ett offer till sin (far) Ptah-Sokar, och blidkade Sakmet med det som hon begär. Hans Majestätshjärta önskade att skapa monument åt (sin) far, Amun av Napata, och avfattade ett dekret om det

19. $r\ ts3-st(y)\ r\ kd=n\ f\ hy\ (y)\ n(t)\ mgw(t)\ n\ n\ gm=t\ w\ s(y)\ kdt(ti)\ m\ r\ tp(y)=\ r\ rd\ n\ hm=f\ kd=t\ w\ s(y)\ m\ mnr\ h=tw\ sy\ m\ nbw$

19. (och sände det) till ‘båglandet’ för att skapa en ny portik, (av ett slag) som man inte ha funnit vara byggd sedan förfädernas tid, åt honom. Hans Majestät lät att man må bygga den i sten, man må täcka den med guld,

\textsuperscript{251} Akmar (1924: 81), probably erroneously, translates, “han ställde tillfreds Nilen (Hāpy) i sitt källhål”. The collated copy of Grimal clearly renders the writing Nun (three bowl-signs, W 24) and not Hapy.
20. tms(w)=s m ṣ k3p=
21. tw (sy) m ʿntyw n pwnt{t} ṣwy ʿiry{t} m ġm kṛ-
22. (den) med myrha från Punt, (med) de relaterade dubbeldörriarna varande av elektum, (och) de två dörrslutstycken
23. från hans många hjordar, varande tiotusental, tusental, hundratals och tiotal, utan att känna till antalet av
24. ṛnp(yw) nb(w) nw mw(w)t sn ir ṣw3 nn ṣd pw ir.n hm=f r ṣw3 ṣn=wr mw t3-
25. ålla ärskalvar av deras mödor. Därefter seglade Hans Majestät nedströms
26. ḫmty pw ir.n hm=f r̲n b̲hd̲ wnm=f rsdm(w), w m ṣht=f w3(w)j̲c(w) ṱ̲hv hm
27. Hans Majestät seglade uppströms till ‘den vita muren’ (Memphis) och återhämtade sig i sitt palats, tänkande ut en plan med
28. ḫr hm=f [i̲ty] nb=n ṣd.in hm=f in iw ii sn r ṣw3 in iw ii sn r ṣb k̲[rd] =i ṣnl=f sn m
t3 t3 dd.in=
29. där Hans Majestät är, O [regent], vår herre.” Då sa Hans Majestät, “Har de kommit för att strida? (Eller) har de kommit för att tjäna (mig)? (Om det senare) Jag [skal låta att] de må leva från denna stund.” Då sa de
30. sn ḫft hm=f ii sn r ṣb k̲i̲y nb=n ṣd.in hm=f iw nb (=i) ṣn=i ntr pn ṣps ṣm correlates nb
31. inför Hans Majestät, “(Min) herre är med mig, denne ädle gud, Amun-Re, herren över de två ländernas troner, som bebor Gebel Barkal, den store guden, den
32. vars namn är känt, som vakar
33. över den som han älskar, som skänker mod till den som är lojal mot honom, utan att vilseföra den som är under hans inflytande, utan att vilseleda den som han leder. Se, det som han säger till mig om natten.
32. m thf f j m psd r m 3ht gmn f st rd(t).w hr htr sn sn.w t3 n hft hr f dd.in hm f m3 pw p3 dgt.n n=f
