

***Nswt-bity* as "king of Egypt and the Sudan" in the 25th.Dynasty and the Kushite Kingdom**

D.Hussein M. Rabie ♦

Inoduction:

The Kingdom of Kush was established in the Sudan around the tenth century B.C ⁽¹⁾ by local rulers and with local traditions ⁽²⁾. There was a conflict between priests of Amun and the king Tekeloth II in the Twenty Second Dynasty. Tekeloth II had some priests of Amun burned alive and forced some other priests to leave Thebes escaping to Napata⁽³⁾. The sanity of the area of Napata to Amun and to Theban priests had been established by building an Egyptian temple for the god Amun at Jebel Barkal in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Jebel Barkal was considered as the home of the *Ka* of Amun, as was mentioned on a stela of Thutmos III⁽⁴⁾. Some Scholars think that Amun of Napata was the origin of Amun of Karnak. Ancient Egyptians thought that Jebel -Barkal was the original place of Amun because of his pinnacle shape which

♦Cairo university, Faculty of archaeology, department of Egyptology.

(1) Reisner suggested 860-820 B.C. as a date of the beginning of this Kingdom, see Trigger B.C. , *Nubia under the Pharaohs* , London , 1976 , p.140 , while Török considers 1020 B.C. as a date of its beginning –see Török L., " The emergence of the Kingdom of Kush and her myth of the state in the first Millennium B.C. " , in : *CRIPEL* 17 (1994) , p.108 , and Yellin says that this Kingdom was established shortly after the end of the New Kingdom without giving a determined date –see Yellin J.W., " Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact on the formation of the Napatan state : a contribution to Laszlo Török's main paper The emergence of the Kingdom of Kush and her myth of the state in the First Millennium B.C. " , in: *CRIPEL* 17 (1994),p. 243.

(2) For the local traditions in the Kushite kingdom see Yellin J.W.,Op.cit,p. 243 ff. for the relations between the Kushite kingdom and the previous cultures in Sudan see Bakr M.A., "The Relationship between the C-Group, Kerma, Napatan and Meroitic Cultures";: *Kush* 13(1965), pp.261-264. & Al-Abbas S.M.A. and Abdelqader M.A., "The origin of the twenty fifth Dynasty as reflected by the royal Sudan necropolis" (*Studies in Arab nations' Archaeology*) 2 , Cairo , (2000),pp. 91-113(in Arabic) .

(3)Welsby D.A.,*The kingdom of Kush, the Napatan and Meriotic Empires*,London,1996, p. 62. Theses troubles between Libyan kings and the priests of Thebes were recorded in the biography of prince Osorkon , see Caminos R.A., *The chronicle of prince Osorkon* , Rome , 1985 ,& Welsby D.A., Op.cit, p. 62.

(4) Welsby D.A., Op.cit,p. 63.

symbols to the primeval hill, and looks like the phallus which represents the creator god Amun– Ka-mut-ef.⁽⁵⁾ Jebel Barkal was referred to in Egyptian texts as upper Egyptian Heliopolis. Napata was referred to in some Egyptian texts as nswt-t3wy. Amun –hotep Huy , the Viceroy of Kush in the reign of Tut-ankh-Amun said that his authority extended from "Nekhen to Nswt- t3wy".⁽⁶⁾ On the stela of Kushite king Nastasen, he claims that he received the Kingdom of T3 - Sti (Nubia) from Amun of Napata⁽⁷⁾.

The arrival of Egyptian priests to Napata made its rulers decide to invade Egypt to overcome Libyan kings (kings of 24th. Dynasty) and to be pharaohs. Those kings invaded Egypt by reasons of piety rather than by territorial ambitions.⁽⁸⁾

King Piye⁽⁹⁾ succeeded to subdue Egypt and established the 25th.Dynasty.⁽¹⁰⁾ This Dynasty ended when the Assyrian king Assurbanipal invaded Egypt and Kushite king Tanwetamun left Egypt to his capital Napata.⁽¹¹⁾ Kings of the 25th Dynasty continued to rule the Sudan until the end of the Meroitic period. The duration of the Kushite kingdom is divided into two periods: the Napatan

(5) Kendall T., "Gebel Barkal, The mythological Nubian origin of Egyptian kingship and the formation of Napatan state", in: Caneva I. and RoccatI A.(ed,) *Xth. International conference of Nubian studies* , Boston, 2006,p. 20.

(6) Davies N. and Gardiner A.H., *The tomb of Huy , viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tut'ankhamun* , London , 1962, p.11 .

