



JOSEFINE KUCKERTZ & JAN MOJE

A DEMOTIC OSTRACON FROM ARGIN MENTIONING AKINIDAD?¹

INTRODUCTION (JK)

In a 1967 publication on pottery of the historic periods in Ancient Nubia photographs depicting ostraca with Greek, Demotic and Meroitic script were published, found at the habitation site Argin 6–B–8.² The author Florence C. Lister (1920–2016), later renowned by her archaeological work in the American Southwest, was a team member of the University of Colorado Nubian Expedition when her husband Robert H. Lister was Administrative Director of the campaign in 1963–64. The University of Colorado took over excavations in areas of the West Bank Survey of the Sudan Antiquities Service that were undertaken from 1960 to 1964 during the UNESCO Nubian Salvage Campaign (1959–1969) ahead of the future heightening of the Assuan Dam.³ The area investigated is now flooded and since 1964 under water.

All in all 23 ostraca are reported to have been found at Argin 6–B–8, of which at least three contained Greek characters.⁴ How many of the ostraca were inscribed in Demotic, Greek or Meroitic is not stated; Bruce B. Williams assumed that further Demotic ostraca were present.⁵ The contours of the

pottery shards depicted in Lister's fig. 26 reveal that the two Greek and the two Demotic objects were shards inscribed on both sides, i.e. that only one Demotic and one Greek ostracon was documented on the plate with the recto and verso photographed. Of the two Meroitic items only their inscribed recto is depicted.

From search in the online data-base of Trismegistos the information was available that the Demotic ostracon and the two Meroitic ostraca are now in the British Museum London, donated in 2005 by the University of Colorado Museum.⁶ The two Meroitic ostraca in Lister's plate are inventoried as British Museum EA77947 (REM 1279) and EA77948 (REM 1280)⁷ and the Demotic ostracon as EA77946 (figs. 3, 4).⁸ The Greek ostracon in Lister's plate, inscribed on both sides with six and eight lines respectively, could not be identified in the BM online data base.

1 We are indebted to Karola Zibeli-Chen and especially to Jochen Hallof for checking a first draft of the article and valuable comments. J. Hallof has most kindly provided not only the hieroglyphs in note 101, but also a draft of the first volume of his forthcoming *Analytisches Wörterbuch des Meroitischen*.

2 Lister 1967: 69, 72–73, fig. 26.

3 It was officially called 'UNESCO – Sudan Antiquities Service Survey' as UNESCO sponsored and aided the survey with personnel and equipment. On the history cf. Adams 1992; 2004a: 1–21, esp. 1–3, 7–8, 13, 15, 18, 19–20, fig. 4. Included there is the reference to the University of Colorado which excavated sites in the region near the 2nd Nile cataract and some settlements near Wadi Halfa.

4 According to Lister 1967: 69.

5 Williams 1985: 191. The British Museum online data-base (see below with notes 6 and 8) lists 21 ostraca from Argin, of which 16 are Meroitic, five from Christian times, one Demotic. Two of the Meroitic ostraca (BM EA77949 and EA77951) from this lot are depicted in Baud et al. 2010: 148 (nos. 197–198). For the Meroitic ostraca depicted in Lister 1967 see below with note 7.

6 In 2004 and 2005 the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History donated around 460 objects to the British Museum, cf. the online data-base <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG153983>, accessed 09.07.2020. The objects stem from the University of Colorado's excavations in Sudan during the UNESCO campaign in the 1960ies, especially at the sites of Gezira Dabarosa, Argin and Murshid. Much more material of the Colorado excavations had been investigated by Adams (2004a; 2005), so for example "well over 100 sacks" of pottery (Adams 2004b: 66) that seem not included in the British Museum lot.

We are grateful to Ilona Regulski for the permission to publish the ostracon BM EA77946. The ostracon is now categorized by J. Moje as Ostr. Argin dem 1 (see his contribution below).

7 Lister 1967: fig. 26e–f; Carrier 2000: 1–2, figs. 1–2. The REM-number refers to the Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtiques, compiled in Leclant et al. 2000 with picture and extensive bibliography; additions up to 2003 in the Digital Meroitic Newsletter, <http://www.meroiticnewsletter.org/>.

8 Trismegistos (www.trismegistos.org/place/TM_Geo_2805_Argin/Sudan, accessed 09.07.2020) announces inedited texts on pottery from Argin. The two Meroitic ostraca are TM 395032–33. The Demotic ostracon is TM 395031; it was already inventoried earlier as TM 54536, i.e. two entries are currently found in Trismegistos (see also below note 44). Cf. the online data-base of the British Museum https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA77946-48, accessed 09.07.2020.

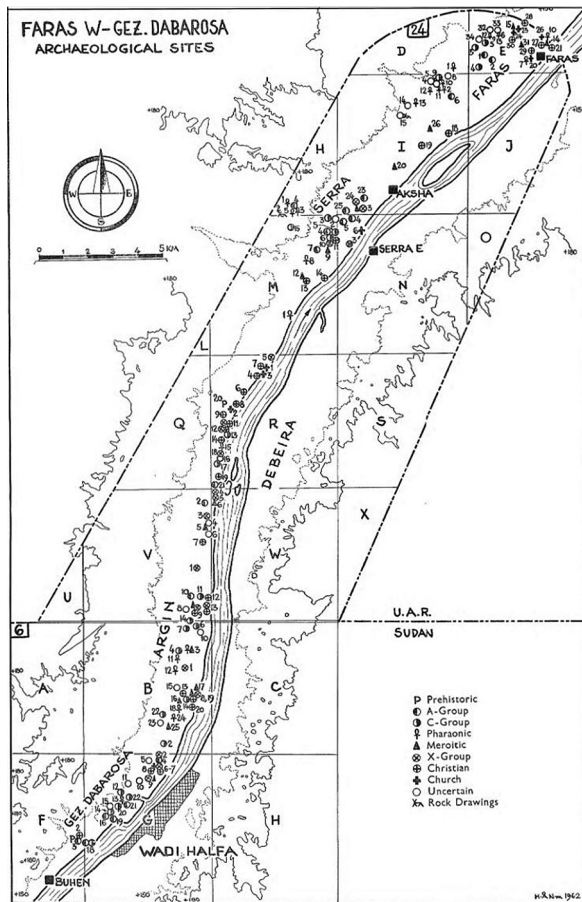


Fig. 1: Archaeological sites of the West Bank Survey between Faras and Wadi Halfa, after Adams 1962a: fig. facing p. 12.

It is presumably of late antique date (4th century or later), bearing perhaps Christian liturgical texts.

Claude Rilly informed me that the script of the two shards with four respectively six lines of Meroitic cursive script (REM 1279, REM 1280) is of late date (Transitionnel C/Tardif A, 3rd century CE) and the texts difficult to translate.⁹ A slightly different opinion is expressed by Jochen Hallof who considers the script of REM 1280 to be Transitional B and a date in the 1st century CE. The ostraca certainly are not accounts and presumably not contemporary with the Demotic ostrakon.

THE FINDSPOT (JK)

The rural settlement Argin 6-B-8, about 5 km north of Gezira Dabarosa and some kilometres south of Debeira West, was investigated by the Sudan Antiquities Service in two campaigns in spring 1960 and

in spring 1961.¹⁰ Further research there was undertaken in 1962–63 in the Colorado University's first season and in 1963–64 in a second season.¹¹ The site is part of a larger area around Argin with habitation spots and cemeteries from different periods.¹² It lay within a stretch of land between Faras and the 2nd cataract that provided larger zones of agricultural potential, especially on the west bank of the Nile.¹³

No extensive excavations were undertaken by the West Bank Survey at Argin 6-B-8, only trial trenches and test pits which revealed several habitation layers (Meroitic, X-Group, Christian periods) and mud brick walls as well as a pottery kiln of Meroitic times (6-B-17)¹⁴. The University of Colorado undertook excavations in different parts of the site and recognised in the Meroitic level at 6-B-8 diverse freestanding and heavy-walled houses, often denuded to foundation level.¹⁵ The results of these excavations were never fully published; they were only lately integrated into Bill Adams's books about the remnants of the Meroitic to Christian periods of the West Bank Survey which appeared in 2004 and 2005.¹⁶

From the excavations of the Colorado University only sparse information is available. Apart from Lister's detailed report on Meroitic pottery of Argin 6-B-8¹⁷ only some rare finds of other kind (faience, figurines, clay bells, jar stoppers and miniature bowls of mud, beads, loom weights and ostraca) are cursorily mentioned.¹⁸

The size of the Meroitic site, characterised by the excavators as a settlement of considerable extent, is partly doubted by David Edwards¹⁹, assuming an extent of less than 2.5 hectares (25.000 m²) with surface remains of c. 100 x 250 m. Based on Williams's research on pottery²⁰, the dating of the Meroitic site

10 Nordström 1962: 34, 44.

11 Hewes 1964: 176 (future work in season 1963–64 mentioned). 183; Lister 1967: V, 54–55; Adams 2004a: 26–27.

12 Cf. Adams 1962a: plate 'Faras W-Gez. Dabarosa Archaeological Sites' facing p. 12 (see here fig. 1); 2004a: Figure 1. On habitation sites and cemeteries at Argin earlier than the Meroitic Period (West Bank Survey) see Nordström 2014.

13 Cf. Edwards 1996: 54–55, fig. 10; 1999: 73, 107 fig. 11.

14 On the pottery kiln Adams 1962b: 62–64, pl. XVIa.

15 Adams 2004a: 26–27, fig. 9. Christian traces at Argin are described by Adams 2005: 6. 27, 36–37, 103–105,

16 Adams 2004a; 2005.

17 Lister 1967: 54–73.

18 Lister 1967: 69. Adams 2004a: 27, likewise notates some few finds. See the objects from Argin now in the British Museum (cf. the data-base above note 6).

19 Edwards 1996: 66, 73, 98; 1999: 81, 84.

20 Williams 1985: 187 note 231, elaborated from pottery from the cemeteries of Qustul and Ballana; cf. Williams 1991: 20, 176 Table 29, 187: phases IIB–IIIB.

9 Email to JK, 12.02.2020. Many thanks go to Cl. Rilly for his kind support.



reaches from his phase IIB to perhaps phase IIIB, i.e. roughly between the 1st and the 3rd century CE.²¹ The associated cemetery according to Williams may be that at Nelluah (site 6-B-1/37); Edwards relates also another nearby cemetery (site 6-B-16) to the settlement.²²

A 'town' or settlement APTINH / APTINI is mentioned in later sources of Christian times.²³ The ruins of a considerable church building at the site of Argin were notated by Monneret de Villard who cites a German traveller Ottokar Dittmer having seen rests of a church ruin on a nearby hilltop in the 1870ies; Monneret de Villard connects these ruins with an inscription mentioning a church of St. Michael at Argin.²⁴ Unknown is where exactly this place APTINH was situated in the wider region where only one other larger settlement site of Meroitic and Christian date slightly south at Gezira Dabarosa was archaeologically identified (site 6-G-9).²⁵

In several Meroitic texts a town Tamane is mentioned which is identified with Gebel/Gezira²⁶

Dabarosa or another not unimportant settlement.²⁷ In some Latin texts a place name resembling the Meroitic Tamane is mentioned: A place Tamania appears in the itinerary of Juba (preserved in Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.179) written in the early 1st century BCE; Attena occurs in the description of Petronius' campaign in Nubia 25/24 BCE (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.181), and Nero's centurions for a military mission in the 1st century CE report of Tama (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.184).²⁸ Tamania, Attena, Tama and Meroitic Tamane are according to FHN III identified with Dabarosa.²⁹

The Meroitic texts REM 1323, 1333 and 2500³⁰ mentioning Hathor of Tamane reveal that at least a cult installation or a temple for this goddess had been erected there. According to Meroitic priestly titles also an Amun temple had existed at the site.³¹ Judging by the nomination in the Latin geographical lists

21 Cf. Edwards 1996: 57–58. Table 4; 1999: 98 Table 1.

22 Williams 1985: 176–177, 187; Edwards 1996: 74, 98.

23 Priese 1984: 490.

24 Monneret de Villard 1935: 212. On a church at Argin which in texts is known as St. Michael cf. Lajtar/Van der Vliet 1998: 41–42; Lajtar 2003 (I. Khartoum Greek): 50–51. The toponym Argin is mentioned in two texts of the 11th/12th century CE: on a stela of a lady Michaelikol, in Greek/Coptic, Khartoum SNM 14 from Meinarti (cf. DBMNT no. 45) and on stela of a woman Ikkir, Khartoum SNM 3727 from Ashkeit near Wadi Halfa, in Greek/Old Nubian (cf. DBMNT no. 6). Both epitaphs report of women who own a church; on this topic cf. Lajtar/Van der Vliet 1998. A Greek epitaph of the 12th century CE is said to come from Argin, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.72 (cf. DBMNT no. 527). See the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts <http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/> (accessed 13.09.2021). I am most grateful to Andrea Hasznos for pointing to this database. Unclear is whether the church at Argin notated by Somers Clarke in 1912 (site 24-W-3, Adams 2005: 6, 27) is the one mentioned by Lajtar and Van der Vliet. Another option would be the better preserved church (site 6-G-7, see next note) at Gezira Dabarosa.

25 On site 6-G-9 see Nordström 1962: 49–50, fig. 4; Hewes 1964: 176–180 (6-G-9), 180–183 (6-G-6); Lister 1967: 1–7; Haycock 1967: 109; Leclant 1973: 39–40; Haycock 1972a: 235–236; Edwards 1996: 98; Adams 1976: 138–139; 2004a: 27–31, 90–91 (included is the material of the minor Meroitic site 6-G-6) and pp. 95–109 (Ballana Period site 6-G-6); 2004b; Williams 2021: 417. The date of site 6-G-9 is debated.

On Christian traces at Gezira Dabarosa (church, site 6-G-7: habitation site 6-G-6), see Adams 2005: 11–15, 37–44. Concerning the Meroitic habitation cf. Edwards 2004: 156–157; Wolf 2019: 717 who suspect that it could be a Ptolemaic trading outpost.

26 According to Trismegistos Gebel and Gezira Dabarosa are interchangeable, www.trismegistos.org/place/3477, accessed 13.07.2020. Gebel Dabarosa, however, is located

on the east bank of the Nile (PMVII: 128; cf. Abd el Halim Sabbar/Bell 2017: 30) and Gezira Dabarosa on the west bank (see fig. 1). On finds with Meroitic inscriptions at Dabarosa see Hofmann 1991: 68.

27 Hallof (forthc.: s.v. *ant tmne*, note 150) notates that *Tamane* (*tmne*) is identified with several places. He kindly provided the information of *Tamane*'s identification with e.g. *Dumana* (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.35) south of the 3rd cataract (I. Hofmann), Tômas or a locality near Karanog (N. Millet). K.-H. Priese and following him L. Török and Cl. Rilly consider Dabarosa to be *Tamane* (cf. Priese 1984; Török 2009: 380–384; Rilly 2003b: 262, s.v. *Tmne* (unpublished; information kindly provided by J. Hallof).

On *Tamane* in Meroitic texts see Edwards/Fuller 2000: 84–85, 89 (papyrus docket with oracle decree REM 1323 from Qasr Ibrim; cf. Hallof 2015: 32–35; Hallof forthc.: s.v. *atri*); Carrier 2001: 27 (place name *Tamane* on the stela of Abaratoye from Tômas resp. Karanog, REM 1333). Other texts mentioning *Tamane* are REM 0247 (stela Karanog), 0519 (offering table Faras), 0537 (offering table Faras), 0569 (ostracon Faras), 1067 (stela Arminna), 1229 (stela Dabarosa), 2500 (oracle decree Qasr Ibrim, see Hallof forthc.: s.v. *atri*; Hallof 2017: 268–270), stela GA 29 (Jebel Adda, Millet 1968: 332–335; 2005: 23–25), stela GA 53 (Jebel Adda, Millet 1968: 355–356; 2005: 37–38) as well as a graffito at Dom el Dakkar/Wadi el Arab (Hintze 1961b: 283). Cf. also Török 1979: 130, listing the titles combined with *Tamane*.

28 Priese 1984. On Juba FHN III: 804–809 no. 186A. On Petronius's list cf. FHN III: 876–881 no. 204; on Nero's list FHN III: 884–888 no. 206.

29 Cf. FHN III: 808, 879–880.

30 See note 27. On a priestly title (*somi*) related to a sanctuary at *Tamane* see Török 1979: 141; Hallof 2015: 34, other priestly titles are *beliloke* or *tbqo* (Török 1979: 130). Further titles nominating priests at Tamane are *ant*, *wrethn* and *wkite* (GA29); *mlomrse* (REM 1229), information kindly provided by J. Hallof.

31 Millet 1981: 131, 137 referring to stela GA 29 from Jebel Adda which mentions priests of Amun of *Tamane*. (Millet 2005: 23–25).

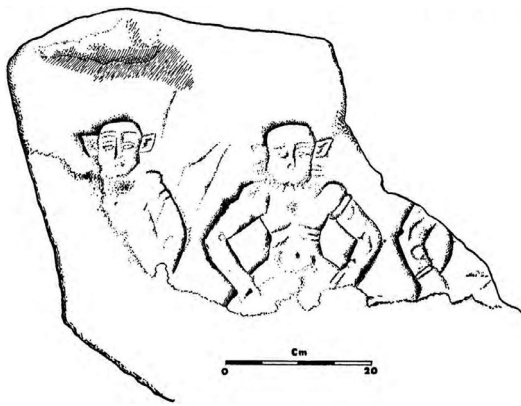


Fig. 2: Relief block with Bes-like images, found re-used at Argin 6–B–8, after Hewes 1964: fig. 4.

and by the presence of at least two temples – the town seems to have been indeed a substantial settlement.