32. från sitt palats [— ] likt Re strålande från horisonten. Han fann dem liggande på sina magar, kyssande marken framför honom. Då sa Hans Majestät, “Se, det är sant vad han
33. mdt [— — ] hr=i i 37 n r [— — ] hpr(w).w dwt n(t) ntr pw hpr s(t) n=iz i mr w i ḥs wi inn m pr=f m m3=i i ntr pn ṣps inn
33. sa [— — ] om mig, och [— — ] skedde. Det var guds bestämmelse att det skulle ske. Såsom Re lever för mig och älskar mig, såsom Amun prisar mig i sitt tempel, då jag såg denne ädle gud, Amun
34. np{y}{t} hr(y) ib dw-w6b m wnn=f 3h(w).w r=i dd=f n=i [wn] n(=i) m sšm=k r wjt nb(t) nn ṣd=k h3 n=i i ḥ(w) sr=i n=k ḫw3w [ir.] tw=f
34. av Napata, som bebor Gebel Barkal, när han stod vid mig, sa han till mig, “(Jag) leder dig på varje väg, utan att du säger, ‘Jag önskar att jag hade hjälp!” Jag ska förutsäga möjlogen innan den har [infallit].
35. ṣw=i mi hm{t} hr ḥsww [— — ] k hm ḥ ṣw Ḫw fm [hr — — ] ḫw3{w} n=i i ḥw ṣtw=k ḫ.n wsḥ sn=f m ḫ.m ṣd=f Ḫm ṣn pn
36. sr=f n=k ḫ ṣr ṣ ḥ=f n=k [phwy] m nfr mn ṣn ḫw hr pr(t) m ṣ (j)=f ity nb=n 3h ṣ pw ir{t}.n (i) ḫy-y p(t) ḫy-y ṣ n pr-spdw p3-kr r mdt dd=f
36. han har förutsagt början, och han har ordnat ett gott [slut] för dig. Se, guden tar inte tillbaks det som har kommit ut ur hans mun, O regent, vår herre.”
Prinsen och greven av ‘Sopeds hus’ (Saft el-Henneh), Paqruru, steg upp för att tala, och sa,
37. sny= k mr(r)=k sn ṣnh(k=k) mr(r)=k mn ḫw= tw r nb(t) ṣr ḫy ty ḫ.n wsḥ{wt}=sn n=f m sp w6 dd=sn imi n=n ṣnh nb{t} ṣnh mn ṣnh hm=sn
38. k ṣḥk.n n=k mi ḫv wy6 mi dd=k r=s m sp ṭp(y) hr(w) swn=k m mnw wn.in ib n hm=f ḫy.w) m-ḥt ṣm=f m ṭn r ḫw t.
38. dig. Låt oss tjäna dig likt de som inte har någonting, såsom du sa angående det vid ‘första tillfället’, (på) dagen då du blev kung.” Då var Hans Majeståts hjärta jublande efter att ha lyssnat till detta tal, och han gav
39. n=f n=sn t ḫn(t) (i) ḫt nb t hr(t) i r m-ḥt hr(w) sw3{w} hr nn rdi{t}.n=sn hr ḫt=sn f-] dd.n=sn i ḫv=y. ni r ḫr m ṭy nb=n dd.in
39. dem bröst, öl och alla goda saker. Vidare, när några dagar hade förflutit efter detta, så placerade de sig på sina magar [-] och sa, “Vad gör vi här, O regent, vår herre?”
40. hm=f m ṭd m dd.in=sn ḫt hm=f ṣm=n r niw(w)t=n sn ṣhnw=n mrw=sn f3y=n ṣyk=n n r ḫw wn.in hm=f r ḫw( ṭd) ṣm=sn
41. *r niw(w)t= {n}sn wn.în= sn m ‘nhyw wnn rṣyw{t} hr ḥd mh{t}yw hr ḫnty r b(w) ḫr ḥm=f ḫr (i)ḥt nbt nfr(t) n{w}ʾ{t} tȝ-ṣmʾ{t} ḫjw nb(w){t}*