(7)Török L., " The royal crowns of Kush", in : *BAR* 5 (1987) , p.36.

(8)Welsby D.A., *Op.cit*, p.63.

(9)For the reading of the name of this king Piye and not Piankhy as was suggested before

see Vittmann G. , " Zur lezung des königsnamens ()", in : *OR* 43 (1994),

Pp.12-16, & Al-Abbas S.A. and Abdelqader M.A., *Op.cit*, pp. 91-113.

(10) It would appear that Kashta was the first Kushite king who entered Egypt at the end of the twenty third dynasty around 760 BC. He visited Thebes to receive the divine consort to rule from Amun , and forced the high priestess of Amun to adopt his daughter as her successor – see Welsby D.A.,*Op.cit* ,p. 63.

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period (about 10th century B.C. -593 B.C)⁽¹²⁾ and the Meroitic period(593-300B.C.). The reason of that division is the famous campaign of the Saite king Psammetique II against the Kushite kingdom in the reign of the Kushite king Aspelta(593B.C.). Some Scholars think that there was no reason for this campaign. ⁽¹³⁾ Others think that Kushite kings tried to re-invade Egypt in the reign of Psammetique II ⁽¹⁴⁾, so he decided to invade their land. It seems that the army of king Psammetique II succeeded in penetrating the Kushite kingdom and to destroy its capital Napata⁽¹⁵⁾, as well as the statues of Aspelta himself, and forcing him to move his capital far south to Meroe to be far away from the internal affairs of Egypt.

But from the reign of the king Piye to the end of the Kushite kingdom, Kushite kings represented themselves as Pharaohs. They represented themselves wearing royal Egyptian crowns, except the blue crown⁽¹⁶⁾ perhaps because their enemies, the Libyan kings of Egypt (kings of 24th. Dynasty) were wearing it. ⁽¹⁷⁾ They were represented practicing Egyptian rites before Egyptian gods. ⁽¹⁸⁾ They also obtained royal Egyptian titles. Among royal Egyptian titles they obtained, the title *nswt-bity*. Kushite kings obtained this title from the reign of king Piye till the end of their kingdom. This

⁽¹²⁾ There are many sources of this campaign. Fragments of a stela were found near the second pylon of the Karnak temple, another fragment of a stela was found by Montet at the temple of Amun at Tanis , a stela was found by Labib Habachi at the old airport of Aswan near Kalabsha , Inscriptions of generals of the Egyptian army on the foot of the statues of Ramses II at Abu-simbel and lastly the historian Herodotus . Sauneron and Yoyotte published and discussed these sources except the stela of Aswan in their article Sauneron S. and Yoyotte j., " La compagne de Psmmatique II et sa signification historique" , *BIFAO* 50 (1950) , pp.157-207. The stela of Aswan was published and discussed by Goedicke H., "The campaign of Psammetique II against Nubia", *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 187-198.

⁽¹³⁾ Goedicke H., Op.cit, p. 198.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Sauneron S. and Yoyotte j., Op.cit., p. 204.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Welsby D.A., 1996, p.65.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Russmann Ed., *the Representation of the king in the XXVth Dynasty, Brooklyn*, 1974, p.28ff.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Russmann Ed., Op.cit.,p. 28.

⁽¹⁸⁾ El-Zohairy N., *The scenes of the king and royal family before gods in Kushite kingdom(Napata and Meroe)* , unpublished Dissertation , Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo university, 2007 (in Arabic).

article is searching for the meaning of this title to these Kushite kings.

II- The meaning of *nswt-bity* in ancient Egypt and Kushite kingdom

In ancient Egypt, the title *nswt-bity* appeared in the first dynasty.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is considered the throne name. Literally it means he who belongs to the sedge and the bee.⁽²⁰⁾ The sedge plant  (*swt*) is the symbol of Upper Egypt and the bee  (*bit*) is the symbol of Lower Egypt.⁽²¹⁾ This title is translated as king of upper and Lower Egypt. Some Scholars think that this title in the Kushite kingdom has the same meaning as in ancient Egypt.⁽²²⁾ But there are some reasons which lead to the assumption that the title *Nsw-bity* in the Kushite kingdom means King of Egypt and the Sudan, and not Upper and Lower Egypt. These reasons are:

1-The kings of Kush didn't carry any title linking them directly to Kush. So, if the title *Nsw-bity* means king of Upper and Lower Egypt, where is the title reflecting their rule over Kush?