The report of the University of Colorado mission of the season 1962–63 notifies that a sandstone block (c. 65 x 55 cm) had been found on the site Argin 6–B–8, used by the villagers as a pot stand. It is decorated in shallow relief with three frontally depicted Bes-like figures with pointed ears but without headgear, standing with legs spread and bent arms, their hands resting on the thighs (fig. 2).³² The date of this relief block is uncertain although a Meroitic date is envisaged.³³

It was speculated by G.W. Hewes that the block with Bes-figures belonged to a temple somewhere in the vicinity of the village of Argin or beneath the traces of the site Argin 6–B–8. Is it possible that the block with Bes-images belongs to the Hathor temple of *Tamane* (Dabarosa) referred to in the Meroitic texts REM 1323, 1333 and 2500 mentioned above?³⁴

According to G.J. Verwers a sandstone block with the relief of a king making an offering and part of an inscription was also found by the West Bank Survey in an area in the north of Argin where some Meroitic graves were situated (site 24–W–6); date and style

are not noticed and the confusion with a funerary monument cannot be excluded.³⁵

Other stone objects from Argin are definitely related to a funerary context. Fragments of the right side of a rather small lintel carved with a winged sun disk with uraeus and inscribed with a cursive Meroitic funerary text (REM 1033; Khartoum SNM 3732) is said to come from Argin; no information to its exact find spot is available.³⁶ Similar lintels with cursive inscription, especially popular at Sedeinga, are part of funerary chapels.³⁷ A funerary stela depicting a mother with baby in arm (REM 1062) is also said to come from Argin.³⁸

THE DEMOTIC OSTRACON BM EA77946 FROM ARGIN (JK, JM)

The Demotic ostrakon (figs. 3, 4) with some others from Argin 6–B–8 was first presented by Florence Lister in her work on the pottery; the year numbers 5 and 6 on the Demotic ostrakon were recognised and the inscription inside the cartouche regarded as a name.³⁹ The exact find date and findspot of the ostrakon is not stated, but it highly likely has been found in the season in 1963–64.⁴⁰ Neither the report of Nordström (1962) nor that of Hewes (1964) refers to finds of ostraca. The Demotic ostrakon was twice mentioned by B.B. Williams in essays on Meroitic settlements in Lower Nubia who reports that it had been categorised by Robert Ritner as dating in the 1st century CE.⁴¹ The ostrakon – due to Lister's plate

32 Hewes 1964: 176, 183–184, fig. 4; Leclant 1964: 374 note 5; Leclant 1973: 40. The slab is not included in Lewczuk 1992, discussing the god Bes in Nubia. Its current location is unknown. Are here not Bes-figures represented but figures that have iconographically merged with silens or satyrs? Cf. Sackho-Autissier 2006; Volokhine 2010: 248–253.

33 Hewes 1964: 183.

34 Without being too suggestive to connect these informations (textual reference to Hathor and block with Bes-images), it may be mentioned that the deities Hathor and Bes are often related, e.g. in mammisiac context, cf. Sackho-Autissier 2006: 310–311; Volokhine 2010; Kuckertz/Lohwasser 2019: 54, 62–63, 109–111. Dancing Beses are a frequent motif, cf. Stricker 1956; Loeben 2020.

35 Verwers 1962: 29; Adams 2004a: 55. Is this perhaps the funerary stela with Isis or Maat offering a libation (Khartoum SNM 17939, Hofmann 1991a: 34–35; Adams 2004a: 84, pl. 15c)?

36 Height 17.3 cm. PM VII: 128; Macadam 1950: 47, pl. XI.4; Hofmann 1991a: 31, 68, 171 (dated to c. 100–150 CE); Leclant et al. 2000: 1440–41; Hinkel/Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed 2002: 231; the authors (o.c., p. 5) notify a Roman period bronze head from Argin, Khartoum SNM 52.A, likewise without further information.

37 Cf. Hofmann 1991a: 31–32; Török 2009: 425; Rilly/Francigny 2018: 70–71, pl. 9. Cf. Rilly et al. 2020: 85–87 on recent new finds. Examples come also from Qasr Ibrim, e.g. REM 2741 (Information by J. Hallof).

38 Hofmann 1991a: 68, 176, 194 fig. 56 (dated to c. 200–250 CE). Stelae from site 6–B–16 are likewise mentioned.

39 Information presumably by A.F. Shore mentioned in the preface, Lister 1967: VI.

40 As the West Bank Survey, managed by W.Y. Adams, worked closely together with the other foreign missions in the area (Adams 2004a: 7–9), it may have been the case that material found in the seasons 1960 to 1962 was later added to the finds made by the University of Colorado Mission.

41 Williams 1985: 187 note 231, 191; 1991: 17, 187.

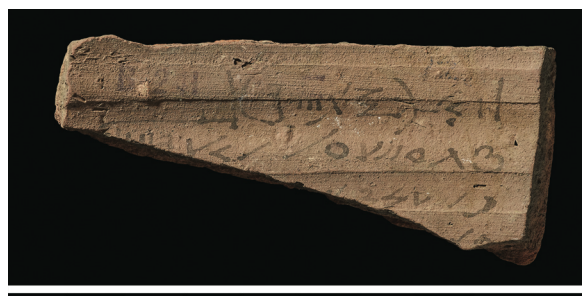


Fig. 3: Ostrakon EA77946, London, British Museum, © British Museum.

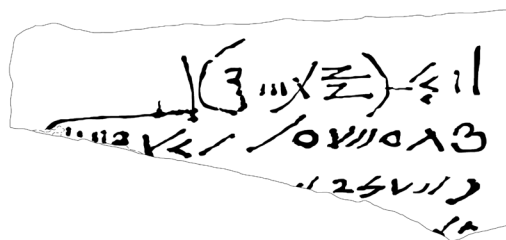
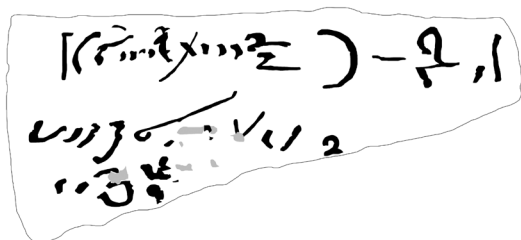


Fig. 4: Ostrakon Argin dem 1 = London, British Museum EA77946 (fac-simile J. Moje).

he refers to two ostraca, not realising that the shard was inscribed on both sides – was used as dating criterion for activity on the site: „These latter objects would tend to indicate some activity relatively early roughly in the first century“, as well as dating criterion for his pottery phase IIB: „In a very general way, the date would permit a proposed date of the first century A.D. for most of Phase IIB.“⁴² In a compilation of Demotic texts in Lower Nubia Brian Muhs likewise mentions erroneously two Demotic ostraca found at Argin.⁴³ The ostrakon from Argin also found entry in the Chicago Demotic Dictionary as well as in Trismegistos, here in fact twice.⁴⁴

The shard's size is 3.90 cm in height and 8.70 cm in width. It is characterized as of pink paste Egyptian ware, thus of an imported vessel.⁴⁵ The shard's outer surface (recto, side 1) is covered with a red slip; it is smoothed showing a few oblique red stripes from polishing. The interior (verso) exhibits a colour drabber than the recto. The original vessel presumably was wheel made: the verso face (interior, side 2) shows horizontal lines from turning; the inscription follows here the turning lines. Nothing concrete can be said about the form of the original vessel. Its width, however, must have been rather large as the gently curving form visible with the interior side reveals.

Imported vessels of different pastes make up about 25 % of the treated ceramic material at Argin 6–B–8.⁴⁶ They are indications of trade activities, perhaps of wine and oil, respectively the import of utilitarian vessels.⁴⁷

THE DEMOTIC TEXTS OF BM EA77946 (JM)

Both sides of the ostrakon discussed here show Demotic inscriptions, which cover nearly the entire surface, with a small space at the right and upper margins. One can presume that entire texts were right-aligned. The sides of the shard were used one after the other, and only the beginnings of the texts are preserved, while the extents of the lost lower parts cannot be determined any more.

Side 1:

¹¹ *hsb.t 5.t n (pqyl s3-nsw)* ²¹ [*ibd x MONTH*] *sw 2* ¹ *r:di n3y¹ n=f p3y=w* ³¹ [*tf3w ///*] *r...?* ⁴¹ [*///*](?)

¹¹ 5th regnal year of (*Peqer*, king's son), ²¹ 2nd day [of *///*]. That one which they have given to him: Their ³¹ [food supply *///*] *r...?* ⁴¹ [*///*](?)

Side 2:

¹¹ *hsb.t 6.t n (pqly s3<-nsw>)* ²¹ *ibd 2 smw sw 10 r:di* *r3y¹* ³¹ *n=f p3y=w* *tf3w¹* [*///*] ⁴¹ *r...?* ¹ [*///*]

¹¹ 6th regnal year of (*Peqer*, <king's> son), ²¹ 10th of Payni (2nd month of the *smw* season, day 10). That one which they have given ³¹ to him: Their food supply [*///*] ⁴¹ *r...?* ¹ [*///*]

⁴² Citations Williams 1985: 187 and Williams 1991: 17.

⁴³ Muhs 2013: 171, findspot erroneously notated as Argin 6–B–6.

⁴⁴ CDDp: 169, *Pqyl*, *Pqly* with extracts of photos from Lister 1967; Trismegistos TM 54536, date 1–50 CE, as well as TM 395031 (see above with note 8).

⁴⁵ Lister 1967: 69.

⁴⁶ Lister 1967: 57 table 1, 64; cf. Edwards 1996: 37 with an amount of 22 % of coarse ware vessels.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hofmann 1991b dealing with imports from Mediterranean vessels and Hofmann 1994 with imported vessels from Egypt.

The paleography of the script is clearly Roman, presumably end of 1st century BCE until beginning of 1st century CE, to judge carefully only from the script. Each text is created by different persons, who were rather trained to write the Demotic script, even if the signs look a bit awkward maybe due to less practice. Too less is preserved to say anything about their grammar knowledge.

Both texts are parallel and seem to contain an account of something in form of listings. After the date as the header, the text begins with the relative form *r:sdm=f*, combined with the demonstrative pronoun *n3y* showing that the meant deliverers were assumed to be already known to the readers, who must be members of the local administration. The beneficiary of the deliveries is introduced by *n=f*. The suffix pronoun implies that he is also known. One may wonder if with “he” the *Peqer*-ruler is meant, which may point to tributes, but this would be too speculative to be expanded upon further analyses. Therefore, whether these texts represent deliveries of tributes, taxes or offering goods cannot be determined. Furthermore, it must remain unknown why Demotic was chosen or required for these texts. In the case that an Egyptian merchant wrote the text it would be obvious that he was not able to write Meroitic.

The counting of *hsb.t* “regnal year”⁴⁸ was done only for rulers in Demotic. Furthermore, the same can be stated for the use of cartouche opening and ending signs encircling the names of the Egyptian (or in Hieroglyphics Nubian and Meroitic) kings.⁴⁹

But the most striking parts of these texts are the names of the ruler for whom the regnal years are counted. *Pqyl* and *Pqly* are surely variants of the Meroitic title *Peqer* (*pqr*).⁵⁰ These two versions in Ostr. Argin 1 are the only attestations of this title in Demotic script known so far.⁵¹ Presumably the changing paleographical versions exist because with the distance of one year two different persons wrote this word. We can assume that *pqr* was indeed used rarely in Demotic – and that there was no standard form for this title. Furthermore, if the ascribing to Akinidad as first governor of the north province as it is done in this contribution is correct, there was not enough time to install a standard Demotic writing version for *pqr*.

48 CDD *h*: 268–273.

49 For the use of the cartouche cf. for instance Bosch-Puche/ Moje 2015: 340–348. In late texts also deities as (*Wn-nfr*) for Osiris could be written with cartouches.

50 For this title see the following chapter.

51 Facsimiles of both writings are given in CDD *p*: 169, but without discussion.

Both cartouches show different signs after the name itself. They could be optional determinatives to *pqr*, but in my opinion they clearly represent separate words as a further title or designation. Positioned within the cartouches, they must have a close connection to *pqr* respectively to the meant person. In my opinion, the first signs directly behind *pqr* are those written as *...A* on side 1 and as *3* on side 2, which can be read as a writing for *s3* “son”⁵². The earlier cartouche writing on side 1 has a further sign *...*. This is a slightly corrupted and shortened version of *nsw* “royal/king” without royal/divine determinative.⁵³ It was left out in the later writing, for what reasons ever. Exactly the same writing can be found once on the much later 3rd century CE graffito Philae 416,⁵⁴ where it identifies the “king’s son” Abaratoye, viceroy and ambassador of the Meroitic king to the Romans during the reign of Trebonianus Gallus.⁵⁵ This Meroitic official is otherwise attested as bearing the Meroitic title *peseto*, which will be an equivalent to the Egyptian title *s3 nsw*, but merely from a contentual, not from a philological point of view.⁵⁶ The term *s3 nsw* must not identify a biological son of the ruler, but could also be used for high ranking officials. This was already the case in the New Kingdom, where the *s3 nsw n K3* served as the viceroy in Kush/Nubia.⁵⁷ If one would accept this reading for the text discussed here, two options for reading the entire cartouches are possible: as “*Peqer*, (biological) king’s son”, or “*Peqer*, high official in the sense of royal deputy”, while at the end the meant person as local ruler could be both at the same time.

ADDITIONAL COMMENT ON THE INSCRIPTION (JK)

The inscriptions on both sides of the ostrakon – that of year 5 on the recto or outer side of the piece and that of year 6 on its interior or the verso – reveal that they were written on a shard and after the pottery

52 Erichsen 1954: 402; CDD *s*: 15–16. J. Hallof (personal communication with JK) provided the idea to read this relevant sign not as *s3* but as *tpi*, seeing Demotic *tpi* as the equivalent to Meroitic *tr*. But regularly, this Demotic form for *tpi* is used only in date writings for *ibd-1*, while *tpi* “first” shows a different writing (cf. CDD *t*: 170–174).

53 Erichsen 1954: 228; more elaborated versions in CDD *n*: 123–125.

54 Griffith 1937: 114–119, the mentioned title as *sy-nsw* in the index on p. 302 (#861). The graffito is discussed in detail, but without dealing specifically with the title / epithet *s3 nsw*, by Pope 2008–09: 68–193, pl. 11 and Pope 2014: 577–582.

55 Haycock 1967: 107–120; Haycock 1972b: 307.

56 Literature in Breyer 2012: 126.

57 Cf. for example Rabehl 1998: 81–85.



container was broken in pieces; the inscriptions were thus not dockets applied on an imported vessel.⁵⁸ After the first usage in year 5 the reverse of the shard was used a second time for the entry of the next year. The heading of the Demotic inscriptions to a *pqr* and *s3 nsw* encircled by a cartouche clearly demonstrates that the scribes – two different scribal hands are recognisable as J. Moje observes – referred to the highest responsible figure in the state or the administration of the area. Such in most cases would be the king whose dating might precede the entries. The scribes, however, seem to have misunderstood that the *pqr* and *s3 nsw* was not the (Meroitic) king himself, but a deputy or representative of his. As will be argued below the person mentioned with high probability was Akinidad, the *pqr* and *peseto*, i.e. governor of the area, who clearly was of royal descent. In the scribes' eyes he perhaps showed up as king with cartouche, regal-like titles and royal appearance. One has to think of the other occurrences with cartouche around Akinidad's name and title (see below) as well as the quasi royal costume and jewellery of the later governors of the 3rd century CE, exemplified, e.g., in the statue of the *peseto* Malotone found in his tomb G. 187 in Karanog.⁵⁹ Akinidad may have been likewise equipped with a similar elaborate outfit with its royal attributes of diadem, the necklace of large beads and Amun-pendant and so would have appeared like a ruler.

The Demotic 'name' *pqyl* or *pqly* – in reality a title – in the cartouche is derived from the Meroitic form *pqr-l(i)*, 'the *pqr*' with a determinant *li* (nominal suffix, article)⁶⁰ after the noun.

A further interpretation was forwarded by Jan Moje who suspected that *s3 nsw* after the title *pqr* may perhaps represent the Meroitic word *qorise* (*qori-se*) as part of the title *pqr qorise* 'royal *paqara*'. Akinidad in fact bears this composite title on four documents dating in the time of reigning Queen Amanirenase (see the chart fig. 12 and documents below).⁶¹ It is

indeed not impossible that a man versatile in Demotic but not in the subtleties of Meroitic titles has rendered *qorise* as *s3 nsw*. One may, however, expect that he would have chosen *nsw* only.

THE TITLE *pqr* (JK)

Besides *qore*, king, and *kdke* / *kandake*, king's mother, the term *pqr* / *paqara* is the third highest title in the Meroitic Empire.⁶² Two forms of it seem to exist, the form *pqr*, with a variant writing *pkr*, and the 'more elaborated' form *pqrtr*/*pkrtr*. The last probably is a compound of nomen + adjective and is considered by Griffith⁶³ as meaning 'great *paqara*'. It is far from clear, however, that *pqr* and *pqrtr* are related in this way.

Until now the title(s) are not sufficiently understood. Most scholars identify *pqr* as nominating the 'crown prince' or 'prince' in general,⁶⁴ others see *pqr* as a vizier or another high ranking official,⁶⁵ a military connotation has likewise been offered and acquired prominence.⁶⁶ A late stela from Sedeinga indicates that the function of a *pqr* can also be related to a deity, concretely Isis, or to a temple as *pqr Wosse-l*, *pqr* of Isis, is mentioned as title of a relative of the deceased women Ataqelula. The same holds true for the lintel REM 1146 from Sedeinga where likewise a *pqr* of Isis (*pqr wost*) is mentioned.⁶⁷

The interpretation of *pqr* as crown prince was rejected.⁶⁸ If *pqr* is understood as 'prince', 'heir'⁶⁹ or even 'crown prince' it is indeed difficult to understand why a *pqr* can also bear the title *pqr qorise* 'royal *pqr*'/'*pqr of the king*', sometimes on the same monument like Akinidad on the large stela at Hamadab

58 Such dockets on amphora shards for example are the names written on many ostraca from Qasr Ibrim, Ray 2005: 39–60. Ware and vessel form are sometimes indicated, but not noted whether imported or not. The shards are dated in the 1st century BCE to 1st century CE, but presumably before Qasr Ibrim became a Meroitic town after the Roman garrison had left in 22 BCE.