41. (tillbaks) till sina städer. Då blev de som de som (verkligen) lever. (Och alltsedan dess) har sydlänningarna seglat nedströms, nordlänningarna uppströms, till platsen där Hans Majestät är, med alla goda saker från Sydlandet och alla (sorters) nyttigheter

42. *nw tȝ-mlwʾ{t} r sḥpt ib n ḥm=f wnn nsw-bity bȝ-kȝ-r ʾ sȝ tȝ-n-wȝ-ti-imn ‘nh-wdȝ-snb ḫʾ(w) ḫr sṯ ḫr ḫt*

42. från Nordlandet, för att tillfredsställa Hans Majestäts hjärta; medan kungen av övre och nedre Egypten: *Ba-Ka-Re, son till Re: Tanutamani, må han leva, vara framgångsrik och frisk, uppenbaras på Horus-tronen för evigt!*
II 22. EGIR-nu UR-da-ma-né-e DUMU Šá-ba-ku-u ú-sib ina gíšGU.ZA LUGAL-tí-sú / arkkánu Tanandamé mår Šabaká úsib ina kussé šarrútšú
Thereafter, Tanutamani, son of Shabaqo\(^{253}\), sat upon the throne of his kingship.
II 23. \(^{254}\)Tu Ina ta-nu a-na dan-nu-tí-sú in-ši-ni ú-paḫ-ḫi-ra el-lat-su / Nî Unu ana dannùtušu ỉšku upaḫhiru ỉllassu
He made Thebes and Heliopolis into his strongholds. He gathered his forces, and he deserted Memphis, he arranged his battle.
II 24. a-na mit-ḫu-ši ERIM.HÁ-ia DUMU.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÂR\(^{ki}\) / ana mitḫuši ummânátīyha mārt māt Aššur
and to fight against my troops, the sons of Assyria,
II 25. ša qé-reb \(^{254}\)Me-em-pi id-ka-a qa-bal-sú / ša qereb Mempi idkâ qabalšu
inside Memphis, he cut off their escape routes.
II 26. UN.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu e-si-ir-ma ỉš-bal-sú-un / nisī šātunu ēsirma ỉšbata muṣṣāsīn
He enclosed these people, and he cut off their escape routes.
II 27. lî A KIN ḥa-an-tu a-na NINA\(^{ki}\) il-lik-a-ma ỉq-ba-a ia-ātī / mār-šipri ḫaṇṭu
ana Nimu illikamma ỉqbâ yâṭī
A swift messenger came to Nineveh and told (this) to me.
II 28. ina 2-e gir-ri-ia a-na KUR Mu-šur u KUR Ku-u-si ǔs-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu / ina šānē girrīya ana māt Mušur u māt Kūši ušēšēra ḥarrānu
On my second campaign, I took the road to Egypt and Kush.
II 29. \(^{254}\)UR-da-ma-né-e a-lak gir-ri-ia ḥa-me-ma / Tanandamé alāk girrīya ēsīmēa
Tanutamani heard about the coming of my campaign
II 30. ša ak-bu-su mi-šir KUR Mu-šur \(^{254}\)Me-em-pi ú-mar-sh-šir-ma / ṣa akbusu mišir māt Mušur Mempi umašširma
as I crossed the border into Egypt. He deserted Memphis,
II 31. a-na ṣu-zu-ub ZI-tí-sú in-na-bit a-na qé-reb \(^{254}\)Ni-i\(^{r}\) / ana šāzub napisṭšū
innabit ana qereb Nî
and he fled to Thebes in order to save his (own) life.
II 32. LUGAL.MEŠ lîNAM.MEŠ lî qē-pa-a-ni šā qé-reb KUR Mu-šur ǘś-ku-nu / šarrāni pāḥāṭi qępānī ša qereb māt Mušur əškunu
The kings, prefects, and governors, whom I had installed in Egypt,
II 33. ina GABA-ia il-li-ku-ú-nim-ma ú-na-aš-ší-qu GîR.II-ia / ina irīṭa illikûnimma umaššiqtē šēpīyā
they approached me, and they kissed my feet.
II 34. EGIR \(^{254}\)UR-da-ma-né-e ḥar-ra-nu əš-ḥat / arki Tanandamé ḥarrānu əšḥat
I took the road after Tanutamani,
II 35. al-lik a-di \(^{254}\)Ni-i\(^{r}\) URU dan-nu-tí-sú / allik adī Nî\(^{r}\) ʿal dannûṭšu
and I reached as far as Thebes, his fortress.
II 36. ti-ib MÊ-ia dan-ni e-mur-ma \(^{254}\)Ni-i\(^{r}\) ǘ-mar-sh-šir / tīḥ tāḫāzīyā dannī ēmurmā Nî\(^{r}\) umaššir
He saw my strong combat attack, he deserted Thebes
II 37. in-na-bit a-na \(^{254}\)Ki-ip-ki-pi URU šu-a-tū a-na si-ḥir-ti-sú / innabit ana Kipkipi
ālu šuṭṭu ana siḥirtšū
and he fled to Kipkipi\(^{254}\). That city (Thebes), in its entirety,

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\(^{252}\) The section in which Ashurbanipal tells of his encounter with Tanutamani. The transliteration is based on prism A and Borger 2006: 92. The transcription and translation are mine.

\(^{253}\) Otherwise “son of his (Taharqo’s) sister” (DUMU NIN-śu; mār aḥāṭšu) (see Borger 1996: B II 10).
with the help of (the deities) Ashur and Ishtar, I conquered.