2-King Piye was represented on a Stela wearing the Kushite skullcap⁽²³⁾ and receiving the red crown from Amun of Napata (fig.2). There are some indications that the skullcap replaces the white crown. The word *Stn* (or. *Sdn*) which ordinarily referred to the white crown could also apply to the skullcap.⁽²⁴⁾ On this stela, King Piye said " Amun of Napata gave me the authority over all people, Amun of Karnak gave me the authority over Egypt

⁽¹⁹⁾ Quirke S., *Who were the pharaohs , a history of their names with a list of cartouches*, London,1990,p.11 , & Baines J . "Origins of Egyptian Kingship", O'connor D. and Silverman D.P.(ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, New York, 1995, p.127.

⁽²⁰⁾ Gardiner A., *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1976, p.73. (

⁽²¹⁾ Leprohn K.J., "Titulary", in : redford D.P.(ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* , vol.3, Cairo , 2001 , pp. 409-410.

⁽²²⁾ Russmann Ed., Op.cit., p. 40.

⁽²³⁾ The Skullcap consists of a closely fitted cap coming down low over the forehead. Its Material is not known. Török suggests that it is similar to the Egyptian blue crown, Covered with single dots or dotted circles – see Török L., Op.cit.,p. 4 .

⁽²⁴⁾ Török L., Op.cit.,p. 4 .

" King Piye was wearing The Kushite Skullcap because he was the king of Kush and receiving the red crown because he was king of Egypt. So, he was king of Egypt (the red crown) and Kush (the skullcap).

3- There were two gods whose names were Amun in the Kushite Kingdom, Amun of Napata and Amun of Karnak as king Piye said in his stala "Amun of Napata gave me the authority over all people, Amun of Karnak gave me the authority over Egypt".⁽²⁵⁾ So it is obvious that the Kushite kings considered Lower Egypt as the whole of Egypt and its god was Amun of Karnak, and Upper Egypt as Kush and its god was Amun of Napata.

4- Some Kushite kings were represented protected by two falcons (Horus (fig.3)

(as king Taharqa at Kawa and king Tanwetamun at Karnak).⁽²⁶⁾ Russmann says that it is a characteristic device of royal Kushite reliefs especially at Kawa.⁽²⁷⁾ I don't know of any similar example of this representation in ancient Egypt. So it is very probable that Kushite kings in these representations were protected by two figures of Horus , one as the royal god of Egypt because they were kings of the Egyptian Kingdom , and also were protected by another Horus , the royal god of Kush as they were kings of the Kushite Kingdom⁽²⁸⁾.

5- The most striking feature of the representation of Kushite kings are the two Uraeus on their foreheads (fig 4, 5). King Shabako was the first Kushite king who was represented with two Uraeus, but Russmann thinks that it is impossible to be sure that Kashta and

⁽²⁵⁾Reisner G.A., "Inscribed monuments from Gebel-Barkal, the sandstone stella of Piankhy no.26", *ZAS* 66 (1931), pp. 89-100., pl. IV.

⁽²⁶⁾Leclant J., "Recherchers sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV^E Dynastie dite Éthiopienne ", *BdE* 63 (1965) , tome II , pl. LXIV(no. 81), Russmann Ed., Op.cit.,p. 25, p.28 footnote 7.

⁽²⁷⁾Russmann Ed., Op.cit, p. 35.

⁽²⁸⁾) For Horus as royal god in the Kushite kingdom see: Welsby D.A., op.cit, pp.75-76, & Yellin J. W., " Egyptian religion and its ongoing impact on the formation of the Napatan state : a Contribution to Laszlo Török's main paper The emergence of the Kingdom of Kush and her myth,in: *CRIPPEL*, 17(1994), p. 222.

Piye- the first two kings of 25th Dynasty-didn't wear the two Uraeus.⁽²⁹⁾ The double Uraeus is definitely associated with the Kushite skullcap in the representations of Kushite kings. There is one exception on Piye'stela from Gebel Barkal where Amun was represented presenting the red crown and the skullcap with one Uraeu to the king Piye.⁽³⁰⁾ Contemporary texts don't help us on this matter. Taharqa says "I received the Diadem of Re, the two serpents having united with my head".⁽³¹⁾ Some scholars suggest that these two Ureaus symbolize the Kingdom of Egypt and Kush united during the 25th Dynasty.⁽³²⁾