59 CG 40232 (Assuan Museum), Woolley/Randall-Maciver 1910: pl. 1, 2; Wenig 1978: cat. 153: on the dress cf. the remarks by Millet 1968: 136; Hofmann 1977b: 211; Török 1986: 87–88.

60 Cf. Hofmann 1981: 49, 331–334; Rilly 2007: 506–512.

61 These are the two stela at Hamadab (REM 1003, 1039), the bronze cornice from Kawa (REM 0628) and the labels to his depiction in temple Meroe 250 (REM 0402).

62 Török 2009: 496–497.

63 Griffith 1916: 114; see the discussion of Zibelius 1983: 65–67; Zibelius-Chen 2011: 129–130. In a personal communication J. Hallof rendered *pqrtr* as 'Erbprinz (?)', heir to the throne (?). Documents for this title are enumerated in Török 1979: 168–169; Hallof 2020: 14 note 21.

64 See the references cited in Zach 2014: 557; Millet 1968: 39–41 (he translates *pqr* as 'crown prince' and *peseto* as 'prince'); Macadam 1949: 101; Hintze 1960: 150; Haycock 1976: 39; Török 1986: 61–64; in FHN II: 670; in FHN III: 803; Welsby 1996: 35–36; Rilly 2017a: 234.

65 Hofmann 1977a: 1405; 1981: 63 (6), 75, 77; Carrier 2001: 28; Davoli/Zach 2003: 25.

66 Hofmann 1977a: 1405; Török 1979: 113, 168–169; 1986: 61; Zach 2014.

67 Cl. Rilly, email to JK 12.02.2020. Hallof (forthc.: s.v. *pqr* and s.v. *wos*) mentions two cases of persons in *yetmede*-relation to a *pqr wos-se/wos-t*: stela SGA 2 of Ataqelula (Rilly/Francigny 2018: 73, pl. 15 + cover) and the lintel REM 1146 (Hofmann 1991a: 31, 176), both from Sedeinga.

68 Hofmann 1977a: 1405; Zibelius 1983: 66.

69 Dafa'allah 2009: 10.

REM 1003. The title *pqr qorise* at first sight contradicts the assumption of a royal heir because no one in this position would have had the necessity of adding ‘of the king’. But, assuming that *qorise* denotes the special rank of being (one of) the children – or neutrally persons – entitled to inherit the throne this adjunct then has indeed relevance.⁷⁰

The titles *pqr* and *pqr qorise* as well as *pqrtr* and *pqrtr qorise* must be considered as titles with a different meaning. Hofmann interprets the adjunct *qori-se* to titles in other cases as having a meaning ‘wohl in der Palastverwaltung’, i.e. as defining an office in the palace administration.⁷¹

Irrespective of the meaning – high administrator or military man – it is nevertheless possible that a title holder *pqr* or *pqrtr* may be of royal blood. The non-royal descent is at least assured for the later *pqrs* in the 2nd and 3rd century CE.

C. Rilly, in accepting the identification ‘prince’, assumes that *tr* (great, supreme) as well as *qorise* (of the ruler) distinguish a prince from other princes, being of a second, i.e. minor rank or even that these adjuncts designate a local prince – he refers here to Lower Nubian texts.⁷² The last interpretation, however, is not always valid as the *pqrtr* Arikankharor, one of the three consecutive men – and possible heirs – in Natakamani’s and Amanitore’s retinue, is primarily documented in the Meroitic heartland and nothing points to being of local Lower Nubian origin.

As the meaning of the titles *pqr* and *pqrtr* currently is undecided, it seems better to use it in its original writing as *pqr*, i.e. spelled ‘*paqara/paqar*’ or as *pqrtr*, ‘great *paqar*’ resp. ‘*paqaratara/paqaratar*’.

Discussion of holders of the title(s) *pqr/pqrtr*

Assuming that *pqr* and *pqrtr* are variants of the same title, there are only a limited number of title holders known who fall into the supposed time range of the Demotic ostrakon from Argin. The ostrakon’s inscriptions on palaeographic criteria date in the period from the end of the 1st century BCE into the 1st century CE (early Roman).

The stela of King Taneyideamani REM 1044 (Boston, MFA 23.736) from the Amun temple at Jebel Barkal bears the earliest known references to a *pqr qorise* perhaps of name Tabibale (line 38) and a *pktrtr qorise* (lines 41–42).⁷³ The context in both cases is

unclear and it seems that different persons bearing the titles are mentioned. As Taneyideamani is dated to the beginning of the 1st century BCE those title holders are irrelevant here.

Dependant on the positioning of Queen Nawidemak⁷⁴ – she is either put in the 1st century BCE or in the first half of the 1st century CE – two inscriptions naming a *pqrtr* may belong to the earliest references for the title(s). The inscriptions (REM 0077 and 0078) in her tomb Bar 6 at Jebel Barkal accompany the picture of Eterateya on the north and south walls of the chapel.⁷⁵ In the registers in front of the queen he is shown as *sem*-priest with leopard skin and youth lock while pouring a libation from a vessel and offering incense to Nawidemak. The inscriptions say that he is a brother/sibling (*wide*) of a *pqrtr*.⁷⁶ If indeed the title *pqrtr* designates ‘prince’ or at least his royal descent Eterateya may refer here possibly to the definite heir of the queen who presumably was Amanakhabale, the next king and successor. But this remains speculative in regard to the undecided meaning of both, the title *pqrtr* and the term *wide*.

Chronologically following are two persons that are referred to in the next chapter discussing the title *pqr* or *pqrtr* encircled by a cartouche. The most renowned is Akinidad who is *pqr*, *pqrtr*, *pqr qorise*, *sew Qes-te and peseto*. Arikankharor, the presumed first heir of Natakamani, bears the title *pqrtr* written in cartouches in the Lion temple Naga 300.

In the text of REM 1003, the left stela erected by Amanirenase and Akinidad in front of the temple at Hamadab (see fig. 10), another *pqr* of name Arabakhateqe is mentioned in connection with several men and women;⁷⁷ he seems unknown otherwise.

A *pqr* Akharesenakel (?) is mentioned on an isolated block of the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra (REM 1111).⁷⁸ The inscription, however,

238. It is the sole occurrence of the title *pktrtr qorise*.

74 FHN III: 801–804 no. 186. The position of queen Nawidemak in the list of Meroitic rulers is questioned. Some scholars see her (and her son Amanakhabale) as having lived before Teriteqase in the 1st century BCE. Others assume a later date and even consider them following Amanishakheto, see the discussion in Kuckertz, forthc. b. Török (1997: 205, 459–460) and Rilly (2017a: 121) put her in the first half of the 1st century CE.

75 Chapman/Dunham, 1952: pl. 13A–B; LD V: pl. 19A, B; see FHN III: 803.

76 Rilly 2008: 213; 2017a: 235; Zach 2014: 560. Hallof (forthc.: s.v. *wide*) considers *wide* as a title. Cf. Rilly 2010: 64–67 on the term *wide* with the meaning brother/sibling.

77 Hallof forthc.: s.v. *arbhteqe*.

78 Leclant et al. 2000: 1610–11; Hintze 1968: 680 fig. 24; Heyler/Leclant 1972: 2; Török 1986: 56; 2009: 496; Hallof forthc.: s.v. *ahresenkel*. It belonged to ramp 113 which leads to the area in front of temple IA 100.

70 Somewhat similar thoughts in Rilly 2017a: 234. I thank J. Hallof for discussing it with me.

71 Hofmann 1981: 582.

72 Rilly 2017a: 234.

73 Hintze 1960; FHN II: 665–671 no. 152; Zach 2014: 557; partly transcribed in Breyer 2014: 299–301; Rilly 2017a:



is apparently later⁷⁹ than the building time of the Great Enclosure⁸⁰ and dates into the 3rd century CE. Around the second half of the 3rd century BCE, the time of Arnekhamani, who presumably was involved in the Great Enclosure, the Meroitic script was only developping⁸¹ with other cursive texts attested at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.⁸²

Men bearing the title *pqr*, *pqr qorise* or *pqrtr* existed also in later times. In late Meroitic inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd century CE, mostly from Lower Nubia, the deceased often refer to high ranking men in their family or clan who are often announced with the word *mde* / *yetmede* of undecided kinship or social relation.⁸³ Sometimes the *pqr* title holder is mentioned by name (e.g. REM 0247 and 0544, both *pqr qorise*, 1088 *pqrtr*⁸⁴, 1111 and GA 28 B⁸⁵, both *pqr*), but often enough it is referred to a *pqr* with the title alone.⁸⁶ The mentioning of high ranking title holders in a deceased's funerary stela or offering table is meant to corroborate or validate one's own social identity, signifying the status of the family to which the deceased belonged. As long as the exact meaning of *pqr/pqrtr* is not definitely established the often expressed opinion⁸⁷ that here the deceased refer to the royal family is misleading. Likewise unresolved is the assumption that a *peseto* in the later stage of his career is appointed *pqr*.⁸⁸ On a funerary stela from Serra West (REM 1031) the deceased women Lapa-

khidaye notes that she is related to a *pqr btiwetel*, i.e. a *pqr* in Meroe.⁸⁹ Unclear is whether the solitary mentioning of Meroe in connection with the title designates a special office, the man's residence or his descent from a family at home in Meroe.

Pqr/pqrtr IN CARTOUCHE

Two men are known where the name and the title *pqr* or *pqrtr* are inscribed in a cartouche, sometimes headed by royal titles. Royal titulary elements on Meroitic documents, however, are not necessarily indicative of definite rulership.⁹⁰

The first is Akinidad who served three consecutive rulers in Meroe: King Teriteqase, his successors Queen Amanirenase and Queen Amanishakheto.⁹¹ Akinidad presumably was as military leader involved in the conflict with the Romans between the years 25/24 and 21/20 BCE. He later was promoted to the office of governor of Lower Nubia. His career and documents will be discussed below.

Two inscriptions in cursive Meroitic naming Akinidad were engraved at the Thoth temple at Dakka. REM 0092 high up on the western door post of the pylon entrance⁹² mentions King Teriteqase, Amanirenase – then still *kandake* – and the *pqr* Akinidad (fig. 5). The whole inscription is surrounded by a cartouche topped by two high ostrich feathers and a sun disc. According to current opinion, it presumably was engraved shortly before the battle against the Roman army took place at Dakka (25/24 BCE).⁹³

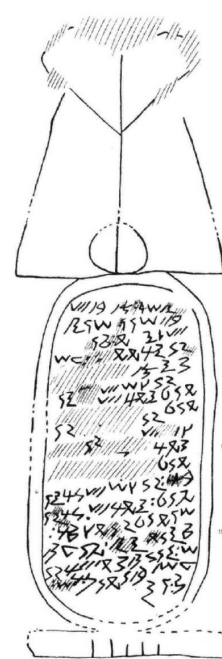


Fig. 5: REM 0092 at the Thoth Temple at Dakka, after Griffith 1912: pl. XXII.

79 Rilly 2001: 354, 356.

80 The Great Enclosure IA is a complex of three temples, interconnecting courtyards, corridors, ramps, chapels, gardens and different room complexes (Török 2002a: 173–186; Wolf 2006: 249–251, 256). Its function is as yet not understood (models reach from pilgrimage centre to a taming place for elephants). Arnekhamani is considered as builder of its latest phase, but recently Natakamani was brought into the discussion. The origins of the complex are much older and reach back into Napatan times. For the building stages of the central terrace and its different parts, see Priese 2003; cf. also Näser 2011.

81 Cf. the earliest occurrence with Arnekhamani's name in Meroitic on a sistrum handle, Rilly 2017a: 208; 2017b: 28–29; 2019: 142 fig 4 with erroneous ascription.

82 Rilly 2003a.

83 Cf. the documents cited by Zach 2014: 566. Discussion of *mde*, *yetmede* see Millet 1968: 69, 71–75, 164–165; Millet 1981; Hintze 1974: 14; 1999: 235–236; Hofmann 1974: 14; 1977b; 1981: 125–129; 1991a: 193; Török 2009: 478–481; Rilly 2010, 61 note 66, 147; Ashby 2020: 15–17, 26, 146–147 and passim; on the documents with *yetmede* see Hallof forthc.: s.v. *yetmede*.

84 Written *pqr tre*, FHN III: 1037; Carrier 2001: 28, offering table of Abaratoye.

85 From Jebel Adda, cf. Millet 1968: 144–145, 328–331; 2005: 21–23.

86 Cf. Hallof forthc.: s.v. *pqr*.

87 Among others Rilly 2017a: 299.

88 See below note 176.

89 Khartoum SNM 5261, Macadam 1950: 44–46, pl. XL.2; Török 1979: 14–15; in FHN III: 1075; Baud et al. 2010: 159 cat. 212; Zach 2014: 566; Hallof forthc.: s.v. *pqr bedewete*.

90 See the titles of Arikankharor and Arakakhataror, the heirs of Natakamani and Amanitore, who had royal titles already before being appointed a real king, cf. Vrtal 2015; Kuckertz 2021b: 309.

91 On Teriteqase, Amanirenase, Amanishakheto and Akinidad, cf. FHN II–III: nos. 172, 175, 177, 179.

92 Griffith 1912: 25–26; Griffith in Roeder 1930: 375–376, pl. 23a; FHN II: 715–717 no. 173; Leclant et al. 2000: 204–207; Török 2009: 435–436; Breyer 2014: 302–303.

93 This date of its application (shortly before 25/24 BCE) is assumed by most authors writing on the events between

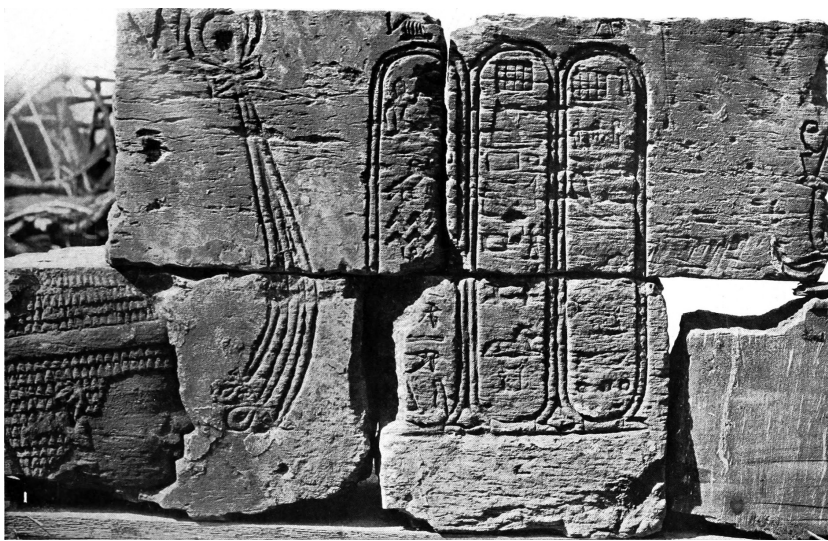


Fig. 6: Akinidad in Meroe 250, after Garstang et al. 1911: pl. XXXV.1.

The inscription also seems to contain notions of a conflict⁹⁴ and may refer to the uprisings in Lower Nubia resulting in Meroites attacking the cataract area. Another inscription of the *pqr* Akinidad alone and not in cartouche appears on the inner east face of the pylon entrance at the Dakka temple (REM 0093).⁹⁵ It may have been applied there much later than REM 0092.

In the so-called ‘sun temple’ Meroe 250⁹⁶, a temple complex presumably honouring the ‘victory’ against the Romans, Akinidad appears a second time with his name and titles in cartouches. The temple was presumably begun by Queen Amanirenase and ultimately finished by her successor Amanishakheto who had at least the surrounding wall plastered. In the innermost part 250/3 blocks of the outer north wall of the cella were found which depict Akinidad (fig. 6) following a royal figure of which only a small part of a crown survived; both and perhaps further figures presumably stand in adoration before (a) not preserved god(s).⁹⁷ Akinidad is neither the focus of worship as is sometimes conjectured nor is he

standing alone adoring a deity.⁹⁸ The depiction nevertheless is remarkable: Akinidad, of the same height as the royal figure, wears a short curly wig with a plain diadem. From above the scene emerge three ropes out of a large *ankh* in the claws of a bird; they end in *ankh*-signs in front of Akinidad’s nose, thus giving him life in abundance. Three cartouches are positioned in front of his head (REM 0402) which are headed by the remains of royal titulary elements, the bee for *bj.tj*, king, and a bird, part of *z3R*, the ‘Son of Re’-title. The left cartouche contains in Meroitic hieroglyphs the name *Akinidd-qe*, the middle one *pqr qori-se-lo* and the rightmost the title *peseto-lo*, meaning ‘(1) This is Akinidad (2) who is *pqr* of the king, (3) who is *peseto*’.⁹⁹ No further inscription of Akinidad is preserved on the temple walls, but it is assumed that the male figure behind the enthroned Queen Amanirenase on the exterior west wall of M 250/1 is Akinidad.¹⁰⁰

Akinidad is a third time represented with a cartouche (fig. 7). Building measures together with ruling Queen Amanishakheto in the Amun temple at Kawa have left only scarce traces. On two blocks appears the name Akinidad written in Meroitic hieroglyphs inside a cartouche which, according to Macadam, is accompanied on the left by a column of Egyptian hieroglyphs denoting the titles [*njsw*].*t*



Fig. 7: Kawa, Name of Akinidad, REM 0705, after Macadam 1949: pl. 58.