II 39: KU.BABBAR GUŠKIN nī-siq-ti NA₄.MEŠ NIG.ŠU É.GAL-šū ma-la ba-šū-u / kaspU ḫurāšu nisiqti abnī bašē ḫqallītu mala bašā

Silver, gold, precious stones, the possessions of his palace, all that was there,

II 40: lu-bul-ti bīr-me GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ UN.MEŠ zik-ru u sin-niš / lubulti bīrme kīte śīsī raḇūtī nīšī zikru u sinniš

multi-coloured garments, linen, large horses, the people, male and female,

II 41: 2 ḫīk tim-me MAḤ.MEŠ pt-ṭiq za-ḥa-le-e eb-bi / šitta īṭimmē šīrūti pitiq zahālē ebbi
two high obelisks made of shining electrum,

II 42: ša 2500 GUN KI.LA-šū-nu man-za-az KĀ É.KUR / ša 2500 bilat šuqulīšunu manzaz bāb ēkurri

whose weight were 2500 talents, (and were) stationed at a temple entrance,

II 43: ul-tu man-za-al-ti-šū-nu as-suḫ-ma al-qa-ʾa a-na KUR AN.ŠĀR / ultu manzalīšunu āsuḫma alqā anesthesia māt Aššur
I tore out from their positions, and I took (it all) to Assyria.

II 44: šal-la-tū ka-bit-tū ina la mi-niā šā-lu-la ul-tū qa-reb ʾaru Ni-i šallatū kabittu ina lā mīnī ašlūla ultu gereb Niī
I carried off an unmeasurably heavy booty from Thebes.

II 45: e-li KUR Mu-šur ʾa KUR Ku-ʾiši / e-li māt Muṣur u māt Kūšī

Over Egypt and Kush,

II 46: gīṣu TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ū-šam-ri-ir-ma āš-ta-kan li-i-tu / kakkīya ušamrirma aštakan lištu
I made my weapons bitter, and I established victory.

II 47: it-ti qa-ti ma-li-ti šal-mīš a-tu-ra / itti qāṭī malīti šalmīš atūra

With full hands, I returned in peace

II 48: a-na NINA Ki URU EN-ti-ia / ana Ninua āl belūtiya
to Nineveh, the city of my lordship.

An unknown locality (?), although it has been suggested that it refers to the Ptolemaic city Gbgb which was located in Egypt, 200 km south of Thebes but north of Aswan (Aynard 1957: 33). More recently, Breyer (2014: 126) has suggested that Kipkopi is not really a place name, but rather a drastically formulated idiomatic phrase with the meaning “er verreckte am Arsch der Welt".
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255 In syncretic forms (e.g. Amun-Re), both deities are counted as attested. As for epithet forms of deities (e.g. nbty), the underlying deities (here Nekhbet and Wadjyt) are counted as attested. Regarding special forms of deities (e.g. Ptah-south-of-his-wall), the head deity (here Ptah) is counted as attested.
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256 Naturally, only specifically named persons (not e.g. “the servant of the ‘Great Foundation’” in Karnak who is mentioned but not named) and the names of persons from ancient times are listed.
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257 The list includes some attestations of *ethnonyms*, in their being naturally related to toponyms. Place epithets (e.g. “White-wall”) are listed under their head word (here Memphis). Modern place names are not listed, with the exception of toponyms (e.g. Syria and Giza) that can denote ancient places.
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Illustrations

Figure 7: Copy of the Dream Stela (front side) made (after collation) by Grimal. Published in Grimal 1981: pl. 1.
Figure 8: Copy of the Dream Stela (back side) made (after collation) by Grimal. Published in Grimal 1981: pl. 2.
Figure 9: Copy of the Dream Stela (front side) made by Devéria. Published in Mariette 1889: pl. 7.
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Figure 11: Photo of a headless statue of Tanutamani from Gebel Barkal. Published in Aldred 1980: fig. 282.

Figure 12: Photo of the interior of the tomb of Tanutamani in el-Kurru. Published in Dunham 1950: pl. 18.
Figure 13: Drawing of a relief scene from the Osiris-Ptah chapel in Karnak I. Published in Mariette 1889: pl. 81.

Figure 14: Drawing of a relief scene from the Osiris-Ptah chapel in Karnak II. Published in Mariette 1889: pl. 86.
Figure 15: Map over Nubia/Kush and Sudan. Taken from Redford 2004: 2, map 1.