Others consider the two serpents as Nekhbet and Wadjet, and consider the two Ureaus of the Kushite kings symbolizing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt and not the unification of Egypt and Kush.⁽³³⁾ Although there are some examples in ancient Egyptian civilization showing some kings wearing two Uraeus , I believe that in the case of the Kushite kings , the two Uraeus symbolize Egypt and Kush because the Saite king Psammetiqe II erased one of these two Uraeus from Kushite monuments after his famous campaign against the Kushite kingdom . Psammetique II saw that Kushite kings were kings of Kush only and not kings of Egypt and Kush. So he erased one of their two Uraeus which symbolizes the Kushite rule of Egypt. 6- On the Dream Stela (Cairo museum, JE 48863), king Tanwetamun rerecorded that he saw two Uraeus on his right and left side. The priests told him that the two snakes will assert his power.⁽³⁴⁾

Török pointed out that Russmann Ed. Considered the two Uraeus in the text refer to the two parts of Egypt because king Tanwetamun

⁽²⁹⁾ Russmann Ed., Op.cit, p.35.

⁽³⁰⁾Török L., " The royal Crowns of Kush" *BAR* 5 (1987) fig.1 (and see this paper fig. 2) .

⁽³¹⁾ Macadam M.F.L., *The temple of Kawa*, vol.1, the inscriptions , London , 1949 , 28 .

⁽³²⁾ Kitchen K.A., *The third intermediate period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* , 2nd.ed., Warminster, 1986, p. 393; para. 354.

⁽³³⁾ Russmann Ed., Op.cit, p. 40.

⁽³⁴⁾ Török L., op.cit., p.89, fotenote 41., for this stela see Hermann A., *Die Ägyptische Königsnovelle* , Glückstadt , 1938 ,p. 8.

was only ruling Upper Egypt and had lost the Delta.⁽³⁵⁾ But the historical events indicate that he lost all of Egypt during the Assyrian invasion. So the dream Stela predicted that he has one Kingdom (Kush) and the gods promise him to be ruler of another kingdom (Egypt).

7- When the Assyrian king Esarhaddon mentioned his war against Taharqa, he said "from the town of Ishupri as far as Memphis, a distance of fifteen days, I fought daily very bloody battles against Tarku (= Taharqa) king of Egypt and Ethiopia , the one accursed by all the great gods."⁽³⁶⁾ This means that Taharqa and the Kushite kings were considered in their times kings of Egypt and Kush.

Conclusion:

It is very probable that significance and conception of the title  *nswt - bity* during the Kushite Kingdom is different from its meaning in Ancient Egypt. It extended to include ancient Egypt and Kush (the Sudan). The first part of the title Nsw symbolized the southern part of the Kushite kingdom (Sudan) and its chief god was Amun of Napata. The second part of the title symbolized the northern part of the Kushite kingdom (Egypt) and its chief god was Amun of Karnak.

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⁽³⁵⁾ Török L., Op.cit., p.7.

⁽³⁶⁾ Gardiner A.H., *Egypt of the pharaohs*, Oxford, 1961, p. 346.