29 and 20/21 BCE. A definite proof, however, cannot be given; REM 0092 may have been inscribed significantly earlier than 25 BCE. Cf. Hofmann 1978: 94, who considers it possible that it may have been inscribed around the Roman negotiations with the Meroitic royal house at about 29 BCE and inscribed by the Meroitic emissaries. Ashby (2020: 113 note 198) similarly assumes a date before 25 BCE. On REM 0092 and the dating of both inscriptions (REM 0092 and 0093) see also Török 1986: 262–264.

94 Rilly 2017a: 248.

95 Cf. Griffith in Roeder 1930: 377, pl. 23b; Leclant et al. 2000: 206–207. Cf. below with note 117 on the possible later date of its application.

96 Hinkel et al. 2001.

97 Garstang et al. 1911: 60–61, pls. XXXV.1, LXII.2; Hinkel et al. 2001: 157, 205–206, pls. C.9, C.47.

98 For a differing interpretation of relief and function of the temple cf. Török in FHN II: 727–728; 2002a: 212–225; 2004; 2009: 501; 2015: 85.

99 Cf. Hallof in Hinkel et al. 2001: 205.

100 Hinkel et al. 2001: 260–261. The identity of the enthroned figure is debated, cf. Török 1997: 458–459; 2002a: 224. Whether other male figures in the temple depict Akinidad (e.g. on the 2nd pylon as supposed by Török 2009: 501) is unknown.

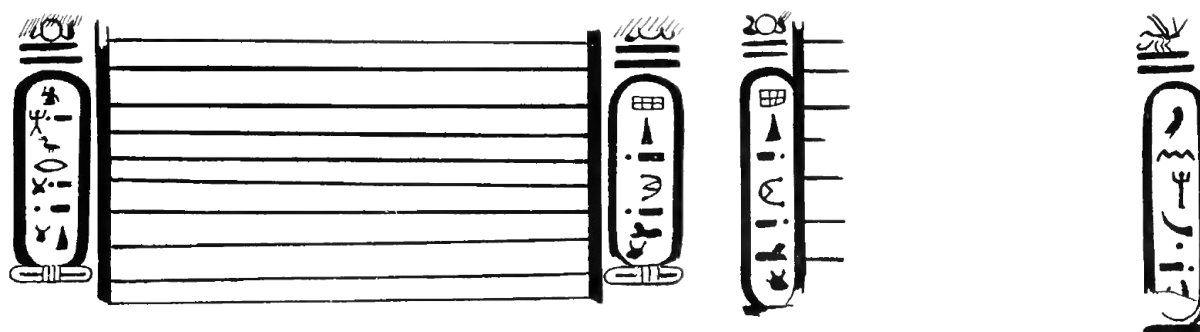


Fig. 8: REM 0017/0020 of Arikankharor, Lion Temple Naga, after Griffith 1911a: pls. XX.17, XX.20.

bj.t nb t.wj,¹⁰¹ a frieze of stars features above the inscription (REM 0705).¹⁰²

The second man with the title *pqrtr* encircled by a cartouche is Arikankharor¹⁰³ who lived decades later than Akinidad. Arikankharor is the first of the adult men, considered as heirs to the throne, who accompany King Natakamani and his mother, the *kandake* Amanitore on their monuments. He must have died in an early phase in Natakamani's reign and was followed first by Arakakhataror (earlier labelled Arikakhatani) who likewise died and then by Sorakaror who ultimately became king. In Arikankharor's time Natakamani and Amanitore erected the Apedemak temple at Naga. Four times on the outer walls his figure is accompanied by two cartouches of which the inscriptions of three cases are preserved.

REM 0005 on the south wall and REM 0017 and 0020 on the west wall have the personal name in one cartouche and the title *pqrtr* in the other cartouche (fig. 8).¹⁰⁴ The cartouches are headed by the Egyptian royal titles *njsw.t bj.t*¹⁰⁵ [*nb*] *t.wj*, 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Lord] of the two lands', which indicate Arikankharor's important status.¹⁰⁶ His personal name Arikankharor is written in cartouche on a block from kiosk Meroe 279 (REM 0415)¹⁰⁷ and on the tablet Worcester Art Museum 1922.145 (REM 1005)¹⁰⁸, both without the *pqrtr* title.

Besides a priestly office also the title *pqrtr* is preserved in Arikankharor's tomb Beg N 5 where he is documented with the Egyptian throne name 'nh-k3-R'. It occurs twice in Egyptian hieroglyphs, written *pkrtr*, once in the inscription line at the head of the north wall of the chapel, the other in the fourth column in front of Osiris on the south wall, but nowhere inside a cartouche.¹⁰⁹ The title *pqr[t]r* is documented for Arikankharor also in cursive Meroitic on the stela REM 1221 from palace Barkal 1500¹¹⁰ and probably on a stela from Meroe.¹¹¹

That his successors in the rank of heir to the throne, Arakakhataror and Sorakaror,¹¹² also bore

101 The title is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the bee (𐀓 L2), two *t*-loaves (𐀓 X1) below, two land signs (𐀓 N17) and a *nb*-basket (𐀓 V30). The first *t* below the bee is interpreted here as residue of *njsw.t* where the *sw*-hieroglyph (𐀓 M23) is not written resp. not recorded. The royal title, however, may only be *bj.t/bj.tj* with the conventional writing with two *t*-loaves as most authors have assumed. On the different writings of the royal title see Zibelius 1983: 30; Rilly in Kuckertz 2021a: 296–297.

102 REM 0705, Macadam 1949: 101, 117 no. 105 [0711], pl. 58; 1955: 23, 75, 136. Hintze 1959a: 25 transcribes *bjt nb t.wj*. Macadam's rendering of the hieroglyphs of the title shows the orientation to the left while the signs of the name in the cartouche are oriented to the right. If Macadam's rendering is correct and the name in the cartouche is written according to the use in Meroitic language inscriptions – orientation not according to the orientation of the figure but otherwise (cf. Griffith 1909: 49–50; Rilly 2007: 276) – the figure of Akinidad to which the cartouche belongs must have been oriented to the left. The signs in the cartouche of Amanishakheto on other blocks of the same building (BM 1774, Macadam 1949: 117 no. 106 [0716], pl. 35) are oriented to the left, supposing that the queen is oriented right. Both figures thus seem to have been oriented in different directions (and in separate scenes?), if not erroneous copying of names and titles is the cause of the divergent orientations.

103 Cf. FHN III: 904–907; Kuckertz 2021a: 255–256. Arikankharor is besides at Meroe also perhaps documented at Muweis (Baud et al. 2010: 216–217, cat. 281–282).

104 Griffith 1911a: 56–57, pls. XIX.5, XX.17, XX.20; Zibelius 1983: 16–17, 30, 32, inscriptions 1, 17, 20. At REM 0005 the title *pqrtr* is now not entirely preserved and must be reconstructed.

105 In parts written with the solar disc adorned with two uraei (N6B).

106 Only REM 0017 and 0020. At REM 0005 the royal titles are lost.

107 Garstang et al. 1911: pl. XII.1.

108 Wenig 1978: cat. 125.

109 LD V: pls. 43, 44; Chapman/Dunham 1952: pl. 19A, 19B; Dunham 1957: 15 fig. C no. 18 B, C; Zibelius-Chen 2011: 129.

110 Tiradritti 1992: 71, 73; Zach 2014: 564, assumes *pqr*; on the writing *pqr[t]r* cf. Hallof 2018: 494 with note 22.

111 REM 1251, Hallof 2018: 494, 498. But neither the name nor the title is entirely preserved here. Of the name only *-ror* can be discerned.

112 The names of both men, but no titles, were inscribed in cartouches, e.g. in the Amun temple at Naga (Arakakhataror) or in the Amun temple at Amara (Sorakaror), see

the title of *pqr/pqrtr* is nowhere documented, but often concluded – especially in referring to the triumphant images of the heirs on the Worcester tablet (Arikankharor) and the rock picture at Jebel Qeili (Sorakaror).¹¹³

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND MONUMENTS OF AKINIDAD (JK)

As we assume that presumably Akinidad¹¹⁴ is the person, who is referred to in the Demotic ostrakon from Argin, further details of the historical background and his monuments are here summarised. Some documents where his name is encircled by a cartouche were mentioned above. Akinidad was a man of royal descent but never became king himself. His earliest attestation presumably is in the text (REM 0412) on a stela found in temple Meroe 600 (fig. 9).¹¹⁵ It depicts King Teriteqase in front of the goddess Isis; the *kandake* Amanirenase is likewise mentioned in the text. Akinidad here bears the title or appellation *wslo/ws-lo* the meaning of which is not definitely recognized.¹¹⁶ Akinidad is mentioned with both, Teriteqase and Amanirenase, at Dakka in the inscription REM 0092 (see above) which was, according to current interpretation, presumably made shortly before the battle with the Roman army took place. He is alone mentioned in REM 0093 applied on the east face of the pylon entry and which seems to have been written at a later date.¹¹⁷



Fig. 9: Stela Liverpool World Museum 49.47.2005, REM 0412, after Garstang et al. 1011: pl. XIX.4.

Akinidad presumably was involved in the skirmishes with the Roman power. Some years earlier and soon after the Roman victory over the last Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII, Lower Nubia had been affiliated to the Roman Empire, respectively the Roman prefect in Egypt.¹¹⁸ The contractual agreement with the Meroitic royal house was most probably made in the time of King Teriteqase.¹¹⁹ Meroe was highly interested in the area of former Ptolemaic control and had perhaps already influence there. The regulations were published in a trilingual stela set up in 29 BCE by the prefect C. Cornelius Gallus at Philae.¹²⁰ The Lower Nubian area should be administered by a *tyrannus*, who highly likely was a man of the local Nubian elite (Griffith¹²¹ calls him “an Ethiopian kinglet”).¹²² When shortly

Rilly/Carrier 2004. On the documents of both men cf. Kuckertz 2021a: 256–257.

113 I.a. Zach 2014: 565. On the rock engraving at J. Qeili: Griffith 1911a: pl. XIV.32; Hintze 1959b: 189–190, fig. 2 (drawing K.-H. Priese); FHN III: 908–912 no. 215; Wenig 1978: 81 fig. 58.

114 On Akinidad cf. FHN II: 725–728 no. 179; Welsby 1996: 35, 39–40; Török 1997: 546–459; 2009: 499–501; Dafa’allah 2009; Zach 2014: 560–562; Kuckertz 2021b: 294–295 and passim; forthc. b. The name in Meroitic is *Akidd* or *Akinidd*, see Hallof forthc.: s.v. *akinidd*.

115 Liverpool World Museum 49.47.2005, Garstang et al. 1911: 17–19, pls. 14–19; Török in FHN II: 717–718 no. 174; Baud et al. 2010: 176–177 cat. 224.

116 Reading *ss*: child? Griffith 1917b: 165; young prince? Rilly 2001: 774; reading *wslo*: Hallof forthc.: s.v. *akinidd* and s.v. *wslo*, he is not sure if *wslo* is a title.

117 Hofmann 1977c: 204; 1978: 94–95. In her opinion REM 0093 was not applied before the relief decoration at the east side of the pylon entrance was finished which was done by Augustus. It is not inconceivable, however, that it may have been written considerably later, even in Amanishakheto’s reign whom Akinidad served also. Griffith (1912: 26 note 3), however, reports of G. Roeder’s opinion that the left side of the inscription REM 0093 was cut away to engrave the figure of Isis. This would mean, the inscription was there before the relief

decoration was made.

118 The first installations for the Roman army at Qasr Ibrim may possibly hark back to that time.

119 On Teriteqase FHN II: 715–718 nos. 172–174.

120 Hoffmann et al. 2009. The texts are in Egyptian Hieroglyphic, Greek and Latin. The last two describe the regulations with the Meroites.

121 Griffith 1937: 4.

122 The *tyrannus*, is supposed to be a man of name Qeper/ Quper known from the large Hamadab-stela (REM 1003, Griffith 1917b: 167–168). The Roman authorities honoured him in integrating his sons Padiese and Pahor, who perhaps drowned in the Nile, as deified in the temple built by Augustus at Dendur (now partly in New York, MMA 68.154; Blackman 1911; Aly et al. 1979; see Rilly 2017a: 250, 256).



afterwards inhabitants of Lower Nubia attacked the frontier towns of Elephantine, Assuan and Philae in 25 BCE,¹²³ a reaction perhaps against tax demands, it most probably was Akinidad who commanded the Meroitic army¹²⁴ proceeding from the south in order to help the rebels and maintain influence in the region.¹²⁵ The Roman army under the then responsible 3rd Egyptian prefect C. Publius Petronius reacted and defeated the Meroites in a first battle at Dakka (*Pselchis*) in 25/24 BCE. According to Strabo and Cassius Dio the Meroites at that time were ruled by a woman, presumably Queen Amanirenase, as her predecessor King Teriteqase must have died shortly before. Petronius afterwards advanced further south and captured Qasr Ibrim where he installed a Roman garrison or – more likely – fortified and enlarged the existing garrison.¹²⁶ The events of the conflict are reported extensively by Strabo (*Geogr.* 17.1.53–54)¹²⁷, also shortly mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (26.5)¹²⁸, by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 54.5.4–6)¹²⁹ and Pliny (*Nat. hist.* 6.181–82)¹³⁰. The therein stated southward foray and sack of Napata by Petronius is highly unlikely, neither the season nor the distance of over 700 km would have enabled this for the Roman troops.¹³¹

The Meroites did not give up their efforts to regain control and tried to re-occupy Qasr Ibrim. After negotiations with Augustus on Samos in winter 21/20 BCE the Meroitic ambassadors concluded a peace arrangement, the terms of which were advantageous for the Meroites. The area administered by the Romans was reduced to the old Dodekaschoinos

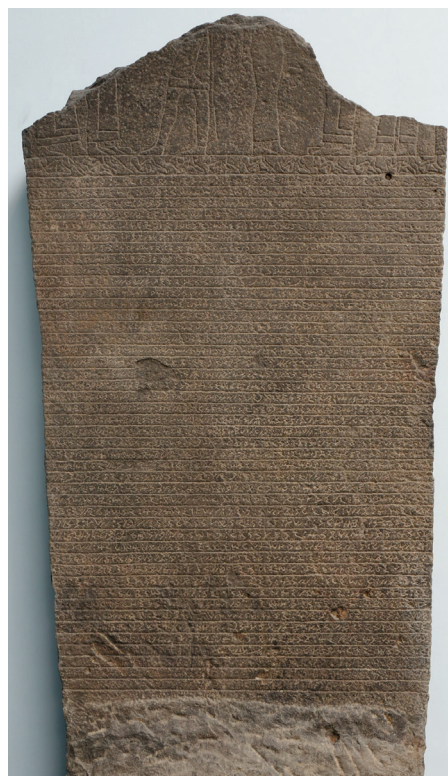


Fig. 10: Hamadab stela of Amanirenase and Akinidad, London British Museum EA1650 (REM 1003), © Wikimedia Commons, photograph Pymouss.

(with frontier at Hieria Sycaminos) and the requirement of dues (φόρος) was relinquished.

Several of Akinidad's monuments date under Queen Amanirenase; he must have been an important man in her reign, not only as the newly installed *peseto* of Lower Nubia (see below) but perhaps necessary already for her installation as ruler after Teriteqase's death. The 'real power' during her reign in all probability lay in his hands. Two fragmentary stelae in front of the Hamadab temple south of Meroe name and highly likely also depicted him with Amanirenase (REM 1003, see fig. 10, REM 1039).¹³² It is speculated that both stelae – or at least REM 1039 – report of the conflict with the Romans.¹³³

The depiction in the innermost cella of temple Meroe 250 (see above) as well as his name together with Amanirenase's on a bronze cornice (REM 0628) of a naos which was dedicated into the Amun temple

123 In the early 3rd century CE the attack on the cataract area is erroneously (?) reported by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 54.5.4, cf. FHN III: 883) as headed by a Candace, i.e. a female ruler. He presumably melts the uprisings and attack on the cataract area with the later Roman reaction and strife with the Meroitic army after the battle of Dakka when – according to Strabo – indeed a Candace was ruling.

124 Denied by Hofmann 1981: 855.

125 On the events cf. Millet 1968: 13–22; Hofmann 1977c; FHN II: 700–704; FHN III: 828–835; Török 2009: 439–442; Hoffmann et al. 2009.

126 Derda/Lajtar 2013: 106. In the Latin text (lines 5–6) on the stela of Cornelius Gallus (29 BCE) at Philae is said that he had brought the army into the area south of the 1st cataract. To which exact point is unknown, but Qasr Ibrim is sometimes taken into account because of the papyri fragments with poetry of Cornelius Gallus found there.

127 FHN III: 828–835 no. 190.

128 FHN II: 700–704 no. 166.

129 FHN III: 882–884 no. 205.

130 FHN III: 876–882 no. 204.

131 Cf. Hofmann 1977c, not unanimously accepted.

132 REM 1003 (London BM EA1650) and REM 1039 (Khartoum SNM 32200), Wolf/Rilly, in: Baud et al. 2010: 160–161; Rilly 2011; 2017a: 248–252. REM 1003: Griffith 1917b; Hofmann 1981: 279–328; Leclant et al. 2000: 1378–81; FHN II: 719–723 no. 176; Zach 2017. REM 1039: Leclant et al. 2000: 1452–53; Hintze 1961a: 279–282; Rilly 2014.

133 Rilly 2011; 2014. Captured persons are mentioned therein. Different interpretation: Hofmann 1977c: 205–206, doubting the context with the Roman-Meroitic strife.



Fig. 11: Stela from Naga, Khartoum SNM 34633, © Naga Project, after Kuckertz 2020: fig. 8.

at Kawa¹³⁴ are attestation of Akinidad's prominent status. The titles with which he is mentioned in those monuments reflect his growing importance (see chart, fig. 12).

It is not known when Amanirenase died. Her presumed successor on the throne is ruling Queen Amanishakheto, who likewise seems to rely on Akinidad in the beginning of her reign. He is mentioned on a block (REM 0705, see above) coming from building measures of Amanishakheto of unknown extent in the court of the Amun temple at Kawa.¹³⁵ A stela erected at Qasr Ibrim similarly mentions Amanishakheto and Akinidad (REM 1141).¹³⁶ An un-inscribed fragmentary stela, which with all probability was ordered by Amanishakheto, was found in the Lion temple at Naga. It depicts a male figure in the queen's retinue whom M. Zach identifies as Akinidad; of his figure only the front part of his sandaled foot is preserved (fig. 11).¹³⁷ That the male figure sitting behind the queen in the

chapel of her tomb Beg N 6 is Akinidad is conjecture¹³⁸ as is the identification of the male figure behind an unknown queen adoring the ram-headed Amun and Mut in the painting in a cave at Jebel Qeili¹³⁹.

On the whole, the career of Akinidad must have lasted several decades from at least 25 BCE, or even before, until the early years of Amanishakheto, probably in the first decades of the 1st century CE.¹⁴⁰ His prominent role during the reign of three rulers suggests that he was a 'grey eminence', in particular behind the two queens Amanirenase and Amanishakheto. Both perhaps were in need of a person to legitimise their rulership.

The parentage of Akinidad is not definitely known. According to Strabo's remark of a son of the Candace (*Geogr.* 17.1.54) he is often considered as a son of Queen Amanirenase although a name for neither of them is given. Others see him as a son of a king by blood (Teriteqase?)¹⁴¹ or a younger brother of Teriteqase¹⁴². Several other familial relationships have been proposed (being brother or husband of Amanishakheto etc.) none of which can indisputably be assured. That he unmistakably was of royal blood is now confirmed also by the Demotic ostrakon from Argin which highly likely refers to him and where the title *pqr* is followed by the term *s3 nsw* – provided this is not a defective writing of a title (see below). P. Wolf considers Akinidad merely as belonging to a group of powerful officials who "progressively became high-ranking members of the royal house".¹⁴³

Akinidad's tomb is not definitely identified, but Bar 5 – with its three subterranean chambers having royal features – is currently favoured;¹⁴⁴ other scholars ascribe him Bar 2.¹⁴⁵

134 REM 0628, London BM EA63586, Macadam 1949: 96, 100–102, pls. 49–50 (no 28, inscr. 0681); 1955: 92, 178–179, pls. LVIII/b-c, XCVa; Rilly in Baud et al. 2010: 147, 149 cat. 200.

135 Macadam 1955: 23, 75, 136.

136 London BM EA1836, Edwards/Rilly 2007: 82–90, figs. 15.9–10; Zach 2014: 562–563, pl. 3. The new publication of Hallof 2020: 11–21 comes in parts to different conclusions.

137 Field-number 301/7, Khartoum SNM 34633, Wildung 1998: 184, pl. III; Kröper et al. 2011: 36, fig. 36, cat. 13; Zach 2014: 562; Kuckertz forthc. b: stela III.

138 Chapman/Dunham 1952: pl. 16; identification Zach 2014: 362–363. He refers to the parallel image of a male figure behind Amanirenase at temple M 250, likewise being identified as Akinidad.

139 Zach 2014: 561; 1995.

140 Some scholars put Amanishakheto in the second half of the 1st century BCE (i.a. Reisner 1923: 76; Dunham 1957: 7; Hintze 1959a: 33), others in the time around the turn of millenia (Wenig 1978: 17; Török 1997: 67, 205; FHN II: 723; Breyer 2014: 63; Rilly 2017a: 121) or even to the 1st half of the 1st century CE (Rilly/de Voogt 2012: 188), cf. Kuckertz forthc. b.

141 Török 1979, 34. He refers to his title *peseto* (considered to derive from Egyptian *p3 s3 njsw.t*).

142 Rilly 2017a: 235.

143 Wolf/Nowotnick 2021: 530.

144 See Yellin 2014: 82–85; 2015: 11, 14; on the tomb Chapman/Dunham 1952: pls. 6A–C, 30E–D; Dunham 1957: 81–82, i.a. pl. VIIA.

145 Cautious Dunham 1957: 7, 90; Rilly 2017a: 121; on the tomb Chapman/Dunham 1952: pl. 14D–E; Dunham 1957: 90–93, i.a. pl. VIIID–E.



REM	Object, names mentioned	Titles of Akinidad
0412	Stela of Teriteqase, temple Meroe 600, Teriteqase depicted, <i>kandake</i> Amanirenase, Akinidad mentioned	<i>ss</i> or <i>wslo</i> ¹⁴⁶
0092	Inscription of Teriteqase, <i>kandake</i> Amanirenase and Akinidad framed by cartouche, Thoth temple Dakka	<i>pqr</i>
0093	Inscription of Akinidad, Thoth temple Dakka	<i>pqr</i>
1003	Left Hamadab stela (London BM EA1650), mentioning Queen Amanirenase and Akinidad	<i>pqr</i> , <i>peseto</i> , <i>pqr qori-se</i>
1039	Right Hamadab stela (Khartoum SNM 32200), mentioning Queen Amanirenase and Akinidad	<i>pqr qori-se</i>
0402	Akinidad with three cartouches, cella of temple Meroe 250 built by Queen Amanirenase	<i>peseto</i> , <i>pqr qori-se</i>
0628	bronze cornice Kawa, mentioning Queen Amanirenase, Akinidad	<i>pqr qori-se</i> , <i>peseto</i> , <i>sew Qes-te</i> ¹⁴⁷
	Demotic ostrakon Argin BM EA77946 Akinidad ?	<i>pqr</i> , <i>s3 nsw</i>
0705	Akinidad in cartouche on blocks from Kawa, building measures with Queen Amanishakheto	cartouche headed by Egyptian titles [<i>njsw</i>]. <i>t bj.t nb t3.wj</i> ¹⁴⁸
1141	Stela, Qasr Ibrim (London BM EA1836), mentioning Queen Amanishakheto and Akinidad	Hallof 2020: <i>hensney</i> ¹⁴⁹ , <i>pqr</i> , <i>enmde</i> ¹⁵⁰ , <i>pkrtr</i>
	uninscribed stela, Lion temple Naga (Khartoum SNM 34633), highly likely Queen Amanishakheto and Akinidad depicted	-

Fig. 12: Monuments of Akinidad with the relevant titles in chronological order.

THE ADJUNCT *s3 nsw*

The discussion below of the Lower Nubian governor's title *peseto* will reveal that *s3 nsw*, positioned on the ostrakon from Argin as apposition behind the title *pqr-l(i)*, is not a defective writing of an old and outdated Egyptian title (King's son of Kush), but that it qualifies this actual *pqr* as a member of the royal family, being a ruler's son.

Another (less likely) possibility may be to identify the Demotic *s3 nsw* as representing the Meroitic *qorise* as part of the title *pqr qorise* with which Akinidad is documented on four monuments from the time of Queen Amanirenase (see above).

A further term or title (?) may add to the interpretation of referring to the royal descent. This term is used on the stela of Amanishakheto and Akinidad found at Qasr Ibrim (REM 1141).¹⁵¹ In lines 4–5, the name of Akinidad is followed by several words denoting or resembling titles: *hensney pqr enmde*¹⁵² *pkrtr delikror[o]* of which especially the

first is noteworthy (see chart fig. 12).¹⁵³ The term *hensney* is written directly after the name of Akinidad and precedes the titles *pqr* and *pkrtr*; its meaning is unknown as it is otherwise unattested.¹⁵⁴ One part (*ns*) of the term *hensney* seems to resemble the Egyptian word *njsw/nsw* (king, royal).¹⁵⁵ The ending of the word looks like an incomplete adjunct *neyi* (laudatory element?¹⁵⁶ nominal suffix?¹⁵⁷ verb?¹⁵⁸). An adjunct *neyi*, however, follows directly (a second time?) after this passage, thus presenting the whole

Hallof (forthc.: s.v. *enmde*) as a term of family relationship which would define (an unknown) *pkrtr* as a relative of the *pqr*. Hallof, however, takes into consideration that *enmde* might be a further title or title compound (email to JK 04.10. 2020); now Hallof 2020: 13.

153 Hallof 2020: 11: *ak in id : x e n s n e y n e y i : p q r (5) n e y i : e n m d e : p k r t r : d e l i k r o r [o]*. Not all of the words are sufficiently known; cf. Hallof 2020: 13–14.

154 Hallof 2020: 13–14, 20; forthc.: s.v. *akinidd* and s.v. *enmde*. Confirmed in personal information by J. Hallof, September 2020. It is up to more competent Meroitists to evaluate my following elaborations.

155 Cf. *insibia* in cuneiform texts from *njsw.t bj.t* and Coptic NC from *šs njsw.t* royal linen, Wb 2: 325. Rilly 2010: 87–88, 135 discusses a Meroitic word *ns/nse* which he considers to have the meaning 'sacrifice'.

156 Millet 1968: 277.

157 Hofmann 1981: 262–263, 337; Hallof 2017: 434, suffix to verbalise a noun (see next note).

158 In the sense of 'being a so-and-so', Hallof 2015: 26, 306–307.

146 On *ws/wslo* see above.

147 On *sew Qes-te* see below.

148 See above.

149 The term *hensney* is discussed below.

150 See below note 152

151 References above note 136.

152 The term *enmde* between *pqr* and *pkrtr* is regarded by



term as *hensneyneyi*. The adjunct *neyi* is also written behind the title *pqr* in line 5. If indeed the Egyptian title *nsw* is contained in the Meroitic term *hensney*, is it possible that its beginning also derives from an Egyptian word? Here, the term *hy*¹⁵⁹ or *hw*¹⁶⁰ may come to mind. It designates ‘child’ or ‘fosterling’ and can in Ptolemaic texts also be used in the characterisation of a king.¹⁶¹ A demotic word *hrv.w* ‘children’, derived from *sr(.t)* meaning child (son or daughter), may equally come to mind.¹⁶²

The term *hensney* may then possibly be regarded as a ‘meroitised’ Egyptian term, meaning something like ‘royal child’ or ‘fosterling of the king’, which had been used without a proper translation into Meroitic. Examples of the reverse procedure, the writing of Meroitic titles in Egyptian are cited below. If indeed *hensney* is to be regarded as a sort of honorary expression or as expression of status or descent, then its position after the name Akinidad and preceding the titles *pqr* and *pqrtr* (being titles of function?) is more understandable; ‘a real title’ *hensney* otherwise would be higher than *pqr* that is generally regarded as the most important title after *qore* and *kdke*. Assuming that the background of *hensney* here is **hynsw* (or similar) – meaning perhaps something like ‘royal offspring’ or similar – it may then correspond to the term *s3 nsw* following the word *pqr* on the ostrakon BM EA77946 from Argin, attributed with high probability to Akinidad. If the explanation of *hensney* and the equation of **hy nsw* and *s3 nsw* come true, Akinidad would have been nominated with corresponding terms on two of his documents, in Demotic on the ostrakon from Argin and in Meroitic on the stela at Qasr Ibrim.

THE GOVERNOR OF *Akine* / MEROITIC LOWER NUBIA (JK)

More important in the discussion here of BM EA77946 is that with Akinidad on many of his documents the title *pqr* is combined with that of *peseto* (also *pesto*, *pesti*) denominating the governor of Meroitic Lower Nubia (see fig. 12).¹⁶³ As

result of the peace treaty with Augustus in 21/20 BCE the Roman boundary was taken back to the old Dodekaschoinos border at Hiera Sycaminos/Maharraqa. The Romans abandoned the southern part of the Triakontaschoinos¹⁶⁴ and the Meroitic Empire was in need of restructuring this area that was since the middle of the 2nd century BCE under the control of Ptolemaic–Roman Egypt. Building up administrative structures was political necessity, which in Akinidad’s person was combined with military prowess of the man responsible.

Akine – THE NORTHERN MEROITIC PROVINCE

The territory in question is called *Akine*¹⁶⁵ in Meroitic sources and reached from Maharraqa to beyond the second cataract. According to S. Ashby who discusses Nubian graffiti from the 1st century BCE to the 4th century CE *Akine* for the Meroites comprised the area from Qurta/Korte (near Dakka)¹⁶⁶ to Soleb (north of the third cataract). The exact extent of *Akine* is not so clear as its southern area was according to Török¹⁶⁷ administered by an official called *slegene Atiye-te* with seat in Sedeinga whom he differentiates from the chief

83–84, 109–127, 179–181; 1984: 64–65; 1986: 72–94; 1997: 434–435, 490–493; 2009: 497–505; Hofmann 1977b; 1981: 63–64 (7).

164 Under Ptolemy VI in mid-2nd century BCE the Ptolemaic Dodekaschoinos (c. 128 km from the 1st cataract to Maharraqa) was enlarged to the Triakontaschoinos (c. 316 km, reaching up to the 2nd cataract), cf. Locher 1999: 253–254.

165 It is not assured whether *Akine* relates to a larger territory or to a definite settlement, Hofmann 1981: 108–109 (127). Cf. Hallof forthc.: s.v. *akine*. He (forthc.: s.v. *amniyesebohe* note 113) gives a further name for the northern part of Lower Nubia: *mre* ‘Mare’ which is mentioned in the inscriptions REM 0119 and 0120 of King Yesebokheamani at Hadrian’s gate at Philae. At his time, at the end of the 3rd – first half of 4th century CE, Meroitic influence had spread already into the (former) Roman Dodekaschoinos which may have been meant with the term ‘Mare’. Millet (1968: 60–61. 190 fig. 3. 321–322) proposes two other terms (Warês/Waros, (A)mêd/(A)mod, mentioned in texts from Jebel Adda) for designating the Dodekaschoinos and Meroitic Nubia.

166 Ashby 2020: 12–13. The Meroites seem to have designated Qurta as the southern border of the Dodekaschoinos. Several Demotic inscriptions of Nubians make reference to this relatively minor temple in agreements concluded at Dakka and Dendur. In the post-Meroitic 5th century inscription of the Blemmyan king Kharamadoye (REM 0094) Qurta was one district border town, cf. recently Sakamoto 2017.

167 Török 1979: 147–156; 1986: 95–97; 2009: 488, 494–495. But cf. Rilly 2013: 99 on the title *slegene*.

159 TLA lemma no. 114450: Wb 3: 217.3–8. 237; Lesko/ Switalski Lesko 1984: 154, 163; Wilson 1997: 706.

160 TLA lemma no. 856185.

161 J. Hallof (personal communication) points to the meaning of *hy* as being a divine child of a deity (see Wilson 1997: 706) thus focusing on the divine descent of the king and not of an earthly office holder. Cf. LGG V: 615–616.

162 Cf. CDD h: 72: (divine) child; 73–75: *hrv.w* children (of animals, priests).

163 On the title and title holders cf. Millet 1968: 36–41, 112–119, 248 (translating *peseto* as ‘prince’); Török 1979:



administrator of *Akine*. After Rome's withdrawal in the late 3rd century CE the term *Akine* comprised the whole territory south of the 1st cataract. It is assumed in scholarship that a Meroitic North Province existed as early as the late 2nd century BCE and initially encompassed a smaller area (from Faras to Semna).¹⁶⁸ A comparable designation existed for Lower Nubian territory in Napatan times. In the 4th century BCE stela of King Harsiyotef a region or town 'qn3.t (Mirgissa?) between first and second cataract is mentioned against which the king sent his troupes to fight rebellious tribes.¹⁶⁹ The name *Akine* probably derives from the Egyptian name *Jqn* of the fortress of Mirgissa near the second cataract.¹⁷⁰

The seat of the governmental administration of *Akine* in Meroitic times presumably changed over time. It seems that first Faras was its centre,¹⁷¹ then Karanog,¹⁷² Jebel Adda or Qasr Ibrim are at times likewise candidates.

The efforts of restructuring the southern part of the former Triakontaschoinos seem to have begun shortly after the treaty with Augustus, thus most probably in the remaining years of the two last decades of the 1st century BCE. As head of the administration, a governor was installed to manage the 'new' Meroitic province, bearing the title *peseto* in Meroitic, *psentês* in Greek. Akinidad's career as governor started perhaps directly after the agreement with the Romans;¹⁷³ his tenure is also assumed to have begun after 13 BCE or around 10 BCE.¹⁷⁴ The complete title itself '*peseto* of *Akine*' (*peseto-Akine-te*) is first documented with the shortly later offering table REM 0521 of Halalakharor.¹⁷⁵ Akinidad is the only person bearing the title combination of *pqr* and *peseto*. Millet's and Török's opinion¹⁷⁶ that in the 2nd

century CE a *peseto* could be appointed to become a *pqr* is not definitely supported by inscriptions

Meroitic reactions and administrative measures around the time of the Roman occupation or their withdrawal can be recognized also otherwise. In the inscription REM 0092 of Teriteqase, Amanirenase and Akinidad at Dakka (see above) a man Akhamora is mentioned who bears the title *pelmos*, translated as *strategos* or better 'district commissioner'. Rilly considers Akhamora whom he calls 'un gouverneur de province' as replacing the '*tyrannus*' mentioned in the stela of Cornelius Gallus.¹⁷⁷ Akhamora, according to him, was appointed by Akinidad as new head of the province. One difficulty, however, arises: at least REM 0092 is usually dated to shortly before the battle with Petronius at Dakka.¹⁷⁸ The appointment of a Meroitic official for Lower Nubia seems unlikely in this phase of still official Roman authority in the area. If one has to review and change the current date of application of REM 0092 the case of the *pelmos* Akhamora can then be solved in two ways. He (1) may have been a Meroitic official in function either prior to or besides Roman authority before 25/24 CE or (2) his office of *pelmos* was not related to Lower Nubia and he had perhaps only accompanied the royals to Dakka or had acted on behalf of them (e.g. inscribed the graffito?). Here, the insufficient knowledge of the Meroitic language prevents understanding the text of REM 0092 and of making decisive conclusions.