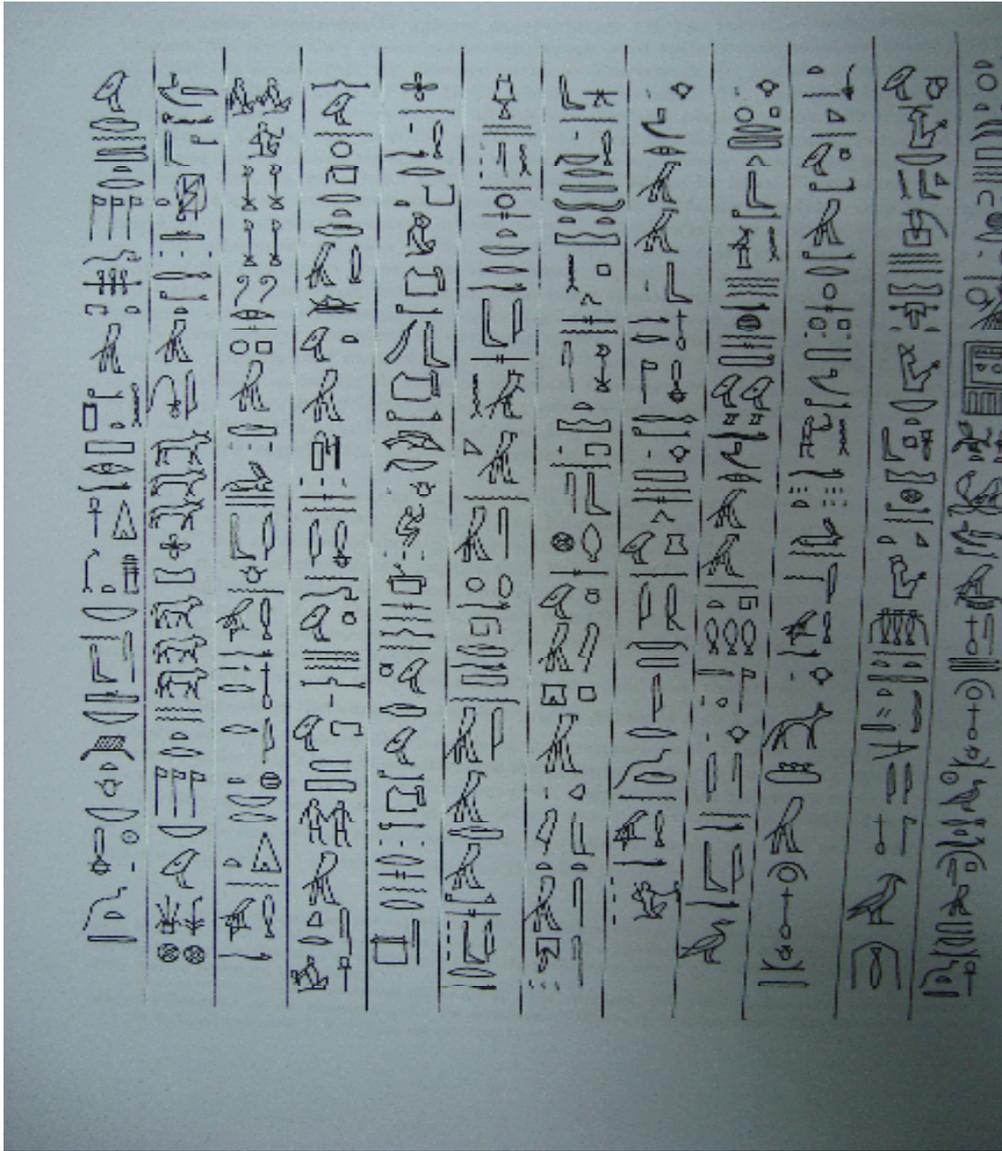


Fig.(1)

Stela of king Psammetique II from Tanis

Goedicke H., "The Campaign of Psammetique II against Nubia" *MDAIK* 37 (1981) , p. 189.



Fig. (2)
King Piye with Skullcap receiving the Red crown from Amun of Napata
After Török L., " The royal Crowns of Kush", *BAR* 5 (1987) ,fig.1 .