In the Dakka inscription REM 0092 Akhamora does not bear the (high) governor's title *peseto* but the title *pelmos*. It is derived from the Egyptian term *p3 jmj-r' mšc/ mr mšc* and is usually translated in scholarship as '*strategos*' which is to be differentiated from the Roman nome-*strategos*, the uppermost administrative post in the Ptolemaic-Roman Egyptian administration.¹⁷⁹ A *pelmos* or 'district commissioner' in this stage of Nubian-Meroitic history may have been of higher importance than in subsequent

168 Among others Török 1979: 83; 2009: 498–499; Williams 2002: 496.

169 Line 93, FHN II: 438–464 no. 78. The several wars of Harsiyotef against tribes in Lower Nubia signify Kushite attempts to maintain and strengthen influence there.

170 See Griffith 1925b: 261; Török 1979: 83–84, 179–181; Hofmann 1981: 108; cf. the discussion of the province's name Millet 1968: 58–61. On *Jqn* cf. Zibelius 1972: 94–95.

171 The so-called 'Western Palace' is thought of as residence of the viceroy, Godlewski 1972: 190; Grzymski 1982: 171–173.

172 One of the large palace-like multi-room buildings at Karanog (castle or house 2) is considered as the residence of the *peseto*, O'Connor 1993: 100–101; contra Edwards 1996: 82.

173 Dafa'alla 2009: 15; Török 2009: 500.

174 Both dates, however, are speculative: after 13 BCE (Hofmann 1977c: 204–205; Török 1979: 83) or around 10 BCE (i.a. Török 1984: 64).

175 On the discussed dating of Halalakharor and Tasemerese see below.

176 Millet 1968: 41, 126; Török 1978: 233–234; 1986: 64; in

FHN III: 1019. O'Connor 1993: 87 assumes that a *peseto* was subordinate to a *pqr* being his deputy.

177 Rilly 2017a: 248, 250.

178 But see above note 93 noting that REM 0092 is perhaps to be dated earlier.

179 The Demotic term *mr mšc* appearing in graffiti of Nubians, especially of the early phase I (end 1st century BCE – mid-1st century CE; cf. below note 225), often together with 'agent' (*p3 rt*) of Isis or Thoth, is inconclusive in its meaning as it is also a term used in religious cult associations (translated as 'president', cf. De Cenival 1972: 161–162). Ashby (2020: 73–81) therefore concludes that in these graffiti members of cult associations are mentioned who also governed Lower Nubia in this phase as civil and judicial administrators.

periods. In a later stage in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE it is more a title subordinate to a *peseto*, where we have a split or specialisation of functions into a *pelmos*-of-the-land and a *pelmos*-of-the-water (see below).

If indeed Akhamora was appointed in the course of the early stage of conflicts with the Roman administration in personam the ‘tyrannus’ or as reaction to the tax demands imposed on the population (Strabo *Geogr.* 17.1.54) then this *pelmos* may indeed have been a sort of precursor of the *peseto*-office of Akinidad.

THE MEROITIC TITLE *peseto*

The title-term *peseto* is usually considered as deriving from the Egyptian term *p3-s3-njsw.t/ p3-s3-nsw*, the old Egyptian New Kingdom title of the Viceroy of Kush as head of the administration of the Kushite province of that time.¹⁸⁰ This derivation, however, was doubted especially due to the consonant *t* in *peseto* which, on philological reasons, is impossible to hark back to *p3 s3 nsw* (ancient *p3 s3 njsw.t*) where the *t*-ending was long lost.¹⁸¹ A different and more likely interpretation sees it as deriving from the Egyptian title *p3 sntj / p3 snt*¹⁸² which

W. Spiegelberg¹⁸³ had identified with the Greek title *dioikêtês*, denoting a high official with financial competence resembling a finance minister or ‘ministre de l’économie’ in Ptolemaic Egypt. A *dioikêtês* more generally is interpreted as a sort of ‘prime minister’, being the chief administrative officer at the Ptolemaic court.¹⁸⁴ F. Breyer’s assumption of *p3 snt.tj* ‘the planner’ has a more general meaning. A further interpretation expressed by U. Luft speculates whether the title *peseto* is derived from *p3 t3 st rsj* referring to the 1st Upper Egyptian nome.¹⁸⁵

What Jean Yoyotte says about the initial role of the first office holder of a *snty-* / *sntj*-position “*Au départ, on aurait appelé des senti des personnes chargées de réorganiser l’État et de gérer son économie*”¹⁸⁶ fits extremely well the role of Akinidad who re-organised the southern part of the ancient Triakontaschoinos area. In Meroitic sources no earlier example for *peseto* than Akinidad is known.¹⁸⁷ Assuming that *peseto* is derived from the Egyptian term *p3 snt*, the reasons for adopting it from Egyptian terminology just at Egypt’s turn from Ptolemaic to Roman administration remains unknown.¹⁸⁸ The role of a *dioikêtês*, however, at this early Roman time had already lost its former importance becoming later an administrator of lower rank.¹⁸⁹ The title *p3 snt*, with the bulk of documents in the Ptolemaic era, has been used in Demotic documents at least until the end of the 1st century CE.¹⁹⁰ The Greek equivalent *dioikêtês* is documented from the 3rd century BCE well into Roman times.¹⁹¹

180 Macadam 1949: 102 with question mark; Macadam 1950: 45–46; Millet 1968: 35. 40; Hofmann 1981: 63–64; Török 1986: 314; FHN III: 1009; cautious Rilly 2007: 363, 382 *p(3) sj-nj*. On the Egyptian viceroys of the New Kingdom see Habachi 1980; Müller 2013; Pierre 2020. In the 3rd Intermediate Period some Upper Egyptian officials had the title *s3 nsw.t*, which could even be borne by a woman, signifying that Egyptian claims at least on Lower Nubia existed, cf. Zibelius-Chen 1989: 334–340; Török 1997: 108–109.

For the last time, the title ‘Viceroy of Kush’, but without the former political competence, was held in Egypt by the otherwise unknown vizir Pamiu (mentioned on a coffin of a son of Nespakashuty B) in the time of Takeloth III in Dynasty 23 (764–757 BCE), cf. Aston/Taylor 1990: 147–148; Török 1997: 108 with notes 190–191 (list of viceroys). The viceregal administration probably ended when Kushite control reached Elephantine (cf. Török 2009: 288–289).

181 Hintze 1973: 335; Meeks 1973: 13; Breyer 2012: 126.

182 Yoyotte 1989: esp. 84–86, 89–90; Vittmann 1998: 296–298; cf. Klotz 2009: esp. 285 (on *snty*); Török 2009: 497–498; 2015: 85–86; Zibelius-Chen 2011: 283; Breyer 2012: 126. The title *snty* (CDD s: 283–286) deriving from the word *sntj*, to found / to plan (Wb 4: 177–178; CDD s: 277) is documented in Egypt from Dynasty 27 (Yoyotte) or even late Dynasty 26 onwards (Vittmann 2009: 100–102; Klotz/Leblanc 2012: 664) and occurs mainly in Ptolemaic times. Monson’s remark (2012: 214 note 25 with references to Yoyotte 1989 and Vittmann 1998: 296–298) that the word *snty* is an Aramaic term for the Persian finance minister misinterprets the word and the fact that most of the earliest cases of the office of *snty*

occur during Dynasty 27 of Persian rule and are held by Egyptians; cf. Vittmann 1989: 297; 2009: 102 on a possible (and entirely different!) equivalent for ‘chancellor’ in Akkadian and Aramaic.

183 Spiegelberg 1929: 3 note 3.

184 For references for *dioikêtês* see Klotz 2009: 282, 304–305.

185 Cited in FHN II: 674; on this term cf. also Locher 1999: 267–269.

186 Yoyotte 1989: 79.

187 But cf. here Török’s different dating of Tasemeressa and Halalakharor mentioned below which presumably is unlikely.

188 In Ptolemaic sources an unnamed *dioikêtês* is mentioned in a Greek inscription at Philae in the time of Ptolemy VIII (184–116 BCE). The granite base, found at the 1st cataract, was dedicated to the high official by a *phro-urarch* at Philae, Bernand 1969: 139–141 (IGP 13).

189 Capponi 2005: 34–35; cf. Hagedorn 1985; Haensch 2008: 84–85. The *dioikêtês* office seems to have been abandoned in the early Roman period to be re-introduced in Hadrianic times.

190 The latest reference is in the account register on a papyrus from Tebtynis (P. Tebt. Tait 6 rto), which is dated around 100–150 CE, see Tait 1977: 29–32, note m (information by Jan Moje).

191 Cf. Capponi 2005: 34–35.



REVIEW OF THE 'OLD' INTERPRETATION OF *peseto*
IN LIGHT OF BM EA77946

That the Demotic ostrakon from Argin can help to clarify the question which Egyptian term is the origin of Meroitic *peseto* is not definitely feasible but in my opinion not likely.

One possibility to interpret the signs after *pqr* in the cartouches on the ostrakon BM EA77946 is to identify them as defective writing of the title (*p3*) *s3 nsw* (side 1) respectively (*p3*) *s3 <nsw>* (side 2). This would confirm the old interpretation – *peseto* deriving from Egyptian 'king's son' (*p3 s3 nsw*) – which is also strengthened by the Demotic writing of the title *p3 sy (=s3) nsw* of the Meroite Abaratoye (Greek: Αβατατοις) in graffito Philae 416 written in 253 CE. Abaratoye is further documented in Meroitic texts as *peseto* or in a Greek text (IGP 180) as *psentēs* (ψεντης).¹⁹² Born into a family of rather low rank¹⁹³ *p3 sy nsw* cannot refer to royal descent of Abaratoye, although this is sometimes stated.¹⁹⁴

Graffito Philae 416 of the Meroitic ambassador Sasan¹⁹⁵ was one of the principal arguments for considering *peseto* as deriving from the Egyptian

'king's son' (*p3 s3 nsw*). There the term *p3 sy nsw* is twice mentioned: In line 416/6 an unnamed *p3 sy nsw* has accompanied Sasan during his first journey to Philae between September 251 and August 252 CE in Meroitic King Teqorideamani's second year of reign. In line 416/15 it is the *p3 s3 nsw* Abaratoye who accompanied him during another trip in the following year 253 CE. It is generally assumed that both mentionings refer to Abaratoye.¹⁹⁶ But is this really true? If *p3 s3 nsw* is the designation of the *peseto*, it is astonishing that Sasan does not mention the name of the highest official in the country in line 416/6 when reporting about his first visit, but only some lines later speaking of the second journey. Is in the first statement another official meant? Or does the title mean something else but not *peseto*?

The term *p3 s3 nsw* used in Philae 416 poses a problem. Is this term indeed a convincing example to assume the derivation from the old Egyptian term 'king's son'? One explanation can be that the skilled scribe who fashioned the Demotic inscription Philae 416 may not have recognised in the Meroitic word *peseto* the borrowing of the Egyptian term, but may instead have thought of the high position of a *p3 s3 nsw*, either nominating a member of royalty or perhaps known from older inscriptions referring to 'King's son of Kush' and may have ascribed it to a man of a similar standing and perhaps somewhat comparable office, the Meroitic *peseto* Abaratoye. Only the high position was expressed, but not a translation of the old title. Another possibility may be that *p3 sy nsw* in Philae 416 is an erroneous writing of the title *p3 snf*, which, however, is difficult to accept as the signs differ considerably.¹⁹⁷

If not deriving from an older Egyptian term a genuine Meroitic creation of the title *peseto*, spoken **pesante*?¹⁹⁸, must also be taken into account although the words beginning with *p* are frequently derived from Egyptian terms with *p* reflecting the definite article *p3*.

A further possible explanation for graffito Philae 416 may be that there an unnamed King's son (*sy nsw*) accompanied Sasan on two occasions, i.e. during journey one together with priestly personnel (line 416/6) and during journey two (416/15) together with Abaratoye. The translation of line

192 Several documents exist for Abaratoye: Besides the graffito at Philae (Philae 416 [see note 195], IGP 180 [FHN III: 1020–23 no. 265]) and the mentioning in REM 0544 (see below with note 211) there exist a stela (Kairo JE 90008, REM 1333) and an offering table (REM 0321+1088, FHN III: 1035–38 no. 270), found at Tômas, but deriving from his unidentified (and according to O'Connor 1993: 98 presumably conspicuous) tomb in Karanog (only the offering table fragment REM 0321 had been found at Karanog), cf. Carrier 2001; Welsby 1996: 36; Török 2009: 467–468, 485, 495–496. Two further documents may or may not relate to this famous Abaratoye: an ostrakon from Arminna West (Edwards/Fuller 2000: 79–80); an Amunpriest (*womis*) Abaratoye mentioned in Stela GA 28 from Jebel Adda (cf. Millet 1968: 144–145, 328–331; 2005: 21–23). The *peseto* Abaratoye is mentioned in REM 0251 and 0252 of family members of the next generation in Karanog (Griffith 1911b: 62). The activity areas of Abaratoye between 2nd and 3rd cataract, reflected by his different titles, are exemplified in Carrier 2001: 36. Abaratoye must have lived at least until 261 CE (Hofmann 1977b: 196; Carrier 2001: 23; Ashby 2020: 172) and perhaps longer.

193 FHN III, 1037.

194 Among others Millet 1968: 37; Rilly 2010: 74 (*"biographie princière"*).

195 Philae 416 of Sasan (old lecture Pasan) (Griffith 1937: 114–119, pl. LXIV; Burkhardt 1985: 114–117; FHN III: 1010–1016 no. 26; Pope 2008/09; 2014). Carrier 2001: 37 seems to assume that Abaratoye was not yet viceroy at that date which would mean that he does not identify *peseto* with *p3 sy nsw*. On the contrary, he translates *le fils royal* for the particular term in Philae 416 (o.c.: 23). Griffith 1937: 11, 119, even calls Abaratoye 'prince or king', speculating that he may be a son of Teqorideamani.

196 Haycock 1976: 47 like others assumes that Abaratoye was present at both occasions.

197 Compare the Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic examples of *snf* in Yoyotte 1989: 78 with Griffith 1937: 302 (#861, *sy-ns* in Philae 416/6, 416/15). See also the comment of J. Moje above.

198 Millet 1968: 36; Griffith 1912: 47 note 5 (*pesha[n]tê*). Cf. Rilly 2010: 64 on the vocalisation in the different periods.

416/15 then would be: “On the first day of the third month of winter, Abaratoye and the King’s Son came to Philae ...”. Not a title in apposition to the name Abaratoye is meant but two people are listed. The interpretation of having here the enumeration of people involved would solve immediately the problem. This idea, however, disregards that other individuals in the text are mentioned by name and title.

The other possible interpretation of the signs on the ostrakon BM EA77946 from Argin sees *s3 nsw* or *s3* alone as a hint to Akinidad’s descent from a king or the royal house (see above). As his monuments reveal his outstanding position, this, in my opinion, is the more plausible interpretation. The unquestionable royal descent of Akinidad, on the other hand, may in the end have led to the general assumption of recognising a *peseto* – Abaratoye in the 3rd century – as *p3 s3 nsw* in interpreting (the famous) Akinidad, a king’s son, quasi as the model or matrix for this post of administrator and a person likewise efficient and widely known.¹⁹⁹

THE GOVERNORS OF MEROITIC LOWER NUBIA

Akinidad presumably was followed by the *pesetos* Tasemerese (or Tasemereha) and then by Halalakharor, both buried at Faras.²⁰⁰ The offering tables of both men (REM 0543 and 0521) are mostly dated into the 1st century CE and slightly later.²⁰¹ László Török in earlier publications agreed to a similar dating,²⁰² but changed his opinion on geo-political considerations and prefers now a date of both men and the first appearance of the title *peseto* in the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE.²⁰³ His arguments centre on the

growing influence of Meroe and expansion of Meroitic control in the north in the second half of the 2nd century BCE that, in his opinion, necessitated the creation of administrative structures. Confirming the older dating, including Griffith’s, Hintze’s and Hofmann’s palaeographic recognition, Rilly now puts both offering tables on palaeographic criteria into the 1st century CE and after Akinidad.²⁰⁴

With Halalakharor the title *peseto* is for the first time combined with the geographical responsibility of office, i.e. the Northern Meroitic Province *Akine*.²⁰⁵ Currently about 23 holders of the title *peseto* – with the exception of Akinidad all of Lower Nubian descent – are known from the late 1st century BCE to around the end of the 3rd century CE²⁰⁶ of which only Akinidad was not buried in Lower Nubia. Later *pesetos* seem to have acquired their position after having run through several other administrative offices.²⁰⁷ It is very likely that because of the importance of the position all *pesetos* were installed by the central authority, the king in Meroe. It was even assumed that most of the *pesetos* were ordered back to the southern capital after their tenure has expired.²⁰⁸

Like with *pqr* also *pesetos* are remembered in late funerary texts, for example at Karanog, where they are mentioned standing in *yetmede*-relation to the deceased. Sometimes clear familial bonds to a *peseto* are given (mentioning the mother, a sister or brother), but also many cases exist where people in their funerary documents relate themselves to an unnamed viceroy.²⁰⁹

Török once concluded that the time of office for a *peseto* was rather short ranging from one to three years.²¹⁰ His arguments centre on the stela REM 0544 of Maheye, an official of a *peseto* who was

199 Such seems similarly envisaged by Millet (1968: 40) when he considers the *pesetos* of Akine „quite possibly developing out of the fact that Akinidad ... had himself the titles of crown-prince and prince“ (i.e. in Millet’s interpretation: *pqr* and *peseto*).

200 Tasemerese was buried in tomb 2800. The tomb of Halalakharor is not identified; Godlewski (1972: 193) thinks of tomb 2782. Part of his offering table REM 0521 was found in tomb 2903.

201 Griffith 1922: 595–596 (Tasemerese, archaic). 580–582 (Halalakharor, transitional); Haycock 1967: 109 with note 1; Millet 1968: 37–38, 140–141, 239–241 (Tasemerese 1st century CE, Halalakharor 2nd century CE or earlier); Hofmann 1991a: 171 with a treatise on funerary objects and pottery pp. 154–158, heavily criticized in the review by Török 1993: 638. She puts Tasemerese in the 1st half of the 1st century CE, and Halalakharor slightly later in the 2nd half). Halalakharor not only acted in the Northern Province, but was – perhaps at one time in his life – also priest of Amun at Meroe.

202 Török 1979: 83, 118–119, 121, 125, 179.

203 Török 1986: 74, 78–79, 285–287; 1993: 638; 1997: 434–

435; 2009: 414–415; in FHN II: 672–676, nos 154. 155; adopted i.a. by Edwards 2004: 178; Breyer 2014: 144. L. Török recently (2015: 85) presented a variant to his former interpretation and dating in that *Akine* was connected with the late 1st century BCE and early century CE.

204 Rilly 2007: 317 Palaeographic Tableau 13; Rilly 2017a: 256.

205 *Peseto Akine-te* appears also with the later REM 0247 (Khawitaror), 0277 (Malotone), 0278 (Netewitar) and 1088 (Abaratoye).

206 Török 1984: 64–65; Török (1979: 179–181; 1986: 74–77) enumerates 23 officials and gives as hypothesis approximate dates for them. Cf also Rilly 2017a: 303–304.

207 Cautious Hofmann 1981: 851.

208 Török 1979: 122.

209 Hofmann 1977b: 199–206; Török 2002b; Hallof forthc.: s.v. *peseto*.

210 Török 1979: 126–127.



buried in Faras.²¹¹ Maheye enumerates ten successive (?) *pesetos* by name – inter alia Abaratoye.²¹² Török supposed that the name Abaratoye was written twice – the first case, however, only shows the ending [...]ye²¹³ – and concluded that this man was in office a second time with other *pesetos* serving in the meantime.

As concerns the assumption of a short tenure of a *peseto*, however, we have to think, first, of Akinidad who served as *peseto* at least two consecutive rulers, thus most likely a lengthy period. If the ostrakon from Argin refers to Akinidad, a longer tenure is also corroborated by the date entries (years 5 and 6) indicating that a minimum of six years of tenure in Lower Nubia are documented therewith, even if the title *peseto* seems not present in the text. We have to think, second, of the *peseto* Abaratoye²¹⁴ who is documented in 253 CE where he is mentioned in graffito Philae 416 of Sasan in the time of King Teqorideamani and again in December 260 CE with his Greek graffito in Philae (IGP 180).²¹⁵ The time span of at least seven years between these two attestations is interpreted that he may have had – after an interlude – a second tenure²¹⁶ but a long office period is not excluded.²¹⁷ Despite the assumption that a short tenure would prevent the upcoming of powerful administrators in the north who would have been a threat to the ruler in the centre, a more lengthy tenure period for a *peseto* can nevertheless be envisaged.

That a fairly large number of *pesetos* is documented in the 3rd century CE is perhaps also due to the advanced age of the title holders who might have acquired the position at the end of their career:

*“The presumed advantage of the system was that these important positions would be held by mature and experienced men rather than youngsters with no background in military or administrative affairs.”*²¹⁸

The staff of a *peseto* as head of the administration²¹⁹ included i.a. scribes, administrators of an agricultural domain (*mareperi*), tax collectors (*arebetke*), also *slegene*, *qorene*, *tetene*, *snmedes* and *stmdes*; other officials like mayors (*hrphne*) were presumably likewise subordinate to the governor. The exact functions of titles like *pelmos ato-li-se* (*‘strategos’-of-the-water*) or *pelmos adb-li-se* (*‘strategos’-of-the-land*) is as yet not really known.²²⁰ They presumably had importance in the territorial administration of Lower Nubia, i.e. possibly overseeing the river communication, respectively controlling stretches of land, a district or a nome.²²¹

Certain families from which officials in the Northern Meroitic Province emerged became prominent especially in the 3rd century CE.²²² In scholarship is often stated that the province became independent from the central court in Meroe and those families in which offices in part became hereditary behaved like a sort of independent small kingdoms. Just the contrary seems to be the case or as Bruce G. Trigger²²³ once wrote: *“Instead, Lower Nubia appears to be a normal province of the Meroitic Empire (although*

211 Faras 44 (REM 0544), see further Török 1986: 76–77, 328–329; 1997: 491–492; in FHN III: 1038–1041 no. 271; Carrier 2001: 37–38; cf. also Hofmann 1981: 210. Millet (1968: 113–148) discusses in length the stela and all persons mentioned therein, their documents and relations; on Abaratoye o.c.: 139–140.

212 Whether the list of *pesetos* on REM 0544 reflects a chronological sequence of office holders is unclear.

213 Millet 1968: 114, 124, 146 restores another name in line 7.

214 On documents of Abaratoye see above with note 192.

215 Reference in notes 192 and 195. IGP 180 is dated on 27th of December 260 CE. Ashby (2020: 172) speaks of c. 261 CE. Together with the ambassador Tami (documented 253 CE with the Demotic graffito Philae 417) Abaratoye had undertaken a further diplomatic journey to Philae. On that occasion Tami likewise left a Greek graffito (IGP 181, see FHN III: 1023–1024 no. 266) at the same spot with the same date – year 8 of an unnamed Roman emperor that is supposed to be during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, reigning 253–260 CE.

216 Török 1997: 491–492; cautious now in FHN III: 1022.

217 So Millet 1968: 140.

218 Millet 1981: 129; cf. also Haycock 1976: 44: *“tired old men who had waited many years for senior relatives to die.”* Cf. Hofmann 1977b: 212–213 on the various stages of the career of a *peseto* running through diverse offices and experiencing *“eine gründliche und vielseitige Ausbildung”*. J. Hallof also pointed out that it is unknown whether a *peseto* after his tenure perhaps retained his title until the end of life (personal communication).

219 Millet 1968: 173–180 (provincial administration in general), esp. 176–178; Hofmann 1977b: 211; Török 1986: 89–91.

220 In Millets opinion (1968: 43) both titles are a development of the simple *mr ms*^c indicating a widening or specialisation of functions. Titles like *pelmos bedewe-te* (in Meroe) or *pelmos lh* (great/chief *pelmos*) may likewise point to changes in function. A prominent example is Natemakhora from Sedeinga, cf. Rilly 2013.

221 Millet 1968: 34–35, 42–45, 77–107; Hofmann 1981: 101–103; Török 1979: 27–28; Edwards 1996: 85, 91; 2004: 161. On both titles cf. Hallof forthc.: s.v. *atolise* (strategus of the water), s.v. *adb* (strategus of a district).

222 Bekemete of the famous Wayekiye-family, 4th generation, was *peseto* around 260 CE (Török 2009: 456 family tree, 468). Cf. also Török 2002b on the families who had relations to *pesetos*. On the Wayekiye-family Burkhardt 1985: 89–96; Török 2009: 456–502.

223 Trigger 1976: 111 (response to Adams). Trigger here answers to the role of the state gods Amun and Apedemak which are surpassed by the Isis-worship in Lower Nubia and which is used as a distinction to the Meroitic centre.

an economically important one) that was ruled in a traditional Meroitic way by officials who enjoyed a normal relationship to their suzerain” (that means the Meroitic king).

MEROITIC TITLES IN DEMOTIC INSCRIPTIONS (JK)

The title *pqr* or *pqr-li* in the Demotic ostrakon from Argin is a purely Meroitic title written here in early Roman Demotic, the only document for this title not in a Meroitic context. A transcription of the second form written *pktr* in Egyptian hieroglyphs is found in the tomb of Arikankharor Beg N 5 in the Northern Royal Cemetery at Meroe (see above). Otherwise *pqr* resp. both titles *pqr* and *pqrtr* are only documented in cursive or hieroglyphic Meroitic inscriptions.

A few genuine Meroitic titles are at occasions written in Demotic in the graffiti inscribed in the temples of the Dodekaschoinos.²²⁴ The following cases of titles occur all in graffiti written or composed by Nubians.²²⁵ It is not clear, however, whether the graffiti, after the dedicator would have obtained the permittance, were actually inscribed by Nubians or Meroites themselves who were fluent in Demotic or whether they delegated it to an (Egyptian) scribe of the temple to write it in Demotic.²²⁶ At least the carefully executed graffiti are supposed to be the work of official engravers, which holds true for

graffiti of Egyptians as well as of Nubians.²²⁷ The composers, however, for example of Philae 416 and 417, may indeed be the Meroites themselves who had masterly adopted Demotic and the customary formulae.²²⁸ Especially graffiti of high-ranking and highly educated men in the 2nd to 3rd century CE living in proximity of the Dodekaschoinos showed great familiarity with Egyptian language and culture. Some even employed hieroglyphic script or hieratic signs in the Demotic inscription (e.g. Dakka 30, Philae 421, both of members of the Wayekiye-family²²⁹).

For such a scenario of self-composing or self-articulation speak likewise the distinct character of Nubian graffiti which with its reporting passages and richer information are different from Egyptian graffiti texts.²³⁰ A Nubian or Meroite, on the other hand, may have instructed (and paid) a scribe of the temple to write down what he had planned in his own words, but not preformed already in Demotic. In some cases an added colophon informs that the inscription was written by a temple official, a „scribe of the temple of Isis of the Abaton and Philae“ (Dakka 12/11, Dakka 15/3). The writer of Dendur 1 signs his text with „written by Pakhom, son of Petusire, the *lesonis*, with his own hand“ (Dendur 1/15), but it is unclear whether he is Egyptian or Nubian; the graffiti is counted under Nubian graffiti because of the notion of an official with Nubian name *Swny* in the first line.²³¹ Similar personal authorship is found with Philae 421 of Wayekiye A and Philae 403 of Wayekite; remarks on the writing of a graffiti are perhaps also found with Kalabsha 4 and Philae 120, but here the texts are inconclusive and defective.²³² The Philae graffiti mentioned here are all from the important and influential Wayekiye-family indicating that their education comprised also the Egyptian

224 In general, Demotic as scripture declined slowly during the Ptolemaic Period and especially after the Roman conquest. This mainly concerns documentary texts on papyrus like contracts etc. which were now written in Greek, the language of the administration (cf. i.a. Lewis 1993; Stadler 2008; cf. also the chart, detailing the number of Demotic texts, in Hoffmann 2000: 26). Demotic survived only in the religious sphere of temples and some literature. The latest dated Demotic inscriptions are found at Philae from 452 CE: Griffith 1937: 11, 102–103 (graffito Philae 365, Osiris chamber on roof of Isis temple; perhaps also Philae 377 on Isis temple roof with date in an accompanying (?) Greek inscription). Cruz-Uribe 2018 notifies the undated graffiti Philae 939 as the last Demotic inscription at Philae, dating to later Roman times. On Demotic in the area of the first cataract cf. Cruz-Uribe 2002 and 2010. E. Cruz-Uribe 2016 documented 534 additional graffiti at Philae exceeding the number of 450 at this place in Griffith 1935/1937.

225 On graffiti of Nubians/Meroites Burkhardt 1985; Ashby 2020. For the Meroitic Period they assume two periods of graffiti activity of Nubians: phase I (c. 10 BCE to c. 54 CE), see Burkhardt 1985: 74–77; Ashby 2020: 53–116; phase II (c. 175–273 CE), see Burkhardt 1985: 77–89; Ashby 2020: 117–204.

226 Cf. Griffith 1937: 8–9. He notes that the wall faces often were prepared with a wash of lime to receive a graffiti; Ashby 2020: 18, 63, 72–73, 153.

227 Griffith 1937: 8–9.

228 Cf. Burkhardt 1985: 77–78, 86. K. Zibeli-Chen (personal communication, email 19.10.2020) stated that the relevant officials in Lower Nubia were well trained in Demotic script; also Ashby 2020: 18 note 35. Griffith (1937: 114), on the other hand, believes that the artist Pakhom, the writer of Philae 415, fashioned the long graffiti of Sasan Philae 416.

229 Dakka 30: Griffith 1937: 26–31; FHN III: 982–986 no. 251; Philae 421: Griffith 1937: 121–122; FHN III: 968–972 no. 245. Two Roman graffiti in the Isis temple at Assuan likewise show a mixture of hieroglyphs and Demotic script, e.g. Cruz-Uribe 2012: 119–120, 147. References on the Wayekiye-family above note 222.

230 Burkhardt 1985: 47 and passim; Ashby 2020: 32–33.

231 Griffith 1937: 33–34, pl. VII; Burkhardt 1985: 103–104; FHN II: 728–731 no. 180. Cf. Ashby 2020: 72–73.

232 Griffith 1937: 37–38 (Kalabsha 4), 65 (Philae 120), 109 (Philae 403), 121–122 (Philae 421).



script and language, including some knowledge in hieroglyphs and hieratic.²³³

The following Meroitic titles occur in Demotic as well as in Meroitic script. The concrete function behind Meroitic titles, even if borrowed from Egyptian precedents, is often unclear and the translation or supposed meaning repeatedly is only tentative and frequently under discussion.

i) The title *ssmṯ* / *ssmsṯ*²³⁴, the Meroitic *ssimete*, appears in two Demotic graffiti (Philae 55, Kalabsha 4) mentioning the same person, the ‘strategos’ or district commissioner (*p3 mr msc*) Abale.²³⁵ In Philae 55²³⁶ which was written on the SW-jamb of the gate of Nectanebos, the central door in the first pylon of the Isis temple, in April 16 in year 48 CE (i.e. year 8 of the Roman Emperor Claudius, reigning 41–54 CE), a man Pasherpahut bears this title. Kalabsha 4²³⁷, which was inscribed on a block the position of which was not noted, reports of an agreement before the same Abale; here the *ssmṯ* Pakhnum is one of the men mentioned. The graffito dates in a year 10 of an unnamed ruler which is assumed to relate either to the reign of Claudius (41–54 CE), i.e. 50 CE, or to that of Nero (54–68 CE), i.e. 64 CE; Griffith in 1937 thought of Augustus in 20 BCE which is unlikely; S. Ashby considers the early date, year 50, more probable than the later one. The Nubian *mr msc* Abale, who is mentioned also in a graffito at the Thoth temple at Dakka (Dakka 12, dated to year 57), must have lived in the middle of the 1st century CE.

The title *ssmṯ* occurs a further time in a Demotic graffito recently found. Graffito Philae 612 was applied at the Second Eastern Colonnade, west face, north of the north jamb of chamber 3 and was written by the *ssmṯ* Pakhnum (son of) Khnumiu (*Hnm-iw?*).²³⁸ The last name is considered unattested at Philae, but cf. two graffiti at the Isis temple at Assuan

where a name Khnum-iu (?) is mentioned.²³⁹ The Pakhnum of Philae 612 may be identical with the one mentioned in graffito Kalabsha 4 of the 1st century CE. Interestingly room 3 of the Second Eastern Colonnade is the room which in the 3rd century CE was decorated with depictions and texts of Meroitic embassies (the so-called ‘Meroitic Chamber’). If indeed Kalabsha 4 and Philae 612 allude to the same person then this chamber may have had importance for Nubians/Meroites already in the 1st century CE.

The title *ssimete* in Meroitic documents and translated as ‘steward’ occurs in various administrative areas; it encompasses, i.a., a priestly office with economic function.²⁴⁰ It is found e.g. in REM 0137 (*ssimete qori-se*, of the king), stela GA 54 from Jebel Adda²⁴¹ (*ssimete ktke-se*, of the *kandake*), REM 0085 (*ssimete Mni-se*, of Amun), REM 406A (*ssimete Qes-wi*, of Kush?)²⁴². It is also discussed that it may be related to the Egyptian word *ssmṯ* (horse, TLA: Wb 4: 276.18–277.7), i.e. having a function in connection with horses.²⁴³

ii) In Philae 55 mentioning Abale two further Meroitic titles are found written in Demotic, these are *‘meme*²⁴⁴, unattested in Meroitic, and *hḥn3je*²⁴⁵, documented in a Meroitic text from Qasr Ibrim (REM 1183).²⁴⁶ The meaning and function of both Meroitic titles is unknown.

iii) Other titles occur only in phase II of Nubian graffiti activity in the 2nd/3rd century CE. Rather frequent in Demotic graffiti of the Dodekaschoinos is the Meroitic title *qorene*, transcribed in Demotic

233 Millet 1968: 63 calls it ‘Egyptian temple education’.

234 Griffith 1937: 304 (# 866); Zibelius-Chen 2011: 293–294; Ashby 2020: 81–84, 153–154 with note 112. It is not included in Erichsen 1954 or the CDD.

235 On the name Abale/Abli cf. Zibelius-Chen 2011: 284.

236 Griffith 1937: 53–54; Burkhardt 1985: 106–107; FHN II: 733–735 no. 183; Török 2009: 438; Cruz-Uribe 2016: 95–96. On both graffiti (Philae 55, Kalabsha 4) Ashby 2020: chap. 1 passim. They belong to the first phase of Nubian graffiti activity (late 1st century BCE to 1st century CE).

237 Griffith 1937: 37–38; Burkhardt 1985: 104–105; FHN II: 735–736 no. 184; Török 2009: 439. On the personal name (The-son-of-[the-deity]-Pahut) cf. Griffith 1937: 12; DNB: 237.