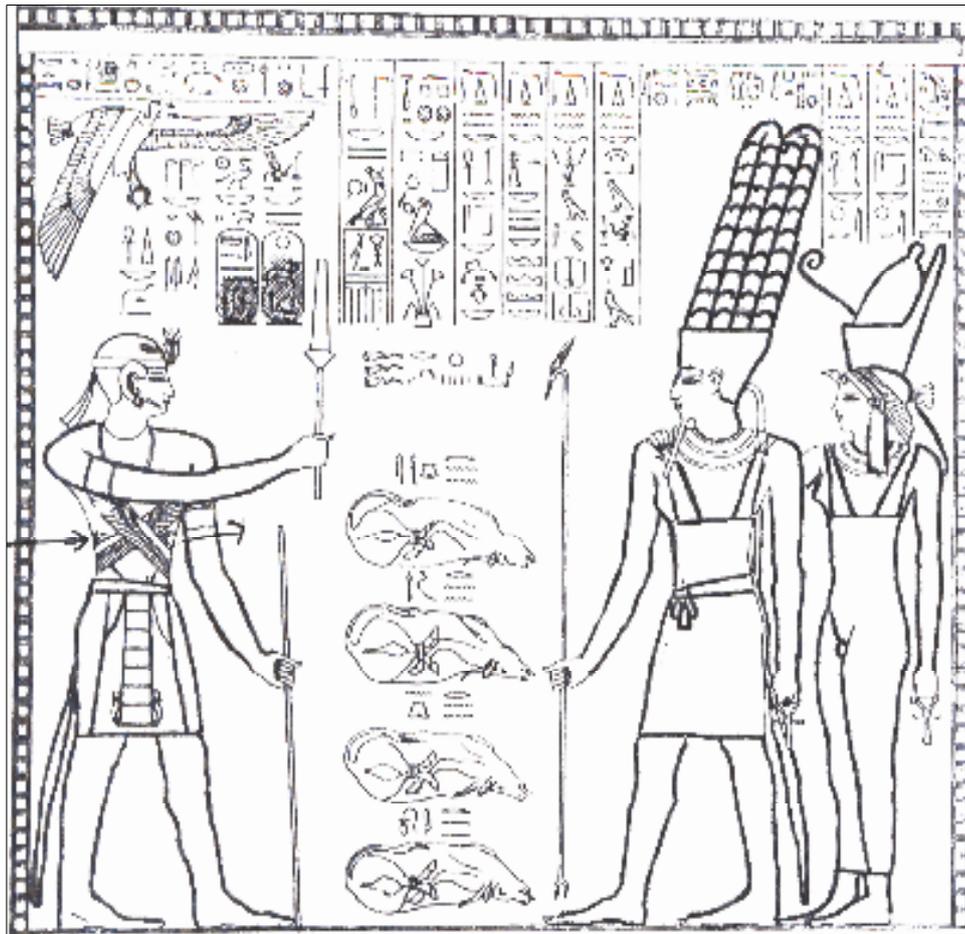


Fig. (3)

King Tanwetamun with two falcons on his chest standing in front of Amun of Karnak and Mout.

After Leclant , "Recherchers sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV^E Dynastie dite Éthiopienne ", *BdE* 63, 1965, tome II , pl. LXIV(no. 81),

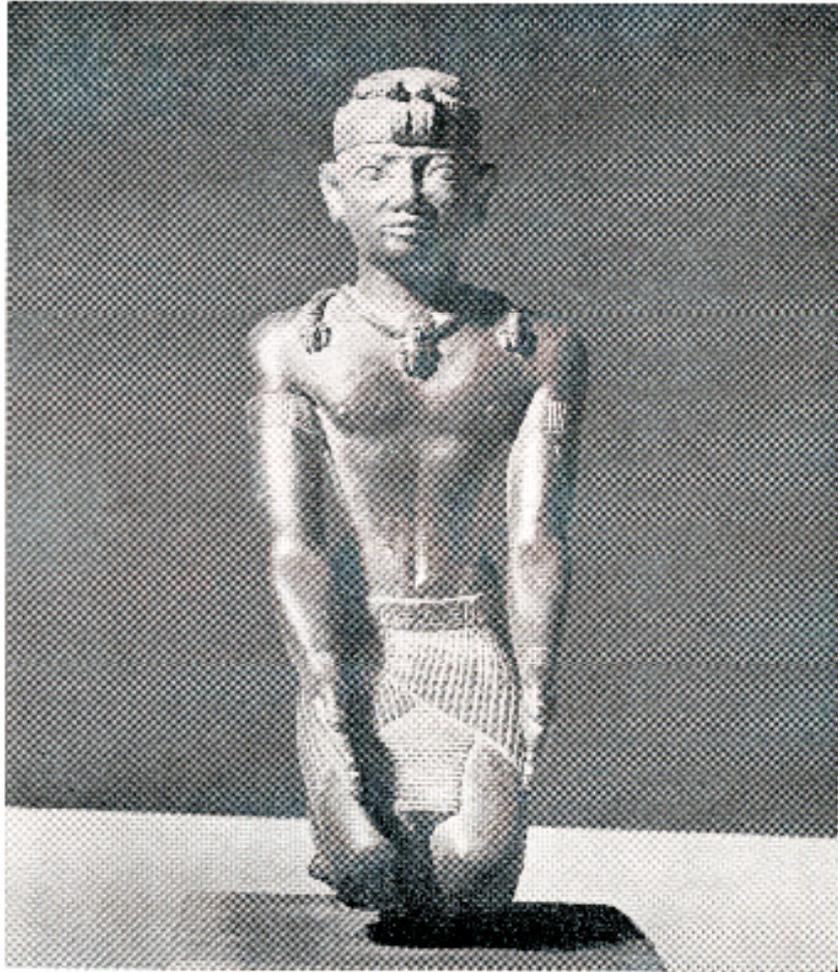


Fig. (4)
Statue of king Shabako with two uraeus, Bronze , Athenes , National museum
After Russmann E., *The Representation of the king in the XXVth Dynasty*, Brooklyn,
1974, fig. 1



Fig (5)
Head of statue of King Shabako with two Uraeus, Bronze, Louvre museum ,
After Russmann Ed., *The Representation of the king in the XXVth Dynasty,*
Brooklyn,
fig. 3., 1974