238 Cruz-Uribe 2016: 103–104, 109.

239 Cruz-Uribe 2012: 126 (graffiti 207, 209). On the name cf. DNB: 886.

240 Cf. Millet 1968: 180; Török in FHN II: 735 note 361; Zibelius-Chen 2011: 293–294; Hallof 2015: 52; Ashby 2020: 82–84, 154 note 112.

241 Millet 1968: 356–358; 2005: 38–39.

242 J. Hallof reads here *ssimete qesewi* = his (*qese*) *ssimete*.

243 Hofmann 1974: 42; cf. Hallof 2017: 418, referring to Cl. Rilly ‘officer of the cavalry’.

244 Griffith 1937: 288 (# 819): ‘*meme*. It is not included in Erichsen 1954 or in the CDD. Cruz-Uribe 2016: 95–96 transcribes it as *3me* without considering it as a title.

245 Griffith 1937: 301 (# 856): *hḥn3je*. It is not included in Erichsen 1954 or in the CDD. Cruz-Uribe 2016: 95–96 transcribes it as *hḥnmte* and characterizes it as an unknown term. Rilly (2007: 368, 383) transcribes the Demotic as *hḥn3tj*.

246 REM 1138: Millet, in: Mills 1982: 71; Ashby 2020: 84; Rilly (2007: 368, 383) transcribes Meroitic *hohonete* (on his transcription of the Demotic see previous footnote); Breyer (2012: 126) transliterates Meroitic *hohonete*; Zibelius-Chen (2011: 292) was not aware of the Meroitic equivalent.



as *q(w)rny(3)* (*qrny*, *qw^rrny*, *qrny3*) / *qeren*.²⁴⁷ Many members of the Wayekiye family, the earliest being Paese in generation 1 (Philae 251)²⁴⁸ and in the succeeding generations bore the title *qeren* of Isis (Dakka 30, 33; Philae 120, 254, 257, 410, 421)²⁴⁹; another is Pathores with Philae 255, 256.²⁵⁰ In Philae 416 Sasan feasts together with the *qerens* of Isis who accompany him together with the *peseto*.²⁵¹ *Qeren* of Isis highly likely is a priestly title with writing competence. It is often paired with the title ‘agent of Isis’ (*rt n Is.t*) in Demotic graffiti but extremely seldom in Meroitic texts. In Philae 416 the variations *qrny3 3krr pr 3* (416/1), *qrny 3krr* (416/18), which are titles of Sasan himself, and in Philae 403/2 *qrny3 pr 3* are documented. In Meroitic texts the title, usually written there as *qorene*, is considered, perhaps unjustified, as royal scribe²⁵²; it appears e.g. in REM 0099, 0100, 0122, 0123, 0203. There seems to be a certain difference in the meaning between the Meroitic word and the title *qeren* in the Demotic graffiti. The sense of *3krr* (*3krre*) respectively Meroitic *akroro* or *kroro* is unknown²⁵³ or tentatively translated as ‘princely’²⁵⁴.

iv) The Meroitic title *hbhne* is twice documented in Demotic graffiti as *hbhne*.²⁵⁵ Wayekiye B son of Manitawawi is *hbhne* as well as *qrny* of Isis (Philae 120).²⁵⁶ Wayegate/Wygte is *hbhne 3* (great *hbhne*) and *qrnye* of pharaoh (Philae 403).²⁵⁷ In Meroitic texts the title *hbhne*, sometimes with attribute *lh* (great) or *qori-se* (of the king) occurs in REM 0088, 0089, 0097,

0099, 0101, 0102, 0110, 0122, 0125 and on the funerary stela GA 20 from Jebel Adda.²⁵⁸ The meaning of this title, occasionally accompanied by the place name of ‘Derr (?)’, is as yet unknown.

v) An isolated example in Demotic seems to be the Meroitic title *arebetke/aribet(ke)*,²⁵⁹ which may be connected with the word *artaba*, a corn measure²⁶⁰. It occurs in Demotic as *3rbt(n)g^cy(3)* in the graffito Philae 417 (lines 1, 2) of Tami who was ‘tax collector of Isis’ for a number of years.²⁶¹ The title in Meroitic texts may be ascribed a more general fiscal function, in cases subordinate to a *peseto* (REM 0292, 1020, 1088, 1090, 1091, 1116, 1333).

vi) To this list here of Meroitic titles in Egyptian language may be added the king’s title *qore* (Eg. *kwr*) or that of the *kandake* (Meroitic *ktke* / *kdke* / *ktwe* / *kdwe*; Eg. *kntky* / *kntjky* / denoting presumably the king’s mother.²⁶²

vii) Other Meroitic titles which have their origin in Egyptian words, sometimes with a different meaning or function, are not considered here. These are titles like *apote* ‘messenger/ambassador’²⁶³ from *wpw.tj*, also *pelmos* ‘strategos’, a high administrative title’, from *p3 mr m^sc*,²⁶⁴ further *perite* ‘agent’ from *p3 rt*²⁶⁵ as well as *plsn* (*palasana*), a high title in the temple administration, from *p3 mr sn*, often rendered with the Greek word *lesonis*.²⁶⁶ The title *peseto* that was

247 See Griffith 1937: 304–305 (# 869); Török 1979: 42–48; Hofmann 1981: 62; Zibelius-Chen, 2011: 250–252, 295–296. See CDD *q*: 61–62; Lexa 1950: 1134.

248 Griffith 1937: 83; Burkhardt 1985: 109; FHN III: 944–945 no. 231.

249 Griffith 1937: 32 (Dakka 33), 65 (Philae 120), 84 (Philae 254), 85 (Philae 257), 112–113 (Philae 410); Burkhardt 1985: 102–103, 107–108, 110–111, 113; FHN III: nos. 244, 252, 262, 250, 249. On Dakka 30 and Philae 421 see above note 229.

250 Griffith 1937: 84; Burkhardt 1985: 110–111; FHN III: 994–996 nos. 256, 257.

251 References above in note 195.

252 Millet 2005: 16; Rilly 2007: 142; cf. Zibelius-Chen 2011: 295–296; Ashby 2020: 150–152. On the Meroitic occurrences Török 1979: 42–48.

253 Zibelius-Chen 2011: 284–285.

254 Edwards/Rilly 2007: 86; Rilly 2007: 143, 375. Another proposal, due to similar expressions in related languages, was made by Rilly who renders it as ‘in the position of an Elder’ (*en position d’aîné*), so Rilly 2013: 100.

255 Griffith 1937: 301 (# 855); cf. Ashby 2020: 146 note 81 (list of documents). 166. It is not included in the CDD.

256 Griffith 1937: 65.

257 Griffith 1937: 109. Ashby (2020: 166 note 148) proposes that Philae 403 is perhaps to be attributed to Wayekiye B.

258 Ashby 2020: 146 note 81; Millet 2005: 15–16; cf. Zibelius-Chen 2011: 292. Some title holders are by the adjunct *-kdi* characterised as female, perhaps a rank designating a female person of the family of a *hbhne*, cf. Millet 1968: 159–160 (GA 4, GA 43, GA 20).

259 Cf. Hallof forthc.: s.v. *arebetke* and s.v. *aribet*.

260 Griffith 1916: 23; Török 1979: 3–13; in FHN III: 1014. Unlikely according to J. Moje. But cf. the word *arbte* ‘artaba’ in Meroitic, Hallof forthc.: s.v. *arbte*.

261 *3rbtg^cy3* (*arbetegaye*) / *3rbtg^cy* (*arbetengaye*), Griffith 1916: 23; Griffith 1937: 120, 288 (# 816); Burkhardt 1985: 118–119; FHN III: 1014; CDD 3: 46; on the Meroitic title Török 1979: 3–13; Ashby 2020: 150; Rilly 2021: 37–38.

262 Cf. Zibelius-Chen 2011: 236–238, 296 (*kwr*). For *kwr* in Egyptian sources Sauneron/Yoyotte 1952: 183–187; on a Demotic example cf. Thissen 1991: 370; CDD *k*: 17. For *kntjky* / *kntky* Zibelius-Chen 2011: 242–243.

263 On *apote* cf. Edwards 1999: 91 documented in inscriptions from many Lower Nubian sites; Hallof forthc.: s.v. *apote*.

264 See above. Cf. Ashby 2020: 73–78; Kuckertz, forthc. a.

265 Cf. the index entries for titles in Griffith 1937: 290–295 (#825, #836, #845); Török 1979: 35–41.

On *p3 rt* cf. also Ashby 2020: 79–81 (agent of Isis) and *passim*.

266 On the title *lesonis* De Cenival 1972: 154–159; Zauzich 1980; Vittmann 1998: 290–292 with extensive literature; Monson 2012: 212, 216–218, 223–226, 233–234 on the



usually thought of as deriving from *p3 s3 nsw*, is considered as being once documented in graffito Philae 416 (lines 6 and 15). The discussion above reveals the improbability of the equation of the Meroitic term with *s3 nsw*.

RESUMEE (JK, JM)

By the inscription as well as on palaeographic considerations the ostrakon BM EA77946 from Argin is highly likely to be attributed to Akinidad living around the change of millennia BCE – CE and who was intensively involved in the Romano-Meroitic conflicts between 25 and 21/20 BCE. As is available from Akinidad's documentation, it was under Queen Amanirenase (see the chart above fig. 12, REM 0402, 0628, 1003) that he assumed the title *peseto* and the as yet not completely understood title *sew Qes-te*.²⁶⁷ This title is preserved on the bronze cornice REM 0628 from a naos dedicated by Amanirenase and Akinidad into the Amun temple at Kawa. 'Sew of Kush', as the term *Qes-te* is understood seems to indicate an office relating to a larger topographical compound *Qes/Kush*, or, as Török assumes, indicating perhaps a country-wide authority.²⁶⁸ Both titles reflect the political situation after the Romans had quitted the southern part of the Triakontaschoinos which was now in urge to be re-structured. The re-organisation of Meroitic Lower Nubia was continued under Queen Amanishakheto who likewise is documented with Akinidad in two places in the north, i.e. in Kawa and in Qasr Ibrim (REM 0705, 1141). The supposed installation of cults mentioned in the Qasr Ibrim stela REM 1141 fits well into this pattern.²⁶⁹

office in Ptolemaic and Roman times. It is an office in a temple's financial administration which was held, like usually in Egypt, for one year as graffito Dakka 30 seems to indicate. Török in FHN III: 988 identifies the *lesonis* Hornakhtitef as high priest. Cf. Török 1979: 25–34; Ashby 2020: 85–86. The Meroitic title *plsn* is found e.g. in REM 0089, 1019, 1021. On the title Török 1979: 25–34.

267 Török in FHN II: 727; 2009: 500.

268 On Meroitic *Qes* Griffith 1917a: 27. On *k3š*, *kš* 'Kush' in Egyptian texts, see Zibelius 1972: 165–169. On the title Török 1979: 113. J. Hall of considers *sew Qes-te* not as a title of Akinidad, but belonging to the following divine name, i.e. the *sew* of Kush (that is) Amun of Napata (personal communication, November 2021).

269 Hall of 2020: 21: "It is therefore likely that the text outlines the establishment of a cult for Amanap, Isis, Horus and perhaps Mas, and its safeguarding with essential goods to meet daily needs, which makes good sense in the time after the peace treaty between Rome and Meroe in 21/20 BCE, and the reestablishment of the political and cultural presence of Meroitic rulers."

Contra Török's current opinion who sees the first *pesetos* occurring in the 2nd century BCE it is a rather logical assumption that with the withdrawal of Roman authority the stretch of land abandoned could not be left void of control and had soon to be taken under strong administration. That at this moment the first *pesetos* appeared, Akinidad, Tase-meresa and Halalakharor, is clearly understandable. Also comprehensible is that at first the agency was given to a man of royal rank and blood, the *pqr* Akinidad, called by Millet "a minor prince of the royal house".²⁷⁰ If *pqr* denotes a military title, then giving the office to an experienced military man can likewise be considered a well-conceived decision. His successors in the office of *peseto* are not equipped with the title *pqr*.

Of the men bearing the title *pqr* or *pqrtr* only three – Etaretaya, Akinidad and Arikankharor – are definitely of royal descent or at least closely related to rulers. With other title holders such is nowhere definitely ascertained. D. Edwards likewise is cautious in generally identifying *pqr* as being of royal blood: "Following the Roman wars, no further 'royal' princes [after Akinidad] are known from Lower Nubia, and the Pestos seem to have been merely the senior officials of the region. A number of Pestos based at Faras and latterly Karanog claim relationship to Pqr's [sic] ... but the royal connotations of 'prince' appear unjustified."²⁷¹

The Demotic ostrakon BM EA77946 from Argin is remarkable in several aspects. It refers with high probability to Akinidad, the *pqr* and first *peseto* of the Northern Meroitic Province *Akine* although the last title is not mentioned on the ostrakon. Especially the cartouche around the title *pqr* and the following designation *s3 nsw* as well as the palaeographic dating of the script as Early Roman Demotic speak for its attribution to Akinidad. The appellation of *s3 nsw* or *s3* alone behind the title *pqr* is a further hint to the royal descent of Akinidad.²⁷² The term *s3 nsw* here stands as an apposition behind the title *pqr*, qualifying this *pqr* as coming from the royal family. A perhaps corresponding term *hensney* is found on the stela from Qasr Ibrim REM 1141. If the ostrakon's ascription to Akinidad comes true, it is an important addition to his documentation.

The two consecutive dates of a year 5 and a year 6 on the ostrakon speak for a continuous recording of deliveries and/or rations (?) that had to be reg-

270 Millet 1968: 37.

271 Edwards 1996: 85.

272 The other possibility, seeing it as a defective writing of the supposed Egyptian derivation of the title *peseto* from *p3 s3 nsw*, is unlikely, see above.

istered. What these deliveries concretely were and where the registration office was situated, at Argin or elsewhere, remains unknown to us. As the registration's heading served the most important person in the administration, the *pqr*, who may not have been addressed personally and who presumably was stationed – if at all – at a more prominent settlement in Lower Nubia (at Faras?). Remarkable is that the administration to which the ostracon entry belonged or referred to used the ability of scribes fluent and versatile in Demotic. Or, as Williams expresses it: "... the ostraca do indicate some activity at the site – by someone who knew both demotic and Meroitic institutions."²⁷³ In assuming that it was the administration of the governor of Meroitic Lower Nubia, the then executing *pqr* Akinidad may have decided to use the help of Egyptian personnel resp. scribes trained in Egyptian administrative tasks. It is, on the other hand, also possible, that not the official provincial administration is meant but a particular estate administration of the *pqr* himself. Such presumably existed as estates relating for example to the/a *kandake*²⁷⁴ or to a viceroy (*peseto*)²⁷⁵ are known later by titles of their personnel.

Unclear remains to which purpose the ostracon served. Was it part of the administrative record itself or did it belong to an individual who needed a receipt of what was delivered? As the notes are written on a shard broken off an imported vessel the inscriptions cannot at first hand be related to trading goods. That such an ostracon indicates direct contact with Egypt and is related to long distance trade²⁷⁶ is possible, but the accounts of two successive years written on both sides of a shard speak more for administrative use on the local site.²⁷⁷ Being most probably *ad hoc* notes written on a shard the information later would

have been transferred to a more suitable document (on papyrus or leather?) to be stored in the administration office. The information of two (succeeding) years, however, on one shard is nevertheless remarkable which indicates that such recordings were kept for a certain time to add further notes concerning the same topic.

The ostracon provides the first document of the term *pqr* in Egyptian Demotic which otherwise appears only in Meroitic inscriptions. Only the second form of the title, i.e. *pqrtr*/ *pktr*, is found in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing in Beg N 5, the tomb of Arikankharor.

The ostracon from Argin not only adds to Akinidad's documents but also provides a glimpse on administrative proceedings during his time.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das in frühromische Zeit zu datierende demotische Ostracon (BM EA77946), das in Argin in Unternubien gefunden wurde, nennt den hohen meroitischen Titel *pqr*. Der Titel ist wie ein Name in eine Kartusche gesetzt; zudem sind Lieferungen (?) oder Rationen (?) in zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Jahren vermerkt. Es wird vermutet, dass hier der erste *pqr* überhaupt, der aus königlichem Haus stammende Akinidad gemeint ist. Seine Dokumente, Titel, Funktionen und seine Karriere unter drei Herrschern werden beleuchtet. Ein kleiner Abriss listet das Vorkommen meroitischer Titel in ägyptischen Sprachen bzw. Schriften (Demotisch, Hieroglyphisch, Hieratisch) auf.

273 Williams 1985: 191 (his 'ostraca' are the two sides of one shard, cf. above).

274 Cf. Millet 1981: 137–138. Functions like e.g. *mareperi* 'administrator of a domain', from Egyptian *jmj-r3 pr* (REM 1963, FHN III: 1074–1076; REM 1031), *ssimete* (cf. FHN II: 735) or *maseqorose* of the *kandake* (Millet 1981: 131) reflect perhaps agricultural domains of a *kandake*, after *qore*/king the second highest royal title. Cf. Török 1979: 137.

275 Hofmann 1977b: 213 (title *mareperi* of a viceroy); Hofmann 1981; Török 1979: 18–19 (REM 1019), 90, 136–138. Török, however, is cautious on private estates of the viceroy.

276 So Edwards 1996: 84.

277 Among the Demotic texts from Qasr Ibrim are two papyrus fragments which are part of administrative records, perhaps of a temple, Ray 2005: 34–35, 38, 60, texts 7 and 11. Ray dates the Demotic texts generally in the period 1st century BCE–1st century CE; their context is unknown. On Demotic texts from Qasr Ibrim also Muhs 2013.



Addendum to:

Kuckertz, J. – J. Moje, A Demotic ostrakon from Argin mentioning Akinidad?

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The Article is to be cited as:

Kuckertz, J. – J. Moje, A Demotic ostrakon from Argin mentioning Akinidad?
Der Antike Sudan. MittSAG 33, 2022, pp. 91–116 and 116a–116g